Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies

Book series: Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe
Editors: Nikolas Coupland and Tore Kristiansen

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1. Tore Kristiansen and Nikolas Coupland (Eds.): Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe. 2011.

2. Tore Kristiansen and Stefan Grondelaers (Eds.): Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies. 2013.

Tore Kristiansen and Stefan Grondelaers (Eds.)

Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies

[LOGO]
NOVUS PRESS
OSLO – 2013

[Various information from the publisher]

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INTRODUCTION

On standard language and standard language ideology (change)

This book investigates the ideological dimensions of the various (de)standardisation processes conspicuously present in contemporary Europe. It is a well-documented fact (for overviews, see Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003; Kristiansen and Coupland 2011) that all European standard languages are currently undergoing extensions which are considered a threat to the *uniformity* in their use – which is one of the commonly accepted criteria for standardness (see for instance Auer 2005, 2011). Professional linguists are increasingly attesting systematic variability – in the form of, for instance, regional or social accents – in standard speech produced by the 'best speakers' (such as news anchors of official broadcasting institutions) in the most formal contexts. But the fact that varieties which are supposed to be uniform are becoming more variable also excites concern and controversy among *non-professional* language users:

> Some refer to the decreasing level of education, others to spelling mistakes, there is controversy about what the norm should be, and about the fact that nobody abides by that norm, there is resistance against the influx of English loan words, there are complaints about sloppy pronunciation, about the fact that young people no longer read books, about the fact that fewer newspapers are being read, that text messaging style is on the increase, and that the tolerance against linguistic variation has gone too far. Everywhere in Europe, interestingly, the same issues are being mentioned. (Van der Horst 2009: 14; our translation)

The research reported in the chapters in this book is not, however, primarily concerned with change in the use of language: it offers no accounts of how and

why standard language *production* is becoming more variable. The basic reason for this is that increasing variability in the production of a variety need not, in itself, be indicative of increasing non-standardness in an ideological sense. Language is in constant flux, and even among iconic standard speakers, there is evidence of significant variability (see Smakman 2006 for evidence in Dutch).

Our perspective on standardness is more in line with Mugglestone's suggestion that

> [t]he true sense of a 'standard' is […] perhaps best understood in the terms selected by Milroy and Milroy: an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage will conform to a greater or lesser extent. (Mugglestone 1997: 55)

As a consequence, rather than concentrating on the changes in how the 'best language' is *used*, we claim that the more revealing approach to a better understanding of contemporary linguistic (de)standardisation in Europe must focus on stability and change in people's *mental representations* of the 'best language', and the link between these representations and language use. What is currently happening to standard language as 'an idea in the mind'? In somewhat more technical terms: what is happening to Standard Language Ideology – a notion developed by Milroy and Milroy (1985) and explicated as follows in Swann et al.'s *Dictionary of Sociolinguistics*:

> […] a metalinguistically articulated and culturally dominant belief that there is only one correct way of speaking (i.e. the standard language). The SLI [Standard Language Ideology] leads to a general intolerance towards linguistic variation, and non-standard varieties in particular are regarded as 'undesirable' and 'deviant'. (Swann et al. 2004: 296)

In brief, the book's focus is on the *perceptual* dimension of standardness and (de)standardisation, and its approach is empirical and experimental: can we attest – and measure – changes in the value system(s) which imbue language varieties and variants with social value, and hierarchise language varieties in terms of good and bad?

It has repeatedly been shown (for evidence from Dutch, see the studies reviewed in Grondelaers 2013: 593–594) that the social evaluations which (re)produce this value system are a potent inhibitor or instigator of language variation and change. This potency springs from the reality that quality judgments are an inevitable consequence of diversity:

> It seems to be a trait of the species that once people become aware of variants, they evaluate them. (Joseph 1987: 3, quoted in Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 18)

This book is specifically devoted to the pivotal question: to what extent does the nature of social evaluation correlate with the level of awareness or consciousness at which it is processed? While this correlation in itself merits thoughtful study, our more ambitious aim is to be able to take the next step and make substantiated claims about *how* social evaluations impact language use. In view of the probability that variants imbued with negative social value become statistically marginal or are actively suppressed, ideological shifts which reset previously attributed values (either consciously or subconsciously) are potential change determinants which should be investigated as essential dimensions of ongoing (de)standardisation.

About SLICE

The present volume is the second collective publication by the international group of sociolinguists involved in developing the research programme known as SLICE, an acronym for *Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe*. SLICE emerged from two exploratory workshops held in Copenhagen in 2009,[1] which gathered some thirty scholars from thirteen different European speech communities. The participants were specifically invited to discuss the possibilities of developing empirical comparative studies of 'The nature and role of language standardisation and standard languages in late-modernity'.

The most palpable outcome of the workshops and the research they incited was the SLICE 1 publication *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe* (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011) which presented thirteen 'community reports' and offered a multifaceted picture of how environments which differ as a result of different histories of dominance and subordination 'meet' the contemporary socio-historical conditions of late-modernity and globalisation. In a second part of SLICE 1, a number of more theoretically oriented chapters were presented, in order to help build the theoretical and methodological foundations of SLICE as an evolving research programme. (The table of contents of SLICE 1 is reproduced at the end of this book.)

[1] The workshops were financed by the Nordic Research Foundation for the Human and Social Sciences, NOS-HS, and also received financial support from the Foundation for Danish-Norwegian Cooperation.

By its central position in the acronym, the 'I' for *ideology* (inadvertently) appears in its right position: the role of ideology in processes of (de)standardisation does indeed stand in the middle of SLICE's research interests. We claim, crucially, that there are two sorts of access into the role of ideology in processes of standard language (change). First, we believe there is much to be gained by applying and developing the *experimental approach* to language attitudes research that, by and large, has remained a speciality of the social psychology of language. In particular, advances can be made if we can improve our ability to extract from our experiments the empirical evidence needed to answer our research questions (which are typically somewhat more specific, and language-applied, than those in social psychology).

Second, we strongly focus on the media negotiation of language ideology, as we believe that the modern media have developed into major factors in the cognitive and social psychological processes that shape present-day people's language-related values (and, concomitantly, perhaps their linguistic behaviour). Thus, the SLICE research plan organises empirical investigations in two strands: *the experimental strand* and *the media strand*. The present volume, SLICE 2, presents work from the experimental strand. The forthcoming SLICE 3 book will present work from the media strand. (For more information about SLICE, see Kristiansen and Coupland 2011; http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/slice/).

The experimental strand: main issues

The crucial theoretical and methodological issues that were put on the agenda for SLICE-experimental research emanate from a number of pioneering investigations into the different ways language ideologies have shaped and impacted language behaviour among young Danes in recent decades (a detailed account of our findings will be presented below).

In the Danish studies, we did not focus on usage (changes) to describe (de)standardisation. We investigated positive vs. negative evaluations as indicators of the 'ideological value' of different language varieties. These values were used, in turn, to gauge the standard status of the concerned varieties in on-going processes of linguistic (de)standardisation in Denmark. However, an interesting concern we were immediately confronted with was the fact that evaluations were not stable: the assessed varieties were ranked very differently under different elicitation conditions. A vital question to be answered, accordingly, was

which evaluations and assessments had to be taken into account in our models of the present-day dynamics of (de)standardisation.

More particularly, our investigations established that hierarchisations systematically and dramatically capsized when the same respondents passed from the conscious to the subconscious elicitation condition. In this sense, the Danish experience laid bare the crucial issue of *the nature and role of respondents' consciousness or awareness* for evaluation research in the linguistic arena. Are evaluations the same or different at different 'levels of consciousness'? And which evaluations, the conscious or the subconscious, are the relevant ones in relation to the issues of (de)standardisation and language use?

Before we can test the latter question, we first have to operationalise the distinction between consciously vs. subconsciously offered attitudes. How can we make sure, when eliciting evaluation data, that respondents are aware of offering language-related evaluations in the one condition, whereas they are *unaware* of offering such evaluations in the other condition? How does one elicit language evaluations without alerting the respondent to the topic?

Interesting as the issue of operationalising 'levels of consciousness' may be in itself (most of the chapters in the methodological component of the volume are devoted to it), it is subordinated to the main interest of the SLICE programme, viz. to highlight the role of ideology in processes of (de)standardisation. All the chapters in the book are contributions to this programme, and they all bear testimony to the usefulness of experimentation as a privileged means of access into various conscious and less conscious, private and less private, public and less public ideologies, and the way these shape the present-day standard language landscape, and the controversy and concern it increasingly engenders.

Before we present the book structure and its constituent chapters, we first summarise the 'Danish background' in some detail: most of the chapters either rely on its findings as a reference point for the interpretation or calibration of data pertaining to the (de)standardisation of other languages, or they refer to the theoretical and methodological implications of the difference between conscious (or explicit, overt, public) and subconscious (or implicit, covert, private) values and attitudes.

THE DANISH BACKGROUND

The initiative to establish the SLICE network and research programme came from the Danish LANCHART centre[2]: as far as we know, there is no larger or more diversified data-base of findings which are relevant to the questions raised by the SLICE-network. Based on comparisons of old and new data from empirical investigations of language use and language attitudes in Denmark, the LANCHART studies have firmly established that patterns of both use and ideology changed radically during the 20th century.

From dialect to standard society

While Denmark entered the 20th century as a traditional European 'dialect society', the country left the century as, arguably, Europe's 'standard language society' par excellence. As far as we can judge, the radical de-dialectalisation of Denmark took off in the 1960s, and the traditional dialects were dead or moribund around 1980, in the sense that the everyday speech of children and adolescents was much closer to Copenhagen speech than to the local traditional dialect (as indicated by the first quantitative studies). Interestingly, young people appropriated Copenhagen speech more in what used to be called the 'low' variety (in traditional representations) than in its traditionally 'high' variety[3] (see Kristiansen and Jørgensen 1998: 239–241, with references; Pedersen 2003; Kristensen 2003).

As it is descriptively well-documented that all Danish speech has become very similar to Danish as heard in Copenhagen – at all linguistic levels except for prosody (in that features of stress and *stød*[4] may also vary across Danish varieties) – we may argue, from a purely linguistic perspective, that the vast majority of today's Danes speak versions of 'Standard Danish'.

[2] LANCHART is a 'centre of excellence' at Copenhagen University dedicated to studies of *LANguage CHAnge in Real Time* (http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/).

[3] The linguistic differences and evolving relationship between 'low-Copenhagen' and 'high-Copenhagen' speech is described and solidly documented for the period of some 100 years that precedes the 1960s by Brink and Lund (1975) in their monumental work on *Dansk Rigsmål* ('Danish Standard Language').

[4] A true speciality of Danish, *stød* is a glottal constriction or closure which phonologically is described as a prosodic feature as it is linked to the syllable.

The 'official' ideology [5]

Prior to the 1960s, the official language ideology in Denmark – as it materialised at school in particular – operated with a traditional, aesthetically and/or morally legitimised, dichotomy between 'proper' and 'bad' language (in the sense of speech). It was self-evident (and therefore seldom explicated and never questioned) that what had to be repressed by the school as 'bad, unnatural, sloppy' language was the dialects, including not least *københavnsk* [6]; what had to be taught and learned as 'good, natural, proper' language was *rigsdansk*.

From the 1960s on, with the introduction of sociological viewpoints into the humanities, it became impossible to construe the official ideology in aesthetic and moral terms, so the labels 'proper' and 'bad' were replaced by 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate'. The mastery of 'good' language became a question of adapting to the 'needs of the situation' – the assumption being, as a matter of course, that public situations demand the use of *rigsdansk*. As to the dialects – now that they were dying – appeals for respect and tolerance were included in the guidelines for Danish mother tongue education, and today their disappearance seems to be quite generally mourned in Danish society.

Thus, we have an official ideology today which values both *rigsdansk*/CONSERVATIVE and the dialects/LOCAL, viz. *rigsdansk* as the 'neutral' language of effective communication in the public domain, the dialects as the language of local identifications. In contrast, an increasingly vital MODERN speech variety, roughly corresponding to *københavnsk* but spoken by young Copenhageners, is an object of complaints not only in the letters-to-the-editor genre, but also in official teacher-targeted guidelines.

If we now confront this official Danish ideology with on-going usage changes in Denmark, we must conclude that there is no causal link between ideology and use: how can the MODERN speech variety be vital when there is no ideology to support, or motor, or boost its spread? Could it be the case that people in general – and young people in particular as the most likely agents of linguistic change – hold language attitudes and evaluations which differ from what we

[5] This description of the 'official' ideology is based on Critical Discourse Analysis-studies of how the 'norm and variation' issue is treated in society. The main work here is Kristiansen (1990); for a treatment in English see Kristiansen (2003).

[6] In common parlance, 'low-Copenhagen' is known as *københavnsk* (Copenhagen dialect, traditionally associated with the working class), 'high-Copenhagen' is known as *rigsdansk* (Standard Danish); local dialects are referred to by adding *-sk* to the name of the locality or region in question (just like *københavnsk*).

find in official ideology? In order to answer this pivotal question, LANCHART developed a battery of experimental techniques to investigate respondent evaluations on different levels of awareness.

The experimental battery

The language attitudes of young people (15–16 years old) were studied empirically as part of the LANCHART project in the five sites shown in the map in Figure 1. When we designed the experimental battery for those studies, we knew from previous investigations in Denmark that people evaluated language varieties very differently dependent on whether the evaluations were offered consciously or subconsciously (Kristiansen 1991). The crucial aspect of our data gathering format was therefore the distinction between an initial 'non-awareness' phase and a follow-up phase in which respondents were fully aware of the fact that language attitudes were being tapped (see Table 1, from Kristiansen 2009).[7]

Moreover, our conceptual framework for those studies built on the assumption that Danish people operate with a notion of 'best language',[8] and that this

[7] It should be noted that the change from the non-awareness condition to the awareness condition has nothing to do with the transition from the Speaker Evaluation Experiment (SEE) to the Label Ranking Task (LRT). In the Speaker Evaluation Paradigm, which was introduced in social psychology by Lambert et al. (1960), respondents evaluate unlabelled sound clips (representing different language or accent varieties) on traits which typically pertain to the personality of the speaker. In view of this indirectness, SEE is typically regarded as a method which automatically extracts more 'covert' or 'private' language-related values than what is obtained in such 'direct' questioning techniques as Label Ranking (in which respondents rank language variety labels in order of preference). This is clearly not the case, at least not in Denmark, where evaluations returned by SEEs have been found to be very much the same as the patterns which emerge from consciously offered attitudes towards language varieties (Pedersen 1986; several studies by Hans Jørgen Ladegaard, summarised in Ladegaard 2002) – unless precautions are taken to avoid respondents becoming aware of the objective of the experiment (as specified further below in the text). Obviously, this has wide-ranging consequences for our theorising of the role of ideological forces in processes of (de)standardisation, and in language variation and change in general. It may be argued that a continued failure to operationalise the theoretical distinction between 'overt' and 'covert' values so as to obtain valid data in empirical studies of 'the evaluation problem' is behind the increasingly strong downplaying of social evaluations as a driving force in Labov's theorising of language change (Kristiansen 2011).

[8] In fact, we would suspect that the construction of a standard language ideology (SLI) anywhere at any time requires the development of a 'good vs. bad' hierarchisation of varieties and a common 'knowledge' and acceptance of which variety is the 'best language'. In the 'selection' phase of language standardization in Denmark, it was completely natural for 'the early grammarians' of the 17th century to discuss the issue in terms of *det beste Sprock rensed*

Table 1: LANCHART language attitudes studies: Data collection design

Condition	Task	Stimulus material and Response format
Non-awareness	**SPEAKER EVALUATION** (1) personality traits – superiority – dynamism	(i) stimulus material = sound-recorded clips 12 speakers (16–17 years old) [2♂and 2♀ for each of the 3 accents C/M/L] each speaking for c. 30 seconds about 'what is a good teacher' (ii) response format = 7-point adjective scales *målrettet–sløv* [goal-directed–dull] *til at stole på–ikke*.. [trustworthy–untrustworthy] *seriøs–ligeglad* [conscientious–happy-go-lucky] *spændende–kedelig* [fascinating–boring] *selvsikker–usikker* [self-assured–insecure] *klog–dum* [intelligent–stupid] *flink–usympatisk* [nice–repulsive] *tjekket–utjekket* [cool–uncool]
Awareness	(2a) standardness – *rigsdansk*?	stimulus material = same as above (sound clips) response format = 7-point [yes – no] scale
	(2b) geographic affiliation – Copenhagen?	stimulus material = same as above response format = categorical choice [Copenhagen – nearby bigger town]
	LABEL RANKING – like better?	stimulus material = list of 'dialect names' always including, among others, *rigsdansk*, *københavnsk*, [*local dialect name*] response format = number ordering

for alle Dialecter ('the best language cleaned of all dialects'), and the subsequent efforts of 'codification', 'elaboration' and 'implementation/acceptance' in the population (cf. the classical model of language standardisation, Haugen 1966) were ideologically driven (as we hinted at in the section on the 'official' ideology) by 'elite' *aesthetic and moral* discourses down the centuries into the 1960s when the *appropriateness* discourse took over – with its vision of a standard language floating as a 'neutral' option above the 'love-and-respect-meriting' landscape of geographically and socially conditioned varieties – and became the 'official' approach to the educational task of teaching young people how to live with the 'norm-and-variation problem'. Our assumption is, however, that this educational approach is doomed to fail. No matter how much effort we put into educating ourselves and each other to look upon the standard as 'neutral', what really determines what people know and feel about language varieties, is their distribution over domains of use (what language is experienced to be 'appropriate' at school, in the media, in public life more generally?), and this distribution across domains of use can never be 'value-free' and socially 'neutral'. It must have consequences in term of social values.

construct can be specified in terms of how people associate language variation with (1) social identities and persona construction, (2b) geographical space and place, and (2a) the notion of *rigsdansk*, i.e. the variety which in official ideology is claimed to be 'neutral' in terms of social and geographical affiliation. The numbers which precede these evaluative dimensions correspond to the study phases listed in Table 1 (see below for more detail).

In order to secure the respondents' unawareness in the first phase, three precautions are essential:

1. No information can be given to the informants prior to their participation about the purpose of the experiment; data collection must follow a strict procedure with the aim of avoiding questions and comments that might arouse participants' awareness of the purpose.

2. The speech variation (in the sense of accent variation) represented in the stimulus material must be 'natural' – i.e. involving varieties which are used in the local community under study – and hence not foreign in any way that makes the informants reflect on the purpose of the evaluation as having to do with speech differences.

3. The measurement instrument (the response format) – i.e. the adjective scales – must also be construed in a way that informants' attention is not directed to the evaluation as a 'dialect thing' (concerning 'accent difference' from a linguist's point of view)

For each of the five LANCHART communities, an audio-recording was constructed which contained 12 short samples (about 30 seconds) of spontaneous speech (elicited with the question 'what is a good teacher?') produced by two male and two female speakers (aged 16 to 17) for each of the three accents: the LOCAL dialect (L)[9], MODERN Copenhagen speech (M), and CONSERVATIVE Copenhagen speech (C). This audio-recording was played three times to the respondents. The first time, they just listened in order to get an overall impression of the gamut of speakers to be evaluated (this gamut was the C/M/L variation, cf. precaution 2 above); the second time, they evaluated the voices in terms of 7-point scales representing 8 personality traits listed in the top row of Table 1. After completion, response forms were collected, and the fieldworker asked for suggestions as to 'what the experiment was about'. As long as no one came up with 'attitudes towards dialects' – which actually never happened – the desired

[9] LOCAL dialect here does not mean traditional dialect. Use of SMALL CAPS is consequently used throughout the chapter to refer to 'accents', i.e. varieties which differ only in terms of phonological features, almost exclusively prosodic features in the case of Danish as spoken by young Danes.

participant unawareness was taken to have been achieved. At this stage, the respondents were told that the voices represented different ways of speaking Danish, and they were asked, while listening to the voices a third time, to assess them on a *rigsdansk* ('standardness') scale (again a 7-point scale), and at the same time to indicate whether the person behind the voice was from Copenhagen or from X [name of a bigger town in close proximity to the place where the experiment was carried out]. Finally, the respondents completed a Label Ranking Task – whereby the names of the three supposedly relevant language varieties (i.e. *rigsdansk*, *københavnsk*, and [*local dialect name*]) were ordered in terms of preference (together with other dialect names covering the whole country) – and filled in some personal background information.

Data were collected in 2005–2006 in the five LANCHART sites (from east to west): Copenhagen, Næstved, Vissenbjerg, Odder, and Vinderup. These are shown in the map in Figure 1. For the last three, relatively small sites, the map also shows their respectively nearest bigger city – Odense, Århus, and Holstebro – as these play a role in the research design as potential linguistic norm centres in their regions, possibly strong enough to be able to challenge the language-

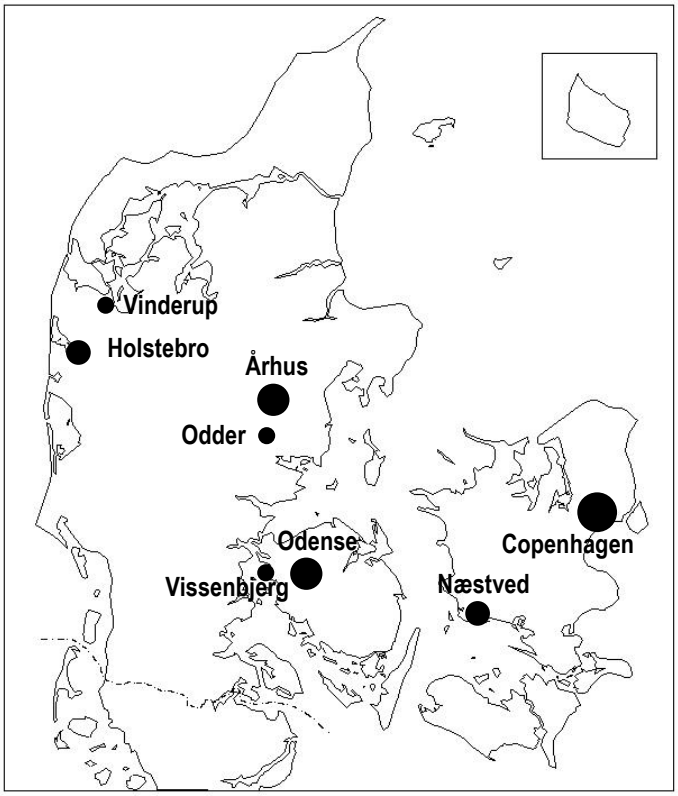


Figure 1: Map of Denmark with LANCHART sites Copenhagen, Næstved, Vissenbjerg, Odder, and Vinderup – plus potential linguistic norm centres Odense, Århus, and Holstebro.

ideological radiance of Copenhagen. With regard to the somewhat larger town of Næstved, the question was whether a bigger community could 'stand up' for its own ways with language, in spite of its proximity to Copenhagen.

The consciously performed value-hierarchisation of 'variety names'

The major ideological force involved in 'label ranking' appears to be 'local patriotism' (see Table 2). When young Danes rank a list of 'variety names' covering the whole country in terms of their own preference, the same evaluative hierarchy emerges in all studied communities: the local variety comes out in top position, followed by the variety of the local big city, and *rigsdansk* in third position. The traditional depreciation of Copenhagen working class speech is reproduced, as *københavnsk* appears further down in the rankings – with the modification that 'local patriotism' secures top position for *københavnsk* in Copenha-

Table 2: Label ranking in five LANCHART communities

København		Næstved		Vissenbjerg		Odder		Vinderup	
københavnsk	1,57	sjællandsk	1,50	fynsk	2,09	østjysk	2,26	midtjysk	3,00
sjællandsk	2,53	*københavnsk*	2,67	odenseansk	2,09	århusiansk	2,53	vestjysk	3,52
rigsdansk	3,28	**rigsdansk**	3,72	**rigsdansk**	3,54	**rigsdansk**	4,91	**rigsdansk**	4,86
fynsk	4,78	lol-falstersk	4,14	jysk	4,48	*københavnsk*	5,41	nordjysk	5,01
århusiansk	5,12	fynsk	4,50	sjællandsk	5,00	nordjysk	5,57	århusiansk	5,56
jysk	5,13	jysk	5,39	*københavnsk*	5,02	vestjysk	5,86	østjysk	5,60
bornholmsk	5,59	bornholmsk	6,02	bornholmsk	5,89	sjællandsk	5,95	sønderjysk	6,91
						fynsk	6,73	fynsk	7,21
						sønderjysk	7,09	sjællandsk	7,27
						bornholmsk	8,73	*københavnsk*	7,63
								bornholmsk	9,32
p<0,001 n=135, chi^2 =412, df=6		p<0,001 n=163, chi^2 =502, df=6		p<0,001 n=54, chi^2 =151, df=6		p<0,001 n=172, chi^2 = 645, df=9		p<0,001 n=81, chi^2 =261, df=10	

Figures are mean ranks on a 7-point scale (Copenhagen, Næstved, Vissenbjerg), a 10-point scale (Odder), and an 11-point scale (Vinderup). Significance test: Friedman. Post-hoc testing (Wilcoxon signed-rank test) shows that all differences between the varieties that are of particular interest to the research – i.e. [local dialect name], **rigsdansk** and *københavnsk* – are significant in all the communities.

gen itself, and second position for *københavnsk* in Næstved, where Copenhagen is the local bigger city[10].

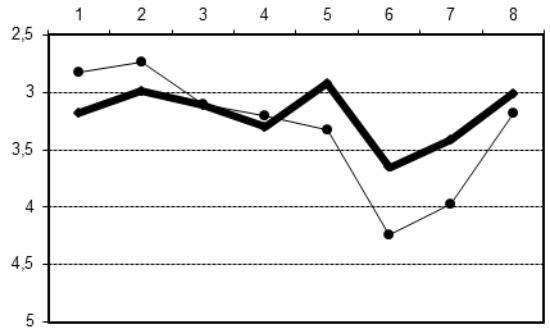
To which extent this evaluative pattern is to be seen as a reproduction of the 'official ideology' (outlined above), or as a combination of 'official ideology' and 'local patriotism', is hard to tell. In any case, just like in official ideology, young people's conscious evaluations are in flagrant contradiction with the general demise of all speech covered by local dialect names (whether these are understood as referring to the traditional dialects or today's LOCAL accents) – and not least in flagrant contradiction with the general vitality of MODERN (alias *københavnsk*).

The subconsciously performed hierarchisation of (C/M/L) variation

Analysis of the subconsciously offered data indicated that respondents reacted to our manipulations as predicted in the design: the twelve speakers were indeed grouped according to the accents they were included to represent. This time, LOCAL came out significantly worse than both MODERN and CONSERVATIVE on all scales (see Figure 2). As for the evaluative relationship between the two Copenhagen-based accents, MODERN was significantly better off on traits which were entered and interpreted to represent an underlying dimension of 'dynamism' (traits 5–8 in Figure 2), but not on traits which were entered and interpreted to represent an underlying dimension of 'superiority' (traits 1–4 in Figure 2), on which CONSERVATIVE did as well (traits 3 and 4) or significantly better (traits 1 and 2). This subconsciously offered pattern was not only consistently reproduced across the communities (to the extent that the results look like copies of each other): even more important was the fact that in contrast to the Label Ranking results, this evaluative pattern is in harmony with the death of dialects and the vitality of MODERN.

[10] The experimental battery we describe here was used for the first time in Næstved in the mid-1980s, 20 years earlier than in the LANCHART studies. The label ranking results for young people in Næstved at the time were different, in that *sjællandsk* and *rigsdansk* shared the top position and were both significantly better ranked than *københavnsk*. It is possible that the relative up- and downgrading of *rigsdansk* and *københavnsk* reflects a change in overt discourse between the two points in time, but it is more likely that the difference is due to the fact that the youth sample from the 1980s was a couple of years older. The Næstved adult sample produced the ranking *rigsdansk* > *sjællandsk* > *københavnsk*. This is mentioned here because the label ranking results for young people from Næstved cited in this chapter differ from what can be seen in publications based on the data from the 1980s, such as, e.g., Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005).

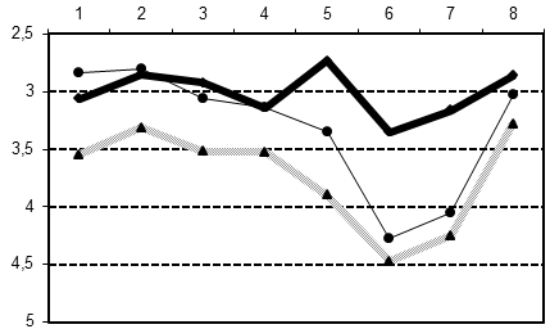
Copenhagen (N=136)



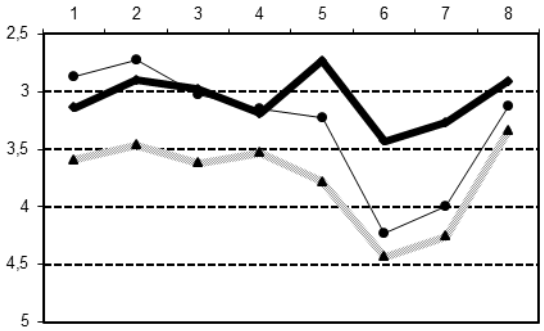
Superiority
1. intelligent–stupid
2. conscientious–happy-go-lucky
3. goal-directed–dull
4. trustworthy–untrustworthy

Dynamism
5. self-assured–insecure
6. fascinating–boring
7. cool–uncool
8. nice–repulsive

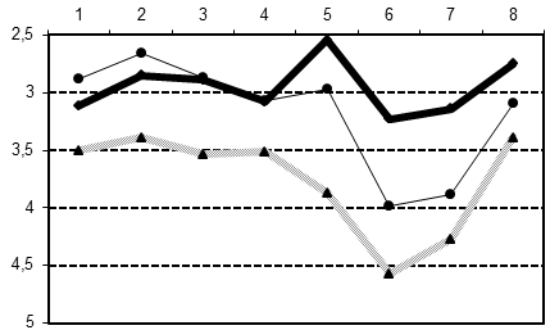
Næstved (N=183)



Vissenbjerg (N=54)



Odder (N=174)



Vinderup (N=85)

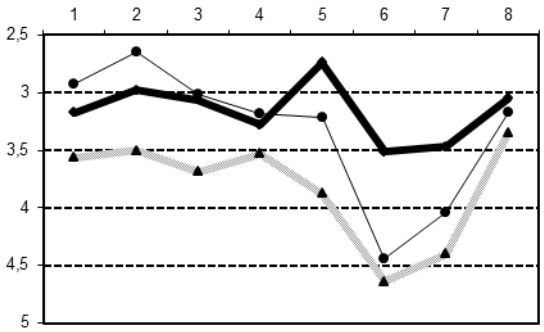


Figure 2: Subconscious evaluations of the CONSERVATIVE (thin black curve), MODERN (thick black curve) and LOCAL (grey curve) accents in the five LANCHART communities. Each accent is the pooled result for 4 speakers. Entities on the X-axis are the 8 measurement scales (personality traits), which – based on the evaluative patterns – can be grouped into 4 'superiority' scales (1–4) and 4 'dynamism' scales (5–8). Values on the Y-axis are means on the 7-point-measurement-scales. A low value (high placement in the graphs) is a more positive evaluation (in the sense that *intelligent* is positive and *stupid* negative, etc.).

Overview of results

Table 3: Rankings of the (C/M/L) variation in terms of *evaluation*, *perception* and *vitality* under two conditions of awareness: Overview.

Aware-ness condition	**DATA TYPE**		**Ranking** 1		2		3
	USE (vitality)		**M**		**C**		**L**
	OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY		C/L				M
non-aware	**SEE-evaluation** (1) positive social identity	–superiority (values 3,4)	C/M	>			L
		–superiority (values 1,2)	C	>	M	>	L
		–dynamism (values 5–8)	**M**	>	**C**	>	**L**
aware	**SEE-perception**	(2a) *rigsdansk*-ness	C	>	L/M		
		(2b) Copenhagen-ness	**M**	>	**C**	>	**L**
	LABEL RANKING		L	>	C	>	M

> between rank positions = difference tested to be significant
/ between accents in the same position = difference tested to be non-significant

Table 3 summarises all results for the Danish (C/M/L) variation, and first depicts how MODERN is the more vital of the three accents in terms of 'vitality' in use (based on frequency counts in sociolinguistic interviews; see above in the section *From dialect to standard society*). At the same time, MODERN is clearly the more denigrated of the accents in 'official ideology' (based on CDA-data as discussed in the section *The 'official' ideology*) – a downgrading which is consciously reproduced by young people in 'label ranking' (outside of Copenhagen). Thus, the public and overtly expressed language ideology is in blatant disharmony with the changes in the use of language.

In contrast, when we look at the subconsciously offered assessments in the first part of the speaker evaluation task (1) where the speakers were judged in terms of 'personality traits', we find MODERN in an unquestionable top position on 'dynamism' values. CONSERVATIVE does as well or better on 'superiority' values, while LOCAL is invariably relegated to the bottom position on both evaluative dimensions. This ideological pattern is in harmony with the changes in the use of language.

Included in Table 3 are also the results from the conscious part of the speaker evaluation task, where the perception of the (C/M/L) variation was tested simultaneously in terms of (2a) *rigsdansk*-ness (because *rigsdansk* is the traditional name for the 'best language'), and (2b) Copenhagen-ness (because the 'Copenhagen-and-language' associations are likely to be of importance to people's per-

ceptions of 'best language'). CONSERVATIVE was found to be perceived as more *rigsdansk* than both MODERN and LOCAL – an assessment which corresponds to its better subconscious ranking on 'superiority' values. MODERN was categorised more often than the other two accents as Copenhagen speech – a categorisation which corresponds to its higher subconscious ranking on 'dynamism' values.

In other words, there does not seem to be any affinity between perceptions of *rigsdansk*-ness (as a notion of 'best language') and Copenhagen-ness, at least not in overtly offered assessments of differently accented speakers. However, if we compare with the relative ranking of the accents in subconscious speaker evaluation, there do indeed seem to be affinities at play in the understanding of 'best language', on the one hand between assessments of *rigsdansk*-ness and personal 'superiority', on the other hand between assessments of Copenhagen-ness and personal 'dynamism'.

In brief, it seems that any (young) local speech community in Denmark is a three-poled normative field, where the poles can be thought of as focused representations of linguistic features and social values. Thus, the LOCAL pole is negatively loaded and loses on all parameters: *rigsdansk*-ness, Copenhagen-ness, 'superiority', and 'dynamism'. In contrast, the (C/M) variation makes up two positively loaded poles: CONSERVATIVE defends the traditional notion of 'best language' in terms of *rigsdansk*-ness and 'superiority' values, MODERN wins out as 'best language' associated with Copenhagen-ness and 'dynamism' values.

Stability and change in use and ideology

Seen in its totality, Table 3 arguably indicates that the vitality of MODERN among young Danes is rooted in a set of social values that are associated with Copenhagen and 'dynamism' (as suggested by the shadowing of rows in the third 'ranking' column of the table). Two major issues seem to arise from this result – which, it should be stressed again, is consistent over the five studied communities.

First, the language-ideological switch which emerges when we move from consciously to subconsciously offered attitudes strongly suggests that there exist two very different value systems at the ideological macro-level of Danish society, and that these value systems are generally shared by young Danes. Furthermore, and more importantly, since respondents' subconsciously offered attitudes show a pattern which – in contrast to their Label Ranking results – is in harmony with the death of dialects and the vitality of MODERN, we are inclined to infer

that the theoretical and methodological focus on the 'conscious vs. subconscious' distinction is highly relevant to our attempts to understand the driving forces behind the extreme standardisation/de-dialectalisation of the Danish speech community.

Secondly, the subconsciously offered attitudes – i.e. those which seem to be involved in linguistic change – do not reproduce 'the now pervasively recognised […] judgement clusters of *status* versus *solidarity* traits' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 35) – the former values being typically associated with standard(ised) varieties, the latter with non-standard varieties (Giles et al. 1987). While experimental measures (adjective scales) in the earlier Danish investigations were initially chosen with a view to replicate the 'status vs. solidarity' distinction, our experimental findings forced us to regroup them into another distinction which we labelled 'superiority vs. dynamism' (Kristiansen 2001). This result is strongly confirmed by the LANCHART studies, as described above.

It should be stressed that the macro-level ideological change over time from 'status vs. solidarity' to 'superiority vs. dynamism' is a change at the subconscious level. The 'status vs. solidarity' distinction is clearly operative in consciously offered attitudes. This is seen not only in the kind of hierarchisation that we found in Official Ideology and Label Ranking, but also in Speaker Evaluation Experiments which do not keep respondents ignorant about the fact that they are offering attitudes specifically to *language* (see note 7). Since studies which theorise and operationalise the distinction between conscious and subconscious attitudes date back only to the late 1980s, we cannot in principle reject the possible existence of an operative 'superiority vs. dynamism' distinction prior to that time, but the likelihood of that being the case seems negligible. Until the second half of the 20th century, Danish folk linguistics is rich in 'folk' disparaging their own dialect – while continuing to use it. Thus, if use is governed by subconscious attitudes, as indicated by our contemporary studies, we must assume that the subconscious value system of 'the folk', as it existed prior to the pivotal decades (1960s–1970s), invested the local dialects with 'solidarity' values that trumped the cold and distant 'status' allures of *rigsdansk*.

In sum, the 20th century road to full acceptance by the Danish of the current standard language situation seems to have involved radical ideological 'rearrangements' in terms of the relative up- and downgrading of the relevant varieties in any local community (viz. LOCAL, CONSERVATIVE and MODERN). Overtly, the appraisal of *dialects*/LOCAL changes from denigration to support, while the subconscious appraisal changes in the other direction from support to denigra-

tion. As to the other two varieties, the overt appraisal does not change: both before and after the 1960s–70s, *rigsdansk*/CONSERVATIVE is assessed relatively positively, *københavnsk*/MODERN relatively negatively. In subconscious appraisal, however, these varieties change from what must have been a relative downgrading – in comparison with people's own 'local ways with language' (since the dialects lived on) – to a strongly documented upgrading.

Importantly, the radical ideological 'rearrangements' do not in any way seem to derive from a refusal to apply evaluative hierarchisations. While young Danes certainly have new ideas about what the 'best variety' of Danish is, there is no evidence that any destandardisation is taking place in the sense that young people 'lose interest' in the *idea* of a 'best language': their widely shared convergence on a best and a worst variety – in subconsciously as well as consciously offered evaluations – rather testifies to the extraordinary strength of Standard language ideology as such in Denmark. The fact that some of the parameters in the ideology have clearly been reset in the last decades does not, as such, harm the ideology and its concomitant desire to hierarchise.

How we should understand and label the parameter changes is one of the major questions the SLICE research programme seeks to address (see more on this below, and in SLICE 1).

The broader challenge: What happens to SLI elsewhere in Europe?

This section addresses two questions: where does the Danish ideology split into a *best superiority language* and a *best dynamism language* come from, and is Denmark unique in this multiple standard personality?

In connection with the first, we propose that the prestige rift which has led to the double standard situation in Denmark is the plausible product of the 'splitting up' of the public sphere around the 1960s, when the modern media universe emerged and began intervening with people's private lives in ways that were (and are) radically different from how these lives had previously been influenced by the traditional institutions of education and business. Basically, this is one of the diachronic hypotheses that the SLICE project was created to test.

If it can be argued that the 'status vs. solidarity' system was grounded in the kind of differentiation between public and private life which was a creation of the modern era, we should not be surprised to find that this value system changes with the societal changes that characterise late-modernity and globalisation, viz. a reorientation of the relationship between private and public spheres of so-

ciety, including not least a general 'mediatisation' of people's lives (Androutsopoulos forthc.). In fact, we think that the generality and recurrence of the evaluative patterns in Denmark can be taken as a strong argument for a major role for the modern media in the social-psychological processes that (re)shape contemporary language-related ideology – even though we realise that the claim so far is little more than a rhetorical question: through which other channels than the media could a seemingly general value pattern penetrate the Danish adolescent mind to such an extent?

Thus, the crucial question which is currently being addressed in SLICE-work is to what extent the Danish situation is unique. Are the developments just cited a case of their own? While the LANCHART centre has mainly zoomed in on the Danish developments, it has always found it interesting and necessary to ask – and it has been supported in this by its international advisory board – whether the Danish situation should not be understood as a vanguard example of tendencies that are general to most European communities under (similar) contemporary societal and linguistic conditions: *all* European standard languages are currently experiencing increasing variability and non-standard extensions which irritate the cultural and educational establishment and alarm the ordinary user. The majority of the papers in this book address the vital question to what extent these destandardisation tendencies coincide with, or are co-determined by standard ideology change. Is there evidence that the ideological split between a *best superiority language* and a *best dynamism language* (which would account for the emergence of different standards) can be attested in other countries than Denmark?

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUME

The book is divided into two parts. In *Part 1*, we have assembled eight chapters which focus in the first place on the investigation of standard language dynamics on the basis of speaker evaluation techniques designed to harvest both consciously and subconsciously offered evaluations. The first four chapters report from investigations that by and large have adapted the 'SLICE experimental' design (based on the Danish experience, as outlined above). So far, the communities which have been studied in this way include (in alphabetic order): Germany, Irish-speaking Ireland, Lithuania, and Norway. A common feature of the next four chapters is that they report LANCHART-like work on the language

dynamics in two communities in contemporary Europe in which a new standard language is currently emerging. The first three of these chapters focus on the conscious and subconscious evaluation of so-called *Tussentaal* ('in-between speech') in Flanders, whereas the last chapter of Part 1 takes us to the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina; it studies the impact of the 'elite' official propaganda on 'grass-root' attitudes to the language-related issues at stake in the area.

Presentations and discussions of experimental evaluative data pertaining to linguistic (de)standardisation are commonalities of the chapters in the first Part, which also share a particular interest in speaker evaluation experiments (SEE) as a main data gathering technique. In *Part 2*, the focus moves to critical discussions of this technique, and to supplementary and alternative approaches to perceptual data gathering that can shed light on people's representations and evaluations of linguistic differences.

Part 1: (De)standardisation studies using Speaker Evaluation Experiments

Christoph Hare-Svenstrup conducted his study in the south-western part of Germany, in Stuttgart (the capital of Baden-Württemberg) and its surrounding area. (For a map, see Stoeckle and Hare Svenstrup 2011: 86.). The participants fell into three almost equally large groups by the way they self-reported as speakers of either *Hochdeutsch* (name of the standard language in 'official ideology') or *Schwäbisch* (name of the local dialect) or a mixture of the two. Being steered, arguably, by a combined sense of obligation to 'local patriotism' and 'official ideology' – and in that respect being highly reminiscent of our young Danes (recall the pattern in Table 1) – the youngsters from Stuttgart and environs gave a shared top position to *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* in the 'label ranking task' (LRT), and significantly downgraded *Berlinerisch*, which was intended to represent a potential new 'best language' (cf. Danish MODERN).

In addition to the MODERN voices from Berlin, Svenstrup's SEE included voices intended to represent young local speech from the 'more standardised' and 'less standardised' ends of the gamut, respectively, the former ones being from Stuttgart (cf. Danish CONSERVATIVE), the latter ones from the near-by smaller town of Reutlingen (cf. Danish LOCAL); voices were assessed in terms of (German translations of) the same personality traits as in the Danish investigations. The resemblance between the German and the Danish findings was striking: the subconsciously offered ranking in the SEE turned the consciously of-

fered ranking in LRT upside down, with Berlin speech being a clear winner and Reutlingen speech a clear looser (Stuttgart speech came out in between). In contrast to the Danish pattern, however, the German results show no split between a 'best superiority language' and a 'best dynamism language': Berlin speech is 'generally best', on all values. Hence, the public sphere split which has characterised all European communities since the 1960s does not automatically engender the ideological split we have observed in Denmark: the fact that traditional establishment hierarchisations in Germany are being challenged by the dynamic predilections of the modern media universe does not lead to the Danish double standard situation.

Noel Ó Murchadha conducted his study in the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) areas of Munster, the southern province of Ireland. (See map of the Gaeltacht areas in Ó hIfearnáin and Murchadha 2011: 98.) The 'official ideology' points to *Traditional Gaeltacht speech* (conservative local dialectal speech) as the 'best language' – on which the written language *An Caighdeán Oifigúil* ('The Official Standard') is also based. Deviations from this ideal norm, due not least to influence from English, are common in *Gaeltacht youth speech* and in *Post-Gaeltacht speech* (the latter being a 'learner variety' which has developed in the areas where Irish no longer functions as a community language for the majority population). This Gaeltacht situation is of course very different from the Danish and German situations, but if we allow ourselves to apply our conceptual division into three 'standard accents' we find that the youngsters of Munster seem to subscribe, just like young Danes and Germans, to a combination of 'local patriotism' and 'official ideology' in their overtly offered attitudes: at the top of the ranking we find LOCAL (name of own dialect, and other Munster dialects), followed by CONSERVATIVE (*An Caighdeán Oifigúil*); and both beat MODERN (in the LRT referred to as *Gaelscoil*, a term used for Irish-medium schools outside the Gaeltacht areas).

In their subconscious evaluations, Irish youngsters react just like their Danish and German peers and reverse the ranking: MODERN (*post-Gaeltacht speech,* as well as *Gaeltacht youth speech*) is upgraded relatively to LOCAL (*traditional/standard*).

This happened on all personality traits. There was a difference, however, in that post-Gaeltacht speech came out best on the scales *enthusiastic–uninspired, self-secure–insecure, adventurous–shy, interesting–boring* and *fashionable–unfashionable*, but was beaten by local youth speech on the scales *intelligent–stupid* and *trustworthy–untrustworthy*. Ó Murchadha does not discuss this as an

indication of a possible evaluative 'dynamism vs. superiority' distinction at work in his data, but it seems to us that the pattern suggests that post-Gaeltacht speech is associated with 'dynamism'.

Loreta Vaicekauskienė and Daiva Aliūkaitė contribute a sub-report from their on-going and impressively comprehensive studies of SLI in Lithuania, a country which regained its national independence only recently after having been part of the Soviet Union since World War II. In several respects, this situation is crucial to the understanding of the language-ideological climate in Lithuania, which is characterised by what appears to be an extraordinarily strong (or at least strongly propagated) 'official ideology'. Nevertheless, empirical investigation of young people's language attitudes in the north-western Lowlands region (a map is given in the chapter) confirms the picture we are by now familiar with from a range of quite different communities. If we equate 'local dialect name(s)' with LOCAL, 'standard language' with CONSERVATIVE, and 'Vilnius speech' with MODERN (in accordance with the study's hypothesis about Vilnius speech as the candidate for this status), the LRT yields the ranking LOCAL > CONSERVATIVE > MODERN.

Furthermore, just like in the other communities, LOCAL is moved from top position to bottom position in the SEE ranking: CONSERVATIVE > MODERN > LOCAL, but unlike in Denmark, Germany, and the Gaeltacht, the candidate for a MODERN accent (Vilnius speech) is not upgraded to, or beyond, the position of the CONSERVATIVE accent, not on any of the personality values. In consequence, the authors find no trace in their data of a 'dynamism vs. superiority' distinction affecting the relative assessments of MODERN and CONSERVATIVE, but they signal that preliminary results from investigations in another Lithuanian region do indicate that MODERN is evaluated equally high as CONSERVATIVE on 'dynamism' traits *cool*, *interesting* and *nice*. (We might add that the equality in terms of being *interesting* is partly present also in the results reported here from the Lowlands).

Helge Sandøy, like our Lithuanian colleagues, contributes a sub-report from on-going, and likewise impressively comprehensive, real-time studies of 'dialect change processes' – including ideological changes – in five communities along the western coast of Norway, from the Stavanger region in the south to the Molde region in the north (see map in Sandøy's chapter). As a speech community, Norway is again very different from the other communities we have considered so far, not least in the sense that the 'official ideology' may be better referred to as a 'dialect ideology' than as a 'standard language ideology'.

Because it is more debatable in Norway than anywhere else whether such a thing as a spoken standard language exists at all, it makes less sense to ask whether a competition between two standard accents – CONSERVATIVE vs. MODERN – is emerging.[11] In consequence, Sandøy introduces a different conceptual tripartition of the language variation in question in terms of *rural district* (western countryside speech), *rural centre* (western city speech), and *national centre* (eastern city speech). In the LRT, the youngsters in all five sites showed 'local patriotism' in signalling that they liked their own 'local dialect name' better than any alternative. (The 'local dialect name' could be of either the 'rural district' type or the 'rural centre' type, changing with the research sites).

Preliminary results from a SEE with the same variety categories do not show a general pattern: the ranking of the varieties is extremely variable across the sites. If this picture stands, it may actually be taken to support the idea that broadcast media play a decisive role in contemporary destandardisation processes, because it can easily be argued that these media function in opposite ways in Denmark and Norway: whereas Danish media ignore language diversity and contribute to strengthen the 'standard language ideology', Norwegian media expose language diversity and contribute to strengthen 'dialect ideology' (Kristiansen forthc.).

In sum, all the studies discussed so far were successful in operationalizing the distinction between consciously and subconsciously offered attitudes, and the youngsters in all the studied communities – Denmark, Germany, Irish-speaking Ireland, Lithuania, and western Norway – share the characteristic that they show *local patriotism* and flag the 'name of their own dialect' as the language they like best when they are aware of giving away language attitudes (in LRT), only to strongly downgrade their own LOCAL speech when they are not aware of giving away language attitudes (in SEE) – with the modification that western Norway seems to be an example of a community where the subconscious downgrading of 'own speech' is less consistent.

Methodologically, the first experimental studies confirm beyond any doubt that the 'levels of consciousness' issue has to be taken very seriously in our experimental investigations if we want to access the evaluations which determine standard language change. There is little evidence, however, that the relative upgrading of a MODERN 'best language' in these communities is rooted in an

[11] We would like to suggest that the reality of this kind of competition may be less questionable in eastern Norway than in western Norway; and we hope that this whole issue can be investigated further in future SLICE work.

ideological distinction between 'superiority' values and 'dynamism' values, as it is in Denmark.

The next four chapters focus on two communities whose social and linguistic dynamics counteract the standard view of Europe as an 'old continent' of politically stable nation states whose identity has for centuries been embodied in a single standard language (Auer 2005, 2011 cites a number of other counterexamples to this erroneous stereotype). While Flanders and Bosnia and Herzegovina represent very different ethnicities in opposite corners of Europe (and even more diverse political and cultural histories), both countries share the on-going development of an endoglossic standard variety as a result of a new or growing political independence.

In the two countries, however, the origin and course of the new dynamics are diametrically different. In former Yugoslavia, the violent dissolution of the Federation spawned a number of new republics desirous of expressing their novel independence in an endoglossic standard 'extracted' top-down from Serbo-Croatian, the lingua franca of the former Federation. In Flanders, the growing political and economic independence has engendered an increased self-consciousness and a proportionally growing reluctance to regard the exoglossic *Netherlandic* standard variety of Dutch as the 'best language'. This reluctance has recurrently been cited as one of the co-determinants of the spontaneous bottom-up standardisation of the *Tussentaal* variety of Flemish Dutch, a process the political and cultural establishment is vigorously but unsuccessfully trying to suffocate.

In spite of their very different standard language configurations – state-supported top-down implementation vs. state-opposed bottom-up development – both Flanders and Bosnia and Herzegovina face public controversy on account of the on-going changes. In this capacity they represent an ideal testing ground for our experimental toolkit, whose different elicitation techniques are indispensable to gauge the tension between dominant ideologies and newly emerging conceptualisations as determinants of language change.

Before we turn to a synopsis of the four chapters included in this section, let us first provide some background to the current standard language situation in the communities at issue. Before the war which dissolved the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1995, Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of Yugoslavia's six constituent republics (together with Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia). Compared to these others, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina has always been much more diversified in terms of ethnicity, consisting

of a majority of Bosnian Muslims (or Bosniacs, 43.7% according to a pre-war census, see Tolimir-Hölzl's chapter), but also sizeable Serbian and Croatian minorities (resp. 31.4% and 17.3%[12]). The Dayton Peace Agreement, which put an end to the Bosnian wars, divided Bosnia and Herzegovina in two entities, the Republika Srpska (with a more or less mono-ethnic Serbian population), and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a mixed population of Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats. Although the Agreement consolidated the multi-ethnic composition of the new republic, and put an end to inter-ethnic hostility, it did not succeed in enhancing convergence between people who had always peacefully cohabitated before the war: present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina is increasingly steeped in pronounced nationalism along ethnic and religious lines.

This ethnic fragmentation, unsurprisingly, makes for an equally splintered standard language situation. Before the war, a local variety of the pan-Yugoslavian Serbo-Croatian standard was commonly regarded as the 'best language' in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This variety was dubbed 'Bosnian-Herzegovin-ian Expression' to indicate that it was not a different language or language variety, and it did not differentiate between the language of Serbs, Croats and Bosniacs. When Bosnia and Herzegovina became independent, however, Bosniacs and Bosnian Croats consciously extracted Bosniac-, and Croatian-flavoured 'best languages' from the former Serbo-Croatian standard. Bosnian Serbian remained virtually unchanged in that process, but Bosnian Croatian underwent massive (purist) top-down changes, while the Bosniacs added oriental flavour to their standard by revitalising the 'Turkisms' previously banned from the standard. These top-down changes continue to excite widespread criticism, as they are commonly regarded as 'old-fashioned' and even 'dialectal' (for much more detail, see Tolimir-Hölzl's chapter).

Virtually nothing is known about the norm preferences of young Bosnians: do they favour endoglossic models, or look up to the exoglossic prestige of their mighty neighbour republics? For young Bosnian Serbs, the latter appears to be the most plausible hypothesis in view of their rulers' desire to leave the Bosnian union and reunify with the Serbian Republic. But to what extent do these highly

[12] In present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniacs represent 48% of the population, Serbs 37.1%, and Croats 14.3% (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bk.htm). In the Republic of Serbia, Serbians are the dominant ethnicity (83.3% according to a 2003 census). In Croatia, 90.4% of the population are Croats (according to a 2011 census by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics).

mediatised separatist inclinations resemble the private conceptualisations which represent the more potent determinants of usage preference?

In Flanders, it is not war but growing economic prosperity and self-confidence which is engendering an increasing preference for a Flemish standard as a substitute for the exoglossic Netherlandic Dutch standard which was imposed on the Flemish via a process of *hyperstandardisation*, 'a propagandistic, large-scale and highly mediatised linguistic standardisation campaign that has thoroughly ideologised and hierarchised language use in all corners of Flemish society' (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012: 97). The discomfort most Flemings have always experienced on account of the foreignness of this imposed norm (and the repression with which it was enforced) is probably one of the factors which facilitated the 'coming of age' of a (highly) colloquial variety of Flemish Dutch known as *Tussentaal* (an appellation it owes to the fact that it is stratificationally situated in-between the dialects and the standard). The rapid expansion of Tussentaal in Flanders has been a controversial and heavily mediatised phenomenon in the past decades: although Tussentaal is increasingly valued and used by the general public, it is frowned upon by the political and cultural establishment, in lip service to the official standard language ideology which regards the exoglossic Dutch standard – embodied in the official broadcasting speech variety generally known as 'VRT-Dutch' – as the only 'best language' in Flanders.

Although Tussentaal remains an understudied phenomenon in spite of the controversy it raises (see below), two explanations have been suggested for its inexorable vitality. Willemyns (2007: 270–271) and Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011) propose that it is the demise of the dialects in Flanders which has necessitated an informal colloquial variety which indexes regional identity (although Tussentaal is widely believed to be standardising, it is still to a large extent regionally stratified). In addition, a number of ideological and perceptual facilitators of the standardisation of Tussentaal have been put forward. In addition to the just-mentioned increasing Flemish political independence and economic success (which has changed former feelings of inferiority into attitudes of self-consciousness and 'superiority'), the growing informalisation and democratisation of society has been suggested as a factor which enhances the success of non-standard varieties *in globo*.

It is fascinating to notice that so little empirical substantiation is available in support of all these hypotheses. The fact that until very recently, Tussentaal was not deemed worthy of serious linguistic study represents an interesting manifes-

tation of what Irvine and Gal (2000) have dubbed 'erasure': anything which does not fit the ideological scheme – in this case the official standard language ideology – is deleted from it. By rejecting Tussentaal as the by-product of sloppiness, laziness, and even perversion, the (linguistic) establishment has tried to exclude it as a competitor of the official standard.

It is only since the mid-2000s that a (small) number of empirical studies on the production and perception of Tussentaal have become available (no doubt also as a result of the appearance of the Corpus of Spoken Dutch). While all production studies (notably Plevoets 2009 and De Caluwe 2009) unanimously confirm that Tussentaal is becoming increasingly more vital – even in formal situations previously reserved for the official standard – the few available speaker evaluation studies (Cuvelier 2007; Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007; Impe and Speelman 2007) have failed to attest any prestige perceptions of Tussentaal. This absence of 'superiority' evaluations has lead researchers to assert the unrelenting vigour of the official standard language ideology, but this insistence is problematic for investigators who regard ideological change as a prime determinant of language change. Does the failure to identify more progressive ideologies entail that the supersonic expansion of Tussentaal is *not* motored by ideological change and/or increased prestige?

The research reported in the three chapters on Tussentaal was conducted with a view (i) to review and reconsider the relation between Tussentaal-perceptions and Tussentaal-use, and (ii) to provide evidence for dialect loss as a determinant of Tussentaal use.

In the latter context, **Anne-Sophie Ghyselen and Gunther De Vogelaer** report an SEE designed to investigate young and older West-Flemish evaluations of unaccented Standard Dutch, West-Flemish flavoured Tussentaal, and Brabantic flavoured Tussentaal. The basic research question addressed is whether in West-Flanders, the only region in Dutch-speaking Belgium where the dialects are still vital, the expansion of Tussentaal is blocked in accordance with the hypothesis that Tussentaal emerges in areas where the dialects are no longer available to index regional identity. If this hypothesis is correct, then both Brabantic- and West-Flemish flavoured Tussentaal should be downgraded by West-Flemish respondents.

Experimental results demonstrated that Tussentaal was downgraded with respect to *both* 'superiority' and 'solidarity'. While male respondents appeared to be somewhat less depreciative of Tussentaal in terms of solidarity than female respondents, Ghyselen and De Vogelaer found no age effect whatsoever, which

indicates that no change in appreciation is imminent in West-Flanders. In combination with De Caluwe's (2009) production finding that Tussentaal is significantly less vital in West-Flanders than in the rest of Flanders, the perception evidence presented in this chapter testifies to the exceptional status of West-Flanders in the Flemish linguistic landscape, but also to the validity of the claim that Tussentaal is not welcome where dialects index regional identity.

Stefan Grondelaers and Dirk Speelman report an SEE specifically designed to probe 'deep' evaluations of Tussentaal (viz. evaluations unaffected by official standard language ideology), in order to uncover prestige determinants which may boost the unstoppable expansion of Tussentaal (recall that previous speaker evaluation studies had failed to find evidence for the latter). Extreme care was taken to guarantee the respondents' ignorance of the experimental purpose: all participants who ventured a language-related purpose on the debriefing item were discarded from the analysis, and as far as experimental stimuli were concerned, both 'the best variety' of Dutch – VRT-Dutch – and fully-fledged Tussentaal were avoided (the former in accordance with the fear that hyper-standardisation has imbued all but the youngest Flemish with the view that VRT-Dutch is the only superior variety of Belgian Dutch, the latter because Tussentaal is still so stigmatised that it will automatically alarm all but the youngest respondents). Instead, regionally accented colloquial speech fragments were constructed, which either contained no Tussentaal features (the neutral condition), or which contained phonological, lexical, or morphological Tussentaal variables.

In view of the fact that Grondelaers and Speelman did not elicit conscious evaluations, no straightforward comparison with the Danish data is possible, but there is an obvious and crucial commonality. As in Denmark, the increasing vitality of Tussentaal (which may straightforwardly be regarded as the MODERN variety[13]) is boosted by dynamic perceptions: colloquial speech with lexical Tussentaal features is regarded as the most dynamic, while colloquial speech with phonological Tussentaal features is perceived as no less superior than neutral colloquial speech. These data, in other words, provide the missing link in the causal relation between ideological boost and actual production: rather than

[13] An important difference between Tussentaal and Modern Copenhagen speech is the fact that the latter's identity is phonologically and supra-segmentally determined, as a result of which it can be regarded as an *accent* of contemporary spoken Standard Danish. Tussentaal, by contrast, differs from Belgian Standard Dutch (VRT-Dutch) in all possible respects – phonology, lexis, morphology, and syntax – though the differences are less dramatic than commonly assumed (see especially De Caluwe 2009).

claiming that there is no relationship between the conservative standard language ideology and increasingly vital Tussentaal usage, it is more plausible to assume that the rise of Tussentaal is ideologically sustained by more progressive ideologies, viz. by the fact that Tussentaal speakers (know they) are perceived as trendy and assertive by their fellow speakers.

Steven Delarue's chapter is devoted to the educational establishment's reaction to Tussentaal. Belgian Teachers of Dutch carry an enormous weight on their shoulders, as they are expected to remain the guardians of the standard variety in times of destandardisation and demise. To what extent do they live up to this expectation in their professional language use, and do they share the conservative standard language ideology which promotes VRT-Dutch as the best variety while downgrading all other varieties?

In a first study, Delarue analysed classroom speech produced by primary and secondary school teachers. Building on a list of fourteen iconic Tussentaal features, Delarue found that 97% of all teachers use some amount of Tussentaal when teaching, and more than 40% of the teachers produce *more* Tussentaal than standard realisations of the variables concerned. Female teachers, younger teachers, and teachers of other courses than Dutch produce more Tussentaal, especially in less prepared contributions, in front of smaller classes, and as a result of a less authoritative attitude towards teaching. In view of these high Tussentaal proportions and the fact that the data confirm earlier research into the demographic and situational determinants of Tussentaal production, there is no reason to surmise that teachers shy away from Tussentaal any more than other users, or that their usage is exclusively driven by the dominant standard language ideology.

In a perceptual follow-up study into the ideological determinants of the teachers' unexpected Tussentaal usage, Delarue conducted sociolinguistic interviews with older and younger teachers of Dutch, whom he asked to (consciously) evaluate a fragment of Standard Dutch, a fragment of 'light' Tussentaal, and a fragment of 'heavy' Tussentaal, all produced in two regional accents (amounting to a total of six samples). Crucially, *all* teachers unanimously reported to be favourably inclined towards Standard Dutch, but there were marked differences between the evaluations of older and younger instructors. While a number of older teachers chided speakers for a regional accent in their speech, younger colleagues appeared oblivious to regional differences. Younger teachers, moreover, were much more tolerant towards light Tussentaal features, and recurrently regarded this 'informal standard' as less artificial and more suited for teaching

than pure standard language. Older teachers, by contrast, invariably rejected all Tussentaal in teaching.

The apparent paradox between younger teachers' unanimous lip service to conservative standard language ideology, and their consciously propounded sympathy for Tussentaal can be solved by assuming that conceptions of 'standardness' are changing to allow some informality-motivated 'deviation'. Although Delarue does not provide any answer himself to the question whether this apparent-time change in teacher language ideology represents a case of 'demotisation' (the standard language configuration in which more than one variety satisfies the 'best language' ideal, see Coupland and Kristiansen 2011) or 'destandardisation' (the configuration whereby the standard language ideal *itself* is lost), the available data are strongly reminiscent of the former: the idea that there is or should be a 'best language' is not changing in the mind of the younger teachers, but the number of varieties which satisfy the 'best language' criterion is growing. This more liberal standard ideology also represents the most plausible explanation for the increasingly frequent use of Tussentaal in younger Teacher Dutch; the unrelenting vigour of the conservative standard language ideology, by contrast, seems to be mostly symbolic.

In the opposite corner of Europe, **Nataša Tolimir-Hölzl** conducted speaker evaluation research into the bewilderingly complex standard language dynamics in the infant republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 102 Bosnian Serbian students from the University of Banja Luka (the capital of the Republika Srpska) she elicited private and public evaluations of the personality and speech of a male and a female Bosniac, Serb, and Croat from Banja Luka (which is predominantly Serbian), a male and a female Bosniac, Serb, and Croat from Sarajevo (the state capital which is predominantly Bosniac), and a male and a female Croat and Bosniac from Mostar, the cultural hub of the Bosnian Croats. In addition, a male and a female Serb from the Serbian Republic's capital Belgrade, and a male and a female Croat from the Croatian Republic's capital Zagreb were included as exoglossic reference points.

In view of the almost total absence of preceding investigations, the research goal of Tolimir-Hölzl's pioneering study was first and foremost exploratory, viz. to gauge how much social meaning young Bosnians can extract from the different 'ethnic' accents. It turned out that respondents were fairly well able to infer a speaker's ethnicity from his or her speech, though probably not completely independently. While there was no prior evidence or indication that a speaker's city of origin is a relevant identity determinant for Bosnian Serbs – as a result of

which that variable was not independently elicited – respondents appeared to use their assumptions about the speaker's town of origin as a cue for his or her ethnicity (building on their knowledge of the ethnic composition of the cities concerned).

In spite of this potential confound, Tolimir-Hölzl's investigation returned a number of findings which deserve to be further investigated in follow-up work. Of major importance for this volume is the clear divergence found between private (subconscious) and public (conscious) evaluations. Crucially, only public evaluations – as recorded in ethnicity and city label evaluations – converged to some extent with the increasingly vehement nationalistic propaganda in the Bosnian Serbian media, and the widely shared separatist inclinations on the part of the Bosnian Serbs. More private attitudes, by contrast, showed a very different picture. If Bosnian Serbs do not cherish their cohabitation with the Bosniacs, their remarkably exoglossic sympathies pertain to Zagreb, the capital of their previous archenemy Croatia, *as much as* to the Serbian capital Belgrade (the main trigger for these evaluations being the dynamic reputation of these cities, rather than their political significance). If anything, private Serbian evaluations reflect an outspoken linguistic insecurity, a lack of faith in the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a deep fear of new conflict.

Part 2: Methodological concerns and alternative approaches

The approaches and methods we choose to use in our research will always depend on some (more or less explicated) understanding of the nature of the language-ideological phenomena we want to study. If the focus is on 'official ideology', the best approach may be some version of discourse analysis or content analysis of documents, guidelines, and statements regarding the use of language in public institutions (see Garrett 2005, 2010), perhaps supplemented by analyses of linguistic practices in these institutions. If the focus is on language attitudes and evaluations among lay people, we will typically find it more appropriate to choose other methods – such as questioning or experimentation. The latter, however, also require a series of underlying theoretical choices pertaining to our understanding of the entities involved in the processes of social identity-(re)production at work in evaluations of language differences. Basically, we have to make methodological choices with regard to how we understand the ideology-bearing/constructing *subject* (is the human *self* 'deep and stable' or 'shallow and variable'?), the *attitude* (is it an ingrained 'psychological construct' in

the brain or just a 'way with words' in the language?), the attitudinal *object* (is language dissimilarity perceived and evaluated in terms of 'varieties' or 'variants'; or perhaps in terms of 'speakers' using varieties and variants?), and the complexities of *context* that frame the scene when people evaluate language differences. All of the chapters in Part 2 shed light on one or more of these theoretical issues and their methodological consequences.

In the first two chapters, **Barbara Soukup** challenges various aspects of the traditional SEE approach. Entitling her first chapter *The measurement of 'language attitudes'– a reappraisal from a constructionist perspective*, Soukup outlines the theoretical criticism that has been raised against the social psychology tradition of language attitudes studies since the 1980s (a seminal work here is Potter and Wetherell 1987):

> The main thrust has been that the experimental method involved generates only a poor image of people's contextually situated, differentiated, and variable evaluative practices, but also, more fundamentally, that the very search for stable, measurable, incorporated 'attitudes' is essentially unwarranted. (Soukup this volume)

While she aligns herself with the general direction of this view, Soukup argues that 'some of the criticism levelled against the field from a social constructionist perspective is actually not warranted' – because what we are measuring is not 'attitudes' but 'the social meaning of linguistic variation'. We 'language attitude' scholars should

> finally let our words follow our deeds and [...] stop obstinately trying to tie our interpretations of findings from scale-based speaker assessments back to the social psychological notion of 'attitude,' with its restriction to underlying purely evaluational entities, when what we are finding really goes beyond. (Soukup this volume)

Soukup subsequently suggests that the SEE methodology should be reconceptualised in accordance with

> a more modern perspective under which responses on speaker assessment tasks, although artificially induced, are the record of emergent, contextually situated meaning-making activity of the same nature as other types of human social interaction (e.g. everyday conversation). In other words, an experiment should be regarded as a 'discursive event' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 58) in and of itself, in which 'evaluative practice' (Potter 1998) is taking place – albeit under certain characteristic conditions. (Soukup this volume)

The insistence on the need to develop ecologically valid approaches is important to the SLICE endeavour. It is the basis of all Coupland's writing on style as the articulation of social meaning in context (see Coupland 2007), and he and his colleagues have always advocated the importance of approaching the analysis of dialect variation within the broader context of speech and discourse performance (e.g. Garrett, Coupland and Williams 1999; see also Fabricius 2005; Fabricius and Mortensen this volume). Soukup exemplifies the 'experiment as discursive event' approach with reference to her own research in Austria (Soukup 2009), where the stimulus material for the SEE (or speaker *assessment* experiment, as Soukup prefers to call it) was interactional data taken and adapted from a TV discussion. As a result, assessments regarding the use of Austrian dialect and standard in the TV discussion could be assumed to have taken place in similar socio-situational circumstances for the informants in the experiment and for the viewers of the TV discussion. This, in turn, validated the application of findings from the experiment to the TV show data.

In her second chapter, entitled *On matching speaker (dis)guises – revisiting a methodological tradition*, **Soukup** challenges the basic assumption underlying the classical Matched Guise Technique (Lambert et al. 1960), viz. that respondents participating in a SEE should be kept *unaware* of the fact that two (or more) of the stimulus clips have been audio-recorded from the same speaker[14]. Soukup questions this assumption by reminding us that 'Linguistic variation is a fundamental fact of life which is featured in everyone's (including informants'!) experience'. If we assume, Soukup argues, that rating differences will disappear as soon as listener-judges are aware of assessing the same person in different linguistic guises, the very claim that linguistic shifting has interactional bearings on persona and relationship projections becomes rather difficult to uphold. Thus, Soukup sees 'no inherent necessity that drives the disguising ploy in matched-guise research', but good reasons to apply what she calls an 'open-guise' technique instead, viz. informing respondents at the beginning of the experiment that they are about to hear the same speakers in two (or more) recordings each, presenting the same text in two (or more) linguistically different versions. An Austrian application of the open-guise format convinced Soukup that the technique works: respondents had no difficulty with the fact that they heard a single

[14] The alleged advantage of the Matched Guise Technique is that it factors out speaker variation which is irrelevant to the manipulated variable (see Garrett 2005 for review and criticism).

speaker impersonating different varieties, and they returned ratings which differentiated between the different guises for many items.

As exemplified by Soukup's chapters, it is a central concern of the SLICE-endeavour to reappraise and refine the experimental tradition rather than reject it. At the same time, SLICE-investigators also explore the possibilities and benefits of new experimental techniques and alternative approaches. The remaining chapters of Part 2 are devoted to this exploration.

Like Soukup, **Dennis R. Preston and Nancy Niedzielski** are unhappy with the term *attitude* and prefer *regard* 'since it includes a much wider range of non-linguistic perceptions of, beliefs about, and responses to languages and varieties than those restricted to an evaluative dimension'. Entitled *Approaches to the study of language regard*, their chapter first presents a 'taxonomy of language regard research' and lists the many issues that need to be taken into conscientious consideration when language regard research is designed. The chapter offers a useful overview and discussion of fifteen such issues grouped under *setting*, *stimulus*, *respondents*, and *response*.

A main concern in the authors' discussion of the various issues, returned to in several connections, is the phenomenon of *priming*: 'Will responses to a linguistic stimulus vary if the respondent is primed in some way just before (or while) the stimulus is presented?' Especially the *response* section offers useful information on the development in social psychology of experiments eliciting implicit or subconscious responses, leading up to the IAT paradigm (Implicit Association Test) which has produced hundreds of studies since the seminal work by Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998).

In the second part of their chapter, Preston and Niedzielski outline in greater detail a selected number of experiments to illustrate some of the issues reviewed in the first part of their chapter. The bulk of the reported studies focus on the effect of priming on subjects' responses, and the development of experimental methods (such as the IAT) specifically designed to demonstrate the psychological reality of implicit attitudes and implicit knowledge. In connection with the latter, the authors suggest that

> [p]erhaps newer, implicit designs will reveal a 'deeper' unconscious level of regard, one that goes beyond the sort uncovered in such earlier research paradigms as matched-guise and illustrates a continuum of consciousness with respect to varieties and change or perhaps a tri-partite rather than dual notion of consciousness. (Preston and Niedzielski this volume)

Kathryn Campbell-Kibler joins Preston and Niedzielski in recommending a 'turning to insights from the field of social cognition'. She reports that '[m]uch current work in cognitive and social psychology assumes that human cognition involves at least two systems or types of systems, one relatively controlled and another relatively automatic', and expounds the basic insight which dual systems models build on, namely that humans perform mental tasks of different types more or less easily or rapidly. A number of perceptual processes seem to be more effective when performed quickly and without conscious deliberation, and priming studies suggest that the processes involved in forming impressions of others are not entirely under conscious control. Important for the work in this book is Campbell-Kibler's claim that

> implicit attitudes may well be [...] more important than explicit attitudes in predicting or understanding [linguistic] behavior. (Campbell-Kibler this volume)

She presents the Implicit AssociationTest technique in some detail, as it has been used by others, and by herself in her own research, and concludes that the research tools associated with implicit associations 'hold promise for sociolinguists to more thoroughly understand the relationship between what people think, feel and say about language and how they speak'.

A cornerstone of a community's SLI is constituted by the way the relationship between *standardness in writing* and *standardness in speech* is understood and propagated in the community. This relationship features a multitude of scenarios throughout European history (see Auer 2005; chapters in Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003; Kristiansen and Coupland 2011), but normally the standardisation of writing happens first and then plays a major role in the subsequent standardisation of speech – the underlying belief being that 'you should speak like you write (or spell)'. However, in a number of communities this belief may not be as strong as before (see for instance about Germany in Auer and Spiekermann 2011). Preston and Niedzielski (this volume) are certainly right in listing 'modality' as one of the *stimulus* issues to be considered by students of language attitudes (or language regard). They suggest that 'the modality of a stimulus itself (written versus spoken) could produce interestingly different responses'. **Ari Páll Kristinsson** and **Amanda Hilmarsson-Dunn** do not manipulate written versus spoken stimuli in order to study Icelandic SLI, but their experiment stands out among the others that are reported in this volume by using written stimuli instead of spoken. They argue that

> [w]ritten media, as well as spoken media, can be instrumental in establishing and consolidating a language standard, both linguistically and ideologically. Thus, any change in language standards in these media has implications for language standards generally, and the ideologies behind them. (Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn this volume)

Claims about the importance of the written medium in processes of (de)standardisaton are generally to the point, of course, but may be particularly pertinent in the case of Iceland, where the development of a strong SLI has been the companion of an unparalleled literary tradition, and relative homogeneity in speech, across most of a millennium (Leonard and Árnason 2011). In their chapter, *Evaluation of different registers in Icelandic written media*, Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn report from an experiment in which respondents completed a questionnaire about the acceptability or suitability of four versions of a written text for a series of different genres. More formal genres included report/ dissertation, book, printed daily newspaper, and web-based news. More informal genres included blogs, Facebook, and e-mail. The text versions contained systematically manipulated lexical and grammatical variables, so that the following combinations were obtained: standard vocabulary and standard grammar, standard vocabulary and non-standard grammar, non-standard vocabulary and standard grammar, nonstandard vocabulary and non-standard grammar. In order to discover a possible difference between SLI gatekeepers and young people, respondents included both students and teachers in upper secondary school.

Overall, the respondents associated the text containing standard language features with the more formal genres, and the text containing non-standard language features with the less formal genres. As to the 'mixed' texts (containing combinations of standard and non-standard vocabulary and grammar), the students were found to react less negatively than the teachers, in particular with regard to the text with non-standard grammar features. As these findings suggest that 'some non-standard Icelandic grammar forms are less problematic to the students than to the teachers for use in the more formal genres', the authors conclude that 'our experimental results seem to indicate that a change in conventional norms of standard grammar might be in progress in Icelandic' .

In the section on *The Danish background* (cf. above) we claimed that the production basis for Danish perceptions and evaluations of geographically-distributed variation has largely been reduced to prosodic features in recent decades. While the distinction between MODERN and CONSERVATIVE is a matter of segmental differences, the possibility of distinguishing between these Copenha-

gen-based accents and various LOCAL accents is thought to be a matter of prosodic differences only. We have often made this claim, without having any solid, scientifically established, evidence for it. The experiment reported in the chapter by **Tore Kristiansen, Nicolai Pharao and Marie Maegaard** is a first attempt to remedy this situation. It is presented here also as an example of how the increased availability in recent years of technological resources for manipulation of speech stimuli in recent years has opened new possibilities for focusing on the role of particular phonetic features in the stimulus material.

The experiment presented eight-second clips of three voices – a CONSERVATIVE voice, a MODERN voice, and a LOCAL voice from Århus (which had all been used as stimulus voices in the LANCHART SEE in Odder, see Figure 2, above) – to listener-judges (university students) from Copenhagen and Århus, and asked them to decide whether the voice was from Copenhagen or Århus. Each voice was represented in both a 'non-modified' clip and a 'modified' clip. The manipulation consisted in giving the CONSERVATIVE and MODERN voices (from Copenhagen) a LOCAL intonation (from Århus), while the LOCAL voice (from Århus) was given a Copenhagen intonation. The results showed that the 'non-modified' clips were placed in accordance with their actual origin by the majority of the participants, while the 'modified' Copenhagen clips were perceived by the majority as coming from Århus, and the 'modified' Århus voice was perceived as coming from Copenhagen. The authors conclude that intonation is 'probably the most important marker of regional difference in contemporary Danish', and furthermore that 'the social indexicalities of different intonation patterns are an important factor in the rampant linguistic standardisation that characterises Danish society'.

Even though the purpose of this volume is to report on work within the experimental strand of SLICE, we have nevertheless wanted to include a final chapter, authored by **Anne Fabricius and Janus Mortensen**, which connects to other strands of the SLICE endeavour by arguing for the advantages of a discourse analytic approach to the study of ideology in language (de)standardisation. Like Fabricius and Mortensen – and unlike some discourse analysts (referred to in Soukup's chapter) – we do not see experimentation and discourse analysis as incompatible approaches, but rather as complementary traditions with a lot of potential when used in tandem. In the same vein, Preston and Niedzielski (this volume) include discoursal data in their 'taxonomy of language regard' and state that 'we do not wish to exclude them from approaches to the study of language regard'.

In Fabricius and Mortensen's wording, the argument for treating the discourse analytical perspective as 'an important supplement to the perspective offered by experimental approaches' goes as follows:

> The discourse analytic approach advocated in this chapter may at first glance seem less rigorous than the various kinds of experimental techniques exploited in several other studies in the present volume. However, we believe that a stark juxtaposition of 'discourse analytic methods' and 'experimental methods' is to some extent misguided. Both discourse analytic approaches and experimental approaches involve processes of data generation and data interpretation, and the rigorousness with which these processes are carried out depends as much on the researcher facilitating them as on the nature of the methods employed. All other things being equal, experimental methods can in certain ways be more tightly controlled than qualitative methods and thus perhaps produce 'cleaner' data, but we will argue that discourse analytic methods can also be employed stringently and thus generate robust findings, while perhaps producing 'neater' data for the explorative analyst. (Fabricius and Mortensen this volume)

The data produced in the case study they subsequently report allow Fabricius and Mortensen to point to what they see as 'an emerging dissolution of the indexical links between RP, poshness/prestige and non-localizability' (for arguments to the same effect, see Coupland 2009, in press) – and furthermore to argue that 'a theoretical conceptualisation of the ebbs and flows in linguistic ideology is an important counterpart to the work that is being done on variation and change in linguistic form'.

CONCLUSION

The SLICE research programme has hardly left the starting blocks; there are many more investigations to be carried out – based on experimentation as well as other approaches – before we can hope to cross the finish line with fairly secure and broadly accepted conclusions. We do find it appropriate, however, to venture a couple of suggestions in the SLICE perspective, limiting ourselves strictly to the experimental approach, which is the focus of the volume.

In what concerns methodology, we do think that the book as a whole makes up a fairly strong argument in favour of the view that perception experiments designed to investigate language ideologies should be tailored to the kind of ideology one wants to investigate. Official ideologies which support the dominance

of an establishment-sustained 'best language' over all other varieties are typically publicly available and consciously retrievable. Private evaluations, by contrast, have to be elicited in experimental designs which keep the respondent ignorant of the fact that he or she is returning language assessments.

Another remarkable finding is that in spite of very different histories of dominance and subordination (and, as a consequence, highly diverse present-day standard language dynamics), almost all the communities reported in this book allow classification of the repertoire of speech varieties from which speakers can choose into local varieties (dialects/accents), a conservative standard variety, but typically also a modern variety which is becoming increasingly vital in spite of being officially downgraded (obvious cases in point are *københavnsk/*MODERN in Denmark, *Tussentaal* in Flanders, and *Berlinerisch* in Germany, while *post-Gaeltacht* Irish is possibly also an example).

In addition, the investigations in the different chapters have confirmed over and over again that conscious and subconscious evaluation yielded diametrically opposed hierarchisations of CONSERVATIVE, LOCAL and MODERN. Consciously offered rankings typically paid lip service to conservative ideology and local patriotism, emphasizing the power and vitality of the established standard and the local dialects, to the detriment of (emerging) modern varieties. Subconscious evaluations, by contrast, were found to upset this hierarchy in two ways. On the one hand, the widely confirmed dialect loyalty turned out to be only consciously professed as local dialects were quite generally downgraded in subconscious rankings. On the other hand, and more importantly, in a number of countries (notably Denmark and Flanders), the officially stigmatised MODERN varieties were found to be upgraded in terms of 'dynamism' in the subconscious evaluations. In Denmark, this development has engendered a double standard situation as far as young people are concerned, with a 'best superiority language' (*rigsdansk*) – arguably 'for the schools', and a 'best dynamism language' (*københavnsk*) – arguably 'for the media'.

As the main determinant of this split, the Danish researchers have suggested the late-modern readjustment of the relation between the public and the private domain on account of the progressing mediatisation of society. In view of the fact that the latter affects all European communities to a comparable extent, we had expected to find more double standard configurations. Somewhat surprisingly, only Flanders and, to some extent, Irish-speaking Ireland manifested similar dynamics (though the double standard situation in Flanders is highly controversial, and in any case far less advanced than in Denmark).

Our failure to find more double standard examples will in part be due to the highly diverse standard language dynamics operative in the different communities. It is not improbable that any Southern-German community will see the accent of its capital eclipsed by *Berlinerisch* in terms of 'superiority' and 'dynamism'. In Lithuania, standardisation efforts after the demise of the Soviet Union were unusually strong (or strongly propagated), which may explain why modern *Vilnius* speech never challenges the conservative standard on any dimension. In the case of Norway, one may argue that the whole CONSERVATIVE vs. MODERN issue will be of little or no relevance if the country never had a standard language and is dominated by 'dialect ideology' rather than 'standard language ideology'.

While these explanations are perfectly plausible, we cannot fully exclude methodological grounds for our failure to find double standard situations. It is possible that the experiments reported here are insufficiently equipped in their present form to uncover dynamic prestige very well: the traits used to elicit attitudes may not always have been the most appropriate to search for evaluative dimensions beyond the traditional status and solidarity dimensions, and it is not always clear how rigidly the participant-unawareness criterion has been implemented. An evident follow-up project to the work presented here would therefore be a more concentrated and systematic approach with (as far as possible) identical tools in terms of scale sets and participant-ignorance guarantees, applied in a selection of communities stratified along the dimensions which determine the different standard language dynamics operative in Europe.

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Part 1
(De)standardisation studies using Speaker Evaluation Experiments

Language attitudes in south-west Germany

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INTRODUCTION

The consequence of linguistic varieties being subjected to social categorisations and evaluations can be that some varieties are considered less prestigious *than* others, and this may result in these varieties being avoided or abandoned by speakers. Varieties considered to be prestigious, on the other hand, may have a chance of consolidating themselves and even expanding to new groups of speakers. In short, negative attitudes can inhibit certain varieties while others prosper and spread because they are regarded as attractive. It may also happen, however, that varieties wither away surrounded by what appears to be general positivity, or prosper in spite of overtly expressed negativity in their regard. In such cases, we are led to ask whether language variation in the community is imbued with other and different social values of a more covert nature.

> [...] overt attitudes are thought of as being openly present in public discourse about language, institutionally promoted in ways that make it generally accessible and reproducible. (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 25)

> [...] covert attitudes, i.e. social evaluations of language which remain hidden when people display their attitudes overtly (for instantly in talk about language), but which reveal themselves in people's use of language. (*ibid.*: 24)

This chapter reports from a study of overt and covert language attitudes among adolescents in the Stuttgart area of Baden-Württemberg in south-west Germany. The focus of interest was the three varieties known as *Schwäbish*, *Hochdeutsch*, and *Berlinerisch*.[1] The former two are the names which the young informants themselves use about their own speech; the latter was included in the investigation in order to see how a presumably more 'urban' variety fares in comparison to the two 'local' varieties.

[1] The variety spoken in Berlin is known as either Berlinerisch or Berlinisch. The former seems to be the more commonly used, and will be used here.

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN SOUTH-WEST GERMANY

There are two different views of the actual linguistic situation in south-west Germany (and in Germany more generally).

Ruoff (1997) argues for south-west Germany as a dialectal stronghold where the dialects are both prestigious and widely used except in formal and public speech (*ibid*.: 145). He even predicts a strengthening of the psychological borders between different dialects by virtue of their role in social group formation:

> Mundart ist die Sprache der Nähe, der Vertrautheit, sie gibt Sicherheit und Geborgenheit. Sie ist zugleich das einfachste Mittel zur Identifikation wie zur Abgrenzung: Sie prägt und trägt das Wir-Bewusstsein: fast nur noch durch die Mundart sind wir andere als die anderen. Das lässt eine stetige Zunahme der psychischen Sprachgrenzen erwarten, aber ebenso den Erhalt der Mundarten in Süddeutschland. (Ruoff 1997: 153)
> ['Dialect is the language of closeness, of trust, it gives safety and secureness. It is at the same time the simplest means to identification and to demarcation. It moulds and bears the We-Awareness: almost only through the dialect are we other than the others. That makes us expect the mental linguistic boundaries to steadily increase, and the dialects of Southern Germany to be maintained'.] (Editors' translation)

This 'we-feeling' (*Wir-bewusstsein*) is symbolised by the larger cities, e.g. Stuttgart, which he considers to be linguistic norm centres in the area, in the sense that they are contributing to a strengthening of the dialect identity (*ibid*.: 145). Ruoff admits that the use of dialects is more restricted than it used to be, but he attributes this to the increasing number of situations in present-day society where dialects cannot be used – i.e. formal and public situations – and considers the dialects to be developing independently of the standard (*ibid*.: 143).

With regard to the whole of Germany, Schmidt (2010) is in line with this perspective, as he argues that:

> [...] despite the dramatic social upheavals of the twentieth century in Germany (the transformation from an agrarian to an industrial to a relatively mobile service-based society), there is no reason to believe in a rapid decline in the currency of dialects between 1880 and 1980. (Schmidt 2010: 207)

Schmidt views the present linguistic situation in Germany as one of many different regional varieties, which he calls *regiolects*. These cover broader geographical areas than the dialects. The dialects exist alongside the regiolects, and both exist 'beneath the standard variety' (*ibid*.: 217), which means that German

dialect speakers of today are considered to have an 'active bivarietal competence (in dialect and regiolect) and at least passive competence in the standard spoken language' (*ibid*.: 218). Schmidt considers this standard to be the outcome of the pronunciation norm *Bühnenaussprache* – established in 1898 and based on 'the regional High German of northern Germany' – which has spread by way of the media to the entire realm of Germany since the 1930's (*ibid*.: 216). Such an orthoepic norm means a very prescriptive standard characterised by over-articulation (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 165). It has a close relationship to the written standard and is upheld in the institutional and educational system as a highly codified (pronunciation) standard with little or no room for variation (*ibid*.: 162). According to Schmidt (2010: 216), the orthoepic norm took over the standard status from the 'vertical variety formations', such as 'regional High German', which emerged in the cities in the second half of the 18th century. These, too, were spoken varieties oriented towards the written norm but with regional pronunciation.

Taking a different perspective, Auer and Spiekermann (2011) points to three different kinds of standard as stages in the standardisation process in Germany. As a first stage, the regional standards were closely bound to the emergence of the written standard, which was 'firmly established and codified throughout the German speaking countries by the end of the 18th century' (*ibid*.: 163). This standard was spoken by a small elitist part of the population and it was influenced by 'dialect phonetics' (*ibid*.: 163), hence the term 'regional standard'. The next stage in the process was the emergence of an orthoepic standard developed from the aforementioned *Bühnenaussprache*. It is regarded as a media standard, as the media were the primary vehicle of its spread, which took place in the first half of the 20th century – particularly in the 1930–1940s where the 'fascist formation of the state' also was an important contributing factor (*ibid*.: 165). The emergence of this orthoepic standard did not mean the disappearance of the regional standards as these continued to be used alongside the orthoepic standard. The third development in the process was a pervasive language change to what Auer and Spiekermann call 'the new standard' (*ibid*.: 165) – a change that meant a nationwide replacement of the orthoepic standard (or old media standard) and a beginning levelling of the regional standards (*ibid*.: 165). In contrast to the regional standards and the orthoepic standard of the two preceding stages, the new standard is available to everybody and is applicable for all communicative purposes of everyday life in entire Germany (*ibid*.: 174), which also implies a levelling or decline in the use of regional features:

> [...] regional forms are increasingly disappearing from the spoken standard, i.e. the standard is becoming more homogenous across Germany. (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174)

At the same time, the last stage represents 'a further step in the emancipation of the spoken standard and its differentiation from the written standard' (*ibid*.: 174). Thus, we have a spoken standard with room for (at least some) variation, which is developing more and more independently of the written standard.

Such different perspectives on the present German linguistic situation do have implications for how the local situation in south-west Germany is seen. Ruoff and Schmidt see the south-west German dialects as thriving varieties which develop independently of the standard because their definition of the German standard leaves no room for variation. In contrast, Auer and Spiekermann operate with a less prescriptive standard, and claim that 'for many Germans, the standard is the language they grew up with' (*ibid*.: 174).

Now, how does the present study position itself in relation to the above perspectives on the standardisation in south-west Germany? In Stoeckle and Svenstrup (2011) we discussed 'a nation-wide language change in direction of a more standardised spoken language' with three possible standard-language scenarios as an outcome:

1. *Standardsprache* – a very prescriptive and normative standard which allows no variation.
2. *Regionale Standardvarietäten* – a plurality of regional standards based on the base dialects and developing independently of each other.
3. *Umgangssprache* – a spoken standard which includes a certain amount of regional (and other) variation.

Furthermore, it was proposed that the third scenario, *Umgangssprache*, could be defined in such a way as to incorporate the other two scenarios and represent a nation-wide ongoing process in Germany (*ibid*.: 87). This *Umgangssprache* is in line with Auer and Spiekermann's 'new' or 'modern' standard.

While aligning myself with Auer and Spiekermann's view of the ongoing standardisation process in Germany, I want to stress the dynamic nature of *standardisation* as a process. The word *standard* for the object of investigation invites us to define it in terms of a prescriptive target norm. A 'static term' like *standard* makes it hard to account for ongoing changes in standard speech. In brief, the study presented here stems from a synchronic investigation which taps

into an ongoing standardisation process and the inherent negotiation, production, and reproduction of norms, stereotypes, and attitudes which are of importance to the process.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The investigations presented here use two different methods to operationalise the distinction between overt and covert attitudes. The method used to elicit overt attitudes is a Label Ranking Task (LRT). The method used to elicit covert attitudes is a Speaker Evaluation Experiment (SEE). The SEE was carried out before the LRT, while the participants were still unaware that the object of study was attitudes to dialectal differences.

The voice samples

In order to find voice samples for the SEE, interviews were recorded in schools (Gymnasium) in three locations: 1) Stuttgart was chosen because of its status as the largest city in and capital of Baden-Württemberg, representing the supposedly *most standardised local variety*. 2) Reutlingen was chosen as a smaller city in the Stuttgart area, representing the supposedly *least standardised local variety*. 3) Berlin was chosen because of its status as the capital city of Germany, with the speculation that Berlin speech is associated with some kind of *urban quality* that might influence listener-judges' perceptions.

Twelve voice samples[2], four from each of the three locations, were selected from 57 short interviews where the interviewees were asked the question *what is, in your opinion, a good teacher?* (*was ist für dich ein guter Lehrer?*). The samples were selected with a view to secure representativeness; that is, the selected speakers were neither the most standardised nor the least standardised. There were two males and two females from each of the locations, and all speakers were between 14 and 17 years old – except for one of the male speakers from Berlin, B045m, who ended up being a teacher in his mid-30s due to practical problems. However, this is no big problem as the design operates with four voices for each variety exactly in order to facilitate an assessment of the influence on evaluations from dialect differences as opposed to other possible

[2] Each voice samples is assigned a code that expresses origin and gender, e.g. B(erlin)045m(ale).

differences (such as gender, age etc.) (see Kristiansen 2009, and the introduction to this volume). All of the voice samples were edited to be between 7 and 12 seconds long (with added pauses of 15 seconds between each of the voices). The reason for using such short samples was the assumption that there is a difference between immediate, impulsive responses and cautious premeditated answers. Garrett et al. (2005) calls it a distinction between 'automatic and controlled information processing', where 'automatic' is believed to elicit covert attitudes and 'controlled' is believed to elicit covert attitudes (*ibid*.: 40).

As I was the interviewer, the young interviewees may well have done what they could to speak 'correctly' in order to comply with me as a foreigner (a Dane), as well as with the unfamiliar situation of being interviewed by a university person. In addition, the interviews were recorded in the 'correct-speech' setting of their schools. It is therefore no surprising result that the interviewees are rather standardised in their speech. But they still have some regionally marked features. For instance, it is a typical feature of Schwäbisch to lower the (standard) /eː/ to /ɛː/ (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 168) This variable is found in the word *Lehrer* ('teacher') which is present in all of the voice samples. The four speakers from Berlin all have the expected (standard) /eː/ (B045m: /leːʁɐ/, B048f: /leːʁɐ/, B051m: /leːʁɐ/, B053f: /leːʁɐ/), the four speakers from Stuttgart all have an /ɛː/ (S029m: /lɛːʁɐ/, S032f: /lɛːɐ/, S035m: /lɛ̝ːʁə/, S041f: /lɛːʁɐ/), which is also the case for three of the speakers from Reutlingen (R013m: /lɛːʁɑː/, R014m: /lɛːʁɐ/, R017f: /lɛːʁɐ/), whereas the last one have an even lower /æː/ (R018f: /læːʁɐ/). Thus, concerning this feature the voice samples from south-west Germany are less standardised than those from Berlin.

The questionnaire for the covert attitudes

The audio-recording with the 12 voice samples was played three times during the SEE. The first time the participants just listened in order to get an idea of what was in the recording. During the second playing, the participants evaluated the voices on eight 7-point 'semantic differential scales with bipolar adjectives' (Garrett 2005: 1255–1256). These scales were:

1. Seriös – Unseriös (Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky)
2. Klug – Dumm (Intelligent – Stupid)

3. Ehrgeizig – Träge (Goal directed – Dull)
4. Vertrauenswürdig – Nicht Vertrauenswürdig (Trustworthy – Untrustworthy)
5. Nett – Unsympatisch (Nice – Repulsive)
6. Interessant – Langweilig (Fascinating – Boring)
7. Selbstbewusst – Unsicher (Self-assured – Uncertain)
8. Cool – Uncool (Cool –Uncool)

The adjectives are the 'same' as the ones which were used in the Danish LANCHART studies (see Kristiansen 2009, and the introduction to this volume) and were chosen in the interest of comparisons with the Danish studies, as well as similar studies in other countries which follow the SLICE programme. The result pattern which emerges on these scales in Denmark indicate that the adjectives relate to two evaluative dimensions, one of which is said to represent social values of *superiority* (scales 1–4) while the other is said to represent values of *dynamism* (scales 5–8). In addition to the ticking off positions on the scales, the participants had the opportunity to add extra comments to each of the voice samples (which they hardly did – probably due to the time pressure).

The questionnaire for the overt attitudes

Having completed the evaluation of the voices in terms of personality traits, the participants were informed about the purpose of the experiment and were given a second questionnaire – meant to elicit overt attitudes – which consisted of several different tasks.

The first two tasks were solved simultaneously while the participants listened to the 12 voices for the third time and rated each of them on 7-point scales in terms of how Hochdeutsch they sounded and made a choice as to whether the voices were from Stuttgart, Reutlingen or Berlin.

Then followed the LRT, where the participants ranked nine different German varieties according to own preference – among which were Schwäbisch, Hochdeutsch, and Berlinerisch.

Finally, the participants were asked to give some personal information about their age, where they lived, whether they used to live somewhere else and if, then where, what they would like to be professionally. They were also asked to report what kind of German they considered themselves to be speaking.

The participants

With the aim of depicting the general language-ideological situation among young people in the Stuttgart area, using school students as informants was chosen as the easiest and best way to obtain a large and socially broad sample of young people. The participants are from the 9th and 10th grades, which are the highest class levels in the German school system with a broad social representation.

The German school system consists of an elementary school which is attended by all until the 4th grade. After that the students are allocated to three different school types according to academic ability. Those with the highest academic proficiency continue in *Gymnasium*, those with the lowest academic proficiency continue in the *Hauptschule*, and those in between continue in the *Realschule*. Data were collected from 235 participants, covering all three school types with the following distribution: *Gymnasium* 32%, *Realschule* 33%, and *Hauptschule* 34%. The average age of the participants was 15.4 (range 14 to 17). The gender distribution was 54% females and 46% males. The participants attended schools in five different locations in the Stuttgart area. Besides Stuttgart, the locations were Reutlingen, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Göppingen, and Kirchheim unter Teck, all of which are within 60 km radius from Stuttgart. Stuttgart is the largest location with 610.000 inhabitants; the smallest is Kirchheim unter Teck with 40.000 inhabitants.

The distribution of participants on the locations is as follows, in percentage: Stuttgart 38, Reutlingen 29, Schwäbisch Gmünd 8, Göppingen 18, and Kirchheim u. Teck 6. A vast majority of 83% report originating from south-west Germany (Baden-Württemberg), 4% report originating from another part of Germany, and 12% report originating from another country. In their self-reporting about what language they speak, 26% of the participants said Schwäbisch, 34% went for a mixture of Schwäbisch and Hochdeutsch, while 28% said Hochdeutsch (7% reported something else, and 5% gave no answer). This confirms that the labels Schwäbisch and Hochdeutsch are relevant for the participants and as part of the LRT.

It should be stressed that the choice of school students is motivated also, and not least, by the fact that adolescents are particularly interesting in a study of changing norms. Adolescence is a stage in life with flexible group constellations that are constantly up for negotiation, which means that things like linguistic norms and stereotyping are being negotiated as well (Jørgensen 2010: 151).

More than adults, adolescents are always in the middle of (re)negotiating and (re)producing the linguistic world surrounding them – while also being the future gatekeepers of language use. In brief, adolescents are a vital part of the ongoing linguistic development (*ibid.*: 21).

RESULTS

The anticipated outcome of the study originated in results from similar studies in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009; Svenstrup 2010), and was sustained by my experience from living in south-west Germany (Freiburg). Thus, the expectation was for the adolescents to show 'local patriotism' and upgrade 'their own' varieties Hochdeutsch and Schwäbisch in comparison with Berlinerisch in overtly expressed evaluations (in the LRT), while the expectation for the covert evaluations (in the SEE) was that the Reutlingen voices would be rated lower than the more 'urban' voices from Stuttgart and Berlin, and I speculated that the Berlin voices would be rated higher than those from Stuttgart if the latter were perceived as less standardised.

Overt ranking of variety labels (the LRT results)

In the LRT the participants were presented with nine German variety 'labels' and were asked to rank them from 1 (I like the best) to 9 (I like the least). The following ranking was obtained (means on the 1-to-9 scale in parentheses): *Hochdeutsch* (2.94), *Schwäbisch* (3.04), *Bayrisch* (4.71), *Berlinerisch* (4.86), *Schweizerdeutsch* (5.43), *Fränkisch* (5.73), *Hessisch* (5.76), *Sächsisch* (5.89), and *Plattdeutsch* (6.13).

Tabel 1: Overt ranking of Schwäbisch, Hochdeutsch, and Berlinerisch

Hochdeutsch	/	Schwäbisch	>	Berlinerisch

Wilcoxon Signed Pair Tests. > = p<.05, / = n.s.

The ranking of the three varieties which are the focus of this study – Schwäbisch, Hochdeutsch, and Berlinerisch – was tested for significant differences (Tabel 1). Hochdeutsch and Schwäbisch are ranked on a par, and both are ranked significantly higher than Berlinerisch.

Locating voices and rating them for 'standardness'

A majority of the voices were placed relatively correctly in the sense that the right location was chosen more often than either of the two other options. But, in general, the voices were located wrongly more often than not. (The only voice that was correctly assigned by more than 50% of the participants was the Berlin voice B053f, with 52%). Given the fact that Stuttgart and Reutlingen are geographically located so close to each other, I choose to combine the two locations and just distinguish between south-west Germany (Stuttgart and Reutlingen) and Berlin (Table 2).

Table 2: Locating voices (answering the question *woher kommt diese Person?*) Shadowed cells show the actual location. Figures are percentages (N=235)

	Stuttgart and Reutlingen	Berlin	no answer
S029m	72	27	1
B048f	67	32	1
R013m	84	15	1
S032f	74	25	1
B045m	52	46	2
R017f	65	34	1
S035m	77	22	1
B053f	46	52	2
R014m	80	18	2
S041f	68	30	2
B051m	70	29	1
R018f	75	23	2

The local voices (from Stuttgart and Reutlingen) were all recognised as such by at least two thirds of the participants. The Berlin voices were generally not recognised as coming from Berlin; two of them were located in either Stuttgart or Reutlingen by a clear majority (67% for B048f) and 70% for B051m).

Looking at the answers to the question regarding standardness (*wie hochdeutsch klingt diese Person?*), the voices' average scores on the used 7-point scale (1=most standardised, 7=least standardised) rank them as follows:

B045m (2.21) – B048f (2.66) – S041f (2.86) – B053f (2.93) – S032f (3.02) – S029m (3.28) – R017f (3.32) – S035m (3.69) – B051m (3.78) – R013m (4.60) – R018f (4.64) – R014m (4.92)

By and large, the Berlin voices (dark grey) were heard as the most standardised, followed by the Stuttgart voices (light grey), with the Reutlingen voices as the least standardised. Interestingly enough, B045m (i.e. the teacher in his mid-thirties) is heard as the most standardised of all. There is one clear 'outlier' among the Berlin voices, namely B051m. The explanation may be found in the fact that B051m was heard to be mumbling and not finishing his last sentence, according to statements about him by a selected number of students who took part in interviews and group discussions after having participated in the experiments that are reported in this chapter. Also recall that B051m was predominantly categorised as local (see Table 2). It seems likely that the generally poor evaluations of B051m were an effect of a poor editing of this voice.

Covert evaluation of voices (the SEE results)

For us to feel entitled to talk about a role for dialectal differences in the evaluation of the voices, the results should pattern in a systematic way so that the four voices representing each of the three varieties receive relatively similar evaluations. The extent of such systematicity in the data may be gleaned from Table 3.

The emerging pattern is that the Berlin voices dominate the left side of the table, which means that they generally are rated better than the Stuttgart and Reutlingen voices. The Stuttgart voices dominate the centre of the table, which means that they generally are rated better than the Reutlingen voices, which dominate the right side of the table. We will accept this patterning to be satisfactory for a pooling of voices into varieties, with one exception. The main and most serious irregularity is represented by B051m who is rated lowest of all voices on all scales. As this is in accordance with his low rating also in terms of standardness, which we argued above was probably due to a poorly edited recording, B051m will not be included as representative of Berlin speech as we now move on to compare the voices from Berlin, Stuttgart and Reutlingen pooled together as three different varieties.

But before we leave Table 3, I shall make a comment on the superiority vs. dynamism distinction, which has been found to be so important in Denmark.[3] There is no overall pattern in the table which testifies to the same role for this distinction in south-west Germany. However, if we recall that the first four scales were thought to represent superiority values while the last four scales

[3] Zahn and Hopper (1985) established that superiority and dynamism, together with social attractiveness, had been generally central to language attitudes research.

were thought to represent dynamism values, two of the voices seem to be treated differently in accordance with the distinction, namely B045m and R014m.

Table 3: SEE results for twelve voices on eight personality traits defined by adjectival antonyms. Figures are means on 7-point scales (1=positive trait, 7= negative trait). B=Berlin, S=Stuttgart, R=Reutlingen. f = female, m = male.

goal directed <–> dull	B 053 f 2.79	B 048 f 2.87	S 032 f 2.95	S 041 f 3.09	B 045 m 3.18	S 029 m 3.48	R 014 m 3.61	R 017 f 3.63	S 035 m 3.86	R 018 f 3.90	R 013 m 3.97	B 051 m 4.59
intelligent <–> stupid	B 048 f 2.41	B 053 f 2.50	B 045 m 2.57	S 041 f 2.68	S 032 f 2.70	S 035 m 2.86	S 029 m 3.04	R 017 f 3.20	R 018 f 3.33	R 014 m 3.51	R 013 m 3.61	B 051 m 4.22
conscientious <–> happy-go-lucky	B 048 f 2.82	S 041 f 3.09	B 053 f 3.10	B 045 m 3.12	S 032 f 3.24	S 029 m 3.30	S 035 m 3.45	R 017 f 3.52	R 013 m 3.54	R 014 m 3.74	R 018 f 3.87	B 051 m 4.34
trustworthy <–> untrustworthy	B 048 f 2.52	B 053 f 2.71	S 041 f 2.82	S 032 f 2.92	B 045 m 3.09	R 017 f 3.12	S 029 m 3.16	R 014 m 3.30	R 018 f 3.43	S 035 m 3.49	R 013 m 3.61	B 051 m 4.17
nice <–> repulsive	B 048 f 2.14	B 053 f 2.38	S 041 f 2.48	R 014 m 2.60	S 032 f 2.67	S 029 m 2.92	R 017 f 2.93	B 045 m 3.02	R 013 m 3.07	R 018 f 3.21	S 035 m 3.24	B 051 m 3.88
fascinating <–> boring	B 048 f 2.89	S 032 f 2.94	B 053 f 3.13	S 041 f 3.21	R 014 m 3.26	S 029 m 3.57	B 045 m 3.82	R 013 m 3.90	S 035 m 3.97	R 018 f 4.05	R 017 f 4.11	B 051 m 4.86
self-assured <–> uncertain	B 048 f 2.39	B 053 f 2.43	S 032 f 2.58	R 014 m 2.85	S 041 f 2.97	S 029 m 3.14	B 045 m 3.30	S 035 m 3.34	R 017 f 3.44	R 018 f 3.55	R 013 m 3.77	B 051 m 4.60
cool <–> uncool	R 014 m 3.13	S 032 f 3.26	B 048 f 3.33	B 053 f 3.52	S 029 m 3.57	S 041 f 3.64	S 035 m 3.93	R 013 m 3.95	R 018 f 4.07	R 017 f 4.21	B 045 m 4.25	B 051 m 4.46

B045m, the teacher in his mid-thirties, does systematically better on superiority values (we find him to the right in the table on the first four scales) than on dynamism values (we find him to the left in the table on the last four scales). This evaluative pattern may be said to accord well with the finding that B045mwas heard as the most standardised of the voices. On the assumption that the notion of standardness (as it emerges in adolescents' overt evaluations) connects more tightly with superiority values than dynamism values (as these emerge in adolescents' covert evaluations), the relative up- and downgrading of B045m on personality traits may be explained by him being a teacher, who was 'heard as a teacher' by the school students.

R014m is evaluated the other way round: he does systematically better on dynamism values than on superiority values. In the same way as for B045m, the relative downgrading of R014m on superiority values may be said to correspond to his rating on standardness: B014m was heard as the least standardised voice. In terms of personality, he is evaluated on a par with the other Reutlingen voices on superiority traits, but differed by being evaluated more positively on dynamism traits. The explanation for this special treatment of R014m may well be that he 'has a smile in his voice' when he is speaking (which some of the interviewees also commented on).

In brief, the superiority vs. dynamism distinction is not present in these evaluations of speech from Berlin, Stuttgart and Reutlingen. However, we may cautiously suggest that the distinction seems to be operative with regard to features of a kind that make you a 'teacher' or a 'fun guy'. These features are clearly linked to a notion of standardness in language – the notion that adolescents acquire (in school and elsewhere) and reproduce in overt rating of voices for standardness – but they do not seem to be linguistic features, at least not in the sense of 'dialect difference' which the SEE was meant to operationalise.

Covert evaluation of Berlin, Stuttgart, and Reutlingen speech varieties

When we pool the voices together (four in the cases of Stuttgart and Reutlingen, three in the case of Berlin, where B051m was excluded) and in this sense treat them as representatives of three varieties, we get the Table 4 pattern.

Berlin speech is ranked significantly better than Stuttgart speech and Reutlingen speech on all scales except the *Cool* scale. Stuttgart speech is ranked significantly better than Reutlingen speech on all scales except the *Nice* scale. The different pattern on the *Cool* scale results first and foremost from an extraordi-

narily positive evaluation of R014m and an extraordinarily negative evaluation of B045m (see Table 3 and the above discussion of these two voices).

Table 4: Covert evaluations of Berlin speech, Stuttgart speech, and Reutlingen speech on eight personality traits (the left position represents the better rating)

Goal directed	Berlin	>	Stuttgart	>	Reutlingen
Intelligent	Berlin	>	Stuttgart	>	Reutlingen
Conscientious	Berlin	>	Stuttgart	>	Reutlingen
Trustworthy	Berlin	>	Stuttgart	>	Reutlingen
Nice	Berlin	>	Reutlingen	/	Stuttgart
Fascinating	Berlin	>	Stuttgart	>	Reutlingen
Self-assured	Berlin	>	Stuttgart	>	Reutlingen
Cool	Stuttgart	/	Berlin	/	Reutlingen
	Stuttgart	>			Reutlingen

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: > = p<.05 / = non-significant

CONCLUSION

In overtly offered evaluations, the preferred varieties among adolescents in south-west Germany are Hochdeutsch and Schwäbisch. As these varieties are also what they report to be speaking themselves, the adolescents simply consider their own speech as the better way of speaking – and better than Berlinerisch, to be sure (Hochdeutsch / Swäbisch > Berlinerisch; see Table 1). The language-ideology they perform overtly is *standing up for who you are and where you come from.*

Covertly, the sympathies are different: Berlin speech is a rather clear winner and Reutlingen speech the clear looser (Berlin > Stuttgart > Reutlingen; see Table 4). When we take the ratings for standardness (degree of Hochdeutsch) into account (Berlin > Stuttgart > Reutlingen), the pattern is very clear: higher ratings for standardness correspond to higher ratings for socially-valued personali-

ty traits. On the assumption that 'less standardised' in this part of Germany means 'more Schwäbisch', the result shows that the ideology of *standing up for who you are and for your region* no longer applies when it comes to covert attitudes. Covertly, adolescent language-ideology seems to be: *the more standardised the better*. Or – formulated as a conclusion more in accordance with our general questioning of what to understand by 'standard' – what is found to be the better language in covert ideology, seems the better candidate to the status of 'standard' language.

There is no doubt that knowledge and acceptance of the social values associated with Hochdeutsch is fundamental to the language ideology of adolescents in south-western Germany. In self-reporting they claim Hochdeutsch to be part of their own repertoire, and in covert evaluations they prefer the (Berlin) voices that they also rate as the most Hochdeutsch. More generally, it may be suggested that beliefs about degrees of language standardisation are associated with beliefs about degrees of urbanisation – which would make urbanisation an important factor in language standardisation.

The picture that emerges from these investigations of language ideology does support, I think, the Auer and Spiekermann (2011) account of the German standardisation process and its most recent stage, where people make no ideological distinction between the standard language and the language they grew up with.

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Authority and innovation in language variation: Teenagers' perceptions of variation in spoken Irish

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THE THREE CATEGORIES OF CONTEMPORARY SPOKEN IRISH

The 77,000 daily speakers of Irish reported in the 2011 Census are dispersed throughout Ireland (Central Statistics Office 2012: 40–42). This figure excludes Northern Ireland, for which figures are gathered by productive and passive language skills rather than frequency of usage. Less than one third of the daily speakers of Irish reside in areas officially designated by the state as Gaeltacht areas (see map in Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 98), where Irish is one of the community languages. Significantly, most speakers now live in the post-Gaeltacht where English is the main vernacular of the community. Considerable linguistic variation exists within what McCubbin (2011: 461) calls the ethnoculture of habitual Irish-speakers. For members of this group, speaking Irish is fundamental to their negotiation and management of identity in late modern society, rather than serving the merely symbolic function the language serves for the majority of the Irish population (Mac Gréil and Rattigan 2009: 86; Watson 2008: 71).

The variation within this group of habitual Irish-speakers involves not only the regional differences in the traditional speech of the Gaeltacht areas, but also the wide variation that is evident among younger speakers in the Gaeltacht, as well as the emergence and proliferation of alternative spoken norms within the post-Gaeltacht[1] revivalist speech community. The variation in contemporary

[1] The term 'post-Gaeltacht' is used here to denote areas on the island of Ireland outside the official Gaeltacht areas identified by the state for the specific purpose of language planning. Irish was historically spoken as the dominant community vernacular in these areas, however, English now dominates following an historic language shift from Irish to English as main vernacular. This term encompasses areas which were, for a time, included in the Gaeltacht but which were excluded with the introduction of the Gaeltacht Areas Order in 1956, as well as areas that were never officially recognised by the state as Gaeltacht areas.

spoken Irish is described on a continuum from conservative local speech varieties firmly linked to specific Gaeltacht areas, to newly emergent supra-regional speech associated with post-Gaeltacht speakers and with Irish-medium education outside the Gaeltacht (Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 102; Ó Murchadha 2011: 227). Some of the characteristic linguistic features of traditional Gaeltacht speech, Gaeltacht youth speech and post-Gaeltacht speech are expounded in this contribution because they make up the linguistic backdrop to the experimental investigations into young people's perceptions and evaluations of Irish varieties that are presented later in the chapter. Established hierarchical perceptions of each of the above varieties are presented and these perceptions are subsequently questioned in light of data collected in the Gaeltacht areas of the southern province of Munster.

Participants' subjective responses to stimulus voices in a speaker evaluation experiment indicate that although traditional Gaeltacht varieties are readily identified as target spoken varieties by the participating teenaged cohort in openly-offered evaluations, Gaeltacht youth speech and post-Gaeltacht speech are both upgraded in actual evaluations of speech varieties. Therefore, in the indexical order for spoken Irish, non-traditional varieties that 'deviate' from traditional Gaeltacht models are more closely linked with desirable personality traits than are the overtly acknowledged target models for language excellence. The more favourable responses to Gaeltacht youth speech and to post-Gaeltacht speech, in particular, are consistent with the well documented shift away from the traditional speech of the Gaeltacht in terms of language change in formal features of spoken Irish overall. These linguistic changes are therefore supported in participants' subjective responses to the varieties of Irish with which they were presented. The results suggest an intimate link between language change and socio-psychological factors and indicate that the use of experimental methods will be central in elucidating this link.

TRADITIONAL GAELTACHT SPEECH

It is believed that Irish was a relatively uniform language throughout the period of Old Irish from 600 to 900 AD and Middle Irish from 900 to 1200 AD (Breatnach 1994: 227–228; Ó hUiginn 2008: 8), but regional variation became evident in spoken Irish from the twelfth century onwards and diversification continued throughout the period of Early Modern Irish, 1200 to c.1700 AD (Ó hUiginn

2008: 7; Ó Murchadha 2011; Williams 1994: 447–448). This is the period during which the highly prescriptive literary koine of Classical Irish flourished across Ireland and Scotland. Rigid adherence to this norm by many conservative writers in fact masks much of the variation which was coming to the fore at the time (Breatnach 1994; Ó hUiginn 2008: 7; Williams 1994: 447). However, evidence of this variation can be gleaned by looking at some manuscripts, particularly religious materials, which were written in accordance with spoken norms of the time (Williams 1994: 447). Essentially, the language forms found in these texts divide the language into the three main regional dialects of Irish found in present day Gaeltacht speech – Munster, Connacht and Ulster (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 15).

Traditional Gaeltacht speech is described as conservative local dialectal speech, showing little influence from English in phonology, syntax and vocabulary and is especially prevalent among speakers born before 1960 (Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 102). While all of the traditional Gaeltacht dialects share a common core (Ó Murchú 1969; Ó Siadhail 1989), regional variation is a key feature of Gaeltacht speech so that we can speak of Munster Irish in the south, Connacht Irish in the west and Ulster Irish in the northwest, each in turn displaying some internal variation. Distinctions between regions are noted to different extents in phonology, lexical stress, lexical items, syntax, and intonation. We can consider some differences in the stress pattern and the pronunciation of consonants and vowels as examples.

The lexical stress pattern and stress shift are prominent features of regional variation (Ó Sé 1989: 149). The primary stress pattern in lexis for Modern Irish involves placing the primary stress on the first syllable (Ó Sé 1989: 148; Ó Siadhail 1989: 26). There are, however, exceptions to this rule and, because these exceptions vary from region to region, the Gaeltacht speech of Munster, Connacht and Ulster are quite easily identifiable by their stress patterns. The stress pattern in Munster Irish has been described among its most striking characteristics (Ó Sé 2000). It involves the primary stress shifting to the second syllable of two-syllable words where the second vowel is long, and to the third syllable of three-syllable words where the third vowel is long and the preceding two are short (Ó Sé 2009: 1, 2000: 46–48; Ó Siadhail 1989: 29–30; Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 481). Lexical stress in Ulster Irish falls consistently on the first syllable and is closely linked to the length of vowels in unstressed syllables so that those vowels are shortened significantly (Hughes 1994: 625). Unstressed vowels are not shortened in this manner in Connacht. A 'tendency towards forward stress',

perhaps under influence from Munster, has been detected in the case of Connacht, but it is argued that it was 'too weak ever to gain much ground, and the natural preference for initial stressing inevitably reasserted itself' (Blankenhorn 1981: 241). The stress pattern thus distinguishes the regional varieties of Irish.

As regards pronunciation, we can look at the vowel represented orthographically by the letters <ao> which is produced as a long front vowel [i:] in Ulster and Connacht Irish, but as a long front vowel [e:] in Munster Irish. The rendering of some consonants and clusters can likewise be used to distinguish between the dialect areas. In Munster, for instance, the word for 'hill' in Irish *cnoc* is likely to be produced as [knuk] and the word for 'women' *mná* as [mna:], while [kruk] and [mra:] are most likely to be produced in Ulster (Ó Siadhail 1989: 95). Both northern and southern forms are attested in the area of Conamara, in Connacht. The linguistic forms described here provide an insight into some of the characteristic linguistic features of Munster Irish in the south, Connacht Irish in the west and Ulster Irish in the north. These features provide some of the basis for the traditional distinction between the three main dialects of Irish in the Gaeltacht.

GAELTACHT YOUTH SPEECH

Gaeltacht youth speech, likewise, varies by area and maintains features of the traditional local varieties, including some of the most distinctly local features (Ó Murchadha 2011). Research in the Gaeltacht education system at all levels reveals the presence of a diverse blend of linguistic backgrounds among pupils (Harris 2008; Hickey 2007, 2001; Mac Donnacha et al. 2005; Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007). The young Gaeltacht population has been described, referring to Dorian's (1981: 189) classification, as consisting of good proficient speakers with accuracy in local speech and mastery of the standard written variety, as well as speakers who have little Irish (Ó hIfearnáin 2006: 25). The Irish of young Gaeltacht speakers, however traditional their linguistic background, is now moving very rapidly away from the local variety (Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 102). Regional features are becoming less marked (Ó Curnáin 2007; Ó Sé 2000) so that a levelled variety of spoken Irish is developing among younger speakers. The sociolinguistic profile of younger speakers and their linguistic competence in Irish and in English inevitably affects the choice of language for in-group communication (Hickey 2001: 461; Mac Donnacha et al. 2005; Ó Giollagáin et

al. 2007: 11), but it also affects the form of Irish practised, the result being that both traditional and non-traditional forms of Irish have currency.

> Nontraditional peer groups tend to exert an influence of lowest common denominator on the members so that the most extreme instances of reduction become prominent; in contrast with norm reinforcement within traditional vernacular...in some cases there will be an increase in nontraditional, regionalised or standardised input and interaction. (Ó Curnáin 2007: 59)

The traditional local variety, therefore, no longer functions as the sole model for language use in the Gaeltacht due to the limited access to the 'intensive input required to master complex, localized linguistic structures which lack the support of institutional models' (Milroy 2002: 566). Within the contours of late modern society, there are opportunities for increasing access to alternative linguistic models through schooling, through increased social and geographical mobility and through interaction with the broadcast media. Changes are found at many levels of the language.

As previously mentioned, the rules governing stress shift in Munster Irish involve the primary stress falling on a long vowel in three-syllable words where the preceding vowels are short. A further innovative pattern has been reported among younger speakers in Corca Dhuibhne in west Munster. This pattern involves stressing non-initial syllables in words with three syllables where there is a long vowel in a non-initial position, even though they are preceded by a long vowel in a previous syllable. According to the rules outlined earlier one would expect the plural noun *cúraimí*, translated as 'duties' or 'responsibilities' in English, to be pronounced /'ku:rəmi:/ with initial stress due to the long vowel in the first syllable. An alternative pronunciation with stress falling on the final syllable, which is long, is noted among younger speakers and *cúraimí* might also be pronounced /ku:rəm'i:/ and likewise with similar words (Ó Sé 1989: 151, 2000; Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 481). This is possibly due to analogy and/or hypercorrection, and is linked to the perception of Munster Irish as a dialect with non-initial stress.

Changes appear in the phonemic system where English phonemes are used in cases where Irish consonants and clusters differ from those in English (Ó Curnáin 2007: 204, 228; Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 101; Ó Murchadha 2011: 225–226). This is common in other languages sharing a diglossic relationship with a more dominant language (see Jones 1998: 302–304; Montoya-Abat 2009: 223; Ó hIfearnáin 2011: 95). We therefore find one single phoneme in

English replacing a system of multiple phonemes in traditional Irish so that the distinction between so-called broad and slender consonants, corresponding approximately to palatalised and non-palatalised consonants, may not be clear. Subtle differences between singular and plural forms of nouns with weak plurals might not be apparent in such cases, and so it is not unusual to hear *rothar* 'bicycle' and *rothair* 'bicycles' both produced as /ɹohəɹ/ with alveolar approximants whereas traditionally /rohər/ and /rohər′/ are heard with the broad alveolar in the singular form and the slender alveolar in the plural form marking the distinction between the forms (Ó Murchadha 2011: 226).

Grammatical initial mutation is common in Irish and its presence through lenition or nasalisation of the initial consonant in the word, or indeed its absence, indicates grammatical relations. It is inconsistently applied by younger speakers in the Gaeltacht, however (Hughes 1994; Mac Mathúna 2008: 88; Ó Curnáin 2007). It is frequently absent in cases where it might be expected and may also be applied in cases where it is not traditionally found. Initial mutation no longer necessarily denotes gender in the nominal and genitive cases as the pattern of lenition does not always conform to traditional and standard conventions which discriminate between masculine and feminine nouns (Ó Curnáin 2007: 1840–1841). In the dative case, eclipsis (the nasalisation of some initial consonants) may or may not be applied according to traditional spoken and standard written norms and it may also be applied in cases where it would not be expected (Ó Curnáin 2007: 1840–1841).

Lexical and syntactic transference from English (Hickey 2009; Hughes 1994; Ó hUiginn 1994; O'Malley-Madec 2007; Ua Súilleabháin 1994) is quite common in everyday speech (Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 536). The public perception of such transference confirms that the avoidance of forms marked by the influence of the dominant language is a key feature of formal style in a minority language (Deuchar 2005: 615; McEwan-Fujita 2008: 85).

POST-GAELTACHT SPEECH

The post-Gaeltacht refers to areas throughout the island of Ireland in which Irish used to be the main vernacular, but where English now dominates and Irish no longer functions as a community language for the majority population. The importance of the Irish spoken in the post-Gaeltacht is noted by Ó Dónaill (1951) in his seminal essay on Irish revitalisation and it is noteworthy that today, ac-

cording to census data on the use of Irish outside the educational context, there are more than twice as many daily speakers of Irish residing outside the officially designated Gaeltacht areas than there are within the Gaeltacht (Central Statistics Office 2012: 40–42). It is not possible to profile these speakers from the census data, but it is likely that many of them first encountered Irish through Irish-medium education and may in some cases elect to expand its usage by choosing Irish as the language of the home and for interaction with other post-Gaeltacht speakers. Some may also be Irish language professionals who use Irish in their work. Post-Gaeltacht speakers form part of the core ethnocultural group of active Irish speakers.

Most Irish speakers who live outside the Gaeltacht have in the past tended to gravitate towards one of the regional dialects as a target speech variety, either because of direct association with one of the Gaeltacht regions or because of experience through school of one such variety (Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 100). This model permeated the education system at all levels and the local and regional dialects of the Gaeltacht have been highly valorised (Ó Baoill 2000: 131; Mac Mathúna 2008: 87). Several areal koines subsequently emerged as speakers in the post-Gaeltacht attempted to align their speech with the core features of one of the three main Gaeltacht dialects, although few speakers achieved Gaeltacht-like speech (Ó Dochartaigh 2000: 22). The efficacy of the Gaeltacht model for post-Gaeltacht speakers of Irish is now in question in light of the alternative models that appear to be proliferating in the post-Gaeltacht due to the rapid expansion in the number of people who chose to use Irish on a regular basis (Mac Mathúna 2008: 87). This expansion provides increased opportunities for interaction with other post-Gaeltacht speakers.

It is by now generally accepted that a post-Gaeltacht variety of Irish has emerged which operates independently of Gaeltacht norms (Mac Mathúna 2008: 87; Nic Pháidín 2003; Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011) as most speakers of Irish outside the Gaeltacht tend to have little contact with the Gaeltacht community and, instead, converse with other post-Gaeltacht speakers for the most part (Mac Mathúna 2008: 87). The emergence of post-Gaeltacht speech, to an extent, challenges the established position of the Gaeltacht as the target model for language use and suggests that one can speak Irish well without aligning themselves to a particular type of Gaeltacht speech. Post-Gaeltacht speech shares many of its defining features with Gaeltacht youth speech described above.

Commenting on the spoken Irish of the post-Gaeltacht Shaw's Road community in Belfast, Maguire (1991: 199) states that the role of the English phonolog-

ical system in relation to Irish is a role of substratum rather than of intrusive influence. It is reasonable to argue that the same applies to post-Gaeltacht speakers elsewhere as well. Therefore, in the absence of a traditional phonological system for Irish, phonemes from the English system are produced by post-Gaeltacht speakers, most notably in cases where Irish consonants and clusters differ from those in English. Hence, in post-Gaeltacht speech, one single phoneme is found in contrast to a dual system of palatalised and non-palatalised phonemes in Gaeltacht speech in the case of /f/ and one single phoneme is found in contrast to four different phonemes in Gaeltacht speech in the case of /l/ in some dialects (Maguire 1991: 199). This occurs in many other cases, one of the outcomes being the blurring of the distinction between singular and plural forms of nouns with weak plurals as discussed above in the case of *rothar* and *rothair* in Gaeltacht youth speech. This tendency towards neutralisation is strong, but rarely results in ambiguity, given the opportunities to clarify the distinction in its context (Maguire 1991: 200). Frequent absence of initial mutation (Maguire 1991: 203; Ó Duibhir 2008: chapter 5), especially lenition, may negate the need for velar fricatives and so further phonemes become redundant (Maguire 1991: 203).

Including the substantive verb *bí* 'be', there are eleven irregular verbs outlined in standard Irish and the grammatical structure of these verbs requires that the verb stem is altered depending on the tense. The standard third person singular form of the verb *téigh* 'go' appears as *chuaigh* in the independent form of the past tense, (*ní*) *dheachaigh* in the dependent form of the past tense, *théadh* in the imperfect tense, *téann* in the present tense, *rachaidh* in the future tense *rachadh* in the conditional tense. Further forms and rules not included in the standard are also present in the various regional dialects. Maguire (1991: 206–207) observes an overgeneralisation of the future tense stem of irregular verbs and its use as a stem in other tenses, so that *rachann* at times replaces *téann* as a present tense form. This practice has also been noted in Gaeltacht youth speech (Ó Curnáin 2007: 1147, 1227).

Focus attribution in Irish often involves the use of the copula and the adjustment of the word order so as to emphasise a particular lexical item within the sentence, and may also involve the use of an emphatic suffix. This structure may be present in the speech of post-Gaeltacht speakers, but the use of intonational stress to emphasise a particular lexical item within a sentence, as done in English, has been observed (Maguire 1991: 217). 'That's **my** book', where the word 'my' is stressed in English, is reported as *Sin é **mo** leabhar*, where intonational

stress is used in order to attribute focus to the word *mo* 'my'. This is in contrast to the traditional structure *Sin é mo leabharsa*, where focus is signalled with the use of the suffix *-sa* with the noun. Occasions where young post-Gaeltacht speakers map English syntax onto Irish are also reported, as is the use of English lexical items in Irish structures (Maguire 1991: 196–199; Ó Duibhir 2008: 74; Nic Pháidín: 123–126).

Of course, the linguistic developments that have been described here result from the universal propensity to cast off superfluous items that are deemed informationally redundant and to replace them with a system in which the traditional role of the remaining features is extended so that a number of high-coverage items are stretched to meet the communicative needs of the interlocutors in various contexts (Maguire: 1991: 211). The described situation makes up the linguistic backdrop to the experimental investigations into young people's perception and evaluations of Irish varieties which will be presented in the remaining part of this chapter.

THE EXPERIMENTS

Established perceptions of spoken varieties of Irish

Traditional Gaeltacht speech, in its various regional forms, has been identified as a prestige spoken variety since its selection as a model of language excellence during the Revival period at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, ahead of Classical Irish, the literary language of Early Modern Irish. Even though it is not a uniform variety, traditional Gaeltacht speech is acknowledged as the variety of Irish on which *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*, the official unitary standard written variety, is based (see Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011 on the development of the standard written variety). The decision in favour of the speech of the people during the Revival has meant that the colloquial speech of the natives of the Irish-speaking communities in Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Galway, Mayo and Donegal has been the benchmark against which spoken Irish is evaluated, and that those with mastery and knowledge of the dialects are the language experts, not the scholars in Trinity College or in the National Library (Ó Conchubhair 2009: 208).

This still holds true today, as all varieties of spoken Irish are measured against traditional Gaeltacht speech, and varieties that do not conform to this

norm are described as ‘deviating’ from the ideal norm. The valorisation of Gaeltacht speech has resulted in a divide between traditional Gaeltacht speech and forms of late modern Irish, which encompass Gaeltacht youth speech and post-Gaeltacht speech. Ó Béarra (2007: 262) accordingly discusses some of the extreme cases of ‘deviation’ in late modern Irish and, in an ideologically loaded statement on semantic transference, contends that ‘the new expression stinks of Anglicism and corrodes the linguistic integrity of the traditional language’. Gaeltacht youth speech is charged with detraditionalising local dialectal speech. It straddles both extremes of the continuum mentioned earlier because it contains both traditional and non-traditional features. Younger speakers in the Gaeltacht thus share features with traditional local speakers and share other features with post-Gaeltacht speakers. Post-Gaeltacht speech, on the other hand, has no inherent link to any one Gaeltacht area and is somewhat marginalised given the prestige of Gaeltacht speech in the public psyche and the state’s Gaeltacht-oriented language planning initiatives. The schism between Gaeltacht speakers (traditional and youth) and post-Gaeltacht speakers is well documented (Kabel 2000; Ó Broin 2010; Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011; O’Rourke 2011; O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011) and centres on issues of legitimacy, authenticity and language ownership.

It is therefore to be expected that traditional local varieties would be evaluated most favourably in consciously-offered responses to speech varieties and that varieties not corresponding to these traditional spoken models (i.e. Gaeltacht youth speech and post-Gaeltacht speech) would be evaluated less favourably. Furthermore, an element of ‘local patriotism’ is also to be expected in such evaluations, given the valorisation of the local speech of each Gaeltacht area and the familiarity of speakers with their own local variety. This established hierarchical organisation of spoken varieties of Irish is found in teenagers’ consciously-offered evaluations of the speakers’ use of language, but it is challenged in evaluations offered when the nature of the experiment is less salient. Teenagers’ responses to a label-ranking task and to stimulus voices are investigated in order to uncover the overt and covert ideology around language variation in spoken Irish, but also in an attempt to explicate the role of subjective and socio-psychological factors in the process of language change in the Gaeltacht.

Design and data collection procedure

Following previous work in this area (e.g. Kristiansen 2009, 2003; Grondelaers and van Hout 2010; Grondelaers, van Hout and Steegs 2010), a speaker evaluation experiment was conducted with 262 senior-cycle second-level pupils at five schools serving the Gaeltacht areas of Munster, the southern province of Ireland. Participants were 15–19 years old at the time the data were gathered in 2010. Eleven fifteen-second audio recordings representing traditional Gaeltacht speech, Gaeltacht youth speech and post-Gaeltacht speech were selected from the interviewee sections of Irish-medium radio interviews. Ten of the samples were taken from RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta, the Irish-medium radio station of the state broadcaster, which includes segments from all Gaeltacht areas and serves Irish-speakers in and beyond the officially-recognised Gaeltacht areas. A traditional speaker and a youth speaker were selected to represent the contemporary spoken Irish of Na Déise, Múscraí and Corca Dhuibhne in Munster, as well as the Irish of Connacht and Ulster further north. The remaining sample was provided by Raidió na Life, the independent, urban, Irish-medium radio station targeting the Irish-speaking community of Dublin and the surrounding area. This recording was an example of what is described above as post-Gaeltacht speech, or non-Gaeltacht speech as it is referred to in Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha (2011), which is particularly common among younger speakers in the post-Gaeltacht. In order to control for gender effects, only female speakers were included. Each of the speakers spoke on a different topic, but the nature of the selected segments was such that, for the listener, the subject of the interviews was not easily discernible.

Audio samples were selected in accordance with the linguistic description of the varieties of spoken Irish already discussed so that differences in phonology, lexical stress, intonation and lexical items represented the variation between each of the categories. The guises representing Munster speech, traditional as well as youth varieties, contained numerous examples of Munster's characteristic stress shift and so the primary lexical stress falls on the second or third syllable in cases where it is attracted to those syllables by a long vowel. The same pattern of lexical stress was not evident in the guises chosen for the traditional Gaeltacht speech and Gaeltacht youth speech of Connacht or Ulster. Instead, the stress in these samples falls primarily on the first syllable. The shortening of vowels in unstressed syllables in Ulster also serves to distinguish between this and other varieties. The pronunciation of vowels and consonants was likewise

used to demarcate regional varieties of Gaeltacht speech. In a certain class of words with only one syllable which finish on a nasal or liquid consonant, the word *ann* 'there', for instance, a diphthong is produced in the Munster guises, while a long vowel is found in the Connacht guises and a short vowel is found in the Ulster guises. The pronunciation of consonants, for instance the [knuk], [kruk] and [mna:], [mra:] distinctions already outlined, reinforce the regional differences that link the Gaeltacht speakers to the specific linguistic features characteristic of each Gaeltacht region.

The production of English phonemes in place of those found in traditional Gaeltacht speech was prominent in the samples selected to represent Gaeltacht youth speech, especially where consonants and clusters in traditional Gaeltacht speech do not correspond directly to those found in English. This was particularly apparent in the presence of the alveolar approximant, found in English, in positions where broad and slender alveolar consonants are found in traditional Gaeltacht speech. Furthermore, the innovative stress shift common in non-traditional Munster speech was observable in the guises representing the youth speech of the Munster Gaeltacht areas and differentiates between the traditional and youth speech of Munster.

The guise selected for post-Gaeltacht speech was characterised by the absence of a traditional Gaeltacht phonological system and by the use of the English phonological system in cases where phonemes in Gaeltacht speech are different to those found in English. This was most evident in the production of a voiceless velar plosive in positions where a voiceless velar fricative is found in Gaeltacht speech. Similar to Gaeltacht youth speech, the presence of the alveolar approximant, found in English, in positions where broad and slender alveolar consonants are found in traditional Gaeltacht speech, was also prominent in the guise chosen for post-Gaeltacht speech.

Given that linguistic features are commonly used in the evaluation of non-linguistic attributes of people and of groups through processes of enregisterment (Agha 2003, 2007) and iconisation (Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000), it was anticipated that the linguistic differences evident in the various guises would allow access to the established indexical order in which linguistic production is linked with particular social values and images. It is argued that participants' responses to the various guises therefore reveal the semiotic connection between linguistic forms and social meanings, rather than revealing values associated with any of the individual speakers. This follows previous findings in this regard that suggest that, where recognised, the language variety spoken is the

major attitude determinant in the experimental design (Elwell, Brown and Rutter 1984; Giles and Farrar 1979; Grondelaers and van Hout 2010; Grondelaers, van Hout and Steegs 2010).

The listener-judges were informed that they were to participate in a study about which they would later learn more, but the aim and the nature of the study were not disclosed. Although the order in which the speakers were presented remained constant, the audio samples were arranged to serve different experimental functions. In the first instance, the speakers were separated by a one-second tone preceded and followed by a half-second mute pause. The teenagers listened to this recording once from start to finish having been instructed to listen carefully to the audio. This recording was used for the purpose of illustration and for familiarisation with the structure of the experiment.

Booklets were distributed prior to playing the second arrangement of the audio where the speech segments were separated by fifteen-second pauses which were in turn preceded and followed by a one-second tone. The booklets were presented in two different forms so that in all cases participants completed a version different to that of their neighbour. The booklets featured eight seven-point adjective scales for each speaker with opposing adjectives at either end of the scales, similar to a semantic differential scale, but where the points on the scale were numbered 1 to 7. In an adaptation of the scales used by Kristiansen (2003) in the Danish context, the following adjective scales, referring to the personality traits of the speakers, were included in order to suit the bilingual format of the response materials: enthusiastic – uninspired; trustworthy – untrustworthy; adventurous – shy; interesting – boring; self-assured – insecure; intelligent – stupid; nice – repulsive; fashionable – unfashionable. The final page of the booklet asked participants to state what they thought the experiment was about, why they thought that and also allowed them an opportunity to comment further on the experiment if they so wished. All materials were presented in Irish and in English. Participants were free to answer in Irish or in English with most (87.4%) choosing to answer in Irish or using a combination of Irish and English.

Importantly, the nature of the study was not revealed to participants until all the booklets relating to this second phase of the experiment had been collected. They were then informed that the experiment was about their perception of variation in spoken Irish and that they should consider this for the next phase of the study. A second set of booklets was distributed in which participants responded to the same samples, and in the same order, on seven-point Lickert scales to statements relating to the standardness of the speakers, how strong their accents

were, how good their spoken Irish was and whether they liked the way they spoke. Participants were also asked to state where they thought the speaker might be from and what they thought they might look like. At the back of the booklet appeared a label-ranking task where the pupils were asked to 'Number each of the following varieties, using each number only once, in order to indicate the best and worst varieties (1=best, 6=worst): *An Caighdeán Oifigúil*, Irish from a Gaelscoil (post-Gaeltacht speech), local Irish, Connacht Irish, Ulster Irish, Irish from other Gaeltacht areas in Munster'. Having completed this task, participants also completed a background questionnaire.

Results

Following the conventional hierarchy which is manifest in public discourse on the issue, teenagers unsurprisingly reproduce the established and accepted pecking order for the varieties of Irish listed in the label-ranking task. The results of the label-ranking task are illustrated in Table 1 where local speech is most positively evaluated followed by varieties from other Gaeltacht areas in Munster, the standard written variety, Connacht Irish, Irish acquired in a Gaelscoil outside the Gaeltacht (referred to here as post-Gaeltacht speech) and finally Ulster speech.

Table 1: Overt ranking of 'language labels' (1=best, 6=worst)

Variety	Mean
Local Speech	1.89
Other areas in Munster	2.55
Standard Written Variety	3.71
Connacht	3.86
Gaelscoil (post Gaeltacht)	4.20
Ulster	4.36

Table 2: Overt ranking of speech stimuli

This Person speaks 'good Irish' (Agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Disagree)

Variety	Mean
Traditional local speech	2.35
Local youth speech	2.40
Post-Gaeltacht speech	3.01

Table 2 shows a similar pattern when openly-offered responses to the speaker stimuli representing traditional local speech, local youth speech and post-

Gaeltacht speech are isolated. Each of the varieties is evaluated towards the positive end of the scale, but the order in which they are ranked is pertinent to the present study. Traditional local speech is more positively evaluated than the other two varieties, followed by local youth speech and then post-Gaeltacht speech. Therefore, when the nature of the study is outlined for participants, as in the label-ranking task and during the phase of the evaluation that refers specifically to the form of language, responses conform to the traditional hierarchisation of spoken Irish described earlier.

This overt hierarchisation, however, does not converge with evaluations elicited in the speaker evaluation design, in which the experimental goal was not revealed. The data from this phase of the experiment are shown in Table 3. The established order is turned on its head for the scales enthusiastic – uninspired, self-secure – insecure, adventurous – shy, interesting – boring and fashionable – unfashionable, so that post-Gaeltacht speech is ranked most positively for these personality traits, followed by local youth speech and then traditional local speech. For each of the scales where this order does not apply, trustworthy – untrustworthy, intelligent – stupid and nice – repulsive, local youth speech is evaluated most favourably, followed by post-Gaeltacht speech and then traditional local speech.

Table 3: Covert ranking of speech stimuli on eight personality traits (7-point scales)

Variety	Mean	Variety	Mean
Enthusiastic – Uninspired		Self -secure – Insecure	
Post-Gaeltacht	2.22	Post-Gaeltacht	2.57
Local Youth	2.83	Local Youth	2.94
Traditional Local	4.52	Traditional Local	3.57
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy		Intelligent – Stupid	
Local Youth	3.03	Local Youth	2.85
Post-Gaeltacht	3.36	Post-Gaeltacht	3.02
Traditional Local	3.40	Traditional Local	3.76
Adventurous – Shy		Nice – Repulsive	
Post-Gaeltacht	2.73	Local Youth	2.83
Local Youth	3.22	Post-Gaeltacht	2.84
Traditional Local	4.38	Traditional Local	3.53
Interesting – Boring		Fashionable – Unfashionable	
Post-Gaeltacht	3.05	Post-Gaeltacht	3.16
Local Youth	3.31	Local Youth	3.37
Traditional Local	4.51	Traditional Local	4.75

This is in stark contrast to the traditional hierarchisation of spoken Irish detailed above where traditional local speech is most positively evaluated and where traditional speech is a point of reference when evaluating all other varieties. It is important to note that the evaluations using adjective scales refer specifically to the social attributes indexically linked with the speech forms presented in the experiment and not necessarily to the speech forms themselves. Local youth speech and especially post-Gaeltacht speech are upgraded in comparison with traditional local speech, in terms of desirable personality traits, no matter what adjectives are used.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In response to both the label-ranking task and to the portion of the speaker evaluation experiment in which the listener judges evaluated the guises in terms of 'good Irish', the dominant ideology around linguistic variation in Irish is reproduced by participants. This expected result in the label-ranking task can be interpreted in terms of the status associated locally, and the familiarity of the participants, with each of the varieties listed. Local speech is considered a 'best language' variety for the local Gaeltacht communities. It is overtly acknowledged as a model variety for spoken Irish within each of the Gaeltacht communities and it is the spoken variety with which the pupils in the study are likely to be most familiar. The Gaeltacht areas of Munster contain some internal variation, but also share linguistic traits that are common across all Gaeltacht areas in Munster, as discussed above. Because of these shared linguistic characteristics, the Irish varieties of other areas in Munster are considered by the teenagers in the study as relatively familiar, and are therefore acknowledged as such in their evaluations.

The standard written variety is often considered as a distinct variety which is not representative of local dialectal speech (Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011). It is nonetheless familiar to school-going teenagers in the Gaeltacht by virtue of its prominence in publishing and in pedagogy where it is granted status as a prestige variety. The spoken Irish of Connacht is in its own right a model spoken variety for the Gaeltacht speech community in Connacht. It is familiar to participants mostly through its role in the broadcast media, and although it is recognised as a legitimate language model, it does not share the same currency as the more familiar categories already discussed.

The less favourable position of post-Gaeltacht speech mirrors its description in public discourse as a synthetic and inauthentic form of speech. Its role in the broadcast media, particularly television programmes targeting a teenage audience, makes it familiar to teenagers and perhaps makes more salient the stigmatised features frequently associated with it. Even though Ulster speech is considered a model spoken form for many speakers, it appears to be dismissed by those involved in the current study. This rejection is attributable to the manner in which the communities of Munster and Ulster are geographically isolated from one another, and to the resultant infrequent opportunities for interaction. This is further compounded by the marginal role of Ulster speech in broadcast media shows targeting teenagers.

The responses of the participants on the scale referring to 'good Irish' presents a situation familiar to researchers who investigate subjective responses to linguistic variation, because it is the overt ideology on 'best language' varieties that generally prevails in experimental studies that focus on consciously-offered evaluations of linguistic variation (Labov 2001: 222–223). Therefore, it is again unsurprising that traditional local speech beats all other varieties, and that post-Gaeltacht speech is judged least favourably when the participants provide subjective responses on scales that openly refer to the type of language used by the speakers. In such experimental designs participants merely reproduce the dominant ideology common in public discourse on 'best language'. These results point to a fundamental mismatch between ideology and practice in the Gaeltacht. The valorisation of traditional Gaeltacht speech in openly-offered evaluations of linguistic variation is far removed from the direction of language change in the Gaeltacht, where a rapid shift away from traditional speech forms is reported. As Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 23) have noted, there is often a mismatch within Haugen's traditional model of language standardisation between the 'best language' models accepted by the public, as articulated in openly-offered evaluations of language variation, and the target language models that are implicit in the patterns of language use and diffusion within the community.

In the current investigation, the mismatch between acceptance and diffusion was only evident in the listener-judges' openly-offered responses, which involved the use of instruments that specifically referred to the type of speech with which they were presented. When the nature of the experiment was less salient and when the instruments used referred, not to the speech variety, but to the attributes of the speakers, the dominant ideology on linguistic variation did not come to the fore. The dominant ideology is by-passed, and in its place we find

the emergence of a hierarchical organisation of the varieties of spoken Irish that contrasts strongly with the overt hierarchisation that emerges in overt evaluations of 'best language' varieties. When the research tool refers to the characteristics of the speaker and when the nature of the experiment is less salient, late modern speech varieties, Gaeltacht youth speech and especially post-Gaeltacht speech, are upgraded in comparison with their positions in assessments of 'best language' and in comparison with the position of traditional Gaeltacht speech in evaluations of the characteristics of the speakers. Social meaning is attached to language varieties through processeses of enregisterment and iconisation. Through these processes post-Gaeltacht speech and, to a lesser extent, Gaeltacht youth speech, have been indexically linked with desirable personality attributes and social meanings.

The indexicality of post-Gaeltacht speech and of Gaeltacht youth speech might be explained by recourse to: (a) the mixture of linguistic competence in the Gaeltacht, which means that traditional and non-traditional forms of Irish have currency (Ó Curnáin 2007; Ó hIfearnain and Ó Murchadha 2011); (b) the expansion of Irish beyond the confines of the Gaeltacht communities, which has resulted in the emergence of a variety that operates independently of Gaeltacht norms (Mac Mathúna 2008; Nic Pháidín 2003); and (c) the packaging of varieties of Irish in the broadcast media and speakers' experience of linguistic variation in the home, in the peer group and in the education system. These factors combined may contribute to the manner in which varieties of Irish are perceived and to the social meanings that are attached to them.

Whatever their origin, the indexical links that connect language forms with social meanings in the Gaeltacht do not readily emerge in the participants' openly-offered assessments of 'best language' varieties, due to the pervasiveness of dominant language ideologies in that context. However, and like experiments by Kristiansen (2003, 2009) in Denmark, this dominant ideology is side-stepped in the current research design, when the focus of the experiment is placed on the association of speech varieties with social meanings and when the nature of the experiment is not revealed to participants. Thus, there is a dichotomy within participants' subjective responses to linguistic variation, so that we may speak of two contrasting forms of ideology. On the one hand, the overt ideology that dominates public discourse on linguistic variation is reproduced by participants in judgements of 'best language' varieties. Such openly-offered ideology points to a mismatch between ideology and patterns of language use and it is therefore contended that overt ideology plays, at most, a peripheral role in influencing the

diffusion of linguistic forms and features in the community. On the other hand, there are ideological judgements that are unavailable in overt appraisals of 'best language' varieties, because participants are unwilling or unable to articulate them in openly-offered responses to questions that centre on 'language excellence'. These judgements are accessed through indirect methods that focus on the association of social meanings with speech varieties and in which the nature of the experiment is not revealed to participants. Importantly, this covert ideology appears to be intimately linked with patterns of language use. Speech varieties that are proliferating in the community beat the models for 'language excellence' in assessments of the social and personal characteristics of the speakers, so that post-Gaeltacht speakers and Gaeltacht youth speakers are considered more enthusiastic, trustworthy, adventurous, interesting, self-assured, intelligent, nice and fashionable than their traditional speaker counterparts.

The direction of linguistic change in contemporary spoken Irish, and the manner in which the speakers of the different speech varieties are perceived socially, appear inherently linked. The results of the current investigation support Labov's (1972: 117) contention that speech forms are in some way linked to values associated with them at a deeper level of consciousness. In that sense, linguistic behaviour among younger speakers in the Gaeltacht is synonymous with the covert ideology that was uncovered in the experimental design. Ideology and attitudes towards linguistic variation can be can be inferred from linguistic practice or behaviour (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 19), and not merely from hegemonic ideologies that are expressed in openly-offered responses to questions about 'language excellence'. Following research in third-wave variation studies (Campbell-Kibler 2011; Eckert 2008), where it is argued that language functions as a semiotic device to signal stances, alignments, and other modes of self-presentation, it appears that the covert ideology revealed in the current experiment is implicit in patterns of language use and in the diffusion of linguistic varieties and features in the community. Differences in feature use can be seen as signals of attitudes and desired social membership (Kammacher, Stæhr and Jørgensen 2011: 89). To this end, linguistic production is used as a means of supporting and enhancing a positive self-image by positioning oneself in the web of intergroup relationships (Kristiansen, Garrett and Coupland 2005: 12–13).

It remains unclear whether the proliferation of the linguistic changes described at the beginning of this chapter is a direct result of favourable attitudes towards the innovative forms and the social meanings that they evoke, or wheth-

er their expansion influences the manner in which they are perceived. It may well be the case that subjective factors are the driving force behind language change, as postulated by Kristiansen (2003, 2009) for the Danish context – an argument that is strengthened by his successful prediction of the direction of language change in Danish (see the discussion in Kammacher, Stæhr and Jørgensen 2011). The results from the Gaeltacht study, however, are not sufficient to definitively posit socio-psychological factors as the driving force behind language change in the Gaeltacht. The data cannot be used to dismiss the influence of the proliferation of language varieties on subjective reactions to those same varieties, nor can they be used to discount the possible symbiotic relationship proposed by Blommaert (2009: 562) whereby the language-ideological load guides the process of language change, but where it is also one of its results.

Linguistic behaviour in the Gaeltacht and the perception of linguistic varieties and their indexical social meanings share an intimate link. This covert ideology is implicit in linguistic behaviour, but it can also be accessed through covert, indirect methods. These methods and instruments will be pivotal in elucidating the nexus between linguistic behaviour and subjective and ideological factors, and in establishing the role of socio-psychological factors in the process of language change.

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Overt and covert evaluation of language varieties in the Lithuanian speech community

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THE OFFICIAL STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

The ideology of standardisation which is at work in the Lithuanian language[1], as in many other standard languages which were established during 19th century nation-state building, is rooted in the history of an oppressed nation and a dominated language. It is marked by the concept of national statehood which makes nation, people, and language indivisible and inevitably elevates the Standard Language (SL) to the highest rank in the hierarchy of language varieties. Late standard languages also share the specific quality of having been created by *conscious* efforts of cultural activists. Thus, the late establishment of the Lithuanian SL and its comparably short period of functioning have engendered a strong belief in a need for SL maintenance and authoritative expertise. This is vividly stressed even in today's official language ideology (Vaicekauskienė 2012a).

In the *overt* ideological discourse the superiority of the SL is motivated by the idea that only 'correct language' guarantees the survival of the nation. The ideal spoken standard is considered a learned rather than a native language: It is not straightforwardly linked to the South West Highlands, whose dialect constitutes the morphological and phonological base of SL (see Map 1). The norms of standard Lithuanian are codified by the experts of the Language Commission. Normative manuals are being issued, and the norms are supposed to be inoculat-

[1] The Lithuanian language is one of the two living Baltic languages (the other being Latvian) in the Indo-European language family. It is spoken by almost 3.5 million inhabitants of Lithuania, by the autochthonous Lithuanian populations in border areas of Poland and Belarus and by numerous Lithuanian emigrants in other countries (first of all, USA), nowadays expanding in Great Britain, Ireland and Spain. Due to well preserved archaic features in the grammatical structure Lithuanian is considered to be one of the most conservative living Indo-European languages and serves as a major source of information on Indo-European comparative grammar. The nominal system of modern Lithuanian distinguishes seven cases and 5 declensions of substantives. The stress system has preserved acute and circumflex pitch accent of long syllables; the stress is variable and follows four patterns for nouns and adjectives.

ed in the educational system (schools and universities), where courses in 'proper language' are offered. The 'reference standard' is established in *Būtiniausi tarties reikalavimai* ('Indispensable requirements for standard pronunciation') – a special chapter in *Didžiųjų kalbos klaidų sąrašas* ('The List of Major Language Errors'), which is the main language regulation document, set by the Language Commission and covering lexicon and grammar. Groups of speakers with special education (TV announcers, actors, Lithuanian philologists) are referred to as speakers of this standard. The obligation to comply with the language requirements concerns state and municipal institutions and all other companies, organisations and institutions of the Lithuanian Republic, including mass media. It is enforced by laws and overseen by a specially established institution, the Language Inspectorate. The Language Inspectorate carries out the control according to the program *Valstybinės kalbos vartojimo ir taisyklingumo kontrolė* ('Control of Use and Correctness of the State language') which is approved by the Government, and it can issue warnings and fines for non-compliance with the regulations of the Language Commission (see Vaicekauskienė 2012a). Urban speech, and Vilnius speech in particular, is downgraded in the language planning discourse for being influenced by Polish and Russian and Lithuanian dialects, and it is therefore regarded as 'impure mixture' (Pupkis 2006).

While the official ideology promotes an *ideal* SL, strictly codified in normative publications, lay people emphasise that SL is regionally neutral, i.e. a language with no trace of dialect in phonology and prosody and morphology (as in written language), a way with language which is most often associated with the three biggest cities (Vilnius, Kaunas, and Klaipėda). Another frequent SL association is with it being the language of national broadcasting (Vaicekauskienė and Čičirkaitė 2011).

The current language of television and radio is indeed characterised by phonological and prosodic variation on 'SL vs. Vilnius' variables. At the one end of this variation, we have speech which adheres to the strict norms and exhibits most *ideal* variants. Being dependent on preparedness and reading it has a rather limited usage area and is mostly used by specially trained newsreaders. At the other end, we have *Vilnius speech*, an advancing variety which deviates from the established requirements of standard prosody and phonology, especially in terms of vowel length and tenseness. In between, we find a *mixed* way with language which exhibits more or less saliently and consistently expressed variants from both ends. Their distribution depends primarily on the communicative situation and the degree of preparedness of the produced speech.

The gatekeepers harshly condemn this variation in public language, altogether rejecting it as a possible manifestation of the *real* SL, since journalists, at least the professionals with an educational background in journalism, are supposed to learn the *ideal* norms of the SL. While the Language Inspectorate scrutinises the language used on TV and radio, writes reports, and sometimes even fines journalists who violate the prescribed norms, the journalists claim that the rigid SL has an aura of 'dead' language, and is far removed from 'ordinary' speech[2]. In general, the practitioners of the media demonstrate that they are open to sociolinguistic diversity and may even take the risk of violating the prescriptive norms for the sake of style and naturalness of presentation (Vaicekauskienė 2011, 2012a).

Indeed, SL has to be conceived of and studied as an integral part of the ideological development of a society, where both official language standardization policies and ordinary language actors (the users of the language and their judgments, not necessarily overtly expressed) have to be taken into account if we are looking for the decisive force in processes of language standardisation.

> […] the attribution 'standard' must reflect social judgements and social practices in the community rather than descriptive details of varietal range and variation. […] It is likely that the process of standardisation will be understood quite differently by those engaged in top-down agentive roles and by others, 'the people', who make on-the-ground assessments of the social implications of using different ways of speaking. Top-down discourses of language standardisation may not overlap with on-the-ground discourses, and the social judgments that matter most may even remain below the level of metalinguistic formulation (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 21, 22).

One might wonder if it is conceivable that any regiolect could compete with the official SL in the strictly standardised Lithuanian speech community. Earlier it was not relevant at all to consider the potential of any elements of vernacular speech finding their way into what is defined as standard, but during the last twenty years the situation has changed. In Lithuania, the democratisation of public language and growing prestige of dialectal and urban speech varieties which has been reported from other western countries (e.g. Blommaert 2009; Gronde-

[2] Adherence to the approved norms is not an easy issue for journalists, especially for those who speak spontaneously. Standard phonology and stress patterns raise the most difficulties. The accentual system of Lithuanian is characterised by a mobile stress and regular shifts of the place of stress in conjugation and declension paradigms. For speakers with a dialectal background which in this respect differs from the SL system, it is often rather difficult to abandon the patterns of their vernacular.

laers and van Hout 2010; Grondelaers, van Hout and Speelman 2011) coincided with the collapse of the Soviet empire and liberation of public language in general. Compared to the Soviet years, the dialects are experiencing an ideological renaissance which is connected with the resurrection of regional identities. However, it is difficult to say to what extent this trend is generated on-the-ground. In the Soviet tradition, the authorities encouraged a conservation attitude toward any ethnic symbol, and a continuation of this tradition is noticeable. As a follow-on from the regional society of ethnology from the Soviet time, the Association of Lithuanian Ethnic culture was established in 1989. On the basis of a Law of State, protection of Ethnic Culture (1999), a Council for Protection of Ethnic Culture, and local regional councils were set up (2000), and a State Program for the Development of Ethnic Culture (2003) was issued. Less institutionalised initiatives include publishing of regional histories and newspapers, and even fiction in dialect. The society in general is becoming more tolerant of diversity. The official language policy also concurs that dialects are valuable, and the government has made dialect research, and preservation of the linguistic heritage of Lithuania, a priority. The *National language policy guidelines for 2009–2013* states that:

> The standard Lithuanian language as the uniting force for Lithuanian society has to be continually nourished, with the State and the society combining their efforts. Lithuanian dialects are the linguistic and cultural heritage, they serve important functions for the local community and therefore have to be protected and supported (see http://www.vlkk.lt/lit/10110).

However, in actual linguistic practice the use of dialect is curtailed: the institutions of education and media are required to produce pure SL. Tools are being created for learning of the 'proper' conservative pronunciation and standard stress patterns, and indignation is expressed at students and teachers who fail to learn the SL due to the 'negative' influence of the dialect (see the reports in Bukantiene 2006).

LAY ATTITUDES TO DIALECTS AND SL IN PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The purpose of this chapter is to study the SL construct as it appears in the judgements of lay people, and to shed light on how much this construct is affected by the official SLI. To that end, we are going to compare *overt* and *covert*

language-ideological systems among Lithuanian adolescents, and discuss how *consciously* and *subconsciously* offered values do reflect (or are reflected in) the changes that are noticeable at the level of language use. In the next, main section of the chapter, we will report results from an experimental investigation of *covert* perceptions of 'best language' in the Lowland region of Lithuania. Three 'ways with language' are studied as possible 'best language' in the experiment: (1) speech dominated by the codified SL features with inclusion of a few features of Vilnius speech – we shall call this *Slightly Conservative Standard* (SCS); (2) Vilnius speech, which figures prominently in the minds of lay people as SL and is spreading in the broadcast media – we shall refer to this as *Modern Speech* (MS); (3) and as a final element in the picture of lay SL conceptualisation, we need to include the evaluative position of regional speech – we shall call it *Local speech* (LS). But first, lay Lithuanian attitudes to SL and dialects will be presented in more detail as these are known from previous research.

Overt evaluations in survey studies using direct questioning

At first sight, large scale surveys based on direct questioning in the cities and towns of Lithuania[3] seem to reveal rather conflicting attitudes towards dialects. Alongside claims to a limiting effect of using dialect, in both a geographical and social sense, people also subscribe to predominantly positive attitudes. For instance, 90% of respondents in large urban areas agree with the statement that 'Dialects are our treasure and should be preserved and spoken', 91% do not think that 'Dialect is incompatible with the modern way of life', and 70% disagree with the claim that 'Speaking dialect is more appropriate for rural, not urban inhabitants' (Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012). Such responses may to some extent be coaxed by suggestive questions in the questionnaires, but in general it is becoming more and more common, in lay overt attitudes and public discourse alike, to assign positive cultural values to the dialects. The interviewees in qualitative research also underscore that dialects should be preserved for the sake of linguistic diversity, and should be seen as a historical treasure repre-

[3] Reference is made to a large-scale survey study conducted in 2008–2009 in three largest Lithuanian cities, Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda, in which a total of 2037 respondents were visited in their homes and to more than 300 qualitative interviews conducted in bigger cities and smaller towns in 2009–2012. These investigations were part of two projects headed by Meilute Ramoniene, Vilnius University: *Cities and Languages 2007–2009* (supported by the State Science and Study Foundation of Lithuania), and *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: Cities and Towns 2010–2012* (supported by the Science Council of Lithuania).

senting the ethnic uniqueness of Lithuanian regions (*ibid*.). Interestingly, this positive attitude becomes especially prominent when people move away from dialect-speaking areas to urban areas and no longer see themselves as speakers of dialect. It seems fair to say that dialects are most positively evaluated when regarded not as a means of public communication but as items in a museum.

The use of dialect in Lithuania is primarily related to the *private sphere*. In the three largest cities, the majority of the respondents state that dialect is *acceptable* in communication with family members and close friends. Only 5% agree that a dialect could be used in commercial business, and only 8% think that it can be used in academic settings (*ibid*.). Responses in qualitative interviews lead to similar conclusions. Speaking dialect *in public* with people you do not know is considered inappropriate by most respondents, even in small towns, although the limitation on dialect use is thought to apply primarily to *urban areas* (*ibid*.; see also Aliūkaitė 2007; Jončaitė 2010; Merkytė 2011).

> Aš būčiau labai nepatenkinta, jeigu nuėjus į kažkokią instituciją man pradėtų aiškinti tarme ką nors, nes tiesiog nesuprantu. Manau, jeigu šeimoj nori, tai gali šnekėt. Kaime su močiute. Su draugu, linksma su draugais pajuokauti, bet ne oficialiose, ne viešose erdvėse (31 m. moteris, teisininkė, Vilnius).
> ['I would be greatly displeased if I went to any public authorities and the representative there would try to explain something in a dialect, because I simply don't understand. In my opinion, in your family, you can use it if you want. With your grandma in the country. With a friend, it's fun to joke around, but not in formal, public places (31 year old female, lawyer, Vilnius)'].

Interview responses by people who have moved to urban areas, along with observations of their language use, reveal that the dialect is retained only as long as there is a group of people with *the same dialect* who communicate *in familiar settings* (Širvytė 2008; Bitinaitė 2009).

One of the motives for abstaining from dialect use in public in an urban setting is unwillingness to draw attention toward oneself. Dialect speakers report in the qualitative interviews that use of dialect in the city always provokes a reaction from the bystanders. Sometimes the reaction is neutral (questions arise about the birthplace of the speaker), sometimes positive (the person is requested to demonstrate his dialect because it is interesting and beautiful to listen to), but it can also be negative (the speaker can be ridiculed, or corrected). Negative attitudes are expressed in labelling dialect use as 'non-correct', 'crude', 'curt' and 'ugly', or, maybe more revealing, in claims by adolescents that they would ask

their parents ‘not to talk like farmers’ if they failed to code-switch to SL in public (Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012).

The entertainment media, being especially sensitive to social stereotypes, exploit dialectal features to shape comic characters. For instance, one very popular TV comedy show portrays two farmers who speak the southern dialect of the West Highlands. Often they are depicted as confused losers visiting the city with their pitchforks and rubber wellingtons. Another character on the same show portrays an aggressive young man with a low IQ speaking in the stylised dialect of Šiauliai city (at the time of the television show the city was famous for its high level of criminal activity). Though stylised dialectal speech needs not necessarily be understood as a parody of personal (in)competence but just can show community affiliation (cf. Coupland 2001; see also Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes 2011: 259), in this specific case an effect of inadequacy and thus humour is intended (dialect does not belong to the city, dialect speakers are funny, uneducated and provincial). Both qualitative and quantitative surveys, as well as discourse analyses, reveal that dialects are used ‘for fun’ and ‘when joking’, and are regarded as appropriate means in order to achieve a comic effect (Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012; Širvytė 2008).

In general, the domain of broadcast media is reserved for the SL. Regional dialects are spoken in some programs on ethnography and in some provincial broadcasting. Many respondents stress in the qualitative interviews that SL is the only appropriate choice for the newsreaders, who traditionally represent the conservative language standard:

> Jeigu man per televiziją pranešėjas pradėtų žemaitiškai žinias skaityti, man kažkaip ausį biškutį rėžtų (50 m. vyras, ūkio skyriaus vadovas, Klaipėda).
> [‘If the TV announcer would read the news in the Lowland dialect, it would grate on my ears a bit (50 year old male, maintenance manager, Klaipėda)’].

Nevertheless, almost 10% of the urban respondents in the quantitative survey state that a dialect would be appropriate in TV and radio (Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012). In the regions, the number of people who claim that dialect can be an appropriate choice in the broadcast media can increase up to 39% (cf. research in the North Lithuanian site – Joniškėlis in Ramonienė 2006). This favourable view is most often supported by arguments to do with entertainment or education (e.g. ‘it would be interesting, nice to hear dialect on TV’, ‘it would be beneficial to introduce dialects to the kids and urban population in general’) (Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012).

The Lithuanian evidence supports evidence from other countries (e.g. Kristiansen 2009) to the effect that positive *overt* attitudes do not necessarily encourage use. Dialects do not expand into areas of prestige (public places and cities), but are code-switched to in the private sphere, in particular when urban residents visit the province where they grew up, where dialects are sustained by the *covert* prestige of 'the language you are born with' (Širvytė 2008; Kliukienė 2010). In the province, the dialect is still perceived as an attribute of the in-group. Violation of this in-group loyalty can be condemned, the speaker can be branded as alienated or 'fancy' (Ramonienė 2006; Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012).

The lay SL construct, as it appears in surveys using direct questioning, results more from people's experiences with commonly used language in the big cities and on TV than from any wish on their part to comply with the official norms of pronunciation (cf. Vaicekauskienė and Čičirkaitė 2011). Strictly normative *conservative speech*, promoted by the gate-keepers, does not seem to have much impact on the SL notion of lay people. The dichotomy of the two linguistic modes – written and spoken – is no doubt of greater importance to lay SL conceptualisations: SL is speech which resembles written style; it is fluent, coherent, and lacks the discourse markers of spontaneous spoken language. Furthermore, the popular SL notion accords importance to a consciously controlled lexis, reflecting the prescriptive ideology in this respect: the SL does not contain elements that characterise low or informal style. Experiments in which informants were asked to demonstrate SL portrayed the stereotypical SL speaker as a professional older person speaking in a formal register close to the written language (Vaicekauskienė 2010).

Overall, we think that overtly expressed positivity towards dialects should merely be taken to indicate that the language-ideological climate in Lithuania is becoming more 'politically correct' (all must have equal rights, social and geographical exclusion must be eradicated). This climate reflects and upholds the country's official standardisation policy, which values the dialects as 'ecologically valid' while at the same time imposing limits on their domains of use.

Covert evaluations in an experimental study

A Speaker Evaluation Experiment using the Matched-Guise Technique was conducted in 2009 in one school in Radviliškis (in North Lithuania, situated 21 km South-East of Šiauliai city), and furthermore with a group of university students from Radviliškis in Vilnius, yielding a total of 53 informants between 17

and 21 years of age (see Širvytė 2009). The narratives for the text-stimuli were written in a free style and had the same topic about travelling across Iceland. The 5 recorded stimuli were from 1.15 to 1.43 minutes long. The recording was played one time, with a pause of 2 minutes between each of the readings, so that all respondents had time to carry out the evaluative tasks. The stimuli appeared in the following order: Filler – Guise A (MS) – Filler – Filler – Guise B (Radviliškis speech). The recorded speaker of the guise-stimuli was a 26 year old man from Radviliškis, who had been living in Vilnius for about 6 years. Guise A was the Vilnius variety with inclusion of some Slightly Conservative features. Guise B was the regional dialect of Radviliškis city, containing non-standard features such as stress attraction, phonetic shortening of unstressed endings, shortening of long unstressed vowels at the end of the word, short [a]/[e] instead of long tense [eː]/[oː], and diphthongisation.

The research was presented as a sociological investigation of relations between speaking and listening. Although the dialectal guise was identified by both groups of judges as speech belonging to their local community (this was seen from the comments during the test), no one grasped the purpose of the investigation and nobody figured out that one speaker spoke twice. In this sense, the elicited reactions can be said to reflect *subconscious* attitudes.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. In part 1, the judges had to mark response options about the social status, education, place of residence, and age of the speaker. In part 2, they were asked to assess the following personal traits of the speaker on 5-point semantic differential scales: ‘intelligent’, ‘talented’, ‘educated’, ‘ambitious’, ‘independent’, ‘energetic’, ‘interesting’, ‘trustworthy’, ‘sincere’, ‘generous’, ‘youthful’, ‘modern’, and ‘joyful’. The results showed that evaluations were not affected by the residence of the judges. In both groups, MS was significantly more associated with an educated urbanite, while dialectal speech was more linked to a provincial citizen with a high school diploma. On personality traits, the MS-guise was considered significantly more ‘intelligent’, ‘educated’, ‘independent’, and ‘trustworthy’ than the dialect-guise, while the two guises were considered equally ‘interesting’, ‘sincere’, ‘modern’, ‘youthful’ and ‘joyful’ (Širvytė 2009).

OVERT AND COVERT EVALUATIONS OF LANGUAGE VARIETIES IN THE LITHUANIAN LOWLANDS

The matched-guise investigation mentioned above indicates that *Modern (Vilnius) Speech* (MS) may be *subconsciously* evaluated to be better than *Local Speech* (LS) on traits related to status and competence. The first comprehensive experimental attitudinal research in Lithuania which might provide clues to the relationship between the *Slightly Conservative Speech* (SCS) and MS, and between these varieties and the dialectal varieties (LS), was conducted in upper-secondary schools of one of the Lowland regions in May 2011 and April 2012[4]. In what follows, reference will be made to Exp 2011 and Exp 2012.

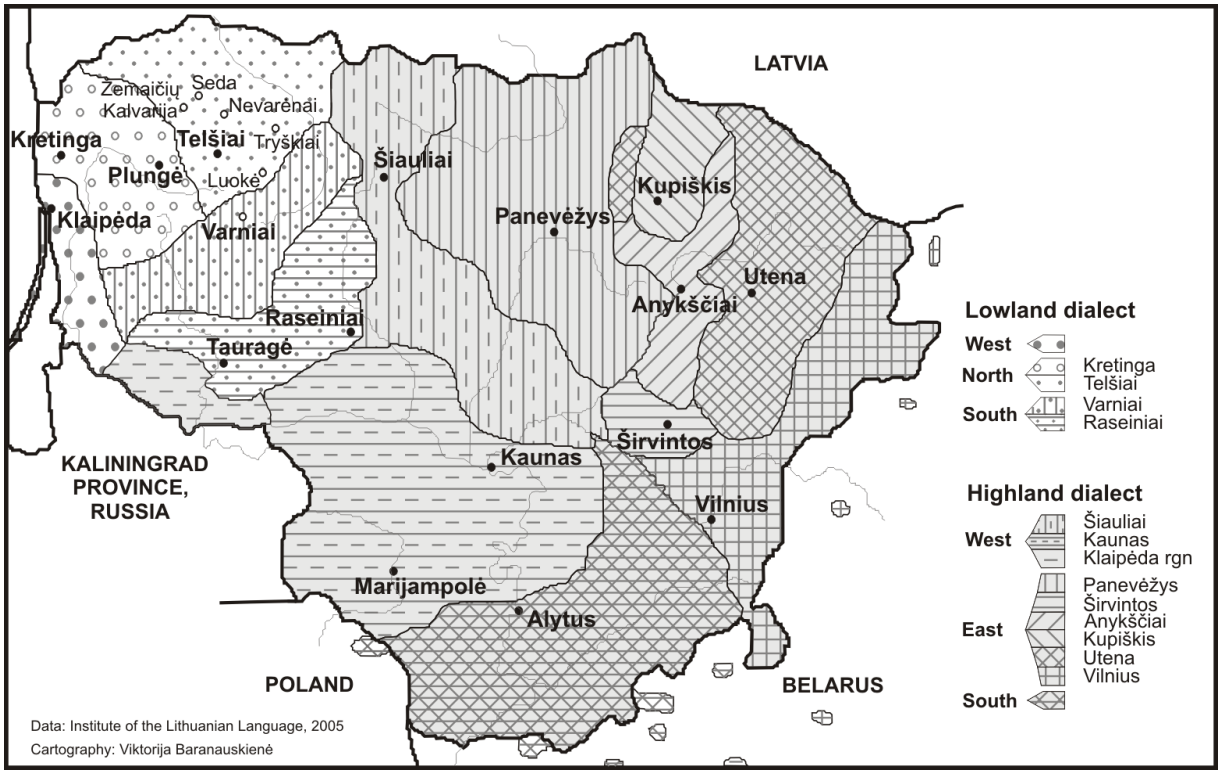
The Lowlands were chosen because of well-known overt manifestations of local identity. The principal research question was whether the deliberate propagation of dialect as a most important part of local identity could be traced in subconscious upgrading of LS in comparison with SCS and MS. And if so, would the findings be indicative of a real rebirth of dialectal speech, with the main city of the region becoming a linguistic norm centre?

Background: The identity of the Lithuanian Lowlanders

From a linguistic point of view, the Lowland dialect (one of the two main Lithuanian dialects, the other being Highland dialect) includes three sub-dialects – West, North, and South Lowland dialects – but in popular discourse the label 'Lowland dialect' (*žemaičių tarmė*) is used for the local speech of the whole Lowland region. The Highland dialect also covers three sub-dialects, which do have popular names, as the Highland dialect covers a much larger area: West Highland dialect (*suvalkiečių tarmė*), South Highland (*dzūkų tarmė*), and East Highland (*aukštaičių tarmė.* (The latter label means just 'Highland dialect' and is used metonymically for East Highland)[5]. The popular conceptualisation of Lithuanian dialects thus consists of the four mentioned labels; see Map 1.

[4] The research was carried out as part of the project *Lietuvių kalba: idealai, ideologijos ir tapatybės lūžiai*, 2010–2013 ('*Lithuanian language: ideals, ideologies and identity shifts'*), funded by a grant from the Resarch Council of Lithuania, No. VAT-14/2010.

[5] *Žemaičių / aukštaičių tarmė* correspond in English to 'the dialect of people of the Lowlands / Highlands'; *suvalkiečių* originates from the name of the present Polish city Suwałki and *dzūkų* has been derived from a specific for that region use of affricative [dz] instead of [dʒ].



Map 1: Lithuanian dialects and sites of the research

Works of fiction appear in the Lowland dialect, and periodicals devoted to regional culture are published partly in the dialect[6]. Attempts are made to use the dialect in such modern media as Internet encyclopaedias and weblogs[7]. The idea of a Republic of Lowlands with a Lowland passport[8] propagated by some politicians and cultural activists is also worth mentioning, as well as a proposal to speak dialect at the city council meetings in one of the Lowland municipalities.

Arguably, this development in the Lowlands is indicative of the democratisation of the local community and of Lithuanian society in general. And it might perhaps contribute to strengthening the use of dialect. However, it is clear that the efforts in question may have little to do with ordinary people's everyday language. Exposure to the periodicals just mentioned is scant at best: the majority of interviewees in from the Lowlands claim that they 'just heard about the periodicals' or gave up reading them because of the difficulty of reading in dia-

[6] The magazine *Žemaičių žemė* ('The land of Lowlands') has been published since 1993 (http://www.samogit.lt/kultura/zemaiciu_zemea.htm). The newspaper *Samogitia* ('Lowland') (http://samogitia.mch.mii.lt/kultura/samogitia_laikr.htm) aims to gather writers writing in Lowland dialect and to urge children to learn reading and writing in Lowland dialect.

[7] Wikipedia in the Lowland dialect exists since 2006 and is today claimed to contain 13 000 content pages, see http://bat-smg.wikipedia.org/wiki/P%C4%97rms_poslapis.

[8] The number of unofficial Lowland passports issued is claimed to stand at 10 000.

lect (Vaicekauskienė and Sausverde 2012). On the other hand, one cannot deny the symbolic value of such writings and other ideological initiatives to promote the use of dialect and raise dialect awareness in the community.

Experimental research of language attitudes in the Telšiai region

Respondents and methods

Exp 2011 was carried out with 222 students (116 girls and 86 boys) from the 9th and 10th grades (16 years old on average) in upper-secondary schools[9] in the four sites of Nevarėnai, Tryškiai, Luokė, and Varniai, while Exp 2012 included 188 students (85 girls and 103 boys) in the upper-secondary schools of Alsėdžiai, Žemaičių Kalvarija, and Seda – all situated in the environs of Telšiai, a North Lowland city which functions as a regional centre and is named 'the capital' of the Lowlands. (See Map 1).

In the interest of comparison with the language-attitudinal situation described for Denmark, both experiments followed closely the research design used in the Danish LANCHART project (see Kristiansen 2009). The purpose of the design is to obtain *subconsciously* offered attitudes which can be compared with *consciously* offered attitudes. In order to avoid leakage of information about the language-ideological focus of the experiment, the contact persons in the schools were told that we investigated how students perceive personal traits of speakers.

In the first part of the data collection session, a Speaker Evaluation Experiment (SEE) was conducted in which the students assessed audio-recorded clips representing SCS, MS, and LS (more about the clips below). While listening to the clips, the students rated them on eight 7-point adjective scales representing the same personality traits as in the Danish experiments: *goal-directed–indecisive, trustworthy–untrustworthy, conscientious–happy-go-lucky, interesting–boring, self-assured–insecure, intelligent–stupid, nice–repulsive, cool–uncool*. The scales were listed in the opposite order in half of the questionnaires, which were distributed so that students sitting next to each other had different ordering of the scales, in order for copying to be meaningless; students were informed about this. Asking questions about the speakers' personalities rather than

[9] To ensure the social representation of the respondents, the grade levels chosen were the last two grades of compulsory schooling in Lithuania. Though one can leave school to attend some technical school after the 8th grade, the vast majority of students finish 10 grades and then proceeds to a technical school or study at the high school level.

their speech is one of the measures taken to keep listener-judges unaware of the experimental purpose: evaluation of linguistic variation.

In the second part of the data collection session, the respondents completed a Label Ranking Task (LRT). They ranked the 'names' (labels) of a number of listed speech varieties in terms of personal preference. Of course, in this task the respondents were aware that they evaluated speech varieties; the evaluation was *consciously* offered. The list of varieties to be ranked included labels which were supposed to correspond to the three varieties that were assessed in the SEE: (1) 'standard language', corresponding to SCS, (2) 'Vilnius speech', corresponding to MS, (3) 'Lowland dialect' and 'Telšiai speech', corresponding to LS. (In the Exp 2011, the label 'Lowland dialect' was not included).

Additionally, in this second part of the session, where the students knew about the purpose of the experiment, the SEE voices were played to them once more and they were asked to assess the geographical affiliation of the voices by ticking off whether the speaker was from Vilnius, Telšiai or another city). At the same time, they were asked to assess the standardness of each voice by rating them on a 7-point scale.

The voices

Twelve voices, four for each of the three varieties (SCS, MS, LS) were included in both Exp 2011 and Exp 2012, and in both studies there were 2 male and 2 female speakers per variety. The voices were selected from several dozens of spontaneous audio-recorded interviews about 'what is a good teacher like'. For the LS voices, these interviews were conducted with 10^{th} to 12^{th} graders (16–18 years old) in the upper-secondary schools of Telšiai. For the SCS and MS voices, the interviews were conducted with 10^{th} to 12^{th} graders in upper-secondary schools in Vilnius, and with first to third year university students (18–20 years old) majoring in Lithuanian philology and journalism. Each of the 12 clips were made about 15 seconds long and edited so that their content (opinion about teacher) and form (fluency, voice quality) were as similar as possible. To our best judgement, the main remaining difference was the 'dialectal' speech features. The voices were presented in an order which alternated both varieties and speaker gender (see the speech stimuli designations in the first column in Tables 1a and 1b).

What we name SCS in our research is speech on the Conservative–Modern continuum which contains (some of) the *codified* phonetic and prosodic features

of SL: long (or semi-long) vowels in unstressed syllables; long (or semi-long) and tense unstressed [oː], [eː]; stress not attracted from the end of the word; retained diphthongs [uo] and [ie]; and not lengthened short stressed vowels. These conservative features are described in the textbooks on standard pronunciation and are supposed to be taught in school; however, they are very seldom heard in the speech of youngsters. Since very few of the volunteers in the schools of Vilnius manifested SCS features in the spontaneous speech, the SCS-stimuli were also extracted from university students majoring in journalism and Lithuanian philology, who in terms of their curriculum are supposed to be trained in this variety. In order to avoid dialectal influence, the origin of the volunteers was controlled; all the selected SCS speakers were born in Vilnius.

However, as a crucial difference between the two experiments, most of the voices in Exp 2012 were changed with the intention of making them represent a less broad gamut of variation. In particular, we felt that the SCS voices in Exp 2011 lacked 'naturalness' and wanted to check in Exp 2012 if more 'natural-sounding' voices would be differently evaluated. This issue arose because we had trained three of the four SCS-speakers in Exp 2011 – SCSb(4), SCSg(7), SCSb(10) – to make them sound more conservative, with the unwanted but inevitable consequence that two of them – SCSb(4), SCSg(7) – sounded less natural, more confident and closer to monitored (though not read-aloud) speech. In Exp 2012, the voice which sounded most monitored, namely SCSb(4), was replaced by a more natural-sounding conservative speaker, while new clips with SCSg(7) and SCSb(10) were taken from their more spontaneous, non-rehearsed speech. However, SCSg(7) still remained a little reading-like. SCSg(1) was retained as the only natural-sounding SCS voice in Exp 2011. The voices used in the two experiments are described in terms of frequency of crucial features in Table 1.

Also the MS- and the LS-voices from Exp 2011 were partly substituted with new ones for Exp 2012 in order to secure compatibility with the SCS-voices in terms of fluentness and voice confidence. In terms of style (i.e. frequency of 'high' and 'low' variants), the SCS-voices were 'set lower', while the MS- and LS-voices were 'set higher'.

The MS-voices represent Vilnius speech and contain features that are said to be spreading in the contemporary broadcast language: short long vowels in unstressed syllables; short and not tense [oː], [eː] in unstressed position; monophthongisation of [uo] and [ie] in unstressed syllables; stress attraction and lengthened short stressed vowels; a slight lowering of [oː], characteristic for young

Table 1: Phonetic and prosodic features of voices in Exp 2011 and Exp 2012.
Figures give # of instances: actual/possible.

Exp 2011	Shortening of long unstressed to short		Lengthening of short stressed [i], [u]	Monophthongisation of unstressed [ie] [uo]	Stress attraction		
	[iː] [uː] [æː][aː]	[oː] [eː]					
Sg(1)	0/7	0/10 *	0/7	1/3	0/0		
Sb(4)	1/6	1/6 *	0/8	0/0	0/3		
Sg(7)	6/14	2/4	0/1	0/0	0/1		
Sb(10)	3/8	2/6 *	0/1	1/1	0/0		
Mb(2)	6/6	4/7	2/8	0/0	2/2		
Mg(5)	9/11	4/4 o→ɔ	0/2	0/0	0/0		
Mb(8)	9/10	7/7	3/4	2/3	1/2		
Mg(11)	7/7	3/3 o→ɔ	1/4	3/3	1/2		
					Lowland stress attraction	Shortening of endings	[oː][eː] Diphthongisation
Lg(3)	3/3	1/1	4/6	0/0	3/3 +	4/11	0/2
Lb(6)	0/2	1/4	0/6	1/1	0/6 +	4/11	5/7
Lg(9)	4/4	2/4	0/3	0/0	2/3 +	2/10	2/6
Lb(12)	3/5	2/3	0/6	0/0	1/1	4/8	1/5

Exp 2012	Shortening of long unstressed to short		Lengthening of short stressed [i], [u]	Monophthongisation of unstressed [ie] [uo]	Stress attraction		
	[iː] [uː] [æː][aː]	[oː] [eː]					
Sg(1)	0/7	0/10 *	0/7	1/3	0/0		
Sb(4)	2/9	0/1*	0/6	1/1	0/1		
Sg(7)	3/8	1/4	0/5	0/0	0/0		
Sb(10)	3/9	1/6	0/6	1/1	0/2		
Mb(2)	5/6	4/7	2/8	0/0	2/2		
Mg(5)	6/8	4/4 o→ɔ	0/2	0/0	0/0		
Mb(8)	5/5	6/6	0/2	0/0	2/2		
Mg(11)	11/12	2/3	1/7	2/2	1/1		
					Lowland stress attraction	Shortening of endings	[oː][eː] Diphthongisation
Lg(3)	5/10	4/5	0/5	1/2	5/7 +	1/1	5/8
Lb(6)	0/2	1/4	0/6	1/1	0/6 +	4/11	5/7
Lg(9)	2/4	2/2	0/3	0/1	6/6 +	5/11	5/5
Lb(12)	3/5	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/3 +	1/8	0/5

S=Slight Conservative Speech (SCS), M=Modern Speech (MS), L=Local Speech (LS);
g = girl, b = boy; (1)…(12) = order of voice in the audio-recording.

* indicates tenseness of [oː], [eː]; o→ɔ marks slight lowering of [oː]; + marks specific Lowland intonation.

speakers. The MS-voices were extracted from the audio-recorded speech of at least second generation Vilnius-born young Lithuanians whose mother tongue was Lithuanian[10]. Salient socio-phonetic features associated with low Vilnius vernacular and 'young' speech (such as raised intonation at the end of the utterance, diphthongisation of [eː], lengthening of short vowels in stressed endings, distinct lowering of [oː] and [eː] and merging and reduction of sounds) were not included in the stimuli in order to create samples resembling the variety that is spreading in the broadcasting (in which these socially marked features are not so prominent).

The LS-voices in the investigation represent the speech of the adolescents in the biggest regional city of the research area – Telšiai. The variation in the total material recorded in the interviews was quite broad – from non-dialectal to rather saliently dialectal speech samples. In order not to attract attention to dialectal differences as the object of study, we selected voices with few dialect features to represent LS in the SEE. Among the features that are specific for the Lowland dialect, the SEE voices from Telšiai exhibit stress attraction to the beginning of the word and inconsistent preservation of secondary stress, an intonational pattern resulting from Lowland glottal stop of the acute pitch and concentration of the circumflex on the first diphthong component, phonetic shortening of unstressed endings (long vowels are shortened and short vowels are dropped out) and diphthongisation of [eː] and [oː]. A single 2012 voice (LSg 09) contains one of the typical dialectal pronouns.

Overtly offered attitudes: Results of the Label Ranking Task

In the conscious data collection component, the three Lithuanian language labels relevant to the research were included: *Standard language* (*Bendrinė kalba*), *Vilnius speech*, and *Telšiai speech*. They were randomly listed with labels representing the speech of other Lithuanian cities, including two more labels from Lowlands (Plungė and Kretinga). In Exp 2011, the list consisted of twelve labels; in Exp 2012, four more labels were added, viz. the four popular names *žemaičių*, *aukštaičių*, *suvalkiečių* and *dzūkų*, i.e. Lowland dialect, East Highland dialect, West Highland dialect, and South Highland dialect (see Table 2; and Map 1 for the location of cities and dialect boundaries).

[10] Previously a Polish and Russian speaking city, Vilnius became more Lithuanian speaking only after the World War II. Third or fourth generation Lithuanian speaking inhabitants are rather an exception in Vilnius.

Table 2: Overt evaluations in LRT in the Telšiai region. Figures are means.

	Exp 2011	
	Speech labels	
1	Telšiai speech	3,07
2	Klaipėda speech	4,38
3	Standard language	4,41
4	Vilnius speech	5,16
5	Šiauliai speech	6,15
6	Kaunas speech	6,16
7	Plungė speech	7,27
8	Kretinga speech	7,27
9	Utena speech	8,00
10	Panevėžys speech	8,04
11	Alytus speech	8,05
12	Marijampolė speech	8,56

	Exp 2012	
	Speech labels	
1	Lowland dialect	3,13
2	Telšiai speech	4,92
3	Standard language	5,78
4	Klaipėda speech	5,85
5	Plungė speech	6,40
6	Vilnius speech	7,08
7	E. Highland dialect	7,39
8	Kaunas speech	8,78
9	Šiauliai speech	8,89
10	Kretinga speech	9,19
11	Panevėžys speech	9,36
12	Utena speech	10,27
13	Alytus speech	10,78
14	Marijampolė speech	10,98
15	S. Highland speech	11,26
16	W. Highland speech	11,54

The results show that young Lowlanders prefer their own dialect to all others in the LRT. In Exp 2011, Telšiai speech came out in top. In Exp 2012, Lowland dialect and Telšiai speech occupied the two top positions.

Physical distance clearly plays a role in both rankings. The speech of the most remote local site, Kretinga, did worst among the included local labels – accompanied by Plungė in Exp 2011 where the distance from the researched sites to Plungė was bigger than in Exp 2012. The speech of Klaipėda, which is the centre of urban attraction in western Lithuania, and the third largest city in the country, was ranked just below the Local labels (Lowland and Telšiai) on a par with Standard language. The third label of particular interest in our study, Vilnius speech, was ranked lower than both Local labels and Standard language. This pattern is summarised in Table 3.

It may be mentioned that the effect of judge-gender on these assessments was minimal, with the notable exception that 'Standard language' – as it is often found – was ranked more favourable by girls than boys (in both experiments).

Table 3: Consciously offered ranking of the three studied speech varieties

Local	>	Standard	>	Vilnius

Subconsciously offered attitudes: Results of the Speaker Evaluation Experiment

In view of the evidence from the investigations in Denmark (cf. Kristiansen 2009), we were eager to see whether the consciously offered evaluative hierarchy – as it appears in Table 3 – would remain the same or be changed (possibly be turned upside down) in a situation where Lithuanian adolescents did not realise that they are evaluating speech varieties. Thus, the aim of the SEE was to obtain subconsciously offered evaluations from the students.

Our way of checking whether we had succeeded in eliciting subconscious evaluations, was to ask the students – before the final debriefing – to tell what they thought the SEE was about. The most frequent answer in all classes was that we were interested in opinions about teachers. Other suggestions included the manner of speaking: certainty, emotions, critical sense etc. of the speaker,

Table 4: Covert evaluations in SEE in the Telšiai region. Figures are mean ranks.

	Exp 2011					**Exp 2012**				
Intelligent – Stupid	S	***	M	***	S	S	***	M	***	S
	1,47		2,15		2,38	1,50		1,99		2,51
Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky	S	***	M	/	S	S	***	M	***	S
	1,45		2,26		2,29	1,51		1,96		2,53
Goal-directed – Dull	S	***	M	/	S	S	***	M	***	S
	1,56		2,20		2,24	1,46		2,09		2,46
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy	S	***	M	**	S	S	***	M	***	S
	1,49		2,15		2,36	1,57		1,99		2,44
Self-assured – Insecure	S	***	M	**	S	S	***	M	***	S
	1,36		2,27		2,37	1,51		2,10		2,40
Cool – Uncool	S	***	M	/	S	S	*	M	*	S
	1,67		2,17		2,17	1,87		2,01		2,13
Interesting – Boring	S	***	M	***	S	S	/	M	***	S
	1,59		2,01		2,40	1,80		1,89		2,31
Nice – Repulsive	S	*	M	***	S	S	***	M	***	S
	1,68		1,86		2,38	1,56		1,91		2,53

S = Slightly Conservative Speech (SCS), M = Modern Speech (MS), L = Local Speech (LS)
Wilcoxon Signed Pair Test: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.0.001, / = n.s.

the timbre of the speaker's voice, speaking tempo, intonation, and others. In the scarce free comments offered in the completed questionnaires, we find evaluations of the speakers' arguments and general demeanour, e.g. 'He is a serious guy, he knows what he wants from life', 'He is handsome and has many interests', 'I think she lacks stronger opinion', 'He sounds reasonable', etc. Though the dialectal features made the local speech stimuli relatively salient to our ears, no one of the students guessed the goal of our experiment. We could thus conclude that we had succeeded in eliciting subconscious attitudes.

The results are shown in Table 4. Both experiments show the same pattern: SCS is associated with the more positive values on all scales (low mean ranks), LS with the more negative values at the other end of the scales, with MS in between. Local is downgraded from consciously offered top-ranking (Table 3) to a subconsciously offered bottom-ranking (Table 5).

Table 5: Subconsciously offered ranking of the three studied speech varieties

Standard (SCS)	>	Vilnius (MS)	>	Local (LS)

In the Danish results, the very same personality traits were found to represent two underlying evaluative dimensions: superiority and dynamism (represented in the Table 4 by the first and last four scales, respectively). There is no trace of this distinction (or any other impacting distinction) in these Lithuanian results. However, before rejecting its relevance completely we need to conduct more studies in other Lithuanian regions. Preliminary results from a recent investigation in another region indicate that MS is evaluated equally high as SL on dynamism traits 'cool', 'interesting' and 'nice' (Vaicekauskienė 2012b).

Were evaluations influenced by manipulations of the stimuli voices?

As both experiments produce the same evaluative pattern, there does not seen to have been any impact from our various manipulations of the stimuli voices in order to strengthen naturalness and reduce the variational gamut from Exp 2011 to Exp 2012 (see the 'voices' section above). If there is such an effect, it consists in nullifying the difference between SCS and MS on the scale 'interesting–boring', and augmenting the evaluative distance between MS and LS (making non-significant differences significant) in terms of 'conscientiousness', 'goal-directedness', and 'coolness' (see Table 4).

However, this immediate conclusion derives from looking at results at the level of varieties, i.e. results for four voices pooled together. The results for each voice separately are presented for both experiments in Table 6 and allow for a more detailed look at whether there was any effect of the changes made to the stimuli voices.

Table 6: Covert evaluations of 12 voices on 8 personality traits. Assessments on 7-point scales. Figures are mean ranks. Friedman Test: all p's <.001

Intelligent – Stupid					**2011**: N=210, χ^2=231,137				**2012**: N=174, χ^2=229,191			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (10)	Mg (5)	Mb (2)	Lb (12)	Mb (8)	Lg (9)	Lg (3)	Mg (11)	Lb (6)
	4,54	5,12	5,49	5,96	6,03	6,71	6,84	7,12	7,16	7,46	7,52	8,05
2012	Sg (7)	Sb (4)	Sb (10)	Sg (1)	Mg (11)	Mg (5)	Mb (8)	Mb (2)	Lb (12)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	4,86	5,37	5,52	5,53	5,87	6,22	6,62	6,95	6,97	7,42	8,18	8,49

Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky					**2011**: N=211, χ^2=256,199				**2012**: N=173, χ^2=216,840			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (10)	Lb (12)	Mg (5)	Mb (8)	Lg (9)	Mb (2)	Lg (3)	Lb (6)	Mg (11)
	4,53	4,9	5,67	5,75	6,51	6,67	6,69	6,8	6,84	7,45	7,76	8,43
2012	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (10)	Mg (11)	Mb (8)	Mg (5)	Lb (12)	Mb (2)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	4,75	5,34	5,46	5,76	5,81	6,50	6,55	6,56	7,18	7,48	8,10	8,51

Goal-directed – Dull					**2011**: N=212, χ^2=201,961				**2012**: N=170, χ^2=177,654			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Sg (1)	Lb (12)	Mb (2)	Mg (5)	Lg (9)	Mb (8)	Lg (3)	Mg (11)	Lb (6)
	4,64	5,09	5,88	6,05	6,34	6,48	6,51	6,82	7,24	7,24	7,77	7,95
2012	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Sb (4)	Mg (11)	Sg (1)	Lb (12)	Mb (8)	Mb (2)	Mg (5)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	4,96	5,26	5,39	5,97	6,05	6,31	6,67	6,80	6,98	7,58	7,92	8,11

Trustworthy – Untrustworthy					**2011:** N=211, χ^2=182,768				**2012**: N=168, χ^2=154,296			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (10)	Mg (5)	Lb (12)	Mb (2)	Lg (3)	Mb (8)	Mg (11)	Lg (9)	Lb (6)
	4,95	5,2	5,35	5,92	6,3	6,53	6,94	7,12	7,14	7,3	7,45	7,82
2012	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Sb (4)	Mg (11)	Sg (1)	Mg (5)	Mb (8)	Lb (12)	Mb (2)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	4,74	5,58	5,81	5,82	6,15	6,33	6,57	6,59	7,04	7,42	7,81	8,13

Self-assured – Insecure					**2011:** N=202, χ^2=311,789				**2012**: N=163, $\chi^{2=}$205,507			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Sg (1)	Mb (2)	Lg (9)	Mg (5)	Lb (12)	Mg (11)	Mb (8)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)
	4,02	4,82	5,33	5,91	6,17	6,66	6,93	7,02	7,52	7,57	8,02	8,03
2012	Sg (7)	Lb (12)	Sb (4)	Sb (10)	Mb (2)	Mg (11)	Sg (1)	Mb (8)	Mg (5)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	5,05	5,36	5,38	5,39	6,10	6,32	6,36	7,04	7,09	7,31	7,95	8,65

Cool – Uncool					**2011**: N=210, χ^2=130,058				**2012**: N=168, χ^2=188,759			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Mb (2)	Sg (1)	Lb (12)	Lb (6)	Lg (9)	Mb (8)	Mg (5)	Mg (11)	Lg (3)
	4,9	5,63	5,98	6,07	6,47	6,47	6,5	6,84	6,9	7,18	7,24	7,82
2012	Lb (12)	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Mb (2)	Sb (4)	Mg (11)	Lb (6)	Mg (5)	Sg (1)	Mb (8)	Lg (9)	Lg (3)
	4,51	5,69	5,90	5,95	6,20	6,36	6,43	6,69	6,70	6,93	8,08	8,57

Interesting – Boring					**2011**: N=209, χ^2=161,846				**2012**: N=170, χ^2=194.5			
2011	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Sb (10)	Mb (2)	Mg (5)	Sg (1)	Lb (12)	Mg (11)	Mb (8)	Lg (9)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)
	4,88	5,19	5,89	6,11	6,35	6,44	6,52	6,74	7,02	7,46	7,55	7,86
2012	Sg (7)	Lb (12)	Sb (10)	Mg (11)	Mb (2)	Mg (5)	Mb (8)	Sb (4)	Sg (1)	Lb (6)	Lg (9)	Lg (3)
	4,82	5,14	5,31	5,91	6,01	6,50	6,76	6,83	7,25	7,32	7,92	8,22

Nice – Repulsive					**2011**: N=211, χ^2=195,925				**2012**: N=172, χ^2=227,119			
2011	Sg (1)	Mg (5)	Sb (4)	Sg (7)	Mg (11)	Mb (2)	Sb (10)	Mb (8)	Lg (3)	Lb (12)	Lg (9)	Lb (6)
	4,96	5,1	5,65	5,87	6,17	6,53	6,72	6,95	7,02	7,1	7,78	8,14
2012	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Mg (5)	Mg (11)	Sb (10)	Sb (4)	Mb (2)	Mb (8)	Lb (12)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	4,21	5,38	5,53	5,98	6,25	6,44	6,68	6,80	6,91	7,73	7,79	8,31

S = Slightly Conservative Speech (SCS), M = Modern Speech (MS), L = Local Speech (LS)
g = girl, b = boy, (x) = the stimuli's order of appearance on the stimulus tape.
Voices are ranked according to mean rank in decreasing order.

Recall that in order to produce more conservative features, three of four SCS-speakers in Exp 2011 had been trained. This influenced fluency and voice quality (made the voices sound louder and more confident), and resulted in general top ratings for SCSb(4) and SBCg(7) in particular. For Exp 2012, changes were made to three of the SCS-voices (4, 7, and 10) in order to make them sound more 'natural'. As can be seen in the table, this resulted in a relative downgrad-

ing on most traits for SCSb(4), who was the only completely new SCS-voice, but had little influence on the evaluation of the other SCS-voices.

As to the MS-voices, MSb(2) from Exp 2011 was retained. So was MSg(5), but she was shortened by three seconds as potentially problematic statement about teacher interest in art and literary fiction was removed. Voices MSb(8) and MSg(11) were replaced by more fluent samples taken from other speakers, and it is easily seen from Table 6 that the new MSg(11) by and large obtains better relative rankings.

Three of the four LS-voices were substituted with new ones between Exp 2011 and Exp 2012. The one retained was LSb(6). This had little impact on the evaluations, except for a noticeable upgrading of the new LSb(12) as 'self-assured', 'cool', and 'interesting' (which interestingly enough are the three prevailing 'dynamism' traits in the Danish studies). The 2012 LSb(12) was the LS-voice with the least Lowland dialect features (see Tables 1a and 1b)

The few cases of relative downgrading and upgrading do illustrate that other features than dialectal differences are involved, of course, when speakers and their speech are being assessed. However, in relation to the research interest in this study, the important finding is that the manipulations of the speech stimuli from Exp 2011 to Exp 2012 did not have the effect of changing the overall pattern. By and large, SCS-voices group to the left (positive) end of the scales in both experiments, LS-voices group to the right (negative) end of the scales, and MS-voices group in the middle. We can take this patterning as a testimony to the overriding impact of dialectal differences (cf. Garrett 2010: 88–90), and as a clear indication that we have succeeded fairly well in selecting voices to represent the three 'ways with language' which are cognitively and affectionally relevant to social psychological processes among young people in the Lithuanian Lowland region.

Evaluations of the voices in terms of geographical affiliation and standardness

In the second part of the data collection session, when the students had been made aware of the language-attitudes interest of the investigation, the SEE recording was played to them once more and they were asked to assess each of the voices in terms of geographical affiliation and standardness. In the questionnaire, three options were given as possible answers: 'Vilnius', 'Telšiai' and 'Other', while standardness was to be rated on a 7-point scale. Results for assessed geographical affiliation are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Assessed geographical affiliation of SEE voices. Figures are percentages

Exp 2011	Sg (1)	Mg (5)	Sb (10)	Sg (7)	Sb (4)	Mb (2)	Mg (11)	Mb (8)	Lb (6)	Lb (12)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
Vilnius	88	74	70	68	66	65	59	54	15	9	8	6
Telšiai	5	9	9	9	12	13	16	19	65	72	63	83
Other	5	15	18	20	21	19	23	23	17	17	28	9
No answer	2	2	3	3	1	3	2	4	3	2	1	2

Exp 2012	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (4)	Mg (11)	Mg (5)	Sb (10)	Mb (2)	Mb (8)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lb (12)	Lg (9)
Vilnius	88	84	81	77	75	73	70	61	15	10	10	5
Telšiai	5	6	4	9	9	12	18	19	59	64	63	85
Other	5	9	14	13	14	14	11	17	23	25	25	8
No answer	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	1	2	2

Table 8: Voice assessments in terms of 'being from Vilnius' (figures are percentages) and 'speaking standard' (figures are means; low value is 'more standard').

Exp 2011

Allocation to Vilnius	Sg (1)	Mg (5)	Sb (10)	Sg (7)	Sb (4)	Mb (2)	Mg (11)	Mb (8)	Lb (6)	Lb (12)	Lg (3)	Lg (9)
	88	74	70	68	66	65	59	54	15	9	8	6
Standardness	Sg (1)	Mg (5)	Sg (7)	Mb (2)	Sb (10)	Sb (4)	Mb (8)	Mg (11)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lb (12)	Lg (9)
	1,65	2,18	2,32	2,47	2,50	2,62	2,78	2,90	4,47	4,68	4,71	5,32

Exp 2012

Allocation to Vilnius	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (4)	Mg (11)	Mg (5)	Sb (10)	Mb (2)	Mb (8)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lb (12)	Lg (9)
	88	84	81	77	75	73	70	61	15	10	10	5
Standardness	Sg (7)	Sg (1)	Sb (4)	Mg (11)	Mg (5)	Mb (2)	Sb (10)	Mb (8)	Lb (6)	Lg (3)	Lb (12)	Lg (9)
	1,59	1,75	1,75	1,95	2,01	2,35	2,38	2,60	4,26	4,86	4,96	5,79

S = Slightly Conservative Speech (SCS), M = Modern Speech (MS), L = Local Speech (LS)
g = girl, b = boy, (x) = the stimuli's order of appearance on the stimulus tape.
Voices are ranked according to mean rank in decreasing order.

Lowland adolescents allocate speakers of both MS and SCS to Vilnius. Interestingly, the latter variety, which theoretically is not linked to any Lithuanian location, was ascribed to Vilnius by a larger number of judges than Vilnius-stimuli

itself – an average across the four voices of 82 vs. 71% in 2012 and 73 vs. 63% in 2011. Thus, the MS (Vilnius) variety is actually regarded as having a stronger potential than SCS to be used in other cities than just capital city. On average, as many as 14% of our respondents in both experiments even allocated MS-speakers to the city of Telšiai.

The ratings for standardness showed that this notion is strongly associated with the city of Vilnius. The adolescents' judgements in terms 'being from Vilnius' and 'speaking standard' exhibit a perfect correlation in both experiments (see Table 8).

DISCUSSION

How can the findings of the presented research supplement the theoretical discussions about the relationship between social values and trends in language use? Do overt and covert ideologies in Lithuania play a different role? Can we support the argument that subconscious social values are the 'driving force' of language change (see Kristiansen 2011)?

Our research into the language attitudes of adolescents in the Telšiai region of North West Lithuania shows very clearly that attitudes elicited by different methods reveal different systems of language values. *Consciously* offered attitudes are most favourable to the regional speech. In LRT, the local speech, represented by the labels 'dialect of Telšiai' and 'Lowland dialect', was found to be rated higher than the standard varieties. This overt valorisation of the local speech is quite predictable against the backdrop of a particularly strong focus on (symbols of) local identity in the Lowlands, and the general positive (politically correct) language-ideological climate in the Lithuanian speech community.

The far more open question of our research was whether the local speech would also be subconsciously better evaluated than more standard 'ways with language' in the society at large, as represented by Slight Conservative Speech and Modern (Vilnius) Speech. Such a result could, arguably, be taken as an indication that the established conventional division between the private and public domains of society is being broken up, and that the social limitation of the dialect to private contexts is coming to an end. This turned out not to be the case in the Lithuanian Lowlands. The outcome of the *subconscious* assessments by adolescents in Telšiai region was the opposite of conscious assessments. Relatively

to each other, the local (Telšiai) speech was downgraded and the non-dialectal varieties were upgraded.

The impact of Lithuanian SLI at the level of covert evaluations is hard to assess, of course, but it should be stressed that this ideology, while promoting the dialect as an ethnic and regional value worth saving, does not at all tolerate the use of dialect beyond the boundaries of the private space – and especially not in the traditional SL domains like the schools and the media. It is not inconceivable that the 'school-topic' of the recordings that were assessed – 'what is a good teacher' – may have affected the SEE rankings of the dialect speakers in a negative way. The stimuli which received best scores of all local stimuli in both studies were those which contained *least* dialectal features.

In contrast to the evaluative hierarchisation of 'local' and 'standard', the evaluative relationship between the two potentially competing 'standards' did not change from conscious to subconscious evaluations. Both LRT and SEE results showed Lowland adolescents to be less favourable to the expanding Vilnius speech (MS) than to the SCS, the SL-variety with more conservative traits. MS was upgraded only in relation to dialectal speech. This may be taken to indicate that the undeniable 'democratisation' and 'informalisation' of broadcast media language in Lithuania has not yet lead to changes in lay notions of 'language standards'. The role of standard language ideology should not be underestimated in this respect. The development of language use in the media actually shows the same tendencies as in other speech communities, but the prescriptive requirements and systematic supervision puts a brake on the development. This may explain the discrepancy between the limited usage of SCS and the dominating covert positivity towards this variety among Lowland adolescents

There is clearly no straightforward way of interpreting the relationship between our findings about language attitudes and what can be observed to happen with language usage. A *slightly* conservative variety (SCS) enjoys evaluative precedence in covert ideology, but is not spreading. What is spreading is the less favourably evaluated *modern Vilnius* (MS) variety. This may indicate a less important role for covert ideology in language use and change in present-day Lithuania than what has been reported from Denmark. However, instead of jumping to conclusions, we have to carry out further investigations of language attitudes, as well as language use, in other regions of Lithuania.[11]

[11] Preliminary results from such investigations in progress indicate that Lithuania does resemble Denmark in that an upgrading of MS relative to SCS seems to be underway in the evaluative dimension of dynamism, on traits such as 'cool', 'interesting' and 'nice'.

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Driving forces in language change – in the Norwegian perspective

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PURPOSE

One of the characteristics of 'late modernity' is a reduction of orientation or subjection to traditional authorities and standard values, unlike 'modernity', in which centralisation, regulation and standardisation were means to strengthen economic progress and social welfare. The primary aim of the SLICE-project is to determine whether the same time span displays a parallel cultural shift in the domain of language. The evident expression of language authority is a standard language (SL), to which a wide range of social and cultural values is attached in a standard language ideology (SLI). Consequently, we should expect to see changes in cultural values with respect to SL, i.e., in SLI – and perhaps in the use of SL.

SL can be defined in two ways: either as a language variety with prestige, or as a language variety that people use in order to communicate with a broader society (cf. Ammon 2004; Swann et al. 2004; Sandøy 2009, 2011). The former notion refers to overt attitudes, the latter to a pattern of actual language use. In this chapter, I take both notions into account and refer to the former as the *prestige language* variety of the Norwegian capital city of Oslo and the latter as *spoken standard languages* (SSL), corresponding to the reading style versions of the two written standards Bokmål and Nynorsk, which to some extent have been codified in guidelines to be used by the national broadcasting company for news broadcasts and announcements (Bokmål is the dominating language; see more about the Norwegian language situation in Sandøy 2011). In Norway, usage of SSL in this sense of 'reading style' has been quite normal in certain contexts. It is a way of speaking which typically preserves features of local accent or local phonology and thus 'reveals' the speakers' geographical origin. The prestige language variety of Oslo is traditionally associated with the higher social classes

in 'Western Oslo' and has quite a lot of linguistic peculiarities as opposed to the demotic and non-prestigious variety of the capital.

For the study of (de)standardisation at the level of language use, at least two approaches are relevant: we can study whether the SSL is spoken in more or fewer domains in society, and we can study structural changes in SSL and/or dialects. SSL can be studied for possible 'demotisation' phenomena (i.e. inclusion of previous dialect features), and dialects can be studied for how they are influenced by SSL features. This latter process is 'structural standardisation', and I want to distinguish it from 'language levelling', which is a more general term for reduction of linguistic differences between varieties. Standardisation in this sense is a more limited phenomenon because the notion of SSL is related to *specific* standard language varieties, which in the Norwegian case are Bokmål and Nynorsk.

In this chapter, I first focus on structural change in a series of local western dialects in order to examine whether they seem to be influenced by the Oslo-west prestige variety, by one of the two SSLs, or possibly by other varieties (the Oslo-east demotic variety, or the variety of a regional centre) – over the same time. Then I approach the issue of cultural values by studying how local youth relate to these varieties in terms both of *overt (conscious)* attitudes and *covert (subconscious)* attitudes. Finally, a comparison of the Norwegian results with previous Danish results allow for a discussion of our theoretical notions.

FORCES AND EFFECTS

The main objective of the sociolinguistic approach to linguistic change is to understand the interplay of linguistic and social aspects, and there is a long tradition of implying that the socio-psychological notion of attitude is an essential explanatory factor for what happens structurally in the language: attitudes are an important driving force.

If we want to study the role of attitudes, a transnational project can provide a useful 'laboratory' for forging relevant categories and theoretical models as it allows for comparison of results from different communities. The results from one language community can shed light on the results from another community because relevant theoretical distinctions can be veiled or obscured in one culture but not in another. Therefore, comparison is a most useful approach in any effort to develop theory. The most well-known results thus far from this branch of so-

ciolinguistics are the Danish ones (Kristiansen 2009a), which convincingly demonstrate a positive correlation between subconscious upgrading of Copenhagen SSL and linguistic change in the Danish speech community toward Copenhagen SSL. Kristiansen's conclusion is that '[l]anguage change is governed by subconscious values' (*ibid.*: 167). In this chapter, I present results from Norway, a society that is analogous to Denmark both linguistically and socially, but not in language culture.

The results are from an on-going project, *Processes of dialect change* (http://folk.uib.no/hnohs/DEP/), which involves real-time studies of linguistic change in six different communities in Western Norway (see Figure 1) as well as extensive attitudinal studies in the same communities. The main goal of the project is to study the social conditions of linguistic change. Hence, the communities selected for the study have different structures in terms of size, social change and migration. In all six communities, we have conducted traditional sociolinguistic interviews with representative informants and tested both overt attitudes by use of a questionnaire and covert attitudes by use of the verbal guise technique. The overall design of the project is similar to the Danish LANCHART project (http://dgcss.hum.ku.dk/), and we took great care to apply exactly the same methodology in all communities.

Our six subprojects are all based on real-time data. The actual time-spans for the field works are 1969–2009 (South and North Midøya), 1976–2011 (Ogna), 1978–2009/2010/2011 (Bergen), 1983–2009/2010 (Stavanger and Øygarden).[1]

A central issue in studies of linguistic change in Norway is whether and to what extent dialects today are changing in the direction of the prestigious dialect of Oslo. In public discourse there is a general claim that such a strong influence on spoken language exists throughout the whole country. This claim has also been supported by sociolinguists referring to (overt) attitudes as explanation (e.g. Mæhlum 2009: 14, 17). However, our empirical results from Western Norway give little support to this claim and therefore indicate that we need a more complex and sophisticated model to understand forces and effects in the process of linguistic change.

[1] The projects on North and South Midøya are presented in Grytten (1973) and Fossheim (2010); Øygarden in Antonesen (1988) and Villanger (2010); Bergen in *Talemål i Bergen* (1983–1988) and Nornes (2011); Stavanger in Gabrielsen (1984) and Aasen (2011); and Ogna in Friestad (1976).

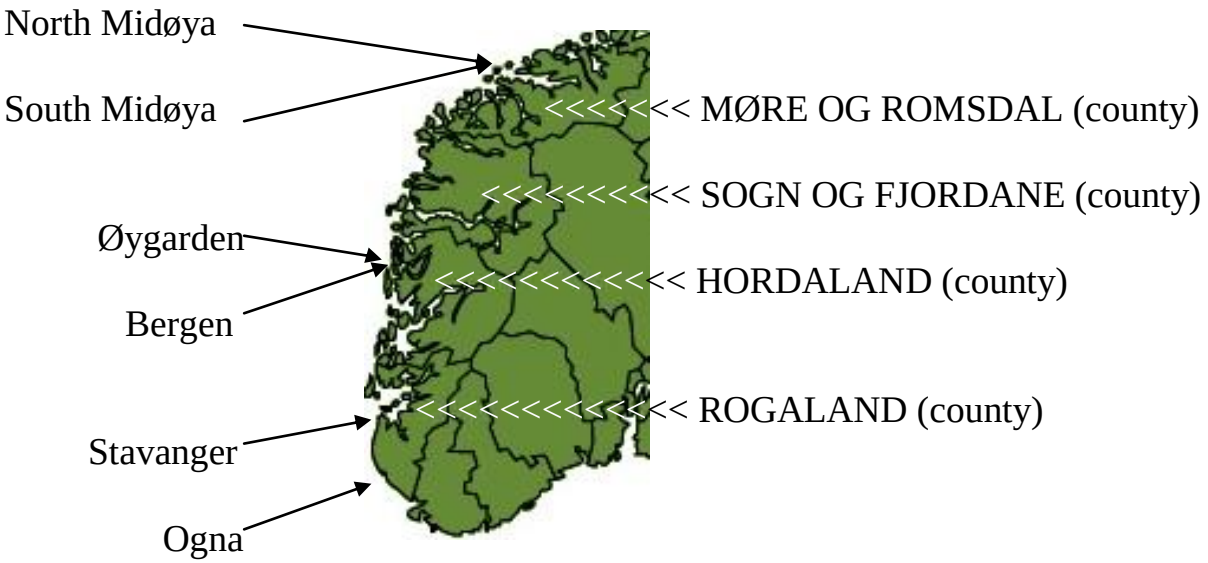

Figure 1: Western Norway with the location of the six communities under study

LINGUISTIC CHANGES AND THEIR POSSIBLE SOURCES

So far, results concerning frequencies of use can be presented only for five of the communities: North Midøya, South Midøya, Øygarden, Stavanger and Bergen. (The linguistic change data for Ogna have not yet been analysed.) The results of the former four, on the variables that were analysed in each community, are shown in Table 1. The results for Bergen Centre are shown in Table 2.

In this section, the first step of the analysis is to make clear what the possible sources are for each of the changes that were found. In each of the communities, *possible sources* for an incoming feature are the varieties of Norwegian that traditionally do have that feature. Those varieties are marked with + in Tables 1 and 2. Varieties without the incoming feature are marked with –. In cases where such a correspondence is irrelevant, the cell is unmarked, which is often the case for the two written languages, as these in their spoken versions (SSL as defined above) do not always prescribe a specific pronunciation. The varieties that are addressed in Tables 1 and 2 are the ones that are normally mentioned as possible sources of change in the debate about this issue. These include – in addition to the rural dialect of the area in which the studied community is located – the regional centre variety, the demotic language variety of Oslo, the traditional prestige variety of Western Oslo, Bokmål SSL, and Nynorsk SSL.

For most of the variables, several sources are possible. For instance, all of the possible source varieties may have triggered or caused the ‘loss of dative’ (vari-

able 6 under both South Midøya and North Midøya) from a structural point of view. However, a + signals no more than structural equivalence, and we need further arguments to determine whether a possible source is a real source for the change in a specific community. The drop of the dative case in Norwegian dialects started in the Middle Ages well before the two modern written languages were established, a fact that indicates that these two possible sources are not necessary to explain the change. Thus, we need to differentiate between *possible* and *necessary* sources.

The influence that other Norwegian language varieties potentially exert on our dialects under study can only be an *effect of a social force* in a language contact situation where one community has some 'power' to dominate socially and culturally over another community. Basically, a *social force* as such is unlikely to influence a variety with respect to only specific linguistic variables. We would rather expect that the influence is the same on all structural items or variables. In contrast, the characteristic of *linguistic structure as a force* (discussed below in the section on 'social and structural explanations') is that it is specific with respect to the variables which can be influenced.

This line of reasoning may be helpful in clarifying how sociolinguistic patterns should be interpreted and it underlines that ad hoc explanations should be avoided. An explanation that there is influence from a particular source on only one variable and not on others is entirely ad hoc. Especially so if other variables demonstrate opposite tendencies, as when Bokmål-like forms with postvocalic *p, t, k* increase in frequency in Stavanger while the Bokmål-like form /ike/ 'not' at the same time decreases in frequency (see Stavanger variables 5 and 3 in Table 1). Bokmål cannot be both a winner and a loser as we refer to the same social force in the language contact situation in Stavanger. At least, such an inconsistency triggers new theoretical challenges that have not yet been satisfactorily solved. If one and the same possible source shows both correspondence (+) and non-correspondence (–) with the dialect under study (as exemplified by Bokmål in relation to South Midøya in Table 1), then those results must be considered contradictory, unless we can provide independent data and arguments that the contradiction is only apparent (exemplified below in the section on 'social and structural explanations'). *The most likely sources* should therefore be those that are consistently marked with a + throughout the whole set of variables.

If the same variety appears to be the only possible source for the change on a variable, it is the *necessary source* for that particular change – a finding which can be taken to indicate a dominating-source status for the variety in question. If

this necessary source is also a possible source for changes on the other variables, we can move on to a discussion of *why* this particular variety has a dominating status.

Are there data and arguments that can justify a deviation from this strict line of reasoning? As already mentioned, linguistic structure represents a variable-specific force (a topic to be discussed further below), but there can also be some particular social values assigned to one specific variable in a community. I think my line of reasoning here corresponds to what is implied in Labov's definition of 'pressures from below' rather than 'from above'.

> Pressures from below operate upon entire linguistic systems, in response to social motivations which are relatively obscure and yet have the greatest signification for the general evolution of language. [...] social pressures from above [...] represent the overt process of social correction applied to individual linguistic forms. (Labov 1972: 123)

'Social correction' is specific with respect to linguistic variables and can be documented by independent data on, say, how parents or teachers correct Norwegian children for saying *sjøtt* instead of *kjøtt* ('meat'; the illustrated phonetic/phonological change is spreading rapidly in young speech all over Norway), or how newspaper readers write letters to the editor to complain about specific linguistic items (cf. 'the complaint tradition' in Milroy and Milroy1985). In accordance with scientific standards such documentation by independent data is fundamental for establishing exceptions to a more general pattern. This is imperative in order not to immunize claims from being disprovable and in order not to argue in a circular fashion. When linguistic features spread, some of them can, of course, be reallocated in the new community, i.e. be assigned a new specific social value, but this has to be demonstrated empirically. It is not satisfactory to claim that a result is an effect of a reallocation only because a variable shows up a deviant frequency pattern. Such an explanation is only ad hoc or a deus ex machina.

Now, Tables 1 and 2 present in a schematic way the main results from the five communities we have studied so far. (For details on variables and linguistic analysis, see Sandøy forthcoming). By looking at the columns of + and –, we see that Table 1 points to a single candidate as the most likely source for the changes

Table 1: Linguistic changes in four communities and possible sources[2].

The figures for 'change rate' show the change in the percentage of the new variant.

Community	*Variables*	Rural dialect in the district	Regional centre	Demotic Oslo variety	Prestige Oslo variety	Bokmål	Nynorsk	Change rate
South Midøya	1+2: 1.pers.pron.sg. *ei* > *i*	+	+	–	–	–	–	92
	3: Retroflex flap (new)	+	+	+	–			76
	4: Retroflex stops (new)	+	+	+				100
	5: Loss of palatals	–	+	+	+	+	+	65
	6: Loss of dative	–	+	+	+	+	+	84
N. Midøya	1+2: 1.pers.pron.sg. *i* > *ei*	+	+	–	–	–	–	14
	3: Retroflex flap>lateral approx.	+	+	+	–			4
	4: Retroflex stops (new)	+	+	+				–5
	5: Loss of palatals	–	+	+	+	+	+	52
	6: Loss of dative	–	+	+	+	+	+	89
Øygarden	1: Merger Ò–Å,Ø	–	+	+	+	–	–	86
	2: DN > RN,NN	–	+	+	+	+	+	59
	3: Loss of pal. velars	–	+	+	+	+	+	89
	4&5: > Two genders	–	+	–	+	–/+	–	40
	6: Pres. -a > -aR	–	+	–	–	–	+	4
	6: Pres. -a > -e	+	–	–	–	–	–	20
	7: Past. -a > -et	–	+	–/+	+	–/+	–	25
	8: Inf. -a > -e	–	+	+	+	+	+	27
Stavanger	1+2: 1.pers.pron.sg *je* > *eg*	+	+	–	–	–	+	58
	3: negative adverb *ike* > *içe*	+	+	–	–	–	+	34
	4: Infinitive -a > -e[3]	–	+	+/–	+	+	+/–	–12
	5: postvocalic *b,d,g* > *p,t,k*	–	+	+		+	+	43
	6: ç > ʃ	–	+	+/–	–	–	–	68
	7: sj > ʃ	–	+	+	+			66

[2] Based on analyses in Fossheim (2010), Villanger (2010) and Aasen (2011).

[3] The results for the infinitival suffix shows up a complex pattern: For the elderly people in 1983 and 2010 the new variant *-e* has decreased in frequency (76% > 42%), whereas it among the young informants has increased from 27% to 64% over the same period of time. The direction of changes seems thus to have reversed, and the change among young people is the basis for the interpretation here.

in the five dialect communities, namely the regional centre[4], which is Molde for South and North Midøya and Bergen for the other communities.[5] Neither the prestige Oslo variety nor the two SLLs, Bokmål and Nynorsk, have any obvious influence on the studied dialects. There is no result on any variable that makes these latter sources *necessary*. The same is true for the demotic dialect of the national centre. The most consistent source of linguistic change is the regional centre.

The regional centre of the southern and middle part of Western Norway is Bergen, which is and always has been the region's biggest town. (The northernmost county of Møre and Romsdal is not subordinate to Bergen to the same extent because of travelling distance and the hierarchy explained in footnote 5.) As Bergen is subordinate to the national capital, Oslo, in the national hierarchy of size and economic importance, we can easily imagine a model where Bergen itself receives linguistic influence from Oslo and thereby indirectly mediates the

Table 2: Linguistic changes in Bergen Centre and possible sources[6].
The figures for 'change rate' show the change in the percentage of the new variant.

Variables	Rural dialect in the district	Demotic Oslo variety	Prestige Oslo variety	Bokmål	Nynorsk	Change rate
1: ç > ʃ	–	+/–	–	–	–	94
2: sj > ʃ	–	+	+			28
3: e > æ in front of R	–	+	+	+	–	86
4: eR > aR	–	–	–	–		9
5: refl.&pers.pron. *sei, dei, mei > seg, deg, meg*	+	–	–	–	+	24
6: 1.pers.pron.sg. *jei > eg*	+	–	–	–	+	40
7: negative adverb *ike > içe*	+	–	–	–	+	17
8: determinator *nåkken > noen*	–	+	+	+	+/–	14

[4] The one instance of – in the column for regional centre will be commented on below in the section on 'social and structural explanations'.

[5] This 'allocation' to either Molde or Bergen as regional centers follows from a 'hierarchisation' of communities based on criteria to do with size/population, educational institutions, administrative authorities and patterns of migration. The centre for Midøya is Molde, which in turn is subordinated to Trondheim according to the criteria, and not to Bergen even though it is traditionally reckoned as a part of Western Norway (cf. Sandøy 1998). Stavanger is in the Norwegian context a relatively big city (126 000 inhabitants), but is dominated by Bergen (265 000 inhabitants) in the hierarchy.

[6] Based on Nornes (2011).

influence exerted from the national centre. Let us therefore look at the results from the sociolinguistic study of Bergen (Table 2).

From Table 2, we see that there is no obvious or general influence from the national centre on Bergen Centre, from either the prestige variety or the demotic variety. The one variable where either Bokmål or the national centre is a necessary source is the lexical variable 3 'e > æ in front of R' where the change was already prevalent in our 1978 study in Bergen and is likely a change of the Modernity period (Nornes 2010). Variables 1 and 2 represent a recent merger of the two phonemes /ʃ/ and /ç/ (recall the *sjøtt* vs. *kjøtt* example above) which has appeared in several towns and centres in Southern Norway over the last generation and emerged first in Bergen, then in Oslo.[7]

On the whole, Table 2 provides a rather confusing picture of the possible sources of linguistic change in Bergen. At the same time, it is important to notice that the two towns of Bergen and Stavanger, which have been well-known for their traditional clear socially stratified variation, demonstrate a substantial increase in the use of low-status variants over the three decades that separate the studies we draw on, cf. Tables 3 and 4. Furthermore, the direction of these changes is away from the national centre varieties and from the SSL Bokmål.

Table 3: Increase of the low prestige variants in Bergen Center.

Variables	Average elderly 1978	Average adolescents 2010–11
1: ç > ʃ	0	94
4: suffix -eR > -aR	65	74
5: refl.&pers.pron.sg. *sei, dei, mei* > *seg, deg, meg*	73	97
6: 1.pers.pron.sg. *jei* > *eg*	60	100
7: negative adverb *ike* > *içe*	51	68

Table 4: Increase of the low prestige variants in Stavanger.

Variables	*Average elderly 1981*	*Average adolescents 2010*
1+2: 1.pers.pron.sg. *je* > *eg*	42	100
3: negative adverb *ike* > *içe*	66	100
6: ç > ʃ	0	68

Figures are percentages.

[7] Noticed first in the speech of the 1964-cohort in the 1978-data from Bergen (Johannessen 1983). In Oslo a corresponding merger was discovered in the 1990's (Papazian 1994). The phonological origin of the two mergers was not identical, but the mergers were (Sandøy 1989).

The described tendency of dialect change in Western Norway diverges from what has been observed in Denmark, where 'Copenhagen is Denmark's only linguistic norm centre' (Kristiansen 2009a: 167). Nonetheless, the regional centre, Bergen, plays a similar role as a norm centre in its region, i.e., a source for linguistic change. Thus, it seems that a regional centre in Norway may have the same role as the national centre in Denmark. (The pattern is likely to be different in the lexical domain, but lexical items have not been focused in these studies.)

POSSIBLE FORCE 1: OVERT ATTITUDES

Thus far we have looked for likely sources for the observed changes. What about the possible forces? One possible force is the 'social status' or 'overt prestige' which people agree on attributing to language varieties. In the same six West Norwegian communities, we gave our respondents a list with eight 'dialect names' – representing Eastern Norway, Bergen, Southernmost Norway, Trøndelag, Northern Norway, the local dialect, the regional centre [if not Bergen], and a rural neighbouring area – and asked them as follows:

> Please rank the dialects in the table below based on your belief about how *Norwegians in general* evaluate their status. What we mean by *status* is whether these dialects are highly valued or disparaged in the society. Let 1 stand for the highest value, 8 for the lowest.

We asked this question with the intention of obtaining a more precise understanding of the general notion of 'prestige', which is often used in everyday discussions as people refer to a 'prestigious dialect'. At this imprecise level, it seems to be a kind of consensus among researchers and interested laymen about which dialects are considered prestigious (Western Oslo on top, urban dialects higher than rural, high-class varieties higher than low-class varieties, cf. Sandøy 1985: 162; Mæhlum 2009: 14). However, it is desirable to obtain more tangible and empirical data to support this notion. By encouraging respondents to reflect on the opinions of *others*, we intended to prevent the respondents from 'filtering' their answers through an idealised self-image and from involving their personal commitments. Thus, we expected that the answers would yield honest reflections based on the respondents' experience of a collective stereotype about 'language prestige'.

The results from the analysis of the about 1200 respondents' answers are not surprising and they correspond to the consensus mentioned above. In Tables 5 and 6 below, the results are presented in the same 'general terms' for all six communities: *national centre variety* is Central East Norwegian (i.e. from the Oslo area); *regional centre variety* is Molde dialect for the two Midøya communities and Bergen dialect for Øygarden, Stavanger and Ogna; *rural district variety* is the rural dialects of the region in question. The stereotypes of language prestige are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Ranking of varieties in terms of *overt prestige*[8]

	Midøya[9]	*Øygarden*	*Bergen*	*Stavanger*	*Ogna*
1	National centre	Regional centre	National centre	National centre	National centre
2	Regional centre	National centre	Regional centre	Regional centre	Regional centre
3	Rural district	Rural district	Rural district	Rural district	Rural district.

Shaded cells indicate the communities' own variety

It seems important to notice that the answers demonstrate a rather homogeneous pattern in all communities. We might claim that our 'prestige-ranking-of-varieties' task is a valid operationalisation of some aspect of how cultural hegemony (or *prestige hierarchy*) functions in Norwegian society, although knowledge of the prestige hierarchy seems to be irrelevant for an individual's learning and practice of the vernacular.

These results correspond to the expected prestige hierarchy with the one exception of Øygarden, where the regional centre has been ranked higher than the national centre. We notice that the rural dialect is lowest irrespective of the rural or urban background of the respondents.

The high ranking of the regional centre, Bergen, corresponds to the direction of actual linguistic change in the Øygarden community. However, since the national centre is awarded the highest position in all the other communities, the conclusion is that this kind of shared idea about variety-prestige has no general or obvious impact on language use in Western Norway. As no equivalent analy-

[8] In Tables 5 and 6, 'regional centre' refers to Stavanger (and not Bergen) in Stavanger and Ogna. (This is different from the use of 'regional centre' in Table 1.) Stavanger is a regional centre for Ogna on a lower level and the trial was designed to test that contrast. The results are provided by Fossheim (2010) (Midøya), Aasmundseth (2010) (Øygarden) and Anderson (forthcoming).

[9] For practical reasons, we had to collect data in audiences (school classes and gatherings) that included people from both communities, so we were unable to differentiate between the respondents from South and North Midøya.

sis of the notion of prestige has been carried out in Denmark, we are unable to compare the two countries in this respect.

To obtain the respondents' own 'aesthetic' evaluations of the same dialects that they had ranked for 'overt prestige', we posed this question:

> *How beautiful* do *you* think the dialects mentioned below are? Let 1 stand for 'most beautiful', and 8 for 'least beautiful'.[10]

Table 6: Ranking of varieties in terms of *beauty*[11]

	Midøya	*Øygarden*	*Bergen: Rå, Slåtth., Gimle*	*Bergen: Rothaugen*	*Bergen: Ytre Arna*[12]	*Stavanger*	*Ogna*
1	Rural dstr.	Rural dstr.	Regional c.	Regional c.	Rural dstr./	Regional c.	Rural dstr.
2	Regional c.	Regional c.	National c.	Rural dstr.	Region. c.[13]	National c.	Regional c.
3	National c.	National c.	Rural dstr.	National c.	National c.	Rural dstr.	National c.

Shaded cells indicate the communities' own variety

The generalised results are shown in Table 6 and show a homogeneous pattern in that the respondents' own dialect is always highest. These results cannot in any way be claimed to correspond to the direction of linguistic change in the respective communities unless the changes had in some way enhanced differences from other dialects − and this is not the case.

Studies of aesthetic evaluation based on the same methodological approach have found the same pattern in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009a), namely that people place their own local dialect highest. This kind of direct questioning almost unavoidably seems to trigger a reaction of loyalty to the respondents' own community. However, in neither of the two countries do the overtly expressed attitudes seem to be a driving force in language change.

[10] Norwegian text: '*Kor fine* synest *du* dialektane som er nemnde nedafor, er? La 1 på skalaen vere finast og 8 minst fin.'
[11] Cf. notes to Table 5.
[12] Ytre Arna is a traditional rural part of the municipality of Bergen, which is not integrated in the town either with respect to dialect or identity.
[13] Two dialects are in the same cell because there is no significant difference between them; in the sample, the dialect before the slash has a higher score than the one after the slash.

POSSIBLE FORCE 2: COVERT ATTITUDES

Prior to answering the direct questions which elicited conscious responses about language varieties, all our respondents took part in a 'speaker evaluation experiment' (SEE), based on the verbal guise technique (Kristiansen 2009a; Garrett 2010), without having received any information about the 'language attitudes' purpose of the experiment. To determine whether the respondents had guessed the purpose during the experiment, the last item on the questionnaire asked them to suggest what they thought it was all about. Few guessed correctly, and the forms of those who did were excluded from the analyses (Anderson 2010). The respondents were asked to listen to and evaluate fifteen audio-recorded speakers on a number of personality traits. The fifteen voices represented five different varieties, i.e. there were three voices per variety. The experiments were conducted in strict accordance with the design that had been used in the Danish attitudes studies.

A huge amount of data was collected from 1200 respondents. I can only present some preliminary and general results here (see Table 7, which makes use of the same variety categories as Tables 5 and 6 above).

Table 7: Subconscious ranking of varieties[14]

Midøya	*Øygarden*	*Bergen: Rå Ytre Arna*	*Bergen: Årstad Rothaugen Slåtthaugen*	*Stavanger: Kannik St. Svithun*	*Ogna*
Rural dstr./	National c.	Regional c.	National c.	Rural dstr	Rural dstr
National c.	Regional c.	National c.	Regional c.	Regional c.	Regional c.
Regional c.	Rural dstr	Rural dstr	Rural dstr	National c.	National c.

Shaded cells indicate the communities' own variety

What we notice first of all in Table 7 is that there is not a general pattern; all categories have both highest and lowest ranking.[15] Once again, we have difficulties finding obvious correspondences between these results and the linguistic

[14] Here I draw on Aasmundseth (2010), Fossheim (2010), and Anderson's forthcoming work, which will give the full analysis.

[15] In order to investigate a potential differentiation between high and low varieties of the Oslo area/Eastern Norway, we used an alternative test in some schools, in which these two varieties were used and only one for the local rural dialect. In these tests East Norwegian 'low' always ranked on the second top, well above East Norwegian 'high'. On the whole this was true for both superiority scales and dynamism scales, cf. Anderson (2010).

changes presented above (in the section on 'linguistic changes and their possible sources') – both on the whole and for each locality. We may conclude that there are no straightforward correspondences between linguistic change and covert attitudes. This is very different from the Danish results, and on the basis of Norwegian results, we cannot in the same way argue for a driving force role for covert attitudes in language change.

The Norwegian results are compatible with the Danish ones with respect to the following conclusion: 'There are two value systems at two levels of consciousness' (Kristiansen 2009a: 167). Like in Denmark, the subconscious SEE responses differ greatly from the overt responses to the aesthetic question. However, the Norwegian SEE results differ from the Danish ones in that the national centre variety is not consistently the highest in rank, and the rural district dialect is not consistently the lowest in rank. While the Danish results 'strongly confirm' the hypothesis that 'language change is governed by subconscious values' (Kristiansen 2009a: 167), our conclusion is that subconscious/covert values show no clear influence on language change in Norway.

NO CORRESPONDENCE. NEW QUESTIONS?

The methods used for our data gathering and our analyses which have been presented above build on a hypothesis about the influence of social evaluations upon language use which can be visualised as in Figure 2.

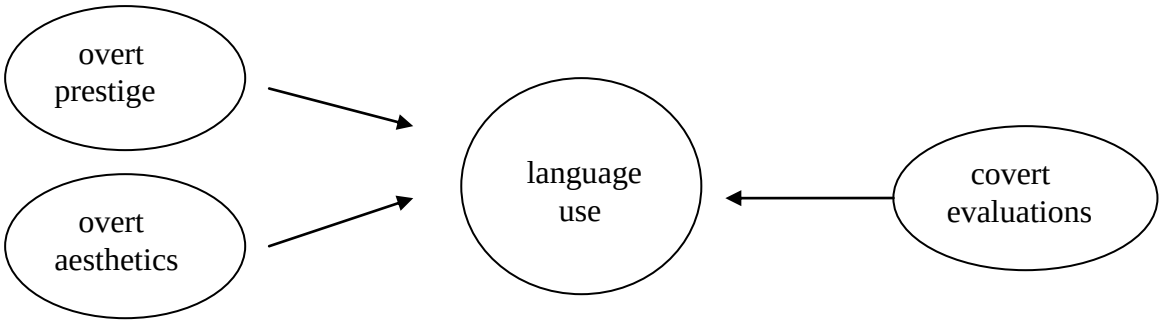

Figure 2: Possible ideological forces affecting language use

However, from the various results presented above, we are unable to discern any obvious and unambiguous general correspondence between social evaluations and the observed linguistic changes. Loyalty to one's own local dialect in the *aesthetics* test (Table 6) should have counteracted changes in the direction of the

regional centre, which is not what happens. The fact that the national centre is in all but one case highest with respect to *prestige* (Table 5) should have resulted in linguistic changes in that direction, which is not the case either (as it appears from Table 1).

Actually, the Øygarden respondents do rank the regional centre variety (Bergen dialect) highest in terms of prestige, but this is the only instance of a correspondence between actual linguistic change and a top prestige ranking, and does not allow for a generalisation. We therefore conclude that there is no general influence from overt judgements of beauty and prestige on language use.

Overt loyalty has nevertheless proved to be relevant in other studies. Røyneland (2005), for instance, found a tendency for lower dialect change rates with young informants who planned to live locally. However, the loyalty data of that project were elicited in a different way, and were analysed at the individual, not collective, level. The role of local loyalty in Norway undoubtedly needs further investigation.

In Denmark, subconsciously elicited evaluations correspond with linguistic changes away from local varieties toward the national centre speech of Copenhagen (Kristiansen 2009a). This is not the case in Norway. In our data, the national centre variety is ranked highest in Øygarden and parts of Bergen (see Table 7), but the dialect changes in these locations are different. In Ogna, Stavanger and Midøya, the rural district variety is ranked highest, but the dialect changes are in the direction of the regional centre. In sum, the Norwegian results demonstrate a heterogeneous pattern and no clear correspondence between actual linguistic change and attitudes. We may notice, though, that the SEE data for the Rå and Ytre Arna areas of Bergen place the regional centre variety in top position, and thus yield a result that can be said to correspond to the absence of a clear outer source for the dialect changes observed in Bergen (cf. Table 2).

The above reasoning leads then to a provisional conclusion that can be visualised as the modified Figure 3. In aiming to create a universal theory of driving forces in linguistic change, we must, on this background, assume that the different results from Norway and Denmark can be explained by the presence of other decisive parameters that differentiate the Danish and Norwegian linguistic situations. Norway seems to differ from Denmark in subconscious evaluations (as obtained in SEEs) in these ways: (1) It is not a general pattern that the national centre speech is more positively evaluated than the local dialect; (2) in cases where the national centre speech is more positively evaluated, it does not seem to influence the local dialect.

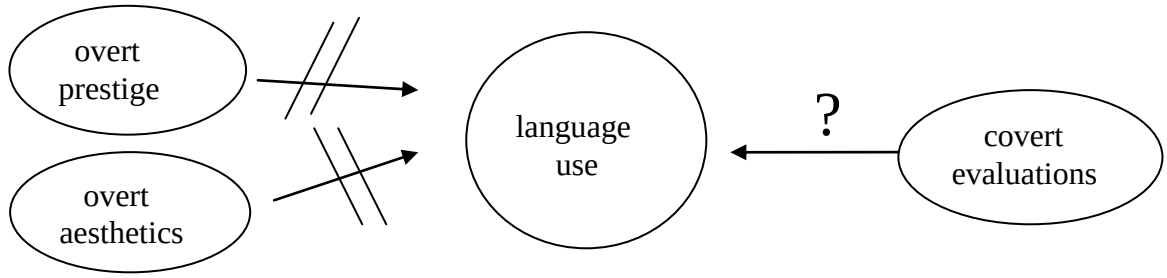

Figure 3: Possible ideological forces affecting language use in Norway according to results from empirical investigations

As for the second specification, we can suggest tentatively some factors that can make covert evaluations relevant as a driving force: a) There should be enough direct social contact with the highly evaluated language community, b) there cannot be any great structural difference between the highly evaluated variety and the relevant dialect, and c) when a structural feature is already present as a variant in a dialect it is more likely for the feature to increase in use if it is identical with a corresponding feature in the highly evaluated language variety. These factors may constitute necessary conditions for the individual's conception of relevant linguistic options, and they would make it probable that language use data from Eastern Norway should demonstrate a different pattern from our West Norwegian data.

The first specification about general patterns is more interesting. How can the Norwegian community provide different conditions for speech evaluations? The positive correspondence between subconscious evaluations and language change in Denmark can be reasonably accounted for with reference to accommodation theory, which suggests that covert attitudes can reveal what informants are motivated to practise linguistically (Giles 1973; Giles, Taylor and Bourhis 1973). Accommodation theory assumes that speakers are *strategic* in their linguistic options and prefer the alternatives that most easily lead to social acceptance or success. In this light, the internalized social values that are revealed in the SEEs may be taken to indicate the individuals' conception of which linguistic options lead to social acceptance and success, and in Denmark these are the Copenhagen varieties. The individuals' internalized values are an effect of long-term exposure to patterns in social life, where success and specific language varieties are related.

If we assume that Norway is a society where most dialects are compatible with social acceptance and success, we would not expect dialect features to be a hindrance in terms of such social valuation. Not all dialects are equally evaluat-

ed in Norway either, but the point here is that compared to other European language communities very many dialects are actually used in Norway by people having successful careers and taking part in public life and discourse. To the extent that Norwegian society shows tendencies of ideological upgrading of certain dialects, these tendencies do not have the character of a general and unambiguous principle (as in Denmark). For the strategically oriented individual, the benefits of opting for a vague pattern are therefore less than the costs of deviating from local values. At least, this is a possible interpretation of the inconsistency of the SEE assessments in Western Norway (Table 7) – which indeed invite us to consider other factors than dialect features of the test voices as responsible for the obtained results. Such factors include the words chosen by the stimulus speakers, their 'communication techniques', the speed of speech, voice pitch, etc. Our tentative conclusion at this point is therefore: The extent to which dialect characteristics play a role among all possible factors may differ from one society to another, therefore allowing the test to reveal *cultural differences*.

The difference in how much the various cultural factors influence the overall evaluation – i.e. the difference in their explanatory power – may be visualised as in Figure 4. The above interpretation of the Norwegian results assumes that the situations in Denmark and Norway are different in a way that corresponds to the picture in the figure. In Sandøy (2011) I gave a description of the Norwegian language community in which dialects are increasingly used in all types of social situations and in various kinds of media. The use of a dialect is less and less

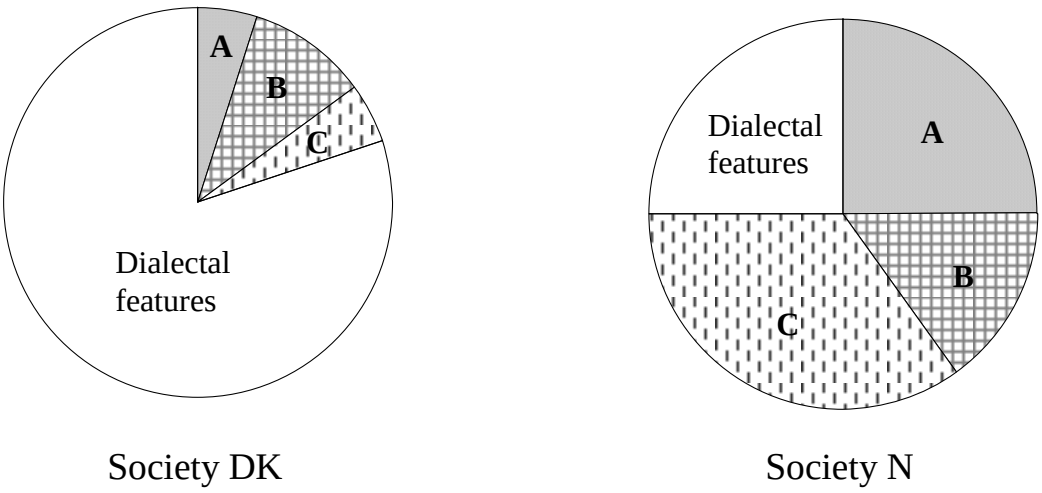

Figure 4: Possible societal differences in how much cultural factors – including dialect features – influence language use.

an obstacle to success; rather, it is a personal and favourable characteristic of a successful individual's image. Another characteristic of the Norwegian language community, in contrast to the Danish example, is that Norwegian schools have not implemented a spoken standard. On the contrary, it is a teacher's duty to adapt his or her individual language to the dialect of the children. Arguably as a consequence of this policy, code switching between dialect and SSL has never been common practice in Norway in the way that has been reported from various other language communities, as for instance Ostrobotnia in Finland (Ivars 2003: 51f.), and Bornholm and Sønderjylland in Denmark (Kristiansen et al. 1996: 192). Code switching to SSL has been a rare linguistic behaviour and has had an elitist character. In general, it is certainly safe to say that there is a significant difference between the Norwegian and Danish language communities in what concerns tolerance towards and exposure to linguistic variation (cf. Kristiansen 1996). This may be the explanation why dialect differences do not seem to convey social values in the same obvious and homogeneous way in the two communities.

The Norwegian results invite us to reassess the theoretical model in which covert attitudes are a driving force in language change. Our results and the discussion above lead us to suggest that language use affects covert attitudes, and changes in use may cause changes in these attitudes (Figure 5). In order to determine the direction of causation – from use to attitudes or from attitudes to use – we need observations from a sequence in time to see what comes first. This is hardly possible to organize as a test (although see Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2005; Kammacher, Stæhr and Jørgensen 2010 for Danish indications), but it is possible to conceive of occasional 'experimental' opportunities. For instance, in the case where a popular politician enters the public scene with a low-prestigious dialect, or in the case where a stigmatised dialect is used in TV entertainment for a period. Such events pop up now and then in the real world, but

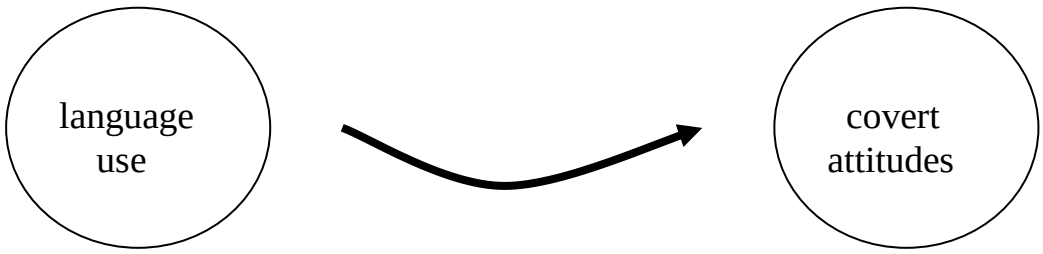

Figure 5: The suggestion that the direction of influence goes from use to evaluation

it is hard to foresee their coming and thus secure comparable pre- and post-event data. But it is not inconceivable that comparable data somehow show up by chance and thus provide the basis for a longitudinal study. We can also hope that comparison of results from many different societies will enable us to shed further light on the direction-of-influence issue.

The model in Figure 5 does not contradict a feedback model in which changed covert attitudes represent changed conditions under which new language changes can develop further and enhance tendencies that already exist. This would correspond to a model where community members negotiate by testing and pushing limits (see Figure 6).

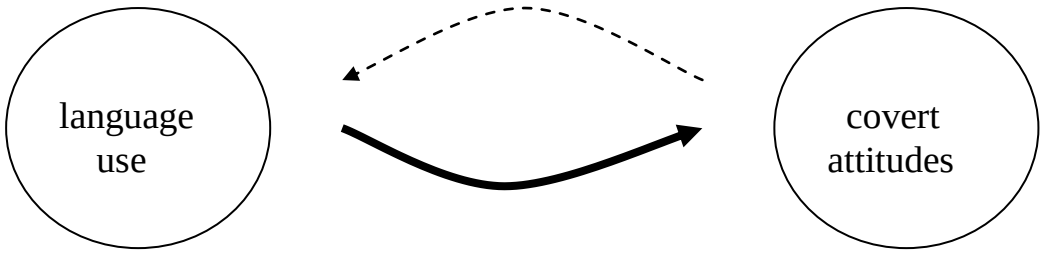

Figure 6: A feedback modification of Figure 5

As substantiated by the evaluative patterns shown in Table 5, a stereotypical prestige hierarchy certainly exists in Norway, but no corresponding, commonly shared, subsconscious hierarchisation seems to exist (Table 7). It is tempting to suggest that the stereotypical hierarchisation is a remnant from a previous period, only a generation ago, when people were more used to hearing only the SSLs (Bokmål and Nynorsk) in many public settings, while dialect use in the same settings, e.g. in radio and television, appeared a striking and demonstrative breach of both stipulated and tacit norms. The stereotypical prestige hierarchy reflects society's general treatment of language varieties at that time. What I suggest here is that some stereotypes can be carryovers from previous practices. A parallel interpretation was judged to be pertinent in a project where people all over the Nordic countries, in 2003, expressed as their opinion that Norwegians were more purist than Swedes and Danes (cf. Kristiansen and Sandøy 2010: 4). This judgement corresponds badly to the contemporary situation, if analysed in terms of frequency of 'imported words' (mostly from English) in newspapers, but corresponds well to what was the situation in 1975. While Norwegian journalists used fewer 'imports' than their Swedish and Danish colleagues in 1975,

they had surpassed them in the year 2000 (Graedler and Kvaran 2010: 34). An explanation of this kind, in terms of a time-lag for social evaluations, seems justifiable when we recall that awareness and conscious attitudes to a great extent depend on public discourse, which *must* show inertia if we as community members are to experience a sense of stability, consistency and integrity. In contrast, covert attitudes are not 'ideologically filtered' by individuals, and therefore likely to be more immediate consequences of changes in language practice.

It is likely that overt attitudes change over time; and this is indicated by results from projects in the 1970's which showed that respondents did not consider their own dialect as a beautiful one – as opposed to the results visualised in Table 6 (e.g. Hovdenak 1978).

The above reasoning can be modelled as in Figure 7. This model still leaves open the issue of what the driving force in language change is. I have suggested that a general pattern of using dialect in public settings may be a decisive factor. On this parameter, Denmark and Norway are very different (Pedersen 2003: 22–25, Pedersen 2005). In order to understand the general relation between practice and attitudes we need results from mappings of these two aspects in many countries.

What role does language in the media play in this context? It is part of language practice in the sense that people observe language use in the media along-

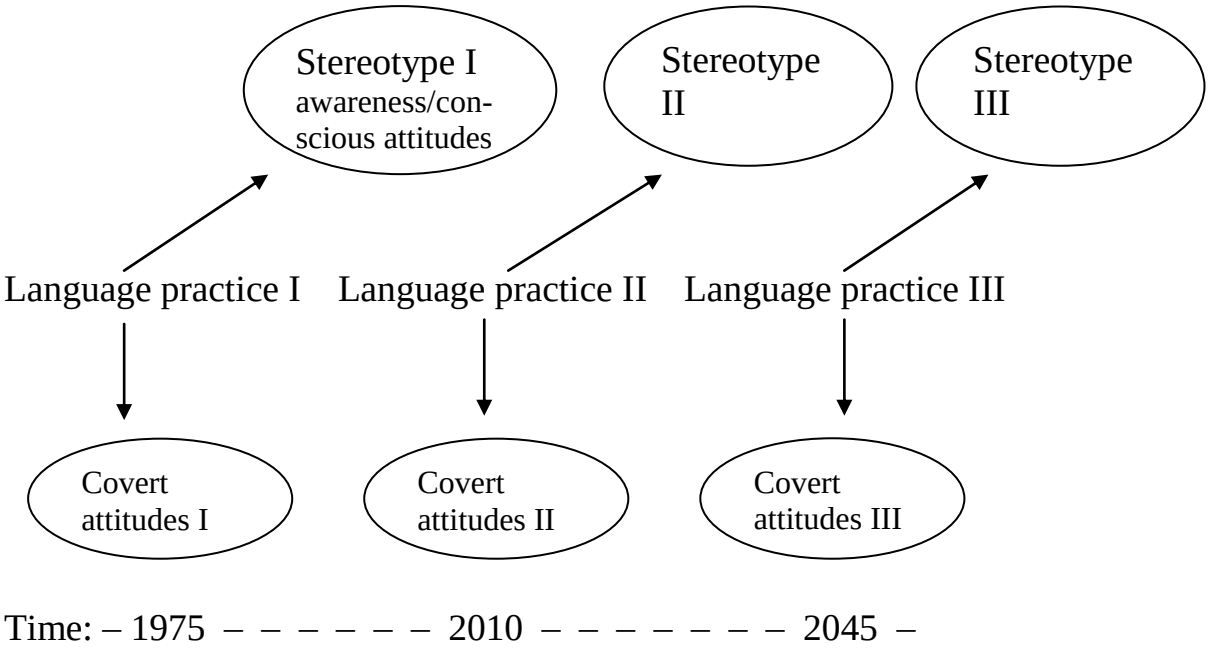

Figure 7: Hypothesized 'reaction-time' difference for overt and covert attitudes in relation to changes in language use.

side everyday language use. Media language as an object of study has the advantage that it is to a large extent both recorded and filed and provide us therefore with reliable historical data. In order for us to test the interesting question of whether the media influence everyday language or not, we have to assume that there was a difference between everyday language and media language at some previous stage and that this difference has disappeared or diminished. If everyday language has changed in the direction of media language, the assertion of influence is supported. Since we have accessible historical data about both media and everyday language, it should be possible to investigate this question.

However, the general opinion in Norway is that the language of the media has approached everyday language, not the other way round. This has been focused very much in general public discourse for the last couple of decades. In other words, we have to be aware that there may well be an influence in both directions. In order to investigate and document this closer, we need to establish variables that can reveal unambiguously an influence in one or the other direction. Whether previously SSL-dominated media have opened up for a broader gamut of variation is the easiest question to investigate. Whether the media have been instrumental in spreading SSL features in the community is a more complex question, as many SSL-features are also found in dialects that people meet in their everyday life outside of the media, and therefore an analysis depends on a complex discussion of prerequisites and conditions. Unambiguous criteria are therefore not easy to find. In the Norwegian context one possible variable could be the system of counting, which the Norwegian Parliament decided to change in 1951. (In the old counting system, the ones are pronounced before the tens, whereas in the new system the pronunciation follows the row of digits.) The new system was imposed on the mass media (the national broadcasting company), while everyday language maintained the traditional counting system for a generation. From the 1990s on, the new counting system seems to win out also in everyday language among young people. The media have certainly played a role in this process, but the importance of their contribution is blurred by the fact that most elementary school teachers loyally followed the official request to use the new system and may have had an influence on adolescents.

SOCIAL AND STRUCTURAL EXPLANATIONS

If neither overt attitudes nor covert attitudes play obvious roles as driving forces in Norwegian linguistic changes, how are we to explain the changes that invariably occur? Several studies of new industrial towns have demonstrated that the product of koineization processes is dependent on proportions in the volume of in-migration from different dialect areas (Sandve 1976; Sandøy 2004). If in-migration exceeds a threshold level of 30%, it seems to have a noticeable influence. This indicative finding can, of course, be problematized in several ways, including taking into account the length of the in-migration period. The koineization model is relevant for the community of Øygarden because the in-migration has increased its population with 45% over the period from 1980, and two thirds of the in-migrants have come from Bergen over the last generation (Villanger 2010: 8). Compared to this level of in-migration, the rate of change in the Øygarden dialect in the direction of the Bergen dialect has been surprisingly small (explained in more detail in Sandøy forthcoming). Strictly speaking, then, this single *demographic* factor is sufficient as a driving force in the Øygarden case, and the more general pattern of Bergen's role as *regional centre* is not necessary as an explanation (only a *possible* force).

One linguistic change in Øygarden does not have its source in the regional centre of Bergen (see Table 1): the present tense suffix *-e* instead of the previous complex pattern in which the suffixes *-e* and *-a* depended on the conjugational classes. (The Bergen dialect has *-aR*.) This is an instance of grammatical simplification, and this innovation has appeared in several centres in both Rogaland and Hordaland over the 20th century, i.e., in the southern part of Western Norway, the town of Stavanger included. This change has the character of regional levelling without having its source in Bergen. The innovation needs not be an effect of the in-migration of a specific dialect group; it is rather a grammatical simplification that emerges in contact situations where a community is not linguistically focused in people's awareness. Migration (demographic instability) facilitates grammatical simplification – independently of the dialect background of the in-migrants.

'Regional levelling' (as referred to in the above paragraph and in the conclusion of the section on 'linguistic changes and their sources') is hardly more than a descriptive notion that is used to characterise a certain stage of diffusion. It is difficult to demonstrate in this case, as elsewhere, that the levelling is the result of a common regional identity. The two counties in question, Rogaland and

Hordaland (see map in Figur 1) do not constitute a common region which is conceived of as being unlike the other counties in Western Norway. There is nothing unique about this area with respect to administration, identity, etc. It is easier to imagine that the present diffusion is the result of a traditional geographic spreading in a combination of wave movement and jumping between centres, and 'region' as such has no analytic meaning beyond 'neighbouring'. Thus, as these two diffusion patterns represent only a description, we still lack a satisfying socio-psychological explanation.

Some other features in our results can also be described as patterns of long-lasting waves. For instance, the depalatalisation in Midøya is marked + in Table 1 for having the regional centre, Molde, as its possible source. However, this is part of a change (simplification) which has moved northwards from Hordaland via the county Sogn og Fjordane to the county of Møre og Romsdal over the course of the 20th century. The gradual move over the map indicates that a new feature also diffuses independently of centres.

QUESTIONS AND LATE MODERNITY

With respect to *language use*, Norway is markedly moving away from the modernity ideal of a SSL and towards the greater tolerance of variation which may indeed be a characteristic of late modernity (cf. the section on 'linguistic changes and their possible sources'; and Sandøy 2011).

The explanations discussed in the above section concern traditional *social* factors (demographics and regional centres) and the question of *grammatical* complexity vs. simplicity, and we found these to be relevant. As to overt and covert attitudes (discussed in the previous sections), the conclusion for Norway was that we have not yet gained satisfactory insight into how linguistic changes can be understood at the *sociopsychological* level. We merely demonstrated that the proposed Danish picture needs further theoretical and methodological scrutiny – including the development of other measurement instruments that might capture possibly different evaluative dimensions and social values in the Norwegian community.

As for overt attitudes, we must say that the Norwegian situation is still at a 'modernity' stage, as the majority of our respondents thought that people in general consider the Oslo variety as the most prestigious language. But so far we lack the solid longitudinal data that would allow us to investigate whether this

comprehension has changed over time (cf., the notion of 'time-lag' as represented in Figure 7). Whether overt attitudes are more conservative (or time-lagged) than covert attitudes – and thus reflects a society of the past – is a question worthy of further study.

As it turns out, Norway is far from having a commonly accepted 'best language' at the level of covert attitudes as this has been shown to be the case in Denmark. We may ponder whether the different covert attitudes situation in Norway represents an advanced late modernity stage, or whether it should rather be seen as a pre-modernity phenomenon. If we focus on the complex situation in terms of national language authorities and see Norway as a society which is 'moving away from' language authorities, the perspective smells of late modernity characteristics. According to Kristiansen's rendering (2009b) of Fairclough's thoughts (1992), this new era is characterised by cultural democratisation, including 'a value levelling that will secure access to public space for a wider range of speech varieties'. As a possible outcome of this development, Kristiansen points to an 'eventual abandonment of the 'standard ideology' itself'. It is difficult to document the direction of the development of covert attitudes because of the lack of longitudinal data. However, Husby (1987) is an early study which offers relevant and comparable findings from Northern Norway, and we can discern there a stronger pattern of 'loyalty' towards national level authorities (i.e., high status Oslo speech) than in the data from 2010 presented in this chapter. And it may be added that the SEE data from Midøya show the adults to rank the Oslo prestige variety highest (Fossheim 2010: 108), in comparison with which the adolescents' result represents a downgrading (Table 7). Of course, no strong conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this limited and vague evidence. More research – not least in other parts of the country – is needed in order to clarify the language ideological situation in Norway.

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The impact of dialect loss on the acceptance of Tussentaal: the special case of West-Flanders in Belgium

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INTRODUCTION

Whoever studies the sociolinguistic literature in Flanders will quickly notice that the Flemish language situation manifests strong dynamics. Processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss have led to a functional elaboration of intermediate variations in between the dialects and the standard (cf. Devos 2006; Willemyns 2005), but these intermediate varieties – which have been referred to as Tussentaal ('in-between-language'), Verkavelingsvlaams ('allotment-Flemish') or Soapvlaams ('Soap-Flemish') (cf. Jaspers 2001) – are also penetrating contexts in which Standard Dutch used to be the norm. While increasingly more empirical studies (see e.g. Plevoets 2008) focus on this alleged standardisation of Tussentaal, a number of issues continue to be highly controversial. One of these is the shape of the standardisation, viz. whether one stable, clearly delineated, Brabantic-flavoured Tussentaal is emerging, as suggested in, for instance, Willemyns (2005) and Taeldeman (2008). A second issue is the question whether dialect loss is indeed one of the main determinants of the emergence and standardisation of Tussentaal (as purported in Willemyns 2005) and, more importantly still, whether the peripheral West-Flemish dialect area, which has proven more or less resistant against dialect loss (cf. Willemyns 2008) is also resisting Tussentaal (as suggested in for instance De Caluwe 2009).

In order to gain insight in these issues, it is essential to find out how Flemish language users perceive and evaluate[1] Tussentaal and standard language. At present, however, there are almost no 'reliable speaker evaluation data […] to as-

[1] In this chapter, we distinguish between perceptions on the one hand, i.e. the way in which non-linguists (1) process the auditory input, (2) recognise language varieties and (3) draw boundaries between varieties (Preston 1989), and attitudes on the other hand, i.e. the way in which non-linguists evaluate what they hear.

sess the degree of (implicit) communal acceptance of Tussentaal, and to access the SLI [Standard Language Ideology] – if any – which constructs and negotiates its use' (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a: 229). This chapter represents one of the first in-depth attitudinal investigations into Tussentaal. Building on a speaker evaluation experiment in which older and younger West-Flemish listener-judges rate Belgian Standard Dutch, Brabantic-flavoured Tussentaal and West-Flemish-flavoured Tussentaal, two hypotheses are explored. First of all, we investigate whether the strong position of the dialects in West-Flanders, and the alleged concomitant weak position of Tussentaal, translate in negative attitudes towards West-Flemish Tussentaal. Secondly, it is investigated to what extent times are 'a-changing': is Tussentaal more easily tolerated in the private conceptualisations of adolescent West-Flemings?

TUSSENTAAL IN FLANDERS

It has recurrently been argued (see for instance Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011b) that the Flemish language repertoire is diaglossic, to the extent that in between the standard language and the dialects, a whole continuum of non-distinct intermediate varieties is found. This collection of intermediate varieties is conveniently dubbed 'Tussentaal', although it is obvious that there is not one Tussentaal, but a whole range of varieties determined by speech situation, education, age, sex and regional background (Willemyns 2005: 31). Tussentaal cannot be described, hence, in terms of necessary and sufficient features (De Caluwe 2002: 57); it can only be said to be marked by a significant number of deviations from both the standard language and the dialect (De Caluwe 2009). There is general convergence, however, on the idea that the emergence of Tussentaal should be regarded as an endoglossic Flemish standardisation (see Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a: 222).

The emergence of Tussentaal has spawned (extreme) irritation on the part of the cultural and educational establishment and, concomitantly, a lot of linguistic attention. The latter is mainly due to the fact that Tussentaal is regarded as a double threat: to the dialects, but also, and increasingly, to the exoglossic Netherlandic Dutch standard that was imported and enforced in Flanders as the official standard (see Vandenbussche 2010; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011b; Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011: for an overview). While early contributions mainly contain emotional comments on the emergence and status of

Tussentaal (e.g. Van Istendael 1989, but also Debrabandere 2005), recent publications tend to focus on more objective descriptions (e.g. Plevoets 2008, Taeldeman 2008). In these data-based descriptions, it has repeatedly been argued that the central dialect area of Brabant is taking the lead in the endoglossic standardisation of Tussentaal (see also and especially Willemyns 2005). Brabantic-flavoured Dutch is not only represented more frequently and tolerated more easily in the national media than other local flavors; Brabant is also believed to play a central role in what is called the 'stabilisation' of Tussentaal (Taeldeman 2008; Rys and Taeldeman 2007), because it diffuses linguistic variants over non-Brabantic varieties of Tussentaal (Goossens 2000; Plevoets 2008; Taeldeman 2008).

Crucially, however, the peripheral West-Flemish dialect area[2] does not seem to be included in this process of diffusion: the transition from a diglossic (dialects vs. standard) to a diaglossic repertoire (dialects–Tussentaal–standard) is believed to be in an early stage (Willemyns 2007; De Caluwe 2009; Ghyselen 2009) in West-Flanders, mainly because the dialects in West-Flanders are fairly resistant to processes of dialect loss and dialect levelling. As a result, the local dialects (often in a levelled form) are still used in informal situations instead of Tussentaal (Willemyns 2008). At the same time, however, processes of dialect loss are reported to be affecting West-Flanders too (Devos and Vandekerckhove 2005), a result of which may be an acceleration of the diffusion of Tussentaal in this peripheral region too. In the same light, Taeldeman (2008) claims that some Brabantic features are spreading into West-Flemish-flavoured Tussentaal (a view which is not, however, corroborated by empirical research in Gabel (2010), who found Brabantic influence on informal West-Flemish speech to be a marginal phenomenon at best).

This chapter investigates the position of Tussentaal in West-Flanders from an attitudinal perspective. Attitudinal data on Tussentaal in Flanders are still relatively sparse (cf. De Caluwe 2009; Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011). Impe and Speelman (2007) report a speaker evaluation experiment in which 301 adolescents from West-Flanders and Limburg evaluated four spontaneously produced stimulus fragments in Belgian Standard Dutch, West-Flemish-flavoured, Brabantic-flavoured, and Limburg-flavoured Tussentaal. While, unsurprisingly, Standard Dutch was found to be the most prestigious variety, the Tussentaal-

[2] This area roughly corresponds to the province of West-Flanders, the westernmost province in Flanders, but the boundaries do not completely coincide.

samples generally commanded low prestige, but high attractiveness ratings. Somewhat less expected was the finding that the Limburg Tussentaal-fragment received high prestige scores. While Impe and Speelman attributed this unexpected finding to the low frequency of Tussentaal features in the Limburg Tussentaal sample, they could not exclude that comparable evaluations for Limburg-flavoured Tussentaal and Standard Dutch were due to the fact that those two samples were produced by the same speaker.

The position of Standard Dutch as the most prestigious variety is confirmed by Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007), who carried out a speaker evaluation experiment in which Antwerp adolescents rated several video fragments representing actors in specific interactional settings (e.g. a conversation at the chemist's shop), speaking either Antwerp dialect, Brabantic-flavoured Tussentaal and Standard Dutch. Although most of the findings were inconclusive, results show that in Antwerp, Standard Dutch is 'generally considered to be more appropriate than either dialect or tussentaal' (Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007: 252). In line with the solidarity and social attractiveness results of Impe and Speelman (2007), younger respondents were observed to associate dialect and Tussentaal with solidarity, more than the standard language. Older informants, by contrast, were observed to associate standard language with solidarity, rather than Tussentaal. Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier's main conclusion was that in spite of the inconclusiveness of the results, the language situation in Flanders still appears to be diglossic.

In a related vein, Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011) report a speaker evaluation experiment which investigates attitudes towards regionally accented standard language varieties – i.e. varieties which, in contrast to Tussentaal, are characterised by no more than (some) phonetic flavouring. Their finding is that while the Brabantic and East-Flemish accents varieties are considered prestigious, the peripheral Limburg and West-Flemish accents were downgraded with respect to prestige. This prestige distribution, crucially, is not a national construct; massive demographic bias was found in the perception of the Flemish accents (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011: 219).

Let us at the end of this overview summarise the chapter's goal into three research questions:

1. Since dialects occupy a strong position in West-Flanders, Tussentaal is known to be a marginal phenomenon at best there (Willemyns 2007). This paper aims at exploring whether the relatively strong position of the dia-

lects in West-Flanders (De Caluwe 2009) translates in negative attitudes towards Tussentaal.

2. The dialects in West-Flanders are however losing ground too, which can be expected to go hand in hand with an increase in Tussentaal usage among younger generations (Devos and Vandekerckhove 2005). Does this assumed increase in Tussentaal among the younger generation translate in more positive attitudes towards West-Flemish-flavoured Tussentaal? This is not an implausible assumption given that 'the main forces for change in language attitude patterns appear to be the psychological consequences of the increasing or decreasing vitality of contrasting varieties' (Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill 2005: 11).

3. Do we, in view of the fact that it is the central Brabant area which appears to be heading the endoglossic standardisation of Tussentaal, find more positive attitudes among the younger respondents towards Brabantic-flavoured Tussentaal?

METHODOLOGY

This investigation builds on an adapted version of the matched-guise technique, a technique which was first applied by Lambert, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960) to test the attitude of Canadians towards French and English. The matched-guise technique aims at revealing language attitudes in an indirect way, so that informants are not consciously aware that their language attitudes are being investigated. As such, it is able – in contrast to more direct techniques – to access attitudes without too explicitly evoking socially desired behaviour.

However, the method has recurrently been taken to task for its artificiality: both the internal validity of the technique, i.e. the degree to which the effect of the stimulus variable can be isolated from the total variance in the perception of a language stimulus, and its external validity, i.e. the degree to which the results of a matched-guise investigation can be generalised to a non-research related context, have been questioned (see e.g. Buccini 1993: 297). Concerning the internal validity, it has been suggested that in changing their language or language variety, speakers also change their voice timbre or highlight different personality features (see e.g. Webb 2010). In addition, the assumption that a speaker can be

perfectly bi- or trilingual (or bi- or tridialectal) has been criticised as a fiction which does not correspond to linguistic reality (Buccini 1993: 297). Concerning the external legitimacy, it is mainly the ecological validity of the research context which has been criticised. According to Fasold (2012) for instance, the fact that informants have to judge individuals purely on the basis of speech is so artificial that it is has to be questioned whether the results can be extrapolated to real life situations. Moreover, the official character of the test situation, caused by the research setting (in schools or speech laboratories) and by the use of a 'high' variety by the researcher, would cause the high variety to be favoured (Deprez 1984). Thirdly, incongruities may arise between the subject talked about in the stimulus material, the speaker, and the language used (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970), which can cause negative reactions which are not negative attitudes towards the language itself, but rather towards the incongruity.

Yet, the matched-guise technique is generally regarded as a 'very workable technique' (Deprez 1984: 281) when these limitations are addressed in a responsible design. In order to bypass the issue of credible bi- or tridialectalism, our experiment builds on a partial matched-guise design (Impe and Speelman 2007) with two speakers instead of one recording the Standard Dutch and Tussentaal guises. In addition, experimental stimuli are not identical, though they are topic-controlled and scripted; this was done to make the experiment less monotonous for the informants and to divert attention away from the fact that they heard the same speaker several times.

Stimulus materials

Four experimental samples of about 50 seconds were created by two female speakers who had been trained as linguists and had enjoyed extensive instruction in oral standard language proficiency and diction[3]; both speakers, moreover, are radio broadcasters on the Belgian national radio. Speaker A (aged 30) was born and raised in West-Flanders (Ieper), while speaker B (aged 23) was born and raised in the Brabantic dialect area (Borgerhout). Both speakers recorded a standard language sample, as well as a fragment of West-Flemish (speaker A)

[3] In addition to the four stimuli designed for the present research, there were two distractor fragments of about 50 seconds in Brabantic and West-Flemish Tussentaal produced by two male speakers, as well as five fragments which pertained to another investigation. As it is often assumed that in evaluation experiments the first stimulus fragment is used as a benchmark to evaluate following fragments, the Brabantic distractor fragment was used as introductory fragment for all speakers.

and Brabantic Tussentaal (speaker B). A trained linguist with expertise in Standard Dutch language proficiency (from the eastern-most province of Limburg) confirmed that there were no differences in degree of accentedness between the Standard Dutch fragments.

All samples contained (fragments of) popular fairy-tales such as Cinderella and Hansel and Gretel. Fairy-tales were chosen because they represent a form of neutral content which can be produced both in Standard Dutch and Tussentaal without causing disruptions between subject and appropriate language register. While samples were created with a view to sounding natural and authentic, they were all produced on the basis of written transcripts of the fairy-tales which contained the same number of hesitations, 'euh'-sounds, repetitions and non-lexically filled pauses, i.e. pauses taking longer than one second in the middle of the sentence and longer than two seconds between sentences. Speakers were asked to assimilate the texts and to produce them as naturally as possible, avoiding any impression that they were reading aloud. To avoid artificiality, no editing was done afterwards. By relying on fully written-out scripts we attempted to control grammar, lexis, and fluency in the samples to a degree that perceptual differences would be attributable as much as possible to the variety of Dutch evaluated, not to formality or fluency associations.

Listener-judges

165 informants were recruited in the region Ieper-Poperinge in the South-West of West-Flanders; 82 of them were male, 83 female. Two age groups were compared: a group of younger informants (14 to 18 years old, with a mean age of 16) and a group of older informants (40 to 60 years old, with a mean age of 56). The level of education was controlled by including informants with an average or higher education level. For the older informants, this criterion implied that they had finished secondary school, for the younger that they took some form of general pre-university schooling (the so-called 'Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs'). Young informants were recruited in secondary schools, and care was taken not to include students who had already had courses on Tussentaal. The older informants were recruited via local cultural organisations.

Scales

Informants rated the experimental stimuli on 12 seven-point-scales pertaining to the trustworthiness of the speaker ('Do you think that speaker X is someone you can trust?'), her persuasiveness, sense of humour, capacities as an entertainer, physical attractiveness, social attractiveness, reliability, intelligence, popularity, helpfulness, income and professional success.

Respondents were given an experimental set of 11 response sheets, the first 10 of which contained the 12 experimental scales for each of the 11 stimuli, whereas the last contained some demographic variables pertaining to the listener-judge. A post hoc discussion of the survey revealed that whereas some informants had noticed that the experiment was accent- and/or language-related, no-one could correctly identify the exact features or varieties under study, and the term 'Tussentaal' was mentioned by only one informant out of 165. As a result, the experimental goal of our study appears to have been sufficiently hidden to yield private, implicit attitudes towards Tussentaal.

Procedure

Younger informants participated in the experiment in the classroom: in order to conceal the experimental purpose as much as possible, the experiment was carried out during courses unrelated to language (instruction), such as mathematics. The older informants took part in the experiment at the beginning of a meeting of their organisation. All experimental sessions were led by the first author, who told informants that the experimental aim was to test which image the Flemish form themselves of random people they hear on the radio. This introduction was presented informally in West-Flemish-flavoured speech, in order to avoid creating a formal setting which might favour the standard language.

Informants did not rate all the experimental fragments, which were quite long (between 49–53 seconds): all items had the same length as the five single feature clips (not analyzed in this chapter) which were constructed to contain a sufficient number of tokens of the features concerned. As a consequence, all informants rated the two Standard Dutch fragments as well as the distractor fragments, 48 informants evaluated the Brabantic-flavoured Tussentaal and 38 informants evaluated the West-Flemish Tussentaal.

RESULTS

A Principal Component Analysis of our data returned the well-known prestige-solidarity-model (Brown and Gilman 1960) which has recurrently been confirmed in experimental attitude research. Fragment scores for the prestige and solidarity dimensions were calculated by using the regression approach (cf. DiStefano, Zhu and Mîndrilla 2009) which yields a range of standard or z-scores in which zero is the average, negative scores reflect negative attitudes and positive scores imply positive attitudes. These z-scores are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Median z-scores for individual fragments on solidarity and prestige

	Standard Dutch speaker A	Standard Dutch speaker B	West-Flemish Tussentaal speaker A	Brabantic Tussentaal speaker B
Solidarity				
Global	0.47	-0.10	0.04	-0.35
Male	0.49	-0.03	0.04	-0.17
Female	0.41	-0.16	0.06	-0.67
Young	0.53	-0.10	-0.22	-0.53
Old	0.40	0.00	0.35	-0.26
Prestige				
Global	0.26	0.26	-0.62	-0.73
Male	0.25	0.17	-0.78	-0.74
Female	0.35	0.49	-0.33	-0.71
Young	0.37	0.42	-0.15	-0.29
Old	-0.11	0.02	-0.92	-1.19

In the statistical analyses, non-parametric tests – Mann-Whitney for two sample comparisons and Kruskal-Wallis for multi-sample comparisons – were used because the data are ordinal and tests (Kolmogorov-Smirnov and a Shapiro-Wilk) confirm that the null hypothesis of a normal distribution on the prestige and solidarity-variables should be rejected (for the same reason, medians instead of means are reported in Table 1).

A first observation concerning Table 1 is that speaker A's speech is generally rated higher on the solidarity scales than speaker B's: both the Standard Dutch fragment and the Tussentaal fragment of speaker A are rated significantly more

positively for solidarity than the Standard Dutch fragment of speaker B (Mann-Whitney $p<0.001$) and the Tussentaal fragment of speaker B (Mann-Whitney $p=0.009$)[4]. This difference can be attributed to subtle voice quality differences (speaker B's voice being somewhat more nasal than speaker A's – see Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010: 111) for a similar effect of nasality on perception), but also to the fact that speaker A is a more 'experienced' standard speaker: whereas speaker A had years of experience as a radio broadcaster at the moment of recording, speaker B was still at the beginning of her radio career.

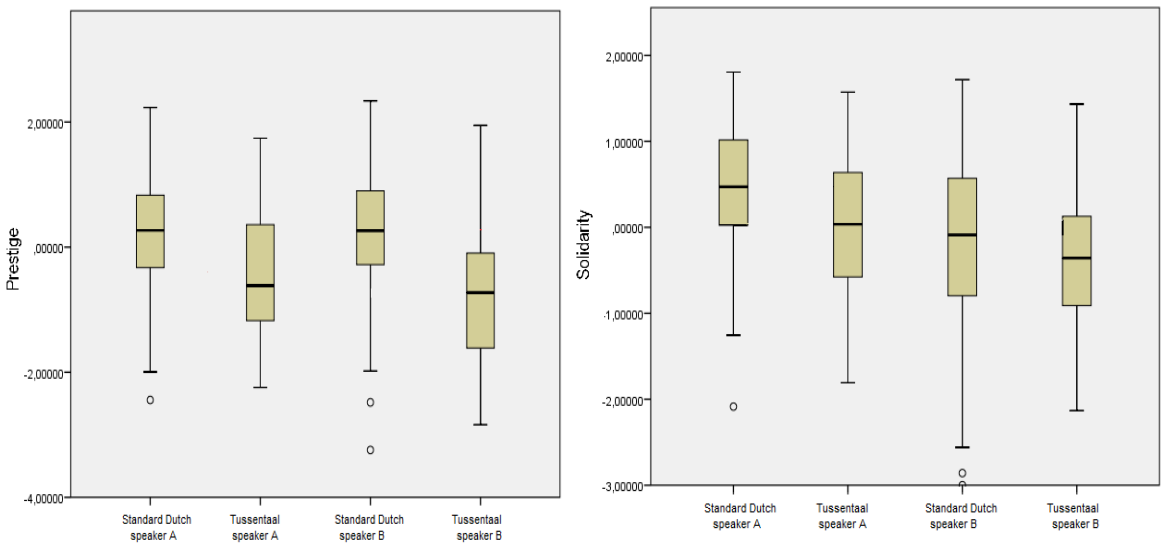
Table 2: Comparison of Standard Dutch and Tussentaal using Mann-Whitney Rank Sum Test

	Fragment	n	Median	M-W U	p-value
Solidarity	Standard Dutch (speaker A)	165	0.4705	2186.500	0.004
	West-Flemish Tussentaal (speaker A)	38	0.0355		
	Standard Dutch (speaker B)	165	-0.0986	3066.500	0.029
	Brabantic Tussentaal (speaker B)	47	-0.3524		
Prestige	Standard Dutch (speaker A)	165	0.2620	1909.500	<0.001
	West-Flemish Tussentaal (speaker A)	38	-0.6155		
	Standard Dutch (speaker B)	*165*	*0.2578*	2015.500	<0.001
	Brabantic Tussentaal (speaker B)	47	-0.7278		

Concerning the first research question of this chapter, the main finding is that West-Flemish informants have fairly negative attitudes to both varieties of Tussentaal included in the experiment (in accordance with Willemyns 2007: 274–275): Table 2 demonstrates that both speakers are rated significantly more negatively on the solidarity and prestige dimensions when they use Tussentaal than when they use standard varieties.

[4] Both voices are rated as equally prestigious however ($p>0.1$).

If we concentrate on the regional origin of Tussentaal stimuli (see also Figures 1 and 2), it can be observed that Brabantic Tussentaal is rated significantly more negatively on the solidarity scale than West-Flemish Tussentaal (Mann-Whitney p=0.009), whereas no significant differences can be observed on the prestige dimension. Recall, however, that the same tendency was found for the standard language stimuli of speaker A and B, as a result of which we cannot exclude that the diverging Tussentaal perceptions are also due to voice quality and proficiency differences between speaker A and B (rather than to any actual difference in the evaluation of West-Flemish and Brabantic Tussentaal). In order to factor out such global, irrelevant differences, we replaced our absolute scores with relative ones, by computing the difference between each speaker's Standard Dutch score and Tussentaal score. These relative scores are indicators of the (negative or positive) impact the use of Tussentaal has on the evaluation of a speaker, using the evaluation of the speaker using Standard Dutch as benchmark.



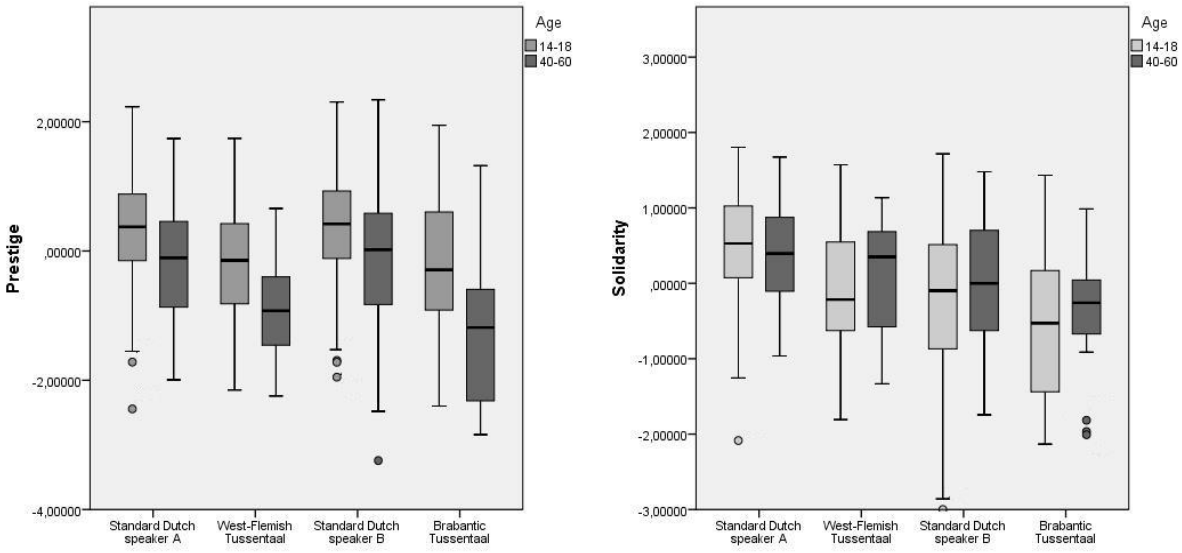
Figures 1 and 2: Boxplots of evaluation of Standard Dutch and Tussentaal for prestige and solidarity

Crucially, there are no significant differences between the relative scores for West-Flemish and Brabantic Tussentaal (Mann-Whitney p=0.818 for solidarity and p=0.923 for prestige), which indicates that the regional provenance of the Tussentaal does not seem to have any influence on the evaluation of Tussentaal: both West-Flemish and Brabantic Tussentaal are downgraded similarly vis-à-vis Standard Dutch.

These negative attitudes towards Tussentaal converge with the idea that in West-Flanders the rapid progress of Tussentaal is delayed by the relatively strong position the dialects still hold there (De Caluwe 2009). The fact that West-Flemish-flavoured Tussentaal is perceived neither as a sign of solidarity, nor of prestige, indicates that dialects and Standard Dutch are still considered to be the only appropriate means of respectively informal and formal communication. Neither does there seem to be any greater tolerance towards Brabantic Tussentaal, which is prominently used in the national media and is known to strongly impact the language use in the surrounding dialect areas (Taeldeman 2008). Previous attitudinal research by Impe and Speelman (2007) in the whole of Flanders had shown that Brabantic supraregional language is generally evaluated as 'socially attractive', but our informants do not seem to share this view, evaluating Brabantic Tussentaal as neither prestigious nor socially attractive. A possible explanation for this result is the persistent West-Flemish stereotype about the Brabantic (and especially the Antwerp) as braggarts who consider themselves superior to the West-Flemish[5].

A second research question was whether younger respondents have more positive attitudes towards West-Flemish-flavoured Tussentaal than older respondents. This was expected given the fact that the dialects in West-Flanders are slowly losing ground, making way for an increase in Tussentaal usage. At first sight (cf. Figures 3 and 4), this hypothesis seems to be confirmed by our data: a Kruskal-Wallis test shows that the younger informant group rates West-Flemish-flavoured Tussentaal significantly higher on prestige than the older informant group ($p=0.024$). On the solidarity dimension, no significant differences could be found ($p=0.397$).

[5] Support for this hypothesis is the fact that during the experiments, when the Brabantic fragments were played, five respondents mockingly remarked that it was certainly *een Antwerpse dikkenekke* ('an Antwerp braggart') speaking. This is a considerable amount, given that the questionnaire ought to be completed in silence.



Figures 3 and 4: Effect of age on evaluation of Standard Dutch and Tussentaal for prestige and solidarity

A closer look at the graphs, however, reveals that there is *general* tendency among younger informants to award higher prestige ratings than the older informants, not just to West-Flemish Tussentaal but also to the Standard Dutch stimuli and the Brabantic Tussentaal fragment. In order to level out this different rating behaviour, we again use relative scores comparing Tussentaal scores to Standard Dutch scores, rather than absolute scores. The same relative technique is used as in the analysis of the regional Tussentaal differences, as focusing on the difference between each speaker's Standard Dutch score and Tussentaal score does not only allow factoring out the difference between speaker A and speaker B, but also neutralizing rating behaviour differences between young and old informants: if younger informants generally give higher scores on the prestige dimension than older informants, they will do so for both the Standard Dutch fragments as for the Tussentaal fragments. Hence, by focusing on the relative differences between the Standard Dutch fragment and the Tussentaal fragments and by studying the way in which age impacts these relative scores, we are able to study the age differences in the evaluation of Tussentaal, rather than the age differences in rating speakers in general on prestige dimensions.

With regard to prestige, the relative scores reveal that the use of West-Flemish Tussentaal impacts the attitudes in a similar way for both age groups (Kruskal-Wallis Test on relative scores, p=0.254). On the solidarity dimension, the relative scores do not reveal any statistically significant preference for West-Flemish Tussentaal (Kruskal-Wallis Test on relative scores, p=0.838).

A third question which has to be addressed here is whether more positive attitudes towards Brabantic -flavoured Tussentaal can be found among the younger informants. This hypothesis was formulated in view of the idea that it is the central Brabant area which is heading the endoglossic standardisation of Tussentaal. Figures 3 and 4 indicate that younger informants rate Brabantic Tussentaal higher on prestige scales than the older informant group (Kruskal-Wallis p=0.005), whereas older and younger informants rate it similarly on the solidarity dimension (Kruskal-Wallis p=0.516). However, when we factor out the observation that our younger informants deem all samples more prestigious than older informants, by concentrating on the relative scores, we again find no significant differences between our age groups (Kruskal-Wallis p=0.167 for solidarity and p=0.733 for prestige).

In brief, no clear age effects can be observed. This is a remarkable result, which contradicts previous perception and production research in other regions which show that it is especially younger people who favour Tussentaal (Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007; Plevoets 2008). Our results show that no change in the appreciation of Tussentaal is imminent in West-Flanders, and confirms the exceptional status of the latter in the Flemish linguistic landscape.

CONCLUSION

Is there attitudinal evidence for the idea that the rapid progress of Tussentaal in Flanders is delayed in West-Flanders by the relatively strong position the dialects still hold there? We found zero tolerance (no prestige, no solidarity) for Tussentaal in West-Flanders, and while there are few data available to calibrate this finding, the fact that Tussentaal does not even elicit the evaluations of sympathy and solidarity it enjoys elsewhere in Flanders is strongly indicative of a conservatively diglossic distribution of dialects for informal, and Standard Dutch for formal language use. Since, in addition, we found no straightforward age effects, there is no evidence for changing evaluations among the younger generation: adolescent West-Flemings do not seem to jump the bandwagon of rapidly spreading Tussentaal.

In combination with the production data in De Caluwe (2009: 23), which demonstrate that some of the most typical Tussentaal variables are used almost four times less frequently by young West-Flemish adults than by other Flemish speakers, the perception data presented in this paper clearly confirm the impact

of dialect loss on the rise and dissemination of Tussentaal. The rapid spread of Tussentaal seems to correlate organically with the loss of language varieties in which speakers can express regional identity. The survival of these varieties, conversely, conditions the growth of Tussentaal. In order to acquire better insight in the dynamics of the Dialect–Tussentaal interaction, the present investigation will have to be replicated in other Flemish dialect areas. In any case, it is only through the systematic collection and confrontation of production and perception data that we can eventually hope to gain insight into the dynamics of ongoing standard language change in Flanders.

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Can speaker evaluation return private attitudes towards stigmatised varieties? Evidence from emergent standardisation in Belgian Dutch

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INTRODUCTION

Few areas in late-modern Europe manifest language dynamics which are so exciting (to linguists) and controversial (to non-linguists) as those witnessed in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking northern half of Belgium. This chapter reports experimental data collected to investigate the respective position in the standard language space of two varieties: the official 'best language', and a rapidly spreading colloquial variety which is referred to as 'Tussentaal' (literally, 'in-between language'), because it is a more or less autonomous variant stratificationally situated in-between the official standard and the dialects.

The uncontested norm for spoken standard usage in Flanders since the 1950's has been 'VRT-Dutch', the variety produced by official broadcasters on the *Vlaamse Radio en Televisie* ('Flemish Radio and Television'). While this VRT-Dutch is the only prestigious speech in Flanders, its status as a lingua franca continues to be problematic. Observe, to begin with, that VRT-Dutch is not an endogenous Flemish variety: except for its pronunciation, the 'best' Flemish Dutch was modelled after spoken *Netherlandic* Dutch. This adoption of the exoglossic Netherlandic standard was promoted in the 19th century to provide for a Flemish prestige variety which did not exist at the time. In the 17th century, Flanders had been cut off from emergent standardisation processes in The Netherlands (as a result of the Eighty Years' War) and the subsequent Spanish, Austrian and French rulers in Flanders preferred French for supra-regional purposes (more extensive historical accounts of the Flemish adoption of the exoglossic Netherlandic standard can be found in Vandenbussche 2010; Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012, and Delarue this volume). When the desire for a Flemish

standard emerged in the 19th century, Flemish language planners opted for the fully-fledged, available Netherlandic Dutch standard instead of creating an endoglossic Flemish variety. It was not until 1898, however, that Dutch was recognised as an official language alongside French in Flanders, and it was only with the advent of radio and TV after World War II, and the ensuing exposure to Netherlandic Dutch, that the Flemish adoption of the Dutch standard gained momentum.

Crucially, the imported Dutch standard was not spontaneously adopted by the Flemish, but *imposed* on the linguistic community (Jaspers 2001, De Caluwe 2009, Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011), in a repressive intellectual climate hostile to variation, and language planning efforts that often coincided with a crusade against endogenous Flemish varieties (Taeldeman 1993: 15). Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012: 97) refer to the exoglossic standardization of Belgian Dutch as a *hyperstandardisation*, 'a propagandistic, large-scale and highly mediatised linguistic standardisation campaign that has thoroughly ideologised and hierarchised language use in all corners of Flemish society'. One result of the foreignness of the Dutch standard, and the amount of repression with which it was imposed, is the fact that most Flemish speakers are uncomfortable with it. Taeldeman (1993) and Geeraerts (1999; 2001) have referred to Belgian Standard Dutch as a 'Sunday suit' in this respect, an indispensable piece of clothing which one takes off as soon as the occasion no longer demands it.

In addition to foreign and uncomfortable, VRT-Dutch is increasingly regarded as a 'virtual colloquial variety [...], desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice' (De Caluwe 2009: 19). Many linguists agree that VRT-Dutch represents an unattainable ideal which is realised by only a small minority of the Flemish, in a small number of contexts (see, amongst many others, Goossens 2000: 8; Geeraerts and De Sutter 2003: 57; or Beheydt 2003: 160). The best non-virtual variety of Dutch spoken in actual practice is the speech documented in the Teacher Corpus of the Spoken Dutch Corpus (see Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011: 219, and Delarue's chapter (this volume)), which consists of interviews with secondary school teachers of Dutch. While most teachers of Dutch proclaim themselves guardians of the standard (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999), who are loyal to official pronunciation norms (De Schutter 1980), almost all of them have an identifiable regional accent, and a sizeable proportion manifest substandard features in their speech.

In view of the fact that VRT-Dutch is non-endogenous and non-vital, it is unsurprising (according to, for instance, Cajot 2012) that it would eventually be

contested by endoglossic varieties such as Tussentaal, which owes this appellation to the fact that it is stratificationally situated in-between the dialects and the standard. While the rapid expansion of Tussentaal in Flanders has been a highly controversial and strongly mediatised phenomenon these past decades, it is interesting to notice that reliable scientific knowledge on this spreading variety is scant (Jaspers 2001; De Caluwe 2009; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011). The paucity of (empirical) data on the status and structure of Tussentaal reflects the establishment's unease and panic with respect to an endoglossic development which runs counter to the adoption of the exoglossic standard proposed and promoted by the integrationist language planners. According to Jaspers (2001: 131), until recently 'Tussentaal was not analysed but merely incurred disapproval'.

The only fact most observers from all ideological backgrounds agree on is the idea that the rapid spread of Tussentaal represents a case of 'autonomous informal language standardization' (Cajot 1999: 375; Vandekerckhove 2007: 202; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011: 222). Production evidence for the suggestion that Tussentaal is standardizing comes from the widely reported observation that Tussentaal is encroaching on formal domains in which Standard Dutch used to be *de rigueur* (De Caluwe 2009; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011), and from the fact that – while the cultural elite in Flanders held on to Standard Dutch much longer than the economic elite –, the youngest generation in *any* professional group is massively defecting to Tussentaal (See especially Plevoets 2009 for corpus-based evidence). In addition, stabilizing and uniforming tendencies have been reported, to the extent that there is a growing influx in Tussentaal of features from the central Brabant-Antwerp axis (see Vandekerckhove 2006, 2007, and especially Willemyns 2005): although Tussentaal is clearly not a uniform variety (yet), De Caluwe (2009: 8) claims that 'it is Brabant-flavoured Tussentaal which manifests the highest status and widest distribution'.

While its increasing usage and internal uniformity suggest that Tussentaal is indeed standardizing, we have repeatedly argued (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011, 2012; Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011) that production factors do not suffice to determine the standard status of language varieties. (Socio)linguists rarely regard a standard language as a uniform, delineable variety with typical speakers (as they typically do for dialects, see Smakman 2012: 27), but as a 'linguistic ideal' (Van Haeringen 1951: 317), a 'conviction' (Geerts 1987: 165), an 'abstraction' (Niedzielski and Preston 2000: 18), and even as 'a myth' (Lippi-Green 1997: 44). In view of the fact that standard languages owe

their status as 'best language' to powerful Standard Language Ideologies – hierarchisations of language varieties based on 'conceptions' of purity, modernity and civilisation (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012: 97) – rather than to any intrinsic homogeneity or superiority (see Milroy 2001: 530), the question whether and to what extent Tussentaal is standard(ising) presupposes an investigation into Standard Language Ideology (change) in Flanders.

Standard Language Ideology (change) has mainly been investigated from two angles in Flanders and other countries. In keeping with the view that language attitudes are 'socially derived, intellectualised or behavioural ideology' (Woolard 1998: 16), a number of researchers have accessed native speaker attitudes towards standard language variation in Flanders, building on Lambert et al.'s (1960) speaker evaluation paradigm (whereby listener-judges evaluate unlabelled speech clips on a number of descriptors pertaining to speaker personality). Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007) and Cuvelier (2007) reported speaker evaluation research in which student listener-judges evaluated the functional distribution of spontaneously produced Standard Dutch, dialect, and Tussentaal in video clips representing three different interactional situations (which varied in degree of formality). Standard Dutch received high power and competence ratings, while both Tussentaal and dialect were downgraded on these dimensions. Standard Dutch, by contrast, elicited lower solidarity ratings than the other varieties. Impe and Speelman (2007) reported a speaker evaluation experiment in which adolescent listener-judges of Limburg and West-Flemish descent evaluated spontaneous but topic-controlled samples of non-regional Belgian Standard Dutch speech and Brabant, Limburg, and West-Flemish Tussentaal (the standard fragment and the Limburg Tussentaal fragment were produced by the same speaker). Per fragment, a fluency and Tussentaal-index was computed to investigate the impact of these factors on impression formation. Impe and Speelman's (2007) findings strongly mirrored what Cuvelier (2007) and Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007) found: Tussentaal-samples commanded low status but high attractiveness ratings. Building on such data, none of the cited speaker evaluation studies regard Tussentaal as a threat to Standard Dutch. Cuvelier (2007: 53) inferred a diglossic situation from his data, to the extent that Standard Dutch, but not Tussentaal is the most appropriate variety for all functions associated with power. In the same vein, Impe and Speelman (2007) conclude that the Belgian Dutch norm for polished usage is still the standard variety.

There seems to be no perceptual support, in other words, for the production data which univocally point in the direction of on-going standardisation. It

should be noticed, however, that all three studies cited in the previous paragraph raise a number of methodological concerns. In Impe and Speelman (2007), the standard and the Limburg Tussentaal-fragment received unintuitively high status scores, an unexpected finding in view of the lack of prestige of Tussentaal. While Impe and Speelman attributed this unexpected finding to the low Tussentaal-index for the Limburg Tussentaal fragment, they could not exclude that comparable evaluations were due to the fact that the samples were produced by the same speaker. And Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007) regarded most of their findings as inconclusive, referring to them as 'a puzzling pattern of appreciation differences' (p. 253). The main reason for this, according to the authors, was the fact that 'Tussentaal proves to be very hard to operationalise as it may cover virtually the entire continuum between dialect and standard language. The question which part of the continuum one selects as a target is a very tricky one' (Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007: 253).

A second brand of research into Flemish standard language perceptions is represented by the work of Jürgen Jaspers and his colleagues, which Garrett (2005) and Knops and Van Hout (1988: 6–9) would classify under the 'societal treatment approach' to language perception. Alternatively referred to as 'content analysis', this work infers mostly qualitative attitudinal data from the treatment language varieties and their speakers get within a society. Building on a highly insightful analysis of the propagandistic materials issued by integrationist language planners between 1950 and 1980, Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012) conclude that the language ideology effected by hyperstandardisation has 'succeeded in creating a collective meta-linguistic consciousness and in thoroughly imbuing the Flemish with the propagated language stratification in which linguistic features are associated with a social hierarchy of speakers and speech situations' (p. 113, our translation). Crucially, Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012: 113) go on to suggest that this deeply engrained ideology has *not* changed drastically in the meantime, not even on account of the clearly increasing production of Tussentaal: 'for many Flemings, it is […] quite normal to manifest a Tussentaal-like practice and, at the same time, to subscribe unequivocally to the necessity of the use, the conservation, and the defence of the standard' (p. 120, our translation).

In order to substantiate their claim that the standard language ideal is alive and kicking in Flanders, Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012) invoke experimental evidence reported in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011: 217 – cited on their page 119):

> […], the absence of aesthetic appreciation for accented Belgian Standard Dutch could [...] be due to the fact that accented Belgian Standard Dutch is not regarded as standard because non-accented VRT Dutch is the only superior variety in that respect to Belgian listeners, no matter how virtual and non-vital that variety is (or maybe *precisely* because it is so virtual and untainted by practical use): [...] [E]ven in the absence of actual VRT-Dutch, the ghost of this variety impacts the perception of the regional standards.

In this quote, Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012: 119) specifically refer to the design decision in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011) *not* to include VRT-Dutch or Tussentaal in their speaker evaluation experiment into the standard language situation in Flanders. While VRT-Dutch was excluded for the reason cited in the quote, Tussentaal was avoided because it is 'still so stigmatised that it will immediately and automatically alarm all but the younger generations of Flemings' (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011: 206). This design choice was made specifically in view of the failure of previous speaker evaluation designs to uncover any of the prestige which could motivate why Tussentaal is spreading so fast. Rather than just accepting that VRT-Dutch is still the most prestigious variety (as Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012 do), the present paper – as the previous – is an attempt to adapt the speaker evaluation paradigm to the investigation of standard language configurations which involve heavily stigmatised and/or mediatised varieties. Is it at all possible to find any speaker evaluation evidence for their growing prestige?

This paper follows up on the methodology reported in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011) by avoiding the best type of VRT-Dutch as well as fully-fledged Tussentaal as a stimulus. In the experiment reported in the next sections we use informal, regionally accented standard Dutch as spoken by students as a reference point for the perception of speech clips featuring some of the recurrently reported phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactic features of Tussentaal. Evaluation data were collected to answer two research questions:

1. Can speaker evaluation return prestige values for strongly stigmatised and/or mediatised varieties which are not supposed to have prestige? This question is difficult to answer because the absence of prestige associations either means that speaker evaluation does not return them, or Tussentaal does not have them.

2. In case the answer to the previous question is 'yes': which Tussentaal-features command what sort of prestige? Recall that from the perspective of production, Tussentaal is an immediately recognizable variety which is not easy to delineate however (see especially De Caluwe 2009): we know (some of) the production features which characterise Tussentaal, but we are largely ignorant as to which of these have to be present in what proportion for a variety to be called Tussentaal. Little as we may know about the production status of the phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactic ingredients of Tussentaal, we know nothing whatsoever about their perceptual status.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Experimental speakers and stimulus materials

Experimental speakers were two 3rd year students who majored in Linguistics at the University of Leuven. Speaker 1 was a 20 year old student from the Brabantic town of Diest, which is close to the border with Limburg (as a result, this speaker was often confused with a Limburger, and elicited the negative perceptions typically associated with the Limburg area, see below). Speaker 2 was a 20 year old student from the province of Antwerp, a region associated with high prestige but low solidarity stereotypes (see Deprez and De Schutter 1980).

We constructed eight comparable passages – on the then upcoming Christmas festivities – which were written with a view to be spoken. Two 'neutral' passages were produced in colloquial spoken Dutch which reflected the comparatively broad regional accent of the experimental speakers, but contained no specific phonological (beyond the regional accent), lexical or morphological deviations from the standard. In two 'phonological' passages three function words (two tokens of the negator *niet* 'not' and one of the preposition *met* 'with' in the first passage; two tokens of *met* and one of *niet* in the second) were pronounced with a 'deleted final *t*', a widely recognised pronunciation characteristic of colloquial Flemish speech and Tussentaal (see amongst many others Cajot 2012: 48). Two 'lexical' passages contained three Flemish non-standard lexemes each (the first passage *sacoche* 'handbag', *schmink* 'make-up', and *nonkel* 'uncle', the second *bomma* 'grandma', *patatjes* 'potatoes', and *sjotten* 'to play soccer'). And in two 'morphological' passages we inserted inflection variables typical of Tussentaal

(Cajot 2012: 48): non-standard diminutive affixes (*spellekes* 'games' in the first, *pakskes* 'presents' in the second), non-standard pronoun and article forms (possessive *mijne* 'my' and the accusative-marked definite article *den* 'the' in the first, the demonstrative *dees* 'this' in the second), and a non-standard adjective form (*gewoon* instead of *gewone* 'normal' in the second). One additional neutral passage and an additional passage containing the morphologically non-standard *pakskes* and *spellekes* and the non-standard lexeme *ambiance* 'homely atmosphere' were added to the experiment as distracters. Speakers were asked to produce the passages as spontaneous and fluent as possible, and they were specifically encouraged to avoid any impression of reading aloud. Both speakers produced all ten passages, but the two passages per category which were eventually included in the experiment were never produced by the same speaker.

Measures

Speech stimuli were evaluated on 15 measures which consisted of Likert statements complemented with seven-point scales. We selected measures in function of five recurrently confirmed dimensions of language attitude architecture: personal integrity (this person is – the Dutch equivalent of – *reliable*, *honest*, *caring*), solidarity (this person is *popular*, *entertaining*, could be my *friend*), traditional status/prestige (this person comes from a *rich* family, likes *classical* music, is *well-bred*), competence (this person gets *good grades*, is *intelligent*, would be a *good manager*), and dynamism (this person is *trendy*, *assertive*, *cool*). On an additional Likert scale we elicited whether respondents regarded the speech in the sample as beautiful or not.

Respondents

We recruited 135 respondents, demographically stratified with respect to gender (74 male; 61 female) and age. Three age categories were included: adolescents (n = 45; average = 16.12, ranging between 15 and 17), young adults (n = 45; average = 20.18, range 19 to 23) and older adults (n = 45; average = 49.43, range 42 to 55). 92 participants came from the centre of Flanders (62 from Antwerp, 30 from Brabant), and 43 from (more) peripheral regions (28 from Limburg, 14 from East-Flanders, 1 from West-Flanders). Adolescents and young adults respectively were secondary school students and higher education students of various backgrounds. In the older adult group, 11 respondents had not pursued a

higher education beyond their secondary schooling. All respondents were recruited by student assistants as part of the requirements of a course on experimental methodology taught by the second author; student assistants enlisted respondents in their respective Flemish birth provinces.

Procedure

Speech fragments were played from laptops complemented with headphones. Respondents were given an experimental set of 11 pages, the first 10 of which contained the 15 experimental scales for each of the 10 stimuli (8 experimental stimuli and 2 distracters). Speech stimuli and experimental scales were presented in two orders to avoid context effects. The last page contained a number of demographic variables pertaining to the respondents themselves (gender, age, birth province, and education), as well as a debriefing question in the form of an open response item on which respondents were asked to name the goal of the experiment. The analyses reported in the subsequent sections are restricted to the data from respondents who were ignorant about our experimental goal, viz. respondents who had not suggested that the experiment had anything to do with language. This reduction left us with 107 respondents (42 adolescents, 34 young adults, and 31 older adults).

RESULTS

Before we could apply factor analysis to reduce dimensionality in the ratings, we had to remedy the perceptual consequences of the global difference between our speakers' regional accents, which were much more outspoken than the variation we manipulated. In order to prevent the accent variation from eclipsing the difference between the phonological, lexical and morphological stimuli, we standardised the ratings for the two speakers separately before feeding them into the factor analysis. More concretely, we split up the ratings by speaker, and within each speaker-specific subset we standardised the ratings for each measure, which means that for each measure we first subtracted the subset-specific mean from the ratings and we then divided by the subset-specific standard deviation. The effect of this procedure is that for both speakers the mean rating for each measure is (forced to) zero and its standard deviation is (forced to) one. This procedure neutralises two global differences between the speakers in the

factor analysis; first, it neutralises the fact that in the non-standardised data the mean ratings for all measures were consistently higher for speaker 1 (with the differences ranging from 0.77 to 1.61); second, it neutralises the fact that in the non-standardised data the standard deviations for all measures were consistently higher for speaker 2 (with the differences ranging from 0.08 to 0.26).

While these neutralisations do not affect the variation we are interested in, it goes without saying that the factor scores in Table 2 below – which pool over the individual speakers – must be interpreted with some caution (although both speakers manifest proportionally comparable scores). A high(er) score, to be more precise, should not be interpreted in any absolute sense, but as reflecting a relatively strong(er) effect of one of the conditions – neutral, phonological, lexical, or morphological – on one of the factors – dynamism, integrity, or prestige – at hand.

Factor analysis returned a three factor solution explaining 53.4% of the variation in the ratings (after *classical-music loving* – which did not load on any factor – and *cool*, *good manager*, *well-bred*, and *friend* – which loaded on more than one factor – had been removed):

Table 1: Loadings of 10 scales on 3 factors

	Dynamism	Integrity	Prestige
Reliable	0.245	**0.541**	0.144
Rich	0.118	-0.011	**0.658**
Good grades	0.058	0.287	**0.677**
Trendy	**0.711**	0.133	0.115
Entertaining	**0.789**	0.244	0.026
Caring	0.191	**0.691**	0.137
Intelligent	0.189	0.364	**0.700**
Assertive	**0.517**	0.179	0.331
Honest	0.129	**0.688**	0.166
Popular	**0.769**	0.172	0.120

Our inability to find a good factor solution (viz. which retains all the scales and resolves the best part of the variability in the ratings) suggests either that Flemish listener-judges do not fully converge in their perceptions of colloquial Flemish speech, or that we have failed to find the appropriate adjectives to tap into the attitude dimensions. Only in the case of the second factor did the analysis confirm the scales included in function of that dimension, viz. Integrity. On the first factor, two measures included in function of Solidarity – *popular* and *enter-*

taining – correlated with the features *trendy* and *assertive* to form a dimension which could be regarded as either Solidarity or Dynamism. In view of the fact that the Solidarity-trait *could be my friend* loaded both on the first and the second factor – and was subsequently rejected – and the fact that *popular* and *entertaining* can easily be interpreted as attributes of a dynamic personality, while *trendy* and especially *assertive* cannot straightforwardly be interpreted as Solidarity-traits, we have labelled factor 1 as 'Dynamism'. On factor 3, the Competence and Status-traits conflated in a factor we label as 'Prestige'.

In order to compare perceptions of the speech samples across these factors, SPSS computed the factor scores diagrammed in Table 2:

Table 2: Factor scores for four conditions on three factors (pooled over two speakers and over two samples per condition); scores which differ significantly from the Neutral reference value are bold-faced

	Dynamism	Integrity	Prestige
Phonological	-0.092	0.073	0.123
Lexical	**0.207**	0.045	**-0.139**
Morphological	**-0.168**	-0.120	**-0.161**
Neutral	0.019	-0.029	0.235

Data were analyzed with a linear mixed effects regression analysis (using the lmer function in the R package lme4). All factors were encoded using dummy coding. For all models discussed below the random effects structure that was selected included both a random intercept for each participant and a random slope of speaker for each participant. Fixed effects that were taken into consideration were FragmentType (neutral vs. phonological vs. lexical vs. morphological), RaterRegion, RaterAge, and RaterGender, and their two-way interactions. Significance of fixed effects was established by comparing nested models with an identical random effects structure (with estimates in these models chosen to optimise the maximum likelihood criterion). In the final models, significance of individual levels of fixed effects was established with the criterion $|t| > 2$ (with estimates in these models chosen to optimise the restricted maximum likelihood criterion). We will discuss three analyses, one with Dynamism-scores as the re-

sponse variable, one with Integrity-scores as the response variable, and one with Prestige-scores as the response variable.

The factor FragmentType was the only fixed effect factor with a significant effect on Dynamism-scores. The comparison of a model with no fixed effects to a model with FragmentType as a fixed effect yielded a result of $p < 0.001$. No other fixed effect factors had a significant effect on Dynamism, and no significant two way interactions between fixed effect factors were found. In the final model for Dynamism, with FragmentType as the only fixed effect, the lexical condition (estimate=0.19; t=2.96) yielded a significantly higher average score than the neutral condition (=reference level), and the morphological condition (estimate=-0.19; t=-2.93) yielded a significantly lower average score than the neutral condition. The average score for the phonological condition (estimate=-0.11) was lower, but not significantly lower than that of the neutral condition.

The factors FragmentType and RaterGender were found to have a significant effect on Integrity-scores. The comparison of a model with no fixed effects to a model with FragmentType as a fixed effect yielded a result of $p = 0.01$. The comparison of a model with only FragmentType as a fixed effect to a model with both FragmentType and RaterGender as fixed effects yielded a result of $p = 0.04$. No other fixed effect factors had a significant effect on Integrity, and no significant two way interactions between fixed effect factors were found. In the final model for Integrity, with FragmentType and RaterGender as fixed effects, none of the conditions differed significantly from the neutral reference condition, but both the phonological condition (estimate=0.20; t=3.06) and the lexical condition (estimate=0.17; t=2.64) were found to yield a significantly higher average score than the morphological condition, and the neutral condition (estimate=0.09; t=1.42) yielded a higher, but not significantly higher average score than the phonological condition. With regard to the predictor RaterGender, female participants gave higher average Integrity-scores than male participants.

The factor FragmentType was the only factor with a significant effect on Prestige. The comparison of a model with no fixed effects to a model with FragmentType as a fixed effect yielded a result of $p < 0.001$. No other factors had a significant effect on Prestige, and no significant two way interactions were found. In the final model for Prestige, with FragmentType as the only fixed effect, both the morphological condition (estimate=-0.39; t=-5.91) and the lexical condition (estimate=-0.37; t=-5.54) were found to yield a significantly lower average score than the neutral condition, while the phonological condition (es-

timate=-0.11; t=-1.65) yielded a lower, but not a significantly lower average score that the neutral condition.

DISCUSSION

If we discuss our findings in terms of the research questions outlined above, then the answer to the first question – can speaker evaluation return prestige values for stigmatised varieties? – is clearly 'yes'. The most important conclusion of this investigation is that a design which does not feature the very best variety of Dutch – VRT-Dutch – does not return the global downgrading of the stigmatised Tussentaal variety found in earlier speaker evaluation work. A second design choice which probably sustained the attestation of positive Tussentaal-perceptions was the absence of samples in which phonological, lexical, and morphological features of Tussentaal co-occurred. The fact that we distributed these feature types over different samples is in all likelihood the reason why the majority of our respondents were totally ignorant about the experimental purpose; the ensuing subconsciousness (or at least implicitness) of the perceptions collected is undoubtedly a prerequisite for any stigmatised variety to elicit positive impressions (recall that explicit, public perceptions are typically conservative and sceptical of nonstandard varieties).

A second advantage of our single feature-approach is the possibility to zoom in on the perceptual correlates of different ingredients of Tussentaal. This brings us to our second research question about the *nature* of the prestige perceptions harvested. Unsurprisingly, we did not find any traditional prestige perceptions, though downgrading, again, was not global: while lexically and morphologically nonstandard speech was harshly rejected in terms of traditional prestige, there was no perceptual difference between neutral speech and phonologically marked speech. This finding converges with the (anecdotic) observation that the phonological variable manipulated – final *t*-deletion – is becoming increasingly more acceptable in colloquial standard speech. On radio stations and in programmes geared towards younger listeners, *t*-deletion is penetrating the (in all other respects) standard usage of radio presenters such as Truus Druyts.

An interesting finding in view of ongoing research into the prestige-determinants of overtly stigmatised phenomena – see especially Kristiansen (2009) and Grondelaers (2013) – is the fact that some Tussentaal features elicit impressions of dynamism. Again, morphological Tussentaal features were re-

jected in terms of Dynamism, and phonologically marked speech was considered no less dynamic than neutral speech, but speech with typically Flemish lexis was *upgraded* in terms of dynamism. This indicates that by using typically Flemish lexemes, speakers project a trendy, assertive image. Apart from the fact that this is the first time – to our knowledge – that Tussentaal or Tussentaal features are found to elicit positive impressions, it is the media prestige (of which these qualities are attributes) which seems to co-determine the rapid spread of the overtly depreciated Modern Copenhagen speech in Denmark, and the equally rapid dispersion of the notorious subject-*hun* variable in Netherlandic Standard Dutch.

The attestation of Dynamism-perceptions for Tussentaal, in other words, might well be the perceptual key to (standard) language change in Flanders. On a more conceptual note, these (more) progressive language ideologies also constitute the missing link in an otherwise problematic causality: for linguists (like ourselves) who investigate ideological change as a possible determinant of language change, the invariant conservative standard language ideology which is evidenced in content-analytical work by Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012) and in earlier speaker evaluation work (Impe and Speelman 2007; Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007; Cuvelier 2007) is seemingly at odds with the vitality and diffusion of Tussentaal. It is much more plausible to assume that the rise of Tussentaal is ideologically sustained by more progressive ideologies, viz. by the fact that Tussentaal speakers (know they) are perceived as trendy and assertive by their fellow speakers.

While we could emphasise the methodological superiority of our design (which elicits dynamism perceptions, and which keeps participants ignorant about the experimental goal – design decisions our predecessors did not take), we believe that it is more advantageous to distinguish between two ideological systems which are not, however, completely distinct. We propose that the core of both is the conservative standard language ideology, and that this ideology exists in a public and a private format. Whereas the public ideology is for the most part common knowledge – albeit at different levels of specificity – the private version is more variable because it is entrenched in, and informed by personal value systems which pertain to, among others, matters of *identity* (‘to what extent do I regard myself as Belgian or Flemish, as Dutch-speaking or Flemish-speaking?’), *conformity* (‘what is the distance between what I know I should do and what I want to do?’), and *comfort* (‘what is the distance between what I know I should do and what I am comfortable with?). The answer to these ques-

tions determines how close private ideologies are to the public version. Speakers who regard themselves as Flemish and Flemish-speaking may be more inclined to find Flemish lexis dynamically attractive (although they *know* it is not considered standard) than speakers who think of themselves as Dutch-speaking Belgians. In the same way, speakers who feel uncomfortable with, or insecure about (their proficiency in) Standard Dutch, may find Flemish lexis and pronunciation the 'easier' option.

The fact that private evaluations are co-determined by a number of different value systems which may be personal and idiosyncratic (and which are not, therefore, generally shared) may explain why there is so much variability in our experimental ratings that it is difficult to obtain a satisfactory factor analysis (though, again, our choice of adjectives may also be partly to blame). The absence of shared perceptions is a telltale sign that ideological change in Flanders has not yet resulted in a robust new value system to replace or supplement the conservative ideology. Neither do we wish to claim that the almost total absence of demographic speaker effects in the ratings should reveal 'national' perceptions irrespective of the gender or age of our listener-judges (as we have in the case of the much more converging regional accent perceptions in Netherlandic Standard Dutch, see Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs 2010; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010).

Before we come to our conclusion, three additional observations have to be made in connection with the experimental findings and our interpretation of them. Notice to begin with that our proposal of two non-distinct ideologies is very much in the spirit of Kristiansen's (2009) distinction between conscious and subconscious ideologies, which respectively determine the preference for overtly and covertly prestigious languages in Denmark. We do not believe, however, that the level of consciousness at which the two value systems are processed is the only determinant. The hyperstandardisation which engendered the conservative ideology in Flanders was so far-reaching and influential that it has left most of the Flemish who were educated before the mid 80-ies with a deeply engrained, automatic dislike of non-standard usage (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). While we do not follow our fellow linguists of the previous generation in publicly condemning Tussentaal, our immediate reaction to substandard Dutch – as witnessed in, for instance, our teenage daughters' text messages – is still one of disbelief and at least irritation. Most Flemings, conversely, will have some degree of conscious access into the private evaluations which override some or all of the parameters of the conservative public ideology.

Second, the fact that neither the qualitative approach in Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012) nor the previous speaker evaluation experiments into Tussentaal uncovered the more progressive ideology reported here is a result of the fact that neither of these analyses is equipped – in its current form – to uncover such ideologies. The experiments in Impe and Speelman (2007) and Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007) did not include any traits to elicit attitudes beyond the traditional status and (social or personal) attractiveness dimensions; the fact that analysis was not restricted to ratings by participants who were ignorant of the research goal makes it more likely that relatively more accessible public attitudes were reported instead of evaluations participants are less able or less willing to access and share.

And while the research in Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012) is immensely valuable in that it provides the qualitative flesh on the quantitative bones of our speaker evaluation research, the content analysis method is as good as the content on which it builds. In this specific case, the sources analyzed represent 'standard language propaganda' (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012: 101) issued by 'the central standard language actors' (p. 99) between 1950 and 1980, viz. a period prior to the noticeable rise of Tussentaal. The conclusion that the resulting ideology has lost nothing of its vigour nowadays is not supported by discourse analysis of more recent meta-linguistic sources, but by anecdotic evidence only. It is highly probable, though, that a comparably detailed discourse analysis of recent materials – including, ironically, the delightfully controversial volume Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof (2012) – would uncover considerably less conservative ideologies.

Third, and most importantly perhaps, we do not wish to claim more in this chapter than that we have uncovered a plausible prestige motivation for the rapid spread of Tussentaal. While we believe that subconscious endorsement of a language variety is a precursor and a motor of its eventual standardisation, the latter largely remains a conscious process which takes the form of (at least) a shared consensus. It needs no elucidation that Tussentaal has not reached that stage yet, though it is entirely plausible – in view of the covert prestige boost and the (concomitant?) vitality of Tussentaal – that some sort of more public standardisation will follow the (preliminaries to the) private standardisation attested here.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have reported a speaker evaluation experiment into the perception of different linguistic features of Tussentaal, the colloquial variety of spoken Belgian Dutch which is widely claimed to be standardizing. In order to counter the claims that this standardisation is not sustained by prestige perceptions, and that VRT-Dutch is still the only 'best language' in Flanders, we designed an experiment in which 107 male and female Flemish respondents in three age groups (all participants included in the statistical analysis were ignorant about our experimental goal) rated eight recorded samples of spoken Belgian Dutch – two neutral, two with nonstandard phonology, two with nonstandard lexis, and two with nonstandard morphology – on traits included in function of five dimensions, viz. status, competence, dynamism, personal integrity, and solidarity. Factor analysis eventually reduced these dimensions to dynamism, integrity, and prestige, and a linear mixed model analysis subsequently revealed that whereas nonstandard morphology is harshly downgraded on prestige and dynamism, nonstandard phonology is not downgraded on prestige or dynamism, and that – crucially – nonstandard lexis is *upgraded* on dynamism (whereas it is downgraded on prestige).

The main conclusions we draw from these data are that speaker evaluation can offer access into private perceptions and evaluations of stigmatised language varieties, and that contrary to the dominant public standard language ideology (which categorically rejects Tussentaal), private perceptions reveal dynamic prestige attributions which may co-sustain the alleged standardisation of Tussentaal production. We have proposed, in addition, that public and private standard language ideologies in Flanders are not distinct systems: the core of both is the conservative standard language ideology which was forcefully impressed on the Flemish between 1950 and 1990. In its public shape, this ideology manifests itself in a strict hierarchisation of language varieties, which has been invariant since the beginning of top-down language planning and prescription in Flanders. In more private variants, the ideology is evidently (and probably also increasingly) affected by personal value systems which may override and/or reverse aspects of the public ideology.

The study reported here is inevitably subject to a number of limitations which will be corrected in follow-up work. It should be repeated, first and foremost, that we deliberately excluded VRT-Dutch and fully-fledged Tussentaal from the current design. The best variety represented in the neutral samples of this exper-

iment was regionally flavoured colloquial Belgian Dutch without audible Tussentaal features as spoken by students of linguistics. An undesirable consequence of the perceptual divergence indexed by the different regional accents of the speakers is that we had to standardise the ratings in order to be able to focus on our experimental manipulations. In the follow-up experiment we are currently preparing, we strictly control for accent differences, and we will include VRT-Dutch in one condition to find out to what extent private evaluations of Tussentaal are affected by the best Belgian speech. In a second experiment we will investigate the perceptual consequences of a confrontation of the current neutral, phonological, lexical and morphological guises with a condition in which *all* these Tussentaal features coincide.

An additional problem, finally, which has to be remedied in follow-up work, is the scarcity of adjective traits which appropriately tap into underlying attitude and ideology dimensions (recall that this paucity was cited as another possible reason for the outspoken variability in the ratings). In ongoing experimental work on the perception of the no less stigmatised subject-*hun* change in Netherlandic Dutch (as in *Als we zo spelen krijgen hun natuurlijk altijd kansen* 'If we play like this them will always get chances'), we attested very clear dynamic perceptions on the basis of picture instead of adjective traits. In order to reduce avoidable variability in the ratings, we will continue further speaker evaluation research into Tussentaal on the basis of the picture scales.

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Teachers' Dutch in Flanders: The last guardians of the standard?

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INTRODUCTION[1]

In Belgium, Dutch is one of the three official languages, apart from French and German. German is spoken by about 80,000 people in a small region in the eastern part of the country. French is the commonly used language of four million people in the southern part of Belgium, Wallonia, and it is the predominant language in Brussels, the country's capital (Corijn and Vloeberghs 2009). Dutch is the language of the six million Flemings who live in the northern part of Belgium. Dutch as spoken in Flanders, which we could call 'Belgian Dutch', differs slightly from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands. In former days, Netherlandic Dutch was the norm for Flemish speakers of Dutch, but throughout the last few decades, the language used in the Flemish media has taken over this position (Van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; Willemyns 2003). With Belgian Dutch determining its own course, apart from the developments in Netherlandic Dutch, Dutch can be seen as a pluricentric language (cf. Clyne 1992; De Caluwe 2012).

The bicentric character of Dutch coincides with different internal developments in both linguistic centres. For example, Netherlandic Dutch is currently confronted with 'norm relaxation' phenomena, manifested by more accent variation in the spoken standard (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011), a growing phonological influence of non-standard varieties such as *Poldernederlands* or 'Polder Dutch' (Stroop 1998, Van Bezooijen 2001) and morphosyntactic changes such as the rapid spread of the object form *hun* of the 3rd person personal pronoun in

[1] I would like to thank my supervisor, Johan De Caluwe, as well as Stefan Grondelaers and Tore Kristiansen for their very interesting and helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this chapter.

subject position (Van Hout 2003). It has been suggested that this increasing variability in Netherlandic Dutch can be explained by the massive dialect loss that has occurred during the last decades (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011: 217; Willemyns 2007). This development generated the need for a 'multi-stylistic standard variety' (ibid.), which can also be used in situations where the dialect used to be the common variety. Mattheier (1997) coined the term *demotizierung* (translated by Coupland and Kristiansen 2011 as 'demotisation') for that development, in which 'the standard has to be able to provide the full range of expressive resources the speakers need' (Auer 2011: 500). In Flanders there also exists a diaglossic language repertoire (Auer 2005, 2011), but without any apparent on-going processes of 'norm relaxation' in the standard. In between Belgian Standard Dutch and the dialects exists an extensive array of intermediate varieties, deviating from both the standard language and the dialects (De Caluwe 2009). Those intermediate varieties are often captured under the umbrella term *Tussentaal* (literally 'interlanguage' or 'in-between-language'). For the last few decades, Tussentaal has been subject to rapid expansion and, according to some, even standardisation (Plevoets 2008; Willemyns 2005), which can be attributed to two main factors (for an overview of other possible explanations, see e.g. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011):

(i) The exoglossic standard language, which was imported from The Netherlands in the 20th century to resist French influence (cf. infra), never really won the heart of the Belgian speakers (Willemyns 2003), despite several large-scale standardisation attempts from the government, the media and education (for an overview, see Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). This resistance against exoglossic Dutch paved the way for the emergence of a Flemish supraregional variety, viz. Tussentaal.

(ii) Processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss in the central regions of Brabant and East-Flanders, leading to a functional elaboration of Tussentaal. In an attempt to explain this causality, Willemyns (2007) argues that dialect loss necessitates an informal variety (in between the disappearing dialects and the standard) that indexes regional identity. Because of the smaller distance between this intermediate variety (Tussentaal) and the standard, 'many people see no inconvenience in using the former in situations where actually the use of the latter would be more appropriate' (2007: 271). As such, Tussentaal

seems to replace both the dialects and the standard, pushing the standard to the extreme formality side of the continuum (ibid.). The correlation between dialect loss and Tussentaal expansion appears to be confirmed by Ghyselen and De Vogelaer (this volume): their attitudinal research in the peripheral region of West-Flanders shows that the spread of Tussentaal progresses much slower if the dialect is still quite vital.

In most of the (Flemish) linguistic literature, the formal norm of spoken Belgian Dutch is referred to as *VRT-Dutch*, the language variety used on the Flemish public-service broadcasting station VRT (*Vlaamse Radio en Televisie* or 'Flemish Radio and Television'). Since its foundation in 1930, the VRT has imposed very strict norms on the language use of its radio and television hosts, with rigorous pronunciation tests and strict internal controls (Vandenbussche 2010). The zenith of uniformity and standardness continues to be (broadcast) speech by VRT news anchors, which is why Plevoets (2008, 2009) uses the term *Journaalnederlands* ('Newscast Dutch') for (Belgian) Standard Dutch. However, it is very doubtful whether this extremely strict norm is also attained (or even aspired to) outside of the news studio. In that respect, De Caluwe (2009: 19) refers to VRT-Dutch as a 'virtual colloquial variety [...], desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice', and Grondelaers and Van Hout refer to the VRT pronunciation norm as 'an almost unattainable ideal achieved only by a small minority of Dutch-speaking Belgians in a limited number of contexts' (2011: 218).

If VRT-Dutch is seen as a largely virtual standard, one may wonder what the 'highest' non-virtual level of Standard Belgian Dutch is. For Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011: 219), that stratum can be equated with the speech of Belgian teachers. They are after all 'the first-line dispensers of standard usage' (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2012: 48), who are supposed to be 'loyal to official pronunciation norms' (De Schutter 1980). The fact that teachers are proclaimed to be the best speakers of the standard may be a nice compliment, but it also puts a lot of pressure on their shoulders: at a time when some linguists announce the end of the standard language era (Van der Horst 2008), school teachers are referred to as 'the last gatekeepers of the standard' (Van Istendael 2008: 31) and 'guardians of the standard language' (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999). With the latter in mind, we set out to answer two questions in this chapter, an ideological one and an empirical one:

(i) How does the ongoing standard language controversy – with an in origin exoglossic and largely virtual official standard and a rapidly spreading intermediate variety (Tussentaal) whose standardisation, if that is what it is, is in any case unfinished – take shape in the Flemish (educational) context?

(ii) What language varieties and features do Flemish teachers exactly use in the classroom? And how does that language use relate to governmental and societal expectations and norms?

SOME BACKGROUND HISTORY

In order to grasp the complexity of the Flemish language situation and the role of different language varieties therein, a number of historical facts should be taken into account first. I want to limit myself to a very brief overview of the linguistic history of Dutch in Belgium, which has been extensively reported elsewhere (e.g. Willemyns 2003; Vandenbussche 2010; Vogl and Hüning 2010). Historically, it was the fall of Antwerp in 1585 that sealed the political division of the Dutch language territory. The Netherlands gained their independence (officially in 1648), whereas the southern part of the Low Countries was left under the subsequent foreign rule of Spain, the Austrian Habsburgs and the French empire, until the foundation of the kingdom of Belgium in 1830. Those foreign authorities did not see Dutch as a language suitable for government, culture or education, and propagated French as an official language instead (Willemyns 2003). As a consequence, most historians consider the 17th (and the 18th) century as a 'dark age' for the Dutch language in Flanders[2], as opposed to the 'Golden Age' in the northern Dutch Republic, where a Dutch standard language gradually began to take shape. As such, there was a sharp contrast around 1800 between the on-going standardisation in the north, and the collection of dialects unroofed by any standard in the south (Vandenbussche 2010: 310). Various contemporary testimonies seem to indicate that the northern and southern varieties of Dutch had become (or were claimed to be) mutually unintelligible at that time.

Following the defeat of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna (1815) created a kingdom that unified the northern and southern Netherlands under the Dutch

[2] However, as Vosters and Vandenbussche (2008) show convincingly, even under Spanish and Austrian rule, varieties of Dutch played an important role in (semi-)official domains in the South, as well as local governments (cf. Vogl and Hüning 2010: 234).

king Willem I. In 1823, he introduced a radical language policy in the Flemish-speaking areas of the South, working under the French Enlightenment principle of 'one land, one language'. As such, Dutch was made the sole official language for administration, education, and the legal system (Howell 2000: 145). However, instead of eliciting approval and satisfaction, as Willem had hoped, his language policy was met with stiff resistance: as a result of nearly two centuries of linguistic separation, the northern Dutch written language had become a language almost as foreign to the Flemish as French. Apart from the opposition to this imposition of the northern Dutch language as yet another 'foreign' variety, there were also significant social and religious (Protestant Holland vs. Catholic Flanders) differences between North and South, leading to the independence of the Belgian state in 1830, and the reinstatement of French as the dominant language in all public domains. It was only in 1898, with the *Gelijkheidswet* ('Equality Law'), that Dutch was declared equal to French in official matters.

The failed reunification of the Netherlands (1814–1830) also gave rise to the Flemish Movement, prominent exponents of it being Jan Frans Willems and Hendrik Conscience. The very existence of this movement, founded to establish Dutch as the official language of Belgium, 'foreshadowed the major role that language policy would play in shaping modern Belgium' (Howell 2000: 145). During the late nineteenth century, the Flemish Movement was divided between the so-called 'integrationists', who wanted to introduce northern Dutch as the official language of Dutch-speaking Belgium, and the 'particularists', who favoured the development of a standard language based on southern Dutch usage. The integrationists eventually prevailed, and Dutch gained official status in Belgium as a result of the language laws passed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, the dominance of French persisted long into the twentieth century, and after collaborating with the Germans in both the First and the Second World War, the Flemish Movement got severely stigmatised, and had to reposition itself.

Eventually, the language conflict between Dutch and French was settled by establishing the 'territoriality principle', 'a way of institutionalising multilingualism in which territories are allocated specific languages and all public services in a particular territory are only provided in that language irrespective of the language that individual inhabitants speak at home' (Vogl and Hüning 2010). In 1963, the linguistic border was officially established, with Dutch being the official language in Flanders, and French the official language in Wallonia. Along the linguistic border, numerous enclaves are either officially Dutch- or

French-speaking, but have official facilities for speakers of the other language. Brussels, the capital, is officially bilingual. As such, the linguistic border created a unilingual Flanders and a unilingual Wallonia. Radio and television as well as schools were mobilised to start an impressive propaganda campaign, stimulating positive attitudes towards Standard Dutch and transmitting that relatively unknown (northern) variety to the Flemish population (Vandenbussche 2010; Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012; De Caluwe 2012).

'STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY' IN FLANDERS

In order to discuss the vigour of the attempts to diffuse Standard Dutch among the Flemish and to access the ideological rationale behind the strict adherence to the standard in Flanders, it is essential to clearly define the notion 'standard language', 'a slippery concept (...) in need of further critical consideration' (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 11). The term 'standard' can be used in a *descriptive* way – with a focus on *language* – considering varietal range as a means of distinguishing between a distinctly demarcated group of standard features and non-standard features: feature X is standard, feature Y is not. From this point of view, it would make no sense to conceive of 'variation within a standard language', because variation implies an absence or a failure of standardisation (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 21). For some, however, *social judgements* and *social practices in the community* are the critical criterion for a language to be standard or not, rather than the descriptive details of varietal range and variation. In this approach to the standard language concept, in which (socio)linguistics and social theory interact with each other, 'the analysis of systematic linguistic variation is key to understanding the societies we live in' (Jaspers 2010: 1). Feature X is standard if it is considered a standard feature by the linguistic community, and research on which features are assessed as standard and non-standard features helps to gain insight in how societies are organised.

These two distinct approaches to what constitutes a 'standard' language, viz. focussing on *language practice* and focussing on *social judgement*, seem to correspond with two stages of Haugen's canonical standardisation model (1966a, 1966b): the focus on language practice fits into the codification stage, striving towards an invariant standard, whereas the focus on social judgement and attitudes in defining 'standard' corresponds with two aspects of Haugen's (final) implementation stage: *diffusion*, which can be interpreted as 'dominant patterns

of language use or [...] "behaviour"' (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 23), and *acceptance*, which essentially comes down to the attitudes language users have towards the acceptability of usage patterns (ibid.). In attitudinal research, it seems to be difficult for researchers to discern between acceptance (social judgement) and diffusion (language use, behaviour), as the two are often intertwined: for example, Woolard (1998: 16) defines attitudes as 'socially derived, intellectualised or behavioral ideology', inferring social judgement from language use or linguistic behaviour. This interlacement of social and behavioural aspects of ideology requires researchers to take a position on how they see the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, as well as take a stand on what triggers the spread of certain varieties or speaking styles: does that spread occur independently of social judgement (in a more 'mechanistic' way), or are attitudes the decisive factor behind the spread of certain variables? Most (variationist) researchers seem to study attitudes by analysing linguistic behaviour, following the claim of Milroy and Milroy that 'statistical counts of variants actually used are probably the best way of assessing attitudes' (1985: 19). The consequence of this view is that implementation (in the 'Haugian' sense) is simply explored as a matter of diffusion at the level of language use. Not only is social interaction left out of the picture completely, the interpretation of 'language use' is also fundamentally reductionist:

> From any critical sociolinguistic perspective, use means far more than the distribution of features or varieties as these are captured in variation surveys. Language in use might well reveal attitudinal/ ideological loadings, but only if we look at how variation is made meaningful and how social meanings are made contextually in salient practices. (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 24)

Research on language use and attitudes needs to be supplemented with close critical examination of indexicality in social interaction, in an attempt to access and expose ideologies operating behind and through discourse. Problematic in accessing these ideologies is the common discrepancy between overtly expressed support for the standard and, on the other hand, the quite pervasive persistence of non-standard language use. In a sociolinguistic tradition that started with Labov, this contradiction is explained by the existence of covert attitudes, 'social evaluations of language which remain hidden when people display their attitudes overtly [...] but which reveal themselves in people's use of language' (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 24). Thus, in order to fully access and understand language ideologies in speech communities, research needs to deal with

both language use and attitudes (both overt and covert). Only then can language ideology be fully disclosed, as 'a promising bridge between linguistic and social theory' (Woolard 1998: 27).

Ideology has proven to be very important in the Flemish context: throughout the struggle for Dutch language rights in Flanders, language had become a powerful nationalist motive (Howell 2000: 131), although Blommaert stresses the *supporting* and mostly symbolic role of language in political-nationalist contexts:

> *Language was never the only factor, not even the dominant one.* It was [...] an *emblematic,* romantic element that was shorthand for the more fundamental processes of democratisation and enfranchisement. [...] The language motif was the emotional rhetorical and symbolic cement that joined several ideological fractions of the struggle and helped create a mass basis for nationalist demands. (Blommaert 2011: 6, italics in original)

In present times, discussions pertaining to language policy or language use in public institutions (media, education) continue to stir up controversy in Flanders. One of the most recent disputes erupted in August 2012, following the publication of a book that took a neutral, non-denouncing stand on Tussentaal (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012), instead of the rejection which is still expected in the public domain (especially from professional linguists). Absillis et al.'s (2012) statements provoked newspaper headlines such as 'Tussentaal is very efficient in the classroom' (*De Morgen,* 29 Aug. 2012, p. 4), 'Dialect bridges the chasm with the common man' (*De Morgen*, 31 Aug. 2012, p. 10) or 'We all speak Tussentaal sometimes' (*De Standaard*, 30 Aug. 2012, p. 7)[3], which caused a lot of upheaval and angry letters from agitated readers, in which Flemish school teachers were criticised for speaking Tussentaal, rather than 'proper' Standard Dutch. The discussion dominated the Flemish newspapers for days and even weeks afterwards, proving the ideological sensitivity of the standardness issue in Flemish (institutional) contexts, especially in the media (Van Hoof 2013) and in education (Delarue 2011; Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008)

This sensitivity is also mirrored in governmental language policy documents. Although the fire was never really extinguished, language policy was rekindled as a hot topic in Flemish education in 2007 with a report by the former Flemish Minister of Education (Vandenbroucke 2007), written with a view to respond to

[3] The original Dutch headlines were: *Tussentaal in klas is heel efficiënt, Dialect verkleint de kloof met de gewone mens* and *We spreken allemaal wel eens tussentaal*.

the 'problems' of language deficiency and multilingualism, and the inequality and discrimination which ensue from them. Vandenbroucke's solution to ensure equal opportunities for all Flemings essentially came down to one simple action point: the insistence on Standard Dutch, the only acceptable language variety in schools, inside as well as outside the classroom. The standard is defined as a variety which is the result of 'setting the bar high' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4), and is characterised by 'rich proficiency' (ibid.) and 'appropriate language and communication' (ibid.: 11).[4] By contrast, non-standard varieties (e.g. Tussentaal, dialect) are qualified with adjectives as 'bad, inarticulate and regional' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4) or 'sloppy' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 11).[5] As a result, there is no room in schools for…

> *[…] krom taalgebruik of verkavelingsvlaams of een streektaal die hen in een klein gebied opsluit en hun kansen op mobiliteit en emancipatie ondergraaft. [...] Het Nederlands en zeker het 'schoolse Nederlands' beperkt zich voor heel wat leerlingen tot de school en de klas. Dààr moeten we het dus waarmaken.*
> [[…] 'inarticulate language use or a vernacular that locks them [the students, sd] up in a small area and undermines their chances of mobility and emancipation. [...] For a lot of students, the use of Standard Dutch is limited to the school and to the classroom. *That*'s the place where it has to happen.'] (Vandenbroucke 2008, translation sd)

Vandenbroucke's successor, current Minister of Education Pascal Smet, wrote a follow-up document (2011) in which he profiled the distinction between standard and non-standard in an even sharper way:

> *In Vlaanderen groeien nog steeds veel kinderen op voor wie de moedertaal een regionale variant van het Standaardnederlands en dus niet het Standaardnederlands is. […]*

---

[4] The original quotes were: *Slechts door elke jongere tot correcte en rijke vaardigheid in de standaardtaal te begeleiden, garandeert het onderwijs dat maatschappelijke talenten niet afhankelijk zijn van herkomst, maar van de mate waarin iemands talenten tot ontwikkeling zijn gebracht. De lat hoog leggen, vergt discipline.* ['Only by guiding every youngster to a correct and rich proficiency in the standard language, education guarantees that talents in society are not dependent of origin, but of the extent to which one's talents have been developed. Setting the bar high requires discipline', translation sd] and *Kunnen communiceren in Standaardnederlands is een noodzakelijke voorwaarde voor goed onderwijs. Bij het streven naar verzorgde taal en communicatie gaat het onderwijs vaak in tegen maatschappelijke tendensen.* ['Being able to communicate in Standard Dutch is a prerequisite for good education. In striving for appropriate language and communication, education often goes against social trends', translation sd]

[5] *Scholen die aandacht schenken aan taalzorg, zijn vaak eilanden in een context waar slordige tussentaal getolereerd wordt.*['Schools that pay attention to correct language use, are often islands in a context where sloppy Tussentaal is tolerated', translation sd]

> *Nochtans is een rijke kennis van het Standaardnederlands dé voorwaarde voor wie in Vlaanderen wil leren, wonen, werken, leven. Wie van elders komt, en geen Standaardnederlands leert, blijft in de beslotenheid van het eigen gezin of de eigen gemeenschap leven, en leeft – in Vlaanderen – buiten Vlaanderen.*
> ['In Flanders, many children still grow up for whom the mother tongue is a regional variant of Standard Dutch and thus not Standard Dutch itself. [...] However, a rich knowledge of Standard Dutch is *the* prerequisite for who wants to learn, live, work in Flanders. People who do not learn Standard Dutch remain in the seclusion of their own family or community and live – in Flanders – outside of Flanders.'] (Smet 2011: 3, translation sd)

Smet's view that Standard Dutch is a *conditio sine qua non* for successful participation in society and for socio-economic promotion (but see Jaspers 2012) contains a number of ideological ingredients which are recurrently found in (official) linguistic viewpoints of nation states for which the Herderian 'one nation, one language' ambition is still vital (Blommaert 2011). First, there is 'the dogma of homogeneism' (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), which pertains to the rejection of internally stratified societies as dangerous and centrifugal, and to the preference for a 'best' society without any intergroup differences. In other words: the ideal model of society is a monolingual (and mono-ethnic, mono-religious, mono-ideological) one. Second, the statements of both ministers manifest clear features of Silverstein's 'monoglot ideology' (1996), viz. an ideology which regards monolingualism (as opposed to multilingualism) as axiomatic, and speaking one language as a *conditio sine qua non* for achieving in-group membership and participation in the 'linguistic community' (Silverstein 1996: 285; Blommaert 2009) or, in this case, Flemish society. Finally, both policy documents represent a compelling example of what Irvine and Gal (2000) have dubbed 'erasure': what does not fit the ideological scheme, is erased from it. In Smet's policy document, which totals 42 pages, the terms *Standaardnederlands* and *standaardtaal* ('Standard Dutch' and 'standard', respectively) are used 77 times, whereas *Tussentaal* (or any other synonym for the emergent colloquial variety) occurs not one single time. The line of reasoning seems to be that, if only Standard Dutch is propagated extensively, Tussentaal will disappear all by itself. Hence, governmental policy constructs and promotes a pure, monolingual society, denying the fact that practically all speakers reside in a 'contact zone' (Pratt 1987) in which different languages or language varieties are in competition. In this construction, schools (and education in general) represent the perfect seedbed for ideologies to take root and diffuse.

The ideological constructs just cited naturally coincide in the concept 'standard language ideology' (SLI), a term coined in Milroy and Milroy (1985), and defined in Lippi-Green (1997: 64) as 'a bias toward an abstract, idealised homogeneous language, which is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions and which has as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class'. Education is one of the dominant institutions responsible for imposing and maintaining the 'one homogeneous language' ambition.

The unrelenting vigour of conservative Flemish SLI (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012) appears to be challenged by recent societal changes such as informalisation, democratisation (Fairclough 1992), globalisation, immigration, and feelings of anti-authority, which are typical of what Giddens (1991) refers to as the present-day era of 'Late Modernity'. Conservative SLIs are also affected by processes of destandardisation and demotisation which have been attested in almost all European countries (e.g. Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003; Van der Horst 2008; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011; Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011). In this chapter, destandardisation is defined as a development whereby 'value levelling' occurs between different varieties (or languages), eventually leading to a radical weakening and abandonment of the standard ideology. Demotisation, on the other hand, is understood as a development whereby the idea of what the 'best language' is has changed, without there being any signs of a radical weakening or attenuation of the standard ideology (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 27–30). It should be noted, however, that destandardisation and demotisation are not (always) conflicting developments. In cases of a very rigid, inflexible standard variety, the spoken standard is usually more open to demotisation (with norm extensions and norm relaxations) than the much stricter written standard. As the attitudes held towards a *written* standard are often more explicit and pronounced than those held towards *spoken* language, the demotisation in the spoken standard could easily be regarded as a form of destandardisation in view of the much stricter norms for the written language. Neither does demotisation always imply destandardisation (Auer and Spiekermann 2011): in German, for example, processes of demotisation induce the demise of regional variants in favour of more general *allegro* forms (colloquial varieties with reductions or cliticised variants of more typical standard forms, such as the deletion of final-t in *ist* 'is' or *nicht* 'not'), and thus a more homogenous German standard. Auer and Spiekermann conclude that 'if changes in both the standard's phonological structure and prestige [are allowed], there is no reason to assume

that the present-day, demoticised standard variety is undergoing a process of destandardisation' (2011: 174).

This emergent dialectic of strong SLIs that are being confronted with, and affected by societal changes and ensuing destandardisation processes presents researchers with a difficult task. How can this ideological deadlock be explained? What pushes (standard language) ideologies? The two factors most often cited in the literature to explain the emergence, spread and decline of ideologies are 'linguistic usage' and 'metalinguistic discourse'. Crucially, the direct impact of actual usage on ideology is heavily debated, and many researchers insist that the two must be carefully differentiated (Irvine 1992). As a result, ideologies are typically extracted from metalinguistic discourses, in accordance with the claim of, among others, Silverstein (1979: 193) that ideologies are often articulated as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use. Kroskrity (2010: 198) argues, however, that people display strongly varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies. Accordingly, not all linguists are convinced of the explicitly discursive nature of ideology: 'influential theorists have seen it [ideology, sd] as behavioral, pre-reflective, or structural, that is, an organisation of signifying practices not in consciousness but in lived relations' (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 58). The two distinct factors in explaining the emergence, spread and decline of ideologies, linguistic behaviour and social judgement – which accordingly provide linguists with two methods of eliciting ideology, usage vs. discourse (cf. Kristiansen 2010) – seem to emanate from a different assessment of the degree of consciousness or awareness of ideology. In that perspective, sociological theory allows for varying degrees of people's consciousness of their own activities, ranging from discursive to practical consciousness. Kroskrity (1998) suggests a correlation between these degrees of consciousness and the nature or acceptance of language ideologies, with highly conscious ('discursive') ideologies being actively contested and, by contrast, unchallenged, highly naturalised, and dominant ideologies having a very low level of consciousness (Rampton 1995). This last group of ideologies is undoubtedly the most powerful one: ideologies are most effective when their workings are least visible (Fairclough 2001: 64), and when they penetrate the whole fabric of societies or communities and result in normalised, naturalised patterns of thought and behaviour. Ideologies then become 'common sense', naturalised conventions that are taken as given. For example, one possible explanation of the vigour of Flemish SLI is the massive language propaganda for the Dutch standard language that arose after the second World War, with explic-

it language sections on television, radio and in newspapers, and language propaganda at school (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). Up until the 1970s, proponents of language propaganda presented Dutch as a monocentric language, and these integrationist actions have conditioned (or even brainwashed) generations of Flemings to love a variety they rarely use themselves, as well as to heavily dislike non-standard varieties (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011: 206). As such, studies of Flemish language attitudes often show a schizophrenic situation, in which Flemings report that they are positively inclined towards a variety they almost never use. However, most Flemings are unable to identify this discrepancy, due to the low discursive presence of this SLI in lay people's minds.

The study of standard language ideology in educational contexts, as a part of what Wortham calls the 'linguistic anthropology of education' (2001: 253), is a quite recent addition to research on educational phenomena. While the concept 'language ideology' in itself has been around for a long time – also in 'educational linguistics' (Spolsky 1999; Hornberger 2000) – contemporary linguistic anthropology has created more ways for ideology to be applied to educational research, both on a macro-level and a micro-level (Woolard 1998). For example, the identity of an 'educated person' can be determined by language ideologies, and, as a consequence, the degree to which teachers are regarded as 'educated' depends to a large extent on how they speak (Wortham 2001: 257). (The absence of) accents, dialects and specific idiosyncracies is often regarded as indexical for education and competence perceptions of teachers. Crucially, the brand of research which investigates language ideologies pertaining to teachers (and the corresponding expectations people have of teachers) should be counterbalanced by the (language) ideologies of teachers themselves, a subfield which fits into the broader field of what Kroskrity (2010: 206) calls 'professional language ideologies', and which analyses language ideologies of specific professions as 'performing important roles not only in the displays of professional competence but also insofar as they contribute to, and otherwise create the very institutions in which various professions typically perform' (ibid.).

IN SEARCH OF TEACHER IDEOLOGIES: PRODUCTION VS. PERCEPTION AS *SLI* INDICATORS

Flemish teachers are in charge of the immense responsibility – bestowed on them by the government and the (cultural) establishment – of transmitting

Standard Dutch to their pupils. Flemish teachers are regarded as linguistic role models in this respect, diffusing 'pure' Dutch and functioning as gatekeepers of the norm. An evident question is to what extent these (ideological) expectations are represented in the *personal* ideologies of Flemish teachers, and in their actual usage. In an attempt to answer this question, I report two studies, one looking into the language use of primary and secondary school teachers in Flanders (Delarue 2011), and one probing teachers' perceptions of, and attitudes towards Standard Dutch, Tussentaal and dialect.

Language production of Flemish teachers: prevalent Tussentaal use

In a first study (Delarue 2011), a sample of 122 teachers was observed in the classroom with a view to study their language use. The teachers from this sample were randomly selected: schools in the provinces of West- and East-Flanders were asked if they wanted to take part in a *taalgerelateerd onderzoek* ('language-related study'), and if they could suggest the names of motivated teachers who were willing to co-operate. In order to collect language production data that were as 'natural' as possible, i.e. representative for the actual language use of the teachers involved, the teachers were told that the focus of the study was on the language use of their pupils, and that the researchers had little or no interest in the language use of the teachers.

Informants

Table 1: Distribution of informants across 9 age groups

Age groups	Number of informants	
(five-year intervals)	N	%
20–25	5	4,1
25–30	14	11,5
30–35	20	16,4
35–40	16	13,1
40–45	12	9,8
45–50	16	13,1
50–55	21	17,2
55–60	14	11,5
60–65	4	3,3
Total	122	100,0

As informants (N=122) were recruited on the basis of their willingness to co-operate[6], there were no specific requirements as to gender, age or region of birth or current residence. In spite of this random selection, informants were distributed fairly evenly over the different demographic categories: 65 teachers were female, 57 were male. 68 teachers were from the province of West-Flanders, 43 from East-Flanders, 10 from the province of Antwerp, and 1 from the province of Limburg. Table 1 demonstrates that the spread of the informants over the different age groups appeared to be quite even as well.

However, one informant characteristic was specifically controlled for during selection: in order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of the pupils in their classrooms, I distinguished between three groups, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Grouping of teachers based on age of their pupils

	Age of pupils	N
Group 1: Teaching 6th class of primary school	11–12	30
Group 2: Teaching 3rd grade of ASO	14–15	45
Group 3: Teaching 6th grade of ASO	17–18	47

(ASO = *Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*, 'General Secondary Education')

A first group, totalling roughly a quarter of all the teachers involved in the study (N=30), taught in the 6th class of primary school. The other teachers were secondary school teachers, teaching in the 3rd grade (Group 2, N=45) or the 6th grade (Group 3, N=47) of ASO (*Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*), the Flemish type of 'general secondary education', as opposed to TSO (*Technisch Secundair Onderwijs*, 'technical secondary education'), BSO (*Beroepssecundair Onderwijs*, 'vocational secondary education') and KSO (*Kunstsecundair Onderwijs*, 'art secondary education').

There are three reasons for our restriction to general secondary education teachers. First, I assumed that these teachers would be the most 'standard speaking' of the Flemish teachers, as they have to prepare pupils for higher education

[6] It should be noted that the dependence of the sample on this willingness of teachers to participate can be a possibly confounding factor in both the research and the conclusions which are drawn from it. Although their willingness to contribute to this study may indicate that the participating teachers have strong opinions in favor of, or against Tussentaal – opinions which differ from those of the average Flemish teacher – we found no evidence in the interviews (which were conducted afterwards) that this was indeed the case.

and subsequent 'white-collar jobs' (Jaspers 2012). Second, it has been shown that pupils from technical and vocational education seem to attribute much less value to the standard norm, calling Tussentaal and dialect appropriate classroom varieties as well (Vancompernolle 2012), while pupils from general secondary education appear to have strong positive attitudes towards the standard. By selecting ASO teachers, I wanted to see whether and to what extent teachers (un)consciously respond to these attitudes and subsequent expectations from pupils. Third, only the current final attainment levels for ASO explicitly state that pupils have to be proficient in Standard Dutch in certain (more formal) situations; in other education types, pupils are only asked to be *willing* to speak the standard in certain situations, or no reference to Standard Dutch is made at all (Delarue 2011). Standard Dutch does not appear to be an issue in more vocational school tracks, in spite of the propagandistic efforts of the Flemish government (see above).

In the secondary schools included in the research, I did not only observe teachers of Dutch, but also teachers of other school subjects (e.g. Mathematics, History, Geography, Physics), as long as they were taught in Dutch. Among the school subjects that were left out of scope in correspondence with these criteria were P.E. (Physical Education) and all foreign language subjects (French, English, German, Spanish), with the exception of Latin and (Ancient) Greek, which are taught mostly in Dutch.

Data collection and analysis

Per teacher, one lesson or period was recorded, amounting to approximately 50 (secondary school) or 80 (primary school) minutes of recorded speech data per teacher/classroom context. All data were transcribed orthographically, and the proportion of Tussentaal usage in the speech of each teacher was quantified on the basis of a list of fourteen iconic Tussentaal features recurrently cited in the Flemish linguistic literature on the subject (De Caluwe 2002; De Caluwe 2006; Rys and Taeldeman 2007; Cajot 2010; Taeldeman 2008; Goossens 2000; Vandekerckhove 2004). For each of the teachers, a so-called 'Tussentaal-index' (Van Gijsel, Geeraerts and Speelman 2004; Van Gijsel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2008; Zenner, Geeraerts and Speelman 2009) was computed by calculating the proportion of Tussentaal realisations in the total frequency of each variable in the list of iconic Tussentaal features. In order to take the relative frequency of each variable into account, we computed weighted proportions (Van Gijsel,

Speelman and Geeraerts 2008). To give a simplified example: if a feature A occurs eight times, with six Tussentaal realisations, and a feature B occurs two times, with one Tussentaal realisation, we calculate a proportion of seven Tussentaal characteristics (on a total set of ten occurrences), which yields a Tussentaal-index of 70%.

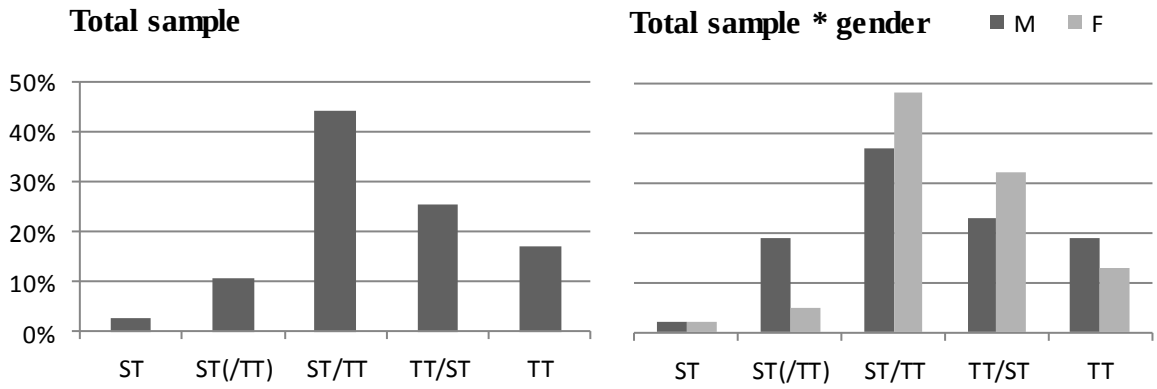
On the basis of their weighted Tussentaal-index (and the nature of the Tussentaal-features in their speech), all teachers were assigned to one of the following five categories:

1. ST: 'pure' Standard Dutch, with less than 1% of Tussentaal features
2. ST(/TT): Standard Dutch with more Tussentaal features (but still less than 5%), and only Tussentaal features which pertain to small phonological alternations (e.g. dropping the final *-t* in short function words: *nie* for *niet* 'not', *wa* for *wat* 'what') which also characterize informal spoken Standard Dutch
3. ST/TT: mixed use of standard and non-standard features, with a substantial amount of morphological, syntactic and lexical Tussentaal and dialect features (but less than 50% non-standard features)
4. TT/ST: same as ST/TT, but with a majority of non-standard features (50–75%)
5. TT: almost exclusively instances of Tussentaal (>75%)

Results

This section reports a preliminary, pre-statistical overview of our findings. In spite of the fact that we cannot categorically exclude that our teacher sample may be in some way biased in favour of, or against Tussentaal (see fn. 6), the large number of teachers observed, and the large amount of data collected enable us to draw four main conclusions from this investigation, which more or less converge with the findings so far available on Tussentaal (Walraet 2004; Olders 2007; De Caluwe 2011).

The categorisation of the teachers according to their language use in the classroom returns the distribution that can be seen in Figure 1. The fact that no more than 3% of the teachers in our sample speak 'pure' Standard Dutch when teaching entails that 97% of all teachers use some amount of Tussentaal features:



Figures 1 and 2: Distribution of teachers across five categories according to language use: in the total sample (left) and disaggregated by gender (right)

non-standard language use is thus widespread in a classroom context. The majority of teachers observed manifest a substantial (ST/TT 44%) or predominant (TT/ST 25%) proportion of Tussentaal realisations, while 17% even manifest more than 80% of Tussentaal (TT) realisations on the variables concerned.

If we break down the results by gender, *female teachers seem to use more Tussentaal features than male teachers* (Figure 2), a result which accords with the recurrently attested finding that females spearhead new developments (Chambers 2003). In his corpus research on Tussentaal use in Flemish speech, Plevoets (2008, 2009) came to the same conclusion, with a significantly higher Tussentaal use by (young) women. This statement seems to contradict the sociolinguistic axiom that women tend to use more prestige forms (i.e. standard forms) of language, in order to symbolically compensate for their lower social position (cf. Coates 1986). However, Plevoets (2012: 213) solves this paradox by showing that not Standard Dutch, but Tussentaal is the preferred language of the Flemish elite. As such, women still tend to adopt those forms of language that are considered prestigious by the social group they are part of, but that prestigious language is not (or no longer) Standard Dutch, but Tussentaal (ibid.).

Plevoets (2008) also finds a significantly higher use of non-standard language by the younger generations in his corpus. Speakers who were born in the 1960s proportionally use more standard features, but in the language use of younger speakers (born in the 1970s en 1980s) the amount of Tussentaal features is much higher. The results in the present study confirm these findings: Figure 3 shows the percentage of teachers in each of the five categories, divided into the nine age groups.

In the ST category, which contains teachers who speak (almost) exclusively Standard Dutch, all teachers are older than 50. In other words: only (a few) older teachers from our sample (born before 1961, confirming the corpus research cited above), use (almost) no Tussentaal features when teaching. In the ST(/TT) group, in which teachers with a low number of phonological Tussentaal features in their speech are included, teachers from younger generations pop up as well. It is remarkable, however, that still not a single teacher younger than 30 is included in one of either groups.

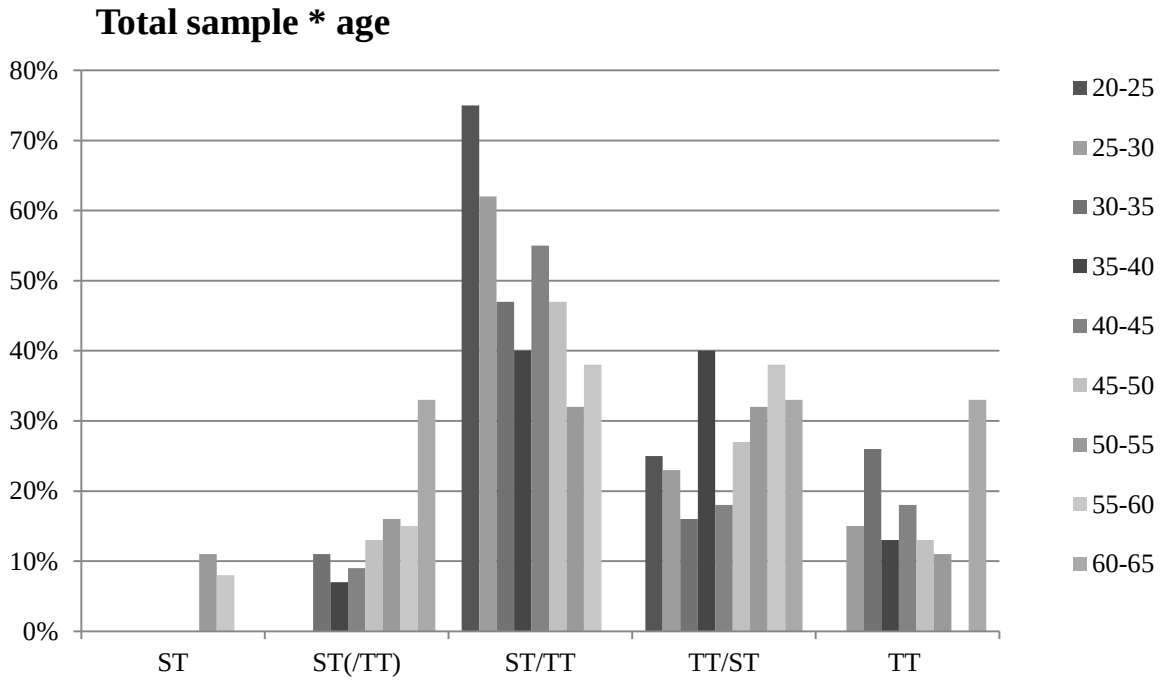


Figure 3: Distribution of teachers across five categories according to language use, broken down by age (five-year intervals)

All observed teachers younger than 30 turn out to use a substantial or predominant number of Tussentaal features when teaching. A striking observation, which seems to counteract the correlation between age and Tussentaal use, is the fact that the classroom speech of over 30% of the teachers aged 60 to 65 also contains a very high number of Tussentaal features (TT). A possible explanation for this counterintuitive observation is attitude-based (see below).

A last finding confirms almost all earlier research on language use by teachers in Flanders (Walraet 2004; Olders 2007; De Caluwe 2011): *most teachers show continuous code-switching in their speech, switching back and forth between Standard Dutch, Tussentaal and sometimes even dialect.* Table 3 gives a

Table 3: Classroom situations or factors which influence the language use of teachers, in selecting Standard Dutch or Tussentaal.

Standard Dutch	Tussentaal
More formal classroom situations • Instructions • Reading or teaching from the textbook, slides, worksheets,...	More informal classroom situations • Illustrating the subject matter • Giving examples, telling anecdotes alongside the subject matter • Explaining the (abstract) subject matter in plain words
Theoretical subjects	Practical or vocational subjects
General (and technical) secondary education	Vocational (and technical) secondary education
Maintaining distance between teachers and pupils • Teacher as a role model, an example • Exercising authority	Bonding, connecting with pupils • When talking to one individual pupil • To get the attention of pupils • In emotional situations (annoyance, distress, anger) • To incite pupils • To imitate pupils (or other people)
With large groups of pupils	With small groups of pupils
When talking at a slower pace	When talking at a faster pace

(non-exhaustive) overview of situations in which most teachers adhere to either Standard Dutch or Tussentaal. Standard Dutch is mostly used in more formal situations in which teachers devote conscious attention to their speech, viz. when giving instructions, or when citing the handbook or syllabus. In those situations, the language use of teachers is usually prepared to some extent: what they have to say is either written down explicitly, or at least considered beforehand. However, as soon as teachers feel that pupils do not understand the subject matter, and therefore try to illustrate it with an example or explain it again in simpler terms, almost all teachers resort to the language variety they are more secure and proficient in: Tussentaal. As most classroom contexts consist of con-

stant alternations between more formal and more informal situations (Ferguson 2003), the language use of teachers switches back and forth from more standard to more non-standard.

Moreover, some other factors also influenced teachers' language use. First, the course subject seemed to be of substantial importance: more Standard Dutch was used in theoretical subjects than in practical or vocational subjects. This coincides with the difference in language use according to education type: in general secondary education, more Standard Dutch is used, whereas in vocational secondary education, Tussentaal appears to be prevalent (together with dialect). Crucially, Dutch language teachers use a much lower amount of Tussentaal features when teaching. All teachers in the exclusive standard language category (ST) are teachers of Dutch (as a course subject); and only 18% of the teachers of Dutch (vs. 55% of other teachers) used more than 50% of Tussentaal features (the categories TT/ST and TT).

Second, the attitudes of teachers towards their position among their pupils appeared to be very important as well: in the sociolinguistic interviews conducted after classroom observations – these interviews are not further discussed here – teachers who indicated that they regard themselves as higher in rank than their pupils and as an example for them, typically use more Standard Dutch features when teaching. By contrast, teachers who want to connect with their pupils, showing more affection and emotion, and explicitly teaching in a more 'playful' way, use far more Tussentaal features. This distinction partially correlates with the age of the teachers: most of the teachers in the first group are older while most in the second group are younger. Crucially, a majority of the teachers in the large group of teachers between 60 and 65 who predominantly use Tussentaal in the classroom (cf. above) stress the importance of a more informal approach towards students, emphasising that they do not feel superior to the young people they teach. These are teachers who have become so experienced that they can loosen up on strict discipline in favour of a more 'father-like' attitude.

Third, the number of pupils in the classroom also appeared to influence the language use of teachers: in larger groups, teachers more frequently used Standard Dutch whereas in smaller groups, Tussentaal use was more widespread. As smaller groups allow for a more informal style, it could be argued that the informality factor discussed above is directly contingent on the number of pupils in the classroom.

Lastly, speech rate seemed to play a role: teachers with a comparatively faster speech rate used more Tussentaal features. This could be explained by the fact that women in our sample turned out to speak faster than men, as a consequence of which the speech rate factor is in fact a 'repackaged' gender difference. Another explanation could be that the faster teachers speak, the less time they have to monitor their own speech, thus speaking more spontaneously and less standard.

Conclusions

This first study, which was aimed at getting a closer look at the actual language use of teachers, clearly shows that – in accordance with available corpus work on Tussentaal – more and more teachers are manifesting a significant number of Tussentaal features in their language use in the classroom. Since younger teachers manifest a substantially higher amount of Tussentaal features than their older colleagues, it seems very unlikely that the governmental appeals for education-supported standard language promotion (as embodied in the policy documents of ministers Vandenbroucke and Smet) will ever be realised in Flemish classroom contexts.

Language perceptions of Dutch language teachers: strong SLI, but growing tolerance towards Tussentaal

If language ideologies can be derived from actual language use, the findings from the study reported in the previous paragraphs seem to reflect ideologies which differ substantially from the dominant conservative SLI. To shed more light on this divergence, a second, perceptual study was designed which elicited language attitudes from teachers in the region of Kortrijk, a city in the south of the province of West-Flanders (Demeyere 2012).

Stimulus materials

For this perceptual investigation, participants had to assess six different audio fragments (Table 4), which were taken from component h. – 'Lessons recorded in the classroom' – of the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*, the Spoken Dutch Corpus, and from the corpus of the lesson recordings compiled for the language production study discussed above (Delarue 2011). As such, all fragments con-

tained spontaneous speech, recorded in the classroom, with teachers explaining some subject matter to their pupils. Six different teachers can be heard in the six fragments, and the duration of each fragment is approximately one minute. The fragments differ from each other on two dimensions: the amount of Tussentaal features produced, and the region of origin of the speaker. Three fragments contained language use by teachers from the same (endogenous) region as the listener-judges (the region of Kortrijk, see below), in three other fragments teachers from an exogenous region can be heard, the Waasland, located in the northeast of the province of East-Flanders, between Ghent and Antwerp. By choosing fragments from both the endogenous and an exogenous region, this perceptual experiment also aims to elucidate what role regional accent plays in assessments of teachers' language use, and whether accents of other dialect areas (in this case the Waasland area) are either upgraded or downgraded compared to the own accent.

Table 4: Six audio fragments used in the perceptual investigation

Own (endogenous) region: Kortrijk	Standard Dutch	'Light' Tussentaal	'Heavy' Tussentaal
Other (exogenous) region: Waasland	Standard Dutch	'Light' Tussentaal	'Heavy' Tussentaal

Fragments were also selected in terms of the type and frequency of Tussentaal features: for each of the two regions, a Standard Dutch fragment was selected (containing no Tussentaal features), as well as a 'Light' Tussentaal fragment and a 'Heavy' Tussentaal fragment. Whereas the two Standard Dutch fragments had a Tussentaal-index of 0% (as calculated on the basis of the procedure discussed in connection with the previous study), the Tussentaal index for the endogenous and exogenous Light Tussentaal fragments was 39.5%[7] and 43.5% respectively. The index for the endogenous and exogenous Heavy Tussentaal fragments was 52.7% and 54.3% respectively.

An obvious question in this respect could be whether the difference between the Light Tussentaal fragments (avg. Tussentaal index 41.5%) and the Heavy Tussentaal fragments (avg. index 53.5%) was not too small for the respondents to be able to make a perceptual distinction between the two stimulus types. A closer examination of the samples, however, reveals a clear difference in terms

[7] Of the 38 occasions in the fragment where the teacher had the choice between a Tussentaal feature and a standard feature, he chose the Tussentaal feature 15 times (and the standard feature 23 times).

of not only the *number* but also the *type* of Tussentaal features used in the Light and Heavy samples. In the Light Tussentaal fragments, the majority of Tussentaal features was phonological (typical examples being the deletion of word-final *t* in short, frequent words such as *niet* 'not', *met* 'with', *goed* 'good', *wat* 'what', or *dat* 'that', and the deletion of word-initial *h* in *hij* 'he', *het* 'it', or *hem* 'him'). The one non-phonological Tussentaal token in the endogenous Light fragment was morphosyntactic, viz. the use of *'t zijn* 'it are' instead of standard Dutch *er zijn* 'there are'. In the exogenous Light fragment, the proportion of morphosyntactic feature tokens was admittedly higher (5/10), but 'deviations' consisted for the most part (4 tokens) of the nonstandard but generally used Flemish variants *gij* and *ge* of the standard pronoun *jij/je* 'you'. In addition, there was one instance of future *gaan* 'to go' instead of standard *zullen* 'will', another typically Flemish feature which does not stand out in spontaneous speech (in spite of being officially nonstandard). In addition to the phonological deletions just mentioned, Heavy fragments also contained a number of recurrently cited morphosyntactic characteristics which are iconic for Tussentaal, such as the case-marking of adjectives and articles (e.g. Tussentaal *ne gelen auto* for Standard Dutch *een gele auto* 'a yellow car') or the use of *–(s)ke* instead of *–je* for diminutives (*boekske* for *boekje* 'little book'). In view of the presence of these features, the difference between the Light Tussentaal fragments and the Heavy ones was more apparent than the small index differences seem to indicate.

By asking the informants to evaluate these six fragments with different amounts of Tussentaal use, I wanted to answer two questions: (1) Which Tussentaal features do teachers notice and are thus salient non-standard features? (2) Do teachers find these non-standard features acceptable in a classroom setting?

Listener-judges

16 Dutch language teachers were selected, stratified according to both gender and age. As such, the sample consisted of four cells: 4 male and 4 female teachers younger than 35, and 4 male and 4 female teachers older than 50. All teachers taught Dutch as a subject in the 5th or 6th grade of general secondary education (ASO), and were born and raised in the southern part of the province of West-Flanders. There are two arguments for choosing teachers of Dutch (instead of also selecting teachers of other school subjects, as in the first study). First, teachers of Dutch are supposed to be strong adherents of the Standard Dutch

norm, both in their own language use and in the language use (they expect) of their pupils (De Schutter 1980; Van Istendael 2008), which in our perspective makes them a particularly interesting group to elicit perceptions and attitudes from. Second, teachers of Dutch also seem to be the ones who are most involved in all sorts of language-directed activities in school contexts. For example, it has recently become obligatory for Flemish schools to develop a language policy, and in most schools, unsurprisingly, it is teachers of Dutch who play the crucial role in the workgroups and teams responsible for developing and elaborating such policies. In sum, teachers of Dutch seem to function as role models of the standard language, for pupils and colleagues alike. We may assume their perceptions of variants or varieties to be influential – and therefore important to investigate.

Procedure

With each of the 16 teachers, a sociolinguistic interview was conducted and audio-recorded, which consisted of two parts: the analysis and assessment of the six different fragments, and a more general set of questions about personal language perceptions and attitudes. The informants were given the opportunity to listen to every fragment twice. The first time, they were not allowed to make any written notes, and they were asked afterwards how they would describe the language use they just heard, and how acceptable they considered this variety to be in a classroom context. During the second listening session, the teachers were asked to write down any salient language features they had discerned. Those notes were discussed afterwards, and the interviewer then proceeded with some more general questions regarding language perceptions and attitudes towards Standard Dutch and Tussentaal in the classroom. In order to rule out a 'learning curve' or any other order effects as much as possible, the sequence in which the different informants heard the fragments was entirely randomised.

Results

Our findings suggest that all teachers are unanimous in their (very) positive appreciation of (teachers speaking) Standard Dutch. All informants praised the teachers in the two Standard Dutch fragments for speaking in a 'proper way', although some of the older teachers chided the teacher in the endogenous Standard fragment for 'a clearly West-Flemish accent', asserting that Standard Dutch

should remain a 'neutral' variety (that is, without any indications of the home region of the speaker in his or speech). The younger teachers, on the other hand, mostly appeared to be unable to distinguish the endogenous from the exogenous fragments: they heard almost no regional differences, and had no problems with the presence of accent in classroom language use. In general, however, the Standard Dutch fragments were met with approval of practically all the teachers involved.

In the perceptions towards the Tussentaal fragments, there appears to be a much more important age difference. The group of younger teachers (-35) was considerably more tolerant to the 'light' (mostly phonological) Tussentaal features. Younger teachers clearly did not downgrade teachers who used these 'light' Tussentaal features, and sometimes even seemed to find this 'informal standard' (as some informants called it) more attractive, less artificial and in some case *more* suited for teaching than pure standard language. By contrast, older teachers (50+) evaluated all Tussentaal as counterproductive when teaching, and denounced all non-standard features. Surprisingly, there appeared to be no regional differences: all informants assessed the endogenous teachers in exactly the same way as the teachers from the exogenous Waasland region.

In contrast to this substantial age difference, there did not appear to be any striking gender differences between the listener-judges, although overall, women seemed to be a bit more perceptive towards Tussentaal features and stricter in their disapproval of the fragments with predominant Tussentaal use.

Conclusions

The results of this second study clearly show that teachers are still very much attached to Standard Dutch as the preferred variety to use in the classroom. Older teachers appear to prefer an accentless standard, whereas younger teachers do not object to the presence of a regional accent. Moreover, the latter condone some light (phonological) Tussentaal features while teaching, and regard the resulting 'informal standard' as even more suitable for teaching, as long as the amount of non-standard features remains limited. For the older teachers, however, the use of Tussentaal is unacceptable.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In the first half of this chapter, we have fleshed out the paradoxical opposition between the still vigorous standard language ideologies that exist in Flanders, and the typical societal changes of late modernity – globalisation, informalisation, democratisation – linguistically embodied in the diffusion of Tussentaal, the highly stigmatised colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch. Teachers are increasingly confronted with conflicting expectations from society (viz. the government, parents, and their 'core audience', the pupils): should teachers aspire for a more formal standard language, or 'go with the late modern flow' and use a more informal non-standard variety, i.e. Tussentaal?

The results from the perceptual study reported here seem to demonstrate that SLI remains quite strong in Flanders: Standard Dutch is still the preferred variety in the minds of most Flemish teachers. However, two important nuances have to be added. First, it seems that the conception of 'standardness' – in terms of the features it incorporates – is changing: especially in the mind of the younger teachers, Tussentaal features increasingly become welcome additions to an 'informal standard' (probably in response to the growing societal informalisation). In other words: SLI prevails, but is being stretched. Second, the present vigour of SLI seems to be mostly symbolic: while Flemish teachers praise Standard Dutch when asked explicitly, their actual language use in our production study reflects a strong and increasing inclination towards Tussentaal.

It is difficult to answer the question whether and to what extent the growing predominance of Tussentaal entails a process of destandardisation or demotisation. Some linguists refer to the Flemish language situation as an example of a 'standard vacuum', because of the lack of a vital, non-virtual standard language (cf. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011). On the other hand, the 'informal standard' some younger teachers pay lip service to may well represent a process of demotisation, an extension of the range of varieties which are (still) regarded as standard. Of course, whether one regards this informal standard as an 'endoglossic bottom-up standardisation of Tussentaal' (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011: 226–227) or a top-down informalisation depends to some extent on one's ideological reference points. Whatever may be the case: much more research is needed to make well-grounded predictions of what the future will bring: will the rampant spread of Tussentaal eventually influence language policies and dissipate standard language ideology, or will the (symbolic) standard ideal remain firmly intact, with a continuing supremacy of *VRT-Dutch* (Van Hoof and Jaspers

2012)? Or are we heading towards the Danish 'double norm' situation (Kristiansen 2001), with a dynamic standard variety for the media, and a more conservative one for education? We will have to await data-based answers to those questions before we can answer the much more difficult question whether teachers are indeed the 'last guardians' of the standard (or these standards).

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Language attitudes in the Republika Srpska: Eliciting some truth from behind the propaganda

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most important standardisation phenomena in the recent past has been the creation and implementation of three new official standard languages in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the former republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia in the early 1990s has engendered the birth of 'Bosnian', 'Croatian' and 'Serbian' out of 'Serbo-Croatian', the former Yugoslavian official language.

This chapter investigates current standard language dynamics in the Republika Srpska, one of the two constituent entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina with an almost mono-ethnic Serbian population (the other one, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is predominantly Bosniac (Muslim) and Croatian). Building on a verbal guise experiment in which unlabelled samples of Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian speech were evaluated, Bosnian Serbian conceptualisations of on-going processes of convergence and divergence were investigated, focusing especially on the question to what extent these private conceptualisations endorse the nationalistic Bosnian Serbian media propaganda, which promulgates a split of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In order to grasp the importance of these issues, however, we will first present an overview of the political and linguistic history of former Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the next section.

[1] Dedicated to the memory of Kristina 'Tina' Mirnić (1973–2012), linguist and dear friend.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Former Yugoslavia

The history of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina embodies the exceptionally complex history of the region formerly known as Yugoslavia: both have been characterised by repeated processes of ethnic and linguistic convergence and divergence, and by multifaceted identity issues.

In medieval times, the main players in the region, Croatia and Serbia, existed as separate principalities and monarchies. While there is no consensus on the question whether Serbs and Croats represent distinct ethnicities (see Malcolm 1996 for an overview of the different opinions), the area is characterised by early religious divergence: Serbia adopted Orthodox Christianity in 1217, whereas Croatia was (and continues to be) mainly Catholic. In the 16th century, contemporary Serbia and present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Ottoman Empire, which introduced Islam into the region, the religion of a large proportion of the Bosnian population (see below).

In the 19th century, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, discernible tendencies towards unification and pan-Slavism could be noted in order to resist Austro-Hungarian rule. The eventual demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire resulted in the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later called 'Yugoslavia') in 1918.

After World War II, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consisted of six republics – Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia – and the two autonomous provinces Vojvodina (with a large proportion of Hungarian inhabitants) and Kosovo (with a high Albanian speaking population). Initially, the country was politically communist, with strong ties to the Soviet Union, but this unity ended in 1948 with the schism between Yugoslavian leader Josip Broz 'Tito' and Stalin (Banac 1988). Ten years after Tito's death in 1980, amidst severe economic crisis, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia declared their independence from Yugoslavia, and in 1992 Bosnia followed, which eventually culminated in a large-scale armed conflict (for more on the history of Yugoslavia, see Sundhaussen 1993). Being situated in-between Croatia and Serbia, multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina was the principal victim of a war which ended with the Dayton Agreement in 1995 (see Malcolm 1996).

Yugoslavia's 19th century struggle for independence coincided with the creation of a common language: in 1850, linguists from Serbia and Croatia signed the Vienna Literary Agreement (see Greenberg 2004 for the original document, see also Gröschel 2009). This common language was based on one of the dialects of Croatia, which was at the same time the main dialect in Serbia, namely *Neo-Štokavian*. While this variety did not have a name initially, it later became known as 'Serbo-Croatian'. The following years saw the publication of works of codification.

In spite of this codification, slight differences have always been observed between the Western (Croatian) and the Eastern (Serbian) variant of Serbo-Croatian (Brozović 1992; Clyne 1992, 2004 e.g. propose that Serbo-Croatian is a polycentric language such as English or German). These differences are mainly lexical, and they can be found in recurrently published word lists (Gröschel 2009: 48; Pranjković 2001; Okuka 1998). Although there are divergent high frequency suffixes such as *–irati* (Western variant) vs. *-isati* (Eastern variant) which boost an impression of divergence, the number of divergent lexemes such as *kruh* (Western variant) vs. *hljeb* (Eastern variant) for 'bread' has always been relatively small.

Factors which enhance the divergence between the Croatian and Serbian varieties of Serbo-Croatian are the different scripts (Latin for Croatian and Latin and Cyrillic for Serbian), and the purist tendencies in Croatia, which surface in a marked preference for Slavic lexemes, whereas Serbia is more tolerant of etymologically foreign words. A more recent differentiation is a Croatian sensitivity towards linguistic gender awareness, from which Serbia consciously diverges by exclusively using the generic masculine (in Serbia, the new gender awareness is dubbed 'Croatian').

The demise of Yugoslavia in 1995 eventually culminated in the implementation of separate Croatian and Serbian standards.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforward BH), the focus of this study, is one of the republics which emerged as an independent entity after the Yugoslav Federation had dissolved. Interestingly, the ethnic mixture in BH is even more diversified than in the rest of former Yugoslavia; a pre-war census in 1991 (Lampe 1996: 330) revealed that BH consisted of 31.4% Serbs, 43.7% Muslims, 17.3% Croats, 5.5% Yugoslavs and 2.1% others.

The label 'Muslim' in this overview may seem surprising:

> The Slav Moslems of Bosnia are the only nation, certainly in Europe and possibly in the world, who are nominally identified by their religion and not their language or ethnicity. Most are Slavs (Croats and Serbs) or more accurately in Bosnia's case, Catholic or Orthodox Christians, who were converted during the five centuries of Ottoman rule in Bosnia […]. (Glenny 1996: 139)

From this quote, it can readily be inferred that religion is the basic ethnic criterion in BH: Serbs and Croats are primarily identified via their Orthodox and Catholic religion, while the third main 'nation'[2], i.e. the Muslim population, today is referred to and refers to itself as 'Bosniac'. This multi-ethnic composition has never engendered much discord – 'every second inhabitant in Bosnia and Herzegovina has at least one relative of the 'other' nationality' (Calic 1995: 157, translation from German) – but since the war, the country has been steeped in pronounced nationalism because Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats profile their own identity along the aforementioned religious lines.

After the Dayton peace agreement in 1995, BH has been divided into two entities (see the map in Figure 1): the Republika Srpska with a large majority of (Orthodox) Serbs, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is mainly Bosniac (Muslim) and Croat (Catholic). Each of the three ethnicities has acquired equal political and representational rights in the government of BH, but this essentially democratic principle has led to a fragmentation of society, because there is a tendency in each of the three ethnicities to put ethnicity before political conviction. This fragmentation has become a great hindrance for the unification of BH so eagerly desired by the international community as a guarantee for peace and stability in the region.

The geographical position of BH in-between its former sister republics is mirrored linguistically in a system in which the lexical East-West differences cited above have always co-existed (albeit sometimes with a slight differentiation in meaning or usage). This system was dubbed 'Bosnian-Herzegovinian Expression' (Cvetković-Sander 2005) – to indicate that it was not a different language or language variety – and it did not differentiate between the language of Serbs, Croats and Bosniacs within BH; neither was it codified.

[2] The term 'nation' for *nacija* in this context must not be confused with its international meaning, but rather more in the Soviet understanding of the term, which should be interpreted more in the sense of 'ethnicity'. In 1971 the Muslim population gained this particular status within Yugoslavia.

Figure 1: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

After the end of the Bosnian war in 1995, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats started to orient themselves towards their respective neighbour countries, adopting and appropriating their changes. Serbian remained largely unchanged, apart from a sudden strong dominance of the Cyrillic script in the Republika Srpska. Croatian, however, underwent massive top-down changes (mainly in the lexicon) to delimit it from Serbian. In addition, Bosniac linguists started to develop their own standard (e.g. Halilović 1991, 1996; Jahić 1990, 1991, 1999a, b, c; Jahić, Halilović and Palić 2000; Isaković 1992, 1995), which is characterised by a slight movement towards the Croatian variant and an obvious orientalisation (particularly through the revitalisation of Turkisms; see Okuka 1998; Greenberg 2004). Top-down changes in Bosnian Croatian and Bosniac have had two decades to percolate into actual usage, mainly via education. The few available attitude studies suggest that the new changes in Bosnian are regarded as 'old-fashioned' and 'dialectal' (Tolimir-Hölzl 2009).

On top of this increasing linguistic divergence, a much more outspoken threat to the unity of BH is recurrent speculation in the Republika Srpska about a sepa-

ration from BH. The (populist) press is clearly paying lip service to these nationalist ambitions. Even a cursory glance at some recent headlines reveals that separation is a desired goal. The following quotes cite Milorad Dodik, the president of the Republika Srpska, in one of the most widely read regional daily papers, *Glas Sprske* 'Voice of the Srpska':

Bošnjacima nikada neće pripasti cijela BiH
'B and H will never totally belong to the Bosniacs' (26.04.2012)

БиХ ће се природно распасти
'B and H will dissolve naturally' (27.04.2012)

BiH se ne može graditi na silu
'B and H cannot be built by force' (29.04.2012)

The fact that these statements were recorded in one week's time is not incidental: the frequency of such inflammatory quotes is very high. Yet, the apparent distrust of Bosniacs and Croats (and the common state of BH) which is propounded in the nationalistic Serbian media propaganda need not be equated with the deeper attitudes of the post-war generation of young Bosnian Serbs, which appear to be more ambiguous and less explicitly divergent. Interviews in Tolimir-Hölzl (2009; 2011), for instance, suggest that young adults in the Republika Srpska are not very self-confident as new 'Bosnians', and that they are much more concerned about new conflicts in their region than that they covet the separation of the Republika Srpska. In addition, they regard the top-down changes imposed on Bosnian Croatian and Bosnian as a linguistic (and also political) divergence actively promoted by the *other* parties: recall that Bosnian Serbian was not significantly re-planned or re-codified after the war (the main diverging factor being an increase in the usage of the Cyrillic script).

A geo-cultural factor which further nuances any overly nationalistic pro-Serbian propaganda in the Republika Srpska is the fact that the geographical distance of Banja Luka (the de facto capital of the Bosnian Serbs) to Zagreb (the capital of the nation Croatia) is *conceptually* shorter than that to other urban centres such as Belgrade and Sarajevo, due to better travelling connections (as e.g. by the *autoput* 'motorway' to Zagreb). The many trips to Zagreb advertised by local travel agencies in Banja Luka also clearly suggest the existence of a clientele which does not regard the former sister republic of Croatia as foreign or hostile.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to investigate Bosnian Serbian conceptualisations of political and linguistic convergence and divergence processes in BH, a verbal guise experiment (see Garrett 2005; 2010) was carried out in which students of the University of Banja Luka rated speech produced by Bosniac, Croatian and Serbian inhabitants from Banja Luka (the capital of the Republika Srpska, which is almost monoethnically Serbian), by Bosniac, Croatian and Serbian inhabitants from Sarajevo (the capital of BH in which Bosniacs represent the majority), and by Bosniac and Croatian inhabitants of Mostar (which is the cultural centre for the Bosnian Croats). In addition, I included speech produced in Zagreb and Belgrade, the capitals of resp. Croatia and Serbia.

This experiment was conducted in order to answer five research questions:

1. A question which precedes any indirect attitudinal investigation on the basis of non-labelled stimuli is whether listener-judges are able to identify the social or regional groups indexed by the linguistic variation manipulated in the experiment. Will our informants be able to tell Serbs, Croatians, and Bosniacs apart on the basis of their speech?

2. The major empirical question in this investigation is to what extent the nationalistic propaganda propounded in the media converges with the more private attitudes of young adults in the Republika Srpska. How deeply rooted is linguistic ‘nationalism’?

3. Is there evidence that young Bosnian Serbs do not covet the political and linguistic divergence propounded by their leaders? And do these anti-divergence sentiments – if they exist – surface in a desire for pan-Bosnian convergence?

4. On a methodological note: does the standardised scale set that is used in most attitudinal research suffice to uncover Bosnian attitudes? In view of the fact that Bosnian Serbs regard the recent changes imposed on Bosnian as ‘old-fashioned’, ‘dialectal’ and ‘rural’, the latter two traits were also elicited as potential prestige indicators.

5. What is the difference between directly and indirectly elicited attitudes? Do directly offered, conscious evaluations reflect a more nationalistic attitude?

DESIGN

Experimental speakers and samples

Ten male and ten female speakers who were between 20 to 25 years of age were asked to record 40 comparable speech samples. Experimental speakers were selected in three cities in BH: Sarajevo, the predominantly Bosniac capital of the state; Mostar, the cultural and political capital of the Bosnian Croats; Banja Luka, the *de facto* capital of the Republika Srpska. In addition, speakers from the capitals of the neighbouring countries, Zagreb in Croatia and Belgrade in Serbia, were chosen as exoglossic reference points.

As far as the contents of the speech samples was concerned, neutral topics were chosen which did not cue the speakers' ethnic or regional background. All speakers were asked, first, to talk about Michael Jackson and, secondly, to recount the fairy tale of the Little Red Riding Hood. A total of 40 samples (which were 30 to 60 seconds long) were included in the experiment.

Table 1: Distribution of experimental speakers over cities and (self-reported) ethnicities[3]

	Cities				
Speakers	Banja Luka	Mostar	Sarajevo	Belgrade (Serbia)	Zagreb (Croatia)
Serbian	1m, 1f		1m, 1f	1m, 1f	
Croatian	1m, 1f	1m, 1f	1m, 1f		1m, 1f
Bosniac	1m, 1f	1m, 1f	1m, 1f		

Listener-judges

Listener-judges in this study were 102 students (63 female, 39 male) from different faculties of the University of Banja Luka. They had a mean age of 21.25 (ranging between 18 and 38), and were natives of Banja Luka or had resided there since at least their early childhood. The experiment was carried out in groups of approximately 30 students.

[3] Since we found no significant effect of speaker gender, we will disregard the male-female distinction in all further discussions.

It may sound strange from the point of view of standard experimental procedure, but I deliberately chose not to ask respondents the sensitive question about their ethnic background, although it is certain that the absolute majority of them were Serbs. The fact that there are no accurate statistical data to back up this claim is due to the extreme reluctance among post-war Bosnians to identify themselves in ethnic terms[4]. Neither did we receive any relevant data from the University of Banja Luka, which emphatically does *not* regard ethnicity as an admission criterion (and does not elicit it from prospective students, accordingly). On the basis of census data and recent estimates by the Office of the High Representative – the international institution responsible for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement –, however, we know that Banja Luka is predominantly Serbian, and in view of the fact that almost all Bosnian students reside at their parent's home during their studies (for economical and financial reasons), we may safely conclude that our experimental sample consists for the most part of young Serbs.

Experimental scales

In a first questionnaire, experimental samples were evaluated on bi-polar semantic differentials in the form of antonymous adjective pairs complemented with a 5-point scale (such as 'beautiful 1 2 3 4 5 ugly'). I included 7 bi-polar pairs pertaining to the language in the samples (with *beautiful, attractive, logical, likeable, intelligent, pure* and *clear* as positive poles), and 4 bi-polar pairs pertaining to speaker personality (with *pleasant, intelligent, educated* and *likeable* as positive poles). On two additional yes/no items it was elicited whether the speaker spoke dialect or standard according to the respondents, and whether the speaker sounded urban or rural according to the respondents.

A second questionnaire consisted of questions pertaining to the speakers' perceived ethnic and linguistic identity. The students were first asked to indicate whether the speaker spoke Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and then whether the speaker's ethnicity was Serbian, Croatian, or Bosniac. This task was carried out

[4] In October 2013, the first general post-war census was finally carried out after it had been postponed several times as a result of wide-spread objections against ethnic (self-)labelling. In order to escape the latter, some intellectuals convinced Bosnians to always mark 'other' in terms of ethnicity or language (http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/09/27/us-bosnia-censusid USBRE 98Q0DT20130927).

twice per speaker, first on the basis of the Red Riding Hood sample, then on the basis of the Michael Jackson sample.

In a third questionnaire, *direct* attitudes towards the labels of the different groups included in the experiment – towards people from Sarajevo, people from Banja Luka, people from Mostar, and towards Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs and Bosniacs – were elicited on the basis of the same speaker scales as in the previous experiment (viz. *pleasant*, *intelligent*, *educated* and *likeable*).

RESULTS

Can listener-judges determine ethnicity on the basis of the variation manipulated in the experiment?

In general, listener-judges tended to recognise ethnicity fairly well: 74% of the Serbians were recognised as such, as well as 62.9% of the Bosniacs, and 71.2% of the Croats.

A closer look at the data, however, reveals a cause for concern. The data in Figure 2 suggest that ethnic identification was partly determined by respondents' knowledge about the ethnic composition of the assumed city of origin of the

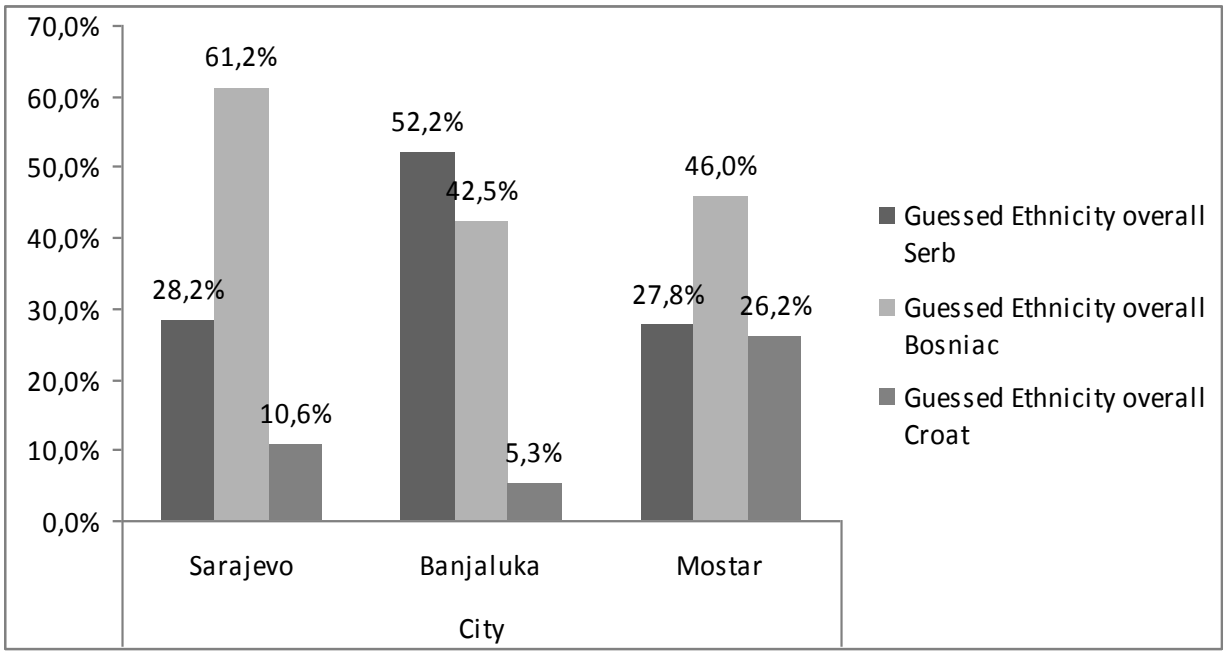

Figure 2: Ethnicity attributed to the speakers from the three cities

speakers, which respondents must have guessed in a number of cases.[5] More particularly, samples were more frequently classified as produced by Serbian speakers when they were recognised as coming from Banja Luka (the city in which Serbs represent the statistically dominant ethnicity) than when they were recognised as coming from Sarajevo, where Serbs represent a minority. Conversely, speech samples were more frequently classified as produced by Bosniac speakers when speakers were hypothesised to come from Sarajevo, the town in which Bosniacs represent the dominant ethnicity.

It is interesting to notice that the speakers from Mostar – the town in which Croats are statistically and culturally dominant – were classified as Croats more frequently than the speakers from Sarajevo and Banja Luka. Yet, classification of the Mostar speech samples as Croatian was far from dominant. There are a number of potential explanations for this, but the most plausible is that the Mostar accent is less identifiable than Sarajevo-flavoured speech: Sarajevo is the official capital of BH, and it certainly is the media capital. While many listener-judges were unable, therefore, to recognise Mostar speech, all Mostar voices sounded decidedly Bosnian. The fact that Bosniacs represent the dominant ethnicity within the whole of BH may explain why Bosniac ethnicity was attributed most frequently to the Mostar speakers.

How deeply rooted is linguistic nationalism in the conceptualisations of young Bosnian Serbs?

In order to answer this question, the scores on the semantic differentials in the first questionnaire were coded from 1 (for the most negative rating) to 5 (for the most positive). Figure 3 diagrams mean scores per individual attribute as a function of (self-reported) speaker ethnicity. Interestingly, there are no marked differences between the attribute scores (all are in the 2.5 to 3.2 range), and the ratings on all attributes vary in the same way for all ethnicities (albeit with a small deviance for Croat on *likeable* and *intelligent*).

[5] In view of the fact that a Bosnian speaker's city of origin is not typically thought of as a direct identity determinant, we did not explicitly elicit this information, as a result of which the previous suggestion cannot be corroborated statistically.

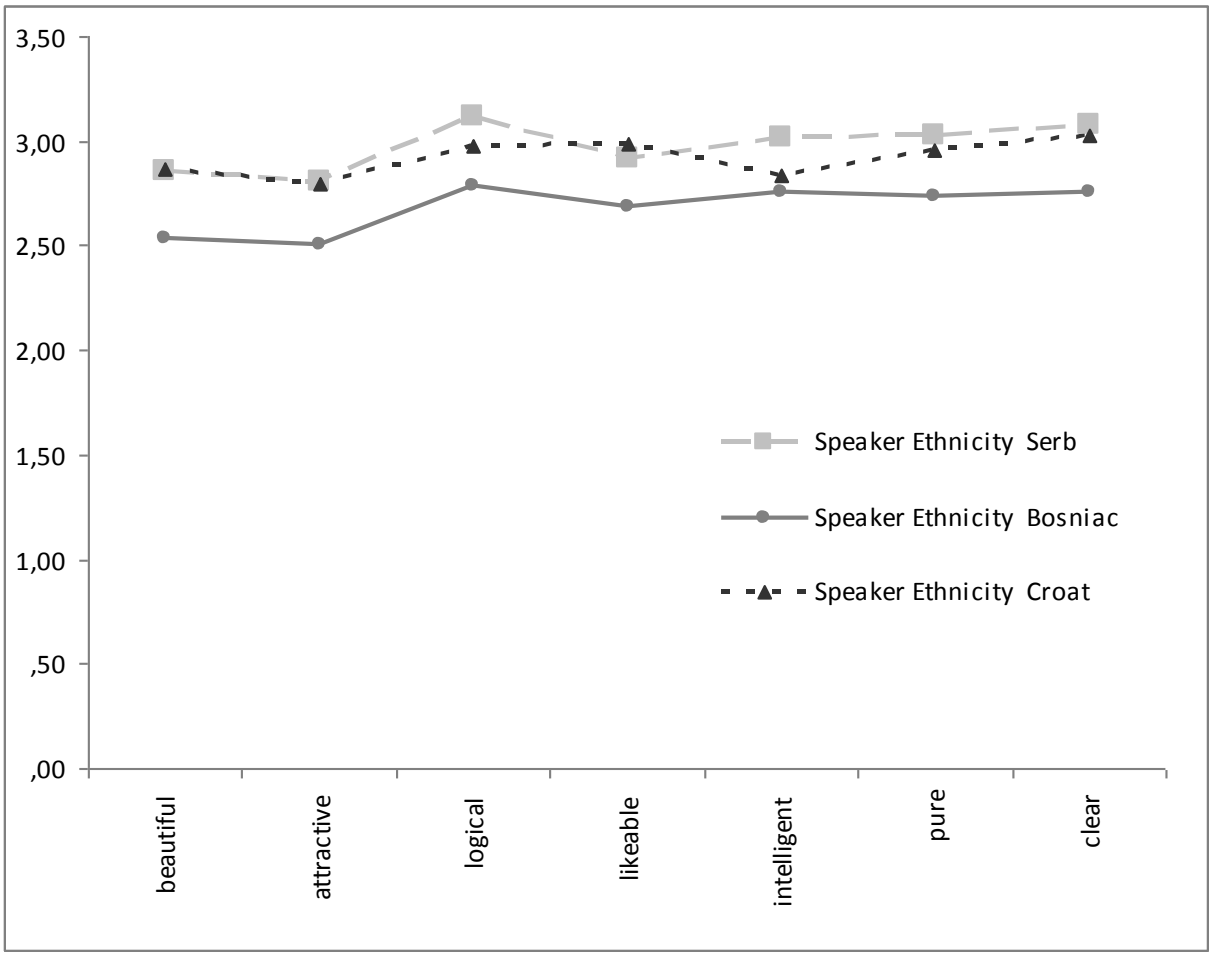

Figure 3: Mean scores per individual attribute as a function of speaker ethnicity

It is astonishing to see how similar the attitude profiles are for ethnicities and for language varieties (or rather: languages) whose divergence has been consciously planned since the dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation. No matter how many top-down changes the Croatian language planners have imposed on the standard language to delimit it from Serbian, Croatian and Serbian elicit almost identical conceptualisations in the mind of young Bosnian Serbs.

A very similar picture emerges from the data in Figure 4, which presents mean scores per individual attribute as a function of speaker city. We again see a small bandwidth of attribute scores (ranging globally between 2.5 and 3.5) and very similar attitude profiles for all five cities (with small deviations on *likeable* and *intelligent*). Interestingly, it is exoglossic Croatian and Serbian (from respectively Zagreb and Belgrade) which elicit the highest scores in absolute terms, while Bosniac-dominated Sarajevo is evaluated somewhat more critically.

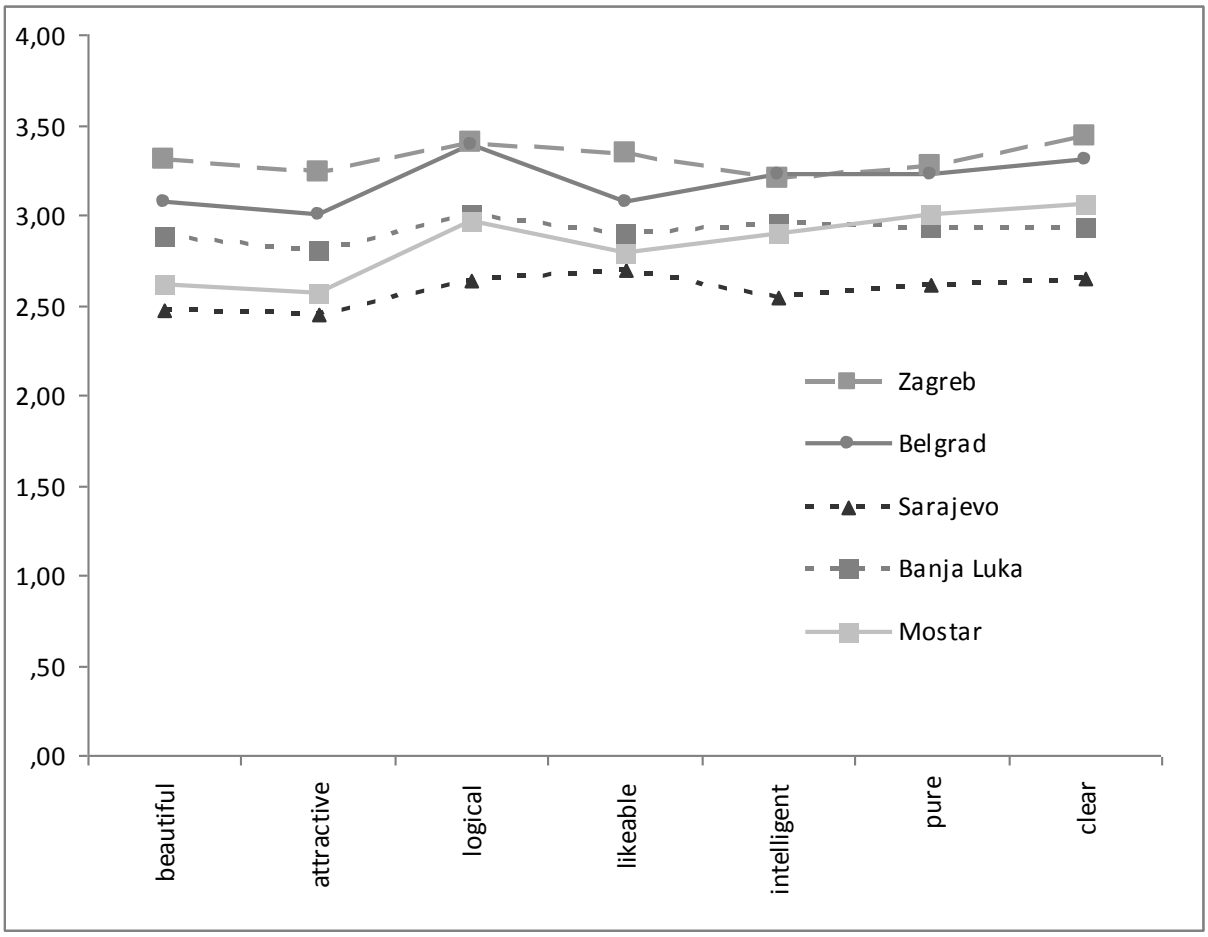

Figure 4: Mean scores per individual attribute as a function of speaker city

The fact that attitude profiles for the three ethnicities and five cities in our investigation are so similar allows us to aggregate attitude scores across the seven attribute scales. Figure 5 diagrams the global attitudes of the respondents aggregated both as a function of speaker ethnicity and as a function of speaker city. It confirms that it is non-Bosniacs and non-Bosnian speech which elicit the more positive attitudes: in terms of statistical significance (computed on the basis of a Kruskall-Wallis Test with grouped Bonferroni correction), there is no difference between the very positive appreciation for Belgrade and Zagreb speakers and speech, both of whom are rated significantly more positively than Banja Luka and Mostar speakers and speech (whose appreciation does not differ significantly). Sarajevo speakers and speech are significantly downgraded with respect to the other regions. A second conclusion is that Bosniac speakers and speech elicit significantly less favourable attitudes than Serbian and Croatian speakers and speech.

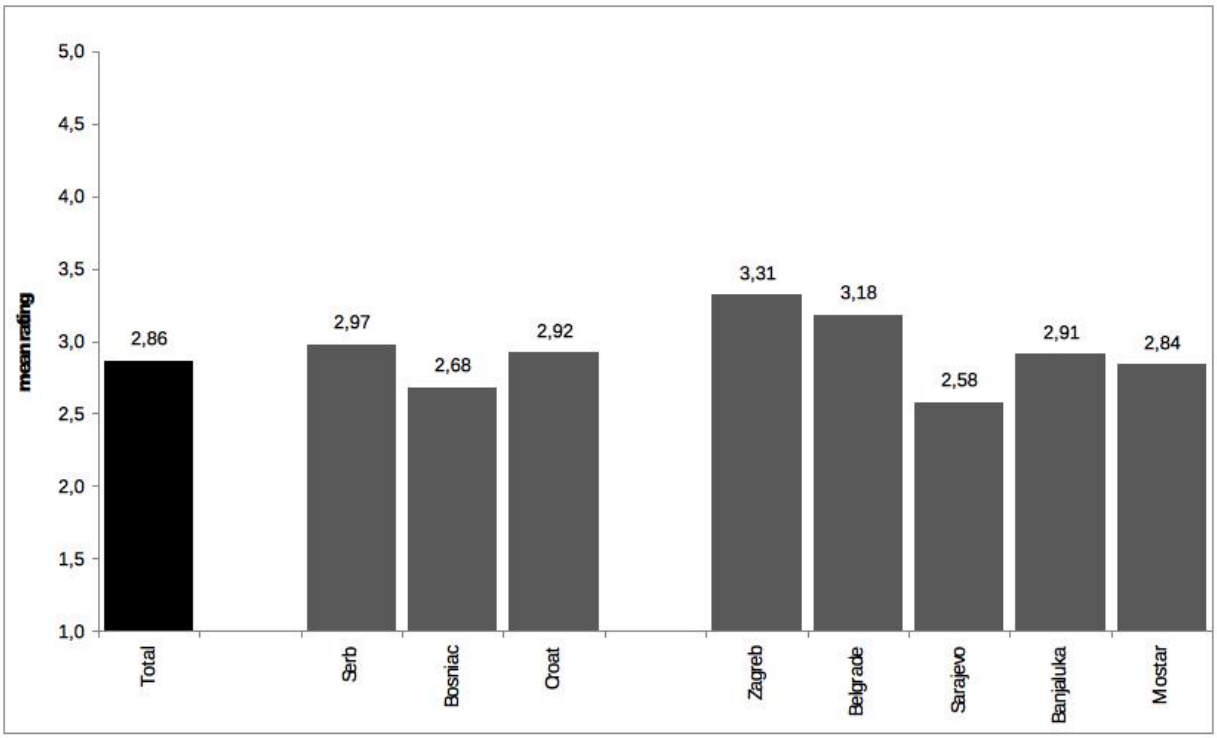

Figure 5: Global attitudes as a function of speaker ethnicity, and as a function of speaker city

These initial findings have two important repercussions. They confirm the general view that the norm centre for Bosnian Serbian and Bosnian Croatian lies *outside* BH (which converges with the idea that Bosnian Serbs and Croats have oriented themselves to Serbia and Croatia for the post-war standardisation of their own varieties). More importantly, these data do not support the nationalistic propaganda propounded in the popular press: while young Bosnian Serbs clearly have no high regard for their Bosniac neighbours and their speech, they have no higher regard for the Serbian mother republic than for their Croatian neighbours. Also revealing in this respect is that the Banja Luka respondents do not evaluate speakers from their own town more favourably than speakers from Mostar (with its Croatian majority and Bosniac minority, see Table 1). While there is no evidence, therefore, that the Bosnian Serbs value their cohabitation with the Bosniacs, there certainly is no evidence either that there is a primary orientation towards Serbia. The data in Figure 5 suggest that Croatia is just as fine for young Bosnian Serbs as Serbia.

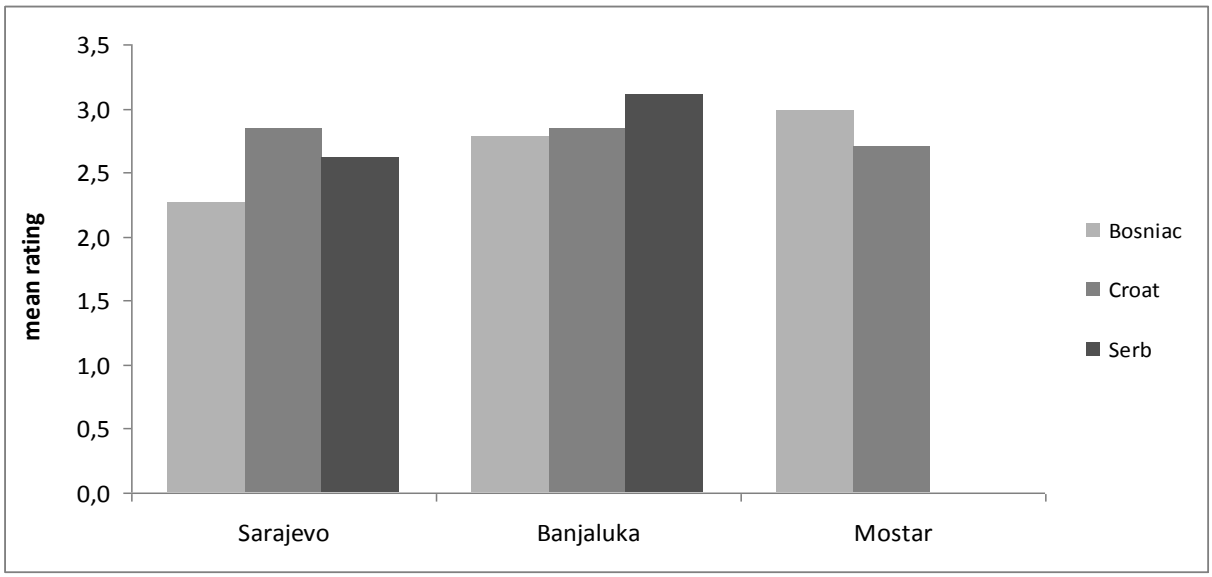

Figure 6: Global attitudes as a function of speaker ethnicity in each of the three cities

Figure 6 diagrams global attitudes as a function of speaker ethnicity within speaker city. It will be noticed, crucially, that the dominant ethnicity in Mostar (Croat) and Sarajevo (Bosniac) seem to be *downgraded* with respect to the non-dominant ethnicities. Whereas Bosniacs/Bosnian received the lowest global ratings in Figure 3, we see here that they were significantly better rated than Croats/Croatian when speakers came from Mostar, i.e. the Bosnian town in which Bosniacs are a minority. With regard to Croats/Croatian, we saw in Figure 4 that they received the highest global scores when the speakers were from outside BH (Zagreb); here we see that the Croatian speakers from Mostar, the city with the culturally vital Croatian majority, were significantly downgraded in comparison with the Bosniac speakers, while the Croatian speakers from Sarajevo, with a Bosniac majority, were significantly *upgraded* in comparison with the Bosnian speakers.

The fact that the speaker's city of origin partially confounds his or her ethnicity (cf. above) warrants some caution and necessitates a larger-scale replication, but these marked reversals of evaluation may well reflect *disapproval* of the divergent forces in BH: Croatians are highly valued in general, but not as enforcers of a (linguistic) divergence which may lead to a new conflict. In the same way, Bosniacs are downgraded not only generally, but in particular as the protagonists of the top-down standardisation of Bosnian in the Bosniac capital of Sarajevo. If this interpretation is correct, our data do not reveal a great love on the part of the Bosnian Serbs for the nation of BH, but rather a deep fear of new

conflicts and instability. Unnecessary to say that there is no support either for a subconscious endorsement of the nationalistic propaganda in the Bosnian Serbian media.

Dialect and Urbanity as ranking factors – a regression analysis

While the previous data are highly revealing with respect to present-day language dynamics in the former Yugoslavian territory, we do not know yet what motivates the attitudinal ranking of the varieties and their speakers. The traditional attribute set adapted from previous attitudinal investigations clearly does not distinguish our stimuli in terms of traditional prestige or solidarity considerations.

Therefore it was also elicited whether respondents regarded the experimental stimuli as *dialectal* (recall that previous studies revealed that the new changes in Bosnian were dubbed 'old-fashioned' and 'dialectal'). Crucially, the perception of a stimulus as dialectal does not seem to lead to overall stigmatisation: the mean attitude score for speakers judged to sound dialectal (2.9) was not significantly different, according to a Mann-Whitney U test, from that of speakers regarded as standard (2.8). Much more revealing is the attribution of a rural vs. an urban background: speakers who were credited as being urban were rated more positively on all attributes (the difference between the global attitude towards speakers attributed an urban background (3.11) and the global attitude towards speakers perceived to have a rural background (2.54) is statistically significant in a Mann-Whitney U test).

In order to assess the statistical significance and effect size of the different factors as determinants of the global attitude scores, a linear stepwise forward regression (which automatically excluded insignificant predictors) was carried out. The dependent variable was the global attitude score, which was continuous and normally distributed. Independent variables were speaker city, speaker ethnicity, attributed standardness, and attributed urbanity. Independent variables were only weakly correlated, so there were no interdependencies between them.

The regression data in Table 2 show that the most important determinant of attitudinal differences is Urbanity (the more frequently classified as urban, the better the evaluation), while the next most important factors Speaker City = Sarajevo and Speaker Ethnicity = Bosniac lead to significantly *lower* attitude scores. It should be recalled, however, that the latter need not reflect any global disapproval of Bosniacs and Bosnian: in addition to the fact that both were up-

graded in Mostar, the negative effects may also index a disapproval of the new Bosnian standard as 'oldfashioned' and 'rural'.

Table 2: Linear stepwise forward regression on the factors which determine global attitudes

Factor	B	Std Error	Beta	T	P
Urbanity	0,481	0,098	0,270	4,925	0,000
Speaker City: Sarajevo	-0,288	0,089	-0,178	-3,255	0,001
Speaker Ethicity: Bosniac	-0,188	0,075	-0,129	-2,512	0,012

Could we have asked directly?

How essential is it to access language attitudes in BH 'indirectly', via unlabeled speech samples? Figure 7 demonstrates that a direct evaluation of labelled ethnicities and cities quite generally yields more positive attitudes, without, however, changing much in the ranking revealed by the indirect evaluations. The sole exception to the latter – the fact that the Banja Luka respondents prefer their own (variety), but only when asked directly – justifies the use of indirect measures, because the latter reveal a Bosnian Serbian auto-perception which is much more modest than the nationalistic media propaganda suggests.

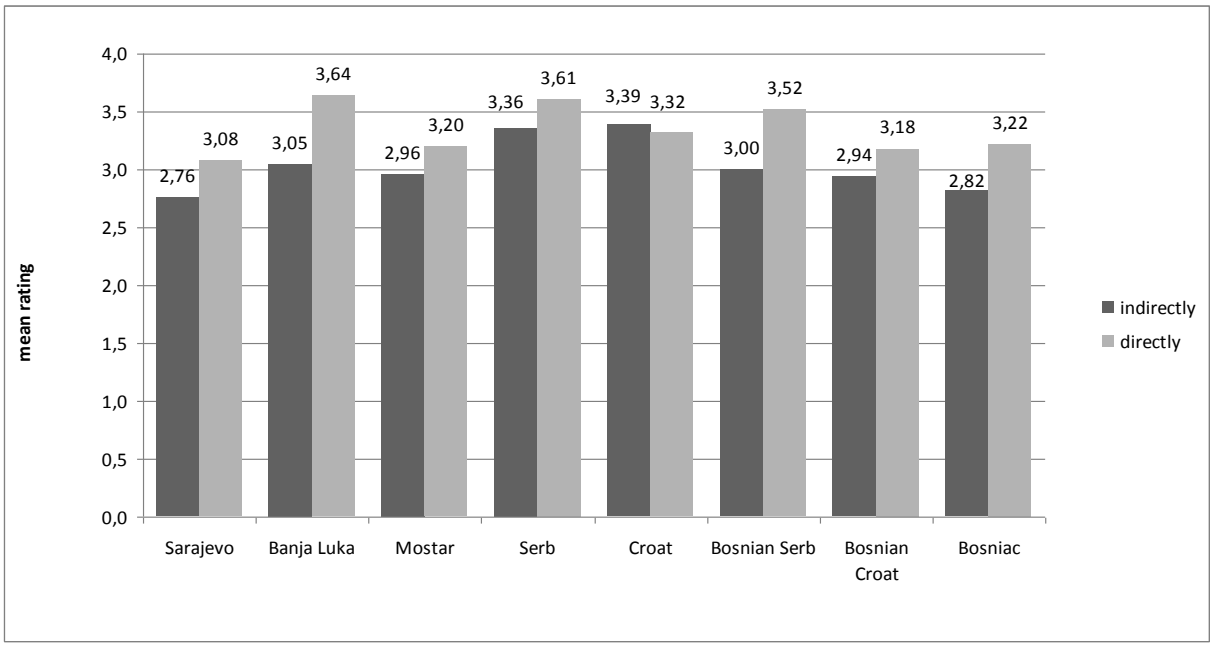

Figure 7: Direct and indirect attitudes as a function of speaker ethnicity and as a function of speaker city

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has reported (language) attitudes of 102 Bosnian Serbian students from Banja Luka to unlabeled speech stimuli produced by ethnically diverse speakers from the Bosnian cities Banja Luka, Mostar, and Sarajevo, and the Croatian and Serbian capitals Zagreb and Belgrade. Let us first review the findings in relation to the research questions formulated above.

1. How well can young Bosnian Serbs infer speaker ethnicity from unlabeled speech samples?

While global ethnicity could be inferred fairly well from speech, a possible confound was the speaker's city of origin (a variable which was not, unfortunately, explicitly elicited in this investigation): in cases where listener-judges were able to identify the speaker's city of origin, ethnicity attributions may have been co-determined by the listener-judges' knowledge of the ethnic composition of that city (Figure 2). As a consequence, a univocal answer cannot be given at this point.

2. Do the private attitudes of young Bosnian Serbs reflect the separatist inclinations propounded in the nationalistic media propaganda?

The evidence suggests that they do not. Young Bosnian Serbs have no higher regard for the Serbian mother state (and its language) than for Croats and Croatian. Furthermore, in contrast to the general upgrading of exoglossic Zagreb Croatian (Figures 4 and 5), the significant downgrading of endoglossic Croatian from the 'Croatian capital' of Mostar (compared to Bosnian; Figure 6) suggests that young Bosnian Serbs are weary of, and negative towards, the divergent language planning imposed on Croatian by their Croatian compatriots. Since Bosnian is upgraded relative to Croatian in speakers from Mostar, one might argue along the same line with regard to the result for the speakers from the 'Bosniac capital' of Sarajevo: the significant downgrading of Bosnian relative to Serbian and Croatian (Figure 6) may be taken to reflect negativity on the part of Bosnian Serbian students towards the divergent language planning which their Bosniac compatriots impose on Bosnian.

3. Do the anti-divergent sentiments in Bosnian Serbian conceptualisations correlate with a desire for intra-Bosnian convergence?

There is no evidence that Bosnian Serbs have a high regard for their new mother nation. Speakers and speech from the non-Bosnian capitals Belgrade and

Zagreb are invariably upgraded, while Bosniacs and Bosnian are systematically downgraded. If anything, the data reflect a lack of Bosnian Serbian self-confidence and a deep-seated fear of new conflict in the region.

4. Does the traditional attribute/scale set typically used in attitude research suffice to access Bosnian Serbian attitudes?

Traditional prestige indicators (as elicited on the scaled measures) do not account well for the ranking differences observed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Neither does the degree of standardness attributed. The best predictor of hierarchical differences – as confirmed in the regression – is the extent to which speakers and speech are regarded as 'urban'.

5. Direct or indirect attitude measures?

While direct and indirect attitude measurements reveal almost the same ranking of speakers and their speech, the fact that the Banja Luka respondents prefer their own ethnicity and speech in directly accessed attitudes is indicative of how sensitive these measures are to propaganda, and how pivotal it is to access deeper evaluations (which reveal a different picture).

This study has provided some access into current linguistic and political dynamics in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country with an unusually polarised ethnic heterogeneity which is still recovering from a traumatising war. All the data collected suggest that in the private conceptualisations of Bosnian Serbs, avoidance of new conflict is the subconscious driving force of language evaluation. These anti-war values strongly contrast with the (highly divergent) pro-Serbian rhetoric of the public ideologies propounded in the media.

This investigation is the first to probe private and public attitudes and ideologies in former Yugoslavia, but the study is subject to a number of limitations. The first and most important of these is the absence of explicit elicitation of the experimental speakers' city of origin, which confounded ethnic identifications to some extent: the identification of a speaker as a Bosniac, a Croat, or a Serbian clearly correlated with listener-judges' ability to recognise the Banja Luka and Sarajevo accents, and their assumptions about the ethnic composition of these cities. This partial confounding of speaker ethnicity with speaker city raises concern about some of the perceptual data, and it is crucial for any follow-up study to elicit these variables independently.

A second limitation which has to be corrected is the restriction in the present study to Bosnian Serbian listener-judges. It is pivotal to find out to what extent Bosniacs and Croats share the sentiments of the Serbs. Even after these questions will have been answered, former Yugoslavia will continue to be an unusually rich area for attitudinal and ideological investigation.

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Part 2
Methodological concerns and alternative approaches

The measurement of 'language attitudes' – a reappraisal from a constructionist perspective

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As handbooks on the social psychological study of attitudes routinely profess, over the past hundred years, ever since the inception of the field, the most commonly used method in attitude measurement has been the use of rating scales (e.g. Schwarz 2008).[2] Such scales can take a variety of forms, though the three classic types are those developed in the works of Thurstone (e.g. 1928), Likert (e.g. 1932), and Osgood and associates (e.g. Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957) – (for further discussion see Himmelfarb 1993; Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink 2005). Indeed, Osgood et al.'s 'semantic differential' attitude measure 'is the foundational technique used most often in research today' (Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink 2005: 33). Under this technique, a series of selected antonymic adjectives are placed at opposite ends of scales (traditionally of seven increments). Informants then evaluate a given stimulus by placing a checkmark on each scale, with the instruction that the closer they tick to either end, the more they indicate the respective adjective pole to apply to the stimulus. Informants' attitudes are then computed via a compilation of scores from the scales.

The popularity of the semantic differential technique is largely explicable by its simplicity in terms of design and administration. Unlike Thurstone and Likert scales, which require extensive prior calibration and must be designed anew for each research context, Osgood attitude measurements typically involve adjectives 'that are very general and heavily saturated with evaluative meaning' (Himmelfarb 1993: 57), as well as thoroughly researched from all possible an-

[1] I cordially thank the editors of this volume, Stef Grondelaers and Tore Kristiansen, for their invaluable feedback on earlier versions of this paper, as well as the participants and audience of the panel on 'New Approaches in the Study of Language Attitudes' at the 18th Sociolinguistics Symposium in Southampton (2010) for their comments on its first incarnation.

[2] although it seems that recently, research using response-latency measures such as the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998) has also been gaining some notable momentum.

gles over the past decades, so that presumably little preparation and prior scaling are needed.[3] This is why the scales have been labeled 'the attitude researcher's "ever-ready batteries"' (Himmelfarb 1993: 57). In addition, the facts that scales in general easily lend themselves to presentation in questionnaire format, and are quite straightforward in explanation, facilitate the economical polling of large informant samples.

Given these advantages, it is not surprising that the semantic differential scale has also been the dominant response scheme in research on '*language* attitudes', particularly within the 'speaker assessment' paradigm (see also Garrett 2005, 2010). Indeed, combining some form of the 'matched-guise technique' (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960), whereby informants listen to and assess different speech samples, with a questionnaire on the basis of Osgood scales seems to have become the standard in the (quantitative) measurement of attitudes towards variation in language use. Thus, out of fifty-three matched or verbal guise studies that appeared over the years 2000–2010, thirty-nine (74%) applied the semantic differential (while seven used Likert and four some other form of scales, and only three employed a different response format altogether).[4]

However, over the years, attitude research along these lines has also become the target of much criticism, particularly from the vantage point of social constructionism (see e.g. Gergen 2008; Potter and Wetherell 1987). The main thrust has been that the experimental method involved generates only a poor image of people's contextually situated, differentiated, and variable evaluative practices, but also, more fundamentally, that the very search for stable, measurable, incorporated 'attitudes' is essentially unwarranted.

The purpose of my present paper, then, is to reflect upon such criticism and its implications for present-day 'language attitude' research, particularly as regards its empirical methodology. I begin by addressing the more fundamental

[3] though adaptation to research context is still advised – see e.g. Garrett (2010) for discussion; see also Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957: e.g. ch.3).

[4] Studies were compiled via the LLBA database (Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts – ProQuest, August 2011), using the search terms 'matched guise' and 'verbal guise' in citations and abstracts. A total of eighty-eight relevant articles were found, but only fifty-three of these were retrievable for closer scrutiny. Note that these numbers are sure to undershoot the total of 'speaker evaluation' studies published over the past decade.

There actually appears at times some imprecision in the labeling of the measuring scales in some studies, in the sense that uni-polar adjective scales tend to be labeled as 'Likert', although the fundamental principle of the latter is the response to standardized attitudinal statements – see e.g. Himmelfarb (1993); Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink (2005) for reference. I am here including uni-polar adjective scales in the semantic differential count, which is arguably closer in principle.

issue cited above, regarding the nature of 'attitudes' and the contingencies of attitude measurement via scales, first, within social psychology at large (the 'mother discipline'), and then within 'language attitude' research in particular (as its 'daughter discipline'). I then address further points of constructionist criticism of quantitative 'language attitude' study, such as the issues of the treatment of context and of response variability. The reassuring upshot of my discussion will be that the quantitative methodology commonly used in 'speaker assessment' research (and particularly the use of semantic differential scales) is defensible even within a constructionist paradigm, although for this we need to reposition our concepts and approach in some fundamental ways.

WHAT WE ARE MEASURING WHEN WE ARE MEASURING '(LANGUAGE) ATTITUDES'

Like most attitudinal measurements, the semantic differential is typically applied in social psychological research at large in the form of multi-item scaling, or, using 'a cluster of several differently worded items that focus on the same target. The item scores for the similar questions are summed, resulting in a total score [...] Thus, multi-item scales maximize the stable component that the items share and reduce the extraneous influences unique to the individual items' (Dörnyei 2007: 103–104). As Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink (2005: 33) put it succinctly, the idea behind all Thurstone, Likert, and Osgood scaling is 'the administration of a large set of questions to measure a single attitude'.

The underlying assumption here, of course, is that of the existence of a measurement 'target' – of some coherent entity of an inner state: an 'attitude'. This assumption seems to be upheld in much of today's social psychological academic discourse, although current definitions do somewhat relativize claims about the stability and durability of attitudes based on research findings regarding attitude variation and change. Thus, Eagly and Chaiken's seminal definition of 'attitude' as '*a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor*' (Eagly and Chaiken 2005: 745, italics in original) chooses the term 'tendency' over the options of 'state' and 'disposition' as a middle ground between absolute temporariness and absolute durability, but retains the implication of a 'latent property' or 'inner state' that people acquire and that gives rise to expressions of evaluative judgments (see also Eagly and Chaiken 1993).

It is, however, this very notion that evaluative responses are supposedly linked with and based on stable, underlying states of mind which social constructionist scholars have come to criticize as problematic at best (e.g. Potter and Wetherell 1987), and as 'wholly gratuitous' at worst (Gergen 2008: 335). As Potter and Wetherell (1987) pointed out in their often-cited proposal for a discourse analytic approach to social psychology, traditional conceptualizations of attitudes as enduring, measurable mental entities run into explanatory difficulties when faced with the facts of variability and changeability in informants' attitudinal responses across or even within situational contexts, but also in terms of inconsistencies between measured attitudes and behavioral outcomes. In fact, the accumulated empirical evidence on these counts has given rise to alternative theoretical and methodological tacks even within the 'stable-entity approach'. One has been to devise multidimensional measurement scales to capture more of the complexity of underlying attitudes, and then to have this complexity account for variability (see Potter and Wetherell 1987 for discussion, who cite McConahay 1985 as an example). Arguably, however, '[t]he variability in people's discourse cannot be explained merely as a product of a more complex multifaceted attitudinal structure which a more complex scale can assess, because the views expressed vary so radically from occasion to occasion' (Potter and Wetherell 1987: 53). Some approaches furthermore propose a host of intervening variables between attitudes and measurement outcome or behavior (see again Potter and Wetherell 1987, with reference to Fishbein and Azjen 1975; see also Bassili and Brown 2005; Bohner and Dickel 2011 for review). However, as Potter and Wetherell (1987: 54) contend, such proposals run 'the danger of massive post hoc interpretation' just so as to be able to uphold the concept of attitudes as underlying entities. Thus, '[g]iven enough modifying variables huge flexibility in response can be explained.' But in the authors' view, 'there must come a point when it is no longer useful to continue stressing the underlying attitude' (Potter and Wetherell 1987: 54).

Under the pressure of empirical evidence regarding the context-dependence and variability of attitudinal responses, attitudes have thus more recently been theorized 'not as enduring personal dispositions [...] but rather as evaluative judgments that are constructed in the situation based on currently accessible information' (Bohner and Dickel 2011: 393, with reference to proposals by Schwarz 2007). Such a constructionist perspective is also evident in Potter and Wetherell's (1987) proposal that attitudinal scores elicited via scales are in fact 'a specific linguistic formulation tuned to the context at hand' (Potter and Weth-

erell 1987: 45), and in Potter's (1998) conceptualization of attitude expression in terms of 'evaluative practice' or 'activity'.

However, extreme constructionist positions that would seem to abandon any assumption of stable attitudes in favor of contextually relative, ad hoc evaluative construals have in turn been heavily criticized. Thus, Bassili and Brown (2005: 566) suggest that '[t]o conclude that an attitude that changes with shifting contexts is not based on a stable representation is akin to concluding that a flag that changes direction with shifting winds is not attached to a flagpole'. Similarly, Eagly and Chaiken (2005: 746) maintain that '[t]he main reason why some investigators have concluded that most, if not all, attitudes are unstable, constantly emerging anew in specific situations, is that they have equated variability in the expression of attitudes with variability in the evaluative tendency that constitutes attitude', or, in other words, '[t]his attitudes-as-constructions position [...] conflates variability in attitudinal responses with variability in attitude itself'.

All in all, the ongoing debate in social psychology about the existence, definition, granularity, and role of stored mental representations of evaluation (attitudes) is reminiscent of the age-old mentalist vs. behaviorist discussion related for example in Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), which pivots on the question of whether or not 'attitude' is equivalent with 'attitudinal response'.[5] It is certainly impossible to resolve this issue here. However, now that we have seen how the 'mother discipline' struggles with the conceptualization of 'attitude', the question suggests itself of how '*language attitude*' research commonly defines the relation between attitudinal measurement, its target, and its outcome, in the context of its typical quantitative, scale-based elicitations of 'speaker assessments'.

One central aspect to note here, then, is that virtually from the beginning, quantitative speaker assessment research did not actually follow along with social psychological attitude study and its fundamental methodological principle of using multi-item scales to derive a single attitudinal score. Thus, the basic analysis in Lambert et al.'s (1960) debut of the matched-guise technique does not initially provide any such single score, but rather presents the results for each of their fourteen personality trait scales in turn (though an overall score is used later for correlation with other psychological measures). Lambert (1967) subsequently reports on a study by Preston (1963) in which *three* dimensions of personality judgment were applied to the set of scales used ('competence', 'per-

[5] Relatedly, see also e.g. Farbrigar, MacDonald and Wegener (2005) for review and discussion of the widely debated question of whether or not attitudes have subcomponents (such as the well-known triad of cognitive, affective, and conative components).

sonal integrity', and 'social attractiveness'). This originally rather ad hoc grouping of items has since been replicated in much 'language attitude' research. Zahn and Hopper (1985) derived evidence for the multidimensional character of speaker assessments more methodically from a factor analysis of thirty semantic differential scales, which yielded their own three rating categories ('superiority', 'attractiveness', 'dynamism').

Overall, it seems to be received knowledge in the 'language attitude' literature that it does not make much sense to boil the results of speaker assessment experiments down to one single attitude score – because what would this score even tell us? The bulk of (socio)linguistic research has shown that people's dealings with language are much more subtle than sweeping statements of 'favor' or 'disfavor' may ever hope to capture. Rather, there are likely to be several lines of consideration along which listeners typically assess speakers and their language use, which needs to be reflected in the selection and analysis of scale items of respective experiments. However, something that is never mentioned in this context is that, by virtue of this very fact, most 'language attitude' studies are actually not really measuring language *attitudes*.

Recall that in social psychology at large, 'attitude' connotes very particularly a 'degree of favor or disfavor' (see the definition by Eagly and Chaiken 2005 above) – an *evaluation*, the essence of which is the distinction 'good–bad' or 'like–not like' (Eagly and Chaiken 2005; Heise 1970; Krosnick et al. 2005). Consequently, social psychological attitude scales are commonly built to capture this very evaluative aspect – *and this aspect only*. Now, 'language attitude' scales do usually include some measures of 'pure' evaluation (do speakers sound rather 'nice' or 'awful'? – see Zahn and Hopper 1985), but are typically designed so as to check, in addition, things like whether informants hold speakers to sound 'educated' or 'uneducated', 'rich' or 'poor', 'active' or 'passive', 'strong' or 'weak' (see again Zahn and Hopper 1985), or even 'tall', 'entertaining', or 'ambitious' (Lambert et al. 1960), depending on their language use. Clearly, some of these adjective items do not have any objective, decontextualizeable positive or negative (i.e. 'evaluative') character (see also Garrett 2010; Lambert et al. 1960). Indeed, ultimately, even sounding 'simple-minded' can be a good thing in certain situations (such as when trying to charm customers into buying products – see Soukup 2011, in the context of Southern American English). It is in this respect, then, that some of the scales used in 'language attitude' research capture something other than 'attitudes' in the strict social psychologi-

cal sense. (Hence my use of inverted commas and my preference for the term 'speaker assessment' over the more common 'speaker evaluation'.)

The point I am making here may seem arcane at first, but it does have important implications. For one, it may go some way towards explaining why 'language attitude' research has been widely ignored by its mother discipline, social psychology at large (a fact lamented by Preston in 2009, who mentioned that the 2005 landmark *Handbook of Attitudes* by Albarracín, Johnson, and Zanna does not include a single reference to work on 'language attitudes'). But what's more, I argue that it actually and quite logically preempts the kind of social constructionist criticism of scale-based attitude measurement that pivots on the accusation of unwarranted attachment to monolithic evaluative dispositions. Such criticism has already been taken to imply, by extension, that 'experimentation with the matched-guise technique [...] should be giving way to discourse-analytic studies of language attitudes' (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998: 348, with reference to Kalaja 1997). If, however, quantitative 'language attitude' studies do not even pretend to be eliciting one comprehensive, underlying attitudinal score, this, for one, cannot be grounds on which to dismiss them.

I have of course still left open the question of what it is, then, that traditional, scale-based 'speaker assessment' research really elicits. To work this out, it pays to return to Osgood et al.'s original presentation of the semantic differential from 1957. Over time, their scaling method has become synonymous with attitude elicitation; however, the title of their book is in fact *The Measurement of Meaning*, not: ... 'of Attitudes'. Indeed, the purpose of their endeavor was to subject meaning to quantitative analysis; defining meaning as 'that process or state in the behavior of a sign-using organism which is assumed to be a necessary consequence of the reception of sign-stimuli and a necessary antecedent for the production of sign-responses' – a cognitive 'representational mediation process' (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957: 9). 'Semantic differentiation', then, implies 'the successive allocation of a concept to a series of descriptive scales defined by polar adjectives, these scales selected so as to be representative of the major dimensions along which meaningful processes vary' (p. 31). 'Difference in the meaning between two concepts is then merely a function of the differences in their respective allocations within the same space' (p. 26). Or, put more simply, the meaning of a concept can be expressed in terms of its loadings on the bipolar adjective items bracketing the semantic differential scales.

Based on extensive research, Osgood et al. furthermore extracted three fundamental 'factors' or 'dimensions' to which much variance in meaning assess-

ments can be reduced, which they call 'evaluation', 'potency', and 'activation' (typified by the items 'good–bad', 'powerful–powerless', and 'fast–slow' respectively; Heise 1970). The reason for which Osgood et al.'s scaling method has become closely associated with attitudinal research is their *post hoc* proposal that the 'evaluation' dimension of meaning measurement is essentially equivalent with the notion of 'attitude'. At the same time, however, Osgood et al. did not suggest that the three dimensions they identified are exhaustive or universal, nor that the evaluative dimension must take any sort of precedence. On this basis, it can now be argued that even if we follow social constructionists in rejecting the existence of underlying, single attitudes and the relevance of the quest, this does not ipso facto discredit the semantic differential as an empirical method. Rather, we can choose to refocus on its original purpose, and harness it for the exploration of *meaning* beyond the purely (merely) evaluative. 'Language attitude' research, then, actually seems to have a long tradition of applying the semantic differential according to its original intent – locating speakers and their language production within the 'semantic space' made up by what we would most likely call the *social meanings* associated with linguistic communication in a given context. For any given study, it may turn out that this social meaning space is indeed largely configured along the lines of the three dimensions of 'superiority', 'attractiveness', and 'dynamism' (Zahn and Hopper 1985), or that there are many more directions of pull, or that dimension reduction is not particularly informative at all (as seems to be one upshot of Potter and Wetherell 1987).

Again, as mentioned further above, one important benefit of calling the overarching endeavor now by its 'real' name, *the measurement of the social meaning of linguistic variation*, instead of insisting on measuring 'language *attitudes*,' is that this makes clear why some of the criticism leveled against the field from a social constructionist perspective is actually not warranted. At the same time, it pushes us 'language attitude' scholars to finally let our words follow our deeds and to stop obstinately trying to tie our interpretations of findings from scale-based speaker assessments back to the social psychological notion of 'attitude,' with its restriction to underlying purely evaluational entities, when what we are finding really goes beyond. In my opinion, this kind of self-imposed disciplinary submissiveness has long outlived its scaffolding purpose, and has been at the root of much terminological and conceptual fuzziness, as well as of the lack of rigorous theorizing, that seem to have hampered scholarly reviews and studies of 'language attitudes' to this day.

'SOCIAL MEANINGS OF VARIATION' IN APPLICATION

There is another important affordance that derives from the above-proposed conceptualization of 'language attitudes,' as elicited via scale-based speaker assessment, in terms of 'social meanings of variation.' This is that it may actually counter the opinion commonly held under a social constructionist perspective that quantitative 'language attitude' research is hard to justify these days for the reason that findings are difficult to apply to real-life situations (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998: 346).

After all, the fact that the social meaning of variation plays a central role in sociolinguistic processes anywhere from diachronic language change to interactional persona-management is nowadays fundamentally undisputed, and the topic of a rapidly expanding body of research (see e.g. Kristiansen 2009; Coupland 2007 respectively). Take for example current studies of the phenomenon of 'Speaker Design' (Schilling-Estes 2002), or the way in which language users may harness the linguistic variants and varieties in their repertoire proactively to create interactional identities and alignments. They do this by navigating what Eckert (2008) has called the 'indexical field' of linguistic variants – networks of social ideologies and social meanings associated with certain kinds of language use. The choice of a certain variant in an interaction indexes such associations as relevant for inferencing utterance meaning, giving rise to corresponding interpretations regarding identity projections and participant alignments (see Gumperz' 1982 notion of 'contextualization'). Thus, Austrian participants in a TV discussion show have been found to shift from Austrian standard ('Hochsprache') into Bavarian-Austrian dialect when portraying a political opponent as ignorant and coarse, drawing on (i.e. 'contextualizing their utterances with') corresponding social meanings that are commonly associated with dialect use in Austria (see Soukup 2009).

The fact that Austrian listeners are actually likely to realize these associations and come up with matching interpretations of the Speaker Design (rhetorical shifts into dialect) can be tested via a speaker assessment experiment in which Austrian informants comparatively judge speakers' uses of Austrian standard and dialect. This is because, arguably, what informants are asked to do in the experiment is similar to what an audience is called upon to do when watching the TV show – to make sense of two linguistic varieties in juxtaposition, by drawing on the social meanings associated with these. If the social meanings elicited in the experiment are found to be similar to the ones needed for discus-

sion participants' rhetorical moves of negative portrayal (i.e., that speaking in dialect makes a speaker sound less intelligent and sophisticated than speaking in the standard), this is then evidence for the fact that the Speaker Design will be communicatively successful on TV (and see Soukup 2009 for a data series that yields exactly this result).

Put more generally again, speaker assessment experiments in which listeners comparatively judge speakers' uses of different styles can arguably support interactional findings regarding Speaker Design (the rhetorical use of style-shifting), by yielding the relevant activation patterns in the indexical fields of social meanings surrounding the types of speech under investigation. Ultimately, such potential for application to the investigation of actual, real-life behavior should provide sufficient evidence for the usefulness of speaker assessment elicitation based on semantic differential scales and the 'measurement of (social) meaning'.

FURTHER IMPLICATIONS: RECONCEPTUALIZING SPEAKER ASSESSMENT EXPERIMENTS

Note, then, that current research on Speaker Design and the agentive use of styles for interaction management is very much anchored in constructionist conceptualizations of social life as a function of emergent, contextually situated/relative meaning-making activity (see also Schilling-Estes 2002). Proposals for the application of speaker assessment experiments to investigations of Speaker Design therefore entail that the experimental methodology per se be also epistemologically compatible with a constructionist perspective. This still does not seem to be the case if we, while replacing the notion of 'attitude' with that of 'social meaning', nevertheless conceive of experiments themselves in terms of objective, sterile fact-finding missions, as under a positivist tradition (see the criticism in Giles and Coupland 1991; Potter and Wetherell 1987). Rather, we need to adopt a more modern perspective under which responses on speaker assessment tasks, although artificially induced, are the record of emergent, contextually situated meaning-making activity of the same nature as other types of human social interaction (e.g. everyday conversation). In other words, an experiment should be regarded as a 'discursive event' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 58) in and of itself, in which 'evaluative practice' (Potter 1998) is taking place – albeit under certain characteristic conditions.

On this view, it is the inherent contextual situatedness of *all* communicative events (see e.g. Gumperz 1982) that explains why situational parameters are so vital for the meaning outcome in speaker assessment experiments, just as in other types of interaction. Indeed, time and again it has been found that contextual factors have an important bearing on the recorded results (see e.g. Cargile et al. 1994 for discussion; see also Bohner and Dickel 2011 for discussion within social psychology at large). But instead of regarding and lamenting this as a confounding fact, and trying, but inevitably failing, to keep contextual factors 'out of' an experiment so as to construct some highly general, abstract, underspecified results, it seems more productive to take a proactive approach and match the experiments' situational parameters with some ulterior, concrete context of interactional activity so that the findings can then be applied there. Thus, for example, in the data series briefly mentioned above (from Soukup 2009), the speaker assessment task whose findings were applied to the investigation of Speaker Design in a TV discussion was actually designed so that the contextual parameters obtaining in experiment and interactional data matched quite well: the experimental protocol was aligned to the TV show setting in terms of the introduction and framing of the task (rating 'public speakers' anonymously), the text used (an argumentative statement), and some of the questions asked of the informants (see Soukup 2009, 2010 for details). The meaning-making activities in the experiment (carried out by the informants) and the TV discussion show (carried out by the audience at home) regarding the assessment of the use of different styles (Austrian dialect and standard) could therefore be assumed to have taken place in similar socio-situational contexts, validating application of findings from the experiment to the TV show data.

Synergies between the variationist and speaker assessment agendas as exemplified in the study of Speaker Design suggest one way in which the justly criticized pitfalls of a-contextual, self-serving experimental research without clear, ulterior implications may be avoided in the future. Certainly, it shows that a constructionist reappraisal of the experimental method as applied in much work on 'language attitudes' does not inevitably force its abandonment. Nor does it signify that automatic preference is to be given to the qualitative elicitation of evaluative practices, such as via discourse analysis (see Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2009 for examples), which may simply serve other purposes of application.

THE ISSUE OF QUANTIFICATION

The supposedly negligent treatment of context effects, as one major point of criticism proffered by social constructionists against traditional scale-based attitude measurement, has been part of a wider complaint about the suppression of potential variability in informants' responses (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998; Potter and Wetherell 1987). Though reference is here mainly made to issues of experimental control (but see my counter-argument above) and researchers' coding impositions, the point easily extends to the very premise of quantitative survey research. Dörnyei (2007: 27) formulates the issue as such:

> Because people differ from each other in the way they perceive, interpret, and remember things, their accounts will show considerable variation across individuals. [...] Quantitative researchers regard the sample-related variation as a problem which needs to be fixed. [Their] solution is to take a large enough sample in which the idiosyncratic differences associated with the particular individuals are ironed out by the sample size and therefore the pooled results largely reflect the commonalities that exist in the data. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, question the value of preparing an overall, average description of a larger group of people because in this way we lose the individual stories. [...] Thus, quantitative researchers follow a 'meaning in general' strategy, whereas qualitative researchers concentrate on an in-depth understanding of the 'meaning in particular'.

To some extent, then, the discussion of the treatment of variability in evaluative activity can be brought back to a fundamental debate about the usefulness of quantitative vs. qualitative research. Certainly, what speaker assessment tasks typically aim for are not differentiated individual accounts, but rather the average mainstream of social meanings associated with variation in language use, by way of the usually concomitant statistical computation of results (often based on comparisons of mean scores or rank differences on the semantic differential scales). In other words, there is no denying that through the analytic routine of quantification and averaging of scores, our experiments render invisible individual informants' rating patterns, reducing them to a common denominator. This seems to once more return us to the issue of the meaningfulness of comprehensive measures; but in fact, such meaningfulness can be argued to be entirely a function of the research goals, rather than a matter of scientific ideology. Recall that in the brief presentation above of my Austrian study, the elicitation of speaker assessments was subservient to the interpretation of conversational contextualization in instances of strategic standard-dialect style-shifting in TV dis-

cussions. Particularly in such a public speaking context, contextualization works by broad consensus and convention: speakers' rhetorical strategies probably rely on the assumption of widely known social associations which the majority, the 'average' addressees/ audience share – in other words, precisely on the types of common denominator of social meanings (we may want to call them 'stereotypes') a quantitative speaker assessment survey is perfectly suited to bringing out. Variability and nuances in judgments are not relevant here – broad-stroked knowledge consensus is.

The question of whether or not to use a broad, quantitative, scale-based survey should thus be one of research intent, and not so much of philosophy. Both approaches have their up- and downsides (for further discussion see Dörnyei 2007; Coolican 2009). And while it is certain that some assumptions of experimental research in (social) psychology are no longer tenable under present-day constructionist epistemology, I hope to also have shown here that a culling of the method from our battery, instead of a reappraisal and adaptation, would be, as the idiom goes, an unfortunate case of 'throwing out the baby with the bathwater'.

CONCLUSION

The bottom line is, then, that the demands of modern social constructionist theorizing and epistemology do not automatically compel the abandonment of our traditional speaker assessment methodology – particularly of using our much-cherished semantic differential scales and the concomitant quantification of findings. What is indeed called for in my opinion, however, is a more rigorous application and specification of what our methodology can do and find, and what it cannot, and of the particular purpose it is to be applied to.

By the same token, I suggest that a reassessment of our terminology is also in order. I have tried to make a case for recasting 'language attitudes' in terms of 'social meanings of linguistic variation'. I believe that this will provide some much-needed impetus for further theorizing and integration of our field, which for too long has been 'overrepresented by one-off studies in widely varying cultures, sociolinguistic conditions, situational and procedural domains' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 49), and has furthermore unnecessarily tried to live up to the standards of traditional social psychological research on 'attitudes'. However, all things considered, I am actually resigned to the fact that the use of the terms

'language attitudes' and 'speaker evaluation' themselves are far too entrenched (even in my own mind!) to be replaced by any other terminology that might be more accurate to the endeavor, following my line of reasoning. This is probably nothing to worry about – as long as we are clear that what we are saying may be 'attitude', but what we are doing is *the measurement of (social) meaning*.

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On matching speaker (dis)guises – revisiting a methodological tradition

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Over the past fifty years, 'matched-guise'-type speaker assessment experiments have seemingly become the methodological bedrock of social psychological 'language attitude' research. In the study that pioneered this technique, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960) outline its basics as follows, in application to their own investigation of 'evaluative reactions' towards English and French in Canada:

> A 2 ½ min. passage of French prose of a philosophical nature was translated into fluent English and tape recordings were made of the voices of four male bilinguals each of whom read both French and English versions of the passage. Recordings were also made of the voices of two other men, one reading the passage in English, the other in French. There were, then, 10 taped voices, four of which were 'matched', each speaker using both languages, and two used as 'filler' voices and for practice. The 10 voices were presented to *S*s [subjects] in alternating French-English order starting with the two filler voices and allowing the maximum possible interval between successive presentations of the English and French guises of any speaker. Evaluational reactions to the matched voices only were examined. [...] *S*s were *not* told that they were going to hear some of the voices twice, but rather that they would hear 10 recorded male voices, all reading the same passage, five in French and five in English. [...] There was no indication that any *S* became aware of the fact that bilingual speakers were used. (Lambert et al. 1960: 44; italics in the original)

Lambert et al.'s artful protocol of having bilingual speakers read the same text in 'matching guises' was motivated by a desire to 'minimize the effects of both voice of the speaker and his message' on the assessment (Lambert et al. 1960: 44), and thus to keep language choice as the only experimental variable. The speaker and text being the same, any elicited rating differences between the English and French guises could presumably be attributed to respective differ-

[1] I thank the editors of this volume, Stefan Grondelaers and Tore Kristiansen, for their valuable feedback on previous versions of this chapter.

ences in 'language attitudes'.[2] Interestingly, however, the authors never explicitly state any reason for trying to keep their participants unaware of the speaker repetition.

Fifty years later, in the year 2010, I myself set out to conduct a research project on 'language attitudes' in the country of Oman towards Baluchi (an Indo-European minority language) vs. Arabic, using the matched-guise technique. At the time, however, I was faced with a recruitment dilemma that may sound familiar to some: on the one hand, I had access to only a handful of the bilingual informants I wanted to poll. On the other, I also still needed to pilot the experiment I was planning to do with them, but couldn't afford to 'lose' study participants this way. Ultimately, my female bilingual 'stimulus speaker'[3] and I decided to try out the experiment first with her own (adult) nephew, without telling him who the female 'voices' belonged to, my speaker having even convinced herself that he would not recognize her in the Baluchi guise (as they never actually spoke Baluchi together, and his competence in the language was mostly 'passive'). The experiment ran its course; the nephew never hesitated and turned in his ratings of the male and female Omani Arabic and Baluchi guises, via a classic response scheme of personality traits on semantic differential scales. Then, as we were going over the results and the study design together for feedback, he said quite casually, 'My aunt sounded like a totally different person when she spoke Baluchi that second time'. And indeed, this was reflected in his ratings – for example, he had put her down as sounding much less educated, though a bit more likeable, in her Baluchi guise.

I am relating this fieldwork anecdote here, because it was in fact the trigger for my present undertaking: to check up on the old and largely unquestioned premise of matched-guise studies as first established in Lambert et al. (1960), cited above, which holds that informants are to be kept ignorant of the fact that they are hearing the same speaker(s) over again using different accents, varieties, or languages. In the following, I start out by further elaborating on this premise and exploring its possible motivations. I then report an experiment that abandons this protocol, and instead openly presents the same speakers in different guises to informants. This experiment is embedded in research on 'language

[2] In this paper, I am using the term 'language attitude' in the sense I specify in my other chapter in this volume, as referring to the *social meanings* associated with language use and variation, rather than with reference to traditional social psychological definitions of 'attitude'.

[3] The experiment also included a male bilingual speaker of Baluchi and Omani Arabic, to investigate possible gender effects. First results of the study were presented in Soukup (2010a). I am grateful to my speakers for donating their time and effort.

attitudes' in the context of Austrian German; thus, a second purpose of this paper is to provide findings in this regard. I conclude with some more general reflections on the implications of my study and its application of what I have come to call the 'open-guise' technique.

THE GAMBIT: SPEAKER (DIS)GUISES

A quick search in the LLBA database (Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts - ProQuest) for the term 'matched guise' in citations and abstracts underscores the fact that the matched-guise technique in its classic form[4] still has a lot of currency in 'language attitude' research today. Over the past decade (2000–2010), at least thirty-six studies (or more than three per year) were published that feature matched guises either together with filler or 'distractor' voices (11 studies), without distractors (12), using written guises (6), or incorporating elements of both matched- and verbal-guise (7). Most of those studies that did not use fillers feature a considerable amount of speakers, so that the alternation per se serves as distraction. However, in four of these studies,[5] the guises were in fact produced by only one speaker, so that no alternation occurred at all in the battery, which arguably makes speaker recognition a real issue. Yet, the authors either eschew mentioning that fact, or still explicitly state that informants were deliberately kept ignorant of speaker repetitions. Thus, Lai (2007: 231), for example, writes, 'The fact that the speaker was, for all guises, the same person was not revealed to the [informants]. On the contrary, subjects were led to believe that the speakers were different persons as they were referred to as Speakers 1, 2 and 3.' Of course, whether or not this strategy was successful can no longer be determined, for lack of evidence. But in any case, and more generally, studies like these illustrate that the application of the matched-guise technique is still tenaciously assumed to pivot on the gambit of speaker *dis*guise. The question that poses itself, then, is what motivates this gambit in the first place, and whether it is at all necessary.

Going back to Lambert et al. (1960), as its originators, perhaps the most likely explanation for the procedural decision to keep their informants 'uninformed',

[4] as contrasted with, notably, its derivative form, the 'verbal-guise', which uses different speakers for the different varieties tested, mainly for reasons of authenticity or language competence (see e.g. Garrett 2010 for description and discussion).

[5] namely, Cavallaro and Ng (2009); Jie and Zhong (2008); Kitanaka (2007); Lai (2007)

as it were, about identical speakers is an underlying assumption that if participants knew that the speakers were the same, they would be influenced by this to the point of not producing any rating differences. If anything, however, this is refuted by my Omani anecdote reported above – in my case, the judge knew the speaker very intimately (they lived in the same house), and fully recognized her, but *still* rated her differently between the two guises. It should be noted also that Lambert et al.'s assurance that their informants remained unaware of hearing the same speakers twice is not actually supported by any direct evidence (e.g. having asked the informants whether this was true). Certainly, however, my experience in Oman shows that mere ratings differences *cannot* be taken as proof that a speaker was *not* recognized as the same across recordings. All in all, then, from whichever end one looks at the matter, there does not seem to be any a priori causal link between speaker disguise and rating differentiation.

Alternatively, one could argue that what was being tested by Lambert et al. (1960) were informants' 'language attitudes' regarding supposedly *monolingual* English and French speakers, not bilinguals – or at least regarding speakers with limited command of the respective other language. Indeed, the authors state that their interest lay in eliciting assessments of members of informants' own and of the other 'language group' (English and French speakers respectively, as represented also in their informant sample; note, however, that the speakers' language group status was apparently not made explicit as a point of reference in the protocol). By force of this argument, though, it seems that the decision of whether or not the speakers are made known to be multi-lectal is a function of the specific research question asked, rather than of the methodology per se. Thus, there does again not follow any intrinsic necessity for the disguising ploy in the application of the matched-guise technique.

But of course, the very notion of using one particular way of speaking to represent one particular social group is debatable in and of itself. It is prone to essentialize a monolithic (stereotypic) link between a certain type of language use and a specific social group category; and, concomitantly, to suppress questions of agency in code choice relative to social situations. In this line, the matched-guise study paradigm has often been criticized for largely ignoring the phenomenon of linguistic variation *within* social groups or even individuals – the latter counter to the famous axiom established by variationist research which holds that 'there are no single-style speakers' (Labov 1972: 208). Similarly, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), in their now classic review of methodologies in 'language attitude' research, reprimanded matched-guise studies for typically presupposing

'that each population is characterized or identifiable by a single language variety. However, when we examine bilingual speech communities and networks, [...] a lot of switching is found to go on [...]. So questions of speech repertoire [...] become very important and must be reckoned with rather than ruled out' (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 146).

Yet studies reviewed in Giles and Bourhis (1976) demonstrate that the matched-guise technique can be 'fixed' so as to address the issue of intra-speaker variation, notably by incorporating it as an assessment factor in the test design. Thus, the French Canadian informants in Bourhis, Giles and Lambert (1975) were asked to rate a speaker who could deliberately be heard to shift her accent between European and Canadian French across two interview speech events. Giles, Taylor and Bourhis (1973) had English Canadian informants assess a speaker who was known to be bilingual in French and English, based on his language selection in an interactional context. In both studies, differences in the speaker's variety selection strategy generated differences in the ratings outcome.

Studies like these suggest very generally that matched-guise experimentation is a more flexible tool than it may be given credit for, and one which can indeed accommodate research questions regarding the assessment fall-out of a particular speaker's code-switching/ style-shifting behavior. Furthermore, they drive home what seems like an almost gratuitous point, namely that informants do not seem to have any inherent problem with making sense of one speaker's use of multiple varieties.[6] Typically, however, such studies have still proceeded by playing the various instantiations of a speaker's acts of style-shifting/ code-switching (usually in a context of speech accommodation) to *different* informant groups, and having each group provide one general assessment. In other words, the disguising gambit is actually kept up, in the sense that presenting the *same* participants with different forms of the *same* individual speaker's language shifting behavior, in an outright and direct fashion, is still avoided and a one-dimensional linking of speaker identity and delivery upheld.

Yet, such one-dimensionality runs counter to an ever increasing amount of sociolinguistic research attesting that individuals do routinely, agentively, and above all very openly vary their linguistic behavior, even within the same interaction and with the same audience, *precisely* for the purpose of projecting *multi-*

[6] This is not surprising, in light of the above-mentioned sociolinguistic axiom about the inexistence of single-style speakers. Linguistic variation is a fundamental fact of life, and thus featured in everyone's (including informants'!) experience.

ple local identities and relationships (see e.g. Auer 2007; Coupland 2007; Schilling-Estes 2004). What's more, such identity projections seemingly draw on the social meanings associated with particular varieties – in other words, the respective 'language attitudes' (see Soukup 2009, 2010a, in application of i.a. Gumperz 1982). By using a particular linguistic style, then, speakers may strategically 'contextualize' (Gumperz 1982) their utterances in terms of its social associations, making these relevant to utterance interpretation by the listener, and thus effecting identity and relationship projections in a 'dialogic' process (see also Bakthin 1986 [1952–1953]). For example, Baluchi/ Arabic bilinguals have been found to switch from Arabic into Baluchi to express contempt, which is achieved by drawing on stereotypes that associate Baluchi with sounding less intelligent (see Al Zidjaly 2008; Soukup 2010a).

Despite this, studies describing the phenomenon of evoking and changing local identities via the strategic use of linguistic variation in interaction (or, the phenomenon of 'Speaker Design', as Schilling-Estes 2002 puts it) do not (yet) routinely adduce, let alone generate, empirical social psychological evidence regarding the nature and activation of the social meanings of styles in listeners, to support claims about respective interactional outcomes. But as I would argue, such evidence can in fact be quite conveniently collected via a speaker assessment experiment in which one and the same speaker can be *openly* heard in different 'guises' and is evaluated accordingly by listener-informants (who thus know that they are rating the same person in different versions). Such a procedure can recreate and simulate the process of conversational 'contextualization' operant in strategic language shifting: informants are asked to actively assess and interpret the use of different linguistic varieties in juxtaposition in the experiment, similar to when speakers use different varieties in the same conversation for utterance contextualization. In both cases, listeners are called upon to activate culturally shared social meanings attaching to the particular language varieties they hear being used, for the purposes of interpreting 'what is going on' in the activity they are engaging in (interactional inferencing / experimental responding).

To recap my argument so far, then, there appears to be no inherent necessity that drives the disguising ploy in matched-guise research. Thus, abandoning the ploy and instead applying what I have come to call an 'open-guise' method can be fully expected to 'work', in the sense of generating rating differences (see my discussion above in the context of the Baluchi-Arabic study). But what's more, it can also boast some considerable benefits and address research questions in

ways that the traditional matched-guise technique cannot. In addition to rendering any kind of artful 'smokes and mirrors' strategy obsolete, easing the workload for both investigators and informants alike, the open-guise method can actually fill an apparent empirical gap in present-day social constructionist research on Speaker Design. One could even flip the argument and go so far as to say that if there were *no* rating differences brought out in an open-guise protocol, the very claim that linguistic shifting has interactional bearings on persona and relationship projections would be rather difficult to uphold. In other words, if listeners are *not* found to call up different social meanings in connection with hearing different linguistic varieties, no rhetorical effects can be achieved via shifting between these varieties in interaction either.

In return, such application of speaker assessment studies can give attitudinal elicitation a new sense of purpose, consequence, and direction that may take it beyond the contextual and motivational 'vacuum' social psychological experimentation has been accused of in the past (Tajfel 1981: 23; see also Soukup 2010b for discussion of bearings on experimental design; see Soukup [this volume] for discussion of speaker assessment experiments under a social constructionist perspective).

In the light of these considerations, what follows below is an attempt to provide more than mere anecdotal evidence in support of an open-guise approach. I present a corresponding experiment that was carried out under the agenda of an interactional discourse analysis of Speaker Design in Austrian German, or, more specifically, speakers' strategic shifting from standard into Bavarian-Austrian dialect in TV political discussions (see Soukup 2009, 2012). Such shifting can be found to serve the expression of antagonistic interactional 'footings' (Goffman 1981) and of (negative) identities for opponents ('other-positioning' – van Langenhove and Harré 1999) in the given setting. In order to provide a sound empirical basis for my claims about these contextualization processes, then, the experiment reported here elicited the social meanings an Austrian audience is likely to call up when hearing a speaker use dialect vs. standard.

My discussion of this experiment is intended to answer two main questions. First, it tests quantitatively whether an open-guise design can in fact elicit significantly differentiated responses from informants, or whether, contrary to my expectations derived from my experience in Oman and the findings from my discourse analysis of the Austrian TV data, no assessment differences emerge if the speakers are known to be identical across guises. Secondly, if successful, the experiment should yield the common social meanings Austrian natives associate

with the use of Bavarian-Austrian dialect and standard Austrian German respectively in juxtaposition, thus outlining some basic aspects of the current 'language attitudinal' landscape in the country. While due to my research protocol my results hold most convincingly in the context of bidialectalism, the latter is, however, assumed to apply to all Austrians at least passively (see also Moosmüller 1991), allowing, arguably, for broader generalization of the outcome.

PROCEDURE OF THE OPEN-GUISE EXPERIMENT [7]

The open-guise experiment reported here consists of a speaker assessment study carried out in the spring of 2012, in which Austrian university students listened to a set of six speech samples and rated each sample via a list of twenty-two five-point bipolar semantic differential scales (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957) provided in a questionnaire. 123 students at the University of Vienna were polled; the total (convenience) sample is 76% female (n=94) and 24% male (n=29).[8] The informants' age range was 18–30 (median: 21; mean: 21.15). All students had grown up in Austria and lived there at the time, and had at least one Austrian parent. 32% (n=39) hailed from the province of Lower Austria, 29% (n=35) from Vienna, 15% (n=18) from Upper Austria, 8% (n=10) from Salzburg, 7% (n=8) from Styria, 5% (n=6) from Carinthia, 2% (n=3) from Burgenland, and 1% each (n=2) from the Tyrol and Vorarlberg (percentages rounded). Thus, all nine Austrian provinces were represented in the sample, though a vast majority of informants came from the Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect area in the Austrian north, which is the most populous area (comprising Upper Austria, Lower Austria, and Vienna), and from which I also recruited my speakers for

[7] This study is a spin-off from the verbal-guise experiment reported in Soukup (2009). Thus, see there for further details on experimental design, including text selection, the linguistic variation involved, as well as study setting and assessment scheme. That experiment (and the present one in analogy) was in fact designed so as to inform an interactional sociolinguistic analysis of TV discussion show data; its configuration was therefore tailored to the situational context of this show.

[8] The unequal gender-distribution in the sample is due to informant recruitment in female-student-dominated courses (though the sample still covers a broad array of subjects of study). My past speaker assessment experiments (reported in Soukup 2001, 2009) have shown, however, that informant gender has typically merely a low effect on ratings, and, if any, a predictable one, namely that females tend to give 'kinder' ratings across the board.

I cordially thank all my informants for their participation, and Manfred Glauninger at the University of Vienna for facilitating recruitment.

the experiment (see below). 32% (n=40) of the informants indicated their 'mother tongue' as *österreichischer Dialekt*, 28% (n=34) as *österreichische Hochsprache* (Austrian standard), and 40% (n=49) as both *Dialekt* and *Hochsprache*; but note again that all native speakers of Austrian German can be assumed to have some competence in both varieties.[9]

The six speech samples used in the experiment consisted of recordings by one male and two female bidialectal speakers from Upper Austria (subsequently called speaker 'M', the male, and speakers 'K' and 'S', the females).[10] All three were between thirty and forty years of age at the time of recording, with a middle class background and at least a few years of university education. Each performed the same text (a one-minute argumentative piece on genetically engineered food) once in standard Austrian German, and once in Upper Austrian dialect, which is part of Middle Bavarian-Austrian German (see above).[11]

The list of adjectives used to assess the speech samples contained the following items, compiled mainly on the basis of interviews and existing literature regarding Austrian 'language attitudes', so as to test the most commonly cited social associations of standard and dialect (English translations in italics):

sympathisch	-	unsympathisch	*likeable*	-	*not likeable*
gebildet	-	ungebildet	*educated*	-	*uneducated*
vertrauenswürdig	-	nicht vertrauenswürdig	*trustworthy*	-	*not trustworthy*
höflich	-	unhöflich	*polite*	-	*impolite*
intelligent	-	unintelligent	*intelligent*	-	*unintelligent*
freundlich	-	unfreundlich	*friendly*	-	*unfriendly*
ehrlich	-	unehrlich	*honest*	-	*dishonest*
selbstbewusst	-	nicht selbstbewusst	*self-confident*	-	*not self-confident*
kompetent	-	nicht kompetent	*competent*	-	*not competent*
fleißig	-	faul	*industrious*	-	*lazy*
natürlich	-	gekünstelt	*natural*	-	*artificial*
viel Sinn für Humor	-	kein Sinn für Humor	*good sense of humor*	-	*no sense of humor*

[9] For reference on standard and dialectal Austrian German and the linguistic situation in Austria in general, see e.g. Dressler and Wodak (1982); Ebner (2008); Hornung and Roitinger 2000 [1950]; Moosmüller (1991); Soukup (2009); Wiesinger (2006). See furthermore the website of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for a dialect map of Austria (http://www.oeaw.ac.at/dinamlex/Dialektgebiete.html – accessed June 30, 2013).

[10] A second, matching male speaker was unfortunately not available at the time of polling. As including another two samples would furthermore have added considerably to the task length, and past verbal guise research on Austrian standard and dialect had mainly shown strong correlations between male and female speakers (Soukup 2009), it was decided to carry out the study with the present speaker set. Once more, I cordially thank my speakers in this experiment for their invaluable help.

[11] My use of the term 'dialect' in the subsequent analysis of results from the experiment therefore always means a Middle Bavarian-Austrian variety.

schlau	-	nicht schlau	*clever*	-	*not clever*
emotional	-	unemotional	*emotional*	-	*unemotional*
locker	-	nicht locker	*relaxed*	-	*not relaxed*
ernst	-	unernst	*serious*	-	*non-serious*
aggressiv	-	nicht aggressiv	*aggressive*	-	*not aggressive*
streng	-	nicht streng	*strict*	-	*not strict*
konservativ	-	aufgeschlossen	*conservative*	-	*open-minded*
grob	-	sanftmütig	*rough*	-	*gentle*
arrogant	-	unarrogant	*arrogant*	-	*non-arrogant*
derb	-	vornehm	*coarse*	-	*refined*

At the beginning of the experiment, I specifically told the informants that they were about to hear the same speakers in two recordings each, presenting the same text in two different versions (‘auf zwei verschiedene Arten’). Their task was to provide feedback regarding how the speakers would come across to a public audience in each of the two ways of presenting the text (‘Wie kommen [die Personen] mit ihrer jeweiligen Art, diesen Text vorzutragen, bei einem öffentlichen Publikum an?’). The experiment was applied to two different groups of informants (n=74 and n=49); the order of speakers was switched up between those sessions so as to control for potential ordering effects (the first order of speakers being M-K-S, the second S-K-M; for each speaker, the standard version was always played before the dialectal one). Subsequent to collection, data were compiled and analyzed using SPSS for Windows (v.17.0).

RESULTS OF THE OPEN-GUISE

A series of paired sample *t* tests were carried out to compare the average ratings of each speaker between her or his respective standard and dialect guise, as elicited via the semantic differential scales.[12] The statistical results are presented in detail in Table 1 (female speaker ‘K’), Table 2 (female speaker ‘S’), and Table 3 (male speaker ‘M’) on the next pages.

[12] Parametric tests were chosen under the considerations of a sufficiently large sample and of the repeated-measures design, where homogeneity of variances can be assumed. See also Himmelfarb (1993) for discussion of using parametric tests with attitudinal scales. See furthermore e.g. Aron, Aron and Coups (2009: ch. 8) for discussion of the complexities of carrying out a large number of *t* tests and how this may increase the likelihood of Type I errors. Here, my approach is to focus my subsequent presentation of results mainly on those cases where significant mean differences occur together with at least medium effect sizes, so that the basis for my claims seems fairly solid.

Table 1: Means, standard deviations, and results from the paired-samples *t* tests for the ratings of female speaker 'K', including Cohen's *d* as measure of effect size.[13]

	Speaker 'K' standard guise		**Speaker 'K' dialect guise**				
	Mean	***StD***	***Mean***	***StD***	***N***	***t***	***Cohen's d***
educated	**4.09**	0.747	3.27	0.811	123	10.371*	**1.1**
intelligent	**4.03**	0.757	3.50	0.803	123	6.490*	**0.7**
serious	**3.86**	0.823	3.24	0.924	123	6.124*	**0.7**
industrious	**3.92**	0.822	3.48	0.754	121	5.037*	**0.6**
competent	**4.02**	0.936	3.44	0.919	122	4.907*	**0.6**
strict	**3.17**	1.143	2.54	1.096	123	4.513*	**0.6**
arrogant	**2.98**	1.112	2.43	1.079	123	3.942*	**0.5**
coarse	2.23	0.777	**3.28**	0.728	123	-10.869*	**-1.4**
relaxed	2.65	1.012	**3.69**	1.021	122	-7.955*	**-1.0**
natural	3.27	1.208	**4.13**	1.109	123	-5.877*	**-0.7**
sense of humor	2.46	0.880	**3.08**	0.946	123	-5.767*	**-0.7**
honest	3.70	0.946	**4.12**	0.868	121	-3.600*	**-0.5**
clever	**3.70**	0.802	3.41	0.769	122	3.251*	0.4
polite	**3.92**	0.988	3.67	0.945	123	2.187*	0.3
emotional	3.15	1.010	**3.48**	0.938	122	-2.705*	-0.3
friendly	3.67	1.032	**3.93**	1.035	120	-2.279*	-0.3
likeable	3.32	1.111	3.55	1.161	123	-1.719	
self-confident	4.20	0.881	4.08	0.862	121	1.281	
trustworthy	3.77	0.930	3.63	0.962	123	1.251	
conservative	3.12	1.045	2.97	0.975	123	1.187	
aggressive	2.34	1.070	2.23	1.007	123	1.129	
rough	2.64	0.919	2.66	0.924	122	-0.219	

* indicates statistically significant difference of means at p<.05, two-tailed
bold print indicates higher mean (in case of significant difference)

[13] where a Cohen's *d* of 0.2 traditionally designates a small, 0.5 a medium, and 0.8 a large effect size (see e.g. Coolican 2009). Cohen's *d* values were computed using Becker's online effect size calculator (http://www.uccs.edu/~faculty/lbecker/ – last accessed June 21st, 2013).

Table 2: Means, standard deviations, and results from the paired-samples *t* tests for the ratings of female speaker 'S', including Cohen's *d* as measure of effect size.

	Speaker 'S' standard guise		**Speaker 'S' dialect guise**				
	Mean	***StD***	***Mean***	***StD***	***N***	***t***	***Cohen's d***
arrogant	**3.46**	1.042	2.27	1.049	123	9.198*	**1.1**
strict	**3.47**	1.270	2.67	1.198	123	5.474*	**0.7**
educated	**3.42**	0.932	2.95	0.886	123	5.054*	**0.5**
conservative	**3.43**	0.979	2.89	1.100	122	4.436*	**0.5**
natural	2.37	1.231	**4.26**	1.055	123	-13.653*	**-1.7**
relaxed	2.10	1.036	**3.59**	1.207	123	-11.305*	**-1.3**
likeable	2.49	1.133	**3.61**	1.053	123	-9.690*	**-1.0**
sense of humor	2.22	0.966	**3.13**	1.036	122	-7.487*	**-0.9**
honest	3.43	0.917	**4.14**	0.826	122	-7.514*	**-0.8**
coarse	2.77	0.916	**3.42**	0.791	122	-7.247*	**-0.8**
friendly	3.02	1.169	**3.79**	1.008	121	-6.538*	**-0.7**
trustworthy	2.98	0.927	**3.46**	0.986	123	-4.628*	**-0.5**
emotional	3.48	1.059	**3.95**	0.808	123	-4.298*	**-0.5**
aggressive	**3.06**	1.237	2.57	1.153	123	3.789*	0.4
serious	**3.60**	1.010	3.19	0.956	122	3.636*	0.4
rough	**3.21**	0.917	2.88	0.826	123	3.195*	0.4
industrious	3.73	0.904	**3.55**	0.752	121	2.037*	0.2
polite	3.12	1.025	**3.42**	0.995	122	-2.858*	-0.3
self-confident	4.07	1.038	**4.27**	0.747	123	-2.442*	-0.2
clever	3.22	0.949	3.35	0.732	119	-1.534	
intelligent	3.35	0.890	3.30	0.726	122	0.587	
competent	3.28	0.979	3.34	0.895	123	-0.572	

* indicates statistically significant difference of means at p<.05, two-tailed
bold print indicates highest mean (if significantly different)

Table 3: Means, standard deviations, and results from the paired-samples *t* tests for the ratings of male speaker 'M', including Cohen's *d* as measure of effect size.

	Speaker 'M' standard guise		**Speaker 'M' dialect guise**				
	Mean	***StD***	***Mean***	***StD***	***N***	***t***	***Cohen's d***
educated	**3.78**	0.795	2.90	0.882	123	9.053*	**1.1**
intelligent	**3.77**	0.780	3.21	0.805	122	6.396*	**0.7**
polite	**4.11**	0.770	3.56	0.968	123	5.450*	**0.6**
arrogant	**2.70**	1.113	2.11	0.964	122	4.815*	**0.6**
serious	**3.56**	0.891	3.10	0.913	122	3.902*	**0.5**
natural	2.87	1.248	**4.43**	0.879	123	-12.492*	**-1.5**
coarse	2.29	0.827	**3.38**	0.835	123	-10.550*	**-1.3**
relaxed	2.78	1.132	**4.11**	0.943	122	-10.527*	**-1.3**
emotional	2.47	1.051	**3.68**	0.961	123	-10.808*	**-1.2**
sense of humor	2.60	0.985	**3.40**	0.897	122	-8.330*	**-0.9**
honest	3.78	0.958	**4.25**	0.742	122	-4.511*	**-0.6**
industrious	**3.73**	0.860	3.37	0.792	123	4.016*	0.4
competent	**3.70**	0.975	3.28	0.988	123	3.611*	0.4
clever	**3.51**	0.884	3.21	0.763	122	3.254*	0.4
aggressive	1.84	0.953	**2.17**	1.099	123	-2.796*	-0.3
self-confident	4.04	0.909	**4.26**	0.699	123	-2.297*	-0.3
rough	2.38	0.894	**2.63**	0.955	122	-2.269*	-0.3
likeable	3.45	1.013	3.69	1.061	122	-1.819	
friendly	3.86	0.925	3.98	0.908	121	-1.032	
strict	2.51	1.169	2.37	1.042	123	1.025	
conservative	3.06	1.070	2.93	1.100	122	1.000	
trustworthy	3.70	0.946	3.64	0.930	121	0.519	

* indicates statistically significant difference of means at p<.05, two-tailed
bold print indicates higher mean (in case of significant difference)

As it turns out, then, for each of the three speakers, the informants did indeed produce diverging ratings between the two guises on the majority of scale items. In fact, all three speakers were rated as sounding significantly (at p< .5) more *educated* and *arrogant* when speaking in the standard. By contrast, they were indicated to sound more *natural*, *relaxed*, *honest*, and as having more *sense of humor*, but also as sounding noticeably *coarser* when speaking in the dialect.

The effect sizes for all these items were at least medium for each individual speaker (Cohen's $d \geq 0.5$); the evidence therefore seems quite robust.

In the case of the items *serious* ('ernst'), *industrious*, and *emotional*, effect sizes differ so that for one or two speakers the effect is small, but there is at least one of the others for whom it is large. It seems reasonable to take these items also into account, so that there is an additional tendency by which the use of dialect makes a speaker sound more *emotional*, but the standard more *serious* and *industrious*.

Two salient patterns of rating 'inconsistencies' occur in the data.[14] First, both female speakers show a large effect for sounding much *stricter* in the standard, while the male speaker shows no significant rating difference here. At the same time, neither of the three speakers' ratings differ for the dialect. This might point towards a possible interaction of language use with gender, whereby using the standard has more 'negative' social consequences for females than for males with regards to perceptions of sternness. Such a hypothesis would, however, have to be subjected to much further testing. Secondly, there are recurring instances where female speaker 'S' looks like 'the odd one out' in terms of the ratings she received. Thus, speaker 'S' was said to sound significantly less *likeable* and *trustworthy* but more *conservative* in the standard, while these items did not come out significant in any way for 'K' or 'M', nor for all three speakers in their dialect guises. Furthermore, where 'K' and 'M' were assessed as significantly more *polite* in the standard, 'S', in contrast, was so in the dialect. Finally, both speakers 'K' and 'M' were indicated to sound significantly more *intelligent*, *competent*, and *clever* when using the standard (with a Cohen's $d \geq 0.4$; in fact, speaker 'K' outscores the others in both guises in this regard); however, the ratings are inconclusive here for speaker 'S'.

Very generally this seems to suggest that there was a (negative) bias in the assessment of speaker 'S' for these items with regards to her standard guise. This is supported by some open comments by informants holding that she sounded much pleasanter ('angenehmer') in the dialect overall. In the same line, an analysis of the correlation patterns regarding the three standard guises shows that the coefficient is much higher for speakers 'K' and 'M' ($r(20) = .92$, $p<$

[14] Items concerned were subjected to post-hoc analysis to compare mean ratings across the three speakers, using repeated-measures ANOVAs and paired-samples t tests in hierarchical order of means. Only those results that were found to show statistical significance are reported here. Details of the statistical analysis are not provided for space considerations – contact the author for the relevant details (barbara.soukup @univie.ac.at).

.001) than for speakers ‘K’ and ‘S’ (r (20) = .56, p< .01), while for speakers ‘M’ and ‘S’ there is in fact *no* significant correlation pattern. Meanwhile, correlation is consistently very strong for the dialect guises (speakers ‘K’ and ‘M’: r (20) = .96, p< .001; speakers ‘K’ and ‘S’: r (20) = .93, p< .001; speakers ‘M’ and ‘S’: r (20) = .96, p< .001). All in all, the standard performance by speaker ‘S’ thus seems to have featured some confounding factors that led to a different ratings outcome than for the ‘majority’ of the other two speakers in some respects. Arguably, the general, stereotypical social meanings associated with standard use are therefore better represented in the results for speakers ‘K’ and ‘M’. With this in mind, there could be additional trends whereby standard is indeed held to sound more *intelligent*, *competent, clever* and perhaps even *polite* than the dialect by Austrian listeners.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION(S)

To sum up, then, the results as presented above now provide a resounding confirmation of the fact that the open-guise technique actually ‘works’: my informants had no problem at all in making sense of the fact that they were hearing the same speakers twice, using different linguistic varieties. They adjusted their assessments accordingly, and, crucially, still generated ratings that differentiated between the dialect and standard guises for many items. Further, the outcome now represents the basic patterns of the social meanings associated with standard and dialectal Austrian German in juxtaposition, or, in other words, a basic outline of the identities between which a speaker can move and which s/he can index via style-shifting. Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect (the dominant dialectal variety in Austria) is thus associated with sounding less *educated*, *serious*, *industrious*, and *refined* than standard, but also with being perceived as less *arrogant* as well as more *natural*, *honest, emotional, relaxed*, and ‘fun’. This, particularly (but arguably not only) in contexts of style-shifting: at least for those items just listed, for which the three speakers’ ratings were consistent and showed considerable effect sizes, the elicited social associations can be argued to be fairly robust and generalizeable.

The findings thus seem to conclusively answer the two main questions explored in this paper, in the sense that an open-guise experiment can indeed generate contrastive ratings (at least in contexts such as the Austrian, where linguistically differentiated stereotypes exist), and that, as a reliable tool for checking

on evaluational activity, it provides a solid empirical basis for analyses of interactional contextualization. Further, the outcome now sketches the basic patterning of the 'language attitudinal' landscape in Austria.

In other respects, however, it is especially the patterns of rating divergences across speakers which now bring a question to point that any speaker assessment experiment has to face: to what extent are the rating differences a function of the language variety used, or rather of a particular speaker's performance? Where the ratings of the two females coincide but differ from those of the male speaker, a gender effect can arguably be assumed. Where, on the other hand, the assessment of speaker 'S''s standard guise diverges so saliently from that of her peers, it may be necessary to look for reasons beyond common stereotypes associated with the use of a particular language variety (whether by a male or female), to more individual factors of delivery and performance such as pitch or tone of voice, to explain the ratings. A comparative open guise study of even more speakers would be required to provide the necessary evidence here; this, however, must at the present remain a suggestion for further research.

On the one hand, then, Lambert et al.'s (1960) argument that matching guises can 'minimize the effects of both voice of the speaker and his message' on the ratings (Lambert et al. 1960:44) puts the results from my open-guise on quite firm ground in terms of eliciting common stereotypes regarding the social meaning of language varieties in juxtaposition (and certainly on firmer ground than any verbal guise study in this regard). However, as notably the differences *across* the three speakers' ratings have shown, this does not take the individual entirely out of the equation. Parameters like speakers' tone of voice, speech rate, and prosody must still be factored in as potential influences on ratings (see e.g. Brown, Strong, and Rencher 1975), as should perhaps others we are not yet aware of. The comparison of findings across similar studies, as well as the inclusion of calculations of effect sizes in the statistical battery, may eventually go some way towards helping us assess how robust and reliable (how stereotypical!) the 'language attitudes' we find in our experiments really are, even beyond variation in speakers.

While an open-guise approach may thus not resolve the 'variety vs. speaker effect' issue entirely in and of itself, what it does thoroughly attest to, in any case, is that one and the same speaker can indeed put on different 'coats' of identity, openly and unabashedly, by taking on different linguistic varieties. And listeners can make sense of this without problem - being fully aware of the process - by calling up respectively contrasting social meanings, whether these are

ad hoc, individual, or more stable. Ultimately, abandoning any pretense of speaker disguise in our 'language attitude' methodology may unclutter our experimental protocols and reconfigure our research questions in ways that allow us to more fully explore the true multi-dimensionality of the linkages between a speaker's social (interactional) persona and linguistic delivery.

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Approaches to the study of Language Regard

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter treats recent work in the study of language regard (Preston 2010; Preston and Bakos 2012), a term we prefer to 'attitude' since it includes a much wider range of non-linguist perceptions of, beliefs about, and responses to languages and varieties than those restricted to an evaluative dimension (e.g. Eagly and Chaiken 2005). Knowledge of ordinary speakers' regard for language is, we believe, absolutely essential to the study of language variation and change in general and particularly relevant when the focus is on changing standards and norms in speech communities, the specific target of the SLICE program of research.

For us the study of language regard is most appropriate to linguistic interests when it confirms, explains, or provides parallel evidence for the specific content of research findings in the more general program of variation and change. If a vowel system, or syntactic form, or lexical item, or entire variety is changing or exhibits only stable variation, what is the relationship between the linguistic forms involved and regard for them? In classic work that lies behind much of the SLICE enterprise, for example, Kristiansen (2009, and see below) has shown that speakers from all over Denmark like their local varieties best when asked directly about such preferences but like the emerging, modern Copenhagen variety best when presented with examples of it in contrast with other varieties, including their own, in a format that elicits a more implicit judgment (i.e., a matched-guise experiment). Similarly, a vowel system change in the large cities of the Northern Great Lakes region of the United States has made considerable progress in an area where regard for conservative language values, thought to be upheld by local speakers, is very strong. Regard research has shown that a local inability to notice the ongoing change stems from speakers' high opinion of their own variety, resulting in some cases in an inability for speakers to even hear the specific vowel changes when they think the speaker is local (Niedzielski 1999).

Our bias in the research examples given here will be towards the experimental, but we will conceive of 'experiments' rather broadly, sometimes suggesting means of study that might not qualify under stringent experimental design conditions. We will not, however, outline or discuss more general issues concerning qualitative, usually discoursal, data, although we do not wish to exclude them from approaches to the study of language regard. We also do not provide here a general outline of experimental design; a number of such works are available, some specifically directed towards linguistic and language variation research.[1]

We begin with a general outline of what we think are some of the most important considerations involved in language regard research and follow it with a discussion of these concerns and then examples of research that illustrate them.

A TAXONOMY OF LANGUAGE REGARD RESEARCH

A: ***Setting***

1. **Actual** – home, laboratory, etc…
2. **Contex**t – contextualized vs. non-contextualized

B: ***Stimulus***

3. **Priming** – primed vs. non-primed
4. **Presentation** – video, written stimulus, pictures, etc…
5. **Size** – global vs. specific
6. **Status** – stigmatized, prestige, neutral, etc…
7. **Access** – direct vs. indirect
8. **Authenticity** – native vs. imitated
9. **Naturalness** – natural vs. (re)synthesized
10. **Presence** – provided vs. not provided

C: ***Respondents***

11. Non-targeted vs. targeted

D: ***Response***

12. **Behaviour** – respondent activity or task (rate, read, observe, perform, etc…)
13. **Mode** – fixed (Likert scale, forced choice, etc…) vs. open-ended (discoursal, eye-tracking, etc…)
14. **Timing** – present vs. absent
15. **Awareness** – unaware (subconscious) vs. aware (conscious)

[1] E.g. Baayen (2008); Butler (1985); Gries (2009); Hatch and Lazaraton (1991); Johnson (2008); Tagliamonte (2006); and Woods, Fletcher and Hughes (1996).

Setting

In language regard research, perhaps particularly when the respondent is called upon to provide an imitation of a variety under consideration, a sample of their own variety, or even a spoken comment to an investigator, the setting must be taken into consideration. Are others present? If so, are they investigators or others who are well-known to the respondent? Is the respondent on home ground, in a neutral place, or in a laboratory of the investigator? What is a neutral place? Is it one that might suggest to the respondent that any stigmatized variety of a language was out of place (e.g. a school), or is it one that might suggest the opposite (a playground, a bar or pub)? Considerations such as these (as are many to follow) are both warnings and opportunities. They are warnings since they may influence responses, but they are opportunities as well since just such features of setting might be built into experiments as conditions to be studied, i.e., as independent variables.

The second concern of setting has to do with contextualization. Does a respondent hear a stimulus (sound, word, phrase, sentence, even discourse) that is not integrated into a larger speech event? Contextualization may have a considerable influence on perception and evaluation. In a research sample we outline below, we show that vowel perception (i.e., phoneme classification) was influenced by paying attention to vowels that appeared in material surrounding the stimulus word. We also have no doubt that the topic content of contextualized samples (bland, controversial, etc…) might also influence how a respondent regards the linguistic target of the investigation.

Stimulus

Those concerns about setting highlight the fact that all these and others might be considered as 'primes,' our next consideration. In our discussion of the setting, these primes are perhaps inadvertent, but in a design, they may be considered as a part of the stimulus complex. Will responses to a linguistic stimulus vary if the respondent is primed in some way just before (or while) the stimulus is presented? We will show, for example, that speech samples may be regarded and even processed in very different ways if a respondent is led to believe that the speaker is older or younger, native or non-native, and the like, and we will return to priming as an important feature of the most recent work that seeks to tap subconscious attitudes and beliefs.

The modality (or modalities) of a stimulus presentation needs to be taken into consideration. If we prepare written stimuli (whether flashed on a computer screen or presented on paper), the level of literacy of the respondent is an important issue. It may also be the case that the modality of a stimulus itself (written versus spoken) could produce interestingly different responses.

The size of a stimulus is very important. It can range from a whole language (presented just by name for example) all the way down to the acoustic signal of a single syllable. This is a slightly different concern than that of contextualization (discussed above), for here we want to emphasize the respondent's level of focus. In some folk linguistic work, for example, respondents have indicated that they are aware of a foreign accent but can name no single feature of it (Niedzielski and Preston 2003: 143) while in other studies, respondents in an experimental setting have shown that they are sensitive to a minor difference in the acoustic placement of a diphthong's onset in determining the ethnicity of a speaker (Graff, Labov and Harris 1986).

One might assume, in the context of SLICE studies especially perhaps, that the folk status of a variety is what is to be determined, but we believe it is a mistake to begin studies without some pretty clear account of the folk notions of such status. This is perhaps particularly true of smaller features that may inadvertently trigger a positive or negative response. We know that in some parts of the US South the alveolar (rather than velar) realization of *–ing* (e.g. walkin' rather than walking) is not so negatively evaluated, perhaps so much less so than in other parts of the country that a speech sample with all velar realizations of *–ing* might be oddly evaluated by US southerners, as, for example, a 'superstandard' (Wolfram and Fasold 1974: 19). Maps of intended research areas that respondents are asked to rate on a scale of language 'correctness' is a simple way to determine attitudes towards regional varieties (e.g. Preston 1996a), but it does not address the question of specific linguistic elements that may be stigmatized or even excessively valued.

One long-standing aspect of stimulus presentation at least in traditional language attitude studies has to do with directness. In a much-replicated methodology, Lambert et al. (1960) introduced the 'matched-guise' technique. In the strict application, the technique involved speech by one person who was fluent in the two languages or varieties. Samples in these two modes were then separated from others in the stimulus presentation so that the respondent had no idea that the same speaker spoke twice. This was done to insure that other characteristics of the voice of the speaker could not be confounding factors in the re-

search. The respondents gave Likert-scale judgments for a variety of paired opposite attributes (e.g. fast – slow) that had been determined to be appropriate in previous research with the same or similar respondents. This technique, originally done to measure attitudes to French and English in Canada, has been extended to studies of attitudes to varieties of single languages along many dimensions – region, age, sex, ethnicity, status, etc… The intent of the research is to only indirectly measure the respondent's attitude to the variety by making the evaluation appear to be one of the speakers, not the linguistic forms they use. We prefer to refer to this sort of data elicitation as 'indirect' and will reserve the term 'implicit' for other types of experimentation discussed below.

The matched-guise technique has been especially important to the SLICE research effort, particularly because of the interesting findings of Kristiansen (e.g. 2009) with regard to Danish varieties. Kristiansen compared the results of an indirect matched-guise experiment, conducted at several sites in Denmark, with the results of a direct experiment in which respondents were asked to indicate which variety of Danish they liked best, a task he called 'label ranking' (p. 177). In this direct mode, respondents always showed a strong preference for the local variety (p. 179), but in the indirect (matched-guise) research, they all agreed that the Conservative Copenhagen or the Modern Copenhagen variety was preferred in a cluster of adjective descriptors identified as the 'superiority' dimension (e.g. intelligent, conscientious, goal-directed) and that the Modern Copenhagen variety was preferred in almost all cases for the dimension identified as 'dynamism' (e.g. self-assured, fascinating, cool) (p. 188). This is an especially important finding, for it has led to the claim that language change, which in independent work has been shown to be moving in the Modern Copenhagen direction all over the country (e.g. Jørgensen and Kristensen 1994), is guided by and perhaps even allowed to progress more rapidly due to subconscious rather than conscious norms (p. 189).

Although much replicated and modified, the matched guise technique was criticized, for example, for its artificiality (e.g. Knops and van Hout 1988: 8), and other indirect measures were introduced, particularly those that tried to build an action or behavioral element into the research. The earliest of these was perhaps the 'Welsh theatre' experiment (Bourhis and Giles 1976). In one part of this research, Welsh-English bilingual theatre-goers in Wales, on subsequent evenings, were invited to fill out a questionnaire by a voice over the loud speaker at the end of the performance. The invitations were delivered in Standard British English (or 'RP'), heavily accented Welsh English, lightly accented

Welsh English, and Welsh. The percentage of theatre-goers who responded to each invitation was taken as a measure of attitude towards the variety or language in which the request was made. Compliance to the request ranged from 2.5% of the audience on the 'RP' evening to 26.0% on the Welsh language evening (p. 15). Excellent and detailed outlines of the pros and cons of matched-guise research are available in Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003: 17–18, 51–66) and Garrett (2010: 39–43, Chapters 4 and 5).

Stimuli may be completely authentic, as in the original Lambert et al. experiment, in which the two voices of the matched stimuli were acquired from bilingual speakers of Canadian French and English. In other instances, however, imitations of varieties have been used. Giles (1970), for example, used one male speaker to imitate thirteen regional and foreign influenced accents of English, a technique that was not likely to result in authentic stimuli, and this practice seems to have been discontinued in more recent work, which takes the authenticity of samples to be more important than the requirement that the varieties are all taken from a single speaker.

Perhaps more interesting and effective in recent work is the use of speech resynthesis, a means of returning to the original matched guise model in which a single speaker provide all the varieties under investigation. In the early work by Graff et al. referred to above, for example, a short sentence presented to subjects was entirely in typical Philadelphia African-American English. The sample included the word 'house,' which contains the diphthong /ɑʊ/, a phoneme realized as [ɑʊ] in the African-American speech community but as [æʊ] in the European-American. The original [ɑʊ] pronunciation was resynthesized to [æʊ] for the experiment, allowing the researchers to keep the voice of the stimulus constant except for the part under investigation (Graff, Labov and Harris 1986), and the experiment showed very clearly that, although the same African-American voice was heard in every case, the respondents classified the [æʊ] version as 'European-American'.[2]

Finally, one may be justifiably confused by the suggestion that languages and varieties can be studied when the stimulus is not present at all, and that is impos-

[2] We cannot resist observing what an ironic turnaround this is; in the US there was once legal (and among many, continuing perceptual) status that 'one drop' of African blood made a person African-American; it's nice to know that one very minor change in the placement of a diphthong onset will mark a speaker as European-American. The history of this 'one drop rule' in the US is at the Wikipedia site http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One-drop_rule and specific instances of it can be found at sites linked there.

sible, of course, if one takes it to mean not there in any sense. But in a great deal of work in perceptual dialectology (e.g. Preston 1989, 2000; Long and Preston 2002), which has drawn on much older work from both Japan and The Netherlands (much of it reprinted and translated in Preston 2000), all the linguistic details are accessed internally by the respondent. When, as in the earliest examples of this work, a respondent is asked to draw a connecting line between their own home site and any other surrounding sites where people 'speak the same' (e.g. Weijnen 1946), the linguistic criteria for 'speaking the same' are those of the respondents themselves. We cannot know (unless we ask) what details the respondents had in mind, and asking often triggers vague responses since the linguistic details of varieties are often not available to respondents for conscious comment (e.g. Preston 1996b; Silverstein 1981), a concern in all direct method investigations.

Respondents

In experimental design, consideration is given to who will be accepted in the pool of respondents. While most experimenters may have some general requirements for respondents, such as that they report normal hearing or vision, or that they be native speakers of a given languages, some approaches utilize greater specificity, thus targeting a certain, specific type of respondent. For instance, Williams, Whitehead and Miller (1971) targeted elementary school teachers as respondents in his examination of the effect of primed ethnicity and language assessment of students. Thus, the respondent pool itself can be a concern of various experimental approaches.

Response

Respondents respond, and that is the behavior researchers study, although that is not meant to imply that a behaviorist model of attitudes is adopted in most language attitude research, and we cannot outline here the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviors. Jaccard and Blanton (2005) and Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) are excellent recent discussions. Some respondent behaviors are predicted from other aspects of the research model. Nearly all matched guise research, for example, includes Likert scale ratings often treated to semantic differential or factor analytic groupings (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957), but such research models do not necessarily preclude the study of other behaviors.

For example, Preston (1989: 3) criticized a great deal of traditional matched guise language attitude work that focused on regional pronunciation since the investigators did not also ask respondents if they knew what region the voice was from, an easy task addition. Without this additional information, we might conclude that respondents from X had certain opinions of voice samples from Y but thought the voices were from Z. In the investigation of varieties, it seems to us that one ought to take the opportunity to observe multiple respondent behaviors, although it will be important to order direct, indirect, and implicit tasks strategically.

The mode of respondent behavior varies, although it seems fixed in some research models. Again, however, multiple or even innovative practices may emerge. Nguyen (2003), for example, had respondents transcribe two US nonstandard, one US standard, and one English English standard speech samples. Although the standard English English sample was as distant phonologically from the respondents' own US standard as the US non-standards were, the use of 'respellings,' alternative graphic representations of what the speaker said, was much more common for the two US nonstandard (Appalachian and African American) varieties than for the US and English English varieties. In doing fieldwork for Niedzielski and Preston (2003), we became aware of the difficulty in having respondents perform (i.e., imitate) a variety under discussion. Switching to a written mode allowed for a much easier sampling of attitudes to certain varieties and even helped Nguyen identify the specific phonological elements that were most salient to the listener.

Responses may or may not be timed, and, presumably, quick responses are more likely to be ones that are more closely related to the subconscious attitudes and beliefs of the respondent. In some early research, respondents were simply told to 'respond quickly,' but in more recent research, responses are actually timed, particularly in computerized study environments, and long response time performances are culled before treatment and analysis, or the response time itself is treated as an important variable in the experiment's analysis, as described next in our discussion of implicit research designs.

Awareness has been the hottest topic in attitude study for about two decades. Researchers who are serious about achieving insight into the potential for eliciting implicit levels of linguistic attitude and belief should acquaint themselves with the classic and developing implicit measures in social psychology. An excellent place to do so is the recent entire volume devoted to the question: Gawronski and Payne (2010). The book contains not only theoretical and practi-

cal chapters on a variety of implicit models of research but also applications of tests to a variety of areas of interest, but none directly related to linguistics.

Three of the categories in the taxonomy presented in this chapter are relevant to the discussion of the elicitation of implicit or subconscious responses: priming, access, and timing, to which may be added the notion of congruence. The formal observation of a respondent's inaccurate and/or slower reaction to incongruent stimuli are at least as old as the famous Stroop studies (1935), in which respondents were to report what color a word was written in. They were shown, for example, the word 'green' written in green (congruent) and the same word written in red (incongruent). Since the task was to name the color, the word's meaning was irrelevant, but, in fact, when incongruent situation obtained, it was shown to have a considerable negative influence on accuracy and lengthening influence on timing. The timing (or latency of response) was believed to be an indication of the conscious-like processing that was required to resolve the incongruity. Later the semantic priming paradigm arose (e.g. Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971), in which respondents were asked to indicate whether target strings of letters (all pronounceable) were words or not (e.g. 'duck' 'flot'), and the real word items were primed by either semantically related ('bird') or unrelated ('house') words. The response time was considerably faster when the prime had a semantic relationship to the target. In these experiments respondents were believed to have activated what came to be known as a semantic spreading activation (e.g. Collins and Loftus 1975).

These early experiments incorporated priming, timing, and congruence, but the fuller exploitation of access (indirectness) arose later in studies that focused on associations with the prime rather than the target as the real object of research interest. Fazio et al. (1986) is one of the earliest of these and makes use of the notion of attitude or evaluation. In this study subjects were first asked to identify potential attitude objects for which they have a strong like or dislike.[3] These objects were used as primes, but the apparent primary task of the investigation was for the respondent to indicate whether an adjective (e.g. 'delightful', 'repulsive') had a positive or negative sense. In this second phase, respondents were told that they had to remember a word (the prime) while they were judging a second (the

[3] In this aspect of the study, as in the next step, reaction time was used not only to identify the most likely candidates but also to identify a set of candidates which, due to slower reaction times, were thought to be more weakly associated with like and dislike. The weak versus strong distinction was then built into the experiments, but that distinction is not summarised here.

target). They then were told to press a key indicating whether the adjective presented was ‘good’ or ‘bad’ and recite the prime word. Nonprime items (a string such as ‘BBB’) were also presented with the same adjectives so that a baseline score could be used for comparison with the positive and negative attitude objects. The congruent pairs (positive attitude object and positive adjective; negative attitude object and negative adjective) showed considerable facilitation of the response time and the incongruent pairs considerable retardation of it.

It did not take researchers in social psychology long to see that, if one did not know the status of the prime, the response timing with regard to negative and positive adjectives would identify the respondent’s orientation to it, and Fazio et al. (1995) is a good example of that understanding applied to race. In this case, rather than beginning with a prime that had been tested to reveal its negative or positive meaning for the respondent, photographs of African Americans and European Americans were used as primes. To make sure respondents attended to these primes, they were told that they would be tested later for their memory of the faces presented to them. Baseline data was obtained and initial training carried out by presenting the evaluative adjectives with no primes and asking the respondents to evaluate them as ‘good’ or ‘bad’. The respondents were then shown primes (faces) only, asked to remember them, and given a simple recognition test on facial memory. The respondents were then told that the two tasks would be combined: they were to remember the faces but at the same time perform the adjective evaluation task. Once again, but without preconception of the valence of the prime, potential congruent-incongruent pairings were presented, i.e., Black faces with positive and negative adjectives and White faces also with both. The response time indicated facilitation of correctly specifying positively evaluated adjectives when White faces were shown and facilitation of negative adjective identification when Black faces were shown, so far as White respondents were concerned. Not surprisingly, Black respondents gave opposite responses, allowing Fazio et al. (1995) to conclude that racial attitudes were automatically triggered using this research scenario.

One problem with many of the priming studies was that reliability scores were often not good, calling into question the value of the priming research paradigms for the discrimination of inter-individual differences (Greenwald and Banaji 1995). This led to a slightly different paradigm from previous priming tasks known as the Implicit Association Test (IAT), although many of the details are similar. The seminal work is Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998), which set off a flurry of such studies, estimated at 450 within the eleven years

after its first publication (Teige-Mocigemba, Klauer and Sherman 2010: 117). Apparently the largely mechanical changes made in the IAT format were responsible for the increased reliability of the measure (*ibid*: pp. 120–121).

Table 1: Example of a Racial Attitude Implicit Association Task (IAT): Task Sequence (Teige-Mocigemba, Klauer and Sherman 2010: 118).[4]

			Response Key Assignment	
Block	*N* trials	Task	Left key	Right key
1	20	Target discrimination	Black	White
2	20	Attribute discrimination	Negative	Positive
3	20	Initial combined task	Black, negative	White, positive
4	40	Initial combined task	Black, negative	White, positive
5	20 or 40[5]	Reversed target discrimination	White	Black
6	20	Reversed combined task	White, negative	Black, positive
7	40	Reversed combined task	White, negative	Black, positive

Table 1 shows the outline of an IAT designed to study racial attitudes, much like Fazio et al. (1995), described just above. Respondents are first trained to associate race with the left and right keys, then adjectives with negative and positive senses with left and right keys. They are then given a mixed list of items (blocks 3 and 4) in which the key assignments match the training. Neither item is the prime, but the race and adjective identifications are associated with a particular key assignment. In block 5 the respondents are trained to switch keys for racial identification, but the adjective valences remain assigned to the same key. Blocks 6 and 7 present the new list of items with the configuration trained in block 5. If respondents think more favorably of whites than blacks, then blocks 3 and 4 should show faster response times and fewer inaccuracies. If they think better of blacks, then blocks 6 and 7 should be facilitated. Exemplary IAT studies are online at www.implicit.harvard.edu/.

Linguists, speech scientists, and researchers in the social psychology of language have responded with increasing sophistication to these developments in more recent social psychological experimentation and, in some cases, have led the way in developing new techniques. In what follows we will outline in greater

[4] In this particular study, even greater indirection was achieved than in Fazio et al. (1995) by training the respondents in block 1 to recognise typically African-American (e.g. Tashika) and European-American (e.g. Heather) women's names (at least for the US when the study was done).

[5] Some researchers have suggested increasing the numbers of retraining samples to 40 (e.g. Nosek, Greenwald and Banaji 2005).

detail a selected number of experiments, many relevant to the study of standard and nonstandard varieties, that incorporate varieties of the considerations outlined in the taxonomy presented above.

SAMPLE DESIGNS IN LANGUAGE REGARD RESEARCH

Experimental approaches to the study of language regard have seen a rapid increase in the past decade, thanks in part to the availability of software and hardware which facilitates not only acoustic analysis, but also the ability to create and control experimental procedures and to measure a wide variety of respondents' reactions to stimuli, such as eye movement and reaction time. In this section, we present some examples of these recent approaches, discuss how some of the considerations presented in the first section are demonstrated in each, and comment on their relevance to the study of language variation and change in general and to standards and norms in particular.

We start with one of the most direct methods of data elicitation – imitation studies. In these studies, often conducted in a laboratory setting, subjects are asked to imitate language varieties that are not their own. For instance, Evans (2010) challenged the assumption that speakers are unable to accurately imitate certain features of a dialect that is not their own by asking a non-Southern US English speaker to imitate this dialect; subsequent acoustic analysis revealed that the subject in fact demonstrated several features of the Southern Shift in his imitation. The acoustically accurate ability seems clearly related to the fact that many US respondents feel that Southern American English is the 'least correct' variety of the entire country (e.g. Preston 1996a), making specific features of it particularly salient. In some areas (e.g. Oklahoma) this regard knowledge plays an important role in language change; younger, better-educated, urban Oklahomans appear to be adopting a variety that shows the avoidance of Southern features (Preston and Bakos 2010).

Brunner (2010) asked native speakers of English to imitate specific non-native varieties of English, first 'unmodeled,' and then once again after hearing an authentic speaker of the non-native variety, to determine which features were salient, again as revealed by acoustic analysis of the imitation, a study that involves regard investigation in the increasingly important area of immigrant varieties and the degree to which that are perceived as 'standard' by local native speakers. Both Evans' and Brunner's studies included an additional component:

they used imitations created by the initial subject(s) as stimuli in a follow-up experiment, designed to reveal whether the imitations were accepted as authentic by a much larger subject pool.

The next set of studies was designed specifically to examine the effect of priming on subjects' responses. Strand and Johnson (1996) tested the effect that priming subjects to expect male versus female voices would have on the perception of vowels and sibilants produced by a voice that was, without the primes, ambiguous for gender. Thus, visually presented photographic primes were shown to influence aurally presented stimuli. Hay and Drager (2010) presented visual primes as well, although they merely had stuffed toys present in the subjects' field of vision while the stimuli were presented. What is particularly remarkable about experiments such as these two is that although the language feature was quite detailed (in both cases, the stimuli contained resynthesized tokens of vowels or fricatives), the effect of the primes on the perception of the stimuli was significant.

Podol and Salvia (1976) used targeted subjects in their work, whereas the subject pools for the former studies were non-targeted. They targeted speech-language pathologists and used photos of children with and without facial abnormalities as primes. Their study revealed that responses to stimuli (in this case, global stimuli such as 'impaired speech' versus 'non-impaired speech) were influenced by the primes. The relationship of impairment to community norms may be better understood through such work.

Pantos (2010) used the IAT method discussed above to demonstrate implicit attitudes about non-native versus native speakers of US English in a legal setting. The stimuli were phrases taken from legal testimony and were produced by either a native or non-native speaker of US English. The IAT test revealed that while respondents viewed the native US speaker more favorably, this was in contrast to the subsequent direct (thus, more explicit) experiment that followed, where a pro-non-native bias was shown. Pantos uses these findings to argue that implicit and explicit attitudes are possibly contradictory and should thus both be part of a more general language attitudes discussion. Like Brunner's work, Pantos' suggests a complex regard setting for non-native speakers, one that will doubtless prove important in concerns over immigrant adaptation to local norms in general and to linguistic norms in particular.

Newer experimental methods are being developed to reveal not only implicit attitudes about variation but also implicit knowledge. Koops and Niedzielski (2011) used photographic priming, resynthesis, and targeted respondent pools in

a body of research designed to test the knowledge that respondents have of language variation, knowledge they do not reveal in more direct studies. They showed respondents photos of Black and White 'speakers' as they listened to resynthesized tokens and asked the respondents to categorize the words they perceived. They demonstrate that respondents did in fact correctly categorize specific stimuli (in this case, word-final glottalisation) according to the primed ethnicity, and the degree of exposure to African-American English was significant as well. Thus, even though knowledge of, in this case, glottalisation patterns, is not revealed explicitly through direct methods, this type of experimental approach provides evidence for the implicit knowledge of such variation.

Koops, Gentry and Pantos (2008) also reveals implicit knowledge of the correlation between variation and age, using photographic priming and eye-tracking. In Houston, Texas, older Anglo speakers merge high front lax vowels before nasals; however, these vowels are not merged in younger Anglos. Direct measures of language attitudes do not reveal knowledge of this variation; however, Koops et al. shows results that suggest that respondents are in fact implicitly aware of this variation. When primed with a photo of an older speaker, respondents fixate longer on words that are homophonous in the merged (but not the unmerged) dialect.

Finally, reaction times (RTs) are used in experimental approaches as well and can also reveal implicit knowledge. For instance, Eberhardt (2006) primed ethnicities for respondents by telling them that they were listening to a Black speaker or a White speaker, or did not prime them at all. She found that priming itself had an effect on reaction times, particularly for words that were variable in African-American versus Anglo-American varieties (e.g. 'wreath/reef'), suggesting that respondents' awareness of the variation slowed down their RTs. Koops (2011) showed that reaction times were slower in incongruent matches between photos and aurally-represented stimuli, compared to when the matches were congruent. Specifically, he showed that if words containing Southern-shifted vowels were shown with a younger face, RTs were longer than if they were shown with an older face. Since this correlation is in fact accurate regarding changes taking place in Houston English, again implicit knowledge about language variation is revealed.

In these last examples the importance of knowledge of and reaction to specific features of varieties is highlighted. We believe that such studies sophisticate studies of variation in change from the language regard perspective by focusing not on varieties in general but on the specific elements of them that are most sa-

lient (whether in a conscious or unconscious sense) and by correlating them to such important social concerns as apparent identity, brought about in these experimental settings by priming with pictures or other sorts of clues.

CONCLUSION

Our exemplary designs, outlined just above, are weighted towards more recent studies and therefore more recent research practices, but we have tried to set these within a broader outline of older and by no means unproductive approaches to the study of language regard. To ignore such factors, often relegated to linguistically ancillary areas such as anthropology and the social psychology of language overlooks, we believe, the motivating and explanatory roles they play in the study of variation and change.

In SLICE efforts we believe there are numerous opportunities for the implementation of such work and that it will be rewarding. As we understand it, the goals of SLICE are to determine the status and shape of standard varieties in Europe: Are they changing? If so, is the old standard being demoted in status and replaced with a new one, or is it being relegated to a much narrower set of domains of use? Is the traditional standard itself maintained so far as its status is concerned but being chipped away at with new features? If so, what parts are changing and at what rate and in what social circumstances? What is the source of the new features? Do they come from other social or regional varieties or are they external?

One might take a purely production and distribution approach to these questions. Data from varieties may be collected, and real- and apparent-time studies can be done to determine change or lack of it. Demographic sophistication can be added to these real- and apparent-time studies to determine the social flow of change – from below, from above, urban to rural, led by male or female speakers, etc... While essential, it would be a mistake to limit this investigation to such language use data, for it often lacks the essential information for explanation. Why do Danes love their local varieties so much but turn them in for the emerging Modern Copenhagen standard? As Kristiansen (2009) has shown, Danish love for the emerging standard is covert, unconscious knowledge while love for the local variety is overt. The two cognitive locales of these regard characteristics make the rapid change in Danish varieties understandable, just as the belief among Michigan speakers that they are the most standard speakers in

the US (e.g. Preston 1996a) allows them to develop a new vowel system and not even hear it (Niedzielski 1999).

At every turn in the investigation of the change in status and distribution of varieties, the regard of local users will prove important, in some cases explanatory. Perhaps newer, implicit designs will reveal a 'deeper' unconscious level of regard, one that goes beyond the sort uncovered in such earlier research paradigms as matched-guise and illustrates a continuum of consciousness with respect to varieties and change or perhaps a tri-partite rather than dual notion of consciousness. We do not pretend to know the answer to those deeper social psychological questions, but we believe we have given enough research samples to warrant investigation of the productive and essential knowledge one gains from discovering the language regard held implicitly and explicitly by speakers.

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Connecting attitudes and language behavior via implicit sociolinguistic cognition

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Central to understanding the relationship between language ideology and language change is the interface between beliefs and emotions about language on the one hand and linguistic behavior on the other. The literature has provided ample evidence that these two things are related, but also that their relationship is complex, as it is not uncommon for language behavior to fly in the face of stated beliefs and/or preferences. Modeling this interface, then, is one of the key challenges for sociolinguistics.

This chapter offers some suggestions for one approach to this interface, namely turning to insights from the field of social cognition. As theories of sociolinguistic indexicality have developed (Ochs 1992; Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2008), models of the interactional aspects of sociolinguistic meaning have outstripped models of the cognitive structures which enable them at the individual level. The literature on implicit social cognition offers useful tools, both theoretical and methodological, for sociolinguists interested in the less conscious aspects of language attitudes and sociolinguistic meaning. As an example of the proposed research direction, I present an adaptation of the Implicit Attitudes Task (IAT) to measure the degree to which individual participants are aware of a sociolinguistic variable. Using this technique, I show that participants in Columbus, Ohio show strong awareness of features of the US South, a well-established enregistered accent in the sense of Agha (2003). They show much less awareness of the Inland North regional dialect which is only partially enregistered in the area (Campbell-Kibler 2012).

EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

The study of language attitudes and ideologies has long been concerned with implicit and explicit methods of assessing folk models of language (Giles and

Billings 2004). The most straightforward technique for assessing attitudes is, of course, to ask participants directly what they think about the language forms of interest, either open-ended interviews, structured surveys or written questionnaires. This approach has the advantage of restricting the interactional tasks involved, thus collecting consistent data on specific topics across participants who are, for example, all answering the same question. It has the disadvantage, however, of collecting responses based on introspection and consciously offered opinion. Participants may not always be able to consciously consider the language forms of interest in order to provide their opinions of them, because they are not aware of the forms or hold a distorted view of how and when they are used. Even if individuals are aware of their linguistic attitudes and possess the language with which to report them, they may be reluctant to do so, particularly if the attitudes are socially charged.

These drawbacks do not render direct questions useless, but they necessitate the addition of other techniques with different drawbacks. The most popular is speaker evaluation studies, in which listeners are asked to express social attitudes toward individuals rather than abstract categories of linguistic varieties. This approach has many benefits, including mitigating social discomfort about stereotyping out-groups (this is in fact given as a primary reason for developing the paradigm in Lambert et al. 1960). This benefit of course applies only to the extent that participants remain unaware of the specific linguistic features or groups being investigated, so that they maintain their focus on the individual speakers presented as opposed to responding in terms of broad groups. Even if participants do understand the task as evaluating individuals rather than social or sociolinguistic groups, many may remain reluctant to share evaluations, particularly negative ones (Campbell-Kibler 2005). Speaker evaluation also can be used to examine linguistic forms speakers do not have established names for and/or cannot conceptualize consciously.

The difference between direct questions and guise-based speaker evaluation work has often been referred to as between overt and covert or conscious and unconscious methods of attitude assessment. This is based on the understanding that in the former approach, participants are completely aware of what the questions are assessing and they have the opportunity to consider their responses. In the latter case, participants are ideally unaware of the true object of study and thus are not able to edit their responses with this object in mind. In practice, awareness may be variable depending on how transparent the task and talker

selection is, but nonetheless, the two approaches have been shown in some cases to produce markedly different results.

The disconnect between explicit metalinguistic opinions and attitudes inferred from speaker evaluation has been most thoroughly studied by Kristiansen and colleagues in the case of language change within Denmark. Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) explain the apparent paradox of speakers engaging in linguistic behavior they overtly disprefer by showing that speaker evaluation studies show preferences for the supposedly dispreferred (but used) forms. When asked directly to evaluate varieties of Danish by name, young people in, e.g., Næstved report attitudes in line with explicitly promoted speech ideologies which valorize both the traditional standard variety, i.e. an older form of Copenhagen speech, and the traditional local variety over the newer Copenhagen speech (see the introduction to this volume). In contrast, evaluations of speakers, rather than varieties, consistently show positive characteristics linked to speakers of the newer Copenhagen variety. While one instance might be a quirk of the speakers selected, the consistency of the pattern suggests a fundamental divergence between the explicit and implicit attitudes. Further, the linguistic behavior suggests that the attitudes tapped by speaker evaluation more closely reflect linguistic preferences, as young speakers increasingly adopt the explicitly dispreferred new Copenhagen forms. This pattern provides evidence that implicit and explicit attitude measures are assessing distinct objects and raises the question as to whether the Danish pattern, in which speaker evaluation reactions better predict speech behavior, is a widespread phenomenon or culturally specific.

The issue of how different types of language attitudes relate to language behavior is of particular interest currently as studies of sociolinguistic variation have increasingly turned to meaning and affect-related constructs to understand a range of phenomena in linguistic variation. Called indexical relationships or social meaning, such constructs share fundamental similarities to both types of language attitudes, particularly implicit language attitudes.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC INDEXICALITY

The third wave of sociolinguistic variation research has explored how speakers use linguistic forms to index social entities (Eckert 2000, 2005; Ochs 1992). In this view, individuals use language to build social identities and mark out stances within situations, along with other practices like clothing choice, body hexis,

food choices, recreational practices and many others. Every aspect of presentation, consumption and behavior is potentially a site for the construction of meaning, although this does not mean that every site has meaning built on it. An open question in this area is how to model the cognitive processes which create and access relationships between language forms and their social meanings. This task seems particularly challenging because of the common characterization of social reasoning as solely conscious (e.g. Labov 1972: 40). How are speaker/listeners' minds able to integrate such a complex conscious process with the rapid automatic processes of language production and perception?

The evidence seems clear that they are able to integrate the two types of process at some levels. Speakers may well be consciously aware of the linguistic forms they employ to index social meanings but they do not need to be. In his foundational study of phonetic change in Martha's Vineyard, Labov (1963, 1972) documented a socially rich system of meaning for two vocalic variables which, he reports, his informants could not name or describe explicitly. In experimental work, social information has been shown to influence phonetic identification, such that participants exposed to different nationality labels or icons shift their selections in a phonetic identification task, regardless of whether the nationality was explicitly linked to the speaker heard (Hay and Drager 2010; Niedzielski 1999). Similarly, presenting a speaker as male or female shifts the placement of listeners' phonemic boundary between /s/ and /ʃ/ (Strand 1999). Less work has been done above the phonetic level, but Staum Casasanto (2008) has shown that race-based expectations of phonetic patterns influence lexical identification. Phonetic and lexical identification are rapid, low-level stages of language processing over which listeners have little to no conscious control (Fodor 1983). How is it possible for these processes to be subject to social influence? The explanation lies in our limited understanding of the workings of mental social processes. The past few decades of research in social cognition has revealed that even complex social processes like goal pursuit and person perception (both highly relevant to sociolinguistics) have substantial automatic components.

I would argue that speaker evaluation studies such as Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) function precisely through the process of sociolinguistic indexicality, embedding linguistic forms in (albeit usually impoverished) situations and asking participants to share their social understandings of the dynamics of those situations or, more commonly, the speakers' personalities and identities. It is an open and important empirical question how aspects of the task may shift this

task towards from 'off the shelf' group stereotypes or towards more individualistic assessments considering a wide range of evidence in the speech stream. This question is, however, the methodological counterpart of the open, although more thoroughly studied, empirical question how and when individuals move towards or away from stereotypes in day-to-day interaction (Brewer 2007; Hamilton and Sherman 1996; Operario and Fiske 2004).

Despite their differing methods, investigations of indexically linked sociolinguistic meaning and implicit language attitudes are studying the same empirical object, namely the relationships between linguistic forms and social constructs which are maintained and developed in mental representations and interactional space. Both, then, have things to learn from social cognition work which explores how individuals represent and rapidly access social constructs in interaction.

IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT SOCIAL COGNITION

Much current work in cognitive and social psychology assumes that human cognition involves at least two systems or types of systems, one relatively controlled and another relatively automatic (for an overview, see Evans 2008; Kruglanski and Orehek 2007). Such theories have been developed in many fields within social psychology, but the discussion here is primarily informed by work on impression formation (e.g. Brewer 1988; Brewer and Harasty Feinstein 1999) and attitudes (e.g. Fazio 1990).

The basic insight of dual systems models is that of the mental tasks that humans perform, some appear to be effortful, leaving a doer more tired than when they began; available to introspection, such that the doer can report on the experience of having performed the task; relatively slow, taking, for example seconds rather than milliseconds; and/or controlled, so that individuals instructed not to do the task or to do it at a particular time are able to comply. In contrast, other tasks appear not to tax a doer, to be performed without the doer's awareness, to be accomplished rapidly, and/or to be triggered by context or stimuli such that instructions have little to no effect on the task being performed. These contrasts are striking and provide strong support for the theory that tasks of different types might be controlled by distinct systems. Table 1, which is Table 2 from Evans (2008: 257), lists the range of attributes given to the two types, using the most general labels, System 1 and System 2, rather than the model-

Table 1: Clusters of attributes associated with dual systems of thinking (Table 2 from Evans 2008: 257)

System 1	System 2
Cluster 1 (Consciousness)	
Unconscious (preconscious)	Conscious
Implicit	Explicit
Automatic	Controlled
Low effort	High effort
Rapid	Slow
High capacity	Low capacity
Default process	Inhibitory
Holistic, perceptual	Analytic, reflective
Cluster 2 (Evolution)	
Evolutionarily old	Evolutionarily recent
Evolutionary rationality	Individual rationality
Shared with animals	Uniquely human
Nonverbal	Linked to language
Modular cognition	Fluid intelligence
Cluster 3 (Functional characteristics)	
Associative	Rule based
Domain specific	Domain general
Contextualized	Abstract
Pragmatic	Logical
Parallel	Sequential
Stereotypical	Egalitarian
Cluster 4 (Individual differences)	
Universal	Heritable
Independent of general intelligence	Linked to general intelligence
Independent of working memory	Limited by working memory capacity

specific terms. These attributes were collected across many different models, and no one model posits all of these characteristics. Indeed, it does not appear to be possible to formulate a model in which all the attributes listed are accounted for (Evans 2008: 270).

In recent years, evidence has continued to mount that social cognition of a range of types involves substantial components of a System 1 type (for overviews, see Forgas, Williams and von Hippel 2003; Hassin, Uleman and Bargh 2005; Petty, Fazio and Briñol 2009). Even such apparently key areas of conscious volition as goal pursuit involve non-conscious elements. Chartrand and Bargh (1996) showed that the goals with which participants approached a set of information (either with a memorization or person perception goal) could be influenced non-consciously by an apparently irrelevant preceding task. This phenomenon of priming, whereby exposure to a concept promotes recognition or use of the same or related concepts, has been widely documented for linguistic processing (Bock 1986; Neely 1977) but also social cognition (Bargh 2006; Fazio and Olson 2003).

Chartrand and Bargh (1996) asked participants to form sentences out of scrambled words which either contained words like *personality* or words like *memory*. Then, in a purportedly unrelated experiment, participants were presented with a list of behaviors (e.g. *had a party for some friends last week*), which were designed to reflect traits such as *social*. After reading the list, participants performed an unrelated distractor task, constructing arguments on controversial issues. They were then asked to recall as many of the behavior items as possible, a task they had not previously been warned about. Participants exposed to personality-related words (and therefore primed with an impression formation goal) recalled more items and were more likely to cluster the items they listed in terms of underlying traits (e.g. remembering two social or two religious behaviors one after the other). This result corresponds to the previous research which had prompted similar effects by explicitly telling participants to form an impression based on the behaviors or to simply memorize the list (Hamilton, Katz and Leirer 1980).

That priming study and similar work suggests that the processes involved in forming impressions of others are not entirely under conscious control. One flourishing area of research on automatic perceptions of others is devoted to the role of broad and often pernicious stereotypes (Payne 2006; Wittenbrink, Judd and Park 1997; Wojnowicz, Ferguson, Dale and Spivey 2009). For example, priming the concept of a particular stereotyped group can influence the perception of relevant following stimuli, for example leading people, including police officers, to more frequently mistake a nonviolent tool for a gun after brief exposure to Black faces (Payne 2006; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie and Davies 2004). Group-based stereotypes can also influence subsequent behavior, such that

young people exposed to the concept of the elderly move more slowly and White people primed with stereotypes of African Americans exhibit increased aggressiveness (Bargh, Chen and Burrows 1996).

A number of perceptual processes seem to be more effective when performed quickly and without conscious deliberation. Confidence in one's lie detection ability has no correlation with accuracy (DePaulo, Charlton, Cooper, Lindsay and Muhlenbruck 1997) and formal training in detecting deception actually decreases accuracy, while increasing confidence (Kassin and Fong 1999). Participants viewing brief clips of dyads were less accurate at judging the dyad's relationships when instructed to think carefully before responding, while increasing cognitive load (through another simultaneous task) had no effect (Ambady 2010). Further, it appears that people nonconsciously perceive and mimic emotional expressions on the basis of subliminally flashed facial images (Dimberg, Thunberg and Elmehed 2000).

With so much evidence for the existence of implicit social cognitive processes, the question emerges how implicit and explicit structures relate to one another and to behavior (Crano and Prislin 2006). The literature to date suggests that implicit measures of attitudes often, though not always, show higher correlations with observed behavior than do explicit measures. In a study on the 'big five' personality traits (neuroticism, extraversion, openness, agreeableness, conscientiousness), behavior measures correlated with implicit but not explicit measures, except when the behavior measure was also a self-report of past behavior (Steffens and König 2006). A similar multi-method study on race-based bias also found correlations between implicit prejudice and interactional behavior with White and Black experimenters, but also found a correlation between the implicit and explicit measures of prejudice (McConnell and Leibold 2001).

It is possible, however, that these relationships vary based on contextual factors. In studies of political and soft drink preferences, Karpinski, Steinman and Hilton (2005) found that the relationship between implicit and explicit measures was moderated by the importance of the attitude to the individual. Similarly, Olson and Fazio (2004) showed that participants' scores on a measure for motivation to control prejudiced reactions mediated the relationship between results of an implicit attitudes measure and the effect of race on their evaluations of Black and White individuals. Such control does, however, require effortful, controlled processing, which means both that it correlates with individual variation in terms of attention resources (Payne 2005) and that it is a depletable resource, like other forms of self-control (Govorun and Payne 2006). The effect of such control may

also be visible in interaction, as individuals attempting to suppress implicit attitudes show discomfort or effort (Olson and Fazio 2007).

Despite this complexity, the literature shows clearly that social cognitive processes central to sociolinguistics (impression formation, stereotyping, the pursuit of interactional goals) include both automatic and controlled components. Further, the social cognition literature suggests that implicit attitudes may well be as important if not more important than explicit attitudes in predicting or understanding behavior, including potentially linguistic behavior.

IMPLICIT SOCIOLINGUISTIC COGNITION

A handful of studies in sociolinguistics have turned to the tools of social cognition and/or psycholinguistics in order to better investigate and model sociolinguistic cognition. A few have used neuroscience-based techniques like EEG systems (Loudermilk, Gutierrez and Corina 2009) and fMRI (Ladd, Bestelmeyer, Hall-Lew and Belin 2011), but more common have been behavioral measures, such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998).

Using differences in reaction times, the IAT presents participants with two pairs of categories (for example male/female and science/humanities or old/young and good/bad) and assesses the degree to which the pairs are implicitly aligned. Participants are asked to sort exemplars into the categories by pressing buttons corresponding to category labels on either side of the screen. So, for example, if the name *Alice* appeared, the participant might press the right-hand button, corresponding to the label *female* on the right side of the screen. Over the course of the experiment, participants first practice with one individual pair (only male and female names) and then another (only humanities and science majors). These blocks help participants learn the side assignments and are followed by the critical blocks, in which exemplars from all four categories are presented. In these more complex blocks, category pairs are presented either in the expected congruent alignment (e.g. male and science on the left, female and humanities on the right) or the expected incongruent alignment (male and humanities vs. female and science). The degree to which reaction times for the congruent blocks are faster than those for the incongruent blocks, if at all, indicates the presence and strength of alignment. In a relatively short time, the IAT has developed a comprehensive history of use (Lane, Banaji, Nosek and Green-

wald 2007), including refinements (Blanton, Jaccard, Gonzales and Christie 2006; Karpinski and Steinman 2006) and critiques (Fiedler, Messner and Bluemke 2006; Fiedler and Bluemke 2005).

This technique has a great deal of potential for sociolinguistic applications and has already been used in a handful of sociolinguistic studies. Pantos (2010) used the IAT to document implicit prejudice against Korean-accented speakers in undergraduate native speakers of US English. This prejudice appeared despite the fact that the participants, recruited from linguistics classes, reported quite positive explicit attitudes toward nonnative speakers of English. The IAT was also used by Babel (2009, 2010) to show that implicit positive or negative attitudes toward social groups influenced phonetic accommodation in a shadowing task, in which participants repeated words after a pre-recorded voice.

In Campbell-Kibler (2012), I presented a method for using the IAT to investigate the relationship between sociolinguistic variables and other social categories. In this approach, rather than two social dichotomies, participants are given one social dichotomy (e.g. blue collar/white collar) and a sociolinguistic variable with two possible variants (e.g. *-in*/*-ing*). The strength of the IAT relationship thus conveys the degree to which a given participant aligns the variable with the social dichotomy, in other words the strength of that indexical relationship for that person.

Three experiments tested the utility of the IAT for measuring indexical sociolinguistic relationships. One paired the English variable (ING), as in *hiking* vs. *hikin',* with three different social dichotomies: northern vs. southern US states, blue collar and white collar professions and country singers vs. news anchors. In each case, the (ING) variable was represented textually by five high frequency lexical items such as *saying/sayin'*. The social dichotomies were represented by two groups of five text exemplars, e.g. *Massachusetts* and *Mississippi,* matched for length and balanced within groups for initial letter and other similarities. This experiment showed relationships between (ING) and all three social dichotomies.

In Experiment 2, audio cues were used in three tasks. The first replicated the (ING) vs. northern/southern state task, and the second and third paired (ING) with /t/ release (Benor 2001; Bucholtz 1999; Podesva 2006) and /ay/ monophthongization (Hay, Jannedy and Mendoza-Denton 1999; Plichta and Preston 2005) respectively. The relationship between (ING) and states was supported again, as was a relationship between (ING) and /ay/ monophthongization, but none was seen between (ING) and /t/ release.

Finally, Experiment 3 tested correlations between IAT patterns, direct questions and speaker evaluation on six pairings: (ING), /t/ release and /ay/ monophthongization each paired with northern/southern states and blue collar/white collar professions (in the IAT) and degree of education (in the direct questions and evaluation). Participants first heard pairs of short recordings of speech manipulated to differ only in the variables of interest, and were asked to indicate which of the two versions they considered to be more educated and which they considered to be more Southern, then in each case to rate the strength of their opinion. Next, they were asked the same questions for each variable generally, described in words as, for example, 'words like bein' or words like being'. Lastly, the six IATs were administered. The expected preferences were found in all tasks except the IAT of /t/ release and states, and the speaker evaluation of /t/ release and /ay/ monophthongization with respect to education. Nonetheless, no correlation was seen across measures: individuals with stronger explicit declarations of viewing monophthongal /ay/ as Southern were no more or less likely to show such a reaction in the speaker evaluation task or the IAT task. This work supported the use of IAT as a technique for documenting implicit language ideologies, although the links between more and less explicit attitudes remain as murky in sociolinguistic cognition as they are in social cognition more generally.

The IAT thus provides a new way of measuring implicit attitudes toward linguistic forms, one which potentially avoids some of the drawbacks of speaker evaluation studies. Because the IAT is focused on the categories, rather than the exemplars themselves, the impact of talker voices and other cues which present such a challenge in speaker evaluation work may be mitigated. Effects of exemplars (and presumably context) are not entirely eliminated, of course. Mitchell, Nosek and Banaji (2003) demonstrated that Black/White race bias in White participants can be reversed through the use of strongly liked Black exemplars and strongly disliked White exemplars. Nonetheless, the impact of specific exemplars appears to be radically less than for speaker evaluation, where the individual speaker characteristics are necessarily foregrounded due to the nature of the task.

CURRENT RESEARCH

This adaptation of the IAT, however, does require the sociolinguistic variable to be available to participants as a set of categories, so that they are able to sort ex-

emplars of the variants. If a given participant is unable to consciously identify released and unreleased /t/ tokens, for example, the task becomes so challenging as to be useless. This chapter presents an experiment using the IAT in a new way that eliminates this requirement, by having participants sort speech stimuli by speaker rather than by variant. By combining pairs of speakers, each consisting of speakers with opposing variants, we can adapt the IAT to use as a measure of implicit awareness, determining the degree to which the variable contributes to the participant's judgments of vocal similarity.

Four separate IAT tasks were developed, each devoted to a single, dialect-relevant variable. Two tasks tested awareness of the most well-known dialect of US English, Southern English (Preston 1997), one examining the presence or absence of post-vocalic /ɹ/ as in *car* and the other examining /ay/ monophthongization as in words like *pie*. The other two tasks investigated a much less well-known variety (to non-linguists), the US Inland North (Niedzielski 1999), using the variables TRAP raising/ diphthongization and LOT fronting. Two hypotheses were tested: first, that the Southern variables would show stronger implicit awareness than the Inland North variables and second, that participants from northern Ohio (Inland North speakers themselves) would show less awareness of the Inland North variables than participants from central or southern Ohio (Midland speakers with frequent exposure to Inland North speech).

Methods

For each task, one-word speech samples of two male and two female talkers featuring the variable of interest were collected from the IDEA corpus of English accents[1]. The eight pairs of talkers were matched as closely as possible for age and other non-regional characteristics. Each talker was represented by five tokens, saying the same five words as their pair-mate. Within the pairs, one member was selected who featured one variant of the intended variable (i.e. monophthongal /ay/, r-lessness, raised TRAP or fronted LOT) while another featured the other (diphthongal /ay/, r-fulness, lower TRAP or backer LOT).

The speakers were randomly assigned invented first names which were deliberately similar within the pairs (i.e. Meg and Mary), in order to force participants to rely on voices as much as possible. Prior to beginning each task, participants were introduced to each voice, paired with its name (i.e. 'This is Meg say-

[1] http://web.ku.edu/ idea

ing BAD.'). This introduction was sufficient to give participants a sense of the voices, but not to allow them to reliably learn the voices or their names, which occurred during the first two blocks of the task. After this brief introduction, the IAT task began, which was administered using E-Prime software and consisted of seven stages. In each trial, participants were presented with an audio token of a speaker saying a word. At the same time, the screen displayed the word heard, in capital letters in the center of the screen and the names of the speakers appearing in that block, in the upper corners of the screen, as shown in Figure 1.

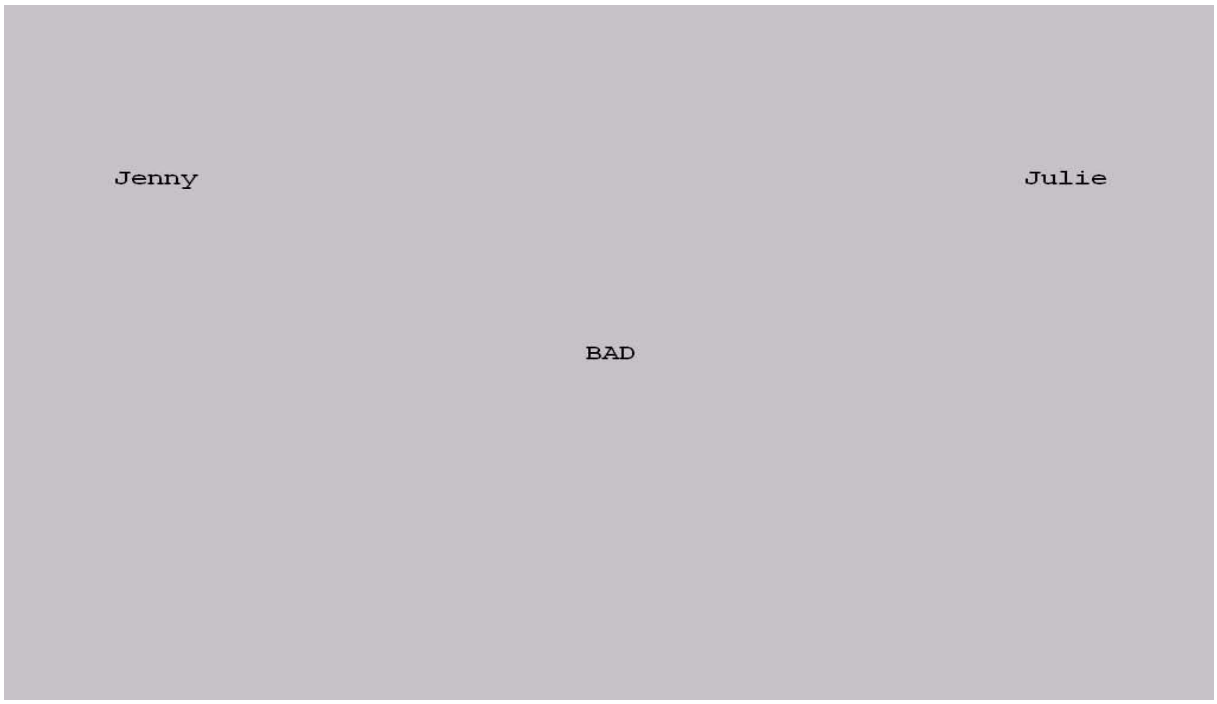

Figure1: Screen shot of task

The IAT itself consists of seven blocks, pairing the male and female speakers in both possible alignments: congruent, with same-dialect speakers sharing sides (e.g. both monophthongal /ay/ speakers on the left and both diphthongal speakers on the right) and incongruent, where the speakers on a given side do not share the dialect feature under investigation. The seven blocks proceeded as shown in Table 2.

Lane et al. (2007) have suggested that such ordering constraint makes little difference for the success of the IAT in measuring strength of association. Nonetheless, given the new use of voices, a cautious approach was used, counterbalancing order across participants. Half the participants were given the congruent-first ordering while half were given the incongruent-first ordering, in which the predicted difficult alignment (Blocks 5 and 5b) came first.

Table 2

Block 1	Female speakers only (e.g. Meg on right, Mary on left)
Block 2	Male speakers only (e.g. Don on right, Dan on left)
Block 3	Short block of male and female speakers together, congruent (e.g. Meg and Don on right, Mary and Dan on left)
Block 3b	Long block of male and female speakers together, congruent (e.g. Meg and Don on right, Mary and Dan on left)
Block 4	Female speakers only, switched sides (e.g. Mary on right, Meg on left)
Block 5	Short block of male and female speakers together, incongruent (e.g. Mary and Don on right, Meg and Dan on left)
Block 5b	Long block of male and female speakers together, incongruent (e.g. Mary and Don on right, Meg and Dan on left)

Reaction times for each trial were collected and for each participant in each task, a composite measure of strength of association, known as *D*, was calculated, following Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003). This was based on the differences in mean times between blocks 3 and 5 and between blocks 3b and 5b, relative to their pooled standard deviations. The measure is taken to indicate the degree to which reactions in the congruent blocks are faster than those of the incongruent blocks, relative to variation in reactions for that participant in the combined blocks generally. The higher the *D* value for a given participant performing a given task, the more strongly the two dichotomies are aligned. In this version of the task, this score is thus a measure of the strength of the relevant variable in implicit judgments of similarity between voices.

28 undergraduate students completed the experiment in exchange for partial course credit. One participant's data was excluded due to technical difficulties, leaving 12 participants from central Ohio (Midland dialect region), 6 from northern Ohio (Inland North), 7 from elsewhere or mobile backgrounds and 3 whose regional background was not recorded through experimenter error.

Results

The results strongly supported the first hypothesis that Southern-associated features influenced implicit similarity between speakers more than Inland North features. The two Southern features both showed robust and relatively large ef-

fects, such that participants responded much more quickly in the congruent than incongruent blocks. In the r-lessness task, the mean *D* measure was 0.38. To provide a context for comparison, note that Nosek, Smyth, Hansen, Devos, Lindner, Ranganath, Smith, Olson, Chugh, Greenwald and Banaji (2007) present the results from a very large web-based study of 17 different topics, each with between 22,000 and 733,000 participants. Of these 17 topics, only three showed a mean effect greater than 0.38: gender-career stereotype, pairing male/female with career/family (0.39), disability attitude, pairing abled/disabled with good/bad (0.45) and age attitude, pairing old/young with good/bad (0.49). Five more show means between 0.35 and 0.38: straight/gay vs. good/bad (0.35), thin/fat vs. good/bad (0.35), White/Black vs. tool/gun (0.37), male/female vs. science/humanities (0.37) and White/Black vs. good/bad (0.37). The strength of the r-lessness association was thus comparable in size to many of the most common social alignments.

The effect of /ay/ monophthongization was even stronger, with a mean *D* value of 0.42 ($p =< 0.001$). In addition, the strength of association was moderately correlated across the two variables, such that the stronger an association for r-lessness a given participant showed, the stronger their association for /ay/ monophthongization was likely to be ($r=0.40$, $p= 0.027$). It is possible that both measures may reflect a common factor, reflecting the strength of the variety as a whole as a mental construct for a given participant, or merely that individuals who attend closely to one Southern-linked feature may be more likely to attend to others.

The importance of the overarching variety is underlined by the striking contrast between the results for the Southern and Inland North variables. The Inland North variables, as predicted, showed less awareness, with neither task found to be significantly different from 0 (TRAP mean=-0.05, $p=0.825$; LOT mean=0.10, $p= 0.055$) but both significantly less than the mean effects for the Southern variables (all four $p<0.002$). In addition, and perhaps more tellingly, no significant correlation was found between the two Inland North variables ($r=0.22$, $p=0.148$), meaning that even individuals who showed an effect in the expected direction for TRAP raising were no more (or less) likely to show a preference for aligning fronted LOT speakers with each other.

The evidence was inconclusive regarding the second hypothesis, that participants from the Inland North would show a weaker awareness of Inland North variables than those from the Midland. An interaction (mixed-effects regression, $p=0.022$) suggested that across both Inland North variables combined, the ex-

pected pattern was visible in the male speakers only. Since no predictions had been made regarding gender, this result should be viewed with suspicion and further research pursued.

CONCLUSION

Overall, this experiment demonstrates that implicit associations between speakers, in addition to between social categories, may result from mental representations of sociolinguistic variation. The relationship between beliefs about language and language behavior has long been a challenging area of research. Based on recent work in sociolinguistic indexicality and in implicit social cognition, I suggest that implicit sociolinguistic meaning is a currently under-explored but vital part of the sociolinguistic puzzle.

The Implicit Association Test represents one potential tool for continuing to explore implicit sociolinguistic meaning. Campbell-Kibler (2012) suggested a use for the IAT for assessing implicit associations between sociolinguistic variables and potential social meanings. The current study suggests an adaptation in which speakers, rather than variants, serve as the categories. Instead of assessing relationships between language and social meaning, this variant assesses the strength of awareness a given individual has of a linguistic variable as a meaningful type of similarity between speakers.

I do not propose that this tool, in either version, should replace or is generally better than either direct questioning or speaker evaluation. Rather, it offers a different combination of strengths and weakness than either. Like speaker evaluation, but unlike direct questioning, the IAT is a relatively less conscious measure, one that participants find more challenging to consciously manipulate (Greenwald et al. 2009; Steffens 2004), although not impossible (Fiedler and Bluemke 2005). Compared to speaker evaluation, the IAT is less dependent on the individual social quirks of the particular individuals selected. This is perhaps less of a concern in studies of whole varieties, when many linguistic cues converge to produce a given sociolinguistic style of interest. It is more of an issue in studies of individual variables, where the effect of interest may easily be swamped or eliminated by other features of speech.

As with any tool, of course, the IAT has some serious limitations. These techniques are designed primarily for hypothesis-testing and would make for very poor exploratory techniques, given the time and effort required to develop a

single task which can test only one alignment. The structure of the task requires two dichotomous pairs, which puts constraints on the types of questions that may usefully be asked. Another concern is that the tasks themselves are somewhat tedious to perform so that, although they are relatively short (a single task typically takes under 5 minutes) it is not advisable to administer more than four to six at a time, and not more than four without intervening tasks. The reduction in social complexity which is a strength in one sense is a drawback in another, as it flattens the social question the tool is capable of asking.

As in any IAT design, the selection of individual exemplars is of paramount importance (Mitchell, Nosek and Banaji 2003). Irrelevant similarities between voices may influence results, obscuring patterns of interest. A new version of the task is currently under development which adds a second IAT in which the dialect feature of interest is removed through synthesis, to offer a control based only on other voice characteristics. Other concerns may be addressed by adopting related tasks, such as the Go-No Go Association Task (Nosek and Banaji 2001), which allows for IAT-like analysis of categories which lack balanced dichotomous pairs or the Extrinsic Affective Simon Task (EAST), a variant in which conscious recoding strategies are reduced (De Houwer 2003).

Implicit associations are essential tools for cognition, allowing the mind to rapidly identify items and prepare for subsequent stimuli and action. These associations form an important part of the implicit system of social cognition and thus the systems involved in sociolinguistic cognition. A better understanding of the implicit systems of social processing will be valuable for sociolinguists in clarifying the links between attitudes and ideologies to real time language use. Implicit associations represent a new and valuable perspective on long-standing objects of study in our field and the tools associated with them hold promise for sociolinguists to more thoroughly understand the relationship between what people think, feel and say about language and how they speak.

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Evaluation of different registers in Icelandic written media

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the study[1] described in this chapter was to investigate the perception of Icelandic speakers of the difference between language registers in written media. By 'register' we mean: a set of lexical and/or grammatical variants used in a particular (written) text. By 'genre' we mean: certain types of (written) texts, defined by function, such as report, novel, newspaper etc.

In order to fulfil the aim, we investigated how Icelandic speakers (students and teachers) evaluated the suitability of certain written texts for specific media types, for example for the daily papers, whether they were able to account for their evaluations, and whether they could associate particular texts with their own language use. The experiment was designed to find answers to one over-arching research question:

> What (if anything) is happening to the (perceived) standard of Icelandic 'proper language use' (*vandað málfar*)?

Standardising a language is a way of controlling linguistic variation. Although linguistic variation is natural, there may be a desire to suppress it for reasons such as the wish to maintain national identity, for mutual comprehension, and/or because the dominant group wants to retain power over others. The standard language acquires prestige and its speakers 'attach values to particular words, grammatical structures and speech-sounds' (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 11), while non-standard forms may be stigmatised. According to Woolard and Schieffelin

[1] This study was made possible by a grant from the University of Iceland Research Fund, 2011. Thanks are also due to teachers and students at Borgarholtsskóli, Fjölbrautaskóli Suðurlands and Kvennaskólinn í Reykjavík, and to Guðbjörg Andrea Jónsdóttir, director of the University of Iceland Social Science Research Institute, for statistical help and advice.

(1994: 64), stigmatisation of non-standard forms 'derives from ideological associations of the standard with the qualities valued within the culture'. Standard language features are more likely to be found in the more prestigious written genres, such as newspaper editorials and textbooks, while examples of non-standard language features may be expected to occur more frequently in genres such as Facebook-comments and personal blogs, which are less planned, more personal and un-edited.

The Icelandic speech community[2] has often been described as linguistically conservative and stable, strongly adhering to lexical and grammatical purism underpinned by nationalist ideologies in the 19th and 20th centuries (see e.g. Trudgill 2002; Árnason 2003, 2006; Friðriksson 2009; Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson 2010; Leonard 2011; Leonard and Árnason 2011). In the 'deconstructive' age of globalisation in late modernity, the question arises as to whether more colloquial, informal, non-standard elements are now deemed increasingly appropriate for use in the public space, which might result in a greater range of language forms in areas that were formerly occupied by (older) formal standard written language.

While no previous research into Icelandic speaker evaluation of different registers is available for comparison, Icelandic sociolinguistics is by no means a neglected field. Researchers have found that, firstly, there has been a tendency in formal written genres in Icelandic to avoid English borrowings. Investigations into the ideological aspects of Icelandic language policy and purism have established that Icelanders on the whole have negative attitudes toward the use of English borrowings. However, there are generational differences in that respect, as people under 30 years are less negative toward English than older Icelanders are (Árnason 2006). Secondly, research into variation in Icelandic syntax (Thráinsson 2012) indicates that some new syntactic constructions are increasingly adopted by young speakers (ibid.), while these constructions are often frowned upon by many older speakers as non-standard usage.

[2] In the present discussion we regard that Icelandic speakers in Iceland constitute an entity justly termed 'a speech community', following Kristinsson (2009: 287): 'Our understanding of "speech community" here is that we have a common speech community whenever people are using the same linguistic code, their social attitudes towards language are extremely uniform, and they share the same attitudes towards linguistic variation'. This understanding of the term 'speech community' is, above all, an attempt to demarcate this elusive sociolinguistic construct. Labov's principle 'that social attitudes towards language are extremely uniform throughout a speech community' (Labov 1972: 248), does not necessarily imply that all speakers of a single speech community are always in total agreement in their attitudes towards language and linguistic variation.

It seemed plausible, therefore, to hypothesize that evaluations of different registers containing these and other non-standard language features, vs. their standard equivalents, turn out to be different between a group of 18–21 years old students, and a group of older adults, i.e. upper secondary school teachers.

> The hypothesis for this study was that 18−21 years old students on the one hand and their teachers on the other would have different judgements as to the appropriateness of different texts for different written genres.

In order to test the hypothesis, the following secondary research questions were formulated:

> How do Icelandic students/teachers evaluate different registers in written texts? In which genres, such as daily papers or blogs (web logs), are certain registers of written texts considered suitable?
>
> Which registers do Icelandic students/teachers claim to be willing to use themselves in different genres?
>
> How do they account for their evaluations?

PUBLIC DISCOURSES OF STANDARD LANGUAGE AND THE MEDIA

Iceland is usually cited in the literature as a stable linguistic community (e.g., Trudgill 2002: 709). The norm that was selected for standard modern Icelandic was essentially Old Icelandic (Árnason 2003). There are no rival varieties in the sense that there are no geographical dialects to speak of; Icelandic is characterised by relative linguistic homogeneity (Leonard 2011). As for language ideologies, Iceland's literary heritage, along with the archaic characteristics of the Icelandic language, contributed to a widespread consciousness among the Icelandic population about what they believed to be a unique language culture (Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson 2010: 213), and to a deep-rooted scepticism towards foreign language influence (Árnason 2006; Wahl 2008; Óladóttir 2009). Iceland's prevailing purist and conservative language ideologies have had their share of criticism from some Icelandic scholars and intellectuals who claim that clinging to traditional standard language norms serves the goal of justifying the power and privileges of those who are better off (Pálsson 1996), and is likely to

hamper future development of the language (Kristmannsson 2004). Nevertheless, opinion polls and interviews show that negative attitudes towards rapid language change and borrowings are still widespread among the Icelandic population.

A common Nordic opinion poll in 2002, which was a part of the research project 'Modern import words in the languages in the Nordic countries', revealed that Icelanders, along with Norwegians, had the most negative attitudes toward the use of English borrowings, and, along with the Faroese, the most positive attitudes toward the coining of neologisms in the native language, while the Danes had the least purist attitudes of the Nordic nations (Kristiansen and Vikør 2006: 203–204; cf. Kristiansen 2010). There were some generational differences in attitudes to English in Iceland (cf. above), i.e. people under 30 were less negative than older respondents towards the idea of English as the language of the workplace, English borrowings in Icelandic, English as the only language in the world, and young people self-reported to use more English themselves (Árnason 2006: 26). It was also found that those with higher education had the most negative attitudes to English borrowings while the least educated were more positive towards such foreignisms. This finding seems to indicate that purist attitudes in Iceland are strongest among the elite (Kristiansen and Vikør 2006: 212).[3] These purist attitudes seem to be in line with language practice: for example, as part of the above mentioned Nordic research project, it was shown that a corpus of newspaper language contained the lowest frequency of borrowings in the Icelandic material, i.e. 17 borrowings per 10,000 running words, compared with 111 borrowings per 10,000 running words in the Norwegian newspapers (the

[3] As part of the above mentioned research project an attempt was also made to carry out a matched guise test in Iceland in which 361 participants were asked to evaluate an 'English coloured' guise (containing borrowings such as *í-meil* 'e-mail', *laptop, seiva* 'save', *dánlóda* 'download') compared to a 'pure' Icelandic guise (containing the Icelandic neologisms *tölvupóstur* 'e-mail', *fartölva* 'laptop', *vista* 'save', *hlaða niður* 'download') (Ewen and Kristiansen 2006: 34−35). The participants were asked to assess the guises with regard to 'the following personality traits: *ambitious, independent, pleasant, interesting, intelligent, relaxed, trustworthy, efficient*' (Kristiansen 2010: 80). The participants were told that the different guises were voices of applicants for a position as a news reader for an Icelandic radio channel. It turned out to be impossible for the Icelandic participants to accept the 'English coloured' guise as a potentially valid one for Icelandic radio news. This result may be taken as a corroboration of other evidence that the Icelandic speech community is a purist one. Accordingly, the Icelandic data 'must be treated as expressions of conscious rather than subconscious attitudes' (*ibid*.: 81). The data showed that the 'pure' Icelandic guise (i.e., the one using Icelandic neologisms such as *tölvupóstur* 'e-mail' etc.) scored higher than the 'English coloured' one (i.e., the one using *í-meil* 'e-mail' etc.), for all eight personality traits (Ewen and Kristiansen 2006: 39).

highest number of borrowings in the Nordic countries) (Graedler and Kvaran 2010: 33).

Despite the putative stability and homogeneity of Icelandic, a common element of language policy discourse in Iceland – amongst language enthusiasts, intellectuals, and also the general public – is the concern that there is instability in the language, that a perceived (golden age of) standard 'proper language usage' is disappearing (Friðriksson 2009). According to a poll in 1989, a third of the Icelandic population thought that Icelandic was endangered because of foreign language influence, and over a third thought that language use was getting 'worse' (Óladóttir 2009: 10–11). Examples of 'improper language use', often cited in this discourse, include foreign borrowings, old words assigned new meanings, old idiomatic expressions mixed up, increased use of the auxiliary *vera* 'be'+ infinitive of main verbs instead of older finite forms of main verbs, and simplifications in the declension of nominals. To explain the deterioration of the language (i.e. the perceived retreat from a common golden age standard) the 'usual suspects' turn up in the discourse: the influence of the internet, global English, and low-quality media language under foreign influence. Those accused of failing to do their job in maintaining Icelandic are usually teachers, parents, linguists, and media employees.

Such discourse is also common elsewhere, as in the grammar debate in UK (Cameron, 1995)[4]. Moreover, the issue of young people's media language, such as in instant messaging, is thought by many commentators as being the cause of a decline in literacy and the 'erosion' of the English language (see Thurlow 2007).

Written media, as well as spoken media, can be instrumental in establishing and consolidating a language standard, both linguistically and ideologically. Thus, any change in language standards in these media has implications for language standards generally, and the ideologies behind them.

[4] In the early 1990s there was a big debate in England about teaching English grammar in schools. At that time, the conservatives favoured the teaching of standard English grammar, while the liberals, including linguists and teachers, preferred not to, claiming that formal grammar teaching had little effect on language practices. The teachers were blamed by the media for falling standards in schools and for widespread illiteracy (Cameron 1995: 85–93).

RESEARCH ON LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ICELANDIC

Most research into variation in Icelandic has been on phonology and syntax. For example, researchers have mapped Icelandic pronunciation differences onto a few social background variables, notably geographical location, and have traced changes in these relationships between the 1940s and the 1980s (see Thráinsson and Árnason 1992). In addition, some researchers (e.g. Sigurjónsdóttir and Maling 2001; Jónsson and Eyþórsson 2003; Svavarsdóttir, Pálsson and Þórlindsson 1984) have done some mapping of syntactic variation onto social background variables. Since 2005, a team of linguists has been carrying out extensive research into variation in Icelandic syntax (Thráinsson 2012). In their project description they point out that, even if the difference between dialect and standard language 'does not really exist in Iceland […] to the extent that it does in most countries', it is generally assumed that 'there is considerable difference between "spoken language" and "written language", or between different types or styles of written language, or different genres of texts, although systematic investigation of these differences is just beginning' (Network for Scandinavian Dialect Syntax 2011).

One of the syntactic variants investigated in these studies has been found to correlate with children whose parents are less well educated. This variant, colloquially termed 'dative sickness', is a construction of a few impersonal verbs preceded (in neutral word-order) by dative-case subjects instead of their traditional accusative-case subjects. Example: *Mörgum* (dat.plur.) *hefur dreymt* (non-standard) vs. *Marga* (acc.plur.) *hefur dreymt* (standard) ('Many people have dreamt'). 'Dative sickness' is highly stigmatized as non-standard usage. It is one of the best-known sociolinguistic markers in Icelandic (Árnason 2005: 413). Its frequency in spoken and written Icelandic has been gradually increasing for the past three decades among young speakers (Thráinsson 2012). Another syntactic feature, which has recently been spreading in Icelandic, involves the use of the construction of an auxiliary verb *vera* 'be' + main verb in the infinitive, to denote continuous aspect. In standard usage this construction is limited to particular main verbs, governed by semantic constraints, whereas currently it is increasingly being used with other verbs, which is deemed non-standard. Example: *Leikstjóranum* <u>*er að ganga*</u> *vel* (underlined: finite form of auxilary *vera* 'be' + infinitive particle + infinitive of main verb) (non-standard) vs. *Leikstjóranum* <u>*gengur*</u> *vel* (underlined: finite form of main verb) (standard) ('The director is doing well').

Apart from a few discourse analysis studies (e.g. Hilmisdóttir 2007) there has been rather limited research on linguistic variation in Icelandic in relation to different communication settings, such as between planned (formal/written) texts and unplanned (informal/spoken) texts. Friðriksson (2009) carried out an investigation of the different frequency of some non-standard features in spoken versus written Icelandic, among other things, notably both 'dative sickness' and the construction auxiliary verb *vera* 'be' + main verb in the infinitive, mentioned above. He found that these features were marginal or non-occurring in written language, whereas both occurred in his spoken language data from the same people. Kristinsson (2009) studied variation in Icelandic radio language, particularly the difference between scripted radio news and unscripted radio talk shows. He found, for instance, the choice of the relative complementizer (*sem* versus *sem að* 'who, which, that') to correlate with planned versus unplanned texts. Thus, these and other studies have shown some linguistic differences between spoken and written texts and between informal and formal settings, most notably in the lexical domain (cf. Svavarsdóttir 2003, 2007; Kristinsson 2009) – but also partly in grammar (Friðriksson 2009; Kristinsson 2009).

As to vocabulary, there is a clear correlation between degree of formality and the amount of lexical borrowings in Icelandic usage (for examples and research overview, see e.g. Kristinsson 2009: 40–53). Common anglicisms in unplanned/spoken language, e.g. *dílíta* ('delete'), are generally avoided in formal written texts, preference being given to Icelandic neologisms and other 'more genuine' Icelandic synonyms, e.g. *eyða* ('delete'). People may 'Icelandicize' and inflect the anglicisms, e.g. as *dílíta* ('delete', infinitive), *dílítum* ('(we) delete'), *dílítaði* ('(I, he, she) deleted') etc.; *seiva* ('save', infinitive), *seivum* ('(we) save'), *seivaði* ('(I, he, she) saved'), etc., but in general they do not appear in prescriptive dictionaries (cf. Svavarsdóttir 2008). Anglicisms that do find their way into the written language have been used for some time and have 'undergone considerable phonological and morphological adaptation' (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir 2002: 87). A qualitative investigation, carried out by Óladóttir in 2002, found that the general perception of Icelanders, aged 27–36, was that the more formal situations and texts require the avoidance of foreignisms (Óladóttir 2009: 121).

In addition to borrowings, there are a number of other words in Icelandic (e.g. the adverb *rosalega* 'very', Svavarsdóttir 2007: 41–42, and the relative complementizer *sem að* 'who, which, that', Kristinsson 2009: 177–180) that tend to oc-

cur significantly more often in unplanned/ spoken language than in planned/ written usage.

METHODOLOGY

Questionnaire and participants

In order to investigate whether the perception of standard Icelandic is changing, a questionnaire was devised to be administered to Icelandic students and teachers in three different upper secondary schools in Iceland. The schools were chosen from different areas in order to have as broad a range of language users as possible: one in Selfoss, a town with a population of 6,500 (Statistics Iceland 2012) in southern Iceland, which also has in its catchment area many rural settlements and individual farms in southern Iceland, an area with about 5,000 inhabitants (ibid.); and the other two in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland – one in the western part of the city and the other in the east. About 200,000 people live in the Reykjavik area.

The questionnaire consisted of four versions of a text, each of which contained certain language features (i.e., systematically manipulated variables), which belong to standard usage and non-standard usage. A description of the four text versions and the differences between them is given in the next section.

The questionnaire was first tested by means of a pilot survey of eleven students and five teachers. It was subsequently reworked to correct some ambiguities and then administered to a class of about twenty five 18–21 years old upper secondary school students, and about fifteen upper secondary school teachers in each of the three schools. Total number of participants was 123, i.e. 80 students (65%), and 43 teachers (35%) The teacher group included teachers of vocational as well as academic subjects, thus they were not necessarily language experts. The sample of teachers was rather small for some statistical tests regarding comparisons between them and the student group. Despite this, some statistically significant differences were found[5].

The participants had to answer questions about their perceptions of the acceptability or suitability of texts 1, 2, 3, and 4 (see below) for different genres.

[5] As is common practice in sociolinguistic experiments we report significant differences in terms of the probability level (p), with .05 as a pre-determined cut-off.

The options included other text types than those usually covered by the term 'media', i.e.:

- □ report/dissertation
- □ book
- □ printed daily newspaper
- □ web-based news
- □ blogs
- □ Facebook
- □ e-mail
- □ none of the above

The participants were instructed to look carefully at the language use in each of the four texts and to tick one or more boxes (as above, i.e. □ report/dissertation, □ book, etc.) according to the three following criteria:

'I would expect to see the language use in text [1,2,3,4] in…'
Miðað við málnotkun í textanum tel ég líklegt að hann sé eða gæti verið úr...

'I would consider the language use in text [1,2,3,4] appropriate for...'
Miðað við málnotkun í textanum fyndist mér að þessi texti væri vel við hæfi í…
'I would possibly write (shorter or longer) texts with this kind of language use myself if I were writing...'
Ég gæti sjálf(ur) hugsað mér að skrifa (styttri eða lengri) texta með sams konar málnotkun og í textanum ef ég væri að skrifa...

Moreover, the participants were asked to explain or support their judgements for each of the three questions ('please explain your answer(s) in a few words').

Texts

Four versions of a text (reproduced below) were created in order to trigger reader evaluations of the different registers that the texts were intended to represent, i.e. the four texts were exactly the same except for the variables, which were systematically manipulated. Differences between the texts are highlighted here, orthographic variation in ***italicized boldface*** (NB nothing was highlighted in

Text 1

Á milli þess sem Björk Guðmundsdóttir tjáir sig um orkumál á Íslandi, tekur á móti **rosalega** virtum verðlaunum í Svíþjóð og kemur fram á ***fernum*** tónleikum er hún önnum kafin í **stúdíói** við að taka upp og **mixa** nýja tónlist. Upptökurnar hafa að mestu farið fram á ***Púertó Ríkó*** og hafa þær gengið **þvílíkt** vel. Björk er bæði að taka upp efni á nýja plötu og lög fyrir **3D** mynd í leikstjórn ***Michels Gondrys***. Myndinni er lýst sem **science fiction musical** og verður **sirka** 40 mínútur. ***Marga aðdáendur*** Bjarkar hefur dreymt um að hún sendi frá sér ***eitthvert*** lag í kvikmynd síðan hún var tilnefnd til Óskarsverðlauna fyrir lag úr **„**Dancer in the Dark“ árið 2000. Leikstjóranum Gondry ***gengur*** vel og margir muna eftir **„**Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind“ **sem að** hann gerði árið 2004.

Text 2

Á milli þess sem Björk Guðmundsdóttir tjáir sig um orkumál á Íslandi, tekur á móti **mjög** virtum verðlaunum í Svíþjóð og kemur fram á ***fjórum*** tónleikum er hún önnum kafin í **hljóðveri** við að taka upp og **hljóðblanda** nýja tónlist. Upptökurnar hafa að mestu farið fram á ***Puerto Rico*** og hafa þær gengið **einkar** vel. Björk er bæði að taka upp efni á nýja plötu og lög fyrir **þrívíddar** mynd í leikstjórn ***Michel Gondry***. Myndinni er lýst sem **vísindaskáldsögulegum söngleik** og verður **um** 40 mínútur. ***Mörgum aðdáendum*** Bjarkar hefur dreymt um að hún sendi frá sér ***eitthvað*** lag í kvikmynd síðan hún var tilnefnd til Óskarsverðlauna fyrir lag úr **“**Dancer in the Dark” árið 2000. Leikstjóranum Gondry ***er að ganga*** vel og margir muna eftir **“**Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind” **sem** hann gerði árið 2004.

Text 3

Á milli þess sem Björk Guðmundsdóttir tjáir sig um orkumál á Íslandi, tekur á móti **mjög** virtum verðlaunum í Svíþjóð og kemur fram á ***fernum*** tónleikum er hún önnum kafin í **hljóðveri** við að taka upp og **hljóðblanda** nýja tónlist. Upptökurnar hafa að mestu farið fram á ***Púertó Ríkó*** og hafa þær gengið **einkar** vel. Björk er bæði að taka upp efni á nýja plötu og lög fyrir **þrívíddarmynd** í leikstjórn ***Michels Gondrys***. Myndinni er lýst sem **vísindaskáldsögulegum söngleik** og verður **um** 40 mínútur. ***Marga aðdáendur*** Bjarkar hefur dreymt um að hún sendi frá sér ***eitthvert*** lag í kvikmynd síðan hún var tilnefnd til Óskarsverðlauna fyrir lag úr **„**Dancer in the Dark“ árið 2000. Leikstjóranum Gondry ***gengur vel*** og margir muna eftir **„**Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind“ **sem** hann gerði árið 2004.

Text 4

Á milli þess sem Björk Guðmundsdóttir tjáir sig um orkumál á Íslandi, tekur á móti **rosalega** virtum verðlaunum í Svíþjóð og kemur fram á ***fjórum*** tónleikum er hún önnum kafin í **stúdíói** við að taka upp og **mixa** nýja tónlist. Upptökurnar hafa að mestu farið fram á ***Puerto Rico*** og hafa þær gengið **þvílíkt** vel. Björk er bæði að taka upp efni á nýja plötu og lög fyrir **3D** mynd í leikstjórn ***Michel Gondry***. Myndinni er lýst sem **science fiction musical** og verður **sirka** 40 mínútur. ***Mörgum aðdáendum*** Bjarkar hefur dreymt um að hún sendi frá sér ***eitthvað*** lag í kvikmynd síðan hún var tilnefnd til Óskarsverðlauna fyrir lag úr **“**Dancer in the Dark” árið 2000. Leikstjóranum Gondry ***er að ganga*** vel og margir muna eftir **“**Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind” **sem að** hann gerði árið 2004.

the questionnaire itself). When designing the texts, we were able to take into account the findings of the investigations into linguistic variation in Icelandic, as reported above, particularly the standard versus non-standard features of language use. Since the respondents were obliged to read and compare four text versions, a length of 12 lines for each text version was considered appropriate. The topic was the singer Björk. She and her music are common subjects for discussion in a variety of both written and spoken genres in Iceland.[6]

Two of the texts contained exactly the same grammar forms but different vocabulary, while the other two texts contained exactly the same vocabulary but different grammar forms, as shown below:

	Standard grammar	Non-standard grammar
Standard vocabulary	Text 3	Text 2
Non-standard vocabulary	Text 1	Text 4

Accordingly, the register used in Text 3 was expected to be perceived as appropriate for the most formal genres, while Text 4 was expected to be perceived as appropriate for the most informal ones.

Lexical and grammatical differences between the texts

Text 1 and Text 4 contain the borrowings **stúdíó** 'studio', **mixa** 'mix', **3D**, **science fiction musical**, **sirka** 'about'. They also contain the Icelandic relative complementizer **sem að** ('who, which, that'), and the adverbs **rosalega** ('very') and **þvílíkt** ('very'), all of which are typical of unplanned/spoken language, which is why these features are categorized as 'non-standard' for the present purposes, i.e. in the context of written genres.

Text 2 and Text 3 contain the Icelandic neologisms **hljóðver** 'studio', **hljóðblanda** 'mix', **þrívídd** '3D', and **vísindaskáldsögulegur söngleikur** 'science

[6] An English translation of the text is as follows: 'At the same time as expressing her views on energy policies in Iceland, receiving a highly respected award in Sweden, and giving four concerts, Björk Guðmundsdóttir is busy in her studio recording and mixing new music. Most of the recording has taken place in Puerto Rico, and has gone very well. Björk is recording material for a new album as well as songs for a 3D movie directed by Michel Gondry. The movie, described as a science fiction musical, will be about 40 minutes long. Ever since she was nominated for an Oscar for a song in *Dancer in the Dark* in 2000, many Björk fans have hoped that she would release a song in a movie. Gondry, the director, is doing well and many people remember his *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* from 2004.'

fiction musical', the adverb **um** 'about', as well as the relative complementizer **sem** ('who, which, that'), and the adverbs **mjög** ('very', commonly used) and **einkar** ('very', rather formal), typical of written language.

Text 2 and Text 4 contain one example of non-standard inflection of the numerical 'four': ***fjórum*** *tónleikum* 'four concerts'[7]; one example of a foreign name left without an inflectional ending in the genitive: *leikstjórn* ***Michel Gondry*** '(the) direction of Michel Gondry'; one example of the non-standard 'dative sickness' construction: ***Mörgum aðdáendum*** *Bjarkar hefur dreymt* 'many fans (dat.pl.) of Björk have dreamt'; one example of a non-standard form of the indefinite pronoun 'some', i.e.: ***eitthvað*** *lag* 'some song'; and one example of the expanded use of *vera* 'be' + infinitive: *Leikstjóranum Gondry* ***er að ganga*** *vel* 'Gondry the movie director is doing well' (lit. 'is-to-do well').

Text 1 and Text 3 contain the standard usage variants: ***fernum*** *tónleikum* 'four concerts'; *leikstjórn* ***Michels Gondrys*** '(the) direction of Michel Gondry'; ***Marga aðdáendur*** *Bjarkar hefur dreymt* 'many fans (acc.pl.) of Björk have dreamt'; ***eitthvert*** *lag* 'some song'; and *Leikstjóranum Gondry* ***gengur*** *vel* 'Gondry the movie director is doing well' (lit. 'does-well').

Text 2 and Text 4 also contain the non-standard orthographical form ***Puerto Rico***, and two examples of the non-standard double left quotation mark above line, **"** (the so-called American-English quotation mark). In contrast, Text 1 and Text 3 contain the standard Icelandic counterparts, i.e. ***Púertó Ríkó***, and two examples of the double left quotation mark in bottom of line, **„** (the so-called German-Icelandic quotation mark), in addition to the standard grammatical forms described above.

Data

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in this experiment. The qualitative data consisted of written comments by those participants who responded to the request to elaborate on their judgements for each of the three questions ('please explain your answer(s) in a few words'). The quantitative data consisted of values, which were manually copied from the questionnaires and inserted into a statistics program, of one binominal independent variable, i.e. 'upper secondary school student': yes/no; and 96 binominal dependent variables. For each of the four texts, there were three questions, containing eight options

[7] In school grammar lessons, pairs such as *fjórir* vs. *fernir*, and *eitthvað* + noun vs. *eitthvert* + noun, have very often been cited as examples of 'incorrect' vs. 'correct' grammar.

each (4 x 3 x 8 = 96). The values of the dependent variables reflected whether the participant had ticked (value: yes) or not (value: no) in the option box for a particular genre (including the option 'none of the above'), when evaluating a particular text.[8]

RESULTS

General observations

Tables 1–3 show, per text version, the relative frequency of attributions to one of the eight options on the vertical axis. As expected, the participants responded differently to the three different questions. For example, 63% of all participants would *expect* Text 2 to be from a printed newspaper (Table 1), 50% regard Text 2 as *appropriate* for a printed newspaper (Table 2), while 39% would consider writing *themselves* the lexical and grammatical variants of Text 2 for that genre (Table 3).

From the general observations on the respondents' evaluations, it is evident that the participants, as a whole, evaluate Text 3 (standard vocabulary and standard grammar) differently from Text 4 (non-standard vocabulary and non-standard grammar) with regard to the 'more formal' genres: reports/ dissertations, books, printed papers, web-based news, and the 'less formal' genres: blogs, Facebook, e-mail, respectively.

Indeed, for all four text versions, the first four genres (reports/dissertations, books, printed papers, and web-based news, as a whole) were evaluated differently from the next three genres (blogs, Facebook, and e-mail, as a whole). These two groups of genres are marked by different shades in Tables 1–3. For each text version, the darker box marks which of the two groups of genres got relatively more attributions.

[8] In addition, some other background information about each participant was obtained and registered: gender; age; name of school / work place; number of years living in Iceland; reading habits: novels and non-fiction books (number of books per year), daily papers and online news (number of times per week), and web logs (never, sometimes, often); and if they use/read Facebook, and e-mail (never, sometimes, often). This data has not been analysed, yet some of the reading habits data are reported in the present paper.

Table 1: *'I would expect to see the language use in text [1,2,3,4] in...'.*

	Text 1 vocabulary: NS grammar: S	Text 2 vocabulary: S grammar: NS	Text 3 vocabulary: S grammar: S	Text 4 vocabulary: NS grammar: NS
report/dissertation	1	23	44	2
book	0	12	46	2
printed papers	17	63	66	5
web-based news	44	63	43	21
blogs	82	32	23	65
Facebook	32	12	5	61
e-mail	23	18	8	41
none of the above	1	2	2	5

Table 2:*'I would consider the language use in text [1,2,3,4] appropriate for...'.*

	Text 1 vocabulary: NS grammar: S	Text 2 vocabulary: S grammar: NS	Text 3 vocabulary: S grammar: S	Text 4 vocabulary: NS grammar: NS
report/dissertation	1	18	42	0
book	1	15	44	3
printed papers	10	50	58	6
web-based news	14	50	48	9
blogs	76	30	22	49
Facebook	36	8	8	50
e-mail	26	16	11	22
none of the above	6	11	4	18

Table 3: *'I would possibly write (shorter or longer) texts with this kind of language use myself if I were writing...'*

	Text 1 vocabulary: NS grammar: S	Text 2 vocabulary: S grammar: NS	Text 3 vocabulary: S grammar: S	Text 4 vocabulary: NS grammar: NS
report/dissertation	2	22	44	3
book	0	12	39	2
printed papers	5	39	54	3
web-based news	13	44	50	6
blogs	55	28	26	34
Facebook	28	11	14	34
e-mail	23	15	15	24
none of the above	28	21	8	39

Attributions of texts to different genres as a function of register.
Figures are percentages, S = Standard, NS = Non-standard

Comparing students and teachers

We will now look at the evaluations of the student and teacher cohorts to ascertain whether these two groups had 'different judgements as to the appropriateness of different texts for different written genres', cf. the hypothesis for this study.

Table 4: *'I would expect to see the language use in text [1,2,3,4] in...'*

	Text 1 voc: NS gram: S		Text 2 voc: S gram: NS			Text 3 voc: S gram: S			Text4 voc: NS gram: NS	
N=	Stud (80)	Teach (43)	Stud (80)	Teach (43)		Stud (80)	Teach (42)		Stud (77)	Teach (42)
report/dissertation	0.0	2.3	30.0	9.3	**	37.5	57.1	*	2.6	0.0
book	0.0	0.0	15.0	7.0		41.3	54.8		1.3	2.4
printed papers	15.0	20.9	67.5	53.5		61.3	73.8		3.9	7.1
web-based news	42.5	46.5	68.8	53.5		46.3	35.7		20.8	21.4
blogs	82.5	81.4	26.3	41.9		23.8	21.4		63.6	66.7
Facebook	32.5	30.2	6.3	23.3	**	6.3	2.4		64.9	54.8
e-mail	21.3	25.6	8.8	34.9	***	8.8	7.1		39.0	45.2
none of the options	1.3	0.0	0.0	7.0	*	3.8	0.0		2.6	9.5

Attributions of texts to different genres as a function of register
Figures are percentages, S = Standard, NS = Non-standard
Cross-tabulation Chi-square tests of independence * p≤0.05, ** p≤0.01, *** p≤0.001

Table 4 shows that the students would not expect to see the registers of Texts 1 and 4, containing non-standard vocabulary, in the more formal genres. Cross-tabulations showed their evaluations to be similar to that of the teacher group. For example, 1.3% of students and 2.4% of teachers would expect to see Text 4, and no students and no teachers would expect to see Text 1, in a book, as in Table 4. Comments on the questionnaires from the students about Text 1 included: *því erlendu orðin og sletturnar minna á talmál* ('because the foreignisms remind me of spoken language') and *Nota nokkur ensk orð inn á milli* ('English words are used amongst [Icelandic ones]'), and about Text 4: *óformleg, vitlaus íslenska og mikið af slettum* ('informal, incorrect Icelandic and many foreignisms').

What Table 4 also shows is that both students and teachers evaluate Text 4 differently from Text 1, which is what we would expect, given that Text 4 contains non-standard grammar as well as examples of non-standard vocabulary,

while in Text 1 the grammar is standard. For example, 15.0% and 20.9% would expect to see Text 1 in printed papers, opposed to 3.9% and 7.1% for Text 4.

While student and teacher evaluations of Texts 1 and 4 were largely similar, there were greater differences between their evaluations of Text 2 (standard vocabulary and non-standard grammar), notably as to the genres reports/ dissertations, Facebook and e-mail. More students than teachers would expect to see Text 2 register in reports/dissertations, while more teachers than students would expect to see that register on Facebook and in e-mails. 7% of teachers would not expect to see Text 2 for any written genre, primarily because of the grammatical errors, as their comments on the questionnaires show. For example: *Málvillur í textanum* 'Grammatical errors in the text'. Comments from students on Text 2 included: *Engar slettur, formlegra mál, smá málvillur, foreldrar mínir myndu skilja þetta* 'No foreignisms', 'more formal usage', 'some minor grammatical errors', 'my parents would understand this'. As to Text 3, the only statistically significant difference between the student and teacher cohorts is that more teachers than students would expect to see such language use in a report.

Table 5: *'I would consider the language use in text [1,2,3,4] appropriate for...'*

	Text 1 voc: NS gram: S		Text 2 voc: S gram: NS		Text 3 voc: S gram: S		Text4 voc: NS gram: NS	
	Stud	Teach	Stud	Teach	Stud	Teach	Stud	Teach
N=	(69)	(39)	(69)	(36)	(69)	(37)	(66)	(38)
report/dissertation	0.0	2.6	23.2	8.3	37.7	48.6	0.0	0.0
book	0.0	2.6	17.4	11.1	42.0	48.6	3.0	2.6
printed papers	14.5	2.6 *	58.0	36.1 *	50.7	73.0 *	6.1	5.3
web-based news	15.9	10.3	60.9	30.6 **	50.7	43.2	10.6	5.3
blogs	76.8	74.4	33.3	25.0	18.8	27.0	54.5	39.5
Facebook	37.7	33.3	11.6	0.0 *	7.2	10.8	59.1	34.2 *
e-mail	24.6	28.2	17.4	13.9	7.2	18.9	27.3	13.2
none of the options	2.9	12.8 *	0.0	33.3 ***	4.3	2.7	7.6	36.8***

Attributions of texts to different genres as a function of register.
Figures are percentages, S = Standard, NS = Non-standard
Cross-tabulation Chi-square tests of independence * p≤0.05, ** p≤0.01, *** p≤0.001

Table 5 shows that 50.7% of students versus 73.0% of teachers evaluated Text 3 appropriate for printed papers. For Text 2, on the other hand, differences are 58.0% versus 36.1% for printed papers and 60.9% and 30.6, respectively, for web-based news. Only 2.6% of teachers (one participant) found Text 1 appro-

priate for printed papers while 14.5% of the students did. The differences between the two cohorts, as to their evaluations of newspapers and web-based news, are discussed in more detail below. The greatest difference in evaluations of Text 2 concerned the 'none' option. 33.3% of teachers claimed Text 2 would not be appropriate for any option, while all students thought it appropriate for at least one of the genres.

Teacher and student evaluations of Text 4 were largely similar for the more formal genres but somewhat different for the more informal ones. As is shown in Table 5, 54.5%, 59.1% and 27.3% of students considered Text 4 appropriate for the genres blogs, Facebook and e-mails, versus 39.5%, 34.2% and 13.2% of teachers, respectively. However, the difference is only statistically significant for the genre Facebook. The differences between the two cohorts can be attributed to the fact that 36.8% of the teachers evaluated Text 4 as inappropriate for *any* genre, versus only 7.6% of the students.

Teacher and student evaluations of printed papers and web-based news are shown in Figure 1. The teacher and student cohorts agree that Text 3 is more appropriate for printed newspapers and news on web than Text 4. Yet, the students do not make the same distinction as the teachers as to the appropriateness

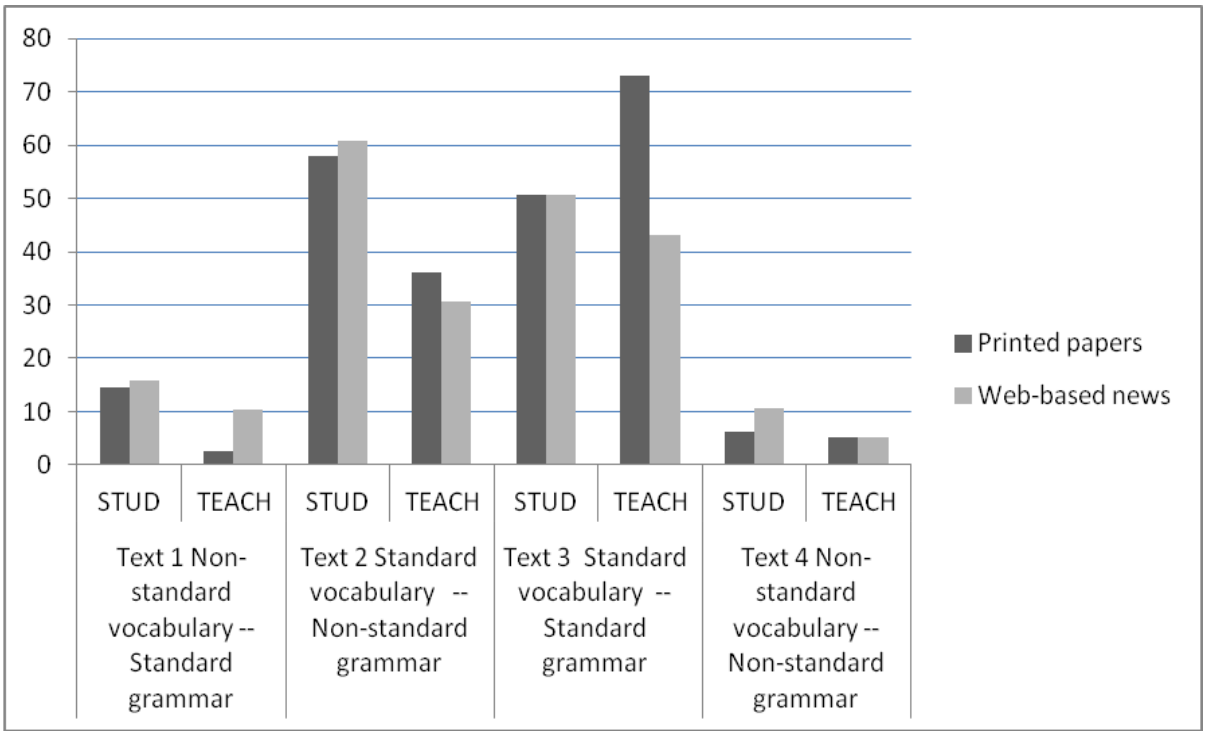

Figure 1: Students' and teachers' evaluation of the appropriateness of different registers for printed newspapers and for web-based news. Relative frequencies as percentages.

of Text 3 for the two different genres. According to the background questions inthe survey, the students read printed newspapers significantly less than the teachers do, while there were no significant differences between how often the student and teacher participants read web-based news. Thus we assume that while both cohorts have had similar exposure to web-based news, their different evaluations of printed newspapers may be influenced by different experience of that genre. Figure 1 also shows that Text 2 (standard vocabulary and non-standard grammar) is evaluated as more appropriate for newspapers and news on web, especially by the students, than the non-standard vocabulary and standard grammar Text 1. These results indicate that texts containing foreignisms and other words from the 'spoken language' are more immediately obvious to the respondents as being inappropriate for these genres, while non-standard grammatical features are either not noticed or not considered so important. The teacher cohort is more aware than the students of such grammatical 'errors'.

The final question posed was whether students and teachers would themselves write in the registers of the four texts. Table 6 shows which registers (Texts 1, 2, 3 and 4) students and teachers would choose to write in themselves for the different genres. The most striking difference between the two cohorts is that the highest percentage of teachers would not write in the registers of Texts

Table 6: *'I would possibly write (shorter or longer) texts with this kind of language use myself if I were writing...'.*

	Text 1 voc: NS gram: S		Text 2 voc: S gram: NS		Text 3 voc: S gram: S		Text4 voc: NS gram: NS	
	Stud	Teach	Stud	Teach	Stud	Teach	Stud	Teach
N=	(78)	(42)	(78)	(40)	(77)	(40)	(76)	(40)
report/dissertation	0.0	0.0	32.1	2.5 ***	42.9	45.0	3.9	0.0
book	0.0	0.0	15.4	5.0	36.4	45.0	2.6	0.0
printed papers	6.4	2.4	50.0	17.5 ***	54.5	52.5	5.3	0.0
web-based news	17.9	2.4 *	56.4	20.0 ***	53.2	42.5	7.9	2.5
blogs	71.8	23.8 ***	37.2	10.0 **	27.3	25.0	44.7	15.0 ***
Facebook	33.3	16.7 *	15.4	2.5 *	14.3	12.5	47.4	10.0 ***
e-mail	24.4	19.0	19.2	7.5	13.0	17.5	32.9	7.5 **
none of the above	11.5	59.5 ***	2.6	57.5 ***	5.2	12.5	18.4	77.5 ***

Attributions of texts to different genres as a function of register.
Figures are percentages, S = Standard, NS = Non-standard
Cross-tabulation Chi-square tests of independence * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

1, 2 or 4 for *any* genre, whereas the highest percentage of students selected blogs, web-based news and Facebook, respectively. For example, for Text 2, 2.6% of students versus 57.5% of teachers selected the 'none' option. Far more students say that they would write in Text 2 register for printed papers and web-based news than the teacher cohort. Reasons given by the teachers for selecting the 'none' option for Text 2 included *ég myndi aldrei senda frá mér texta með svona villum (ekki viljandi a.m.k.)* 'I would never send anyone / publish a text containing such errors (at least not on purpose)'. Conversely, only 12.5% of teachers and 5.2% of students selected the 'none' option for Text 3, which indicates that a great majority of both groups consider Text 3 to be written in a register that they would use themselves for at least one of the options. However, some students made comments that reveal some negative opinions towards the register of Text 3, e.g.: *það er leiðinlegt að skrifa of formlega* 'it is boring to write too formally', and *ég myndi ekki nota of fínt mál í fréttir því aldurshópur er víður* 'for news, I would not use language which is too good because the age group is wide'.

Teacher and student evaluations of Texts 1 and 4 were largely similar for the more formal (impersonal, edited) genres, but dissimilar for the more informal (personal, unedited) genres. For Text 1, for example, no students and no teachers would write in that register themselves for a report or book, while 71.8% of students versus 23.8% of teachers would write in the Text 1 register for blogs. There is also, as previously mentioned, a huge difference in students' vs. teachers' willingness to write in Text 1 register at all. Again, for Text 4, the evaluations of the two cohorts are very different for the more informal genres (blogs, Facebook, e-mails). For example, 44.7% of the students versus 15% of the teachers would write in this register for blogs. Finally, we note that 18.4% of students versus 77.5% of the teachers opted for none of the options.

Notice at the bottom of Table 6 the percentages of teachers who selected the 'none' box. Over half say that they would not write in Text 1 and Text 2 registers for any genre, over three quarters say they would avoid writing in the Text 4 register, but only an eighth say they would not write in the register of Text 3 for any of the options. Far fewer students selected the 'none' option than the teachers. These data suggest that students are far less critical than their teachers in the sense that they seem to be more willing to write in all four registers for one or more genres.

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis that we intended to prove false or true was that 18–21 years old students on the one hand and their teachers on the other would have different judgements as to the appropriateness of different texts for different written genres. While the participants on the whole do (1) associate written texts containing standard language features consistently with the more formal, more impersonal, more planned, more edited genres: reports/dissertations, books, printed papers or web-based news; and (2) associate texts containing non-standard language features consistently with the less formal, less impersonal, less planned, less edited genres: blogs, Facebook and e-mail, cf. Table 2, there are indeed differences in their evaluations which allow us to claim that our hypothesis has been confirmed. As regards texts containing either – and not simultaneously – non-standard grammar or non-standard vocabulary teachers responded differently from students as to the appropriateness of different registers for different genres.

It is evident that teachers are less inclined to relate non-standard language to any genre than the students. And also, while the appearance of foreignisms and other words mostly associated with 'spoken language' use (cf. Text 1 and Text 4) prompted both students and teachers to perceive such texts as inappropriate in formal written genres, a comparison of the evaluations of the 'mixed' registers of Text 1 (non-standard vocabulary) and Text 2 (non-standard grammar) shows that the teachers react more strongly to the non-standard grammar features than the students do. Out of the four text versions in the investigation, Text 2 prompted the greatest differences between teachers and students in evaluations of which registers to use for particular media. Tables 4–6 show that there are more instances of statistically significant differences between students' and teachers' evaluation of Text 2 than for any of the other text versions.

The teaching of Icelandic has traditionally entailed specifying the difference between 'correct' and 'incorrect' grammar, as well as the difference between 'spoken language' (non-standard) vocabulary, notably foreignisms, and 'written language' (standard) vocabulary. It is evident that the ideology of the speech community as to which vocabulary is appropriate for which genre is reproduced by most students. For example, students recognised that a borrowing such as *mixa* 'mix', which occurs in unplanned spoken language, should be avoided in formal written texts, according to the conventions of the speech community, preference being given to Icelandic neologisms, i.e., *hljóðblanda* 'mix' in this case. They also recognised that the colloquial adverb *rosalega* 'very' was not

appropriate for formal written genres. However, non-standard vocabulary was deemed by the students as appropriate in informal written genres.

As far as grammar is concerned, the students either have not yet been taught all standard forms of grammar, i.e. they have not learned the 'error status' of the grammatical deviations their teachers recognise – and therefore do not pick them up – or they have indeed recognised that the grammar of Text 2 is non-standard, but are, nevertheless, less concerned about it than the teachers are.

Students' comments on the grammar of Text 2 indicate that while some of them recognised the grammatical errors (Icelandic *málvillur*), many more claimed that the usage in Text 2 was good, while some even claimed that there were 'no errors', as a result of which they perceived Text 2 as appropriate for one or more of the more formal genres. These data suggest that the students indeed relate grammatically 'correct' language to the formal genres even if they have not recognised the 'errors'.

Since reading habits may influence how people evaluate written registers, we used the survey questionnaire to collect such information about the participants. The survey showed that the students read printed newspapers significantly less than the teachers do (χ^2=18.15, df=3, N=123, p=.000), while there was little difference between the groups as to the number of times they read web news. One can surmise that younger people are more inclined to read web-based news than printed news, whereas the teachers use both mediums to access news.[9]

From the teachers' perspective, at least, web news is not considered exemplary in terms of standard language use. Table 4 shows that about half of the teachers claim that they would expect to see the non-standard vocabulary of Text 1 and the non-standard grammar of Text 2 in web news, while Table 5 shows that far less of them (10.3% and 30.6% respectively) thought these registers 'appropriate' for web news. On the other hand, while a great majority of the teachers expected to see the standard language Text 3 in printed papers, only about a

[9] The survey also showed that the teachers read more novels per year than the students do. There is a statistically significant difference (χ^2=46.55, df=2, N=107, p=0.000) between average percentages for each of the two cohorts: 69.2% of teachers versus 7.4% of students read more than five novels per year; 30.8% of teachers versus 77.9% of students claimed to read 1–5 novels a year; and all the teachers claimed to read at least one novel per year, while 14.7% of the students ticked the 'never'-box. (No correlations were carried out to find out whether *individuals* who read a lot behave differently from those who do not.) As is evident from Tables 4–6, there was no significant difference as to how students versus teachers attributed different registers to the genre 'books'. When reading into these results it should be kept in mind that the questions on register attribution did not make a distinction between 'novels' and 'non-fiction' books.

third of the teachers claimed that they would expect to see that standard language register in web news.

Our main research question was what (if anything) is happening to the (perceived) standard of 'proper' language use in Icelandic. Our results show that the students are more inclined than the teachers to use non-standard language in the more informal written genres. Moreover, the findings suggest that some non-standard Icelandic grammar forms are less problematic to the students than to the teachers for use in the more formal genres. However, it is very clear that there is a perception among 18–21 year old Icelandic speakers that borrowings are inappropriate features in formal written genres.

While Icelandic testifies to the correctness of Trudgill's (2002: 723) claim that small, tightly-knit communities have a greater chance of abiding by the norms, our experimental results seem to indicate that a change in conventional norms of standard grammar might be in progress in Icelandic.

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Controlled manipulation of intonational difference:

An experimental study of intonation patterns as the basis for language-ideological constructs of geographical provenance and linguistic standardness in young Danes

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BACKGROUND: THE DANISH LANGUAGE-IDEOLOGICAL SITUATION AS KNOWN FROM PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

To the extent that perceptions and evaluations of difference and variation in language use are crucial to people's notion of standardness in language, investigations of such perceptions and evaluations are of course a prerequisite for the SLICE endeavour of understanding contemporary processes of language (de)standardisation. The motivation to carry out the experiment to be described in this chapter came from our presumption that the basis for Danish perceptions and evaluations of geographically-distributed variation has largely been reduced to prosodic features in recent decades, as Copenhagen 'ways with language' at all other levels of linguistic description have been adopted by youngsters everywhere in the country. Even in terms of prosody, this 'Copenhagenisation' is so complete with many youngsters that it often is difficult, even for trained dialectologists, to discover any local colouring in their speech at all. Thus, in terms of language use, the standardisation of spoken Danish is probably more advanced than in any other European country.

Having stressed that Denmark as a whole is characterised by far-reaching linguistic homogenisation (in the sense that Copenhagen speech replaces the traditional dialects everywhere), we should also stress that Copenhagen speech itself is rich in phonetic segmental variation, and that this variation comes along as Copenhagen speech spreads throughout the country. Thus, with the various degrees of local (non-Copenhagen) prosodic features which are also present, the speech of non-Copenhagen youngsters is probably characterized by more variation today than in the traditional dialect-speaking communities. In our

LANCHART studies (www.dgcss.dk), we have established that this variation is systematically perceived and evaluated in ways which indicate that young Danes live with and relate to *three normative targets* as 'naturally' present ingredients of their everyday life in any community outside of Copenhagen (more below). In our terminology, these are the MODERN, CONSERVATIVE, and LOCAL targets, i.e. three different combinations of social values and ways of speaking. MODERN vs. CONSERVATIVE summarises the social-values distinction that attaches to the segmental (Copenhagen-originating) variation, while LOCAL represents the nexus of social values and speech which adds local (non-Copenhagen) prosodic colouring to the segmental variation. Speech in Copenhagen is characterised by (C/M) variation; speech in any local community (outside of Copenhagen) is characterised by (C/M/L) variation.

In the LANCHART project we have studied the social-values aspect of the far-reaching Copenhagenisation of Danish society in several ways. A major instrument has been a series of speaker evaluation experiments (SEEs), in which data susceptible of illuminating young people's notion of 'Danish standard language' were collected in three different evaluative tasks. The young non-Copenhagen respondents listened to twelve speakers representing the (C/M/L) variation assumed to be relevant for 'social identifications' in their own community – i.e. four speakers for each of the three assumed targets. The CONSERVATIVE and MODERN speakers were the same in all studied communities, whereas the LOCAL speakers differed, of course, from community to community.

In the first task, in a first phase of the SEEs, the respondents were kept unaware of giving away attitudes to language (because we knew from earlier investigations in Denmark that consciously and subconsciously offered language attitudes are two very different things) while evaluating the speakers on value-laden personality traits. In the second phase of the SEEs, the respondents were informed about the attitudes-to-language aspect of the experiment, and completed two simultaneous tasks while listening to the twelve speakers once again. They were asked to evaluate on a scale how *rigsdansk* (the common name for 'standard Danish') each of the speakers sounded to them, and at the same time indicate whether they though the speaker was from 'Copenhagen' or from their 'own big city' near-by.

Thus, on the assumption that linguistic (de)standardisation processes are basically driven by ideas about 'good and bad' language, the aim of our SEEs was to obtain evaluative hierarchisations on three different parameters that could shed light on what counts as 'best language' among young Danes: evaluations in

terms of (1) 'personal appearance', (2a) 'standardness', and (2b) 'Copenhagenness'. The results are shown in Table 1 (cf. Kristiansen 2009: Tables 9, 6 and 4; also see the introduction to this volume).

Table 1: SEE rankings of the (C/M/L) variation by a nationwide sample of adolescent non-Copenhageners on the three parameters of 'personal appearance', 'standardness', and 'Copenhagenness' (> = significantly more than; / = statistically no difference)

(1) 'personal appearance'					
– superiority	C	>/	M	>	L
– dynamism	M	>	C	>	L
(2a) 'standardness'	C	>	L	/	M
(2b) 'Copenhagenness'	M	>	C	>	L

In task (1), when the young non-Copenhagen respondents were unaware of giving away attitudes to language, they evaluated the way their local peers speak (which in most cases will be their own way of speaking) more negatively then they evaluated the way young Copenhageners speak. This relative downgrading of LOCAL speech happened regardless of whether the Copenhagen voices were heard in a MODERN or CONSERVATIVE version. With regard to the (C/M) variation, MODERN clearly beat CONSERVATIVE on dynamism traits, while CONSERVATIVE did as well or better on superiority traits (indicated by >/ in the table).

In the second task (2a and 2b), when the respondents had been informed of the language-attitudes objective of the experiment, CONSERVATIVE was the only 'winner' as MODERN was downgraded to share a clearly less *rigsdansk* position with LOCAL. At the same time, the MODERN and LOCAL voices were to a large extent correctly allocated in terms of geographical provenance: the MODERN voices were allocated to 'Copenhagen' by two out of three respondents, and the LOCAL voices were allocated to their 'own big city' by three out of four respondents.

Perhaps more surprisingly, the four CONSERVATIVE voices were allocated to 'Copenhagen' and 'own big city' in a way that gave a fifty-fifty distribution. This might be interpreted as an indication of impressive success for the long-standing and well-known ideology which professes that *rigsdansk* is a non-localizable variety of the language. If non-localizability is an essential feature of CONSERVATIVE, a fifty-fifty distribution seems the logical average resulting from

a task where hundreds of respondents are forced to allocate four voices to one of two geographical sites (either 'Copenhagen' or 'own big city').[1]

What mainly interests us here, however, is the role of prosodic vs. segmental difference in the above picture. As already noted, it is our assumption that LOCAL differs from CONSERVATIVE and MODERN in terms of prosody, whereas the difference between the latter two is a matter of segments. If we first compare the results for 'overt' evaluations – *consciously offered* in terms of 'standardness' and 'Copenhagenness' – we then observe that both prosodic and segmental features seem to have played a very different role in the simultaneous assessments of whether speech is *rigsdansk* ('standard') on the one hand, and 'from Copenhagen' on the other hand. Likewise, when we consider the 'covert' evaluations – *subconsciously offered* in terms of 'personal appearance' – there seems to be no congruity or interdependence between these evaluations and the overt evaluations of 'standardness'.

Things look quite different, however, when we compare the results for 'personal appearance' with the overt representations of 'Copenhagenness'. In general terms, LOCAL prosody seems to override (or neutralise) the potential impact from whatever segmental (C/M) variation the local stimulus voices may exhibit, making you a 'non-Copenhagener' and harming your 'personal appearance' (in comparison with 'Copenhageners') with respect to superior and dynamic values alike. In contrast, COPENHAGEN prosody combines with CONSERVATIVE segments to make you appear 'superior' and 'non-localizable', with MODERN segments to make you a true 'Copenhagener' and a particularly 'dynamic' person.

The basic interest behind these LANCHART studies is to contribute to solve the *evaluation* problem of linguistic change (Weinrech, Labov and Herzog

[1] However, it is also possible that this result for CONSERVATIVE to some extent should be seen as a methodological artifact. If the sample as a whole favour the choice 'Copenhagen' for the MODERN voices and 'own big city' for the LOCAL voices, and there is a general tendency in the sample to presume that each city should be allocated the same number of voices, one might suspect a fifty-fifty distribution of the CONSERVATIVE voices to be the likely outcome – notwithstanding the fact that respondents were explicitly told that it was not the case, necessarily, that half of the voices were from 'Copenhagen' and the other half from the 'own big city', and then listened to and judged the voices in an order (four successive sequences of CONSERVATIVE–MODERN–LOCAL voices) that made it difficult and rather meaningless for each individual respondent to engage in a final reallocation of the CONSERVATIVE voices. To which extent this kind of reallocation happened, could possibly be studied by scrutinizing 'corrections' in the original data, but the issue is of little significance to the experiment we present here. No matter how, the result indicates that MODERN is more tightly associated with 'Copenhagen' than CONSERVATIVE.

1968). We believe that language ideologies, social evaluations of 'good and bad' in language, do play a crucial role as 'driving force' in linguistic change, but also that there are language-related ideologies which fulfil social functions without influencing the use of language. Our endeavours to shed light on what counts as 'best language' among young Danes are undertaken in the interest of localising the ideological driving force behind their changing ways with language. By tapping into three presumably important constituents of Danish language-related ideology as described, we think we have obtained fairly strong evidence that the constituents with a driving-force role to play are 'covert' (subconsciously offered) representations of 'best language'. These include social evaluations (operationalised as value-laden personality traits in our SEEs) in close linkage with representations of geographical provenance (in terms of Copenhagen vs. non-Copenhagen) – but largely in independence of representations of *rigsdansk* (which is the term that constructs the notion of standardness in Danish public discourse). Furthermore, and most importantly in our connection here, we do believe that prosodic features make up the major, and often maybe only, linguistic basis for the described categorisations in geographical and social space. This is a belief we have often aired, without having any solid, scientifically established, evidence for it. The experiment we report on here is our first attempt to remedy this situation.

INTONATION IN DANISH

Prosodic features that may be of relevance to social identifications in the Danish speech community include intonation, stress, and *stød* (a Danish specialty linked to the syllable, articulated as a glottal constriction or closure). Intonation is commonly thought to be the main clue to regional identification:

> *Det er trykgruppens lille talemelodi, trykgruppemønstret, der er vores stærkeste dialekt- og regionalsprogskendemærke. Det er først og fremmest på disse små tonale figurer at vi (gen)kender hinanden som bornholmere, københavnere, sønderjyder o.s.v.*).
> ['It is the brief speech melody of the stress group, the stress group pattern, which is our strongest marker of dialectal and regional difference. It is first and foremost by these small tonal figures that we recognise each other as people from Bornholm, Copenhagen, Southern Jutland, etc.'] (Grønnum 2005: 340).

Although we suspect that non-Copenhagen *stød* (in terms either of manifestation or distribution, or both) is likely to be the more characteristic and readily recognizable feature of speech on Sealand (the eastern island where Copenhagen is situated), we certainly do subscribe to the assumption of a more general, nationwide role for intonation, as expressed in the quote above by the leading expert on Danish intonation, Nina Grønnum. In this first experimental study of Danish prosody in social identification processes, we chose to focus on the role of intonation in the categorisation of speakers as originating either from Copenhagen, or from Denmark's second largest city Århus in Jutland, i.e. the western part of the country.

The 'stress group pattern' is the tonal contour initiated by a stressed syllable (Grønnum 1992). In Danish read-aloud speech, the shape of this contour has been found to be invariant within regional varieties, but reliably different across varieties. The main difference concerns the relation of the F0 peak to (the nucleus of) the stressed syllable: in some varieties the peak is *in* the stressed syllables, notably western/Jutlandish varieties of Danish, and in other varieties the peak does not occur until after the stressed syllable, sometimes as late as in the first post-tonic syllable, notably in Copenhagen Danish.

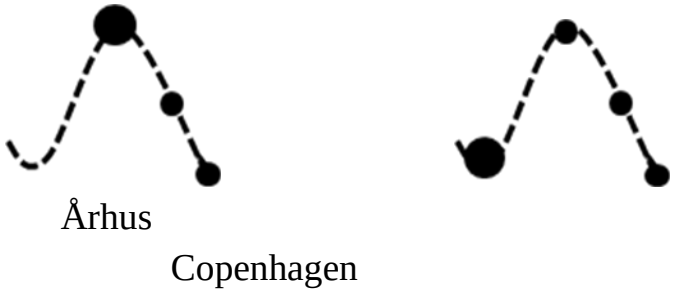

Figure 1: Stress group patterns in Copenhagen Danish and Århus Danish (Grønnum 1992). The large dot indicates the position of the stressed syllable, the small dots indicate unstressed syllables (see further the text)

Figure 1 shows how the stress group pattern – i.e. the change in the F0 contour from a stressed syllable to the subsequent unstressed syllables – is different in read-aloud Copenhagen and Århus speech (Thorsen and Nielsen 1981). In Copenhagen speech, the stressed syllable has a low (and potentially falling) tone with a subsequent rise to a high tone in the first unstressed syllable (followed by a fall if there is more than one unstressed syllable in the group). In Århus

speech, the pattern is the opposite: the tone is high (and potentially rising) in the stressed syllable, and is followed by a fall through the first unstressed syllable (and the fall continues if there are more unstressed syllables (Thorsen and Nielsen 1981: 9)).

CONTROLLED MANIPULATION OF INTONATION

Although Labov already in his New York study (Labov 1966) studied the social evaluation of speech differences using tape-recorded stimulus materials based on cutting-and-pasting of the variants of particular variables, the study of listeners' perceptions and evaluations of variation in speech has most often been conducted at the level of varieties rather than variables. This is certainly true for the study of perception and evaluation of regional variation in Danish, where all studies have used 'verbal guises' – i.e. recorded excerpts of 'naturally' produced speech as stimuli – in SEEs (e.g. Maegaard 2005; Kristiansen 2009). In recent years the increased availability of technological resources for more specific manipulation of stimuli has led to a noticeable increase in studies that focus on the role of particular phonetic features in the classification of speakers on traits associated with regional affiliation, e.g. Plichta and Preston (2005) on /ɑj/ monophthongisation in U.S English, Campbell-Kibler (2007) on 'g dropping' in (ING) in U.S. English. Empirical studies in some European communities have found intonation to be relatively unimportant for discrimination and/or recognition of regional varieties (see evidence for Norwegian and Dutch in Gooskens 2005, and Gooskens and Heeringa 2006, for Austrian in Feizollahi and Soukup 2009). However, van Leyden (2004) found that different pitch patterns are important to the recognition of Orkney and Shetland varieties of English.

The two varieties of English on the islands of Orkney and Shetland in van Leyden (2004) differ on the timing of the peak relative to the vowel of the stressed syllable in a way that is similar to the difference between the stress group patterns found for the varieties in Copenhagen and Århus. Van Leyden conducted a series of experiments on the perceptual discrimination of the two varieties including classification on the basis of monotonised stimuli – where the tonal contour is constant and flat, in effect cancelling the prosodic difference between the two varieties – and on the basis of low-pass filtered samples in which the upper part of the spectrum is removed, whereby most of the segmental and hence lexical information in the speech signal is also removed (since the

utterance becomes incomprehensible), leaving (nearly) only the prosodic cues to the two different dialects. Interestingly, van Leyden found that while listeners could in fact discriminate above chance on the basis of prosody alone, i.e. when exposed to low-pass filtered speech, they were better at discriminating when the segmental information remained intact but the tonal contour had been monotonised. This suggests that while the tonal contour is sufficient for identification of speaker origins to most listeners, segmental information makes identification easier. However, van Leyden also found that speakers of the Orkney dialect would classify a sample of Shetland speech as being spoken by an Orcadian, if the intonation of the sample matched the pattern for the Orkney dialect. Using recordings of segmentally identical (read aloud) utterances in the two dialects, she transposed the F0 contour from the Orkney version to the Shetland version and then had listeners judge where the speaker was from. The majority classified the speaker of these utterances as coming from Orkney (the pattern was not as clear for Shetland, cf. van Leyden 2004: 54–59 for details and discussion).

In our experiment, we used a modified version of van Leyden's (2004) study, based on the transposition of intonation contours in the three speech styles that have most salience in Copenhagen and Århus.

STIMULUS VOICES

We used three voices from the LANCHART SEEs – one MODERN voice, one CONSERVATIVE voice (both from Copenhagen) and one LOCAL voice (from Århus) – all of them being voices of young men. We took two clips from each of the three voices: one which was used un-modified, and one which had its intonation modified. As we knew from our previous research that young Danes can make decisions about even very short stretches of speech (Maegaard 2007), we used clips that were only 8 seconds long, which facilitated the modification process. Transcriptions of the clips are shown on the next page, in IPA, Danish orthography, and English translation.

As already signalled, the distinction between the two Copenhagen-based accents is a matter of segmental, not intonational, differences. In the clips used, the MODERN voice exhibits velarisation of [ð], which is a characteristic feature of the MODERN accent. In contrast, the difference between the Copenhagen-based accents and the Århus-based accent is mainly a matter of intonation (see Figure 1). This is also the case with our clips.

CONSERVATIVE Copenhagen, not modified

det skal være en lærer som der ikke er d- øh det skal være en lærer der først og fremmest har styr på sit stof det må være må være altafgørende

[d̥e sɡ̊a vɛɐ̯̥ en ˈlɛːɐ sm d̥ɑ ˈeɡ̊ ɛɐ̯̥ d̥ œːˌ d̥ə sɡ̊a vɛɐ̯̥ en ˈlɛːɐ d̥ɑ ˈfœɐ̯̥sd̥ ɐ ˈfʁɑmˀm̥sd̥ hɑ ˈsd̥yɐ̯̥ˀ pʰɔ siˌd̥ ˈsd̥ɐf ˈd̥e mɔ vɛːɐ mɒ vɛːɐ ˈalˀd̥ɑwˌɡ̊œˀɐnə]

'it has to be a teacher who is not i- eh it has to be a teacher who first of all controls his stuff that must be must be all-decisive'

CONSERVATIVE Copenhagen, modified to ÅRHUS

læreren behøver ikke at at gøre det interessant det er ikke lærerens job at motivere eleven men hvis læreren er i stand til det så er det jo klart en fordel

[ˈlɛːʁn b̥əˈhøwˀɐ eɡ̊ ɐː ɐ ɡ̊œɐ̯̥ d̥e entˢʁɐˈsanˀd̥ d̥e ˈeɡ̊ ˈlɛːʁns ˈd̥jɐb̥ ɐ motˢiˈveːˀɐ eˈlewˀʊn meɲ ves ˈlɛːʁn ɛɐ̯̥ i ˈsd̥anˀ tˢe d̥ə sɐ d̥e jo ˈklɑːˀd̥ nˌ ˈfɒːˌd̥eːˀl]

'the teacher does not have to to make it interesting it is not the teacher's job to motivate the student but if the teacher is capable of it then it's of course an advantage'

MODERN Copenhagen, not modified

en god lærer skal være forberedt til hver time og det skal ikke bare være det traditionelle hver gang med at skrive ned og læs og fortælle om det bagefter

[en ˈɡ̊oːˀ lɛɐ̯̥ sɡ̊ə vɛɐ̯̥ ˈfɒbəˌʁɛːˀd̥ tˢe ˈvɛɐ̯̥ˀ ˈtˢiːmˌɐː d̥e sɡ̊a ˈeɡ̊ ˈb̥ɑː ˈvɛɐ̯̥ d̥e tˢʁɑd̥əɕoˈnɛlˀˌ ˈvɛɐ̯̥ ˈɡ̊ɑŋˀ meˌ̯ɐ sɡ̊ʁiʊ neðˀ ɐ ˈleˌ̯ˀs ɐ fɐˈtˢeˌ̯llˌɐm d̥e ˈb̥ɛːˀˌeˌ̯fd̥ɐ]

'a good teacher should be prepared for every class and it should not be the traditional each time with write down and read and tell about it afterwards'

MODERN Copenhagen, modified to ÅRHUS

der skal være nogle kreative indtryk eller indskud hvor at at man selv skal finde på nogle ting eller man får nogle opgaver så man ligesom får udvidet det

[d̥ɑ sɡ̊a vɛɐ̯̥ noˌ̯ːon ˈkʰʁɛaˌtˢiwˀʊ ˈenˌtˢʁœɡ̊ eˌ̯lɐ ˈenˌsɡ̊uðˀ ˈvɒ ad̥ ad̥ man ˈsəlˀ sɡ̊a fennˌ pʰɔ noŋ ˈtˢeŋˀ eˌ̯lɐ man ˈfɒːˀ noːon ˈɐb̥ˌɡ̊ɛːwɐ ˈsɐ man ˈlisəm fɒ ˈuðˌvɪðˀˌðˌ d̥e]

'there should be some creative impressions or insertions where you yourself have to come up with something or you get some tasks so that you kind of get it broadened'

ÅRHUS, not modified

jeg sy- jeg synes det er vigtigt at øhm at at læreren ligesom øhm jamen tager tager hånd om det og øh og også bestemmer en hel del af det som der skal ske

[jas ja ˈsyns d̥eː ˈveɡ̊d̥iˌd̥ ˈad̥ œːˌm a ad̥ ˈlɛːɐːn ˈlisɐm œːˌm jamˌm tˢɛɐ tˢɛɐ ˈhɐnˀ ɐm d̥e ɐ œːˌ ˈɐ ˈɐs b̥eˈsd̥eˌ̯mˀɐ en ˈheːˀl ˈd̥eːˀl a d̥eː sɐm d̥ɑ sɡ̊a ˈsɡ̊eːˀ]

'I thi- I think it is important that ehm that that the teacher ehm you know takes control and eh and also decides a good deal of what is going to happen'

ÅRHUS, modified to COPENHAGEN (CONSERVATIVE/MODERN)

en god lærer skal selvfølgelig være en en øh en veluddannet lærer en lærer som øh som ved en masse og og kan svare på spørgsmål

[en ˈɡ̊oːˀ ˈlɛːɐ sɡ̊aː seˈfølˌ̯li vɛːɐ enː en œː en ˈvɐ̯luðˌd̥anˀə ˈlɛːɐ en ˈlɛːɐ sɐm œː sɐm ˈveðˀ en ˈmasə ɐː ɐ kʰa svɑːɑ pʰɔ ˈsb̥œɐ̯̥sˌmɔːˀl]

'a good teacher should of course be a a eh a well-educated teacher a teacher who eh who knows a lot and and can answer questions'

Since the stimuli used in the SEEs were verbal guises – i.e. the produced utterances were not the same, as they would have been with matched guises, but excerpts from spontaneously produced answers to the question 'what is a good teacher?' – the segmental material and the number of unstressed syllables in the stress groups was not identical across the stimuli, and therefore we could not transpose the F0 contour from Copenhagen stimuli onto the Århus stimuli, nor vice versa. Hence, the F0 contour was re-synthesised in all six guises, and it was further manipulated manually in the modified versions of the three voices, such that all stressed syllables in each of the Copenhagen guises were given the high-falling pattern typical of Århus speech, and, similarly, all stressed syllables in the Århus guise were given the low-rising pattern typical of Copenhagen speech. In each case, care was taken not to produce a broader F0 range than the one present in the original. The manipulation was done in PRAAT (version 5.1.35, Boersma and Weenik 2009).

Because recordings may differ with regard to how easily the F0 pattern can be re-synthesised without adding an artificial touch to the voice we also asked the participants in the experiment to assess the voices in terms of naturalness/ artificiality. This was also the reason for re-synthesising all six guises, rather than simply using clips from the original recordings: re-synthesis changes the sampling rate of the signal making them sound like somewhat inferior recordings compared to the originals. We did not want to confound this factor with modification of the stress group patterns, and therefore we re-synthesised all of them.

PARTICIPANTS, ANSWERING FORMAT, PROCEDURE

The data were collected in November/December 2009. The respondents were 104 students of Danish at the universities of Århus (n=37) and Copenhagen (n=67). We will refer to these two samples as ÅU and CU.

The experiment started by the distribution of a simple one-sheet answering form to each student. The front page listed 6 voices (voice 1, voice 2,… etc.) with the two answering options 'Århus' and 'Copenhagen' for each of the voices. The back page listed the voices in the same way but with the answering options 'Natural' and 'Artificial'.

The following information and instruction was given orally and was at the same time projected on a screen in written form: *Du skal nu høre 6 stemmer. De*

er alle sammen drengestemmer. Lyt først til dem alle sammen en gang i træk. ('You are going to hear 6 voices. All are boys' voices. First listen one time to all of them in a row'). Then, after the first round of listening: *Du skal nu høre de 6 stemmer en gang til. Denne gang skal du for hver stemme angive på skemaet om drengen lyder som om han kommer fra København eller Århus* ('You will now hear the 6 voices one more time. This time you indicate for each voice whether you think the boy sounds as if he is from Copenhagen or from Århus').

After completion of the first part of the experiment, the participants were asked to turn the answering form and were given the following information and instruction: *De 6 stemmer du lige har hørt, stammer fra nogle forsøg med at fremstille kunstig tale til mobiltelefonselskaber. Nogle af stemmerne var kunstige og nogle af dem var naturlige. Lyt til stemmerne igen og angiv for hver enkelt af dem om du synes stemmen lyder naturlig eller kunstig* ('The 6 voices you have just heard were taken from attempts to produce artificial speech for mobile phone companies. Some of the voices were artificial and some were natural. Listen to the voices again and indicate for each of them whether you think the voice sounds natural or artificial').

RESULT: ALLOCATION OF *NON-MODIFIED* AND *MODIFIED* VOICES TO COPENHAGEN OR ÅRHUS

Figure 2 shows that the great majority of the participants allocated the *non-modified* voices correctly to Copenhagen and Århus – i.e. in accordance with the genuine geographic background of the voices. As many as 9 out of 10 judges allocate CONSERVATIVE to Copenhagen and ÅRHUS to Århus. There is more disagreement about where to place MODERN; only 3 out of 4 allocate the voice to Copenhagen. The difference between the two samples of students from ÅU and KU is statistically non-significant for all three accents.

Figure 3 shows that the great majority of the participants allocated the three *modified* voices to Copenhagen and Århus in a way which was 'wrong' with regard to their genuine geographical background, but 'correct' with regard to the modified stress group pattern. Modified MODERN was allocated to Århus by more subjects than modified CONSERVATIVE. We may notice that this difference is bigger for the ÅU students than for the CU students. It goes for all three accents, however, that the difference between ÅU and CU is statistically non-significant.

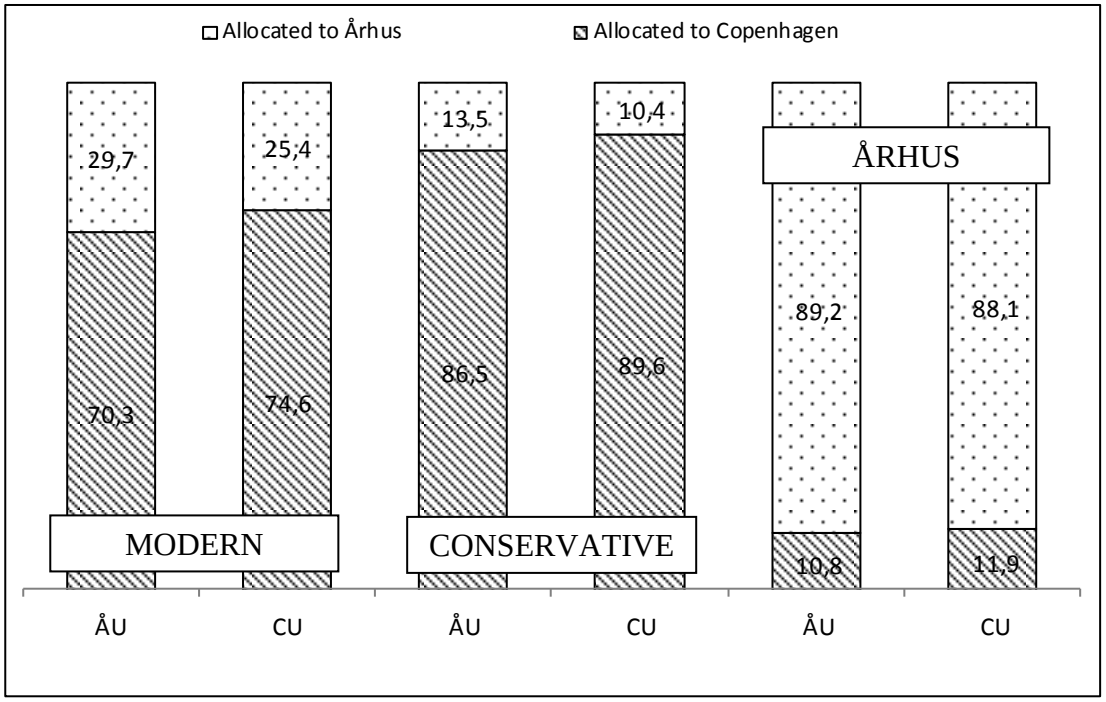

Figure 2: Allocation of the non-modified voices MODERN, CONSERVATIVE and ÅRHUS to 'Copenhagen' and 'Århus' (shown as percentages) – by students of Danish at ÅU (n=37) and CU (n=67). The difference between ÅU and KU is statistically non-significant as far as all three accents are concerned.

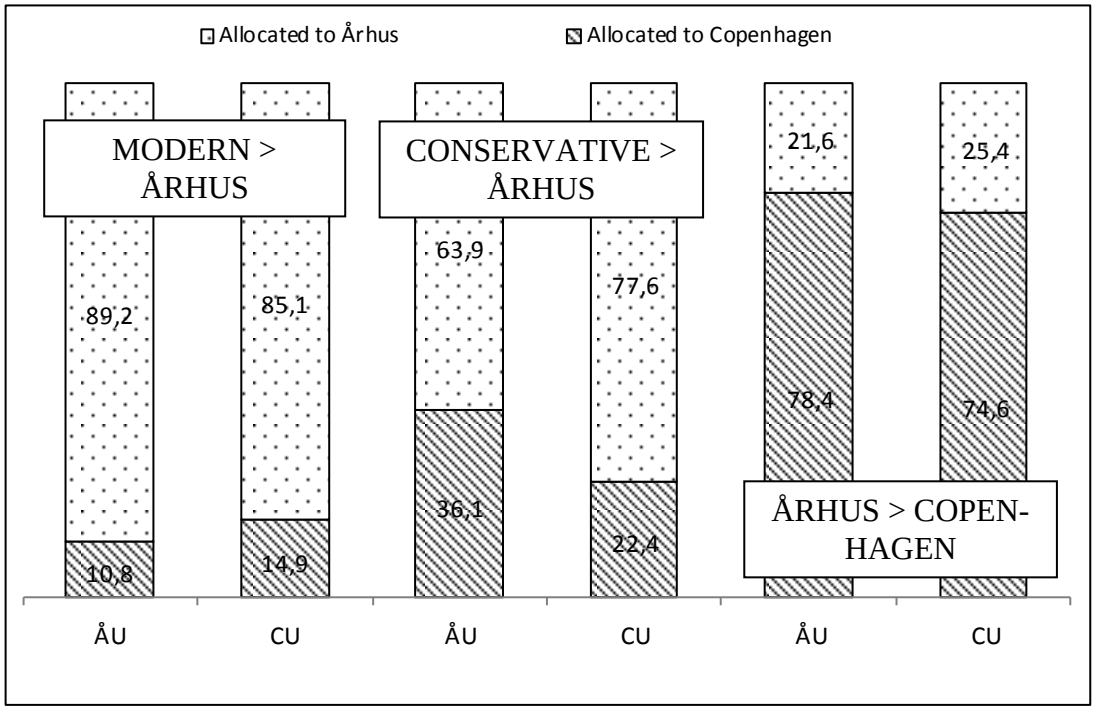

Figure 3: Allocation of the modified voices [MODERN > ÅRHUS], [CONSERVATIVE > ÅRHUS] and [ÅRHUS > COPENHAGEN (MODERN/CONSERVATIVE)] to 'Copenhagen' and 'Århus' (shown as percentages) – by students of Danish at ÅU (n=37) and CU (n=67). The difference between ÅU and KU is statistically non-significant as far as all three accents are concerned.

This is the main result of the experiment, and we think that it quite convincingly confirms our assumption that identification of speakers as originating from Århus or Copenhagen merely rely on intonation. Our modification of the stress group patterns changed the perception of the voices: the young man from Århus became a Copenhagener, the two Copenhageners became young men from Århus.

DISCUSSION

Even if the main result is clear enough, there is a difference in how successful the modification of intonation was in modifying the perceived city-identity of the speakers. The bars for the [MODERN > ÅRHUS] voice in Figure 3 looks the same as the bars for the ÅRHUS voice in Figure 2, just like the bars for the [ÅRHUS > COPENHAGEN] voice in Figure 3 looks very much the same as the bars for the MODERN voice in Figure 2. Thus, this picture seems to suggest a full effect of modifying the intonation patterns of the MO DERN and ÅRHUS voices – full effect in the sense that the level of identification is the same for the modified voices as for the non-modified voices.

The [CONSERVATIVE > ÅRHUS] voice, however, is not to the same degree perceived as an ÅRHUS voice, especially not by the ÅU respondents. One might speculate whether this in some way is related to the finding that the Copenhagen-association is more frequent for non-modified CONSERVATIVE than for non-modified MODERN (see Figure 2).[2] If this is the case, the implication is that a

[2] This is the inverse picture of what we saw in the LANCHART data (see the introduction section), where it was MODERN that was associated with Copenhagen more frequently than CONSERVATIVE. The LANCHART data which includes the ÅRHUS accent as representative of LOCAL speech was collected among 9-graders (15–16 years old) in the small town of Odder just south of Århus. Given as an average for the four voices which represented each of the three accents, the Odder youngsters allocated the voices to Copenhagen as follows, in percentages: MODERN 71,3, CONSERVATIVE 50,9, ÅRHUS 18,0 (see Kristiansen 2009: Table 4). The percentages for the three voices that we have used in this experiment were: MODERN 65,5, CONSERVATIVE 40,2, ÅRHUS 8,6 (see voices Mb11, Cb1 and Lb9 in Table 3 in Kristiansen 2009). Notwithstanding the possibility of a methodologically motivated favoring of a 50–50 distribution for CONSERVATIVE in the LANCHART data, as discussed in Footnote 1, it seems clear that there is a difference in how the CONSERVATIVE accent is perceived in terms of geographical provenance: 9-graders in a suburb to Århus are far from associating CONSERVATIVE with Copenhagen in the same way as university students of Danish in Århus (and Copenhagen alike). Whether the difference is to be seen mainly as an effect of age or of education, we cannot say, but in any case we find it plausible that the association 'CONSERVATIVE–Copenhagen' is more common among university students of Danish than among 9-graders (all social categories included). The inverse finding would seem less plausible.

modification of the intonation pattern is not enough to change a CONSERVATIVE-speaking young Copenhagener into a young man from Århus – not enough in the ears of all (i.e. not enough to equal the level of identification reached by the non-modified ÅRHUS voice).

For a further discussion of this, it may be useful to take a look at our data from the second task, in which respondents assessed the voices as either 'natural' or 'artificial'. The results from this assessment are shown in Figures 4 and 5. As explained above (section on stimulus voices), recordings may differ with regard to how easily the F0 pattern can be re-synthesised without adding an artificial touch to the voice. In order not to confound its possible effects with the studied effects of modifying the stress group patterns, we did what we could to control for this factor by using re-synthesised F0 contours also in the non-modified voices. In the second phase of the experiment, we sought information on how successful the re-synthesizing had been by asking the participants to assess the voices in terms of naturalness/ artificiality.

By comparing the results in Figures 4 and 5, we see that more respondents thought the voices sounded 'artificial' in their modified version than in their unmodified version – with the one exception that there was no difference in how CU students heard the two versions of MODERN. Our first suggestion as to why we get more 'artificial' judgements for the modified voices will of course be that the modifications were not fully successful in a *technical* sense. This is probably the main reason for the results of the experiment.

But we can also speculate whether more respondents heard the modified voices as 'artificial' in a *social* sense because the modifications created some kind of mismatch which broke the 'natural' combination of intonation and segmental characteristics. This speculation seems particularly pertinent in the case of the modified Copenhagen voices. The [CONSERVATIVE > ÅRHUS] voice was deemed 'artificial' by a majority of both ÅU and CU students, and by considerably more than was the case for the [MODERN > ÅRHUS] voice (see Figure 5). At the same time the [CONSERVATIVE > ÅRHUS] voice was less often allocated to Århus than the [MODERN > ÅRHUS] voice, especially by ÅU students (see Figure 3). This might indicate that ÅRHUS intonation perceptually combines less 'naturally' with CONSERVATIVE segments than with MODERN segments.

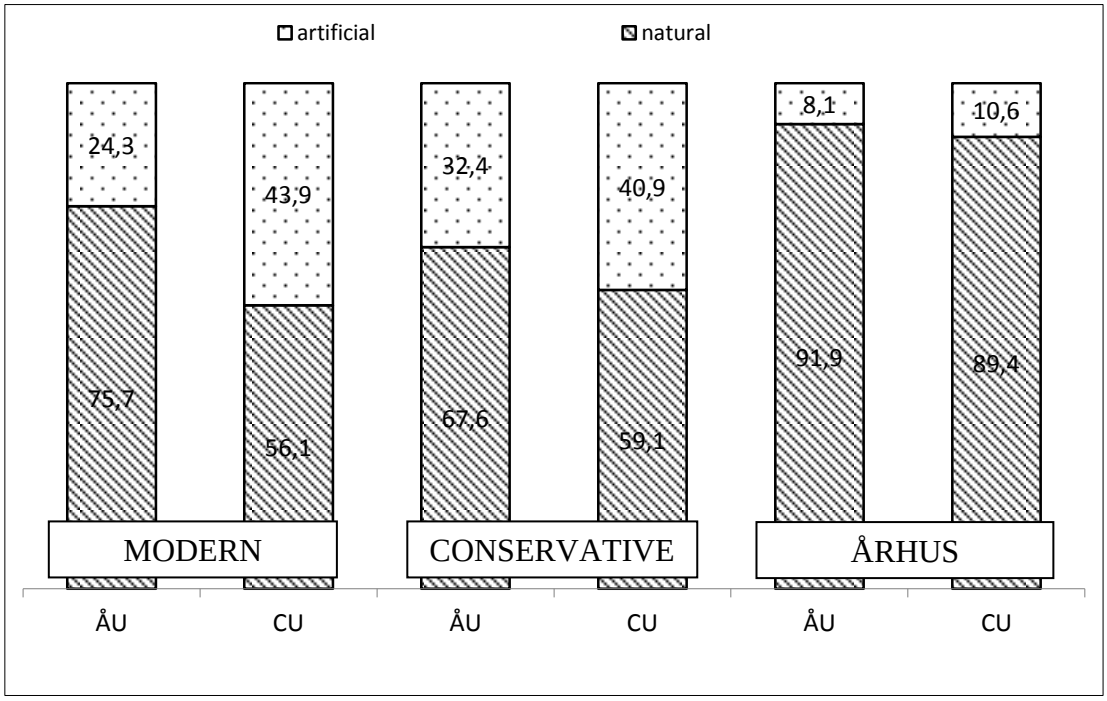

Figure 4: Assessment of the non-modified voices MODERN, CONSERVATIVE and ÅRHUS as 'natural' or 'artificial' (shown as percentages) – by students of Danish at ÅU (n=37) and CU (n=67). The difference between ÅU and CU is statistically significant for MODERN: (Pearson Chi-square 3,918, df 1, p=0,048).

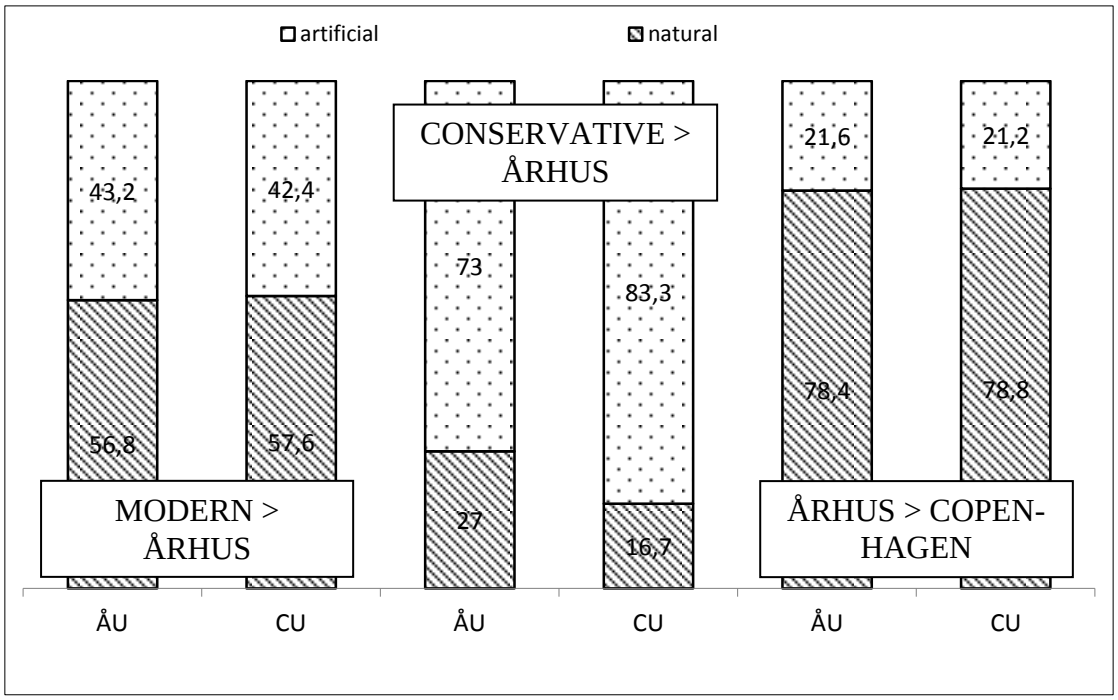

Figure 5: Assessment of the modified voices [MODERN > ÅRHUS], [CONSERVATIVE > ÅRHUS] and [ÅRHUS > COPENHAGEN (MODERN/CONSERVATIVE)] as 'natural' or 'artificial' (shown as percentages) – by students of Danish at ÅU (n=37) and CU (n=67). The difference between ÅU and CU is statistically non-significant as far as all three accents are concerned.

As the perhaps most likely source for such a perception, we might look for the existence of a clear frequency difference between CONSERVATIVE and MODERN segments in young Århus speech. The empirical evidence with bearing on this issue is limited and stems from a variationist study conducted as far back as in 1989/90. The (C/M)-variation was studied on eleven variables which showed percentages of MODERN variants ranging from 98 to 11, and (if summed up and divided by the number of variables) a total of 61% MODERN vs. 39% CONSERVATIVE variants (based on Table 29 in Nielsen 1998). Thus, the Århus distribution seems to be in harmony with the general finding that young Danes favour MODERN variants over CONSERVATIVE variants as Copenhagen speech spreads throughout the country. However, it is of course another question what consequences such a distributional difference may have when it comes to perceived 'naturalness' of how intonation combines with segments – not the least because we have no information about how the studied variables differ in terms of either occurrence in running speech or general salience in the speech community.

Instead of developing these speculations, we might do better by noticing that the modified CONSERVATIVE voice actually sounds to our ears as if it shifts from Århus intonation to Copenhagen intonation towards the end of the clip. This perception is hard to explain as the stress group pattern was changed here as well, and we do not see how it could be explained by the co-occurrence of other features in the signal. Nevertheless, a perceived shift in intonation in the course of the utterance may well be the reason why this voice was judged to be 'artificial' by the majority of the participants, and may indeed also explain why the voice was less often allocated to Århus than was the case for the modified MODERN voice (see Figure 3). As the end part of the modified CONSERVATIVE clip sounds like Copenhagen speech in spite of the F0 contour in the final stress groups, this might have opened the option of allocating the voice to Copenhagen, if the allocation was made on the basis of what was heard last.

Some further remarks can be added to the results for naturalness. Figure 4 shows that the *non-modified* voices were predominantly categorised as 'natural'. There was a general agreement, across CU and ÅU students, that the MODERN and CONSERVATIVE voices (i.e. the Copenhagen voices) sounded less 'natural' than the ÅRHUS voice. Arguably, this somewhat strange result may be an indication that a number of the respondents have been influenced by value-judgements in terms of 'naturalness' in a sense which is commonplace in much discourse about dialects and language standardisation. Coupland's (2001, 2003) account of different sociolinguistic authenticities might be relevant here where language

perceived as 'vernacular' is associated with a specific type of authenticity. When answering the questions about 'artificiality' and 'naturalness', the respondents may not have offered an assessment of the technical quality of the clips, but an evaluative upgrading of ÅRHUS as more authentic than MODERN and CONSERVATIVE. On the other hand, this interpretation of the data is not consistent with the fact that the modified voice [ÅRHUS > COPENHAGEN] is also judged much less artificial than the other modified voices. This voice is perceived as being from Copenhagen, which means that 'vernacular authenticity' is probably not involved in this judgment. It seems therefore that even though 'vernacular authenticities' may play a role here, other factors are more important.

Other social values and associations are likely to have played a role, however. Not least the results for the MODERN speaker strongly indicate that other considerations than technical-quality ones were involved in the assessments, as he was judged just as 'artificial' in his *non-modified* version as in his *modified* version (see Figures 4 and 5). Among the three accents involved in this experiment, MODERN Copenhagen speech is clearly the one which is treated most negatively in overt social discourse. Perhaps this association was more readily triggered among the CU students than among the ÅU students, so that their more frequent characterisation as 'artificial' – as the only (possibly) negative answering option – should rather be seen as a more conscious dissociation from MODERN Copenhagen speech. It remains a crucial task to develop methods that allow for better inclusion – and control – of the subjective forces in play in such experiments.

CONCLUSION

The described investigation represents a first step towards an empirically based understanding of the role played by intonation in the recognition of contemporary Danish accents. We do think our results represent quite strong empirical evidence that intonation plays a crucial role when Danish listeners make judgements about where Danish speakers come from. Modification of the stress group patterns in the stimulus voices was sufficient to make many informants allocate them to different places in the country: When furnished with an Århus intonation, Copenhagen voices were perceived by the majority as coming from Århus, whereas the Århus voice was perceived as coming from Copenhagen when the stress group pattern had been modified in accordance with what has been described for read speech (Grønnum 1992). In sum, we find it safe to claim that

our investigation sustains a view of intonation as an important – probably the most important – marker of regional difference in contemporary Danish.

Furthermore, we think that the described investigation represents a substantial empirical contribution to our theorising on the role played by intonation in linguistic (de)standardisation processes in Denmark. From the LANCHART SEE studies we knew that the Århus area adolescents, in subconsciously offered reactions to differently accented speakers, find Århus speech to be both distinguishable from and less desirable than Copenhagen speech. Now, after having conducted the experimental study presented in this chapter, we also know that intonation is important to the perceptual and evaluative distinction between Århus and Copenhagen speech. We therefore feel safer than before when claiming that intonation is a constitutive element of young Danes' notion of 'best language', and, if language ideology in terms of 'good and bad' is accepted as a major driving force in language change, we also feel safer than before when claiming that the social indexicalities of different intonation patterns are an important factor in the rampant linguistic standardisation that characterises Danish society.

In publications from the LANCHART project, we have repeatedly argued that our results seem to indicate that covert (subconsciously offered) attitudes are a decisive driving force in the radical 'Copenhagenisation' of the Danish speech community (with the further perspective that this may be true of language variation and change in general; e.g. Kristiansen 2009, 2011; Kammacher, Stæhr and Jørgensen 2011; Maegaard, Jensen, Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2013). In accordance with this thinking, our expectation would be that LOCAL prosodies – if these continue to be negatively evaluated – will wane away and eventually disappear. In which case Denmark will no longer feature linguistic differences in the geographical dimension. Indeed an interesting question for the future.

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Language ideology and the notion of construct resources: a case study of modern RP

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INTRODUCTION

Work is presently proceeding apace at widening the theoretical and empirical horizons of our understanding of the complexities of social meaning and its relation to language practice, and this concern has come to play a pivotal role in sociolinguistic research in recent years. Inspired by Silverstein's (1998, 2003) work on indexicality, scholars such as Johnstone et al. (2006), Eckert (2008), and Coupland (2007, 2010) have provided theoretical frameworks which enable us to approach the social meaning of linguistic variation anew. These approaches encourage us to understand the meaning of variation as a situated and dynamic *process*, not as a given and fixed *product* that can be predicted on the basis of macro categories such as social class and gender. Not least, these approaches have given renewed impetus to ongoing efforts to tackle the complex issue of language ideology, and it is this purpose we wish to pursue in the present chapter.

The chapter revisits the notion of *construct*, initially explored in Fabricius (2002), and defines the notion of the *construct resource* as a mediator between the domain of linguistic practice and emergent linguistic ideology. We define construct resources as ideological postulates about language variation and social meaning, which emerge historically and circulate in society. The notion of the construct resource is posited as an isolatable (and at the same time relational)

[1] Thanks are due to Susanne Blaser and Kathrin Steinhoff, who provided the original transcriptions of the interview material as transcribers at the CALPIU Lab. We also wish to thank Bent Preisler, Hartmut Haberland, Dorte Lønsmann, and Julie de Molade who participated in a data session at Roskilde University in May 2011, and contributed much to our data analysis process. The chapter has been presented in earlier versions as a workshop paper at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 18* in Southampton in September 2010, and as a session paper at *ICLaVE 6* in Freiburg in July 2011. We thank the audiences at both those events for constructive input and useful discussions.

unit at the linguistic form/social meaning interface, above the level of the individual linguistic sign. It is located firmly within the domain of language ideology, but emergent in interaction and sometimes crystallized into metalinguistic talk. Thus, we argue that it can be fruitfully investigated by means of sociolinguistic interviews, in particular through close analyses of stretches of metalinguistic talk, i.e. talk about language varieties and language variation. We want to argue that construct resources literally 'say something' about the formulated but simultaneously fluid metalinguistic notions and norms of particular discourse communities and their members.

Empirically, the chapter focuses on the place of Received Pronunciation (RP) in the language ideological landscape of the UK. The data under study point to subtle changes in the social meaning that RP-flavoured voices have within the British sociolinguistic landscape, as well as metalinguistic awareness of RP within the complex late-modern UK (Rampton 2006). In particular, we suggest that the non-localizability of RP (cf. Agha 2003: 233, 2007: 191) has undergone and is presently undergoing transformation, as it seems to be increasingly associated with the South of England and dissociated from the North. This arguably lends support to Bucholtz and Skapoulli's claim that 'despite the much-touted disintegration of cultural, temporal, and spatial boundaries under globalization [citing Appadurai (1996) and Castells (2000)], locality retains both material and symbolic prominence in people's lives' (Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009: 2). However, despite a greater sense of geographical anchoring, we also find evidence to suggest that RP is maintaining its status as a perceived (upper class) 'standard' in the sociolinguistic landscape of the UK, even if the social value of this 'standard' is constantly under negotiation, as pointed out by Mugglestone (2003) and Coupland (2010).

Outline

The chapter first provides a theoretical outline of the notion of the construct resource and presents a discussion of the theoretical framework it is developed within. We then make a case for the usefulness of sociolinguistic interviews as a method for accessing construct resources, and provide an analysis that illustrates the application of the method on a particular piece of data. We consider a brief stretch of talk extracted from an interview recorded in 2008 with a student at Cambridge University, as a response to the question 'Do you think that accents matter?' The analysis presents some of the ideological work surrounding mod-

ern RP in the Cambridge University context and helps us approach an understanding of the new 'sociolinguistic place' of RP in the UK. In the final section, we present the main conclusions we would like to draw on the basis of the chapter.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The notion of construct resources

In working with a concept like RP that is commonly considered to denominate 'a standard variety' it is crucial to operate with a systematic deconstruction of the very concept of 'a variety'. In the case of RP, Fabricius (2000) deconstructed a systematic ambiguity within the term RP into a first-approximation distinction between *constructed RP* (c-RP) and *native-RP* (n-RP). While we may not want to subscribe to all of the implications of this notion of an essentialised variety, the distinction was important in enabling the sociolinguistic investigation of upper-middle class speech in the first place, and was offered in that spirit:

> […] the term RP is ambiguous. It refers to what we have called 'constructed' RP (**c-RP**), a model of pronunciation as codified in pronunciation manuals and dictionaries used for various purposes, whether that be a standardized pronunciation for broadcasting, or a model to be imitated by foreign learners. It also refers to **n-RP**, the native speech of a small but economically affluent social class in Britain (the speech community within which most speakers of n-RP grow up; see Wells 1982: 301). (Fabricius 2000: 61)

By this definition, 'constructed' RP was used in a fairly narrow sense to refer to normative pronouncements about the linguistic form of RP, for instance through codification in dictionaries or descriptive manuals such as Gimson's *Pronunciation of English*. In Fabricius (2002: 358ff.) the notion of *construct* was taken up again, now as 'construct RP', and broadened to cover not only the linguistic form of RP but also concomitant norms and attitudes. To use a current term, it encompassed what is now being called the ideological *enregisterment* (Agha 2007: 185–188) of RP, through which RP has acquired a role as 'an emblem of speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values' (Agha 2003: 231). Here, it is important to point out that while an enregistered variety or style certainly presupposes some sort of recognisable and recognised 'linguistic blueprint', it does not presuppose a comprehensive or explicit codification of the

type that we find in dictionaries. Thus, the enregistered variety, which we propose to call construct-RP, is an abstraction that can be highly underspecified in terms of linguistic description, while still being a recognisable and socially meaningful resource that language users draw on in discourse.

This deconstruction of the term RP highlights the fact that 'varieties' are ideological *constructs* as much as – or more than – they are assemblages of observed linguistic facts (including systematic variation). As such, a variety is not simply a descriptive label that refers to a clearly delineable linguistic system. The linguistic blueprint of a given variety may be more or less clear-cut, but the presence of a blueprint alone, no matter how homogenous it may be, does not make a variety. It takes a concomitant process of enregisterment, which is largely metalinguistic and ideological, to create a variety (cf. Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006).

Because the establishment of the existence of a variety does not merely depend on the identification of a set of linguistic features, but also hinges on a perpetual metalinguistic postulation of the variety's existence, it will require a process of de-registerment to obliterate a variety even if its linguistic features disappear, for instance because speakers die. The history of RP provides an apt illustration of this. Over the years, several authors have proclaimed the imminent death of RP (most prominently in the debates on Estuary English in the 1990s; see http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/; see also a rebuttal in Trudgill 2002). However, the death of RP, as we see it, would have to entail not only the cessation of use of certain linguistic forms within the speech community but also the loss of a set of social values indexically associated with those linguistic forms. From our knowledge of linguistic change (Labov 2001), we assume that the process of losing traditional speech forms will be gradual and incremental. A similar gradual loss or metamorphosis of indexical values associated with forms of speech would then be a logical hypothesis, we would claim. In other words, we cannot write an obituary for RP unless both the traditional forms and their associated indexical meanings have completely disappeared from the social picture. Gradual change, in linguistic forms as well as in the associated social meaning of these forms is only to be expected. As Agha (2003: 232) points out, 'every register[2] exhibits various kinds of growth and decline, expansion or nar-

[2] Agha (2003) uses the term 'register' to refer to a unity of linguistic form and indexical meaning, the product of a process of 'enregisterment'. Thus, RP is a register in Agha's terminology. As Eckert (2008: 456) points out, this use of the term 'register' does not accord with

rowing, change or stabilization along one or more dimensions of register organization'. Such has been the history of RP, and such will it continue to be.

A folk-linguistic construct-RP is, however, alive and well and exists as part of a larger sociolinguistic landscape in the UK which includes a number of other enregistered varieties which are all associated with their own sets of linguistic features and all carry particular sets of social meanings. Sedimented ideas about these constructs and their mutual relations, in the form of an ideological set of postulates about the nexus of language variation and social meaning, are what we propose to refer to as *construct resources*. Construct resources are historically contingent and synchronically dynamic in the sense that their content and relational arrangement is likely to vary across different (groups of) speakers, i.e. different members of a discourse community may, because of their personal histories, value particular ways of speaking differently and hence have slightly varying sets of beliefs about the language ideological landscape of their community. Thus, speakers who belong to the same abstract discourse community on any level (a social class, an ethnic group, a nation state) may in effect have quite divergent construct resources as a result of their position, in micro-social, cultural or geographical terms, in the community. Nevertheless, the diverging construct resources of various (groups of) speakers will sometimes exhibit a certain degree of overlap, for instance through a shared recognition and awareness of particularly salient styles of speaking. In this case we can speak of a socially-shared set of construct resources, and much language attitude research in the UK for example has shown the nation-wide spread of certain particular construct resources, which together can be said to constitute a language-ideological repertoire.

The construct resource and the notion of style

RP is often described as a 'variety', and this is also the term we have used above. However, given the difficulties involved in defining varieties (Hudson 1980: 21–72), and inspired by recent developments in sociolinguistic theories of style (Coupland 2007; Eckert 2008), we believe it is actually more useful to think of RP, and other so-called varieties, as sets of linguistic features that in conjunction add up to specific socially meaningful styles. By describing RP as a style rather than a variety, we can emphasise its dynamic and ideological nature.

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usual linguistic-theoretical practice, and *register* is therefore perhaps a slightly misleading term here.

The Half Moon Bay Style Collective has highlighted these and other pertinent aspects of the 'The Elements of Style' very succinctly:

> Styles always come from somewhere. They are steeped in **history**. What works as a stylistic move is something that has been **significant** in a community's past. So styles are **ideological**: people don't do stylistic work around issues that are trivial to them. They construct styles which reveal something about their historical **trajectories** and their beliefs about their **experiences** (Half Moon Bay Style Collective 2006, emphasis in original).

The established (and Establishment) enregisterment of RP makes it a very clear case of a style 'steeped in history', significant in the past in the speech community (even if it did not have the same significance for all speakers at any one time, cf. Coupland 2010), and a style that to this day carries heavy ideological weight, among other things as a purported 'standard', at least for some people in certain contexts.[3] As such, it is a style that most speakers who are familiar with the sociolinguistic landscape of the UK will be aware of (though they will not necessarily know it by the name of RP),[4] and it is a style they will be able to use as an interpretive frame, or reproduce, perhaps in fragments (as illustrated convincingly in Rampton 2006), through various means as a resource in interaction.

The style of RP is associated with a number of linguistic features (its linguistic blueprint) but the exact meaning of these features is not given *a priori*. As Eckert (2008) argues, the meaning of a given linguistic variable is not 'precise or fixed'; any individual variable should rather be conceptualized as harbouring an 'indexical field', i.e. 'a field of potential meanings' (2008: 455). Linguistic features work only *indirectly* to index social meaning; it is typically only through association with a particular style that they acquire their social meaning (Eckert 2008: 455–456; cf. Moore and Podesva 2009). This echoes Agha's point that 'cultural value is not a static property of things or people but a precipitate of sociohistorically locatable practices' (2003: 232), that is, a series of practices embedded in real-time, and accrued historically into a conglomerate that forms a value system.

Moreover, the social meaning of a particular linguistic feature will not only hinge on the style it is embedded in, but also on the discourse frame within

[3] As in the Guardian newspaper's comment on Prince Charles' recent guest appearance on BBC Scotland as weatherman: 'The forecast was vile but the diction immaculate[…]'. http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/may/10/charles-prince-weather-forecaster-bbc

[4] As Wells (1982) argues: 'Everyone in Britain has a mental image of RP, even though they may not refer to it by that name and even though the image may not be very accurate' (Wells 1982: 279).

which it is used, or the discourse frame it is interpreted in relation to. As Coupland argues, 'linguistic […] features and styles need to be contextually *primed* before sociolinguistic indexing happens' (Coupland 2007: 112). Coupland distinguishes three types of discourse framing, viz. macro-, meso-, and micro-level social frames. At the macro level, linguistic features can position speakers 'in relation to a pre-understood social ecology' (Coupland 2007: 113), including notions such as social class, ethnicity, age, gender and sexuality. The meso-level framing imbues linguistic features with meaning in relation to the genre of talk, for instance through indexing particular participant roles (such as interviewer vs. interviewee), while the micro-level concerns interpersonal relations and self- and other-positioning.

Discourse frames are multi-layered (or poly-embedded) in the sense that the use of a particular linguistic feature may relate to or activate meaning in relation to more than one frame at one and the same time. In the terms of Silverstein (2003), we can say that the meaning of a particular linguistic feature is not only anchored within the interaction itself on a moment-to-moment basis, it may also be anchored to an *n* order of indexicality, for instance the genre of the interaction and the participant roles associated with it, and an *n+1* order of indexicality, for instance socio-cultural meaning linked with notions such as social class, gender, ethnicity and so on.

The process of linking a linguistic feature or a set of such features in a certain context to a particular social meaning on either of the three levels of discourse framing is essentially an ideological process; it is a symbolic interpretation which has become conventionalized as an indexical relation. The inverse process, of moving from a construct resource to a linguistic resource, could be understood as what Coupland calls 'stylisation' (2007: 149–154). As we will demonstrate in the analysis below, stylisation of this sort may feature quite prominently in metalinguistic talk in sociolinguistic interviews, and thus provide the analyst with one possible window on the composition of the interviewee's construct resources.

Styles do not exist in isolation; they are defined by their place in a system of styles, cf. Irvine's notion of 'style as a social semiosis of distinctiveness' (Irvine 2001: 23). Just as linguistic signs have to be constituted within a system, so linguistic resources will be embedded within stylistic systems, and stylistic systems themselves will be complex networks of relationships. Consequently, the style of RP will also only make sense within an overarching linguistic system of style within which it remains embedded. Thus, an important aspect of the construct

resource surrounding RP consists in specifying how this way of talking is positioned vis-à-vis other styles in any given discourse community.

In this connection, it is important to stress that styles do not have a fixed place in the system and a fixed social value or meaning; on the contrary, as Irvine (2001) points out, speakers' understandings of the social world and its semiotic resources are 'positioned, dependent in some measure on the participant's social position and point of view' (Irvine 2001: 22). This means that any attempt to access speakers' construct resources, their language-ideological repertoire, through metalinguistic talk must remain anchored in an ethnographic understanding of the context in which the interaction is being played out in order to be meaningful. Speakers see the world from a particular perspective, and it is this perspective on the world that is investigated through sociolinguistic interviews, rather than the world itself.

METHOD

In the following, we will present a method for accessing construct resources as they crystalize in discourse. In short, the method involves analysing metalinguistic talk produced by participants in sociolinguistic interviews. The method is exemplified through a case study of a stretch of talk obtained in a sociolinguistic interview with a young adult of upper-middle class background who was a student at Cambridge University in 2008. This student's interview is one of a corpus of more than 80 sociolinguistic interviews collected in 1997–1998 and 2008 at Cambridge University by the first author.[5] The majority of the students represented in the interview corpus are from private (public and independent, fee-paying) school backgrounds; many, though not all, were students of Modern and Medieval Languages. All in all, they were well placed to be representative of elite speakers and 'educated' attitudes to language, and the sociolinguistic interviews sought to explore this by bringing metalinguistic awareness to the foreground at the end of the interview. In 1997–1998 this was done by asking the question 'What do you think of accents on the BBC?' and in 2008 by asking 'Do

[5] Being a speaker of Australian English based in Denmark, the interviewer was an outsider in linguistic, geographic as well as social terms in the Cambridge context and likely to be perceived as such by the interviewees. This has potentially been an important factor in shaping the discourse of the interviews.

you think that accents matter in the UK?'[6] The extent to which the interviewees were interested in this kind of metalinguistic work varied, but each individual interview nevertheless presents many opportunities for analytical insights. However, in the scope of the present chapter, we can only present singular examples. A fuller picture must await future research efforts.

Exploring language ideology and language attitudes

As argued above, we believe it is important to keep a kind of 'constant vigilance' not only on variation and change in linguistic form but also on the concomitant ebbs and flows in linguistic ideology. While it can be difficult to see points of stability within these processes, we believe that certain interactional moments may provide us with insights on how linguistic variation and its associated social meaning have become stabilized (however temporarily) through a process of 'precipitation' (cf. Agha 2003) or sedimentation in a discourse community. Explicit metalinguistic discourse is a manifest expression of the results of such sedimentation processes, and as such a rich resource for the study of language ideology. In the analysis section below, we seek to mine this resource by examining interactional details in a stretch of metalinguistic talk and attempt to see evidence of traditional perspectives on RP being maintained and reproduced and at the same time repackaged and negotiated anew.

Analysing sociolinguistic interviews is just one out of a number of possible empirical gateways to the study of language ideology and language attitudes. In recent years, the use of rigorously controlled experimental methods has proliferated, eminently illustrated by the work of Kristiansen (2001, 2009) as well as several contributions to this volume. Moving away from strict verbal guise techniques (see Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003 for a methodological overview), some studies (e.g. Fabricius 2005, 2006) have mined responses to extended narratives in different voices for their information on language attitudes. Data can also be gleaned from naturally occurring contexts and analysed through the lens of linguistic landscapes (Landry and Bourhis 1997) or through analyses of mediated performances on television or radio (Coupland 2007). So what is the particular gain of the method suggested here? And what are its shortcomings?

[6] These questions were deliberately asked at the *end* of the interviews. In the beginning of the interviews the heightened metalinguistic awareness which the questions generated would have been counterproductive.

Blessings and curses of an emic approach

The main benefit of the method presented here, we believe, is that it provides an emic perspective on language variation and social meaning in a given discourse community, i.e. it lets us approach an understanding of the way discourse community members themselves conceptualize the nature and role of language variation in their community. This is an important supplement to the perspective offered by experimental approaches to the study of language attitudes and language ideology. Such approaches are typically founded on preconceived notions about which 'languages', 'varieties' or 'styles' may be considered relevant in a particular context (*etic* frameworks), and these preconceptions will to some extent limit the scope of the investigation. This is clearly the case in studies such as those conducted by Kristiansen (2001, 2009) in which the selection of stimulus voices for speaker evaluation tests and the provision of fixed sets of variety labels for label ranking tests set up quite narrow frames for the respondents to operate within. Some studies in the same general area have adopted a less tightly controlled approach and tried to glean informants' own spontaneous qualitative responses to use as assessment parameters in scaled questionnaires (e.g. Maegaard 2005; see also general discussion of this approach in Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003).

Taking our cue from folk linguistics (Preston 1998; Niedzielski and Preston 2003), we believe that listening to 'real people' and recording their views on language variation constitutes an important complementary method of investigation in studies of language ideology and language attitudes. Indeed, we would claim that unless *emic* information of this kind is collected from time to time, we are essentially not able to argue convincingly that the voices and labels we build experiments up around are in any sense grounded, i.e. relevant to the speakers whose ideological repertoires and sets of attitudes we are in the business of investigating.

In folk linguistics, experiments in which informants are asked to draw maps of dialect areas have proved fruitful for eliciting metalinguistic information of the kind we are interested in here (for an overview see Garrett 2010: 179–199). However, in the following we will show that a 'naked' interview question can in fact generate the same kind of rich data without necessarily imposing 'geographical space' as a pre-established frame within which to map the issue of language variation. Our method resembles the methodology employed by Niedzielski and Preston to elicit 'conversational data' (2003: 33–40) though we have opted for a

more controlled interview format by using almost exactly the same question in all interviews as the main trigger of metalinguistic talk.

Working with explicit talk about language variation and its social meaning does not relieve researchers from their jobs as analysts. On the contrary, it requires very close scrutiny of the data under study from the perspective of interactional moves as well as propositional content, to put the statements of the informants and the underlying presuppositions into perspective. Irvine (2001) has pointed out, that 'although participants are well-placed in some respects to offer a sociolinguistic analysis (since participation means close acquaintance with the system) …' their expressed opinions are also to be treated with a certain measure of caution because 'participation also means interestedness' (Irvine 2001: 24). However, like Irvine, we do not see this 'interestedness' as a problem *per se*. Quite on the contrary, interestedness is a basic condition of the very phenomenon we are investigating, and it is an aspect that can be brought clearly to the fore in the analysis of interview data, as we illustrate below.

The discourse analytical approach advocated in this chapter may at first glance seem less rigorous than the various kinds of experimental techniques exploited in several other studies in the present volume. However, we believe that a stark juxtaposition of 'discourse analytic methods' and 'experimental methods' is to some extent misguided. Both discourse analytical approaches and experimental approaches involve processes of data generation and data interpretation, and the rigorousness with which these processes are carried out depends as much on the researcher facilitating them as on the nature of the methods employed. All other things being equal, experimental methods can in certain ways be more tightly controlled than qualitative methods and thus perhaps produce 'cleaner' data, but we will argue that discourse analytical methods can also be employed stringently and thus generate robust findings, while perhaps producing 'neater' data for the explorative analyst. In the present chapter, we are only in a position to present a single case study, and this will necessarily impose certain limitations on the generalizability of the findings. However, we believe that the larger study which the case is part of will eventually be able to offer more general claims about the current place of RP in the sociolinguistic landscape of the UK, simply because the data has been collected in a principled manner and can therefore be marshalled collectively in building a coherent analysis. In short, the advantage of working with a systematic interview corpus is that it provides reasonably comparable materials which can stand together as evidence. Just as Xu (2010) argues that the systematicity of 'lab speech' makes it an indispensable

tool for testing hypotheses about the nature of speech, so we would like to argue that a controlled corpus of 'interview speech', composed by responses to what is arguably the 'same' question in similar although not identical settings (since the individuals present are partly different), can provide us with a data set from which we can extract a quite comprehensive picture of the prominent language ideologies of a particular discourse community.[7]

Finally, it is important to stress that the ideologies and attitudes that can be extracted by means of this method will tend to be conscious ones. If it is true that it is subconscious attitudes rather than conscious ones that constitute the driving forces behind linguistic change (as suggested by Kristiansen 2009), then we should not expect our method to be very powerful in predicting language change. Nevertheless, it will certainly be just as powerful as other methods, if not more powerful, in explaining the social meaning of language variation in a synchronic perspective, and this, we believe, also counts as a legitimate socio-linguistic enterprise.

ANALYSIS

The empirical setting

The Cambridge University context in which the recordings under study have been made is significant for the analysis of the data. Over the last few decades, 'widening participation in higher education' has been a central element of government educational policy in the UK. One of the intentions of this policy has been to bridge the deep divide in British secondary and tertiary education (from age 11) between the public and independent, fee-paying school sectors on the one hand and the state-funded government school system on the other.[8] As an effect of these efforts, Cambridge University today has a more mixed student population in terms of social background than it had earlier. One research question which we would like to pose in this connection, but which we can only address cursorily in the present chapter, is the extent to which the present composi-

[7] This comparison between lab speech and interview data is admittedly somewhat mischievous (and we are not entirely sure that Xu would approve of it), but we actually think there is a certain degree of similarity between the two methods which is worth pointing out.

[8] The newly-passed (at time of writing) university fee rise will potentially have a dramatic negative effect on this process of widening participation in higher education in the UK.

tion of Cambridge's student population provides a levelling environment, in social as well as linguistic terms, or to what extent it, perhaps concomitantly, generates a heightened awareness of linguistic and social distinction. We suspect that it is as much the latter as the former, if not indeed more the latter.[9]

As far as social distinction is concerned, the case seems to be quite clear: class/socioeconomic background will out somehow. This is supported by anecdotal evidence gathered in the interview corpus from 2008, and also by the comment below by Patrick Barkham, a non-public-school Cambridge student in the mid-1990s, from an article in the Guardian from September 2010:[10]

> [...] we were quickly sorted by a subtle social apartheid. The gilded youths from the public schools already seemed to know their half of the university. For them, Cambridge was more of the same. [...] the public schools kids kept themselves to themselves and so did we. [...] We pretended to abhor [public school students], but were secretly envious of their poise and exclusivity [...].

To what extent is this kind of 'social apartheid' in the Cambridge context mirrored in language use and, in particular, in attitudes to linguistic variation among the student population? The analysis below throws some light on this question by showing how we can see evidence of traditional perspectives on RP and its relation to other styles of speaking in the UK being maintained and reproduced and at the same time repackaged and negotiated anew by the interviewee.

The interviewee (F07) is a 21-year-old female student at Cambridge University from a Southern upper-middle class background. Her parents are both university-educated in the UK, and before coming to Cambridge, she has attended private school and grammar school outside London. Her style of speaking can be described as modern RP, though she does not use this label herself to describe her style of speaking.

The analysis focuses on a small stretch of talk (1 minute and 50 seconds in total), which is presented in its entirety below. A note on the transcription conventions is included as an appendix at the end of the chapter.

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[9] For an interesting study on the sociolinguistic consequences of young adult mobility in the US educational system see Bigham's study (Bigham 2008) of Illinoisan speakers' dialect levelling as a result of moving to university.

[10] http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/mortarboard/2010/sep/09/cambridge-university-best-world

Interview segment

INT: erm (0.3) one thing I've been wondering about do you think that
accents matter in the UK
(1.3)
F07: erm (1.1) er do I think that they matter
INT: yeah no well do you think that they matter for people
out there in in in the UK ≈
F07: ≈ yes I ⌈I think they⌉ do ⌈I⌉ think they do
INT: ⌊mhm⌋ ⌊mhm⌋
F07: erm (0.4) I think sometimes one's one's own accent
erm (0.3) it (0.8) at least (0.6) erm (1.0)
erm (.) people I've met who come from the North (.)
INT: ⌈hmmm⌉
F07: ⌊erm⌋ they the- they tend to (0.4)
some of them seem to define themselves quite a lot by their a-
(0.3) by their accent and they're quite proud of it
INT: ⌈hmmm⌉
F07: ⌊erm⌋ especially people from Newcastle
INT: mhm
F07: erm (0.5) they they won't let me say Newcastle
it has to be Newcastle (0.4) and erm (1.1)
and yeah they're they're (0.9) I've found (.) they're quite
(0.3) proud of their local their ⌈local⌉ sayings and like
INT: ⌊mhm⌋
F07: erm ⌈and⌉ (0.3) various words for things
INT: ⌊hm⌋
INT: hmmm
F07: erm (1.1) what else was I going to say (0.5)
er yes (0.4) and then they matter for (0.3) other people (0.3)
I- I think some people in the UK are prejudiced ⌈against⌉ ≈
INT: ⌊hmm⌋
F07: ≈ certain certain accents
INT: hmm
F07: erm (0.9) I wouldn't say it was so much (0.7) erm (0.4)
Northern or Southern al- ⌈al- al-⌉ although there actually ≈
INT: ⌊no⌋
F07: ≈ there is a bit of that yeah ⌈actually⌉ there is (.)
INT: ⌊hmm⌋
INT: hmm
F07: erm (0.4) Northerners I've heard saying that Southerners are

40 posh and ⌈ooh I had⌉ to speak all posh and Southern today and
41 INT: ⌊mhm⌋
42 INT: mhm
43 F07: and this and (0.3) and then the sort of Northern accent working
44 class prejudice type
45 INT: ⌈hmm⌉
46 F07: ⌊you kn-⌋ that that kind of thing
47 INT: hmm
48 F07: erm (0.8) and then I know a few people who just (0.4) don't like
49 (0.6) Birmingham accents
50 F07: for ⌈example⌉
51 INT: ⌊hmmm⌋
52 F07: ⌈and they⌉ say ≈
53 INT: ⌊hmm⌋
54 F07: ≈ ooh it makes you sound really thick if you speak with that accent
55 INT: hm
56 F07: and
57 INT: hm
58 F07: erm all Welsh accents irritate (0.3) some people and
59 INT: hmm (0.4)
60 F07: erm (.) so (0.3)
61 ⌈yes that's a-⌉
62 INT: ⌊so the differences are⌋ around and do make a (.)
63 F07: I think so I I think so

In our analysis of this segment, we would like to focus on two topics: geographical distinctions and their social value, and standard language ideology and accent prejudice.

Geographical distinctions and their social value

RP is posh and Southern

Agha (2003) argues that 'RP is a supra-local accent; it is enregistered in public awareness as indexical of speaker's class and level of education; it is valued precisely for effacing the geographic origins of speaker' (Agha 2003: 233). However, the interview data under study here suggests that this view may be in need of modification. Although she hesitates at first, the interviewee makes a clear distinction between Northern and Southern 'accents' (lines 33–36), and

furthermore argues that there is a link between 'Southern' and 'posh' (cf. lines 39–40):

33 F07: erm (0.9) I wouldn't say it was so much (0.7) erm (0.4)
34 Northern or Southern al- ⌈al- al-⌉ although there actually ≈
35 INT: ⌊no⌋
36 F07: ≈ there is a bit of that yeah ⌈actually⌉ there is (.)
37 INT: ⌊hmm⌋
38 INT: hmm
39 F07: erm (0.4) Northerners I've heard saying that Southerners are
40 posh and ⌈ooh I had⌉ to speak all posh and Southern today and
41 INT: ⌊mhm⌋

The word 'posh' is used twice in line 40, and in both cases it is pronounced with a LOT vowel whose production involves a certain 'plumminess' which is a voice quality achieved by 'lowering the larynx and widening the oropharynx' (Wells 1982: 283).[11] Wells describes this sort of 'plumminess' as one of the features he resorts to when producing upper-crust RP 'for purposes of acting, demonstration or caricature' (Wells 1982: 283). We will argue that something similar is happening in line 40 where the interviewee, through the plummy LOT vowel, is arguably producing stylised RP.[12] By stylising 'posh' in this way, she quite effectively establishes an indexical link between a linguistic feature which is traditionally associated with the linguistic blueprint of RP (the plummy production of a vowel like LOT) and the ingrained social meaning of the adjective 'posh' (upper class). In effect, this amounts to an implicit claim that the particular style of speaking she performs, and which can be heard as RP though it remains unnamed, is straightforwardly associated with upper class values, completely in accord with Agha's analysis of RP.

However, in addition to linking RP to social class, she also uses the coordination of 'posh' and 'southern' in line 40 to indicate that there is a perceived link between RP styled voices and geographical location, i.e. the South. In the terminology of Eckert (2008), this indicates that the indexical field of a plummy voice

[11] What the speaker produces here is clearly a LOT vowel, and not 'posh' pronounced with a GOAT vowel, sometimes written as 'powsh' in eye-dialect, a hyper-standardisation which is sometimes used to parody 'posh' speech. Thanks are due to Nikolas Coupland for pointing this contrast out to us.

[12] The 'ooh' which introduces the second 'posh' confirms its quotative, performative nature and also suggests an element of gossip.

quality, on the LOT vowel in this case, as part of a particular style, for this speaker involves not only a particular social value (upper class) but also a particular geographical anchoring (Southern).[13] It is worth noticing that the mentioning of geographical distinctions is not occasioned by a response to a specific question or task concerned with place (like in map tasks). Thus, it seems fair to conclude that a simple geographical distinction between North and South plays a rather prominent role in this interviewee's set of construct resources, even to the extent that what we, from a traditional descriptive perspective, would call RP and associate primarily with a non-localized class value, in her framing is labelled directly with reference to its perceived provenience, 'Southern', while obviously still being linked with class through the epithet 'posh'.

People from the North have dialect pride

In addition to placing RP styled features in the South and linking them with upper class values, the interviewee also demarcates and defines this inventory of linguistic resources by juxtaposing it with 'Northern' speech which is posited as the counterpart of 'Southern' (cf. lines 34–36 above). For this style, the interviewee also provides a stylized performance that serves to index the style and its speakers (line 20), i.e. 'people who come from the North':

9	F07:	erm (0.4) I think sometimes one's one's own accent
10		erm (0.3) it (0.8) at least (0.6) erm (1.0)
11		erm (.) people I've met who come from the North (.)
12	INT:	⌈hmmm⌉
13	F07:	⌊erm⌋ they the- they tend to (0.4)
14		some of them seem to define themselves quite a lot by their a-
15		(0.3) by their accent and they're quite proud of it
16	INT:	⌈hmmm⌉
17	F07:	⌊erm⌋ especially people from Newcastle
18	INT:	mhm
19	F07:	erm (0.5) they they won't let me say Newcastle (([ɑː]))
20		it has to be Newcastle (([a])) (0.4) and erm (1.1)
21		and yeah they're they're (0.9) I've found (.) they're quite
22		(0.3) proud of their local their ⌈local⌉ sayings and like
23	INT:	⌊mhm⌋

[13] Nik Coupland has suggested (pc) that this geographical association for RP, which exists alongside class-based and ethnic indexical associations, is perhaps more generally 'South-East' for many people in the mainland UK.

'Newcastle' in line 20 is a clearly stylized/quotative performance that creates an indexical link between a particular way of speaking and a geographical location (the North generally or Newcastle more specifically). Compared to 'Newcastle' in line 19, 'Newcastle' in line 20 is produced with a changed stress pattern (emphatic stress is placed on the second syllable) and a slightly fronted vowel in the second syllable, compared to 'Newcastle' in line 19. The vowel is audibly less fronted than what we would expect to hear as a 'genuine' Newcastle variant but the interviewee nevertheless succeeds in making a point through the distinction between the two pronunciations. There is no explicit link between 'Northern' and social class in the extract, but the interviewee stresses that people from the North are 'quite proud of their accent', 'quite proud of their local sayings' and they protest when she tarnishes a salient word like 'Newcastle' with her Southern voice. The pride that people from the North take in their style of speaking seems in part to be based on it not being Southern, and perhaps, by extension, not being posh. Recall for instance the comment in line 39–40: 'Northerners I've heard saying that Southerners are posh'. By implication this seems to suggest that Northerners dissociate themselves from poshness, and thereby claim an identity that is not upper class. In line 43–44, the interviewee also alludes to 'the sort of Northern accent working class prejudice type' which seems to fit well with the general picture of the sociolinguistic landscape of the UK she is painting. In very simplified terms, she seems to be saying: Southern is posh and upper class, Northern is plain (but proud) and non-upper class.

In sum, our analysis of these two examples shows that the interviewee entertains a number of 'pragmatic presuppositions' (Caffi 2006) about the relation between language variation, social class and geographical location. In other words, her set of construct resources contains a number of rather pertinent taken-for-granted links between linguistic features/styles of speaking and macro-level social meanings. In an interview setting like the one analysed here, linguistic features and their indexical values are described in the abstract, which means that the interaction provides us with a concentrated product of the meaning-making processes that are constantly taking place at micro-, meso- and macro-levels in interaction. The picture we get of the interviewee's construct resources using this method may to some extent be hyperbolic and most certainly partial. Nevertheless, we suggest here that the assumptions we tease out must play a role in the worldview of the interviewee, and have a no less real presence in the discourse community she is a part of (a claim we make even though we cannot ultimately delimitate the community she belongs or orients to, and which indeed

might be a fusion of quite local sociolinguistic ecosystem that obtains in the Cambridge context and a broader system that extends beyond it).[14] As we will argue below, the pragmatic presuppositions illustrated above are nested within a larger ideological structure that accords special status to the perceived 'standard' (RP) and to some extent downgrades other ways of speaking.

Language ideology and accent prejudice

'Really thick' or 'posh'

Language variation has quite profound social consequences in the UK. The existence of accent prejudice has been attested in several studies (Giles 1970; Bishop, Coupland and Garrett 2005), and despite a recent upsurge in the presence of 'non-standard' voices in the media and other traditional strongholds of RP, it seems fair to say that certain stereotyped ways of evaluating particular styles of speaking still form an ingrained part of the language ideological landscape in the UK. This claim is supported by our interviewee who explicitly acknowledges the existence of accent prejudice in lines 29–31:

27 F07: erm (1.1) what else was I going to say (0.5)
28 er yes (0.4) and then they matter for (0.3) other people (0.3)
29 I- I think some people in the UK are prejudiced ⌈against⌉
30 INT: ⌊hmm⌋
31 F07: certain certain accents
32 INT: hmm

From line 48 onwards, she proceeds to offer 'Birmingham accents' and 'all Welsh accents' as two possible objects of scorn.

48 F07: erm (0.8) and then I know a few people who just (0.4) don't like
49 (0.6) Birmingham accents
50 F07: for ⌈example⌉
51 INT: ⌊hmmm⌋
52 F07: ⌈and they⌉ say ≈
53 INT: ⌊hmm⌋

[14] When working with qualitative interviews where meaning making constitutes a joint enterprise between interviewer and interviewee, it is always a challenge to gauge to what extent the interviewee is perhaps simply 'voicing what the interviewer wants to hear'. However, in this case, even if she were, it would only strengthen our case that sedimented construct resources exist, and that speakers expect to be able to draw on them to create meaning in interaction.

54 F07: ≈ ooh it makes you sound really thick if you speak with that accent
55 INT: hm
56 F07: and
57 INT: hm
58 F07: erm all Welsh accents irritate (0.3) some people and
59 INT: hmm (0.4)

The fact that she gives special mention to Birmingham accents is in complete accordance with the findings reported in Coupland and Bishop (2007) where the conceptual label of 'Birmingham' English attracted the poorest ratings both in terms of social attractiveness and prestige in an online survey of 5010 UK informants' reactions to 34 accents of English (Coupland and Bishop 2007: 79). In the same survey, 'Welsh' English accents occupied a middle position in terms of both social attractiveness and prestige, while 'Cardiff' English was ranked very low on both dimensions (24th in terms of social attractiveness and 25th in terms of prestige). The congruity between our informant's spontaneous responses and the survey findings reported in Coupland and Bishop (2007) suggests that the responses offered by the interviewee are not simply made up on the spot. They rather seem to be drawn from a socially shared, historically constructed repertoire of sedimented attitudes to language variation in the UK, i.e. a shared set of pre-judgements which we would see as the attitudinal side of salient construct resources, the other being the particular linguistic features associated with these labels (see also Coupland 2007: 103–104).

In the traditional hierarchy, the style of speaking we have referred to as RP typically comes in at the very top, both in terms of social attractiveness and prestige, though sometimes under different names, e.g. 'Standard English' or 'The Queen's English' as in Coupland and Bishop (2007). However, it is interesting to note that while non-Southern styles of speaking are quite consistently and quite unambiguously presented by our interviewee as accents that are negatively evaluated in the community (except by the 'native' speakers), the evaluation of 'Southern English' seems less clear-cut.

The interviewee does not explicitly disparage her own Southern style: It is not her accent, but other people's accent that will 'make you sound really thick'. Her own accent is 'posh' ('Northerners I've heard saying that Southerners are posh and ooh I had to speak all posh and Southern today'), but the exact social value of this epithet can be variable under different circumstances. On the one hand it carries middle/upper class connotations and is thus arguably, by exten-

sion, linked to some sort of prestige, mostly socioeconomic, as we said above. However, as Coupland has recently argued, drawing on the work of Mugglestone (2003), it seems that '[t]he attribution 'posh' entails a certain lack of respect for a 'high' dialect/accent variety' (Coupland 2010: 138). He further argues that in the post-modern era,

> Older indexical orders, such as Establishment SLI [Standard Language Ideology], have given way to newer ones, where posh speakers are quite commonly laid open to ridicule, and under some circumstances start to feel 'insecure', where the social meaning of voice is less determinate, and where backing social class winners and losers is not the only game in town. (Coupland 2010: 138)

The fact that our interviewee introduces an RP flavoured voice through a stylized performance of what can best be construed as mocking of that very style ('ooh I had to speak all posh and Southern today') seems to lend support to this analysis. RP-styled voices may be indexically linked with middle/upper-class values (as argued above), but that does not mean that they are automatically positively evaluated in the social setting. This, we think, represents a renegotiation of the social meaning traditionally attached to RP, an ongoing change in the composition of the repertoire of construct resources.

Accent prejudice is off the record

One of the most striking features of the interview is the way the interviewee positions herself vis-à-vis the matter under discussion, i.e. how she negotiates her role as an interviewee and her interestedness as a member of the discourse community. She consistently speaks through the voice of others and/or distances herself from the points she makes by means of epistemic stance marking. In the following five examples we have italicised some of the various linguistic means she uses to achieve this effect:

i)	29		*I- I think some* people in the UK are prejudiced ⌈against⌉ ≈
	30	INT:	⌊hmm⌋
	31	F07:	≈ certain certain accents
ii)	39	F07:	erm (0.4) Northerners *I've heard* saying that Southerners are
	40		posh and ⌈ooh I had⌉ to speak all posh and Southern today and

iii) 48 F07: erm (0.8) and then *I know a few people* who just (0.4)
49 don't like (0.6) Birmingham accents
50 for ⌈example⌉
51 INT: ⌊hmmm⌋
52 F07: ⌈and *they*⌉ say ≈
53 INT: ⌊hmm⌋
54 F07: ≈ ooh it makes you sound really thick if you speak with that accent

iv) 62 INT: so the differences are around and do make a (.)
63 F07: *I think so I I think so*

Arguably what we see here is how the interviewee is struggling to fulfil her expected role in the interview situation as an informant without exposing her own attitudes, and without making too strong general claims about the role of accents in the UK. The examples show that she is quite willing to share her knowledge on the topic under discussion, but she delivers it in a style that is distinctly *off record*. We suggest that this may indicate that expounding on accent prejudices is not something she considers *comme il faut*, in this particular social setting, speaking from her social position.

The interviewee's difficulty in negotiating an acceptable position for herself is in fact salient from the very beginning of the analysed sequence:

1 INT: ahh (0.3) one thing I've been wondering about do you think that
2 accents matter in the UK
3 (1.3)
4 F07: erm (1.1) er do I think that they matter
5 INT: yeah no well do you think that they matter for people
6 out there in in in the UK ≈
7 F07: ≈ yes I ⌈I think they⌉ do ⌈I⌉ think they do
8 INT: ⌊mhm⌋ ⌊mhm⌋

This extract exhibits considerable hesitation on the part of the interviewee: The interviewer's opening question in line 1–2 is initially met with 1.3 seconds of silence, then follows another 1.1 seconds of silence encapsulated by 'erm' and 'er', before the interviewee finally poses the question back to the interviewer in line 4, 'do I think that they matter?' (with phrasal stress on 'matter'). We take the interviewee's hesitation here to indicate that the question posed in lines 1–2 is to some extent troubling for her, and she may thus be heard to produce what Pomerantz (1984) calls a dispreferred response by not answering the question.

Of course, it may be that she simply does not understand the question, but we suggest that the data allows for an alternative interpretation. In her reformulation of the question in lines 5–6, the interviewer explicitly moves the focus away from the interviewee's *personal* evaluation of whether accents matter in the UK and turns it into a more general question of whether accents matter to *people* (unspecified) in the UK. Even though lines 5 and 6 thus only constitute a small change compared to the original question in lines 1–2, the reformulation effectively seems to remove the source of the interactional trouble, which is evidenced by the interviewee's immediate take up of the new question in line 7 which is actually latched onto the interviewee's utterance.

To some extent, this initial exchange frames the ensuing discourse and could thus in part be said to explain the particular detached stance which the interviewee adopts in the rest of the segment. However, we think that the off-record nature of the talk is more deeply seated than that. In fact, we want to argue that for this interviewee accent prejudice, although clearly recognized as part of social reality, is not something that should be explicitly talked about, or something that one should admit to embracing, at least not in a semi-official context like that of an interview with a researcher. Interestingly, this stance differs markedly from the kind of stance adopted by some of Niedzielski and Preston's informants in the US context who quite liberally share their negative views on various varieties of American English, particularly Southern styles and African American Vernacular English, and the people who speak this way (Niedzielski and Preston 2003: 98–102, 127–132, 138). While this kind of public disparaging of others' voices may certainly once also have been tenable in the UK context, it no longer seems to be, at least not for a young female RP speaker at Cambridge University who participates in a sociolinguistic interview.

CONCLUSION

Through this chapter we have established an empirical and theoretical hold on the – potentially changing – ideological positions surrounding the concept of accent in the UK.

On the basis of our case study data, we have pointed to what we see as an emerging dissolution of the indexical links between RP, poshness/prestige and non-localizability. Thus, we have challenged Agha's claim that non-localisability remains central to the enregisterment of (modern) RP, in that we want to con-

front the notion that 'RP is a supra-local accent…valued precisely for effacing the geographic origins of speaker' (Agha 2003: 233). In this challenge we see a small-scale local reflection of the trend that has been noticed by others (such as Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009): the re-emergence of localness as a virtue in the face of globalization. We see reflexes in our interview data of the dissolution of the automatic link between a certain class and non-regional position on the one hand and universal prestige and social attractiveness on the other. Prestige and social attractiveness are just as easily linked with 'place and authenticity', as evidenced by expressed pride in linguistic regional origins. Thus, in line with Coupland (2010) we believe that in the UK context '[…] there are reasons to suppose that the conventional class-based sociolinguistic conceptualisation of 'standard' and 'non-standard' speech is becoming out-dated' (Coupland 2010: 138) and perhaps replaced by a conceptualisation that, as one of its central features, accords greater relevance to geographical place (North vs. South) than social class. Other interview examples from the larger interview corpus we have drawn on here that support Coupland's (2010) description of the changing fate of RP will be examined in future research. Future research will hopefully also be able to ascertain whether the inappropriateness of accent prejudice (as no longer something that an individual might own up to, but as a continuing possibility as something one ascribes to others) that we have argued is present in our case material is part of a more general trend.

Furthermore, we have argued that a theoretical conceptualization of the ebbs and flows in linguistic ideology is an important counterpart to the work that is being done on variation and change in linguistic form. We argue that this enterprise can be aided by introducing the notion of the construct resource, defined as an ideological postulate about language variation and social meaning that emerges historically and circulates in society, into contemporary sociolinguistic thinking. Construct resources are located firmly within the domain of language ideology, but emergent in interaction and sometimes, as illustrated in the analysis above, crystallized into evaluative metalinguistic talk. Thus, we have shown that they can be fruitfully investigated by means of sociolinguistic interviews, in particular through close analyses of stretches of metalinguistic talk, i.e. talk about language varieties and language variation. We have demonstrated that construct resources literally 'say something' about the formulated but simultaneously fluid metalinguistic notions and norms of particular discourse communities and their members. For that reason we believe that they should be studied as an important window on the way real people make sense of their social world.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

⌈ ⌉	Overlap between two or more speakers, upper brackets for the first
⌊ ⌋	speaker, lower brackets for the second speaker
≋	Continued turn after overlap, same speaker
≈	Latching, one speaker to another (no detectable pause between utterances)
xxx	Unintelligible word or phrase
(0.3)	Pause, length measured in seconds
(.)	Pause, less than 0.2 seconds
((text))	Comments made by the researcher

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Tore Kristiansen and Nikolas Coupland (eds.): Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe. [SLICE volume 1]

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