Sociolinguistics
Basis II

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Programme for the day

Quantitative sociolinguistics
(Milroy & Gordon, Foulkes & Docherty)

Lunch

Variation and social meaning
(Coupland & Eckert)

And lots of discussion along the way…

You and your projects

Helena Larsen:	A Construction Grammar Approach to the Description of Modal Particles
Richard Madsen:	A study of the acquisition of formality in English by speakers of Danish
Anne J. Cole:	Curators Process of Meaning-making: Connecting our Cultural Past with the Present.
Bao Rui:	The Role of task type on facilitating Cooperative learning of Chinese as a foreign language in Danish context
Elisabeth Houe Thomsen:	CRS communication in banking: How is it perceived by employees and customers?
Habib M. Kachlami:	Social Entrepreneurship, its Determinants and Policy Areas
Ilze Lande:	Technical texts on the political agenda: the analysis of ideological aspects of the translator's role in the mediation of meaning in translation.
Kimberly Chopin:	Reevaluating the language test: assessing English language proficiency from within an ELF framework
Natalia Morollón Martí:	Virtual Worlds and pragmatic competence in second language acquisition
Sudanne Dau:	Activation of models of Blended Learning - how can it support the students' knowledge development skills?
Tea Dahl Christensen:	The Danish Soldier Hero – more than a historic myth?
S.M. Ariful Islam:	Language policy & practice
Lene Baggesgaard:	This land is your land

Alexandra Rasmussen, Kathrine Carstensen

Topics to be covered this morning

Principles and practices of the quantitative paradigm

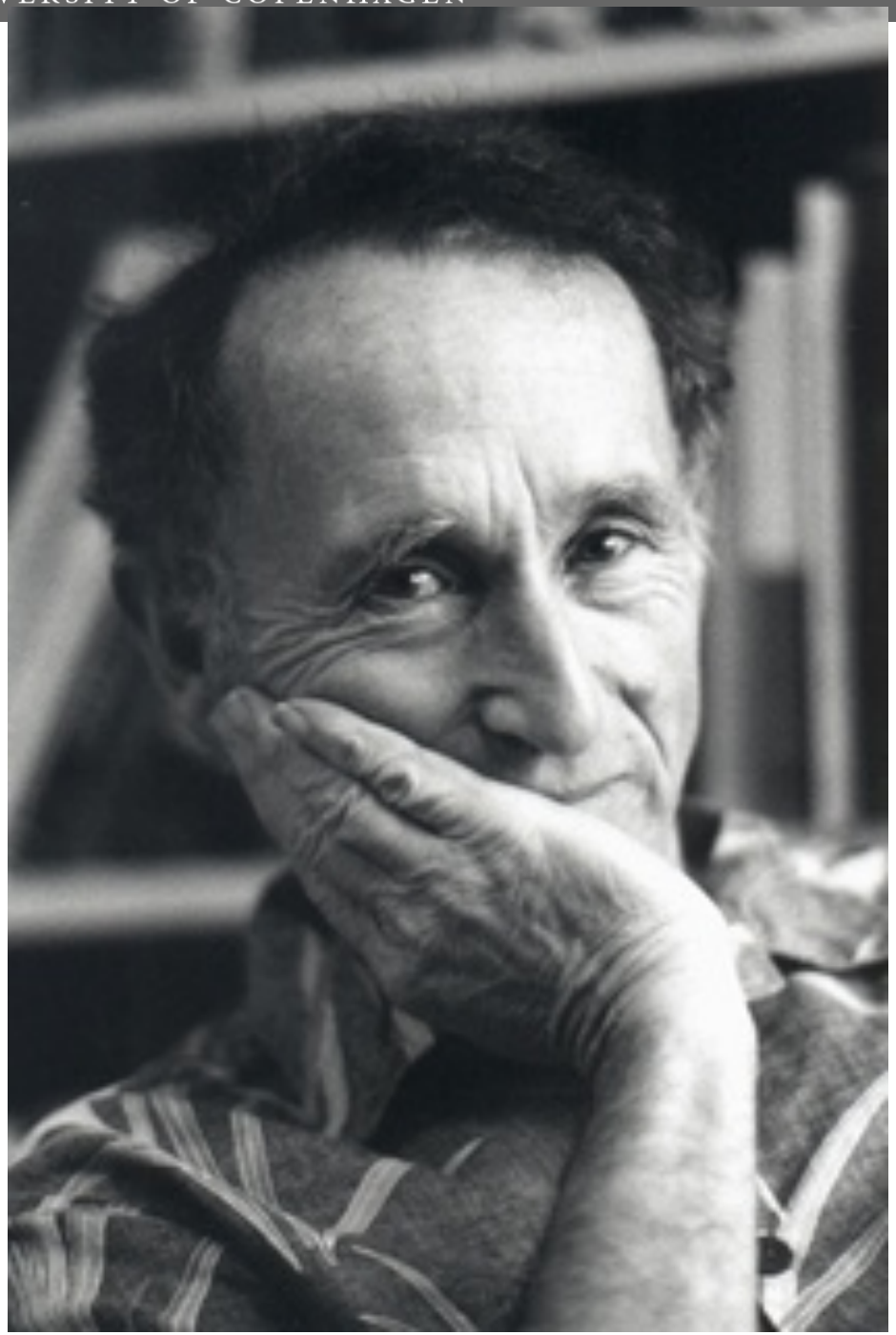
Social categories and linguistic variation (gender, social class, ethnicity)

Labov's Principles of Linguistic Change and their relation to speaker gender

The concepts of social network and community of practice

Network, class and mobility

The art (and science) of communicating results: Foulkes and Docherty on Labiodental /r/



Bill Labov b. 1927

What is sociolinguistics? And how is it different from other linguistic disciplines?

Sees language as social behaviour, as a representation or construction of human interaction: (vs a cognitive code, a functional system)

Social meaning constructed and negotiated through language use (personal origins, social status, identity, intentions) (vs an informational/propositional/truth-functional emphasis, a là semantics)

National and vernacular language varieties studied: AAVE, Bilingual Canada, dialect regions in the US, UK and Europe (vs the homogenous variety, the idiolect – an extreme version of Chomskyan/generative linguistics, for instance)

What is sociolinguistics? And how is it different from other linguistic disciplines?

Language materially rooted in time and place; strictly accountable and systematically empirical methodology of performance (vs native speaker intuitions as data, ”competence”, cognitive issues, parameters of Universal Grammar, functionalist approaches)

Structuralist tools often used, other linguistic theories also employed/ e.g. phonology; scale of variation in focus on either language or society (vs language universals as linguistic concepts)

Why *quantitative* sociolinguistics?

The science of *langue* versus the science of *parole*

Saussure as starting point

Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1986:100): [the science of parole understanding language as] an object possessing orderly heterogeneity (which can be revealed through quantitative patterns of *more x* or *less x*)

Cf Bloomfield (1933:347): The process of linguistic change has never been directly observed; we shall see that such observation, with our present facilities, is inconceivable.

Why *quantitative* sociolinguistics?

These patterns are ultimately the source of language change of a certain type, **through their embedding in the community**; different social groups 'carry' the change (e.g. vowel changes in the UK: TRAP STRUT FOOT; and chain shifts (eg NCCS in the US), dialect contact processes (Midlands))

They can be revealed by systematic empirical investigation of speech use in the *speech community*

Labov's definition using 'shared norms of evaluation', shared practices of style shifting

Data collection methodolgy remains a central concern: the sociolinguistic/ethnographic survey or targeted fieldwork, community of practice/ethnographical approaches, fieldwork techniques, recording techniques and equipment, ethical issues

How is quantitative sociolinguistics done?

Labov's introduction of the linguistic *variable*

- Seen as a unity of several conditioned *variants*. Derived ultimately from the structuralist conception of *phoneme* + *allophones,* but here the conditioning factors are sociolinguistic, through external social factors, not entirely phonetic-contextual, although context helps to define the 'envelope of variation'

How?

Defining the envelope of variation:

- H-dropping in English speech communities worldwide: content versus function words, /h/ in initial position *Happy home* vs *she hasn't had chickenpox*
- The quantitative approach measures inter-individual variation as well as intra-individual variation.
- Counting instances within a defined stretch of speech: an index of h-dropping, constructing a chart plotting this with respect to e.g. gender, age, social class. Statistical correlations checked
- Speech styles: word-list, reading passage, interview speech (debate on this topic earlier)

How?

- Also grammatical variation
- Semantic variation…

Quantitative sociolinguistics

Now has around 50 years of existence as a sub-discipline of linguistics

Has made major contributions to understanding social differences in speech

At the same time formulating principles of language variation and change AND at the forefront of the development of other areas such as forensic linguistics and other applied disciplines

Typical studies, Trudgill 1971 – (ing) in Norwich

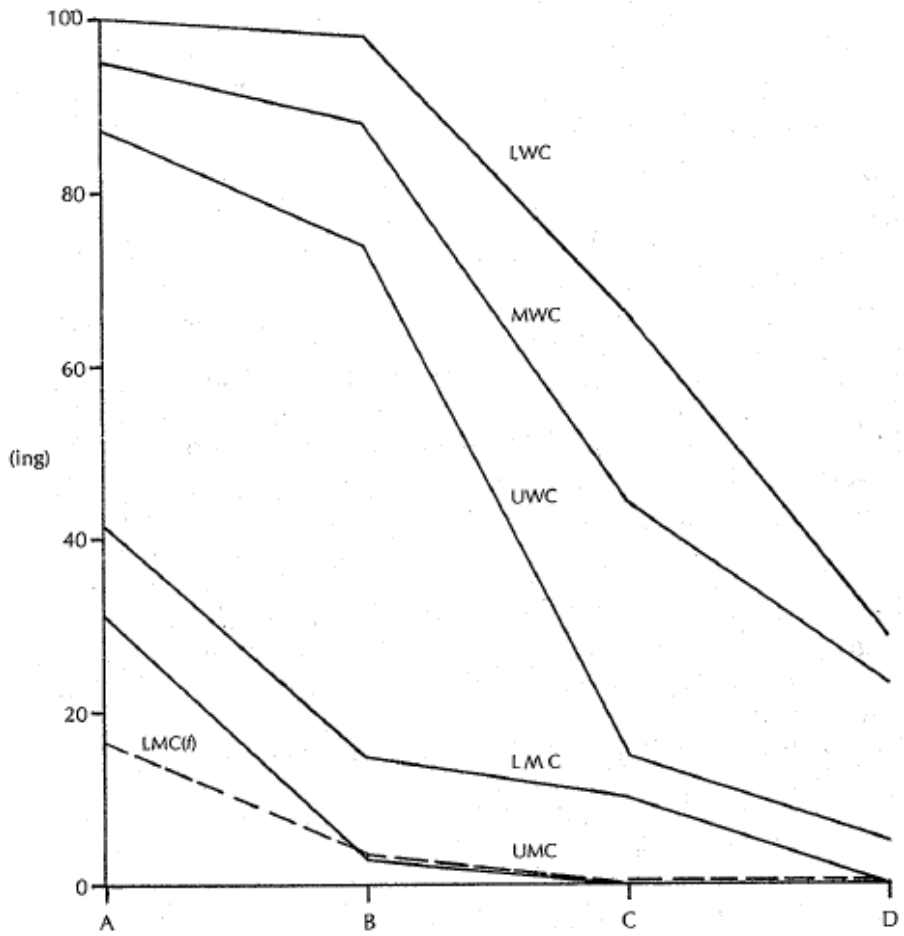


Fig. 8.4. Class and style stratification of (ing) in Norwich (adapted from Trudgill 1971). A, casual speech; B, careful speech; C, reading style; D, word lists.

Typical studies, Labov 1966 – (th) in New York

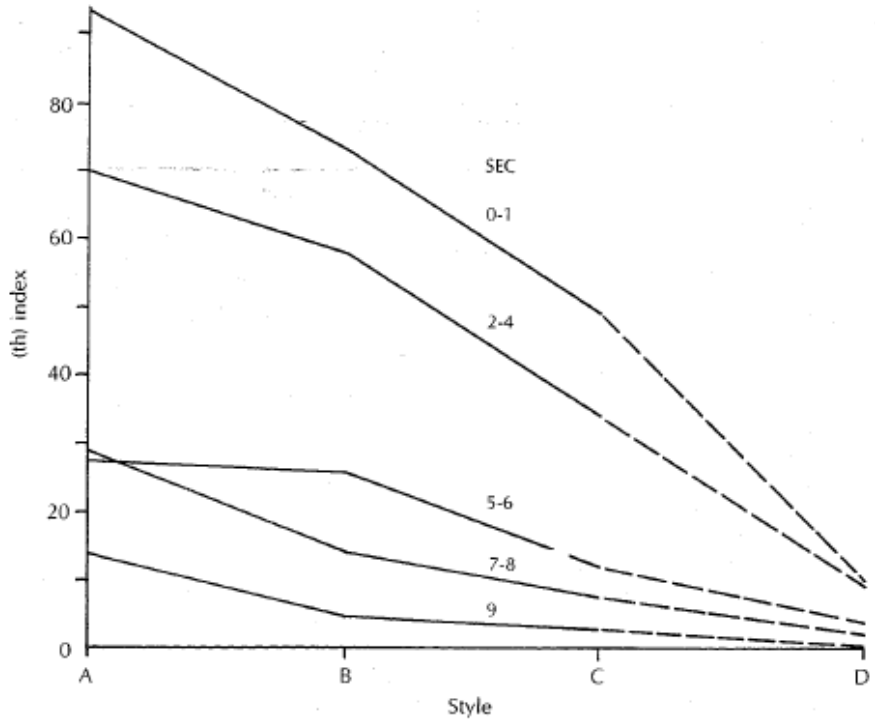


Fig. 4.1. Class stratification of a linguistic variable with stable social significance: (th) in *thing, through*, etc. Socioeconomic class scale: 0–1, lower class; 2–4, working class; 5–6, 7–8, lower middle class; 9, upper middle class. A, casual speech; B, careful speech; C, reading style; D, word lists.

Labov's Principles of Linguistic Change and their relation to speaker gender

Principle I: In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women

Principle Ia: In change from above, women favour the incoming prestige forms more than men

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

What could be problematic here?

These Principles are tightly bound to Labovian methodology and esp. a particular model of class stratification

Concepts of above and below in both the social strata and consciousness are also contested

Women, men, linguistic variation

Different placements of men and women in use of variables observed many times in many different settings in the literature since the 1960s.

Labov's claims include "In stable variables, women use fewer non-standard variants than men of the same social class and age under the same circumstances" (*p93 in Milroy and Gordon*)

Upbringing, socialisation, interaction patterns, social status in wider and narrower terms can affect womens' and men's usage of linguistic variants.

Eckert and others argue contra Labov for intense study of local patterns of variation and their significance

Women, men, linguistic variation

Each situation is unique and the meanings imputed to linguistic variants often have strong local connections, sometimes with supra-local ramifications and interactions

We can also questions this apparent 'determinism' of gender or social class, or ethnicity….

Some variables are highly local, others more global (eg within English: g-dropping to a large extent)

Variants can change status from meaningful and stigmatised to mainstream and more or less accepted, t-glottalling in England for example

It is impossible to generalise across all situations and all locations to find generalisations that help to define the process of linguistic change in ways that echo the Neogrammarians (and thus Labov's principles are criticised)

Critiques of the principles of change

As too general or as based on static understandings of gender relations, social class, and age groups

Milroy and Gordon restate these generalisations on p103: ”the generalisation… may then not be that women favour prestige variants; rather, they create them”…”women seem very generally to prefer supra-local variants”

Critiques of the principles of change

As not delimiting different kinds of linguistic change (does not cover the concept of supra-locality often talked about in studies of *dialect levelling* eg in regions of the UK)

More detailed ethnographies are often needed and are becoming more and more standard as the starting point for quantitative sociolinguistic studies

The concept of social network 1

Milroy takes up the ethnographic approach also used by Labov in studies of BEV in 1960s (Labov 1972 (LIC)): exploring ties of contact, insiders vs lames

Sidestep: the introspective linguist as the ultimate lame...

Social networks exist within a larger social structure (however conceptualised) and do not compete with analysis in terms of social class (…Milroy claims)

The concept of social network 2

Individuals inherit/develop/create personal communities as a framework for their social lives

Ties can be stronger or weaker, singular or multiplex, mobile or non-mobile over time

E.g. networks of relatives, friends, neighbours, colleagues, fellow club-members, classmates...

The concept of social network 3

Networks of strong, dense and multiplex ties promote a linguistic situation supporting localized linguistic norms and norm loyalty

Weaker ties facilitate outside input and influence and thus supra-local linguistic change

Is there a gender tendency that backs this up? In many studies of localities it is the women who have a greater range of weaker network ties.

Community of Practice

Wenger's concept has been imported to sociolinguistics, most notably by Penny Eckert.

Seen as framework for accessing local meanings of linguistic variation grounded in locally built up and iterated practice

Allowing for individual agency in a manner not accommodated in the social network approach

Social class and (quantitative) sociolinguistics

Consensus versus conflict models of class

Traditionally consensus in the Labovian model but now also some engagement with conflict models in recent work

New engagements with newer sociological theories such as the postmodernism/late modernity debate (e.g. Sarangi, Coupland and Candlin 2001)

Network, class and mobility

Different types of network can be seen in different social class positions (ultimately an empirical question in the fieldwork situation):

- loose-knit networks in the more socially mobile middle classes,
- Close-knit networks in the less socially mobile lower and upper classes
- This can be related to Labov's linguistic innovating groups found at the centre of the social hierarchy (based on NYC, Philadelphia), viz. Lower middle and (socially mobile) upper working classes

Labiodental /r/: a case study in research communication

Group discussions:

Page 42: Debate Index scores versus percentages, include table 2, p. 43 in your discussion

Acoustic analyses pp 45-48

Figure 7- interpret

Figure 8 - interpret

Lunch ☺

Programme for the afternoon

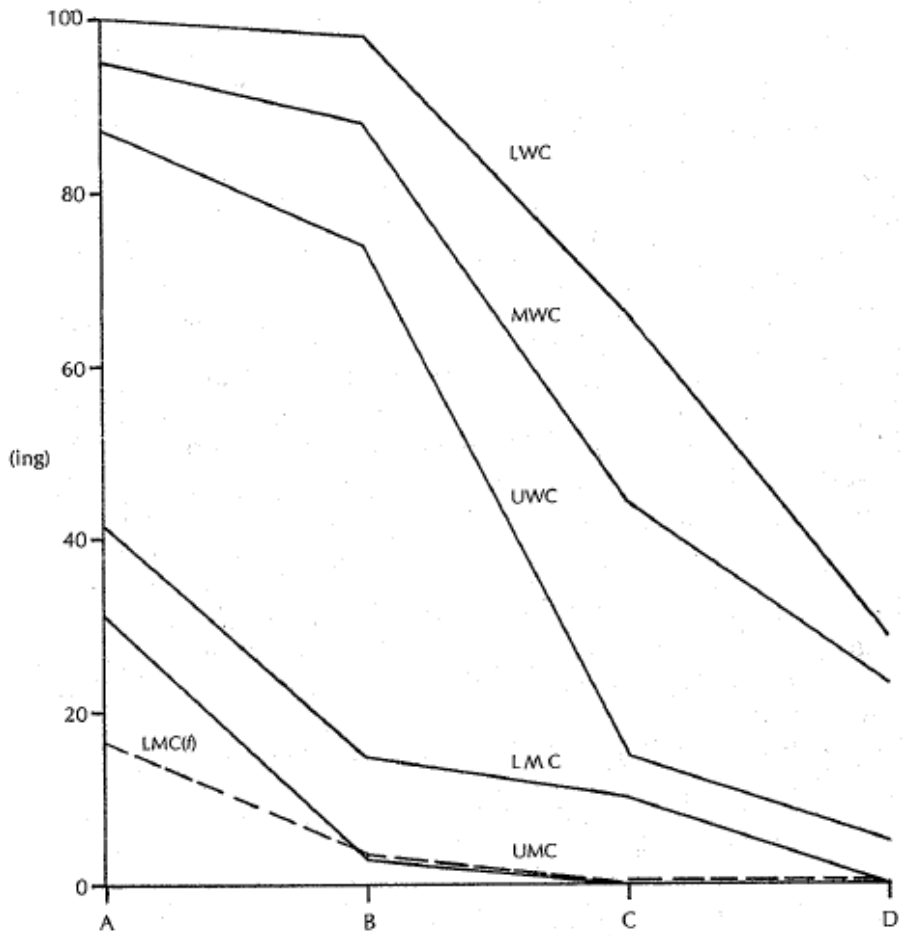
Social meaning in sociolinguistics - what is it?

Examples from research

- Communities of practice
- Codeswitching, social meaning linked to varieties?
- Beyond codeswitching…
- Language attitudes
- Beyond language attitudes…

Discussion

Trudgill (1971) – (ing) in Norwich



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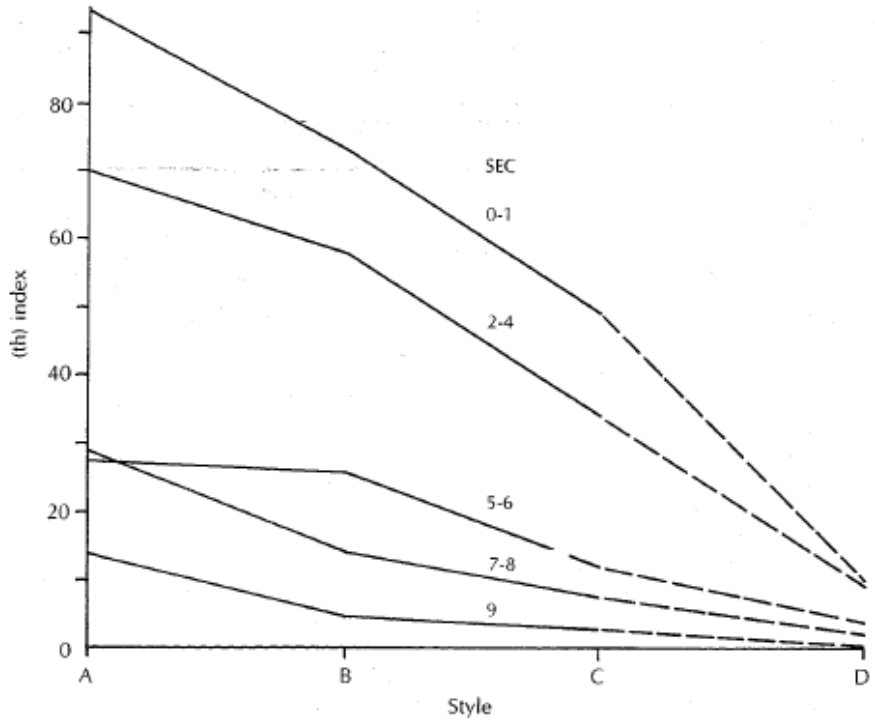
Labov (1966) – (th) in New York



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Social meaning in sociolinguistics

Eckert (2008):

"[...] social meaning came to be confused with the demographic correlations that point to it."

"The very fact that the same variables may stratify regularly with multiple categories - e.g. gender, ethnicity, and class - indicates that their meanings are not directly related to these categories but to something that is related to all of them. In other words, variables index demographic categories not directly but indirectly (Silverstein 1985), through their association with qualities and stances that enter into the construction of categories."

Mendoza-Denton (2004):

"[Essentialism is] the reductive tendency by analysts to designate a particular aspect of a person or group as explanation for their behavior: the "essence" of what it means, for instance, to be Asian, or Indian, or female [...] Essentialism in sociolinguistics includes the analytic practice of using categories to divide up subjects and sort their linguistic behavior, and then linking the quantitative differences in linguistic production to explanations based on those very same categories provided by the analyst."

Coupland (2007):

"[...] the appearance of sociolinguistic structure in variationist sociolinguistic descriptions is at least to some extent an artefact."

Linguistic practice

Linguistic variation as social practice

Social practice are actions that are seen in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to these actions.

Social meaning is seen as constructed here-and-now in situated discourse, but it is to a large extent constructed by drawing on meaning potentials that have emerged through series of interactions.

→ The specific communicative event and the structure of meaning potentials constitute a *dialogical* relationship.

Coupland (2007):

"We have to think of social meaning as being a set of dialectical relationships between people, practices and language varieties or features. These meaning-form-practice resources are also historical."

Example from Eckert (2000) - variation in Detroit

Examines linguistic variation among young people in an American high school in a suburb to Detroit (2000 students, linguistic analysis of 69)

Ethnography, participant observation, interview-recordings

The Northern Cities Shift

Jocks / burnouts

Basic social unit: the community of practice of Belten High

Eckert (2000)

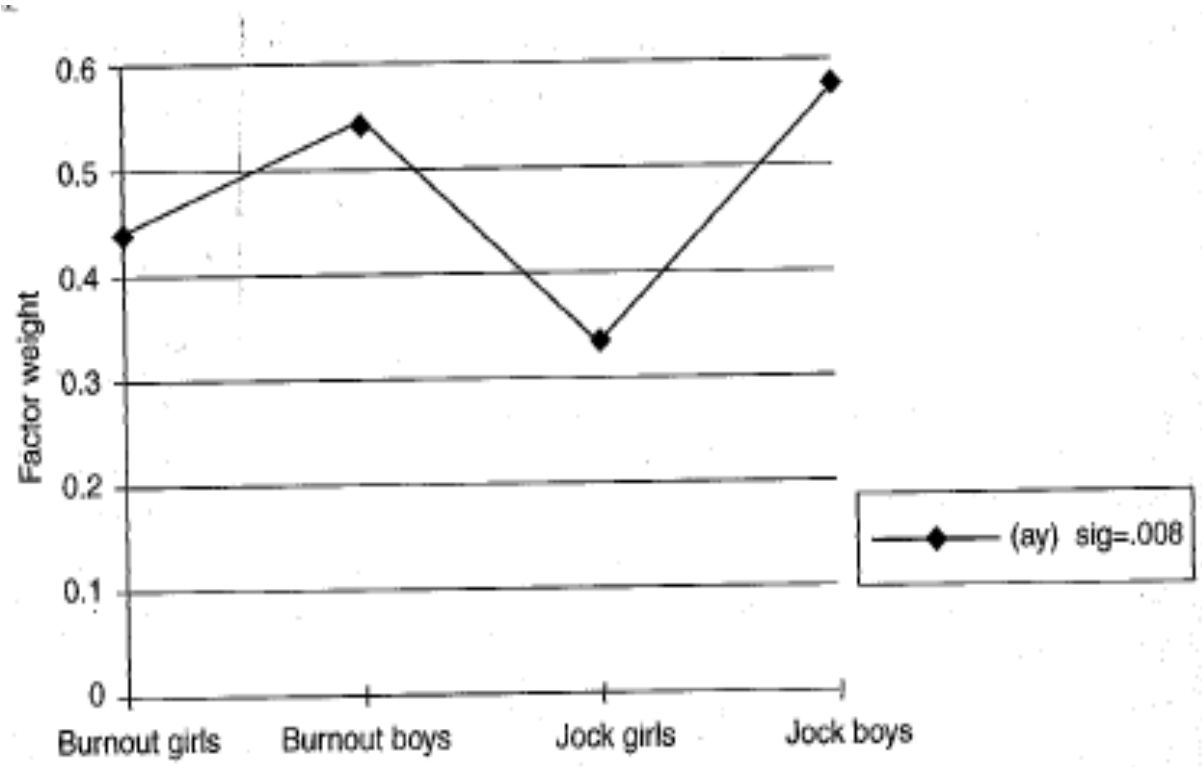


Figure 5.9 Pattern 3

Maegaard (2007) Ethnography in the City School

- Participant observation and interviews through seven months

- Participated in classes, breaks, sports days, school parties and so on

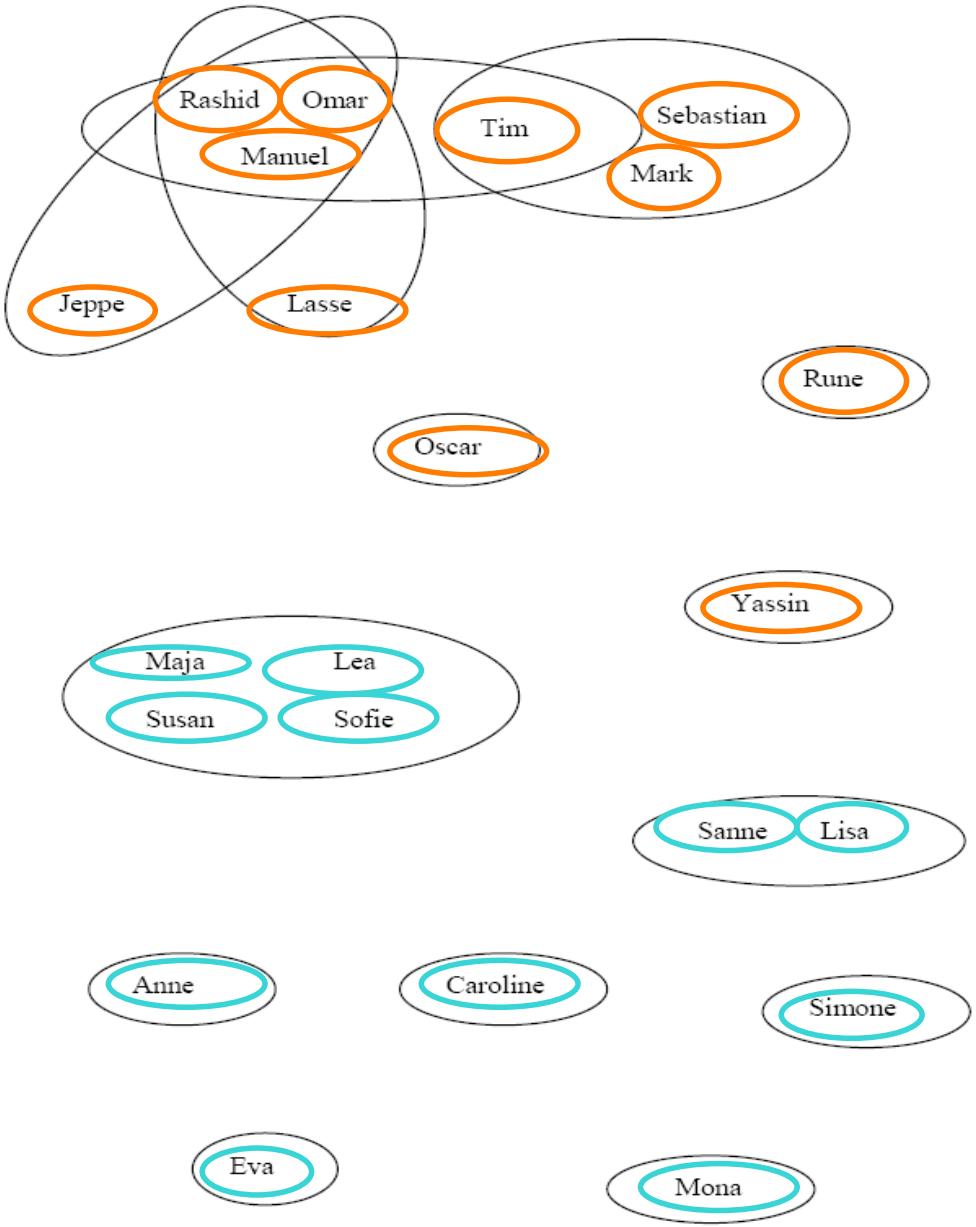
- Data: field notes, diary notes, audio-recordings of interviews (64), self-recordings with specific pupils

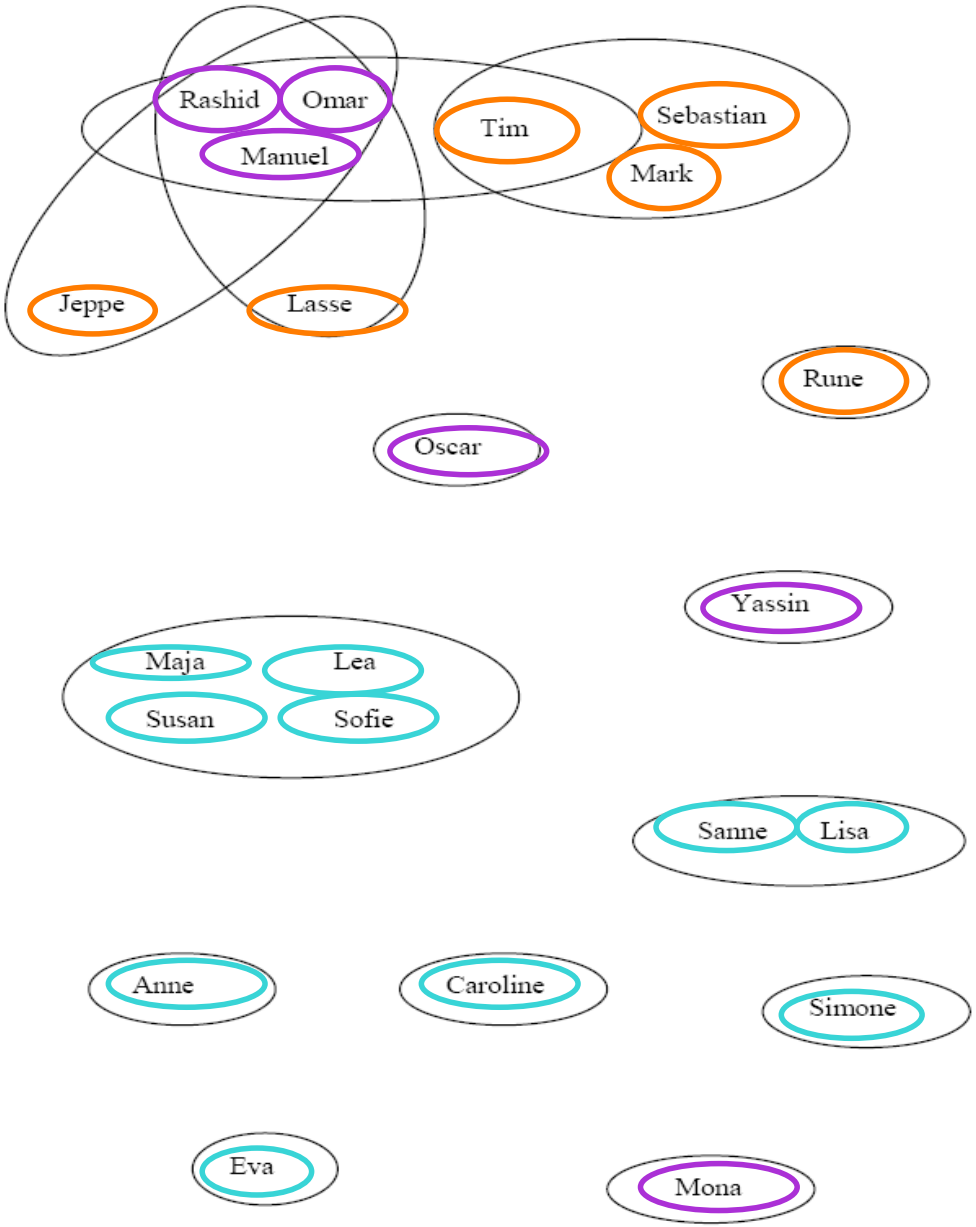
- Focus:

Which social categories and practices are socially meaningful to the pupils?

Which linguistic resources do they use?

Networks in class 9 D (**boys** and **girls**)





Networks in class 9 D (boys, girls, 'foreigners' and 'Danes')

Variation in the City School in Copenhagen – girls, boys, “foreigners” and “Danes” (Maegaard 2007)

	Foreign girls %	Dan. girls %	Dan. boys %	For. boys %
[s̥]	23,3	6,0	0	15,8
[t͡s]	57,5	15,2	1,0	15,8
[tj]	0	0,8	7,3	15,0
[ʁ̥]	16,3	4,8	4,4	23,3
Length. of short V	0	21,7	21,1	11,9
[ᵛð]	41,5	60,2	59,1	75,5
[ʃ]	11,8	20,7	53,6	98,1
[e̞ŋ]	0	29,5	56,3	55,6
[aj]	73,3	15,3	8,4	0

Phonetic variation and style group, Maegaard (2007)

	Gr 1 Foreign girls	Gr 2 Decent Danish girls	Gr 3 Tough Danish girls	Gr 4 Alternative girls	Gr 5 Tough Ethnically mixed boys	Gr 6 Decent Danish boys	Gr 7 Tough Danish boys	Gr 8 Nerdy boys
[s̬]	22,5	10,7	0	0	7,9	0	0	0
[t͡s]	57,5	27,5	6,7	8,3	8,3	1,3	0	2,5
[tʲ]	0	1,1	1,7	0	12,5	6,3	4,4	0
[ʁ̥]	16,3	5,0	15,0	8,3	12,1	6,3	4,4	0
Leng. of short V	0	22,5	26,1	2,3	11,8	3,0	38,0	40,0
[ᵛð]	41,5	53,8	56,7	77,8	69,0	61,6	52,0	53,3
[ʃ]	11,8	15,3	40,0	33,3	95,4	48,1	34,1	60,0
[e̞ŋ]	0	25,8	0	0	64,7	50,0	66,7	33,3
[aj]	73,3	21,2	0	0	0	27,3	3,8	0

Style

Eckert (2001):

”Style [is] a clustering of linguistic resources, and an association of that clustering with social meaning”

Agha (2007):

“We may speak of enregistered styles whenever a co-occurrence pattern is linked to stereotypic indexical value by its users”

Indexicality and indexical order

Labov's notion of *marker, indicator* and *stereotype*

Indicator (Labov) ≈ 1st order index (Silverstein)

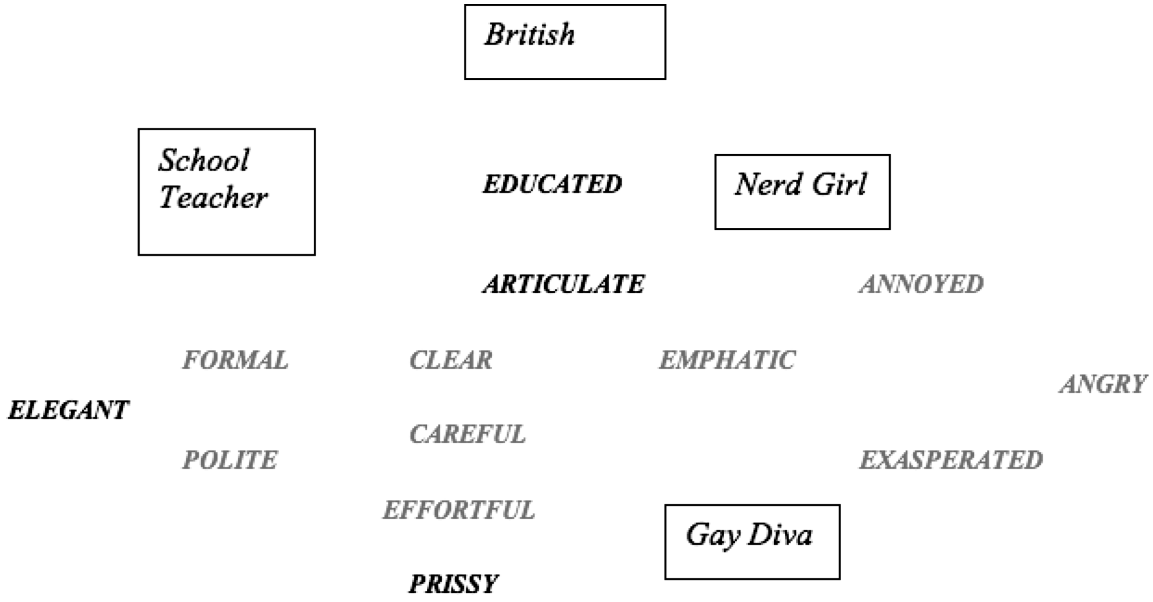
Eckert (2008):

"The social evaluation of a population is always available to become associated with the index and to be internalized in speakers' own dialectal variability to index specific elements of character. At that point the linguistic form becomes a marker, a second-order index, which figures stylistically as speakers position themselves with respect to the elements of character selected out for internal use." (p. 463)

nth order usage, n+1st order...

"[...] the reconstruals are 'always already immanent' [...], precisely because they take place within a fluid and ever-changing ideological field." (p. 464)

Indexical field for /t/ release, Eckert (2008)



Blom & Gumperz (1972) – use of bokmål/dialect in Hemnesberget in Norge

Hemnesberget is characterised by diglossia - separate varieteties are used in certain contexts (e.g. at home, in school, at work) which are associated with separate activities (e.g. public speeches, informal discussions, ceremonies) or which are used in interactions with different categories of speakers (e.g. family, friends, colleagues, strangers)

Code-switching: situational

Gumperz (1986)

Situational vs. conversational/metaphorical code-switching

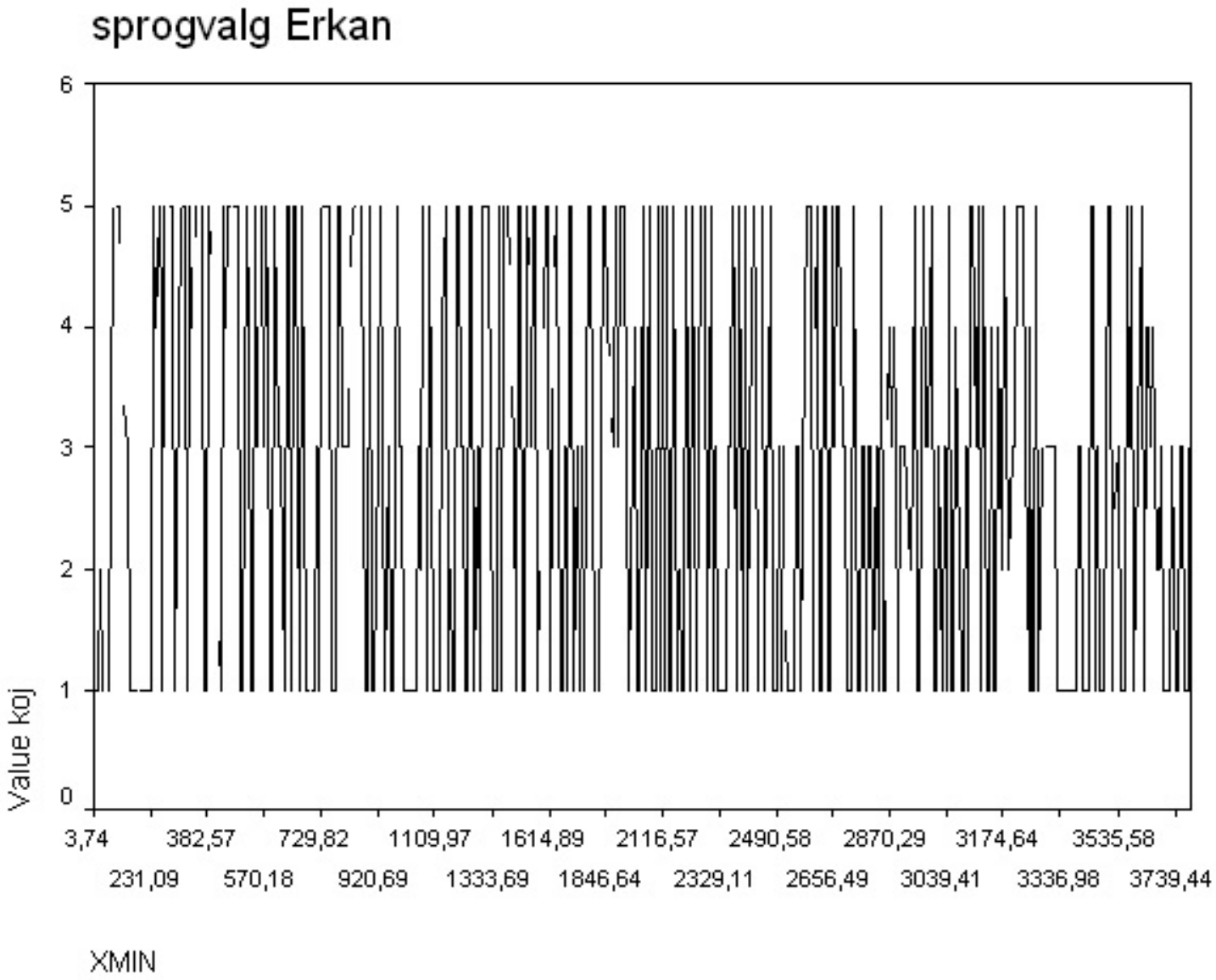
Conversational code-switching (hindi/engelsk):

A father is instructing his ten-year-old son who is practicing swimming in a pool:

Baju-me jao beta, andar mat (go to the side, son not inside)
Keep to the side!

'We'-code/'they'-code

Møller (2008) – Code-switching Turkish/Danish



Erkan, Bekir & Cevdet (in a restaurant)

Erkan: biz ne yaptık biliyor musun Serdarla *(do you know what we did with Serdar)*
Bangkok'a gittik (1.1) *(we went to Bangkok)*
ben visitkort aldım otelin *(I took the card from the hotel)*
det skal du altid gøre (1.4) (you should always do that)
taksiye bindik *(we got into the taxi)*
diyom (.) Hotel Grace Place *(I said Hotel Grace Place)*
det er noget af det kendeste (it's very famous)
adam diyor show me the way
(the man said show me the way)
((ler))
og Bangkok det er på størrelse med Danmark (and Bangkok it's the size of Denmark)

Bekir: ((laughs))

Erkan: ha show me the way I don't know
Cevdet hvis du havde vist ham vejen Cevdet (Cevdet if you'd shown him the way Cevdet
(3.0)

Cevdet: sådan er det jo (that's how it is)

Fatima, Gülten & Maimuna (from Facebook)

Fatima: very nice! ligner noget fra ørkenen, eksotisk! kan godt lide farverne

Gülten: hallo søster!!!
du havde lovet mig en skitse af en moske...
a promis is a promis :-o
still waiting ... :-))
btw... zupper good drawing ;-)
lovin it...
good colors and so cool with the white bottom. ;-)

Maimuna: har købt the equipment, skal bare finde tid til at lave en spektakulær én kun tje dig morok, den skal være speciel med ekstra spice :P, sorry tar mig sammen denne weekend! insAllah

Gülten gracias muchas graciass !!
jeg wenter shpæændt gardash ;-))
love youuu...

From languages to languaging

Languaging and *polylingualism* (Jørgensen 2008)

Translanguaging (Garcia 2009)

Metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010)

Are the theoretical developments the consequence of a new linguistic and social situation?

or

Are they rather a new way of conceptualising a reality that was already present when the earliest sociolinguistic studies were carried out?

Language attitudes

Social psychological research concerned with which stereotypical perceptions that are linked to different ways of speaking

Typically the verbal guise-technique

- short speech samples
- Several examples of the same way of speaking (dialect, style, variant)
- Questionnaires (closed, with scales / open-ended)
- Quantitative method, high number of informants

Problems/disadvantages of this method?

- But also ’dialect charts’, ideological critique etc.

Language attitudes towards local/'standard' speech

In Denmark the pioneer is Tore Kristiansen

Studies from all over Denmark (Vinderup, Odder, Århus, København, Nakskov, Tønder, Odense, Næstved, Bornholm…)

'Conscious' attitudes: local speech is evaluated high, Copenhagen is evaluated low

'Subconscious' attitudes: local speech is evaluated low, Copenhagen is evaluated high

Linguistic change in the direction of the language use that is subconsciously evaluated high

Verbal guise, young people in Tønder (Maegaard 2001)

Evaluation trait												
Intelligent	8		1	**	5		3	**	6	**	4	
Ambitious	1		8		3		5	*	6		4	
Efficient	8	**	5		1		3	*	6	**	4	
Selfcertain	8	**	1		5		3		6		4	
Interesting	8	**	5		3		1		6	**	4	
Straightforward	8		4		1		6		3		5	
Nice	1		5		8		3	*	4		6	
Trustworthy	8		1		5		3	**	4		6	
Educational level	8	*	1	**	3		5	**	6		4	

Speech sample:

1 Copenhagen

(2 Kolding)

3 Regional southern Juttish

4 Local southern Juttish

5 Regional southern Juttish

6 Local southern Juttish

(7 Kolding)

8 Copenhagen

The two sides of Nanna and Karen

	Nanna (4 and 5)	Karen (3 and 6)
Intelligent	**	**
Ambitious	**	**
Efficient	**	*
Selfcertain	- - -	- - -
Competence	**	**
Interesting	**	**
Straightforward	- - -	- - -
Nice	**	**
Trustworthy	**	**
Sociability	**	**
Educational level	**	**

Case study, Pharao et al. (forthcoming)

Indexical fields (Eckert 2008)

Registers, enregisterment (Agha 2007)

Agha (2007):
"We may speak of enregistered styles whenever a co-occurrence pattern is linked to stereotypic indexical value by its users"

- So what is the relationship between features, co-occurrence patterns (clusters of features) and indexical value?

/s/ in Copenhagen speech

Two allophones of /s/ are in free distribution in Copenhagen speech:

[s] and [s+]

The alveolar allophone [s] is deemed the standard realisation of /s/

[s+] in Copenhagen speech

Folk terminology

"Gay s"
"Young girls' lisp"

[s+] **in sociolinguistic studies**

[s+] used by "foreign" boys
Maegaard (2007)

[s+] in "street language"
Stæhr (2010)

”Modern” vs. ”Street language”

Studies of use have found differences involving segments, inflectional morphology, lexemes, syntax and prosody

(Hansen & Pharao 2010, Madsen 2008, Maegaard 2007, Quist 2008)

Studies of reception have found prosody to be particularly important

(Møller 2009)

Social meaning potentials of [s+] in different prosodic contexts

Are the social meaning potentials of [s+] in ”modern” different from the social meaning potentials of [s+] in “street language”?

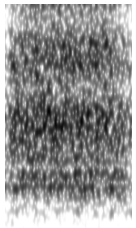
1) Matched guise with controlled stimuli
   A) open
   B) fixed

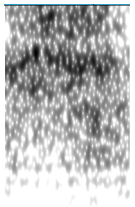
2) Identification of s-quality

Stimulus design

[s]

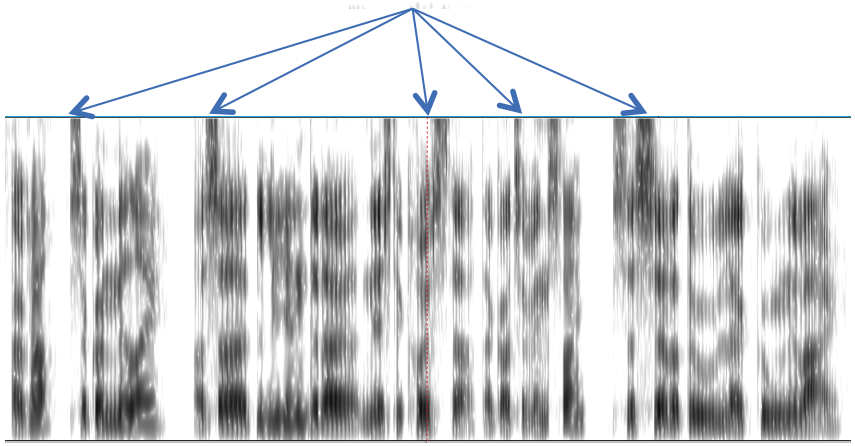
CoG:5621 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original





[s+]

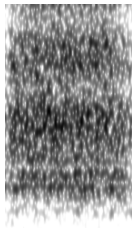
CoG: 8973 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original



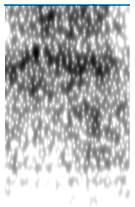
Utterance in ”modern”

Stimulus design

[s]

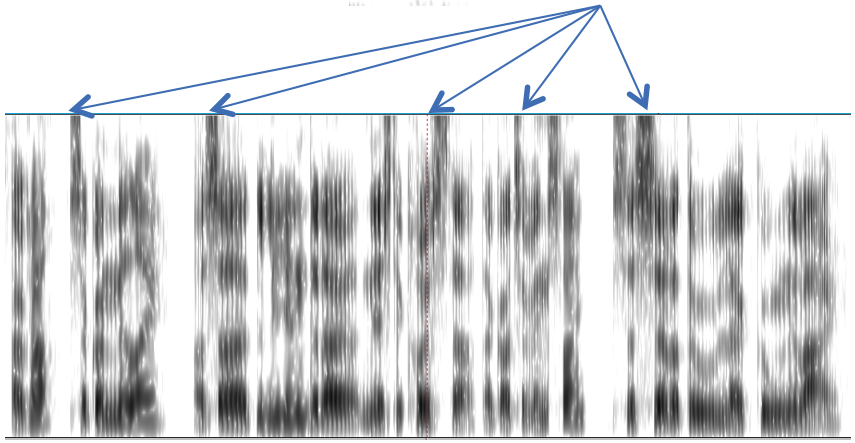


CoG:5621 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original



[s+]

CoG: 8973 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original

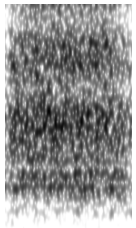


Utterance in ”modern”

2 voices x 2 conditions = 4 ”modern” guises

Stimulus design

[s]



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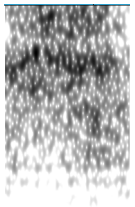
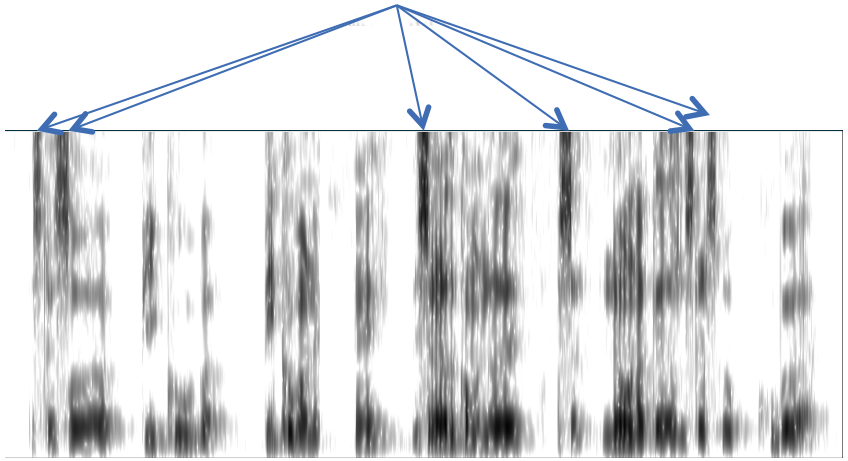


[s+]

CoG: 8973 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original

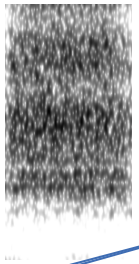


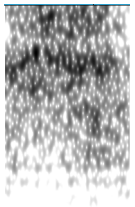
Utterance in ”street language”

Stimulus design

[s]

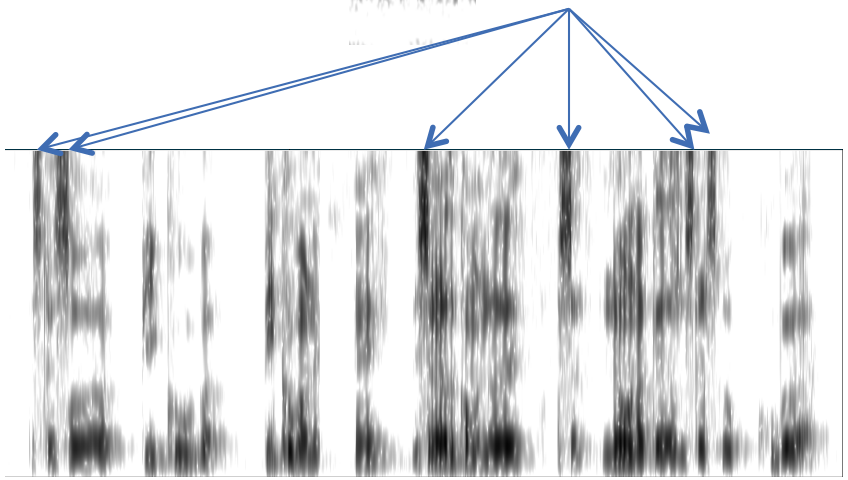
CoG:5621 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original





[s+]

CoG: 8973 Hz
Intensity and duration as in original



Utterance in ”street language”

2 voices x 2 conditions = 4 ”street” guises
+
2 voices x 2 conditions = 4 ”modern”guises
total = 8 guises

Experiment 1 A – matched guise, open questions

The matched guise experiment was conducted separately at two different secondary schools

Respondents		
Copenhagen	Suburb	Total
54	62	116

Listeners were asked to fill out 3 questionnaires:

1st with open questions for each guise
2nd with fixed questions and short open questions
3rd with questions about biographical information

Experiment 1 A – matched guise, open questions

For each guise:

What is your immediate impression of this person? How do you think he is?

(Hvad er dit umiddelbare indtryk af denne person? Hvordan tror du han er?)

Coding of responses

Examples of responses to Q1 ("What is your immediate impression of this person? How do you think he is?"):

1. "A potato that tries to imitate a foreigner, languagewise"
(En kartoffel der prøver på at efterligne en udlænding, med sproget)

2. "Immigrant, extremely stupid, lives in a ghetto, does bad in school"
(Indvandrer, ekstremt dum, bor i en ghetto, dårlig i skolen fagligt)

3. "He lives in Hellerup otherwise he is gay"
(Han bor i Hellerup ellers er han bøsse)

4. "Dane, middle class, posh speech"
Dansker, middelklassen, fin tale

Coding of responses

1.
A potato that tries to imitate a foreigner, languagewise

2.
Immigrant,
extremely stupid,
lives in a ghetto,
does bad in school

3.
He lives in Hellerup
otherwise he is gay

4.
Dane,
middle class,
posh speech

→ 200 categories...

Experiment 1 A – results

Std Cph1 [s]

Stupid

Slow

Dane

Indifferent

Confused

Calm

Tough

Plays tough

Std Cph1 [s+]

Friendly

Feminine

Lisp

Metrosexual

Homo

Gay

Homosexual

Experiment 1 A – results

Std Cph2 [s]

Ordinary

Intelligent

Dane

Calm

Friendly

Std Cph2 [s+]

Dane

Calm

Feminine

Friendly

Lisp

Metrosexual

Gay

Homo

Homosexual

Snob

Hellerup

Rich

Northern Sealand

Speaks posh

Experiment 1 A – Results

Street Cph1 [s]

Immigrant

Not Danish Foreigner

Ethnic

Not integrated Jew

Somali Polish

New in Denmark

Greenlandic

Ghetto

Speaks bad Danish

Incomprehensible

Stupid

Confused

Insecure

Street Cph1 [s+]

Immigrant

Not Danish Foreigner

Perker

Ethnic

Somali

Not integrated

New in Denmark

From refugee centre Ghetto

Speaks bad Danish

Incomprehensible

Accent

Insecure

Experiment 1 A – Results

Street Cph2 [s]

Street Cph2 [s+]

Experiment 1 B - Scales

Same 8 guises
8 scales:

Homosexual
Feminine
Immigrant
Gangster

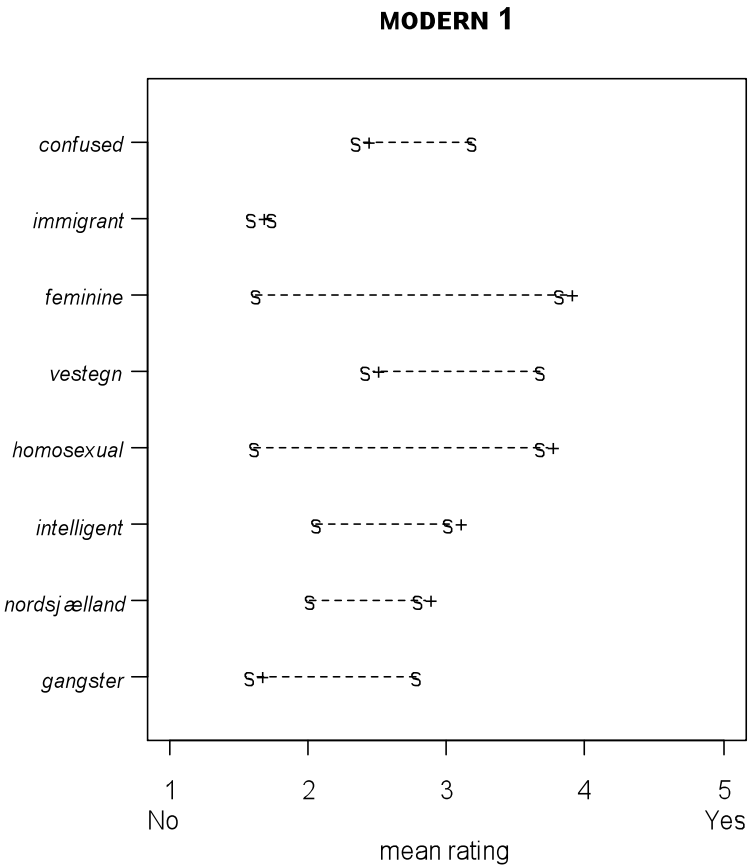
Nordsjælland (Northern Zealand, affluent suburbs)
Vestegnen (Western Zealand, low-income suburbs)
Confused
Intelligent

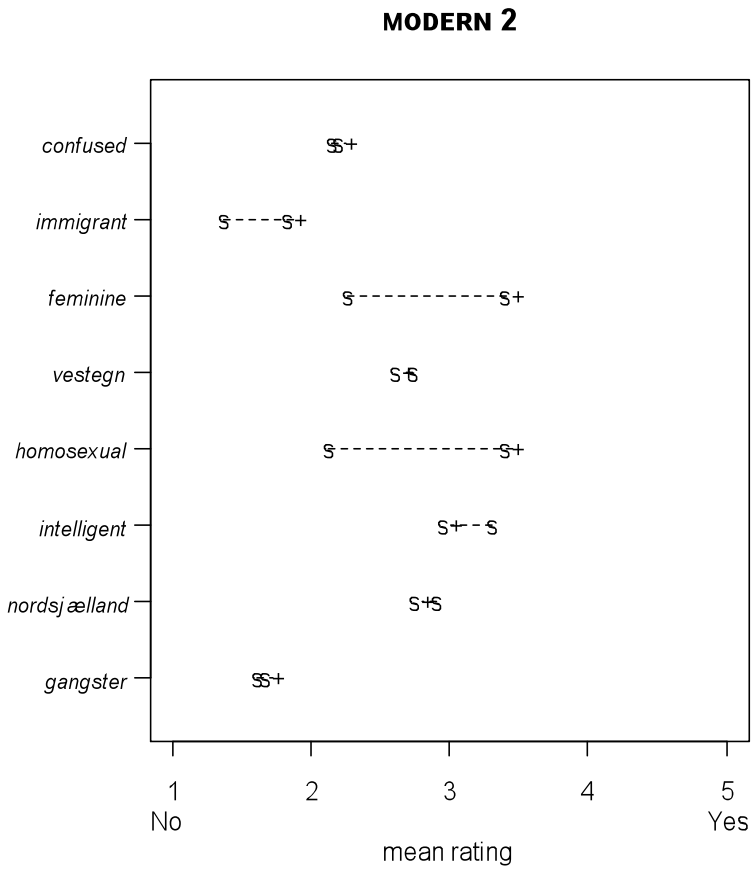
For each guise:
Does this person seem to you to be [homosexual]?
(Synes du denne person virker som om han er [homoseksuel]?)

1 = No, not at all – 5 = Yes, very much

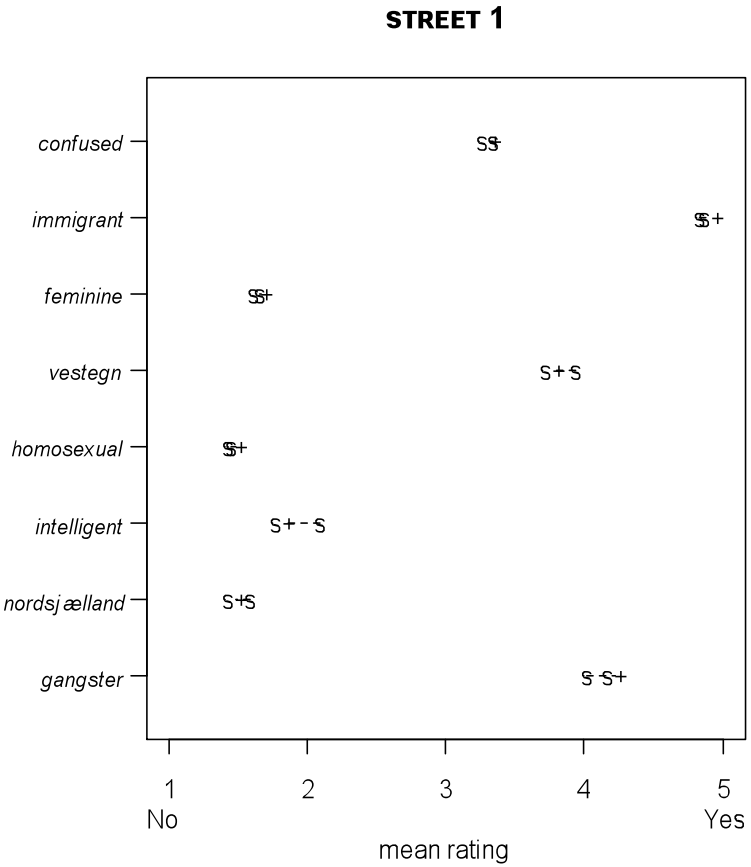
Informants: Copenhagen (N=97), suburban (N=117)

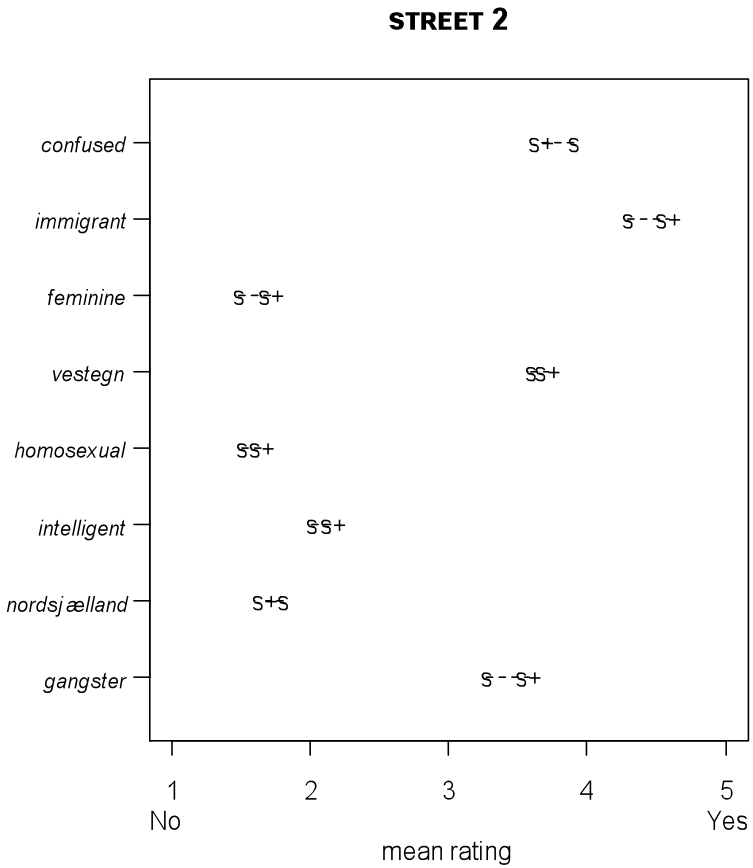
Experiment 1 B - Results



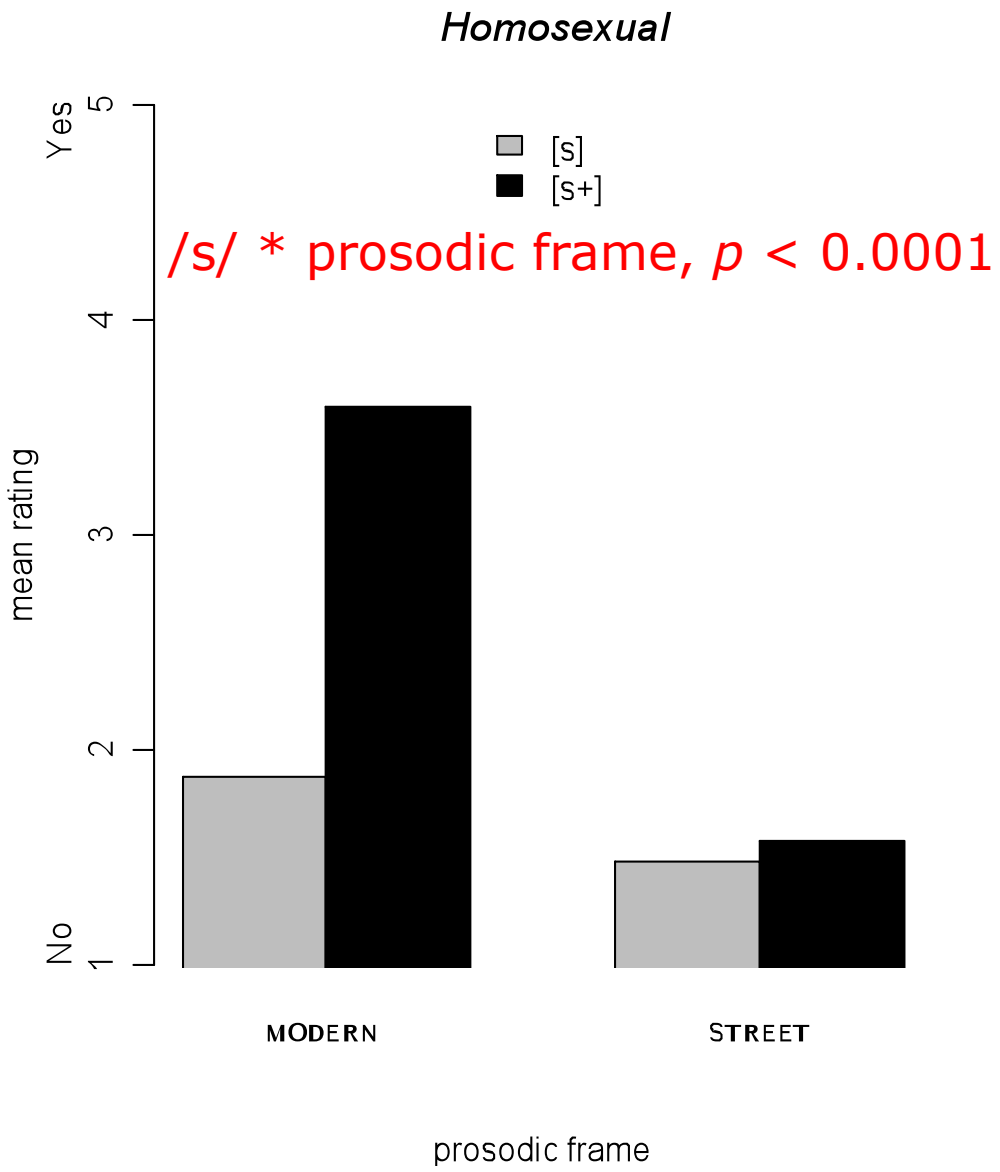


Experiment 1 B - Results

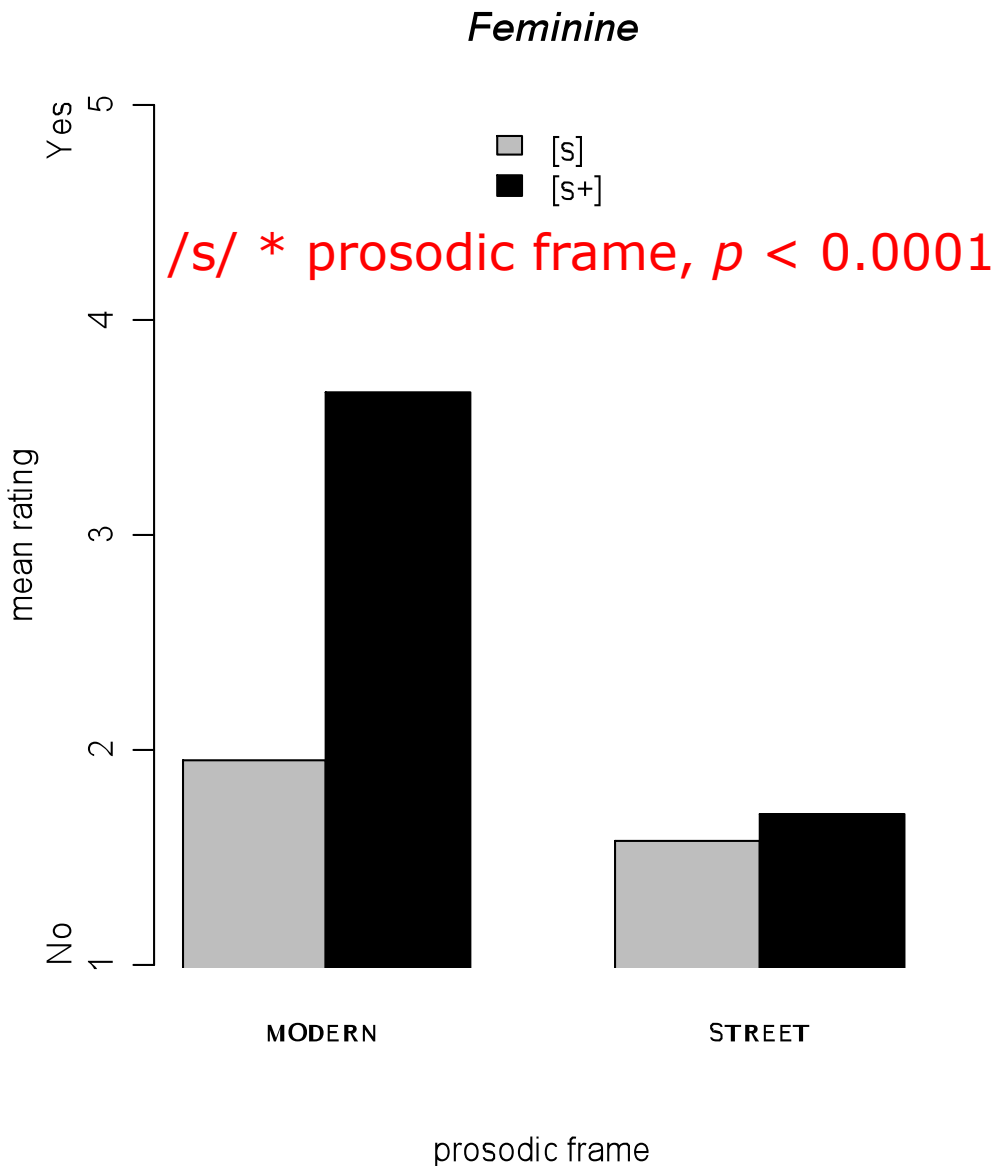




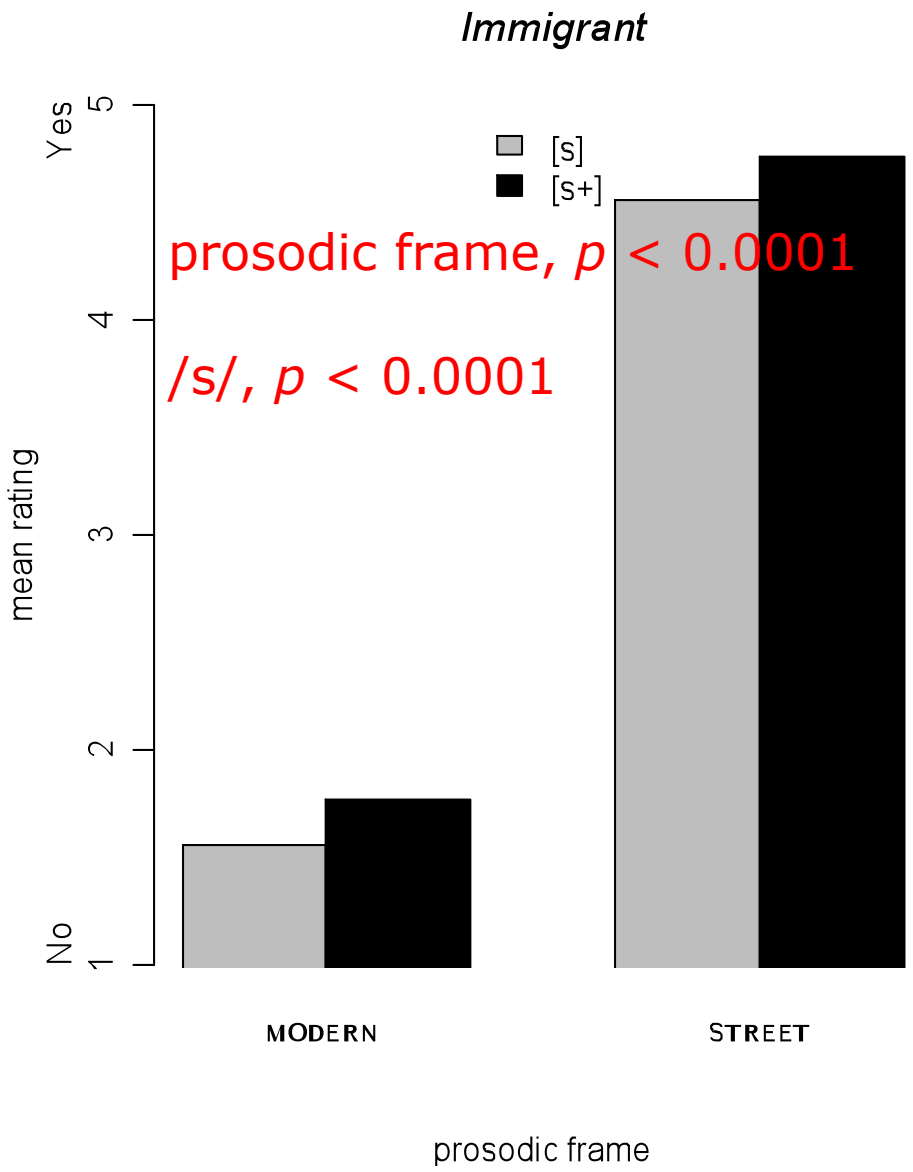
Experiment 1 B - Results



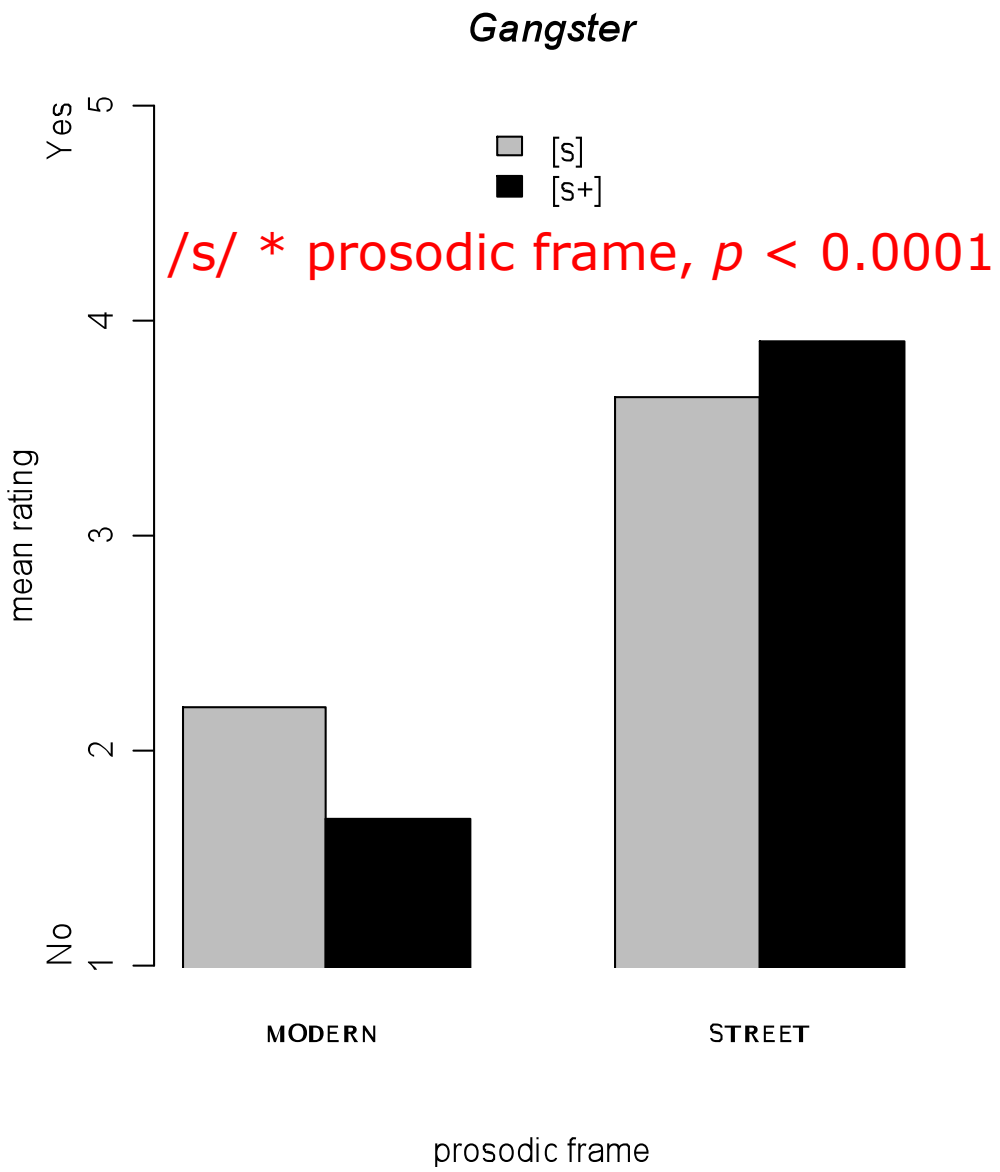
Experiment 1 B - Results



Experiment 1 B - Results



Experiment 1 B - Results



Discussion

Are the social meaning potentials of [s+] in ”Modern” different from the social meaning potentials of [s+] in “Street language”?

Yes – the [s+] has a clear effect in “Modern” but not so clear in “Street”

[s+] is not a significant feature in “Street”

→ To which degree are the informants able to distinguish between [s] and [s+] in the guises?

Experiment 3 - Identification of s-quality

Which 's' do you hear?

Guise	% [s+]
MODERN1 [s]	20.5
MODERN1 [s+]	86.4
MODERN2 [s]	36.0
MODERN2 [s+]	91.6
STREET1 [s]	23.8
STREET1 [s+]	58.4
STREET2 [s]	51.2
STREET2 [s+]	89.7

Conclusion

The indexicality of a linguistic feature can be very different depending on the linguistic context in which it occurs

The occurrence of certain variants may have consequences for the indexical potential of certain other variants

Two registers? Or three?

Same phonetic feature is recognized to different degrees dependent on the register.

→ Features associated with strong indexical potential in a particular cluster are more easily recognized

Summing up today's themes

Quantitative sociolinguistics, methods, assumptions,

Advantages, disadvantages, developments

Variation and social meaning

- Complexity
- Indexical meaning of clusters or variants?

Languaging…

Thank you