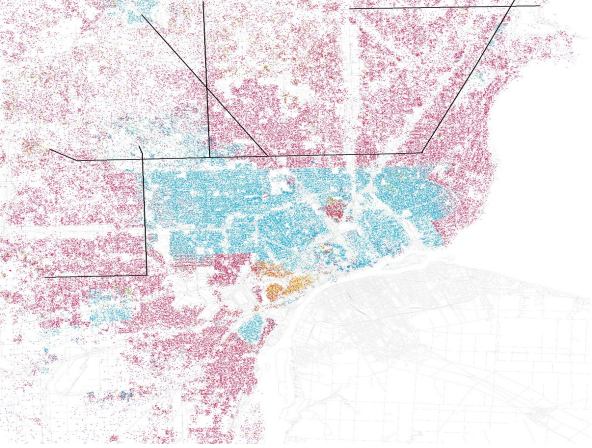
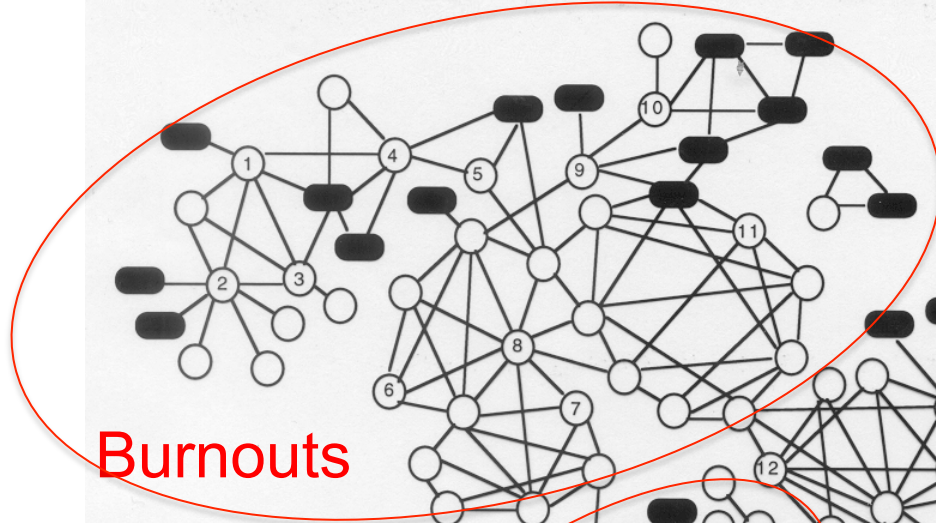


## Where we left off

- Variables in Belten High correlate with forms of participation in the peer social order, not parents' SES.
  - .'. The use of variation involves agency.
  - Class is reproduced in the peer social order.
  - Jocks and Burnouts are class-based, but not class-determined communities of practice.
- The local peer social order is embedded in the social geography of the larger conurbation.
  - Class, place and social types are co-constructed.

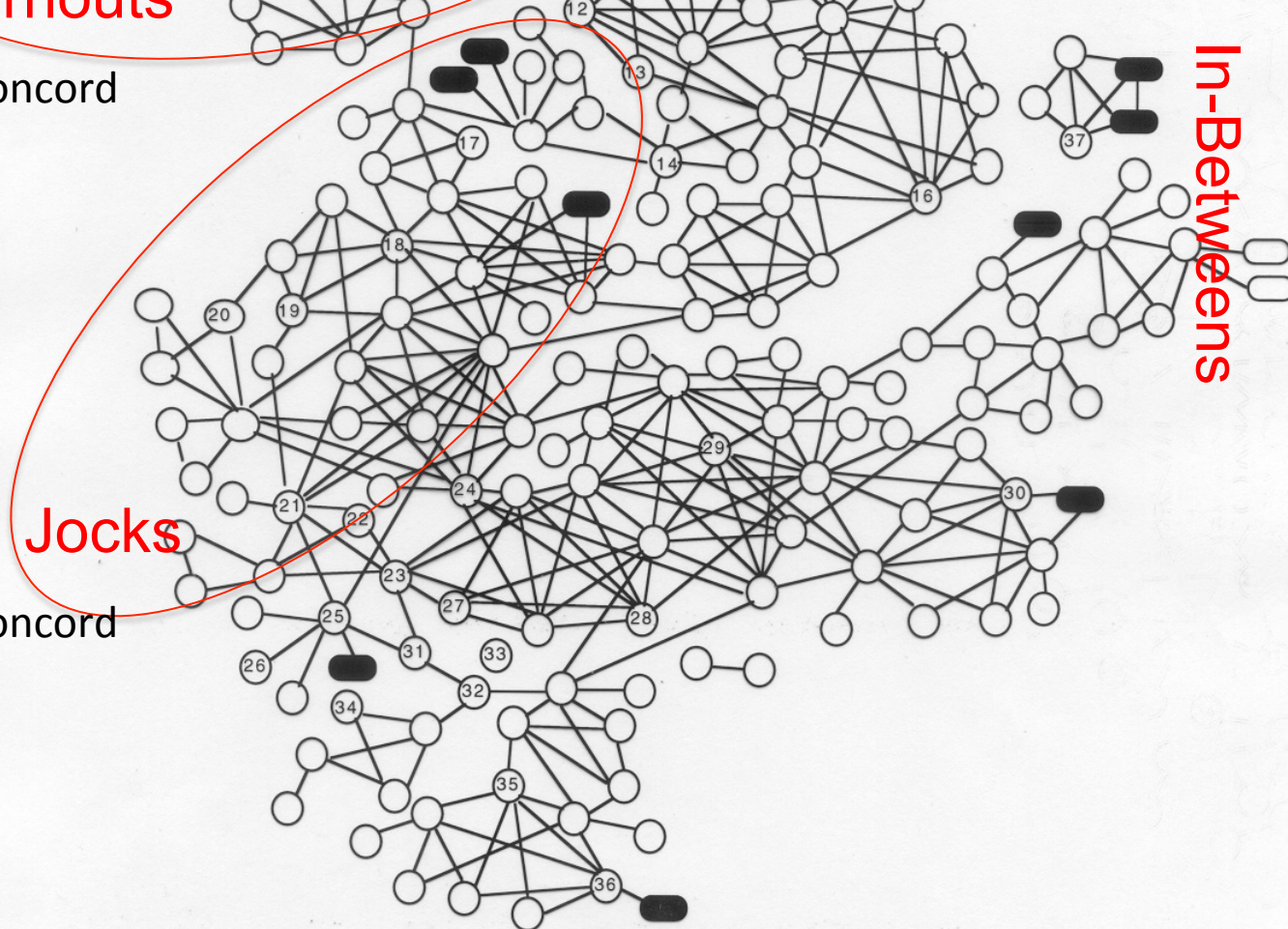


- A little question on the side: what are the boundaries of the speech community?
  - If the speech community is an aggregate of speakers with shared norms, which norms matter?
  - The variables under study have little meaning outside the context of the larger conurbation.
  - The speech community concept is useful only as a vague term, or for specifying the social scope of the study – the population and the social distinctions it comprises.



**Burnouts**

33% Negative Concord



**Jocks**

1% Negative Concord

**In-Betweens**



Burned-out  
Burnouts

51%

"Regular"  
Burnouts

23%

Jocks

1%

Loners

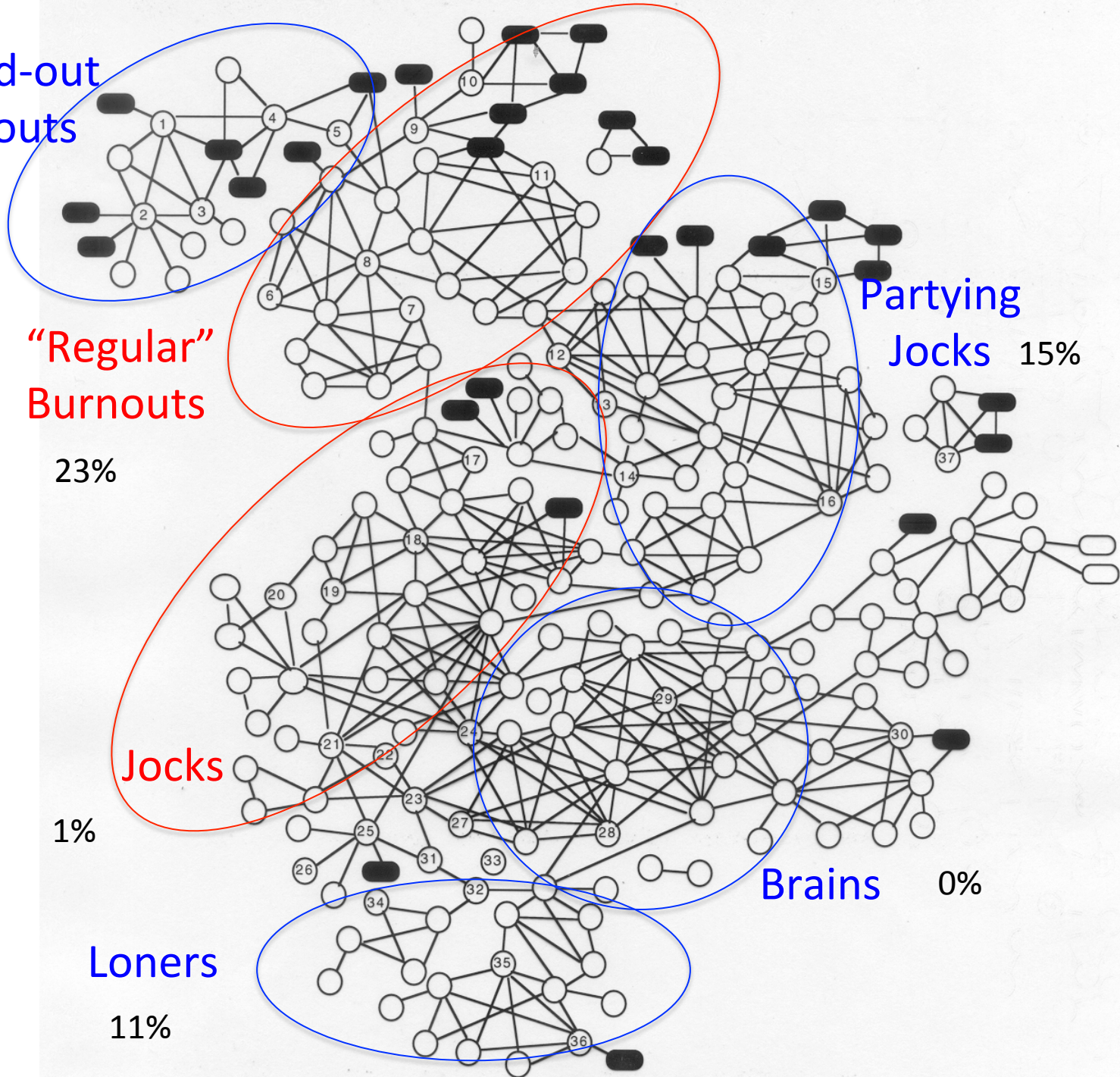
11%

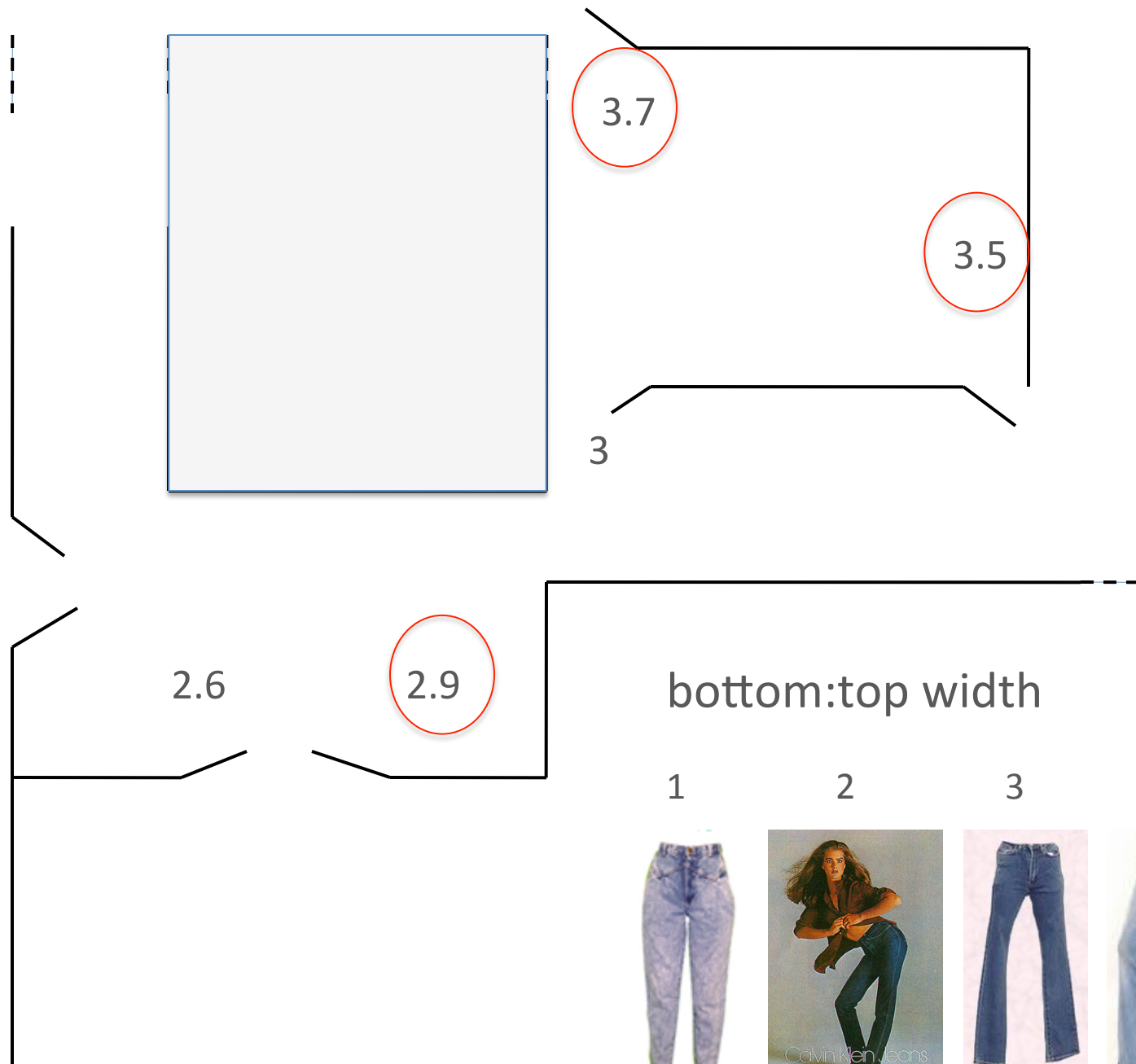
Partying  
Jocks

15%

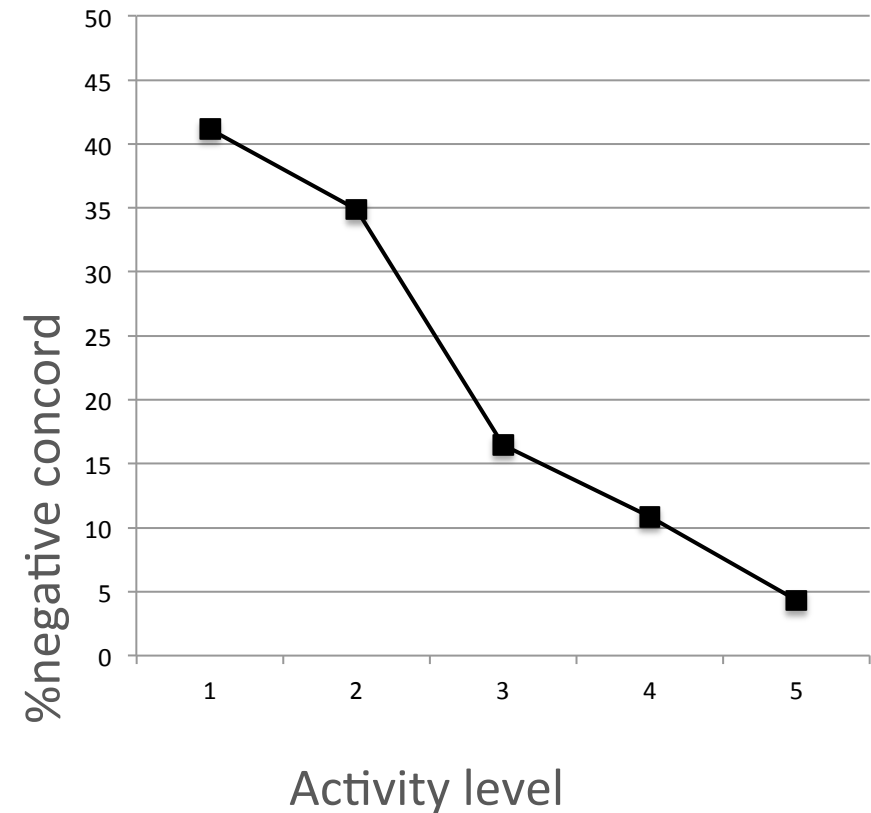
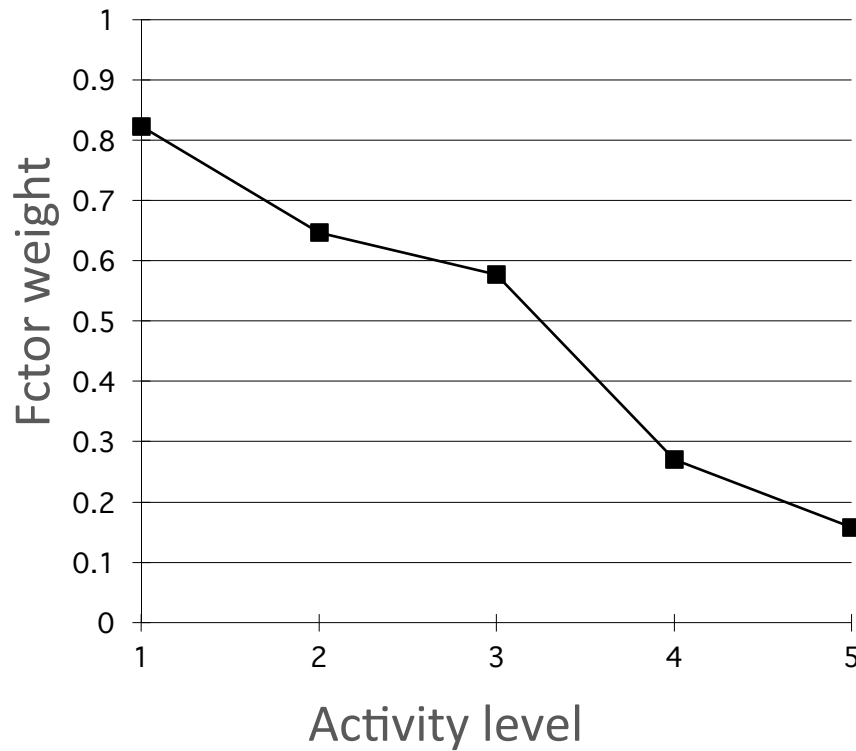
Brains

0%





# Extracurricular activities and (ay), neg. p=.000



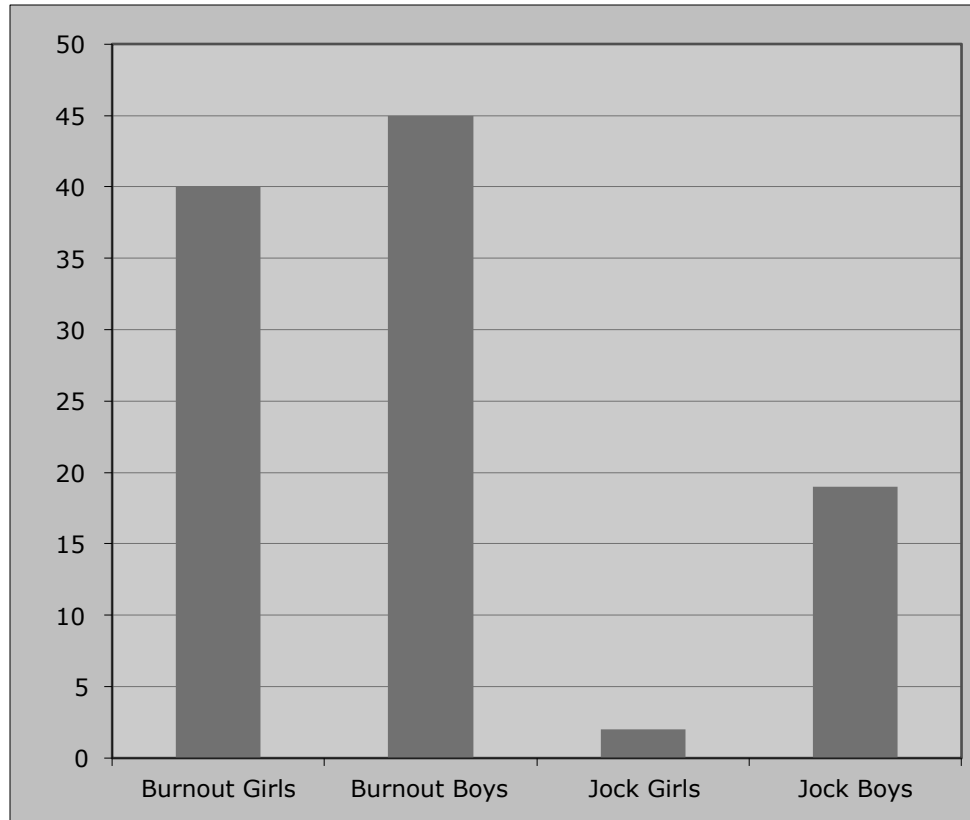


## More fractal recursivity

Let me think. Okay. Us. You know like the burnout – (yeah bye - like the - wait bum me one) - the burnout chicks they they sit over here and then the like the jocks – chicks – they sit like around here and then (by that door?) no, like in the middle and then um (who are the jocky chicks who hang out in the courtyard?) I don't know just you know weirdos. And then there's like um the guys you know you know like weirdos that think they're cool – they just stand like on the steps and hang out at that little heater. (by the door yeah right) uuuu. (yeah) And then the poins are inside in the cafeteria because they're probably afraid to come out in the courtyard.

# The category perspective

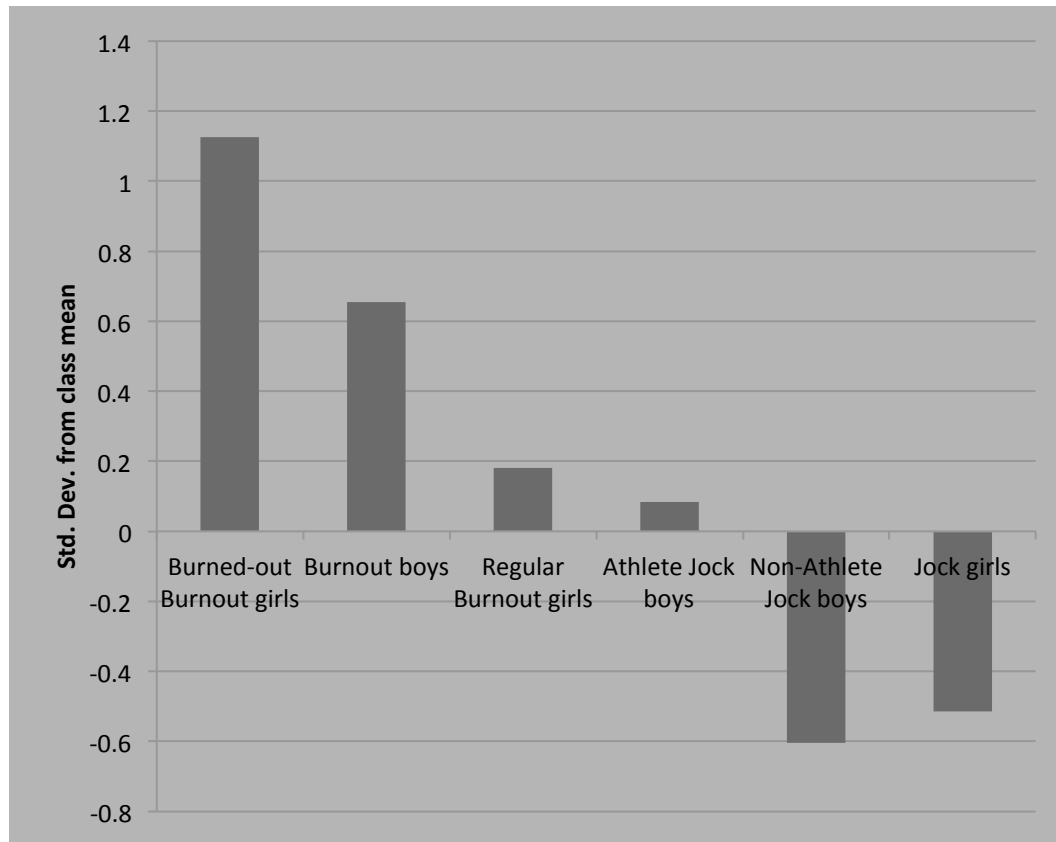
## % Negative Concord



Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

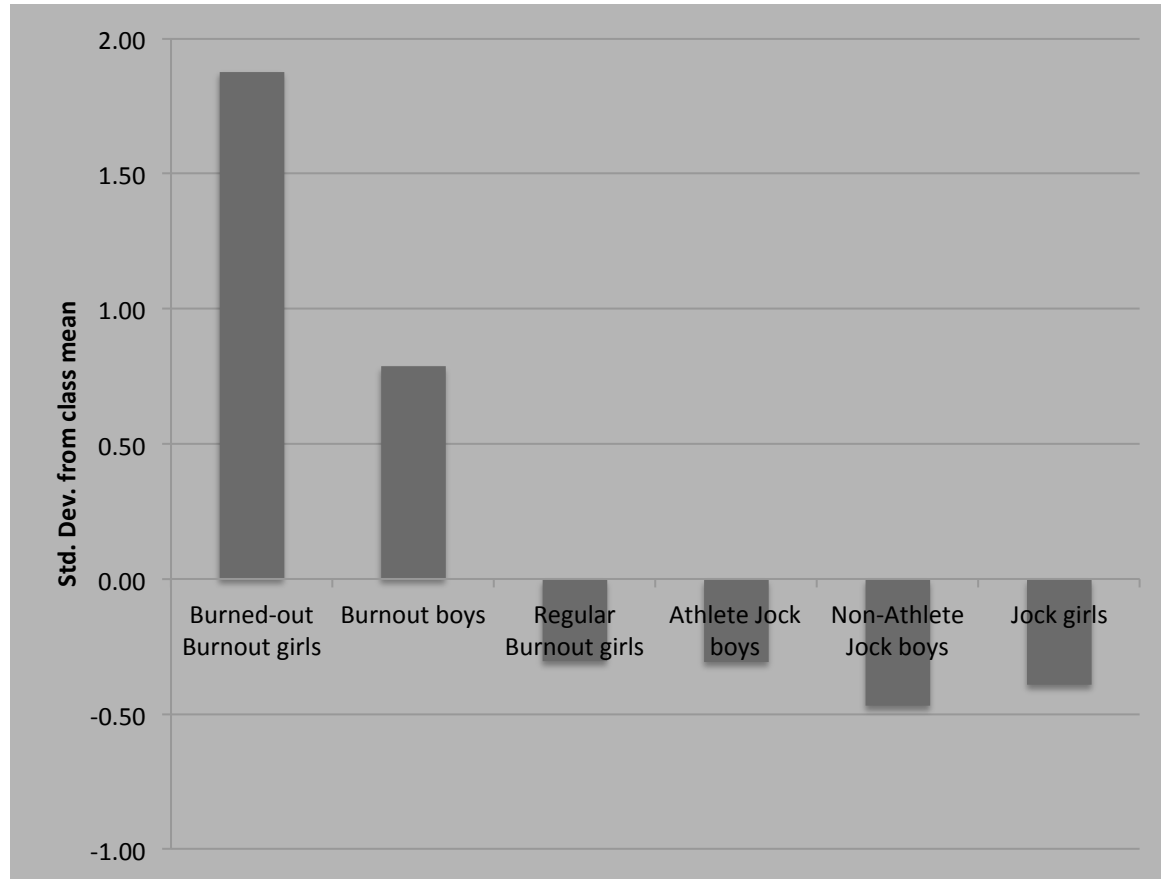


# Which Jocks and Burnouts?

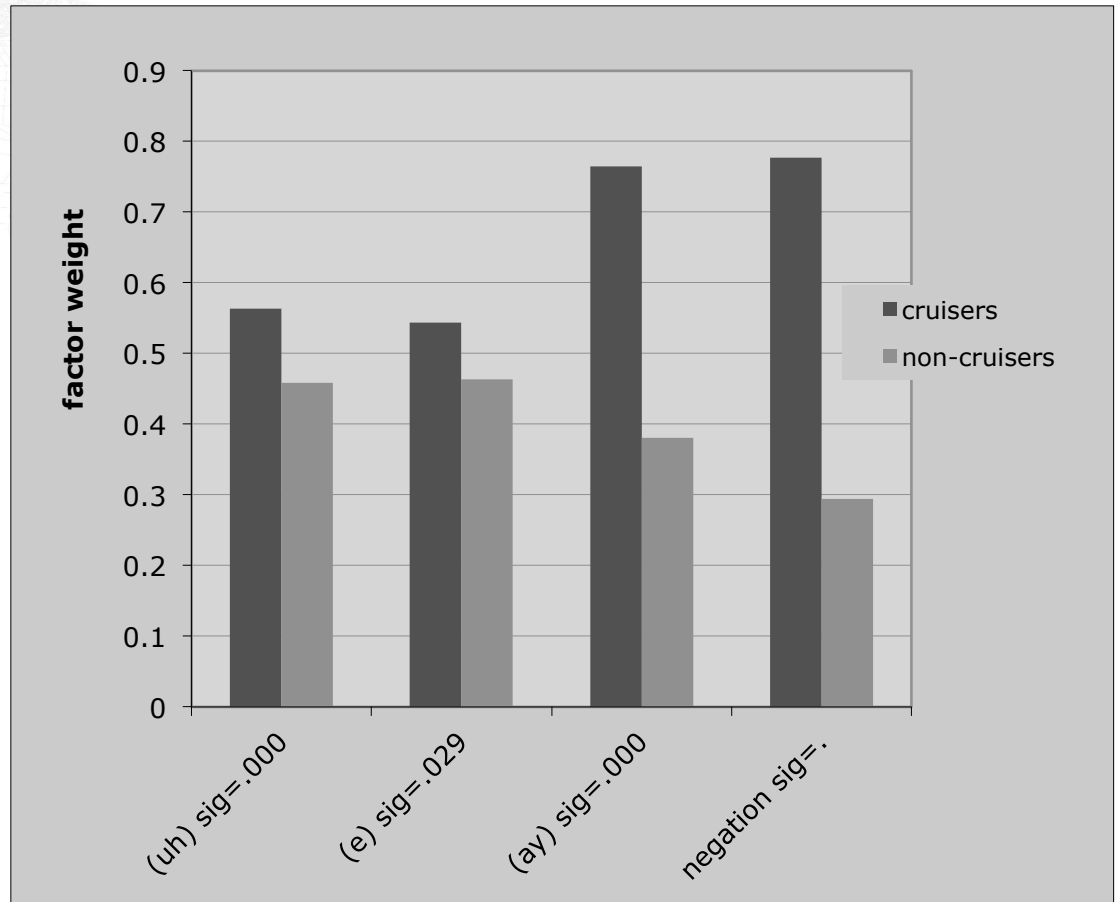
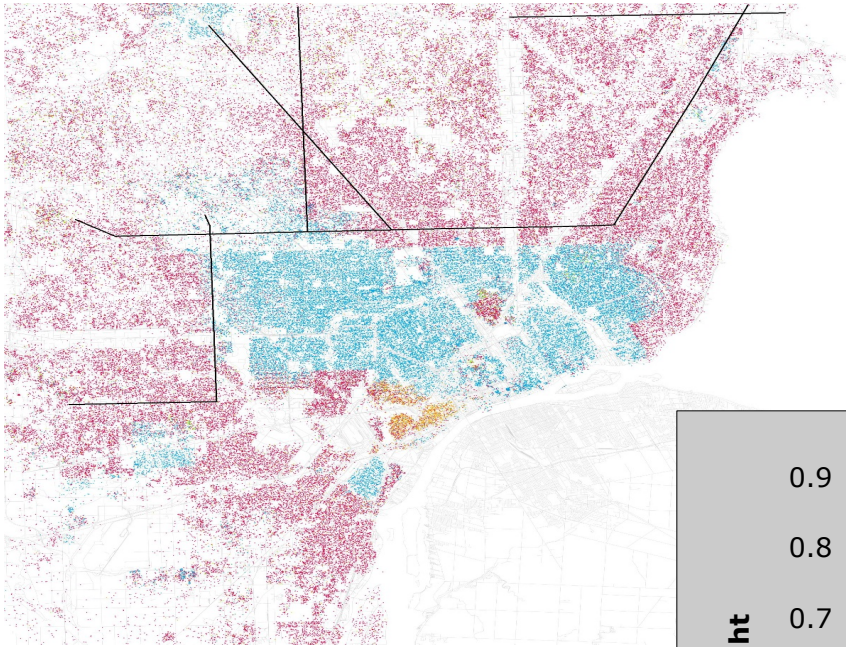




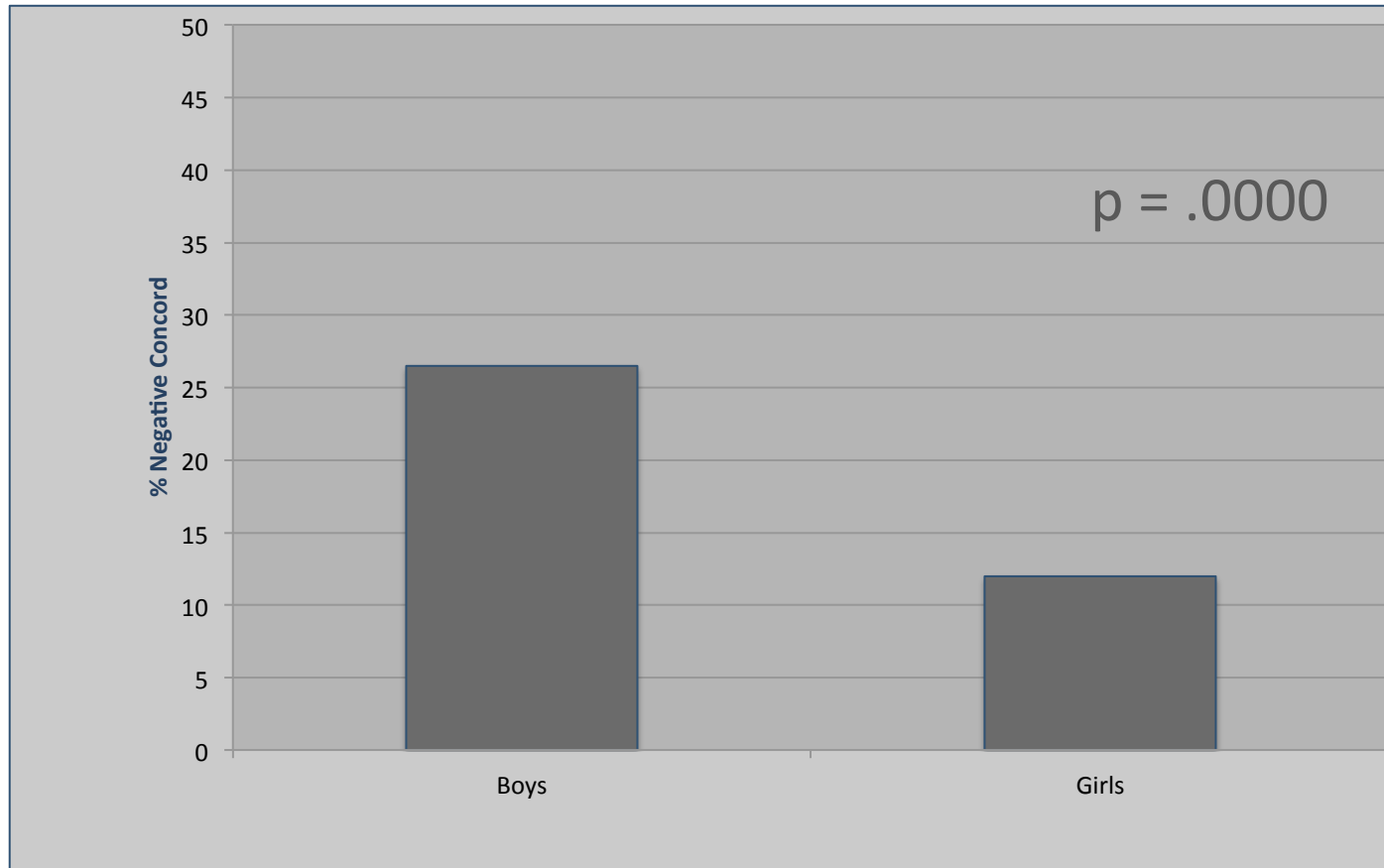
# (ay) raising



# Cruising



The overall gender correlation says something about how likely boys and girls are to act tough, anti-institutional.  
It doesn't say that the variable 'means' male/female.

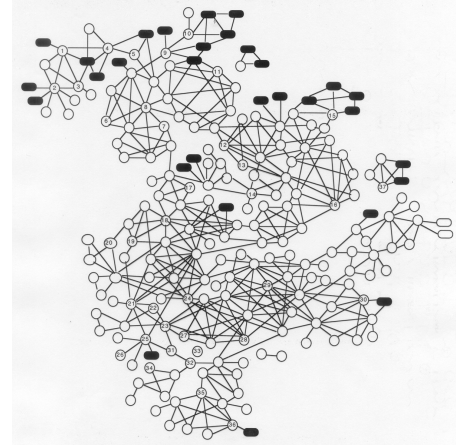


- Variation does not index just membership in a category, but associations with membership in that category.
  - Qualities
  - Activities
  - Stances
  - ...

Ochs, E. (1991). "Indexing gender." In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

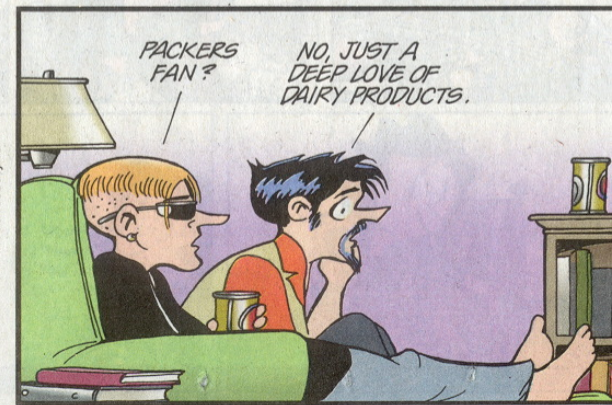
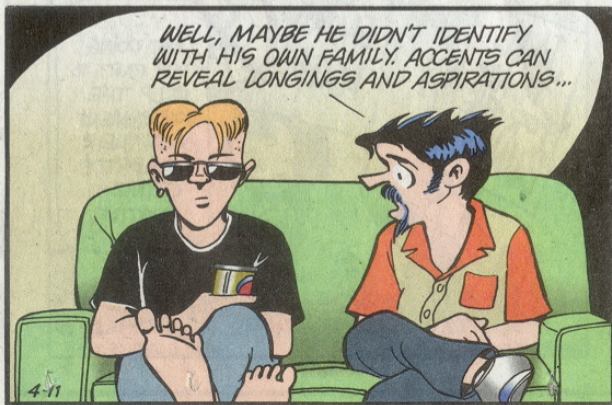
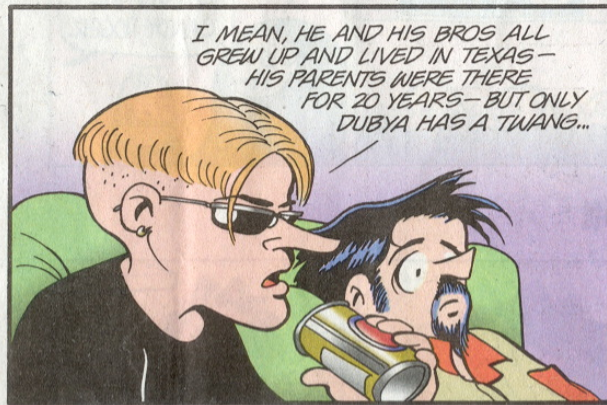


# Recurrent questions



- What does it mean to say this network represents the path of change?
- When does a change enter a community or a network cluster?
- To the extent that a chain shift moves through continuous vowel space, when is a change new?
  - Do speakers internalize processes (e.g. vowel fronting and backing) rather than individual changes?
  - In other words ... What is the variable?

# Doonesbury □ Garry Trudeau



Local identity is never simply an association with a generic locale, but with a particular construction of that locale as distinct from some other(s).

- Even if you're Catholic, if you live in New York you're Jewish. If you live in Butte, Montana, you're going to be goyish even if you're Jewish. (Lenny Bruce)



- Jing you-zi 'Beijing Smooth Operator'
- Wei zui-zi 'Tianjin Talker'
- Baodingfu de gou tui-zi 'Baoding Henchman'

Zhang, Q. (2008). Rhotacization and the “Beijing Smooth Operator”: The social meaning of a linguistic variable. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(2), 201–222.

# Beijing Rhotacization

- In fact, Beijingers are said to be smooth, the so-called ‘Beijing Smooth Operator’, mainly because Beijing speech has a lot of rhotacization. Beijingers are naturally gifted with gab, and with heavy r-sounding, then [Beijingers] appear to be smooth. Have you heard anybody saying the Cantonese have ‘oily accent, slippery tone?’ That’s because their tongues can’t curl.
  - (Liu, a 38-year-old male chief representative of a foreign bank)



# The rhotacizing smooth operator

- ‘Beijing-flavor literature’: literary works that have a distinctive Beijing style in depicting unique cultural characters of Beijingers, their lives, living environments, and folk customs. e.g. Lao She (1899 – 1966)
- Rhotacization: One of the most salient and shared devices used to produce the unique ‘Beijing flavor’, one of the few accent features that can be represented in writing.

Zhang, Q. (2008). Rhotacization and the “Beijing Smooth Operator”: The social meaning of a linguistic variable. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(2), 201–222.



# Iconization and ideology

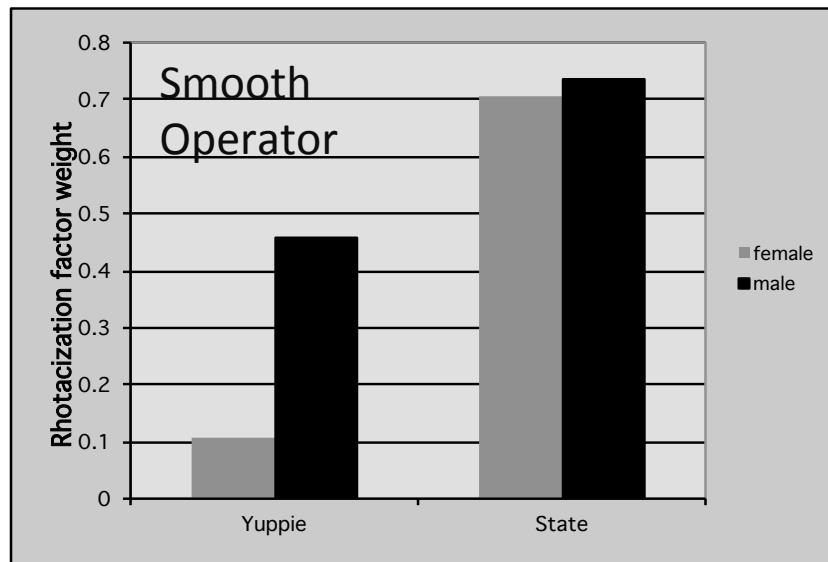
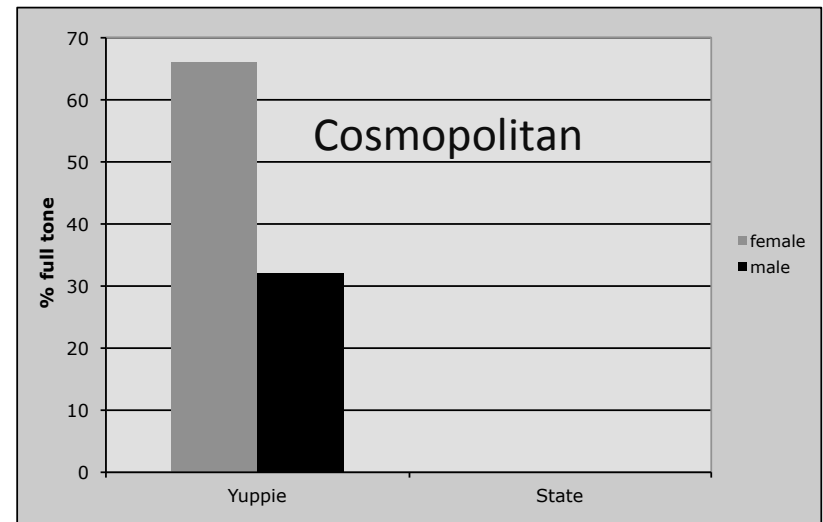
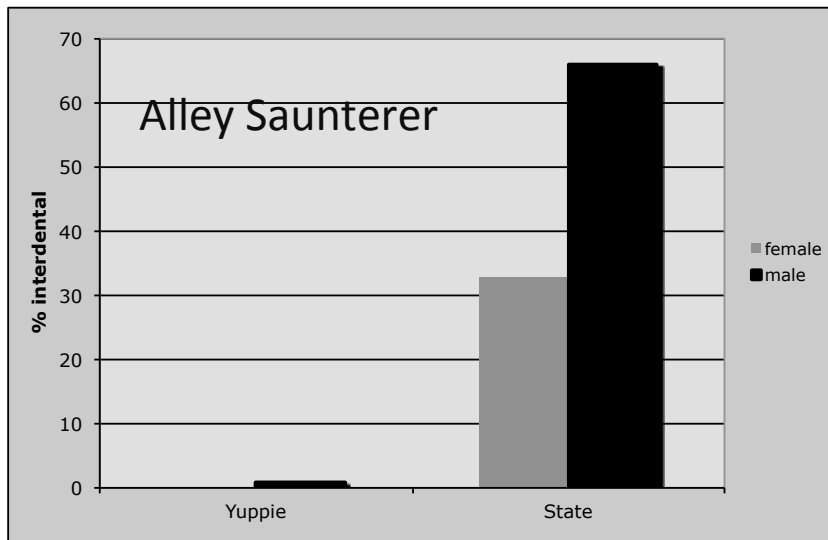
The extensive use of ‘rhotacization’ **smoothes out the edges and corners of speech**; . . . [it] sounds **smooth and mellow**, and engenders a feeling of warmth and intimacy.

(Lü, Zhimin. 1994. *Hua Su Wei Yade Yishu: Jing Wei Xiaoshuo Tezheng Lun*. Beijing, China: Zhongguo Heping Chubanshe., Cited in Zhang 2008).

Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. V Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities* (pp. 35–83). Santa Fe NM: SAR Press.

- Although 'smoothness is hardly regarded as a virtue,' ... it functions as a form of social lubricant. Despite their diverse socio-economic and professional backgrounds, the literary instantiations of the folk icon share a set of characterological attributes centering on worldly wisdom, street smarts, slickness, remarkable urban versatility, and *savoir faire*. (Zhang 2008, p. 12).





Zhang, Qing. 2005. A Chinese yuppie in Beijing: Phonological variation and the construction of a new professional identity. *Language in society*, 34.431-66.

- These variables all show different patterns
  - Hence they don't 'mean' the same.
- The male and female yuppie and state personae are constructed in the combination of variables
- The yuppie speech style is essential to the construction of the cosmopolitan persona
  - Hence it plays a role in bringing about a new persona
  - The emergence of the new persona is part of social/economic change.



*"The scales say 'alien overlord,' but the rolled-up sleeves say 'man of the people.'"*

Benjamin Schwartz, The New Yorker



## Style as Bricolage

The process of building a system out of a pre-constrained set of units.



Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1962. *La pensée sauvage*. Paris: Librairie Plon.

Hebdige, D. (1984). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. New York: Methuen.

# The sociolinguistic variable

- An alternation of form becomes a variable when the alternation displays a pattern.
- A variable becomes a sociolinguistic variable when social context is part of the pattern.
- At that point, the variable takes on meaning, and becomes a sign.

# Peirce's signs

*Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, 8 vols. Edited by Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931–1958; vols. 1–6 edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, 1931–1935; vols. 7–8 edited by Arthur W. Burks, 1958).

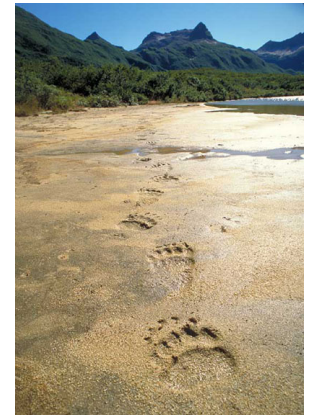
Symbol (convention)



Icon (resemblance)



Index (contiguity)



## ■ Types of indexes

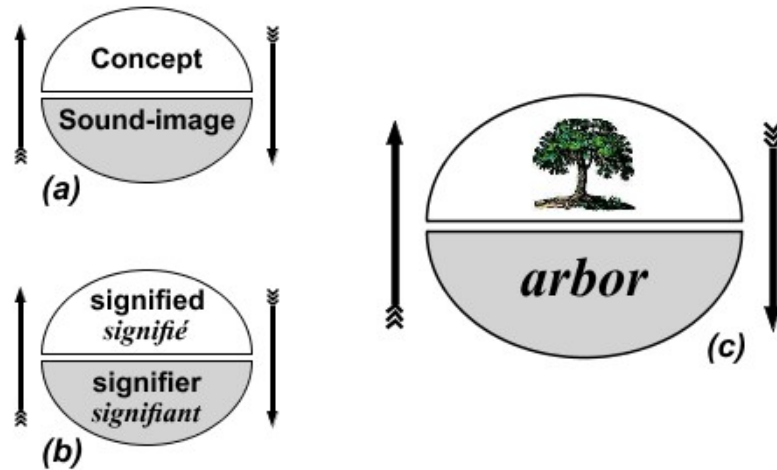
### ■ Referential indexes

- Deictics
- Tense
- Pronouns

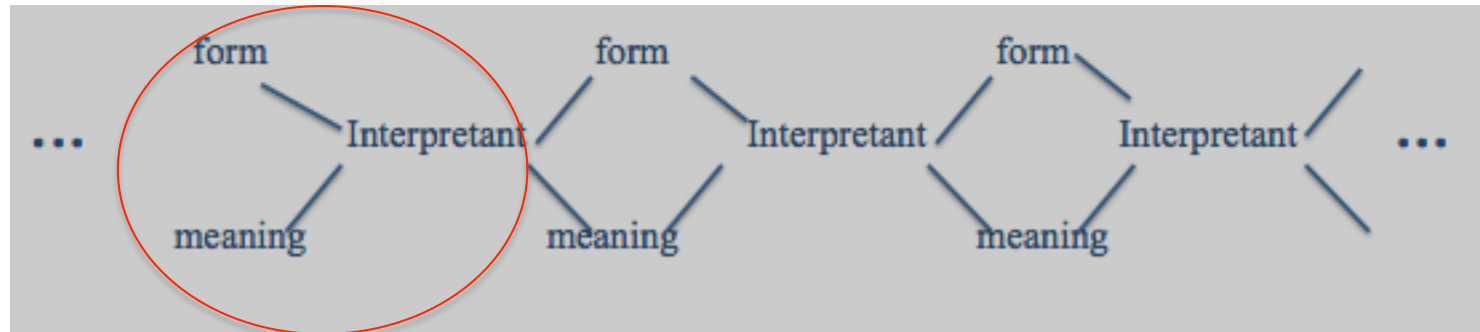
### ■ Non-referential (pure) indexes

- Dialects
- Variables
- Honorifics

- Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In K. H. Basso & H. A. Selby (Eds.), *Meaning in anthropology* (pp. 11–55). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

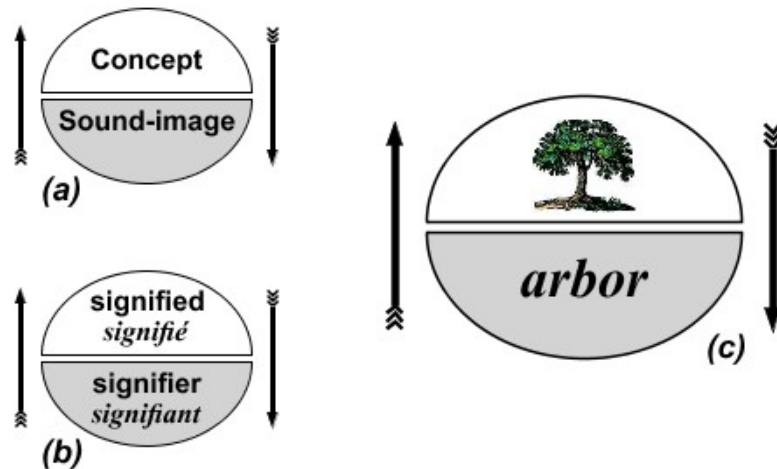


Saussure, F. de. (1916). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Ed. C. Bally and A. Sechchaye. Paris: Payot. 1916.

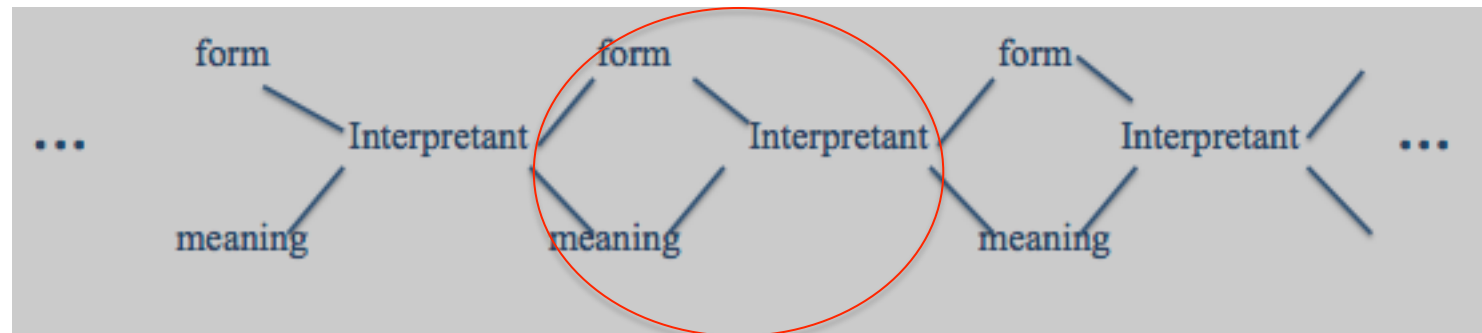


*Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, 8 vols. Edited by Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931–1958; vols. 1–6 edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, 1931–1935; vols. 7–8 edited by Arthur W. Burks, 1958).

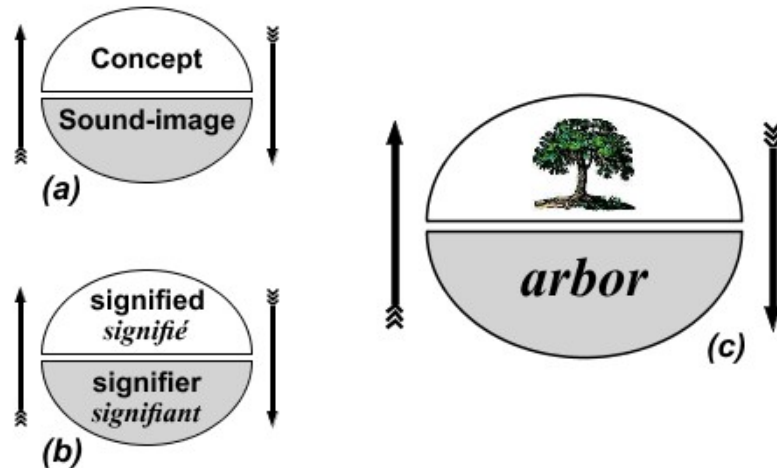




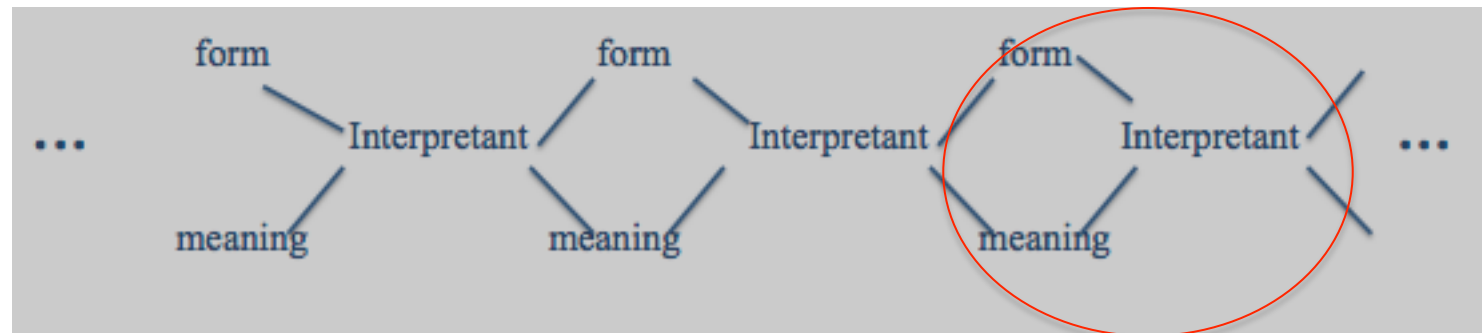
Saussure, F. de. (1916). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Ed. C. Bally and A. Sechchaye. Paris: Payot. 1916.



*Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, 8 vols. Edited by Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931–1958; vols. 1–6 edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, 1931–1935; vols. 7–8 edited by Arthur W. Burks, 1958).



Saussure, F. de. (1916). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Ed. C. Bally and A. Sechchaye. Paris: Payot. 1916.



*Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, 8 vols. Edited by Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931–1958; vols. 1–6 edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, 1931–1935; vols. 7–8 edited by Arthur W. Burks, 1958).

# Indexical Order



1<sup>st</sup> (nth) Order:  
How Vineyarders  
speak

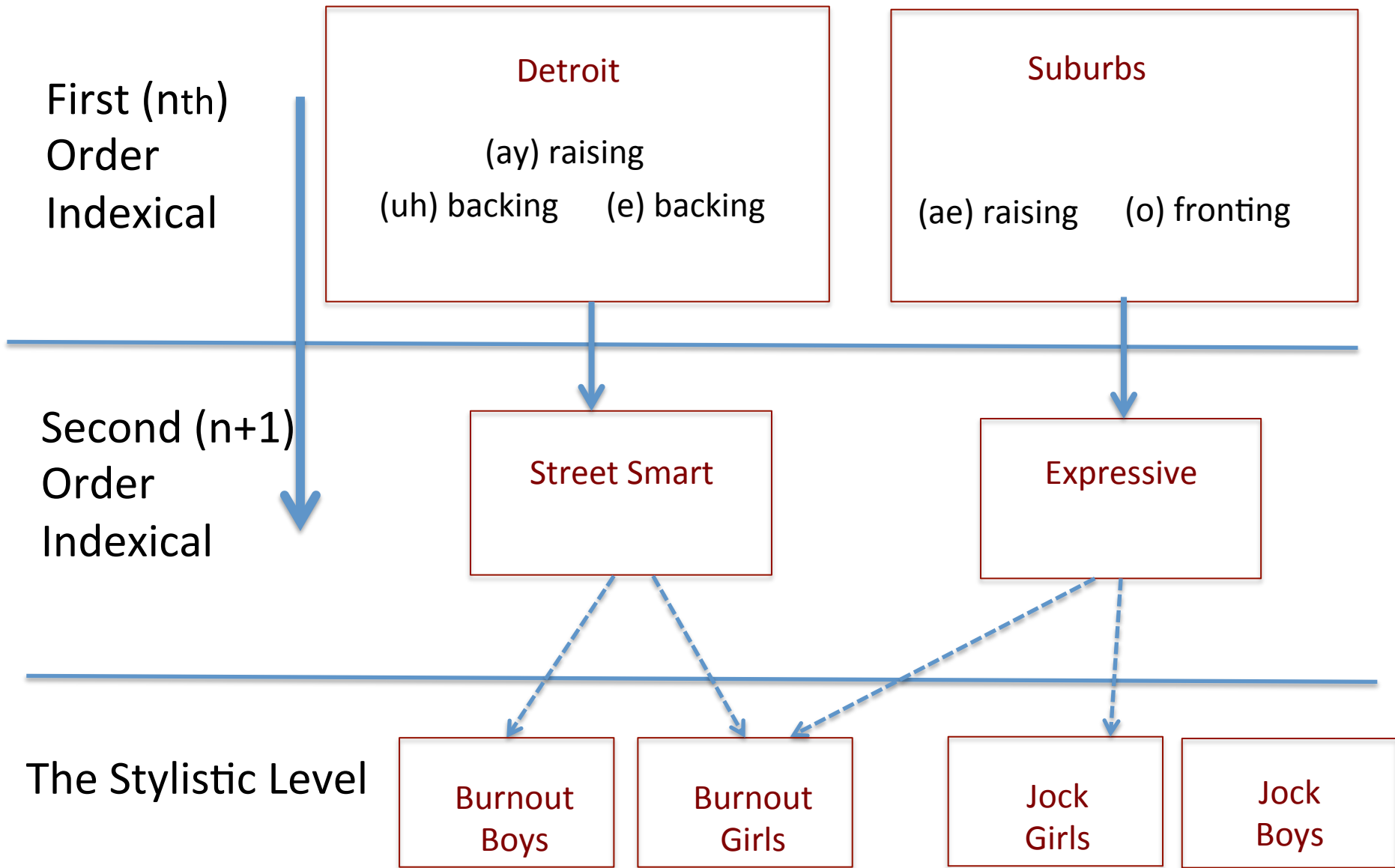
2<sup>nd</sup> (n+1) Order:  
How anti-mainland  
Vineyarders speak

(n+2) Order:  
How anti-  
establishment  
people speak

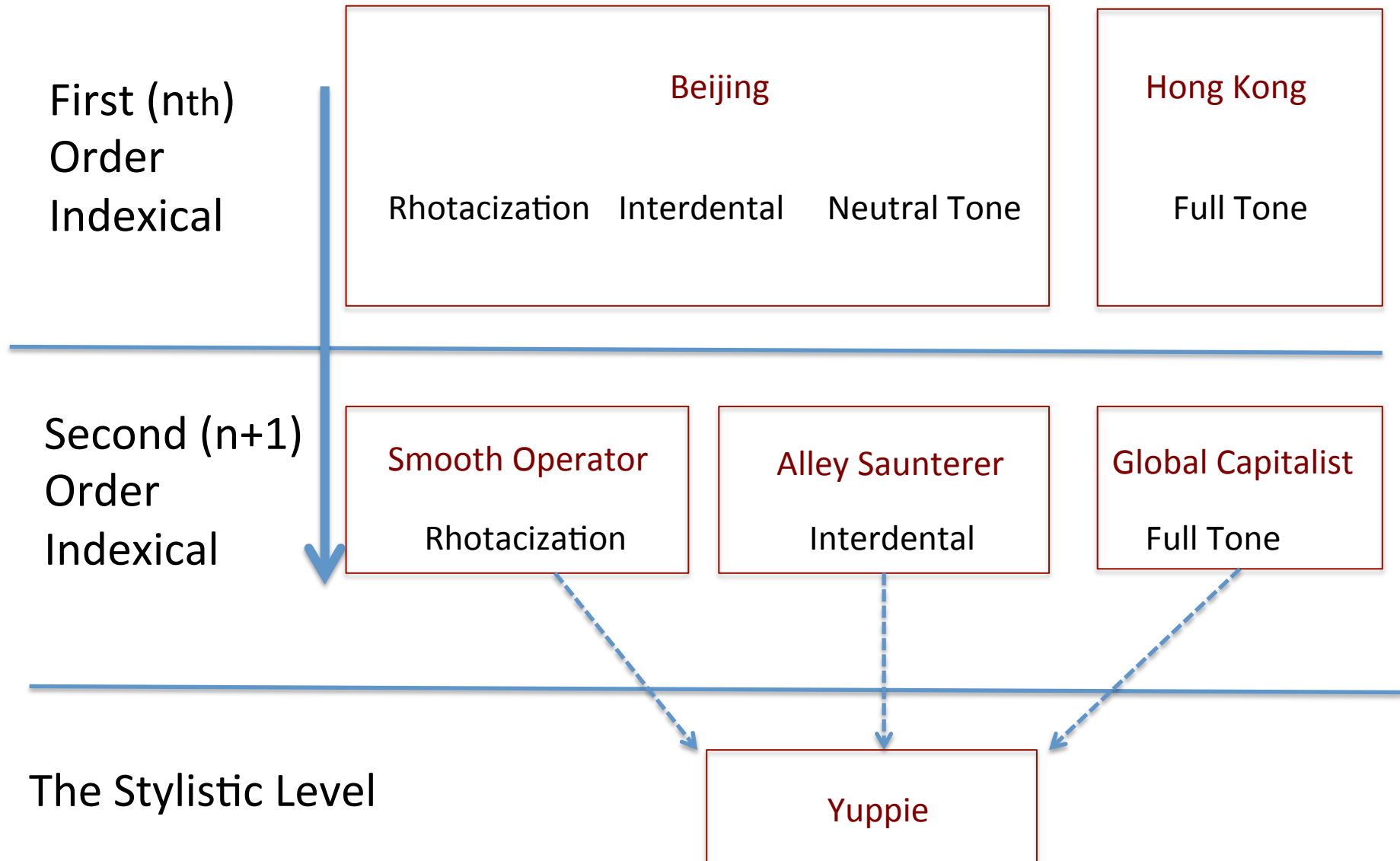
Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and communication*. 23. 193-229.

# Indexical order

- An  $n$ th order indexical is normally and appropriately used in a particular social context.
  - [əj] 'Vineyarder'
- The appropriateness of use of that indexical is modeled with respect to a schematization of that context.
  - What it means to be a Vineyarder
- A competing structure of values (e.g. conflict over mainland relations) may be immanent in that context.
  - Mainland intrusion is a risk/benefit to the island culture
- Ideological engagement may give rise to a reconstrual of the indexical ( $n+1$ ).
  - [əj] 'opposition to mainland intrusion'



Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and communication*.23. 193-229.



# A different kind of variable: (t) release

- Bucholtz, Mary. 1996. Geek the girl: Language, femininity and female nerds. *Gender and belief systems*, ed. by N. Warner et al., 119-31. Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group.
- Benor, Sarah. 2002. Sounding learned: The gendered use of /t/ in Orthodox Jewish English. *Penn working papers in linguistics: Selected papers from NWAV 2000*.
- Podesva, Robert J., Sarah J. Roberts, and Kathryn Campbell-Kibler. "Sharing resources and indexing meanings in the production of gay styles." *The Language and Sexuality Reader*. Ed. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Bucholtz, Mary. 2001. *Accent Performance and the Negotiation of Identity in Science Fiction Role-Playing Game*. Linguistics Colloquium Series, Stanford University.
- Walters, Keith. 1981. A proposal for studying the language of homosexual males. MA thesis. University of Texas at Austin.

# Meanings of stop release



Sometimes I swear. (uh huh) Um other times I **don't**. Especially not when there are little kids **around**. Especially not then.



I'm **not** sure if she likes me. I um I think she does, **but** I can't tell



Me and Ondine got grounded for this. Ondine **wrote it** in her diary and Mom found **out**.



I said Brad and **Robert. Robert.**



# (t) Release as hyper-articulation

educated

refined

articulate

formal

**clear**

polite

effortful

careful

Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field.  
Journal of sociolinguistics, 12.453-76.

# (t) Release as fortition

threatening

powerful

**strong**

emphatic

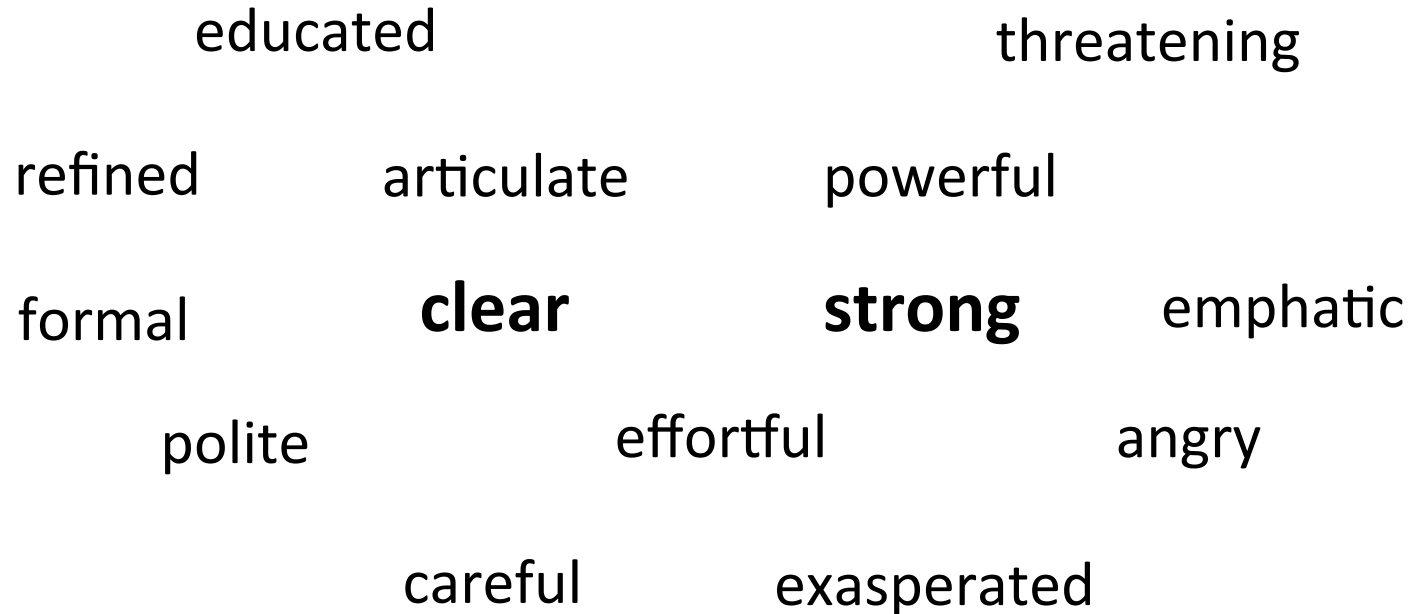
effortful

angry

exasperated

Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field.  
Journal of sociolinguistics, 12.453-76.

# Indexical field for (t) release



Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field.  
Journal of sociolinguistics, 12.453-76.

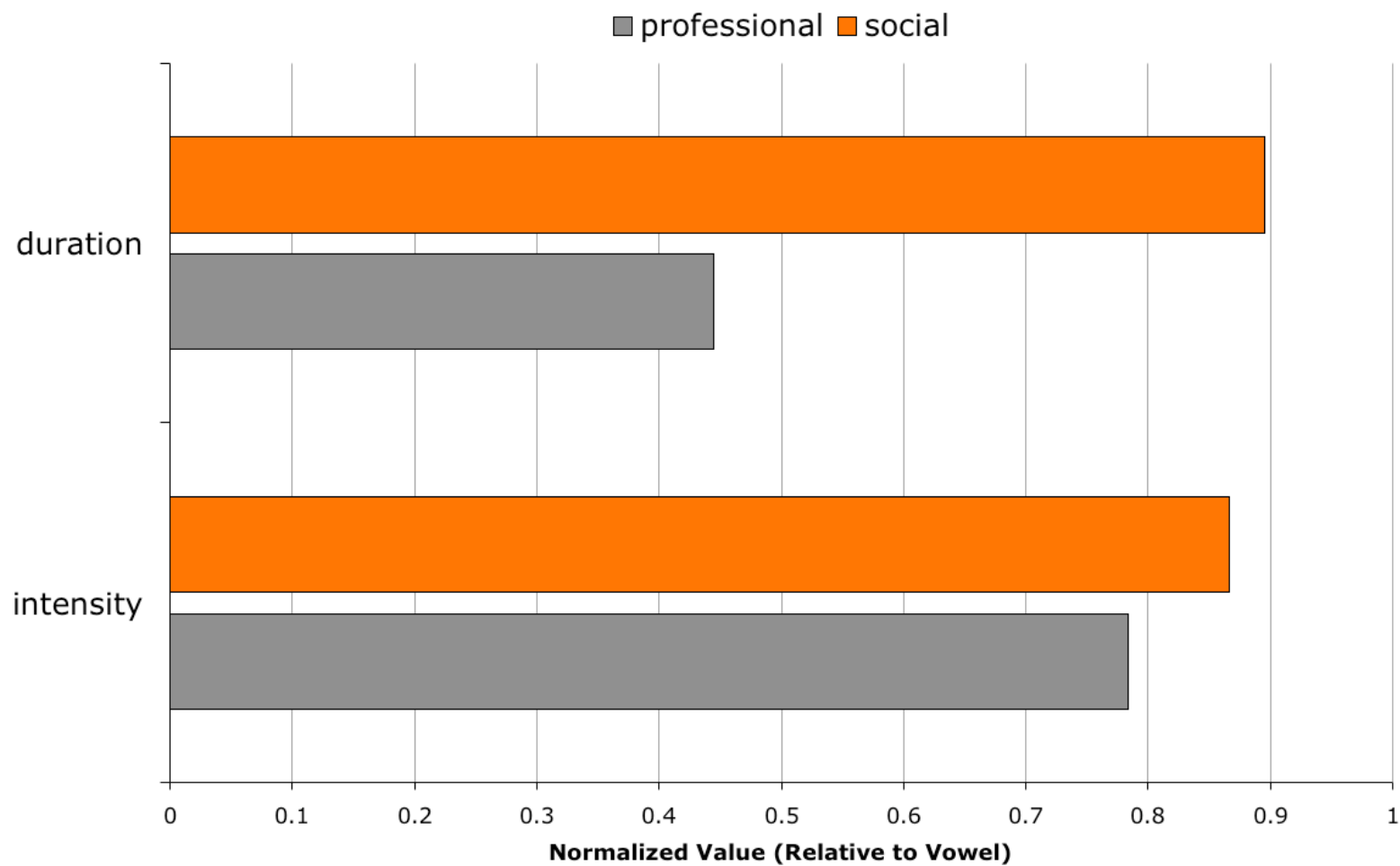
Just “gay”? The doctor, the son and the gay diva

(t) release by gay medical student in two situations.

	Released /t/
Medical	24/321 6%
Barbecue	12/313 3%
	p=.010

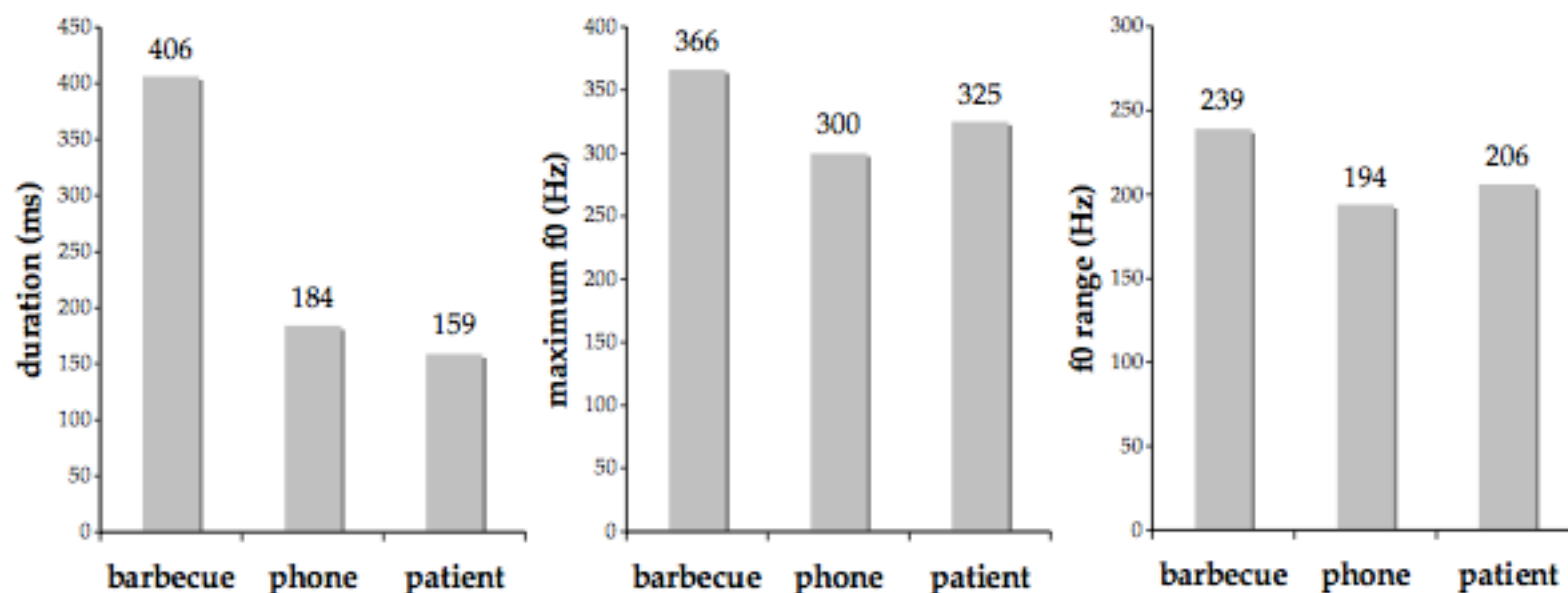
PODESVA, ROBERT. 2004. On constructing social meaning with stop release bursts. Paper presented at Sociolinguistics Symposium 15. Newcastle upon Tyne.

## Acoustic Character of Bursts Across Situations



**Table 2:** Frequency of falsetto occurrence across situations

	Barbecue	Phone	Patient
falsetto utterances (N)	35	10	15
total utterances (N)	386	260	403
percent falsetto utterances (%)	9.07	3.85	3.72



**Figure 2:** Mean falsetto duration, maximum f0, and f0 range across situations

Podesva, R. (2007). Phonation type as a stylistic variable: The use of falsetto in constructing a persona. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(4), 478–504.

# Personae

ORTHODOX  
JEW

BRITISH

SCHOOL  
TEACHER

educated

snooty

threatening

refined

articulate

powerful

formal

**clear**

**strong**

emphatic

polite

effortful

angry

careful

exasperated

GAY DIVA

prissy

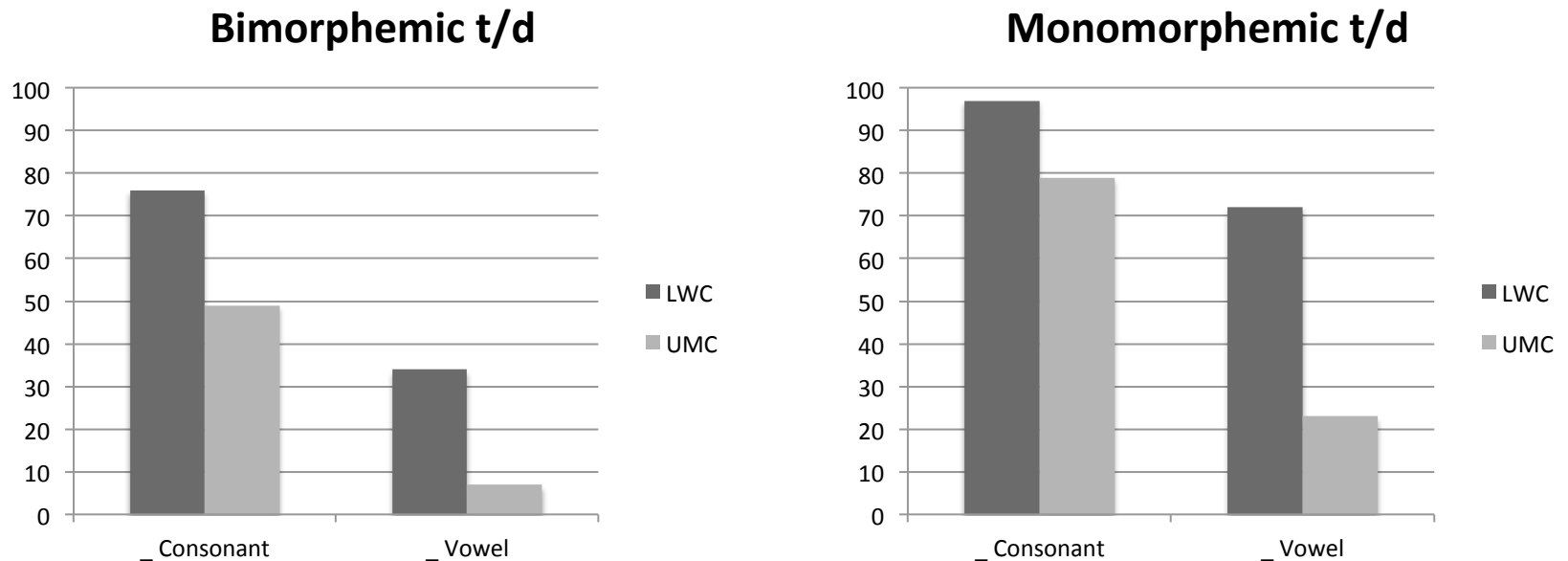
Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field.  
Journal of sociolinguistics, 12.453-76.

# Questions that emerge

- Is the variable the segment or is it the process – fortition/hyperarticulation more generally?
- What is the relation between this indexical field and lenition/hypoarticulation?
- How does it intersect with other indexical fields?
- How important is the role of iconicity in variation?
- Where does this indexical field live?

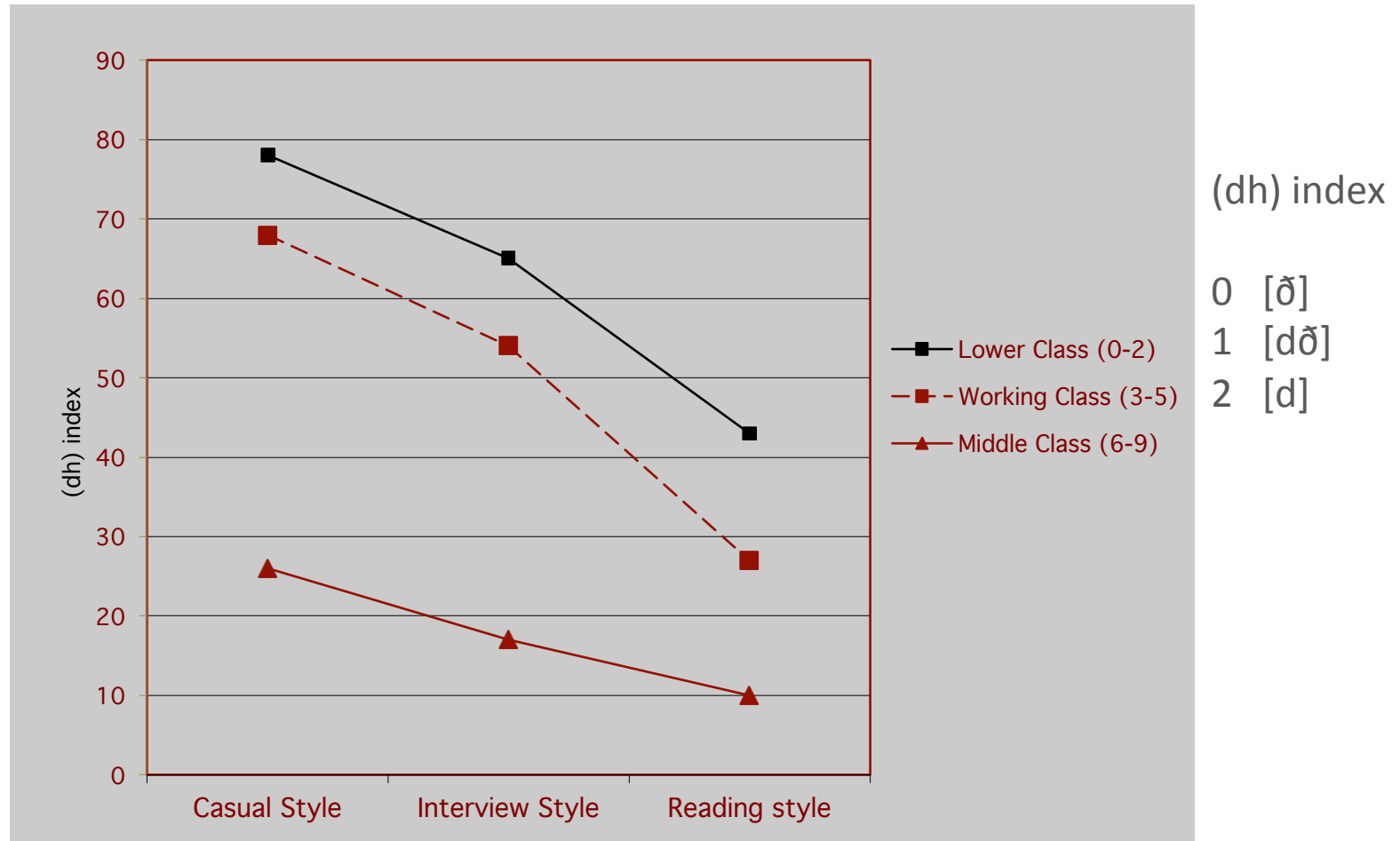


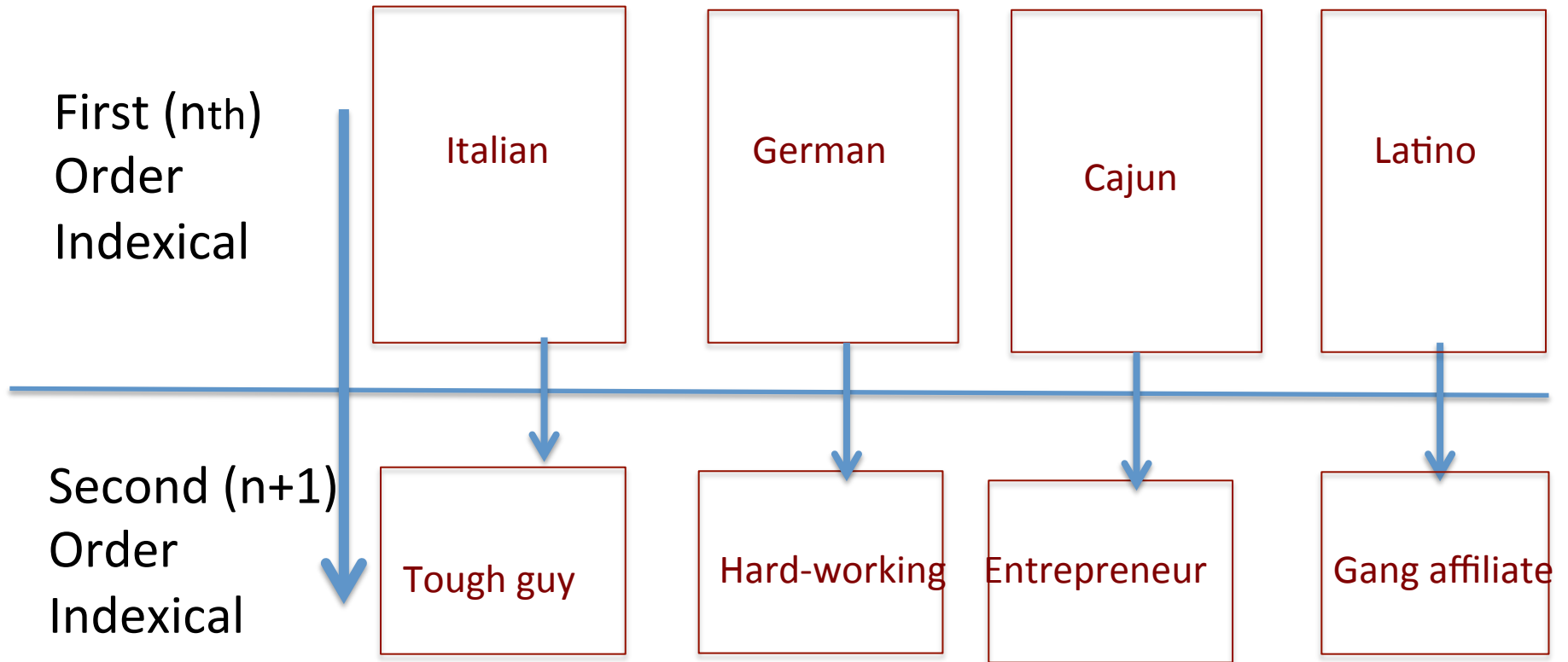
# Lenition/hypoarticulation: % t/d deletion



Wolfram, W. (1969). *A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

# Fortition, hypoarticulation: (dh) stopping again





educated/uneducated

threatening/benign

refined/coarse

powerful/powerless

articulate/inarticulate

emphatic/unemphatic

formal/casual

**clear/unclear**

**strong/weak**

polite/rude

effortful/lazy

angry/pleased

careful/sloppy

exasperated/patient

# Key properties of sociolinguistic variables

- ***Implicitness.*** Conveying something stylistically is less of a commitment, less face-threatening than putting it in a proposition, and it allows both speaker and interlocutor to leave things “unsaid”. This also allows the speaker to make small indexical moves, to try out the waters with less risk to face.
- 
- ***Underspecification.*** Underspecification is a design feature of language more generally. It allows a small number of forms to serve a large number of purposes, it binds language to social action, and it lies at the core of language’s capacity for flexibility, nuance, creativity and change. In this sense, sociolinguistic variables are like other linguistic signs, as their specific meanings emerge only in context.
- 
- ***Combinativeness.*** Variables do not occur alone, and are not interpreted on their own, but as components of holistic styles. Styles are what connect to social meaning through their relation to types, personae, or characterological figures (Agha 2003). The underspecification of variables allows them to bring meaning to styles, but only through a process of vivification as they contribute to the construction of these figures. The deployment of individual variables across styles expands their indexical range.

Eckert, P. in press. Variation, meaning and social change. In Nikolas Coupland, ed., Sociolinguistics: Theoretical debates. Cambridge University Press.

# Things we might prefer to communicate non-propositionally

“I’m rich”

“I’m a regular guy”

“I’m cool”

“I’m smart”

“I’m gay”

“I’m sensitive”

“what you just said was stupid”

“I’m an authentic New Yorker”

“I’m a cool surfer dude”

...

# Key properties of sociolinguistic variables

- **Implicitness.** Conveying something stylistically is less of a commitment, less face-threatening than putting it in the content of an utterance, and it allows both speaker and interlocutor to leave things “unsaid”. This also allows the speaker to make small indexical moves, to try out the waters with less risk to face.
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# Bricolage at Palo Alto High in the 80s



New Wavers



Preppies

Every stylistic move is based on an interpretation of the social landscape, and a positioning of the stylistic agent with respect to it.

This in turn alters the landscape.

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This in turn alters the landscape.

Where social groups are threatened or contradicted, or are otherwise concerned with self-legitimation, 'stylistic behaviour' ... may be most marked. Stylistic behaviour is ... linked directly to ... ideologies and strategies of legitimation.

Ian Hodder (1982). The present past. London: Batsford



