Sociolinguistic Styles

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Sociolinguistic Styles

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WILEY Blackwell

To my parents,
Manuel Hernández-Carrillo
and
Juana Campoy-Gonzálvez,
with eternal gratitude
for having defined my personal style

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Series Editor's Preface

In his famous 1961 book, *The Five Clocks*, Martin Joos suggested that it was possible to isolate, in spoken English, five styles. These he labeled frozen or static, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. His work was innovating and very influential; and from the early 1960s onwards there grew up a tradition in sociolinguistics of conceiving of styles as representing varieties of language which are associated with social context, and which differ from other styles in terms of their formality. This means that styles can be ranged on a continuum from very formal (including "static", in Joos's terms) to highly informal or colloquial (casual, intimate). It has been common, for example, to point out that, in English, stylistic differentiation is for the most part indicated by lexis; and that lexical items can be ranged on a very long cline of formality, but that there are no such things as discrete stylistic varieties.

In his insightful and highly important treatment of this topic, the distinguished sociolinguist Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy confirms the importance of the Joosian approach, but he also shows very clearly that things are a good deal more complicated than this. We have to ask questions not just about formality, but also about, for example, what speakers are trying to do when they shift up or down along the stylistic continuum. What is the social meaning of operating at one point along the continuum than another? What role does social interaction play in all this?

Professor Hernández-Campoy's book is a magnificent, comprehensive, and critical overview of all the major work that has been completed in this field over the half century since Joos. *Sociolinguistic Styles* has been produced by a scholar who has acquired a profound and thorough knowledge and understanding of everything of importance which has been written on this complex subject; who has thoughtfully considered it all; and who is able to evaluate and compare all the different approaches to the issue which have emerged from sociolinguistic research, including his own. This book really does have everything you need to know about sociolinguistic style.

<div align="right">Peter Trudgill</div>

Acknowledgements

Introduction

The word "style" comes etymologically from the Latin "stylos"/stylus" (also spelled "stilos"/stilus"), which referred to a sharp-pointed instrument made of metal, wood, or bone employed for writing letters on waxed tablets (and with a blunt end for erasing them) – indeed, in obsolete English it was a "style" (Verdonk 2006: 196). But "stylus" began to be used metonymically to denote a manner of writing or speaking with effective persuasion, and it was this that was developed as its main characteristic by *rhetors* and *orators* in classical Graeco-Roman times (see 1.1).

A precise definition of style is controversial given the several broad areas in which it appears (see Chapter 1) and the concepts to which it has traditionally been related (see Chapter 2):

> I hardly need to note that 'style' has meant many things in the rhetorical tradition. Some see style as a matter of clarity. In this view, good style is easy for readers to process. Others see style as a matter of appropriateness. In this view, good style is what readers expect. Style is sometimes described as expressive of self, sometimes as responsive to audience; sometimes as constitutive of truth and sometimes as simply ornamental. And so on. Pedagogies of style sometimes borrow from multiple models. (Johnstone 2010b: 1)

The metonymic notion of "style" developed into how we use language reactively or proactively under specific circumstances and for specific purposes. It requires from the user knowledge of the available as well as the sociolinguistically and pragmatically acceptable linguistic resources in the system for the creation and interpretation of texts and conversational interaction. Style is thus the result of choice from the appropriate range of linguistic means to deliver a particular message effectively (Znamenskaya 2004: 124): "The concepts of 'style' and 'stylistic variation' in language rest on the general assumption that within the language system, the same content can be encoded in more than one linguistic form" (Mukherjee 2005: 1043). Style is obviously a dimension that belongs more to the plane of expression than to that of content (Galperin 1977/1981: 13). It must therefore, in Galperin's view (1977/1981: 22), be understood as a technique of expression, where style-shifting constitutes what speakers are doing when they vary their speech from situation to situation depending on the effect they intend to have on addressees (Johnstone 2010b: 1). But given its ability to transmit conceptual, affective, and social meanings, style is a multi-level phenomenon: a coordinated configuration of linguistic features, designed and interpreted holistically as a multidimensional phenomenon (Coupland 2011: 140).

Style in writing refers to the variable ways in which language is used in genres, periods, situations, and by individuals, as traditionally practiced by stylistics (see 1.2) when studying literary and non-literary texts. In this practice, choice within a norm (grammatical, accept-able, or "correct" forms) or deviations from that norm (ungrammatical, unacceptable, or "incorrect" forms) are crucial and consubstantial ingredients. On the other hand, style in spoken language alludes to choice within the available linguistic variation resulting from the social context of conversation – usually defined by the topic and purpose of the interaction as well as the speakers' socio-demographic, cultural and geographic characteristics – or the intended effect in performative speech, as studied by sociolinguistics. Three main correlates condition linguistic variation: i) the linguistic environment of the variable (its phonological and/or morphological constraints, phonotactics, and so on), ii) the social characteristics of the speaker (such as their age, sex, race, ethnicity, education, income, occupation, links to social networks, group affiliations, or place of residence), and iii) the situation of use (addressee, topic, opportunity for careful production, degree of shared context, and formality) (Finegan and Biber 2001: 235). In fact, Mukherjee (2005: 1043) distinguishes user-bound and situation-bound factors conditioning choice:

> Considering style as choice, there are a multitude of stylistic factors that lead the language user to prefer certain linguistic forms to others. These factors can be grouped into two categories: user-bound factors and factors referring to the situation where the language is being used. User-bound factors include, among others, the speaker's or writer's age; gender; idiosyncratic preferences; and regional and social background. Situation-bound stylistic factors depend on the given communication situation, such as medium (spoken vs. written); participation in discourse (monologue vs. dialogue); attitude (level of formality); and field of discourse (e.g. technical vs. nontechnical fields).

In sociolinguistics, the study of the relationship between language and society by correlating extralinguistic factors with intralinguistic elements led to an appreciation of the complexities of variability in language systems. Given its ubiquity in language production, style enjoys a pivotal position in this correlation, where *stylistic* variation constitutes a principal component together with *linguistic* and *social* variation (Rickford and Eckert 2001: 1). But, as stressed by Macaulay (1999), despite this centrality in sociolinguistic variation, the study of style within the variationist tradition has been ancillary until very recently: it has been used merely as an independent variable (formality/context/situation parameters) in the correlation of linguistic and extralinguistic variables – mostly linguistic in intent– rather than as a sociolinguistic resource for the investigation of speakers' style management, its effective use, and how style reflects and transmits social meaning – both social and linguistic (Gadet 2005; Coupland 2007; Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2012b).

This book aims to explore the complex phenomenon of style-shifting in sociolinguistic variation by focusing on its controversial nature, the motivations and mechanisms for its use and effect in the transmission of social meaning, and also presenting an up-to-date and in-depth overview of the different theoretical approaches developed. The critical description of the range of historically different perceptions and theoretical assumptions accounting for its nature and behavior inevitably leads to the consideration not only of sociolinguistics, stylistics, and semiotics but also of ancient arts of verbal discourse such as rhetoric and oratory.

The book is divided into two parts – THE CONCEPT AND NATURE OF STYLE and SOCIOLINGUISTIC MODELS OF STYLE-SHIFTING – and seven chapters, trying to differentiate the conceptual and definitional treatment of style as a linguistic phenomenon and the sociolinguistic approaches developed to account for its nature. These different approaches

are critically presented (including their limitations and also the work that has been most influential on them) and illustrated with examples, with special emphasis on the methodologies used. Some approaches follow a unidimensional framework in that they are either derivative of attention to speech or reactive to audience-related concerns. Others draw on a multidimensional model, focusing on the speaker's agency and viewing stylistic variation as a resource in the performing (active creation, presentation, and even re-creation) of speakers' personal and interpersonal social identity.

Chapter 1 deals with the perception and treatment of style-shifting in rhetoric, stylistics, semiotics, and, more recently, in sociolinguistics, and will help us understand some contemporary theoretical models developed to explain this phenomenon. The importance of style was explicitly addressed in the work of Greek and Roman thinkers in ancient rhetoric and oratory, with the role of rhetors, sophists, and, later, orators. Stylistics and semiotics focused on the study of style in literary and non-literary texts in association with genre, as well as with choice, norm-deviation, and recurrence. Currently, in sociolinguistics, the different approaches have allowed a distinction between *inter*speaker (social) and *intra*speaker (stylistic) variation and, recently, with reactive (responsive) or proactive (initiative) motivations for style-shifting through speakers' agency in society.

Chapter 2 differentiates between the linguistic and the social meaning of stylistic variation. The phenomenon of style-shifting and its controversial essence are examined here, shedding light on the motivations for the use of stylistic variation and its effect on the construction and transmission of social meaning not just linguistically and conceptually, but mostly – and crucially – at sociolinguistic and pragmatic levels. Style is contrasted with concepts such as dialect, accent, repertoire, genre, register, slang, cant, and argot, with which, due to its inherent extralinguistic connotations, it is often confused. The connections between styling in language and the projection of social meaning in the form of identity and ideology are also scrutinized.

In Chapter 3 William Labov's model accounting for style is presented after reviewing the philosophical foundations of Variation Theory and the main assumptions and principles leading to the formality continuum construct. Known as the "universal factor", style-shifting is understood as a social reaction (response) to a situation, which makes speakers self-monitor their speech more or less consciously. The Attention to Speech Model alludes to a reflection of the speaker's awareness and attention to their own speech depending on external factors (topic, addressee, audience, and situation), which determine the linguistic variety to be employed. Style was thus understood in a narrow sense, focusing on context and topic mainly – but very cursorily – on speaker and listener. Consequently, it has been restricted to different varieties of language produced by different degrees of formality in particular situations and with particular interlocutors.

Chapter 4 analyses the model developed by Allan Bell, emphasizing the theoretical foundations that inspire it, such as social psychology and accommodation, on the one hand, and Bakhtin and dialogism, on the other. The Style Axiom states that people normally engage in style-shifting in response to audience members, rather than situations and shifts in amount of attention paid to speech, stylistic variation thus derives from social variation. The Audience Design theory (AD) therefore saw stylistic variation as the result of adaptation to the characteristics of an audience, whether present or absent.

Chapter 5 describes the communicative functional model for style-shifting developed by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan with the Register Axiom and its theoretical foundations – mostly Firthian and neo-Firthian linguistics of the context of situation and

Hallidayan register theory. Here, style is basically context-dependent and social class differentiation is just an echo of the different registers that are most commonly used in one's professional and personal life.

Chapter 6 deals with the recent social constructionist approaches that, underlining speaker's agency, view stylistic variation as a resource for creating as well as projecting one's persona, self-monitoring the performing of the speaker's personal and interpersonal social identity through speech. Style-shifting is now understood as a proactive (initiative) rather than responsive (reactive) phenomenon.

In conclusion, Chapter 7 is concerned with theoretical and methodological prospects for the study of style-shifting. Special emphasis is given to the fact that style is a multidimensional phenomenon that cannot be modeled on a single unidimensional theoretical framework, as in the past. Style studies are now coming to understand that the boundaries between the three main components of sociolinguistic variation – *stylistic*, *linguistic*, and *social* – are permeable. Recent trends are focusing on the socially constructive potential of style-shifting in order to find out how sociolinguistic variation interfaces with other dimensions of meaning-making in discourse. These approaches focus on the proactive facet of style-shifting and the individuality of speakers, where self-identity requires creativity and agency, and where the individual voice is seen as an active – rather than passive – agent for the transmission of sociolinguistic meaning (identificational, ideological, and interactional).

Styles represent our ability to take up different social positions, because styling is a powerful device for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance-taking, and identity projection. Accordingly, as claimed previously (Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010, 2012b), there is a need to develop permeable and flexible multidimensional, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary approaches to speaker agency that assume not only reactive but also proactive motivations for stylistic variation, and where individuals – rather than groups – and their strategies are the main concern for style-shifting in social interaction.

Molina de Segura and Bullas (Murcia), November 2014

Part I

The Concept and Nature of Style

1

The Concept of Style

1.1.   Style in Rhetoric

Playing a central role in the Western tradition, rhetoric – along with grammar and logic – was one of the three ancient arts of discourse, and is understood as the art of verbal persuasion through effective expression (in speaking or writing), or the intentional use of language to influence an audience in a communicative situation: "communicate" and crucially "persuade", with an overt and distinctive perlocutionary effect. Both Greek and Roman classical rhetoricians, especially Aristotle, were pioneers in codifying the art of discourse, identifying its parts, motivations, and functions. In fact, much of our current understanding of the discipline of rhetoric is inevitably derived from these classical Graeco-Roman sources (see, for example, Anderson 1993; Bryant 1968; Burke 1945, 1962; D.L. Clark 1922, 1957; M.L. Clark 1953; Cole 1991; Conley 1990; Corbett and Connors 1999; Dillon 1986; Glenn 1998; Herrick 1996/2012; Ilie 2006; Jarratt 1991; Johnstone and Eisenhart 2008; Kennedy 1963, 1972, 1980, 1994; Kristeller 1961; Lauer 2004; Mailloux 1989; Murphy 1974, 2006; Pandey 2005; Richards 2008; Trapp 1985; Vickers 1988).

The role of style in rhetoric is fundamental; known as *lexis* for Greeks or *elocutio* for Romans, it was the third of rhetoric's three traditional canons, although its relevance and interest in epistemic postulations and conventions was treated differently in the oldest theory of communication (Ilie 2006; Pandey 2005). As Gregory and Carroll (1978: 2) point out:

> … the notion that there is a strong and constant relationship between the language we use in a particular situation and certain features of that situation is no new one. It lies behind the rhetorics of ancient Greece and Rome, the mediaeval list of "hard words", eighteenth-century English handbooks on Polite English, and the present series of technical dictionaries by Penguin Books …

1.1.1. Ancient Greece

The origins of stylistics lie in the schools of rhetoric of Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, with the *rhetor-orator* and *rhetoric-oratory* concepts: ῥήτωρ (*rhḗtōr*: "public speaker") and ῥητορικός (*rhētorikós*: "oratorical"). Like stylistics, rhetoric is focused on the effects of "verbal pyrotechnics", or verbal artistry, on an audience (Crowley and Hawhee 2004: 279), since speech is always planned with some listeners in mind (Kennedy 1963).

The systematic study of oratory began in the fifth and fourth centuries BC with Empedocles, Corax of Syracuse, and Tisias, and later with the Sophists (σοφιστής/*sophistes*: "wise/skilled man"), who were mostly itinerant professional teachers and practitioners of the art of verbal discourse in Hellenic society and might be considered as the first humanists (Cole 1991; Jarratt 1991)[1]. With the aim of moving audiences to action with arguments, Sophists like Protagoras (c. 481–420 BC), Gorgias (c. 483–376 BC), Prodicus (c. 465–395 BC), and Hippias (c. 460–399 BC) offered Greek citizens education in the effective use of reason, the form of argumentation, and the ability to speak cogently through special "training in inventing arguments and presenting them in a persuasive manner to a large audience" (Herrick 2012: 33). With their verbal techniques and promotion of liberal attitudes, the Sophists had an important influence on the Athenian societal and political system, contributing to the consolidation of a civilized social life with *demokratia* and the development of law. They prepared young noblemen for public life in the *polis* by teaching them how to debate convincingly through the art of rhetoric with the aim of, ultimately, becoming expert in public decision-making and tolerant of the beliefs of others in the Athenian assembly (Herrick 2012: 33). Although all citizens had the right to speak in the Assembly – the right known as *isegoria*: "equality in the agora" or assembly place – only Athenians who were trained in speaking and had sufficient education to understand the issues actually exercised this right: the professional *rhetores*. During the fifth century BC the term *rhetor* referred to someone who introduced a resolution into the Assembly, but by the fourth century it meant "an expert on politics", such as Demosthenes (c. 382–322 BC); later it acquired a general meaning of "one skilled in public speaking" (Crowley and Hawhee 2004: 8).

Rhetoric was viewed as a civic art and a foundational component of the fledgling democracy, a means of offering the best service to the community, as understood by Isocrates (436–338 BC), the most famous and influential teacher of rhetoric in ancient Athens:

> First, the Sophists emphasized the centrality of persuasive discourse to civilized, democratic social life. Their thinking on this matter was often insightful, and provoked discussion of rhetoric's role in democratic civic life. Second, the Sophist's appreciation for the sheer power of language also marked a theme that would continue to be important to later intellectual history in the West. Their explorations of this theme are still important to the discussion of language's centrality to thought and social life. Third, it is probably the case that the Sophist's arguments for a view of law as rooted in social conventions, and for truth as relative to places and times, influenced later philosophical and political thought. Finally, the Sophists' tendency to place rhetorical training at the center of education constituted an innovation that would continue to have influence for centuries. (Herrick 2012: 47)

Yet eventually the Sophists' persuasive verbal skills became excessive and over-elaborate, more concerned with the cultivation of an ornate style than with substance. Rhetoric began to be perceived as an empty and insincere language in which content might be completely subservient to style, the aim being to produce a specific desired impression on the audience. In addition, the Sophists and the power of their rhetoric began to be confronted with central

ethical concerns: this persuasive art of discourse could be used not only for good but also for bad purposes, and Sophists usually disregarded conventional Greek ideas about the moral uses of language and argument. Consequently, their activity soon became controversial, developed pejorative connotations, and was associated with charlatans, which "eventually gave Sophists an unsavory reputation and made 'sophistry' a synonym for deceitful reasoning" (Corbett and Connors 1999: 491). In his *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*, Plato (427–347 BC) accused the Sophists of using rhetoric as a means of manipulation and deceit instead of for discovering the truth, and condemned their rhetoric as "a knack of flattering with words": "For sophists like Gorgias, rhetoric is not a means to communicate persuasively 'truths' discovered through philosophical enquiry. Rather, it is a means to knowledge and understanding in the absence of a priori truth" (Richards 2008: 22). The Platonic art of rhetoric was a morality-based science (or *techne*) of dialectics, intended for the good of the individual and of the society, bringing about justice and harmony.

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle (384–322 BC) developed a treatise on rhetoric that focused on the effects of language production on the audience and the heuristics of this art. Emphasizing the aesthetic dimension of language and the persuasiveness of emotional appeals and performance, as well as structured reasoning, he saw rhetoric as the "faculty of discovering the available means of persuasion in any setting" (1355b). Avoiding the moralizing function advocated by his teacher Plato, Aristotle's approach to rhetoric was both pragmatic and scientific. Unlike the Sophists, who taught by example, Aristotle preferred to develop principles that could be passed on to future students. The Sophists trained their students by making them memorize impressive speeches and to debate in order to learn persuasion by imitation and practice, whereas Aristotle instilled in his students the investigative, rational ability to discover what is persuasive in any given setting[2]. For this reason, he tried to find general rules for rhetoric that would work in any situation, with the ultimate goal of creating a comprehensive methodology, a set of intellectual tools that would help people learn these verbal skills. The intersection of style and argument was crucial in his conception of rhetoric as a connection between the *rhetor* and the community (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008: 8). A successful rhetorician must therefore be conscious of the aesthetic dimension of language, have a thorough understanding of human emotions, the constituents of good character, and the community's most important values, and must possess some natural dramatic ability – in addition to the capacity to adapt messages to large audiences made up of people who lack special training in convincingly reasoned argumentation. Rhetoric and dialectic appear in his epistemic thought as two complementary arts of reasoning: the first was seen as a public speech exercise addressed to a large audience that lacked special logical training for resolving practical issues in the political and judicial arenas, while the second, in contrast, was a more private activity involving briefly stated questions and similarly brief answers addressed to a talented interlocutor or small group of trained advocates.

Aristotle codified rhetoric, identifying its parts and functions. He distinguished three basic "tasks" of rhetoric in the preparation of a speech or composition:

i)   *invention*: the development of persuasive arguments;
ii) *arrangement*: the effective disposition of those arguments; and
iii) *style*: their formal presentation, cogently, artistically, and eloquently.

The aesthetic aspects of rhetoric – the delivery of any speech or composition using stylistic devices – are crucial to Aristotle since not only do they bring beauty to language but may also captivate an audience: "the way in which a thing is said does affect its intelligibility" (1404a).

In fact, as Crowley and Hawhee (2004: 280–313) state, a good style should reflect correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and ornament. It is the last two that belong to the rhetorical realm of style. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle discussed the importance of appropriate style in forms such as epic, tragedy, and comedy; this became a principle of classical rhetoric, poetry, and theatrical theory that was later conceptualized as *decorum* during the Roman period by Horace, and a canon of propriety in subsequent literary production (see 1.1.3). The standards of rhetorical appropriateness, used conventionally with rules for verbal behavior in a given context, are dictated by the community, being based on culture, tradition, and communal beliefs, so any style should be suited to its subject, occasion, and audience (Crowley and Hawhee 2004: 283). Consequently, according to Aristotle, the rhetorical settings in which speeches are delivered, the type of audience, and their rhetorical purpose (activity), required three different types or genres of civic rhetoric as appropriate means of persuasion (see Table 1.1):

i)   *forensic* (judicial), concerned with determining the truth or falseness of events, usually in the courtroom;
ii) *deliberative* (political), which took place in legislative assemblies for decision-making, such as the establishment of new laws, involving weighing evidence for and against a policy or course of action that affected the whole *polis* and contributed to the general good of the citizenry; and
iii) *epideictic* (ceremonial), concerned with praise and blame, values, or just right and wrong, in public ceremonies, such as wedding toasts, retirement parties, inaugurations, or eulogies in a funeral, that conventionally required a dignified and subdued language.

Aristotle distinguished three means of persuasion – ways of persuading the audience – to be employed in any of the three rhetorical settings of the *inventio* (Richards 2008: 43):

i)   *logos* (logical argument): the use of logical reasoning to construct a sound argument, inductively or deductively;
ii) *pathos* (emotional argument): the psychological management of the audience's emotions to influence their judgment through the use of linguistic resources as affective or emotional appeals; and
iii) *ethos* (ethical/moral argument) – probably the most persuasive according to Aristotle – which addresses the social psychology of the audience: that is, the personal character and credibility of the speaker are non-linguistic features that can affect the audience, including qualities such as perceived intelligence (*phronesis*), virtuous character (*arete*), and goodwill (*eunoia*).

Table 1.1   The three genres of rhetoric.

Genres of Rhetoric	Temporal orientation	Means	Ends	Audience
Deliberative	Future	Exhort and dissuade	Expedience, the (dis)advantageous	Decision-maker (legislator/voter)
Forensic	Past	Accuse and defend	The just and the unjust	Decision-maker (judge/jury)
Epideictic	Present	Praise and blame	The noble and the shameful	Spectator

Source: Ilie (2006: 575, Table 1).

Figure 1.1 shows a triangle with labels at each vertex:

LOGOS
MESSAGE
(Reason, information, argument, evidence, data, structure)

ETHOS
COMMUNICATOR
(Credibility, authority, appearance, correctness, eloquence)

PATHOS
AUDIENCE
(Values, beliefs, knowledge, experience)
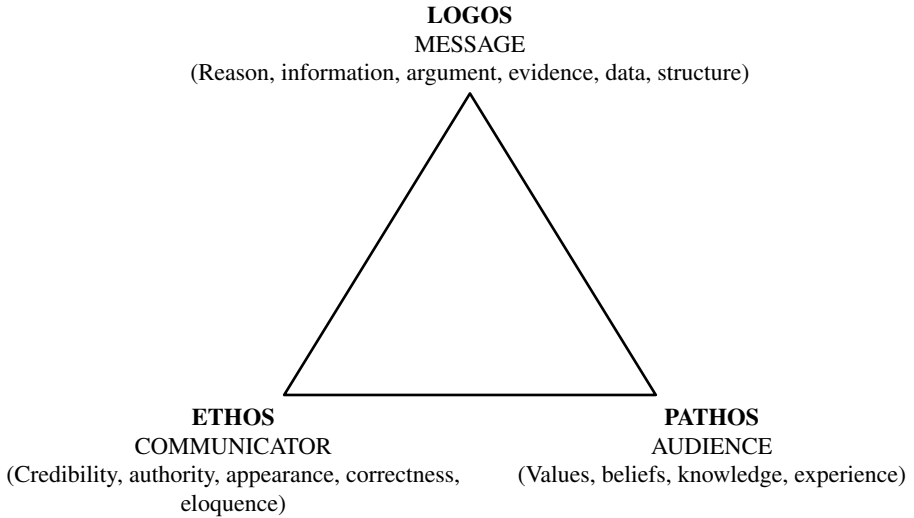
Figure 1.1   Aristotle's Rhetorical Triangle.

These appeals are prevalent in almost all arguments, and the relationship between them constitutes Aristotle's Rhetorical Triangle (Figure 1.1), where the message and subject, the audience, and the speaker are connected, complementarily and interdependently.

Ethos and *pathos* are the artistic proofs associated with the emotions as techniques that enable the *rhetor* to affect the audience's judgment:

> A trained *rhetor* must also understand what the community believes makes a person believable. If Aristotle's study of *pathos* is a psychology of emotion, then his treatment of *ethos* amounts to a sociology of character. It is not simply a how-to guide to establishing one's credibility with an audience, but rather it is a careful study of what Athenians consider to be the qualities of a trustworthy individual [...] When people are convinced that a speaker is knowledgeable, trustworthy, and has their best interests at heart, they will be very likely to accept as true what that speaker has to say. (Herrick 2012: 84)

These three modes of proof, according to Corbett and Connors (1999: 493), constitute appeals to reason (*logos*), emotion (*pathos*), and ethics (*ethos*) that lead to the recognition of probability and verisimilitude as the essence of this persuasive art, rather than opinions, beliefs, or speculation.

1.1.2.   The Roman world

The Hellenic principle of verbal skill, learned through the study of rhetorical art, leading to personal success in politics and the Athenian community and signaling refinement, wisdom, and accomplishment was continued and extended in classical Rome: "in order to play a significant role in Roman society, it was virtually a requirement that one be skilled in rhetoric" (Herrick 2012: 92). Following Greek *epistêmê* (theoretical knowledge) and *technê* (practice), Roman rhetorical education made the aesthetics of language central to effective speech by developing practical skill, wisdom, eloquence, and ingenuity in debate with special training

in style and diction (D.L. Clark 1957; M.L. Clark 1953; Kennedy 1972). The *technê rhêtorikê* devised by the Greeks became Latinized as *ars rhetorica*.

Rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quintilian played a crucial role in the transmission and development of rhetorical education, the *orator* and *oratory* being the Latin equivalents of the Greek *rhetor* and *rhetoric*, and the audience a fundamental constituent:

> The audience was a key component in the rhetoric of Rome. In Cicero, as in other great Roman rhetoricians, a concern for the audience's tastes, sensibilities, and values is consistently evident. In addition, whether in Cicero's desire to unite wisdom and eloquence or Quintilian's definition of rhetoric as the good citizen skilled in speaking, an ethical dimension attends Roman thinking about rhetoric. (Herrick 2012: 114)

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) was the most influential Roman orator and rhetorical theorist. His *De Inventione* is a treatise on how to command the verbal skills of eloquence, in which he codified five canons of oratory to trace the traditional tasks, or activities, in the design of a persuasive speech (Burke 2014c: 21; Herrick 2012: 97; Richards 2008: 42) (Table 1.2):

i)   *inventio* (invention): the development of valid or seemingly valid arguments;
ii)   *dispositio* (arrangement): the principled organization of those arguments in the proper order and structure for the greatest effect;
iii) *elocutio* (style): the fitting of proper language to the developed arguments in order to move and persuade, with the use of figures of speech (*figurae verborum*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiarum*) as rhetorical devices that enhance speaking or writing;
iv)   *memoria* (memory): the art of recall, that is, the memorization, usually using mnemonic devices, of long and complex arguments to be extemporaneously presented during the speech; and
v)   *pronuntiatio* (delivery): the actual presentation of the arguments to the audience in a pleasing way, making the right stylistic choices for the dignity of the subject matter, including proxemic and kinesic articulation – movement, gesture, posture, facial expression, vocal tone, and volume – to communicate meaning non-verbally.

This means:

> First of all, textual "material"/"data" was generated and/or discovered. Arguments were then formed from this material based on one of the three Aristotelian proofs: logos, ethos and pathos. This constituted the first canon of rhetoric. That material was then ordered for optimal effect in a given situation. This is the second canon. Thereafter, the textual material was stylised (the third canon). Finally, it was memorised (if it was a speech) and then delivered. These constitute the fourth and fifth canons respectively. The stylisation of the text in the third canon of rhetoric essentially took two forms. The first kind of stylisation was based on the clarity, preciseness and appropriateness of the language to be used. The second kind was based on style figures. These were either schemes (which deviate at the syntactic level of language) or tropes (which deviate at the semantic level). In addition to this, and linked to the category of appropriateness, there were three kinds of style which were thought to be appropriate in almost all speech situations; these were the high style, the middle style and the low style. (Burke 2014b: 1)

The audience is always a central concern in Cicero's oratorical theory, together with the complete orator. As in Greek rhetoric, his characterization of oratory in the classical Roman period is audience-oriented; eloquence and wisdom are complementary qualities (or virtues) that must be present in a true orator (*perfectus orator*) if he is to persuade and convince the

Table 1.2 The five canons of rhetoric.

English term		Meaning	Latin name	Greek name
1	Discovery	Coming up with materials for arguments	*Inventio*	*heúrisis*
2	Arrangement	Ordering your discourse	*Dispositio*	*taxis*
3	Stylisation	Saying/writing things well and in a persuasive manner	*Elocutio*	*lexis/phrases*
4	Memorisation	Strategic remembering	*Memoria*	*mnémē*
5	Delivery	Presenting your ideas	*Pronunciatio/Actio*	*hupókrisis*

Source: Burke (2014c: 21, Table 1.1).

ordinary audience member in an accessible and acceptable way: "I have been led by reason itself to hold this opinion first and foremost, that wisdom without eloquence does too little for the good of states, but that eloquence without wisdom is generally highly disadvantageous and is never helpful" (*De Inventione*, I.I; quoted by Herrick 2012: 96). There is, therefore, a constant dependence of oratory on – and adaptation to – the public's language and values: "The rhetor could not stand aloof from the concerns of the populace, and was in this way different from the practitioners of other arts" (Herrick 2012: 102). The orator must understand emotions fully in order to arouse powerful feelings in his audience. For this reason, Cicero made *pathos* (empathy and sympathy) an essential characteristic in orators, as a psychological management of the audience's emotions, influencing their judgment through the use of linguistic resources as affective or emotional appeals. In fact, the three functions he assigned to oratory in his *De Oratore* are also audience-oriented: to teach (*docere*), to delight (*delectare*), and to persuade (*movere*): these are all directed towards effects on listeners.

Like Isocrates in ancient Greece, Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (35–100 AD), "Quintilian", was the most famous and successful teacher of oratory in the period of classical Rome. His *Institutio Oratoria* was a treatise on the art of rhetoric and the training of the perfect orator, emphasizing style over substance in a movement known as the Second Sophists (Graham 1993). Being specially concerned with teaching judicial speech and the persuasion of the audience, he divided discourse into the following (see also Burke 2014c: 23; Herricks 2012: 109; Richards 2008: 42) (Table 1.3):

i)   *exordium*: an introduction designed to dispose the audience to listen to the speech and predispose to a claim (*conquestio/conmiseratio/indignatio*);
ii) *narratio*: a statement of the facts that are essential for the understanding of the case and making a decision;
iii) *argumentatio*: the provision of evidence in support of claims advanced during the narratio (*confirmation/probatio*) and/or exposition and response to counterarguments (*refutation/reprehensio*); and, finally,
iv) *peroratio*, or conclusion: summarizing the most important points to demonstrate and stress the strength of the arguments, including appeals to feelings or values as common affinities (*pathos*) for the final effect.

According to Wisse (1989: 78), given their association with the emotions and the psychological dimension of the audience, *ethos* and *pathos* are used in the opening (*exordium*) and closing (*peroratio*) parts of a discourse respectively, causing a gradual increase from milder to

Table 1.3 A six-part composition plan from the anonymous *Rhetorica Herennium* (adapted from Burke 2014c: 23, Table 1.2).

	Latin term	Part	Purpose
1	*Exordium*	Introduction	Foster good will, make your audience receptive and attentive and state your standpoint
2	*Narratio*	Background	Set the scene (past facts)
3	*Divisio/Partitio*	Brief list of arguments	State your arguments briefly
4	*Confirmatio*	Arguments in favor	Put forward your arguments in detail
5	*Confutatio*	Counter arguments	Deal with the views of your opponents
6	*Peroratio*	Conclusion	End appropriately (summarizing and employing style figures)

stronger emotive reactions. This enables the orator to communicate with *enargeia* ("energetic expression") to his audience, with a vivid performance or vigorous visual expression so that listeners actually experience an emotional engagement with what is being described (Plett 2002; Richards 2008: 45). The rhetorical setting and genre condition the use of the style and its stylistic devices in the *elocution*, giving rise to three levels of style (*genera dicendi*): the grand style (*genus grave/grande*: emotive and ornate, with impressive words), the middle style (*genus medium*), and the low or plain style (*genus humile*: idiomatic, everyday ordinary speech)[3]. In addition, there are four virtues of speaking (*virtutes dicendi*), clearly audience-oriented, common to the three levels of style; these were emphasized by both Cicero in *De Oratore* and Quintilian in *Institutio Oratoria* (Verdonk 2006: 199–200) as working towards the desired effect:

i) Correctness or purity (*latinitas*): correct and elegant use of language;
ii) Clarity (*perspicuitas*): there must be propriety but no obscurities or ambiguities in the language used;
iii) Decorum (*aptum*): style must be adapted appropriately to every condition in life, to every social rank, position, or age;
iv) Ornament (*ornatus*): decorative devices of style aimed at adding force to the intended effect and also affect through the use of (a) figures of speech such as tropes (simile, metaphor, metonymy, oxymoron, hyperbole, irony, and litotes) to change ordinary meaning and schemes (repetition, chiasmus, antithesis, and zeugma), arranging linguistic patterns to intensify or enhance meaning without actually changing it, and (b) figures of thought (rhetorical questions, apostrophe, amplification, and antithesis) with a pragmatic function in the presentation of the argument to the listener.

Quintilian's formulation of oratory – the art of the good citizen speaking well – like that of Plato, clearly implied a moral function and ethical commitment.

1.1.3.   *The Middle Ages and modern times*

Just as they had been in Graeco-Roman society, Aristotle and Cicero have been the source of most rhetorical theory from the Middle Ages to modern times, in which discursive arrangement and stylistic choice are seen as crucial for effective influence of the audience.

Indeed, the Aristotelian canon of *style* concerned the selection of levels of language that the *rhetor* calculatedly makes in the construction of persuasive statements. The study of rhetoric continued during the Middle Ages in connection with formal education, the development of medieval universities, and the expansion of Christian religion, becoming transformed into the art of writing not only sermons (*ars praedicandi*) but also letters (*ars dictaminis*) (Corbett and Connors 1999: 497; Murphy 1974). Along with grammar and logic, rhetoric was one of the three ancient arts of discourse in the medieval *Trivium*[4]: Grammar was conceived as the mechanics of a language (in the combination of symbols and constructional rules), logic as the mechanics of thought and analysis, and rhetoric as the use of language to communicate persuasively.

As part of the scholastic practices of the earliest European universities that grew out of the Christian monastic schools, dialectical reasoning had a powerful influence on the articulation and defense of dogma, extending theological knowledge by inference (Kristeller 1961). Saint Augustine (354–430), for example, after his conversion to Christianity, developed the instructional function of rhetoric, wanting to use this initially pagan verbal art for spreading religion: the skilful manipulation of persuasive resources "as a means of persuading Christians to lead a holy life" (Corbett and Connors 1999: 498). In his *De Doctrina Christiana*, Augustine laid the foundations for the application of the general principles of rhetoric to the specific art of public preaching in homilies as the didactic "rhetoric of sermons" – or hemilectics, an epideictic variety of rhetoric – in which argumentation and exposition were more salient. In his *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) attempted to apply Greek rationalism – Aristotelian rhetorical and philosophical thought – to the principles and doctrine of Christianity for the inferential development or refutation of ideas, resolving contradictions, particularly in the areas of ethics, natural law, metaphysics, and political theory, and placing more emphasis on reason and argumentation.

The humanism of the Renaissance meant a rebirth of interest in classical rhetoric, which became a model for written discourse, and in its traditional analytical tools: figures of speech, *topoi*, lines of argument, invention and style, ethos, logos, and pathos (D.L. Clark 1922; Kristeller 1961). For example, in his *De Duplici Copia Verborum et Rerum* (or *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*), Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466–1536) aimed to assist grammar-school students in the acquisition of elegance and variety of expression, with different stylistic elements of display in composition (Corbett and Connors 1999: 499). He focused on invention and elocution when dealing with *res–verba* (matter–form), emphasizing the abundance of stylistic devices in discourse: fertile invention and stylistic resourcefulness. Letter-writing had been one of the most popular rhetorical practices in an age when written correspondence was inevitably the most rapid means of communication for business and diplomatic affair. For this reason, "the man skilled in letter writing was as much sought after as the man skilled in oratory" (Corbett and Connors 1999: 500), and Erasmus' *Modus Conscribendi Epistolas* (1522) was a reflection of this social demand. Similarly, in understanding rhetoric as the art of speaking well (*bene dicendi*), the French reformist Peter Ramus (1515–1572) concentrated more on the aspects of *elocutio* (style) as effective use of language, exploring figures of speech (schemes and tropes).

A crucial principle of classical rhetoric in literature emphasized by Aristotle (in his *Poetics*), Cicero (in his *De Oratore*), and Horace (in his *Ars Poetica*) is *decorum*, in consistency with the canons of propriety. Decorum sets the limits for appropriate style and specific social behavior within set situations in epic, tragedy, and comedy. As an embryonic tenet of determinism and positivism, the notion of decorum suggests deterministically predictive patterns of sociolinguistic behavior in the characterization of fictional characters based on the societal

system: action, character, thought, and language must all be appropriate to each other, in line with the rules of decorum. The king must therefore behave and speak like a king, the queen like a queen, noblemen like the nobility, and servants like servants. Decorum was important not only in the Graeco–Roman period but also during and after the renaissance, when classical rules and tenets were revered (Clark 1922).

In the seventeenth century, with the advent of rationalism and empiricism, an important consequence of the translation of the Bible and scientific works into vernacular languages such as English, French, and Spanish instead of the classical languages was the rise of vernacular rhetoric. One of the concerns of intellectuals such as Francis Bacon (1561–1626) in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605) was the identification of a suitable style for the discussion of scientific topics, with clear exposition of facts and arguments but devoid of the linguistic ornamentation traditionally favored, explicitly preferring *res* to *verba*. Bacon conceived style as in conformance with the subject matter and the audience, viewing rhetoric and logic as distinct faculties with different objectives: rhetoric is subservient to imagination and logic to understanding (Corbett and Connors 1999: 507). Similarly, John Dryden (1631–1700) also defended the use of vernacular languages and plain vernacular linguistic resources (rather than Latinates), understanding that style should be in tune with the occasion, the subject, and the audience. In his Preface to *Religio Laici* (1682/1950: 162) he stated that "the expressions of a poem designed purely for instruction ought to be plain and natural, yet majestic […] The florid, elevated and figurative way is for the passions; for love and hatred, fear and anger, are begotten in the soul by showing the objects out of their true proportion […] A man is to be cheated into passion, but to be reasoned into truth."

Until the late eighteenth century rhetorical practice was primarily a rhetoric of writing associated with correctness and purity (Genung 1893), cohesion, and coherence (unity, mass, and coherence: Wendell 1891), framed as composition-rhetoric. After the nineteenth century argumentative rhetoric was developed, emphasizing the multimodal aims of discourse such as narrative, descriptive, expository, and argumentative (Corbett and Connors 1999: 518). George Campbell's (1719–1796) rhetorical postulations in his *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776/1868), for example, were largely a response to the empiricists John Locke (1632–1704) and David Hume (1711–1776), and influenced subsequent rhetorical theory. Placing the art of speaking among the "elegant" – as opposed to the "useful" – arts, Campbell was concerned with the psychology of the audience and viewed the functions of rhetoric as understanding (knowing), imagination (dreaming), passions (feeling), and will (acting): "[a]ll the ends of speaking are reducible to four; every speech being intended to enlighten the understanding, to please the imagination, to move the passions or to influence the will" (Campbell 1776/1868: 23). The perfect orator must therefore command perspicuity, vivacity, elegance, animation, and music (Campbell 1868: 238). Similarly, Henry Noble Day (1850) developed a multimodal rhetoric, whose ends are explanation, conviction, excitation, and persuasion: "[t]he process by which a new conception is produced, is by Explanation; that by which a new judgment is produced, is by Conviction; a change in the sensibilities is the effected by the process of Excitation; and in the will, by that of Persuasion" (quoted in Corbett and Connors 1999: 523).

In the twentieth century, the logical neo-positivism present in scientific thinking and the intellectual efforts made to apply scientific standards to the understanding of all phenomena meant that rhetoric was considered as a clearly inferior, even obsolete, art (Herrick 2012: 195). Nevertheless, science could not provide solutions based on physical causation to human social and moral issues and their motivations; values belong in human choices and therefore became an object of exploration. As a result, attention was focused on two foundational

components of rhetoric: argumentation and the audience, conditioning style and argumentation to audience. Scholars such as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) attempted to reveal the logical structure of everyday arguments and how social and moral values are used to persuade in such arguments. The role and centrality of audience is crucial in this new rhetorical theory, since the audience "will determine to a great extent both the direction the arguments will take, and the character, the significance that will be attributed to them" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 30). Orators must accommodate to the hearer's world views – to what audience believes and values – adapting their argumentation to their addressees, a task that, as Foss, Foss, and Trapp (1985/1991: 241–272) stated, has been implicit in rhetorical thinking for centuries, both in ancient and modern times.

Rooted in classical traditions but profiting from modern refinements in psychology, semantics, motivational research, and other behavioral sciences, rhetoric is currently viewed as the intentional use of language to influence an audience, and for this reason there is, as Richards (1936) suggested, a focus on the psychology of the listener "and its broadening of the function of rhetoric to include enlightening the understanding, pleasing the imagination, moving the passions, and influencing the will" (Corbett and Connors 1999: 538). Every use of language – written or spoken – is a rhetorical act, because all communication is inherently rhetorical and intentional: there is a message to transmit or a specific goal to achieve. For Burke (1962), "appeal" and "identification" are the essence of communication, since speakers must identify themselves with the audience, becoming an integral part of it, through deliberately designed verbal persuasion. Thus, styles constitute a mode of identification through speakers' conscious or unconscious attempts to suit their language to the requirements of the audience. Additionally, Reddy's (1979) conduit model of communication proposed a teleological model rooted in classical rhetoric that stresses the intentional nature – or the perlocutionary effect – of communication, alluding to the psychological consequences of the speech act: the aim of the addresser ("sender") with a message (or utterance) is to cause an effect in the addressee ("receiver"). Similarly, following Reddy, Berge (2001: 23) defines rhetoric as "a theory of communication that seeks to find the quality which makes it possible for an addresser to persuade or convince his addressee about something."

With a focus on "the pervasiveness of persuasiveness" in our occupational, social, and private lives, Herrick (2012) explores the universal nature of persuasion through rhetoric as a technique for gaining compliance in a world in which human beings are rhetorical beings. Individuals are engaged in rhetoric every time they express emotions and thoughts to other people with the aim of influencing them:

> Outside the arena of professional endeavors, we are perpetual persuaders in our personal relationships. Who doesn't make arguments, advance opinions, and seek compliance from friends? Moreover, we typically engage in all these persuasive activities without thinking we are doing anything wrong. In fact, it is difficult *not* to persuade. We also engage in the practice on almost a daily basis in our interactions with friends, colleagues at work, or members of our family. We may attempt to influence friends or family members to adopt our political views; we will happily argue the merits of a movie we like; we *are* that salesperson, religious advocate, or politician. In fact, it is difficult to imagine a human relationship in which persuasion has no role, or a human organization that does not depend to some degree on efforts to change other people's thoughts and actions. (Herrick 2012: 3–14)

Assuming that the function of language is not solely to communicate meaning but also to achieve persuasion in our social life, Herrick (2012: 7–15) emphasizes the importance of rhetoric in communicative processes and identifies five characteristics of this verbal art in

order to account for its nature and to demonstrate the centrality of audience. Rhetoric has the following properties: it is

i)   planned, directing our attention to the linguistic choices about how to address an audience;
ii)   always adapted to an audience – its values, experiences, beliefs, social status, aspirations, etc. – crucially guiding the inventional process;
iii) shaped by human motives, taking account of commitments (usually moral), goals, desires, or purposes that lead to action, as symbolic resources for drawing people together;
iv)   responsive to a situation or to a previous rhetorical statement, making rhetoric an activity that is both "situated" (in time, location, subject and audience) and "dialogic" (interactional); and
v)   mostly persuasion-seeking, to alter an audience's view or perception in the direction of that of a speaker by means of different rhetorical resources such as arguments (reasoning), appeals (emotions, loyalties, commitments), arrangement (ordering), and/or aesthetics (stylistic elements of display: schemes and tropes).

But in addition to its persuasive purposes, the art of rhetoric also has, according to Herrick (2012: 15–23), some social functions:

i)   testing of ideas on their merits publicly, an audience being essential for that evaluation;
ii)   enhancing the verbal effectiveness of advocacy and gaining adherence to one's arguments;
iii) distributing personal, psychological, or political power with arguments and counter-arguments, given that rhetoric, ideology, and power are linked to one another;
iv)   discovering well informed (relevant and convincing) facts and truths that are crucial to decision-making;
v)   shaping and building knowledge; and
vi)   building community, in the sense of communal unity and membership.

In this sense, according to Zdenek (2008), speaker's agency and context are crucial in rhetoric. The orator has to understand the audience, both individually and collectively, as well as the context of any rhetorical appeal. The centrality of audience adaptation to rhetoric was highlighted by Aristotle, who developed the *enthymeme*, attempting to link the rhetor's views and those of the audience, in other words, a commonality between them: an argument built from those values, beliefs, or knowledge held in common by a speaker and an audience (*Rhetoric*, Book I, Chapter I). The speaker must be sensitive to the audience's social, convictional, and emotional characteristics, and rhetoric is thus involved in a continuous adaptation of the speaker to an audience (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 23–24). "The classical rhetorical tradition is grounded in an ideology of individualism and agency: individual speakers (agents) seek to persuade specific audiences in specific situations. This conception of agency continues to influence our modern understanding of rhetoric" (Zdenek 2008: 148). But, according to Young (2008), while it is clear that rhetorical agency is key to rhetorical inquiry, its definition is not univocal, having undergone different formulations and reformulations (see also Geisler 2004):

    … there is a tension between the traditional rhetorical approach to agency, which focuses on the rhetor's capacity to act, and the postmodern approach, which claims that individual agency is

socially constructed and illusory. Scholars in rhetoric continue to struggle to define rhetorical agency in a way that takes into account how it is constructed in texts and how it can result in action … (Young 2008: 227)

Leff (2003: 135) understands agency as co-constitutively conditioned by a speaker who is in turn constrained by the audience's demands, implying a source of tension between presumed rhetorical agency and the acknowledged constraints of the context: "[t]he humanistic approach entails a productively ambiguous notion of agency that positions the orator both as an individual who leads an audience and as a community member shaped and constrained by the demands of the audience." For this reason, according to Bell (2007a), Bakhtin (1935, 1953) depersonalized the speaker as "the speaking person:"

Bakhtin does not talk about speakers but rather about "the speaking person". This is salutary. Sociolinguists can become inured to the term "speaker", and speakers can ironically become too easy to depersonalize, to treat as subjects, informants, eventually objects. But the speaking person is foremost a *person*, and this emphasis accords with Bakhtin's stress on addressivity and response, and on language as something that occurs between people. This also closes the circle to the study of style, which is first and foremost the variety of ways that individual speaking persons use language in dialogue with others. (Bell 2007a: 109)

White (1984) contributed to the development of constitutive rhetoric as a social constructionist line of thought that sees this verbal art as a broader domain of social experience, stressing the capacity of language to create, or reinforce, a collective identity for an audience: just as language influences people, so people may also influence language, because language is socially constructed and depends on the meanings that people attach to it. Language use is therefore inherently rhetorical.

Jolliffe (2008b) drew a rhetorical framework diagram for use in professional development workshops that synthesizes the main elements involved in this verbal art, distinguishing: i) the rhetorical situation, ii) appeals, and iii) surface features (Figure 1.2). As Phelan (2008: 60) describes it, the *logos* is located at the centre of the diagram as embodied thought, showing its indispensable role in a spoken or written discourse: "[r]egardless of whatever other aspects of rhetoric are taken into account, or whatever language features might be noted, all should ultimately point toward, and result in, the *logos*, and especially a reader's or audience's acceptance of that *logos*, due to the rhetorical efforts of the writer." Exigence (orator's motivation), target audience (segment of addressees), and purpose (intention) constitute the rhetorical situation, so that the speaker/writer, who is already at point B, wants to move the audience from point A to point B. As initially suggested by Aristotle, *logos, ethos,* and *pathos* are the rhetorical appeals that will give the speaker/writer the credibility that will generate emotion (sympathy and empathy) and affinities (or self-interest), because the audience's predisposition to begin moving from point A to point B requires their emotional engagement or direct self-interest. The arrangement of arguments cannot be casual (accidental), since the designated sequence of thoughts presented to an individual or collective addressee is essential if it is to lead to the effect of the whole. The surface features are diction, syntax, imagery, and figurative language and constitute the message and argumentation.
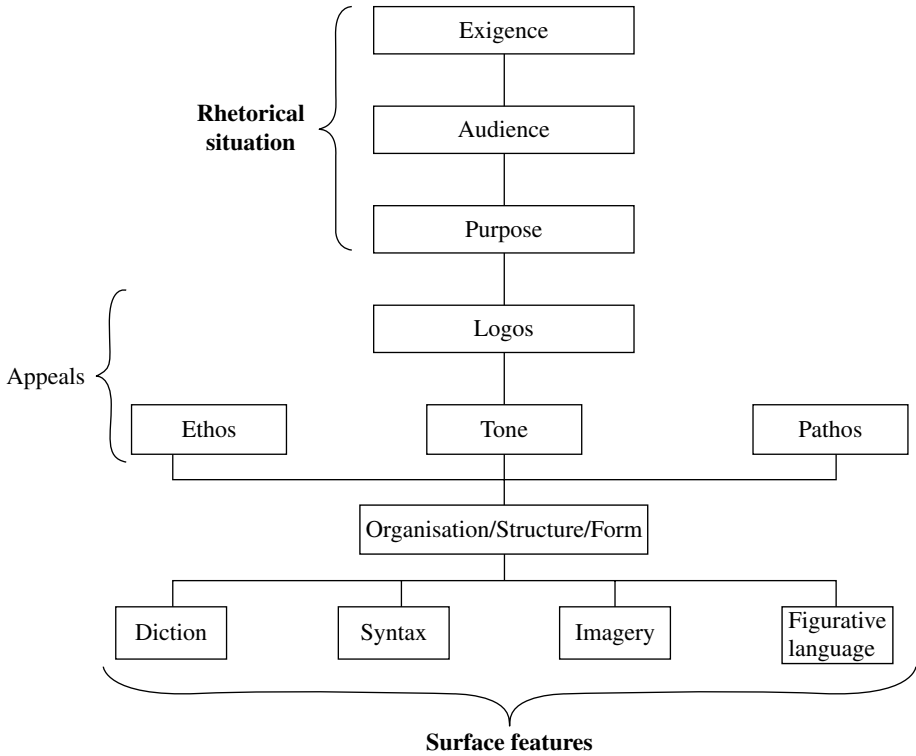
Figure 1.2 Jolliffe's rhetorical framework diagram (adapted from Phelan 2008: 60).

Retrospectively, as Johnstone (2010b) points out, the rhetorical canon of style has meant many different things in the rhetorical tradition, which has led to a range of epistemic positions: some scholars have seen style as a matter of clarity, others as a matter of appropriateness; style has sometimes been described as expressive of self, sometimes as responsiveness to the audience; by some as constitutive of truth, by others as merely ornamental. In fact, as Eisenhart and Johnstone (2008: 7) state:

> Throughout its history, rhetoric's fraught relationship with style has drawn it in and out of favor with other disciplines. The scope of this perpetual interest in style has shifted, of course. Much of the conflict between sophist and Platonic/Aristotelian traditions revolved around the significance of style and of style's role as a central component in rhetorical practice, teaching, and theory. During the Middle Ages, when philosophers such as Ramus deemed invention to be the realm of dialectic and philosophy, rhetoric retained a position as the art overseeing style, alongside delivery (Conley 1990). More recently, the mid-twentieth century's "new" rhetoric (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969) can be distinguished in part by its interest in style as constitutive rather than merely ornamental. Several conceptual developments, which did not so much occur in the mid-twentieth as disciplinarily cohere then, mark the current rhetorical attitude toward style. For example, Burkean treatments of metaphor (Burke 1945, 1950) depart rather dramatically from the Aristotelian (1991)[5] discussion of metaphors as other names, into an appreciation for the knowledge-making work of metaphor and the essentially metaphoric nature of rhetorical practices.

However, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the multiplicity of interpretations of the concept and nature of style as a phenomenon is, according to Johnstone (2010b), extremely stimulating:

> Style is a key concept in contemporary sociolinguistics, even if, in rhetoric, style seems to be somewhat out of style. Sociolinguists' term "style-shifting" labels what people are doing when they vary their speech and writing from situation to situation. Like rhetoricians, sociolinguists argue over multiple accounts of how style-shifting happens and what it accomplishes. And, as I suspect is also true in rhetoricians' discussions of style, all of these accounts are accurate in some ways, even if they are often represented as competing.

In any case, the renewed importance of language and persuasion in the increasingly mediated world, with the rise of mass-media communication, advertising, and the film industry, has led to a revival of rhetoric studies, accounting for the specific semiotic strategies, as well as linguistic figures of speech, used by the speaker to accomplish persuasive goals (see for example, Bateman and Delin 2006; Lotman 2006).

1.2. Style in Stylistics and Semiotics

Following the tradition of Aristotle's rhetoric, stylistics appeared definitively in the twentieth century as a discipline related to linguistics that focuses on the expressive resources of the language: the non-linguistic function and effects of linguistic features for communicative expression and meaning-making (Arnold 1981; Bally 1909; Black 2006; Bradford 1997; Burke 2006a, 2014a; Carter and Simpson 1989; Enkvist 1973; Fish 1980; Fowler 1986; Freeman 1981; Galperin 1971, 1977; Green 2006; Maltzev 1984; McMenamin 2002; Mukherjee 2005; Nørgaard, Montoro and Busse 2010; Riffaterre 1959, 1966; Sebeok 1960; Short 2001; Simpson 2004; Skrebnev 1994; Studer 2008; Verdonk 2002; Wales 2006; Znamenskaya 2004; amongst many others).

Stylistics is the most direct heir of rhetoric, replacing it and expanding on the study of elocution, or style, in language. According to Wales (2006: 215), "one major root lies in the earlier study of *elocutio* in Western and European rhetoric, concerned with stylistic devices and patterned language such as schemes and tropes." As seen in 1.1, Ancient Greek rhetors developed stylistic techniques, such as figures of speech and thought, to structure and elaborate an argument, as well as, crucially, to move the emotions, with a clear and distinctive perlocutionary effect on the addressee (affective meaning). During the twenty centuries since the Graeco–Roman period, rhetoric has been seen as either the art of effective speaking (delivery of speeches) or the art of writing well (composition), or even both. But, in its transformation into modern stylistics, it has been reduced to *elocutio*, or the art of style (Maltzev 1984: 14). Similarly, the term "stylistics" has been widely used during the twentieth century to refer to the study of authorial and group style, especially in literature (as its linguistic approach), as well as of the relationship between linguistic structure and textual meaning (see also Short 2001: 282):

> Traditionally, style is a literary concept, deriving from rhetoric and the classical notion of *elocutio*, which includes a set of rhetorical strategies used for persuasive purposes (cf., for example, Hough 1969: 1–4). Style originally referred to rhetorical figures of reinforcement

and repetition that lent a message persuasive power. The core of the original meaning of style is still visible in modern stylistics, which, as a research discipline, potentially encompasses both literary and non-literary discourses. Stylistics is not primarily concerned with formal (i.e. constitutive) aspects of a text but emphasizes their stylistic significance, their meaningfulness, in the context in which they are produced. This definition involves the notion of style as a motivated choice of linguistic strategies applied to induce specific effects. (Studer 2008: 7)

Meaning assumes paramount importance in stylistics because it is conveyed and foregrounded not only by means of grammatical expression (words, word-combinations, sentences used, etc.) or phonetic expression (pronunciation), but also through suprasegmental expression (intonation, rhythm, etc.), involving choice between linguistic variants and, therefore, creativity (Enkvist 1964, 1986; Halliday 1971). In this sense, Chatman (1967: 30), for example, defined style as "a product of individual choices and patterns of choices among linguistic possibilities." Given that the effect of choice and usage of different linguistic features may predispose thought and emotions to different conditions of communication, according to Skrebnev (1994: 5), stylistics is concerned with a versatile and multidimensional object of study:

i)   the aesthetic function of language;
ii)   the expressive resources of language as stylistic devices for affecting the addressee[6];
iii)   synonymous ways of conveying the same idea;
iv)   emotional coloring in language to create a particular stylistic effect;
v)   a system of stylistic devices for special effects, by particular combinational use of linguistic features;
vi)   the splitting of the literary language into separate systems (style/register/functional style);
vii)   the interrelation between language and thought for the interpretation (decoding) of the linguistic and non-linguistic message; and
viii) the author's individual manner and skills in making use of the language resources[7].

Znamenskaya (2004: 16–17) distinguishes two types of stylistic research that relate to a traditional debate about the canonical status of style: *lingua-stylistics* and *literary stylistics*. They have in common an interest in: i) the literary language from the point of view of its variability, ii) the idiolect (individual language) of a writer or speaker, and iii) poetic speech (with its own specific laws, for some trends). But they differ in that *lingua-stylistics* studies functional styles and the linguistic nature of the expressive means of the language (their systematic character and their functions), whereas *literary stylistics* is focused on the composition of a work of art, the various literary genres, and the writer's own outlook. According to Coupland (2011: 138), the use of the term "general stylistics" (as in Sebeok 1960 or Weber 1996) was intended to refer to "the general application of linguistic analysis – phonological, grammatical, lexical, prosodic – to texts of all sorts, distinguished from the subfield of literary stylistics." As Maltzev (1984: 15) stated, the opposing views expressed in these trends have also meant the establishment of dichotomies based on the opposition "stylistic neutrality" (norm) vs. "stylistic coloring" (deviation), such as:

linguistic stylistics *versus* literary stylistics
stylistics of the code *versus* stylistics of the message
stylistics of expression *versus* genetic stylistics

Neutrality as adherence to the norm through the use of unmarked structures, on the one hand, and stylistic coloring as creative deviation from the norm through the use of marked structures, on the other, have traditionally affected the notion and conception of style among scholars. It has sometimes been suggested that neutral language denotes without connoting. Yet apparently neutral linguistic features, in a certain context and in a specific combination, may create unexpected coloring. In addition to the grammatical meaning (noun, verb, adjective), a word also has a lexical significance belonging to the semantic structure that can, in turn, be divided into denotative and connotative meanings. While the first is related to the logical or nominative meaning, the second is associated with extralinguistic circumstances (situation, participants, etc.) and consists of emotive, evaluative, expressive, and/or merely stylistic components (Arnold 1981). For this reason, according to Znamenskaya (2004: 25), stylistics is first and foremost engaged in the study of connotative meanings of verbal acts in communicative events, as it interprets the opposition or clash between the contextual connotation of a given word and its denotative significance. This is so because of the unexpected violation of the norm or convention (recognized/received standard), which is the essence of poetic language: style as deviance. The violation of the norm is generated through deviation, which can take place at any level of the language (phonetic, graphical, morphological, syntactic, or lexical)[8]. The normal arrangement of a message both in form and content is based on its *predictability*, and the violation of the norm (de-automatization) generates a *defeated expectancy*, which is the basic principle of stylistic function for foregrounding (Arnold 1981; Znamenskaya 2004).

This issue inevitably leads to the inherently or adherently denotative-connotative properties of linguistic forms in their expressive potential to convey ideas and/or emotions in a communicative context, usually – though not necessarily – also associated with formal (bookish/solemn/poetic/official/standard) or informal (colloquial/rustic/dialectal/vulgar/non-standard) language.

Stylistic studies date back to the early twentieth-century works of formalists and functionalists (Mukherjee 2005; Taylor and Toolan 1984) – or textualists and contextualists, according to Bradford (1997: 12) – whose common aim was the identification of the nature and algorithm of stylistic effect. Although both approaches acknowledge the presence of patently literary features (figurative language) and elements of non-poetic language within a text, they differ on the effects and function of style:

> A textualist will be concerned principally with the ways in which the patently literary structure of the text appropriates and refracts its references to the world. A contextualist will be more concerned with the text as a constituent feature of a much broader range of discourses and stylistic networks: syntactic, lexical, political, historical, gendered, cultural. (Bradford 1997: 95–96)

1.2.1. Textualists

Mostly in the 1920s, formalists such as Charles Bally of the Geneva School and Roman Jakobson, Viktor Shlovsky, Valentin Vološinov, Lubomír Doležel, Lev Jakubinsky, Bohuslav Havránek and Jan Mukařovský of the Russian and Prague Schools centered their attention on the code and message (either literary or non-literary). They were inspired by the ideas of Saussure on the structure of language and the aesthetic ideas still under the influence of the symbolist movement, where the function of the linguistic sign is fundamental. The symbolist movement was a trend that began in French and Belgian poetry towards the end of the

nineteenth century and was associated with the poetry of Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Valéry, Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Maeterlinck. This movement exerted a strong influence on British and American literature, including that of W.B Yeats, T.S. Eliot, James Joyce, Ezra Pound, and Wallace Stevens, and the New Criticism. Assuming that the sounds of language are given significant symbolic meanings with an emotive and suggestive potential, their aim was to express states of mind rather than objective reality by making use of the inherent power of words and images in order to suggest as well as denote. For Saussure (1916), each linguistic unit (phoneme or word) is a sign, which is linear, arbitrary, and part of social life, as it links the mental representation ("*signifiant/signifier*") of the utterance with the mental representation of the referent ("*signifié/signified*"): a linguistic sign is not "a link between a thing and a name, but between a concept and a sound pattern" (Saussure 1916/1983: 66). Any sound pattern "may be called a 'material' element only in that it is the representation of our sensory impressions" (Saussure 1916/1983: 66). The linguistic sign is thus a two-sided psychological entity (see Figures 1.3 and 1.4) (see also Cobley 2006). In the communicative process, the correlation of *signifiant* and *signified* within the "circuit of parole" begins with the codification
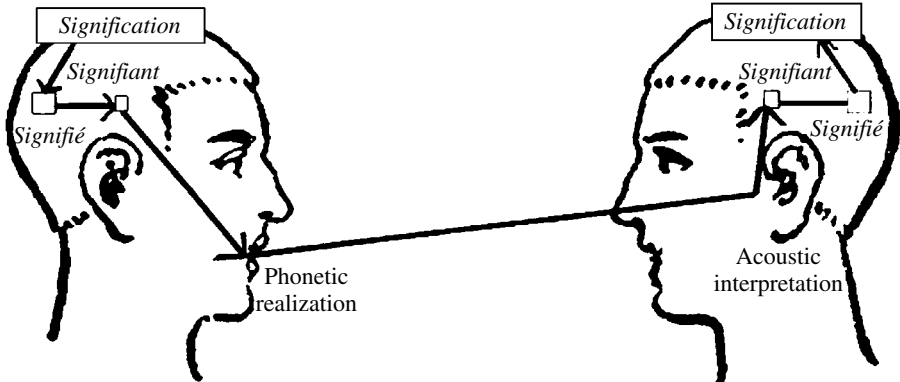
Figure 1.3   The Saussurean communicative process according to Rigotti and Greco (2006: 663, Figure 3).
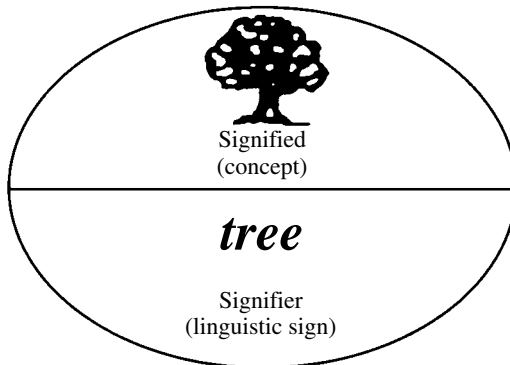
Figure 1.4   The linguistic sign as a two-sided psychological entity according to Saussure (1916/1983: 67).

of the actual meaning intended by the speaker and ends with the reconstruction (decodification) of this meaning tentatively carried out by the hearer (Rigotti and Greco 2006: 660); and *signification* appears as the counterpart of the auditive image – the value of the conceptual component of the linguistic sign.

In the context of the Geneva (or Saussurean) School, the Swiss philologist Charles Bally (1865–1947) was a pioneer in the development of a linguistic theory of style as modern stylistics, emphasizing the affective aspects of communication in non-literary language. Under the influence of Ferdinand de Saussure's (1857–1913) *langage–langue–parole* differentiation (Joseph 2001: 75), Bally (1909, 1913) complemented Saussure's *cognitive* dimension (conceptual aspects) of language with its *affective* (stylistic) nature, by concentrating on the writer and conceiving stylistics as the affective and expressive function of signs, in which style reveals the soul of the author (Wales 2006: 2015). He differentiated between *dictum* (content) and *modus*: how content is presented by means of styles that reveal the attitudes adopted by the speaker toward the proposition conveyed (Saussure 2006: 24). In this way, content can be transmitted according to various modalities. Language has two expressive functions: *natural effects*, such as onomatopoeia, diminutives, and phonetic symbolism, and *evocative effects*, which are the social references of language – the socio-situational context of occurrence evokes different types of language use. Words such as *daddy*, for example, have a higher marked affective meaning than *father*, and much higher than *penicillin*, whose significance is exclusively conceptual (R. Monroy, personal communication). The terminological opposition *denotation–connotation*, indicating a distinction in the realm of meaning (objective/descriptive meaning of a sign vs. its subjective/emotive meaning) was crucial in Saussure's conception of style and his theory of stylistics. In this theory, synonyms sharing the same conceptual content could evoke different emotional values, including the stylistic and poetic values associated with them as well as any ethical and aesthetic value judgments: "[t]he Swiss scholar conceives the stylistic study of the emotional aspects of linguistic expressions as involving the systematic establishment of series of synonyms sharing a core meaning but differing in the emotional values associated with them" (Rigotti and Rocci 2006: 440). These emotional values of a linguistic expression may be the result of i) its natural affective attributes, such as aesthetic values directly associated with the variant selected, or ii) its particular effects in the sociolinguistic context of a given speech community: the deliberate choice among all the linguistic resources (different stylistic, dialectal, and sociolectal alternatives) expected to excite emotions indirectly by evoking the speech community connotations with and attitudes to the variant selected. According to Rigotti and Rocci (2006: 440), "[t]he effect is considered to be particularly strong when the expression is used outside its natural milieu and when there is a readily available nonmarked alternative in the standard language to refer to the object denoted" (see also 6.2.5 and 6.2.6). In this way, Bally viewed literary texts as examples of particular language use.

While Bally focused on style in ordinary language, the Prague School (or Prague Linguistic Circle), in contrast, was interested in literary form. They advocated a scientific method for studying poetic language, equating style with embellishment of language (aesthetic dimension), and assuming an empirical difference between literature and other types of language based on style and effect and through deviation (from the norms of everyday language) and rhetorical parallelism. Associating stylistics with literature, textualists maintained that the stylistic character of a literary text defines it inherently as literature, distinguishing it from the usual linguistic rules and conventions of non-literary discourse. The concept of "aktualisace" (or "foregrounding")[9] was developed in the Prague School to distinguish between marked (foregrounded) and unmarked (backgrounded) texts, suggesting a distinction between linguistic deviations and those linguistic devices that remain unnoticed due to their automatization

(Mukherjee 2005: 1044; Studer 2008: 8). They were thus mostly concerned with the linguistic properties of literary language, or "literariness", through the author's stylistic choice between alternative forms of expression as a way of differentiation from non-literary language. Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) was one of the pioneers of the Prague School associated with the development of modern stylistics within the Formalist strand, although he never used the word "style" in his work (Maltzev 1984: 15). Inspired by Bühler's (1934) Organon model and Saussure's levels of interaction between language and meaning (signifier, signified, and referent), Jakobson (1960) identified six different components of language in direct correlation with six functions (Figures 1.5 and 1.6) for his formulation of poetics (i.e. stylistics). In any act of verbal communication there is always a speaker (sender/addresser), a listener (receiver), a message form to transmit (specific utterance), a code used (language/dialect), a channel (speaking/writing) as the contact between the two, and a context in which the speech event occurs. These constitutive elements are the framework that characterizes social interaction, so they stand as the basic and invariable principle necessary in any conversational activity: who speaks to whom, when, how, what, and to what ends. In this model each component has a particular communicative function associated with it. The function of a given utterance consequently depends on its orientation to one of these six constitutive factors (Burke 2006b):

- The *emotive* function focuses on the sender – the intent of the addresser in the communicative act – as it signals something about what is happening in their mind and reveals something
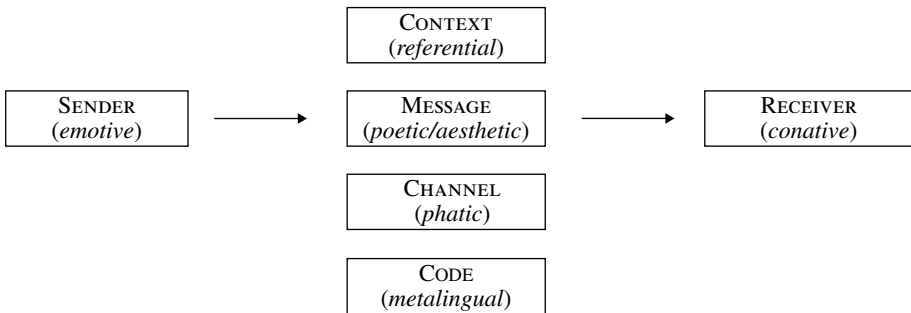
Figure 1.5   Jakobson's (1960) functions of language, based on Karl Bühler's (1934) Organon model.
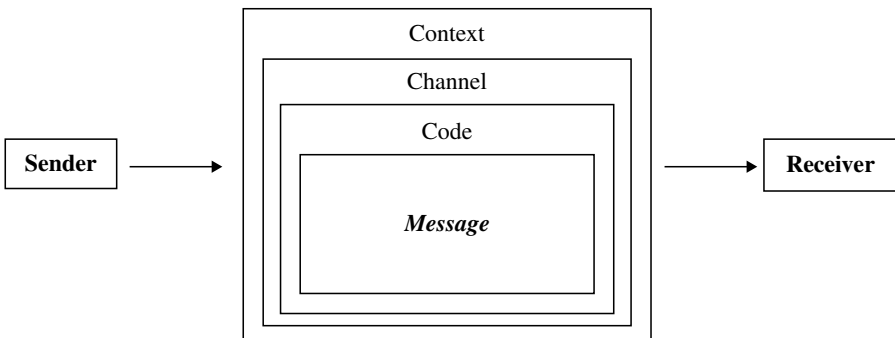
Figure 1.6   Hierarchy of influence in Jakobson's (1960) functions of language.

about how the listener should receive and/or react to what has been said; it is therefore self-expressive (emotive and affective), frequently occurring through interjections;

- The *conative* function is oriented towards the receiver, as the effect that the message has (or is intended to have) on its receiver, usually occurring through vocatives or imperatives;
- The *phatic* function refers to the channel used to communicate as contact between the interlocutors, by means of some discourse markers (or fillers), such as those used in a telephone conversation (*hmm, mmhmm, oh dear, I see, yeah*, etc.) to check the operational status of the channel – in other words, any message designed to establish, acknowledge, or reinforce social relations;
- The *metalingual* function concerns the code: any message that refers to the code used;
- The *referential* (denotative/cognitive) function alludes to any message that is constructed to convey information, thus referring to the context of the message, with a particular orientation towards some fragment of the world or reality;
- The *poetic* function refers to any message constructed to deliver meanings effectively; it thus focuses on the message itself and constitutes the creative use of language resulting in literary works (verbal art) that call for attention to their marked form.

Obviously, the most frequent function in literary texts is the poetic, centered on the message itself, where linguistic devices are more marked and exceptional. In contrast, factual texts (books, encyclopedias, journals) tend to be focused on contexts and are thus referential and with a more unmarked style (Nørgaard, Montoro, and Busse 2010: 187). Jakobson was particularly interested in the poetic function of language and the formal linguistic aspects of literary works, seeking an account for the distinctive literary nature of a given text (for example, Jakobson and Lévi-Strauss 1962). Drawing on the Saussurean notion of paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures of language (Koerner 2006), Jakobson suggested that the combinative nature of language (rules and conventions), together with the user's selective potential (choice), result in the poetic function (Bradford 1997: 35–36); that is, the axes of combination and selection result in a *principle of equivalence* for the arrangement of any linguistic sign in the conformation of an stylistic effect (see also Burke 2006b; Jakobson and Halle 1956):

> What is the empirical linguistic criterion of the poetic function? In particular, what is the indispensable feature inherent in any piece of poetry? To answer this question we must recall the two basic modes of arrangement used in verbal behavior, *selection* and *combination*. If "child" is the topic of the message, the speaker selects one among the extant, more or less similar nouns like child, kid, youngster, tot, all of them equivalent in a certain respect, and then, to comment on this topic he may select one of the semantically cognate verbs – sleeps, dozes, nods, naps. Both chosen words combine in the speech chain. The selection is produced on the basis of equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymy and antonymy, while the combination, the build-up of the sequence, is based on contiguity. *The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination*. Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence; word stress is assumed to equal word stress, as unstress equals unstress; prosodic long is matched with long, and short with short; word boundary equals word boundary, no boundary equals no boundary; syntactic pause equals syntactic pause, no pause equals no pause. Syllables are converted into units of measure, and so are morae or stresses. (Jakobson 1960: 358)

In the 1960s and 1970s, Michael Riffaterre (1959, 1966) in France and Stanley Fish (1980) in the United States further developed the affective stylistics (or decoding stylistics) initiated by Bally (1909) and continued by Jakobson (1960), though focusing on the addressee and now under the label of Reception Theory. While Jakobson spoke of a "poetic function" without

mentioning "style", Riffaterre explicitly refers to a "stylistic function", which, unlike that of Jakobson, is the result of violation of norms, rather than equivalence (R. Monroy, personal communication). In this argumentation, Riffaterre understood as fundamental the psychological processes involved in text processing and the emotional response of ideal readers ("super-readers", "informed readers", "model readers", "average readers", "architecteur")[10], as active participants in the communicative process (Nørgaard, Montoro, and Busse 2010: 46–48). As Maltzev (1984: 19) pointed out, the "consideration of how the message is perceived by the addressee is a necessary pre-requisite for the formulation of a correct theory of the nature and function of style." According to Arnold (1981: 4), each act of speech has a performer (sender of speech), who carries out the act of encoding, and a recipient (addressee), who carries out the act of decoding the information. But the process of encoding is influenced by the epoch, the socio–historical and political situation, in addition to the personal ideological and aesthetic views of the author; while the process of decoding implies an interpretation of the text form with a minimal loss of its message and intended effect; in other words, getting the maximum information from the text itself, though without the author's background knowledge. But if the message encoded and delivered differs from the message received after decoding, failure may have occurred on the part of either of the participants (sender and/or receiver). In his reader-oriented theory, focusing on how the reader responds to, and may even influence, perceptions of style and effect, Riffaterre relied on the unpredictability of some linguistic features to create adherent emotional coloring and thus attraction in the addressee in a particular context. This is because the communicational function of a message depends on the receiver's response to (perception of) the unpredictable, rather than to the predictable stimulus. Riffaterre conceived style as an expressive, affective, or aesthetic emphasis added by the sender to the information transmitted through the linguistic structure. In the codification process of a message, a speaker or writer makes use of two sets of binary oppositions (minimal/maximal decoding and predictability/unpredictability) in its structure, and these oppositions affect the reception process. The use of unpredictable stylistic devices in a sequence of highly predictable elements, as a verbal strategy based on surprise, may make the addressee pay closer attention to the message and the decodification process. The function of style, accordingly, is to facilitate a "minimal decoding" by the addressee of the addresser's encoded unpredictable elements in their apparently predictable message. The context in which an unpredictable linguistic feature occurs requires its contrast with the predictable alternative. This means that style is not a succession of stylistic devices, but rather of binary oppositions whose poles (both context and stylistic devices) cannot be separated or absent.

1.2.2.   *Contextualists*

Unlike the formalists (or textualists), in the 1930s the contextualists – John Firth and, later, M.A.K. Halliday and John Sinclair in the London School, Roland Barthes in France, and more recently Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in sociolinguistics – concentrated on the relationship between text and context (see also Chapter 5). They assumed that literary (figurative) style is not entirely exclusive to literature: in the fabric of a text it is context that endows it with literary status. They understood that literary and non-literary styles are formed and influenced by contextual factors such as: i) the competence and disposition of the addressee, ii) the prevailing socio-cultural forces dominating linguistic discourses, and iii) the system of signification through which all linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena are

processed and interpreted (Bradford 1997: 72). This means that the speaking and writing conventions for a word, phrase, or locutionary habit reflect the dominating social, gendered, historical, cultural, political, and ideological forces, and provide stylistic devices with sense and, crucially, potential acceptance.

In this connection, if textual stylistics understood that style, and especially literary style, involves a deliberate shift from the primarily pragmatic (functional) role of language to disclose meaning towards a sphere of self-reference, the French semiotician Roland Barthes (1915–1980) also claimed that style is not exclusively confined to figurative language production, but is common to all types of linguistic form. He suggested that the textualist notion of style as an arbitrary self-referencing system is a condition of all types of discourse, since all codes of meaning and action – literature, music, fashion, politics, philosophy, and so on – involve arbitrary systems of signification (Bradford 1997: 74). Barthes (1953, 1964) contended that there is an active relationship between style and function, and sign and meaning, operating in all fields of representation, both literary and non-literary (Barthes 1964), in which conventions play a crucial role: "the conventions which prompt us to choose this or that style of garment are comparable with the conventions that govern our choice of words in the formation of a sentence: both are grounded in the assumption that the sequence of signs includes both an expressive gesture and a concession to the system of signification that makes such a gesture possible" (Bradford 1997: 73).

In the functional model of language developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1978, 1985) of the London School, the context of situation was a central pillar in his neo-Firthian theory of languages as a social semiotics, and also had a particular ascendancy over stylistic enquiry: linguistic meaning-making as a social phenomenon influencing and influenced by the context in which it occurs – the bridge between language and the external world – and where every user's linguistic choice is functional. The focus on social context and situational factors, enabling the linguistic manifestation of ideology, meant that his theory played a significant role in stylistics and some approaches within related disciplines, including sociolinguistics (see Chapters 5 and 7):

> Because of its focus on linguistic constructivism (i.e., the claim that language constructs, or "construes", rather than represents meaning), and its claim that all texts through their linguistic choices realize contextual factors such as register, genre and ideology, the Hallidayan approach to language has been considered particularly suited for investigations of the ways in which social meanings are created through language. Another central concept in critical discourse analysis is that of "naturalization", that is, the claim that certain discourses and the ideologies they reflect have become so ingrained (and thereby naturalized) in society that language users tend not to notice them as ideologies at all. (Nørgaard, Montoro, and Busse 2010: 12)

Language, according to Halliday (1994), is able to express simultaneously three different types of meaning that are intimately intertwined in the stylistics of a given text: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Ideational or experiential meaning refers to the way that experience is represented or constructed through language, conditioned by the configurations of participants, processes, and circumstances in the linguistic system (transitivity); interpersonal meaning denotes the relations created between interlocutors in communication (mood and modality); finally, textual meaning is concerned with the organization of text (theme structures and cohesion) (see also Nørgaard, Montoro, and Busse 2010).

Admitting the existence of linguistic variation within language, and exploiting the concepts of *register* and *genre* (see Chapter 2), Halliday (1978, 1985) conceived language as

a systemic resource for meaning, rather than merely a system of signs, in which every single linguistic act involves choice from a describable set of options at any level for its communicative purposes. The sets of meaning resources are selected and used by individuals in particular social contexts that facilitate disambiguation, with *field* (subject matter or topic), *tenor* (roles of the participants in an interaction), and *mode* (channel of communication) as variables in *registers*, rather than styles. All speakers, therefore, use different styles in different situations depending on the context of situation (topic, addressee, and medium). The first typology of styles was developed by Aristotle, when he drew a distinction between literary language and colloquial language based on: i) the choice of words – lexical expressive means such as foreign words, archaisms, neologisms, poetic words, and metaphor; ii) word combinations such as word-order and word-combinations; and iii) figures of speech (Znamenskaya 2004: 37–38). Since then, a range of scholars, such as Arnold (1981), Crystal (1988, 1995), Galperin (1977), Gregory and Carroll (1978), Joos (1961), Kuznetz and Skrebnev (1960), Morokhovsky, Vorobyova, Liknosherst, and Timoshenko (1984), and Skrebnev (1994), among many others, have developed their own typological classification of styles (registers, or functional styles), though without reaching unanimity (see Table 1.4, and Tables 2.2–2.3 in Chapter 2)[11].

Arnold (1981) correlated oratorical, colloquial, poetic, publicist/newspaper, official, and scientific styles with Jakobson's (1960) communicative functions (see 1.2.1) that they fulfill in language, and obtained a continuum of distinctiveness, or hierarchy in semi-implicational scale, where oratorical and scientific are almost opposite (Table 1.5).

According to Fowler (1986/1996: 192), different "fields" produce different kinds of language, especially at the lexical level; "tenor", according to Crystal (1980/1985: 292), might stand as a roughly equivalent term for "style", and "mode" refers to the symbolic organization of the communicative situation (written, spoken, etc.) and, according to Downes (1984/1998: 316), even the genre of the text. As we will see in Chapter 5, Halliday's theory inspired the communicative-function model accounting for style-shifting (Register Axiom) developed by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in sociolinguistics.

Fowler (1986) suggested the term *linguistic criticism* for stylistics in order to reflect the primacy assigned to language and to suggest that the aim of stylistic studies must be not simply a mechanistic description of the formal features of texts – phonological, grammatical, or lexical – for their own sake, but rather to find linguistic evidence for a critical judgment and a broad textual interpretation, grounding hypotheses on a rigorous, methodical, and explicit textual basis to produce an analysis that is verifiable. In this way, stylistics appears as a sub-discipline of hermeneutics, providing a meta-language for principled systematic discussion on *how* texts mean and *what* they mean (Wales 2006: 213).

Epistemic contextualism is a late twentieth-century philosophical view put forward by theorists such as Michael Blome-Tillmann, Michael Williams, Keith DeRose, David Lewis, Stewart Cohen, Gail Stine, and George Mattey, whose main tenet states that knowledge attributions are context-sensitive: an action, utterance, or expression can only be understood in relation to a context (Price 2008) and context-sensitive utterances "express different propositions relative to different contexts of use" (Stanley 2005: 16). As a result, such context-dependence entails that utterances of a given sentence, made in different contexts, may differ in truth value and/or meaning, just as the typical deictic terms *I*, *here*, and *now* – when used as part of a behavior or an utterance, render their meaning variable, depending on certain features of the context in which they are uttered. *I*, for example, can correctly be uttered by different people at the same time, thus referring, perfectly correctly, to more than one individual. According to contextualists, the standards for attributing knowledge to someone

Table 1.4 Typologies of functional styles: examples.

Kuznetz and Skrebnev (1960)	Galperin (1977)	Arnold (1981)	Crystal (1988, 1995/2000)

1. **Literary or Bookish Style**
a) publicist style
b) scientific (technological) style
c) official documents
2. **Free (Colloquial) Style**
a) literary colloquial style
b) familiar colloquial style
	1. **The Belles-Lettres Style:**
	a) poetry
	b) emotive prose
	c) the language of the drama
	2. **Publicist Style**
	a) oratory and speeches
	b) the essay
	c) articles
	3. **Newspaper Style**
	a) brief news items
	b) headlines
	c) advertisements and announcements
	d) the editorial
	4. **Scientific Prose Style**
	5. **The Style of Official documents**
	a) business documents
	b) legal documents
	c) the language of diplomacy
	d) military documents
		1. **Literary Bookish Styles**
		a) scientific
		b) official documents
		c) publicist (newspaper)
		d) oratorical
		e) poetic
		2. **Colloquial Styles**
		a) literary colloquial
		b) familiar colloquial
		c) common colloquial
			1. **Regional varieties**
			2. **Social variation**
			3. **Occupational styles:**
			a) religious language
			b) scientific language
			c) legal language
			d) plain (official) language
			e) political language
			f) news media language
			  • news reporting
			  • journalistics
			  • broadcasting
			  • sports commentary
			  • advertising
			4. **Restricted Language**
			a) knitwrite in books on knitting
			b) cookwrite in recipe books
			c) congratulatory messages
			d) newspaper announcements
			e) newspaper headlines
			f) sportscasting scores
			g) airspeak, the language of air traffic control
			h) emergency speak, the language for the emergency services
			i) e-mail variety, etc.
			5. **Individual variation:** idiolect

Table 1.5 Arnold's (1981) functional styles and their communicative function (adapted from Znamenskaya 2004: 126).

Function Style		Intellectual communicative	Pragmatic	Emotive	Phatic	Aesthetic
Literary Bookish Styles	*Scientific*	+	–	–	–	–
	Official documents	+	+	–	–	–
	Publicist and newspaper	+	+	+	–	–
	Oratorical	+	+	+	+	+
	Poetic	+	–	+	–	+
Colloquial Styles	*Colloquial*	+	+	+	+	–

vary from one user's context to another, and what range of alternatives are relevant is sensitive to conversational context. As Rysiew (2011) states, a complete proposition is only expressed by a knowledge sentence if it is relative to a contextually-determined standard. Otherwise, acontextually, no proposition is expressed. Indeed, if the standard is changed, what the sentence expresses is also changed (see DeRose 1999, 2009; Dretske 1981/1999, 2000; Fantl and McGrath 2009; Pollock 1986; Rysiew 2011, among others).

1.2.3.   Recent Developments

The practice of interdisciplinarity during the 1970s led to the proposal and development of new approaches:

> However, with the development in the 1970s of disciplines such as discourse analysis and pragmatics in linguistics on the one hand and reception aesthetics and reader-response criticism in literary theory on the other, stylistics shifted its focus to the text in its interactive discourse context (functional stylistics, discourse stylistics, or contextualized stylistics) and to the reader as constructing the meaning of the text, rather than as simply the decoder of a given message or single or eternal truth encoded by the writer. There was a more explicit recognition that the parameters of the situational context contributed to a text's meaning, and that therefore contextualization needs to be part of the theory or model. (Wales 2006: 216)

After the mid-twentieth century, as Simpson (2004: 2) states, there was a proliferation of sub-disciplines in stylistics whose discourse, culture, and society-based theories have enriched its methods, accounts, and applications: cognitive stylistics (Burke 2006a; Gavins and Steen 2003; Jeffries, McIntyre, and Bousfield 2007; Semino 1997; Semino and Culpeper 2002; Stockwell 2002; Tsur 1992, 1998; Turner 1991); feminist stylistics (Mills 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 2006; Wales 1994); discourse stylistics (Crystal and Davy 1969; R. Fowler 1981; Emmott 1997; Werth 1999; Widdowson 2004); corpus stylistics (Burrows 2002; Semino and Short 2004; Stubbs 1996, 2005; Studer 2008; van Peer 1989; Wynne 2006); pragmatic stylistics (Lafuente-Millán 2000; Lecercle 1999; Leech 1992; MacMahon 2006; Radwańka-Williams and Hiraga 1995; Sell 1991; Simpson 1989; Sperber and Wilson 1986; van Dijk 1976; Widdowson 2004); pedagogical stylistics as well as applications (Clark 1992; Clark and Zyngier 2003; Freeborn 1996; Pope 1995; Short and Archer 2003; Zyngier 2006); traditional literary approaches (Brumfit 1983; Carter and Simpson 1989; Collie and Slater 1987; Crystal

and Davy 1969; Fowler 1966, 1986; Freeborn 1996; Freeman 1981; Pope 1995; Sebeok 1960; Short 1989, 1996; Simpson 1997; Traugott and Pratt 1980; Weber 1996; Widdowson 1975, 1992; Wright and Hope 1996); and others including narratology, advertising, media communication, critical discourse analysis, and multimodal stylistics (see also Burke 2014a).

1.3.   Style in Sociolinguistics

Style and stylistics, as seen in 1.1 and 1.2, have a longstanding history both outside and inside the field of sociolinguistics (Coupland 2011: 138); and the history of style within sociolinguistics is as old as sociolinguistics itself: "concepts linked to style have in fact been of fundamental concern to understanding language in society throughout the history of the discipline, despite a rather long interlude when, at least from the variationist perspective, it was conventional to work with a very restricted concept of style" (Coupland 2011: 141).

Sociolinguistics, as we will see in the following chapters, differs from stylistics in that it seeks to find causal relationships between stylistic variation and their social and ideological contexts (Bradford 1997: 85). That is, as Wales (2006: 213) points out, style in sociolinguistics "is seen as a variable within a continuously evolving sociolinguistic system." According to Fowler (1981: 174):

> [B]asically it is a theory of varieties, of correlations between distinctive linguistic choices and particular socio-cultural circumstances. The individual text can be described and interpreted in relation to the stylistic conventions which generate it and the historical and sociological situation which brought it into existence.

The study of the relationship between language and society through the correlation of extralinguistic factors (socio-demographic and/or contextual variables) with intralinguistic elements has therefore enabled sociolinguistics to account quantitatively for variability in language. Sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that: i) the social (and biological) characteristics of the speaker, ii) the situation of use, and iii) the linguistic environment of the variable under study are the three ingredients of (socio)linguistic variation. Accordingly, as we will see in Chapter 3, correlation of extralinguistic factors with linguistic variables has enabled sociolinguistics to detect, locate, describe, and explain the symmetry between social variation and linguistic variation in terms of *sociolinguistic variation* (see Figure 1.7). In this correlation, as Rickford and Eckert (2001: 1) stress, style enjoys a pivotal position in sociolinguistic variation, with *stylistic* variation constituting a principal component together with *linguistic* and *social* variation. Additionally, the observation of stylistic variability, for example, as Labov (1966) showed, has been crucial for the detection and understanding of phenomena such as linguistic change in progress (see 2.1.6, 3.3.3 and 3.3.4).

Nevertheless, despite its openly acknowledged centrality in sociolinguistic variation, the study of style within the variationist tradition, as Macaulay (1999) regretted, was initially marginal, receiving little attention in general terms:

> Single-speaker variation has received considerably less attention from sociolinguistics over the years than other types of variation. Methodological complications alone – i.e. how to follow a single speaker through different (and in particular informal) situations – are by no means sufficient to explain the neglect of this area of study. (Gadet 2005: 1353)
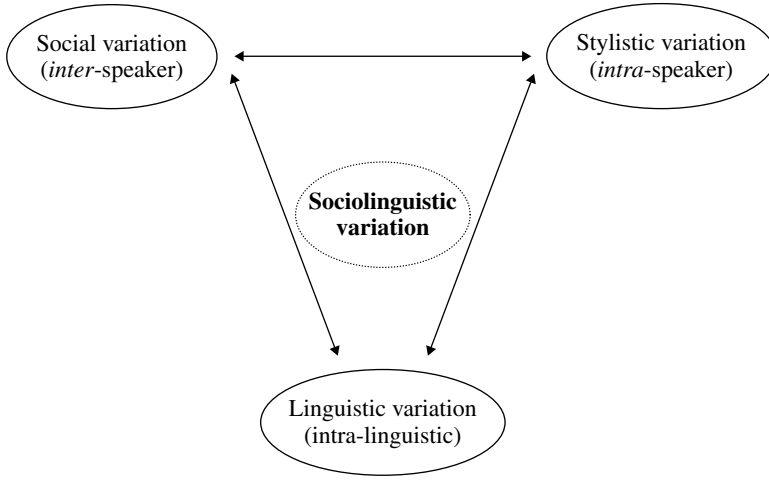
Figure 1.7   Sociolinguistic interface relating *stylistic* (or intra-speaker) variation with *linguistic* variation and *social* (or inter-speaker) variation. *Source*: Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b: 2, Figure 1).

Despite the ubiquity of intra-speaker variation, in variationist sociolinguistics style was treated as a mere independent parameter, together with social factors, in the correlational sociolinguistic study of urban communities: "[i]n the quantitative study of language variation over the past fifteen years, style is one dimension that has often been measured but seldom explained" (Bell 1984: 145). Style has traditionally been understood in a narrow sense, focusing on context and topic and only cursorily on speaker and listener. Consequently, it has been restricted to different varieties of language produced by different degrees of formality in particular situations and with particular interlocutors (see Chapter 2). This allowed a distinction between *inter*speaker (social) and *intra*speaker (stylistic) variation (Figure 1.8)[12], based on Halliday (1978): "[t]he social dimension denotes differences between the speech of different speakers, and the stylistic denotes differences within the speech of a single speaker" (Bell 1984: 145).

As explained in 4.3.5, *inter*-speaker variation alludes to social differences between groups of speakers reflected in their speech: "[t]he range of variation for particular sociolinguistic variables across the different speakers" (Bell 2007a: 90). Different empirical studies carried out in linguistically different and geographically distant urban centers all over the world have demonstrated the crucial influence of socio-demographic and biological factors on the way people speak in social interaction, as well as the existence of sociolinguistic patterns in speech behavior (see also 3.1): factors such as social class, sex, age, social networks, mobility, ethnicity, race, and social ambition interact, producing outcomes such as sociolects, genderlects, chronolects, and ethnolects. On the other hand, *intra*-speaker variation alludes to stylistic differences in a single speaker reflected in their speech: "[t]he range of variation for particular sociolinguistic variables produced by individual speakers within their own speech" (Bell 2007a: 90; see also Tannen 1984/2005).

More recently, interest in stylistic variation has gone beyond its initial status as a mere independent correlational parameter and focuses on explaining its nature, mechanisms and, especially, motivations at more semiotic and performative levels, allowing the distinction established by Bell (2014) between *micro* and *macro* approaches to style in sociolinguistics.
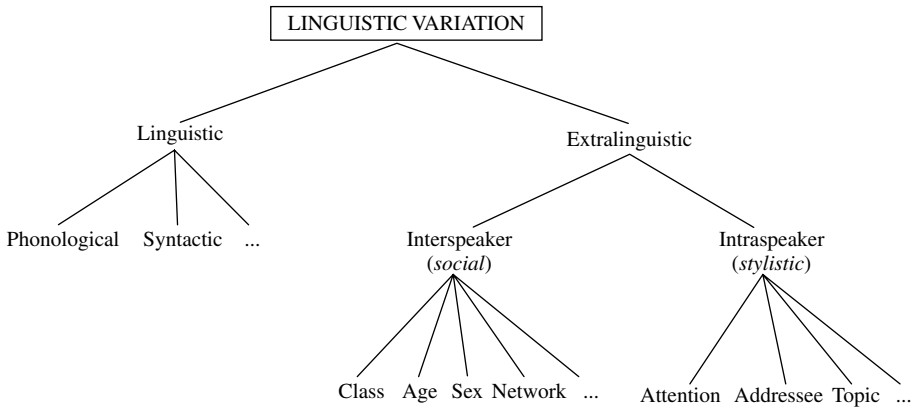
Figure 1.8   Linguistic variation in sociolinguistics. *Source*: Bell (1984: 146; Figure 1).

According to Bell (2014: 294–297), the traditional micro view of style-shifting is minimalist and conceives style as part of linguistic variation, simply adopting individual tight linguistic variables whose alternating variants occur in reaction to highly specified linguistic environments and are unevenly distributed in a stylistic continuum of formality for extralinguistic reasons (see Chapter 3). The macro approach to style-shifting is maximalist both linguistically and socially, wide-ranging, and eclectic, and conceives style as proactive choice from a linguistic range that ranges from the usual variables of pronunciation through to discourse and genre patterns as well as socio-situational factors. Like physical appearance, dress, music, and posture, language is seen as a semiotic resource, where style is a crucial part of social meaning-making and the projection of difference between individuals and groups due to the symbolic significance of choice (see Chapter 6). Over the last two decades, there has been crossover between these two approaches, and style has become a key ingredient of variationist sociolinguistic research:

> .… in the past decade or more there has been an increasing and fruitful crossover between the two. Variationist analysis has been extended to a wide range of stylistic material, and richer social concepts have been applied to all kinds of language. When I began research on style in the 1970s, I could justifiably label it "the neglected dimension". Now style is at the centre of sociolinguistic theorization and method … (Bell 2014: 297)

The following chapters deal with the shift from reactive (responsive) to proactive (initiative) accounts for style-shifting, where speakers' agency in society emerges as a crucial role for social meaning-making and positioning.

Notes

1   Ancient sources do not agree about who was the inventor of rhetorical theory: some argue it was Empedocles – a sixth-century philosopher, poet, and magician – while others maintain that it was Corax of Syracuse and Tisias – two fifth-century Sicilian rhetoricians who wrote a handbook of rhetoric.

2 "The Older Sophists taught by example rather than precept. That is, they prepared and delivered specimen speeches for their students to imitate. Some may have prepared lists of sample arguments, later called topics, that could be inserted into any speech for which they were appropriate. Such collections, if they existed, would have been called arts *(technai)* of rhetoric; that is, they would have been the rhetoric textbooks of the day. The Greek word for art, *techne*, means roughly 'knowledge generalized from experience', and so an 'art' of rhetoric could consist of a set of examples, instructions, or even principles that had been collected for the use of students by rhetors and teachers of rhetoric" (Crowley and Hawhee 2004: 10).

3 In literature the grand style was regarded as suitable for epic and tragedy, the middle style for didactic poetry, and the low style for comedy and pastoral poetry, as in Virgil's works, and in correlation with social divisions or ranks: the epic characterizes *Aeneid* (warriors), the didactic *Georgics* (peasants), and the pastoral *Eclogues* (shepherds) (Verdonk 2006: 205).

4 The *Trivium* was the medieval liberal arts education based upon grammar, logic, and rhetoric that was preparatory to the *Quadrivium* (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music). The Trivium and Quadrivium together constituted the seven liberal arts of classical study.

5 Aristotle and Kennedy (1991).

6 Consubstantial to the concept and function of style are the properties of expressiveness and emotiveness: "[a]ll stylistic devices belong to expressive means but not all expressive means are stylistic devices. Phonetic phenomena such as vocal pitch, pauses, logical stress, and drawling, or staccato pronunciation are all expressive without being stylistic devices" (Znamenskaya 2004: 34). Morphological forms like diminutive suffixes (*girlie, piggy, doggy*), grammatical forms (*do sit down!*), and lexical intensifiers (*awfully, terribly*) may also have an expressive effect. Stylistic devices are figures of speech and thought (figurative language) design to achieve a particular effect.

7 Style is "a set of characteristics by which we distinguish one author from another or members of one subclass from members of other subclasses, all of which are members of the same general class" (Galperin 1977/1981: 12). It follows then that the individual style of a speaker or writer is marked by its uniqueness: "individual style, therefore, is a unique combination of language units, expressive means and stylistic devices peculiar to a given writer, which makes that writer's works or even utterances easily recognizable" (Galperin 1977/1981: 17). This is related to the concept of authenticity (see 6.2.5).

8 Although not all deviations from the norm result in expressiveness, as an incorrectly deviated linguistic license may lead to absurdity or nonsense (Znamenskaya 2004: 88).

9 See Garvin (1964) and van Peer (1986).

10 "Riffaterre coined the term 'Superpoem' to account for the immensely complex phenomena disclosed by the work of Jakobson, Levin, and other linguist-critics, and he invented the notion of a 'Superreader' to account for a putative and very unreal presence who is capable of accommodating these effects simultaneously, along with an *ex cathedra* knowledge of who the poet is, and how this particular poem relates to work by the same poet and by other writers" (Bradford 1997: 44). The "average reader" appears as the sum of the individual reactions to a given stimulus (R. Monroy, personal communication).

11 The International Office for Standardization (ISO) defined standard ISO 12620 on Data Category Registry to register an ontology of descriptive linguistic terms (GOLD: General Ontology for Linguistic Description, http://linguistics-ontology.org/), started by Farrar and Langendoen (2003), where eleven styles (or registers) were identified: bench-level, dialect, facetious, formal, in-house, ironic, neutral, slang, taboo, technical, and vulgar (http://www.isocat.org/rest/dc/1988).

12 According to Labov (2001b: 87, footnote 2), Gumperz's (1964) original term for inter-speaker variation was *metaphorical shifting*, as opposed to *transactional shifting*. Similarly, Blom and Gumperz (1972) differentiated between *situational* and *metaphorical* switching to describe responsive and initiative style practices respectively (see also 4.3.8).

2

The Nature of Style

2.1.   The Linguistic Meaning of Style: Resources and Mechanisms

Variation in the speech production of the individual is uncontroversially admitted as an integral part of sociolinguistic studies. Intra-speaker variation entails attunements in the characteristics of speakers' language use as part of their sociolinguistic behavior in interactional situations. While everybody would agree that stylistic variation is a phenomenon conditioned by extra-linguistic factors (cognitive, socio-situational, and personal), the resources and mechanisms for reflecting its presence in language production and effective social meaning have been associated with a range of linguistic constructs in the attempt to account for its nature and functioning. Style has thus chiefly been equated with *diaphasic variation*, and related to *dialect*, *register*, *genre*, or *repertoire*.

2.1.1.   *Style, Register and Diaphasic Variation*

Both *style* and *register* have been used interchangeably along with diaphasic variation to refer to particular ways of language use in particular socio-situational contexts: "global language varieties associated with different occasions of use" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 199). Hallidayan linguistics uses the term "register" for this type of socio-situational variation (see 5.4), taking "style" to be an aesthetic option with no functional value in the communicative process (Halliday 1975; see also Biber 1995, 2006; Biber and Conrad 2009; Crystal and Davy 1969; Ellis and Ure 1969; Finegan and Biber 2001; Ghadessy 1988; Gregory and Carroll 1978). In contrast, Labovian sociolinguistics uses the term "style" to refer to socio-situational varieties, restricting "registers" to occupational ones (see 2.1.2 and 2.1.4; also Bell 1982a, 1984; Coupland 1980, 2007; Dittmar 1995, 2004; Ferguson 1994; Labov 1966, 1972a; Spiller 2004; Trudgill 1972, 1974; among many others).

Following Flydal (1952), when dealing with the architecture and structure of languages Coseriu (1969: 149; 1970: 32) proposed a typology of linguistic variation: diaphasic, diastratic,

diatopic, and diachronic (Spiller 2004: 207). Diaphasic variation refers to intra-speaker variation according to the communicative setting, yielding different styles, or registers. Diastratic variation is inter-speaker variation according to the socio-demographic and/or biological characteristics of the speaker in different social groups, giving rise to sociolects. The diatopic dimension is associated with geographical variation in the form of geolects or dialects. Finally, diachronic variation refers to the different historical stages within the evolution of a language (see Table 2.1).

Adopting the *diachronic–synchronic* dichotomy from Saussure (1916) to differentiate longitudinal and cross-sectional stages of a language and Flydal's (1952) dichotomies of *diastratic–synstratic* and *diatopic–syntopic*, Coseriu (1969) added the *diaphasic–symphasic* distinction as a fourth dichotomy to refer to dimensions of descriptive and comparative approaches to language styles.

Similarly, in the spirit of Firth (1935, 1957a, 1957b) and Malinowski's (1923) context of situation at the London School, the Hallidayan social theory of language, further developed by Gregory and Carroll (1978), views language as sets of meaning resources that are selected for use in particular social contexts and situations. Gregory and Carroll (1978: 2) are concerned with "the mutual relationships that can be seen to exist between different human social situations and different varieties of a language." They developed a framework for actual occurrences of language ("language events") permeated by three crucial aspects (see also Gregory 1967): i) the physical form in which communication is transmitted (substantial), ii) its meaningful internal patterns (formal), and iii) its embedding in human social experience (situational). A language variety is, as a result, a "a sub-set of formal and/or substantial features which correlates regularly with a particular type of socio-situational feature" (Catford 1965: 84). They distinguish between dialectal and diatypic varieties (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3). Dialects are the linguistic reflection of reasonably permanent characteristics of the *user* in language situations: temporal, geographical or social provenance, range of intelligibility, and user's individuality. Diatypic varieties are related to the role being played by the user in the language event, and refer to the linguistic reflection of recurrent characteristics of user's *use* of language in situations. Based on Halliday's (1975, 1978) theory of language variation, *field*, *mode*, and *tenor* are the crucial variables at the stake in the context of language events:

i)   Fields of discourse correlate with the substantial aspect (topic, subject matter: the consequence of users' purposive role and the kind of experience they are verbalizing);

ii)   Modes of discourse correspond with the formal aspect (speech/writing: the linguistic reflection of the relationship between language user and the medium of transmission); and

Table 2.1   Typology of variation within the architecture of language according to Coseriu (1969).

Variation		Conceptualization
comparative (longitudinal)	descriptive (cross-sectional)	
diachronic	*synchronic*	*historical stages*
diatopic	*syntopic*	*geolects/dialects*
diastratic	*synstratic*	*sociolects*
diaphasic	*symphasic*	*styles/registers*

Table 2.2 Categories of dialectal variety differentiation (adapted from Gregory and Carroll 1978: 10; Table 1).

	Situational Categories	Contextual Categories	Varieties (Descriptive Contextual Categories)	
User's	Individuality	Idiolect	Mr X's English Miss Y's English	Dialectal varieties: the linguistic reflection of reasonably permanent characteristics of the *user* in language situations
	Temporal provenance	Temporal dialect	Old English, Modern English	
	Geographical provenance	Geographical dialect	British English, American English	
	Social provenance	Social dialect	Upper Class English Middle Class English	
	Range of intelligibility	Standard dialect Non-standard dialect	Standard English Non-standard English	

Table 2.3 Categories of diatypic variety differentiation (adapted from Gregory and Carroll 1978: 10; Table 2).

	Situational Categories	Contextual Categories		Varieties (Descriptive Contextual Categories)	
User's	Purposive role	Field of discourse		Technical English Non-technical English	Diatypic varieties: the linguistic reflection of recurrent characteristics of user's *use* of language in situations
	Medium relationship	Mode of discourse		Spoken English Written English	
	Addressee relationship	Tenor of discourse	Personal tenor	Formal English Informal English	
			Functional tenor	Didactic English Non-didactic English	

iii) Tenors of discourse are related to the situational conditions (formal/informal), the extra-linguistic reality, and refer to the relationship between user and audience, reflecting how addresser and addressee interact, since they "result from the mutual relations between the language used and the relationships among participants in the language event" (Gregory and Carroll 1978: 8).

As a result, a user's individuality, temporal, geographical or social provenance, range of intelligibility, purposive role, medium relationships, and personal and functional addressee relationships are general situational categories that characterize language events.

Complementarily, idiolect, temporal, geographical, social, standard and non-standard dialects, field, mode, and personal and functional tenors of discourse are general contextual categories characterizing language events (Gregory and Carroll 1978: 8–9).

According to Ferguson (1994: 20), register variation in sociolinguistics is a communication situation that recurs regularly in a society (in terms of participants, setting, communicative functions, etc.) with developed identifying markers of language structure differentiated from other communication situations. More recently, with the application of Silverstein's (1975/1995, 1993, 2003) notion of "indexical meaning" to language production varieties (see 6.2.1), registers (and styles) appear as "cultural models of action that link diverse behavioral signs to enactable effects, including images of persona, interpersonal relationship, and type of conduct" (Agha 2006: 145; see also Johnstone 2014).

2.1.2.   *Style, Dialect and Accent*

As Britain (2004: 272) states, the concept of "dialect" and its phenomenological nature is controversial, since it is "a battleground for terminological dispute, on a number of fronts, and from a number of differing sociolinguistic traditions": regional dialect (geolect), patois, social dialect (sociolect), or any non-standard varieties unlikely to be written or to appear in institutional settings that while lacking overt prestige, acceptability, status, or recognition at the societal level are mutually intelligible at a trans-regional level (Ammon 2004; Britain 2004; Chambers and Trudgill 1980)[1]. "Sociolect", "social dialect", "urban dialect", and "class dialect" emerged during the 1960s as an urban equivalent to the regional dialect, denoting variation associated with social class stratification (Dittmar 1997; Durrell 2004; Holmes 1992; Trudgill 2006).

Coseriu's (1970) typology seen in 2.1.1 was represented by Rona (1970, 1972, 1974) as a set of four dimensions of linguistic variation in his Sociolinguistic Axes Theory (Figure 2.1),
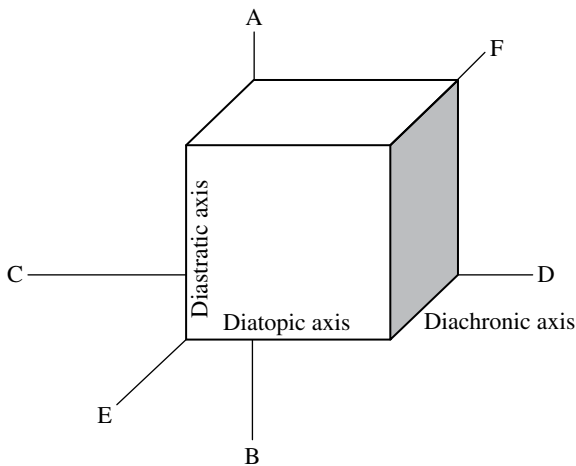
Figure 2.1   Coseriu's (1970); Rona (1970) Sociolinguistic Axes Theory: A↔B (diastratic axis: society; and diaphasic axis: style), C↔D (diatopic axis: geographical space), and E↔F (diachronic axis: time).

with which he aimed to represent an ideal diasystem, with a diaphasic (style), diastratic (society), diatopic (space), and diachronic axes (time).

Following Weinreich's (1954) conceptualization of the diasystem as an abstract system comprising several regional as well as social dialects, in Rona's structural hierarchy of varieties the multidimensional cube is a diasystem where every point represents an idiolect (see Figure 2.2).

In a synchronic, syntopic, synstratic, and symphasic description of a diasystem, idiolects are seen as approximately identical within the same area, period, stratum, and style. But in a diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, and diaphasic comparison, differences between certain major geographical areas, chronological periods, styles, and socio-cultural substrata are usually significant.

If a *lect* is a neutral technical term used to refer to a linguistic variety or linguistic code in general (Berruto 1987; Ferguson 1994), its derivations allude to socio-demographic, biological, or regional linguistic constructs. An *idiolect* is thus a variety of language used by an individual speaker, and a cluster of similar (mutually intelligible) idiolects is understood as, for example, a dialect, sociolect, ethnolect, chronolect, genderlect, basilect, mesolect, acrolect, ecolect, or technolect. Dialects invoke differences between kinds of language which are differences of vocabulary and grammar as well as pronunciation, since they denote the totality of lexical, grammatical, and phonological features characterizing them. *Accent*, however, refers to articulatory and acoustic features of language (pronunciation). Dialects, accents, styles, and registers of speech have traditionally been conceived in association with social categories and different situations of language use and user: variation according to use (style or register) and variation according to user (sociolect, geolect, etc.). As a result, if styles relate situationally defined varieties and registers to occupational ones (when not equated to styles), dialects and accents, on the other hand, constitute varieties associated with different groups of speakers. In fact, accent and dialect have usually been related to the "speaker", style to the "situation" and register to the "topic", "subject" or "activity" (Trudgill 2006) (see Table 2.4).

One of the most important findings of quantitative sociolinguistics is the statistically and socially meaningful correlation of sociolects and styles, so that the frequency of the same linguistic variants functions as a marker of both social class and situation (Romaine 1994/2000: 75). According to Durrell (2004: 203), the essence of style and sociolect is "variation according to the speech context, characteristically the degree of relative formality which can reflect the relationship between dialogue participants, the communicative situation and the purpose or subject matter." This is due to the fact that variability is inherent in human language: language is subject to variation not only geographically or according to the social characteristics of the speaker but also according to the situational context in which they find themselves. A single speaker will thus use different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes through style-shifting, and the totality of linguistic
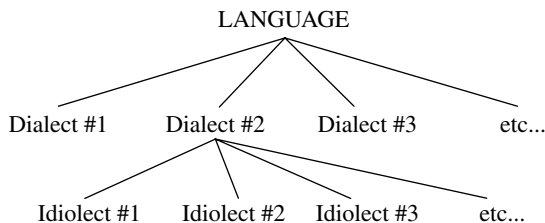
Figure 2.2 Hierarchy of institutional lects in a diasystem. *Source*: Preston, in Jaworski et al. (2004: 90, Figure 3).

Table 2.4   Varieties of language according to Halliday (1978: 35).

Dialect: dialectal variety =variety 'according to the *user*'	**Register**: diatypic variety =variety 'according to the *use*'
A dialect is: What you speak (habitually) determined by who you are (socio-region of origin and/or adoption), and expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy)	A register is: What you are speaking (at the time) determined by what you are doing (nature of social activity being engaged in), and expressing diversity of social process (social division of labor)
So in principle dialects are: Different ways of saying the same thing and tend to differ in: phonetics, phonology, lexico-grammar (but not in semantics)	So in principle registers are: Ways of saying different things and tend to differ in: semantics (and hence in lexico-grammar, and sometimes phonology, as realization of this)
Extreme cases: Antilanguages, mother-in-law languages	Extreme cases: restricted languages, languages for special purposes
Typical instances: Subcultural varieties (standard/non-standard)	Typical instances: Occupational varieties (technical, semitechnical)
Principal controlling variables: Social class, caste; provenance (rural/urban); generation; age; sex	Principal controlling variables: Field (type of social action); tenor (role relationships); mode (symbolic organization)
Characterized by: Strongly-held attitudes towards dialects as symbol of social diversity	Characterized by: Major distinction of spoken/written; language in action/language in reflection

Source: Dittmar (2004: 219, Table 1).

codes used in this way by a particular community of speakers is called *verbal repertoire* (Trudgill 1983a: 100; see also Gal 1987; Pütz 2004); that is, the range of linguistic codes – different languages or different varieties of the same language – that speakers have at their disposal (Bell 2014: 294). As we will see in 3.3.2 and 3.3.3, the social groups within the speech community tend to exhibit different socio-stylistic differentiation, constraining their range of variability and verbal repertoire (see also Bernstein 1966, 1971, 1973, 1975; Trudgill 1975a, 1975b, 1983a).

Therefore, style (variety defined according to *use*) and dialect (variety defined according to *user*) are closely connected. The standard variety is as much a dialect as any other non-standard variety (Ammon 2004; Clyne 2004; Trudgill 2006); but standardness is often related to formality, as well as to adequacy and aesthetics (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Trudgill 1975a, 1983a). Dialects are used to signal social and stylistic variation, usually relating the most prestigious variety (standard) to more formal contexts and those with less prestige (non-standard) to more informal contexts. This is because speech communities are regarded as pluridialectal organisms in a kind of hierarchical situation of diglossia (Ferguson 1959). In these situations, linguistic varieties are assigned a specific social function and speakers are multidialectal users who switch from one variety to another when necessary (Clyne 2004), and depending on the symmetry of their command of the linguistic varieties (verbal repertoire). In this way, a speaker can normally use different linguistic varieties, or forms, in different situations and also with different purposes. Soukup (2012) examined the negative social meanings attached to dialect use in Austria with the analysis of linguistic styles in a TV political discussion. The study of the communicative functions of speakers' switches from

the Austrian spoken standard (*Hochsprache*) into the urbanized (Bavarian-Austrian) dialect allowed her to distinguish between unintentional switches (the use of isolated dialect features is a constant in the standard) and strategic shifts, characterized by longer, continued stretches of dialectal use. Her results provided her with an account of how speakers use dialects actively and strategically like negative meta-messages in the public domain to achieve certain conversational outcomes. These meanings can be assumed to be shared by all Austrians, allowing a speaker to use the dialect strategically, particularly in juxtaposition with the standard, to create a meta-message that listeners are likely to interpret as negative (such as sarcasm or antagonism). That is not exactly the case in Norway, where there are two official standard languages that are linguistically mutually comprehensible, as a result of government activity in the field of language planning and language standardization (Haugen 1959; Strand 2012; Trudgill 1983a: 162): *Nynorsk* ("new Norwegian"), which comes from *Landsmål* ("language of the country"), and *Bokmål* ("book language"), which comes from *Riksmål* ("state language"). The former is used in the national press and as a medium of education, and the latter in the local press and local literature. All official documents are written in both standards; children have to learn and write in both, and both are widely used in radio and television. Even the standard to be used in public notices and in school districts is decided democratically. Strand (2012) studied dialect use in the Norwegian media. No formal standard exists for spoken language, and Norwegians are officially encouraged to use their native, local dialects in all speech, regardless of the formality of the occasion. Thus Norwegians may choose to use very non-standard varieties even when speaking publicly, a situation that is constantly reflected in national television and radio broadcasts, including news reporting and political debates. Moreover, while the beliefs and values associated with local and regional dialects in Norway have shifted continuously since the initiation of language planning in the mid-nineteenth century, the persistence of radically divergent dialects throughout the country has remained central to the ongoing political-linguistic debate. Using examples from a wide variety of national radio and television programs, Strand (2012) demonstrated the extent to which dialect use occurs and is accepted, as well as the ways in which some speakers are able to shift between more and less formal or standard styles, while still "speaking dialect", which is a highly ideologized endeavor in Norway's public forums.

2.1.3. Style and Genre

The association of style with genre dates back to Aristotle's *Poetics* in Ancient Greek rhetoric (see 1.1.1). The rhetorical settings in which speeches occur, the type of audience, and the corresponding rhetorical purposes for which they are made (activity) required three different types or genres of civic rhetoric as appropriate means of persuasion: deliberative, epideictic, and forensic: the ancestors of modern expository, descriptive, and legal respectively. In Ancient Roman oratory, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* treatise also emphasized the role of the rhetorical setting and genre in the choice of style and stylistic devices to be used during the *elocution*, giving rise to three levels of style: grand, middle, and low (see 1.1.2). Later, as Threadgold (2001: 235) points out, genre became related to literary studies and pedagogies of literacy (the teaching of reading and writing). According to Ferguson (1994: 17), genre analysis and genre theory then became the focus of literary research until the 1970s, when it began to be used in the sense of discourse types for both literary and non-literary language production, as in Bakhtin (1953/1986), Ferguson (1976), Fowler (1982), and Todorov (1978) (see also 1.2).

Table 2.5 Defining characteristics of registers, genres, and styles.

Defining characteristic	Register	Genre	Style
Textual focus	Sample of text excerpts	Complete texts	Sample of text excerpts
Linguistic characteristics	Any lexico-grammatical feature	Specialized expressions, rhetorical organization, formatting	Any lexico-grammatical feature
Distribution of linguistic characteristics	Frequent and pervasive in texts from the variety	Usually once-occurring in the text, in a particular place in the text	Frequent and pervasive in texts from the variety
Interpretation	Features serve important communicative functions in the register	Features are conventionally associated with the genre: the expected format, but often not functional	Features are not directly functional; they are preferred because they are aesthetically valued

Source: Biber and Conrad (2009: 16, Table 1.1).

Genre variation in sociolinguistics is conceived as conventionalized message-forms: a genre appears as a message type that recurs regularly in a community – in terms of semantic content, participants, occasions of use, and so on – with a developed identifying internal structure differentiated from other message types in the repertoire of the community (Ferguson 1994: 21). Such message types include the legal form of a power–of–attorney document, a notarial deed, the psalm-form of religious poetry, and primary school riddles, as well as the traditional literary epic, lyric, drama and subsequent subgenres (see also Biber 1995: 7–10; Devitt 1989b, 2004). Couture (1986: 80) defined genre as "conventional instances of organised text." When establishing the difference between register, genre, and style, Biber and Conrad (2009: 16) view them as different approaches to the same text, rather than as different kinds of texts or different varieties. The three perspectives are based on: i) the texts considered for the analysis (textual focus); ii) the linguistic characteristics considered for the analysis, iii) the distribution of those linguistic characteristics; and iv) the interpretation of linguistic differences (see Table 2.5).

Similarly, natural narratives relate a series of events, either real or fictional, in an orderly manner, with cohesion and coherence, as a recapitulation of past experience. Their pattern and recurring categories provide us with an account of how people encode information about the world on a personal level in a conventionalized way like any other genre. According to Threadgold (2001: 237), the work of Labov (1972c) on narratives of everyday personal experience, for example, offers "a thoroughly Aristotelian schema for the episodic structure of conventional narrative." By observing face-to-face storytelling as part of the everyday discourse practices of real speakers from many different backgrounds in real social contexts, Labov (1972c: 359–360) managed to isolate recurring narrative features, identifying six basic elements as natural story patterns (see Table 2.6):

1. Abstract: what, in a nutshell, is this story about?
2. Orientation: who, when, where, what?
3. Complicating action (then what happened?)
4. Evaluation: so what, how is this interesting?

Table 2.6 Labov's model of natural narrative.

Narrative category	Narrative question	Narrative function	Linguistic form
ABSTRACT	What was this about?	Signals that the story is about to begin and draws attention from the listener.	A short summarizing statement, provided before the narrative commences.
ORIENTATION	Who or what are involved in the story, and when and where did it take place?	Helps the listener to identify the time, place, persons, activity and situation of the story.	Characterized by past continuous verbs; and Adjuncts of time, manner and place.
COMPLICATING ACTION	Then what happened?	The core narrative category providing the 'what happened' element of the story.	Temporally ordered narrative clauses with a verb in the simple past or present.
RESOLUTION	What finally happened?	Recapitulates the final key event of a story.	Expressed as the last of the narrative clauses that began the Complicating Action.
EVALUATION	So what?	Functions to make the point of the story clear.	Includes: intensifiers; modal verbs; negatives; repetition; evaluative commentary; embedded speech; comparisons with unrealized events.
CODA	How does it all end?	Signals that a story has ended and brings listener back to the point at which s/he entered the narrative.	Often a generalized statement which is 'timeless' in feel.

Source: Simpson (2014: 123, Table C5.1).

5. Result or resolution: what finally happened?
6. Coda: that is, the end of the story, the speaker has finished and is "bridging" back to the present speaker-addressee situation.

The regular sequencing of obligatory and optional parts constitutes the generic structure of the narrative text (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Thornborrow and Coates 2005; Toolan 1988, 2001).

2.1.4. *Style, Register, Slang, Cant and Jargon*

Although, as seen in 2.1.1, *style* and *register* are often used indiscriminately to refer to particular ways of using language in particular socio-situational contexts, the latter is more generally restricted to specialist occupational vocabulary, which might commonly be called *jargon* (Biber 1995: 7–10; Downes 2001; Hudson 1978; Mühlhausler 2001): "[r]egisters are sets of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups" (Wardhaugh 1986/2010: 48; see also Hudson 1978; Trudgill 2006). Register is a technical term from

linguistics referring to a variety of language, generally lexical, associated with particular topics, subject matter, or activities, such as the registers of football, linguistics, mining industry, law, medicine, or aviation, also known as "sublanguages" (Biber 1995: 9 and 15–18). Football players use words like *header* for that member of the team who hits the ball with the head; linguists use words like *lexical item* or *lexeme* to refer to a "word"; miners use *goaf* for the work–out part of the mine; lawyers use *heretofore* and *hereinafter* to mean "until now" and "from this point onwards" respectively; doctors use the word *clavicle* instead of "collar-bone", and so on (Andersson and Trudgill 1990: 171; Trudgill 2006: 121). In fact, quoting Hudson (1980/1996: 46), "your dialect shows who (or what) you *are*, whilst your register shows what you are *doing*." For Irvine (2001), style is a superordinate category that denotes linguistic information and connotes non–linguistic information as well as distinctions in general, whereas register is restricted to relatively stable varieties, normally professional ones, within the larger category.

But the concept of *register* must not be confused with that of *slang*, which refers to socially-sensitive words and expressions associated with unofficial, peripheral, or illegal activities (Andersson and Trudgill 1990: 77). *Slang, cant, jargon*, and *argot*, with some conceptual overlapping, are terms referring to anti–language (Chilton 2001; Eble 2004; Halliday 1978) that have been, and still are, in fact, regarded as inferior. As Eble (2004: 264) points out, the label "slang" tends to be applied to language usually perceived as inappropriately informal or socially objectionable. In fact, the effects of its use are informality, identity, and opposition to convention or authority[2]. For example, the English words "polluted", "smashed", and "wasted" are slang equivalents for "drunk", conveying informality and flippancy but also camaraderie (see also Galperin 1977/1981; Maltzev 1984). Despite its evolution, according to Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 67–89) the term "slang" was originally used by British criminals to refer to their own special language (see also Allen 2001); it thus referred to the specialized vocabulary of underworld groups used as an unstated requirement of group membership, being constantly changing; any inability to master the slang could easily result in discomfort or estrangement (Eble 2004: 263). "Cant" was the word used by the outside world and is still used as a term for the language of criminals, gypsies, vagabonds, or ped-dlers; "argot" is a French term also alluding, like cant, to the language of criminals, while "jargon" refers to the insider's specialized register as viewed by the outsider – its technical term in the linguistic sciences would be *register*[3].

Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 67–89) characterize "slang" in its current sense as follows:

i)   Slang is language use below the neutral stylistic level, where the stylistic continuum ranges from colloquial to vulgar and obscene; and therefore
ii)   Slang is typical of informal situations, like swearing;
iii)   Slang is typical of spoken language;
iv)   Slang is found in words, but not in grammar: it implies variation in the choice of words but not grammar or pronunciation – English is a language but slang is not;
v)   Slang is not a dialect: stylistic variation, including the use of slang, can take place within dialects, and what is slang may vary from place to place, and dialect to dialect;
vi)   Slang is not swearing;
vii)   Slang is not register, though it may contain slang, in so far as the specialized vocabulary is informal;
viii)   Slang is not cant, argot or jargon;
ix)   Slang is creative, makes speech vivid, colorful and linguistically interesting;

x) Slang is often short-lived, in the sense that it is fashionable and therefore temporary (generational);

xi) Slang is often conscious, in the sense that we choose slang words with the intention of being, for instance, startling, amusing, or shocking;

xii) Slang is group-related, maintaining cohesion between members and in-group relations and acting as a wall between them and outsiders;

xiii) Slang is ancient, not a new phenomenon at all: Aristophanes (c. 446–386 BC) is usually said to have been the first writer who used slang extensively.

Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 86) suggested that there are three main ways in which language acquires slang terms: i) new expressions are invented, such as *yuppie* ("young, upwardly mobile professional") or *on the hill* ("pregnant"); ii) old standard language expressions appear in new uses, such as *fox* ("girl"), *stoned/high* ("intoxicated"), *yob* ("boy"), or *fan* ("fanatic"); and iii) expressions are borrowed from one language by another, such as *nark* ("police informer"; from Romany *nak*, "nose"). After a period of being in vogue, slang words become stylistically neutral and lose their slangy connotations. Figure 2.3 is a diagram that shows how words circulate in the language.
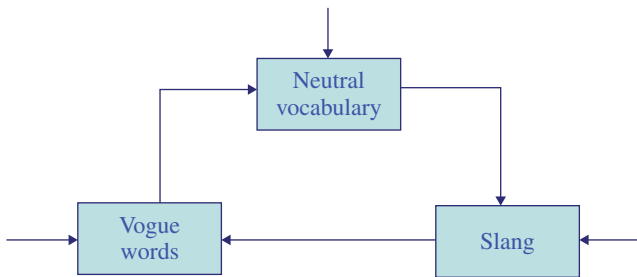
Figure 2.3   Origin and development of slang. *Source*: Anderson and Trudgill (1990: 82).

2.1.5.   *Stylistic Devices*

Figures of speech (*figurae verborum*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiarum*) have since ancient Greece and Rome been traditionally assumed to be the rhetorical devices that enhance speaking or writing as stylistic elements of display: i) figures of speech, such as tropes to change ordinary meaning (simile, metaphor, metonymy, oxymoron, hyperbole, irony, and litotes) and schemes arranging linguistic patterns to intensify or enhance meaning without actually changing it (repetition, chiasmus, antithesis, and zeugma); and ii) figures of thought, with a pragmatic function in the presentation of the argument to the audience, such as rhetorical questions, apostrophe, amplification, and antithesis (for detailed typologies see Galperin 1977/1981; Maltzev 1984; Wales 1990/2001; Znamenskaya 2004).

    More recently, style-shifting has been shown to have effects of its own in the transmission of social meaning and positioning. Style-shifting is realized through the range of linguistic resources and mechanisms which are present in language varieties and thus available to speakers: "a clustering of linguistic resources, and an association of that clustering with social meaning" (Eckert 2001: 123). As seen in Section 2.1, style-shifting appears to overlap

with or to be disguised under the form of accents, dialects, registers, genres, and repertoires, very like a functionally rule-governed code-switching process (Auer 1998; Lüdi 2004; Treffers-Daller 2005). Code-switching research in multilingual communities and style-shifting research in monolingual communities, according to Swann (1996, 2000), share an interest in "the language use of individual speakers and how this is associated with certain aspects of speaker identities, and the contexts in which conversations take place" (2000: 177). Swann (1996, 2000) and Bell (2014) view the similar mechanisms operating in code-switching and style-shifting in terms of choices made by bilingual or bidialectal/biaccentual speakers, respectively (see also Lüdi 2005): "[l]inguistic style is the monolingual counterpart of the bilingual's choice between languages" (Bell 2014: 294), as, in both cases, individuals draw on features from several varieties, each associated with different social groups and different sets of extralinguistic values: that is, each has its own indexed social meaning. Like code-switching, style-shifting relies upon the speaker's sometimes creative language choices, since they may use different language varieties strategically as a means of negotiating, maintaining or even redefining communicative contexts and sets of social relationships (Swann 2009: 180). Myers-Scotton's (1998) Markedness Model for code-switching, for example, as Schilling-Estes (2002a) states, "in many ways parallels current variationist approaches to stylistic variation, particularly in its emphasis on speakers' active use of stylistic resources to help shape their surroundings and social relations."

Meyerhoff (2006: 37) differentiates between formal linguistics and foundational variationist linguistics in terms of the presence of inherent variability and the availability of different grammars for stylistic variation:

> Attention to speech postulates a single grammar, of which the variation is an integral component: this is the notion of inherent variability. This highlights a fundamental difference between variationist sociolinguists and formal linguists. Sociolinguists consider intraspeaker variation to be evidence of inherent variability in a communal grammar. Formal linguists generally prefer to explain intraspeaker variation in terms of alternations between different grammars (akin to a bilingual speaker alternating between languages).

Drawing on Hymes (1974b), Coupland (2001a: 189–190) makes a distinction between "dialect style" and "ways of speaking", where semiotic variation and referential/ideational meaning are crucially relevant factors:

> Dialect styles and ways of speaking are therefore distinguished in that, with dialect style, we are considering semiotic variants that do not themselves distinguish referential (or "ideational" in the Hallidayan sense) meanings, although they may of course "colour" these meanings in socially important ways. Ways of speaking are by definition patterns of ideational selection.

According to Schilling-Estes (2002a: 375; 2008), intra-speaker variation can be of two main types:

1. *Cross-dialectal style-shifting*, where stylistic variation may involve shifts in usage levels for features associated with: i) particular groups of speakers (dialect-based variation, such as postvocalic *r*-full vs. *r*-less speech in American English or postvocalic *s*-full vs. *s*-less in Southern Peninsular Spanish); or ii) with particular situations of use (register-based variation, such as [ʔ] vs. [s] in informal vs. formal situations of British English or the presence/absence of intervocalic /d/ ([ð]) in past participles *-ado/-ido* and *-ada/-ida* in Spanish). This may result in code-switching, accommodation, hyper-correction,

hyper-dialectism, or hyper-vernacularization (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling-Estes 2010; Hernández-Campoy 2010; Trudgill 1986).

2. *Performance style-shifting*, where intra-speaker variation involve shifts into and out of entire language varieties (dialects, registers, genres, etc.), and which is highly routinized and/or performative, such as in a shift into motherese, narratives, robot talk, soapbox, legalese, sermons, AAVE by whites: "a lawyer might switch into a 'legalese' register to discuss a case with assistants, a preacher might switch into a 'sermon' genre when stepping into the pulpit on Sunday morning, or a white teenager might switch into an approximation of African-American Vernacular English to indicate affiliation with 'cool' youth culture" (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 375).

Assuming that style-shifting consists of shifts into and out of different language varieties, as well as shifts in usage levels for features associated with those varieties, according to Schilling-Estes (2002a: 376), style-shifts can be:

i) *unconscious*, involving features that people do not even realize they are using (as in short-term accommodation processes, Trudgill 1986);

ii) *deliberate*, with a conscious use of features of which the speaker and audience are very aware (Hall-Lew, Starr, and Coppock 2012; Podesva, Callier, and Jamsu 2012; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr, and Lewis 2012);

iii) *short-lived*, as in momentary shifts into a vernacular style outside the context of the formal interview (beginning, breaks, ends), speech not in direct response to questions (digressions), speech addressed to a third person, or to answer a brief phone call during a formal interview (Labov 1966/2006; Trudgill 1974);

iv) *extensive*, and even part of one's daily routine, as in the case of a Texas woman who is a regular user of the "Southern drawl" in order to make more sales with men (Johnstone 1999);

v) *long-term*, characterizing a person's individual style or a group style, as in Valley Girl talk, a stereotype associated with white (upper) middle-class young women and teens in the San Fernando Valley area of California (Bourhis and Maass 2005; Hazen 2000);

Therefore, style has traditionally been understood as a sociolinguistic process based on choice, where apparently stylistic variants are formally different but semantically equivalent ways of saying the same thing[4]: choices from the different linguistic levels (phonological, morpho-syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, and discoursal) are made as alternative ways of expressing the same content in the service of communicators' strategic purposes and depending on a number of non-linguistic factors. While bilingual speakers in multilingual contexts switch to a prestige code in order to mark formality, dialectal speakers usually switch to features from the standard repertoire for the same purpose. For this reason style has inevitably been related to dialect (and/or accent) differentiation, whose linguistic features may also show some social differentiation within speech communities due to their social awareness (Coupland 2001a: 189). But, if non-standard-speaking areas switch to the standard in style-shifting, what do standard-speaking areas switch to in similar style-shifting processes?

Stylistic features are lexical and grammatical linguistic elements (nouns, adjectives pronouns, verbs, adverbs, clauses, etc.), as well as socially marked pronunciation features, whose presence and distribution in language production function as pervasive indicators of some kind of stylistic distinction. Many studies have explored the stylistic potential of relations among linguistic features such as nominalization, passivization, prepositional

Table 2.7   Social and regional accent variation in British English: diagnostic sentence *«very few cars made it up the long hill»* (adapted from Trudgill 1990: 65).

Accent Areas	Pronunciation
South East and RP	/veri: fju: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʌp ðə lɔn ɪɫ/
East Anglia	/veri: fu: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʌp ðə lɔn hɪl/
South Midlands	/veri: fu: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʌp ðə lɔn ɪɫ/
Lower Southwest	/veri: fju: kɑ:rz me:d ɪt ʌp ðə lɔn ɪl/
Central South West	/veri: fju: kɑ:rz meɪd ɪt ʌp ðə lɔn ɪɫ/
Upper Southwest	/veri: fju: kɑ:rz meɪd ɪt ʌp ðə lɔn ɪl/
East Midlands	/veri: fu: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʊp ðə lɔn ɪl/
North East Midlands	/veri: fju: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʊp ðə lɔn ɪl/
Central Midlands	/verɪ fju: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʊp ðə lɔn ɪl/
West Midlands	/verɪ fju: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʊp ðə lɔŋ ɪl/
North West Midlands	/verɪ fju: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʊp ðə lɔŋ ɪl/
Merseyside	/veri: fju: kɑ:z meɪd ɪt ʊp ðə lɔŋ ɪl/
Humberside	/veri: fju: kɑ:z me:d ɪt ʊp ðə lɔn ɪl/
Central Lancashire	/verɪ fju: kɑ:rz me:d ɪt ʊp ðə lɔŋ ɪl/
Central North	/verɪ fju: kɑ:z me:d ɪt ʊp ðə lɔn ɪl/
Northeast	/veri: fju: kɑ:z me:d ɪt ʊp ðə lɔn hɪl/

phrases, lexical formality, attributive adjectives, and sentence length, in terms of patterns of co–occurrence and alternation (for example Blankenship 1962, 1974; Chafe 1982; Chafe and Danielewicz 1986; Chafe and Tannen 1987; Ochs 1979; Poole and Field 1976; Rushton and Young 1975; Short 2001; Tannen 1982). At a phonological level, the rich mosaic of regional accent varieties in British English, for example, together with the prestige social accent RP, constitute stylistic resources for social as well as regional meaning (Table 2.7) in communicative interaction (see also Figure 6.7).

At a lexical and grammatical level, the coexistence of English, French, and Latin in the Middle English period had linguistic consequences. Because of the diglossic character of bilingualism (French–English) and even trilingualism (Latin–French–English), and the fact that each language had different contexts of use (French in formal contexts and English in informal ones), some French lexical items were borrowed even though they shared meaning with OE native words (Bourcier 1978; Brinton and Arnovick 2006/2011; Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy 1998). Eventually, when English recovered its ground, the principle of economy imposed a semantic reorganization of vocabulary in some basic directions. One of these consequences was the development of doublets and triplets. Doublets are words coexisting in the same language with different etymological origin (and therefore different in form), which at one time meant the same but become specialized in meaning or context of usage, as in Old English *stync* (= stink/stench) – Anglo-Norman *odour* – Old French *aromat* (= aroma): originally these words meant the same, but the first was soon restricted to a bad type of smell, and the others to a good one; or the case of the English words *ox, sheep, swine, calf*, and *deer*, which refer to the animal, and the French ones *beef, mutton, pork, veal*, and *venison* respectively, which refer to the meat product. Similarly, triplets are sets of words with similar or related referents but involving a stylistic gradation ranging from less to more formal contexts of usage depending on their etymological origin, the French and particularly Latin loanwords being more formal than the Old English:

English	French	Latin
Rise	*mount*	*ascend*
Holy	*sacred*	*consecrated*
Time	*age*	*epoch*
Ask	*question*	*interrogate*
Dough	*money*	*currency*
Hubby	*husband*	*spouse*
Geezer	*old man*	*senior citizen*
Kick off	*start*	*commence*
Chat	*talk*	*converse*
Kid	*child*	*infant*
Chap	*fellow*	*associate*

This means that lexical items behave as graded style markers in sentences, enabling a stylistic continuum of formality, as in:

+Formal
He has fractured his clavicle
He has broken his clavicle
He has bust his collar-bone
–Formal

+Formal
Father was exceedingly fatigued subsequent to his extensive peregrination
Dad was very tired after his lengthy journey
The old man was bloody knackered after his long trip
–Formal

The position of the preposition within a sentence may also be a stylistic marker in English:

+Formal
I have a house with which I'm very pleased
I have a house I'm very pleased with
–Formal

and even morpho–syntactic sentence structures such as passivization:

+Formal
The enemy was defeated by English troops
English troops defeated the enemy
–Formal

At the pragmatic level of politeness rules, pronominal forms may also function as stylistic markers, as the French *tu–vous* or the Spanish *tú–usted* forms. Due to the French influence after the Norman Conquest of England (1066), the plural *y*-forms (*ye, you, your*) began to be used with a singular reference in the late thirteenth century in addition to the usual *th*-forms (*thou, thee, thy/thine*). Thus, two forms of address were available for singular number: the historically singular *th*- forms *þu, þe, þi/þin*, behaving as common marks of intimacy, tenderness, affection and somehow informality, but also of distance, on the one hand; and the historically plural *y*-forms *ye, yow, youre*, as common marks of

politeness, respect and formality, also developing additional pragmatic effects, as shown in Shakespeare's plays in Rennaisance English[5]:

HOTSPUR:	Come, wilt <u>thou</u> see me ride?
	And when I am a horsebacke, I will sweare
	I loue <u>thee</u> infinitively. But hearke (= *listen*) <u>you</u> Kate,
	I must not haue <u>you</u> henceforth, question me,
	Whether I go; nor reason whereabout
	Whether I must, I must and to conclude,
	This Euening must I leaue <u>thee</u>, gentle Kate.
	I know <u>you</u> wise, but yet no further wise
	Than Harry Percies wife. Constant <u>you</u> are,
	But yet a woman and for secrecie,
	No lady closer. For I will beleeue
	<u>Thou</u> wilt not vtter what <u>thou</u> do'st not know,
	And so farre wilt I trust <u>thee</u>, gentle Kate

HENRY IV (II.III)

QUEEN:	Hamlet, <u>thou</u> hast <u>thy</u> father much offended.
HAMLET:	Mother, <u>you</u> haue my Father much offended.
QUEEN:	Come, come, <u>you</u> answer with an idle tongue

HAMLET (III, IV)

In *Henry IV* (II.iii), Hotspur (Harry Percy) is secretly planning to join a revolt against King Henry IV, and his wife had been questioning him about his mysterious activities. Here *th-* forms were the expected forms for Hotspur to use in saying goodbye to his wife before leaving. However, Shakespeare may have used *y*-forms on purpose in the third line, when Hotspur is admonishing Kate, in an stern tone, not to question him about his errands. In *Hamlet* (III, iv), *th-* forms would be the expected forms to be used by a mother (the Queen) in addressing her son (Hamlet). But Shakespeare may have used *y*-forms on purpose in the second line when Hamlet addresses his mother, reproaching her for her recent marriage to his father's killer. The Queen is forced to shift from *th*-forms to *y*-forms, distancing herself from Hamlet by addressing him as a Queen would do with her subjects. Eventually the polite *y*-forms of address became common, possibly because: (i) their use among upper class speakers was emulated by all; and (ii) lower-class *th*-forms acquired offensive connotations and became stigmatized, and disappeared from Standard English by 1700.

Yet, as Coupland (2011: 142) points out, and as we will see in the following chapters of this book, style "is not at all a matter of alternation between semantically equivalent and semantically neutral forms under the influence of situational constraints. It is the exercising of meaningful choices through language, where those choices play a role in articulating the social situation." The remit of style extends beyond cross-dialectal and performative style-shifting in sociolinguistics and invades pragmatic areas of variation in forms of address, politeness, conversational dominance, communicative key, and self-disclosiveness, as well as lexical/syntactic formality and figures of speech and thought in stylistics and rhetoric (Coupland 2001a: 189). After all, as Trudgill (2002: 161) suggested, following Giles (1973), speakers are not "sociolinguistic automata" who, like robots, "respond blindly to the particular degree of formality of a particular social situation. On the contrary, speakers are able to influence and change the degree of formality of a social situation by manipulation of stylistic choice."

2.1.6.   *Style and the Study of Language Change*

The phenomenon of language variation and change is one of the two sides of the sociolinguistic coin – the other being linguistic diversity – and has constituted the *raison d'être* for many generations of scholars since the beginning of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, and earlier in historical linguistics. Given the omnipresence of stylistic variation in language production, the analysis of linguistic patterns across styles is of paramount importance for both the linguistic description of languages and the development of cross-linguistic theories of use (Biber 1995: 5). After all, linguistic change interacts in complex ways with changing patterns of stylistic variation, since the stylistic range of a given language is one of the mechanisms most sensitive sociolinguistic to social change (Ure 1982: 7). As a result, according to Hymes (1984: 44), intra-speaker variation should be a major focus of research within linguistics.

The observation of stylistic variability, according to Traugott (2001), is crucial to the detection and understanding of phenomena such as linguistic change in progress. Labov's (1966) work was a pioneer in such observation, and was followed by many others (such as Devitt 1989a, 1989b; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 1999; Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano 2003; Kyto 1986, 1991; Kyto and Rissanen 1983; Nevalainen 1986; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1989, 1996, 1998, 2003; Rissanen 1986; Romaine 1980b, 1982b). Labov's study (1966) of the increasing presence of postvocalic /r/ in New York department stores (see 3.1.2) showed that a change was in progress, entering the local community through most formal contexts and most prestigious groups first. After the Second World War *r*-pronunciation became prestigious and its frequency increased in the speech of the Upper Middle Class (UMC). According to Labov's *cross-over pattern*, "the second highest status group will normally show a greater slope style-shifting than others […] When change is in progress, this may actually reverse social stratification for the most extreme styles. This consideration applies to both the socioeconomic and gender axes of social differentiation" (Labov 2001b: 86). His research on the UMC informants' evaluation of *r*-pronunciation showed a sharp increase in the favorable evaluation of *r*-pronunciation for speakers aged under forty, and that the younger the speakers, the more they use non-prevocalic /r/ (Table 2.8).

There was, as Labov (2001b: 86) states, some stylistic evolution present, since "[s]tyle-shifting is not found in the earliest stages of linguistic change, but becomes stronger as the change matures and is maximized if the feature is assigned prestige or social stigma as the change reaches completion."

By analyzing the relative frequency of forms such as *wh*-relative clause markers in Scottish English across styles from different historical periods using a socio-historical approach, Romaine (1980b, 1982b, 1988) also showed how structural changes enter a language through particular styles first and subsequently evolve at different rates

Table 2.8   Labov's results on attitudes towards and use of non-prevocalic /r/: Upper Middle Class speakers (UMC) in New York City.

age	% *r*-positive informants	% /r/ used
8–19	100	48
20–39	100	34
40+	62	9

Source: Trudgill (1983a: 22).

through different styles: the implementation of the standard variety progresses from
formal to informal styles over time, so that the greater the frequency of standard forms
in informal/familiar styles, the greater the degree of standardization. She found that
wh-relative clause markers first entered the linguistic system in the most complex
literary styles. Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (1999) studied the social diffu-
sion of some linguistic innovations, such as the incipient standard English spellings
<sh>, <wh>, and <u>, in private correspondence in fifteenth-century England, and
observed similar patterns of stylistic diffusion. The comparison of the use of standard
variants in formal writing by William Paston I between 1425 and 1430 and those used in
informal letters by his grandson John Paston II in the 1470s exhibited a noticeable step
in the diffusion of the London standard spelling: the incidence of the formal style in the
1420s (79%) was similar to that of the familiar tone used about 50 years later (73%) in
the 1470s (see Figures 2.4–2.5).
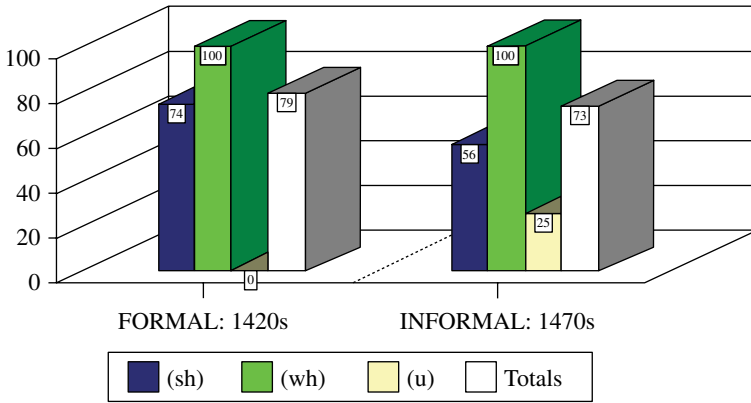
Figure 2.4   Percentages of usage of standard forms by style: Pastons. *Source*: Hernández-Campoy
and Conde-Silvestre (1999: 262, Figure 3).
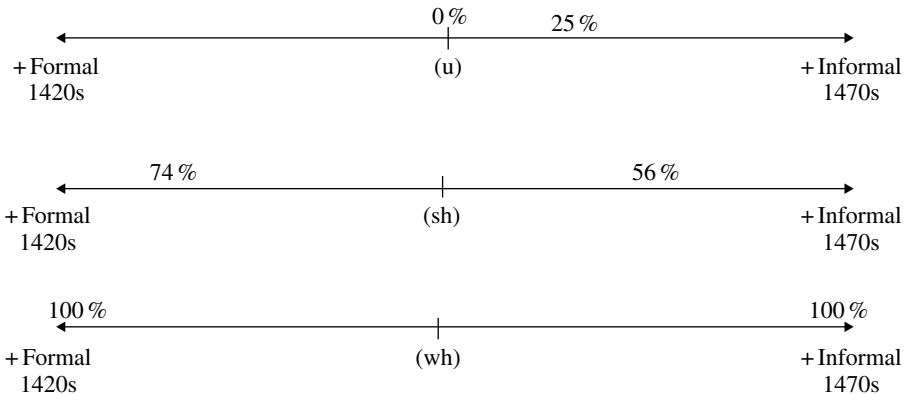
Figure 2.5   Process of diffusion of the Chancery standard forms in the Pastons. *Source*: Hernández-
Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (1999: 264, Figure 6).
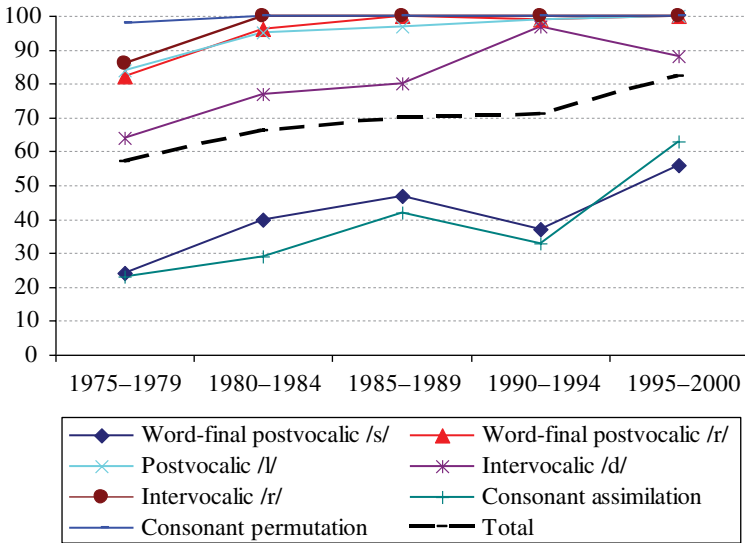
Figure 2.6 Diachronic progression of the process of standardization of Castilian Spanish by variable and informant (Group 1: male politicians). Percentages of usage of standard variants (Castilian Spanish forms), ranging from 100% standard to 0% non-standard. *Source*: Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano (2003: 335, Figure 3).

In their study of the processes of expansion of standard Castilian Spanish in Murcia, Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano (2003) found that linguistic change was entering the local non-standard speaking speech community initially in formal contexts. There was a general tendency for the individual variables to converge on standard Castilian Spanish, although to different degrees, since the adoption of standard forms was diachronically more accelerated in the prestige higher social group (Group 1) than in the lower (Group 2): variables whose standard variant appeared to be categorical in the speech of Group 1 at the beginning of the 1980s – (r), (l), (d), (para) and consonant permutation (see Figure 2.6) – were not adopted to the same degree in the pronunciation of Group 2 until the end of the same decade (see Figure 2.7).

2.2.   The Social Meaning of Style: Motivations

The linguistic meaning of style is inevitably conditioned by its social meaning. Language is a social practice, and the linguistic resources available to speakers for style-shifting are socially motivated. One of the main foundational tenets of sociolinguistic theory is that, given the close inter-relationship between language and society, language is not solely a means of communicating information (oral and written) or establishing and maintaining social relationships, but also, crucially, a very important instrument for conveying social information about the speaker (Trudgill 1983a; see also Pride 1971): "when people talk they communicate not only information but also images of themselves" (Tannen 1984/2005: 3), because "language as a social phenomenon is closely tied up with the social structure and value systems of society" (Trudgill 1983a: 19). In addition to enabling communication and
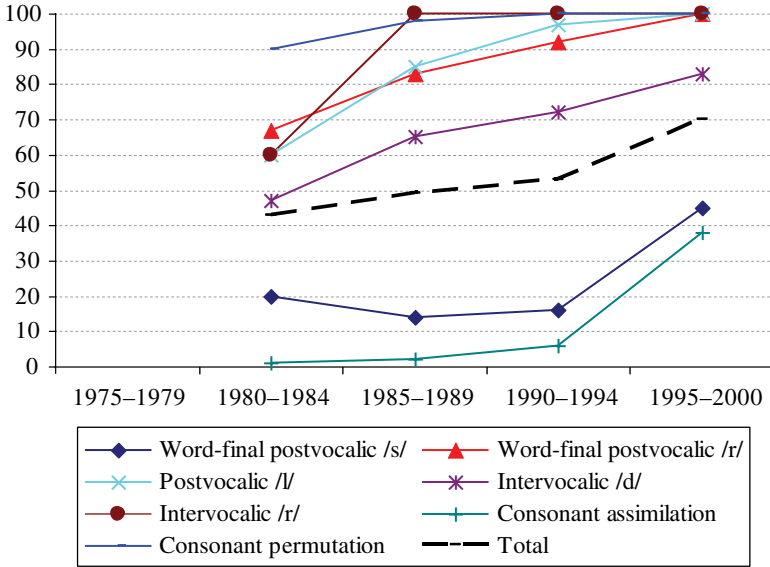
Figure 2.7 Diachronic progression of the process of standardization of Castilian Spanish by variable and informant (Group 2: male non–politicians). Percentages of usage of standard variants (Castilian Spanish forms), ranging from 100% standard to 0% non–standard. *Source*: Hernández–Campoy and Jiménez–Cano (2003: 334, Figure 4).
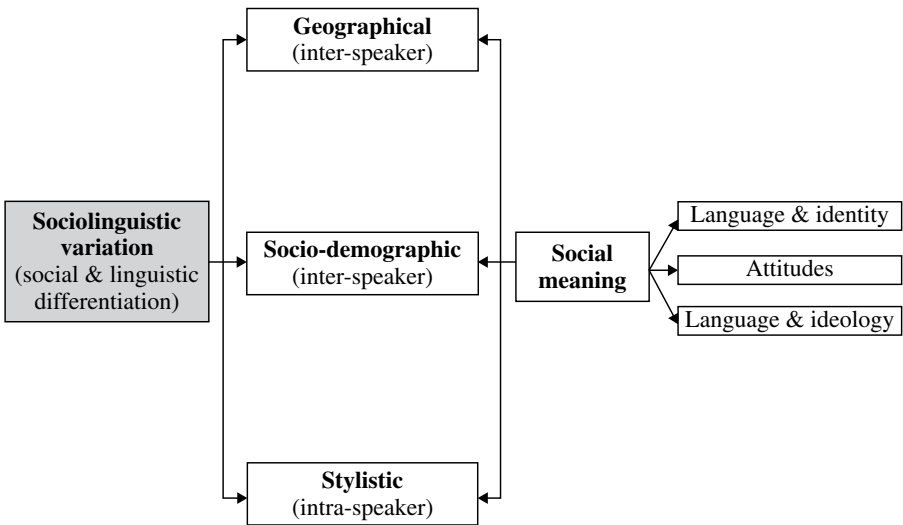
Figure 2.8 Sociolinguistic variation.

establishing social relations, language transmits social meaning through sociolinguistic vari–ation and the choices speakers make between variants. Geographical, socio–demographic, or stylistic variation conveys some kind of social meaning (see Figure 2.8) in terms of identity, attitudes, and/or ideology (see Figure 2.9). Language acts as a very important symbol of
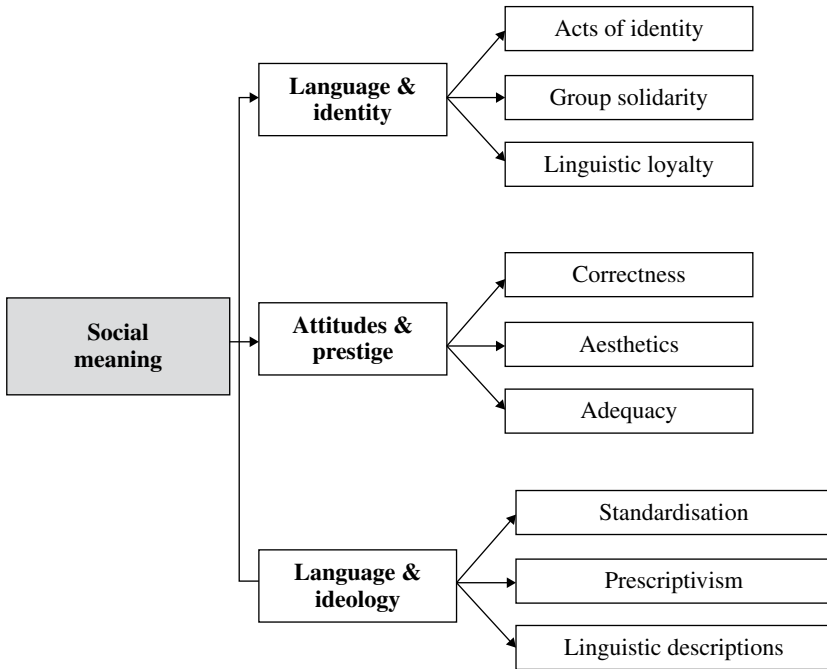
Figure 2.9 The social meaning of sociolinguistic behavior.

group consciousness and solidarity, a signal of group identity and loyalty. An important aspect of the complex social psychology of speech communities is the arbitrary and subjective intellectual and emotional response of the members of a society to the languages and varieties in their social environment (Trudgill 1983a): different language varieties are often associated with deep-rooted emotional responses – social attitudes such as thoughts, feelings, stereotypes, and prejudices about people, social, ethnic, and religious groups, and political entities. Speakers' attitudes within a speech community, for example, may arbitrarily lead to the social stigmatization of the non-standard language, and resulting in an "incorrect", "unaesthetic" or "inferior" variety, the non-standard one, spoken by lower classes, and a "correct", "aesthetic" or "superior" (adequate) variety, the standard one, spoken by the upper class. Under these circumstances, stylistic variation has been understood as dependent on the situation (the ability to self-monitor one's speech to a higher or lesser degree (Chapter 3)) the audience (Chapters 4–5), an imposed linguistic policy, or the persona a speaker intends to project (Chapter 6).

According to Labov (2001b: 86), "style-shifting is related to the degrees of social awareness of a linguistic variable by members of the community, which in turn is based on the level of abstractness in the structures involved." Sociolinguistic variation in speech production refers to those linguistic features whose variants denote a social and/or stylistic meaning: different ways of saying the same thing, although the alternatives have social significance, and the fact "that speakers can do things in the world with linguistic variation presupposes that linguistic features are socially meaningful" (Podesva 2012: 325). As seen in 2.1.5, this sociolinguistically meaningful variation entails choice on the part of speakers, which is strongly governed by both linguistic and social/context factors, meaning that

style is conceived as a clustering of linguistic resources associated with social meaning (Eckert 2001: 123). In fact, "style is not just the product of the construction of social meaning, or even the locus of the construction of social meaning; it is what makes the negotiation of such meaning possible" (Eckert 2001: 126). For this reason, as Traugott (2001: 13) points out, "[s]tyle can and should be related to different linguistic functions as well as to the different purposes of speakers using them."

2.2.1.   Style and Identity

Language is not only a means of communicating but also a very important symbol of group identification and peer-group solidarity. Individual identity and social identity are mediated by language, with linguistic features the link that binds both together (Tabouret-Keller 1997: 317). As a result, language acts *are* acts of identity: every single time that speakers produce an utterance, they are signaling some kind of identity, and the use of one variant of a variable or another expresses their social affiliation. As Chambers (1995: 250) stated, "the underlying cause of sociolinguistic differences, largely beneath consciousnes, is the human instinct to establish and maintain social identity", since all socio-demographic strata feel the need to assert their linguistic identity (Tabouret-Keller 1997). In this way, "we must also mark our-selves as belonging to the territory, and one of the most convincing markers is by speaking like the people who live there" (Chambers 1995: 250). This means that linguistic behavior is "a series of *acts of identity* in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 14).

The relationship between language and identity in the sociolinguistic tradition has been of paramount importance for the development of sociolinguistic theory, strongly related to the notion of prestige (Auer 1998, 2007a; De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg 2006; Edwards 1985, 2009; Haslam 2001; Hazen 2000; Heller 2005; Hernández-Campoy 2011; Kroskrity 2000; Labov 1963, 1966; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Llamas and Watt 2010; Mendoza-Denton 2002; L. Milroy 2001; Tabouret-Keller 1997; Trudgill 1972; Villena-Ponsoda 2013). Several sociolinguistic studies carried out since the 1960s have identified relationships between parameters such as age, gender, social class, region, nation, religion, and ethnicity in terms of socio-demographic factors related to identity and the frequency of use of specific linguistic features (see 3.1.2). The pioneering work of Labov (1963, 1966) showed that these parameters are not mere socio-demographic constructs for sociological description but also identity categories capable of influencing speakers' sociolinguistic behavior; this allows us to predict the distribution of sociolinguistic variation and, as seen in 2.1.6, even the direction of language change within a community. Labov (1963) was able to study the social meaning of linguistic forms and their importance for identity projection in the local community of Martha's Vineyard, an island lying three miles off the coast of Massachusetts, in New England (see Figure 2.10).

Martha's Vineyard was at one time relatively isolated, with a small permanent population of about 6,000, but from the 1960s onwards experienced an increase in the number of tour-ists during the summer months. This increasing number of visitors caused striking social changes that also had linguistic consequences on the island, which were studied by Labov. He concentrated his attention on the way that native Vineyarders pronounced the diph-thongs in the two set of words *out, house*, and *trout*, on the one hand, and *while, pie* and *night*, on the other. There were two different pronunciations of each diphthong: one is a low-prestige, old-fashioned pronunciation typical of the island, [əʊ] for the *out* set and [əɪ] for

Figure 2.10 Map of the coast of Massachusetts and Martha's Vineyard.

the *while* set; the other is more recent on the island and resembles more closely the diph-
thongs found in British English RP and some mainland American prestige accents, [aʊ] for
out and [aɪ] for *while*. In his study, Labov observed that the "old-fashioned" form was on the
increase, becoming more exaggerated and occurring more frequently in the speech of local
people. His explanation for this linguistic change is related to the subjective attitudes of the
autochthonous speakers and their firm interest in signaling their local identity through
linguistic means, since residents exaggerated the "old-fashioned" pronunciation in order to
show their difference from the summer population:

> Natives of the island have come to resent the mass invasion of outsiders and the change and
> economic exploitation that go with it. So those people who most closely identify with the island
> way of life have begun to exaggerate the typical island pronunciation, in order to signal their
> separate social and cultural identity, and to underline their belief in the old values. This means
> that the "old-fashioned" pronunciation is in fact most prevalent amongst certain sections of the
> younger community. (Trudgill 1983a: 23)

The social motivation for this sound change in Martha's Vineyard is in fact one of identity:

> … the patterns on Martha's Vineyard are not directly attributable to simply *being* on the island,
> or being born there, or even being raised there. Rather, the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard who
> showed the most use of the local variants were those who *identified with* the island either through
> practices such as fishing or through simply having a positive feel towards it. […] Labov showed
> empirically that islanders were making choices about how to speak based on who they wanted to
> be, and that these choices were changing the variety. (Kiesling 2013: 448)

There are many communities where different ethnic groups speak different languages, and
there are also communities where different ethnic groups speak the same language but with
quantitative or/and qualitative differences in their use of certain variables. Ethnic-group

differentiation in a mixed community is sometimes a particular type of social differentiation that also implies linguistic differentiation, because, as Trudgill (1983a: 53) stated, "in many cases language may be an important or even essential concomitant of ethnic-group member-ship." Sometimes language may act as a *defining* characteristic where different languages are involved: here individuals identify themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic group on the basis of which of the languages spoken in the community is their mother tongue. This is the case of one suburb outside Accra in Ghana, where there are speakers of more than eighty different languages, with the different ethnic groups maintaining their separateness and identity in the community as much through language as anything else. One of the problems of multilingualism for national governments is often this symbolic nature of language: "we see here that identification is served by the name of a language that fulfills the symbolic function of representation, at both the social and individual levels, where it represents not only affilia-tion with a community or group, but all kinds of allegiance: to a religion, a political leader, an ideology" (Tabouret-Keller 1997: 319). But language may also act as an *identifying* character-istic, particularly where different varieties of the same language are involved and imply social differentiation (Trudgill 1983a: 53–55); this is the case, for instance, for differences between the speech of white and black Americans (Wolfram 1971; also Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr, and Lewis 2012), the situation of American Jews (Benor 2001; 2009; 2011), and the relationship between southern non-standard varieties of Peninsular Spanish and Standard Castilian Spanish (Hernández-Campoy 2011; Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill 2002; Hernández-Campoy and Villena-Ponsoda 2009; Villena-Ponsoda 2013). In these cases, the link between language and identity is so strong that a single feature of language use is enough to identify one's membership in a given group (Tabouret-Keller 1997: 317). As shown in Hernández-Campoy (2011), Murcian and Eastern Andalusian Spanish illustrate the correla-tion of variation with identity in non-standard areas of Peninsular Spanish, where there is convergence toward the national standard and where the subsequent adoption of mainstream prestigious traits combines with the use of unmarked regional patterns of pronunciation, giving place to a levelled koine. The Spanish spoken in Murcia is a transition variety that shares features with Valencian Catalan, Castilian, Aragonese, and Andalusian Spanish and has traditionally been characterized as a predominantly non-standard speaking region. Sociolinguistically, like many nonstandard dialects, Murcian Spanish carries some social stigma, with connotations of ruralness and "bad speech", even for Murcians themselves (Muñoz-Valero 2012; Sánchez-López 1999, 2004). Because of this stigmatization, there is a tendency for Murcian speakers to accommodate to the prestigious Castilian variety in cases of inter-dialect contact situations and also in public venues such as formal broadcast speech. At the same time, Murcian Spanish carries covert prestige (see 3.3.4) and is associated with local identity as well as an inclination to work hard, directness, and earthiness, so Murcians exhibit an overt language loyalty to their own local variety (Jiménez-Cano 2001). In fact, they may embrace dialect forms even in formal venues, capitalizing on their connotations of local identity and solidarity. Like many vernacular speech communities, Murcians thus have some-thing of a love–hate relationship with their local variety: for them, the Murcian accent is "coarse", rural, even "ugly", but, on the other hand, it is resignedly and inevitably their native accent, so they all defend it – behaviorally (by using it) rather than publicly expressing their esteem. In Labov's (1966) terms, this is an area of linguistic insecurity amongst local speakers with a strong double *consciousness situation*[6].

In addition to communal or group identity practices, there are other cases of identity formation and presentation showing affiliation to particular socio-demographic catego-ries, such as doing gender (Cameron 1997; Eckert 2000; Holmes 2006; Trudgill 1972;

Mendoza-Denton 2008; Pujolar i Cos 1997) or doing ethnicity (Bell 1999, 2001a; Bell and Johnson 1997; Bucholtz 1999; Bucholtz and López 2011; Rampton 1995), as well as in the individual use of language for personal identity projection (see also 6.2.3).

Language, therefore, is a perfect tool for expressing social identities. Identity, as Tabouret-Keller (1997: 321) states and as stressed in 4.1.2, is "rather a network of identities, reflecting the many commitments, allegiances, loyalties, passions, and hatreds everyone tries to handle in ever-varying compromise strategies. These imply language use to mark group affiliation, to reveal permitted or forbidden boundaries, to exclude or include, etc." In this network of identities style plays a crucial role (Auer 2007a; Ervin-Tripp 2001), given that it is "an everyday facet of speech that characterizes both the social group and the individual" (Sapir 1927/1958: 542). Chapter 6 will show that identity is now viewed through social constructionist, interactionalist and interpretivist approaches as a social practice that has to be constructed and negotiated semiotically, rather than as an innate characteristic:

> Identity is understood as a set of practices and representations regarding social categories which are produced and reproduced in social interaction in everyday life. Since interaction is at the heart of the process, language becomes important as a window to the actual ways in which we construct relations of social difference (that is, how we do categorization). (Heller 2005: 1584)

In this era of intense social interactive activity, such as migration, international commuting, globalized information flows, multi-tasking skills, job rotation, and intermarriage, the concepts of "diversity" (multiplicity), "flow" (mobility), and "reflexivity" (flexibility) are its hallmarks (Bell and Garrett 1998; Castells 2000; Coupland 2010a; Giddens 1979, 1990; Heller 2005; Hester and Eglin 1997; Macdonald 2003; Tannen 1984/2005). For this reason, according to Bell (2007b: 99), "the role of language in identity formation and presentation has been a prime interest of sociolinguistics since the field was launched." As highlighted in Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b), linguistic variation reflects the multifaceted shaping of human relationships for the transmission of social meaning, and accents, dialects, and their styling are markers of this social meaning (Auer 2007a; Podesva 2006). Like any other social stereotypes, these different ways of speaking constitute prototype categories within a wider frame that comprises not only ideological components, but also markers from a wide variety of dimensions, such as speech, physical appearance, dress, dance, and music (Bourhis and Maass 2005; Kristiansen 2008). Language choice is functionally motivated and when speakers switch between styles, they are using language for different purposes and under specific production circumstances: interactiveness, relations between participants, socio-demographic affiliations, and so on[7]. Styles thus represent our ability to take up different social positions (Bell 2007b: 95), because styling, as we will see throughout this book, is a powerful device for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance-taking, and identity projection.

2.2.2.   *Style and Ideology*

An ideology is a system of belief, or a framework, for conceiving and interpreting the world (Billig 1991). Language inevitably has an ideational function, since it constitutes a symbolic representation of an external reality[8]. Therefore, language and ideology are inseparable (Schröder 2001: 248). According to Eckert (2008: 454), "variation constitutes and indexical system that embeds ideology in language and is in turn part and parcel of the construction of

ideology." Bakhtin's views on language (see 4.2) underlined its inherently ideological and social nature, as explored by Herrick (2012: 235):

> For Bakhtin, all discourse is inherently ideological in two senses. First, in a way reminiscent of Kenneth Burke, Bakhtin held that language does not merely reflect an objective world. Rather, words participate in *constructing* that world as well. To use language is to engage in a construction process, and what is constructed is our view of the world we inhabit. Thus, speaking and writing are *never* neutral or value-free activities. Second, to speak is to articulate a position. Thus, for Bakhtin, when we speak or write we give voice to our own system of beliefs. To create discourse is to engage in a process of self-disclosure.

As with identity, every single time that speakers produce any verbal expression, they are signaling some kind of ideology, and the choice of one variant or another of a linguistic variable portrays their ideological stance on issues such as standardness, prescriptivism, language attitudes, and linguistic descriptions themselves. Consequently, speaking in a standard or non-standard way constitutes not only a verbal practice but also an ideology, or rather a standard-based or non-standard-based practice. As Coupland and Bishop (2007: 74) state, "in particular socio-cultural environments, certain beliefs about the value of sociolinguistic features, styles and practices are structured into people's everyday understanding" (Lippi-Green 1997; J. Milroy 2001, 2007; L. Milroy 2004; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998).

In any process of linguistic standardization, for example, as explored in Hernández-Campoy (2008a), the promotion of one variety to the status of standard leads to the devaluation of the other linguistic varieties. This means that the development of the standard may eventually lead to the authoritative extension of a class-based use of language as an example of correctness, inducing native speakers to believe that their (dialectal) usage is incorrect (Milroy and Milroy 1985b). Together with a process of prestige norm focusing, the standard is associated with the idea of "correct", "adequate", and "aesthetic", while the non-standard with that of "incorrect", "inadequate", and even "unaesthetic". In England, the descriptions of sixteenth-century language managers (teachers and literary critics in particular) tended to equate the incipient London Standard variety with correct speech, and consequently disparaged other dialects, which came to be associated with "uneducated" and "incorrect" usage (Bartsch 1987). The early development of the concept of a standard resulted, therefore, in the substitution of the linguistic marks of the speakers' regional origins by indicators of their social extraction, or, in sociolinguistic terms, in the replacement of *dialects* by *sociolects*. Furthermore, the prestige associated with the new standard contributed to the development of a gradation of intermediate dialects between the standard and the local vernaculars, as well as to the gradual importation of forms and constructions from the dominant variety to the local ones. Another clue to the awareness of a well-established standard, opposed to "wrongful" habits, is found in the texts of playwrights, who poke fun at regional speakers by representing their dialects and using them for the parts of boors and buffoons[9] (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy 1998: 138). In the Iberian peninsula, since Renaissance times, nation-building and the creation of a national ideology and identity have been consciously planned state-level projects in which language has deliberately played a prominent role. As Old Castile became established as the dominant power, Castilian Spanish was used increasingly in situations of prestige and influence (the court, the church, and the army), in legal documents, in the administration of the incipient Spanish state and its empire, and in the prolific literary and artistic output of the Spanish Golden Age (Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderón, Quevedo, and Garcilaso, for example). Normative language policies were established during the eighteenth century, primarily

through the creation of the Spanish Royal Academy (*Real Academia de la Lengua Española*), whose mission was to standardize, fix, and create the norms of the national language. In 1768, Charles III decreed that the Castilian language was to be used officially throughout the kingdom both in administration and education. But the imposition of Castilian Spanish was also part of the nation-building project during the Franco dictatorial regime (1939–1975) of the twentieth century (Hernández-Campoy 2007, 2008b, 2011; Mar-Molinero 1997, 2000).

As Strand (2012) claims, both code-switching and style-shifting have a social multi-functionality. However, in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of when and why speakers alternate between codes and styles, we also need to explore the impact of ideology, especially in those situations in which communicative competent speakers do not alternate as expected using code-switching or style-shifting within the usual motivational parameters (Gal and Irvine 2000; Irvine 1989; Silverstein 1979; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994).

Companies dealing with the public are very aware of the potential impact of language – in terms of ideological effect – on customers or audience (Schrøder 2001). Therefore, they have traditionally assumed the responsibility of promulgating linguistic norms and have developed language policies so that their employees speak a professional voice. In her study on the speech of salespersons in the Spanish *El Corte Inglés* nationwide chain of general stores, Sánchez-López (1999, 2004) found that sales assistants working in non-standard-speaking regions such as Murcia admitted during their interview with her that they had received voice coaching and communication skills training to deal with clients, with special attention given to the use of Castilian Spanish (the standard prestige variety).

This prescriptivist standard language ideology also affects the language of the media. According to Johnson, Milani, and Upton (2010: 241), the mass media do not simply *inform* but also *educate* audiences in a performative process that "includes the (re)production and propagation of language ideologies, understood as particular views and beliefs *about* languages and their links to social, political, moral and aesthetic values." The mass media "give value and exposure to certain language codes, linguistic varieties, and discourse styles" through the deployment of such codes, varieties, and styles as shared means of communication (Spitulnik 1999: 149). Media representatives have acquired authority in matters of language, with a role as national models of linguistic appropriacy. In fact, the structures of the linguistic market (see 4.1.2) impose a system of specific sanctions and censorships on speakers as voices of authority to imitate (Bourdieu 1991: 37). This prescriptivist use of a standard variety in media communication has also traditionally been justified by the idea of intelligibility. In England, as in many other countries, Received Pronunciation (RP) has been the British accent used by the broadcasting media. The radio section of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the 1920s and its television service in the 1950s became an important agent for the diffusion of RP across Britain, allowing dialectal speakers of English to become familiar with the accent (Britain 2002b). They required an accent that could serve as a model for the "best" and also the most socially accepted version of oral English. As Schrøder (2001: 254) states, the selection of the "appropriate" accent – or "proper British speech" – for TV and radio broadcasting presenters led the BBC to recruit exclusively speakers of "Broadcast English", and later "Received Pronunciation", and to create a BBC Advisory Committee on Spoken English which survived until the 1960s (Agha 2003; Fabricius 2002; Giles and Powesland 1975; Leitner 1983)[10].

The Script Design Model proposed by Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007) explored these structural constraints that condition the individual's linguistic behavior in public occupations: community-specific factors anchored to linguistic norm, correctness and appropriacy that restrain stylistic variation. Script takes the form of a professional voice

following a particular linguistic policy based on canonical sociolinguistic norms and attitudes to language. These norms very often dictate the use of "standard" linguistic forms as a canon. This conclusion was reached after studying the speech production of a local radio station presenter and – for comparison – that of his non-standard-speaking audience in Santomera (Murcia, Spain), as observed in the phone calls received during his program (MQM: *Más Que Música*). The results showed a radical divergence between the presenter's speech (Standard Spanish: Castilian) and that of his audience (Non-standard Spanish: Murcian), which by no means observe the Audience Design or Speaker Design theoretical tenets (see Chapters 4 and 6 respectively). The context therefore is that of a vernacular speech community (Murcian Spanish), with strong and deeply-rooted connotations of ruralness (see 2.2.1). There is a use of different linguistic codes by the communicator, on the one hand, and his audience interlocutors, on the other, in their interaction during the radio program. The audience tended to be less standard (only 13%), making use of more Murcian Spanish variants (87%), but the radio presenter, in contrast, exhibited a radically divergent pattern, using more Castilian Spanish variants (92%) for all variables in his broadcasted speech production (see Figure 2.11).

Additionally, the presenter's speech behavior during the radio program "on air" was afterwards contrasted with that produced during a private structured interview designed, scheduled, and conducted by the researchers themselves. While broadcasting, the presenter had clearly exhibited a deviation from vernacular norms tending towards standardization (only 8% non-standard), but during the interview, his frequency of non-standard forms dramatically increased to an average of 70% (see Figure 2.12).

The codes used (standards vs. non-standard) between professionals and audience in media language, as Schrøder (2001: 247) states, do not have to be identical or convergent, but rather divergent (non-accommodative), since shared identity may be achieved perfectly well through non-linguistic means. These factors contribute to a mental script where the standard as such is hardly under discussion, and non-standard varieties are taken to be "wrong" versions of some "right" linguistic variety, a fact that is reinforced by prescriptive pressures.
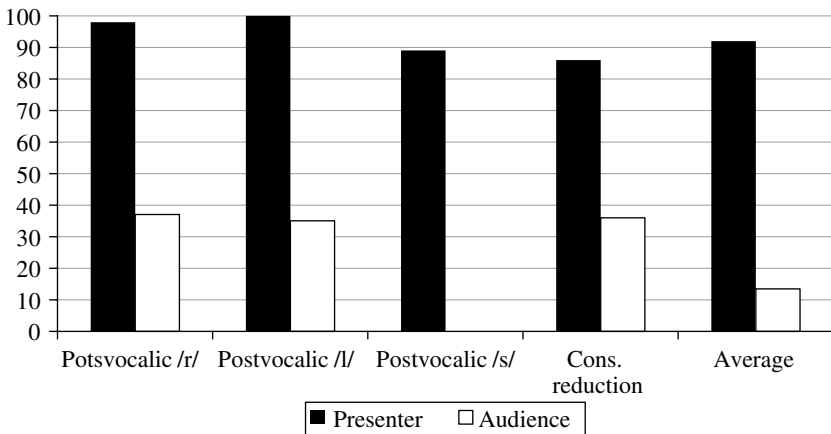
Figure 2.11   Percentage of use of standard forms by presenter and audience interlocutors in the four different variables under study (adapted from Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy 2007: 137, Figure 1).
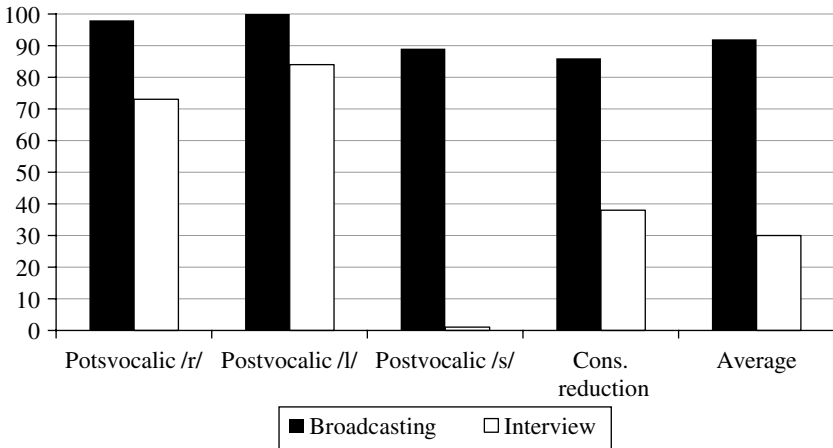
Figure 2.12 Frequency of use of standard forms by radio presenter in broadcasting and in the interview (adapted from Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy 2007: 138, Figure 2).

Pronunciation has to be "correct", clear, and intelligible. The script then takes the form of a professional voice used as a result of a linguistic policy, which may or may not coincide with the user's linguistic preferences. This ideologically-based practice is further reinforced by broadcasting managers, since media presenters are instructed to avoid vernacular forms that might be regarded as a sign of disrespect to the audience. There does not seem to be anything intrinsically wrong about the Murcian accent, but from the viewpoint of broadcasting, it is considered as ideologically inappropriate. These principles are deeply rooted in the mental script of the sociolinguistic behavior of the whole community, in such a way that the audience interprets linguistic divergence as a sign of respect, rather than contempt, distance, or lack of solidarity – it being justified by the wider public sphere of the broadcasting context. This issue is a central part of the traditional debate and dilemma in social theory about the relationship between *structure* and *agency*, principally dealt with in Chapter 6.

Notes

1 The term 'dialect' is rarely applied to the standard variety (Ammon 2004; Britain 2004).
2 In a formal situation language is expected to be formal but in an informal situation language is expected to be informal, and swearing, like *slang*, is typical of informal situations. However, there is not an automatic relationship between the formality of the situation and language, although normally they both change together. The effects are certainly noticeable when there is a change in the formality of the language without a corresponding change in the formality of the situation: *metaphorical shift* (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1964) (see also 4.3.8).
3 According to Hudson (1978: 2), *jargon* differs from the present meaning of *slang* in that it is "impersonal and serious, whilst slang is basically friendly and humorous."
4 To extend the notion of the linguistic variable to the analysis of syntactic variation or to the lexical level is particularly difficult because of the problem of semantic equivalence, since variants of syntactic or lexical variables are not as semantically equivalent as phonological variables – see Cheshire (1987) or Lavandera (1978, 1984) for the problem of semantic equivalence in areas other than phonology.

5 "Through figuring mainly in unceremonious usage, including that of master to servant, the original singular *thou* had come by Shakespeare's time to be regarded as potentially offensive in certain contexts [...] and by the seventeenth century it was obsolescent [...] Abandonment of the *thou/you* distinction has meant a double impoverishment: practical in that sometimes a crucial singular/plural distinction cannot be expressed except by periphrasis; and social in that the intimate/formal distinction available in most West-European languages has been lost in English" (Bourcier 1978: 148; see also Algeo 1966/1982: Exercise 8.4.2, 201–205).

6 Similar to the double consciousness experienced by African-Americans in the United States and many southern US speakers (Niedzielski 2002; Niedzielski and Preston 1999; Smitherman 1977).

7 See also Hymes' (1974a) mnemonic taxonomy of situational components, "SPEAKING", referring to Setting, Participants, Ends (goals), Act sequence (message form and content), Key (tenor), Instrumentalities (channels and forms of speech), Norms (of interaction and interpretation), and Genre. Each component is a cluster of factors that would be crucial for defining how any given social situation is constituted.

8 See Auer (2007a); Bourdieu (1991); Coupland and Bishop (2007); Ervin-Tripp (2001); Jaffe (1999); Kress and Hodge (1979); Kroskrity (2000); Lippi-Green (1997/2012); Luke (2001); Macdonald (2003); J. Milroy (2001, 2007, 2012); L. Milroy (2004); Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity (1998); Silverstein (1979); Woolard 1998; Woolard and Schieffelin (1994); Vygotsky (1987).

9 Shakespeare's plays stand out as examples of this recourse to "stage dialect", as extracts from *King Lear* illustrate.

10 The advent of commercial radio and television and the search for a more symmetrical relationship between broadcasters and audiences weakened the domination of RP over broadcasting in Britain and some regional accents gradually became acceptable (Leitner 1983). The situation in the United States was different because radio was, from the beginning, conceived as a commercial endeavor. The plural presence of different accents and styles was crucial to reflect the voices of the intended audiences. However, the main US radio stations (NBC and CBS) initially wanted their announcers to use what is known as "Network English": a grammatically correct, classless, "non-accented" English (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 423).

Part II

Sociolinguistic
Models of Style-Shifting

3

Situation–centered Approach: Attention Paid to Speech

3.1. Social Determinism and Positivism

3.1.1. Sociolinguistic Tenets

Historical periods or schools of thought cannot be treated as discrete entities, with mono-lithic natures and abrupt boundaries, since they are built upon the immediately preceding stage, from which they start and to which they normally react: "[e]very science and every branch of study is in part a development of what went on before, and in each age the workers in any field are in part determined in the directions they take by the work of their predecessors, if only, in extreme cases, in the terms and principles that they deliberately reject" (Robins 1964/1980: 314; see also Hernández-Campoy 1999a). As Oyelaran (1970: 432) pointed out, even when different schools study the same phenomena they are likely to emphasize them differently, and aspects, or part of one aspect of a linguistic theory, may stand out as exemplified by one school but neglected or subordinated to another aspect in the works of another. This means, as Lass (1984: 8) suggested, that:

> … the history of any discipline involves a lot of old wine in new bottles (as well as new wine in old bottles, new wine in new bottles, and some old wine left in the old bottles). Even ideas that seem at the moment self-evidently true do not arise out of nowhere, but are the products of a long series of trial-and-error interim solutions to perennial problems, illuminated by occasional flashes of creative insight and inspired invention. Improvements or even radical restructuring of a theory does not (or should not) imply the rejection of everything that went before. (Lass 1984: 8)

It was just such aspects of the nature and structure of science that Kuhn was concerned with in his theory of scientific revolutions and the emergence of new paradigms (1962): ideas that had an immense impact on the philosophy of science. Linguistic theory, as Williams

(1992: 40) asserted, "has not emerged separately from the social philosophy of its time. Rather, it must be seen as a manifestation of the ongoing debate on the nature and the social world." To simplify somewhat, the nineteenth-century philologist's historicist and comparative urge was in overt opposition to the humanism and classicism of the Renaissance and seventeenth-century rationalism, but the structuralism of the beginning of the twentieth century was an alternative to nineteenth-century historicism and comparativism. Even within the same period, different theoretical trends have followed one another in linguistics – structuralism, functionalism, generativism, variationism – through the course of the twentieth-century (Figueroa 1994; Markova 1982).

The main motivations for the development of sociolinguistic theory were: i) the dissatisfaction among many linguists in the 1960s with Saussurean and Chomskyan paradigms, which led to a reaction against them; ii) the advent of the quantitative revolution; iii) the redefinition and reformulation of traditional rural dialectology, now becoming a social and urban dialectology; and iv) the growing interest among linguists in sociology, anthropology, and ethnography and their scope (Hernández-Campoy and Almeida 2005: 10–22). Sociolinguistics, accordingly, emerged as a kind of reaction against previous theoretical paradigms. Its origins lie in the context of the *idiolect*, the structuralist notions of *langue/parole* (language/speech) and *diachrony/synchrony* postulated by Ferdinand de Saussure, the later generativist notions of *competence/performance* proposed by Noam Chomsky, and the unrealistic theories and unreliable methodologies of the dialectological tradition (Hernández-Campoy 2014). *Langue* was related to the *linguistique interne*, or microlinguistics, which is concerned solely with the structure of language systems and works with phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics as common levels of analysis. *Parole* was related to the *linguistique externe*, or macrolinguistics, which studies language in a broad sense: the acquisition and use of language, the interdependence of culture, society and language, the mechanisms involved in language behavior, and so on (Lyons 1981: 36).

The philosophical foundations of variation theory are broadly anchored to determinism and positivism. They were originally associated with the physics of Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and his view of the physical matter of the universe as operating according to a set of fixed and knowable laws of science (cause and effect). The philosophy of science known as positivism was developed in the early nineteenth century by Auguste Comte (1798–1857). Assuming that the only valid knowledge comes from scientific – rather than intuitional and introspective – knowledge through empirical evidence, Comte argued that society operates according to its own quasi-absolute laws, like those that operate in the physical world because of absolute laws of nature. Additionally, to presume that everything is caused by something in a predictable way is to assume that the universe is a deterministic place where the laws of nature would allow us to easily describe, explain, and predict its state. As Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749–1827) put it in the nineteenth century, "we ought to regard the present state of the universe as the effect of its antecedent state and as the cause of the state that is to follow" (Laplace 1820/1951: 120). This causal determinism is a reductionist idea that explains the world in terms of a few narrowly defined factors. From a sociological perspective, its application to societal systems means that human behavior is entirely governed by causal laws, where physiology, environment, population pressures and even genetics determine the organization of societies.

This deterministic view of social systems is an organic model of social structure (Mackenzie 1890/2006; Olssen 2010) that regards individual behavior as easily predictable, since individuals are seen as determined by social, biological, cultural, and environmental conditions. It is basically anchored to essentialism, arguing that "the attributes and behaviour of socially

defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group" (Bucholtz 2003: 400). This position amounts to a probabilistic model of macroscopic analysis where, although people are not molecules, they can be regarded as predictable in their aggregate behavior on the basis of mathematical probability (Jones 1990: 189). In their search for empirical regularities in aggregate data, holistically, those who adopt this stance offer general tendencies that, atomistically, however, do not have to coincide with particular phenomena: "[s]ociety is not a mere aggregate of separate individuals, nor is it a mechanist (dualist) or chemical combination of them" (Olssen 2010: 80). As a result, categorical patterns are derived from probabilistic tendencies.

Similarly, in sociolinguistics, speech behavior is thought to reflect social structure simply because it is social structure that determines speech behavior. It is like a Catch-22 circular logic rule: "… you can't get a job as a banker unless you can talk the way a banker is supposed to talk, and you won't talk like a banker is supposed to talk unless you've grown up in a part of the speech community that is made up of bankers and people like them" (Meyerhoff 2006: 147). The study of the equational relationship between language and society through the correlation of extralinguistic factors (socio-demographic and/or context variables) with intralinguistic elements allowed sociolinguistics to decipher the algorithm encrypting linguistic variation and social meaning, and thus to account for variability in language quantitatively. The early sociolinguists were not unaware of the neopositivist quantitative revolution. With their rigorous adoption of scientific methods, assuming determinism and the mechanistic nature of human behavior, linguists' explicit neo-positivist desire is to develop a quantified social dialectology where extralinguistic (mostly social) factors are capable, by themselves, of explaining the establishment of laws, relationships, and processes. Labov's (1969) concept of *variable rules* and its mathematical implementation – *Varbrul* (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974) – are nice examples developed to describe the predictable probability of patterns of variation (or choice) between alternative forms in language use, and the relationship between dependent (linguistic) and independent (extralinguistic) variables. These aims of explanation and prediction make sociolinguists focus not on what phenomena happen, where and how – which would be solely descriptive in intent – but the reasons why they occur as they do. Likewise, in order to express accurately and plainly the results of their analysis, they must use the language of mathematics and logic, for which validity and verifiability are the fundamental criteria and in which coincidence is conceived in terms of probability (Hernández-Campoy and Almeida 2005: 10–11). Significance is here understood as the causal relationship between linguistic and extralinguistic data in compliance with methodological rigor and the principles of *representativeness* and *generalizability* (reliability and intersubjectivity) in the pursuit of empirical validity (Bailey and Tillery 2004; Feagin 2002; Wolfram 2004)[1]. In this way, one can predict the speech characterization of speakers from their social background (class, age, gender, mobility, ethnicity, etc.), allowing the sociolinguist to be a kind of omniscient observer in the search for empirically valid sociolinguistic universals under the protection of the *observer's paradox*[2] effect (see also Bayley and Lucas 2007; Hernández-Campoy and Almeida 2005; Paolillo 2001; Tagliamonte 2006).

But, according to Figueroa (1994: 72), Labov's deterministic empiricism is also framed in terms of realism: he "is a philosophical realist, holding both the metaphysical and scientific realist positions." When Labov (1972s: xxii) coined the term "secular linguistics" to define his sociolinguistic practice he meant doing linguistic research in the secular world: *real-world linguistics*, or field linguistics, in the sense of going down into the real world and doing empirical work on language as it is spoken by ordinary people in its social context in everyday life, rather than *armchair linguistics*, theoretical

and introspective study of language carried out in your own office. This empirical linguistic approach argues that it is crucial to base work in these fields on empirical research, from real data, and thus base theory on linguistic facts, rather than on speculation and intuition. Labovian linguistics was thus an open reaction against previous paradigms (Saussure's *langue* and Chomsky's *competence*). Both those paradigms concentrated on the systematic homogeneity of *langue* and the *competence* of an ideal speaker and ignored the heterogeneity of *parole* and the actual *performance* of the speaker for their supposedly unmanageable nature:

> … the object of linguistics must ultimately be the instrument of communication used by the speech community; and if we are not talking about *that* language, there is something trivial in our proceeding. For a number of reasons, this kind of language has been the most difficult object for linguistics to focus on. (Labov 1972a: 187)

For Chomsky, the focus of study was the abstract system (competence), since linguistic performance was regarded as too disorderly and chaotic to be of any value in offering an understanding of language as a system (Baxter 2010: 118). Labov regretted that linguistics had traditionally been defined in such a way as to exclude the study of actual sociolinguistic behavior. He acknowledged four distinct difficulties in investigating everyday speech that, in the past, had motivated the concentration on *langue* or *competence* to the exclusion of other data (Labov 1972a: 183–259): i) the ungrammaticality of everyday speech; ii) variation in speech and in the speech community; iii) difficulties of hearing and recording real speech; and iv) the rarity of syntactic forms. Given such problems, it is easy to see why in the past linguistic studies were of the *armchair* type, and why many linguists pursue research in the laboratory or office, instead of going out to the street to analyze real everyday conversation. The problem with basing linguistic theories on intuitions is simply that intuitions are not entirely reliable; for example, some authors consider linguistic forms to be grammatical or ungrammatical according to the theory they want to put forward: Bloomfieldian linguistics asserted that native speakers never make mistakes, but years later, Chomskyan linguistics asserted that speech is full of ungrammatical forms. In fact:

> When challenges to data arise on the floor of a linguistic meeting, the author usually defends himself by stating that there are many "dialects" and that the systematic argument he was presenting held good for his own "dialect." This is an odd use of the term, and it raises the question as to what the object of linguistic description can or should be. (Labov 1972a: 191–192)

For this reason, on a different occasion, Labov (1972b: 106–107) asserted that "if 'my dialect' means no more than 'people disagree with me', it is certainly an illegitimate and unworthy escape from serious work."

On this theoretical basis, conceiving variation in language as socially conditioned and making use of the methods and findings of social sciences, the aim of the sociolinguist is: i) to get a representative full picture, in cross-section, of the local speech variety in the population of a urban community by selecting informants randomly; and ii) to correlate data obtained and pre-determined features (*linguistic variables*) with socio-demographic parameters (such as age, sex, social class and occupation, ethnicity, and religious affiliation) in the search for *sociolinguistic variables* and patterns of sociolinguistic behavior as sociolinguistic universals. Speakers are considered as co-members of a "speech community": a community of speakers who share a verbal repertoire (language use, style-shifting, etc.), and who also follow the same norms for sociolinguistic behavior (communicative competence, etc).

The deterministic nature of speech behavior assumes some mechanistic patterns based on the language of mathematics and logic:

i)   Variables and variable rules carry complex indexical meanings in the macro-sociological matrix revealed by the empirical correlation of linguistic (dependent) and extralinguistic (independent) elements within some kind of speech community, or community of practice;

ii) Dialect differentiation is determined by the relative frequency with which particular variants are used in relation to their potential occurrence under the influence of prestige (overt/covert); and

iii) Standardness is a function of those extralinguistic factors, with the vernacular having some special relevance; in this way, the use of non-standard variants correlates inversely with speakers' socioeconomic status, gender, age, ethnicity, social networks, mobility, or level of speech formality.

3.1.2. Sociolinguistic Patterns

Empirical studies showed certain regular patterns of linguistic behavior whose generalization in aggregate statistical terms raised them to the status of sociolinguistic universals, at least in the Western world. The consistency in these patterns provided irrefutable evidence against the traditional Bloomfieldian notion of "free variation": free variation does not exist because linguistic variation is not free at all, but rather constrained by social and/or situational factors. Labov (1963, 1966, 1972a) was the first to observe and detect sociolinguistic patterns in speech behavior. From the point of view of social status, for example, the use of linguistic variants is related to social class, developing the construct of "sociolect": if a linguistic variable reveals class stratification, certain variants are used more frequently by the highest-status class, less frequently by the intermediate classes, less frequently still by the lowest-status class, and vice versa, with the frequency matching their relative status. Labov's (1966) historic study of the presence of a prestige feature (postvocalic /r/) in New York department stores as a reflection of social stratification is the pioneering example showing how social class determines the individual's sociolinguistic behavior. New York City is known to have been an *r*-pronouncing region in the eighteenth century but became completely *r*-less in the nineteenth and until around the time of the Second World War (Hernández-Campoy 2013; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 94–97)[3]. It was after the war that *r*-pronunciation became prestigious again and the change in frequency of use of non-prevocalic /r/ increased in the speech of the upper middle class, probably as a result of the influx into the city of many immigrants from areas where non-prevocalic /r/ was a standard or a prestige feature and also probably because of a shift in New Yorkers' subjective attitudes towards this type of pronunciation – from apparent indifference to a widespread desire to adopt it. Labov selected three stores representing the three main social categories in the city – Saks Fifth Avenue (highest ranking), Macy's (middle ranking), and S. Klein (lowest ranking) – in order to quantify the presence of postvocalic /r/. With his famous rapid and anonymous survey using variable (r) in the casual and emphatic expression "fourth floor", he found a gradation in use in which the highest social status store (Saks) showed the highest frequency of the prestige form (/r/), and, conversely, the lowest (S. Klein) showed the lowest frequency (see Figure 3.1). Indeed, his general hypothesis
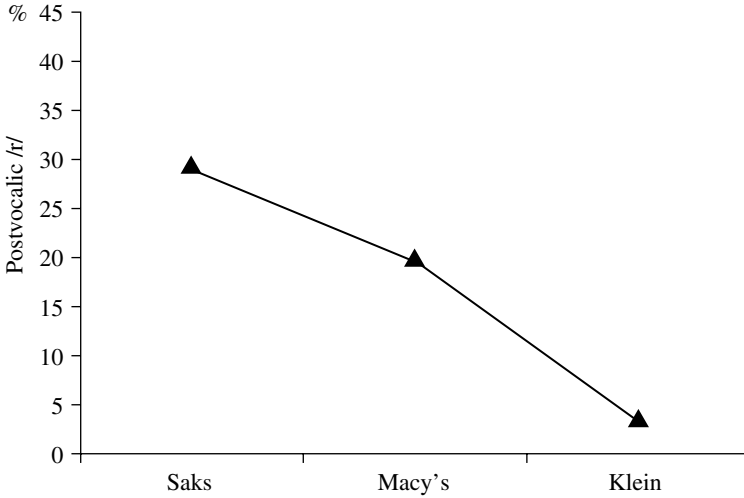
Figure 3.1   Results for postvocalic /r/ in the New York department stores (Saks, Macy's, and S. Klein; adapted from Labov 1966/2006: 56, Figure 3.6).

Table 3.1   Linguistic variables and social class in Norwich (Trudgill 1974). Usage of non-standard variants.

	Social Classes	DEPENDENT VARIABLES Linguistic Variables		
		(ng)	(t)	(h)
INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	MMC	003	083	006
	LMC	015	123	014
	UWC	074	178	040
	MWC	088	184	060
	LWC	098	187	060

expresses that deterministic relationship (Labov 1966/2006: 38): "if any two sub-groups of New York City speakers are ranked on a scale of social stratification, then they will be ranked in the same order by their differential use of (r)."

Much as Labov had done in New York City, Trudgill (1974), in his work in Norwich, also demonstrated that the use of linguistic variants is related to social class. His analyses of variables (ng), (t), and (h), for example, in words such as *singing, butter*, and *hammer* respectively, show that the higher the social class, the higher the use of the prestige variants (ŋ, t, h), and, in contrast, the lower the social class, the higher the presence of non-prestige variants (n, ʔ, ø), as Table 3.1 and Figure 3.2 show.

Age-related patterns of variation have also been attested when linguistic variables are correlated with age groups (in addition to social class and style) as conditioned by some biological determinism, developing the construct of "chronolect." Labov's (1966) study of postvocalic
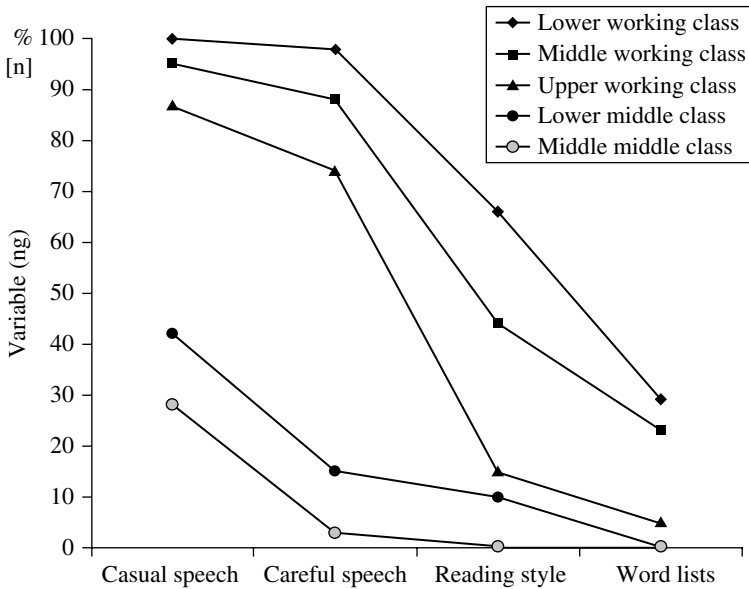
Figure 3.2 Social stratification of (ng) in Norwich. Percentages for the non-standard variant [n] found by Trudgill (1974), as represented by Labov (1966/2006: 260, Figure 10.8).

/r/ in New York City detected not only a change in attitudes – with an increasing positive evaluation of the presence of *r*-pronunciation in New Yorkers' speech – but also a linguistic change in the community tending towards the age-graded adoption of this new prestige marker (see also 2.1.6). Figure 3.3 shows the percentage of upper middle-class speakers (UMC) in three "*r*-positive" evaluation age-groups together with the average percentage of postvocalic /r/s used in normal speech by the same three groups. There is a sharp increase in the favorable evaluation of *r*-pronunciation for speakers aged under forty, and the younger the speakers, the more they use postvocalic /r/.

The results of several sociolinguistic studies, such as Trudgill (1974), have also shown graphs with a curvilinear pattern (V-model) where the youngest and oldest speakers are shown to use more non-prestigious variants than middle-aged speakers (Figure 3.4).

In this V-model, the youngest and oldest speakers have the highest scores for the non-standard variant [n] and middle-aged speakers the lowest. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 92) explain the curvilinear pattern, making use of sociological theories on life course, or cycles, and life modes (see also Højrup 1983):

We can probably account for this by supposing that for younger speakers the most important social pressures come from the peer group, and that linguistically they are more strongly influenced by their friends than by anybody else. Influence from the standard language is relatively weak. Then, as speakers get older and begin working, they move into wider and less cohesive social networks […] and are more influenced by mainstream societal values and, perhaps, by the need to impress, succeed, and make social and economic progress. They are also, consequently, more influenced linguistically by the standard language. For older, retired people, on the other hand, social pressures are again less, success has already been achieved (or not, as the case may be), and social networks may again be narrower. (We also have to acknowledge, in looking at this
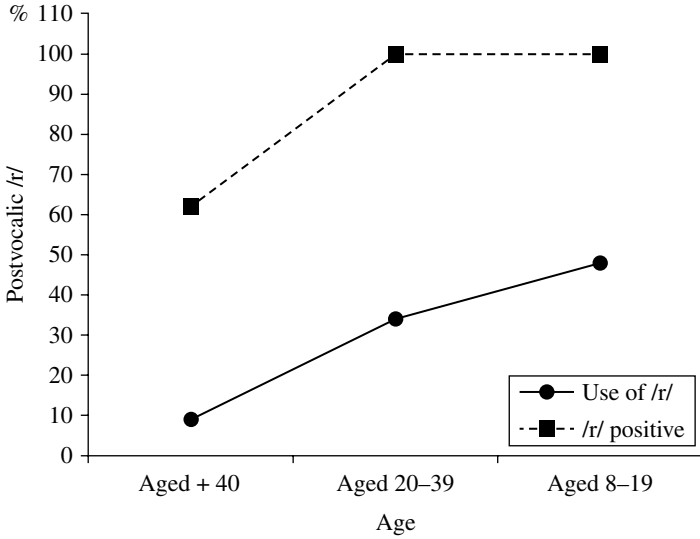
Figure 3.3   Use of postvocalic /r/ by UMC speakers in New York City (adapted from Labov 1966/2006: 218, Table 9.10).
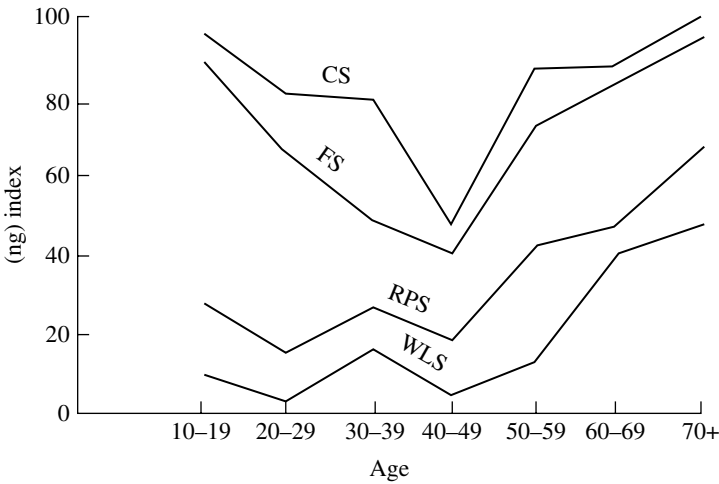
Figure 3.4   Results for variable (ng) Norwich correlating with age. *Source*: Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 91, Figure 6.4).

pattern, that in modern Britain education is not a variable that is independent of age, in that most younger people have, on average, more education than most older people). (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 92)

The sex of the speaker is another social parameter with which linguistic differences have been shown to correlate closely and significantly, leading to the construct of "genderlect."
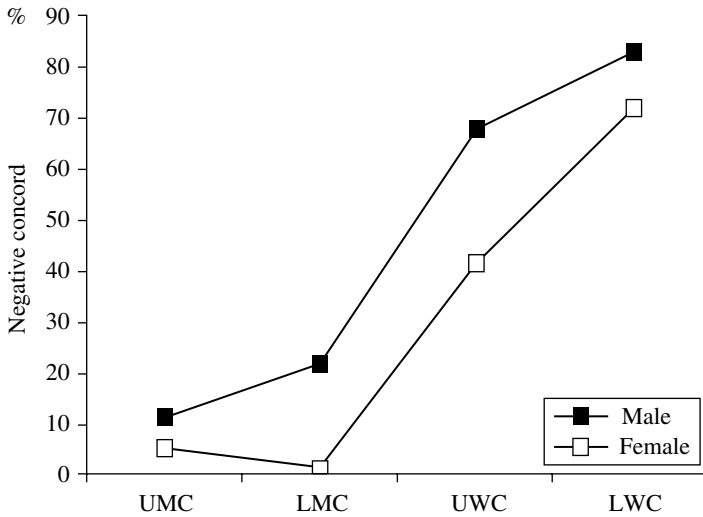
Figure 3.5 Use of negative concord among African American speakers in Detroit correlating with class and gender in Wolfram (1969); adapted from Labov (2001a: 82, Figure 3.2).

As Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 72) pointed out, "other things being equal, women tend on average to use more higher status variants than men do." Wolfram (1969), with his analysis of negative concord[4] among African Americans in Detroit, and Trudgill (1972), with his (ng) variable in Norwich, were pioneers in this field, and found that the use of the non-standard variant is not only much more frequent in the speech of working-class speakers, but also in that of male speakers compared to female, as Figure 3.5 and Table 3.2 show. A similar pattern has been found in many studies carried out by other researchers using different variables.

Ethnity and race have also been shown to be indexical in sociolinguistic studies, developing the construct of "ethnolect" (Hazen 2000). This is the case, for instance, in the differences between the speech of white and black Americans: Black Vernacular English (BVE) – the non-standard English spoken by lower-class Blacks in the urban ghettoes of the United States – has some typical linguistic features such as the absence of the copula *be* in certain grammatical contexts, as in sentences like *She nice* or *We going*. This linguistic feature has three different forms: full, contracted, and deleted:

	Full form	**Contracted form**	**Deleted Form**
is	*She is nice*	*She's nice*	*She nice*
are	*We are going*	*We're going*	*We going*

Wolfram (1971) carried out a study in the Mississippi delta on the use of the copula *be* in the speech of black and white speakers and found that the three linguistic forms are used by both ethnic groups, but at different levels of frequency (Table 3.3): on average, white speakers tend to use contraction more frequently, but black speakers show a much stronger tendency to deletion.

Individuals' social networks have also been shown to have a considerable impact on their sociolinguistic behavior: people are influenced linguistically by members of the social networks

Table 3.2   (ng) index by class, style and gender in Norwich (Trudgill 1974). Usage of non-standard variants.

Class	Gender	Styles			
		WLS	PRS	FS	CS
MMC	Male	000	000	004	031
	Female	*000*	*000*	*000*	*000*
LMC	Male	000	020	027	017
	Female	*000*	*000*	*003*	*067*
UWC	Male	000	018	081	095
	Female	*011*	*013*	*068*	*077*
MWC	Male	024	043	091	097
	Female	*020*	*046*	*081*	*088*
LWC	Male	066	100	100	100
	Female	*017*	*054*	*097*	*100*

Source: Trudgill (1972: 182, Table 2).

Table 3.3   Usage of copula *Be* according to race in the Mississippi delta (Wolfram 1971).

(be)	*is*		*are*	
	Black	White	Black	White
Full Form	054	038	017	034
Contracted Form	018	060	006	045
Deleted Form	028	002	077	021
Total	100	100	100	100

to which they belong, and even within the same social group there may be linguistic differences very closely related to the core/peripheral nature of its members: it is the "weak" rather than the "strong" social ties in the social network that facilitate the adoption of prestigious forms because they: i) require less effort, ii) affect a wider range of individuals, iii) tend to escape from vernacular speech norms, and iv) are most exposed to external pressures for change, such as the strength of contact with speakers from other different regional varieties. Labov (1973) conducted a long-term study of the Jets, a teenage gang in South Central Harlem (New York City). There were eight different types of member in this gang: two core groups, who were truly central to the gang (100's core and 200's core); two secondary groups, with a lower status and less strong links to the band; peripheral members, with rather weak social ties to the gang; and "lames", who were not members of the gang at all but very familiar with it. One of the linguistic features studied in the speech of these adolescents, copula *be* deletion (see Table 3.4), suggests that the further the members of the gang are from the core group, the lower the percentages of usage; being members of the same sex and approximately the same age, the differences in their usage of these linguistic features, especially copula deletion, are due to their different positions in the social network.

Wolfram (1974) studied and compared the English spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York City with that spoken by blacks in the same area, with results similar to those of Labov

Table 3.4   Use of contraction and deletion rules for *is* by sub-divisions of the Jets and Lames.

Groups	No. of Forms	Contraction	Deletion
100's Core	259	0.66%	0.70%
200's Core	081	0.63%	0.63%
100's Secondary	075	0.75%	0.61%
200's Secondary	148	0.72%	0.56%
Peripheral	082	0.80%	0.33%
Lame	127	0.57%	0.36%

Source: Labov (1973: 103).

(1973). Cheshire (1978) also obtained analogous results in her study of the English spoken by three teenage groups in Reading (England). Lesley Milroy (1980) investigated the English spoken in Belfast, Northern Ireland. She investigated three inner-city working–class communities, socially very different: The Hammer, a Protestant area in West Belfast which had lost its traditional linen industry (leaving men unemployed or travelling outside the area for work, and its social networks less dense and more disintegrated); Clonard, a Catholic area also in West Belfast and experiencing the same problems as The Hammer (although its younger women formed a relatively homogeneous network because they worked together); and Ballymacarrett, a Protestant area in East Belfast which still had its traditional local industry (ship-yard) and its network ties. These factors and social differences had linguistic consequences for the nature of the networks in the Belfast communities, such as the variable (æ) in words such as *bag, hat*, and *man*, with a variant [a], used by middle-class speakers, and a variant undergoing some backing, raising, and rounding, used by working-class speakers. The correlation of this linguistic variable with social networks, class, gender, and style suggested that degree of adherence to particular social networks determines the speaker's structure of speech to a considerable extent. Young women in Ballymacarrett use more standard and prestigious features, but in the Clonard it is the other way round (Figure 3.6): "[w]e can suggest, then, that this linguistic change is at its most advanced in the stable Ballymacarrett area, with the socially less cohesive areas following behind – with the important exception of the young Clonard women who, again as a result of their dense social network relationships, are also at a relatively advanced stage. The degree of backing of this vowel reflects, to a certain extent, the degree of social cohesion" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 79).

   In the progress of any linguistic change or innovation, therefore, some social groups (class, age, sex, ethnicity, social networks, etc.) take the lead. Potential adopters' mobility is a fundamental factor in the processes of diffusion of sociolinguistic innovations, since it facilitates interaction, and even mixture, both horizontally – from one geographical region to another – and vertically – from one social group to another. Milroy and Milroy's (1985a) social networks and the speaker's degree of adherence to them (their core/peripheral nature) also considerably affect the likelihood of the adoption, and subsequent diffusion, or rejection, of an innovation: the weaker the uniplex social networks and the greater the contact with similar speakers of other different varieties experienced by individuals of a particular community, the more innovative their language variety; while, conversely, the stronger the multiplex social networks and the less contact they have with similar speakers of other different varieties, the more conservative their language variety (see also Milroy and Milroy 1993). But at the same time, Giles's (Giles 1973; Giles and Smith 1979) *linguistic accommodation* to salient linguistic features of other accents/dialects in face-to-face interaction is also crucial in the

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)
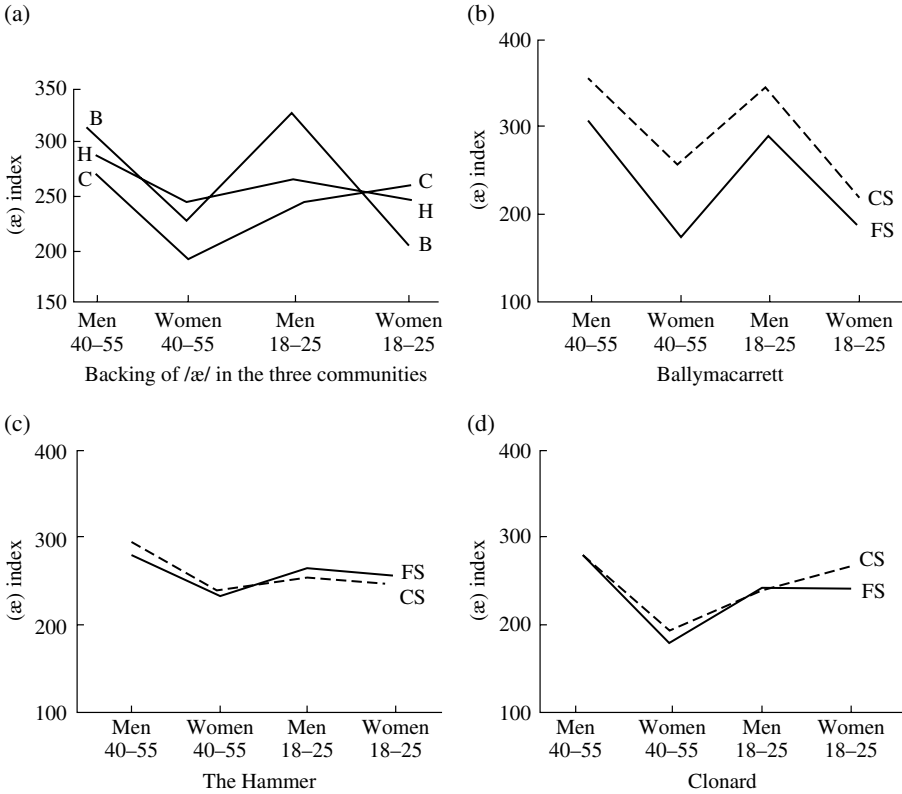
Figure 3.6 The behavior of variable (æ) in the Belfasts areas of Ballymacarrett, The Hammer and Clonard (Milroy 1980), adapted from Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 78, Figure 5.1). FS = formal speech; CS = Casual speech).

geographical diffusion of linguistic innovations. In fact, "diffusion can be said to have taken place, presumably, on the first occasion when a speaker employs a new feature in the *absence* of speakers of the variety originally containing this feature" (Trudgill 1986: 40). Regular mobility leads inevitably to the weakening of ties to local communities, speakers whose social contacts are class-heterogeneous being more likely to act as potential innovators. Both the social and geographical mobility of speakers generates a greater exposure to the linguistic accommodation phenomenon and, consequently, to the transmission of innovations (Hernández-Campoy 1999b, 2003a, 2003b; Labov 2001a).

The deterministic view of human behavior in Laplace's (1820/1951: 120) formulation seen above in 3.1.1 also inspires the Uniformitarian Principle: "we ought to regard the present state of the universe as the effect of its antecedent state and as the cause of the state that is to follow." This principle was initially adopted by historical linguistics (Whitney 1867) from nineteenth-century natural sciences and geology – Hutton in 1785 and later Lyell in 1833 (Christy 1983, Nerlich 1992) – and later popularized by Labov (1972a: 275; 1994: 21–25) in language variation and change studies. In the context of the evolution of languages, neogrammarians took note of the Uniformitarian Principle and argued that "all linguistic phenomena encountered in observable history must be accepted as possible in reconstructed

Proto-Indo-European as well, or in its early descendants" (Hock and Joseph 1996: 154), a view that largely liberated historical linguistics from earlier, pre-scientific ideas. Therefore, if historical sociolinguistics reconstructs the history of languages in their socio-cultural context (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2012), the Uniformitarian Principle allows us to believe that the linguistic behavior of ancient sociolinguistic communities may have been determined at least in part by patterns of sociolinguistic behavior which are similar to those observed by sociolinguistics today. That is, in the context of language variation and change, this principle assumes that the constraints affecting contemporary speech communities may be extrapolated from the present to historical stages of language development. Correspondingly, the sociolinguistic behavior of, for example, late fifteenth-century speakers may have been determined, to some extent, by factors similar to those currently operating – attitudes to prestige, socio-demographic factors, and mobility – as well as by everyday contacts between individuals[5].

But these Labovian studies have shown not only that there are differences of pronunciation between social or biological groups but also that there may be different pronunciations within the same group or individual, according to formality and the situational context. As we will see throughout the rest of this chapter, the general assumption, then, is that the choice of a style depends on the situation and the speaker's social characteristics, as part of a determinism where the individual's behavior is again conditioned by society, because, after all, his life "is an expression of the general spirit of the social atmosphere in which he lives" (Mackenzie 1890/2006: 158).

3.2.   The Formality Continuum

In variationist sociolinguistics, style-shifting is conceived as a social reaction (response) to a situation; that is, a reflection of the awareness and attention paid by the speaker to their own speech, depending on external factors such as topic, addressee, audience, and situation, which "determine" the linguistic variety to be employed. Assuming that styles increase progressively in terms of both formality and degree of speech self-monitoring, Labov (1966) divided the stylistic continuum into five different speaking styles, ranging from least to most formal.

+Formal

MPS	Minimal Pair Style	⎫
WLS	Word List Style	⎬ *Reading*
PRS	Passage Reading Style	⎭
FS	Formal Style	⎫ *Speaking*
CS	Casual Style	⎭
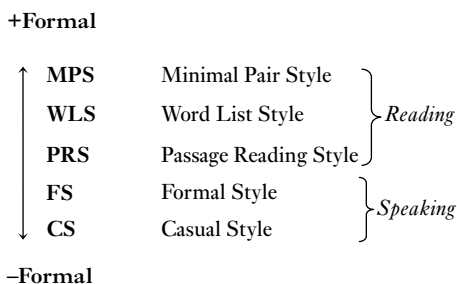
–Formal

The Labovian axiom, therefore, states that style shift is the product of the amount of attention that speakers pay to their speech: the more attention a speaker pays, the more formal his or her style will be, and vice versa. According to Coupland (2011), Labov's treatment of style was similar to the approach taken by stylistics in the 1960s and 1970s (see 1.2).

Joos (1961), for example, had already developed the idea of a continuum model, in which linguistic styles might be arranged according to five styles or levels of formality from most to least ("frozen", "formal", "consultative", "casual", and "intimate").

3.2.1.   Casual Style

Casual style (CS) is the most natural and spontaneous speech, with informants' attention diverted away from how they speak, requiring the least conscious self-monitoring, and is the nearest to the vernacular: "the style in which they argue with their nearest and dearest, scold their children, or pass the time of day with their friends" (Labov 1966/2006: 64). In order to record this style, Labov had to conduct his interviews in contexts where natural speech was most likely to occur: speech outside the context of the formal interview (beginning, breaks, ends); speech addressed to a third person; speech not in direct response to questions (digressions); childhood rhymes and customs, where humorous and nostalgic reminiscences are frequent; or speech in response to questions intended to make the informant become so emotionally involved in the story-telling of the situation that the formal constraints of the interview are forgotten. With his famous question on the danger of death – "Have you ever been in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed?" – Labov was able to create a dramatic situation during the narration that neutralized informants' conscious self-monitoring[6] (Labov and Waletzky 2003; Toolan 2001). Some paralinguistic channel cues could be used to identify this style during his interviews: changes in tempo, pitch, volume, and breathing rate, or the use of laughter.

3.2.2.   Formal Style

Formal style (FS) is located at the "careful" point on the spectrum of formality, where speakers' attention is directed to their language and they are in conscious control of their speech production. This is most typical of tape-recorded interviews; that is, "the type of speech which normally occurs when the subject is answering questions which are formally recognized as 'part of the interview'" (Labov (1966/2006: 59).

3.2.3.   Passage Reading Style

Passage reading style (PRS) reach an even higher level of formality, allowing the analysis of the pronunciation of pre-determined diagnostic forms, usually in words that are camouflaged in a passage read by informants, and which allow phonemic contrasts, such as the behavior of postvocalic /r/, in a text like the following (Labov 1966/2006: 431):

> I remember whe<u>r</u>e he was run ove<u>r</u>, not fa<u>r</u> from ou<u>r</u> corner. He da<u>r</u>ted out about four feet befo<u>r</u>e
> a ca<u>r</u>, and he got hit ha<u>r</u>d. We didn't have the hea<u>r</u>t to play ball o<u>r</u> ca<u>r</u>ds all mo<u>r</u>ning. We didn't
> know we ca<u>r</u>ed so much fo<u>r</u> him until he was hu<u>r</u>t.

Speakers were also asked to produce phonemic contrasts as in minimal pairs such as *dark–dock, guard–god, source–sauce, singer–finger, Mary–merry, Cary–carry, fairy–ferry, bear–beer, ten–tin, voice–verse, thin–tin, bad–bared, shore–sure,* or *chock–chalk–chocolate,* in the text of Table 3.5.

Table 3.5   Text used by Labov (1966/2006: 418) for his Passage Reading Style.

Last Saturday night I took Mary Parker to the Paramount Theatre. I would rather have gone to see the Jazz *Singer* myself, but Mary got her *finger* in the pie. She hates jazz, because she can't *carry* a tune, and besides, she never misses a new film with *Cary* Grant. Well, we were waiting on line about half an hour, when some farmer from Kansas or somewhere asked us to get to Palisades Amusement Park.

   Naturally, I told him to take a bus at the Port Authority Garage on 8th Avenue, but *Mary* right away said no, he should take the I.R.T. to 125th St., and go down the escalator. She actually thought the ferry was still running.

   "You're certainly in the *dark*", I told her. "They tore down that *dock ten* years ago, when you were in diapers".

   "And what's the *source* of your information, Joseph?" She used her sweet-and-sour tone of *voice*, like ketchup mixed with tomato *sauce*. "Are they running submarines to the Jersey *shore*?"

   When *Mary* starts to sound humorous, that's *bad: merry* hell is sure to break loose. I remember the *verse* from the Bible about a good woman being worth more than rubies, and I *bared* my teeth in some kind of a smile. "Don't tell this man any *fairy* tales about a *ferry*. He can't go that way".

   "Oh yes he *can*!" She said. Just then a little old lady, as *thin* as my grandmother, came up shaking a *tin can*, and this farmer asked *her* the same question. She told him to ask a subway *guard*. My *god*! I though, that's one sure way to get lost in New York City.

   Well, I managed to sleep through the worst part of the picture, and the stage show wasn't too hard to *bear*. Then I wanted to go and have a bottle of *beer*, but she had to have a milk at *Chock* Full O'Nuts. *Chalk* this up as a total loss, I told myself. I bet that farmer is still wandering around looking for the 125th St. Ferry.

3.2.4.   *Word List Style*

To secure formal speech, a word list, a rapid word list, and a pairs test (all pre-determined) were used as scaled stages of formality in addition to the reading passage. The word list style (WLS), for example, is a step forward in the amount of self-monitoring and almost the most formal, where informants tend to direct even more attention to their pronunciation of single words in isolation rather than to what they are reading. One type used is a list the informant knows by heart, such as the days of the week or the months of the year. A second type is a printed list of words with the same or similar sound feature, such as those in Labov (1966/2006: 416).

bat	*pad*	*have*
bad	*pass*	*has*
back	*pal*	*razz*
bag	*cash*	*jazz*
batch	*can*	*hammer*
badge	*half*	*hamster*
bath	*past*	*fashion*
bang	*ask*	*national*
pat	*dance*	*family*
Paul	*coffee*	*talk*
all	*office*	*taught*
ball	*chalk*	*dog*
awful	*chocolate*	*forty-four*
	chock	

3.2.5.   *Minimal Pairs Style*

The Minimal Pairs style (MPS) is the most formal of all formats within the continuum, consisting of isolated minimal pairs, which, because they are homophonous in the system, require the production of the maximum degree of self-monitoring, as in (Labov 1966/2006: 416–418).

dock–dark	*Mary–merry*	*sure–shore*
pin–pen	*guard–god*	*since–sense*
which–witch	*"I can!"– "tin can"*	*do–dew*
beer–bear	*voice–verse*	*source–sauce*
ten–tin	*poor–pour*	*mirror–nearer*
	finger–singer	

3.2.6.   *The Style Decision Tree*

Assuming that some topics would divert the interviewees' attention from their speech, Labov (1966) designed the sociolinguistic interview to elicit the widest range of speakers' stylistic variation, from the most casual to the most careful speech, by manipulating the topic. Labov developed a "decision tree" algorithm with eight contextual criteria as a predictive model for distinguishing casual from careful speech (see Figure 3.7), arranged in
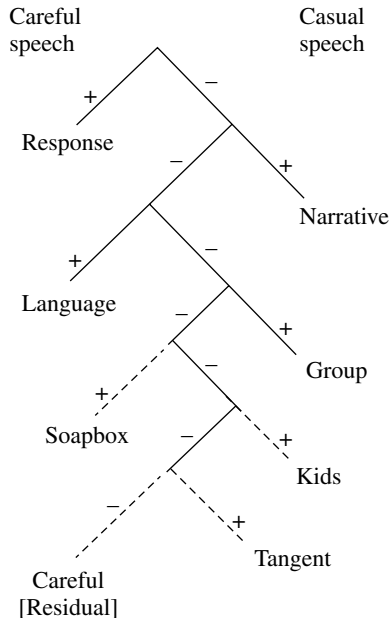
Figure 3.7   Labov's Decision Tree for stylistic analysis of spontaneous speech in the sociolinguistic interview. *Source*: Labov (2001b: 94, Figure 5.1).

order of decreasing objectivity: i) immediate response: the first sentence answering the interviewer's question; ii) narrative: the narration of personal stories; iii) language: questions about the local linguistic variety, normally at the end of the interview; iv) group: speech addressed to third persons other than the interviewer; v) soapbox: "extended expressions of generalized opinions, not spoken directly to the interviewer, but enunciated as if for a more general audience"; vi) children: talking about children' games and experiences; vii) tangents: "an extended body of speech that deviates plainly from the last topic introduced by the interviewer, and represents the strong interest of the speaker"; and viii) careful speech itself (Labov 2001b: 89–93).

Interviews are structured as sets of questions organized around specific pre-determined topics (modules), which also may be embedded into conversational networks. The use of modules grouping questions that focus on particular topics as conversational devices or resources guaranteed responses to generalized foci of interest and a wider range of formats (see Figure 3.8).

As Milroy and Gordon (2003: 59) state, some topics, such as the danger of death in Labov (1966) or a hilarious experience in Trudgill (1974), may be more successful in engaging speakers in interaction and diverting their attention away from their speech. Similarly, the
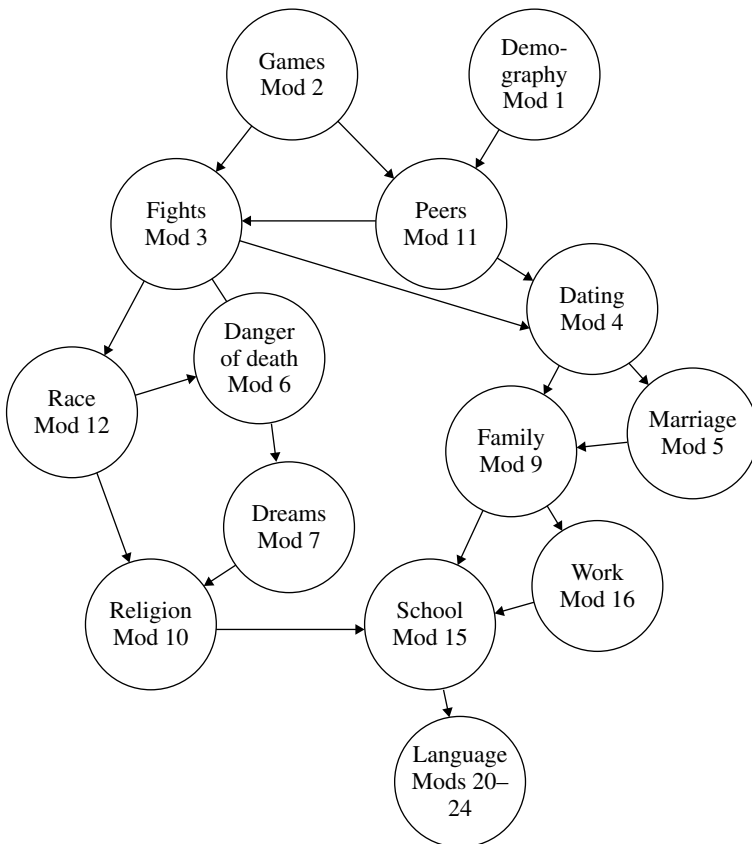
Figure 3.8 Network of modules. *Source*: Labov (1984a: 35).

information that a given topic can yield on neighborhood norms and the social background can be of great value to the researchers.

Module 3 ("Fights"):
      Do girls fight around here?
            →*Did you ever get into a fight with a girl?*
                  →**Module 4** ("Dating")
                         What are girls really like around here?

According to Trudgill (1974: 46), the use of structured interviews as part of fieldwork, like his own and those of Labov, ensures "that information concerning different contextual styles of speech is obtained, and that all informants are placed in a series of contexts which are, relatively speaking, the same for each of them." The application of this method to the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation in Philadelphia allowed Labov (1984a) to examine the effectiveness of his Style Decision Tree in differentiating both categories (casual vs. careful) when dealing with speech practices of the speech community, as general patterns of behavior from aggregate data, but not at the level of individual decision (Labov 2001b: 101).

3.3.   Audio-monitoring: The Universal Factor

The Attention to Speech (or Audio-monitoring) Model lasted until the 1980s as "the universal factor" with the status of a quasi-absolute law operating to cause style differences (Bell 2007b: 96), and its basic principles are inherently related to the theoretical foundations of sociolinguistics:

i)   *The Principle of Graded Style-shifting*: no single speaker is mono-stylistic, though some have a wider verbal repertoire than others;

ii)   *The Principle of Range of Variability*: the variation that any individual shows in their speech is never greater than the differences between the social groups that their style-shifting is derived from;

iii)   *The Principle of Socio-stylistic Differentiation*: the linguistic features involved in stylistic variation are mostly the same as those marking social variation; i.e. those features typically found at the high end of the social scale are equally high on the stylistic scale, and vice versa;

iv)   *The Principle of Sociolinguistic Stratification*: variation originates in a hierarchy of evaluative judgments, where *indicators* denote social stratification only and *markers* show both social stratification and style-shifting;

v)   *The Principle of Stylistic Variation*: different styles constitute different ways of saying the same thing;

vi)   *The Principle of Attention*: styles can be classified uni-dimensionally according to the degree of attention paid to speech;

vii)   *The Vernacular Principle*: the vernacular is the most natural, spontaneous and requires the least attention to the way of speaking;

viii)   *The Principle of Formality* (The Observer's Paradox): any systematic observation of the vernacular must minimize its effects on the informant's language production in order to guarantee the capture of the genuinely most natural and spontaneous speech.

3.3.1. The Principle of Graded Style-shifting

Unlike previous linguistic paradigms, one of the main theoretical assumptions of sociolinguistics is the social dimension of language as the main basis for the existence of variability in language:

> "Everyone knows language is variable", said Edward Sapir in 1925. However, through the history of linguistics, linguists have tended to act as if language were not variable. Most linguistic theories have started from the assumption that variability in language is unmanageable, or uninteresting, or both. Consequently, there has been a tendency to abstract away from the variable data that linguists inevitably encounter in order to begin the analysis at some more homogeneous "level". (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 145)

Until the 1960s, languages were seen as coherent, autonomous, and self-sufficient systems, and linguists were only interested in the formal features of an idealized *langue* with an also "ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly" (Chomsky 1965: 3).

Linguists concentrated on microlinguistics, the systematic homogeneity of *langue* and the speaker's *competence*, deliberately ignoring the macrolinguistic dimension with the orderly heterogeneous *parole* and the speaker's *performance* (Figures 3.9 and 3.10), and appealing to the Bloomfieldian notion of *free variation* as an explanation for any kind of linguistic variability.

The fact that most speech communities are to some extent socially and linguistically heterogeneous is a complexity that makes things much more difficult for a linguist wishing to describe a particular variety (Trudgill 1983a: 37). Therefore, for many years at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, the reaction of linguists to this complexity was generally to ignore it. Obsessed with looking for "real" or "pure" dialects, they concentrated their studies either on the *idiolect* or on the speech of rural informants, particularly that of elderly people with little education and little travelling experience, in small isolated villages. But, obviously, the *idiolect* – the speech of one person at one time in one style – was

Ferdinand de Saussure (1916)	
Linguistique interne (*langue*)	*Linguistique externe* (*parole*)
Noam Chomsky (1965)	
Competence	*Performance*
William Labov (1966)	
Linguistics	*Sociolinguistics*
John Lyons (1977)	
Micro-linguistics	*Macro-linguistics*
Roy Harris (1981)	
Autonomous linguistics	*Integrational linguistics*
Fred Peng (1982)	
Narrow linguistics	*Broad linguistics*
Roger Lass (1986)	
Speaker free	*Speaker centred*

Figure 3.9   Theoretical frameworks of linguistic analysis (adapted from Figueroa 1994: 21).
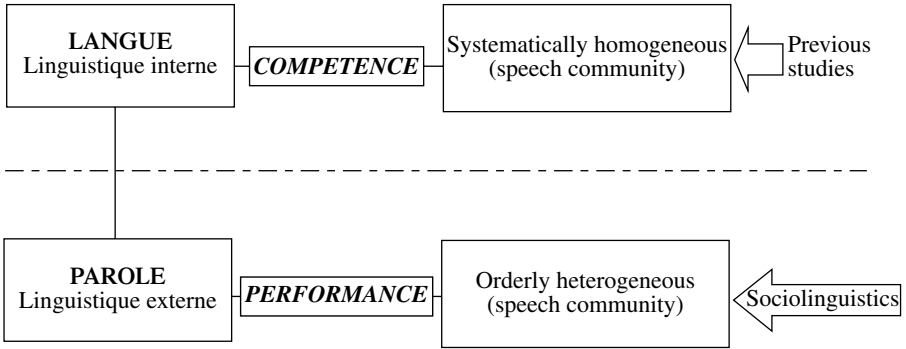
Figure 3.10 Saussurean and Chomskyan paradigms with the *Langue–Parole* and *Competence–Performance* dichotomies. *Source*: adapted from Hernández-Campoy (1993: 19).

no more regular than the speech of the community as a whole, and "real" or "pure" homogeneous dialects turned out to be a chimera:

> It turns out that the "pure" homogeneous dialect is also largely a mythical concept: all language is subject to stylistic and social differentiation, because all human communities are functionally differentiated and heterogeneous to varying degrees. All language varieties are also subject to change. There is, therefore an element of differentiation even in the most isolated conservative rural dialect. (Trudgill 1983a: 37)

A monolithic linguistic system was unable to explain the fact that social structure could maintain any *causal* relation with the variability present in language. There was an obvious reaction against this theoretical model of language, which resulted in a shift from the fictional notion of a *systematically homogeneous* to an *orderly heterogeneous* speech community:

> Only recently has there been a significant movement in favour of analysing variability itself, and more and more linguists are coming to see that variability is not only interesting but also that it can be made manageable and integrated into linguistic theory. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 145)

3.3.2.   The Principle of Range of Variability

A language "is not a simple, single code used in the same manner by all people in all situations" (Trudgill 1974b/1983a: 32). Likewise, although speakers of a language share a verbal repertoire and norms for sociolinguistic behavior, there are no single-style speakers of a language. Nevertheless, given that – as we will see in 4.3 – intra-speaker (stylistic) variation is largely a function of inter-speaker variation, some individuals exhibit a much wider range of stylistic variation than others, which led Labov to assert (1972a: 240) that it would be difficult to distinguish "a casual salesman from a careful pipefitter." That is, stylistic variation is understood as the range of distinctive variation (lexical, pronunciation, grammatical) in the language production (speaking or writing) of individual speakers.

Because sociolinguistic studies are concerned not only with social variation between individuals of different social ranks (inter-speaker variation) but also with stylistic variation

within the speech of a single informant (intra-speaker variation), the informant is observed in a number of contexts. The measurement and comparison of an informant's *communicative competence* and actual *performance* enable variationists to judge his knowledge of the appropriate kind of language for the various social situations in which he finds himself and also his ability to switch easily from one style to another, not just his performance.

3.3.3. The Principle of Socio-stylistic Differentiation

The range of variability also means that the linguistic features involved in stylistic variation are mostly the same as those marking social variation. Therefore, as Gadet (2005: 1357) states, "those features typically found at the high end of the social scale are equally high on the stylistic scale and vice versa." Style contributes to stratification[7], as there is a regular order for style use and its range of variation across speakers. This is what Labov (2001b: 86) calls "social/stylistic symmetry": "While previous studies (Kenyon 1948) had argued that cultural levels are distinct from functional varieties, in actual fact communities display both social stratification and stylistic stratification with the same variable." In this case, as Meyerhoff (2006: 32) points out, the relationship between style and the variants tends to be monotonic, with the data showing a trend, a consistent tendency or pattern[8].

Labov (1966) quantified stylistic variation and identified its indexical relationship with the individual's social background and situation. He found that although the different social class groups have different levels of usage of a given variable, their evaluation of the different variants is exactly the same: speakers of all classes change their pronunciation in exactly the same direction: increasing the percentage of prestige forms in their speech as stylistic context becomes more formal, and vice versa (see Figure 3.11).
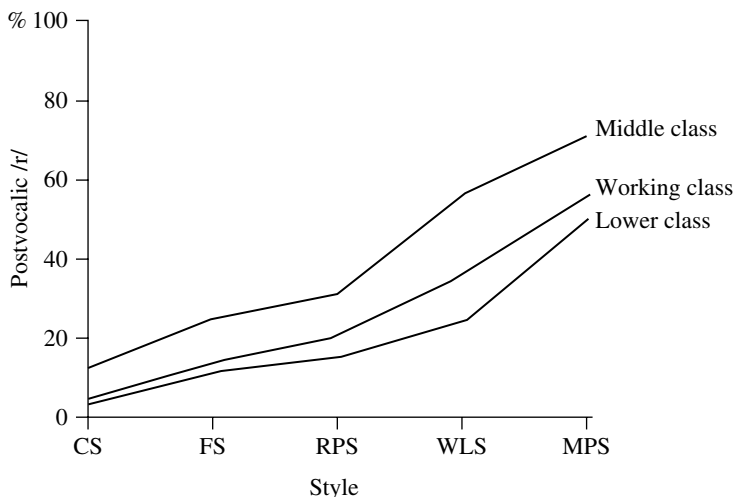
Figure 3.11 Results for postvocalic /r/ in the New York City correlating with social class and styles (CS: casual style; FS: formal style; RPS: reading passage style; WLS: word list style; and MPS: minimal pairs style; adapted from Labov 1966/2006: 141, Figure 7.1).

The same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes, and the totality of linguistic varieties used in this way by a particular community of speakers constitutes the linguistic community's *verbal repertoire* (Trudgill 1974b/1983a: 100). Shared patterns of style-shifting are thus one of the defining characteristics of membership in a particular speech community (Rickford and Eckert 2001: 10).

The same pattern of sociolinguistic behavior was also found by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, and subsequently by many sociolinguists in Western industrialized societies (see Figure 3.12 and Table 3.6). The scores displayed for the variable (ng) form a perfect pattern, since they rise consistently from word list style (WLS) to casual style (CS), and from middle middle-class (MMC) to lower working-class (LWC), ranging from 0% – consistent use of the prestige variant [ŋ] – to 100% – consistent use of the non-standard variant [n]. This indicates that, as in Labov (1966), although the different social class groups have different levels of (ng) usage, their evaluation of the two variants is exactly the same: speakers of all classes change their pronunciation in exactly the same direction, increasing the percentage of high-status RP [ŋ] forms in their speech as stylistic context becomes more and more formal, and vice versa. This pattern leads to a remarkable observation: in formal styles lower-class speech approaches higher-class informal speech, since the MMC in their casual style use, on average, the same number of non-RP forms as the LWC do in their most formal styles. Another revealing phenomenon is the fact that the UWC and MWC are mainly distinguished from
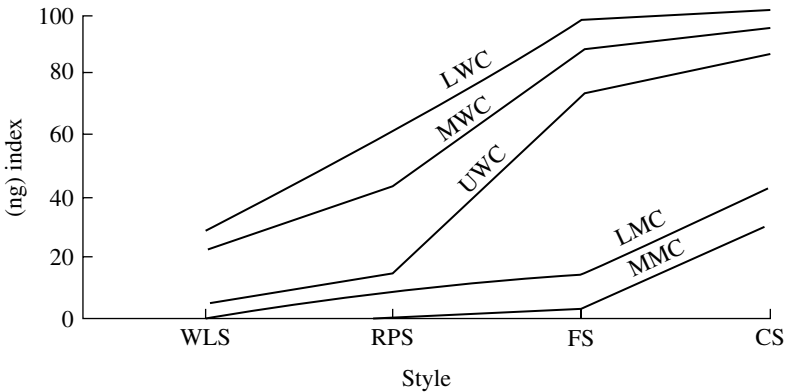
Figure 3.12   Results for variable (ng) Norwich correlating with social class and styles (CS: casual style; FS: formal style; RPS: reading passage style; and WLS: word list style; from Trudgill 1974: 92).

Table 3.6   (ng) indexes by social class and style in Norwich (Trudgill 1974). Usage of non-standard variants.

Social Class	Style			
	WLS	PRS	FS	CS
MMC	000	000	003	028
LMC	000	010	015	042
UWC	005	015	074	087
MWC	023	044	088	095
LWC	029	066	098	100

Source: Trudgill (1974: 92, Table 7.1).

each other by the much greater awareness that UWC speakers have of the social significance of linguistic variables, as a result of the "border-line" nature of their social class position. This leads to a linguistic insecurity in their speech, which is revealed here in their large amount of stylistic variation for the (ng) variable, from 005 to 087 in the chart, producing a line with the steepest gradient.

However, as Gregory and Carroll (1978: 2) point out, and as seen in 3.3.2, "to assert that we all use similar language in similar situations is not, of course, to claim that we all use the same language in the same situation."

3.3.4.   The Principle of Sociolinguistic Stratification

Variation also originates in a hierarchy of evaluative judgments, where *indicators* only denote social stratification and *markers* show both social stratification and style-shifting. When dealing with the mechanisms of language change in progress, Labov (1972a: 178–180) noted that a change usually originates in irregular linguistic fluctuation in the speech of a restricted social subgroup who for some reason (internal or external pressures) unconsciously see a weakening of their separate identity within the community. When the change spreads to all members of the subgroup without their awareness and without being subject to stylistic variation, it is an "indicator", usually represented as in Figure 3.13.

Yet if the change spreads to other subgroups in the speech community to the extent that the values of the original subgroup are, also without their awareness, adopted by the larger speech community and the change *is* already subject to not only social differentiation but also stylistic variation, it is then a "marker" (usually represented as in Figure 3.12). These stages are part of *change from below*, meaning not literally a change originating with a lower social class – although that is often the case – but a change from below the level of conscious awareness. Nonetheless, if the group in which the change originated was not the highest-status group of the speech community, the changed form may be not adopted and may eventually become stigmatized. This stigmatization initiates *change from above* the level of conscious awareness: speakers now consciously and sporadically tend to use
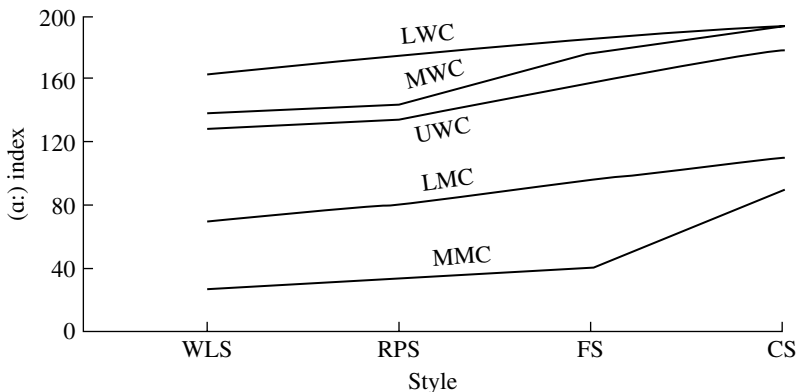
Figure 3.13   Usual pattern of indicators in graph representation, as in variable (ɑː) in Norwich when being correlated with class and style by Trudgill (1974). *Source*: Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 83, Figure 6.2).

the variants supported by the highest-status group (the prestige variants), especially in stylistically more formal contexts (highly-monitored styles), and with the variable showing both regular style stratification and social stratification. If stigmatization is sufficiently extreme, speakers may become especially conscious of the changed form and its social and regional connotations may also become a part of common knowledge among speakers, who are now able to report on the form without difficulty (although not necessarily accurately). The changed form is now a *stereotype* and may eventually disappear or remain stagnant, that is, it may undergo no further change. But if the change originates in the highest-status group of the speech community, it is not stigmatized and may become a prestige model to be used more often by higher-status groups and in more formal styles. In this way variation itself and patterns of style and class stratification result from and also interact with linguistic change; however, while all change involves variability, not all instances of variability involve change.

Labov also discovered the existence of the phenomenon of *hypercorrection*, in which informants of lower social classes, due to *linguistic insecurity*, overuse certain forms and surpass even higher class speakers in their use of a prestige feature (see Figure 3.14); LMC speakers are not as socially secure as UMC speakers and are not sufficiently distant from the working class to be confident of not being identified with them. Consequently, in situations where LMC speakers are monitoring their speech very closely they make strong efforts to signal their social status by using, and unconsciously over-using, prestige linguistic features. Hypercorrections thus "consist of attempts to adopt a more prestigious variety of speech which, through over-generalization, leads to the production of forms which do not occur in the target prestige variety" (Trudgill 1986: 66).

In the progress of any linguistic change or innovation some social groups are in the vanguard. In class-based innovations, it is the UWC and LMC, as borderline groups, whose speech diverges more markedly from the norms of the social groups near – normally below –
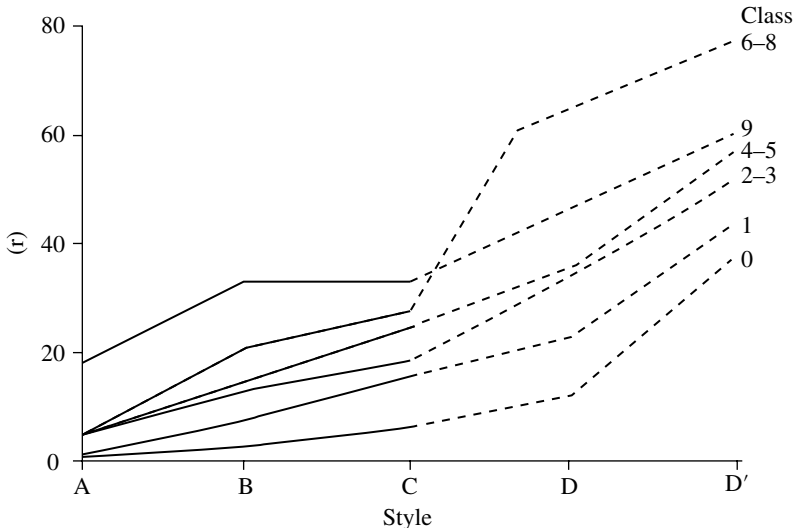
Figure 3.14 Hypercorrection observed by Labov in New York City. *Source*: Labov (1966/2006: 152, Figure 7.11).

them on the scale, because of their tendency to continuous social mobility. In age-based innovations, it is the population of younger speakers that normally shows innovating features in their speech, while older people exhibit more conservative forms (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1988). Innovations are also very frequently sex-based, women being the speakers who are more aware of a linguistic change if it is taking place in the direction of the prestige variety.

A crucial concept here is the notion of *prestige*, which in sociolinguistics is a linguistic behavior motivated by societal attitudes towards linguistic forms: it refers to the respect that some dialectal varieties, accents or even particular linguistic features, achieve as a result of a subjective good reputation. When this prestige is widely and openly expressed in the linguistic behavior of the speech community, it is called *overt prestige*. The British English linguistic forms that enjoy overt prestige and are thus aimed at by many people in the United Kingdom nowadays are the Standard English Dialect and the RP accent – these have the highest status and prestige associated because of their association with power, education, and wealth (Trudgill 1975a). Nevertheless, there are also linguistic behaviors that lead some people, privately and subconsciously, to be more favorably disposed towards other, non-standard, linguistic forms – despite reporting that they want to use forms that enjoy overt prestige within the speech community. The phenomenon of hidden values that are associated with non-standard speech and not normally overtly expressed is known as *covert prestige* (Trudgill 1972), as in the case of non-standard areas such as Norwich in England. In his Norwich study, after comparing informants' observed usage with what they claimed to say when questioned directly during interviews, Trudgill (1972) found a surprising gender-based difference: in general, female informants *over*-reported[9] their use of socially favored variants far more frequently than male informants, who, in contrast, *under*-reported[10] their use of socially prestigious features far more frequently than female informants did (see Table 3.7). This *covert prestige* shown by male working-class speakers is closely

Table 3.7   Variable production and report based on gender in Norwich.

	Total	Males	Females
Percentage of informants over- and under-reporting (yu) in music, tune, etc.			
Over-reporting	13	0	29
Under-reporting	7	6	7
Accurate	80	94	64
Percentage of informants over- and under-reporting (er) in *ear, here*, etc.			
Over-reporting	43	22	68
Under-reporting	33	50	14
Accurate	23	28	18
Percentage of informants over- and under-reporting (ō) in *road, nose*, etc.			
Over-reporting	18	12	25
Under-reporting	36	54	18
Accurate	45	34	57
Percentage of informants over- and under-reporting (ā) in *gate, face*, etc.			
Over-reporting	32	22	43
Under-reporting	15	28	0
Accurate	53	50	57

Source: Trudgill (1972: 186–187, Tables 5–8).

related to the values and connotations of masculinity of working-class speech amongst its speakers (Trudgill 1972: 183):

> … WC speech, like other aspects of WC culture, appears, at least in some western societies, to have connotations of masculinity […], probably because it is associated with the roughness and toughness supposedly characteristic of WC life which are, stereotypically and to a certain extent, often considered to be desirable masculine attributes. They are not, on the other hand, considered to be desirable feminine characteristics. On the contrary, features such as refinement and sophistication are much preferred. (Trudgill 1972: 183)

3.3.5.   The Principle of Stylistic Variation

One of the achievements of urban dialectology has been to show that linguistic variation is not normally free at all, but is constrained by social and/or context factors. The *linguistic variable*, the main variationist construct, is, as we know, "a linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in covariation with other social and/or linguistic variables. Linguistic variables can often be regarded as socially different but linguistically equivalent ways of doing or saying the same thing, and occur at levels of linguistic analysis" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 60). Linguistic features whose variants convey a social and/or stylistic meaning are then *sociolinguistic variables*: sets of alternative ways of saying the same thing, although the alternatives have social significance (Fasold 1990: 223–224). Likewise, styles behave like variants of a sociolinguistic variable because different styles constitute different ways of saying the same thing, although those alternative ways may have particular social meanings.

3.3.6.   The Principle of Attention

This reactive model of *Attention to Speech* (AS) is based on the covariation of linguistic variables and the conditioning external constraints. Its linguistic result is the speech stylistic continuum established by Labov's (1966) pioneering studies using sociolinguistic interviews, where he isolated five styles, with three reading formats (Minimal Pair Style, Word List Style and Passage Reading Style) and two speaking ones (Formal Style and Casual Style), as seen above. The axiom states that "styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (Labov 1972: 2008). Style-shifting within the linear scale of formality operates according to its own quasi-absolute laws, and the different positions are a function of the informant's amount of monitoring of their own speech as a reaction to particular contextual configurations. The outcome is a set of different contextual styles occasioned by the social situation whose constraints lead to a regular and predictable response.

3.3.7.   The Vernacular Principle

The "vernacular" is a polysemic term associated not only with colloquial speech, but also with non-standardness, unwritten and non-official language (Macaulay 1988, 1997, 2001). It is the most natural, spontaneous, and non-standard speech production in the linguistic repertoire of a speaker, with the smallest amount of conscious self-monitoring. According to Labov (1970) the vernacular is "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the

monitoring of speech", which is close to his concept of casual speech: "By *casual speech*, in a narrow sense, we mean the everyday speech used in informal situations, where no attention is directed to language" (1966/2006: 64); he restricts spontaneous speech "to a pattern used in excited, emotionally charged speech when the constraints of a formal situation are over-ridden" (Labov 1966/2006: 64–65), which also allows it to be part of careful speech:

Context:	Informal	Formal
Style:	Casual	Careful/Spontaneous

Ontogenetically, Labov (1973: 83) related the vernacular to preadolescence, defining it as "that mode of speech that is acquired in preadolescent years."

3.3.8. *The Principle of Formality*

Finally, from a methodological perspective, any systematic observation of the vernacular must minimize the effects of this observation on the informant's language production in order to capture the most natural and spontaneous speech: the way people speak in their everyday life in real situations. Variationists try to get examples of the informant's free discourse (vernacular speech) in an as unobtrusive way as possible, in order to avoid the risk of the observer's paradox – that of the observer's presence influencing the informant and thus the results of the experiment.

3.4. Limitations

The Labovian view of style and its notion of attention paid to speech, and the formal–informal distinction on a linear scale of style-shifting, was the "received wisdom" in the dominant, variationist strand of sociolinguistics until the late 1970s (Bell 1984: 147, 2007a: 91). But since the very early 1980s this audio-monitoring model has been questioned because of its mechanistic approach:

> Attention is a mechanism, through which other factors can affect style […] Attention is at most a mechanism of response intervening between a situation and a style. This explains both why it seemed a plausible correlative of style shift, and why it could never be a satisfactory explanation of style. The mechanism should not be mistaken for the motive power – but it is closely related.
> Even if attention did prove to be consistently correlated with style, it would remain unsatisfactory as an explanation. We would still have to go behind the mechanistic attention variable to see what factors in the live situation are actually causing these differing amounts of attention. Setting attention aside as at most a mediating variable, we must attempt to relate style shift to the situational factors which cause it. (Bell 1984: 150)

The model has also been questioned because of the theoretical as well as methodological difficulties it entails:

1. Labov's model, as well as his sociolinguistic theory, views language as a mere reflection of social structures and interactional norms, with no consideration of the crucial role it may play in the construction, maintenance, and adjustment of these norms and structures (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 383).

2. Labov's model conceives speakers as passive respondents who modify their speech, style-shifting in response to and as a reaction to the external situation, without considering that they might make conscious and proactive choice and use of stylistic resources (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 383). As we will see in Chapter 6, "speakers make stylistic choices not in response to normative pressures which induce attention to speech production, but as one of a set of social practices in which actors engage to construct social meaning" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 2001). Speakers have an intrinsic capacity to use language variation as a resource to define their role in the situation and to construct particular social identities.

3. The validity of attention paid to speech, rather than the nature of the speaker's response to different audiences, is problematic as an explanatory variable (Bell 1984), since the absence or presence of a given interlocutor may exert a greater influence than the attention to speech itself (Mahl 1972; Rickford and McNair-Knox 1994). Indeed, studies of media language have shown that a radio presenter can consciously shift into a different style depending on the radio station where they are broadcasting without needing to change their level of attention (Bell 1977, 1984). As we will see in Chapter 4, subsequent studies have demonstrated the effect of audience on speech and, consequently, the primacy of addressee over topic.

4. The claim that the production of standard speech requires more attention than that of the vernacular is of doubtful value. Levels of formality cannot be neatly correlated with attention to speech even in spoken styles, since self-consciousness may correlate not only with increased standardness but also vernacularity: it is perfectly possible to shift into vernacular with a high amount of conscious self-monitoring (Coupland 1980, 1981, 2001a; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling-Estes 2010; Eckert 2000: 79; Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010; Rickford 1979: 230; Schilling-Estes 1998, 2002a: 382; Wolfram 1981). For this reason, the application of Labov's model leads to problems in communities where there is a considerable disparity between localized and standard norms (Johnston 1983; Macaulay 1977; Romaine 1978).

5. One-dimensional models based on formality vs. informality cannot represent the repertoire of stylistic options available to most speakers (Coupland 2001a; Macaulay 1977; L. Milroy 1980/1987: 173–178; Romaine 1978, 1980a, 1982a; Traugott and Romaine 1985).

6. The segmentation and quantification of the attention paid to speech is as methodologically difficult as it is theoretically controversial, since the transition through the different styles within the continuum proposed by Labov cannot always be easily delimited (Bell 1984: 147–150).

7. Reading and speaking are not necessarily part of the same dimension in all communities, and may not be ordered within the same style continuum: some styles (reading passages, word lists, or minimal pairs) may not fall on the same plane as conversational portions of interview because they are incomparable (Milroy 1980/1987: 100–107; Milroy and Gordon 2003: 201).

8. Labov's styles are somehow artificial and restricted to the context of the sociolinguistic interview (Selting 1997; Wolfson 1976), as speakers do not usually speak in everyday conversation as they do when reading a list of minimal pairs or a passage of text aloud, or even when interviewed (Cutillas-Espinosa 2001; Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy 2006, 2007).

9. The homogeneity in the sampling process can be affected if some informants are illiterate under some specific socio–economic or ontogenetic conditions, given that not all the different styles would be obtained. Procedurally, the use of reading instruments during

the interview is unfeasible with illiterate informants, as some researchers have noted (Baugh 2001; Mesthrie 2001b: 386; Milroy 1980/1987; Milroy and Gordon 2003: 203).

10.   Channel cues (change in tempo, pitch range, volume, breathing, and use of laughter) turn out to be unreliable and ambiguous in practice for pragmatic or even discourse reasons (Wolfram 1969: 58–59).

Although Labov initially intended his model (1972a: 99) as a theoretical and not just a methodological construct, he has more recently (Labov 2001b:152) admitted that his view of style as covarying unidimensionally with the amount of attention paid to speech does not amount to a theory of stylistic variation, specifying its restriction to interview speech: "The organization of contextual styles along the axis of attention paid to speech (Labov 1966) was not intended as a general description of how style-shifting is produced and organized in every-day speech, but rather as a way of organizing and using the intraspeaker variation that occurs in the interview." His axiom has operated more as a kind of descriptive framework than as an explanatory model, where style was not characterized in itself (Gadet 2005: 1357). In fact, as Meyerhoff (2006: 30) underlines, "[o]ne problem is agreeing what constitute different 'styles' in the first place, another is agreeing which ones are more or less formal, and even if those problems can be overcome there can be problems with recording enough people using language in all those styles to allow the researcher to make valid generalizations." Retrospectively, Labov (1966/2006: 58–59) insists on the heuristic purpose of the devices he designed in the 1960s in order to obtain and quantify intra-speaker variation within the format of the individual interview:

> This chapter has been perhaps the most influential in determining what people actually do in a sociolinguistic study, and perhaps the most misunderstood in terms of what it is all about. The adjective "Labovian" is often used to describe a set of interviews that uses several different styles to trace the shift of styles with increasing formality, most typically spontaneous speech, reading, and word lists. Style shifting within the interview is an effective tool to register the direction of overt (and perhaps covert) linguistic norms for a particular variable, and to differentiate individuals and groups by the steepness of their stylistic slope. The fact that these four or five styles can be ordered by increasing attention paid to speech has been mistaken for a claim that this is the way that styles and registers are to be ordered and understood in everyday life. The style shifting devices used in this chapter were introduced as heuristic devices to obtain a range of behaviors within the individual interview, not as a general theory of style shifting. Labov (2006: 58–59)

In any case, the Labovian axiom that style shift is the product of attention paid to speech cannot explain all cases of stylistic variation. As Bell (2007a: 91) states, "[w]hat happens when a speaker talks in any social situation involves many linguistic features almost simultaneously, at all levels of language, all contributing to the mosaic of the sociolinguistic presentation of self in everyday life."

Notes

1   The principles of *representativeness* and *generalizability* are fundamental to the methodological rigor of sociolinguistic procedure. As far as representativeness is concerned, all members of the community must have *the same* opportunities to be selected as representative informants, either with random or quota/judgment sampling; informants must also be selected preserving the sociological characteristics of the entire population. With regards to generalizability, sociolinguistic research,

according to Wolfram (2004), must fulfill two particular characteristics in order to produce results that can accurately be generalized to the behavior of the entire population, or speech community: "reliability (i.e., that the same results would be obtained in repeated observations of the same phenomenon) and intersubjectivity (i.e., that two different researchers observing the same phenomenon would have obtained the same results)" (Bailey and Tillery 2004: 1). That is, the same results have to be obtained in repeated observations of the same phenomenon by two different researchers. A concept which is basic to science and which supports this principle of generalizability is that of *triangulation*: the use of different tests, with different methods, to obtain results that are consistent with the same analysis or interpretation and thus confirming conclusions more irrefutably than if arrived at using only one means of measurement (Meyerhoff 2006: 29).

2   "… the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed" (Labov 1972a: 209). Meyerhoff (2006: 38) relates the effect of the *observer's paradox* in linguistics when studying language to that of Werner Heisenberg's *uncertainty principle* in physics when studying particles: "we cannot observe something without changing it. One reason for the uncertainty principle in physics is that particles do not exists independently as *things*, they exist as sets of *relationships*. Sociolinguists, too, are actually studying sets of relationships when they look at variables".

3   R-dropping is a sound change that took place in British English after the Great Divide (around 1750) and consists of the elimination of a historical /r/ except in the environment of a following vowel (non-prevocalic /r/). As a result, the different accents of English can be divided into those that underwent this process (*non-rhotic accents*) and those that did not (*rhotic accents*) (Trudgill 1990: 51). In England, non-rhotic accents have more status and are considered more 'correct' than rhotic accents, which are judged as rural, uneducated, or even both. The outcome is social stigmatization: the higher up the social scale a speaker is, the fewer non-prevocalic /r/s they are likely to pronounce. Nevertheless, in a number of areas of the United States (mostly Western US varieties), and recently New York City, the pattern is completely reversed, so that accents with postvocalic /r/ have more prestige and are considered as more 'correct' than those without (see also Wells 1982).

4   Multiple negation: *I don't want anything – I don't want nothing*.

5   Admittedly, as Rankin (2003: 186) points out, reconstruction in historical linguistics would not be possible without the assumption of uniformitarianism (Janda and Joseph 2003; Lass 1997). However, in socially-conditioned language variation and change this principle has not been regarded as fully convincing due to its limitations (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2012; Labov 1994: 21–25; Milroy and Gordon 2003: 177).

6   This question would not have worked successfully in, for example, the city of Norwich where the probabilities of being in danger of death are not as high as in New York City. For this reason, Trudgill (1974) used "Have you ever been in a situation, recently or some time ago, where you had a good laugh, or something funny or humorous happened to you, or you saw it happen to someone else?", trying to exploit the comedy of the situation narrated for the same purpose.

7   A systematic and steady patterning of a linguistic variant with respect to some independent factor (social class in this case), where more (broad stratification) or less (fine stratification) frequency differentiates the averages for different groups (Meyerhoff 2006: 165).

8   Monotonic relationships show a persistent increase (positive linear pattern) or decrease (negative linear pattern) along the x-axis of a graph, which suggests a trend – a regular increase or decrease in the frequency of a linguistic form across a scale – because of the stratified nature of variables.

9   By claiming to use a socially favored linguistic feature that they certainly used less than half the time during an interview.

10 By claiming not to use a socially favored linguistic feature that they certainly used more than half the time during an interview.

4

Audience–centered Approach: Audience Design

4.1. Behaviorism and Social Psychological Theories

Behaviorism is a scientific theory designed to provide psychology with an objective foundation; it is associated with the work of Ivan Pavlov (1849–1936), Edward Thorndike (1874–1959), John Watson (1878–1958), Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), Gilbert Ryle (1900–1976), Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904–1990), and Wilfred Sellars (1912–1989), among others. To simplify somewhat, focusing its object of study on the nature, meaning, and sources of behavior (rather than mind), psychological theorists aim to confirm "hypotheses about psychological events in terms of behavioral criteria" (Sellars 1963: 22). That is, they demand behavioral evidence for any psychological hypothesis about the actions and reactions of organisms (both human and nonhuman animals). Behaviorists take the sources of behavior to be external (in the environment, stimuli, responses, reinforcements, etc.) rather than internal (in the mind), conditioning each state: in their search for empirical regularities at the purely behavioral level, the object of study in psychology must be therefore the observable behavior of people and animals, rather than unobservable events that take place in their minds (Skinner 1984) – although feelings, states of mind, and introspection are also conceived as existent and scientifically treatable. In this way, taking a functional view of behavior, the existence of knowable differences between two states of mind depends solely on the existence of demonstrable differences in the specific behavior associated with each state (Baum 1994; Gazzaniga 2010; LeClaire and Rushin 2010; Malott 2008; Plotnik 2005; Rachlin 1991; Skinner 1938, 1957; Smith 1986; Staddon 2001; Zuriff 1985).

The basic premise of the behaviorists is that behavior should be studied without any reference to hypothetical inner states or organisms as causes, but their philosophical thinking takes less radical positions on internal, mental, and subjective experience: "[b]ehavior analysis has much to offer the study of phenomena normally dominated by cognitive and social psychologists. We hope that successful application of behavioral theory and methodology will not only shed light on central problems in judgment and choice but will also generate greater appreciation of the behavioral approach" (Fantino, Stolarz-Fantino and Navarro 2003: 116).

An important aspect of the complex social psychology of speech communities is the intellectual and emotional response of the members of those communities to the languages, dialects, and accent varieties in their social environment (Trudgill 1983a). Largely rooted in behaviorism, social psychology deals with how these actions, feelings, thoughts, beliefs, intentions, and goals are constructed, focusing on the conditions under which they occur and their impact: how such psychological factors influence the interactional behavior of individuals with others in their presence or absence, and vice versa – in other words, how social behavior can be influenced through language behavior.

The social psychology of language is a sociolinguistic area of study which deals with the socio–psychological aspects that affect language use in face-to-face interaction, especially attitudes to language varieties, and speakers' use of communication techniques to manage social relationships and identity. Any account for how and why individuals acquire, use, and react to language inevitably requires understanding of social psychological phenomena, such as human attitudes, motivations, identities, and intentions. Crucial questions here are why speech variables are so important in evaluating others and why people speak differently in different situations (Giles 1979: 2). As Trudgill, Labov, and Fasold (1979: viii–ix) stated:

> Linguistic forms of every level, and linguistic behavior of many types, can act as markers of personal and social characteristics, and may provoke different reactions and responses in social interaction. Social psychologists concerned with language may therefore turn to linguists for assistance in the analysis of linguistic forms. Correspondingly, linguistic attitudes and stereotypes can be a powerful force in influencing linguistic behavior and, ultimately, linguistic forms themselves. Linguists must therefore look to social psychologists for explanatory analyses and concepts in their examination of the social psychological factors at work in, for example, linguistic change.

Giles (1979) presented a model of the processes involved in his "interactive, dynamic approach" (Figure 4.1) to the individual's psychological state, including cognitive processes
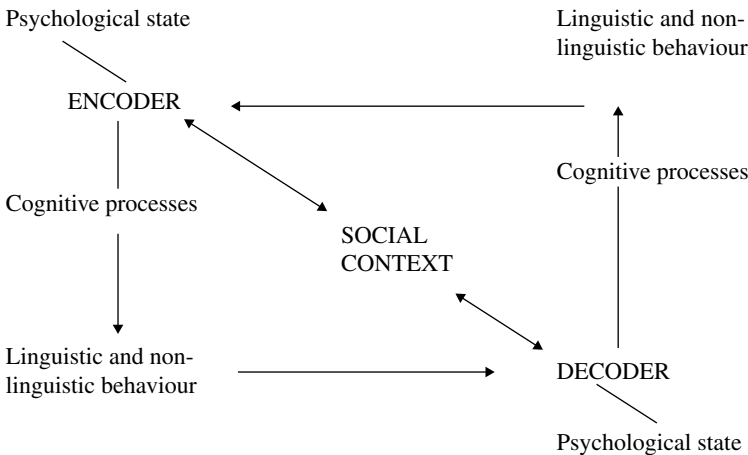
Figure 4.1   Giles' model of the interactive processes and factors involved in speakers' adjustments during face-to-face conversation. *Source*: Giles (1979: 19, Figure 1.1).

in the codification and decodification of verbal language behavior and taking into account the role of social context (prior knowledge, expectancies, attribution of what the other is intending to communicate, etc.). This model ultimately aimed to find out more about the social psychological factors mediating the processes of encoding and decoding verbal and non-verbal behavior by participants in a conversational encounter after eliciting social judgments through listening to speech, such as the listener's translation of attitudinal responses or intentions into behavioral acts, or their influence on the listener's response to the speaker. As Robinson and Locke (2011: 61) point out, "[f]or any social encounter, the sociocultural context of situation along with the cumulative experience, habits, competence, and immediate goals of the interactants will set the opening non-verbal and verbal markers of relevant personal and/or social identities, and adjustments to these will arise out of the progress or otherwise of the talk toward the desired goals of the participants." For this reason, the social psychology of language, according to Giles and Fortman (2004: 99), "examines how individuals are actively concerned with creating their own (as well as others') sociopsychological reality – and the use of language as a means of fashioning and controlling this" (see also Giles and Robinson 1990; Giles and St. Clair 1979; Robinson and Locke 2011). "Attitudes", "social identity", and "accommodation" are the most widely used concepts in this field.

4.1.1.   Language Attitudes

As Ryan, Giles, and Hewstone (1988: 1068) underlined, attitudes are a very important source of information about the public treatment – in terms of status and esteem – of language varieties, telling us about their health within society. Language varieties are often associated with deep-rooted emotional responses, or social attitudes such as thoughts, feelings, stereotypes, and prejudices about people, about social, ethnic and religious groups, and about political entities. These emotional responses and perceptions of language and dialect phenomena are biased by cultural, social, political, economic, and historical facts, and other circumstances within the speech community. Sociolinguistically-based research is helping to build a more complete and accurate picture of the speaker's linguistic behavior, in the context of his or her complex social psychology, as well as of the regard for language use within the community, an understanding of the dynamics of speech communities as well as of the subjective life of language varieties. In addition, the attitudinal evaluation of a linguistic variety (language, dialect, accent) or linguistic form constitutes the third stage in Labov's (1972a) sociolinguistic model of linguistic change (constraints, embedding, evaluation, transition, and actuation) (see also 2.1.6 and 2.2.1).

   Pioneering studies in the development of language attitudes research were carried out by Giles and Trudgill in the 1970s and more recently by Baker (1992), Coupland and Bishop (2007), Garrett (2005), Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003), or Franco-García (2012), among others. Attitudes to different varieties of British English were reported by Giles (1971a, 1971b, 1971c), who demonstrated that in Britain speakers with the RP accent are perceived as having more competence – more intelligent, more reliable and more educated – but less social integrity and attractiveness – sincerity and kindheartedness (less friendly and sociable) – than regionally accented speakers. These results were obtained by means of the *matched-guise* technique[1]. Groups of subjects are played recordings and asked to give their opinions on them – just from their voices – with regard to the speakers' attributes and capabilities, locating them on scales ranging from "very intelligent" to "very unintelligent",

"very educated" to "very uneducated", and "very friendly" to "very unfriendly". As a result, the same speaker is evaluated radically differently according to the accent used: when using a local accent, the speaker was perceived as less intelligent and less educated but more friendly, but when using RP accent, *the same* speaker was judged to have the opposite attributes: more intelligent, more educated, and less friendly. As Trudgill (1983a: 139–140) stated:

> This illustrates the way in which we rely on stereotypes when we first meet and interact with people […] and use the way they speak to build up a picture of what sort of person we think they are. An RP-speaker may be perceived, as soon as he starts speaking, as haughty and unfriendly by a non-RP speaker, unless and until he is able to demonstrate the contrary. He is, as it were, guilty until proved innocent.

The situation in England is largely a result of the strong relationship between accent and dialect, on the one hand, and social and regional background, on the other (Trudgill 1975a: 21): the higher the social class of a speaker, the less regional his accent, and the less he uses local grammatical and lexical forms – and vice versa. Trudgill and Giles (1978) carried out an experiment to determine the extent of social conditioning about the aesthetics of different British accents in the responses of native speakers. Ten different people with ten different British English accents were recorded reading the same passage of prose. They were played to different groups of English informants to obtain their aesthetic judgments of these accents. The result was the following rank order of ten different accents on the pleasant–unpleasant dimension:

1. RP (BBC) accent
2. South Wales accent
3. Yorkshire accent
4. North Ireland accent
5. Geordie accent (Tyneside: Newcastle)
6. West Country accent (Gloucestershire)
7. Glasgow accent
8. Liverpool accent (Scouse)
9. Birmingham accent (Brummie: West Midlands)
10. London accent (Cockney)

A noticeable aspect of this ranking is the fact that the accents at the bottom are all from large urban areas, those in the middle are more rural accents, and at the top of the list we find the RP, or "BBC", accent: urban accents do not enjoy such high prestige because they have negative connotations (such as smoke, grime, heavy industry, and work), while rural accents are associated with positive ideas such as clean air and holidays. RP is probably considered the most pleasant due to its association with education, wealth, power, status, and, undoubtedly, prestige (Andersson and Trudgill 1990: 134; Trudgill 1975a: 37–38). But the same recordings were played to a number of groups of native English-speakers in America and Canada, and they did not recognize either the accents of the recordings or provenance of the speakers. As a result, the accents had no connotations for them. Judgments of this type about accents are therefore not aesthetically based, simply because there are no intrinsic aesthetic values in linguistic varieties. In fact, there is a considerable amount of empirical evidence demonstrating that there is no inherent "ugliness" or "attractiveness" in any dialect or accent, and that any apparently aesthetically based evaluations of different accents can only be social judgments based on their social connotations:

> If we do dislike an accent, it is because of a complex of factors that have to do with our own social, political, and regional biases rather than with anything aesthetic. We like and dislike accents because of what they *stand for*, not for what they *are*. (Trudgill 1975a: 37–38)

On the basis of empirical studies like these, using the *matched-guise* technique, the *inherent value hypothesis* was discredited in favor of the *social connotations hypothesis* postulated by sociolinguists. The former stated that some linguistic varieties are inherently more attractive and pleasant than others, and that if they become accepted as standards or acquired prestige, it is simply because they are the most attractive. The latter maintains that aesthetic judgments of linguistic varieties are the result of a complex of arbitrary and subjective social connotations that those varieties have for particular listeners, since, linguistically speaking, there are no inherent aesthetic values in language varieties[2].

4.1.2.   *Social Identity Theory and the Linguistic Marketplace*

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed by the social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner during the 1970s and 1980s to account for individuals' interpersonal and intergroup behavior and relations within societal systems (Tajfel 1978, 1979; Tajfel and Turner 1979). Language is a perfect tool for expressing social identities because language acts are themselves acts of identity; and SIT stresses the fact that language is a potent signal of group consciousness, identity, and solidarity that individuals use strategically to test the integrity and potential permeability of groups or merely to maintain boundaries between them. According to Tajfel (1978), the multiplicity of social networks allows people to develop a polyhedric image and multifaceted behavior, exhibiting and identifying with multiple identities at different times and places and in different contexts of social relations and interaction. This means that social behavior varies along a continuum between interpersonal and intergroup behaviors. Some of these identities of the individual are more personal and idiosyncratic, but highly subject to variability (because people are versatile and can move from one group to another), whereas others are group-specific, accentuating uniformity within groups and the differences between them. Interpersonal behavior is behavior deter-mined solely by the characteristics and idiosyncratic aspects of the individual's personality, while intergroup behavior is behavior established solely by individual's membership in social categories. Perceived membership in a relevant social group makes people view contrasts between groups in terms of competition, readily favoring co-members over others with the practice of ingroup favoritism (or ingroup bias) and subsequent outgroup discrimination: a kind of preferential treatment towards those who are seen as belonging to the same ingroup. Social competition is predicted to occur where group boundaries are considered impermeable, and where status relations are considered to be reasonably unstable (Haslam 2001; Turner and Reynolds 2001).

Yet individuals may readjust ingroup language loyalties and practices according to the changing power dynamics of the linguistic market in intergroup contexts (Mesthrie 2001c: 492), stressing the multifaceted imaging of speakers. The Marketplace Theory was introduced by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977, 1991, 1998; Bourdieu and Boltanski 1975), and adapted to the patterns of sociolinguistic behavior by David Sankoff and Suzanne Laberge (1978). Within this framework, "the social and symbolic power of languages or language use does not derive from language as such, but from the settings – the particular contexts or markets – in which communication takes place" (Gogolin 2001). Fundamental

Virginia

North Carolina

Atlantic Ocean

Pamlico
Sound
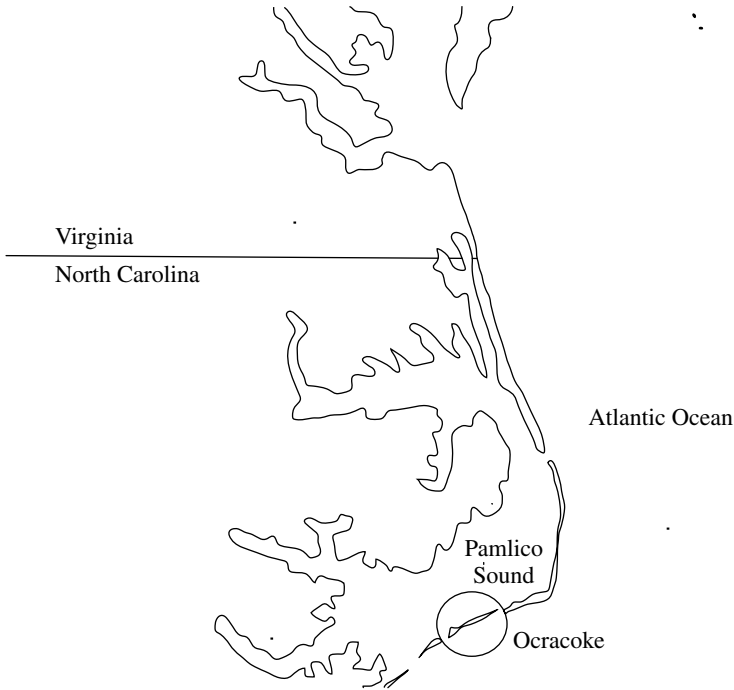
Ocracoke

Figure 4.2   Ocracoke in Outer Banks of North Carolina. *Source*: Wolfram, Hazen and Tamburro (1997: 9, Figure 1).

elements in this theory are the concepts of *habitus* and *field*: the former is the set of dispositions or predispositions that conditions the manner of action and reaction of the individual; the second is the social context within which individuals act (market). As Thompson (1991: 17) stated, this means that, given that speakers modify their speech production depending on the market conditions, any linguistic utterance is the product of the relation between the linguistic habitus and the linguistic market:

Linguistic Habitus + Linguistic Marketplace = Linguistic Expression/Discourse

The speaker's occupation, for example, strongly determines the way they speak, whatever their social and/or educational background: "people in certain occupations tend to use more standard varieties of language than other people at the same level of status, income, or education" (Guy 2011: 166). With this in mind, Sankoff and Laberge (1978: 239) designed a linguistic market index to measure "specifically how speakers' economic activity, taken in its widest sense, requires or is necessarily associated with, competence in the legitimized language." In the market theory, linguistic competence refers to the linguistic capacity to handle diversity and "generate an infinite number of discourses as the social capacity to use this competency adequately in specific situations" (Gogolin 2001: 613).

   In their study of Ocracoke English, a variety of American English spoken on Ocracoke Island, in the North Carolina Outer Banks (see Figure 4.2), Wolfram, Hazen, and Tamburro (1997) observed the sociolinguistic significance of dialect alignment in terms of the individual

Table 4.1 Ethnic identifications of Muzel Bryant, Anglo-American Ocracoker, Anglo-American Mainlander, and African-American Mainlander (listening N=101).

Identity	Muzel Bryant	Ocracoke Anglo–Am.	Mainland Southern Am.	Mainland Southern African–Am.
Percent identifying as African–American	60.4	3.5	15.2	96.5
Percent identifying as Anglo–American	39.6	96.5	86.8	3.5
p value	<.05	<.001	<.001	<.001

Source: Wolfram, Hazen, and Tamburro (1997: 32, Table 8).

speaker's daily language and linguistic personas. They found that individuals may align perfectly with more than one variety and more than one group through their verbal behavior by performing varying degrees of each variety at different times (see Table 4.1). An example is the speaker Muzel Bryant, who used the minority African-American vernacular and majority Anglo-American Ocracoke variety; her scores exhibited a distinct position with a missed dialect alignment, corroborating Wolfram and Fasold's (1974: 16) assertion: "because all societies recognize different types of behavioral roles, we may predict that no society, regardless of size, will evidence complete homogeneity in speech patterns." Correspondingly, the polyhedric imaging of speakers makes any trans-situational systematic maintenance of a verbal and non-verbal behavior unlikely.

4.1.3. *Communication Accommodation Theory*

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is a framework concerned with the dynamic negotiation of identities and perceptions between interlocutors in natural conversational situations of social interaction. This theory was designed in the 1970s by Howard Giles (1973, 1980, 2009) to account for interpersonal and/or intergroup influence through individuals' verbal accommodative phenomena in social encounters involving face-to-face interaction (see also Giles and Smith 1979). It focuses on the individuals' attuning linguistic behavior in intergroup communication: adjustments of speech production patterns, or communicative performance, made by speakers in the presence or absence of others to strengthen the salience of their personal and/or social integrity, identity as well as group membership, or just to maintain distance; that is, given that language is socially diagnostic (or socially indexical – see 6.2.1), it explores why speakers modify their sociolinguistic behavior in the presence of others in the way and to the extent that they do (Trudgill 1986: 2). As Giles and St Clair (1979: 17) noted, "language is not a homogeneous, static system. It is multi-channelled, multi-variable and capable of vast modifications from context to context by the speaker, slight differences of which are often detected by listeners and afforded social significance." This means that individuals normally tend to accommodate to others by adjusting their communicative behavior to the roles contextually assigned to them or that they personally intend to project in a given situation.

   Giles thus viewed stylistic variation as the effect of speakers' attunement, or accommodation, to the norms associated with different addressees: speakers make adjustments to the way they speak according to the situation in which they find themselves and, crucially, the people they are talking to. Individuals are often subject to opposing

status, power, and solidarity pressures, and have to opt for different linguistic forms. The diverging or converging option selected is basically an indication of individuals' social motivational tendencies, wishing to dissociate themselves from and impose their superiority on other speakers; or, conversely, to show their solidarity with the social group to which they think to belong or with which they wish to associate: "…accommodation is to be seen as a multiply-organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 60–61). A drive to approximate one's language to that of one's interlocutors by reducing dissimilarities is *accent convergence*: "if the sender in a dyadic situation wishes to gain the receiver's social approval, then he may adapt his accent-patterns towards that of this person, i.e. reduce pronunciation dissimilarities" (Giles 1973: 90). The opposite process, *accent divergence* is the distancing of one's language from that of one's interlocutors by strengthening dissimilarities in order to assert one's own identity, dissociate oneself from or show disapproval of others: "if the sender wishes to dissociate himself from the receiver (maybe because of unfavourable characteristics, attitudes or beliefs), then there may exist tendencies opposed to the receiver, i.e. emphasize pronunciation dissimilarities" (Giles 1973: 90).

   Archetypical convergence reflects an individual's conscious or unconscious desire for social approval and thus integration or identification with another by increasing verbal behavioral similarity. Psychologically, convergence implies a climate of interpersonal and/or intergroup association. In fact, as Giles (2001a: 194) asserts, this process allows an increase in "speakers' perceived (a) attractiveness; (b) predictability and supportiveness; (c) level of interpersonal involvement; (d) intelligibility and comprehensibility; and (e) speakers' ability to gain their listeners' compliance"[3]. Unlike convergence, classic divergence reveals an individual's motivation for social distancing, and maintenance or creation of a social identity by increasing perceived dissimilarities in speech production. It normally takes place in intergroup situations where the participants come from different social backgrounds, and, accordingly, is "a tactic of intergroup distinctiveness of individuals in search of a positive social identity" (Giles 2001a: 1985). Psychologically, divergence implies a climate of interpersonal and/or intergroup disassociation. Using accent divergence, members of an ingroup can accentuate their differences from an outgroup. In this way, the trans-situational maintenance of a particular verbal behavior and of divergent discourse management strategies is often seen as an overt signal of personal disdain, rudeness, and hostility[4]. Both convergence and divergence can take the following forms depending on the convergent or divergent strategies used by speakers:

i)   *Upward* or *downward*, depending on the relative sociolinguistic status of the convergee or divergee;
ii)   *Full, partial*, or *cross-over*, even with cases of hypercorrection by using more (or less) exaggeratedly a salient (prestigious) form;
iii)   *Symmetrical* or *asymmetrical*, depending on its reciprocity: whether both participants converge/diverge or just one of them;
iv)   *Objective* or *subjective*, comparing what speakers think they are doing with what they are actually doing.

   The explanation of style-shifting processes as the effect of speakers' attention to their own speech proposed by Labov (1966) assumed an excessively egocentric social behavior

and did not take into account the crucial effect of interlocutors. The attunement processes in Giles' CAT, however, viewed speakers and listeners as co-participants in social and conversational interaction (Meyerhoff 2006: 52). In fact, "[a]n important aspect of this alternative view of the way speakers shift between styles is that it foregrounds the importance of the speaker's and addressee's relationship and their attitudes towards one another" (Meyerhoff 2006: 41).

With its exploration of the ideological structures underlying speech attunement acts (see also 2.2.2), interpersonal accommodation theory is "uniquely able to attend to (a) social consequences (attitudinal, attributional, behavioral, and communicative), (b) macrosocietal factors, (c) intergroup as well as interpersonal variables and processes, (d) discursive practices in naturalistic settings, and (e) individual lifespan language shifts and community-wide language change" (Giles 2001a: 197). For example, Trudgill (1986) suggested that the processes outlined in Giles' CAT can generate linguistic modifications in conversational face-to-face interaction between speakers of different dialect or accent backgrounds, and even facilitate the possible diffusion of a linguistic change. That is to say, linguistic accommodation to salient linguistic features of other accents/dialects in face-to-face interaction is crucial in the process of geographical diffusion of linguistic innovations[5]. In fact, "diffusion can be said to have taken place, presumably, on the first occasion when a speaker employs a new feature in the *absence* of speakers of the variety originally containing this feature" (Trudgill 1986: 40). Many of the linguistic processes that take place in dialect contact situations between two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language have to do with the transference of features from one variety to the other (Auer 2007b; Auer and Hinskens 2005; Trudgill 1986). The dialects that are socially in contact may become linguistically changed in the competences of individual speakers as a result of psychological contact. Considering both short-term accommodation between members of the same region or speech community and long-term accommodation between members of different speech communities or regions and using quantitative linguistic analysis as a research tool, Trudgill (1981, 1986) explored a number of questions about accommodation, such as which linguistic features it affects, in what order, to what degree, and why. The ultimate goal was the detection of regularities in accommodation conditions to provide a basis for theoretical generalizations and consequently the prediction of linguistic change and diffusion in dialect contact and dialect mixture situations. A key concept here is the relative *salience* of a dialect feature, which is a measure of both how aware speakers of other dialects are of it and how distinctive it is to them, and their readiness to vary or accommodate to it: "accommodation does indeed take place by the modification of those aspects of segmental phonology that are *salient* in the accent to be accommodated to" (Trudgill 1986: 20). This salience affects the *route* of acquisition and is related to four factors – stigmatization, linguistic change, phonetic distance, and phonological contrast – which also condition the degree of accommodation. But there are also accelerating factors – comprehension difficulties and phonological naturalness – and inhibiting factors – phonotactic constraints, homonymic clash, and extra-strong salience – which affect the *rate* of acquisition of particular salient features and that cannot be predicted *a priori*. Thus, "we would expect *salient* features to be diffused rather than non-salient features. And we would expect some features to be diffused more quickly than others, depending on the degree of salience and the number and strength of inhibiting and/or accelerating factors […] that are relevant in each case" (Trudgill 1986: 43). If route is related to "order", rate is associated with "speed" of acquisition of features. Trudgill (1986) also found that the route followed during long-term accommodation by post-adolescents or adults was fixed: in the case of linguistic

accommodation of British English speakers to American English, the majority of them conformed to the following pattern:

1.   – / t / – >   -[ɖ]-
2.   /a:/   >   / æ / in *dance* etc
3.   [ɒ]   >   [ɑ] in *top* etc.
4.   Ø   >   /r/ / __ $\begin{cases} C \\ \# \end{cases}$

The first linguistic feature that native speakers of British English living in the USA tend to adopt is the realization of the voiceless stop /t/ in intervocalic position as a flap [ɖ] in words such as *better* or *latter*, followed by the realization of words such as *dance, last, path, and half*, with vowel /æ/ rather than British English /a:/. The rounded realization of vowel /ɒ/ as [ɑ] in words like *top* or *hot* is the next feature to accommodate, though there is some risk of homonymic clash of the American realization of *hot, pot*, and *cod* with the British *heart, part*, and *card* respectively. Finally, despite its salience, rhoticity is the last of these feature to accommodate, due to phonotactic constraints on the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/, which may also dramatically affect the native vowel system: one of the main differences between General American English and British English is the fact that the latter has not pronounced /r/ in postvocalic positions such as *far, car*, or *four* since the eighteenth century (Hernández-Campoy 2013; Trudgill and Hannah 1982/2008; Trudgill and Hernández-Campoy 2007)[6]. In contexts with factors favoring and accelerating accommodation, such as the neutralization of comprehension difficulties or phonological naturalness, the detection of regularities or propensities in the process can help to predict the route a linguistic form may follow, as well as to explain which features would survive, or not, in dialect contact and dialect mixture situations (Trudgill 1986: 24).

In the case of dialect contact in Peninsular Spanish, the route of accommodation from Murcian Spanish to Standard Castilian is as follows (Hernández-Campoy 2010):

1.   Intervocalic /r/ retention (*para*: [pa] → [ˈpaɾa])
2.   No consonant permutation (*argo → algo*)
3.   Word-final postvocalic /l/ retention (*canal*: [kæˈnæ] → [kaˈnal])
4.   Word-final postvocalic /r/ retention (*comer*: [kɔˈmɛ] → [koˈmer]);
5.   Intervocalic /d/ retention (*comido*: [kɔˈmio] → [koˈmiðo])
6.   No consonant assimilation (*tacto*: [ˈtatto] → [ˈtakto])
7.   No word-internal postvocalic /s/ assimilation (*canasta*: [kaˈnatta] → [kaˈnasta])
8.   Word-final postvocalic /s/ retention (*casas*: [ˈkæsæ] → [ˈkasas])

This ranking from the most to least likely candidates for accommodation reveals, unsurprisingly, that, given the overt prestige of Standard Spanish vis-à-vis the Murcian dialect, speakers mostly accommodate to the standard following a particular route, in an implicational scale relationship: there is a group of linguistic variables which are prone to adjust to Standard Spanish – word-final postvocalic /r/ deletion, word-final postvocalic /l/ deletion, intervocalic /r/ deletion, and consonant permutation. However, there is another group which is reluctant to conform to the standard – word-final and word-internal postvocalic /s/ and consonant assimilation – due to their social significance within the community.

Therefore, as Meyerhoff (2006: 80) states, "[a]ccommodation theory stresses the importance of speakers' attitudes to their addressee, and the resulting dynamism in interactions.

It also provides us with a context for comparing what speakers think they are doing with what they actually are doing." Consequently, viewed in the light of this theory, speakers and listeners "have advanced from selecting particular units and structures in single utterances and extended exchanges to the adoption of adjustments that pervade their total communicative performance. In doing so, they are marking their presented personal and social identities and regulating certain qualities of their social relationships at a very general level" (Robinson and Locke 2011: 63).

4.2.   Bakhtin and Dialogism

The writings of the Russian philosopher, literary critic, and semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) inspired scholars working in traditions and disciplines as diverse as literary criticism, history, philosophy, sociology, critical discourse analysis, ethnography, anthropology, and psychology. Bell (2007a) claims Bakhtin as a "forerunner of contemporary sociolinguistics", in the sense of a foreshadowing theorizer of social language, although his influence is felt not so much on variationist micro-sociolinguistics but on macro-sociolinguistics (mainly ethnographic sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis). Bakhtin shared with Labov, Hymes, and Trudgill a dissatisfaction with previous theoretical linguistic paradigms (Saussure and Chomsky) and his thinking is also largely a reaction against them, as it was for sociolinguists in the 1960s (see 3.1). He recognized the Saussurean *langue–parole* dichotomy, but regretted its inability to accept and account for the potential contextually-specific emergence of meaning from actual individual utterances: "he argued that it offers no way of explaining how particular meanings are generated within particular utterances" (Marshall 2001: 128). Likewise, the Chomskyan *competence–performance* dichotomy assumed an exceptionally ideal grammar to which actual speech performance can only be imperfectly compared (Marshall 2001: 129).

Bell (2007a) highlights three related concepts in Bakhtin's work that have been fundamental for his sociolinguistic thought fulfilled as *dialogism*, and crucial in Bell's own model accounting for style-shifting: i) centripetal and centrifugal language forces, ii) heteroglossia and multiple voicing, and iii) addressivity and response.

4.2.1.   *Centripetal and Centrifugal Language Forces*

Bakhtin (1935/1981) used the image of the inertial effects of rotating forces from inside outwards and from outside inwards in centrifugal and centripetal motions (see Figure 4.3) respectively to describe the implications of heterogeneity and homogeneity situations in language.

Centripetal forces illustrate the result of the processes of homogenization in language: centralization, unification, standardization, normalization, regularization, and prescription. Contrarily, the dynamics of centrifugal forces imply processes of heterogenization in language, fostering variation and change: decentralization, disunification, diversification, divergence, individuality, and creativity, which are the usual concerns of sociolinguistics:

> Such a view of linguistic variety is home territory for sociolinguistics, but with unusual and enlightening inflections. Sociolinguists are on the side of the centrifugal. We who are students of language variety should also be the advocates of variety rather than of standardization – as we have often been historically in support for endangered or denigrated languages or dialects. (Bell 2007a: 100)
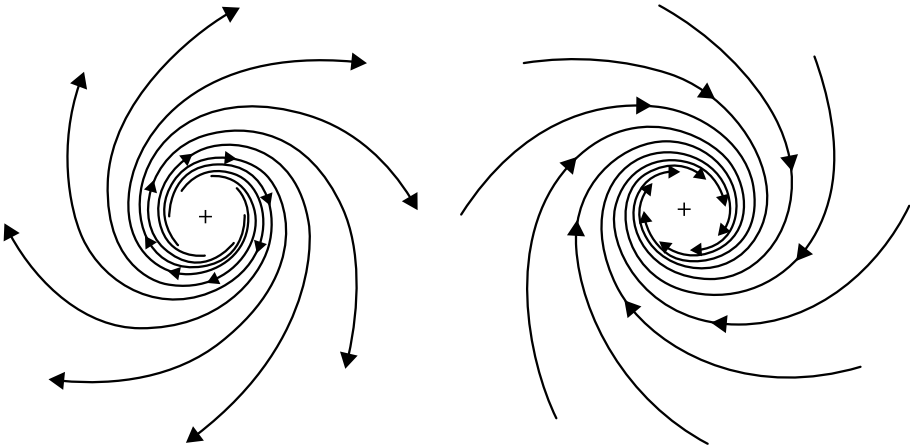
Figure 4.3 Centrifugal (from inside outwards) and centripetal (from outside inwards) motions.

As Marshall (2001: 128) states, "'[c]entripetal' here means a force working towards a unified language, to which the 'centrifugal' is a counterforce tendency, an undermining of such ambitions and pretensions." As a result, the abstract level of Saussure's *system* and Chomsky's *competence* was centripetal, denying heteroglossia and serving the needs of socio-political centralization (Marshall 2001: 129). Centripetal forces inevitably lead to adjustments towards regularization, where regularity can then become normative as a standard of "right" and "wrong" (Pateman 2001: 35). In fact, the concept of standard language is inevitably associated with extralinguistic practices (Lewis 1982). The rise of standard varieties is a process of centripetalism normally motivated by economic, social, cultural, political, geographic, and historical circumstances, and related to such social practices as the nationalistic centralization of states. Together with these extralinguistic factors, standardization also conveys ideological motivations. It is closely related to the process of nation-building and its subsequent tendencies towards nationalist centralization, as it favors the aims of internal integration and external segregation in terms of symbolism: language becomes a symbol for society. Additionally, in any process of linguistic standardization, the promotion of one variety to the status of standard triggers – as the other side of the coin – the devaluation and dialectalization of other linguistic varieties present within the boundaries of the multilingual or multidialectal nation-state, and impinges upon their domains. This means that the development of the standard may eventually lead to the authoritative extension of a class-based use of language as an example of correctness, inducing a majority of native speakers to believe that their (dialectal) usage is incorrect (Hope 2000; Trudgill 1975a, 2002). Along with a process of prestige norm-focussing, comes the association of the standard with the idea of correct, adequate, and aesthetic, on the one hand, and of the non-standard with that of incorrect, inadequate, and even unaesthetic, on the other. In the past, the view of languages in society was determined by the position occupied by certain European languages which had been established since the Renaissance as standardized national languages in the growing nation-states of Europe. Any other varieties were understood as deviations from the standard, inferior, or even "primitive" systems, and hence inadequate as means of communication. As J. Milroy (2001: 531) states, standardization constitutes the imposition of a "legitimized" uniformity upon linguistic variation for (social, economic, political, historical, regional, etc.) prestige reasons. In this way, for example,

standard varieties, such as RP in British English or Castilian Spanish in Spain, are centripetal varieties internationally recognizable and comprehensible that collide and compete with the rich mosaic of non–standard (centrifugal) varieties used as vernaculars in those nation–states (Hernández-Campoy 2007, 2011): "[t]he need for interpretation nicely encapsulates the contrasting footings of the standard and the vernacular, the international and the local, the centripetal and the centrifugal" (Bell 2007a: 103).

4.2.2.   *Heteroglossia and Multiple Voicing*

Bakhtin's introduces the term "heteroglossia" as the product of centrifugalism, stressing the endemic heterogeneous nature of language and, by extension, its multidimensional condition with the multiplicity of social languages – in terms of groups, purposes, ideologies, registers, and so on:

> The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day, even of the hour (each day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphases) – this internal stratification [is] present in every language at any given moment of its historical existence. (Bakhtin 1935/1981: 262)

Therefore, heteroglossia is the linguistic representation of social, contextual, and/or ideological differences. In fact, "[t]he entire dialectological makeup of a given national language, must have the sense that it is surrounded by an ocean of heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1935/1981: 368):

> At any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. (Bakhtin 1935/1981: 291)

Given that all words, constructions, and their pronunciations are inextricably bound to the context in which they exist, languages are incapable of remaining neutral:

> As a result of the work done by all these stratifying forces in language, there are no "neutral" words and forms – words and forms that can belong to "no one"; language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world. All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. Contextual overtones (generic, tendentious, individualistic) are inevitable in the word. (Bakhtin 1935/1981: 293)

In this way, heteroglossia is "present at the micro level of language where variationist sociolinguistics does its work, individual features within single utterances" (Bell 2007a: 103).

4.2.3.   *Addressivity and Response*

The mutually dependent characteristics of addressing and responding to another person in social interaction are central not only to Bakhtin's dialogism but also to Bell's Audience Design (AD) framework. Dialogism conceives language as heteroglossic dialogue (see also Gardiner 1992; Holquist 1990/2002). Dialogue is understood by Bakhtin as the basic instantiation of language, where addressivity and response are crucial elements of the cooperative dialogic process between speaker (addresser) and hearer (addressee): "[t]he reciprocity of speaker and hearer in creating an utterance is of paramount significance for Bakhtin, who expresses it as shared territory – a common enough concept for sociolinguistics" (Bell 2007a: 105). Language acts as a bridge thrown to connect the two sides: "[a] word is a bridge thrown between myself and another. If one end of the bridge depends on me, then the other depends on my addressee. A word is territory shared by both addresser and addressee, by the speaker and his interlocutor" (Voloshinov 1929/1973: 86). The basic components of Bakhtin's dialogism are:

i)   *Addressivity*: dialogism regards the addressee as being as important as the speaker:

Bakhtin does not talk about speakers but rather about "the speaking person". This is impor-
tant. Sociolinguists can become inured to the term "speaker", and speakers can ironically
become too easy to depersonalize, to treat as subjects, informants, eventually objects. But the
speaking person is foremost a *person*, and this emphasis accords with Bakhtin's stress on
addressivity and response, and on language as something that occurs between people. This
also closes the circle to the study of style, which is first and foremost the variety of ways that
individual speaking persons use language in dialogue with others. (Bell 2007a: 109)

ii) *Responsiveness*: dialogism treats response as being as active and essential to communica-
tion as initiative:

An essential (constitutive) marker of the utterance is its quality of being directed to someone,
its *addressivity*. As distinct from the signifying units of a language – words and sentences – that
are impersonal, belonging to nobody and addressed to nobody, the utterance has both an
author […] and an addressee. This addressee can be an immediate participant-interlocutor in
an everyday dialogue […] And it can also be an indefinite, unconcretized *other* […] Both the
composition and, particularly, the style of the utterance depend on those to whom the utter-
ance is addressed, how the speaker (or writer) senses and imagines his addressees, and the
force of their effect on the utterance […]
    The addressee of the utterance can, so to speak, coincide *personally* with the one (or ones)
to whom the utterance responds. This personal coincidence is typical in everyday dialogue or
in an exchange of letters. (Bakhtin 1953/1986: 95)

iii) *Intra-speaker Variation*: dialogism places "style" at the centre of linguistic variety and
variation, with accommodation playing a crucial role:

The person to whom I respond is my addressee, from whom I, in turn, expect a response (or
in any case an active responsive understanding). But in such cases of personal coincidence one
individual plays two different roles, and the difference between the roles is precisely what
matters here. After all, the utterance of the person to whom I am responding (I agree, I object,
I execute, I take under advisement, and so forth) is already at hand, but his response (or
responsive understanding) is still forthcoming. When constructing my utterance, I try actively

to determine this response. Moreover, I try to act in accordance with the response I anticipate, so this anticipated response, in turn, exerts an active influence on my utterance (I parry objections that I foresee, I make all kinds of provisos, and so forth). When speaking I always take into account the apperceptive background of the addressee's perception of my speech […] These considerations also determine my choice of a genre for my utterance, my choice of compositional devices, and, finally, my choice of language vehicles, that is, the *style* of my utterance. (Bakhtin 1953/1986: 95)

iv) *Heteroglossia*: Bakhtin's approach proposes a dialogical theory of language to encompass style and linguistic variety as fruits of the centrifugal forces that generate heteroglossia in language. His theoretical framework is based on the following principles summarized by Voloshinov (1929/1973: 98):

1. *Language as a stable system of normatively identical forms is merely a scientific abstraction*, productive only in connection with certain particular practical and theoretical goals. This abstraction is not adequate to the concrete reality of language.
2. *Language is a continuous generative process implemented in the social-verbal interaction of speakers*.
3. *The laws of the generative process of language are not at all the laws of individual psychology, but neither can they be divorced from the activity of speakers*. The laws of language generation are *sociological laws*.
4. *Linguistic creativity does not coincide with artistic creativity nor with any other type of specialized ideological creativity. But, at the same time, linguistic creativity cannot be understood apart from the ideological meanings and values that fill it*.
5. *The structure of the utterance is a purely sociological structure*. The utterance, as such, obtains between speakers. The individual speech act (in the strict sense of the word "individual") is a *contradictio in adjecto*.

Although Bell's approach, as he stresses (Bell 2007a: 106), "takes more account of the centrifugal as well as the centripetal forces in language" than Bakhtin's model does, they both start from the same assumptions:

General theoretical linguistics shows no more sign of encompassing sociolinguistics now than it ever has, still less of adopting it as the best way to do linguistics. To my mind what distinguishes sociolinguistics from linguistics is the former's interest in hearers, in the audience. Theoretical linguistics has no place for hearers. Chomsky's ideal speaker/hearer is in fact only a speaker. S/he never listens. I believe with Bakhtin that we should no more conceive of language without hearers than of a language that has no speakers. To acknowledge only – or even primarily – the speaker is to inevitably practice a-social linguistics. A dialogical theory of language is the foundation of a rounded sociolinguistic theory, placing stylistic variety at the heart of our enquiry, and asserting with Bakhtin the centrality of language to our humanness. (Bell 2007a: 109)

4.3. The Style Axiom: Audienceship and Responsiveness

In the 1980s, new theories based on "responsiveness", "audienceship", "addressivity", and "speaker agency" put the audience at the centre of stylistic variation. Emphasis was placed on the influence on language style of the audience as well as the speaker's orientation and attitude to addressees as reflected in the accommodation processes of social interaction: "… the

context of style is a *speaker* – a first person, an I, an ego, an identity or identities – together with the *situation* she or he is in – however we may believe that situation subsists or is identified, either theoretically or specifically" (Bell 2007a: 139). The roots of Bell's AD model, seeking to explain the causes of styling, run down through social psychological theories of accommodation and Bakhtin's cooperative dialogic processes between speakers and listeners, prioritizing addressivity, recipiency, and relationality (Coupland 2011: 146). In fact, as Meyerhoff (2006: 42) states, the term "audience design" "both classifies the behavior (the speaker is seen as proactively designing their speech to the needs of a particular audience) and encapsulates the presumed motive for the behavior (who is the speaker's audience)." Bell derived the term from Clark and Carlson's (1982) theory on speakers' illocutionary speech acts, as he admitted (Bell 2001b: 109):

> If speakers relied solely on conventional linguistic devices to convey what they meant, everyone who knew the language should have equal ability to understand them. But the examples we have offered suggest quite the opposite: when the speakers design their utterances, they assign differ- ent hearers to different roles; and then they decide how to say what they say on the basis of what they know, believe, and suppose that these hearers, in their assigned roles, know, believe, and suppose. That is, a fundamental property of utterances is one that we will call AUDIENCE DESIGN. To characterize informatives properly, we must first characterize the roles to which these hearers are assigned, and the ways in which speakers design their utterances with these hearers in mind. (Clark and Carlson 1982: 342)

Labov's deterministic approach is now disputed, as it suggests: i) that language is merely a dependent variable manipulated by extralinguistic factors (independent variables); and ii) that speakers are "sociolinguistic automata" (Giles 1973, 1980), whose speech behavior is programmed by sociological factors with no allowance for any agency or psychological influ- ences on the part of the speaker, such as moods and loyalties (Bell 1984: 183). Now we can see that language may also be an independent variable that can influence the situation (Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire 1982).

Bell (1982a) observed the individual sociolinguistic behavior of a group of newsreaders, who worked for two radio stations in the same New Zealand public broadcasting service and were able to switch between them very quickly: YA Station, the "National Radio", playing classical music and attracting a higher-status audience, and ZB Station, a local community radio station playing popular music and attracting a wider range of social groups (see Table 4.2 and Figure 4.4). Among other linguistic variables (both phonological and syntactic), he examined the increasing occurrence of *T*-voicing in intervocalic /t/ contexts. As in North-American English (though less consistently), in New Zealand English intervocalic /t/ may undergo a process of *T*-voicing, becoming the voiced flap [ɾ] in words like *city* or *better*. As a result, it has two possible realizations: as a voiceless or voiced stop [d]/[t] (the standard conservative realization) and as an alveolar voiced flap [ɾ] (the non-standard innovating tendency), so that minimal pairs such as *writer–rider* ([ˈraɪtə]–[ˈraɪdə]) and *better– bedder* ([ˈbetə]–[ˈbedə]) may become homophonous ([ˈraɪɾə] and [ˈberə]). *T*-voicing is part of a change in progress in New Zealand which originated as a working-class feature and that subsequently – in the 1990s – became well-established in the conversational style of young working-class people and spread into the middle classes. It has connotations of "sloppiness" in speech and of informality, but also, crucially, of Americanness, which is making this feature acquire prestige as part of changing and more positive attitudes to American influence (see also Bell 1982b; Coupland 2007: 75).

Table 4.2 Characteristics of YA and ZB radio stations.

Radio Station	Ownership	Audience	Community involvement	Programming	Music	Advertising	Announcer style	News "station"
1YA carries National Radio network from Wellington	New Zealand (public corporation)	Older, with higher education, professionals	–	Highly scheduled: news, current affairs, concerts, drama	"Light" Often from 1940s and 1950s	–	Detached, measured: Prestige radio, prestige speech	*YA*: National Radio news, live from Wellington *YAR*: Regional news from 1YA Auckland BBC: World Service relayed live from London
1ZB local Community Network station	Radio NZ	Age 30–50, family, mid status	Very high. Main local service and information station. Local sponsorships, interviews, advertising	Community information, sport, horse racing news, shopping tips, house–hold advice, local news	Popular, "middle of the road", established hits	A lot of advertising, much read in chatty fashion by announcer	Homely, familiar: Program "hosts"(especially breakfast session) are local notables	*ZB*: Community Network news relayed live from Wellington *ZBR*: Regional news from Auckland

Source: Bell (1991: 112–113, Table 6.1 adapted).
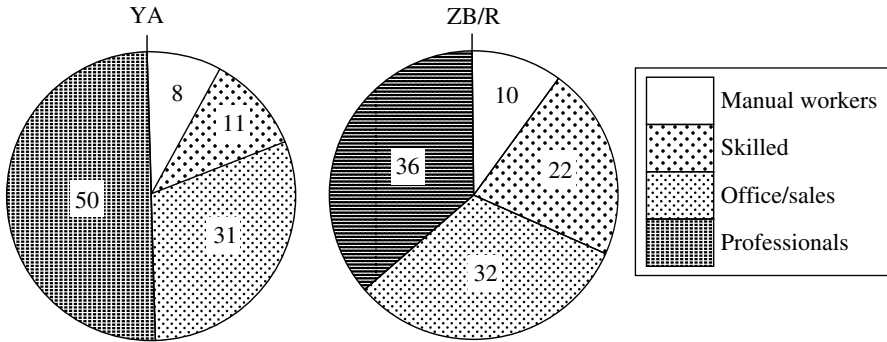
Figure 4.4 Occupation profiles of audiences for YA and ZB radio stations; percentage of station's audience. *Source*: Adapted from Bell 1991, Figure 6.2.
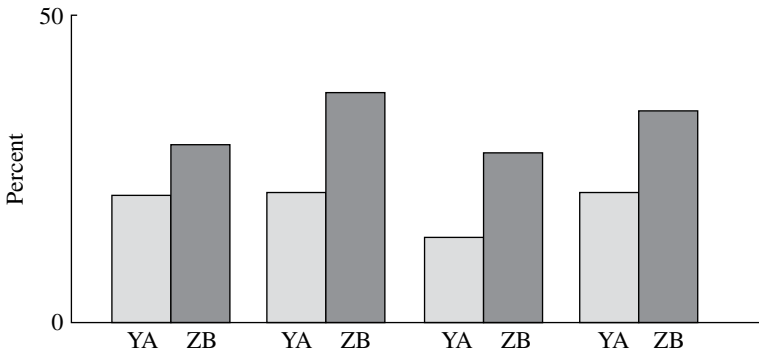
Figure 4.5 Scores (in percentages) of *T*-voicing in intervocalic contexts by four newsreaders on two New Zealand radio stations: YA and ZB. *Source*: Bell (1984: 171, Figure 9; 1982a: 162).

Bell found that the speech of the individual newsreaders was different when reading bulletins in one radio station or the other; they made considerable style shifts to suit their audience, although the two stations belonged to the same institution and shared a suite of studios: they tended to shift systematically from the more standard conservative form on YA to the less standard form on the lower-status ZB. As Figure 4.5 shows, the frequency of *T*-voicing was on average 20% higher on the ZB radio station than on the more conservative YA.

The explanation provided by Bell (1982a) for the newsreaders' sociolinguistic behavior appealed to their convergent and/or divergent speech attunements depending on audience, and was founded on ten essential principles that gave rise to a theory of style (Bell 1997, 2001a, 2007b): the AD model, which predicts that the speech of radio presenters is directly influenced by that of their audience. Bell also referred to similar results in studies by Selting (1983, 1985) and Coupland (1981, 1984, 1988). Selting (1983), for example, described how a radio presenter used Standard German when broadcasting, but shifted towards dialect forms when addressing non-standard-speaking members of the audience on the phone. Coupland (1980, 1981) quantified style shift according to topic

and addressee by observing conversations between a travel agent, her co-workers (tour operators, travel companies, etc.) and 51 clients in a Cardiff city-centre travel agency. Given the rich diversity of communicative modes and genres, topics, and participation frameworks in this service setting, the study allowed him to explore the sociolinguistic behavior – specifically, style-shifting – of a travel assistant with her socially diversified audience and topics: "one of the travel agency assistants, Sue, produced what appeared to be three distinct 'levels of standardness' across different speaking contexts in the course of her day-to-day work" (Coupland 2007: 69). That is, the assistant was able to shift her style significantly depending on the socio-demographic characteristics of clients, or on different topics, even with the same addressee:

> There appears to be a stylistic hierarchy, quantitatively speaking, of contexts, with the "casual" context being associated with Sue's most vernacular speech, through the "informal work-related" context, to the remaining two contexts, which are not so clearly distinguished from each other overall.
>
>   The variation ingrained in Sue's routine talk at work was potentially an interactional resource for her dealings with clients. (Coupland 2007: 72)

Tables 4.3–4.4 show Sue's scores for the five linguistic variables analyzed: (h)-dropping, (r)-realization in word-initial and intervocalic positions, intervocalic (t), consonant cluster reduction, and the realization of diphthong (ou). Figure 4.6 displays Sue's convergence to five occupational classes of clients as conventional sociological categories (Groups I, II, IIIN, IIIM, IV, and V, from highest to lowest occupational status) in her production of intervocalic (t). According to Coupland (2007: 73), "Sue's speech to clients is almost as reliable a marker of their social class as their own speech is."

Table 4.3 Percentages of non-standard variants of five sociolinguistic variables in four contexts of Sue's travel agency talk.

		Sociolinguistic Variables				
		(h)	(r)	(C cluster)	(intervocalic t)	(ou)
Context	*Casual*	85%	40%	88%	86%	88%
	Informal work-related	60%	36%	63%	55%	66%
	Client	14%	23%	39%	33%	61%
	Telephone	19%	15%	42%	38%	46%

Source: Coupland (2007: 72, Table 3.2; 1988: 87).

Table 4.4 Percentages of shift in travel assistant's speech according to change of topic (work to non-work) and change of addressee (highest to lowest class).

		Sociolinguistic Variables			
		(h)	(r)	(C cluster)	(intervocalic t)
Effect	Topic	25%	4%	25%	31%
	Addressee	32%	28%	37%	55%

Source: Coupland (1981: 154, 188; adapted by Bell 1984: 179, Table 6).
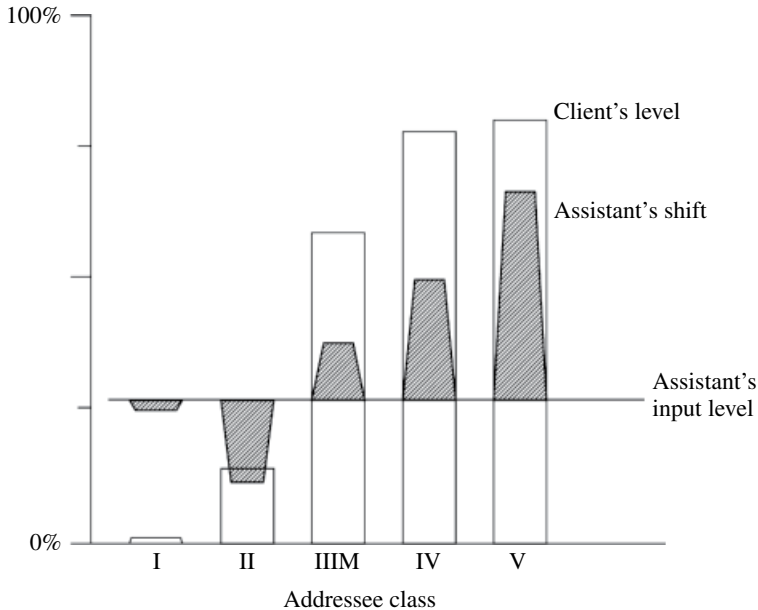
Figure 4.6   Sue's convergence on (intervocalic t) voicing to five occupation classes of client; input level taken as Sue's speech to "her own class". *Source*: Coupland (1984: Figure 4; 2007: 73, Figure 3.2) and Bell (1984: 165, Figure 8).

As stated in Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007: 129), similar phenomena can be found in the speech of a well-known Spanish TV presenter, María Teresa Campos, who speaks Standard Spanish throughout her programs, but shifts towards her (native) Andalusian variety quite noticeably when addressing someone from Andalusia.

At the level of press media, Bell (1985) studied the use of determiner deletion in seven of Britain's national daily newspapers in 1980 correlated with outlet's audience status in the form of readership. A common practice in news language is the deletion of the determiner in appositional naming expressions, such as:

> [the] Australian entrepreneur Alan Bond
> [a] Spanish tourist Josefa Morelli
> [his] fellow left-winger Bob Cryer

But, despite being a determiner deletion rule, its usage is indexical. Bell's study included three "quality" newspapers addressed to the highest-grade readership of upper-middle, middle-middle and lower-middle classes (*The Times, Guardian*, and *Daily Telegraph*); two addressed to a middle market (*Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*); and two "popular" newspapers addressed to a lower-class market (*Daily Mirror* and *Sun*). The results obtained after analysis of some 4,000 tokens of noun phrases potentially following this pattern showed a close reflection of audience status in linguistic style: the higher the quality of the paper (in terms of readership status), the lower the frequency of determiner deletion (see Figure 4.7). The same pattern was detected in Bell's comparison of newspapers in the United Kingdom, the United States, and New Zealand published between 1974 and 1990 (Bell 1977, 1985,
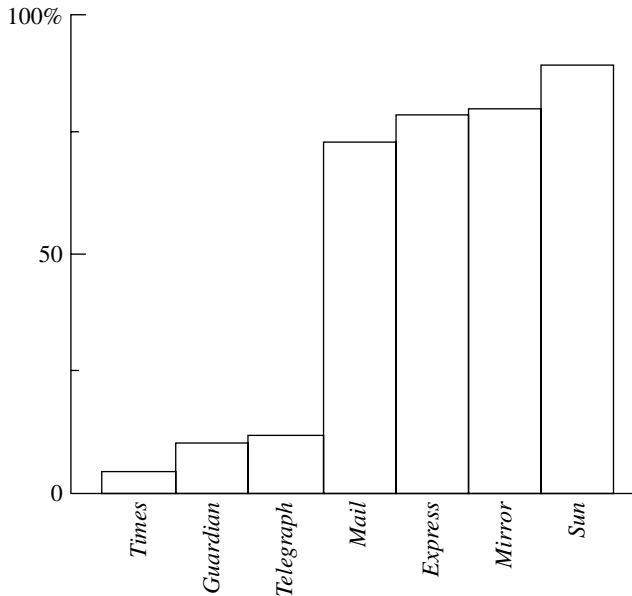
Figure 4.7   Percentages of determiner deletion in seven British daily newspapers: *The Times, Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Daily Express, Daily Mirror*, and *Sun*. *Source*: Bell (1991: 108, Figure 6.1).

1988). There was therefore a kind of AD in newspapers' policy on style choice, as in Bell's (1982a) radio broadcasting result patterns.

Labov's Attention to Speech framework portrayed an egocentric speaker solely conditioned by non-linguistic factors (such as the situation). However, Bell's AD model presents a picture of the speaker as an active co-participant in the construction and negotiation of a speech event as a social phenomenon, linking both individual and group identities: "he attributed some style-shifting to the effects of more personal relationships (i.e., design for an addressee) and some style-shifting to the effects of groups (i.e., design for what Bell called reference groups). In addition, as we have already noted, the mechanisms of audience design are presumed to operate with individuals standing in for a group" (Meyerhoff 2006: 72). Under these conditions, Bell (1997, 2001a, 2009) characterizes style as follows:

1. Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people;
2. Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups;
3. Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience;
4. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual, and multilingual;
5. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the "social" dimension;
6. Speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members;
7. Style-shifting according to topic or setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members;

8. As well as the "responsive" dimension of style, there is the "initiative" dimension, where the style shift itself initiates a change in the situation rather than resulting from such a change;
9. Initiative style shifts are in essence "referee design", by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group;
10. Style research requires its own designs and methodology.

4.3.1.   *Relational Activity*

Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people. (Bell 2001a: 141)

In contrast to the mechanistic Labovian model of stylistic variation, Bell's (1977, 1984) AD theory stated that people normally engage in style shifting in response to audience members rather than to shifts in amount of attention paid to speech: "style is oriented to people rather than to mechanisms or functions. Style focuses on the person" (Bell 2001a: 141). As a result, "[i]ntraspeaker variation is a *response* to interspeaker variation, chiefly as manifested in one's interlocutors" (Bell 1984: 158). Assuming the fact that language is predominantly and necessarily a social phenomenon in Bakhtinian terms, style-shifting for Bell is a dialogue-based product of speaker activity in interactive social contexts, marking both interpersonal and intergroup relations. In this relational activity, heteroglossia and multiple voicing are key elements in the dialogic processes of addressivity and responsiveness.

4.3.2.   *Sociolinguistic Marker*

Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups. (Bell 2001a: 142)

Style-shifting, according to Bell, is an outcome of the interrelation of inter-speaker variation, intra-speaker variation, and linguistic evaluation, because "historically, style differentiation of a variable is derived from social differentiation by way of social evaluation" (Bell 1984: 157). A linguistic variable allowing style-shifting is always the subject of evaluation by the members of the speech community. Accordingly, the same linguistic variable may simultaneously operate on both the social and stylistic dimensions, though at different levels: "if a feature is found to be more common in the lower classes than in the upper classes, it will also be more common in the less formal than the most formal styles" (Romaine 1980a: 228)[7].

As seen in 3.3.4 when dealing with sociolinguistic stratification, variation originates in a hierarchy of evaluative judgments where indicators only denote social stratification and markers exhibit both social and stylistic differentiation: "[i]f style variation derives from social variation, social variation comes first. So we can expect that, qualitatively, some linguistic variables will have both social and stylistic variation, some only social variation, but none style variation only – because style presupposes the social" (Bell 1984: 151–152). As a result, just as the social evaluation of a group is inevitably transferred to the salient linguistic features associated with that group, styles also carry group social meanings, since stylistic variation comes from inter-group language variation by way of social evaluation (see Figure 4.8).
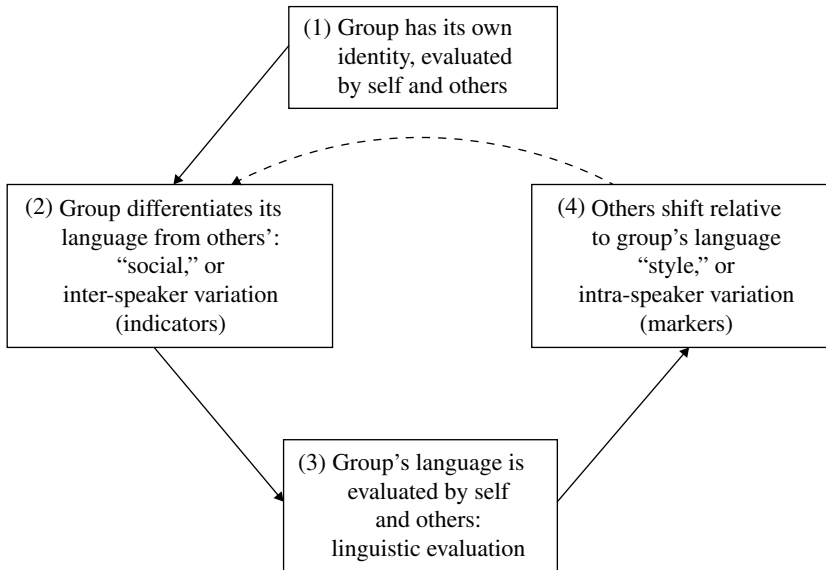
Figure 4.8 The derivation of intra-speaker from inter-speaker variation by way of evaluation. *Source*: Bell (1984: 152, Figure 2).

Consequently, the evaluation of a linguistic variable and its stylistic variants are reciprocal; i.e., evaluation and style shift are reciprocal:

Inter–speaker   - - - - - - - ▶   Evaluation   ◀———————▶   Intra–speaker
Variation   Variation
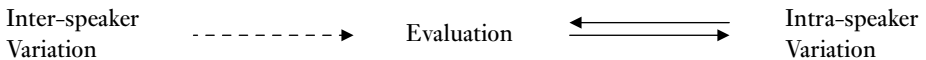
This co-occurrent pattern is what Labov (2001b: 86) calls "the sociolinguistic interface": "[i]n general, style-shifting is related to the degrees of social awareness of a linguistic variable by members of the community, which in turn is based on the level of abstractness in the structures involved." This pattern of co–occurrence of interspeaker and intraspeaker variation allowed Bell (1984: 167) to suggest a hypothesis where the normative basis of stylistic meaning enables a particular style to be straightforwardly associated with a particular group or situation:

> A sociolinguistic variable which is differentiated by certain speaker characteristics (e.g., by class or gender or age) tends to be differentiated in speech to addressees with those same characteristics. That is, if an old person uses a given linguistic variable differently than a young person, then individuals will use that variable differently when speaking to an old person than to a young person (cf. Helfrich 1979) – and, mutatis mutandis, for gender, race, and so on. In so far as women speak differently than men, they will be spoken to differently than men.

Style shift and evaluation of a variable always co–occur – assuming the presence of social differentiation in the variable – but social differentiation does not necessarily lead to evaluation and style shift; that is, indicators are not subject to evaluation unless they become markers. Style shift in a non–evaluated variable that can differentiate between speakers apparently starts as soon as speakers begin (unconsciously) to evaluate it (Bell 1984: 157).

4.3.3.   *Responsiveness and Audienceship*

Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. (Bell 2001a: 143)

Bell conceived style choice as an essentially responsive action to a present or absent audience: "[b]oth audience and nonaudience style design is 'responsive' shift – occurring in response to a change in the extralinguistic situation" (Bell 1984: 182). His model is based on the principle of linguistic accommodation and inspired by Bakhtin's cooperative dialogic processes between speakers and listeners, where, as seen above, addressivity, recipiency, and relationality are key elements:

> For someone to speak is to respond and be responded [...] I regard audience design, then, as part of a dialogic theory of language. That is, hearers as well as speakers are essential to and constitutive of the nature of language not just of its somehow abstracted production. This is why it is entirely natural that there should be a link between stylistic and inter-speaker differences. Dialogue is the natural instantiation of language. We should no more conceive of language without audience than of language without speaker. (Bell 2001a: 144)

Style-shifting is thus reactive rather than mechanistic or passive, since speakers engage in it in response to audience members rather than to amount of attention paid to speech: "[r]esponsiveness to the audience is an active role of speakers" (Bell 2001a: 143).

In the responsive framework of AD, Bell is especially interested in the consideration of the effects of addressees as audience members in terms of accent convergence or divergence (see also Auer and Hinskens 2005). Bell distinguished a number of rank roles in hearers according to whether or not the persons are known, ratified, or addressed by the speaker (Figure 4.9 and Table 4.5): addressees, auditors, overhearers, and eavesdroppers. The impact of audience members on the speaker's style-shifting is proportional to the degree to which the speaker
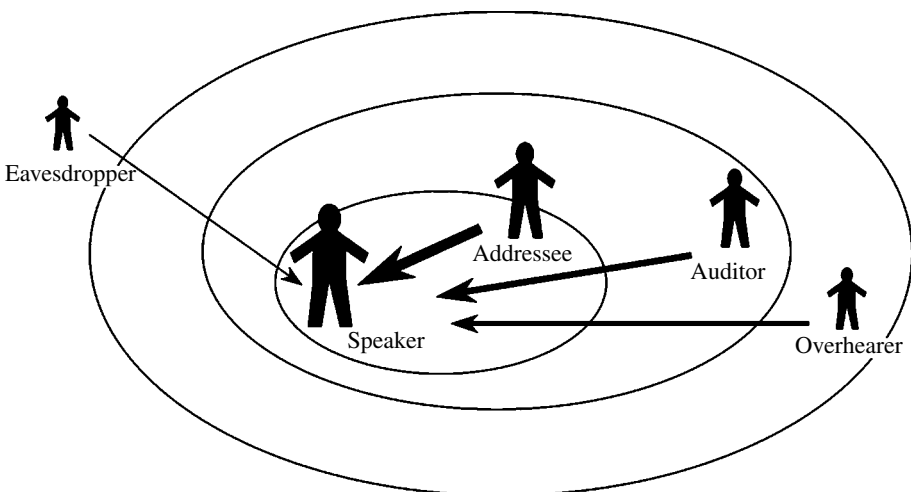
Figure 4.9   The strength of the effect of audience members. *Source*: Meyerhoff 2006. Reproduced with permission of Taylor & Francis Books UK.

Table 4.5 Hierarchy of attributes and audience roles according to their relationship with the speaker.

Audience	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee	+	+	+
Auditor	+	+	−
Overhearer	+	−	−
Eavesdropper	−	−	−

Source: Bell (1984: 160, Table 3).

recognizes and ratifies them. Non-personal elements, such as topic, setting, channel, or situation, also influence speech, although to a lesser degree.

In this hierarchy, the *speaker* is the primary participant at the moment of speech as a first person. The main interlocutor in the audience of the speech context is obviously the second person, in the form of *addressee*, known, ratified, and directly addressed by the speaker. The third person, the *auditor*, is a known and ratified member of the audience or group but not directly addressed. *Overhearers* are also third-person members of the audience, known to be present in the conversation by the speaker, but not ratified participants or addressed. Finally, an *eavesdropper* is another third-person party whose presence is unknown. In a class, for example, the teacher is the speaker addressing a student in a particular situation, both the student and the class are the audience, but the student is the addressee (known, ratified, and addressed) and the rest of the class are auditors (known and ratified, but not addressed). This is therefore an implicational order of audience roles with a different range of relational inter-action according to their role distance, where "audience design predicts that the speaker will attune their speech most to an addressee, next to an auditor, and then to any overhearers who the speaker thinks might be lurking around" (Meyerhoff 2006: 43).

In order to articulate this relational interaction between speaker and types of audience quan-titatively, Bell (1984: 160–161) proposed a function as a hypothesis, in which the closer the audi-ence role to the speaker, the higher linguistic variation: "[t]he effect on linguistic variation of each role is less than the effect of the role next closest to the speaker […] The amount of variation decreases as we move out from first person, to second person, to the remoter third persons":

Speaker > Addressee > Auditor > Overhearer

4.3.4. *Linguistic Repertoire*

Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual.
Bell (2001a: 144)

In addition to style-shifting, Bell also considered other features that articulate AD, given its application to all codes and repertoires employed within a speech community, such as:

i)   The particular choice of personal pronouns and address terms (Brown and Gilman 1960; Ervin-Tripp 1972): formal V or intimate T second person pronouns, for example;
ii) The use of politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987);
iii) The use of pragmatic particles (Holmes 1995); and
iv) The complete switch from one language to another in bilingual situations (Dorian 1981; Gal 1979):

The monolingual relies on the differential use and evaluation of linguistic forms to make them available as a resource for style-shift. The bilingual relies on the presence of the two languages in the community and in the interlocutor's (passive) repertoire. This does not downgrade the creativity of speakers or imply that they are passive. They are very active in exploiting the resources of their speech community. (Bell 2001a: 145)

A speaker in a bilingual situation is of course bound to take account of the audience's linguistic repertoire. But having two discrete languages available rather than a continuum of styles simply throws into sharper focus the factors which operate on monolingual style shift. The social processes are continuous across all kinds of language situations. What we may loosely term the formal/informal continuum is simply expressed in different code sets in different societies: by language choice in bilingual societies, by dialect switching in diglossic situations, and by style shift in monolingual societies. (Bell 1984: 176)

4.3.5.   *Style Axiom*

Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the "social" dimension. (Bell 2001a: 145)

Assuming that Bell's Style Axiom holds for a derivation and a function, with a cause-and-effect relationship of intra- and interspeaker variation dependent on social evaluation, it follows that:

1. Intra–speaker variation derives from inter–speaker variation: style-shifting arises from the variability that differentiates social groups, since it is social variation that enables style variation. Audience design appears as a speakers' strategy to reactively draw on the range of linguistic resources available in their speech community in order to respond to different kinds of audiences.
2. Intra–speaker variation is a function of inter–speaker variation: the wider the social variation, the wider the stylistic variation. As the axiom assumes that the same linguistic variables operate simultaneously on both the social and stylistic dimensions, and, given that social evaluation is the engine linking both (see 4.3.2), the range of variation of style shifts will never exceed that of social variation.

   As stated in 3.3.2 through the Principle of Range of Variability, despite sharing the same verbal repertoire and the same norms for sociolinguistic behavior, there are no single-style speakers of a language. Nevertheless, given that intra-speaker (stylistic) variation is largely a function of inter-speaker variation, some individuals exhibit a much wider range of stylistic variation than others: "[t]he fact that style shift falls short of social differentiation […] reflects the fact that speakers cannot match the speech differences of all their interlocutors – but they can approach them" (Bell 1984: 158). As a result, stylistic variation can be understood as the range of distinctive variation (lexical, pronunciation, grammatical) in the language production (speaking or writing) of individual speakers. But, as Bell (1984: 160) states, given that intra-speaker variation derives from the variability that differentiates social groups (inter-speaker variation), its range of variation will never be greater than the degree of the latter (Figure 4.10): "the variation that any one individual shows in their speech will never be greater than the differences between the groups that their style-shifting is derived from" (Meyerhoff 2006: 44).
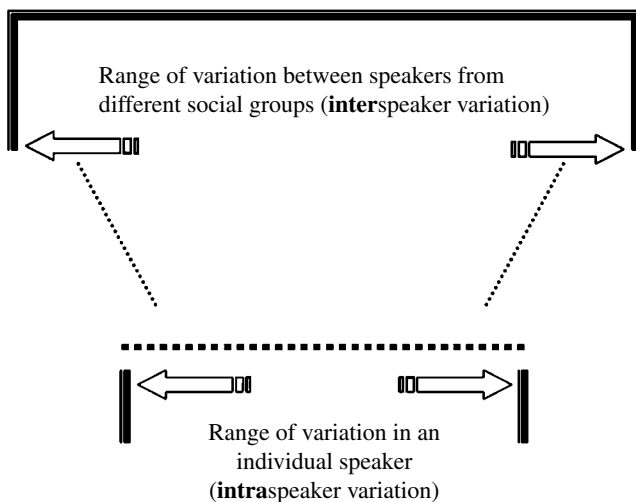
Figure 4.10 Inter-speaker and intra-speaker ranges of variation. *Source*: Meyerhoff (2006: 45, Figure 3.6).

This is what Labov (2001b: 86) calls "Bell's Principle", based on Bell (1984): "[i]n general, the range of social stratification is greater than the range of stylistic stratification, so that one may infer that speakers derive their stylistic parameters from observations of social differences in the use of language."

inter-speaker variation > intra-speaker variation

Thus, intra-speaker variation, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 200) point out, intersects with inter-speaker variation because the same linguistic variables operate simultaneously on both inter- and intra-speaker dimensions, with speakers in their more careful styles approximating progressively to the norm of higher-status social groups and vice versa. The significance of inter-speaker differences, as stated in 4.3.2, originates in the social evaluation of the users of a given linguistic feature. It is this intersection between the stylistic and the social dimensions that makes style a crucial sociolinguistic concept, producing markers as opposed to indicators. A nice example is the case of Table 3.6 and Figure 3.12 in Section 3.3.3, which shows results for the correlation of social class and styles for (ng) in Norwich. Trudgill (1974) found an inverted symmetrical pattern in which the most formal lower class speech equals the most informal higher class speech, because the MMC in their casual style used, on average, the same amount of non-RP forms as the LWC did in their most formal styles, and vice versa. For this reason, there is a point along the symmetrical axis where, as Labov (1972a: 240) illustrated, objectively and quantitatively it would be difficult to distinguish "a casual salesman from a careful pipefitter."

Preston (2001a) complements Bell's (1984) claim that stylistic variation reflects status variation with the notion that status variation reflects variation determined by linguistic factors. For this, he uses a funnel shape to represent the strength of different factors that influence variation, with its parts and hierarchical relations (see Figure 4.11): "since persons of different social status groups use different linguistic features (and/or the same features in
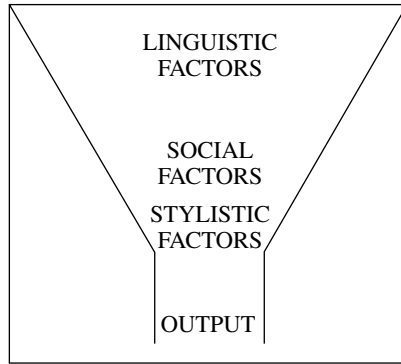
Figure 4.11   Preston's funnel characterizing the strength of different factors influencing variation.
Source: Preston (2001a: 280, Figure 16.1); also from Preston (1991).

different proportions), speakers make use of those differences in their stylistic variation, an adjustment which Bell calls 'audience design'" (Preston 2001a: 279). Different quantitative sociolinguistic studies, according to Preston (2001a: 279), have shown that "the range of variation is largest for an influencing linguistic factor and larger for at least one status factor than for the stylistic one."

This means that if a variable has no inter-speaker variation, it will not have intra-speaker variation: "[t]he style axiom implies that there must be variation between speakers in a community for a variable to be subject to style shift in the speech of one speaker" (Bell 1984: 157).

Hypercorrections (Labov 1966; Winford 1978) and *hyperstyles* (Woods 1979) are, according to Bell (1984: 154), the two possible exceptions to the pattern that intra-speaker does not exceed inter-speaker differentiation. In these cases, style shift exceeds social differentiation: "[a] group of speakers breaks out of its normal class stratification through extreme style shift, which results directly in style shift exceeding social differentiation" (Bell (1984: 154). They appear graphically as cross-overs: a deviation from expected sociolinguistic structure on both the social and stylistic axes (Figure 3.14), as opposed to indicators, which have a consistent parallel linear pattern representation of the sociolinguistic differentiation among groups (Figure 3.13), or markers, with a (positive or negative) gradient pattern of reciprocal deviation, both social and stylistic (Figure 3.2, Figure 3.11, or Figure 3.12).

The axiom operates both synchronically and diachronically, applying both to the historical origins of styles and the ongoing basis on which they carry social meaning:

> First, it operates synchronically for an individual speaker who, in specific situations, shifts style to sound like another speaker. Second, it operates diachronically for individual speakers who, over time, shift their general speech patterns to sound like other speakers (e.g., after moving to a different dialect region). Third, it operates diachronically for an entire group of speakers which, over time, shifts its speech to sound like another group. (Bell 1984: 151)

4.3.6.   *Accommodative Competence*

Speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members. (Bell 2001a: 146)

In Bell's framework, speakers, being aware of what their talk means to the addressee, respond primarily to their audience in designing it. As seen in 4.1.3, following Giles' SAT, speakers accommodate their speech style to that of their hearers in order to gain approval or show solidarity by increasing linguistic similarities (convergence), or, conversely, may accentuate linguistic differences if they wish to establish social distance or show disapproval (divergence). In a conversation, as Laver and Trudgill (1979: 28) point out, "being a listener to speech is not unlike being a detective. The listener not only has to establish what it was that was said, but also has to construct, from an assortment of clues, the affective state of the speaker and a profile of his identity." Correspondingly, within the Bakhtinian cooperative dialogic process between speaker and hearer (see Section 4.2), for the speaker, attunement and accommodation take place according to the situation in which they find themselves and also to their profile (who they are):

> … the relation of nonpersonal to interpersonal style shift has a quantitative as well as qualitative aspect. We may expect, then, that the degree of topic-designed shift will not exceed audience-designed shift. The evidence is also that style shift to different audiences is more finely graded than shift for different topics. (Bell 1984: 180)

In fact, learning to make the appropriate sociolinguistic adjustments is part of the process of acquiring communicative competence to socialize in a community of speakers, in the form of a kind of accommodative competence. Crucial here is the breadth of the speaker's range of linguistic repertoire, as seen in 4.3.2 (see also 2.1.2).

4.3.7.   Discoursal Function

Style-shifting according to topic or setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members. (Bell 2001a: 146)

In connection with the accommodative competence for intra-speaker variation seen in 4.3.6, Bell proposed that audience has a discourse function in stylistic variation that associates topic types and audience types, where shifts according to topic echo shift according to audience: variation according to non-audience (topic, setting, channel, etc.) presupposes variation according to audience (addressee). This is because speakers tend to associate classes of topics or settings with classes of persons:

> … speakers associate classes of topics or settings with classes of persons. They therefore shift when talking on those topics or in those settings as if they were talking to addressees whom they associate with the topic or setting. Topics such as occupation or education, and settings such as office or school, cause shifts to a style suitable to address an employer or teacher. Similarly, intimate topics or a home setting elicit speech appropriate for intimate addressees – family or friends. The basis of all style shift according to nonpersonal factors lies then in audience-design shift. If we reject this explanation, the problem of finding a plausible account for the direction of nonaudience still remains. Bell (1984: 181)

The way we speak is thus a reaction to our audience's roles and the way we are actually or potentially spoken to: intra-speaker variation (style-shifting) is a response to inter-speaker variation (socio-demography and biological characteristics), as well as classes of topics, channels, or settings. In fact, according to Bell (1984: 167), there are three possible speaker's reactions in dialogues: i) speakers assess the personal characteristics of their addressees, and

design their style to suit; ii) speakers assess the general style level of their addressees' speech, and shift relative to it; and iii) speakers assess their addressees' levels for specific linguistic variables, and shift relative to those levels. The traditional personal attributes (social factors) are certainly influential, but so are the personality, motives, attitudes, and emotions of speakers or addressees (socio–psychological factors).

4.3.8.   Initiative Axis

As well as the "responsive" dimension of style, there is the "initiative" dimension, where the style-shift itself initiates a change in the situation rather than resulting from such a change. (Bell 2001a: 146)

Audience design stressed the primarily responsive nature of Bell's (1984) framework. But he also envisaged an initiative dimension in stylistic variation: style used as a dynamic force to change and redefine an existing situation, rather than a stylistic behavior resulting from such a situation. Language now becomes an independent variable which itself models and remodels the situation – now a dependent variable (Bell 2007b: 98). But this responsive–initiative distinction is a continuum rather than a dichotomy because:

> Response always has an element of speaker initiative; initiative invariably is in part a response to one's audience […] Initiative style shift can be encompassed within an extended framework of audience design. I have argued that all style shift is at base a speaker's response to the audience. A speaker who takes the initiative and redefines the situation through speech is still responding to the audience. Initiative shift is essentially a redefinition, by the speaker, of the relationship between speaker and addressee. Bell (1984: 184–185)

His initiative dimension is connected with Bakhtin's (1935/1981) *stylization* concept and Blom and Gumperz' (1972) *situational–metaphorical* switching dichotomy. Blom and Gumperz (1972) established the distinction between *situational switching*, where there is a regular association between language or dialect and social situation based on speech community norms, and *metaphorical switching*, where such regular associations are exploited through the use of idiomatic licenses. Obviously, situational switches – normally from non-standard to standard speech – reflect the community's norms of what is appropriate speech for certain audiences or situations. Conversely, metaphorical switches allow the shift from standard to non-standard speech, such as the use of non-standard forms in standard contexts "to provide anecdotal colour" (Bell 1984: 182). In this way, divergence is an initiative shift, a kind of reaction against the addressee, while convergence is responsive. The use of a formal style in an informal situation, for instance, which suggests divergence, can be used as a joke or to signal disapproval or social distance.

   Responsive and initiative styles, according to Bell (2001b: 110), "are treated as different but concurrent dimensions of language usage, manifesting the structure/agency duality familiar in social theory. This accords both with the stress in contemporary social theory on language as constitutive, and with the dialogical theory of Bakhtin (1981)." As seen in 4.2, according to Bakhtin, heteroglossia, individuality, and creativity are some of the outcomes of the dynamics of centrifugal forces that lead to heterogeneization in language and foster variation and change. In initiative style-shifting the individual speaker creatively uses different language resources (heteroglossia: social and/or geographic dialects, languages, non-standard forms, etc.) to redefine their own identity (individuality) in relation to their present or absent audience[8].

4.3.9. Referee Design

Initiative style-shifts are in essence "referee design", by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group. (Bell 2001a: 147)

As well as responsive speaker's speech conditioned by an immediate and present second person audience (addressee), Bell (1984) also mentioned the possibility of non-responsive, initiative style shifts to an absent audience; i.e. initiative style shift usually occurring as a response to a third person reference group (referees) not physically present but highly influential on the speaker's attitudes. Referee design imagines the speaker as if he or she were actually talking to the referee rather than to the usual addressee. Referees are thus, here, third persons who are not physically present at a communicative interaction, but so salient for a speaker that they are highly influential on their speech production, even in their absence: "all third persons, whether absent referees or present auditors and overhearers, influence a speaker's style design in a way which echoes the effect they would have as second person addressees" (Bell 1984: 186). Bell calls this intra-speaker variation *referee design*: the salient linguistic features associated with a particular group are used to express affiliation with that group, and it typically entails performative accent convergence (Bell 2007b: 98): "Referee design can involve a speaker shifting to identify more strongly with their own ingroup, or to an outgroup with which they wish to identify" (Bell 2001a: 147).

Therefore, referee design implies the modification of one's speech in the direction of a group that is either alien to both the speaker and the addressee (*outgroup* referee design) or just to the addressee (*ingroup* referee design): speakers shift to be more similar to some group with which they wish to identify. In the case of ingroup referee design situations, a speaker of a group A addresses a member of a group B as if he/she were a member of his/her own group A, in a potential socio-political situation of linguistic codes in conflict – for instance, a bilingual Catalan- and Spanish-speaking person addressing someone from Madrid in Catalan:

$$\text{Ingroup Referee Design}: A \rightarrow B(A)$$

Ingroup referee shift is usually short-lived and represents a confrontation between interlocutors with an immediate effect, which is not to persuade addressees to change their speech but rather a challenge in their use of that style or language.

In outgroup referee design, a speaker from a group A addresses a member of their own group A as if both of them were members of a group B, which is usually associated with prestige. A radio presenter might use the linguistic forms of a distant but prestige group that is taken as a model by the audience. This is the case studied by Bell (1982a), as seen above, who observed the speech of a group of newscasters in different radio stations and found that it varied with the social characteristics of the audience: the higher the social position of the potential audience, the higher the level of standardization used. Bell (1991) obtained similar results in an analysis of article deletion in the British press. So did Selting (1983), who analyzed a radio program in which the audience participated actively with phone calls. She found that the presenter changed his style depending on the interlocutor's speech, thus adapting to the sociolinguistic characterization of her audience.

$$\text{Outgroup Referee Design}: A \rightarrow A(B)$$

In the language of the mass media, the expressive nature of referee design to identify a speaker with a certain group entails, according to Bell (1984: 192), that all media language is

basically initiative style design, creating a relationship between communicator and audience, rather than responding to an existing relationship. Referee design in the media usually affects all levels of linguistic codes (languages, dialects, and specific linguistic features). In cases of outgroup referee design, the divergence from the audience's own speech is justified as an agreement between communicator and audience. In New Zealand, the referee model is the BBC World Service for both audience and communicators, and thus national broadcasters tend to use a near-British accent.

4.3.10.   Field and Object of Study

Style research requires its own designs and methodology. (Bell 2001a: 148)

According to Bell (1984: 183, 2001a: 165–168), given the peripheral treatment of stylistic variation in variationist sociolinguistics, the phenomenon of intra-speaker variation is a field of study in its own right, with its own theoretical and empirical spaces and requiring its own designs and methodologies:

> Now, there is a good deal of truth in this critique of the variationist strand of sociolinguistics. Styles have been regarded as entities which could be produced by techniques for manipulating contexts. While this approach originated in methodological considerations, it has had the unfortunate effect of discouraging research on style as an object of study. Only since the late 1970s has there been large-scale quantitative work (e.g., Bell 1977; Hindle 1979; Coupland 1981) which takes style as its focus, although style bulked large in Labov's earlier work and has always been studies in the ethnographic tradition.
>   While the lack of focus on style has been regrettable, there is an understandable reason why sociolinguists have operated on a rather passive view of style. Their interest has been to identify linguistic variation and factors which might cause it. Study of what a change in styles does to the situation has been of more interest to sociologists, ethnographers, and social psychologists, whose primary focus is people rather than language.

Bell's theory stresses the crucial role of linguistic features as identity markers and also, consequently, as the basis for understanding what style means in his audience design framework. Following Tajfel's (1978) theory of polyhedric image and multifaceted behavior seen in 4.1.2, the nature of *personhood* is of paramount importance in Bell's framework given that, according to him, a person is more than a static bundle of sociological categories (Bell 2001a: 164):

> Individual speakers use style – and other aspects of their language repertoire – to represent their identity or to lay claim to other identities. They may do this in ways and on occasions which are certainly unpredictable beforehand, and sometimes uninterpretable *post hoc*. This is what I have classed as referee design – the linguistic expression of identification with a reference group who are important to the speaker, usually in response to a change in some aspect of the audience.

As a result, Bell (2001a: 165) proposes a two-part framework to account for our interpersonal behavior, comprising both audience design (responsive, reactive) and referee design (initiative, proactive) as concurrent and pervasive processes:

> …What I now suggest is that these may be two complementary and coexistent dimensions of style, which operate simultaneously in all speech events. Yes, we are designing our talk for our audience. But we are also concurrently designing it in relation to other referee groups, including our own ingroup.
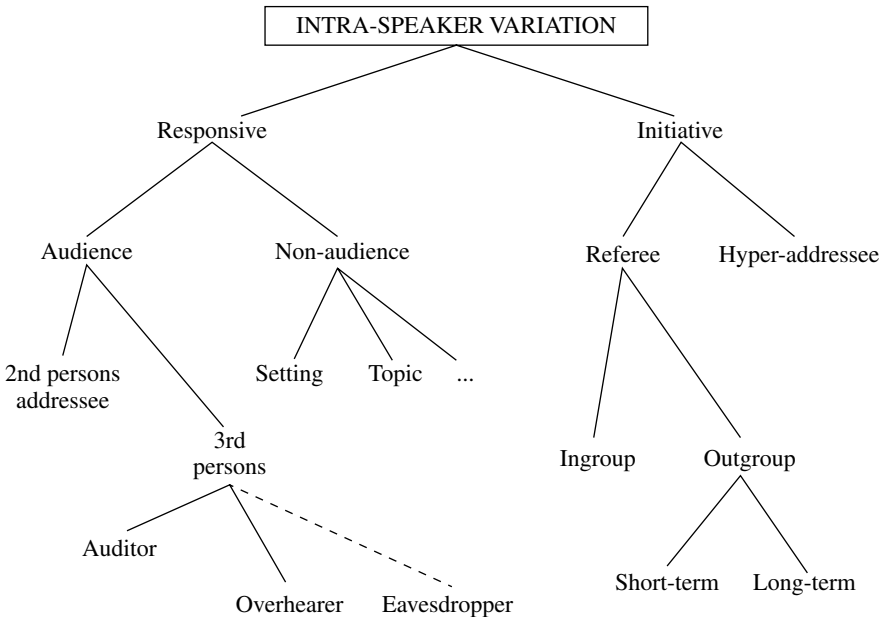
Figure 4.12 Style as response and initiative: complementarity of audience design and referee design. *Source*: Bell (1984: 196, Figure 13).

> I think there is still merit in regarding referee design as in some sense derived from audience design, because the normative use of style in one situation still defines the force of style as used in referee design. However, I now wish to suggest that the two may be concurrent, pervasive processes, rather than necessarily treating referee design as occasional or exceptional.

Figure 4.12 shows Bell's model of intra-speaker variation drawing together the complementary responsive and initiative axes of style and their relative categories.

Methodologically, his model claims to integrate three levels of analysis: quantitative, qualitative and co–occurrence:

1. Quantification of particular stylistic features;
2. Qualitative analysis of the individual tokens of a stylistic feature;
3. Analysis of the co–occurrence of different features in stretches of language.

Generally, AD will be manifested quantitatively when correlating differences between audience and speaker. On occasion, referee design may be manifested entirely qualitatively in a single occurrence of a salient feature which represents an identity. Co-occurrence analysis focuses on the patterning of two or more linguistic features in the flow of speech, building a picture of the clustering together or in the entire absence of certain kinds of features. This co–occurrence analysis allows us "to interpret these patterns in terms of the identities and relationships which participants are representing at different points of their interaction" (Bell 2001a: 168, as developed by Bell and Johnson 1997).

4.4.   Limitations

The AD model provides a fuller account of stylistic variation than the Attention to Speech model because: i) it goes beyond speech styles in the sociolinguistic interview by extending its application to natural conversational interaction; ii) it aims to explain the interrelation of intra–speaker and inter–speaker variation and its quantitative patterning; iii) it introduces an element of speaker agency into stylistic variation, in other words, it includes responsive as well as initiative dimensions to account for the fact that (a) speakers respond to audience members in shaping their speech and (b) they sometimes engage in style shifts that do not correspond with the sociolinguistic characteristics of their present audience (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 384); and iv) it demonstrates – along with Speech Accommodation Theory – the mal-leability of sociolinguistic identity (Coupland 2001a: 76). But this view of style has its own limitations (Bell 2014: 301; Coupland 2007: 74–81; Schilling 2013: 335–338; Schilling-Estes 2002a: 386–388):

1. It is still uni–dimensional, focusing almost solely on the single factor of audience, seeing others such as topic and setting derivative of audience because of the association of different topics and settings with different audiences.
2. Style is treated as a linear scale (or continuum) in connection with a framework of static socio–demographic categories, whose quantification is founded on questionable assump-tions about community linguistic ranges.
3. If the reference for responsiveness is audienceship, with speakers designing their speech styles primarily for audiences, the model underplays the role of the speaker and does not specify what exactly it is in the audience that inspires speakers to shape their styles as they do: the addressee's actual speech patterns, their expected socio–demographic–based speech patterns (status, gender, age, ethnicity, familiarity), or other personal character-istics of audience members.
4. Because of the focus on audience attributes rather than linguistic features, there is a validity problem in the model since it is unable to explain why some variables appear more salient for style-shifting than others.
5. Its emphasis on speakers' desire to achieve solidarity and psychologically converge with audience members overlooks the fact that this can be done by a variety of linguistic means, including divergent speech.
6. It assumes a consensus model of the speech community based on agreement on the social value of speech varieties, instead of recognizing the great diversity existing across groups – and even conflict between them – on the evaluation of speech forms.
7. The model's reliance on the responsive dimension, where style-shifting is primarily seen as a reactive phenomenon, without accounting for speakers' creative freedom: although the model marginally allows for agentivity and creativity, it still retains too much emphasis on pre-established linguistic and social associations, which make it essentially responsive. Researchers have increasingly observed that speakers engage in initiative shifting far more than originally thought.

Consequently, as Schilling-Estes (2002a: 383) points out, the Attention to Speech and Audience Design models are unable to explain all cases of stylistic variation. As we will see in Chapter 6, variationists are becoming increasingly interested in incorporating social con-structionist (creative) approaches to style-shifting that see speakers as actively taking part in

shaping and re-shaping interactional norms and social structures, rather than simply accommodating to them. The social constructionist view is increasing in influence, and this argues that all speech styles play a role in shaping all situations, limiting the role of the mere correlation of styles with situations, since both work together to define and re-define one another (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 387). Initiative style-shifting seems to be more pervasive and important than was initially conceded in Bell's model, as he admits:

> I believe such an approach can take us a good way to understanding why "this speaker said it this way on this occasion." Nevertheless, I still expect the creativity of individual speakers to leave some things unpredictable, and I for one think that such an element of the mysterious and unfathomable about persons will – and should – remain. (Bell 2001a: 169)

In fact, style shifting may not be essentially responsive (reactive) but rather initiative (proactive), since speakers may be projecting their own identity, and not just responding to how others view them. As Traugott (2001: 136) points out: "[b]eyond audience design, which focuses on the addressee (*you*), and referee design (*they, me*), there is also the subjective attitude to discourse task (*I*) to consider. This is metatextual, what might be called 'self-design', though often only covertly so, much of the time." People, as Coupland (2007) underlines, do *identity work*, using language to create and recreate their multiple identities, regardless of social categories, because speakers are constantly shaping and creating the situation through strategic use of language style. There is a need, therefore, for more nuanced, active, and person-oriented approaches.

Bell's studies on intra-speaker variation located style at the center of sociolinguistic discussion both theoretically and methodologically, stimulating and triggering productive and fruitful research and developing interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches accounting for its nature and functioning.

Notes

1 Although informants believe they are evaluating different speakers, they are in fact reacting to the same speaker using different accents: a given number of speakers, all with different accents of English, are recorded reading the same passage of prose; but one of the speakers is recorded twice, each time reading the passage with two different accents.

2 See Ajzen (1988); Baker (1992); Bourish and Maass (2005); Garrett (2005); Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003); Giles and Fortman (2004); Henerson, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1987); Kristiansen, Garrett, and Coupland (2005); Oppenheim (1992); Ryan and Giles (1982); and Vandermeeren (2005).

3 "CAT recognizes however, that convergence is not always evaluated favorably by recipients, or by bystanders, and such occasions would include those when the convergent act is (a) nonetheless a movement away from valued social norms (e.g., converging to a nonstandard interviewer but in a formal job interview); (b) attributed with suspicious intent (e.g., to Machiavellianism); (c) attributed by eavesdroppers as a betrayal of ingroup identity when the recipient is an 'outgroup' member (e.g., children in class seen by their peers to adopt the teacher's language style when talking to him or her); and (d) at a magnitude and/or rate beyond which recipients feel are sociolinguistic optima." (Giles 2001a: 194).

4 The use of attuning or counter-attuning strategies in the speaker's patterns of speech production does not always have to convey associative or dissociative purposes (Giles 2001a).

5 Within the Social Network Theory, linguistic accommodation is located in those cases where speakers have weak uniplex ties, because of their greater likelihood of contact with speakers of different

varieties. Furthermore, both the social and spatial mobility of speakers generate a greater exposure to linguistic accommodation phenomena, and, consequently, to the transmission of innovations.

6 However, the *route* followed during long-term accommodation by pre-adolescents was by no means fixed, showing a wide variety in the routes they follow during the process of accommodation: "[t]he greater acquisitional flexibility of young children means that they are not subject to the effect of inhibiting factors to the same degree, and that they therefore demonstrate greater variety in the routes that they follow during accommodation. Even young children, however, are subject to limits on degree of accommodation, with certain more complex phonological contrasts and allophonic conditioning patterns not being acquired correctly unless speakers have been exposed to them in the speech of their parents" (Trudgill 1986: 38; see also Payne 1980).

7 In this way, the *speech community* can be defined as a "one where speakers acknowledge the quantitative limits of style shift as set by the extent of interspeaker differences within the community" (Bell 1984: 154).

8 According to Coupland (2011: 149), the idea of initiative style-shifting moves into the territory of identity management and "lets the audience-design model break free from what would otherwise seem to be a very deterministic approach – that […] speakers' style is essentially responsive".

5

Context–centered Approach: Functional Model

5.1.   The Context of Situation and Contextualism

The context of situation became the basic principle of a theory of meaning that prevailed in British linguistics for much of the twentieth century, attempting to account for meaning in terms of the relationship between linguistic utterances and the outside world: "the identification of a situationally determined style or mode of discourse, and the explanation and interpretation of an actual sequence of utterances in a given situation" (Robins 1971: 38). We are therefore concerned with the sociolinguistic aspect of who says what to whom and in what circumstances, since "[a]n individual presents himself to his interlocutor/s in a variety of guises, largely translatable into terms of the relative roles and statuses of language users" (Mitchell 1971: 39)[1].

Following nineteenth-century thinking about the influence of culture on language and sensitive to the difficulties arising from translation, Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) argued for a theory of meaning closely connected with ethnographic foundations, since "an understanding of what people mean by what they say depends in part upon what their culture is" (Langendoen 1968: 7). In his view, the meaning of any utterance must be understood in the light of the range of functions in the context in which it is used.

Adopting and adapting Malinowski's (1923: 306) ethnographic-based contextual theory of meaning, Firth's (1935/1957a) appeal to the notion of "context of situation" emphasized the whole cultural setting in which the speech act is embedded by drawing attention to the context-dependent nature of significance. He conceived meaning as a complex of "situational relations in a context of situation" (1935/1957b: 19), and understood that the use of any linguistic form (whether from phonetics, grammar, lexicography, or semantics) is related to some specific context (Firth 1957b: 19; 1957c: 5):

> I propose to split up meaning or function into a series of component functions. Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to some context. Meaning, that is to say, is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its own appropriate context. (Firth 1957b: 19)

As a result, the context of situation, with the extension of the equation "meaning = function in context" through the different levels of linguistic analysis, is crucial for the analysis and explanation of the functional meaning of sentences as well as of words within sentences (see Figure 5.1)[2]. That is, it is the function that these linguistic elements convey in the various contexts or environments where they are actually uttered that is their meaning, rather than what their conceptual entities stand for or denote (Robins 1961: 194). In Wittgenstein's (1953: Pl §43) words, "the meaning of a word is its use in the language."

As a key concept in the Firthian theory of meaning, the context of situation constitutes a group of related categories which is able to isolate texts and provide them with sense (Firth 1957c: 3), such as:

I.   Interior Relations
     A.   The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.
          1.   The verbal action of the participants.
          2.   The nonverbal action of the participants.
     B.   The relevant objects.
     C.   The effect of the verbal action.
II. Exterior Relations
     A.   Economic, religious, social structures to which participants belong.
     B.   Types of discourse – monologue, narrative.
     C.   Personal interchanges – age, sex of participants.
     D.   Types of speech – social flattery, cursing.

The context of situation is, according to Bursill-Hall (1960: 130), "the means of assuring the renewal of connection between the text, which is in itself an abstraction, and observable events in experience." Context is matched by experience (cultural knowledge) when language is applied to that experience, and these contextual attributes in a person's cultural knowledge allow the disambiguation of speech by constraining understanding to just one plausible interpretation. In fact, the same words, phrases, or sentences can be used with different interpretations in different contexts (Werner 2001: 72).

The spirit of determinism is also present in Firthian linguistics: "Firth's view is based on the opinion that language is not 'creative' and that a person is totally constrained essentially to say what he does by the given social situation" (Langendoen 1968: 3)[3].
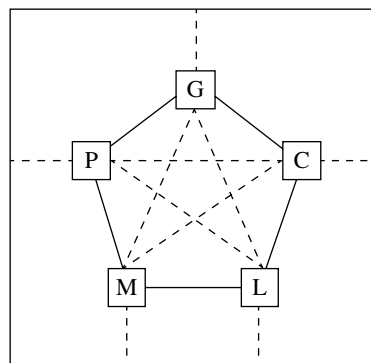
Figure 5.1   The text in context of situation (G: grammar, P: phonology, M: phonetics, L: lexicology and C: collocation) (adapted from Oyelaran 1970: 439, Figure 1).

5.2. Systemic Functional Model of Language

M.A.K. Halliday, who was taught by Firth in the London School, also views the context of situation as an essential central pillar in his neo-Firthian theory of languages as social semiotic, making it the bridge between language and the external world (Robins 1971: 38). Recognizing the relationship between social structure and language, and underlining the operation of texts in their contexts, Halliday (1978, 1985) conceived of language as a semiotic system – a systemic resource for meaning – rather than just a system of signs (Halliday 1985), where every linguistic act involves choice at any level for its communicative purposes. These sets of meaning resources are selected and used by individuals in particular social contexts that facilitate disambiguation, with *field* (subject matter or topic), *tenor* (roles of the participants in an interaction), and *mode* (channel of commu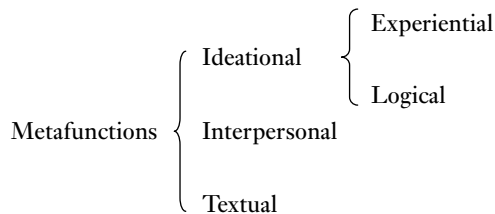nication) as variables in *registers*, rather than styles (see Chapters 1 and 2). This means putting the emphasis on the speaker's control over text types, the ways texts are constructed and, ultimately, the functions of language in social contexts (Luke 2001: 561–562): "it is not only the text (what people mean) but also the semantic system (what they can mean) that embodies the ambiguity, antagonism, imperfection, inequality and change that characterize the social system and the social structure" (Halliday 1978: 114). In fact, in his view, language has the property of not only reflecting the social structure but also maintaining and potentially modifying it.

Accordingly, Halliday's grammar is not just systemic, but rather systemic-functional. Drawing on the work of Bühler's Organon model[4] and Malinowski's context of situation, his functional linguistic approach and his register theory claim that the particular forms taken by grammar are conditioned by three metafunctions:

$$
\text{Metafunctions}
\begin{cases}
\text{Ideational}
\begin{cases}
\text{Experiential} \\
\text{Logical}
\end{cases} \\
\text{Interpersonal} \\
\text{Textual}
\end{cases}
$$

1. *Ideational*, where language, or grammatical choice, is used to organize and conceptualize human experience (our perceptions of the world and of our own consciousness) making sense of reality. This can be divided into experiential (contents or ideas) and logical (the relationships between them). It reflects the contextual value of *field*;
2. *Interpersonal*, where language, or grammatical choice, is used to express and transmit human experience, enabling speakers to enact their complex and diverse interpersonal relations by participating in communicative acts with other people. It reflects the contextual value of *tenor*.
3. *Textual* (or discoursal), where language itself is used to organize the internal and communicative nature of the text for creating a semiotic world or virtual reality of its own; that is, the relation of what is uttered (spoken or written grammatical choice) to the rest of the text and to other linguistic events. It reflects the contextual value of *mode*.

Halliday (1985: 29) described *register* as "a variety of language, corresponding to a variety of situation" (see also 2.1.1), where situation is interpreted "by means of a conceptual framework

using the terms 'field', 'tenor' and 'mode'" (Halliday 1985: 38). The framework of Halliday's functional grammar operates almost exclusively on the syntactic and lexical levels of written language, describing a range of linguistic options in which, given the strong relationship between language and social structure, the choice of one form rather than another is ideologically conditioned[5]. Thus:

a) Transitivity features, for example, which belong to the ideational metafunction, realize events, states and processes by combining different types of participants (agent, affected, beneficiary, etc.) with different types of verb actions.
b) Modality features, which belong to the interpersonal metafunction, concentrate on social roles and relations through degree of formality, personal pronouns, modal verbs, adverbials, clausal mood (declarative, imperative or interrogative), etc.
c) Transformations, such as nominalization and passivization, which belong to the textual metafunction, may lead to a higher level of abstraction of real-world social processes by condensing more complex structures.
d) Classification/lexicalization deals with the ordering of reality by means of the type of lexical choice and metaphorical use.
e) Coherence contributes to the connection of surface cohesion and semantic (or logical) coherence in texts (see also Fowler 1996; Halliday 1981; Schrøder 2001).

It is the explicit knowledge of language that, according to Halliday (1984), influences its use in such a way that "the complex, dynamic, creative language that we use unconsciously in spontaneous speech depends upon our unconscious grasp of grammar; whereas the typical language of writing or prepared speech depends upon lexis and a dense but usually less complex grammar, and is usually more of a conscious process" (Philp 2001: 731).

Given that languages have developed through their history to serve people's communicative needs, Halliday (1978: 22) argued that "[i]t is the demands posed by the service of these functions which have moulded the shape of language and fixed the course of its evolution."

5.3.   Polylectal Grammar

As Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 51) stated, "all speakers are able to comprehend many more dialects than they actually speak." Drawing on Weinreich's *diasystem*[6], Bailey (1969, 1970, 1973) proposed a model to account for linguistic variation, assuming a potential speaker's command and use of multiple subsystems (lects, idiolects, or varieties) within the speech community. He argued for the existence of polylectal (or panlectal) grammars that comprise the different lects used by speakers, who have a multiple competence – rather than just competence in one lect – and are thus multidialectal.

Yet we do not know exactly how much polylectal competence speakers have, or how much knowledge they can be said to have of other varieties. There are cases where information or context is absent, where speakers are prepared to predict the perfect acceptability of constructions in some dialects, even though they might be not grammatical in any form of English, as in Chambers and Trudgill's (1980: 52) piece of dialectal conversation:

A: *Look, is that a man stand there?*
B: *I might could do it.*

However, there are also other cases where information is present, or context provided, but in which speakers are totally unable to understand some constructions, even though they might be perfectly grammatical forms in some dialects and not in others, as in:

He eats a lot anymore
(= "He eats a lot nowadays" in some US and Canadian dialects of English)

I been know that
(= "I've known that for a long time" in some varieties of American Black English)

It's dangerous to smoke in a petrol station without causing an explosion
(= "… because you might cause an explosion" in some southern varieties of Welsh English)

Bailey (1969) suggested that the spectrum of polylectal grammar can be modeled in *implicational scales*, which, according to Preston (2001b: 693), are "sensitive to relations among variables in the entire system rather than to the set of determining influences on one variable." On a scalogram (see Table 5.1), the variables must be implicationally related to one another in such a way that for two variables, (X) and (Y), co-occurring within a speech community, (Y) must imply (X), but not vice versa. This means that an implicational relationship between (X) and (Y) requires that some speakers in the community will have (X), and others will have (X) and (Y), but none will have only (Y). Bickerton (1971, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c) extended Bailey's theory and method of implicational scaling with data from the English-based Guyanese Creole and Hawaiian Creole continua (see also Rickford 2002).

DeCamp (1971, 1973) used the model of implicational scales to explain the phenomenon of the Jamaican post-creole continuum. In such a continuum, a creole language consists of an indexical (stratified) spectrum of varieties ranging from most to least similar to the superstrate (dominant) language due to social, political, and economic factors. An excellent example of this is the linguistic situation in Jamaica, where, at one time, there were two distinct classes: those at the top of the scale, the British, who spoke English, and those at the bottom, the African slaves, who spoke Jamaican Creole; Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 8) represent the situation as follows:

Upper Classes ⟷ English
Lower Classes ⟶ Jamaican Creole
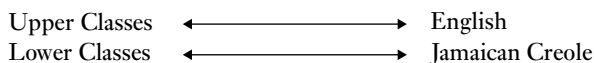
Over the centuries, English had a significant influence on Jamaican Creole, which was thought to be an inferior or debased form of English; as a result Jamaican Creole is now closer to English and the gap between the linguistic varieties has closed (see Figure 5.2). The result is

Table 5.1 Example of implicational scale of four lects in relation to use of three hypothetical rules (adapted from Rickford 2002: 143, Table 6.1a).

Lects	Constraints		
	Rule A	Rule B	Rule C
1	+	+	+
2	+	+	−
3	+	−	−
4	−	−	−
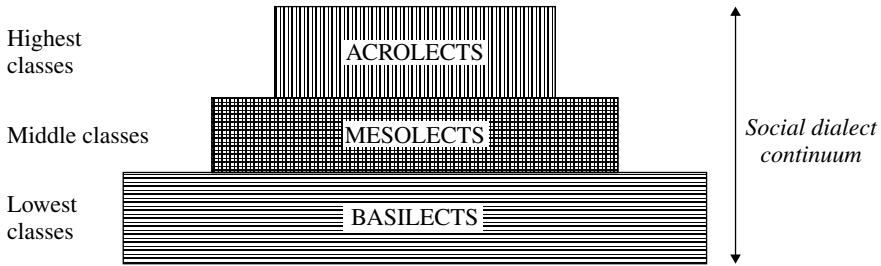
Figure 5.2   Jamaican post-creole continuum (adapted from Hernández-Campoy 1993: 111 and Trudgill and Hernández-Campoy 2007: 25).

Table 5.2   Implicational scale in Jamaican creole (adapted from DeCamp 1971: 355, Table 1).

Speakers	Features					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Speaker 1	*child*	*eat*	θ/t	d	*granny*	*didn't*
Speaker 2	*pikni*	*eat*	t	d	*granny*	*didn't*
Speaker 3	*pikni*	*eat*	t	d	*nana*	*didn't*
Speaker 4	*pikni*	*nyam*	t	d	*nana*	*no ben*
Speaker 5	*child*	*eat*	θ/t	ð/d	*granny*	*didn't*
Speaker 6	*child*	*eat*	t	d	*granny*	*didn't*
Speaker 7	*pikni*	*eat*	t	d	*granny*	*no ben*

that currently some Jamaicans speak English (acrolects: superstrate), some do not (basilects: substrate), and some speak an intermediate variety (mesolects), since it is not possible, at least linguistically, to assert that "English stops here" and "Jamaican Creole starts there."

DeCamp (1971) found an ordered transition from acrolect to basilect by looking at co-ocurrence rules in some diagnostic forms with both English and autochthonous Jamaican variants (see Table 5.2). The use of these features by individual speakers was not random at all but instead followed a structured pattern, where, for example, the use of the basilectal form E implies use of F but not B; and the use of the basilectal form F implies use of A, but not B or E.

Another example comes from Feagin's (1979) analysis of default singulars in Anniston, Alabama. Most non-standard varieties of English have regularized the past tense of the verb *to be* by using the same form for all persons and both numbers. Generally speaking, according to Trudgill (2008), non-standard dialects have i) *were* in all persons and both numbers (WERE-leveling: *we were, he were*); ii) *was* in all persons and both numbers (WAS-leveling: *we was, he was*); or iii) *was* in all persons and both numbers in the affirmative but *were* in all persons and both numbers in the negative (variant leveling: *I was, you was*, but *I weren't, you weren't*) (see also Britain 2002a). Despite finding a leveling to the WAS pattern (default singular) in Alabama, Feagin (1979) found that the invariant WAS occurred more often after certain constituents in subject position than after others, following this ranking from less to more frequent (see also Table 5.3):

Table 5.3 Use of WAS-leveling (default singular) in Anniston, Alabama (adapted from Feagin 1979: 201).

Lects	Default Singular (*was*) with				
	A	B	C	D	E
	3rd p.p.PRO (*they*)	3rd P.P.NP	1st p.p.PRO (*me*)	2nd p.p.PRO (*you*)	3rd p.p. EXTS (*there*)
Lect 1	ø	ø	ø	ø	+
Lect 2	ø	ø	ø	+	+
Lect 3	ø	ø	+	+	+
Lect 4	ø	+	+	+	+
Lect 5	+	+	+	+	+

A. Third Person Plural Pronouns: *They **was** all born in Georgia, mama and my daddy both*
B. Third Person Plural Noun Phrases: *All the student teachers **was** comin' out to Wellborn*
C. First Person Plural Pronouns: *We **was** in an ideal place for it*
D. Second Person Plural Pronouns: *You **was** a majorette?*
E. Third Person Plural Existentials: *There **was** about twenty-somethin' boys and just four girls*

This scalogram suggests that the frequency of WAS-leveling increases with the type of subject from (A) to (E) as an implicational continuum, so that if speakers from Anniston use (C), they will also use (D), (C), (B), and (A), but not vice versa.

A final example of implicational relationship between variables is the case of intervocalic /d/ and postvocalic (s) deletion in Murcian Spanish (Spain): when A then B but not the reverse, where A = postvocalic /s/ deletion and B = intervocalic /d/ deletion (see Table 5.4). Both variables have the same pattern of variation: maintenance of ([s] and [ð]) or deletion of the form (Ø). The variable deletion of intervocalic /d/ usually occurs in words ending with the sequences *-ado/ada* and *-ido/ida*, such as the past participles. This variation in use provides us with two possibilities for words like *comido* ("eaten").

Variant /ð/:	Castilian pronunciation (standard)	[koˈmiðo]
Variant Ø:	Murcian pronunciation (non-standard)	[kɔˈmio]

A prominent feature of the Murcian accent is the variable deletion of a historically present grapheme <s> in word-final postvocalic position (Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill 2002). This attrition of word-final /s/ takes place irrespective of the preceding vowel (as in *mesas, lunes, tesis, gatos*, and *autobús*) and the following segment (consonant or vowel: *las miras – las iras*). This variation provides us with two possibilities for words like *casas* ("houses").

Variant /s/:	Castilian pronunciation (standard)	[ˈkasas]
Variant Ø:	Murcian pronunciation (non-standard)	[ˈkæsæ]

The relationship between the variables forms an implicational scale in some regions of Peninsular Spanish (southern regions) but not in others (northern regions). In a standard-speaking region of northern Spain such as Valladolid, the southern implicational scale does not work, since speakers from this area of Old Castile may have intervocalic /d/-dropping in very informal contexts, but not postvocalic /s/-dropping. The deletion of intervocalic /d/ in Valladolid does not imply postvocalic /s/-attrition.

Table 5.4   Implicational scale relationship in
Murcia for variables (d) and (s).

Murcian Lects	Variables	
	(d)	(s)
1	ø	ø
2	d	ø
3	d	s

Source: Hernández-Campoy (2010: 7, Table 7).

In contrast, in Murcia and Andalucia, /d/-deletion does imply /s/-dropping, but not vice versa: /d/-dropping does not occur with /s/-retention in the local speech of Murcian speakers. In this way, the sequence «*los platos mojados*» ("the wet dishes"; in Standard Spanish: [los ˈplatos moˈχaðos]) may be realized as [los ˈplatos moˈχaos] in colloquial speech in Valladolid; whereas in Southern Peninsular Spanish, such as the Murcian dialect – and because of postvocalic /s/-deletion in word-final position – it would be pronounced as [lɔ ˈplatɔ moˈχaɔ] but never as [los ˈplatos moˈχaos] (Hernández-Campoy 2010: 217–218; Hernández-Campoy and Almeida 2005: 54–55).

5.4.   The Register Axiom

The communicative-function model accounting for style-shifting formulated by Biber and Finegan incorporated thinking from Malinowski and Firth's context of situation, Hallidayan register studies in functional systems, and Bailey's polylectal grammar theory (Biber 1994, 1995; Biber and Conrad 2009; Biber and Finegan 1989a, 1994; Finegan and Biber 1994, 2001). As Preston (2001a: 282) points out, "communicative function is its underlying rubric (as attention to speech is Labov's and audience design is Bell's)."

Following Neo-Firthian stylistics (see 1.2.2 and 2.1.1), Biber and Finegan use the term *register* – understood as both spoken and written "contextually situated texts" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 244)[7] – instead of *style*, and argue that stylistic (intra-speaker) variation should not be considered as a mirror image of inter-speaker variation. Instead, they claim that the limits of the individual's verbal repertoire (or register variation, or intra-speaker variation) depend on their differential accessibility to the communicative situations functionally associated with those registers, and less on their social characteristics: "the patterns of register variation are basic and the patterns of social dialect variation result from differential access among social groups to the communicative situations and activities that promote register variation" (Finegan and Biber 1994: 337)[8].

With their focus on the acquisition of a multiple competence in different registers and of the structural properties of registers themselves, according to Preston (2001a: 289–290), Biber and Finegan (1994) rely on the spirit of polylectal grammar, claiming that variation is a by-product of the code-choice made from different grammars or lects by a multidialectal speaker switching between them. In fact, with this emphasis, they shed light on "the problem of inherent variability (one grammar), code-switching (multiple grammars), and, within the domain of the last, the possible choice of poorly formed grammars in an individual's linguistic repertoire" (Preston 2001a: 296), especially in the context of first and second language/dialect acquisition.

If, in Labov's model, the social characteristics of speakers condition the range of their stylistic variation, in Biber and Finegan's model it is speakers' access to different experiential situations that constrains their register variation. From this viewpoint, by assuming that speakers have a socially-differential multiple competence in different registers which are functionally specific to the kinds of communicative situations in which they may be used, these authors confer on the context of situations potentially accessible to speakers a crucial role in intraspeaker variation: "it is not social status that determines whether the realizations of one's variable language features are more or less elaborated; rather, it is the range of registers that one has access to and utilizes" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 265). That is, in the communicative functional model, style is basically context-dependent and social class differentiation is just an echo of the different registers that are most commonly used in a speaker's professional and personal life. Different social groups enjoy differential access to the repertoire of potential registers due to their varying social practice and experience within the speech community; this provides speakers with a more limited or more expanded multiple register competence. In this way, as Preston (2001a: 283) points out, "[l]ower-status groups have a more exclusive need for oral registers, so they make greater use of economical structures; higher-status groups have more need for literate registers, so they make greater use of elaborate ones" (see Figure 5.3).

Language literacy (or multiple register competence) appears as a function of situation, where social and stylistic variables fall along a continuum of language complexity (or sophistication) between simplification and elaboration: more literate situations require more elaborated language; conversely, less literate ones need more simplified language; and the access, or exposure, to greater diversity of situations provides the speaker with experience for wider or narrower intra-speaker variation. For this reason Finegan and Biber propose the Register Axiom as a substitute for the traditional sociolinguistic pattern that correlates linguistic features of upper socioeconomic status groups with more formal situations and those of lower socioeconomic status groups with less formal situations (Finegan and Biber 2001: 265):

The Register Axiom
  If a linguistic feature is distributed across social groups and communicative situations or registers, then the social groups with greater access to the situations and registers in which the features occur more frequently will exhibit more frequent use of those features in their social dialects.
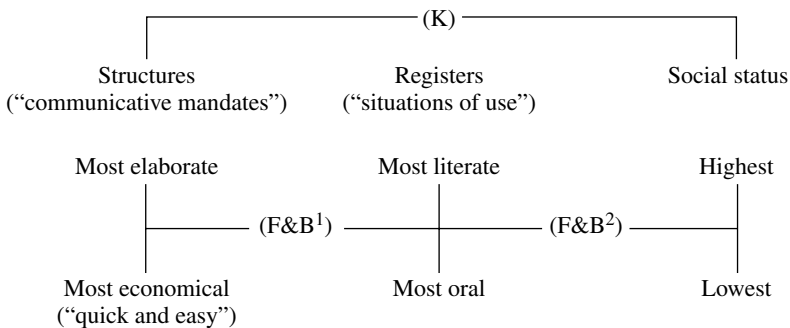
Figure 5.3 Biber and Finegan's (1994) model according to Preston (2001a: 283, Figure 16.2).

In order to justify their Register Axiom, Finegan and Biber (1994: 317) question four characteristics derived from the traditional sociolinguistic patterns observed by Labov:

> A. The same linguistic features often serve as markers of social group and social situation. B. The distribution of such features across social dialects and registers (or "styles") is typically parallel, with variants that occur more frequently in less "formal" situations also occurring more frequently among lower ranked social groups, and with variants that occur more frequently in more "formal" situations occurring more frequently among higher ranked social groups. C. For many of these features, the distribution across situations is systematic, with more "formal" or more "literate" situations typically exhibiting a more frequent use of explicit and elaborated variants, in contrast with less "formal" or more "oral" situations typically exhibiting a more frequent use of economy variants. D. The distribution of these features across social dialects within a community is systematic, with higher-ranked social groups exhibiting more frequent use of elaborated and explicit variants and lower-ranked groups exhibiting more frequent use of economy variants.

Finegan and Biber understand that it is access to literate registers that influences the character of social dialects with respect to elaborated features, not vice versa, and the lack of access to literate registers increases the occurrence of unsophisticated (or economy) features. Taking as axiomatic that any linguistic feature can serve communicative and indexical functions to some degree, Finegan and Biber's (1994) model of variation includes four parameters, rather than the customary three identified in sociolinguistic studies: i) linguistic variation, ii) social variation, iii) registral (or stylistic) variation, and iv) functional variation (in which they locate situational parameters such as audience, topic, purpose, setting, opportunity for planning, and interlocutors' degree of shared context) (Finegan and Biber 2001: 266). Despite admitting their inability to explain the relationships between linguistic and functional variations, they emphasize the importance of the latter in their conception of patterns of variation: "[w]hen we look at linguistic variation across registers and across social groups, the functional task of certain linguistic features appears to play a significant role in their frequency of occurrence" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 245).

Using Biber's (1988) findings, they assume that the linguistic characteristics of spoken and written registers are a consequence of differences in functional (situational) factors. Their empirical study thus tried to show that patterns of register variation can be accounted for by reference to parameters of the situation in use, such as planning, purpose, and degree of shared context. A typological selection of elaborated and unelaborated (economy) features was devised in order to investigate their behavior (in terms of frequency of production) when correlated with situations using the *London–Lund Corpus of Spoken English* (Svartvik 1990) and the *Lancaster–Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English* (Johansson and Hofland 1989; Johansson, Leech, and Goodluck 1978) as linguistic data. The distribution of features across registers shown in Table 5.5 suggests that, in the case of unelaborated (economy) features, conversation (of the spoken registers) and personal letters (of the written ones) exhibit the highest frequency of those features. By contrast, public speeches (of the spoken registers) and academic prose (of the written ones) have the lowest occurrence of those features. In the case of elaborated features, the patterns are the opposite.

These results led Finegan and Biber (1994) to conclude that, given that the distribution of those features across situations of use seems to be both communicatively motivated and systematic, linguistic variation across registers can be explained by systematic analysis of prominent communicative parameters:

Table 5.5 Overview of situation variation, per thousand words. Distribution of features obtained across registers (adapted from Finegan and Biber 1994: 325, Table 13.4).

ECONOMY FEATURES

Situation		Contractions	THAT Omission	Pro-verb DO	Pronoun IT
Written	*Personal letters*	22.2	12.8	4.3	11.0
	General fiction	11.2	3.0	3.3	11.5
	Press reportage	1.8	2.0	1.3	5.8
	Academic prose	0.1	0.4	0.7	5.9
Spoken	*Conversations*	46.2	9.6	9.0	20.0
	Interviews	25.4	4.3	4.6	11.9
	Public speeches	13.3	1.9	2.4	8.9

ELABORATION FEATURES

Situation		Attributive Adjectives	Prepositional Phrases	Type/Token Ratio
Written	*Personal letters*	44.2	72.0	52.5
	General fiction	50.7	92.8	52.7
	Press reportage	64.5	116.6	55.3
	Academic prose	76.9	139.5	50.6
Spoken	*Conversations*	40.8	85.0	46.1
	Interviews	55.3	108.0	48.4
	Public speeches	48.9	112.6	49.0

> … just as Labov surely believes that stylistic continuum positions which can be correlated to attention to speech can also be reasonably correlated with such a range of situations of use, Finegan and Biber believe that the structurally determined categories of elaborate and economical forms can be correlated with registers which, in turn, can be correlated with a range of situations of use. (Preston 2001a: 282)

Finegan and Biber (2001: 256–260) go on to provide us with results from a similar study, this time using data from the *British National Corpus*[9], three socioeconomic groups of speakers, and a wider set of linguistic features:

Economy features
- third–person pronouns: *she*, *him*, *it*, etc.
- third–person singular DO: *it do*, *it don't*, *s/he don't*, etc.
- contractions: *innit*, *cos*, *can't*, *I'm*, etc.
- subordinator THAT omission
- pro-verb DO

Elaboration features
- relative clauses
- type/token ratio
- subordinators and conjuncts
- phrasal AND
- word length (measured in letters per word)
- prepositional phrases
- nouns

Table 5.6 Frequency of five economy features and seven elaboration features in the conversations of three socially ranked groups in Britain (per thousand words) (adapted from Finegan and Biber 2001: 258, Table 14.8).

Features		Groups A/B: highest	Group C: middle	Groups D/E: lowest
Unelaborated	*third-person pronouns*	98.7	103.5	103.8
(economy)	*third-person singular* DO	0.1	0.3	0.3
Features	*contractions*	61.7	63.4	63.4
	subordinator THAT *omission*	10.2	10.3	9.9
	pro–verb DO	3.0	3.3	2.9
Elaborated	*relative clauses*	1.2	1.1	0.9
Features	*type/token ratio*	44.8	44.7	44.1
	subordinators and conjuncts	16.8	16.6	15.7
	phrasal AND	1.5	1.3	1.3
	word length	3.6	3.6	3.6
	prepositional phrases	63.0	63.2	61.9
	nouns	141	141	140

As shown in Table 5.6, the results obtained using the British National Corpus suggest a distribution across registers and status social groups that is consonant with Finegan and Biber's model formulated from Table 5.5, with social stratification of the different linguistic features and situations. In the case of economy features, some of them (third-person pronouns and third-singular DO) are more frequent in lower-status groups, while the others (contractions, subordinator THAT omission, and pro-verb DO) do not exhibit any significant differences between the three social groups. Similarly, in the case of elaborated features, only relative clauses have a higher frequency in higher social groups, whereas the others do not show any significant difference. This means, according to Finegan and Biber (2001: 259), that "for features that have communicatively based register distributions, higher-status groups in Britain exhibit more frequent occurrences of elaboration features and less frequent occurrences of economy features, while lower-status groups in Britain exhibit less frequent elaboration features and more frequent economy features."

Finegan and Biber question the fundamental fact of stylistic variation as stated by Bell (1984: 151) that social and stylistic variations mirror each other, stylistic variation being derived from social. Instead, they argue that situational variation is not mirrored in social differences but instead that situational factors structure stylistic and hence social variation. If stylistic variation derives from (and is encompassed within) social variation – as Bell (1984) suggested with his Style Axiom – we would expect significant variation across the social groups for all the features shown in Table 5.6, but this is not the case: there is no statistically significant variation for the distribution of most features across social groups (contractions, subordinator THAT omission, pro-verb DO, type/token ratio, subordinators and conjuncts, phrasal AND, word length, prepositional phrases, and nouns). As a result, they infer that register variation – at least for those features analyzed – reflects a communicative competence shared by socially ranked groups that nevertheless varies according to the differential access to the full range of registral praxis (practice and experience) enjoyed in different situations of use: "[w]e think it is clear that communicative functions underlie register variation

for certain grammatical and lexical features. It is also widely recognized that differential access to praxis can profoundly influence the speech patterns of social groups" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 256).

5.5. Limitations

This theory, accounting for stylistic variation from a communicative-functional perspective, has been argued against, especially by Lesley Milroy (2001) and Preston (2001a), due to the overarching approach of a model encompassing "such a vast array of types and aspects of situational variability" (Rickford and Eckert 2001: 17). As Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007) stress, style cannot be modeled on a single wide-ranging theory that tries to account for all stylistic choices. A range of conceptual, theoretical, and methodological objections have been raised:

1. Fundamental terminology, such as *dialect, style, register, function*, *literacy*, and *elaboration*, presents conceptual problems arising from vagueness of definition and fluctuation in reference, which is largely due to a reliance on so many different and distant scholarly traditions for their overarching framework (L. Milroy 2001: 268).
2. The relevance of the situational parameters of *planning, purpose*, and *shared context* for their account of functional variation is imprecise, since they may operate perfectly in other genres (L. Milroy 2001: 270).
3. The notions of *elaboration* and *economy* used to characterize formal (literate, writing) and informal (non-literate, speech) registers respectively are also conceptually and definitionally still unclear and hence controversial (L. Milroy 2001: 273; Preston 2001a: 284).
4. The selection, identification, and function of the linguistic features whose variation across registers has been examined is controversial. They are too heterogeneous to be grouped together and not clearly defined, sometimes confusing their specificity for spoken or written language, even for regional and/or social distribution, and ignoring possible complex contextual constraints (L. Milroy 2001: 271). In fact, as Preston (2001a: 396) underlines, "the relative abstract characteristics which might be associated with the text type end up being characteristics assigned to the linguistic elements of the group", rather than vice versa. The choice of variants is constrained by the information structures characteristic of the texts in question rather than by the social situations themselves.
5. There is no clear distinction between linguistic variables that are referentially equivalent but primarily indicators of identity and those that have a non-social but communicative function. The use of registral features motivated by communicative function as criteria for observing the behavior of variation is not consistent in their studies, since they appear mixed with, and given the same treatment as, traditional sociolinguistic indicators of identity, whose function is chiefly socially indexical. This is because the distribution of identity variables according to function is untenable (L. Milroy 2001: 272–273).
6. Their notion of differential access to the repertoire of potential registers due to speaker's different praxis as the main source of dialect variation is of doubtful value. If upper-status speakers lacked systematicity in economical registers and lower-status speakers lacked

systematicity in elaborate ones, there would be no variation (Preston 2001a: 288–289): "all speakers display variation in their formal and casual registers, suggesting that systematic patterns of variation are not simply (or usually) the result of one group's failure to master the other's norms for the appropriate register" (2001a: 289).

7. The proposal of multiple grammars in a multi-competenced speaker is not accompanied with information about the degree of knowledge of the codes, "or whether or not the choices of the speaker are ones which are made within the confines of one grammar (inherent variability) or across grammars (code choice)" (Preston 2001a: 290).

8. Following Hallidayan linguistics, the central elements in this model are the text and the context of situation, rather than speakers and their social and biological characteristics.

Notes

1   Crucial here is the concept of *meaning*, which Mitchell (1971) defined with his distinction between emotive, topical, socio-cultural, ostensive, referential, mnemonic, and formal meanings.

2   "In Firth's scheme of analysis, semantic or situational meaning was stated […] as the function or interrelations of the utterance and its component in the social and environmental reality around it. Grammatical meaning was stated as the function or interrelations of grammatical elements in the grammatical context of what preceded or followed them (not necessarily contiguously) in word or construction and of comparable grammatical elements in paradigms. Phonological meaning, or function, was likewise stated as the function or interrelations of phonological elements in the phonological context of syllable structure and syllable groups and, paradigmatically, of other comparable elements that could function in similar contexts" (Robins 1961: 195).

3   For further information on Firth (1890–1960), see Robins (1961, 1963, 1967, 1971), Langendoen (1968), Catford (1969), Oyelaran (1970), Mitchell (1971, 1975), Sampson (1980), Kachru (1981), and Palmer (2001).

4   The Organon model formulated by Karl Bühler (1879–1963) defined three communication functions in terms of which linguistic communication can be described: *expressive, referential*, and *conative* (Bolger 1964). His model influenced Roman Jakobson's (1896–1982) Communication model, which distinguished six functions of language: *referential* (context), *emotive* (expressive/ affective: addresser), *conative* (perlocutionary, influential: addressee), *poetic/aesthetic* (message), *phatic* (channel), and *metalingual* (code) (Jakobson 1960; 1981; and Section 1.2.1 in this book).

5   See Halliday (1968, 1970, 1978, 1979, 1985, 2009), Halliday and Webster (2003), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Bloor and Bloor (1995/2004), and Thompson (2004).

6   In the context of structuralist linguistics, Uriel Weinreich (1926–1967) coined the term "diasystem" to explain linguistic variation across dialects. This view entails that languages can be described as diasystems, in the sense of abstract systems consisting of regional as well as social dialects (Weinreich 1954).

7   "Readers should note that the terms *style* and *register*, while united in their focus on situational varieties, differ in scope. In usage among sociolinguists, *style* is typically limited to a certain range of spoken varieties such as those encountered in sociolinguistic interviews, while *register* encompasses all spoken and written situational varieties" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 259); see also Crystal and Davy (1969).

8   Although Finegan and Biber (2001: 254) stress that their model does not start from that assumption, it has inevitably been related to Basil Bernstein's theories of *elaborated code* and *restricted code* and the *verbal deprivation*, or *language deficit*, hypothesis. Bernstein (1971, 1973, 1975) postulated that there were two different varieties of language: "elaborated code", a sophisticated language used in formal situations, and "restricted code", a simple language used in informal situations, and established a

connection between both codes and social-class dialects: middle-class children use both codes, but working-class children use only "restricted code". This erroneously led to a connection between "restricted code" and non-standard dialect, and thus fostered, and even strengthened, the belief among many teachers and educationalists, that there is something intrinsically inferior about working-class, non-standard English, which makes working-class children, according to them, *verbally deprived* and *cognitively deficient* (see also Trudgill 1975a, 1975b, 1983a).

9 The British National Corpus (BNC) is a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of spoken and written sources representing a wide cross-section of British English from the late twentieth century: http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/

6

Speaker–centered Approach: Speaker Design

6.1.   Social Constructionism

Social constructionism and constructivism are part of a post–modernist social theory of knowledge developed mainly during the 1980s and 1990s by influential thinkers such as Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, William Isaac Thomas, Alfred Schütz, and Lev Vygotsky, in order to understand the nature and management of reality. According to Hammersley (1992), Craib (1997), and Andrews (2012), this is essentially an anti–realist, relativist and interpretivist approach to thinking that arose as a challenge to scientism, which denies that knowledge is a direct perception of an independent and objective reality[1]. Constructionism must be understood as a reaction against determinism and positivism (see Chapter 3), which assert an empirical (scientific, objective) knowledge of reality in the physical world and through quantitative research seek out irrefutable laws that predict or condition the behavior of society and human beings. Instead, it carries out qualitative research into human subjectivity based on phenomenology and relativism (Irwin 2011). If positivist approaches sought to analyze human beings in society in a scientific manner, considering them as passive objects, social constructionism, in contrast, "concerns itself with human consciousness and 'common sense' and how the world is understood and structured from individuals' and groups' points of view as subjects" (Irwin 2011: 102).

The two terms have been used interchangeably, and even subsumed under the generic "constructivism" (Charmaz 2000, 2006), but there is a difference between constructionist and constructivist views, in that the former focuses on the product (social constructs) created by individuals and the latter on the individual, yielding the distinction between constructionist and constructivist in terms of social–personal, relational–individualistic, and structure–agency (Andrews 2012; Harré and Gillett 1994; Young and Collin 2004). In fact, Personal Construct Psychology developed as a constructivist theory of personality that focuses on the system of transforming individual meaning-making processes; that is, on the constructive nature of experience and the meaning people give to their own experience: "[c]ompared to the reality of everyday life, other realities appear as finite provinces of meaning, enclaves within the paramount reality marked by circumscribed meanings and modes of experience" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 39).

6.1.1.   *Phenomenology*

Inspired by Alfred Schütz's phenomenology[2], Berger and Luckmann (1966) is a pioneering and seminal treatise setting out this social theory of the sociology of knowledge. Assuming that reality and objects of knowledge are not objectively given by nature and absolute laws, but subjectively constructed and institutionalized by humans in an ongoing, dynamic process, they explore how individuals and groups participate in this construction, perception, and interpretation of social phenomena. Reality appears as the product of experience and discourse. As Schwandt (2003) states, this means that knowledge and truth are created rather than discovered by the mind, since reality is socially defined by individuals, or groups of individuals, through the subjective experience of everyday life within society and transmitted through the dialectical interaction of those individuals themselves. Dialectical interaction (language and socialization) is thus a crucial activity for the social construction of reality in this movement, since all knowledge of reality is derived from and maintained by social interactions, which relate, reinforce, and give meaning to individuals' own perceptions of reality. In this process, it is language that enables socialization and makes thought possible by constructing concepts and structuring, maintaining, modifying, and reconstructing the way the world is experienced. This thinking therefore emphasizes the socially constructed nature of life experienced by human beings in co-ordination (everyday social interaction) with others and how language is used to create one's own reality: society is actively and creatively produced by individuals just as, reciprocally and iteratively, individuals are the product of society; or, to put it another way, society is created by people but people are also created by society. Correspondingly, as Burr (1995) pointed out, the experience of society as a subjective reality provides human beings with an identity and a place within society itself, since "our identity originates not from inside the person but from the social realm" (Andrews 2012): much of what we are and do is the result of social and cultural influences. Gender, racial, ethnic, and age identities, for example, are thus social constructions beyond any biological difference; race, ethnicity, gender, or class do not inherently mean anything in this view since it is society that provides them with social and cultural significance, giving rise to stereotypes. In the case of gender identity, it seems to be common to all cultures that women's and men's roles are distinguished, so it is reasonable to assume that when children learn to speak, one of the things they acquire is the cultural role assigned to them on the basis of their gender. Girls and boys learn during childhood to identify with one group or the other, and they demonstrate their membership of the group by not only their use of gender-appropriate social behavior but also gender-appropriate *linguistic* behavior[3]. In this way, sex differences can also be found in the speech of children, as was demonstrated by studies carried out in the 1970s and 1980s (Clarke-Stewart 1973; Maccoby and Jacklin 1974; Nelson 1973; Perkins 1983; Sachs, Lieberman, and Erickson 1973). Sachs, Lieberman, and Erickson (1973), for example, found that, although the voices of pre-adolescent boys and girls have the same pitch range in terms of physical size, shape, and so on (*physiological component*) until boys' voices break during adolescence, they are nonetheless sensitive to the fact that their fathers speak with a lower pitch than their mothers and try to adopt the pitch level appropriate to their gender. That is to say, children learn to adjust the effective length of their vocal tract by adopting gender-appropriate muscular postures, namely articulatory settings of the *learned component*: boys try to use the deepest part of the pitch range available to them (pitch quality closer to men's), and girls the highest (pitch quality closer to women's).

6.1.2.   Relativism

Relativism[4] is a fundamental influence in constructionist assumptions: given that there are multiple realities, there are also multiple interpretations of those realities. Likewise, "truth" is a socially constructed concept, and therefore socially relative. Accordingly, there is no single valid methodology in science, but rather a diversity of useful methods (Schofield 2010). Qualitative research adopting this relativist approach has been accused of constructing a social world rather than merely representing some objective and independent reality. The realism–relativism polarization in which antagonist perspectives represent objective reality versus multiple realities has affected the usefulness and legitimacy of this kind of relativist method, especially in the biomedical sciences, given the multiplicity of accounts of the same phenomenon (see also Burr 1995; Bury 1986; Craib 1997; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983/2007: 1992; Kirk and Miller 1986; Schwandt 2003; Sismondo 1993):

> Realism and relativism represent two polarised perspectives on a continuum between objective reality at one end and multiple realities on the other. Both positions are problematic for qualitative research. Adopting a realist position ignores the way the researcher constructs interpretations of the findings and assumes that what is reported is a true and faithful interpretation of a knowable and independent reality. Relativism leads to the conclusion that nothing can ever be known for definite, that there are multiple realities, none having precedence over the other in terms of claims to represent the truth about social phenomena. (Andrews 2012)

6.2.   Social Constructionist Sociolinguistics: Persona Management

Traditional approaches to sociolinguistic variation established that the most salient patterns of language use are conditioned by the general social categories to which speakers belong and/or the formality of the setting (see Chapter 3). However, they ignored the possibility that there could be deliberate "choice" rather than structurally determined "use." Speakers might design their speech production instrumentally to subtly but continuously change their image and their social world as a particular communicative strategy: whenever speakers have the option of how to utter a sound, word, or phrase, they are projecting some specific identity and their social world by selecting one of the options over the other(s) (Podesva 2012). Despite the attested determinism present in Labovian variationist studies accounting for the sociolinguistic behavior of speakers, recent social constructionist approaches postulate that there can also be indetermination in social systems, providing individuals with sufficient autonomy that their choices between contrasting options can be unpredictable.

In this setting, styles represent our ability to take up different social positions (Bell 2007b: 95), because style-shifting is a powerful device for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance-taking, and identity projection. As stated in Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010; 2012b), recent multidimensional and multifaceted social constructionist approaches to stylistic variation underline the socially constructive potential of style-shifting for meaning-making in discourse: people make personal and strategic stylistic choices to suggest a particular social categorization and to project a specific social positioning in society. Some of the approaches presented in the preceding chapters follow a unidimensional framework in that they are either

derivative of attention to speech (AS) or reactive to audience-related concerns (SAT and AD). Much more recently, Speaker Design theory (SD) has emerged as a multidimensional model that analyzes stylistic variation in terms of multiple co-occurring parameters, similar to the Referee Design developed by Bell (2001a, 2014) out of his initial AD theory. Rooted in social constructionist approaches, AD takes into account a wide range of contextual factors that might customize people's speech: internal (purpose, key, frame, etc.) and external (audience, topic, setting, age, familiarity, etc.) characteristics as factors influencing speaker agency in the shaping of style or language choice (Coupland 1985, 2001a; 2001b, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010, 2012c, 2013; Johnstone 1996, 2000, 2001, 2009; Johnstone and Bean 1997; Moore 2004; Schilling-Estes 1999, 2002a, 2002b; Traugott and Romaine 1985).

Building on individual agency, SD views stylistic variation as a resource in the performing (active creation, presentation, and even recreation) of speakers' personal and interpersonal social identity; in other words, stylistic variation is a resource for creating as well as projecting one's persona: "[t]aking the perspective of the individual on language and discourse means shifting to a more rhetorical way of imagining how communication works, a way of thinking about communication that incorporates ideas such as strategy, purpose, ethos, agency (responsibility), and choice" (Johnstone 2001: 124).

Style-shifting is therefore now understood as a proactive (initiative) rather than responsive (reactive) phenomenon. Accordingly, identity is dynamic and all speech is performance – speakers projecting different roles in different circumstances – since we are always displaying some particular type of identity, which would challenge the idea that the vernacular is the most "natural" and that it does not require speakers to adopt a role (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 388–389). This means focusing on "the vagaries and unpredictability of the individual's language variation and performance" (Bell 2007a: 92): how individuals position themselves in society through their linguistic usage.

We should therefore avoid generic theoretical models, instead developing permeable and flexible multidimensional, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary approaches to speaker agency in society that take into consideration both the reactive and proactive motivations for style-shifting. Researchers are increasingly viewing stylistic variation not just as a primarily responsive phenomenon, conditioned by formality (see Chapter 3) or audience (see Chapter 4), but also as a more initiative performance, in which speakers use stylistic resources to create and project identity, and therefore modifying their research methods – increasingly extending them to include qualitative and co-occurrence analyses as well as quantification (Bell 2001b: 110).

As a result, variationists are becoming increasingly interested in incorporating social constructionist (creative) approaches into style-shifting that view speakers as actively taking part in shaping and re-shaping interactional norms and social structures, rather than simply accommodating to them. Speakers, as Coupland (2007) underlines, do *identity work* using language to create and recreate their multiple identities, regardless of social categories, because they constantly shape and create the situation through strategic use of language style. There is a need, therefore, for more nuanced, active, and person-oriented approaches, which would benefit from the insights offered by long-term and broad-based anthropological and ethnographic research on performative speech events. The adoption of such multidisciplinary perspectives for the study of stylistic variation provides us with: i) new ways to discover the role of different elements of style in the local setting as well as their meaning to the people who use them (Eckert 2000; Kiesling 1998; Mendoza-Denton 1997); and ii) a broader range of types of features to look at – lexical, pragmatic, discourse-level, paralinguistic (intonational contours), and even non-linguistic – in addition to traditional phonological and morpho-syntactic features (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 390).

6.2.1. *Indexicality, Social Meaning and Enregisterment*

As stated in 2.2, language is not solely a means of communicating information or establishing and maintaining social relationships, but also, crucially, a very important instrument for conveying social information (chiefly identificational and ideological) about the speaker and/ or situation. In sociolinguistic variation, the speaker's choices of linguistic variants are not made randomly but are conditioned by the social meaning of those variants. Silverstein (1975/1995, 2003) established the distinction between *referential indexes*, whose denotation depends on the context of utterance: deictics such as demonstratives, personal pronouns, and adverbs, and *non-referential indexes*, whose denotation presupposes and/or entails some kind of social significance in linguistic forms. It is non-referential indexicality that plays a crucial sociolinguistic role in the transmission of social meaning, contributing to social and personal identity construction and projection. Indexical meanings therefore interact with the context of speaking (Kiesling 2013; Ochs 1992, 1993). Registers (speech situational appropriateness), stances (certainty, authority, confrontational/supportive), identities (class, ethnicity, gender, etc.), ideology, and other personal characteristics (interactional roles) are thus imbued with social meaning, which is indexed through the deployment of linguistic forms in interaction (Eckert 2000; Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006: 81; Kiesling 2005). Accordingly, as Johnstone and Kiesling (2008: 7) show, "the repeated use of different variants in different self-presentational styles associated with locally relevant social groupings can cause particular variants to become semiotically associated with particular ways of being and acting." These linguistic forms become socially indexical/deictic, or acquire an indexical meaning, because they have been assigned "an ethno-metapragmatically driven native inter-pretation" (Silverstein 1998: 212) based on native local ideologies around standardness, localness, carefulness, class, gender, respect, solidarity, identity, and so on. Consequently, a strongly articulated vowel, for example, can mean that its speaker is speaking emphatically (stance), is articulate (personal characteristic), or is affiliated with a particular social group (identity) (Podesva 2012: 325). That is, the use of one linguistic form or another will make a speaker sound more working class or less so, younger or older, more careful or more relaxed, more local or more supra-local (Johnstone 2010a: 394).

According to Silverstein (2003; 2004), different orders of indexicality – or levels of abstraction – reflect different relationships between linguistic form and social meaning, which correlate with the taxonomies proposed by Labov (1972a), Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006), and Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) of the burden of social meaning present in linguistic variation (see Table 6.1). A linguistic feature gets to carry a given social meaning by obtaining the necessary force through the indexical cycle. This means that an $(n+1)^{th}$ order indexical is an $(n)^{th}$ order indexical linguistic feature that has been assigned with a particular social meaning drawn from local ideology, because "any n^{th} order indexical presup-poses that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the 'appropriateness' of its usage in that context" (Silverstein 2003: 193).

Drawing on Silverstein's "indexical meaning" (1975/1995, 1993, 2003), the anthropol-ogist Agha (2003, 2006) developed the term *enregisterment* as part of his semiotic theory to refer to the process by means of which particular linguistic forms come to ideologically index particular meanings and social identities. It is a model that accounts for how meaning gets attached to linguistic forms and how these indexicalized forms metapragmatically circulate and reproduce in social interaction, permeating discourse (see also Johnstone 2010b, 2011, 2014).

Table 6.1   Taxonomies of indexical meaning in Labov (1972a), Silverstein (2003, 2004), and Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006) (adapted from Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006: 82–83, Table 1; Johnston and Kiesling 2008: 8–9, Table 1).

Labov (1972a)	Silverstein (2003)	Johnstone *et al.* (2006)
Indicator A variable feature that shows no pattern of stylistic variation in users' speech, affecting all items in the relevant word classes. Speakers are not aware of the variable. The variable is "defined as a function of group membership", or, as its use spreads in subsequent generations, group membership and age.	**(n)th order indexical** A feature whose use can be correlated with a socio-demographic identity (e.g. region or class) or a semantic function (e.g. number-marking). N^{th} order accounts are "scientific" (Silverstein 2003: 205), that is, they could be generated by a cultural outsider such as a linguist. The feature's indexicality is "presupposing": occurrence of the feature can only be interpreted with reference to a preexisting partition of social or semantic space.	**First-order indexicality** The kind of correlation between a linguistic form and a socio-demographic identity or pragmatic function that an outsider could observe. The frequency of regional variants in a person's speech can be correlated with their geographical origin, social class, and/or gender. But for socially non-mobile speakers in dense, multiplex social networks, these correlations are not noticeable, because "everybody speaks that way."
Marker A variable feature that shows stylistic variation: speakers use different variants in different contexts, because the use of one variant or another is socially meaningful. Markers are "norms which define the speech community", to which members of the community react in "a uniform manner", although without necessarily being aware of the variables or their social meanings.	**(n+1)th order indexical** An nth order indexical feature that has been assigned "an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation" (Silverstein 2003: 212), that is, a meaning in terms of one or more native ideologies (the idea that certain people speak more correctly than others, for example, or that some people are due greater respect than others). The feature has been "enregistered", that is, it has become associated with a style of speech and can be used to create a context for that style. Its indexicality is thus "entailing" or "creative."	**Second-order indexicality** This occurs when people begin to use first-order correlations to do social work, either interpretive or performative. Regional features become available for social work; speakers start to notice and attribute meaning to regional variants and shift styles in their own speech. The meaning of these forms is shaped, for many, by ideologies about class and correctness, though regional forms can also be linked with locality by people who have had the "localness" of these forms called to their attention, and there are more idiosyncratic linkages as well. Not all features acquire second-order indexical meaning for all speakers.

Table 6.1 (*Continued*)

Labov (1972a)	Silverstein (2003)	Johnstone *et al.* (2006)
Stereotype A variable feature that is the overt topic of social comment; may become increasingly divorced from linguistic forms that are actually used; the form may eventually disappear from vernacular speech.	**$((n+1)+1)^{th}$ order indexical** "For any indexical phenomenon at order n, an indexical phenomenon at order $n+1$ is always immanent, lurking in the potential of an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation of the nth order paradigmatic contextual variation that it creates or constitutes as a register phenomenon" (Silverstein 2003: 212). In the case of Labovian "stereotypes", "$n+1^{st}$ order indexicality has become presupposing [...] replacing an older n^{th} order indexical presupposition" (Silverstein 2003: 220). An indexical phenomenon at order $n+1$ can come to have another, $((n+1)+1)^{th}$ order, indexical meaning when a subset of *its* features come to be perceived as meaningful according to *another* ideological schema. Uses of features from this new subset presuppose the context that was created by the use of features at the $(n+1)^{th}$ order of indexicality and can create a new context. Less precisely, each increase is a meta-level interpretation of the next-lower one.	**Third-order indexicality** The meanings of these forms are increasingly linked to place, though they can still be used to evoke class in the context of local identity. Third order indexicality involves explicit metadiscourse and results in increased codification of localness. Linguistic forms start to become third-order indexicals when people who notice the existence of second-order stylistic variation in the local speech link the regional variants they are most likely to hear with local identity, drawing on the idea that places and dialects are essentially linked (every place has a dialect; knowing a place means knowing its dialect). These people, who include residents (insiders) and non-residents (outsiders), use regional forms drawn from highly codified lists to perform local identity, often in ironic, semiserious ways. This use of local features presupposes that there is a correlation between local orientation and local-sounding speech (local forms can thus be used even by people who have never actually heard local speech), and it can show that a person knows how residents of that locality talk.

The way an *indicator* becomes a *marker* and then a *stereotype* is not dissimilar to the way an $(n)^{th}$ order index becomes an $(n+1)^{th}$ order index and then an $((n+1)+1)^{th}$ order index. As seen in 3.3.4, if an indicator is a first-order index, unconsciously subject to only social variation, and a marker unconsciously indexes both social and stylistic variation, a stereo-type is a conscious process that has regional (and social) connotations, being subject to stigmatization. While stereotypes are subject to metapragmatic discussion, markers are not (Eckert 2008: 463).
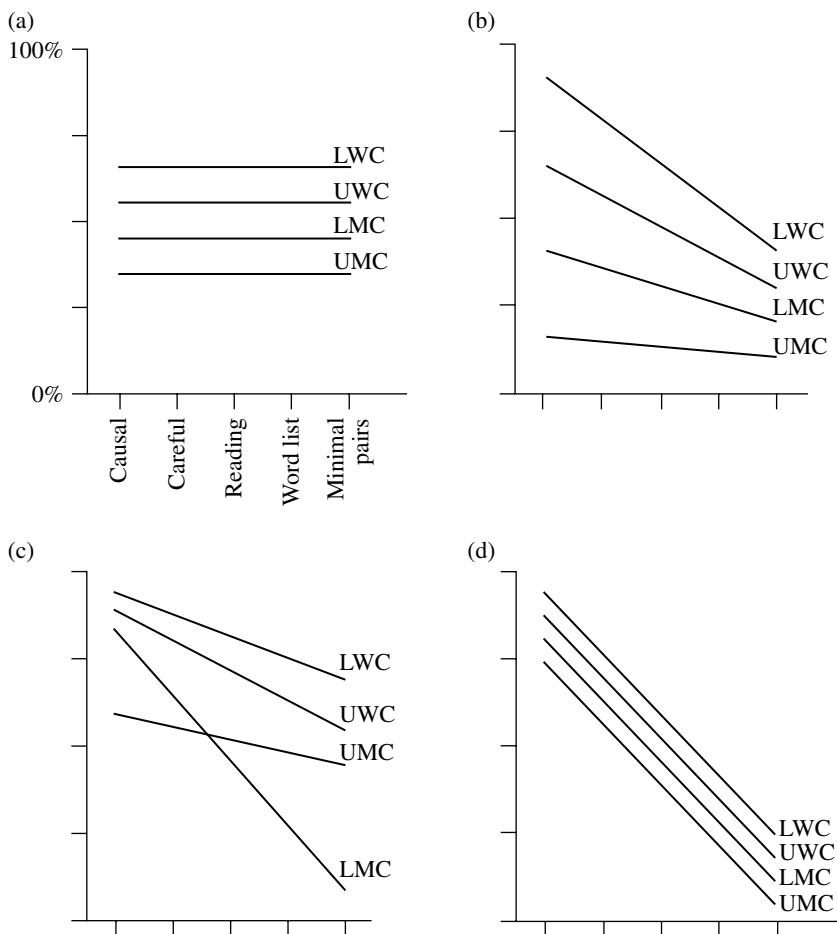
Figure 6.1 Quantitative patterns of relations between style and social variation. *Source*: Bell (1984: 153, Figure 3 and 2014: 296, Figure 11.1).

Figure 6.1 represents, according to Bell (1984: 153), the four most usual patterns of indexical relations of style and social variation: (a) the class and style stratification of an indicator or first-order index; (b) a marker or second-order index; (c) a lower-middle-class crossover; and (d) a deviant hyper-style variable.
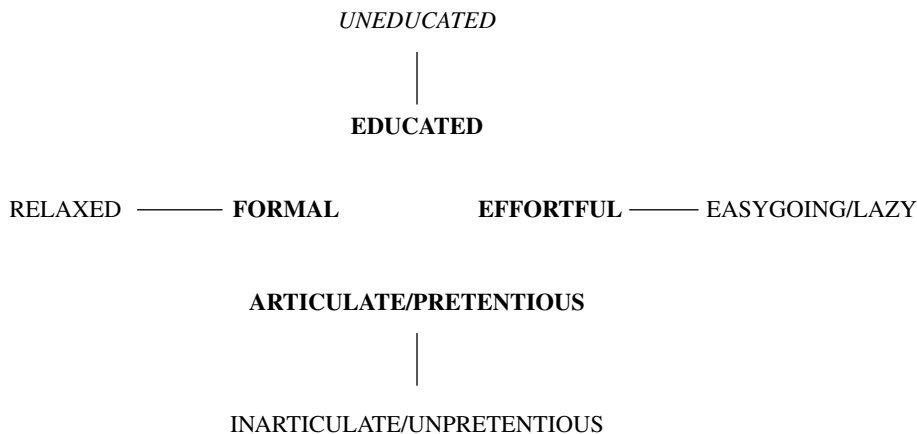
In addition, in Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson's (2006) taxonomy of indexical meaning, if first-order indexicality (indicators) refers to the correlation between a linguistic variable and a socio-demographic identity (or pragmatic function), second-order indexicality (markers) occurs when people use first-order correlations to do social work interpretively or performatively, while in third-order indexicality (stereotypes), the meanings of linguistic forms are increasingly and consciously associated with place ("regionness"). Bell (2014: 269) summarizes the indexical cycle as Figure 6.2.

As Johnstone (2010a: 393) points out, even when communicatively competent, people are not always aware of the links between linguistic features and social meanings, because not all
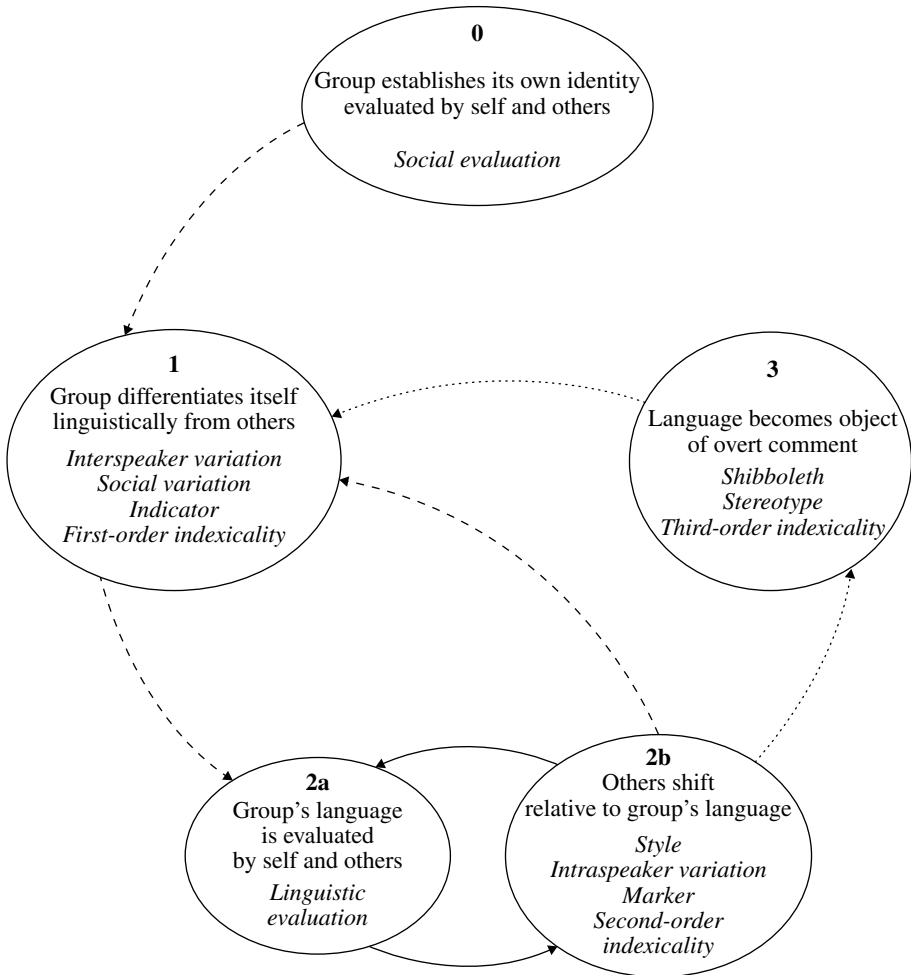
Figure 6.2 The indexical cycle according to Bell (2014: 269, Figure 10.2): processes of creating social meaning in language, where Phases 2–3 constitute the process of enregisterment (Agha 2003, 2006), with Phases 2a and 2b co-occurring.

metapragmatic practices necessarily involve explicit metadiscourse ("talk about talk"; Beal 2009a). Given that metapragmatic activity is not inevitably metadiscursive, speakers may not be aware of the second-order indexicality nature of a linguistic form in such a way as to be able to talk about it, because a second-order index involves "1st-order indexical variation that has been swept up into an ideologically-driven metapragmatics" (Silverstein 2003: 219). Therefore, $(n+1)^{\text{th}}$ order indexicality usually occurs when n^{th} order indexical relations between a linguistic variable and a socio-demographic background are noticed, consciously or not, and given meaning, becoming pragmatically usable (Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006: 84). That is, "[w]hile most indexical meanings are not overtly discussed by speakers, some linguistic features nevertheless become the focus of social discussion and overt knowledge" (Kiesling 2013: 460). It is the indeterminacy of indexical meaning that makes some

UNEDUCATED

|

EDUCATED

RELAXED ———— **FORMAL** **EFFORTFUL** ———— EASYGOING/LAZY

ARTICULATE/PRETENTIOUS

|

INARTICULATE/UNPRETENTIOUS

Figure 6.3 Indexical field of variable (ing) (based on Campbell-Kibler 2007). Black = meanings for the velar variant, gray = meanings for the apical variant. *Source*: Eckert (2008: 466; Figure 3).

linguistic variables become the object of metapragmatic attention to decode the links between the linguistic form and its social meaning, contributing to the stabilization and consolidation of the indexical relationship throughout the community (Johnstone and Kiesling 2008: 29) in connection with what Chandler (2007) calls "semiotic alignment."

Sociolinguistic indexicalities are thus relationships between speech forms, or varieties, and social meanings (Coupland and Bishop 2007: 74). Building on Silverstein's (2003) notion of indexical order, according to Eckert (2008: 453), "the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings", an *indexical field*: "a constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable." As a result, linguistic features can index an array of different social meanings at different levels, being more salient in some contexts than in others (Silverstein 2003). Similarly, Johnstone (2010a: 393) also understands that linguistic forms can index multiple meanings at the same level and at multiple levels of abstraction because language is never completely shared or experienced the same by all individuals. The use of a phenomenological approach would allow us to obtain a more nuanced account of the multiplicity and indeterminacy of indexical relations (see also Johnstone and Kiesling 2008). According to Eckert (2008), the English gerund ending *-ing* studied by Campbell-Kibler (2007), for example, illustrates the nature of indexical fields. This variable (ing) has a velar realization /ŋ/, which is somehow understood as a full form (/ŋg/) associated with education, intelligence, and articulateness, and an apical realization /n/, as a reduced variant associated with laziness, not caring, and impoliteness (see Figure 6.3).

Furthermore, as Campbell-Kibler (2007: 33) points out, "[t]he *-in* form enhances perceived Southern accents and shares with them associations with the country, lack of education, and the image of the redneck. In a different performance, the *-ing* variant strengthens an accent associated with being gay or metrosexual, with the city, and with less masculinity. Regardless of the markedness of the variants overall, either can serve as part of a variety that diverges from an imagined accent-free norm."

An example in Castilian Spanish is the case of word-final postvocalic /s/, which has both referential and non-referential meanings: it is simultaneously a grammatical suffix, a social

class indicator, a context marker, and a regional stereotype. Linguistically, postvocalic (s) is a morpho–phonological variable whose variant Ø affects noun number and verb person marking in some Southern varieties, as part of a general diachronic process of word-final consonant loss[5] (Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill 2002):

La casa bonita	"The nice house"		
Las casas bonitas	"The nice houses"		
	Simple Present Tense		
2nd p.sg.	*(tú)*	*com-es*	"you (familiar) eat"
	(usted)	*com-e*	"you (polite) eat"
3rd p.sg.	*él/ella)*	*com-e*	"he/she eats"
	Simple Past Tense		
1st p.sg.	*(yo)*	*com-ía*	"I ate"
2nd p.sg.	*(tú)*	*com-ías*	"you ate" (familiar)
	(usted)	*com-ía*	"you ate" (polite)
3rd p.sg.	*(él/ella)*	*com-ía*	"he/she ate"

Number and person marking in Murcian and Eastern Andalusian Spanish is disambiguated by compensatory changes in vowel quality before deleted /s/ and even by methaphony over the preceeding stressed vowel: "casa"–"casas" (['kasa]–['kæsæ] rather than ['kasa]–['kasas]), and "come"–"comes" (['kɔme]–['kɔmɛ] rather than ['kɔme]–['komes]). Sociolinguistically, as Table 6.2 shows[6], postvocalic /s/-dropping in Murcian Spanish behaves as an indicator – subject to social variation – and a marker – showing both social stratification and style-shifting. Despite these categorical results, we should not conclude that no native speaker of Murcian ever employs /s/, but that when it does occur it is socially and/or stylistically significant.

But for outsiders, mostly Northeners, the loss of /s/ behaves as a stereotype, being an essentially longstanding Southern feature so deeply rooted within the Murcian and Eastern Andalusian speech communities that it became an integral part of the local identity (Hernández-Campoy 2008b, 2010, 2011; Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano 2003; Hernández-Campoy and Villena-Ponsoda 2009).

Table 6.2　Non-standard postvocalic /s/ forms: percentage of usage in Murcia (adapted from Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill 2002: 137, Table 1; Hernández-Campoy 2008b: 129, Table 1).

Groups and Socio-demographic Factors

Class, Sex, Age, and Education							Class, Sex and Context		
Group 1 (university students)		Group 2 (adults with primary education)		Group 3 (nearly illiterate elderly)		TOTAL (32 inf.)	Group 4 (politicians)		TOTAL (10 inf.)
males	females	males	females	males	females		males	females	
100%	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	44%	24%	34%
252/252	105/105	131/131	168/168	221/221	126/126	1003/1003	91/208	46/190	137/398

Unlike quantitative sociolinguistics, the anti-deterministic and anti-positivist position of constructionism means that any linguistic feature can index many meanings; they are conceived, a priori, as largely indeterminate (Jaffe 2009b). As Kiesling (2013: 462–463) points out, "the relationship between sociolinguistic variables and social meanings and identities is bidirectional, as meanings are both created and invoked in particular interactional contexts." Given that meanings are rooted in contexts, only experience through previous interaction provides interactants with an adequate interpretation of what social meaning is hidden behind linguistic variants and how it is created. This indeterminacy of social meaning becomes crucial in social constructivist sociolinguistics, where the focus of research shifts from the phenomenon and nature of variation to the meaning of variation itself. It is just because indexical meanings are not predetermined that meanings can be creatively reworked and thus approached through qualitative analyses: "[a]pproaches to variation that focus on the importance of speaker choice in particular contexts of use highlight the fact that speakers can exploit the elastic mapping between linguistic form and meaning" (Podesva 2012: 326).

6.2.2.   *Agency*

The agency of the individual emerges in post-modern and post-structuralist social theory of the late 1980s and early 1990s as a central concept in the anti-determinist and anti-positivist reaction of constructionists – who were questioning the primacy of social structure over individual capacity – in the context of other related traditional polarities in the study of culture and society: structure/agency, objectism/subjectism, or determination/freedom (Ahearn 2001; Blumer 1969; Giddens 1979; Irwin 2011; Kockelman 2007; Kuhn 1964; Monnier 2005; Ortner 2006). Therefore, this view draws attention to the debate between structural determinism and the possibility of human action: the existence of social structures as recurrent patterned arrangements influencing or limiting the creative choices of and opportunities available to a merely reactive and responsive individual (Barker 2000), on the one hand; and interactive human activity as proactive and initiative agents that continuously construct and interpret their own experienced reality, being responsible for the production and perception of that world shared verbally through interactive socialization, on the other.

Human agency is conceived as the socio-culturally mediated capacity of individuals to act independently and make their own free choices within the social system (or *status quo*) in which they participate, with "praxis" (or practice) being the action itself (Ahearn 2001; Irwin 2011). Though individual agency was often considered a synonym for "free will" and "resistance", the most relevant notions for agents' capability to transform society and its social structures through social practices (reflexivity) are "personhood", "causality", and, crucially, "intentionality" (Duranti 1988, 2004, 2006). Despite the centrality of human actions, these cannot be considered in isolation from the social structures that shape them, which means that conceptions of agency may differ from one society to another (Ahearn 2001)[7].

Duranti (2004) distinguishes two dimensions of agency in language: i) *grammatical agency* – categories encoding different types of subject, actor, agent, perceiver, instrument, or patient: ergativity–accusativity (see also Dixon 1994; Mithun 1991); and ii) *performative agency* – the individual's social constructionist practice in interaction that can be ego-affirming or act-constituting. Thinkers such as Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault focus on the performative agency of individuals in social interaction with other individuals to negotiate the meanings of the verbal presentation of the self in society (Foucault 1980; Goffman 1959;

Irwin 2011; Ritzer and Goodman 1983). The multiplicity of indexical relations and the indeterminacy of indexical significance give human agency a crucial role in the historical experiencing of linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomena and the subsequent negotiation and transmission of social meaning: "[b]ringing agentivity into identity is an advantage because it means that identity is something that people do, rather than something that is done to them, and begins to explain why we would find correlations between social categories and linguistic variables" (Kiesling 2013: 546).

Speakers' agency and the significance of linguistic variants in the construction of sociolinguistic identity has been the focus of recent research (Benor 2001; Hernández Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010, 2012c; Podesva 2007; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr, and Lewis 2012; Soukup 2011, 2012; Zhang 2005, 2008). Podesva *et al.* (2012) study the management of identity by former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice through her use of several vocalic and consonantal features in public speaking engagements. Rice's multifaceted identity as a prominent African-American woman who spent her childhood in the south of the United States and her adulthood in the west makes her speech of particular sociolinguistic interest. The investigation showed that, although Rice's public speech exhibits almost no distinctive regional features, it contains elements of both African-American English (AAE) and Super-standard English (SSE). Her use of some features of these varieties enables her to maintain ties to multiple identities while simultaneously cultivating a super-standard public persona.

Similarly, Soukup (2012) applies an interaction-oriented SD perspective on the negative social meanings attached to dialect use in Austria with the analysis of linguistic styles in a TV political discussion: the spoken standard (*Hochsprache*) and the urbanized Bavarian-Austrian dialect, with unintentional switches – the use of isolated dialect features is a constant in the standard – and strategic shifts – characterized by longer, continued stretches of dialectal use – between them. The meaning of these switches can be assumed to be shared by all Austrians, allowing a speaker to use the dialect strategically, particularly in juxtaposition with the standard, to create a meta-message that listeners are likely to interpret as negative (for example, as sarcastic or antagonistic). Her results provide her with an account of how speakers use dialects actively and strategically in public domain interaction to achieve certain conversational outcomes, like negative meta-messages, dialectal use here being clearly proactive (rhetorical) rather than responsive (see also Moosmüller 1995a, 1995b; Soukup 2011).

6.2.3.   *Performativity, Stylization, and Identity Construction*

The shift from deterministic to constructionist views of society and reality – with agency, intersubjectivity, and performance playing a central role – sees individuals as active managers of their self and identity through social interaction. The investigation of the relationships between language and identity now understands individuals as proactive rather than static agents, moving the focus towards speakers' creative capability to establish social relationships through the intersubjective meaning of the social practices that imbue language use. In the context of this new theoretical frame, performance is a practice understood "in the strong, theatrical or quasi-theatrical sense of that term" (Coupland 2001b: 346), as suggested by Bauman (1977, 1992, 1996), rather than in the Chomskyan sense (Chomsky 1965) outlined in Chapter 3.

As seen in 2.2.1, language acts are inevitably acts of identity. The indexically multifaceted nature of linguistic variables allows speakers to shape, re-shape, and display personal, interpersonal, and group identity in unfolding discourse (Schilling-Estes 2004). However, identity is not an innate characteristic of individuals but a dynamic social practice whose

meaning has to be semiotically constructed, negotiated, and continually renewed in an inter-subjective process of performance (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In the context of Bourdieu's (1977) concept of "habitus" (see 4.1.2), it is the consistent use of the same set of sociolinguistic habits by a speaker over time that makes them appear an innate part of the individual. Goffman (1959), for example, conceived identity as an ongoing interactive construction that is built through dialectic performance. According to Kiesling (2013: 450), "[i]dentity is a state or process of relationship between self and other; *identity is how individuals define, create, or think of themselves in terms of their relationships with other individuals and groups*, whether these others are real or imagined" (his emphasis). This two-way process of negotiation of meaning between individuals is described by Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 493–494) as "inter-subjectivity", highlighting the bivalency of social identification: something inherently relational in which the subject is both the agent/performer of social processes and the patient/person subject to those social processes.

Identity is thus a multi-layered dimension, where domains and levels of identification such as census (socio-demographic) categories, institutional or professional roles (teacher, lawyer, police officer, father), stances (positioning, footings), character traits (easygoing, detached, authoritative, tough), and character types or personae (Essex girls, Buffalo gals, Hispanic Californian girl, Rhode Island Dominican-American), semiotically align to identities and ideologies and stereotypes (see also Hazen 2000). As seen in 4.1.1, Giles (1971a, 1971b), for example, demonstrated that in Britain speakers with RP accents are perceived as having more competence – in the sense of being more intelligent, more reliable, and more educated – but less social integrity and attractiveness – in the sense of sincerity and kindheartedness (less friendly and sociable) – than regionally accented speakers.

The semiotic categories that form identities are not freely created by individuals but rather embedded in a cultural and ideological matrix, where the relevance of identities varies with social contexts (domains and levels of identification), and depends on their relationships with other identities, such as: i) similarity or difference, ii) affinity, attraction, or desire, iii) solidarity, or iv) hierarchy, power, status, and stratification (Kiesling 2013: 451). These contextual dependencies of identity create relationships and therefore identities.

Coupland (2007: 111–115) approaches the intersection of domains and levels of identification (stance, personas, and census-level identities) by proposing several "identity contextualization processes" that construct identities: *targeting,*, *framing, voicing, keying*, and *loading*. Targeting is the object of the identity-creation (speaker, hearer, or other individuals or groups). Framing refers to the domain or level of identity most usually oriented to by speakers, such as socio-cultural framing (census identities), genre framing (situation and interactants), and interpersonal framing (stances). Voicing is based on Bakhtin's (1935/1981) heteroglossia (see 4.2.2) and also alludes to Goffman's (1981) division of speaker's footing into author, animator, and principal. While keying has to do with the intentionality of speech (playful or malicious, for example), loading refers to the importance the speaker invests in an utterance.

In addition to communal (or group) identity practices (see 2.2.1), such as Labov's (1963) pioneering work on Martha's Vineyard, other cases of identity formation and presentation show affiliation to particular socio-demographic categories, such as doing gender[8] (Cameron 1997; Eckert 2000; Holmes 2006; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Pujolar i Cos 1997; Trudgill 1972), doing ethnicity (Bell 1999, 2001a; Bell and Johnson 1997; Bucholtz 1999; Bucholtz and López 2001; Rampton 1995), or the individual's use of language for personal identity projection. Coupland (2007: 146) differentiates between "high performance" and "mundane performance" to distinguish naturally produced speech and that of media and stage, which is stylized, rehearsed, self-aware, stagey, and often even hyperbolic – underlining the

importance of highly self-conscious, performative speech in current approaches to stylistic variation research. Together with *mundane* performance, and as part of the "sociolinguistics of voice" (Bell 2014: 317), *staged* performance is a practice of group identity construction and presentation that is an area of recent interest in the broad sociolinguistic research on intra-speaker variation in public[9] (see also Bell 2014: 314–315; Schilling 2013: 341). In performance speech there is typically a tension between a given genre's tradition and the individual talent of the speaker as a performer: "[p]erformance assumes the operation of agentive action, of intentional representation of language in the service of social meaning. But it also assumes a backdrop of existing meanings and forms against which the performance is enacted and from which it draws meanings" (Bell 2014: 315). Examples of stage performance language include that of Marlene Dietrich (Bell 2011), whose sociolinguistic behavior in speech production can be theorized as referee design with a process of iconization and enregisterment of non-native English (Bell 2011, 2014: 310–314); the use by Heath, an openly gay male American, of falsetto voice quality in different interactional situations in order to achieve different identificational and interactional purposes (Podesva 2007); television advertisements and nationalistic New Zealand commercials (Bell 1992, 2001c); the use of Pasifika English in the animated comedy *bro'Town* (Gibson and Bell 2010); and identity in sung language (Gibson and Bell 2012; Trudgill 1980, 1983c). On the other hand, the performance of *hoi toide* vowels by Rex O'Neal in Ocracoke (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995, 1997), the use of Panjabi by a white adolescent Londoner (Rampton 1995, 2006, 2009, and also section 6.2.7 in this book), the use of the local Antwerp Belgium dialect – associated with anti-immigrant racists – by a Moroccan teenager (Jaspers 2006, 2011), or renditions of AAVE by an upper-middle-class teenager New Yorker (Bucholtz 1999; Bucholtz and López 2011), are examples of stylization of identity through "mundane" performance.

Trudgill (1980, 1983c) pioneered the use of Le Page's theory of linguistic behavior (1975, 1978; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) and the quantitative sociolinguistic methodology to analyze a non-casual style such as British pop-song pronunciation, to shed light on the social psychological forces working for identificational practices within a given speech community. Trudgill observed the fact that British pop and rock singers "employ different accents when singing from when they are speaking"[10], and assumed that "deviations from their spoken accents are of a particular and relatively constrained type" (Trudgill 1983c: 141). The most usual pronunciation features affected were:

1. The use of a voiced alveolar flap [ɖ], instead of [t] or [ʔ], in intervocalic /t/ (*better*);
2. The use of /æ/ in words such as *dance, last* (pronounced /a:/ in South-eastern England and /æ/ in Northern England), and *half* or *can't* (pronounced /a:/ in most of England);
3. The use of non-prevocalic /r/ in words like *girl* or *more*;
4. The pronunciation of the diphthong /aɪ/ in words like *life* or *my* as [a·];
5. The pronunciation of the vowel in words like *love* or *done* (/ʊ/ in Northern England and /ʌ/ in Southern England) as [ə·]; and
6. The rounding process of the vowel <o> in words such as *body* and *top* ([ɑ] instead of the more usual British [ɒ]).

Trudgill found (1980, 1983c) that no British variety has all these features, which are used only when singing, but not when speaking. In order to explain why singers modify their pronunciation in this way when singing Trudgill related this phenomenon to Giles' socio-psychological *speech accommodation theory*[11] (see 4.1.3), the sociolinguistic notion of "appropriateness"[12], but mainly Le Page's acts of identity theory. British pop singers attempt to modify their pronunciation in

the direction of a particular group with which they wish to identify when singing: Americans[13]. Trudgill considered American cultural domination, which leads to the imitation of American speech features, to be the most probable reason for this performative practice[14]. But when trying to model their accent when singing on that of Americans, British pop singers are not entirely successful, as a result of certain constraints[15]:

1. Their ability to identify their model group, since they are not always successful in identifying exactly which Americans they are aiming at; in addition to other features such as *copula deletion, 3rd-person –s absence*, and *negativized auxiliary pre-position*, most of the six linguistic characteristics studied are associated with southern and Black dialects of America, except non-prevocalic /r/, since most southern accents, particularly Black accents, are *r-less*.
2. British pop singers' analytical ability has not always enabled them to work out the rules of American linguistic behavior, which sometimes results in hypercorrection, especially hyper-American /r/.
3. As a result of the rise in the influence of British pop music from the 1960s onwards, the strength of the motivation towards the American model has been reduced, with a subsequent less frequent occurrence of American forms; a synchronic Labov-style analysis shows a decrease in use of the linguistic variables (t) and (r) in the songs of The Beatles and The Rolling Stones (see Figure 6.4).
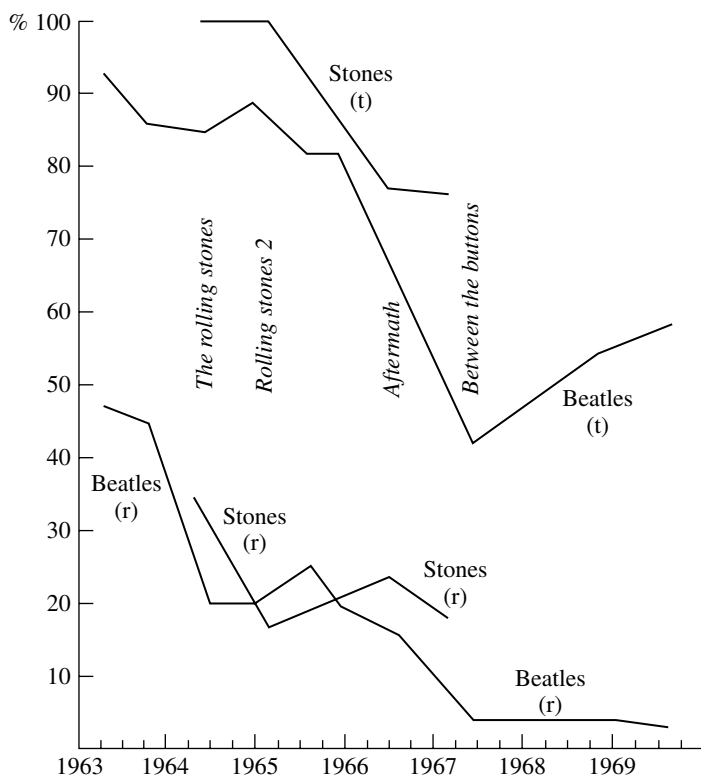
Figure 6.4 (r) and (t) in The Beatles and The Rolling Stones. *Source*: Trudgill (1983c: 152, Figure 8.2).

Table 6.3   Percentages of usage of American and British features by British pop and rock groups.

Groups	American			British
	(r)	(t)	/æ/	[?]
Rolling Stones	19	46	100	0
Supertramp	7	81	–	0
Dire Straits	1	92	–	0
Stranglers	0	88	80	0
Clash	6	71	24	10
Sham '69	1	57	50	9
Ian Dury	0	5	0	22

Source: Trudgill (1983c: 156, Table 8.1).

4.   Since the 1960s, particularly 1964, the imitation of the American model has diminished and, with the rise of The Beatles, many other British groups attempted to imitate the Liverpudlian accent.

In the context of the AD model of stylistic variation seen in Chapter 4, according to Bell (1984), both British singers and their audiences shared "Americans" as an outgroup to be referenced in popular singing.

Nevertheless, from around 1976 a new conflicting motivation arose: a sub-genre within pop music labeled "punk-rock" or "new wave", whose model was southern British urban working-class youth. In order to identify with them, with their situation and values, this new music was typically loud, fast, aggressive, and had lyrics concerned with themes such as violence, under-privilege, alienation, and rejection; punk groups also made use of stereotypically British working-class forms such as low-status pronunciations and non-standard grammatical forms. However, this new motivation did not replace the impetus towards the American model but coexisted with it. As a result, there were two conflicting motivations towards different models: the American and the British working class. Trudgill (1980, 1983c) analyzed the usage of stereotypically American and British linguistic features in seven British albums: three in "mainstream" pop-music tradition – *Some Girls* by The Rolling Stones (1978), *Breakfast in America* by Supertramp (1979), and *Dire Straits* by Dire Straits (1978) – and four in the punk-oriented category – *Rattus Norvegicus* by The Stranglers (1977), *The Clash* by The Clash (1977), *Hersham Boys* by Sham '69 (1979), and *Do it Yourself* by Ian Dury (1979). The results of his analysis showed the new situation in British pop and rock music (Table 6.3). Singers in the mainstream pop tradition showed a tendency towards the use of American features, although less strongly than in the past, but a few singers in the new punk–rock movement, particularly Ian Dury, exhibited an exclusive tendency towards British features. This behavior – returning to local pronunciation in punk music – is interpreted by Bell (1984: 195) as a practice of inverted initiative design, whereby the singers are breaking with the institutionalized form of referee design (American pronunciation). However, the conflict between a motivation towards a supposedly American model and a motivation towards a supposedly British working-class model is solved by many other punk-rock singers with a split in motivations, a balance between the two models. Thus, the selection of linguistic forms from different codes may be due to split motivation, and a combination of different linguistic features may be highly functional in retaining a balanced public and self-image (Trudgill 1983c: 158–9)[16].

Similarly, using data from semi-professional New Zealand singers, Gibson and Bell (2012) evidence the highly constrained nature of pronunciation norms in sung popular music. Using a qualitative and quantitative approach, they examine the sociolinguistic behavior, both while singing and during private interviews conducted by the researchers, of three New Zealand singers: Dylan Storey, Andrew Keoghan, and John Guy Howell, who are all Pākehā (Anglo) males, then in their thirties and based in Auckland. Like British punk and rock singers (Trudgill 1980, 1983c), New Zealand singers also conform to American pronunciation while singing, something that occurs naturally and easily, as they confessed during the interviews. However, when trying to use their New Zealand English pronunciation, singers admit that it is a difficult process requiring conscious effort and even practice: "the American-influenced accent is so established in popular music that it operates as the default pronunciation style used for singing pop songs. When singers wish to project local identities, or anti-mainstream stances, they must in fact make an effort to avoid the American-influenced norm and to use New Zealand features" (Gibson and Bell 2012: 140). Figures 6.5–6.7 show the different realization of the diagnostic vowels analyzed while singing and speaking for the three singers.
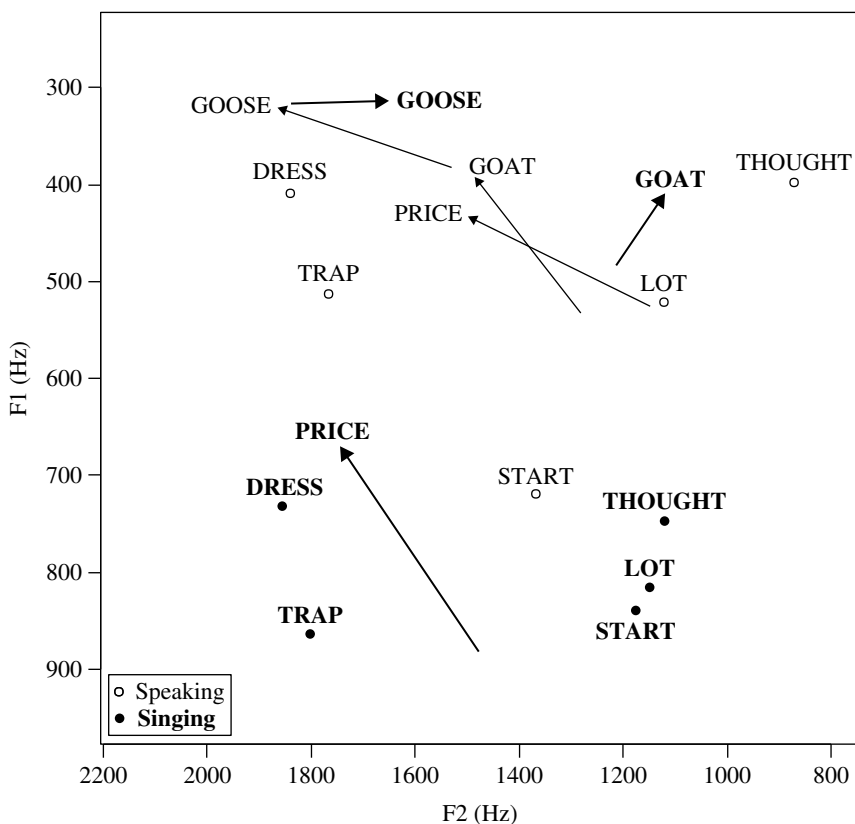
Figure 6.5 Dylan's vowel space, showing mean vowel positions for all spoken and sung vowels. Monophthongs are represented by points and diphthongs by arrows, with labels next to the tip of the arrow. *Source*: Gibson and Bell (2012: 151, Figure 1).
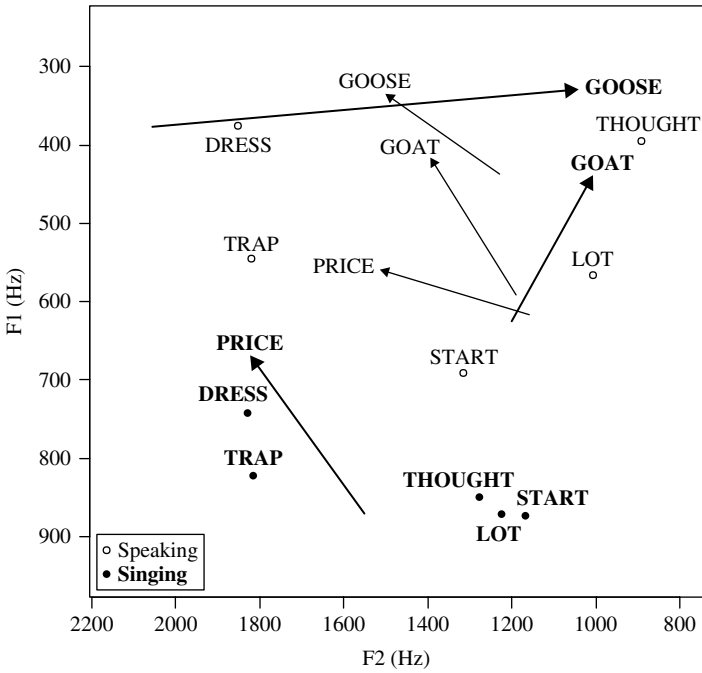
Figure 6.6 Andrew's vowel space, showing mean vowel positions for all spoken and sung vowels. Monophthongs are represented by points and diphthongs by arrows, with labels next to the tip of the arrow. *Source*: Gibson and Bell (2012: 153, Figure 2).
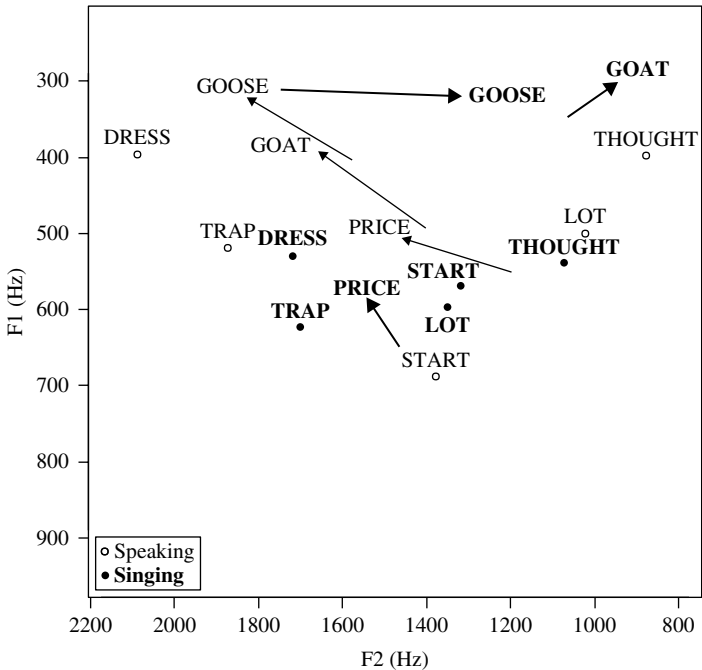
Figure 6.7 John's vowel space, showing mean vowel positions for all spoken and sung vowels. Monophthongs are represented by points and diphthongs by arrows, with labels next to the tip of the arrow. *Source*: Gibson and Bell (2012: 155, Figure 3).

Gibson and Bell (2012) argue that singing accents are a kind of referee design, where the default and institutionalized practice is a *responsive referee design* in the popular singer's performative behavior: American-influenced singing in this case. The use of a local pronunciation that unconventionally breaks with an institutionalized model is an *initiative audience design*, despite being at first sight a more natural process for being the singer's own spoken accent.

Drawing on Bakhtin's (1981) concept of multiplicity of identities, Coupland (1985, 2001a, 2001b, 2007) developed a multidimensional model of identity creation that emphasizes the individual speaker's use of linguistic resources to constantly construct and evoke personae. As a result, he proposed the concept of *stylization* as a form of strategic de-authentication through discourse social action: "a subversive form of multi-voiced utterance, one that discredits hegemonic, monologic discourses by appropriating the voices of the powerful, and reworking them for new purposes" (Coupland 2007: 150). Stylization, according to Bell (2014: 304), often involves speakers' re-orientation of their own identity in relation to their target audience: they intentionally stylize linguistic features in order to evoke an association with a particular group or its identity, the linguistic outcomes ranging, as seen in 2.1.5, from a bilingual's code-switching process to a monolingual's manipulation of dialects or accents (Bell 2014: 303).

In his case studies of dialect stylization in radio broadcasting, Coupland (1985, 1996, 2001b) suggested that the linguistic performance of radio presenters should be understood as an active process of identity-building. His analyses of excerpts from the disc jockey Frank Hennessy (FH) on the Cardiff local radio show *Hark, Hark, the Lark* (Coupland 1985) and those of the presenters of a radio program *The Roy Noble Show* on BBC Radio Wales (Coupland 2001b) revealed how they build up an image of "Welshness" through their broad-accented use of the Cardiff English dialect (see Table 6.4), which does not necessarily reflect their own natural speech. They are performing the roles and stereotypes of Welsh speakers, thus building an identity that simultaneously reflects and questions the very nature of assumed cultural and linguistic identity features (see also Hill 1999).

In the context of the radio show *Hark, Hark, the Lark*, as Figure 6.8 shows, although FH typifies the non-standard Cardiff voice, his speech is permeated by non-local features through other micro-contexts: "FH tends to use consistent Cardiff pronunciations when talking about Cardiff people and events. He also does this when he makes jokes about his own incompetence. But he uses more standard pronunciations in connection with structuring and publicizing the show, when 'competence' and 'expertise' become more salient aspects of his identity" (Coupland 1996: 328). The array of styles exhibited through his moment-to-moment code-switching to

Table 6.4 Phonetic variables employed in Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010, 2012b).

Variable	Example	Standard Castilian	Murcian
word-final postvocalic /r/ deletion	*comer*	[koˈmer]	[kɔˈmɛ]
word-final postvocalic /l/ deletion	*canal*	[kaˈnal]	[kæˈnæ]
intervocalic /r/ deletion (*para*)	*para*	[ˈpaɾa]	[pa]
consonant permutation	*comer*	[koˈmer]	[koˈmel]
intervocalic /d/ deletion	*comido*	[koˈmiðo]	[kɔˈmio]
word-final postvocalic /s/ deletion	*casas*	[ˈkasas]	[ˈkæsæ]
word-internal postvocalic /s/ assimilation	*carne*	[ˈkaˈɾne]	[kaˈnne]
consonant assimilation	*tacto*	[ˈtakto]	[ˈtatto]

```
        (aː)   (r)(aː)          (ng)              (t)(C)(ai)            (r)
11  Bananarama coming up next  but it's time to limber up this Sunday
        4   0 3              1              0  0 1                1
            (aː)           (r)            (C)              (C)
12  with the Margaret Morris Movement Special     that's a special day of
            1              0              0                0
      (ai)        (aː)
13  exercise and dance at the National Sports Centre for Wales    it
        2           3
      (aː)      (au)(t)      (au)  (ou)                    (ou)        (ai)
14  ·started about an hour ago at ten o'clock and it goes until five o'clock
       2        2 1        2    1                      1          2
      (aː)              (au)      (aː)          (aː)        (r)
15  this afternoon    now the Margaret    Margaret Morris Movement is
       3              2        0            1              1
                      (r)                              (C)          (C)
16  a unique form of recreative    movement  and it's um    well it's a
                      0                              0            0
            (ai)                                (t)(C)   (ou)
17  system of exercise   which achieves physical fitness   but it's also
            2                                  0  1   (R)
                      (ng)    (t)              (t)      (t)                  (t)
18  capable of developing creative and aesthetic qualities which make it
                      1      0              0        0                    0
                                      (ng)  (aː)
19  exceptional   in physical education and training   are you with me
                                      0    (R)
            (ai)  (ou)(t)                        (C)
20  ah   'cause I'm t o t a l l y  confused    anyway it's equally suitable for
            2      1 1                          0
21  men and women of all ages as well as children  even the kids can join
                                      (ou)        (ou)                  (t)
22  in with this   and er the muscular control and coordination make it
                                      1          1                    0
            (r)          (r)          (ng)
23  an excellent preparation for all sporting and athletic activities   now
            0            1            0
            (aː)                      (ou)
24  all sessions today are absolutely free   so if the weather's a little bit
            (R)                      1
                              (r)      (ng)(r)(au)
25  gone against you   and you fancy    well not running round in the
                              0          1 0 2
      (r)        (t)              (ng)    (t)        (ai) (C)
26  rain     but er you fancy doing a bit of exercise it's all on at the
      0        0              1      1          2   1
                                  (C)
27  National Sports Centre for Wales     that's at Pontcanna of course
                                  0
        (aː)            (r) (ou)        (ou)   (ai)            (au) (ai)
28  started an hour ago you can go any time up until about five o'clock
        3            1  1          1    2            2    2
            (ng)      (ou)        (aː)    (ai)        (aː)  (r)(aː)
29  this evening     so there we are   as I said  Bananarama    here
            1          1          4    2          0   0 4
        (aː)                              (r)              (ai)
30  they are    with a little touch of (cues record) Rough Justice    I'll
        4                                (A)              (R)
    (h)                  (r)(ai)    (aː)          (ng)      (ou)      (ai)  (aː)
31  have to get me r i g h t  arm in training you know   the pints are
    1                1 2      4              1          1          2   (R)
    (t)(ng)(h)                        (ou)              (r)        (t)(ng)
32  getting heavier ( (have) ) you noticed that    or is it me getting weaker
    1 1 0                            1              1          1 1
    (h)                  (h)(aː)                              (aː)
33  have to drink six h a l f s  instead of me three usual darkies  ah (record)
    1                  1 4                                  4
```

Figure 6.8 Verbatim transcript of a continuous sequence from Frank Hennessy's radio show reading out a letter from a listener. Sociolinguistic variables are underlined, with the variable itself given above the line. Their values (standard/ non–standard: 0/1) are indicated below the line: (C): a consonant cluster (0/1); (t): the pronunciation of /t/ between vowels (0/1); (r): the pronunciation of /r/ before vowels (0/1); (ou): the pronunciation of the first part of the diphthong in *so* (0/1); (ng): the pronunciation of the -*ing* ending as either "–ing" or "–in" (0/1); (h): the presence or absence of /h/ at the beginning of a word (0/1); (ai) the pronunciation of the first part of the diphthong in *I* and -*ise* (0–3); and (a:) the pronunciation of the vowel in *are* and *ar* (0–4); A = Americanized realization and R = phonemically too reduced feature to be scored. *Source*: Coupland (1996: 325–326, Figure 1); also in Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert, and Leap (2009: 177–178, Figure 5.1).

other accent patterns (RP and even American), depending on the different micro-contexts, demonstrates FH's stylistic creativity; and this varying stylistic performance led Coupland (1996: 329) to consider FH as an "orchestrator of contexts", monitoring the interplay between style, content, and key, drawing simultaneously on multiple sets of social meanings.

Coupland's results lead Gibson and Bell (2012: 141) to suggest that people do *identity work* while using language in order to create and recreate their multiple identities:

> Identity is not seen as a person's belonging to certain social categories such as sex and ethnicity, but as being a complex combination of identity traits which are differently enacted at different times. These perspectives view identity as a process, not an entity. Even responsive style accomplishes identity goals. It may be viewed as an attempt to fit in and is described as "relational" by Coupland, whereas initiative style is more often a case of negotiating identity at the boundaries between self and other. Coupland refers to *stylization* as the knowing and artful display of identities, which may include the enacting of personae not normally associated with the speaker. (Gibson and Bell 2012: 141)

Coupland's (1980, 1981) study of stylistic variation in the working-day speech of an assistant in a travel agency in Cardiff seen in 4.3 can also be re-interpreted as an illustration of the individual's multiplicity of identities deployed towards a sociolinguistic diversity (see Tables 4.3–4.4 and Figure 4.6). In Kiesling's (2013: 464) view, the travel agent's subtle pronunciation adjustments and uses of intra-speaker variation through different frames shows how she uses language variation to shape and re-shape identities on multiple levels (census-level, role-relational, and stance-level), rather than simply identities of converging alignment with or diverging distance from her interlocutors in sociolinguistic accommodation processes. The stylistic hierarchy of contexts (casual, informal work-related, client, and telephone) for the range of usual situations occurring in the travel agency tests the assistant's sociolinguistic resources in her routine talk for stylization. Building on Rampton (1995), Coupland's (2001b: 350; 2007: 154) defining criteria for stylization are:

- Stylized utterances project personas, identities, and genres other than those that can be presumed to be current in the speech event; projected personas and genres derive from well-known identity repertoires, even though they may not be represented in full.
- Stylization is therefore fundamentally metaphorical. It brings into play stereotyped semiotic and ideological values associated with other groups, situations, or times. It dislocates a speaker and utterances from the immediate speaking context.
- It is reflexive, mannered, and knowing. It is a metacommunicative mode that attends and invites attention to its own modality, and radically mediates understanding of the ideational, identificational, and relational meanings of its own utterances.
- It requires an acculturated audience able to read and predisposed to judge the semiotic value of a projected persona or genre. It is therefore especially tightly linked to the normative interpretations of speech and non-verbal styles entertained by specific discourse communities.
- It instigates, in and with listeners, processes of social comparison and re-evaluation (aesthetic and moral), focused on the real and metaphorical identities of speakers, their strategies and goals, but spilling over into re-evaluation of listeners' identities, orientations, and values.
- It interrupts a current situational frame, embedding another layer of social context within it, introducing new and dissonant identities and values. In doing this, its ambiguity invites re-evaluation of pertaining situational norms.

- It is creative and performed, and therefore requires aptitude and learning. Some speakers and groups will be more adept at stylization than others and will find particular values in stylization.
- Since the performer needs to cue frame-shift and emphasize dissonant social meanings, stylized utterances will often be emphatic and hyperbolic realizations of their targeted styles and genres.
- Stylization can be analyzed as strategic inauthenticity, with complex implications for personal and cultural authenticity in general.

With the concept of *stylization* as a discursive social action, Coupland introduces a special agentive emphasis on the identity dimension of style. Assuming speakers to be the makers of the context as well as definers of situations and relationships, it focuses on speakers themselves and their creative sociolinguistic resources for performative multiple voicing, thus treating intra-speaker variation as a dynamic presentation of the self (see also Giles 2001b; Rickford 2001; Rickford and Eckert 2001).

Eckert's (1989, 2000) fieldwork carried out in Belten High, an American high school in Michigan, measured the stylistic and linguistic practices of two polarized social categories in the school – "Jocks" and "Burnouts" – and the degree of their speakers' network membership associated with those practices. The patterns of significant sociolinguistic correlations obtained by Eckert showed clear identity positioning: urban vs. suburban and local vs. non-local worlds. The practices and values of the Jocks are more identified with the U.S. middle class and the school's own values, being linguistically more conservative in the vowel variants of the Northern Cities Chain Shift[17] that they use. In contrast, the practices and values of the Burnouts are solidly those typical of the U.S. lower working-class and often anti-school culture of urban Detroit, and linguistically more innovative in the vowel variants they use. Similar results were obtained by other North American studies, such as Mendoza-Denton (1997, 2008) in her study of Latina girls in California gangs, Bailey (2002) in his study on Dominican-American teenagers in Providence, Rhode Island, and Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010, 2012b) studied speaker design practice in political discourse, using a quantitative and qualitative approach: the unexpected and controversial use of a number of local dialect features by a female former President of the government of Murcia, a region of south-eastern Spain. The vernacular variety is stigmatized in the community as well as in Spain, but also carries covert prestige as a marker of local identity and solidarity (Hernández-Campoy 2008b, 2010, 2011; Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano 2003; Hernández-Campoy and Villena-Ponsoda 2009). The President's broadcast speech was compared with that of other Murcian female politicians, Murcian male politicians, Murcian non-politicians, and non-Murcian politicians (see Figures 6.9 and 6.10)[18]. The results of the quantitative study showed that the former President's sociolinguistic behavior went against traditional industrialized Western-world expectations not only for occupation and social class, but also for gender and style – the Gender Paradox (Labov 2001a). Socio-demographically, at the level of inter-speaker variation (Figure 6.9), not only are her scores for standard Castilian forms (49.4%) lower than those of other female politicians (81% standard), but also lower than those exhibited by any of the other groups, including not only male politicians (75.4%) but also male non-politicians (62.3%) of lower social classes (see Table 6.4). Stylistically, at the level of intra-speaker variation (Figure 6.10), while she was generally slightly more standard in formal than in informal contexts, quite unexpectedly her least standard speech was in the most formal context, the investiture (only 42.2% standard).

Group 1: Former President
Group 2: Murcian female politicians
Group 3: Murcian male politicians
Group 4: Murcian male non-politicians
Group 5: Non-Murcian male politicians
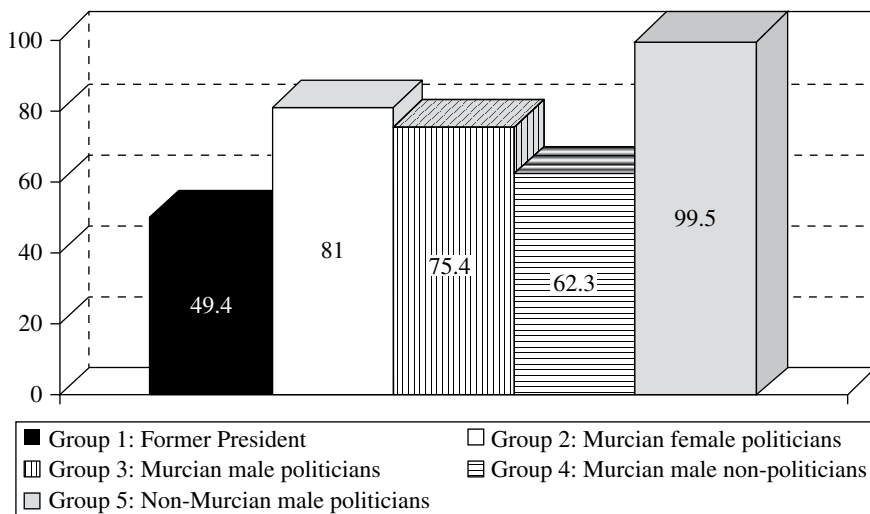
Figure 6.9 Inter-speaker variation: total usage levels for Standard Castilian variants by speaker group (based on data from Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010: 303, Table 3).

(–)Formality: Interview 1995
(–)Formality: Press conference 1995
(+)Formality: Investiture speech 1993
(+)Formality: Parliamentary debate 1994
(+)Formality: Parliamentary debate 1996
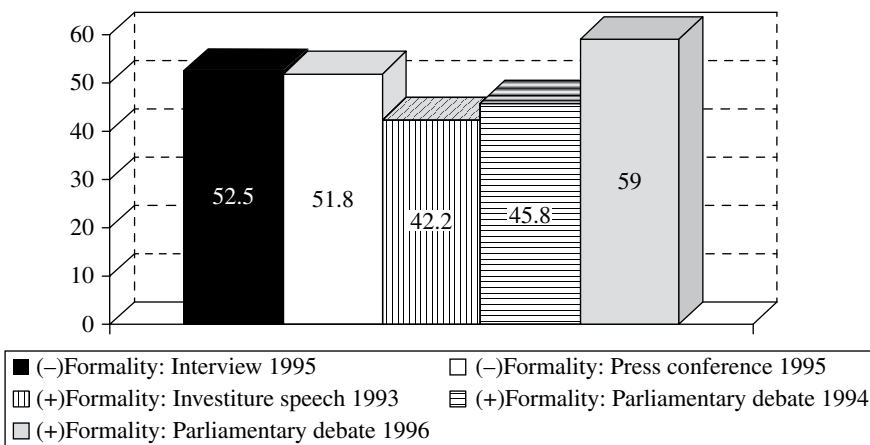
Figure 6.10 Intra-speaker variation: President's scores for Standard Castilian variants in different situations of formality (based on data from Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010: 304, Table 4).

President Martínez knew the Standard Castilian variety perfectly well. She had a university education, and had become a labor relations lawyer. Clearly, it was not a matter of access to the standard dialect, since her professional interaction necessitated regular contact and familiarity with Standard Castilian; she had regular meetings in Madrid with the other members of the Executive Board of her political party, the left-wing Socialist Party, and with the Government in general.

In dialect contact situations[19] (see Figure 6.11), where Murcian speakers usually tend to accommodate to the Standard Castilian variety (at least with northerners), the President was
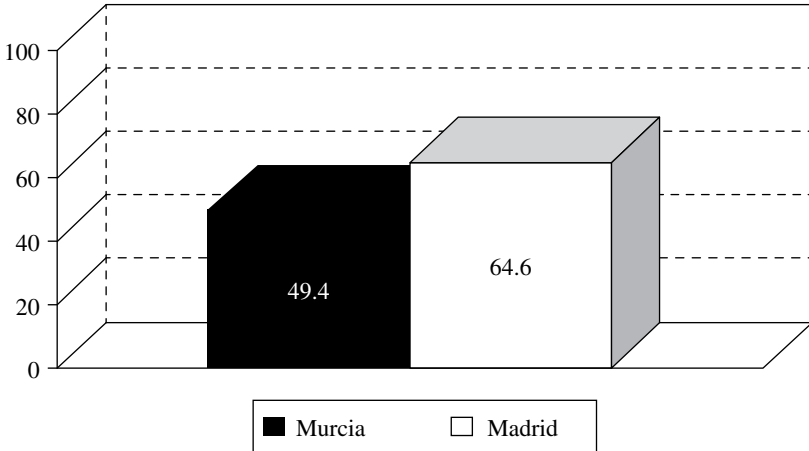
Figure 6.11   Dialect contact situations: President's scores for Standard Castilian variants in Murcia and Madrid (based on data from Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010: 306, Table 6).

less conditioned: although she was less dialectal and more standard in her broadcast speeches in Madrid (64.6%), before a national audience, than in her broadcast speech for more local audiences in Murcia (49.4%), she was still quite non-standard.

As Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010: 307) suggest, the President was less standard in public speech than any of the other politicians analyzed (even the non-politicians) because she was not simply unconsciously retaining dialectal features integrally tied to Murcian language and identity. Rather, she was deliberately capitalizing on the covert prestige of some features, even some that were more prone to standardization (Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano 2003). In particular, she drew on the dialect's associations with such values as "localness", "hard work" and "earthiness" to appeal to socialist voters with shared anti–elitist ideals. That is, the President's agency is being proactive rather than reactive and is quite deliberately using local Murcian features to achieve a particular effect related to identity construction and projection. Accordingly, her use and hyper-use of Murcian dialect features indicate that she was not exactly shifting her speech in reaction to formality, or even in accommodation to the many Murcians in her audience. Rather, she was intentionally designing her dialectal speech to construct and project an image that not only accentuates her Murcian identity but also popularizes her socialist ideals. She did this by establishing association of, on the one hand, the Murcian dialect with regional identity, the local working class, and progressive ideas and, on the other, the standard (Castilian Spanish) with conservative ideas and the accent of the bourgeoisie. The use of local features – very much associated with the working class world and with progressive ideas – might be a strategic way of building a particular image and projecting her socialist identity in the particular political context in which she is operating. The former President of Murcia may be in some ways similar to politicians in other countries and regions in using highly dialectal speech to align herself with particular ideals and constituencies (to indicate solidarity with working class citizens in this case). Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa's (2012) findings provide confirmation that we can never assume that speakers will conform to situational or audience-based norms, even in contexts where we most expect such conformance. Instead, it seems that everyone, even the most authoritative politicians in very formal

speech events can and, in fact, do, draw from a range of stylistic resources to design their desired personas and achieve their desired goals.

As Traugott (2001) points out, stylistic variation is now viewed as a multifaceted phenomenon that not only plays a crucial role in the construction and projection of meaning and situated identities in discourse but can also account for ideologies and language change over time. However, according to Sclafani (2012), the correlation between style and social meaning within the field of sociolinguistics may still gain theoretically and methodologically from the use of integrated methods and innovative perspectives. With this aim, she explored "how to tell" that the features normally analyzed by linguists are those that are really significant and salient to speakers and interlocutors in their interactional stylistic displays. Expanding our usual sites for analysis to the performative speech genre of parody, she was able to demonstrate its utility as a snapshot *indexical negative* in the analysis of stylistic variation by comparing parodic strategies used in the portrayal of two prominent U.S. media figures recently involved in highly publicized scandals: "parody, a subgenre of performance, is a particularly useful site for investigating the social meaning of isolated stylistic variables because of three linguistic practices that are unique to this genre: 1) the *selection* of a limited number of stylistic variables, 2) the *exaggeration* of these features, and 3) the *inversion of indexical meaning* of these features, all of which serve in keying the parodic frame as well as critiquing the prior text, act, or character that serves as the object of parody" (Sclafani 2012: 122–123). Using both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis in her comparison of parodic renditions of a figure's linguistic style with the actual stylistic repertoire of the individual impersonated, she was able to isolate specific features that are normally exaggerated for humorous effect. She discovered their meaning through the semiotic inversion that defines this varidirectional double-voiced genre and its recognition as such by the audience. In this way Sclafani's (2012) study sheds light on how parody works to reproduce and iconize (Gal and Irvine 2000) ideologies of gendered language use.

Based on Rampton's (1995) concept of "crossing" (see 6.2.7) and Goffman's (1974) "framing", Trester (2012) also explored the connections between language and social meaning in performative contexts of language use integrating variationist, discourse analytic, and ethnographic approaches. She examined a genre of performance which has not been systematically studied in sociolinguistics: the case of dialect performance in improvisational theatre. Like Sclafani (2012), Trester expanded the investigation of the role of performative dialectal language as a resource available to speakers in the construction, negotiation, and performance of social meaning in addition to those of the traditional levels of linguistic analysis. This means exploring how improvisational performances allow players to negotiate social meaning by using their awareness of language to stage and interact with a variety of cultural identities.

Similarly, Coupland (2009) also diagnosed this process of indexicalization of voices in traditional Christmas pantomimes in Wales, such as *Aladdin*, by stylizing actors' vernacular (Welsh Valleys accent) and standard speech ("Posh" English: RP) (see Table 6.5). The Dame (Widow Twankey in *Aladdin*) is a linguistically heavily stylized character intermixing features from both the broad Welsh Valley (local) and mock-RP (national) accents, and behaving both authentically and inauthentically (see also 6.2.5) partly through visual means and partly through indexicalities of dialect. This kind of high performance event, according to Coupland (2009: 320), has a metacultural and metalinguistic function in highlighting national linguistic antagonisms.

Strand (2012), dealing with dialectal use in Norwegian media, and relating the functions of code-switching and style-shifting, explored metalinguistic interviews in the national media with some Norwegian celebrities recognized for their use of the distinctive Valdres

Table 6.5 Phonetic variables generally distinguishing South Wales Valleys English and Received Pronunciation.

Variable	Welsh Valleys	RP	Conservative RP	Context
(ou)	oː	ɔʊ	əʊ	ɔː – ɔʊ contrast is available in one lexical set, e.g. *coal, although, so, over*; ɔʊ is normative in a second set, e.g. *told, knows, ownership*; əʊ is the conservative RP realization for both sets
(ei)	eː	eɪ		This contrast is available in one lexical set, e.g. *educating, Ebbw Vale, misbehaving, nation*; eɪ is normative in a second set, e.g. *train, day, neighbour*
(au)	əʊ	aʊ		e.g. *pounds, out, now*
(ai)	əɪ	aɪ		e.g. *might, private, why*
(a)	a	æ		This contrast is available in stressed "short a" contexts, e.g. *fact, national, established*, including in words that have a short vowel in South Wales but a long vowel in RP, e.g. *circumstance*, where lengthening is another option
(aː)	aː	ɑː		This contrast is available in "long a" contexts, e.g. *argue, laugh, tarnished*
(y)	i	ɪ/ɪe	ɛə	These contrasts are available in orthographic final "y" words and in "-ly" adverbials, e.g. *finally, city, integrity*
(ɜː)	ɜː/œː	ɐ̟ː		e.g. *heard, perfectly, years*
(ə)	ə	ʌ		This contrast is available in stressed syllables, e.g. *dull, must, come*
(iw)	ɪw	ju		e.g. *opportunity, constituency, you*
(h)	Ø	h		Ø (zero) in word-initial orthographic "h" contexts, e.g. *house, hands*, and favoured in *have, had, he, his*, etc.
(ing)	n	ŋ		n in verbal "-ing" contexts and lexical compounds with "-thing", e.g. *educating, going, nothing*

Source: Coupland (2007: 158, Table 6.1).

dialect from a traditional rural district in central-southern Norway between Oslo and Bergen (see also 2.1.2). She accounted for how speakers can cope with the situation of attending to multiple audiences (local versus national viewers) while simultaneously promoting their individual interests and public personae, as complexities of individuals' linguistic style and strategy through the social multifunctionality of code-switching and style-shifting (see also Soukup 2012; Zhang 2012).

These are the ways we build images of ourselves through language, with the intersection of linguistic variation and social meaning. After the initial positivist approach to these indexical

relations based on quantitative analyses (see Chapter 3), the next step is the use of a relativist approximation, more ethnographic and interaction-oriented, through qualitative analyses:

> Identity is constructed through connections between language variation and social meaning – through the intersection of multiple indexicalities. These indexicalities point to different kinds of relationships that speakers orient to in the interaction, and rely upon semiotic sociocultural ideologies about relationships as construction material. For variationists, this view means that finding statistical relationships is only the first step in understanding and explaining why language patterns and changes as it does. The next step is to look both more broadly and more deeply – to look closely at the historical and cultural backdrop of identities and the more general semiotic ideologies in which they are involved, and to look intently at the moment-to-moment use of variants in interactions that both draw from and accrete into these larger patterns. Identity construction is neither local nor global, micro nor macro, but represents a dialectic between them. (Kiesling 2013: 464–465)

Works such as De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg (2006), Coupland (2007), Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin (2012), and Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012) bring together research that underlines the socially constructive potential of linguistic variation for meaning-making in unfolding discourse. They shed light on how our social practices can help shape our identities, demonstrating that individuals make personal and strategic linguistic choices creatively to suggest a particular social categorization and to project a specific social positioning in public.

6.2.4. Stance

Stance has traditionally been treated as a form of deixis, developed in relation to the grammaticalized phenomenon of evidentiality, and more specifically to epistemic and affective dispositions (Besnier 1992; Biber and Finegan 1988, 1989b; Clift 2006; Haviland 1989; Heritage and Raymond 2005; Ochs 1990, 1996). These dispositions are recurrently used to index social categories, this being their most usual distinction *epistemic* stance – concerned with degrees of certainty, doubt, actuality, degrees of commitment to truth of propositions, sources of knowledge, imprecision viewpoint, and limitations, among other epistemic qualities (Chafe and Nichols 1986) – and *affective* stance – concerned with states, evaluations, emotions, and attitudes (Labov 1984b; Levy 1984; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984).

But, following Bucholtz (2009), Kiesling (2005), and Ochs (1993, 1996, 2002), Cook (1996, 2012: 297) states that stance-taking practices may serve as primary semiotic resources for identity and activity construction, given that social identities are constituted and encoded by linguistic structures. Many linguistic structures that index affective or epistemic stance are among Silverstein's (1976) non-referential indexes (see 6.2.1 above), because of the amount of sociocultural information that is implicitly keyed through them. The concept of *rhetorical stance* (or footing) was adopted from Booth (1963) to refer to the position of a speaker in relation to their subject, audience, contextual circumstances, and persona (or voice), with the goal of persuasion.

If Labovian sociolinguistic variation understood variables as reflections of speakers' membership in social categories, recent socio-constructionist views associate them not with social categories but with stances and characteristics that actually constitute those categories (Eckert 2008). Several scholars (such as Cook 2012; Coupland 2003, 2007; Johnstone 1996,

2000; Kärkkäinen 2006; and Kiesling 1998), whose works have been collected in monographs such as Kärkkäinen (2003), Englebretson (2007), and Jaffe (2009a), have emphasized the relevance of rhetorical stance in sociolinguistic variation. They maintain that stance-taking is crucially omnipresent in social life, since social interaction inevitably occurs, relying not only on stance but also on signaling.

Coupland (2003: 426), for example, suggests that "stance" can often be an even more appropriate concept than "identity": "'in which persona am I to approach this communicative event?' may be a more salient concern than 'fulfilling my identity': 'being myself' is itself a performance option." The theory of style understood as stance proposed by Johnstone (1996, 2000, 2009) is a proactive model that also tries to account for stylistic variation in terms of the speaker's agency to construct identity and positioning in society, where the individual voice is seen "as a potential agent of choice rather than a passive, socially constructed vehicle for circulating discourses" (Johnstone 2000: 417). She explored the role of stance-taking strategies with the use of a particular style and in particular kinds of interactions. Repeated patterns of stance-taking can come together as a style associated with a particular individual, which becomes ethnographically and interactionally relevant. Additionally, for this purpose, as Johnstone (2000: 419) states, the individual voice plays a crucial role in our understanding of language in its social context (see also Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009a):

> Taking the perspective of the individual on language and discourse means shifting to a more rhetorical way of imagining how language works. It means shifting to a way of thinking about communication that incorporates ideas such as strategy, purpose, rhetorical ethos, agency (and hence responsibility), and choice – without, of course, ignoring the many ways in which individuals' options may be limited or sometimes nonexistent. It means imagining other people not only (or not always) as "the creatures of their social relationships", but as their "orchestrators" …
> (Johnstone 2000: 419)

Following Du Bois (2007: 173), Cook (2012: 296) maintains that "stance-taking is a vehicle by which sociocultural values and ideologies are validated, maintained, and negotiated in local communities." This self-positioning is dialogic in nature, since the speaker normally takes a stance when addressing people or when being addressed (see also Kärkkäinen 2006), which leads Cook (2012: 296) to suggest that "language socialization is socialization into stance-taking practices, showing how language provides phonological, morphological, and syntactical structures as resources to index epistemic and affective stance."

As stressed in works such as Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012a), political speech is one of the more highly constrained stylistic contexts of public performance. In fact, political speech does not differ from other public speaking contexts[20], but politicians do need to demonstrate that they truly understand and empathize with the concerns of their constituencies through their embodied verbal performances. Assuming that the pronunciations of the grapheme <a> in the word "Iraq(i)" (between /æ/ and /ɑː/) constitute a potential resource for the expression of political identity in the United States, Hall-Lew, Starr, and Coppock (2012) examined how speakers' stances correlate with their choice of variant. Although, as Boberg (1997) points out, the realization /æ/ is associated ideologically with notions of correctness and education in U.S. English, it also occurs in this politically significant place name of the wars of the 1990s and early 2000s. These researchers found that members of the Republican party were significantly more likely to produce the <a> vowel in *Iraq* with the more nativized variant /æ/, whereas members of the Democratic party were more likely to use /ɑː/. Hall-Lew, Starr, and Coppock (2012) detected that one source of

intra-speaker variation takes place between the form of the nominal place name *Iraq* and the ethnonymic or adjectival *Iraqi* forms: the /æ/ variant is more likely to occur in the former than in the latter. This suggests a wider pattern in which speakers' use of /a:/ reflects a stance emphasizing some kind of sympathy with the Iraqi people. In addition, they argued that intra-speaker variation also shows that pronunciation of <a> in *Iraq(i)* is an available resource for style-shifting in public, since members of the U.S. House can draw on the indexicality of this particular variable to negotiate their stance towards multiple political positions. Hall-Lew, Starr, and Coppock (2012) therefore demonstrated that politically-charged language is a perfect tool not only to frame debates but also to reflect and promote political cohesion.

According to Podesva, Callier, and Jamsu (2012), recent work on stance-taking in discourse, such as Kärkkäinen (2006), underlines the use of syntactic, semantic, and prosodic parallelism as devices to construct stance and to align or disalign with interlocutors. Political speeches are common sites of such parallelism, because a device such as repetition enables political figures to construct stances, convey their positions on critical issues, and even create dramatic effect through emphasis: rendering repeated words with similar segmental phonetics is thus a creatively agentive means of maintaining a particular stance or style. Focusing on recency and resonance, Podesva, Callier, and Jamsu (2012) used political speeches to explore how style-shifts are enacted and, once initiated, how styles and stance are given coherence. "Recency" refers to "the phenomena whereby the production of a linguistic unit (including sounds, lexical items, syntactic structures, and discourse patterns) depends on how much time has transpired since the previous occurrence of that same linguistic unit" (Podesva, Callier, and Jamsu 2012: 101). The term "resonance" was proposed by Du Bois (2007) to refer to "the activation of potential affinity across utterances, between comparable linguistic elements at any level" (Kärkäinen 2006: 719). These authors found that recency and resonance play key roles in the linguistic and discursive structuring of phonological styles, because they systematically affect intra-speaker variation patterns. In fact, from the point of view of the internal coherence of phonological styles, these researchers discovered that recency effects can be suspended at the phonetic level in order to establish stylistic coherence by achieving a phonetic variety of resonance (Du Bois 2007). As a result, they argued that the phonological and phonetic realization of a linguistic variable depends on both reactive (recency and ensuring comprehension) and proactive (structuring discourse) dimensions of style and stance in political oratory.

6.2.5.   *Authenticity*

For many decades after the beginning of variationist studies, use of "authentic" speakers was regarded as essential in sociolinguistic research design in Labov's (1972a; 2001a) model of determinist-based linguistic variation when observing the unselfconscious, everyday speech – naturalistic, real language – produced by spontaneous speakers of pure vernacular: "language produced in authentic contexts by authentic speakers" (Bucholtz 2003: 398). This was an influence from nineteenth-century dialectological and anthropological assumptions based on romantic philology and folklore[21]. For their investigations of pure, genuine, real dialects they had to find speakers living in small isolated villages to provide data for their fieldwork: informants should be "NORMs": *Nonmobile* (to guarantee that their speech was characteristic of the region in which they lived), *Older* (to reflect speech from as long ago as possible), *Rural* (because they were less likely to introduce innovations), and *Male* (because it was thought

that women's speech tended to be more self-conscious and class-conscious than that of men) (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 33–35). "Authentic" was therefore regarded as a synonym for "prototypical" and related to positivist "universals": "[t]hus the villager who travels to the city, or the working class speaker who aspires to be middle class, or even the African American speaker who uses African American Standard English, are all viewed as linguistically less natural than their peers who have not strayed from the variety assigned to them" (Eckert 2003: 393).

   More recently, the "authentic" speaker has become a phenomenological and theoretically paradigmatic model in social constructionist-based linguistic variation referring to a differentiating dialectic positioning in society imbued with social meaning within an implicit theory of identity (Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2003, 2007, 2010b; Eckert 2003; Guy and Cutler 2011; Johnstone 2014):

> … authenticity underwrites nearly every aspect of sociolinguistics, from our identification of socially meaningful linguistic phenomena, to the definition of the social groups we study, to the methods we use to collect our data, to the theories we draw on in our analysis. Yet despite its pervasiveness in the field, this pivotal concept is rarely a topic of investigation in its own right. (Bucholtz 2003: 398)

> The conventional wisdom around authenticity has been far more straightforward. Sociolinguistic surveys have tended to assume that speakers are, in themselves, authentic members of the groups and the "speech communities" that they inhabit – recall our Birmingham women, once again. This assumption is part of the political ideology of variationism, dignifying "ordinary people" and vernacular speech as issues of community entitlement. The empiricist approach puts speakers into fixed social categories and assumes that being a member of one rather than another social group has consequences at the level of language use. But we can alternatively ask how people align themselves with social groups, for different purposes at different times. How is language variation implicated in these acts of social construction? There may well be times when speakers style themselves as "authentic Birmingham speakers" or "authentically female", or both simultaneously, or neither. So authenticity is not so much a condition of a research design; it is a social meaning. (Coupland 2007: 25–26)

Labovian sociolinguistics focused on the average linguistic behavior of the group (the statistical mean); in contrast the interest of constructionist sociolinguistics lies in the singularity or peculiarity of a particular speaker (the statistical deviation from the mean), with its own socio-linguistic indexicality as an *authenticity indexing*. The authentic speaker appears now as an unexpected (non-idiosyncratic) identity assumed creatively in verbal practice, but not without constraint. The relevance of authenticity to sociolinguistics is thus strongly related to the structure–agency debate discussed earlier in this chapter. Johnstone (2014) explored the mean-ing of sociolinguistic authenticity in the Pittsburgh community and suggests that this meaning is an artifact which is always semiotically linked with authenticity in other social practices, such as lifestyle, produced under particular historical circumstances. According to the British sociologist Anthony Giddens (1996: 75), in post-traditional contexts "we have no choice but to choose how to be and how to act", and choices are constitutive of life-style options. Giddens (1991, 1996) described late modernity as a time of dynamic forms of social order because of globalizing processes, which are radically altering the general nature of daily life and the most personal aspects of human activity, and giving rise to uncertainty, semiotic complexity, and multi-layered and disembedded social meanings. Coupland (2003, 2010a) stresses the role of globalization in these social changes: "[g]lobalization is said to be detraditionalizing social life,

breaking the continuities and certainties that characterize the phase of the 'modern' period, which is where our traditional understandings of social structure were conceived" (Coupland 2003: 425). Individuals' multiplicity of social networks in post-modern society are now allowing them, as seen in 4.1.2, to develop a polyhedric (versatile) image and multi-faceted creative behavior, exhibiting and aligning with different social identities for different purposes at different times and places and in different contexts of social relations and interaction. In Coupland's view (2003: 426), these changes are giving rise to a new theoretical realignment in sociolinguistics:

- People's memberships of "communities" are increasingly complex, more contextualized, and less well predicted by socio-structural facts: for example, economic and occupational circumstances do not reliably predict rounded and fully-formed "social class identities", as may have been assumed; people can command and display multiple class-identities.
- Communities of practice can coalesce around very local or very global activities: a sense of "the local" can be achieved over great distances, and we increasingly experience "the global familiar" in different parts of the world; linguistic choice is not motivated only locally.
- Face-to-face networks are being complemented and complicated by fast, remotely mediated networks: electronically mediated social interaction is providing new means of achieving intimacy, rapport and sociality.
- The indexical potential of dialect variables relates to only a small subset of available semiotic resources: social meaning adheres to a wide range of discursive phenomena, including rhetorical style, prosody and visual symbols, with opportunities for multi-modal exchanges developing rapidly.
- Meanings traditionally associated with the dialect/diatopic/social dimension of variation: dialect-styles tend to be used more productively and creatively, rather than simply as social indices of "who we are" in terms of social provenance.
- Performance as a site for the construction of identity and community has been underestimated: performance implies control and deployment of communicative resources, rather than simply "behavior" in context.
- Personal and social identities may be best seen as projects in the articulation of life-options, rather than determined by social demographics: identities are never entirely given, fully-formed or achieved, but aspired to, critically monitored and constructed as developing personal narratives.
- Stance and role in social identification are often more appropriate concepts than identity: "in which persona am I to approach this communicative event?" may be a more salient concern than "fulfilling my identity": "being myself" is itself a performance option.
- Culture may itself be best seen as a matter of performed contextualization (cf. Urban 1996): culture may be better seen, not as a known and stable set of values, norms and beliefs, but as repeated instances of textual construction –of distinctive styles, practices and rituals.
- The heightened reflexivity associated with late-modernity social arrangements precludes "innocent" sociolinguistic "behavior": in a social world where we are inundated with identity options and models, and with information about their consequences and implications, sociolinguistic choices are necessarily more knowing and strategic.

The qualitative analysis of Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa's (2010) study of a former female President of Murcia (María Antonia Martínez) presented in 6.2.3 also suggests a case of authenticity indexing (Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2013). This study was designed to gain insight into her attitudes towards Murcian and Standard Castilian accents and thus to explain why her stylistic patterns vary as they do across the different public and private speaking contexts, as well as why she uses far less standard speech in formal, public, political contexts than other politicians, and even non-politicians. This qualitative approach
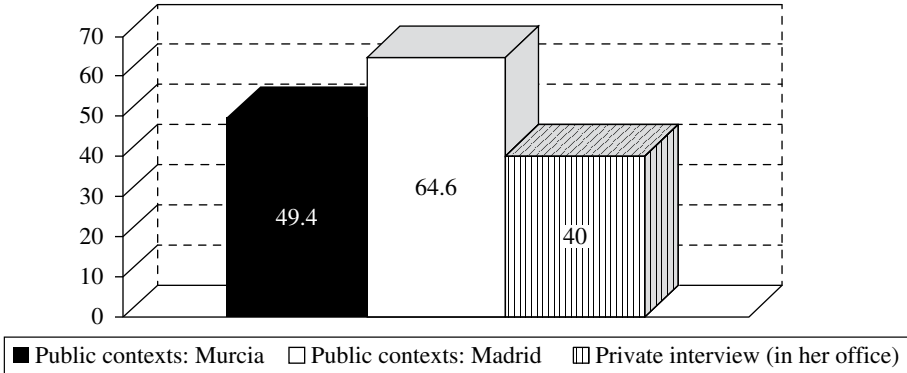
Figure 6.12 President's scores for Standard Castilian variants in her public appearances (Murcia and Madrid) and in a private interview (based on data from Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2013: 87–88, Table 1 and Table 2).

incorporating the President's overtly expressed language attitudes and ideologies – together with additional linguistic behaviors suggestive of less conscious attitudes – provided these researchers with a more nuanced qualitative account. Her unexpected use of Murcian features in public was at a high cost (see also Zapata-Barrero 2014, 2015), since it caused some controversy and debate in the local community, as reflected in both local and national newspapers.

In a private interview conducted with her by both researchers and Natalie Schilling[22] not only did the President express positive attitudes toward the local dialect but her private speech was even less standard (40%) than her public speech (49.4% and 64.6%), suggesting that she also tempered her dialect usage in public contexts (see Figure 6.12).

President Martínez mentioned "language loyalty" and "authenticity" as her reasons for using dialectal speech in even the most public, formal situations. She believes in authenticity and in using natural speech, and hence in remaining loyal to one's social background, including one's linguistic background:

> I would feel ridiculous if I spoke in one way in one place and in a different way in another. […] I've had an education, but before that education I had a personal background. I started working in fruit canning factories when I was eleven. I worked with women that would get to work at 8:00 in the morning after cleaning their homes and getting everything ready for their husbands. […] We all spoke in the same way and we felt that we belonged to the same group. […] This does not mean that I am not a professional or that my work is not worthwhile. […] If people could get to know some of their representatives in non-public settings, they would be amazed. […] In that respect I think I am more authentic.

For this reason she considered the standard speech of other non-standard-speaking politicians as inauthentic "performances." However, according to Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2013: 96–97), María Antonia was in fact performing a role, although the singularity is that she was playing the part of who she was, thus partially contradicting who she is right now (President). There are both personal and ideological factors underlying this kind of creative choice. Even though María Antonia certainly makes a genuine attempt to be faithful to her identity, at least as she understands it, her performance provides a perfect illustration of the view now commonly held in sociolinguistic studies that all linguistic usage

and all identity displays, even the most "authentic", are in reality performances: we are always shaping our speech – and ourselves – to fit who we want to be and how we wish to be viewed in every situation, and throughout our careers and lives. But even those who most aspire toward linguistic "authenticity" are to some degree "inauthentic" – whether they are unconsciously shifting upwards from their "natural" speech in more formal or more public situations, or more consciously maintaining or heightening dialectal speech in situations of public and private display[23]. However, the President does not simply try to conform to audience expectations, since she is, for the most part, masterful in performing vernacularity and authenticity.

The President's sociolinguistic behavior largely aligns with her overtly expressed language attitudes and ideology. However, she cannot completely escape the influence of widespread ideologies in which standard Castilian Spanish is viewed more positively than non-standard regional varieties, as her intra-speaker speech production showed. Furthermore, her language ideology has some relation to the language de-standardization process apparently taking place in contemporary Europe (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011), in her case within a performativity framework signaling "authenticity." Like other recent constructionist-oriented studies of stylistic variation, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa's (2013) analysis complicates straightforward notions of "natural" vs. "performative" speech and indicates that even those who are strongly dedicated to speaking as "authentically" as possible are necessarily always performing their language varieties and their personae. As Coupland (2003: 428) points out, "[t]here is a sociolinguistic process by which people can achieve authenticity by overtly displaying their own *in*authenticities, playfully and self-mockingly, and relying on listeners' contextual inferences to rebuild their personas as in fact authentic."

6.2.6.   *Hyperdialectism vs. Hypervernacularization*

In the contexts of the socio-constructionist speaker design model, Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy, and Schilling-Estes (2010) explored the use and characteristics of hypervernacularization, as exemplified in the unexpected (and controversial) use of features of the local dialect by the female former President of Murcia studied in Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010) and seen in 6.2.3 and 6.2.5.

In dialect contact situations, hyper-dialectism and hypervernacularization are both forms of hyper-adaptation. Hyper-dialectisms consist in the use of incorrect overgeneralized forms in non-standard dialects due to misanalysis – insufficient knowledge about a given linguistic feature – or to excessive efforts at showing vernacular identity. They are the result of speakers' production of overgeneralized forms in non-standard dialects due to faulty analysis, and often arise out of attitudinal factors in face-to-face interaction: speakers may be too "willing" to produce dialectal forms either because they have a positive attitude towards the dialect or because they want to help their interlocutor. In fact, hyper-dialectisms may occur as a result of a kind of "neighborhood opposition" between two varieties, that is, "when dialect speakers overgeneralise differences between their own and neighbouring dialects in order to symbolise their separate identities" (Trudgill 2003: 60).

But in other situations, the use of dialectal forms may be due not to misanalysis but rather to inappropriate performance. That would be the case for *hypervernacularization*, whose counterpart would be *hyperstandardization* (also known as hypercorrection). The former

term refers to the use of non-standard forms correctly (without faulty analysis) but inappropriately according to socio-demographic and/or stylistic parameters. The concept of *hypervernacular* speech must not be confused with that of *hyperdialectism*: hyperdialectal speech implies the incorrect extension of vernacular features to linguistic contexts where they are not applicable. In a sense, hyperdialectal speech entails incorrect use of the non-standard system (grammar or phonology), either because of insufficient knowledge of it or excessive effort in showing vernacular identity. That is, while both are linguistic processes resulting from dialect contact, hyperdialectism is related to incorrectness, hypervernacularization to inappropriateness.

According to Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy, and Schilling-Estes (2010), the unexpected use of vernacular forms by the former President – an upper-class speaker – in non-informal contexts appears to be a strategy to project downward social mobility and a working-class image for specific purposes. Her hypervernacular use of Murcian dialect features indicates that she was not shifting her speech in reaction to formality, or even to accommodate the many Murcians in her audience (whose radio speech is more standard than her own). Rather, she was breaking free from conventional sociolinguistic patterns and using dialect features to project a persona in pursuit of her political goals and a very particular image: to highlight the working-class background that shaped her identity and her socialist ideals.

This hypervernacular speaker was being proactive rather than reactive and was quite deliberately using local Murcian features to achieve a particular effect. Local features are very much associated with the working-class world and with progressive ideas. The use of these local features as an exercise of hypervernacularization might be a strategy to build a particular image and project her socialist identity in the political context in which she operates. In contrast, the use of standard features may be associated with conservative ideas and the accent of the bourgeoisie. President Martínez undoubtedly uses the phonological system of her native Murcian Spanish perfectly well, without over-generation of non-standard forms. That is why these researchers suggest that her speech was hypervernacular, in the sense that it differed strikingly from that of her social class and gender. Her use of non-standard speech marked an attempt to project downward social mobility, which is certainly surprising in a world where, as María Antonia remarked, "everyone wants to be more. I just want to be different." In her case, the prestige of working-class values is personal, ideological, and overt. If language shows our aspirations, President Martínez was certainly committed to the idea that it is possible to preserve a working-class identity even if one's occupation and social position can no longer be identified as such.

There is, therefore, a personal motivation in the construction of this persona. The former president is not creating an entirely new identity: rather, she is reconstructing her own linguistic background and using it to project downward linguistic mobility. Unlikely as this move might seem, the president attempts to restrict the signs of upward social mobility to material and professional conditions, while leaving linguistic output as unaltered as possible. Consequently, the use of the vernacular is strategically deployed to project the image of who the president used to be, regardless of her evident social promotion. This reinforces the idea that speaker motivations are often multi-layered and must be analyzed carefully. The fact that even prominent politicians use stylistic resources, in this case with the instrumentalization of vernacularity, in ways that are best explained by appealing to speaker-internal as well as speaker-external situational factors, lends further support for viewing style as a matter of speaker design as well as audience design.

6.2.7.   *Crossing*

Drawing on Bahktin's (1981) notion of "double-voicing" (see 4.2), Rampton's (1995, 2009) concept of *crossing* is a particular form of code-switching that refers to a speaker's use of variants and/or varieties of language associated with a social group that the speaker does not naturally belong to. This disjunction between speaker and expected linguistic code is therefore a kind of outgroup referee design (A→A [B]). Rampton (1995) studied the singularity of the interethnic styling practices of British-born multiracial teens in the English south midlands and London (Table 6.6): "the use of Panjabi by young people of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean descent, the use of Creole by Anglos and Panjabis, and the use of stylised Indian English by all three" (Rampton 1995: 4).

These British-born young people of minority ethnic origin use Stylized Asian English (SAE), a performative variety characterized by exaggerated use of stereotypical features of South Asian English, as a kind of lingua franca among them all, self-consciously crossing in and out of this variety. But this code-switching is not done merely for intelligibility and communication, but rather to accomplish social ends, such as the destabilization of established social relations (e.g. adult authority over teens) and the breaking down of clear-cut ethnic dividing lines, such as white vs. Asian[24]:

> … an identity contrary to the kind of cognitive recognition that the recipient might be expected to make in the circumstances. It foregrounded a social category membership ("Asian who doesn't speak vernacular English") at a moment when the adult would normally be setting him/herself up for interaction in a primarily personal/biographical capacity. And in so doing, it promised to destabilise the transition to comfortable interaction and the working consensus that phatic activity normally facilitates. (Rampton 1995: 79)

Coupland (2007: 137–145) brings insight to bear on Rampton's diagnosis of the destabilizing potential of SAE, alluding to the role of ideology:

> Some adults said they felt that kids' SAE established social distance and made them feel embarrassed, as Rampton says he himself felt. This suggests that SAE played a part in unsettling established socio-cultural frames and other, more local discursive arrangements that operated at school. It is impossible to say whether these micro-moments of destabilisation function as acts of resistance to wider ethnic, white-black dominance arrangements. Perhaps they are acts of resistance to institutional arrangements in the school, unless we see that institutional framework as a localised instantiation of British authority structures. Rampton stresses their ambiguity, but also speculates that social movements necessarily have a local interactional dimension. (Coupland 2007: 140–141)

Table 6.6   Interethnic crossing practices of British-born multiracial teens in the English south midlands of England and London in Rampton (1995).

Context	Variety Used
Anglo and Afro-Caribbean	Panjabi
Anglos and Panjabis	Creole
All: Anglos, Afro-Caribbean and Panjabis	Stylised Asian English

6.3.   Limitations

But, despite the broader perspective that the SD model of style-shifting uses multi–dimensionally, scholars have raised some objections, such as:

1. Observability: speakers' motivations are not easily observable, since the predictive capacity of unidimensional approaches is lost with the multidimensionality and the subsequent inclusion of speaker-internal and external factors that might affect stylistic choices (Bell 1984: 185; Schilling-Estes 2002a: 392). Precisely because of the emphasis on performance, it is quite difficult to make predictions about a particular individual's sociolinguistic behavior in communicative interaction; instead we have to rely on the specific motivations and attitudes of the speaker – usually observed or elicited qualitatively through ethno–graphic work (Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy 2007).
2. Interpretation: because of the difficulty of observation and the unpredictable nature of initiative style shifts, interpretation may not be unique, which means that there is a validity problem: how to refute (or support) the interpretations of other analysts (Coupland 1980: 11).
3. Reliability: reductionist generalization from the motivations of one speaker, with a complex range of roles and conditions, to the behavior of the whole group or to a larger community is not empirically reliable (Bell 2014: 305; Coupland 2001a: 7; Schilling-Estes 2002a: 392–393);
4. Communal competence: if the proactive basis of style-shifting is so individualistic, how do others recognize and respond?
5. Reformulations and redefinitions: with these new assumptions of proactive agentivity in stylistic variation, what is the repertoire of styles and/or identities available to speakers? How can it be defined?

Notes

1   "All knowledge is in response to a question. If there were no question, there would be no scientific knowledge. Nothing proceeds from itself. Nothing is given. All is constructed" (Bachelard 1938/2002).
2   Assuming that all knowledge is socially constructed and oriented towards the solution of practical problems, *phenomenology* is a movement in philosophy and sociology ("phenomenological sociology") popularized in the late 1960s that focused on the description and analysis of the world of everyday life and its associated states of consciousness.
3   Social psychologists refer to this process of learning how to be a "proper" girl or boy as the *acquisition of gender identity*.
4   *Realism* is a philosophical stance maintaining that there are things which are truly real, objectively and independently of the way humans think about them.
5   Diachronically speaking, the loss of any consonant (except *-m* and *-n*) in word-final position has had dramatic consequences for the eastern Andalucian and Murcian vowel systems. Historical word-final /eC, oC, aC/ have become /ɛ, ɔ, æ/, and the same vocalic developments have occurred word-internally in the case of vowels before assimilated consonants (Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill 2002).
6   Results from an empirical research project used in Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill (2002) and Hernández-Campoy (2008b). This study was based on recordings of 3–6 minutes of colloquial speech for each informant. Recordings were obtained from 42 Murcian informants, who were

divided into three age-groups, and obtained through participant observation of casual speech situations. The speaker group composition was as follows: eight male (Group 1m) and eight female (Group 1f) informants in their early twenties with a background in higher education; four middle-aged males (Group 2m) and four middle-aged females (Group 2f) with a primary education background; and four elderly male (Group 3m) and four elderly female (Group 3f) informants. The study also analyzed the speech of ten politicians (six males: Group 4m; and four females: Group 4f) taken from media contexts, a stylistically more formal and a socially upper-middle class group.

7 Some scholars have attempted to subdivide agency into different types or categories. Ortner (2006), for example, distinguishes two different but closely interrelated types of agency: i) the agency of (unequal) power, which involves domination or resistance to domination, and ii) the agency of projects, which "is about (relatively ordinary) life socially organized in terms of culturally constituted projects that infuse life with meaning and purpose" (2006: 147). Kockelman (2007) also differentiates two types of agency: i) residential agency, which involves power and choice, and ii) representational agency, involving knowledge and consciousness (see also Ahearn 2001).

8 "Speakers can use language to claim identities that may not appear 'natural' to them. Gender is increasingly regarded as a constructed or performed mater rather than defined by biological sex. Language can be used to initiate a claim to a heightened or alternative gender identity, for example as part of cross-gender identification" (Bell 2014: 318).

9 According to Bell and Gibson (2011), six factors are of paramount importance in the sociolinguistics of staged performance: i) identities, ii) reflexivity, iii) audience, iv) authenticity, v) genre, and vi) modalities (see also Bell 2014: 315).

10 Although, according to Trudgill (1983c: 141), this sociolinguistic practice began to be used in popular music in the 1920s, and affected different genres: "[t]his phenomenon of employing a modified pronunciation seems to have been current in popular music for some decades, probably since the 1920s, and has involved a number of different genres, including jazz, 'crooning', and so on. It became, however, especially widespread and noticeable in the late 1950s with the advent of rock-and-roll and the pop-music revolution."

11 However, Trudgill (1986: 12–13) considers that this phenomenon has to do more with *imitation* than with *accommodation*: "[t]he process that is involved in this phenomenon, moreover, is obviously *imitation* and not *accommodation*. In modifying their accents as they do, singers render their pronunciation *less* like that of their British audiences, not more."

12 "… different situations, different topics, different genres require different linguistic styles and registers. The singing of pop music in this way, it could be argued, is no different from vicars preaching in the register appropriate to Church of England sermons, or BBC newsreaders employing the variety appropriate for the reading of the news" (Trudgill 1983c: 143).

13 The six linguistic characteristics studied are all found in American accents, and are stereotypically associated by the British with American pronunciation (Trudgill 1983c: 144).

14 British folk singers also adopt quasi-rural accents, and reggae style singers also adopt Jamaican accents, which proves that there are parallels with other musical genres (Trudgill 1983c: 145).

15 Trudgill's constraints are based on four factors developed by Le Page in his theory of linguistic behavior: i) the extent to which we are able to identify our model group; ii) the extent to which we have sufficient access to the model groups as well as sufficient analytical ability to work out the rules of their behavior; iii) the strength of various (possibly conflicting) motivations towards one or another model and towards retaining our own sense of our unique identity; and iv) our ability to modify our behavior (probably lessening as we get older).

16 Similar studies have more recently been carried out by Simpson (1999), Coddington (2003, 2004), O'Hanlon (2006), Morrissey (2008), and Beal (2009b).

17 A sound change currently taking place in the urban areas of north-central and north-eastern United States, where the pronunciation of words like *rest, kept, John, cut, caught,* or *cot* is becoming similar to that of *rust, cat, Jan, caught, cot,* and *cat,* respectively: /e/>/ʌ/-/æ/, /ʌ/>/ɔ/, /ɔ/>ɑ/, /ɑ/>/æ/ (Labov 1994, 2001a, 2010).

18 The politicians were recorded in speech events similar to those in which the former President participated (e.g. interviews, press conferences, parliamentary debates), and the non-politicians (mostly from the lower middle- and upper working-classes) were participants in radio interviews with a range of Murcian citizens.

19 As an additional source of information on cross-situational language variation, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010) also examined the former President's usage levels for the same features in speeches she gave in the Madrid National Senate House between 2004 and 2007, following the end of her regional presidency and during her term as a national senator.

20 Bell (1991), Fairclough (1995), Bell and Garrett (1998), Macdonald (2003), Matheson (2005), O'Keeffe (2006), Tolson (2006), Machin and van Leeuwen (2007), Talbot (2007), Coleman and Ross (2010), and Androutsopoulos (2014).

21 Bucholtz (2003: 408) differentiates between "authenticity" as an ideology and "authentication" as a social practice: "[w]here authenticity presupposes that identity is primordial, authentication views it as the outcome of constantly negotiated social practices" (2003: 408). Authenticity is a researcher-based ideological construct, since it is "the outcome of the linguistic practices of social actors and the metalinguistic practices of sociolinguists" (Bucholtz 2003: 399). In Eckert's (2003: 392) words: "authenticity is an ideological construct that is central to the practice of both speakers and analysts of language" (see also Coupland 2003; 2010b).

22 The questionnaire was devised to obtain information about aspects of the President's attitudes toward her own and others' linguistic usages, moving from a first stage of "subtle" asking to a more direct type of question at the end: a) her awareness of the social and linguistic features of her audience/electorate; b) her opinions about other Peninsular accents and languages, their use, their users, and their status as models; c) attitudes to Murcian speech; d) opinions about the use of standard Castilian Spanish in non-standard areas; and e) direct questions about any specific linguistic guidelines within political parties, and linguistic differences amongst them (Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2013).

23 As Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2013: 97) state, President María Antonia is no different from Steve K. of Labov's (1972a: 104–105) early research on stylistic variation in New York City, since Steve K. demonstrated in his linguistic behaviors an unconscious orientation toward dominant language ideologies that value the standard – despite his insistence on remaining true to his vernacular roots.

24 According to Schilling (2013: 337), this is a phenomenon that is also found in AAVE contexts: "[s]imilarly, white American teens have been shown to cross into AAVE, or at least some of its features, not to show identification with African Americans but to demonstrate affiliation with pan-global Hip Hop culture, as well as project character traits (stereo)typically associated with streetwise African-American teen males (e.g. toughness, 'coolness'; Bucholtz 1999; Cutler 1999)."

7

Conclusion

Sociolinguistics, as a paradigm, is in a continuous process of theoretical reformulation and methodological redefinition in consonance with the evolution of epistemology and the development of new fieldwork methods, data collection techniques and – in the case of quantitative approaches – statistical analysis (Hernández-Campoy 2014). As Robins (1964: 319) far-sightedly predicted, "[t]he languages of mankind in all their fascinating detail and with all their immense power among the human faculties still present a potentially limitless field for disciplined investigation and systematic study." New lines of thought are being opened up and new methods devised with which to pursue them: linguistic theory must keep pace with methodological and technological progress.

Together with this inherently dynamic activity, the integrative stance of the field, fostering its vast multidisciplinary and genuinely interdisciplinary nature, has been crucial for its scholarly interest and scientific success in hermeneutic accounts of language in society, as shown by the diverse array of high-quality international journals (Coupland 2001c) and long-standing tradition of well-attended forums for debate. Sociolinguistics emerged with the single crucial assumption that language is fundamentally social in nature, and has been consolidating its foundations thanks to the interdisciplinarity practiced so far. This integration based on paradigmatic complementarity has provided us with increasing refinement and precision in analysis. It has also meant a step forward in the improvement of sociolinguistic theory, and, ultimately, of our understanding of the nature and functioning of language as a human faculty; and, crucially, its application to solve real human social problems.

Models of style have benefited from a long background in social philosophy: rhetoric in the Sophists and Aristotle, oratory in Cicero and Quintilian, poetics in Jakobson, determinism in Labov's Attention to Speech theory, behaviorism in Bell's Audience Design, contextualism in Biber's Register theory, and social constructionism in Coupland's Speaker Design, for example. But they have all contributed to a greater understanding of the nature, functioning, and effectiveness of style-shifting processes in social interaction.

The debate on *responsive-initiative* motivations in stylistic variation is a central issue in the traditional dichotomy in social theory about the relationship between *structure* and *agency*, that is, between sociolinguistic constraints and creativity, and also between speaker

intention and listener understanding (Bell 2014: 305–306; Schilling 2013: 342–343): "[a] pproaches which treat speakers as untrammeled agents do not take enough account of the role of structure in interaction and life, just as approaches which treat speakers as sociode-mographic correlates did not take adequate account of individual agency" (Bell 2014: 305–306). Structure refers to the social norms that shape as well as constrain the way we live and behave sociolinguistically. In contrast, agency is our ability to customize the way we live and behave sociolinguistically according to our personal requirements and intentions – adopting our own actions, following our own practices, and making our own way and our own choices (Bell 2014: 305). It is in recent sociolinguistics that the pendulum is swinging towards agentivity and creativity, and away from structural constraints and norms (see also Johnstone 2000, 2001).

Over time, the indexical nature of the social meaning of inter- and intra-speaker variation in speakers' sociolinguistic behavior, as Eckert (2012) suggests, has been approached from three analytic perspectives, or generational waves, which can also be correlated with the main approaches to stylistic variation (see also Schilling 2013): Attention to Speech, Audience Design and Speaker Design. As described by Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b: 7), in the evolution of sociolinguistics since its beginnings in the 1960s, there has been a shift from deterministic and system-oriented approaches (language as a collective system: *langue*) to more social constructionist and speaker-oriented ones (language as individual performance: *parole*), moving the focus from collectivity or community to individuality, from generality or average to singularity, from aggregate patterns to local usage, from the reactive to the agentive or creative, from responsive to initiative or proactive.

During the 1960s, the mechanistic paradigm of first-wave sociolinguistics assumed that speech and the stylistic repertoire were predetermined by major macro-sociological categories, providing us with general patterns in their aggregate data (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2015); in other words, they focused on correlations between socio-demographic categories and patterns of linguistic variation, searching for predictable sociolinguistic universals governed by mathematically-based and irrefutable laws.

In the 1980s, the ethnographic-based paradigm of the second wave proposed that speech and the stylistic repertoire are conditioned by social configurations – rather than global categories – of multiplex relationships within the social networks of speakers and their mobility, providing us with a more locally-defined perspective on the dynamics of variation and sociolinguistic behavior: "social categories and the potential social meanings of linguistic variables are no longer grounded in predetermined global categories and meanings (e.g. soci-oeconomic class, standard vs. nonstandard) but rather discovered from below, via ethnographic study of locally important social and linguistic meanings" (Schilling 2013: 339). As a result, the assumption of a potentially wider range of meanings for linguistic variants allowed broader ethnographic-based conceptualizations of stylistic variation (affiliations, traits, stances, etc.) in local interactions.

Now, in the twenty-first century, a third wave of sociolinguistics is underlining the individuality of speakers, using a constructionist approach based on speaker's agency (indi-vidual action), stance, and performativity to more accurately account for the nature of the indexical relations between linguistic and extralinguistic variables. If the speech community was a significant element in first-wave sociolinguistics, in the third, the community of practice is crucial. The emphasis on localized community settings and local interaction now requires a focus on qualitative, syntagmatic patterning of variants, rather than the traditional quantitative patterns of collectivities and groups. In fact, according to Schilling (2013: 328), "'third wave' study moves quantitative sociolinguistics from its traditional focus on how

linguistic variants correlate with social categories to how speakers use language to make social meanings, including both identificational and interactional meanings, in unfolding discourse via stylistic variation."

Similarly, in tune with the epistemic evolution of sociolinguistics, traditional variationist conceptualizations of stylistic variation as a primarily responsive phenomenon, conditioned by factors external to the speaker, such as audience and formality of the situation, have been shown to be unable to account for *all* stylistic choices. More recent views of stylistic variation as creative and strategic, and as essential to identity projection and creation and the furthering of speakers' specific situational goals, can be used to explain their stylistic choices (Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2010, 2012b). These new approaches are sensitive to the fact that language acts *are* acts of identity, understanding language variation as agentive, interactive, and socially meaningful. Variation is therefore now understood not simply as reflecting, but also as constructing social meaning, the focus shifting from speaker categories and configurations to the construction of *personae*: not only does variation reflect the multifaceted shaping of human relationships for the transmission of social meaning, but is also a resource for identity construction and representation, and even social positioning in public, where accents, dialects, and their styling are markers of this intended social meaning (Auer 2007a; Podesva 2006). Drawing on Coupland (2007) and Eckert (2012), Schilling (2013: 328) points out that:

> … researchers began to recognize that style shifting is not always reactive, triggered by a change in formality or audience composition, and speakers often initiate shifts in language style to effect contextual changes, including changes in role relations among interlocutors. Subsequently, the creative potential of stylistic variation received more and more attention and has today become central not only in discussions of intra-speaker variation per se but variation analysis more generally, since many researchers now hold that even established group styles (dialects) have their roots in individual agentive linguistic usages and that individual and group styles are always undergoing change, as people continually use stylistic resources in unfolding linguistic interaction …

This has accordingly meant a shift from deterministic and system-oriented to more social constructionist and speaker-oriented approaches to stylistic variation for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance, and identity projection (see Figure 7.1). These new approaches focus on the proactive facet of style-shifting and the individuality of speakers, where, as

STYLISTIC VARIATION
(LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE, RHETORICAL STANCE AND IDENTITY PROJECTION)

Deterministic and system-oriented approaches (collective) → Constructionist and speaker-oriented approaches (individual)
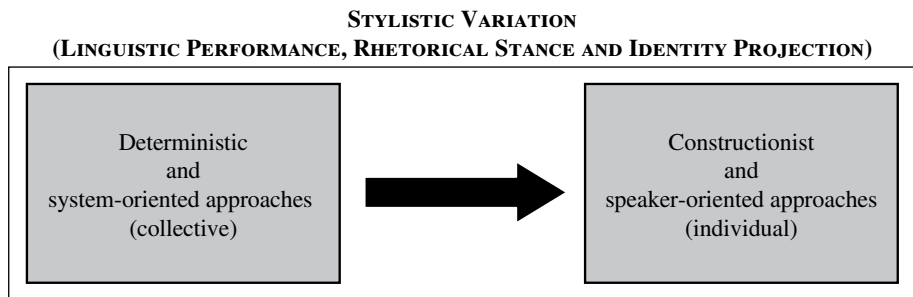
Figure 7.1 Representation of the shift from deterministic and system-oriented to social constructionist and speaker-oriented approaches to stylistic variation for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance, and identity projection (adapted from Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2012b: 7, Figure 3).

Giddens (1991: 82–85) remarks, self-identity requires creativity and agency, and where, as Johnstone (2000: 417) states, the individual voice is seen as an active – rather than passive – agent for the transmission of sociolinguistic meaning: "a potential agent of choice rather than a passive, socially constructed vehicle for circulating discourses."

In first- and second-wave studies, first-order indexical meanings – group associational meanings – were central, but in third-wave sociolinguistics it is second-order indexical meanings that are primary: character traits or stances (Schilling 2013: 340). Like any other social stereotypes, these different ways of speaking constitute prototype categories within a wider frame that comprises not only ideological components, but also markers from a wide variety of dimensions, such as speech, physical appearance, dress, dance, and music (Kristiansen 2008: 72–73). Styles thus represent our ability to take up different social positions (Bell 2007b: 95), because styling is a powerful device for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance-taking, and identity projection:

> As we move from second to third wave studies, we focus even more on local interactions, considering how variants get their meanings in unfolding discourse rather than via correlations between linguistic features and social categories, whether global or local. Thus, third wave variation studies align with Speaker Design approaches to stylistic variation, in which, again, the focus is on how speakers use linguistic variation in interaction to shape personal identity, interpersonal interactions, and, as individual usages cohere into individual and group styles, to shape group identities as well. (Schilling 2013: 340)

As seen in 2.1, dialects and registers of speech have traditionally been conceived as associated with social categories and different situations of language use. In fact, *accent* and *dialect* were related to the "speaker", *style* to the "situation" and *register* to the "topic", "subject", or "activity." However, currently, as Gibson and Bell (2012: 162) state, "we are more inclined to think of a speaker's linguistic repertoire as containing a vast set of linguistic resources which are available to index a wide range of social meanings, in the situated practice of active contextualization." In this way, "linguistic variability is then seen as a resource available to be actively deployed to achieve identity goals, whether those goals are to conform to expectations or to negotiate new identities" (p. 162).

Linguistic variation then becomes viewed as the verbal instrument for semiotic identificational and interactional meanings: a resource for identity projection and positioning in society, where individuals – rather than groups – and individual voices, in their exclusive and untransferable uniqueness, are actively responsible for the transmission of sociolinguistic meaning (Giddens 1991: 82–85; Johnstone 2000: 417). Repeated patterns of stance-taking, for example, can come together as a style associated with a particular individual, which becomes ethnographically and interactionally relevant. In addition, for this purpose, as Johnstone (2000: 419) states, the individual voice plays a crucial role in our understanding of the linguistics of language in its social context (see also Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009a). Consequently, this means that identity is dynamic and that all speech is performance – with speakers projecting different roles in different circumstances – since we are always displaying some particular type of image, which challenges the idea that the vernacular is the most "natural" and does not require speakers to put on roles (Schilling-Estes 2002a: 388–389). This view therefore implies a focus on how individuals position themselves in society through their sociolinguistic usage, with "the vagaries and unpredictability of the individual's language variation and performance" (Bell 2007a: 92).

Recent research is showing the difficulty – and probably the impracticability – of trying to account for style variation in terms of singular, exhaustive theoretical models covering all instances (such as social normativity vs. audience design vs. persona management). Style in general is a multidimensional phenomenon that cannot be modeled in a single unidimensional theory, so stylistic studies have to progress, as Rickford and Eckert (2001: 2) state, by understanding the boundaries between the three main components of sociolinguistic variation – *stylistic, linguistic*, and *social* – as more permeable. Therefore, we need to focus on the socially constructionist potential of style-shifting in order to find out how sociolinguistic variation interfaces with other dimensions of meaning-making in discourse (Coupland 2007: ix). According to Biber (1995: 36), unidimensional studies analyzed linguistic variation in terms of a single parameter, assuming that there is just one basic situational distinction in language (formality, attention paid to speech, etc.), any others being derivative. In contrast, recent multidimensional studies demonstrate that an individual parameter or dimension is not sufficient in itself to account for the full range of variation among styles in language. Instead, different sets of co-occurring linguistic features reflect different functional underpinnings (interactiveness, planning, informational focus or explicitness) in different dimensions: i) the co-occurring linguistic features that define the dimensions of variation in each language; ii) the functional domains represented by those dimensions; and iii) the linguistic/functional relations among analogous styles (see also Biber 1995: 18–22).

Now, as Schilling-Estes (2002a: 377) states, "the variationist study of style-shifting has diverged from the tightly focused approaches of early variationists and converged, in at least some ways, with the early broad-based approaches of ethnographers, anthropologists, sociologists, and others." Like any other semiotic process, style-shifting must be understood as part of the social organization of meanings through interactive discursive action, where linguistic performance is a special case of the presentation of the self within relational contexts, articulating both relational and identity goals (Coupland 2001a: 197). The new view of stylistic variation as persona management is conceived as a performative identificational and interactional resource by means of which individuals manipulate the conventionalized social meanings of dialect varieties within and across speaking situations in the process of individual and interpersonal dialectal self-creation, self-projection, and identity (see also Johnstone 2009). In their emphasis on speaker creativity and performativity in style, variationists are now falling into line with other ethnography-based sociolinguistic approaches to stylistic variation, in which speaker agency is a primary focus. To truly understand the nature of stylistic variation it is necessary to approach its social meaning from a broad range of perspectives such as "the qualitative patterning of linguistic variation in discourse against the backdrop of the large-scale quantitative patterning of features across social groups and situations, or, conversely, augmenting studies focused on big-picture patterns with ethnographic and/or discoursal investigation that helps reveal what these patterns actually mean to the speakers who use them" (Schilling 2013: 343). But in turn, as Schilling insists, we must also take into account the interplay between structure and agency, and draw on pre-existing associations between linguistic usages and social meanings, both interactional and group associational, since meaningful styles cannot be created out of nothing: "interactional stances and identity categories are implicated in social orders and ideologies about social order" and "even if we purposely craft non-traditional identities, we nonetheless must use linguistic resources with longstanding associations with traditional social groups and/or character types (and stereotypes)" (Schilling 2013: 342). Therefore, as Kiesling and Schilling-Estes (1998), Coupland (2001b, 2007), Schilling-Estes (2008), and Podesva (2012) suggest, in order to gain insight into why stylistic resources mean what they do in social

terms and how people use them, unfolding discourse should be explored more thoroughly. Additionally, our theoretical focus should be broadened in order to incorporate a range of factors affecting stylistic variation, such as framing, footing, and production format, from interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman 1974, 1981; Schiffrin 1994; Tannen 1989)[1]:

> When we narrow our focus down to single individuals and specific moments of interaction, it is advantageous to examine how multiple linguistic features work together. Looking at combinations of features that serve similar interactive functions may highlight stretches of discourse when speakers' performances are particularly strong […] The point here is that speakers do not merely use a feature here or there to construct their identities; they artfully recruit features across the levels of language to present coherent stylistic packages […] Although taking such an approach improves our understanding of the phenomenon of linguistic variation, so too does it open up a number of questions. To what extent should the social meaning of a linguistic feature be thought of as pre-existing and to what extent should it be viewed as "emerging" in unfolding discourse? How do we give reliable interpretations of these emergent social meanings? We also need to consider the relationship between production (what people say) and perception (how this is understood by others): how does this bear on social meaning? […] These are some of the many issues that researchers will continue to address as they refine this relatively new approach to variation as an agentive practice that shifts social relations and alters identity, however subtly, from one moment to the next. (Podesva 2012: 327–328)

Arguing for an integrated theory of style – multidimensional, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary – Coupland (2001a: 186) suggested "that sociolinguistic approaches to style can and should engage with current social theorizing about language, discourse, social relationships and selfhood, rather than be contained within one corner (variationist, descriptive, distributional) of one disciplinary treatment (linguistics) of language." That is:

> Style needs to be located within a model of human communicative purposes, practices and achievements, and as one aspect of the manipulation of semiotic resources in social contexts. In talking about style we need to distinguish variation in "dialect style" from variation within and across ways of speaking. Nevertheless, interpretations of style at the level of dialect variation must cross-refer to stylistic processes at other levels. Our theoretical understanding of style in general, and our interpretations of stylistic performance in particular instances, should not be limited by any single empirical or interpretive procedure. A more broadly conceived "dialect stylistics" can explore the role of style in projecting speakers' often-complex identities and in defining social relationships and other configurations of context. This is a perspective that allows sociolinguistics to engage with recent inter-disciplinary literatures on selfhood, social relationships, and discourse. (Coupland 2001a: 186)

In this development, methodologically, the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to language in its social setting, including more macro-level factors through ethnographic work, is undoubtedly a fruitful practice (see also Schilling-Estes 2004). As shown in Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007), research in this field may be enriched by interviewing the speaker to identify the macro-level factors of history and politics, as well as language ideologies and the socio-semiotic systems of distinctiveness that they support, in order to get a confirmation of researchers' interpretations, as practiced by the *ethnography of speaking*, the *social psychology of language* and *folk linguistics*. Without that source of data, the sociolinguist's diagnostic remarks run the risk of being judgmental or even subjective. Following Irvine (2001), Strand (2012) also finds crucially important the use of macro-level factors to locate any analysis of styles, stylistic variation, or stylistic choices within the

particular social, political, and historical worlds of the speakers involved, in addition to the usual micro ones (topic, setting, participants): "it is, fundamentally, a holistic approach, in which any number of contextual factors at any 'level' may be deemed relevant to the understanding of stylistic variation and choice" (Strand 2012: 188).

Consequently, we need to avoid generic theoretical models accounting for the complex multidimensional phenomenon of style-shifting, instead developing permeable and flexible multidimensional, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary approaches to speaker agency (Coupland 2001a, 2007). This multiplicity of approaches must take into consideration both the reactive (responsive) and proactive (initiative) motivations for style-shifting: "… a far broader, more flexible, interpretative, and ethnographic apparatus to capture the stylistic processes at work" (Coupland 2001a: 209). This requires, as claimed in Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b: 14), the expansion of the very definition of style towards a broader and more fluid heuristic, or even hermeneutic, landscape of meaning construction, both identificational and interactional. In this project, multidimensional and multifaceted new social constructionist tendencies, in which individuals – rather than groups – and their strategies in unfolding discourse via stylistic variation are the main concern, are also becoming crucial alongside rhetoric, oratory, stylistics, and semiotics. As Johnstone (2001: 124) argues, "[t]aking the perspective of the individual on language and discourse means shifting to a more rhetorical way of imagining how communication works, a way of thinking about communication that incorporates ideas such as strategy, purpose, ethos, agency (responsibility), and choice." Like rhetoricians, sociolinguists investigate how style-shifting happens and what it accomplishes in verbal communication and social interaction. In an age when globalization leads to anonymity, the new world of multi- and mass-media communication is turning speakers into the *rhetors* of today, who seek a niche for their individual discriminating personae and space in modern public society – rather than in traditional assemblies of the *polis* – by playing with ethos and pathos through the choices they make from the stylistic resources available in the realm of sociolinguistic variation.

Note

1   *Framing* refers to participants' sense of the kind of interaction is taking place; *footing* alludes to the roles participants project in conversational interaction; and *production format* is the position, or stance, adopted by participants in relation to the conversation (Schilling-Estes 2008).

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