On the need to access deep evaluations when searching for the motor of standard language change

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INTRODUCTION

On standard language and standard language ideology (change)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

About SLICE

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

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

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

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

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

The experimental strand: main issues

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DANISH BACKGROUND

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

From dialect to standard society

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

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

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[2] LANCHART is a 'centre of excellence' at Copenhagen University dedicated to studies of *LANguage CHAnge in Real Time* (http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/).
[3] The linguistic differences and evolving relationship between 'low-Copenhagen' and 'high-Copenhagen' speech is described and solidly documented for the period of some 100 years that precedes the 1960s by Brink and Lund (1975) in their monumental work on *Dansk Rigsmål* ('Danish Standard Language').
[4] A true speciality of Danish, *stød* is a glottal constriction or closure which phonologically is described as a prosodic feature as it is linked to the syllable.

The 'official' ideology [5]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The experimental battery

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

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

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

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

Table 1: LANCHART language attitudes studies: Data collection design

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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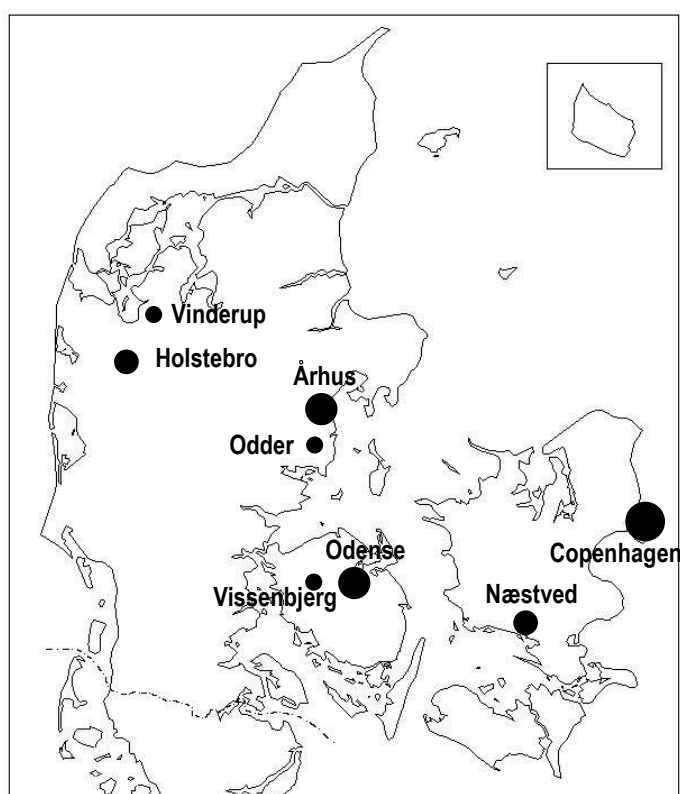

Figure 1: Map of Denmark with LANCHART sites Copenhagen, Næstved, Vissenbjerg, Odder, and Vinderup – plus potential linguistic norm centres Odense, Århus, and Holstebro.

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

The consciously performed value-hierarchisation of 'variety names'

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

Table 2: Label ranking in five LANCHART communities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[10] The experimental battery we describe here was used for the first time in Næstved in the mid-1980s, 20 years earlier than in the LANCHART studies. The label ranking results for young people in Næstved at the time were different, in that *sjællandsk* and *rigsdansk* shared the top position and were both significantly better ranked than *københavnsk*. It is possible that the relative up- and downgrading of *rigsdansk* and *københavnsk* reflects a change in overt discourse between the two points in time, but it is more likely that the difference is due to the fact that the youth sample from the 1980s was a couple of years older. The Næstved adult sample produced the ranking *rigsdansk > sjællandsk > københavnsk*. This is mentioned here because the label ranking results for young people from Næstved cited in this chapter differ from what can be seen in publications based on the data from the 1980s, such as, e.g., Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005).
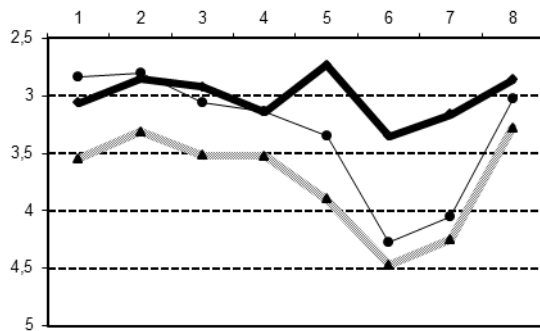
Copenhagen (N=136)
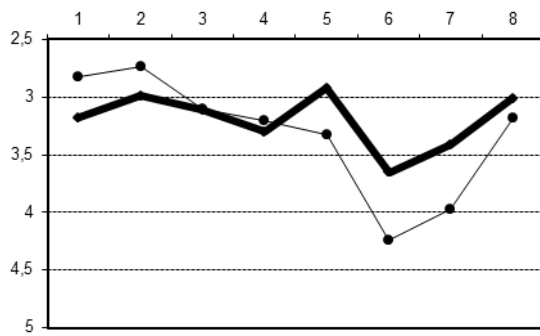
Superiority
1. intelligent–stupid
2. conscientious–happy-go-lucky
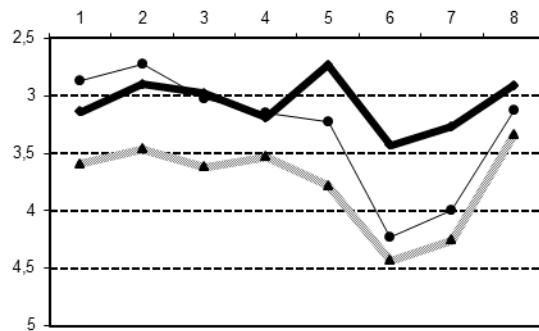3. goal-directed–dull
4. trustworthy–untrustworthy

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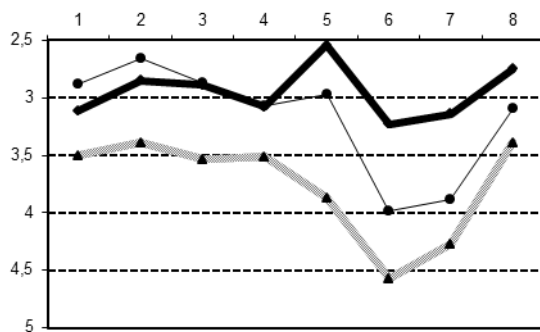7. cool–uncool
8. nice–repulsive

Næstved (N=183)   Vissenbjerg (N=54)
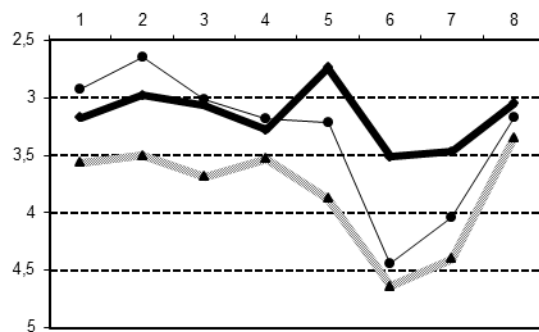
Odder (N=174)   Vinderup (N=85)

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

Overview of results

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stability and change in use and ideology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUME

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In sum, all the studies discussed so far were successful in operationalizing the distinction between consciously and subconsciously offered attitudes, and the youngsters in all the studied communities – Denmark, Germany, Irish-speaking Ireland, Lithuania, and western Norway – share the characteristic that they show *local patriotism* and flag the 'name of their own dialect' as the language they like best when they are aware of giving away language attitudes (in LRT), only to strongly downgrade their own LOCAL speech when they are not aware of giv-ing away language attitudes (in SEE) – with the modification that western Nor-way seems to be an example of a community where the subconscious downgrad-ing of 'own speech' is less consistent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 2: Methodological concerns and alternative approaches

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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