Style, Media and Language Ideologies

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

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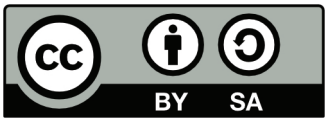
1. Tore Kristiansen and Nikolas Coupland (Eds.): Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe. 2011.
2. Tore Kristiansen and Stefan Grondelaers (Eds.): (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies. 2013.
3. Jacob Thøgersen, Nikolas Coupland and Janus Mortensen (Eds.): Style, Media and Language Ideologies. 2016.

Jacob Thøgersen, Nikolas Coupland and Janus Mortensen (Eds.)

Style, Media and Language Ideologies



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Preface and Acknowledgements

The present book is one of two edited collections to appear from a Round Table held at the University of Copenhagen in June 2014 on *Sociolinguistics and the Talking Media: Style, Mediation and Change*.[1] At the Round Table and in the two collections, a total of 30 researchers were invited to debate theoretical issues at the interface between language, change and the 'talking media', and to report new research with a shared focus on the notions of style, mediation and sociolinguistic change.

As organisers of the Copenhagen Round Table we would like to express our gratitude to the participants for devoting their time and energy to the event, also to the Department of Nordic Research at the University of Copenhagen for hosting it, and to the Department of Nordic Research and the LANCHART Research Centre for providing financial support. As editors of the book, we would like to thank all authors for their remarkable patience and never-ending willingness to engage in discussions about their contributions.

The project would not have been possible without the general framework, inspiration and funding provided by the research endeavour known as SLICE, headed by Tore Kristiansen at the University of Copenhagen. SLICE, an acronym for Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe, is a collective research network and an evolving project which promotes pioneering approaches to the investigation of sociolinguistic change, and we hope the book will contribute to that general aim. This is the third volume in a book series devoted to consolidating and disseminating the achievements of the SLICE programme. For more information about SLICE, see the network's website, http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/research/slice/. We want to thank Tore Kristiansen for his encouragement, support and labour without which this book would not have come to fruition. We also want to thank LANCHART's director, Frans Gregersen, for inspiring this area of research, and certainly for inspiring us to develop the Round Table and this book.

[1] The partner volume from the Round Table is published under the title *Style, Mediation and Change: Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Talking Media*, edited by Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen, in press from Oxford University Press. That collection of chapters focuses on mediated style and styles from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, without sharing this book's focus on (standard) language ideologies and media-led dialect variation and change in different contexts. Nevertheless, both books share a critical sociolinguistic perspective on language, media and change, and can usefully be read in parallel. As we mention in the Introduction chapter, it will also be useful to refer back to the first two books in the SLICE book-series for background information and earlier research within the remit of the SLICE project.

Nikolas Coupland's contribution to the book was supported through his affiliations to both the University of Copenhagen and University of Technology Sydney throughout the period when this book was conceived, planned and developed. Similarly, Janus Mortensen's work on the book would not have been possible without his successive appointments at Roskilde University and the University of Copenhagen.

JT, NC and JM
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Introduction: Style, media and language ideologies

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SLICE AND CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF STANDARD LANGUAGE

This book is the third instalment in the Novus book-series known as SLICE, an abbreviation for Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe. The acronym has sometimes been interpreted as referring to 'Standard Language Ideology in a Changing Europe', which is equally appropriate, in fact more so in the case of this book, because *change* is central to all contributors' concerns. The book's broadest aim is to explore changing relationships between language and media – principally the mediation of spoken dialect – in diverse national settings over time. The 'European-ness' of the SLICE acronym should be interpreted liberally. SLICE may have its core activities in Europe, but has always had a view beyond the borders of Europe. In the present volume, this is evidenced by a case study by Allan Bell on Australian and New Zealand English (varieties which clearly bear systematic historical relations to British English and hence to Europe), but it is also discernable in several other chapters which take their data from media platforms such as YouTube – platforms that do not respect conventional national or continental borders.

The common scope of the three books in the SLICE series, as well as that of the research network which shares its name, is an interest in the status and role of (what have been considered to be) *standard languages* and standard language ideology in late-modern times, in Europe and to some extent beyond (for more information, see http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/research/slice/). At the same time, the SLICE programme was founded on a critical conception of the term 'standard language', and in the belief that we need to reassess what standardness means in late modernity, and how the familiar sociolinguistic opposition between 'standard and non-standard language' nowadays stands, under the impact of changing socio-cultural conditions.

Like many other sociolinguists nowadays, we therefore approach the concept of a standard language with some scepticism; even when the terms 'standard' and 'non-standard' appear without scare-quotes in this book, a certain critical distance from these concepts can be assumed to exist. This caveat is necessary, in part, because of the problems associated with realist interpretations of *any* linguistic variety. 50+ years of sustained research into language variation and change has amply

demonstrated that no linguistic variety, style or register, and certainly no 'language' (in the sense of a national or regional linguistic code), has the ontological stability that a term such as 'Danish' might seem to entail. The concept of 'standard Danish' of course concedes the fact that 'Danish' is not an unvarying linguistic entity, but it falls prey to the problem that standardness is not an objective quality of language. What counts as 'a standard' as well as the values associated with such 'standards' undergo constant renegotiation. There is certainly some heuristic value in allowing ourselves to recycle terms like 'Danish' and 'standard Danish', because such terms do, after all, reflect a *perceptual* reality for many language users and commentators. Yet it is important to keep insisting that the boundedness of any language is negotiable, and that the criteria that underlie any attribution of standardness to a linguistic variety are contextual and changeable. In this book we favour the term 'style' for reasons that we will elaborate shortly. But one reason that we would like to mention at the outset is that the concept of style carries a weaker presumption of ontological singularity – in the sense that it is immediately obvious that styles of language are the weakly-bound products of local acts of styling through the deployment of linguistic resources in specific social and interactional contexts.

The contributors to this book are specifically interested in documenting and critically interpreting particular acts of stylistic creativity in performances of spoken language at particular historical moments and in particular cultural/national contexts – in all cases, performances that are disseminated through mass media of one sort or another. Contributors are motivated to explore how such mediated instances of language use may have contributed to, or may now be contributing to, processes of language change or alternatively, as we will more precisely define it, *sociolinguistic change*. What matters is not so much whether mediated ways of speaking do or do not fall within the conventionally understood categories of standard versus non-standard language, but rather how the technologically mediated styling of language-in-use is socially meaningful and consequential, when judged against social norms and conventions, and how acts of styling themselves may act as vehicles for bringing about change in sociolinguistic norms and conventions. A central idea in the book is therefore that, by studying the detail of how distinctive ways of speaking are contextually constructed and styled in media spaces, we can come to understand how the norms that underpin conceptions of standard and non-standard language are confirmed or challenged.

This is why beliefs, values and norms for language use, as well as the details of language use itself, have to take centre-stage in the present book and in the SLICE programme as a whole. 'Standard language ideologies' (which we comment on in more detail, below) are the reflexive value-structures through which ways of speaking come to be *construed* as being standard or non-standard. Indeed, the reification of 'the standard language' – treating a standard language in any particular national

context as an 'it', and loading it up with not only ontological stability but also with social and even moral value – is a fundamentally ideological process (Joseph 1987; Kristiansen and Coupland 2011: Introduction; Milroy and Milroy 1985). Like all ideological formations, ideologies of language are also historically contingent, coming to prominence under specific cultural conditions and serving particular political ends (Bourdieu 1991). This provides a second major reason for our scepticism regarding the concept of standard language and its applicability to the contemporary era. Standard languages came into focus as elements of evolving national projects, under circumstances when national coherence and associated normative regimes needed to be actively constructed (Anderson 1985; Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill 2005; Haugen 1997; see again volume 1 of the SLICE series, Kristiansen and Coupland 2011). A standard language – both in the sense of a purportedly singular code that could 'represent' the nation, 'one standard for the entire nation', but also in the sense of a specific dialect of that language that could purportedly represent 'the best' way of using that language, 'a standard for good usage' – could provide a focus for national unity and social order, *provided that* it was underpinned by an ideology that articulated its importance, i.e. a standard language ideology. Our take on ideologies resonates well with debates of recent decades in which language ideology as a field of study – the study of ideologies of or about language – has been promoted into general circulation in sociolinguistics from several different sources (e.g. Blommaert 1999; Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998).

In keeping with a historical perspective, it has been the SLICE programme's priority to question whether particular cultural conditions in different European settings still fall prey to the ideologies of standard language that, in most cases, have shaped their past, and if so, whether they do so to the same extent as previously and with the same implications. We need to ask whether, to what extent and in which regards different cultures within the remit of the SLICE project function as (to use Milroy's 2001 phrase) 'standard language cultures' – cultures whose ideological views of language are powerfully ordered around beliefs about the importance of standard versus non-standard usage. If this has been the case in the past, does it remain so today? What role have broadcast media played in any potential changes? There are good *prima facie* reasons to doubt that the authority and influence of national languages and their so-called standard varieties have entirely survived the historical shift (for many countries) out of their nation-building phase into the much more complex and polycentric conditions of late modernity. Standard language cultures are, or were, cultures in which the hegemonic status of 'the standard', along with the status of institutions that defend and police 'the standard' is (or was) unquestioned. Like the nation state itself, these sociolinguistic conditions do appear, on the whole, to be in retreat, and it becomes a matter of priority for sociolinguistics to document and interpret the different aspects of this change. This book

contributes to this agenda by investigating instances of styled language use which, when disseminated through technological media, have played some part in reshaping, contesting or merely offering a critical commentary on the standard language ideology.

In using the term 'late modernity' we (and the SLICE programme in general) align with social scientists who orient to global as well as local conditions of social action, and who ask how social changes linked to the historical advance of globalisation are working on and through research data. In our own case this means interrogating language in society with an eye to post-national as well as national cultural circumstances and priorities, and to processes of de-traditionalisation as well as to traditions themselves (Castells 1996; Giddens 1991; Robertson 1992). Standard language cultures, however they are precisely defined, are certainly not fixed and immutable; norms and values change, including normative assumptions about standard versus non-standard language. As we explain further below, language users have particular resources for challenging and reconstituting norms, just as much as for respecting and perpetuating them, and mass media commonly have powerful resources for leading and disseminating changes of this sort. Language-ideological change – change in how values are attributed to ways of speaking – can incrementally be brought about through particular acts of stylistic creativity, and more particularly so when those acts are mediated into wide-reaching networks and patterns of consumption and uptake that we associate with the media. In other words, even in standard language cultures there is always the potential to rework norms through usage, but when this is done on a large scale it can develop into a more concerted pattern of change – and indeed into what we consider to be a sociolinguistic change. And, the other way round, sociolinguistic change can create new conditions in which local acts of performance have wider significance.

The broad lines of the SLICE perspective and its empirical concerns have already been set out in the first two books in this series. The first book (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011) included a series of 'reports' on the history and the current status of standard language(s) in several different European countries or regions. The aim here was to 'take the temperature' of linguistic diversity in a wide range of national/regional contexts, debates and histories, setting out facts and critical perspectives that have particular salience in relation to language ideology and change. The first volume in the series also elaborated the theoretical backdrop to SLICE, in a substantial introductory chapter and in a set of other theoretical contributions on standard language issues more broadly. We will not repeat that material here, and it would therefore be useful to refer back to the first volume for wider contextualisation of this book's contents. Of particular relevance to this volume on media are the Volume 1 chapters by Androutsopoulos (2011), Bell (2011) and Stuart-Smith (2011). It is important to emphasise that SLICE does *not* presume that social and

sociolinguistic changes are uniform across Europe, and certainly not that communities across Europe are experiencing language-ideological shifts of the same sorts, with the same levels of intensity or at the same time. Different communities may show very different responses to the same global trends; sometimes this is even the case for different language communities within the same nation state, e.g. Swedish and Finnish speakers within Finland (see Östman's chapter in the present volume). On the other hand we may see similar trends across different language communities within as well as beyond Europe, and by adopting a comparative stance, the SLICE project is ideally positioned to identify such similarities as well as possible differences. The comparative perspective is maintained in the present book, although necessarily in a more implicit and less rigorous manner than in the 'country reports' of the first volume of the series.

The second book in the series (Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013) compiled chapters that were based in experimental sociolinguistic methods, mainly in the tradition of language attitudes and speech evaluation research, to explore the status and development of standard languages in various European countries. The book also contained chapters with a methodological focus, aimed at developing new experimental methods and reassessing dominant ideas in the social psychology of language. In fact, up to the present time, the SLICE programme's empirical contribution has been made in two specific traditions of sociolinguistic inquiry, which we can (briefly, but inadequately) refer to as 'experimental' and 'media', respectively. Experimental sociolinguistic research has been able to target language ideology quite directly, by identifying general tendencies in the speech-related beliefs of representative groups (usually younger people distributed across different spaces of national communities). This approach has allowed SLICE to engage with some of the most central problems in language variation and change, including the classically perplexing question of how community changes in speech norms are motivated (Androutsopoulos 2011; Auer and Spiekerman 2011; Bell 2011; Coupland and Kristiansen 2011; Grondelaers, van Hout and Speelman 2011; Stuart-Smith 2011). In the Danish case, for example, in data analysed in a substantial body of empirical studies, Kristiansen (e.g. 1992, 2001, 2003, 2009) has documented a remarkably regular pattern in how informants evaluate Danish ways of speaking. In official recommendations, e.g. for language use in school and as a preferred speech style for broadcasting, the Copenhagen-based middle-class style – the 'conservative', 'high' and in that sense 'standard' way of speaking – is promoted. When young people are asked to explicitly rank linguistic varieties under controlled experimental conditions, they will rank this same variety highly. However, when the same informants are asked to express their preferences by reacting to speech samples, but without speech itself being made explicitly salient, they rank the 'low' or 'modern' Copenhagen-based speech style as highly as the conservative style, and even more highly

when it comes to certain dynamic personality traits like 'self-confidence' and 'being interesting'. Kristiansen (2001) suggests that the only plausible way that young people across the nation can come to share these unofficial and indeed 'subconscious' norms is if they have been and are disseminated though broadcast media.

It is reasoning along these lines that originally brought 'media' into focus as the second broad field of empirical inquiry for SLICE, and set the general agenda for the present volume. For the analysis of media data, of course, different research methods are needed, and this third SLICE volume represents a radical departure from the experimental frameworks of the second volume. The chapters of the present book are, in the main, based in critical commentaries on media discourse. Contributors explore how language use in media contexts has been (or currently is) significant in the establishment and change of language ideologies in different national and regional contexts over time. The general approach is necessarily qualitative and interpretive rather than quantitative and distributional. Media data are treated as episodes of spoken performance whose historical and cultural significance rarely lies at the surface of the text.

As we explain in more detail below, for some sociolinguists this focus on media needs to be very carefully warranted, in view of the presumption that language change (if we take this to mean systemic change over time in a place-bound vernacular dialect, in the manner of William Labov's 1966, 1972, 2001 pioneering research) 'has nothing to do with the media'. This is a view – and to us a controversial view – that privileges 'everyday talk in the community' as the primary focus of sociolinguistics, relegating 'media talk' to the position of being, at best, a potentially (but not very probably) relevant 'factor' in inducing 'language change'. Our own starting point is quite different. We are not simply interested in 'media effects' – in treating media as a social or contextual variable that might or might not impact on 'real, everyday speech'. We orient to mediated language as *being* 'real, everyday speech', part of the day-to-day sociolinguistic environment of most people and thoroughly embedded in recycling and reshaping socio-cultural values. We can point to the widely acknowledged role that media institutions have often played, historically, in consolidating *ideologies* of standard language, and we should note that formal, systemic change in a community's way of speaking *may or may not* be in question in such a scenario (see e.g. Agha 2007; Androutsopoulos 2014c; Mugglestone 2007; Stuart-Smith 2011). Also, we can extend this perspective in order to ask how 'the media' may have been active in consolidating and recirculating much less uniform ideologies of language at particular times and places.

Linguistic standardisation, seen from a critical and ideological perspective, has always had an intimate relationship with media, and this is likely to be the case for processes we might refer to as de-standardisation too. We can also point to radical changes in recent decades in what 'media' actually *are*, in how they function social-

ly and sociolinguistically, and indeed in precisely *how* social worlds are mediated. In other words, as the 'media strand' of SLICE has developed, it has become interested both in language change (in the Labovian sense of this term) and in far wider social changes in which language is implicated. The main focus in the present book continues to be on dialect diversity and on how media performers represent themselves and/or their characters in dialectal terms. However, we and the other contributors to this book are also interested in the changing forms and functions of mediated talk itself, which is a much broader research interest than to search for 'media effects' on everyday language use.

A focus on how media performers and performances function adds many layers to the analysis of media language, and indeed to how we construe change in relation to language use. Older questions like 'Which dialects, standard and non-standard, are/were used in the media?' and 'How do/did these patterns of use impact (if at all) on language change?' tend to be superseded by other questions. These include: 'How do specific dialect performances play with or against prevalent norms and ideologies of standard and non-standard language?'; 'What mediational and interactional devices are used to conjure up standardness and vernacularity as ideological formations, and to index stances towards these norms?'; and 'How does mediated dialectal creativity impact on wider ideologies of standard and non-standard language, and how might it sow the seeds of sociolinguistic change?'.

The priorities we have pointed to in this first section clearly need to be explained and defended in more detail. In the remainder of this chapter we will, firstly, recap on historical relationships between sociolinguistics and the media. In reviewing the reasons why sociolinguists have historically steered clear of media data, and in discussing some new initiatives in this area, we make the case that media are not only relevant in sociolinguistics but indispensable for the contemporary account of language in society (cf. Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen in press). We will then return to questions of ideology and review the ways in which standard language ideology and media processes have already been closely associated, but how this relationship may need to be reworked in the contemporary era. In another section we will introduce the sociolinguistic concept of style and explain how we and the other contributors have engaged with it in the present book. In that section we will argue that style is a concept that is particularly productive for the analysis of mediated performance. After that we will return to this book's focal idea of change, and defend a particular perspective on the relatively new concept of sociolinguistic change. Finally, we will introduce the upcoming empirical chapters and comment on some of the themes that they hold in common.

CHANGING SOCIOLINGUISTIC ORIENTATIONS TO MEDIA DATA AND MEDIA PROCESSES

It is well known that the historically dominant paradigm in sociolinguistics, the study of language variation and change, which is often referred to as variationist sociolinguistics, has pointedly excluded consideration of mass media, saying that media are 'irrelevant' to their concerns (Chambers 1998; Labov 2001; Trudgill 2014). Despite this, in recent years we have seen a burgeoning interest in the role of media *vis-à-vis* language and society. Some of the prominent instances are:

- a suite of short papers debating language change and media (*Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2014, volume 18, 2);
- the (2012) Freiburg Institute for Advanced Study symposium on 'The Media and Sociolinguistic Change', published as Androutsopoulos (2014a);
- the 'Language in the Media' international conference series, the sixth meeting of which was held in 2015, and which has generated significant books including Johnson and Ensslin (2007); Johnson and Milani (2010); Thurlow and Mroczek (2011).

What accounts for this *volte face*?

Variationist sociolinguistics's denial of the role of media in language change can in part be explained by its reductive view on how media would exert its influence, if this could be proved to be the case. Chambers concluded that language users watching the same TV shows don't end up speaking identically, and thus that media must exert minute influences, if any. But then, no single TV institution or broadcasting company broadcasts a singular, uniform speech style, and even individual formats or shows tend to represent more than one speech style. Certainly, national broadcasters have, in the past, supported more uniform norms, when it was feasible to say that a particular style of speech – typically a style that was considered to be a standard national variety – was given priority within a broadcast repertoire of speech styles. However, even according to the most elementary principles of variationist sociolinguistics, including the now-obvious facts that there are no single-style speakers and that any defined community of speakers can be shown to maintain an envelope of speech-style and featural variation, any suggestion that a (national) broadcasting institution's style is strictly uniform is untenable. But still, in the most simplistic of terms, it has always been true that any effort to claim that 'broadcast speech' determines or even influences 'real speech in the community' immediately confronts the problem that *both sides* of this putatively causative relationship involve speech style *repertoires*. Causative effects (which variationists would model in terms of dependent and independent variables in correlational designs) would in

any case, therefore, be extremely difficult to investigate. What potentially influences what? What might one seek to correlate with what? What amounts to evidence of a media effect? These complex issues have been systematically examined by Stuart-Smith and her colleagues, both in her contribution to the SLICE 1 volume, Stuart-Smith (2011), in her contribution to this volume and in work with colleagues, e.g. Stuart-Smith and Ota (2014); see also references in Stuart-Smith, this volume.

The principal difficulty here, however, is not simply one of research design and method, challenging though such issues are. Rather, it relates to a raft of presumptions structured into variationist sociolinguistics which, from that discipline's own perspective, would diminish the case for mainstream variationism to engage with mediated language. (We fully recognise that there are some notable exceptions to this general statement, including Bell 1983, 2011; Van de Velde 1996; Van de Velde, Van Hout and Gerritsen 1997). We can summarise these presumptions under four headings: (i) social reality; (ii) formalism versus functionalism; (iii) contextualisation; and (iv) change.

i. Social reality

Variationist sociolinguistics has tended to make strong assumptions about social reality in relation to both language and society. As an empiricist project, the study of language variation and change invests heavily in the reality of its social and linguistic categories. Relevant categorisations have to be clear-cut and empirically watertight (otherwise how could you inter-correlate statistical extrapolations from them?) and social reality has to be credited as being absolute. In the evidencing of language change, for example, 'language' needs to be operationalised as a set of discrete variable units, sociolinguistic variables, which are not only amenable to objective definition and coding but also assumed to constitute 'what changes' in the domain of language use. In practice this has meant ruling out many aspects of language use which are recognised to change (e.g. norms of politeness and impoliteness, discourses of power, conventions for addressing and representing minority groups) but which are not defined as falling within the core remit of 'language change'. Unsurprisingly, then, one theme in disputes over the relevance of media language to sociolinguistics has been what counts, and what should count, as 'language' (see [iv], below).

The social reality of demographic categories – in particular social class, variationism's primary social metric, but also gender, age and provenance – also has to be strongly asserted with the variationist paradigm, despite there being widespread, continuing assertions in both the humanities and the social sciences that demographic categorisation needs to be viewed as non-absolute (e.g. arguments that social class should be defined 'emically', in its local context of application by peo-

ple directly experiencing the effects of social class versus 'etically', according to some universal, descriptive template). Critical discussions within sociolinguistics itself have foregrounded this same issue, challenging variationist assumptions about 'the authentic speaker' (e.g. Coupland 2013; Eckert 2003). Variationists' non-engagement with media language is also likely to be supported by the assumption that media introduce their own problems of social *un*reality. Don't the media trade in created, manufactured and unreal personas and voices? Classical sociolinguistic concerns about the social reality of unmonitored vernacular speech, surfacing, for example, in Labov's (1972, 1984) famous account of 'the observer's paradox', suggest priorities that would inevitably work against engagement with media data. The concept of speech community, and the principle of discovering structured variation through observation of carefully constructed data samples, similarly locks in assumptions about 'real data'. From this point of view, technologically mediated discourse such as broadcast talk can easily be thought to fall outside this category; it constitutes 'imperfect data': discourse 'sullied by mediation'. Needless to say, these are assumptions that we strongly contest.

ii. Formalism versus functionalism

The contrary stance is that *all* instances of language-in-use (whether mediated by technological means or not) are creative acts that amount to significantly more than a simple playing out of a community norm. Again, *all* acts of speaking are in some sense monitored. As Silverstein (2003) has argued, acts of speaking are launched and interpreted against a rolling backdrop of *metapragmatic* assumptions that inform how the social meanings of speech are processed by speakers and recipients. Indeed, it is in the interactive toing-and-froing between speech performance and metapragmatic processing that social meaning is made and remade. There is a far wider intellectual context to take into account here, too. The massive shift into discourse analytic framings of sociolinguistic issues that has been in evidence since the late 1970s (e.g. Briggs 1996; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 1992; Schiffrin 1987; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975) has made it increasingly difficult for the study of language variation and change to hold on to its formalist priorities and its realist empiricism.

Any functional, pragmatically-informed perspective on language implies a wariness about drawing boundaries that restrict the account of language, in any particular line of inquiry, to strong formalist assumptions, including the view that language is an amalgam of variable formal features whose inventories and inter-relations change systemically over time. The importance of the Labovian language change agenda in itself is unquestionable, but so is the argument that formalism is not in itself sufficient. For our present purposes, the immediate point is that, once social meaning is acknowledged to reside in the dynamics of interpersonal and interac-

tional processes, the bar against media language largely falls away. There ceases to be any clear-cut distinction, at least as a matter of principle, between how individuals engage interactionally with face-to-face others (in 'real' encounters) and how they engage in mediated encounters with speakers in the talking media, i.e. media which disseminate spoken language and whose content is to a large extent spoken (or indeed sung) language. Engagement and uptake are of course *potentially* different across many interactional modes, both within and outside the remit of technologically mediated communication. But the fact of technological mediation itself is no obstacle to a discursively-informed sociolinguistics, and broadly the same interpretive apparatus (e.g. appealing to social norms, social performance, interpersonal and intergroup relations, or conversational inferencing) is needed for the sociolinguistic understanding of 'mediated' and 'non-mediated' data. In fact, this distinction becomes less and less stable in discursively-sensitive approaches.

iii. Contextualisation

'Mediated' versus 'non-mediated' has generally been held to be a simple distinction of social context, so that language 'in the media' has, as we noted above, been thought of as contrasting with 'real language in the community'. But it is worth exploring some of the ways in which this is an overly exclusive distinction. Technologically mediated language, for example the output of the so-called 'old media' (television and radio), reaches us, the audience, in utterly 'normal' social environments in experiences that we often take to be 'real'. Most people acknowledge that their understanding of 'how the world works' is based to a significant extent on what they experience through technological media. It would be possible to trade statistics on the proportions of time people spend engaging in face-to-face, 'warm-bodied' interaction versus engaging with technologically mediated talk, but conclusions would not be decisive. The obvious point is that our media engagement is substantial, and not at all outside of the realm of the everyday and (what we might call) everyday reality.

Mediatisation, if we interpret this term as referring to the steady increase in the number of domains in which our everyday lives involve technologically-depended mediation, emphasises this fact (cf. Androutsopoulos 2014a, 2014b; Hjarvard 2013; Livingstone 2009). Correspondingly, different formats of broadcast TV and radio are increasingly blurring the distinction between (on the one hand) media professionals and celebrities and (on the other hand) 'ordinary people', making for a less clear-cut distinction between 'ordinary' people/language and what we have considered to be 'media' people/language (cf. Thornborrow in press). It is clearly the case that technological media command particular resources for styling people, talk and situations that we take to be 'special' or 'different', e.g. involving scripting, rehearsal, editing, framing devices and command of multimodal expressive devices

that are not generally available in 'ordinary' contexts of talk. However, it is important to recognise that the sociolinguistic analysis of talk-in-interaction has, certainly since Goffman, found it necessary to draw on concepts initially drawn from the fields of theatrical drama and performance. If terms like *style*, *frame*, *key* and *performance* itself are necessary for analysing even the 'least mediated' of instances of language-in-use, there need be no cut-off point segregating the mediated from the unmediated.

Sociolinguistics itself could be defined as a multi-faceted research program targeted at understanding how language is socially contextualised, and technological mediation should therefore be seen as presenting challenges – perhaps stronger-than-otherwise – within this framework, but challenges that fall squarely *within* the core remit of the field. In the context of so-called 'new media' the boundary between media 'producers' and (supposedly) passively receiving 'audiences' is becoming increasingly untenable as 'audiences' are routinely invited to comment on live performances, and may take on the role of producers themselves and distribute 'content' via e.g. YouTube. Interactivity of this sort has probably always, to some extent, been part of broadcast media and there have probably always, to some extent, been 'grass-roots media producers'. But the proliferation of technologies and platforms that nowadays allow virtually all members of 'first-world' societies to publicly comment on anything they like, and to become their own 'broadcasters', underscores the artificiality of any attempt to make a principled distinction between 'ordinary unmediated talk' and 'artificial mediated interaction'. Technologically mediated talk is, in that particular sense, very ordinary.

iv. Change

As we have already noted, within sociolinguistics change has commonly been interpreted as language change, with the restrictive assumptions we mentioned above. We will discuss and defend the alternative conception of sociolinguistic change later in this chapter. But it is already relevant to point out that the variationist interpretation of language change carries its own disincentives against engaging with media data. At first blush this is a remarkable state of affairs. What is loosely referred to as 'the media' includes sites of creativity and innovation that could well be the *first* place we would turn to in order to study language-related change over time. Historical mediatisation is one of the most obvious and profound sociocultural changes in our lifetimes. It subsumes not only the intensification of people's exposure to ('old', but in actual fact highly contemporary in terms of use) 'mass communication' systems such as TV and radio, but a couple of decades of rampant expansion in mobile communication technology, the proliferation of (so-called 'new media') digital media platforms (which are scarcely new as a general category, but

intensely new in individual instances in a fast-changing mediascape). Where would sociolinguists find innovation and change if not in 'the media'?

In this context there has needed to be some means of restricting change as it might apply in the variationist paradigm, and one response has been the creative interpretation of the idea of 'significance'. Variationists insist that some aspects of language are more significant than others in language change. So-called sound change has been the centrepiece of variationist sociolinguistics, because it is possible to interpret 'sound' in terms of phonological systems that evolve over time within speech communities. This has fed into the further assumption that change has to be 'systematic' ('systemic' is arguably the more accurate term), and this works against so-called 'opportunistic' or 'off-the-shelf' changes (Milroy 2006, see also Androutsopoulos' 2014b; Stuart-Smith this volume). In other words, many of the linguistic changes that we can routinely detect in social life are excluded from the category of 'significant changes', as construed in the language variation and change paradigm. And these changes happen to be the sorts of change that academics and lay people alike tend to associate with 'the media'.

Language change research finds lexical change, for example, 'insignificant'. Lexical items are 'off-the-shelf' items that are not ingrained in systemic dimensions of language, in the way that units in vowel systems are. In reflexive discussions of language change and media, this stance makes it possible to ignore lexical change and media data (as a likely channel for disseminating lexical changes) because neither is a proper concern of variationist sociolinguistics. Trudgill (2014), for example, argues that the well-attested upsurge in the use of quotative expressions using 'be + like' in different English-speaking contexts around the world is uninteresting because 'be + like' can be argued to be a 'lexical' feature. Perhaps it is, but excluding lexical change from the agenda of language change research is difficult to rationalise. In any case, one contrary argument, relevant to variationists, is that diffusing lexical forms can sometimes be linguistic frames for disseminating phonological usage. Catch-phrases, slogans and set expressions, often linked to highly individuated characters in media performances (e.g. Catherine Tate's Lauren Cooper character and the catchphrase '[do I look] bovvered?', discussed in Coupland 2007: 173–174), sometimes intensify the cultural focus on vernacular pronunciation features, and this suggests that the lexical/phonological distinction for significance is unhelpful. There is also a much wider argument to be made – that restricting the empirical remit of language change to features that are below the level of conscious awareness and control risks missing out on those aspects of language change that are most socially relevant to non-specialists, and which may have significant social impact. The gradual emergence of *Lingua Tertii Imperii,* the language of Hitler's Nazi Germany, as chronicled by the German philologist Victor Klemperer (1996), represents an alarming historical example of language change that would fall outside the

scope of variationist sociolinguistics, but which nevertheless involved significant changes at the language–society interface. These extremely significant changes in official language in the form of deliberately invented neologisms to defend race segregation and extermination, e.g. *Jude* (about genetic lineage rather than religious conviction), *Konzentrationslager* (about sites of genocide) or *Entartung* (the degeneration of 'the people', *Volk* itself being inscribed new meaning), would never register as a case of language change. A critically informed approach to sociolinguistic change needs to be able to address this sort of change too, and be able to account for the role of technological mediation and historical mediatization in the overall process.

MEDIA AND IDEOLOGIES OF STANDARD LANGUAGE

The formalist emphasis in the language variation and change paradigm also renders it less sensitive to changes involving sociocultural values and norms – that is, changes relating to ideologies of language. As we have noted above, the SLICE project is interested in both community-based language change in the classical sense and in language-ideological change. This is necessarily so, because a so-called standard language can never be adequately defined in formal, descriptive terms. It often *appears* that this *is* a possibility. In relation to English-speaking contexts we might think of Gimson's series of books over many years on the *Description of English*, influentially describing Received Pronunciation (Gimson 1962, 1970, 1980) or Wells's (1982) three-volume series describing *Accents of English* which does the same, contrasting standard and non-standard varieties. In many other European countries we might think of the output of official language boards and councils. In the Danish context, *Dansk Sprognævn*, 'The Danish Language Council', produces a steady stream of normative literature on recommended standard usage. Most prominent among these is *Retskrivningsordbogen*, 'The Orthographical Dictionary', but the Council is also required by law to give advice on 'use of the Danish language' to individuals as well as public institutions and private companies. The existence of well-established normative authorities like these lends a considerable degree of perceived stability in relation to what particular standard varieties are, descriptively speaking, and the descriptions themselves largely bypass the issue of how the varieties in question are socially positioned in evaluative, ideological and metacultural terms.

The presupposed stability of 'the standard language' and other language varieties which we see reflected in language manuals (and in some cases in legal texts) stands in stark contrast to the perspective we adopt in the present volume. As we noted at the beginning of this chapter, the SLICE project does not take for granted

the stability of 'standard languages' or the stability of standard language ideology, particularly in the contemporary era. One broad line of critical orientation to this issue is based in the idea that sociocultural conditions in most of contemporary Europe and the west are probably less conducive to supporting ideologies of standardness than they formerly were. Individual cases may of course differ. But the flows of cultural change that are referred to, in short-hand reference, as 'globalisation' appear to have exerted similar pressures on most western states. Five salient aspects of globalisation are: (i) pressure against state-based autonomy in terms of political and economic action, as a consequence of different forms of transnationalism; (ii) the onward march of neo-liberalism and the corporatisation and commodification of ever-more aspects of social life, changing the bases of social inequality in unpredictable ways and introducing 'consumer choice' as a pervasive principle (even in cases where, for many people, no choice is actually available); (iii) detraditionalisation, a force that works against social continuity and social norms based in understandings of 'how things have always been'; (iv) individualisation being asserted or assumed as another generic principle, with increasing expectations and demands that individuals should be responsible for their own successes and failures, but also for their own world-facing identities; and (v) heightened reflexivity around social action of many sorts, such that any 'chosen' mode or social engagement is more likely to be construed as a particular option chosen from a range of known alternatives. (We are unable to provide detailed supporting references for every aspect of this highly generalised overview, but see, for example, Archer 2012; Beck 1992; Castells 1996; Coupland 2010, 2016; Giddens 1991).

In this list of 'new' sociocultural conditions we can readily see potential implications for language and for language use. For example (as we have already suggested), weaker nation states are less likely to be able to sustain ideological pressure in support of standard languages. Ways of speaking are liable to attract new commercial or quasi-commercial values, and well beyond the now-traditional-sounding association between standard language and symbolic capital that Bourdieu theorised in 1991. Sociolinguistic norms based in traditional relativities between standard and non-standard varieties are less likely to be carried forward, particularly at the level of the individual. Individuals will increasingly chart individuated courses through their social lives, and their linguistic 'choices' may be made in more complex and reflexive conditions, and be more liable to be conditioned by short-term considerations in symbolic exchanges of various sorts, and so on.

In running through this thought experiment about language under globalisation – or 'Language in Late-Modernity' (to use Rampton's 2006 title) – it is impossible to ignore processes of mediation and mediatisation. For example, linguistic individualisation is very much a process that we associate with technological media and its propensity to create 'personalities' or 'celebrities' (whether this refers to television

and radio, or to the self-celebritising function of social media, or to service-sector work-roles in call centres). More pervasive marketised conditions will drive new values for so-called standard and vernacular ways of speaking, where the top–down status effect that used to validate traditional standard varieties is liable to be subverted by the appeal of 'difference' (which creates new markets for vernacular speech in many media contexts). As entertainment rises in the hierarchy of media priorities, relative to 'national unification' or defending Establishment values, in highly cluttered and competitive national and transnational media markets, older focused norms are likely to lose their traction. The sociolinguistic world, in a quite profound way, becomes more reflexive and certainly more complex under globalisation. Speakers who command different forms of performative competence are likely to thrive, and those who cannot will not. To invoke the vocabulary of language attitudes research, *status* and *solidarity* are likely to be overtaken by evaluative criteria related to *dynamism*.

Whether and to what extent these ideas can be consolidated as more than loose speculations remains to be seen in detailed sociolinguistic investigations. But we find it helpful to open up a discussion of whether a reoriented language-ideological field, channelled through technological media, might be emerging. The chapters of this book certainly do not set out to prove that any particular new language-ideological configuration has settled into existence across Europe. But each chapter opens a perspective on how particular media initiatives have been involved (or are now involved) in promoting or undermining particular language-ideological priorities, particularly those relating to standard and vernacular language, locally construed. In other words, they share the critical presupposition that media performances *can* be involved in language-ideological change, and they seek out the best evidence available in the particular cases they investigate.

The traditional disciplinary interpretation put forward in dialectology and some strands of sociolinguistics is that the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries generally saw an increase in language standardisation within the nation state, partly promoted through mass media (Anderson 1985; Auer 2005; see also the 'country reports' in Kristiansen and Coupland 2011). Although the process may not have been as linear and clear-cut as some accounts suggest, the emergence of reified varieties that were given official status as 'the standard language' is well-documented. In our view (and we are obviously not alone in arguing this) such a process is unthinkable without *mediation* of language. In Haugen's (1972) terms, language standardisation involves 'selection' of one variety over all other, 'acceptance' of the selection in the community, aided by promotion through public institutions, 'elaboration' in which the selected variety is developed so that it can function in all spheres of society, and 'codification' in which 'the language' is described and solidified. It is easy to see that media (implying some form of staged, public dissemination of ideologies)

would play an important role in a standardisation process of this sort, especially as far as Haugen's 'acceptance' and 'elaboration' is concerned, but also as *de facto* 'codification'.

Even before the emergence of broadcast media in the more modern sense, processes of language standardisation were facilitated by technologies that offered new means of distributing language, and mediation was involved in this. One cause of language standardisation in the late Middle Ages was the invention of the printing press which opened a growing market for uniform reading material. The written language chosen for this new medium of dissemination of (written) language became, in effect, the standard language of the book market and of the nation state. The 'invention' of standard languages in Europe predates the dissemination of written material made possible by the invention of the printing press (Anderson 1991), but the printing press was a key factor in consolidating standard language ideology. Later, in the 20th century, with the establishment of national broadcasting corporations in most European countries – and thus the emergence of talking media (cf. Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen in press) – the role of mediated language use as a potential vehicle for standardisation spread to spoken language as well. Interestingly, in some contexts, media language came to be viewed as the *de facto* standard, which makes the claim that media promote 'the standard' an apparent truism. We remain critical of the perceived ontological stability that this sort of conceptualisation confers on the construct of standard languages, but the notion of a standard language and the perceived role and responsibility of mass media in promoting this variety stand as powerful ideological constructs, historically and in the present, which cannot simply be ignored. What we need to question is the assumption that mediatisation *automatically* promotes language standardisation. Historically, this may have been the case – at least according to received accounts – but there is no reason to assume that this should necessarily be so in all eras.

As described in the first SLICE volume (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011), the ideology of 'one nation, one language' may have been the language-ideological norm, but language standardisation in Europe has had more complex outcomes. Some states are officially multilingual (e.g. Belgium, Finland, Switzerland); at least one, Norway, has two standard varieties of the same language, Bokmål and Nynorsk. Even in contexts where national media institutions have been part and parcel of promoting monolingual 'standard language cultures' (Milroy 2001) (with the BBC in England as the textbook example, cf. Mugglestone 2007), it is quite obvious that these very same institutions have also invariably been instrumental in creating awareness of linguistic *diversity*, and, especially in recent decades, have actively come to represent and promote this. This suggests that the role of mass media in promoting standardisation is, at least to some extent, historically contingent. New forms of technologically-mediated discourse provide affordances for sociolinguistic

change, but whether increased mediatisation is likely to lead to a reinforcement of centripetal, standardising forces or, conversely, holds the potential to strengthen centrifugal processes that lead to linguistic diversification, is an empirical question. Our view is, in any case, that centripetalism never exists without centrifugalism, and *vice versa*, that standardisation and de-standardisation are mutually defining ideologies, whichever happens to hold the upper hand at any given historical moment. In line with the overall argument of this volume, we believe that a sociolinguistic account of the media/language/ideology interface needs to take account of centrifugal forces of heterogenisation and de-standardisation as well as the more sociolinguistically familiar centripetal forces of language standardisation.

As noted above, media, and particularly what are usually called broadcast media and their role in the establishment, development and renegotiation of standard language ideologies, have been a focus of the SLICE network since its establishment, for a number of reasons. One reason is that broadcasting institutions (state monopolies as well as private enterprises) tend not only to reflect prevalent language ideologies, but also to *focus* and *shape* such ideologies in their selection of speakers and speech styles, particularly in high-profile broadcasting roles and program formats. Broadcasters often promote specific language norms by giving prominence to speakers who, in some sense of the word, can be considered 'ideal'. Agha (2007) uses the phrase 'exemplary speakers', which implies a process by which certain individuals come to be seen as speakers who embody certain language-ideological values. Heller (2010: 278) suggests that we can see media as *discursive spaces* 'in which social actors, whatever else they may be doing, also define (again and again or anew) what counts as legitimate language and who counts as legitimate speakers'. The challenge is to unpack which ideological stances are in play in this process, while remaining sensitive to the fact that there may be divergent and competing perceptions of what constitutes 'legitimate' or 'exemplary' speakers.

The shaping and focusing functions of talking media mean that, from a longitudinal perspective, changes over time in what broadcasters treat as exemplary speech is open to different lines of interpretation. It may reflect changing norms and ideologies of standard language in the wider cultural context, where the least significant sorts of change are inventory changes. That is, the inventory of linguistic features comprising a speech style that is ideologised as being 'the standard' may (and indeed, inevitably will) change over time, in the manner of variationists' model of language change. The canonical style of, say, newsreaders' speech will change over time in a featural sense, although the ideological premise that there *is* such a style, language-ideologically speaking, may remain firmly in place; the featurally reshaped style may continue to index prestige, authority, 'establishment values', and so on (see e.g. Bell 2011; Thøgersen and Pharao 2013). However, changes in style may also reflect changed language-ideological circumstances, either in the wider

culture or more locally in a media institution's own reframing of social and sociolinguistic values. The perception of what constitutes 'proper' styles of newsreading may, for instance, be challenged or considerably expanded if speakers whose ways of speaking do not fall within the presumed range of the standard are given prominence as newsreaders. This does not amount to language change in a conventional sense, but certainly represents an example of *sociolinguistic change* that involves revalorisation of particular ways of speaking (Coupland 2014; Androutsopoulos 2014a; Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen in press; see below for further discussion).

The two previous SLICE books have opted to discuss these potential changes as cases of either *de-standardisation* or *re-standardisation*. However, these two processes of change are likely to be much too specific and much too rigidly defined to capture the range and subtlety of sociolinguistic changes that the talking media can institute. Even if we restrict our primary attention (as we do in this book) to changes relevant to issues of standard and non-standard language as conventionally understood, we should expect sociolinguistic changes to be partial (e.g. incipient, emergent, narrowly targeted) and complex (e.g. multi-faceted, ambiguous, sometimes contradictory) rather than totalising and complete (as the concept of de-standardisation seems to imply). Nevertheless, critical accounts of the ideological implications of mediated performances and innovations can provide rich if inconclusive evidence of the talking media's role in the renegotiation of standard language ideology in specific contexts.

DIALECT STYLE, STYLING AND STYLISATION

The overarching interest of this collection as well as its sister collection (Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen in press) and the round table meeting from which they both sprang is the interactionally managed use of dialect styles, i.e. *dialect styling*, in media performances. It seems pertinent, therefore, to give a brief overview of the concepts of *style* and *styling*, plus the more specific concept of *stylisation*, in sociolinguistics. We will try also to give our argument why we believe a 'style and stylisation' approach to the issue of media and standard language ideologies may be preferable to a more traditional variationist 'language variation and change' approach.

It is well known that Labov (1972) formalised style as a dimension of sociolinguistic variation in the earliest accounts of variationist method – so-called 'stylistic variation', referring to 'intra-individual' variability in speech across social contexts of speaking. Styles of speech were assumed to vary across a single dimension, 'attention paid to speech', and could, for example, be called 'casual' versus 'careful',

and stylistic variation was measured as quantitative distribution of linguistic, usually phonetic, features. The style of the speakers was shown to vary with the situation of speaking, more formal contexts yield more attention to speech and *vice versa*. Style in this sense was elaborated in various emerging paradigms of which some could be said to be recipient-focused and others more speaker-focused. Bell's (1984, 2001) media-oriented audience design perspective showed how speech styles (again established on the basis of quantitative distributions of features) can vary in response to characteristics of addressees – different styles for different media audiences. Stylistic variation, in this perspective, was not only, or not primarily, a question of speaker intentions and macro situation of speech, but rather a question of speech directed at recipient norms and expectations.

Among speaker-focused perspectives, but still theoretically in line with Bell's approach, we may include studies under the heading of speech accommodation theory (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991) which sometimes attempted to correlate distributions of linguistic features with aspects of social situation as well as characteristics of interlocutors in interaction. The crucial difference between the two conceptualisations is speech accommodation theory's focus on the social psychological underpinning of stylistic variation, modelling acts of accommodation (a speaker adopting a speech style that is either more or less similar to the speech style of an interlocutor) as the consequences of 'psychological convergence or divergence' (the aim of decreasing or increasing apparent social differences between people in interaction). This general approach was sometimes referred to as 'speaker design', where style was viewed as 'persona management', the shaping of a speaker's own projected identities in interactional situations (e.g. Coupland 1985). This perspective drew its inspiration from Goffman's (1959) early accounts of 'the presentation of self', as well as from related psychological theorising of impression management. Styles, in these different treatments, are viewed not just as indexical of a single dimension of formality (as in Labov's original concept), but as being open to more or less conscious manipulation, whether to suit an audience or to promote a specific, positive, image of the performer.

It is this performative and socially sensitive aspect of language use that makes the terms 'dialect *style*' and 'dialect *styling*' preferable to the concepts of 'dialect' or 'linguistic variation' themselves. As a concept, 'dialect' is to some extent a product of a romanticised idea of folk speech, when linguists needed a way to describe ways of speaking that 'belonged to' a given 'language' (and nation) but deviated to some noticeable extent and in some socially significant ways from the 'standard' way of speaking, i.e. the way of speaking defined by and associated with the Establishment. Traditional dialectology was motivated by the desire to catalogue and (in a sense) to preserve rural ways of speaking that were in danger of being eradicated by standard varieties, and Labovian sociolinguistics has perpetuated the idea that

vernacular speech is the proper object of sociolinguistic research, because it is a scarce resource. Dialects in this view could be considered to be just as static and just as monolithic as 'standards', and everything we have said about standards being linguistic fictions might also have been said about dialects – dialects being seen as static, well-defined entities associated with stable and permanent indexical meanings, often meanings of rurality, lack of education and (in Bourdieu's terms) lack of cultural capital. Dialects, however, are not monolithic and not immutable; dialects vary and change. Similarly, the indexical meanings of dialects are just as open to contextualised interpretation and renegotiation as are the indexical meanings of so-called standards, and it is worth re-emphasising that 'standard', 'vernacular' and 'dialect' are all meanings attributed to speech styles, rather than labels that define such styles intrinsically.

We get a further indication of why variationist sociolinguistics has avoided media data when we realise that vernacular speech styles/dialects have always been assumed to be grounded 'in the community'. It is this presumption of community embeddedness that has loaded up vernacular speech styles with the (again romanticising) quality of authenticity. Dialects have been seen as the vernaculars associated with particular localised groups of people, *viz.* dialect speakers in defined speech communities. If not simply and simplistically perceived as single-style speakers, their use of dialect has certainly been seen as more authentic, and their use of other styles as somehow inauthentic. We do not deny that speakers may feel this way, and this 'dialect authenticity ideology' may indeed be deep-rooted in some cultures – notice e.g. the Norwegian verb *knote*, used derogatorily about a person who do not speak his or her vernacular dialect, but a different style (Bull 2009). In sociolinguistic theory, however, preferences for some spoken styles over others are worthy of critical examination. To repeat the variationist mantra, there are no single-style speakers; speakers manipulate their speech styles throughout their lives and in the local detail of their speaking activities, and we see no fundamental reason why some styles and some stylistic practices should be given preference. But we also need to recognise that vernacular speech styles are just as 'detachable' (Bauman and Briggs 1990) from their 'home' speech communities as standard speech styles are. The social meanings of vernaculars are just as amenable to being renegotiated in media contexts as are the meanings of standards.

When we approach style as a creative and dynamic resource in interaction – that is, when we consider styling as a form of social practice – we soon run across the tricky distinction between styling and *stylisation*. Stylisation is open to different interpretations, one of them being akin to crossing (Rampton 1995, 2006), the use of speech styles that notionally belong to other people. Interestingly, if we define stylisation this way, we can trace the idea back to Labov's own seminal studies of /r/ in New York City (Labov 1972). The classic department store ('fourth floor')

investigation was as much a study of persona management as one of social class. All the shop assistants in the study, presumably, shared a social class, at least as this might have been defined on the basis of their occupation. When they showed class-based variation in their pronunciation of /r/, they were, one could argue, stylising different class-based ways of speaking; what Labov examined might be conceptualised as speakers of one particular social class appropriating speech styles associated with speakers of other classes. A more nuanced interpretation would be that assistants working in particular department stores fell under the normative demands of their employers to style their dialect identities in ways consonant with the class identifications of the stores themselves, and a requirement of this sort would predictably have influenced stores' recruitment policies as regards the speech styles of their employees. Even so, the pertinent sociolinguistic issues in this classic study are dialect styling and identity performance, over and beyond the simpler matter of how sociolinguistic variables were distributed across speakers and speaking contexts.

In variationist interpretations, the symbolic values of dialects and dialect features tend to be seen as constant and immutable. In adopting a more flexible and more dynamically-framed 'styling and stylisation' approach we emphasise the negotiability and context sensitivity of indexical values associated with dialect styles. We do not mean to propose that indexical values are constructed anew in a vacuum at each interactional instance – no performative or constructionist perspective, in our opinion, would claim anything like that. All performances and all interpretations must be interpreted relative to pre-existing sociolinguistic norms, by interlocutors and analysts alike. But to sacrifice agency to structure entirely is theoretically untenable. It may be pertinent here to point to Bakhtin's (1986) dictum that 'the word in language is half someone else's'. A style perspective aligns with Bakhtin (and Goffman, by the way) in seeing language use as performative, managed and potentially manipulative in speakers' deployment of styles and 'words'. It may be that a performer is unaware of the indexical values associated with his or her choice of style. Goffman (1959) speaks of this mode of operation as 'sincere' performance, and describes it as the acts of an actor so taken in by her or his own performance that they don't distinguish between themselves as (as it were) actors and roles. This perspective would be analogous to variationists' assumptions of how vernacular speakers orient to their vernacular speech. We do not mean to imply that this stance never occurs; not all performances are cynical, devious or manipulative. Like many other sociolinguistics, however, we do agree with Goffman in suggesting that it is productive to look at performances *as if* they were deliberate, to ask what is being performed and how a given interpretation of a situation is being 'brought off'. Again we believe that technologically mediated language performances lend themselves particularly well to this view, because, in opposition to supposedly 'non-

mediated' performances, they are indeed likely to have been prepared, rehearsed and edited. If the 'sincere' performer is rare in everyday life, he or she is likely to be even rarer in aspects of everyday life constituted by mediated performances.

The concept of enregisterment (Agha 2007) has proved a particularly fruitful one for discussing how linguistic features come to be understood as belonging to the same norm-associated 'set of features', or how they become reified as 'a style' or 'a variety', and how these sets of features become inscribed with symbolic meaning ('good language', 'bad language', 'foreigner language', etc.). The upshot of this is the point we made above: utterances come to carry semiotic meaning not just through *what* speakers say, but also in *how* they say it, how they contextualise the stylistic features they use, because the use of linguistic features ascribed to a particular set come to hold rich and complex indexical meaning(s). Enregistered varieties and the metalinguistic discourses that sustain them, then, are rich sources for the investigation of language ideologies.

The gist of this discussion of dialect style and dialect styling versus simply 'dialect' is that a speech style is always an abstraction from the dynamic process of styling language, and that it is always freighted with socially interpretive, metapragmatic meaning. Styling is the creative deployment of stylistic resources which are metapragmatically potentiated in their socio-cultural histories. Styling brings the concept of dialect within the remit of discourse, viewed as a form of situated social (inter)action rather than a set of naïve, value-neutral acts of communication. Styling can be seen as a fusion of two inter-connected forms of semiotic activity: the utterance is framed as interpretable relative to known, socially significant meanings attaching to particular styles used. But simultaneously, the meanings of normative styles being referenced are themselves open to being renegotiated; the symbolic associations of styles may be reinforced, brought into question, opposed, turned on their head, etc. in local instances.

This means, as we have already suggested, that a critical view of media performance and sociolinguistic change needs to be based in close inspection not only of the formal (e.g. dialectal) features of speech styles, but also of the ways in which ways of speaking are styled into particular social contexts and media genres and events. Styling is a mode of performance, and it is helpful to recognise that the concept of performance is itself flexible, spanning those speech events that are culturally consolidated as 'set-piece performances' (e.g. reading the news, singing in public, acting as a character in a theatrical play) and others that are not institutionally recognisable. Everyday talk-in-interaction involves 'performance' in Bauman's (1978) sense, even if this is no more than the recreation of a familiar persona in a familiar relationship. Intermediate examples might include the telling of a joke among friends, when the performative framing of a speaker's actions is momentarily upgraded into something more like a set-piece performance; the speaker adopts a

particular speaking position as 'a joke-teller' and other participants redefine themselves as 'an audience', and so on. (Coupland 2007 suggests that a distinction of this sort can be recognised terminologically by referring to heavily institutionalised performance frames as 'high' performances.)

Theorising styling as performance allows analysts to engage with the creative work that speakers can do in managing social reality, and technological mediation is intimately involved in this process. Like 'ordinary speakers', but often in much more resourceful and influential ways, media producers and performers are able to conjure up representations that we (as audience members) recognise to be either 'entirely real', 'entirely unreal' or (perhaps more interestingly) ambiguous as to their reality and authenticity. Following a more specific definition of the concept, stylisation can in fact be viewed as a mode of performance in which speakers complicate and ambiguate the indexical relations of the speech styles they bring into play, neither firmly endorsing nor clearly challenging stereotyped expectations. We can think of stylisation, then, as the knowing deployment of socially familiar semiotic material where the speaker strategically complicates and ambiguates her or his relationship with that material, immediately bringing questions of (in)authenticity to the fore. In stylisation of this sort we again see the semiotic dynamism that can be characteristic of talking media representations and performances. The ambiguation of normative understandings of dialect is, as we argue below, one way in which mediated performances can lead to sociolinguistic change – talking media using reflexive resources for critiquing sociolinguistic norms, rather than simply adhering (or not) to such norms. Stylisation may therefore be seen as a semiotic 'third way', an opportunity for reconceptualising dominant norms and ideologies, including standard language ideologies (see the next section).

Acts of stylisation, as they are analysed in this collection, are often exaggerated or 'mock' performances in which the presumably defining traits of a style are brought out for scrutiny or utilised for the creation of easily-recognisable personas. Very often, then, stylisations have an element of parody or humour to them. They are verbal performances, but they are usually also (in Bakhtin's 1981 sense) active double-voicings in which a performer appropriates another's voice in their utterance, possibly in criticism and mocking parody of the original voice. The 'other' whose voice is being appropriated is more often than not a fictional, stereotyped persona – a 'social type', and occasionally a named person. (In the case of styling named persons, we tend to talk of 'impersonations', although the discursive functions of impersonations can again vary.) Stylisation is therefore very clearly an ideological resource – a resource for bringing into play and exposing existing stylistic norms and expectations, but with the creative potential to challenge and rework their ideological associations and underpinnings.

The analysis of stylisation as a mode of discursive practice needs to be rather sophisticated, in the general manner of critical discourse analysis. The (meta)pragmatic effects of stylisation depend on the uptake of social and ideological meanings. In complex, multi-party social environments, and certainly in mediated language performances where there is often a mix of participants who are active in the mediated frame and others ('audience members') who stand outside of that frame, there may be only partial uptake by selective sub-groups of recipients. This is often the case with humorous or parodic styling, where the communicative design may be to play off predictable meaning uptakes from one segment of an audience against predictably failed uptakes from another segment. In this way styling can be functional in the creation of social difference, as well as in the exploitation of differentiated sociolinguistic norms. This again highlights the critical, change-oriented potential of stylised performances. Stylisation may exploit stereotypical symbolic evaluations, for instance when a 'standard speaker' stylises 'dialect' to mock the stereotype of dialect speakers, or when a 'dialect speaker', conversely, stylises 'standard language' to mock the stereotype of the 'standard speaker'. But the discursive effects are likely to be more subtle than this, depending on how sympathetic the relevant personas have been constructed to be, whether audiences are positioned to 'laugh with' rather than 'laugh at' specific performers, how characters and relationships have been developed in particular narratives, and a host of other local-contextual considerations.

MEDIA AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE

Talking media – the technological media that disseminate talk-in-interaction, such as television, radio, film, user-generated video and the various platforms that put digital material of this sort into circulation – demand sociolinguistic investigation for a variety of reasons. They constitute rich points of sociolinguistic practice because of the density and intensity of popular engagement that they can achieve. Talking media are therefore able to make linguistic styles particularly metalinguistically and metaculturally salient (Androutsopoulos 2011, 2014b; Coupland 2009, 2010). The audio-visual talking media embed linguistic styles in visual representations, so that 'style' becomes a more holistic, multi-modal concept. Mediated representations and performances are replete with styled identities, relationships, situations and activities that of course go well beyond this book's immediate concern with dialect standards and vernaculars. But even in this specific domain it is evident that we are dealing not only with linguistic styles *per se* but with the social types that speech indexes and with how they are 'rounded out' in multiple semiotic dimensions. Talking media are therefore a primary means by which cultural norms

and boundaries and language ideologies relating to standardness and vernacularity are reflexively represented and performed. Talking media put so-called standard and vernacular ways of speaking on display, contextualise them and imbue them with the socio-cultural values that we associate with standardness and vernacularity – very differently across different genres and contexts, and differently over time.

We stress, again, that large-scale engagement with the talking media is very much a part of 'ordinary' sociolinguistic experience in contemporary societies around the globe. Indeed, sociolinguistic diversity, normativity and change are at issue both in how talking media systems and institutions mediate language and in how the ensuing stylistic constructions do – or do not – survive subsequent movement *out* of talking media into 'the real world'. In other words, the issue at hand is not simply whether mediated styling impacts on 'everyday language use', or not. In fact, the chapters of this book and of its sister collection – Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen (in press) – contain plenty of evidence of the uptake and recirculation of media-generated styles and stylistic fragments, so that 'impact' is well documented. But even if this were not the case, we still have to address the wider question of how talking media *feed into* as well as feed off the wider sociolinguistic environment. As we have already stressed, talking media need to be seen as key parts of the sociolinguistic landscapes in which they appear, not as some sort of decontextualised meta-phenomena whose relationship with the social is open to question. The supposed 'inauthenticity' of mediated language is very clearly challenged by the fact that some sociolinguistically important styles and registers are primarily (or at least initially) brought to the awareness of language users in and through talking media. Familiar registers and genres like newsreading, talk show interaction, sports commentator style, and so on are born as mediated styles before they may potentially gain a social life outside talking media (see e.g. Rampton's 1995 analysis of boys' use of a sports commentator register as an on-going commentary to their cricket game). What we think of as 'media genres' are by no means sealed off from the world beyond technological mediation. But also, core sociolinguistic awareness, including recognition of regional and ethnic linguistic varieties as well as their associated symbolic values, is very commonly promoted through mediated performances (see Johnstone 2011 and Quist this volume). Sociolinguistic normativity is very much the home ground of talking media representations and performances, just as much as the memorable and striking cases of stylisation and of deviation from norms. Yet, perhaps paradoxically, we need to entertain the idea of change in *all* these instances. In order to retain their 'traditional' qualities, especially in the face of the de-traditionalising tendencies of late modernity (see above), norms need to be actively maintained through repeated confirmatory acts. Since all individual contexts of social action are unique, what looks like norm maintenance is, strictly

speaking, an accumulation of discursive acts of norm-convergence, where the change potential inherent in performance is minimised, but never wholly resisted.

The concept of *sociolinguistic change* was introduced (Androutsopoulos 2014; Coupland 2009, 2014; Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen in press) in order to refresh sociolinguistics's conventional view of change. We noted earlier that *language change* has been the dominant approach, closely defined within the field of language variation and change, emphasising systemic and mainly phonological change over time in the vernacular speech of particular speech communities. We fully endorse the relevance and coherence of this perspective, but we hope to supplement it with the broader and more socially sensitive concept of sociolinguistic change. Sociolinguistic change refers to changing relationships between language and society, and to changes that are socially consequential in one way or another for language users. In this new perspective, even in the absence of language change in the canonical sense, sociolinguistic change may occur, for example if the social and ideological structures in which linguistic varieties function can be shown to have changed (see e.g. Fabricius and Mortensen 2013; Mugglestone 2007). To take a clear instance within the remit of the present book, if a style that has been ideologised as a standard way of speaking begins to lose its social credentials, then sociolinguistic change is in progress. Language-ideological changes are clear instances of sociolinguistic change, and sociolinguistics is familiar with many such changes, even though they have not been named as sociolinguistic changes. Changing ideological values around the speech styles of gender, age and class groups are all sociolinguistic changes, and it is obvious that these changes, where they occur, are likely to be consequential for speakers. The changes that are of interest to the SLICE programme span both language change and sociolinguistic change – how the speech styles of defined social groups themselves shift incrementally over time, but also how those styles may be differently positioned over time in their sociolinguistic ecosystems.

Some key points about sociolinguistic change are worth emphasising here. First, sociolinguistic change need not take the form of slow, ineluctable change over time, in the manner of changing phonological systems; language-ideological change can be abrupt, hinging on specific events that come to popular attention (more in the manner of changes in political sentiments, then). Second, it will probably be more difficult to establish temporal 'before and after' points of comparison, in the way that language change research does, e.g. modelling generational shifts, in real or apparent time. ('Real time' here means that the same speakers, or similar speakers, being recorded twice over a span of time, often decades; 'apparent time' means that different generations are recorded in the same time frame, under the assumption that speakers do not change their speech styles during their adult lives. An assumption in both paradigms, as mentioned above, is that social categories and social meaning of

these categories are stable over time.) Sociolinguistic change need not be linear, while the linear directionality of much language change has of course been one of its most tantalising features. In contrast, sociolinguistic change can be studied as a new form of 'change in progress', when new ways of pulling together the social and the linguistic are first evidenced, and talking media will often be strongly involved in forging such realignments. Third, many sociolinguistic changes will arise as elements of even wider historical processes of *social change*. As we briefly noted earlier, social-theoretic accounts of globalisation, individualisation, de-traditionalisation, and of course technologisation and mediatisation, very clearly implicate language and discourse in particular respects. To this extent the concept of sociolinguistic change invites sociolinguists to engage with social-scientific theorisation of 'how things are' and 'how things are changing'.

Focusing on media data affords a coherent way of studying changing relationships between dialect forms/practices and social/ideological contexts. Contributors to the present volume study a mix of present and past data – in all cases, data that arose in talking media. Their analyses and interpretations are based on the full range of contextual information available to them, and in many cases this includes responding to multimodal aspects of broadcast performances.

We may think of television as the quintessential audio-visual medium in that it combines auditory (e.g. spoken, read-aloud or sung) signs with visual signs, sometimes in support of each other, sometimes in conflict or complex semiotic interaction. Following Bakhtin's (1981) concept of heteroglossia or multiple voicing, we can pursue a different sort of multi-dimensionality in televised performances, where utterances can contain a complex interplay of different voices, either in support of each other, uni-directionally, or vari-directionally, when one voice comments on or qualifies another (Morson and Emerson 1990: 147ff.). Yet even a 'purely' auditory medium like radio has the same potential for double-voicing in the interplay of different layers of auditory semiosis, e.g. semantics, voice style, background music and effects and of course dialect style. For all practical purposes we can conceptualise these auditory layers as being analogous to different communicative 'modes'. Analyses that are sensitive to the multi-modal nature of the performance in which dialect styles are presented (e.g. in the vein of Theo van Leeuwen's multi-modal discourse analysis, Kress and van Leeuwen 2001) give us new possibilities of investigating the semiotic potential and the ideological meaning of dialects. Stylised dialect performances are 'framed' (in the sense of Goffman 1986) by semiotic expressions in different modes, while dialect stylisations of course themselves act in framing the interpretation of multiple semiotic modes.

Media analysis also necessitates close consideration of *genre*. Genre is generally said to refer to culturally recognised modes of purposive social action in specific domains (Swales 1990), so that we can talk of genres of written text (e.g. novels,

poetry, journalism), of popular music (e.g. country, rock, hip-hop) or of spoken exchange (e.g. narrative, joke, advice-giving). But talking media also work to their own specifications of genre, including the macro-categories of news, current affairs, fiction, drama, etc. but also micro-categories such as 'experiential interviews' versus 'accountability interviews' (Montgomery in press). Bazerman (2013) argues for seeing genres as social acts. Recognising the genre of an utterance is essential for understanding the social meaning of the utterance: "since utterances are the site for the creation and transmission of speech acts and social facts, the typification of utterances in genres is related to the recognisability of acts and the location of facts" (*ibid*. 231). Fulfilling genre expectancies becomes a condition for the felicitous performance of a speech act, and violating genre expectations and hybridising genres exploits and transforms conventions: "When accomplished speech acts in one domain travel to another, they both carry some of the assumptions and practices from the original domain and become transformed by the practices of the new domain" (*ibid*. 231).

This introduces the aspect that genres can be styled in distinctive ways. Certainly, particular styles are normatively associated with particular genres, but social meaning is made in the detailed styling of any given genre performance (cf. Coupland 2011 on vocal styling in popular music). But just as identities can be stylistically reshaped over time on the basis of stylistic innovations, so can genres themselves – genres change, and this is sociolinguistic change more than language change. What it means to 'read the news' or to 'do stand-up comedy' can change, incrementally or more suddenly, on the basis of salient stylistic innovations.

For the purposes of this volume an interesting complication is that genres are themselves prone to playful reinterpretation and indeed stylisation. Just as we may think of speakers' variable stylings of dialect and his or her stylisation of those conventions as a complication or ambiguation of his or her stance towards the style, we may refer to a media performer's use of genre.

THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

The main chapters of the book shed light on local instances of actual or potential sociolinguistic change across a wide range of national, linguistic, institutional and mediational contexts. They show how mediated styling and stylisation achieve a wide range of sociolinguistic effects; how they:

- bring language ideologies into play in public arenas, making them available for reflexive reconsideration

- play with or against socio-cultural norms, including norms for standard languages and vernacular dialects;
- reshape nationally established contexts for language use;
- negotiate elite and vernacular identities;
- model modes of participation in the public sphere.

The first three chapters, by Jane Stuart-Smith, Jan-Ola Östman and Jacob Thøgersen connect quite directly with the language change agenda in the sense that the first chapter investigates the interface between media language and language change in society at large, while the second and third track the evolution of particular linguistic varieties longitudinally. At the same time, all three studies present detailed information about changing cultural perceptions of linguistic features and sets of features in the shape of dialect styles. On this basis, all three chapters are able to theorise the role of different media in bringing about sociolinguistic change and what kinds of social-meaning enregisterments media performances may propagate.

Stuart-Smith approaches the sociolinguistic question of media's involvement in language change head-on, asking some very pertinent research questions. In the first part of her chapter she reports on a series of studies conducted to investigate the potentially direct effect of media consumption and psychological investment in particular media characters on the use of innovative linguistic features. The underlying hypothesis is that more intensive involvement with media performances exhibiting innovative features should promote the use of these features among adolescents in Glasgow. The results are inconclusive, leading Stuart-Smith to raise theoretical questions about *how* speakers may appropriate innovative features they meet in media; in which situations are they using 'media-disseminated' features, and which metapragmatic (or indexical) meaning do they carry? To answer these questions, Stuart-Smith turns to close analyses of language use in the BBC TV series *EastEnders*.

Östman's approach to 'media' is particularly original; his data are pop music lyrics, specifically the use of stylistic features recognisable as Finland-Swedish dialect features. As Östman explains, Finland has two official languages, of which the one under study, Swedish, is perceived to be in itself minoritised by Finnish. Östman presents a number of different periods or 'stages' in the use and interpretation of dialect styles in song lyrics spanning the last four decades. The central point of the analysis is that we witness both a change in the use of dialect features, and simultaneously a change in the symbolic (and political) interpretation of this use. Stylistic practices, thus, both reflect and challenge standard language norms.

Thøgersen discusses a staple theme in Danish sociolinguistics, the so-called 'flat a'. The treatment is partly a historical analysis of the use of this (supposedly) stig-

matised variant in prestige media language, and partly a study of contemporary stylised use of the standard or high-prestige variant. The upshot of the analyses is that what was a stigmatised variant has become neutralised, whereas the former standard variant has been ascribed a new meaning (or meaning potential, available for local interpretation). The chapter theorises the role of mediated performances in bringing about this change in symbolic meaning of a style marker. Stuart-Smith and Thøgersen therefore deal with variation within (national or regional) 'standards', showing how particular delimitations of (what counts as) standard are permeable, whereas Östman's perspective is on the relationship between different varieties within the larger community of the nation state.

The contributions by Nesse, by Van Hoof and Jaspers and by Cornips, de Rooij, Stengs and Thissen, constitute a suite of chapters which all deal with what we might call 'circulation of dialect styles', all treating stylised varieties being used as performative resources in broadcast fiction. A common feature of these three chapters is the close analysis of ways in which stylisations, in the sense of 'inauthentic' style usages, are used in fiction. In some cases dialect styles become the topic of metalinguistic treatment within a fictional universe, but the chapters first and foremost illustrate how dialect styles are used either as a characterological device (a semiotic short-hand used to present a stereotypical character, along with dress, demeanour, etc.) or as a metapragmatic framing feature.

Agnete Nesse analyses the use of dialect styles in a Norwegian radio play for children broadcast from the 1920s to the 1960s. An interesting feature of the play is that all characters are performed by the same male actor. Any difference in dialect styles used by the different characters must therefore be a deliberate, creative manipulation. How conscious the performer was of his linguistic choices we can, of course, only speculate about. The dialect styles used vary along axes of national vs. regional high-prestige speech and urban vs. rural, and the performances show clear symbolic meanings being attached to the different styles. This is particularly salient in the case of the two main characters who are constructed to have very different personalities and different dialect styles.

Sarah Van Hoof and Jürgen Jaspers analyse a corpus of Flemish TV fiction from the 1970s and 1980s, with a particular focus on the use of 'standard', 'dialect' and 'tussentaal', the last of these being, ideologically speaking, a hybrid between standard and dialect. Their analyses show, on the one hand, the connection between styles and genres, particularly how particular TV genres are dominated by use of the standard. On the other hand, their close analyses of a number of stylised performances show how this hierarchy can also be challenged, in particular within comedy which seems to lend itself particularly well to normative disruptions. Van Hoof and Jaspers theorise that the current rise in the use of tussentaal relative to the nominal standard may in part be an effect caused by the ridiculing that both dialects and

the standard receive in media performances. Tussentaal may be seen as a 'safe spot', an unmarked choice between heavily symbolically marked alternatives. Both Nesse and Van Hoof and Jaspers, then, deal with the standardisation of language *within* national broadcast media. As we have discussed earlier in this introduction, it is a common conception that language use was largely homogeneous (i.e. 'standard') in the golden age of national broadcasting media. The chapters by Nesse and Van Hoof and Jaspers show this was not exclusively the case, and also illustrate that the value ascribed to 'standard' speech was not necessarily as positive as traditional standard language-ideological views might suggest.

In their chapter Leonie Cornips, Vincent de Rooij, Irene Stengs and Lotte Thissen investigate how dialect styles associated with geographical and psychological stereotypes are exploited in the case of a translation and broadcast enactment of the international bestseller fantasy fiction book *Harry Potter*. The study is a remarkable illustration of language users' ability to form symbolic associations between language forms, personality traits and social spaces. The association that readers and listeners are invited to make between the personality traits of the characters in the *Harry Potter* universe and the values stereotypically associated with the dialect styles they speak is of an entirely ideological nature. Everything is imagined, yet the fictional universe is firmly based in well-known 'real-world' cultural perceptions of speech styles. By highlighting the language-ideological work involved in this meaning-making process, the authors are able to offer a critical commentary on the ideology of linguistic egalitarianism that prevails in the region.

As Cornips et al. show, language users are often fully capable of metalinguistic reflections on fictional characters' appropriate dialect styles. By saying that stylisations function as metapragmatic framing resources, we want to draw attention to fictional performances of stylisation, i.e. performances where the styliser is not only the real-life actor but also the fictional character within the narrative (although of course bodily the two are the same). In media performances the use of fictional stylisation, e.g. in the form of Ramptonian 'crossings', may act as a vehicle of humour and narrative tension. The different views on dialect styles as narrative resources in the three chapters again present evidence that we need a broad view on what to count as sociolinguistically 'legitimate' media genres and media performances. Certainly it is not the case that only 'serious' programmes and only 'authentic' style performances qualify as legitimate sociolinguistics endeavours.

Again we want to stress the dialectical nature of stylistic performances, at least in their use for narrative purposes. Each of the performances presented draws on a set of shared norms of dialect styles *vis-à-vis* standard styles. The narratives, the motives and the morale (or in the case of jokes, the punchlines) are only appreciable under the assumption that the listener/viewer can decipher the stylistic stereotypes presented. In that sense performances reflect existing sociolinguistic norms; in re-

circulating the connection between style and stereotype, they may also be said to confirm and strengthen this connection. However, stylistic performances clearly also have a disruptive potential to question and challenge those norms. And one perspective need not exclude the other. The chapters in this section show ample evidence of this, but it also becomes a central focus for the chapters in the last section of the book.

The final three chapters, by Quist, by Bell and by Coupland, all share a particular perspective on sociolinguistic change. They are all interested in the role of mediated performances in unsettling dominant ideologies. As earlier chapters have shown, linguistic stereotypes deployed in mediated narratives can be relatively fixed. Arguably, the style needs to be in a relatively stable relationship with its social meaning in order for it to work as a characterological shorthand. When dialect styles are used to index personality, the interpretation must be relatively unambiguous, at least initially. In the studies reported in the last three chapters, however, ambiguity and uncertainty in the interpretation of the indexical meaning of linguistic features and styles are brought to the fore, as well as questions about the composition and enregisterment of styles. Which features 'belong to' which styles, and to which personas? Which styles carry which enregistered meanings? In the sense that they actively query fundamental normative understandings of stylistic coherence, these chapters have a postmodern feel, which of course relates to the postmodern dimension of the acts of styling that they investigate. Here styles are not seen or used as fixed entities; rather, their inherent fluidity is brought out and played with, with the result that norms and ideologies are reflexively being questioned and challenged. This tendency is evident in earlier chapters too, but it is a distinctive feature of the final three chapters that the mediated, stylised performances they investigate play exactly on ambiguity and uncertainty, hybridisation and bricolage.

Pia Quist's chapter is concerned with a particular style of Danish that she calls 'urban youth style' or 'street style'. She overviews the historical evolution of the style, arguing that it has become enregistered through various mediated performances and developed its own indexical meaning potential against the backdrop of a language ideological landscape characterised by relatively strong normativity and perceived homogeneity. In Quist's account, the indexical meaning of 'street style' remains ambiguous, on the one hand holding the potential to index a 'gangster persona', on the other hand, in some contexts, indexing a '*wannabe* gangster' understood as someone who may be provocative and transgressive but who is also slightly ridiculous.

Allan Bell's chapter presents a discussion of mediated performances from the US television series *Flight of the Conchords* in which the traditional hierarchy between New Zealand and Australian English, New Zealand and Australian nationalities and national stereotypes are held up for scrutiny in a humorous context. The

comedic potential of the NZ–AUS juxtaposition is based on hyperbolic presentations of national(istic) oppositions and a particular kind of role-reversal in which New Zealand as a nation and New Zealand English as a style – traditionally both seen as marginal and peripheral compared to Australia and Australian English – are presented as the normative centre. Bell argues that *Flight of the Conchords*, in its carnivalesque approach to national and linguistic stereotypes, has a *verfremdung* effect on its audience which is likely to engender heightened cultural reflexivity and potential sociolinguistic change.

A similar process of estrangement is present in the data treated in Nikolas Coupland's chapter, but here the focus is less on the hierarchy of styles or the association between styles and social stereotypes than it is on the linguistic constitution of styles themselves and the meaning that may be created through the inconsistent, or in Coupland's term 'dissonant', deployment of well-known styles, presented in fragmentary ways. The data, sourced from the BBC television *Armstrong and Miller Show* and a TV commercial for *Boddingtons Bitter*, illustrate how the playful integration of styles with very different social meanings may achieve a range of pragmatic effects. In the sketch show, incongruous mixing of stylistic elements constructs humorous parody, and in the TV commercial the recycling of familiar tropes, including visual effects and musical styles that we associate with high-powered adventure films, combined with a dissonant dialect style promoting a bitter (beer) from Manchester in the north of England, triggers reflexive reassessment of how styles carry their meaning, and how they might be otherwise.

In the previous section we saw examples where stylisation was used to deliver a punchline; in this section more often than not stylisations *are* the punch lines. In Coupland's and Bell's cases much of the humour (or even the 'point' of the data) is based on the subversion of normative expectations, achieved either through the mixing of incongruous styles or by the disruption of established normative hierarchies. In Quist's case, humour hinges on style shifting which highlights the indexical values associated with different styles, thereby exposing the multi-layered social meanings associated with 'urban street style'.

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Bridging the gap(s): The role of style in language change linked to the broadcast media

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BACKGROUND: THE PREMISE[1]

It is well established in interactional sociolinguistics that the broadcast media provide linguistic resources for speakers to exploit for their own stylistic and interactional needs (Androutsopoulos 2014). The processes of adaptation and creative reproduction of media language in various kinds of social interaction are captured in notions like 'appropriation' (Holly 2001), for which there is a growing body of evidence (Ayass and Gerhardt 2012; Branner 2002). Rampton's (1995) now seminal study of language crossing, which includes media fragments, further suggests some theoretical connections to account for when such appropriation might take place, in terms of 'liminoidal practices': appropriated media chunks were often found occurring at effective boundaries in talk (cf. also Branner 2002). Within this perspective, broadcast media may impact on speakers' linguistic practices. This appears to take place at the level of discourse and larger media language fragments, at specific points in interactional structure, through speakers themselves showing stylistic agency which might be consequential for processes of language change. That is, these practices may possibly show longer term consequences for speaker/community repertoires, though this is not often discussed (though see Coupland 2007). Many of the papers in this book consider the interconnected issues of style, language and broadcast media from this perspective.

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The role of the media in language change in variationist sociolinguistics has been treated rather differently. Language is regarded in terms of two kinds of linguistic features: (1) those which are more accessible, prone to change, and often above the level of conscious awareness, especially lexical items; (2) those which are more resistant to change, often, but not always below the level of conscious awareness, such as phonetic/phonological, morpho-syntactic, and other grammatical features, which are called here for convenience 'structural' or 'core' aspects of the grammar (cf. Labov 2001; Trudgill 1986).[2] The possibility that speakers might pick up words and catch-phrases has always been accepted. But there has been some debate about whether experiencing language without interaction, as when watching films or television could affect structural language change (e.g. Sayers 2014).

In the variationist approach, numerous instances of linguistic features are correlated with characterisations of linguistic and social factors across numerous contexts, allowing identification of group patterns, but often at a remove from the specific interactional context in which each single token occurs. Within this framework, statistical correlations between structural features and levels/types of engagement with the broadcast media have been found, e.g. using more standard morpho-syntactic verbal forms in Brazilian Portuguese and *telenovelas* (Naro 1981; Scherre and Naro 2014), or TH-fronting in Glaswegian and London-based soap operas (Stuart-Smith et al. 2013, discussed further here). Such findings indicate that some kinds of long-term linguistic change may be influenced by engaging with broadcast media, but such observations still require explanation.

This chapter advances the argument that the conceptual key to understanding the mechanisms of media influence on structural linguistic change lies in the interconnections between style, language and broadcast media, even if the linguistic elements in question are core elements of the grammar, for example, alterations over time to fine-grained aspects of pronunciation, often below the level of conscious awareness. Specifically, insights from interactional studies of media and language (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2014; chapters in this volume) taken in conjunction with those of 'third wave' sociolinguistics (e.g. Eckert 2012; 2016), and especially the 'indexical field' (Eckert 2008), may bridge the conceptual gap between what appear on the surface to be different kinds of phenomena at different levels of language. The claim is that linguistic variation of all kinds in daily interactions between speakers may be linked with more abstract representations of language in the media,

[2] This general division is in line with earlier views in historical linguistics, of e.g. 'open' vs. 'closed' class elements (e.g. Samuels 1972). In practice, there is some overlap. For example, quotative verbs such as *say, go, be like*, which are used to introduce narratives, can be treated as both 'open', e.g. the variants are different words, and as more 'closed', structural features, e.g. they show clear grammatical constraints in terms of use (cf. Buchstaller 2008; Sayers 2014).

through shared and/or overlapping arrays of social meaning which attach to linguistic variation (Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014). Interestingly, such a view also brings phonological change properly within the broader remit of *sociolinguistic change* (Androutsopoulos 2014; Coupland 2014b), since accounting for such changes entails both an appreciation of sociolinguistic patterning and its embedding in broader ideological construction and renegotiation of social meaning over time.

SOUND CHANGE AND THE BROADCAST MEDIA: TH-FRONTING IN GLASGOW

These suggestions arise from a long-term investigation into the potential influence of the broadcast media on language change, the Glasgow Media Project (e.g. Stuart-Smith 2006; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013; Stuart-Smith 2014). Television was suggested as a possible factor in the rapid spread across UK urban accents of a set of consonantal changes, including TH- and DH-fronting (using [f] and [v] for /th/ and /dh/ respectively in e.g. *think*, *brother*) and L-vocalisation (using a high back (un)rounded vowel for syllable-final /l/ in e.g. *milk*), associated with Southern English and stereotypically with Cockney, since they were first observed (e.g. Trudgill 1986). Their identification in Norwich in working-class adolescents with no apparent opportunities for face-to-face contact with Londoners led to the suggestion that watching TV might shift attitudes and in turn help facilitate the adoption of the new variants. Subsequent observations of more instances in urban accents suggested that the changes were hopping out from London, from city to city (Kerswill 2003). Their restricted sociolinguistic distribution led them to be characterised (along with other rapidly diffusing changes) as 'off the shelf' changes by Milroy (2007), following Eckert's request that sociolinguists reflect on 'the possibility that not all changes are equal', and specifically on "what kind of changes require the kind of repeated exposure that social interaction gives and what kinds can be taken right off the shelf" (Eckert 2003: 395). In this case, the 'media shelf' (Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014) is thought to be TV dramas set in London, such as *EastEnders* (cf. Trudgill 1986; Williams and Kerswill 1999).[3]

[3] *EastEnders* is a contemporary soap opera, which has been running since 1985, whose represented accent is expected to be close to Cockney. Set in the East End of London, in the fictitious borough of 'Walford', the drama constitutes something of a sociological phenomenon with average viewing figures of some 18 million per week, almost a third of the population of the UK. The popularity of the show, and the high engagement of many of its viewers led swiftly to research into how viewers engage, interpret, and in some senses, interact, with the characters and plot (Buckingham 1987).

Sporadic instances of the consonant innovations have been observed in Glaswegian since the 1950s suggesting that they diffused north first via dialect contact, perhaps partly through the enhanced mobility entailed by National Service during and after World War II (Stuart-Smith, Timmins, and Tweedie 2007). The changes seem to have taken off in the 1980s, when – along with other vernacular consonant changes in Glaswegian – they became associated with a particular set of social meanings indexing tough and capable urban youth (sometimes referred to as 'street smarts'; Speitel and Johnston 1983) in contrast with 'posh' middle-class Standard Scottish English norms (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; cf. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007). TH-fronting and L-vocalisation accelerated rapidly, constituting around a third of the variation for (th) and (l) variables by 2003; DH-fronting has been a more gradual change. Unlike most Anglo-English dialects, where the diffusing changes provide the only alternative to the standard, in Glaswegian the new forms have encountered some resistance, since they entered a linguistic system with vigorous local non-standard variants, e.g. Scots [h] for /th/ in *I* [h]*ink* 'I think' (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2006).

The Glasgow Media Project laid the foundations for investigating the possible influence of the media specifically London-based TV dramas, on structural language change, specifically the adoption of consonantal innovations in Glasgow Vernacular – by carrying out a study which combined methods from media effects research with those of variationist sociolinguistics. The sample consisted of 36 adolescents aged 11–16, and 12 adults, all from the same working-class inner-city district of Glasgow. Typical speech elicitation tasks to capture read speech (wordlists), plus casual conversations from self-selected same-gender pairs of friends, were recorded alongside substantial demographic, leisure time, and media exposure/engagement questionnaires and interviews. Samples of London-based TV shows broadcast at the same time as the sociolinguistic recordings were subjected to fine-grained phonetic analysis. An experiment on short-term shifts associated with exposure to media excerpts, in the form of a filmed TV quiz show, was also carried out (Timmins and Stuart-Smith 2005; cf. Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). The role of exposure and/or engagement on the sound changes was considered at the level of the group by performing a large-scale, multifactorial correlational analysis, and at the level of the individual by applying Rogers' (2003) 'Diffusion of Innovations' model.

The project identified some indications that the broadcast media are involved in these changes (Stuart-Smith 2006; Stuart-Smith, Lawson, and Scobbie 2014; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2010; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013). At the level of the group, the use of the innovating variants was significantly predicted by linguistic constraints, then by participation in specific social practices, then by strong psychological en-

gagement with *EastEnders*,[4] and more weakly with contact with friends and relatives in England. Variables capturing positive attitudes towards London (place and accent) were much more weakly linked, or not all. But only a few sounds showed links with the media (or social factors more generally) – vowel variation showed only strong effects of phonetic/linguistic context. Adoption of innovations was constrained at the level of individual speakers by their own personal propensity to innovate, and by the nature of the change underway.

These quantitative findings are useful because they expose evidence for links between media and structural language variation and change. They are less helpful for interpretation because we still need to understand how and why only certain aspects of the sound system are affected. The key questions here are in fact why there is so little (and so restricted) evidence for the impact of the broadcast media on spoken language. The project did gather some additional information relating to possible mechanisms. The quiz-show experiment revealed some short-term, fine-grained, phonetic shifting after watching a TV clip, with intriguing differences depending on whether the clip was Scottish or London-based, but the numbers of tokens are quite low and only indicative (cf. Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). The results from the correlational study regarding attitudes to urban accents did not support (for this context at least) a role for (overt) positive language/accent attitudes as a catalyst for media influence (Kristiansen 2009; Trudgill 1986).

We also investigated Trudgill's (1986) claim that media influence operates through speakers' intentional imitation of linguistic features from the media. The results from our two imitation tasks, imitating how an *EastEnder's* character might say some words, and acting out a role immediately after watching a TV clip, showed that our Glasgow informants found overt and covert imitation of this kind very difficult. Recent studies of phonetic imitation have shown that speakers' phonologies exert strong influence on the extent to which they can imitate target features from other accents (e.g. Mitterer and Ernestus 2008). The interactional sociolinguistic perspective of 'appropriating' media language elements into talk seems a more useful starting point for understanding this kind of adaptation at the level of speech (see the section 'style, speaker agency, and appropriation', below).

Finally, comparison of consonant innovations in Glaswegian with those in 'media-Cockney', e.g. *EastEnders,* showed that Glaswegian adolescents use more variants than the characters, and with different social and linguistic constraints (Stuart-Smith et al. 2013). In other words, the Glaswegian variants might look as if they have been taken off 'the media shelf', but this impression is only superficial, at the level of form (Buchstaller 2008; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009; Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014).

[4] This glosses statistical variables which capture answers to questions such as 'How much do you like ...?' 'Name your favourite TV character', and so on; see Stuart-Smith et al. (2013).

Thus the project identified a few specific relationships, and ruled out some possible underlying mechanisms. But unlike e.g. dialect contact, for which a theoretical connection between contact with speakers of another dialect and longer-term community change is accepted as likely the result of speech accommodation during interaction (even if exactly how is unclear, Auer and Hinskens 2005), there is no accepted mechanism to explain media influence on structural language change which doesn't presume some kind of overt copying. Any suggestion that the media have a strong direct behavioural effect on linguistic behaviour seems difficult to believe given, for example, circumstantial evidence of increasing, rather than decreasing, dialect diversity in Englishes during the 20th century (e.g. Chambers 1998; Milroy and Milroy 1985); it is also inconsistent with assumptions about media influence on other aspects of social behaviour across mass communications studies since the 1960s (e.g. Klapper 1960; McQuail 2010). At the same time, the project did reveal some intriguing patterns which connect speech, speaker style, and media engagement which are reviewed in the next section.

STYLE, MEDIA AND CONSONANTAL CHANGE IN GLASWEGIAN

Style is a key factor in the diffusing of consonantal changes in Glasgow vernacular.[5] The pattern of diffusion has been distinctive with respect to speech elicitation style (reading a wordlist or speaking in a casual conversation) since these changes in progress were first observed. Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) observed proportionally more TH-fronting and L-vocalisation in read speech. DH-fronting was only observed in the wordlists, and not at all in the conversations recorded in 1997. This apparent subversion of the expected shift to monitoring/correction towards standard variants in read speech was also found in Belfast, which shows some similarities in sociolinguistic heritage (e.g. Milroy and Gordon 2003: 202). The same pattern was found in the 2003 data (Stuart-Smith et al. 2013). Reading the wordlist provoked an overall style shift towards the vernacular, which combined non-standard features long associated with Glasgow (e.g. Macafee 1983), such as using glottal stops for intervocalic /t/ in e.g. *water*, and supralocal features such as TH- and DH-fronting, and L-vocalisation. Strongly stigmatised local non-standard features seem to have been blocked by the orthography and supralocal variants were used in their place. Literacy is taught through Scottish Standard English, so when Scots/vernacular speaking children learn to read, they learn to associate a set of alternate spoken forms with written forms, and, at the same time, often learn a pejorative value for their native local variants. Local Scots variants exist for all of the three incoming

[5] Style also seems to be important in very fine-grained responses to exposure to media speech; these are not discussed further here (see Timmins and Stuart-Smith 2005).

changes. As noted above, (th) has [h] as in *I* [h]*ink* for *I think*. But (dh) too has an apical tap between vowels in e.g. *brother*, and words with syllable-final /l/ have variants without /l/, e.g. *a'* for *all*. This also means that the diffusing variants enter a linguistic system with a competing local non-standard variant, unlike in other UK accents, and their expansion is largely in phonetic contexts where the local variant cannot occur. So [f] for (th) is predominant in word-final position, and less so in word-initial position; local [h] can only occur in word-initial and word-medial position (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2006; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013).

A key point is apparent. These diffusing changes are clearly stylistically constrained in the conventional sense in which style is invoked in studies of language variation and change, so by speech elicitation task. They appear first not in the most casual speech but in reading a wordlist, a rather less usual form of speech (its nature will be explored further below). The observation that speech elicitation style is a crucial factor in identifying language change in progress was made first by Labov (e.g. 1972); hypercorrection to the use of more prestige forms in more formal speech is characteristic of changes 'from above'. What we seem to have here is also a kind of speech style shift, but towards accepted community solidarity *non-standard* norms (cf. the Belfast comparison above).

This was particularly noticeable for DH-fronting. The innovative variant did not occur at all in conversational speech in the 1997 data collection, and only rarely in wordlists, in the linguistic context where the local non-standard variant could not occur, so in word-final position, e.g. *smooth, breathe*. Five years later, in the 2003 data collection, a handful of instances of [v] were found in conversational speech, but in the wordlists it accounted for about 20% of (dh). Close inspection of who used [v] showed close alignment with a more general personal propensity to innovate (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2010, after Rogers 2003), with the most instances in a clear 'innovator'. This distribution across individual speakers presented an outlier. The regression model with the full sample of speakers, including the 'innovator', showed a significant effect of TV engagement. The model without him, no longer showed the effect. Diffusion of Innovations Theory (e.g. Rogers 2003) accounts for how all kinds of innovation, from objects to ideas, spread through social systems via interpersonal and media communication channels. It proposes general stages of diffusion, as well as typical differential behaviours of subgroups within innovating communities, from risky innovators and respected early adopters, to resistant laggards. Interestingly, communities adopting non-linguistic innovations are both observed, and assumed, to show a full range of behaviours across individuals: exactly this range is observed for this particular, early, language change in progress. The important point here, however, is that this range, coupled with personal propensity to innovate, is only found in a particular speech elicitation style – reading a wordlist.

There is also a second observation which is relevant. Alongside the diffusing consonant changes which look system-external (not typical of Scottish English), Glasgow vernacular is also showing long-term system-internal changes, including the mergers of /hw/ and /w/ (e.g. *whine/wine*, and /x/ and /k/ *loch/lock*, which are now almost complete for many working-class speakers, and derhoticisation of post-vocalic /r/ in e.g. *car*, which has been observed since the turn of the 20th Century (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; Stuart-Smith et al. 2014). The Media Project examined not only evidence for the consonant innovations, but also those sounds which have never been linked with media influence, namely the vowels BOOT /ʉ/ and CAT /a/ (known to be socially stratified since Macaulay 1977), and derhoticisation of post-vocalic /r/.[6] The results were interesting. The vowels showed only linguistic constraints with no significant social factors, likely because the previously observed stratification is across social classes not included in the sample. Derhoticisation showed split results. In conversational speech, derhotic variants showed only linguistic constraints (like the vowels). In the wordlists, increased use of derhotic variants also showed significant social constraints as for the diffusing consonants, including engagement with TV, though dialect contact was not significant (Stuart-Smith et al. 2014).

There was a further statistical result for speech elicitation style. The remaining significant factors in the regression models for the three diffusing variables plus (r) showed a higher explanation of variance (represented by the Nagelkerke R^2) for these variables in read speech, than for conversational speech. Statistically this shows that much of the variability in the wordlists was well accounted for by the independent factors that were included in the regression models. The lower explanation of variance for conversational speech is probably because prosodic and other factors known to explain phonetic variation in spontaneous speech were not included in the models. In other words, the new variants and derhoticisation seem to be more easily accounted for in this stylistically different speech task, including engagement with the media.

These findings show that these changes are stylistically 'special' in some way; they are observed more readily (or exclusively, in the case of DH-fronting) in the less usual speech style. The statistical links with media engagement are stronger and more significant in this style too. It seems that being asked to read the wordlist out loud to the fieldworker to record, with their conversational partner present in the room too, led to a stylistic shift. The kids rattle through the list, laughing, commenting on some of the words – there are no signs of any of the expected monitoring or correction towards the standard shown by the middle-class informants in 1997. Our impression for both data collections (1997 and 2003) was that the adolescents took

[6] Neither /hw/ nor /x/ showed sufficient variation in these speakers to allow analysis.

this as an opportunity to display 'themselves' and 'their speech' to fieldworker. For us, these readings seemed like a kind of performance of their identities for a very specific audience (cf. Bauman 1992; Bell 1984; Coupland 2007). At the same time, our young informants exploited all their phonetic resources, local and non-local, to position themselves with respect to the task –reading a wordlist (an activity that probably has strong associations of 'school' and 'authority') and with respect to the fieldworker (the University, the 'establishment'). In other words, they also took a particular stance to the task expressed through a particular linguistic repertoire (Jaffe 2009).[7] Our use of different speech elicitation tasks to obtain different speech styles in the variationist sense (Labov 1972; cf. Coupland 2007: 32ff.) provoked broader interactional sociolinguistic shifts.

Taken together, these connections between stance-taking and performative style-shifting, the selection of a particular array of variants for particular sound changes in progress, and strong psychological engagement with a TV soap drama, start to bridge a theoretical gap. In this context at least, it seems that the mechanisms behind media 'influence' on structural linguistic change relate to the numerous and complex interconnections between style, language and the broadcast media. If so, media influence on structural change observed through variationist study, and the incorporation of larger media fragments into talk, observed in interactional sociolinguistic studies, may also be much more closely connected than they first appear. I consider the grounding for bridging this broader theoretical gap in the next section.

STYLE, SPEAKER AGENCY, AND APPROPRIATION

There are several perspectives which try to account for intra-speaker linguistic variation, and it seems likely that at any one time, several may be at play (Coupland 2007; Eckert and Rickford 2001; Macaulay 1999). Speakers may monitor and/or adjust their speech for specific communicative acts and speech tasks (Labov 1972). They may (un)wittingly design their talk for their audience, both physically immediate and mentally imagined (Auer and Hinskens 2005; Bell 1984). And recent work which considers language style in terms of speaker agency observes that "speakers combine variables to create distinctive ways of speaking. These ways of speaking are a key to the production of personae, and personae in turn are particular social types that are quite explicitly located in the social order" (Eckert 2005: 17; cf. Eckert 2016). So language styling, by which speakers use sociolinguistic variation for social 'identity projection' (Coupland 2007), may link the situated use of lan-

[7] We are grateful to Roxy Harris who suggested this interpretation, after hearing the wordlist readings, and in the context of his own experience of working as a high school teacher in Scotland.

guage variation with particular social practices and, for particular social purposes, with more abstract social types, which themselves underpin much larger social categories (Eckert 2000). The use of linguistic variation can be further specified at the level of interaction in terms of stance-taking, as speakers take up a range of positions with respect to their interlocutors, the content of their utterances, and so on (Jaffe 2009).

Such views of linguistic style, styling and stance-taking in terms of speaker agency as applied to structural linguistic variation are highly congruent with theoretical approaches accounting for intra-speaker variation in interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz and Hymes 1972). Relevant here, 'linguistic appropriation' captures a range of linguistic responses to the media, from language and communication during media reception (the kind of talk that happens whilst watching television) to the use of media language as a resource for specific stylistic purposes (Holly 2001; Püschel and Holly 1997). There are now numerous interactional studies evidencing the appropriation of media fragments in talk (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2001; Ayass and Gerhardt 2012; Branner 2002). Close analysis of appropriation of media fragments into everyday talk reveals traits which are relevant for structural change and media influence.

Contrary to first impressions, chunks of media language (catchphrases, utterances, words) which appear in talk are not faithful reproductions of their source. Androutsopoulos (2001: 24) points out that 'The notion of *appropriation* stresses the fact that recipients are not just imitating media fragments, but they may creatively modify them and use them for their own purposes.' It is the case that illustrations of such appropriation often refer to largish chunks of linguistic material, usually with phonetic 'quotation marks', in the form of overt phonetic suprasegmentals, such as intonation and rhythm (i.e. 'explicit' appropriation, in Faber 2001). But, it seems that as for the imitation of phonetic features (see Mitterer and Ernestus 2008; see also the section 'sound change and the broadcast media: TH-fronting in Glasgow', above), the productive system – or interactional context – of the speaker strongly constrains the outcome of such 'imitation'. Speakers incorporate chunks of media language for their own interactional purposes, which make sense to them and their interlocutors provided they share frames of reference (Branner 2002).

Furthermore, appropriation of media language occurs at particular points in talk, including boundaries between talk; for example, media fragments surface in Rampton's (1995) and Branner's (2002) recordings between stretches of talk, preceded by a pause when a topic has died, and before a new topic begins. As noted above, Rampton (1995: 195) observes that 'crossing', the use of Jamaican and Panjabi/Indic linguistic features in the talk of white boys in Luton, 'occurred at interstitial and ambiguous moments, and it bore many of the characteristics attributed to liminality and liminoidity'. He defines 'liminoid' as an extension of 'liminal', a "phase

of transition ... a sort of social social limbo which has few ... of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent [ordinary] social statuses or cultural statuses" (see Rampton 1995: 194).

These observations show that, in more general terms, larger utterance chunks appropriated from the media belong to particular interactional contexts, doing specific social 'work' for their speakers as an integral part of the speakers' own discourse. In some senses they look as though, formally, they are taken from the media 'shelf' as part of a stylistic sociolinguistic 'bricolage' (Hebdige 1984), but their emergence in talk is more subtle and sophisticated than might be supposed at first glance.

These aspects of the interactional appropriation of media language show key parallels with the generalisations emerging from considering the results for speech elicitation style in the Glasgow consonant changes (the section 'style, media and consonantal change in Glaswegian, above). Specifically, linguistic variants which are associated with media – whether 'larger' (words or phrases) or 'smaller' (phones, phonemes, morphemes), more or less embedded into the grammar (more open or closed-class), more or less available to overt comment by speakers – all seem to be stylistically 'special'. Irrespective of their linguistic 'size' and status, both appropriated words and catchphrases (e.g. Bianca's call for her boyfriend, 'R[w]icky!', in *EastEnders*) and innovative phonetic variants (e.g. [f] for (th) in Glasgow) are linked by the way that they function stylistically for speakers, in how they may convey particular social meanings or interactional stances. They occur more readily in particular stylistic and pragmatic contexts, at particular points or interfaces for speakers in talk. Also, whilst such linguistic variants might look similar in form to their media source, formal similarity is (as noted earlier) superficial; their function for speakers relates directly to the speakers' own context and purposes. Thus, elements which are generic, shared and supralocal in media become specific, personal and local in talk.

But how can these observations about style inform our understanding of the mechanisms by which aspects of language represented in media end up appearing in people's conversations? Intuitively the idea of the retention and retrieval of larger, more word-like, open-class, chunks seems easier, even if just how such chunks become stored and present themselves as available for resources for talk is far from clearly understood at the level of psycholinguistic processing. Media effects research on the cognitive impact of media on individuals' knowledge, understanding and perceptions of the world may be relevant here (e.g. Gunter 2000), as information from media representations becomes cognitively entwined with those from actual experience; cf. Coupland's (2007 and later, e.g. 2014a) discussion of *mediatisation* which include the assumption that actual and represented interaction exist not as parallel independent entities, but rather as continuously intersecting experi-

ences (e.g. scripted and unscripted dramatic/reality roles translating from, and back into actual interpersonal interaction).

The difference between appropriating larger and smaller linguistic items from the media is that lifting and substituting smaller, closed-class elements such as phones and bound morphemes seems more difficult, precisely because they seem so much more embedded in the speaker's grammar. The first question to ask is whether smaller chunks could become incorporated as a by-product of appropriating larger ones, i.e. whether larger media chunks of language appropriated from the media might effectively 'bleed' their phonology. Specifically here, does e.g. [f] in Glaswegian perhaps derive from catchprases or appropriated words which show TH-fronting from media-Cockney? This view would be congruent with exemplar models of phonological representation, which assume that phonological categories are generalisations across experienced memories of speech, irrespective of their source (Hay, Warren and Drager 2006; Pierrehumbert 2006).

EVIDENCE FOR APPROPRIATION IN GLASGOW

The main spontaneous speech for the Glasgow Media Project comprised casual conversations recorded from self-selected pairs of friends, who talked by themselves in a small school office, with a DAT recorder running, for the duration of a school class (about 45 minutes). The fieldworker set up the recording and then sat outside the room whose door was closed. The children were not given topics to talk about, but there were some magazines on a coffee table in the room which a few of them looked at.

In order to assess the evidence for appropriation of media language in Glasgow vernacular, we carried out two analyses of the conversation data. The first analysis assessed the overall proportion of talk about particular topics, by taking the full word count for each speaker, and then counting the words in utterances about a topic. So, for example, any utterances about TV shows or characters, recounting or reproducing any TV extracts, and/or any aspect of watching or engaging with TV in any way, were counted, and then those topic word counts expressed as a proportion of the total word count for that speaker. The results are shown as averages for our 36 informants, across their three age groups (by gender) in Table 1.

The most striking point about even this very gross estimation of talking about TV (as well as other relevant topics – music, film and computing – in 2003 [our data collection was before the rise of social media]), is just how little our informants spontaneously introduced any kind of talk about TV at all. The 12–13 year old girls showed the most talk about TV, but even they on average talked very little about TV.

Table 1: Average percentages of talk about media and computing by age/gender groups, calculated in terms of % of total number of words uttered by each speaker.

Topic Age	Gender	TV	Music	Film	Computer
11-years	Girls	1.12	0	0.19	0
	Boys	5.81	0	0.82	1.53
13-years	Girls	7.22	0.64	0.88	0
	Boys	4.53	1.82	2.39	1.45
15-years	Girls	0.20	0.76	0.74	0
	Boys	3.91	0	1.46	0.74

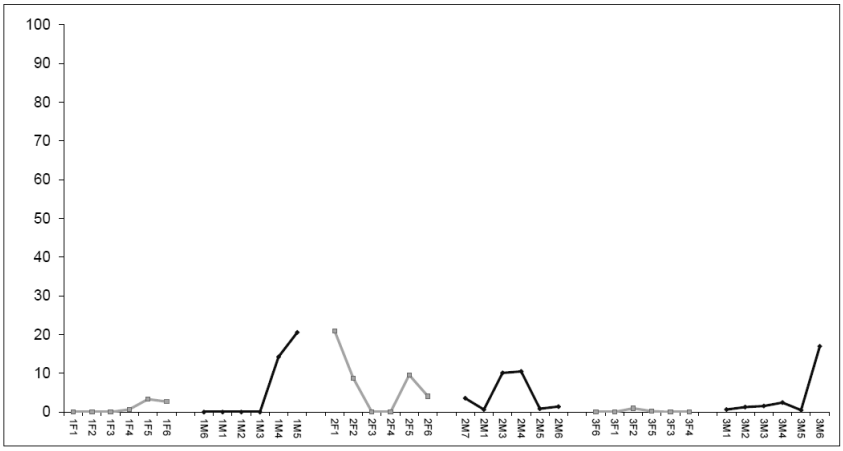

Figure 1: Percentage of talk about TV by individual speaker in the Glasgow Media Project (light = girls; dark = boys). Age group 1 = 11-years, age group 2 = 13-years, age group 3 = 15-years.

Across individuals, the distribution was skewed with 13 informants not talking about TV at all, most talking very little, and only 4 informants showing more than 10% (two 10 year old boys, one 15 year old boy, and one 13 year old girl); see Figure 1.

The second analysis was a close inspection of the entire set of 18 conversations. We found no instances at all of appropriation of 'catchphrases' or single words or phrases from TV (or films), and very few instances of stylised talk. The small

mount of talk about TV that we did find fell into three main categories, illustrated in the following extracts.[8]

(1) '*Did you watch...*', when one of the pair tried to initiate talk about TV, as in this segment from two 13 year-old girls:

R: Did you watch, em, *Footballers' Wives* last night?
L: No, I don't like it.
R: Did you watch the *Karen Dunbar* show?
L: Don't like it [laughs]
R: Did you watch anything?
L: Aye, I played wi' my Gamecube. I was playing [inaudible]. It's pure minted that wee game, you get tae [inaudible] ghosts and aw that.

(2) *Discussion of soap/dramas, and/or characters*, as in this extract from two 13 year-old boys, which was one of the few instances mentioning *EastEnders*:

R: Have you been watchin' *EastEnders*?
L: [long outbreath]
R: Do you watch it?
L: Aye, Ah watch it but.
R: Brilliant, man.
L: No' saw it [inaudible]
R: They two nearly got caught aff aye
L: Aye
R: Sam was it?
L: Sam, and
R: [laughs]
L: She hid behind the couch.
R: Aye [laughs]
L: That's the last one Ah saw, Ah think.
R: Ah know, she wants tae break it up now, and he doesnae.
L: [laughs]
R: Pure shockin', innit?
L: Aye, 'cause he's
R: Mad Barry's left in his cell man, pure makes, things for him, and aw that. So he does, it's quite shockin'.

[8] The transcriptions use usual conventions for representing spoken Scots. *Ah*, 'I'; *aff* , 'off'; *aye*, 'yes'; *aw*, 'all'; *doesnae*, 'doesn't'; *naebody*, 'nobody'; *no'*, negative particle; *tae*, 'to'; *wi'*, 'with'.

(3) *Skits*, when one or both of the pair reproduced part of a scene from TV, with rare instances of stylised talk, mainly by boys remembering funny scenes from local Glaswegian TV comedies. In the entire set of 18 conversations there was only a single instance of appropriation of media language which is loosely related to the South of England, specifically here, when the two boys recycle a few lines from *Ali G*, the comedian/trickster who sets out to confuse others through his often vulgar performances. The phonetics of the reproduction is mainly Scottish English with a few vowel qualities shifting towards General American, e.g. the qualities of the diphthongs in *down*, and *vibrate*:

R: See in *Ali G*, she's the mad woman, that comes tae his door
and aw that, at the end, near the end, he goes: "There's, er, naebody out there"
L: Awright, aye
R: Aye
L: Then she goes: 'pull them down!'
R: Never turn her down, wouldn't you no'?
L: and he goes
R: 'Finish yerself [inaudible] vibrate, finish yerself off' [laughs]
L: 'I've set it on vibrate, finish yourself off'
R: Wouldn't you never let, let her go away [inaudible]

The relative scarcity of talk about TV, or media at all, was balanced by what our informants did talk about, i.e. their friends and their own social lives, hanging out with each other, local intrigues, disputes, who was going out with whom and so on. Our conversational data seems a little different from some of the conversations recorded from interactional sociolinguistic studies, so the lack of talk about TV, and/or any kind of stylising of TV or media talk, may relate at least in part to the nature of the conversations themselves. Did our recording setup, and effective 'task', of having to talk with each other for a period of time inhibit this behaviour? Was the additional context of the school a factor? Would recordings made through a long-term ethnography have revealed more media-linked talk? Our fieldworker did spend around three months during the data collection in and around the environs of the school; her view was that the conversations we collected were very similar in content and style to those that she witnessed on and off school grounds, between our adolescents. But an inhibiting factor of context and task can't be ruled out.[9] We might also wonder whether it may be more usual to stylise local Scottish English accents, e.g. broader vernacular dialect. The acting task elicited not imitations of London accents, but a strong shift to 'stage Scots', a register found in e.g. pantom-

[9] We are grateful to Werner Holly and Roxy Harris for this observation.

ines, popular theatre, and joke telling by all Scottish speakers of whatever background, with formulaic use of Scots grammar and lexis, and exaggerated Scots phonology.

Thus we found no evidence to support the assumption that any of the consonant innovations could be creeping into Glaswegian vernacular through the phonetic bleeding of appropriated media-London fragments; we consider the possibility of a different kind of impact of catchphrases, on social meaning of variants, in the section 'a functional analysis of TH-fronting in *EastEnders*', below (cf. Coupland 2007: 173–4).[10] The more general observation that media fragments such as catchphrases seem to be stored – and reproduced – without discernible impact on speakers' phonologies, remains unresolved. Without further fine-grained work, we also cannot know to what extent the interfaces between stylised and non-stylised speech are fuzzy or discrete at the phonetic level; Androutsopoulos (2001) suggests some fuzziness, given phonetic shifts for some segments in stylising Turkish German.

MEDIA INFLUENCE AND THE INDEXICAL FIELD

In the absence of evidence for appropriation of larger chunks of media language acting as a vehicle for importing smaller, structural, changes, we need to consider other accounts for media influence on structural change. To recap, the Glasgow results establish a link between strong psychological engagement with a TV show and/or its characters, and the acceleration of consonant innovations. The mechanisms underpinning this link do not appear to relate to imitative behaviours, conscious or not, or overt positive attitudes to London/Southern English accents. TH-/DH-fronting may look like features taken from the media shelf, here *EastEnders*, but only at first glance. These changes, which are linked to TV, also emerge in the performative stance-taking which occurred during reading the wordlist. This suggests that these features carry ideological meanings, and have the potential to do some kind of social work for their speakers, in terms of identity construction and/or stance-taking.

As for larger media fragments, style emerges as key for our phonological changes, as indeed seems to be the case for other structural changes which are linked to media (if not established), e.g. the explosion of *be like* in English (Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), changes of phrasal and lexical tone in Japanese (Ota and Takano 2014), and shifts from restricted regional to widespread standard dialects as in e.g.

[10] The apparent lack of phonetic bleeding also presents an interesting challenge for exemplar theory, because it suggests that speech experienced from media may be stored, tagged, and/or weighted differently and/or separately from speech experienced from face-to-face interaction, contra the assumptions in Hay et al. (2006).

German (Lameli 2004), which are all clearly enregistered (Agha 2003). Despite the difference in linguistic entity – and we cannot ignore the fact that words and allophones are different, though perhaps more gradiently than we might think (how structural is the quotative verb *be like*? Sayers 2014) – that linguistic elements carry social meaning for speakers seems to be a fundamental characteristic of all linguistic variation linked with the broadcast media. I have already noted above that appropriating larger chunks from the media seems to be easier to accept, even if we don't know how this happens at the cognitive level. At least superficially, these elements look more congruent with Sayers' (2014) conceptualisation of media influence on language in terms of 'broadcast', or diffusion of linguistic features from media to geographically dispersed dialects.

The small amount of evidence that we have to date for media influence on smaller elements constituting structural change, is less consistent with broadcast, and suggests a different kind of mechanism, 'enhancement' or 'filtering' (Stuart-Smith 2014). Structural linguistic features which are linked with media influence, within English and other languages too, seem always to be changes also already in progress. Existing sociolinguistic variation seems to be accelerated and enhanced by media, as opposed to generated by the media (Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014). But what is it about vicarious involvement in the lives of dramatic characters in para-social interaction, that promotes enhancement of certain grammatical changes for certain speakers?

Current cognitive models of media influence on social behaviour assume that "[i]n order to make sense of a programme, viewers must find connections between the media text and their own inner world" (Gunter 2000: 230; notions of the 'active' audience in reception theory make a similar point but in different terms, e.g. Abercrombie 1996; Hall 1980). If we extend this to speech, we assume that speakers parse spoken language witnessed in the broadcast media through the filter of being an active speaking member of a community. Speakers' existing linguistic features may be enhanced when they are similar to those experienced in the media both in terms of linguistic structure *and* social meaning. Language seems to be different from other social behaviours, because speaking is a thoroughly interactive process entailing continuous simultaneous activity of speech production and perception mechanisms together (Kuhl 2010; Pickering and Garrod 2013); successful first language acquisition seems to require actual social interaction (Kuhl 2010).[11] Speakers' own experience of language in social interaction may be an even stronger brake on possible media influence than for other social behaviours. The specific

[11] One of the reasons that first language acquisition is not promoted by broadcast media may be precisely because parsing spoken language of the media requires viewers to have personal experience of language in its social context, in order to be able to parse language represented in the media.

suggestion is that Glaswegians parse *EastEnders*, drama and language, through the filter of being Glaswegian vernacular speakers. Moreover, as viewers watch interactions in scenes from drama (and other genres), these unfold before them, mapping onto their own personal dynamic experiences of social and linguistic interaction as a speaker and listener.[12]

Our predictions from this are that this personal experiential parsing of media language mainly acts like a filter (Goldinger 2007). What is witnessed is too different both linguistically and socially, so such media language experiences are either not stored in memory, or fade fast. The main impression from sociolinguistic studies since the 1970s is that media does *not* influence spoken language (Chambers 1998; Labov 2001). But it may be that sometimes (we don't know how often, but it seems quite rarely) what is represented in the media is 'socially informative' (Pierrehumbert 2006), overlapping with the speaker–viewer's own personal experience of variation in interaction. In such cases, speakers' existing variants may be enhanced/resonated/gain additional weighting, resulting in acceleration via media influence. It seems clear that it is the speaker–viewer who is effectively driving and/or controlling this process, by engaging with broadcast media as potential producers of socially-informative variation (Adank, Hagoort and Bekkering 2010), listening with their 'speaking brain' (Keith Johnson, pc). So the speaker–viewer uses their linguistic and social system to parse what they witness. It seems that such overlap has at least two prerequisites: congruence at the level of linguistic system *and* in terms of social meaning. Thus there needs to be at least some formal and structural congruence, e.g. the existence of a phoneme with an array of variants, such as /th/ in media-Cockney, which, as in Glasgow, has existing variation. But the social informativity of the variation is key, i.e. it must in some way overlap in social meaning with that already known and/or experienced by the speaker.

If we extend this prediction, we can account for the fact that e.g. the Glaswegian CAT vowel is very unlikely to show links with watching London-based TV shows. Linguistically, Media-Cockney has two phonemes, /a/ and /ɑ/, whilst Glaswegian has a single vowel /a/; phonologically the categories are different, as are their phonetic realisations. But there is also no overlap in social meaning. Whilst media-Cockney shows raised and fronted /a/ for TRAP in working-class characters such as 'Del Boy' in *Only Fools and Horses*, and 'Alfie' in *EastEnders*, the closest variant in Glaswegian is found in refined old ladies in the middle-class area of Kelvinside

[12] This account assumes that there are cognitive differences between experiencing and storing memories of speech during interaction, from those when linguistic interaction is not possible (e.g. watching a pre-recorded film). We do not yet have evidence to establish the extent to which physical interaction with other speakers vs. experiencing speech without interaction has a differential effect on the storage, memory and access of (a) speech/language, (b) other social behaviours, and (c) viewers' cognition (cf. Gunter 2000; Stuart-Smith et al. 2011).

(Macafee 1983). We found no statistical links for this, or any other vowels (for which similar predictions can be made about quality and social evaluation) and engaging with TV shows set in London.

Phonetic and linguistic theory can be used to identify actual and potential linguistic congruence. Eckert's theory of the 'indexical field' offers a useful starting point for conceptualising and testing, possible overlaps in social meaning in language between speaker and screen. Eckert (2008: 453) defines the indexical field as "[a] constellation of ideologically-related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable. The field is fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections". The indexical field is drawn from theories of indexicality which account for the linking of language with the social order. Indexicality with language begins with direct links (indexes) formed during interaction, whereby 'linguistic forms index interactional stances', and develops into indirect indexicality when "these same forms become associated with particular social types believed to take such stances" (Bucholtz 2009: 291, after Ochs 1992). Levels of indexicality also develop as links become accepted and are even available for metalinguistic commentary (Milroy 2004; Stuart-Smith et al. 2007).

The indexical field as proposed by Eckert (2008) is predicated on, and arises through, the use of language during social interaction. This leads to continually shifting arrays of connected sets of social meanings attaching to linguistic elements, as illustrated in Figure 2. The assumption of such multidimensional webs of ideological meanings linked to aspects of language is powerful because it provides a conceptual basis for understanding better how different ideologies may attach in different ways to the 'same' element, and how specific, local meanings may relate to and/or trigger more generic, shared, supralocal meanings, thus connecting micro- and macro-social patterns (Eckert 2016). The indexical field properly describes actual situated language use, the constant negotiation and renegotiation of social meaning produced by speakers during interaction, which can be accessed through observing production, and/or by social evaluation experiments (e.g. Campbell-Kibler 2007).

I take a further step here and extend the notion of 'indexical field' to assume that linguistic variation in media language also carries arrays of social meaning which are akin to indexical fields for real-world language. For example, as actors portray their characters' roles they use language as one vehicle for conveying the drama, taking positions and stances towards each other and the events as they unfold. The actors' spoken versions of their scripts use linguistic variation as an integral part of their characterisation, so their variation also constructs stylised social meanings, which together constitute an *ersatz* indexical field interpretable within the context of the drama by speaker–viewers accessing their knowledge of indexical fields from

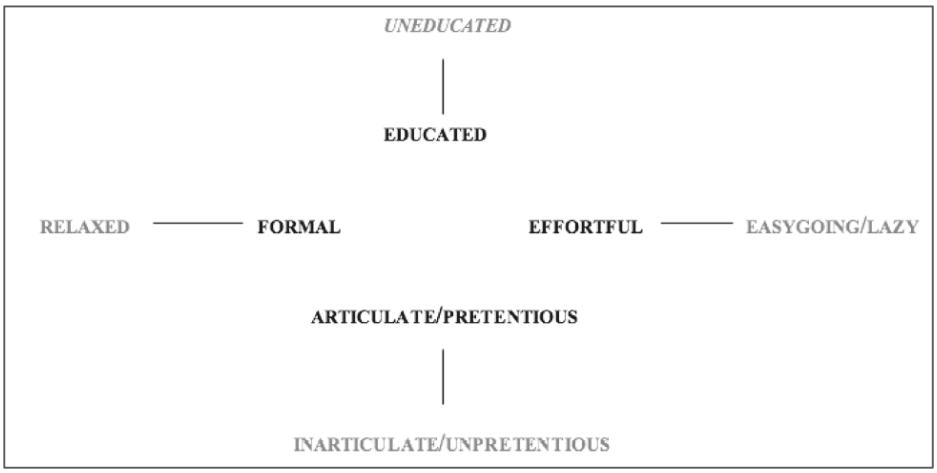

Figure 2: Indexical field of (ING), Figure 3 in Eckert (2008: 466); black = meanings for velar variant, grey = meanings for the apical variant.

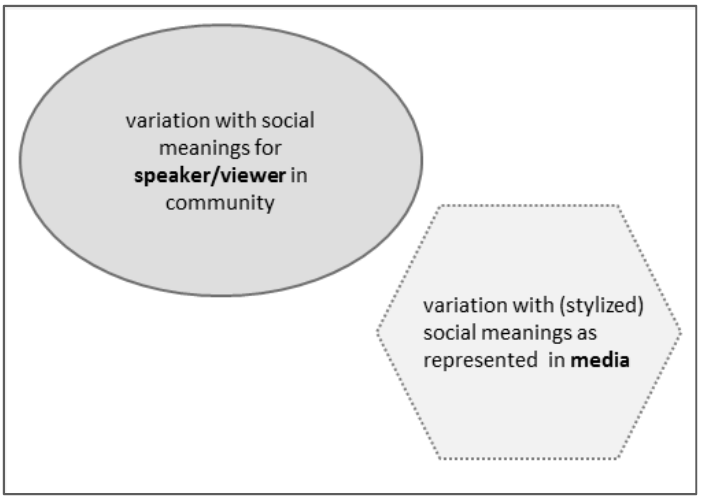

Figure 3: Schematic representation of indexical fields of meaning for variation within community, solid line, and as represented in media drama, dotted line indicates stylised/simplified nature of meanings.

personal experience of participating in social interaction; see schematic representation in Figure 3.

Social meanings in represented media language are likely to overlap with language in the community because of the inherently reciprocal nature of media texts/scripts deriving from 'natural language', and at the same time pushing and extending these meanings forward (Coupland 2007: 184f.; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005). Bucholtz (2009: 288) also observes that media representations of stance-taking through language can simplify indexical relationships, as in advertising, and that this can speed up linguistic appropriation of media fragments (e.g. the spread of the catchphrase 'whassup?'). Our suggestion is that enhancement of existing linguistic variation might occur for some speaker–viewers when there is both congruence in linguistic structure, and when their own indexical fields overlap in some respects with the stylised meanings/indexical fields represented in the media text.

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF TH-FRONTING IN *EASTENDERS*

A proper testing of this suggestion requires a comprehensive interactional analysis of the role of innovative features in our Glaswegian informants, compared with that on TV. Here, we take a first step towards this goal by carrying out a functional analysis of one feature, TH-fronting, as it occurs in a sample of *EastEnders*. Our data collection period took place during the first ten weeks of 2003. At this time, audience ratings placed it amongst the top ten programmes for almost all of the weeks. The sample analysed here consists of five episodes selected towards the end of our data collection period. The range of characters selected for analysis were both those mentioned spontaneously by our informants, and those who were at the time popular characters with strong story lines.

Our initial analysis of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* established a clear distribution of [f] according to gender, with male characters using [f] far more than the female characters, see Figure 4. The subsequent functional analysis coded the 27/64 instances of TH-fronting in five different categories, representing different aspects of the interaction and dramatic scene:

- sentence type
- location of characters
- number of persons present
- relationship with the interlocutor
- emotional and/or dramatic content (affect)

Only a descriptive analysis is given here due to the low and imbalanced numbers of tokens for each coding category. The quantitative results are shown in Figures 5–9; paler bars indicate categories for which less than five tokens were coded.

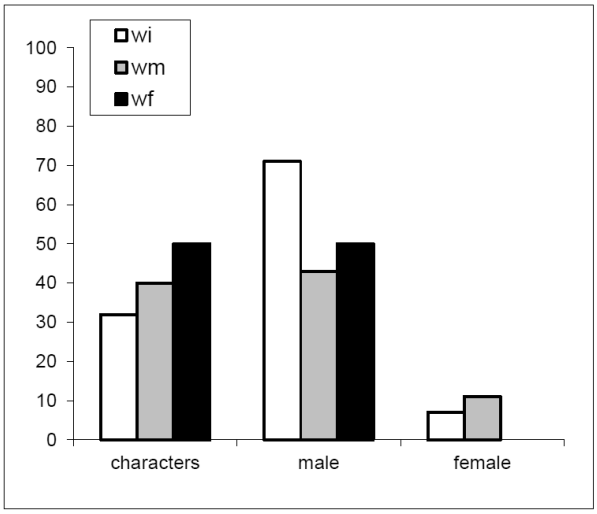

Figure 4: Average proportions of TH-fronting according to position in word (wi = word-initial, wm = word-medial, wf = word-final) for all characters, male characters and female characters in EastEnders (n = 135).

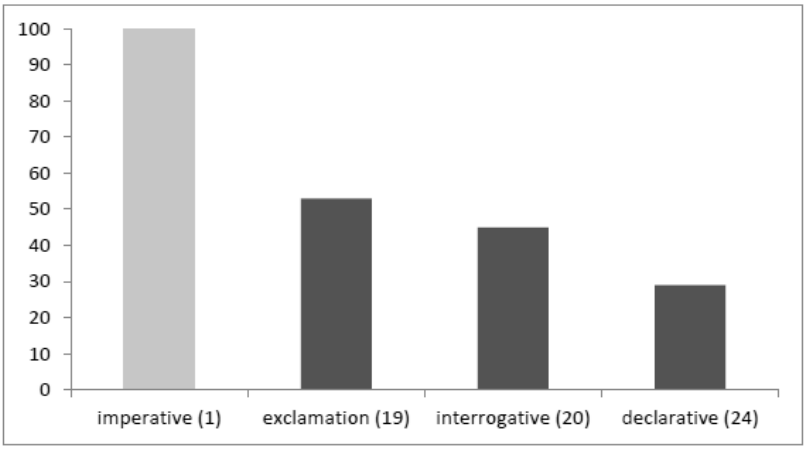

Figure 5: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by sentence type.

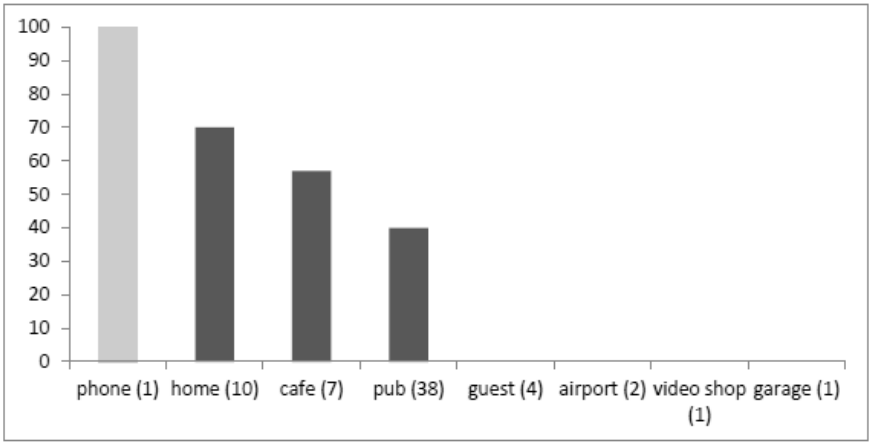

Figure 6: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by location of characters.[13]

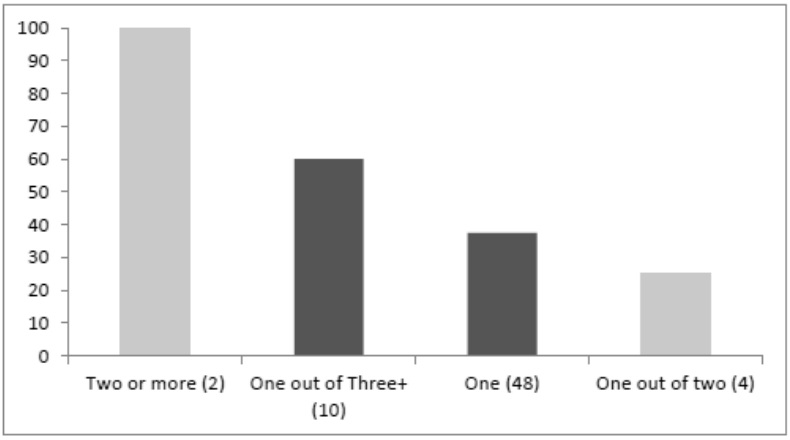

Figure 7: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by number of interlocutors and others present in scene.

[13] Here 'phone' = refers to a situation where the character was talking at home but on the phone to a caller, as opposed to another character who was physically present.

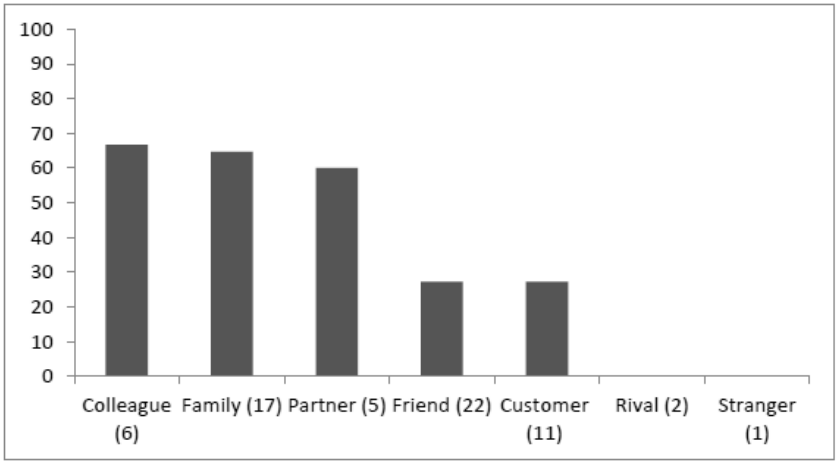

Figure 8: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by relationship with interlocutor.

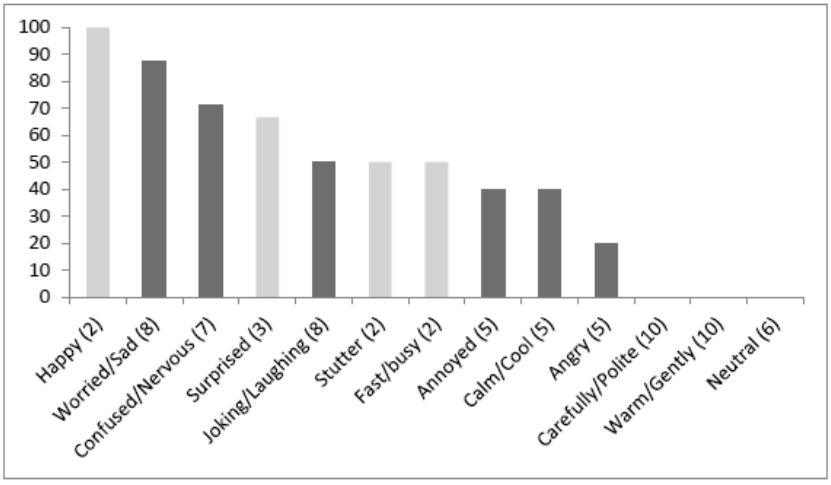

Figure 9: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by emotional and/or dramatic content.

Use by sentence type shows that [f] occurs more in emphatic utterances and questions, than in declarative sentences (Figure 5); the only imperative also shows [f]. By location (Figure 6), TH-fronting is never found when the characters are in someone else's house, in the garage, in the shop, or at the airport. It is more frequent when the character is at home, but also occurs during scenes set at the cafe and in the pub; the single instance on the phone (at home) shows [f]. The distribution according to number of interlocutors and others present (here we were thinking not only of direct addressees but also those further away, cf. Bell 1984) shows that [f] is used more when the character is one of a group of three interacting (also when two or more characters are present). It is also found in more intimate scenes with only one other interlocutor (Figure 7).

TH-fronting varies according to the relationship that the character has with the interlocutor (Figure 8): [f] is more common with colleagues, family members and/or their partner, than with friends or customers. It isn't used at all when talking to a stranger or a rival (token counts are also low for these two types). Finally, Figure 9 shows that use of [f] differs according to the emotional content of the utterance in which the variable occurs. Considering those affective states for which more than five tokens occurred, we can see that TH-fronting occurred most when the character was worried or sad, and confused or nervous. It was also in jokes and when the character was laughing. [f] was also used, though not so much, when the character was annoyed or angry, or when they were calm/cool. It did not occur at all when a character spoke warmly or gently, or in careful, polite or speech with neutral affect, possibly representing a shift towards the standard.

Illustrations of these quantitative results, often overlapping, are given in the following extracts, which are all drawn from scenes from the same episode, in the speech of the 'hard man' character, shady garage owner, Phil, who was starting to fall for Kate, a policewoman:

1.25: *Phil is talking sadly to his mother, Peggy at home, about how he can't reveal his dark past to Kate*

Phil: If I do tell Kate about me, what'll 'appen then. I mean you know some of the stunts I've pulled in the past. I might scare her off.
Peggy: You don't tell her you lose her anyway.
Phil: So **bo[f]** ways I lose out!
Peggy: Phil, Kate knows you're no choir boy!
[f] coded as: exclamation; home; one interlocutor; family; worried/sad

3.25: *Phil is talking to Kate at home, after a glass has smashed on the carpet. The mood is light, but tension remains as Phil strives to impress Kate, but also ensure that she doesn't find the stolen cash hidden in the freezer.*

Kate: Oh, strike!
Phil: Here, do you **[f]ink** mum will notice?
Kate: Em, not if you panel-beat it!
Phil: You gonna stay for something to eat?
Kate: Yeah, why not? I haven't got any other plans!

[f] coded as: interrogative; home; one interlocutor; partner; joking/laughing.

5.28: *Phil in pub greeting his new girlfriend, Kate, nervous because she arrived late for his birthday party, and he fears that she's discovered his past.*

Phil: So what happened then?
Kate: Sorry I got held up, unfortunate manicuring accident, blood everywhere, you don't want to know the details.
Phil: You **[f]ink** it's funny? I've been worried!
Kate: Have you?
Phil: Yeah.

[f] coded as: interrogative; pub; one out of three; partner; nervous

5.40: *Same scene as above, Phil is now talking to Kate alone, still nervous.*

Phil: I **[f]ought** I'd, er, done something you know, blown it.
Kate: Like what?
Phil: I dunno, being too pushy? I like you, Kate.
Kate: And I like you, I like you a lot, I just don't wanna rush things, okay?
Phil: Okay.

[f] is coded as: declarative; pub; one interlocutor; partner; nervous

This first analysis is limited in a number of ways, not least because it captures aspects of potential meanings for TH-fronting through static analytical categories, as opposed to any kind of dynamic conversation and/or discourse analysis of the interaction represented, not only aurally but also visually, in the scene. However these results and examples are interesting, because they suggest that the distribution of this variable is structured within the drama, not just at a large category level of gender (Figure 4), but also at the level of 'doing gender', i.e. how the represented character Phil is 'being Phil', as he moves through his life and relationships. For

example, the extracts show that Phil, the 'hard man', uses [f] consistent with his social persona (violent past, criminal present) and at the same time, as a man falling in love, nervous that he might be found out by his new girlfriend, policewoman Kate. He is more than a social type (male, working-class, tough), he is also a person who can respond to different social contexts, deal with awkward situations, display emotion, and so on.

The nature of the scripted dialogue entails relatively little speech, often with more emotional content than might be expected in usual discourse given the need to entertain and sustain the audience's attention (Buckingham 1987).[14] So the result is a stylisation of 'normal'/'emotional' discourse, in which TH-fronting is one of the linguistic mechanisms at play. A corollary is that the variants [f]/[θ] themselves can be seen to create a kind of stylised indexical field of social meanings, through which a small number of instances of [f] index both a social type, and emphasis and display on the one hand, and intimacy, sadness/concern, and gentle humour on the other.

Even these few extracts demonstrate the complexity of the contexts, and the social and affective meanings portrayed, during which [f] appears for (th) in Phil's speech. This and the descriptive statistics shown in Figures 5–9 also suggest some systematicity in the connections of social meaning and stance-taking constructed within this very small sample of episodes from this drama, pointing to the construction of a stylised indexical field. Coupland (2007: 171f.) discusses how existing linguistic variation can accrue and develop new social meanings through shifting media representations. It seems likely that stylised indexical fields attaching to linguistic variation constructed by the broadcast media may also adjust, reinforce and add additional dimensions to speaker–viewers' own indexical fields, since they constitute additional ways of experiencing language ideologies, albeit indirectly (Coupland, pc; cf. Milroy and Milroy's 1985 discussion of how media raises social awareness of linguistic variation). This probably includes extension of indexical fields through more extreme dimensions with iconic stereotypes such as Catherine Tate's truculent schoolgirl character, with her catchphrase, *bovvered* as in *Am I bovvered? I ain't bovvered* discussed by Coupland (2007: 173–4), which may also extend to specific variants, here [v] for (dh) (Coupland, pc). It also seems implicitly present in indirect/nth order indexical relationships which move beyond direct indexing.

But even if the media contributes to indirect extension of indexical fields of social meaning, we return again to the difficulty here that only a few features show changes linked with the broadcast media, and that only certain speakers who show

[14] The producers of *EastEnders* told us at an early stage of the research that there were no directions for pronunciation other than for the actors to express their characters. TH-fronting and other variants are not marked in the script.

strong psychological engagement to *EastEnders* show increased use of [f]. Hence we suggest that a critical factor must be congruence in linguistic variation and social meaning and/or stance-taking, where 'congruence' is determined and driven by the speaker–viewer's own personal experience of participation in real-world interaction, continuously interlinked with sustained emotional experience of indirect social-indexical meanings portrayed within the media (the description is static but processes are likely to be reciprocal, complex and non-linear). It is not clear whether this requires the speaker–viewer to be an active user of a variant with an overlapping stance/social meaning, and/or to have witnessed it during interaction, or even to have a need/desire at some level to express a similar stance and/or construct an aspect of their social persona. Also, many other individual speaker characteristics are likely to be important as to whether an individual might achieve a productive mapping (e.g. Yu, Abrego-Collier and Sonderegger 2013).

STYLE AS A KEY FOR MEDIA INFLUENCE

Represented phonological variation for TH-fronting in *EastEnders* patterns systematically, indexing – albeit in a necessarily stylised fashion – an array of social meanings, relating to context, interlocutor and personal affect. The claim here is that as the Glaswegian vernacular speaker–viewer parses the dramatic interaction as it unfolds before them, they unwittingly use their own frames of social and linguistic reference to 'make sense of' all aspects of the drama, including the fine-grained phonetic variation. If there is sufficient congruence from their own real-world experience/knowledge of both linguistic variation *and also* stance-taking, social meaning and/or shared language ideology in some way, also indirectly from media experience (it isn't yet clear exactly how), this may translate into media influence. One way of expressing this is through an exemplar perspective: the speaker–viewers' stored memories of variation gain more weighting/validation/resonance, leading to increased activation/production in their own speech when encountering a similar sociolinguistic context requiring stance-taking and/or stylistic variation.

So in this particular case, there may be overlaps in linguistic structure and social meanings held by Glaswegians and represented in the soap opera characters, which facilitate enhancement of the innovative variant [f], especially for those who engage in strong para-social interaction with the drama and whose own personalities allow for such receptiveness. We do not know exactly what these overlapping meanings are, but the increase in TH-fronting in stylistically 'liminoid' contexts, such as reading a wordlist, and/or taking a particular stance towards the task and the fieldworker, may reflect aspects of shared indexicality with e.g. Phil's increased use of [f] for emphasis and display. Exploring more nuanced overlaps in meaning would require

proper analysis of our informants' own usage of [f] within their personal interactions.

This view of media influence assumes that there are fundamental similarities between the appropriation of larger linguistic chunks from the media, and the acceleration of 'smaller', more embedded structural linguistic features. Specifically it assumes that style, in terms of variation indexing a range of stances, social functions and/or personal states, for both audience and as represented on screen, is key to understanding the role of media 'influence' on language in general, and that at least some of the same mechanisms that apply to media fragments, also pertain to speech as well. There are also key differences noted above (in the section 'media influence and the indexical field'), which likely relate to the nature of speaking/interaction itself, as well as the nature and storage of linguistic elements along the open–closed class dimension, which is still far from well understood, and may be more gradient than it appears (Pierrehumbert, pc). At least for now, structural variation which is promoted by the media does not seem to be generated by the media but exists already within the individual/community grammar, and hence the speaker–viewer's own stored representations which are enhanced.

Stepping back, this kind of perspective on media influence on spoken language which translates into the speaker–viewer parsing media texts, aligns with current views from critical reception studies of 'active audiences' on the one hand (e.g. Curran 1996), and cognitive psychological media effects research on the other (e.g. Gunter 2014). Previous work has shown how direct indexical links between language and stance-taking then underpin indirect indexical links for social types (Kiesling 2009; Ochs 1992), and, in turn, how the construction of micro-social relationships and meanings underpin macro-social categories (Eckert 2000). The indexical field provides conceptual threads of meaning of different kinds running in many dimensions from the micro/local points of interaction to the macro/supralocal, more abstract categories. It also enables us to conceptualise how local and supralocal meanings can be linked through overlapping indexical fields in the community and as portrayed in the media (which themselves reflect and construct the community).

Finally, making these connections through style as a 'base', bridges some of the gaps between observed – and accepted – appropriation at the level of discourse, and the more puzzling relationships between strong psychological engagement with TV and structural linguistic variation. A fundamental similarity of this kind also makes it seem likely that models of media influence which assume 'broadcast' (Sayers 2014) and 'filtering/resonance' (Stuart-Smith 2014) may both be required in order to describe processes which may be more congruent than they first appear. After all, at some level speakers must be using the same linguistic and social architecture to interact with the world in which they exist. It will take much more research at all

levels, from fine-grained, structural 'variationist' sociolinguistics, to broader, 'interactional' sociolinguistics, to piece together what really constitutes 'media influence', but it seems highly likely that style bridges many gaps in many ways.

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Styling street credibility on the public byways: When the standard becomes 'the dialect'

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AIM AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND[1]

Certain genres of audiovisual media – news reading in particular – have of tradition been strictly regulated in the Nordic countries[2]: the idea that certain radio and TV genres can be trusted to (re)present 'the best' language has been generally accepted throughout most of the 20th century. With the advent of what has become known as late modernity, with an appeal to democratization, this view has been challenged in many subfields of broadcast media, but variably so in the different Nordic countries. (For an overview, see Kristiansen and Coupland 2011.) Thus, in Nordic communities like Swedish-language Finland, the idea that especially the news media represent the standard is still a very viable view.

According to the findings of the MIN Project (see e.g. the articles in Kristiansen and Sandøy 2010), the different speech communities in the Nordic countries have very different understandings of the importance of standard languages, and of how standards are expressed. Attitude studies within the MIN Project showed the importance of distinguishing between explicit, conscious opinions, and implicit, subconscious attitudes: people may explicitly express one opinion, but implicitly entertain even the opposite attitude towards standards, and towards language contact and language change. Thus, Mattfolk (2011a, 2011b; Mattfolk and Kristiansen 2006) shows that in a matched-guise test on Finland Swedes' subconscious attitudes, the informants consider English words in a Swedish context to have a positive effect, whereas when informants were asked directly in an opinion poll or in an interview,

[1] I am hugely indebted to the participants at the Copenhagen Round Table meeting on *Sociolinguistics and the Talking Media* in June 2014 for extremely interesting discussions on the topic of this study, and specifically to Jacob Thøgersen, Nik Coupland and Janus Mortensen for lucid, intriguing and inspiring comments on earlier versions of the study.

[2] With the general term 'Nordic countries' I here refer to what is generally known as Norden – Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland plus the semiautonomous Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and the Åland Islands, and additionally Sápmi. The 'strict regulation' here refers both to the expectations of the public, and to the internal manuals produced by the broadcasting companies for their journalists in the Nordic speech communities.

they explicitly responded that they would like English words that come into Swedish to be replaced by Swedish words.

Despite the large number of language planning organizations and language policy decisions in the Nordic countries and elsewhere, it remains unclear to what extent these have (had) a direct influence on the direction in which languages move, and on language change generally. But it is becoming more and more commonly accepted that much of language change takes place on a subconscious, implicit level – on the level of attitudes and ideology. (For discussions, see Kristiansen 2010; Östman and Thøgersen 2010.)

When people in the broadcast media express themselves in public, the knowledge that there is an audience 'out there' will influence their language. In the sociolinguistic literature, these modes and 'audience-designed' ways of doing and speaking are typically talked about in terms of styles and of processes of styling (cf., e.g. Bell 1984; Coupland 2007; Eckert and Rickford 2002). Such styling can naturally be done very explicitly and strategically, in attempts to present oneself as a particular kind of person with a particular kind of authority. The expression of one's style can, for example, be done explicitly by choosing particular lexical items or by making conscious pronunciation efforts. At the same time, elements of subconscious styling can be either a residue of characteristics of one's own variety (elements one has not managed to do away with in attempts to change one's persona), or as characteristic features that one subconsciously starts using when taking on the role of a particular persona, accommodating towards a holistic picture of that persona. Often these two facets of implicit styling converge, (re)presenting a particular identity or a relationship. Whether styling has a role to play in language change is also a matter of debate, as well as a matter of definition.

The present study takes these three fields of study – the public media, styling, and ideology – as three perspectives on (social and linguistic) change. This is done through an analysis of dialects in public space, in particular, of the way dialects and dialectal characteristics are represented publicly by people other than language scholars. The dialect data come from different Ostrobothnian dialects of Swedish, spoken on the west coast of Finland. The material analysed is dialect writing in song texts on the respective artists' CD-covers and homepages, and patterns of verbal expression in homemade videos on sites like YouTube. The time period investigated spans the last 30-plus years. The study falls within the general realm of media discourse, based on a definition of 'media' as any publicly or semi-publicly available communication. As performers, the artists can be expected to present themselves in certain ways – in order to remain artists, i.e. in order to be successful in communities with very few members (and thus with very few concert-goers and record buyers). In particular, the artists have to make a point of claiming to be authentic representatives of – in this case – the Ostrobothnian communities, distancing

themselves from Others (cf. Coupland 1999). Who the Others are will, however, change from one time period to the next.

The study argues that dialect writing and the actual performances of the dialect have changed in consonance with social changes in society. The characteristics of written dialect are styled in order to speak to, and thus be credible and express authenticity with respect to, the general sentiment of the (youth of the) particular period in which the songs are made public. Detailed linguistic analyses reveal that a distinction can be made between the strategic (explicit, conscious) and the implicit (subconscious) styling that is to be found in the texts. It is further suggested that it is the subconscious expression that is in consonance with the linguistic change in the respective speech communities to which the artists belong.

On a more general note, the study seeks to understand the *sociolinguistic change* that is realized as a gradual shift in what social values are ascribed to dialects; and more concretely to comprehend what is happening in the Ostrobothnian communities, and thereby project an understanding onto what is happening in other similar 'minority' communities with respect to standardization, levelling, and regionalization.

SWEDISH IN FINLAND

According to its constitution, Finland has two national languages, Finnish and Swedish. I will talk about Swedish-language Finland ('Svenskfinland') to refer to the traditional areas where Swedish has been used throughout the centuries. 'Standard Finland Swedish' officially does not exist, since Swedish in Finland is to follow the norms of Swedish in Sweden, especially so in writing. But differences in pronunciation, in prosody, and in the lexicon (e.g. due to differences in the differing bureaucracies in Finland and Sweden) are long-standing and well known. Still, a standard of Swedish in Finland has been codified, as a common variety, with a fairly high prestige[3]; this variety is also often referred to as, precisely, 'Standard Finland Swedish' (cf. Östman and Mattfolk 2011; on criteria for a 'standard', see Auer 2005.). The standard for spoken Finland Swedish is the common, codified, prestigious variety heard in the public service broadcast media (i.e. especially in news readings on radio and TV; for a recent discussion, see Stenberg-Sirén 2014). This standard is very much a reading-of-the-writing variety.

According to traditional dialect classifications, there are over 80 (rural) dialects of Swedish[4] in Finland. These have of tradition been grouped into four major dialect

[3] Its prestige has also grown in Sweden during the last decade.

[4] Dialectologists in the north of Europe see the dialects of North Germanic, a.k.a. Scandinavian, as a dialect continuum stretching all over Norden. Calling a North-Germanic dialect a

areas: Ostrobothnia (Sw. *Österbotten*), Åland, Åboland, and Nyland. The Ostrobothnian dialects are the focus of this study. Dialect identity is of tradition very strong in Swedish-language Finland, both in relation to one's own specific dialect, and with respect to belonging to, say, Ostrobothnia rather than to any of the other three areas. The relations with respect to both dialect-specific, and dialect-area varieties are typical 'us' vs. 'them' relations, in the understanding of Larsen's (1917) concept of *naboopposition*, 'neighbour opposition'.

The social change that has taken place on the Ostrobothnian countryside is that virtually all dialect users were farmers up until the 1960s. The child boom in the aftermath of WWII saw a new generation growing up in the 1960s and 1970s, with other ambitions than staying farmers. Even though industrialization in the form of strong entrepreneurship also evolved in the rural communities, it did not affect the communities at large, where all types of work had been equally respected. After Finland joined the European Union in 1995, 'globalization' hit the Ostrobothnian countryside forcefully. For ordinary farmers this meant that their possibilities to make a living in their home communities in the countryside diminished severely. In the 2000s, the Ostrobothnian countryside was part of the general global media boom (both in terms of getting access to the 'new' media and because satellite TV became a concrete possibility[5]). An additional important aspect of social change in the (Swedish-language) Ostrobothnian countryside is that the beginning of the present millennium has seen a growing social conscience against the extreme-right movement in Finland, which supports a nationalistic one-language-one-nation view, with Finnish being the 'one language'.

DIALECT WRITING IN SONG TEXTS

Dialect writing has been actively practised in Ostrobothnia since the early 20th century, mostly in the form of poems, (usually fictive) newspaper stories and ads, and short stories[6]. Local theatrical performances in dialect have been around at least as long: traditionally, these theatre performances included songs, where a tune popular at the time was used as the music, and local, dialectal texts replaced the original

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dialect of Swedish or a dialect of Norwegian may thus very often be irrelevant and even inappropriate. Nowadays, town varieties ('stadsmål') are also considered on a par with the traditional dialects, thus making the number of 'traditional' varieties of Swedish in Finland close to 100.

[5] 'Glocally', many rural communities and municipalities started their own TV broadcasts, but despite a huge initial interest, their function has remained at a symbolic level.

[6] The most famous dialect-story writers include A. J. Nygren, at the beginning of the 20th century, and Lars Huldén, who is still active.

texts; today we would call these 'covers'. The dialectal texts to these songs were not written down for posterity, and they could change from one performance to the next. At the end of the 20th century, CD-manufacturers and singer-songwriters started enclosing texts of their songs with the music. This practice was also taken up by those dialect performers who were encouraged (and financially supported by, for example, the local bank) to produce MC-cassettes, and later CD-records. That is, dialectal texts to songs were not publicly available before the last decades of the 20th century, and not many of them have been preserved. The issue of whether the texts discussed in this study are representative of song texts in Ostrobothnian dialects is to a large extent a nonce issue until the 2010s. Before that, the ones I discuss are the only ones there are.[7] But because they are so few, 'everyone' in Ostrobothnia would listen to them and get acquainted with them, and would possibly get influenced by them.

The test-hypothesis for this study is that the development and change we see in dialect writing over time mirror – or, as we shall see, partly constitute – changes in the Ostrobothnian community, and can be (directly) related to developments and changes in the Finland-Swedish, Finnish, and European communities at large. On the basis of what we know about the cultural history of Ostrobothnia, a further hypothesis is that any form of dialectal manifestation, such as public dialect texts, helps support and create identities that keep dialect ideologies alive. Thus, being authentic is at the heart of this identity-building process and of the relationship between the community and its artists.

In order to get a practical hold on language change in dialectal writing in the Ostrobothnian community, I will talk about the development in relation to three 'stages', mirroring to some extent the changing ideals – and ideologies – of the youth in the community and how these ideals have changed. Rather than actually being separate sequential 'stages', the three stages of development are of course more like three parallel perspectives that characterize different generations and their views on life.

In search of 'the genuine'

At the first stage (covering the late 1900s), a 'genuine' dialect is aimed for, continuing the Ursprache idea that dialects are old, and that we will know who we really are if we go as far back as possible. I see two sets of artists as representing this stage: (1) Lasse Eriksson and Anders Teir, and (2) Håkan Streng. On the basis of

[7] Obviously, I do not discuss all the texts that exist, but rather representative examples by the artists who have produced texts in dialect.

their dialectal song texts[8], coupled with the actual songs and the artists' pronunciations of the dialect in the songs, we can say that Eriksson and Teir attempt to produce (and thereby preserve) a conservative Närpes dialect (sÖB)[9], with special emphasis on more or less exotic sounds, e.g. the voiceless [ɬ], which is written as <hl> in their song texts. But Eriksson and Teir represent other characteristic Närpes features very unsystematically (e.g. vowel/syllable length) or not at all (the retroflex l, [ɽ]), and especially high frequency words are written as in standard Swedish. Dialect poetry in Ostrobothnia has a long tradition (cf. Wiik and Östman 1983), and there thus exists a format that is fairly well-known in every village. This format is also used by youngsters in Närpes today (cf. Greggas Bäckström 2011), but the manner of writing can vary considerably.

Extract 1 shows both the overuse of words containing <hl>, and the use of standard Swedish ways of writing, e.g. <stor> [stu:r] for e.g. <stoor>. In this short extract, the word *jähle* would possibly be pronounced with a voiceless [ɬ] by older speakers of the Närpes dialect, but most of the other instances of <hl> in the extract would typically today be pronounced with [sl] – mirroring the standard Swedish way of writing. The more unusual, seemingly exotic pronunciation with [ɬ] is thus used as a symbolic identity marker of the Närpes way of speaking by the artists who in this manner stylize a presumed conservative version of the Närpes dialect. (For a general discussion of [ɬ] in Närpes, see Ivars 2015: 135).[10]

Extract 1: Parts of the song *Jähle*[11] ('The Fence') in the Närpes dialect (sÖB) by Anders Teir and Lasse Eriksson.
Interpretation-translation by J.-O.Ö.

Jähle, han läitar jähle	Fences, he's looking for fence parts
ti jäl runt foårän	to put up a fence around the sheep
så di halls ilag.	so they stay together.
Nählor,	Nettles
he vex pipnählor	there grow pipe-nettles

[8] Eriksson and Teir's texts are available online at their own, official website at http://www.niesbycity.fi/betan.html.

[9] The Ostrobothnian dialect area is traditionally cut up into three, northern Ostrobothnian (nÖB), middle Ostrobothnian (mÖB), and southern Ostrobothnian (sÖB). The names of the specific dialects – here, 'Närpes' – are given in the text in the way they are traditionally referred to in Finland-Swedish dialectology. There are also Ostrobothnian dialects of Finnish (to the east of the Swedish-language areas); these are not considered in this study.

[10] All the transcripts are given in the form the texts were written on the CDs, etc. Thus, not only the spelling, but also commas, quotation marks, etc. are original.

[11] The song is set to the tune of *Pour Toi*, composed by Louis Gasté and made famous as *Feelings* with lyrics by Morris Albert.

å stor brännhählor	and big stinging [literally: burning] nettles
åv alla di hlag.	of all kinds and types.
…	
”Ja hlitär an i hlimsor”,	‘I will tear him to pieces’,
säir Birger ti hlut.	says Birger finally.

Let us focus on the rendering of [e] and [æ] in the song texts, since there is variability in how written standard Swedish <e> and <ä> are pronounced in different varieties of Swedish. /e/ and /æ/ are phonemes in standard Finland Swedish (since there are minimal pairs like [le:ra] ~ [læ:ra]). It is more difficult to find minimal pairs in the Ostrobothnian dialects, but the two are phonetically quite distinct, and the general Swedish morphophonemic rule of having [æ] before [r] holds true. Thus Teir and Eriksson write <-är> (phonetically [ær]) in <hlitär> [sli:tær/li:tær] where the standard spelling would be *sliter*. But they also use <ä> [æ] in order to indicate the stereotypical ‘broadness’ of the pronunciation of the Närpes dialect, as we see in <nählor>, written *näsown* in the standard, but pronounced [ˈnes:ˌlor], and in <foåräin> (also with the non-Old Norse, ‘secondary’ diphthong [-uo-] typical of sÖB[12]), *fåren*, standard [fo:ren].

At this time period there was very little social engagement in the dialect texts. As in traditional theatrical performances, comedy, humour and entertainment were in focus. It is, however, important to note that humour and comedy are the traditional tools for expressing social criticism in this area (cf. also Östman 2011, 2016).

We see more or less the same thing[13] in Håkan Streng’s way of writing dialect – exemplified in Extract 2.

[12] In North-Germanic dialect studies, secondary diphthongs refer to innovations that were not diphthongs in Old Norse. However, since many of the secondary diphthongs in Närpes diverge markedly from the standard, it is commonly believed that such diphthongs indicate that the dialect is a very old dialect. This conception, in turn, can be used as a basis for exoticizing the secondary-diphthong feature.

[13] To be sure, it is not at all ‘the same thing’ that takes place, since what we see in Streng’s writing is a realization of levelling, where the standard writing system has a stronger influence than in the texts of Eriksson and Teir. This distinction between Eriksson and Teir on the one hand and Streng on the other is dealt with in Östman 2011, and on a more general level with respect to the distinction between regionalization and levelling in Östman 2008. Non-linguistic support for saying that Streng uses a more levelled, standard-influenced form comes from the fact that Streng had an earlier career as a musician in the fairly famous band *Trio Saludo,* which was established outside of the dialect community (and which did not sing in dialect), and with members from other parts of Swedish-language Finland.

Extract 2: Parts of the song *I Grööngräsi på Heimbacka*[14] ('In the Green Grass on the Home Yard'), rendered in the Pedersöre dialect (nÖB) by Håkan Streng.
Interpretation-translation by J.-O.Ö.

Gambä heimstaan e noo sä liik,	The old hometown looks the same
tilåme Haldins busstrafik.	Even the bus company Haldin's.
Ja stiger åå bussn	I get off the bus
å mamm å papp kåmber imoot mä.	and Mom and Dad approach me
Ja skådar neer et gato, tä springer Ulla,	I look down the street, there runs Ulla
me kassn full ååv Snellmans bulla,	with her shopping bag filled with bakery-products from Snellman
he e gullot i grööngräsi på Heimbacka.	it's lovely in the green grass in the Home yard [literally, 'hill']

Whereas Eriksson and Teir give a dialectal phonetic rendering of present tense endings in accordance with the pronunciation in the dialect (cf. <hlitär>), Håkan Streng[15] uses a more levelled variant in his representation of the Pedersöre dialect (nÖB), a rendering close to the standard: <kåmber> for [ˈkomːˌbær], standard Swedish *kommer* [komːæ(r)].[16] Thus, Streng seemingly sometimes uses <ä> as eye-dialect for [e]; cf. <mä> in Extract 2 as compared to his pronunciation, which is close to [me]. (On eye dialect, see e.g. Shorrocks 1996.) Streng does not represent palatalization in writing (cf. his standard-Swedish writing <känn> for [ɧɛnn]). By mostly rendering stereotypical exceptions to the standard in the texts, Streng also exoticizes the dialect.

The kind of dialect writing we find exemplified in Extracts 1 and 2 illustrates a strategic attempt by the artists to connect to the ordinary farmer-listener in the village, using the resources available, i.e. styling for the purpose of maintaining a particular village identity. But although both Eriksson and Teir, and Streng are part of their respective communities, they have higher community ranks (as teachers-performers-administrators, and as a national singer, respectively) in their respective communities than the ordinary farmer in the field. So while the performances are instances of strategic styling towards the 'genuine', the way texts are written is also influenced by subconscious choices – with a mixture of the standard (cf. frequent function words like <alla> 'all', dialect [all]; <han> 'he', dialectal [an] in Extract 1

[14] *Green Green Grass of Home* by Claude Putman Jr.

[15] Cf. his own website at http://strengsong.com.

[16] The comparison is, however, not as simple as this since the distinction between [e] and [æ] is not as clearly phonemic in the northern parts of ÖB as it is further to the south, in sÖB.

by Eriksson and Teir) and the traditional dialect writing systems as default[17] starting points. And even though Streng makes conscious attempts in Extract 2 (e.g. using dialect features like syncope: <kassn> [kas:n] for (Standard Swedish) *kassen*, 'the shopping bag') to tie his song texts to the local community, his subconscious default language is – as we see from the discussion above – (written) Standard Finland Swedish.

Breaking away

We see that authenticity is really a relative notion in what takes place around the turn of the century, when the negative effects of Finland having joined the EU became clear for people in the countryside. Gradually, a need to break free arose: a demand to start trusting yourself came to the fore. In one respect it was a further development of something that had already started in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when large municipality schools were created to cater for the ever-increasing child boom after WWII, that is, when people started believing that there is a future for Finland after all. Before this, pupils in Ostrobothnia who wanted to go further in their education than the village school had to either travel (back-and-forth) very long distances (up to 50 km one-way) by public bus every day to the nearest town (e.g. to Vasa), or rent an apartment in the town. In the town schools, the pupils and teachers from the town ruled, and pupils from the countryside had to adapt linguistically – often experiencing less pleasant situations because of not speaking 'properly'. When the new big schools outside the bigger towns were created in the newly enlarged municipalities in the early 1970s, the municipalities organized bus rides, and pupils from different local villages, with different local dialects, came together. But none of the pupils were higher in rank than pupils from other villages. In these schools, new, regional standards were created (which were different from the town standards), and the pupils received an education on the same terms as their fellow pupils, irrespective of what village or area they came from.

This educational reorganization naturally took time for it to have a lasting effect, but by the turn of the millennium – and coupled with Finland joining the EU – we see as one result that a postmodern, deconstructive, chaotic 'super-diverse' manner of expression gradually evolved in dialect writing. Regionalization took over as a kind of anti-levelling.[18] The dialectal song texts had now become an acceptable

[17] I here use 'default' as a pre-theoretical notion to refer to speakers' subconscious, dynamic and ambivalent way-of-speaking resources that lie closest at hand in a particular situation and that speakers (can) fall back on.

[18] That is, from the point of view of dialect writing, texts characteristic of this stage work against the kind of levelling we have seen in Extracts 1 and 2 in the decades before. The phenomenon has elsewhere been described as the emergence of *supra-local varieties* (for an

manner of written communication, and not only for pure entertainment purposes, but also in order to express social engagement (as against the earlier stage described in the previous subsection). Extract 3 is sung by a group called Triio Peeråsetsi.[19]

Extract 3: Parts of the song *Pissrennå*[20] ('The Pee-Gutter'), rendered in the Karleby (Kokkola) dialect (nÖB) by Sture Lågland of Triio Peeråsetsi. Interpretation-translation by J.-O.Ö.

Om man dricker alltfö mytsi, …	If you drink far too much, …
…	
Ja int ere naa roolit ti gaa jer runt	Well it's not that much fun to walk around here
Fö he kan koma i böxunaa, jaa vann e pissrennå	'cos it can come in the trousers, so where's the pee-gutter
Ja hitta int hedi stelle miin	I can't find that place of mine
Ja måsta fara bakom buskå diin	I have to go behind your bushes
Fö ja hadd drutsi allt fö mytsi,	'cos I had drunk far too much,
ja vaaltså pisstreng	I had a terrible urge
…	
Men int va ja eismend ter	But I was not alone there
Fö tii va all tömdii aader å	'cos there were all the others, too

Some of the most prominent linguistic characteristics in this extract are the phonetic-like (but not exaggerative-exotic) transcription the writer uses as dialect writing. The graphic representation is very unstable, even in the same song. For instance, he uses a variety of means to attempt to capture the very special system of affricates in the dialect (cf. e.g. Wiik 2002); cf. the consonant clusters in <mytsi> and <drutsi> in the extract; in other song texts we find e.g. <steitzi>, <ryddji>, <bergji>. He sometimes uses <x>, sometimes <ks> to stand for [ks]; [kː] is sometimes rendered as <kk>, sometimes in standard-Swedish fashion as <ck>. The topics dealt with in the Triio Peeråsetsi songs are chaotic, anti-EU, and anti-establishment. The group clearly strives for social authenticity and street credibility in a postmodern fashion, with a styling that supports a general ideology of vernacularity. This might, at first sight, seem qualitatively different from the more traditionalising ideology we saw in the previous subsection, but the age and lifestyle of the audience is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same; the 'world' has changed.

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overview of the literature, see Britain 2010), but in dissonance with other studies I follow Östman 2008 in not characterizing this as a form of levelling.

[19] Cf. the group's official website at http://www.dlc.fi/~stoick/peero_swe/ index.htm.

[20] *Yellow River* by Jeff Christie.

The postmodernity and deconstructivism comes even more to the fore in the song texts of the band 1G3B (sÖB)[21]. 1G3B goes even further in order to break with traditional dialect representation. In particular, the irregular is given a prominent place, but as such it creates a coherent symbiosis with the contents in their post-modern deconstructive texts. An example is given in Extract 4.

Extract 4: Parts of the song *Korvin Ruular* ('The Sausage Rules'), rendered in the Närpes (sÖB) dialect by 1G3B.
Interpretation-translation by J.-O.Ö.

Di je tåff di je hård	They are tough, they are grim
di je pöjkan som grievär e stort hål	they are the boys who dig a big hole
rett nier, för ti kom liängär nier	straight down, in order to get further down
…	…
å hon stånkar å hon svättas å hon tjempar	and she pants and she sweats and she fights

1G3B use extensive borrowing from other languages (e.g. <ruula> 'rule', <nakupelle> Finnish 'naked guy'), and they call their hard rock music 'dung metal'. We can almost see a sign of eye-dialect in their rendering of the first, stressed vowel in 'boys' as <pöjkan>, an exaggerated Närpes-manner of pronouncing [ˈpoikan] with a more open and more central, stressed vowel.[22] The first, stressed vowels in <svättas> and in <tjempar> are pronounced virtually the same in the dialect, but rendered differently, clearly again with a little leeway for the typical 'broadness' of the Närpes dialect. In <nier> and <liängär> the secondary diphthongs (cf. the discussion of Extract 1) are rendered phonetically, and the [æ] in the present tense suffix is variously rendered phonetically, as in <grievär> (standard Swedish <gräver> [gre:væ(r)]), and variously according to standard Swedish writing, as in <löper> [lø:pæ(r)] ('runs'; not in the extract).

What we see here is a strategy I will call reappropriation as styling. The songs are no longer covers, and the dialect texts are there to create identities within the slogan of 'language and culture always go together'. In their youth culture, anything goes: the dialect culture is taken over by the youngsters (as members of the dialect community themselves) and made into their own thing – through and with the texts (and the music). The traditionally negative view on dialects from the outside is being appropriated, and turned into something positive, into Dialect Power (cf.

[21] Cf. their official web site at http://www.1g3b.com.

[22] Cf. the reference to the 'broadness' of the Närpes dialect in the discussion of Extract 1, above.

Black Power, Deaf Power). But in addition, we see in 1G3B's texts a strategy where the view on dialect performance of the earlier 'traditional' style, which is closely related to farming, is being reappropriated.

At this stage in time social engagement also forcefully enters the scene. It is typical of dialect users in Ostrobothnia to be critical, and self-irony has always been relatively strong in dialect pop. As Finland joined the EU, depopulation of the countryside increased drastically, and in the 21st century the status of the farmers and new breeds of cows[23] also became an important topic in dialect pop.

Changes in the countryside created demands to take a stand on socially important questions, but this was all done with what looks like humour. However, what may seem like slapstick to an outsider is not so in the eyes of the farmer; humour is by tradition the dialectal way of expressing one's criticism. The dialectal texts create identities not only through their humour, but also indirectly through the manner in which they are written down for the target community. If language and culture are seen to belong together in a complete symbiosis, dialect-pop texts can be used to help make the dialect and its culture into something that is part of one's 'self', part of one's ideology and identity. With dialect texts, there is (a) the possibility to affect one's concrete listeners via shared knowledge of what can be presupposed in the community; (b) the possibility to be credible and authentic; (c) the possibility to share matters with members of one's in-group; and maybe, through all of this, (d) the possibility to change the world (i.e. the global) by starting small (in the local).

A number of theoretical and methodological implications can be read into this: since changes in dialectal contexts do not take place in a vacuum, we can get a deeper understanding of the essence of standard language ideologies by looking at dialectal realizations in society. The dialects also go through change, and at least on the Ostrobothnian scene, the ideology of the importance of dialects is retained, but the realization (here: in pop texts) of the dialects changes. This echoes Mattheier's (1998) concept of demotisation, *Demotizierung*, referring to situations where what seems like destandardisation are really the emergence of a new – albeit different – standard, at the same time as the ideology of the importance of having a standard is retained – cf. also Kristiansen (2003) in relation to 'high' and 'low' varieties of Copenhagen speech.

[23] Cf. Triio Peeråsetsi's *Svart Hååråå Kuddå* 'Black-Haired Cow', sung to the music of Peter Green's *Black Magic Woman*.

Getting glocalized

The discussion in the previous subsection takes us to the end of the first decade of the 21st century. During the last five-or-so years we have seen a move from a 'super-diverse'[24] (i.e. chaotic, very local) manner of expression, to an explicit dialect-identity-creating function of dialects in today's liquid, 'sub-diverse' society. 'Sub-diverse' in this context refers to a subsumed, constrained diversity, a dialect identity that is not too bothered with dialect as speech, but more with dialect as (cognitive) place (cf. Auer et al. 2013; Cresswell 2004). This is the age of late-modern liquid modernity (cf. e.g. Bauman 1992). This is the step after postmodern deconstructivism, where chaotic social awareness becomes explicit community involvement. The youth is becoming part of the community, subordinating itself to the standard, to 'ordinary life', but by so doing, getting out of self-colonization[25]. Dialect Power has become *Hurrarpower*[26]. And on that road, the Ostrobothnians have become more integrated into a worldwide liquidity on their own terms. They have become glocalized.[27]

A Band Aid type of get-together of artists calling themselves *Artister för tolerans och öppenhet*, 'Artists for tolerance and openness', made a song called *Vår tid – Vårt Land*, 'Our time – Our Country' in 2011.[28] The artists, Nina Lassander, Fredrik Furu, André Linman, Paradise Oskar, Redrama, Frida Andersson, Geir Rönning, Ville Pusa, Elin Blom, and Krista Siegfrids were the top young artists in Swedish-language Finland at the time. Parts of the text are given in Extract 5.

Extract 5: Parts of the song *Vår tid – Vårt Land* rendered in Finland Swedish by Artister för tolerans och öppenhet.
Interpretation-translation by J.-O.Ö.

Jag hamnade tillbaka på mammas gata	I got stuck in my home [literally, Mom's] street
Kan jag samla tankarna som mamma prata	Can I gather my Mom's thoughts

[24] On superdiversity, see Vertovec (2007), Blommaert and Rampton (2011).

[25] Following a suggestion by Helge Sandøy, I use 'self-colonization' (or 'mental colonization' in Sandøy 2004) to refer to the practice of deciding by oneself and for oneself what (little) one has the right to wish for, what is the most one can achieve.

[26] 'Hurrare' is the pejorative term used by Others to refer to Finland Swedes generally.

[27] Theoretically, I thus see the term 'postmodernity' not as an erroneous denomination, but as a transitional stage between modernity and liquid modernity. See, further, the section on *Styling in dialect renderings of songs*, below.

[28] Cf. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KwS-WxJN_Ws&feature=endscreen&NR=1.

Kan jag byta språk jag babblar samma	Can I change language I speak the same
Jag ser int någon ankdamm	I can't see any Duck's Pond
Jag ser samma flagga	I see the same flag
Samma gamla diskussioner bara samlar damm	The same old discussions just gather dust
Hur kan det nappa om det kallas pakkoruotsi, joo	How can it work if it's called forced Swedish, yeah
Jag ser händer i taket från Karis till Kuopio	I see hands [stretched] to[wards] the ceiling from Karis to Kuopio
Sen pohjanmaan kautta	[Finnish:] I drink to that
Ei ne vastusta	[Finnish:] They won't mind
Vi är här på mammas gata	We are here in our home [=Mom's] street
Kanske går i farsans spår	Maybe we'll walk in Dad's footprints
Hur länge ska folk orka tjata	For how long are people going to continue nagging
Om fädersland och modersmål?	About fatherland and mother tongue?

Much of the importance of the song is in the contents of what the artists are singing, but if we concentrate on dialect, we will find that each artist uses his/her own variety of Swedish (Finland Swedish or Sweden Swedish), one has a Norwegian background (Rønning/Rönning) and uses Norwegian, one is a Finnish speaker (Pusa) and uses Finnish, the hard-rock singer (Linman) from the band *Sturm und Drang* uses English, the rapper Redrama raps in Finland Swedish.

The text is filled with Finland-Swedish locutions ('Finlandisms') that Finland Swedes are warned against using – since, the argument goes, if we continue using them, speakers of Sweden Swedish might not understand what we are saying. Examples of such Finlandisms in Extract 5 include lexical/phrasal items like *på mammas gata* ('at home', literally 'in mother's street'), *ankdamm* ('Swedish-language Finland', literally 'duck pond'), pronunciations (apocope reduction) like <int> for *inte* ('not'), pragmatic particles like <joo>, and morphosyntactic expressions like <Jag hamnade tillbaka på mammas gata>. Their strategic default language is thus Swedish, but with spoken Finland Swedish as another socioconscious[29] default. From the point of view of the song as a whole, i.e. the work of art, the code switching into other 'Nordic' varieties is strategic, but from the point of view of each artist there is no code switching – only knowledge that the primary audience is Finland Swedish.

[29] The term 'socioconscious' has been used by Mattfolk (2011a) to indicate the activity of interviewees to respond to questions the way they think somebody from e.g. a university would like them to respond.

What is of particular interest from the point of view of public performances and styling is that an overall language-status change seems to have taken place in and by the performance and release of this particular song and its text: spoken Finland Swedish becomes 'the dialect' – from having been the language of expression of 'the (Finland-Swedish) standard'. I thus want to argue that this process is not dialect levelling or, indeed, dialect death. Rather, my interpretation of 'dialect' is one where dialect and culture go hand in hand, where dialect is associated with place (as against space), and where speakers' (folk) perception of what is a dialect therefore is crucial. Granted this expanded conception of 'dialect' (which is e.g. backed up by the increasing use of different varieties of Swedish on the national radio channel *X3M*), this process is remarkable from a Finland-Swedish point of view and even questions the relevance of keeping up the traditional opposition between 'the Ostrobothnians' and Finland Swedes in 'the South' of Finland.

Part of this development is clearly due to a conscious and general Finland-Swedish opposition against views expressed by the extreme right (political party) in Finland, who among other things wants an all-Finnish Finland. Thus, Finland Swedish as a means for 'fighting back', irrespective of which dialect (area) or standard one represents, becomes a representative of the fight for one's rights (as a minority).

On a general level, we can say that this is what youngsters are expected to do as the younger generation they are: they need to rebel. The artists thus took their responsibility and spoke out, joining together all of Swedish-language Finland to face its present challenges. Through the text and the way they wrote it, they showed that anybody's language is just as good as anybody else's. As it turned out, this song was not just a one-off thing; the kind of singing and text writing has continued, especially so by artists like Fredrik Furu, Frida Andersson, and Alfred Backa.

Although it is perhaps unclear to what extent the styling into Finland Swedish took place subconsciously in Extract 5, this is much more clearly the case in Fredrik Furu's song *Finlandsbarn,* 'Children of Finland'[30]. Here, the text *is* the song[31], with all its allusions to Finland Swedes fighting in the wars for Finland's independence. Furu uses a Sweden-Swedish pronunciation with e.g. (post)alveolar fricatives; he uses Finland-Swedish dialectal locutions like <längs med vägen>, 'along the road'; he uses Finland-Swedish archaic forms or hypercorrections (which is typical of dialect speakers speaking/attempting to speak standard Swedish), as in <en himmel besatt i brand> (*besatt* for *satt*), 'a heaven set on fire', and <i kläm emellan en brand och ett stormande hav> (*emellan* for *mellan*), 'caught between a fire and a storming sea'.

[30] Cf. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rdo4KKGjwU4.

[31] That is, only the text (white text on black background) together with the music were displayed in the YouTube video.

Fredrik Furu is consciously styling into Sweden-Swedish pronunciation when he sings.[32] This is particularly interesting, since this is something that Finland-Swedish dance bands used to do in the hope of making it in Sweden – and it was often looked down upon by the more revolutionary youth. But now it is even acceptable to sound Sweden-Swedish if you are a pop singer aiming for street credibility in Finland. This could not have happened without the language and the dialects having first gone through a stage of postmodern chaos. However, in his manner of writing (pop texts), Furu is subconsciously styling in Finland Swedish, with his general default language being simply 'Swedish'.

A further testimony that a change has taken place over the last five years is the song *Varför lät vi Svenskfinland dö?*, 'Why did we let Swedish-language Finland die?', as originally performed by the stand-up comedian Alfred Backa (northern mÖB) in February 2011. In May 2014 he uploaded a revised version of the song on YouTube.

In the 2011 version Backa was simply having fun, probably thinking that he exaggerated what he was singing. He used Sweden-Swedish pronunciation, even dance-band Swedish, coupled with dialectal features (<tystna> (standard Finland Swedish *tystnade*), <fira> (standard Finland Swedish *firade*); he pronounced the <-d-> of *adjö* [adjø:] and *nu* as [ny:]. The vowel in *lät* was pronounced more open than in the standard (the unclarity of the phonemic status of [e] and [æ] in the area easily allows for this variation): *Varför lät* [læ:t] *vi Svenskfinland dö?* And content-wise, he ends by saying that the reason Swedish-language Finland died was the miserable song he just sang. In 2014 he seems to have realized that the 2011 song was not an exaggeration. Much had happened on the political scene, and the extreme right-wing party was receiving ever more support in political elections. The text is orthographically still much the same, but the song is now performed in ordinary standard Finland-Swedish. The standard (Sweden- and Finland-) Swedish <inte> is pronounced as a Finlandism, i.e. as [int]; <slutade> as [slʉ:ta]; <adjö> and <nu> more according to the (Sweden- and Finland-Swedish) standard as [ajø:] and as [nʉ:], respectively. The vowel in *lät* in the title is now more closed, in accordance with the Finland-Swedish standard: *Varför lät* [le:t] vi *Svenskfinland dö?* In addition, there are portions in Finnish and in Russian, and content-wise the song ends with 'the day we stop making fun of ourselves and our linguistic situation is the day Swedish-language Finland dies'.

[32] True, he lives in Sweden at the moment, so some aspects of his Sweden-Swedish pronunciation might be unconscious, but he naturally also has full command of his Ostrobothnian variety.

STYLING IN DIALECT RENDERINGS OF SONGS

In the discussion in the previous section, I have used styling to refer to participants' 'ways of speaking'. That is, through their choices of style, speakers project different social identities and create different social relationships. Style is then, broadly, the repertoire the artists have available to themselves, and through styling they can make ambivalent choices and innovative uses of (elements in) this resource – choices and uses which can be fitted into or, indeed, which can create, contexts.

But repertoires can be of several types. In the analyses above, I have made reference to, primarily, a distinction between strategic and subconscious styling, proposing that the explicit vs. implicit distinction (cf. Östman 1986; 2005) is also a useful distinction to be made in the study of style and styling. We know it is an important distinction generally, since it is primarily in relation to the implicit/subconscious 'level' of communication that language change takes place. This has been shown in many sociolinguistic studies, in pragmatics research, in studies on language change generally, and in the study of (explicit) opinions vs. (implicit/subconscious) attitudes. (For earlier work on opinions and attitudes in Swedish-language Finland, see in particular Mattfolk 2011a, 2011b; Mattfolk and Kristiansen 2006; Östman and Mattfolk 2011.)

I have also argued that since these publicly available texts are instances of media, media discourse generally adds an 'overhearer' to the conscious and the subconscious; this is what Mattfolk (2011a) refers to as the element of the 'socioconscious'. I thus suggest that the most crucial aspect of styling for identity (in the sense of durable, long-term social identification) is likely to be styling in its subconscious shape, since here it has the potential for instigating, partaking in, and resulting in language change.

Applied to the analyses of the texts in the previous section, I have shown that at the end of the 20th century, the dialect performances were instances of strategic styling into the dialect, coupled with instances of eye-dialect; but the subconscious styling rested on the use of standard Finland Swedish as the default. In the first decade of the 2000s, there was a conscious appropriation of Others' negative views of dialects, turning the situation into something positive; and subconsciously, there was a styling, or reappropriation of the view on dialect performances of earlier traditional ways. And in the current 2010s, the strategic default is Swedish, and the subconscious default is the spoken Finland Swedish standard, the 'new dialect'.

It is important to note, though, that all these 'stages' remain viable for different groups in the speech community, creating a positive ambivalence in society at large, and enforcing a liquid modernity that manifests itself as a subsumed (i.e. constrained) diversity in minority communities. Minority communities have always been 'super-diverse' (e.g. they have had to be more ambivalently and amoebicly

multilingual than not in order to survive), but superdiversity is not an essentialist end result: variability and adaptability is always at the heart of all languaging. On the basis of the data presented here, if superdiversity is anything, it is a transition stage.

CONCLUDING WORD

This study has shown some of the different ways in which language can be used as a tool for identity creation, and for identification. The dialect writers' particular purposes at the various stages (as discussed in the analyses) have perhaps changed a little over the years, but they have remained more similar than not. Dialects do change, but interrelationships between varieties and social values change even more: the linguistic means for artists to achieve their specific goals have changed, and the ideologies behind the choice of the linguistic means used, I argue, are best seen as sociolinguistic changes, as the process of a set of parallel strategic and subconscious choices.

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The style and stylization of old news reading in Danish

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INTRODUCTION: MEDIA AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Like the other contributions to this collection, this chapter will discuss the interplay between language change and 'talking media'. By 'talking media' I mean broadcast media in which spoken language is used. The role of 'talking media' in language change is contested, both in terms of its effect and in terms of the means by which this effect may be exerted. Views range from the popularly held belief (in Denmark at least) that TV is a primary force of language change to Chambers' (1998) blanket refusal of media's role in language change. The question of *how* media may have an effect on language change is often discussed in Milroy's (2007) terms of 'off the shelf' vs. 'under the counter' features. 'Off the shelf' features are highly salient, typically words or phrases picked up and used constructively by language users. Media have long been admitted to provide 'off the shelf' features for language users, and thus to provide material for language change. It is argued, however, that the significance of these changes is negligible because they are not part of the core grammar of the language. 'Under the counter' features on the other hand, may be core features of phonology, syntax etc. These are far less conspicuous to language users. Language change exerted by 'under the counter' features disseminated through media is considered more linguistically significant; it is however also more contested whether such an effect is present (see Coupland 2014a and the special issue of *Journal of Sociolinguistics* in which it appears for elaborate discussions of these issues; see also the introduction to this volume for an elaborated discussion). Writers who argue that an 'under the counter' effect is in play (e.g. Kristiansen 2014a, 2014b; Ota and Takano 2014) propose that the overall effect on language change is one of dialect levelling and standardization. It is, however, rarely specified exactly how standardization through media is supposed to occur on the level of the individual (although see Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014 for a discussion). Why do speakers (deliberately or not) change their language style under the influence of the language they hear through media?

Speaking from a position within media studies, Gerbner et al. (1980) argue that broadcast media work to 'mainstream' the audience, minimizing variation in viewers' attitudes and world views by repeatedly presenting them with a mainstream norm: "[t]elevision's images cultivate the dominant tendencies of our culture's beliefs, ideologies and world views" (Gerbner et al. 1980: 14). It is not that viewers are brainwashed into mindlessly accepting one particular view on the world, but the breadth of ostensibly 'sensible' views on a matter is being narrowed, *mainstreamed* in a word. Viewers who already share the world view(s) of the media are subject to "resonance": "when what people see on television is most congruent with everyday reality (or even *perceived* reality), the combination may result in a coherent and powerful 'double dose' of the television message and significantly boost cultivation" (Gerbner et al. 1980: 15).

Applied to language variation, then, Gerbner et al.'s theory would imply 'mainstreaming' of language variation. No medium can ever represent the entire range of possible language variation. *Some* selection and de-selection is always in effect, whether it be de-selection of L1-accented speech, of speech which is deemed in some way functionally impaired (lisped, hoarse, etc.), or whether it be selection and de-selection of certain social and regional varieties. Broadcast media's limited range of spoken language styles may come to mainstream the possible range of legitimate official language; and language users who already accept this view (and speak one of the styles), are confirmed in their conviction. The actual breadth of variation in the language spoken of the talking media of course vary from one time-frame to another and from one speech community and/or nation state to another. Speaking in broad terms, we would expect relatively larger homogeneity in nations like Denmark and Great Britain, nations traditionally holding strong 'standard language ideologies' (Milroy 2001) compared to e.g. Norway (see Nesse this volume). Similarly, the 1950s are typically seen as an era of very strict linguistic standardization within Denmark and Britain, whereas standards appear to be more lax today, both in terms of actual linguistic variation and in terms of language attitudes (see Thøgersen and Kristiansen 2013). In other words the mainstream will have been narrower at some historical times and places than others. However, at all times a selection of approved speakers does occur. Some speakers are chosen to lend official voice to the broadcasters, others are deemed so far off the mainstream that they require interpretation or subtitling.

On a more abstract level, Gerbner et al.'s theory of *mainstreaming* and *resonance* may be applied to language attitudes and the indexical values of varieties, as e.g. sophisticated, naïve, snobbish. It is the underlying premise of this chapter that the Danish National Broadcasting Corporation (DR) has played and is playing a role in mainstreaming the indexical values of different language varieties. It does not do this alone. The schools, for example, have played a similar role (as analysed by

Kristiansen 1990) in implicitly establishing dialects as unsophisticated and improper for public communication and insufficient for individuals with aspirations beyond the most local area, and the Copenhagen-based standard as the only sophisticated language variety which should be adopted by ambitious students.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: On the one hand it will present a longitudinal study of phonological change within a language variety with indexical values of formality and correctness, *viz.* that of news reading. On the other hand it will present stylistic performances of a style I will refer to as 'old news style', or simply 'old style', as used within a satirical frame. The overarching aim is to show the permeability of language styles and indexical values by showing how a performance which previously indexed seriousness and formality is now perceived as hyperformal to the extent that it is used for comedic effect; and how, on the other hand, the style that indexes formality and seriousness is also open to (slow) innovation of new features. The claim is that media thus participate in a sociolinguistic change, i.e. a change in "the relationships between language and society" (see the introduction to this volume).

STANDARD LANGUAGE AND THE NEWS

Denmark and the Danish language community may be taken as a prototypical example of Milroy's (2001) 'standard language culture'. The uniformity of Danish is well-established and increasing (i.e. the dialectal differences are relatively small and diminishing). As documented by Kristiansen in a number of studies, only two varieties of Danish hold some degree of status: The conservative Copenhagen-based standard which is associated with affluent speakers in a traditional class-based society is evaluated relatively positively in explicit evaluations surpassed only by each location's local variety. In implicit evaluations, a modern, traditionally working class, Copenhagen-based standard which is associated with the 'dynamism' of a modern 'media society' is evaluated more positively. Language varieties which deviate from these perceived standards are generally discredited and ridiculed (e.g. Kristiansen 2003; Pedersen 2003).

The popular narrative of Danish (in particular spoken Danish) is a story of decay. Danes in general consider Danish to be a particularly ugly, illogical, difficult and largely dysfunctional language; and they are supported by popular commentators on language in the view that younger generations are vandalizing the language with their sloppy language use. As a case in point, *Modersmål-Selskabet*, a private campaigning group which aims to "promote clear, expressive and varied use of the language" (http://www.modersmaalselskabet.dk/vedtaegter/), i.e. promote conservative standard norms, has around 500 members (out of a total population of 5.6 mil-

lion) (chairman Jørgen Christian Wind Nielsen, personal correspondence), and the state and status of Danish has at times even been a matter for parliamentary debate and several ministerial enquiries (e.g. Lund 2004, 2008).

Against this backdrop, the language of certain media has taken on a special status, not least because of the historical media landscape of the country. Denmark had a radio (and later TV) monopoly from the establishment of the National Broadcasting Corporation, *Danmarks Radio* (DR), in 1925 until the late 1980s. The DR was deliberately modelled on the British BBC with respect to its public service agenda of popular education and promotion of fine arts and with respect to seeing itself as a model for 'good' language (see Michelsen 2015; Svendsen 2015 for discussions of the DR; and Mugglestone 2007; Schwyter 2008 for discussions of the BBC). Of course, this language-ideological stance is familiar in other contexts as well (see e.g. Moschonas 2014, for comparable Greek examples; Moschonas and Spitzmüller 2010 for a comparison of Greece and Germany; cf. also Bell's 1983: 29 view that: "In many countries, the language of the broadcast news is regarded as the embodiment of standard speech").

So large has been the success of the DR in establishing itself as upholder of 'good' language norms, and so strong is standard language ideology in Denmark, that the DR's requirement to use language of "high quality" is even defined as a legal demand (Danish Ministry of Culture 2011; Thøgersen and Kristiansen 2013). Interestingly, the previously mentioned *Modersmål-Selskabet* acknowledges the status of broadcast media *vis-à-vis* the standard language in their statute which contains a clause that instructs the organisation to "constantly remind mass media about the importance of using a, clear, intelligible and varied language" (http://www.modersmaalselskabet.dk/ medlemskab/).[1]

In this view, particularly high demands are put on 'serious' media genres such as news reading, which are expected to represent the most 'correct' (i.e. conservative) pronunciation and style in the language community (see e.g. Breidahl and Ree 1940: 159; Lund 1992; Thøgersen 2011: 186). The DR have published several language manuals, aimed at employees but also popular among 'ordinary' Danes. These (e.g. Albeck 1942; Skyum-Nielsen 2008) are remarkably stable in their prescription. Reading only these guides, one could be forgiven in thinking that (serious) media Danish had changed very little since the 1940s (see also Cotter 2014 for a similar argument about Associated Press's style guidelines).

[1] The term 'varied' (*varieret*) would seem to suggest the opposite of the standard language ideology, an ideology of non-standardization. In this context, however, I believe it draws upon the underlying assumption that the standard language (and its middle class speakers) master a wider stylistic range and is appropriate for a wider range of discourses than 'inferior' languages like the Copenhagen working class sociolect.

Apart from the issue of pronunciation of (English and French) loan words, two phenomena have raised particular awareness: One of these, treated in depth by Heegård and Thøgersen (2012, 2014), is that of syllable reduction in polysyllabic words, known popularly as 'swallowing syllables' or 'cutting off endings', or in Skyum-Nielsen's (2008: 432ff.) word, *stavelseskannibalisme* 'syllable cannibalism'. In spite of prescriptivism, Heegård and Thøgersen found a marked increase in the degree of syllable reduction over six decades, in part, presumably, as a consequence of the fact that the rate of speaking has increased up to 50% depending on the measure used (Thøgersen 2011).

The second major theme of prescriptivism concerns the pronunciation change popularly known as 'flat a', or in more general terms with another of Skyum-Nielsen's neologisms: *vokalforurening*, 'vowel pollution' (2008: 355ff.). The Danish /a/ phoneme has two bound allophones dependent on the linguistic context: [ɑ] before labials and dorsals and [æ] in all other contexts. Length is phonemic in Danish, complicating the matter and resulting in the precise definition of 'flat a' varying from author to author since they don't agree whether only short vowels can be 'flat' or whether long vowels can be 'flat' as well. For the purpose of this discussion, I will treat long and short /a/ together and focus on the common point of all definitions, that 'flat a' is a markedly raised pronunciation of the allophones (æ) and (æ:), to roughly around [ɛ], although exact phonetic quality must be taken with a grain of salt because the pronunciation is gradually changing, as will be apparent. I will leave the question of the (sub)phonemic status of the variable and simply discuss it as a sociolinguistic variable and therefore use the notation (æ) for the variable from now one.

The 'flat a' pronunciation appears to have started in Copenhagen in the middle of the 19th century – the first mention seems to be in a comic strip from Copenhagen cartoonist Fritz Jürgensen from the 1860s in which one young female speaker says to another (referring to a young man): *Gud! Caveline! hørte Du hvad han sæh?*, 'My God! Caroline! Did you hear what he just said?' The 'flat a' is indicated by *sæh,* a monosyllabic pronunciation with raised (æ) compared to standard bi-syllabic spelling, *sagde*. The spelling *Caveline* (for *Caroline*) seems also to illustrate non-standard pronunciation.

To Jürgensen, [ɛ] pronunciation seems to have been indexical of young female Copenhagen speakers. In the 20th century the raised pronunciation of (æ) seems to have lost its female connotations. When professional linguists took an interest in the phenomenon in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Brink and Lund 1975), it had come to be indexical of (adolescent) Copenhagen working class speakers of both sexes. Being associated with urban youth, it is perhaps not surprising that 'flat a' was condemned in quite strong terms: "Vi maa inderlig ønske, at Tidens skandinaviske Strømning kunde hjælpe til at udrydde den uhyggeligt tiltagende æ-udtale (i Gade og glade), en

ildelugtende Svamp i Sproget", 'We sincerely wish that the Scandinavian movement of our times may help eradicate the terrifyingly increasing [ɛ]-pronunciation (in *gade*, *glade*…), a stinky fungus in the language' (philologist Brøndum-Nielsen, 1940, quoted from Jacobsen 1973: 176). Well into the 1970s speech therapists considered (æ) raising to be pathological and potentially a sign of deep-rooted psychological problems. Analyzing the Copenhagen dialect of a young man, Vanggaard (1970: 82–83) describes his (æ) pronunciation as *fordrejet*, 'distorted', and concludes that, because of this vowel and his other Copenhagen dialectal features, he was 'unable to speak in a relaxed way or express any emotional impulses', *[h]an kunne ikke hvile ud, medens han talte, endsige udtrykke en sjælelig impuls* (see also Kristiansen's 1990 analysis of speech therapists' pathologization of the Copenhagen dialect).

Needless to say, then, raised or flat a is not the kind of feature one would expect to find in news readings. The purpose of the next sections is to show how flat a, or more precisely phonetically raised pronunciations of (æ), does in fact find its way into news reading. Crucially, however, the indexical value of a given phonetic utterance and the boundary between 'normal' and 'marked' (æ) pronunciation is constantly shifting.

Silverstein (2003) uses the concept of 'indexical orders' to describe how new social meanings are layered on older ones to modify the core social value of a feature. I am not, however, certain that the sociolinguistic change we are witnessing here is best conceptualized through the 'lamination' or 'sedimentation' metaphor inherent in 'orders of indexicality', or whether it is better captured in the Jakobsonian idea of 'markedness' (e.g. Bybee 2010). In this context, it seems as appropriate to speak of a feature losing its indexical value (of working class inner city speech) as to speak of a feature being ascribed new indexical values (of neutrality, standardness, etc.). However we conceptualize the change, the sociolinguistic consequence is that news readings almost by definition use 'the standard' (cf. also the quote from Bell above); whatever is in the news must be within the standard. Consequently, the indexical value of [ɛ] and [æ] respectively are being re-negotiated, as it were, opening the way for [ɛ] in formal speech and lending new social meaning to [æ] (see also Thøgersen 2013, Thøgersen and Pharao 2013 for more elaborate discussions).

PRESCRIPTIVISM AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Comparing the actual pronunciation of radio newsreaders in a longitudinal study with the pre- and proscription of language manuals shows that newsreaders' language has in fact changed in spite of prescription. Restricting the discussion to the

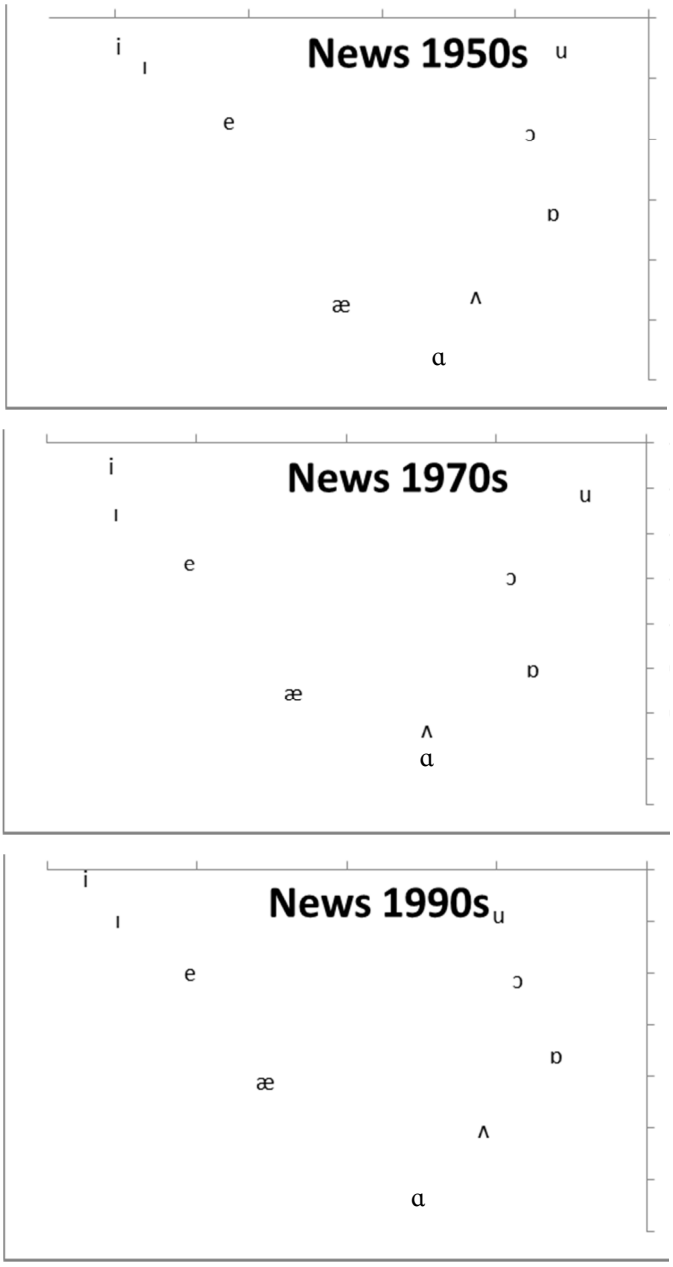

Figure 1–3: F1/F2 plot of vowels in authentic news readings from the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s (Lobanov normalized)

flat a, Figures 1–3 show F1/F2 formant plots of a subset of Danish vowels produced by around 40 newsreaders spanning 5 decades (1950s to 1990s). Each speaker's vowels are normalized using Erik Thomas and Tyler Kendall's NORM suite (Thomas and Kendall 2012). The purpose of the normalisation procedure is to eradicate differences that are due to the physiology of the speaker and not (socio)linguistically relevant. The formants are extracted using a semi-automatic procedure (described in Thøgersen and Pharao 2013). The calculations are based on 1948, 561 and 2756 vowel tokens respectively.

Two vowel changes are particularly noticeable. One occurs with the (æ) vowel, the condemned flat a. The (æ) rises from a low-front to a mid-front vowel over the period. The other is the (ʌ) vowel which is first fronted and then backed. The apparent changes with the (u) vowel may be an artefact of the semi-automatic procedure. It proved very difficult to get reliable measures of (u) with this method which often collapsed F1 and F2 or mistook F2 for F1. Because of these problems (and the smaller data set) a manual procedure was used for the subsequent formant measurements shown below.

PERCEPTION OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

An aspect of language change which is sometimes overlooked is the perceptual element, i.e. whether language users are able to perceive the phonetic changes that have occurred or are occurring. In order to judge whether Danes in the early 21st century are aware of the language changes in radio news readings of the 20th century, I played a number of single words (41 words, mean length 520 ms.) to two classes of first-year university students with no training in linguistics ($n = 72$, mean age $\approx$ 22 years). Figure 4 shows the students' estimations of the decade in which the word token was spoken with true decade on the x-axis and mean estimate on the y-axis. The correlation between real and perceived age is high and highly significant, Spearman rho=0.63, $p<0.001$. Figure 5 shows the margin of error of the guesses, and Figure 6 shows the margin of error accumulatively, indicating how 23% of the guesses were correct, 62% were 1 decade or less off the correct age, etc.

This experiment shows that young Danes with no special training in linguistics and no specialist knowledge of language change are quite capable of estimating the broadcast decade of a piece of news reading, even if this news reading was performed several decades before they were even born. This raises the question of what this tacit knowledge is based on, or in other words what features of the sound files the young students were basing their judgment on. One immediately noticeable difference between new and old recordings is the sound quality of the recordings.

Recordings from the 1930s were recorded on wax records with equipment of far lower quality than the equipment used since the 1950s.

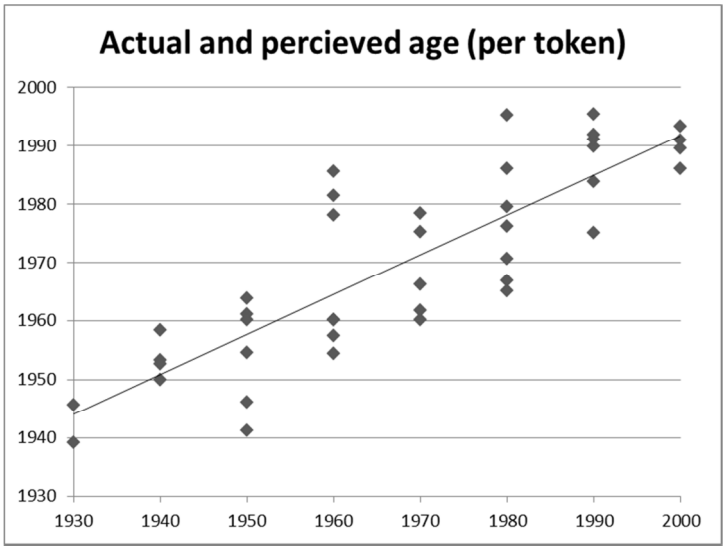

Figure 4: Correlation between true age of word tokens from news readings (x-axis), and the mean of the age perceived by students (y-axis).

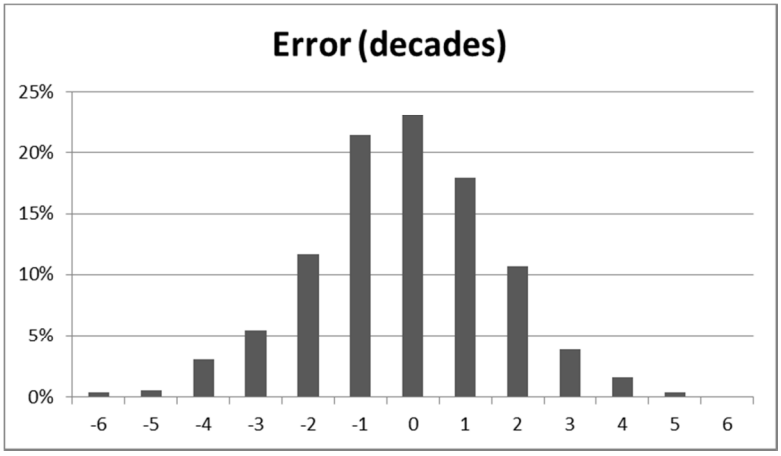

Figure 5: Margin of error in the perception of age of word tokens from news readings. Negative values mean that tokens were judged too young, positive that they were judged too old.

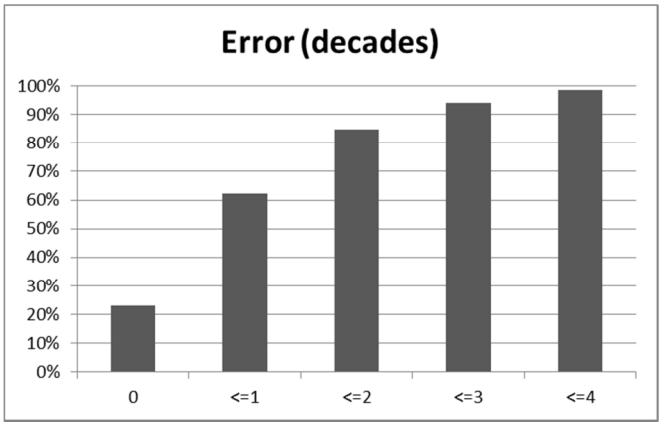

Figure 6: Margin of error in the perception of age of word tokens from news readings. Cummulative frequencies

With the introduction of reel-to-reel tape recorder in the 1950s, quality differences becomes far less of an issue. Even old tapes are free from the tell-tale clicks and pops of wax records, and although they may sound a little muffled compared to modern recordings to the discerning listener, the differences are small. The evolution of microphones is even less of an issue. Vintage microphones such as the Neumann M49 (introduced in 1949) are still highly sought after and widely used, showing that old doesn't necessarily mean sub-standard when it comes to microphones. The students were immediately aware of record noise and the overall timbre of the old recordings (i.e. 1930s and 1940s), but did of course not know exactly how old these were. Judging this with confidence would require specialist knowledge of the technology used by the DR throughout its history. Interestingly, another feature which the students reported to immediately notice was the (æ) vowel in some recording which sounded 'old' to them – again of course without them knowing exactly *how* old. It may be rather trivial to establish that media consumers have some tacit knowledge about the quality of audio recordings, namely that 'new' recordings are of superior quality to 'old' recordings. The students noticing that some vowel pronunciations sounded 'old', however, seems less trivial. It is not surprising that they can recognize a pronunciation as deviant from their own, but how do they know to consistently associate this deviance with 'oldness'? How, in other words, do 20 year-old students know that newsreaders in, say, the 1950s pronounced their (æ) lower than do modern newsreaders?

I propose that the reason lies in 'old news style' being performed recurrently in the Danish media. 'Old language', in other words, lives with us as a modern register with associated meaning potential. The style is used for stylistic effect, e.g. in commercials and in other media performances, one regularly hears radio presenters

shift in and out of the style for symbolic effect, and I have heard teenagers use it in their conversations. To explore performers' awareness of language change and the meaning potential of the old news style I turn now to the weekly satire program *Selvsving*, 'Self-oscillation', 'Feedback', and its use of the recognizable style of 'old news'.

STYLIZING OLD NEWS

The section above (on phonological changes in actual news readings) tried to establish how a previously stigmatized variant, [ɛ], gradually gets incorporated into the standard register of news readings. Through this, the variant gets ascribed a new indexical value, e.g. one of correctness or formality, and its previous indexical value gets eradicated. While this process goes on, a reverse process seems to be affecting the [æ] variant, the previously unmarked (and still officially recommended) variant.

Tracking these changes, we may think of this as a longitudinal study of changes in orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003). We see how a certain "way of saying 'the same thing'" (Silverstein 2003: 216 quoting Labov 1972) becomes indexical of a certain period in time within the evolution of the register of news reading. At a higher order, this indexical quality of time becomes indexical of a certain 'zeitgeist' (again within the register). This is not unlike Labov's notion of "stereotypes" or Johnstone's (2011) interpretation of "third-order indexicality", with the one major difference that what is being projected by the inauthentic performances of (æ) is not living speakers of a different dialectal variety, but historical speakers who are (most of them) long gone. By being associated with a particular mediated speech register, certain vowel qualities (or more correctly the deliberate modification of certain phonemes away from the vernacular of the speaker towards a prototypical aim) become indexical of the speaker's stance to the text being read and thus, here, act as vehicle for satire.

The media's role in establishing knowledge of the register as well as negotiating the indexical meaning potential of it, i.e. the media's role in this 'enregisterment' to use Agha's (2007) term, is obvious. Since the authentic speakers of the variety are long disappeared, authentic performances exist only in mediated form (i.e. in sound and film archives). Also when it comes to the use as third-order indexical signs, the media are instrumental in the dissemination. The repeated media representation of an enregistered variety, 'old news language', gives speakers of Danish the possibility to exploit the indexical value of 'old news' in their daily practices and thus participate in an on-going sociolinguistic change, a process of "changing relationships between language and society and their instantiation at the level of practice" (Coupland 2014b: 70). In other words talking media present us not only with language to

hear, but also with frames for interpreting what we hear, 'how we should hear it'. "Mass media are changing our terms of engagement with language" as Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 31) say. And changing our engagement with language variation and change, we may add.

COMPOSING 'OLDNESS'

The satire show *Selvsving* is written and performed by a trio of writers/actors, Lars le Dous, Oliver Zahle and Jens Korse. It started in 1996 on the 'youth' national DR channel, *P3*. After about two years it was cancelled, but it was rebooted in 2006 and is still running at present, 2016. It is now broadcast on the 'talk' channel, *P1*. A new eight-minute instalment is broadcast weekly. The show is very popular. It was the 8th most downloaded podcast from the DR in 2013 (http://www.dr.dk/DRPresse/Artikler/2014/02/19/111152.htm). A recurring segment from the earliest episodes until recently (although according to its creator, Lars le Dous, now cancelled) was a lampoon segment called *Ugerevyen*, 'The News Reel', 'News of the Week', which stylizes cinema newsreels from the 1930s or 1940s like those produce by e.g. *British Pathé* (see also Coupland's chapter in this volume on stylized WWII films). The topics taken up in *Ugerevyen* are current affairs, often politicians', state institutions' or some celebrity's gaffes (see Excerpts 1 and 2 below). *Ugerevyen* is a (multi)modal composition consisting of many different auditory elements which all combine in setting the interpretative frame for what is being read. Exactly what this interpretative frame may be, I will discuss in the conclusion of this chapter. Before that, I believe it is relevant to dissect the segment and analyse its parts before turning to the phonetic analysis. The point being, of course, that all elements in the composition are presumably there for a reason, namely to create a coherent *gestalt*. It seems fruitful to investigate the other elements in the composition in order to understand the indexical value of the language style and then the combined meaning potential of the framing.

The segment is introduced by a short signature tune and the introduction: *Dansk Radiofonisk Selskab præsenterer Ugerevyen*, 'The Danish Radiophonic Society presents The News Reel'. Before the DR became the DR (Denmark's Radio) it was known as *Statsradiofonien*, 'The State Radiophony'. The use of antiquated term 'radiophonic' in the fictional 'Danish Radiophonic Society' thus frames the text as old. Music is playing all through the segment. The genre can maybe best be described as soft swing jazz. Again this is designed to underline the 30s–40s feel of the segment. The framing as a mock cinematic newsreel is apparent in the recurring use of language referring to (non-existing) pictures, such as 'but look at this', 'now watch as…', 'here we see…'. More significantly, the recordings of the readings

have been manipulated apparently in order to tailor the construction to a general idea about how the news reels sounded. Noise has been added. I interpret the noise as imitating the rattling noise of a film projector – again to emphasize the cinema metaphor – an interpretation supported by the program's technician (Peter Lous, personal correspondence) who also refers to the noise as the noise of a film projector. The sound appears to have been bandpass-filtered to get a certain 'tinny' quality to it. It is hard to discern the exact manipulation, but it seems similar to landline telephones, i.e. approximately 200–3000 Hz, possibly with a boost around 1–2 KHz. My immediate impression was that the reading has been speeded up. The reading voice has a certain 'helium' quality to it, especially when directly compared with other samples of Lars le Dous' voice. However, Peter Lous (personal correspondence) informs me that it hasn't. The effect is largely, he believes, due to the equalization and the use of a particular microphone (an AKG D-58), as well of course as le Dous' vocal performance. The reading is (attempted to be) hyperarticulated, and the voice quality is quite compressed and tense compared to what is usual for modern radio speech. For an example of the 'ideal' historical precedent for the vocal manipulations done by Lars le Dous, try to listen to Bob Danvers-Walker's presentations for *British Pathé*.[2] The higher pitch of 'old' reading voices, incidentally, is also consistent with an analysis of actual radio news readings from the 1930s and 1940s (Thøgersen 2011). *Ugerevyen* apparently utilizes this tacit genre knowledge to create the immediate illusion of old sound.

Linguistically, le Dous performs the style with some striking and probably deliberate tokenistic uses of lexical, syntactic and phonetic features, as well as a more systematic modification of his entire phonological system. The analogy to Milroy's 'off the shelf' and 'under the counter' features seems obvious, and also Östman's proposal (this volume) that styling can be done "explicitly by choosing particular lexical items or by making conscious pronunciation efforts" or subconsciously "as characteristic features that one subconsciously starts using when taking on the role of a particular persona, accommodating towards a holistic picture of that persona".

Turning firstly to lexis, some words seem to be chosen for their marked 'antiquatedness'. They are comprehensible, but contemporary news readings would have modern alternatives. In one episode (13 November 2007) *medarbejderne ved ordensmagten*, 'employees at the powers of law enforcement', is used for *politiet* or *betjentene*, 'the police', 'police officers'. In the same episode the old and full pronunciation of the number "70" is used, *halvfjerdsindstyve*, literally 'half-four times twenty', where the modern form is the abbreviated *halvfjerds*. The pronunciation of the number "70" is marked but shows little creativity. At other times, the choice of lexis seems more to be a vehicle for showing linguistic creativity than for using

[2] Hear some examples of Danvers-Walker's personal style at the *Pathé* website: http://www.britishpathe.com/workspaces/rgallagher/Bob-Danvers-Walker

authentic old lexis. In one episode (13 April 2012) members of *Hells Angels* are referred to as *oksehudsbeklædte cykelkædevirtuoser*, 'ox-skin-clad bicycle chain virtuosos'. Members of *Hells Angels* were never authentically referred to as 'bicycle chain virtuosos' (partly because they were not a Danish phenomenon until 1980). However, le Dous' use of a neologism, 'ox-skin-clad bicycle chain virtuosos', for what would unmarkedly be called 'gang members', projects a persona which is unfamiliar with the concept of Hells Angels. We are transferred to a fictional society in which reports on gang activity is a novelty requiring linguistic marking in the form of explication. The result is that even using highly creative, and humorous, neologisms contribute to framing the reading as coming from a remote time (cf. also Bell's point in this volume about the *verfremdung effect* of satire).

Compared to modern news readings, there is an over-representation of evaluative descriptions, especially of the persons being described. Reporters are (ironically) referred to as *pressens dygtige reportere*, 'the skilled reporters of the press' (16 November 2007). In a story outlining the recent history of the Conservative party, major scandals and political back-stabbing is referred to as *mange dejlige minder*, 'many fond memories' (23 November 2007) (see also Example 1 below). Such explicit expressions of evaluation of the stories reported upon stand in stark contrast to ideals of journalistic neutrality. The symbolic meaning of this breach of neutrality may be seen as indexing the particular genre which is being mocked here. Although the stories that are being told are often stories which are also treated by serious news shows, in *Ugerevyen* the evaluative language frames the stories as celebrity news rather than hard news. Whether this 'bias' of the news reporting also indexes 'oldness' is unclear. It is evident that *Ugerevyen* manages to establish a certain nostalgic tone (more on this below); but it is hard to establish whether the biased reporting contributes to this. It may be that it evokes a picture of old news being less 'hard' because the old days were a more innocent time, less requiring of neutral reporting, or, for that matter, a time before neutrality had gained ground as a journalistic ideal.

Somewhere between lexis and phonology lies a series of emblematic token words used by le Dous in almost every episode. The connectives *men*, *jo*, *næ*, 'but', 'yes', 'no' are pronounced very elongated and with a peculiar trembling voice – not unlike Daniel Jones's voice in his reading of the cardinal vowels. The *jo* is further marked by being pronounced with a monophthong [jɔː] instead of the standard diphthong [jɔʊ̯]. If there is one thing listeners remember from le Dous' linguistic performance, it is these characterological pronunciations (see Quist's discussions of similar characterological phrases in her analysis of *multi-ethnic youth style*, this volume).

Some words are given a particular antiquated, Copenhagen, pronunciation, that seems to be consistent with actual old Copenhagen speech if not with actual news

readings. Among these are *cykel*, 'bicycle', pronounced [siˀɡˌl̩] for modern [syˀɡˌl̩], *musik*, 'music', pronounced [muˈsɪˀɡ] for modern [muˈsiˀɡ] and *arbejde*, 'work, job', pronounced [ɑːˌbɑːˀðə] for modern [ɑːˌbɑɪˀd̥ə]). English loanwords, when they are not circumscribed with innovative neologisms like the *Hells Angels* example above, are often pronounced with Danish rather than English phonology which would be the norm in modern Danish, e.g. *burger* pronounced [ˌbœɐ̯ˀɡʌ] for [bœːgʌ].

Some sentences are marked with elaborate syntactic complexity. This is somewhat consistent with longitudinal comparisons of syntax in old and new news readings (Blom 2009). Many word endings are pronounced with less syllable reduction than would be expected (although not fully consistently so). This plays on Danes' common knowledge that modern Danish is highly reduced and that older Danish was less reduced. As mentioned above, this is not entirely wrong, but the reasons for the increase in reductions, e.g. rate of delivery and a norm of more 'vernacular' Danish in the media, are often interpreted in the general narrative of linguistic decay, i.e. 'young people nowadays speak horribly sloppy'.

Excerpts 1 and 2 give some examples of the typical stories being treated, before turning to the phonetic details of the performance:

Excerpt 1
13 April 2012

> *Først til kulørte presses verden. I dag åbnede Tivoli i kongens København, og traditionen tro var der liv og glade dage i restaurant Grøften hvor de kendte flokkedes. Der opstod et kort øjeblik tumult da en jetjager landede midt i buffeten. Men se så bare her. Ud af flyvemaskinen træder den bedårende Jannie Spies og hendes fraskilte mand, den yndige Christian Kjær. Parret benyttede sig af en pause i deres henrivende retssag til at flyve en tur i Grøften for at bestille en burger.*
>
> 'First to the world of the tabloid press. Today, Tivoli in the King's Copenhagen opened; and as is traditional, there was mirth and merriment in restaurant Grøften where celebrities were gathering. There was a short moment of disturbance as a jet airplane landed in the buffet. But now look. Out of the aeroplane steps the enchanting Jannie Spies and her divorced husband, the lovely Christian Kjær. The couple make use of a recess in their charming divorce trial to take a flight to Grøften to order a burger.'

The story revolves around the celebrity couple, Spies and Kjær, who were at the time in the midst of their divorce trial. He is a rich lawyer, politician and business man, and a friend of the royal family. She, who is 20 years his junior, made her

fortune when, at the age of 21, she married the business man Simon Spies who was 40 years her senior. Restaurant Grøften in the amusement park Tivoli is known as a meeting place of politicians and celebrities, and therefore a likely setting for a story about the jet set. The jet aeroplane presumably mocks Spies and Kjær's extravagant lifestyle. Describing Christian Kjær as *yndig*, 'lovely', 'delicate', seems a tongue-in-cheek mocking of Kjær. Kjær was around 70 at the time and quite corpulent, not someone being prototypically referred to as *yndig*, an adjective usually reserved for young women.

As mentioned, the other main targets of satire are politicians, here a politician from the nationalist party *Dansk Folkeparti*:

Excerpt 2
16 November 2007

> *Og så til Mogens Camre der alligevel ikke vil i Folketinget, men foretrækker at blive i Europaparlamentet. Først forklarede hr. Camre sig med at valget kom før han ventede det, men nu undskylder han sig med at den forklaring var en løgn. Dog understreger han at det var en hvid en af slagsen, og enhver ved at sådan en er mere ærlig end en sort. Det er tæppehandlerlogik for burkahøns.*
>
> 'And then on to Mogens Camre who does not want a seat in the Parliament after all, but would prefer to stay in the European Parliament. At first, Mr. Camre explained his decision by saying that the election came sooner than he had anticipated, but now he explains that this excuse was a lie. He does however emphasize that it was a white lie, and as everyone knows, those are far more honest than blacks. Even a fool knows this.'

The story teases Camre for changing his statement, but the story also allows for a pun on 'white lie' and 'black(s)'/'white(s)' as more or less honest, a remark on Camre's borderline racist policies – only parliamentary immunity has kept him from being charged with racism on several occasions. The story ends with another pun on his policies by paraphrasing the cliché *logik for burhøns*, 'plain as day', literally 'logic for caged chickens', substituting *bur-*, 'caged', with *burka-*, 'burqa', and adding *tæppehandler-*, 'carpet salesman', two highly 'ethnicized' words.

It is clear that Lars le Dous' performances are *stylized*. In accordance with the introduction to this volume, I take stylization to be "the knowing deployment of socially familiar semiotic material where the speaker strategically complicates and ambiguates her or his relationship with that material" (see the Introduction to this volume). The performances are 'double-voiced' in Bakhtin's terms. They contain, on the one hand, what appear to be sincere news stories as keyed by the content and

syntax of the readings; on the other hand, the lexis, the stock phrases and in particular the phonology add a second layer of meaning, framing the first voice as a parody. A key function of the double-voicing seems to be that it adds a quality of 'estrangement' to the reporting; it invites the listener to see the news stories from afar and to critically assess whether they are really as important as other, serious, news reporting would have us think. In that sense they add a critical edge both towards the people and event being reported on, and on (other) mainstream media. More precisely what the (meta)pragmatic meaning of the double-voicing is in the individual case is less clear. Indeed, it may be quite ambiguous and even in some sense contradictory. In the conclusion of the chapter I will return to the question of the meaning of the stylization in more detail, but in relation to the two examples here it seems reasonable to say that adding the old news voice presents the people in the stories and their concerns as antiquated and odd, not to be taken seriously by contemporary listeners. The marital quarrels of the celebrity couple of the first example is ridiculed – or perhaps better, exposed for how ridiculous it is to treat them as serious. In the case of the arguably racist politician, it is tempting to think that framing his views as old lends a sense of them being antiquated, not in line with the way ethnic and racial categories should be treated by a modern, well-informed politician. Presenting political views (although they are here in fact a hyperbolic version of the politician's views) through stylized old language, presents the politician as a dinosaur. Framing the stories as 'old news' may in effect say: 'if this were the thirties we might take you seriously...'.

The awareness of systematic language changes – among performers and recipients alike – are particularly interesting for this study. It is one thing that an actor can perform a handful of shibboleths and that a technician can manipulate the sound quality to sound old, but the ability to consistently modify his or her grammar or phonology is something different and altogether closer to understanding media performances' role in language change.

The classic sociolinguistic view has been that speakers cannot systematically change their phonology. Speakers are able to change single sounds when these are salient and when the speaker focuses awareness on his or her speech. As awareness shifts from speech because the speaker gets involved in the conversation, they will tend towards their 'vernacular' style in Labov's (1972) terms. However, Schilling-Estes (1998) has shown that speakers are indeed capable of systematically changing their phonology. And anyway, we may argue that media performances such as the ones studied here are a case in which attention to speech is always maintained.
Similarly, audiences' ability to decode a modified grammar or phonology as a case of deliberate and strategic stylization, and not simply as a speaker showing very idiosyncratic idiolectal traits, is significant. To understand stylizations in media performances we need to appreciate not only what the performer does, but also that

the listener is capable of interpreting the performance not only as deviant, but as a deliberate use of a style which is not the speaker's vernacular. Decoding readings of *Ugerevyen* as old style rather than simply 'the style used on that programme' requires tacit knowledge of salient features of the phonology of old newsreaders, while at the same time the readings reconfirm and renegotiate what these salient features are, e.g. by incorporating lexical markers which are historically inauthentic.

In the next section I will look at Lars le Dous' phonology, specifically his vowel inventory, in three different media genres to explore the plasticity of the vowel inventory and thereby the stereotypical vowels of recognisable old news style.

VOWEL INVENTORY IN STYLIZATION

In order to see which vowels index old news style, three samples of speech by Lars le Dous are compared in this section. One consists of readings of *Ugerevyen*; a second sample consists of extracts from a contemporary radio interview with le Dous and his colleague Jens Korse; and a third sample is drawn from le Dous' past as a radio DJ. The theme of the interview sample is the *Selvsving* programme and the performers behind it. The interview was broadcast in July 2013. The persona played by le Dous in the interview is ambiguous – a fact that he also comments on in the interview – between le Dous the creator and performer of *Selvsving*, and le Dous the private man. This ambivalence and the linguistic variability it encourages is well known from previous studies of media language (e.g. Coupland 1985; Johnstone 2011), and le Dous also uses the interview as vehicle for clearly stylistic performances. At one point, he is even encouraged to perform one of his characters. Passages that I judged to be clearly 'acting a role' I omitted from the comparison. Comparing read passages (in *Selvsving*) with spontaneous speech in the interview of course introduces variation beyond the deliberate stylization of a particular register. It is trivial to remark that spontaneous speech is often faster than read speech. As a result it would be likely to see phonological *undershoot* amounting to centralization of vowels as a mere artefact of the higher rate of articulation (Lindblom 1963). For this reason, the third sample of read performances from le Dous' past as a radio DJ was included. These samples are read aloud, similarly to *Ugerevyen*, not stylized as old, but in the style of an afternoon DJ. The recordings are however 20 years old, introducing the new variable of time. The readings present le Dous partly as a pop DJ, presenting the next song and telling his audience about the artist, partly as a satirical commentator on current news, including a couple of caricatures (also omitted from the comparison). If the interview was ambiguous as to whether the speaker was a character or a private person, the DJ sample clearly sho ws le Dous in character as a run-of the-mill DJ.

Table 1: Data in comparison of Lars le Dous' media styles.

Style	Year	No. of programmes	Total length of excerpts	Vowel tokens
Old news	2007, 2012	4	498.4	680
DJ-style	1992	4	373.4	573
Interview	2013	1	680.0	752

Table 1 shows the data that are included in the comparison of vowels including the total length of the recordings and the number of vowels measured.

Figures 7–9 show logarithmic F1/F2 plots of Lars le Dous performing the three different styles, namely as a DJ in the 1990s, in a broadcast interview about his work, and as 'old newsreader' in *Ugerevyen*. The plots are comparable to the F1/F2 plots in Figures 2–4; however, more vowels are included here because of the significantly smaller data set, and the formant values are not normalized because only one speaker is measured.

Comparing the vowel configurations in the three different speech styles side by side, two things are immediately apparent. The relative locations of the vowels in the interview style (Figure 7) and the DJ style (Figure 8) are very similar. The (œ) appears to be slightly raised in the DJ style. Apart from that, the vowel locations are very similar. The scaling, however, is quite dissimilar. In the spontaneous speech of the interview the vowels are centralized compared with the read passages of the DJ style. This is most pronounced for the low [ɑ] which has a mean difference in F1 of about 100 Hz. This result is also confirmed when computing the size of the vowel space using mean euclidian distance from the centroid of all vowel to the mean of each vowel. In the DJ style, the mean distance is 502 Hz, in the interview, it is 454 Hz.

The scaling of the entire vowel space is, however, quite similar between the two read-alound samples, the old news style (Figure 9) and the DJ style (Figure 8). The one difference lies at the low F1 end; the old style never reaches F1's as low as the two other styles. This means that (i) and (y) show higher F1's in the old style. This may be an artifact of the bandpass filtering of the signal mentioned above. A noticeable part of the low range of the audio signal has been removed, and this may skew the measurement of the low F1's. The vowel space measured as the mean euclidian distance from the centroid to the centroid of each vowel is very similar in the two read aloud registers: 500 Hz in the old style, compared to 502 Hz in the DJ style.

The relative vowel placements between the old style and the two other samples, however, show some remarkable differences. Remember that the underlying

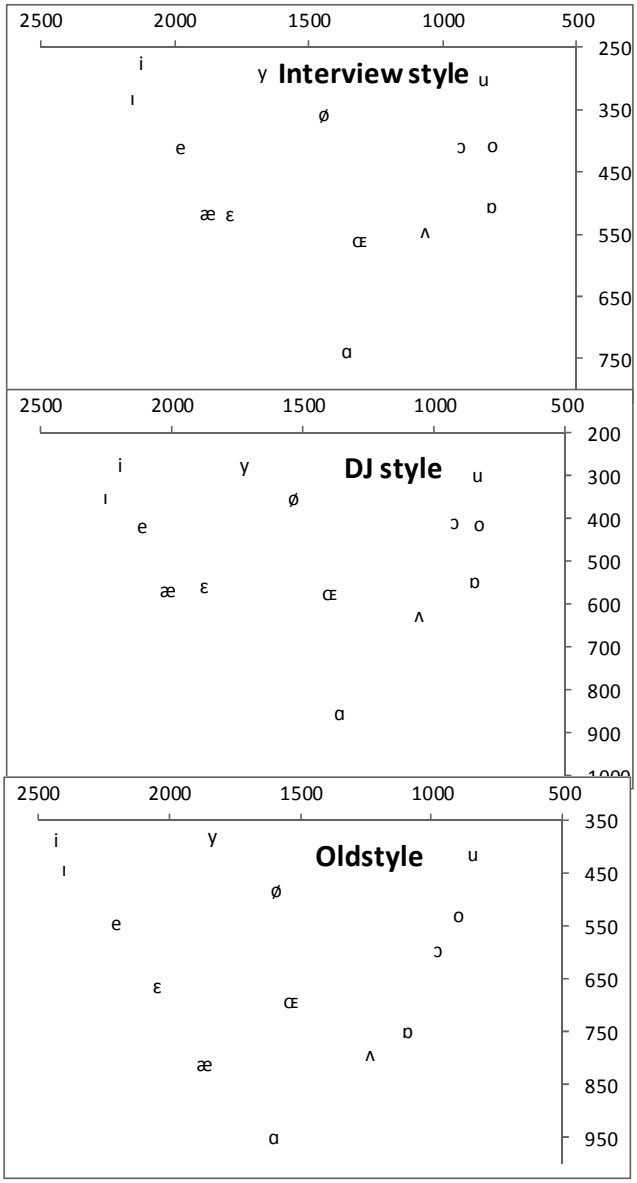

Figure 7–9: Lars le Dous participating in an interview, as DJ and performing old news style.

assumption of the comparison is that it is these phonemic differences which tacitly constitute the old news stylization. The (æ) is lowered quite dramatically.

Interestingly, even in the 'old news' style, the (æ) is not quite as low as in authentic news readings from the 1950s (see Figure 1). This may be due to quite large variation in the production of (æ)'s, a point I will return to below. We must assume, however, that the lowering of (æ) is large enough to be accepted as sounding old (cf. also the experiment with student listeners reported above).

The (ɒ) is fronted, so too to a lesser degree is (ʌ). In fact le Dous has a (near) merger between the two vowels in his old style, a merger he does not have in his vernacular style(s). As shown in Figures 1–3 above, this change is somewhat consistent with authentic old news readings. The (ʌ) has in fact been backed over the last decades. From the news readings analysed above, it would however seem that le Dous' performance is hyperbolic, or maybe that he has projected linearly backwards in time from the evidence of the last 3 or 4 decades, when the change of the (ʌ) seems to have reversed. The (œ) is raised and fronted in the old style. I cannot formally compare this with authentic radio news since this vowel hasn't been measured. Impressionistically, it could be reflecting authentic sound changes. The same goes for the (o) vowel. In general, le Dous seem to pronounce the vowels in the high back area more tensely when performing old style. This again seems impressionistically consistent with radio news from the 1930s and 1940s.

Again impressionistically, le Dous is quite consistent in the adjustment of his vowels. However, as mentioned, a standard assumption of Labovian sociolinguistics is that only a person's vernacular speech style exhibits consistency (e.g. Labov 1972). When a speaker modifies his or her vernacular, we would expect to see larger variation in the performance, lapses towards the vernacular as it were. To test whether this is also the case for le Dous' stylized performance, Table 2 shows the dispersion of tokens of the individual vowel from the centroid of that vowel. The measure shows the mean euclidian distance from each token of a vowel to the mean F1/F2 value of that vowel. A high number indicates high dispersion and thus high heterogeneity; a low number indicates low dispersion and comparative homogeneity.

According to the hypothesis of the vernacular, we should expect to see higher dispersion numbers in the inauthentic old style than in the spontaneous interview and (to a lesser degree) DJ styles, and presumably especially for the vowels that are

Table 2: Dispertion of vowel tokens as euclidian distances in Hertz

	æ	ɑ	ɔ	ʌ	ɪ	e	i	o	ɒ	ø	u	œ	y	ɛ
Old style	257	162	129	143	149	166	137	141	128	137	142	176	185	147
DJ style	133	93	136	144	172	142	140	123	122	107	114	141	97	195
Interview	109	97	117	148	169	120	143	118	126	94	102	120	118	177

manipulated in performing the style, the (æ), (ɒ), (œ) and to an extent the (o) and (u). To a certain extent this hypothesis is confirmed. In particularly the (æ), the (potentially) flat a, shows remarkably high variability in the old style, but so does the (u), (o) an (œ), and curiously the (ɑ). This indicates that even a highly skilled 'linguistic chameleon' like le Dous oscillates between pronouncing his vowels in an assumed linguistic guise, here old news, and in his vernacular (interview) style. It is tempting to view this variability as a lack of competence or as lapses when he loses attention to his own speech. One could also speculate that the variability might be indexically functional in that it helps the listener to decode the performance as a deliberate manipulation of vowels rather than simply a speaker with a highly deviant vowel configuration.

These deliberate vowel manipulations, then, appear to reflect the folk linguistic knowledge about language change over time within the broadcast news genre. Furthermore, this awareness must be shared between performer and audience in order to work as stylization. It may be that only very competent performers, like le Dous, are able to modify their pronunciation to old style, but his listeners must have an equal perceptual capacity to appreciate that this is what he is doing. In Asif Agha's (2007) term, the style must be 'enregistered'. I will return to the theoretical aspects of enregisterment below. First I will try to approach the question of what the style signifies.

THE INDEXICAL FIELD OF [ɛ]

The analysis of phonological change in news readings showed how one variant of the (æ) variable, [ɛ], lost its indexical value of being a stigmatized, substandard pronunciation by being incorporated into the formal standard of new readings. As a consequence, the other variant, [æ], became available for the ascription of new indexical values. The analysis of stylization of old news style showed how a performer utilized this potential to exploit a different order of indexical values. On one level, lowered (æ) is used to signal 'old' (or rather 'fictionally old'); on a higher level this 'oldness' becomes indexical for other social meanings. Exactly what these meanings are, in other words what defines the indexical field of old news style (Eckert 2008), is difficult to pin down. To get some indication, I asked colleagues to write down their immediate thoughts when I played them the different parts that go into composing *Ugerevyen*: the introduction, the background noise, the background music, le Dous' reading, etc. (see the section on 'Composing oldness' above).

Samples of each auditory layer were kindly supplied by Peter Lous. Figure 10 brings out some of the more frequent labels that were brought up. This, of course, is

Figure 10: Indexical field of old news style

no attempt at exhaustively exploring the indexical potential of old news style, but it gives some indication of the meaning potential and its complexity. I do not attempt to tease out hierarchical levels of meaning – the orders of indexicality – within these labels, but present it as a complex field of meaning potential. I trust that the reader will lend her or his own cultural knowledge to the interpretation, as I am sure similar media products and values exist in other communities. (Sarah van Hoof, personal correspondence, e.g., has mentioned *Het gesproken dagblad*, 'The Spoken Newspaper', a very similar program in a Flemish context; see also Coupland, this volume.)

In essence, the indexical field is complex and somewhat contradictory. The style is simultaneously 'militant' and 'rose-tinted', 'uptight' and 'ironic', etc. Some of the discrepancy can be explained by assigning labels to different orders of indexicality or different interpretative frames. Describing the speaker as 'serious' and 'official' may describe the voice of the (fictional) authentic speaker's view of himself and his own role; describing him as 'militant' and 'authoritative' describes the speaker as seen by an outsider; describing him as 'feeling superior' and 'sensation-seeking' shifts the interpretational frame yet another order away from the speaker by inscribing his performance with a personal ethos; describing him as 'entertaining', 'non-serious' and 'ironic' again shift the focus to the view of the stylization as deliberate performance, whereas labels like 'cosy', 'rose-tinted' and their synonyms may best describe the intrepretation of the stylized performance within the frame of a contemporary radio show.

CONCLUSION: MEDIA AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE

Unravelling the symbolic meaning potential of (æ) (among other features), then, involves layers of tacit sociolinguistic and cultural knowledge. To fully appreciate Lars le Dous' stance towards the stories he reads, the listener must be able to recognise the pronunciation of (æ) as 'old' and, within the frame of 'old', as indexing a persona with a certain role, stance and ethos. Interpreting this persona in a modern context requires a shared cultural understanding of the prototypical – if purely fictional – newsreader of yesteryear and the modern interpretation of his ethos. These multiple interpretative layers add to the understanding of the stance towards the contemporary story at the heart of the performance. Jaffe (2009: 1) defines stance as the positions which speakers take up *vis-à-vis* the expressive, referential, interactional, and social implications of their speech. It seems as if the interpretative stance towards the reader which is being called forward (i.e. as ridiculous) is contagious with respect to the protagonists of the story. If the fictional newsreader is ridiculous and pompous, then maybe so are the persons in the news stories. It is hard to not read a certain ridicule into the whole presentation. Seeing current affairs from a distance, they seem less important, and the protagonists seem less serious than they might when one views them as currently newsworthy affairs. Seen from afar, media attention appears as media hype. And dressing up in an 'old' language style gives the readings exactly this level of *verfremdung*, estrangement.

Mock journalists are not a rare phenomenon in the contemporary media landscape. At least since *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, mock news and mock reporting have been a stable of TV and radio satire. It is an open question whether other estrangement frames work in the same or different ways with respect to the main story. As a case of comparison, English comedian Sacha Baron Cohen has created several culturally ignorant interviewer characters to expose different sides of western societies. Ali G (see Sebba 2003) is/was a fictional gangster of ambiguous non-Anglo decent who interviewed several British celebrities and politicians, and in the best of his interviews manage to expose his victims' "ignorance, insularity and self-importance through apprently naïve questioning" (Sebba 2003, 51). Borat is/was a fictional reporter from Kazakhstan who traveled through the USA, and again succesfully exposed prejudices in the people he met, as well as highlighting oddities in American culture. Both characters allow the viewer an outsiders' view of their own culture and the possibility to naively question values and customs that are normally taken for granted.

Folk knowledge of old news style appears to be similar to folk knowledge of dialectal varieties described e.g. in Niedzielski and Preston's (2000) analyses of folk dialectology and in Johnstone's (2011) analysis of strategic and stylized uses of Pittsburghese. That is, language users are aware of certain markers of language

varieties which may or may not be authentic features of the variety. The analysis of Lars le Dous' imitation of old news style proves that he is in fact fairly capable of reproducing several features of authentic old news reading language; in other words, he is to a large degree capable of deconstructing half a century's language change. A finding here is that language users apparently not only operate with knowledge of and stereotypes associated with the language use of other living (stereotyped) speakers, but also with awareness of and stereotypes associated with the language style of previous times. This knowledge, I believe, is available only because of mediated access to authentic old recordings of spoken language and because of continued performance of the sociolinguistically salient features of 'old style' and its associated symbolic values in media performances. Le Dous' performance, in other words, not only displays the register knowledge, it also re-affirms the register. As do mediated uses of authentic old language, e.g. in the form of repeat broadcasts of old films, etc.

If we are looking for cases in which broadcast media play a role in sociolinguistic (if not linguistic) change, here, I argue, is one. We have a case in which language users' only access to the register is through media, and in which old news style is clearly 'enregistered' (Agha 2007) with a significant, albeit complex, social meaning potential. Clearly, broadcast media are not alone as instruments in the enregisterment of old news style or in establishing the indexical meaning of the style. Performances need an audience that will appreciate the meaning in order to work, and as we saw, the enregisterment of [ɛ] as deviant and sociolinguistically salient preceded broadcast media by decades (though of course these performances exploited other media and performed for other knowledgable audiences).

We may hypothesize a developmental history along the following lines. Through the media treatment it receives, as well of course as changes in the surrounding society, the style of news reading goes though a cycle of indexical value development: It was selected first as the register appropriate for news reading presumably because it indexed 'Copenhagen-based professionals'. By its association with the formal and serious business of news it became indexical of 'good and confident language user', which in turn became synonymous with 'standard language user'. Standard language user became synonymous with 'user of *the* language (as opposed to speakers of an inferior variety)'. Somehow, possibly because of larger political changes, the standard speaker of the state radio became indexical of a paternalistic, bureaucratic state apparatus, and the persona associated with the register became rather that of the 'patronizing speaker' than that of the 'correct' speaker. Speaking formally came to mean being 'pompous', and being pompous in a deliberate performance of a fictional persona therefore comes to be a frame for caricature. Crucially, the (state broadcast) media play a role in every new

layer of indexical meaning which is added or which supercedes previous meanings. The indexical meanings draw on shared cultural knowledge about media personas.

In the case of *Ugerevyen*, the use of old news style is clearly humorous and the performance of a caricature. The indexical frame of presenting current affairs in old news style is one of insincerity. Stories come across as less serious than they would have been if they were read in an unmarked style, and the protagonists are ridiculed. I believe this plays on a more general trope of the past (and the media landscapes in the past) as more innocent and less cynical than modern media. A further effect of old style in the treatment of current affairs is that it lends an outsider perspective to the stories. By the use of innovative neologisms, current affairs are being treated as seen for the first time. In an example presented above, Hells Angels are referred to as 'ox-skin-clad motorcycle virtuosos', a description much less frightening than 'motor cycle gang', and somewhat ridiculing at that. We can interpret this in terms of reflexivity. These media representations invite (or demand) a reflexive interpretations by their viewers and listeners. *Ugerevyen* is not fully understood if we see it merely as a media text. It is a media text about media texts, and only interpretable by being seen as negotiating its position against a backdrop of other media texts. To the extent that this phenomenon is typical of (late-)modern media – and this volume as well as its partner volume (Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen 2016) lend some support to believing it is – we may speak of a process of media 'reflexivization'.

Consequences for language change follow by implication. In an historical perspective variants that were unmarked and predominantly standard (even if they were not variants which the numerical majority of speakers ever used) have become rare to the extent that they are no longer indexical of 'proper spoken Danish', but rather of 'antiquated (or pedantic) spoken Danish'. Any speaker using these variants is prone to be interpreted as doing stylization or performing a persona for some interactional effect. Whereas most debates on the role of media language in societal language change have involved looking at media speakers as some sort of coveted ideal, a 'pull effect' attracting young speakers towards the image of the hip (e.g. Kristiansen 2001), the point here is that media may also exert a 'push effect', placing negative social value on speakers who would be using the variants. The push effect may be generally accepted when it comes to explaining the general trend of language standardization of the 20th century (see e.g. Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014: 129–130 for an overview). When speakers stop using dialects, it is equally because of the attractiveness of speaking the standards and because of the stigma of speaking a dialect. Here, however, the effect would lead not (only) to standardization, but towards a more modern and vernacular style.

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Kallemann & Amandus: The use of dialect in children's programmes on early Norwegian radio

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LANGUAGE IN EARLY NORWEGIAN RADIO

The linguistic history of the 20th century cannot be seen as complete without the inclusion of the language that was heard on the radio and on television. Radio is especially important, since it was the sole talking medium for several decades before television appeared, and the radio thus had the possibility to form the norms for how a national language such as Norwegian was to be spoken in this kind of public domain. This standardisation never reached a level of rigidity in Norway comparable to what has been described for, say, the BBC in Great Britain (Schwyter 2008). But compared to the general Norwegian language situation in the 21st century, linguistic norms were nevertheless narrow.

There are different opinions among Norwegian linguists as to whether Norway today does have a spoken standard language at all, but there seems to be agreement on the fact that if such a phenomenon has ever existed in Norway, then certainly it would have been evidenced on the radio, more precisely in the public Norwegian broadcasting corporation, *Norsk Rikskringkasting* (NRK). Sandøy (2009: 31) writes:

> 'Det blir ofte understreka at me *ikkje* har noko vedteke eller fastsett standardtalemål i Norge. Men det er for absolutt å seie noko slikt. Viktigast er det at NRK har og har hatt språknormer.
>
> It is often emphasised that we do *not* have a given spoken standard language in Norway. But this is to put it too strongly. The most important fact is that NRK has and has had language norms'.

Radio very soon became popular in Norway, and due to the reasonable price of radio sets and the well-organised building of transmitters around the country, a large part of the population became eager radio listeners early on (Bastiansen and Dahl 2008: 248; Bjørge et al. 1965: 182). After the broadcasting monopoly was

introduced in 1933, the programmes were the same for all listeners, and listening became a social act. To gather around the radio was an important social practice for many families and neighbours,[1] and we can assume that whatever voices featured on the radio may have influenced – in one way or another – the ideas the listeners had of correct language. If their dialects weren't influenced directly, then their attitudes to the sociolinguistic meaning of different varieties were certainly reinforced by the radio (cf. Androutsopoulos 2014: 14; Kristiansen 2014: 101).

Radio enabled the development of and discussions about spoken language standards, and became an important pattern for public speech. Radio spread authoritative voices to a large proportion of Norwegian homes, and gave people who had earlier heard mainly their own dialects and dialects from the nearest neighbouring districts the possibility to listen to a wide variety of possible ways to speak Norwegian. Vagle (2007: 317) claims that during the period that she calls 'Old Radio 1', 1933–1940, most parts of the country came to be represented on the air. One can claim that NRK, which had as one of its goals to tie the country together and develop Norwegian identity (Nesse 2014), did this by displaying the different ways of being – and speaking – Norwegian. This was not of course a uniquely Norwegian experience; the same phenomenon can be traced in other countries, for example in Sweden (Rydin 2000: 40). Sweden had a different history from Norway, but when it came to using the radio for nation building, the two countries were similar. Listeners, both adults and children, could arguably learn that the geographic distance between them meant nothing, because they all belonged to the same nation.

Early radio speech in Norway was varied when it came to linguistic outputs. Reporters were to use one of two linguistic standards, and were thus given courses in standardised speech, either Nynorsk or Bokmål (Skarstein 2010). The freelancers who came to the studios and made different kinds of programmes had the liberty to use dialects or regional dialects, according to what kind of programme they participated in. The interviewees could speak as they wished, but studies show that most of them spoke the Bokmål standard. In the data set *Radio Archive Nordland, 1936–1996*[2], there were 75 interviewees. 40 of these spoke Bokmål and one spoke Nynorsk. 34 of the interviewees, 30 male and 4 female, spoke dialect. Of the 30 dia-

[1] This was especially so during the Second World War. When the German occupation set in in 1940, slightly more than half of the Norwegian population had access to a radio (Vagle 2007: 276). This popularity, and the fact that this half of the population could listen to programmes broadcast from England in Norwegian, led to the confiscation of all radio sets. But many people hid away their radios in barns and other places, and could listen to the Norwegian king, prime minister and other voices encouraging them to maintain the resistance. In 1960 there were three million listeners of NRK radio – almost the whole population (Bastiansen and Dahl 2008: 303).

[2] Some results from the analysis of these programmes have been published in Nesse (2007, 2008). The correlation between social status and linguistic variety has not yet been published.

lect-speaking men, 26 were either manual workers, farmers or fishermen. All reporters except for one spoke one of the two standards.

So the norm was clear. A typical workplace interview would, for example, have a standard-speaking (Bokmål or Nynorsk) male reporter, and those interviewed would be a standard-speaking male manager and dialect speaking workers, most often also men. In this corpus, there are no female reporters before 1970, so that the only female voices we hear from the first decades are freelancers (for example in programmes for children) and interviewees. The women who were interviewed were often housewives, but some were factory workers, for example in the textile industry. Children were heard in some of the programmes for children, and they were interviewed for other programmes on special occasions, for example programmes about the celebration of the national day.

With such a clear norm, and such a dominance of adult men speaking the Bokmål standard with east Norwegian intonation on radio, any other style had the potential to be regarded as 'funny'. A typical example is an interview with Magnhild Borten, wife of Prime Minister Per Borten in September 1967. The programme was recorded with a studio audience, and the audience laughs enthusiastically throughout the interview. Borten speaks broad, rural, Mid-Norwegian dialect, and the interview styles her as an ordinary house wife who, as she says, *spreng tu vaskebøtta opp i langkjolen* ('jumps from the washing bucket and into the long dress'). The laughter seems to stem from this styling of the country's first lady not just as 'ordinary', but as 'rural ordinary'.

Still, the most common way to make dialect funny, is by imitation, or what Coupland (2001: 350) calls 'strategic inauthenticity'. This was indeed the case for the programmes that are to be presented in this article, as they are an example of skilful imitation: One media performer who, with a swiftness reminiscent of a ventriloquist, plays different characters with different linguistic styles.

KALLEMANN & AMANDUS: THE PROGRAMMES

The programmes about Kallemann and Amandus (K&A) were first produced in 1927. They were broadcast on the private local radio station in Bergen, as the only programmes intended for children. 15 minutes every Thursday afternoon was what the children were offered. After the establishment of NRK in 1933, these programmes were also broadcast on the national radio, as part of the popular *Lørdagsbarnetimen* ('Saturday children's hour') that was produced from 1924 and until 2010. For children in the western part of Norway, especially in Bergen, who listened to the children's programmes in the 1930s – 1950s, *Kallemann & Amandus*

form a very important part of their childhood's cultural input. One of the informants (for a presentation of the interviews, see below), a woman born in 1943, says:

> *Torsdag ettermiddag var høydepunktet i min radioverden da jeg var liten. Kallemann var helten, Amandus var teit. Barnetimen fra Oslo var helt teit!*
>
> 'Thursday afternoon was the highlight of my radio world when I was little. Kallemann was the hero, Amandus was silly. The Children's hour from Oslo was really silly!'

Another informant, a woman born in 1931, says:

> *Nei, det var dette at det på en måte var en del av barndommen på den måten at alle visste om det, og måtte høre på det.*
>
> 'No, it was that it [listening to K&A] in a way was a part of my childhood in the way that everybody was familiar with it, and had to listen to it.'

Since these programmes were the only ones made for children, it is not surprising that they were popular. They were also an effective tool to spread useful knowledge, norms of moral conduct and linguistic norms. The fact that the children's culture 'from above' had local voices and happened in their local environment gave the programmes an important closeness to the young listeners.

The idea to create programmes for children in which a local vernacular was used came from Sweden. Radio entertainer Sven Jerring had created a figure called Efraim Alexander, as a part of the programme *Barnens Brevlåda,* 'The children's mail box', that existed from 1925 until 1972. In her dissertation on children's programmes in Swedish radio and television 1925–1999, Ingegerd Rydin emphasises that the pioneering years of the radio coexisted with the development of the welfare state, and with a strong interest in child psychology, influenced by Alva and Gunnar Myrdal (Rydin 2000: 17). The characters that dominated radio in children's programmes during the early years of broadcasting were the same as those that dominated children's literature: Well-behaved, harmonious and un-spoiled children. Authors such as Elsa Beskow and Alice Tegnér were popular readers of their own stories. But Efraim Alexander was another type altogether. Rydin (2000: 44) compares him with Astrid Lindgren's *Karlsson på taket*, 'Karlsson-on-the-roof', a figure that is far from well-behaved, harmonious or un-spoiled, but rather irritating and naughty. Efraim Alexander also stood out linguistically, and was introduced by Jerring himself to his listeners as having a mixed dialect with west Swedish diphthongs (Rydin 2000: 41–42), which was Jerring's own linguistic background.

In an interview on NRK radio (12th December 1975) the creator of the series *Kallemann & Amandus*, Sverre Erichsen, said that the inspiration to make a Norwe-

gian counterpart to Efraim Alexander came from a programme secretary at Bergen Radio, who explicitly asked Erichsen to develop a character using the Bergen dialect. This must be an indication that – at least in some genres – dialect was indeed considered as both acceptable and as a striking artistic effect on radio. At the time, Norway was a speech community where bidialectism was common. Many people, for example shop attendants, telegraph workers, teachers, priests, actors and radio journalists used standard language at work and dialect in familiar situations. Therefore, radio plays that displayed familiar settings, would include dialect-speaking characters in order to be realistic. The decrease of this vertical bidialectism may be the most important change that took place in the Norwegian sociolinguistic landscape during the 20th century (Nesse 2015).

Still, showing authentic linguistic situations by displaying different varieties could have different nuances. (Swedish) Efraim Alexander had clear rural connotations (according to Olle Josephson, personal communication), and the Norwegian Kallemann was an urban street boy. Sverre Erichsen was probably chosen to create the new series by virtue of his reputation as reader and actor, using a multitude of West Norwegian dialects. This ability was further developed in the series about Kallemann and Amandus, where Erichsen himself played most of the characters, each character with his or her own voice quality and speech variety. A third strategy was chosen when similar programmes based on two street boys were created in Oslo in 1934 (Dahl 1999: 276). In these programmes dialect was not used. Speech style in the Oslo-based programmes will not be analysed here, but one point may be noted as it may be relevant for the understanding of the sociolinguistics of Norway: The difference in linguistic strategy indicates that the use of dialect vs. standard in different domains may have carried different connotations in different parts of the country. We cannot say this simply on the basis of these children's programmes, but analyses of two other sets of data clearly show that all dialects were not equal in Norwegian radio. In short, whereas the Oslo version of the spoken standard (Bokmål) is the variety most likely to be heard in any radio programme during the 20th century, the Oslo vernacular is one of the least likely to be heard (Nesse 2015).

DATA AND METHODS

Using radio programmes as data for linguistic research has become much easier since the substantial digitisation that NRK has been undertaking since the 1990s. The archive now contains more than 400,000 programmes,[3] some with just a couple

[3] Unfortunately, not all of these are accessible to the public, but around 40,000 can be listened to at the Norwegian national library: https://www.nb.no/

of minutes duration, some an hour long. In addition to the programme itself, contextual information about each programme is provided. This lists the topic of a programme, the music that is played and the names of people involved in the production. Only in very few instances, when the person working with the archive has found the dialect especially interesting, there is a note about 'dialect' in the written information, but there is no coherent system in this.

Which programmes were saved and which were deleted, before the policy was changed in 1986 to save everything, has had to do with the alleged importance of the subject matter for the future, but economic matters were also important. From the first decades not many programmes have been saved, since the tapes were expensive and had to be re-used several times. The fact that programmes intended to entertain children were not given priority is no surprise. Of the several hundred K&A episodes that were produced, only five remain. My earlier investigations of 300 programmes produced locally in the Nordland area during the period 1936 to 1996 showed a clear tendency as to which programmes were saved. One third of the programmes in this database were in some way or other connected to the Second World War (Nesse 2008: 112). Needless to say, these were considered important to the common Norwegian memory, which the NRK archive was obligated to preserve.

The main data for K&A thus consists of the five episodes that have been saved, produced in 1947 (two episodes), 1963, 1966 and 1968. Episodes last for between 6 and 14 minutes. In addition to these, one can hear Sverre Erichsen portray some of his characters in programmes where he is interviewed about his radio career. As secondary data, Erichsen's entries in the city archive of Bergen have been used for the investigation. This collection contains, among many other texts, a vast number of scripts for K&A programmes, from the very beginning in 1927 up to the last 'come-back' in 1973. Most of the scripts are written in dialect, or in a mix between the Bokmål standard and dialect, and can, when used with caution, be a good supplement to the recordings. In the instances where we have both recording and script, we have a good opportunity to evaluate how accurately Erichsen followed the scripts when he performed in the studio. By comparing the written and spoken versions of certain words and phrases (see below), we can learn to what degree the spelling rules and the formalized word order of the standard language still applied when he tried to write dialect.

For a researcher sitting in her office half a century after these programmes were made, it is – obviously – not possible to interpret the characters, their language and their jokes in the ways that the original listeners did. My aim is not to reproduce the original contexts of listening, but knowledge about this might expand the understanding of the reception of the programmes in their heyday. This could lead to a more accurate analysis of the sociolinguistic contextualisation of the programmes

Table 1: A questionnaire given to a group of primary listeners of *Kallemann & Amandus*

Gender and year of birth
Approximately how old were you when you listened to *Kallemann & Amandus*?
How would you describe the boys' personalities?
How would you characterise the language of the different persons in the series (including the adults)?
Are there words and expressions in these episodes that you believe children today would have difficulties in understanding?
Anything else that you would like to add?

and their implications for the linguistic community. Thus an interview with people who listened to K&A when they were children (this group is later in this article referred to as the *primary listeners*) is what constitutes the third part of the data. These data were collected during a group interview with 11 informants, born between 1931 and 1943. During the two hours of the interview, the informants listened to three of the old K&A episodes, took part in a group discussion, and filled out a simple questionnaire (in Norwegian), as follows.

There were several benefits in arranging the interview as a group discussion rather than as a series of individual interviews. The main reason is that the informants inspired each other in remembering details that they would not have remembered on their own. It soon became clear that the act of listening as a social practice was important. One of the informants said that their family did not own a radio, but that a childless couple in the street, who did have a radio, invited the children to their home every Thursday afternoon to listen to K&A. This made the listening something even more memorable. Another informant, who lived in an extended family in few rooms, said that his grandmother was among the most eager listeners to K&A, and that the adults especially enjoyed the music that was an obligatory part of the programmes. This came as a surprise to me, since the music of old radio today often seems to last longer than feels natural for a 2015 listener. In the early years, music filled out about half the programme time altogether (Bastiansen and Dahl 2008: 304). For many Norwegians, music in the radio was the only channel through which they could listen to music at home – if they did not play musical instruments themselves. Gramophones were for the more privileged, and even if they had one, records had to be bought at a high price. From the point of view of the radio company, music was a way to fill the time – and it was a way to 'enlighten the

masses'. Music that was deemed to be 'difficult' or 'inaccessible' was presented in pedagogical ways, through programmes with titles such as *Opusmusikk for umusikalske* ('Opus music for the unmusical'), *Vi besøker orkesteret* ('We visit the orchestra') and *Komponistportretter* ('Portraits of composers') (Klæbo 1953: 92).

FROM THE STAGE TO THE MICROPHONE

Sverre Erichsen's collection at the Bergen city archive can shed light on the characters that inhabit the K&A universe, on Erichsen's method when he created the episodes, and on his sources of inspiration. It becomes evident, when we look at the many scripts for different kinds of entertainment, that popular entertainment in front of the microphone was a continuation of a tradition with readings and short plays at common gatherings, anniversaries and similar events. Characters that were well-known because of the radio were used as entertainment outside radio itself, and *vice versa*. Because the characters from K&A are sometimes used in scripts for entertainment at adult parties, it must mean that adults did listen to the children's programmes and were familiar with the characters, their ways of speaking and their personalities. The rural voice in the K&A universe, the voice of the so-called Uncle[4] Tobias character, shows up in a script for a celebration of a new department store in 1938. He speaks in the broad, rural dialect of an island to the west of Bergen, and makes fun of the language of the polite head of marketing (see Extract 1).

Extract 1
From an undated script, most likely from 1938

Head of Marketing: *Var det noe spesielt De søkte, da?*
'Was there something special you [form.] were looking for?'

Onkel Tobias: *Spesielt? du snakka nett so ein prest, kar. Du får ta deg ein tur heim å preika i kyrkja vår. Dar e høgt onna takje. Jau, da va noke spesielt, ja, eg skal ha meg nye helgekle, da ska eg.*
'Special? you [inform.] speak just like a priest, man. You should take a trip home and preach in our church. It has a high ceiling. Yes, there was something special, yes, I am buying new weekend clothes, that's what I shall do.'

[4] All adults in children's programmes were adressed with *tante*, 'aunt', and *onkel*, 'uncle', and first-name, in line with how children (at least in the cities) were supposed to address adults who were friends of their family. Other adults were to be addressed as *fru*, 'Mrs.', and *herr,* 'Mr.', and surname.

Table 2: Differences between Uncle Tobias's rural dialect and the Bokmål standard forms in Extracts 1 and 2

Feature	**Rural form**	**Standard form**	**English translation**
Segmentation	tudlabrok, si- dlafiskje, sudla	tullebokk, sil- lefiske, suller	silly person, fishing for herring, fool around
Palatalization	kyrkja, takje	kirken, take	the church, the ceiling
Diphthong	ein, heim, preika	en, jem, preke	one/a, home, preach
Infinitive	preika	preke	preach
Present tense	snakka, venta, sudla	snakker, venter, suller	talk, wait, fool around
Lexis	nett, helgekle	akkurat, penklær	exactly, nice clothes

The head of marketing uses a formal address-form, *De*, to Uncle Tobias, which was the only correct way to address strangers in an urban environment in the 1930s. When Uncle Tobias uses informal address, *du*, in response, it is, however, not primarily an impolite gesture. *De* was not used as much in rural as in urban speech communities; therefore this can be seen as a failure or a refusal to adjust to the politeness conventions of the city. Since such refusals were not common at the time, they had the potential for being funny (cf. Van Hoof & Jaspers' analysis, this volume, of the Sisse character). The linguistic differences between the Bergen variant of Bokmål and the rural dialect of Uncle Tobias, are substantial; most of Uncle Tobias's words are marked as rural dialect, either on the phonological, morphological, lexical or pragmatic level (see Table 2).

When Uncle Tobias accuses the Head of Marketing of speaking like a priest he is effectively mocking him for being overly formal. In context, this is a definite insult.

We see that both form and content of this conversation serve to emphasise the normative gap between the polite life in the department store and life as a fisherman and farmer on the islands close to Bergen.

Extract 2
Continuation of the conversation in Extract 1

Head of Marketing: *Jaså, jaja, De får se innom butikken igjen i morgen da...*
'Oh, well, you [form.] should stop by the shop again tomorrow then...'

Onkel Tobias: *Imorgo? Nei no snakka du nett so ein tudlebrok! Eg e på sidlafiskje, eg, ska eg seia deg, og ikkje trur eg sidlen venta til dokker sudla dokker ferig. Eg må ut igjen på timen...*
'Tomorrow? No, now you [inf.] speak just like a fool! I am fishing for herring, I will tell you [inf.], and I do not think the herring will wait until you [inf.] are finished. I have to get back to sea this hour...

As the exchange continues (see Extract 2), the combination of the linguistic contrast and the display of how little the Head of Marketing understands of rural life is effective. The humour is created by exaggerating this contrast, and Erichsen would have been helped by the fact that many of the shop assistants present at the party where he was performing had rural backgrounds, but had learned to address customers in the formal standard in order to satisfy both their bosses and their customers; at least the most posh among them.

FROM SCRIPT TO SOUND

The scripts are typed, with additions and corrections in pencil. There is also underlining to indicate which words should be emphasised when Erichsen read the script aloud. Even if most of the scripts are written in the different dialects used in the series, the spelling bears the mark of the Bokmål standard – and of how the standard had changed. Sverre Erichsen (born in 1899) belonged to the Norwegian generation that lived through all the great spelling revisions of the 20th century, in 1907, 1917, 1938, 1959 and 1981.[5] Those parts of the scripts that are written in the standard show us a writer who, to a large degree, has adapted to the new rules for spelling, even if he from time to time writes old forms. This is a pattern typical for this generation, and is not just due to the writers' inability to follow the latest regulations of spelling. Since many authors, newspapers and other large text producers refused to follow the official norms for the orthography, spelling in society was always – and is still – not always in line with these official norms.

As is commonly known, it is not easy, or even possible, to write accurate dialect through a standard orthography. And a comparison between the written dialect of the scripts and the spoken dialect of the recordings shows a clear pattern in that the scripts are somewhat more standard-based than the recordings, on all linguistic

[5] These are the spelling revisions for Bokmål, which is the standard used by Sverre Erichsen. Nynorsk had spelling revisions in 1909, 1917, 1938 and 1959. In the 21st century, Bokmål was changed in 2005, and Nynorsk in 2012.

levels. A few examples can serve as an illustration on the principles that were at work.

1. Pragmatics

- a) Use of formal address: Change from formal address *De* in the manuscript to familiar address *deg* in the recording:
    - Script: *Men er det <u>De</u> som er politimesteren? Det stod på døren.*
    - Recording: *Men e de <u>deg</u> så e politimeistaren? Det sto på døren.*
    - 'But are you the Chief of Police? It said so on the door.'

- b) Addition of the discourse particle *mann*:
    - Script: *Nei no gjer eg meg. Gå for en luring du e.*
    - Recording: *Nei no gjer eg meg. Går for en luring du e, <u>mann.</u>*
    - 'No, now I give up. My how clever you are, man'

There is a folk linguistic stereotype that the discourse particle *mann* 'man'[6] is used extensively in Bergen. Whether this was ever the case has not been investigated, and now it is too late. (If *mann* is used in this way today, it is because of influence from English, although particles of this sort in English are themselves highly variable.) We can assume that Sverre Erichsen and other popular figures performing boys from Bergen have contributed to – if not creating, then certainly exaggerating – this stereotype.

2. Syntax

- Change of position of sentence adverb:
    - Script: *Du kan no vel skjønne det at politimesteren <u>ikke kan</u> være med å gå rundt å spille*
    - Recording: *Du kan no vel sjønne de at politimesteren <u>kanke</u> vere me å gå runt å spille*
    - 'You must understand that the Chief of Police cannot come along and play with us'

    - Script: *<u>Kunne du ikke</u> tenke deg at det var en kokebok?*
    - Recording: *<u>Kunn'ikke du</u> tenke dei at de va en kokebok, da?*
    - 'Couldn't you imagine that it was a cook book?'

The position of the adverb *ikke* has traditionally been quite rigid in written Norwegian. In the dialects, however, the position has been more flexible, and especially so

[6] Often (still according to the stereotypes) combined with the infinitive *gå* 'go' in the expression *gå mann*.

in the Bergen dialect (Pettersen 1973; Venås 1971). This may be due to language contact between Norwegian and Low German in Bergen during the late middle ages. This contact situation coincided with the period when Norwegian sentence structure was fixed as a result of the restructuring of the morphology.

3. Morphology

- Personal pronoun, 1st person sing.: Change from subject form (correct according to the standard grammar) in the script to object form in the recording:
    - Script: *Ja, de e eg så e Kallemann*
    - Recording: *Ja, de e meg så e Kallemann*
    - 'Yes it is I who is Kallemann' > 'Yes it is me who is Kallemann'

This is a common phenomenon in Norwegian, and the adjustment from *eg* to *meg* can be considered necessary for the line to sound like a dialect-speaking child.

4. Phonology:

- Change from modern to old-fashioned form of words that had been «Norwegianised»
    - Script: *tillatelse*
    - Recording: *tilladelse* 'permission'
    - Script: *antakeli*
    - Recording: *antageli* 'probably'

'Norwegianisation' (*fornorsking*) is the term used in Norwegian linguistics for the process of bringing Bokmål closer to the Norwegian dialects, and away from written Danish. This was a main reason for the spelling revisions before 1940. Since written Danish has *b, d, g* where most Norwegian dialects have *p, t, k*, to change words like *tilladelse* and *antageli* to *tillatelse* and *antakeli* was an important Norwegianisation of the spelling system. But in many words, Danish spelling had become the norm for Norwegian pronunciation, and it took a while before the norm was changed to what was considered correct, original Norwegian. So even if Erichsen writes correct Norwegian, his pronunciation is reminiscent of the older, Danish-based norm.

REBELLIOUS VERNACULAR AND OBEDIENT STANDARD?

In the series about Kallemann and Amandus, linguistic heterogeneity in and around Bergen is exploited in order to underpin the different personalities that are repre-

sented. Four varieties are used, and these would be the four best-known varieties for those who lived in Bergen early in the 20th century, and maybe even today:

i. The Oslo variant of the Bokmål standard is represented by different adults, for example the Chief of Police.

ii. The Bergen variant of the Bokmål standard is used by the boy Amandus, and by Sverre Erichsen himself, in his role as Uncle Sverre. In one episode where K&A rescue two princesses from a troll, the princesses also speak the Bergen standard.

iii. There is only one character who speaks a rural dialect, and that is Uncle Tobias, mentioned earlier.

iv. Last, but not least, the (urban) Bergen vernacular is used by two of the main characters: Kallemann himself and Aunt Amalie.

When analysing the linguistic varieties, it is important to bear in mind that even if Erichsen's imitation is good, it is indeed imitation, and it is also likely that the differences between the varieties are somewhat enlarged in order to enhance the humour potential of the programmes. Before we look at examples of the different varieties, and how they form contrasts to one another, the judgements of the primary listeners are worth looking into. Through their lived and remembered experiences, the primary listeners are closer to the linguistic stereotypes of the 1930s and 1940s than I am, and their attitudes, even though expressed in the 21st century, may have similarities with those that were dominant in the society when they were in their formative years.

The informants' evaluation of Kallemann's language was quite homogeneous; the label is either *gatespråk*, 'street language', or *kjuaguttspråk*, 'street boy language'. Amandus's language is described through a greater range of attributed traits, such as *dannet*, 'polite'; *pent*, 'nice'; *konservativt*, 'conservative'; *bergensk riksmål*, 'local standard'; and *voksent språk*, 'adult language'. That they view his language as conservative is interesting. From a modern point of view, all the persons in these programmes speak conservatively, so why pin this label on Amandus? It may be that the term *conservative* for these informants does not mean 'old-fashioned', but 'standard-like'. It has been common in Norwegian linguistics to use the labels *conservative* vs. *radical Bokmål* in order to describe Bokmål with similarities to Danish (conservative) and to Nynorsk (radical), respectively. And since several of the informants had been teachers, they may be more aware of this than most people.

Not all of the informants put labels on the language of the adults in the series (as they were requested to do in the questionnaires), but most of them did. One wrote that *de voksne har sitt normaliserte Bokmål (riksmål?)*, 'the adults have their normalised Bokmål (conservative standard?)', which was elaborated during the discussion by the statements that standard Bokmål with east Norwegian intonation was the unmarked radio variety, and that when the informants were children they believed that adults had to speak like this on the radio. Another informant wrote that the language of the adults was *anonymt – lite særpreg*, 'anonymous – featureless'. This matches what Niedzielski and Preston (2000: 20) describe as a "common folk taxonomy of competence and performance", where a standard variety is seen as the unmarked language. In contrast, all other varieties, whether they are dialects or slips, are seen as "failures to observe the rules of 'The Language'" (Niedzielski and Preston 2000: 22). The fact that linguistic variety goes together with geographical and socio-economic place in the speech community can be observed by the statement by one informant, who wrote about Aunt Amalie that she was *svært bergensk – langt fra Paradis og Kalfaret*, 'really Bergensian and far away from Paradis and Kalfaret', which are two traditionally wealthy parts of Bergen. The same informant noted that the rural variety that Uncle Tobias used would hardly be heard anywhere today. Another comment was that Aunt Amalie spoke the 'madam' Bergen vernacular. From a linguistic point of view, Kallemann and Aunt Amalie speak the same variety, only with different voice quality, but following the logic of folk linguistics, Kallemann speaks 'street language' and Aunt Amalie speaks 'madam language'. The descriptions of the varieties are as much based on the personalities and social characteristics of the speakers as on the actual linguistic output. This shows that the primary listeners perceived language as an integral part of the personality of the character, not something that can be isolated and abstracted from the rest.

Something that stands out as strange when one listens to these programmes today is the choice to have two boys as protagonists, since one of them, Amandus, to modern ears sounds very feminine. This might of course have to do with the time difference, and that indexical relations between speech style and gender have changed during the 20th century. The use of the spoken standard in Norway has, according to sociolinguistic studies, been more common among girls than among boys (see, for example in Bergen, Ulland 1984; in Stavanger, Gabrielsen 1984; in Trondheim, Fintoft and Mjaavatn 1980). In addition to the use of the standard, Erichsen gives Amandus some more specific, feminine linguistic characteristics. A high-pitched voice indicates femininity, and the discourse marker, *gid*,[7] that he uses (but which neither Kallemann nor the adult men in the series use), is noted as 'women's language' in *Norsk Riksmålsordbok* (Knudsen and Sommerfeldt 1927:

[7] The origin of *gid* supposedly is *Gud* 'God'.

1485). The primary listeners did in fact evaluate Amandus as 'the little girl in the story', so my experiencing of Amandus as effeminate is not entirely anachronistic.

However, according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 292–304), the tendency, both among linguists and non-linguists, to associate standard language with femininity is based on a usage of statistics that at best is questionable. They argue that social meanings for gender do not emerge from simple correlations, but through an indirect process of social attribution. It is not surprising, then, that in Eckert's data from Belten High, girls used both most and least of the negative concord variable. Thus it cannot be said that girls simply speak in a more standard (or less standard) style than the boys. Rather than indexing gender itself, positive correlations between social categories and linguistic features remain to be socially interpreted. In Eckert's well-known material, Jocks used negative concord less than Burnouts (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 295), and this allowed quite different interpretations of the social meaning of the sociolinguistic variable.

In our case this could mean that what is important with Amandus is how he is attributed the social traits of being 'a good student', 'well behaved' and 'timid'. The fact that Kallemann, who does not share any of these categories, from time to time uses the word *jente*, 'girl', to tease Amandus is simply Sverre Erichsen's folk linguistic interpretation along the lines that 'good student', 'well behaved' and 'timid' index 'standard language' which in turn attributionally indexes 'girl'. We must assume that, in spite of this, Amandus played a role as a sociolinguistic prototype for those children, both girls and boys, who shared his social characteristics. In this, we can see one of the success formulae of the programmes, since they offered a wide range of possible social categories to identify with.

A typical example of the relationship between the two friends Kallemann and Amandus can be heard in the extract where they visit the Chief of Police:

Extract 3

From *Kallemann & Amandus*, recording produced 14 January 1947.
(Underlined words show sociolinguistic variation, discussed in the sections below.)

Kallemann: *Se der du Amandus, der e gutt så har hannelag med gitaren. Så god bler ikkje du.*
'See, Amandus, there is a boy who is handy with the guitar. You won't be that good.'

Amandus: *Å nei, gid!*
'Oh no, dear me!'

Police: *Nå du, du vet jei har jo spilt mye mer enn det du har, Amandus. Men når du blir litt eldre så blir du nok bedre enn mei.*
'Now, you, you know I have played much more than what you have, Amandus. But when you become a little older, you will probably become better than me.'

Amandus: *De smigrer, herr politimester.*
'You [form.] flatter, mister Chief of Police.'

Kallemann: *Du eh, politimeistar – omforladelse – De menar eg. De vikkje vere med oss rundt å spelle, vel ja, uten uniform?*
'You [inf.], eh Chief of Police – pardon me – You [form.], I mean. You [form.] won't come around with us and play will you, yes, without a uniform?'

Police: *(ler) Åhå nei, nei det går nok ikke, nei.*
'(laughs) Oh no, no, that is not possible, no.'

Amandus: *Nei, han der Kallemann han e så freidi at det gåkke an! Du kan no vel sjønne det at politimesteren kanke vere med å gå rundt å spille. Du ødeleggar no alt mulig for oss.*
'No, that Kallemann, he is so rude that it is not possible! You must understand that the Chief of Police can't come with us around and play. You ruin everything for us.'

Kallemann: *Nei eg tenkte bare det at då kunne vi hatt to gitarar og munnspell då. Det hadde vært fint, men hvis han ikkje ve spelle, så kunn'an jo gå rundt med hatten.*
'No, I just thought that then we could have had two guitars and a harmonica. That would have been nice, but if he won't play, then he could go around with the hat.'

Police: *(ler)*
'(laughs)'

Amandus: *Du e verre å verre. Jei e nesten flau a dei.*
'You are worse and worse. I am almost embarrassed by you.'

Amandus is timid, but he takes on the responsibility of taming his wild friend. The adult, in this case the Chief of Police, plays the good, wise, tolerant, just, patient

person, a source of protection for the boys, at the same time as he teaches them the rights and wrongs of society. This is the same personality that the different uncles that appear in the programmes have, and it must be the personality that Erichsen considered should constitute a good, male role model. The use of standard language for this character is typical, but not obligatory. The rural dialect speaker Uncle Tobias has the same personality as the other uncles when he is featured on the radio. Only when specifically entertaining an adult party, as in Extracts 1 and 2, does Erichsen perform him as funny, flirtatious and cheeky.

SOME SALIENT FEATURES AND CHANGES OF LINGUISTIC NORM

The speech styles that characterize Kallemann and Amandus have, despite their differences, also many similarities. According to the description of the Bergen dialect (Larsen & Stoltz 1911–1912), the differences between the two main varieties were fewer than in other Norwegian cities, but needless to say, even few differences can be highly salient. (An excellent example of this is the importance of the articulation of /a/ in Danish (Thøgersen 2013)).

As in many other Norwegian dialects, the first-person singular personal pronoun is an important sociolinguistic marker; if one should decide on one single feature that marks a person as speaking vernacular or standard, this would be it. The standard variant of 'I' is /jɛi/, used by Amandus, by the Chief of Police and by Uncle Sverre, whereas the vernacular has /e:g/, used by Kallemann and Aunt Amalie.[8] In reality, all research on the dialect from Larsen & Stoltz in the beginning of the 20th century until the investigations by Nesse (1994), Nornes (2011) and Doublet (2012) a hundred years later shows that an intermediate variant /e/ is commonly used by most speakers, especially when spoken without stress. But in imitation, which is typically intended to show as many differences as possible in a short time, there tends to be no use of intermediate forms.

Another salient feature, which often co-varies with 'I', is the pronunciation of 'not'. The standard variant of 'not' is /ikɛ/, while the vernacular form is /içɛ/. This also includes elliptic forms like /viçɛ/ < /vil içɛ/, 'will not'; /gokɛ/ < /go:ʁ ikɛ/, 'goes not' ('won't do'); and /kankɛ/ < /kan ikɛ/, 'can not'.

A feature that, unlike 'I' and 'not', is more difficult to relate to social stratification is the adverb 'now'. Here, the standard variant has changed from /nʉ/ to /no/ during the 20th century, while the Bergen vernacular always has had /nu/. According to Myking (1983), there is even a question whether /nʉ/ was ever really established

[8] Most speakers who use /jɛi/, 'I', will also use /mɛi/, 'me'; /dɛi/, 'you' (in object form) and the reflexive pronoun /sɛi/. Most speakers who use /e:g/ will use /me:g/, /de:g/, and /se:g/.

Table 3: The sociolinguistic development of the adverb ‘now’

Old system				
Bergen vernacular	Bergen standard	Oslo vernacular	Oslo standard	Danish
/nu/	/nʉ/ and /nu/	/no/	/nʉ/	/nu/

New system			
Bergen vernacular	Bergen standard	Oslo vernacular	Oslo standard
/nu/	/no/ and /nu/	/no/	/no/

in the Bergen version of the standard, or if even those who used the iconic standard variants /jɛi/ and /ikɛ/ would use /nu/ most of the time. A point to take into consideration is that the old norm, Danish, had the pronunciation /nu/[9] (see Table 3), and this may of course have led to the fact that many Bergeners preferred this. This dubious sociolinguistic status of the adverb is cleverly recognised by Erichsen, who lets Amandus use the same variant as Kallemann, /nu/. The Chief of Police, however, who speaks the Oslo Standard, uses /no/, and thus performs according to the modern standard of the time.

This feature is a good example of the sociolinguistics of Norwegian after 1850; the Danish norm is slowly exchanged for an east Norwegian norm. In this case, it was not before the spelling revision of 1938 that <nu> was exchanged with <nå> in writing, and the change in the spoken standard has followed even slower. The matter is further complicated by the fact that in several north Norwegian dialects, /nʉ/ is in fact the vernacular variant.

Another change in the sociolinguistics of Norwegian is that bidialectism was far more common in the heyday of K&A than it is today (Nesse 2015). Standard-speaking boys (and to some extent girls) spoke the standard at home with their parents, but shifted to the vernacular when they were outside playing with friends (Nesse 2008: 50–56). Thus the nickname for the vernacular was *gatespråk*, ‘street language’. It was the style one could use in the streets (which is where city children played). Today this pattern is less common, and Norwegian bidialectism is more of a horizontal phenomenon, due to individual moving. If a family moves from a rural area and into Oslo, for instance, the children may use the Oslo vernacular at school and with friends, but the rural dialect at home in the family. The adults will most

[9] The pronunciation of the letter <u> is pronounced /u/ in Danish and /ʉ/ in Norwegian. The word spelled <nu> would therefore be pronunced /nu/ in Danish and /nʉ/ in Norwegian. The Norwegian standard pronunciation /nʉ/ was one of many examples of how spoken standard Norwegian followed Danish orthography, not Danish pronunciation.

likely keep their rural dialect even if they move to the city. Vertical bidialectism between dialect and standard is very seldom heard (of), and it has been common in the Norwegian speech community to disregard bidialectism among adults as inauthentic. For children, it may be a strategy in order to avoid teasing. Sandøy (2013: 147) interprets the increased use of dialects in most domains as a characteristic of late modernity, and there is a high awareness in the country of the high status of most (but not all) dialects. The result is that – with some exceptions – the only standard speakers left in Norway, are those who learn this variety at home, as their first and only way of speaking.

PRAGMATIC DIFFERENCES

There are clear pragmatic differences between the two boys' styles. This is not strictly connected to vernacular vs. standard, but to politeness and behaviour. And where choice of variety to describe personality builds on stereotypes in the speech community (e.g. 'gentle boys speak more standard-like than tough boys'), pragmatic choices can be linked more directly to social behaviour. The boy who is said to be the best pupil makes sure he uses the 'right' form of address, whereas the more reckless boy forgets. In Extract 3 Amandus uses both formal address and title correctly the first time, when he says *De smigrer, herr politimester*. Kallemann, on the other hand, does not use the title, and misses the first attempt to use correct address: *Du e politimeistar – omforladelse – De menar eg*. Important here is *omforladelse*, 'forgive me' – it confirms what the listeners have learned, that Kallemann is a good boy who means well, and he is forgiven both by them and by the Chief of Police himself. In 1947 formal address and titles were still obligatory in formal situations in urban Norway, at least when children spoke to adults who were strangers. Today a boy like Kallemann would be expected to say *du politimestar* or even *du Erling*, using the Chief's first name.

When the two boys quarrel, the typical pattern is that Kallemann teases or accuses Amandus for something he cannot do, or does not do well enough. Amandus complains that Kallemann is naughty or reckless – or mean. Or, as we saw in the extract above, he claims that Kallemann is an embarrassment for both of them. But the contrasts between the boys are in some programmes used positively instead of negatively. In a programme from 1966, where K&A return from summer holidays in the country with Uncle Tobias, the fact that Kallemann has steered the boat most of the way is not commented upon by Amandus. He, on the other hand, is eager to present a poem he has written about the holidays, and Kallemann comments *Heia Amandus ikkje Amandus'n søkkane go, mann*, 'Go Amandus, isn't Amandus great, man'. In this case, the two boys are presented as different, but equal.

LEXICAL CHANGES AS A RESULT OF CHANGES IN SOCIETY

The literature on linguistic change most often emphasises structural changes; this in contrast to the folk linguistic emphasis on changes in the vocabulary. For sociolinguistic history, it is relevant to analyse the social background of the different lexical changes. Some changes may be explained by the changing status of influential languages. Other changes may be explained by changes in the lifestyles of the speakers, and data from K&A can be used to shed light on such lexical changes. First we will look at the 'good-bye' formula, *adjø*, that was used by all people in Bergen, probably many times a day. After that we will discuss how the noun *ris* had its connotations changed due to lifestyle changes.

Adjø was a common good-bye formula in Norwegian and Danish, at least from the 18th century on, and it is the only one used in K&A. Its origin is French *à Dieu*, 'with God', and the Norwegian pronunciation was /adjˈø:/ or /ajˈø:/. According to the primary listeners, the pronunciation with or without the /d/ was sociolinguistically relevant, connected to age – adults said /adjˈø:/ and children said /ajˈø:/. This is in line with the way this word is used in the K&A universe, so Sverre Erichsen must have been of the same opinion as the primary listeners when it came to the age difference in the pronunciation. Today, *adjø* has been replaced by the Norwegian /ˈha:dɛ/, an abbreviation for *ha det bra*, 'have it good'. The loan translation from English *see you*, /vi ˈse:s/, is also common today. The replacement of *adjø* can be seen as the last part of the replacement of many Romance features in the dialect, especially connected with address: *Måsjø* from French *Monseigneur* and *Madamm* from French *Madame* disappeared already in the 19th century.

A change that is more connected to culture and lifestyle than to linguistic issues relates to the connotations of the word *ris*, /ri:s/. The original meaning of this word in Norwegian is 'bundle of twigs', and from there it came to mean 'spanking', since twigs (in the form of a birch rod) were used for that purpose. Later, rice, also called *ris*, was introduced into Norwegian kitchens, and the word *ris* then had both meanings, both 'spanking' and 'rice'. As late as 1968 Erichsen makes a joke of this in a K&A episode, showing that even if rice had become a little more common in Norwegian kitchens, spanking was still the most obvious connotation for the boys:

Extract 4
From *Kallemann & Amandus*, recording produced 10 May 1968.

Tante Amaile: *Ja, kor e han henne? De va no kjekt om vi kunne spise alle sammen me en gang.*
'Yes, where is he? It would be nice if we all could eat together at once.'

Kallemann: *Amandus'n stakk av de samme han såg deg. Han e redde du ska je 'an juling.*
'Amandus ran away the moment he saw you. He is afraid you're going to spank him.'

Onkel Sverre: *Juling?*
'Spank him?'

Tante Amalie: *Ja, kan dokkar forstå ka de e så går utav guttongen, han har skydd meg i flere dagar.*
'Yes, can you understand what is the matter with the boy, he has been avoiding me for several days.'

Onkel Sverre: *E de noe galt han har jort, kanskje han går omkring me dårli samvittihet?*
'Maybe he has done something wrong, and goes around with a bad conscience?'

Kallemann: *Han innbillar seg så mykkje løgent, han. Han sa de at tante Amalie hadde lånt en bok å de va en lerebok i fosjellie måta te gi juling på. Vent bare te hon blir utlert, sa han.*
'He imagines so much strange, he does. He said that Aunt Amalie had borrowed a book and it was a text book in different ways to spank. Just wait until she is all educated, he said.'

Tante Amalie: *Hah, for en fantasi, dokkar. Han sa ikkje kordan han såg ut den boken då.*
'Hah, what a fantasy. He didn't say how it looked, that book.'

Onkel Sverre: *De må vere en merkeli bok.*
'That must be a strange book.'

Kallemann: *Nei, han hadde bare sitt at 'an låg på kjøkkenbore å der såg 'an ovarskriften. Så, åsså, åsså kom du me de samme jau eg tror de va juling på hundrede måtar eller så va de pryl på hundrede måtar han hetet.*
'No, he had just seen it lying on the kitchen table and there he saw the title. And then you came at once yes I think it was spanking in a hundred ways or it was called beating in a hundred ways.'

Tante Amalie: *Hahaha nei no jer eg meg ovar. Stakkars Amandus for en fantasi, dokkar. Boken hetar ris på hundrede måtar.*
'Hahaha now I give up. Poor Amandus, what a fantasy. The book is called rice in a hundred ways.'

Onkel Sverre: *Jei kunne tenke mei de.*
'I could imagine that much.'

Kallemann: *Jomen ris e jo de samme så pryl de mann.*
'Yes, but spanking is the same as beating.'

Onkel Sverre: *Kunn' ikke du tenke dei at de va en kokebok da. Der e jo noen gryn som kalles for ris og vet du.*
'Couldn't you think that it was a cook book? There are also some cereals that are called rice, you know.'

Kallemann: *Åh, gå for nokken toskar vi har vært, mann! Nei, no e de visst best te seie takk for i dag.*
'Oh my what fools we have been! No, now it's best that we say thank you for today.'

Onkel Sverre: *Ja, de e visst de, du. Takk for idag alle sammen.*
'Yes, it seems to be that. Thank you for today, all of you.'

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The programmes with Kallemann and Amandus are valuable as data both for investigations of linguistic and sociolinguistic change and for investigations of how different varieties were used in order to make entertaining programmes for children at a time when the ideal of the spoken standard was much stronger in the Norwegian society than it is today. The use of dialect in these programmes may be interpreted in different ways. One is to see them as exceptions from the common norm that prescribed the use of the standard for those employed as presenters and performers on the radio. Another possible angle is to see the dialect use as an early indication of the changes that were to come in the sociolinguistics of Norwegian, where dialects were to expand their domain. A third angle is to see these programmes as not first-and-foremost examples of radio entertainment, but more widely as popular entertainment with long traditions that were continued in radio. Interpreted as such,

we can put emphasis on how these and other programmes show in which way radio inherited types of entertainment from other domains/genres.

All three interpretations are valid, and in this chapter we have seen that a combined approach can be fruitful, and that data from programmes such as *Kallemann & Amandus* can be used to expand our knowledge and understanding of both linguistic history, sociolinguistic history and media history. However, such a combined approach means that several other relevant dimensions must be omitted, on grounds of practicality. Clearly, there are several sociolinguistic features that have not been mentioned here. Likewise there are several other radio programmes that would provide useful comparative evidence, and these can profitably be addressed in future research.

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Negotiating linguistic standardization in Flemish TV fiction around 1980: Laying the grounds for a new linguistic normality

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INTRODUCTION[1]

In the successful TV series *De Ronde*, 'The Tour', aired on the Flemish public broadcaster VRT in 2011, two men called Dieter and Lasse spend the day together in the publicity convoy that precedes the most important annual cycling race in Flanders, the *Ronde van Vlaanderen*, 'the Tour of Flanders'. Things go far from smoothly, however. Halfway along the route Lasse has to pull up to allow Dieter to answer an urgent call of nature. Since publicity cars are not allowed to break ranks, Lasse is then, much to his chagrin, ordered by a police officer to leave the convoy altogether. When Lasse vents his frustration upon Dieter's return, the latter counters Lasse's reproaches by pointing out, in his routine West Flemish dialect, that 'for [him] it hasn't been an easy day either' ('*t was veu mie ok hene hemak'lijken dah hé!*).

Lasse's response[2], formulated in his routine, less dialectal/ more standard style marked by Brabantic features, is a scathing rejection of that argument. After telling Dieter not to talk nonsense (*och zevert nie jongen*, 'oh don't talk rubbish man'), he produces a vehemently caricatural imitation of Dieter's retort:

[wɑsməwɛʔoindɛhmɑʔhɑ̃ːhwɜndæːhæʔɜ̃ː]

This imitation formally underlines the message of Lasse's turn: it portrays Dieter's retort as incomprehensible nonsense by mockingly reproducing some prototypical West Flemish dialect shibboleths, such as the glottal stop (although Dieter's original utterance doesn't contain any), and the fricative [h], which is the typical West Flemish pronunciation of the phoneme /ɣ/. After this outburst, Dieter shuts up – i.e., he

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[2] See www.youtube.com/watch?v=kyQPE2AbGXs.

accepts the aggressive symbolic degradation of his routine speech style, by respecting a "place for 'no talking'" (Macbeth 1991).

De Ronde as a whole provides an apt illustration of how linguistic heterogeneity is organized in much of contemporary mainstream audiovisual fiction in Flanders, the officially Dutch-speaking north of Belgium (see, for a more elaborate discussion, Van Hoof 2015). The routine speech style of most characters in present-day fiction, including Lasse, is a hybrid style that Flemish linguists often call *tussentaal* or 'in-between language' – a term that refers to its identification as deviant from, although at the same time borrowing from, the socially recognized 'registers' (Agha 2007) called 'dialects' and 'Standard Dutch'. The growing popularity of this hybrid style has attracted a lot of attention from linguists interested in trying to define its distinctive or stabilizing features (see e.g. Geeraerts and Van de Velde 2013). The difficulty of this undertaking (cf. Grondelaers and van Hout 2011), and the fact that what linguists call *tussentaal* may in specific interactions count as "speaking dialect" or "speaking Standard Dutch" (Jaspers and Van Hoof 2015), illustrates that *tussentaal* is not "differentiable from the rest of the language without using native metapragmatic judgments of norm and deviance as criteria on identification" (Agha 2015: 307). A focus on the characteristics of *tussentaal* thus fails to reveal that naming features *tussentaal* (or 'dialect', 'standard') "indexes relationships between social groups" (*ibid.*) or locates the name-giver and the object-discourse in a language-ideological framework where speakers are differentiated from each other in relation to their identification as 'standard' or 'deviant'. In this chapter, then, and following Agha in his discussion of slang varieties, we will be using *tussentaal* as a term for a speech style that combines features of what is customarily recognized as 'dialect' and 'standard language', but also as a term that has been used to position speakers in relation to each other.

Tussentaal has in Flemish TV fiction become a relatively unmarked speech style (Bucholtz and Hall 2004), the use of which allows fictional personae, like Lasse, to mockingly imitate other personae's dialectal speech styles without fearing or incurring social penalties for it within the local conditions at hand. To be sure, dialects are presented as marked ways of speaking in most Flemish fiction: they are mostly constructed as deviant speech styles that are readily topicalized in metalinguistic comments, and often serve as an easy butt of mockery or amusement – some of Dieter's lines in *De Ronde* became popular catch-phrases for a while. Not surprisingly in this light, the use of dialects often becomes iconic of characterological deviance as well (cf. Gal and Irvine 1995): dialects are almost invariably assigned to quirky and comical characters, while 'normal', serious personae mostly speak *tussentaal*. Finally, the register that is at the top of the socially recognized linguistic hierarchy in Flanders, Standard Dutch, only has a marginal part to play in most contemporary TV series and films. It is recruited for use in formal and institutional

settings (e.g. court cases), but it is hardly ever used by non-institutional voices or in informal circumstances. In *De Ronde*, the only character who produces Standard Dutch is a priest reading the Sunday Mass, and when he greets the churchgoers after the service, he switches to *tussentaal*.

This division of labour conflicts with widespread, long-standing discourses on linguistic variation in Flemish media and education, which customarily reserve Standard Dutch as the exclusive speech style for public discourse. Consequently, the booming use of *tussentaal* has incurred quite some hostility from journalists, educators, intellectuals as well as from the general public. Secondary school books teach pupils to disapprove of this "bedorven Nederlands, morsig en slecht" ('rotten Dutch, grubby and bad'; see De Schryver 2012: 145). Eminent linguists and literary authors categorize it as "lui Vlaams" ('lazy Flemish'; Taeldeman in Notte and Scheirlinck 2007), "hamburgertaal" ('hamburger language'; Taeldeman 1992: 37), "kromtaal" ('crooked language'; Hertmans 2012) or "koetervlaams" ('jabber Flemish'; Barnard 1999). Political party brochures and educational policy briefs describe *tussentaal* as a way of speaking that threatens equal opportunities and efficient communication (see Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012; Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013).[3] Also the public broadcaster VRT frequently finds itself in the line of fire, given its earlier role as one of the main channels for the large-scale and very intense linguistic standardization campaign that was organized in Flanders between the 1950s and 1980s (Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013). In 'capitulating' to *tussentaal*, the VRT is accused of legitimizing this type of language use and adding to its prestige (see e.g. Janssens and Marynissen 2003: 149).

Recently, quite a few linguists have interpreted the increased use of *tussentaal*, in mediated as well as unmediated contexts, as a symptom of the gradual weakening of the standard language ideology, i.e., of a process of destandardization. Such interpretations chime in with broader, pan-European appreciations of changing attitudes towards linguistic normativity across Europe. The currently most widely used definition of destandardization is the one formulated by Coupland and Kristiansen, who take the term to "refer to a possible development whereby the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'. […] Such a development would be equal to a radical weakening, and eventual abandonment, of the 'standard ideology' itself" (2011: 28). Previously stigmatized speech styles seem to be increasingly getting access to public space and are penetrating the formerly exclusive habitat of the standard, a process which would in effect amount

[3] As such, *tussentaal* has been treated much less benevolently than dialects have been, which along the lines of a typically modernist language ideology (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003) have been mostly romantically cherished as juicy and folkloric remnants of a linguistic past, and which have been considered to have an authenticity and purity that *tussentaal* is seen to lack (see Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013).

to a form of sociolinguistic democratization (*ibid.*; cf. Coupland 2014: 85; Deumert 2010). For Flanders in particular, van der Horst has called attention to a "widening of the norm", "increased tolerance", and a "decreasing fear of variation and 'foreign elements'" (2010: 23), while Willemyns has noticed (for the Netherlands as well as Flanders) "an important attitudinal change [that] is upgrading the prestige of intermediate varieties: people seem to take them more seriously and their use is more commendable" (2013: 245–246). Grondelaers and van Hout (2011) and Grondelaers, van Hout and Speelman (2011) have argued on the basis of experimental attitude research that Flanders is experiencing a 'standard language vacuum': since Standard Dutch is all but a virtual variety, exclusively used by Flemish news anchors, and given that no other way of speaking is consistently identified as 'best' or 'most pretty' by test subjects who were invited to judge the regionally coloured but formal spoken Dutch of teachers, no stand-in appears to be ready to replace the virtual norm (*ibid.*: 217–218).

While there certainly is truth in these analyses (see below), we believe that a conceptualization of the current situation in Flanders as a case of destandardization may be mistaking increasing competition between cultural metadiscourses that valorize different speech styles for the demise of a formerly uncontested discourse that put a premium on Standard Dutch. We will substantiate this belief by focusing on Flemish TV fiction in a relatively 'unsuspected' period, *viz.* the late 1970s and early 1980s, which are usually considered to predate the above-mentioned changes. Before we do so, we will first turn to the changes that audiovisual media, as well as public discourse about language in Flanders, have gone through since the early 1980s.

CONTEXT: CHANGING SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONDITIONS IN FLEMISH BELGIUM

Analyses of destandardization rightly, in our view, call attention to changing sociolinguistic conditions that collide with traditional metadiscursive regimes. Developments in audiovisual media are part of these changes: gradually increasing technological possibilities have significantly broadened the bandwidth occupied by state-owned broadcasting corporations that inscribed themselves in a largely civilizational mission, and they have offered ample room for new media to invest in specific genres (notably entertainment), to commercialize the consumption of audiovisual products and to recruit whatever linguistic tools can facilitate these projects. In Flanders, the liberalization of the TV market in the late 1980s has led to a more pronounced presence of nonstandard language use in audiovisual media as a sign of authenticity, informality, unpretentiousness, conviviality and 'dynamism'

(Grondelaers and Speelman 2013; cf. Kristiansen 2001). Whereas the monopolistic VRT still saw language instruction, in the form of didactic radio and TV shows on 'proper' (i.e. standard) language use, as a part of its mission to elevate viewers, its priorities have shifted to informing and entertaining viewers in the current competitive media landscape.

Increased ambivalence towards prescriptivism is another change. In line with the receding popularity of discourses of civilization in a now postcolonial age, and inspired by discourses that put a premium on diversity and democratization, more and more language experts and/or exemplary speakers (authors, politicians, TV presenters, sociolinguists, official authorities) have developed an ambivalent relationship towards standard language use, in Flanders as elsewhere. Whereas linguists used to be among the most prominent activists propagating standardization in Flanders (Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013; Van Hoof 2015), and while they are today still often expected to uphold the norm for 'correct' language use (cf. Jaspers 2014: 17), (socio)linguists now openly criticize linguistic purism, while expert voices and public and governmental institutions recruit nonstandard language use in their writing, oratory or public communication (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012; Grondelaers and van Hout 2011). Another reflex of the retreat of civilizational discourses has been an increasing anti-elitism, as a result of which standard language speech is portrayed as undesirably intellectualist and uncool (cf. Cameron 1995; Coupland 2010; Mugglestone 2003). Also in Flanders, in many contexts 'talking proper', as Mugglestone puts it, has become 'talking posh'.

In spite of these evolutions, however, there are a number of facts that suggest that it may be premature to announce the demise of linguistic standardization as a historical metadiscursive regime for the organization and domestication of language (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003). First of all, there are clear signs that, as nation states face the music of the globalizing economy and the new valuation of bi- and multilingualism, they are reinventing rather than relegating (as a sign of the past) the notion of the standard language through representing it as a technology of the mind (Collins and Blot 2003) or as a commodifiable, technical skill that is prerequisite for equal access to jobs, social cohesion and efficient communication – as a result of which, the presence of other languages on national territory is often presented as a threat to these ideals (Heller and Duchêne 2012; Jaspers 2015).

Secondly, we do not think the sheer increase of nonstandard language use in the public sphere, and on television in particular, can be taken as a straightforward sign of the dwindling impact of standardization, at least if we consider the latter to entail a hierarchization of speech styles and the installation of "a system of stratified speech levels linked to an ideology of speaker rank", instead of a drive towards uniformity in all possible contexts (Agha 2007: 201; cf. Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013: 10). Although the above-mentioned evolutions undeniably lead to the

emergence of "a society where singular value systems [*viz*., those that promote one variety as exemplary] […] are being displaced by more complex and […] more closely contextualised value systems" (Coupland 2010: 75), linguistic variability in TV fiction and entertainment is, at least at this stage, still governed by an ordering principle that reserves the more authoritative domains (hard news) for standard language use and relegates vernacular language use to less prestigious entertainment genres, where it is mostly produced by non-institutional voices (Androutsopoulos 2010; Coupland 2014). Neither has the massive increase of televisual entertainment implied the demise or degradation of non-entertainment – 'infotainment' precisely appears to draw its distinctive appeal as a type of entertainment from its informative character. Furthermore, even though attitudinal studies bear out that *tussentaal* is attributed positive qualities of dynamism, trendiness and assertiveness (Grondelaers and Speelman 2013), there is no evidence as yet that this stands in the way of the idea of a prestige and high-status style that should be used by 'exemplary speakers', such as news anchors, teachers or linguists.

Finally, characterizing the current Flemish sociolinguistic situation as a case of 'destandardization' raises the question of how the preceding phase (of 'standardization'?) ought to be conceptualized. More specifically, hypotheses of destandardization in Flanders seem to have often (tacitly) presupposed that prior to the destandardization stage, "the idea of 'best language' in its absolute and totalising singularity" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 29) was unproblematic. But "periods are not all of a piece" (Woolard 2004: 58), so that "we cannot just assume that dominant language ideologies exercise a seamless hegemony" (Jaffe 2009a: 246), or ever did so (cf. Coupland 2014: 86). Indeed, even in the period when standardization propaganda in Flanders was at its peak, *viz*. from the 1950s to the 1980s, certain social spaces allowed for a process of critical negotiation with the standard language ideology. Some of these may have had little or no discursive leverage, but other spaces produced "public sphere representations" (Agha 2007: 202) that reached a wide audience, such as the genre of TV fiction on the Flemish public broadcaster.

In what follows then, we will first demonstrate how, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, this genre reproduced the stereotypical sociolinguistic hierarchy in which Standard Dutch was at the top and dialect at the bottom, but also inflected and challenged it. This raises doubts about whether Standard Dutch ever fully commanded the former authority and attractiveness that current accounts of destandardization in Flanders seem to ascribe to it. In addition to this we will challenge the assumption that nonstandard, hybrid linguistic practices such as the use of *tussentaal* are necessarily counter-hegemonic practices, resisting or "exist[ing] outside of the normatizing influences of standardization" (Coupland 2014: 86), by demonstrating how the use of *tussentaal* emerges from our TV fiction data as a linguistic practice that is conditioned by, feeds off and partially reproduces a standard language ideology.

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF FLEMISH TV FICTION (1977–1985)

In focusing on TV fiction we align ourselves with the burgeoning sociolinguistic interest in 'telecinematic discourse'. Whereas this has long been a neglected area in sociolinguistic research, a recent series of predominantly qualitative studies (see e.g. Androutsopoulos 2012b; Bucholtz and Lopez 2011; Gibson 2011) has demonstrated how telecinematic discourse need not be taken as merely reflecting 'naturalistic' patterns of sociolinguistic variation in the 'real' world, but can be fruitfully analysed as "a site of social action in its own right" (Androutsopoulos 2012a: 142; cf. Agha 2007: 202), where the deployment of linguistic variability in patterns of characterization and in the development of the narrative may have more to reveal about language ideologies than about actual linguistic usage 'in real life'. In line with this approach, and using an analytical framework loosely based on Androutsopoulos (2012b), we analysed all of the 13 series that the VRT broadcast in the period 1977–1985,[4] on three different levels. At the 'macro-level', we investigated the genre characteristics of every series and inventoried their linguistic repertoires, i.e. the sum of all speech styles used in them. At the 'meso-level', we charted the sociodemographics and the narrative importance of the characters within each series, and investigated the allocation of styles to characters. At the 'micro-level', we produced detailed interactional analyses of pivotal scenes, containing instances of style shifting and switching, stylizations, i.e. instances of characters momentarily adopting an 'inauthentic' voice markedly contrasting with their 'own', routine voice, and other instances of metalinguistic commentary. This three-level approach allowed us to assess to what extent the distribution of different speech styles across different series is tied to their genre (drama or comedy), to investigate how linguistic choices are deployed in characterization, and to lay bare the shared as well as the more local social meanings that are attributed to different speech styles in the series.

[4] These series were, in alphabetical order, *Daar is een mens verdronken*, 'There a person drowned' (1983); *De burgemeester van Veurne*, 'The mayor of Furnes' (1984); *De collega's*, 'The colleagues' (1978); *De kolderbrigade*, 'The baloney brigade' (1980); *De vulgaire geschiedenis van Charelke Dop*, 'The vulgar history of Charelke Dop' (1985); *Geschiedenis mijner jeugd*, 'History of my youth' (1983); *Hard Labeur*, 'Hard labour' (1984); *Maria Speermalie* (1979); *Met voorbedachten rade*, 'With premeditation' (1981); *Paradijsvogels*, 'Birds of paradise' (1979); *Rubens, schilder en diplomat*, 'Rubens, painter and diplomat' (1977); *Slisse & Cesar* (1977) and *Transport* (1983).

REPRODUCTIONS OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC HIERARCHY IN TV FICTION

Our analysis revealed that at the macro-level, the corpus displays a 'genre hierarchy', in which the standardness of language use in a series is at least in part bound up with its prestige, and whether it is (serious) drama or (more popular) comedy. Thus, Standard Dutch is the base style in historical costume drama. Such high-end dramas were often adaptations of Flemish literary classics, made with large budgets, often in cooperation with Dutch TV channels, aired in prime-time on Sunday evening, and considered by the Flemish broadcaster's management and board of directors as the most important productions in the total output of TV fiction that the VRT produced (Dhoest 2004). Typical for many of such prestige productions is the absence of any socially conditioned linguistic variation. In the costume drama *Rubens, painter and diplomat* (1977), staging the life of the famous baroque painter Peter Paul Rubens, dukes and duchesses, diplomats, craftsmen, innkeepers, prostitutes and homeless people all speak Standard Dutch. The same holds for *Maria Speermalie* (1979), an adaptation for the screen of Herman Teirlinck's novel of the same name, in which farmers and craftsmen speak no less standard than the landed gentry on whose estate they work.

Other, lower-budget drama productions adapted literary works focusing on rural life in 19th or early 20th century Flanders, rather than on elite circles. The farmers and craftsmen that are the protagonists in these productions, such as the naturalistic drama *Hard labour* (1984), produce an intermediate speech style which appears intended to be as standard-like as possible, while still evoking the dialect that such historical characters would have spoken in reality, through the sporadic use of dialect lexis and the mild (and inconsistent) use of some nonstandard phonology and morphology that linguists would today consider typical for *tussentaal* (cf. Bleichenbacher 2008: 59 ff.). A similar hybrid style is also used in the few contemporary (i.e. non-historical) series produced in the period 1977–1985. While in the drama *Transport* (1983), the *tussentaal* use of some of the central characters (lorry drivers and their wives) also seems to serve as an evocation of a dialectal speech style, for others it arguably is their target style, i.e. intended as a realistic reflection of the actual hybrid speech style of similar people in 'real life'. Also the *tussentaal* spoken by some characters in *The colleagues* (1978), a tragicomedy portraying a group of co-workers at their office, was intended not as a diluted form of what in reality would be dialect, but as "een natuurlijke spreektaal", 'a natural colloquial lan-

guage', reflecting the speech style of "doodgewone mensen", 'perfectly ordinary people'.[5]

All serious drama, then, featured either Standard Dutch, or more hybrid, intermediate language use. Fully-fledged dialect use, in contrast, was mostly limited to comedy. The partly-comic *The colleagues* featured some dialect speakers, as did the popular contemporary comedy *The baloney brigade* (1980) and the nostalgic, 1950s situated sitcom *Slisse & Cesar* (1977). The more prestigious and serious the fictional production, then, the more standard-like the base style used in it.

At the meso-level also, patterns of characterization in the corpus display a clear sociolinguistic hierarchy, with Standard Dutch typically assigned to high-status characters, and *tussentaal* or dialect mostly to the lower-status characters. In the prestigious drama *The mayor of Furnes* (1984), for example, all main characters, who have an upper-class and upper-middle-class background, speak Standard Dutch. One secondary character, the mayor's mother, who is an elderly fisherwoman living in a rural coastal town, uses a hybrid style infused with some nonstandard features (see Jaspers and Van Hoof 2015). This style seems intended to evoke dialect use without using fully-fledged dialect (cf. Vandekerckhove and Nobels 2010). It indexically links nonstandardness with rurality, old age and low social status, and helps project a social hierarchy in which Mayor Terlinck has made a steep ascent of the social ladder from the lowly position where his mother still finds herself.

In the hierarchy of the administrative department where *The colleagues* is set, the blue-collar staff all speak dialect, the mid-level staff use *tussentaal*, and the assistant managers are routine speakers of Standard Dutch. The only exception is office manager Tienpondt, whose dialect use can at least in part (but see below) be read as a relic of his former lower rank: he started his career at the bottom of the social scale, without a university degree, and managed to work his way up to become head of the office. In this way, it looks as though language use in *The colleagues* is at least in part intended to reflect characters' (former or present) social positions, reproducing the stereotypical associations of dialect with lower class positions and of Standard Dutch with high social status.

Thus, mediated public sphere representations of language variation in late 1970s and early 1980s TV fiction at the macro and meso level by and large attest to the uptake and reproduction of the standard language ideology: they display a clear hierarchical ordering in terms of the genres and the characters that different speech styles were assigned to. The linguistic divisions between serious, cultured drama and light-hearted comedy, between the higher and lower classes, and between modern characters and rural folk are fairly clear-cut. Some series, however, partially reinforce traditional taxonomies that associate linguistic standardness with high

[5] According to the actors that played these characters (see Van Hoof 2015 for further elaboration).

prestige and culturedness, but also partially break them down. This is, not surprisingly, especially the case in comedy, which we will now illustrate by focusing on the micro-interactional level.

AMBIGUATING THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC HIERARCHY IN COMEDY

In *The colleagues* dialect is an index of low social status and blue-collar work, but also of communicative incompetence. Two of the characters that are lowest in rank, classifier Jomme Dockx and coffee lady Madame Arabelle, are routine dialect speakers who time and again struggle with 'difficult' or learned words, complex expressions, abstract language use, and written genres and registers. Madame Arabelle is made fun of when she triumphantly reports to the other colleagues that she has been cured from her recent illness thanks to *aquapunctuur*, 'aquapuncture', a treatment which consisted of inserting needles in her *knoopzenuwen* (literally 'knot nerves', instead of *zenuwknopen*, 'ganglions'). When another colleague uses the expression *Joost mag het weten*, 'heaven only knows', literally 'Justus may know', Dockx asks him with interest who Joost might be. And when Dockx takes an exam in order to get promoted from classifier to clerk, the compulsory essay he writes is a clumsy combination of unnecessarily formal and literary words and expressions, non-existent case forms, contaminations, and registers that are inappropriate in the exam essay genre, such as poetic and judicial language use. Predictably, Dockx's attempt to get promoted ends in fiasco, but not before his co-workers have extensively ridiculed his piece of writing. In such scenes *The colleagues* typifies dialect as a working-class speech style, suitable for use in non-intellectual, hands-on activities, but unfit for the more complex, abstract and intellectual tasks (like writing a letter, or taking an exam) typical of modern, bureaucratic societies. Dialect speakers' limited linguistic competences, then, justify their low position in the social hierarchy at the office.

Manager Paul Tienpondt, however, breaks up the stereotypical association of dialect with low social status and inarticulateness: his no less salient dialect use has never hindered him in becoming head of his own department and acquiring the corresponding material wealth (he owns an apartment at the Belgian coast and one in Salou, Spain). He is witty and *ad rem*, and none of his subordinates question his authority or doubt his intellectual capacities. This high-status dialect-speaking character can afford to speak a markedly less than standard style, and thereby implicitly casts doubt on whether a sound competence in Standard Dutch is the *conditio sine qua non* of social mobility in late 20th century Flanders, as advocates of Standard Dutch have always (and up to this day) maintained.

The slightly subversive character Tienpondt shows that dialects did not entirely "know their place" (Coupland 2014: 90) in *The colleagues*. Moreover, what contributed to the "fracturing of traditional indexical relations" (*ibid.*) was the show's playful recycling of the linguistic instruction that the VRT broadcast between the 1950s and 80s in various didactic shows on radio and TV. Echoing those purificationist 'language tips', standard-speaking second head of department Bonaventuur Verastenhoven constantly corrects his colleagues' 'faulty' use of Flemish or French words and expressions into 'proper' Dutch, in response to which his co-workers are offended, ignore him, show their irritation by parroting him, or explicitly voice their indignation about what they consider to be unwanted, bossy and finicky remarks. Greatly contributing to the parodic quality of Verastenhoven's characterization is the fact that his characterological oddities are piled on thickly. His purificationism extends beyond the linguistic domain, as he suffers from bacillophobia, and his marital status – at forty still unmarried and living with his mother – as well as his high-pitched voice and laugh suggest, in the hetero-normative frame of the series, that he is homosexual. In this way, *The colleagues* parodically turns the erudite, refined speaker of Standard Dutch into a patronizing, meddlesome and jaunty closet gay (also see Nesse, this volume).

In addition, the high positions that standard speakers such as Verastenhoven hold at the office are constantly challenged through metalinguistic commentary: lower in rank, nonstandard-speaking characters often produce parodic voicings of standard speech, which (re)produce indexical links between standard speech and pretentiousness and effeminacy. By stylizing standard speech, the nonstandard-speaking characters demonstrate that they are well able to speak Standard Dutch, if they wanted to. By simultaneously keying these performances as hyperbolic and parodic, however, they also signal that standard speech is (in their view) invested with mainly unfavourable connotations, and that this is the reason why, in their routine speech style, they only switch to it purposefully in a limited number of contexts. The following scene, in which *tussentaal* speaker De Pesser imitates Standard Dutch speaker Verastenhoven, provides a good example.

Extract 1: The king of the hat

From *The colleagues*, episode 2. Abbreviated transcription.

Participants and setting: The colleagues are having a coffee break. It has just been announced that Verastenhoven has been promoted to second head of office, at the expense of De Pesser, who also took the exam but remains junior clerk. De Pesser is outraged. Italics indicate stylized Standard Dutch.[6]

1	De Pesser:	[...] ik blijf erbij da Verasten'oven	[...] I maintain that Verastenhoven
2		politieke voorspraak 'eeft g'ad. mijn	has had political mediation. My
3		examen was beter Verasten'oven.	exam was better, Verastenhoven.
4	Persez:	er: hebben nog andere dingen meege-	Other things have also played a part,
5		speeld Te Pesser. cultuur.	De Pesser. Culture.
6	De Pesser:	cultuur?!	Culture?!
7	Persez:	achtergronden.	Backgrounds.
8	De Pesser:	ah dus ik 'eb gene cultuur.	Oh, so I don't have any culture.
9	Persez:	dat heb ik niet gezegd [Jean.]	That I haven't said, [Jean.]
10	De Pesser:	[°hm°] ik heb evenveel cultuur as de	[°Hm,°] I have as much culture as
11		homo sapiens Verasten'oven [hè]	the homo sapiens Verastenhoven,
12			[right?]
13	Persez:	[evenveel] maar een andere.	[As much] but a different kind.
14	De Pesser:	ja, de cultuur van de	Yes, indeed, the culture of the
15		werkmens ja.	working man.
16	Tienpondt:	[((maakt 'rustig aan'-gebaar naar	[((gestures at Persez as if to say
17		Persez)) °( )°]	'take it easy')) °( )°]
18	Persez:	[Paul met alle respect] voor de cultu-	[Paul, with all due respect] for the

[6] Transcription conventions in the original Dutch version in this and the following fragments are as follows:

[text]	overlapping talk
((text))	'stage directions'
=	latching, no pause between turns
text	stress
,	continuous intonation
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
!	animated tone
:	elongation of preceding sound
[1.0]	duration in seconds
<text>	speech delivered more quickly
>text<	speech delivered more slowly
°text°	speech spoken more softly
( )	inaudible speech
(text)	unclear speech, transcriber's guess

		ur van de werkmens maar er is een verschil.	culture of the working man, but there is a difference.
	De Pesser:	e verschil?!	A difference?!
	Persez:	ja.	Yes.
	Verastenh.:	een onderscheid.	A distinction.
	De Pesser:	een onderscheid! ((gebarend in de richting van Verastenhoven)) zal ik is demonstreren, dad ik daar even goed kan zitten als de homo sapiens Verasten'oven hè, med evenveel cultuur hè!	A distinction! ((gesturing at Verastenhoven)) Now let me demonstrate that I can sit there just as well as the homo sapiens Verastenhoven, with just as much culture, right?
	colleagues:	((zacht geroezemoes))	((soft buzz))
		((De Pesser beent naar Verastenhovens bureau en duwt onderweg zijn kop in de handen van madame Arabelle))	((De Pesser heads for Verastenhoven's desk, on his way shoving his cup in Arabelle's hands))
	Arabelle:	°joei°	°Ooh°
	De Pesser:	*a:h daar zijn we dan weer* [*allemaal vrienden!* ((lachend)) *hoho!*]=	*A:h there we all are again,* [*my friends!* ((laughing)) *Hoho!*]=
	Tien-	[(allez). De Pesser.]	[(Come on), De Pesser.]
	pondt?:De	=*ik wens jullie een prettige dag!*	=*I wish you a pleasant day!*
	Pesser:	((gaat zitten aan Verastenhovens bureau)) *hoho:::!*	((sits down at Verastenhoven's desk)) *Hoho:::!*
		er valt hier een berg werk te verzetten! maar:, met een beetje goeie wil, nie waar, ((maakt beweging met handen)) *vrienden?*	*There's lots of work to do here! Bu:t, with some good will, right,* ((gestures)) *my friends?*
		((lacht))	((laughs))
	Van Hie:	((neemt telefoon van de haak, ademt	((takes the phone off the hook,
	De Pesser:	erop, wrijft hem schoon met een zakdoek))	breathes on it, wipes it clean with a handkerchief))
		((zacht gegrinnik))	((soft chuckle))
	colleagues:	((Persez geeft zijn kop koffie aan Arabelle, maakt 'ik geef het op'-gebaar, loopt naar Verastenhoven, geeft hem een bemoedigend klopje op de arm, maar die trekt zijn arm weg. Persez loopt weg))	((Persez hands his cup to Arabelle, makes 'I give up' gesture, walks up to Verastenhoven, pats him on the arm. Verastenhoven draws it back. Persez walks away))
		((in hoorn)) *menee' Persez! a:::h*	((in receiver)) *Mister Persez! A:::h,*
	De Pesser:	[*Philemon. ik zou graag es een*	[*Philemon. I'd like to have a conversation with you about Jean De Pess-*

59		*onder'oud met u hebben over 'et*	*er's behaviour. Disgraceful by any*
60		*gedrag van Jean De Pesser.*	*standard.*]=
61		*beneden alle peil.*]=	[((soft mutter))]
62		[((zacht gesputter))]	=*Plebeian, as you say!* ((changes
63	Tienpondt:	=*plebejer! zoals u zegt.* ((wisselt van	ear))
64	De Pesser:	oor))	*Mister party chairman, may I extend*
65		*meneer de partijvoorzitter, mag ek u*	*to you my gratitude for the good*
66		*mijn dank toerichten voor de goede*	*>offices you've put yourself<*
67		*>bemoeiing die u zich 'ebt<*	*out to for my appointment?=*
68		*getroost bij mijn benoeming?=*	((chuckle))
69		((gegrinnik))	=((changes ear)) *The king of the*
70	colleagues:	=((wisselt van oor)) *de koning van de*	*hat!=*
71	De Pesser:	*hoed!=*	((laughs))
72		((lacht))	=*Madam, I would like to pop in later*
73	Tienpondt:	=*mevrouw, ik zou straks es even*	*today in order to purchase*
74	De Pesser:	*willen binnenwippen voor 'et*	*a* [*new hat. With a*] *little bird on top,*
75		*aanschaffen van een* [*nieuwe hoed.*	*madam!* ((chuckles))
76		*met een*] *vogeltje op mevrouw!* ((gie-	((lower voice)) *Well I am, ma'am.*
77		chelt)) ((lager)) *ben ek ook mevrouw.*	
78		[((grinnikt))]	[((sniggers))]
79		[((verontwaardigde geluiden))]	[((indignant sounds))]
80	Van Hie:	[allez Jean!]	[Come on, Jean!]
81	colleagues:	gezien Verasten'oven?	Did you see that, Verastenhoven?
82	Tienpondt:	((legt hoorn neer))	((puts down receiver))
83	De Pesser :		

Even though Persez earlier confirmed off the record that Verastenhoven's promotion was a political appointment, he now suggests, this time in public, that De Pesser's lack of a cultural capital that Verastenhoven does possess (line 13) was decisive (cf. Bourdieu 1996). This is very humiliating for De Pesser: from a purely political matter, which was beyond his power to influence, the missed promotion has now turned into a defeat for which he has himself to blame. De Pesser takes revenge for this severe loss of face with an elaborate theatrical performance, in which he demonstrates that he is well able to master the 'high culture' that standard speaker Verastenhoven epitomizes and which 'working man' De Pesser, according to Persez, should himself pursue, but at the same time also fiercely renounces the tastes and types of behaviour that this culture according to him entails. He does this by imitating Verastenhoven's mannerisms (e.g. his bacillophobia, by cleaning the receiver of the telephone like Verastenhoven does every morning (line 47–49)) and

by stylizing Verastenhoven's routine Standard Dutch (line 36 f.), which contrasts sharply with De Pesser's own routine tussentaal.

De Pesser has his version of Verastenhoven confirm explicitly that his promotion was indeed a political appointment, and has him conspire against De Pesser with an imaginary version of Persez. The finale (line 70 ff.) refers to the new hat Verastenhoven earlier on in the episode intended to buy at the hat shop, 'The king of the hat'. Whereas Verastenhoven was planning to buy a sober hat, De Pesser in his performance turns it into an extravagant piece with a bird on top. The reply 'well I am, ma'am' (line 77) suggests that the imaginary shop lady on the phone, guessing from this frivolous choice, is inquiring about Verastenhoven's sexual inclination. De Pesser thus, in public and in the company of Verastenhoven himself, explicitly voices *and* confirms the rumours about Verastenhoven's homosexuality, an insinuation which results in blatant loss of face for the latter. In Bourdieusian terms, De Pesser ascribes a set of dispositions or a 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991, 1996) to the 'culture' that Persez refers to – a habitus which he renounces as effeminate and closely entwined with collusion and favouritism, and he portrays speaking Standard Dutch as one of the airs and graces typical of that habitus. He demonstrates how the standard is deployed by its speakers as a mechanism of distinction (*ibid.*), and that it is just one of the symbolic means for sealing off superordinate positions from 'working men' like himself, rather than the ticket to social mobility that advocates of Standard Dutch traditionally claim it to be.

Language-ideological ambiguation and contestation also occur in *Slisse & Cesar,* a nostalgic sitcom situated in the 1950s, in which nearly all of the main characters are affluent, middle-class dialect speakers, and – except for the somewhat simple Cesar – highly intelligent, eloquent and verbally agile personae. In several scenes this counter-stereotypical indexicality of dialect is forged in opposition to Standard Dutch, which is, just as in *The colleagues*, mostly associated with unfavourable characteristics. Thus, one episode features the guest performance of Mister Cocufier, the architect who has designed the new house the Slisse family is building and will soon move into. Cocufier is caricatured as a Standard Dutch-speaking, intellectualistic, wordy and airy type with preposterous 'modern' architectural ideas: he advocates a so-called MCR or 'multi-colour room', with every wall painted in a different colour, on the grounds that 'this progress to a high extent breaks the monotony that is the cause of so many failed marriages', and proposes to have a staircase, for which there is not enough space inside the room, exit the house through a window, calling the technique 'intramuros via extramuros'. The Cocufier character contrasts sharply, and humorously, with Sander Slisse, the dialect-speaking protagonist who has an uncomplicated, somewhat more conservative, but also much more worldly take on the architectural matters that the architect has come to discuss. The confrontation between the two culminates into a conflict over a fireplace, which the archi-

tect did not include in his original design, but which Slisse insists on having installed, instead of the system of air conditioning that the architect has planned.

Extract 2: Life is a stage

From *Slisse & Cesar*, episode 3.

Participants and setting: Slisse, his wife Melanie and Mr. Cocufier are discussing the architect's plans in the Slisses' living room. A chimney is called schouw in nonstandard Dutch in Flanders (schoorsteen in Standard Dutch), referring to the showcase function of the mantelpiece in the home. *Schouw* is related to English 'show' and is also used in Dutch compounds such as *schouwburg* 'theatre' and in the proverbial expression *het leven is een schouwtoneel*, 'life is a stage', coined by renowned Dutch playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679). Slisse plays on this double meaning: he suggests he will have no life without a chimney (*schouw*) at home, and retorts to Mr. Cocufier, who puts these down as Slisse's 'own words', that these are actually Vondel's words, since the latter said that *het leven is een schouwtoneel*, 'life is a stage'.

1	Slisse:	'eet te fabriek 'ien schaa? 'eed e schip	Doesn't the factory have a chimney?
2		gien schaa?	Doesn't a ship have a chimney?
3		[en gaa menieër Krotufier,]	[And you Mister Krotufier,]
4	audience:	[((lacht stil))]	[((laughs quietly))]
5	Slisse:	die paaip in uwe mongd 'edde gaa	that pipe in your mouth do you per-
6		misschien oek gien schaa!	haps not have a chimney either!
7	audience:	[((lacht))]	[((laughs))]
8	Melanie:	[((ruwe stem)) o:ch wad 'ee(t) tat er	[((harsh voice)) O:h what does that
9		na me te moaken!]	have to do with it!]
10	Slisse:	=veel! 'ie:ël veel zelfs. nemt 'em	=A lot! A whole lot in fact. Take his
11		vandoag z'n paaip af, en verplicht	pipe from him today and oblige him
12		'em morgen toebakconditioning te	tomorrow to smoke tobacco condi-
13		smoeëren,	tioning,
14		[en de lol is er af!]	[and the fun's over!]
15	audience:	[((*lacht*))]	[((laughs))]
16	Cocufier:	[ik ben van mening dat] wij van ons	[I am of the opinion that] we are
17		onderwerp wegdrijven!	drifting off topic!
18	Slisse:	=<in tegendieël menieër>, we draai-	=<On the contrary sir>, we're drift-
19		ven d'r re:gelrecht nortoe! in zoeëver-	ing right towards it! To that extent
20		re zelfs da 'k nu me zeker'eid kan	even that I can say with certainty
21		zeggen, zongder schaa, gien 'oëssko-	now: without a chimney, no living
22		amer, zongder 'oëskoamer gien gezel-	room, without a living room no con-
23		lig'ad, en zongder gezellig'ad, gie	viviality,

24		leiven!	and without conviviality, no life!
25	Cocufier:	dat zijn uw [woorden!]	Those are your [words!]
26	Slisse:	[nee] menieër, da zen de woorden van	[No] sir, those are the words of Joost
27		Joeëst van de Vongdel, dieë gezee	van den Vondel, who has said:
28		'ee, 'et leven is e schaatonieël!	'life is a stage!'
29	audience:	[((hard gelach, applaus [8.0]))]	[((hard laughs, applause [8.0]))]

Slisse is clearly winning the audience's favour in this scene: his witty interventions, his word-play (*Krotufier* instead of *Cocufier*, with *krot* denoting 'slum' or 'shack', line 3) and the slightly absurd comparison of a chimney and the architect's pipe (lines 5–6) build up to a climax in which he displays erudition and literateness through inserting Vondel's famous words into his own plea for a chimney (line 28). The audience welcomes this pun with roaring laughter and long applause (line 29). Slisse moreover gets what he wants: with Melanie's consent it is decided that the architect will redraw the plans, including a chimney with a mantelpiece. In other words, in this scene the dialect-speaker verbally has the upper hand over the Standard Dutch speaker, and his performance aligns dialect with rhetorical brilliance and interactional superiority. At the same time it is not irrelevant to underline that *Slisse & Cesar* was an overtly nostalgic sitcom. Apart from highlighting the absurdity of 'modern' architectural plans, the protagonist also deplored, among other things, people's obsession with progress and technology, to juxtapose it with the 'speed of human thinking'. This staging of the series, then, did frame dialect use in a way that is consonant with a standard language ideology: it implied a clear-cut *retour au dialecte* that at the same communicated that, in all its brilliance, this way of speaking too, or choosing to speak it undilutedly or unambiguously, was a symptom of the past.

STANDARD DUTCH AND DIALECT: VARIABLE INDEXICALITIES

The examples above illustrate how the standard language ideology resonates extensively in the series in our corpus. The typification of dialect as a folkloric, pre- or anti-modern, inarticulate working class speech style chimes in perfectly with how dialect speakers were portrayed in the pro-Standard Dutch propaganda that Flemings were confronted with at school, in youth movements, in language columns in newspapers and magazines, and not least in the purificationist language shows the VRT aired on a daily basis until the 1980s (Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013). TV fiction thus testifies to the relatively wide uptake of this intense and at times quite fierce standardization propaganda, but at the same time also provides indications of critical negotiations with it – the framing of dialect in *The colleagues* and *Slisse & Ce-*

sar, for example, ambiguates, inflects and sometimes explicitly contests its traditional associations, and illustrates that "'stigmatized' vernaculars [...] have more positive social connotations as well" (Coupland 2009: 285).

Not unimportantly, also the negative connotations that Standard Dutch exudes in some shows can be interpreted as unintended side-effects of the Flemish linguistic standardization campaign. The explicit equation of speaking Standard Dutch with linguistic fanaticism and radical purism (in particular in *The colleagues*, but also in *Slisse & Cesar* – see Van Hoof 2015) suggests that the lack of success that Standard Dutch has always had outside formal and institutional contexts might, at least in part, be the result of overeager standardization efforts that have backfired, and indicates that linguistic standardization, at least in its most hair-splitting form, was less hegemonic or uncontested than it often is held up to be.

These findings, in our view, complicate hypotheses of destandardization. While most hypotheses of destandardization in Flanders locate the advent of this process at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, and suggest it coincides with the gradually loosening hold of a civilizational metadiscursive regime, our analysis points out that the social meanings of dialect and Standard Dutch constituted complex indexical fields (Eckert 2008) already in a period when standardization efforts were still vigorous. If Flemish TV fiction in the late 1970s and early 1980s goes beyond simple associations of dialect with social stigma and Standard Dutch with prestige and high status, hypotheses of destandardization run into difficulty if they portray such ambiguity, lack of respect for the standard language, or the attribution of prestige to nonstandard speech styles as symptoms of a distinctly new linguistic era (cf. Garrett, Selleck and Coupland 2011). Put differently, rather than having gone through an evolution from a "pro-standard consensus" to a "mixed ideological field" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 32), the Flemish language-ideological field seems to have been mixed already when standardization was still in full sway – illustrating Woolard's point that "[w]hen periodized worldviews or discourses are taken not as broad-stroke caricatures but as sequential monoliths of thought, with abrupt clean ruptures between them, we miss the important fact of conflict between competing conceptualizations – of language […] – in any given era" (2004: 58).

In addition, our findings complicate analyses that interpret the growing use and legitimacy of *tussentaal* as a straightforward symptom of the gradual crumbling of the formerly hegemonic standard language ideology (see e.g. Willemyns 2013; van der Horst 2010). In contrast to this view, we suggest that the positive valorization of linguistic hybridity can be conditioned by a standard language ideology and go hand in hand with the (partial) reproduction of that ideology. In our data at least, the use of *tussentaal* does not imply the adoption of an anti-standard, counter-hegemonic stance, but rather, the strategic, often ambiguous and varying (dis)affiliation with

those characteristics conventionally attributed to dialect and Standard Dutch under the influence of an ideology of standardization. This would imply that *tussentaal* is in fact predicated on linguistic standardization, rather than signalling its negation or demise. We explore this hypothesis in the next section.

LAYING THE GROUNDS FOR A NEW LINGUISTIC NORMALITY

A few shows in our corpus, notably *Transport* and *The colleagues*, recruit *tussentaal* as the base style for ordinary people in contemporary settings. The 'linguistic normality' of *tussentaal* is most clearly illustrated in *The colleagues*, where its metadiscursive typification contrasts with that of both dialect and Standard Dutch, in several ways.

Compared to dialect or standard speech, the use of *tussentaal* in *The colleagues* hardly ever compromises its speakers. In contrast to dialect speakers, routine speakers of *tussentaal* are rarely challenged to prove their competences in Standard Dutch or in formal or written registers. If they are, they are able to do so quite aptly, and they never have any trouble understanding or using any abstract, learned or otherwise difficult words. Despite its nonstandardness, then, *tussentaal* in this show is generally an index of articulate, verbally competent personae. Moreover, whereas stylizations and imitations of dialect and standard speakers abound, and the *tussentaal* speakers are often precisely the ones who deliver them, their own speech style seems to be a far less obvious target for theatrical performances or metalinguistic commentary, as it is never the object of such (critical or ridiculing) imitations or stylizations. Thus, *The colleagues* implicitly seems to portray *tussentaal* as a 'normal' or non-humorous speech style against which other styles stand out as salient, conspicuous and therefore often funny linguistic choices (cf. Billig 2005).

In addition, different types of correction practice are framed differently in the show, depending on the kinds of linguistic 'errors' they target. Contaminations, ungrammatical sentences and mangled expressions like those that Dockx and Madame Arabelle frequently produce are invariably ridiculed, and corrections or mockery of such errors, which are often voiced by *tussentaal* speakers, rarely meet with protest from the other colleagues. More often, they respond to them with smiles, grins or laughter that validate and approve the intervention. Such corrections are, in that way, framed as legitimate, and the errors themselves as ludicrous. In contrast, nonstandard words and expressions, often typical 'flandricisms' which are frequently used by *tussentaal* speakers as well as by dialect speakers, are only corrected or criticized by Standard Dutch speakers, and most of these corrections meet with irritation and indignation from the other colleagues. Such purificationist interventions are, in other words, framed as over-zealous and *il*legitimate, and a 'moderate'

degree of nonstandardness as normal and acceptable. To illustrate this, the following scene shows *tussentaal* speaker Van Hie legitimately poking fun at an error-stricken upward style shift by dialect speaker Dockx.

Extract 3: Get to work

From *The colleagues*, episode 34. Simplified transcription.

Participants and setting: It is morning. Dockx, Van Kersbeke, De Pesser and Van Hie have just arrived at the office. The men are reading their newspapers. Dockx folds his up. ABN stands for *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands*, 'General Civilized Dutch', i.e., Standard Dutch. Adelbert is Dockx's son. Italics indicate (a speech style intended as) Standard Dutch.

1	Dockx:	j:a! ik zal is *aan den ar::beid*	Y:es! Now how about I get *to work*,
2		schieten se.	hey!
3	V.Kersbeke:	Jomme. dad ABN laat ta maar hè	Jomme, leave that ABN, will you,
4		seg ik ken u zo nie.	that's not how I know you.
5	Dockx:	jamaar ik moet van m'nen Adel-	But my Adelbert tells me to
6		bert ta*t* spreken!	speak *that*!
7	Van Hie:	((grinnikend)) hij moet van zijnen	((grinning)) His Adelbert tells him
8		Adelbert ((nadrukkelijk)) <u>da*t*</u>	to <u>speak</u> <u>*that*</u>.
9		<u>spreke*n*</u>.	
10	Dockx:	ja en gij moet taar nie*t* me*t*	Yes, and you should *not* laugh *at*
11		lachen.	that!
12	Van Hie:	((nee schuddend)) ik lach daar	((shaking his head)) I do *not* laugh
13		nie*t* me*t*.	*at* that.

Dockx, whose precocious son Adelbert is a staunch defender of Standard Dutch (ABN), tries to demonstrate to his colleagues that he is well able to speak the standard himself as well. In doing so, however, he cuts a poor figure: he uses the wrong word order (*ik moet van m'nen Adelbert dat spreken* instead of *ik moet dat spreken van m'nen Adelbert*, 'my Adelbert tells me to speak it' (lines 5–6)), a syntactic error which is immediately mockingly imitated by Van Hie in lines 7–9. Trying to get back at Van Hie, Dockx only makes it worse: in an attempt to carefully pronounce all his final /t/'s (which ought to be pronounced in Standard Dutch, but are often deleted in nonstandard Dutch), he makes another mistake, by using the preposition *met*, 'with', instead of the adverbial equivalent *mee*, 'with', that is required in this syntactic context (lines 10–11). This again results in a mocking echo from Van Hie (lines 12–13).

Van Hie's routine speech style is not Standard Dutch either: if he were talking *in propria persona* he would most probably say *hij moet ta spreken van zijnen Ad-*

elbert (cf. lines 7–9) and *ik lach daar nie mee* (cf. lines 12–13), and thus produce a form of *tussentaal* that shares the /t/-deletion in *ta* and *nie*, the progressive assimilation in *ta* and the inflected possessive pronoun *zijnen* with Dockx's dialect (in contrast to Standard Dutch 'dat', 'niet' and 'zijn'). Despite the nonstandardness of his own routine speech, though, he here demonstrates that he is nevertheless more than knowledgeable about the standard, through a mocking imitation of Dockx's mistakes relative to the grammatical rules of that variety. He can legitimately perform this correction practice (without being put down as finicky by any of the other colleagues) and firmly positions himself as verbally competent: he signals that, in contrast to the dialect speaker, he is well able to produce Standard Dutch if needed, even though he does not do so routinely.

All in all, then, speaking *tussentaal*, i.e., using a hybrid speech style which is nonstandard and 'mildly' regional, but *not* strongly local and markedly dialectal, is portrayed in *The colleagues* as normal, legitimate and perfectly compatible with articulateness and verbal agility. Speakers of *tussentaal* are able to style themselves as non-elitist and still professionally competent. A strongly locally coloured, i.e. 'fully-fledged', dialectal style, in contrast, is indexical of communicative incompetence, whereas Standard Dutch is constructed as socially overbearing. A different typification of these speech styles would of course have been perfectly possible (see Van Hoof 2015 for examples of the non-ironic use of Standard Dutch as a base style in fiction). And since it is difficult to investigate what *tussentaal* in *The colleagues* sounded like to late 1970s and early 1980s ears, it is not unimaginable that our representation of *tussentaal* as a 'normal' and unmarked speech style may ultimately have more to do with current conceptions of such language use, and with sociolinguists' sympathy for vernacular rather than standard speech styles, if not with finding historical legitimacy for a speech style the authors of this chapter use themselves on a daily basis.

But to drive this argument home, one would have to disregard the fact that *The colleagues* frequently alluded to linguistic standardization and its conventional typification of styles in the first place; one would equally have to ignore the impact of a more general evolution that Giddens (1991) has called the emergence of a 'post-traditional' society, where social roles are less defined than before and have to be actively negotiated. In this light, our findings suggest that producing a hybrid mix that combines features of both Standard Dutch and dialect creates a convenient 'indeterminacy' (Jaffe 2009a, b) that allows speakers to capitalize on the positive connotations of dialect and Standard Dutch at the same time as it helps them to avoid the negative connotations of both speech styles. As Jaffe (2009b:18) argues, identity work can be motivated towards claiming singular, fixed, well-recognized social categories for the advantages this confers upon the speaker (such as authority, or authenticity). But speakers may also

> exploit indeterminacy in language use as a way of resisting processes of regularization, reglementation and categorization, using their agency to suspend definition when being clearly defined creates dissonance, personal or interactional conflict, discomfort or disadvantage. Because multiple social and linguistic positions, identities and stances are relevant or useful for social actors, they can have an interest in exploiting the fundamental indeterminacy or multivalency of language use to maintain flexibility of self-presentation in potentially unpredictable or volatile social fields of reception and interpretation. (Jaffe 2009a: 242)

Considering the various jokes and types of ridicule that linguistic practices evoked in a series such as *The colleagues*, it is not far-fetched to suggest it is an "unpredictable or volatile social fiel[d] of reception and interpretation" for the different speech styles that are produced there. And in this light, it makes sense for those characters who seek "flexibility of self-presentation" to produce a mixed, "indeterminate" type of Dutch that "suspend[s] definition" or mitigates the extent to which speakers can be held accountable for identities or stances taken up or ascribed to them (Jaffe 2009b: 18). Those characters who use *tussentaal* indeed align themselves flexibly with characters along the office hierarchy, depending on their roles and relationship in each new participation framework. Extract 3 provided an illustration of how *tussentaal* speakers dis-align from dialect speakers, while Extract 1 showed, conversely, one of the numerous instances where *tussentaal* speakers disaffiliate, and sometimes quite strongly so, from the standard speakers, through producing parodic voicings of standard speech. Such variable strategies of alignment are also displayed in other ways. De Pesser's self-presentation as a 'working man' (see Extract 1), for instance, is corroborated by his voting for the socialist party and his being a union representative. At the same time he is eager to make promotion, and he frantically attempts to conceal his modest living conditions from his colleagues, by lying about the fact that he rents (and does not own) his house, by pretending the house has a garden, and by bragging about travels to the Canary Islands (while his yearly holiday is a week much closer to home, in the Ardennes). Thus, he strategically aligns himself, depending on the context, with working or middle class attributes, positions and aspirations.

CONCLUSION

The occurrence of *tussentaal* in *The colleagues* was not new; there were already reports of its existence in the pro-standard discourses of the 1960s and 1970s, where it was often presented as a regretful hotchpotch that remained far below standard

language expectations (see Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013).[7] But the producers of *The colleagues* and the actors who used this speech style on this show did not seem to regard it (anymore) as a 'failed Standard Dutch', nor as a 'mild' evocation of dialect (compare the section 'Reproductions of the sociolinguistic hierarchy in TV fiction' above), but to valorize it as a normal, non-conspicuous if not respectable speech style, associating it with (what were regarded as) socially more acceptable personae. This valorization on the one hand stood (and still stands) in competition with the predominant explicit evaluations of this speech style in hegemonic metadiscourses which put a premium on Standard Dutch. But on the other hand it also feeds off these discourses, as *tussentaal* speakers in *The colleagues* could also be seen to engage in correction practices and reproduce the hegemonic linguistic hierarchy to assert their superiority *vis-à-vis* dialect speakers.

There is of course a difference between arguing that individual speakers in TV fiction are strategically exploiting the indeterminacy that hybrid speech styles can offer, and suggesting that a whole community has consequently accepted this hybrid speech style to avoid undesirable identity attributions. But TV fiction and the different competing cultural metadiscourses it helped circulate can be argued to have at least had an impact on the "social life of [the] cultural value" (cf. Agha 2007: 190) of different speech styles in Flemish society, and for the most popular of these series, this impact may sometimes have been considerable. *The colleagues* for three seasons brought into circulation metadiscursive depictions of Standard Dutch, dialect and *tussentaal* in which the discourse of the Flemish standardization campaigns clearly resonated, but was also critically reworked, before a viewing audience equalling nearly one-third of the Flemish population. Regardless of how the members of this audience responded to them in their own subsequent (meta)discourse, seeking to align their self-images (partly or wholly) with the characters depicted in *The colleagues*, or not (cf. Agha 2007), the show in any case "create[d] a memorable cast of fictional characters, whose popularity made the link between accent and social character more widely known" (*ibid.*: 214).

It does not seem implausible either to suggest that, beside TV fiction, other contexts also offered room for similar negotiations with the hegemonic standard language ideology and for alternative metacultural typifications. Also in TV entertainment and certain unmediated contexts, the success of *tussentaal* may have been, and probably still is, in large part due to the need for a multivalent speech style that

[7] This representation also has its fictional counterparts in our corpus: imperfect renditions of Standard Dutch, exhibiting interference from dialect, are produced by Jomme Dockx in *The colleagues* (as we saw in Extract 3 above), but also by Melanie Slisse in *Slisse & Cesar* when she tries to accommodate and express her deference to architect Cocufier, and by an agitated and slightly panicking Sander Slisse, when he addresses the doctor who will help his daughter deliver her baby.

indexes "multiple social and linguistic positions, identities and stances" (Jaffe 2009a: 242) as potentially available and relevant in a post-traditional society. Such flexible positioning only seems to be encouraged by (and indeed, may be taken 'more seriously' (cf. Willemyns above) as a result of) the increasing tension between the processes of democratization, informalization and commodification since the late 1980s and 1990s on the one hand, and on the other hand the legacy of linguistic standardization and the various attempts to revalorize it as an economic necessity and civic duty.

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Dialect and local media: Reproducing the multi-dialectal hierarchical space in Limburg (the Netherlands)

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INTRODUCTION[1]

This chapter aims at contributing to an understanding of processes of language standardization by looking at a multidialectal public live performance, broadcast by local media in the Dutch province of Limburg. We will focus on this live performance, which involves a reading-aloud event of extracts from the fantasy book series *Harry Potter*. For this event, extracts were translated in written form into various Limburgian dialects. These translations obeyed the normative dialect orthography acknowledged by the most important main actors in Limburg (see later).[2] The imposition of a normative spelling for dialects evidences processes of codification and implementation, two major stages in language standardization (cf. Deumert 2004, Haugen 2003, Milroy 2001). These ongoing processes in Limburg result in the standardization of multiple dialects that differ maximally from each other, especially at the level of the lexicon. These processes also anchor the multiple dialects to place.

Language standardization involves concern with form and function, and is based on as well as framed by 'discursive projects':

> Standardization is concerned with linguistic forms (corpus planning, i.e. selection and codification) as well as the social and communicative functions of language (status planning, i.e. implementation and elaboration). In addition, standard languages are also discursive projects, and standardization processes are typically accompanied by the development of specific discourse practices. These

[1] This work by Cornips, de Rooij and Stengs was supported by Fellowship Grants from *The Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (NIAS).

[2] See http://www.limburgsespelling.nl/ (accessed 3 February 2016)

> discourses emphasize the desirability of uniformity and correctness in language use. (Deumert 2004: 2)

The Dutch province of Limburg is well-known for its long historical process of dialect enregisterment (see the following section) and, therefore, presents an interesting case for exploring how this ongoing process of dialect enregisterment compares to processes of standardization as defined by Deumert (2004).

Coupland (2007), among others, has demonstrated that dialect or localized linguistic elements may better be understood as resources from which people may draw when evoking 'the local' or a local identity. Localness, then, is enacted and created, in performances of dialect varieties or dialect forms that are regarded as distinctive for a certain place. The linguistic production of place is an instance of ideologically informed processes in which linguistic elements become indexical of particular social categories, and may subsequently be involved in processes of enregisterment (Agha 2007; Johnstone 2013).

Through process of dialect enregisterment, linguistic resources and their imagined speakers have become inextricably intertwined with specific places (Auer 2013; Quist 2010) in Limburg. In this province enregistered ways of speaking are named after locations, i.e. the dialect of Maastricht or *Maastrichts* (in Dutch)/*Mestreechs* (in dialect), the dialect of Kerkrade or *Kerkraads* (in Dutch)/ *Kirchröadsj* (in dialect) and the dialect of Venlo or *Venloos* (Mestreechs, Kirchröadsj and Venlo(o)s are denominal adjectives with adjectivizing suffix *-s*, meaning here 'Maastricht/Kerkrade/Venlo dialect'). The impact of this naming is all about power since it renders an object visible and imparts a certain character to things (Tuan 1991: 688).

The label *dialect* itself is a problematic, ambiguous term in sociolinguistics. According to Johnstone, dialects are 'mapped onto geographical space' in a more Germanic dialectological tradition, and mapped 'onto demographically defined social groups' in a more Anglo-Saxon tradition (Johnstone 2011: 569). 'Dialect' here is used along the lines of Leerssen, in order to bring in the power asymmetries between speaking a dialect and standard language:

> A dialect is the non-official means of communication for a community or region; it has limited currency and is passed on without educational institutions, in the informal privacy of the home situation. It is often oral and rarely written, its usage is often limited to homely matters of family and community life. (Leerssen 2006: 261–262)

The labels *dialect* and *standard* (language) used by both linguists and lay people conceptualize ways of speaking as clear-cut, bounded entities, comparable to wide-

spread perceptions of culture – or, rather, cultures – as discrete objects. From a linguistic analytical point of view, dialects in Limburg differ from the standard language, i.e. standard Dutch, on all linguistic levels (Cornips 2013; De Schutter and Hermans 2013; Hermans 2013). For speakers, objects labeled as dialect and standard have psychological reality and are cognitive constructs creating borders between groups of speakers reflecting a shared 'they speak like us' or 'they speak differently from us' feeling, based on evaluations of ways of speaking in relation to the local and social contexts of users.

The enregisterment of Limburgian dialects, and the dialect awareness that goes with it, has its origins in the 19th century when Limburgian identity (distinguished from a national, Dutch identity) became an increasing topic of concern, especially among the Limburgian elite. Comparable to the growing attention paid to dialects elsewhere in Europe, this resulted in a boom in dictionaries, literature and local history writing. These linguistic products have been central in an ongoing process of enregisterment resulting in dialects that have become distinctive and characteristic for specific localities on a micro-level within the province.[3] This historical substrate of linguistic awareness, dialect-related and historical publications and sensitivity for the locality of certain linguistic elements provide the background of our topic of concern.

With Coupland and Kristiansen, we believe that

> [r]esearching language ideologies should give us access to the social and cultural dynamics that position European languages as socio-cultural symbols and resources in their different settings. (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 11)

Moving beyond a more general conclusion, demonstrating the importance of local language in the construction of local identities, this case study shows how the coexistence of different dialects inform a sense of a distinct, unique Limburgian identity (Cornips et al. 2012; Thissen 2013). As we will show, processes of dialect standardization, which started in the 19th century, continue to confirm and reproduce this paradoxical notion of 'multidialectal identity', or, in other words, the idea of 'unity in linguistic diversity.' In this chapter we aim to show how media contribute to singling out one dialect variety as *primus inter pares* in an area that celebrates its dialectal heterogeneity, emphasizing the equal importance of all dialects for establishing a local identity. In contrast to language standardization at the national level, there is no tendency to construct the singled-out dialect variety as a roofing or overarching variety so as to promote a uniform homogenous monodialectal space. Pro-

[3] This process, described by Blok (1998) as 'the narcissism of minor differences' (a notion he borrowed from Freud), is not limited to linguistic features or elements, but often unfolds along cultural lines as well.

cesses of differentiation are often overlooked in studies of standardization at the national level, but they become visible when looking at local or regional levels.

In our setting, the *Harry Potter* reading-aloud event relies on the differentiation between dialects and simultaneously evinces a dominant language ideology. In the absence of the standard language (Dutch), one dialect spoken in the provincial capital, Maastrichts, is given a higher ranking in a socio-political hierarchy. The *Harry Potter* case will show how a dominant language ideology in a process of enregisterment is reproduced on a local level without some of the standardizing effects often found at the level of the nation-state. No process of elaboration (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 21) takes place with respect of the singled out variety, Maastrichts, which is not promoted across social domains and communicative functions outside Maastricht. Where language standardization is typically seen as a consequence of nation-building (see e.g. Anderson 1983), the Limburg case shows how language enregisterment and the standardization of multiple dialects are crucial in the construction of a provincial identity. Standardization in Limburg works on a sub-national level and relatively independently of the national standard of Dutch. Thus, language standardization may occur on several levels simultaneously.

Building on Anderson (1983) and Appadurai (1996), Johnstone (2011) convincingly argues that it is the need of people to re-imagine themselves in an ever-changing world that lies at the heart of the renewed attention for 'the local'. As will be shown in the reading-aloud event, the local should not be thought of as being 'just there', as the natural outcome of a direct connection between a certain place and the people that live there, but needs, in the words of Appadurai, 'to be produced' (1996). As our case study also shows, old (newspapers, radio, television) as well as new internet-based media play a crucial role in this production process.

This chapter is organized as follows: In the following section we explain why Limburg can be conceptualized as a multidialectal space. We will focus on the intense dialect awareness and processes of enregisterment in Limburg, both past and present, through which linguistic resources and speakers are inextricably intertwined with specific places in Limburg. This section also describes some of these linguistic resources – more specifically, the most salient phonetic differences between the dialects.

The following section presents a selection of the translated excerpts from the *Harry Potter* reading aloud event. The book series *Harry Potter* was written in English by British author J. K. Rowling. The seven books (published between 1997 and 2007) became world-wide best-sellers. The series recounts the adventures of Harry Potter, a wizard orphan who studies at The Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry. Harry Potter's main quest is to overcome the growing power of the dark wizard, Lord Voldemort. The characters populating the *Harry Potter* world are either magicians or 'muggles'. The latter category refers to persons who are not

born into the world of magic and who have no magical abilities (Harry Potter Wiki, n.d.). The *Harry Potter* universe, as is typical of fantasy fiction and fairy tales, is populated by easily recognizable and rather one-dimensional characters. Characters are either good or evil, helpers or opponents, cunning or naïve, etc.

Another section describes how every *Harry Potter* translation needs to be localized, demonstrating that such localizations involve difficult, often politically charged, choices as to which linguistic elements are to be used in the portrayal of dialect-speaking characters. This section shows how people associate linguistically distinctive forms and varieties with specific places, taking these as important indicators for their own or others' (stereotypical) identities. Moreover, it shows how the association of a specific selection of *Harry Potter* characters with specific locations consolidates the view of the Limburgian space as hierarchical and multidialectal. This means that one variety, Maastrichts, is given hierarchical prominence, while a number of other varieties are given prominent functions within the narrative logic of the performance. Finally, the concluding section places our case study in the wider context of processes of standardization.

THE PRODUCTION AND RECONFIRMATION OF A MULTIDIALECTAL PROVINCE[4]

The province of Limburg became part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, the area remained subject to geopolitical uncertainties (Leerssen 2006). Integration into the Dutch state further led, among members of the Limburgian elite in particular, to a heightened awareness of local identity, stimulating the cultivation of cultural and linguistic (dialect) particularities as 'typically Limburgian'. From the 1880s onward, local actors have been codifying linguistic resources by way of dictionaries and grammars, projects coinciding with Limburg's integration into the Dutch nation-state. Codification products that appeared early in Limburg were the dictionaries for the (perceived) dialects of Roermond (1889, Simons), Heerlen (1884, Jongeneel) and Maastricht (1905, Houben) (see Goossens and Van Keymeulen 2006).

Both the urban bourgeoisie and the rural clergy in Limburg took an interest in the dialects as a foundation of authentic local culture and identity. An early example was the foundation, in 1839, of the *Momus Society* in Maastricht, for whom stage and theatre plays had to be enacted in dialect, in addition to French (and German). The orientation towards the dialect in Maastricht by the higher classes certainly resulted in its vitality (Schillings 1976: 39–40). This interest in the dialect was con-

[4] Largely taken from Cornips (2013).

solidated at a time when the primacy of the national language, Dutch, was far from obvious, and challenged by the use of German along the eastern frontier or French, mainly in the provincial capital of Maastricht (cf. Kessels-van der Heijde 2002).

At the end of the 20th century dialect amateurs took a renewed interest in dialect witnessed by a 'revival' of the producing and publishing of 42 new dialect dictionaries after inactivity that had lasted sixty years.[5] Similarly, the gigantic *Woordenboek van de Limburgse Dialecten*, 'Dictionary of the Limburgian Dialects (data collected between 1880 and 1980 and published between 1983 and 2008), (re)produces and confirms Limburg as a multidialectal space. These efforts have resulted in the enregistering of many dialects, heightened dialect awareness, and the dialects having high vitality[6].

The importance attributed to being 'multidialectal', as a distinctive characteristic of Limburg, is clearly articulated in the latest policy report of *Veldeke*, the province's oldest and most prominent dialect association. [7]

> The organization of the association in local networks is an effect of the earlier mentioned idea that all dialects are carriers of the cultural identity of a village and a city. Together they produce – on the basis of common linguistic characteristics – Limburg as a particularity which is the basis for the experience of Limburgerness […] The association forcefully rejects every top-down attempt to impose on Limburg a supralocal or supraregional language. Apart from the fact that it would be an artificial and arbitrary construct, a supralocal or supraregional language would fall short in acknowledging the emotional relation that exists

[5] Dialect dictionaries of the following localities have been published: Arcen (1989), Baarlo (2005), Beek (1982), Beesel (2003), Brunssum (2006), Echt (1988, 2008), Elsloo (2000), Gennep (1993, 2005), Geulle (1992, 1995), Groenstraat (1981), Gronsveld (1979, 2000), Grevenbricht (2011), Heel (2003), Heer (1990), Heerlen (1884, 2000), Helden (2009), Herten (1973), Horst (1989), Kerkrade (1987, 1997, 2001, 2003), Maasbree (2007), Maastricht (1851-1852, 1905, 1914, 1955, 1995, 1986, 1996, 2004, 2005), Meerlo (1973), Meijel (1991), Montfort (2007), Nieuwstadt (2014), Nuth (2002), Posterholt (2005), Roermond (1985, 2003), Schinveld (1995), Sevenum (2010), Simpelveld (1994, 2005), Sittard (1927, 1979, 1973, 2005, 2010), Stamproy (1989), Susteren (2000), Swalmen (2005, 2011), Tegelen (1986, 2006), Thorn (2011), Tungelroy (1985), Valkenburg (1917-1918, 1928, 1994, 2012), Venlo (1992, 1993, 2009), Venray (1991, 1998, 2009, 2010), Weert (1983, 1994, 1998, 2009).

[6] Around 900,000 people in Limburg or 75% of its inhabitants report speaking what they perceive as a dialect (Driessen 2006: 103).

[7] *Veldeke* is an acronym, V.E.L.D.E.K.E, from *Voor Elk Limburgs Dialect Een Krachtige Eenheid,* 'for every dialect a powerful unity', acknowledging Limburg as a space with separate dialects that can be neatly distinguished from each other.

> between the local community and experiencing the regional language in Limburg.[8] (Veldeke 2007: 2). [translation by authors]

The quote highlights both Veldeke's role in processes of enregisterment and promotion of dialects. Veldeke aims at striking a balance between emphasizing the existence of a so-called *streektaal*, a regional language, Limburgian, which received 'minority recognition' as a regional language in 1992, under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML),[9] and stressing the importance of the coexistence of different dialects, all equally important for establishing a local identity, that is, the ideal of 'unity in linguistic diversity' (Council of Europe 1992). Veldeke has developed a standard orthography for writing in dialect.[10] This orthography was first practiced in the 1940s. The Veldeke-orthography was the basis for the normative orthography for all dialects, published in 2003 at the demand of the *Raod veur 't Limburgs*, the 'Council for Limburgian'. The 2003 orthography, although standard, is not uniform for the different dialects but leaves space for orthographic variation, especially in the notation of the different vowels.

The *Raod veur 't Limburgs*, 'Council for Limburgian' was founded in compliance with the minority recognition of Limburgian by the Netherlands as a signatory of the 1992 ECRML. This Council is the current, most important actor in the Limburgian dialectscape. Financed by the province, the Council serves as an advisory committee of the Provincial Council. Its central mission is to "take care of Limburgian"[11], by designing a language policy for the dialects in Limburg and to study the effects of minority recognition. Similar to Veldeke, the language policy of the Council for Limburgian strives towards the (re)production and reconfirmation of a multidialectal province in which different dialects are put together as being equal.

Local media play a vital role in the reproduction and reconfirmation of the importance of the coexistence of different dialects as an authentic aspect of Limburg. Broadcasters are not expected to use one particular variety but to reflect the dialec-

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[8] "De organisatie van de vereniging in plaatselijke of regionale kringen is een voortvloeisel uit het eerder genoemde leidend beginsel, dat alle dialecten de dragers zijn van de culturele identiteit van dorp en stad en dat zij gezamenlijk – op basis van de gemeenschappelijke taalkenmerken – het Limburgs die eigenheid geven, die de basis is voor de beleving van het Limburgerschap. […] De vereniging wijst een streven dat erop gericht is Limburg van een bovenlokale of bovenregionale streektaal te voorzien met kracht van de hand: naast het kunstmatige en arbitraire karakter van een dergelijk construct doet het tekort aan de emotionele verbondenheid met de plaatselijke gemeenschap die essentieel is voor de beleving van de streektaal in Limburg."

[9] Minority recognition under ECRML compels the Dutch state to formally recognize the status of Limburgian as a separate variety without, however, being obliged to take relevant measures such as financial support.

[10] This process took many decades and went with intensive discussions and turbulences.

[11] http://www.hklimburg.nl/organisaties/raod-veur-lt-limburgs.html

tal differences. Local broadcast media are: *L1* (the capital *L* stands for Limburg, TV and radio station located in Maastricht), *TVLimburg* (Roermond), *Omroep Venlo*, *RTV Maastricht*, *RTV Roermond*, *WeertTV*, *WeertFM* (radio), and *Midden-Limburg Actueel* (livestream). *WeertdeGekste* (Internet) and *HeerlenLive* (news through LED screens and free wifi) are examples of the newer media. The programs of the most important broadcast public organization *L1* are mostly in standard Dutch. The commercial broadcasting company, *TVLimburg*, on the other hand, uses the simultaneous occurrence of dialects as an established format – it is common to hear various dialects in one broadcast – a dimension that will always be emphasized. In addition, there is one central provincial daily newspaper, *De Limburger/Limburgs Dagblad* that is the fourth largest newspaper in the Netherlands according to the number of subscribers. It has various editions for the different areas in Limburg.

So far, in sociolinguistic literature not much attention has been paid to local media, despite the fact that local media reach large audiences and impact language practices and ideologies. Until now, we have introduced the Limburgian mediascape as an illustration of the diversity, presence and significance of local media, something that remains hidden when limiting oneself to the impact and significance of national media. However, the face value acceptance of multidialectal Limburg in which all dialects are of equal importance ignores the processes of selection and the power relations played out. As we will demonstrate, one of the dialects is awarded a more dominant position. By focusing on the role of local media in mediating local language, the simultaneous processes of codification, standardization, and differentiation through which a specific dialect is attributed a higher status may become visible. This would remain opaque in studies of national media that focus on processes of standardization of the national language.

LINGUISTIC DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN DIALECTS

One of the first initiatives of the Council for Limburgian was to commission a map (see Figure 1) presenting the dialectscape of Limburg. The map, made by the *Amt für Rheinische Landeskunde* in Bonn, Germany, visualizes Limburg as a multidialectal space in which three major isoglosses (the Benrath Line, Uerdingen Line, and the Panningen Line) separate clusters of dialects. Roughly from north to south, these dialects are labeled: (1) Kleverlands, (2) Mich-Quarter, (3) Central Limburgian, (4) Eastern Limburgian, (5) Ripuarian transitional dialects, (6) Ripuarian.

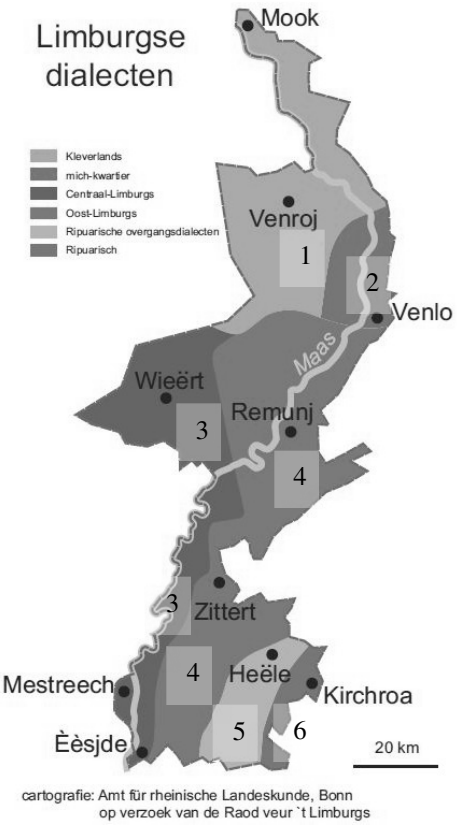

Figure 1: Map showing Limburgian dialect clusters separated by isoglosses

Figure 2: Map of the eleven localities voiced in the *Harry Potter* translated readings

The Limburgian dialectscape is carved up in various ways at different scales. First, the administrative borders of the province are simultaneously the linguistic borders of Limburgian as recognized by ECRML. Second, the map visualizes the dialectscape as divided into six distinct dialect clusters. Third, within these clusters, distinctions made between dialects are named after localities, a practice already mentioned in the first section. As should be evident from our discussion above, the dialect map represents a political and ideological demarcation of the Limburgian dialect area. The linguistic reality does not exhibit such clear-cut borders. (Dialect areas are continua, and dialects are not fixed to geography. Speakers move, and so do dialects.).

In order to show how processes of dialect enregisterment and the importance of a 'multidialectal environment' continue to shape perceptions of local identity, we

will focus on four of the *Harry Potter* characters (out of eleven) that were performed in the reading-aloud event in Maastricht (see also next section). The dialects they speak represent four different localities throughout Limburg, namely: Noorbeek (south), Venlo (north), Maastricht (southwest) and Kerkrade (southeast), as illustrated in Figure 2. (These four localities are marked by black circles on the map.)

Our discussion will highlight linguistic, mainly phonological, differences between the selected dialects and the stereotypes associated with these dialects and their speakers. The *Harry Potter* performances allow us to show how dialect forms are imbued with social meaning and how the form–meaning associations are strengthened through the broadcasting of the performances.

Comparing the four localities in Figure 2 with Figure 1 shows that these are situated in four different dialect clusters, as divided by the three major isoglosses that run through linguistic Limburg. Lord Voldemort is performed as being from Venlo, located in the Mich-Quarter area (area 2 in Figure 1); the Prime Minister as being from Mestreech/Maastricht in the Central Limburgian area (number 3 in Figure 1); Rubeus Hagrid as being from Noorbeek in the Eastern Limburgian area (number 4 in Figure 1); and Professor Sybill Trelawny as being from Kerkrade/Kirchroa in the Ripuarian area (number 6 in Figure 1).

From a phonological perspective, these four dialects differ considerably from each other (see Hermans 2013 for an extensive discussion). Let us start in the southeast, the dialect of Kerkrade/Kirchroa. This dialect is located east of the Benrath Line and belongs to the Ripuarian dialects that were heavily influenced by the German city of Cologne. These are the westernmost dialects where the 'Second Consonant Shift' applies in a precisely definable phonological environment. Because of this characteristic, these dialects are considered to be a branch of High German. The Benrath Line distinguishes the dialects where a velar in postvocalic position undergoes the shift, away from the dialects where the velar in this position does not change. Thus, Professor Sybill Trelawny, speaking in the dialect of Kerkrade, number 6 in Figure 1, pronounces a verb like 'to make' as /mɑxə/ whereas the other three characters, all located to the west of the Benrath Line, pronounce the same verb as /mɑkə/. Speakers from Kerkrade are also famous for pronouncing /tsit/, 'time', in the dialect instead of /tit/, as in the dialect to the west of the Benrath Line and, hence, the three other characters. Another striking characteristic from a Dutch perspective to be found in the Kerkrade dialect is the realization of the velar voiced fricative /ɣ/ as /j/ in onset position: /ɣas/, 'gas', is realized as /ja.s/ (cf. Hinskens 1993: 85).

Lord Voldemort, voiced as being from Venlo, distinguishes himself from the other three characters in that he is located north of the Uerdingen Line where the last vestiges of the Second Consonant Shift are found. He pronounces the pronoun

'I' with a velar stop /ɪk/, whereas the other three characters pronounce it with a shifted velar /ɪx/. The Prime Minister, Trelawny and Hagrid also pronounce other pronouns with a shifted velar, as in /mɪx/, 'me, accusative'; /dɪx/, 'you, accusative'; and /ɑux/, 'also' (/ok/ in standard Dutch).

The Prime Minister, voiced as being from Maastricht/Mestreech, is located to the west of the isogloss Panningen Line. He produces an alveolar /s/ as in standard Dutch, whereas Hagrid and Trelawny are located east of the Panningen Line and produce alveolar /s/ in onset with a palatalized alveolar /ʃ/, as in High German. Since Lord Voldemort, from Venlo, is beyond reach of the Panningen Line, he pronounces the alveolar in a standard-like manner, /s/.

We can schematize the phonological differences between the four characters as follows. Table 1 illustrates that every character has a unique pattern:

Tables 2–4 show these phonological differences according to areal zones in respect of the three major isoglosses (note that some of the examples are taken from the character Gilderoy Lockheart whom we will not be discussing further).

One more example of the differences between the dialects, the (orthographic) differences in the pronunciation of the personal pronoun *he*[12] in the four dialects and the use of definite determiner *d'r* 'the' before a proper noun is shown in Table 5.

The dialects differ in many more respects at the phonological level, but also at lexical and morpho-syntactic levels, as illustrated by the morphological atlas (De Schutter et al. 2005; Goeman et al. 2008) and the syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects (Barbiers et al. 2005; Barbiers et al. 2008).

The examples make clear that Limburg is generally conceived as 'multidialectal', and that this conviction is widely articulated and carried further: institutionally, such as Veldeke and the Council for Limburgian, through local media of different sorts, by linguists (producing maps with isoglosses dividing clusters of dialects) and by lay people in their daily practices by referring to dialects by names of localities (as do dialectologists), all these actors are involved – albeit in various ways and with various impact, in the reproduction, perception and experience of a multidialectal Limburg.

Table 1: The distinctive pronunciation of four *Harry Potter* characters

	onset	onset	coda
Voldemort	/s/	/ɣ/	/k/
Prime minister	/s/	/ɣ/	/x/
Hagrid	/ʃ/	/ɣ/	/x/
Trelawny	/ʃ/	/j/	/x/

[12] Variation in forms of the personal pronoun 'he', listed here, is based on orthographic differences.

Table 2: Dialect features marking the Benrath Line

Velar in coda, /i*x*/ versus /ɪk/, 'I'	
MAASTRICHTS (Gilderoy Lockheart):	*dao praot* /ix/ *'iech' neet gere euver* 'I don't like to talk about that'
VENLOOS (Voldemort):	*nog veur* / ɪk/ *'ik' woort gebaore* 'before I was born'
Velar in onset, /j/ for /ɣ/	
KERKRAADS (Trelawny):	*de* /j/*ordiene woare tsau* 'the curtains were closed'
NOORBEEKS (Hagrid):	*in u licht-mauve* /ɣ/*olvend* /ɣ/*ewaad* 'in a light mauve wavy dress'
Affricate /ts/ for stop /t/ in onset	
KERKRAADS (Trelawny):	*'t weat* /ts/*iet* 'it is time'
MAASTRICHTS (Prime Minister):	/t/*ot* /t/*ouveneer* 'a wizzard'

Table 3: Dialect features marking the Uerdingen Line

Velar in coda, /ɑuk/ versus /ɔx/, 'also'	
NOORBEEKS (Hagrid):	*dan welke tauvenaer* /ɑuk/ 'than which wizard also'
VENLOOS (Voldemort):	*wieste ut* /ɔx/ 'do you know it as well'

Table 4: Dialect features marking the Panningen Line:

Alveolar in onset, /s/ versus /ʃ/	
MAASTRICHTS (Lockheart):	*op 'ne* /s/*tapel lag* 'sitting on a pile'
VENLOOS (Voldemort):	*de* /s/*lang* 'the snake'
KERKRAADS (Trelawny):	*durch 't luuk* /ʃ/*toake* 'through the hatch'
NOORBEEKS (Hagrid):	*agter unne* /ʃ/*troek* 'behind a bush'

Table 5: The personal pronoun *he*

	'he'	+/- determiner
Venloos:	*hae*	Harry
Maastrichts:	*heer*	Harry
Kerkraads:	*he*	d'r Harry
Noorbeeks:	*hea*	Harry

PERFORMING *HARRY POTTER*: A MULTIDIALECTAL TRANSLATION

The *Harry Potter* translations and reading-aloud event – for which a total of eleven Limburgian dialects were used – will serve as an example of the way in which dialectal differences and social stereotypes can be used as resources for performing narratives and fictional characters, and how the reproduction of linguistic differences tends to confirm such stereotypes. Simultaneously, the case will show the occurrence of a peculiar form of language standardization on the dialect level, *viz.* the parallel propagation of standardized versions of different dialects that become visible in their written translation. Through these written translations, codification takes place imposed by the standard orthography of the Council for Limburgian published in 2003. The imposition of an official spelling for dialects used in an oral performance like the *Harry Potter* reading-aloud event evidences a process of codification and implementation, two major stages in language standardization (cf. Deumert 2004; Haugen 2003; Milroy 2001).

One day in March 2012, a customer in a children's bookshop in Maastricht grabbed a Dutch translation of a *Harry Potter* book and spontaneously translated and read aloud a passage in his grandmother's Kerkrade dialect. An idea was born! The owner of the bookshop decided to have sections of *Harry Potter* translated into

various dialects. By doing so, the shop owner was perpetuating a much older and broader (European) history of translating very well-known works, varying from the Bible to Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* to popular comics, into minority languages, including dialects. Yet, what could be regarded as characteristic of (more recent) translations into Limburgian of well-known books is the tendency to highlight the region's multidialectal identity within such translations.

In the Veldeke translation of the comic book *Asterix and the Big Fight*, the characters speak – depending on their origin – one of the four dialects associated with four Limburgian localities.[13] In *Asterix and the Banquet*, in which the heroes make a tour through Gaul, no less than fourteen dialects appear.[14] In a similar vein, the children's bookshop's *Harry Potter* translation consists of a variety of dialects. Each *Harry Potter* character had to be linked to a particular local dialect in Limburg. Moreover, it was not the owner's intention to have the complete *Harry Potter* series translated and published. Instead, she wanted to organize a public '*Harry Potter* reading-aloud dialect event', based on translated sections derived from the series. The sections therefore had to meet two criteria: the texts should be suitable for reading aloud, and they needed to be understandable by people unfamiliar with the *Harry Potter* story. The event was scheduled for July 31 2012, exactly fifteen years after the publication of the first *Harry Potter* book, and it would take place in front of the bookshop, located in a small street in the inner city of Maastricht. The *Harry Potter* reading-aloud event was broadcast by *L1* radio and on local television[15] and was uploaded on *YouTube*, and, according to the bookshop owner,[16] it became a popular item on Facebook.

To complement her own ideas on the ideal combination of characters and dialects, the owner approached customers and friends to ask which dialects had to be included, and which dialect would fit each *Harry Potter* character. Most characters were played by the people involved in the dialect selection and translation. However, some special guests were also invited to participate in the reading and to perform one of the characters, including the King's Commissioner of the province of Lim-

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[13] The comic appeared under the title *'t Titelgevech* in 1996. The featured dialects are associated with Maastricht, Gulpen, Roermond and Venlo. The translators' original plan was to have the Romans speak 'The Hague Dutch'. Yet, as that was going to interrupt the Limburgian atmosphere of the story too much, they opted for Roermond dialect instead, as reputedly that city had the longest history of being governed by the Dutch. (Boekensalon, n.d.).

[14] Asterix and the Banquet appeared under the title 'ne Gansentour in 1998. The featured dialects are associated with the places of Bocholtz, Echt, Geleen, Heerlen, Kerkrade, Kinrooy, Maastricht, Nuth, Roermond, Sittard, Valkenberg, Venlo, Venray, and Weert. The pirates speak 'Dutch'.

[15] On L1 radio (September 13, 2012 and on L1 TV (August 1, 2012)

[16] See the interview with the bookshop owner by De Witt, http://www.boekblad.nl/harry-potter-in-elf-limburgse-dialecten-bij-de.196307.lynkx

burg. He was asked to perform as the Prime Minister of Great Britain, a character that they linked with the dialect of Maastricht. We will return to the processes that informed this selection below, where we will point out how particular dialect styles are regarded as indexical of the personal qualities or peculiarities of the various *Harry Potter* characters, and how this connects to prevalent local hierarchies and stereotypes within the Limburgian region. The ideal of different-but-equal varieties or 'unity in diversity' is quite commonly confirmed at an explicit level, while implicitly, in the current dialect performances, a dialect hierarchy is established and confirmed.

More than the eventual performance itself – which only attracted about fifty people – local media were important in disseminating, reconfirming and authenticating the localness of the event. As the Commissioner's performance was to be part of his 'summer tour' through Limburg, the event was announced on the official website of the province of Limburg (Province of Limburg 2014). The provincial daily newspaper *Limburgs Dagblad/De Limburger* announced the event as *Harry Potter kalt plat*, '*Harry Potter* speaks dialect'.[17]

TRANSLATING HARRY POTTER AND LOCAL MEANING-MAKING

As we have mentioned, the seven volumes in the *Harry Potter* book series, as well as the novel-based *Harry Potter* movies, attract audiences all over the world. With over 400 million copies sold, and having been translated into 73 languages,[18] J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* fantasy series has become a globally known phenomenon (Omniglot n.d.). In localizing *Harry Potter* through translation projects, some of its overwhelming global (popular) cultural appeal is conferred onto these minority languages, whose proponents struggle to show that they are capable of fulfilling the same functions as national standard languages, and may be turned into carriers of contemporary cultural capital.

In our case, the *Harry Potter* translation was intended to represent the world of Limburg in terms of the fictional and symbolic world of *Harry Potter*, and hence became a conflation (although limited) of both worlds' (perceived) characteristics. Within this fictionalized Limburg, standard Dutch is strikingly absent, although in Limburg, outside the *Harry Potter* reading-aloud event, standard Dutch is used in many different contexts. Clearly, then, this imagined Limburg is constructed as purely Limburgian and un-Dutch (cf. Cornips and de Rooij 2015). This absence of standard Dutch leaves a void to be filled by one of the Limburgian dialects, one that

[17] De Limburger, July 26, 2012.

[18] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harry_Potter

could assume status and prestige in the socio-political hierarchy as the standard language does in the Netherlands, including Limburg.[19]

As it was the bookshop owner's specific aim to highlight Limburg's distinctive quality of being a multidialectal province, we may ask what distinctive local linguistic forms she regarded as being indexical of the different dialects, and consequently how she connected these with the personal qualities or peculiarities of the performing *Harry Potter* characters. Her selections of some dialects to fill certain characterological functions, and her de-selection of other dialects, are to be seen as part and parcel of ongoing processes of dialect enregisterment in Limburg by actors such as dictionary makers, novelists, dialect associations and dialectologists involved in dialect boundary drawing practices, as reviewed above.

As the bookshop owner told us, the selection of the characters had to be completed before the real translation could start. But of course, the translation processes had already begun with her selection of the translators, as this in a way determined the possible selection of dialects available for the event. This selection was made by the bookshop owner, sometimes in consultation with the translators. Thereupon, text fragments distinctive of each character had to be selected. The 'multidialectal' dimension was added by subsequently selecting a distinctive dialect for each character.

In retrospect, the bookshop owner explained that she wanted to let the story lines wander through the entire province of Limburg. The tour starts and ends in Maastricht which is symbolic for the dominant position of Maastricht within the province:

> Everything started and ended in Maastricht. After the start, we circled throughout Limburg. From Venlo, Venray, Nederweert, and Roermond in the middle, to East Limburg with Noorbeek and Kerkrade, to the south with Eijsden, Mesch, and, again, Maastricht.[20]

In the translation of book excerpts into different dialects, characteristics of the fantasy world of *Harry Potter* became conflated with supposed characteristics of the inhabitants of these localities in Limburg. The selection of the characters and the dialects they are assumed to speak are a clear example of language ideologies at work. The bookshop owner and her friends, in their selection of dialects, as well as the customers, in their interpretation and appreciation of the symbolism, articulate connections between dialects and social categories taken to be 'natural', i.e. links are assumed between specific dialects and specific characteristics or traits inter-

[19] As was, for instance, the case with *Asterix and the Big Fight*, see note 12.

[20] Interview with bookshop owner by Lotte Thissen, October 25, 2013 – translation by the authors.

twined with ideas of 'a people' in a particular location (cf. Johnstone 2013; Niedzielski and Preston 2000; Silverstein 2003). So, the *Harry Potter* translation event shows how people perceive and produce Limburg socially, culturally, and linguistically through processes of enregisterment that turn dialects into indexes of places. Moreover, it articulates what it means linguistically to be 'here', or 'from here' and how places and ways of speaking are thought to be related' (Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006: 79).

To give empirical substantiation to our argument, we, as discussed above, selected four characters as case studies. Each of these cases will highlight a different dimension of the Limburgian multidialectal space and their inhabitants (see Figure 1). Our material is mainly derived from the radio broadcast of the reading-aloud event and the interview with the bookshop owner by Lotte Thissen (see footnote 20, henceforth: our interview). In the reading-aloud event, the owner explained which associations she and her acquaintances made between dialects, places and the people living there, and how these associations informed the decisions made with regard to the linkages between the different *Harry Potter* characters and specific places and dialects; that is, verbalizations of folk-dialectological knowledge. We will now treat in more detail how this process took place with respect to 'Rubeus Hagrid', 'Lord Voldemort', 'The Prime Minister', and 'Professor Sybill Trelawny.'

Rubeus Hagrid, the half-giant wizard from Noorbeek

Hagrid, a half-giant wizard employed at the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry as the caretaker of the school's (magical) animals, is a gentle character who may become very emotional from time to time. He is an important friend and ally of Harry and his best friends, Ron and Hermione. In the reading-aloud translation, Hagrid speaks in the dialect of Noorbeek, a tiny village, 16 kilometers southeast of Maastricht, near the Dutch-Belgian border (number 5 in Figure 1), located in the Eastern Limburgian dialect area (see Figure 2). The bookshop owner introduces all characters in the reading-aloud event. She uses, what she, in our interview, describes as a mixture of *Roermonds* (where she was born), *Maastrichts* (where she works) and *Noorbeeks* (where she lives). We did not transcribe these and following fragments phonetically[21] but 'translated' her spoken dialect directly into written Dutch, and from there into English. The bookshop owner explains why she associ-

[21] We do not have knowledge of the official and rather complicated dialect orthography. Moreover, a phonetic transcription and phonetic analysis is outside the scope of this paper. Since in this section we aim to understand the bookstore owner's decision-making process, we focus on the content of what is said rather than on the phonetics of it. For more on the phonological and phonetic characteristics of the four characters, see the second section of the paper.

ated Hagrid with Noorbeek as follows (we present our English translation here):

Extract 1

> Noorbeek lends itself splendidly to tell about Hagrid. A physically very big person. I spent some time thinking about it. I was faced with a dilemma; we have had a municipal merger. Eijsden and Margraten just merged and I thought, if I already have Eijsden and Mesch, then I should also have something from the former municipality of Margraten, or else I will get into trouble, so I started thinking Cadier en Keer or Margraten, no, that's on the wrong side of the national highway, I need to go further up into the hilly country because, naturally, I'm talking here about Hagrid, right? And he is a nature person, so I think Sint Gieteren, no, it is too flat, too accessible, too central, I need to go all the way to the far corner of the hilly country, I need to go all the way to Noorbeek. Noorbeek lies with its base in the forests of Voeren.[22] Noorbeek is hilly, the only way to get there is uphill, so I think – and I'm living there – that way I won't have a quarrel with anyone. Then that's settled.

From the owner's perspective, Hagrid, as a large person, can be linked to the recent municipal merger of Eijsden and Margraten. Noorbeek is pictured as a remote place "all the way to the far corner of the hilly country … with its base in the forests of Voeren" (so almost located in Belgium). According to her, Hagrid as a solitary, nature-loving character finds his natural place in Noorbeek. The linguistic differences between Noorbeeks and Maastrichts also play a vital role in the production of the indexicality of Noorbeek (the place)/Noorbeeks (the dialect) versus that of Maastricht (the place)/Maastrichts (the dialects). So, Noorbeek, as an isolated village, and Noorbeeks, as radically different from Maastrichts, indexes its remoteness from the center of Limburgian civic culture and power, Maastricht.

She also told us that she was not satisfied with the initial translation into the 'Noorbeek dialect' (our translation in English):

Extract 2

> It could be made more Noorbeeks-like. I asked someone else to have a look at the Noorbeek translation; so this translation is the combined result of two translators. For example, an *emmer* 'bucket' is a *tob* in Noorbeeks.

This quote shows that the bookshop owner had a clear idea of what pure (i.e. 'pure' in her eyes) Noorbeeks entails, or should be. Words from standard Dutch, such as

[22] Voeren is the French-speaking pocket of Flanders, Belgium, across the Dutch border.

emmer, were not acceptable in the *Harry Potter* translation. Herewith she constructs Noorbeeks as distinct from standard Dutch, and as standing out from other neighboring dialects, Maastrichts in particular. In this enregisterment process, the translator was highly aware of which linguistic, i.e. lexical and phonological, features to use in order to codify and to authenticate the Noorbeek dialect (see the examples given earlier). Clearly, enregisterment involves both selection and codification as crucial elements in language standardization (Haugen 2003). Both vertical differentiation, from standard Dutch, as well as horizontal differentiation, from other, nearby dialects, here primarily Maastrichts are needed to make the enregisterment of Noorbeeks work.

Lord Voldemort, the evil wizard from Venlo

Lord Voldemort is assigned to the dialect of the city of Venlo. In the *Harry Potter* world, Voldemort, the wizard of 'The Dark Side', is the embodiment of evil. His evilness is so enormous that there is even a taboo on mentioning his name, and hence he is often referred to as 'You-know-who' or 'He-who-must-not-be-named'. A meaningful dimension in the case study at hand is that Venlo is the place of birth of the populist politician Geert Wilders. Within Dutch politics, his fierce anti-immigrant and anti-Islam stance places him – for those Dutch who consider themselves more moderate, civilized and 'leftist' – in the position of 'the bad guy', hence an association with 'The Dark Side' is easily made. For the L1 Radio broadcast *Harry kalt plat*, the bookshop owner introduced the performer of Lord Voldemort's texts as follows, as to make the audience aware of this unintended possibility and the sensitivities involved:

Extract 3

> There are cities that aren't as lucky as other cities. And some cities are more affected than other cities. And Venlo is having a hard time. We chose *Venlo* really only because of alliteration. Only. And the reader has really only come to read aloud under protest from the whole big city of Venlo. I want to emphasize that explicitly.

In our interview, however, she said that in addition to the alliteration, the Wilders-association had also been a motivation for connecting Voldemort with Venlo:

Extract 4

> Not only did it sound well [the alliteration], but we also liked the fact that two things were running parallel by linking Voldemort to Venlo. Voldemort is the evil one, the enemy, the Hitler of the book, killing Muggles. So an association can be made with discrimination and prejudices, like we see with Wilders. Magic or not: it is about purification of the class of wizardry.

By relating the character of Lord Voldemort, the evil one, with Geert Wilder's place of birth, the indexicalilty of Venlo as a place where 'bad things' come from is reproduced. The translation also included a word-play in which the magic spell *hocus pocus* was 'translated' into *jocus pocus*: the use of *jocus* refers to the name of Venlo's inner-city carnival association and is selected to contribute to the authentication of 'Voldemort's' text and to anchor it to Venlo.

The Prime Minister of the Muggle Community at Maastricht

Maastrichts is prioritized by linking it to the elite character in the *Harry Potter* world – the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He is the highest-ranking figure of the non-magical population. To us the bookshop owner explained it would be most fitting if that role was performed by the actual King's Commissioner of Limburg. Fortunately, it was quite easy to get him involved into the event, since she knew him personally.

Figure 3: The Governor of the province of Limburg reads aloud, alias the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.[23]

[23] http://www.l1.nl/video/gouverneur-bovens-leest-harry-potter-31-jul-2012.

The King's Commissioner is the highest-ranking provincial dignitary and resides at the provincial government building, the so-called Gouvernement in Maastricht (Province of Limburg 2014). He is appointed by the Dutch Crown (the ministers, presided over by the reigning king or queen) for a six-year period. He chairs both the Provincial Council and the Provincial Executive and recommends candidates for appointment as mayor, advises on royal honors, liaises with the Royal Family, assists the police in maintaining public law and order, and represents the province of Limburg's interests in a wide range of matters. As such, he is the most important link between the national government and Limburg's local authorities. This explains why, as the bookshop owner told us: "[the King's Commissioner's] presence lifted up the event through which people took it seriously".

The commissioner had to read the Prime Minister's fragments in Maastrichts, his native dialect. A complex interplay of fiction and reality is at stake here, which provided the event with a particular *grandeur*. At the original performance, but still in his position of the King's Commissioner, he told the audience that 'Muggles' – which, of course, is a neologism of J. K. Rowling's and as such 'untranslatable' – was translated in Maastrichts as *puimes*. *Puime* is considered as typically Maastrichts, and means 'simpleton', 'softy' or 'gentle person'. The translator, a former chair of *Veldeke Maastricht*, apparently chose not to stick to the meaning of Muggle as intended by Rowling (people not gifted with magical powers), but instead selected the distinctive Maastrichts noun *puime* in order to contribute to the authentication of 'the Prime Minister's' text.

The participation of the King's Commissioner very likely has also been an important reason for why the event has been announced in the provincial newspaper and was broadcast by *L1 TV* and radio. It is telling that both the *L1 TV* broadcast and the *YouTube* video, only selected the King's Commissioner's contribution. Herewith the dominant position of Maastrichts within the Limburgian multidialectal space is further naturalized.

In the *L1 Radio* broadcast, the bookshop owner informs that the translator had instructed her to tell the audience that Maastrichts was a *taol*, a 'language', and not a dialect, which she did. He had also proposed to use the official spelling developed in Maastricht for the Maastricht text that differs in small details from the Veldeke spelling.[24] Again then, Maastrichts is ascribed a special status, and special requirements of status and prestige are placed on Maastrichts. Both the use of 'language' instead of 'dialect' and the imposition of another orthography were restricted to Maastrichts, and as such reproduce the province's linguistic power hierarchies. It

[24] This spelling was recognized by the municipality of Maastricht in 1999 and differs in details from the spelling published by the Council for Limburgian. http://www.mestreechtertaol.nl/spelling/de-spelling-vaan-t-mestreechs

also reveals that the translators, although all volunteers, operate as institutional actors that are most often so prominent in standardization processes.

Professor Sybill Trelawny, the weird teacher from Kerkrade

Professor Sybill Trelawny is a witch and Professor of Divination, although usually – as it turns out – foretelling false predictions. The Professor is a weird figure, mainly in the position of being the odd-one-out. In the introduction of this character during the reading-aloud event, the bookshop owner gives no explicit explanation of Professor Sybill Trelawny's linkage to Kerkrade, a small city in the most southeastern part of Limburg. However, in our interview, she revealed some of her associations.

For her, Professor Sybill Trelawny is a person who does not really know what she is doing; she is a vague, diffuse, and funny character. This, of course, is also how the Professor is meant to be by J. K. Rowling. Recounting the moment in her bookstore, with the customer reading out loud that *Harry Potter* fragment in Kerkraads, she told us that she found this so extremely funny that she had to recover her breath from laughing. Again, with the public reading-aloud event in July, the audience, mainly people from Maastricht, burst with laughter upon hearing the Kerkraads fragments. Apparently, ways of speaking associated with Kerkrade are experienced as extremely funny, at least in Maastricht. This provides an explanation for why Kerkraads is indexical of the weird personality of Professor Sybill Trelawny. The perception of Kerkraads as 'funny' or maybe 'weird' is based on its being perceived as the most deviant and exceptional dialect in comparison with other dialects in the province. It is also perceived as the dialect that is the hardest one to understand for people outside of the province, and even for inhabitants of Limburg (cf. Cornips forthc.). This perception is undoubtedly brought about by Kerkraads being part of a branch of High German (as we noted earlier). Its funniness is then based in its otherness, it being different of what a proper Limburgian dialect should sound like.

In conclusion of this section, we have seen that each *Harry Potter* character interpretation needs to be localized, which involves difficult, often politically charged choices as to which linguistic elements are to be used in the performance of characters. As such, rendering a particular character through a specific variety of a language may associate her or him with specific characteristics, lifestyles, and social groups (Lippi-Green 1997: 85). We have also shown that the selection of the *Harry Potter* characters and their respective dialects resulted from language-ideologically informed choices, which are part of the long history of Limburgian enregistering efforts and the ongoing codification process. In these processes, there is a continuous search and need for the authentic, most pure form of a dialect, a

desire that also informed the *Harry Potter* translations. Happenings such as the reading-aloud event analyzed here help to naturalize and legitimize (Bucholtz and Hall 2008) the authentic nature of dialects and their socio-geographical indexicalities. In this *Harry Potter* case, the province of Limburg is (re)produced as a multidialectal space in which different dialects are put together as being equal, as does Veldeke and the Council for Limburgian. Simultaneously, this *status quo* is only apparent since the dialects are also placed in a social-political hierarchy with Maastrichts on top.

CONCLUSION

Demonstrating the importance of local language in the construction of local identities, this case study shows how the coexistence of different dialects informs a sense of a distinct, unique Limburgian identity. The processes of dialect enregisterment, which started in the 19th century, continue to confirm and reproduce this paradoxical notion of 'multidialectal identity', or in other words, the idea of 'unity in linguistic diversity'. In our setting the *Harry Potter* reading-aloud event (re)produces and confirms the differentiation between dialects and simultaneously evinces a dominant language ideology. In the absence of the standard language (Dutch), one dialect spoken in the provincial capital, Maastrichts, is given a higher ranking in a socio-political hierarchy. We have shown how media contribute to singling out Maastrichts as *primus inter pares* in an area that celebrates its dialectal heterogeneity and emphasizes that all dialects are equally important for establishing a local identity. The media also contribute to the standardization of what is conceived of different dialects, since extracts of the *Harry Potter* series were translated in written form according to the normative standard dialect orthography developed by the main institutional actors in Limburg, i.e. the Council for Limburgian and Veldeke. Paradoxically, as mentioned earlier, in contrast to language standardization at the national level, there is no tendency to construct or promote Maastrichts as a roofing or overarching 'Limburgian' variety that would turn Limburg into a uniform homogenous monodialectal space. Instead, 'being multidialectal' remains the dominant language ideology. What we see in the Limburgian *Harry Potter* case is a form of dialectscape cultivation consisting of different co-existing dialects. Each single dialect has been an object of codification, making it into what is considered a 'pure' (Haugen 2003: 348) and authentic variety. The *Harry Potter* reading-aloud project evinces this process of standardization of multiple dialects in which dialects are constructed as having their own linguistic elements. The most important institutional actors in Limburg have developed a normative orthography which is not uniform for the different dialects but leaves space for orthographic variation.

The *Harry Potter* translations served as a present-day tool and medium for the reproduction of language-ideologically informed connections between linguistic elements, places, speakers, and their ascribed socio-cultural characteristics. The bookshop owner who initiated the *Harry Potter* reading-loud event rationalized the choices made by mobilizing indexical associations, showing that this social-semiotic work is done at a high level of metalinguistic awareness. As such, these translations forcefully exemplify how selection and codification, components of enregisterment as well as of standardization, are crucial in anchoring linguistic forms and their speakers as local. Although standardization at the national level also entails selection and codification, it does not have this anchoring potential. The *Harry Potter* case shows us how a dominant language ideology resulting in pure varieties is reproduced on a local level without the standardizing effect of unification found at the level of the nation-state.

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Representations of multiethnic youth styles in Danish broadcast media

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INTRODUCTION[1]

When *multiethnic youth styles* (sometimes called *ethnolects* or *multi-ethnolects*) appear in Danish broadcast media, it is typically as either a parody or a news item presenting the latest linguistic trend. It rarely happens that multiethnic youth styles appear in media when spoken by the young people in their own contexts. Multiethnic youth styles are usually either stylized by actors in comedy and satire or represented by news journalists and experts who describe and evaluate them. The focus of this chapter is on the ways that multiethnic youth style appears in Danish broadcast media and how the mediation of multiethnic youth style may influence processes of language standardization.

After a brief summary of characteristic linguistic features associated with multiethnic youth styles, an outline of three mass media contexts in which multiethnic youth styles appear will be presented: comedy, news and fiction. The outline is followed by detailed analyses of two examples from Danish national TV demonstrating how multiethnic youth style, through stylizations as well as metadiscursive accounts, are portrayed as new, exotic and unintelligible. The two examples represent the most common contexts in which multiethnic youth styles appear in Danish broadcast media, namely comedy and news. The first example is from the comedy show *Det sløre stadig*, 'It is still veiling'[2]; 'a satire from the ghetto' – as it is presented on the show's webpage. The second example is from a TV feature that includes an interview with a sociolinguist in *Aftenshowet*, 'The Evening Show', a popular primetime talk show which mixes news and entertainment. Both the comedy show and the news show were broadcast on the Danish national TV (*DR1* and

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to the editors of this volume for their valuable and constructive comments to an earlier version of this chapter. Remaining flaws and inconsistencies are entirely my responsibility

[2] The Danish verb *sløre*r used in *Det sløre*r *stadig* is playing on a double meaning which is impossible to translate into English: *Slør* (n.) means 'veil', indexing a Muslim headscarf, and *sløre*r (v.) means something like 'blur' or 'fog'.

DR2) in 2013, and as we shall see, although different in terms of genre and their general setups, they present similar discursive ideologies about language hierarchies and the status and power of non-standard varieties in Denmark.

In his studies of the role of Danish TV in processes of dialect levelling and standardization, Tore Kristiansen argues that TV *indirectly* has, if not created, then substantiated and disseminated, a forceful standard language ideology within the Danish speech community favoring Copenhagen speech varieties, conservative as well as modern, with the effect that dialects have been more or less levelled out throughout the country (Kristiansen 2001, 2009, 2014a, 2014b). The present analyses of TV mediated representations of multiethnic youth style in Denmark may be seen as support of Kristiansen's argument, in that we find clear parallels between the representation of multiethnic youth style and that of traditional Danish dialects in TV, in contrast to more standard varieties of Danish.

Androutsopoulos (2014) argues for a post-structuralist perspective on the relationship between language and media, suggesting the term mediatization as a means of identifying media as constitutive of and integrated in social change in general. Quoting Knut Lundby, Androutsopoulos explains mediatization as a way to deal with "societal changes in contemporary high modern societies and the role of media and mediated communication in these transformations" (Lundby 2009:1; Androutsopoulos 2014: 10). Media representations and discourses of non-standard language varieties (i.e. the cases analyzed in this chapter) may, in light of a post-structuralist understanding of mediatization, be seen as (re)constructing and reconfirming the Danish societal organization of status, prestige and power in terms of the stereotyping of minoritized young people and the relationships between minoritized and majority speakers. Despite some differences in Kristiansen's and Androutsopoulos's takes on the role of media and (language) ideologies, they both contribute a framework for the study of linguistic and societal consequences of the ways non-standard varieties are represented in broadcast media, Kristiansen in particular with regard to the specific Danish context.

MULTIETHNIC YOUTH STYLES IN DENMARK[3]

In the last 10 to 15 years a great deal of linguistic research in Scandinavia and Northern Europe has focused on youth speech in urban multiethnic and multilingual settings (e.g. Auer 2003; Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox and Torgersen 2011; Kern and

[3] There is ongoing discussion about how to term the speech of young people in urban, multiethnic communities (cf. Quist and Svendsen 2010). In this article, I will refrain from arguing for any 'true' term and deliberately refer to the speech in question as a 'youth style' which here is to be understood in the broadest possible sense.

Selting 2012; Quist 2008; Quist and Svendsen 2010). Some researchers have studied the phonetic, grammatical and lexical consequences of the new contact situations where majority languages are used in combination with immigrant languages, predominantly Turkish and Arabic (e.g. Bodén 2004; Cornips 2008; Ganuza 2008; Hansen and Pharao 2010; Quist 2000; Wiese 2009). Others have had a primary focus on identity aspects of the practice of combining languages and constructing new linguistic styles (e.g. Jørgensen and Møller 2008; Kallmeyer and Keim 2003; Madsen 2008; Møller 2008; Quist 2012), and yet others look at stylizations and mediatizations of minority youth styles in public media (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2001, 2007; Milani and Johnson 2012; Quist and Jørgensen 2007). Common to all of these studies is a wish to describe, understand and discuss the effects of the dynamic and vibrant contact zones on language structure, use, ideologies and social life. In Scandinavia linguists were relatively early in carrying out studies on the emergence of new linguistic practices in urban areas characterized by large amounts of migrants (notably, the Swedish sociolinguist Kotsinas in her 1988 study of so-called *Rinkeby Swedish*). Despite discussions and disagreements on how to term and conceptualize the new linguistic practices, we find some striking parallels across the Scandinavian countries. Quist and Svendsen (2010) list a range of features that appear to co-occur in multilingual neighborhoods in Oslo, Copenhagen, Aarhus, Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenburg (see also Quist 2013; Quist and Svendsen 2015).

Co-occurring features include among others:

i. Application vs. non-application of the verb-second rule, i.e. inversion vs. non-inversion of verb and subject in main clauses beginning with an adverbial or in subordinate clauses compared with main clauses beginning with subject or object. Verb-second is the rule in the standard languages but often not applied by the youth in multiethnic neighborhoods. In Danish, for example, *når du er i puberteten, du tænker mere* ('when you are in your puberty you think more'), where standard Danish would have inversion of the subject and noun in the main clause: *når du er i puberteten, tænker du mere* ('when you are in your puberty think you more') (example taken from Quist 2000).

ii. Simplification of the grammatical gender system. In multiethnic youth style there is a tendency to simplify the two-gender system; common gender articles and pronouns are sometimes used where the standard has neuter gender, for example *den der blad* ('that magazine/common gender') instead of the standard *det der blad* ('that magazine'/neuter).

iii. Emblematic pronunciation, in multiethnic youth style characterized by variation in the use of *stød* (glottal constriction, see e.g. Quist 2008 and Møller 2010), reduced contrast between long and short vowels (described in detail by Hansen and Pharao 2010), variation in prevocalic /t/ pronounced with affrication and palatalization [t^{s}]/[t^{j}].

iv. A handful of lexical items, predominantly from Turkish and Arabic, mostly used as slang. Some of the most common ones are *wallah* ('I swear' from Arabic)[4], *para* ('money', from Turkish), *kız* ('girl', from Turhish), *jalla* ('come on'/'let's go', from Arabic) and *lan* ('man', from Turkish).

As we shall see in the comedy case analyzed below, all of these features are used by comedians when stylizing young people with minority ethnic backgrounds, while the case from the news show primarily focuses on the lexical features.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MULTIETHNIC YOUTH STYLES

In Danish mass media[5] (and arguably in Northern European media in general) it is possible to distinguish between three different contexts in which multiethnic youth styles appear:

i. Comedy (including animation, satire and 'mockumentery'[6])[7]

ii. News (in TV, radio and print)

iii. Fiction (in literature and feature-films)

[4] *Wallah* has become the emblematic word used to exemplify multiethnic youth styles. It is sometimes even used as a cover term as in *wallah-dansk*, 'wallah-Danish' or *wallah-sprog*, 'wallah-language' (Quist 2015).

[5] Here I use the term *mass media* in the sense of 'popular media' disseminated to large numbers of people through e.g. TV, radio and newspapers. I thereby, in this context, disregard the many instances of multiethnic youth styles in hip-hop and rap music. In these, multiethnic youth styles are not (always) represented but deployed in artful ways by their own speakers. However, these instances tend to stay 'underground', thus playing little or no role in the mediatization of standard language vs. multiethnic youth styles in the broader speech community.

[6] 'A mockumentary (a portmanteau of the words mock and documentary) is a type of film or television show in which fictional events are presented in documentary style to create a parody' (http://en.wikipedia.org/).

[7] There are also a few examples of multiethnic youth style in commercials. All of these are stylized, parody, used by ridiculed characters.

Comedy

The national Danish Radio (*DR*) is the TV channel with the highest number of viewers in Denmark. Since the year 2000 DR has broadcast comedies that include characters who use speech styles which can be directly associated with youth of ethnic minority background. Three examples will be presented in this section. They are examples of comedies that reached viewers in the whole country and made stylizations of multiethnic youth styles available to speakers who, in their daily lives, never heard of or met speakers of multiethnic styles. Arguably, the following three examples have had the largest impact on Danes' perceptions of what multiethnic youth style sounds like in parody – and, not least, contributed to the production and circulation of stereotypes connected to speakers of multiethnic youth style.

One of the earliest representations of multiethnic youth style appeared in the animated online game *Mujaffaspillet*, 'The Mujaffa Game'[8] launched online by DR in 2000. The Mujaffa Game features a stereotyped gangster character called Mujaffa. He is wearing heavy golden chains and his baseball cap is worn backwards. He does not say much, but he repeats a few phrases in an exaggerated accent. One of the phrases, *wallah min fætter*, 'wallah my cousin', gained instant popularity and was copied and parodied by young people who otherwise do not use multiethnic speech styles (Quist and Jørgensen 2007). Thus, *The Mujaffa Game* makes an illustrative case of the 'from-the-street-to-the-screen-and-back-again' life-cycle described by Androutsopoulos (2001). *The Mujaffa Game* came to be one of the first media representations of multiethnic speech styles, which then became known among young people across the whole country. The game is available online and it is still quite popular after more than 15 years.

In 2007 DR broadcast a TV 'Advent Calendar', *Yallahrup Færgeby*, 'Yallahrup Ferry Town', a TV serial with 24 episodes shown on December 1–24 . The serial was set up to be a parody of an old popular Advent Calendar for children from the 1970s called *Jullerup Færgeby*, 'Christmasrup Ferry Town'. The fictional place name *Jullerup* was replaced by *Yallahrup*, a compound of the Danish place postfix *–rup* and the Arabic word *yallah* meaning 'come on' or 'let's go'. The characters in the show were hand puppets representing different stereotyped individuals in a fictive Copenhagen suburb. The main character was Ali, a young gangster-wannabe with an exaggerated high-pitched voice (implying that he was pre-pubescent) and a distinctive multiethnic speech style featuring the above mentioned linguistic characteristics, plus some particular phrases that became emblematic of his speech and got copied by viewers of the show. The most popular phrase was *ornli syg* (which means something like 'sick', 'really cool'), and it is still today a common slang phrase in Danish (cf. also Madsen 2008).

[8] http://www.dr.dk/spil/mujaffa/

In 2013 DR introduced a new sketch show called *Det sløver stadig*, 'It is still veiling', featuring the character Latifah, the first girl and the first actor with minority background herself to stylize multiethnic youth style in the Danish media. The program site describes her as a *ghettotøs* ('a ghetto girl', where *tøs* equates to 'girl', 'lass' or 'bitch'). She shares the same characteristics as Mujaffa and Ali, as she also wears sports clothes, caps or hooded sweatshirts. Like them, she adopts a street-gangster style including cool sports cars, guns, and golden accessories.

To sum up, in comedy, multiethnic youth style is used by characters who perform a street-gangster style that includes, besides the particular way of speaking, a preference for cool cars and guns, also including the wearing of sports clothes, caps, golden chains and watches. They have foreign-sounding names that signal an ethnic Arabic background – Mujaffa, Ali and Latifah – and common to all three of them is also the fact that they are portrayed as not being real gangsters, but 'wannabe' gangsters and thus unintentionally ludicrous. The comedy sketch analyzed in detail below draws on this type of character, but it is, as we shall see, different in its presentation of multiethnic youth style in contrast to 'Danish'.

News

Since the first academic accounts of newly emergent multiethnic speech styles in Denmark (Christensen 2003; Madsen 2008; Quist 2000), news media have at regular intervals presented them as news items. Virtually all large newspapers in Denmark have treated the subject once or more, and so have relevant radio programs (e.g. *Radioavisen*, 'Radio News', and *Sproglaboratoriet,* 'The Language Lab') and several TV programs (like *TV-avisen*, 'TV news'*, Deadline, Aftenshowet*, 'The Evening Show', and *Go'aften Danmark*, 'Good Evening Denmark'). As with the broadcast comedy shows, a lot of people in Denmark have learned about the new urban speech styles through the news media rather than through direct contact with their speakers. Since Danish news media, and not least DR's TV and radio news programs, historically have been a prime motor and representative of the national standard norm (Kristiansen 2001, 2014b), it comes as no surprise that multiethnic speech styles in Danish media are presented in strong contrast to standard Danish.

Reviewing the many news features of multiethnic youth styles, it becomes apparent that journalists tend to treat the subject metadiscursively in similar ways following more or less the same discourse structure. First, the topic is usually presented as a piece of 'news', i.e. a new linguistic phenomenon or even as a new Danish dialect that linguists have recently 'discovered'. Second, a recurring characteristic is a main focus on the lexical features of the speech styles, typically accompanied by a wordlist with translations of slang and Turkish and Arabic words, for example *wallah, kız* and *para*, indicating the supposedly exotic and unintelligible

nature of the young people's speech. Third, it is possible to pin down a recurring line of information structure which newspaper articles and both TV and radio programs follow as they present the 'news' about young urban multiethnic speech styles, as follows. (1) The news feature begins with an introduction that underlines the novelty of the subject. (2) An example of the speech style is provided, often as words highlighted or in the form of a wordlist with translations. (3) A linguist or other expert is interviewed about the phenomenon, usually including reflections on the possible consequences for the Danish language. Typically s/he is asked to give an account of the new speech style in relation to Danish language in general, for example commenting on whether is it a threat to Danish.[9] The news-item from *Aftenshowet*, which will be analyzed in more detail below, follows this structure, and is largely similar to other news representations of the subject.

Fiction

It is without doubt in the contexts of comedy and news that multiethnic youth styles have been mass communicated and become known to a broad Danish audience. There are, however, examples of multiethnic youth style in fictional novels and in poetry, which should be mentioned too, since a few of them have been sold in relatively large numbers and have been used as part of the curriculum at primary as well as high schools. In 2001 Jeff Matthews published the novel *Halality* and got a lot of press coverage for being the first author to deal with young people's experiences in multicultural Copenhagen. The title *Halality* is a combination of the Arabic word *halal* and the English postfix *–ity* (as in *modernity*) denoting a multicultural place (in this case Copenhagen). In the novel, characters of different ethnic descents are depicted in quite stereotypical ways, using, among other things, bits and pieces of alleged language styles to underline the portrayals.

Halality was probably the first example of Danish fiction in which Arabic words like *halal* and *wallah* were used to illustrate multiethnic youth style. In 2005, a relatively similar way of representing young urban immigrants was presented in Ib Michael's novel *Grill*. Besides the use of *wallah*, Ib Michael also in a few instances included variation of the verb-second rule. The characters portrayed in Matthews' and Michael's novels, intentionally or unintentionally, come across as caricatures: they are violent and brutish and they use a speech style that, in contrast to that of other characters in the novels, appear as unsophisticated and with a simplified and even restricted grammar and vocabulary. Furthermore, the multiethnic voice mainly

[9] See Quist 2015 for an analysis of a newspaper article which schematically follows this structure.

functions as the voice of 'the other', of subordinate characters and not the first-person narrator.

In 2013 17-year-old Yahyah Hassan published a collection of poems about his life as a son of Palestinian parents growing up in a suburban social housing area in Aarhus. The collection became immediately popular and was sold in (for poetry) extremely high numbers (so far more than 110,000 volumes). Since Hassan in the poems uses features such as straight word order (where standard Danish following the verb-second rule would have inversion) and alternative case in pronouns (e.g. *mig jeg er digter*, 'me I am a poet'), his poems could perhaps be seen as the first Danish example of a mass communicated multiethnic youth style voice which was *not* a represented or caricatured voice. However, I would argue that this is not the case. Even in Hassan's poems, multiethnic youth style is stylized (through the hyper-frequent use of a few emblematic features: straight word order, alternative case in pronouns and slang) and used as a means to index a stereotypical young, suburban Arabic immigrant. Hassan stylistically plays on a contrast between this hyperbolic 'gangster voice' on the one hand and a baseline first person narrator voice in standard Danish.

As Källström points out, multiethnic youth style in literature has generally been "seen as representative for the way young people in multilingual suburbs speak" (2010: 142), i.e. as a more-or-less authentic representation. However, as the brief review above shows, the different texts display hyperbolic multiethnic speech as a stylistic means to portray young people with ethnic minority backgrounds. Although the examples of literary use of multiethnic youth style are not constructed as parodies, they do not go against the stereotypes that appear in comedy contexts. On the contrary, as noted above, multiethnic youth style is in these examples also linked to a brutish, street-gangster type not very different from Mujaffa and Ali.

CASE 1: *DET SLØRER STADIG*

The previous section outlined the different mass media contexts in which multiethnic youth style occurs – comedy, news and fiction, all of which have played a central role in disseminating awareness about the style throughout the country. We shall now turn to Danish broadcast media and analyses of multiethnic youth style in two specific cases. We shall see that particular linguistic features are depicted and foregrounded and used to index specific types of speakers.

The first case in point is from the sketch show *Det sløver stadig*. It was launched by the Danish national TV channel, DR, as the first show created and acted out by girls with ethnic minority backgrounds. In the show, four girls of Middle Eastern origin make fun of both ethnic Danes and ethnic minorities. They ridicule, for in-

stance, burkas and Danish bacon and they have sketches with titles like 'Paradise Hotel in Saudi Arabia', 'Ethnic Dating' and 'News from the Ghetto'. The sketch chosen for analysis here became immediately popular and has been viewed more than 123,000 times on *YouTube* (a high number in a small country like Denmark). The sketch features two young women, one of them blond-haired and the other dark-haired, on a lawn in a park helping each other with schoolwork.

They are talking a stylized educated Danish to each other with technical words like 'nuclear', 'substance', and 'philosophy' until one of the girl's mobile phone interrupts them. The dark-haired girl answers the phone and as she begins talking, she changes her facial expression and her gestures. Her eyes move faster from side to side and her eyebrows are raised. The girl furthermore switches into exaggerated multiethnic youth style with a (hyper)frequent use of all the linguistic features described above. The pronunciation is distinct and characterized by variation in the use of stød, a reduced contrast of long and short vowels, and palatalization of prevocalic /t/, and above all an extensive use of Arabic and Turkish words (e.g. *eow*, from Turkish meaning 'hello', *kalb*, from Arabic used as a derogatory meaning, 'dog' or 'puppy', *wallah* and *lan*, slang words (e.g. *lapper* for money) and swearwords, e.g. *fuck* and *fucking*. See Extract 1.

Extract 1

Brunette: Eow, hvad sker der dig? Jeg sagde til dig tag fat på hende der, mand […] Ved du hvad din kalb du skylder mig fucking tre lapper.

'Eow, what's up you? I told you get hold of that girl, man. […] You know what you kalb you owe me fucking three large ones'

The blond-haired girl stares astonished at the scene, but as soon as the phone conversation is over, the dark-haired girl switches back into the educated standard variety and both of them return to their homework and their conversation about physics, chemistry and philosophy.

In this sketch, multiethnic youth style is contrasted with standard Danish creating and playing on the humorous effect of this contrast. Arguably, the effect of juxtaposing multiethnic youth style and standard Danish in this manner, intra-individually, constructs, on the one hand, the standard voice as calm, appraising and rational, and, on the other, the multiethnic voice as the exact opposite, as aggressive, emotional and agitated. These contrasts are, besides the contrasting linguistic features, underlined by the girl's bodily gestures, vocal pitch and volume (as sketched in table 1). The two speech styles convey an image of two incompatible systems that represent distinct domains: standard Danish is used for serious school

Table 1: Features of multi-ethnic youth style and stylized educated standard Danish

	Stylized multiethnic youth style	Stylized educated standard Danish
Linguistic features: Pronunciation	Omission of stød (e.g. in *sker* and *tre*) A reduced contrast of long and short vowels (e.g. in *sagde*) Palatalization of prevocalic /t/ (e.g. in *til* and *tag*)	Standard Copenhagen pronunciation Pronounced stød in words like *atomart*
Linguistic features: Lexicon	Arabic and Turkish words: *kalb*, *lan*, *para*, *wallah* Slang: *lapper* (for money) Swear words: *fucking*, *fuck*	Technical and specialized terms like *atomart niveau*, 'atomic level', *filosofiens verden*, 'the world of philosophy', *yderst fascinerende*, 'utmost fascinating'
Voice	Intense, aggressive	Calm
Gestures	Hand vividly gesticulating Upper part of the body moving and turning from side to side	Hands pointing to lines in the books and papers in front of them Upper part of the body bended towards the books and papers
Eye movements	Moving up and down, from side to side Eyebrows raised	Eyes looking down, to the books and papers No raised eyebrows

talk and multiethnic youth style is used for informal gossiping and emotional outbursts.

The two contrasted styles are largely parallel to what Madsen, Møller and Jørgensen (2010) term 'street language' and 'integrated language'. From their ethnographic studies at a school in the Amager district of Copenhagen, Madsen and colleagues found that the young people there use the term 'integrated' for an educated, nerdy way of speaking, linguistically characterized by complex sentences and technical words (Madsen, Møller and Jørgensen 2010; Madsen, Karrebæk and Møller 2013). 'Integrated' is, to the young people in the Amager school, associated with school speech, as performed by teachers and ambitious, nerdy students. 'Street language', on the other hand, is associated with out-of-school, masculine, gangster personas. It is linguistically characterized by a distinct style of pronunciation (comparable to the description of multiethnic youth style, see above) and by the use of Turkish and Arabic words, slang and swear words. Madsen et al. argue that 'integrated language' as well as 'street language' are enregistered styles that can be

played with according to the situation.[10] Hence, styles comparable to the ones depicted in the sketch seem to be used by young people in their daily practices. Although highly exaggerated in the sketch, young urban people are likely to recognize the styles from their own lives.[11]

CASE 2: AFTENSHOWET

A contrast between multiethnic youth style and standard Danish is also constructed in the second case study, taken from the TV show *Aftenshowet*, 'The Evening Show', a combined news, entertainment and talk show. After an article in the Danish newspaper *Berlingske* in 2013 on 'new foreign words in Danish', other media (newspapers, radio and TV) followed with stories and debates about whether or not loanwords from Arabic should be included in the official Danish spelling dictionary, *Retskrivningsordbogen*. In *Aftenshowet* the story was featured as a piece of news. The structure of the feature followed the scheme briefly outlined in the section above. After a short introduction underlining the novelty of the topic – referred to by the journalist as *Araberslang*, 'Arab slang' – a report from a park followed where a journalist, in a vox-pop manner, requested volunteers, all of them white ethnic Danes, to read aloud from a summer postcard constructed for the occasion. It read as follows.

Extract 2

> *Kære mormor. Wallah det er godt i København. Yalla nu går vi på stranden. Forhåbentlig skinner solen resten af dagen, inshalla.*
>
> 'Dear Grandmother. Wallah it is nice in Copenhagen. Yalla now we go to the beach. Hopefully the sun will be shining for the rest of the day, inshalla.'

The postcard expressed a traditional tourist, summer greeting in Danish, but incorporated the three words which became the topic of discussion in the interview – *wallah*, *yalla* and *inshalla*. People then read the text of the postcard aloud, hesitating when seeing the Arabic loanwords. They were then asked whether they under-

[10] Madsen (2013) furthermore points out that although the term 'integrated' is mostly used in connection with Danish, the young speakers in Amager also use it for Arabic as some of them say that it is possible to speak 'integrated' in Arabic. This indicates that 'integrated' is not necessarily linked to a specific language, but is primarily a register that links to education, etc. in any language.

[11] See Hyttel-Sørensen (2016) for a study of young people in the Amager school who are discussing the sketch.

stood the words, which three of them claimed they did not, and one said that she maybe did (she had heard some of the words used by schoolmates).

Back in the *Aftenshowet* TV studio, the host journalist introduced the topic of the upcoming interview by saying: "Words from Arabic are nowadays used so frequently that they may become included in the Danish spelling dictionary". An expert, a sociolinguist[12], was then asked to help with a translation of the postcard. The expert willingly explained the meaning of *wallah*, *yalla* and *inshalla*, and they then went on to discuss why these words were candidates to be included in the dictionary. The interviewee stated that young people in the greater Danish cities have used the words as part of Danish for many years, probably more than twenty years, and that they are now also used in writing, mainly in social media. The host journalist then expanded the topic by showing an example of 'this way of speaking', as he put it. The example was the sketch from *Det sløver stadig* with the two female friends in the park! After the sketch, the host journalist continued the interview with the expert about the consequences of Arabic words appearing in media, like in *Det sløver stadig*, and whether or not words like *wallah* and *yalla* could or should be included in the spelling dictionary.

Throughout the feature the words in question are discussed not in relation to the Arabic language, but in relation to non-standard multiethnic youth style.[13] The linking of *wallah*, *yalla* and *inshalla* to multiethnic youth style is constructed in the introductory presentation of the interview as well as in the interview questions, and not least when exemplified by the parody from the sketch show. Moreover, the mediational setup and design around the host journalist and the expert interviewee underlined the connection of the words to broader ideologies connected to Islam in the Danish society. Different signs designed as speech bubbles with Arabic words inside were visually displayed around the host journalist and expert interviewee. Besides the three words that were in primary focus, the signs displayed the heavily politically-loaded words *sharia*, *halal* and *niqab*.[14] Thus, *wallah*, *yalla* and *inshalla*,

[12] The expert in this example happens to be me, the present writer. I do not in this article discuss the role I play as an 'expert' in the construction and circulation of mediatized conceptions of multiethnic youth styles. It is, however, an important discussion, as I agree with Androutsopoulos and Lauer (2013) when they point out that experts are never just neutral observers, in that they contribute to the meta-discursive constructions of ideas and ideologies connected to the speech styles. For further such discussions, see e.g. Androutsopoulos & Lauer (2013), Quist (2015) and Stroud (2004).

[13] In contrast, had the discussion been about English loanwords in Danish (which is also often discussed in Denmark), the linking would probably not have been to local non-standard vernaculars, but rather to English as a global language in general.

[14] There are several meanings for these words in Arabic. In Danish, however, they tend to be connected to specific meanings – *sharia* means to most Danes 'Islamic law'; *halal* in Danish refers to the ritual slaughtering of chickens, lambs and calves (as in *halalkød* = 'halal meat') and *niqab* is one form of female attire that covers up bare skin and hair.

which broadly function as discourse particles in spoken language (Quist and Svendsen 2015), are not only linked to multiethnic youth style in contrast to standard Danish, they are, through the visual set up in the TV studio, also linked to words that surface in stereotypical, prejudiced ideas about Islam. To many Danes these words stand for all the things they dislike about Islam, i.e. the covering up of women's hair and face (*niqab*), religion standing above the secular law (*sharia*) and ritual slaughtering of animals (*halal*).

The discussion about Arabic words used by young speakers in Denmark is thus placed in a context that not only reproduces a stereotypical image of multiethnic youth style, linking it to youth street gangster style, it takes the association further to also include (what in general are understood as negative aspects of) the religion of Islam. Presenting the sketch with the two girls in the park from *Det sløret stadig* as being a representative example of how 'this way of speaking' sounds, multiethnic youth style is presented as oppositional to standard Danish (cf. the previous section). This opposition between standard Danish[15] and multiethnic youth style is furthermore maintained throughout the interview in which consequences for Danish language are discussed. The expert interviewee is asked to translate the words on the postcard as if the card was written in an incomprehensible foreign language that 'ordinary people' are unfamiliar with. The Danish spelling dictionary represents the standard Danish counterpart to the Arabic loan words, and even though the interviewee explained that the speech of the young people is in fact a *Danish* speech style, it comes across as linguistically incompatible with Danish (something that needs expert translation) and, arguably, also culturally in contrast to Danish norms and values (cf. the displayed religious words from Arabic).

CONCLUSION

According to Kristiansen (2001, 2009, 2014a, 2014b) Danish media generally promote a standard ideology. Contrary to other countries, e.g. Norway, there are practically no dialects present in broadcast media in Denmark, apart from occasions when the audience is supposed to laugh, i.e. when dialect is used to portray ridiculed characters in comedy, commercials, satire, etc. Kristiansen argues for a so-called 'subjectivity model' that explains the causal connections between language use in the media ('mediated language'), subjective attitudes and speakers' actual language use ('immediate language') (Kristiansen 2014a, 2014b). Kristiansen uses the model to explain how the strong standard ideology, through the massive promotion of Copenhagen speech, is adopted by speakers throughout the country, with the effect

[15] Or rather, ideas of what is real authentic and correct Danish.

that dialects have become stigmatized and leveled. He substantiates his argument by comparing the linguistically homogeneous broadcast media with the results of speaker evaluation experiments that have been carried out around the country. These studies always show the same results: people who are not themselves speakers of Copenhagen Danish downgrade their own local dialect and evaluate the Copenhagen variant positively (Kristiansen 2009).

The strong standard ideology leaves little tolerance for variation, and although attitudes towards multiethnic youth style in Denmark have not (so far) been studied using a verbal guise technique, there is good reason to believe that this non-standard way of speaking is also negatively evaluated – both by ingroup speakers and outgroup non-speakers of the style (Quist 2000: 166–173). In the cases analyzed in this chapter, multiethnic youth style is depicted as something unintelligible (which needs translation by an expert), as associable with a street-gangster stereotype and also – in the news feature – as symbolically linked to Islam and Islamist ideology.

Although differently represented, we find some general parallels between mass mediated representations of dialects and multiethnic youth style. The ways multiethnic youth style is stylized in the sketch and meta-discursively represented in the news feature, in contrast to Danish standard language, mirror the general – almost diglossic – division of status between standard and non-standard varieties of Danish. Both dialects and multiethnic youth style appear in the media (almost exclusively) in the context of parody, and they are predominately stylized and represented by actors and experts, and rarely by their everyday speakers. From the perspective of mediatization (Androutsopoulos 2014: 10), one might argue that this marginalized status of nonstandard varieties in the media solidifies the absolute status of standard language in Danish society. The mediated representations of multiethnic youth style form part of macro-level discourses and ideologies: Surely, the depictions of multiethnic youth style in the above analyzed cases are not very surprising. When, for instance, compared to public debates about multiethnic youth style and Arabic loanwords (in newspapers, TV debates and online debates; cf. Quist 2015), it is clear that negative discourses and ideologies connected to such non-standard ways of speaking are widespread in the Danish population. People do not hold back from expressing negative attitudes towards what they sometimes term *wallah-dansk*, *lokumsdansk* and *araberslang*, 'wallah-Danish', 'bog-Danish' and 'Arab slang', cf. Quist (2015). In an analysis of an online debate about 'Arab slang', Quist demonstrates how argumentation becomes linked to national ideologies of what can be considered Danish and what cannot. Multiethnic youth style becomes directly linked to questions about Danes, Denmark and Danishness, which again construct an ideological link between what can be conceived as correct Danish language and Danish identity. Multiethnic youth style is thus constructed as constituting a phenomenon outside of the Danish speech community which in turn is taken as deter-

mining what can be accepted as Danish and what not. The cases presented in this chapter suggest that broadcast media representations of multiethnic youth style contribute to this ongoing constitutive relationship between standard Danish and multiethnic youth style.

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‘An evil version of our accent’: Language ideologies and the neighbouring other

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Stylized materials from mediated comedy texts are frequently salient carriers of language ideologies.[1] The comedy is often based on reimagining our relationship with an Other, in particular where the marginalized are able – at least briefly in the context of comic performance – to turn the tables on those who are positioned at a dominating centre. Even if the subversion does not and cannot last, its brief life has the potential to effect a slight, temporary shift in the balance of power, to lessen the domination of the centre and enhance the free space of the periphery. Comedy can function to bring to the surface ideologies that normally remain invisible. Mediated comedy which deals in some way with language, therefore, has the capacity to displace reigning linguistic ideologies, if only a little, and thus to contribute to the wider envelope of linguistic, sociolinguistic and social change.

While linguistic ideologies sometimes surface in open debates about language, more often they remain unspoken and unconscious. They may have major social and political effects – from individual discrimination through to armed conflict – but most of the time people are scarcely aware of their existence. These ideologies are ‘naturalized’: they represent commonsense views of language and society that people take for granted. They need no justification, they just describe the way the world is. But while self-presenting as neutral descriptions, ideologies have repercussions which are far from unaligned. In this chapter, I focus attention mainly on ideologies that are associated with dialect differences, and how those position speakers of different dialects.

INVESTIGATING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Explicit work on language ideologies has been an important strand of sociolinguistics since the publication of the foundational collections edited by Schieffelin,

[1] Thanks to the editors for their support and patience, and their many insightful suggestions on the material in this chapter, which are not acknowledged specifically.

Woolard and Kroskrity (1998), and Kroskrity (2000), together with Blommaert (1999) and Gal and Woolard (2001). Irvine and Gal's programmatic chapter (2000), in the second of these sources, proposed an approach which has been widely applied. It explicates how people routinely define themselves over against some real or imagined Other through three main processes:

i. Iconization is the process by which a linguistic feature – or even a whole variety or language – becomes symbolic of a particular group. Although the association between language and group is arbitrary, it is treated as somehow having a natural and inherent link with the group. If the 'best people' speak in a certain way, you will not become one of the best people without their speech, no matter that the actual linguistic indexes are arbitrary – why is /r/ pronouncing prestigious in the U.S. and denigrated in the U.K.? – and no matter that only a small minority of the population control the standard. As Irvine and Gal observe, "there is no 'view from nowhere,' no gaze that is not positioned" (2000: 36). Woolard's 1998 overview article adds that ideologies (including language ideologies) serve the interests of social groups and are differentiated according to those interests. In general, prevalent ideologies serve the interests of the social elite: they legitimate and sustain subordination.

ii. Recursion involves the projection of a distinction made at one level on to another level (Irvine and Gal 2000 use the precise but opaque geometrical term 'fractal recursivity'). Language choices made at the national level may be reflected in the choices made within individual families, for example over what language a child shall receive education in. Language choices may also be reflected in other semiotic dimensions such as appearance, for instance in the adoption of both particular fashions and a particular phonology (the 'burnouts' of Eckert's Detroit study, 2000, are an example).

iii. Erasure is the process by which facts which do not fit the ideology are rendered invisible. They are overlooked or explained away. The ideology works to disguise the operation of domination from the non-elite groups that it disadvantages (Woolard 1998). Even a language that is as highly standardized as French encompasses a large range of variety that is ignored in defining what the standard is. Yet standard French is not regarded as one variety among others – rather, it excludes the idea that variation even exists (Jaffe 1999: 78).

This three-part heuristic has been applied in numerous studies, and although it cannot claim to be comprehensive as a means of unpacking language ideologies, it serves as a good starting point. I will complement it with one of the most fruitful

templates for approaching language ideology, which long predates such developments in the Anglo-American academy by decades.

The centrifugal and centripetal in language

Writing in the 1920s and 1930s, Bakhtin maintained that in society language is a site of struggle between the dynamic centrifugal forces which whirl it apart into diversity, and the centripetal forces which strive to prescribe the way language should be. Bakhtin acknowledges standardization as a force but celebrates the centrifugal – the divergence, individuality, creativity, even the chaos of language variety:

> Alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward. (Bakhtin 1981: 272)

The centrifugal and centripetal forces operate at both social and individual levels, foreshadowing Irvine and Gal's 'fractal recursivity'. Bakhtin saw this as a crusade for the vernacular against the standard. It is a process in which scholars are not neutral in response to these forces, but can celebrate language as kaleidoscope – "a radical revolution in the destinies of human discourse: the fundamental liberation of cultural-semantic and emotional intentions from the hegemony of a single and unitary language" (Bakhktin 1981: 367). He calls up the concept of heteroglossia – all-pervasive linguistic variegation – to challenge the hegemony of standards in languages: "The entire dialectological makeup of a given national language, must have the sense that it is surrounded by an ocean of heteroglossia" (1981: 368). Such an approach aligns well with models that recognize centre and periphery in language dynamics. Adopted from postcolonial theory and put forward, for example, by Canagarajah (1999), this can function as a way of overcoming frequently perceived dichotomies between the western and the indigenous, the native and non-native.

The current study focuses on the ideologies associated with the Englishes of Australia and New Zealand. Australian English (AusE) may not function as a global 'standard' in the way British and American do, but because of the nation's size and economic strength relative to its neighbours, including New Zealand, it serves as a centre of linguistic dominance for regional Englishes. This is an instance of what pertains in many regions where some geographical periphery is contrasted with a notional centre: Scotland vs England, Canada vs the United States, the American South vs General American – and New Zealand vs Australia. Much linguistic ideol-

ogy has to do with periphery, minority and marginality. These situations are characterized not just by difference but by deficit. The periphery is home to groups that, in the contrastive context, are more or less denigrated Others. Being located on the geographical margins therefore consorts with social marginalization and minoritization, and projects discriminatory assumptions on to the area, its people and their dialect. The dialects of these disparaged peripheral areas are, in varying fashions and degrees, held up not just as subjects of interest but often as objects of mockery. Such denigration may range from the relatively benign to the clearly injurious.[2]

The performances I analyze below have their basis in the negative attitudes and behaviours of sociolinguistic peripheralization, which they set out to combat and invert. My aim is to tease out the linguistic and social ideologies involved in certain representations of New Zealand and Australian Englishes, how those are displayed, revealed and nuanced, how they are at once instantiated and challenged, and what this can tell us about the place of language variety in the operation of ideology.

FLIGHT OF THE CONCHORDS

My data come from media performances, specifically from the US television series *Flight of the Conchords*. The performance of New Zealand English (NZE), especially in comedy genres, has received a good deal of attention from local sociolinguists, e.g. Pasifika English in the television comedy *bro'Town* (Gibson and Bell 2010), and Māori English from the comedian Billy T James (Bell 2007). The *Conchords* concerns the mis/adventures of a duo of New Zealand comedians/musicians who are trying to make it in New York. They are played by Bret McKenzie and Jemaine Clement – a duo of comedians/musicians from Wellington, New Zealand, who are trying to make it in New York. The US series followed Conchords' live performances at festivals and comedy venues in New Zealand, Australia, the UK and North America, and drew on the duo's BBC radio show about a pair of New Zealand musicians/comedians trying to make it in London… The series went out on Home Box Office in the US, screening 22 episodes in two seasons, 2007–08 and 2008–09. It has been released in the UK, Canada and much of Europe as well as in

[2] In some contexts, my generalization above needs to be nuanced or even inverted. The periphery's varieties can gain status at the centre, for example in the relative prestige of Celtic-fringe Englishes in the British Isles. And what is periphery in one configuration may act as centre in a differently-bounded region. New Zealand English may be marginalized compared to Australian, but it tends to be dominant among the Englishes of the islands of the southwest Pacific because of New Zealand's large Pasifika populations, formerly immigrant but now resident long-term in New Zealand (Biewer 2015).

the US and New Zealand. It now circulates on DVD and in other digital formats, and extensive clips appear on YouTube.

McKenzie and Clement play the two lead characters, under their own names, with the third lead being their inept band manager, Murray (played deadpan by Rhys Darby) who is moonlighting from his day job at the New Zealand consulate in New York. The band have just one fan, who stalks them, and their main ambition is to get a gig somewhere – anywhere. Between one and three songs are interspersed into the plot line in each episode. Clement and McKenzie wrote the songs, and co-wrote the spoken scripts with others. Their songs in the show – and a good deal of the rest of the content – draw on a range of cultural and subcultural referencing, setting up complex visual, musical and linguistic intertextualities with earlier songs, performers, styles and genres (including, for example, *West Side Story* – this is New York). Some of the songs function as parodies of well-known singers and their hits, such as David Bowie and 'Space Oddity', and involve highly stylized pronunciations leveraging off those singers' original voicings. The phonetics of these performances, and their relation to McKenzie's and Clement's usual speech, and to the source performers' singing and spoken pronunciations, have been researched by Gibson (2011). He finds that McKenzie and Clement are adept at a range of phonetic imitation and manipulation, particularly in the service of comic effect.

In the series, the Conchords play versions of themselves. One disjunction between the performers and their characters is that the performed personas are unsuccessful, whereas the actual duo have, by virtue of the US TV series itself, achieved some success. The kind of self-aware reflexivity involved in making a success out of performing one's lack of success is consonant with the knowingness that permeates the show, as we shall see below. The Conchords have won various New Zealand and international awards (including a Grammy in 2008) both as duo and individuals. McKenzie received a 2012 Academy Award for best original song (in the Muppets film). The series achieved a cult following in North America and, predictably, a strong following in New Zealand.

The show is quirky in its style and content, frequently to the point of surrealism. It is played laconically and low key, with tongue quietly but firmly in cheek – not characteristics conventionally associated with mainstream American television comedies. There is a good deal of New Zealand self-deprecation, leveraging off the small size and global insignificance of the nation: the actor playing the New Zealand prime minister is shown driving a tour bus round New Zealand-related sites in New York. Arguably it is this deprecation of New Zealand, to the point of parody, which is the most consistent theme running through the show. Again, this approach is not obviously characteristic of US television, which has been known to satirize the neighbouring Canadians for their self-effacing behaviour.

Counter-pointing and interweaving with the self-presentation of New Zealand is the considerable amount of action and comedy which sparks off New Zealand's rivalry with its much larger neighbour, Australia. Few Americans will have any awareness of the differences between the two nations (or, in some cases, that they are indeed separate nations), let alone the nuances of the relationship between them, so this seems initially to be a strange recipe for success in the American market. Americans may however have some awareness of the relativities between the US itself and closer, smaller nations such as Canada. And the sometimes uninhibitedly racist-style discourse by New Zealanders about Australians (and *vice versa*) may resonate with Americans in that it says the unsayable through dealing with an intergroup relationship which is a) not based in colour, b) not based in race and c) is safely distant from the US itself.[3] Part of the locus of New Zealand/Australian contrasts is language, and in particular there are numerous and focal references to and performances of accent and its role in sociocultural othering between these two close neighbours.

The data I draw on from the *Conchords* are of two kinds:

i. performances of New Zealand and Australian Englishes by characters in the show, specifically Bret, Jemaine and Murray (NZE) and Jemaine's fleeting girlfriend, Keitha (AusE)

ii. metalinguistic discussions of the similarities and differences between NZE and AusE, involving Bret, Jemaine and a fruit seller, Sinjay.

ICONIZATION AND ERASURE IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC OTHERING

Each episode of the *Flight of the Conchords* tends to focus quite tightly on a particular theme or cluster of concerns. The first extract below comes from an episode that deals throughout with race relations-type issues as seen through the lens of fictional discrimination against New Zealanders in New York by the fruit seller Sinjay. He ignores Bret and Jemaine, refuses to sell them fruit, and disinfects anything they touch. The two are also shown experiencing wider discrimination – being jostled on the street, having to travel at the back of a bus, and being denied access to a night club. They are, in short, on the receiving end of the kind of denigration historically directed against African Americans.

While they are agonizing about this, their friend Dave suggests they repay Sinjay for his 'prejudism' by poisoning his fruit to frame him for murder, so that he

[3] My thanks to Chris Hutton for this point.

will get sent to Alcatraz. As an alternative, he then teaches them to perform insulting gestures, and they return to Sinjay's fruit stand for a showdown:

Excerpt 1: 'Our accents are completely different'
***Flight of the Conchords,* Series 1, Episode 7**
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zs_rXxi0zhM

1	Sinjay	How dare you come here and give me those offensive hand gestures
2		at my fruit stand.
3	Jemaine	It was either this or getting you sent into Alcatraz.
4	Bret	How dare you treat us like second-hand [sic] citizens?
5	Jemaine	It doesn't matter what country someone's from, or what they look or
6		the colour of their skin. It doesn't matter what they smell like, or that
7		they spell words slightly differently, some would say more correctly.
8	Sinjay	Yeah.
9	Jemaine	Let me finish. I'm a person, Bret's a person.
10	Bret	Yeah.
11	Jemaine	You're a person, that person over there's a person,
12		and each person deserves to be treated like a person.
13	Sinjay	It's a great speech. Too bad New Zealanders are a bunch of cocky A-
14		holes descended from criminals and retarded monkeys.
15	Jemaine	No, you're thinking of Australians.
16	Bret	Yeah that's Australians.
17	Jemaine	Australians.
18	Sinjay	No no no, New Zealanders. They throw another shrimp on the barbie,
19		ride around on your kangaroos all day.
20	Jemaine	No, no.
21	Bret	That's Australians.
22	Jemaine	You're thinking of Australians, that's not us.
23	Sinjay	I've totally confused you with Australians. I, I feel terrible.
24	Jemaine	Oh no, oh no.
25	Sinjay	Your accents, they're just kind of similar.
26	Jemaine	Our accents are completely different. They're like 'where's the car',
27		and we're like 'where's the car' [pronunciations identical].
…		…
28	Sinjay	Neela you can you can uncover your eyes, they're not Australians,
29		they're New Zealanders.

Broadly viewed, the participants conduct their dialogue in the accents of their characters. Bret and Jemaine perform in their vernacular NZE. Sinjay speaks in a contrasting general American accent but not, interestingly, with any obvious New York City features.

In the context of the episode as a whole, the racist-style practices and discourse displayed in this extract are clearly an extrapolation from the negative side of US

race relations, complete with ideological loading and intertextual reference. Bret and Jemaine overtly class the situation as racism: they accuse Sinjay directly of being racist, and tell their manager Murray they are in the middle of a race war. They perform a song/sketch about 'Albi the racist dragon', who is eventually converted from his evil ways. While the focus of the exchange is on the differences between New Zealanders and Australians, the discrimination is practised by an American in this episode rather than by an Australian (although other episodes do show plenty from that quarter). But eventually, over the closing credits, Sinjay joins them in aiming an extended exchange of gestural insults at a guard outside the Australian embassy.

In response to the discrimination directed at him, Jemaine's eloquent plea (lines 5ff.) follows the tradition of well-known American orations on racial equality, most obviously Lincoln's Gettysburg address (1863) and Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' (1963). The structure of cadence and repetition reflects the high rhetorical style of those historic speeches. Compare Jemaine's "It doesn't matter what … it doesn't matter what…" (lines 5–7) with Lincoln: "It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to … It is rather for us to be here dedicated to …". This intertextuality with what are possibly the two best-known public addresses in US history is handled carefully, echoing sentiment, structure and rhythm rather than directly quoting such iconic texts (which might risk offending American viewers). This is presumably because Jemaine's speech proceeds to immediately undermine its own rhetoric. The second section (lines 9–12) is scripted to push the rhetorical devices over the top into banality. Jemaine uses the word 'person' seven times in three lines, and the speech anti-climaxes in the tautology of line 11: 'that person over there's a person'.[4] Gibson (2011) found this kind of self-parodic exaggeration to be frequent in the show's songs, where Bret and Jemaine will push a pronunciation or repetition over the edge into conscious, displayed absurdity. In an exchange where the two singers both play the character of David Bowie, we get: "Do you hear me man … I read you loud and clear man … Ooh yeah man" (Gibson 2011: 612).

Sinjay's response to Jemaine's oratory acknowledges that "It's a great speech" (13), pointing up and confirming the intertextuality with the historical addresses. However for him, the rhetoric is regrettably nullified by the cultural characteristics that he associates with New Zealanders – "a bunch of cocky A-holes descended from criminals and retarded monkeys" (13–14). But the target of the fruit seller's prejudice turns out to be a case of mistaken identity: it is Australians he abhors rather than New Zealanders. Although he cannot tell the difference between the two

[4] The over-use of 'person' may also be referencing – perhaps satirically – politically-correct, gender-neutral usage.

groups, his conscious discrimination is targeted overtly towards one nationality and not the other.

Sinjay's response reveals the Conchords' proclaimed egalitarianism to be only skin-deep. As New Zealanders, Bret and Jemaine are now in the clear, and quite happy to ditch their egalitarian rhetoric and see Australians discriminated against in the most derogatory terms. 'Descended from criminals' in fact double-voices an only-partly-humorous New Zealand characterization of Australians. It references the stereotype that the founding white settlement of Australia was as a penal colony, compared to the voluntary nature of British migration to New Zealand. 'We came, they were sent', the New Zealand saying runs. Jemaine and Bret have no need to reflect on how this description has come to be targeted at them – they recognize at once that the fruit seller must have confused them with Australians, since these fit his description so perfectly. They share Sinjay's prejudice: Australians are non-persons – "descended from ... retarded monkeys" (14).

There are three things to be said about the performance so far. First, it is a parodically self-evident case of ideological erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000). The misfit between the Conchords' rhetoric and their prejudice against Australians is instantly rendered invisible to all three participants, and therefore all the more visible to the audience. Once it is established that none of the actual interactants are members of the 'offending' group, the prejudice is free to live on unchallenged and unchanged – except for being deflected away to Australians.

Secondly, there is a strong case of 'strategic inauthenticity' (Coupland 2007) involved in much of this. Hard upon delivering an apparently heartfelt speech in the style of iconic American oratory, the Conchords immediately undercut the sincerity of their own performance. Self-satirization of New Zealand and its ways here goes hand in hand with derogating Australia. This knowingness, and the reflexivity of which it is one manifestation, suffuses the entire show, including many of the very intentionally stylized songs. In the 'Space Oddity' sequence (Gibson 2011: 612), for example, they recycle vocabulary reminiscent of Bowie, or at least of the seventies at large:

> Jemaine: How far out are you man?
> Bret: I'm pretty far out.
> Jemaine: That's pretty far out man!

Thirdly, there is an ironical inversion embedded in the group labelling used here. Sinjay recognizes 'New Zealanders' as the default category of all antipodeans. The reality is the opposite: New Zealanders are routinely classed as Australians – since Australia is the very much more populous country – while Australians are rarely classified as New Zealanders. Here and in later excerpts the normal polarity is reversed, so that New Zealand becomes centre and Australia periphery. New Zealand

as the margin briefly turns the tables on the centre, an inversion which is made possible because the encounters are taking place in the neutral territory of North America rather than in either group's home land.

The part that language overtly plays in this discrimination is first foreshadowed not with reference to accent but to orthographic difference, and with a US–New Zealand comparison rather than an Australian one: "spell words slightly differently, some would say more correctly" (line 7–8). The line is targeted at American–New Zealand differences, since New Zealand orthography allies with British not American conventions. Erased in this contrast of orthographic ideologies is the fact that Australian English also mostly follows the British model, and therefore New Zealand and Australia are implicitly allies here in their alignment against the common enemy of the locally prevalent American norm. The implication is also that the British norm may itself be superior to the American, representing the constant tension between these two as competing standards of international English.

The 'spelled more correctly' evaluation elicits a demurring attempt at interruption from Sinjay, which Jemaine brushes aside to continue his declamation (11). He first espouses an ideology of difference in orthographic conventions – "spell words slightly differently" – which accords with his overall equality rhetoric. He then upgrades this to a deficit evaluation through the "more correctly" claim, albeit governed by a hedged expression ("some would say") which implies the relativity of such prescriptive assessments. The hedging also chimes with the stereotype of New Zealanders' self-presentation (compared to Americans') as reticent and self-effacing. Jemaine's wording here functions in fact as the opposite of erasure. Rather than concealing the ideological underpinning of the position he is expounding, he makes it fully visible in his attempt to occupy the orthographic high ground.

The implied alliance in orthography between New Zealand and Australia is immediately sundered when Jemaine and Bret affiliate with the characteristics offered by Sinjay as descriptive of Australians not New Zealanders. First the fruit seller instances the barbecue as a stereotype of Australian culture (although he takes it at this point to be New Zealand), transferring attention to Australian–American lexical difference, here focused in the diminutive *barbie.* The cliché 'throw another shrimp on the barbie' (18)[5] has nothing to do with dolls. He follows this with the clinching identifier – emblematic fauna – in line 19, since kangaroos are indigenous to Australia but not found in New Zealand. Sinjay then moves deeper into linguistic territory as he makes it clear that accent has been the key signifier which has led

[5] The phrase was used in Australian tourism television commercials in the US in the 1980s by the actor Paul Hogan ('Crocodile Dundee'). Ironically, the native Australian term would be *prawn* rather than *shrimp*, but the latter was used for US consumption to avoid audience confusion. The phrase is therefore a mis-transmitted stereotype – but that presents no problem to a target audience.

him to this mis-identification: "your accents they're just kind of similar" (25). The accent is iconized not just as representative of but in fact diagnostic of group membership.

The incident embodies a dialectal truism of disjunction between the production and perception of Australian and New Zealand Englishes. As with many neighbouring varieties, the accents are overwhelmingly similar, distinguished by a handful of features – iconizations – which are generally noticed only by the members of the two speech communities themselves but remain unremarked by speakers of other English varieties. In reality, few Americans notice any difference between the two accents, and many identify NZE or AusE as some variety of British English (in another episode, Bret is congratulated on his British accent). Sinjay at least does know enough about Australia and its English to produce lexical items for local fauna and cultural practice as cues to who he is talking about.

Stung by the allegation of accent similarity, Jemaine springs to an instant assertion of how "completely different" the two accents are, and offers an exemplar of this (lines 26–27). Unfortunately for this declaration, the segmental phonetics of his repeated phrase "where's the car" are identical in both renditions (although the intonation changes), therefore providing proof not of accent difference but of the similarity which he is contesting. Jemaine has open choice on what features with which to illustrate the contrasts between the two accents, but he produces a string which offers none of the obvious differences such as the stereotypical NZE centralized KIT or raised DRESS vowels. The NEAR/SQUARE merger was available as an option on the word *where*, but is not realized by Jemaine. Elsewhere the Conchords do focus on the NZE close front realization of the DRESS vowel and the comprehension problems this causes for Americans. A young woman tries repeatedly to decode *Bret* as a proper name (is it short for *Britney*?), and succeeds only when he spells it.

At another level, however, we can interpret Jemaine's performance here as demonstrating – through voicing the two accents as identical – his self-knowledge that they are indeed largely the same. Elsewhere the Conchords show themselves to be closely aware of phonetic nuances, and Gibson's analysis (2011) demonstrates how adept they are at the fine detail of linguistic performance. We can therefore attribute the failure to demonstrate accent difference to intentional scripting and performance rather than to either ignorance or inability. Jemaine has deliberately produced identical pronunciations, indicating the Conchords' awareness that the accents in fact do not differ much. On the surface of the show itself, however, the ideology remains contrastive, focusing on an aspect of language as a key signifier in constructing national difference. Even where difference is minimal, the performance seeks to enhance and maximize what is there in the interests of maintaining inter-

group distinctiveness. In the pursuit of this, similarity is erased. Difference is created where there is none, and exaggerated where there is little.

IDEOLOGICAL RECURSION AND THE MORALITY OF ACCENT

The projected depth and sharpness of the New Zealand/Australia divide is further reinforced in an episode in the second series titled 'Unnatural love', in which Jemaine inadvertently sleeps with an Australian woman, Keitha. The repercussions of such an event are explored in cross-racial terms which raise the stakes in relations between the two nationalities. Jemaine is shown dancing wildly at a club, then waking up in Keitha's bed surrounded by Australiana. The camera pans from a large photo of the iconic Ayers Rock, to a koala bear on the bedside table, to the Australian flag used as a bedspread. Jemaine tip-toes from the bedroom and phones for help to Bret, who is shown – improbably, but in visual counterpoint to the Australian iconography – reading an old school textbook entitled *Native Animals of New Zealand*:

Excerpt 2: 'She's definitely Australian'
***Flight of the Conchords,* Series 2, Episode 5**
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hoF_fa9TMDk

1	Bret	[on phone] Hello Bret speaking.
2	Jemaine	Bret, it's Jemaine speaking.
3	Bret	Hi man where are you? Did you run away?
4	Jemaine	No, I went home with a girl.
5	Bret	What?
6	Jemaine	[whispers] Bret, I think she might be Australian.
7	Bret	Are you sure she's Australian?
8	Jemaine	Either she's Australian or she, she really likes Australia.
9	Bret	Oh you got to get out of there, just get out of there.
10	Jemaine	[tries apartment door] I'm, I'm, I'm locked in, she's trapped me.
11	Bret	I'm not surprised. Okay um keep calm, jump out the window.
12	Jemaine	Good idea [looks out]. Oh it's too high.
13	Bret	Okay, well do one of those dive rolls when you land.
14	Jemaine	Okay I'll try.
15	Keitha	[appears through bedroom door] G'day.
16	Jemaine	Oh, hey.
17	Keitha	Jesus, got a tongue like a badger's arsehole. What you doing there
18		Big J?
19	Jemaine	Um just talking to a friend of mine.
20	Bret	[on phone] Don't talk to her, she's definitely Australian.
21	Jemaine	Ah, I'm not sure I got your name.

22 Keitha Keitha.
23 Jemaine Pardon?
24 Keitha Keitha.
25 Jemaine Keitha?
26 Keitha Yeah it's like Keith but with an -a at the end. I was named after me
27 Dad.
28 Bret [on phone] She's got a man's name?
29 Jemaine [to her] 'Keitha', that's a lovely name.
30 Keitha So how about we go back to bed?
31 Jemaine Um.
32 Bret [on phone] Definitely don't do that.
33 Jemaine Whew, no I can't.
34 Keitha Oh.
35 Jemaine Would you be able to unlock the door?

This scene arguably winds up the intergroup aggravation by several degrees. The self-evident foundational presupposition is that New Zealanders do not have sex with Australians (lines 6–9). The concept represents itself as so shocking that when Jemaine later confesses to Murray that he "accidentally slept with an Australian", Murray declares "I can't believe what I'm hearing". Bret's immediate reaction to the news is as abrupt as if Jemaine had announced he had just discovered Keitha represented a physical threat: "you got to get out of there, just get out of there" (9). Jemaine seconds this statement with "she's trapped me", imputing malicious intent to Keitha for locking her apartment door. Bret in turn reinforces that with "I'm not surprised", as they collaboratively inscribe Keitha as a physical threat to Bret.

There can be no doubt for Bret that Jemaine has to leave: he should not even talk to Keitha (20) and certainly not have sex with her again (32). Promiscuity and venereal disease are here presumed to be characteristic of young Australian women. Keitha is portrayed as sexually rampant – "how about we go back to bed?" she proposes (30), and her nicknaming of him as "Big J" (18) seems unlikely to refer only to Jemaine's well-built external physique. In a later scene she invites him to stop talking, "get in that bedroom and root me again". Counterpointed to this, however, is the fact that she at least knows his name, while he has gone to bed with her without even knowing hers (21). It seems that the New Zealander is at least as responsible for the casualness of this sexual encounter as is the Australian.

In addition to being sexually licentious, Keitha is characterized immediately as verbally crass by her comment on her hung-over state: "Jesus, got a tongue like a badger's arsehole" (17). Such lexical vulgarity is also a New Zealand stereotype of Australians, which Keitha continues to embody in her lines in later scenes, alongside parodically gross behaviours such as pouring milk from a bowl full of muesli into a cup of tea. Linguistically, Keitha's informality – for example in the pronunciation 'me' for 'my' in line 26–27 – is counterpointed by the strikingly formal lexi-

con and idiom used by Jemaine as he extracts himself from the situation. In the exchange in lines 21–35 his phrasing is notably remote and stilted: "I'm not sure I got your name?"; "Pardon?"; "that's a lovely name". This culminates in the hyper-polite, indirect request "would you be able to unlock the door?". In spite (or arguably, because) of their recent intimacy, he distances himself from her verbally in the process of setting about leaving her apartment. This contrasts not only with her own informality but also with the casual register of his phone exchanges with Bret (e.g. 12, 14).

Throughout, from his position at the far end of the phone, Bret takes pains to cast Keitha in the worst possible light. She has, for example, "a man's name" (28), a charge that the band manager Murray will also make free with in a later scene. Bret continues to take this overtly hostile stance towards her as the couple's relationship develops across the episode. He leaves a phone message which purports to be Keitha announcing she is breaking off with Jemaine and quitting the country to go back to Australia. This degree of othering obviously carries the seeds of its own parodization: interwoven with the mocking of Australians is a complementary self-satirization of New Zealanders displayed precisely through the exaggerated line that Bret is taking.

Dialect also stereotypes Keitha from her first appearance. Her opening line, the clichéd Australian greeting 'Good day', is delivered as 'G'day' in fully dialectal pronunciation with an almost elided first syllable, and a very open realization of the FACE diphthong [ʌ:ɪ]. Bret diagnoses her as Australian just from overhearing her accent down the phone line (20) despite Jemaine's presumed difficulty in identifying it the previous evening. That is followed immediately by her repeating her name "Keitha" (22), strongly marked by its diphthongisation of FLEECE as [ə:ɪ], one of the few phonetic differences between AusE and NZE. Jemaine's repetition in line 24 performs *Keitha* with the contrasting NZE [i:] pronunciation. The character's name has probably been scripted not just for the opportunity it provides for gender mockery but also for display and contrast on this salient vowel. Keitha is clearly set here to perform a markedly 'broad' Australian accent (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965; Wells 1982). Her accent is at the most vernacular end of the spectrum, but stops short of parodic stylization (whereas the lexical choices mentioned above are self-evidently stereotyped). She sounds Other but still 'authentic'. Her accent is styled (as Australian) but not stylized (as hyper-Australian).

Once Jemaine escapes Keitha and her apartment, he goes immediately to the doctor, the assumption being that medical attention will be an automatic requisite after sex with an Australian. The scene cuts to the doctor's waiting room, one hour later:

Excerpt 3: 'Kind of like an evil version of our accent'
***Flight of the Conchords,* Series 2, Episode 5**
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hoF_fa9TMDk (as for Excerpt 2)

36 Jemaine Thanks for coming.
37 Bret How do you feel?
38 Jemaine Fine, just ashamed.
39 Bret How could you not know she was Australian?
40 Jemaine I don't know, we started in a night club.
41 Bret Did she look Australian-y then?
42 Jemaine Not particularly, no, only in the face I suppose, but not bodily not at all.
43 Bret Did she sound Australian? Australian accent?
44 Jemaine Yes yes.
45 Bret What did it sound like?
46 Jemaine Ah, kind of like an evil version of our accent.
47 Bret Did she mock your accent?
48 Jemaine Not that I remember.
49 Bret She may have subtly mocked your accent. You didn't notice?
50 Jemaine She may have subtly been mocking me.
51 Bret [leans forward, whispers] Did you use protection?
52 Jemaine Yes but only on my penis.
53 Bret [points to Jemaine's lip] What's that? What's that?
54 Jemaine What what?
55 Bret What's that red mark on your lip?
56 Jemaine What where where?
57 Bret There there's all red.
58 Jemaine It's lipstick.
59 Bret It's crabs.
60 Jemaine It's not crabs.
61 Bret It's crabs.
62 Jemaine Da uh da, it's not crabs.
63 Bret And your wallet? She didn't steal your wallet?
64 Jemaine Yes, no, she's got my wallet.
65 Bret She probably tried to steal your wallet.

To the prohibition against New Zealanders having sex with Australians is added the expectation that, if they do, they can anticipate coming out of the encounter without their wallets (63–65) and with a sexually transmitted disease (53–62). Jemaine's expression of shame (38) is presented as a natural reaction, as if he had been caught in a lewd act. The 'Australians were all criminals' stereotype that we met in Excerpt 1 is individualized to the presumption that Keitha will have stolen Jemaine's wal-

let.[6] Bret accuses Keitha of stealing Jemaine's wallet, although Jemaine will endorse only the fact that she has it (64). Murray will independently re-introduce this allegation in a later scene.

Later, after their relationship has progressed, Jemaine attempts to discover if Keitha has some – any – non-Australians in her family tree. She says that her dad is in prison, then lays claim to a descent which is scripted to fulfil and buttress the prejudices that surfaced in the earlier excerpts:

> Listen, Big J, you couldn't get more Australian than me. My great-great-grandpa was a renowned rapist, and they shipped him out to Australia, and that's where he met my great-great-grandma. She was a prostitute. I mean I said met, but you know, he raped her.

Lines 39–42 above presuppose that an Australian should be physically identifiable by appearance, seemingly distinguishable from all other caucasian types. Beginning with the face, then the accent (42–43), it is taken for granted that an Australian will be contrastively recognizable through physical markers. This is presumably by comparison with New Zealanders, but also with the Americans who would have been the majority nationality present at the nightclub where Jemaine and Keitha picked each other up. Accent is thus aligned, in an act of recursion, with projected sexual and verbal behaviours to stereotype Keitha's Australianness.

The accent performance of the earlier scene gives way in the waiting room to meta-commentary as Jemaine and Bret discuss the encounter. If appearance had not been enough to alert Jemaine to Keitha's Australianness – Bret asks – perhaps her accent did? (43). Jemaine now agrees readily that she did sound Australian. It seems that either he did not recognize this at the time, or that he was in fact – contra Bret – prepared to go to bed with a known-to-be-Australian woman. Jemaine offers the gloss that Keitha's accent sounded like "an evil version of our accent". This moves us on to another plane from the 'completely different' claim made in Excerpt 1. It acknowledges openly the relatedness of the two varieties. Rather than being absolutely different, Australian is now heard as a recognizable relation of NZE. AusE is a version of NZE – but not *vice versa*. Again the hierarchy is inverted, and the peripheral variety becomes central. But Australian English is characterized as not just any version of NZE – it is a perversion. The moral judgment that tends to tone all folk commentary on language (Niedzielski and Preston 2000) is here explicit. The pure pronunciations of New Zealand English have been turned not just to difference but twisted to distortion. To elevate NZE to the status of language standard is no

[6] It later transpires that Jemaine had left the wallet behind in Keitha's apartment in his haste to leave, and she returns it on the first opportunity.

small irony in the historical context of its traditional denigration within New Zealand itself as 'debased speech' compared to Received Pronunciation, as chronicled by Gordon and Abell (1990). The moralistic descriptions which the centre so often uses to characterize peripheral peoples and their varieties are here turned against it, and instead the regional centre is morally othered for its accent.

Such a discourse also echoes the frequent language evaluations which surface in J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, now famously associated with New Zealand through the Peter Jackson films. In both novel and films, the languages of the forces of good are characterized as positive and pleasant sounding, and the languages of the enemy as disagreeable and evil sounding. Tolkien – a philologist – declared that the motivation for creating his mythologies was a linguistic one: to provide a context for his imagined languages. In *The Lord of the Rings,* the Black Speech of the dark lord Sauron and his minions is said to sound repellent, and Tolkien has furnished it liberally with harsh fricatives and velar stops. The fighting orcs speak "an abominable tongue" (Tolkien 1968: 466), "hideous" and "full of hate and anger". By contrast, Elvish is presented as a language of limpid liquids and front/high vowels, and the Old Entish of the tree-herds is described as "lovely" (*ibid.*: 486). As an academic, Tolkien wrote about the "beautiful phonologies" he had constructed in his imagined languages (1983: 212), and the creation of "sounds to give pleasure" (*ibid.*: 218). Given the salience of the *Lord of the Rings* films for New Zealand, Jemaine's labelling AusE as an 'evil version' of NZE summons up these polarized evaluative associations.

A further level of linguistic meta-discourse is accessed in an exchange about one of the other strands of New Zealand–Australian sociolinguistic relations – accent mockery. New Zealanders who migrate to Australia, or who encounter Australians during their travels, find their accent frequently ridiculed, often in terms of the centralized KIT vowel as represented by the stock phrase *fush and chups* (Bell 1997). Jemaine does not voluntarily recall Keitha mocking his accent (48), but readily endorses Bret's suggestion that she may indeed have been doing so in a subtle fashion. Bret utilizes accent mockery as diagnostic – if Keitha did make fun of Jemaine's accent, that would be evidence that she is indeed Australian (the correlation is not unlikely). Although Bret and Jemaine may retrospectively suspect Keitha of accent mockery, here again the tables are turned because the thrust of this metalinguistic discourse is to mock Australian English.[7]

[7] Other sociolinguistic situations may or may not play out in the same way. I happen to be writing this while in Canada, and have been struck by many parallels between the New Zealand/Australia and Canada/US relationships. In both cases accent and sporting rivalry are strong focuses of national rivalry. However, in contrast to its relationship with AusE, NZE may elsewhere be quite highly valued against other local accents rather than denigrated, for example in the UK (Coupland and Bishop 2007).

ERASING THE PERSON: ACCENT AS ALIENATION

Despite Bret's earlier warnings of the inappropriateness of having an Australian girlfriend, Jemaine and Keitha are soon a couple. Jemaine introduces her to Bret and Murray at a café. It is no surprise that the meeting does not go well. Jemaine arrives dressed in a safari suit in the style of Steve Irwin, the Australian one-time 'crocodile hunter' and television personality. This parodical costume implies his switching of allegiance to Australia, and produces a volley of hostile questions from Murray and Bret. They launch a global attack on Jemaine's attire, relationship and his introduction of Keitha to their circle. In tune with Bret's response in the previous excerpt, he and Murray cast Keitha as alien, even as non-person.

Excerpt 4: 'I've got a real Aussie accent'
***Flight of the Conchords,* Series 2, Episode 5**
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjXVELPIq5k

1	Jemaine	Murray, Bret, this is my girlfriend Keitha.
2	Murray	What are you doing Jemaine?
3	Bret	What is that you're wearing?
4	Murray	What are you wearing?
5	Bret	Where'd you get that?
6	Keitha	Hi guys. Ha, you can call me Keith by the way.
7	Murray	It's a man's name.
8	Jemaine	It's a, it's a female name, it's got an -a on the end.
9	Murray	You got quite the accent, don't you, Kevina.
10	Keitha	Yeah I got a real Aussie accent. Ah, except it's um not as strong as it
11		used to be since I lived here because every time I'm on the phone my
12		with mum, she says I sound like Marilyn MONroe.
13	Murray	(to Bret) Did you catch that?
14	Keitha	What, are you deaf? Marilyn MONroe.
15	Murray	Oh, Marilyn MonROE.
16	Keitha	Yeah yeah.
17	Bret	What about her?
18	Keitha	I talk like her.
19	Jemaine	She sounds like her.
20	Murray	She does sound a bit like her.
21	Keitha	I talk like her.
22	Murray	I suppose if you squint your ears, yeah.
23	Keitha	[to Jemaine] I told you.

The othering of Keitha by the rest of the band proceeds here through a range of strategies to which different aspects of language are central. The first attack is based on her name and the use of the feminizing suffix *-a*. They reject *Keitha* because it is

"a man's name", the objection that Bret had already voiced on the phone to Jemaine (Excerpt 2). Jemaine responds with the morphological argument that "it's a female name, it's got an -a on the end" (8). This is indeed a common enough strategy for re-gendering names in English, for example *Philip/Philippa*. But Murray undermines Jemaine's claim by deliberately misconstruing her name as *Kevina*, taking another male name with initial *k* and tacking on the suffix to create a non-existent female name. Challenging gender identity is a strongly alienating tactic aimed at holding Keitha out, breaking the relationship and bringing Jemaine back into the fold of the band.

This leads into a sustained attack which focuses on Keitha's accent for the rest of the excerpt. Murray begins with a rhetorical question (9) "You got quite the accent, don't you, Kevina". This neatly-turned phrase reifies her accent with the skewering pejorative inflection that the expression *quite the* brings to the class of objects it defines (compared with the rather straighter negativity of *quite an*). Keitha's accent is recognizable, the expression says, it is in a class that deserves attention, inspection, comment – and rejection. The accent mockery of New Zealanders by Australians debated in Excerpt 3 is here turned back on the available Australian.

Keitha agrees, pleasantly enough – "yeah, I got a real Aussie accent" (10). The label 'Aussie' locates this interestingly in socio-geographical space as an encounter between relative intimates, even though they may be intimate enemies. It is an ingroup diminutive, used primarily between Australians and New Zealanders, but may also be applied by British, South Africans and Canadians – that is, the people of the (formerly) white mother country and colonies. 'Aussie' is not a common term in the U.S. – although its reference is clear enough here. This use of an intimate's nickname marks this as an ingroup exchange between relatives or neighbours. The flip-side of the New Zealand–Australia rivalry and enmity which is the focus of the Conchords' comedy and of this chapter is their high degree of shared cultural commonality and familiarity, of which the largely-shared dialect is one dimension.

At this point Keitha asserts that her accent is less Australian than it used to be. She is, however, performing such a hearably broad accent, on Mitchell and Delbridge's (1965) continuum of Cultivated – General – Broad, that New Zealanders would find it hard to believe they are hearing a modified version of her old accent. Keitha then claims that she has taken on traits of American accent as emblematized by Marilyn Monroe, and Murray uses the occasion to correct her pronunciation of *'Monroe* with the stress on the first syllable to stress on the second, *Mon'roe*, and to challenge her claim to be sounding American.

This triggers a sharp exchange which ends in Keitha's "I told you" to Jemaine (23), indicating she has predicted to him that the others will not accept an Australian. The scene plays out through sequences which cast Keitha as someone who is

non-present or non-hearing. When Murray doesn't – or pretends not to – understand Keitha, he doesn't ask her for clarification, but addresses Bret about whether Bret has understood her (13). The scene continues with extended instances of Murray and Bret othering Keitha. Murray stage-whispers to Jemaine about Keitha in front of her as if she was not there. Keitha leaves soon after, and in the ensuing discussion the others grill Jemaine with parodic projections of how his future will unfold: has he told his mother? what will the children do? where will they spend Christmases?

Once again, dialect difference is foregrounded as central to New Zealand–Australia relations. This excerpt has no overt ideologizing of the Australian accent as evil, but it aligns with Excerpt 1's positioning of Australians as beyond the range of normal human classification and consideration: they are people who can be discussed in their own presence as if they were not there. *Contra* Jemaine's oration in Excerpt 1, this person Keitha is not a person. We see here all three of Irvine and Gal's linguistic-ideological dimensions brought to bear: the iconization of accent as essentialized Australian, the recursive nature of the links between accent and other semiotic forms, and the erasure of the mismatch between the Conchords' behaviour and their egalitarian ideology.

CONCLUSIONS

To overview what we have found: it is clear from the analysis that one function of the *Flight of the Conchords* series has been to mediate images of New Zealanders and NZ English to Americans. Much of that is achieved through contrastive othering, so the series also mediates parallel images of Australians and AusE. The Conchords have circulated NZE in a country where it is scarcely known – but may presumably now be better known as a result of the series itself. There is a reflex therefore between the Conchords' performances and the exposure which their success has provided. NZE could well now be iconized – in groups or sectors of American society which watched the series – in the persons of the Conchords themselves. It is easy to imagine an American who wants to know what NZE sounds like being sent off to listen to a YouTube clip from the Conchords. The duo have therefore functioned as agents of some perceptual sociolinguistic change through their media exposure in the US.

The American location is crucial to the way the series operates. It is important for the framing of Australia–New Zealand relations that the series was made and aired 'on neutral ground' in the United States and not in either of the two countries themselves. It was targeted at an *American* audience and needed to elicit their understanding and acceptance. This is not a New Zealand ingroup product – in fact

before their international success, the Conchords were reputedly refused television funding in New Zealand on the grounds that their work would not have a broad enough appeal (see http://www.lumiere.net.nz/reader/item/1509).

The US location projects American tropes on to the New Zealand–Australian relation. Placement in an unfamiliar milieu is able to reveal local American practices as contingent and questionable. This is most obvious in the way the series displays clichéd practices of historical American racism. And although the 'engine' of this racism is the Australia–New Zealand relation, in the episode we examined it is Americans who are exercising it. By projecting these practices on to a group who have never experienced them, namely anglo New Zealanders, and whose skin colour makes them indistinguishable from European Americans, the character and prejudice of the practices is deconstructed, and the underlying ideology is made visible. This is an exercise of Brecht's theatrical technique (1963) of 'defamiliarisation' *(Verfremdungseffekt*) which he put to such effective political use on stage – transplanting a set of behaviours into another milieu in order to expose their character. It is the self-aware complement to Irvine and Gal's ideological erasure. The juxtaposition of the othering of Australians with Jemaine's egalitarian rhetoric in Excerpt 1 serves to display the erasure for all the audience to see, and therefore to register what it means.

We can note that the evaluation of what is going on between New Zealanders and Australians in the *Conchords* is different for the third-party Americans than for the two protagonist groups. The third-party locale, where both groups are largely unknown, neutralizes the Australian advantage of the country's greater size and strength. And in the context of the show, it more than neutralizes how Australia is seen. Here Australia is shown through a New Zealand – albeit comic – lens. The comedy rewrites the relationship from the periphery to the disadvantage of the centre.

Following distribution of the series and its circulation through multiple channels and genres, the *Conchords* has, for obvious reasons, been particularly popular in New Zealand. Its continuing circulation, then, is likely to be more in the markets that it is about than in the market that it was made for. There is undoubtedly a feedback loop to New Zealand itself through this. In that country the series probably serves a dual, contradictory set of outcomes – to focus and reinforce New Zealand–Australia antagonism, alongside exposing the mutual prejudice that this may represent precisely through the level of exaggeration with which it is carried through. Circulation of the series has certainly affected the positioning of the Conchords as performers in Australia. When they were planning a live tour there in 2012, Clement was quoted as saying they were doing it 'mostly to apologize' – not that the apology should be taken at face value (http://www.noise11.com/ news/flight-of-the-conchords-to-tour-australia-in-july-20120410).

The series also rework the relation of the centrifugal and centripetal. Linguistically and culturally, the Conchords revalue New Zealand as centre and Australia as periphery, NZE as default variety and AusE as a version of it. This is effectively an attempt, albeit temporary and local, to 're-enregister' the standing of the two varieties, in the sense of Agha (2003). NZE is given status as the pure dialect. Presentation of such an underdog-strikes-back scenario operates in terms that are here dictated both culturally and linguistically by the marginalized. They are able to the turn the tables on the usually dominant larger nation, representing a reweighting of the influence and exposure of the two countries, including their dialects. It revalues accent prejudice – it is not NZE that is a twisted version of AusE, but *vice versa*.

We should also note the role of the Conchords as characterological figures in this kind of styled, mediated performance. As Agha has argued (2003), enregistered varieties are often focused in a group or individual who act as flagbearers for the variety. The role has often been taken by comedians, certainly in New Zealand. Local comic creations of the late 20th century such as Fred Dagg (by John Clarke), Lynn of Tawa (by Ginette McDonald) and Billy T James have served as citable definitions of (respectively) rural male, urban female and Māori varieties of NZ English. Such a definitional function for NZE may now have been taken up in the US mediascape by the Conchords.

Central to the material I have presented here is the moral dimension of accent othering and its interweaving with other behaviours. As part of the othering of Australians along with their English, all manner of ills are projected on to them, both historical and contemporary, and these align with the 'evil sound' of the accent in a comprehensive act of cultural and linguistic recursion. At its most extreme, this classes Australians as completely non-persons, even non-humans. National distinctiveness is projected on to the dialect as a whole, and specifically on to the exemplary string that Jemaine uses to evidence it, even though that is bogus.

My aim has been to lay out the linguistic and social ideologies involved in these representations of New Zealand and Australian Englishes, how those are displayed, revealed and nuanced, how they are simultaneously instantiated and challenged, and what this can tell us about the place of the linguistic in the operation of ideology. We have seen Irvine and Gal's three dimensions of linguistic ideology playing out in the Conchords' performances: the iconization of accent as diagnostic of national affiliation, and the moral valuation of accent and other linguistic difference; the recursiveness which reinforces sociolinguistic evaluations at different levels of language (phonology, orthography, onomastics) and across other semiotic modes such as dress and physical objects; and the erasure, within the comic script, of behaviours and language which clash with overt statements, here concerning equality. These stylized media representations contribute to sociolinguistic characterization, and perhaps to sociolinguistic change.

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Dialect dissonance: The mediation of indexical incoherence

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DIALECT CONSONANCE

Dialectology and the sociolinguistics of language variation and change are generally premised on the idea of semiotic coherence.[1] A more evocative term is 'consonance', which most literally applies to 'sound' and so to phonetic dimensions of speech, including dialect. Dialect consonance implies that speech styles 'coherently ring out' or 'harmoniously sound out' the social environments and speakers with which and with whom they are associated. It is not an exaggeration to say that without the assumption of dialect consonance, there would be no social and regional dialectology. Dialects have to be, in a general sense, 'consonant with' some social or regional formation in order to come to our attention and to function in a social sense.

Of course, there are many complexities and caveats in *how* dialect forms and styles come to be heard as consonant with social contexts. Current research in the sociolinguistics of indexical relations tends to emphasise the indirectness and the indeterminacy of social meaning (e.g. Eckert 2016; Gal 2016). It also emphasises the processual and reflexive nature of meaning-making (e.g. Agha 2007; Silverstein 2016), and these will be important considerations in the present chapter. But let us persist, for the moment, in stressing the central point. For a way of speaking to 'work' as a dialect, there has to be an achievable coherence, or consonance, between forms and meanings. This is best referred to as semiotic consonance, because the idea of semiosis offers a more rounded approach to meaning, usefully blurring the distinction between the linguistic and the social; social meaning, after all, resides in the holistic perception of linguistic styles playing a part in the semiotic constitution of the social.

This idea has been theorised by Feld (e.g. 2015) who conceives of 'acoustemology' – a shortened version of the phrase 'acoustic epistemology'. This refers to the

[1] I am very grateful to Anne Fabricius, Jacob Thøgersen and Janus Mortensen for helpful comments on an earlier version of this chapter. The normal caveats definitely apply.

potential for sound to function as a resource for knowing – particularly, in Feld's conception, knowing a place or a culture. Once again, this idea goes well beyond a correlational view of sound and culture, the one co-varying with the other. It makes the claim that to know certain sounds is an element in our discovery and appreciation of certain sorts of cultural distinctiveness. Dialects are acoustemological resources. Their semiotic consonance is an element of how we know certain groups and places through language, and how these dimensions fuse into an appreciation of understandable distinctiveness.

The sociolinguistic concept of style gives another way of addressing these same semiotic processes. The concept of style presumes that sets of coherence relationships exist, firstly 'internally', *across* particular linguistic/semiotic features. A style's constituent features 'make sense' as a meaningful gestalt; styles are necessarily meaningful, whereas individual linguistic features are likely to be meaningless or at least ambiguous. Then, in a second dimension, a style's consonance cannot be achieved without coherence also existing *between* the linguistic/semiotic complex *and* its particular social values. These are the qualities that give any style a degree of stability and meaningfulness within a particular sociolinguistic ecology. When we invoke the word 'style' as a countable noun ('a [singular] style'), we are therefore doing more than acknowledging featural coherence – the idea that this feature and that feature 'belong together' (which was an early sociolinguistic insight into style, see Ervin-Tripp 1972). We are also endorsing the value of a style as a culturally consonant formation. On the other hand, we also know that we need to keep nominalised 'styles' theoretically in continual tension with the verbalised concept of 'styling', because the stability and consonance of styles are always provisional and subject to being reconfigured in creative, local acts of stylistic practice (Coupland 2007).

THE MAKING, REMAKING AND UNMAKING OF SOCIAL MEANING

The processes I want to explore in this chapter are ones where existing patterns of dialect consonance are torn apart – that is, when we see *dissonance* being actively created. I want to suggest that media have unique resources that allow them to stage not only stylistic consonance but, sometimes, stylistic dissonance, and dissonances of different sorts. But before we get to that, it seems necessary to acknowledge that, in the sociolinguistics of style, there has *always* been an appreciation that dialect styles are prone to being reconfigured ('reaccentuated' is Bakhtin's word; see, for example, Bakhtin 1986: 79), and moulded into new semiotic relations. This makes it necessary to address questions like these: 'So what is new about stylistic dissonance?'; 'Don't styles always go through processes of being unmade and remade?'.

This section makes the case that, despite acknowledging degrees of fluidity in relation to styles and styling, sociolinguists have oriented almost exclusively to consonance and the achievement of normativity, as opposed to dissonance and the achievement of counter-normativity.

The dualistic, dialectical approach to style mentioned at the end of the previous section – styles as culturally coherent ways of speaking, but also styling as norm-(re)configuring social action – was implicit in the earliest sociolinguistic approaches to style (e.g. Bell 1984; Coupland 1980), although the more creative, dynamic, interactionally-focused side of the dialectic has kept on being 'discovered' in subsequent treatments. (Creativity clearly caught up with structure in the hierarchy of sociolinguistic interests some years ago.) It has certainly been important to keep challenging the deterministic assumption, if it still exists, that the social meanings of speech styles can be adequately explained by pointing to socially-correlated indexicals. On the other hand, researchers taking a constructionist and an emergent view of style need to be clear about what exactly is being unmade and remade in the local contexts that they study.

One influential instance is Eckert's research on adolescent style groups at Belten High. When Eckert (2004) retrospects on her own ethnographic fieldwork in Detroit, she concludes that, in her data, 'a sense of place' is stylistically achieved through "an adolescent social order…based, not on birth, but on speakers' own construction of their places in that social order", and that those constructions in turn reflect young people's variable 'urban associations' (*ibid*.: 116). This finding corrects the possible presumption that there would be consonance between young people's speech styles and structures of social class in the urban speech community – that the style group referred to as Burnouts might have been 'doing class' in their distinctive way of speaking. Eckert explains how sociolinguistic norms in her data arose and became consequential for young people in relation to participation orders *both* within schools themselves *and* within the wider, class-structured urban community. A sense of place, both socially- and geographically-speaking, is what Eckert showed to be ultimately achieved stylistically in the interaction between school-based and city-based orders of symbolic action. We might see this process as the unmaking of a speech–class consonance, and the making of more particular, more local consonances that can ultimately be labelled as Jock and Burnout social styles in school. In her recent theoretical accounts of variation (e.g. 2016) Eckert emphasises stylistic agency, but her focus remains on the achievement of indexical order, and on consonance in the sense introduced in this chapter.

Agha's theory of how norms settle around what he calls speech registers are based in this same idea. Agha occasionally refers to something similar to consonance when he uses the term 'congruence' (2007: 161). He says that sociolinguistic norms may be based in observed correlations, such as 'people of type X say Y', but,

following Silverstein, he emphasises the importance of metapragmatic processes through which patterns of spoken usage are 'reflexively grasped' as being 'normal', and he says that it is 'reflexive models' of this sort that normalise patterns of usage (2007: 124–5). Agha therefore views linguistic standardisation as the sedimenting of a reflexive model of speech that is based in judgements not only of normality or typicality but also of 'appropriateness', 'good-ness', and so on – presumably including what Kristiansen (1997) calls 'the best speech'. For Agha, enregisterment is the general process by which styles 'are given distinctive forms of metapragmatic treatment in use'; it is the process whereby styles are 'reflexively endogenized to a register model' (2007: 186). This account is, once again, based in the idea that social meanings, conventionalised in stylistic usage, come to be perceived as coherent, or congruent, or consonant with groups of speakers and/or contexts of use. Stereotype-conforming usage then further consolidates the normativity (or further entrenches the enregisterment) of a style. Agha's focus on interaction therefore feeds into a theory of consonance, rather than opposing it, even though he also stresses the dynamic and transformative potential of social action.

Labov's theoretical work on language variation and change has itself oriented to a conception of consonance, but without using this term. Labov's quest to document and to explain orderly variation brought 'orderliness' into conceptual opposition with 'variation'. Indeed, Labov has suggested that sociolinguistic variation and change are basically a disruptive force – "a disturbance of the form/meaning relationship" (Labov 1994: 9). He says that this leads to a 'Darwinian paradox', as follows. The "fundamental mechanism" of "the evolution of species" is "absent" from "the evolution of language" (Labov 2001: 14–5). Labov's argument is that Darwinism would predict an ever-strengthening relationship of consonance between linguistic form and social meaning, when in fact we know that children end up not (or not entirely) speaking like their parents: the forms of vernacular speech change inter-generationally, even when they (arguably) index the same social meanings.

If sound change is, as Labov says, "maladaptive" (*ibid.*: 10) in a Darwinian sense, then its negative effects are mitigated by the orderliness of pattered variation that he has described. In this view, linguistic normativity makes variation predictable and generally orderly. But well beyond variationist theory, we very regularly find the idea in sociolinguistics that the social world of language use only becomes manageable because of a sufficient consonance between the social and the linguistic. Local stylistic operations may fleetingly infringe and even reshape sociolinguistic norms, but there is a consensus that this is typically in the service of establishing revised forms of consonance. In other words, there is a consensus about consensus, and a general tendency to see orderly meaning within sociolinguistic diversity.

But can there not be real and profound *dissonance* too? What might real dissonance look like and where might we find it? I will consider two specific cases, be-

low. The first is a long-running series of UK television advertisements for *Boddingtons Bitter* (beer); the second is a series of sketches, referred to as 'the World War II Pilots', from a popular BBC television comedy sketch-show, *The Armstrong and Miller Show*. In each case, dialect-play is a central part of the construction of dissonant indexical meanings, where dialect indexicalities conflict strikingly, either in opposition to visual and other contextual tropes, or 'internally', breaking co-occurrence norms for dialect styles. These performances manufacture a degree of semiotic uncertainty that can be ideologically productive. They arguably manage to destabilise familiar presuppositions about dialect and class.

Once again, however, it is necessary to consider the view that we already know about dissonance. Haven't there been studies of non-consonant stylistic performance, when norms are infringed and expectations are confounded in interaction? It is undeniable that stylistic counter-normativity is far from being a new idea. All the same, it seems to be true that, when dissonances have been recognised, they are always 'minor' instances, ones where the presumption of consonance has allowed us to interpret dissonance as a functional side-effect of a consonant sociolinguistic system. 'Major' cases (like the ones to be discussed below), on the other hand, are ones that have potential to throw such a system into crisis.

As discussed in the first section, functioning within a sociolinguistic system premised on consonance allows social actors to act on the presumption that a known way of speaking (a dialect, an accent, a genre, a register, in fact any culturally recognised style in the open sense of that term – an 'enregistered register' in Agha's terms) can, within limits, be reliably taken to index the social group or social circumstances of usage with which it is associated. It is therefore possible to 'read' a style (again within limits) as indexing a persona – possibly focused as an abstracted prototypical speaker, or possibly as an actual, particular individual with stereotypically known social attributes and incumbencies – or as indexing a mode of practice in which predictable social actors will participate. Consonance implies that all recognised styles, we might say, 'know their place' in the social matrix. More accurately, we might say that it is a condition of sociolinguistic competence for speakers/actors 'to know the place of style', where 'place' actually refers to a very wide-ranging profile of social and contextual considerations, not just locality (cf. 'discourses in place', in the sense of Scollon and Scollon 2003).

It is important to emphasise that achieving and respecting consonance, even though this seems to be a dominant assumption, are often repressive ideological processes. 'Knowing one's place' (which is usually an objectionable expression in itself) includes what Lippi-Green (2011) calls 'language subordination', actively relegating individuals and groups to low-status social positions on the basis of speech style characteristics. Ideology critique needs to question the positions from which the normative judgements implied in 'knowing your place' are made, and

what impacts are created and felt, how and by whom. In saying that dialect sociolinguistics is premised on consonance I do not mean to suggest that sociolinguists have acquiesced to the power-coding of sociolinguistic norms. In fact the opposite is the case, and sociolinguistic explorations of counter-normative practices have generally been motivated by awareness that infringing consonance can be a progressive force for change. This is my motivation in exploring dissonance too. Even so, studies have tended to view 'minor' dissonances as characteristics of predominantly consonant sociolinguistic arrangements. Later in the chapter I will show how the construction of more 'major' dissonances can do the work of ideological critique.

So what do 'minor' dissonances look like? As I have argued above, a degree of dissonance (under various descriptive labels) has been recognised to be an important but almost universal resource in the management of self-identity and interpersonal relations. Labov's original (1972) perspective on style, including his principle stipulating that 'there are no single-style speakers', was an important early acknowledgement that something like non-consonance – if this means people speaking outside the narrowest bounds of their supposedly social-category-constituted styles – is a general characteristic of sociolinguistic performance. Whether interpreted as contextual effects of variable attention to speech (Labov 1972) or as strategic interpersonal convergence/ divergence within the accommodation theory paradigm (Giles and Powesland 1975), it was recognised very early on that non-fully-consonant practice was commonplace and lay at the heart of the negotiation of social meaning. On the other hand, and particularly in retrospect, we can see how Labov's and Giles's early perspectives both implied that non-fully-consonant practice (what was simply called 'style-shifting') was actually interpreted as *reconfirming consonance* at a more abstract level. Style-shifting for Labov was characteristic of all social groups' speech, but particularly characteristic of lower-status groups' predictable speech under more stressful and monitored conditions of speaking. For Giles, convergence and divergence were options *within the normative bounds* of speakers' interpersonal accommodation strategies. These shifts were not seen as challenging the integrity of a speaker's sociolinguistic identity, nor as challenging the wider normative frameworks in which speakers operated. When criticism of the implied conception of 'the authentic speaker' surfaced in relation to variationist sociolinguistic research (Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2003; Eckert 2003), it was largely a reaction against the historical over-consolidation of sociolinguistic structure; this perspective was too accepting of the principle of consonance (see Coupland 2010, 2014b for a more detailed discussion of authenticity in sociolinguistics).

Agha has considered what he calls 'contrary-to-stereotype effects' in the negotiation of social meaning in interaction, "cases where co-occurring signs partially modify the stereotypic effects of the register token, thus formulating a non-default

construal *for the overall text configuration*" (original emphasis) (2007: 161).[2] He gives the example of reported speech (constructed dialogue), which is a particularly straightforward instance of semiotic system-conforming (and system-confirming) practice, where predictable indexical associations of a voiced other are brought into play. In other words, a speaker who is already perceived as acting within the bounds of his or her own stylistic bubble of socially consonant meanings is able to momentarily break out of that bubble and embed a different voice in her or his talk, representing it with its own alternative semiotic consonance. In the process, neither form of consonance is necessarily challenged or reaccentuated, although that is also a possible effect. This is classical Bakhtinian territory, as in the following:

> …others' utterances can be introduced directly into the context of the utterance, or one may introduce only individual words or sentences, which then act as representatives of the whole utterance. Both whole utterances and individual words can retain their alien expression, but they can also be re-accentuated (ironically, indignantly, reverently, and so forth). (Bakhtin 1986: 91)

Agha also considers cases which (in his use of the term) have 'tropic' (performative) significance where "*the non-congruence of co-textual frame and register token* implies a metaphoric persona for the one uttering that token" (2007: 161, with original emphasis). This is Gumperz's 'metaphorical style-shifting' (1982), equivalent to Bell's (1984, 1999) 'initiative style'. The processes of persona management analysed in my own early work on style (e.g. Coupland 1980, 1984, 1985) span the stereotype-conforming and stereotype-non-conforming 'types' that Agha recognises. Notwithstanding subtle difference of interpretation across all of these perspectives, they share the stance that metaphorical styling represents productive use of a stable and dominant semiotic framework of meaning–style associations, provided that (Agha says) particular contextual conditions are met. He mentions, for example, that metaphorical styling is only likely to function as designed when relevant people are acquainted with the stereotypes being performed, and when aspects of the performed identity are contextually "cancelled" (*ibid.*: 163), e.g. presumably by a recipient recognising that a voice is being performed.

Stylisation (see the multiple references to Bakhtin's treatment of the concept in Morris 1994) and crossing (Rampton 1999, 2006; see also Coupland 2001, 2007) are processes that clearly go beyond consonance. Stylisation in my own account

[2] Jacob Thøgersen helpfully suggests that the critique of 'consonance thinking' in sociolinguistics would benefit from a general (socio-)psychological framing, e.g. in terms of schemata or Tversky/Kahnemann's 'heuristics and biases'. Humans seem to be programmed to see patterns rather than randomness. This might offer a good account of the perceptual fallacy that makes us see dialectal consonance and not dissonance.

emphasises the designed-in obscurity of social meaning evinced by a styliser, a performer who (at some level of consciousness) is motivated to create a culturally familiar persona for herself or himself, and sometimes for others, whose relationship to the performer is not easily or securely inferable by addressees or other listeners. 'Whose voice is this?' and 'Why am I hearing it here, now?' are among the interpretive puzzles raised by stylisation. As Rampton says, stylisation is an 'as if' design whose indeterminacy is key to its relational and other contextual effects. In his schools data, for example, Rampton (1999) says that acts of crossing into Stylised Asian English were associated with liminal moments – interactional episodes on the margins of institutional categories – when authority structures might have been more negotiable, and when vocal play could challenge dominant norms of interpretation. In stylisation, then, and particularly in Rampton's extensive ethnographies of school interaction, we see the locally destabilising potential of non-consonant styling.

Yet the deployment of versions of 'one's own national accent' in a local radio show in Wales (Coupland 2001), or of Stylised Asian English versus Creole-influenced style in a multi-ethnic school in the English Midlands (Rampton 1999), and fleeting uses of Posh and Cockney accent styles in London schools (Rampton 2006), still don't qualify as 'major' acts of dissonance. Madsen (2015: 151) discusses the often difficult process of distinguishing stylised from non-stylised utterance, both for social actors and for analysts, and she observes that the speaker's choice of linguistic features in acts of stylisation in her Danish data is far from random. Indeed, the 'success' of stylised performances relies on addressees' and third parties' ability to read the indexical references of voiced personas, at least to some extent. Therefore, although stylisation certainly achieves local 'minor' dissonances, and although it generates a level of sociolinguistic reflexivity that *might* trigger significant critique of consonance, it does not necessarily achieve this. 'Major' dissonant practices, on the other hand, have the power to confound the principles of semiotic coherence on which consonance rests. They are semiotically transgressive.

The consonant relations most immediately relevant to the two examples, below, are presumable but in themselves repressive associations between speech style (in its phonological and lexico-grammatical features, sometimes also linked to visual representations) and social class. In the first case study, the stereotype in question is that of Manchester speakers (and, more broadly, speakers of English in the north of England) being unsophisticated and non-elite. In the second case they relate to the stereotype of young urban 'street' speakers (again in an English context) being immature and vain, although other stereotypes are also activated in both cases relating to age, gender, region and time (time-period or epoch). But what is most significant in the data is how these repressively consonant relations are pulled apart in the mediated episodes to be considered. The sociolinguistic stereotypes activated in the

data are, by various means, brought into highly dissonant relationships which call into question the familiar symbolic architecture of what it means to be 'from Manchester', to be 'northern', to be 'youthful', and so on.

CONSTRUCTED DISSONANCE IN TV ADVERTISING: '*THE CREAM OF MANCHESTER*'

Various mediated genres – at least, specifically staged realisations of specific genres – have the potential to push the boundaries not only of the sociolinguistically familiar but also of the sociolinguistically plausible. (Plausibility is a baseline criterion for consonance.)

A particular series of TV advertisements for *Boddingtons Bitter*, using the tagline 'The Cream of Manchester', ran on commercial television in the UK from 1992 for most of the decade. (The fact that the ads were run more than twenty years ago is important to my commentary on sociolinguistic change – see below.) 'Cream' here refers to both the 'creamy' (frothy, smooth) texture of the beer and, more abstractly, to the product being a supposedly elite product (as in the borrowed French expression *la crème de la crème)*. Up to 1992 *Boddingtons* had been a brand marketed and consumed almost exclusively in Manchester (with only 5% of sales outside the north-west of England), until it was acquired by the *Whitbread* food and hospitality conglomerate in 1989. Partly on the basis of the 'Cream of Manchester' advertising campaign, which won several 'best ad' awards, *Whitbread* were able to more than quadruple sales of *Boddingtons* through the 1990s, making it the UK's best-selling canned beer. The ad campaign was reported (in the *Financial Times*) as having revitalised the image of the city of Manchester as well as the image of the product. A Wikipedia entry (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Boddingtons_Brewery, retrieved September 2016) comments that the ads "achieved the seemingly impossible task of making bitter [beer] glamorous". It also suggests that *Boddingtons* became the third-best-known attribute of Manchester, after *Manchester United* (the football team) and *Coronation Street* (the TV soap opera).

Among other forms of dissonance, the series of ads makes regular play of dialect dissonance, in the sense that small elements of dialogue are voiced in a stereotypically Manchester dialect – mainly phonologically indexed but with occasional salient 'northern' or Mancunian lexis – in visual contexts and soundscapes that have been elaboratedly styled to be opulent/elite, exotic or cool (at least according to traditional criteria). The basis of the constructed dissonance is therefore similar to a 'high' versus 'low' semiotic contrast (cf. Rampton 2006: 341ff., but see below) whereby conventional images of elite or otherwise enviable culture are brought into conflict with stereotyped associations between Manchester/ north of England work-

ing-class and 'ordinary' culture and speech. The theme of 'cream' is articulated in quite surreal ways, based around different linguistic and visual puns. The ads coalesce not only the meanings of 'cream' as in creamy beer with 'cream' as in elite, but also 'cream' in the context of ice-cream and face-cream (as a beauty product).

One famous ad in this series (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XEEU1nQeGNA) opens with a young, bodily-sculpted, black male athlete bursting into view through a sheet of golden flame, then running faster than human speed through a desert landscape in which some sort of vehicle is also glimpsed, also moving implausibly fast. (It is unnecessary to provide a line-by-line transcript because most of the ad is dialogue-free. When spoken elements are transcribed, here and in the second case study, syllabic stress is marked by underlining; unhearable utterances are marked by (( )); short pauses are marked as (.); and audience laughter is indicated by XXXX.)

The athlete, who we sometimes see in fast-edited close-ups of his eyes, feet, sweat-drenched torso and muscles, leaps from the pinnacle of one huge termite mound to another, spans water-filled ravines and sprints in pursuit of the anonymous vehicle. The female driver eventually sees the athlete in her rear-view mirror and skids to a halt in a cloud of dust. At that point (about half way through the 40-second commercial) the pulsating heavy-base techno-beat soundtrack (reminiscent of The Prodigy's *Firestarter*) dissolves into the tinkling bells of an ice-cream van, played through the van's small, crackly PA system. (Ice-cream vans are a traditional urban summertime phenomenon in the UK, where ice-cream sellers announce their presence with tinkling versions of hackneyed tunes played over rudimentary PA systems, attracting children to buy their pumped soft ice-cream.)

As the athlete reaches the van, the female, now styled as an ice-cream seller, puts a pint of *Boddingtons* in front of him through the serving window. We hear the beer glass being put down on the counter (a nicely mundane acoustic touch, contrasting sharply with the earlier sound track). The athlete gulps the beer noisily (another dissonant sound). She asks him *do you want a flake in that love?*. He raises his eyebrows, nods and appreciatively replies *ta*, 'thank you'. A final still shot shows a picture of a pint of Boddingtons beer with a chocolate stick in it, with the tagline "Boddingtons – The Cream of Manchester", in front of a moving image of the ice-cream van resuming its hectic desert journey.

The most immediate planned dissonance here is the fact that the two protagonists speak with Manchester accents, in a context designed as a scene from a high-octane super-hero adventure film. Very few phono-opportunities for Manchester voice are present. In the athlete's case it is simply the fronted, raised, nasalised long /a/ of *ta*, but this is bolstered by a visual and acoustic shift from the athlete being represented as a sprinting, muscled super-hero figure to being represented as a pleasant-looking, non-threatening, rather vacantly smiling man who drinks beer

noisily and appreciatively when he is thirsty. His reformatted 'ordinary Mancunian' semiotic demeanour matches that of the ice-cream seller female, whose attractive face we have previously glimpsed only in close-up, perhaps with sexualised overtones, as she speeds through the desert, before she resolves visually into a conventional image of an ice-cream salesperson, wearing an old-fashioned pink and white dress. Dialectally, she also has 'northern' [ʊ] as opposed to [ʌ] in the address-form/term of endearment *love* (using his lexical sets notation, Wells [1982: 351] says that the absence of the FOOT – STRUT split [where these terms represent paradigmatic vowel qualities in specifiable sets of words] is one of the two most important characteristics of northern English accents). She also contracts *want a* to *wanna* (which is a more salient contraction than *wanna* for *want to*). When she asks the athlete if he *wants a flake in that*, she is voicing what an ice-cream seller might ask a child – a 'flake' is a branded type of flaky chocolate bar conventionally offered with a cone of soft ice-cream. Its cultural association is that it is a child-like preference, and its combination with soft, pumped ice-cream can possibly be called 'tasteless', at least from an elite perspective.

The ad therefore constructs two radically different semiotic frames, each of which is internally consonant across many inter-linked semiotic and stylistic dimensions. The acoustic/acoustemological dimension includes music, sound effects and (dialectal) voice. The visual dimension includes body-imagery, facial expression, the display of key artefacts, scenic backdrops/landscapes and camera focus (how the camera work focuses our attention on specific details and combinations). Sound and vision combine to construct two different action scenarios, populated by very different personas. We can refer to the first frame (the scenario framed as the ad begins) as a 'heroic–dynamic' frame. Its two participants are engaged in some unspecified but serious and perhaps sexual dramatic quest, dashing through a hostile desert environment. The heroic–dynamic frame carries many cues to its own mediational context. It is clearly styled as a filmic frame, specifically in the genre of surreal action/adventure films. The second frame can be called a 'mundane–domestic' frame. Its two characters, although they are the same embodied individuals as previously, are now styled, dialectally, as being 'from Manchester'. In this second frame the earlier heroicism is abruptly displaced by the protagonists being revealed to be 'ordinary Northern folk' living out the familiar activities of serving and drinking beer, curiously embedded in the practices of buying and selling ice-cream from a mobile van.

Dissonance is achieved, in real time, by shattering our (the audience's) confidence in the consonance of the first frame, and more enduringly, by forcing us to reflexively question the stylistic incongruity of the two frames. What is incompatible with what, and why? Can we enjoy *Boddingtons* beer in the way that children enjoy ice-cream? Is filmic 'cool' really inaccessible to 'ordinary people'? Why

shouldn't an attractive young woman from Manchester be 'pleasant', sexy and a wild driver at the same time? Why shouldn't a super-human action-hero have a Manchester voice and slurp his beer?

A second example from the same series of ads (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9mp646_H_xo) constructs different but in some ways equivalent dissonances. It opens with a panning shot of an elegant young woman, seen from the waist down wearing an evening dress and high heels, walking past a sunken bath with an elaborate ceramic crest in an open-plan room containing a few highly distinctive decorative features – a cello, a live swan, a dressing table. It is sunset and she is finishing her preparations for a romantic evening out. As she sits at the dressing table containing some expensive-looking cosmetics and perfume, we see her beautiful, carefully made-up face in close-up. She slowly applies a creamy substance to her cheek. The ambient music is a slow, bluesy riff, with heavy bass and Hammond-type organ chords, to which a saxophone will later add a melody line. As the woman sensuously rubs the cream into her cheek, a female voice-over very slowly and intensely says *soft* (.) *smooth* (.) *luxurious* (.) *sensation* (.) *of pure cream*, with all sibilants lengthened and heavy breathy voice throughout. Dialectally, the voice-over is performed in conservative RP, e.g. with [ju] in the second syllable of *luxurious* and [jɔ:] in *pure*.[3]

This time, we might refer to the initial frame as a 'romantic–elite' frame. The first dissonant element in the sequence is that, timed within the voice-over word 'sensation', we see a close-up of the woman's hand dipping into a glass of *Boddingtons* beer (identified as such by its standing next to an open beer can carrying the brand name). The act of dipping her hand into the beer is accompanied by a mood-breaking, 'plop' sound effect (not unlike the audible sound of the beer glass being put down on the counter of the ice-cream van in the athlete ad). So this introduces another realisation of the 'mundane–domestic' frame that we encountered in the first ad. The romantic–elite frame resumes, however. The woman senses that her partner is approaching, and she moves to hide the fact that the cream she is applying to her face is beer froth.

The handsome, elegant male partner arrives purposefully, wearing a smart 'black tie' evening suit. She stands and he nuzzles his face against her hair, to smell her perfume. He says *by heck* (.) *you smell gorgeous tonight petal*, which is the

[3] Anne Fabricus has very helpfully offered an auditory analysis of the data in this chapter, in parallel with my own. She suggests that the word 'soft' in the voice-over sequence has a slightly more open/less rounded LOT vowel, suggesting an American-style realisation, although that characteristic is not maintained in the vowel qualities of the rest of this utterance. The intervocalic /r/ in 'luxurious' is tapped /ɾ/; the GOOSE vowel qualities are high-back; the FACE vowel in 'sensation' has a reduced KIT vowel off-glide; these are all conservative RP realisations.

most striking dialectal dissonance in the ad. *By heck* is a stereotyped 'northern' expression of surprise, delivered here with /h/-less onset to the *heck* element, but of course it also leaks the male character's lack of discursive sophistication in prefacing the compliment that follows. *You smell gorgeous* is a particularly crass stylistic option for complimenting a partner in a romantic encounter ('you smell…' perhaps contrasting with 'your perfume is…', and 'gorgeous' perhaps contrasting with 'lovely', by being too physicalist and objectifying as an appraisal). The realisation of /ɔ:/ in the first syllable of *gorgeous* is more open than in RP, and hearable as 'northern'. *Petal* (particularly with its glottal stop realisation of /t/ and the second syllable reduced to syllabic [l]) is another north-stereotyped term of address and endearment (cf. *love* in the ice-cream, seller's utterance in the athlete ad).

So the male partner turns out to be neither romantic nor elite. The glamorous female is able to function in both modes. As she turns to camera, she gives the audience an eyebrow flash, unseen by her partner, implying that her use of beer froth as face-cream has succeeded. We (the audience) are complicit with her strategy of using apparently 'mundane–domestic' resources in the service of 'romantic–elite' ambitions. He bends over the dressing table, slurps noisily from the glass of *Boddingtons* (much as the athlete did) and wipes his mouth with the back of his hand. He arranges her expensive coat over her shoulders to leave, and the sultry female voice-over returns, saying *Pamper yourself with* Boddingtons (.) *the Cream of Manchester*, the last phrase heard against a close camera shot of the beer glass, the beer can, a pub-style beer pump and a written version of the same tagline.

Across these two instances, and in the 'Cream of Manchester' ad series as a whole, the stylistic trope being played out is something like *bathos*, which we can define as a sudden fall from the sublime and the exotic to the commonplace and the banal. However, a bathos interpretation seems to require us to acknowledge that the respective linguistic, visual and acoustic indexicalities *do actually* fall into sets that we are happy to analyse as 'sublime' versus 'banal', 'high' versus 'low', and so on. In turn, it seems to require us to endorse the 'sublimeness' of dynamic super-human chases through the desert (in the athlete ad), and similarly with the elite romance scenario and characterisations (in the evening out ad). More perniciously, it seems to require us to endorse the view that Manchester/north of England speech, demeanour, taste, ways of drinking, etc. *are actually* common or banal. But in fact the ads do *not* construct the 'before the fall' and 'after the fall' dissonances in this simplistic manner.

In each of the ads, the so-called 'sublime' scenario (and in each case this is the initial semiotic construction in the sequencing of the ad) is thoroughly tropic – it is a rather tired stylistic trope, a construction that we are already very familiar with. As noted above, the mix of techno sound track, fast-edited close-ups of moving bodies and vehicles, exotic landscapes and so on is a confection that we know from

high-action adventure films. The genre and details of its stylistic mediation have in fact been borrowed by other sorts of product advertising: they are commonplace, for example, in ads for cars and sports equipment. We may or may not find this projection 'sublime', and it is certainly not 'high' in a conventional social class-related sense, but we 'know its place' as the style of a genre that has been *projected as being* sublime, but which is also easy to think of as heavily clichéd.

Something very similar is the case with the romantic–elite frame in the second ad, which can easily strike us as both clichéd and, this time, passé, in the manner of James Bond films made several decades before the 1990s. (Could *Boddingtons* beer stand in for a chilled vodka martini?) Opulence is clearly in evidence in the 'before' (romantic-elite) frame, but it is also arguably a tasteless or at least formulaic version of elite romance (and to that extent it does not pattern well with the 'high' versus 'low' semiotic contrast that Rampton discusses in association with Posh versus Cockney stylisations in his data). In these ways the constructed dissonances do *not* simply endorse the view that Manchester-ness and northern-ness are 'banal' or 'mundane'. Projecting the two initial frames in the two ads as being *open to* this interpretation is a mediational device of the ads, which simultaneously also invite us to reassess the nature and bases of these stereotypes.

We return to this line of argument in the conclusion section, but we should turn next to the second case study, a particular instance of the World War II Pilots sketches from the (2007–2010) BBC television *Armstrong and Miller Show*. (Note that this is a relatively contemporary case, whereas the *Boddingtons* ads were in circulation two decades ago.)

CONSTRUCTED DISSONANCE IN TV COMEDY: *THE WORLD WAR II PILOTS*

Dialect dissonance in the *Boddingtons* ads was based in a dialect, at least potentially, 'not knowing its place'. In the World War II Pilots sketches, dialect dissonance is based *both* in dialects being arguably 'out of place' *and* in dialect performances that are *internally* dissonant. What follows is a transcript of one particular sketch in the broadcast BBC (UK) TV series of *The Armstrong and Miller Show* (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4pnTrjEjd0).

Extract 1: The World War II Pilots discussing trousers

The two pilots, wearing fur-collared flying jackets are sitting in an airfield hut, playing cards, smoking pipes and listening to the radio, which is an old-fashioned wireless radio set with a 'tinny' acoustic quality. The sequence is filmed in black and white. Chirpy big-band dance music is playing on the radio, until it is interrupted by a radio announcer.

[Radio announcer] this is the BBC (.) we interrupt the Light Programme
for a newsflash (.) Whitehall has confirmed that the Nazi invasion of
Greece has been successful (.) and that a full-scale evacuation of Allied
ground troops, aircraft and air crew (.) has taken place (.) in a statement (.)
Mr Churchill said that although the days ahead wou-
[Armstrong leans over and switches off the radio. The pilots are looking grim. There is a seven-second pause. Miller looks at Armstrong, anticipating a comment.]
[Armstrong] I bought some really nice trousers in Camden
[Miller] yeah? XXXXX
[Armstrong] they's well hard-core with all pockets and shit XXXXXX
[Miller] you gonna wear them in the plane when you're doing fighting and
this and that? XXX
[Armstrong] you know what?
[Miller] what blood?
[Armstrong] I isn't allowed or something XXXXXXXX
[Miller] no way
[Armstrong] fo sho [for sure] they ain't uniform or something XXX
(.) and I can only wear uniform (.) this is me and they is awesome trousers
man this is ((them)) XXXXXXXXX you've got to wear uniform
[Miller] that's so unfair that's like massively disrespecting of your trousers
XXXXXXXXXX
[Armstrong] you know what I'm saying?
[Miller] at my school right at my school we had a non-uniform day (.) and
if you brought in two bob you could wear your own clothes (.) and that
was a well strict school man XXXXXXX Winchester XXXXXXXXX
[Armstrong] they should let us do that here right? because they're like
restricting me as a person they're removing my rights (.) we're supposed
to be fighting for freedom and they're taking away my trousers XXXXX
[Miller] you just want to be you isn't it?
[Armstrong] isn't it though?
[Miller] isn't it? XXXXXXXX
[Armstrong] I'm always myself and I don't care what anyone says
because this is me I'm myself and I'm always me yeah and that's what I am
XXXXXX
[Miller] that's so true because some people just aren't themselves are
they? (.) they're like someone else or something and they're not them
XXXXXX
[Armstrong] I like it when we talk about the deep stuff XXXXX

36 anyway I'd better catch you later I've got to go and talk to the group
37 captain
38 [Miller] why?
39 [Armstrong] something about me painting my Spitfire yellow (.) he says
40 I'm not allowed
41 [Miller] harsh

There is near-consistency of phonological (accent) style through the entire sketch. All three speakers use conservative RP voice, which is consistent with the visual periodisation of the episode (the World War II Royal Air Force uniforms, the look and sound of the radio set, the historical detail of the wartime announcement, etc.). Indeed, World War II pilots, as a social and for that matter an acoustemological category, have been stereotyped as conservative RP speakers in several other TV programmes. The BBC announcer (lines 1–5) has very close [æ] in the words *Programme*, *newsflash* and *evacuation*. He taps the intervocalic /r/ in *for a news flash*. Some of these features and the overall conservative RP style are matched by the Armstrong and Miller pilot characters, e.g. in Armstrong's close [æ] in *Camden* (line 6) and Miller's similar quality of [æ] in *this and that* (line 10). The same quality is used by both pilots in their uses of the *man* address tag (lines 17 and 23). The announcer has near-monophthongal [ɑ:] smoothing of the /au/ diphthong in *ground troops* (line 4, see Wells 1982: 238), and Armstrong also has /au/ smoothing in *trousers* (line 6), while Miller has a very open second element of the diphthong [ɛɑ] in *unfair* (line 18), of the sort that Wells (1982: 281) associates with "upper-class" RP. There is no /h/-dropping or (so-called) G-dropping (alveolar for velar nasal), and so on. The announcer and Armstrong have short [ɪ] in the final syllables of *Nazi* (line 2) and *really* (line 6) (cf. Wells 1982: 257 on the conservative RP feature of 'HAPPY-tensing') – the feature doesn't arise for Miller. The conservative RP style of all three voices is consolidated by particularly clear enunciation of phonetic segments, including preservation of consonants in consonant clusters. In the announcer's case, electronic manipulation of the acoustic signal introduces high-frequency noise which gives the impression of 1940s low-fidelity broadcast radio (cf. Thøgersen, this volume).

But phonological styling is only one part of the semiotic performance. Dialect-internal dissonance is achieved through the striking juxtaposition of conservative RP pronunciation with elements of 'street' or 'urban youth' lexico-grammar and pragmatics in many of the pilots' utterances, and this stylistic incongruity is (as is evident from the audience's laughter in response to particular sequences) very obviously at the heart of the constructed humour. As 'street' features we have trousers being described as *hard-core* (line 8) and *awesome* (16), *blood* used as a form of address (12), *and shit* as a general extender (8), *no way* as an expression of surprise (14), and *well* and *massively* as intensifying adverbials (18, 23). There are also sev-

eral instances of non-standard subject-verb concord: *they's* (8), *I isn't* (13), *they ain't* (15), *they is* (16); non-cohesive *isn't it* is echoically repeated across three turns (27–29). The expression I have transcribed as *fo sho* (line 15) (which is in fact realised with quite long diphthongal glides) is perhaps best treated as an independent lexical 'street' feature, rather than a phonological divergence from RP in pronouncing 'for sure'. The only other candidate for non-RP pronunciation in the pilots' utterances is Miller's *gonna* (reduction of 'going to', in line 9), although unreduced 'going to' would be heard as hypercorrect in most RP contexts. As mentioned above, the pragmatic address-tag *man*, realised with a conservative RP vowel, imposes a dated (in context, a 1940s) RP pronunciation style upon a relatively contemporary discourse feature that would typically have a more open quality.

This basic pattern of conservative RP pronunciation with 'non-received', 'street' lexico-grammar and pragmatics radically fractures normative co-occurrence relations across levels of indexical signification, and more generally challenges the integrity of each of the two forms of consonance associated with conservative RP and 'street' demeanour. It destabilises the idea – which, of course, is usually presumable – that the pilots are speaking in any coherent culturally familiar style. They very clearly do not conform to either 'standard' or 'non-standard' style, and these analytic concepts are themselves destabilised in the performance – they provide rather little purchase on what is stylistically going on. Indexicals point in radically different directions, simultaneously: to 'old-style RP' in an epochal/historical sense, but also to contemporary 'street' ways of speaking in the pilots' mixed constructions; to adult as well as youth styles; to supposedly elite and to vernacular reference groups. All the same, as characters, the pilots derive no positive value from either RP or 'street' meaning constellations. This is not only an effect of dialectal incongruity. They are thoroughly unconvincing as 'street' speakers, but also as RP speakers (each category being conventionally associated with some form of positive authority or 'strength') by virtue of their self-centred concern with trousers and their general fecklessness.

There are other powerful, local stylistic effects in the extract too. Armstrong's line 6 utterance has no 'street' linguistic features, yet it is thoroughly incongruous in relation to what the radio announcer has just said and in relation to how the pilots' apparent emotional reaction to the news is visually styled. Their appearance is fully in character with the Royal Air Force context of the WWII period, through their uniforms, helmets, etc., and in their facial expressions they also look serious and concerned at the grim radio announcement about military developments, and throughout the extract. Yet discursively, in the content and the pragmatics of their talk, the pilots style themselves as being 'out of place' (if 'place' refers to their positions as 'military personnel'), even before we meet their dialectal excursions into urban youth 'street' talk. At lines 7 and 9–10, Miller appears to be ready to take

Armstrong's declaration that he has bought some *really nice trousers in Camden* at face value, and to believe that this is pertinent and interesting information in that context. His question about whether Armstrong will wear the trousers *in the plane* when he is *doing fighting and this and that* suggests he is entirely unmoved by the Nazi invasion of Greece and generally uncommitted to his professional role. There are already fundamental dissonances structured into his performed persona.

In fact there are repeated hints in the discourse that the pilots' world views and views of themselves are more like those stereotypically associated with 'immature youth' than with 'military personnel'. As the audience, we are given plenty of reasons to doubt the validity of the sketch title's category 'World War II Pilots'. Is this what these characters really are? Aren't they *living out* 'immature youth' identities, and might this be rationalised as somehow coherent with their adoption of 21st century multi-ethnic youth speech? The pilots are (again, from a pragmatic standpoint) petulant and childish about not being allowed to wear clothes of their own choice and, in Armstrong's case, about not being allowed to paint his Spitfire yellow. This is certainly petulance and immaturity from the point of view of military practices (of any era), but it is also petulance and immaturity from the point of view of contemporary youth cultures. The two-part exchange about *being yourself* (lines 30–33), for example, is scripted to sound vapid and entirely unconvincing, textually evidenced by Armstrong's (line 35) meta-comment (picked up by the audience as highly ironic, hence their laughter) that the exchange has been the sort of conversational *deep stuff* that he likes.

The pilots' references in the extract to school experiences give us a further way to interpret their stances on dress, identity and autonomy. The theme arises at line 15 when Armstrong complains that he is disallowed from wearing his new trousers because they *ain't uniform or something*. 'Uniform' is a relevant concern in both (adult) military and (child) school contexts (at least in the UK), but it becomes clear that the pilots construe it mainly in terms of institutional demands to wear 'school uniform'. Miller's story (beginning at line 21) is a story about an *upper-class* school context, and the *non-uniform day* convention at Winchester College (an elite private, fee-paying school). This elite connection gives access to more particular stereotypes about 'petulant youth', in the specific context of privileged, privately educated, middle-class children. This social class consideration sets off interesting and again highly dissonant reverberations around the incongruent mix of conservative RP and vernacular 'street' vocal features that the pilots adopt. Are they 'posh boys' who have carried their privileged middle-class pasts into adult military service? This idea is itself something of a familiar trope, e.g. perpetuated in classic films about the Royal Air Force. But are they also characters locked into their middle-class English roots (witnessed by their phonological style) who nevertheless *aspire* to embrace the forcefulness and global 'cred' of 'street' speech ('Multicultural

London English', as documented by Cheshire et al. 2011, might be the best contemporary reference for their lexico-grammatical choices)?

The pilots' *non-use* of 'street' youth features is stylistically productive too. As noted earlier, Armstrong's first turn (line 6) uses no 'street' grammar or lexis, and this allows his description of the trousers, in the phrase *some really nice trousers*, to itself be radically dissonant with his next turn's 'street'-loaded style, *they's all hard-core with all pockets and shit. Really nice* and *all hard-core* are style-fragments from fundamentally different, internally consonant social contexts. Performatively in the sketch, this creates the impression of a character (Armstrong) who is indeed striving to adopt a speech style that he lacks adequate control of – Armstrong as a pilot (or overgrown youth?) who is not only 'out of place' in the 1940s RAF but somehow *aspiring to be more* out of place, and indeed *out of time*. To the extent that pronunciation is more deeply coded as a speaking habitus than lexico-grammatical features are, we (the audience) are tempted to read Armstrong's incongruent and internally dissonant persona as being, at base, a middle-class speaker who, intermittently and unconvincingly, affects a personal guise (on the one hand) of being a World War II pilot, and (on the other hand) of being a 'street youth', and this notwithstanding the fact that the 'street' style in question would not be enregistered in the UK for a good sixty years later than the performed context of the Second World War! This is a mode of performance that reflexively eats away at the indexical bases on which it is apparently founded.

DISCUSSION

The cases I have considered firstly illustrate the sheer range of stylistic operations that mediation makes possible, and the potential intensity of mediated stylistic effects. The *Boddingtons* ads were crafted by elaborate filmic techniques that I have only briefly touched on in the analyses. Mediatisation in Jaffe's sense "involves all the representational strategies and choices involved in the production and editing of text, image, and talk in the creation of media products" (Jaffe 2011: 563). In addition to the technological affordances of filming, soundscaping, editing, sequencing, overlaying, and so on, whose effects we see in the ads, there are elaborate design principles at work. These include complex intertextual references, both between 'The Cream of Manchester' ad series and other film and TV genres, and across particular instances of the series. Even casual observers will recognise how indexical meanings are shaped and reshaped in successive versions of the 'Cream of Manchester' ads, and particularly their core, repeated dissonance of 'exotic' and (in some sense) 'high' culture versus 'Mancunian low'. The studio-recorded 'World War II Pilots' sketches are much less elaborate in technological regards, but even

here we see considerable resources of sound/vision intermediality being richly exploited, as well as the virtuosity of the actors in bringing carefully scripted incongruities to life through techniques of vocal and bodily performance.

This implies that the sociolinguistic analysis of mediated styling, based as it generally is on a history of analysing observed, unmediated face-to-face interaction, may need to expand its range and look out for more ambitious stylistic effects, including those that have come to be called 'spectacular'. It is not that social actors in face-to-face interaction cannot generate semiotic dissonance. As I suggested in my brief comments on stylisation and crossing, above, degrees of dissonance are certainly structured into these processes, even though I also argued that they ultimately orient more to the maintenance of consonance. The historical bias of mainstream sociolinguistics *away* from media data and media processes has been one factor in dulling our interest in stylistic dissonance, because more intense forms of dissonance are more possible to bring off via technological media, particularly in fictional and surreal genres.

For the same reason, we might expect the 'so what?' response to the sorts of data I have analysed here. Are dissonant effects simply ludicrous, or trivial by virtue of their incoherence? Are they too chaotic to take seriously? Shouldn't we ignore fictional representations and performances? I believe not, and that what we see in the data is not actually semiotic chaos, in any case, but a rattling of the anchor chains that have underpinned consonance. In discussing Agha's theorising of enregisterment, I pointed to his incrementalist view of change towards the consolidation of sociolinguistic norms. Agha concludes his 2007 book by saying that "semiotic activities and practices are unfolding in someone's backyard or TV screen or nation…and forms of belonging or exclusion are, even now, being re-figured and regrouped by them" (Agha 2007: 385). This is certainly an interesting view of sociolinguistic change, and a useful reminder that sociolinguistic norms not only shape, but are shaped in, interactional experience. But perhaps this view also follows the assumptions of language change research too closely. Language change has been theorised as an incremental process, based in the slow accumulation of small instances of innovation in the speech (and perhaps changes in beliefs about speech) of large numbers of social actors. Mediated stylistic spectaculars lie well outside the remit of this model.

At a deeper level of theory, another objection arises. Isn't it true that, in the acts of staging dissonance, performers (and media) cannot help consolidating the very consonances that they seek to undermine? Isn't dissonance parasitic on consonance? Don't the present case studies consolidate sociolinguistic norms at the same time as constructing dissonance across them? The argument goes back to Foucault, who pointed out that the transgression of boundaries (or 'limits') cannot avoid continually working to, or against, or in the presence of, those limits. To that extent it is pos-

sible to see transgression (e.g. the fracturing of consonance) as, somehow, simply the other side of the coin of consonance itself. Foucault's abstract and metaphorical prose sometimes seems to imply precisely this:

> The play of limits and transgression seems to be regulated by a simple obstinacy: transgression incessantly crosses and recrosses a line which closes up behind it in a wave of extremely short duration and thus it is made to return once more right to the horizon of the uncrossable. (Foucault 1977: 33–34, cited in Jenks 2003: 90)

Yet to say that transgression and limits are mutually contingent concepts (cf. Pietikäinen et al., 2016) is very different from saying that transgressive acts inevitably fail to leave a legacy of change. Foucault's "horizon[s] of the uncrossable" need not be located in the same position as they were pre-transgression. Indeed, Foucault's role in laying ground for a postmodern consciousness, where limit*less*ness of various kinds is a defining attribute, is itself evidence of how transgression can leave a legacy of radical change.

We can take a far more positive stance on the possibilities of change through dissonance by following Bakhtin. Bakhtin's 'carnival' (literally 'the removing of meat'), is again amenable to being interpreted as a temporary condition (originally a pre-Lent festival of indulgence and extravagance) (see Bakhtin 1968; Jenks 2003: chapter 7, who summarises carnival as 'the world turned upside down'). But carnival is not merely reality momentarily unchained; it is the reconfiguration of reality according to alternative frameworks of value. This is its connection to stylisation, in that a stylised reality, through its carefully styled, 'as if' constitution, *might just* be credible as 'the real thing'. Construing structured reality as being plausibly absurd is a fundamentally critical orientation – an act of systematic *re*construal – whose effects can endure. Carnival creates a condition where, in particular, 'low' cultural forms can, yes temporarily, take precedence over normatively 'high' cultural forms. But this sort of time-bound reconstrual makes it impossible, thereafter, to *not* see the ludicrous potential of structure, to *not* recognise the equally time-bound nature of normative consonance. A heteroglossic view of language and style, and indeed of the social world, once construed, is difficult to set aside.

In making assessments of potential and actual sociolinguistic change, and in the context of media processes in particular, we should keep in mind several simple facts about mediation. Mediated stylings (certainly of the sorts I have examined here) are typically *not* strictly time-bound events. They are often high-profile, multiply consumed and iterative events. I have commented on the selected episodes as if they were one-off broadcast events, but a simple online search confirms how they have circulated repeatedly and over lengthy periods of time, and how ready people

have been to engage with their representations. Mediated styling (as Agha fully acknowledges) is therefore not something outside the realm of meaningful human interactional experience – our experiences of indexical relations are massively 'mediated' by media. Mediatisation – in that other, historically salient, sense of the "meta processes by which everyday practices and social relations are historically shaped by mediating technologies and media organizations" (Livingstone 2009: 10) – goes a considerable way towards defining what is distinctive about the current late-modern age.

A closely related facet of late modernity is summed up by the concept of high reflexivity (Archer 2012), and media have come to play an inescapably central role, not so much in 'reflecting' society and language (an idea which vastly understates the agentive and culturally constitutive functions of media in general), but in projecting multiple reflexive models of society and language. Few would doubt that we have come to live in a more semiotically complex sociolinguistic world, and that the old certainties of language/class relations have become less reliable. If we think of sociolinguistic change (Androutsopoulos 2014; Coupland 2009, 2014a; see also our introductory chapter, this volume) as the reconfiguration of language–society relations, in the context of profound social changes such as mediatisation and reflexivisation, then we should expect media creativity to be a key point of articulation. All this suggests a *prima facie* case for the significance of mediated styling in sociolinguistic change.

But what particular indexical instabilities can we say, in summary, have been produced in the data we have examined? As we have seen, each of the *Boddingtons* ads conjures up some sort of exotic scenario, into which it then dissonantly pitches small snatches of stereotyped Mancunian voice and demeanour. The speeding female driver and the muscled athlete, then the glamorous and opulent romantic couple, all turn out to be 'ordinary Mancunians'. We initially find them to be 'out of place', if only because the sequential organisation of the indexical displays ('before and after') implies that they are, and when we are drawn into sharing this inference, we are on the brink of confirming pernicious sociolinguistic stereotypes about Mancunians (and perhaps all English northerners) being lower-class, lacking taste, being excluded from 'cool', and so on. But then again, we realise that the Mancunians, having been revealed to *be* Mancunians in the 'after' segments, *were* and *are the characters doing-being exotic*. Their Manchester-ness has not excluded them from taking part in hyper-adventurous or hyper-romantic lifestyles and experiences. The Manchester characters, supposedly like *Boddingtons* bitter, in fact *are la crème de la crème*. They can call each other *love* or *petal*, and slurp beer, and still take part in exotic scenarios of various kinds.

Most generally, the *Boddingtons* ads therefore confound pre-existing stereotyped categories and category-bound practices (linguistic and other). The 'after'

segments of the ads leave us to ruminate about the assumptions we may well have made in relation to the 'before' scenarios, and particularly about the social categories that we might have associated with those scenarios. In other words, it is not solely the category of Manchester-ness that comes up for reconsideration; it is also the categories on which 'exotic' scenarios were based, with the possibility that they are not so 'cool' after all. The central dissonances open up possibilities for critical reassessment in both directions. The audience certainly doesn't need to align with *either* of the traditional consonances that are on display. They/we are positioned as reflexive consumers and critics, invited to reflect on the dissonant scenarios that are on display, and this created non-alignment carries an opportunity for change.

A very similar effect accrues in the 'World War II Pilots' sketch. The class-based sociolinguistic dissonance between 'street' youth culture and upper-class military personnel (and schoolboys) opens up critical possibilities, and once again it does this in both directions. The pilots' incongruous fusion of conservative RP and 'street' talk brings two clichéd styles (conservative RP being more obviously so, although 'street' talk is itself frequently parodied) into dissonant opposition with each other, and the pilots themselves, as argued above, are 'out of place' in relation to both of them. Beyond that, their discourse indexes immaturity and self-absorption which might, I suggested, be referenced either as middle-class posh youth or as 'street' youth, perhaps both, and perhaps even as a trait of RAF pilots with privileged pasts. Familiar social and linguistic categories are again rendered unstable, therefore, and we are left with a clutter of indexical features and styles floating free of their presupposed social targets. A reasonable generalisation from both case studies would be that the data are richly imbued with sociolinguistic indexicalities that are mediated so as to *fail* to connect with the social matrices that a sociolinguistics of consonance would expect them to connect with.

I came to focus on the *Boddingtons* data here because, when I have discussed it with students and colleagues, there has been a common reaction that 'those ads wouldn't work nowadays'. The ads' sociolinguistic premise that Manchester speech and demeanour *could*, if only in crassly stereotyped ways, and if only as an initial presumed consonance, be considered 'unsophisticated' and 'common', and therefore dissonantly opposable to high-culture experience, does indeed seem to have lapsed in the UK. The ads themselves, I have been suggesting, are likely to have contributed to this change, by destabilising underlying categories. The necessary detailed research is lacking, but Manchester and northern English speech no longer index working-class-ness in the way they apparently did. The proposition that the whole of 'the north of England' was constituted by a single social class was always preposterous, but today, an association between northern-ness and female glamour, for example, is entirely unremarkable. Changes in patterns of class self-ascription and class definition in the UK have had a direct bearing on this change (some rele-

vant sociological research is reviewed in Coupland 2009). UK broadcast media themselves have progressively retreated from their historical preference for RP in 'serious' genres, and this has left the talking media displaying a far more mixed indexical structure. Alexander Armstrong (who plays one of the pilots), for example, is a conservative RP speaker in most of his TV roles, which include other comedy and non-comedy formats and being a well-known game-show presenter. In fact, Armstrong is one of several contemporary prominent 'light entertainment' figures who have broken the indexical relationship between RP and 'serious broadcasting', just as 'serious' domains of TV and radio have come to be populated by a wide range of non-RP speakers, shifting the boundaries around what we might think of as 'standard' or 'the best' speech.

Behind my arguments in this chapter is the hypothesis that indexical consonance in relation to dialect, but also more generally, has principally been a trope of modernity, whereas late modernity is in itself a more dissonant, less coherent, less cohere-able epoch, and that mediated dissonances may even have helped to nudge late modernity into existence. Counters to this suggestion come in the form of arguing that creative speech play has been a characteristic of all epochs (e.g. McDowell 1992), also the point that the richest theorising of polyphonic dissonance emerged in Bakhtin's literary-critical writing (see e.g. Morris 1994: 89ff.) about Dostoevsky's novels (died 1881). But there are some strong precursors that can support future research on this theme. Rampton's invocation of the concept of 'the grotesque' (Rampton 2006: 346ff.; see also Jenks 2003: 168–169) is one, particularly in his development of the idea that "the grotesque involves hybridisation and inmixing, transgressing the boundaries that separate high from low" (*ibid.*: 349). Another is theoretical work by Archer (e.g. 2012), particularly her analyses of how the heightened reflexivity of late modernity is liable to scale up into what she calls "hyper-reflexivity" an invasive cultural condition where coherent life-choices become difficult to make, because traditional sources of rationality and convention have fallen away.

From Bakhtin, once again, and despite the time-lapse between his original writing and the present day, we can be inspired by the idea that artistic creativity – and not least the creativity that proliferating media nowadays resource – is sometimes able to both represent and give meaningful shape to major social changes in which we are caught up. It can be the reflexively metalinguistic representation that actually consolidates sociolinguistic change. Bakhtin recognised, for example, how Dostoevsky was able to capture "the contradictory nature of evolving social life [in Russia], not fitting within the framework of a confident and calmly meditative monologic consciousness" (Bakhtin, cited in Morris 1994: 90). What is often referred to as globalising late modernity is seeing no less fundamental a change, into no less contradictory circumstances. Bakhtin also recognised the importance of style and

styling in the distinction between monophonic and polyphonic forms of representation. "To be sure", he says, "language diversity and speech characterizations remain important in a polyphonic novel, but this importance is diminished…For what matters here is not the mere presence of specific language styles, social dialects, and so forth…what matters is the *dialogic angle* at which those styles and dialects are juxtaposed or counterposed in the work" (Bakhtin in Morris 1994: 104, original emphasis). Dissonant styling might usefully be interpreted as a sociolinguistically productive tweaking of dialogic angles.

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