

Style and Indexicality

- Variation and Categories
- Symbol, Icon, Index
- Style and the Indexical Field
- The Honey Badger

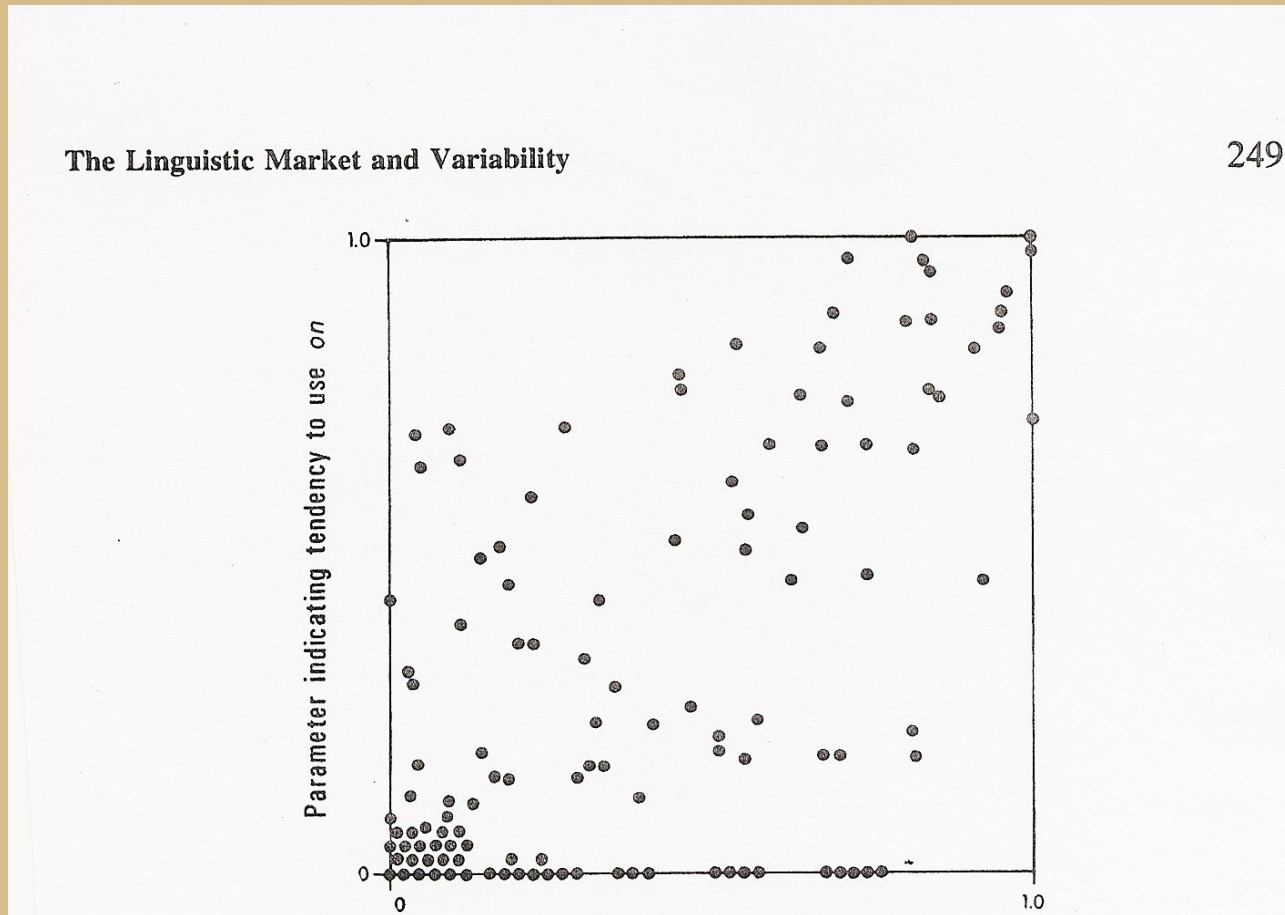
SOCIOLINGUISTICS HAPPY HOUR

Thursdays at 5:30 THE SINK

1165 13th St. 13th & Pennsylvania



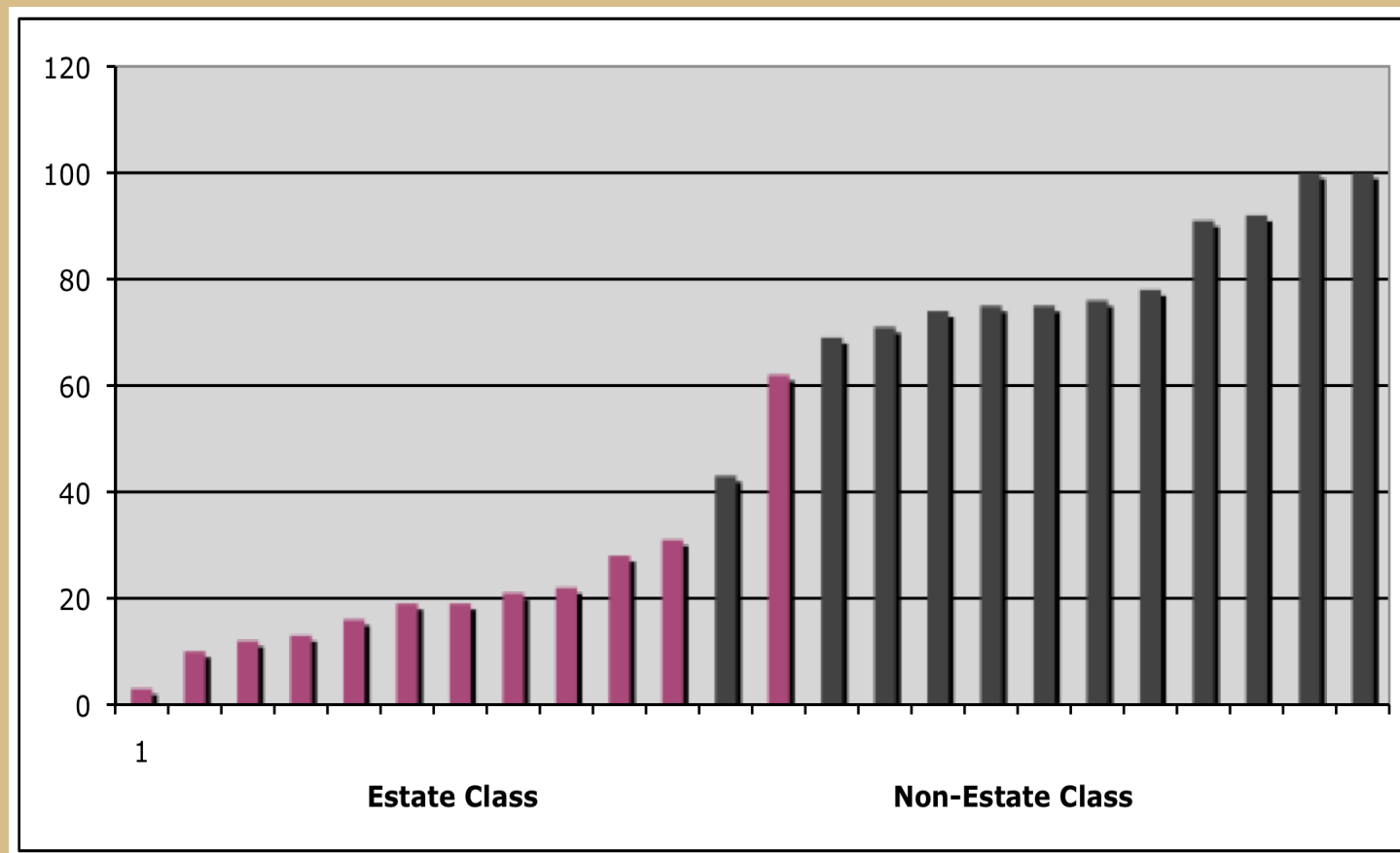
The Standard Language Market (again)



SANKOFF, DAVID and LABERGE, SUZANNE. 1978. The linguistic market and the statistical explanation of variability. *Linguistic Variation: Models and Methods*, ed. by David Sankoff, 239-50. New York: Academic Press.

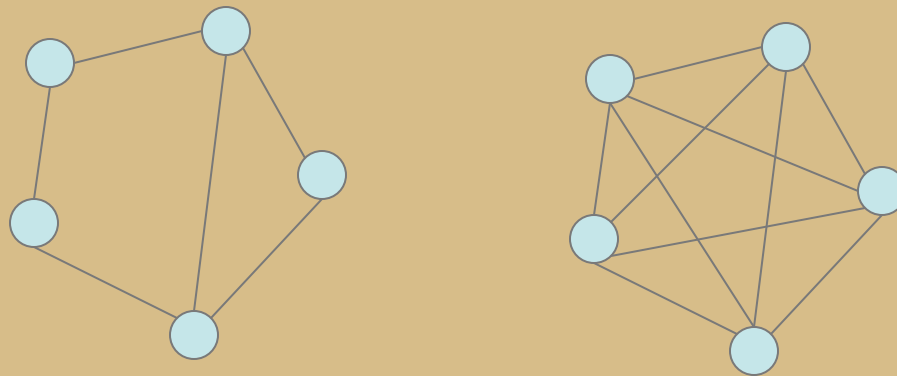
Class as defined locally (again)

% use of
acrolectal
variants
in
singular
pronouns



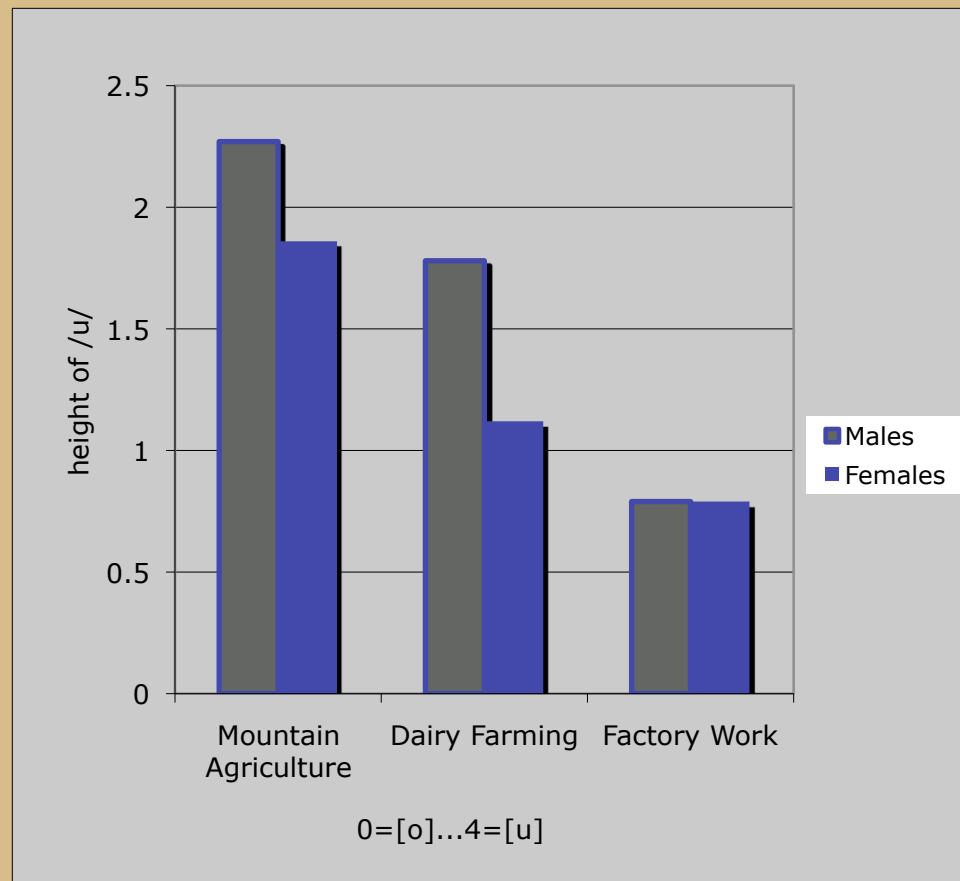
RICKFORD, JOHN. 1986. The need for new approaches to class analysis in sociolinguistics. *Language and Communication*, 6.215-21.

Networks (again)



MILROY, LESLEY. 1980. Language and social networks. Oxford: Blackwell.

And goats (again)



HOLMQUIST, JONATHAN. 1985. Social correlates of a linguistic variable: A study in a Spanish village. *Language in Society*, 14.191-203.

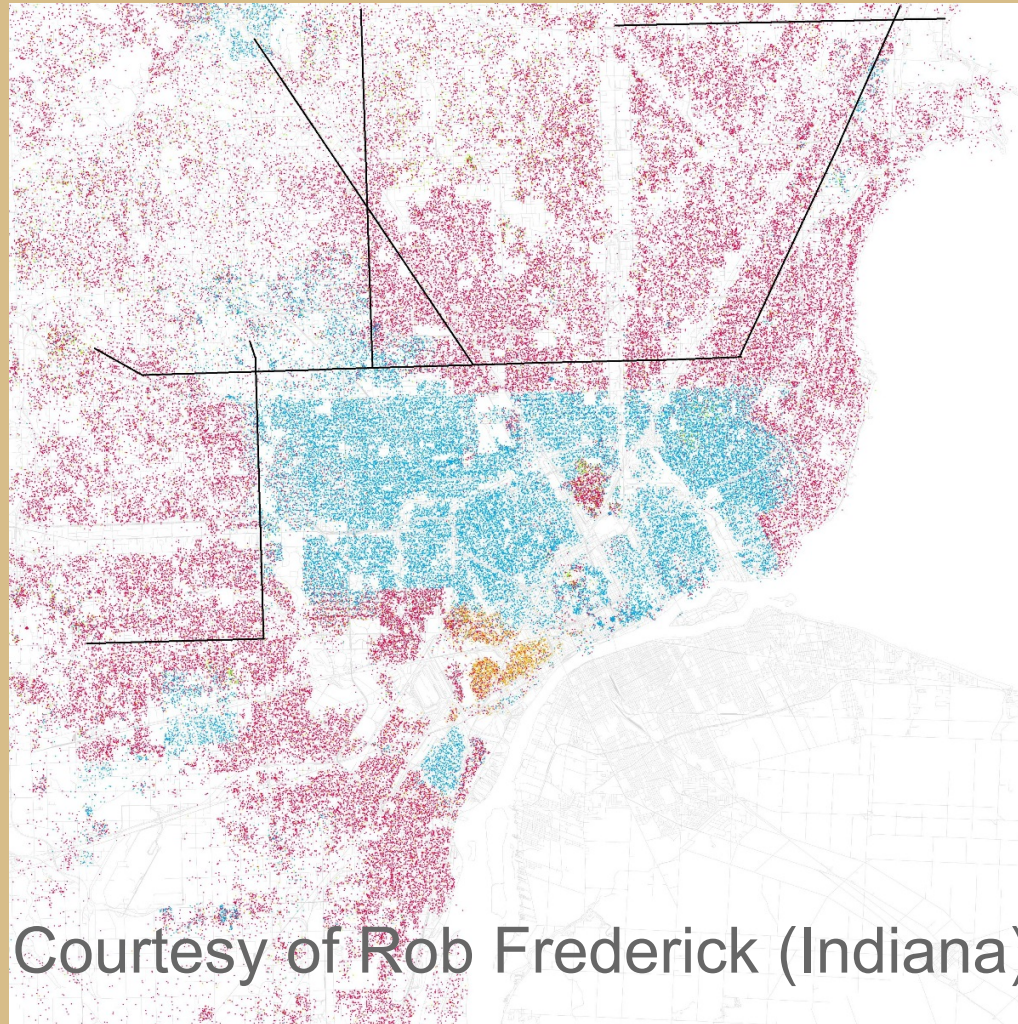
What's class to kids?

Ethnographic study in Detroit Suburban high schools

ECKERT, PENELOPE. 1989. Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school. New York: Teachers College Press.

ECKERT, PENELOPE. 2000. Linguistic variation as social practice. Oxford: Blackwell.

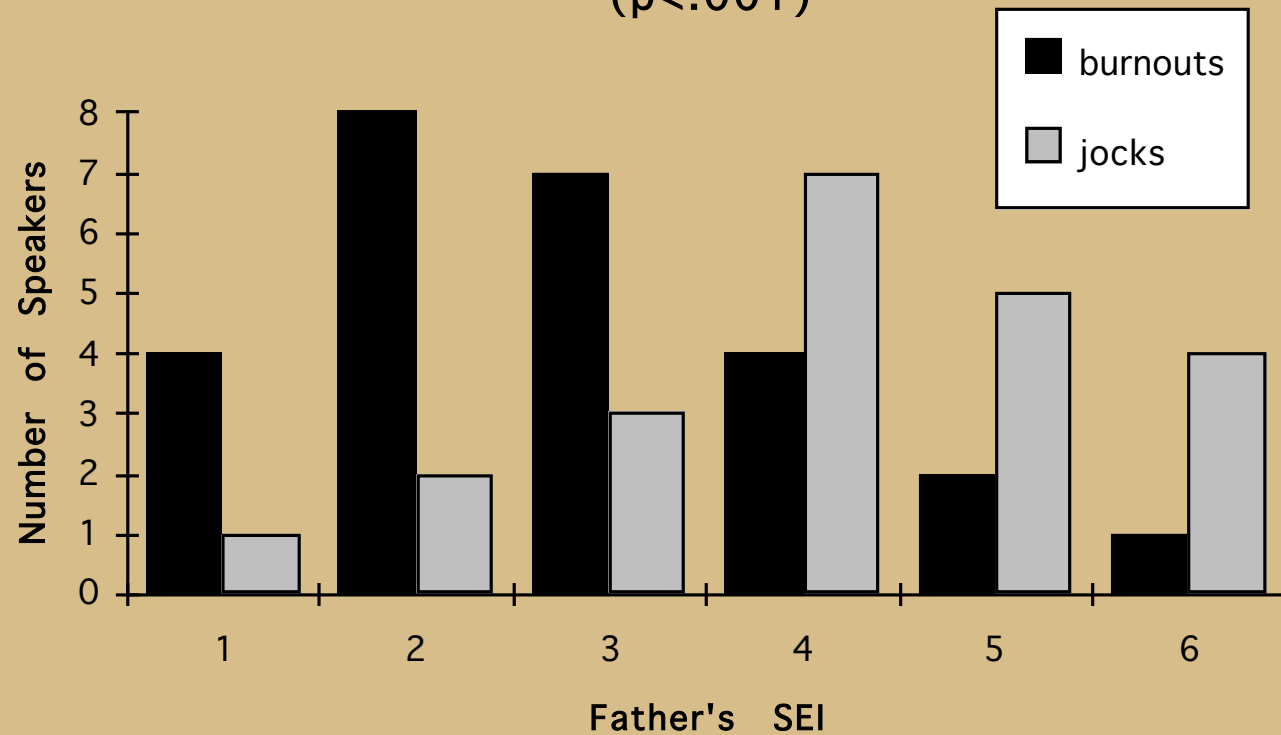
The Demographics of the Detroit area



Courtesy of Rob Frederick (Indiana)

J/B Class

Category Affiliation and Father's SEI
($p < .001$)



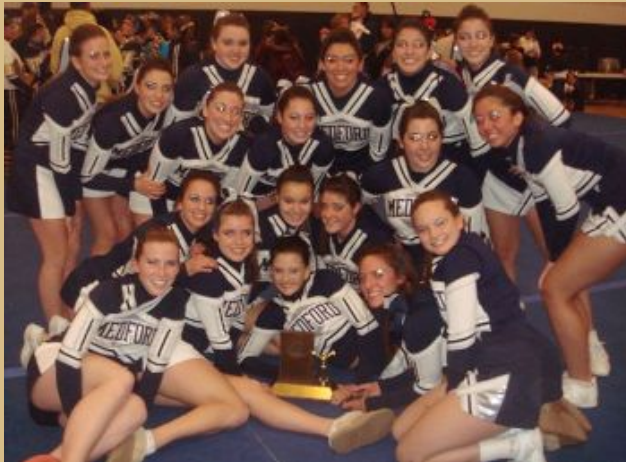
Burnouts a working class culture

- Urban Oriented – networks, destinations
- Reject institution as basis of social lives
- Consciously have-nots
- Egalitarian and solidary
 - Share goods, services and problems
- School of hard knocks
- Lay claim to adult prerogatives

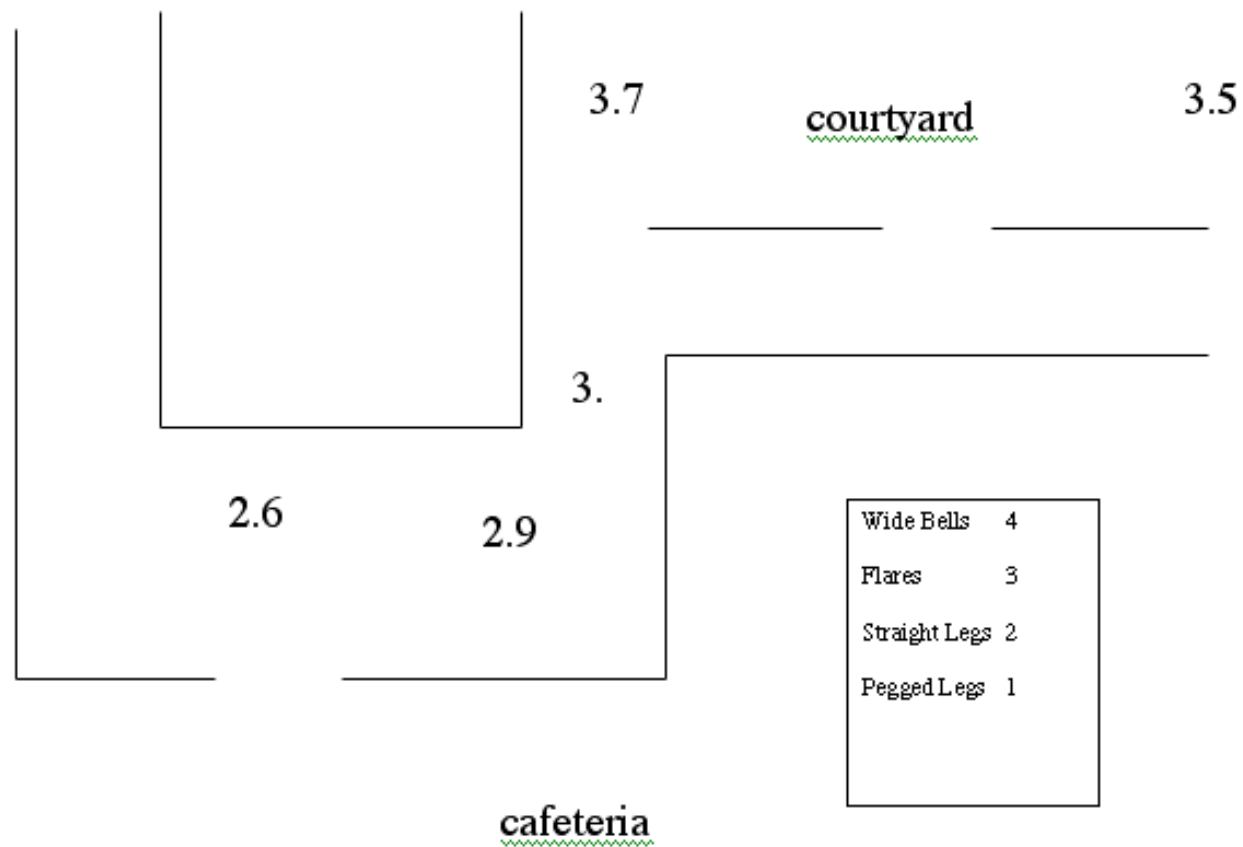


Jocks a middle class culture

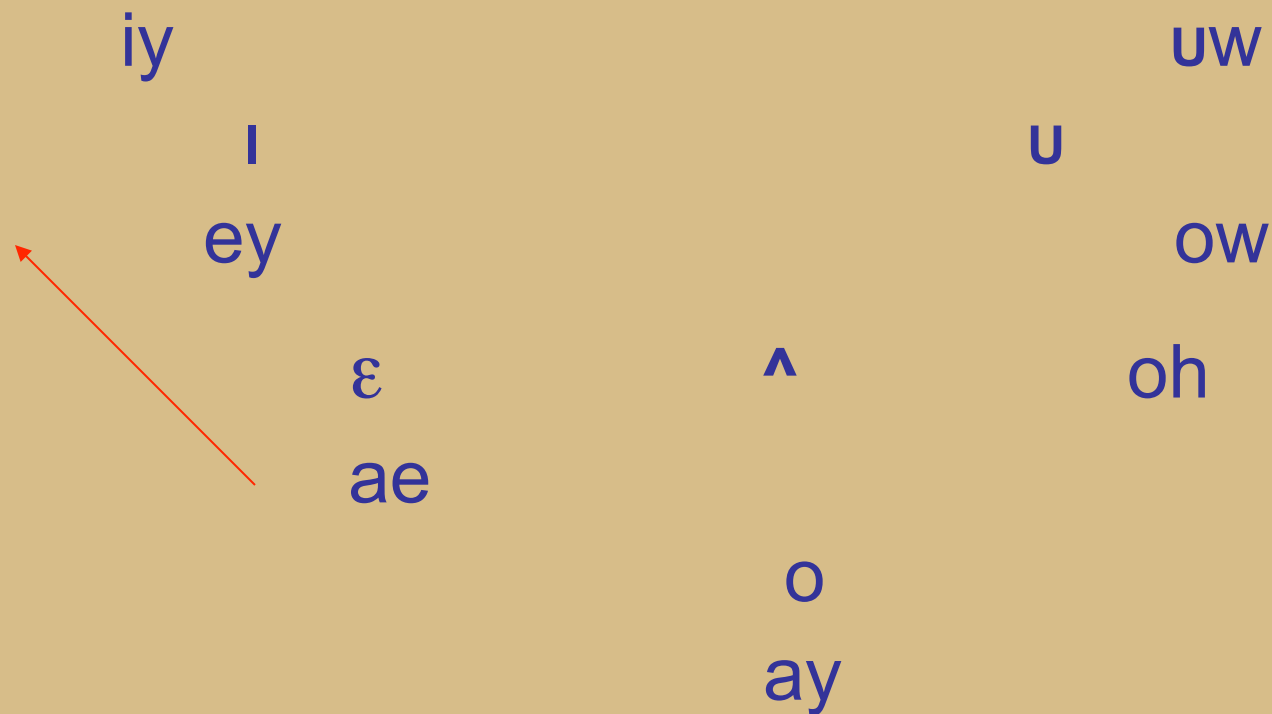
- Urban area only for institutional engagement
- Base networks and activities in school
- Wear the latest fashions
- Hierarchical and cautious social relations
- Emphasis on projecting stable, healthy image
- Collegial relations with adults



Jeans at lunchtime

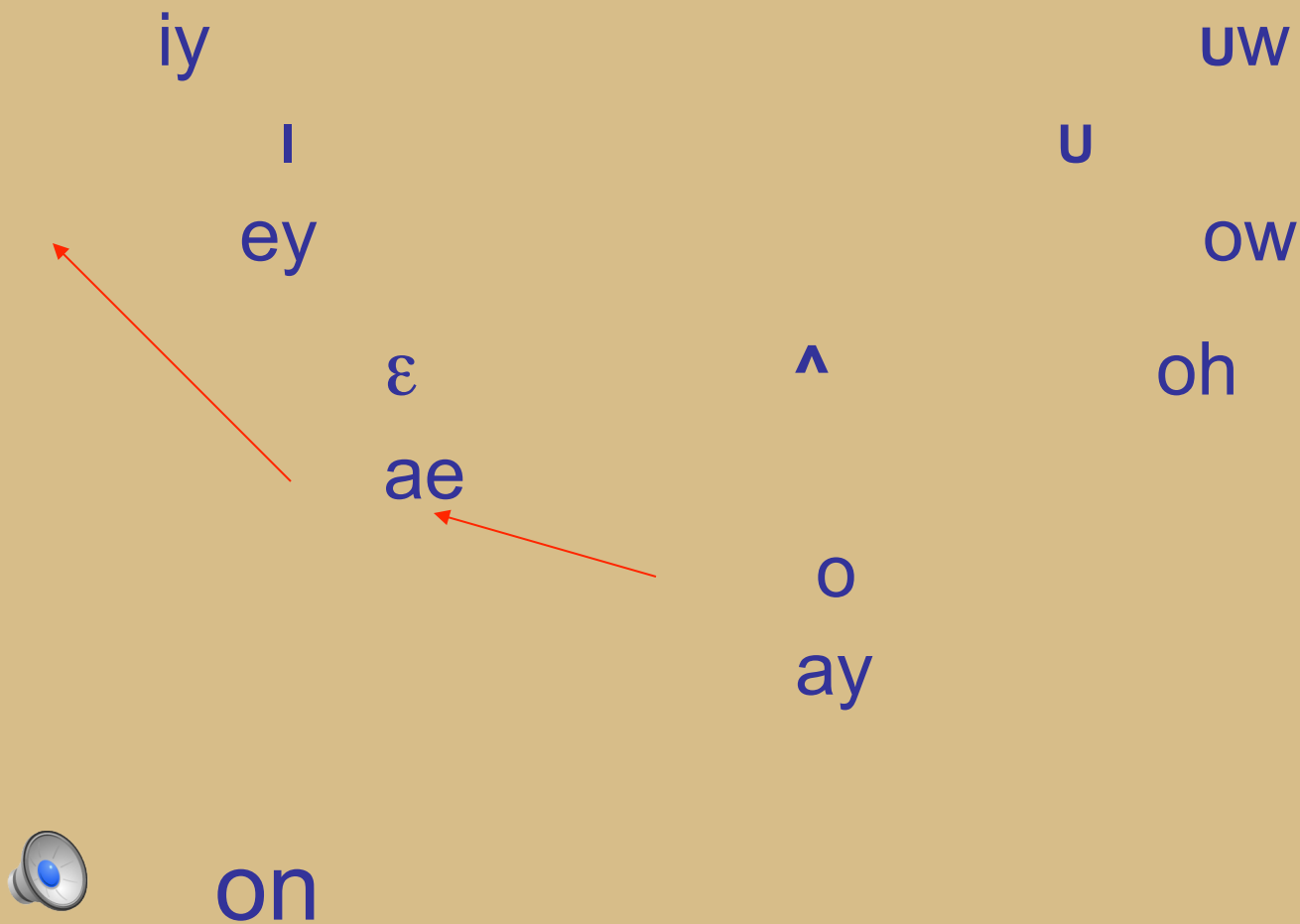


Northern Cities Shift (ae)

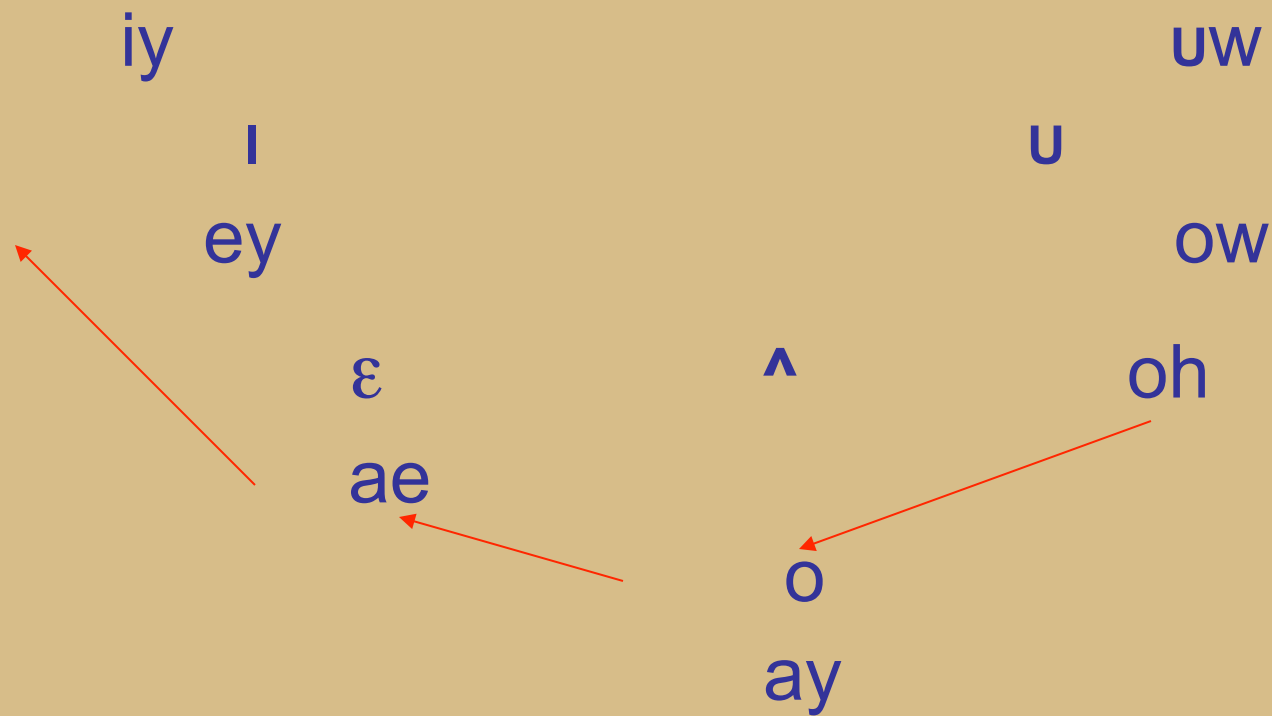


laughs at it

Northern Cities Shift (o)

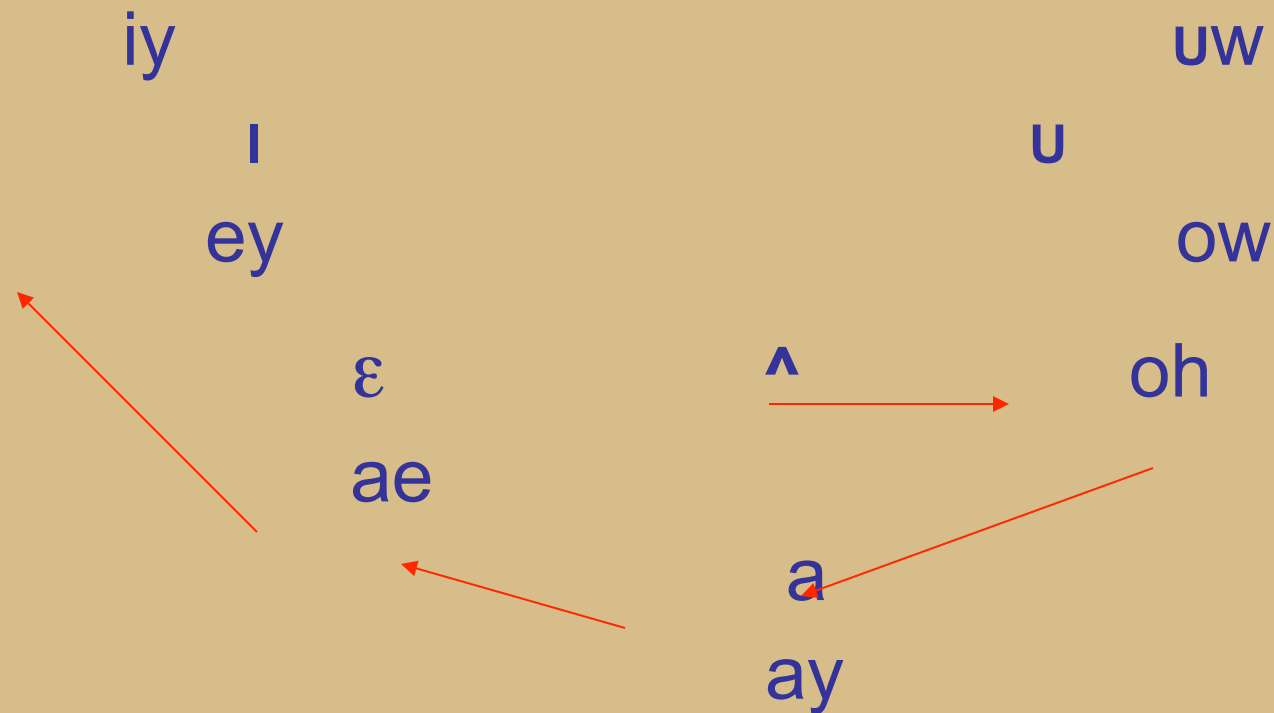


Northern Cities Shift (oh)



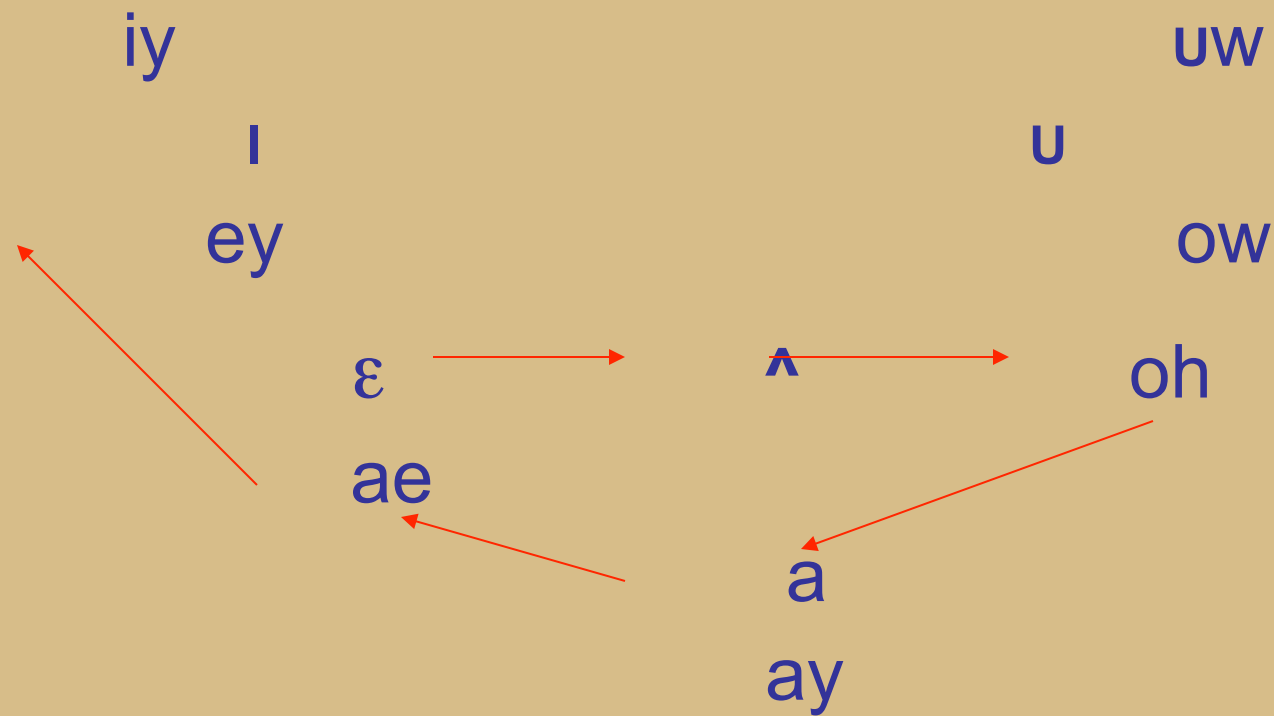
all

Northern Cities Shift (uh)



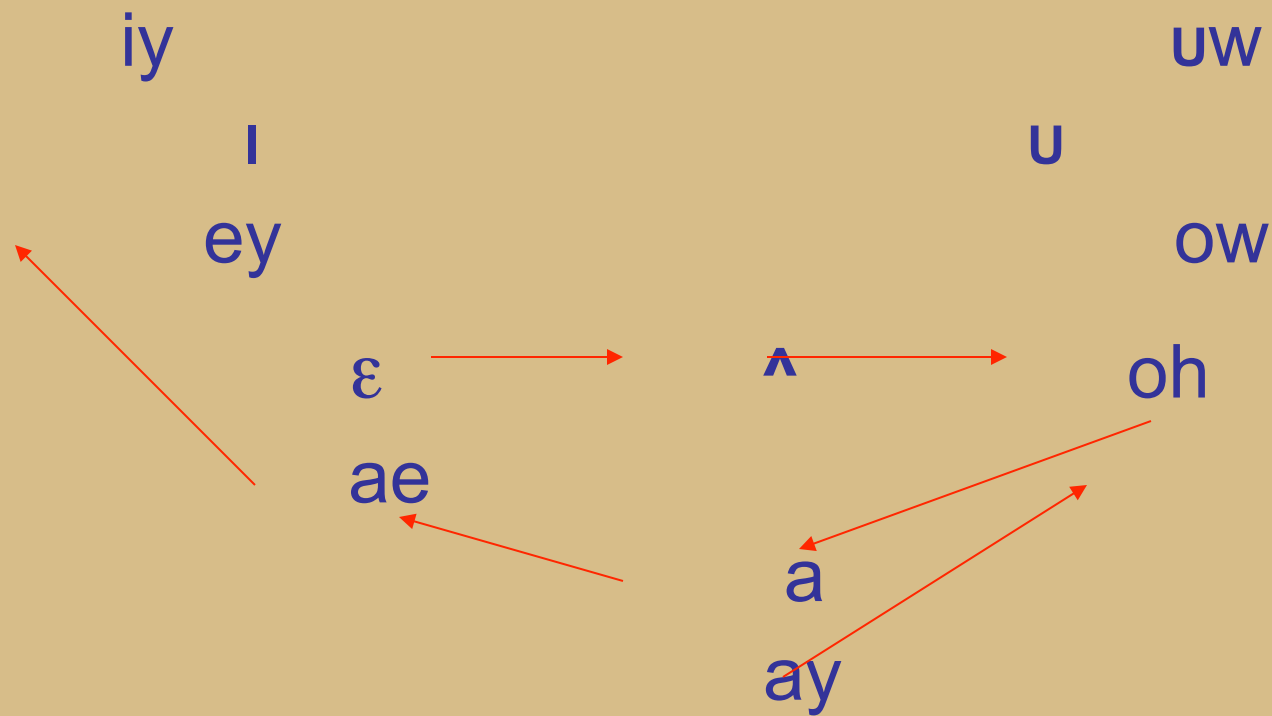
lunch

Northern Cities Shift (e)



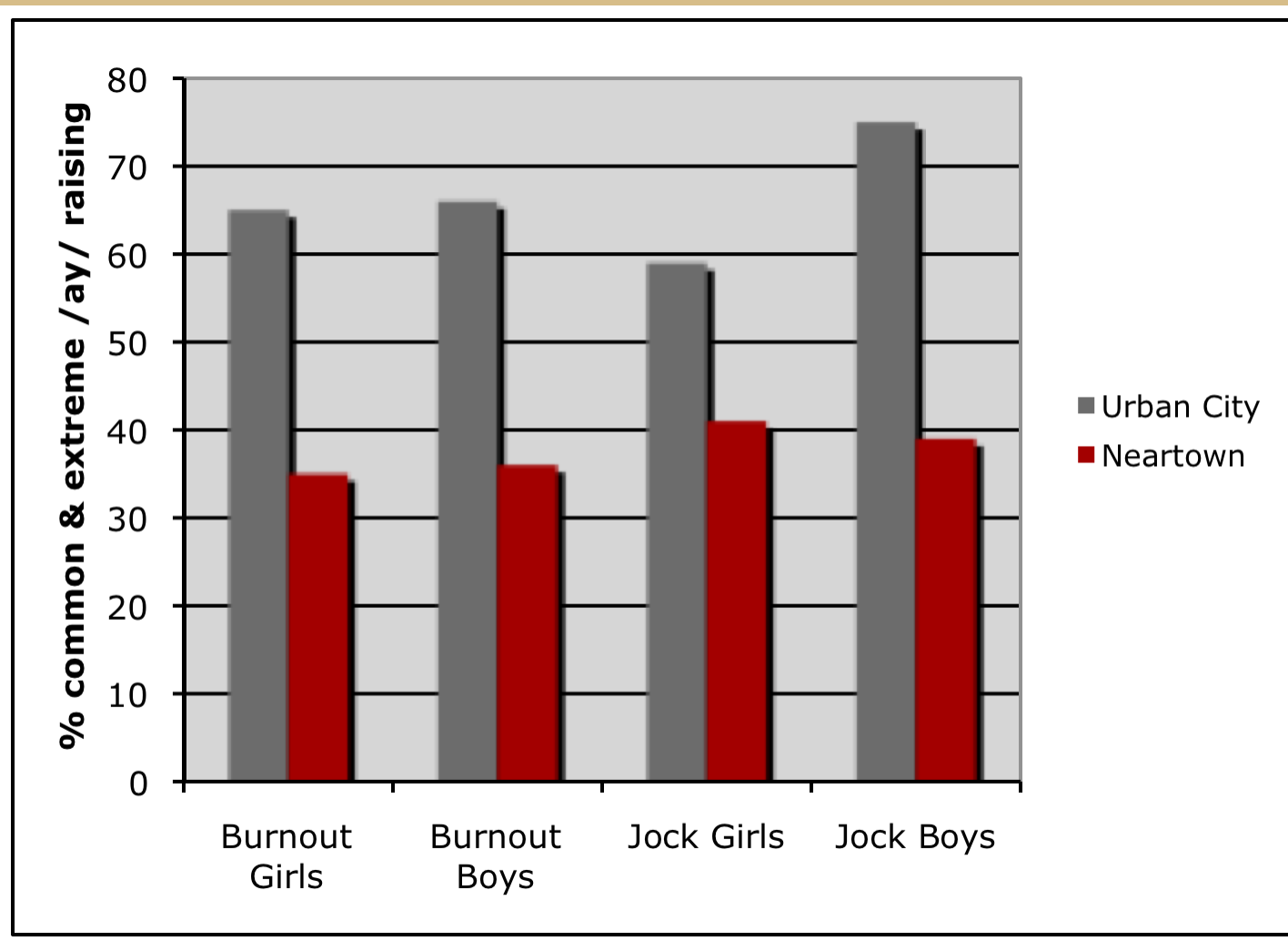
seventeen

Northern Cities Shift (ay)



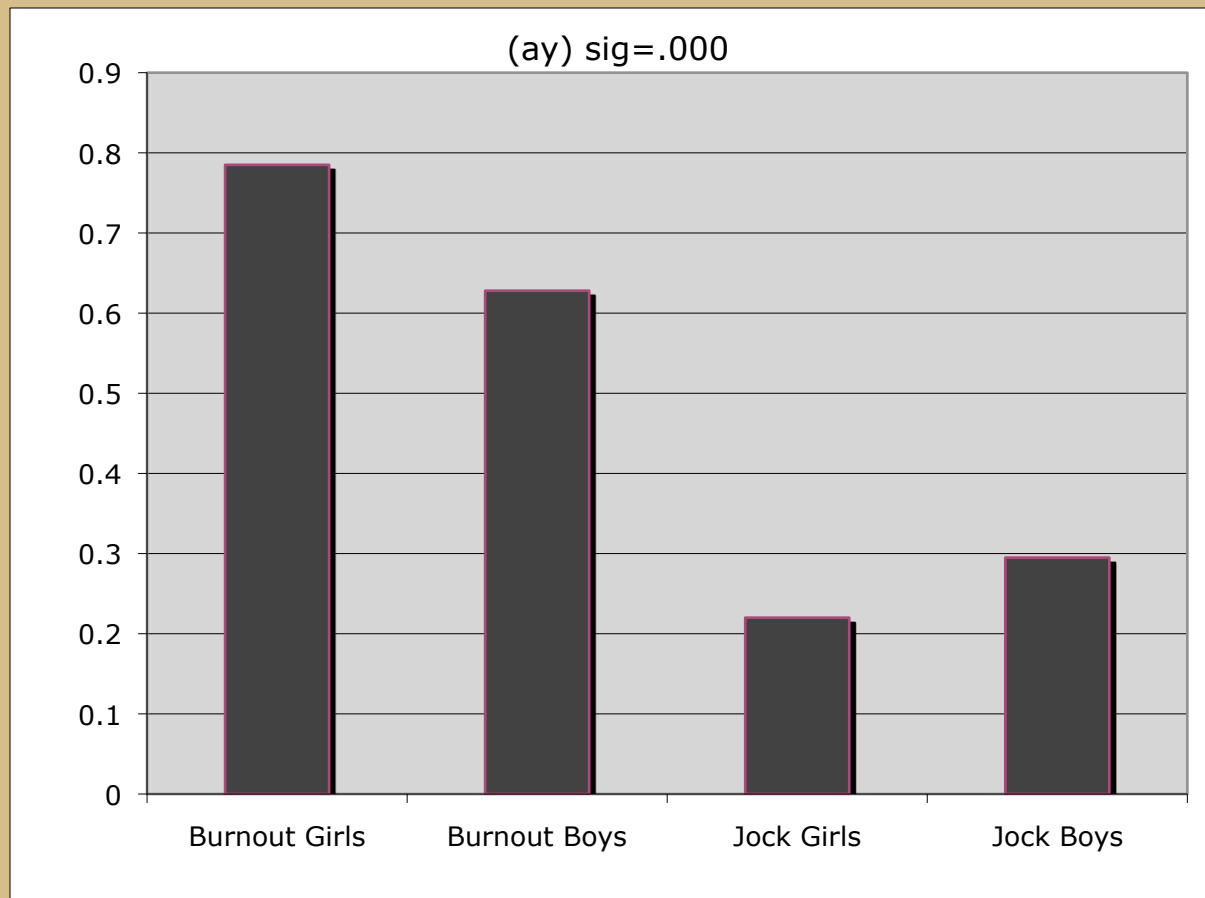
typing

Detroit /ay/ raising

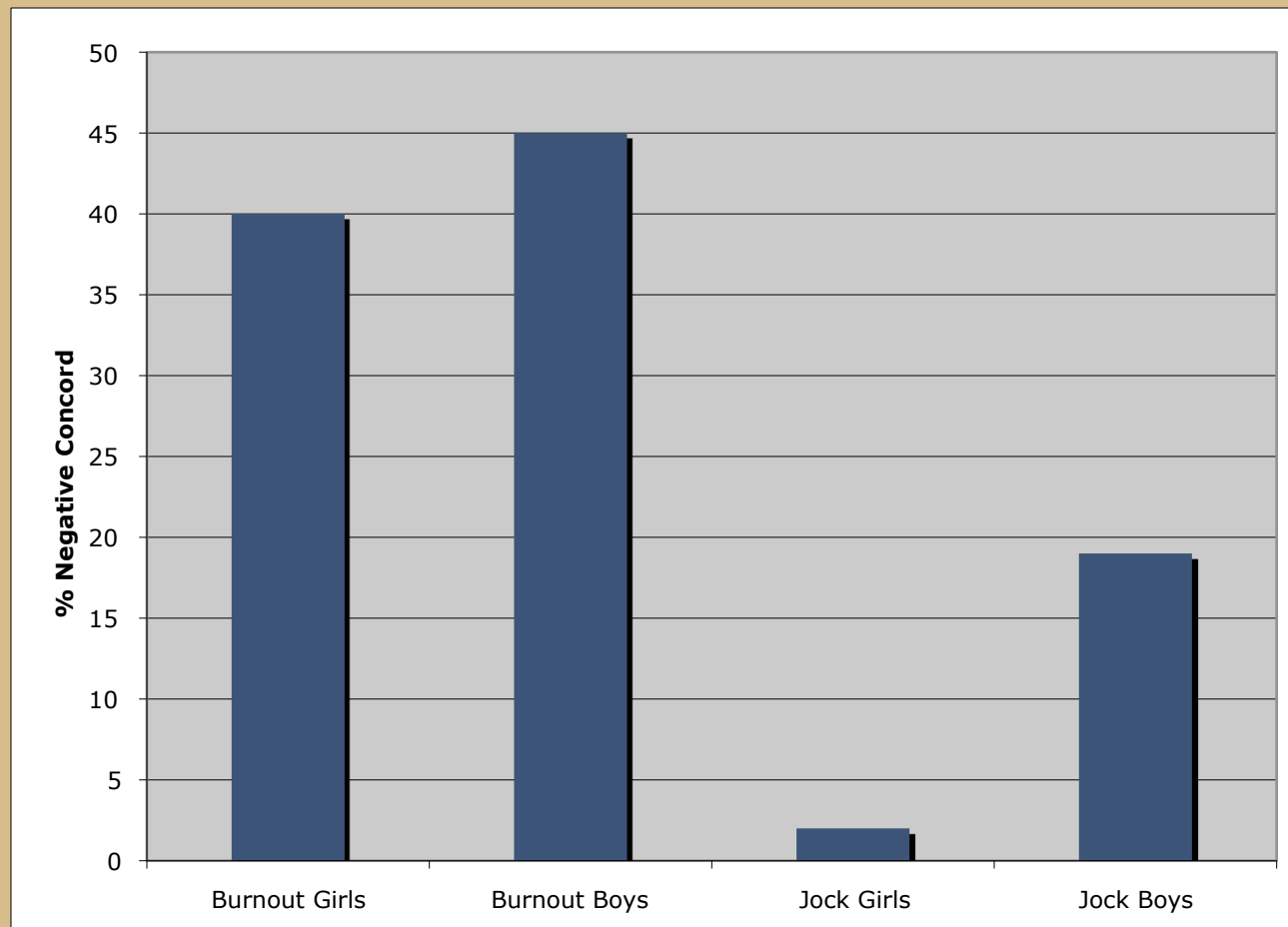


Eckert, P. (2000). Linguistic variation as social practice. Oxford, Blackwell.

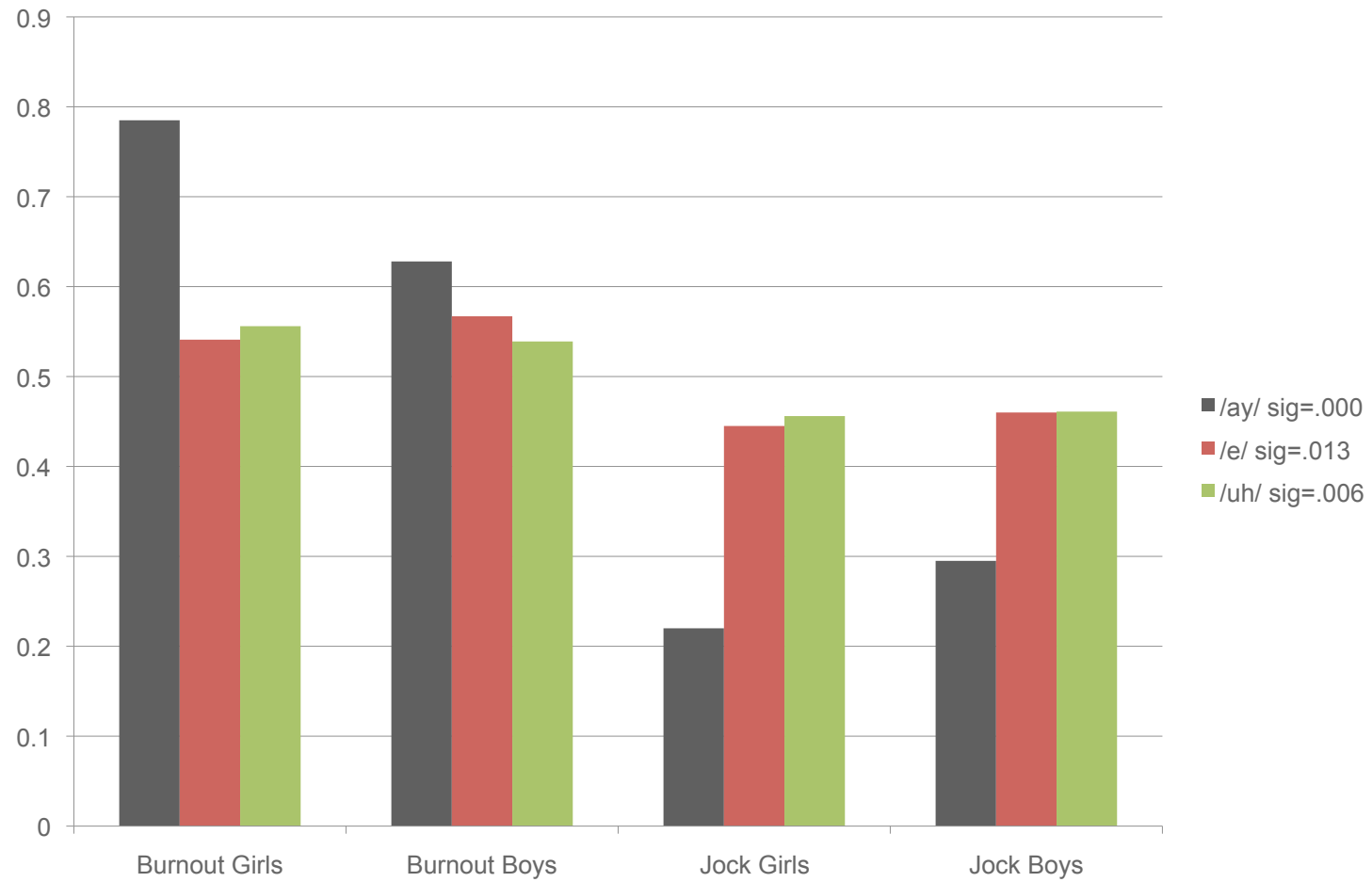
/ay/ in Belten High



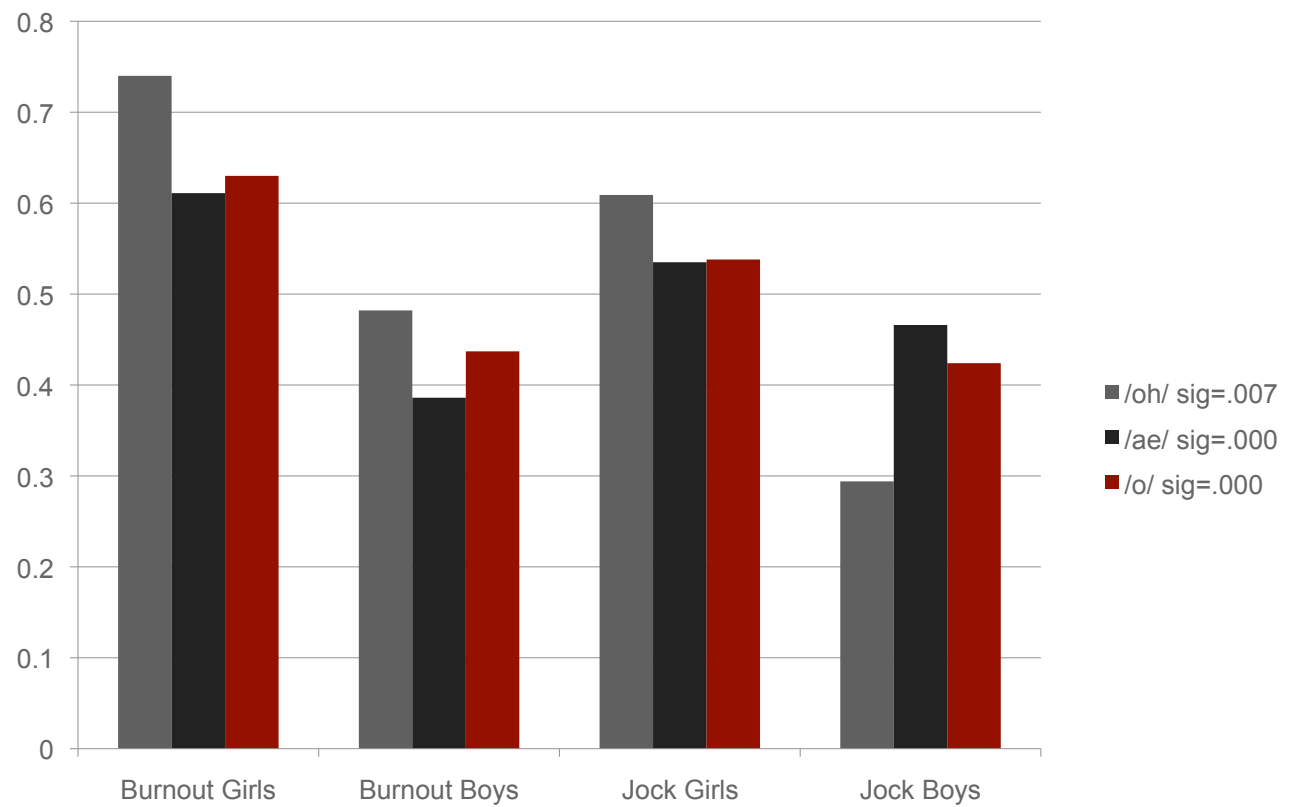
Negative Concord in Belten High



Urban Variables



Non-urban Variables





Second Wave:

Developing the local picture

- Ethnographic studies of geographically defined communities
- Variables as indexing locally-defined categories
- Local categories as reproducing macrosiological categories
- Style as acts of affiliation

So how do you explain these data?

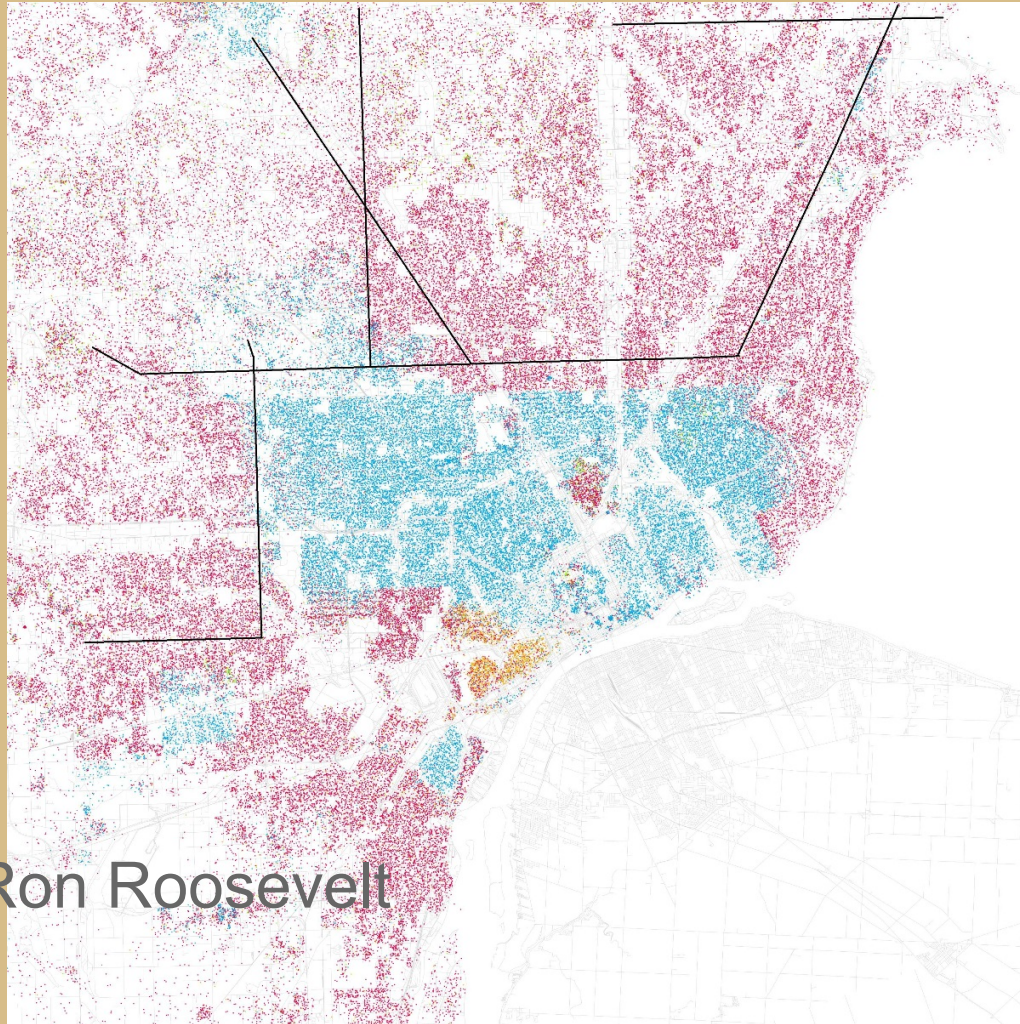
Exposure hypothesis:

- Burnouts go to Detroit more than Jocks, and are exposed more to urban speech.
- Hence they lead Jocks in urban changes.
- Burnout girls go to Detroit more than Burnout boys?
- Jock boys go to Detroit more than Jock girls?

Category orientation hypothesis:

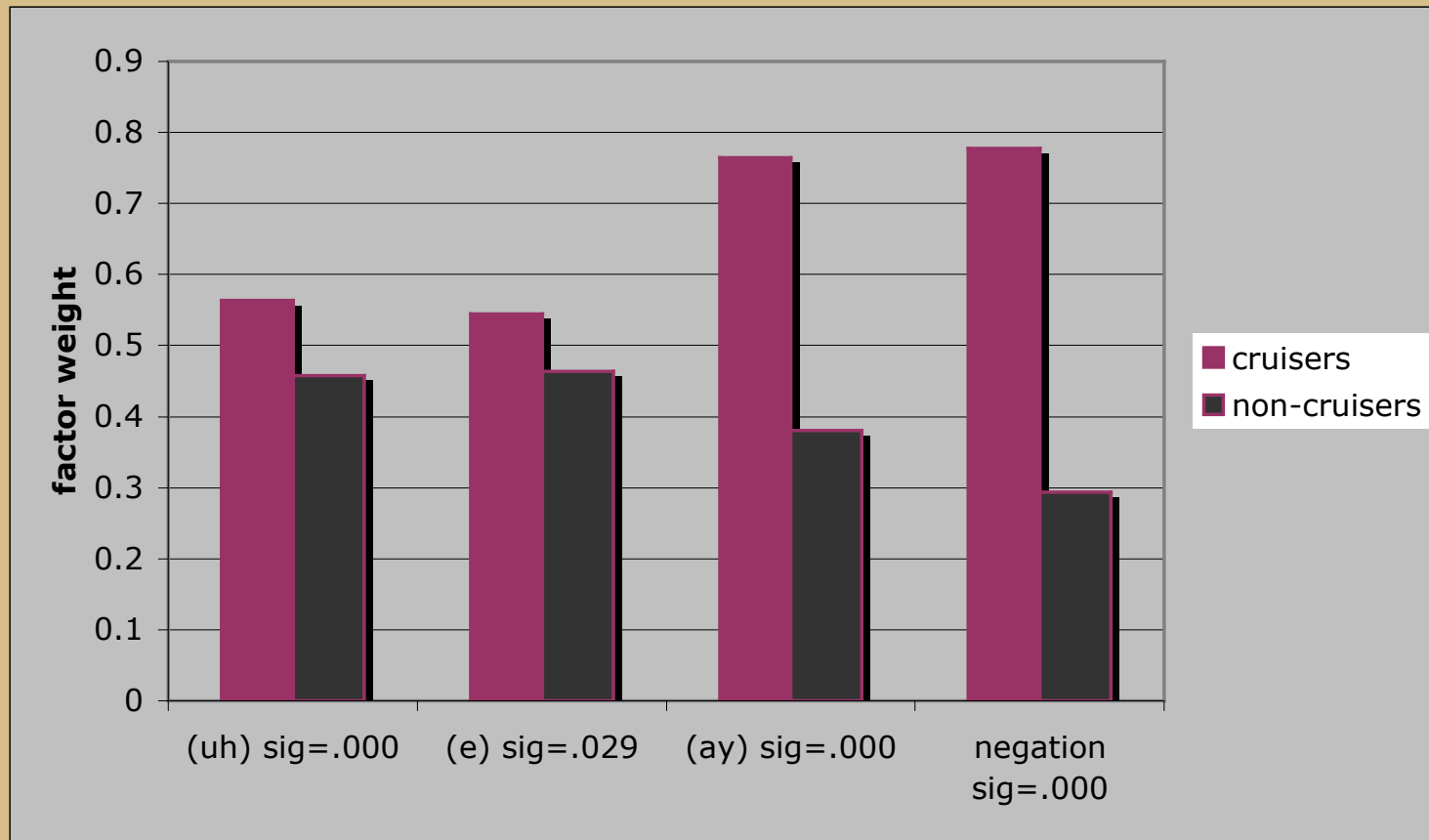
- Burnouts in general go to Detroit more, so urban changes mark Burnout category.
- Burnout girls identify more as Burnouts than Burnout boys.
- Jock boys identify more with Burnouts than Jock girls.

Cruising



Courtesy of Ron Roosevelt

Cruising and the use of urban variables



ECKERT, PENELOPE. 2000. Linguistic variation as social practice. Oxford: Blackwell.

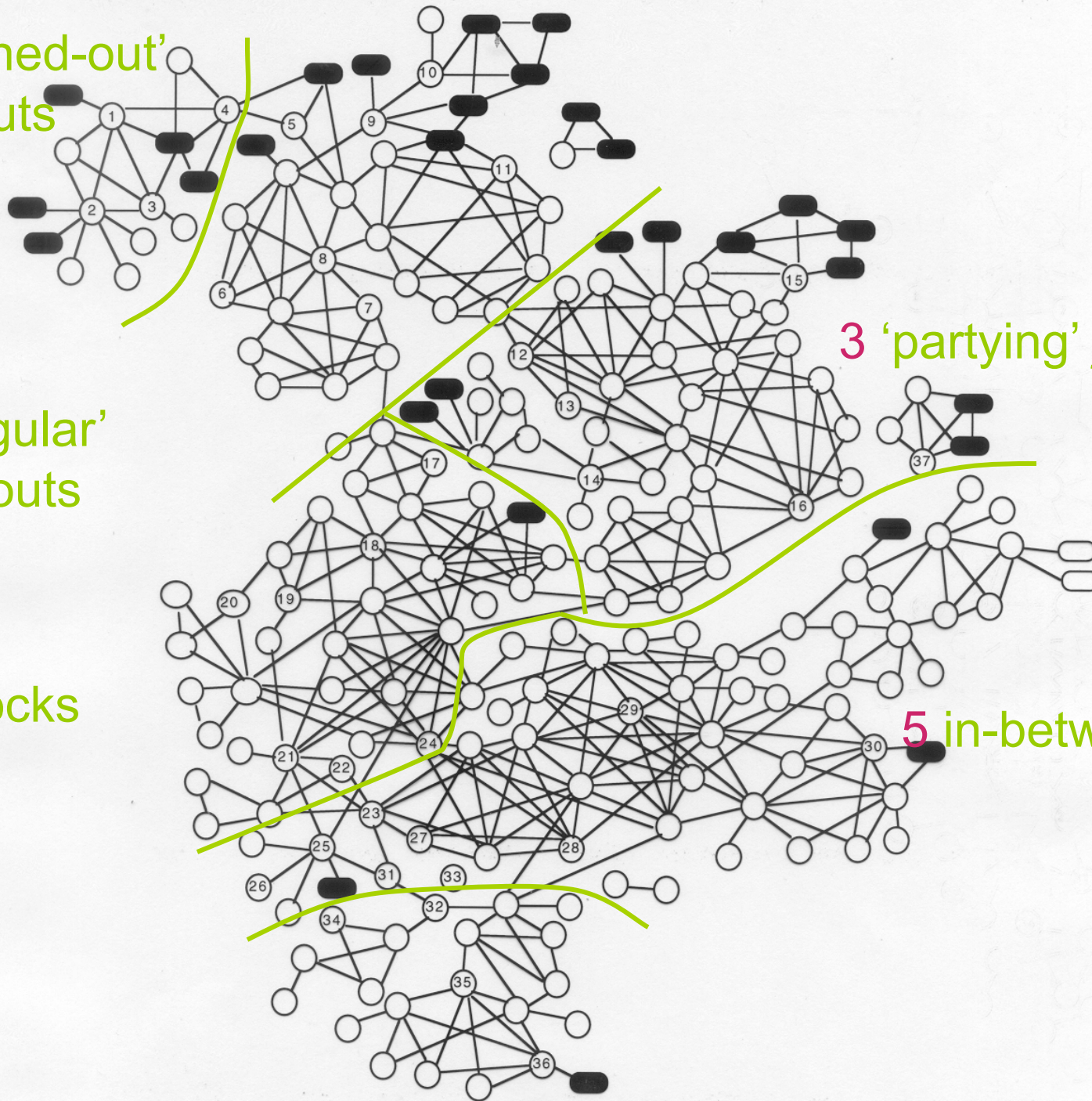
1 'burned-out'
burnouts

2 'regular'
burnouts

4 jocks

3 'partying' jocks

5 in-betweens



The Courtyard



Let me think. Okay. Us – you know like the burnout – yeah bye. Like the – wait bum me one – the burnout chicks, they they sit over here, and then the like the jocks chicks they sit like around here. And then

By that door?

No like in the middle. And then um

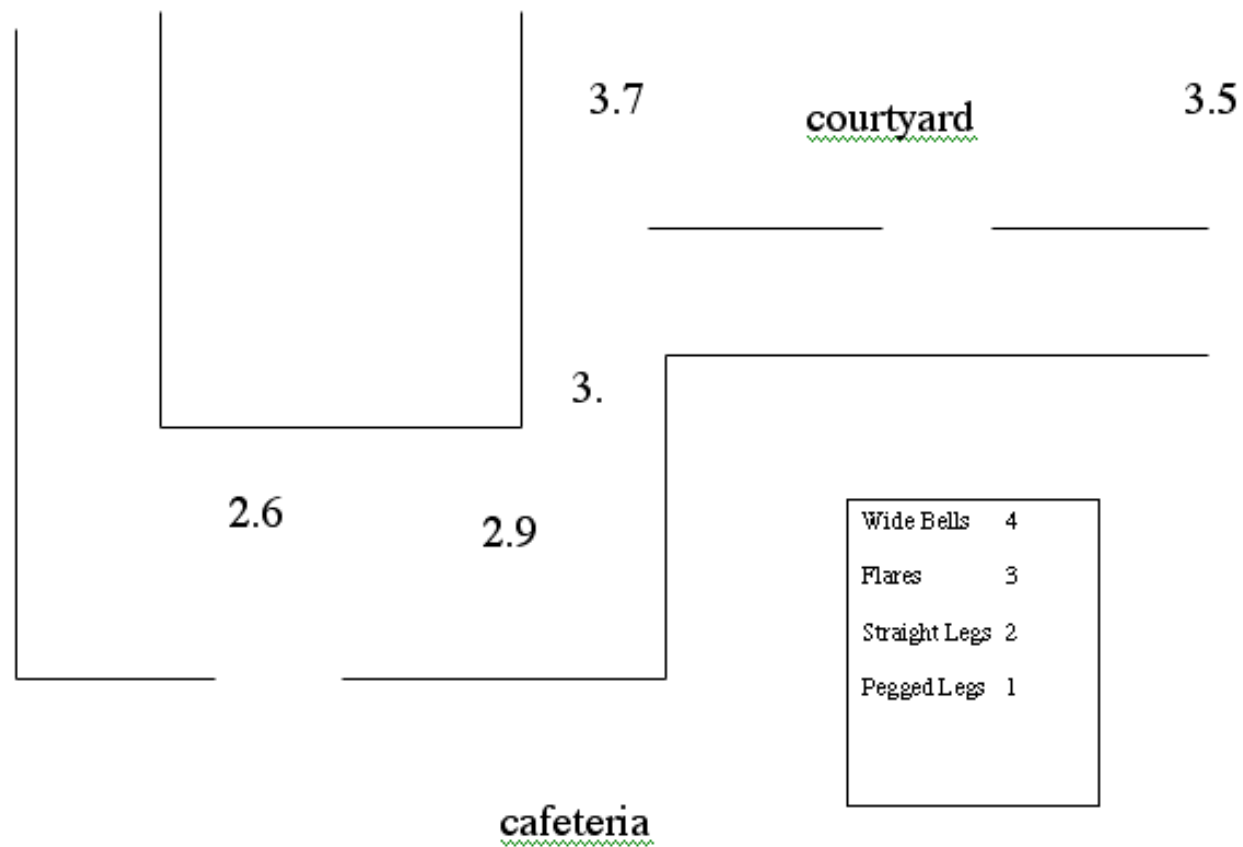
Who are the jocky chicks that hang out in the courtyard?

I don't know. Just, you know, weirdos. And then there's like um the guys, you know, you know, like weirdos that think they're cool. They just stand like on the steps and hang out at that little heater.

By the door yeah right.

"Hey." And then the poins are inside in the cafeteria, cuz they're probably afraid to come out in the courtyard.

Who sits where in the Courtyard



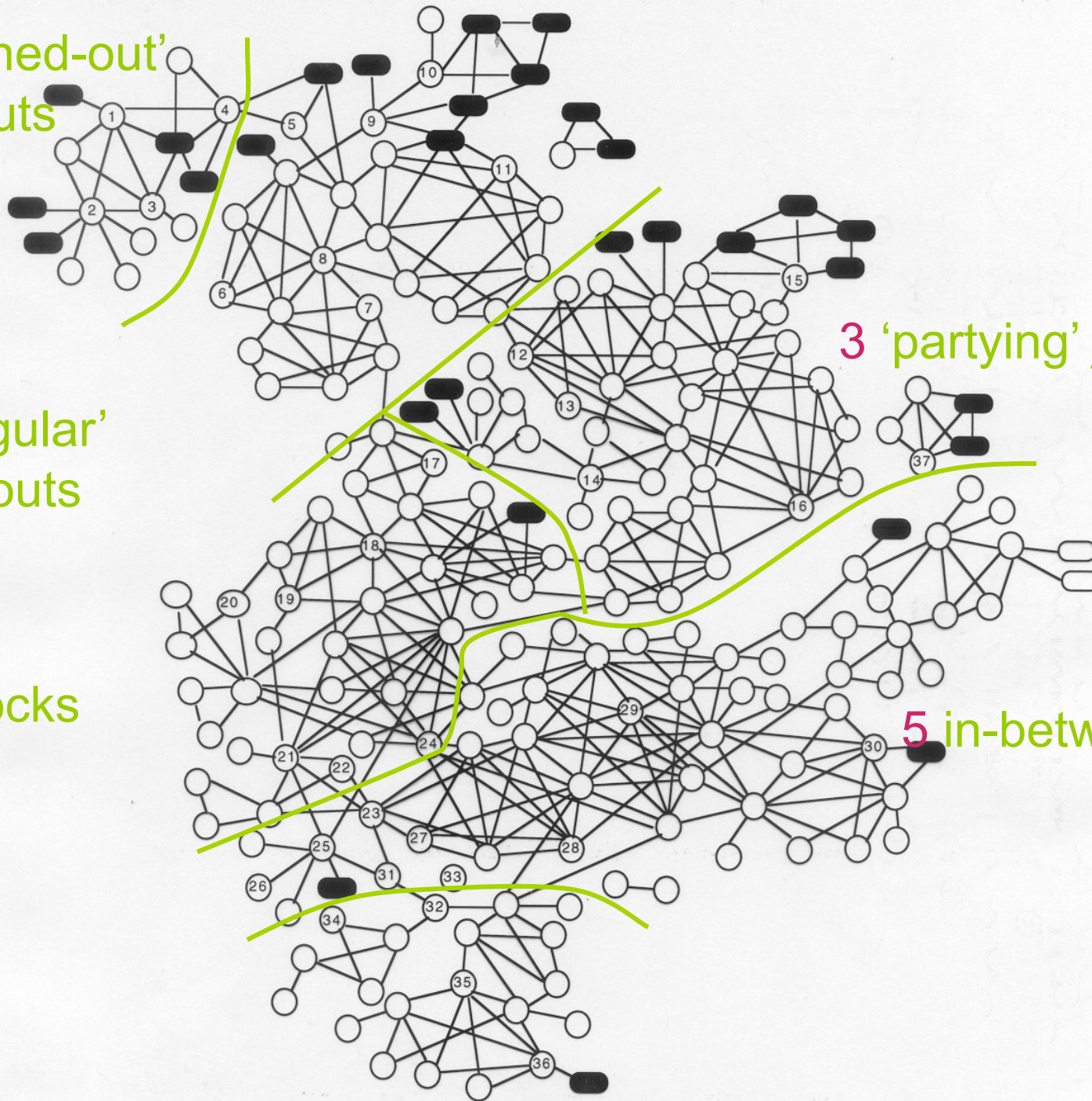
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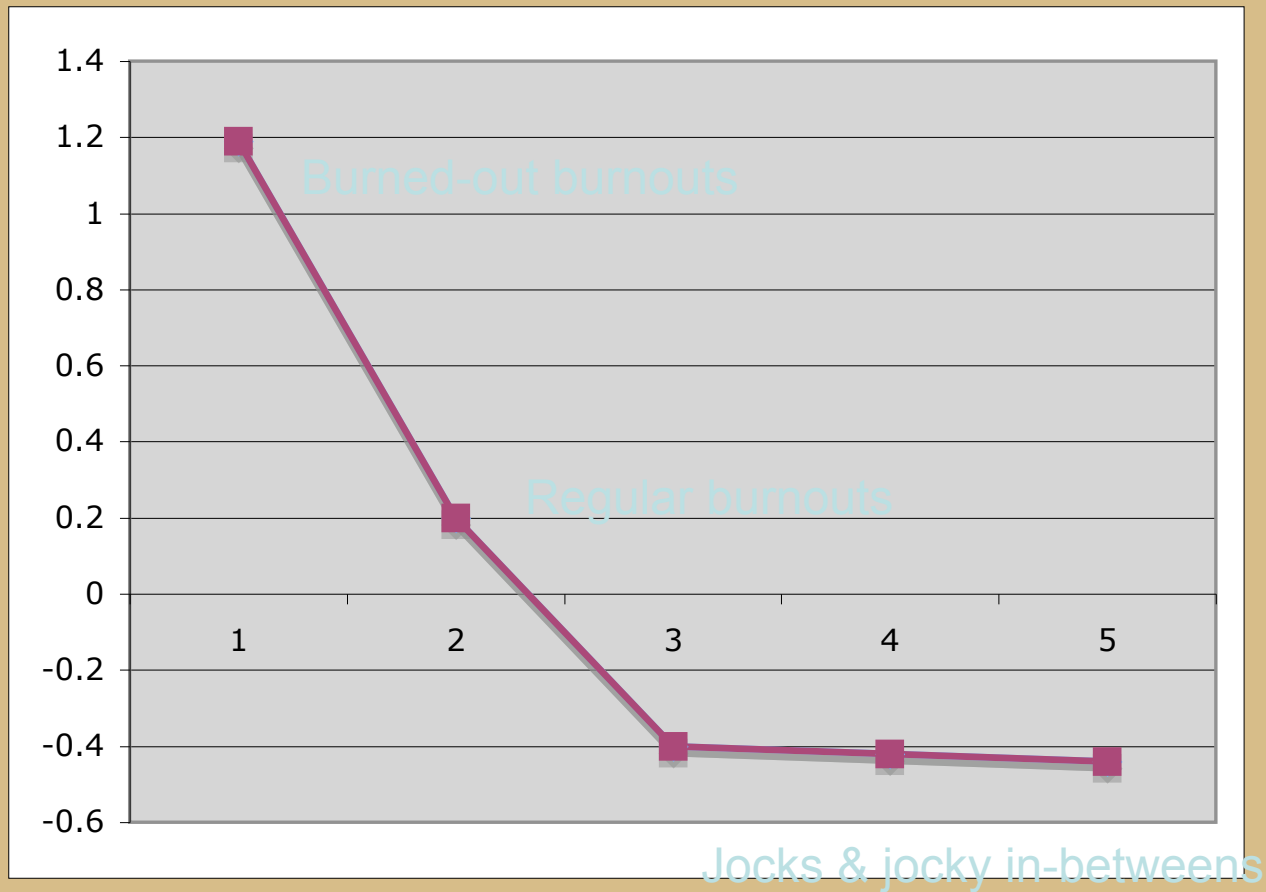
3 'partying' jocks

5 in-betweens

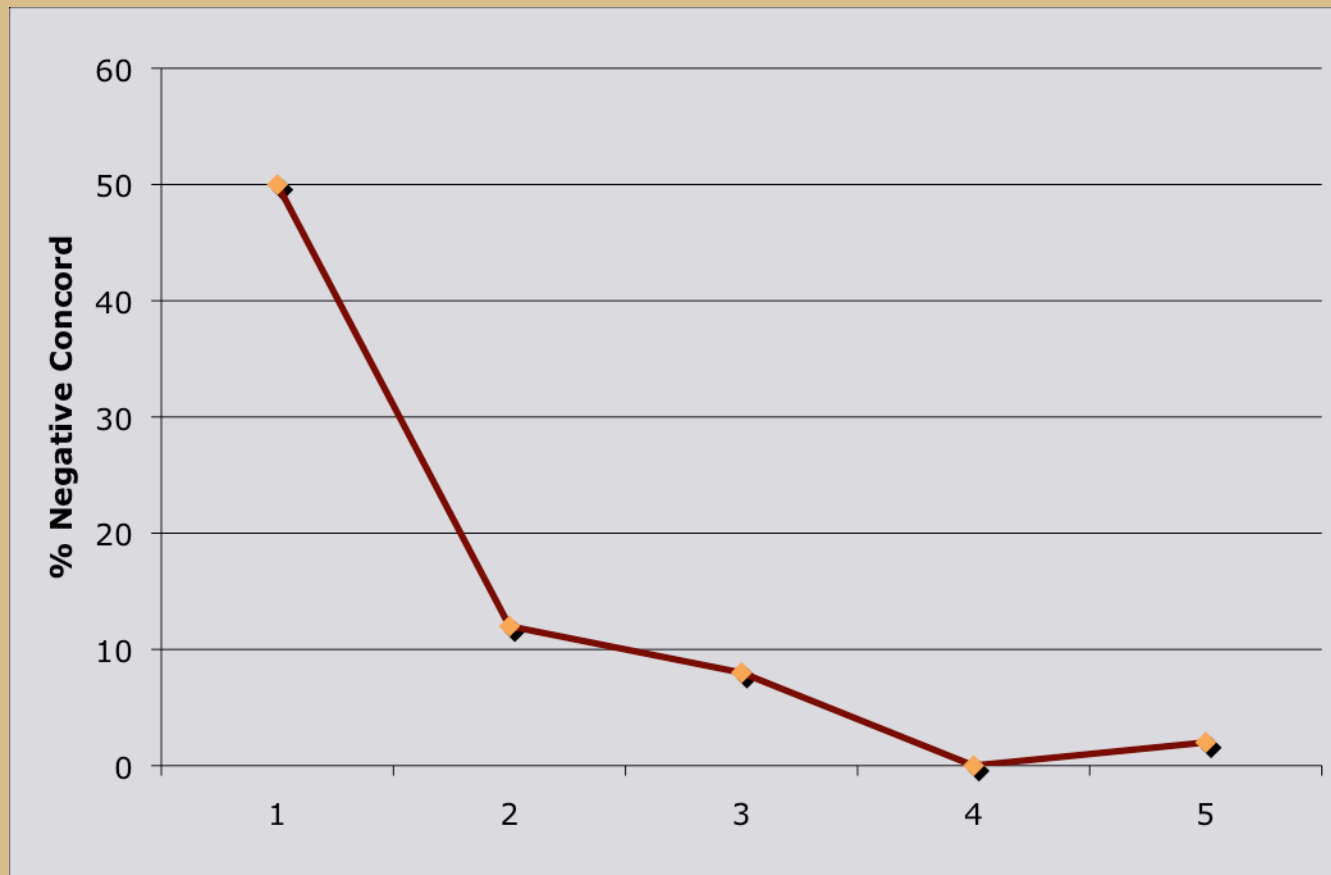




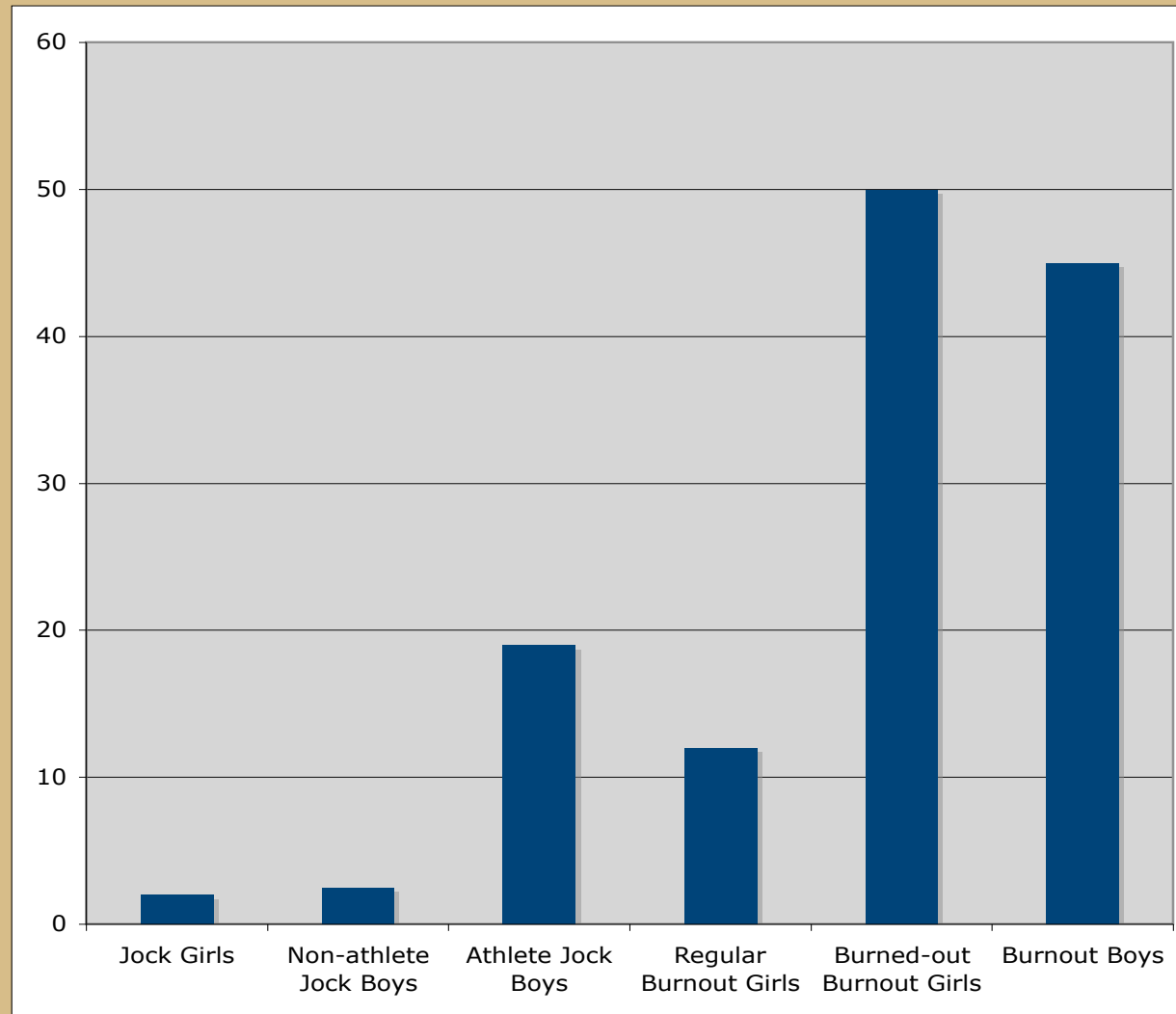
/ay/ raising by network cluster



Negative concord by network cluster



% Negative Concord



So what are variables doing?

Are they marking categories, and people just aligning themselves with respect to those categories?

If so, then we need a multiplicity of categories and a multiplicity of ways of aligning with those categories.

At what point does it become futile? (and by the way, this does not mean that categories aren't important.)

Suppose, instead, that those variables are carrying fine-grained meanings.

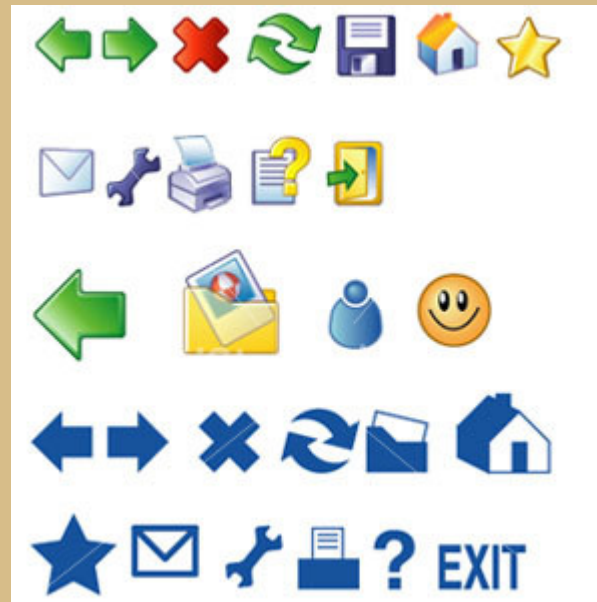
The sign modalities

PIERCE, CHARLES S., HARTSHORNE, CHARLES, WEISS, PAULL and BURKS, ARTHUR W. 1960-1966. Collected papers of Charles Sanders Pierce. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Symbol (convention)



Icon (resemblance)



Index (contiguity)



Indexicality

- The property of sign vehicle signaling contextual “existence” of an entity (Silverstein 1976:29).
 - deictics (“that,” “this”)
 - tense (“then,” “now”)
 - 1st person pronoun (“I”)
 - honorifics – social relationship
 - regional dialect – social identity
 - “once upon a time...” – speech genre

わ(WA)

“female-exclusive” utterance ending form

- OCHS, E. 1991. "Indexing gender". Rethinking Context, ed. by A. Duranti and C. Goodwin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

direct index

(domain of affect)

softness

indirect index

(domain of gender)

femininity

What mediates them?

Indexical Order

n-th order

- Any *n*-th order indexical presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the “appropriateness” of its usage in that context. At the same time, there will tend to be a contextual entailment... regularly produced by the use of the *n*-th order indexical token as a direct consequence of the degree of ideological engagement users manifest in respect of the *n*-th order indexical meaningfulness (Silverstein 2003:193-194)

SILVERSTEIN, MICHAEL. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and communication*, 23.193-229.

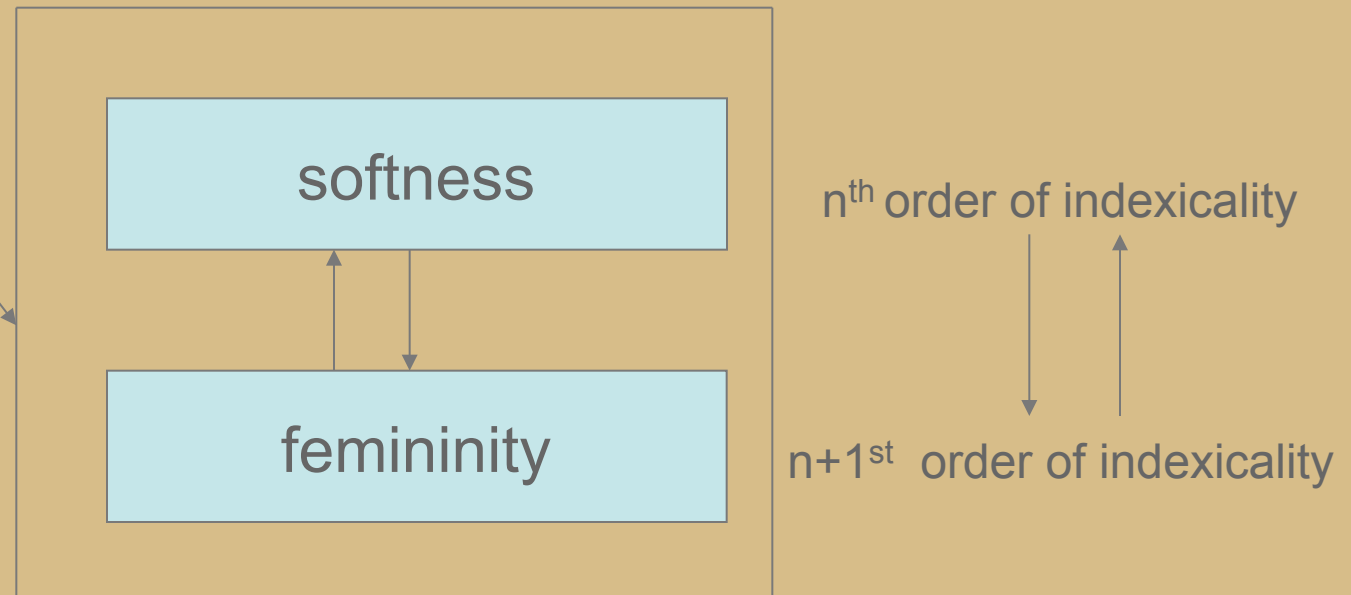
Indexical Order

$n+1^{\text{st}}$ order

- Once performatively effectuated in-and-by its use, the n -th order indexical form can itself also be conceptualized as well in terms of its $n+1^{\text{st}}$ order indexical relationship to context. That is, it is as though a coterminous indexical form presupposes as well a transcendent and competing overlay of contextualization possibly distinct from the n -th order one with which we began.... $N+1^{\text{st}}$ order indexicality is thus always already immanent as a competing structure of values potentially indexed in-and-by a communicative form of the n -th order, depending on the degree of intensity of ideologization (Silverstein 2003:194)

Dialectics of Indexical Order

language ideology

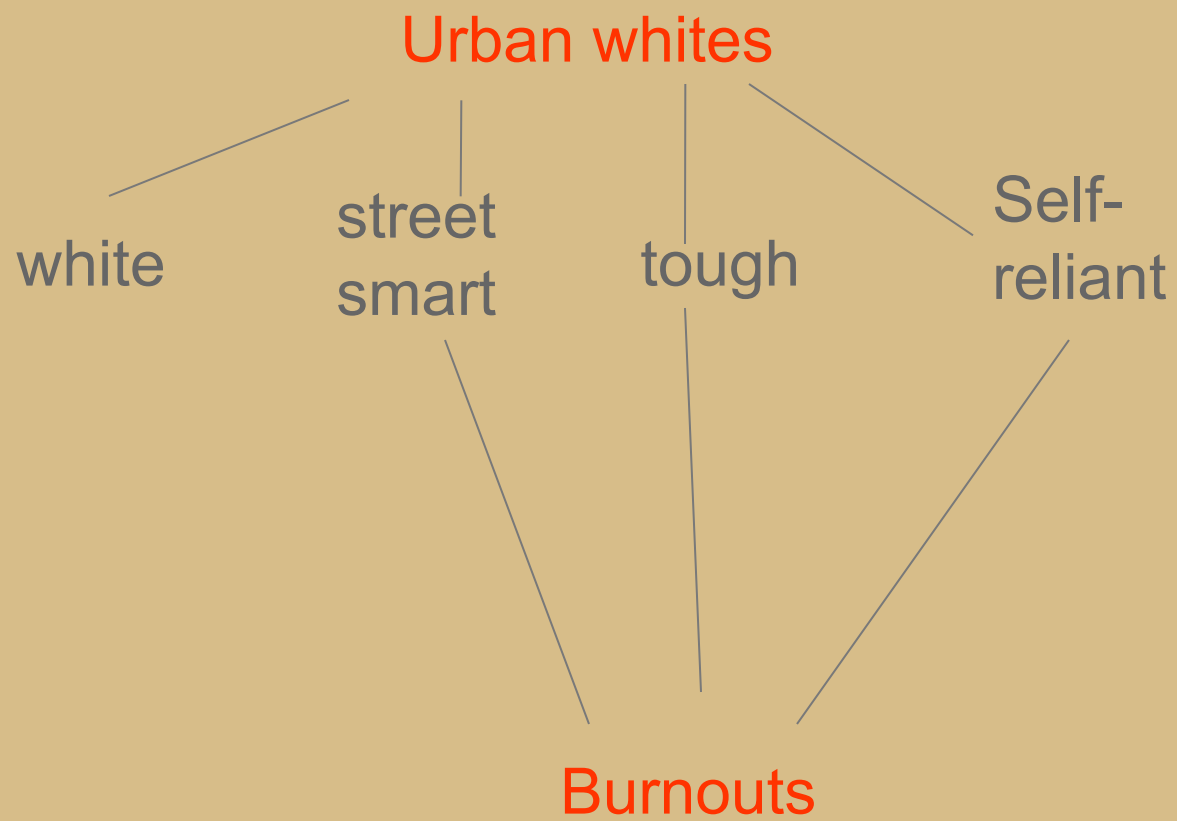


“Women use ‘wa’ *because* it sound gentle and soft.”

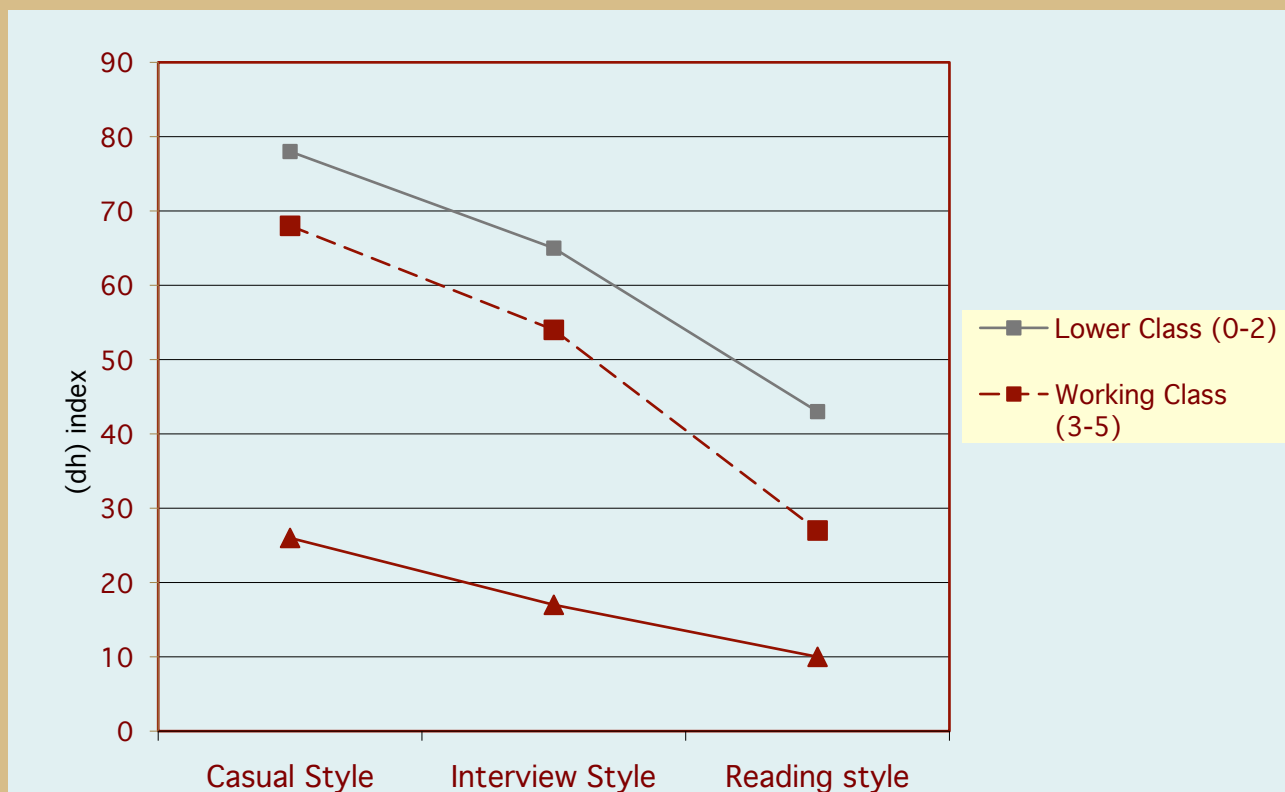
“‘Wa’ sounds gentle and soft *because* women use it”

Towards an indexical field for /ay/





Revisiting dh-stopping in New York City



/th,dh/, ethnicity, and beyond

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA:

MENDOZA-DENTON, NORMA. 2008. Home girls. Cambridge and New York: Blackwell.

WISCONSIN:

ROSE, MARY. 2006. Language, Place and Identity in Later Life, Linguistics, Stanford University: PhD.

LOUISIANA:

DUBOIS, SYLVIE and HORVATH, BARBARA. 1998. Let's tink about dat: Interdental Fricatives in Cajun English. Language variation and change, 10.245-61.

NEW JERSEY:

ECKERT, PENELOPE. today. Sheer native intuition.

Possible indexical order of /th,dh/

	New Jersey	Wisconsin	California
1	Italian	German	Chicano
2	urban working class	farmer	gang
3	tough	hard- working	tough

Indexical field of /th,dh/ in NJ



There's nothing linear about indexical orders

Variation must account for fluidity in a
serious way:

- The fluidity of time and change
- The fluidity of situation
- The fluidity of social space and
interpretation

Style

	NCS older, fronting			NCS newer, backing			
	æ > eə	a > æ	ɔ > a	ʌ > ɔ	ay > oy	ɛ > ʌ	negation
jock boys							
jock girls							
burnout girls							
burnout boys							

Bricolage: the
process of
building a
system out of a
pre-constrained
set of units



Levi-Strauss, Claude (1962) The Savage Mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

"In its old sense the verb bricoler applied to ball games and billiards, to hunting, shooting and riding. It was, however, always used in reference to some extraneous movement...and in our own time the 'bricoleur' is still someone who works with his hands and uses devious means compared to those of the craftsman.....(p.16)"

"The 'bricoleur' is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks; but, unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials and tools conceived and produced for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of the game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand', that is to say with a set of tools that is always finite and is also heterogeneous." (p.17)

"..the decision as to what to put in each place also depends on the possibility of putting a different element there instead, so that each choice that is made will involve a complete reorganization of the structure, which will never be the same as one vaguely imagined nor as some other which might have been preferred to it." (p. 19)



Preppies with attitude

Bricolage at Paly High



Bricolage included

- Segmentation
- Reinterpretation
- Recombination
- Change in the stylistic landscape

Meaning is never fixed

- BUCHOLTZ, MARY. 1996. Geek the girl: Language, femininity and female nerds. Gender and belief systems, ed. by N. Warner et al., 119-31. Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group.
- BENOR, SARAH. 2002. Sounding learned: The gendered use of /t/ in Orthodox Jewish English. Penn working papers in linguistics: Selected papers from NWAV 2000.
- Podesva, Robert J., Sarah J. Roberts, and Kathryn Campbell-Kibler. "Sharing resources and indexing meanings in the production of gay styles." The Language and Sexuality Reader. Ed. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick. London: Routledge, 2006.

The many uses of /t/ release



Sometimes I swear. Um other times I don't. Especially not when there are little kids around. Especially not then.



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



I said Brad and Robert. Robert.



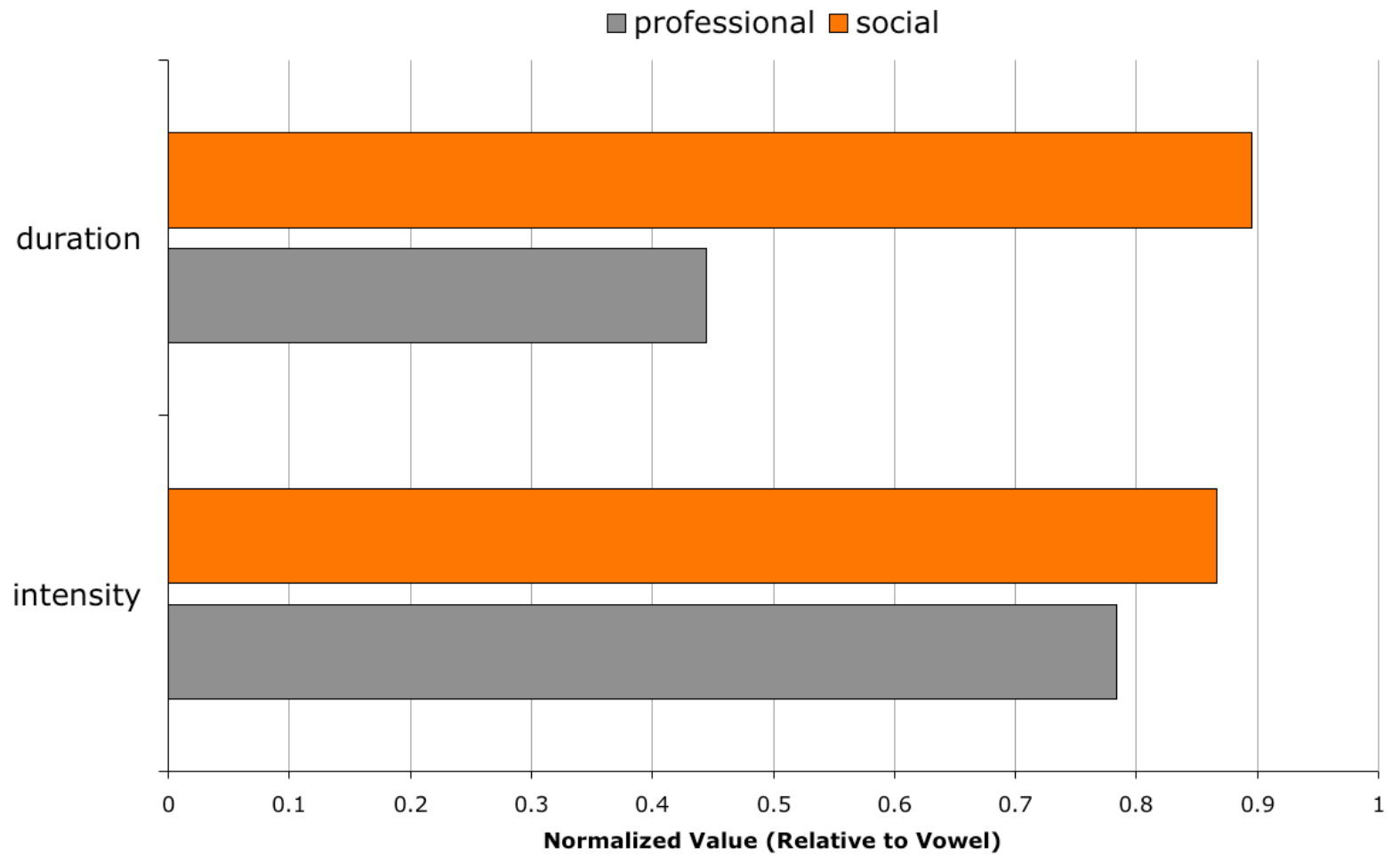
Stupid

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

	Released /t/
Medical	6%
Barbecue	3%
	P=.010

/t/ release by gay medical student in two situations.

Acoustic Character of Bursts Across Situations



empty: could not have appeared

releases →
falls →
falsetto →



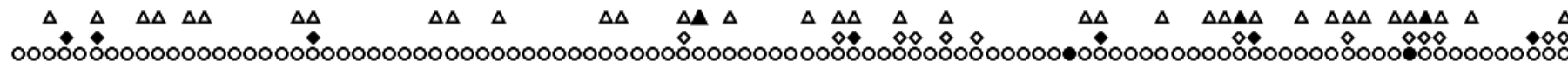
white: did not appear
(but could have)

small: relatively weak

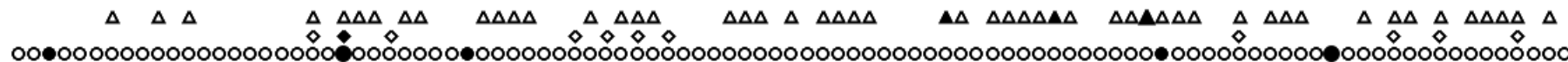
black: did appear

large: relatively strong

beginning



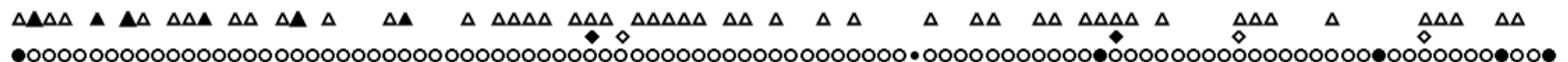
cont.



cont.



cont.



end

Key: Shape of points indicates variable; size of shape represents strength of acoustic realization, according to number of standard deviations in relation to mean (averaged across all acoustic measures).

Releases

- ▲ >2 above
- ▲ 1-2 above
- ▲ 0-1 above
- ▲ 0-1 below
- △ different variant

Rises

- ◆ rise
- ◇ different variant

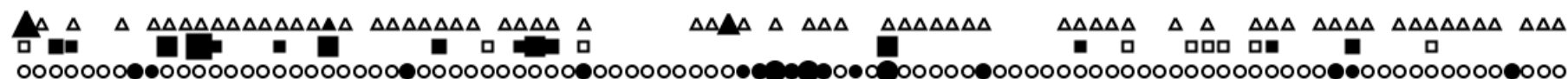
Falsetto

- 1-2 above
- 0-1 above
- 0-1 below
- 1-2 below
- different variant

Caring Doctor

Courtesy of Robert Podesva

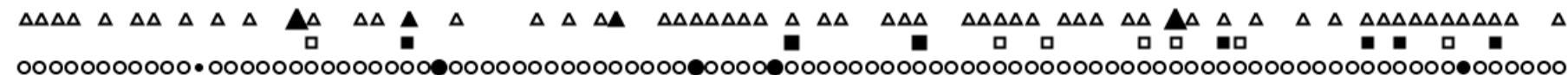
beginning



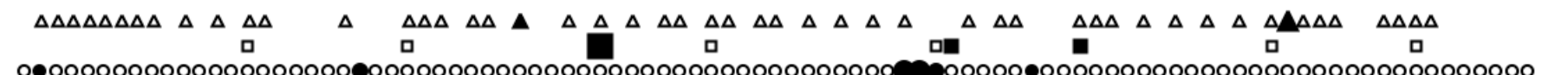
cont.



cont.



cont.



end

Key: Shape of points indicates variable; size of shape represents strength of acoustic realization, according to number of standard deviations in relation to mean (averaged across all acoustic measures).

Releases

- ▲ >2 above
- ▲ 1-2 above
- ▲ 0-1 above
- ▲ 0-1 below
- △ different variant

Falls

- >2 above
- 1-2 above
- 0-1 above
- 0-1 below
- 1-2 below
- different variant

Falsetto

- 1-2 above
- 0-1 above
- 0-1 below
- 1-2 below
- different variant

Gay Diva

Courtesy of Robert Podesva

The Honey Badger



What styles is Randall drawing on, and what resources go with those styles?