DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF

SOCIOLINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES:

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract:

This study offers a new approach to language attitudes and ideologies which applies argumentation theory in a discourse-based analysis of the processes of sociolinguistic indexicality. This method is presented in the context of the previously-used discourse-based approaches to language attitudes which are reviewed here in terms of their contributions to the understanding of the creation of socio-indexical meanings in discourse. The review proposes a five-level typology which includes topic-oriented, linguistic, cognitive, interactional, and rhetorical levels of analysis.

This study explores the potential of the New Rhetoric theory developed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) to serve as an overarching framework which can help cohere multidisciplinary perspectives on language use and social relations in the analysis of folk-linguistic discourse. This approach allows for an analysis of the rhetorical connectedness of discursive acts that contribute to semiotic construals of folk-linguistic beliefs at different levels of discourse organization.

This dissertation proposes that a sociolinguistic study may use as a starting point of analysis a specific locally-salient folk-concept and shows that this type of analytic focus may be productive in exploring the metapragmatic functioning of folk-concepts in the context-specific activations of the fluid fields of sociolinguistic indexical relations. As a result of applying the proposed rhetorically-oriented method, this study provides new perspectives on how language users argumentatively construct conceptual associations between language-related and social representations in everyday discourse. It discusses the ways in which propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality engage experiential, affective, performative, perceptual, and identity-related processes: participants demonstrate these interrelated engagements in everyday metalinguistic discourse when they rationalize, justify, valorize, and illustrate their individual experiences with linguistic variability. The metapragmatic aspects of such constructions include discursive processes of objectivation, essentialization, and reification of sociolinguistic distinctiveness, as well as constructions of the clustering of linguistic and social typifications that create indexical profiles of speaking styles and index symbolic boundaries between social groups. These processes reveal how speakers appropriate the meaning potential of linguistic variables and conceptualize it in discursive constructions of linguistic distinctiveness.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Opening Remarks

This study offers a new discourse-based approach to language attitudes and ideologies which explores the potential of the New Rhetoric theory developed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) to serve as an overarching framework that can help cohere multidisciplinary perspectives on language use and social relations in the analysis of folk-linguistic discourse (Rodgers, 2016, in press). The proposed rhetorical approach to language attitudes and ideologies is situated in the context of the previously-used discourse-based methods which are reviewed here in terms of a five-level typology that includes topic-oriented, linguistic, cognitive, interactional, and rhetorical levels of analysis (Rodgers, in press).

This dissertation proposes that the expression of language attitudes, ideologies, and language-related beliefs can be examined in terms of what I call õpropositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicalityö ó discursive, metalinguistic processes of meaning creation that language users engage in when they reflect and comment on linguistic differences. This dissertation also develops the idea that a sociolinguistic study may use as a starting point of analysis a specific locally-salient folk-concept. I illustrate this type of analytic focus and show that it may be productive in exploring the metapragmatic functioning of folk-concepts in the context-specific activations of the fluid fields of sociolinguistic indexical relations.

1.2 Organization

This dissertation begins with a brief introduction (chapter 1), followed by a thorough review of the previously-used discourse-based approaches to language attitudes and ideologies organized as a five-level typology (chapter 2). Next comes a presentation of selected aspects of the New Rhetoric theory with examples of data analysis illustrating the application of each aspect to the analysis of folk-linguistic discourse (chapter 3). Chapter 4 presents an application of the proposed rhetorical approach to the analysis which is focused on a specific folk-linguistic concept õtwang.ö The final chapter gives a summary of the theoretical and methodological proposals, as well as a summary of findings from the analysis, a brief discussion, and conclusions (chapter 5).

I begin this chapter with a presentation of the recent theoretical views of sociolinguistic variation in terms of the social-semiotic theory and a theory of indexicality. Against the context of these developments, I continue with my proposal that a sociolinguistic investigation may use a salient folk-linguistic concept as the starting point of analysis. In the final section, I use a theory of metapragmatics to present my analysis of how folk-linguistic discourse may be viewed in terms of metasemiotic activity.

1.3 Sociolinguistic Variation as a Social-Semiotic System

Recent sociolinguistic and linguistic-anthropological work has developed the idea that the nature of the social meaning of linguistic variation may be understood in terms of indexical relations between linguistic and social forms. The concept of õindexicalityö was mainly introduced into the fields of semiotics, philosophy of language, linguistics, and anthropology through Charles S. Peirceøs semiotic theory of sign processes and his influential tripartite distinction between the modes of relationship between a semiotic sign and what a sign signifies. These modes include (1) a symbolic mode, in which signs are used as arbitrary, agreed upon, or conventional signs, (2) an iconic mode in which a sign resembles or imitates what is signified, and (3) an indexical mode, in which a sign

indicates its relation to what is signified: this relation can be observed or inferred, and it is based on "association by contiguity" (Chandler, 2007, pp. 36-37).

Understanding the relations between linguistic signs and social forms in terms of the social-semiotic notion of indexicality has led to the developments in what is known as the "third-wave" of sociolinguistic variation studies. Such studies (e.g., Babel, 2014; Johnstone et al., 2006; Johnstone, 2010; Moore & Podesva, 2009) underscore the importance of exploring the processes of indexicality as they relate to language variation. While earlier studies of the "first wave" explored the relations between linguistic variables and macrosocial categories, the "second-wave" work used ethnographic methods to study local social categories and their configurations in relation to linguistic variability (Eckert, 2012, p. 87). The "third wave" of work on sociolinguistic variation introduced the "stylistic perspective": instead of viewing individuals as belonging to static sociological categories, these studies focused on how speakers use the social meaningfulness of linguistic variability to create their social identities through styles of speech (2012, p. 94). In "third-wave" studies, according to Eckert (2012), the social meaning of linguistic variation is viewed in terms of its social-semiotic indexical meaning potential which is realized in what Eckert (2008) calls "indexical fields":

> the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings — an *indexical field*, or 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. Thus variation constitutes an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology (p. 453, emphasis in the original).

Silverstein's (1993; 2003) and Eckert's (2008; 2012) theoretical proposals to view sociolinguistic variation in terms of the theory of indexicality have been influential in promoting the research on production and perception of linguistic variables that focuses on how linguistic features

and other signs are used to index particular social identities and practices. However, such studies often supply researchersø interpretations of the relations between a sign and an object of signification, while language usersø own interpretations of these relations may remain obscured, especially if ethnographic approaches are not used.

1.4 Folk-linguistic Concept as a Starting Point of Analysis in Sociolinguistic Inquiry

Traditionally, in the sociolinguistic approaches based on the Labovian (Labov, 1972) variationist paradigm, the starting point and the focus of the analysis have been on a particular isolated sociolinguistic variable. It appears, however, that there has been an insufficient focus in sociolinguistic work on investigations of language usersø interpretations of the indexical relations between linguistic and social forms and of the ways such relations become developed in specific contexts of meaning-making. It also appears that the study of sociolinguistic indexical meanings has often been approached without due consideration of lay peopleøs conceptualizations of what constitutes a linguistic sign and its social object and which features determine the relation of signification between them.

The problem is that dialectologistsø terminology and understandings of linguistic features in variation, categorization of such features, and their placing in the linguistic, geographic, and social systems may differ considerably from the understandings of the same phenomena by lay people (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003). While linguists approach these questions from the point of view of research-based factual knowledge and carefully-developed scientific theories, lay people use their own terminology, õfacts,ö and theories characterized by meanings derived from systems of socially shared typifications or from individual interpretations of and experiences with linguistic and social distinctiveness. The terms such as õSouth Midlandö or õglide deletion,ö for example, do not mean much to non-dialectologists in the US, while the terms such as õspeaking country,ö õtwang,ö and õdrawlö are meaningful to many language users in signaling linguistic distinctions in American

English as well as divisions along social and geographical boundaries. Linguists' and non-linguists'

vocabularies and theories about language use in society result from different reflexive processes, but

"dialects" and "varieties" are mainly defined in sociolinguistics based on the "artefacts of the ways

sociolinguists talk about talk" (Johnstone, 2006b, p. 463). In the traditional variationist approach,

"sociolects and dialects are conceived as attributes of social aggregates that can in principle be

distinguished by the analyst without attention to the reflexive activities of their members" (Agha,

2007, p. 135). One of the difficulties with this approach is that it doesn't take into account language

users' perspective in the social interpretation of empirical results derived from correlational analyses

(p. 135). A related problem is the fact that when linguistic features are extracted from their contexts

of use, it "obscures the processes of reanalysis through which social indexical values are assigned to

these pieces" (p. 136). In those cases when linguists and lay people use the same term referring to a

linguistic distinction, the social meanings that are relevant to lay people may differ considerably from

the specialists' understandings, as is the case with rich folk conceptualizations of the notion

"nasality," for example (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003, pp. 5-6). In spite of the widely-acknowledged

importance of language ideologies, especially as it emerges in the recent applications of social

semiotics and indexicality theory in sociolinguistics, folk-linguistic terms have often been disregarded

as "vague" and "ambiguous" by sociolinguists, and the meanings of such concepts have often been

interpreted in terms of specialists' definitions, or dictionary definitions, or in terms of researchers'

intuitions. A specific example will be given later in this dissertation using the case of the folk-term

"twang" to illustrate this point further, in more detail.

Another issue to consider is that linguistic variants of the same variable may function as

independent social indices of multiple social meanings. As Campbell-Kibler (2010) has shown for

ING variants in English, "each variant occupies its own position in the same or related indexical

fields" (p. 437). This independent semiotic functioning of the variants of the same variable suggests

that using an isolated linguistic variable as the point of departure in the sociolinguistic analysis may

limit our understanding of how linguistic features fit into the social landscape of their use and how they cluster with other features to form ideologically meaningful social distinctions in various hierarchically organized semiotic configurations.

The starting point of analysis in sociolinguistic inquiry may be a folk-linguistic or social concept and its meaningfulness to language users as part of language ideologies in a particular speech community. In Silverstein's (2003) and Agha's (2007) terms, folk-linguistic concepts constitute õethnometapragmatic terminologyö ó distinctive vocabularies that are used to create typifications of social phenomena. They are used to accomplish various types of metasemiotic work:

> í to typify the form and meaning of behaviors, and to classify persons, identities, group membership, and other facts of social being in relation to behavior í such terminologies share characteristics of very general consequence. The very fact that they are terms or vocabularies í entails that they are very easily decontextualized from use in one event and recontextualized in other events to form typifications of phenomena occurring elsewhere. They are devices which, by their linguistic design, are pre-eminently capable of circulation through social space and of creating unities among disparate events. They are also devices whose meaning may be codified, linked to criteria of authenticity and essence. Once codified, attributes held essential to the class can be used to evaluate the range of attributes actually displayed by persons in behavior, thus providing normative criteria that convert facts of social difference into measures of rank or hierarchy (Agha, 2007, pp. 74-75).

Considering the rich indexical potential of folk-linguistic (õethnometapragamticö) concepts functioning in interaction as typifying metasemiotic signs, they can be usefully taken up as objects of discourse-based investigations of text-level indexicality aimed at analyzing how these metasemiotic signs point to a range of other semiotic micro- and macro-level phenomena and their relationships relevant to discourse-based ideological constructions of sociolinguistic distinctiveness.

More specifically, using folk-linguistic concepts as a point of departure in sociolinguistic analysis may reveal the clustering of variables that is meaningful to language users in terms of social significance of interrelated sets of variables indexing social and linguistic distinctions and typifications. It can also reveal how these meanings relate to both the macro-social level of broader language ideologies functioning as socially shared stereotypes and to the micro-social level of situated interaction. This type of analytic focus offers a different way of conceptualizing the study of the social meaning of language variation: this type of inquiry puts the meanings relevant to language users' understandings at the center of analytical attention. Such an analytical framework can cohere the results from the mainstream sociolinguistic studies since the data on perception and production of isolated variables should be theorized not only in terms of sociolinguists' theories and dialectologists' maps: it is important to see how these data and theories correspond to the language-ideological systems of folk-linguistic distinctions that place linguistic variables in a certain social, cultural, geographical, or temporal context of language use. A better understanding of folk-linguistic theories can shed light on the cognitive processes of linguistic perception: it has recently been shown that ideological models may create expectations that have the potential to structure low-level, automatic perceptions of the use of specific linguistic variants (D'Onofrio, 2015). Some examples of the recent sociolinguistic work centered on language users' meanings of specific folk linguistic concepts include Johnstone's studies of Pittsburghese (Johnstone et al., 2006), Oxley's (2015) study of "Southernness," and Hall-Lew and Stephens' (2012) study of "country talk." To draw a parallel with ethnographic approaches, Eckert's (2000) groundbreaking study of "Jocks" and "Burnouts" had as its starting point of analysis a social distinction which was locally significant to the participants rather than an isolated linguistic variable pre-selected by the researcher.

Theoretical and methodological foundations that can be used in studying language users' conceptions of linguistic variability and its social meanings have been developed in the fields of folk linguistics (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003) and perceptual dialectology (Long & Preston, 2002). Folk-

linguistic conceptualizations can also be analyzed in terms of the social-semiotic theory of metapragmatics and indexicality (Silverstein, 2003). This theoretical connection is taken up and developed in the next section.

1.5 Folk-linguistic Discourse as a Metasemiotic Activity

In Pierce's theory of signs, the relation between a sign and its object of signification is a matter of interpretation: the õeffectö it has on a person is what Pierce calls õan interpretantö (Pierce, 1998, p. 478, as cited in Atkin, 2013). For Pierce, only selected features of the sign enable it to signify the object, and selected characteristics of the object enable it to be signified by the sign; what is important is the connection that exists between the sign and the object ó the understanding of this signifying relation, its õtranslationö and õdevelopmentö form õthe interpretantö (Atkin, 2013). The functioning of the õinterpretantsö of a signøs relation to its object of signification determines the property of the mutability of semiotic relations. This functioning is context-bound since the mode in which a sign is used depends on the userøs purposes and the context of use: õA sign may consequently be treated as symbolic by one person, as iconic by another and as indexical by a thirdö (Chandler, 2007, p. 45). In Pierceøs theory, the mode of relationship between a sign and its object of signification may also change over time (p. 45).

The potential for reinterpretation of sign relations in certain contexts of use and over time is what constitutes a signøs meaning potential. Language users explore this meaning potential as they employ linguistic signs to evoke, modify, or create social meanings. This meaning-making process is crucial to an understanding of how language variation works as an indexical system that embeds ideology. Language users may be to some extent aware of this process; they may comment on it or refer to sociolinguistic indexical relations implicitly. In such explicit and implicit references, not only do they evoke the existing indexical relations in certain regions of an indexical field, they may also

modify such relations, create new relations, or select new features of the sign or its object that enable new signifying relations to emerge.

Folk-linguistic discourse may be seen as a metacognitive, metapragmatic activity which represents participantsø interpretations of the signification of linguistic and socially-meaningful signs that function as interrelated indices of the object of signification (Silverstein, 1993). Silverstein introduced the notions of õmetapragmatic phenomenaö (1976, pp. 48-51), including õmetapragmatic functionsö and õmetapragmatic discourseö (1993), and developed these notions within the framework of indexicality theory:

> Signs functioning metapragmatically have pragmatic phenomena ó indexical sign phenomena
> ó as their semiotic objects. They thus have an inherently õframing,ö or õregimenting,ö or
> õstipulativeö character with respect to indexical phenomena (p. 33).

When language users comment on linguistic distinctions and express their beliefs about language, they may be said to engage in what I call propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality. The semiotic relations characterizing these processes are constructed at a different level of metapragmatic functioning compared to the situations of the actual use of linguistic signs to perform or index social identities. Everyday talk about language involves the use of metasigns to refer to other metasigns functioning pragmatically. This is different from the actual use of linguistic signs to index social identities or other social phenomena. When speakers use creaky voice to signal a persona of a õhardcore Chicano gangsterö (Mendoza-Denton, 2011), for example, they use linguistic signs to index a pragmatic relation to a set of social objects. When American speakers use Spanish phrases in English that signal implicit devaluations of the Spanish language (Hill, 2001), they create pragmatic metasign-sign relations as they characterize semantic sign-object relations (Urban, 2006, p. 90). But if people discuss the meanings of the folk-linguistic label õSpanglishö in everyday talk, they engage in a different kind of metapragmatic activity. This activity involves propositional processes of

indexicality wherein pragmatic metasign-sign relations characterize other pragmatic, i.e., indexical, symbolic, or iconic, metasign-sign relations. In this type of metapragmatic discourse, participants explicitly (or implicitly) refer to the indexical meanings of pragmatic meta-signs, thereby constructing new õinterpretants,ö in Pierce's terms, and new indexical signs and their relations to other signs at a higher level of metapragmatic awareness.

These differences in the levels of metapragmatic functioning of semiotic relations may be seen in terms of hierarchical layering of meanings that constitutes õindexical orders,ö according to Silverstein (2003). This concept of indexical hierarchies elucidates how social meanings may accrue to linguistic variables during contextualized social-semiotic activity. Contextualization of the occurrence of indexical signs is realized, according to Silverstein (1993; 2003), in the pragmatic relationships of presupposition and entailment. While presuppositional meanings of an indexical sign are an expression of speakersø sensitivity to what is appropriate to the context of communication based on its conceptualization at the macro-social level, entailments contribute to the creation of micro-contextual effects (1993, p. 36; 2003, p. 193). These õco-present dimensions of indexicalityö (1993, p. 36) reveal the perspective in which social meanings of language variation are seen as both conventional and emergent (Jaffe, 2016, p. 86).

õIndexical orderö is an expression of the inherent dialectic nature of indexical processes in which any õn-th order indexical form can í be conceptualized í in terms of its n + 1st order indexical relationship to contextö (p. 194). This relationship is, according to Sliverstein (2003, p. 194),

> a function of the way ideologically- (or culturally-) laden metapragmatics engages with n-th order indexicality in the characteristic mode of giving it motivation (for example, iconic motivation). N + 1st 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.

Everyday talk about language involves metasemiotic activity in which ideological values indexed by the *n* + 1st-order indexicality become the object of the signification process bringing about the *n* + 2d-order (and, potentially, higher-order) indexicality. Motivations and rationalizations of such ideological values that people construct in discourse as õa cultural construal of the *n*-th order usageö (Silverstein, 2003, p. 194) may be analyzed as part of the pragmatic relations of presupposition and entailment in discourse. In other words, folk-linguistic concepts functioning as indexical meta-signs may be seen as, using Silversteinøs terms (1993), õthe point-from-which, or semiotic origin of, a presuppositional/entailing projection of whatever is to be understood as contextö (p. 36).

At the macro-social level, such meaning projections index/create õpartitions and gradations of social spaceö (Silverstein, 2003, p. 202) constructing thereby the meanings of social (categorial) differentiation as it relates to linguistic distinctions. In this process, the meanings that have been conventionalized through ideological processes into metapragmatic labels for õpersona stylesö (Eckert, 2008) and õregistersö of language (Silverstein, 2003; Agha, 2007) may acquire new indexical associations in folk-linguistic discourse as the result of propositional processes of contextualized reinterpretation. Not only do such processes propose new õinterpetants;ö they may also construct instructions stipulating or õregimentingö the conditions in which further interpretations can be or õshould beö made, as in folk discussions of õstandardö varieties of language, for example. The contextual situatedness of propositional indexicality and the variable indexical meaning potential it can explore in reinterpretations of sociolinguistic meanings at various levels of indexical orders highlight the importance of finding those discourse-analytic techniques for the analysis of folk-linguistic discourse that closely attend to the contextual surround of the discursive event in which indexical associations are formed.

In everyday talk about language, the õframing,ö õregimenting,ö or õstipulativeö functioning of folk-concepts and their õinterpretantsö as metasigns is embedded into the coherence structure of a dynamic discursive event õthat maps presupposed cause onto entailed effectö (Silverstein, 1993, p. 36). As Jaffe (2016) has noted in her discussion of the concept õindexical field,ö various indexical projections of the same concept can be better seen as cohering in a particular context of indexicalization rather than as coherent constructions within a specific field of meaning: õthe ideological coherence or relatedness of the field is not a formal property of the field itself but, rather, a property of socially situated uses and interpretations of that fieldö (p. 92). Thus, contextualized presuppositional/entailing projections of folk-linguistic concepts which constitute sociolinguistic indexical relations constructed in discursive interaction have to be analyzed in the context of structures of discourse coherence. Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides an overview of how previously-proposed discourse-analytic techniques elucidate the propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality at different levels of discourse coherence.

Attending to coherence relations in discourse allows for an analysis of folk-linguistic concepts and their presupposing/entailing projections in the context of their co-occurrence with other concepts acting as social indexicals in different semiotic configurations that cumulatively construct locally-coherent representations of sociolinguistic indexical relations. These representations delineate õa semiotic sketchö (Agha, 2007, p. 86) of the interrelations between conceptualized phenomena; the analysis of such representations needs to go beyond an approach that õattends only to the local semanticity of isolable expressionsö and move to õa more encompassing, **text-centric** analysis, i.e., a view that treats individual pieces of semiotic text as contributing sketches or images of referents which are filled in or further specified by accompanying signsö (p. 86, emphasis in the original). If the meanings of such folk-terms as õaccent,ö õtwang,ö õhick,ö or õslang,ö for example, are taken in isolation from their contexts of occurrence in discourses about language varieties that circulate in certain speech communities, these terms may be considered as rather vague and imprecise. In fact, the

dictionary definitions which supply the denotational meanings of such terms can often be insufficient for an understanding of these wordsø meanings in varied contexts of their use in everyday metalinguistic discourse. A better understanding of the meanings of folk-linguistic concepts, and, consequently, of the nature of language-ideological constructs, may be achieved if the analysis attends to presuppositional and entailing projections of folk-terms, as well as to other co-occurring indexicals and their relationships constructed in discourse. One of the purposes of this dissertation is to propose and illustrate such an analytical approach which views folk-linguistic concepts as part of their semiotic co-text created in a particular communicative context. In this approach, the co-occurrence of indexical meta-signs is analyzed in terms of rhetorical relations revealed in the structures of argumentation that associate or dissociate sets of concepts. This approach allows for an analysis of the rhetorical connectedness of discursive acts that contribute to semiotic construals of folk-linguistic beliefs at different levels of discourse organization.

Discursive construals of socially typifying linguistic distinctions reflect and contribute to the process of gradual stabilization of meanings at the macro-social level of ideological differentiation. Agha (2007) developed the notion of õenregistermentö to describe such sociohistorical and linguistic õprocesses through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of formsö (p. 190). õRegistersö are õcultural models of action that link diverse behavioral signs to enactable effects, including images of persona, interpersonal relationship, and type of conductö (p. 145). However, these linkages are not permanent: registers are not static collections of linguistic repertoires with fixed meanings. According to Silverstein (2003),

> The existence of registers í is an aspect of the dialectical process of indexical order, in which the $n + 1$st-order indexicality depends on the existence of a cultural schema of enregisterment of forms perceived to be involved in n-th-order indexical meaningfulness í (p. 212).

In their dependence on schemes of underlying cultural values, socially recognizable registers of linguistic forms develop over time as systems of social values develop during õthe processes of valorization, circulation, and reanalysisö (Agha, 2007, p. 190) of the social meanings of linguistic forms.

The notion of õenregistermentö has been applied and developed in Johnstoneøs extensive research on the language-ideological construction of the Pittsburghese dialect in American English (Johnstone, 2013). Johnstone analyzes how the social meanings of õPittsburgheseö become linked with certain linguistic features and social practices. Through discursive practices, these linkages become õenregisteredö as socially and culturally recognized meaningful ways of speaking. Johnstone used a number of approaches, including historical research, ethnography, and discourse analysis and has shown how õPittsburgheseö has become enregistered through various discursive practices revealed in sociolinguistic interviews (Johnstone et al., 2006), personal narratives (Johnstone, 2006a), online discussions (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004), the language of the public media (Johnstone, 2011), and in the production of material artefacts (Johnstone, 2009).

Importantly, Johnstone (2016, pp. 633-634) has pointed out that õenregisterö is õa multi-place predicateö which designates relations between a linguistic form, a register, an agent of the meta-semiotic process, a related ideological schema, an interactional exigency in which enregisterment has a rhetorical function, and a sociohistorical exigency which conditions metapragmatic functioning of linguistic variants. This view of enregisterment underscores the complexity and the dynamism of this sociohistorical and cultural process as well as the importance of attending to both macro- and micro-social frames of meaning construction, including its interactional and rhetorical contexts. In this view, the functioning of folk-linguistic labels as widely-recognized metasigns of a metapragmatic relationship does not simply reveal the enregisterment of the linguistic repertoire associated with the label. The analysis of enregisterment processes needs to attend to the ways in which specific salient

features of the register are associated with certain ideological schemata in particular rhetorical and interactional contexts of communication.

The abovementioned goal may be achieved in discourse-based investigations of the propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality. Studying such processes is important since it can help us understand how language users construct sociolinguistic indexical relations and their interpretations as part of the development of ideological models of sociolinguistic variation. This knowledge can shed light on how folk-linguistic discourses contribute to language-ideological processes as they create, maintain, modify, and propagate social meanings of linguistic distinctions.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Organizational Overview

This literature review discusses the types of discourse-based approaches to language attitudes and proposes a five-level typology which includes topic-oriented, linguistic, cognitive, interactional, and rhetorical analyses (Rodgers, in press). The main purpose of this discussion is to methodologically locate different discourse-based approaches to language attitudes within a common framework and situate a rhetorically-oriented analysis in the context of previous approaches to metalinguistic discourse. This methodological analysis focuses on the contributions of different approaches to understanding the creation of socio-indexical meaning in metalinguistic commentary on the subject of language variation. Overall, the studies in this review are discussed in terms of the following analytical strategies:

- micro-level interpretations of locally-situated communicative events and their linkage to macro-level analyses of ideological and socio-historical processes,

- analytical attention to different planes of discourse,

- analytical attention to explicit vs. implicit modes of meaning-making in discourse,

- analytical attention to different types of semiotic resources used by participants in constructing sociolinguistic indexical relations.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 2.2 provides a brief comparison of the studies of language attitudes and language ideologies in quantitative and qualitative paradigms; section 2.3 provides a comparison of the terms õlanguage attitudes,ö õlanguage ideologies,ö and õlanguage regardö; section 2.4 explains a rationale behind a proposed typology of discourse-based approaches to language attitudes; sections 2.5 through 2.9 provide a review and discussion of five levels of discourse-based analyses of language attitudes and ideologies, and section 2.10 presents concluding remarks.

2.2 The study of Language Attitudes and Ideologies in Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigms

Discourse-based approaches to language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies have recently gained wider recognition as methods of research which can usefully complement the experimental paradigms traditionally used in sociolinguistics and social psychology of language (Giles & Coupland, 1991; Garrett, 2010; Johnstone, 2010; Preston, 2010). This methodological development is related to a number of theoretical considerations, including the following concerns about the limitations of experimental techniques in studying language attitudes:

- the narrow conception of social meaning underlying experimental language attitude research which does not reflect the complexity of social interpretation (Coupland, 2007; Potter & Wetherell, 1987);

- the conception of attitudes as static and decontextualized constructs (Liebscher & Dailey-OøCain, 2009; Soukup, 2012);

- the essentialist nature of links between social categories, speakers, and language use

  underlying some of the quantitative approaches (Coupland, 2007; Garrett et al., 2003).

Experimental studies are based on the õprinciple of quantitative modelingö (Bayley, 2002, p.118) which presupposes a close examination of a selected linguistic variable in its co-occurrence with particular contextual features. Linguistic stimuli in quantitative studies of implicit attitudes are usually presented to participants in some isolated form: as separate sounds, groups of sounds, isolated words, or audio speech samples presented to respondents in a lab setting. As a result,

> õthe descriptive methods of variationist sociolinguistics have themselves contributed to
>
> the illusion that socially significant dialect variation can be captured wholly in terms of
>
> frequency arrays of discrete sets of phonological, lexical or morpho-syntactic formsö
>
> (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003, pp. 61-62).

While an isolated form of stimuli presentation may highlight the impact of a particular linguistic, social or other contextual feature/cluster of features on participantsø responses to linguistic stimuli, this method offers a limited ability to provide a more holistic account of the complex socio-cognitive and interactional processes which may influence responses to language as they occur in the natural context of communication.

Experimental studies of implicit language attitudes, especially those involving semantic-differential scales and Likertô type items, often describe social meanings of variation in participantsø responses to isolated, decontextualized, and/or artificially modified linguistic stimuli in terms of the social categories preselected for the experiment by the researcher. In such an approach, it is difficult to account for the complexity of conceptualization systems of language users relevant to particular contexts of occurrence of the focal linguistic and/or social variables.

In contrast, from a discursive perspective, language attitudes have been viewed as processes rather than entities (e.g. Cargile et al., 1994): õsocial meanings are assumed to be inferred by means of *constructive, interpretive* processesö (p. 218, emphasis in the original). Contributions of discourse-based research in language attitudes stem from its potential to address a number of important characteristics of language variation such as those, for example, which were pointed out by Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003): (1) the holistic nature of peopleøs sensitivity to a full range of social meanings of dialectal differences, (2) õthe cultural constitution of dialect,ö (3) the fact that dialects are õideological as well as linguistic entities,ö and (4) the õsemantic and pragmatic phenomena on the fringe of dialect í to do with rhetorical style, stance and implicatureö (p. 62).

2.3 The Question of Definition: "Language Attitudes," "Language Ideologies," and "Language Regard"

Approaches to the study of language attitudes have been based on various theoretical understandings of the term õattitude.ö In discourse-oriented, social-constructionist approaches, such as, for example, discursive psychology, the theory of social representations, and the rhetorical approach, attitudes have been viewed as variable constructions in the evaluative practices serving different purposes in on-going discourse (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), as structural components of abstract social representations (Fraser, 1994), and as õstances on matters of public debateö (Billig, 1987). According to Garrettøs (2010) review of both quantitative and qualitative language attitude studies, the õcoreö in the traditional definition of an attitude is õan evaluative orientation to a social object of some sortö (p. 20), a favorable or unfavorable response to a stimulus. However, peopleøs reactions to language are not always strictly evaluative and include more than just an expression of attitudes: they are based on and reflect peopleøs complex systems of beliefs and ideologies about language (Kristiansen, 2010; Preston, 2010, 2011). As Niedzielski and Preston (2000) have noted, õA language attitude is, after all, not really an attitude

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to a language feature; it is an awakening of a set of beliefs about individuals or sorts of individuals through the filter of a linguistic performanceö (p. 9). The role of beliefs in attitude formation should not be underestimated since beliefs are part of the cognitive core of attitudes ó they are õelements which describe the object of the attitude, its characteristics, and its relations to other objectsö (Katz, 1960, p. 168).

As a result of recent theoretical developments, the construct õlanguage attitudesö has been reconceptualized in several ways, and the scope of language attitude research has expanded to include much more than the traditional focus on enduring evaluative reactions. This dissertation draws on the folk-linguistic tradition of research which views language attitudes as part of larger concepts of õfolk theories of languageö (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003) and õlanguage regardö (Preston, 2010, 2011). The theory of õlanguage regardö brings together such areas of inquiry as language attitudes, folk beliefs about language, and language ideologies. According to this theory, both conscious and subconscious types of attitudinal responses to language-related phenomena are outcomes of a complex system of cognitive processes which are closely related to aspects of language production and comprehension. These processes involve noticing and classifying linguistic signals, as well as imbuing such signals with social meanings retrieved from an associated õcognitoriumö or õreservoirö of the stored mental representations (Preston, 2011). There are close interconnections between these cognitive representations and responses to linguistic variants. Depending on the combination of contextual features such as prior experience and eliciting conditions (Bassili & Brown, 2005), some of the stored mental associations become selected from the cognitorium and become activated in response to linguistic stimuli. According to the theory of language regard, this activation may underlie an affective and automatic attitudinal reaction or, at a more conscious level, participate in the formation of beliefs about language. The theory of language regard reveals that language attitudes and ideologies are inseparable parts of the complex system used to process the social meanings of language. In the

discursive approach used in this study, I generally rely on this theoretical conceptualization, but I use the terms õlanguage regardö and õlanguage ideologiesö as interchangeable notions, assuming at the same time that the attitudinal, evaluative component is part of the systems of beliefs about language as well as one of the possible dimensions of the ideological construals constructed in discourse.

In addition to the language regard framework which models socio-cognitive processes underlying reactions to language, this dissertation draws on recent developments in the linguistic-anthropological and sociolinguistic theories that emphasize sociocultural and sociosemiotic orientations in identity and language variation studies (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; van Compernolle, 2011; Eckert, 2012; Woolard, 2008 for discussion). This study relies on these recent theoretical advances in viewing folk-linguistic concepts as rich sources of information about the meta-semiotic processes of sociolinguistic differentiation. Folk-linguistic concepts are seen here as gateways to understanding the complexity of socioindexical meanings that language variation has for its agents ó language users. A discourse-based approach allows for a contextualized analysis of the semiotic complexity of folk concepts which emerges in local, reflexive negotiations of their meanings. Through the processes of contextualization, a folk-linguistic concept may reveal its meaning potential that resides in the õdialogicalityö (Bakhtin, 1981) of everyday discourse reflected in the fluid and dynamic positioning of individual ideological consciousness with respect to other ideological values and points of view available in the micro- or macro-social frames of reference (Silverstein, 1993).

In linguistic anthropology, language ideologies are popularly defined in Silversteinøs (1979, p. 193) terms as beliefs õarticulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use,ö in Kroskrityøs (2010, p. 192) terms as õattempts to rationalize language usage,ö and in Irvine and Galøs (2009, p. 403) terms as part of behavior of noticing, rationalizing, and justifying linguistic indices. These definitions highlight

õrationalizationö and õjustificationö of beliefs as important aspects of language ideology creation. In other words, these definitions point out the significance of examining ideational functions of metalinguistic beliefs as well as rhetorical strategies of ideology construction. This perspective evokes a view of ideology which Friedrich (1989) described as õideational, intellectual, and conceptual constituent of culture.ö In this sense, ideology has õa considerable degree of coherence and direction, an agenda, and a validating, mythic aspectö (1989, p. 301). This understanding of language ideologies highlights the relevance of the rhetorical approach to metalinguistic discourse proposed in this dissertation.

2.4 Towards a Typology of Discourse-Based Approaches to Language Attitudes: A Rationale

One of the methodological problems in discoursal studies of language attitudes lies in finding theoretically-informed discourse-analytic approaches that would allow the researcher to provide an account of how the relations created at different levels of discourse function as part of a coherent construction of sociolinguistic indexicality. This methodological review seeks to contribute to an understanding of the abovementioned methodological problem by comparing different discoursal approaches to the study of language attitudes in terms of their potential to reveal various aspects of sociolinguistic meaning-making in discourse. It revises a previous classification of such approaches in Liebscher and Dailey-OøCain (2009) which includes three levels of analysis: content-based, turn-internal pragmatic and semantic, and interactional. The classification I propose here presents finer distinctions between levels of analysis and expands the typology to include the following five levels: topic-oriented, linguistic, cognitive, interactional and rhetorically-oriented appraoches. The rationale for these distinctions is that different levels of analysis may highlight various facets of discursively-constructed language attitudes and beliefs which may lead researchers to provide different accounts of language usersøperceptions and belief systems. Distinguishing different levels of analysis and comparing their relevant

advantages and limitations may help develop ways of integrating analytical techniques into methodologies which would serve to provide multifaceted accounts of complex language-attitudinal constructions in discourse.

Theoretically, differential use and combination of such analytical strategies in language-attitude research may be seen as related to the differences in defining the locus of attitudinal and belief constructs, i.e., whether such constructs are primarily viewed (1) as structures emerging and developing within local interactional contexts (e.g., Potter & Wetherell, 1987), (2) as part of linguistic ideologies shared in a community of speakers (e.g., Irvine & Gal, 2009), or (3) as a complex intersection of locally-situated and socially-widespread meanings of language variation (e.g., Johnstone et al., 2006). Variable use of discourse-analytical strategies is also pertinent to a theoretical and methodological problem of making inferential links between the micro-level analysis of metapragmatic awareness observed in locally-situated interactions and macro-level representations of language ideology construction at communal, regional or national levels. The problem lies in having a theoretical and methodological justification for making such inferential links, and analyses at different levels of discourse provide various possibilities for linking larger ideological constructs to the contexts of situated interaction and local discourses.

The amount of analytical attention given to different planes of discourse is the basis for a classification of discoursal approaches to language attitudes proposed in this paper. Planes of discourse are distinguished here using Schiffrinøs (1987) model of discourse coherence which includes five interrelated pragmatic, semantic and cognitive planes. The pragmatic structures include a õparticipation framework,ö an õaction structure,ö and an õexchange structure.ö The semantic plane is represented by an õideational structure,ö and the cognitive component includes an õinformation state.ö Differences in attending to discourse structures may result in different accounts of the resources that participants use in explicit or implicit constructions of sociolinguistic indexical relations. In particular, depending on the level of analysis, the same

discoursal data may be interpreted as revealing different ways of construing language-ideological relations through participantsøuse of ideational, linguistic, cognitive, interactional, or rhetorical resources. The overall significance of interpretations and conclusions resulting from different analytical approaches to language attitudes lies in their contributions to understanding the social meanings of linguistic variables. They are also important for further development of theorization about the nature and role of metasemiosis (Silverstein, 1993, 2003) which is potentially a useful step in explaining the processes of language variation and change (Weinreich et al., 1968).

The studies discussed in this review deal with written and spoken metalinguistic discourse. The analytical foci of the studies surveyed are grouped on such evidence as samples of data analysis and presentation of results, rather than researchersøown claims as to the type of the methodology used. One of the reasons for this classificatory approach is that claims about the method of data analysis used in the studies are often not supported by the details in the Methodology section explaining the specifics of how discourse-analytical procedures were applied to the data. Another problem is that the same labels, for example, õcontent-oriented discourse analysisö in Preston (1994) and Hall-Lew and Stephens (2012) have been used to refer to quite different analytical techniques that reveal different aspects of attitude construction.

Although different structures of discourse are treated in this review as belonging to separate levels of analysis, this separation does not reflect the disparity of the phenomena analyzed at different levels; rather, distinguishing these structures serves the analytical purposes of examining how the multifunctional and multifaceted nature of metalinguistic discourse has been and can be approached from different methodological perspectives that attend to various aspects of sociolinguistic meaning-making. This helps achieve an understanding of the diverse ways in which social awareness of linguistic variation works in specific interactional and larger social contexts.

This discussion is not meant to be a criticism of the approaches that do not attend to all planes of discourse, since such approaches may serve their purpose in specific research contexts. Rather, it is aimed at highlighting the potential that different levels of analysis have for unpacking the complexity of the sociolinguistic indexical processes revealed in everyday discursive interaction. A larger goal here is to view the contributions from different approaches as part of a joint effort in the field to understand how indexical relations are constructed in metalinguistic discourse. This review methodologically locates different analytical techniques in relation to one another within a common framework while clarifying important distinctions and similarities between them. It also establishes the background for an understanding of the potential of the rhetorical approach to serve as a unifying framework for integrating analyses of various types of meaning-making processes.

2.5 Topic-oriented Analysis

One of the important features defining the content of discourse on the subject of language variation is its topical development, and a number of discourse-based studies of language attitudes have focused on identification of the main topics in nonlinguists' conversations about language. Using Schiffrin's (1987) terms, this level of analysis is mainly focused on "the ideational structure" of discourse consisting of semantic units, propositions, or ideas, and the topical relations among idea units, while other types of relations, such as cohesive and functional (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 26), are not considered. Presuppositions which may underlie semantic relationships between idea units or the functional roles such units play *vis-à-vis* one another and in the overall structure of text are usually not part of the topic-oriented level of analysis. Ideational meanings are mainly identified in such studies by focusing on explicit mentions of thematically-related lexical units and category labels across the whole data set (e.g., Bucholtz et al., 2007; Campbell-Kibler, 2012; Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012; Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998).

Thematic data in this type of analysis are categorized according to the topically-convergent patterns in the propositional content of a set of analyzed utterances, and such topic-based categories are discussed as the outcomes of aggregate analysis. In Hall-Lew and Stephens's (2012) study of the social meanings of "Country Talk," for example, a small corpus of metalinguistic discourse was analyzed using the evidence of explicit mentions of the topics relevant to the research question. The article claims to have used the approach that Preston (1993, 1994) named "content-oriented discourse analysis," but the foci of the analytical techniques suggested by Preston are different – he mainly approaches the content of discourse through the analysis of linguistic details, interactional development, and rhetorical structure. Hall-Lew and Stephens's (2012) study, however, was centered on the main topics of the exchanges between the fieldworker and interviewees, although some linguistic details in the responses (e.g., hedging of statements) were included into the analysis. The following examples from Hall-Lew and Stephens's study (2012, pp. 268–269) illustrate its use of metalinguistic discourse for identification of thematic categories in the data:

(1)

Interviewer: Do you think that talking country sounds Southern?

Pete: I think it's more Southern than anything else. I think it is. Yes, I would definitely I think it has to go back to a lot of the South when people migrated up into this area.

(2)

Interviewer: Do you think talking country is a Southern thing or more general?

Hannah: You know, I kinda I think [pause] I sort of associate Southern and country.

The interviewees' answers in (1) and (2) were analyzed as containing explicit mentions of the ideological associations between Country Talk and Southern U.S. English variety. Based on

similar observations of the topics mentioned in the interviews, major thematic categories in the data were identified and further interpreted as broadly representing three main õsemiotic fields of rurality, regionality, and stigmaö (Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012, p. 266) in the participantsø imaginings of Country Talk. These findings were interpreted as evidence of õenregistermentö (Agha, 2005) of Country Talk in the community of Texoma, on the Texas/Oklahoma border. Enregisterment of the social values of linguistic variants renders such meanings as belonging to a macro- rather than a micro-social contextual frame, since õenregistermentö refers to õprocesses whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language usersö (Agha, 2005, p. 38). In other words, the meanings of õCountry Talkö that were recorded during the topic-oriented data analysis as frequent explicit mentions of ideas in local contexts of research interviews receive an interpretation of larger socio-semiotic constructs shared as part of cultural knowledge in the community of Texoma. This transition from locally-situated analyses to interpretations of broader social significance at the level of language ideologies is an important step in the analytical procedure characterizing a particular method of analysis. This analytical step seemed to be mainly justified by the frequency of idea mentions in the data and was also partly supported by the comparison of the study findings with the descriptions of regional linguistic features in dialectology literature. It is important, however, for the researchers to provide an account of how exactly such transitions in analytical interpretations were made in their studies ó this information can help understand the nature of enregisterment of social meanings of linguistic variants, how enregisterment occurs and how it can be investigated using discoursal data. Johnstone et al.øs (2006) proposal to situate a case-based discourse-analytic study in a larger context of participantsø life experiences and combine it with historical research and socioeconomic analysis is instructive in this regard as it offers a way of examining the linkage, õusually assumed but not often describedö (p. 100), between micro-level and macro-level contextual frames of language ideology construction.

While the focus on the topical structure of metadiscourse may provide valuable insights into socio-semiotic processes pointing to commonalities in the patterns of sociolinguistic stereotyping at the communal or regional level, this approach is restricted in several ways, including its limited potential to reveal the following aspects of language attitude construction:

1.   the complexity of intersections of social meanings at which socio-indexical fields (Eckert, 2012) are formed in dynamic and context-dependent ways,

2.   the embeddedness of idea units in the interactional context of individual speakersø footings and their alignments with ideas and stances constructed as part of that context ó a noteworthy limitation considering the important role of contextual factors in discourse and evaluation practices (e.g., Giles & Ryan, 1982),

3.   indirect expressions of attitudes and the presupposed content of metapragmatic constructions which may be loaded with attitudinal positions.

Another concern with the topic-oriented analysis is related to the process of data collection in which some of the central idea units are first introduced into the discourse in the interviewerøs questions or in researcher-generated experimental tools (e.g., Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998) rather than through participant-initiated contributions. In this practice of data collection, the researchersøquestions or materials include queries about those associations that are hypothesized by the researcher as being relevant to participantsøimaginings of certain speaking styles. Such data collection techniques, however, may predispose participants to provide the responses expected by the researcher or otherwise influence the ways in which topics are discussed. A valuable insight into the topical development of such discourse may be obtained if the analysis includes identification of the balance between interviewer-initiated and participant-initiated topical transitions (see Labov, 1984 for further discussion). If interviewer-initiated topics prevail in the data, more caution may be needed in making generalizations about the centrality of certain

themes defining participantsø perceptions of speaking styles (Bucholtz et al. 2007, p. 83). The importance of this problem may be seen in terms of the differences between the kind of intersubjectivity (Linell & Korolija, 1997, p. 196) created between an interviewer and an interviewee in a structured interview context versus the kind of intersubjectivity achieved among participants when they have more control over topic development in the process of interaction more closely resembling naturally-occurring communication in everyday contexts. While the former type of context may lead researchers to examine topics as mentions in single utterances, the latter is more conducive to examining topicality as sustained at different discourse levels in the process of interactional and rhetorical development. The second approach is more advantageous if we view sociolinguistic indexicality as a multilayered configuration of co-occurring indexicals related õthrough some schema of hierarchical concatenationö (Silverstein, 1993, p. 48).

Topic-oriented analysis may be considered the first step in making sense of metadiscourse ó a stage in the analytical process which offers an overview of the central topics discussed in conversations about language variation with some degree of denotational explicitness. This information is important in revealing how sociolinguistic identities and styles are reified and typified as social and linguistic categories (Moore & Podesva, 2009, p. 449) made explicitly relevant in discourse to a set of beliefs about language variation. Another advantage of the topic-oriented analysis is that it offers flexibility of use with different kinds of researchersø ontological and epistemological orientations: with both emic and etic perspectives, constructivist and objectivist positions, with õattitudesö viewed as emerging in interaction, as reflecting larger ideological processes, or seen at the intersection of these two orientations.

2.6 Linguistically-oriented Analysis

While idea units and topical development in discourse are central to understanding message content, they are not sufficient in the analysis of metadiscourse since õthe means of expression condition and sometimes control contentö (Hymes, 1974, p. 55). Linguistic structures do not constitute a separate plane of discourse, but they serve to contribute to meaning creation at more global levels, according to Schiffrinøs (1987) model of discourse coherence. A linguistically-oriented analysis of metadiscourse begins with an examination of linguistic patterns at turn-internal levels of linguistic structure and proceeds with an analysis of how such patterns are used to create meanings at higher levels of discourse.

A need for principled linguistically-oriented studies of discoursal data on language attitudes was pointed out by Kleiner and Preston (1997), who suggested that, in the study of the relationship between content and form of discourse, analysts should õlook for patterns of established textual elements (that is, linguistic forms) which are not behaving normallyö (p. 109). Such linguistic patterns may be seen as peculiar ways of expressing beliefs and attitudes, as ways of encoding pragmatic meanings and rhetorical strategies in discourse, and as resources used in speakersø õacts of identityö(Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, p. 1985), when identities are õprojectedö through discursive action.

A linguistically-oriented analysis may attend to different types of linguistic behavior distinguished by the extent to which speakers strategically manage and control their use of linguistic resources to express self- and other-identities (Coupland 2007, p. 111; Goffman 1959; Johnstone et al., 2006) and reflect on aspects of language use. Metadiscoursal data may contain linguistic features which indirectly point to latent aspects of participantsø identity work or other hidden internal motivations of participants related to their constructions of sociolinguistic indexical links. Preston (1993, pp. 240ó250), for example, used Givonøs (1983) theory of topic

continuity to examine unusual patterns in the respondentsø use of pronominal reference in metalinguistic discourse. The study showed that such patterns were indicative of the cultural sensitivity and complexity of the negotiated topic of conversation - õAfrican American Vernacular Englishö (AAVE). The pattern of anaphora avoidance signaled that the participants did not agree on their interpretations of the topic and its relation to their linguistic and social identities. The pattern of anaphoric packing, on the other hand, suggested that the participants were treating the discourse topic as conceptually complicated and related to broader beliefs about language, culture and society. Such dynamics in the implicit treatments of the discourse topic reveal how discursive construction of identities and sociolinguistic indexical links involves local, ethnographically and interactionally determined cultural orientations associated with larger socio-cultural models. This important perspective on the relations between indexical meanings created in micro- and macro- contextual frames is hard to gain at the level of topic-oriented analysis of metadiscourse.

Another important way of analyzing participantsø linguistic behavior is to focus on those linguistic features that participants use intentionally, with more strategic control, such as, for example, when they produce linguistic imitations, stylizations, or õperformancesö of their own or othersø speech styles. Schilling-Estesøs (1998) ethnographic case study of style-shifting in conversational data on Ocracoke English illustrates this second type of linguistically-oriented analysis. It includes acoustic comparison of the nucleus of the /ay/ vowel used in õperformanceö and õnon-performanceö speech of a participant. Results of a quantitative examination of the recurring patterns in the use of phonetic features were integrated in this study with the interpretation of the function and sequencing of the õperformedö formulaic utterance in the overall structure of the discourse. Specifically, the linguistic patterns in style-shifting were analyzed in light of the conversational roles that the respondent was proactively assuming by performing linguistic styles for the present and non-present audience.

The use of linguistic performance to achieve interactional goals may be seen as reflecting speakersøideas about the dialectal features that are capable of invoking certain sociocultural images in the audience. It has been demonstrated that the study of such performance speech, including dialect imitations and caricatures (e.g., Evans, 2002; Preston, 1992) can shed light on respondentsøbeliefs about the social meaning of language variation. The changes in the imitated speech implicitly carry information about the modes of folk-linguistic awareness (Preston, 1996) and salient linguistic features stereotypically associated with certain speech styles and identity repertoires. Thus, participantsøassumptions underlying their use of linguistic imitations to illustrate dialectal features are seen as related to their awareness of the macro-level language-ideological processes in a community of speakers. Attributing even broader significance to studies of performance speech, Schilling-Estes concludes that õself-conscious speech may lend valuable insight into the study of the overall patterning of language variation and the directionality of language changeö (1998, p. 62). Recently, linguistic analyses of style shifting and linguistic imitations have become a research area of growing interest and importance in sociolinguistics (Bucholtz, 2009; Coupland, 2007), õfor it is ultimately in styles and their relation to personae and social types that the indexical value of variation is grounded in the socialö (Eckert, 2010, p. 176).

A linguistically-oriented analysis of imitations of dialects and other stylizations performed by participants may focus on different levels of linguistic structure, including phonetic, phonological, lexical and syntactic patterns. As has been claimed in recent sociolinguistic work (e.g., Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2012; Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012; Moore & Podesva, 2009), a richer understanding of indexicality of speech styles is derived from considering clusters of linguistic variables since, as Bucholtz (2009, p. 148) put it, õA single feature í is typically insufficient to index a style; rather, styles comprise clusters of co-occurring semiotic elements, including both linguistic and nonlinguistic resources.ö From this perspective, we can view

participantsø use of linguistic elements as part of creating clusters of semiotic resources for style-making employed strategically for social actions (Coupland, 2007) in everyday talk about language variation. To examine clusters of semiotic resources belonging to different levels of linguistic and non-linguistic structures and their interrelatedness with immediate interactional goals of participants and larger sociocultural contexts, the analysis may be initially performed at lower linguistic levels and later become integrated with more global, discourse-level analyses.

In the types of linguistic analyses illustrated above, interpretations of the social and interactional motivations underlying linguistic choices and their intended effects on addressees have been related to an account of the context of communication, including local interactional contexts and macro-level socio-cultural frames of reference ó linking these two major types of contextualization is crucial to an understanding of the role of participantsø linguistic choices in their constructions of sociolinguistic indexical relations. Thus, a linguistically-oriented analysis of metadiscourse, especially if it relies on linguistic theory and shows how linguistic details contribute to meanings created at other levels of discourse structure, may reveal important aspects of meaning-making and style-shifting that shape the ways in which beliefs about language variation become expressed in everyday communication.

2.7 Cognitively-oriented Analysis

While topic-oriented and linguistically-oriented analyses deal with the overall topical development and the meanings of surface-structural linguistic patterns in everyday conversations about language variation, a cognitively-oriented analysis explores participantsø cognitive and epistemic moves including representation, management, and evaluation of knowledge and beliefs about language variation. Representation of knowledge, meta-knowledge, and other information structures may be viewed as one of the discourse domains, according to Schiffrinøs (1987) model of discourse coherence which singles out a discourse plane of õinformation state.ö This

component of Schiffrin's discourse model involves the following aspects of knowledge management in discourse: (1) speaker/hearer access to information, (2) speaker/hearer meta-knowledge which includes their assumptions about the sharedness of certain parts of the knowledge base among discourse participants, (3) degrees of participants' certainty in their ideas, and (4) salience of certain knowledge structures or their parts which become activated in discourse. These are legitimate concerns for students of language ideologies and attitudes since "attitude can be conceived of as a specific category of judgment or a specific knowledge structure" (Kruglanski, 1989, p. 111).

A cognitively-oriented analysis of discursively constructed attitudes considers the socio-cognitive dimension of interaction between participants as well as the following characteristics of information states: their context-dependent, changing nature: "information states are dynamic interactive processes" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 28), and the fact that they can be "essentially internal states" since they are "only potentially externalized" (p. 29). These characteristics pose several methodological problems for the analyst who focuses on the cognitive aspect of participant interaction: the problem of interpretation and analytical reconstruction of the knowledge and meta-knowledge structures that have not been fully externalized in discourse, and the problem of capturing and explaining the dynamics of changes in the information states throughout discourse.

These problems have been approached differently in discourse-based language attitude research. One of the examples is Winter's (1992) application of Chafe's (1986) framework for the linguistic encoding of experience and knowledge in English. Based on the frequency of occurrence of evidentiality markers (e.g., *I think*, *I believe*, *should*, *could* and *would)*, Winter (1992, p. 10‒15) analyzed modes of knowing and sources of knowledge that participants use to support their discussions of language attitudes in group conversations. Although doubts may be raised concerning the assumption underlying this framework about the monosemous nature of the markers of evidentiality (Kärkkäinen, 2006), Winter's (1992) study is an example of an attempt to

use an existing theoretical and methodological apparatus of a linguistic theory to investigate participantsø epistemic orientations to the sources and nature of their beliefs about language variation. In this approach, however, knowledge structures are viewed as pre-existing internal psychological states rather than õdynamic interactive processes,ö in Schiffrinøs (1987, p. 29) terms. This problem with the treatment of õstanceö in linguistics has been repeatedly pointed out (e.g., Kärkkäinen, 2006, p. 700) and raises questions about the role of the audience (Kiesling 2009, p. 191) and context in unfolding negotiations of social meanings through stance-taking activities in metalinguistic discourse.

The significance of discoursal constructions of epistemic stance may be generally seen in terms of their metapragmatic functionality which links participantsø subjective metacognitive orientations and their social experiences with language variation to the context of interaction ó a view which signifies a reorientation from õdenotationalö to õinteractionalö planes of analysis of epistemic stance (Silverstein, 2004; Johnstone, 2007; Lempert, 2008). According to Kiesling (2009), stances are the primary means of creating social meanings of language variation. They are part of both õinteriorö and õexteriorö indexicalities: õit is not the stances alone that account for their primacy in intraspeaker shifts, but how they fit into the total social landscapeö (p. 179). Viewing epistemic stances in this light would reorient the analysis of language-attitudinal constructions from focusing on the inner intentions of speakers in representing their sources of knowledge about language to focusing on contextualizing effects of such representations in local interactions and their contextualized embeddedness in larger, macro-ideological structures.

In addition to speakersø epistemic orientations, information states are also characterized by categorization processes of meaning construction in which different parts of the information structures become activated and are made more or less salient in unfolding discourse. To explore such processes, a cognitively-oriented approach to discoursal data on attitudes may use existing theories of categorization. An example of this type of analysis is Prestonøs (1994) extension of

MacLaury's (2002) Vantage Theory, which was initially developed in anthropology for the study of color categorization. Vantage Theory allows the analyst to study the categorial processes of conceptual development in conversation and probe deeper into indirect attitudes that a participant expresses through the constant creation, maintenance, and change of points of view. Preston's (1994, pp. 306-327) analysis demonstrates a focus on the fluidity of a cognitive construal which helps account for dynamism and a changing nature of information states. The knowledge and meta-knowledge structures in this account are seen not only as pre-given in the previous experience, but as structures that are conceptually changing throughout the interaction. Applications of Vantage Theory demonstrate a cognitively-oriented analysis of discourse that reveals the interactive, dynamic, and context-dependent nature of sociolinguistic categories constructed and negotiated in discourse. This kind of understanding of sociolinguistic categorization reflects the role of speaker agency in language ideology construction (Eckert, 2012) and is needed to refine, enrich and complicate the quantitatively-derived, more static accounts provided within the Labovian (Labov, 1972) variationist paradigm of correlational sociolinguistics.

Analyses that focus on discursive representations of social categorization processes and other socio-cognitive dimensions of metalinguistic awareness can be performed from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives that offer differing views of the relationships between discourse, cognition, and social contexts. One of the advantages of using discourse data to explore cognitive aspects of language attitudes is that it allows for an approach that goes beyond a "mentalist" treatment of social categorization "as a universal, automatic, and thoughtless device used to simplify the perceived environment" (Condor & Antaki, 1997, p. 331). A cognitively-oriented analysis may reveal how interactionally-emergent conceptualizations are constructed through cognitive coordination of participants' points of view on structures of beliefs about language in society. This type of analysis may shed light on the complexity of social and

linguistic category construction and epistemic stance-taking at the deliberative level of the cognitive task of social perception, as opposed to the level of automatic and rapid reactions to language that has been a primary focus in the quantitative variationist paradigm of sociolinguistic research. Considering õthe relatively low level of engagement with cognitive questionsö (Campbell-Kibler, 2010, p. 423) in the õthird-waveö studies of linguistic variation (Eckert, 2012) and the dearth of research on the acquisition of language attitudes, more cognitively-oriented investigations of deliberative, õpropositional processesö of attitude construction (Gawronski and Bodenhausen, 2006) are needed to refine our understanding of the nature of sociolinguistic differentiation and its relation to the social agency of speakers (Eckert, 2012).

2.8 Interactional Analysis

Interactional approaches to discoursal data on language attitudes offer a way of exploring everyday constructions of sociolinguistic indexicality based on the analysis of pragmatic structures of discourse. Schiffrin (1987) mainly defines pragmatic structures of conversational organization in relation to Goffmanøs (1981) notions of õsystem constraints of talkö (e.g., turn-taking requirements), õframing,ö õfunctional constraints of talk,ö õproduction and reception formats,ö and õpositioning.ö In Schiffrinøs model (1987), there are three interrelated pragmatic planes of discourse: an õexchange structure,ö an õaction structure,ö and a õparticipation framework.ö

While some interactional approaches used Conversation Analysis to focus on the exchange structure of discourse (e.g., Laihonen, 2008), participation frameworks and self-other relations seem to constitute a more prominent focus of analysis in interactionally-oriented techniques (e.g., Liebscher & Dailey-OøCain, 2009; Preston, 1993; Soukup, 2007) which were influenced by the frameworks developed within interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman, 1981; Gumperz, 1982; Schiffrin, 1994). Soukup (2007, pp. 223ó280), for example, used interactional

sociolinguistics approach in the study of the social meanings attached to standard-to-dialect shifting in Austrian German. Focusing on the strategic use of styles, Soukup (2007) applied Gumperz' (1982) theory of "contextualization" and Goffman's (1981) concepts of "footing" and "production format" to demonstrate that shifts into dialect were deployed by participants of a TV show to construct their evaluations (predominantly negative) of the people and ideas discussed in the show. The analysis of the changes in footing assignments throughout the conversation reveals the complexity of contextualized indirect expressions of language attitudes which cannot be captured using topic-oriented techniques.

Furthermore, interactional analyses may explore the linkages between the micro-level of an interactional context and the macro-level linguistic and social ideologies. For example, an approach to the role of a broader cultural context within an interactional study of metalinguistic discourse has been implemented by Leihonen (2008) who combined Conversation Analysis with a theory of Language Ideologies (Irvine & Gal, p. 2009) while adhering to Schegloff's (1997) analytic principle of rigorously limiting the applicability of larger sociocultural and historical contexts only to those contextual references that participants make relevant in the analyzed interaction (cf. Johnstone et al., 2006). Imposing such a limitation on the scope of analytical references to a larger cultural context may be seen as one of the ways of avoiding the problem of making discourse "subservient to contexts not of its participants' making, but of its analysts' insistence" (Schegloff, 1997, p. 183).

The analytic attention to such interactional aspects of discourse as contextual influences, social positioning and "footings" that speakers attribute to self and others, as well as turn-by-turn exchange and action structures may not always yield a holistic understanding of the content of the belief structures or the underlying categorization processes; rather, it is focused more on the pragmatic moves that may define how beliefs are expressed or why certain stances are taken.

Interactional analysis can be enriched through the combined application of analytic techniques at other levels of discourse structure as has been demonstrated in Preston's (1993) work.

2.9 Rhetorical Analysis

It has been repeatedly observed that argument may be a productive site for the study of language attitudes (e.g. Billig, 1987; Preston, 1993, 1994): "ideologies are intrinsically rhetorical, for they provide the resources and topics for argumentation, and, thereby, for thinking about the world" (Billig, 1990, p. 18). Rhetorically-oriented analyses of language ideologies mainly focus on the study of the structure, processes, functions, and propositional content of arguments in metalinguistic discourse. Usually, this type of analysis relies on some form of rhetorical or argumentation theory which supplies a particular framework for an understanding of the notion of "argument," its structure and role in discourse relations.

One of the conceptions of everyday argumentation that has been applied to discourse analyses of language attitudes is Schiffrin's (1985) "oppositional argument." In this approach, argument is defined as "discourse through which speakers support disputable positions" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 18). Preston (1994) adapted Schiffrin's approach and illustrated its application in the analysis of discursively constructed beliefs about AAVE. In this approach, arguments are identified on the basis of disputation, and their structure consists of three main components: "position," "dispute," and "support." "Disputes" and "supports" may relate to various parts of a position such as its propositional content, a speaker's stance, or "personal and moral implications of the verbal performance" (Schiffrin, 1987, pp. 18–19). Preston's (1994) analysis mainly has three analytic foci: a focus on discourse-level argumentation strategies of supporting and disputing positions, a focus on argumentative constructions of disagreement, and a focus on the implicit meanings created in the exchange structures of discourse at the level of pragmatic presupposition.

Analysis of oppositional argument may help uncover the sources of disagreements on language-related issues, but since agreement is a preferred act in communication (Levinson, 1983), the focus on oppositional argument cannot be fruitfully applied to all discoursal data. Thus, Thøgersen (2010) revised Preston's (1994) requirement that positions are identified as part of argument structure if they become implicitly or explicitly disputed in discourse. Instead, Thøgersen (2010) used a broader definition of positions which may also include potentially "disputable items" (p. 303). Thøgersen considered the term "argument" in a rhetorical sense rather than oppositional. In particular, Thøgersen used Toulmin's (1958) model of argument and focused his analysis on "warrants" – the argument components which, according to Thøgersen (2010), reveal presuppositions that "take on the status of socially recognized givens" (p. 303) shared by members of a speech community. While Preston's (1994) analysis of presuppositional content of arguments was mainly linked with local interactional concerns and participants' identity positions, Thøgersen (2010) views presuppositions as indicative of participants' assumptions about the sharedness of background knowledge structures with the interlocutors. Both analytical techniques, however, emphasize rhetorical functions of argument components, such as "position," "support," and "dispute," over the conceptual and inferential relations in argument structures.

This study presents a different rhetorical approach to folk-linguistic discourse which uses the New Rhetoric theory (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) as a framework that establishes a view of propositional socioindexical processes in terms of cognitive coordination of interlocutors' perspectives based on objects of agreement as well as in terms of speakers' use of associations and dissociations of concepts as part of argumentation techniques (Rodgers, 2016, in press).

2.10 Concluding Remarks

Different approaches to metalinguistic discourse can contribute various perspectives on the social-semiotic and meta-semiotic processes involved in constructions of sociolinguistic indexical relations in the local interactional and larger societal contextual frames. Distinguishing the levels of analysis based on a theory of discourse coherence highlights important differences in the amount of analytical attention researchers give to such aspects of language ideology construction as (1) speakersø engagement with ideas about language variation, (2) speakersø linguistic choices reflecting their awareness of and sensitivity to sociolinguistic variation, (3) cognitive and metacognitive aspects of sociolinguistic belief construction, (4) dependence of language-ideological expressions on the context of interaction, and (5) use of argumentation strategies to construct relations between social and linguistic forms. Analyses at these different levels may proceed differently: for example, while linguistically-oriented analyses tend to begin with an examination of linguistic features in the data with no a-priori assumptions about possible influences of the context, a rhetorical analysis tends to begin by considering discourse development in terms of existing theories of communication and then moves to the analysis of linguistic forms and context-bound discourse meanings.

Interactional and rhetorical approaches integrated with fine-grained analyses of participantsø linguistic choices may allow for studying metalinguistic discourse in terms of such highly contextualized reflexive social activities as stance-taking, identity-making, performativity and stylization (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2012; and Pennycook, 2003 for discussions of these concepts). Such approaches create frameworks for the study of language regard that underscore the role of meaning creation, intersubjectivity, and individual voice in the social evaluation of language variation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Eckert, 2008; van Compernolle, 2011).

Contemporary understanding of discourse processes warrants integration of several levels of analysis since õdiscourse cannot be considered the result of any single dimension or aspect of talk from either speaker or hearer aloneö (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 20). Approaches that combine several levels of analysis may be seen as a way to overcome a number of potential analytic shortcomings of applying discourse analysis to the study of social psychological phenomena. Specifically, a multi-level principled analysis may help avoid the problems that Antaki, Billig, Edwards, and Potter (2003, p. 3) have warned against, such as under-analysis of data, the problem of circularity in identification of discourses and mental constructs, and õsimply spotting featuresö in the data. Multi-level, theoretically-informed approaches may allow a discourse analyst to more fully account for the complexity of language attitude construction in everyday interaction and explore the content of the discoursal data in a comprehensive way, beyond a surface level of simply summarizing the main themes.

This review reveals that analyses performed at different levels of discourse-based examination of explicit and implicit language attitudes expose various aspects of social-semiotic and meta-semiotic processes involved in constructions of sociolinguistic indexical relations in the local interactional and larger contextual frames. Thus, this review shows that applications of discourse analysis are well-suited for revealing the complexity characterizing sociolinguistic indexical relations constructed in everyday metalinguistic discourse. A discourse-based study may uncover both idiosyncratic and more representative aspects of language-ideological constructions. This is in contrast with more abstract generalizations of larger-scale quantitative studies that may obscure the richness and complexity of metalinguistic representations.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW RHETORIC APPROACH AS A DISCOURSE-BASED METHOD OF STUDYING

PROPOSITIONAL PROCESSES OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC INDEXICALITY

3.1 Organizational Overview

This chapter presents selected aspects of the New Rhetoric theory, explains and discusses

the affordances of this approach for a study of everyday argumentation and sociolinguistic

indexical relations constructed in folk-linguistic discourse. It also illustrates such applications

using samples of folk-linguistic discoursal data. This chapter is organized as follows: section 3.2

gives a general introduction to the New Rhetoric approach to argumentation; section 3.3 explains

the application of the New Rhetoric in this dissertation; section 3.4 discusses the rhetorical

construct of audience; section 3.5 discusses the rhetorical construct of audience agreement;

section 3.6 presents the rhetorical construct of audience agreement; section 3.6 explains,

discusses, and illustrates the application of the construct õobjects of agreementö including õfacts,ö

õtruths,ö õpresumptions,ö and õvaluesö; and section 3.7 explains, discusses, and illustrates the

application of the theory of argumentation techniques, including arguments that rely on

association and dissociation of concepts.

3.2 The New Rhetoric Approach to Argumentation

In this dissertation, I apply the theory of argumentation developed in the New Rhetoric (TNR) (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) to the study of folk-linguistic discourse. TNR defines the object of argumentation as õthe study of discursive techniques allowing us *to induce or to increase the mind's adherence to the theses presented for its assent*ö (p. 4, emphasis in the original). This rhetorical approach does not view argumentation as a special form of discourse or as a form of resolving disagreement (e.g., van Eemeren, 2010). The object of study in the New Rhetoric has a wider scope than that in classical rhetoric and in a number of other rhetorical theories. The object of study in TNR includes, in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's words, both written and spoken speech, the epideictic genre, self-directed speech, discussion with a single interlocutor, formal discourse, and even õthe fragmentary expression of thoughtö (1969, p. 7). Although examples given in TNR are mainly derived from written sources, this theory has the potential of wider applications to different types of everyday communication, including informal spoken discourse.

TNR perspective on the role of argumentativity in everyday discourse is theoretically similar to the pragmatic framework of intersubjectivity (Verhagen, 2005), according to which, in linguistic communication,

> í engaging in cognitive coordination comes down to, for the speaker/writer, an attempt to influence someone else's thoughts, attitudes, or even immediate behavior. For the addressee it involves finding out what kind of influence it is that the speaker/writer is trying to exert, and deciding to go along with it or not (p. 10).

In other words, in linguistic communication, õí every utterance is taken as orienting the addressee towards certain conclusions by invoking some shared model in which the object of conceptualization figuresö (p. 12). This view is in line with an approach to human communication

developed within Interactional Sociolinguistics, according to which õí communication is always intentional in that participants respond to their perceived understanding of the otherøs communicative intent, and everyday language relies on simultaneously conveyed symbolic and indexical signsö (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007, p. 484).

TNRøs broad approach to the role of argumentation in linguistic communication represents a multidimensional perspective which integrates the pragmatic, cognitive, and rhetorical aspects of argumentativity. In particular, TNRøs view of discursive techniques in terms of their functioning in gaining the assent of the audience reflects several fundamental and interrelated pragmatic and cognitive aspects of communication, including the discursive processes of cognitive coordination of interlocutorsø points of view and contextualized embeddedness of argumentation in pragmatic relations in discourse which is realized, for example, in the ways speakers rely on assumptions about the knowledge and values shared with the audience, or use rhetorical techniques to modify the presentation of knowledge structures in a way which is more likely to enhance hearersø assent or achieve other rhetorical purposes. TNRøs analysis of argumentation pays close attention to the contextual (rhetorical) effects of communication on the audience achieved by relying on common patterns in informal logic that represent generalized models of human reasoning. TNR provides an extensive descriptive catalogue of these patterns which are based on inferential relations between the components of argument structure. These relations are broadly viewed in TNR in terms of a cognitive dimension actualized in the processes of association and dissociation of concepts that underlie all argumentation (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 190). The focus on these processes in TNR analysis of argumentation reflects its potential to illuminate the conceptual structure and complex conceptual relations between argument components as well as the conceptual and rhetorical interrelatedness of different argument structures cohering as part of discourse development.

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In TNR view, the effects of argumentation on the audience are achieved not only by relying on the common structures of the reasonable. Such effects are also achieved by the selection of the linguistic means of presentation of the data and form of discourse. In a separate chapter of the treatise (1969, pp. 142-183), TNR provides a detailed and insightful discussion of the effects of linguistic choices, including lexical, grammatical, sequential, and stylistic choices, as well as the effects of the selection of the form of discourse. TNR sees the effectiveness of linguistic means of presentation in their ability to act upon the audience by foregrounding certain elements in the conceptual structure. The techniques of linguistic presentation are important, according to TNR,

> õnot only in all argumentation aiming at immediate action, but also in that which aspires
> to give the mind a certain orientation, to make certain schemes of interpretation prevail,
> to insert the elements of agreement into a framework that will give them significance and
> confer upon them the rank they deserveö (p. 142).

By foregrounding certain conceptual elements and schemes of interpretation in discourse, speakers achieve the effect of their heightened õpresenceö in the consciousness of the hearer. Effects of linguistic presentation, however, depend on the context of communication. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca strongly argue against studying linguistic presentation techniques, stylistic structures and figures õindependently of the purpose they must achieve in the argumentationö (p. 142). In other words, they õrefuse to separate the form of the discourse from its substanceö (p. 142). In addition, they do not include in their study the aesthetic effects created by forms of expression.

The integration of rhetorical and discourse-analytic perspectives in analyses of everyday talk has been implemented in different disciplines, including rhetoric (Amossy, 2005, 2009a, 2009b), social psychology (e.g., Billig, 1987; Antaki & Leudar, 1992), and discourse analysis

(e.g., Quasthoff, 1978; Lauerbach, 2007; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011). Amossy's (2009a, 2009b) application of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's *New Rhetoric* (1969) in a discourse-analytic study of reasoning patterns demonstrates that such an adaptation has important consequences for linguistics since discursive strategies and argumentative logic are interrelated aspects of meaning creation that complement each other and, taken together, provide a more holistic picture of how meanings are constructed argumentatively in discourse within specific social constraints.

3.3 The Application of the New Rhetoric in this Dissertation

The cognitive, pragmatic, and linguistic dimensions in theorizing argumentativity within TNR framework form its potential to serve as a unifying approach to meaning-making processes in discourse. To extend the reach of the analysis and support analytic interpretations of discourse-based meanings with research-based evidence, I supplement TNR approach with the insights from several fields of study: (1) the field of conversation analysis that has explored the micro-interactional effects of subtle differences in speakers' linguistic choices, (2) the field of sociology with its work on interaction structure (e.g., Goffman, 1983) and on a number of concepts relevant to the processes of sociological differentiation displayed in folk-linguistic discourse, and (3) theories of metapragmatics developed in linguistic anthropology (e.g., Silverstein, 2003; Agha, 2007). Metapragmatic theories play a special role in this application since they allow the analyst to see association and dissociation processes in argumentation as part of metasemiotic processes of meaning creation that underlie sociolinguistic differentiation. The purpose of the proposed application is to shed light on the propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality revealed in folk-linguistic discourse. Thus, the samples of analysis illustrate various affordances of this approach in the context of the current developments within the field of sociolinguistics. The application of this approach to the study of discursively-

constructed meanings of a specific folk-linguistic concept is illustrated in the analysis of the constructions of õtwangö in Chapter IV.

The rhetorical approach illustrated in this dissertation applies the descriptive dimension of argumentation theory to the study of language attitudes and ideologies. In other words, the purpose of this application is not to evaluate the logical validity of arguments, but to use theories of rhetoric and the descriptive inventories of argumentation techniques (e.g. Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969; Walton, 2008) in order to examine the propositional content of metalinguistic beliefs, the relations between conceptual constituents of belief structures, as well as linguistic and rhetorical means of presentation of such structures revealed in conversations about language.

The examples used in this dissertation were selected to illustrate various aspects of the proposed approach. They were taken from a set of 14 one-on-one and multi-party interviews, follow-up interviews, and focus group discussions I collected in 2013-2016 from the residents of central Oklahoma, mainly in Oklahoma City and its suburbs. The participant characteristics and the context of the interviews are explained as they become relevant to the samples of detailed analyses. Most of the interviews and focus groups were loosely structured: the interviewerøs strategy was to remain as õinvisibleö as possible while directing the conversations to the topic of English language variation in the US and in Oklahoma. This interviewing strategy was chosen to elicit the type of discourse in which participants have topical control ó this type of data resembles natural discourse development characteristic of the context of everyday talk. In some conversations, a map-drawing technique (Preston, 1989) was used as a conversation starter. Some participants in one-on-one interviews were asked to listen to several voice samples and comment on their perceptions of linguistic differences. Different interview contexts had an influence on the rhetorical and interactional development in the conversations, and these differences will be discussed as they become relevant to the analyses. I recorded the interviews using Marantz PMD-

660 digital recorder with an AT831b miniature cardioid condenser microphone. I transcribed the interviews using transcription conventions provided in Appendix A. In some examples that integrate acoustic analyses with analyses of rhetorical development, I used Praat software for acoustic measurements (Boersma & Weenink, 2016).

3.4 The Role of the Audience in Argumentation: The Perelmanian Construct of Audience

The concept of audience plays a central role in the theory of rhetoric. TNR addresses a number of important cognitive and pragmatic dimensions of õaudienceö which can usefully contribute to the analysis of the propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality as they occur in everyday discoursal interaction.

The Perelmanian framework of the rhetorical audience has been discussed extensively from several perspectives in argumentation theories, including the critical appraisal and development of the following theoretical problems: (1) õuniversalö and õparticularö types of audience (e.g., Aikin, 2008; Crosswhite, 1989; Gross, 1999; Ray, 1978), (2) the role of the audience in argumentation and persuasion (e.g., Aikin, 2008; Long, 1983), (3) the locus of the concept of audience (e.g., van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1995), (4) ways of implying and achieving audience agreement (Long, 1983), and (5) the development of the speakerøs concept of audience throughout discourse interaction (e.g., Gross, 1999). For a discourse-analytic application of TNR theory of audience, all of the abovementioned theoretical problems are relevant since they offer valuable perspectives for the analysis of a number of rhetorical strategies affecting discourse development.

TNR locates the audience in the mind of the arguer as a mental, õsystematized constructionö (p. 19) influenced by the arguerøs social milieu which is õdistinguishable in terms of its dominant opinions and unquestioned beliefs, of the premises that it takes for granted without hesitationö (p. 20). In the arguerøs adaptation to the audience, these premises and

assumptions are used as part of inference structures. This understanding of the locus of audience in argumentation is in line with cognitive and social psychologists' conceptions of inference, judgment, and reasoning as both cognitive (e.g., Nisbett & Ross, 1980) and socioculturally-bound (e.g., Hilton, 1995) processes. Viewing audience as the arguer's mental construct also has interesting parallels with the theories of mental processes in cognitive linguistics, including the notions of "mental spaces" (Fauconnier, 1994), "framing" (Fillmore, 1976), and "conceptual blending" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002): underlying these theories is the idea of mental "projection" that connects conceptual structures (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998). The Perelmanian view of the locus of audience is essentially that of a mental projection that conceptually integrates social information about the audience into inference structures used by the arguer. These mental projections may be seen as the realization of the indexical function of language that establishes a connection between the pragmatic phenomena in the immediate context to macrosocial representations that argumentation relies on.

One of the important theoretical constructs underlying Perelman's framework is the idea of "universal audience" which is defined as anyone to whom the argument is addressed (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 7). This concept explains Perelman's focus on the structures of informal reasoning: the ability to comprehend and evaluate such structures is characteristic of any rational human being and can be assumed by arguers in their constructions of the image of the audience. The concept of "universal audience" is helpful in understanding the ideational function of ideologies. The arguer's reliance on commonly accepted structures of practical reasoning is implicated in construction of inferential links that connect different conceptual elements in ideological structures of sociolinguistic indexicality. Appeals to reasonableness involving the use of commonly accepted inferential structures may be seen as one of the fundamental argumentation strategies (cf. Fetzer, 2007) in arguers' efforts to justify, rationalize, or negotiate the validity of language attitudes and ideologies.

At the same time, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca position the value of their study of argumentation in relation to the attention they give to the various characteristics of õparticularö audiences and their concrete realizations in argumentation (1969, p. 26). They define a õparticular audienceö as õthe ensemble of those whom the speaker wishes to influence by his argumentationö (p. 19). A particular audience can also be described as having certain qualities of the universal audience since there are patterns of reasoning that generally enjoy the validity independent of the local or historical contexts (p. 32). Any particular audience, in a generalized construction of the arguer, may be seen as unanimous, or õuniversal,ö in its reliance on certain beliefs, expectations, knowledge, or qualifications that the audience members share (p. 34). Thus, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca conclude, õaudiences are not independent on one another,ö and they can be said to õpass judgment on one anotherö (p. 35).

In addition to rhetoric, õaudienceö as a mental construction in the mind of the speaker is one of the fundamental notions in other theories of human interaction developed within various fields of knowledge, including sociology, social psychology, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. One of the influential sociological views of õaudienceö formulates the centrality of õaudienceö in terms of a cognitive relationship that underlies all human interaction:

> At the very center of interaction life is the cognitive relation we have with those present before us, without which relationship our activity, behavioral and verbal, could not be meaningfully organized. And although this cognitive relationship can be modified during a social contact, and typically is, the relationship itself is extrasituational, consisting of the information a pair of persons have about the information each other has of the world, and the information they have (or haven't) concerning the possession of this information (Goffman, 1983, pp. 4-5).

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From the perspective of Interactional Sociolinguistics, understanding crucially involves the notion of audience since conversational involvement cannot exist without interlocutors' reliance on their (often implicit) agreements on a variety of social and language-related conventions and context-bound interpretations (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007, p. 484).

This rhetorical conception of 'audience' is of interest to the scholars of language ideologies since ideological constructions involve systems of socially constructed beliefs, knowledge, expectations, and judgments that particular audiences and members of speech communities share or do not share. The rhetorical perspectives on 'audience' may help explain contextual and cognitive aspects of the metapragmatic functioning of dialectal and other linguistic differences as ideological entities. Specifically, arguers' construals of the characteristics of their audience may define the ways people select, present, and develop their ideas about dialectal and other linguistic differences in everyday communication in relation to socially-motivated forms of group organization. Audience construals may contextualize relationships between social groupness and linguistic typifications through participants' stances towards interactants expressed in the form of positioning, interactional alignment, and 'footings' (Goffman, 1981) in everyday discussions about language variation. Rhetorical construals of audience are also reflected in the choice and form of presentation of knowledge structures related to constructions of sociolinguistic beliefs.

Phenomena of language contextualization are 'inherently indexical,' according to Silverstein (1993, p. 55), and 'audience' may be seen as a construal of contextualization in broader social-semiotic and sociological terms. This perspective will be revealed in the sample data analyses in this manuscript which view sociolinguistic indexical relations constructed (and often jointly co-constructed by several participants) in metalinguistic discourse in light of participants' rhetorically-motivated choices.

3.5 Audience agreement

Argument can be seen as part of conversational interaction in which the arguer needs to choose and refer to those parts of shared social knowledge which are more likely to be accepted by the audience in a given context of argumentation, based on the arguer's assumptions (Bigi & Greco Morasso, 2012). Studying appeals to shared knowledge in discourse on language attitudes and ideologies may shed light on how this body of knowledge is organized conceptually at the macro-level. This information may also be used as a clue to understanding the ways in which participants in metalinguistic discourse construe their stances and identities in the micro-context of communication.

TNR views audience agreement as essential for all argumentation (p. 14). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) emphasize the pragmatic dimension of argumentation when they discuss how audience agreement is constructed with regard to the following complex factors: (1) both internal and external motivations of the arguer and the audience to participate in discourse (pp. 16-17), (2) the arguer's and interlocutor's memberships in the social class and other social groups characterized by "dominant opinions and unquestioned beliefs" (pp. 17, 20, 22), (3) a composite nature of audiences and the diversity of roles, personalities, and stances that may be assumed by the audience and the arguer (pp. 21-23), (4) the qualities that give the arguer "authority for speaking" (p. 18), and (5) the arguer's adaptation of the speech to the audience (pp. 23-26).

In addition to outlining these theoretical issues, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) elaborate on the realization of the construct "audience" in the use of various presentational and organizational aspects of argument development, including the arguer's selection of the following: (1) the point of departure in an argument, (2) forms of support for conclusions, (3) the source of evidence the conclusions rely on, and (4) presentational devices (linguistic and rhetorical) used to formulate positions. This section elaborates on the theoretical frameworks

pertinent to the understanding of these strategies and their role in the study of metalinguistic discourse. The importance of the rhetorical construct õaudience agreementö for the study of language ideologies may be seen if we consider that language-ideological constructs operate with reliance on their macro-social function realized in discourse in the form of presuppositions about the social sharedness of ideologies that circulate in certain speech communities and become instantiated in micro-social contexts of everyday interaction.

3.6 Objects of Agreement

Agreement of the audience, in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecaøs (1969) theory, is presupposed in the way argumentation begins and in the way it unfolds (p. 65). The arguerøs assumptions about audience agreement may be revealed in the choice of argument premises, connecting links used in argument, and in the manner of using connecting links. TNR states that argument premises which may serve as a point of departure in argument can be of different types: õthe realö which include õfacts,ö õtruths,ö and õpresumptions,ö and õthe preferableö which include õvalues, hierarchies, and lines of argument relating to the preferableö (p. 66). In argumentation theory, these distinctions are important mainly in terms of achieving persuasiveness in argument by way of choosing the most effective starting point of argumentation. In the analysis of folk linguistic discourse, however, the usefulness of these distinctions lies in their relation to the identification of the epistemic, pragmatic, and metapragmatic status of the knowledge and belief structures used in argument not only as a starting point but at different stages of argumentation as well. The use of these structures is part of indexical meaning-making processes that contribute to language ideology creation and perpetuation in discourse.

3.6.1 Objects of Agreement: "Facts"

Argument premises may use "facts" as "objects of precise, limited agreement" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 69): "Facts" include both those that are "observed" based on established knowledge and experience and those that are "presumed" by the audience. Folk-linguistic accounts of language variation often rely on explanations of linguistic differences in terms of historical, geographical, and social facts or their interpretations. Participants bring together these various factual aspects of reality when they build folk-linguistic theories that present ideological rationalizations of the processes of language variation and change.

The choice of facts as premises in folk linguistic arguments may be seen as part of the process of <u>objectivation</u>[1]: the factual basis of an argument appears to create the objectivity of expression that enhances the persuasiveness of the argument. Objectivation may also allow the arguer to distance themselves, their own attitudes and subjective opinions from the evaluation and conceptualization of a sociolinguistic stereotype. The process of objectivation in epistemic stance-taking in language ideology construction leads to the creation of a seemingly objective, rational, fact-based account rather than a subjective, attitude-laden, and possibly politically-incorrect stereotype.

Extract 1 given below shows an example of how several facts describing the climate, natural environment, ethnic composition, and cultural distinctiveness of the Southeastern area in Oklahoma are used to explain a different "intonation" in the region. While Tom does not explain how specifically the facts that he mentions are related to the distinctive "intonation" in the Southeast of Oklahoma, he seems to believe that the relations are real and that the audience may perceive that it is reasonable to postulate such relations.

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[1] In the sociology of knowledge, "objectivations" are usually defined in Berger and Luckmann's (1966) terms as "enduring indices of the subjective processes of their producers, allowing their availability to extend beyond the face-to-face situation in which they can be directly apprehended" (p. 49).

Extract 1

1 Tom: But if you go down into Southeastern Oklahoma, (0.4) you are going into a different climatic=

2   =and linguistic area. Itøs a different climate, (.) different geology, (.) the flora and fauna are=

3   =different, (0.5) so pine forests, (.) rural area, (.) very white, (.) not diverse, (.) most people=

4   =down there have lived there for generations, (0.5) and you will find a different intonation=

5   =there than you would (0.4) in Ponca City or Woodward.

õFactsö that are used as part of the objectivation process may include those that have the

real support from the extant research on the subject as well as those that are of purely folk-

linguistic nature. While the social facts of ethnic diversity and rootedness mentioned by Tom

have been shown by sociolinguists to act as factors in language variation (e.g., Tillery, Bailey, &

Wikle, 2004), the influence of natural conditions has not been supported by language scholars

(Montgomery, 2008, p. 101). Nevertheless, the argument about the impact of natural environment

on language differences is often revealed in folk comments. There is a widespread folk belief, for

example, that the climate is responsible for some southern speech habits (Montgomery, 2008, p.

101): long and hot summers in the South lead to a slower pace of life, according to the folk

opinion, and a slower lifestyle reflects on the tempo of speech. This folk explanation, which has

not been supported by sociolinguists (p. 101), uses the facts about the climate to explain the social

stereotype about the Southern lifestyle which is then applied to an explanation of linguistic

typifications of the Southern speech.

The type of discourse illustrated in Extract 1 is an instantiation of the common

metasemiotic process of õdemonstrating naturalnessö (Agha, 2007, p. 77) in which

> an isolable sign or performed sign structure is recontextualized through a metasemiotic
>
> treatment in relation to other sign phenomena of a more abstract or generic orderí ; such
>
> a treatment minimizes the appearance of the signøs isolable arbitrariness (or contingent

form) and maximizes the appearance of its place (function, purpose) within the more totalizing order (the ̶nature ̶of mind, society, cosmos, etc.).

The argumentation in Extract 1 uses facticity to construct the linguistic distinction of the Southeastern part of Oklahoma as naturally motivated and objectified. The circulation of widely-held folk beliefs about the influence of nature and climate on language use may contribute to reification of linguistic distinctions in terms of inevitable external influences brought about by natural causes. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), õreification can be described as an extreme step in the process of objectivation, whereby the objectivated world loses its comprehensibility as a human enterprise and becomes fixated as a non-human, non-humanizable, inert facticityö (p. 106).

However, the process of objectivation may also be intertwined with subjective processes in discursive contexts. This reflects the dialectic between subjectivity and objectivity in discourse ó the view which õdoes not allow the separation of an assertion from the person who makes itö (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 59). Extract 2, given below, illustrates a construction of the subjective meaningfulness of the facticity of a widely-held folk-linguistic belief. It shows how the stereotypic belief structure describing the cause of the perceived phenomenon of slower speech in Oklahoma integrates several categories of facts referring to the social and natural conditions of language use with the facts based on oneøs subjective experience with these conditions:

Extract 2

1 Jocelyn: In Oklahoma City, we had the (0.5) asphalt (.) streets, (0.4) the temperatures were a hundred=

2   =plus, (1.0) We did not have air conditioning. (1.5) ((*about 1 min. of omitted talk about air*

3   *conditioners)* But (.) the concept of air conditioning in a home or a business, (.) was unknown=

4   =at the time. (.) And this would have been in 1960. (1.5) So_ (.) I came back, ((*to Oklahoma*

5   *City after living in San Francisco for some time)),* and, (1.0) in order to (.) stay ali:ve, (.)

6   you had to walk more slowly. (.) And people <u>spoke</u> more slowly. (0.2) <u>Everything</u> was being=

7   =done more slowly, (.) for (.) er (1.3) <u>sustenance</u>. ((*about 3 min. of omitted talk about cooler*

8   *weather in San Francisco*)) And I found that when I slowed down in my speech, (1.2) equally=

9   =was slowing down in my walk, (0.5) I went back to the Oklahoma twang, (0.2) if you will_ (.)

10   = I NEVER did speak (.) I never did speak quite twangy_ ((*about 2 min. of omitted talk about*

11   *the places outside Oklahoma Jocelyn lived in))* Iøve been around other cultures enough, that=

12   my parentsø speech (0.6) was (.) a more educated speech. (1.2) And so, (0.4) I went back into=

13   =an Oklahoma twa:ng. (1.0) The <u>minute</u> I <u>did</u> that, (0.6) it was as if Iød opened my arms and=

14   =all my friends came back. (0.8) And so I <u>practiced</u>. (0.8) I practiced for a long (.) time, (0.6)

15   = just trying, (.) planning when I was going to use colloquial speech, and when I was going to=

16   = use more (0.5) <u>proper</u> speech.

This explanation of why Oklahomans spoke more slowly than people in San Francisco seems to have an objective, fact-driven character based on the references to the high temperatures in the summer, asphalt streets, and absence of air conditioning in Oklahoma at a certain period in time. Oh the other hand, Jocelynøs account of the social and linguistic stereotype of Oklahoma English is embedded here into a subjective construction that engages identity-related processes as well as the participantøs personal, subjective experiences with different natural, social, and linguistic environments in two different regions of the United States. In Extract 2, Jocelyn engages in conscious introspection and reflection on how the socially shared stereotypic representations of Oklahoma English were part of her sociolinguistic awareness and how such representations were related to her conscious effort in building her social and linguistic identity. This construction underscores the empowering role of linguistic and metapragmatic awareness as well as the role of human agency in actively appropriating and strategically using the authenticating potential of linguistic variability in different social contexts. The juxtaposition of objectivation and subjectivity in this discursive construction counters the reification inherent in

the widely-held stereotypic beliefs about the deterministic influence of the natural environment and climate on language use.

According to Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969, p. 66), audience agreements are not static and should be viewed in light of the progress of discourse. The epistemic status of a knowledge structure which is presented as a õfactö in a metalinguistic argument may change in the process of conversational interaction and become an object of disagreement, as illustrated below in Extract 3. This episode begins with an answer to the interviewerøs question inquiring about the U.S. English accents that sound more or less educated. The speakers in this episode are husband and wife.

Extract 3

1 Curt: Southern. (.) Without a doubt, (0.2) less educated [because-

2 Jane: [Southern is less educated?

3 Curt: Oh yeah. (0.2) because,

4 Jane: Thatøs a prejudice.

5 Curt: Yeah. (0.2) It is a prejudice. (0.5) But itøs also because if you wanna look, (0.2) if you look at=

6   = the states with the worst educational systems, (0.5) you look in the Southeast. I mean, (0.6)

7   Oklahoma can make fun of them thatøs how bad it is. (0.5) So, (.) you know, (.) Louisiana, (.)

8   Arkansas, (.) Mississippi is the worst.

In this episode, the stereotypic belief that Southern English sounds less educated, which is widely-held in the U.S. (Preston, 1999), is initially presented as having the status of an uncontroverted õfactö in this discourse. This status is clearly signaled in line 1 by the marker of epistemic stance õwithout a doubt.ö However, this seemingly factual statement is immediately questioned by another discourse participant, Curtøs wife, who labels it õa prejudice.ö While Curt agrees that it is a prejudice, he does not accept it as his subjective prejudiced attitude. Rather, he supports his proposition by referring to the facts based on his social knowledge about the relative

quality of education in the US regions which, in this argument, serves as a rationalization of what has been dubbed as õa prejudiceö about õuneducatedö Southern English. In this construction, facticity serves to justify the belief that another participant indexes as a subjective, prejudiced evaluation. It also serves to distance the speakerøs self from the belief through objectivation by indexing the evaluative assessment to the macro-sociological level of conceptualization. This episode shows that negotiations of an epistemic status of a proposition in folk-linguistic discourse may be ideologically driven and reveal participantsødisagreements concerning the ideological and moral value of metapragmatic relations linking the linguistic to the social.

Such examples illustrate the role of factual representations in the processes of sociolinguistic stereotyping and in the construction of underlying socioindexical relations. The circulation of the folk-linguistic theories that seem to be based on the facts linking social conditions, behaviors, and qualities of social groups to typifying linguistic behaviors may be seen as instantiations of the processes of enregisterment (Agha, 2007) of dialectal distinctions.

3.6.2 Objects of Agreement: "Truths"

The objectivation process in language ideology construction may also be realized in the use of another type of object of agreement referring to õthe realö which Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) call a õtruth.ö TNR defines õtruthsö as õmore complex systems relating to connections between õfactsö such as religious or scientific theories (p. 69). In everyday talk about language, people build their own theories that connect linguistic and social facts into systematic relationships. Analytical propositions in the rhetorical form of a õtruthö represent a common type of verbal expressions of stereotypic beliefs, according to Quasthofføs classification (1973, as cited in Wodak, 1999, p. 182). Using õa truthö in a metalinguisitic argument introduces an element of objective analyticity and theorization into discursive, intersubjective ideological processes and

may be seen as an essential rhetorical strategy in building folk-linguistic theories as ideological models of linguistic distinctiveness.

The following extract gives an example of how one discourse participant proposes a truth of a general kind which, in this micro-context of interaction, has the entailing projections of wider significance: it connects several stereotypic beliefs about social groups and their linguistic typifications into an ideological, macro-level system by proposing an explanatory folk-theoretic framework.

Extract 4

1 Sam: You know what I∅ve noticed, (0.4) I noticed that (0.2) you look at the (.) at the accent (.) like=

2   = from the South. (0.4) Or at the accent from New York o::r (0.8) Michigan (.) or whatever. (.)

3   And then you look at the way they (0.2) you know, (0.2) the culture they∅re in, (0.8) and the=

4   accent <u>matches</u> the way they live their life. (0.2) The New Yorkers are <u>brash</u> people, (.) you=

5 Lynn: uh-huh

6 Sam: =know, they are (0.4) very (0.2) upfront kind of (.) in your face, (0.2) they don∅t hold back

7   =what they are thinking, (0.4) they are they∅re very (.) very >like that< (0.4) and the way they=

8   =talk, (0.8) helps that. (.) >to communicate that.<

9 Lynn: yeah

10 Sam: And the Southerners are very kicked ↓back.(0.4) Southerners are very ↓polite.

11 Jane: **La:id ba::ck**

12 Sam: They∅re very laid back, (.) and their **dra::wl,** (0.2) and the way they [**ta:lk all the ti:me,** (0.4)]

13 Curt: [Well,/ it∅s how they live.]

14 Sam: sort of sort of fosters that.

15 Jane: uh-huh

16 Curt: So the Northeasterners, (0.2) they talk very fast, (.) they live fast.

17 Sam: Uh-huh

18 Curt: The Sourtherners, (0.8) sit on their porch all day. (0.5) So they speak **ve::ry slo::w.**

19 Sam: It seems, (.) it seems that way. (0.5) I mean, (0.5) to me, (0.4) when I see the regions, (.) I see=

20 Jane: yeah

21 Sam: =the (.) the way they talk, (0.4) associated with the way they live kinda. (0.5) And [even in]=

22 Jane: [I agree]

23 Sam: =like Michigan, (.) in that area too.

24 Curt: Yeah. (.) And if you look at the West coast, (.) you know, they are (0.4) more (0.2) laissez-faire

25   (0.4) they are more free, (0.5) and their language doesn't follow any rules.

26 Sam: Yeah. **"Hey dude, (.) what's going on?"** (.) you know, (0.5) "hang ten" and that sort of stuff.

In this discourse episode, Sam builds an indexical association between "accents" and "ways of life" at a more abstract level of generalization: according to this proposition, there are similarities between lifestyles in certain regions and the ways of speaking typically associated with those regions. Sam and two other participants in this episode co-construct an ideological model which brings together several stereotypic linguistic and social beliefs and uses abstraction to process them at a higher level of metapragmatic awareness. The co-construction of a mutual view of the indexical meanings is revealed in the participants' contributions of supporting examples and linguistic imitations of distinctions among people living in the South, North and West of the United States. The participants' support of Sam's argument shows that his argumentation has achieved audience agreement.

All the supporting examples that the participants readily supply express and imply stereotypic beliefs, and they are presented as agreed-upon, socially shared facts. This discursive construction indexes these stereotypic linkages as macro-socially available ideological constructs derived from familiar repertoires of social and linguistic identities. These stereotypes describe the Other, the out-group members: note the use of the third-person pronouns throughout this episode that enables the speakers to position their Selves as not belonging to the stereotypical social groups discussed in this episode.

Samøs argument õthe accent matches the way they live their lifeö serves as a

õmacropropositionö (van Dijk, 1982, p. 180), in this complex argumentation structure. This

macroproposition subsumes several other supporting arguments co-constructed by the

participants. This macroproposition creates local ideological coherence for several sociolinguistic

typifications that are offered as interpretable within the proposed folk-linguistic theory. The

stereotypes about the American South, the North, and the West cohere on the basis of the

observed similarity which is a õmatchö between the culture and the õaccentsö of these regions.

This conceptual association reveals õessentializationö of these perceived phenomena ó the kind of

process that Silverstein (2003, pp. 202-203) described as follows:

> An essentialization or naturalization is a discovery of ‑essensesø qualities or
>
> characteristics predicable-as-true of individual things (including persons, events, signs of
>
> all sorts), and in particular predicable-as-true independent of the micro-contextual
>
> instance of presentation of the thing at issue. That is, to the ideological perception,
>
> essences perdure, and, when naturalized, they are grounded in cosmic absolutes, or at
>
> least relatively more cosmic and absolute frameworks-of-being than the micro-contextual
>
> indexicality with respect to which they manifest themselves.

The õcosmic absoluteö proposed by Sam identifies an iconic, essentializing motivation underlying

widely-held stereotypic beliefs about social and linguistic differences in the US. It conceptualizes

the semiotic process of õiconizationö which has been described by Irvine and Gal (2009) as one

of the three indexical relations fundamentally characterizing the ideological models of linguistic

distinctiveness. õIconizationö includes representations of linguistic features in ways suggesting

that the features somehow õdepicted or displayed a social groupøs inherent nature or essenceö (p.

403). The principle of iconicity identified by Sam in his folk-theoretic proposal is illustrated in

this discourse by several co-constructed examples of the sociocultural õessensesö of major

regional groups in the US whose linguistic behavior presumably displays their inherent nature.

In his proposal of this folk-theoretic idea, Sam is explicit about its subjective and tentative nature (i.e., the micro-contextual significance): he marks these epistemic statuses by phrases such as õI noticed,ö õto me,ö and õit seemsö in lines 1 and 19. On the other hand, the analyticity of his proposition, its abstract nature of an explanatory generalization objectivizes stereotypic beliefs by rationalizing, validating them, and integrating them into a folk-theoretic system. The role and functioning of explanatory frameworks in everyday conceptualization has been identified by Fodor (1981, p. 62, as cited in Niedzielski & Preston, 2003, p. 322) as follows:

> Much everyday conceptualization depends on the exploitation of theories and explanatory models in terms of which experience is integrated and understood. Such pre-scientific theories, far from being mere functionless õpictures,ö play an essential role in determining the sorts of perceptual and inductive expectations we form and the kinds of arguments and explanations we accept.

The complex argumentation in this episode portrays an interpretation of the nexus between the linguistic and the social at the level of conceptualization and reflexivity that integrates stereotypical socioindexical constructs and affords predictive possibilities for future regimentation of ideological interpretations. This complex argumentation results from a higher-level, $n + 2$d order of the indexical process which metapragamtically constructs a higher-order relation between existing $n + 1$st order metapragmatic relations. This study of propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality reveals that folk-linguistic theories may be built at the level of abstractness which integrates perceptions of socially-loaded typifying linguistic distinctions with higher-order ideological meanings of sociolinguistic differentiation.

3.6.3 Objects of Agreement: Presumptions of the Normal

What enables participants to draw together various social and linguistic facts and connect them into folk-linguistic theories is what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) call

õpresumptionsö: they are shared assumptions about õthe existence, for each category of facts, and particularly for each category of behavior, of an aspect regarded as normal and capable of serving as a basis for reasoningö (p. 71). TNR does not postulate clear, unambiguous criteria differentiating õpresumptionsö from other objects of agreement. õFacts,ö õtruths,ö and õvaluesö can be presumed or may be stated explicitly, and the status of these objects of agreement in argumentation may change as discourse unfolds. Some examples of presumptions of general nature include an assumption of truthfulness of a speakerøs contribution in communication, õthe presumption that the quality of an act reveals the quality of the person responsible for it,ö and õthe presumption concerning the sensible character of any human actionö (pp. 70-71). There are similarities in Perelmanøs conception of õpresumptionsö and in Griceøs (1975) and Searleøs (1969) pragmatic theories: they are based on the idea of conventionality in meaning interpretation which parallels the Perelmanian focus on the connection between presumptions and the conceptualization of what is õnormalö and õlikely.ö

In terms of indexicality theory, the Perelmanian õpresumptionsö are presuppositional meaning projections in the indexical mode of semiotic sign relations. Analytical attention to presuppositional meanings is important since õthe most robust and effective metapragmatic function is implicit, not denotationally explicitö (Silverstein, 2003, p. 196). Presuppositional meanings, according to Silverstein (2003), point to õí what is already established between interacting sign-users, at least implicitly, as ÷contextøto which the propriety of their usage í appealsö (p. 195). The Perelmanian approach to presumptions with its focus on what is õnormalö and õlikelyö expresses the idea of an underlying macro-sociological schematization of social õappropriatenessö of indexical signs to their contexts of use, which establishes, according to Silverstein (2003, p. 193), a dialectic relationship between micro- and macro-contextual meanings.

Presuppositions are also in a dialectical relationship with entailments, or õeffectiveness-inö context (2003, p. 195) of an indexical relation. What Silverstein calls õpragmatic entailmentsö TNR discusses as effects of argumentation on the audience. Effectiveness of argumentation is one of the central aspects that distinguish the Perelmanian approach to argumentation ó TNR is primarily about the effects argumentation has on the audience and how such effects are achieved rather than about the structure of argumentation. Using TNR as an analytic lens in the exploration of presuppositional meanings has the advantage of supplying the rhetorical framework that allows the analyst to view presumptions in their interrelations, constructed both within and across discourse episodes, with the rhetorical effectiveness of the indexical structure underlying an ideological construal.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecaøs (1969) view of presumptions in relation to the arguerøs and the audienceøs shared assumptions of the normal is a potentially useful perspective in the analysis of metalinguistic discourse since linguistic and social differentiation is fundamentally premised on agreements with regard to what constitutes linguistic and social norms and deviations from such norms. In broader terms, õThe potential for [normativity] is latent in every communicative act, and the impulse behind it pervades our habits of thought and behaviorö (Cameron, 1995, p. 9, as cited in Johnstone et al., 2006, p. 100). According to Aghaøs (2007) social theory of language, normativity, which is in a dialectic relationship with õtropic variability,ö underlies the social processes of enregisterment. The norms underlying such processes may include baseline defaults in the sound patterns, as well as norms of denotation and interaction (p. 124). In sociolinguistic research, the traditional Labovian approach to sociolinguistic analysis regards norms, such as õsociolinguistic markers,ö as features that define speech communities (Labov, 1972, p. 179).

According to Agha (2007), normativity may be realized in several gradations of overt semiotic behaviors including (1) externally observable patterning of behavior, (2) normalized,

reflexive models of behavior "recognized as 'normal' or 'typical' by (at least some) actors," and (3) normative models of behavior "linked to standards whose breach results in sanctions" (p. 126). These "thresholds of normativity" help distinguish norms derived from statistical observations of predominant behavior patterns from norms based on recognition of social typifications and those based on prescriptive standards.

Analyses of what is presumed to be normal in metapragmatic discourse may reveal folk-linguistic abstractions of the baseline defaults used to conceptualize others' and one's own social and linguistic behavior as part of normalized and normative reflexive models. Presumptions of the normal underlie the processes of essentialization and stereotyping that lead to ideological constructions of characteristic features of sociolects, including dialects and speaking styles associated with certain social identities, persona types, and characterological figures. Analyses of presumptions of normality may shed light on how these processes develop metapragmatically and how assumptions about norms and standards are implicated in speakers' positionings of their identities and their alignments with social groups. Such analyses can also help illuminate ideological constructions of sociolinguistic differences from many angles including, for example, questions concerning the kinds of speech norms that are stereotypically associated with certain sociolects, discursive constructions of deviations from norms and their violations, attitudinal evaluations of norms and their deviants, as well as acquisition of speech norms and accommodation to them.

Presumptions of normality, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) observed, always depend on a reference group which can be conceptualized differently:

Sometimes one thinks of the real or fictitious group acting in a certain manner, sometimes of the common opinion held with respect to those who act in this way or of

the opinion of those regarded as spokesmen for this common opinion or of what is

commonly considered to be the opinion of these spokesmen (p. 72).

From this perspective, a reference group in assumptions of the normal is a mental construct in

the mind of the arguer. This construct functions as a cognitive point of reference in presumptions

of linguistic and social norms. It is based on typifications and abstractions of what is assumed to

be the predominant or authoritative views in a certain real or imagined reference group. Such

typifications constitute what Agha (2007) calls õa reflexive modelö of normativity which has its

õsocial rangeö consisting of people who exhibit a certain type of social and linguistic behavior

and õa social domainö consisting of people who evaluate or reflect on this behavior (p. 125).

Perelmanøs and Aghaøs views of normativity highlight the fact that there may be multiple

normative models co-existing and competing in the same speech community. Such models may

undergo change which may result from the variability in social and linguistic behavior (Agha,

2007, p. 5) and lead to the emergence of new norms and new imagined and real reference groups.

The theory of reference groups has been extensively developed as one of the fundamental

sociological and social-psychological frameworks explaining the patterns in social behavior and

the processes of social identification, social categorization, and value and attitude formation.

More specifically, the mental construct of a reference group is part of õa subjective frame of

referenceö which is based on the processes of social comparison: Through these processes,

people realize their need to establish veracity of their beliefs and opinions while relying on the

agreement of the reference group which helps to gain confidence in the truth of oneøs beliefs

(Abrams & Hogg, 2006). Social comparison and perceptions of ingroup/outgroup relations are

also crucially involved in the processes of self- and other-categorization and social stereotyping

(Tajfel, 1982). The rhetorical perspective on these processes in the framework of a discourse-

based analysis offers a way of analyzing their discursive instantiations in the context of

individualsø interactional and argumentative engagement with other speakers and in the co-text of co-occuring metasemiotic signs and their relations.

If we look back at the data in Extract 4 given in the previous section, we can see how the arguments supporting the macroproposition in this episode construe essentializing typifications of social and linguistic behavior that characterize several sociolects. These constructions are based on presumptions of normality of the behavior patterns stereotypically associated with certain speech communities. In terms of social behavior, the participants presume that a cultural norm for the New Yorkers is to be õbrash,ö õupfront,ö and to live fast, for the Southerners ó to be õkicked back,ö and for the Westerners ó to be free from rules. In terms of linguistic behavior, the presumed norm for the New Yorkers and Northeasterners is to talk fast, for the Southerners ó to talk slow, and for the Westerners ó to õnot follow any rules.ö The social range of these normalized reflexive models is generalized to anyone who represents the sociolects delineated along psychologically salient regional boundaries (with the exception of New York which is semiotized here as being on par in comparison with larger regional distinctions). The social domain of these normalized models ó the people who reflect on and evaluate the conceptualized behavior ó consists of the arguers themselves, since in the constructions of their footings and alignments in this episode the participants do not position themselves as belonging to the typified social groups. In this conceptualization, the norms of linguistic behavior of the outgroups are presented as deviant from the norms of the speakersø ingroup. In other words, oneøs own linguistic variety is taken to be the default baseline in identification of sociolinguistic distinctions ó a cognitive operation characteristic of self- and other-categorization and stereotyping processes (Abrams & Hogg, 2006). Recall that presumptions of socially-typifying norms in this episode serve the rhetorical purpose of supporting the folk-theoretic proposition that õaccentsö match the ways people live their lives. By comparing the patterns of linguistic and social norms within the normalized models and by bringing models of regional variation into a comparative ideological

scheme, the participants co-construct a rhetorical support for the folk theory proposed in this discourse episode.

The presumption of one's own variety as the default baseline in comparative schemes of normality is of course a ubiquitous strategy in everyday folk-linguistic discourse and, more generally, in perceptions of linguistic distinctiveness. In discourse, this presumption is commonly used in metapragmatic arguments which express the idea that "they speak very different": "different" often presupposes the difference from one's own group. Presumptions of norms underlying discursively-constructed distinctions between one's own variety and the outgroup variety may be analyzed in terms of what Agha (2007) calls "denotational" and "interactional" norms in language use. "Denotation of an expression involves a norm of class membership" (p. 87), and "interactional norms" reflect the conventions of the social functioning of a linguistic expression, such as appropriateness of its use in certain social contexts (p. 85). Extract 5, which is given below, illustrates this type of analysis. This excerpt is part of a longer discussion about the distinctiveness of African American English.

Extract 5

1 Sam   And there's different meanings to some of the words, (.) sometimes they'll use the=

2 Lynn   [Yeah]

3 Jane   [yes]

4 Sam   =same word that'll have the meaning, (.) that we have no idea of what it   [means.]

5 Curt   [oh yes] **"Oh yo man,**

6   (.) **that girl is ↓pha:t**" [(0.8) And of] course it's P-H-A-T (.) for pretty hot [and tempting]_

7 Sam   [((*laughter*))]   [((*laughter*))]

In this passage, Sam's use of personal pronouns creates a division into "us" and "them" which positions the discourse participants, all of whom are White, as belonging to the ingroup

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contrasted with the outgroup of African Americans on the basis of the differences in the circulation of denotational stereotypes in the two communities. All the other participants express their symmetrical alignment with this stance. Curt expresses his alignment by citing õphatö as an example of intergroup differences and by performing an imitation that illustrates how õphatö can be used in the context of evaluation of a womanøs sexual attractiveness. This semiotic performance is seemingly metasemantic, but the norm itself - the denotational meaning of the lexical item õphatö that draws on sexually-loaded connotations - and the implied interactional norm of its contextual appropriateness serve metapragmatically to anchor the African American variety in an indexical association with the types of social identities evoked by Curtøs imitation. These evoked identities may include those that draw on male youth street culture, hip-hop culture, or the situations of casual, sexually-loaded talk among men. Although the types of identities evoked by this discursive act depend on the social and linguistic experience of the audience, the contextual effect of this entailing meaning projection lies in the layering of indexical meanings that may contribute to the perpetuation of ideological associations linking the African American variety to the stereotypes of marginalized social groups. In this discursively-emergent register differentiation, the denotational and interactional norms of language use referred to both explicitly and implicitly acquire metapragmatic significance in the context of group-relevant social positionings of the participants. The metapragmatic function of the presumptions of norms realized by the linguistic imitation in Extract 5 is, arguably, characteristic of any discursive contexts in which such imitations, or caricatures, occur, since the pragmatic goal of a linguistic imitation is usually to demonstrate or indexically point to some of the most typical features of the imitated linguistic variety. Importantly, these presuppositional meaning projections are usually part of the contextually-determined semiotic act that metapragmatically uses these presuppositions to create entailing projections or contextual effects serving particular rhetorical goals in the unfolding propositional (argumentative) and interactional structure of a discursive event.

In the passage that follows, an imitation is used to support an explicit account of the typifying features that constitute the perceived linguistic model of normality in the imitated linguistic variety. Another metapragmatic function is realized in this extract as the participant reflects on and analyzes the differences in the degrees to which various linguistic features contribute to the perception of a õtwangyö speaking style in American English. Note that this extract is taken from the part of the one-on-one research interview in which the participant listened to five voice samples, rated each sample on the semantic differential scales with regard to the presence of the features such as õtwang,ö õdrawl,ö õnasal,ö speech tempo, etc., and was asked to explain the differences in the ratings of the samples. The following excerpt is part of the participantøs explanation of why he assigned higher ratings on õtwangö to two voice samples.

Extract 6

1 Sam: The nasal is probably a byproduct of the twang maybe (.) sometimes, (0.4) thatøs not the=

2   =requirement of the twang. (0.8) The requirement of the twang is those emphases on the (.)

3   and (.) and I had- (0.5) **I hadn't really thou:ght about it,** (0.8) **but the rhythm with which**=

4   **=they are ^talking** (0.6) **and the way they put the emphasis on the sounds while they are**

5   **doing the rhythm is what makes it part of the twang.**

In this extract, õtwangö functions as a meta-sign, as a metapragmatic concept associated with a cluster of linguistic features stereotypically identifiable in listenersøperceptions. This conceptualization constitutes a reflexive model of õtwanginessö normalized by the references to its õtypical,ö from the participantøs viewpoint, characteristics. In this construction, not all features contribute to the folk-linguistic model equally: while the õemphases on the soundsö is a õrequirementö of õtwang,ö nasality is considered to be its õbyproduct.ö The participant distinguishes these features by grading them in terms of their ability to index õtwanginess.ö This gradation conceptualizes the relative salience of various features contributing to the perception of õtwang.ö This reveals that language users are sensitive to the hierarchical relations between

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sociolinguistic indices: they may articulate these relations and comment on the relative indexical potential of semiotic signs within a particular model of linguistic variation.

It is important to point out that linguists usually cite õnasalityö as the only linguistic feature associated with this folk-linguistic term (e.g., Cukor-Avila, 2012; Mongomery, 2008). The denotational meaning of the term codified in the dictionaries also points to a nasal sound as its main characteristic. Thus, the folk-linguistic conceptualization constructed in this episode is more complex and detailed compared to the linguistsø and dictionary definitions. But, just as any other structure of informal reasoning in everyday argumentation, this construction of the meanings of õtwangö may be incomplete or not quite accurate. Furthermore, the modes of metalinguistic awareness that underlie folk beliefs about language vary across speakers on the dimensions of accuracy, control, availability, and detail (Preston, 1996). In this regard, a discursive construal of the linguistic norms of a variety is always a reflection of the participantøs mode of folk-linguistic awareness. Such discursive construals reflect, as we can see from Extract 6, language usersø sensitivity to the default linguistic norms functioning as baselines against which õemphases on soundsö and õnasalö sounds may be differentiated as indices of a sociolect.

Folk-linguistic awareness may be heightened by the active engagement in the reflexive metapragmatic discourse, as Extract 6 demonstrates. In the process of reflecting on the features that constitute the perception of õtwanginess,ö the participant identifies õrhythmö as the feature that previously, before the interview, was not part of his conscious metalinguistic awareness. This suggests the emergent nature of this metapragmatic construction influenced by the context of the metapragmatic discourse which activates the indexical associations with the concept õrhythmö in the indexical field of õtwang.ö When this indexical link becomes accessible to the participantøs conscious awareness, he uses it in the performance of the õtwangyö speech. Through this performance, the newly activated link becomes associable with the participantøs reflexive model of the linguistic norms that typify the õtwangyö speech style. When indexical associations and

their interrelations are overtly articulated in metapragmatic discursive acts and are shown to be performable, these meanings become available for the processes of their further õenregistermentö (Agha, 2007, p. 81) as recognizable features of õtwang.ö

3.6.4 Objects of Agreement: Presumptions of the Normative

While normalized models conceptualize typifications of behavior, normative models implicate prescriptive standards and norms that should be followed in society (Agha, 2007, p. 126). As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) observed, presumptions of the normative standards may be revealed in the analysis of participantsø linguistic choices (p. 161). In metalinguistic discourse, presumptions of prescriptive normative models often underlie ideologically-saturated constructions of what is referred to as õstandard,ö õcorrect,ö and õproperö language. As they emerge in discursive acts, such constructions are influenced by the context of interaction which includes participantsø interpersonal footings, role alignments, and epistemic stances. This is illustrated in the passage given below which shows a participantøs expression of a reflexive epistemic stance on the macro-sociological status of the concept of õproperö language.

Extract 7

1 Int: Can you (0.2) say anything else about the social groups that, (0.6) uhm you commented about=
2 = the (.) the association with education or lack of education, (0.4) Is there anything else or-,
3 Sam: And this is all just subjective you know, (0.5) this is all just (0.4) and thereøs no telling if itøs=
4 =right or wrong, but (0.5) you know, (.) itøs a common stereotype that people that talk with=
5 =less proper English structure, (0.4) are thought of to be less intelligent or less educated. (0.8)
6 Not necessarily intelligent but less <u>educated</u> you know, (0.4) that they come from environments=
7 Int: Uh-huh
8 =that didnøt have the educational ability or standards available to them you know, (0.4) thatøs=
9 =not necessarily true, (0.2) but thereøs an association with that.

In this extract, Sam construes a conceptualization of the linguistic behavior that deviates from a presumed system of prescriptive norms implied by the phrase "proper English structure." The notion of a deviation implicitly presupposes an existing baseline of speech norms against which a speaker's linguistic behavior may be judged as divergent. This conceptualization also relies on presumptions of norms or standards in educational achievement in a speech community. Violations of the normative models of behavior in society are often accompanied by social sanctions (Agha, 2007, p. 126). In this episode, Sam presents his perspective on the nature of such sanctions functioning as stereotypical evaluations of the social significance of the deviations from the normative model of "proper" language use. The development of this discursive construction is contingent on the interactional frame of the communicative context. Here, Sam is responding to the researcher's direct question about metapragmatic stereotypes that involve judgments of the speaker's education level. Sam's response is a cautious, carefully-formulated statement: he prefaces his account of the metapragmatic stereotype with remarks that point to his attempt to downgrade, diminish the significance of the stereotype: note the use of a modifying pragmatic marker "just" which functions in a "diminisher" sense (Preston, 1993, p. 250), with a downtoning meaning (Aijmer, 2002, p. 158) of "this is not much." This mitigating device as well as Sam's remarks that the stereotype is "subjective," that "there's no telling if it's right or wrong," and the repeated claim that it is "not necessarily true" express Sam's epistemological assessment (Mushin, 2001, p. 151) of the socioindexical relation signaled by deviations from "proper English structure." This represents an assessment of the contingent status of the rationale underlying the metapragmatic stereotype, according to which, as Sam explains, if a person's speech does not conform to the "proper English structure," it may mean that they grew up in the environment where "standards" were not available to them. The stance Sam takes with regard to the ownership of the stereotype is revealed in the phrase "are thought of" which ascribes the authorship of this stereotype to the Other, while the speaker's personal epistemological commitment is not expressed in this construction.

This construction of interactional and epistemic positionings with regard to the content of the overtly discussed stereotypes is in contrast with the way in which the same participant engaged with three interlocutors, as illustrated in Extract 4, in the discussion of the sociolinguistic stereotypes during a multi-party conversation where the researcherøs contributions were minimal. In a more casual context of a conversation with friends at the dinner table, the audience mainly consisted of non-linguists and the participantsø exchange of talk was more spontaneous, with most topic transitions initiated by the participants as new topics were mainly derived from preceding arguments or offered in support or in refutation to the othersø arguments. In that context of interaction, Samøs typifications of the linguistic and social norms were, overall, expressed more directly, with more certainty and personal epistemological commitments. As exemplified in Extract 4, such typifications were often presented as factual rather than as subjective, contingent representations of folk-linguistic beliefs. Extract 7, however, is part of a one-on-one research interview: the audience of Samøs argument consisted only of the researcher, and the researcher often had topical control during the semi-structured interview. In Extract 7, Samøs argument is a response to the researcherøs õtopical actionö[2] (Bublitz, 1988): this response may be seen as an instantiation of more deliberative propositional processes driven by more conscious discursive actions oriented to the particular audience of argumentation. This illustrates how the interview context may be one of the significant factors that shape the propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality.

Although Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecaøs (1969) rhetorical theory views presumptions of the normal as implicit objects of agreement in argumentation, the uses of this rhetorical construct can be extended to the analysis of speakersø overt references to typifying and prescriptive norms of language use and social behavior. Attention to discursive constructions of

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[2] A "topical action" is defined by Bublitz (1988) as an action used "to intervene in the development and the course of the topic, and thus to contribute to a topical thread being initiated, maintained and competed" (p. 40).

normality is an essential analytical tool in any discourse-based study of language ideologies since language-ideological models are fundamentally defined by participantsøreflexive understandings and contextualized reinterpretations of what constitutes linguistic and social norms, deviations from norms, and their social meaningfulness. Qualitative, discursive investigations of everyday talk about language may uncover the ways in which rhetorically- and interactionally-constructed meanings of normality function both explicitly and implicitly as presumptions, or presuppositional meaning projections, and as contextual effects, or entailing meaning projections, in ideological models of sociolinguistic distinctiveness. The issue of broader significance here is how the dialectic relation between pre-existing macro-sociological meanings of norms and their contextualized reanalysis is realized in ideological and identity-embedding processes, and what it can reveal about the nature of sociolinguistic differentiation.

3.6.5 Objects of Agreement: Values

The New Rhetoric approach to argumentation (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) lays out a framework for conceptual analysis of arguments in relation to underlying value judgments (p. 75). It views everyday argumentation as a form of justifying values that speakers attribute to conceptualized phenomena and use to achieve persuasiveness in discourse. According to TNR,

> Agreement with regard to a value means an admission that an object, a being, or an ideal must have a specific influence on action and on disposition toward action and that one can make use of this influence in an argument, although the point of view represented is not regarded as binding on everybody. The existence of values, as objects of agreement that make possible a communion with regard to particular ways of acting, is connected with the idea of multiplicity of groups. (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 74)

As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969, p. 76) pointed out, values are an object of agreement of particular rather than universal audiences. As they observed, if values were

universal, it would be hard to distinguish them from truths. It is through their non-universal, community-based nature that values acquire their status. A õparticularö audience may include interlocutors in a particular discursive act, or it may be conceived in broader terms, as a particular community. A speech community may be defined based on the membersø agreements of what constitutes norms of linguistic and social behavior, or based on common evaluations of norms. Norms and their evaluations, however, are not stable: in the dynamics of social life and in the dialectic relationship between social and linguistic forms, norms and values may be redefined and acquire new meanings both in the macro- and micro-contexts of their use (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Silverstein, 2003; Agha, 2007).

At the macro-social level of ideological processes, language use is interpreted in terms of õwidespread schemes of valorizationö which õassociate particular forms of speech with commonplace value distinctions (e.g., good vs. bad speech, upper-class vs. lower-class speech), which are known to a large number of speakersö (Agha, 2007, p. 15). Social meanings of language or any other cultural form are derived from the values attributed to such forms with reference to widespread valorization schemes. Shared value systems underlie what Hymes calls (1974) õnorms of interpretationö that õimplicate the belief system of a communityö (p. 61); thus, values play a crucial role in language-ideological processes. At the micro-level of interaction, however, social effectiveness of language use is õmediated by emergent features of current semiotic activityö (Agha, 2007, p. 16). Speakersø positionality with regard to the propositional content and interactional structure of discourse, as well as metasemiotic effects of contextualized meaning reinterpretation can have a significant influence on the nature of indexical relations that emerge in discourse. In other words, while macro-sociological value distinctions may be evoked or referred to explicitly in discourse, they may become negotiated and reanalyzed during the micro-interactional engagement in the context of communication. This dialectic relationship between the macro- and micro-social levels of meaning creation is an important factor in the

understanding of the nature of õsharednessö or õagreementö with regard to values: it helps understand the mental construct of õsharednessö not in terms of metaphysics (*cf.* Agha, 2007, p. 183), but in terms of the realization of this construct in specific communicative contexts. The conceptualization of the dialectic relation between relatively stable macro-social uniformity and dynamic micro-social variability of values underlying sociolinguistic differentiation defines the theoretical and methodological differences between qualitative discourse-based and quantitative approaches to the study of language attitudes and ideologies.

An application of the rhetorical construct of õagreement on valuesö in a discourse-based study of language ideologies can shed light on how values and systems of values related to social and linguistic phenomena are called upon and negotiated in discursive constructions of sociolinguistic indexicality. Cultural values are dynamic rather than static entities: õdiscursive practices í imbue cultural forms with recognizable indexical sign-values and bring these values into circulation along identifiable trajectories in social spaceö (Agha, 2007, p. 190). To identify how values contribute to meaning creation in discourse, the analyst may attend to the conceptual interrelations between propositions, as well as the nature of connecting links between claims and their premises. Whether a statement expresses a value or a fact depends õon its place in the speech, on what it enunciates, refutes, or correctsö (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 76). As discourse unfolds, speakers may modify the epistemological status of knowledge structures by ascribing them the status that is more likely to enhance audience agreement: they may, for example, present personal feelings and impressions as commonly shared value judgements, or present value judgments as judgments of fact (pp. 179-180). This suggests that the status of these objects of agreement may be recognized within a specific context of communication (p. 183). If we consider how values or sets of values are used as semiotic signs in interaction and argumentation, we will need to look beyond the utterance level and consider the uptake,

negotiation, development, or rejection of values in relation to co-occurring indexical signs, including those that emerge in the exchange structures of discourse and in text-level indexicality.

Values can be distinguished in terms of their abstract and concrete nature. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) observe, there is a fundamental distinction between these types of values: õA concrete value is one attaching to a living being, a specific group, or a particular object, considered as a unique entityö (p. 77). In this view, solidarity, for example, is a concrete value since it is only conceivable in relation to a specific group of people, a specific individual, or particular qualities of a group or an individual. Abstract values may include those of truth, justice, equality, etc. (pp. 77-78).

Values are often used as a starting point of argumentation. To use an example from Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecaøs treatise (1969), õWhen a person says that men are equal because they are children of the same God, he seems to be relying on a concrete value to find an abstract value, that of equality; but it could also be said that really only the abstract value is expressed, by appealing, through analogy, to a concrete relationship; in spite of the use of *because*, the starting point would lie in the abstract valueö (pp. 77-78).

Values play a fundamental role in sociolinguistic differentiation: the latter is achieved through attachment of values to varieties of language, including õstandardö and õvernacularö registers. Milroy (2001) has defined standardization, õin respect of the internal form of language,ö as õthe imposition of uniformity upon a class of objectsö (p. 531) and has claimed that this definition is õnon-ideological.ö However, õimposition of uniformityö and õinvarianceö imply certain values attached to the abstract concept of language and to sets of particular linguistic forms. Specifically, there is an underlying assumption here of linguistic variability which is not desired and needs to be eliminated through the process of imposing uniformity on language use. Uniformity as applied to language use can only be achieved by language usersøconformity to uniform rules of using language; in other words, the valuation of language standardization is

based on the values of conformity and obedience to rules. These values are part of the system of moral rules. According to Kohlberg's (1969, 1976, as cited in Bandura, 1991, p. 47) cognitive structural theory of morality, there is a typology of moral rules: moral behavior is characterized by a hierarchy of lower- and higher-level moral reasoning "beginning with punishment-based obedience, evolving through opportunistic self-interest, approval-seeking conformity, respect for authority, … and culminating in principled morality based on standards of justice." Applying the Perelmanian distinction between concrete and abstract values, we can see how these moral principles may develop starting with concrete values and reaching the level of the abstract value of justice. With regard to the ideological models of language variability and language standardization, justice would mean attributing value to language diversity which is the highest, more superior level of moral reasoning compared to obedience to uniform rules and conformity to language standards. However, the highest level of moral reasoning is not cognitively superior: "in most of their judgments, people do not use the highest mode of thinking they understand" (Bandura, 1991, p. 47). This perspective on the functioning of moral behavior in society may be useful in understanding how values factor in language-ideological constructions of the normative models of behavior.

Discourse-based instantiations of values underlying the standard language ideology are illustrated in the analysis that follows. It shows how explicit and implicit, abstract and concrete values are implicated in discourse-based language-ideological constructions of vernacular and "correct" forms in American English. This excerpt was taken from a conversation with two Oklahomans, mother (Patsy, in her mid-70s) and daughter (Kate, in her early 50s), who were born and raised on a farm in the eastern part of the state, close to the Arkansas border, before they moved to the suburb of Oklahoma City. Patsy is conscious of how her speech is different from what she calls "the correct pronunciation," and the excerpt below reveals how this consciousness relies on a system of social values ascribed to the vernacular forms which are contrasted with "correct" forms. The extract that follows is taken from the part of the conversation in which the

participants discuss the typical linguistic features that characterize the ways Patsyøs relatives

spoke in Eastern Oklahoma, where both Patsy and Kate used to live.

Extract 8

1 Kate: We would say õwash_ö (.) and they would say õ**warsh.**ö (0.3) õ[Iøm gonna **warsh,** (.) Iøm=

2 Patsy: [They would always say (**)

3 Kate: gonna wash, **warsh** [my clothes] (.) how can you say [õ**warsh**ö?] (0.5) An **iron.** (.) Iøm=

4 Int: [((*chuckle*))]

5 Patsy: [uh-huh] uh-huh

6 Kate: =gonna **iron** them. (.) Not iron them_ (1.2) So that was interesting°_

7 (0.9)

8 Int: So is that how you said those words?

9 Kate: I <u>never</u> said those [words. (0.7)

10 Patsy: [@No] she ((*chuckle*)) [this is-]

11 Int: [No? (.) Why not.]

12 Kate: [I REBELLED] FROM THE=

13   =BEGINNING. >I was like õ<u>That</u> is not how itøs spelt, that is not how you <u>say</u> it.<ö

14 Int: @Why?@ [How did you know?]

15 Patsy: [You go to   schoo::l] you learn (0.2) the correct (0.3) ^pronunciations. (0.3) of the=

16   =words_ (0.4) but around your <u>fa:mily</u> (.) you grew up saying it (.) the way they said it. (0.4)

17 Int: uh-huh

18 Patsy: Until you learnt the correct (.) pronunciation in school.

19 Kate: But but for a lot of people it was just too far go:ne_ They just (.) [always] said it cause thatøs=

20 Patsy: [Yeah]

21 Kate: =how they learned it and, (1.2) >(**) just< **ain't there_**

22 Int & Patsy: ((*chuckle*))

23 Int: But in school is that how they talked in [school? Was it different?

24　Kate:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Yeah (.) a lot of the- (.) yeah (.) a lot of people in=

25　　　　　=that area, (.) thatøs how they talked. (.) thatøs how- thatøs how my <u>dad</u> talked.

26　Patsy:　The teachers taught you correct. (.) English pronunciation, (0.5) but that didnøt mean you (.)=

27　Int:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　uh-huh

28　Patsy:　=said your words that way.

29　Kate:　　@When you were home.@ ((*chuckle*))

30　Patsy:　Uh-huh (.) uh-huh. (.) You said it how your family and relatives said it (.) you know, (1.1)

31　　　　　unless you chose to. (0.2) do it correctly [((*laughter*))]

32　Int:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[chuckle]

33　Kate:　　I was like a city girl born on the farm [from the- from the beginning_] (0.2)

34　Patsy:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Right. (.) She never liked [that country-]

35　Kate:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Never. (.) I was never a=

36　　　　　= <u>farm</u> girl even though I lived on (.) a farm so I always_ (0.5) as soon as I was eighteen I=

37　　　　　=moved to the city and_ (1.1) [(***)

38　Patsy:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Lived in Oklahoma City ever since.

39　Int:　　So is that kind of talk associated with country (.) [talk?]

40　Kate:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Yes.] Uh-[huh.

41　Patsy:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Uh-huh (.) Oh yes. (.) Yes. (.)

42　　　　　And I am sure (0.3) Arkansas, Missouri, and Missippi, (0.4) Alabama, Georgia, (.) all=

43　　　　　= through the:re, (0.2) they were (.) worse (.) even than   that.

44　Int:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　uh-huh

45　Patsy:　And the slang- slang way that they- (.) it would   vary in different (.) areas of the same state=

46　Int:　　　　　　　　　　　　　uh-huh

47　Patsy:　=that you lived in, (0.4) not all of the state would speak the same way. (0.4) It was just your=

48　Int:　　　　　　　　　　uh-huh

49　Patsy:　= >particular area that you were raised in.<

50　(1.0)

51　Kate:　Which to me, they should seem uneducated. (.) [I mean, I mean, you could go through schoo:l_

52 Patsy: uh-huh (.) [Right.]

53 Kate: (0.3) and have a degree, (.) but the way you ˅ ta:lked, (.) made you seem like, (.) you (.) had=

54 Patsy: Uh-huh

55 Kate: =no degree_

56 Int: To [to whom.]

57 Kate: [AINøT I] (0.2) I AINøT KNOW (.) AINøT KNO:W (.) OR AINøT GO:T (.) or whatever_ I=

58   =was like (.) what (.) what kind of English is that. You donøt have [any-

59 Int: [So   who would think

60   =about those people as being uneducated.

61 Kate: Me. [((*chuckle*)) @Whoever you are talking to.@ I guess itøs just because (.) it makes you (.)

62 Int: [((*laughter*))

63 Kate: come across, as being not as (0.4) intellectual when you are not saying words [that are (1.2)

64 Patsy: [uh-huh uh-huh

65 Kate: correct. It would mean to me itøs just like just a matter of- (0.3) Thatøs my type of =

66 Kate: = personality though_ (.) Things are_ (0.4) This is how itøs spelt_ This is how you say it. (0.5)

67   My ducks have to be in a row. So, (0.9) it didnøt make sense. This is how itøs spelt and they=

68   =are saying what? (.) [((*chuckle*))] >What are you talking about?<

69 Int: [((*chuckle*))]

        ((*about 1.5 minutes of omitted talk about the differences between Texas and Oklahoma, about the*

        varieties used in Arkansas and Louisiana))

70 Patsy: I like to hear different dialects except for that (1.2) what I call country slang [((*laughter*))

71 Int: [@You=

72   =donøt like that?@

73 Patsy: @I donøt care for country slang@ ((*chuckle*)) I know I say a lot of my words wrong and Iøve=

74   =tried to correct them (.) and say them (.) correct (.) for my sake (.) as well as my daughterøs,=

75   = other people, but (.) you still have trouble when youøve heard it all your li:fe, (.) you still=

76   =have trouble (.) saying it (.) the way you know itøs supposed to be spoken_ (.) If I hear=

77   = somebody <u>really</u> butcher their English [language,] it <u>really</u> bothers me (.) it <u>really</u> bothers=

78   Int: [((*chuckle*))]

79   Patsy: =me.

80   Int: So when you- (.) [er (.) say]

81   Patsy: [because] you know you were all taught the same thing at school. We were=

82   =all taught how to say it correctly. (0.4) but you go home and everybody speaks that=

83   =particular way_ (.) and so you end up speaking the same way too. (.) unless you get away=

84   =from that environment. (.) you [know.

85   Int: [Uh-huh. (.) So are the children corrected, (.) when they say=

86   =õaintö (.) instead of õauntö? ((*referring to the example Kate mentioned in the beginning of

              the conversation which is not part of this transcript*))

87   Patsy: Yes (.) yes (.) they do at school, (.) but I am sure not always at home. (.) I am sure=

88   =that they donøt always at home.

89   Int: But at school (.) teachers correct [that?

90   Patsy: [Uh-huh uh-huh (.) Yes.

91   Int: But thatøs the same word. (.) Itøs just a different way of saying it_

92   Patsy: Right. (.) Right. (.)We call it slang. (.) @slang words.@ ((*laughter*))

There are a number of ways in which values are implicated in the discursive constructions of
sociolinguistic distinctiveness in this excerpt. For example, they are used (1) as positive and
negative evaluations of specific linguistic forms and registers of language, (2) as identity-defining
social values, (3) as systems of social values underlying rationalizations of social practices, (4) as
systems of social values underlying prescriptive language practices, and (5) as social values
underlying rationalizations of prescriptive language standards. Most of these values are presumed
but some of them are stated explicitly, in the form of overt attitudinal evaluations.

In this excerpt, evaluations of specific linguistic forms, such as vernacular pronunciations
of õwarshö and õironö (lines 1, 3 , and 6) and grammatical forms such as õainøt knowö (line 57)
are constructed at the utterance level, in the phrases such as õhow can you say =warsh,øö in line 3

and "what kind of English is that" in line 58. The evaluative, critical stance is also revealed at the discourse level: in the context of "linguistic complaints" (Milroy & Milroy, 1999) expressed in this passage, these specific examples are indexically related to what the speakers label as "incorrect" and "uneducated." These evaluations are attributed not only to the specific linguistic forms, but also to the register these forms belong to: "country slang" is contrasted during the conversation with positively-evaluated "correct" language prescribed by the school. Speakers also overtly express their affective evaluations with regard to the register of "country slang" when they use phrases such as "I don't care for country slang" (line 73).

The value of "correctness" is also constructed here in relation to the participants' social and linguistic identities: Kate emphasizes that she "rebelled from the beginning" (lines 12-13) and never spoke the local variety. In other words, she reports on the types of linguistic behavior that expressed an evaluation of the local vernacular forms: she refused to conform to the local variety and made a choice to conform to the "correct" variety. The explanation for this behavior is given here in terms of values underlying a "personality type" which is oriented towards obeying the rules: "That is not how it's spelt, that is not how you say it" (lines 13, 65-68). Kate's construction of the social identity of a "city girl" contrasted with a "farm girl" contributes a social dimension of an opposition between the social values associated with urban and rural lifestyles to the value system evoked throughout the conversation: now it is not only about correctness and sounding educated, but also about lack of identification with the local culture of a farm life.

Patsy's linguistic identity is represented differently here: she judges her own linguistic behavior as not quite "correct" (line 13) and admits that she has been trying to change it (lines 73-74). She explains that her correction efforts have been for her own sake, as well as for her daughter's and for the others' sake (line 74). In this discussion centered on the stigmatization of the vernacular variety as sounding "uneducated," this explanation suggests that the social dimension defining her value of the normative linguistic model is related to achieving social effects – most likely, social approval – by building a certain social image untainted by

stigmatized linguistic forms. In this conversation, Patsy does not seem to attach any positive value to vernacular forms in her own speech. Before the interview, she mentioned that she õspeaks like a hick,ö using a social label which is widespread in Oklahomansø (Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012; Bakos, 2013) and Californiansø descriptions of the Southern-sounding local speaking styles. Later, during the conversation, the participants used õhickö several times to describe the southern-sounding speech styles in Oklahoma.

The meanings of the common folk-linguistic concept õhickö have not been investigated in sociolinguistics, but it has generally been interpreted by researchers as a label for a social persona (Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012, p. 272) that carries a social stigma and has associations with the concepts of rurality, õcountry,ö õsouthernness,ö and low education (Niedzielski and Preston, 2003; Evans, 2011; Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012). Hall-Lew and Stephens (2012) explicitly asked their discourse participants from the Oklahoma/Texas border area whether õcountryö and õhickö mean the same thing. The answers revealed that the main difference lies in the association of õhickö with low education. In their study of õcountry,ö Hall-Lew and Stephens (2012) concluded that õThe existence of hick in the local discourse fills an area of semiotic space that allows country more positive meaningsö (p. 273). In the analyzed conversation, however, Patsy and Kate do not make such a distinction between the values underlying the two terms and treat õcountryö and õhickö as interchangeable labels.

The analysis of other conversations collected for this study reveals that if participants are not asked to define the labels for social personae, such definitions usually do not emerge naturally in the development of discourses. Thus, in everyday talk, speakers mainly rely on implicit presumptions of stereotypic values associated with social personae types. Discursive acts of using widely-circulating labels, such as õhick,ö that refer to prominent social personae, rely on the presuppositional meanings that can be accessible by those who have been socialized to the stereotypic values associated with these personae as part of larger schemes of sociological differentiation. At the same time, such uses entail micro-contextual effects of the indexical

associations between the stereotypic values attached to the social persona and the features of the co-occurring semiotic signs. Values evoked by stereotypic or characterological personae participate in the metapragmatic constructions of the partitioning and gradation of the social space mediated by the conceptions of linguistic models of the typifying and prescriptive norms. As Silverstein (2003) stated,

> … cultural values as articulable and rearticulable in micro-contextual interaction are notoriously "ideological," that is, they emerge in the micro-contextual dialectic as essentializations … of a kind of "logic" of evaluational stances (good/bad; preferred/dispreferred; normal/deviant; etc.) underlying social partitioning as the the [sic] presuppositions/entailments of semiotic action that instantiate such partitions of social space (p. 202).

Discursive construals of the standard language ideology are often based on the moral value of respect for authority — in particular, the institutional mechanisms of the authority of the education system and respect for its regimenting power to establish linguistic standards by imposing judgments of correctness on language use. Such values, however, are often represented in language-ideological debates in terms of unquestionable and factual knowledge structure, and this representation is overall characteristic of the construals in Extract 8. The speakers in this conversation take the authority of school-imposed corrections for granted and do not put this authority to doubt. Milroy and Milroy (2002, p. 87) have observed that it is usually very difficult for speakers to realize to what extent their language use has been determined by prescriptive standards: even when they agree with the rationality of the arguments against standardization, their evaluations of non-standard speech are often informed by the inculcated prescriptions and learnt attitudes. This tendency is revealed in the conversation analyzed here: Even when the interviewer at the end of the episode says "But that's the same word. It's just a different way of saying it," this argument is not taken up for discussion of the notion of language "correctness."

The elusiveness of the role played by values in judgments of correctness and of the possibility that these values may be taken to a different level of moral reasoning may be one of the factors contributing to the persistence of standard language ideologies in society.

For Kate and Patsy, the influence of institutionalized standards has been internalized as a set of õnorm-ideals,ö using Kristiansenøs (2004) terms. Norm-ideals are target norms that speakers relate to as they engage in self-categorization and identity-building with regard to social differentiation in a speech community. Norm-ideals are õrepresentations/evaluations of particular ways of speaking, as focused combinations of language use and social valuesö (p. 171). Although Kristiansen observed that norm-ideals are often õcognitively represented as a set of prototypical speakersö (p. 171), this does not seem to be the case with identities oriented towards the models informed by standard language ideologies. Such linguistic models are more abstract representations that rely on a set of interrelated abstract and concrete values that inform evaluations of social groups, social personae types, and language registers that are salient in the schemes of sociolinguistic differentiation circulating in a speech community.

The approach to cultural values illustrated here explores the linkage of macro- and micro-social meanings in their instantiations in a specific discoursal context. It shows how õvaluesö may be a useful analytical construct of its own, since values are fundamental in any construction of sociolinguistic differentiation. A discourse-based approach may shed light on the sets of values that are evoked, implied, and explicitly articulated in interrelated ways in everyday talk about language. In metapragmatic discourse, values acquire context-specific actualizations that cannot be captured in a quantitative approach, such as, for instance, the one that uses semantic-differential scales to isolate õsolidarityö as a dimension of speech evaluation that arises from a factorial statistical analysis. Discoursal data can shed light on the conceptions of concrete and abstract values constructed by speakers as they engage in language-ideological discussions. This may reveal the complexity of their orientations to the systems of values functioning macro-

sociologically and their appropriations of such values as part of folk-linguistic theory construction.

3.6.6 Objects of Agreement: Concluding Remarks

The rhetorical construct õobjects of agreementö reflects the social situatedness of language use and its dependence on the micro- and macro-contextual alignments among individuals and groups of people and their positioning in relation to the interpretations of the real and imagined aspects of their worlds. These alignments and positionings may be enduring or evanescent; they may be validated or challenged in discourse, but their expression relies on the ways of presenting or implying the real and imagined phenomena as facts, truths, theories, or as values. Facts and truths reflect the form of epistemic grounding of the knowledge structure, while values reflect the embeddedness of knowledge structures into systems of social and personal orientations. Folk-linguistic facts and truths derive their status from the rhetorical strategies of objectivation and essentialization as well as from agreements of interlocutors on the truthfulness and validity of these knowledge structures. Speakers use these data to justify and rationalize language-ideological constructions.

Objects of agreement can be seen as rather static representations reflecting a larger, macro-social frame of reference in evoking ideological constructs that commonly circulate within certain speech communities, or as dynamically developing representations in relation to how they are constructed as discourse unfolds. This dynamic nature of agreements reflects the influence of the interactional structure of discourse on the selection and formulation of premises. The emergent interactional structure may be quite complex and may be characterized by rapid developments and evanescent nature of interpersonal alignments and stances. In this regard, the notion of õagreementö may be better seen not in its literal sense of õconsensusö but as the

potential for establishing cognitive coordination of viewpoints and value-laden orientations exploited by the speakers.

3.7 Techniques of Argumentation

Elements of discourse, according to TNR, constantly interact with each other and are connected into mental schemes which are generalized and abstract models of relations between argumentation components. These habitual patterns of thought used in everyday communication rely on the processes of association and dissociation of concepts:

By processes of association we understand schemes which bring separate elements together and allow us to establish a unity among them, which aims either at organizing them or at evaluating them, positively or negatively, by means of one another. By processes of *dissociation* we mean techniques of separation which have the purpose of dissociating, separating, disuniting elements which are regarded as forming a whole or at least a unified group within some system of thought: dissociation modifies such a system by modifying certain concepts which make up its essential parts. í all association implies dissociation, and, conversely: the same form which unites various elements into a well-organized whole dissociates them from the neutral background from which it separates them. The two techniques are complementary and are always at work at the same time; but the argumentation through which a datum is modified can stress the association or dissociation which it is promoting without making explicit the complementary aspect which will result from the desired transformation (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p.190, emphasis in the original).

TNR identifies three broad classes of argument schemes that foreground associations between concepts. These include (1) quasi-logical argumentation schemes that resemble formal logic (e.g., arguments by comparison, transitivity, contradiction, incompatibility, etc.), (2)

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argument schemes that rely on existing structure of reality (e.g., arguments from causality, authority, group and its members, etc.), and (3) argumentation techniques that establish the structure of reality (e.g., argumentation by example, analogy, model and anti-model, etc.). TNR provides elaborate descriptions of about 36 types of common argumentation techniques without claiming it to be a comprehensive survey. Other argumentation scholars have considerably expanded this list and developed formalized schemes of argumentation using a structure of a major and a minor premise and a conclusion for each argument type (e.g., Walton, Reed, & Macagno, 2008).

3.7.1 Techniques of Association

Quasi-logical arguments draw on the recognized validity of reasoning schemes in formal logic. But due to the contextual situatedness of everyday argumentation, such arguments necessarily deviate from formal reasoning structures since everyday argument schemes are defeasible and presumptive structures of argumentation (Walton & Macagno, 2010). These arguments may be based on logical relations, such as contradiction, total or partial identity, or transitivity, or on mathematical relations, such as connections between the part and the whole, frequency, etc. Each quasi-logical scheme is based on certain relations between its elements. For example, contradiction relies on opposition or incompatibility, arguments of reciprocity ó on symmetrical relations, comparisons ó on contrast, similarity, ordering, or evaluation, definitions ó on identity relations, part-and-whole arguments ó on inclusion or division.

Quasi-logical type of argumentation often embeds other arguments and may be part of a larger scheme. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out (1969, p. 194), õalmost every quasi-logical argument makes use of other kinds of argument.ö This will be illustrated in the analysis of Extract 9 given below, where an argument from contradiction is part of a complex argumentation scheme. An argument from contradiction is a very common quasi-logical scheme which, in its

explicit or implicit form, is often part of complex processes of social identity work and oppositions in stances and positionings that may have a significant influence on discourse-level, not only utterance-level development of metalinguistic argumentation. This has been aptly and convincingly demonstrated in the use of õoppositional argumentö approach applied to folk-linguistic discourse (Preston, 1993).

While quasi-logical schemes rely on the recognized logical validity of widely-accepted reasoning patterns, arguments based on the structure of reality õmake use of this structure to establish a solidarity between accepted judgments and others which one wishes to promoteö (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyetca, 1969, p. 261). Different techniques, including, for example, arguments from causality, of direction, and of unlimited development, can be used to present the existing structure of reality from particular perspectives which may be realized in discourse in the form of facts, truths, or presumptions. Arguments in this category can be based on relations of succession, õwhich unite a phenomenon to its consequences or causesö (p. 262). One of the most common arguments of this kind is the one that establishes the causal link between concepts. This argument scheme may foreground different elements: (1) the relation of succession between events, (2) the existence of a cause, or (3) the presence of an effect (p. 263). Causal chains involve a transfer of value from cause to effect or from effect to cause. A transfer of value from effect to cause underlies a õpragmaticö argument õwhich permits the evaluation of an act or an event in terms of its favorable or unfavorable consequencesö (p. 266). Folk-linguistic theories commonly use such arguments to establish relations between social and linguistic phenomena. The analyses of Extracts 10 and 11 in Chapter IV will illustrate some of these uses in the arguments about the effects of the mass media and the influence of the English varieties used by Native American Indians on Oklahoma English.

Arguments based on the structure of reality can rely on the relation of coexistence. These arguments õunite a person to his actions, a group to the individuals who form it, and in general,

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an essence to its manifestationsö (p. 262). The elements that are brought together in an association in this type of arguments belong to different levels with one element being õmore basic, explanatory, or more highly structured than the other (p. 293). TNR gives as a prototypical example of the connection of coexistence the relationship between the person and his acts, or in more abstract terms, between the essence and its manifestation. It expresses the way of constructing the person as an object of common understanding between interlocutors who attend to certain qualities or behavior traits as rather enduring manifestations of the personøs essence. This scheme is a prototype of the argument from group membership (pp. 321-327). According to Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, õThe same interactions found in the relationship between act and person, and individual and group, recur whenever events, objects, beings, or institutions are grouped in a comprehensive way, are considered characteristic of a period, style, regime, or structureö (p. 327).

In folk-linguistic theories, these lines of argumentation often underlie the partitioning of the social space based on the conceptions of the enduring qualities of personae types and social groups. These connections acquire an indexical character when certain linguistic means, both explicit and implicit, are repeatedly used in metapragmatic discourses to essentialize the nature of the personae type or a social group. Metapragmatic labels such as õcowboy,ö õhick,ö õhillbilly,ö õredneck,ö õSouthern belle,ö õChicana,ö for example, represent stock characters associated with particular social and linguistic traits that are repeatedly evoked in metapragmatic discourses. By evoking the social meanings associated with personae types and social groups, the relations of coexistence are established endowing these characterological representations with relevance and immediacy in relation to the current metapragmatic focus of awareness and in relation to the rhetorical context of communication. By linguistic means, and by means of techniques of argumentation, speakers indexically evoke stereotypic qualities enregistered in the popular imagination and, through contextual entailments, may renegotiate these meanings and create new

ones, thus further contributing to or challenging the enregisterment of the persona type with regard to the relations between its social and linguistic characteristics. Arguments which situate representations of characterological figures and social groups in certain historical, geographical, and temporal frames of reference in discourse may confer certain characteristics and symbolic values on them that may further contribute to their essentialized instantiations. These lines of argumentation will be illustrated in the analyses of Extract 9 below and Extract 14 in Chapter IV, as well as in the analysis of Extract 15, where a person-act argument is embedded into a definition of õrednecksö constructed in relation to the presence of õlarge twangö in the Southeastern part of Oklahoma.

Another type of relation that may be expressed through argumentation techniques is the one which establishes the structure of reality. Schemes in this category include argument from model and anti-model, argument from analogy, and metaphor. Arguments from examples establish rules, and arguments from illustration are used õto strengthen adherence to a known and accepted rule, by providing particular instances which clarify the general statement, show the import of this statement by calling attention to its various possible applications, and increase its presence to the consciousnessö (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 357). In metapragmatic discourse, linguistic imitations often function rhetorically as an argument from illustration which highlights particular features of the imitated variety and brings them into an association with other co-occurring dimensions of sociolinguistic indexicality. Extract 9 below discusses the use of this argument scheme in relation to its socioindexical functions in a particular context of use.

3.7.2 Techniques of Dissociation

TNR also describes the techniques of dissociation, õwhich are mainly characterized by the modifications which they introduce into notions, since they aim less at using the accepted language than at moving toward a new formulationö (pp. 191-192). Perelman and Olbrechts-

Tyteca (pp. 415-419) give a prototypical example of the widespread dissociation which distinguishes appearance from reality. When the deceptive nature of appearances is not recognized, they are presented as the real. However, when an incompatibility between appearances or their uncertain character becomes the object of argumentation, it may bring about a new conception of what is real. This dissociation may be presented in terms of a philosophical pair õappearance/reality.ö Other examples of frequently dissociated concepts in Western philosophical thought, which has influenced everyday informal argumentation, include such pairs as means/end, act/person, accident/essence, occasion/cause, relative/absolute, subjective/objective, multiplicity/unity, normal/standard, individual/universal, particular/general, theory/practice, and language/thought (p. 420). Classificatory pairs, such as subdivisions of the past into periods, an area into regions, a genus into species, can also be developed, in systematized thought, into dissociations (p. 422).

In folk-linguistic discourse which involves language-ideological discussions, dissociation plays an important role and is part, at times foregrounded, and at times downplayed, of many instances of metalinguistic arguments, since it represents one of the conceptual operations that underlie sociolinguistic differentiation. The theory of argumentation provides analytical and theoretical tools with which context-based instantiations of sociolinguistic differentiation can be studied. Through dissociation, and its milder version in the form of an argument that severs the connecting links between concepts (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, pp. 411-415), lines of differentiation are drawn in metalinguistic discourse that may reflect a number of phenomena that have significance in social relations. Dissociation in metapragmatic discourse underlies divisions along many dimensions, including geographical, temporal, identity-related, persona- and lifestyle-based, etc. In language-related matters, dissociation leads to differentiation of typifying norms and standards, vernacular norms and norm-ideals, of oneøs own and othersø speech styles, etc. It is important to distinguish dissociations that rely on widely-recognized distinctions

enregistered at the macro-ideological level from those dissociations that the speakers create in the micro-interactional engagements that involve individual perceptions and experiences and new conceptualizations that may or may not have the consensus of the hearers.

Dissociations in everyday communication do not work in isolation and do not always lead to clear-cut categorical distinctions. Complex schemes of argumentation often develop with association and dissociation working at the same time. Linguistic means of presentation, as well as the choices of rhetorical strategies, such as, for example, establishment of conceptual and value hierarchies, may create subtle gradation schemes along pragmatic scales which simultaneously associate and dissociate conceptual elements. This aspect of conceptualization of sociolinguistic relations expressed argumentatively in discourse is illustrated in Extract 9 below where a complex õdouble hierarchyö argument scheme is discussed.

3.7.3 Techniques of Argumentation: Sample Analysis

The analysis of the following discourse episode illustrates some of the possibilities of engaging the theory of argumentation techniques in a discourse-based approach to folk-linguistic discourse. This extract was taken from an informal, loosely-structured conversation in which most topic transitions were initiated by the interviewees. It took place at the interviewerøs home after dinner with three interview participants. The two participants in this episode are white males; they are pilots by profession and friends with each other. David is in his mid-twenties; he is a native of Oklahoma. Sam is in his late forties; he has lived in Oklahoma for 25 years. Both men have lived in urban, metropolitan areas most of their lives. The interviewerøs 7-year-old daughter was present in the beginning of the conversation and her linguistic imitation of a õcountryö accent is referred to in this episode.

Extract 9

1 Sam: Is there a (0.8) is there (0.4) an (0.2) an er (.) an opinion or (.) correlation or_ (1.3)   about_ (1.8)

2   intelligence, (0.4) related to (0.9) how somebody speaks?

3   (2.1)

4 David: No_ (0.6) If Jack Benson_ (0.8) was who I fly with_ (0.4) he sounds like the hickest of hicks_

5   (0.8) but that dude can do some crazy things with an airplane_=

6 Sam: =But not, but not knowing that, (0.9) if you were to meet somebody_ (.) >**and ↑they< (.)**

7   **ta:lk li:ke_** (0.9) like (0.3) >a seven-year-old over here_< **↑talks like she ↑is from the ↑deep,**

8   (0.3) **^woo::ds**

9   (1.7)

10 David: Are you talking about perception?=

11 Sam: = Yea:h (0.2) yeah.=

12 David: =ᵛOh perception you automatically assume theyøre retarded.

        In line 4, David describes his colleague Jack as a person who õsounded like the hickest

of hicks.ö This is the first mention of õhicksö in this conversation, and it occurs in response to

Samøs carefully formulated question about the relation between intelligence and a speaking style.

Davidøs answer presumes that the interlocutors will be able to infer the link between the concepts

õhicksö and õintelligenceö based on the stereotypes that define õhicksö as a social group in the

American South or in rural areas more generally. The links between õhick,ö õintelligence,ö and

Jackøs speaking style are implicit premises of an argument from group membership ó the

technique of argumentation that ascribes certain characteristics to a person based on their

belonging to a particular social group (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, pp. 321-327). This

type of argumentation relies on the arguerøs knowledge about õthe existing structure of realityö

(p. 261) and on the presumption that such knowledge is shared by the interlocutor. This social

knowledge includes õhickö-related stereotypes which, as previous studies have shown, carry

social stigma and have associations with the concepts of rurality, õcountry,ö õsouthernness,ö and

low education (Niedzielski and Preston, 2003; Evans, 2011; Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012).

In the same turn (line 5), David contrasts the inferences from stereotype-based associations with the professional characteristics of Jack who can õdo some crazy things with an airplane.ö Here, David appeals to the values and knowledge he shares with Sam as a pilot when he describes Jackøs professional abilities and implies that advanced piloting skills require intelligence. Thus, David relies on the interlocutorøs ability to draw inferences about Jackøs intelligence from different group identifications that evoke stereotype-related and professional associations. David presents these inferences as contradictory: on the one hand, he implies that Jack is intelligent since he is a good pilot. On the other, Jack speaks like a õhickö which implies lower intelligence. This argument from contradiction (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 195) serves as Davidøs explanation of his negative answer in line 4 which challenges the indexical links between õa way of speakingö and õintelligence.ö In other words, David shows that the same speaker may project different social identities which may become the source of conflicting inferences about speaker characteristics.

In response to Davidøs negative answer, Sam reformulates his original question by presenting a situation of speaker evaluation in which social information about the speaker is limited and can be inferred only from the way they talk (õbut not knowing thatö and õif you were to meet somebodyí ö in line 6). Then, in lines 6-8, Sam specifies the speech qualities of a person evaluated in this hypothetical situation by performing a linguistic imitation. This imitation functions rhetorically as an illustration of the õcountryö accent which was imitated earlier in the conversation by a 7-year-old girl. Sam labels this way of speaking as characteristic of someone õfrom the deep woods.ö With this metaphorical label, Sam points to the type of social information that he presumes to be associated with the imitated speech qualities. This label as well as an association with õcountry talkö may evoke images of the social personae of rural and poorly-educated people. Given the mention of õhicksö in the immediately preceding discourse, Samøs

imitation may also evoke collective stereotypes of stigmatized groups of rural-based American Southerners.

To function as an effective illustration, Samøs imitation needs to highlight pragmatically salient linguistic features that can be recognized by the audience as indexing the implied social characteristics. The linguistic features of Samøs normal and imitated speech include differences at the prosodic and segmental level, as revealed by the acoustic phonetic analyses in Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2016). Compared to the normal speech, the imitation has the following prosodic characteristics: (1) a higher pitch level (fundamental frequency differences of about 40 Hz) with more frequent pitch accents, (2) abrupt changes in intensity, and (3) a distinct temporal structure with shorter rhythmic groups. At the segmental level, there are changes in the position (differences of about 100 ó 300 Hz) and duration of vowels, including (1) a raised and fronted vowel offset in õtalksö which gives it a diphthongal quality, (2) a lowered and fronted /ay/ in õlike,ö (3) a lowered and backed onset in the /iy/ of õdeep,ö and (4) a considerably lengthened and diphthongal realization of /uw/ in õwoodsö with a fronted vowel offset. Impressionistically, the imitated speech sounds more nasal than Samøs normal speech. While it is hard to determine the level of Samøs awareness of each linguistic feature he highlighted through the imitation, his choice to cluster these features may reflect his awareness of their collective socioindexical potential to evoke a social persona of someone õfrom the deep woodsö who has õa country accent.ö

Samøs deployment of this socioindexical potential is pro-active (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 182; Shiling-Estes, 1998). In addition, it serves specific rhetorical purposes. Sam uses a linguistic imitation as an argument from illustration (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 357) to clarify and strengthen the questioned proposition that an evaluation of a personøs intelligence may be made based on their speech. This type of argument also serves to õincrease the presence to the consciousnessö (p. 357) of the audience of those linguistic features and

stereotyped ideological values that support the arguer's point by evoking socioindexical associations relevant to evaluation of the speaker's intelligence. Thus, this imitation, or 'stylization' in Coupland's (2007) terms, functions as a speech portrayal which strategically embeds macro-level sociolinguistic typifications into the rhetorical context of interaction by calling up the social meanings of a cluster of segmental and prosodic phonetic details.

In response to Sam's reformulation of his original question in lines 6-8 that introduces a hypothetical context of speech evaluation, David confirms in line 10 that Sam is now talking about 'perception' rather than 'opinion.' The phrase 'oh perception' in line 12 reveals David's local focus of attention on the new information leading to a shift in a conceptual frame of reference (Heritage, 1984, p. 299; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 74). This shift is caused by Sam's clarification that the evaluated speaker is an unknown person which means that social information about this person is available only from the speech signal. As a result, David changes his initial negative response to Sam's question and affirms the indexical link between the imitated speech style and a lower level of intelligence by saying 'you automatically assume they are retarded' in line 12.

The concepts 'intelligence,' 'perception,' and 'hick,' which are central to the discussion in this episode, are constructed here along interrelated pragmatic scales. David constructs 'hickness' on a scale of stereotypicality when he uses an expression 'the hickest of hicks' ó the superlative degree presupposes lesser degrees of the same quality. 'Intelligence' is also constructed as a hierarchy of pragmatic values implied in the use of related but opposing terms: 'retarded' on the one hand, and 'can do some crazy things with an airplane' on the other. Based on the implied social stereotypes, the scale of 'hickness' is linked to the scale of 'intelligence' in an inverse relation: the more 'hick' is the sound, the less is the perceived intelligence of the speaker. This implicit link is challenged using another set of interrelated pragmatic scales, where different degrees of familiarity with an attitude target (an unknown person versus a colleague) are

related to the degrees of consciousness in attitudes to a person's speech style. The latter scale is represented in this discourse by the terms "opinions" and "automatic assumptions" which are opposed through the conversational repair work on Sam's question about intelligence.

These interlinked pragmatic scales are part of "a double hierarchy argument" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) co-constructed by the two participants throughout this episode. This argument is often implicit and "normally expresses an idea of direct or inverse proportionality, or at least a term-to-term relation" (p. 337). In such an argument, objects of conceptualization are represented as ordered along interrelated pragmatic scales (Coulson, 2001, p. 252). In this episode, a double hierarchy argument links the scale of familiarity with an attitude target to the scale of automaticity in attitudinal reactions: the less familiar with a speaker, the more automatic the evaluation of their intelligence based on their speaking style. This argument serves to validate the contrast between an evaluation of the colleague's speech that does not follow the enregistered socio-indexical route and a stereotypical reaction to a stigmatized language variety used by an unknown person.

The participants' interactional strategies in this episode reveal their sensitivity to the ideological constructs they are discussing. Sam formulates his first question about intelligence very carefully in line 1 where he speaks slower, with more frequent and longer pauses, and he chooses impersonal forms that help him avoid asking David directly about his opinion on the issue. Personal pronouns are among the means of establishing "footings" in a conversation (Goffman, 1981), and avoidance of personal pronouns may indicate an attempt not to assign a position to an interlocutor with regard to a sensitive topic. While David is certainly aware of the stigmatized linguistic differences associated with lower intelligence, he first challenges such typifications showing unwillingness to affirm them. In response to this challenge, Sam provides additional, persuasive details in the form of linguistic imitation. Sam's interactional strategy here, which he achieves successfully through his questioning, is to lead his interlocutor to acknowledge

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the existence of stereotypical associations without expressing his own positioning directly. In his acknowledgment of a social stereotype, David also avoids expressing personal commitment to this position: he uses õyouö in line 12 in the sense õanyone,ö thus avoiding the role of õa principalö in the õproduction formatö of the utterance (Goffman, 1981).

This analysis reveals how ideological representations of õintelligence,ö õhickness,ö and õcountry talkö become negotiated as part of rhetorical and interactional development in discourse. When David challenges the relevance of speech-based judgments about õhicknessö and intelligence in the beginning of the episode, he challenges the implications of an ideological process of õiconizationö (Irvine & Gal, 2009) in a specific context of speech evaluation. In other words, ideological representations of linguistic differences are not simply employed by the participant as stable or uncontestable thought patterns shared by members of a group: instead, these representations are shown to be contingent on interrelations with other contextual factors. Thus, the connections between social images and linguistic forms are construed as more complex than those that are characteristic of iconization. This highlights the importance of focusing on õthe who-what-where-why-and-how of ideologyö (Blommaert, 2005, p. 171) to explore how ideological processes may function rhetorically in discourse.

The analysis of this extract reveals the complex structure of argumentation in which several argument schemes are intertwined to create dynamically developing and discursively-negotiated meanings. The culmination of this development is the co-constructed dissociation between õopinionö and õperceptionö which is an integral part of the semiotization of the folk-concepts õhickö and õuneducatedö speech in the episode analyzed here. In other words, it would not be fair to take out of this context separate arguments or their elements and interpret them as isolated formalized structures of argument. The complexity of sociolinguistic indexicality created in a specific rhetorical context of conceptualization may be hard to uncover, and the meanings of

language usersø expressions of beliefs may be distorted if the analysis uses surface-level forms as decontextualized evidence of õthemesö reflecting language usersø belief systems.

This analysis also illustrates how linguistic details of participantsø speech can be analyzed rhetorically, as part of discourse argumentation. The fact that speakers can deploy fine linguistic distinctions in their speech to signal social meanings is an axiom in sociolinguistics (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Shilling-Estes, 1998; Eckert, 2000; Coupland, 2007; Mendoza-Denton, 2011, among many others). This study suggests that linguistic detail may be analyzed as part of the premises of argumentationø and may thus contribute to creating the conceptual framework of interpretation for the objects of metapragmatic reflexivity. Considering linguistic features in participantsø speech outside of their rhetorical context of use, however, may prevent the analyst from exploring a fuller range of their indexical potential that can be an important resource for the hearer in understanding the speakerøs intended meanings and social positionings. The interactional positionings and alignments are an important aspect of discourse-based meaning creation, and the analysis of Extract 9 integrates the interactional level of investigation. However, my contention is that the interactional approach on its own is not sufficient to explore the meanings created in metapragmatic discourse at different levels of discourse coherence. This observation harks back to the proposal made in Chapter II based on the survey of previously-used discourse-analytic techniques in language attitude research: the rhetorical approach can serve as a unifying framework which blends analytical levels, including linguistic, interactional, and ideational structures, in the application of discourse analysis to the study of propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality.

3.7.4 Techniques of Argumentation: Concluding Remarks

The application of TNR approach to argumentation illuminates the role of the patterns of reasoning in speakersø co-construction of conceptual relations between elements of discourse

through the processes of association and dissociation of concepts. These processes, as they pertain to the content of discourse, cannot be revealed, however, if the rhetorical analysis (e.g., Schiffrin, 1987; Preston, 1994) mainly focuses on the functional rather than conceptual relations between argument components. The complexity of these processes cannot be revealed in a topic-oriented or in an interactional approach to folk-linguistic discourse. Admittedly, there are a number of difficulties with the applications of TNR, such as those related to the problems of analytical reconstruction of implicit meanings and replicability of the process of identification of argument schemes. However, it is undeniable that common patterns of reasoning form the conceptual and inferential relations in the conceptualization of discourse entities evoked both at the turn-internal and discourse level.

CHAPTER IV

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF ŏTWANGö: AN APPLICATION OF THE

RHETORICAL APPROACH

4.1 Organizational Overview

In this chapter, I illustrate the applications of the proposed rhetorically-oriented approach to the

analysis of the meanings of a specific folk-linguistic concept constructed in metalinguistic

discourse on the topic of language variation (Rodgers, 2016, in press). I also discuss what these

applications can reveal about discourse-based language-ideological constructions of linguistic and

social differences. Several excerpts from a multi-party conversation will be presented to illustrate

specific applications of the argumentation theory and discuss their implications for the theory of

sociolinguistic indexicality, as well as for language-attitudinal and language variation studies.

This analysis will center on the meanings of a popular folk-linguistic term õtwangö as they

become constructed in the unfolding discourse among four Oklahomans.

4.2 "Twang" in Sociolinguistics

"Twang" is often mentioned by non-linguists as a descriptor of linguistic differences in American English (Preston, 1999). Sociolinguists have defined "twang" as a nasal manner of speech (e.g., Montgomery, 2008; Jacewicz, Fox, & Lyle, 2009), but language users' understandings of the term have not received much analytical attention. While some meanings of "twang" and its collocations have been revealed in several studies, they have not been the main focus of analysis since folk-linguistic studies in the USA have been predominantly concerned with exploring geographically-delimited distinctions in non-linguists' perceptions of dialectal differences (e.g., Long & Preston, 2002; Hartley, 2005; Bucholtz et al., 2007, among others).

Previous research in perceptual dialectology has shown that "twang" is used in respondents' descriptions of the dialectal differences in Kentucky (Cramer, 2013) and Tennessee (Cramer, 2010), West Virginia (Evans, 2002), Oklahoma (Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012; Bakos, 2013), and Texas (Cukor-Avila et al., 2012; Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012; Oxley, 2015). Non-linguists often find it challenging to define the term, but some of the frequently cited associations include the notions of rurality and "Southernness," lack of education, as well as the social stereotypes of "hillbilly," "country," "hick," and "redneck" (Oxley, 2015). The term "twang" was also shown to be prevalent in Californians' comments on Southern dialectal features (Fought, 2002). These results suggest that "twang" is associated with linguistic features and social meanings which are salient in perceptions of the Southern speech in American English including perceptions of the social personae of rural white Southerners.

The socioindexical profile of "twang," however, does not seem to be confined to the associations with "southernness." An Ohioan participant in Benson's (2003) perceptual study, for example, used a label "Midwestern twang" to describe the speech in the greater part of Ohio and all of Indiana, while the label "upper Midwest twang" was used to describe the language variety

in the northeastern corner of Ohio and in lower Michigan. On the Pacific coast, some Washingtonian respondents described a part of their state as having õCanadian twangö (Evans, 2011). These data suggest that õtwangö may refer more generally to a distinct manner of speaking.

However, folk respondents do not appear to mention õnasalityö as a defining feature of the term, and this is at odds with the definition of õtwangö normally used by sociolinguists. In Michigan, for example, where the use of nasal features is quite common in non-nasal environments (Plichta, 2004, p. 23), õtwangö does not appear to be commonly used as a descriptor of Michiganders ø speech (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003). Considering the dearth of research on the meanings of the term õtwang,ö this study is aimed at exploring language-related and socio-cultural associations that this õfolk-conceptö (Agha 2007, p. 191) may have in language users ø discursive constructions of linguistic difference.

4.3 Regional Identity and Language Ideologies of Oklahoma

This analysis deals with the meanings of õtwangö constructed by the residents of Oklahoma. Oklahoma has an uncertain regional status in both cultural geography (Zelinsky, 1982) and dialectology (Wikle & Bailey, 1997). It is surrounded by several US regions: the West, the Midwest, and the South. According to dialect geographers, Oklahoma is a õborderland region,ö and the uniqueness of its speech is related to its position at the intersection of several dialect areas (Wikle & Bailey, 1997, p. 71). As Figure 1 given below shows, a number of dialectal isoglosses crossing the state assign its parts to various American English dialect areas, including the West, the Midland, the Texas South, and the South (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006). Dialectal border regions are important sites of linguistic studies due to the complexity of production and perception of linguistic styles and identities in such areas (e.g., Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012;

Cramer, 2013) which may be attributed to the social conflicts and contradictions in the borderlands (Alvarez, 1995).

Figure 1. Dialect Areas in Oklahoma (adapted from Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006)

Previous work in Oklahoma has demonstrated that the most significant social factors that influence language variation in Oklahoma English are rural/urban divide and nativity (Tillery, 1992; Wikle & Bailey, 1997). With regard to nativity, length of residence in the neighborhood seems to affect language variation more directly than years of residence in Oklahoma (Tillery 1992, 58). Importantly, at the intersection of nativity (years in the neighborhood) and rurality (size of neighborhood), geographic mobility has emerged as a crucial social factor of language variation in Oklahoma (Tillery, 1997, p. 442). Social status and ethnicity were shown to have impact on some linguistic variables (Wikle & Bailey, p. 1997), but generally were not big explaining factors (Tillery, 1997).

Studies of Oklahomansø perceptions of the regional identity of their state have shown varied results. For example, over half of Tilleryøs (1992) respondents considered Oklahoma a Midwestern state, and only one-third assigned it to the American South. About 20 years later, however, almost 70% of 60 young native Oklahoman participants in Bakosø (2013, pp. 54-55)

survey agreed with the statements that õOklahomans are a lot like people from the Southö and that õOklahomans speak like people from the South.ö Both Midwestern and Southwestern regional affiliations received about 40% of agreement. At the same time, about 30% of these respondents did not describe themselves as õtypical Oklahomansö which may suggest a controversy surrounding the issue of self-identification with the state and its collective sociolinguistic stereotypes. The most frequent descriptions of õa typical Oklahomanö in Bakosø data included the labels õcountry,ö õfriendly,ö õcowboy,ö õfarmer,ö õredneck,ö õhick,ö õconservative,ö õhard working,ö õlaid back,ö and õniceö (2013, p. 57). These results suggest that a stereotypical Oklahoman identity may be associated in popular imagination with a rural lifestyle and its accompanying positive and negative attributes. These associations may play a role in the tendency of some young Oklahoma natives to distance themselves from an affiliation with õtypical Oklahomans.ö

Historically, Oklahoma English became known outside of the state as a stigmatized õOkie accentö associated with the whites who migrated from Oklahoma and other Great Plains states to California between 1920s and 1950s, including the õDust Bowl migrationö wave in the Great Depression era. A pejorative label õOkiesö was often used to collectively refer to these groups of migrants who were seen as uneducated õpoor white trash,ö õa despised and economically impaired groupö that faced õprejudice and hostilityö in their new home state (Gregory, 1989, 79). õTwang,ö along with other speech characteristics, was frequently cited (Berryhill, 1976; Gregory,1991; Waldie, 1997, p. 172) as a distinguishing feature that the migrants tried to hide since it carried the social stigma of the õOkieö accent. The patterns of linguistic accommodation of Oklahoman migrants in California included avoiding double negatives, õainøts,ö õmight coulds,ö and *g*-dropping, as well as õshortening the diphthongal vowels that give Southwestern speech its characteristic twangö (Gregory, 1991, p. 122). Some of the speech characteristics of the Dust Bowl migrants are still present in California, especially in

the San Joaquin Valley (Geenberg, 2014; Podesva & Hofwegen, 2014; Podesva et al., 2015). Although many of these features have acquired local indexicalities (Geenberg, 2014), perceptual dialectology work has shown that Californians still use labels such as "okies," "country," "cowboys," "farmers," "hicks," "rednecks," "white trash," and "twangy" to distinguish the areas in Northern California and the Inland region of the state (Bucholtz et al., 2007, p. 345). Most of these labels coincide with those that Oklahomans use to describe identities of "typical" Oklahomans and their links to rural-oriented lifestyles of white Southerners.

Perceptions of the "Okie" identity in the USA continue to draw on the social memory of the Dust Bowl migrant experience (Jennings, 2000; Alexander, 2004). Social representations of the "Okies" personae have become part of national awareness and acquired stereotypical associations through portrayals of Oklahoma migrants in public discourse including John Steinbeck's (1939) renowned novel "The Grapes of Wrath" and its famous movie adaptation of the same name, Waldie's (1997) memoir "Holy Land," as well as numerous other literary works (see Jennings 2000, for review) and publications in the periodicals. Although the linguistic features associated with "Okies" were introduced by migrants from several US states many years ago, the collective label "Okies" and the folk linguistic term "Okie accent" are still in current use in the USA and invoke associations that link Oklahoma to typifications of white, rural-based Southern identities.

The stereotypes of "rurality" and "Southernness," however, are in conflict with some of the linguistic and social characteristics of present-day Oklahoma (see Figure 2 below for the layout of the state). North-central Oklahoma has been characterized as a "Midwestern" dialect area (Southard, 1993) and hosts the state government, two metropolitan areas including Oklahoma City and Tulsa, and two largest universities in the state – the social facts that may define it as a "focal area for a prestige dialect" (p. 243). The urban parts of the state are a site of

the expansion of õinnovativeö linguistic features among newcomers and younger respondents

(Wikle & Bailey, 1997, p. 81).
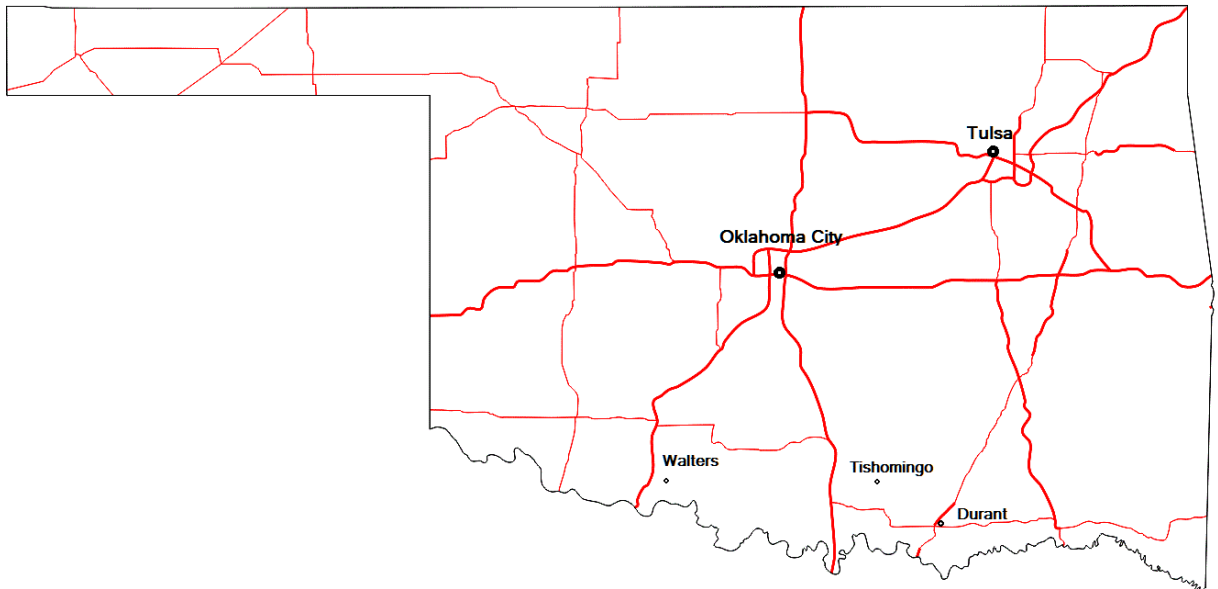
Figure 2. Map of Oklahoma

Note: The map was adapted from http://dmaps.com/carte.php?num_car=21367&lang=en.

It shows main roads in Oklahoma, two metropolitan areas, and three small towns in the

south of the state mentioned by the interview participants.

In contrast, the southern areas of the state are socially distinct. These areas, including the

Texas border and the South-East, are less populated and more rural-oriented; they are more

frequently associated with the labels that are also used to describe õOkiesö and õtypicalö

Oklahomans. These less urbanized areas form one of the dimensions of linguistic variation in

Oklahoma (Southard, p. 1993): they have been described as Southern dialect areas (Labov, Ash,

& Boberg, 2006) and characterized by a wider use of õrecessiveö Southern features (Wikle &

Bailey, 1997, p. 81). These geographical, social, and linguistic divisions may be seen as important

factors defining the language-ideological tensions that set a background for an opposition

between stereotypical and prestige-bearing sociolinguistic representations of Oklahoma English.

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These tensions complicate the notion of an ambivalent and uncertain regional identity of the state and have implications for understanding the language-ideological and identity-related positions that the participants in this study take with regard to language variation in Oklahoma.

4.4 Context and Participants

This analysis focuses on the data derived from a conversation with four Oklahomans and a follow-up interview with one of the participants. The conversation lasted about 50 minutes and took place at one of the participants' home in a relaxed setting of a casual talk among friends. The "draw-a-map" task (Preston, 1999) was used to start the conversation on the topic of language variation (see the map used in this task in Appendix B). To approximate the conditions of an informal, naturally-developing conversation and to avoid an influence on the topical development of discourse, the interviewer's role was confined to directing the discussion to the topic of language variation in the US and Oklahoma. As a result, most topic transitions were initiated by the participants themselves. The participants of this conversation are friends with each other, belong to the same local community and church groups, and travel together.

The participants' backgrounds are as follows:

Susan (Sus): female, in her early 80s, white, Associate's degree, 8 years in a small town in southern Oklahoma, 72 years in Oklahoma City;

Sharon (Sha): female, in her mid-80s, white, Associate's degree, 12 years in a small town in western Texas, 72 years in the suburb of Oklahoma City;

Jocelyn (Joc): host, female, in her late 70s, white, Bachelor's degree, 43 years in Oklahoma City (childhood and later years), 7 – in Kansas, 3 – in Virginia, 24 – in California;

Jennifer (Jen): female, in her mid-80s, white, Bachelor's degree, 56 years in Oklahoma City (childhood and later years), 6 – in Virginia, 2 – in Nebraska, 7 – in California, 3 – in Louisiana.

These participants represent two types of speakers: those whose identity is more place-bound, and those whose identity is more ambivalent. Sharon and Susan lived in Oklahoma most of their lives. In contrast, Jocelyn and Jennifer lived in several different locations in the USA, although they spent their childhood, adolescence, and later years of life in Oklahoma. Jocelyn and Jennifer are not the typical respondents primarily focused on in the quantitative variationist research in sociolinguistics (see Eckert 2003, pp. 392-393 for discussion): they are not the õpureö type of a native dialect speaker who has lived in one place most of their life. They represent the õmigratingö type of respondent who usually accumulates more experience of language contact with dialect speakers from other geographical areas and may develop a rather ambivalent linguistic identity.

4.5 Data Analysis

4.5.1 "Twang" and Spatial Boundaries of Dialectal Distinctions

õTwangö was first mentioned in the analyzed conversation by one of the participants when they were labelling the areas of linguistic distinctiveness on the blank map of Oklahoma. Extract 10 shows this first reference to õtwangö in the context of a comparison of the linguistic distinctions between Oklahoma and Texas whereby õtwangö in Oklahoma English is contrasted with the Texas õdrawl.ö

Extract10:

1   Sus: They are- yeah. (.) They are close to Texas. And   Texans (.) have a [(1.0) <u>really</u> (.)]
2   Joc: [(***) twang   ]
3   Sus: **dra**[::::::::::::::**wl**].
4   Joc: [They have] a drawl, we have a twang. (0.4) Oklahoma (0.3) Oklahoma had a=
5   Jen: uh-huh
6   Joc: =twang. (1.6) The Texans have a drawl.
7   (0.5)
8   Int: So what is a twang. (.) And what is a drawl_

9   Joc: Thatøs where you make two syllables out of one-syllable wo:rds. (0.4)

10 Joc: [When I was gro]wing up, (.) everybody in Oklahoma talked with that (0.5) that=

11 Jen: [I can tell when-]

12 Joc: =twang.

13 (1.5)

14 Sus: I donøt. {*laughter*}

15 Int: [And now_]

16 Joc: [Not [now,]

17 Sus: [((*chuckle*))]

18 Joc: Well (.) but [what happened was] television came and educated English=

19 Jen: [(***)   ]

20 Joc: =began to be heard by people who lived here, ((*PII*))

21   and it changed (0.5) the whole country. (.) you know, (1.0) changed for the better_ (.)

22   @mostly.@

In line 1, Susan provides a background for this distinction when she identifies Walters - a small town situated close to the Texas border - as an example of a distinctive linguistic area on the map of Oklahoma. õTheyö in line 1 refers to Waltersø residents. Here, Susan builds an argument that dissociates Walters from the rest of Oklahoma and associates the speech of its residents with Texans who have a õdrawlö implying that this is not a defining feature of the Oklahoma variety. This assertion is made in careful speech marked by a slow tempo, several pauses, a delayed emphatic use of the intensification marker õreally,ö and a linguistic imitation of õdrawlö provided through vowel lengthening. õReallyö is used as a degree adverb here which construes õdrawlö in gradient terms and locates it on a high point of õan abstractly conceived intensity scaleö (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 589). Susan does not explain whether the linguistic distinction between Oklahoma and Texas lies in the absence of õdrawlö in Oklahoma, or whether it lies in the intensity of õdrawl.ö Variation in the use of õdrawlö is conceptualized here in terms of the geographical proximity of Walters to the Texas state line. A similar conceptualization was used earlier in the same conversation by the other three participants who named the Southern and South-Eastern state border areas, including Durant and Tishomingo as examples of linguistically

distinct areas in Oklahoma characterized by õa country drawlö and õtalking country.ö This conceptualization of the dialect region reflects the regional boundary in American English dialectology which assigns the southern part of Oklahoma and most of Texas to the Southern dialectal area (e.g. Labov, Ash & Boberg, 2006), with õSouthern drawlö being one of its often cited linguistic characteristics (Feagin, 2015).

The distinction between Texas and Oklahoma provides a conceptual background for the introduction of the notion õtwangö into this conversation. In lines 4 and 6, Jocelyn supports the dissociations between Oklahoma and Texas established in Susanøs argument and clarifies the difference between the two states by pointing out õtwangö as a former linguistic feature of Oklahoma English: õOklahoma had a twang. The Texans have a drawl.ö Here, Jocelyn is not considering finer geographical within-the-state distinctions made earlier in the conversation by Susan but constructs a more generalized differentiation along the state boundaries. This simplification of sociolinguistic distinctions serves a rhetorical function of building an argument which contrasts õtwangö and õdrawlö as distinctive features differentiating the states of Oklahoma and Texas.

This argumentation technique is what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) call an õargument by comparison,ö õwhere several objects are considered in order to evaluate them through their relations to each otherö (242). In Extract 10, the comparison is argumentatively constructed in the form of an opposition of linguistic identities of Oklahoma and Texas. õDrawlö and õtwangö are presented here as distinct features that conceptually have an equal ability to characterize overall linguistic distinctiveness of the two states. An argument by opposition establishes the relation between the terms of comparison, and the interaction between these terms õmay be due to an awareness of real connections between the things which are being comparedö (p. 244). But, in informal reasoning occurring in the context of everyday communication, non-linguists cannot support such connections with precise acoustic measurements or statistical facts.

In order to achieve persuasiveness in discourse in the absence of such factual justification, õí in comparisons, when a distinction between the terms is sought, a constant effort is required to maintain the distance between themö (p. 244). The simplified and essentialist nature of a linguistic characterization of Oklahoma and Texas may be seen as a contribution to such an effort which helps construe õtwangö as a term dissociated from õdrawlö on the one hand and as a former distinguishing feature of Oklahoma English on the other. The argumentative context of the first mention of the folk-term õtwangö in this discourse is important for its further development in the conversational argumentation õwhere the terms already set forth form a background which influences new evaluationsö (p. 243). Jocelynøs claim õOklahoma had a twangö (lines 4 and 6) dominates her discussion of language variation in the state throughout the conversation. This claim serves in this discourse the role of a õmacropropositionö (van Dijk, 1982, p. 180) which subsumes several subsequent õtwangö-related arguments functioning as further supports for Jocelynøs assertion.

4.5.2 Changes in the Use of "Twang" over Time

In addition to the spatial aspect of the argumentative context in which õtwangö is introduced, there is also a temporal factor revealed in the opposition between the present and the past tenses used in lines 4 and 6 in Extract 10: õOklahoma had a twang. The Texans have a drawl.ö The contrast in the choice of the verb tenses denies the relation of co-existence to the phenomena of õtwangö and õdrawlö in the two neighboring states. But it is doubtful that this assertion accurately reflects Jocelynøs real belief about the current absence of õtwangö in Oklahoma, considering the fact that Jocelyn contradicts herself in line 4 as well as later in the conversation when she admits that õwe still have that Oklahoma twangö and labels Durant, a city in the south of Oklahoma, as an area with õlarge twang.ö Considering this contradictory evidence, the utterance in lines 4-6 may be interpreted as an exaggeration of the diachronic change in the use of õtwangö in Oklahoma aiming at a rhetorical effect of enhancing the

distinction between the concepts "drawl" and "twang" both in the temporal and in the spatial domains.

Jocelyn supports this argument with another generalization: "When I was growing up everybody in Oklahoma talked with that that twang" (lines 10 and 12). Here, she cites her personal childhood experience of living in Oklahoma as an epistemic ground that allows her to make a strong claim about the past prevalence of the linguistic phenomenon of "twang" in Oklahoma which is recognizably exaggerated. "Everybody" is used non-literally here as a rhetorical device of an "extreme case formulation" (Pomerantz, 1986) which strengthens the argument by emphasizing the speaker's "investment" (Edwards, 2000) in her assertions about the diachronic change in the use of "twang."

To support her assertions further, Jocelyn associates the diminished use of "twang" in Oklahoma with the influence of the "educated English" introduced by television which "changed the whole country … for the better" (line 21). While the folk argument about the influence of the mass media on language change is very familiar and has some support of scholarly studies (e.g., Lippi-Green, 1997; Stuart-Smith, 2011), its use in this conversational context is noteworthy since it creates a number of implicit evaluations of the linguistic and social phenomena and events associated with "twang." The social event of the advent of television and the process of linguistic change are associated here via the consequences of the former and, probably, through a causal link, although such a link is not foregrounded or made explicit. The type of argumentation that Jocelyn uses here is "a pragmatic argument" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) which "permits the evaluation of an act or an event in terms of its favorable or unfavorable consequences" (p. 266) since "the consequences … are the basis for the value attributed to the event" (p. 267). Thus, in this argument, the linguistic change is implicitly evaluated positively via a transfer of positive value from the beneficial social consequences of exposure to television and its "educated English" to the linguistic event of a diminished use of "twang." At the same time, a

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linguistic phenomenon of "twang" is implicitly evaluated negatively: since it is given in opposition to "educated English," "twang" acquires an indexical association with the speech of "uneducated" people. This indexical association and its negative evaluation are created here as part of an argument which relies on the assumption about the existing social order of values in which education is valued higher than a lack thereof. Thus, in this argumentative construction, the judgments presumed to be socially accepted are used to create an implicit evaluation of the constructed reality of a temporally- and spatially-bound linguistic change. Note that the other participants in this conversation do not dispute this line of argumentation and let it unfold without challenging it with questions that could put this argument to doubt. Neither they dispute the assertion about the positive influence of television over "the whole country" – the rhetorical move that strengthens Jocelyn's original argument about the change in the use of "twang" in Oklahoma by a reference to a more global process in which such a change is involved.

4.5.3 "Twang" and the Influence of American Indians

Language change is also discussed in this conversation as part of an explanation of the origin of "twang" in Oklahoma. Extract 11 is part of a long uninterrupted conversational turn which represents a participant-initiated change in discourse topic as this turn follows immediately after Susan's comment about her slow tempo of speech resulting in other people thinking of her as being "from the South." Without any other specific topic triggers, Jocelyn refocuses the conversation and puts forward a hypothesis about the influence of American Indian English on "twang" in Oklahoma.

Extract 11:

1 Joc: From having been among so many American Indian (0.4) tribes, (0.6) you can listen to=

2   =any ((*inaudible*)) from Dakota, (0.4) Arizona, (0.5) New Mexico, (.) all over Oklahoma, (.)

3   even the Seminoles in Florida, (0.6) and there's a (0.4) there is a similarity, ((*omitted PII*))

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4   but there is a (0.4) there is a (1.2) <u>continuity,</u> and everyone's got a different language, (.) but=

5   =you start using it in English, (0.6) and when you are among tribal people, (0.8) and you speak=

6   =English that way, (.) you know you are an Indian. (1.4) and (.) this is why today, er (0.5) we=

7   =used to be able to look at some of them, (.) and know whether they are Mexican or American=

8   =Indian.

        ((*omitted material on the topic of Mexican Americans*))

9   I am wondering over the years, (.) how that might have influenced (0.6) er (0.4) white people (0.5)

10   because you know, (.) I grew up, I thought everyone was Indian or part-Indian in Oklahoma.

11   ((*omitted PII*)) I just assumed everybody was Indian. (1.2) and it <u>has</u> to since that (0.5) since the=

12   =Indians had been here since the early eighteen hundreds. (0.8) I can hear how some of those=

13   =sounds might have influenced the Oklahoma twang.

In Extract 11, Jocelyn proposes an association between American Indian varieties of

English and 'twang' in Oklahoma and uses her personal experience of being involved in the

Indian tribes' activities as an epistemic support for her argument. In other words, Jocelyn

rhetorically establishes her epistemic credibility to evaluate the impact of American Indian

languages on 'twang' based on her first-hand social and language experiences. She also supports

this argument with unmitigated assertion in lines 3-4 that 'there is a similarity' and 'continuity'

in the way American Indians use English. This folk-linguistic belief is based on Jocelyn's

perceptions; but it reflects, in a way, the results of sociolinguistic studies that show evidence of

the prosodic features shared by many English varieties used by American Indian and Canadian

First Nations people (Newmark, Walker, & Stanford, 2015) as well as evidence of common

features in Southwestern Native American-accented English varieties (Hoffer, 1982, as cited in

McBride, 2015). In Jocelyn's opinion expressed in lines 6-8, the linguistic properties shared by

such varieties can mark a speaker as having Native American background. Conceptually, Jocelyn

integrates her perception of linguistic similarities with information that comes from her social

experience in ethnic group differentiation which indexically relates these linguistic and social

experiences.

Having established the existence of a linguistic commonality between Native American-accented English varieties, Jocelyn argues in lines 12-13 that she can õhear how some of those sounds might have influenced the Oklahoma twang.ö Here, Jocelyn infers a possible relation of an association between õtwangö and American Indian varieties of English. In line 11, she uses a connective õsinceö to overtly mark this conceptual relation as that of causality.

The epistemic premises of this argument also rely on an interpretation of the historical facts, referred to in line 12, about the length of dialect and language contact between English varieties and American Indian languages in Oklahoma. A reference to the language contact situation is presented here as a valid premise supporting the argument which provides an explanation of the proposed influence of American Indian English on twang. This influence is constructed in lines 11-13 as a naturally occurring and expected result of the contact between language varieties.

Thus, a causal relation between language contact and language change is inferred in Extract 11 based on several premises which link internal (perceptual) experiences with interpretations of the meaning of external (historical) facts. The rhetorical relations and associations established in this discoursal construction of folk-linguistic beliefs about the mechanisms of language change engage the processes of metapragmatic awareness which involve conceptual coordination of judgments about perceived similarities and differences between linguistic varieties on the one hand, and justification of such judgments through the use of informal reasoning schemes of causality on the other.

4.5.4 "Twang," Linguistic Self-Identification, and Sociolinguistic Authenticity

There are several ways in which the concept õtwangö is implicated in the constructions of the participantsø linguistic self-identification and in-group/out-group relations in this conversation. The first example concerns a self-presentation of linguistic identity which

rhetorically dissociates oneøs speaking style from the use of õtwangö and seems to be based on an implicit negative evaluation of this linguistic phenomenon. When Susan emphatically says õI donøtö in line 14 of Extract 10, she uses a rhetorical technique of breaking any possible connecting links between õtwangö and the way she speaks. This technique is used when õelements which should remain separate and independent have been improperly associatedö (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 411). The õimproperö association which is denied here concerns a possibility of classifying Susan as a member of the conceptual category of õOklahomans who had a twangö: since Susan is the same age as Jocelyn and lived all her life in Oklahoma, Jocelynøs generalization õEverybody in Oklahoma talked with that, that twangö may be interpreted in this context as applicable to Susanøs speech. It appears that Susanøs objection to a mere possibility of this association with õtwangö speakers and her self-initiated topical shift into the realm of personal reference serves the purpose of severing any links that could presumably be constructed to connect Susanøs way of speaking to õtwang.ö The use of such a rhetorical technique is, arguably, part of õa corrective effortö in the process of doing õface-workö (Goffman, 1955) needed to protect a positive self-image from any negative associations with õtwangö which Susan may assume to be shared by the interlocutors. The importance that this type of face-work has for Susan is revealed in her repeated use of a similar strategy of breaking õimproperö associations with õtwangö in several other episodes of the same conversation, as illustrated in Extract 12 below, where she claims that she does not have a twang and does not hear it in Oklahoma.

Extract 12:

1	Joc:	But we still have that Oklahoma twang. (1.8) **Twa:ng**. (0.2) **^Twa:[::::ng]**
2	Sha:	[((*chu*]*ckle*))
3	Int:	Would you say that,-
4	Sus:	[And see, (0.2) I donøt hear it,
5	Joc:	And you arenøt using it. [(0.2) And we donøt have it] as much as we did when we=
6	Sus:	[((*laughter*))]

7   Joc: =were growing up.

8   (1.3)

9   Sus: I donøt.

Another conceptual dimension that implicates the notion of õtwangö in the processes of linguistic self-identification in this conversation is the one that concerns the expression of sociolinguistic authenticity achieved by using õtwangö to linguistically position oneself as an in-group speaker. Jocelyn repeatedly constructs narrated representations of such sociolinguistic accommodation processes which implicitly ascribe a positive value to õtwangö based on its role in creating a sense of social belonging to a speech community. In Extract 13, for example, she reports on her experience of living in California and choosing to õgo back to an Oklahoma twangö when she was back in Oklahoma to visit her family:

Extract 13:

1   Joc: and I know when I went to San Francisco, and I (.) talked faster and I walked=

2   =faster, (0.7) when I came back to Oklahoma, (.) which was quite ^often, (0.9) cause

3   ((*omitted PII*)) All my friends_ (0.3) put me at armøs length. People Iød gone to=

4   =high school with, college with, (0.2) they werenøt friends anymore. They treated=

5   =me like a pariah, [(0.6)   ] and I thought õwhat is it,ö (0.8) and then, (.)

6   Sha: [((***))]

7   Joc: that summer, (.) I was trying to   analyze why this why they   changed, (0.7) and of=

8   =course San Francisco is cooler in the summer. (0.9) Oklahoma was ho:t,

9   (1.4)

10   Sha: (**[*)

11   Joc: [So. (0.7) I slowed down. I got off the plane_ (0.2) I slowed [do:wn.]

12   Sus: [((***))]

13   (0.8)

14   Joc: I went back to an Oklahoma   twang. (1.6) And everybody said. (.)   Whereøve you=

15   = been,

16   (0.6)

17   Joc: When I [start]ed   speaking like I (.) grew up wi:th, (0.1) and slowed down.

18   Sha: [↓No] ((*addressing the dog*))

19   Int: uh-huh_

10   Joc: Everybody said oh Jocelynøs back.

õTwangö is presented in Extract 13 as part of the strategy of linguistic and sociocultural accommodation that Jocelyn reports to have selected consciously as a result of her analysis (note õAnd I thought õWhat is itö and õI was trying to analyze why í they changedö in lines 5 and 7 of Extract 13) and reflection on the roles that linguistic identities of self and other had played in the history of her interpersonal communication. Argumentatively, õtwangö is presented here as part of the causal relation of õa means to its endö rather than the õact-consequenceö relation (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 271) between a linguistic form and the social effects of its use which allows Jocelyn to highlight the intentional and strategic character of her linguistic accommodation. This point of view constructs õtwangö as a means of resolving the problem of social alienation by indicating in-group membership.

õTwangö is constructed in Extract 13 as a defining feature of Oklahoma English at the time of narration in contrast to the variety Jocelyn acquired while living in San Francisco. California English acquires an implicit negative evaluation via a presumption of a negative estranging effect it has on communication with Oklahomans. In contrast, õtwangö is implicitly evaluated positively in terms of the value it carries to signal belonging to a group of õOklahoma friends.ö Thus, õtwangö is discursively constructed as indexing what Coupland (2003) calls õauthentic cultural membershipö which ascribes õtwangö a cultural value in a strategic achievement of vernacular authenticity. This type of speech valorization is created by presenting õtwangö as a socially authenticating linguistic resource that a speaker can õgo back to,ö in Jocelynøs words, and use as õan anchor for solidarity and local affiliationö (p. 424).

Another narrative account of the use of õtwangö for strategic sociolinguistic authentication is given in Extract 14 below.

Extract 14:

1 Joc: and when I started working with the oil companies out there, (.) with ((*PII*)),
2 (0.7) all of the men who ↑ran the oil companies, (.) in ^California (.) were=

3   = from Texas, Oklahoma, and ^Louisiana. (0.9) And I didnøt realize it but=

4   =when Iød go into a (0.2) a (0.3) a yard, (1.5) an oil yard or (0.2) petroleum or=

5   =whatever it ^was, (0.4) I just went right back into Oklahoma ^twang, and they=

6   = were ↑comfortable with me [(0.4)   ] and <u>thatø</u>s why I got   business. On a=

7 Sha: [((*chuckle*))]

8 Joc: = handshake (1.2) because the way I ^spoke, (.) was the way_ (0.3) and these=

9   =men youød think (.) they were old_ [(0.6) barbers   ](0.5) they <u>all</u> had at <u>least</u>=

10 Sha: >[They   trusted you]<

11 Joc: =Masterøs degrees. (.) in engineering_ or (0.3) something. you know but you just=

12   =thought they were just good @old boys_@.

13 Jen: ((*chu*[*ckle*))   ]

14 Sus: @[They were chemical ↑engineers@]

15 Joc: Yah. (.) And I went back into the Oklahoma twang_ (0.5) after ↑fifteen twenty=

16   =↑years (0.2) without even knowing it. (0.4) until I got away from there and=

17   =someone said ↑õWhere are you from.ö

18 Jen,Sha: ((*laughter*))

19 Joc: @õWhere are you from.ö@

In contrast to the narrative in Extract 13, Extract 14 constructs a representation of an unintentional and unconscious process of using õtwangö for linguistic accommodation ó something Jocelyn õdidnøt realizeö and did õwithout even knowing it,ö albeit with a strategic purpose of making a deal. The narrative in Extract 14 serves as evidence supporting Jocelynøs claim about the causal link between her use of õtwangö and her success in making business deals. It contextualizes Jocelynøs shift õbackö into õtwangö by rhetorically embedding it into a contrast between two communicative situations that involved different social evaluations of õtwangö constructed in relation to ingroup-outgroup dynamics of communication.

In lines 1-14 of Extract 14, the first narrated situation of interaction depicts Jocelynøs former business partners as having collective identities associated with two different, contrasted social groups: educated engineers and õgood old boys.ö This argument from group membership (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, pp. 322-323) constructs the social meanings of õtwangö and its socioindexical properties in relation to the implied social characteristics and social

evaluations of these groups. These constructions of sociolinguistic indexicality associate presumptions about the social differences between the groups with the social effects of linguistic accommodation. The first type of group description characterizes its members in rather objective, factual terms as chemical engineers who ran oil companies in California and had Masterøs degrees. The second description, however, is based on a subjective, attitude-loaded perception of the cultural group membership of interlocutors. Jocelyn says in lines 11-12: õbut you just thought they were just good old boysö - an expression which evokes a contrast between the high-status level of education and profession (õMasterøs degreesö and õchemical engineersö) on the one hand, and, on the other, an identity of a õgood old boy,ö which evokes an image of a stereotypical Southern white male with relaxed and informal manners, õand often an anti-intellectual bias and intolerant point of viewö (AHDEL 2016). õGood oløboyö is also a term that, in the popular culture, may refer to the stigmatized õredneckö persona (Cobb, 2005, p. 227). This term is introduced in lines 11-12 with a phrase õbut you just thoughtö: The plurality and ambiguity in the meaning of õyouö here constructs Jocelynøs perception of õgood old boysö as something that was not unique to her understanding, but as a more generalized and, hence, stereotypical perception that other people could have as well. In line 12 of Extract 14, õgood old boysö is modified by a pragmatic marker õjustö which functions in a õdiminisherö sense (Preston, 1993, p. 250), with a downtoning meaning (Aijmer, 2002, p. 158) of õthis is not much.ö In the argumentative context of the contrast between two different social identities of the characters in Jocelynøs narrative, õjustö is used to rhetorically downplay the social evaluation of the identity of õgood old boys.ö The co-occurrence of this term with a metaphor õold barbersö (line 9) contributes metapragmatically to establishing an indexical relation between Jocelynøs attitudes and perceptions of the stereotypical social identity of the characters in her narrative and her unconscious linguistic choice of õgoing back to twang.ö

The argument from group membership in Extract 14 is a support for Jocelynøs claim in the beginning of the episode that there is a causal relation between a change in her speaking style and her success in making business deals. In lines 6-8, Jocelyn makes an explicit and unmitigated reference to this causal link when she says õand thatøs why I got business, on a handshake because the way I spoke, was the way.ö Causality is overtly marked here with õthatøs whyö and õbecauseö ó the connectives which express a discourse-level relation between propositions (Sanders & Stukker, 2012). This causal relation between a linguistic and a social event creates an argumentative context in which Jocelyn and Sharon co-construct socioindexical links between the shift into õtwangö and achievement of trust and õcomfortable feelingö in interpersonal communication. These indexical associations underlie an explanation of the effect that Jocelynøs linguistic accommodation had on her success in making business deals. This effect would not be possible, however, without the interlocutorsø recognition and acceptance of the implied socioindexical values of õtwang.ö Thus, one of the entailments of this metapragmatic construction is a cultural ratification of a socially õauthenticatingö (Bucholtz, 2003) value attributed to õtwang" in this argument.

This context of successful linguistic accommodation and sociolinguistic authentication is contrasted in Extract 14 with another communicative situation in which Jocelynøs use of õtwangö leads to an opposite social effect of estrangement from Californians who started asking her õWhere are you from?ö This question signals to Jocelyn a perception of her use of twang as indexing outgroup behavior of somebody who is different and not õfrom hereö (Myers, 2006). Otherization implicit in this question is what makes Jocelyn conscious of the õtwangö in her voice. The contrast created in Extract 14 between the social effects of using õtwangö in different communicative contexts highlights the indexical associations and dissociations that characterize the metapragmatic functioning of õtwangö in relation to perceptions of the social group membership of the interlocutors.

In sum, Extracts 13 and 14 rhetorically construct "twang" as a linguistic resource that was acquired in the childhood and can be used for different strategic purposes, both consciously and unconsciously, bringing about different social effects and evaluations. The cultural, indexical values implicitly attributed to "twang" in these conversational episodes can thus be seen in terms of the processes of sociolinguistic authentication that Jocelyn, who presents herself as a former "twang" speaker, had to go through to create a sense of belonging in different social situations while navigating the landscapes of linguistic difference by flexibly moving in and out of linguistic identities.

4.5.5 "Twang" and Social Boundaries of Lower-Class Whiteness

The concept of "redneck" was first explicitly introduced into this conversation by the interviewer as part of a general question about the identity of "hillbillies," "rednecks," and "hicks" – the question which did not mention "twang." The episode in Extract 15 is one of the participants' answers to this question. This episode follows a short discussion of "Cowboy Talk" and its feature of vowel monophthongization in "oil" and precedes a discussion of the "Honey Boo-Boo" TV show whose stars are presented as "rednecks."

Extract 15:
1 Joc: I think of Little   Dixie (.) as the   redneck. That's the most <u>southern</u> part of our=
2 Sha: Uh-huh
3 Joc: [=state, the most opi]nionated, (0.3) the most   opinionated_ (0.6) conservative, (1.2)
4 Jen: [and that's Durant.]
5 Sha: Uh-huh
6 Joc: prejudiced, (.) if you wonna say it_ (0.4) area of Oklahoma and that's I (.) put here_
7   (0.4) large twang. (0.4) [Little Di]xie_
8 Sha: [and a lot,]
9 Int: In that area? ((*pointing to the map*))
10 Sha: A   lot of the- (0.3)
11 Joc: Durant [is where Durant **]
12 Sha: [falderal going on   ] down there.

13   (0.6)

14   Joc: A lot of what,

15   Sha: Falderal.

16   (0.8)

17   Joc: Oh [uhm_ they also] are the most economically deprived. [(0.6) in] the state.

18   Sha: [((*chuckle*))   ]   [right]   uh-huh

19   Int: Yeah.

20   Joc: Uhm

21   (1.3)

22   Joc: But itøs   just so   sad but_ (0.6) the rednecks_ (0.9) they find something wrong=

23   Sha: uh-huh

24   Joc: =with everything. (1.2) other than themselves.

Extract 15 starts by identifying the Southeastern corner of Oklahoma as õthe redneckö while referring to this area with a widely-used local term õLittle Dixieö which evokes associations with the Southern culture. This rural part of the state is often singled out by Oklahomans as a linguistically prominent area distinguished by the use of stereotypically Southern speech characteristics. One of the Oklahoman participants in Bakosø(2013, p. 104) study, for example, described the Southeastern portion of the state as having õmore of a hard drawl and twangy.ö Dialectological studies confirm non-linguistsøevaluations by including the Southeastern part of Oklahoma into õthe Southö dialectal area based on both lexical (e.g., Southard, 1993, p. 233) and phonological (e.g., Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006, p. 148) variables in linguistic production.

Jocelyn starts Extract 15 by saying õI think of Little Dixie as the redneck.ö Argumentatively, in this episode, Jocelyn and other participants co-construct a classification of this geographical area in terms of a social group identity of õrednecks.ö An argument from classification is usually (Walton, Reed, & Macagno, 2008) õbased on two main components: the description, or presentation, of the facts or events, and their classification, proceeding from properties presented in the definition itselfö (p. 67). The argument in this episode supports the categorization of õLittle Dixieö as õthe redneckö with a co-constructed definition including several characteristics such as the properties of the personae type (e.g. õopinionated,ö

õconservative,ö õprejudicedö in lines 3 and 6, õfind something wrong with everything other than themselvesö in lines 22 and 24), economic status (e.g. õthe most economically deprived in the stateö in line 17), and characteristics of the speaking style (e.g., õlarge twangö in line 7 and õfalderalö in line 15). Inclusion of several properties into one definition establishes a relation of association between them whereby õtwangö becomes indexically associated with several concepts deriving from geographical, social and linguistic domains of reference. Thus, the argument from classification in Extract 15 metapragmatically links these associations into a network of meanings that, in the view of the participants, define the social category of the redneck identity.

Categorizing õLittle Dixieö in terms of the redneck identity establishes a spatial, cultural, economic, and linguistic differentiation of this particular area from other parts of Oklahoma. The linguistic expression of this categorization involves the repeated use of the superlative degree of adjectives (õthe most opinionatedö and õthe most economically deprivedö) and degree modifiers (õa lot ofö and õlargeö). This construction does not imply the exclusion of the õredneckö attributes from other areas of Oklahoma or other social identities. Rather, these linguistic choices contribute to construing the concept õtwangö and several other proposed attributes of the redneck identity as gradient: a high degree of their presence within a group of people in a specific locale is presented as a characteristic feature of sociolinguistic distinctiveness.

Definitions, especially the ethical ones, õare rarely, if ever, argumentatively neutralö (Walton, Reed, & Macagno, 2008, p. 67). Several attributes in the definition in Extract 15 are ethical and rely on the accepted systems of social values pertaining to a moral evaluation of personality traits. This definition includes a number of concepts with negative connotations. Jocelynøs expression of the affective stance of sadness in line 22 (õitøs just so sadö) explicitly marks her position with regard to the attributes of the redneck identity and assumes the unfortunate, undesirable character of this social, economic, and regional distinction. Inclusion of õtwangö into a web of negative indexical associations reflects on the valorization of the term

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within this conversational context, in spite of the absence of explicit negative evaluation of this linguistic phenomenon.

According to Walton, Reed, and Macagno (2008, p. 67), õargument from verbal classification proceeds from semantic, endoxic, or shared properties of a definition.ö In other words, in order for a classification to be accepted as valid and/or plausible, it has to rely on the shared popular opinion about the properties of the definition on which the classification is based. Furthermore, classifications and definitions are part of a more abstract level of conceptualization based on explicit or implicit generalizations that may be linked to stereotypes (Walton & Macagno, 2010, pp. 54-55) of the underlying social structures, norms, and values. The association of õtwangö with the õredneckö discourse which is co-constructed by the participants in Extract15 rests on the assumption of the sharedness of the cultural knowledge schema of the redneck identity among the interlocutors and in the wider community. Thus, inclusion of õtwangö into this schema metapragmatically indexes the cultural associations of this folk-term not only in the interactional space of this conversation, but also at the macro-level of the social context of language variation.

The association of õlarge twangö with the õredneckö persona should be viewed in relation to the macro-context of the wide circulation in the US society of the negatively-charged, contemptuous depictions of õrednecksö as ignorant, rural, poor, low-class whites who flout social conventions (Jarosz & Lawson, 2002; Hartigan, 2003) and resist õAmerican mass societyøs insistence on conformityö (Cobb, 2005, p. 226). It is important to consider a macro-social function of the õredneckö stereotype in delineating õa sharp division among whites, distinguishing those who are indelibly marked or unmarked in terms of class and region in relation to whitenessö (Hartigan, 2003, p. 101). Concepts such as õredneckö serve as õboundary termsö (Wray, 2006) while performing symbolic õboundary-workö (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) in social differentiation between õlesser whitesö and õan ideal type of whiteness considered

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untainted, normative and superiorö (Shirley, 2010, p. 57). According to Lamont and Molnar

(2002), õSymbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize

objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and

groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of realityö (p. 168). While symbolic

boundaries function intersubjectively, social boundaries õmanifest themselves as groupings of

individualsö (p. 169). Seeing our discoursal data in light of the social role of the concept

õredneckö in the US suggests that different degrees of õtwangö may have indexical functions in

ideological demarcation of the differences among identities of white Oklahomans along the

dimensions of social class, economic standing, persona and behavior type, regional affiliation,

and social stigma.

In this conversation, indexical relations between õtwangö and the social personae of low-

class white Oklahomans are created repeatedly, albeit indirectly, and some of these discursive

constructions integrate participantsø individual experiences with language variety and their

representations of the sociohistorical contexts of language variation, as shown in Extract 16

below. Here, the participants co-construct these representations as they draw on the social

memory of the Dust Bowl experience. This episode immediately follows a discussion of whether

Oklahoma English is a distinct variety ó the topic raised in the interviewerøs question.

Extract 16:

1   Sha: I donøt think we stand out. (0.5) [and (.) particularly] our lang- a- our English.
2   Jen: [(***)   ]
3   Int: Uh-huh_
4   Sha: Er (.) [like (***)]
5   Joc: [WE   DID] (0.4) We did. (.) When I first went to San Francisco right out=
6   =of Oklahoma_ (0.6) and that was the Oklahoma   twang.
7   Sha: Uh-huh
8   Joc: [And people remember_   ]
9   Sus: [***Iøve never heard it call***]   twang.=
10 Joc: =Well_ (.) the people who went to (.) California back in the   thirties in the Dust=

11   =Bowl_ (0.9) took the Oklahoma twang with them. (0.9) [and so we didnøt think]=

12 Sus: uh-huh   [Good Iøm glad they ***]

13 Joc: =[about it, (.) we] didnøt think about it. (0.9) but ^later (.) when I went in_ (.)

14 Sha: [((*laughter*))   ]

15 Joc: fifty-^nine there were_ (.) people there who had ^known Okies, (0.5) >then we=

16   = didnøt like to be called O[kies].< (.) But_ (1.0) they were ones who would=

17 Sha: [^No::]

18 Joc: =identify_ (0.4) the way I was speaking as ^Oklahoma (.) cause <u>they</u> heard what=

19   =they had heard in the thirties.

((*57 sec. of omitted talk about "The Grapes of Wrath," about the author of the book, the actors in the movie and when it was last shown on TV*))

20 Sha: Well and they were not treated well when they went to ^California (.) Everybody thought=

21   = they were-_

22 Joc: [Well they were talking about the language that was (***)] [and by the way_ (0.5)   ]

23 Jen: [They (***) (0.6) poor white trash.   ]

24 Sha: [(***) white trash (***)]

25 Joc: Talking about the rednecks, (0.2) often they are considered_ (0.5) poor white trash. (0.2)

26 Int: uh-huh

27 Joc: Now if they are not poor (.) they can be rednecks.

In the context of the talk about differentiation of Oklahoma English with regard to other varieties in the US, Sharon claims in line 1 of Extract 16 that the variety used in Oklahoma is not distinctive. Jocelyn then responds emphatically by saying õWe didö in line 5 which redefines the temporal focus of the discussion and frames it in terms of reference to the past. She identifies õtwangö as a feature of the variety used in Oklahoma in the late fifties and supports this argument by an account of her experience with Californians who recognized Jocelynøs speech as characteristically Oklahoman ó the variety that the migrants had brought to California during the Dust Bowl period. This argumentative move involves õtwangö in discursive constructions with complex semiotic relations. A historical representation includes õtwangö in the temporal and spatial domains of reference to the Dust Bowl period and creates a contrast between the Californian and the Oklahoman varieties. This contrast evokes a negative evaluation of õtwangö in this episode in terms of the stigma associated with the undesirable attributes of the membership

in the social groups of "Okies," "poor white trash," and "rednecks." Some of these negative

evaluations are expressed directly in lines 16 ("we didn't like to be called "Okies") and 20 ("and

they were not treated well").

Jocelyn's identification of "the Oklahoma twang" as a feature of the "Okie" variety lends

credence to the macroproposition "Oklahoma had a twang," that she expressed and supported

repeatedly in several other discourse episodes. While Susan occasionally opposes Jocelyn's

claims about "twang," (as she does in line 9 of Extract 16, for example) the value of Jocelyn's

arguments is augmented through their "convergence" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p.

471) on the same conclusion that "Oklahoma had a twang." Jocelyn reinforces this

macroproposition by advancing different types of supporting arguments during this conversation

– the arguments that draw on various types of evidence and several domains of meaning which

include historical, social, spatial, temporal, and language-related representations. These

arguments and the complexity of the semiotic spaces they engage highlight the role that a

particular folk linguistic concept may play in shaping language users' conceptions of language

ideologies.

4.5.6 Folk Definitions of "Twang"

While "twang" is a commonly used term, in everyday conversations speakers often rely

on the assumptions about the shared understanding of its meaning and do not normally discuss its

definition unless directly prompted by the interviewer. In the conversation analyzed here, the

interviewer asked the participants for definitions of the terms they were using (Extract 10, line 7):

"So what is a twang and what is a drawl?" Jocelyn's answer "It's when you make two syllables

out of one-syllable words" (Extract 10, line 8) does not clearly indicate whether she refers to

"twang" or "drawl." At the same time, during the conversation, she clearly distinguishes these

terms as defining features of variation in Oklahoma and Texas. In a follow-up individual

interview with Jocelyn, she gave the following definition of õtwangö:

Extract 17:

1   Joc: Since we   talked last_ (0.2) about the differences between tra- twang and drawl=
2   = Iøve (0.2) given (0.2) further thought to it. (1.0) because Oklahoma_ (0.6) people=
3   =who_ (0.6) recognize the sound of an Oklahoman (.) speech, (.) talked about the=
4   =Oklahoma (.)   twang. (2.5) In the South, they use a drawl. (2.2) And the twang,
5   (0.6) is a sound that_ itøs almost nasal. Itøs a sharper sound (0.6) ((*clears throat*))
6   Int: uh-huh_
7   Joc: than you have in the normal South. (0.5) Itøs almost a shar- with a semi- twa-=
8   Int: uh-huh_
9   Joc: =with a semi-nasal quality. (0.9) And   many times in Oklahoma_ (0.2) it=
10 Int: uh-huh,
11 Joc: =included, (0.7) making_ (.) two syllables out of a one-syllable word.

In addition to the process of diphthongization which Jocelyn referred to during the group

conversation, this definition of õthe Oklahoma twangö includes voice qualities of õnasalityö and

õsharpness.ö This reveals a complex, multidimensional perception of õtwangö that integrates

information about segmental and prosodic characteristics of speech. Note that õnasalityö is

described in Extract 6 using a phrase õa semi-nasal qualityö: this word choice presents õnasalityö

as a scalar variable and entails a partial attribution of this voice quality to õtwang.ö At the same

time, the approximating degree modifier õalmostö may evoke an õeither-orö conception of totality

(Paradis, 2000, p. 148) which suggests an attempt to describe the voice quality associated with

õtwangö as similar to õnasalityö but also in some way different from it.

õSharpnessö is constructed in this definition as a gradient phenomenon that is evaluated

in comparison with õthe normal Southö: õa sharper soundö differentiates õOklahoma twangö as

having phonetic characteristics distinct from the õnormalö Southern variety. It is not quite clear,

however, which phonetic parameters may correlate with perceptions of greater õsharpnessö in

õtwangyö speech styles. As for the perceptual meaningfulness of the quality õsharpness,ö it has

been explored in psychoacoustic studies (e.g., Ellermeier, Mader, & Daniel, 2004; Fastl &

Zwicker, 2007) which suggest that õsharpnessö is one of the most salient perceptual dimensions

of õsensory pleasantnessö of sounds, and these two constructs are inversely related: greater

sharpness tends to be evaluated as less pleasant-sounding. If õsharpnessö is indeed a phonetic cue

of õtwanginess,ö it may contribute to negative evaluations of õtwang.ö

The feature of diphthongization pointed out by Jocelyn as characteristic of õtwangö was

also cited by Jennifer during the multi-party conversation. Jennifer commented on the speech of

people from Durant - a town in southern Oklahoma where people õuse a lot of diphthongs,ö

pronounce the word õwellö as õwail,ö and have a slightly slow õdrawlö in their speech. This

description portrays diphthongization as a feature co-present with õdrawlö in the same

geographical area which contradicts the argument that Jocelyn makes repeatedly during the

conversation about a clear-cut distinction between the Oklahoma õtwangö and Texas õdrawl.ö

õTwangö is often contrasted with õdrawlö which is repeatedly defined by the participants

as õa slower way of speakingö and õdrawing out a word.ö The definition of õdrawlö that Jocelyn

provided in the follow-up interview (Extract 18) clarifies the distinction she makes between the

two concepts:

Extract 18:

1 Joc: But a drawl is   definitely <**a slo:wer** way of speaking and **dra::wing** out a **wo::rd**>.

2 (0.4)

3   Int: Uh-[huh   ]

4   Joc: [Thatø]s where the **dra::::wl_** [comes from.

5   Int: [((chuckle))

In lines 1 and 4 of Extract 18, Jocelyn imitates "the drawl" by considerably elongating her vowels and slowing her speech rate. Jocelyn's performance of linguistic imitations illustrates the features she is singling out as characteristic of "drawl." The imitations in lines 1 and 4 in Extract 18 make elongated vowels and a slower rate of speech more "present" to the audience. The length of "drawl" in line 4 is 0.85 seconds which is almost twice the length of "drawl" in line 1 (0.44 seconds). These linguistic imitations support the preceding definition and strengthen Jocelyn's argument about the definition of "drawl."

Although Jocelyn differentiates "twang" and "drawl," clear distinctions between the two terms are not quite apparent in the folk-linguistic data from the "draw-a-map" experiments in the US. Cukor-Avila et al.'s (2012) study in Texas, for example, did not reveal clear geographical boundaries in the folk perceptions of the distribution of "twang" and "drawl": "twang" was sometimes used by the respondents in opposition to "drawl" to distinguish parts of the state, but it was also common for participants to use these two concepts to describe the speech in the same geographical areas. Future studies using both qualitative and experimental approaches may shed more light on the distinctions that non-linguists draw between the folk-terms "twang" and "drawl."

Although the linguistic realizations of "drawl" have been extensively studied, very little work has been done on the folk understandings of the concept, and there is still no uniform interpretation of the term among sociolinguists, as has been shown in Allbritten's (2011) study.

However, according to sociolinguists' definitions of "drawl," it involves "the lengthening and raising of accented vowels, normally accompanied by a change in pitch [í] but does not necessarily involve a slower overall speech tempo" (Montgomery, 1989, p. 761). Feagin (2015, p. 359) has defined Southern drawl as "diphthongization of lax front vowels." "Twang," on the other hand, has been described by sociolinguists as a nasal manner of speaking (e.g., Jacewicz,

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Fox, & Lyle, p. 2009; Cukor-Avila et al., 2012). These specialist definitions do not seem to accurately reflect non-linguistsøunderstandings of these folk-terms: our discourse data suggest that diphthongization of vowels and õsharpnessö of the sound (which may be a perception of sharp changes in pitch) may be perceived as features of õtwangö distinct from vowel elongation associated with õdrawl.ö Another important difference is that õtwangö is associated with a cluster of variables rather than õnasalityö only. These differences are summarized in Table 1. Future studies using both qualitative and experimental approaches may shed more light on how non-linguists perceive and conceptualize these salient folk linguistic stereotypes.

Table 1. Comparison of the specialist and folk definitions of õtwangö and õdrawlö

	Specialist definitions	Folk definitions
"Drawl"	Vowel lengthening (Montgomery, 1989); Raising of accented vowels accompanied by a change in pitch (Montgomery, 1989); Diphthongization of lax front vowels (Feagin, 2015)	Vowel lengthening, õdrawing out a wordö; Slower way of speaking
"Twang"	Nasal manner of speech (Jacewitz et al., 2009)	Diphthongization of vowels; Sharpness; (Semi-) nasal quality

4.6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

This analysis suggests that the folk-linguistic concept õtwangö has a complex socioindexical profile characterized by several value dimensions revealed in the local, rhetorical and interactional contexts of ideological constructions of social group identities and dialectal differences in American English. The language-related meanings of the folk-term õtwangö revealed in the discourse analyzed here include a constellation of phonetic features, such as vowel

diphthongization, õsharpnessö of the sound, and õnasality.ö These findings are in contrast with the sociolinguistsøunderstandings of the term and highlight the importance of exploring the clustering of meanings in sociolinguistic indexical fields. As Tyler (2015) noted, õ[i]ndexical fields may not be marked by a single core meaning, but instead have multiple cores that result in clusters of meaningö (p. 304). This study suggests that one of the possible approaches to the exploration of interrelations of sociolinguistic meanings is the analysis of the metapragmatic functioning of salient folk linguistic concepts and their networks of associations/dissociations built in language usersøown constructions of sociolinguistic indexical relations.

Constructions of õtwangö discussed in this analysis rely on gradient conceptualizations of the social and linguistic features that become associated with õtwangö through their inclusion in argument structures in everyday discourse. The rhetorical strategies of comparison and gradient representations (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 348) allow the speakers to establish more nuanced associations between the social and the language-related meanings of õtwangö by placing them on pragmatic scales of interrelated conceptual hierarchies of values. Some of these values rely on assumptions about the õnormalö social behavior that become linked to representations of linguistic stereotypes which serve to index symbolic boundaries distinguishing õuntainted whitesö from õlesserö forms of whiteness in the American South. As this analysis has shown, ideological meanings of linguistic variables invoked by the concept õtwangö are implicated in the relationality of symbolic boundary work which establishes dissociations between social groups signaled rhetorically through the argumentative and other discursive strategies of metalinguistic belief construction in everyday interaction. Examining symbolic boundaries õallows us to capture the dynamic dimensions of social relations, as groups compete in the production, diffusion, and institutionalization of alternative systems and principles of classificationsö (Lamont & Molnar, 2002, p. 168).

As revealed in this analysis, the discursive schemes of sociolinguistic valorization of õtwangö are largely implicit. They are based on relating linguistic and social facts, behaviors and personae types to the values ascribed to them in folk rationalizations and typifications. The meanings constructed in such typifications are assumed to be shared and easily interpreted by the interlocutors. On the other hand, these meanings are contextualized through their embeddedness into the specific rhetorical and interactional contexts of communication.

One of the implicit valorization schemes revealed in this study includes the rhetorical construction of the õvernacular authenticityö (Coupland, 2003) of õtwangö in relation to several value dimensions including a positive value of solidarity and local group membership and negative evaluations associated with a social persona õredneck.ö These constructions of sociolinguistic authenticity are achieved with reliance on the indexical potential of õtwangö to (de)authenticate social personae in terms of social group membership. These dimensions of the social meaning of õtwangö have a macro-ideological function since they rely on a set of õenregisteredö (Agha, 2007) cultural conceptions about the clusters of social and linguistic features indexing group identities. The participantsøconcepts of õsociolinguistic authenticityö are thus involved in the interactional processes of self- and other-identification whereby speakers construct authenticity in discourse based on the strategic and rhetorical deployment of reflexivity in discursive representations of social meanings. This analysis suggests that qualitative investigations of folk-linguistic discourse may contribute to a better understanding of how participantsøconcepts of õsociolinguistic authenticityö are involved in discursive representations of the social meanings that particular õperformance spacesö (Coupland, 2003, p. 428) have for those who õoccupyö them. As Coupland (2003, p. 427) observed,

> Personal and social identities may be best seen as projects in the articulation of life-
> options, rather than determined by social demographics: identities are never entirely

given, fully-formed or achieved, but aspired to, critically monitored and constructed as developing personal narratives.

This analysis also suggests that a qualitative analytical focus on the data collected from respondents with an ambivalent linguistic and regional identity can shed light on the complexity of the processes of sociolinguistic authentication (Bucholtz, 2003). Encounters with out-group members which occur after leaving one's õnatural habitatö may heighten language awareness and stimulate reflexive reorientations in one's linguistic behavior and attitudes. As a result, such encounters and the social influences they involve may lead speakers to learn to flexibly manipulate linguistic resources available to them in new social and linguistic environments. These socially variable situations of dynamic identity construction may put language users at the forefront of the creation and renegotiation of the social meanings of language variation (cf. Eckert, 2003, p. 393) which is an important factor in rehabilitation of such speakers from their marginalized status in sociolinguistics.

The findings from the analysis discussed above illustrate the affordances of the rhetorical approach which uses argumentation theory as an overarching framework and complements it with insights and competencies derived from conversation analysis, interactional analysis, and sociological theory. The application of this method to the study of the meanings of a specific folk-linguistic concept has shown that it can be productive, since it can shed light on the complexity of sociolinguistic indexical relations constructed in discourse that is often overlooked in generalizations from quantitatively-oriented techniques.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of the Theoretical and Methodological Proposals

In this dissertation, I have proposed that

1) sociolinguistic indexical relations may be studied in their actualization in metapragmatic discourse in terms of propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality;

2) a sociolinguistic study may use as a starting point of analysis a specific salient folk-concept that has local significance in its social context of use in order to explore its meta-pragmatic functioning as part of context-specific activations of the fluid fields of sociolinguistic indexical relations;

 3) the study of propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality may be approached using the rhetorical, discourse-based analysis as an overarching framework for the integration of analytical perspectives derived from argumentation theory, conversation analysis, interactional analysis, and sociological theory.

5.2 Discussion and Conclusions

The rhetorical approach to folk-linguistic discourse has the potential of illuminating a number of aspects of discourse-based argumentation, such as:

1) rhetorical functions of overtly stated and presupposed propositions and their role in expressions of agreement and disagreement with interlocutorsøclaims;

2) metapragmatic and metasemantic features of support and refutation offered in response to propositions;

3) speakersøreliance on the background knowledge and belief structures that are assumed to be shared with interlocutors;

4) types of inferential links involved in the construction of arguments about language;

5) discourse-level argumentation strategies displayed in the choice of certain discourse genres and rhetorical structures for particular communicative goals.

These affordances offered by the rhetorical approach render it suitable for a unifying framework that integrates analyses of meaning relations at several levels of discourse, including ideational, cognitive and interactional structures, as well as participantsølinguistic choices in the rhetorical development of conversational interaction.

The rhetorically-oriented approach illustrated in this dissertation has been productive in its application in a study that takes a specific locally-salient folk-linguistic concept as a starting point of analysis. This methodological application in combination with its analytic focus has illuminated the richness and complexity of folk-metapragmatic conceptualizations of the relations between linguistic and social forms constructed during the propositional processes of

sociolinguistic indexicality. To sum up, the following metapragmatic aspects of these processes have been revealed in the application of the proposed approach:

1) discursive processes of objectivation, essentialization, and reification of sociolinguistic distinctiveness;

2) the dialectic relationship between subjectivity and objectivation in discursive constructions of sociolinguistic distinctiveness;

3) discursive, ideological construction of the normalized and normative models of social and linguistic behavior revealing rhetorically- and interactionally-situated conceptualizations of standards, typifying norms, norm-ideals, and deviations from norms, as well as relations of these conceptualizations to the folk constructions of language standardization processes;

4) discursive construction of the clustering of linguistic and social typifications of speaking styles and social groups;

5) discursive construction of the clustering of linguistic features in terms of subtle gradations and conceptual hierarchies that reflect complex indexical profiles of speech styles;

6) micro-contextual and macro-sociological processes of valorization that mediate discursive constructions of sociolinguistic distinctiveness;

7) contextualization and rhetorical embeddedness of the enregisterment processes;

8) conceptual relations underlying contextualized expressions of folk-linguistic theories that rely on the structures of common thought patterns and argumentation schemes realized through processes of association and dissociation of concepts;

9) context-specific, discursive constructions of folk-conceptions of sociolinguistic authenticity;

10) discursive construction of symbolic boundaries between social groups, of cultural membership, and of group- and personae-based classifications.

The analytic focus on a salient folk-concept õtwangö has indicated that this concept is not uniform or unidimensional: it is not defined by one precise meaning in folk-linguistic conceptualizations. Rather, it serves as a locally-interpretable, subjectively and intersubjectively constructed conceptualization which links a number of macro-sociological and micro-interactional representations from different domains of reference: geographical, temporal, sociohistorical conceptualizations, as well as identity-related and experiential processes. The multidimensionality of this metapragmatic function suggests that this type of analytic focus can be productive in exploring the complexity of sociolinguistic indexicality.

Participantsøevaluations of sociolinguistic phenomena explored in this rhetorically-oriented analysis are, primarily, not of the attitudinal nature traditionally sought in language attitude studies. Rather, this analysis shows that evaluations that underlie discursive constructions of sociolinguistic distinctions may be viewed as argumentative and conceptual in essence ó they are evaluations of linguistic and social facts, of behaviors and persons in terms of their conceptual associations with or dissociations from other facts, behaviors, persons, and traits. These evaluations are viewed here as folk rationalizations of linguistic distinctiveness which rely on the use of certain folk-linguistic terms and social typifications whose meanings are, on the one hand, shared and easily interpreted by interlocutors, and, on the other, complicated by their embeddedness into the rhetorical and interactional context of communication.

Overall, the applications of the rhetorical approach illustrated in this study have shown that exploring aspects of sociolinguistic differentiation in its actualizations in metapragmatic

discourse may allow us to view sociolinguistic differentiation not in terms of static õdifferences,ö but in terms of the complexity and interrelatedness of meanings that arise in relation to both micro- and macro-social frames of reference. This approach may help address the simplification of the nature of sociolinguistic differentiation that is an inevitable consequence of using quantitative approaches. The rhetorical approach, and the unifying framework it offers for an integration of interdisciplinary discourse-based perspectives, is one of the methods that can complement quantitative techniques in sociolinguistics by illuminating the richness and complexity of language usersø own constructions of sociolinguistic differences in their complex interrelations with a host of other factors of interactional and more global, sociological nature.

Using TNR theory of argumentation offers the benefit of attending to the role of conceptual relations between discourse elements, including inferential relations in the propositional development of discourse. Such relations are õbasically indexicalö: they participate in the evaluation and retrieval of õthe contextual grounds of what is communicatively intendedö (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007, p. 484). This suggests that a theory of argumentation may be applied in the study of context-specific instantiations of a multilevel process (Silverstein, 2003) of sociolinguistic indexicality.

One of the important advancements in viewing language ideologies in terms of indexicality has been made in the applications of Irvine and Galøs (2009) theory of the semiotic processes of õiconization,ö õfractal recursivity,ö and õerasure.ö In their classification, iconization involves representation of linguistic features in ways suggesting that the features somehow õdepicted or displayed a social groupøs inherent nature or essenceö (p. 403). Fractal recursivity involves construction of oppositions õsalient at some level of relationship, onto some other level,ö such as intragroup oppositions projected to intergroup relations and vice versa (p. 403). Another semiotic process is erasure which simplifies sociolinguistic relations and õrenders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisibleö (p. 404). Studies of folk-linguistic

discourse (e.g., Hall-Lew & Stephens, 2012, Cramer, 2013) often rely on Irvine and Gal's (2009) taxonomy in the interpretation of the meanings of discursive language-ideological constructions. This study, however, suggests that reliance on this taxonomy only in the analysis of complex metasemiotic processes may be limiting. Irvine and Gal initially described their theory of semiotic processes in relation to larger-scale ideological modes characterizing colonial discourses and other cultural practices that affected language structure. However, there is an important distinction between the processes that define sociolinguistic relations at the level of stereotypical representations shared in a community of speakers and propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality that employ discursive resources aimed at achieving contextually-situated rhetorical or interactional goals. If we analyze discoursal data in terms of rhetorical and interactive strategies rather than wider semiotic processes, we may be better positioned to uncover the semiotic complexity underlying the discursive construction of sociolinguistic indexical relations. This may help avoid rushing to conclusions about the wider significance of the data interpretations at the macro-level of language-ideological processes pertaining to the regional or national levels of shared metalinguistic awareness. While Irvine and Gal's theory illuminates fundamental processes of language ideology construction at the macro-social level, it does not seem to reveal the conceptual complexity, ideological load, and richness of micro-contextual instantiations of these processes in everyday talk about language.

However, the application of the rhetorical analysis has its own difficulties that are mainly related to the fact that, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969, p. 187) observed, components of arguments cannot be analyzed outside of their context of use due to õthe equivocal character of languageö and the reliance of argumentation on implicit meanings. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that different interpretations of the same argument scheme are possible and each interpretation is õnothing more than a plausible hypothesisö of the mental processes in the mind of the speaker and the hearer. When interlocutors listen to othersø arguments, they construct their

own arguments, õwhich are usually unexpressed but which nevertheless intervene to modify the final results of the argumentationö (p. 189). Another difficulty, the authors acknowledge, is that the same statement may express several argument schemes (p. 188).

These complexities may explain the fact that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) do not, compared to other argumentation scholars, formalize types of argument schemes as structures consisting of major and minor premises and a conclusion (e.g., Walton, 2008). Such formalization may ensure, to some extent, consistency in the analystsø applications of the schemes, but such formalization imposes the form of interpretation and formulation of logical relations that may go against or do not adequately reflect the inherent equivocal nature and complexity of signification in the language of everyday argumentation as well as the non-linearity of argumentation structures. By way of formalizing a scheme and providing a rigid structure to a generalized, abstract model of argument, argumentation theories aim at discovering the ways in which the logic of these arguments may be questioned in order to enhance the effectiveness of a critical discussion (e.g., van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; Walton, 2008). The description of argument schemes in TNR, however, does not pursue the goal of evaluating the logical validity of arguments. Rather, Perelmanøs purpose is to explore the common and complex ways arguers make use of thought patterns to create pragmatic and rhetorical effects by particular linguistic means. This goal and the way it is achieved by TNR contribute to an understanding of larger philosophical questions pertaining to the nature of situated language use in everyday communication.

The breadth and depth of TNR is what makes this theory an appropriate choice in the attempt to bring together the perspectives from the fields of discourse analysis and rhetoric. Argumentativity, common patterns of reasoning and inferential relations, as well as the processes of association and dissociation of concepts are integral, constitutive parts of discourse relations and discourse-based meaning construction. TNR approach, with its deep insights into the nature

of language viewed in the context of everyday argumentation, offers a framework that can be expanded and complemented by interdisciplinary perspectives to lay down the foundation for a theory of discourse argumentation. As Amossy (2009b) suggests, õrhetorical argumentation, examined in its discursive dimensions, can open a vast Łeld of linguistic investigation í discourse analysis should take logos into account by integrating in its descriptive approach the underlying argumentative structures of the discourseö (p. 323). The approaches which integrate rhetorical and discourse-analytic perspectives are needed in order to develop a discourse-based theory of argumentation, and at a more specific level of research interest, to develop the applications of such a theory in the form of an analytical, qualitative, content-based approach to discoursal data.

This study has illustrated an analysis of the propositional nature of discursive representations of folk linguistic concepts as revealed in the associational structures of informal reasoning and defeasible argumentation contextualized in interaction among participants. It has shown that these propositional processes of sociolinguistic indexicality engage experiential, affective, performative, perceptual, and identity-related processes: participants demonstrate these interrelated engagements in everyday metalinguistic discourse when they rationalize, justify, valorize, and illustrate their individual experiences with linguistic variability. Through these processes, speakers appropriate the meaning potential of linguistic variables and conceptualize it in discursive constructions of linguistic distinctiveness. The nature of these different facets of socioindexical discursive constructions needs to be studied further for a better understanding of their role in language-ideological processes. Such studies may also contribute to a better understanding of the processes of social knowledge construction as they relate to aspects of language awareness and agency in social action.

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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

PII   personally-identifiable information omitted to preserve confidentiality

-          (*hyphen*) an abrupt halt, a cut-off, or interruption in utterance

=   (*equals sign)* latching indicates the absence of noticeable silence between two turns or between parts of one turn

[talk]   (*brackets)* indicate the start and end points of overlapping speech

(***)   speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript

((*italic text*))   transcriptionist's description of events

bold type   a stylization, linguistic imitation, caricature

.   *(period)* a falling intonation contour

,   *(comma)* rising, continuing intonation

?   rising intonation, as in a question

Text_   *(underscore)* level intonation

         sharp rise in pitch

         sharp fall in pitch

^   up-down variation in pitch

ᵛ   down-up variation in pitch

(.)   micro-pause

(0.2)	timed pause in seconds
<u>text</u>	emphasis
TEXT	especially loud talk
text	talk that is markedly quiet or soft
text	a particularly quiet voice, or whispering
@text@	a smiley voice
:, ::	syllable lengthening
<text>	slower or drawn-out talk
>text<	rushed or faster talk

APPENDIX B

Map Used in the "Draw-a-Map" Task

(reproduced from http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=7537&lang=en)
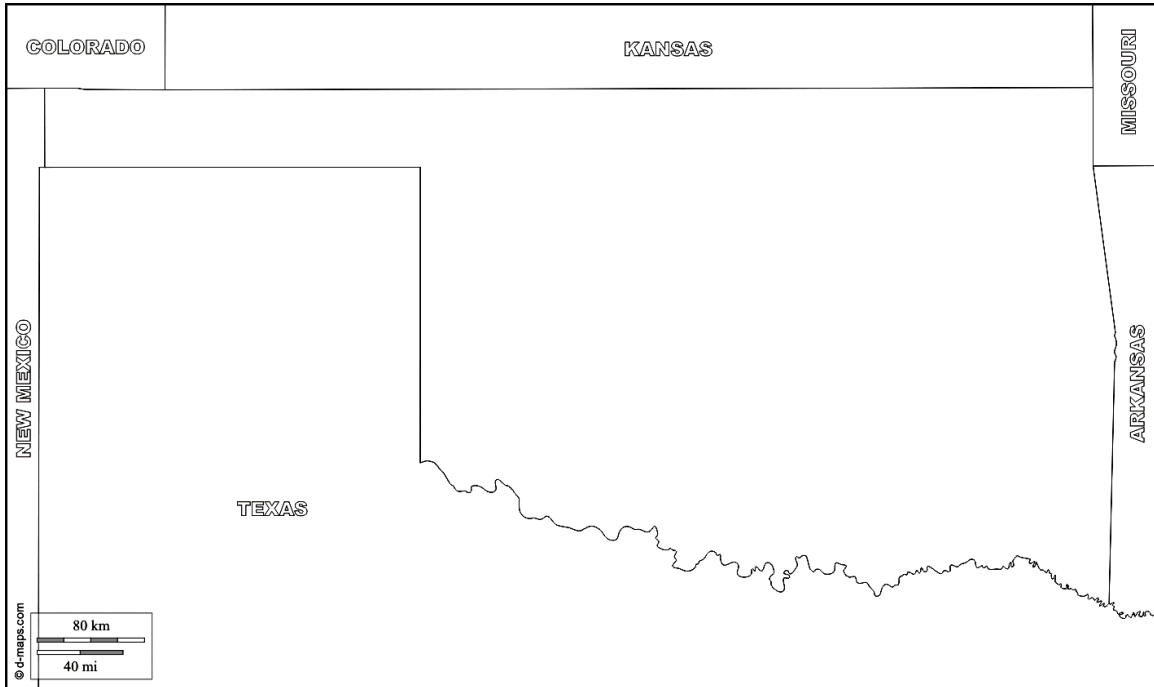
VITA

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