

### **Organizing committee Utrecht University:**

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### Conference program

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9.00				
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	Ellen-Petra Kester & Samantha Buijink	Language use and language attitudes in Aruba  Do we need to be so critical? Augmenting		
9.55	Nathan John Albury	language policy research through posthumanism		
10.20	Meike de Boer & Willemijn Heeren	Individual variation in filled pauses in the native and second language		
10.45	Coffee/tea break			
11.15	Catho Jacobs, Stefania Marzo & Eline Zenner	Playing with stereotypes: language variation and stereotypes in Flemish audio plays for children		
11.40	Sjaak Kroon	A historical and contemporary account of the		
11.10	Sjunit 1210011	linguistic landscape of Asmara, Eritrea		
12.05	Poster pitches			
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13.00	Poster session			
Sweelin	ckzaal (Drift 21)			
14.00	Keynote: Isabelle Léglise (CNRS Paris)  Variation and multilingual practices as linguistic resource			
	Sweelinckzaal	Room 0.03		
14.50	Kirsten Rosiers	Kristel Doreleijers, Marjo van Koppen & Jos Swanenberg		
	Tussen socio-pedagogische valorisering en professionele identiteit	Gender marking in Dutch and North-Brabantish dialects: Slowly disappearing or surprisingly dynamic?		
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15.40	Coffee/tea break			
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	Who turns language variation into language change?	English (in)competent: Language ideology and identity in Japan and the Netherlands		
16.30	Laura Smorenburg & Willemijn Heeren	Laura Rosseel, Jacoba Waumans & Dirk Geeraerts		
	Acoustic speaker characteristics of	Style-shifting in Flemish TV and radio		
	fricative /x/ in Standard Dutch	commercials: A diachronic study		
16.55	Marjoleine Sloos	Lisa Hilte, Reinhild Vandekerckhove & Walter Daelemans		
	The Boarnsterhim Corpus: Bilingual sociolinguistic database of spoken Frisian and Dutch	Adolescents' perceptions of social media writing: Has non-standard become the new standard?		
17.20	Closing & Drinks			
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### Keynote

We proudly present our key note speaker, **Isabelle Léglise**. She is Senior Research Fellow at CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) in Paris and Head of the Laboratory Structure & Dynamics of Languages. Her field of expertise ranges from multilingualism, language variation and change in contact settings to language and mobility, education, and discourse analysis. In her work language practices are considered social practices which positions her perspective at the heart of the Sociolinguistics Circle conference. She has an impressive list of high-quality publications, not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of the diversity of topics.



#### Variation and multilingual practices as linguistic resources

Isabelle Léglise

(CNRS, SeDyL)

Research on linguistic variation, language contact or codeswitching mostly assumes bounded languages or repertoires. Most studies presuppose the identification of specific languages in bilingual (sometimes plurilingual) corpora. Similarly, language annotation in corpus linguistics is based on the principle of univocity of items belonging to specific languages. On the other hand, in the last years, in an attempt to avoid referring to bounded languages, a lot of terms have been coined in sociolinguistics or anthropological linguistics — as transidiomatic practices, heteroglossia, polylanguaging, translanguaging, languaging etc. Heterogeneous and hard to classify, multilingual language practices are due to, and at the same time reveal linguistic diversity and the multiplicity of self-identification and positionings linked to processes of homogeneization and differentiation.

In this talk, I will address the notion of language boundaries, constructed both by linguists and by language users and will consider variation and heterogeneity as linguistic resources for speakers in their everyday multilingual language practices. It needs first a "shift in focus from linguistic systems toward language users [... and their] repertoires drawn from lived experiences that may disrupt presumed connections between language, community, and spaces" (Hall & Nilep, 2015: 615). Second, it needs also a solid methodology to reveal the heterogeneity of language practices through the annotation of corpora.

I will show how ambivalence or a play on boundaries is a common characteristic of communication in highly multilingual contexts. Language users make use of all kinds of linguistic resources in order to communicate and, when they share more or less the same language(s) background (i.e. in endolingual settings (Lüdi 1987), they sometimes choose ambivalent elements, attributable to various languages or varieties. In doing so, they choose, in a way, not to perform language boundaries but to 'float' instead in mid-water. It is particularly obvious in postcolonial contexts (involving for example close language varieties or a Creole and its lexifier in decreolization contexts). The use of bivalent elements may be politicized and controversial (Woolard 1998) or may represent a linguistic resource that is strategically marshaled by language users in their everyday interaction to position themselves, linked to processes of homogeneization and differentiation.

### Abstracts – presentations

### Language use and language attitudes in Aruba

Ellen-Petra Kester & Samantha Buijink

(Utrecht University)

In this paper, we present the results of a survey that was conducted on Aruba. The majority of the Aruban population speak Papiamento, but Dutch has been the only officially recognized language for centuries. Global languages such as British/American English and Spanish play an important role as well, due to migration, tourism and the media (television, the internet).

The language situation is complex and so are the attitudes toward the individual languages. Papiamento is regarded as an important identity marker, but also perceived as threatened by English and Spanish (Carroll 2009, 2015). Attitudes toward Dutch are ambivalent or negative due to the influence of the colonial history of unequal power relations. Additionally, critical attitudes toward Dutch are fuelled by the use of Dutch as the only language of instruction in the Aruban education system, which is argued to cause high failure rates (Dijkhoff & Pereira 2010).

Our survey was conducted among more than 800 informants, belonging to different generations and representing groups with different (parental) birthplaces. The preliminary results indicate that attitudes toward Papiamento are overall very positive and the language is used in different domains by speakers of different age groups, belonging to local as well as migrant families. The use of other languages (Dutch, English and Spanish) is much more restricted, but younger informants tend to speak English more often than older informants, particularly outside their homes. Furthermore, younger informants tend to find Papiamento more important (as compared to older generations) for activities related to achievements, such as passing exams, getting a job and earning money. These results can make a significant contribution to the development of a sustainable education system, aiming at balanced multilingualism in order for Aruban students to achieve their full potential.

# Do we need to be so critical? Augmenting language policy research through posthumanism

Nathan John Albury

(Leiden University Centre for Linguistics)

This paper argues that critical inquiry, as a popular approach in sociolinguistics, may fail to capture the breadth of minority group experiences under a nation's language policy (Albury, in press), and shows this in the case of Malaysia. Indian and Chinese minorities have long called Malaysia home, but Malay ethnonationalism has structured social policy – at least until the 2018 shift in Malaysian politics - on the basis that Malaysia is ethnic Malay land, Islam the religion, and Bahasa the sole national language. Language policy therefore privileges ethnic Malays, and minority rights are restricted to primary education in Mandarin or Tamil (Gill, 2013). The Malaysian situation – like language policy generally – has attracted critical perspectives with a focus on power and oppression (Albury, 2018; Coluzzi, 2017). Nonetheless, Malaysia remains intensely multilingual. It is perplexing that faced with linguistic hegemony, non-Malays have not typically shifted to Bahasa.

To understand multilingualism on the ground contrary to policy, the paper draws on quantitative data about the multilingual practices of 78 Chinese- and Indian-Malaysian youths, and on their meta-commentary about those practices. Analysis shows that critical theory may indeed be best placed to understand the Indian-Malaysian youths' multilingualism and their bias against Bahasa. Language policy may be so ethnonationalist that it causes them to disassociate from ethnic Malays. However, Chinese-Malaysian multilingualism, plus the pedestalisation of Mandarin rather than Bahasa as the community's lingua franca, is better explained through posthumanist applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2018). Chinese-Malaysian language choices were interdependent on material and immaterial affordances within the community, rather than in dialectic relationship to the power structures that preoccupy critical inquiry. This shows that language policy research ought not to be confined by the epistemology of critical theory, and that posthumanism helps to reveal a much broader diversity in human experiences under a state's language policy.

Albury, N. J. (2018). Forging and negating diasporic linguistic citizenship in ethnocratic Malaysia. *Lingua*. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2018.08.003

Albury, N. J. (in press). Multilingualism and mobility as collateral results of hegemonic language policy. *Applied linguistics*.

Coluzzi, P. (2017). Language planning for Malay in Malaysia: A case of failure or success? International *Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2017(244), 17-38. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2016-0055

Gill, S. K. (2013). Language Policy Challenges in Multi-Ethnic Malaysia. Dordrecht: Springer. Pennycook, A. (2018). *Posthumanist Applied Linguistics*. Abington, New York: Routledge.

#### Individual variation in filled pauses in the native and second language

Meike de Boer & Willemijn Heeren

(Leiden University Centre for Linguistics)

Hesitation behavior is a relatively unconscious part of language [1], which shows much between-speaker variation [2–4]. Furthermore, individuals are rather consistent in how they hesitate in their native language [2, 5]. This study investigates between-speaker variation in hesitation behavior in the first (L1) and second (L2) language, and within-speaker consistency of filled pauses across languages.

In Dutch and English, two fillers are mainly used to express hesitation: *uh* and *um*. However, their exact phonetic realization and the ratio between the two are different for these languages [6, 7]. Flege's Speech Learning Model [8] says that L2 learners only adapt their pronunciation when they perceive a difference between the L1 and L2. Therefore, we expect that Dutch speakers of English more clearly adapt their *uh:um* proportions than their vowel formants of the *uh/um* vowels. For other pronunciation features of *uh* and *um*, e.g. duration and fundamental frequency (F0), we expect speakers to be consistent across languages [9, 2].

We investigated the speech of 40 Dutch students of University College Utrecht (20 females; 20 males). The speakers were selected from the Longitudinal Corpus of University College English Accents (LUCEA), collected by Orr and Quené [10]. Students from University Colleges have advanced L2 proficiency.

Preliminary results show substantial between-speaker variation in the filled pauses *uh* and *um* in both Dutch and English. The within-speaker consistency was low where expected: when speaking English, students used the *um* variant more often than in Dutch. Also, the vowel quality of their filled pauses was pronounced more open and more backwards in English than in Dutch. According to the SLM, this suggests that differences in vowel realization between Dutch and English were sufficiently salient to these speakers, as were the different *uh:um* ratios. As expected, filled pauses' durations and F0 remained relatively stable across languages.

- [1] Clark, H. H., & Fox Tree, J. E. (2002). Using uh and um in spontaneous speaking. Cognition, 84, 73–111.
- [2] Braun, A., Rosin, A. (2015). On the speaker-specificity of hesitation markers. *Proc. 18th ICPhS Glasgow*, 731–736.
- [3] Hughes, V., Wood, S., & Foulkes, P. (2016). Filled pauses as variables in forensic voice comparison. *Int. J. Speech Lang. Law*, 23, 99–132.
- [4] McDougall, K., & Duckworth, M. (2017). Profiling fluency: An analysis of individual variation in disfluencies in adult males. *Speech Comm.*, 95, 16–27.
- [5] Künzel, H. F. (1997). Some general phonetic and forensic aspects of speaking tempo. *For. Linguist.*, 4, 48–83.
- [6] De Leeuw, E. (2007). Hesitation markers in English, German, and Dutch. J. Germ. Ling. 19, 85–114.
- [7] Wieling, M., Grieve, J., Bouma, G., Fruehwald, J., Coleman, J., & Liberman, M. (2016). Variation and change in the use of hesitation markers in Germanic languages. *Language Dynamics and Change*, 6, 199–234.
- $[8] \ Flege, J.\ E.\ (1995).\ Second\ language\ speech\ learning:\ Theory,\ findings,\ and\ problems.\ In:$

Strange, W. (Ed.), *Speech Perception and Linguistic Experience: Issues in Cross-Language Research*. York: York Press, 233–277.

- [9] Kolly, M. J., Leemann, A., De Mareüil, P. B., & Dellwo, V. (2015). Speaker-idiosyncrasy in pausing behavior: Evidence from a cross-linguistic study. *Proc. 18th ICPhS Glasgow*, 294–299.
- [10] Orr, R., & Quené, H. (2017). D-LUCEA: Curation of the UCU Accent Project data. In: Odijk, J., & Van Hessen, A. (Eds.), *CLARIN in the Low Countries*. London: Ubiquity Press, 177–190.

# Playing with stereotypes: Language variation and stereotypes in Flemish audio plays for children

Catho Jacobs, Stefania Marzo & Eline Zenner

(KU Leuven)

In this contribution we investigate whether the Flemish audio plays *Heerlijke Hoorspelen* expose children to stereotypes. In particular, we scrutinize the links between accent variation and social characteristics of the audio play characters, and examine whether the target audience (children) really perceives the stereotypes attached to the characters through accent variation.

This study builds on the societal treatment study of Lippi-Green (1997), who argued that Disney movies teach children to discriminate as they expose them to stereotypical associations of accents. We contribute to Lippi-Green's study in two ways:

- 1. (1) We have conducted a similar societal treatment study with recent Flemish audio plays to examine whether the plays expose children to stereotypes. To this end, we have drafted an inventory of the accents used in the *Heerlijke Hoorspelen* and of the personality traits they index, resulting in an accent-by-traits matrix for 208 characters.
- 2. (2) We have set up an experiment which examines whether the target audience links the accents with their geographical region and stereotypical associations. More in particular, 54 nine- to ten-year-olds were asked to listen to 5 second audio clips extracted from the plays, after which they had to locate the accent (Kristiansen 2010), perform a free response experiment (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2010), and fill in a list of more traditional Likert scales.

Our societal treatment analysis confirms that the audio plays expose children to stereotypes, while our experimental analysis shows that the children of our study are not able to label the accents with a high degree of accuracy, and seem to be unaware of the stereotypical associations of accents (although that could be due to methodological issues). The interpretation of our results focuses on the furthering of our knowledge of the effect of language variation and stereotypes in media that target children.

Grondelaers, Stefan & Roeland van Hout. 2010. Do speech evaluation scales in a speaker evaluation experiment trigger conscious or unconscious attitudes? *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*.

Kristiansen, Gitte. 2010. Lectal acquisition and linguistic stereotype. *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 225-264.

Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1997. Teaching children to discriminate. What we learn from the Big Bad Wolf. *English with an accent: Language, ideology and discrimination in the United States.* Londen & New York: Routledge.

# Language policy in public space A historical and contemporary account of the linguistic landscape of Asmara, Eritrea

Sjaak Kroon

(Tilburg University)

My paper is about the linguistic landscape of Asmara, and the ways in which it reflects the historical development of language policies in Eritrea, enacted by the diverse foreign powers that ruled the country and the government of Eritrea after Independence.

I will first discuss the notion of public space as a socially constructed phenomenon and connect it to the concept of a 'guilty landscape' referring to the impact or – literally – the imprint of societal happenings on the physical surroundings where they took place. Such traces of history contribute to changing concrete places into spaces and as such help memorizing and handing over the narratives connected with these spaces.

After briefly introducing the sociolinguistic tradition of ethnographic linguistic landscaping as a way to unravel the traces of language policies that over the years have co-constructed and have given meaning to Asmara's public space, I will analyze a collection of semiotic signs, taken in Asmara between 2001 and 2018, stemming from the periods of Italian, British, Ethiopian and Eritrean rule. I mainly try to show how public signs in Asmara, fossilized as well as contemporary, bear witness of the ways in which language and state ideologies of the respective rulers were symbolically implemented and enshrined in visible language. In addition to Italian, Amharic, Tigrinya and Arabic, attention is also given to English, the international language that was introduced during the British Protectorate period and managed to maintain and, contrary to what one would expect, even strengthen its position in Asmara in recent years in relation to the inhabitants' connection to the internet as a way to virtually escape from the city.

The different historical periods under investigation are finally comparatively discussed and some general conclusions are formulated pertaining to the meaning of Asmara's consecutive linguistic landscapes as socially constructed spaces.

#### Tussen socio-pedagogische valorisering en professionele identiteit

## Het effect van translanguaging-praktijken op leerkrachten in een Nederlandstalige secundaire school in Brussel

Kirsten Rosiers

(Universiteit Gent)

Deze presentatie analyseert de sociolinguïstische waarde van diverse talen, de socio- pedagogische valorisering van meertalige 'translanguaging'-praktijken en de effecten daarvan op de professionele identiteit van een leerkracht in een Brusselse Nederlandstalige klas. Het taalbeleid van de secundaire school waartoe de klas behoort, is erg strikt: alleen Nederlands mag worden gebruikt, wat contrasteert met de diverse talige realiteit van de leerlingen. Aan de hand van een linguïstisch-etnografische dataverzameling werd een *etnografie van taalbeleid* uitgevoerd (Hornberger & Johnson 2011). Analyses van het overheids- en schooltaalbeleid werden gecombineerd met analyses van de interactionele praktijken in de klas.

Hoewel het schooltaalbeleid straffen in de vorm van taalbonnen voorschrijft aan leerlingen die een andere taal spreken in de school, toont het onderzoek aan dat leerkrachten de straffen nauwelijks toepassen. Ze laten zelfs af en toe andere talen toe in de klascontext, en het is op die momenten in de leerling-leerkracht-interactie dat de presentatie zich concentreert. Er wordt nagegaan hoe de interactie zich afspeelt wanneer het volledige talige repertoire wordt gemobiliseerd en wat het effect daarvan is op de leerkracht. Resultaten geven aan dat de leerkracht-leerlingdynamiek translanguaging-praktijken (García 2009) vertoont, maar dat die beperkt blijven tot "woordenboekmomenten". Wanneer leerlingen bepaalde delen van hun talig repertoire inzetten (in casu Frans, Arabisch, Nederlands en Engels), hangt het effect op de leerkracht af van de waarde die deze talen hebben in de symbolische markt van de klas en in de bredere Brusselse samenleving (Bourdieu 1982, Heller 1994). De leerkracht onderhandelt haar professionele identiteit in relatie tot de meertalige context. Op bepaalde momenten ageert de leerkracht tegen translanguaging-praktijken omdat ze ingaan tegen een belangrijk aspect van de identiteit als "leerkracht in een Nederlandstalige school". Op andere momenten wordt het meertalig repertoire benut omwille van de socio-pedagogische waarde van translanguaging-praktijken (o.a. verwantschap tussen talen, Cummins 2007). Dit toont een zeker pragmatisme in de omgang met het beleid van macro- en mesoniveau en onderstreept het belang om micro-interactionele taalpraktijken te betrekken in taalbeleidsonderzoek (Spolsky 2004).

Bourdieu, P. (1982). Ce que parler veut dire. Paris : Fayard.

Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms, *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 10 (2): 221-240.

García, O. (2009). Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heller, M. (1994). *Crosswords. Language, Education and Ethnicity in French Ontario*. Berlin:Mouton de Gruyter.

Hornberger, N. & D. Johnson (2011). "The ethnography of language policy", in T. McCarty (ed.), *Ethnography and language policy*, New York, Routledge, p.273–289. Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### 'CUV Chinese': A Transnational Liturgical Register from the Chinese diaspora to Greater China

Jin Di & Ad Backus

(Tilburg University)

Due to globalization, many religious communities and networks exist in diaspora contexts, and this comes with sociolinguistic implications. Some of these are common to all migrant settings; others are more specific to religious communities. As part of a three-year ethnographic study on Chinese Protestant churches in the Netherlands, this paper examines 'CUV Chinese', a liturgical register based on the Chinese Union Version (CUV) Bible. It is used in evangelical services for international students from Greater China, jointly operated by diasporic Chinese Protestant churches in the Netherlands and allied East Asian counterparts. This paper discusses the register's linguistic features and how it is transmitted. 'CUV Chinese' proves the norm in the diasporic churches, which differs from Modern Standard Chinese in word use and grammatical patterns, as a consequence of the CUV Bible translated by Anglo-American missionaries between the 1890s and 1910s. Current Chinese student members of these churches learn this liturgical register through religious services and written communication from the church, much of which is distributed online. Crucial factors in this diffusion are the clerics' authority and a doctrine of biblical literalism. The students actively consolidate the register when they practice it in religious meetings, but also outside such settings. The conclusions are: 1) the diasporic Chinese Protestant churches are seen as an authority on Chinese language by their adherents in a way that would not be possible in Greater China, where religious institutions do not have this norm-setting role; and 2) the CUV register, while described here in the context of a peripheral diasporic Chinese community, spreads into the center of Greater China to an extent not seen before because of the transnationalism of its users and their online presence. Contrary to Chinese convention, the diasporic church members do not limit their use of the religious register to religious contexts.

#### Who turns language variation into language change?

#### Cesko Voeten

(Leiden University Center for Linguistics)

Ever since [1], sociolinguists have been fascinated by the five major problems of language change. One problem that has thus far not received too much attention is the *transmission* of linguistic change from one individual A to another individual B. What factors determine whether B will 'pick up' the language change from A?

I provide insight into this question by means of a large-scale study (108 participants) of an on-going language change in Dutch, viz. the diphthongization of /e:,ø:,o:/. These vowels have become diphthongs in Netherlandic Dutch, but not in Flemish Dutch (e.g. [2]). I compare speech production and perception in three groups of subjects: 45 Netherlandic Dutch participants in Leiden, 45 Flemish Dutch participants in Ghent, and 18 Flemish participants who have lived in the Netherlands for a long time (years—decades). This third group (henceforth referred to as 'hybrid') is representative of language change: a Flamand immersed in Netherlandic Dutch is exactly parallel to a Netherlandic Dutch speaker from a hundred years ago (cf. [3]).

Both the production and perception data show significant differences between the Netherlandic and Flemish groups, and that the hybrid group has, as a whole, moved closer towards the Netherlandic group. The production task also shows sociolinguistically meaningful individual differences: a 2-means cluster analysis on the random slopes of a naïve mixed-effects model shows that 6 of the 18 participants are classified as Netherlandic speakers, an effect which is larger than chance (p < .01).

What sets these 6 participants apart from the other 12? A principal components analysis reveals three major factors, of which one (which I term *sociability*) is significantly associated with the on-going language change. I discuss the implications of this finding, and synthesize the implications for empirical sociolinguistics.

- [1] Weinreich, U., Labov, W., & Herzog, M. (1968). Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In: Lehmann, W. & Malkiel, Y. (Eds.). *Directions for Historical Linguistics* (pp. 95–188). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- [2] Adank, P., van Hout, R., & Smits, R. (2004). An acoustic description of the vowels of Northern and Southern Standard Dutch. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 116(3), 1729–1738.
- [3] Zwaardemaker, H., & Eijkman, C. L. P. H. (1924). *Leerboek der Phonetiek. Inzonderheid met betrekking tot het Standaard-Nederlands*. Haarlem: De erven F. Bohn.

#### Acoustic speaker characteristics of fricative /x/ in standard Dutch

#### Laura Smorenburg and Willemijn Heeren

(Leiden University)

This study aims to investigate within- and between-speaker variation in acoustic features of the fricative /x/ in standard Dutch. More specifically, we want to answer the following question: In standard Dutch, which acoustic features are characteristic of speakers?

Fricative phoneme /x/ has a varying place of articulation in standard Dutch, ranging from velar [x] to uvular  $[\chi]$ , which is claimed to vary idiolectally [3]. Moreover, when place of articulation is uvular, the fricative may be produced with "scrape", i.e. uvular trill [1]. In standard Dutch in the Netherlands, place of articulation and scrape show regional differences [1]. Place of articulation is (palato-)velar in southern regions, uvular in the linguistic core (Randstad) and northern regions, and mixed in transitional regions. Scrape occurs in over 72.5% of fricatives in the linguistic core and northern regions, in 45% of fricatives in transitional regions, and in 5% of fricatives in southern regions. The auditory findings for place of articulation [1] have been confirmed acoustically [2]. To our knowledge, no acoustic reports on scrape in /x/ are currently available.

The present study has extracted 3,492 /x/ fricatives from 58 male speakers (aged 18-50) from spontaneous telephone conversations in the Spoken Dutch Corpus [4]. Speakers were all reported to have standard Dutch as their first, home, and work language. However, speakers came from different regions in the Netherlands. Several spectral and temporal features were extracted for each fricative.

Preliminary results indicate that speakers can be discriminated with 12.9% accuracy using spectral and temporal features. Spectral slope, followed by spectral standard deviation and centre of gravity, are the best-performing speaker discriminants.

In the work presented here, results are extended by including a new feature for the presence of scrape in /x. Within- and between-speaker variation will be more closely examined, also in relation to regional differences.

- [1] van der Harst, S. & van de Velde, H. (2007). 17 G's in het Standaardnederlands? *Taal & Tongval*, 59, 172–195.
- [2] van der Harst, S., van de Velde, H. & Schouten, B. (2007). Acoustic characteristics of standard Dutch  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}$  / In 16<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Saarbrücken, Germany (pp. 1469-1472).
- [3] Mees, I. & Collins, B. (1983). A phonetic description of the vowel system of Standard Dutch (ABN). *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 13(2), 64–75. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100300002565
- [4] Oostdijk, N. H. J. (2000). Corpus Gesproken Nederlands. Nederlandse Taalkunde, 5, 280–284.

#### The Boarnsterhim Corpus: bilingual sociolinguistic database of spoken Frisian and Dutch

#### Marjoleine Sloos

Fryske Akademy, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)

In this paper, I introduce the bilingual sociolinguistic spoken database "The Boarnsterhim Corpus". This is a unique spoken language database of four generations of bilingual Frisian-Dutch speakers with two moments of recording: between 1982-1984 and between 2017-2019. During the first period, 87 speakers were recorded in the two languages. These data are stratified by three social classes: higher educated, lower educated, and non-educated speakers. A special feature of this corpus is that speakers of three generations of the same families are recorded, either males or females. For the second period, currently under way, we aim for the same number of speakers, following a similar design, but adapted to a changed society. Moreover, 24 speakers were recorded at both moments in time, enabling longitudinal studies and comparisons of apparent time and real time change. We also collected the speech of four generations of five families.

The corpus will be POS-tagged and become available for research in 2019, embedded in the CLARIAH infrastructure. The corpus can be used for language variation and change studies from phonological, morphological, and syntactic perspectives, in combination with bilingualism studies. I highlight the first case study: the investigation into the suffix -/ən/, which occurs in both Frisian and Dutch. Whereas Standard Dutch prefers n-deletion, Frisian prefers schwa-deletion or a nasalized schwa. However, these are relatively new developments. Speakers born around 1900 still and often used the full pronunciation [ən] in 1982-84. I show how schwa deletion and nasalized schwa formation developed in complementary phonological contexts. Interestingly, these data also show the introduction and development of a new phonological rule, namely, long-distance nasal spreading, which is quite unique across German languages.

# Gender Marking in Dutch and North-Brabantish Dialects: Slowly Disappearing or Surprisingly Dynamic?

Kristel Doreleijers (Meertens Instituut), Marjo van Koppen (Meertens Instituut/Utrecht University) and Jos Swanenberg (Tilburg University)

Changes in gender marking leading to clauses such as *de meisje die daar woont* render quite some exasperation to most speakers of Dutch who consider this type of 'mistakes' as language decay. A similar pattern of language variation and change is found in North-Brabantish dialects. These dialects still have three (masculine, feminine and neuter) gender markers where Standard Dutch has two (common and neuter; Hoppenbrouwers 1983). Gender marking is one of the most prominent features of North-Brabantish, but with a process of dialect change well on its way for at least 50 years this feature is supposedly fading away.

However, we find a high level of heterogeneity in all generations of speakers in Brabant when it comes to gender marking. Our data, that consist of online speech (vlogs), translation tasks, grammaticality assessments and interviews on attitudes and prestige, show three variations. First, we find omissions of gender marking that might be explained by a general tendency of deflection in Germanic languages and a process of dialect levelling (Audring 2006). Second, we find markers in noun groups where they should not appear according the traditional rules of dialect grammar, leading to hyperdialectisms (Lenz 2004). Third, gender is also marked by innovative constructions, so-called 'hypermarkers', e.g. accumulate forms with two identical suffixes (Doreleijers 2017).

In this presentation we will deal further with the 'what, how and why' of gender marking in North-Brabantish dialects and Dutch. On the one hand gender marking seems to lose ground, but on the other hand it shows to be a surprisingly dynamic feature. We argue that this is the result of an interaction of language internal and language external factors such as language contact and identity construction. Moreover, we hypothesize that the function of gender marking is currently changing: suffixes are no longer (only) marking gender but (also) information structure.

Audring, J. (2006) Pronominal gender in Dutch. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 18, 85-116. Doreleijers, K. (2017) 'Unne kuukske'? Een onderzoek naar variatie in geslachtsmarkering door (jonge) Brabantse dialect-/regiolectsprekers in regio Eindhoven. Master thesis

Neerlandistiek, Universiteit Utrecht.

Hoppenbrouwers, C. (1983) Het genus in een Brabants regiolect. Tabu 13, 1-25.

Lenz, A. (2004) Hyperforms and Variety Barriers. *Language variation in Europe*. Uppsala University, 281-293.

## Babysit of kinderoppas? Een onderzoek naar lexicale keuzes en attitudes tegenover Engelse leenwoorden

Yasmin Crombez (Universiteit Gent) Eline Zenner (KU Leuven) Anne-Sophie Ghyselen (Universiteit Gent)

De laatste decennia werden gekenmerkt door een enorme opmars van het Engels over de hele wereld. Dat heeft geleid tot aanzienlijk linguïstisch onderzoek naar de aanwezigheid en invloed van Engelse woorden in andere talen (zie Alex 2008, Andersen 2012 etc.) De focus ligt daarbij voornamelijk op corpusonderzoek en lexicografie, hoewel recentere werken zich ook steeds meer toeleggen op de sociopragmatische betekenis van Engelse leenwoorden (zie Zenner & Kristiansen 2013, Andersen 2014). Onderzoek naar de attitudes tegenover Engelse leenwoorden is echter eerder beperkt. Deze studie focust daarom op twee vragen: als moedertaalsprekers de keuze hebben, kiezen ze dan voor het Engelse leenwoord of het Nederlandse alternatief, en wat vertelt dat over hun taalattitudes? Om een antwoord te formuleren op die vragen werd een forced-choice experiment afgenomen bij 350 moedertaalsprekers van het Nederlands in België en Nederland. Concreet kregen de informanten 16 woordparen met telkens een Engelse (bv. babysitter) en een Nederlandse (bv. kinderoppas) lexicalisatie van een concept. De leenwoorden in het experiment zijn afkomstig uit het corpusonderzoek van Zenner, Speelman en Geeraerts (2012), die de succes rate van de leenwoorden onderzocht hebben. De paren werden telkens voorgesteld in twee contexten om de impact van genre en register te bestuderen. Daarnaast werd er gefocust op drie variabelen die een bewezen significante invloed uitoefenen op de lexicalisatie van een concept: het onderscheid tussen luxe- en noodzakelijke leenwoorden, het semantische veld en het tijdstip van ontlening (Zenner et al. 2012). Aan de hand van een mixed-effect logistische regressieanalyse stellen we een complexe wisselwerking vast tussen de regionale en socio-economische achtergrond van de informanten, de eigenschappen van de woordparen en de context waarin ze voorkomen.

Alex, B. (2008). Comparing corpus-based to web-based lookup techniques for automatic English inclusion detection. In Proceedings of LREC 2008, eds.

Andersen, G. (2012). Semi-automatic approaches to anglicism detection in Norwegian corpus data. The anglicization of European lexis, eds. Cristiano Furiassi, Virginia Pulcini, and Félix Rodriguez-González. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 111–130.

Andersen, G. (2014). Pragmatic borrowing. Journal of Pragmatics, 67, 17-33.

Onysko, A., & Winter-Froemel, E. (2011). Necessary loans – luxury loans? Exploring the pragmatic dimension of borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(6), 1550-1567

Preston, D. R. (2013). The influence of regard on language variation and change. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 52, 93-104.

Zenner, E., Speelman, D., & Geeraerts, D. (2012). Cognitive Sociolinguistics meets loanword research: Measuring variation in the success of anglicisms in Dutch.

Zenner, E., & Kristiansen, G. (2013). New perspectives on lexical borrowing: Onomasiological, methodological and phraseological innovations (Vol. 7). Walter de Gruyter.

#### English (in)competent: language ideology and identity in Japan and the Netherlands

Alison Edwards (Leiden University Centre for Linguistics) & Philip Seargeant (Open University, UK)

In this talk we explore the ways in which English forms an integral part of local language practices in Japan and the Netherlands, two countries in which English has limited official status, or, in the case of Japan, no significant role in transactional communication at all. English in these contexts has typically been constructed as a 'foreign' or 'international' language, thereby precluding consideration of the increasingly complex and multifarious ways in which it is mobilised for local interpersonal functions and in producing and performing identity. We present two specific analytic examples from the mediascapes of the two countries – the Karakuri Funniest English segment of a Japanese comedy show and a post from the satirical online Dutch magazine De Speld. Analysing these ludic transcultural media products from a sociolinguistic and discourse-analytic perspective, we show how English is tied up with the construction of the self and the other in different, profound and sometimes unexpected ways. Although the prevailing English-language ideologies in these two countries are almost polar opposites – the Japanese are typically constructed in the Japanese national imagination as 'English-incompetent', in contrast with the broad 'English-knowing' identity in the Netherlands – in both contexts the use of English as a global linguistic resource creates new semiotic opportunities for social actors to negotiate and revise their identities and strategically construct the local.

#### Style-shifting in Flemish TV and radio commercials: a diachronic study

Laura Rosseel, Jacoba Waumans, Dirk Geeraerts

(KU Leuven)

Marketeers make avid use of the stylistic values of language variation in advertising (Van Gijsel et al. 2008). Studying the deliberate exploitation of linguistic styles in this genre offers the possibility to uncover the social meanings attached to language features or varieties (Geeraerts & Van de Velde 2013). Against this background, we investigate style-shifts between two varieties of Dutch in Belgium, Standard Belgian Dutch (SBD) and Colloquial Belgian Dutch (CBD), in a corpus of 711 radio and TV commercials collected in 2018. Furthermore, we compare our results to those from an older study based on a similar corpus sampled in 2001 (Van Gijsel et al. 2008) in order to assess whether the social meanings of the varieties under study have changed.

In order to study style-shifts within commercials, a colloquiality index was calculated per spot element (i.e. a subsection of a commercial) based on 13 linguistic features characteristic of CBD. Regression analyses on the 2018 data show results are remarkably similar to those from 2001. CBD is mainly used in 'minidramas', a type of spot element that portrays a situation from daily life. Additionally, the colloquiality index is significantly higher in humoristic ads, as well as in stylish telecom adds particularly aimed at younger people. This use indicates that CBD is associated with entertainment and informality and potentially carries a more youthful indexicality. SBD, by contrast, is more strongly represented in informative spot elements, particularly in the payoff of ads (i.e. a brief statement at the end of the ad containing practical information like the company name). This suggests SBD carries social meanings related to formality, seriousness and authority. These results echo findings from experimental language attitudes studies on SBD and CBD (e.g. Impe & Speelman 2007; Rosseel 2017) and will be discussed against the background of recent debates about the evolution of Belgian Dutch.

Geeraerts, D., & Van de Velde, H. (2013). Supra-regional characteristics of colloquial Dutch. In F. Hinskens & J. Taeldeman (Eds.), *Language and Space: Dutch* (pp. 532–556). Berlin: de Gruyter.

Impe, L., & Speelman, D. (2007). Vlamingen en hun (tussen)taal - een attitudineel mixed guiseonderzoek. *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij Voor Taal- En Letterkunde*, 61, 109–128.

Rosseel, L. (2017). New approaches to measuring the social meaning of language variation. Exploring the Personalized Implicit Association Test and the Relational Responding Task. KU Leuven PhD dissertation.

Van Gijsel, S., Speelman, D., & Geeraerts, D. (2008). Style shifting in commercials. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40(2), 205–226.

#### Adolescents' perceptions of social media writing: Has non-standard become the new standard?

Lisa Hilte, Reinhild Vandekerckhove & Walter Daelemans

(CLiPS research center, University of Antwerp)

The present study examines adolescents' attitudes and perceptions with respect to writing practices on social media. It reports the findings of a survey conducted among 168 Flemish high school students with various socio-demographic profiles. The survey examines linguistic attitudes and awareness of sociolinguistic patterns in computer-mediated communication (CMC), as well as relevant language skills. Moreover, the present research uniquely combines the study of both adolescents' perceptions and their production of informal online writing, as the participants' responses to the survey are compared to their peers' actual online writing practices (see Hilte et al. 2018a, 2018b, in press).

The respondents appear to have a fairly accurate intuition with respect to age and gender patterns in social media writing, but much less so with respect to education-related patterns. Furthermore, while typical chatspeak phenomena are easily identified as such, ordinary spelling mistakes often are not. Strikingly, the teenagers do not claim a high standard language proficiency, although they do state to care about standard language use in formal contexts. Finally, some significant differences were found between participants with distinct socio-demographic profiles, e.g. girls and highly educated teenagers appear to be more sensitive to the potential negative connotations of linguistic features and that sensitivity seems to increase with age.

Hilte, Lisa, Reinhild Vandekerckhove, & Walter Daelemans (2018a). Adolescents' social background and non-standard writing in online communication. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7(1):2-25.

Hilte, Lisa, Reinhild Vandekerckhove, & Walter Daelemans. (2018b). Social media writing and social class: A correlational analysis of adolescent CMC and social background. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 6(2): 73-89.

Hilte, Lisa, Reinhild Vandekerckhove, & Walter Daelemans (in press). Expressive markers in online teenage talk: A correlational analysis. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*.

### "I want to take the real classes": Students with Refugee Backgrounds and the Discursive Construction of 'Belonging'

#### **Emily Davis**

(Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Most newly arrived refugee students' first German school experience is preparatory language instruction. This paper examines how adolescent refugees who arrived in the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia during their last two years of lower secondary school make sense of their place within the 'imagined' community of the school (Anderson 2006) as they transition from preparatory classes to mainstream, grade-specific instruction. As social actors, individuals construct and reify group membership through their communication with others (Kroskrity 2000) and sociolinguistic research on bilingualism in schools indicates that language choice and communicative practices inform social identity (Jaspers 2011; Nortier 2018; Spotti 2011). During the 2017-2018 school year, I conducted participant observation and semi-structured interviews with eight students with refugee backgrounds between the ages of 15-16. My research indicates that students' discursive construction of 'belonging' is rooted both in the situational dynamic between their membership in a closely bonded group of language learners and their desire to be fully accepted by their age-group peers. The students distinguished between what they characterized as 'baby' / 'migrant' classes and 'real' / 'German' classes and referred to themselves as 'refugees,' 'foreigners,' 'Muslims,' or as citizens of their home country in comparison to 'German' students. Such ascriptions may be due to their physical separation from the day-to-day activities of their age- group peers due to their placement in preparatory classes, as well as ideological conceptions of what constitutes a 'good student' – to use the students' own words, as mastery of the German language is required to progress academically in mainstream classes. However, the use of sociopolitical or religious terminology to identify language differences is also rooted in German social policy and language ideologies about what makes a 'successful migrant.'

Anderson, Benedict O. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Verso.

Jaspers, Jürgen. 2011. "Talking like a 'zerolingual': Ambiguous linguistic caricatures at an urban secondary school." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 1264-1278.

Kroskrity, Paul V. 2000. "Identity." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1–2): 111–114.

Nortier, Jacomine. 2018. "Language and identity practices among multilingual Western European youths." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 12(5): e12278.

Spotti, Massimiliano. 2011. "Modernist language ideologies, indexicalities and identities. *Applied Linguistics Review* 2(2): 29-50.

#### 'da word moeilijk'

# The interaction of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic variables in the production of verb spelling errors in informal online writing

Hanne Surkyn, Dominiek Sandra & Reinhild Vandekerckhove

(CLiPS Research Center – University of Antwerp)

Our poster presentation will be devoted to a recently initiated project on the interaction of social and mental processes in the production of spelling errors in informal computer-mediated communication (CMC). Unlike many CMC-studies, the research focuses on unintentional spelling deviations, more specifically on errors on regular verb homophones, i.e. verb forms whose pronunciation corresponds to two spelling forms. The data are extracted from an extensive corpus of online conversations produced by Flemish teenagers.

Interactive online writing imposes a pressure on working-memory. The speed or economy maxim (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2011), which urges participants to be fast to guarantee smooth turn taking, may not only lead to all kinds of abbreviations but also to unintentional spelling errors, since errors typically occur when working-memory runs out of resources, leaving insufficient time for applying grammatically based spelling rules. Previous research has shown most errors occur on lower-frequency homophones, which is known as the effect of homophone dominance (Sandra et al. 1999) and which reflects the interplay between working-memory and long-term memory retrieval.

However, these findings have been made in the artificial context of spelling experiments. Now their ecological validity can be tested in a natural writing context. Moreover, a number of social variables are included in the research design: age, gender and educational track. Our main hypothesis reflects the interdisciplinary orientation of the project: Taking into account the fact that the research focuses on a highly stigmatized feature of Dutch spelling and considering sociolinguistic findings with respect to norm sensitivity, we expect the social variables to affect the *number* of spelling errors. However, in view of previous psycholinguistic findings, we assume that these social variables are less likely to affect the *pattern* of these errors.

In our poster we will present the design of the study and some preliminary results.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2011). Language change and digital media: a review of conceptions and evidence. In Tore Kristiansen & Nikolas Coupland (eds.), Standard languages and language standards in a changing Europe, 145–161. Oslo: Novus.

Sandra, D., Frisson, S., & Daems, F. (1999). Why Simple Verb Forms Can Be So Difficult to Spell: The

# On the use of si? 'yes?' as invariant follow-up in Italian: A diachronic corpus-based account of pragmatic language change

Lorella Viola

(Utrecht University)

This article investigates the diachrony of *sì*? 'yes?' in Italian when used as invariant follow-up (Andersen 2001), that is a linguistic item uttered as a reaction to what has been said by another speaker to signal that one is paying attention, to encourage the interlocutor to continue (ibid.: 98) or as a reply to a call. It is argued here that this is a case of pragmatic language change since in earlier stages of Italian, such function was performed solely by expressions such as *dimmi*? and *dica*? 'tell me'. Diachronic lexicographic, quantitative and qualitative investigations carried out over a range of historical and contemporary dictionaries and corpora since 1200 to today will show that records of uses of *sì*? as invariant follow-up are not found before 1962. It will also be shown that since then, its frequency of occurrence has increased to the point that today, it is the preferred form, at least over the variants analysed here. The study also explores the hypothesis that *sì*? as invariant follow-up may in fact be a case of pragmatic borrowing - understood as the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language into a recipient language (i.e., Andersen 2014) - from an analogous use of *yes*? in English.

Andersen, G. 2001. Pragmatic Markers and Sociolinguistic variation. A relevance-theoretic approach to the Language of adolescents. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Andersen, G. 2014. Pragmatic borrowing. Journal of Pragmatics 67: 17-33.

#### A bilingual view on transmasculine voice change

Remco Knooihuizen & Max Reuvers

(Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Transgender men undergoing hormone replacement therapy through the administration of testosterone undergo physiological changes to their larynx and vocal folds that result in lower pitch. These changes are relatively well understood through research in medicine and speech therapy (Azul, 2015; Azul et al., 2017). But masculinity in voice depends on other cues than pitch as well; some of these may be physiological in nature, and others call for a sociolinguistic approach (Zimman, 2017).

Teasing apart the physiological and the sociolinguistic in transmasculine voice change is tricky, as there is great inter- and intra-speaker variation in the range of masculinities and other identities conveyed in speech (Zimman, 2018). To shed another light on this debate, we present data from a case study of a bilingual transmasculine speaker with differential socialisation in his two languages, Dutch and English.

Longitudinal data from monthly conversations of approx. 20 minutes in each of the two languages, starting simultaneously with hormone replacement theory, is analysed for (a) pitch, (b) vowel formants, and (c) spectral properties of /s/. We offer a sociophonetic interpretation and suggest avenues for further research.

#### Gay Frysk: Expressing LGBT identity in a minority language

Remco Knooihuizen (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) Lysbeth Jongbloed-Faber (Fryske Akademy/Maastricht University) Martine Jansen (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

LGBT youth use linguistic practices to construct their sexual and gender identities (Munson & Babel, 2007). In this poster, we discuss whether young LGBT speakers of Frisian do this as well.

There are reasons to assume that sexual and gender identity expression is not prevalent in Frisian. Frisian functions predominantly as a home language. The dominant language of socialisation in schools is Dutch, especially in urban areas, and it is likely that identity expression occurs mostly in that language — and perhaps in English (cf. Vriesendorp & Rutten, 2017). Secondly, Frisian is associated with rurality and with conservative values and ideals of gender roles that may not square with an LGBT identity.

In this poster, we present pilot results from a project researching the language of Frisian LGBT youth. The results are based on sociolinguistic interviews with Frisian speaking youth aged 16–22 of various genders and sexualities.

#### We focus on two variables:

- (s) Fronted /s/ has been shown cross-linguistically to vary by gender and to be used by gay men to mark identity (Mack & Munson, 2012; Pharao et al., 2014; Bekker & Levon, 2017; Munson et al., 2017). Because of this strong cross-linguistic pattern, this feature may also be used by Frisian LGBT youth to express their identity.
- (sk) The pronunciation of final -sk clusters in Frisian is undergoing change from /sk/ to /s/. As change is typically led by women and gay men, this is a salient feature available for identity expression. However, as (sk) also varies by literacy level (Hilton et al., 2012), and given the frequent association of gay men with proper, precise speech (Eckert, 2008), LGBT youth may also lag rather than lead in this particular change.

We hope that this work inspires more research into language variation and LGBT identity in minority or peripheral language communities.

Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12. 453–476. Bekker, I. & Levon, E. (2017). The embedded indexical value of /s/-fronting in Afrikaans and South African English. *Linguistics* 55. 1109–1139.

Hilton, N.H et al. (2012). The effect of writing skills on phonetic variation: The case of word-final /sk/ in Frisian. Paper presented at *Dei fan de Fryske taalkunde*, Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden, 14 December 2012.

Mack, S. & Munson, B. (2012). The influence of /s/ quality on ratings of men's sexual orientation. *Journal of Phonetics* 40. 198–212.

Munson, B. & Babel, M. (2007). Loose lips and silver tongues, or, projecting sexual orientation through speech. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1. 416–449.

Munson, B. et al. (2017). Implicit and explicit gender priming in English lingual sibilant fricative perception. *Linguistics* 55. 1073–1107.

Pharao, N. et al. (2014). Indexical meanings of [s+] among Copenhagen youth. *Language in Society* 43. 1–31. Vriesendorp, H. & Rutten, G. (2017). 'Omg zo fashionably english.' *Taal en Tongval* 69. 47–70.

#### /s/-retraction in Moroccan Dutch and endogenous Dutch

Sanne Ditewig, Willemijn Heeren, Laura Smorenburg & Hugo Quené

(Utrecht University & Leiden University)

A reported characteristic feature of Moroccan Dutch is the pronunciation of /s/ as / $\int$ / in onset consonant clusters, specifically in /sl/, /sx/, /sm/ and /sn/ (e.g. [1,2,3]). It has recently been found that in endogenous Dutch in the Netherlands /s/ is also pronounced more towards / $\int$ / ([4]). This leads to the main question: Is Moroccan Dutch [s] in onset consonant clusters more retracted than endogenous Dutch [s]?

In addition, the use of Moroccan Dutch as an identity marker ([2]) gives rise to a second question. Speakers converge in their pronunciation in order to emphasize similarity ([5]). We hypothesize that speakers of Moroccan Dutch might converge more in their [s] realizations. The second question therefore is whether there is a difference in inter-speaker variability in the pronunciation of /s/ between Moroccan Dutch (MD) speakers and endogenous Dutch (ED) speakers.

These research questions are investigated by using data from the NFI-FRIDA database ([6]), which contains speech from young L1 speakers of Dutch with an MD or an ED background. Tokens included in the analyses are /s/ in onset clusters; three clusters eliciting retraction mentioned in the literature on MD (/sn/, /sx/, /sl/), and other frequent onset clusters (/st/, /str/ and /sk/). Several acoustic-phonetic measures reflecting /s/ realization and retraction are taken: Centre of Gravity, spectral standard deviation, and spectral maximum.

We will investigate [s]-retraction as function of both Speaker Group (MD, ED) and Phonemic Context (typical vs a-typical clusters for retraction). We expect MD speakers to have a more retracted [s] in the typical retraction context than ED speakers, and MD speakers to show less inter-speaker variability than ED speakers.

- [1] Van Krieken, E. (2004). Van immigratie tot ethnolect. Radboud University, Nijmegen.
- [2] Nortier, J., & Dorleijn, M. (2008). A Moroccan accent in Dutch: A sociocultural style restricted to the Moroccan community? *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 12(1–2), 125–142.
- [3] Mourigh, K. (2017). Stance-taking through sibilant palatalisation in Gouda Moroccan Dutch. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 22(3), 421–446.
- [4] Ditewig, S., Pinget, A. C. H., & Heeren, W. F. L. (2018). Regional variation in the pronunciation of /s/ in the Dutch language area. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, *Accepted*.
- [5] Giles, H. (1973). Accent mobility. A model and some data. Anthropological Linguistics, 15, 87–105.
- [6] Van der Vloed, D., Bouten, J., Kelly, F., & Alexander, A. (2018). NFI-FRIDA Forensically Realistic InterDevice Audio database and intial experiments. Presented at The 27th Annual Conference of the International Association for Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics (IAFPA), p.25-27. Retrieved from: https://iafpa2018.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/iafpa 2018 abstract booklet 5.pdf

### Emojis as a cash cow: Biaoqing-hatched economic practice in online China

Ying Lu
(Tilburg University)

Visual resources online (e.g. emojis, emoticons, stickers) are regarded by some scholars as paralanguage which substitutes for non-verbal cues such as facial expressions, emotions (Kelly & Watts, 2015; Walther & D'Addario, 2001). In fact, visual resources are far more than paralanguage because they serve various pragmatic functions, for instance to work as punctuations (Duque, 2018) or phatic expressions (Stark & Crawford, 2015), to mediate interpersonal relations (Kelly & Watts, 2015), to indicate certain up-take of the message (Huang, Yen, & Zhang, 2008; Dresner & Herring, 2010). However, most of the current researches on online visual resources are restricted to textual level analysis. This means the relationships between society, semiotic resources and users are under researched. As a tentative attempt to fill in this gap, this research approaches visual resources as semiotic resources, and takes visual resources on Chinese social media as a case study.

On Chinese social media, including emojis, emoticons, stickers, memes are collectively referred to as Biaoqing (表情, literal meaning: facial expression), which are much more versatile and influential than emojis on western social media. In this paper, two popular Biaoqing figures, Eggy (the name of a cat) and Budding Pop (the name of an anthropomorphic figure), are followed to decipher the relationship between Biaoqing, society and users. The results indicate that Biaoqing are not semiotic resources not only for online communication, but also for identity performance. In this sense, Biaoqing are cultural capitals. Besides this, Biaoqing become a strong dynamo for the formation of light communities, i.e. communities without robust structure, enter threshold, membership duties, but only seemingly trivial commonalities (Blommaert & Varis, 2015). These communities are light, but they have "heavy" consequences: members perform various Biaoqing-initiated economic practices, including rewarding designers, buying Biaoqing-related merchandise, which are typical of the 21<sup>st</sup> century online culture.