HANDBOOK OF **PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY**

HANDBOOK OF
PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY

VOLUME 2

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Preface

Ronald R. Butters

In his foundational book *Language*, Leonard Bloomfield indicated the need for perceptual dialectology (doubtless without quite knowing it) when he noted that "within a relatively homogeneous set of speakers — say, the native speakers of English in the Middle Western part of the United States — the habits of speech are far more uniform than the needs of communication would demand. We see the proof of this when an outsider — say, a Southerner … — comes into our midst: his [sic] speech may be so much like ours as to cause not the slightest difficulty in communication, and yet strikingly noticeable on account of inessential differences" (45).

Bloomfield elsewhere referred to the reactions of speakers to these "inessential differences" as secondary responses to language, and in the course of linguistics in the past 70 years such "secondary responses" have been much discussed in terms of prestige, particularly insofar as social and regional dialects relate to national norms and standard languages. Dialectologists and sociolinguists have analyzed an impressive amount of data that demonstrate the "how" and "what" of linguistic variation, and linguists in general have striven mightily for decades to substitute the notion of prestige in place of the widespread nonscientific belief in "good" versus "bad" varieties of English (and other languages).

Far less effort, however, has been expended in the linguistic community of scholars to establish the scientific "how" and "what" of Bloomfield's secondary responses to language. That is to say, we may know with some accuracy what constitutes Detroit African American working-class English and New York City European American middle-class English, but we know factually far less about how these two communities regard the English of each other, not only in terms of relative prestige but even in terms of their sense of the very existence of each other. Early scientific interest was relatively sparse: in 1966 Henry M. Hoenigswald published "A proposal for the study of folk-linguistics" (in William Bright, ed., *Sociolinguistics*, 16–26); some pioneering work was carried out earlier in Holland (W. G. Rensink, "Dialectindeling naar Opgaven van Medewerkers [Dialect Classification According to Informant Judgments]", *Mededelingen der Centrale Commissie voor Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volkseigen* [Amsterdam Dialectbureau

Bulletin] 7 [1955]: 20–23.) and Japan (Willem A. Grootaers, “Origin and Nature of the Subjective Boundaries of Dialects”, *Orbis* 8 [1959]: 355–84). Relevant parallel work was also carried out by social psychologists (see, e.g., W. E. R. Lambert, R. C. Hodgsen, R. C. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum, “Evaluational Reaction to Spoken Language”, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60 [1960]: 44–51; Ellen B. Ryan and Howard Giles, eds., *Attitudes towards Language Variation* [1982]).

It is this relative sparseness that, since the 1980s, Dennis Preston and a growing body of like-minded scholars have been laboring to correct. Two of the most important landmarks in this labor are Preston’s seminal work, *Perceptual Dialectology* (1989), and the collection of essays that he edited, *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology, Volume I* (1999). The tradition continues in the present volume, which both reifies and expands upon the underlying principles of folk linguistics and at the same time extends the methodological applications into new regions, new languages, and the perceptions of their speakers.

We have perhaps reached a time where the study of perceptual dialectology is no longer so new that it somehow needs any overt justification. After something like two decades of endeavor, perceptual dialectology is alive and well precisely because the results themselves are so impressively interesting and connect in so many ways with other dimensions of linguistic research. One is no longer surprised to find a lengthy chapter on perceptual dialectology (“The Names of U.S, English: Valley Girl, Cowboy, Yankee, Normal, Nasal, and Ignorant”, by Laura C. Hartley and Dennis R. Preston) in a collection of essays such as *Standard English: The Widening Debate* (ed. Tony Bex and Richard J. Watts, 1999). For example, after generations of linguists asking themselves where, based on externals of linguistic-feature variation, one language (say Italian) ends and another (say French) geographically begins, it is extremely useful to pose the question from the perspective of the users themselves, as Cécile Canut does in Chapter 3 of this book. Similarly, examining positive and negative responses to other dialects in aesthetic terms usefully focuses the broader notion of prestige upon the powerful emotive responses that may be masked in the usual discussions of linguistic purity or “logic” (see Chapters 2, on Dutch, and 12, on Hungarian). Other chapters take on issues with practical political implications: attitudes towards French and English in Canada (Chapters 6 and 15); and (even more subtly) French in Switzerland (Chapter 19), Spanish in both Spain and Miami (Chapters 16 and 1), English new and old towns (Chapter 10), Korean (Chapter 14), Japanese (Chapter 20), and urban varieties of Italian in the south of Italy (Chapter 18). Still other chapters relate to issues of great interest to those who study United States society: attitudes towards California speech (Chapter 8) and Midwestern speech (Chapter 17). Finally, there are essays of especial theoretical importance: on gender differences in Turkish (Chapter 4), mental maps (Chapter 5), dialect imitation (Chapter 7), “distance” in Dutch (Chapter 9), nativeness in Bergen (Chapter 10), and perceptual differences in the microcosm of a small island (Chapter 13).

As William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., noted in his preface to Volume I of the handbook, “The notion of perceptual dialectology greatly deepens our understanding of the dynamics of speech communities” (xviii). Volume II continues the process.

Acknowledgments

Our first thanks as editors go to our patient authors. We have been longer giving birth to this volume than we would have liked, and it is not the fault of many of our contributors, who sent us manuscripts with almost alarming alacrity. We can only plead the case that we have fallen victim to the many obligations of the furiously-paced academic life, but, of course, we know how hollow that will ring with equally busy people. Nevertheless, we apologize to our authors for delays in the publication of their work and at the same time thank them again for their contributions. We are sure that readers will agree that these are important contributions, both for methodology and findings, to the study of the language and society interface.

The patient Kees Vaes of Benjamins not only knows how to find good French restaurants in Amsterdam, he also knows how to get the most out of authors and editors with his always friendly and ever helpful e-presence.

The following journal is gratefully acknowledged for its permission to reprint the previously published material included here:

Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik for Willy Diercks' Mental Maps: linguistisch-geographische Konzepte (1988, Vol. 55: 280–305).

Finally, as readers of nearly everything else the senior editor has ever put his hands on already know, who else but Carol Preston read every word of this work, straightened out the prose, and, as always, gave the best advice and comfort possible?

Introduction

As our colleague and friend Ron Butters notes in his Preface, too much work in perceptual dialectology has gone on for us to justify its existence here. Readers who nevertheless seek further justification for the study of how nonlinguists conceive of and respond to dialect phenomena may consult the Introduction to the *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology, Volume I* (Preston 1999, hereafter Handbook I) or, for a more general justification of the study of "folk linguistics" (of which perceptual dialectology is only one part), the Introduction and Chapter One of Niedzielski and Preston (1999).

In fact, Butters notes the senior editor's work of the early 1980's as an historical jumping-off spot, but Preston has already apologized for discovering a field which had an honorable past. Handbook I contains that apology in its Introduction and was in great part an attempt to make amends for the putative discovery of an already tilled field by making available in one place (and in one language) much seminal work, particularly the contributions by Dutch and Japanese scholars from the mid-20th Century.

It is inevitable, however, that any attempt to settle the historical record will overlook important work. Willy Diercks' important study of dialect perception in the north of Germany (Chapter 5 in the present volume) should have been included in Handbook I; we have included it in the present volume. We are also sorry to have excluded from Handbook I and the present volume two important contributions from the point of view of dialectometry: Hans Goebl's Die dialektale Gleiderung Ladiniens aus der Sicht der Ladiner. Eine Pilotstudie zum Problem der Geolinguistischen "Mental Maps", *Ladinia* 17: 59–95 (1993) and Geolinguistische "Mental Maps", Zum Problem der subjectiven Dialektverwandschaft (anhand eine Fallstudie aus Ladinien), in K. Sornig, D. Halwachs, C. Penzinger, G. Ambosch (eds), *Linguistics with a human face*. (Festschrift for Norman Denison on his 70th birthday). Graz: Grazer Linguistische Monographien 10: 97–111 (1995). We apologize to Professor Goebl for this oversight and can only suggest that it is a principal motivation for a Volume III.

In addition to gathering historically important pieces and offering samples of current work, a third aim of Handbook I was to offer a comprehensive bibliography of work in perceptual dialectology. That aim too, of course, was bound to suffer from exclusions based quite simply on the editor's ignorance. At first, it was planned to update (and correct those oversights) in the present volume. Luckily, however, both of those tasks were carried out before this work could appear. Sabina Canobbio and Gabriele Iannàccaro have edited *Contriubuto per una bibliografia sulla dialettologia percettiva* (#5 in the series Atlante Linguistico ed Etnografico del Piemonte Occidentale), Università degli Studi di Torino, Dipartamento de Scienze del Linguaggio and Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Turin: Edizioni dell'Orso (2000). This bibliography, which they chose to format with the same division between works "principally concerned" and "partially concerned" with perceptual dialectology (as in Handbook I), is, quite simply, the bibliography we would have offered here, and we are happy to recommend it to interested readers. It is thorough and precise. (It is also not quite the case that it is exactly the bibliography we would have offered here. In fact, Canobbio and Iannàccaro have included a number of important Romance-language offerings which we are obliged to admit we might have missed.) The reader will find, therefore, references cited at the end of each chapter in the present volume and no general bibliography.

If there is no more historical catching-up to do (and if we have still missed a couple of items which should have been included even in Handbook I) and if there is no updated, comprehensive bibliography, the reader may, with growing unease, wonder what is here. We believe we have found, recruited, and selected a generous sample of continuing work in perceptual dialectology and that, as Butters suggests in his Preface, this work provides coverage of not only new regional and social territory but also new methodologies. These new selections illustrate, in fact, some of the difficulties (the boundaries of the field) and hopes (a focus on greater linguistic detail) expressed in the conclusion to the Introduction of Handbook I, and we review that rich diversity here. We have arranged these articles alphabetically (although Ms. L'Eplattenier-Saugy has changed names on us during the progress of this work but remains in her original "S" slot), since we could not so easily find a rubric like the historical-regional one which guided the partitioning of Handbook I.

In Chapter 1, Alfaraz provides an excellent example of an application of one of the traditional methods of perceptual dialectology (querying subjects about where the "correct" and "pleasant" varieties of a language are spoken) but applies it to a very interesting population: Miami Cubans. Based on her general ethnographic and sociolinguistic work in the speech community, Alfaraz was led to ask for such ratings of Cuban Spanish for both the pre-Castro and post-Castro period. The results are an amazing example of the overwhelming influence of essentially nonlinguistic facts on the perception of linguistic ones. Cuban Spanish, in the pre-Castro era, was as "standard" as peninsular (or "Spain") Spanish; post-Castro Cuban Spanish ranks with the lowest (Caribbean) varieties of Spanish. Chapter 1 is only the first of many of these chapters which include more ethnographic (and discoursal) data to help in the interpretation of either detailed attitudinal surveys or the details of the distribution of or responses to linguistic varieties (and even features) themselves. That development was heartily encouraged in the Introduction to Handbook I.

Van Bezooijen, in Chapter 2, approaches basic issues in language attitude study (the distinction between *inherent* versus *contextually conditioned* value judgments of dialects, varieties, and even languages). Her three-part study (focusing on Dutch dialects, historical varieties of Dutch, and a variety of European languages) shows that such factors as *intelligibility*, *similarity*, and *familiarity* are constructs which are as important as those suggested by the *inherent* and *contextual* conditions for the perception of a dialect's (or language's) aesthetic quality. Such studies attempt to tease out the underlying cognitive details of recognition and evaluation, relying on carefully selected speech samples and carefully constructed judgment tasks.

Perceptual dialectology clearly provides one the answers to the age-old question of where one language stops and another starts. (In fact, we would say it might be the only answer.) Canut shows, in Chapter 3, how linguistic facts in the Mandingo region of Mali (largely showing complex mixtures in every place where one might propose a "language boundary") are not only not recognized by local speakers but are also ignored by them in their own characterizations of language and place.

Demirci, in Chapter 4, continues the work of Demirci and Kleiner from Handbook I, again using data from respondents from western Turkey to show how sociolinguistic categories (in this case gender) may also be successfully teased out in traditional perceptual work. Men and women clearly do not have the same vision of where differences in regional Turkish are.

In Chapter 5, Diercks shows the value of a focused or more intensely regional perceptual dialectology by limiting his investigation to a small area of northern Germany. In addition to paying attention to the important "dialect recognition" question, his work is also particularly sensitive to sociolinguistic dimensions, and some of his results show an attempt to tease out the historical dimension in perception by paying special attention to the factor of age (in apparent time).

Evans returns to a much-studied territory in language attitude work in Chapter 6–the opinions of speakers of Montreal French. Her report focuses on a wide variety of perceptual and attitudinal techniques. Particularly interesting here are her comparisons of respondent hand-drawn maps with linguists' maps of regional French in Canada. Those familiar with language attitude study, however, will be interested in seeing that Evans' young Montreal respondents rank Montreal French on the same level as European French (as regards standardness), an enormous change from the evaluation of local French (on both standardness and solidarity scales) by speakers who would have been only the parents or grandparents of these respondents.

In Chapter 7, Evans approaches dialect perception from a unique perspective — imitative ability. Her study exploits, as do several others included here, our increased use of advanced and sophisticated acoustic techniques in the study of language attitudes and perception (a trend suggested in the Introduction to Handbook I and exploited fully in Milroy and Preston 1999). Evans shows that adult dialect imitation may be, in fact, acoustically quite accurate, and she substantiates her acoustic analysis by presenting her "fake" dialect speaker to authentic local judges, who find him very good. These results suggest that the "control" dimension (see Preston 1996) of perceptual dialectology ought to be more thoroughly examined, and such studies have important implications for our claims about adult abilities to acquire new varieties of the same language and about bidialectalism in general.

At last, in Chapter 8, California is heard from. Fought exploits a number of the traditional techniques of perceptual dialectology to elicit from the much-talked-about Californians their own opinions of US linguistic diversity. Fought's work is not, however, all beach-bum and Valley Girl perspectives. She struggles with the difficulty of analyzing hand-drawn maps, and, to some extent, helps modify a political boundary-line (e.g., state, province) process (used by several contributors to Handbook I). In addition, she pays particular attention to the labels (especially labels of linguistic significance) put on maps by her respondents, modifying and enlarging on the sort of analysis given hand-drawn map labels in Hartley and Preston (1999).

Goeman, in Chapter 9, tries to carry out in great detail a study which will bolster one of the claims concerning the more general linguistic importance of perceptual dialectology — perceptual-attitudinal factors are important players in the study of on-going linguistic change. Of course, that has been known for a long time (and brought to bear on studies of on-going change in such phrases as "correction from above"), but it is rare to find a careful correlation laid out between perceptual status of areas (one's own and others') and a specific linguistic feature (or features). Goeman shows, however, through careful statistical modeling (making use of equally carefully obtained perceptual and linguistic feature measures) how perceptual status is related to such specific dialect features as t-deletion and vowel lengthening in Dutch dialects. The call for specific-feature studies in Handbook I is particularly well heeded in this contribution.

Chapter 10 (along with Chapter 20) is one the most sophisticated studies to date of local dialect recognition strategies based on specific linguistic features. Here Kerswill carefully correlates judgments of a continuum of voices (from urban Bergen, Norway to a rural site) and notes that judges' positioning of respondent voices on the scale corresponds closely to the speech samples' score on a morpho-lexical index designed to accurately represent the linguistic status of each speaker. He goes on to show that when the judges distinguish among speakers who show no difference on the morpho-lexical scale, that characteristic phonological differences come into play. Overall, the work shows considerably more sensitivity to low-level dialect features among nonlinguists than is typically felt to exist, and it reveals a methodology much more appropriate to the study of dialect contact and mixture situations than those heretofore used.

Kerswill and Williams, in Chapter 11, continue to focus on recognition of dialect differences in mixed areas (in this case in the English "new" and "old" towns of Milton Keynes versus Reading and Hull, respectively). Here, however, they tie dialect recognition to the notion of *focusing* as used by LePage to identify speech communities with little and well-patterned linguistic variation, suggesting that focused speech communities ought to be better at recognizing other speech community members' linguistic variation than residents of *diffuse* speech communities. Their results show that *dialect leveling*, even in "old" towns with strong local networks may play an important (negative) role in dialect identification, and their use of class and age as demographic factors plays an important role in their argumentation.

In Chapter 12, Kontra asks the simple perceptual question "Where do they speak ugly and beautiful Hungarian?" The answer is not so simple, and it is certainly not so simple as a dichotomy between a stereotypical locus for the “standard” and the solidarity function of a “local” variety.

Léonard, in Chapter 13, takes an intensive look at perception, variety, and folk linguistic comment about French on the island of Noirmoutier. After carefully establishing linguistic patterns which differentiate areas on the island, he shows that there is, indeed, a three part perceptual division of the island which corresponds roughly to the dialectal subdivisions (and corresponds exactly, in fact, to the distribution of nasal vowels on the island). Léonard richly documents the perceptual data, however, with ethnographic data from both historical sources and from a careful discourse analysis of a lengthy interview with one respondent, from whom he extracts interesting examples of “folk linguistic theory”. Finally, he tests respondents’ perception of specific dialect features in an attempt to determine the degree of salience of each in areal perception.

In Chapter 14, the junior editor of this volume expands on his work in Japan by collaborating with his colleague Yim in investigating, for the first time, the perception of dialect differences in Korea, one also interesting geographically for the same political subdivision which could be found temporally in Chapter 1 in Alfaraz’s distinction between pre-Castro and post-Castro Cuba. Here again we see an interesting historical-political effect, but a very different sort. Little or no distinctiveness is attributed to the regions of North Korea; it is as if a linguistic wall of information had been dropped. In other regional characterizations, it is also clear that political boundaries (i.e., provincial ones) are important in South Korea as well, perhaps overwhelming the facts of actual dialect subdivision, lending credence to the long-standing claim in Japanese perceptual dialectology that such official boundaries are more important than actual linguistic ones.

Meghan McKinnie and Jennifer Dailey-O’Cain explore, in Chapter 15, the differences in Canadian perceptions of English between Albertans and Ontarians. They use the traditional techniques of ratings of Canadian provinces for “correctness”, “pleasantness”, and “degree of difference” (from one’s own variety). They also use a sophisticated statistical procedure (K-means clustering, also first used in perceptual studies in Hartley 1996) to present their findings.

Moreno and Moreno in Chapter 16 report on the first perceptual study of peninsular (“Spain”) Spanish. They also use the traditional perceptual dialectology task of “degree” of difference” but their exploitation of it is extremely sensitive, both in demographic areas (touching on sex, age, and education) and in statistical analysis (using, for example, the multidimensional scaling techniques introduced to perceptual dialectology by Hartley (1996) and used also in the present volume by Evans in Chapter 6).

Niedzielski in Chapter 17 presents the most compelling case to date for social interference in linguistic perception. Using advanced acoustic modification techniques, she offers judges from Michigan a sample of the word “house” with the diphthong in the typical “Canadian raised” position /ʌᶷ/. Three other versions of the word “house” are played, and the judges are asked to match the first with the one of these three which is most like it. When the judges believe the first voice is that of a fellow Michigander, they rate the sample as more like the most common US pronunciation with the diphthong /ɑᶷ/; when they believe the speaker is Canadian, however, they match the sample (correctly) with the /ʌᶷ/ version. She goes on to show how extreme Michigan linguistic security does not even “allow” respondents to hear a “deviant” acoustic token from a speaker they believe to be “normal”.

In Chapter 18, Romanello studies the perception of urban varieties in the south of Italy. Hers is a richly detailed ethnographic study which correlates knowledge of city and region to knowledge of language differences. Her work shows a remarkably detailed knowledge of linguistic features differentiating one area from the other by her respondents, and she notes that the vast majority of such clues mentioned by her respondents are phonetic ones.

L’Eplattenier-Saugy studies francophone Swiss respondents’ perceptions of French in Chapter 19. Her work also involved the most common perceptual tasks — hand-drawn maps of respondent-determined dialect areas and ratings of degrees of “correctness”, “pleasantness”, and “degree of difference”. As in some other areas, canton (political) boundaries were seen as very salient for these respondents in indicating different speech regions. One interesting result is that these Swiss francophones felt that the French of France in general and Paris in particular was “most correct”, but, in their evaluation of “pleasantness”, they still found France French (not the local area) to be most pleasant, but found Parisian French to be least pleasant. L’Eplattenier-Saugy goes on to show important demographic (e.g., sex, education) effects in these data.

In Chapter 20 Yonezawa seeks to determine (by holding all other factors constant) the degree to which vowel devoicing plays a role in the identification of a speaker as local to Tokyo. Although she finds that it is salient in identifying a speaker as “from Tokyo”, she shows, more importantly, that the phonetic environment in which the devoiced (or nondevoiced) vowel occurred also has a salient effect on perception (just as it does on production). Like so many other of these studies, the work of perceptual dialectology here reaches down to the level of linguistic detail.

We hope our outline of these studies and our special regard for the linguistic detail of some would not indicate that we do not admire the usually more global approach taken to language attitude work by social psychologists. We believe, however, that in any interdisciplinary enterprise, the first rule is respect for (and competence in) disciplines. Since we are linguists (and dialectologists) we hope it follows that we believe we can contribute more to the study of language regard (and its relation to variation and change) by focusing on what we know best — language structure and detail. That focusing, however, takes us off into areas of ethnography, discourse, and social psychology, and we happily embrace the techniques and understandings which come from these diverse fields in our attempts to make sense of the folk perception of language varieties.

We will not be so foolhardy as to suggest what the next steps in such studies might prove to be. We hope, however, that interested readers will take from these several studies ideas for the application of methodologies to local, perhaps unique, sites and situations, and that the methodological sophistication and innovation suggested in these chapters will inspire interested readers to improve on them and report such improvement in the literature. That, of course, would make us most happy as editors.

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CHAPTER 1

Miami Cuban Perceptions of Varieties of Spanish

Gabriela G. Alfaraz

1. Introduction/Background

Since the late 1950's, metropolitan Miami, located in Dade county at the southeast tip of the Florida peninsula, has received four waves of mass migration from Cuba provoked by political unrest in that country. In the early years of the exodus, Cubans considered their migration a temporary situation and remained in Miami to await a change in political events, particularly because of its similarity and proximity to the home island. Later migrants found Miami appealing because they could readily find employment, not only in the non-skilled occupations typically filled by immigrants, but also in professional and technical fields since Miami had become a bilingual, bicultural city, the gateway to Latin America. As a result, Miami is the principal ethnic enclave for Cubans and Cuban-Americans.

Miami was reported as having the highest concentration of foreign-born persons (59.9%) of all metropolitan areas with populations over 200,000, based on the results of the 1990 U. S. Census (County and City Data Book, 1994). Persons of Hispanic origin accounted for 51% of the total population in 1990, and, of the total number of Hispanics, Cubans made up 59%, Puerto Ricans 8%, Mexicans 2%, and the remaining 31% were persons of South or Central American origin. Since the 1990 census, the Cuban population in Miami has increased substantially as a result of a new wave of immigration from Cuba during the mid 1990's. The number of Cubans legally admitted to the U. S. jumped from the previous year by 22% in 1995, 48% in 1996 and 27% in 1997. The U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service reports that 77,990 Cubans were legally admitted into the U. S. between 1995 and 1997. While some new arrivals agree to be relocated to other states, many decide to remain in Miami; 84% of Cubans who entered the U. S. in 1995 stayed in the Miami area.

The high concentration of foreign-born individuals and the large numbers of new immigrants from Cuba and other Latin American countries has made Miami a bilingual city with large concentrations of monolingual Spanish speakers who live and work in a mainly Spanish speaking environment. Miami was ranked as the number one metropolitan area in the U. S. in which persons speak a language other than English at home, with 73.3% of individuals reporting the use of another language (U. S. Census Bureau, County and City Data Book, 1994). For individuals of Hispanic origin the number is even higher: 95% reported speaking Spanish at home. The relationship between Spanish and English in Miami cannot be characterized as diglossic (Ferguson, 1959), in which English is used in public domains and Spanish in private ones, but rather as bilingual since both languages are used in either public or private domains (Fishman, 1970). In spite of Miami's bilingual character, Spanish is the only language used by thousands of monolingual Spanish speakers in their public affairs.

As a result of the wide-spread public use of Spanish, the large number of monolingual speakers, and the constant stream of new Spanish-speaking immigrants, Miami Cubans are involved in two different dialect contact situations. The first is transparent: Cuban Spanish is in contact with other Spanish varieties, whose speakers accounted for over 30% of the population of metropolitan Miami in the 1990 Census and whose numbers are currently estimated to be much higher. The second contact situation is more complex because it involves the contact of the Cuban variety with itself at two different points in time. My research in the Miami Cuban community prior to this study revealed that many Cubans believed one variety was spoken before the Revolution in 1959 and that another had arisen after that time. In other words, the Spanish of the immigrants who arrived in the 1960s, 1970s, and even 1980s, and the Spanish of young immigrants who had arrived in the 1990s were considered two different varieties.

This study has two objectives:

1. to examine Miami Cubans' perceptions of the many varieties of Spanish involved in the contact situation in order to determine the factors involved in those perceptions, and
2. to examine Miami Cubans' perceptions of their own variety at two different points in time, before and after 1959, in order to explore the effects of differences in political ideology on the perception of dialect boundaries.

The following sections will describe the methodology used and will present and discuss the results obtained from the statistical analysis of the data in light of the two research objectives noted above.

2. Method

The methodology used in this study is the one developed by Preston (1986, 1988, 1989) to elicit evaluative data about dialects. A questionnaire was administered in which respondents rated on a seven-point scale the correctness and pleasantness of Latin American varieties, a generic variety referred to as Peninsular Spanish, and two varieties of Cuban Spanish, representing the variety before and after the Cuban Revolution in 1959, henceforth referred to as Cuba-Pre and Cuba-Post. The varieties were represented by the countries in which they are spoken, and respondents were given the opportunity to add any regions they considered distinct, but only one respondent made an addition to the list, suggesting that for Spanish speakers the geopolitical entity is representative of the variety of Spanish.

Data collection was carried out in Miami, Florida in 1997. One hundred and forty-eight questionnaires were collected from a demographically diverse population of Cubans. The respondents included 93 (63%) females and 55 (37%) males. The age composition was as follows: 24% were between the ages of 20 and 29, 19% 30–39, 15% 40–49, 14% 50–59, and 28% 60 years old and above. The socioeconomic status of the respondents was calculated using an index combining education and occupation, and respondents were placed in four subgroups: 35% were upper middle class, 27% lower middle class, 32% upper working class, and 9% lower working class.

An attempt was made to collect data from respondents who had arrived in both early and later waves of immigration. Respondents reported the year in which they had arrived in the U. S., which was later classified as one of four periods of immigration (Llanes, 1982; García & Otheguy, 1988) with an additional category included to account for respondents born in the U. S. of Cuban parents. Respondents who arrived during the first and second waves of immigration and their interludes, a twenty-year period extending from 1959 through 1979, make up 40% of those questioned; 11% arrived during the third wave and its interlude between 1980 and 1990; 33% are arrivals from the most recent immigration between 1991 and 1997; 5% arrived in the U. S. prior to 1959; 11% were born in the U. S.

Respondents were asked not only about their social network affiliations but also to estimate the number of Cubans among their friends and colleagues. The majority (67%) reported that most of their affiliations were Cuban. 17% claimed all their friends and colleagues were Cuban. 12% reported that half their social network affiliations were Cubans. Only 3% interacted with few Cubans, and just one respondent (0.7%) claimed there were no Cubans in his social network.

The following section describes the results of the questionnaire and discusses the findings.

3. Results and Discussion

The varieties of Latin American, Cuban (before and after 1959), and Peninsular Spanish were evaluated according to how correct and pleasant they were perceived to be on a seven-point scale, with a ranking of one as the least favorable and seven the most. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 show the results for correct and pleasant. In general, the ratings for pleasantness tend to reflect the correctness ratings. Although Cuba-Pre was rated slightly higher for pleasant than for correct (6.22 vs. 5.98), there were no remarkable differences in the ratings of the other varieties, suggesting that these respondents are oriented toward the status dimension represented by correctness rather than to the solidarity dimension represented by pleasantness.

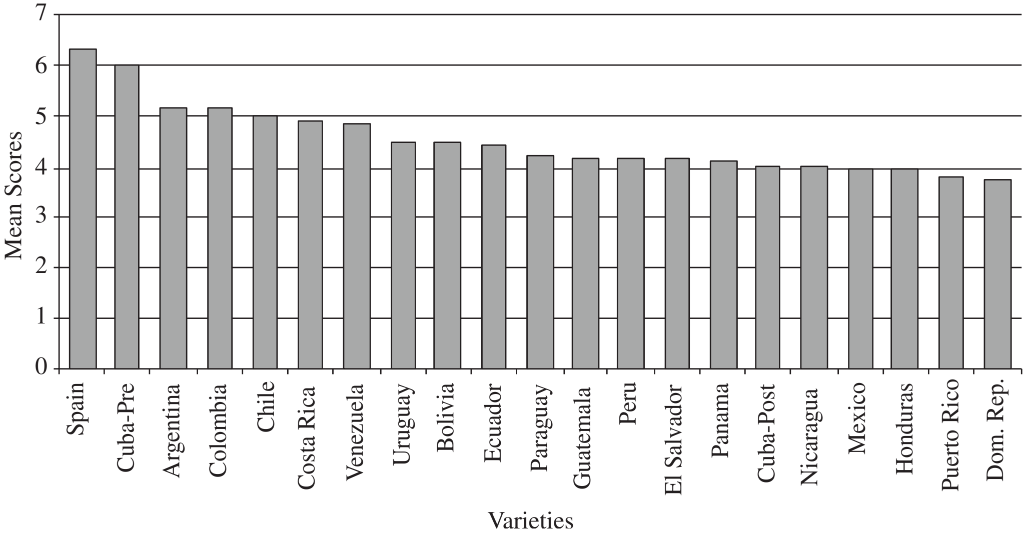

Figure 1.1. *Mean scores for correct.*

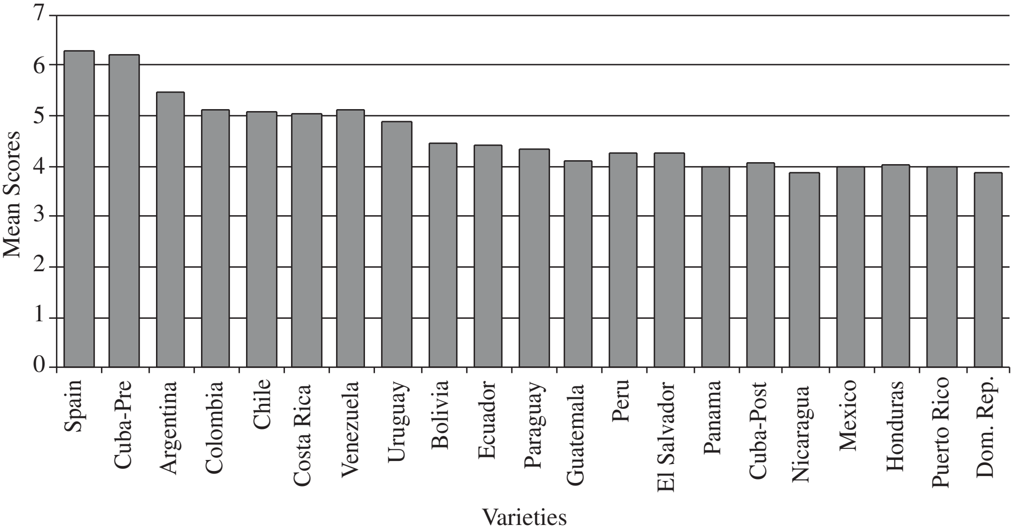

Figure 1.2. *Mean scores for pleasant.*

3.1 *Perceptions of Varieties of Spanish*

As Figure 1.1 indicates, a generic Peninsular variety was selected as most correct with a mean score of 6.35. The second most correct variety, with a rating of 5.98, was Cuba-Pre. These results show that the respondents hold Peninsular Spanish in high regard as a sort of supra-regional standard. They also suggest that they consider their own regional variety as prestigious as the original European norm and most prestigious among Latin American varieties. Similarly high evaluations of Cuban Spanish on a status dimension were given by the Cuban judges in a matched-guise study carried out by Castellanos (1980). She reports that "Cubans consistently assigned higher ratings to all the questions about their own variety. Even when they made a mistake and identified another variety as Cuban, they gave it a higher score" (1980, p. 77, my translation).

Other varieties rated highly for correctness were the Argentinean (5.17) and Colombian (5.14) ones. However, a significant drop in the mean ratings distinguishes Cuba-Pre from these two varieties. The ratings for most of the other Latin American varieties are within the 4.0 to 5.0 range. The lowest ratings are given to the two neighboring Caribbean varieties of Spanish, Puerto Rican (3.83) and Dominican (3.73). The latter are interesting because they show that, although Cubans are aware of and accept the stigmatization of other varieties of Caribbean Spanish, they do not recognize that their own variety belongs to that group, in spite of the fact that the linguistic features of Cuban Spanish are more like those of Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish than those of Peninsular or Argentinean varieties.

These perceptions are similar to those described by Preston (1993, 1996) for Southern Indiana respondents, who are speakers of a stigmatized variety but manage to exempt themselves from this status by downgrading their Southern neighbors and aligning themselves with their northern, eastern and western ones. While Preston's Southern Indiana respondents detected a linguistic boundary separating them from their neighbors directly across the river in Kentucky, Cubans perceive a dialect boundary that sharply distinguishes their dialect from the dialects of the neighboring Spanish speaking Caribbean islands.

Preston (e.g., 1996) has noted that nonlinguists' perceptions of dialect divisions may not actually correspond to the dialect boundaries proposed by dialectologists since social, political or historical facts may lead to the belief that there is a linguistic boundary where in reality there is none. In their study of Turkish perceptions, Demirci & Kleiner (2000) found that the evaluation of regional dialects in Turkey is strongly influenced by the particular social, political, economic and linguistic circumstances of the group being studied. Dailey-O'Cain's (2000) study of post-unification Germany revealed the effects of political differences and separation on Germans' perceptions of eastern and western dialects.

3.1.1 *The role of race and economic development*

The correct and pleasant ratings of varieties of Spanish appear to follow a regional pattern since the varieties of South America are perceived as more correct and pleasant than those of Central America, which, in turn, are perceived as more correct and pleasant than Caribbean ones. However, there are exceptions (e.g., Costa Rica, Cuba-Pre) which cannot be explained on the basis of the salience of region.

Degree of economic development and racial composition are two factors which appear to be more salient than region in accounting for these perceptions. Economic development was identified by Demirci & Kleiner (2000) as playing a key role in the evaluation of regional speech in Turkey. They found that more impoverished regions tended to receive lower ratings than more prosperous areas. Ethnic composition was also identified by Demirci & Kleiner (2000) as a salient feature underlying perceptions, noting that regions with predominantly European populations received more favorable evaluations.

The relevance of economic development and racial composition as salient factors underlying the Miami Cuban perceptions was explored using correlation tests. The findings for economic development showed a substantial relationship ($r = 0.667$, $p = 0.001$, two-tailed) between the evaluation of the variety on the correctness dimension and the gross domestic product of the country it represents. In general, the varieties evaluated most positively were those of the more prosperous regions. One exception was Puerto Rico, which was down-graded even though it had the third highest gross domestic product after Cuba-Pre and Spain. One reason for this could be that Puerto Ricans in the U.S. have the highest poverty level of all Hispanic groups, according to the United States Census Bureau, and that information is more salient for Miami Cubans than the prosperity of the island of Puerto Rico. The role of race in these evaluations must also be considered.

The results for the correlation test on the correctness ratings of varieties and the racial composition of the region they represent also revealed a statistically significant ($r = 0.584$; $p = .007$, two-tailed) relationship. The countries which are predominately white receive the highest ratings, followed by regions that are mostly *mestizo* (white and South or Central American Indian), then the areas that are predominately *indio* (South or Central American Indian). The region that is predominately black, the Dominican Republic, is perceived as the least correct variety of Spanish. Castellanos (1980) proposed race as an underlying element in the general stigmatization of Caribbean Spanish.

3.2 *Cuban Spanish*

The results for correct and pleasant shown above in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 indicate that Cuba-Pre and Cuba-Post are perceived as distinct varieties. On both dimensions, the evaluation of Cuba-Pre was the second highest, ranking only after the prestigious Peninsular Spanish, whereas the evaluation of Cuba-Post is among the lowest.

The two factors underlying perceptions of other varieties may also be used to explain the different evaluations of Cuba-Pre and Cuba-Post. For instance, race was highlighted in respondents' comments as an important element in the down-grading of Cuba-Post. Many respondents expressed the belief that the racial composition of the island had changed, having become predominately black. An older upper middle class female respondent (Manuela) who had immigrated from Cuba the year before stated: *"Es que la cantidad de negros que hay en La Habana es extraordinaria. En Cuba entera."* (It's that the number of blacks in Havana is extraordinary. In all of Cuba.) When I asked her why she believed Cubans on the island spoke differently now compared to thirty-some years ago, she replied, "*Bueno, hablan muy anegrado*" (Well, they talk very black-like). The exchange with her continued as follows:

Gabriela: *Tu dices que en Cuba hablan muy anegrado, ¿cómo es eso?*
You say that in Cuba (they) speak very black-like, how is that?
Manuela: *Sí ane- anegrado en el sentido de las expresiones.*
Yes, bla- black-like in terms of the expressions.

Gabriela: *De las expresiones.*
Of the expressions.
Manuela: *Sí de las expresiones, de lo chabacano.*
Yes of the expressions, of the sloppiness.
Gabriela: *Pero no la pronunciación.*
But not the pronunciation.
Manuela: *Sí* ***sí::: todo todo****. La pronunciación, la tonalidad de la voz.*
Yes **yes everything everything**. Pronunciation, tone of voice.
Gabriela: *¿De qué vendrá eso? ¿Qué raíces tiene?*
Where does that come from? What roots does (it) have?
Manuela: *Las raíces que tiene son africanas. Africanas. Porque en Cuba*
The roots it has are African. African. Because in Cuba
actualmente, o cuando yo salí, había una tendencia a lo africano.
now, or when I left, there was a tendency toward what's African.

The *black-like* features of Cuban Spanish on the island, according to this respondent, result from a revival of pride in Afro-Cuban heritage and are evident in lexical as well as phonological aspects. It seems that Miami Cubans believe that if the predominant race on the island is black, and if Cubans on the island are positively oriented to Afro-Cuban cultural and social influences, then Cuban Spanish on the island is a reflection of the highly stigmatized Afro-Cuban variety.

Perhaps the low ratings of Cuba-Post can be accounted for by the fact that for Miami Cubans, who are predominately white and have the highest income levels of Hispanics in the U. S. and in other countries, including Spain, the positive evaluation of a variety reflects the white race and the economic prosperity of the variety's speakers. However, there is a more significant factor underlying these perceptions which cannot be ignored: political ideology.

An important characteristic of the Cuban group in Miami is its political activism and interests in Miami, the U. S., and Cuba, which are vital elements in the group's sense of unity and distinctiveness. The political nature of the Miami Cuban community motivates the rejection of all aspects of Cuba-Post, whether political, cultural, artistic or linguistic. Language, as a symbol of group membership, is used to build up group boundaries between different political ideologies. The linguistic boundary the group perceives between its variety and the one spoken on the island serves an important separatist function, as it is necessary to distinguish Miami Cubans from Cubans on the island.

The results of a K-means cluster analysis using the correctness scores provided strong evidence that politics was more salient than either race or economic development in accounting for Cubans' perceptions of their own variety at two different points in time, before and after the 1959 Revolution.

The K-means cluster analysis was carried out in order to place the varieties into groups based on the relative numerical distance between them. When asked to cluster the varieties into three groups, the following emerged from the analysis: one cluster contained Spain and Cuba-Pre, another contained Cuba-Post, and a third cluster included all other varieties. When the number of clusters was expanded to five, the varieties from Argentina and Colombia were grouped separately in clusters four and five respectively, revealing a small tendency for respondents to distinguish these two from the other varieties. These results reflect the common folk belief that Colombian Spanish is the Latin American standard. When the number of clusters was reduced to four, however, Colombian Spanish fell into the large group of other varieties, but Argentinean Spanish persisted as a separate cluster. This variety's positive evaluation on the status and solidarity dimensions reflected the racial and economic characteristics of its speakers: Argentina is predominately white, and it is has the highest gross domestic product in Latin America (with the exception of Puerto Rico, which was noted earlier). Reducing the clusters to three, however, caused Argentina to fall into the large group of South and Central American varieties and left Cuba-Post and Cuba-Pre with Spain in the two remaining clusters.

These statistical results show most clearly the effects of political events on the shaping of a speech community's perceptions of dialect boundaries. Cuba-Pre is grouped with Peninsular Spanish, a reflection of Cubans' beliefs about their strong cultural resemblance to the white European Spaniard, whereas Cuba-Post occupies a separate cluster, symbolizing its distinctiveness and exclusion. The politically charged context surrounding the two varieties of Cuban Spanish is responsible for the perception of a linguistic boundary between Miami and the island.

Respondents readily provided comments about what they believe is the source of the differences between Cuba-Pre and Cuba-Post. One young female respondent who had arrived from Cuba one year before reported: "*Actualmente se habla un español horrible. Está muy chabacan. Antes se hablaba mejor.*" (The Spanish spoken [in Cuba] now is horrible. It's very sloppy. People used to speak better.) When she was asked why she thought this was so, she responded: "*No sé, pero se han perdido muchos valores.*" (I don't know, but many values have been lost.) Other respondents provided similar comments about what they believed was a loss of values and moral principles in Cuba as the source of linguistic impoverishment, attributing the situation to the island's political stance.

Another common argument respondents give for down-grading Cuba-Post is that they feel that individuals in Cuba must adapt to the *system*, and, as one older woman pointed out, "part of that involves the way of speaking". Another respondent stated that the government in Cuba had carried out a campaign to corrupt Cuban Spanish to celebrate the triumph of the proletariat. The system is bad and has made the language of the people who live within that system bad, too. Dailey-O'Cain's (2000) study in post-unification Germany specifically addressed the effects of the cold war on dialect perceptions. It reported that West Germans' perceptions of East German varieties were negatively affected by their former political differences, as evidenced by the fact that West Germans gave lower ratings to eastern varieties than to western ones, while East Germans rated eastern and western varieties similarly for correctness.

The results of an ANOVA, shown in Figure 1.3, indicate that recent Cuban immigrants behave differently from East Germans when evaluating their own variety. Year of arrival in the U. S. was statistically significant for the evaluations of Cuba-Post correct, but it was not significant for ratings of Cuba-Pre. As Figure 1.3 shows, recent Cuban immigrants (those who arrived between 1991 and 1997) gave lower ratings to Cuba-Post, their own variety, than to Cuba-Pre. The mean correctness rating for Cuba-Post for new arrivals was 5.1, which is significantly higher than the ratings given by the other groups, whose ratings range between 2.7 and 3.7. The down-grading of Cuba-Post by recent arrivals appears to reflect their desire to disassociate from the island in order to avoid the negative sentiments of the Miami Cuban community toward all aspects of Cuba-Post, as discussed earlier. At the same time, new arrivals signal their loyalty to the Miami group by accepting its attitudes toward Cuban Spanish on the island.

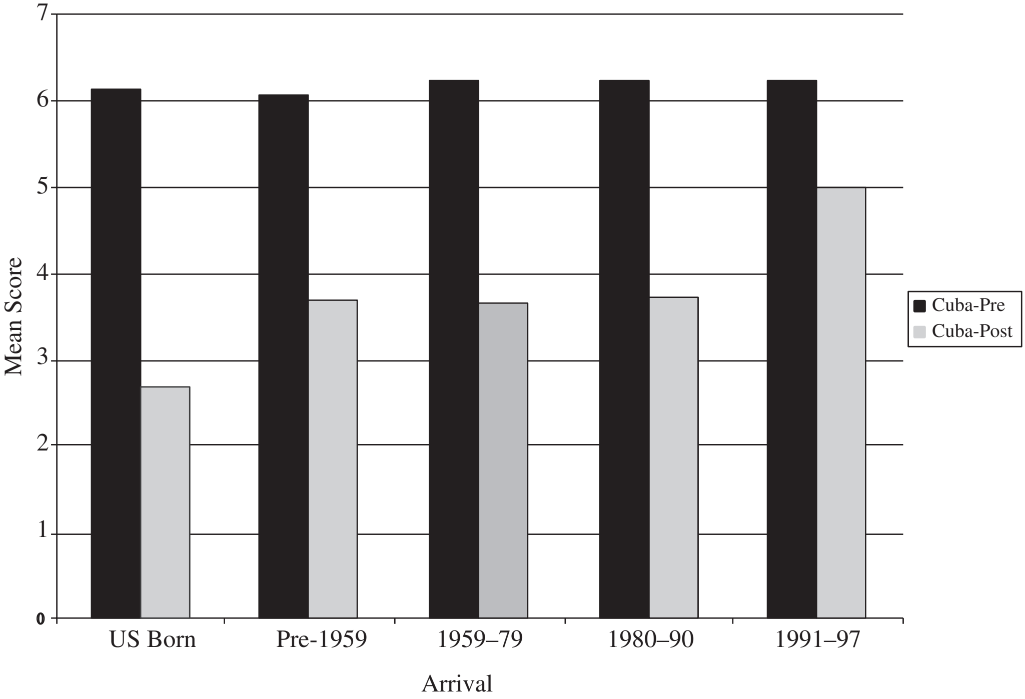

Figure 1.3. *Ratings for correct of Cuba-Pre and Cuba-Post by time of arrival (Cuba-Post N=113, df=4, f=4.79, p=0.001; Cuba-Pre, N=236, df=4, f=0.087, p=0.986).*

Finally, the positive evaluation of Cuba-Pre for both correct and pleasant (shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2) reveals the Miami Cuban speech community's preference for its own variety to express status, represented by correct, and solidarity, represented by pleasant. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982) stated that a strong preference for the in-group variety on both the status and solidarity dimensions was common among groups of political activists, such as the "Black Power Movement, Chicano Movement, Basque Liberation Movement" (10), because the group variety is a symbol of its political interests. For Cubans, such language perceptions appear not only to serve a unifying function but also to serve to maintain the group's distinctiveness, both from Cubans on the island and other Hispanics in the contact situation.

4. Conclusions

One of the objectives of this study was to examine the perceptions of Cubans in Miami toward other varieties of Spanish with which they are in contact in order to make generalizations about the salient factors underlying dialect perceptions. A second objective was to examine the perceptions of Miami Cubans toward their own variety at two different points in time, before and after the Revolution of 1959. The results showed that Miami Cubans evaluated Cuba-Pre as more correct and more pleasant than all other varieties, with the exception of Peninsular Spanish, which received the highest ratings. Race and economic development both correlated with perceptions. The findings indicated that the variety of Spanish now spoken on the island (Cuba-Post) is perceived as less correct and less pleasant by all Cubans regardless of their length of residence in the U. S., although recent arrivals tended to rate it less harshly. Although race and economic development play a role in these perceptions, it appears that political ideology is the most important factor. Lastly, Miami Cuban perceptions serve to both unify the group and to distinguish it from other Hispanics in the contact situation and, more importantly, from Cubans on the island.

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CHAPTER 2

Aesthetic Evaluation of Dutch

Comparisons across Dialects, Accents, and Languages

Renée van Bezooijen

1. Introduction

What are the attitudes of Dutch people towards Dutch as the standard dialect compared to non-standard dialects of Dutch, or as the standard accent compared to other accents of Dutch, or as a language compared to other languages? Are they positive or are they negative? Answers to these questions provide insight into the cultural embedding of Dutch and into the subjective experience of the language. And in the long run, this may determine to a great extent what its future will be, both at the national and international levels. Will Dutch keep its status as an independent language or will it be replaced little by little by languages such as English? Will the norms as to what constitutes Dutch as the standard language variety in the Netherlands stay relatively strict or will more and more elements that are now considered non-standard be admitted within the range of acceptance? And what effects will this have on the non-standard dialects and accents spoken in the Netherlands? Will they stabilize, grow, or disappear? We think that all this depends to a great extent upon the attitudes the Dutch hold toward their (standard) language relative to other languages and language varieties. Various aspects of the nature and causes of these attitudes have been investigated, using an *ugly – beautiful* judgment scale. Judgments of this type are seen as the most direct and compact means to gain access to language attitudes.

The first systematic studies of the aesthetic differentiation among language varieties were carried out by Giles and others in the seventies (Giles, 1970; Trudgill and Giles, 1978). The results were surprisingly uniform: listeners invariably located Received Pronunciation at the top of the aesthetic hierarchy, regional accents in the middle, and urban accents at the bottom. To account for the consistently favorable evaluation of the standard variety, Giles, Bourhis, and Davies (1975), concentrating on the segmental level, suggested two explanations, referred to as the ‘inherent value hypothesis’ and the ‘imposed norm hypothesis’. The inherent value hypothesis claims that some language varieties have sounds that are intrinsically (and therefore universally) pleasant to listen to and that these varieties have become accepted as the standard because of this. The imposed norm hypothesis, on the other hand, suggests that the standard variety is considered as the most pleasing variety simply as a result of cultural norms. Because of social pressures upon people to emulate the standard, it has come to be regarded as the superior form along many dimensions, including the aesthetic. Trudgill and Giles (1978) extended the imposed norm hypothesis to include other social factors in addition to the standard related norms imposed by cultural pressure. This so-called 'social connotations hypothesis' would, for example, explain why listeners do not make a simple dichotomy between standard and non-standard varieties but make finer distinctions along a continuum. Thus, regional accents would be judged more positively than urban accents because, at least in Britain, the former are associated with a more attractive lifestyle and environmental setting.

In order to assess the relative merits of the three hypotheses, a number of cross-cultural studies were carried out. The crucial question was whether people were able to differentiate in terms of pleasantness and status between standard and non-standard varieties of an unknown language (Giles, Bourhis, Trudgill, and Lewis, 1974; Giles, Bourhis, and Davies, 1975; Van Bezooijen, 1988). The finding that listeners could not make these distinctions was interpreted as evidence against the inherent value hypothesis, and in favor of the imposed norm/social connotations hypotheses. However, there is no positive evidence in favor of the latter two hypotheses, as no data were gathered on the norms and social connotations to see whether they actually correlated with the aesthetic judgments given.

In the present article (somewhat) different formulations of the three hypotheses mentioned are used. The inherent value hypothesis, as we see it, can better be named the *sound driven hypothesis*. It claims that aesthetic judgments can be traced back to segmental or prosodic properties of the languages and language varieties at hand. Some properties are considered more beautiful than others, and these judgments are applied to the languages and language varieties as a whole. However, in contrast to what the inherent value hypothesis as defined by Giles claims, in our view the opinions about the sound properties do not necessarily have to be intrinsic/universal, and no causal relationship is assumed between sound properties and the present (standard or non-standard) status of varieties.

The imposed norm hypothesis we renamed as the *norm driven hypothesis*. It takes its cue from the idea that people think the standard language sounds nice, because in the educational system and the mass media the positive properties (in terms of correctness and adequacy) of the standard language are continually emphasized. This (culturally imposed) positive view would express itself in a positive aesthetic evaluation. The norm driven hypothesis also applies to norms that attach to the beauty of foreign languages. These norms do not necessarily have to be imposed through the educational system or the mass media; they can be part of the culture as a whole, just like some other aesthetic norms.

To keep in line with the sound driven and norm driven hypotheses, we call the social connotations hypothesis the *context driven hypothesis*. Attitudes towards languages and language varieties are related to context variables, i.e., knowledge and stereotypical ideas about the personal and professional properties of the people by whom the variety is spoken and the geographic, cultural, and economic aspects of the regions where the variety is spoken. If the attitudes towards these context variables are positive, the attitudes towards the language or language variety itself will be positive as well, and vice versa. As speakers of the standard variety are generally attributed positive properties such as intelligence, high status, professional success, wealth, etc., the variety they speak is seen in a positive light as well. Speakers of urban dialects, and, consequently, the urban dialects themselves, have low status because of bad working and living conditions. And (speakers of) regional dialects occupy an intermediate position. In our approach the context driven hypothesis and the norm driven hypothesis are independent of each other.

In addition to the three hypotheses mentioned, we distinguish two more hypotheses. The fourth hypothesis is the *intelligibility driven hypothesis*. Intelligibility is a factor which was not considered by Giles et al. (1974, 1975) and Van Bezooijen (1988), as the varieties judged within a single study were either all intelligible or all unintelligible. That intelligibility may in fact play a role is suggested by the study of Boets and De Schutter (1977), who report a high positive correlation between judged intelligibility of 14 regional dialects from Dutch-speaking Belgium and aesthetic evaluations. As the standard language is intelligible to all, this hypothesis predicts it will receive high ratings on an *ugly–beautiful* scale. Of course, with dialect speakers as judges, the hypothesis also predicts high ratings for their own variety.

The fifth, and last hypothesis is the *familiarity driven hypothesis*, which claims that people will be more positive about a language (variety), i.e., will give higher ratings on an *ugly–beautiful* scale, as they are more familiar with this language (variety). Dutch has two proverbs expressing this popular idea: *onbekend maakt onbemind* ("unknown is unliked") and *wat de boer niet kent, dat vreet ie niet* ("what the farmer doesn't know he won't eat"). Again, just like with the intelligibility hypothesis with bidialectal speakers as judges, there will be two varieties competing for high ratings on an *ugly–beautiful* scale: the standard, which is familiar to everybody, and the dialect with which the judges grew up.

The five hypotheses given all try to explain what aesthetic judgments are caused by: the sounds of varieties, aspects of the context (by whom and where), cultural norms, intelligibility, and familiarity. In a more general way, leaving the cause of the positive attitudes towards the standard aside, one may predict that non-standard varieties will be judged to be more beautiful as they are seen to be more similar to the standard. This hypothesis is referred to as the *similarity driven hypothesis*.

In the research described in this paper we have examined the causes and nature of the aesthetic evaluation of languages and language varieties in further detail, taking the language atittudes held in the Netherlands towards the Dutch language as a point of departure. Three studies are described.

In the first study, evaluative judgments are compared between standard Dutch and non-standard dialects of Dutch. This study is based on semi-spontaneous speech fragments which differ from each other at all linguistic levels (phonetic, phonological, prosodic, morphological, lexical, and syntactical). As the varieties differ in intelligibility, the intelligibility driven hypothesis is examined. In addition, data is collected to test the context driven hypothesis. Finally, the similarity driven hypothesis is looked into.

The second study compares the aesthetic evaluation of present-day standard Dutch with that of older variants of standard Dutch (from the fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties). In this case fragments are judged which only vary at the phonetic level. As all fragments are equally intelligible, the effect of intelligibility on the judgments can be ruled out. The main emphasis is on the similarity hypothesis.

In the third study, attitudes towards Dutch are compared with attitudes towards some other European languages. Here, no auditory stimuli are presented; subjects react directly to language labels. In contrast to the first and second studies, attention is focussed explicitly on the phonetic basis of aesthetic evaluation, i.e., on the sound driven hypothesis. In addition, the validity of the familiarity hypothesis is tested.

The final section of this article consists of a general discussion of the results of the three studies. In addition, some suggestions are made for further research.

2. Study 1. Aesthetic evaluation of Dutch across dialects[1]

How does standard Dutch compare aesthetically with non-standard dialects of Dutch? Insight into this question was gained by asking seven groups of Dutch listeners to judge the beauty of the standard and three non-standard dialects of Dutch on the basis of semi-spontaneous speech fragments. In particular, we were interested in the relative plausibility of the context driven and the intelligibility driven hypotheses to explain aesthetic differentiation. To collect information on context variables, subjects were asked to indicate the most likely profession and housing of the speakers. Intelligibility was estimated by means of subjective ratings on an intelligibility scale. Finally, it was tested whether similarity to the standard leads to higher aesthetic ratings.

2.1 *Method*

The stimuli consisted of 20-second semi-spontaneous speech fragments segmented from descriptions of pictures and produced by four speakers for each of the following four varieties of Dutch:

1. Standard Dutch, in its purest form mainly spoken by educated people in the western part of the country. Standard Dutch is used in the Dutch educational system as well as in national television and radio broadcasting. It is intelligible and familiar to everyone in the Netherlands, even in regions where a dialect or other language (Frisian) is spoken.
2. The Hague, an urban dialect spoken mostly by the lower socio-economic classes in the poorer quarters of The Hague, a town of 445,000 inhabitants situated in the western part of the Netherlands. The Hague dialect is rather similar to standard Dutch; it differs almost exclusively at the phonetic and phonological levels.
3. Bedum, a regional dialect spoken in a village (8,000 inhabitants) in the province of Groningen in the far north of the Netherlands, a typically agricultural area. The Bedum dialect belongs to the Lower-Saxon dialect group and differs from the other three dialects at all linguistic levels.

4. Tielt, a regional dialect spoken in a small town (14,000 inhabitants) in West-Flanders, Belgium. Tielt is situated about 40 km southwest of the Dutch-Belgian border. Just like the Bedum dialect, the Tielt dialect has its own characteristics at all linguistic levels. It is characterized in particular by many typical words not known in the Netherlands.

The speakers from The Hague, Bedum, and Tielt were all born and raised in the respective places. They were interviewed by local women speaking the same variety. The speakers of standard Dutch had a varied regional background; they were judged by a panel of phoneticians to be good speakers of standard Dutch and were interviewed by a standard Dutch speaking woman. All speakers were female and between 20 and 50 years old. The 4 (dialects) × 4 (speakers) = 16 speech fragments were rated on a 10-point *ugly – beautiful* scale by seven groups of Dutch listeners (mixed male female) of different ages and regional origins:

1. 15 children (7 years old) from Liessel (Noord-Brabant, in the south of the Netherlands)
2. 15 children (10 years old) from Liessel (Noord-Brabant, in the south of the Netherlands)
3. 15 adults from Liessel, parents of (1) and (2) (Noord-Brabant, in the south of the Netherlands)
4. 12 adults from the Randstad[2] (in the west of the Netherlands)
5. 10 adults from Waspik (Noord-Brabant, in the south of the Netherlands)
6. 10 adults from Weert (Limburg, in the south of the Netherlands)
7. 10 adults from various places in Mid-Limburg (in the south of the Netherlands)

Note that there were no listeners from the north of the Netherlands (where the speakers from Bedum come from) and Belgium (where the speakers from Tielt come from).

2.2 *Results*

The mean *ugly – beautiful* judgments, averaged over listeners and speakers, are presented in Figure 2.1. It appears that standard Dutch was judged far more beautiful (ratings between 7.4 and 8.4) than the other three varieties by each of the seven groups of listeners. In all but two cases The Hague dialect is second (ratings between 3.9 and 6.4). Tielt is usually third (ratings between 3.4 and 6.3) and Bedum fourth (ratings between 2.7 and 4.4). Product-moment correlations were computed among the ratings of the seven listener groups for the 16 speech fragments. The coefficients, given in Table 2.1, are rather high: in virtually all cases more than half of the variance is shared and in some cases more than 90%. This outcome indicates that the various speech communities from which listeners participated in the judgment experiment, of different ages and from different places in the west and south of the Netherlands, have common norms as to the relative beauty of different dialects spoken in the Netherlands and the Dutch speaking part of Belgium. Their aesthetic evaluation of standard Dutch is most outspoken and most stable.

The judgments for the individual speakers are shown in Figure 2.2. The mean ratings of five groups of listeners are presented; the ratings of the two groups of children from Liessel have been omitted because they are similar to the ratings of the group of adults from Liessel. The difference between standard Dutch and the three other dialects is striking. The ratings for standard Dutch are very compact: the variance of the ratings is small between the four speakers as well as between the five listener groups. In other words, all listener groups agree that all four speakers of standard Dutch sound beautiful. For the dialects of The Hague and Tielt there is much variance between speakers as well as between listener groups. For the dialect of Bedum there is little variance between speakers, but much variance between listener groups, especially between the groups from Limburg on the one hand, who judge the Bedum dialect to be extremely ugly, and the groups from Noord-Brabant and the Randstad on the other, who have a somewhat more moderate opinion. Figure 2.2 confirms that the norms with respect to the beauty of standard Dutch relative to non-standard dialects of Dutch are solidly anchored in Dutch society.

Table 2.1. *Product-moment correlations among the* ugly – beautiful *ratings of seven listener groups of different ages and various regional backgrounds.* *p < *.05.*

	Liessel 7 year olds	Liessel 10 year olds	Liessel adults	Randstad	Waspik	Weert
Liessel 10 years	.89*					
Liessel adults	.80*	.89*				
Randstad	.72*	.73*	.82*			
Waspik	.66*	.59*	.82*	.79*		
Weert	.92*	.85*	.90*	.87*	.82*	
Mid-Limburg	.86*	.83*	.90*	.91*	.88*	.96*

In an attempt to understand why standard Dutch is judged to be so much more beautiful than non-standard dialects of Dutch, the relative plausibility of the context driven and the intelligibility driven hypotheses was assessed. To keep things simple, analyses were restricted to the three groups from Liessel.

In order to be able to test the context driven hypothesis, the listeners from Liessel were not only asked to judge the sixteen stimuli on an *ugly – beautiful* scale but also (in another round, with a different stimulus order) to form for themselves an idea of the most likely profession and living environment of the speakers of the fragments.[3]

As for profession, the subjects had to choose among nine drawings with stereotypical representations of women functioning in professions which, according to Van Westerlaak, Kropman, and Collaris (1975), can be ordered from high to low along an SES continuum as follows: professor, teacher, secretary, nurse, farmer's wife, shop assistant, supermarket cashier, housewife, and factory worker.

Results are clear. In the group of 7-year-olds none of the nine professions is associated in particular with any of the four dialects. However, there are strong response biases towards housewife and farmer's wife, which together account for almost 60% of the responses. The associations of the 10-year-olds and adults are stereotypically correct: the professions of professor, teacher, secretary, and nurse (i.e., the high end of the SES continuum) are associated with standard Dutch, farmer's wife with Bedum, and shop