

Towards a Sociolinguistics of Style¹

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1. Introduction

The basic principle of language style is that an individual speaker does not always talk in the same way on all occasions. Style means that speakers have alternatives or choices—a '*that way*' which could have been chosen instead of a '*this way*'. Speakers talk in different ways in different situations, and these different ways of speaking can carry different social meanings.

The study of style has had a chequered career in sociolinguistics over the past 20 years, but is now attracting more interest again from variationists. That renewed interest can be dated from the work done by John Rickford & Faye McNair-Knox, as presented in a plenary paper to NWAVE in 1991. We concur with their assessment in the published version (1994: 52):

With respect to theory development, stylistic variation seems to offer more potential for the integration of past findings and the establishment of productive research agendas than virtually any other area in sociolinguistics.

The work that we describe below has just such a goal.

Generalizing grossly, we can distinguish two main approaches to the study of style in sociolinguistics. The first, ethnographic approach—associated especially with Dell Hymes (e.g. 1974)—encompasses the many ways in which individual speakers can express themselves differently in different situations. This

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recognizes that style operates on the full range of linguistic levels—in the patterns of speaking across whole discourses and conversations as well as in the phonology or syntax. On the 'social' side, a wide range of factors that may affect the different ways an individual talks are taken into account—including purpose, topic, genre, channel and audience.

The second, variationist approach to style is much more strictly defined on both the social and linguistic dimensions. It was pioneered by Labov in his New York City study (1966, 1972) and has been followed and developed in countless studies in many countries in the subsequent 30-odd years. Variationist sociolinguistics has usually worked with micro aspects of linguistic structure—the alternation of specific phonological variants. It has also usually followed a tightly defined approach to the social dimension, in terms of particular demographic parameters such as gender or ethnicity.

So on the one hand we have a very broad-brush, 'maximalist' approach to both linguistic and social phenomena. And on the other, a much more rigorous attempt to control both the social and linguistic variables. Our approach in this paper and the work it reports on is in part an attempt to blend the two, in particular the quantitative rigour with the qualitative breadth.

2. The Gist of Audience Design

In a paper published in 1984, Bell developed the Audience Design framework which has had some currency since then as a sociolinguistic approach to style. Audience Design proposed that style shift occurs primarily in response to the speaker's audience. Its main contentions can be summarized thus:

1. Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people.
2. Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups.
3. Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience.
4. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual.

5. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension.
6. Speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members.
7. Style shifting according to topic or setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members.
8. As well as the 'responsive' dimension of style, there is the 'initiative' dimension, where the style shift itself initiates a change in the situation rather than resulting from such a change.
9. Initiative style shifts are in essence referee design, by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group.

These nine points have been enlarged upon elsewhere (Bell in press), and the last three in particular critiqued and revised. The basic premise of audience design is that style is oriented to people rather than to mechanisms such as attention. Style focuses on the person. It is essentially a social thing. It marks interpersonal and intergroup relations.

In initiative style shift, the individual speaker makes creative use of language resources often from beyond the immediate speech community, such as distant dialects, or stretches those resources in novel directions. With Bakhtin we may call this dimension 'stylization' (1981), and the responsive simply 'style'. Initiative style shifts derive their force and their direction of shift from their underlying association with types of persons or groups. Referees are third persons who are not physically present at an interaction but who are so salient for a speaker that they influence style even in their absence. This is the area where we believe audience design to be in need of serious rethinking. And this—along with an approach to blending the quantitative with the qualitative—is the second main goal of the project we are working on, and of this paper.

Table 1 Grid for interviews with 4 informants each talking to 3 different interviewers

		INTERVIEWERS			
		MM Pine	MF Pania	PM Paul	PF Jen
<hr/>					
INFORMANTS					
MM	Duncan	1st	2nd	3rd	—
MF	Kay	2nd	1st	—	3rd
PM	Lee	3rd	—	1st	2nd
PF	Sally	—	3rd	2nd	1st
<hr/>					
Ethnicity: Maori		Gender: Female			
Pakeha (Anglo)		Male			

3. Designing Research on Style

We now turn to report on a study which was explicitly designed to test out several of the Audience Design hypotheses. It is a three-year project (just completed) which was funded by the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science & Technology under the NZ English Programme at Victoria University of Wellington. The project examines and seeks to explain the ways speakers talk differently to different audiences, and how they present their own identities through language.

The language sample consists of three interviews conducted with each of four speakers. A set of four informants aged in their twenties were interviewed in succession by a set of four interviewers (Table 1). The informant and interviewer samples were each structured by gender and ethnicity, so that each of them

contained a Maori² woman, Maori man, Pakeha woman and Pakeha man. Thus for example, the Maori man was interviewed first by the Maori male interviewer, second by the Maori woman, and third by the Pakeha man. The fourth possible combination of interviewers and informants was intentionally excluded (the practicalities of a fourth successive interview with each informant were prohibitive).

While gender and ethnicity were varied, other speaker characteristics were held as constant as possible:

- Age: all eight speakers were in their early to mid 20s.
- Social class: all were middle class, university educated.
- New Zealand origins: all were New Zealanders of several generations' standing.
- Degree of familiarity: all informants and interviewers were strangers to each other.

In addition, we tried to keep aspects of the setting constant.

- Interviews were conducted in the informants' own homes.
- No third parties were present.
- Interviewers were asked to dress in a similar and 'neutral' fashion (neither too formal nor too casual).

The attempt to hold factors constant extended to interview design as well. The elicitation of maximally informal speech had to be sacrificed to the need to ensure comparability across the interviews, e.g. by topic—one example of the different methodology needed for style research.

Three standardized questionnaires were designed, one for each of the three interviews conducted with each informant. Each interview consisted of four components: free conversation, set topics, reading tasks and other tasks. A basic principle of the interview design was to make aspects of the informant's identity salient at particular times. So the set topic for the second inter-

² Maori are the indigenous Polynesian inhabitants and now make up some 15 percent of the population. 'Pakeha' is the term for New Zealanders of mainly British origin who colonized the country from the 19th century (some 80 percent of the population).

view—the cross-gender combination—was gender, focussing the informants on their own gender identity and its contrast with the interviewers'. Similarly, the primary topic of discussion in the third, cross-ethnic interview was the issue of ethnic relations and identity in New Zealand.

This was an ambitious research design, particularly in its repeated interviews involving the same set of informants and interviewers. Recording failure or speaker withdrawal could have jeopardized the whole project, requiring location of fresh speakers and re-recording interviews in order to maintain the integrity of the design. However, all 12 interviews were completed despite this potential for disaster. The interviews averaged over an hour long each. They have been transcribed in full, timed, and their content logged under topic headings. The sample amounts to over 13 hours of taped interviews, about 650 pages of transcripts, and a total count of some 140,000 words.

4. The Discourse Features

The linguistic analysis we will report on covers a subset of the features often known as pragmatic markers—typically the sentence-final tags such as *I think* and *like* that we scatter like discursal and interactive glue throughout our conversational encounters. Among these features there is a subset sometimes known as the 'addressee-oriented' pragmatic markers—you know, tag questions such as *isn't it*, and so forth. They have been studied in New Zealand by Janet Holmes and Maria Stubbe (e.g. Stubbe & Holmes 1995) in particular. The chief function of these features seems to be interactive, for the speaker to seek reassurance of the listener's continuing attention to what is being said, or confirmation of shared experience or knowledge.

The four features we shall look at here are: Y'KNOW, TAG questions, the discourse particle EH and High Rising Terminal intonations (HRTs). While Y'KNOW and TAGs need little introduction, the other two invite more discussion, partly because they are characteristic of NZE, although not exclusive to it.

The particle EH functions syntactically very much like Y'KNOW or TAGs. EH also occurs in other varieties of Eng-

lish—at least Canadian (e.g. Gibson 1976) and the dialect of Guernsey in the Channel Islands (Ramisch 1989). The leading study of EH in NZ English to date is Meyerhoff's (1994) analysis of the Porirua social dialect survey (Holmes, Bell & Boyce 1991). EH also carries considerable social meaning, which we will come to shortly. Transcript 1 comes from the interview between the two Maori men (pseudonyms used), and gives a sense both of the data in general, and also in particular of EH and its usage,

The High Rising Terminal (HRT) is not a pragmatic particle but an intonation pattern, however its discourse function is very similar. This intonation is becoming familiar in English internationally, both through usage, and because of research and publication. It is in common usage in New Zealand, where the leading study is by David Britain (1992), again on the Porirua data.

Transcript 1 Duncan—EH clustering

() unclear speech
 = continuation of turn or latching
 // \ overlapping speech

kohanga reo: language nest (preschool immersion class)
kaupapa: philosophy, principles

D: first we did Heretaunga and then er one a few um kohanga reo from Poneke (yeah) and then a few from Rangitane and we er got back to the to the um real kaupapa of what kohanga reo is all about because it's becoming a bit of a business now EH and they're losing the losing what it's the real meaning of it //(YOU KNOW) it's\ for our children YOU KNOW=

I: /mm\

D: =although a lot of the people in there EH they work blimmin hard man and they get stuff all for it and sometimes you don't blame them EH 'cause they're getting no rewards out of it //but um\ we're trying to (and then)=

I: /mm\

D: =tha- that sort of thing EH er with kohanga reo there will never be many rewards for the people working in it but

um YOU KNOW they've still got to keep up with that original kaupapa of making sure our children are getting taught the best they can yeah

Transcript 2 Kay: clustering of High Rising Terminal tones (I = HRT)

K: I remember oh I was about eleven or twelve and um we'd been jumping off this bridge

I: yeah=

K: /=into this um oh into the water below it and it was a lagoon going out to the open SEA| and there was quite a strong current taking all the water out //and\ um I'd dive=

I: /yeah\

K: =bombed this GUY| and splashed him so he started racing over to the road BRIDGE| and I was swimming back against the current to the other side of the lagoon and um my toes had just touched the GROUND|=

I: /=yeah=

K: /=and he jumped off the road bridge and hit me on my SHOULDERS| and jarred my SPINE| and I was PARALYSED| I couldn't move=

I: /=God=

K: /=and all I th- I just thought YOU KNOW all I can do is try and float try and float and just lie back and relax and try and float and um I was going help me help me and Dad came out and rescued me and blew up the kid [inhales] and um and //then he found out I was\ you know I couldn't move for about two days and then I was fine

Transcript 2 is a danger-of-death narrative from the interview between the two Maori women.

Initially we will present quantitative findings on the distribution of these features. But then we want to move on to what we consider to be a complementary approach, that is a more qualitative analysis of where the features occur on-line during speech and why, and also how the four features co-occur—or otherwise—with each other.

By way of orientation, we present in Table 2 the raw counts of the features, with no allowance for amount of talk or interview length. We can make some observations on the strength of these figures for tokens:

1. Y'KNOW is the feature of choice, especially for the Pakeha man Lee in expository mode. It appears to carry little identity meaning, although research would tend to associate it with women's style rather than men's.
2. But for the Pakeha woman Sally the default feature is the HRT, and she has remarkably few Y'KNOWs. (She also has some other individualistic preferences—e.g. always using KIND OF where the other three use SORT OF.)
3. Tags are infrequent, but there is an indication that they are used more by Pakeha than Maori.

Table 2 Number of tokens of 4 addressee-oriented pragmatic features in the speech of 4 informants talking to 3 different interviewers

By Informant	To Interviewer		Number of tokens			
			Y'KNOW	TAG	EH	HRT
Maori man Duncan	MM	Pine	133	0	48	32
	MF	Pania	98	2	20	56
	PM	Paul	69	0	16	53
Maori woman Kay	MF	Pania	39	0	3	50
	MM	Pine	86	1	2	40
	PF	Jen	29	0	0	16
Pakeha man Lee	PM	Paul	21	3	0	17
	PF	Jen	106	4	1	7
	MM	Pine	210	8	0	9
Pakeha woman Sally	PF	Jen	26	4	0	59
	PM	Paul	5	1	0	31
	MF	Pania	8	2	0	55

4. EH occurs overwhelmingly in the speech of the Maori man Duncan, although there are some tokens by Kay the Maori woman.
5. HRTs are common except by Lee the Pakeha man. Note that there is a kind of complementary distribution of the two last features for the Pakeha man and woman—Lee uses Y'KNOW and not HRTs, and Sally HRTs and not Y'KNOW.

5. Quantitative Analysis

One of the main problems with discourse variables is deciding what to count. The main issue is what do we count as potential but not actual occurrences of pragmatic features such as HRTs or EH? Here we have quantified all four features over the amount of speech produced by the particular speaker, and amount of speech is in terms of word count. This produces an index for the feature, which consists simply of the number of occurrences of the feature divided by the number of words produced by the speaker, and then multiplied by 10,000. The multiplier of 10,000 yields indexes generally in double digits, so easy to grasp. And 10,000 words is actually close to the average amount of informant speech per interview, so it represents in some sense a normalized interview length.

5.1. EH by Informants

The pragmatic particle *eh* is one of the most high-profile sociolinguistic markers of English within New Zealand. It is criticized by prescriptivists, satirized by comedians, and utilized by advertising copywriters to create social caricatures (Bell 1992). Both the New Zealand stereotype and the research findings associate the variable EH with the speech of Maori rather than Pakeha, and to a lesser extent with men rather than women.

In Table 3 EH is used by Maori speakers, overwhelmingly by the Maori man Duncan—84 tokens in all (see Table 2 for raw tokens). In fact his index while talking with the Maori male interviewer is similar to the index for young Maori males in Porirua study

Table 3 EH Index in speech by Informants to Interviewers

		To Interviewers			
		Pine MM	Pania MF	Paul PM	Jen PF
By Informants					
Duncan	MM	46	26	19	—
Kay	MF	2	4	—	0
Lee	PM	0	—	0	1
Sally	PF	—	0	0	0

(Holmes, Bell & Boyce 1991). Kay the Maori woman also uses some EH, but at a much lower frequency -only 5 tokens. By contrast, the Pakeha speakers use virtually no EH. Sally uses absolutely none at all, and there is only 1 token from Lee the Pakeha man in nearly four hours of recorded talk.

We can see thus how EH is functioning mainly as a marker of group identity primarily of ethnicity (Maori), and secondarily of gender (Maori men). This pattern of usage fits the association of linguistic features with group usage which we outlined in the summary of audience design above. It also accords both with our previous findings, and with popular stereotype.

Turning to the shifts which informants make in different interviews, as hypothesized in audience design, the speakers use different amounts of EH with different interlocutors. In particular, Duncan the Maori man uses EH more often in interview with Pine the Maori male, less with Pania the Maori woman, least with Paul the Pakeha man. At a very much lower level of frequency, this is paralleled by Kay the Maori woman informant. She uses some EH with her most like interlocutor (Pania the Maori woman), less with Pine the Maori man, and none with Jen the Pakeha woman (despite the Pakeha female interviewer using one token of EH herself).

These are the kinds of fine-grained shift which is the core principle of audience design as outlined above. It conforms with an interpretation of EH as a marker of Maori identity, particularly for men.

5.2. HRTs by Informants

The High Rising Terminal involves an intonation pattern in the form of a high rise, questioning pattern, but used on a tone group which is a statement. One interpretation is that its use indicates hesitancy or doubt, but NZ researchers have interpreted it as a marker of interactive solidarity and affect (Britain 1992). This feature is stereotypically associated in New Zealand mainly with younger Pakeha women. The research partly confirms this. David Britain's findings were that HRTs are used mainly by younger speakers (i.e. our group of speakers), particularly by women, and to a lesser extent by Maori. The research has also shown that HRTs are sensitive to the genre or text type of the speech in which they occur, being particularly common in narratives. The analyses we present unfortunately still lack this sub-categorization.

In Table 4 Sally the Pakeha woman uses by far the highest level of HRTs. Lee the Pakeha man uses very considerably the lowest, and the others are in between. So the identification of HRTs with women, particularly Pakeha, seems confirmed, and also possibly with Maori.

Who are HRTs used to? Tracking the shifts between interviews, we can see that HRTs are used more to women than to men. So Duncan, the Maori man, uses most HRTs to Pania the Maori woman, and fewer to the two men who also interviewed him. Sally the Pakeha woman uses fewest to Paul the Pakeha man,

Table 4 HRT Index in speech by Informants to Interviewers

		To Interviewers			
		Pine MM	Pania MF	Paul PM	Jen PF
By Informants					
Duncan	MM	31	72	62	—
Kay	MF	34	72	—	38
Lee	PM	6	—	23	6
Sally	PF	—	90	60	80

more to the two women who interviewed her. The same pattern holds for Kay the Maori woman, although her frequency to Jen the Pakeha woman is close to that to Pine the Maori man. So again, we have some confirmation that the informants are shifting their style according to their audience for HRTs.

But questions remain: why does the Pakeha male informant Lee produce his only appreciable level of HRTs to Paul, the Pakeha male interviewer, and not in particular to the Pakeha woman? And why—if HRTs are particularly identified with Pakeha women—aren't more used to the Pakeha female interviewer Jen?

5.3. EH by Interviewers

So far, so tidy (more or less). Let us turn now to the interviewers' usage of EH and HRT in these same interviews. Here it needs to be remembered that these were not ordinary conversations with both participants claiming equal rights to speaking time. These were interviews, and the interviewers provided much less of the talk. The kind of talk they provided also necessarily militated against usage of some of these pragmatic features. In particular, both Y'KNOW and HRT by and large tend to occur in a flow of talk of a kind which interviewers are not usually producing.

On the other hand their role as interviewers is to establish the kind of rapport with the informants that will encourage them to relax and talk. That is, the pressures on the interviewer to accommodate to the informant are probably greater than vice versa, despite the comparatively little speaking time the interviewer will have to display this linguistically.

Table 5 shows that the interviewers use more EH than the informants (cf Table 3)—with the one exception of Duncan the Maori man talking to Pine the Maori male interviewer. Why is this? In general terms we can refer it to their role in the interview and the onus that is on them to interact in a positive and solidary way with the informants. It appears that in order to do this, they make use of the feature which is available in the NZE speech community for that function, to some extent without regard for the social meanings it brings with it.

There is an indication that more EH is used the more de-

mographically distant the interlocutor—in the speech of Paul the Pakeha male interviewer, quite strikingly so. In the baseline interview with Lee the Pakeha male informant, Paul uses zero EH—demographically appropriate. He has an EH index of 14 to Sally the Pakeha woman, which in terms of her own linguistic behaviour is inappropriate accommodation as she herself uses none at all. Most notably, his index to the Maori man—the high EH user—is 29.

This can reasonably be interpreted as hyper-accommodation. Paul in fact has a good deal higher level of EH in the interview than his informant does. The interpretation of hyper-accommodation receives support from other facets of this interview. Paul was clearly nervous in conducting it, presumably because of the ethnic distinction between him and the informant. This was marked in various ways, but especially through a good deal of prolonged nervous giggling at quite inappropriate points of the interview.

So we can observe that there is mutual accommodation in Paul's interview with Duncan the Maori man, with the Maori man shifting to a lower EH level, and the Pakeha shifting from a zero base to a quite high level of usage. Looking at the numbers, we could in fact say that they are shifting half way to meet each other.

The Maori male informant Duncan receives more EH than anyone else. But alongside that we have to note that Sally the Pakeha woman receives almost as much with indexes of 35, 14

Table 5 EH Index in speech by Interviewers to Informants

		By Interviewers			
		Pine MM	Pania MF	Paul PM	Jen PF
To Informants					
Duncan	MM	6	28	29	—
Kay	MF	10	25	—	5
Lee	PM	0	—	0	3
Sally	PF	—	35	14	9

and 9. Why?!—well, we think this is audience related, but not demographic. Sally is a slow, hesitant speaker—not uncooperative, just reticent, the least talkative of the four informants. And our interpretation is that the interviewers worked particularly hard to encourage her talk, and this explains the high usage of EH to her, as it were against the demographic associations of the feature.

Notice that the level of EH from the interviewers increases as the demographic distance increases, so that Jen the Pakeha woman interviewer uses least (9) to Sally, Paul the Pakeha man next (14), and Pania the Maori woman most (35). This seems to be counter to what one would expect from audience design: the interviewers are using a feature which does not appear in her own speech. It is indeed counter to the demographic associations of EH, but we think the interpretation just offered is not just an ad-hoc attempt to rescue the framework in the face of contrary evidence.

It also raises an important point. While we have presented our analysis here largely in terms of demographic characteristics, accommodation to one's audience is in fact much wider than that. It includes speakers making active use of the resources of their speech community in order to accomplish their conversational purposes, in this case a successful interview. You will see that we are now doing what Rickford & McNair-Knox (1994) eventually found they had to do as they explored the style patterns of their speaker—interpreting as best we can what appears in the quantification, even though it does not fit our hypotheses very well. This can be regarded in two lights: either as commonsense flexibility to interpret the meaning of the patterns that occur, using whatever explanation seems most appropriate. Or alternatively, it can be seen as post-hoc rationalizing of whatever happens to turn up even if it conflicts with your own theorizing. This seems to be one of the main issues for any attempt at a framework for regularizing style shift.

5.4. HRTs by Interviewers

To show that our interpretations are not purely ad hoc, look at Table 6, which presents the interviewers' usage of HRTs. Now recall that HRTs generally occur in narratives or at least a flow of talk,

Table 6 HRT Index in speech by Interviewers to Informants

		By Interviewers			
		Pine MM	Pania MF	Paul PM	Jen PF
To Informants					
Duncan	MM	0	5	10	—
Kay	MF	5	12	—	0
Lee	PM	5	—	0	0
Sally	PF	—	22	7	9

and interviewers do not do much of that. Nevertheless the pattern of Paul the Pakeha male interviewer for HRT is exactly the same as for EH—again using more of this feature the more distant the demographics of the informant. He uses zero HRTs to Lee the Pakeha man, an index of 7 to Sally the Pakeha woman, and 10 to Duncan the Maori man. So this pattern may reflect something genuine about this interviewer, his informants and their interaction in these interviews.

Relative usage to informants is in line with the informants' own production of HRTs in Table 4—by far the most HRTs are used to the Pakeha woman, and least to the Pakeha man. In addition, relative usage *to* interviewers (Table 4) has exactly the same structure as usage *by* interviewers (Table 6).

6. Qualitative Analysis

We believe the quantification just outlined tells us a good deal about the style of speakers within these interviews. But such quantification does not tell us everything there is to know about a speaker's style in a certain stretch of language. Linguistic variables do not just occur as features to be counted within an undifferentiated chunk of speech. They occur on-line in the flow of speech. When and where they occur in the course of a conversation may tell us something about the speaker's style, about their patterns of identity expression or audience design. Individual to-

kens of the variable may have heightened significance in the flow of the interaction, or they may cluster together with each other or with other variables in a way which is significant.

So for the 12 interviews, we have graphed the occurrence on-line throughout the interview of the four features, partly with a view to seeing where individual tokens of the feature occur, more particularly to see if tokens cluster or scatter. Secondly, in order to see if there are any noticeable patterns of co-occurrence between the different features, so that different features tend to either occur together or be in complementary distribution.

Figure 1 tracks the occurrence of tokens of the four pragmatic features throughout interview. This is Interview 1 between the two Maori men, Duncan and Pine. It is 86 minutes long, taking nearly 3 sides of tape. The different sections of the interview are marked in the figure.

We can see what we already knew from the quantitative analysis—there are zero TAGs in this interview. The other three features do occur, however. EH makes a slow start, but increases especially in the last quarter of the interview, and there is a certain amount of clustering of tokens. The pattern for Y'KNOW is similar—a late starter, with some clustering, but it occurs more frequently. We also have to wait for HRTs to begin occurring—first token at 9 minutes, second and subsequent tokens from 17 minutes—and the tokens are more scattered.

The occurrence of tokens on-line has been graphed in a similar fashion for all interviews, enabling us to make some generalizations about the qualitative occurrence of the features. First, we can see at a glance that TAGs are rare and scattered throughout, with no obvious on-line patterning.

Secondly, tokens of Y'KNOW are scattered throughout most interviews. It is clearly the default feature, as the quantification tended to indicate. Its relative lack of social associations is shown in it being the most evenly distributed throughout the interviews of the four features.

However there are particular concentrations of Y'KNOW in the Set Topic sections of several interviews. It is clear that for the Pakeha man Lee especially Y'KNOW is a primary expository particle. In the discussion of gender and ethnic issues, which were the set topics in interviews 2 and 3, he expounds his views at

length and in great detail—for over an hour on ethnic relations in New Zealand. He produces frequent clusterings of Y'KNOW, with 5-10 tokens in a run, and even the occasional pair of 2 Y'KNOWs following each other directly. It is striking that where the other speakers would use HRTs in narratives or narrative-like texts or in sensitive-topic contexts, Lee uses a run of Y'KNOW.

For example, when discussing the issue of their own competence in the Maori language (in Interview 3, with the same-gender Maori interviewer), Lee uses a cluster of 12 Y'KNOW. When the same question came up in Sally's interview, she produced a series of HRTs. Exactly the same happened in both interviews when the question of sensitivity to Maori customs in relation to food and hygiene arose—a string of Y'KNOW from Lee, and of HRT from Sally.

Thirdly, like Y'KNOW, HRTs tend to cluster, but more in pairs than multiples—although multiples do occur. To those familiar with the feature, this will be no surprise. EH of course can really only be examined in the speech of Duncan the Maori man. It is noticeable that Duncan tends to hold back use of this ethnic identity marker until some way into each interview. Even in speaking to Pine the Maori male interviewer, he scatters just 3 tokens across the first 20 minutes of the interview, before settling into a much more regular level of the variable. It is as if he is testing his interlocutor out before committing himself to use of this ethnically marked particle. With Pine the Maori man, it is a discussion of his grandmother's *tangi* (funeral) that triggers a run of EH tokens. There are not many runs of EH, but they occur invariably with 'Maori' topics—family, the *reo* (Maori language), Maori culture, etc. They often co-occur with use of Maori lexical items borrowed into the English discourse.

Maori issues are discussed frequently in this interview, and usually trigger a token or two of EH. While speaking to the Pakeha man, however, about Maori issues it is very noticeable on the on-line graph that Duncan produces little EH, but a lot of HRT and Y'KNOW. This reinforces our view of EH as an ingroup identity marker. Duncan does not use it to claim Maoriness to a non-Maori, but to establish solidarity with other Maori.

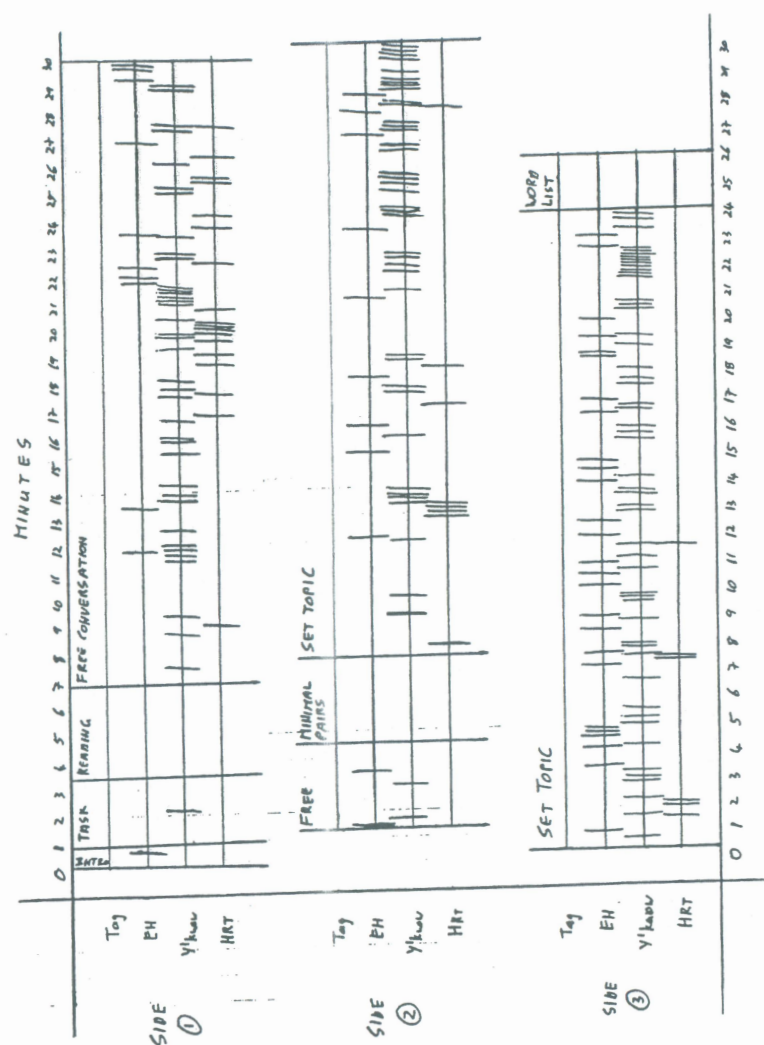


Figure 1. On-line occurrence of tokens of four addressee-oriented pragmatic features in speech of Maori male informant (Duncan) to Maori male interviewer, Pine.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, we would argue two things. First, we need complementary qualitative and quantitative analyses. At very least, the qualitative enriches our interpretations. It may even change the interpretations we would reach based only on quantification. It shows up things that are not evident in quantification, such as the different usages by different informants in these interviews on the same topic. Talk is an on-line phenomenon. When we count, we necessarily lump things together, and that is a needful part of analysis. But there is also a time to keep things separate, and examine how individual tokens are operating on-line in the flow of a conversation.

Secondly, we would argue for a complementarity of audience and referee design, of response and initiative, of the relational and the identity functions of language. In this sense we would now want to consider modifying the original audience design proposals so that audience and referee design are regarded as operating in parallel, rather than referee design being an occasional factor. What we can observe from our interpretations above is that when audience design seems not to hold, our post-hoc explanation of what is going on is still largely either in terms of the audience (for example, why more EH is used to Sally) or of an identity, referee function (e.g. in the clustering of EH). Approaches to style are increasingly taking account of these facts. Certainly, we believe a sociolinguistics of style will be found in the fusion of the audience and the referee, and the quantitative with the qualitative.

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