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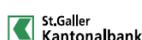
**V!LA**

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### **Abstracts:**

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1 Feil, Sarah / Bohnert-Kraus, Mirja / Reising, Lena

**Swiss children's attitude towards dialect and standard language**

In Switzerland exists a diglossic situation created by a coexistence of Standard German and regional dialects. This means the different language varieties are clearly distinct from each other and are used with different functions in different contexts (Löffler 2016). Dialect is the variety for verbal communication in casual interactions while Standard German is used in written communication and in official verbal interactions. Children with a monolingual Swiss family background usually use regional dialect until the end of nursery school. Starting from first class of primary school they use Standard German in school. Previous research showed that during nursery school, the children's attitude to Standard German is heterogenous but it turns towards a negative attitude after the second year of primary school (Beck 2014; Häcki Buhofer et al. 1993; Landert 2007; Scharloth 2005; Schmidlin 1999). The presented panel study aims to explore the changes in children's attitude towards dialect and Standard German during the period between the end of nursery school up to the end of second year of primary school. Ten monolingual Swiss-German speaking children were examined three times with an adapted version of the 'matched guise' design for preferences of Kaiser et al. (2019) from their study with Austrian children (Kaiser, Ender & Kasberger 2019). During the preferences task children were shown pictures of doctors – one speaking Standard German, one speaking in the regional Swiss- German dialect from the environment of the children (Zurich and St. Gallen). They were asked, which doctor should check up their ill doll (spontaneous preference), which one will make it well again the fastest (competence) and which one is the cutest (sympathy).

At the age of 6-7 the children mostly preferred dialect in all tasks (75 %). One year later they showed the opposite attitude: They preferred Standard German (88 %). One year later they turned back to dialect-preference (73 %). First analyses suggest that there is a relationship between attitude and literary language development, but further analyses are necessary.

The findings differ from Kaiser et al. (2019): The Austrian children showed no clear preference for one variation at the age of 6 (Kaiser, Ender & Kasberger 2019) while the Swiss children in the present study have a clear preference for a dialect speaking person at this age. The Austrian children preferred Standard German in this context, at least at the age of 8 or 9 years, while in the present study the children show a temporary preference for Standard German at the age of 8-9-and later mostly prefer dialect again. This is coherent with further findings that Swiss adults tend to show a negative attitude to Standard German (Scharloth 2005). The observed temporary change in attitude could be explained with the change in language use from nursery

school to primary school. A second explanation could be the beginning of the development of written language. The difference between the results from Switzerland and Austria might be related to the different language systems – diglossia in Switzerland and dialect-standard-continuum in Austria.

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2 Morand, Marie-Anne / Schwab, Sandra / Schmid, Stephan

**Standard German interferences in Swiss German: Phonetic and lexical influences on youth language**

Adolescents growing up in linguistically and culturally diverse neighborhoods of many European cities have developed innovative ways of speaking, which are often referred to as being *multiethnolectal*. Multiethnolects are used by several minority groups in a society, but also by young people of the mainstream society (Clyne 2000). For instance, Swiss German multiethnolects differ from traditional Swiss German dialects such as Zurich German with regard to lexical choices, syntactic structures, and phonetic features (see Tissot, Schmid & Galliker 2011). Some of these phonetic features and lexical choices are partially influenced by Standard German interferences which contribute to the 'dialect transformation' (Schmid 2020) within multiethnolectal Swiss German. The sociolinguistic situation in German-speaking Switzerland is typically conceived of as being diglossic (Ferguson 1959) which entails that speakers either speak Swiss German or Standard German. Lexical insertions from Standard German in dialectal speech may take place as code switching (Hove 2008). While the assumption of a 'transformation' within Swiss German dialects is based on the observation of two speakers (Schmid 2020), our contribution examines this process more systematically. Forty-eight adolescents were recorded during a picture description task. Lexical and phonetic innovations with respect to traditional Zurich German were annotated and analysed quantitatively. In addition, short excerpts of these picture descriptions were rated by other adolescents on a 7-point Likert scale as to how multiethnolectal the speakers sound ('rating score'). We assumed that adolescents who are perceived as speaking rather multiethnolectal Zurich German show more Standard German interferences both on the lexical as well as on the phonetic level. For the analysis, lexical items were divided into five categories: (0) no interference, (1) lexical interference without phonetic adaptation to Zurich German, (2) lexical interference with phonetic adaptation, (3) phonetic interference, and (4) unclear. Categories 0- 3 were analyzed.

Two multinomial logistic regression models showed that the speaker's rating score is a significant predictor for the number of interferences in the recordings (0 vs. 1-3;  $\chi^2(3) = 35.38, p < .001$ ), and in particular for the probability of purely phonetic interferences as opposed to lexical interferences (1-2 vs. 3;  $\chi^2(1) = 4.45, p = .03$ ). In other words, the more multiethnolectal the speakers were perceived, the higher the probability of finding interferences from Standard German in their dialectal speech, especially on the phonetic level. These results show that there are Standard German interferences in the dialectal vocabulary of multiethnolectal adolescent speakers in the city of Zurich which would not be expected on the basis of the traditional diglossic

situation with its rather clear-cut boundaries between the two varieties. Thus, as suggested by Schmid (2020), multiethnolectal Zurich German is characterized by a certain number of lexical blends between dialect and standard. The reasons for such blending are not yet fully understood, but it is worthwhile to notice that multilingual children often acquire the two varieties simultaneously during Kindergarten and not sequentially as is the case for monolingual Swiss German children.

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3 Röthlisberger, Melanie / Rosseel, Laura

**On the acquisition of ethnolectal features by Swiss-German-speaking children in urban and rural areas**

The present paper reports on a project that investigates how children aged 6 to 12 acquire the social meaning attached to the use of ethnolectal features of Swiss-German and examines how their acquisition of such features might contribute to the reported changes in traditional Swiss-German dialects. Features of ethnolectal Swiss-German have often been discussed in connection with adolescents with a migrant background (see, e.g., Tissot et al. 2011). While these features are reportedly also used by non-migrant adolescents for stylistic and indexical purposes (Auer 2002; Schmid 2017), little is known about their usage and the social meaning attached to them within the youngest speech group, i.e. children. By studying language use and attitudes of children, we will not only address this gap but will also focus on the innovators of language change (cf. Cheshire et al. 2011) and thus gain new insights in ongoing restructuring processes in Swiss-German. (1) Omission of prepositions, articles, pronouns or auxiliaries, as in *Gömmmer Bahnhof?* <Shall we go train station?> for *Gömmmer an/zum Bahnhof?* <Shall we go to the train station?>

In order to investigate children's production and perception of these linguistic features, the project takes stock of the linguistic repertoire available to children and – in the experimental track of the project – measures social meaning attached to the use of ethnolectal features. To identify the linguistic features, the project investigates earlier anecdotal claims about the usage of ethnolectal features as defined by Auer (2002; see also Tissot, Schmid & Galliker 2011) by tapping into spoken data collected through free storytelling. The social meaning that children attach to these features will be assessed in a second, experimental, step (see Rosseel, Zenner & Speelman 2019): Using a between-subject design, children are shown a video where the hero speaks either ethnolectal Swiss-German or traditional Swiss-German. Attitudes are then measured with the child-friendly versions of a social meaning questionnaire and 7-point Likertscale. For the first part of the project, children's production, two pilot studies have already been conducted in and around the city of Winterthur with one urban and one rural class of primary school children aged 7 to 12. Preliminary analysis of the spoken language sampled indicates that the use of ethnolectal features is already common among children younger than 12. The most frequently attested ethnolectal features are change of genus of nouns and omission of definite articles. Regarding regional differences, children in both areas make use of ethnolectal features; this usage, however, seems to be restricted to migrant children in the rural area while also being used among non-migrant children in the urban areas. The experimental part of the project then gauges the social meaning that children from urban and rural areas attach to these features. In doing so the project enables us to

chart ongoing language change and enhances our understanding of the dynamics involved in the acquisition of social meaning.

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4 Levy, Helena / Hanulíková, Adriana / Konieczny, Lars

**Long-term effects of accent exposure on perception, production and word learning**

We examined how school-aged children produce and perceive speech and learn new words as a consequence of their experience with regional or foreign accents. In a perception experiment, we asked 65 German primary-school children (aged 8-11 years) to repeat sentences spoken by three different speakers: one who spoke Standard German, one with a foreign accent and one with a regional accent in German. All of the children had experience with regional and foreign accents but none of the children had any experience with the test accents. Half of the children were monolingual, the other half were bilingual. Experience with accents was measured via parental questionnaire. Results showed that experience with regional accents helped repeating sentences correctly in the standard condition and in the regional accent condition. More experience with foreign accents did not help in either accent condition. The same subjects were also tested on their production of eight different German vowels in a picture naming task. Children who experience more input variability due to different accents produced more variable vowels in terms of greater Euclidean distances. These results suggest that that experience with accented speech can lead to a benefit when processing novel accents and that greater input variation can account for variable vowel production. In a third experiment, we examined how school-aged children learn words as a consequence of their experience with regional or foreign accents. We present a newly developed paradigm that resembles natural advanced lexical acquisition, during which new words are produced actively in peer-group interactions. We also take into account that input during word learning is often highly variable in terms of different accents. Based on findings with monolingual and bilingual infants that suggest that bilingual infants perform better in word-learning tasks when the speech input is more variable (Mattock et al., 2010), we expected that children with more language and accent experience would have an advantage over children with less language and accent experience when learning words from accented input.

We tested 43 monolingual and 45 bilingual German-speaking children (aged 7-11 years) on their acquisition of six unfamiliar German words (e.g. Amboss, 'anvil'). The bilingual children were speakers of various other languages in addition to German. While playing the 'Spot it' (or 'Dobble') card game (Blanchot, Cottureau & *Play Factory*), subjects were required to find the one matching image among objects on two cards. In order to learn the new words, subjects took turns with six pre-recorded child talkers, who had a Standard German accent, a Swiss accent or a Hebrew accent in German (the latter two were unfamiliar accents for the subjects). Results show that children who had more accent experience with different types of accents (regional and foreign) and with different languages learned more words from accented speakers than children

with less language and accent experience (across conditions). Experience with only one accent type or only with other languages did not affect word learning. We discuss how language background and accent experience affect word learning under variable input conditions.

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5 Kaiser, Irmtraud

**Boys will be boys? – The gender variable in child acquisition of standard-dialect variation**

Gender has been a much-debated variable in variationist research (e.g., Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Barbu, Martin & Chevrot 2014; Brouwer 2011). Even though the patterns are complex and the underlying causes are a highly controversial issue, the general trend observed has been that of men using more non-standard or local speech than women in the same social class and of women typically being those embracing linguistic change towards the higher-prestige standard or supra-local language forms (Labov 1990; Brouwer 2011; Cheshire 2002: 426ff; Romaine 2003).

Questions arise as to when gender-specific variation patterns are acquired ontogenetically and whether they are still reproduced in this day and age. Findings for children so far are mixed, with some studies yielding no gender differences and others pointing in contradictory directions (Nardy, Chevrot & Barbu 2013). Some gender effects found are consistent with the overall pattern observed in adults, at least for children from age 3;6 onwards (Foulkes & Docherty 2006), in that girls use fewer non-standard features than boys. Overall however, the current lack of research into the role gender may play in language variation and change does not permit us to answer with certainty the question whether gender-specific patterns in language variation still exist in the younger generation of today's supposedly gender-equal society.

In order to find answers to this question we analysed preference and production data from kindergarteners growing up in central Austria, an area in which standard-dialect variation is ubiquitous and highly imbued with socio-indexical meaning. In the preference task children were asked to choose between a dialect and a standard German speaking doctor for their ill puppet. 78 children contributed preference data, 55 of them were monolingual German speakers. 49 of these children (35 monolinguals) also provided production data. The production data were collected in five different settings for each child. These settings were designed as to most plausibly elicit children's entire German dialect-standard repertoire. They varied in mode of interaction (narration vs. game vs. pretend play) and in interlocutor (standard vs. dialect speaker; adult vs. children). The preference and production data were analyzed in relation to sociodemographic and linguistic background data provided in parental questionnaires.

Both in the preference and in the production tasks, the gender differences observed corroborate 'old' gender patterns described in variationist research from the past fifty years. Whereas the girls' slightly stronger preference for the standard speaker in the forced-choice task does not reach statistical significance, the differences in children's

own language variety use are more pronounced. Girls use more standard speech overall, especially as they get older. Boys, however, seem to exploit a wider standard-dialect range, using (also) more strongly dialectal speech. In the present paper, we will discuss the intricacies of the observed gender-related variation patterns, the possible reasons for their emergence, along with the caveat that child acquisition of standard-dialect variation is a highly individual process which is subject to many other factors apart from gender.

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6 Wirtz, Mason

**Acquiring socio-dialectal competence in a second language – one learner belief at a time**

The Bavarian-speaking part of Austria is characterized by its wide array of language varieties and is often cited as a prime example of a dialect-standard continuum (Ammon 2003; Scheutz 1999). Those indigenous to these areas are thus oftentimes able to use a broad range of speech forms between (Austrian) Standard German and their respective base/local dialect (Wiesinger 1992; Kaiser & Ender 2013). The choice of one variety over another is largely dependent on the (perceived) degree of formality of a given communicative situation and the chosen variety of the interlocutor (Ender & Kaiser 2009). While Standard German is considered most appropriate in formal instances (e.g. in the educational setting) and constitutes a variety supra-regionally understood, local dialects (as well as the colloquial/ intermediate varieties between standard and dialect, i.e. “Umgangssprache”) still perform vital socio-indexical, socio-symbolic and identity-forming functions. Second language users in Austria are thus tasked with not only learning to style-shift and use these varieties and registers appropriately – i.e. “sociolinguistic competence” (Regan 2010) – but also with discerning the appropriate situational and social-interactive usage of dialectal varieties. I refer to this as ‘sociodialectal competence,’ a sublevel of sociolinguistic competence. To date, little research on the acquisition of sociodialectal competence and the conceptualization of sociodialectal variation from the L2-speaker’s perspective has been conducted. In this talk, I therefore present initial qualitative data from three German as a foreign language user while focusing on three critical points: (i) Conceptualizations: As the ability to deal with a new/foreign linguistic environment typically begins with understanding it, I will first discuss the learner-specific conceptualizations of the sociodialectal variation in the Bavarian-speaking part of Austria. I establish these conceptualizations based on individual learner beliefs, i.e. in this context units of metacognitive knowledge regarding: (1) Austrian speakers’ situational and (2) social-interactive dialect usage and (3) dialects’ “functional prestige” (Soukup 2009: 128). (ii) Experiences: In order to better understand the learners’ conceptualizations, I will then highlight (inter-)individual dialect contact experiences that appear to have significantly influenced both the similarities and individualities of the learners’ conceptualizations. Furthermore, I thematize several explicit (learning) strategies the second language users employ in developing sociodialectal knowledge. (iii) Competence: Finally, based on this data, I propose a more concrete definition of sociodialectal competence and discuss the implications of addressing this competence both in areas of research and language teaching.

The study participants have comparatively homogenous language biographical backgrounds (i.e. English native speakers, experience in formal learning environments both in their country of birth and Austria, approx. two years of residence in Austria, late twenties in age). The data were collected by means of extensive questionnaires and semi-structured interviews and, guided by Strauss/Corbin's (1998) Grounded Theory methodology, were analyzed using a bottom-up approach. Taking a developmental perspective, this presentation should help in (further) contextualizing the relevance of sociodialectal competence in language areas classically described with a dialect-standard continuum model and inspire further quantitative and qualitative approaches to the acquisition of sociodialectal variation.

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7 Ghimenton, Anna / Cohen, Cathy

**Depicting bilingual children's practices and identity construction through the socialization prism**

Studying bilingual children's practices and identity construction within the socialisation paradigm allows to gain in-depth understanding of the sociocultural differences and similarities that characterise children's language environments and exposure (Ochs 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin 2011; Schieffelin 1993). As creative agents, children participate actively in their socialisation together with their caregivers and other social actors, such as teachers and peers (Gafaranga 2005; Kirsch 2012; Lanza 2007; Obied 2009). In this paper, we examine the factors of variation in the language experience and exposure of 21 bilingual (French/English) primary school children (Mean age at start of the study = 6;4) attending an international bilingual state school in France. Three main family profiles are present in the sample: 1) children with one Francophone and one Anglophone parent with fairly balanced exposure to French and English at home; 2) children with two Francophone parents who have lived in an English-speaking environment for between two and five years before returning to France and have from French dominant homes; 3) children with two Anglophone parents living in France with English dominant homes. The data presented come from an ongoing five-year longitudinal study. This rich set of data includes yearly socialisation interviews with the children and parent questionnaires in order to obtain information (from birth to present) on the children's current and cumulative exposure, their language biographies and language preferences. It also includes interactions with the children around an identity portrait (Busch 2010) completed at the end of year four of the study to explore children's representations of their plurilingual and pluricultural identities. The results show that although family profile might initially appear to be an important factor shaping the language environment and exposure, social agents such as siblings, teachers and peers together with the children's own language experiences embedded in symbolic and physical spaces of socialisation contribute to the processes of identity construction. For instance, analyses of the identity portraits from children with two francophone parents highlight the role of external forces such as rich visual and spatial memories created while living in an English-speaking environment. We discuss the methodological implications of our study underscoring the importance of taking into consideration different types of longitudinal data by listening to the voices of the children and their parents in order to better apprehend the multidimensional process of bilingual socialisation and the construction of plurilingual and pluricultural identities, in particular in the context of children attending a bilingual school who live in a monolingual state.

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8 Chevrot, Jean-Pierre / Viana dos Santos, Gabriella / Buson, Laurence

**Sociolinguistic variation in SLA: do all learners construct coherent cognitive representation of the varieties?**

Recent results suggest that native speakers construct coherent representation of the sociolinguistic varieties, linking together features with a similar sociolinguistic orientation (Buson, Nardy, Muller, & Chevrot 2018; Buson, Chevrot, Nardy & Abouzaid 2014). Native speaker would hence elaborate a formal schema, including standard variants from different linguistic levels (phonology, grammar, lexicon), as well as an informal schema including non-standard variants.

For second-language learners, studying how they represent sociolinguistic variables of the L2 may allow to better understand how they produce them. Indeed, in the field of SLA, studies converge to shown that learners use the standard variants more frequently than native speakers (Gautier 2016, for a summary). Our hypothesis is that the formal input that learners receive in the language classroom allows them to construct the formal schema but does not favor the informal one.

To explore this hypothesis, our study examined the cognitive organization and the judgment of sociolinguistic variants of French in English and Chinese learners (B and C levels at the CEFRL). First, we implement the Sociolinguistic Repetition Task (Buson et al. 2018) in 66 learners. The participants listened and repeated 24 utterances: 12 sociolinguistically mixed utterances (a non-standard variant in a formal linguistic context and a standard variant in an informal linguistic context) and 12 sociolinguistically homogeneous utterances (a standard variant in a formal linguistic context and a non-standard variant in an informal linguistic context). In addition, we observed the social judgment employing a subjective reaction task in 81 students (English and Chinese native speakers). This task is based on the procedure designed by Campbell-Kibler (2008). The participants judged formal and informal homogenous utterances according to 7 social categories: femininity, speech flow, extroversion, sympathy, accent, education, and intelligence. Moreover, both tasks were carried out in French native speakers for comparison between L1 and L2.

The results show that students modify more often the heterogeneous utterances than the homogeneous utterances during the Repetition task, just as native speakers do (Buson et al. 2018). They replaced the variants that are not compatible with the context with the compatible ones, making the utterances more homogeneous. This result suggests that coherent schemata of the varieties influence the task. However, while the English students equally modify the utterances in the direction of both the standard and the non-standard, the Chinese students modify them mostly toward the standard. Moreover, the results of the judgment task showed that the results vary according to the student's origin. For example, whereas the Chinese students judge the informal

utterances as “less sympathetic”, the English students judge them as “more sympathetic”.

In sum, intermediate and advanced learners do elaborate coherent schemata of the sociolinguistic varieties of the L2, but the informal schema seems less coherent in the Chinese learners. Moreover, the judgment task suggests that Chinese learners are less familiar with non-standard variants. These results will be discussed in the light of research that examined the socialization of English and Chinese students in the context of study abroad (Gautier 2016).

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9 Sim, Jasper Hong / Post, Brechtje

**Variation in ethnic accentedness in child-directed speech of bilinguals**

This study investigated the variation in ethnic accentedness of child-directed speech (CDS) by examining the CDS of English-Malay bilingual caregivers in Singapore. Studies on sociophonetic variation in segmental properties of monolingual CDS have found that CDS towards girls, younger children, and in formal contexts tends to contain more standard variants than CDS towards boys, older children, and in informal contexts (Foulkes, Docherty & Watt 2005; Smith, Durham & Fortune 2007; Roberts 1999), showing considerable variation according to social and stylistic factors. CDS in bilingual contexts is even more varied. Bilinguals' speech may be non-native, and for ethnolect speakers, their speech features can vary along a mainstream-ethnic continuum, for specific communicative purposes depending on the sociolinguistic significance of the variant (e.g. Khatrab 2013; Sharma 2011). However, little is known about whether and how bilingual parents vary these features in CDS, particularly those in multilingual contexts, where accented speech sometimes plays a role in indicating ethnic membership. The feature of interest in this study is word-final /l/. In many varieties of English, /l/ is pharyngealised syllable-finally (dark). In Malay, however, /l/ is clear in all positions (Clynes & Deterding 2011). Sim (2019) found the syllable-final /l/ in the English speech of Malay-dominant English-Malay bilinguals to be mostly clear, possibly as a result of cross-linguistic transfer or learned from input. The same author argued that the maintenance of these ethnic markers could be a way in which Singaporeans construct their social identity. Like ethnolect speakers, Singaporeans can sound more or less ethnic-accented according to context (Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo 2000). The aim of this study is to examine whether mothers sound less ethnically accented according to constraints found in previous studies, specifically, whether there are more word-final clear laterals in informal contexts and in CDS towards boys. Six mothers and their children (mean age = 59 months; 3 girls, 3 boys) were recorded in various contexts: casual conversation, unstructured play (both defined as informal), teaching and reading (both formal) (Smith, Durham & Fortune 2007). The entire vocalic and liquid interval of all onset and coda laterals were hand-segmented for the onsets/offsets and their transitions guided by F2 on the spectrogram (total = 962 tokens) (Carter & Local 2007; Amengual 2018). The F1-3 (laterals) and F1-2 of the vowels were measured at their steady states. Darkness of /l/ was defined by F2-F1 differences, in Bark (Amengual 2018); clearer /l/ has larger F2-F1 difference. The findings revealed that, in informal situations, coda /l/ was clearer, similar to onset /l/. In formal situations, contrastingly, coda /l/ was darker, thereby showing positional contrast with onset /l/. A linear mixed-effects model revealed that formality was a significant predictor of darkness of coda /l/ ( $p < .001$ ), but child gender was not. Mothers approximated a less Malay-accented form in formal speech, either

by using a darker variant or by L-vocalisation. The current study provides new evidence that allophonic realisation of a feature that may be a result of cross-linguistic influence and/or belongs to one's ethnolinguistic repertoire can also be socially-correlated, and potentially transmitted. A preliminary follow-up acoustic analysis revealed that fathers used clear /l/ less variedly, illustrating the complex, multi-dialectal input that children in multilingual contexts are exposed to.

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10 Starr, Rebecca Lurie

**Language attitudes and exposure as predictors of phonological variation among local and expatriate children in Singapore**

The Southeast Asian city-state of Singapore has attracted many foreign workers in recent decades. Although children of these expatriates have historically attended international schools, foreigners have increasingly opted for 'local' (i.e., government) schools, in which students have greater exposure to Singapore English (SgE). Singapore differs from conventional second dialect acquisition settings in its positioning in the 'Outer Circle' of English (Kachru 2006); while orientation towards local norms is increasing, SgE is still commonly perceived to lack legitimacy as a native variety (Park & Wee 2009). Variation in familiarity with and evaluation of SgE may crucially shape both local and expatriate children's acquisition of SgE features. The present study explores the deletion of *-t/d* in final consonant clusters, a well-known feature of SgE (Gut 2007), focusing on how children's speech patterns may be predicted by their personal background, as well as by differences in attitudes regarding and familiarity with SgE.

This investigation draws on data from 60 participants ages 5 to 19, contrasting Singaporeans in local schools, expatriates in local schools, and expatriates in international schools. Children were recorded reading two short stories and speaking with a Singaporean interviewer about their daily lives and beliefs about language. Participants also completed region identification and occupation judgment tasks to assess their awareness of and attitudes towards several varieties of English, including SgE. Generalized linear mixed-effects modelling was carried out to assess the significance of factors including children's ability to identify SgE, belief that SgE speakers were English teachers, accent self-perception, age, school type, age of arrival and time lived in Singapore, birthplace, and various internal linguistic factors (e.g., following phonological environment).

The *-t/d* deletion rates of Singaporean participants, while high overall, varied significantly by attitude; children who labelled SgE speakers as English teachers in the occupation judgment task, and those who did not believe that they themselves had an accent, used significantly more deletion in their own speech. Among expatriate participants, children enrolled in international schools deleted *-t/d* at a level comparable to British English speakers (Tagliamonte & Temple 2005), while those in local schools deleted more frequently, although at significantly lower rates than their Singaporean peers. Expatriates in local schools who were born in Singapore were significantly more likely to delete *-t/d* than those born elsewhere, but no such effect of birthplace was observed for international school students, reflecting their lack of

integration with the local community. Unlike for Singaporean children, attitudinal and awareness measures did not predict deletion rates for expatriates. The significant effect of attitudes towards SgE among Singaporean children highlights that this variety is in the process of endonormative stabilization (Schneider 2007), with speakers' orientation to local norms in flux. Among Expats in local schools, however, even students with extensive exposure to and positive attitudes towards SgE did not match the patterns of their Singaporean peers; I argue that this gap reflects both the persistence of ideologies that delegitimize SgE and the growing prominence of SgE as a marker of local identity.

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11 Starr, Rebecca Lurie / Wang, Tianxiao

**Variation across the lifespan among two L2 Mandarin learners in Singapore**

While recent work has enhanced our understanding of second language (L2) sociolinguistic variation, there has been little investigation of how learners' variation patterns shift over their lifespan, beyond the timeframe of a language course or period of studying abroad (e.g., van Compernelle & Williams 2012). Prior investigations of native speaker lifespan change point to considerable individual variation, with a minority of speakers changing dramatically over their lifetime (Sankoff & Blondeau 2007). Additional exploration of the social conditions and individual factors that shape lifespan change, in both L1 and L2 contexts, is needed to more fully account for this phenomenon.

The present study examines lifespan change among two L2 learners of Mandarin in Singapore, in which transfer from southern Chinese varieties has created a local norm that differs from the northern China-based standard (Lock 1989). Learners acquiring patterns of variation in a community that uses stigmatized linguistic features, as in the case of Singapore, face particular challenges in reconciling prescriptive and local variants. Previous work on L2 acquisition in migration and classroom contexts finds that acquisition of non-standard variants is shaped by factors including learners' attitudes, exposure to local speakers, and adoption of local identities (Wolfram et al. 2004; van Compernelle & Williams 2012; Imperial 2016). The case of community language shift, however, presents a rather different sociolinguistic situation for learners. In this setting, locals who are late adopters of the expanding language become 'linguistic migrants' in their own community, learning an L2 that has already been acquired by other community members. These learners are already authentic holders of local identities, and must negotiate the expression of that identity in a new language.

We investigate the variation patterns of two prominent Singaporean political figures: Lee Kuan Yew, who served as Prime Minister from 1959 to 1990 and is considered the nation's founding father, and Ong Teng Cheong, Deputy Prime Minister from 1985 to 1993. Lee, a native speaker of English and Malay who was educated in English, and Ong, a Mandarin-educated native speaker of Hokkien and English, are representative of two distinct types of Chinese Singaporean L2 Mandarin learner. 19,289 tokens of 19 phonological variables drawn from speeches delivered by these politicians over a time period from 1966 to 1992 were analyzed, revealing significant differences between the two speakers and in their variation patterns over time. In line with Lee's positive orientation towards prescriptive norms, he is found to avoid the majority of stigmatized phonological features of Singapore Mandarin (e.g., lack of retroflex), but does make limited use of less salient features (e.g., fronting of /ɛ/); Ong, in contrast, makes greater use of stigmatized features. Both speakers are found to temporarily increase

in standardness in the years immediately following the 1979 launch of the Speak Mandarin Campaign, a set of government policies aimed at promoting standard Mandarin. In addition to illustrating the role of ideology in L2 acquisition of regional variants, this study finds that L2 learners may change considerably over their adult lifespan in response to shifts in societal norms.

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12 Wang, Tianxiao / Starr, Rebecca Lurie

**The role of home language in the acquisition of voice onset time in Mandarin and English among bilingual youth in Singapore**

The Chinese community in Singapore has experienced a dramatic, multidimensional language shift over the past several decades, during which southern Chinese varieties have been eclipsed by Mandarin and, subsequently, English. Currently, the Chinese Singaporean population varies considerably in household language use, with some families using English, some using Mandarin and/or southern Chinese varieties, and others using a combination of these languages (Singapore Department of Statistics 2015). Due to the compulsory bilingual education policy, all ethnically Chinese children, regardless of home language, are educated primarily via English but must also study Mandarin in school as a secondary subject. Recent research suggests that children whose home language is English, and whose primary exposure to Mandarin comes from school, do not acquire certain non-standard features typical of Singapore Mandarin (Starr 2017). Building on this work, the present study assesses whether young speakers' home language environment influences their acquisition of voice onset time (VOT) of Mandarin and English voiceless stops.

While both Mandarin and English include voiceless aspirated stops *p/t/k*, the VOTs for Mandarin *p/t/k* are significantly longer than those of English (approximately 103 ms and 56 ms, respectively) (Rochet & Fei 1991; Docherty 1992). This difference is amplified in Singapore, where the English voiceless stops are characterized by low VOTs (25 ms) as a result of influence from Malay and Malay-based contact languages spoken by early learners of English (Huang 2003; Lim 2014). Regarding VOT in Mandarin, Singapore Mandarin *p/t/k* are generally characterized by somewhat lower VOTs than the voiceless aspirated stops of the mainland Chinese standard (Ng 2005; Chang et al. 2011). In light of these patterns, L2 learners of Mandarin who speak English at home may acquire longer Mandarin VOTs, due to the more standard nature of classroom exposure; conversely, they may experience greater transfer of low English VOTs than their Mandarin-home peers. Regarding English, Mandarin-home speakers are expected to use longer VOTs than their English-home peers, due to phonological transfer.

A total of 1,231 word-initial stops were extracted from interviews conducted with 24 Chinese-English bilinguals ages 18 to 26. The VOTs of Mandarin learners who speak English at home (74 ms) were significantly higher than those of participants from Mandarin-speaking families (67 ms); both groups, however, used VOTs that are considerably lower than those previously observed in Singapore Mandarin (Ng 2005). For English, contrary to predictions, participants from both groups used longer VOTs

more comparable to British English (55 ms) than the values identified as typical in Singapore English (Docherty 1992; Huang 2003).

These findings suggest that major shifts are underway in the VOTs of Singapore Mandarin and English stops, leading to increased cross-linguistic transfer. Increased exposure to non-local Englishes and the diminished role of Malay relative to Chinese varieties may both be contributors to the rise in Singapore English VOTs, which are subsequently influencing the production of Mandarin VOTs as they are increasingly perceived as equivalent. This process appears most advanced among Singaporeans who speak Mandarin at home, whose VOTs for Mandarin and English *p/t/k* are now approaching convergence.

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13 John, Paul

### Phonological variation in L2 speech: a case of dual underlying representations?

L2 phonological variation typically involves alternation between accurate and inaccurate output forms. For example, Quebec francophones speaking English show: i) variable substitution of /t d/ for /θ ð/ (*tink dat* ~ *think that*) (Brannen 2011); and ii) variable deletion of /h/ (*\_appy* ~ *happy*) (Mah 2011). Interestingly, these variable output forms are not acquired from the target language, which invites the question: How do they arise?

L2 segmental errors can be attributed to inaccurate underlying representations resulting from perceptual assimilation (Best 1994). Hence, Quebec francophones perceive and lexically register *think* and *happy* inaccurately as /tɪŋk/ and /æpi/ (Trofimovich & John 2011). But then how do they variably produce targetlike output such as /θɪŋk/ and /hæpi/? While L1 variation is usually situated in the grammar, due to variable rules (Cedergren & Sankoff 1974) or floating/overlapping constraints (Boersma, 1998; Reynolds, 1994), we propose that L2 variation often derives from the lexicon, resulting from dual underlying representations for single lexical items (John & Cardoso, 2017). According to our proposal, dual representations develop when learners overcome perceptual assimilation, acquiring the ability to perceive novel L2 phonemes. At this point, they revise lexical entries with targetlike representations (/θɪŋk/, /hæpi/), but do not overwrite the original representations. Either may thus be accessed at the moment of speaking, the result being phonological variation.

For our study, 50 adult francophone participants performed a reading-aloud task to determine whether they showed variable production of /θ ð/ and /h/. The prediction was that variable producers, being beyond the stage of perceptual assimilation, should show relatively accurate perception of the target segments. Nonetheless, we also expected them to exhibit lexical confusion for tasks involving items with dual underlying representations.

To test these predictions, francophones (and 11 anglophones) completed two auditory tasks. The first involved 450 trials in an oddball paradigm (e.g. *think-think-think-think* vs *think-think-think-think*). Participants indicated whether the final word was the 'same' or 'different'. The task included easy (*fan-pan*) and difficult (*thank-tank, eat-heat*) contrasts to verify perceptual assimilation, which would lead /θ ð/ to be perceived as /t d/ and /h/ simply not to be detected.

In a second task (150 sentences with easy/difficult substitutions), participants indicated whether sentences were semantically incongruous. We expected variable producers to have greater difficulty detecting incongruity in sentences with difficult substitutions they themselves make (θ→t *This movie is better than I taught*) than the reverse (t→θ *The soccer game ended in a thigh*), since only the former pattern could be confounded by the presence of dual representations.

ANOVA results revealed significant differences ( $p < .001$ ) in accuracy between easy and difficult contrasts on both auditory tasks for francophones only, including variable producers, which is not consistent with their having overcome perceptual assimilation. Nonetheless, significant differences between /θ/ conditions in the second task were consistent with our dual representations proposal. Unexpectedly, both tasks showed considerable range in participant accuracy rates (8-100%). To account for the contradictory findings, we discuss the possibility (following Paradis 2009) that L2 learners develop alternate strategies to perceiving and producing novel segments.

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14 Naborn, Lars / Zenner, Eline / Van De Mieroop, Dorien

**Messy plates, messier language: child-directed speech as a window into caregivers' language ideologies: a case study of Flemish caregivers' language choices at the dinner table**

Context: Developmental sociolinguistics has largely focused on children's speech. Multiple studies have examined how and at what age children's selection of standard or non-standard forms reflect community norms. When caregivers' child-directed speech (CDS) is discussed, it is usually in relation to their children's output, revealing for instance how caregivers' higher use of non-standard forms around older children is reflected in the older children's speech as compared to their younger siblings and peers (Foulkes et al 2005; Smith & Durham 2019). Studying the parents' language choices in CDS *sui generis* can, however, create a stronger understanding of prevailing language regards and ideologies: as CDS is used to socialize children into group norms, studying CDS itself can provide a unique insight into which language varieties a particular society or social injasper-group values (Ochs & Schieffelin 2014; Foulkes et al. 2005).

Aim: The Dutch language situation in Flanders is an ideal testing ground for this question of variation in CDS. Dutch in Flanders was not standardized until the 20th century, and it was done so by adopting the existing standard from the Netherlands. However, this standard never truly caught on in everyday life in Flanders, where in return a supraregional vernacular standard emerged, Colloquial Belgian Dutch (CBD). This paper examines the way the conflicting norms of the idealized and prestigious Standard Dutch (Jaspers & Van Hoof 2013), an exogenous norm originally based on Netherlandic Dutch, and the everyday norm of the vernacular CBD influence Flemish caregivers' CDS. Based on their choices in CDS, which varieties do Flemish parents consider to be the "best" for their children to acquire, and in which situations?

Data and Variables: The data consists of self-recorded conversations around the dinner table of 14 Dutch-speaking Flemish caregivers (all from the Brabantic dialect area), combined with metalinguistic interviews with parents discussing their language use. The quantitative analysis of the data examines caregivers' variant selection for four variables: pronoun *gij/jij*, diminutive *-ke/-je*, word-final *t*-deletion, adnominal flexion *ne(n)/een*. Through inferential statistical analyses (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012), the impact of several potential predictor variables on a caregiver's choice for the standard or vernacular variant is studied, such as age and gender of the children, and the gender of the caregiver. Next to these more traditional variables, we also integrate a pragmatic variable, viz. discursive frames (relational, transactional, and pedagogical) (Tannen & Wallat 1987, and see Van De Mieroop et al 2016's single case study).

Results: Combined with caregivers' views on language use that are reflected in metalinguistic interviews, these analyses of dinner table conversations give us a more complete picture of the status of Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch in Flanders today, as well as reveal how language ideologies are reflected in CDS more generally.

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15 Schuring, Melissa / Zenner, Eline

**Say what? Preadolescents' acquisition of sociolinguistic variation in the Dutch-English contact situation**

Research in developmental sociolinguistics has thus far awarded priority to preschoolers' acquisition of phonological variation between standard and vernacular (Chevrot et al. 2000; Nardy et al. 2014). Integrating the work of Cornips (2018), Francot et al. (2017) & Holmes-Elliott (2020), this paper envisages to broaden the scope to (i) contact-induced lexical variation (ii) in a largely untouched respondent group: preadolescents. Recent studies foregrounding the Dutch-English contact situation show that Belgian Dutch children evolve from using no English insertions in preschool (Zenner & Van De Mierop 2019) to being English wizards in adolescence (De Decker & Vandekerckhove 2012). The origin and the sociolinguistic mechanisms behind the explosion of English lexical material in these children are hitherto undocumented. This is what this study, as part of a larger research project that investigates when and how Belgian Dutch preadolescents acquire the social meaning of English lexical resources in Dutch, aims to achieve. Particularly, this paper sets out to address the question: When do we find shifts in frequency, distribution and dispersion of English lexical resources in preadolescents' spontaneous and topically controlled interactions?

The research question is addressed through fieldwork involving a sample of 24 Belgian Dutch preadolescents (7 to 13-year-olds), split into 6 groups of respondents of 4 team members of the same local sports team unit each. The project's data collection contains spontaneous and controlled interactions in the peer group complemented with one-on-one interview sessions with the researcher, amounting to over 4 hours of data per respondent. This study will focus particularly on dataset 1, in which two types of data are collected: (1) unstructured spontaneous speech for each respondent group; (2) topically controlled peer group conversations, prompted by starter cards that steer towards or away from English-prone semantic fields (e.g. favorite video games vs. life in the classroom). The resulting corpus for this paper amounts to 9 hours of conversational data and is described and annotated following the CHAT conventions of the CHILDES project. All English-sourced lexemes and phrases in the corpus are identified, adopting both a more inclusive and a more restrictive approach of what is considered "English-sourced": compare *film/sport*, words with an English etymology that can be pronounced correctly in Dutch when strictly following the Dutch grapheme-phoneme-mapping rules, and *manager/junkfood*, for which this is impossible. The English lexical material is then analyzed for Dutch alternatives (Onysko & Winter-Froemel 2011) and entrenchment (Zenner et al. 2012) and subsequently tagged for respondent, topic addressed (more/less prone to English) and

ask at hand (spontaneous vs. topical control). Distribution (Balteiro 2018) and dispersion (Chesley & Baayen 2010) are measured and patterns are revealed through dimensionality reduction techniques and clustering. This paper offers insight into when Belgian Dutch preadolescent children start to insert English lexical resources in Dutch. The results will be the starting point for unravelling the interrelation between language production and awareness in transition from preschool to adolescence, thus contributing to the ongoing research investigating the sociolinguistic acquisition process of contact-induced lexical variation.

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16 Zen, Evunurul Laily / Starr, Rebecca Lurie

### Phonological variation in Javanese among multilingual children in Indonesia

Since the 20th century, the Indonesian language has been promoted in the multilingual Southeast Asian nation of Indonesia as an ethnically-neutral lingua franca (Sneddon 2003). As Indonesian becomes more dominant as a first language, particularly in urban areas, children's acquisition of regional heritage languages, such as Javanese, may be increasingly influenced by phonological transfer. The extent of these effects may vary depending on a child's region and social background, as well as on age of acquisition and proficiency in Javanese and other languages. The present study investigates this phenomenon through an examination of the Javanese speech production of Indonesian-Javanese-English trilingual children in East Java, Indonesia. Specifically, we analyze the distinction between alveolar and retroflex coronal stops (/t/, /t̚/, /d/, /d̚/), which phonemically contrast in Javanese, but not in Indonesian.

The data were elicited from 95 multilingual primary school students ages 9-10 via a Javanese picture-naming task. The study was carried out in two different regions of East Java: Malang, a large, diverse urban center, and Blitar, a smaller city with a primarily Javanese population. Participants were all enrolled in the third year of a trilingual program involving Indonesian, Javanese, and English. Students varied in home language background, with some exposed to Javanese from birth and others not exposed to Javanese until beginning primary school at age seven.

The findings reveal that many children merge the alveolar and retroflex phonemes of Javanese; 73% of alveolar /d/ was produced as retroflex /d̚/ and 90% of retroflex /t̚/ was produced as alveolar /t/. While no significant effects are identified for factors such as order of acquisition, age of acquisition, or language proficiency, mixed-effect generalized linear regression models indicate that gender and region significantly condition variation. Specifically, children from Malang, the larger urban area, significantly lead in merger of retroflex and alveolar stops for both consonant pairs, and female participants are found to significantly lead in the merger of /t̚/ to /t/.

Overall, the data indicate that a change is in progress in Javanese from a four-way contrast in coronal stops to a two-way contrast comparable to that of Indonesian. The fact that Malang children lead in this change may be accounted for by the greater dominance of Indonesian in larger urban centers, in which inter-ethnic language contact is more common. The absence of any significant influence of age of acquisition or proficiency in Javanese on use of the mergers suggests that this two-way contrast is becoming a community norm, and is not caused by transfer on the level of individual speakers. The significant difference observed here between male and female speakers echoes similar findings in other communities, in which women are generally found to lead in sound change (e.g., Labov 1972). These empirical findings not only illustrate

ongoing phonological change in Javanese resulting from language contact, but also provide support for the significance of social factors in multilingual acquisition.

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17 Park, Mihi

### L3 variation in spoken Korean: linguistic and development factors

Variation pattern in a third language (L3) significantly differs from L2 contexts; acquisition of an L3 may include L1 and/or L2 transfer or enhanced sensitivity achieved from previous language learning experiences (Park & Starr 2019). However, there are limited studies of investigating L $n$  variation pattern, differentiating L2 and L3. The current study investigates whether linguistic and developmental factors influence Type1 variation (i.e., choosing correct variant over incorrect one) and Type2 variation (i.e., variation between alternative acceptable variants) of argument realisation pattern in spoken L3 Korean. By comparing these findings to Park & Starr (2019), the study also aims to assess whether learners exhibit native-like stylistic variation patterns when shifting between writing and speech.

148 early bilinguals (English-Chinese L1s) who had been studying Korean for 23 weeks at the National University of Singapore provided Korean speech. Learners' variation patterns were analysed in light of (a) linguistic factors i.e. clause type, verb type, discourse type, NP animacy, and NP feature, and (b) developmental factors, i.e. L2 learning experience, and typological proximity. The analysis focused on variation in argument realisation: native speakers of Korean vary in their argument realisation between NP with explicit case marker, NP with dropped case marker, and covert NP. The results in Table2 demonstrate that the considered linguistic and developmental factors are conditionally impactful in Type1 and Type2 variation in spoken L3. Regarding Type1 variation, L2 learning experience is impactful only in NOM, while typological proximity is insignificant for both NOM and ACC. From the examination of linguistic factors, NOM is found to be more sensitive to various linguistic factors compared to ACC.

Additionally, in Type2 variation, NOM variation pattern is consistently sensitive to linguistic and developmental factors, while ACC are influenced only by discourse type, clause type, and NP feature. Given ACC is a marked argument while NOM is unmarked, marked feature requires higher cognitive load to process. Therefore, L1 influence remains strongly in ACC variation.

Interestingly, discourse type (e.g. picture description, and comparative analysis) is found to be a significant factor in all categories. Picture description involves visual information of arguments, while comparative analysis does not, allowing participants visualising a clear relationship of arguments in description while speaking.

By comparing the current findings with Park & Starr (2019), a significant difference is found between oral and written variation patterns: NOM ( $\chi^2 = 32.19$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), and ACC ( $\chi^2 = 7.25$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.0071$ ) from Type1 variation, and in ACC ( $\chi^2 = 56.81$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .0001$ ) from Type2 variation, suggesting that production mode significantly influences L3 variation pattern.

To sum up, this study demonstrates that various linguistic and developmental factors are in place in spoken L3 variation patterns. Regarding the acquisition, L1 transfer remains stronger in oral production compared to written, and thus it may take longer to acquire enhanced sociolinguistic competence in a spoken third language.

Table1. Demographic information of the participants

Category	Count	Remark
Total	148	
Early bilinguals without L2(s)	68	
Early bilinguals without L2(s)	26	
L2 Japanese	11	
L2 non-Japanese	15	
Early bilinguals without clear background	54	Data from this group is excluded in examining developmental factors

Table2. Statistical significance test of developmental and linguistic factors in L3 Type1 and Type2 variation

Factors	L3 NOM	L3 ACC
Type1 variation		
L2learning experience	significant	none
Typological proximity	none	none
Discourse type	significant	significant
Clause type	none	none
Verb type	significant	Not Applicable
NP animacy	significant	none
NP feature	significant	none
Type2 variation		
L2learning experience	significant	none
Typological proximity	significant	none
Discourse type	significant	significant
Clause type	significant	significant
Verb type	significant	not applicable
NP animacy	significant	none
NP feature	significant	significant

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