Three Sources of Stylistic Meaning[1]

Robert J. Podesva
Georgetown University

1. Introduction

As sociolinguists have increasingly turned their attention to the social meaning of variation, the notion of style has taken center stage (e.g., Eckert, 2000; Moore, 2003; Zhang, 2005). While variationists have conceived of style in seemingly countless ways including attention paid to speech (Labov, 1972), audience design (Bell, 1984), and speaker design (as termed in Schilling-Estes, 2002), third wave variationists have found it most useful to view style as 'a socially meaningful clustering of features, within and across linguistic levels and modalities' (Campbell-Kibler et al., 2006). Under this approach, the meaning of styles emerges out of connections between identities, situations, and symbolic resources (which may or may not be linguistic). In spite of apparent widespread agreement regarding the importance of style in investigations of social meaning, the relationship between style and social meaning has been under-theorized (Eckert, 2003). This paper aims to fill this gap in part by identifying three sources from which linguistic styles derive social meaning, as summarized in (1).

(1)   Linguistic styles derive meaning by
        a.   assembling the social meanings of their component linguistic features.
        b.   contrasting with other linguistic styles.
        c.   occurring in specific interactional moments.

Each of these sources of meaning has been discussed in some form or another in previous literature. However, since variationists are still developing ways of tapping into the social meaning of variables, most third wave studies have typically focused on one source only. A goal of the present paper is to illustrate, using a single dataset, how each of the three dimensions listed in (1) contributes to a style's meaning. Since source (1c) has received considerably less attention from variationists than the other two, I devote the majority of my discussion to it, proposing a novel approach to examining how styles are employed in interaction.

This paper examines the linguistic practices of Heath, an openly gay man attending medical school. Departing from previous third wave studies, which have all focused on how speakers negotiate their place in relation to other speakers or other groups of speakers, and following Johnstone's (1996, 2000) call to refocus our attentions on the individual, this work considers intraspeaker variation patterns. Examining intraspeaker variation is desirable because (a) theories of style have historically been formulated in order to account for variation within the individual, as noted for example by Schilling-Estes (2002) and (b) doing so facilitates a more direct observation of how speakers deploy linguistic features to achieve social ends.

2. Speaker and Data

The data under consideration in this paper are taken from a larger sociophonetic study on style shifting among gay professionals (Podesva, 2006a). Here, I focus in particular on Heath, a mid-twenties, white, middle-class, gay man attending medical school. Heath's linguistic repertoire is considerably variable, his speech exhibiting a strikingly large stylistic range.

Heath was asked to record himself in a range of situations, depending on where and when he felt comfortable being recorded. Here I analyze approximately thirty minutes of data from each of two rather distinct situations. In the first, a clinical setting, Heath is meeting with a patient, an older white male with Parkinson's disease. During their meeting, Heath summarizes his patient's health statistics and goes on to test his reflexes and short-term memory. In the second setting, Heath attends a barbecue with four friends. All of these friends are fellow medical school students with whom Heath is openly gay. The five friends form a rather close-knit group, spending a great deal of time together while eating meals, watching movies, and studying. Topics of conversation at the barbecue are generally informal, ranging from food preparation to habits of consumption.

This paper considers variation patterns for a number of linguistic variables, chosen to represent variation across the domains of segmental phonology, intonation, and voice quality. In the segmental domain, I concentrate on variation in word-final coronal stops, focusing on the deleted and released variants. I also consider the quality of vowels preceding released coronal stops. With respect to intonation, I examine variation in the shape and phonetic properties of declarative contours, focusing on rising and falling melodies. Finally, in the voice quality domain, I investigate falsetto, a phonation type characterized by stretched vocal folds resulting in high fundamental frequency levels. Although detailed phonetic and VARBRUL analyses of individual variables, appearing in Podesva (2006a), are interesting in and of themselves, space permits a discussion of only the general patterns here. Under the common assumption that styles comprise sets of variables (e.g., Campbell-Kibler et al., 2006; Ervin-Tripp, 1972), my objective here is to characterize the co-presence of variables that gives rise to style.

3. Inferring the Social Meaning of Linguistic Features

Before discussing the three sources from which styles derive meaning, it is necessary to discuss how to infer the social meaning of linguistic features, a task for which variationists are still developing methodologies. While no one approach can supply a complete story of what variables mean, each approach has been fruitful and is by no means incompatible with others, suggesting that the best strategy of all may be to combine

approaches. In the most common approach, researchers have situated the use of variables in their ethnographic contexts (Eckert, 2000; Labov, 1963; Moore, 2003; Zhang, 2005), drawing insights from the ways speakers use language as they experience daily life. Others have examined how features or entire dialects come to take on meaning, through enregisterment, in a more historical frame (Agha, 2003; Johnstone et al., 2006; Zhang, 2006). Finally, others have employed more experimental techniques to tap into listeners' perceptions of what features mean (Campbell-Kibler, 2007).

To these previous approaches, I would like to add one that considers the role of discourse in endowing linguistic features with meaning. Particular variants are unlikely to be randomly distributed over discourse; rather, if they have social meanings, they occur where their meanings are indexed in interaction. Under this view, interactional stances give social meaning to linguistic features, and in turn linguistic features help to establish interactional stances. Thus I have sought commonalities in the discourse contexts in which given variants occur, commonalities which I consider to be their social meanings.

I have also sought commonalities in the use of particular variants across different studies, in different communities. For example, fortis realizations of the interdental fricative, as in *dis* and *dat* as opposed to *this* and *that*, have been observed in communities in New York (Labov, 1966) and Wisconsin (Rose, 2006). While these features are independent innovations tied closely to the influence of heritage languages, they exhibit some similar distributional patterns, with lower socioeconomic status correlating with relatively higher use of the feature. To be clear, I am not suggesting that fortition has precisely the same social meaning across these communities, as analyses of the variable reveal slightly different distributional properties which would likely not surface were their meanings identical. Rather, I am suggesting that there is a kernel of similarity between the meanings of fortition across communities, a similarity which I consider to be the social meaning of the feature, which in the case of (dh) fortition I would argue is something like 'toughness.' I suggest that these meanings span the boundaries of local communities, locating themselves in a broader context (speech communities or imagined communities).
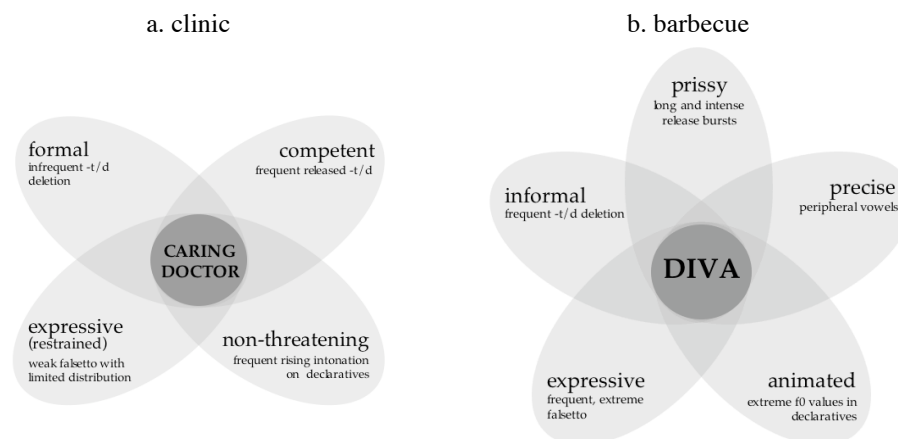
The social meanings of individual variables are the starting point for the current paper, and due to space considerations, I direct the reader to other work for justification of the meanings assumed here (Podesva 2006a, b, 2007). To give just a sense of my approach, I briefly sketch how I arrived at the meaning of falsetto, an issue discussed fully in Podesva (2007). Examining the discourse where falsetto occurs in the barbecue situation reveals that Heath employs the feature when yelling, expressing surprise or excitement, offering evaluative commentary, enlivening a direct quotation, and engaging the audience when telling a narrative. Although these interactional moves are certainly not identical, they share connotations of expressiveness. Accordingly, I argue that the social meaning of Heath's falsetto is 'expressive.' Other researchers in sociolinguistics and related fields have noted the use of falsetto in child-directed speech (Blount and Padgug, 1976), as a form of protest among African American adolescents (Tarone, 1973), and among Latina girls to express an oppositional stance while participating in playground games (Goodwin et al., 2002). While the specific emotions (e.g., excitement, indignation, anger) displayed while using falsetto differs across these studies, they are all nevertheless expressive. Psycholinguistic studies provide further support for this interpretation, showing that expressive emotions like happiness and anger are marked by higher pitch levels than more reserved emotional states like sadness (e.g., Pell, 2001).

4. Assembling Social Meanings

Having discussed how to arrive at the social meaning of individual features, it is now possible to consider how styles derive meaning from the co-occurrence of multiple features, the first source of meaning proposed in (1) above. If one takes a compositional approach, each feature of a style contributes a meaning; the meaning of a style arises out of the intersection of its component features' meanings.

This is in effect the approach taken by Zhang (2005) in her study on Chinese yuppies in Beijing. The speech of this emerging group of business professionals includes a full tone characteristic of non-Mainland varieties of Chinese, but also some standard Mainland features. The resultant variety is thus cosmopolitan, but no less Chinese.

(2)   Figure 1. Heath's stylistic packages in two situations

a. clinic

formal
infrequent -t/d
deletion

competent
frequent released -t/d

CARING DOCTOR

expressive
(restrained)
weak falsetto with
limited distribution

non-threatening
frequent rising intonation
on declaratives

b. barbecue

prissy
long and intense
release bursts

informal
frequent -t/d deletion

precise
peripheral vowels

DIVA

expressive
frequent, extreme
falsetto

animated
extreme f0 values in
declaratives

Turning now to Heath, the Venn diagrams in (2) summarize the linguistic features characterizing his speech in two situations. Beginning with the clinical setting, the diagram in (2a) shows that at the segmental level, Heath's speech features infrequent (-t/d) deletion, indicating formality, and frequent released (-t/d), a feature which many have argued signals competence (e.g., Eckert, 2003; Podesva et al., 2006). Heath also produces declaratives with rising intonation more frequently in this situation, which helps him establish a talk-sustaining, non-threatening stance (Podesva, 2006b). Finally, Heath's use of falsetto indexes expressiveness (as discussed in section 3), but in a restrained manner, as indicated by its weaker phonetic realization (shorter duration and lower fundamental frequency) and restricted distribution (with the feature occurring nearly exclusively on discourse markers, often preceding commands). Although the individual meanings of features are vague in isolation, at the intersection of their meanings, a caring doctor persona emerges. This style is marked not by formality, competence, a non-threatening demeanor, or restrained expressiveness alone, but rather by their confluence.

Heath's linguistic performance differs greatly when talking with friends at a barbecue, as depicted in (2b). Here, frequent (-t/d) deletion indicates informality, and phonetically strong stop releases signal prissiness, with hyperarticulate vowels (resisting pre-coronal

fronting) preceding these releases further suggestive of heightened precision. Heath's phonetically extreme falling intonational contours are indicative of an animated meaning, and his falsetto, as discussed earlier, expressiveness. As before, these meanings may appear fuzzy on their own but gain clarity when considered together. Social meanings like prissiness, animation, and expressiveness enable Heath to sculpt his particular brand of diva, a style characterized not only by prissiness, expressiveness, or informality, but by all of these at once. Put another way, Heath is prissy in an animated and expressive way, ruling out other, more introverted forms of prissiness, such as snobbiness. Again, the meaning of the style materializes in the overlap of its component features' meanings.

5. Contrasting with Other Styles

In addition to drawing attention to the way styles acquire meaning through the meanings of the features they comprise, the previous section illustrates that speakers can produce multiple sets of features, yielding multiple styles. These styles contrast with one another, which brings us to the second source of stylistic meaning: styles gain meaning by contrasting with other styles. Stylistic variation can thus be seen as a system of contrasts, wherein different ways of speaking acquire meaning by being distinctive. This point has been articulated most explicitly by Judith Irvine (2001: 23-24), who notes that 'styles in speaking involve the ways speakers, as agents in social (and sociolinguistic) space, negotiate their positions and goals within a system of distinctions and possibilities.'

Many sociolinguists have found great utility in the notion of distinctiveness, particularly when examining inter-group differences. As evidenced in Eckert's (2000) work, using negative concord makes one sound like a burnout not just because burnouts use the feature often, but because jocks do not. Moore (2003) discusses the same feature, along with nonstandard *were*, among adolescent girls in a Northern England high school. The use of these nonstandard features indexes a stance of rebelliousness that enables its users, the Townies, to distinguish themselves from another social group emerging in the high school, the Populars.

Although studies appealing to distinctiveness have tended to focus on how speakers negotiate their place in relation to other speakers or other groups of speakers, styles can also amass meaning within a system of an individual's possibilities. The meaning of Heath's diva style derives in part from the way it contrasts with the caring doctor persona. Producing falsetto, extreme falling contours, and hyper-strong release bursts may be sufficient to conjure a diva style, but this style would not stand out as much if it were the only style Heath produced. If Heath's stylistic performances across situations were less variable, the same patterns for these phonological variables might be viewed as characterizing Heath's individual style (comparable to the 'Barbara Jordan Style' discussed in Johnstone, 1996), rather than as a diva style which Heath can turn off and on, depending on the demands of or his goals for an interaction. It is thus crucial to situate snapshots of speakers' linguistic practices in relation to their stylistic ranges.

6. Occurring in Specific Interactional Moments

The previous two sections have presented a rather static picture of the two speaking situations under consideration, when in point of fact linguistic variables exhibit temporal dynamism. Work by Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994) and Schilling-Estes (2004) has shown that linguistic variants do not appear uniformly over interactions, but rather are

used strategically depending on factors like topic, stance, and the shifting relationships between interactants when topics shift. Thus the meaning of stylistic performances is partly rooted in the interactional moves made when styles are employed.

In order to more firmly establish the relationship between a style and the interactional meaning it indexes, a means of representing how styles and their component linguistic features unfold over time is needed. A few researchers have developed fruitful approaches to this task (California Style Collective, 1993; Kendall, 2007; Schilling-Estes, 2004), though the field of variation lacks a standard methodology. Here I advance my own form of representation, which I term a *variation score*, inspired by the gestural scores of the Articulatory Phonology framework (Browman and Goldstein, 1990). Whereas each tier in a musical score represents a different musical instrument, each tier in a variation score, as exemplified in (3), represents a different linguistic variable and its use over time.

(3)   Figure 2. Variation score for Heath's barbecue setting

A few words explaining how to interpret the variation score in (3) are in order. When constructing a representation of this sort, a certain degree of abstraction is necessary in order to see patterns, particularly in the time domain. In previous approaches, points in time have corresponded to a range of temporal units, from topics (Schilling-Estes, 2004) to much smaller units, such as tokens (Kendall, 2007). In this paper, each point represents an intermediate level of granularity in time, the utterance. The appearance of a point thus indicates that the variable in question appears in the utterance represented by the point. Different shapes refer to different variants: triangles on the top tier represent (-t/d) releases; squares on the middle tier, falling declaratives; and circles on the bottom tier, falsetto utterances. The absence of a point means that the given variant could not have appeared in the utterance in question. For example, a blank space on the top tier stands for an utterance containing no word-final coronal stops. Unfilled (outlined) points indicate that a variant could have appeared, but did not, while filled points indicate that the variant was in fact used. Finally, since the phonetic character of a variant is sociolinguistically significant, variation scores represent the acoustic strength of each variant's realization (which marks a difference from other approaches). Small squares represent falling contours with relatively small drops in pitch, and large squares indicate large drops in

pitch. The size of each point was determined by the number of standard deviations from the mean according to one or more acoustic dimensions characterizing the feature. Finally, the four staffs in (3) correspond to the first, second, third, and fourth quarters of the interaction; the breaking points bear no other significance.

We can see in (3) that Heath's variants cluster in time. These constellations of features, or *style clusters* (one of which is labeled), provide us with a means of identifying highlighted moments in interaction. It should be noted that clusters present themselves visually, and that as yet I have not developed a mathematical method for isolating clusters; doing so would be a useful direction for future work. The value of being able to isolate clusters lies in examining the discourse more closely at the moments in which style clusters occur. Such examinations can provide further insight into the social motivations for employing styles. In the interest of gleaning such insight, let us turn now to a transcript of the segment corresponding to the labeled cluster in (3), a narrative about one of Heath's rollerblading adventures. The linguistic features under consideration are bolded in the transcript, with falsetto in italics, extreme falling declaratives in caps, and releases in phonetic transcription.

(4)   Excerpt of Heath's rollerblading narrative

```
1    Heath    Some kid[dʰ] was gonna, shoot, what the hell do you
2             call those little, those little things that,
3             a crossbow. I was, I was rollerblading
4             today and some kid's like, 'I'm gonna
5             shoot you with my crossbow!'
6    Eliza    <laughter>
7    Heath    This little guy. And this other kid, like, two
8             minutes later has a little gun completely
9             separate area. 'I'm gonna shoot you!' <laughter>
10            Do I just scream, like, 'Shoot me?'
11   Jeff     Well, when you're white boys rollerblading through
12            a black neighborhood, yes.
13   Heath    Maybe so. So um, there's some kinda little, Oh oh
14            there's a cute little, there's a cute little
15            PARK. It's on, on kind of, down Washington
16            Boulevard, on the west side of MLK.
17   Eliza    Mmhmm.
18   Heath    'Cos it's kind of a <unintelligible> so just to
19            rollerblade down in that area. And there, there was
20            a a carnival, which, carnival's are just trash – but
21            I don't go to them. But, but nonetheless there's a
22            carnival. There's a cute like park over there and
23            then there's a little, uh, museum-y kinda place.
```

In this excerpt, Heath relates an experience transpiring earlier in the day in which children at play threatened to shoot him. He uses a diva style, characterized by a strongly released (-d) ending the word *kid*, an acoustically extreme fall on the word *park*, and 13 instances of falsetto, which together add to the story's entertainment value. This is evidenced in part by the use of falsetto on quotations, as in *'I'm gonna shoot you with my crossbow!'* in lines 4-5 and *'I'm gonna shoot you!'* in line 9. Up to this point, Heath draws on phonetic features simply to enhance his telling of the story, and there is no necessary reason to associate his style directly with a diva style, although it should be noted that divas aspire to put on a good show when story-telling (Koestenbaum, 1993). Nonetheless, beginning in line 13, Heath starts to let the diva persona shine through with his dramatic assessment of the park he later encountered while rollerblading. Heath is a bit distracted, perhaps due to Jeff's racial stereotype in lines 11-12, and then loses his train of thought, as indicated in line 13 by the filled pause *um*, two unfilled pauses, and the words *Oh oh*, indicating that he remembers the trajectory of his narrative. Once Heath resumes telling his story, he draws on flamboyance to reinforce the diva persona. This flamboyance is conveyed not only through the expressiveness with which Heath speaks, but also through the topic about which he is excited – the cuteness of a park. Social meaning may attach to phonetic qualities, but this meaning derives in part from the affect signaled by the referential meaning of words on which phonetic qualities appear (*cute*). Finally, in Heath's last turn, he adds a negative assessment of carnivals with (*carnivals are just trash, I don't go to them*). This aside has little to do with the narrative trajectory of Heath's story, but it assists Heath in injecting his story with attitude, which in turn further constructs the diva style.

To summarize, style clusters highlight moments in discourse when salient interactional moves occur. The stances speakers take in such moments provide us with clues about what styles mean. Returning to the score in (3), it is evident that Heath does not produce the diva style consistently over the course of the situation. Rather, Heath performs the diva persona in particular moments of the discourse, which interestingly occur early in the recording, shortly after Heath arrives at the barbecue. One could view these early style clusters as speech acts (Austin, 1962), built not out of words, as in traditional conceptions of performatives, but rather out of phonetic material. By virtue of employing these sociophonetic speech acts, Heath announces the diva persona, and the diva persona comes (further) into being. Having established himself as a diva early on at the barbecue, Heath can relax the diva performance for much of the remainder of the interaction.

A variation score for the clinical situation, not shown here in the interest of space, reveals no clustering. This pattern most likely reflects a stable relationship between Heath and his patient, one requiring Heath to consistently and constantly display his pleasant bedside manner. This result, when considered along with Heath's tendency to produce the diva style in bursts, underscores the fact that social meaning stems in part from the steadiness or dynamism with which a style is performed.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, I have proposed in this paper three sources from which styles derive social meaning. These three sources are not intended as an exhaustive set. In particular, a fourth source, one which the data analyzed here do not speak to, can be identified at this time: styles acquire meaning over time. Styles have histories, the trajectories of which may

leave behind traces of synchronic meaning, an issue explored for example in recent work by Inoue (2006) and Zhang (to appear). It is hoped that third wave variationists will continue working toward developing a comprehensive theory of the relationship between style and social meaning, and that in the meantime, this paper represents a step in that direction.

References

Agha, Asif. 2003. The social life of cultural value. *Language and Communication, 23*, 231- 273.

Austin, John. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Bell, Allan. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society, 13*, 145-204.

Blount, Ben and Elise Padgug. 1976. Mother and father speech: Distribution of parental speech features in English and Spanish. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development, 12*, 47-59.

Browman, Catherine and Louis Goldstein. 1990. Tiers in Articulatory Phonology, with some implications for casual speech. In John Kingston and Mary Beckman (Eds.), *Papers in Laboratory Phonology I: Between the Grammar and Physics of Speech* (pp. 341-376). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

California Style Collective. 1993. Variation and personal/group style. Paper presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 22, Ottawa.

Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn. 2007. Accent, (ING), and the social logic of listener perceptions. *American Speech, 82*, 32-64.

Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn, Penelope Eckert, Norma Mendoza-Denton, and Emma Moore. 2006. The elements of style. Poster presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 35, Columbus.

Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Malden: Blackwell.

Eckert, Penelope. 2003. The meaning of style. *Texas Linguistic Forum, 47*, 41-53.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. On sociolinguistic rules: Alternation and co-occurrence. In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics* (pp. 213-250). New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston.

Goodwin, Marjorie Harness, Charles Goodwin, and Malcah Yaeger-Dror. 2002. Multi-modality in girls' game disputes. *Journal of Pragmatics, 34*, 1621-1649.

Inoue, Mikako. 2006. *Vicarious language: Gender and linguistic modernity in Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Irvine, Judith, 2001. 'Style' as distinctiveness: The culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. In Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation* (pp. 21-43). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnstone, Barbara. 1996. *The linguistic individual: Self-expression in language and linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, Barbara. 2000. The individual voice in language. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 29*, 405-424.

Johnstone, Barbara, Jennifer Andrus, and Andrew E. Danielson. 2006. Mobility, indexicality, and the enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese.' *Journal of English Linguistics, 34*, 77-104.

Kendall, Tyler. 2007. The North Carolina Sociolinguistic Archive and Analysis Project: Empowering the sociolinguistic archive. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, 13, 15-26.

Koestenbaum, Wayne. 1993. *The queen's throat: Opera, homosexuality, and the mystery of desire*. New York: Poseidon Press.

Labov, William. 1963. The social motivation of a sound change. *Word, 19*, 273-309.

Labov, William. 1966. *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Moore, Emma. 2003. Learning style and identity: A sociolinguistic analysis of a Bolton high school. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Pell, Marc. 2001. Influence of emotion and focus location on prosody in matched statements and questions. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, 109*, 1668-1680.

Podesva, Robert J. 2007. Phonation type as a stylistic variable: The use of falsetto in constructing a persona. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11, 478-504.

Podesva, Robert J. 2006a. Phonetic detail in sociolinguistic variation: Its linguistic significance and role in the construction of social meaning. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Stanford: Stanford University.

Podesva, Robert J. 2006b. Intonational variation and social meaning: Categorical and phonetic aspects. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics, 12*, 189-202.

Podesva, Robert J., Sarah J. Roberts, and Kathryn Campbell-Kibler. 2006. Sharing resources and indexing meaning in the production of gay styles. In Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick (Eds.), *The Language and Sexuality Reader* (pp. 141-150). London: Routledge.

Rickford, John and Faye McNair-Knox. 1994. Addressee- and topic-influenced style shift. In Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register* (pp. 235-276). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, Mary. 2006. Language, place, and identity in later life. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Stanford: Stanford University

Schilling-Estes, Natalie. 2002. Investigating stylistic variation. In J.K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (pp. 375-401). Malden: Blackwell.

Schilling-Estes, Natalie. 2004. Constructing ethnicity in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 8*, 163-195.

Tarone, Elaine. 1973. Aspects of intonation in Black English. *American Speech, 48*, 29-36.

Zhang, Qing. 2005. A Chinese yuppie in Beijing: Phonological variation and the construction of a new professional identity. *Language in Society, 34*, 431-466.

Zhang, Qing. To appear. Rhotacization and the 'Beijing Smooth Operator': The social meaning of a linguistic variable. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*.

Intercultural Center 454
Department of Linguistics
Georgetown University
Washington, DC 20057
rjp39@georgetown.edu