Johanna Vaattovaara

SPATIAL CONCERNS FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MEANING OF LINGUISTIC VARIABLES – AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

Rummet och dess inverkan vid undersökning av lingvistiska variablers sociala betydelse – en experimentell metod

Syftet med artikeln är att granska på vilket sätt begreppen *rum* (eng. space) och *plats* (eng. place) är problematiska inom dialektologi, variationsforskning och folkdialektologi (folk linguistics) när det gäller forskning i den sociala betydelsen hos språkliga företeelser. Inom dialektologi och traditionell sociolingvistisk variationsforskning har språkdrag behandlats med hänsyn till var de är lokaliserade: variationen placeras eller förväntas kunna placeras inom ett dialektområde med hjälp av en karta. I den så kallade "tredje vågen" inom variationsforskning (Eckert 2008, 2012) tänker man sig att dialekter är något man föreställer sig och att de snarare förknippas semiotiskt med olika platser (t. ex. Johnstone et al. 2006). Variationen förstås som ett semiotiskt system som organiseras, lever och förändras genom ideologiska processer, som en del av kulturella förändringar. Den sociala betydelsen hos språkliga företeelser utgår inte direkt ur en region eller en social struktur (kön, ålder, utbildning, region), utan ur mer komplexa ideologiska kopplingar (Agha 2007). De sociala betydelserna är också lokalt flexibla – de uppfattas som en del av sociala stilar och alltid i relation till andra, alternativa stilar (Coupland 2007, Eckert 2008). Utmärkande för den tredje vågen är också att forskningsobjektet i princip kan vara vilket språkdrag som helst med social relevans. Härigenom skiljer sig den tredje vågen från såväl den första som den andra vågen, eftersom de huvudsakligen har koncentrerat sig på att granska dialektologiskt centrala variabler.

Materialet för artikeln har samlats in inom forskningsprojektet *Finska i Helsingfors (Helsingin suomea)*. Syftet har varit att i den tredje vågens anda med en experimentell metod undersöka språkattityder med utgångspunkt i variationen i den sociala betydelsen för olika språkdrag. Sammanlagt 45 slumpmässigt utvalda informanter i olika ålder från olika delar av Finland hade som uppgift att fritt kommentera 12 ljudprov. Syftet var att få fram reaktioner på språkliga företeelser av vilka tre behandlas i artikeln: 1) öppning av diftonger (t.ex. *syödä* > *syädä*; *tie* > *tiä*), 2) uttalet av främre skarpt /s/ (som enligt folkdialektologisk forskning är ett av de vanligaste dragen som förknippas med talspråket i Helsingfors) samt 3) de föreställningar som väcks av en viss främmande nyans i talspråket hos unga med utländsk bakgrund.

I artikeln kommer det fram hur teoretiska bakgrundsföreställningar, såsom t.ex. hurdan uppfattning om rum undersökningen utgår från, inverkar både på frågeställningarna och på tolkningen av resultaten. Ett centralt argument är att en förståelse av rummets sociala betydelse i enlighet med poststrukturalistisk geografi (t.ex. Massey 2005) öppnar upp för forskning i variationens ideologi och sociala värdegrund, medan den essentiella (t.ex. dialektologiska) uppfattningen om rum och plats avsevärt begränsar denna målsättning.

Introduction

Traditionally, sociolinguistics has built on dialectology in the investigation on how linguistic variation patterns differ from one region to another. In the analytic practice which Penelope Eckert (2008) refers to as 'the first wave of variation study' (better known as Labovian sociolinguistics), variation is viewed as marking social categories. This traditional paradigm has focused on the relation between linguistic variation and demographic categories such as age, sex and class (many studies also focus on ethnicity) using a quantitative method. In this wave of analysis (e.g. Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974, Cedergren 1973) the socio-economic hierarchy has determined what the social meaning of linguistic variables are. (Eckert 2008: 454–455; Eckert 2012.)

This 'first wave' has been followed, and partly accompanied, by 'the second wave' of analysis, which differs from the first in its aim of focusing on the nature of the social categories in local communities with an ethnographic account, in social practice. In this line of study and its classical examples, such as Milroy 1980, Eckert 1989 and Lappalainen 2004, local variation is studied as a social resource on the ground. But as Rampton (2006: 15) and Eckert (2012) point out, these studies that focus on the local perspective usually leave untouched the nature of the indexical relations between variables and social categories. In other words, the bridge between local and the global remains un(der)examined.

The present paper adopts yet an alternative approach, which Eckert refers to as 'the third wave' of variation study. This approach views linguistic variation as an indexical system. Linguistic variables are treated as components of styles, which gain social meanings in relation to other styles – within not only linguistic systems but wider "stylistic systems such as clothing and other commoditized signs and with the kinds of ideological constructions that speakers share and interpret and that thereby populate the social imagination" (Eckert 2008: 456; see also Coupland 2007).

While in the first two waves the demographic structure or sound changes are taken as a starting point, the third wave has the social meaning and ideological loadings of variables in the focus of practice (see, for example, Eckert 2000; Campbell-Kibler 2007; Johnstone & Kiesling 2008). Variation is therefore visioned as a part of socio-cultural value system, constantly on the move. This means that linguistic variables are interpreted as carrying a set of social meaning potentials, rather than meanings that are fixed (see Eckert 2008 and 2012 for a more detailed discussion of this analytical stance).

All these three waves of sociolinguistic practice involve the study of linguistic attitudes and perceptions. In the mainstream of language attitude

study[1], the social psychological strand (e.g. Ryan & Giles 1982) and folk linguistics (e.g. Niedzielski & Preston 2000; Long & Preston 2002), linguistic attitudes are regarded as being a core component in sociolinguistic theory building (Garrett 2001: 630) and being essential to our understanding of linguistic change and the relationship of language and space (Preston 2010a: 126). The line between these mainstream approaches is often blurred in the investigation of the social meaning of linguistic variables or the stereotypical images of regional varieties (Vaattovaara 2009: 28–30; Preston 2010a: 91), and this leads to concerns of the spatiality that are under discussion in the present paper.

In the third wave enterprise, the attitudinal component is unavoidably present and calls for methodological explorations of which Campbell-Kibler 2007, Levon 2007 and Johnstone & Kiesling 2008 are nice examples of. The present paper also offers one exploration on how to examine the semiotic resources people associate with performances of particular linguistic features.

An important framework for sociolinguistics of the third wave strand is contemporary linguistic anthropology, particularly the theory proposed by Michael Silverstein on *indexical orders* (Silverstein 2003), which builds on dialogism (Bakhtin) and phenomenology (Peirce). Although not often overtly addressed in the third wave studies (with notable exceptions such as Johnstone 2004 and Gal 2010; see also Vaattovaara in press) the third wave approach makes a central difference not only in terms of how variation is interpreted as a socially meaningful phenomenon, but also in terms of spatial thought.

The important difference lies in the theoretical bearings of what we consider dialects to constitute. While sociolinguists traditionally regard dialects as existing in locations, in the third wave enterprise dialects are first and foremost (in Benedict Anderson's 1991 terms) *imagined*, albeit in different ways by linguists and nonlinguists. The aim of this paper is to illustrate, using one type of exploratory example, why this distinction has metatheoretical importance, and how the position of dialects-are-imagined may be employed in the field of language attitude study, particularly in the experimental framework.

Moreover, I will discuss why and how focusing on the aspect of style (the speaker's or, in this case, the listener's agency) enables us to access the core of the social meaning of variation while focusing on the perceptions of dialect areas, in this sense lacks depth. In the following, I will first address this theoretical claim, and then select three empirical examples from my research project, *Helsinki as a semiotic landscape in the linguistic ideologies of the Finns*, to support the third-wave engagement in the

[1] See Garrett 2010 for a comprehensive overview.

experimental study of attitudes towards language variation[2]. The central point to be made is that the traditional concept of space, as adopted in dialectology as well as folk dialectology and earlier waves of variation studies, is limited if the social meaning of linguistic variables is to be addressed (and currently it often is). By this claim I do not mean to deny the importance and value of the studies carried out in the forementioned paradigms. But as Johnstone and Kiesling have argued (2008: 12, 25), variation of social meaning is glossed over in the approaches that focus on dialect areas (rather than people's sociolinguistic worlds). Individual voices do become noticed and are certainly documented in a number of particularly folk dialectological studies, but the fact that the social meaning of linguistic variables are not fixed but context-dependent remains untheorized in the traditional approaches. This is, ultimately, much due to the engagement with the dialectological concept of space.

The essentialism problem: reliance on maps

The focus of interest in folk linguistics, particularly in perceptual dialectology, centers on the large scale investigation of how people perceive linguistic similarities or differences across space (see Preston 1989 and Long & Preston 2002 for a collection of modern perceptual studies[3]). Recently Preston (2010a) has developed the concept of 'language regard' to refer to the multifaceted object of study in current perceptual dialectology. This concept involves both the overt commentary as well as the covert attitudes towards varieties and speech styles which both tend to be in the focus of interest among the contemporary practioners of perceptual dialectology.

The two mainstream traditions of language attitudes share a common understanding of space that ultimately has consequences on how a language regard is (or is not) investigated. A common ground for these traditions tends to be that they lack what Britain (2010: 148) has referred to as socially sensitive approach to space. This is not characteristic to language attitude study in particular – it has not been until recently that the ontology of space has evoked discussion in the field of sociolinguistics (e.g. Auer & Schmidt 2010; Britain 2002; Johnstone 2004, 2010; Llamas 2007; Vaattovaara 2009).

[2] This post-doctoral research project is one of six sub-projects in the larger project of *Helsinki Finnish: diversity, social identity and linguistic attitudes in an urban context*, conducted by Professor Marja-Leena Sorjonen at the University of Helsinki. The project has received funding from the Academy of Finland (2009–2012).

[3] Preston 1999 offers a comprehensive introduction of early folk dialectology.

In the discipline(s) of cultural geography, the status of maps as a tool for analysis has been challenged for a long time (e.g. Wood 1992; Massey 2005, see also Paasi 1983), while in sociolinguistics, maps have remained unquestioned until relatively recent times (Britain 2002; 2010; Vaattovaara 2009). At the same time in perceptual dialectology – along with new technical applications (e.g. Montgomery 2009; Preston 2010b) – maps seem to be growing an importance in the analysis, and in Finnish sociolinguistics in general, the status of maps continues to have a relatively stable role. This is probably predominantly due to our sociolinguistic tradition being built on a tradition of dialectology (see Lappalainen 2004: 13–16 for critical reflection)[4].

Dialectology has its roots in Romanticism and presupposes, as Bucholtz (2003: 400) puts it, "some language users but not others as legitimate representatives of a given community." This view derives from essentialism (sometimes from strategic essentialism, Spivak 1988, cited in Bucholz 2003: 401) which proposes that the groups we study can be clearly delimited as people from different dialect areas and that members of these groups are somewhat alike (speak a more or less authentic dialect of the given region). We can say that in traditional dialectology, a dialect map represents an embodiment of essentialism, and in folk dialectology, the mental mapping method basically does the same. In these traditions, *place* has been implicitly conceived of in physical terms, in an objective and unproblematic way (Johnstone 2004: 65–67). The significance of place (discussed later in this paper) is not ignored in folk dialectology but the epistemological underpinnings of spatial thought are positivistic (i.e. dialect regions are facts that can be defined in purely geographical terms).

According to Buckholz (ibid.), the critique of essentialism has had less of an impact in the field of sociolinguistics than within other social and human sciences (for this discussion see also Eckert 2003). Again, acknowledging the advances that perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics have contributed to the study of language variation and change and dialect images, next I will briefly discuss the roots of the mental mapping method to point out why exactly it is an incompatible method with the third-wave philosophy.

[4] Many other Nordic countries seem to have a similar history (see e.g. Gregersen & Røyneland 2009; Nilsson 2009: 210.

The mental mapping method

Linguistics, as many other disciplines in the sciences, has always borrowed from geography (Britain 2002; 2010; Johnstone 2004; 2010; see also Vaattovaara 2009: 34–40). One of the perhaps most borrowed tools is a mental mapping method, a widely used method that has gained importance in folk dialectology since the 1980s (Preston 1982; 1989). Mental mapping originates from the behavioral paradigm of geography in the 1960s, and was first invented by Peter Gould to investigate the subjective element of geography, that is, people's geographic preferences (see Gould and White 1974; Paasi 1983: 261). In some other fields of geography, the mental mapping method received critique already at the time, with a claim that this technique ignores the social aspect of space (for a methodological reflection in the progress of geography, see Paasi 1983). According to Paasi (1983: 262), since the invention of this method, other fields of science have subsequently "uncritically copied" it in various types of investigations, that is, without reflection on the spatial theory that this method is based on. One of the critical paradigms was humanistic geography (for example Relph 1976; Tuan 1977), which emphasizes the subjective experience of place, and like the third wave sociolinguistics, borrows from phenomenology (for an overview of spatial thought in geography and linguistics, see Johnstone 2004 and 2010).

It is important to mention, however, that Preston introduced the mental mapping to folk dialectology in the 1980s for very useful purposes. To Preston, one drawback of the traditional listening tasks was that when attitudes towards different varieties were investigated by administering a listening task, it was presupposed that the listeners' and the investigator's idea of the material would coincide: Within the social psychological paradigm, value judgments are often collected using a matched guise method (see Lambert & Gardner & Fillenbaum 1960; Garrett 2010: 53–87). This procedure involves playing samples of different varieties to listeners who are requested to judge them in social dimensions, usually on five- or seven-point scales. After this, conclusions are drawn on the listeners' attitudes towards the investigated varieties based on their reactions to the samples played. What Preston found to be missing here was the evidence of where the listeners believe the voices are from, and the mental mapping method was therefore implemented to fill this gap. Needless to say, this was a fundamental methodological improvement in analyzing nonlinguists' perceptions of regional variation (see Preston 1989; Williams et al. 1999: 345–346).

Since the breakthrough of perceptual dialectology in the 1980s, the mental mapping technique has been applied and developed in a variety of ways in throughout the world (see Long and Preston 2002 for a collection of studies.) The technique has offered valuable information on how geographical spaces and linguistic variation are perceptually connected in broad terms. Hand-drawn perceptual dialect maps offer comparisons of the dialect areas that are defined in terms of professional criteria. From this point of view, the usefulness of the mental mapping method is undeniable. This method has been applied to Finnish, for example in Palander & Nupponen 2005, Palander 2011, Nupponen 2011, and a number of Master's thesis work carried out during the past decade. All these studies as well as other applications of perceptual dialectology (not discussed here; for examples, see Preston 2010a and 2010b) contribute to the traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics in the investigation of the ideas of nonlinguists concerning language and its regionally bound variation.

However, as soon as our aims involve issues of social identity, the mental mapping method demonstrates its limitations as a servant of essentialism (see the discussion above). Evidence of this, I would argue, are the results reported in number of studies of perceptual dialectology: the listeners participating the mapping tasks that involve speech samples very often fail to recognize (place accurately) not only those dialects that they themselves are rarely exposed to, but also the samples designed to represent their own local variety (see Williams et al 1999; Palander & Nupponen 2005; Vaattovaara 2009, Nupponen 2011: 69–170 among others). These outcomes are usually treated as a limitation of the nonlinguists or as a problem in the sample design, while the method itself has rarely been challenged. In the framework of phenomenology, it is justified to ask, however, whether people may fail to recognize or place accurately the dialects played to them because their ways of imagining the speech communities and social worlds may not correspond to the one that linguists offer to them as being inherent in the method of inquiry (that is, the essentialism of dialect regions). In other words, the perceptual cues that listeners hear may simply not be placeable on a cartographic map. Another issue is the material itself, which tends to include a vast number of cues. Of those, many could be perceptually linked to more than one region for the reason that different varieties do not only differ from one another but they also share (more or less) features in common.

Preston (1996) has presented the taxonomy of the modes of folk awareness of language to indicate how non-linguists share a vast knowledge of linguistic variation. Nonetheless, this knowledge has not been regarded traditionally as being scientifically interesting (see Niedzielski & Preston 2000: 2–32 for this discussion). Folk understanding of linguistic variation emerged as a serious scientific endeavor only since the 1980s, and I would still like to argue that there remains a constant danger of falling into a trap of what we could refer to as a folk linguistic paradox. Our objective is to in-

vestigate laypersons' linguistic attitudes or their linguistic awareness, but we easily undertake this analysis by offering respondents tools that (in practice) undermine this objective.

Studies in folk dialectology have shown that very often nonlinguists and the professionals do indeed share an idea of what a variety X entails (i.e. the ideas of laypersons concerning particular dialect coincides with at least some of the facts provided by dialectologists). But it is important to remember that what is documented as a fact in dialectology may well not be a fact for the nonlinguists, or vice versa (for a theoretical model see Preston 1996). What necessarily remains distinct, however, are not only the conceptual differences and metalinguistic competences (often commented on in the folk dialectological analysis) but also how the ideas of the dialect differences are originally constructed. For scientists, the idea is created through linguistic education, for the so-called ordinary people, through life-world experiences in its all broadness (from different types of physical, virtual and ideological connections), and to some extent, their school education. This is the point when the stance we adopt on spatiality comes into play and becomes important.

The sections to follow will illustrate why cartography (a map) does not provide us with a useful tool for analysis if we attempt to address the question of how people imagine the differences (or similarities) of language across space – if we ought to build on lay perspective and not the linguistic traditions such as dialectology (which undeniably has its place elsewhere in the field of linguistic inquiry).

What and where are the dialects?

Geographers today, in the vast field of cultural geography, share an understanding of spaces as constructive processes, and as already pointed out in the previous chapter, cartographic maps have long been understood as essentialist and as flat (unidimensional) representations of the world (Massey 2005: 106–111; Wood 1992). A theoretical distinction is made between *places* and *locations*, which is of central importance (see Cresswell 2004 and Johnstone 2004 for comprehensive overviews). According to one of the most influential contemporary geographers, Doreen Massey (1994: 168), a place is "formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular locus." Social relations have a spatial form and spatial content, just as regional dialects have as dialectological facts, and both of these (the form and the content) necessarily exist in space, in locational relation to other social phenomena, and across space. In short, the identity of

place is in part constructed out of the positive interrelations with elsewhere (Massey 1994: 169; see also Gal 2010). In this manner, spaces are viewed as being relative, not as static locations or "blank stages" (Britain 2002: 603), as they tend to be depicted in traditional studies of dialectology and sociolinguistics.

For a sociolinguist analyzing the indexical (non-referential) or the social meanings of variation, spatial understanding is one of the core fundamental issues. This is indicated, more or less overtly, in a number of recent empirical work carried out in the field of sociolinguistics (e.g. Johnstone & Andrus & Danielson 2006; Llamas 2007; Johnstone & Kiesling 2008; Bijvoet & Fraurud 2010).

Sociolinguists absorbing from contemporary (non-essentialist) linguistic anthropology are in alignment with postmodern spatial philosophy. For instance Agha (2003) provides an illuminating example of the process on *enregisterment* concerning the prestige register of British English (RP), which originally was a geographically bounded spoken variety. (See also Agha 2007.) Enregisterment occurs when a speech variable has become associated with a particular speech style or variety in such depth that it can be used for creating a context for that style (Johnstone & Andrus & Danielson 2006: 83). The processes involved in the emergence and spread of RP in attaining its social position in the British world and beyond (Bayard et al. 2001) is not explainable by physical contact and mobility alone but by indexical processes which involve value systems, their transformation and circulation by connecting to a place. An enregisterment process has been undertaken as an object of study in sociolinguistics for example in the work of Barbara Johnstone and her colleagues (see Johnstone & Andrus & Danielson 2006; Johnstone & Kiesling 2008; Johnstone 2009).

In the Finnish context, an example of an enregistered linguistic feature – in seemingly two distinct ways – is probably the *h* that occurs in non-initial syllables. The syncope variant (e.g. *talhoon*, 'into a house', *koulhuun* 'into school') and the metathetic variant (*kouhluun*) are associated with the speech style that is prevalent in the North of Finland (see Vaattovaara 2009), whereas the original variant with the *h* in the intervocalic position (*kouluhun*) is part of the southwestern Ostrobothnia stereotype (Mielikäinen & Palander 2002; Kokko 2010). In Silverstein's terms, for the Finns in general, these are not only first order indexes (that is a correlation between form and the regional group of speakers), but already second order indexes of the Northern and Osthrobotnian identities. This means that an ideological link is created between the form and meaning (c.f. Agha 2003; Johnstone & Andrus & Danielson 2006; Eckert 2008: 463), and that these variables can be used to perform stereotypical Ostrobothnian or Nordic identity (see Silver-

stein 2003: 219 and the aforementioned work for empirical examples of such processes).

The first person pronoun *mie* in Finnish is an example of a social meaning of a linguistic variable that has shifted further into an *n*-th order indexical value. Evidence of this (for more examples see Vaattovaara, forthcoming) is found in the extract below, which is originally from the Sunday edition of the Helsingin Sanomat (17.1.2010, emphasis added)[5].

> (--) ja työ kaik' ihaanat elävät ja kuolleet runoilijat, TYÖ ETTE TIIJJJÄ! **mie** oon teil niin KIITOLLINEN, et **mie** saan totteuttaa säveltäjän kutsumusta teijjä avulla, kerrrtakaikkijjaan!!!suuri nöyrä kiitos.
>
> Anna-Mari Kähärä
> Kirjoittaja on Helsingissä asuva säveltäjä ja muusikko.
> p.s.**mie** en tiijjä mist tuo karjalan murre tuonne välliin aina luiskahtaa kö **mie** oon keski-suomesta. p.p.s.kiitos runoraati!!!

In this extract, the writer Anna-Mari Kähärä uses the first person pronoun variant, *mie*, which along with few other eastern dialect features is stereotypically associated with Carelian identity[6]. In post scriptum Kähärä reflects on her linguistic choices wondering why the "Carelian dialect" tends to peek through her writing even though she has no background in this area. The writer admits to being from Central Finland, and she currently resides and works in the Helsinki capital area.

Kähärä refers to her use of dialect (perhaps particularly the pronoun *mie*) discussing these features as features of the Carelian dialect, that is, in first-order indexical terms. The reason for these choices without a clear understanding "why this dialect" (supposing that the public reflection of the writer was at least partly honest) is that these choices have come to index some type of social value that is no longer directly connected to Carelian dialect or Carelian identity but rather to some identity characteristics that is ideologically – originally – linked to the Carelian stereotype.

---

[5] (--) *and ya all woooonderful alive and deceased poets, YA DON'T KNOW!! **I** [in dialectal form] am GRATEFUL that **I** [dial.] can practice the true mission of a composer with your help, absolutely!!! A big, humble thank you. – The writer is a composer and a musician living in Helsinki. P.s. **I** [dial.] don't understand where this Carelian dialect tends to push through since **I** [dial.] am from Central Finland. P.p.s. Thanks Poetry panel!!!*

[6] The pronoun variant *mie* is also a categorical variant in the Western part of the Far Northern dialect, due to the early Carelian settlement in this area in 12th century (Lehtinen 2007: 272; Nuolijärvi & Sorjonen 2005: 66–67), and in the Eastern dialects this variant is not, in dialectologial terms, restricted to a Carelian dialect region (Mielikäinen 1991).

On the basis of the *Maamme kirja* ('Our land') of Zacharias Topelius and later folk dialectological studies (for example Mielikäinen & Palander 2002), the Carelian stereotype can be regarded as being positive, having such associations as *warm, cozy, humble, open-minded*, etc. When a variable such as *mie* has gained an indexical value this way, it becomes available for reinterpretation because the social meaning becomes a fluid, "indexical field" (Eckert 2008). This explains why we may hear just about anyone (regardless of the speakers' regional origin) occasionally using the pronoun variant *mie* (e.g. Lappalainen & Vaattovaara 2005; Vaattovaara & Soininen-Stojanov 2006: 245; Kemppainen 2002). For the Finns in general, the motivation to use this feature no longer has a connection to Carelian identity, but to some characteristics that are perceptually somehow connected to this stereotype, through complex ideological processes.

The type of indexical processes described above account for why it is necessary to disconnect with the dialectological view of space i.e. the dialects-exist-in-location type of theory ('Euclidean space,' Britain 2010), if we are to deal with social meaning of variation. For the same reason, we may learn that the way dialects are imagined may not have similar regional basis in nonlinguists' perceptions than in the perceptions of linguistic professionals (dialectologists, at least). Next, some examples are to discuss this from three specific perspectives, with three different examples from the research project conducted in Helsinki.

"Helsinki" in the ideologies of the Finns

In the spirit of the third-wave variation studies (see the discussion above), the objective of my research project *Helsinki as a semiotic landscape in the linguistic ideologies of the Finns* is to analyze the indexical values of certain linguistic variables by adopting Silverstein's theory of indexical orders and from the work of the third-wave sociolinguists cited above. This project builds on and aims to make visible the current geographical view of places as cultural constructions and meaningful spaces (e.g. Tuan 1977; Tani 1995; Cresswell 2004; Massey 2005; Vaattovaara 2009). Instead of approaching Helsinki as a location or as a dialect area, I orient to the city as a cultural and social category.

For this project, the results of earlier sociolinguistic studies on Helsinki speech, such as Paunonen [1995] 1982, Nuolijärvi 1986, Lappalainen 2004 and Lehtonen 2004, offer valuable information on the variation and language usage of the capital region residents. Since the early 2000s, we have also begun to obtain research-based knowledge on the Finns'

perceptions of this area (e.g. Mielikäinen & Palander 2002; Vaattovaara & Soininen-Stojanov 2006; Palander 2007; 2011). In the planning of the present research setting, I am indebted to all these studies, but also to the scholars (many of them cited in this paper) who offer theoretical discussions of *space*, *place*, *ideology* and *authenticity* in how these are employed in the field of sociolinguistics.

The main objective of the present study was to obtain information on how the image of "Helsinki" is structured and reasoned in terms of different linguistic variables and speech styles. The experimental method of investigation was planned for eliciting talk about Helsinki speech without asking people directly about it. For this purpose, a listening task (presented below in more detail) was designed and carried out among occasional visitors of the science center Heureka in Vantaa in mid-summertime 2009[7].

The underlying hypothesis of the present listening task method was that not necessarily all features that respondents in folk dialectological mapping tasks geographically and stereotypically place to Helsinki primarily index "Helsinki", but possibly some social style that might be, in geographical terms, included but not necessarily restricted to this area. One of the three examples in this paper, the sharp /s/ or "Helsinki *s*" as the second example, represents this category of features.

On the other hand, some linguistic features are assumed as 'Helsinki speech features' by sociolinguists without any evidence that these are, in fact, regarded by Finns as being "Helsinki features". The first one the examples in this paper deals with this type of variable: the opening of the diphthongs *ie, yö, uo*.

The third point is that we know very little about speakers' perceptions of speech styles other than the geographically based regional varieties (the /s/ variation also representing these). Furthermore, we know even less about how stylistic perceptions possibly change over time and how this change reflects ideological climate and cultural change. Another objective of this project is to obtain perceptual data which allows broad comparisons between in-groups (those who live in the capital area) and out-groups (those who live outside capital area), but also across generations. If there were to be notable differences in the recognition or evaluation between different age groups, does this tell us something about the processes of ideological change in the Finnish society? What do the possible regional differences (Capital area residents vs. more rural area residents) tell us about the variety of cultural values?

[7] I am grateful to our former research assistant, Katariina Harjunpää, for her invaluable help in the data collecting and to the staff of the Heureka Science Center for providing the space for data collecting.

With this aim in mind, the third example with the two extracts of immigrant speech is taken to show that it is possible to capture a glimpse of an ongoing cultural change with a simple method such as the one applied here, at least on the level that allows to make hypotheses for further investigations.

The listening task

The listening task for Heureka science center visitors consisted of 12 short, one utterance long, 5–8 second samples. These were extractions from media talk, sociolinguistic interviews, or from recorded ethnographic data in the fellow Helsinki projects.

Forty-five listeners participated in this study. Approximately half of the participants were from different parts of the country, outside the capital region, the other half were resided within the capital area. Seventeen of the participants were males and 28 were females. Nearly half of the participants had roots elsewhere in the country (which is quite typical for the capital residents generally) but with few exceptions, all of them had a fairly long history of living in the local area. The average age of the repondents was 33, with the ages ranging from 10 to 69 years. 21 of the participants were under 30 years of age, and 24 were of age between 30 to 69. The social background of the participants varied in terms of education and profession.

From the designer's perspective, each sample had one of the above-mentioned three types of features in focus, which was why the samples were short – in order to maximize the possibility that the focus feature and not (at least dominantly) any other feature would attract the attention of the listeners.

The participants received no information on the samples prior to the listening task. They were instructed that they would hear 12 short samples, one at the time, through headphones, and after each of these, they were simply to think aloud *where can you hear talk like this, or who talks this way.* The participants were asked to focus on the speech style, not on the content, as the latter played no role in this task assignment. Any maps, attitude rating scales or other tools commonly used in perception or attitude studies were not involved. The overt comments and discussions with the interviewer were also recorded.

The perceptual continuum of opening of diphthongs (example 1)

Some of the focus variables of the present study are relatively widely spread geographically and have been studied over the years within the paradigms of dialectology and sociolinguistics. The opening of the diphthongs *uo*, *yö*, *ie* (> *ua*, *yä*, *iä*~*ia*) is one of these features. Phonetically these diphthongs have a continuum of no opening to a strong opening (e.g. Krook 1999), and traditionally, the opened variants are regarded a western dialect feature since in the eastern dialect areas, the diphthongs have been reported to be unopened (Kettunen 1940: map 150; Mustanoja 2011: 281–282). The opening of diphthongs is also a feature heard in the capital region variety (e.g. Paunonen 1995 [1982]; Nuolijärvi 1986).

The listeners heard three samples with one to three occurrences of the opening of diphthongs:

> Voice 1: strong opening of diphthongs *ie* > *iä* and *yö* > *yä* (*se tiäs miten yällä on helpompi syädä salaa*, 'he knew how it is easier to eat at night without anyone seeing'). This voice was of a young male.
>
> Voice 4: moderate opening of diphthong *ie* > *iä* (*se tiädettii et se tiä on paljo pitempi* 'we knew that this would be a much longer road to go'). This voice was of a middle-aged male.
>
> Voice 10: moderate opening of diphthong *uo* > *ua* (*Ne rehentelee valtavasti tualla* 'Over there they usually hang out showing off'). This voice was of an older woman.

These voices were most typically judged as belonging to someone from some part of the Western Finland areas, as indicated in Table 1. Quite a few participants also judged both of the male voices (Samples 1 and 4) to be from the Urban South or from Helsinki, but Voice 10 (an older woman with a moderate opening of diphthongs) was never regarded as being from this central urban area. There is at least one obvious explanation for this: the listeners were more likely to envision a stereotypical "urban southerner" to be a (young) male than an older woman. In other words, the age of the speaker may have been a contributing factor in this task in a similar, stereotypical way as the gender in the study by Plichta & Preston (2005).

Many listeners offered alternatives regarding where the speaker could be from. (This is why the number of definitions is 104, whereas the number of listeners is only 45.) It is also important to note that the listeners often admitted (a total of 25 responses) that they have no idea where these voices could be from, or that the voice could be from any area (5 responses). This is an indication that the diphthong opening is not clearly a stereotype of any region but rather, in geographical terms at least, a relatively neutral feature (for similar results see Vilhula 2012).

Table 1. Regional placements of the voices with opened diphthongs (broad categories derived from the categories provided by the 45 listeners).

(Broad) regional category	**Voice 1** young male	**Voice 4** middle-aged male	**Voice 10** older female	**N=**
West	14	9	7	30
South / Helsinki	7	9	0	16
East	7	0	5	12
North/Oulu/Lapland	0	2	3	5
Central Finland	1	0	1	2
Anywhere	3	1	1	5
No idea	7	6	12	25
X distance/near of Helsinki	0	6	3	9
Total	39	33	32	104

There is also some evidence of the opening of diphthongs being confused with the Eastern feature, the reduction of diphthongs (*saana* ~ *sauna*, 'sauna', *koira* ~ *kòera*, 'a dog'). Voice 4, a middle-aged male with a moderate opening of his diphthongs, was never judged to be from Eastern Finland, but Voice 1 (a male voice with a strong opening of his diphthongs) and the older female were judged to be from the Eastern dialect area just as often as from the Southern area (Voice 1) or from the Western area (Voice 10). Voices 1 and 10 received comments such as the following:

> Savolaiset vääntää tollee, siis leveesti. (Female, 48, from Helsinki on Voice 1)
> *Savo people [in the Eastern dialect area] twist wide like that.*
>
> Jostaki Savon tuntumasta. (Male, 14, from Kuopio on Voice 1)
> *Somewhere around Savo.*
>
> Täst tulee jotenki Kuopio mieleen, Savon puoli niinkut tuola. Se on kai jotain siinä puhettavassa oli jotain. Tualla. (Male, 33, from Tampere on Voice 10).
> *This reminds me somehow of Kuopio, the Savo region over there kinda. It was something in that speech style. Tualla.*

In the comments above, it is not clear whether the listeners have mixed up the two linguistic variables (opening of the diphthongs and reduction of the diphthongs), or if they simply regard opening as an Eastern dialect feature, too. Nevertheless, opened diphthongs are discussed both as Western and Eastern dialect features also in Vilhula (2012: 25–31).[8]

On the basis of the overall present data, a cautious hypothesis can be made that at least under some circumstances (in the present data: when the opening of the diphthong is strong, or if the speaker is older female), the perception tends to shift from the Western dialect area to the Eastern dialect area (see the number of judgments of Voice 1 to the East), in both younger and older age groups. Similar evidence is also found in Saaristo (2009) and Mikkola (2007), but further investigation is needed and in progress (Saaristo's Master's thesis in preparation).

For (perceptual) dialectologists, these outcomes are interesting in that there is a sharp division in dialect maps between Eastern dialects and Western dialects in terms of this particular variable, as well as many others. In the case of diphthong openings at least, such a division does not seem to exist for non-linguists, although the reduction in diphthongs is generally clearly regarded as belonging to the Eastern dialect stereotype (e.g. Palander 2011; Nupponen 2011). Perhaps it is particularly the strength of the perceptual connection between the diphthong reduction and the Eastern dialect stereotype that increases the "risk" of the opening of the diphthong to be associated with this stereotype, especially in the cases of strong opening, such as in the case of Voice 1 in the present set of samples (see Table 1).

The full picture, however, is somewhat more complicated. The question posed to the listeners (*where can you hear speech like this; who speaks this way?*) was deliberately formulated in this way, to allow the listeners the freedom to approach the task with an open mind and to devise any type of socio-spatial description. Thus, the present method allowed participants to discuss the sample not only in terms of their geographical imagination (where the speaker might be from) but also in terms of social judgment without any fixed ideas of spatiality, and many times these were interwoven (see the nect chapter and, in more detail Vaattovaara, forthcoming).

In social terms, Voices 1, 4 and 10 were described in terms that do not exactly fit the stereotype of the Eastern 'funny country bumpkin'. In the framework of social connotations, these speakers were very often considered as having some type of power: *well-educated*; *someone in a high position, has power*; *more educated, maybe a politician*; *self-confident, somebody intellectual*; *a journalist or such*; *a politician, but relaxed*; *a government*

[8] Vilhula (2012) used the same stimulus set of 12 samples with two discussion groups in Helsinki.

official; *someone ambitious*, etc. All three samples elicited comments such as these, although some vague descriptions such as *Jehova's witness* or *rally driver* were presented as well.

Mikkola's (2011) perceptual experiment provides supportive evidence for the opening of the diphthongs as being part of the capital region perceptual landscape. This, in turn, may encourage the associations of "standard sounding speech" to which many participants referred when they heard these samples with opened diphthongs. Interestingly, these associations were typically presented by participants under 30 years of age.

While many participants considered Voices 1, 4 and 10 to belong to a radio voice, to a journalist, or to a politician, none of the social placements referred to a working-class identity. This is very interesting and contrary to expectations since it is precisely working-class associations that would have been expected on the basis of the earlier large-scale sociolinguistic study conducted by Heikki Paunonen (1995 [1982]).

Paunonen's study on the data collected in Helsinki in the 1970s indicate that the variation of the diphthong opening in Helsinki speech is structured socially so that the lower the social status of the speaker, the higher the index of the opening of the diphthongs (Paunonen 1995 [1982]: 92–100). Thus in the Heureka experimental setting, the expectation was that the opening of the diphthongs would most likely elicit comments with reference to working class or lower education – but this did not occur.

At this point a critical reader might wonder if the respondents reacted to the focused feature or perhaps to something else in the samples that were played. It is certainly possible that some of the respondents reacted to some other element before the target variable. However, the metacommentary, such as those found in the extracts above, indicate that the target feature was the one that (perhaps with some other factors) had predominantly triggered the listeners' attention.

The more likely explanation is what Deborah Cameron has addressed as "correlational fallacy" (Cameron [1990] 1997). It is highly possible that the opening of the diphthongs is not (and perhaps never has been) an index of a working-class identity. We have been reminded by many second-wave variation scholars already that the correlation between variation and social structure does not necessarily contribute to the social meaning of variation, although this is usually presupposed in the first wave of variation study (e.g. Eckert 2008: 454).

However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the first order indexicality of this feature has changed since the 1970s. One reason for this could be the emergence of commercial radio since the 1980s, and the more general change in the media which has brought the diphthong opening to the

living rooms of Finns throughout the country. (Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011.) The fact that it were precisely the participants under 30 years of age who judged the samples with opened diphthongs to be "standard-like" would support this theory. It is possible that the opening of diphthongs may be moving toward being enregistered as part of a spoken norm.

Concerning the opening of diphthongs on the basis of the present data, we may conclude that neither the social variation pattern or the regional distribution of this feature seem not to carry the social values we would expect on the basis of earlier studies on dialectology and sociolinguistics. The present research setting suggests that Finns do not possess affective attitudes towards this variable (for similar evidence see also Vilhula 2012), but further studies are needed to explore both the non-essentialist variation patterns and the attitude structures involved with this feature.

Frontal sharp /s/ (example 2)

Our second example deals with a feature that has thus far been unexamined in the fields of dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics: the sharp, fronted pronounciation of /s/. For the first two waves of variation study, let alone dialectology, this variable has obviously not existed because Finnish language officially has only one sibilant (Lehtinen 2007: 94–96), a voiceless medioalvelar /s/, with no indications of regional variability. Thus the variation of /s/ is regarded as being free variation according to linguistic environments or other such factors as a lisp, hence making it as an uninteresting variable to professional linguistics.

However, for the nonlinguists, the /s/ variation has long been a focus of social interest. The Finns have discussed the phenomenon of the sharp /s/ of Finnish for at least fifty years, presumably speeded up by guidebooks such as Ollaranta (1968: 62) with which the Finnish schoolchildren have been taught that the spread of this type of "pop-singer pronounciation" (*iskelmätähtiässä*) is most probably caused by "ignorance and show-off performance typical for nonprofessionals" (*ajattelematon [asiantuntemattomuudesta johtuva] diivailuhalu*).

Later in the 1990s Esko Vierikko (1998) raised a discussion of the sharp /s/ in the Helsinki daily newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat, referring to it as a speech impairment, wondering whether this phenomenon might have a future as a "normal," acceptable variant. The writer maintained that back in the 1960s, a group of young girls in Helsinki had first adopted this pronunciation from a French teacher. Antti Iivonen, a professor of phonetics, replied (Iivonen 1998) by stating that the phenomenon has more probably emerged through language contact with foreign exchange students, and that this variant will possibly never spread outside certain groups of female speakers. Moreover, according to Heikki Paunonen (1976: 337; 2006: 46) the frontal sharp /s/ is regarded as being feminine but known already among the actresses as far back as a hundred years ago.

Despite the obvious relevancy for laypersons, it was decades before this variable appeared in academic research. With the rise of folk dialectology in Finland in the early 2000s, the sharp /s/ emerged in sociolinguistic research. If we are to detect the language regard of the nonlinguists, we can hardly avoid dealing with the /s/ variable, since folk linguistic studies indicate (for example Mielikäinen & Palander 2002; Palander 2007; 2011; Vaattovaara & Soininen-Stojanov 2006) that something which gets described as the "Stadi *s*", the "Helsinki *s*", the "Pissis *s*" etc., stands out as one of the number one indexes of Helsinki speech[9]. These studies do not, however, reveal anything about how the shift from the pop-singer /s/ has shifted into talk about the "Helsinki *s*," etc, and whether or not the same pronounciation is exactly at issue. Moreover, even though folk dialectological studies one after another confirm that the imagined "place" of the sharp frontal /s/ is Helsinki, these studies lack systematically the aspect of what "Helsinkiness" in this case might mean. This is why the present study is exploring which elements bridge the nonstandard /s/ pronounciation and the perceptual connection to Helsinki as a place.

It is important to mention that the sharp /s/ is not heard only in Helsinki, even though it is always discussed in spatial terms as a Helsinki feature by nonlinguists. The only academic work thus far to shed light on the social variation of the /s/ in Finnish is a Master's thesis on phonetics that investigates this phenomenon from material collected in Turku, another one of the major urban cities in Southwestern Finland (Aittokallio 2002).

In the set of 12 samples, Voice number 9 was designed to elicit talk about the sharp */s/*. The sample *Itse asiassa olin tossa lauantaina 'In fact I was there on Saturday'* was an extract from a Pissis-style icon, Jonna Kosonen, a singer of the girl duet Nylon beat, with several occurrences of the */s/* that were judged as being sharp and frontal by our research group. This sample was successful in the sense that the /s/ variable in this sample did trigger the listeners' attention: many of listeners produced overt comments on particularly the /s/ pronunciation produced by this voice.

The comments indicate that there is no direct connection between the sharp */s/* and Helsinki as a geographical location but that these spatial and

[9] *Stadi* is the slang word for Helsinki. *Pissis* or *Pissa-Liisa* ('Pee-Lily') refers to the badly behaving, cider-drinking teenager girls wearing certain kinds of clothes and handbags.

social associations are rather interwoven. The context of the sharp /s/ is also conceived by the listeners as being any urban area. This is illustrated in the next extract from an interview with a 31-year-old male listener from Kajaani. (P= participant, I= interviewer.)

P Mmmmmh. Tota jostain isommasta taajamasta oleva nainen. Ei niinku ((naurahtaa)).
Mmmmhh. Well some woman from some bigger town. Can't really ((laughs))

I Joo. ei- mitään ei- että mistä päin Suomee.
Okay. No idea- any idea from where in Finland she could be from?

P No siis olihan siin vähä sellast niinku (.) Stadi ässää mut tota noin nii (.) sen oppii ihan kuka vaan (.) että tota. mäki osaan vaikka mä en oo Helsingist kotosi.
Well (.) she did have a kinda like (.) Stadi s but mmm. you know (.) that can be learned (.) I can do it if I want, even though I'm not originally from Helsinki.

This example is one of many to indicate how "the Stadi s" has become concept that is taken for granted among Finns and therefore needs not to be explained. But comments such as these still leave unexplained what exactly the social style is that this pronunciation is perceived to index. Apart from the "Pissis style" often claimed by the listeners, one of the perceptual connections of the sharp frontal /s/ was a social style linked to gayness, which seems to be somewhat universal (see also Levon 2006; Kristiansen et al. 2011). One of the comments revealing this connection was produced by 39-year-old woman who was of Helsinki origin and currently living in Copenhagen.

P Mullet tuli mun kampaaja mieleen hhh ((nauraa äänekkäästi)).
Reminds me of my hair dresser hhh ((laughs loudly)).

I Minkälainen sun kampaaja on.
What is your hair dresser like.

P Mul on just semmone (.) aiva ihana homppelis pomppelis poika mistäköhän se on kotosi en tiedä. Äämm. aika tämmöst nuorisokieltä mut emmä nyt välttämättä oos sitä mieltä että tää on alkuperänen helsinkiläinem mutta tää. (niiskauttaa). mm. ei mullet tullum mitää muuta mielee ku semmonen nuorisokieli juttu just mielee.
I have that kind of (.) really wonderful homppelispomppelis boy (=gay), I wonder where he's from, don't know really. Mmmm. quite the kind of a youth speaking style but I don't necessarily believe he's originally from Helsinki but this. (sneezes).mm. doesn't really ring a bell but the kind of youth speaking style thing that is.

I Osaakko sanoa että mistä se tuli se mielikuva täss puheessa.
Can you identify what was it in his speech that brought you this association.

P Oliks siel taas ne @ässät@ sitte jotka niinku on sellaisia. tietyllaisia.
Well I guess there were those @s's@ again which were kinda. certain types.[10]

Another interesting outcome was that not only Sample 9 – which was the only sample designed for eliciting comments on the sharp /s/ – triggered comments on /s/, but five other voices with a range of different types of the /s/pronunciation also elicited the same. It is also interesting that three of these samples were male voices. This immediately challenges the stereotype of a teenager girl as the typical user of the Helsinki /s/ (see also the extract above). We are, again, facing a question of whether the perceptual landscape of the Helsinki /s/ may have changed or expanded from the 1960s, when it first seems to have been perceived, or at least discussed as a feature of the speech of young women.

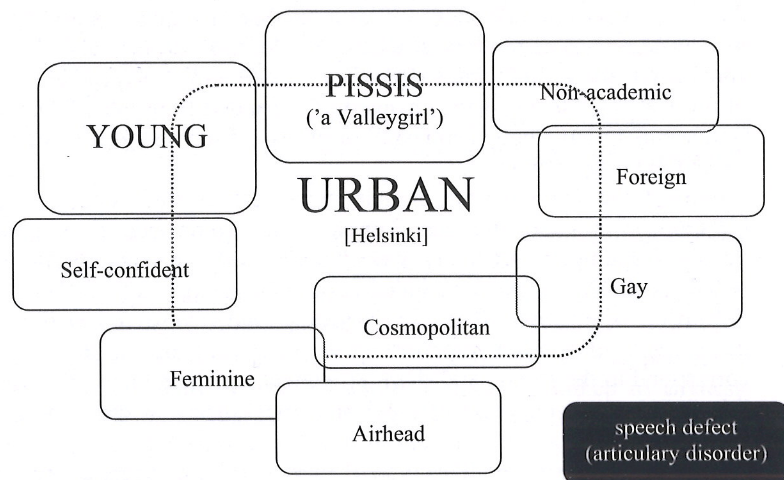
One of the samples with a male voice that elicited comments on the Helsinki /s/ pronunciation was Sample 7, an extract from an interview of Sascha Remling, a relatively well known media personality in Finnish popular culture. Sample 7 included several occurrences of /s/ (*Mun oli tosi helppo siirtää se tonne 'It was really easy for me to move it over there'*), but the variants of /s/ were pronounced as voiced [z], that is the /s/ did not correspond to the frontal and sharp pronunciation. The focus of attention in this sample from the point of view of the task designer was a nasal voice with the front vowel *ä* pronounced slightly more centralized (for example *siirtää* more like *siirtaa*). This type of speech style has been reported earlier by non-linguists as being a typical feature of the Helsinki style (in Vaattovaara & Soininen-Stojanov 2006), and thus far, it has been documented in the speech of young women (Nahkola 1998). Among other remarks, including nasality and "laziness," the participants commented on the /s/ produced by this voice in a manner way shown in the following example, produced by a 22-year-old listener from Eastern Helsinki. The associations are somehow connected to Helsinki, but at the same time, the social connotations seem to be primary.

Tätä tätä kuulee aika paljo hehh heh niissä piireissä missä mä itel liikun eli siinon toi tommonen niinku aika aika nasaalinen ääni ja sitten sitten tosiaan toi (.) niinku ässä muuttuu zetaks enemmän mut tota et en osaa itte asias sanoo että mistä mistä sekää johtuu mutta.
You hear this a lot ((laughs)) in those circles where I hang out (.) that kinda nasal voice and then that s really, pronounced like @zzz@ more but you know. I don't know really (.) why these are adopted but.

[10] A change in tone of voice is indicated by a symbol @.

In the present data there were a total of 38 comments on the /s/ pronunciation but not all can be discussed here in detail (for a more detailed analysis of perceptions of the /s/ variation see Vaattovaara, in press). Figure 1 illustrates the potential meanings (an indexical field) of nonstandard /s/ on the basis of the present data.

Figure 1. The potential meanings of nonstandard /s/ in Finnish (*indexical field*, cf. Eckert 2008) on the basis of the Heureka data (based on 38 comments).



The *Helsinki /s/* is judged differently by different listeners, but there is usually either a direct or more implicit connection to urban culture (of some type). This explains the stereotypical link between the non-standard /s/ and Helsinki in particular, which no doubt represents the center of urban identities in Finland, or in the ideology of Finns (for overt discussions of this, for example Vaattovaara 2009).

The strongest (most often appearing) connection is between the *s*-pronunciation and the "young" speaker or "Pissis" style, both often overtly articulated as Helsinki speech styles. Apart from the category of a speech defect or an articulatory disorder that does not have a spatial implication, others imply more or less clearly to an urban or the capital area environment. For example, some listeners commented on the sharp *s* as a feature that can be detected in the speech of a person "showing off" or "trying to be cool and performing a cosmopolitan identity." These characterizations correspond to the core stereotype of the Helsinki speech and of Helsinki people

as "trying to be better than they are" (Mielikäinen & Palander 2002, Palander 2007, Vaattovaara 2009). Furthermore, at first sight, gayness seem to have no particular connection to urban culture, but that connection is easily there through *n*-th order indexical reasoning (see also Campbell-Kibler 2007: 53).

It is important to note, however, that we are analyzing the perceptions of listeners and not those of the producers. Johnstone & Kiesling (2008) point out in their study on the meanings of the /aw/ monophthongization in Pittsburgh that it is unlikely that a linguistic form will have the same indexical meaning across the whole community, as we have already seen above. According to their experimental task, many of the people who heard the monophtongal /aw/ as an index of localness do not have this feature in their own speech, and many of those who do monophtongize /aw/ did not the same association. Although some of the Heureka listeners' comments on /s/ refer to a possibility that some type of social work is being done by using the fronted *s*-variable, it is highly likely that the speakers using the type of *s* that listeners would perceive as "Helsinki *s*" would not themselves associate their own *s*-pronunciation in this way.

Nonetheless, a very interesting finding in the present study is that the phonetic quality of the /s/ seems ultimately to be less important than the co-occurring features. The data shows that a range of *s*-pronunciations may be interpreted as the *Helsinki s* or the *Stadi s*, whenever appearing with other features that are stereotypically linked to Helsinki or to urban culture, such as nasality, creaky voice and certain morphological features (for a further discussion, see Vaattovaara, in press; Vaattovaara and Halonen, in preparation). All these features probably do have a related indexical value. In other words, any type of *s* may be treated as the *Stadi s* if the speaker is perceptually placed in the urban South on the basis of the overall style or the set of features that the person uses. This requires semiotic processes, which are likely to be the type discussed in Irvine & Gal (2000) as *erasure*, *recursivity* and *iconicity* (a detailed analysis on how linguistic and social distinctions go hand-in-hand). This allows the concept of the *Stadi s* or the *Helsinki s* itself to circulate and to support the urban versus rural ideology, often reproduced in contexts such as internet chats along with metacommentary such as the following one[11]:

[11] The extract by Esteetikko ('An aesthetic') 2.2.2010 9:56 a.m. http://www.taloussanomat.fi/keskustelut/?threadID=226975&offset=20 is from a discussion that arose as a reaction to Virpi Salmi's digital column in *Helsingin Sanomat* "Murteet ovat teennäisiä ja tyhmiä" ('The dialects are pretentious and stupid') in February 2010.

(--) Ja olen samaa mieltä henkilön kanssa joka mainitsi aikaisemmin keskustelussa "pissisten stadi ässän". Miksi meidän tyhmänpuoleisten savitappien (jotka typeryyttämme murramme suomenkieltä) täytyisi kuunnella ja arvostaa ainoastaan heidän raivostuttavaa "ainoaa oikeaa" puhekieltä ja narinaa suomalaisessa populaarikulttuurissa? Narinalta se minun korviini kuulostaa (en silti oleta että he ovat älyllisesti vajavaisia).

(--) And I agree with the person who earlier mentioned the "Pissis Stadi s". Why should we country bumpkins (who are stupid enough to use a twang in some dialect) listen to and appreciate their outrageous the one and only speech style and creaking in Finnish popular culture? Creaky it sounds to me (but I still don't regard them as intellectually disabled).

The recognition of immigrant speech (example 3)

Two samples of immigrant speech were presented to listeners in Heureka to gain insight into a possible sensitivity to non-native speakers of Finnish speaking fluent Finnish. Lehtonen (2004) has shown in her ethnographic data from multicultural youth groups in Helsinki that those young who share an immigrant background seem to cherish some divergent features in their speech while in general terms, they may sound as if they were native Finnish speakers. One of the divergent features is *i* as the final component of a diphthong (see Lehtonen 2004, in preparation). In Finnish society, the final *i* in spoken language has nearly vanished, the spoken norm currently being *punanen, sellanen* instead of *punainen, sellainen* (Nuolijärvi 1986; Mielikäinen 1991; Mantila 2004). An exception to this development is the Ostrobothnian dialect which still to some extent has cherished its dialectal variant with the assimilation *punaanen, sellaanen* (Nuolijärvi & Sorjonen 2005: 83–84).

Sample 5 in the listening task was designed to test the reactions to an utterance with an *i*-component of a diphthong present: *"Että millaista on olla siEllä" ('That what is it like to be there')*. This utterance was produced by a teenager girl from a Somali background, having a slightly foreign prosody and the *i* present in the form *millaista*, but also a slight opening of the diphthong *ie* which constrastively corresponds to a local speech style.

The second one of the samples produced by a speaker of non-native origin was Sample 12, produced by a 16-year-old schoolboy who also has Somali parents. This sample was completely Finnish in terms of spoken syntactic and morphological structure, but it was uttered with perhaps a slight foreign accent (undefined but intuitively recognized by our research group): *"Em mä tiä (.) oppis tiätsä enemmä. vaikka osais mut sillee siel kerrataa sit tiätsä sellasii yksinkertasii asioit jotka ov vaikka päässy unohtumaaj ja.*

('Don't know (.) you know you could learn more. even though you already were quite good but ya know you could get practice on the kinda basic things you might have forgotten.') .

In the following I will focus particularly on the issue of which listeners recognized and which did not recognize that the speakers were not of Finnish origin, and how these judgments were formulated.

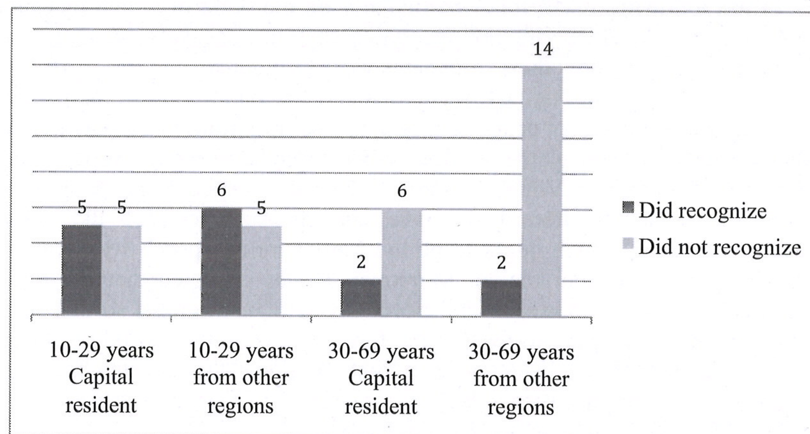
The expectation in this task was that those listeners living in the capital area, where the majority of the immigrants live, might be more sensitive to the speakers' foreign elements, that is, more likely to recognize the non-native background of Voices 5 and 12. This was expected because apart from the deviations described above, the speakers sounded like local (Helsinki) youth, which ought to be the most familiar speech style for the residents of the capital region. Moreover, it was expected that the local listeners are more exposed to the speech styles of immigrants so that they would be more sensitive to react to the foreign color in the prosody of these speakers, whereas the listeners from other regions with presumably less exposure to immigrant speech were not expected to recognize these voices as being any different from the Helsinki youth talk.

Figure 2 indicates how many of the listeners produced a comment that revealed their recognition or non-recognition of the Voice 5 belonging to someone from an immigrant background.

We can see that the governing factor here is not the regional background of the listeners but their age (generation). The listeners under 30 years of age mentioned the potential foreign background of the speaker just as often, regardless of their regional background. For instance, of the non-capital residents, six out of eleven revealed this recognition, while the numbers in the Capital resident group was five out of ten (see Figure 2).

Among the listeners of the older generations, the Capital residents recognized a foreign background in Voice 5 relatively more often, but this occurred for only two listeners out of eight. Similarly, two of the non-Capital residents came up with this perception, but the number of listeners who produced no such perception was fourteen.

Figure 2: The listeners' (N) recognition of the foreign background of Voice 5 according to their age and regional backgrounds (Capital residents vs. other regions).



In the case of Voice 12, only 4 out of 45 participants commented on the speaker's possible foreign background, and all these were from the youngest, the 10–18-year-old listeners. (Two of them were residents of the capital region and two were from other parts of the country.) Lacking more detailed information on the participants' background (some background information was requested from the listeners at the end of the interview, but not in such detail), it is impossible to determine the extent of their personal contact with immigrant teenagers. Yet it seems to be no coincidence that the most sensitivity to our target variable was expressed by the representatives of the youngest generation interviewed.

The combined results seem to imply that what we are dealing with here is the sociocultural change that affects the perceptual landscape of the different generations. One indication of this is also the quality of foreignness expressed by the listeners of the different age groups. This "foreignness" for the listeners of the older generations was sometimes the perception that the voice was of a Swedish-speaking Finn, as in the following two examples that were reactions to Voice 5:

> Täs kyl vähän kyllä paisto tällanen, suomenruotsalainen jotenki aksentti. (Male, 40, from Lappeenranta)
> *In this one you could hear this, somehow a Swedish-Finnish accent.*

> Oisko joku jonka kotikieli on ruotsi. Se rytmi. (Female, 66, Vantaa)
> *Could be someone from a Swedish-speaking home. That rhythm.*

Comments such as these were never produced by the listeners of the younger generations. The comments with the implication of foreigness were typically of the following:

> Se on tota maahanmuuttaja. Niinku inflektiot on vähän, väärin. Sanojen painot, ja semmonen. niinku eri- eri tavalla ääntää ku mitä syntyperäset. (Male, 22, Helsinki)
> *She is ya know an immigrant. Kinda the inflections are a little bit, wrong. The emphasis of the words, and ya know.kinda diff- different kind of pronunciation than among the natives.*

> No tähän mä sanon kyl ihan suoraan et vähän, ämm maahanmuuttaja.(--) Ööö. No, jotenki toi aksentti vähän kuuluu ettei o ihan ihan suomalainen. Mut kuitenki, on sillai slangii vähäse. (Female, 20, Helsinki).
> *Well in this case I can immediately say that a little bit, emm, an immigrant. (--) Eeemm. Well, that accent, you could hear that she's not quite a Finn. But anyhow, it's a little bit like the slang.*

Voice 12 received predominantly comments of "a typical Helsinki teenager" – sometimes it was also the speaker's /s/ pronunciation that triggered comments, similar to ones that Voice 9 had triggered.

Two of the listening task participants were members of the same family, a 48-year-old mother and her 13-year-old son from Helsinki. The mother was interviewed first, and she had judged the Voice 12 to be "a typical urban teenager-boy of today," concluding that he was from the Helsinki metropolitan area. During the interview of her son, she remained close to him so that she would able to hear her son's answers. When Sample 12 was played to this 13-year-old boy, he (P) replied the following without hesitation (I= interviewer, M=mother):

P	Se oli erimaalaine kuka oli oppinus stadin slangia. nii. *He was someone from a different country who had learned Stadi slang. yeah.*
I	Okei. mistä sä tiedät sen. *Okay.how do you know that.*
P	Se kuulosti siltä. *He sounded like it.*
I	Osaaksä sanoa että mikä siinä kuulosti siltä. *Can you say what in the sample made it sound like that.*
P	No se puhu niinku erimaalaalaiset puhuu suamee. *Well he spoke like the foreigners speak Finnish.*
M	Se puhu just niinku <u>te</u> puhutte! *He spoke just as <u>you</u> speak!*

For the young generations today, in many respects the world is very different from what it was for the youth back in the 1960s, 1970s and even

1980s. The second-generation immigrant is a new phenomenon in Finland, and this is apparently starting to affect the ways that the variation of spoken Finnish is spread, imagined and undergoing change (see also Lehtonen 2011). At the micro-level, this is reflected in the discussion and negotiation above that documents two different perceptions from the same family on exactly the same linguistic material. The experiences of spoken Finnishes probably differ in many ways for the mother and for her son, but these experiences may also be connected to their different value systems (see Coupland 2007, 2010a for this discussion). The different generations are thus likely "tuned" to different ideological and cultural landscapes in terms of a sensitivity to linguistic variation.

Discussion

Sociolinguists today are becoming increasingly involved in the aims to explore the linguistic ideologies that people have, but they have also begun to discuss the ideologies that linguists adopt to study people (Bucholtz 2003; Johnstone 2004). The major aim of the present paper has also been to encourage these types of theoretical discussions in the field of socio-linguistics and dialectology in Finland. Our traditions are rich in empirical study and are recognized for the work in the collecting and filing of the data, but far less effort has been invested in discussing, for example, what is understood by "speech community" and how the underlying propositions or the theories that we draw on influence how we study linguistic variation and the so called language regard of people. Despite the richness of studies conducted on language attitude and perception within and between the mainstream traditions over the decades, it can be claimed that the theoretical underpinnings in terms of the ontology of social meaning have long been overridden by methodological development. I do not mean to underestimate methodological considerations – quite the contrary – but the critical point is that the development should rise from the theoretical propositions rather than primarily from the traditions of practice (i.e the theoretical bearings importantly come before methodological decisions).

The work conducted in the fields of dialectology and (all waves of) variation study are important for these types of proceedings. Nonetheless, I agree with Johnstone (2009: 172) who calls for reflection on the source of our ideas about dialects, as well as with Eckert (2010: 163–164) in that we need to combine approaches in order to gain an understanding of the social value of variation, that is, its meaning in the social, and ever more globalizing world. Similar suggestions have also been presented recently by Nuolijärvi & Sorjonen 2005 and Nuolijärvi 2010.

The three research examples in the present paper are designed to challenge the foundations of the romantic ideology of dialect areas (Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2007) which – as my examples hopefully convince the reader of – are there only for professional linguists, not for the so called ordinary people. Surely, any Finn may cherish the idea of the "Savo dialect", the "Ostrobothnian dialect", the "Stadi slang" and such essentialistic labels. But these ideas hardly exist on the level of local interpretations and everyday experiences and linguistic ideologies for the simple reason that "varieties" are primarily imagined constructions. The folklore of dialect areas has certainly been influential, supported by literature such as the classic *Maamme kirja* by Zacharias Topelius and the impressive work carried out in the field of dialectology over the decades (and folk dialectology over the past decade or so). But at the everyday-level of late modernity[12], we are at least potentially dealing with the n'th order indexicalities in relation to these descriptions on how Finland is divided into smaller cultural "areas".

By discussing the experimental and explorative empirical examples in this paper, my attempt has been to promote third-wave ideology (Eckert 2008; 2012) in studying the essence of linguistic variation in social action "on the ground". This requires disconnection from the static concept of space and place, and the avenues for this have not only been broadened by geographers but also by sociolinguists, although "a generation or so later" (Britain 2010: 143).

What is also required is reassessing some of the assumptions that have been prevalent since the first wave of variation study in the 1960s. Particularly the third example discussed above clearly is a counter example to the claim often presented in folk dialectology, that the young respondents are likely to perform poorly in mapping tasks because they have yet not attained experience of dialects, or because the linguistic awareness of respondents under 18 years (or even 20 years) of age is not fully developed. The present example (number 3) indicates that this is not the case (see also the evidence in Kokko 2010). Poor performances in the traditional mapping tasks may rather be a result of the methodological bias that was discussed at the beginning of this article. As for the availability of dialects, in the era of social media and the present television culture, we are exposed to different ways of talking constantly via different routes and channels – and who would be more exposed to these than the young generations?

If we want to treat the dialects as imagined constructs in the spirit of the third wave ideology, they are the most difficult to place in locations. Very often dialectal features have other than locational meaning(s) for listeners,

[12] For these perspectives, see for example Rampton (2006) and Kristiansen (2009).

which should be obvious regarding the cultural and technological changes that have taken place since the golden era of Romanticism. Coupland (2010b) has remarked that the world has changed much more during the past half a century than have the methods of analyzing language in the field of sociolinguistics since its beginning in 1960s. An open mind for cross-disciplinary curiosity may help us to learn more, as well as reflection on the predispositions that we may adopt not always with great awareness.

References

Agha, Asif. 2003. The social life of cultural value. *Language and communication* 34, pp. 231–273.

Agha, Asif. 2007. *Language and social relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aittokallio, Kristiina. 2002. *Etinen, terävä [s] medioalveolaarisen /s/-äänteen varianttina.* Master's thesis on Finnish phonetics, Turun yliopisto.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined community.* London: Verso.

Auer, Peter & Jürgen Schmidt. 2010. *Language and space: An international handbook of linguistic variation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bayard, Donn & Weatherall, Ann & Gallois, Cynthia & Pittam, Jeffery. 2001. Pax Americana? Accent attitudinal evaluations in New Zealand, Australia and America. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5/1 2001, pp. 22–49.

Bijvoet, Ellen & Fraurud, Kari. 2010. 'Rinkeby Swedish' in the mind of the beholder. Studying listener perceptions of language variation in multilingual Stockholm. In: Pia Quist & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Multilingual urban Scandinavia. New linguistic practices*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp. 170–188.

Britain, David. 2002. Space and spatial diffusion. In: J. K. Chambers & P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, pp. 603–637. Oxford: Blackwell.

Britain, David. 2010. Language and space: the variationist approach, pp.142–163. In: P. Auer & J. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and Space: An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bucholtz, Mary. 2003. Sociolinguistic Nostalgia and the Authentication of Identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(3), pp. 398–416.

Cameron, Deborah. [1990] 1997. Demythologizing sociolinguistics. In: Nikolas Coupland & Adam Jaworski (eds.), *Sociolinguistics. A reader and coursebook,* pp. 55–67. London: Macmillan.

Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn. 2007. Accent, (ING), and the social logic of listener perceptions. *American Speech* Vol. 8 (1), pp. 32–64.

Cedergren, Henrietta. 1973. *The interplay of social and linguistic factors in Panama.* Linguistics. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style. Language variation and identity. Key topics in socio-linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coupland, Nikolas. 2010a. The authentic speaker and the speech community. In: Llamas, Carmen and Dominic Watt (eds.), *Language and identities*, pp. 99–112. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Coupland, N. 2010b. Language, ideology, media and social change. In: K. Junod and D. Maillat (eds.) *Performing the Self.* Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag. Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature, pp. 127–151.

Cresswell, Tim. 2004. *Place: a short introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, Penelope. 1989. *Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Linguistic variation as social practice: The linguistic construction of social identity in Belten High.* Oxford: Blackwell. Oxford.

Eckert, Penelope. 2003. Elephants in the room. *Journal of Sociolinguistcs* 7 (3), pp. 392–397.

Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12/4, pp. 453–476.

Eckert, Penelope. 2010. Who's there? Language and space in social anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics. In: P. Auer & J. Schmidt (eds.), Language and space: *An international handbook of linguistic variation*, pp. 163–178. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Eckert, Penelope. 2012. Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation. To appear in: *Annual Review of Anthropology.* Vol. 41. Manuscript available at http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/ThreeWavesofVariation.pdf.

Gal, Susan. 2010. Language and political spaces. In: P. Auer & J. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and space: An international handbook of linguistic variation,* pp. 33–50. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Garrett, Peter. 2001. Language attitudes and sociolinguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* vol 5/4, pp. 626–631.

Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gregersen, Frans & Røyneland, Unn. 2009. Introduction: Sociolinguistics. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 32(2), pp. 185–189.

Gould, Peter & Rodney White. 1974. *Mental Maps*. Penquin books Ltd. Harmondsworth.

Halonen, Mia & Vaattovaara, Johanna. In preparation. "Helsinkiläisen *s*:n" stadilaisuus? In: M-L Sorjonen & A. Rouhikoski & H. Lehtonen (eds.), *Helsingissä puhuttavat suomet. Kielen indeksisyys ja sosiaaliset identiteetit.*

Iivonen, Antti. 1998. Suomessa "s" voi vaihdella paljonkin. *Helsingin Sanomat* 29.1.1998.

Irvine, Judith & Gal, Susan. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In: P. V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, pp. 35–83. Santa Fe NM: SAR Press.

Johnstone, Barbara. 2004. Place, globalization and linguistic variation. In: Carmen Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation. Critical reflections*, pp. 65–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnstone, Barbara. 2009. Pittsburghese shirts: commodification and the enregisterment of an urban dialect. *American Speech* vol 84, pp. 157–175.

Johnstone, Barbara. 2010. Language and geographical space. In: P. Auer & J. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and space: An international handbook of linguistic variation*, pp. 1–18. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Johnstone, Barbara & Scott F. Kiesling. 2008. Indexicality and experience: Exploring the meanings of /aw/ -monophtongization in Pittsburgh. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12/1, pp. 5–33.

Johnstone, Barbara & Jennifer Andrus & Andrew E. Danielson. 2006. Mobility, indexicality and the enregisterment of "Pittsburghese". *Journal of English Linguistics* 34/2, pp. 77–104.

Kemppainen, Piia. 2002. *Tullee puhuttua taas iham mitä sattuu. Murrepiirteet neljässä televisio-ohjelmassa.* Master's thesis on Finnish. University of Oulu. Kettunen, Lauri. 1940. Suomen murteet IIIA. Murrekartasto. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Kettunen, Lauri. 1940. *Suomen murteet III A.* Murrekartasto. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Kokko, Susanna. 2010. *Kahden ikäryhmän raahelaisten käsityksiä suomen murteista.* Master's thesis on Finnish. University of Helsinki.

Kristiansen, Tore. 2009. The macro-level social meanings of late-modern Danish accents. Acta Linguistica Hafniensia 41, pp. 167–192.

Kristiansen, Maegaard, Møller & Pharao. 2011. Social meaning potentials of Copenhagen /s/. Paper presented in ICLaVE6 (International Conference on Language Variation in Europe. 29.6–1.7.2011, Freiburg.

Krook, Kristina. 1999. *Ensi tavun ie-, yö- ja uo -diftongien avartuminen suomen murteissa.* Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 62.

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

Lambert, Wallace & Gardner, Robert & Fillenbaum, S. 1960. Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *Journal of abnormal and social psychology* 60, pp. 44–51.

Lappalainen, Hanna. 2004. *Variaatio ja sen funktiot. Erään sosiaalisen verkoston jäsenten kielellisen variaation ja vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelua.* Helsinki:Finnish Literature Society.

Lappalainen, Hanna & Vaattovaara, Johanna. 2005. Vielä murteen ja identiteetin suhteesta. *Virittäjä* 109, pp. 98–110.

Lehtinen, Tapani. 2007. *Kielen vuosituhannet. Suomen kielen kehitys kantauralista varhaissuomeen.* Tietolipas 215. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Lehtonen, Heini. 2004. *Maahanmuuttajataustaisten helsinkiläisnuorten puheen variaatio ja monikielisyys.* Master's thesis on Finnish. University of Helsinki.

Lehtonen, Heini. 2011. Developing multiethnic youth language in Helsinki. In: F. Kern, & M. Selting (eds.), *Ethnic Styles of Speaking in European Metropolitan Areas. Linguistic studies*, pp. 291–318. Studies in Language Variation. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Lehtonen, Heini. In preparation. Jälkitavujen *i*-loppuiset diftongit maahanmuuttajataustaisten helsinkiläisten puheessa – ulkomaalaisuuden indeksi? In: M-L Sorjonen & A. Rouhikoski & H. Lehtonen (eds.), *Helsingissä puhuttavat suomet. Kielen indeksisyys ja sosiaaliset identiteetit.*

Levon, Erez. 2006. Hearing "gay": Prosody, interpretation and the affective judgements of men's speech. *American Speech* 81, pp. 51–78.

Levon, Erez. 2007. Sexuality in context: Variation and the sociolinguistic perception of identity. *Language in Society* 36, pp. 533–554.

Llamas, Carmen. 2007. A place between places: language and identities in a border town *Language in Society* 36(4), pp. 579–604.

Long, Daniel & Dennis R. Preston (eds.). 2002. *Handbook of perceptual dialectology vol II.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Mantila, Harri. 2004. Murre ja identiteetti. *Virittäjä* 108, pp. 322–345.

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender.* University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For space.* London: Sage.

Mielikäinen, Aila. 1991. *Murteiden murros. Levikkikarttoja nykypuhekielen piirteistä.* Jyväskylän yliopiston suomen kielen laitoksen julkaisuja 36.

Mielikäinen, Aila & Marjatta Palander. 2002. Suomalaisten murreasenteista. *Sananjalka 44*, pp. 86–109.

Mikkola, Laura. 2007. *"Miälellään". Lammin lukiolaisten murreasenteet ja diftongien avartumisen havaitseminen.* Bachelor's thesis on Finnish. University of Helsinki.

Mikkola, Laura. 2011. *Murteellisuus, maalaisuus ja miellyttävyys helsinkiläisten kuulemana: monimenetelmäinen tutkimus lukiolaisten kieliasenteista.* Master's thesis on Finnish. University of Helsinki.

Milroy, Lesley. 1980. *Language and social networks.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Montgomery, Christopher. 2009. *Mapping the perceptions of non-linguists: methodological approaches.* A paper presented in ICLaVE5, Copenhagen 25–27 June, 2009.

Mustanoja, Liisa. 2011. *Idiolekti ja sen muuttuminen. Reaaliaikatutkimus Tampereen puhekielestä.* Acta Universitatis Tamperensis; 1605. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Nahkola, Kari. 1998. Paaministeri paatti tanaan. *Virittäjä* 102, pp. 224–232.

Niedzielski, Nancy & Dennis R. Preston. 2000. *Folk Linguistics.* Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Nilsson, Jenny. 2009. Dialect change? *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 32/2, pp. 207–220.

Nuolijärvi, Pirkko. 1986. *Kolmannen sukupolven kieli.* Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Nuolijärvi, Pirkko. 2010. Sosiolingvistin laboratorio ja yhteiskunnallinen vaikuttavuus. In: H. Lappalainen & M-L. Sorjonen & M. Vilkuna (eds.), *Kielellä on merkitystä. Näkökulmia kielipolitiikkaan*, pp. 417–439. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Nuolijärvi, Pirkko & Sorjonen, Marja-Leena. 2005. *Miten kuvata muutosta? Puhutun kielen tutkimuksen lähtökohtia murteenseuruuhankkeen pohjalta.* Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 133. Helsinki: The Research Institue for the Languages of Finland.

Nuolijärvi, Pirkko & Vaattovaara, Johanna. 2011. De-standardisation in progress in Finnish society? In: Tore Kristiansen & Nikolas Coupland (eds.), *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe*, pp. 67–74. Oslo: Novus Forlag.

Nupponen, Anne-Maria. 2011: *"Savon murre" savolaiskorvin. Kansa murteen havainnoijana.* Publications of the University of Eastern Finland. Dissertations in Education, Humanities, and Theology, no 11.

Ollaranta, Vilho. 1968. *Näin opimme käytös- ja puhetapoja: harjoituksia kouluille ja kerhoille.* Helsinki: Valistus.

Paasi, Anssi. 1983. *Maantieteen subjekti? Tie humanistisen ja behavioraalisen maantieteen nykytematiikkaan*. University of Joensuu, Publications of Social and Regional Sciences no. 34. Joensuu.

Palander, Marjatta. 2007. Alueellisen taustan vaikutus murrekäsityksiin. *Virittäjä* 111, pp. 24–55.

Palander, Marjatta. 2011. *Itä- ja eteläsuomalaisten murrekäsitykset*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Palander, Marjatta & Anne-Maria Nupponen. 2005. Karjalaisten karjala. In: M. Palander & A-M. Nupponen (eds.), *Monenlaiset karjalaiset. Suomen karjalaisten kielellinen identiteetti*, pp. 15–55. Studia Carelica Humanistica 20. Joensuun yliopisto.

Paunonen, Heikki. 1976. Kotikielen Seura 1876–1976. *Virittäjä* 80, pp. 310–432.

Paunonen, Heikki. 1995 [1982]. *Suomen kieli Helsingissä. Huomioita Helsingin puhekielen historiallisesta taustasta ja nykyvariaatiosta*. Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen laitos.

Paunonen, Heikki. 2006. Vähemmistökielestä varioivaksi valtakieleksi. In K. Juusela & K. Nisula (eds.), *Helsinki kieliyhteisönä*, pp. 13–99. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen ja kotimaisen kirjallisuuden laitos.

Plichta, Bartłomiej & Dennis R. Preston. 2005. The /ay/s have it: The perception of /ay/ as a North-South stereotype in US English. In: in Tore Kristiansen & Nikolas Coupland &Peter Garrett (eds.), *Subjective Processes in Language Variation and Change*, pp. 243–285. Special issue of Acta Linguistica Hafniensia 37.

Preston, Dennis. R. 1982. Perceptual dialectology: Mental maps of United States dialects from a Hawaiian perspective. In: D. R. Preston (ed.), *Working Papers in Linguistics* 14,2, pp. 5–49.

Preston, Dennis R. 1989. *Perceptual dialectology. Nonlinguists' views of areal linguistics*. Topics in sociolinguistics 7. Dordrecht: Foris.

Preston, Dennis R. 1996. Whaddayaknow. The modes of folk linguistic awareness. *Language awareness* 5/1, pp. 40–73.

Preston, Dennis R. (ed.). 1999. *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology vol I*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Preston, Dennis R. 2010a. Language, people, salience, space: perceptual dialectology and language regard. *Dialectologia* 5, pp. 87–131.

Preston, Dennis R. 2010b. Language, space and the folk. In: P. Auer & J. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and space: An international handbook of linguistic variation*, pp. 179–201. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rampton, Ben. 2006. *Language in Late Modernity: Interaction in an Urban School*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.

Ryan , Ellen B. & Howard Giles (eds.). 1982. *Attitudes towards language variation: Social and applied contexts*. London: Edward Arnold.

Saaristo, Heidi. 2009. *Tampereen lukiolaisten arvioita diftongin avartumisesta*. Bachelor's thesis on Finnish, University of Helsinki.

Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication* 23, pp. 193–229.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. Subaltern studies: Deconstructing historiography. In: Ranajt Guga & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (eds.), *Selected Subaltern Studies*, pp. 3–32. London: Oxford University Press.

Tani, Sirpa. 1995. *Kaupunki taikapeilissä. Helsinki-elokuvien mielenmaisemat maantietellisiä tulkintoja*. Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskuksen tutkimuksia 14.

Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and place*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

Vaattovaara, Johanna. In press. On the dynamics of non-linguists' dialect perceptions – the perceived spatiality of /s/ variation in Finnish. To appear in: Martin Pütz, Monika Reif & Justyna Robinson (eds.), *Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Duisburg Papers on Research in Language and Culture. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Vaattovaara, Johanna. 2009. *"Meän tapa puhua" – Tornionlaakso subjektiivisena paikkana ja murrealueena*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Vaattovaara, Johanna. Forthcoming. Kieliasennetutkimuksen menneisyydestä, nykyisyydestä ja tulevaisuudesta fennistiikassa. (to appear in *Virittäjä*)

Vaattovaara, Johanna & Mia Halonen (in preparation): "Stadilaisen ässän" "helsinkiläisyys". In: Sorjonen, M-L. & Rouhikoski A. & Lehtonen, H. (toim.), *Helsingissä puhuttavat suomet. Kielen indeksisyys ja sosiaaliset identiteetit.*

Vaattovaara, Johanna & Henna Soininen-Stojanov. 2006. Pääkaupunkiseudulla kasvaneiden kotiseuturajaukset ja kielelliset asenteet. In: Kaisu Juusela & Katariina Nisula (eds.), *Helsinki kieliyhteisönä*, pp. 223–254. Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen ja kotimaisen kirjallisuuden laitos.

Vierikko, Esko. 1998. Saako Suomessa lespata? *Helsingin Sanomat* 8.1.1998.

Vilhula, Kaisa 2012. *Pääkaupunkilainen puhekieli kahden paikallisen ryhmän kuulemana ja keskustelemana*. Master's thesis on Finnish. University of Helsinki.

Williams, Angie & Peter Garrett & Nikolas Coupland. 1999. Dialect recognition. In: D.R. Preston (ed.), *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology vol I*, pp. 345–358. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Wood, Denis. 1992. *The power of Maps*. London: Routledge.