Linguistic Variation as Evidence of (C)overt Attitudes toward Speakers' Group Identification

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Sociolinguists have made great strides in determining the extent to which speakers' attitudes toward their interlocutors' social group and language use can influence their own way of speaking to conversational partners in specific situations (Giles 1973; Eckert &Rickford 2001, Coupland 2007). Recent studies have returned to this theme, both by analyzing speakers' actual use of language (Cutler 2010, Gibson & Bell 2013, Hernandez-Campoy&Cutillas-Espinosa 2012) and by analyzing listeners' perceptions (Aguilar 2014, Campbell-Kibler 2009, Drager&Yaeger-Dror 2014, Labov et al 2011, Pharao et al 2014, Watt & Llamas 2013, 2014). Increasingly sociolinguists are measuring the degree of 'consciousness' of how speakers make such choices (e.g., Cheshire et al 2009, Kristiansen 2010), as well as their stance taking *vis à vis* their multiple identities (Aguilar 2014) to determine how the choices are made, which linguistic variables are most variable, and which appear to represent specific iconic identities for them.

Following methods suggested by earlier work (Trudgill 1986, Prince 1988, Yaeger-Dror 1993, 1994), the paper will explore sociophonetic evidence that speakers' linguistic variation reveals the extent to which such preferences are unconscious.

We compare the linguistic choices of an Israeli singer from North Africa and a white female American rapper from Detroit,both in their singing performance style and in their publically recorded conversational style of speech focusing primarily on situated variation.Earlier work found that in the 1990's,Israeli performers of North African descent variedrhotics as well as pharyngeals to emphasize either their convergence toward the locally prestigious *koiné*[R] with no pharyngeals, or toward postdental-r and retentionof pharyngeals (Yaeger-Dror 1993,4). In the present updated analysis, we show thatsociophonetic variation reflects the singer's own sense ofethnolinguistic vitality (Bourhis and Giles 1977),with dorsal-r to demonstrate Jewish identity, and pharyngealsretained toproclaim Sfardi identity. We propose that the predominance of these features in nonsalient position reveals the singers' unconscious sense of identity.

Similarly, postvocalic /r/-lessness is declining among African Americans and European Americans across the US (Fowler 1986; Nguyen 2006; Irwin & Nagy 2007; Becker 2009). In some areas(e.g. Detroit), non-rhoticity characterizes the speech of African Americans, but not European Americans so when Whites use this feature along with monophthongal /ay/, cluster reduction, and copula absence, they appear to be targeting AAVE. A white female rapper from Detroit was found to exceed average rates of /r/-Ø found among African American Detroiters, at 30% /r/-Ø in interview style, and categorical /r/-Øin her rap performance.

The results of the (r) analysis show that syntactic and prosodic factors, and word-position significantly influence the likelihood of the 'nonNative' realization. The results support earlier evidence that word and prosodic position can be useful in determining that a given singer accommodates to the referee norm more consistently in salient positions, as well as more consistently in song than in interview situations. The significance of coding for cognitive salience to provide evidence of speaker attitudes will be discussed.