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Abstract

This paper pressure tests the claim that professional speakers who use the standard language are perceived as more competent, by (1) unpacking 'competence'; (2) disentangling the discursive complexity of 'professional speech context'; (3) accounting for respondents' language socialization background. In our experiment, Belgian Dutch speech therapy students (N=77) and a control group (N=54) evaluate a speech therapist who (does not) use standard language in relational and transactional professional discourse. Results reveal (1) a more conservative versus a more dynamic conception of 'competence'; (2) penalization of standard language use in informal speech; (3) slightly higher sociolinguistic sensitivity for speech therapy respondents. The perceived tolerance towards non-standard speech in high standard expectancy contexts begs a reconsideration of language ideology in professional communication.

Keywords

speaker evaluation; speech therapy; standard language ideology; competence; professional discourse

Background

This paper focuses on changing conceptualizations of the prestige attributes of Belgian Standard Dutch, as measured in a hitherto unrecognized context of strong standard language expectancy, viz. speech therapy. In convergence with other experimental findings on the changing dynamics in European standard languages, this paper will demonstrate that even in such high standard anticipation contexts, non-standard varieties with modern competence attributes can be recruited for a more engaging, accommodating style.

Standard language ideology and the ensuing competence of standard language speakers

The indexical link between standard language and prestige attributes such as professional competence is part and parcel of the ideological framing of the birth of national languages in post-medieval times. The emergence of European standard languages has been historically related to economic and religious factors – book printing and the need of a common language (instead of dialects) to sustain the Lutheran endeavor to provide the bible in the vernacular –, but it is just as much a function of powerful ideologies which symbolically link the unity and status of emergent nation states with a common, prestigious mode of communication (Milroy & Milroy 1985), a "best language".

A second reason for the association of standard languages with prestige is the fact that while many standardization endeavors originally attempted to roof the dialects in their community

with a regionally neutral "best" variety, in actual practice the variety selected as the basis for the best language was almost invariably the regiolect of the socio-economically dominant group (see Kristiansen & Coupland 2011 for an overview of European standardizations, and see Lippi-Green 1997: 44) On account of the socio-economic superiority of the speakers of the variety to which standards typically go back, they are characteristically associated with traditional prestige features including (high) social class, intelligence, education, affluence, and competence.

The conceptualization of standard languages as the most beautiful, most prestigious, best varieties in a repertoire is consistently reflected in private language attitudes. Most of the experimental evidence collected in this light relies on the speaker evaluation (also known as the "matched guise") paradigm as pioneered in Lambert, Hodgeson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960), in which listener-judges evaluate unlabeled speech clips (representing different language variants or varieties) on a number of descriptors pertaining to speaker personality (to what extent is the speaker of clip X professionally competent, well-educated, caring, nice, …?). In order to keep respondents ignorant of the experimental goal (viz. evaluating speech/language), descriptors are selected to elicit evaluation of the *personality* of speakers, not of their speech. On the ratings, factor analysis is performed to identify the principal dimensions of evaluation.

Crucially, the available speaker evaluation evidence collected across a wide range of language varieties, converges on "pervasively recognized [. . .] judgement clusters of status versus solidarity traits" (Giles & Coupland 1991:35), in which "the former values [are] typically associated with standard(ized) varieties, the latter with non-standard varieties" (Giles, Hewstone, Ryan, & Johnson 1987; see also Garrett 2010, Fuertes, Gottdiener, Martin, Gilbert,

& Giles 2012, Kristiansen & Grondelaers 2013 for additional evidence). Among the status traits elicited, evaluations of professional competence have played a crucial role since the inception of the speaker evaluation technique.

Questioning the ubiquity of the standard language speaker's competence

As will be discussed below, new insights from discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics increasingly call us to question this typical equation of standard speech with professional competence. A pressure test is in order, in which we update and complement ongoing innovations in the speaker evaluation methodology, pertaining to the social attribute under evaluation ('competence'), the contextualization of the speech fragments, and the background of the respondent doing the evaluation.

When aiming to assess the perceived competence of the standard language speaker, we first need to unpack the notion of competence itself. At least within the workplace context, signs of evolution in what constitutes competence can be witnessed. In particular, the new work order shift from a vertical workplace characterized by authority and top-down decision making to a more horizontal workplace where collaboration and negotiation prevail (Gee, Hull & Lankshear 1996, Van De Mieroop & Clifton 2017), introduces a new set of potential attributes of professional competence. Where traditional, conservative competence concerns the degree to which a professional is knowledgeable, experienced and intelligent (Vandekerckhove & Cuvelier 2007), a more modern, dynamic interpretation of professional competence also concerns the extent to which a professional is enthusiastic, sociable and flexible. If we appreciate such a potential expansion of professional competence, then we need to establish the potential implications of this expansion for the link between standard language and professional

competence: are standard language users still perceived as more competent across the board than non-standard users, or does the emergence of a new, multi-dimensional type of competence come with more tolerance towards (some) non-standard language given that type of language's potential of indexing these modern, dynamic competence traits? Provisional support for the latter scenario – the nascence of new alignments between modern prestige and non-standard language – can be found in Kristiansen's (2009) account of standard language change in Denmark, which involves a double value system. In that system, the conservative, traditional prestige that coincides with the public appraisal of standard varieties and the rejection of non-standard varieties, is complemented by a more modern, dynamic prestige (pertaining to urban cool, media slickness, non-poshness) that is attributed to non-standard varieties in more private evaluations obtained with experimental tools (such as the matched-guise technique introduced above), aiming to keep respondents unaware of the linguistic goal of the experiment. Follow-up experiments that include social attributes targeting this new prestige indeed uncover favorable evaluations of non-standard varieties on descriptors like cool, hip, trendy, assertive, macho, which typically correlate on a dynamism dimension. Further support for a more inclusive account of competence is found in Soukup (2009: 128) who uses the term 'functional prestige' in the context of her Austrian research on the use of standard and dialectal speech pointing to a division of labor between the two varieties. Each variety allows to index qualities of a speaker the other one cannot. While in Soukup's case, the division of labor generally pertains to the classic status and solidarity split, it could also be envisaged in the context of a traditional and modern/dynamic interpretation of the concept of competence in professional settings and its encoding in linguistic practice (cf. Scheuer 2001 for a comparable view on the division of labor between communicative styles in job interviews). Hence, it is crucial that when studying perceptions of professional competence a broad perspective is

assumed including a wider range of social attributes and language varieties that could play a role. Although some form of 'dynamism' was present in the earliest work on social perception dimensionality (Giles 1971; Mulac, Hanley & Prigge, 1974; Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1967), and the measures used in these studies were later standardized in Zahn and Hopper's (1985) Speech Evaluation Instrument, the dynamism dimension has (re)surfaced in sociolinguistics only with Kristiansen's pioneering work (though also see Impe & Speelman 2007, Grondelaers & Speelman 2013 linking back to Zahn & Hopper's 1985 speech evaluation instrument, and see Rosseel 2017 and Lybaert 2017 for research relying on direct attitude measures). The question is whether the double value system, and the ensuing stratification of prestige in conservative and modern prestige, might also be present in the assessment of the competence of speakers who (do not) use a standard variety in professional contexts. This is precisely what this paper aims to assess.

When looking for signs of a double value system in the evaluation of language users in professional discourse, the discursive complexity of professional speech contexts should not be ignored. As (mainly interactional) sociolinguists advocate, social meaning is not fixed and monolithic, but malleable and ultimately context-dependent (Eckert 2008, Eckert 2012, and see Guy & Hinskens 2016 for a broader discussion). In speaker evaluation experiments, this multidimensional indexical potential of linguistic features and varieties has been addressed by introducing (both intra- and extra-linguistic) context as an independent variable to the research design (e.g. Vandekerckhove & Cuvelier 2007, Nejjari, Gerritsen, van Hout & Planken 2020, Pharao, Maegaard, Møller, & Kristiansen 2014, Rosseel, Speelman, & Geeraerts 2019), successfully inducing shifts in the evaluation of speakers between contexts. So far, however, the implementation of context is typically relatively crude, contrasting e.g. a university lecture with a guided bus tour (though see Hilton & Jeong 2019). Overall, the more fine-grained

complexities of professional speech contexts as foregrounded in discourse analytic work have not yet been accounted for experimentally. Research by Van De Mieroop and Schnurr (2018) and Van De Mieroop, Clifton and Schreurs (2019), for instance, convincingly argues for a tension in job interviews between personalized relational discourse that prioritizes the construction of a more individual connection between speaker and hearer, and institutional transactional discourse that targets the completion of the professional deal between speaker and hearer. These transactional and relational frames of professional discourse have been shown to follow their own linguistic norms and regulations, yet it is still unclear whether such fine-grained contextual shifts within professional discourse can effectively impact the perceived competence of a (non-)standard language speaker.

The degree to which contextual shifts are factored into the evaluation of a speaker's competence, may depend on the general sensitivity to language variation of the respondent doing the evaluation. This sensitivity has been targeted in speaker evaluation paradigms by considering respondents' age, gender, and regional background (see overviews in Garrett 2010). However, linguistic anthropology (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin 2011) points to another factor, viz. the nature and the length of the language socialization different groups of respondents have experienced. Particularly the focus on language in general, and standard language in particular, during socialization in a specific professional community of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1999, Barton & Tusting 2005; McDonald & Cater-steel 2017) might impact the evaluation of a professional speaker in professional discourse contexts. A case in point of strong socialization in standard language (ideology) is provided by speech therapy training programs (see Bohnert-Kraus & Kehrein 2020 for initial support for the broad potential of speech therapy training for sociolinguistic inquiry).

In the current study, the three factors mentioned above, i.e. the interpretation of the social attribute 'competence', the discursive context under scrutiny, and the characteristics of the hearer-evaluator, are combined in a 2x2x2 speaker evaluation experiment that targets variation in the evaluation by two groups of students (speech therapy program vs. non-language oriented programs) of a speech therapist using two varieties (Standard Belgian Dutch vs. Colloquial Belgian Dutch) in two speech therapy contexts (transactional vs. relational). Before articulating the specific research questions underlying this study, we first briefly introduce the Belgian Dutch language context.

A crash course on the Belgian Dutch language situation

The current language situation in Flanders, the Dutch speaking northern half of Belgium, is often described as a diaglossia (Auer 2005; Grondelaers & van Hout 2011; Geeraerts & Van de Velde 2013; Ghyselen 2016). Belgian Dutch is stratified on a continuum stretching from the local dialects on one end to the standard language on the other. The space in-between is filled with a range of varieties that constitute Colloquial Belgian Dutch (often referred to as *tussentaal* 'in between language'). Contrary to the local dialects which are gradually losing ground in all but the most peripheral regions of Flanders, Colloquial Belgian Dutch is thriving, even to the extent that it is sometimes perceived as competing with the standard variety (Grondelaers, Speelman, Lybaert & van Gent 2020). Studies report that the colloquial variety is increasingly used in contexts that used to be the realm of Standard Belgian Dutch, and by groups of speakers that used to be canonical users of the latter (e.g. Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011; Plevoets 2009).

To better understand the present-day relationship between Colloquial and Standard Belgian Dutch we need to assume a historical perspective. Dutch in Belgium has known a delayed standardization: while the standardization process of Dutch in the Netherlands already started in the 16th century, the standardization of Dutch in Belgium only took off in the 20th century, following four centuries of occupation of the Flemish territory by foreign powers who preferred French for official communication. In order to accelerate the new standardization effort at the beginning of the 20th century, it was decided to import the by that time established standard variety used in the Netherlands (Van Hoof & Jaspers 2012). This exogenous standard was implemented top down through a process of hyperstandarization (Van Hoof & Jaspers 2012): it was militantly propagated through education, and broadcasting media. This top-down standardization instilled a strong standard language ideology in Flemish society which did not engender widespread competence in a standard variety, but a hypersensitivity for language errors (Van Hoof & Jaspers 2012; Grondelaers, van Hout & van Gent 2016). To this day, language attitudes research shows that Standard Belgian Dutch is perceived as the only variety of Belgian Dutch enjoying traditional prestige in the sense that it carries indexicalities of seriousness, competence and intelligence (Vandekerckhove & Cuvelier 2007). Colloquial Belgian Dutch is openly disapproved of in overt discourses, but has – reminiscent of the double value system observed in Denmark - been shown to carry associations of dynamism: its speakers are deemed entertaining, likeable, more trendy and relaxed (e.g. Impe & Speelman 2007; Grondelaers & Speelman 2013; Rosseel 2017).

The presence of a strong standard language ideology is visible and has been studied in many domains of (Flemish) society, including official news broadcasting (Vandenbussche 2010), and education (Delarue 2013, 2016). A hitherto largely neglected high standard expectancy context is language oriented programs in higher education, which are geared towards teaching

students impeccable mastery of the standard language. A case in point are speech therapy courses at university, where first year students have to take a course in Dutch linguistics that aims to teach them to use speech 'free of regional sounds and language features'[1]. In accordance with the prevailing standard language ideology in Flanders, the flawless use of Standard Belgian Dutch is a key competence of a professional speech therapist, as officially stipulated in government regulations (Flemish Government, BK-0314-1). At the same time, it is questionable whether the use of the standard variety in speech therapy sessions is always desirable: with its indexicality of detachment and superiority, it may create distance between therapist and patient. This distance could be counterproductive in a therapeutic context where therapists aim to establish a connection with their patients, a specific ability which is also emphasized in the government's speech therapy competence profile: competence cluster 13 states that a therapist 'accommodates message and language to target audience' (Flemish Government, BK-0314-1, authors' translation). The pivotal question, then, is whether the strong standard language ideology that is part and parcel of the speech therapist's training categorically prevents prospective counsellors from using non-standard language in the context of a therapy session, or whether – conversely – they are more nuanced in their assessment of available varieties on account of their equally important socialization as flexible therapists who have to accommodate to a wide variety of potential patients.

Research questions

The Belgian Dutch context presents an interesting testing ground for our overarching research question: *How do students from speech therapy programs and non-language related programs evaluate the professional competence of a speech therapist who (does not) use standard*

language? Three subquestions guide our research design, foregrounding the social attribute under evaluation (RQ1), the discursive context of the speech sample being evaluated (RQ2), and the characteristics of the respondent doing the evaluation (RQ3).

RQ1: What dimensionality do we find in the evaluation of the professional competence of a speech therapist who (does not) use Standard Dutch?

For two reasons, we expect that a speech therapist who uses Standard Dutch will be considered to be more competent than a speech therapist who does not. First, previous research consistently reveals competence as one of the main social attributes indexed by the standard language in the Belgian Dutch linguascape (cf. supra). Second, standard language competence is part and parcel of the professional identity of speech therapists, as identified in government regulations (Flemish Government, BK-0314-1), which arguably strengthens the indexical link between a speech therapist's use of standard language and their perceived professional competence.

At the same time, we could expect some tolerance towards Colloquial Belgian Dutch as well. Other descriptors of speech therapists in the government's overview mentioned above, stipulate that competent speech therapists can accommodate message and language use to the recipient, are able to communicate empathically and know how to create a safe therapeutic environment for their clients. Moreover, the document requires a competent speech therapist to be creative and flexible. These are precisely the attributes that we could associate with both the relaxed conception of professional competence, as with the newer prestige indexicalities in Kristiansen's double value system introduced above.

In all, we expect to find two dimensions in the evaluation of speech therapy competence, with a more outspoken preference for the Standard Dutch therapist as concerns traditional competence, and more tolerance for the Colloquial Belgian Dutch as concerns the modern, dynamic conception of competence.

RQ2: Are shifts in the discursive context of the therapy session reflected in shifts in the evaluation of the professional competence of the speech therapist who (does not) use standard language?

Like most (professional) discourse, a speech therapy session can be characterized as a hybrid activity (Sarangi 2000; Van De Mieroop, Clifton & Schreurs 2019) that alternates between more transactional, institutionalized speech and more personalized, relational speech. The former, transactional speech concerns the actual speech therapy components of the therapy session, where the therapist aims to 'develop, rectify and maintain the oral and written communication, specific cognitive functions and the pharyngeal functions involved in eating and drinking with the aim of maintaining or improving the health/wellbeing of the patient/client' (Flemish Government, BK-0314-1, authors' translation). This concerns more formal exercises included in therapy sessions, the so-called direct intervention part of the service delivery model (Ebbels, McCartney, Slonims, Dockrell, & Norbury 2019). The relational context concerns the establishment of a positive relationship between therapist and client, as a means to create a safe and hence productive learning environment. This for instance includes more informal interactions between therapist and client in the margins of the therapy session targeting trust and understanding (Green 2006; Lawton, Sage, Haddock, Conroy & Serrant 2018). Each of these discursive activity types is likely to have its own implicit expectations towards language use,

allowing us to generate hypotheses concerning the impact of discursive context on the evaluation of the competence of a speech therapist who (does not) use the standard. In particular, we formulate two guiding assumptions and a potential nuance.

The first guiding assumption states that the evaluation of the speech therapist who uses Standard Dutch will be more favorable in the transactional context than in the relational context, as the standard language is more congruent with professional seriousness and therapeutic intent than with proximity and informality (compare Koch & Oesterreicher 2012). Second, we likewise anticipate that the evaluation of the speech therapist who uses Colloquial Belgian Dutch will be more favorable in the relational context than in the transactional context, given the associations between non-standard language use and proximity and informality (compare Koch & Oesterreicher 2012).

A potential nuance to these assumptions hinges on the outcome of RQ1. If our results reveal a bidimensional conception of professional competence, contrasting more traditional, conservative competence and more modern, dynamic competence, then more fine-grained links between discursive context (transactional vs. relational), language variety (standard vs. non-standard), and social evaluation (traditional competence vs. modern competence) could be verified.

RQ3: Does the answer to RQ1 and RQ2 depend on who is doing the evaluation: a speech therapist in training or a student from a non-language oriented program?

Aiming to assess the impact of language socialization in professional communities of practice, this study compares the social evaluations made by students from speech therapy programs

with the evaluations made by students from non-language oriented programs. Two patterns are expected.

Given the strong emphasis on standard language competence and the mastery of accent-free speech in speech therapy training, we firstly expect a stronger penalization of Colloquial Belgian Dutch by the speech therapy students than by the control group (non-language oriented programs) of non-standard language use, particularly as concerns the traditional conception of competence (RQ1) in the transactional context (RQ2).

Following the government competence descriptions, speech therapy programs will also pay attention to language accommodation and tailored communication. This likely results in higher language awareness and stronger sociolinguistic sensitivity and flexibility in the respondents from speech therapy programs than in the control group (students from non-language oriented programmes). This could be reflected in bigger differences in the evaluation of traditional and modern competence (RQ1) and in bigger shifts in the evaluation between transactional and relational contexts (RQ2) in this group than in the control group.

Methodology

The research questions above are addressed in a matched guise experiment (Lambert et al. 1960), in which 131 university students evaluated the competence of a speech therapist who (does not) use Standard Dutch in a relational and transactional session. Below, we provide more details on the experimental set-up.

Design

A 2x2x2 mixed experimental design was created. Respondents listened to two speech fragments, in each of which they heard a speech therapist in a therapy session. The dependent variable concerns respondents' evaluation of the professional competence of the speech therapist, measured via the assessment of 12 adjectives on a seven-point Likert scale (see 'Instrument'). The first independent experimental variable concerns the language variety used by the speech therapist, viz. Standard Dutch or Colloquial Belgian Dutch. The second independent experimental variable concerns the discursive activity conducted in the speech fragment, contrasting relational speech with transactional speech. The third independent variable concerns the background of the respondent, contrasting students from speech therapy programs with students from non-language oriented programs.

The variable 'Variety' was introduced as a between-subject parameter, to avoid respondents becoming overly aware of the research purpose. The risk of unmasking the research design when exposing respondents to different varieties might be higher than in other matched guise experiments as our sample includes speech therapists, who are trained to be oriented towards language use. Hence, we opted for a between-subject design. Additionally, we also explicitly verified awareness of the research purpose at the end of the survey by means of an open question asking respondents what the study was about (see 'Results'). The variable 'Discourse activity' was introduced as a within-subject parameter, in order to attest whether shifts in respondents' evaluation of the speech therapist could be witnessed from one context to the next. Each participant first listened to a relational sample situated at the start of a fictitious therapy session, followed by a transactional sample situated somewhat further in the initial stage of the session (see 'Materials'). The order of samples as such reflects the order of the regular therapy session context.

Materials

The materials used for this experiment consist of four speech samples produced by one and the same speech therapist: a relational speech fragment produced once in Standard Dutch and once in Colloquial Belgian Dutch, and a transactional speech fragment produced once in Standard Dutch and once in Colloquial Belgian Dutch (see Appendix A).

The content of the samples (Appendix A) was created in collaboration with two speech therapists. The point of departure for both fragments is a therapy session with an eight-year old boy who has issues pronouncing the [r], a relatively common problem for Flemish children in this age group as it is one of the most difficult sounds to acquire (Stes 2000).The relational fragment is situated at the start of the session and targets informal small talk between therapist and client. The transactional fragment moves to the core of the therapeutic goal, viz. to help the child learn how to produce the [r] sound.

The variety manipulation in the fragments is maximally controlled: it involves the identical (number of) manipulations across the Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch versions of the relational and transactional fragments, of a set of canonical CBD shibboleths, viz. pronouns of address in subject and oblique form, word-final t-deletion, word-initial h-deletion, diminutive suffix, and lexical *eens* 'once' vs. *is* 'once (see Plevoets 2009).

Given that 96 to 97% of speech therapists are female (ASHA, 2017; VVL, 2014), two female speakers were selected in a first phase of the recordings. Both speakers are trained speech therapists working as junior researchers at a Belgian university. They were extensively briefed on the importance of naturalness in the recordings and on the importance of comparability of the standard and non-standard version of the recordings. Both speakers recorded over thirty

versions of the fragments. The authors of this paper selected the eight best recordings for each speaker.

Complemented by eight filler items (four per speaker), the eight preselected recordings were pretested by presenting them to 45 third-year undergraduate applied linguistics students. Each respondent evaluated a random set of six from the total of sixteen speech samples for accent strength, fluency and attractiveness using seven-point Likert scales. Results consistently pointed to the fragments of one of both speakers as the most natural and fluent; this preferred speaker was subsequently used as the speaker in the actual experiment. Additionally, no notable differences were attested between the evaluations of the Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch fragments for this speaker, though the level of accentedness differed significantly between the groups revealing that the two varieties are perceived differently.[2,3]

Instrument

The social meaning questionnaire, the main instrument of this experiment, included 12 items. Respondents evaluated the speaker for each item on a seven-point Likert scale. Five items were included to target conservative, traditional conceptions of professional competence, viz. *intelligent* 'intelligent', *bekwaam* 'capable', *ervaren* 'experienced', *gedreven* 'driven', *betrouwbaar* 'reliable'. These items were pooled from previous speaker evaluation experiments, in which they are invariably included to elicit the superiority dimension 'competence'. To include the option of a more modern, dynamic conception of professional competence, following the new work order shift and novel prestige conceptions, six other items were included, viz. *zelfzeker* 'self-confident', *enthousiast* 'enthusiastic', *grappig* 'funny', *ongedwongen* 'relaxed', *sympathiek* 'likeable', and *zacht* 'gentle'. To further validate this newer

dimension, a negative item was included as well, viz. *stijf* 'stiff'. All 12 items were presented to the respondents in random order, disregarding the anticipated dimensional structure.

The instrument of our study further includes a double debriefing check. First, respondents were asked to note down in an open response field what they thought the actual purpose of the experiment had been. The answers allow us to verify whether we succeeded in keeping the purpose of our experiment hidden from our respondents. Second, the respondents were invited to communicate any type of additional evaluation on a more general open comment field, which allowed us to check the quality of our speech samples

Third, to gauge respondents' public evaluations of language variation in speech therapy sessions, a mini questionnaire followed the matched guise task. Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement on three statements (see (1), (2), (3); translation only) complemented with a seven point scale:

(1) 'A speech therapist should always use the standard language'

(2) 'A speech therapist who does not use the standard is less competent than a speech therapist who does use the standard language'

(3) 'Standard language is necessary in speech therapy '

Next, four closed questions assessed respondents' background, viz. their age, gender, university training and mother tongue.

Procedure

The experiment was implemented in Qualtrics and distributed online. Participants were randomly distributed to either the Standard Dutch or the Belgian Dutch conditions. A first page

welcomed respondents to the survey, and asked them to use headphones during the experiment. Next, respondents were offered the relational speech sample, which was contextualized as a speech therapist starting up a session with her client, an eight-year old boy. The respondents first evaluated the speech therapist in the relational context on the social meaning questionnaire, before proceeding to the next page. The next page offered the second recording, followed by the identical social meaning questionnaire. After the evaluation, respondents proceeded to the debriefing item, the direct attitude questionnaire, and the background questionnaire, in that order, each presented on a separate page. Before thanking them for their time, respondents were given the opportunity to make final comments.

Respondents

A total of 151 respondents completed the survey. Given that we attested the anticipated strong skew in gender in the speech therapy sample, with only five completed surveys for male students from speech therapy programs, it was decided to retain only female respondents in the final sample.[4]

		University Program	
		Speech Therapy	Non-language related training
Variety / Condition	Standard Dutch	37	33

	Colloquial Belgian Dutch	40	21

Table 1 – respondent sample (N=131)

All respondents were native speakers of Dutch[5] and they were between 18 and 22 years old. The only respondent-related predictor that will be included in the analysis is hence the university program the listener-judge is following, viz. speech therapy (N=77) or a non-language related program (biomedical sciences, medicine, law or physiotherapy) (N=54). Table 1 reveals a well-balanced distribution of respondents across the Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch condition ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 131) = 1.68, NS).

Results

The results of the debriefing check are presented in Table 2, which cross-tabulates respondent background and condition with a categorization of respondents' answer to the question 'What do you think this experiment investigates?'. The three-way categorization contrasts (1) answers not showing any awareness of the research purpose (N=47); (2) answers including a general comment about language (typically concerning pitch or intonation) (N=64); (3) answers including a comment on the variety or accent used in the samples (N=20).

	Condition	Not aware of research purpose		General comment on production		Comment on variety or accent	
		N	%	N	%	N	%

Speech therapy students	SD	13	35.1%	21	56.8%	3	8.1%
	CBD	14	35.0%	15	37.5%	11	27.5%
Other	SD	12	36.4%	18	54.5%	3	9.1%
	CBD	8	38.1%	10	47.6%	3	14.3%
	Total	47		64		20	

Table 2 – results debriefing check (Condition SD = Standard Dutch, condition CBD = Colloquial Belgian Dutch)

A remarkable result is found in the category 'comment on variety or accent'. Whereas in the other three groups, we see only 3 respondents who show awareness of the research purpose, this number rises to 11 (almost 28% of the group) in the case of speech therapy students listening to a speech therapist using Colloquial Belgian Dutch. If anything, this discrepancy could indicate a higher sensitivity on the part of the speech therapy students to language variation in general and to vernacular language use in particular.

The second debriefing check concerns the more general open comment field presented at the end of the survey. Only seven respondents made use of the field, and none of them commented on the authenticity or naturalness of the speech therapist.

Turning now to the outcome of the factor analysis, we find the anticipated two-dimensional solution including seven of the original eleven items.[6] Five items (*ongedwongen* 'relaxed', *gedreven* 'driven', *sympathiek* 'likeable', *zelfzeker* 'self-confident', *zacht* 'gentle') were deleted from the analysis as they consistently revealed issues with uniqueness and/or loadings. Of the seven factors retained, four instantiate Factor 1, which aligns with what we have above referred

to as traditional, conservative competence (*intelligent* 'intelligent', *bekwaam* 'capable', *betrouwbaar* 'reliable', *ervaren* 'experienced'). Three items instantiate Factor 2, captured above as modern, dynamic competence (*enthousiast* 'enthusiastic', *grappig* 'funny' and, with the anticipated reverse loadings, *stijf* 'stiff'). Together, the two factors explain a substantial proportion (65.5 %) of the attested variation.

For each factor, we averaged over the scores on the scales which loaded on the two dimensions in the final factor solution, and these mean scores were subsequently entered as dependent variables in two mixed-effect linear models, one for traditional competence, one for modern competence. Two covariates, two independent variables, their interaction, and a random effect were considered for inclusion in the models. The first covariate concerns the direct attitude of the respondent as measured in our mini-survey with three questions. The mean scale score was used, as Cronbach's alpha reveals high consensus over the three items (α=.74), and generally reveals attitudes in favor of the standard language (M=4.38, SD=1.11 for speech therapy students, M=4.90, SD=1.21 for students from other programs)[7]. The second covariate concerns the outcome of the debriefing check, a ternary categorical variable with levels 'not on to the research purpose' (N=47), 'general comment on language' (N=64), 'comment on accent or variety' (N=20). The first independent variable concerns the background of the respondent, contrasting students from speech therapy programs (N=77) with students from non-language oriented programs (N=54). The second independent variable is a newly constructed variable 'variety-context', with combines 'variety' and 'context' into a variable with four levels: 'REL_SD' for the Standard Dutch relational sample, 'TRANS_SD' for the Standard Dutch transactional sample, 'REL_CBD' for the Colloquial Belgian Dutch relational sample, 'TRANS_CBD' for the Colloquial Belgian Dutch transactional sample.[8] In light of RQ3, we further verify whether a significant interaction between the two independent variables can be attested. Finally, given

that our design involves repeated measures (respondents each listened to two speech samples), we included respondent ID as a random intercept in our model.

Two regression models were fit, one with the mean scale score per respondent for traditional competence as dependent variable, one with the mean scale score per respondent for modern competence as dependent variable.[9]

Table 3 diagrams mean traditional competence ratings as a function of variety, context and background of the student. Table 4 summarizes the outcome for the fixed effects in the best-fitting regression model. This model includes our combined variable 'variety-context' and the variable 'background', the interaction between both, and a random effect for respondent. The covariates (results of the debriefing check, and direct attitude) were not significant and were hence not retained in the final model. The conditional R^2 of the model, viz. the amount of variation explained including both fixed and random effects, is 0.68, with a reasonable marginal R^2, viz. the amount of variation explained by only fixed effects, of 0.26 (see Winter 2020). Figure 1 diagrams the interaction between 'variety-context' and the background of the students - both relying on the model's fitted values.[10]

Traditional competence		Speech therapists		Non-speech therapists	
		M	SD	M	SD
Relational	SD	3.76	1.17	4.36	1.44
	CBD	3.24	1.10	4.42	1.24
Transactional	SD	5.01	0.96	5.36	0.94
	CBD	4.46	1.14	5.05	1.04

Table 3 – descriptive results for traditional professional competence (SD = Standard Dutch, CBD = Colloquial Belgian Dutch)

A Type III Analysis of Variance (Satterthwaite's method) reveals that both independent variables are significant, and that a borderline significant effect is found for their interaction (p = 0.096) (Table 4). We consider the interaction effect sufficiently revealing to include it in the model, which is summarized in Table 5. Overall, the most relevant information for interpreting the results addressing the research questions is captured in the second and in the final column of Table 5.[11] To facilitate interpretation, Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the interaction effect, with the link between variety and context in the group of speech therapy students in the left pane, and for other students in the right pane. Positive estimates indicate a higher evaluation of the speech therapist on the dimension (traditional competence).

Traditional competence	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	numDf	denDf	F value	Pr(>F)	
variety-context	69.62	23.21	3	164.08	41.78	<0.0001	***
background respondent	7.83	7.83	1	127.00	14.09	<0.001	***
variety-context* background respondent	3.58	1.19	3	164.08	2.15	0.096	.

Table 4 - Type III Analysis of Variance (Satterthwaite's method) for traditional professional competence (significance codes: '***' < 0.001; '**' < 0.01; '*' < 0.05; '.' < 0.1; ' ' 1)

Traditional competence	Estimate	Std.Error	Df	t-value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)	3.24	0.18	191.95	18.05	<0.0001	***
variety-context> REL_SD	0.53	0.26	191.95	2.03	0.04	*
variety-context> TRANS_CBD	1.22	0.17	127.00	7.31	<0.0001	***
variety-context> TRANS_SD	1.77	0.26	191.95	6.84	<0.0001	***
background respondent> other	1.18	0.31	191.95	3.86	<0.001	***
REL_SD*other	-0.59	0.41	191.95	-1.43	NS	
TRANS_CBD*other	-0.59	0.28	127.00	-2.07	0.04	*
TRANS_SD* other	-0.82	0.41	191.95	-2.01	0.05	*

Table 5 – regression output for traditional professional competence (fixed effects) (significance codes: '***' < 0.001; '**' < 0.01; '*' < 0.05; '.' < 0.1; ' ' 1)

For the speech therapy students, a stepwise pattern shows an incrementally more favorable attitude from the relational speech fragment in Colloquial Belgian Dutch to the transactional speech fragment in Standard Dutch. Two patterns emerge. First, the speech therapist in the transactional context is considered more competent than the speech therapist in the relational context. Second, in both cases, speech therapy students who evaluated the Standard Dutch speech therapist provide a more favorable evaluation in terms of professional competence than speech therapy students who evaluated the Colloquial Belgian Dutch speech therapist. Yet, post-hoc comparisons reveal that the variety-effects within relational and transactional contexts do not reach significance (see Appendix B).

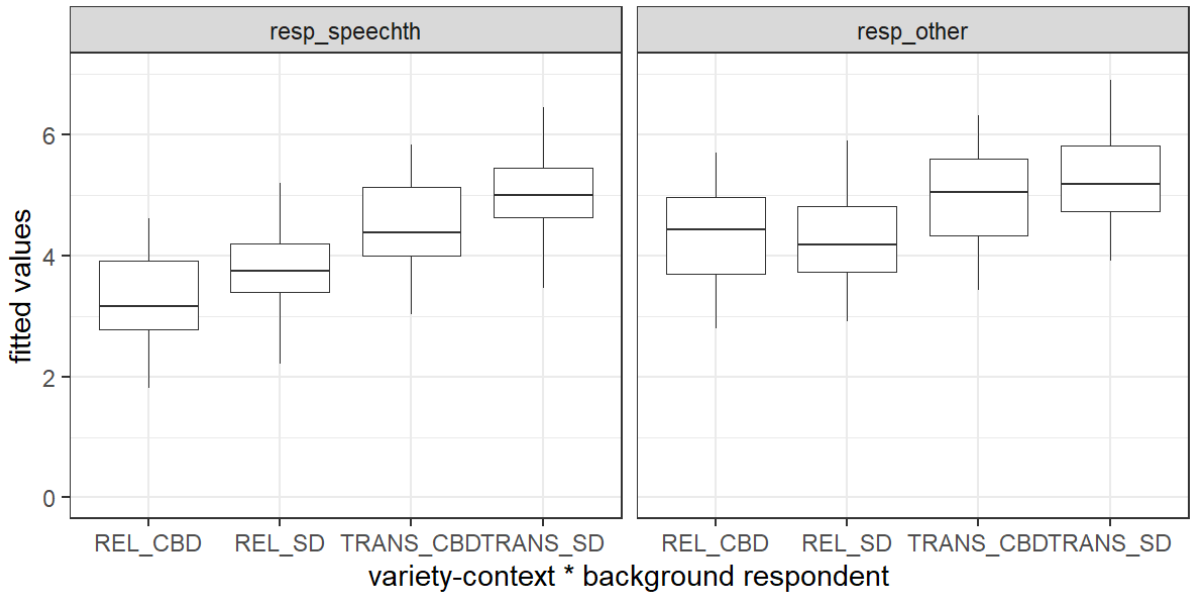

Figure 1 – interaction variety-context * background respondent (traditional competence, fitted values)

For the students majoring in non-language oriented programs, the SD and CBD-versions of the relational and transactional guises are rated highly similarly. No significant differences between the varieties can be attested in these contexts (see Appendix B) and visual inspection of the results shows highly comparable results for the CBD and SD guises (see Figure 1).

So, for both groups (1) the assessment of the therapist's traditional professional competence is more favorable in the transactional than in the relational context, (2) and, within each of these contexts, the standard guise does not elicit significantly higher scores than the non-standard guise, though visual inspection indicates a pro-standard attitude for the speech therapy students. The borderline significant interaction between student group and variety reported in Table 5 then seems to reside in the speech therapy students' more negative evaluation of the traditional competence of the speech therapist than the students from the control group. The post-hoc tests reported in Appendix C show that the judgement of the speech therapy students and the control group students only align for the standard language

guise in the transactional context. Only when the prototypically expected language (SD) is used in the prototypically expected type of interaction (transactional speech) do we find a similarly favorable evaluation of the speech therapist in the group of speech therapists as in the control. In all other conditions, the speech therapists in training assign lower values for traditional competence than the control group students.

Table 6 diagrams the mean scores for modern professional competence as a function of context, variety, and respondent group. Table 7 presents individual predictors' contribution to the model (Type III Analysis of Variance, Satterthwaite's method), with Table 8 summarizing the outcome of the best regression model. This model includes our combined variable 'variety-context' and the variable 'student background', as well as a random effect for respondent. In this case, no significant interaction was attested, meaning that the two groups of students show similar behavior in their answer patterns. Again, no effects were found for the covariates. The conditional R^2 of the model is 0.50, with a reasonable marginal R^2 of 0.30 (see Winter 2020). The model outcome for the fixed effects is presented in Table 7, with Figure 2 visualizing the effect of 'background respondent' and Figure 3 visualizing the effect of 'variety-context' (both relying on the model's fitted values).[12]

Modern competence		Speech therapists		Non-speech therapists	
		M	SD	M	SD
Relational	SD	2.93	1.20	3.64	1.39
	CBD	4.50	1.18	5.06	1.23
Transactional	SD	4.77	0.99	4.96	0.90
	CBD	4.73	0.94	5.10	0.94

Table 6 - descriptive results for modern professional competence (SD = Standard Dutch, CBD = Colloquial Belgian Dutch)

Table 9 is structured similarly as Table 6, though the absence of a significant interaction makes for a more straightforward interpretation. For significant effects ($p < 0.05$ in the penultimate column), the next step is to scrutinize the second column, containing the estimates. Positive estimates now indicate a higher evaluation of the speech therapist on the dimension modern competence than in the intercept (reference value, the relational Colloquial Belgian Dutch fragment for 'variety-context', speech therapy students for 'background respondent'). Based on the fitted values of the regression model, Figure 2 and Figure 3 respectively visualize the effect of background of the speaker and of the variable 'variety-context'.

Modern competence	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	numDf	denDf	Fvalue	Pr(>F)	
variety-context	111.53	37.18	3	191.86	42.09	<0.0001	***
background respondent	7.31	7.31	1	128.00	8.28	<0.01	**

Table 7 –Type III Analysis of Variance (Satterthwaite's method) for modern professional competence (significance codes: '***' < 0.001; '**' < 0.01; '*' < 0.05; '.' < 0.1; ' ' 1)

Modern competence	Estimate	Std.Error	Df	t-value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)	4.537	0.152	225.08	29.861	<0.0001	***
variety-context> REL_SD	-1.490	0.195	236.89	-7.641	<0.0001	***

variety-context> TRANS_CBD	0.164	0.170	129	0.963	NS	
variety-context> TRANS_SD	0.105	0.195	236.89	0.539	NS	
background respondent > other	0.456	0.159	128	2.877	0.005	**

Table 8 –regression output for modern professional competence (fixed effects) (significance codes: '***' < 0.001; '**' < 0.01; '*' < 0.05; '.' < 0.1; ' ' 1)

Although no significant interaction between background of the student and variety-context was attested, we do see a (small) significant main effect for student sample. Overall, the speech therapy students evaluate the speech therapist slightly more negatively in terms of modern competence than the other students, but this downgrading is affected neither by language variety nor by speech context.

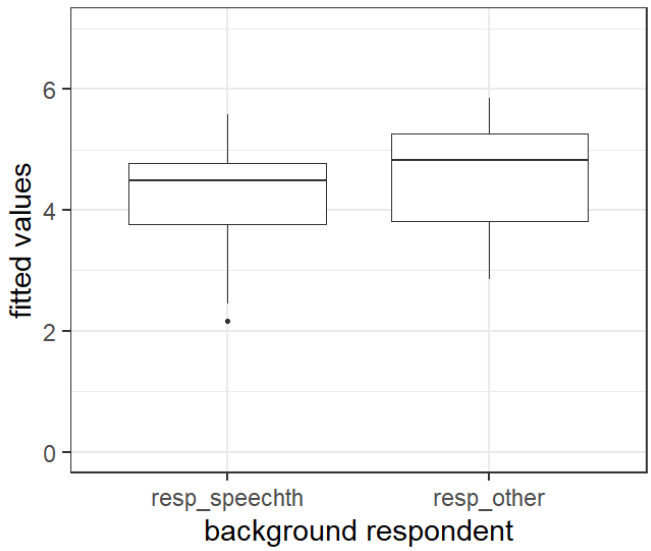

Figure 2 – background respondent (modern competence, fitted values)

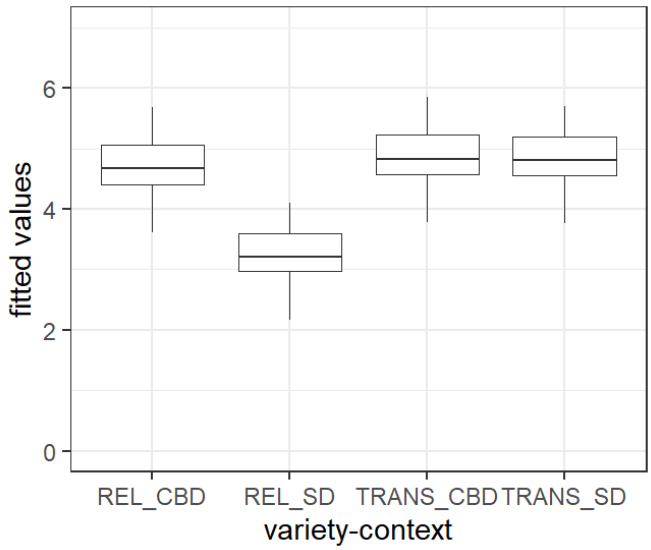

Figure 3 – variety-context (modern competence, fitted values)

A notably more striking result is found for the variable 'variety-context'. In contrast with the generally favorable assessment of the modern competence correlates of our therapist in three out of four guises, the only visible downgrading is for the speech therapist who uses standard language in the more informal relational context, with mean evaluations dropping below 4 for students from non-language oriented majors, and even below 3 for speech therapy students (see Table 8).[13] The potential implications of this perhaps unexpected but surely highly relevant result for our understanding of standard language dynamics in Flemish society, will be discussed in the next section.

Discussion and conclusion

Let us discuss our experimental findings and their theoretical consequences in light of the three research questions.

RQ1 pertains to the dimensionality we anticipate in evaluations of the professional competence of speech therapists presented in Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch guise. Factor analysis, to begin with, confirmed the presence of both the traditional and modern instantiation of competence, which is interesting in itself in view of the virulence of the Flemish standard language debate and the fact that speech therapy is a high standard expectancy context. On the traditional competence dimension, we found obvious upgrading for the SD guises, but on the modern reinterpretation, there were no explicit ranking differences, except for the notable downgrading of the SD guise in a relational context. As a consequence, there seems to be no perfect alignment in this high standard expectancy context between the investigated varieties and their alleged social meaning correlates.

For RQ2, which targets the correlation between (non-)standard speech and discourse context, we anticipated a preference for SD in the transactional context of actual therapy, but for CBD in the relational leg-up to the actual therapy. Neither of these predictions was confirmed. For the non-therapists, traditional competence ratings were stratified exclusively in terms of context (with transactional speech being deemed more competent than relational speech), but there were no evaluation differences between the language varieties. Prospective therapists also rated transactional speech as more traditionally competent than relational speech. Although no strong evidence was found for an interaction between variety and context, we did find that the combination of transactional speech and SD resulted in the highest traditional competence rating for that combination, the only context where the speech therapy students did not rate the speech therapist more negatively than their control group peers (see

Appendix C). However, this pole position of standard speech in transactional context is neutralized, as it were, by the unexpected second position of the CBD-variant of the transactional guise (which we had predicted to be harshly downgraded on traditional competence). We additionally found no signs of any upgrading of CBD in the relational condition. Notwithstanding, the just-mentioned modern competence penalization for the non-accommodating use of posh SD in the relational preamble to therapy is an unexpected and crucial manifestation of changing standard language dynamics in Flanders. We had anticipated the ongoing relaxation of ideological strictness in Flanders to materialize in a growing tolerance for CBD in informal contexts (as was found in, for instance, Grondelaers et al. 2020), *not* in the downgrading of the standard variety which is typically uncritically cherished in Flemish society.

RQ3, finally, focuses on the impact of respondent socialization on the answers to the previous research questions. In view of the standard language ideologies active and prospective speech therapists are steeped in, we predicted that they would more strongly penalize transactional CBD on the traditional competence traits, and in the interactional context than the non-therapists. At the same time, we anticipated higher sociolinguistic awareness and communicative intelligence on the part of the speech therapists, which – we predicted – would materialize in a relative tolerance for CBD in the relational leg up to the actual therapy. Again, these predictions were not completely borne out. Speech therapy students overall seem more partial to standard language (issues) than the non-language trainees – as transpires from their sensitivity to CBD on the open response debriefing item (diagrammed in Table 2) and their consistently lower ratings for traditional competence than the control group for all conditions except for SD use in transactional speech (see Appendix C). At the same time, some eye-opening indications of relatively higher 'sociolinguistic awareness' of the future therapists can be gleaned from the mean scores on the direct attitude measures, which are significantly lower

for the therapists than for the other majors. Additionally, though not significant, the stepwise pattern in Figure 1 shows some contextual sensitivity in the appraisal of CBD and SD by the speech therapists that is entirely absent in the control group. This does not prove that the non-therapists subscribe to stronger standard language ideologies: we propose that the speech therapy students' linguistic socialization prevents them from reacting overly uncritically to the (admittedly crude) questions phrased to extract such conservative ideologies.

Be that as it may, the bandwidth of up- and downgrading in this experiment still seems unintuitively small in light of the high standard expectancy context therapeutic speech arguably is, and the inclusion of the most notorious CBD shibboleths. More concretely, we had anticipated more enthusiastic upgrading of SD in therapists' traditional competence ratings of transactional discourse, and certainly more extreme downgrading of CBD in said condition. In addition, we had expected the non-therapist ratings to reveal the balance relation between conservative and modern competence interpretations which has consistently been confirmed in Kristiansen (2009) and a number of follow-up studies in Flanders (Grondelaers & Speelman 2013, Rosseel 2017). All these studies found (much) more outspoken differences than the present one.

Two potential methodological issues are in order to explain this divergence. First, we must reflect on the way in which CBD was implemented in the present experiment. Whereas the cited studies featured authentic non-standard speech, recall that our CBD guises contained shibboleth CBD features which were however complemented by a neutral accent which is at variance with these features. If anything, our CBD guises represent the best conscious downward accommodation effort our experimental speakers are capable of, but they nevertheless contain a pivotal superiority indicator, viz. the neutral accent they cannot easily

avoid as speech therapists. Could the lukewarm evaluative reactions towards our samples have been prompted by any potential *incoherence* of the guises? A reassuring finding from an experimental investigation into the (in)coherence of experimental samples in Ghyselen & Grondelaers (to appear), is the fact that imputed incoherence was explicitly denounced on a number of open response items. In the present investigation, we gave our respondents ample opportunity to signal sample infelicity, but no covert or overt impressions of incoherence were reported. Either way, an evident arena for follow-up research would be the inclusion of low prestige regional accents in a similar design.

Second, our implementation of the independent variables over conditions potentially facilitated the promotion of context over variety in two ways. On the one hand, where our contextual variable varied within-subject, variety was implemented between-subject. This means that contextual shifts will have stood out to individual respondents, inviting them to react to those. On the other hand, we deliberately kept the order of the fragments stable across respondents to enhance ecological validity, with the relational fragment located at the start of the therapy session offered first, followed by the transactional fragment at the center of the therapy session. Further research could opt for less prototypical implementations of the contextual parameters, steering towards a more social rather than our perhaps relatively medical approach to speech therapy. In particular, speech contexts could be envisaged where the relational and transactional discourses are integrated, e.g. when the therapist foregrounds a patient's mental wellbeing during the transactional part of the therapy session (e.g. Beilby, Byrnes, & Yaruss, 2012).

Nevertheless, the patterns we find in this first exploration of language attitudes in the speech therapy context have a number of thought-provoking implications. Empirically, our data reveal

some ideological relaxation in the speech therapy session as a high standard expectancy context. Context is a stronger predictor of attitudes in our experiment than variety, and the fact that all respondents recognize the limits of SD in their private evaluations – as evidenced by the downgrading of SD as the undynamic option in the relational run-up to therapy – is clearly at odds with their overt pro-standard opinions. On a less conscious level, it appears that Flemish standard language ideology is increasingly being equipped with *functional* categories pertaining to use and appropriateness. The progressive relocation of professional competence from top-down authority to bottom-up collaboration, and the growing recognition that even in a high standard expectancy context, posh SD is incompatible with some informal contexts, both represent triggers which transform an exclusive, virtual ideal in much more *inclusive* value systems (for additional discussion on changing conceptualizations of standard languages, see Kristiansen (2009) on Danish, Grondelaers et al. (2016) on Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch, the studies in Cerruti et al. (2017) on the emergence of new standards in Italy, and Auer's (2021) highly insightful review of neo-standards in four European communities). Such systems pave the way for modern standard languages which carry in them the diversity that characterizes the growing heterogeneity of the communities they (are supposed to) roof.

On a methodological level, we believe that the reported experiment can accommodate some of the qualitative criticisms on experimental analysis, and in particular the allegation that experimental elicitations of attitudes and ideologies foster overly decontextualized impressions. We hope to have shown that one can fruitfully implement two therapeutic contexts and two different degrees of metalinguistic socialization in an experiment designed in alignment with the rigorous methodological demands of empirical research. On a more provocative note, we believe that the growing sophistication of the speaker evaluation technique can progressively accommodate the pivotal recognition that language evaluation is

context-sensitive. Even by abstracting away from, and aggregating over individual evaluations, it stimulates (re)considerations of the social meaning of standard language varieties in professional practice.

Appendix A: speech fragments

Relational

Standard Dutch Zeg eens, heb je iets leuk gedaan dit weekend? Of moet je wachten tot de paasvakantie? Nog maar vier keer slapen! Dus we gaan nog flink aan het werk vandaag, en dan kan je volgende week volop van de vakantie genieten. Weet je nog wat we vorige week gedaan hebben? Dat oefeningetje met je tong. We gaan dat eerst nog eens proberen.
Colloquial Belgian Dutch Zeg is, ebde iets leuk gedaan dit weekend? Of moete wachte tot de paasvakantie? Nog maar vier keer slapen! Dus we gaan nog flink aan't werk vandaag, en dan kunde volgende week volop van de vakantie genieten. Weet ge nog wa we vorige week gedaan ebben? Da oefeningske met uw tong. We gaan dat eerst nog is proberen.
Translation Tell me, did you do anything fun this weekend? Or do you have to wait until the Easter holidays? Only four more sleeps! So we're going to get some work done today, and then you can fully enjoy the holidays next week. Do you remember what we did last week? That little exercise with your tongue. We're going to try that again.

Transactional

Standard Dutch Nu gaan we onze tongspier nog eens oefenen. Is het in orde? Heb je er zin in? Je mag eerst en vooral je mond zo ver mogelijk opendoen. Ja, en tong uitsteken en een tipje maken. En dan ga je met die tong eens goed stevig op en neer bewegen. Ja, zo. Je doet dat echt heel goed zo.
Colloquial Belgian Dutch Nu gaan we onze tongspier nog is oefenen. Ist in orde? Ebde'r zin in? Ge moogt eerst en vooral uw mond zo ver mogelijk opendoen. Ja, en tong uitsteken en een tipke maken. En dan gade met die tong is goe stevig op en neer bewegen. Ja, zo. Ge doet da echt eel goe zo.
Translation We'll now repeat our the exercise for our tongue muscle. Is that okay? Do you feel like it? First of all, you can open your mouth as wide as possible. Yes, and stick out your tongue and point it. And then you start moving that tongue firmly up and down. Yes, just like that. You do that really well.

Appendix B: post-hoc tests traditional professional competence (perspective 1)

	Contrast	Estimate	SE	df (kenward-roger)	t ratio	p value
speech therapy	REL-CBD vs. REL-SD	-0.53	0.26	192	-2.03	NS
	REL-CBD vs. TRANS-CBD	-1.22	0.17	127	-7.31	<0.0001
	REL-CBD vs. TRANS-SD	-1.77	0.26	192	-6.84	<0.0001
	REL-SD vs. TRANS-CBD	-0.69	0.26	192	-2.68	<0.05

	REL-SD vs. TRANS-SD	-1.24	0.17	127	-7.18	<0.0001
	TRANS-CBD vs. TRANS-SD	-0.55	0.26	192	-2.13	NS
other programs	REL-CBD vs. REL-SD	0.06	0.32	192	0.19	NS
	REL-CBD vs. TRANS-CBD	-0.63	0.23	127	-2.74	<0.05
	REL-CBD vs. TRANS-SD	-0.95	0.32	192	-3.00	<0.05
	REL-SD vs. TRANS-CBD	-0.69	0.32	192	-2.18	NS
	REL-SD vs. TRANS-SD	-1.01	0.18	127	-5.49	<0.0001
	TRANS-CBD vs. TRANS-SD	-0.32	0.32	192	-1.00	NS

Appendix C: post-hoc tests traditional professional competence (perspective 2)

Contrast	Estimate	SE	df (kenward-roger)	t ratio	p value
REL-CBD: speech therapy students vs. other	-1.18	0.31	192	-3.86	<0.001
REL-SD: speech therapy students vs. other	-0.59	0.27	192	-2.18	0.03
TRANS-CBD: speech therapy students vs. other	-0.59	0.31	192	-1.93	0.05
TRANS-SD: speech therapy students vs. other	-0.54	0.27	192	-1.31	NS

Appendix D: post-hoc tests modern professional competence

Contrast	Estimate	SE	df (kenward-roger)	t ratio	p value

REL-CBD vs. REL-SD	1.49	0.195	237	7.64	<0.0001
REL-CBD vs. TRANS-CBD	-0.16	0.170	129	-0.96	NS
REL-CBD vs. TRANS-SD	-0.11	0.195	237	-0.54	NS
REL-SD vs. TRANS-CBD	-1.65	0.195	237	-8.48	<0.0001
REL-SD vs. TRANS-SD	-1.60	0.159	129	-10.04	<0.0001
TRANS-CBD vs. TRANS-SD	0.06	0.195	237	0.30	NS

Endnotes

1. As mentioned in the education program for speech therapy at one of the Flemish universities (author's translation)

2. Accentedness differend significantly between the Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch guise in the relational fragment (M for Standard Dutch = 2.12, StDev = 0.93; M for Colloquial Belgian Dutch = 4.5, StDev = 1.31; $t(18.52) = -5.40$, $p < 0.0001$) and in the transactional fragment (M for Standard Dutch =2.95, StDev =0.97; M for Colloquial Belgian Dutch = 4.06, StDev = 1.44; $t(25.60) = -2.64$, $p = 0.01$).

3. All reported analyses are conducted in R 3.6.1 (R Core Team 2019). Main packages: psych, ggplot2, lme4, lmerTest, MuMIn, lsmeans.

4. While the restriction to female respondents necessitates caution with respect to the generalizability of our findings, an interesting conclusion from experimental studies on Dutch which include respondent gender in their modelling, is that there are few significant effects on that point. In Flanders, Cuvelier & Vandekerckhove (2007) elicited solidarity, competence and power evaluations of BSD, CBD and dialect in three interactional contexts, but found no

gender effects. Grondelaers & Speelman (2013) report some gender bias on integrity evaluations of BSD and CBD, but not on the prestige or dynamism evaluations. The only Flemish study to reveal a female preference for the prestige variety (BSD) and a male preference for some solidarity varieties is Impe et al. (2007, but see Grondelaers et al. 2010 for a methodological concern). In The Netherlands, a crucial outcome of all speaker evaluation research which includes respondent sex as a co-variate (Grondelaers et al. 2010; Grondelaers & Van Hout 2010; Grondelaers et al. 2019) is that language evaluations are never stratified by gender.

5. Students were asked to indicate which language they considered to be their mother tongue, allowing them to pick more than one option. We listed Dutch, French and German, as they are the official languages of Belgium. English was listed as lingua franca. Additionally, students were offered a free comment field to add other mother tongues. All students who selected Dutch as one of their native languages were included. A more detailed analysis of respondents' linguistic background falls outside of the scope of this study, but we believe that including more heterogeneous samples is one of the next crucial steps for further research on the Dutch linguascape relying on the speaker evaluation paradigm.

6. The same solution is found with promax and varimax rotation, though with a slightly more ambivalent loading of enthousiast 'enthusiastic ' in the promax than in the varimax solution.

7. Kruskal-Wallis reveals a significant difference between both groups of students ($H(6.87, p<0.01)$)

8. We also fitted models that included variety and context as separate independent variables. The results were highly comparable. Given the necessity of three-way interactions (variety*context*respondent background) in order to answer our research questions, these

models were however more complicated in terms of both fit and interpretation. We hence report on the models with the combined variable variety-context here.

9. Given the inclusion of covariates in our model, we opted for a backward selection procedure: we want to account for the potential moderating effect of the respondents' direct attitude and awareness of the research purpose in the model fit. At the same time, predictors that did not reach significance, were not retained in the final model to avoid overfitting. In all, this means that we started from a saturated model and relied on AIC and the significance of individual parameters, manually deleting insignificant parameters one by one.

10. The variance for the random effect 'respondent ID' is .73 (SD=.86).The dependent variables in the regression models reported here concern the means of the items using the original 7-point scales, to enhance interpretability and to allow for maximal comparison with the descriptive results. We cross-verified that scaling the items first did not impact the results.

11. The final column of the table provides information on the significance of the effects, with $p < 0.05$ indicating significance, and more stars indicating lower p-values. For significant effects, the next step is to scrutinize the second column. This column includes the model's estimates for the effects, with positive estimates indicating a higher evaluation of the speech therapist on the dimension (more traditional competence) than in the intercept (reference value, the relational Colloquial Belgian Dutch fragment for 'variety-context', speech therapy students for 'background respondent').

12. The variance for the random effect 'respondent ID' is .34 (SD=.59).The dependent variables in the regression models reported here concern the means of the items using the original 7-point scales, to enhance interpretability and to allow for maximal comparison with

the descriptive results. We cross-verified that scaling the items first does not impact the results.

13. Posthoc contrasts (R-package lsmeans) suggest that all comparisons involving the use of SD in a relational context reveal highly significant differences; apart from these three contrasts, there are no significant differences between guises (see Appendix D).

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