GSFL2023 ROUNDTABLE ABSTRACTS

GuestSpeakers

Dr. Isobelle Clark (Lancaster University ~ United Kingdom)

The case of Nikolaos Karvounakis: A comparative authorship analysis of a claim of responsibility On 11th January 2018 a homemade explosive filled with 58 nails and bits of metal pipe was discovered in Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens. Written on the inside of the box with the device in it were the words "FUCK YOU ALL". The device had not detonated. Six weeks later, the Edinburgh Evening News received an email that contained a link to a Mexican Eco-Terrorist website (Individualists Tending to the Wild), where an anonymous claim of responsibility to planting the bomb and a picture of the device was found. In this talk, I will cover the investigative linguistics work, which helped to narrow down Nikolaos Karvounakis as the primary suspect. Additionally, I will present the process and results of a forensic comparative authorship analysis of the known writing samples of Karvounakis, known writing samples of other anarchist writers, and the claim of responsibility, which contributed to a guilty plea from Karvounakis and helped to secure an 8 years and 4 months prison sentence.

Dr. Alison May (University of Leeds ~ United Kingdom)

2022 Winner of the GSFL Achievement Award

Who or what is a forensic linguist?

Forensic linguistics has now been actively present and visible as a discipline to study at undergraduate and postgraduate levels since the millennium. I have delivered undergraduate modules on this topic since 2005 and, before that, included sessions on forensic linguistics in other modules that I taught from the 1990s. There are also dedicated MAs in forensic linguistics at universities in the UK and USA and a growing number of doctoral theses in this area. A Google search for "forensic linguistics" and 'module' returns 53,600 hits and with 'course' returns 194,000 in the UK. Textbooks, handbooks, and monographs also abound. The International Association of Forensic Linguistics (IAFL) recently changed its name to the International Association of forensic and legal linguistics (IAFLL), indicating a shift in nomenclature and perhaps also substance. So, as we approach the first quarter of this millennium, what is forensic and legal linguistics now and who is a forensic or legal linguist? I will answer this question in three ways: first, through a short survey of the substance of forensic and legal linguistics in the books, courses, and theses that exist, to enable us to see the scope of the field as it now stands; secondly, through a glimpse into my own teaching and research; and thirdly by briefly speculating about the future.

Dr. Janet Randall (Northeastern University ~ USA)

Getting to meaning: Experiments from the LingLawLab

At the Northeastern LingLawLab (Linguistics and Law Lab), my research assistants and I collaborate with colleagues in law, using experimental psycholinguistics to advance justice. I'll talk about three projects, all focused on meaning. First, I'll review my 2022 presentation on ambiguous laws. Then I'll present results from our new California Jury Instruction study on a small but significant change to one instruction. Finally, I'll preview a new project on getting to meaning when what's being spoken is a non-standard dialect, African American English.

Last year I discussed ambiguous laws like Only cars and trucks [PP with permits] may park here. Does the modifier [PP with permits] apply widely, to cars and trucks, or narrowly, to the closest noun, trucks? Our experiments showed (a) most people prefer wide scope, counter to many judges'

intuitions; (b) when the modifier is biased to the closest noun, *Only cars and trucks*[*PP* without *trailers*], this wide-scope preference is almost as strong, and (c) when the modifier is biased to the first noun, *Only trucks and cars* [*PP without trailers*], the bias has NO effect: subjects obey their unconscious syntactic rule against crossing branches. What do these results mean? Though judges want to write laws that lay people will understand, they often don't. So as linguists, we can step in and have an impact.

Our current study shows another case where judges' intended meaning is not conveyed. A recent change to a California jury instruction removed three words but did not intend to change the meaning. The original instruction explained that to find a defendant guilty of a crime '...the prosecution must prove the defendant guilty of each element of the crime beyond a reasonable doubt.' For a crime with three elements A, B, C, each one must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt. The new version omits the words "each element." It reads '... the prosecution must prove the defendant guilty of a reasonable doubt. The new version omits the words "each element." It reads '... the prosecution must prove the defendant guilty of a lements suffice? The answer is yes: our experiments found a significant difference in how subjects interpreted the versions with and without each. When each was missing, they returned significantly more guilty verdicts than when each was present. When a careless change of wording affects verdicts in criminal trials, justice suffers. Again, linguists can help, to show that supposedly uncontroversial changes can have unintended -- and unjust – results.

Our upcoming project will look at another problem for meaning in the courtroom. Two recent studies showed that when speakers of non-standard dialects testify, their meaning can be completely lost. In one study, court reporters transcribed speech from African-American English speakers, with a success rate way below their 95% correctness requirement. But they weren't just slightly off; they sometimes got the completely opposite meaning from what was meant. We suspect that the same will hold for other legal professionals, and our study will test law students – our future lawyers and judges – in similar comprehension tasks. If they, too, have trouble, this argues that courts must provide interpreters not just for foreign languages but also for non- standard dialects. Only when everyone understands what words are spoken will true meaning be conveyed and justice served.

GSFL2023 Presentation Abstracts Rose Anne Arendsen, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam ~ Netherlands)

Authorship analysis for WhatsApp: Examining intra-author consistency with different types of conversation partner and over time

Instant messages can be – and increasingly often are – analysed as evidence by forensic linguists to examine potential authorship. However, a challenge to these analyses is that little is known about how exactly intra-author consistency is influenced by the type of conversation partner and how consistent authors are over time. Theories such as audience design (Bell, 1984) and communication accommodation (Giles et al., 1991) propose that language is adapted to suit different recipients, thus reducing intra-author consistency. Further, authors such as Nini (2023) have discussed that an individual's language style is likely to change over time, again decreasing intra-author consistency. The presented research aims to study intra-author consistency with different types of conversation partner and over time, specifically in WhatsApp messaging. For the first analysis, a corpus of 30 Dutch WhatsApp conversations was collected, consisting of a conversation with a family member, a friend and a non-personal relation for ten authors in total. The use of nineteen linguistic features was analysed and compared for the three types of conversation partner. For the second analysis, consistency in the use of these linguistic features was analysed over time, using five conversations

with friends that spanned between 22 and 38 months. The findings show that the use of the majority of features is dependent on the type of conversation partner and that accommodation to a conversation partner over time differs per type of linguistic feature. The results highlight the importance of selecting appropriate reference material and features for analysis in forensic linguistic casework.

Sofia Navarro Beck (Aarhus University ~ Denmark) and Tanya Karoli Christensen (University of Copenhagen ~ Denmark)

Countering pseudolinguistic claims: The challenges facing forensic linguists Pseudoscience presents any research discipline with the simultaneous challenge of countering false claims and offering better (meaning both understandable and scientifically valid) explanations. In this paper, we outline how pseudoscientific claims - meaning claims that are not epistemically warranted - about language permeate current marketization of courses and consultations related to police interviews and 'credibility assessments'. We report on a field study we conducted to collect claims about language made in the context of 'linguistic deception detection' and then deconstruct a representative subsample of them to demonstrate how they are "epistemically irresponsible" (Heffer 2020, 178). Common to the collected claims is that they disregard evidence from empirical studies of natural language use (e.g., the claim that people generally speak clearly and unambiguously about topics, and that innocent people will explicitly state their innocence and never waver from that). We argue that pseudoscience poses a particular challenge to the forensic linguist since the combination of language and crime is especially ripe for exploitation. As language is readily understood by laypeople, and 'true crime' holds enormous public attention, people who are not trained in critically examining language data or challenging their intuitions are at great risk of being misled by pseudolinguistic claims. At the same time, the consequences of simplistic language analyses in the legal realm are serious, not only on an individual level but also systemically, in perpetuating existing disparities built on false stereotypes of who is a criminal and how people lie.

Novella Benedetti (Universitat de Vic ~ Spain)

Linguistic analysis of gender asymmetry in courtroom interaction discourse in domestic violence cases in Italy

This paper is an exploratory analysis of questioning strategies in trials involving Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Italy, and more specifically cases of male violence against women in heterosexual relationships, falling under the violation of art. 572 of the Italian penal code - ill-treatments against family members or persons living in the same household (domestic violence). The aim is to compare the questioning of survivors (complainants) and aggressors (defendants) in order to determine whether gender asymmetry can be said to exist (i.e., difference in the treatment of survivors and aggressors). The dataset collected includes three Italian cases involving four hearings where survivors were witnesses and four where aggressors were witnesses. The analysis is carried out from two perspectives: quantitative (turn-taking, words spoken, word per turn) and qualitative (strictly morphosyntactic question types, without considering pragmatics), the latter following the scalar model implemented by Archer (2005) and subsequently adapted by Mortensen (2020). Considerations as to quantitative dominance following Bellucci (2005) and Benevieri (2022) and gender-based dynamics following Conley & O' Barr (2005), Bogogh (1999) and Tannen (1993). The results from the dataset show that survivors are asked more questions than aggressors; they are allowed to speak less in their answers, and their morphological question types tend towards the high control side of the spectrum. According to these findings, it can therefore be said that there is an asymmetry in the administration of justice within the courtroom interaction in GBV cases, which might be due to gender roles.

Meike de Boer (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam ~ Netherlands) and Willemijn Heeren (Leiden University ~ Netherlands)

Analyzing conversations on child sexual abuse forums

Online peer-to-peer forums are one of the key threats in the area of child sexual exploitation (Europol, n.d.). Not only do people exchange child sexual abuse material (CSAM), but also do they discuss their sexual interests and fantasies, creating a subculture with their own rules and norms (Gannon et al., 2023). In a joint European effort, we recently started an investigation into what happens in such forums, taking perspectives from psychology, criminology, sexology, and linguistics. From a linguistic perspective, we investigate the conversations on the forums to see how individuals progress on the forum, how the group and its users may radicalize, and how users negotiate new norms and standpoints on child sexual abuse. This descriptive analysis both entails a comparison between individuals who share materials and those who "just" watch, and a comparison between early and later posts of those who are most active on the forums. We expect to be able to present our first results at the roundtable. We want to warn the participants that explicit and disturbing conversations may be part of the presentation. Of course, we will not show any visual content.

Meike de Boer and Fleur van der Houwen (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam ~ Netherlands)

Building a WhatsApp corpus for studying inter- and intra-author variation

A challenge in studying inter- and intra-author variation for the development of authorship analysis is that private conversations such as WhatsApp messages are difficult to collect. In consultation with and with permission of the ethical committee of the Faculty for Humanities, we built a corpus of 30 WhatsApp conversations involving 10 primary authors. Each primary author donated three conversations with different types of conversation partners: 1) a family member; 2) a friend; and 3) a neutral person such as a neighbor, employer, or landlord. We aim to make the corpus available for other researchers as well. The collection of the corpus was a challenge, because not only the primary authors had to sign for informed consent, but also all conversations, we incorporated some regulations. For example, only one person had access to the original data and was in charge of changing all names in the conversations before saving it to a secure data storage platform. In addition, the participants exported their WhatsApp conversations themselves and excluded any media files such as photographs. We aim to discuss ethical and practical elements of building WhatsApp corpora for forensic linguistic purposes, and to exchange best practices and tips with the audience.

Frantz Clermont and Shunichi Ishihara (Speech and Language Laboratory, Australian National University ~ Australia)

The sub-band cepstrum as a tool for local spectral analysis in forensic voice comparison

This paper illustrates the possibility of exploiting sub-band cepstral coefficients (CCs) in forensic voice comparison (FVC), with the aim of locating speaker-sensitive spectral regions. Hereafter referred to as band-limited CCs (BLCCs), such coefficients are easily obtained by a linear transformation of full-band CCs. The parametric formulation of the transformation gives the flexibility of selecting any sub-band region of the full-band spectrum. With this aim in mind, FVC experiments were attempted using citation recordings of the 5 Japanese vowels from 297 adult-male, native speakers: 2 non-contemporaneous sessions x 2 tokens. The sampling frequency was set to 10-kHz because the high-end of the telephone bandpass is around 4.5-kHz in Japan. Full-band CCs spanning the [0-5kHz] range were extracted by linear-prediction analysis of each vowel's central frame. Multi-band BLCCs were then obtained by sliding a 600-Hz sub-band every 400 Hz across the

full range. The log likelihood-ratio cost (Cllr) based on the Multivariate Kernel Density formula was adopted as performance metric; the lower the Cllr the better the FVC performance. Our FVC results confirm the existence of speaker-sensitive spectral regions which principally agree with previous acoustic and articulatory studies of vowels. Owing to the fine spectral details afforded by the multiband decomposition and associated BLCCs, the results also provide precise locations of the strongest sub-bands and show that by combining 3 of these, the performance of the FVC system is near-optimal with Cllr comparable to those obtained with full-band CCs. A summary of the results is given below.

vowels	sub-band 1	sub-band 2	sub-band 3	sub-band Cllr	full-band Cllr
				(fused)	
/i/	[2.0, 2.6]	[2.8, 3.4]	[4.0, 4.6]	0.43142	0.40342
/e/	[0.4, 1.0]	[1.6, 2.2]	[2.8, 3.4]	0.51947	0.48843
/a/	[0.0, 0.6]	[1.2, 1.8]	[2.4, 3.0]	0.61239	0.58130
/u/	[0.0, 0.6]	[2.0, 2.6]	[3.6, 4.2]	0.60858	0.57934
/0/	[0.0, 0.6]	[2.4, 3.0]	[3.6, 4.2]	0.66732	0.67500

We suggest that the power of BLCCs lies in their ability to easily extract locally-encoded speaker and phonetic information that is otherwise hidden in full-band CCs, and therefore conjecture that BLCCs could provide new insights for a more meaningful interpretation of the forensic outcome. In addition to a detailed account of the FVC system and the results summarised above, the oral presentation will explain the BLCC method with numerical illustrations of the interrelation between BLCC vector size and sub-band width. We will also discuss the conjecture in the context of current FVC practices, and outline some ways forward.

Serena Elms and David Keatley (Murdoch University ~ Australia)

Emergency call analysis and its application to police investigations

Criminals may utilize emergency calls as a detection avoidance, staging strategy. For example, an abusive parent may call emergency services to cover up their child's injuries as an accident, or a murderous husband may falsely report the death of his wife as a suicide. Research on emergency calls has primarily focused on how a caller's use of language may assist police in determining the likelihood of a caller being truthful or deceptive. However, caution should be taken as these deception detection approaches may lead to false conclusions too early in an investigation. The current research moves away from solving the perennial issue of deception detection and focuses on a new approach to analysing emergency calls. A caller's sentiment, otherwise known as their linguistic disposition, towards a person in need were the focus as they may help to facilitate interview strategies. To investigate this, the transcripts of 30 real-world emergency calls, collectively sourced from Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, were linguistically analysed to identify the sentiments of staged and authentic callers. A measure of Proximity Coefficients provided a means to identify the proximal patterns of linguistic indicators in staged and authentic calls. This revealed a difference in the patterns of indicators and the type of sentiment that staged and authentic callers expressed toward the person in need. These findings provide the foundation for understanding how an analysis of sentiment in emergency calls may help to inform interview strategies that are more effective at

building rapport and eliciting information. To build upon this, the presentation will also outline the potential application of this analysis to emergency calls from other countries. In particular, the potential for future collaborations with non-native English speaking countries will be encouraged.

Sophie Hoerl (Aston University~United Kingdom)

The ultimate violation: euphemisms in the closing arguments of rape trials"

This study examined the language of closing arguments in US rape trials, focusing on how euphemistic the references to the rapes in question are. The data consisted of eight closing arguments and three rebuttals from four publicly available rape cases in Minnesota. Taking a feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) approach, a total of 551 references to the rape in question were classified into one of the following four categories: 'euphemistic, neutral', 'euphemistic, sexual', 'euphemistic, violent' and 'orthophemistic, violent'. The findings showed that the language in closing arguments contains a high proportion of euphemistic references to rape (on average, 80%), although the existing scholarship states that orthophemistic language is most effective in the context of courtroom discourse. Furthermore, the close reading of the closing arguments established the following four themes in the euphemistic language of the prosecution and defence lawyers: 1) framing rape testimony as a narrative, 2) euphemistic legal charges with a sexual connotation, 3) adopting the perspective of the victim versus the defendant and 4) the conflation of rape and sex. The analysis highlights a need for sensitising the language of closing arguments to prevent re-traumatising the rape victims.

Mingyue Li (Guangdong University of Foreign Studies ~ China)

Study on forensic speaker comparison of voiced initial consonants formants in Mandarin: Based on Likelihood Ratio

With the development of modern communication technology, fraud through telephone has been emerging, which has brought huge financial losses to the vast population. Telephone recordings are used by judicial voice experts to compare the voices of criminals and suspects to determine whether they provide voice evidence for the same person. The formants of voiced consonants in Mandarin have obvious individual characteristics and strong stability. This article uses these consonants to conduct speaker comparison research to find out the optimal acoustic parameters. Research has found that: 1) All four voiced consonants can be used for speaker speech comparison, with recognition rates of 83.33% for/l/and/m/, 66.67% for/r/, and 50% for/n/. 2) In the speech comparison group of different speakers, except for/n/, the other three voiced initials can correctly distinguish the criminal from the suspect. In same speaker groups, all four voiced initials were affected by the speaker's speech variation, with/r/being the most affected, and the correct recognition rate only reaching 33.33%. 3) Overall, the formants of voiced initial consonants exhibit good discriminative ability, with error elimination rate of 41.667%. 4) From the loss degree of likelihood rate, it can be seen that the loss degree of/l/is the smallest. Taking into account the speaker recognition rate mentioned earlier, it can be determined that/l/is the best acoustic parameter for judicial speech speaker comparison among the four voiced consonants in Mandarin.

Ariadna Grau Magallón (Universitat de Barcelona) and Sheila Queralt (Director and founder of the SQ-Forensic Linguists Laboratory)

Police language on statements in cases of gender-based violence in Catalonia The purpose of this paper is to analyse the language of a statement when a victim of gender violence decides to file a complaint against her aggressor. She goes to a police station where her statement is taken, that is, a police officer listens to the victim's account of the events to later transcribe it in the police statement, document that will form part of the police report. Thus, the language used by the police officer to detail the facts reported by the victim can influence during the trial process and have an impact on the final outcome of the case (Canning and Lynn, 2021: 77). Police language, as Taranilla (2007: 106) points out, has been little studied from the perspective of discourse analysis despite the importance of all the documents drawn up by the police, since they can directly or indirectly affect citizens. This article will present the analysis of 20 police statements from the perspective of discourse analysis, taking into account evidentiality as a linguistic variable of potential power for the agent used by him to distance himself from the information provided. The analysis, which is framed in a qualitative methodology, will be carried out following the López Ferrero model (2001:3) in which different linguistic markers are proposed to examine evidentiality. The results of this study demonstrate that there are evidentiality markers that indicate that the declaration document is an indirect text in which marks of impersonality appear to show objectivity.

Karoline Marko (University of Graz ~ Austria)

"Recidivism is the enemy of our cities across America." : The discourse around recidivism and recidivists in the New York Times and the New York Post

Mass incarceration and high rates of recidivism in the United States have long been discussed in the scientific literature. A punitive culture has fostered harsh punishments and incarceration without considerable effects on recidivism rates. At the same time, research has indicated that rehabilitative measures and treatment programs for offenders have positive effects on their reintegration into society and help to reduce recidivism rates. In the present study, the discourse surrounding recidivism in the New York Times (NYT) and the New York Post (NYP) is investigated with a corpus of more than 666,290 words, that includes all articles on this topic in both newspapers (369 articles from the NYT; 308 articles from the NYP). The articles in the corpus span 42 years for the NYT and 24 years for the NYP, and based on the political orientations of the newspapers, it is the aim to find out how recidivism and recidivists are presented in the discourse of the respective newspapers. The analyses (frequency lists, keywords, concordances, collocations) indicate that the New York Times encourages a discussion of rehabilitative measures and adopts a view of recidivism that highlights recidivists' potential for change. The New York Post, on the other hand, takes a more conservative approach and adopts a more dire view of recidivists, considering recidivism as a character trait rather than an indicator for the relative success of rehabilitation programs.

Sune Sønderberg Mortensen and Trine Lizette Djurhuus Glud (Roskilde University ~ Denmark)

Closing arguments in Danish rape trials: Framing sexual abuse and consent

In this talk we examine linguistic framing strategies in the closing arguments of prosecutors and defence lawyers in Danish criminal trials concerning acquaintance rape, i.e. rape cases of the far most frequent kind, where the dispute does not concern who committed the rape, but whether a given sexual encounter was in fact an act of rape, or consensual. The analysis is based on first-of-their-kind audio data from three Danish acquaintance rape trials from recent years, recorded and transcribed by ourselves. Invoking Diane Ponterotto's (2007) distinction between a "coercion" script and a "complicity" script, said to be fundamental in rape trials of this kind, we show how these opposing scripts are linguistically constructed, and challenged, in the closing arguments through a range of discursive devices. The talk, drawing on functional linguistics, discourse analysis and framing analysis, illustrates how lexical, grammatical and textual choices interact in conveying opposing representations of actions, liability, social identities and credibility. While many previous studies of rape trial discourse have dealt particularly with how (female) complainants are strategically and/or culturally (mis)represented, coerced, sexualized and revictimized in the legal system, the analyses presented here will employ a comparative approach to illustrate how the complainants as well as the

defendants are in different ways subject to strategic framing by counsel on both sides. Due to the nature of the trials, the talk will include direct quotations of occasionally very explicit language use to change the meaning. The original instruction explained that to find a defendant guilty of a crime '...the prosecution must prove the defendant guilty of each element of the crime beyond a reasonable doubt.' For a crime with three elements A, B, C, each one must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt. The new version omits the words "each element." It reads '... the prosecution must prove the defendant guilty of the crime beyond a reasonable doubt." Could jurors now take a "holistic" reading and decide that 2 out of 3 elements suffice? The answer is yes: our experiments found a significant difference in how subjects interpreted the versions with and without each. When each was missing, they returned significantly more guilty verdicts than when each was present. When a careless change of wording affects verdicts in criminal trials, justice suffers. Again, linguists can help, to show that supposedly uncontroversial changes can have unintended -- and unjust -results. Our upcoming project will look at another problem for meaning in the courtroom. Two recent studies showed that when speakers of non-standard dialects testify, their meaning can be completely lost. In one study, court reporters transcribed speech from African-American English speakers, with a success rate way below their 95% correctness requirement. But they weren't just slightly off; they sometimes got the completely opposite meaning from what was meant. We suspect that the same will hold for other legal professionals, and our study will test law students - our future lawyers and judges – in similar comprehension tasks. If they, too, have trouble, this argues that courts must provide interpreters not just for foreign languages but also for non- standard dialects. Only when everyone understands what words are spoken will true meaning be conveyed and justice served.

I.M. Nick (Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics~Germany)

Is it just me or does everyone feel like they don't belong here? An Emerging Scholar's Workshop on the Imposter Syndrome in Forensic Linguistics

In 1978, US American psychologists Pauline Rose Clance and Suzanne Imes introduced a new construct to describe a widespread phenomenon negatively affecting the self-perception of millions of people in their workspace. According to their investigations, the malady was particularly frequent amongst high-achievers in intensively competitive work environments where the standards for success demanded extreme levels of physical, emotional, and intellectual investment—environments like those commonly found in many institutions of higher education. According to Clance and Imes, within these environments, it was not uncommon for the most successful to feel the least competent and deserving. Instead of basking in their accomplishments, these employees were often plagued by deeply ingrained feelings of inadequacy. Clance and Imes named this phenomenon "The Imposter Syndrome"(IS) Since then, much has been written on persons who suffer from IS. However, in recent years, this research has expanded to include many important insights about the ways in which toxic work environments can create breeding grounds for IS. In this talk, research on IS will be given and special attention will be paid to IS in academia. In addition, the results of an anonymous survey conducted with members of the forensic linguistic community will be presented. The presentation will end with an open discussion where attendees will be invited to ask questions and share their own experiences.

David Wright (Nottingham Trent University – United Kingdom), Alice Paver (University of Cambridge ~ United Kingdom), and Natalie Braber (Nottingham Trent University – United Kingdom)

The effects of voice stereotypes on voice parades

This paper explores possible reasons behind the incorrect selection of a foil voice (i.e. non-suspect) voice identification parades. It investigates whether false alarm rates can be explained by stereotyped judgements that listeners make about voices. Previous research has found that listeners judge some voices more negatively than others in forensic contexts, including rating some as sounding 'more guilty' of committing certain criminal offences. The hypothesis to be tested in this study is that the voices that are frequently selected voice parades are rated more negatively than those that are infrequently selected. In an online listening experiment, 180 participants rated twelve voices from previous parade experiments in the project (Pautz et al., 2023) on ten traits (related to 'status', 'solidarity' and 'dynamism') and ten behaviours (broadly conceived as morally 'good', 'ambiguous' and 'bad', including a range of criminal offences). Participants heard the target speaker, and three foils - the one most frequently selected in the previous experiments, one never selected, and one selected at a rate roughly at median value. Preliminary results find that across the three parades combined, the most- and middle-selected foils were both rated lower on status and solidarity traits when compared with the target speaker and foils never selected. They also both rated higher for criminal and morally 'bad' behaviours meaning listeners judged them as more likely to behave in bad and illegal ways. At this stage, the results provide partial support for the hypothesis, but this is not consistent across different parades or different voices.