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Language in the Public Domain

J. Ryan Sullivant, Editor

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## **Editor's Note**

### Language in the Public Domain

This volume contains the proceedings of the XIX Symposium About Language and Society – Austin. This conference exploring the public dimensions of language use took place April 15-17 on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin and featured keynote addresses by Michael Silverstein of the University of Chicago, Steve Clayman of UCLA, Elaine Chun of the University of South Carolina at Columbia, and Lars Hinrichs of the University of Texas as well as twenty other presentations of original research and ongoing lines of investigation. Included in this volume are the written papers deriving from the presentations given at that meeting, as well as one paper (that of Aya Inamori) relating to a talk which was not able to be given due to extenuating circumstances.

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# The Sociolinguistics of Diaspora: Language in the Jamaican Canadian Community

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## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Diaspora Sociolinguistics: The Big Questions

The sociolinguistics of diaspora is beginning to address issues that are raised by "geopolitical and geocultural" changes in late modernity (Blommaert, 2010): mobility and interconnectivity are increasing, and social and communicative networks are getting more complex. Many of the theoretical and methodological challenges that these processes pose to sociolinguists have been formulated by academics working in the sociolinguistics of globalization, such as Alastair Pennycook (2007) and Jan Blommaert (2003, 2010). Diasporic communities are constantly increasing in size and number in the metropolitan centers of the world, making them sites of *super-diversity* (Vertovec, 2007), and this increase is in itself a feature of globalization. If we restrict our academic interest to language in *diasporic* communities, it becomes possible to ask some of the relevant questions on globalization more succinctly, and to bring empirical work to bear on questions of theory in a more focused way.

Among the big questions of diasporic sociolinguistics, then, are the following:

- What happens to individual heritage languages as they are transplanted into new settings, creating new dialect contact situations?
- What happens to established models of sociolinguistic description?

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<sup>1</sup> Postdoctoral funding from the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation (Cologne) during the 2006/07 fieldwork period is gratefully acknowledged. This paper has benefited from discussions with many colleagues in the years since fieldwork began. It is not possible here to mention them all, but Norma Mendoza-Denton and Bryan James Gordon must be singled out for providing advice and inspiration over several years. Comments that I received from listeners at SALSA 2011, in particular Liz Keating, Aslihan Akkaya, and Michael Silverstein, as well as from Dagmar Deuber, Ana Deumert, Carl Blyth and Stefan Dollinger, were incorporated in this version. Ben Rampton and Devyani Sharma had very helpful discussions about diasporic language and lectal focusing with me. As always, my transcriptions would be much worse if Joseph T. Farquharson had not extended himself so generously. None of the above is to blame for this paper's shortcomings. Thanks also to Jim Quan at CTV Toronto for explaining the Amazing Race. I owe the biggest debt of gratitude to Carrie Mullings and Tanya Mullings for supporting my research.

- What role does language play in the representational politics of diaspora communities?

In the first question, "what happens" should be read in both the formal and the functional sense: languages (and varieties of languages) change their shape and their social discourse functions as they enter new mixes of linguistic resources. To understand these transformations is a prime concern of sociolinguists.

The second question addresses the disciplinary questions that arise from those transformations. The theoretical models that sociolinguistics has most frequently relied on since its inception in, roughly, the 1960s grew from empirical work in stable monolingual settings. They modeled variation as taking place along a unidimensional continuum between more standard-like and more vernacular-like forms. For those of us who, like myself, are interested in creole languages, the most widely referenced descriptive sociolinguistic model is the (post-)creole continuum (DeCamp, 1971). The model sees variation in places like Jamaica or Haiti, where a creole language exists alongside a standard language that has historically acted as its lexifier, and where the prior assumes all the functions of informal use from which the latter is withheld, as ordered along a formal continuum. On its one end there is speech that is maximally Creole-like (the basilect), and on the other end there is maximally standard-like speech (the acrolect). Most language in daily use comes down somewhere in between the two, i.e. in the mesolectal region. Certainly it is not without problem to call such creole continuum situations "monolingual," because there exist both social and formal-linguistic reasons to consider the basilect and the acrolect to be distinct languages, rather than varieties of the same language (ultimately, this amounts to a political decision, cf. Devonish, 2003). However, the continuum view aligns with the sense of unidimensional variation that defines mainstream sociolinguistics, which emerged from work in monolingual communities such as New York City (Labov, 2006). The question is, then, whether such models of variation in domestic contexts can easily be transferred and applied to diasporic communities.

The third question connects these linguistic concerns to discourses in cultural studies. That line of investigation sees semiotic action in and by diasporic groups as expressive of their representational politics, or as ways to define a common cultural identity in the face of displacement and alterity within a surrounding mainstream community. Work by, for example, Stuart Hall has frequently pointed to the fundamental changes in personal and group identity that the diasporic experience precipitates (Hall, 1990); in the case of Caribbeans, this often entails a racialization of the self for the first time at the time of relocation (Fanon, 1967; Hall, 2005). As linguists, we are in a position to ask: what function does linguistic variation, seen as a semiotic resource that can be used along with others (Eckert, 1996), perform in this representational politics of diaspora?

Blommaert writes about linguistic variation under conditions of globalization as a "messy marketplace" (2010), invoking Bourdieu's (1991) economic imagery. With contact being a defining feature, diasporic language performance is fundamentally diffuse. In the diasporic group of Jamaicans in Toronto that I discuss here, where both the local and the heritage language are varieties of the same language, English,<sup>2</sup> it is even more diffuse: the

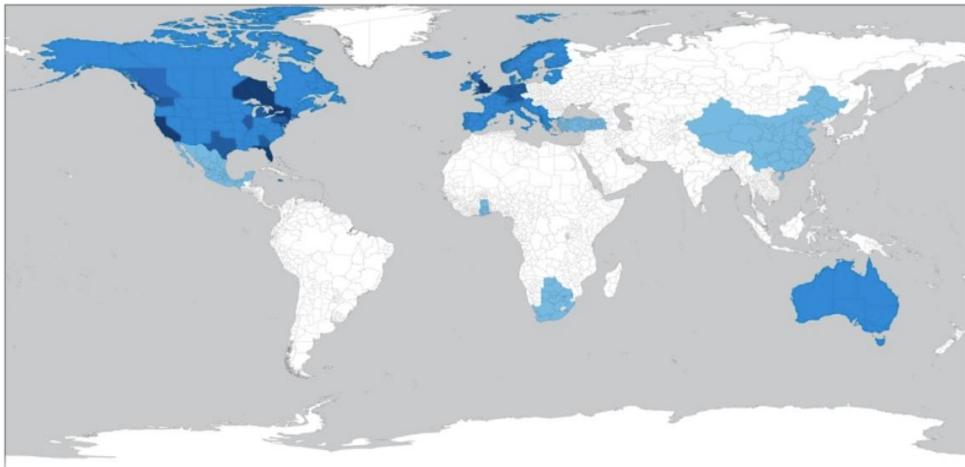
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<sup>2</sup> Certainly and obviously, British varieties of English entered the mix of languages from which Jamaican Creole emerged (Cassidy, 1982). It is however, as Devonish (2003) points out, sufficiently different from most other varieties of English to warrant consideration as a distinct language. I wish to make no claim here as to the language status of Jamaican Creole, though I do think that on purely historical grounds it can also legitimately be considered a variety of English (see also Mufwene,

descriptive effort here cannot lean on differences between languages as a diagnostic crutch. In order to trace the influence of the various tributary varieties on the "mess" of diasporic language mixing, one is forced to rely on cues at a finer level of structural detail.

### 1.2 The Study of Diasporic Patwa

Jamaican Creole, or Patwa,<sup>3</sup> can be considered a hyper-mobile vernacular variety. While many countries' populations are mobile and diasporically dispersed across the globe, their native vernaculars rarely travel as far as Jamaican Patwa does. It remains in use in many diasporic communities and, critically, is also frequently transmitted to the second generation of immigrants (Mair, 2011). Meanwhile, the *standard* variety of Jamaican English is replaced by local standards in the second generation of diasporic speakers: the children of Jamaican immigrants in Canada typically orient toward Canadian English for a standard linguistic code to be used in formal domains (cp. Sebba, 1993 on London Jamaican and local standard English use). The role of a linguistic icon of Jamaican culture in diasporic usage thus falls to Jamaican Creole, but not English.



**Figure 1. Regional base of 1,318 forum contributors to [www.jamaicans.com](http://www.jamaicans.com) (2008), from Mair (2011, used by permission).**

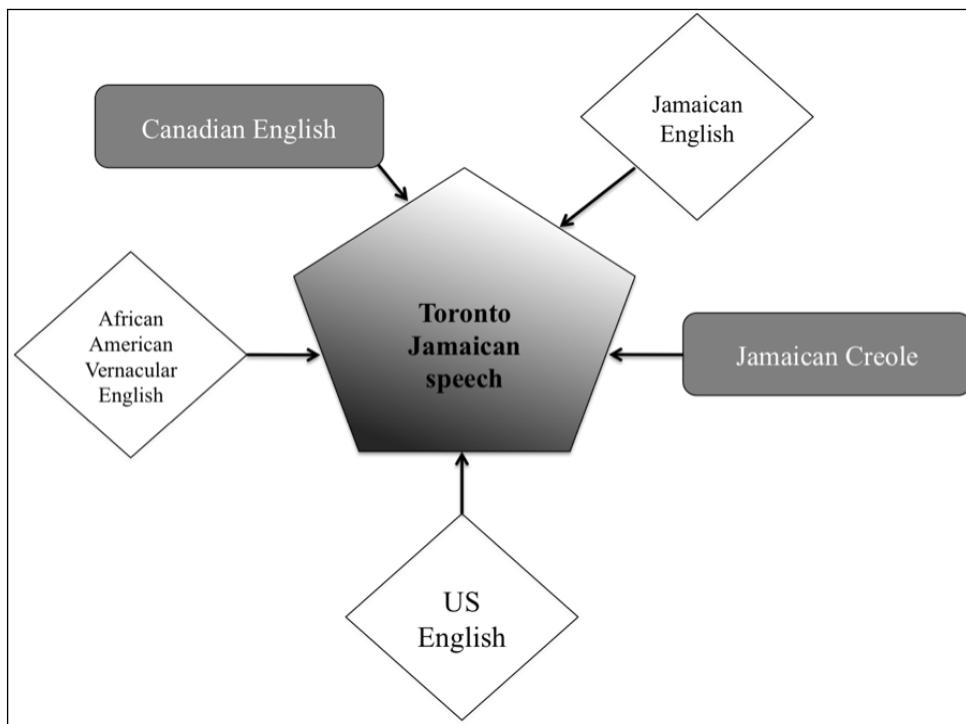
Digital communication has been identified as an important site for the construction of diasporic identity (Hinrichs, 2006; Hinrichs & White-Sustaita, 2011; Karim, 2003). In a recent study of digital interactions in online discussion forums, Mair (2011) has mapped the location of residence for 1,318 writers who contributed to the online discussion forum [www.jamaicans.com](http://www.jamaicans.com). Figure 1 reproduces that map, with darker-shaded regions showing a higher density of writers. While the resolution of the map is partly misleading about the actual centers of the Jamaican diaspora – for example, the dark shades for Ontario, or for New York State, are in reality earned almost single-handedly by the Toronto/Hamilton metropolitan area and by Brooklyn and Queens – it does make strikingly clear how widely Jamaicans are dispersed across the globe. It also illustrates what Mair calls the "long shadow of Empire and (post)-colonial migration to Britain and North America."

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2001 for support of this view), which takes nothing away from the necessary case for Patwa speakers' language rights.

<sup>3</sup> *Patwa* (sometimes spelled *Patois*) is the preferred designator for Jamaican Creole among native speakers.

Linguistic performance in a diasporic community draws on a feature pool (Mufwene, 2001) whose composition of tributary varieties is both locally and individually specific. It tends to include a speaker's heritage language and the dominant local language as a matter of course. In Toronto, Jamaican Creole (JC) and Canadian English (CanE) are available to practically all members of the Jamaican community; Figure 2 therefore shows them in shaded boxes. Additional varieties can enter a speaker's mix depending on varying factors such as personal networks and the interactional goals at hand. For example, African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) is impressionistically a much more substantial influence among members of the Canadian hip-hop scene than among the Reggae musicians and promoters studied in the present paper. (AAVE is not domestic to Canada, see however the diasporic enclave varieties of AAVE studied by Tagliamonte and Poplack 2001. Instead it exerts its influence through hip-hop music and the media.) Standard Jamaican English is most likely to be used by speakers who are themselves immigrants from Jamaica; as mentioned above, members of subsequent generations tend to orient instead to CanE as a standard variety. Finally, varieties of US English are available in the Canadian cultural space for stylized uses in double voicing (Rampton, 1998), as in the case of a playful performance of a Southern US accent, or a New York accent, etc.



**Figure 2. The tributary varieties of Toronto Jamaican speech.**

In much post-structuralist linguistic work on language in interactional and social context, and especially in work on language and globalization, the usefulness of notions of languages and language varieties as separable entities has been questioned. This challenge is rooted in a descriptive emphasis on the fluid nature of linguistic performance (see for example Pennycook's study of "postcolonial performativity," 2007). Similarly, Blommaert repeatedly and "categorically opt[s] for a sociolinguistics of resources, not of languages"

(2010, pp. 20-21), where resources are emicized sets of linguistic signs that perform contextualized indexical functions, and which speakers can in turn index by using certain selected features. Thus the sociolinguist's focus shifts from an interest in how languages work to how linguistic performance is constructed. While the anti-essentialist caution underlying this theoretical perspective is necessary and appreciated, one must be careful not to forget that the view of languages and varieties as describable constructs is and has always been conceived of as a conscious, intentional abstraction. This is the case even and especially in Saussurean synchrony, with its distinction between *langue* and *parole*. In those cases where one of the constituents of a given speaker's set of resources is a language in his or her own mind, it may be neither useful nor helpful to abandon the idea of linguistic systems (Bohmann, 2010, p. 205). Most language users tend to think of their linguistic resources as discrete units, so that even in a speaker-oriented view of variation, we are well advised to retain the notion of the variety as one of our most valuable abstractions. One can only agree with Blommaert that globalization is marked by the steady complexification of social and semiotic networks, and that the field of sociolinguistics must draw lessons of both the methodological and the theoretical type from this fact. But again, we ought to be careful not to throw the baby out with the bathwater: more often than not, it is describable linguistic varieties (or sets of varieties) that underlie speakers' linguistic performances, though their command of each variety will vary (and nobody knows any variety perfectly). Blommaert identifies as a major task for sociolinguistics to account for these "truncated repertoires."

### *1.3 Research Agenda and Method*

The research agenda for the present paper is twofold. First, I approach the issue of the changing indexicality of Patwa as a mobile resource. Is Patwa among Jamaican Canadians used as a code in conversational code-switching, with a complete range of discourse functions, the way it is used in Jamaica? Or are there noticeable differences? The second item on the agenda is methodological: I discuss ways of handling the diffuseness of variation in diasporic speech in a varieties-of-English setting.

In doing so, I assume that Jamaican Canadians, in constructing their linguistic performance, draw on the tributary varieties in their feature pool to varying degrees at different times in an interaction. The two major varieties that enter the mix are Patwa and CanE. The primary task is therefore the description of variation between features of those two varieties at the level of individual style, with a focus on phonetics. I trace the frequency of features that vary between JC and CanE as they unfold in a stretch of discourse. This procedure is tantamount to tracing the degrees of *focusing* (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) for each variety, or lect, across discourse contexts.

The description of phonetic variation in the diffuse marketplace of a diasporic setting promises to be most successful if a quantitative methodology, as a way of obtaining reproducible findings with transparent sets of analytical criteria, can be applied. However, quantitative methods for the analysis of individual style have not yet been extensively elaborated in sociolinguistics. There is Bell's (1984, 2001) well-known audience design framework. It was developed for variation in stable monolingual settings, which it assumes to be taking place on a unidimensional continuum. It offers monofactorial explanations for variation: essentially, speakers converge toward their interlocutors' frequency of feature use for certain variables; deviations from this pattern are usually explained by invoking the effect of a "referee." The model's strength lies in an impressive predictive power for data recorded in settings similar to those in which it was developed.

Another sociolinguist who has applied quantitative techniques to individual variation in discourse is Scott Kiesling. In his ethnographically based (2009) study of speech in an

American college fraternity, he correlates frequencies for the ING variable with the interactional setting in which a stretch of discourse was recorded (the three contexts were "socializing," "interview," "meeting," p. 181). He then correlates frequencies for three vocalic variables with interactional activities whose relevance for the life of the fraternity was extracted ethnographically: expert talk, gossiping, commiserating, and so on (p. 184). Like Bell, Kiesling models monolingual variation. The strength of his work lies in its sensitivity to interactional context.

A third quantitative measure of style is the Lectal Focusing Index (LFI), experimentally presented by Rampton & Sharma at the Sociolinguistics Symposium (2010) but so far not employed in a printed publication. Because it does away with the notion of a unidimensional continuum underlying stylistic variation—and because, in fact, it was developed in the study of the diasporic speech of Indians in London—this approach is best suited as a methodological example for the present study. I present it in detail in section 3.2 below, where I apply it, with certain modifications, to my data.

## 2 Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted during stays in Toronto in 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2011, each lasting between two and 22 weeks. After initial survey work in multiple locales, the scope of interview and observation work was narrowed to CHRY, a community radio station located on the campus of York University. 24 Jamaican-Canadians were interviewed for 40 minutes or more. Two individuals were particularly open to the project and helpful in facilitating further access to networks within the social context of the radio station. Tanya Mullings and Carrie Mullings are part of a community of practice surrounding Canadian Reggae: Tanya as a singer and musician who has obtained national recognition for her work (for example, she was nominated for the Juno award in Reggae in 2008), and Carrie as promoter of Canadian Reggae and host of a weekly radio show devoted to Canadian Reggae. Her show, "Rebel Vibez," is the only radio program playing only Canadian-made Reggae music. It is broadcast on FM in Toronto and also maintains a worldwide audience via its internet stream.

Tanya and Carrie are the daughters of Karl Mullings (1942-2005), a Jamaican who immigrated to Canada as a young adult in the 1960s, and a European-Canadian mother. Karl, an intensely networked key figure of the local Caribbean community, promoted Jamaican culture in Toronto as an event manager, night club owner, and music promoter. In 1967 he was instrumental in starting the Caribana festival, the yearly Caribbean Carnival in the streets of Toronto that is attended by tens of thousands of spectators. Tanya and Carrie attribute to their father's influence their pride in Caribbean, especially Jamaican, culture, and their wish to actively foster the representation of Jamaicans in the Canadian public domain by producing and promoting Jamaican-Canadian Reggae music. In raising his daughters, Karl placed explicit value on their ability to speak Patwa at a high, near-native level of competence. By also acquiring CanE natively from their mother, in school, and in the surrounding community, the sisters grew up to be biracial, bicultural speakers of a multilectal inventory of linguistic resources.

I conducted many hours of audio or video recordings of both sisters' speech in interviews and in observation. In particular, I was able to follow Carrie around for long periods of time as she went through her day, hosting her radio show or meeting with musicians, music producers, friends, and family members. Some of these meetings were arranged for my benefit, to enable me to speak to more members of the Jamaican community in Toronto.

### 3 Lectal Focusing on Rebel Vibez

Rebel Vibez is broadcast live every Monday from 10am to 12pm. Carrie is the show's main host, and Tanya acts as a co-host. In 2008, when the data discussed here was recorded, two more individuals were regularly present in the studio during the broadcasts: Brother Jason, a DJ who spins records on a turntable at different points in the show,<sup>4</sup> and Diana, who worked as an assistant to Carrie by, for example, welcoming and coordinating studio guests and taking phone callers from listeners before passing them on to Carrie, sometimes for on-air conversations.

Every hour of broadcasting on Rebel Vibez features conversations with studio guests. These guests are usually practitioners in the Toronto Reggae scene: they include musicians, singers, and event promoters. Guests frequently visit the show in hopes of obtaining some airtime with Carrie to promote an event or a new recording.

Most of the musicians have day jobs that allow them to sustain their musical activity financially. As a consequence, Rebel Vibez gets significantly more studio visitors on those Mondays that coincide with a National Holiday. The day when the data presented here was recorded, May 19<sup>th</sup> 2008, was Victoria Day, a statutory holiday in Ontario and some other Canadian provinces, and so this show was particularly well attended. The studio door is usually left open during broadcasts so that visitors can walk in and stand along the walls of the studio. In all, I counted 22 visitors throughout the two-hour broadcast, myself not included.

Most of the visitors to the Rebel Vibez studio participate in the cultural context of Canadian Reggae, and most also have a Caribbean family background. Many are practitioners of the Rastafarian religion; others borrow elements of Rastafarian dress and hair style—for example, by wearing dreadlocks and a tam, the type of knitted protective hat that is made to be worn with dreadlocks.

On this particular day, two additional guests were also present at the show: Kynt and Vyxsin. In 2007, they participated in the twelfth season of the elimination TV show "The Amazing Race," produced by the American network CBS and simulcasted in Canada by CTV. They were eliminated during the eighth (of eleven) "leg" of the season, which aired in late December 2007. Kynt and Vyxsin come from Kentucky. They are a couple, and both are affiliated with the Goth subculture. In one episode of season 12 they describe themselves thus: "We're just a couple of Goth kids from Louisville, Kentucky." They were ranked fifth out of all participating teams on season 12 of the Amazing Race. Nonetheless, in the episode in which they were eliminated from the race, the host of the show, Phil Keoghan, jokingly told them that he "would have to give you the award for the most fashionable couple ever on the Amazing Race."

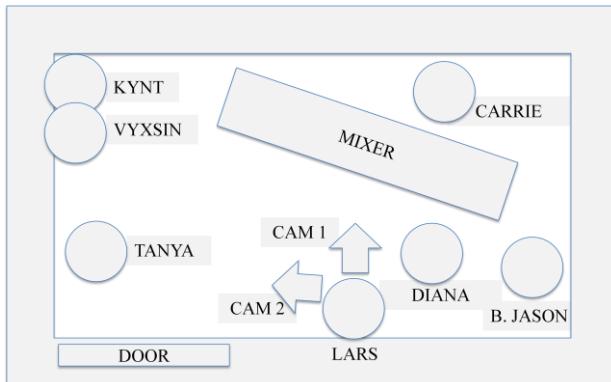


**Figure 3. Kynt and Vyxsin.**

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<sup>4</sup> Among other reasons, in order to enable studio guests to deliver live vocal performances.

Both Kynt and Vyxsin, who were 32 and 29 years old in May 2008, use extravagant make-up and clothing in constructing their "Goth" look. They place high value on stylistic practice: Kynt's Myspace profile (<<http://www.myspace.com/522923>>, accessed 12 May, 2011) cites as his favorite quote: "LIFE ISN'T ABOUT FINDING YOURSELF. LIFE IS ABOUT CREATING YOURSELF." Following the exposure to large television audiences both in the U.S. and Canada, the couple decided to pursue fashion modeling. In May of 2008, this new career<sup>5</sup> brought them to Toronto, where they had been invited to model in a fashion show. Despite the lack of any obvious connection between Kynt and Vyxsin's background and Goth style with Reggae music, their booking agent had arranged with the radio station that they would appear on Rebel Vibez for a promotional interview, and Carrie had agreed to their appearance.



**Figure 4. Schematic map of participants in Rebel Vibez broadcast, May 19<sup>th</sup>, 2008.**

During the broadcast of Rebel Vibez of May 19, 2008, there was a stable configuration of participants within the on-air studio as sketched in Figure 4. The sketch does not show any of the floating visitors who walked in and out of the studio in intervals of rarely more than ten minutes. My position opposite Carrie's is shown together with the position and direction of two video cameras on tripods, which were trained on Tanya and Carrie. Both Tanya and Carrie wore wireless lavalier microphones that recorded their speech and most of their interlocutors' speech. As an additional sound source, the mp3 log of the radio station's broadcast signal for the two hours of the show was used. The log provides unique access to the speech of telephone callers to whom Carrie spoke on the air. That signal is not played on the in-studio monitor loudspeakers in order to avoid feedback, and so would not have been picked up by any of my microphones within the studio.

### 3.1 Carrie Mullings as Cultural Broker

Carrie acts as a mediator between the community of Jamaicans in Toronto and society at large. The social role of the member of one social group who mediates between that group and others has been a longstanding interest in social and cultural anthropology (Rasmussen, 2003 provides an overview). A common case is mediation across linguistic

<sup>5</sup> At the time of this writing, the 18<sup>th</sup> season of the Amazing Race is being aired, in which Kynt and Vyxsin are participating for the second time. The CBS website for the show provides short biographies for all candidates, and Kynt and Vyxsin are shown as still pursuing modeling as their occupation.

and cultural boundaries between a small minority group and the surrounding majority. The term *cultural broker* is most often employed in studies on these kinds of community members, but other terms such as "facilitator" (Rasmussen, 2003), "go-between" (Hagedorn, 1988), or "translator between languages and cultures" (Hagedorn, 1988; Penfield, 1987) have been applied as well. It is characteristic of cultural brokers to be specially equipped, often by virtue of their linguistic skills (Penfield, 1987, p. 162), for the task of presenting their own community's interest to other groups. Carrie has unusually complete levels of competence in both Jamaican and Canadian linguistic resources. Her mixed racial identity associates her with both the black minority in Toronto and the white majority. Much anthropological work has also found broker figures to be charged with symbolic functions, such as administering rituals, or cultural tasks of representation. Carrie is engaged precisely in the work of representing her diasporic culture in the local mainstream.

Readings on ethnographic fieldwork traditionally warn of ethnographic information from individuals who, like Carrie, have some sort of a special status based on which they act as representatives for their community (see e.g. Wax, 1971, ch. 31, who warns of potential political bias among such representative community members). Nonetheless, it is clear that knowledge obtained from cultural brokers can, with the necessary reflexivity, instruct fieldwork in the most valuable ways (also Crapanzano, 1980, a book-length study devoted to one such key informant; see Turner, 1968). After all it is these brokers who have the most experience of anyone in their community with explaining and speaking about their group to outsiders, such as, in many cases including the present one, fieldworkers. Excerpt (1) illustrates the kind of information, and in fact the wealth of insight, that can be gleaned from working with a mediator like Carrie. This excerpt shows Carrie at work as a radio DJ.

(1)

**A group a Rastaman<sup>6</sup>**

Jason: ((on air)) what do you think ss- we should  
give them a little piece of "Singers in the  
Neighborhood" a little later on in the day

[ ( ) ]

[38] Carrie: [ †oh my †gosh you know you you ey you you know  
who's inside CHRY studios (.95)  
super↓stars (.35) a↓gain (.94)  
super↓stars (.17) a↓gain (.) The Amazing Race

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<sup>6</sup> The raw video data for excerpt (1) can be viewed at <http://youtu.be/WEhM7-414WU>. Jason's and Tanya's speech does not appear very clearly on the video data; it was transcribed with the additional help of the radio station's audio log (both Jason and Tanya have their own microphones during on-air segments and so can be heard clearly on the broadcast signal). The transcription conventions used here for the most part follow Gail Jefferson's system as summarized in, for example, Atkinson and Heritage (eds., 1984) and in recent CA textbooks. In addition, I adopted the following conventions: underlining was used for stretches of discourse that contain JC for an entire clause or utterance (in these cases, Creole was transcribed using the phonemic orthography proposed in Cassidy & Le Page, 1967). And instead of line numbers, segment numbers are given in square brackets (see section 3.2 on how segments are determined).

Kynt [kɪnt] a Kent [kent] I'm calling him Kynt  
 [kɪnt] sorry Kent [kent] you know what I said  
 Kent [kent] (.29) Kent [kent] and Vyxsin let me  
 tell you something (.) they cause controversy  
 on the television screen  
 ((laughter among all in the studio))

[39] → a gruup a Rastaman goin waak insaid ya  
*a group of Rastamen might walk in here*

an se um (.) wo:::w (.)  
*and say*

I'm telling you they have such a good vibe  
 so far .hh

[40] we're gonna get to talk to them they're here  
 for fashion and supporting different um  
 designers ah ah it's it's it's a good thing  
 it's a good thing and they're gonna be in  
 different magazines and (.) um hem=yah (.84)

[41] → talk se sompm Brother Jason  
*say something*

[ mi de pon a hai tide (.62) I'm tired ]  
*I'm on a high today*

I'm [z tired yesterday hh oh (1.1) yeah z]]

Jason: [.hh (1.0) ((laughs)) yeah]

Tanya: [z yes (.5) I had to drag her out last  
 night from Harlem<sup>7</sup> I'm going radio tomorrow  
 come on she said she's not z] as disciplined as  
 me

With Carrie acting as a social mediator as the host of a diasporic radio show, she faces a set of demands that are partly in competition with each other, and which arguably add up to a definition of her specific kind of brokerage. I argue that Carrie meets these demands in part through the strategic deployment of different linguistic styles. They can be

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<sup>7</sup> Harlem Night Club in Toronto, where Carrie was hosting a live Reggae show the previous night.

sketched as belonging to four types: authenticity, intelligibility, spontaneous fluency, and positive representation. Let me briefly expand on all four.

- *Authenticity.* The core audience of Rebel Vibez is made up of members of the Caribbean, and especially Jamaican, community in Toronto. The use of Patwa is a symbolic strategy of creating authenticity through code choice as a linguistic act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Such purely symbolic creation of authenticity can be achieved through the use of shibboleths that are well known even in the majority community. However, when language is used that requires in-depth knowledge of Jamaican culture to be understood, the ideology of authenticity (Coupland, 2003) is also served ironically: non-Jamaicans are excluded from communication, and only the authentically Jamaicans can be part of the in-group who understands.
- *Intelligibility.* Carrie has to make sure that listeners, regardless of their competence in Patwa, understand most of the language used on Rebel Vibez. Both her core audience – Caribbeans in Toronto – and the surrounding community include many speakers who are only superficially acquainted with Patwa.
- *Spontaneous fluency.* In his study of the language of radio announcers, Goffman (1981a) formulates one demand that every radio broadcaster faces: "The key contingency in radio announcing (I take it) is to produce the effect of a spontaneous, fluent flow of words—if not a forceful, pleasing personality—under conditions that lay speakers would be unable to manage" (198).<sup>8</sup> This demand applies especially to the host of an entertainment program such as Rebel Vibez.
- *Positive representation.* The diasporic community for which Carrie acts as spokesperson is under a specific kind of cultural pressure in the social context of the surrounding community. Jamaican drug gangs perpetrated a series of killings that haunted Toronto in 2005, the year of the "summer of the gun," and which extended into subsequent years (Appleby, 2007). Some public discourse presented these killings as characteristic of Jamaicans in general, and many Jamaican-Canadian participants in my fieldwork spoke of a sense of cultural embattlement among the community.<sup>9</sup> Carrie said in interviews that she is careful not to broadcast a representation of Jamaicans that would support this negative view of Jamaicans. However, the discourse excerpted in (1) does not illustrate Carrie negotiating this demand.

Excerpt (1) shows Carrie using language choice as a tool in meeting the authenticity demand. For example, in segment 39 she playfully speaks of a hypothetical group of Rastamen who might, at a hypothetical point in time, enter the studio and notice the subcultural incongruence that exists between Kynt and Vyxsin on the one hand and the

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<sup>8</sup> Goffman gives two concrete examples (1981a): the need to project personal belief in a product for which the announcer must read an advertisement on air, even when they are reading the ad not out of personal interest but in order to meet the commercial needs of the station that employs them; and the need to make their speech sound spontaneous even at times when it is being read from a script.

<sup>9</sup> As Henry (1994) documents, the opinion of the Torontonian public of the Caribbean community in general and Jamaicans in particular is generally negative, supported by, for example, "evidence" such as low educational achievement and economic performance.

regular scene of Reggae musicians who frequent the studio on the other. Their reaction at seeing the atypically Caucasian and androgynous Goth couple in the studio during a Rebel Vibez broadcast, Carrie surmises, would be surprise ("wow"). In other words, Carrie playfully creates the persona of an imagined onlooker, citing their imagined comments on the scene and altogether taking a "Jamaican" perspective on Kynt and Vyxsin. Crucially, this is where the longest stretch of Patwa speech in this excerpt occurs.

However, as the host and the effectual link to other cultures, Carrie also ties the two visitors into her framework of identification: she presents them as interesting and as non-mainstream ("they cause controversy," 38), thereby observing rules of politeness at the same time as answering to the 'spontaneous fluency' demand. This excerpt provides evidence that this is not always an easy task. For example, in segment 41 Carrie clearly runs out of things to say to, or about, Kynt and Vyxsin, showing that up to now, her efforts to make the two relevant to her show have not been successful by her own assessment (this changes for the better later in the recording). An earlier striking sign of the disconnect between Carrie and the two guests is the trouble in segment 38, where Carrie struggles to repair the pronunciation of Kynt's name. Kynt chose a non-standard re-spelling of his given name, *Kent*,<sup>10</sup> presumably in the interest of enhancing his visibility in front of audiences of all kinds in the mass media. In his native English dialect area, most speakers pronounce pre-nasal DRESS vowels (i.e. vowels such as the one in the word DRESS, see Wells, 1982) as identical to the KIT vowel. His re-spelling of his name with a <y> indicates that he is probably aware of what dialectologists call the PIN/PEN vowel merger in his home dialect, and potentially also of the contrast between the merger and the distinct quality of those vowels in most standard varieties of English.<sup>11</sup> The PIN/PEN merger is completely absent from Canada (not to mention Jamaica), where Carrie grew up and where the words *pin* and *pen* have distinct qualities (Boberg, 2010). In short, while the spelling <Kynt> for *Kent* may be salient in Canada, the underlying joke is not accessible to many native speakers of CanE because of the reliably distinct quality of the KIT and DRESS vowels in northern varieties of North American English (for Canada see Boberg, 2010). The misunderstanding about the point of the re-spelling of his name therefore can be interpreted as an icon of the disparity in cultural backgrounds between Carrie and Kynt.

While the use of Patwa is a suitable answer to the 'authenticity' demand, it is also in obvious competition with the 'intelligibility' demand. As a consequence, it is noticeable that much of Carrie's language use that reads as "Jamaican" is drawn from the "Dread Talk" register of JC (1986, 1998, 2000). Dread Talk is the variety of JC used by Rastafarians, and defining differences between JC and Dread Talk are almost exclusively of a lexical nature. Given the prominence of Rastafarianism in popular culture, many such lexical items are well known and function as shibboleths of Jamaican speech and identity, rather than being a challenge to intelligibility. In this excerpt and practically all others from this recording, Carrie uses Dread Talk items such as *idren* 'brother,' *outernational* 'international/foreign,' *vibe*, etc. Aside from focusing on shibboleths, Carrie keeps her own use of Patwa restricted to short utterances. Her guests generally use much longer stretches of Patwa.

The 'spontaneous fluency' maxim is visibly in effect as well. It probably explains the general playfulness of Carrie's discourse in this excerpt. She uses the salient contrast between Kynt and Vyxsin's subculture and Rastafarianism to humorous effect. Any rhetorical, playful identification between the visitors and Rasta culture is bound to be a

<sup>10</sup> On his Myspace page, Kynt's name is actually listed as *Kent*.

<sup>11</sup> It is likely that Kynt is aware of the difference between speakers who merge PIN and PEN and those who don't, since his hometown, Louisville, is situated right at the isogloss between the Southern US pattern (the merger) and the non-Southern non-merger (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006).

source of humor based on the unexpected association of incongruous parts. Carrie draws on that source of fun in the "group of Rastamen" quote in segment 39.

### 3.2 Towards a Metric of Lectal Focusing

Ben Rampton and Devyani Sharma, within the context of a large research project on language in the Indian community in London, have explored the issue of quantitatively tracking of stylistic variation among different varieties of English within one speaker. As is the case with Toronto Jamaican speech, the situation they study shows variation that cannot readily be forced into a unidimensional standard-nonstandard continuum. They have therefore zeroed in on the degree of *focusing* of the different lects in a speaker's repertoire at different points in the discourse (Rampton & Devyani Sharma, 2010). They refer to this method, or rather: its descriptive output, as a *lectal focusing index* (LFI).

To arrive at the LFI, Rampton and Sharma first divide up the (transcribed) talk by an individual into units that are determined by the breaks between turn-constructional units (TCU). If within a TCU, there is a change in the stance that the speaker is taking toward the discourse, that also introduces a break in the discourse and thus starts a new analytical discourse unit.

In the next step, each discourse unit is parsed for phonetic features that index one of the varieties in the speaker's repertoire. Because the vast majority of structural features is shared by most varieties of English, only a selection of consonantal and vocalic features enter this analysis: those that are marked in one of the varieties in the speaker's repertoire. Nonetheless, the method's strength lies in the fact that a range of features – those that are indexically linked to one variety – enter the LFI computation. In Rampton and Sharma's study, three varieties are quantified: Standard British English (BrE), Vernacular BrE, and Indian English (IndE). Each discourse unit will have a score between 0 and 1 for each of those varieties (i.e. one unit has the following scores: Standard BrE: .0, Vernacular BrE: .3, IndE: .69, indicating that the speaker is focusing most strongly on IndE within this stretch of discourse). The features that are quantified are not in complementary distribution among the different lects (though some are). Therefore, the scores for the different varieties within each unit of discourse do not necessarily add up to 1.

Rampton and Sharma mention two reservations that they hold with regard to their own method at this current point. One reservation is that they do not find their criteria for the segmentation of the discourse into analyzable units to be clear enough (i.e. the combination of TCU and stance). Another reservation is that the analyst necessarily has to make clear and strong assumptions about which variety a particular variable indexes, which, one might argue, makes the approach "a bit top down" (Devyani Sharma, personal communication).

I address the first reservation by adopting two different criteria for the segmentation of the discourse into quantifiable units: (i) I use as the central criterion the notion of "activity," understood as the answer to the simple question "What is she doing?", both in the theorized, specific sense of conversation-analytic work and in the quotidian sense. Whenever that answer changes, there is a break between discourse units. (ii) If within one 'activity,' there is a change of topic, participant framework (in the sense of Goodwin's 1990 elaboration of Goffman's 1981a "participation frameworks"), or footing (Goffman, 1981b), that will also cause the start of the next segment.<sup>12</sup> In my experience, this is a

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<sup>12</sup> Changes in participant framework almost always implicate changes in footing, and so do topic changes. Goffman (1981a) makes this clear specifically for radio announcer's talk. My list of three secondary criteria (participant framework, topic, footing) might therefore be consolidated to footing alone. I mention all three here for the sake of clarity.

rather clear enough set of criteria that makes for excellent rates of inter-coder reliability. It has the additional advantage that in discourse stretches in which nothing really changes, and which are interrupted only by a brief turn from another speaker, there is no real need to introduce a new segment so long as the main speaker's activity remains the same.

I am not convinced that the second reservation actually states a weakness. As I have argued above, I believe that our ability as linguists to work with abstractions of linguistic varieties, which allows us to map linguistic features that we encounter in discourse onto (previously described, necessarily abstract notions of) linguistic varieties, should be seen as a strength of our trade, not a weakness. Furthermore, we do this mapping only after careful description that is based on fieldwork and informs our description of a speaker's repertoire of lects. At worst, the approach might therefore be considered "partly top down."

One more modification to Rampton and Sharma's LFI procedure was adopted: while their paper quantifies features only categorically, assigning values of either 0 or 1 for each variable/lect, I have also included scalar values for a number of vocalic variables that vary between CanE and JC. (In these cases, the values for each variable indeed happen to be in complementary distribution among the two varieties, although this would not necessarily have to be so.) In the present case, scoring variables on a continuum makes sense in the case of, for example, the TRAP vowel in words such as *mat, track, bad* (pre-nasal contexts were excluded). The realization [æ] indexes CanE, whereas [a] indexes Jamaican (Boberg, 2010; Devonish & Harry, 2008). A speaker who has full command of both Canadian and Jamaican varieties of English can be said to command a continuous range of possible realizations for some vocalic variables: strongly "Canadian" ones, strongly "Jamaican" ones, and in-between ones that are not marked very strongly as either one or the other.

For Carrie's realizations of the TRAP vowel, then, a frontness measure was instrumentally obtained in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010) as the second formant frequency. The full set of F2 measurements for Carrie ( $N \geq 200$  tokens for the TRAP vowel) was normalized to a scale from 0 to 1. Values closer to 1, resulting from higher F2 values, i.e. from vowels produced closer to the front of the mouth, entered the LFI for "CanE." The same value was then subtracted from 1 and the result entered into the LFI calculation for "Patwa."

A second kind of scalar variable was a raising index for the FACE and the GOAT vowel. In CanE, these vowels are raising diphthongs, i.e. their F1 is higher at nucleus than at glide. In Jamaican Creole, they are falling diphthongs (as in [fies, guot]), so the nucleus has a lower F1 than the glide. I measured F1 at 9% and at 80% of the vowel duration for each token and calculated a raising index for each by subtracting the F1 of the glide from the F1 of the nucleus. Positive values indicate a more Canadian-like realization, and negative ones a more Jamaican-like realization. A monophthongal realization would have a raising index of 0. The complete range of raising index values was then again normalized to a scale from 0 to 1, where values closer to 0 indicated more Jamaican-like realizations.

**Table 1** shows all the variables that entered the LFI calculation. Categorical variables were impressionistically coded; scalar variables are based on instrumental formant

measurements. The LFI values for each discourse segment are averages of all variables that occur in that segment.

**Table 1. Variables quantified for the LFI for CanE and Patwa.**

CanE	Patwa	
- Lax GOOSE/FLEECE	- Tense GOOSE/FLEECE	
- Flapped intravoc. /t/	- STRUT rounding	
- BATH fronting	- Released intravocalic /t/	
- MOUTH centering [ʌv]	- Voiceless TH stopping	
	- BATH backing	
- FACE/GOOSE raising index	- 1 - (FACE/GOOSE raising index)	
- TRAP index	- 1 - (TRAP index)	

CATEGORICAL  
SCALAR

To test the LFI procedure I introduce another excerpt from the same recording as the one that was presented above: an on-air conversation between Carrie and a caller, Otis-I, who is a Rastafarian and Reggae musician in Toronto.

- (2) **Otis-I**<sup>13</sup>
- Carrie: ((off air, addressing Diana)) hm? Otis-I? tell  
 him hold on (.) is line one? (1.5) two?  
 (7 sec)
- [21] ((on air)) you know it's a holiday Monday when  
 you have a lot of artists linked up with the  
 Rebel Vibes wanna say good morning and welcome  
 on the telephone lines to Otis-I (.33)
- Otis: Ha:ile Selassie-I [ Rastafa:ri daata  
daughter
- [22] Carrie: [ hm(h)mm the fi(h)rst
- Otis: Empress Menen [ ( )<sup>14</sup>
- Carrie: [ so is

<sup>13</sup> The raw video data for excerpt (2) can be viewed at <http://youtu.be/Eg1RCpJqo0g>. Otis's speech was transcribed from the radio station's mp3 log; that signal is also mixed into the video clip.

<sup>14</sup> The full title of Emperor Haile Selassie's wife, a Rastafarian honorific used to address women.

so you're on the roads you're on you're on the  
roads right now

Otis: yu nuo enitaim yu hiir mi a kaal yu  
*you know whenever you hear me calling you*

mi mos op orli ino  
*I must have had to get up early you know*

Carrie: alright .hhh

[23] → and we're going to get to some Otis-I ['ɔʊrɪs]  
a little [lɪrlɪ] later [lɛɪər] on in the show  
because we got a ['gɑrə] lot of ['lɑrəf]  
requests

[24] I must tell you bredren my email  
blows up for "Live Good" [ I'm telling you

Otis: [ really

Carrie: the ver- what what what for all of this nice  
music that you're putting out I'm telling you  
you're it's it's .hh hh haaa refreshing (.40)  
refreshing

[25] so you see good moods we're gonna get in the  
good moods a little later on we're gonna live  
good with people and we're gonna give a  
blessin up to the Otis-I

Otis: yu don nuo yu nuo hafi liv gud an gud muud  
*that's for sure you know you have to live well  
and stay in a good mood*

yu hafi tel yu aal de taim [ ( ) ]  
*you have to tell yourself all the time*

aal an rekagnaiz yu hafi dos mek yu uon muud  
*and realize that you just have to make your  
own mood*

yu siit?  
*you see?*

[26] Carrie: [ mm hm ]

yu don nuo yu don nuo  
*that's for sure that's for sure*

Otis: (\_\_\_\_\_)

Carrie:yu afi bles op di ai<sup>15</sup> an tangks (.) tangks  
*you must praise the divine in yourself, and thanks*

veri moch fo di lingk op  
*thanks very much for getting in touch*

Otis: aits op Jason tu man yu siit kaa  
*respect to Jason as well you know because*

faar iz a lang taim mi no get a chaans  
*because it's been a long time since I've had a chance*

fi lisn tu yu ino  
*to listen to you*

Carrie:alright well you hear Brother Jason

Brother Jason's gonna come in here very

shortly to start - [ taat spin som myuuzik  
*to start to spin some music*

Otis: [ ( ) ((laugh))

Carrie:bless [ up

Otis: ( ) [ okay

( ) Rastafari Selassie ai gaid an pratek  
*Rastafari Selassie-I guide and protect*

yu hir?  
*you hear?*

Carrie:blessed love idren

Otis: fliemz an faiya:  
*flames and fire*

Carrie:aw (2.32)

[27] ((song starts playing on air))

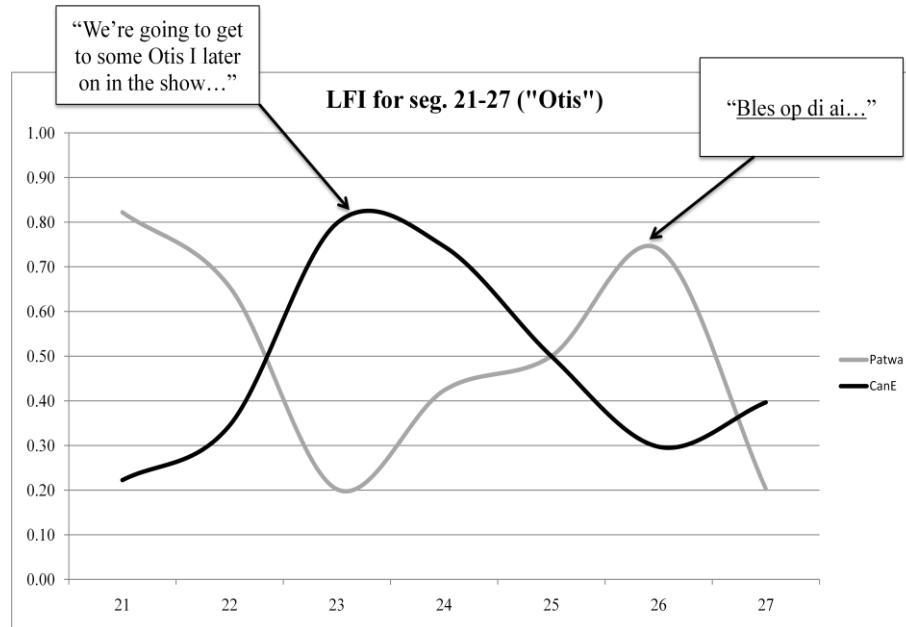
and you know this one's big-big in Jamaica

right now (Lise) Kelly loves it Ron (Muchet)

<sup>15</sup> *Yu afi bles op di ai* 'you have to honor the holy within.' *I* [ai] is the holy syllable of Dread Talk (Pollard, 2000). *I* can be used as a personal pronoun for all three singular persons (cp. the JC paradigm *mi-yu-im/har/i(t)*). *I-an-I* can be used to mean 'we,' as well as singular '*I*.' The *I* denotes a concept in Rastafarian religious thinking, roughly 'the holy within each created being.' The syllable *I* is used in some of the lexical re-formations of Dread Talk, e.g. *idren* 'brother,' where *I* replaces the first syllable of the corresponding JC source *bredren*.

loves it Richard B loves it even D T Taylor's  
talkin about it

The transcript shows Carrie negotiating the competing demands for Jamaican authenticity and for intelligibility. The authenticity demand is here reinforced by the fact that Otis speaks only basilectal Patwa (specifically, the Dread Talk variety). Otis's opening salutation in segment 21-22 is strongly ingroup-directed. In order to open up the discourse to a wider audience that includes non-Rastafarians and non-Patwa speakers, Carrie reacts by stylistically diverging away from Otis's style. She changes footing and directly addresses her audience: "We're going to get to some Otis-I a little later on in the show..." (23). Phonetically, this segment is strongly marked as Canadian: all of the intravocalic, post-stress /t/ sounds are flapped, including the one in *Otis-I*. Figure 5 sequentially plots out the LFI values for all the discourse segments in (2). It clearly shows that segment 23 marks a peak for CanE.



**Figure 5. The LFI procedure applied to Carrie's speech in the "Otis" excerpt.**

As Carrie steers the conversation toward a close, her speech gets increasingly more Patwa-like and less CanE-like (24, 25, 26). She ends the conversation with a closing salutation delivered in Patwa (26). It is common for code-switches to occur in the context of salutations; for e-mail data Hinrichs (2006) has described this discourse strategy as "framing" (see also Bullock, Hinrichs, & Toribio, 2011). Framing can be seen as a strategy of employing one of the codes in one's repertoire for mostly symbolic purposes, and in the margins of a discourse unit.<sup>16</sup> Communicative primacy is accorded to the other code, i.e. the unmarked, dominant one – in this case, (Canadian) English. The function of Patwa in

<sup>16</sup> That discourse unit, in the present case, is the speech event "on-air conversation with caller."

segment 26 amounts to, in Blommaert's formulation, "pure indexicality" (2003); meanwhile it bears little communicative charge.

#### 4 Conclusions

This paper has started from an inventory of the big questions faced by diaspora sociolinguistics, an area of study that is currently growing due in large parts to a merger of interests between varieties of English studies and the sociolinguistics of globalization. In a case study of Jamaican speech in Toronto, this paper has addressed two methodological issues: I have argued that in order to trace changes in the indexicality of mobile varieties such as Jamaican Creole, we must study them in interactional context, ideally at the level of individual style. Second, I have argued that it is in our interest to merge the quantitative strengths of sociolinguistics with the detail and descriptive depth that qualitative approaches can provide. I have tried to demonstrate that a combination of conversation transcript analysis and the quantification of features in a procedure that Rampton and Sharma (2010) have termed the lectal focusing index (LFI), and for which I have proposed some adaptations, is a promising avenue to take in this project.

Specifically, the method used here has provided a way of visualizing the points of an interaction at which a speaker focuses most strongly on one of the lects in her repertoire. This evidence, together with the fieldworker's interpretation of the interactional context, goes a long way in helping us explain the dynamics of Patwa use in a diasporic context.

In this analysis, Patwa has emerged as a code which is carefully deployed for primarily symbolic purposes by Carrie Mullings. In doing so, she brokers between those among her studio guests and audience who are fully competent in Patwa – e.g. musicians who speak Patwa in all of their discourse, as well as her audience's interest in having Rebel Vibez be a locus of "authentic" Jamaicanness – and those who are less, or not at all, competent in Patwa, but wish to be part of the cultural practice of Canadian Reggae nonetheless, e.g. non-Jamaican Caribbeans in Toronto, or Torontonians of non-Caribbean descent.

I will end on a brief discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the LFI procedure. Among its plusses are these:

- The LFI is a potent method of capturing some of the structure underlying the diffuse, "messy marketplace" (Blommaert, 2010) that is linguistic variation in a diasporic community.
- It visualizes those discourse contexts in which focusing occurs for individual lects within a speaker's repertoire, thus providing a direct link between activity and linguistic structure.
- It provides a way of reining in the strengths of a quantitative, variable-centered approach to linguistic variation while freeing us from the assumption of a unidimensional continuum.

Among the minuses, or areas of possible future improvement, are these:

- Because the LFI procedure is designed for the analysis of discourse segments that can sometimes be rather short, the number of quantifiable linguistic items within a segment can be low, which might be seen as challenging the reliability of the index in the statistical sense. My addition of scalar values for continuous vocalic variables goes part of the way toward a remedy of this

problem by (i) providing additional data points and (ii) adding a higher level of detail than categorical variables can provide.

By simply averaging among all data points within a discourse segment, the LFI does not account for the differential indexical loads of different variables. For example, Irvine (2004) makes clear that in the Jamaican creole continuum, those TH sounds that are realized as [θ] in international standard English have a much greater potential to mark discourse as creole when they are stopped, i.e. realized as [t], than their voiced counterparts, i.e. [ð]~[d]. In short, the pronunciation [tɪŋk] for *think* is much more load-bearing as a marker of creoleness than the pronunciation [dis] for *this*. Future iterations of the LFI might address the interconnected issue of implicationality and different indexical weights among variables.

Further potential for research lies in the area of the phonetic correlates of symbolic heritage language use in diasporic contexts. For example: does the mostly indexical use of performable linguistic shibboleths (such as common Rastafarian words and phrases) usually "pull along" other parts of the discourse, which are then phonetically realized in the performed code? Or are shibboleths integrated as islands within dominantly local phonology of the surrounding majority variety? What conditions variation in the discourse that *surrounds* the performable shibboleths? As we are addressing the methodological challenges that are posed by diasporic mixes of varieties of the same language, scholars in varieties of English studies are becoming uniquely positioned to make crucial contributions to the emerging academic discourse on language and globalization.

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## RECONTEXTUALIZING “CHINA” IN HU JINTAO AND MA YING-JEOU’S NEW YEAR’S SPEECHES

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### **1. Introduction**

Language is fundamentally dialogical in nature (c.f. Bakhtin 1981). Discourse is a reproduction of existing social relations and structure, and aspects of texts, e.g. grammar and vocabulary, and is of ideological significance. Political discourse is one of the important aspects of studying language use in the public domain. The central theme is mainly about power, manipulation, and dominance (van Dijk 2008).

Politicians belong to such group of people who are almost always placed in the center of the spotlight and use language to maintain or recreate social and political ideologies. Politicians’ speeches stand out from other types political discourses (c.f. news reporting) due to the speakers’ (politicians) elite social status as well as their power of control especially primary access to the media. What they say in public is often found to be taken as the self-evident truths by the naïve general public. This is linked to Gramsci (1971)’s idea of “hegemony” in a society. Critical Discourse Analysis has made significant contribution to illuminating the relationship between language and ideology in media discourse (Fairclough 1989, Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

This paper analyzes New Year’s addresses delivered by Mr Hu Jintao, President of People Republic of China and Mr Ma Ying-jeou, President of Taiwan over a three-year span. The cross-trait relationship between mainland China and Taiwan is among the most sensitive topics in today world. Due to the scarcity of Chinese political discourse analyses (e.g. Kuo 2002; Flowerdew 2004), little is known about how this delicate relationship is constructed and negotiated in political discourse. Our analysis draws upon Critical Discourse Studies (CDA) and focuses on the use of the term “China” (including its many variants) as well as the first person pronouns (i.e. “we”, “us”, “our”) in constructing their communal/national identities and ideologies in relation to the audience.

## 2. Context of the present paper

### 2.1 Sociopolitical background

#### 2.1.1 Historical landmarks

Contemporary Taiwan has been continuously debating its national as well as international identity (Sobel et al 2010). To understand current relationship between mainland China and Taiwan, it is necessary to review several important historical landmarks in post-1949 era. With the Chinese Civil War turning decisively in the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) favor, the Republic of China (ROC) government led by the Kuomintang (KMT) retreated to Taiwan, while the CCP proclaimed the People's Republic of China (PRC) government in Beijing in 1949. "Cross-Strait Relations" was later adopted as a neutral term. Since 1949, for a very long time, the relations between mainland China and Taiwan have been characterized by limited contact, tensions, and instability. In the early years, military conflicts continued, while diplomatically both governments competed to be the legitimate government of China.

More recently, the legal and political status of Taiwan have become more controversial, the relations between the two sides worsened considerably when Chen Shui-Bian became the president of Taiwan implementing his pro-independence policy in an attempt to separate Taiwan from China permanently. In order to restrain Chen's intentions, the National People's Congress of People's republic of China passed the Anti-Secession Law on 14<sup>th</sup> March 2005, which authorized Beijing to resort to military force if Taiwan declares its independence. To date, the political status of Taiwan has remained a controversial issue contended by both sides, while mainland insists that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China that will be reunited sooner or later, the ruling regime in Taiwan regards Taiwan as an independent country.

At the same time, there have been increasing non-governmental and semi-governmental exchanges between the two sides. One of the most important achievements of these continuous communications was *the 1992 Consensus*. This consensus was an outcome of a meeting taken place in November 1992 between representatives from *Taiwan-based Strait Exchange Foundation* (SEF) and *China based Association for the Relationship Across the Taiwan Strait* (ARATS). The agreements reached include (1) both mainland China and Taiwan belong to *one China*, and (2) both sides agree to verbally express the meaning of that *one China* according to their own individual definition. The 1992 Consensus has been considered to be the guideline policy for the governments from both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The 1992 Consensus is in one way functioning to mitigate the conflicts; however, it itself also allows creation of ambiguities on the term "China".

More recently, governments also began to restore the "three links" (transportation, commerce, and communications) between the two sides. Party-to-party talks between the CCP and the KMT have resumed and semi-official negotiations through organizations representing the interests of their respective governments are being scheduled. Since Ma Ying-jeou was elected to Presidency beginning in 2008, he has been promoting *the Three "Nos" Policies* (i.e. no unifications", "no independence", and "no use of military force"). These policies are in the favor of maintaining the *status quo* when handling the Taiwan's relation with mainland China.

### 2.1.2 The New Year Address and its audience

It has become a tradition for political leaders to give televised New Year's speeches in both mainland China and Taiwan. What is usually included in a New Year address often fits into the following two themes: retrospective and prospective. On one hand, achievements in the past year are often addressed to conclude the previous year; on the other hand, political leaders also describe prospects to welcome the following year. However, mainland and Taiwan differ in the date when the New Year speech is given. In mainland China, it is scheduled on December 31<sup>st</sup>; however it is on January 1<sup>st</sup> in Taiwan. Coincidentally or not, January 1<sup>st</sup> is also the date when the ROC was officially established (in 1912). Therefore, to give a speech on January 1<sup>st</sup> is twice as meaningful for Taiwan. Therefore, to some extent, New Year's speeches given by political leaders in Taiwan are targeting the domestic audience (people in Taiwan); while the speeches given by mainland China leaders are usually found to target domestic (people in mainland China) and international audience, despite the fact that all New Year's speeches are delivered in Mandarin Chinese. It is important to keep in mind the difference in audience-design when analyzing our data.

### 2.2 *Deixis and polyphonic ambiguity*

There has been plenty of work that shows deictical items used by politicians are almost always polyphony; their real reference meanings must be contextualized according to the political situation/climate at the time and/or the surrounding text. Politicians tend to 'manipulate pronouns to develop and indicate their ideological positions on specific issues'. The references of these indexicals are dependent of their context of use. They are referred to as "shifters" by Seidel (1975), which often the time yields political ambiguities, although in most cases are intended by the politicians. It is difficult to work out which of these groups are being referred to even given the context. The employments of these indexicals sometimes function as an involvement strategy of building rapport with the addressed audience. The polyphony of the deixis also contributes to speaker's identification of self and one or more visible "others". It helps to clarify complex multi-voiced sequences with both explicit and implicit positions, selves and others, manifested explicitly in the presence of cited and named individuals. It is important to point out the participant role of the politician (c.f. Goffman 1981). First of all, it is conspicuous that politicians are the "animator" of their speeches. More prominently, politicians' speeches are characterized by its political agenda behind their "words" as they must have at least participated in selecting the ideas to encode; therefore, in a way they are also the "authors" of their speeches. Last but not the least, political leaders who represent different political parties must also show commitment to their own political beliefs.

De Fina's (1995) study on Mexican political discourse is a case in point. She found that the use of 'we' as self-reference shows that the speakers are not speaking as individuals but points to a principal, that is, the group or organization that they have come to represent; while the singular form "I" is used to show politicians' commitment to what they are saying, and therefore stressing the dimension of authorship. Although the use of the singular form of first person pronouns was not intended to be the focus of current study, it is worth mentioning that Ma's speeches show a alternation between the presidential/individual 'I' and the partisan when alternating between the description of his political agenda. In comparison, Hu seems to use the plural form almost exclusively, and the use singular form "I" is almost virtually unseen in his speech.

Flowerdew (2004) studies the discourse of the first Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, Tung Chee-hwa. He showed that the reference meaning of the first person pronoun alternates between “the people of Hong Kong”, “the people of mainland China”, or sometimes both of them. Flowerdew pointed out that it is Tung’s intention to integrate the people of Hong Kong into a larger Chinese society in a post-colonial era. The inclusive use of the first person pronoun serve the purpose and in a way “project values onto the Hong Kong people” that “they may or may not share” (1565). It is also found that “Chinese Culture” seems to form a colocation that works as glue to bind the Hong Kong people with Chinese people in mainland China. In our data, we will show that in order to Ma highlight the shared “Chinese value” and “Chinese culture” in his speeches to bridge the political ideological gap between mainland China and Taiwan as well as to mitigate the potential conflict.

### 3. Methodology

Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted reproduced and resisted by text and talks in the social the political context (Fairclough 1989; Fairclough and Wodak 1997). CDA is a collection of approaches that seek to show how ideological formations, or cultural discourses, are reflected or (re)created by language in context. CDA analysis usually has an explicit political agenda from the beginning, often focusing on some kind of inequality in society.

Our goal for this paper is first find out the reference meanings for “zhongguo” and “women” in Hu and Ma’s speeches respectively. Secondly, we are also interested in reveal the underlying ideology behind the linguistic encoding. Given the critical goal of this paper, CDA was employed as the analytic tool and was conducted on six televised New Year’s Addresses given by Mr. Hu and Mr. Ma (three each) during the past three years (2008-2011). The analysis will tackle the use of “zhongguo” (i.e. “China”) and “women(de)” In order to answer these questions, we have analyzed all occurrences of the plural form of first person pronoun “we” and the use of “China” as well as the context they are found (Table 1). As the following Table 1 suggests, for the “China” variable, we have included China<sup>17</sup>, PRC, ROC, as well mainland China. Also, we have included both of the nominative/ accusative form (women) of “we” for the “we” variable.

**Table 2 Coding schema for “we” and “China”**

Variable	Variation	Gloss
China	zhongguo	“China”
	zhonghua ren min gonghe guo	“People’s Republic of China”
	zhonghua minguo	“Republic of China”
	(zhongguo) dalu	“mainland (China)”
We	Women	“we/us”
	Women de	“our/ours”

<sup>17</sup> The term “China” in Mandarin language functions as an abbreviated term; it may use to refer to PRC, ROC, or the pre-modern China before the early 20<sup>th</sup> century depending on the context.

#### 4. Analysis

##### 4.1 (Re)defining China in discourse

Both Hu and Ma used “zhongguo” or its variations frequently in their speeches. Based upon our corpus, Hu used a total of 43 times of “zhongguo” while Ma used 41 times (Table 1).

**Table 3 The referent of “zhongguo” (China) in Hu and Ma’s speeches**

China	Speaker			
	Hu n	%	Ma n	%
<b>Referential:</b>				
People’s Republic	42	97.67	0	0
Republic of China	0	0	35	85.37
mainland China	0	0	3	7.32
Historical China	1	2.32	3	7.32
Total	43	100	41	100

As shown in Table 1, Hu used “zhongguo” almost exclusively to refer to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) (97.67% of all instances). Ma used the term to mean Republic of China (ROC) most frequently (85.37%). Yet in addition to ROC, Ma also used it to refer to a variety of different entities, including the Chinese society in the past and Mainland China. For instance, in his speech given on January 1<sup>st</sup> of 2011, he compared China’s dynastic past and the founding of the ROC, and rhetorically constructed a dichotomy between the two:

- (1) 一百年前，中國飽受列強欺凌，幾乎亡國，國父領導革命，推翻滿清，建立亞洲第一個民主共和國—中華民國，向人民許下富強的承諾。

一百年前，中國歷史只有朝代的更替，人民不能當家做主。中華民國的建立，向人民許下民主的承諾。<sup>18</sup>

A century ago, as China was besieged by foreign powers and on the verge of collapse, Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing court and founded the Republic of China—the first republic in all of Asia. A century ago, Chinese history consisted only of the succession of dynasties, and the people had no say in the matter. The establishment of the Republic of China was a pledge to the people to bring about a democratic way of life. (Ma, 2011)

In (1), China appeared four times, two of which occur in the form “zhongguo” and refer to the China in the past, and the other two occur as “zhonghua minguo” and explicitly refer to the ROC.

Ma then continued to describe the ROC’s history and made a statement about how Taiwan became part of the Republic, as shown in (2) below:

<sup>18</sup> The original text was given as the English translations sometimes are not faithful to their Mandarin equivalence. Due to the different convention in orthography, excerpts from Ma and Hu’s speeches put in traditional and simplified Chinese characters respectively;

- (2) 八年抗戰，我們粉碎日本侵略的野心，廢除了百年屈辱的不平等條約，臺灣因而重回中華民國版圖。

[T]he ROC [original text uses “women”, we] crushed Japan's ambitions over China [original text does not include the part of “over China”] in an eight-year war of resistance, and abrogated unequal treaties that had been in place for almost a century. As a result, Taiwan was returned to the fold of the Republic of China<sup>19</sup>. (Ma, 2011)

The form of “zhongguo” only occurs in Ma’s speech when he was referring to the past. When he spoke about today’s China, he consistently used two terms related to “zhongguo” – “zhonghua minguo” for Taiwan, and “zhongguo dalu” (*Mainland China*) for the other side of the Strait. For instance, in (3), “zhonghua minguo” is used almost interchangeably with Taiwan and in contrast with “dalu” (*Mainland*), though the paragraph starts with “zhonghua minguo” (the *ROC*):

- (3) 未來一百年，中華民國要做中華文化的領航者。臺灣沒有大陸的文革動亂，六十多年來，臺灣保存了中華文化的深厚底蘊，從生活美感到藝術美學，它的傳統韻味，讓世界驚艷。

In the next century, the ROC will be the standard-bearer at the leading edge of Chinese culture. Taiwan has never experienced anything like mainland China's [original text used “dalu”, *mainland*] Cultural Revolution. Having preserved the rich roots of Chinese culture intact over the past six decades or so, Taiwan now dazzles the world with an aesthetic sense and artistic verve that are firmly grounded in a deep vein of traditional culture. (Ma, 2011)

In (3) above, Ma not only constructed a dichotomy between Taiwan and Mainland, but further praised the former as the real continuity of the Chinese culture (having preserved the rich roots of Chinese culture). In (4) below, Ma further identified the other side of the Strait as “zhongguo dalu” (mainland China) and distinguished it from Taiwan, though both sides are “descendents of Emperors Yen and Huang”<sup>20</sup>:

- (4) 我們希望有一天，所有炎黃子孫都能和臺灣人民一樣，享有自由、民主與法治的多元生活方式。我們深信，這樣的夢想並不遙遠，因為這些價值在臺灣都已經實現，不是西方人的專利，臺灣經驗應可作為中國大陸未來發展的借鏡。

We hope one day that all descendents of Emperors Yen and Huang will enjoy freedom, democracy, and rule of law, as we do here in Taiwan. This is not a far-off dream, because these values have all been realized in Taiwan. They are not exclusive to the West. Taiwan’s experience can serve as a reference for the future development of mainland China. (Ma, 2011)

Thus, Taiwan is not only discursively represented as the continuity of the Republic of China and the Chinese culture, but also as the entity that enjoys freedom, democracy and

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<sup>19</sup> Taiwan was previously a colony of Japan *as per* Treaty of Shimonoseki that ended the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895. It was returned to the government of China then, the Republic of China, in 1945 at the end of WWII.

<sup>20</sup> The term “all descendents of Emperors Yen and Huang” is derived from myths and has been commonly used to refer to the Chinese people, including different minorities within China and overseas Chinese, since late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Liu, 1999).

rule of law, and thus should become a reference for the future development of mainland China. In comparison, in Hu's speech, "zhongguo" frequently occurs as synonymous to "zhonghua renmin gonghe guo" (the People's Republic of China) and in contrast with the rest of the world. For instance, in (5), Hu described China in the past sixty years since the founding of the People's Republic:

- (5) 60年前, 中华人民共和国的成立揭开了中华民族发展历史新纪元。60年来, 中国的面貌发生了历史性变化, 中国同世界的关系也发生了历史性变化。

The founding of the People's Republic of China six decades ago represent a new historic period in the development of the Chinese nation. During the past 60 years, China has experienced historic changes. The relationship between China and the rest of the world also experienced historic changes. (Hu, 2009)

There is one instance in the corpus where Hu used "zhongguo" to refer to China's history once, as shown in (7):

- (6) 中国各族人民隆重庆祝新中国成立60周年, 为伟大祖国的发展进步感到无比自豪, 决心在新的起点上把中国特色社会主义事业继续推向前进。

Chinese people of all ethnic groups have celebrated the 60th anniversary of the founding of New China, feeling extremely proud of our country's development, and determined to promote the socialist course with Chinese characteristics at a new starting point. (Hu, 2010)

In (7) above, Hu used "xin zhongguo" (New China) to refer to the People's Republic of China in a historical sense by contrasting it with old China. However, "old China" never occurs in his speech.

#### 4.2 Identifying "us" and "them"

"Women" occurred 99 times in Ma's speech corpus. In comparison, it occurred fourteen times in Hu's speech. Both speakers use the pronoun to mean different entities, sometimes referring to the collective of people while some other times referring to only the government (Table 2).

**Table 4 The referent of "women" (we) in Hu and Ma's speeches**

We	Speaker			
	Hu		Ma	
	n	%	n	%
<b>Referential:</b>				
The nation/people	6	42.86	62	62.63
The government	8	57.14	37	37.37
Total	14	100	99	100

- (7) 这是为何政府推动与大陆协商「经济合作架构协议」(ECFA)的原因。  
我们希望在这项架构协议中, 纳入降低关税的「早期收穫」条款, 以

维繫台湾产品外销的竞争力，避免外销市场的边缘化，并引进新的外来投资，进而激励台湾经济成长，创造更多就业。

This is why the government is pushing to sign an economic cooperation framework agreement (ECFA) with mainland China. We hope to see an "early harvest" list of items eligible for lower tariffs included in the ECFA to help us maintain our export competitiveness, avoid being marginalized in our export markets, attract new foreign investment, stimulate Taiwan's economic growth and boost employment. (Ma, 2010)

In Ma's speech, "women" occurs a few times together with "er qian san bai wan ren" (*23 million people*). The co-occurrence (我们二千三百万, *us 23 million people*) makes the deictic form of "us" explicitly refer to people in Taiwan and exclude everyone else. For instance, the co-occurrence happens in the following two statements:

- (8) 我們應當充滿自信，臺灣的未來，當然是掌握在我們二千三百萬人手中。

We should have full confidence that Taiwan's future is, as a matter of course, in the hands of its 23 million people. (Ma, 2010)

- (9) 我們要相互扶持，彼此勉勵，國家的前途、臺灣的未來，都掌握在我們二千三百萬人手中，由我們自己來決定。我們要以實力捍衛中華民國主權，以行動維護臺灣尊嚴，以智慧打造臺灣未來，讓我們共同開創下一個百年盛世！

We must support and encourage each other, because the nation's prospects and Taiwan's future are in the hands of our 23 million people. We decide matters for ourselves. We must steadfastly defend the ROC's sovereignty and work to protect Taiwan's dignity. With wisdom, let us create a brighter future for Taiwan and another prosperous century. (Ma, 2011)

Hu used "women" when he spoke about policies in mainland China, such as in (1):

- (10) 在新的一年里，我们将坚定不移高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，以邓小平理论和“三个代表”重要思想为指导，深入贯彻落实科学发展观，保持宏观经济政策的连续性和稳定性，继续实施积极的财政政策和适度宽松的货币政策，根据新形势新情况着力提高政策的针对性和灵活性，更加注重提高经济增长质量和效益，更加注重推动经济发展方式转变和经济结构调整，更加注重推进改革开放和自主创新、增强经济增长活力和动力，更加注重改善民生、保持社会和谐稳定，更加注重统筹国内国际两个大局，努力实现经济平稳较快发展，继续推进全面建设小康社会进程。

In the upcoming new year, we will unwaveringly uphold the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, deepen the implementation of the Scientific Outlook on Development under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory and the important thought of Three Represents, maintain a balanced and relatively fast economic growth based on the expansion of domestic consumption, accelerate the change of development mode and structural adjustment, increase the ability of sustainable development, deepen the reform and opening up to inject vigor and vitality into social and economic

development, enhance social program construction, accelerate the speed of resolving hard issues confronting citizens, maintain sound and fast social and economic development. (Hu, 2009)

In (10), Hu discussed China's policies in the upcoming year. Through using the collective pronoun "women", the social actor that makes and implements these policies is made unclear (either referring to the government or the general public, or both). Yet given the context, it is clear that these policies are only effective within the PRC, and thus despite who "women" actually refers to, it is pointing at mainland China only. In addition to using "women" to refer to the government, Hu also used "women" to refer both the government and the general public, as in (11)

(11) 在这里，我谨代表中国政府和中国人民，对世界各国人民今年以来给予我们大力支持和热情帮助，表示衷心的感谢！

On behalf of the Chinese government and the Chinese people, I would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to people from all around the world for their support and assistance. (Hu, 2009)

In (11), Hu explicitly stated that he was speaking *on behalf of the Chinese government and the Chinese people*, and then moved to thank *people from all around the world* for their support. In this instance, Hu constructed rhetorically solidarity and full cooperation between the Chinese government and the general public by including both in "women". Interestingly enough, in (12), there is one instance where "women" refers to the entire human race:

(12) 此时此刻，在我们共同生活的这个星球上，还有不少民众正蒙受着战争、贫穷、疾病、自然灾害等苦难的煎熬。中国人民深切同情他们的不幸境遇，将一如既往向他们提供力所能及的帮助。

At this moment on this planet we inhabit, there are still people who are suffering the effects of war, poverty, sickness and natural disasters. The Chinese people have great sympathy for their pain, and are always willing to do all we [original text does not contain "we" here] can to help them overcome the difficulties." (Hu, 2009)

In (12), Hu began the sentence by saying *on this planet we inhabit* and positioned the speaker as a member of the world. He then spoke about the people *who are suffering the effects of war, poverty, sickness and natural disasters* as "tamen" (*them*), and stated that the Chinese people will *do all we can to help them*. Through using "women" to refer to the entire human race, Hu situates the China as a member of the international community. Yet by indicating the people in other countries as *them* who will receive help from the Chinese people, Hu again is rhetorically representing the Chinese people.

## 5. Conclusion and Discussion

Based on our analysis, we see that both Hu and Ma used "zhongguo" or its variations frequently in their New Year speeches. Ma consistently used "zhonghua minguo" (the ROC) in contrast with "zhongguo dalu" (mainland China), and the former as the legitimate heir of the historic China. Hu used both "zhongguo" (China) and "zhonghua renmin gongheguo" (the PRC) in his speeches, and China is situated in relation to the world. Therefore, in Ma's speeches, China loses its geographical sense but instead it is a

historical concept. In Hu's speeches, China is instead located in the world and it is synonymous with the PRC.

Both Hu and Ma used "women" to refer to the people and the government. Ma's use of "women" is often closely associated with a strong geographical sense (e.g. Taiwan, the 23 million people) and excludes people outside Taiwan. Hu's use of "women" is consistent with his use of China, as it also situates China and the Chinese people within the international community. In addition, Hu also commonly uses "women" to represent both the people and the government of PRC, and rhetorically construct the absolute solidarity and full cooperation between the two.

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## Preserving the Integrity of National Identity: Metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian Political Discourse

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This paper is part of a wider research project dealing with Serbian political discourse, and focuses specifically upon the metaphor as one of the important argumentative strategies in political discourse, with the example of Serbian political discourse on Kosovo.

### **1. Introduction**

As Lakoff and Johnson remarked in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 2003), much of our conceptual system is metaphorically structured. Metaphors enable us to understand complex areas of experience in terms of more familiar ones. This explains why metaphorical expressions are a common feature of all languages, especially when it comes to explaining such abstract topics as the politics, or the ‘imagining’ of a national identity (El Refaie, 2001: 353-354). Nevertheless, metaphors are not universal, and some authors have begun to stress the cultural and social dimension of metaphor (for ex. Quinn, 1991). As El Refaie (2001: 353) observes, studies of public discourse in different countries have demonstrated that the choice of metaphors is fundamentally a social and political issue.

My aim in this presentation is to show how Serbian politicians apply metaphor as a means of constructing Serbian national identity, through the creation of an *ethnoscape*, a sacred territory of a nation, invested with emotional connotations and cultural meanings (Smith, 1999). The *ethnoscape* can generate powerful and long-lasting myths, symbols and memories within a community (Smith, 1999: 24). These myths and memories are represented and recreated in the political discourse. The loss of this *ethnoscape* has serious consequences for a nation<sup>21</sup>. Such is the case for Serbia, which has been losing Kosovo in the last two decades. The process culminated in 2008, when the Albanian majority in the province proclaimed independence from Serbia. In order to challenge and deal with this “historic wrong” (Smith, 1999: 24), Serbian politicians create and recreate a discourse on Kosovo by using specific metaphorical language. Their choice of metaphors is not arbitrary, but serves the discursive construction of Kosovo as Serbia’s *ethnoscape*, the holy ancestral land, a crucial concept in the argumentative strategy aimed at redeeming the political situation and recovering the threatened national identity (cf. Smith, 1999).

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<sup>21</sup> As Smith puts it, “to be without [the] ancestral homeland, or even a part of it, is [...] to be without memory or posterity, for the community to be incomplete, [...] almost a non-nation, or at any rate seriously deficient and impaired” (1999: 24).

The choice object of observation here are speeches delivered by different Serbian politicians, as well as the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church (whose speeches often have political connotations). The chronological benchmark of my corpus, in general, is the period leading up to the proclamation of independence of Kosovo in 2008, and its immediate aftermaths.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

My main theoretical and methodological approach is that of conceptual metaphor as a “fundamental argumentative feature and crucial tool for addressing persuasion in text” (Ferrari, 2007: 604). Metaphors constitute mechanisms of conceptualization for understanding and expressing complex, abstract concepts (Aponte Moreno, 2008: 40). This is why, as it is often claimed, the use of metaphor is particularly frequent and necessary in politics. Politics represent an abstract and complex domain of experience, and metaphors are suitable for simplifying these complex domains, making them less abstract and, therefore, more accessible (Semino, 2008: 90) A major function of political metaphor, in general, is “to link the individual and the political by providing a way of seeing relations, reifying abstractions, and framing complexity in manageable terms” (Thompson, 1996: 185-6, cited in Semino, 2008: 90).

The choice of a particular metaphor over another is extremely important. It is not arbitrary; it frames a topic in such a way that some aspects of the target domain are highlighted and others are hidden (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), and therefore construct the reality in one way rather than another (Fairclough, 1992: 194). Thus, metaphors are a powerful ideological tool.

Many different aspects of the political domain can be constructed metaphorically, particularly the acute social and political problems that need to be solved (Semino, 2008:91). Accordingly, Kosovo has been one of the most important issues on Serbian political agenda for several decades. It is the problem addressed equally by the left and the right wing politicians. Later on, I will briefly explain the historical background of the problem. In order to understand the metaphorical language of the Serbian political discourse, it is important to keep in mind that

“Serbs regard the province of Kosovo as the heartland of the Serb people and the original center of their homeland. The conflict in that province between its [...] Serb minority and the Albanian majority [...] derives in part from the strong attachments to this historic area which witnessed the decisive defeat of the latest Serbian king, Lazar, by the Ottomans at the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389, and hence the dissolution of the Serbian kingdom. The large monument that marks the site of the battle is still a place of pilgrimage for Serbs; just as the epic ballads of Kosovo and its hero, Marko (Kraljevic), hold a special place in the hearts of the people to this day. For these reasons, the province of Kosovo remains a sacred and integral part of the homeland and history of the Serb people, and could not easily be relinquished” (Smith, 1999: 25).

For the present analysis, it is also useful to keep in mind that not only the choice of a metaphor, but also the very choice of topical information in political discourse is crucial for the construction of the reality in one way rather than another. Thus, typically, negative information about Us will not be emphasized or topicalized in political discourse, whereas negative information about Them, the Others, tends to be topicalized. And *vice versa*: Our positive characteristics will be emphasized, while Their positive characteristics will not (van Dijk, 2002: 228). Thus, it is possible to identify two types of metaphors in Serbian political discourse with the same source domain - Kosovo - but with different

target domains, depending on whether they refer to Kosovo as *our* homeland or Kosovo as a territory occupied by *them*.

### **3. The Historical Context of Serbia**

Kosovo and Metohija make up Serbia's southern province. The first Serbian state was founded on Kosovo territory in the early Middle Ages; also, Kosovo has been the base of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which numerous churches and monasteries in Kosovo and Metohija still testify (Metohija, by the way, comes from *metoh*, property or land of a monastery). Kosovo was the site of the legendary Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389, which marked the end of the Serbian medieval kingdom and the beginning of five centuries long Ottoman dominance in the Balkans. During that period, the demographic situation in Kosovo radically changed. Islam was introduced to the province; there were several waves of migrations of Serbs from the province, especially in the 17th century, during the Turkish-Austrian wars, when the Turkish terror over the Christian population intensified. On the other hand, most of the Albanian population in the province converted to Islam, which led to their better treatment on the part of the Turkish ruling class, and different privileges for their chiefs. Nevertheless, the Patriarchate of the Serbian Orthodox Church remained in Kosovo, in the ancient town of Pec.

The independent Serbian state took over the province of Kosovo in 1912 after the Balkan Wars and the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire. The ethnic tensions among the Serbs and Albanians were an issue during all of the 20th century. Serbs continued to flee from Kosovo, especially during and after the WWII, and by the 1990s they constituted only 10% of the population. The conflict culminated during the regime of Slobodan Milosevic, with the direct armed confrontation between the Serbian police and the newly created Kosovo Liberation Army, an Albanian guerrilla group. The conflict rapidly grew into a real war, resulting in numerous civilian casualties. The war ended with the NATO bombing of Serbia in March 1999. Kosovo has become a U.N. protectorate, run by the United Nations' Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Soon after the end of NATO bombing, Milosevic's regime fell, and a new democratic government was established in Serbia. Nevertheless, the ethnic issues in Kosovo were far from being resolved. In March 2004, violence escalated again, this time against Serbs. Dozens of people were killed, and many churches and medieval monasteries were completely destroyed.

In February 2006, U.N.-supported talks on the future of Kosovo began. Albanians from Kosovo insisted on the independence, while Serbs claimed it should remain an autonomous province of Serbia. Finally, Kosovo declared independence from Serbia on February 17th 2008. Many countries have recognized Kosovo as an independent state, but even more of them have not. Serbia is, certainly, refusing to give up on Kosovo, and the struggle for keeping Kosovo an integral part of Serbian state remains one of the pivotal tasks of the Serbian politics.

As I have just pointed out, there are several historical reasons for the strong attachment that Serbs feel towards Kosovo. It is the territory of the first Serbian state, the see of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the place where one of the decisive battles in Serbian history took place, the land filled with churches, monasteries and graves of our ancestors, the land where many of the legendary Serbs lived and fought. Kosovo is, no doubt, the *ethnoscape* of Serbian people. It is not surprising that Serbian politicians focus on that aspect of Kosovo in their efforts to come to a favorable solution of the Kosovo problem. They emphasize it not only when addressing the Serbian public, but also when communicating with foreign politicians and their general public. As I will show, the representation of Kosovo as Serbia's *ethnoscape* is the key argumentative strategy in Serbian political discourse on Kosovo, and it is achieved by a frequent use of metaphor.

#### 4. Examples of Different Metaphors in Serbian Contemporary Political Discourses

I will now present different examples of metaphors Serbian politicians apply in the discursive construction of Kosovo. One type of metaphors serves to construct Kosovo as Serbia's *ethnoscape*, holy land that has always belonged to Serbian people. The other type of metaphor with the same source domain refers to different problems and/or dangers related to the Kosovo independence.

##### The construction of *ethnoscape*

1. Vuk Jeremic, Foreign Minister in Serbian Government since 2007; at Wheaton College, Chicago, March 17 2011: "Well, for us, Serbs, Kosovo is like *the very air we breathe*. It's *the beating heart of our culture* - and home to our most sacred shrines. Kosovo is the land where hundreds of thousands of Serbs gave their lives for their country and the cause of freedom. [...] [Kosovo] is in our dreams at night, and in our prayers in church. It is *the apple of our eye*. It is *our Jerusalem*."

2. In the same speech, the Minister is quoting the late Serbian Patriarch Pavle, who said: "[Kosovo] is *the well spring* of the Serbian spiritual tradition, and of our statehood; *the heart and soul* of our nation - indivisible and essential. That is why our forefathers consecrated its soil with thousands of beautiful garlands, adorning the land with magnificent churches and monasteries dedicated to the glory of God."

3. In an interview to Aljazeera (Sep. 2010), Minister Jeremic said: "For Serbs, Kosovo is widely seen as *the cradle of the nation* and *sits at the heart* of national folk histories."

4. In an interview to Der Spiegel (May 2010), Minister Jeremic stated: "Kosovo has deep historical and spiritual meaning for the people of Serbia. In a certain sense, *it is our Jerusalem*."

5. In a speech delivered at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Center (Israel, July 2008), Minister Jeremic stated: "We think of Kosovo as *the cradle of our civilization*. Kosovo is *like our Jerusalem*."

6. In London, Nov. 2007, commenting on the possibility of British recognition of Kosovo independence, Minister Jeremic said: "I want to appeal to your sense of fair-play and honesty. Our country is ancient, just like yours, with ancient principles. And Kosovo is *the cradle of our civilization*."

7. On the other hand, Albanian politicians from Kosovo reject the metaphorical language. In Sp. 2010, Kosovo Prime Minister, Hashim Tachi, in an interview about the UN's Kosovo Resolution, asked about how did he feel about the Serbian claim that Kosovo is the birthplace of their nation, the cradle of the Serbian history and culture, responded: "Kosovo is a country of [the] people of Kosovo [...] and Serbia is a state - it is our neighbour, nothing more, nothing less."

8. Boris Tadic, the President of Serbia, in a speech delivered for the 150th anniversary of the Serbian Orthodox Municipality in Vienna (Jun 2010), stresses how important is Kosovo for Serbian identity: "For Serbia, the Kosovo problem [...] is not just a question of territorial integrity and sovereignty, but, above all, a question of preserving the identity. [...] Today, we are facing the attempts to usurp the Serbian orthodox identity in Kosovo and Metohija [...] No one without the identity has a future. That question is transcendent and it is the core of our existence. [...] Serbia is *the Christian cradle of Europe*."

9. Patriarch Irinej, after the ceremony of his enthronement in Pec (Kosovo, Oct. 2010) said that "*Serbian spiritual traces and historical roots* were being erased in Kosovo" and asked "[f]rom this holy place [...] the powerful world factors, in whose hands the fate of Kosovo is" not to deprive the Serbian people of "a century-long right to their homeland, to their property, to their ancestors' graves, to their glorious holy places."

10. Patriarch Irinej (Sep. 2010), at one ceremony in the South of Serbia, stated: "Kosovo is *our cradle* and we will never renounce it."

11. In Vienna, during the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Serbian Orthodox Municipality, Serbian Patriarch Irinej said that “Kosovo [is] not only a geographical region of the Serbs, but the holiest land, *the cradle of Serbian spirituality and independence.*”

12. Patriarch Irinej’s Enthronement Homily, Patriarchate Pec, Kosovo, October 3rd 2010: “*The Throne of the Patriarchate of Pech was and remains the soul of the Serbian people.* [...] Similarly, the Bishops of Dalmatia have titled themselves as „Metropolitans of Kosovo and Exarchs of the Throne of Pech”. In so doing they expressed and confirmed the bond of Krajina-Dalmatian Serbs to *their Kosovo cradle* and canonical bond to the Patriarchate of Pech. [...] All that has been said is, sadly, still visible on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. We cannot, but mention *the gaping wound on the body of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian people*, here in Kosovo and Metohija, in this truly ‘dread place of judgment’. Today we are visiting and bowing before this sanctuary in our most sacred Serbian land, *the cradle of our history, spirituality, Christian, Orthodox culture of the Serbian people.*”

13. Serbian ex-PM, Vojislav Kostunica, in Jun 2007 stated: “*A new Kosovo battle is being fought between Serbia and the U.S.*”

#### Their dangerous mission impossible

14. In March of 2011, Patriarch Irinej stated that “*a dark cloud lingers over the sacred Serbian land, Serbian Jerusalem, Kosovo.*”

15. Oliver Ivanovic, State Secretary of Serbia’s Ministry for Kosovo (Feb. 2011), as one of the successes of the Serbian policy in Kosovo sees the fact that Serbia “*stem the tide of recognition of Kosovo.*”

16. Marko Jaksic, the President of the Community of Kosovo Municipalities (Feb. 2011): “We see today that Kosovo cannot survive as an independent country. It is *isolated island* that has no access anywhere.”

17. Serbian Minister for Kosovo and Metohija, Goran Bogdanovic, in an interview for the Radio B92 (Feb. 2009), commenting on the creation of Kosovo Police Forces: “At the same time when *Kosovo remains a tinderbox*, [...] the creation of such a force can only worsen the situation.”

18. Serbian ex-Prime Minister, Vojislav Kostunica, Sep. 2008, commenting on Kosovo independence: “*Kosovo is not a unique case, but a dangerous virus of one-sided declaration of independence that will plague other countries.*”

## 5. Analysis

Basically, two types of metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse can be identified.

1. Metaphors that compare Kosovo with *cradle, heart, soul, apple of the eye*, that is, invoke essential parts of the body, or the most cherished and innocent period of life, such as early childhood.

The metaphors such as KOSOVO IS THE HEART (ex. 1, 2) or KOSOVO IS THE SOUL (ex. 2, 12) allow us the following inference: SERBIA IS A PERSON (and has the heart/soul); just as you cannot live without the heart or the soul, so Serbia/ Serbian people/ each one of the Serbs cannot survive without Kosovo.

The frequently used metaphor KOSOVO IS THE CRADLE (ex. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12) allows us to make the following inference: Kosovo is related to the childhood of Serbia, Kosovo is in the origins of Serbia, Kosovo is at the very beginning of the life of Serbia, Kosovo is crucial for Serbia’s life and survival, Serbia (that is, its citizens) wouldn’t be alive without Kosovo.

In the metaphor KOSOVO IS THE APPLE (LIGHT) OF THE EYE (ex. 1), the inference is as follows: Kosovo is as precious for Serbian people as the sight of the eyes; without Kosovo, Serbia is handicapped, blind, crippled.

But, KOSOVO IS also A WOUND (ex. 12). Again, SERBIA IS A PERSON and the wound that Kosovo represents on its body threatens its life and well being.

These conceptual metaphors draw inferences that depend on person's beliefs and experiences. Kosovo is the origin of our lives, Kosovo is vital for our survival etc. Each of these entailments may have further entailments.

These metaphors are also used to describe Kosovo as Serbia's *ethnoscape*, holy land, crucial to the Serbian identity and, therefore, future existence. They present Kosovo as the essence of Serbian being, hence, for Serbian people it is impossible to relinquish Kosovo without renouncing themselves. The metaphor that best represents this concept is KOSOVO IS JERUSALEM (ex. 1, 4, 5, 14). Just like Jewish people have never betrayed nor renounced Jerusalem, their holy land, so Serbs can never betray and renounce Kosovo.

These metaphors refer to *us* and *our land* in a positive way, as a nation with a long tradition and a strong identity rooted in our holy land.

2. The other type of metaphor is not as frequent in the shown examples as the previous one. It is a group of metaphors pointing to natural phenomena related directly (*isolated island* in ex. 16) or indirectly to Kosovo (*dark cloud* in ex. 14, *tide of recognition* in ex. 15), as well as diseases (*dangerous virus, plague* in ex. 18), or explosive materials (*tinderbox* in ex. 17). All these metaphors are aiming to stress the danger that the independence of Kosovo represents for the entire international community, and the unsustainable nature of such a project. These metaphors refer to *them* as the side that creates problems, rather than trying to solve them.

As the ex. 13 shows, Serbia needs to keep fighting for Kosovo. Nowadays, the Turks, "the traditional enemies" of the Serbs, are replaced by the U.S. in this modern version of the "Kosovo Battle".

## 6. Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to show that metaphors used in Serbian political discourse on Kosovo are one of the important tools in the process of constructing Serbian national identity. Metaphors help create an *ethnoscape*, a sacred territory of a nation, invested with emotional connotations and cultural meanings. *Ethnoscapes* tend to mobilize fairly large numbers of people, because they generate powerful and enduring communal myths, symbols and memories. (Smith, 1999: 24). These communal myths are particularly important to evoke in times of national crisis, such as the one that Serbia has been facing since the loss of its southern province, Kosovo.

In order to determine which metaphors Serbian politicians exploit in their discursive construction of Kosovo as Serbia's *ethnoscape*, I have examined speeches delivered by different Serbian politicians, such as the President of the Republic, the ex-Prime Minister, or the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I have also included several examples from the homilies and speeches of the Patriarch of Serbian Orthodox Church, because of their strong political connotation. All of the examples are from the period immediately preceding the proclamation of Kosovo independence in 2008, and the aftermaths of the proclamation of independence.

As it was shown, it is possible to identify two groups of metaphors. The first group serves to present Kosovo as Serbia's sacred land, and the most common among them have *heart, soul, apple of the eye* or *cradle* as a target domain. The other common target domain in this group of metaphors is *Jerusalem*. All these target domains point out to Kosovo as something as precious for Serbs as the life itself, while at the same time explain why Serbia can never renounce it.

The other group of metaphors has different target domains for the same source domain, Kosovo. These target domains include natural disasters and diseases, and are deployed to represent possible consequences of Kosovo independence, negative for Serbia. Each of the identified entailments can have further entailments.

The main function of this argumentative strategy of Serbian political discourse is to present Kosovo as the key to Serbian national identity. Kosovo is discursively constructed by a careful choice of metaphors in a way that contributes to the maintenance of the nation as a unified and unique culture community of citizens (cf. Smith, 1999).

The analysis of the metaphor in Serbian political discourse brings additional evidence to those studies of public discourse in different countries which have demonstrated that the choice of metaphors is fundamentally a social and political issue. That choice helps present the reality in one way or another, which makes metaphors a powerful ideological tool and one of the crucial elements of political discourse in general.

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## **Ideologies of Purity and Corruption: The Local Impacts of Sinhalese Nationalist Discourses**

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### **1. Introduction**

This paper explores the connection between widely circulated, ethnolinguistic nationalist discourses and register formation (Agha 2004, 2007) among a student community in Kandy, Sri Lanka. The Raggers group at the University of Peradeniya make up the overwhelming majority of the Sinhalese-speaking student body. Named for the ragging or ritual hazing senior Raggers enact on other group members, part of their ragging rituals exist to reinforce rules forbidding the use of English and supporting their own, distinct register of Sinhala. Certain social and educational factors may seem to foster Raggers' strong preference for Sinhala and rejection of English. First, most Raggers were educated in Sinhala medium schools where English exposure was limited to coursework a couple hours a day. Also, many Raggers come from rural areas where they have less exposure to English compared with urban centers, and then Raggers enter the university and are thrust into a largely English medium institution, taking classes alongside students with more formal training in English.

But despite having attended Sinhala medium secondary schools, many Raggers are functioning bilinguals, passing English proficiency tests by their first or second year of coursework in the university's English Language Teaching Unit. Yet, the group's "no English, Sinhala-only" rule governs members' interaction with other students, faculty, and university officials; and there are consequences for those who disobey it.

- (1) a. "After they caught me speaking English in the canteen batahira sarasivya ("west campus") --that very same day, they dragged me from my friends, forced me to shave my private parts and sent me to attend class in a dress."
- b. "For so-called English sympathies, my friend had to keep chili flakes in his undershorts all night... They made him sleep on their floor so he didn't take them out."

The type of ragging described in example (1) only occurs in the Raggers community for serious transgressions against Ragger codes of conduct. Other transgressions might

include failure to restrict oneself to designated Sinhalese Ragger areas of campus or undue fraternizing with those outside the Sinhalese Raggers group.

But where rules about fraternizing and territorial space seem more stereotypical characteristic of a group or club, why is code choice so central to the Raggers community?: Why do they punish group members for speaking English when the state has recently been re-embracing English and English competency affords them more opportunities in Sri Lankan society? And why do they favor Written Sinhala registers over other varieties? I argue Ragger linguistic practices are related to widespread movements of Sinhalese nationalism—nationalism that promotes pro-Sinhala, anti-English ideologies that have had a long history in Sri Lanka and still garner extensive support today.

## **2. Register formation: Discrete versus fluid models of language**

Determining this link between nationalist ideologies and youth register formation exemplifies how circulated discourses become recursive models for local interactions (Irvine & Gal 2000). Thus in studying youth register formation I use the term “register” following Agha (2007: 144) where a register is a “cultural model” that reflects social relationships and shared community ideologies through linguistic features. Past register studies (c.f., Gordon 1983; Trudgill 1983; Halliday 1988; Nash 1993; Eble 1996, etc.) viewed register as purely repertoire based distinctions, using models that prioritized prescriptive approaches, such as cataloging repertoire size, grammatical range, and semiotic range (Agha 2004: 37). Previous Sinhala studies (Gair 1968, 1986, 1992, 1998; DeSilva 1974, 1976, 1979; Fairbanks et al 1986; Gair & Paolillo 1988; Paolillo 1992, 1997) similarly labeled the language diglossic based mainly on discrete phonological, lexical, and grammatical categorizations.

Neither of these bodies of literature captured how language relates to social meaning; how and why it gains, loses, and changes meaning across interactional contexts, and how its ideological aspects are responsible for perceptions of distinct register categories. Neither registers, nor language varieties, nor other linguistic categorizations are “tied down to a predetermined structure” (Irvine 2001: 43), rather the ideological significance of language is of central importance and linguistic variables should be viewed as resources for (de/re)constructing social meaning. (c.f., Silverstein 2003; Irvine and Gal 2000; Irvine 2001; Eckert 2000, 2003, 2005; and Schilling-Estes 2004) as with studies of youth language and culture, which emphasize language as negotiation site for stances and identities that reflect the dominant social forces surrounding them (Eckert 1989; Bucholtz 1999a, 1999b; Miller 2004; Queen 2004; Reyes 2007; Pujolar 2001; Evaldsson 2005; Chun 2006; Roth Gordon 2007a, 2007b; Smith Hefner 2007; Mendoza Denton 2008) and language ideology literature (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Gal and Woolard 1995; Errington 1998; Irvine 1998; Woolard 1998; Kroskrity 2000), particularly work that examines how speakers orient toward competing languages and language varieties (Hill & Hill 1980; Hill & Hill 1986; Hill 1995, Hill1998; Rampton 1995; Kroskrity 1998; Cutler 1999); and work that conceptualizes language behavior as privileging the interests of certain sociopolitical positions, where speakers rely on language as a primary way to create and express asymmetrical relationships between oppositional groups. Similar to Errington’s (1998) description of the Indonesian language, used by the state to represent an imagined, homogenous group transitioning into modernism, both the Raggers linguistic practices and ideologies common in nationalist discourses privilege the Sinhalese ethnicity by framing written varieties of Sinhala as a national symbol of cultural preservation and purism.

### 3. Written Sinhala

Raggers prioritize Written Sinhala via “teach sessions” (or meetings held by senior members of the Raggers group) to teach younger Raggers the practices of the community. Through language oriented teach sessions, seniors typify certain Written Sinhala forms as more pure. They pinpoint features of Spoken Sinhala registers which they feel are widely, but incorrectly used. And correct this bad grammar, substituting what they identify as “correct” Sinhala (*sinhəlɪŋ thiværədi kərənəwa*; “doing correct Sinhala”). Often, their aid in teaching written grammatical forms is a classroom Written Sinhala grammar. I’ll briefly discuss two examples from one of the teach sessions I attended.

The Nominal suffix: Many Spoken Sinhala nouns end in the phoneme /e/ or /ə/. These same nouns often belong to a noun classes in Written Sinhala with the orthography standing for the sounds /ayə/, /iyə/, or /eyə/ rather than only the phonemes /e/ or /ə/. One senior used the word “shop” to exemplify the incorrect clipped morphology on the Spoken Sinhala *kade* and the correct usage that Raggers should use *kadayə*. They communicated that someone who cares about Sinhala would notice these details and speak “correctly” (*thiværədi kərənəwa*; “do correct”) as they are responsible for “the future of the language” (*anaagəthayə hela bashavage*; “the pure language’s future”). Below is an example of the feature in use from a recorded conversation between 4 Raggers. You can see the Written Sinhala nominal suffix used by both speakers on the word “rally” – *peləpaaliyə*.

- (2) a. Shameela: *Owu, mamə daekkə alayoge dænwim. Kəwəddə lamai peləpaaliyə yannə læesthi kərəla thiyennee?*  
 “Yeah, I saw the Anti-Ragger’s posters. When is student rally planned again?”
- b. Priyanjali: *Mamə hithannee lamai peləpaaliya iləngə səthisee.*  
 “The student rally is next week I think.”

Quotatives: Seniors also correct the way reported speech is commonly expressed in Spoken Sinhala, *kiyə* (the past participle of “say”) or *kiwwa* (the past tense of “say”). They sanction two correct alternates. The first adds morphology to the past participle of say to make *kiyəla*, which typically marks direct speech. They expressed that an acceptable alternate to *kiyəla* was *kiyəla kiwwa*. Below is an interactional example from a conversation between two Raggers. In answer to Buddhika’s question: “Rambutang in this season? Were they even ripe?”, Eranga uses Written Sinhala morphology on the quotative, explaining that she asked the Rambutang (fruit) vendor, “Respected sir, where did you get this rambutang?”

- (3) a. Buddhika: *RambuTay, mee kaaleTə? Eewaa idiləwath thibunda?*  
 “Rambutang, in this season? Were they even ripe?”
- b. Eranga: *Eekə thəmai apith kiwwee. Mamə aehuwa “kohendə oyaa mee rəmbutən genaawee?” kiyəla kiwwa.*  
 “That’s what I said. I asked him, “Respected sir, where did you get this rambutang?”

Before linking these practices to nationalism in the public domain, I’ll talk more about code choice where we’ll see shared ideologies underlying both of these linguistic preferences.

#### 4. Code choice: Sinhala-only

Why is code choice central to the Ragers community? I'll explore this question first through the way Ragers talk about English and Sinhala, including specific names they have for each code.

- (4) Eranga: We learn that *kaduwa* is not just “sword”, as you know. It means that not everyone – all Sinhalese- can learn English, so because of this, it is a *kaduwa*. A sword that separates people by class. Poorer people do not have access to the resources to learn English, while more fortunate ones do...Students who come to university and suddenly have to learn in English feel the sharp blade of *kaduwa*  
....

Eranga, a 2<sup>nd</sup> year student, explains that incoming members such as herself are taught to call English *kaduwa* or “sword”. Those who speak English wield sharp tongues, cutting down those of lower classes who cannot speak it. She implies that many Ragers are the less fortunate individuals who don’t “have access to the resources to learn English” and “feel the sharp blade of *kaduwa*.” Thus the English language corrupts by promoting class divisions.

According to Prasad, a 3<sup>rd</sup> year, English is corrupting in another way:

- (5) Prasad: And we come to learn- as seniors tell us in teach sessions, even all those who know English to get ahead are only hurting us. They are making it so less people learn Sinhala --or want to appreciate *hela bashava*...Do you know this meaning, *hela bashava-hela* Sinhala-.... Ok, so they must be made to know that *hela bashava* is a endangered language, only spoken here [Sri Lanka]. And people chose Sinhala over it.

Thus, English language learning additionally threatens Sinhala by decreasing the number of students who study it. Those who learn English are “hurting us. They are making it so less people learn Sinhala,” Prasad says. In the context of Prasad’s community, the “they” includes students who have studied in English medium schools and continue to study English at the university. “Us” refers to Ragers such as himself, who try to maintain Sinhala language use even while being the victims of the spread of English. Notice that Prasad also calls Sinhala *hela bashava*, meaning “pure language”, describing Sinhala as “an endangered language.”

Buddhika (a 2<sup>nd</sup> year Ragger) elaborates on this point.

- (6) Buddhika: Sinhala is *hela bashava* because unlike English it has been around for all Sinhalese people on the island for centuries. It was our [the Sinhalese ethnicity's] original language and we need to maintain it... We don't have to have money to learn Sinhala, we just have to pick up a book and get lost in the beauty of the language.

Buddhika’s statement relates the concept of Sinhala’s language purity to age. Sinhala has been “on the island for centuries” and is the “original language”, thus it is *hela*, or “pure”. He notes that Sinhala must be preserved (“we need to maintain it”), and mentions the class component we heard from Eranga: those from poorer families can still learn Sinhala, “we just have to pick up a book and get lost in the beauty of the language”, he

says. Thus, Sinhala has precedent over English based on its ties to the Sinhalese culture, its beauty, and its accessibility.

Eranga, Prasad, and Buddhika tell us that English as a corrupting force and Sinhala a pure representation of the Sinhalese culture. In support of these community ideologies, Ringers label English *kaduwa* and Sinhala *hela bashava*.

## 5. Ethnolinguistic Nationalism

Ringers' policies on code choice, and more specifically, the use of Written Sinhala features, represent ideologies about culture and class that are present in ethnolinguistic nationalist movements. The term *hela bashava* is used by modern nationalists who differentiate types of Sinhala as "pure" or "corrupt". In his many public treatises, **Nalin DeSilva** (1944- present) -- one of the public faces of a popular, nationalist group known as *Jatika Chintanaya* ("National Vision") -- calls Written Sinhala *hela* or "pure", inclusive of more elaborate grammatical forms and sanctioned as the primary medium of state-funded education (Parakrama 1995). He compares this with registers of Colloquial Sinhala, which are "corrupt" due to absence of linguistic or institutional integrity. DeSilva's latest works focus on pointing fingers at "inappropriate" uses of Colloquial Sinhala, blaming the spread of English with ruining the cultivation of *hela bashava*. Recall that Prasad accused English speakers of making it so less people learn Sinhala --or want to appreciate *hela bashava*". Prasad's use of the term "*hela bashava*" and perception of English as a corrupting force mirror DeSilva's framings of each language. And DeSilva's "National Vision" group has roots in and frequently references other past, well-known nationalist figures who have made Sinhala language purity central to the Sinhalese identity.

**James D'Alwis** (1823-78), whose ideas regarding language formed the foundations of modern nationalism, was an avid language scholar who rallied for increased Sinhala study. The force of his works can be summarized in Buddhika's words: Sinhala "has been around for all Sinhalese people on the island for centuries. It was our [the Sinhalese ethnicity's] original language and we need to maintain it". D'Alwis advocated for Sinhala language preservation by supporting a "pure" literary Sinhala register dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, writing during Sri Lanka's 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial period when Sri Lanka was under British governance, and Sinhala was not only in contact with British English and Western culture, the colonial state and acting religious bodies were promoting English over Sinhala, and Christian missionary groups were trying to "modernize" Sinhala for greater accessibility to rural populations (DeVotta 2003, 2004).

D'Alwis referred his favored register as "*Elu*" Sinhala or "Pure" Sinhala based on literary inscriptions termed "*Elu*" by *bhikkus* (Buddhist monks) and past scholars (Dharmadasa 1993). Not only was *Elu* Sinhala reserved for prose and poetical works of the 13<sup>th</sup> century royal court, it belonged to what D'Alwis considered a golden age in Sinhalese civilization (Dharmadasa 1993). This register was ideal for D'Alwis' nationalist platform of Sinhalese cultural revitalization via promotion of language. D'Alwis also fought avidly against the support of a spoken, colloquial variety of Sinhala which British grammarians and Christian missionaries proliferated. Through D'Alwis' work, language became a group defining criteria for the Sinhalese people. It created a collective nationalist voice in support of a "pure" register of Sinhala, where in protecting language one was protecting an ancient culture. Something echoed today in writers like DeSilva and in the ethnolinguistic practices of Ringers.

Moreover, the specific term *hela bashava* has figured strongly into policies that achieved political gain in the 1950s (Dharmadasa 1993). **Munidasa Cumaratunga** (1887-1944) found language an effective force in mobilizing voting populations, and inspired political leaders to uphold his favored Sinhala register, *Hela Bhāṣa*, named for an ancient civilization. Cumaratunga was an avid reader of D'Alwis. However, he favored the *Hela* language over *Elu* Sinhala for its appearance on inscriptions from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. He considered it to represent proto-Sinhala, a language free of *Elu* Sinhala's Indic (Sanskrit, Pali) influence. From his study of this register, he developed his own theory of the island's history, claiming that prior to the written records of Sri Lanka's oldest lineage of kings (*Mahaavamsha*), the island was populated by the *Hela* ("pure") people who came to a terrible demise due to the Pali and Sanskrit speaking Indian influences. He thus positioned the Sinhalese ethnicity via the Sinhala language as the true inheritors of island rather than the Indic Tamil minority who would later be involved in Sri Lanka's ethnic civil war (Cumaratunga 1941). In published books, newspapers, journals, novels, and poetry, Cumaratunga typified Sinhala as a "pure" language endangered by the corrupting force of English as well as "Indic language" groups -- Tamil speakers of Tamil and Muslim ethnicities and also those who used English as link language between the Sinhalese (Dharmadasa 1996).

Nationalist writers have rendered English a symbol of a perceived threat and various varieties of Sinhala a symbol of the "pure" culture that must be preserved. Though the Ragger term *kaduwa* is not borrowed from nationalist rhetoric as *hela bashava* is, it reflects nationalist ideologies proliferated through nationalist works that interpreted the spread of English as corrupting to Sinhala language and culture (D'Alwis 1852, 1863, 1939) and which are echoed today through groups like *Jathika Cintanaya* that rally for the widespread use of Sinhala and eradication of English. In their ideologies regarding code choice, Ringers mirror widespread nationalist discourses. In their favoring a distinct Sinhala register they do as well.

## 6. Conclusion

Focusing on how ethnopolitical nationalism seems to appear in expressing students' ethnic identities, I have shown how language is a connector between nationalism, ideology, and identity (Silverstein 2000; Anderson 2008). Ragger groups seem to reflect the underlying sociohistorical struggles of cultural preservation in the face of modernization and a globalizing economy that have resonated throughout Sri Lanka and other similar post-colonial societies (Friedrich 1962; Ferguson 1962, 1987; Kearney 1967; Gumperz 1969; Maloney 1978; Manogaran 1987; Sharma 1988; Spencer 1990; Samarasinghe 1996). Because Ragger ideologies depend on the enactment of rituals that make language the centerpiece of group identity, their practices signal the importance of language in linking nationalism to ideology and ethnic identity.

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## Fanfiction: Romance, Adventure, and Mock Spanish

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### **1. Introduction**

In this paper, I hope to contribute to the literature on language ideology, or what a group of people thinks about language (Woolard and Shieffelin, 1994). The literature on language ideology, especially the ideology surrounding Spanish use (or use of any language other than English) in the United States is not small, e.g. Silverstein's (1998) discussion of the "monoglot standard," in which the use of languages other than English is seen as irrational. Lippi-Green (1994, 1997) discusses the ways in which speaking accented English can be a tool for discrimination as well as the court system's validation of such discrimination. There are also discussions of the way that people who are not speakers of a language, (Spanish, in this case), appropriate that language for their own purposes, as in Hill's (1998) discussion of Mock Spanish, a strategy in which "Spanish" words are used in order to index a funny and cultured personality on the part of the speaker, but the use of which, she notes, is funny only because the hearer and speaker both are accessing racializing images of Spanish speakers. Barrett (2006) describes another use of Mock Spanish, in which Anglo restaurant employees use Mock Spanish in a doomed attempt to communicate with Spanish-speaking employees and expect to be understood.

This paper discusses a study of ideologies about Spanish use as found in media, specifically a series of young adult novels and a collection of fanfiction based on those novels. I approach media following Spitalnik's (1993) call for ethnographic research when studying the ways that media reflects and shapes society. Therefore, I look not only at how the use of Spanish, or metalinguistic commentary on Spanish use or Spanish accents is used in a piece of media, but also how fanfiction writers pick up what is found in the books and recirculate that in their own stories. Although there is undoubtedly much to be said about what identities the writers are attempting to project by including Spanish in their stories, I do not touch on that here. Instead, I limit myself to analyzing what the writers make their characters do, and how that is representative of language ideology.

### **2. Data**

Data comes from a series of young adult fantasy novels, collectively called the *Young Wizards* series, written by Diane Duane. The series follows the adventures of Nita and Kit, two teenage wizards who must, through the course of the series, save Manhattan, the

world, the ocean, Mars, and the universe from the forces of entropy, all while dealing with bullying, first love, and annoying siblings. The series is comprised of nine novels, the titles and original publication dates of which are shown below:

- So You Want to Be a Wizard*, 1983
- Deep Wizardry*, 1985
- High Wizardry*, 1990
- A Wizard Abroad*, 1993
- The Wizard's Dilemma*, 2001
- A Wizard Alone*, 2002
- Wizard's Holiday*, 2003
- Wizards at War*, 2005
- A Wizard of Mars*<sup>22</sup>, 2010

This series was chosen because although it is an English-language series written by an Anglo author, one of the main characters, Kit, is identified as Latino, and there is a sprinkling of metalinguistic commentary and Spanish found throughout the series. This seems to be a characteristic of the series that is fairly salient to readers. One reviewer, “M,” says “The characters in this series are obviously chosen for their “diversity” and not their appeal, because they are both boring and one-dimensional,” in her review posted on the Amazon.com page for the first book in the series, *So You Want to be a Wizard*. There are also many examples of Spanish use and metalinguistic commentary used in the fanfiction corpus, often taken either verbatim or reinterpreted from the Spanish use in the original series.

The use of a series penned by an Anglo author presents an interesting counterpoint to Callahan’s (2000) study of metalinguistic reference in a corpus of novels written by Latino authors. By looking at this series, I hope to provide some documentation about the language ideologies found in media produced by the matrix, Anglo culture.

Other data comes from fanfiction stories based on the *Young Wizards* series. “Fanfiction” refers to the practice in which fans of a given media object write their own stories within the same universe, using either the characters found in the original media, or characters or characters they create themselves. Fanfiction stories range in length from a page or two to novel-length, with chapters normally published serially. These stories are then published at various internet sites, so that other people can read and comment on the stories. All the fanfiction studied here comes from the website fanfiction.net, which houses a huge number of fanfiction stories. These stories are based on the worlds found originally in books, anime, TV shows, movies, video games, comics, theatre and cartoons. There are also other fanfiction sites, often devoted to fanfiction based on a specific media object (harrypotterfanfiction.com hosts over 65,000 stories, all based on the *Harry Potter* series). In this corpus, I included all fanfiction stories listed as “complete” as of February 20, 2009, on the website fanfiction.net, in the *Young Wizards* collection.

Fanfiction presents a unique way for people to engage with media. I assume that what writers make their characters do and say as they write fanfiction is reflective of their ideologies. That is, what people have their characters do in a piece of fanfiction is reflective of what they think about the way types of people should and do act. In the fanfiction world, one of the important “rules” is to write so that the characters are acting as they “should.” Readers, if they feel that the character has been written to act uncharacteristically, will often leave a review noting that the character seems “OOC,” or “out of character,” asserting pressure on the writer to interpret a character in such a way as is normal or characteristic of that “type” of person.

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<sup>22</sup> Data from this book was not included, because it was not yet published at the time that I carried out the study in early 2009.

Fanfiction, in addition to being a concrete remnant of someone's interaction with a piece of media, is unique in that it then becomes a piece of media for consumption by others, which is interesting in itself. Fanfiction writers do read and review the stories written by others, so if a given piece of a story is salient to them, they can then recycle that in their own work. One example is discussed below in which it seems quite clear that part of one fanfiction story was quite impressive to another author--so much so that she uses nearly exactly the same words to describe a similar situation in her own story.

So, as fanfiction writers attempt to create new stories but keep the characters acting the way they "ought" to, writers are interpreting the characters. The words that writers put into those characters' mouths are emblematic of what writers think about the way that groups of people do or should talk and when they should talk that way—that is, they are emblematic of language ideology.

I specifically look at bits of language and metalinguistic commentary that are presented in the original series, and then recycled in the fanfiction stories, whether they are recycled verbatim or thematically. It is my assumption, therefore, that the pieces of language that are recycled represent the most salient parts of the media object—the parts that are both reflective of and acting to shape language ideology.

### 3. Spanish use

By far, most of the Spanish use or commentary about accents comes during highly emotional—most often romantic—scenes. Characters may use Spanish phrases in these scenes, there may be metalinguistic commentary on that Spanish use, or there may be a mention that a character's Spanish accent gets stronger. In addition, Spanish-based nicknames or endearments are used to index familial or romantic relations. These uses are presented in the core series and recycled in fanfiction.

#### 3.1 Emotional Spanish Use

In the core series, Spanish words are several times used in emotional situations. In example (1) below, it is used to show frustration:

- (1) (Nita to Kit)<sup>23</sup> "Yeah, but my mom's getting suspicious. And we have to be back by dark or it'll get worse."

Kit said something under his breath in Spanish.

"*Ay!*" Nita said back, a precise imitation of what either of Kit's folks would have said if they'd heard him (Duane, 2001b, p. 127).

In this example, Kit uses Spanish, presumably an expletive, judging from Nita's reaction, as a result of his anger or frustration. A similar example from the first book in the series, *So You Want to Be a Wizard*, is shown in (2):

- (2) He let out what looked like a breath of irritation and put his hands on his hips.  
"Coyones," he muttered, shaking his head... (Duane, 2001a, p. 48)

These two examples both show Spanish use in frustrating situations. In the fanfiction based on the series, Spanish is again often used in emotional situations, such as in (3).

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<sup>23</sup> I have kept the typography and spelling true to the original, adding the information necessary to identify speech participants in parentheses, where this is unclear.

- (3) (Kit) “She seemed like she knew what I was talking about. So I figured she knew about wizards. *“Ah por qué mi!”*

By far, however, the most common use of Spanish in fanfiction is in “romantic” situations, rather than in other situations with heightened emotions, although this may be an artifact of the fact that one of the most popular themes (impressionistically) for fanfiction is developing the love story between the two main characters. The example below is from a scene in which Kit proposes to Nita from Yee Mun’s story “Things are Going to Get Better.”

- (4) Inside the box was a yellow gold ring with a simple diamond. Around the band was “yo amar tu, para siempre”...  
 (Kit) “Yo amar tu. Tu eres el amar por mi vida.”  
 “Si, tu es mi amar, mi amigo, mi novie, y mi amante.” Nita said.

In addition to the above examples, where Spanish itself is actually used, there are several examples in which Kit’s Spanish accent is portrayed as “coming out” in emotional situations, as shown in (5), where Nita and Kit are talking about their future together, from the story “Imagine,” by polka-dotted-penguins.

- (5) “What if we’re not meant to get married, eh?” His accent becoming more and more rich the more agitated he became, a thick blend of Spanish and New York all twisted into one. Deep and comforting. Utterly unique.

Again in examples (6) and (7) from opera nerddd’s “Staying Home,” both from a scene in which the characters are visiting a grave, Kit’s accent is portrayed as getting stronger.

- (6) “You manage to look up once you’ve finished talking to yourself in that rich Spanish, spun with the flavor of an obvious New York accent, making a dark tone all your own. Another sigh before you begin.”  
 (7) “You (sic) accent became thicker, richer, the more distressed you became.”

The above examples are especially interesting because there is an obvious similarity in the language used to describe Kit’s accent in examples (5) and (6). In both, it is described as “unique,” and “rich,” along with other positive adjectives. It is also described as sort of blend of Spanish and a New York accent. However, these two examples are not from stories written by the same author. Instead, it appears that the author of example (6) found the description in (5) striking and memorable, and chose to use similar words in her own story.

In the above examples, either Spanish is used in an emotional situation, or the character’s accent is described as getting stronger. While this is presented in the original series, the fanfiction writers have picked up the strategy and used it in their own work.

### 3.2 Endearments

Spanish is also commonly used in endearments, which also seems to fall under the broad category of “emotional” speech. This practice used in the core series and then commonly encountered in fanfiction as well. The following examples show various endearments found in the books:

- (8) “Kit, *querido*,” Kit’s mama said, “if you feed that dog so many dog biscuits, you’ll spoil his appetite for dinner” (Duane, 2003, p. 148).
- (9) “’*El Niño*,’ Nita said, under her breath, grinning. It was what Kit’s family called him sometimes, a pun—both the word for “the baby” and the name for a Pacific current that caused storms that could devastate whole countries. The name made Kit crazy and Nita loved to use it on him” (Duane, 2001b, p. 35)
- (10) (Nita) “Watch it *El Niño*—“ (Duane, 2001b, p. 176)
- (11) (Kit’s mother) “Okay, *brujito*.” (Duane 2002, p. 334)

Again, endearments are picked up and reused in fanfiction—at times, the nicknames *El Niño* and *bruj(it)o* (little) wizard’ are used. At other times, however, it is the *strategy* of using Spanish as a source for nicknames that is picked up. In example (12) below, Shima and Tempis has picked up the specific nicknames that are used in the books for use in her story “A Wizard’s Pet.”

- (12) “Hey, *El Niño*, why aren’t you helping?” Dairine asked impatiently, and Kit shot Nita a glare for teaching her sister the god-awful nickname.

In other examples, however, writers use Spanish as a source for nicknames, as in the examples in (13)-(15), where the author “The Magic Bringer” has taken the English “partner” and translated it into Spanish, giving *pareja* as an endearment in his story “Brightening the Sun.”

- (13)(Kit to Nita) “Sure are, *pareja*.”
- (14)(Kit to Nita) “What is it, *pareja*? ”
- (15)(Kit to Nita) “It’s alright, *pareja*. You’ll be fine, I promise.”

The same strategy is apparent in example (16), where both Kit (Christopher) and his mother make use of Spanish phrases that are used as endearments in Marixoxella’s story “The Absolute Only Thing Magic CAN’T Do.”

- (16) “Oh, *niño, mi niñito*, Christopher darling, you look gorgeous!” Mrs. Rodriguez exclaimed.  
“*Mama, yo se*, I know, you said the same thing through all my years.” Kit muttered as his father straightened his bowtie he had made Kit wear.

As the above examples show, the use of Spanish in emotional situations, and the use of Spanish as a source for endearments, is a commonly-used strategy in the corpus. These are presented in the main series, but, more interestingly, they are seized upon and recycled by authors of fanfiction, suggesting that these strategies are reflective of the way in which readers of the series think about Spanish use within American culture--as a sort of tendency that “bubbles up,” given the right emotional circumstances, when one’s guard has been let down.

#### 4. Mock Spanish

Interestingly, there are very few examples of Mock Spanish in the corpus. Mock Spanish, as originally described in Hill (1998), is the use of Spanish words or morphology in such a way as it attributes a jocular, cosmopolitan persona to the speaker, but is inherently racializing, since the hearer must have access to racist images of Spanish speakers in order to get the joke.

Although Mock Spanish is prototypically a discourse that takes place between two Anglos speakers, Barrett (2006) discusses the use of Mock Spanish at a restaurant, finding that Anglo employees used Mock Spanish with Spanish-speaking employees and actually expected to be understood. That is, the Anglo employees seemed unaware that Mock Spanish and “real” Spanish were not the same thing. Interestingly, in this corpus the use of Mock Spanish is fairly rare, occurring only once in the main series (and recycled once in fan fiction).

Hill (1998) identifies four strategies of Mock Spanish. Hyperanglicization, or using Spanish words with (overly) English pronunciation, is the relevant strategy here. In Hill’s example, *gracias* is pronounced as “grassy-ass.” Barrett (2006) also has such an example, where an Anglo employee tries to ask a Spanish-speaking employee to fill the ice (*hielo*) by asking for “yellow.” In (17), Nita (short for Juanita, although the character isn’t identified as having Hispanic heritage), is tormented by her enemy Joanne, after showing up at school in a short skirt.

- (17) Nita headed for the gate, ignoring the voices behind her, even the loudest one. “Hey, Miss WAH-neeta, where’d you send away for those legs?” (Duane, 2002, p. 216).

In this example, I understand the spelling “WAH-Neeta” to represent a hyperanglicized pronunciation of “Juanita,” a traditionally Hispanic name, and an example of Mock Spanish. To understand the joke in this example, one has to understand that Joanne is calling Nita promiscuous, especially in light of the short-skirt context, and the rest of the insult (“where’d you send away for those legs?”). Promiscuity is exactly one of the “racializing images” that Hill says one must have of Spanish speakers in order to “get the joke” in Mock Spanish. Interestingly, however, while Hill (1998) notes that Mock Spanish attributes positive character traits to the speaker, in this example it is used as a strategy to underscore the antagonism of the speaker. Joanne has already been established as an antagonist, and the racializing function of Mock Spanish serves to underscore her general nastiness. In the example below, a fan fiction writer identified as Sofricus Aurora Zakuro has picked up the Mock Spanish version of “Juanita,” and put it into her own story, *LoveSpell*.

- (18) “Hey, Miss WAH-Neeta,” a familiar voice grated in Nita’s ear. Already fed up with her bad day, Nita glowered at her old nemesis, chief annoyance, and most popular girl in the high school, Joanne Virella.

“I said hello, WAH-Neeta” Joanne replied, louder, as she shoved the younger girl’s arm. “I expect a response!”

In this example, the writer has picked up on the antagonizing function of the discourse, and, interestingly, uses it to fortify Joanne’s antagonistic character in her own story.

## 5. Conclusion

The use of Spanish words and phrases in this corpus show that there are certain elements of Spanish use presented in media—in this case, the main book series, that are picked up and recirculated by authors of fanfiction. The pieces of discourse that are used this way seem to be salient to the readers who then pen their own fanfiction stories, suggesting that these pieces are reflective of and serve to shape or reinforce their own ideas about language use. In the corpus, the use of Spanish or metalinguistic reference to Spanish is most commonly used in emotional situations. Accents, rather than being portrayed as a hindrance, are described as a positive character trait (although it should be noted that these accents only seem to come out under the emotional circumstances described above). Finally, rather than using Mock Spanish to index positive character traits, it is used as an antagonizing strategy.

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## **DJ Stances, Station Goals: Performing Identity on a Bilingual Arizona Radio Show<sup>24</sup>**

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### **1. Background**

Speakers share and invite others to participate in their understanding of the world through linguistic acts of self-projection (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 181). A productive approach to this process is Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) tri-part *positionality principle* model of levels of identity construction, which encompasses temporary, interaction-specific stances, local, community-specific positions, and macro-level demographic identity categories (p. 592). The present paper examines stance and its relationship to the other levels described by Bucholtz & Hall (2005). Stance is commonly defined as "a linguistic act which is at the same time a social act" (DuBois, 2007, p. 141) which expresses a speaker's "relationship to their talk ... (or) their relationship to their interlocutors" (Kiesling, 2009, p. 172). By taking stances and accepting or rejecting previous stances, "social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (DuBois, 2007, p. 163).

Stances are cumulative and recursive. Since participants monitor speaker responsibility for individual stances (Hill & Irvine 1993), these in turn may serve as references for future stances. This may take place within a single interaction (DuBois, 2007), over multiple interactions (Rauniomaa 2003), or intertextually (Damari, 2010). Stances therefore become available as performative resources for "speakers (to) position themselves and others as particular kinds of people" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 595). Finally, stances entail synthesis of linguistic acts and shared social value through "dimensions of sociocultural value which are referenced by the evaluative act. ... Via specific acts of stancetaking, value can be focused and directed at a precise target, as locally relevant values are activated to frame the significance of participant actions"

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(DuBois, 2007, p. 141). While stances are created in interaction, therefore, they can index (Eckert, 2008; Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 2003) wider-circulating cultural Discourses<sup>25</sup> (Gee, 1990) through this shared knowledge. As Coupland and Coupland (2009) observe, “stances … (are) clearly hooked into wider social discourses and ideologies, or are contextualized in important ways by them” (p. 228).

Radio offers a particularly appropriate domain for the study of these processes of linguistic construction. Structurally, radio relies on routinized, recognizable formatting such as “signature tunes, programme presenter, (and) *standard sequences for the programme material*” (Scannel & Brand, 1991, p. 203, italics mine) to create recursive, diachronous show identities that become familiar to audiences. Within these structures, broadcast talk exists as “institutionalized variants of ‘conversation’ (which) occur across the different programme formats within which ‘talk’ predominates” (Tolson 1991, p. 179). Importantly, in radio, genre-specific “norms of expectations” (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 63-64, cf. Bakhtin, 1986) are created through regular listening, such that audience members anticipate “routine(s)-to-be-initiated” (Scannel & Brand, 1991, p. 219) such as call-in participation, give-aways, etc. These norms of expectation therefore mediate the relationship between institutional goals and listener participation. For example, the morning-show genre entails energizing listeners, “hooking” them for the rest of the day, and priming upcoming events (Fleming, 2010). Further, broadcast talk genres, or “institutionalized variants of ‘conversation’” (Tolson, 1991, p.179), can be identified by content and function. For example, Tolson (1991) identifies “chat” by displays of wit and topical shift towards the personal/private (p. 180), as well as functionally by “a clear shift of *register* within the programme format where it occurs, such that the primary business of the format is temporarily delayed or suspended” (p. 179).

Language choice in radio is motivated by assumed audience speech norms (Scannel, 1991; Bell, 1984, 2001) based on “everyday face to face talk” (Goffman, 1981, p. 325), often drawing on salient linguistic features to infer language varieties (Coupland, 1985, 2001). In the case of bilingual radio, this includes stylistic code-switching (Tseng, 2009) related to “idealized norms” of language varieties (Maehlum, 1996). However, language choice in radio is also dictated by assumed shared participant knowledge: “in television and radio interactions, we normally do not know our co-participants … The language and knowledge resources employed and the choices made at any moment in the generic activity are indicative of some socio-historic and socio-cultural commonage assumed by those who participate” (O’Keefe, 2006, p. 31).

While Schilling-Estes (1998, cf. Bakhtin, 1981) notes that language is always performative, radio’s complete reliance on auditory communication makes it a particularly “natural environment for (linguistic) stylization” (Coupland 2001). This process is achieved through DJ talk, which linguistically constructs on-air identities. These identities in turn mediate show image: “the production and maintenance of programme/presenter identity is routinely accomplished through the talk of the DJ (Scannel & Brand, 1991, p. 204). However, all DJ talk ultimately addresses station goals (“hooking” an audience; branding) that in turn aim to increase and maintain listenership in order to maximize the station’s commercial appeal to advertisers. Radio stations employ multiple strategies to encourage long-term audience loyalty (station branding to a music/lifestyle/ethnic niche

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<sup>25</sup> Gee (1990) defines “capital D Discourse” as “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’, or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’” (p. 143). He distinguishes this from “little d discourse,” defined as “connected stretches of language that make sense” (p. 142).

market), and short-term continued listening (call-ins, giveaways to encourage listeners not to change stations).

DJ speech supports these strategies by creating “parasocial interaction” (Horton & Wohl, 1956, 1986) between DJs and listeners. Through talk, DJs create pseudo-relationships of trust and intimacy with the audience, creating a shared “range of shared space, cache of shared knowledge, and sense of common identity” (O’Keefe, 2006, p. 127). An important element of this shared knowledge and identity is achieved through stance, including claims to common knowledge and in-group positioning (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Further, strategies such as inclusive alignment, pronominal choice, footing changes, and authentication of presenters as “real” people through references to everyday actions, simulate co-presence by linguistically minimizing the distance between DJs and their audience. These strategies interact with routinized show formatting (Scannel, 1991) and small talk about daily events to create pseudo-intimacy through

routines such as signature turns, opening gambits with the audience, inclusive use of pronouns and simulation of co-presence. … presenters can project themselves as seemly, ordinary people … creat(ing) an ‘everydayness’ about the persona of the presenter that builds trust with the audience (O’Keefe, 2006, p. 125).

These pseudo-relationships encourage consistent listenership and increased audience numbers by “bridg(ing) the relational gap between stranger and friend” (O’Keefe, 2006, p. 92). In this paper, I use close examination of a contextualized segment of DJ talk to illuminate how DJ identity projection achieves these “pseudo-relationships” (O’Keefe, 2006) within the structural boundaries of radio show format.

To this point, I have reviewed key literature on stance’s relevance to multi-level identity performance. I have also reviewed the means by which DJ linguistic performance creates fictive bonds of intimacy, ultimately achieving marketing goals of increased listener numbers by promoting a particular show and station image. The next section will describe data collection and analysis.

## 2. Methods

Data was recorded from 95.1 Latino Vibe, a Phoenix, AZ radio station with a stated Spanish-English bilingual format and Latino and Latina target audience (Newpoff, 2005). This paper focuses on one broadcast segment from the “Latinos on the Loose Morning Show” (LLMS), recorded on November 30, 2004 and transcribed by the researcher following conversation-analysis conventions (Appendix A). The segment is 4 minutes long and contains 1306 words. The segment was introduced by an opening sequence, “brought to a close” by a closing sequence (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 289), and bounded on both sides by music programming. Speakers were two Latino and one Latina DJs, Mikey Fuentes (MF), José el Cubanito (JG), and Suzy G. (SG). All DJs were Spanish-English bilingual. Examples from the segment are incorporated into the body of this paper; more extensive transcripts of relevant excerpts can be found in Appendix B.

First, the segment’s structural organization was identified to give an idea of the framework in which DJ talk occurred. This consisted of both structural elements (i.e. “opening,” “closing,” “chat,” and the sequence or progression of these elements. Openings and closings were determined by preceding or following music formatting, and the presence of opening/closing elements (Tseng, forthcoming; MacLaughlin, 1984, cf. Alber & Kessler, 1978; Levinson, 1983). DJ “chat” (Tolson, 1991) centered around explicitly-identified topics took place between these boundary elements (namely “parenting,” and a local news headline). Having determined the LLMS show’s structure, qualitative discourse

analysis based on evaluative stance (DuBois, 2007) towards topic was applied to DJ chat segments. Evaluative stances were identified by the presence of evaluative language (“easy,” “stupid,” “badass”). 11 stances were analyzed, with surrounding talk and DJ meta-discourse used to contextualize results. This allowed examination of the interplay between interactional moves, the wider social context that Latino Vibe and its listeners inhabit, and station goals (“hooking” an audience; branding).

### 3. Results

Structurally, the LLMS segment comprised the following elements: opening, general topic establishment and discussion, more specific topic establishment and discussion, and a closing that framed an upcoming, regular show event (call-ins). This closing was repeated twice, with closing sequences separated by an additional topic-oriented chat segment. As this general pattern is typical of the Latinos on the Loose Morning Show (Tseng, forthcoming), I considered these elements and progression to be routine format (Scannel & Brand, 1991).

DJ chat comprised three main segments within this framework. These oriented around the related topics of parenting, local teen delinquency, and “badass” adolescent anecdotes. Throughout, DJ interactional work framed the following show activity (audience call-ins), provided a resource for further performance, and created fictive intimacy with the audience. Key excerpts from these chat segments are discussed below.

(1) “Heck yeah *disfrútalos*”

07 JC: *y esto es para todas las personas que son padres esto es para todas las*  
and this is for all the people who are parents this is for all the  
08 *personas que tienen niños:*  
people that have children

09 and especially teenagers:

10 and of course this is for all the people like Suzy and myself that have  
11 little ones: you know like three: four: five year olds

12 SG: [Thank god (hh)]

13 JC: [And and and you know what?]

14 But that’s the cool thing cause right now: my dad:

15 see my dad would always tell me *¿sabes qué mijo?* *Ahorrita ‘tá fácil*  
you know what son? Right now it’s easy

16 *con los niños*

with the children

17 SG: Heck yeah *disfrútalos*

enjoy them

18 JC: Cause you know you could do whatever: *se ponen bravo* to

whatever

they’re up for

19 you’re doing you’re just like ey: *qué se siéntate aquí*  
sit down here

In example 1, the first topic, parenting, is presented through explicit dedication. Lines 7-9 target a particular audience segment, parents, through explicit dedication (“*esto es para todas las personas que son padres esto es para todas las personas que tienen niños/* this is for all the people who are parents this is for all the people that have children,” lines 7-8). This dedication targets a particular audience, parents. The familiar opening sequence also frames (Tannen, 1993) the interaction, conveying “Morning Show” genre

expectations and priming the audience for a certain type of interaction (energizing and transgressive (Fleming, 2010; Lynch & Gillespie, 1998); providing the topic for upcoming telephone call-ins).

Next, DJs chat about parenting. First, pseudo-closeness is created by referencing shared experience (lines 10-11). Next, MF takes the stance lead (DuBois, 2007) in line 13 with a positive evaluation of early childhood as “cool.” This stance is reinforced by reported parental speech, which indexes epistemic authority (Clift, 2006, p. 585): “my dad would always tell me *¿sabes qué mijo? Ahorrita ‘tá fácil con los niños/* you know what son? Right now it’s easy with the children,” line 14. Next, DJs align with Mikey Fuentes by following his positive stance lead (“Heck yeah *disfrútalos/* enjoy them”, line 15). Through shared evaluative stancework, they therefore position themselves as knowledgeable about children, creating an in-group based on this broader epistemic stance. This stancework also establishes an age-related dichotomy between young children’s “easy,” compliant behavior, which is located in the immediate and transient present (“*ahorrita/right now,*” line 14) and the “bad,” noncompliant/rebellious adolescent behavior that implicitly follows.

Next, a local news event about a runaway teenager was presented (lines 40-43). While the headline was read “verbatim,” a switch to “report” genre did not occur. Rather, chat around the topic turned the headline into a backdrop for further DJ identity work.

(2) “Like how stupid”

40 MF: So *mira:* In the news yesterday:

look

41 there was a story about: *a ver* Mingo just handed me uh this:  
let’s see

42 this paper it says Runaway thirteen years old steals police car

43 then turns himself in

44 SG: (hhh)

45 MF: Like how stupid [dog]

46 SG: [He’s thirteen dude

47 MF: and he’s so stupid the thing about the story was:

Here MF takes the stance lead by negatively evaluating the teen’s actions as “stupid” (line 45). While SG initially disagrees (line 46), she eventually aligns with MF by following his stance lead with the disbelieving interjection “Oh hell” (excerpt 2, line 59). Next, in example 3, a different stance is taken toward the teen.

(3) “*huevos* with *talco* on ‘em”

73 MF: the kid had *huevos* with *talco* on ‘em [dude  
balls baby powder

[Definitely yeah (hhh)]

75 JC: *Por favor* [believe it  
Please

76 SG: [(hhh)]

77MF: Powdered *huevos* because you dude you need to have some hard *huevos*  
for that one

This stance positively evaluates the teen as brave or “ballsy” through the Spanish slang term “*huevos*” (“testicles/balls”, lines 73, 77). This positive stance is ratified by laughter (line 76) and by JC’s use of the stock DJ phrase “*Por favor* believe it” (Please believe it), used in the LLMS as an interjection expressing incredulity and humorous

disbelief (line 75.) Again, therefore, shared stancework positions DJs in alignment towards the stance object (DuBois, 2007).

(2) “I bet you the little bull was *gabacho*”

- 91 MF: I bet you dude the little bull was *gabacho*: [I'll bet you anything:  
whitey  
92 MF: you would not see a Latino doing that sucker  
93 SG: [oh that's cold (hhh)  
94 JC: That's because the *gabachos* don't be whuppin that ass for their kids  
95 MF: He's like I'm just going to get t<sup>ime</sup>out  
96 [and that's exactly what the kid's going to get is time out bro  
97 SG: [yeah  
98 JC: In juvenile hall *pero todo* time out  
but still  
99 MF: Exactly

As chat continues, stancework becomes recursive as DJs reference previous stances. MF takes the stance-lead with positive evaluation of Latinos as too smart to share in the teen's behavior (“you would not see a Latino doing that sucker,” line 92), in implicit contrast with the previous negative evaluation (“stupid”). This attributed behavior is explicitly associated with ethnic macrocategories through the terms “*gabacho*” (whitey), an ideologically-loaded, mildly perjorative Mexican slang term for light-skinned Anglos, and “Latino.” SG’s response shows that this implication was understood: “oh that’s cold,” followed by laughter (line 93).

The teen’s negatively-evaluated, racialized (mis)behavior is attributed to lenient “*gabacho*” parents. This implied censure draws on the broad, epistemic “knowledgeable about children” stance and epistemic rights (Raymond & Heritage, 2006) bestowed by first-hand knowledge of Latino family behavior in example 1. A moral position is thus drawn between Latinos, who know how to raise children correctly, and “*gabachos*” who do not. Through opposition between negatively-evaluated “*gabacho*” child-rearing habits and implicitly positive Latino behavioral norms, the moral high ground is claimed for Latino parenting. This moral repositioning (Relaño Pastor & De Fina, 2005) addresses positive face-work (Brown & Levinson, 1987) to the audience to achieve relational work. Further, it challenges racist Discourses of Latinos as irresponsible parents, a stereotype that delegitimizes Latinos as morally negligent and not entitled to belonging<sup>26</sup>.

Next, DJs initiated the first closing sequence, asking listeners to participate in the regular upcoming call-in segment by sharing stories of children’s bad behavior. Having constructed an in-group based on negative stances towards “bad” parenting, racialized as “*gabacho*”, however, DJs evidently realize that the target audience of Latino parents will be unlikely to volunteer stories about their children’s misbehavior in this frame (excerpt 3, lines 111-115). After “defusing” the situation with more chat and shortening relational distance through humor (Santa Ana, 2011), DJs recast the call-in request into more palatable terms. Thus, in lines 168-171, DJs reformulate the negative evaluative term “bad” into the positive term “badass,” meaning “tough or aggressive; excellent” (Collins English Dictionary, 2009).

(3) “Bad” into “Badass”

- 168 MF: Call us: if you’re a parent you got a badass kid: and you want

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<sup>26</sup> As a brief example of these Discourses’ circulation, Google searches for “Latinos bad parents” and “Hispanics bad parents” on May 28, 2011 returned approximately 1,030,000 results each.

169 these tickets: we will hook you up: but it's gotta be a badass  
 170 kid [It's gotta be  
 171 JC: [Right

This positive evaluation term is less face-threatening (Brown & Levinson, 1987), and thus more likely to elicit the desired audience response. Next, DJs reinforce their positive stance toward “badass” actions as desirable behavior.

(6) “Harry Potter not worthy”

173 MF: Like the time my cousin uh joker stole that truck:  
 174 and we went to summer school to pick up some girls in it and the cops pulled us over  
 175 cause we crashed into somebody else and: [we all ran  
 176 SG: [worse than that  
 177 JC: There you go that kind of story: that kind of story  
 178 MF: Not not Harry Potter kind of story where supposedly your kid goes to  
 179 JC: yeah [yeah  
 180 MF [Hogwarts whatever  
 181 JC: Hogwarts not worthy [not worthy  
 182 SG: [yeah  
 183 MF: runs away but he doesn't [go to the next block because he can't [cross the street  
 184 okay not that one  
 185 JC: [... English [(hhh)  
 186 SG: [yeah

Here, JC takes a positive stance-lead toward sanctioned, “badass” transgressions as represented by MF’s personal anecdote. This story shares a similar narrative with the runaway teen (stealing a car; running from the police). It also has similar “ballsiness,” or bravery and risk-taking elements. However, since MF and his cousin were not apprehended, it is not evaluated as “stupid”. They thus position themselves as gatekeepers of authenticity and monitor the term “badass” in order to encourage appropriate participation (submission of “badass” stories) by the audience.

This contrasts with the hypothetical example of non-badass misbehavior (lines 178-184), negatively evaluated and dismissed as “not worthy” (line 181). This hypothetical exploit fails through lack of bravery: “runs away but he doesn’t go to the next block because he can’t cross the street,” (line 183). This evaluation obliquely references the previously-established gendered framing of this bravery as a masculine quality (“*huevos*”). Further, as an example of childish misbehavior (running away from home), it introduces a developmental element into the contrast between “badass” and “not worthy” behavior.

Throughout the LLMS chat segments, shared stancework aligned DJs as a group. First, a subset of the listener audience was invited to “participate” in this group through explicit dedication (lines 7-10) and implicit shared knowledge. Next, a related local-interest topic about a delinquent teenager was discussed (lines 40-43). While DJ stances initially differed, consensus was ultimately reached that the teen’s actions were “brave but stupid”. By orienting stances to different aspects of the teen’s behavior, DJs were able to align with each other and, implicitly, the audience, in evaluation of behavioral norms. DJ metadiscourse explicitly linked this sociocultural common ground to the macrocategory of ethnicity, allowing for moral repositioning that challenged existing racist Discourses. By doing so, this repositioning enhanced DJ-audience relational work through positive face appeal (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

DJs reformulated “bad” into “badass” in order to reduce face-threat to the audience and increase call-in potential. By policing this term, they created an opposition between “badass” and “not worthy” behavior. “Badass” is characterized as brave, strong, capable; “badass” exploits are transgressive, adult-like, and successful. In contrast, “not worthy” exploits are unsuccessful and childish, characterized by weak, incapable behavior. The “badass”/“not worthy” dichotomy references ethnicity: its reference to childish behavior resonates with previous characterizations of “time out” as a weak, specifically “*gabacho*” punishment (lines 94-95). This childish and “*gabacho*” behavior may in turn reference Discourses conflating ethnicity and social class, since time-out is a typically middle-class punishment for misbehavior. These Discourses also relate to gender and sexuality. Bravery was metaphorically associated with masculinity through the gendered evaluative term “*huevos*”, which co-occurred with discourse markers associated with masculinity such as “dude” (Kiesling, 2004). Further, MF’s badass anecdote rested on the sexual motivation of “pick(ing) up some girls” (line 174). The “badass”/“not worthy” divide therefore indexes a Discourse of heteronormativity: by characterizing “not worthy” behavior as “Harry Potter kind of stories”, MF invokes the (pre)pubescent protagonist of the popular young-adult fiction series to imply that this kind of rebellion is literally not manly enough to be “badass.” Discourses are not mutually exclusive: Bucholtz (1996, 2001, 2011) found rejection of the adolescent heterosexual marketplace to be a characteristic of “nerds,” racialized as white or even “hyper-white” (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 94). The opposition between positively-evaluated “badass” and negatively-evaluated “not worthy” behavior therefore foregrounds a particular, interactionally-constructed, “badass” persona – street-smart, transgressive, male, adolescent, heterosexual, and Latino.

Finally, stancework was supported by a gamut of other strategies, including code-switching (CS), ideologically-loaded terms, self-authentication strategies, and pronominal usage. Despite the station’s explicitly bilingual format, little CS was observed (120 Spanish/1306 English words, or less than 10%). CS in DJ chat consisted primarily of short intra-sentential switches (Muysken, 1995) of single lexical items and discourse markers. This “tag” switching is generally identity-related (Poplack, 1980). CS enhanced stancework by emphasizing key information such as voicing (Gardner-Chloros, Charles, & Cheshire, 2000) of attributed speech or “constructed dialogue” (Tannen, 1989), and ideologically-heavy terms such as “*gabachos*” and “*huevos*. ” In addition to enhancing stancework, CS serves as a kind of instant “bilingual” branding in keeping with Latino Vibe’s explicit format and recent findings that Spanish and CS positively impact marketing to Latino audiences (Bishop, 2007; Carreira, 2002).

#### 4. Discussion

This paper shows stance to be integral to identity work and the base for multilevel performance. Stances achieve multiple, simultaneous acts. Since evaluation entails positioning, stance “follows” create alignment between DJs towards the stance object (DuBois, 2007). This shared evaluation created in-groups and pseudo-relationships between DJs and the listener audience. DJ meta-discourse linked shared stances towards parenting behavior with explicit ethnic macrocategories through oppositional positioning, demonstrating that these categories are perceived as salient by DJs and listeners. In this, Latino and “*gabacho*” were positioned in opposition, not in a simple ethnic binary, but in terms of morality and sociocultural behavior. This dynamic is embedded in larger Discourses of ownership and belonging circulating in Phoenix’s contested social space, which are often invoked through ethnicity as an index of morality, legitimacy, and criminality (Santa Ana, 2002). As English-only, anti-immigrant legislation targeting

Latinos such as AZ Prop 202<sup>27</sup>, AZ Prop 203<sup>28</sup> and SB 1070<sup>29</sup> makes clear, this sociopolitical conflict, framed in part through language ideology, affects the daily lives of Arizona's Latino population. DJs' moral positioning regarding cultural norms of behavior shared with the audience is thus *re-positioning* (Relaño Pastor & De Fina, 2005, italics mine) that subtly contests Anglo-centric dominant ideology. The salience of ethnicity and its indices in this context may be determined by the Discourses themselves. As Jaffe (2009) observed, different "ideological load(s) (may be) carried by particular discourses ... some discourses may be more 'stance-saturated' than others ... they may be overtly recognized as sites for more or less obligatory positioning" (p. 22). Through this repositioning, DJs appealed to the audience's positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The cumulative effect was to create an in-group that appeals to the audience, in which they are invited to "participate" through the assumed shared knowledge of "sociocultural significance" (Coupland & Coupland, 2009) on which radio depends (O'Keefe, 2006).

In this paper, I identified the structural framework within which DJ identity work takes place. DJ performance interacted with the genre expectations conveyed by "routinized format elements" (Scannel, 1991) to address commercial station goals. For example, "bad" was reformulated into the positive "badass" to mitigate face-threat and increase call-in participation. "Badassness" was attributed to a particular DJ through personal anecdote, with positive evaluation of the quality ratified by the other DJs through alignment. Policing of the term "badass" in ensuing chat allowed DJs to create a collective in-group identity through opposition with "not worthy," "Harry Potter-type" stories. This opposition foregrounded ethnicity by referencing previous racialized stancework, although other Discourses such as gender, class, and heteronormativity were also evoked. By doing so, DJs conveyed a particular kind of young, street-smart Latino persona consistent with Latino Vibe's explicitly-targeted niche market. Finally, this identity is genre-appropriate in terms of the "transgressive" presentations that morning shows often cultivate (Fleming, 2010; Lynch & Gillespie, 1998). Policing the term "badass" therefore allowed DJs to solicit appropriate audience participation (the "right kind" of story for the following call-ins).

In sum, DJ identity work addressed station ethnic branding, in keeping with Latino Vibe's stated format and target audience. Stance has been shown to be the base for multi-level identity performance. DJs used topic-oriented evaluative stances to position themselves and others, drawing on resources ranging from stylistic code-switching to circulating Discourses of ethnicity, class, morality, and authenticity to create in-groups and engage the audience in fictive bonds of intimacy. Competing stances were available for different aspects of a given event, and positions were negotiated and ratified through alignment, with stances recycled to highlight different aspects of identity and address show-specific genre goals. DJ identity performance therefore not only operates within show format, but interacts with format elements and genre expectations to achieve station goals of increased listenership, and, ultimately, high ratings and commercial success.

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<sup>28</sup> The "English for Children"/"Unz initiative," November 2000.

<sup>29</sup> The "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act", April 2010.

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## Appendix A

Transcription conventions (based on Cashman, 2005)

Plain text	English original
<i>Italics</i>	Spanish original
<i>Text }</i>	<i>Original Spanish text</i>
<i>Text }</i>	English translation by researcher
[text }	overlapping talk
[text }	overlapping talk
(hhh)	laughter
<u>text</u>	markedly increased volume compared to surrounding talk
(text)	parentheses indicate analyst’s best attempt to render inaudible talk
(...)	periods within parentheses indicate analyst’s inability to render indistinguishable talk
(1.0)	gap in talk, by seconds

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- ↑ rising inflection within a syllable
- ↓ falling inflection within a syllable

## Appendix B

### Excerpt 1

07 JC: *y esto es para todas las personas que son padres esto es para todas las*  
                   and this is for all the people who are parents this is for all the  
 08 *personas que tienen niños:*  
                   people that have children  
 09 and especially teenagers:  
 10 and of course this is for all the people like Suzy and myself that have  
 11 little ones: you know like three: four: five year olds  
 12 SG: [Thank god (hhh)  
 13 JC: [And and and you know what?  
 14 But that's the cool thing cause right now: my dad:  
 15 see my dad would always tell me *¿sabes qué mijo? Ahorrita 'tá fácil*  
                   you know what son? Right now it's easy  
 16 *con los niños*  
                   with the children  
 17 SG: Heck yeah *disfrútalos*  
                   enjoy them  
 18 JC: Cause you know you could do whatever: *se ponen bravo* to  
                   whatever  
                   they're up for  
 19 you're doing you're just like ey: *qué se siéntate aquí*  
                   sit down here  
 20 MF: I know: [when they're like twelve and thirteen then they know more  
 21 than you do

### Excerpt 2

40 MF: So *mira*: In the news yesterday:  
                   look  
 41 there was a story about: *a ver* Mingo just handed me uh this:  
                   let's see  
 42 this paper it says Runaway thirteen years old steals police car  
 43 then turns himself in  
 44 SG: (hhh)  
 45 MF: Like how stupid [dog  
 46 SG: [He's thirteen dude  
 47 MF: and he's so stupid the thing about the story was:  
 48 MF: I guess he was at a juvenile detention center  
 49 MF: [uh yesterday:  
 50 SG: [mhm  
 51 and all of a sudden he got away he was able to escape:  
 52 managed to get inside a cop car:  
 53 took it  
 54 SG: He's not that stupid (hhh)  
 55 JC: [(hhh)]

56 MF: [uh yeah you know what I'm saying?  
 57 MF: took it for like a joyride and was out for hours:  
 58 then he called with the cop's cellphone  
 59 SG: Oh hell

## Excerpt 3

91 MF: I bet you dude the little bull was [*gabacho*:  
 whitey  
 92 I'll bet you anything: you would not see a Latino doing that sucker  
 93 SG: [oh that's cold (hhh)  
 94 JC: that's because the *gabachos* don't be whuppin that ass for their kids  
 whitey  
 95 MF: He's like I'm just going to get t↑imeout [and that's exactly what  
 96 the kid's going to get is time out bro  
 97 SG: [yeah  
 98 JC: In juvenile hall *pero todo* time out  
 but still  
 99 MF: Exactly  
 100 JC: So: here's a point here's a point to the story *Mira*:  
 101 if you are feeling really bad about your kids right now thinking man  
 102 my kids are doing this and they're doing this and they're way out of  
 103 hand *y todo esto y el otro*: eh  
 and this that and the other thing  
 104 MF: this story right here should put your kids to shame: unless they're real  
 105 real bad  
 106 JC: *pero* we want you to pick up the phone and call us *dos sesenta cero*  
*cero noventa y cinco*  
 108 MF: two six oh: zero zero nine five:  
 109 Call us: and tell us about your kid:  
 110 We're looking for the worse kid aright?  
 111 JC: The worst [kid?  
 112 SG: [Dang  
 113 MF: Yeah yeah [I know  
 114 SG: [You mean we're going to reward them?  
 115 JC: Clowning right now

## Excerpt 4

168 MF: Call us: if you're a parent you got a badass kid: and you want these  
 169 tickets: we will hook you up: but it's gotta be a badass kid [It's gotta be  
 170 JC: [Right  
 171 SG: [Like hella  
 172 bad right  
 173 MF: Like the time my cousin uh joker stole that truck: and we went to  
 174 summer school  
 175 to pick up some girls in it and the cops pulled us over cause we crashed 176  
 into somebody else and: [we all ran  
 177 SG: [worse than that  
 178 JC: There you go that kind of story: that kind of story  
 179 MF: Not not Harry Potter kind of story where supposedly your kid goes to  
 180 Hogwarts

- 181 JC: yeah [yeah  
182 MF [Hogwarts whatever  
183 JC: Hogwarts not worthy [not worthy  
184 SG: [yeah  
185 MF: runs away but he doesn't [go to the next block because he can't [cross  
186 the street okay not that one  
187 JC: [...] English [(hhh)  
188 SG: [yeah  
189 MF: Aright call now *dos sesenta cero cero noventa y cinco*  
Two sixty zero zero ninety-five  
190 JC: Ah  
191 MF: We about to hook you up with tickets to *Reggeton Festival* two  
192 thousand five: but you gotta have a badass kid  
193 JC: Aright *dale con la chancleta aquí abajo*  
hit it with the slipper here below

## Real-Time Changes in the Vowel System of Central Texas English

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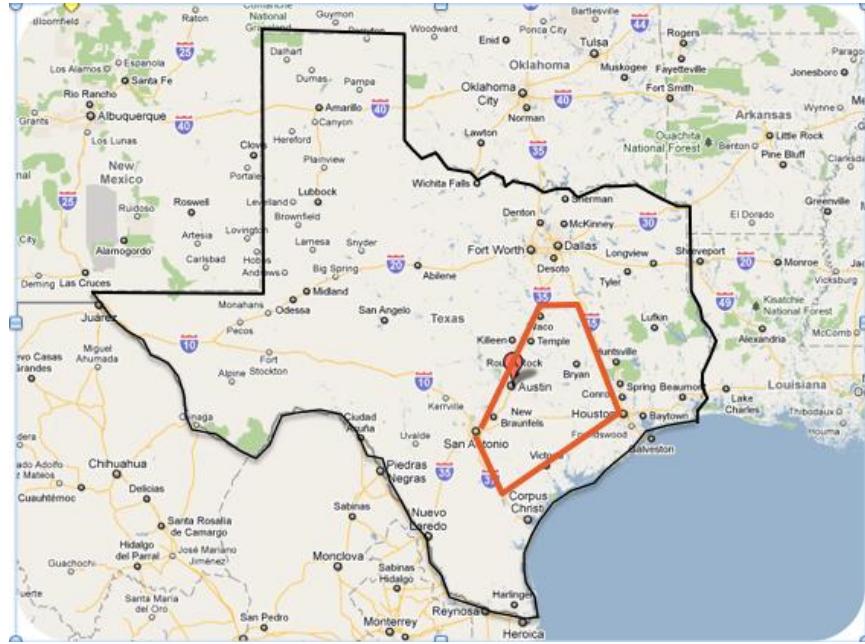
The dialect popularly referred to as the “Texas Twang” is stereotypically defined by the monophthongization of /ai/, so that a word such as *price* is pronounced as [pras]. This feature, common among speakers of traditional Texas English (TE), has recently begun to give way to the diphthongal, Standard American English (SAE) pronunciation—[prais]—among speakers in Central Texas. This change is one of 11 discussed by Bailey et al (1991) in *The Focus of Linguistic Innovation in Texas*. Other changes include an increase in the merger of /a/ and /ɔ/ and a decrease in the use the intrusive /r/ in which *wash* is pronounced as [warʃ].

Underwood (1988) also investigates the monophthongization of /ai/ as part of his Texas English Project, which he “designed expressly to test [Le Page’s] Theory of Acts of Identity with phonological variation within a single language” (p. 407-8); specifically, “why some native Texans talk with a ‘Texas accent’ and others do not, and why some some [sic] accents of Texans are deemed to be ‘stronger’ than others” (p. 408). In discussing his decision to focus on /ai/, Underwood cites “a number of serious linguistic investigators [who] have attested that the monophthongal /ai/ is a pervasive and salient pronunciation feature in the Lone Star State” (p. 411), the most recent of which is Labov (1972).

While Underwood examined the correlation between a person’s Texas accent and his or her sense of identity as a Texan, this study evaluates the changes in Texas English over time by comparing Underwood’s recordings to others collected in 2010. It is hypothesized that an increase in the diphthongal realization of /ai/ is moving into Texas as a result of the growing influence of the West Coast variety of American English.

### 1. Data

This study draws on data from a corpus of 30 speakers, all of who resided in Central Texas from the ages of 6 to 18. Eckert (2000) discusses the importance of adolescence on language variation in depth, citing the works of Romaine (1984), Biondi (1975), and Labov (1989) to show that strong evidence of stylistic variation exists as early as age six (p. 12). The region designated as Central Texas, shown below in (Figure 1), is consistent with that used by Underwood, which was originally established by Meinig (1969).



**Figure 1: Map of Texas; Central Texas outlined in orange (Bigham, 2010)**

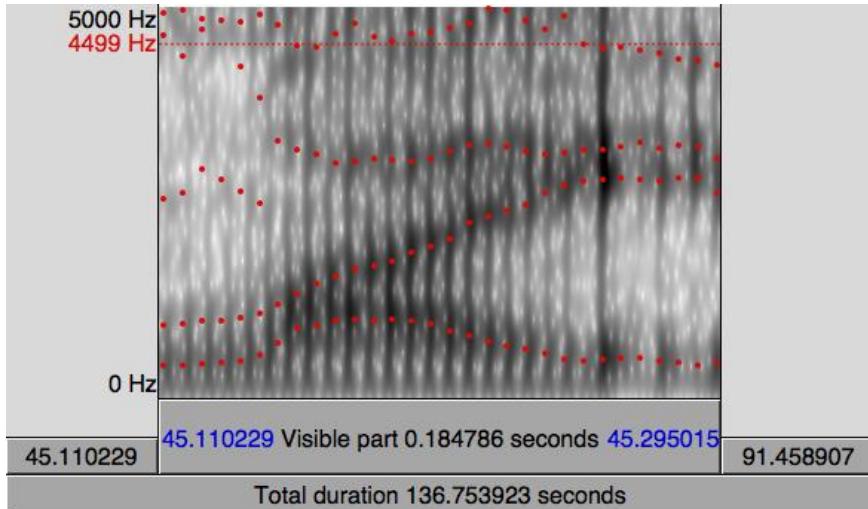
The data used in this study is comprised of two different sets. The first set, the Underwood Data, was collected over a period of several years during the early 1980s. The second set, the Hinrichs Data, was collected in the spring of 2010. University of Texas students enrolled in the “American English” class collected both data sets, which follow the same basic format. Each student interviewed and collected the following information from multiple speakers: a personal interview, the recitation of a standardized passage and the recitation of a word list. The standardized passage is the story of a fictional Texan’s life and features 62 instances of /ai/ in a variety of phonetic contexts. The earlier data set has proved invaluable in allowing for a real-time comparison. When used in conjunction with apparent-time comparison, the changes in /ai/ can be tracked over a time span of approximately 60 years.

Speakers from the two data sets were divided into three age groups: younger (twenties to early thirties), older (forties to early fifties) and even older (late fifties through seventies). The latter two groups were taken from the Underwood data, which, given the scope of the original project, is much larger than the Hinrichs data. Ten speakers were then taken from each age group, five males and five females.

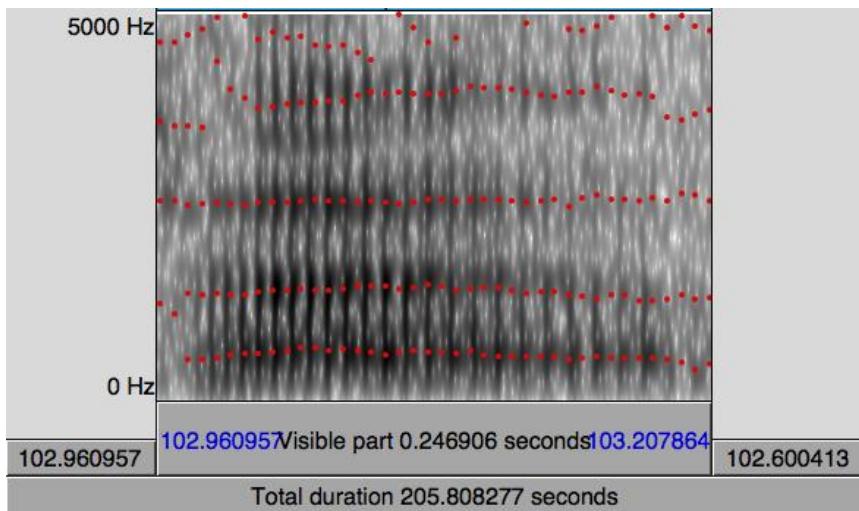
## 2. Methodology

For each of the 30 speakers used, twelve instances of /ai/ were coded to provide a total of 360 tokens. Each token was given a realization score based on the extent to which it was monophthongized or diphthongized by the speaker. If pronounced with a full diphthong (or standard realization) the token was given score of 1, while a score of 3 indicated a completely monophthongal realization. A score of 2 resulted from a slightly Southern-sounding but not fully monophthongal realization. Image 2 and Image 3 each show a single token as seen when viewed in PRAAT (software that facilitates acoustic analysis). The bottommost red line represents the F1 formant, which correlates with the

high-low dimension of speech production. The line directly above it represents the F2 formant, which correlates with the front-back dimension. In Figure 2 the divergence of the two lines is very apparent, representing a fully diphthongal realization of /ai/. In Figure 3 the lines run parallel, representing a monophthongal realization.



**Figure 2: Diphthongal realization of /ai/; given score of 1**

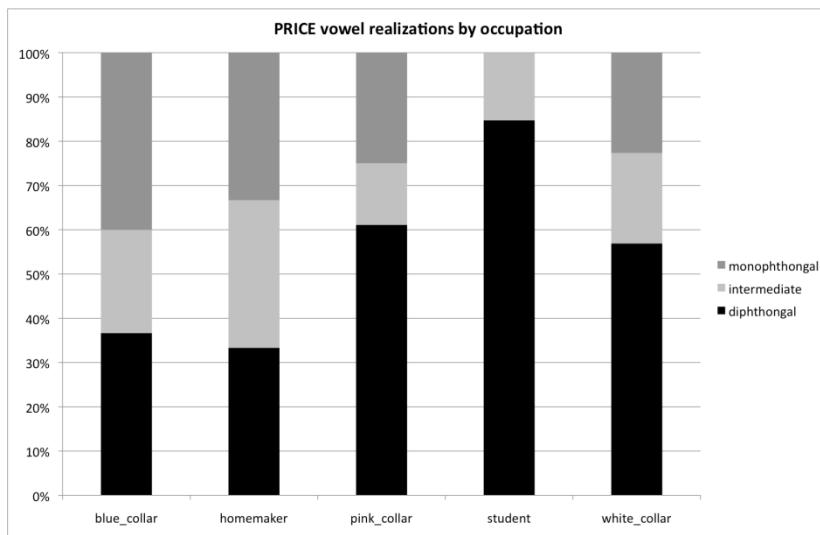


**Figure 3: Monophthongal realization of vine; given score of 3**

Each speaker's data was also coded for a number of independent factors including: gender, age, current residence, residence from the ages of 6-18, highest level of education completed, occupation, ethnicity and the phonetic environment of each token. In terms of ethnicity, the majority of the speakers were Anglo, Hispanic or African American. At this stage, only data from Anglo speakers will be presented. Future work will incorporate data from Hispanic and African American speakers. Due to the size of the sample only univariate analysis was used, and each of the distributions shown meets the chi-square test.

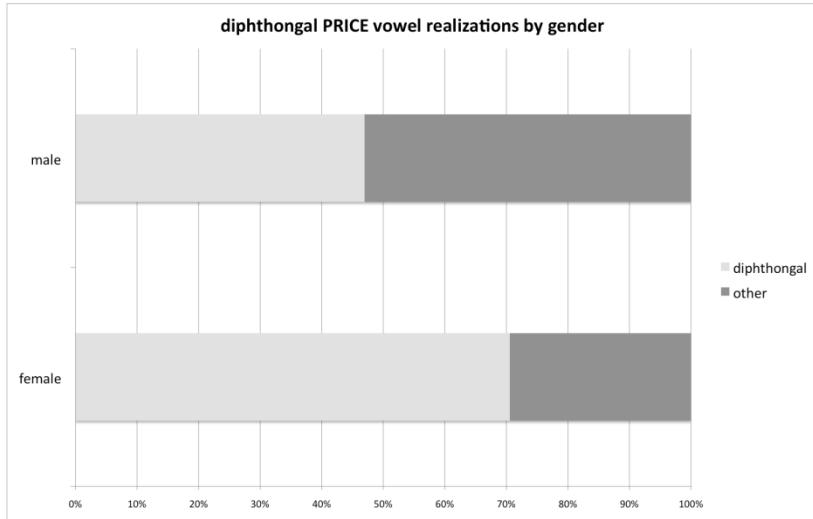
### 3. Results

When broken down by occupation, as in (Figure 4) below, the results show that students have the highest incidence of diphthongal realization, at 85%, followed by pink-collar workers (secretaries) at 61%, white-collar workers at 57%, blue-collar workers at 37%, and homemakers at 33%. While white-collar workers may be expected to have a higher rate of diphthongal or standard realization than their pink-collar secretaries, this is not the case. This finding echoes that of Labov's (1966) New York City department store study. By comparing the speech patterns of clerks to those of the stores' patrons, he found that the staff of the upscale stores tended to overcompensate their language to match the speech that they associated with the wealthy patrons. Similarly, the pink-collar Texans tend to accommodate their language to those of their higher ups, the white-collar workers. The high percentage of diphthongal realizations by students is to be expected as a result of the students' immersion in college and university culture, which tend to use a more standard speech style.



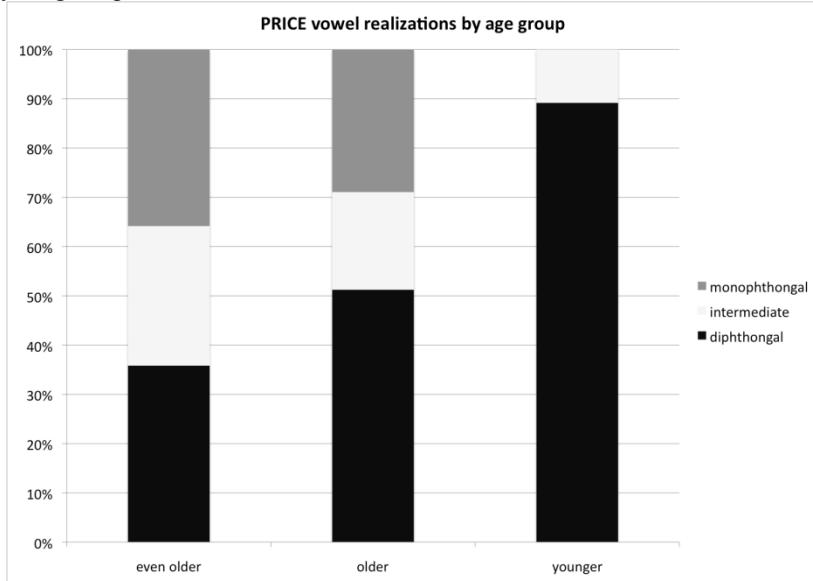
**Figure 4: Results by occupation**

When broken down by gender, in (Figure 5) below, the results show that females, at 71%, clearly have a higher rate of diphthongal realization than males, at 47%. This is also to be expected, as females tend to be leaders of language change (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006). In addition, there is a correlation between this finding and the occupational results; men tend to have more vernacular speech, and the majority of blue-collar workers are men.



**Figure 5: Results by gender**

Finally, when broken down by age group in (Figure 6), it is apparent that younger speakers have zero instances of monophthongal realization of /ai/, although 11% of them do have intermediate realizations, with the remaining 89% producing diphthongal realizations. These rates stand in stark contrast to those of the “even older” group, only 36% of who have diphthongal realizations. In accordance with the pattern of change, the “older” group’s use of diphthongal realization falls between the “younger” and “even older” groups at 51%. The fact that the “younger” speakers have zero monophthongal realizations is particularly interesting. While they are expected to be at the forefront of an innovative language change, the lack of any monophthongization of /ai/ suggests that the change actually started earlier, potentially with the youngest members of the “older” group, and has advanced to the point where the older variant is nonexistent among the youngest speakers.



**Figure 6: Results by age group**

#### 4. Conclusion

The findings speak to a strong orientation of young, urban Texans towards a more standard realization of /ai/, while at the same time showing remarkable stability in the linguistic constraints underlying phonetic variation in Texas (see also Bailey et al. 1991). What is seen here is a typical pattern of a conservative dialect feature being displaced over a time span of about 60 years (if real- and apparent-time are combined). The monophthongization of /ai/ has essentially left the speech of Central Texas entirely. None of the “younger” speakers, who range from ages 21-30, have monophthongal realizations of /ai/. Instead, 89% of them have diphthongal realizations. The current changes in the Central Texas vowel system are being led by young female speakers—of the 11% of “younger” speakers who had intermediate realizations, 92% were males—and are prestige-driven, as evidenced by the rate of the pink-collar workers’ diphthongal realization and its correlation with Labov’s accommodation study. While there is insufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that the change is the result of a West Coast shift, it does appear that a more standardized, less stigmatized variety of English has influenced Texas English.

Future work on this data will include an analysis of ethnicity as a major factor in the standardization of /ai/. At this stage only Anglo speakers have been used, but Hispanic and African American speakers will also be incorporated. This dimension is expected to yield particularly rich results, as the social and ethnic structure of Central Texas, especially in Austin, has changed dramatically over the last several decades. Analysis of the effect of phonetic environment on a speaker’s realization of /ai/ will be done as well. Preliminary investigation suggests that the voiceless obstruent [t] may lend itself to a higher rate of monophthongal realization than others. However, other factors such as the parts of speech and context must also be considered. Finally, the interview portion of the recordings will be used to examine the influence of context and the potential influence of the interviewer’s speech. A question to consider is whether the speakers are accommodating to a more formal style of speech in the interview context with less diphthongal realizations.

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## Caste as a Facet of Dialectal Variation in Spoken Telugu

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### 1 Introduction

The sociological underpinnings of dialectal variation are many. Social and geographic isolation are often the most recognizable reasons, though there are other factors that may go into any type of dialectal change. Where social isolation is a factor, we find that it is not a matter of distance between social groups, but rather a matter of lack of contact for one or another sociological reasons. As such, where we see social isolation, we would also expect to see some form of dialectal variation, be it phonological or lexical, syntactic or even metalinguistic (Coulmas, 1997; Labov, 1970).

The caste system<sup>30</sup> grew from the Hindu religion as a method of social hierarchy that came to encompass most of Indian culture. Idealistic in nature, it prescribes a person's duties within their own caste as parts of a much larger community. Unfortunately due to its description of personal purity, the caste system came to breed a culture of social isolation, where cross-caste interactions were rare and often discouraged.

John J. Gumperz was among the first to show that dialectology could be used to show certain social distinctions. Though Gumperz showed that linguistic variations could be found in many different types of social groups, he is perhaps most famous for his work on the caste groupings found in a north Indian village (Gumperz 1958). He successfully was able to show that where caste contact was more frequent, dialectal variation was decreased. As such where caste contact was infrequent, stronger differences between dialects were more notable and even identifiable by speakers.

In more recent years with the advent of independence for India as well as increased influence from western countries through mass media, Internet and social media, more voices have arisen calling for a removal of the caste system. In the government, efforts have been made to reduce certain cases of caste backwardness by creating a reservation system within positions of employment as well as systems of higher education. This reservation system allows people from castes and tribes that are considered backwards and economically deprived to be given opportunities for higher education and better paid positions of employment. In spite of these efforts, though, it seems as though the

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<sup>30</sup> It ought to be noted that the current synopsis of the caste system is rather crude, especially for such a complex topic. Opinions may vary, even among Hindus as to the specifics of the caste system, however the purpose of this paper is not to consider the caste system itself, but rather to discuss its role in language variation.

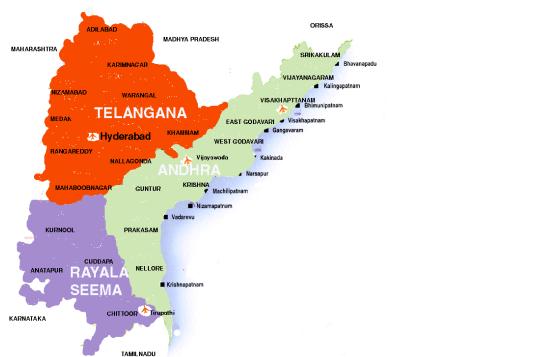
government is itself sending contradictory messages. In the most recent census, India's government included caste as an identifier for its citizens (Foy, 2010) as if to say that, while this method of discrimination is frowned upon by democratic systems, it still exists and is not something that will be removed entirely in the near future.

With this in mind, the question arises as to the amount of social isolation caused by certain social factors, including the caste system. If governmental reform and other influences have truly created a more socially integrating society, we would expect to see a decreased ability in speaker's ability to identify caste through speech. As such, the current study is an attempt to gain a more accurate view of the social stigma of caste while also looking at other sociological factors that might be identifiable through speech. Using an online survey as well as additional interviews with native speakers, we will look at the dialectal variations found in spoken Telugu, a Dravidian language spoken in southeastern India. It will be shown that while there are sociological factors that are identifiable through speech, including age, birthplace, education level and socioeconomic status, caste is one that is decreasingly found in speech, thus proving that the caste system is becoming less of a socially isolating force in Indian society.

This paper will begin by outlining the structure of the online survey as well as the methodology behind the experiment. We will then examine the qualitative opinions of various native speakers and their own experience with caste-specific dialectal variations. We will then look at the results from the experiment and implications from the study, followed by unanswered questions and suggestions for future research.

## 2 Survey Methodology

In order to better understand native intuition on certain sociological factors that are interpretable from speech, an online survey was created and administered to native Telugu speakers throughout the world. The survey consisted of two sections: the first was a set of qualitative opinion questions that allowed native speakers to simply voice personal opinions on caste and language ability, the second section consisted of a series of stimuli and corresponding questions developed with the intention of identifying which social factors can be uncovered through listening to a short speech segment. See Appendix A for the specific questions used for both sections. One question, Section 2 Question 2, asked where a person was from. The question offered three areas, each a large region of the state with distinct histories. The three regions, Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra each represent dialect areas that were previously noted through personal interviews. We see a map of these three regions in (Figure 1).



**Figure 1: Three Regions of Andhra Pradesh**

For the second section of the survey, stimuli were recorded using 8 male native Telugu speakers, some in the United States and others in India. Each subject was asked to reprimand a fictional person for being late to a meeting. In using a friendly scold each stimulus had at least one imperative, one stative, and one question. None of the stimuli were identical, but rather were ad-libbed by the subject in the moment with no preparation. In so doing each subject's personality was able to come through in the short audio segment.

Each audio clip was under 30 seconds in length. Stimuli subjects varied in age from 20 to 65 years old. Unfortunately only one subject was from Telangana and none were from Rayalaseema regions. At least one person was from each of the education options as well as economic options. The order in which the stimuli were presented was randomized for each subject. Only one stimulus was presented at a time, along with each of the questions on a single web page. The answers were given to each subject in the form of a drop-down option box. Due to the sensitive nature of the question of caste an option of "No Response" was included.

It should be noted now that the unique aspects of each audio clip have not been analyzed for this study. Variations in phonetics, syntax, morphology, intonation, stress, as well as a myriad of other suprasegmentals could be the causes of these perceived differences in the clips. Because the audio clips are instances of natural speech, these things are not accounted for. While in the future these things will be investigated, for purposes of this study it was simply relevant to discover if subjects could successfully determine the given factors.

Survey subjects were solicited through social media websites as well as contact lists of the Telugu Association of Utah and the Telugu Association of North America. Subjects came from nearly every major city within Andhra Pradesh, though several currently lived in the United States, the United Kingdom, or New Zealand. Each was a native speaker of Telugu, though the majority also spoke two other languages (most often English and Hindi). There were 78 test subjects, though only 12 were female. Many subjects were younger (born in the 1980's and 1990's) though several were older as well. All subjects had at least a secondary level education.

The surveys were presented using Qualtrics Online Survey software. Qualitative questions were organized in such a way that certain questions only appeared given positive responses to previous questions (see Appendix A).

#### *Individual Interviews*

Opinions on caste are quite unanimous throughout Andhra Pradesh. Caste is not something that is discernable through speech alone. Especially, say most, when that person is in school. However, it is interesting to note just how widely opinions vary, even when talking to the same informant. One young man, in particular, was quite adamant that caste was not something people even talked about any more, and was especially something that hadn't been an issue for many years. However when asked further if there were some people that spoke differently than him, he noted that his household maid spoke differently, and that most people from her community spoke in the same way that was quite difficult for him to understand.

It seems as though the question of caste causes many conflicting views and opinions. Every person interviewed was adamant that caste was no longer an issue of discrimination in India, citing governmental and educational reform. However, once those issues were brought up, it was consistently mentioned that caste was still an issue, as people's caste came into play when being considered for the reserved spots in employment or education. One interviewee even suggested that she knew of people who had implied that they belonged to a lower caste to be considered for above-mentioned reserved spots. All in all

caste is a touchy subject, and one of much confusion and debate among Indians and non-Indians alike. However when considering dialectology and caste together, most people will acknowledge that there are certain castes that are still very distinguishable from their speech, while others simply are not.

### 3 Data Collection and Results

In the following section we will examine each of the questions offered for each audio stimulus. With each of the questions we will show the results for each in the form of a table. Each question was run through a chi-square analysis to prove statistical significance. Each stimulus (A1-A8) can be seen along the vertical axis along with the statistics proving significance. Each asterisk indicates a p-value that is less than 0.0001. A double asterisk (\*\*) indicates a p-value of less than 0.05. Each correct answer is found in bold. It should be noted that an ANOVA should be done in the future to eliminate any influence from individual social factors, however for purposes of this study a chi-square was sufficient.

#### *How old is this person?*

As can be seen in (Table 1), most subjects were able to correctly gauge the unknown speakers' ages. There were three instances where subjects assigned a different age to the speaker, though results were still statistically significant. This may have to do with voice pitch, though it is not something that will be considered for this study.

(2)	NR	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	65+
A1 (30) $\chi^2$ (6)=107.231*	7	14	<b>41</b>	11	4	0	1
A2 (26) $\chi^2$ (6)=87.128*	4	13	<b>32</b>	25	2	1	1
A3 (65) $\chi^2$ (6)=70.795*	8	0	11	32	20	<b>7</b>	0
A4 (23) $\chi^2$ (6)=86.41*	6	<b>11</b>	36	19	4	1	1
A5 (55) $\chi^2$ (6)=119.795*	4	0	5	39	<b>25</b>	4	1
A6 (32) $\chi^2$ (6)=102.744*	4	14	<b>39</b>	16	5	0	0
A7 (20) $\chi^2$ (6)=220.487*	6	<b>56</b>	12	3	1	0	0

#### *Where is this person from?*

As was shown in the map in Figure (1), the state of Andhra Pradesh is often viewed as consisting of three smaller regions: Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra. Historically Telangana and Rayalaseema were never under British rule, but rather were ruled by the Muslim Nizam regime. For this reason native Telugu speakers often comment that people from that area speak using more "Persian" words, or borrowings from Urdu. Unfortunately for this study we only had one audio clip of a person from Telangana and none from Rayalaseema. However, that disparity aside, subjects were all successful in identifying a person's birthplace. The one subject that was not successfully identified is an interesting case in that he was born in Vishakhapatnam, in Coastal Andhra, but later moved to the capitol of Hyderabad in Telangana. Because he lived in both areas, it is assumed this is the reason behind this disparity.

(3)

	Telangana	Coastal Andhra	Rayalaseema	NR
<b>A1 (T) <math>X^2(3)=67.949*</math></b>	<b>51</b>	9	8	10
<b>A2 (C) <math>X^2(3)=44.769*</math></b>	5	<b>44</b>	17	12
<b>A3 (C) <math>X^2(3)=49.692*</math></b>	6	<b>46</b>	13	13
<b>A4 (C) <math>X^2(3)=82.718*</math></b>	4	<b>54</b>	11	9
<b>A5 (C) <math>X^2(3)=91.641*</math></b>	10	<b>56</b>	6	6
<b>A6 (C) <math>X^2(3)=4.256, p=0.2351</math></b>	22	<b>24</b>	20	12
<b>A7 (C) <math>X^2(3)=68.154*</math></b>	10	<b>51</b>	7	10

*What is this person's education level?*

The original thought was that the number of English words used by each speaker would be indicative of that speaker's education level. However, upon further analysis it was found that the number varied with no indication of actual education level. In fact, as seen in the graph (4) below, the man with the highest education level used no English words, while two men of lower education levels both used many English borrowings. Disregarding the use of English words, we see that subjects were successful in identifying, for the most part, the education level of each Telugu speaker.

(4)

	NR	NE	Pri	Sec	Univ	Grad	Doc
A1 (Grad) $X^2(6)=88.026*$ - English: 10	6	0	2	11	<b>34</b>	23	2
A2 (Sec) $X^2(6)=61.641*$ - English: 0	7	6	15	<b>33</b>	6	11	0
A3 (Doc) $X^2(6)=42.795*$ - English: 0	11	2	3	17	25	17	<b>3</b>
A4 (Pri) $X^2(6)=72.41*$ - English: 4	7	28	<b>20</b>	21	1	1	0
A5 (Univ) $X^2(6)=68.641*$ - English 2	7	3	5	34	<b>15</b>	13	1
A6 (Grad) $X^2(6)=78.333*$ - English: 1	7	0	2	10	33	<b>22</b>	4
A7 (Sec) $X^2(6)=81.205*$ - English: 4	8	2	7	<b>37</b>	12	12	0

*What is this person's economic status?*

When asked to identify a speaker's socioeconomic status, subjects were often quite close to accurate, though errors tended towards calling a person "average". In the actual test, each subject was asked to identify if a person was either "very poor", "poor", "average", "rich", or "very rich". However, it is quite apparent that the differences between calling a person "poor" and "very poor", as well as the differences between "rich" and "very rich" are extremely subjective and variant across individuals. Thus, for analysis these categories were combined. Once combined, we see that subjects did quite well.

(5)

	Poor	Average	Rich	NR
A1 (Rich) $\bar{X}^2(3)=41.897^*$	1	41	<b>20</b>	16
A2 (Avg) $\bar{X}^2(3)=49.487^*$	14	<b>45</b>	3	16
A3 (Rich) $\bar{X}^2(3)=33.487^*$	2	37	<b>24</b>	15
A4 (Poor) $\bar{X}^2(3)=57.282^*$	<b>46</b>	20	1	11
A5 (Rich) $\bar{X}^2(3)=46.103^*$	0	32	<b>36</b>	10
A6 (Avg) $\bar{X}^2(3)=50.718^*$	0	<b>41</b>	27	10
A7 (Avg) $\bar{X}^2(3)=42.308^*$	8	<b>44</b>	11	15

*To which caste/community does this person belong?*

Researchers in the past have analyzed some form of each of these previously addressed questions at some point. We haven't seen many new trends here that make these findings unique from theirs. However, now we are coming to question of caste. This question is not only unique because it hasn't been addressed in nearly 50 years, but also because of the increased stigma associated with the topic. Asking a person to assign a caste to another person is not a common thing, and in fact most people view it as a bad thing. At the request of one of my Telugu mentors, and once it was apparent that the question was taboo to ask, it was made optional. Its taboo nature was confirmed when we saw that most subjects simply refused to answer it. Over 40 of the 78 subjects reviewed refused to answer each of the caste/community questions.

When subjects did answer, though, we saw some very thought provoking trends. Certain castes are more popular or well known across larger communities. These two castes, the Reddy and Chakali castes, were most easily identified. Other caste groups are much smaller and not as well known. One in particular, that of the Jalari community, has quite a unique way of speaking, however because it is such a small community, it is likely that subjects never had heard a Jalari speak before, and thus did not know to identify certain speech with those that caste.

The Brahmin caste, on the other hand, is the most widely known caste. It is interesting to note that the A3, who most commonly was misdiagnosed, was erroneously described as being Brahmin rather than Yadava(Golla). The Yadava caste is one of shepherds, and not typically one ascribed to men of higher education and socioeconomic power. It is likely for this reason that A3 was assumed to be a Brahmin because of the other factors. Along the same lines, the Reddy caste is a wealthy and prominent one. While this does not explain why some people heard a Vaishya man and perceived him as a Reddy, or even a Brahmin, it does explain why some leaned in that direction, seeing as it is a recognizable caste.

Though the graph shown below is noteworthy, it is far from saying that caste is 100% identifiable from speech. In personal interviews only one person stated that he was able to identify some castes from speech. All other personal informants suggested that hearing caste was something that used to happen, but no longer is something people can do. Even so, while being aware of linguistic differences unique to caste is not something people claim now, this does not prove or disprove the existence of such differences.

(6)	B	CH	G	J	K	R	V	Y
A1 (Reddy) $\chi^2(7)=30.36^*$	3	1	0	1	2	<b>11</b>	1	6
A2 (Gavara) $\chi^2(7)=9.24, p=0.235$	5	6	<b>4</b>	0	2	3	4	1
A3 (Golla) $\chi^2(7)=30.36^*$	21	2	1	1	5	4	3	<b>0</b>
A4 (Chakali) $\chi^2(7)=70.459^*$	0	<b>9</b>	3	5	0	0	2	5
A5 (Vaishya) $\chi^2(7)=21.5^{**}$	6	0	1	0	6	10	<b>5</b>	4
A6 (Reddy) $\chi^2(7)=21.16^*$	4	0	2	1	4	<b>11</b>	1	2
A7 (Jalari) $\chi^2(7)=12, p=0.1$	9	2	1	<b>2</b>	4	4	3	3

#### 4 Implications and Future Research

As we have seen, there are several things that are identifiable by speech, including to some degree caste. We expected to see a decreased ability in speakers' detection of caste through speech because of the breakdown of caste barriers in society. And while this is true to some degree, some castes are still identifiable (Reddy and Chakali).

Through personal interviews it became apparent that while some youth are raised in households that discourage cross-caste interactions and marriage, most children do not discriminate between castes, especially in play situations. In addition school and other governmental institutions do not allow for any segregation, thus bringing everyone together to learn from the same source.

Beyond the issue of caste, it became apparent that geographic distinctions should be increased to include many smaller subregions, as people noted that speech is quite effective at placing a person from East or West Godavari, the Guntur region, and even the capitol city of Hyderabad.

Later this year I will be going to India to do a more in-depth documentation of linguistic differences between castes, education levels, men and women, age groups, as well as many other social aspects of language. In spite of it being only a pilot study, this current paper was able to show that caste distinctions are still audible to some degree. Other social and personal factors are also identifiable.

#### 5 Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the National Science Foundation for a Graduate Research Fellowship that has made this and future research a possibility. Thanks are also due to my mentors Drs. Janis and Charles Nuckolls, as well as Dr. MV Krishnayya. Finally I would like to thank my informants and friends who provided me with such invaluable information.

## Appendix A

### *Section 1*

1. Do you speak Telugu?
2. Is there a “proper” Telugu?
3. Where is “proper” Telugu used?
  - a. In \_\_\_\_\_ region (please specify)
  - b. School
  - c. Books
  - d. Newspapers
  - e. News
  - f. Films (please specify)
4. Is there a way to speak Telugu badly?
5. Who speaks Telugu badly?
  - a. Uneducated people
  - b. People from \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)
  - c. Lower castes
  - d. Other (please specify)
6. Can people change the way they speak to indicate they are from a specific caste or community?
7. What can people do to indicate they are from a specific caste or community?
8. Can you talk like someone from another caste-community?
9. What do you do? Which caste-community do you impersonate when you do this?

### *Section 2*

Click play to hear part of a conversation between two people. Please answer the following questions about the man who is speaking.

1. How old is this person?
  - a. (18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75, 75+)
2. Where is this person from?
  - a. (Telangana, Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema)
3. What is this person’s education level?
  - a. (No education, Primary education, Secondary education, University education, Graduate education, Doctorate education)
4. What is this person’s economic status?
  - a. (Very poor, Poor, Average, Rich, Very rich)
5. To which caste/community does this person belong?
  - a. (Brahmin, Chakali, Gavara, Jalari, Kshatriya, Reddy, Vaishya, Yadava/Golla, Other)
6. Is there anything else you can tell about this person?

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**Sacred That and Wicked Which:  
Prescriptivism and Change in the Use of English Relativizers**

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## 1. Introduction

Prescriptivism, “the belief that the grammar of a language should lay down rules to which usage must conform” (Oxford English Dictionary n.d.) as the *Oxford English Dictionary* has it, is generally held in low esteem among most contemporary linguists. Prescriptive grammars or usage guides are commonly seen as unscientific and old-fashioned endeavors, indeed “the term [prescriptivist] is pejorative in linguistic contexts” (Crystal 2008). It is therefore not surprising that little research has been done to investigate the linguistic influence of prescriptive grammars and usage guides such as H.W. Fowler’s (1965) *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* or William Strunk’s (1999) *Elements of Style*. There is, as Donald Mackay (1980, p.349) puts it, “a long-standing rift between prescriptive and theoretical linguistics” due to the fact that

prescriptive linguists view theoretical linguistics as irrelevant to their goal of teaching language use, whereas theoretical linguists view prescriptive problems as unfundamental and irrelevant to their goal of describing the principles underlying language use.

Examples of this attitude towards prescriptivist writings abound; in his review of *The Elements of Style* Geoffrey Pullum (2009) for example, calls the authors “grammatical incompetents” and “idiosyncratic bumbler” and the book “a toxic mix of purism, atavism and personal eccentricity”. Alexandra D’Arcy (2010) makes a similar point in an entry on the Oxford University Press blog:

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<sup>31</sup> This research is part of an ongoing collaboration between the English Departments at the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Freiburg, Germany (Project directors: Lars Hinrichs, Benedikt Szmrecsanyi).

I am not only a linguist but a *sociolinguist* (of all things!). I describe language as actually used and I revel in the differences and variations of language in practice [...] there is no place for prescription in my world. The notion of *should* does not apply.

The website *Language Log*, where several eminent linguists blog about linguistic matters, has its own category of “Prescriptivist Poppycock” where the writers disprove prescriptivist the validity of prescriptivist precepts (Liberman 2011), collect examples of usage guide authors breaking their own rules (Liberman 2006) and accuse prescriptivists of “grammatical egocentrism” and “cluelessness” (Zwicky 2009). Besides regarding the prescriptivist endeavor as misguided, it is often seen as pointless because language supposedly changes regardless of human intervention. Even prescriptive grammarians such as Henry Fowler are doubtful of their influence on actual language use:

What grammarians say should be has perhaps even less influence on what shall be than even the more modest of them realize, usage itself evolves little disturbed by their likes and dislikes. (Fowler 1965, p.622)

On the other hand, prescriptivist usage guides such as the *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* or *The Elements of Style* have sold millions of copies. They are assigned readings for college students and are used as writing guidelines by journalists, scholars and novelists. Common sense suggests that they could quite possibly have had an influence on written English. A comprehensive, empirical study of the influence of prescriptivist rules on language change, however, has yet to be done.

## 2. Previous Research

A few studies have investigated the influence of prescriptivism on Standard English in isolated areas of grammar. Auer (2006) and Auer & Gonzalez-Diaz (2005) study the impact of 18<sup>th</sup> century grammars on the development of the subjunctive in Britain. They find that prescriptivist grammarians had a slight, temporary influence on the use of the subjunctive, but were ultimately unable to stop or reverse the general trend towards use of the indicative in its place. They conclude that their findings

can be interpreted as a warning against the danger of overestimating the explanatory potential of prescriptivism and a call for a more careful reanalysis of its impact in processes of language change in the history of English. (Auer & Gonzalez-Diaz 2005, p.336)

Similarly, Busse & Schroeder (2010) find that prescriptivists were unable to stop the drift of *hopefully* from being used in its adverbial meaning toward usage as a sentence adverbial in British English. And while Facchinetto (2000) sees usage following prescriptivist guidelines on *shall* and *will* from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it remains unclear whether this change was initiated by prescriptivist grammarians or whether grammarians were just reinforcing a change in progress. Other studies, however, claim to detect influences of prescriptivism on English usage: Busse & Schroeder (2010) for example, suggest that the increased usage of *different from* (instead of *different to* or *than*) might be an effect of prescriptivist influence. Leech et al (2009, p.230) find that writers increasingly use the relative pronoun *that* instead of *which*, a development they attribute to usage guides and teaching of prescriptivist rules as well.

### 3. The Variable

In this paper, we will investigate the influence of prescriptivism on the use of the relativizers *that*, *which* and relativizer omission (zero) in written English. Unlike Leech et al (cited above), we exclude all non-restrictive clauses, possessive relative clauses and pied-piping constructions and focus on restrictive relative clauses where *which*, *that* and zero are interchangeable, i.e. the variable discussed in the prescriptivist literature cited below. Most major usage guides address the issue of relativizer choice in restrictive relative clauses. From a purely descriptive standpoint, speakers are free to choose between the variants *who*, *that*, *which* and zero (e.g. *The house [that/which/Ø] Jack built*). Writers of usage guides, however, introduce a much stricter rule: There is a consensus in the prescriptive literature (Peters & Young 1997) that *that* is the correct variant in this context. Thus, *The house that Jack built* is the preferable, ‘most correct’ version of the example above. William Strunk (1999, p.59), for example, advises his readers that

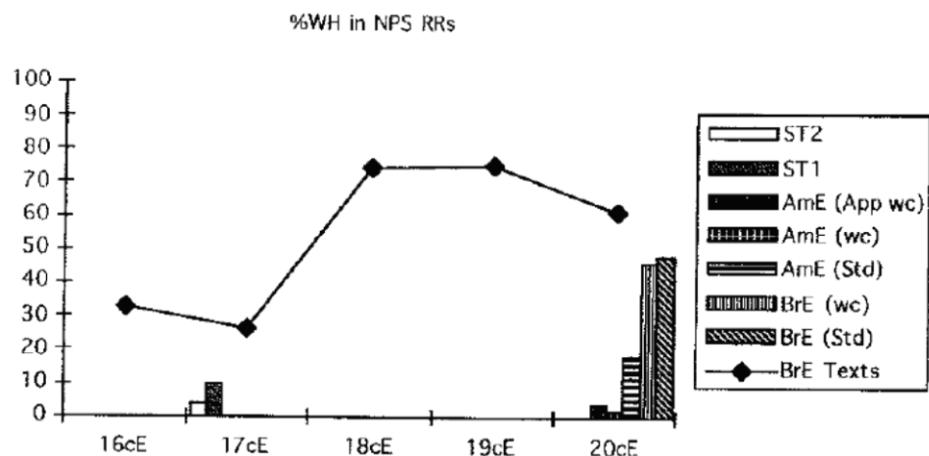
*that* is the defining, or restrictive, pronoun, *which* the nondefining, or nonrestrictive. [...] it would be a convenience to all if these two pronouns were used with precision. Careful writers, watchful for small conveniences, go *which*-hunting, remove the defining *whiches*, and by so doing improve their work.

30 years before Strunk, Henry Fowler (1965, p.635) wrote a little more cautiously that

the two kinds of relative clause, to one of which *that* & to the other of which *which* is appropriate, are the defining & the non-defining; & if writers would agree to regard *that* as the defining relative pronoun, & *which* as the non-defining, there would be much gain both in lucidity & in ease.”

More recently, Eric Partridge (1957, p.364) writes on the restrictive relative clause that “it is ushered in by *that*” or no relative pronoun at all (zero).

The historical development of English relativizers between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century has been studied by Catherine Ball (1996). She summarizes her findings with regard to the variable under investigation here in the following graph:



**Figure 1: WH in non-personal subject relatives, spoken and written** (Ball 1996, p.250).

There are issues of representativeness and interpretability of the graph here. The data this graph was built from comprises only 583 relevant constructions for four centuries. Moreover, these have been summarized in bins by the century, which it would make more sense to represent in a bar plot rather than a continuous line. Nonetheless, if we accept her evidence, the development between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century appears drastic. During this time, a shift in the paradigm of relativization seems to have taken place, favoring *which* as the dominant option, at least in written British English, which is represented by the line.

The apparent, although slight, reversal of the trend that we see towards the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Figure 1 finds some confirmation in Leech et al. (2009, pp.226-33), even if the data are not completely compatible. The authors run counts of all cases of *wh-* and *that* as relativizers (regardless of syntactic context) in written British and American English around 1961 and 1991. They rely on the four central corpora of the Brown family, which are also the database for the present study and are presented in more detail below. Two observations are of interest here. Firstly, in both British and American English the frequency of *that* increases over time, while that of *wh-* relativizers goes down. Secondly, this trend is by far more pronounced in American English than in British English. The problem with these counts is that they are made independent of syntactic context and hence include non-restrictive relative clauses, which do not allow *that*, pied-piping constructions, which require *which* and the relative pronouns *who* and *whom*. Their numbers are consequently not very sensitive to the constraints that operate on relativization in English and should be regarded as a first estimate on the basis of which more fine-grained analyses can be conducted.

Relating the figures in Leech et al. to Ball's historical findings, it seems as if the development of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the paradigm of relativization is in the process of being reversed. Two reasons suggest the possibility of attributing at least part of this to the influence of prescriptivism. The phenomenon as defined for the present purposes appears to have taken form during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Fowler (1965) – whose first edition was published in 1926 – being the first noteworthy example. There is thus a temporal correspondence, even if a very loose one so far. The diverging turns American and British English appear to be taking may be another pointer to the influence of prescriptivism, since

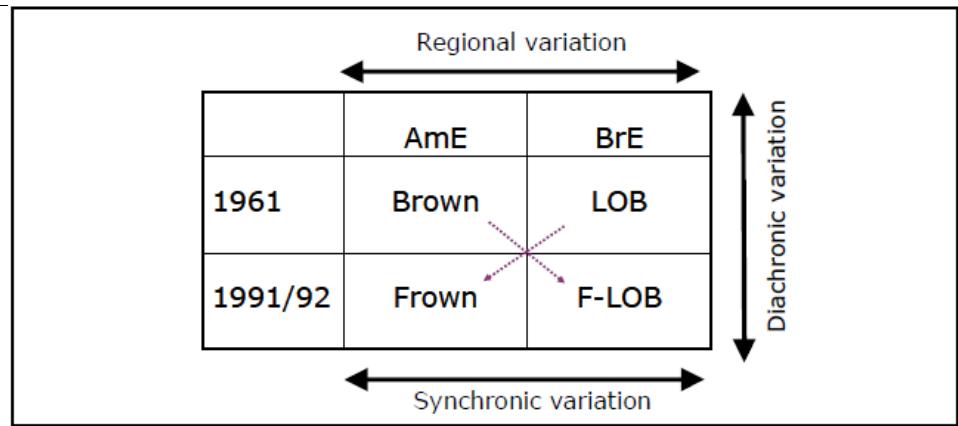
[p]rescriptivism maintains its [sic] hold over written AmE through channels which are absent from the UK, such as handbooks for obligatory freshmen English courses, and the pronunciation of 'language mavens' in the press.  
(Leech et al. 2009, p.264)

Based on the above findings, the hypothesis for this paper is as follows: ongoing change in the frequency of relativizers in restrictive, non-animate, non-pied-piping relative clauses can at least in part be attributed to the influence of prescriptivism in the form of usage manuals and style guides. While the findings in Ball (1996) and Leech et al. (2009) suggest that this hypothesis might be true, they do not provide strong evidence for it, nor do they make any claims beyond the speculative. To investigate the hypothesis further, the present study attempts to gauge prescriptive influences on choice of relativization strategy against other current trends in (written Standard) English morpho-syntax and tease these apart through multinomial logistic regression modeling.

#### 4. The Dataset

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The hypothesis will be tested against data from the four core collections of the Brown family of corpora: the Brown corpus (written Standard American English, 1961), the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen corpus (LOB, written Standard British English, 1961), the Frown corpus (written Standard American English, 1991) and the F-LOB corpus (written Standard British English, 1991). Each of these contains approximately 1 million words of published writing, divided into individual text samples of ca. 2,000 words each. These samples fall into 4 broad genre categories: Press, General Prose, Learned and Fiction. Figure 2 gives a summary of the basic setup of the four corpora, including the dimensions of variation they have been collected to cover specifically (for detailed descriptions of the corpora see Leech et al. (2009, chapter 2).



**Figure 2: Setup of the Brown corpora** (Busse & Schroeder 2010, p.89).

The present study makes use of POS-tagged versions of the Brown family corpora (for a detailed description see (Hinrichs et al. 2010) which have been additionally tagged for the variable under investigation. Tags for “zero” relativization were inserted automatically in the appropriate places and manually post-edited for correctness. This version also already incorporates a differentiation between the cases of interest here and other cases of relativization. Non-defining “which” and “which” in combination with pied-piping, for instance, have a different POS-tag (“<DDLX>”) than defining “which” without pied-piping (“<DDLS>” or “<DDLO>”, depending on whether the relativizer occurs in a subject or an object gap). Here is a sample from the Learned section of the Brown corpus which illustrates the tagging employed in this study:

```

<S>
<AT>The <NN1>effect <IO>of <$T> <NN2>drugs <WPRS>that
<VV0>act <II>on <AT>the <JJ>iodide-concentrating <NN1>mechanism
<%T> <VM>can <VABI>be <VVN>counteracted <II>by <NN1>addition
<IO>of <RR>relatively <JJ>large <NN2>amounts <IO>of <NN1>iodine
<II>to <AT>the <NN1>diet <>.
</S>
(Brown J14)

```

As can be seen from the highlighted parts, every defining relative clause has received a tag indicating the beginning of the antecedent (“<\$T>”, “<W>” and “<%Z>” for “that”, “which” and “zero” respectively), one immediately before the relativizer (in this case “<WPRS>”; they differ according to form and syntactic function of the relativization device) and one at the end of the relative clause (“<%T>”, “<%W>” or “<%Z>”). This extended tagging allows for operations on the texts which go beyond a mere count of *that*,

*which*, and *zero*, making it possible to extract various additional syntactic and discourse-related variables. A note on corpus size is in place. With 4 million words altogether, the four subcorpora of our dataset are rather small in terms of present-day corpus linguistics, which often works with figures well above 100 million words. Yet Marianne Hundt and Christian Mair (1999, p.224) maintain that for “phenomena [...] comprising the core-grammar of Standard English [...], enough data can usually be extracted from one-million-word-samples at least for initial orientation”, and this describes quite accurately what the present study attempts. For the outcome variable itself, 17257 tokens were recorded altogether, which is enough to yield robust statistical results. Depending on the nature of the predictors that are to be incorporated into a model corpus size can become increasingly problematic with the Brown corpora, but we are confident that for our present purposes such issues do not present themselves.

## 5. The Predictors

The aim of this paper is to gauge the extent to which prescriptivism is affecting the paradigm of restrictive relativization in written Standard English, in the context outlined above. An important part of this consists of identifying the unique influence of prescriptivism as opposed other broad trends that have been found in recent developments of English grammar, most notably colloquialization (Leech et al. 2009, pp.239-49) and information densification (Leech et al. 2009, pp.249-52); (Hinrichs & Szemrecsanyi 2007). Both these drifts can be assumed to operate on the system of relativization. For instance, the “zero” option may be favored as a means to densify a text by omitting an optional word. Similarly, “which” has been found to be very infrequent in spoken language (Hinrichs 2006). Hence, if there is a decline in percentages of *which* this may be better explained as a result of the general colloquialization of written English than as adherence to certain style advice. What the proposed study attempts, then, is to investigate how choice of relativization correlates with these trends, and to what extent indicators of adherence to prescriptivism help predict which relativizer is used in restrictive contexts. In order to achieve this goal, the following predictors were extracted:

*Time*: A binary variable comparing the samples from 1961 (Brown, LOB) to those from 1991 (Frown, F-LOB). The influence of this variable will be related to the findings of Hinrichs (2006) and Leech et al. (2009). Since we are interested in language change, variation along this axis will be of special interest.

*Variety*: This is also a binary variable, comprising American (AmE) and British English (BrE) in their written Standard forms. The findings of Leech et al. (2009) and Hinrichs (2006) cited above suggest that the two varieties have developed quite differently with regard to relativization in the time period under investigation. Including variety as a predictor will enable a more fine-grained analysis of these differences.

*Genre*: This category includes the four text categories of the Brown corpora: Press, General Prose, Learned, and Fiction. Each 2000 word sample in the corpora comes with a file ID, from which the according genre can be inferred. Since different genres have been found to develop different stylistic preferences (Biber 2003); (Hundt & Mair 1999); (Biber & Finegan 1989), this factor can be assumed to play a role in the choice of relativization strategy. Including it also makes it possible to relate the findings to what other authors have already found out about the general drifts various genres follow.

*Type-Token Ratio (TTR)*: Since one force that may be influential besides prescriptivism is information densification (Biber 2003); (Hinrichs & Szemrecsanyi 2007); (Leech et al. 2009), there needs to be some measure of how dense the text sample in question is. TTR, i.e. the ratio of different words versus the number of words in total in the text sample, is taken here to be an indicator of information density. For the calculation,

only surface forms are considered (no lemmatization). The value of TTR is not stable across text sizes but decreases with larger texts. However, this problem is mitigated by the fact that the size from which the value is calculated, namely the individual 2,000 word sample, is roughly the same.

*Frequency of nouns in the text sample:* The “nouniness” of a text has been found to be a reliable indicator of its degree of information density (Leech et al. 2009, p.211). We therefore measure the relative frequency of nouns in the 2,000 word sample a given relativization device is extracted from. For easier interpretability, the relative frequencies here – as well as for all other predictors of this kind – are normalized to a value per 10,000 words.

*Frequency of subordinating conjunctions in the text sample:* As an indicator of the syntactic complexity of the text as a whole, we include this measure in our list of predictors. More complex texts indicate a higher degree of formality, which may favor certain relativization strategies over others.

*Personal Pronoun Frequency in the text sample:* We choose this variable as a measure for the “colloquialness” of a text sample at hand. There are plenty of indicators of colloquialization, but the problem is that many of these are also related to other phenomena. Declining use of the passive, for instance, could also be a reaction to prescriptivist pressure as the passive is a construction under constant attack by style advisors. Similarly, increasing use of contractions (Hundt & Mair 1999) may arguably be a result of information densification. The use of personal pronouns appears to be relatively unrelated to these other trends.

*Frequency of Stranded Prepositions in the text sample:* This variable is included since an aversion against stranding is the subject of another prescriptivist mantra: “Never end a sentence with a preposition.” If the hypothesis holds true, and prescriptivism in general has an influence on choice of relativization, high predictive power is expected for this variable. Instances of stranding are here defined as a preposition followed by an item of punctuation like a comma, full stop or question mark.

*Ratio between Passive and Active Constructions:* For the same reasons as preposition stranding, a measure for the use of the passive voice will be included as well. Prescriptivists tend to abhor this construction (e.g. Strunk & White 1999, p.18). Hence, fewer passive constructions may indicate stricter adherence to style manuals’ ‘rules.’ Admittedly, it may also indicate greater colloquialization. Here, it will be worthwhile to look at how the weights of individual predictors relate to each other in the final mode. Two means of estimating the frequency of passives were initially included: passive voice constructions per 10,000 words and the ratio between passive and active verbs in the text sample. We decided to use the latter as it is estimated to be more accurate, describing only cases of true variation rather than raw counts. Also, in a test for the condition number of all continuous predictors, passive-active ratio turned out to be less correlated with other predictors than passives per 10,000 words. In order to count passive constructions, cases of auxiliary *be* + past participle of any full verb were recorded, as well as cases with adverbs in between. For active verbs, all indicative forms of full verbs, auxiliary *have* + past participle of a full verb (present past), and auxiliary *be* + present participle of any full verb (progressives) were considered.

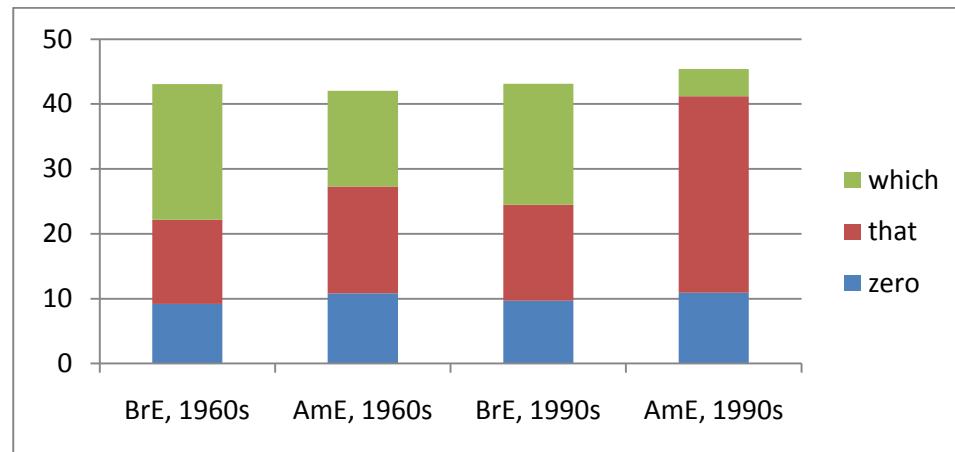
*Syntactic Function (or “gap”) of relativizer:* A relative clause can have an independent subject, in which case the relativization device appears in the object position of the clause, or it can have the relativization device itself in subject position. An exception to this is *zero* relativization, which can only be employed with an independent subject in the relative clause. To test with regard to *which* and *that* whether one syntactic function favors either relativization device over the other, we extract this binary factor from all constructions in question.

*Length of relative clause:* Depending on the complexity of the clause with which a noun-phrase is post-modified, different devices for relativization may be privileged. If, for instance, the relative clause is very long, there may be a desire to mark it overtly and in this case *which* “can give a stronger, more unambiguous signal for the beginning of a relative clause” than *that* or zero (Leech et al. 2009, p.227). The length of the clause is measured in individual words.

*Distance between head of the antecedent and beginning of the relative clause:* This variable is included as a first estimate to assess the adjacency between noun-phrase and relative clause. Most relative clauses directly follow the noun-phrase they modify, but there is also the possibility of additional syntactic material being inserted in between, as in “No house was ever built that could not have been built better ...” (Brown E35). At the time of writing, a reliable method for extracting adjacency was not available. The distance in number of words between the head of the antecedent noun-phrase and the beginning of the relative clause stands in as an ersatz variable. If the value here is 0 the two are adjacent; with increasing values the chance of non-adjacency increases as well. It has to be said, though, that the correlation is far from perfect. Better methods for extracting adjacency are in the process of being developed.

*Definiteness and number of the antecedent head:* Since relative clauses provide additional information about a noun-phrase, the degree of definiteness as well as the number of this noun-phrase may play a role in how the relative clause is introduced. Hence we extracted these two binary factors for every construction in question to include as a predictor in our model.

## 6. Results



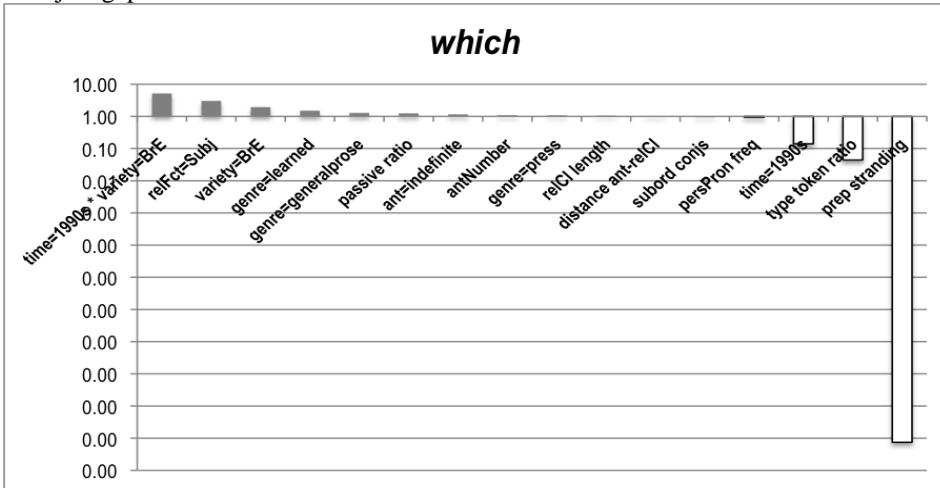
**Figure 3. Frequencies of relativizers (N/10,000) in the four corpora**

Figure 3 shows the distribution of absolute counts for *which*, *that*, and *zero* in Brown, LOB, Frown and F-LOB. The numbers are not normalized, hence the slight difference in height between the four plots. The big picture of both diachronic development as well as synchronic variation can be gleaned from this figure. With regard to *zero*, not much seems to be happening along either of the axes time and variety. In accordance with Bell's findings, variation and change in the use of *that* and *which* appear to be best explained in

terms of each other, with zero remaining an infrequent but stable alternative diachronically and synchronically.<sup>32</sup>

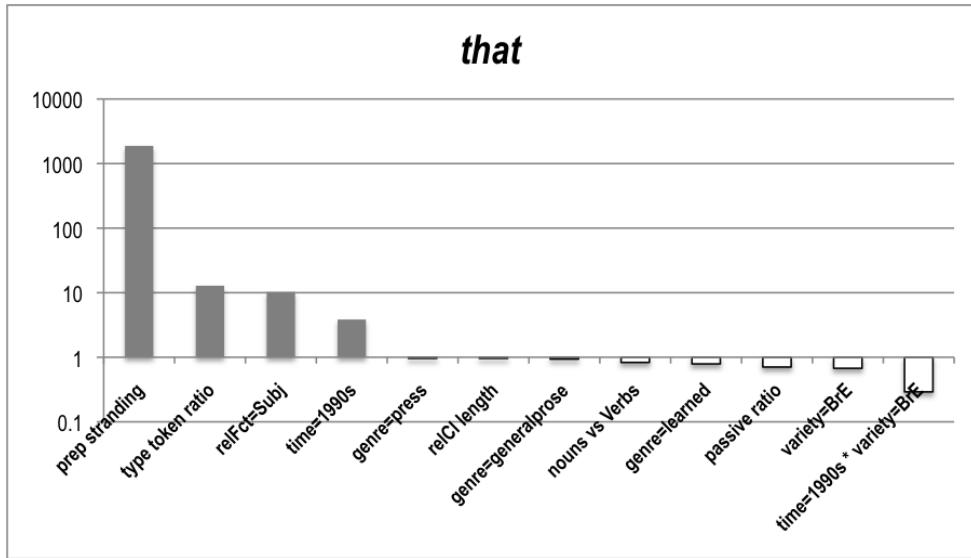
With regard to the situation of competition between *which* and *that*, both major observations in Leech et al. (2009, pp.226-33) are corroborated by our findings. There is an increase in frequency of *that* at the expense of *which* between 1961 and 1991 in both varieties, but this development is progressing at very different speeds in British and American English. Whereas in the United States there is a drastic shift in preferences, the UK is taking a much more gradual course in the same direction. The more specific context of non-pied-piping restrictive relative clauses that our counts reflect even exacerbates the force of the change in American English, where by 1991 *which* has become the least frequent option by far.

These findings lend support to the hypothesis that prescriptivism is playing a role in the choice of relativization device. The diachronic increase of *that* can be interpreted as a style rule's gaining support over time, whereas the differences between British and American English point to the diverging institutional contexts for the enforcement of such rules in the two countries. The development is particularly interesting if read against Ball's (1996) findings, since the prevalent trend in her data up until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was one towards *which* as a device for introducing restrictive relative clauses in written English. Our findings indicate a reversal of this trend. In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the factors that influence choice of relativization device, the predictors in (5) were entered into logistic regression models for *which*, *that*, and *zero* separately. Since *zero* appears to be fairly stable across time and space the focus of this paper is the alternation between *which* and *that*, only odds ratios for factors influencing these two are given. The odds ratios always reflect how a predictor influences the probability of seeing the relativization device in question versus the probability of seeing either of the other two alternatives. This relationship explains the fact that both figures are not exactly each other's inverse. A relativizer in subject position of the relative clause, for instance, favors both *which* and *that*, but this is because *zero* is categorically restricted to an object gap in the relative clause.



**Figure 4. Factors favoring/disfavoring the choice of *which* in restrictive relative clauses (odds ratios from logistic regression). Only significant factors are included in the model.**

<sup>32</sup> We are looking at written English only here. In spoken English, zero is, of course, a much more frequent choice of relativization (Biber et al. 1999: 609-612).



**Figure 5. Factors favoring/disfavoring the choice of *that* in restrictive relative clauses.**

Figures 4 and 5 include all the predictors that came out as statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) in the respective models. Of all these, we will restrict our discussion in this paper to the ones which can be interpreted as reflecting a prescriptivist style rule. The observations from the raw counts above are reflected in the positive weight British English has as a predictor for *which* and the negative one for *that*. Also, the weight of the interaction term between variety and time in both models underlines the degree to which the developments in the two varieties differ. The ratio of passive versus active constructions lends further support to the hypothesis that prescriptivism is a potential source of these trends. Texts with more passive constructions tend to favor the use of *which* in restrictive relative clauses, whereas texts with fewer passive constructions tend to favor *that*. In other words, if authors adhere to one style rule (“avoid the passive voice”) they are also more likely to follow another one (“*that* is the defining, or restrictive, pronoun...”).

Another prescriptivist mantra, never to end a sentence with a preposition, is reflected in the predictor frequency of stranded prepositions. This one as well comes out as significant in both the model for *which* and the one for *that*. In fact, it is the predictor with the highest factor weight. Contrary to our hypothesis, though, increasing frequencies of stranded prepositions, i.e. violations of the above rule, favor adherence to the prescriptivist call for using *that* for introducing a restrictive relative clause. This result is surprising indeed, at least under our initial hypothesis, and requires further investigation. Understanding prescriptivism as a unified set of rules with equally strong bearing obviously does not suffice to explain the variation observed in our data. In the present case, the proscription of preposition stranding may be a rule that is on its way out. Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey Pullum lend support to this speculation when they state with regard to usage manuals that only “some of the more old-fashioned ones still state that ending a sentence with a preposition is incorrect or at least inelegant” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, p.138).

Neither will it be useful to discuss the realization of these rules in a given text in isolation from other factors. Developments like the one under scrutiny here are always “embedded in particular text types and discourse contexts” (Leech et al. 2009, p.12) which

exert a certain influence on the grammatical and lexical choices of an author and a variety of different broad trends are at work beside, and potentially in competition with, style rules of the prescriptive kind. It is therefore necessary to turn to some of the other predictors in our models and ask how the text features and trends they represent interact with prescriptivism in influencing the choice of relativization strategy.

If we look at the distribution across different genres in our data we see that *which* is favored first and foremost by academic writing, whereas *that* is most prevalent in fiction (the baseline genre, which is why, in the odds ratios table for *that*, all other three genres come out as negative). These two represent poles on a continuum of formality, with academic prose at the formal, “uptight” (Hundt & Mair 1999) end and fiction, which often has a large proportion of direct speech, at the other extreme. *Which* is arguably the most formal relativization device: it is required in elaborate syntactic contexts like pied-piping constructions and largely absent in spoken English (Biber et al. 1999, pp.609-18). Hence it seems plausible to include this axis alongside prescriptivism as an explanatory factor in our model for choice of relativizer. Additional support for doing so is given by the fact that increasing frequencies of personal pronouns, another indicator of less formal and more “involved production” (Biber 1988), disfavor *which* in our data.

## 7. Discussion

Our investigation of relativization devices in restrictive, non-pied-piping relative clauses in the four core corpora of the Brown family confirms Leech et al.’s (2009) findings for relative clauses on the whole. In fact the rise of *that* at the expense of *which* in American English is put into even starker relief in the context of true variation accounted for in this paper. It seems as if, at least in the United States, advice from usage guides and style manuals has a real bearing on writers’ choices, to the extent that *which* has become a very rare option for introducing restrictive relative clauses in American English. In addition, the variables choice of relativizer and frequency of passive constructions are correlated in a way that allows us to interpret adherence to prescriptive rules as a common cause for outcomes in both.

The discussion of our individual predictors, on the other hand, has shown that prescriptivism is far from being a unified and isolated influence, and writers are not slaves to a set of style rules. Rather, they are sensitive to a number of general, genre-specific and discourse-related stylistic conventions and make their choices accordingly. One ongoing change in such conventions is “colloquialization” (Leech et al. 2009, pp.239-49), the move away from formal and towards more oral language in written English. Our analysis shows that this trend is at least partly responsible for the development of relativization strategies in restrictive contexts. It is difficult at times to tease colloquialization and prescriptivism apart exactly since many of the contemporary style guides are written in a spirit of ‘plain English.’

Finally, a note on the ideological dimensions of the discussion around prescriptivism is in place. Studying contributions to the website LanguageLog, one cannot fail to notice the harsh tone with which descriptive linguists often denounce the “rules” of style guide authors and their followers. Arnold Zwicky, for instance, speaks of “a pack of hypocrites or fools” and makes specific reference to usage advisor Bryan Garner as “an idiot” (Zwicky 2006). This kind of rhetoric is even more surprising if one considers that scholars in other disciplines hold rather different opinions of the people criticized by Zwicky. Peter Elbow (2011), for instance, recently recommended Garner’s *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* specifically at the 2011 conference on college composition and communication. The point here is not to take sides on the debated issue and prove the

other side as being in the wrong. Rather, it seems that authors from different backgrounds have very different understandings of the role and purpose of usage advice.

We maintain that descriptive linguists including ourselves are well-advised to remember that our perspective is one of several and not necessarily privileged over others. The grounding of our discipline in empirical research can often suggest a greater claim to factuality and disinterested scientific inquiry. This does not mean, however, that we are free from ideology and able to write from a 'positionless position.' In his classic discussion of feminist language prescriptions, Michael Silverstein (1985, p.222) reminds us that "[t]he total linguistic fact is [...] irreducibly dialectic in nature". Speakers as well as, we maintain, linguists are themselves part of this dialectic situation and consequently unable to describe it entirely 'objectively' from the outside. The meaning of any utterance is in large part dependent on the indexicalities connected to it in a given situation. These indexicalities are not universally valid semantic meanings, but context-specific and ideologically mediated ones, and they work "all the way down" (Silverstein 1998, p.138); cf. (Blommaert 2005). That is, we can never strip an utterance of all its indexicalities until only the True, universal meaning remains.

What this means for the present context concretely is that a re-evaluation of our object of study as well as a serious engagement with the goals and purposes of usage manuals may be necessary. As for our own research, the question is warranted whether the habitual claim that we describe "the English language" is entirely justified. Even with much larger corpora than the ones used in the present paper, we only have a minute subset of the entirety of language produced by speakers of English at hand, and one which is usually stripped of much of its social context. There are, of course, procedures to ensure the representativeness of such a subset, but they remain imperfect by definition. Usage advisors, on the other hand, seem less interested in "the language." They frequently emphasize the non-categorical nature of their guidelines as well as their validity in a well-defined institutional space. In other words, they seem to be interested first and foremost in maintaining discourse conventions for specific genres. As much corpus linguistic work (Leech et al. 2009; Mair 2006; Biber 2003; Hundt & Mair 1999; Biber & Finegan 1989) has shown, focus on the development of different discourse conventions can be a very rewarding line of inquiry for linguists interested in ongoing changes in the English language. At the very least, then, we should stop denouncing usage guides as *a priori* distorting, stupid and downright wrong and instead take seriously the influence prescriptivism has on changing norms of discourse. The present paper constitutes an attempt to make a step in this direction.

Undoubtedly, much remains to be done. As we continue to investigate individual usage rules the question to what extent they can be meaningfully subsumed under an umbrella term "prescriptivism" remains to be answered. Similarly, procedures for isolating prescriptivism from other factors, as for instance colloquialization in the present paper, need to be developed. In addition to refining our statistical models and increasing the size of our database, a crucial step will consist in conducting meta-studies in order to determine the institutional sites at which the rules in question are most actively disseminated and enforced. Perception experiments in universities in the UK and the USA are one project we envisage. Similarly, an analysis of the changing style sheets and policies of individual editorial boards may provide rewarding results for contextualizing the probabilistic developments extracted from corpus linguistic analyses.

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#### ADDRESSES

**Indexical and Iconic Use of Vernacular Lengthening Practices:  
A Study of Young Turkish Women's Identity Practices on Facebook**

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The ‘autonomous’ view of orthography has been rejected by the published studies that clearly show how orthographies cannot be detached from social and political contexts (Jaffe ,2000; Romaine ,2002; Sebba ,2003; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998). Instead, as Sebba (2007) argues, orthographies should be seen as ‘social practices’ where certain conventions index linguistic and social identities. Many researchers, who analyzed the use of non-standard spellings and non-standard orthographies in their studies, indicated that they act as identity resources (Androutsopoulos, 2000; Jaffe, 2000). In this article, I analyzed the data collected during my online ethnography where young Turkish-English bilingual women used non-standard spellings in their photo comments on Facebook. More specifically, I focused on the semiotic relationship between such vernacular lengthening practice and identity. I looked not only at the use of orthography but also at the impact of phonology on this vernacular lengthening practice.

Facebook, by following the categorization of Sebba (2007), can be seen as an ‘unregulated orthography space’. That is, non-standard spellings are very commonly used and accepted in such a space in contrast to ‘regulated spaces’ where standard forms become the norm and are highly valued, such as academic and business discourses. In this ‘unregulated orthography space’, this group of young Turkish women used unconventional lengthenings that attracted my attention. In my analysis, I adopted a semiotic approach to investigate the relationship between the use of the vernacular lengthening practice by young Turkish women and their identity construction. In the following section, I discuss the research on orthography as a resource in constructing identities. Then, I discussed the approach I adopted in the present study to language and identity.

### **1. Orthography as an Index of Identity**

Many of the studies on orthography are primarily concerned with the use of non-standard orthographies and/or the standardization or re-standardization of written or unwritten minority languages. ‘Non-standard’ forms are usually explained in terms of ‘standard’. However, these terms are social constructs and are not linguistic facts (Jaffe, 2000). Further, the ideologies of people in power usually set the boundaries of the so-

called ‘standard’.

One study on non-standard use of orthography was done by Schieffelin and Doucet (1998) who explored the use of ‘Kreyol’ in Haiti. They argued that orthography functioned as the representation of self and also the nation in Haiti. The use of ‘Kreyol’ became an index of national identity and the orthographic icons as symbols of ‘Haitianness’. Furthermore, Jaffe and Walton (2000) analyzed the results of an experiment where subjects read texts written in non-standard orthographies. They concluded that people did associate such non-standard texts with stigmatized identities. More specifically, the non-standard orthography has been perceived as an index of low social status. Moreover, Androutsopoulos (2000) analyzing punk fanzines in German context concluded that the creative use of non-standard orthography marked the subcultural affiliation and hence indexed subcultural identities.

It is not only the use of non-standard orthographies that could index a certain kind of identity. Even the use of a small symbol in orthographic representation could mark the sameness or differentiation and index certain social and/or ethnic identities. For instance, Powers’ (1990) study of Lakota showed that different diacritics to mark some phonemic distinctions were used by Lakota people to index their ethnic identity. Like Powers (1990), Romaine (2002) found that the use of two symbols for the glottal stop and vowel lengthening became a debate between the younger and the older generations and questioned the authenticity of ethnic identities in Hawaiian context.

Following these studies, I see orthography as a ‘social practice’ that could be used as a resource in constructing identity. Concerning the iconic and/or indexical relationship between language and identity, I adopted a social constructionist approach that is discussed in the following section.

## **2. A Social Constructionist Approach to Identity**

In the present study, drawing insights from the social constructionist approach, I see ‘identity’ as a social phenomenon that can be constructed, reconstructed and shifted depending upon changes in context rather than a priori given fact (Bucholtz, 1999; Eckert and McConnel-Ginet, 1995). Further, as supported by many scholars (Buchotz 1999, Eckert and McConnet-Ginet, 1995; Goodwin, 1990), I argue that gender cannot be studied in isolation from other social categories that one belongs to. Thus, in my analysis, I consider young Turkish women’s ethnicity, religion, and age important social categories in addition to gender. Furthermore, as many contemporary scholars argue “identities emerge in practice” rather than are predetermined depending on the social order and structure (Bucholtz, 1999: 209). As a consequence, in order to eliminate the essentialization of gender practices, I look locally and hence focus on a “community of practice” in my analysis (Bucholtz and Hall, 2003; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1998; Meyerhoff, 2002). By the employment of such a view of community, language is not seen as the only means that determines the boundaries of a community. Instead, other social practices in addition to linguistic ones together shape the blurred boundaries of a ‘community of practice’.

By following this view, researchers analyzed both linguistic and non-linguistic practices in their research on language, gender and identity and concluded that non-linguistic practices in addition to linguistic practices are important in constructing and indexing both individual and/or group identities (Bucholtz, 1999; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1995). Furthermore, it allows researcher to work with local groups and local identities. Thus, in my analysis, I examined the semiotic relationship between the observed vernacular lengthening practice and identity in a “community of practice” where gender is only one level of social identity in addition to many other levels.

### 3. A Community of Practice

The data in this research are taken from an online social network site, Facebook. I started conducting an online ethnography in September 2008. I particularly focused on two communities of practices. I became part of the first community purposefully to observe gendered practices of the entry-level US college students in a Midwestern university. However, the second community of practice that I studied captured my interest via my own personal use of Facebook. In this study, the data are taken from this second group<sup>33</sup>. All of the members of this group are one of my friend's friends. They are all young Turkish women who live in New York- New Jersey area. A few of them were raised in the US whereas the others moved to the U.S. later in their lives. They are all fluent speakers of Turkish and English. In this community of practice, some of them are high school girls while others are college or master students. What brings these girls together is their affiliation with a religious group and especially their big sister/big brother program. In this program, big sisters are assigned to certain group of high school and college girls to help them both in their studies and in their socialization process. The aim is to help these girls to maintain their ethnic and religious identities in their process from teenagehood to adulthood and to be socialized as open-minded people. Further, it is aimed that these big sisters, by being either undergraduate or graduate students, would help these teenage girls to be more motivated in their education.

In this community of practice, some of them share an apartment while others stay with their families. Social activities are mainly organized by big sisters and teenage girls' attendance is sought. Big sisters try to find fun activities that will serve for social needs of these teenage girls. Thus teenage girls usually go outside to watch a movie in a theater, to shop, to eat in a restaurant with their big sisters and even they sometimes stay together or go out of state trips. They like to take pictures together and usually post them on Facebook. Whenever one of them uploads new pictures of the group, they hurry to comment on them.

### 4. Sense of Humor as "Social Capital"

In this community of practice, shared practices of members help them to establish and maintain their intra-group relations. Sense of humor serves as "social capital" in this community of practice. Both teenagers and big sisters mark their group membership via joking, teasing and making fun of each other. In their offline worlds, they usually organize social fun activities to spend time together. They seek to carry this offline schema to the online world via the use of Facebook. Especially the photos that they take together in their offline world are usually uploaded by one of the group members on her Facebook account. Group photos serve as a resource of humor. They pay attention to choose and upload funny photos that would help them to initiate a fun talk via photo commenting. They not only use real pictures that are taken in their social gatherings but also cartoons which help them to tease each other and initiate a fun talk. Whenever they use a cartoon, they employ funny tagging practices to tease each other. In addition, they play with their photos via using Photoshop to create weird and funny effects that would increase their resources for fun talk.

I discussed the non-linguistic practices that helped young Turkish women to be humorous in their community of practice. Now, I discuss the linguistic practices that are

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<sup>33</sup> I asked permission of my friend (HH) who is one of the big sisters in this community of practice and she let her friends know about the study. I only used the initials of their first and last name for ethical purposes.

used as a kind of speech play to mark humor among young Turkish women. I mainly draw insights from Sherzer (2002) in my discussion of linguistic practices. These women used two codes and code-switch very often in their photo comments to mark their intra-group solidarity and social connectedness. Sherzer (2002) argued that code-switching is also a kind of speech play that can be used creatively to index hybrid identities. Thus, in this community of practice Turkish women mark their ethnic background as Turkish and also mark their affiliation with the US culture by the use of two codes. Further, Turkish women, as argued by Sherzer (2002), negotiated the boundaries of language in their community of practice to play with the language to mark humor and index their group identity. Being Turkish, female, and humorous are not only aspects that mark group membership, each member is expected to be able to use two codes, English and Turkish, and further be able to mix these two or switch when necessary. It seems evident that the mixed use of these two codes serves as a resource in young Turkish women's identity claims within their community of practice and marks their ethnic and cultural background. The mixed use of English and Turkish by young Turkish women also serves as a resource for humorous practices.

In this study, I primarily focused on lengthening practices of young Turkish women in their community of practice. I explored if Turkish or English language has an impact on such a practice and further what purpose the lengthening practice serves in this community. More specifically, I explored the semiotic relationship between such practices and young Turkish women's identity. To better draw a conclusion, I look at their lengthening practices in addition to other linguistic and non-linguistic practices. It seems that overall they play with language in their community of practice to create a fun talk to serve for their identity needs (Sherzer, 2002). Many other social practices also serve for humorous purposes among young Turkish women.

### 5. The Analysis of Vernacular Lengthening Practice

During my ethnography, I realized that young Turkish women in their community of practice lengthened words in a non-standard way. They frequently employed such vernacular lengthening practices when they were exchanging photo comments and messages on Facebook. I did a more close analysis of this lengthening practice among this group of young Turkish women. They predominantly use English in exchanging photo comments during the period I observed them. My analysis revealed that young Turkish women recycled the final letter of a word in orthographic representation to create a lengthening effect. They did follow the same rule both typing in Turkish and English. An example is presented below from the data where both Turkish and English words were lengthened by the recycling the final character of a word<sup>34</sup>.

- (1) NE wrote  
at 4:49pm on October 2nd, 2008  
ill be **waitinngg askimm** [my darling] ♥ =]

As it could be seen from the above example, NE recycled the “g” character in the English word “waiting” and the “m” at the end of the Turkish word “askim” which means “my darling”. All members of this community of practice did lengthen the words by recycling the final character, be it a vowel or a consonant, in the orthographic representation of a Turkish or an English word. Very rarely, they recycled the characters

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<sup>34</sup> Whenever a Turkish word or phrase is used, I italicized it and translated it to English in [ ] either below or next to the actual text.

other than the ones in final position (see Excerpt 2 and 3).

- (2) NE wrote  
at 3:29pm on October 29th, 2008  
**awwwhh** we love u too *Haa ablaaa* [HH sister] :)  
♥
- (3) DT wrote  
at 4:20pm on September 3rd, 2008  
**goood goood**, well gay mostly but its aight i guess lol and are you coming back? i heard you were gonna be in turkey for school? :(

After observing the frequent employment of such vernacular lengthening practices on Facebook by young Turkish women in their community of practice, I analyzed other multilingual Turkish and English groups and English-Turkish bilingual groups on Facebook to see if I could find a similar pattern on their use of orthography. I observed that it is very rarely present among multilingual English speakers whereas it is more common among multilingual Turkish speakers and English-Turkish bilinguals. However, those groups who use non-standard lengthenings in their messages do also use standard lengthening practices very commonly. Further, the employment of vernacular lengthening practices is not as common as it is in this group of young Turkish women. Thus, I argue that even though such unconventional lengthenings are present and considered a variant among Turkish people, it becomes an identity resource for the group I observed.

I further analyzed the data to see if these young Turkish women follow English or Turkish phonology in their lengthening practices. It seems that they did not follow the rules of English phonology in lengthening a word. In English, stress is somewhat unpredictable (Cruttenden, 1997). Thus, there is no regularity in lengthening a word. However, almost always it is a vowel that gets lengthened for affective purposes in English. After concluding that it is not the English phonology that influences such practices, I turned to the Turkish phonology to find an explanation for the found pattern. I argue that there should be something that triggers the use of such vernacular lengthenings by Turkish people on their use of Facebook since it is more common among Turkish people.

First of all, in Turkish, word stress can be predicted from a regular stress rule. It is usually the final syllable that carries the stress in Turkish words (Kabak and Vogel, 2001). However, there are a few exceptions to this rule. Certain place names, uninflected adverbs and some borrowings do not follow the mentioned stress rule. In addition, non-final stress can be found when certain affixes are added to a word. In Turkish, it is usually the final vowel that carries the stress gets lengthened. On the one hand, it seems that young Turkish women by their choice of putting the emphasis to the final syllable did somewhat follow the regular stress pattern found in Turkish language. On the other hand, not all of their lengthening both in Turkish and English did strictly follow Turkish norms.

Another interesting case is the lengthening of the “e” character at the end of the English words where “e” is present orthographically but silent in actual speech (see Excerpts 4 and 5).

- (4) BT wrote  
at 9:26am on April 4th, 2009  
*HHAAAAAAAAAAAAA ABLAAAAAAAAAAAAAA* [sister HH]....:)  
you loook soo **adorableee** yaa *benidee goturrr* [bring me with you] :(  
*cook ozledimm seni* [I missed you so much]

- (5) ND wrote  
 at 7:01am on September 4th, 2008  
 ohh *dun* [yesterday] it was **gonee** LOL xD

Some of the other words that were lengthened by the recycling the “e” in the data are “game”, “sure”, “people”, “life”, and “recognize”. These lengthened words, where “e” is recycled, are somewhat acceptable in Turkish. This is due to the highly phonetic nature of Turkish orthography. When these words are pronounced by a native English speaker, the grapheme “e” is not present in actual production. However, if these words are treated as Turkish words and produced by following Turkish orthography and its sound-grapheme correspondences, the “e” character will correspond to /e/ sound in actual speech. Thus, the reduplication of the “e” grapheme would correspond the lengthening of the vowel /e:/ which can be articulated easily in actual speech. For instance, the word “adorable” would be /ədɔːrəbəl/ or /ədɔːrəbl/ in English whereas it would be produced as /adɔːrəble/ in Turkish. Thus, when the letter “e” is reduplicated it would be produced as /adɔːrəble:/ by a Turkish speaker. However, it is not possible to add such a lengthening effect to the actual English pronunciation of the words since “e” is silent orally. Therefore, I think young Turkish women might be justifying their orthographic practices by somewhat following highly phonetic nature of Turkish orthography in these cases.

As I discussed earlier, some of the recycled final characters follow neither Turkish nor English lengthening patterns. These are all apparently and phonologically consonants, such as “c” in “pic”, “d” in “tried”, “t” in “it”, “g” in “tag”, “r” in “computer”, “k” in “back”, “l” in “hell” (see Excerpts 6, 7, 8, and 9).

- (6) NE wrote  
 at 6:52am on September 4th, 2008  
 lol no u **dontt**, its the **computerr**  
 i look worse **thenn** uu =]  
 hehe  
 be happy that u dont look like this in real life...:)
- (7) ND wrote  
 at 2:51am on September 2nd, 2008  
 woah xD i like **ittt..** =)
- (8) NE wrote  
 at 11:08pm on October 18th, 2008  
 ne biliyim EBin biraz havasi var gibi [I don't know why but I think she looks like EB here]  
 the **piccc:/jk**
- (9) BT wrote  
 at 10:06pm on October 22nd, 2009  
 its been way too long since i passed the carpim tablosu [multiplication table] HH abla [sister HH], and last time i checked i was still a girl!...**andddd** i dont ever remember coming home to tell anybody about what i learned that day, it never go that interesting:D, but gotta admit, looooove the parents..:D

## 6. Lengthening as an Element of Fun Talk

After analyzing the lengthening from a phonetic and a phonological perspective, I adapted a pragmatic and a sociolinguistic perspective in this section to discuss the possible

pragmatic meanings this lengthening practice carries and what purpose it serves in identity claims of young Turkish women in their community of practice.

In analyzing the data, I did not look at lengthening practices in isolation from other linguistic and non-linguistic practices in photo comments. As I discussed earlier, sense of humor became the social capital in this community of practice. Group members aimed to show their sense of humor through uploading funny pictures and/or cartoons and also initiating a fun talk via posting. In their fun talk, they did use lengthening very often compare to the other groups that I am observing on Facebook. They do not follow English or Turkish phonology in lengthening a word. Instead, they employ vernacular lengthening practices which is also a variant among other Turkish speakers on Facebook but not very commonly used as it is in this group to lengthen words in their posts. By following Sherzer (2002), I argued that the frequent use of such lengthening practices is a kind of speech play that serves as a crucial element of fun talk in this community of practice. It seems that young Turkish women would like to be funny in every level of their language use. They want their photo comments to be funny at a first glance and to mark the mood as humorous when these messages are read. They reached their aim via the use of vernacular lengthenings at the orthographic level. It is apparent that lengthening practices became a crucial resource at the orthographic level in this community of practice to mark sense of humor and hence index their group identity. Further, I argue that these orthographic representations become iconic in this community of practice and is an example of iconic use of speech play at the orthographic level.

Below are the photo comments of a picture posted by the group members. In the picture, there are three of the group members and one of them is holding a bottle. One of them uploaded the picture to her Facebook account. However, in order to make the picture funnier, she used photoshop to add some funny effects to it. With the effects, SG's nose became pointy, NE's hands were lengthened, and their eyes were forwarded.

#### Excerpt (10):

1. NE wrote  
at 8:17pm on September 30th, 2008  
im telling u tht thing looks like a beer ***sisesii*** [bottle].....
2. SG wrote  
at 9:54pm on September 30th, 2008  
too bad its just ***GAZOZZ*** [soda] :d
3. NE wrote  
at 10:57pm on September 30th, 2008  
actually its ***limonlu soda*** [lemonade]..  
**butt** im just imagining it as ***beerr*** hahahaha....  
i just noticed that my hand looks ***humongouss***...  
and i love how ur nose is ***soo pointyy***...
4. ND wrote  
at 1:37am on October 1st, 2008  
SG your face looks ***flawllessssss***=)  
and NE your eyes scared me \*\*<33333333

5. SG wrote  
at 10:36am on October 1st, 2008  
lmao *burunuma bak* [look at my nose] (h)
6. NE wrote  
at 2:09pm on October 1st, 2008  
**yeahh** SG your **nosee** makes you look like a **witchh**  
**LMAOOO** but a pretty one:P **illyy♥**  
  
and thanks but no **thankss** *NDcuk* [dear ND] lol♥
7. SG wrote  
at 2:54pm on October 1st, 2008  
**lol** :D *gozumde batmis* [my eyes were forwarded] haha
8. NE wrote  
at 5:20pm on October 1st, 2008  
**bothh wayss** we look mad **sexyy**  
hehehe....:)  
**ahh** school **tomorowwww:**(
9. AME wrote  
at 3:21pm on October 2nd, 2008  
hah yeah you wish that was **beerrr** =] thats ok NE ill hook you up one day ;)
10. SG wrote  
at 3:45pm on October 2nd, 2008  
:D
11. NE wrote  
at 4:49pm on October 2nd, 2008  
ill be **waitinggg askimm** [my love] ♥ =]

In actual speech, different types of phonations and phonological elements can be used to index a certain type of identity and/or to mark different social stances (Hay and Drager, 2007; Hill and Zepeda, 1999, Sicoli (under review)). However, in written communication, many of these elements are absent. I argued that young Turkish women, by recycling the final character of a word in orthographic representation of words, aimed to create such kind of effect in written communication. Thus, through the employment of vernacular lengthenings as a kind of speech play, these young Turkish women sought to be humorous in their use of orthography (Sherzer, 2002). As Bourdieu (1978) argued we cannot isolate one level of language use from other levels and hence we should look at multiple levels of language use. As it is observed in this community of practice, in their overall language use, young Turkish women rely on speech play to be humorous to mark their group membership and so they rely on speech play at the orthographic level to be humorous.

## 9. Conclusion

The creative use of orthography in lengthening words by young Turkish women demonstrated that lengthening practices by following a non-standard rule within this community served as a form of speech play at the orthographic level (Sherzer, 2002).

Young Turkish women saw such practices as a crucial element in their fun talk. This linguistic practice in addition to other mentioned social practices helped young Turkish women to be humorous and hence to serve for their group's identity needs. In other words, they marked their solidarity with each other and further indexed their group identity as 'humorous' and 'cool' by the use of lengthening practices in their community of practice. This clearly indicates that orthography cannot be detached from social contexts as argued by many (Jaffe, 2000; Romaine, 2002; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998) and should also be seen as a 'social practice' that helps to convey different pragmatic meanings in various contexts and hence to construct social identities (Sebba, 2003, 2007).

Furthermore, I argued that even though young Turkish women did not follow English or Turkish norms in their lengthening practices, it seems that the regular stress pattern of Turkish has an impact in Turkish women's choice of putting the emphasis to the final syllable. The employment of Turkish stress rule both in English and Turkish words index these women's Turkishness even when using the English code. This is also credited by many researchers who argued that the use of non-standard spellings and/or certain diacritics or symbols by certain people mark their ethnic identities and/or cultural affiliation (Androutsopoulos, 2000; Jaffe, 2000; Powers, 1990; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998).

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**Who is an Eastsider?  
Community Narrative and Ideologies of Authenticity**

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## 1. Introduction

Austin, Texas is a medium sized city, with a population just below 1 million, and it is growing. In the 1990s, Austin's population grew by 48% and was recently rated America's most rapidly growing city (Austin Chamber, 2011; Fisher, 2011) East Austin, Texas is defined by the city as the area located between IH-35, Town Lake and Airport Boulevard. It has historically been home to Austin's African American and Hispanic population after Austin was legally segregated in 1928 (Koch & Fowler, 1928). At the time, the area that would become East Austin was actually outside of city boundaries; currently there are sections of East Austin that could be considered to be "downtown." In recent years, the housing market in Austin proper has become prohibitively expensive for many middle class people, while East Austin remains relatively affordable and increasingly attractive to prospective homebuyers. An influx of middle class Anglo homebuyers has resulted in gentrification. There has been a push within the community to preserve local landmarks and historic buildings and to curb development in response to gentrification. Such discourse serves to raise awareness of East Austin as a separate place from Austin proper, and a place that is changing from what it had been; this in turn potentially raises awareness of a specific, and changing, East Austin identity. With this in mind, residents might have ideologies of whom or what "counts" as authentically East Austin. In a case study of East Austin, it is important to identify such ideologies in order to better understand the community at large.

My paper will explore ideologies of what is authentic Eastside<sup>35</sup>. I will explore who is an authentic member of the community and what is considered to be authentic East Austin. With regard to ideologies of authenticity, two questions that are important are the following: Who decides? Does it matter? These are questions we might ask as research

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<sup>35</sup> The terms *East Austin* and *Eastsides* are currently used interchangeably, both in East Austin and in Austin at large; my thanks to Jurgen Streck for pointing out that this was not always the case. I interpret the widespread use of the toponym *Eastsides* as an example of the perceived trendiness of East Austin by the greater Austin community.

questions of a field site as well as of our academic ideas of authenticity. If we are to consider authenticity in our research, it is necessary to examine these questions.

Notions of authenticity and the authentic speaker have lately and rightly been called into question in sociolinguistic literature. As linguists, we recognize that “the authentic speaker,” someone who was born in a certain place, speaks the local vernacular, and doesn’t have any outside influence to their speech or consciously monitors their output, doesn’t really exist. Even so, as linguists we are still tied to the ideology in many of our research endeavors, such as dialectology work and work on sound change. Bucholtz (2003) problematizes traditional conceptions of authenticity:

“The idea of authenticity gains its force from essentialism, for the possibility of a ‘real’ or ‘genuine’ group member relies on the belief that...[they] possess inherent and perhaps even inalienable characteristics criterial of membership” (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 400).

There can be no doubt that essentialism is problematic, and yet authenticity is still important. “Authenticity matters. It remains a quality of experience that we actively seek out, in most domains of life, material and social” (Coupland, 2003, p. 417). Authenticity does matter both in academia and outside the ivory tower. We want the authentic experience, whether it is in matters of local culture, such as cuisine, or in interactions with others. Nobody wants to participate in something that cannot be deemed to be authentic.

Eckert (2003) reminds us that the ideological construct of authenticity is important, too, in research. “Authenticity is an ideological construct that is central to the practice of both speakers and analysts of language” (Eckert, 2003, p. 392). Authenticity is important particularly in a local context, to local speakers. It could be used to determine in-group membership, or out-group membership. For analysts, without the construct of authenticity, much dialectology work would be impossible. Even if we as researchers try to shy away from notions of authenticity because of the problem of essentialism, it’s still somehow cognitively real for our speakers. This makes ideologies of authenticity difficult to ignore. Much of our work as linguists depends on this ideological construct. However it’s crucial to pay attention to whose ideological construct we, the analysts, take as the “right” authenticity. Is what I think is authentic the same as what my informant thinks is authentic? Does my informant’s view match the community’s view at large? Does the community even have a unified view?

Rather than talk about authenticity, Bucholtz (2003) suggests we instead talk about *authentication*. She defines authentication as “the outcome of constantly negotiated social practices” (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 408). Thinking about authenticity as a negotiated social practice, rather than an essentializing one, seems to fit better with our current academic ideals. Instead of the researcher designating authenticity, authentication is what speakers do in interactions with other speakers whom they deem authentic.

## 2. Data

The specific questions I will consider in this paper are as follows: How do East Austin residents authenticate other East Austin residents? How do they authenticate East Austin itself? The data are taken from sociolinguistic interviews conducted with nine current residents of East Austin; both in response to the overt question *who is an Eatsider?* as well as from opinions expressed spontaneously throughout the course of the interview. All of the speakers presented consider themselves to be Eatsiders and are roughly between 40-60 years old. They are chosen from a larger data set and are representative of

the views expressed at large. The transcriptions presented here have been edited to enhance readability.

### *2.1 True Eastsiders*

Modan (2007) studied an area of Washington D.C. undergoing gentrification. We can draw many parallels to the situation in East Austin. Modan looks at the neighborhood residents' use of language to mark particular people as being authentic to the area – those who are not from the suburbs, those who are not Anglo, those who are not middle class. By marking a subset of their neighbors as authentic, they both overtly and covertly mark other neighbors as inauthentic (Modan, 2007). We might expect East Austin residents to express a similar ideology, perhaps with three groups of people: people who were born in East Austin, people who moved later in life but had lived in East Austin for a long time (specifically pre-gentrification), and people who had moved to East Austin recently. Initially, I predicted the only group who would be judged to be “true” Eastsiders would be those who were born in East Austin. Instead, these categories don't seem to be relevant at all. The population shift resulting from gentrification does not allow for a static view of authenticity. Rather this situation illustrates the dynamics of negotiation involved in authentication work. In East Austin, discourse about who is a true Eastsider is certainly authentication; it is a negotiated social practice of embracing the community as one's home at a minimum. The majority of participants talk about two categories of authentic East Austin residents: (1) those who were Born and Raised in the community and (2) those who Earn It by giving back to the community in some way.

Matthew<sup>36</sup> is an Anglo man who has lived in East Austin since the early to mid 1980s. In Examples (1) and (2) below, we can see that he considers true Eastsiders to be those who were born there.

- (1) Uh, born, raised, lived in... haven't left for very long. It would piss you off and drive you crazy if you had to live somewhere else, you know the people and the places that a lot of other people wouldn't know, if they weren't from here.
- (2) It's the second- it's the next generation that really is true.

Among the qualifications he lists for a person to be a true Eastsider are born, raised, actively want to live there, and know the area well. But the single qualification that matters the most is being at least a second generation resident – being born there. Matthew explains his belief further in Example (3).

- (3) So, no, you can't take- you can't take somebody from Mars and stick them on earth and have them die there and say, well they became a true native. It just doesn't happen.

To this end, Matthew does not consider himself to be a true Eastsider even though he is active in community organizations and fits many of the qualifications he lists in (1). Ironically, residents that he would consider to be true Eastsiders have suggested his name as a person I should interview about East Austin. Matthew may not consider himself to be an Eastsider, but others certainly do. The fact that others consider Matthew to be a true Eastsider is evidence of the authentication of this status in their eyes.

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<sup>36</sup> All names are pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of the participants.

Madison is an Anglo woman who had lived in East Austin for about 10 years at the time of the interview. In Example (4), she tells us that there aren't any authentic East Austinites.

- (4) When you say Authentic East Austin, I don't think there's like a big neighborhood or a huge swath, where I could identify that. Because they've been displaced.

She feels that authentic East Austin does not exist anymore due to gentrification, which has led to many local residents and businesses being displaced. The people that have been displaced by gentrification are largely African American and Hispanic. They are often elderly and many have owned their home for generations. Though Madison doesn't explicitly say that Authentic Eastsiders have a race/ethnicity qualification, it is implied in her comment since it is not the newer Anglo residents who are being displaced. In fact she confirmed in a follow up interview that she does see Authentic East Austin as having a race/ethnicity distinction.

Nadra is an African American woman who has lived in East Austin for over twenty years. She describes people who "walk the walk" in East Austin as being true Eastsiders. While this could mean anybody who participates in daily life in East Austin, or those who work to build the community, she confirms in (5) below that they also have to be African American. In her interview, she describes the Elders and the Eldresses of the community as those who were part of the original displacement to East Austin in the 1920s.

- (5) But I'm talking about those people who look like the people who were of those Elders and Eldresses I mentioned before.

Like Matthew, she gives a further example to illustrate her point.

- (6) If you are Italian. Italian heritage. Born and raised in, I don't know, in Brooklyn. And you take a job in Japan. And you stay there, and you meet somebody in this corporation who's, you know, from Indiana. And y'all get married. And you have a child there. Japan is not calling that child Japanese.

From Nadra's point of view, even if Anglos move to East Austin and raise children who are active community members, neither the parents nor the children will be considered Eastsiders. The line "Japan is not calling that child Japanese" makes the race/ethnicity distinction quite sharp. In order to be a true Eastsider, you have to look like the Elders and Eldresses – you have to be African American, otherwise East Austin will not call you an Eastsider.

To this point, we have seen evidence that a true East Austinite is one who is born and raised in the community, and likely is African American or Hispanic. Example (7) represents a viewpoint where birthplace as well as loving the community is important. Nora is an African American woman who has lived in East Austin most of her life.

- (7) A real East Austinite really would be someone who, kind of adopts this place and accepts it. But on the other hand, it's someone who's lived here all their lives.

Here we see two competing views: both that a real East Austinite has to be born on the Eastside, and someone who adopts the community. Nora moved to East Austin when she was three and, because she was not born there, she does not consider herself to be a true Eastsider. Like Matthew, this is ironic because other residents have authenticated her status by suggesting I interview her, as she is a "real" Eastsider. By excluding herself

from the category of true Eastsiders, she further highlights the importance of being born into the community.

In Examples (8) and (9), a different viewpoint is expressed. Both speakers feel that you can become a true Eastsider if you earn it through your actions. The first speaker, Jerry, is a Hispanic life-long East Austin resident. He is involved in community activism for East Austin as a whole as well as for his particular neighborhood. For him, what is important to be an Eastsider is whether you work to make the community a better place. In (8) below, he says that you can earn the title of being an Eastsider if you accept the community and work to strengthen it.

- (8) If they come in and they embrace, you know, what's here. But then help the community work, to better it? Then. You earn. I mean, you definitely earn. The title being, you know, of calling East- of being an Eastsider.

Leo echoes Jerry's opinion in (9). But Leo also feels that everyone has to give back in order to be a good community member. It's not only the new residents who need to do this, but also everyone in the community shares this responsibility.

- (9) If you're going to be coming in and profiting within the community, try to give back. And that's not just to new people, that's to people that are here now too, you know? My grandpa's business. My mom's business. You know try to help the community that you're a part of, you know? Show, I think if people can do that you know, that shows initiative, which then gives them a badge of credibility. That's how you get Eastsider status.

East Austin residents authenticate two different, possibly competing, ways of being an East Austinite. You can "be" Eastsider by virtue of being born in the community or of being a particular race/ethnicity. You can also "do" Eastsider by being active in the community in positive ways. For the people who "are" Eastsiders by place of birth, there is still a necessary element of loving the community. Both of these views represent different ways in which authentication as an Eastsider can be negotiated in social practice. These different views reflect different ideologies of East Austin. It seems that these views reflect ideologies of an older, traditional East Austin juxtaposed with a new, possibly trendy East Austin.

## 2.2 *Authentic East Austin*

In terms of what is authentic East Austin, there are qualities that are frequently mentioned: neighborhoods, historic houses or buildings, and knowing your neighbors. Example (10) is from Matthew. His description sounds like a real estate agent's description. He uses words like *great, well-established, neat houses, close to downtown, convenient to everything*.

- (10) I live in a great neighborhood. Always have, really good people, it's old, well-established, there's a lot of folks that live there that have had families there for a long time. Neat old houses really close to downtown, super convenient to everything.

Matthew describes his neighborhood in a very positive light. He says his neighborhood is a great neighborhood with good people in it, and has always been this way. In another portion of the interview, he talked about his neighborhood when he first moved in. He

described drug dealers and prostitutes doing business in his front yard; which seems contrary to his description of the neighborhood being a *great* neighborhood. The illicit activity no longer occurs – at least in Matthew's area, and it doesn't seem to have colored his opinion that his neighborhood is a great place and always has been.

Susanna is an African American woman who moved to East Austin when she was a child. I asked her to describe East Austin as if I had never been there. She initially said, "It's getting better," implying that East Austin was formerly a bad or undesirable place. In response to what prompted the change, she talks about the strength of the neighborhood associations in (11) below.

- (11) So the neighborhood associations are really strong in East Austin, thank God.  
Yeah, they've gotten stronger. Gotten a lot stronger.

Having a strong neighborhood is seen as very desirable for Susanna. The neighborhood associations are often tasked with keeping development in check to curb gentrification. A strong neighborhood association would certainly be a positive thing in that regard. She credits the strong neighborhood associations and the people who participate in them with the positive change that she sees in East Austin.

Henry is a Hispanic man who has lived on the Eastside since shortly after he was born. In Example (12), he talks about saving the neighborhood from the threat of overbuilding.

- (12) Basically we're trying to save the neighborhood, by and large. (Dealing with)  
changes.  
KSP            *So what do you think you're trying to save it from?*  
Over-building.

It seems that he shares many of the same values with Matthew in (10). He views the neighborhood as something of value, something that is important, and something that is under threat. As such, his neighborhood is something that is worthy of being saved from drastic changes that over-development would bring.

In (13) and (14) below, Marina talks about knowing her neighbors. She is a life-long Hispanic resident of East Austin. For Marina, knowing your neighbors is a unique thing that is particular to East Austin. This sentiment is echoed among many of my participants – that the traditional neighborhood culture where everyone knows everyone else does not exist in the rest of Austin.

- (13) Because we know who the people are. We can tell you, oh, so-and-so has a child,  
and two children, or is single, or whatever. And that's unique.  
  
(14) So we can walk down the street and know if there is a vehicle that doesn't belong  
there, or looks out of place, or we don't- it's not a waving thing, we actually  
speak to each other.

Marina thinks it's important and special that her neighbors actually speak to each other and know each other. Their interactions are not surface level only – they don't just wave to each other they actually have conversations. She sees this as an important characteristic of East Austin that the rest of the city does not share. In fact, this specific opinion has been expressed by many of the participants.

In talking about what East Austin really is, it is Neighborhood. Residents describe the concept of Neighborhood rather than any particular neighborhood, or the specific

neighborhood in which they live. The statements participants make about East Austin relate to Neighborhood in all of the examples presented above. For these participants, East Austin is Neighborhood. The neighborhood structure is seen as special to East Austin, and I would argue that this is a reason for East Austin's recent desirability. Residents talk about knowing who their neighbors are and interacting with them, and see this as a distinguishing feature of East Austin. Many older residents say that new residents often do not take the time to get to know their neighbors, and that is seen negatively.

### **3. Conclusion**

To sum, there are multiple ways of characterizing East Austin. In terms of who is an authentic East Austin resident, there are two primary ways in which this is imagined. There are people who are Eastsiders by virtue of their place of birth, possibly coupled with race/ethnicity. This view was displayed by Matthew, Madison, Nadra and, to some extent, Nora. There are also people who become Eastsiders by being active in the community and "earning" that status. Jerry and Leo describe this ideology, as well as Nora to a lesser extent. In terms of what is authentic East Austin, residents talk about East Austin as an entity. East Austin is neighborhoods that are worth saving, neighborhoods that have value. This is very consistent among all of my participants. They describe the close-knit relationship among neighborhood residents, and highlight how unique this relationship is with respect to other areas of Austin.

Participants in my research have clear opinions about who "counts" as a true Eastsider. Every participant was asked to describe who is a true Eastsider, and every participant easily did so. It seems clear that there are community ideologies about who is an authentic resident. To the extent that these ideologies permeate the community at large, they serve to authenticate certain groups of people as those who truly belong to the area. Because the opinions expressed by the participants in my study follow the two models described in this paper, it is reasonable to conclude that these ideologies generally exist in East Austin. Likewise, participants spontaneously discuss the importance and the uniqueness of the East Austin Neighborhood at large. It is tempting to hedge this statement and say that the importance and uniqueness are merely perceived by the participants, but I argue that this is a component of the social practice of authentication in East Austin. Because these opinions exist, the qualities of *important* and *unique* plainly *are* qualities of the East Austin Neighborhood, not merely perceived qualities. People share these opinions across East Austin, including those who do not live in the same physical neighborhood. Because residents can and do discuss these themes spontaneously, it is evidence that participants do have mental images of who and what is authentic to East Austin, and that these images are important as they discuss East Austin. Following Coupland (2003), authenticity matters in many domains of life; in East Austin the ideology of authenticity and the social practice of authentication serve to highlight the singular character of East Austin.

As we reexamine our academic ideas of authenticity, we should be careful not to discard too much. Ideologies of authenticity permeate our lives and the lives of our research participants in complicated ways. These ideologies are cognitively real and worth exploring in local contexts. Researchers have much to gain by understanding local ideologies of authenticity. Such ideologies can be key to understanding local dynamics and therefore to interpreting data. No matter how they talk about it, the residents are actively constructing East Austin as a place different from what it had been, and actively redefining the geographic area and the people who live there. Through narrating about Eastside identity, residents are narrating and authenticating not only their own identity but also the identity of their neighbors as residents of the Eastside. They are constructing the

Eastside as a particular place that is different from what it has been, and redefining the groups that reside there in terms of their involvement with the community in some cases rather than race, as was originally what made a person an Eastsider.

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## Connecting Discourses of Language and Place in Washington, DC<sup>37</sup>

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### 1 Introduction

In sociolinguistics, one of the most pertinent relationships under investigation is that between language and place. Some of the earliest work on sociolinguistic variation complicated the picture of the relationship between language use and place identity. Labov (1963) showed that use of place-linked variables in Martha's Vineyard was conditioned not only by social factors such as race, class, and age, but also by attitudinal factors, or how speakers felt about the island, others on the island, and the relationships between the island and the mainland. Place is not just 'there'; it is constantly negotiated, and ideas about place are reflected in language use.

The connection between language and place may be seen as three-fold. First, language use reflects speakers' membership in speech communities and allows people to identify themselves, and others, as being from particular places. Second, language is a strategic tool for the negotiation of what it *means* to be from a specific place. Speakers can use – or not use – features associated with places in order to shape their own identities and the identities of the places they inhabit. In Schilling-Estes' (1998) study of one speaker's the stylistic deployment of Ocracoke English features, the speaker's overt performance of a rote phrase which makes explicit the relationship between Ocracoke and heritage tourism occasions the most extreme variants. Third, language, when circulated in the public domain, constructs an identity for the place and its inhabitants. Johnstone's (2009) work on the commodification on the Pittsburgh dialect through novelty t-shirts points to public circulation of perceived 'stereotypes' as one way in which language varieties and their features become socially recognizable.

In this paper, I examine the connections between discourses of Washington, DC, as a place, and residents' commentary on language in the DC area, taken from sociolinguistic interviews with long-term residents of the DC area. I argue that these connections are made through intertextual (Bakhtin, 1981[1930]) or interdiscursive (Silverstein, 2005) means, where speakers' talk about language draws on ideas about place in a less straightforward way than, for example, the listing of dialect features as an answer to the question "How do people here talk?" or "Do you have an accent?". Two main connections between language and place in DC emerge: 1) Washington, DC, and DC language are both stand in

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<sup>37</sup> Thank you to Michael Silverstein, Elaine Chun, Heidi E. Hamilton, Robert Podesva and Natalie Schilling for illuminating critique and feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

contrast to places such as New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and the South, and 2) race is cited as a key component of DC identity and DC language.

In the next section, I describe previous sociolinguistic work on Washington, DC, and situate this paper within my larger project on language and identity in DC. I then describe some sociohistorical and demographic characteristics of Washington, DC, and show how these are reflected in one definition of DC in the humorous website UrbanDictionary.com. I then outline the analytical frameworks of my analysis: intertextuality, interdiscursivity, entextualization, and recontextualization, after which I present and analyze the sociolinguistic interview data, and conclude the paper.

## **2 Sociolinguistic Exploration of Washington, DC**

Until recently, Washington, DC, was largely absent from the sociolinguistic literature. Following Fasold's (1972) study of African American English in Washington, DC, few large-scale studies have been conducted, though calls for more work on language variation in DC came as early as Wolfram's (1984) notice on the complex sociolinguistic landscape of DC. The *Language and Communication in the Washington, DC, Metropolitan Area* (henceforth, LCDC) project, carried out by students and faculty in the Department of Linguistics at Georgetown University, is spearheading both quantitative and qualitative investigations of language and identity in Washington, DC. Areas of investigation include the discursive and diachronic construction of place in DC area oral histories (Schiffrin, 2009), syntactic change in progress in DC (Nylund and Seals, 2010), (ay)-monophthongization (Jamsu, Callier and Lee, 2009), rhoticity (Schilling and Jamsu, 2010), realizations of (-t/d) and (ING) (Nylund, 2010) in DC, as well as the links between phonological variation and discourses of gentrification in DC (Podesva, 2008).

The present study is part of a larger-scale investigation of language and place in Washington, DC. In my dissertation project, I investigate the three facets of language/place relationships in DC: how the language and place connection is circulated in broader cultural contexts; how the use of phonological variables situates DC in the language variation literature; and how speakers use variables associated with ethnoracial and geographic meanings in order to construct their own linguistic and place identities in sociolinguistic interviews. The first point is highlighted in the present paper, and begins with an examination of DC as a place.

## **3 Washington DC: History, Race, and Regional Belonging**

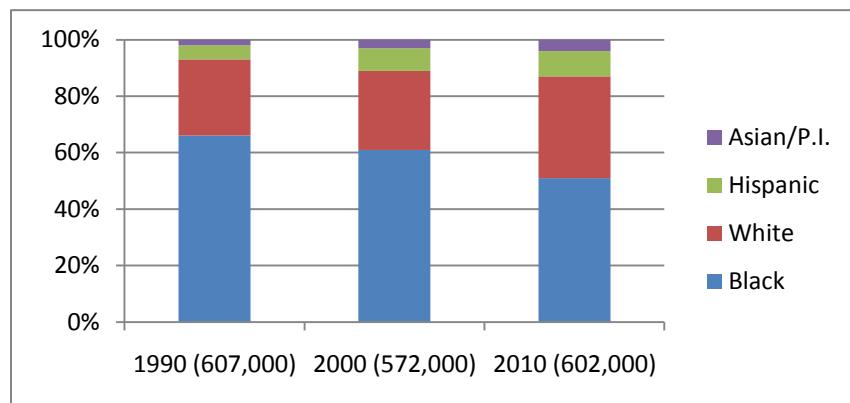
The sociocultural context of Washington, DC, has been described as different from other cities on the East Coast of the United States, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, since its inception as the seat of the US government. Historically, the biggest contributing factors to DC's 'unique' position as an urban center have been both its demographic composition and the labor market. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, DC did not experience waves of economically motivated immigration from Europe. The Washington area instead attracted many freed slaves both prior to (Manning, 1998: 331) and after the abolition of slavery in 1862. The availability of jobs for African Americans in Washington rested on a history of reliance upon an enslaved, and then cheap, Black labor force. Still, opportunities abounded, not least as the rapidly growing Federal workforce of civil servants hastened the urban expansion of the city. The migration of African Americans to the DC area was the earliest one in the country (much earlier, for instance, than the Great Black Migration to cities including New York during World War I (Lynch, 1973, cited in Manning, 1998).

These patterns of migration and the early establishment of African American communities led to the development of a 'bi-racial' city, whose minority group population

– African Americans – in 1960 comprised 54%, and in 1970 71%, of the population of DC (US Bureau of the Census, cited in Manning 1998: 332). The intersection of race and class, in the time of segregation and beyond, resulted in poorer Black communities being concentrated in densely populated pockets of the inner city, and wealthier, middle-class Black communities ‘fleeing’ to the suburbs, in particular Prince George’s County in Maryland (Cashin, 2004)<sup>38</sup>.

The intricate migration, industry, and race history of Washington, DC, which was carved out between the Northern and Southern states to serve as the capital city of the US, has given rise to the question of whether DC is in the North, in the South, or neither? The differences in migration patterns (in that Washington, DC did not experience the tremendous influx of European immigrants so iconic of many cities on the Eastern Seaboard) suggest that DC is different from the North. In addition, while DC historically long sustained its non-industrial economy on a largely Black labor force, its uniquely long-standing status as a majority-black city also sets it apart from large parts of the South. In later sections, I show how this geographic ‘placelessness’ is mirrored in DC residents’ reflections on what language in DC is like. In addition to the history of DC, however, it is also imperative to consider the present-day picture of Washington and its ethnoracial makeup.

Current demographic figures reflect trends which have been ongoing since the peak of the DC African American population in the 1970s. Figure 1, below, details the overall ethnoracial trends in Washington, DC, as of the 1990, 2000, and the recently released 2010 US Census.



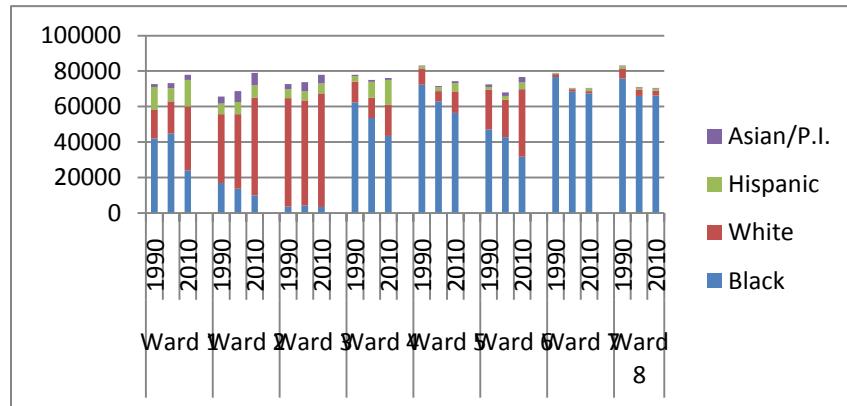
**Figure 1 The population of Washington, DC: 1990- 2010 (Neighborhood Info DC, 2011)**

Two patterns are of particular note. The population of Washington, DC, is undergoing a process of racial diversification. From 1990 to 2010, the Hispanic and Asian American populations have more than doubled, from comprising about 7% in 1990 to near 15% in 2010<sup>39</sup>. The other – and starker – trend is the decline of the Black majority in DC. As of the 2010 US Census, the Black population comprised 51% of DC residents, suggesting that Washington, DC, is about to lose its majority-black status. Simultaneously, DC is experiencing its first population growth in decades. Figure 2 illustrates the ethnoracial

<sup>38</sup> PG County was the highest-income majority-Black county in the US as of the 2000 US Census.

<sup>39</sup> The increase in the Hispanic population is particularly noteworthy. Latinos have been – primarily in the last decade – settling in neighborhoods such as Columbia Heights and Mount Pleasant (described in Modan’s (2007) ethnography of the community).

distribution of DC's eight wards, as well as which wards have become more populous since the last US Census.



**Figure 2 Demographic change in DC Wards 1990-2011 (Neighborhood Info DC, 2011)**

Figure 2 illustrates that although DC as a whole is undergoing diversification, its transition “from biracial city to multicultural metropolis (Manning, 1998: 336)” has in fact exacerbated racial segregation in the city. The significant increase in White residents is responsible for the population growth in DC. Wards 1, 2, 3 and 6 are becoming more populous as they are becoming more White. Wards 4, 5, 7, and 8, home to a majority of DC’s black population, are experiencing a population standstill, or decline.

The severity of segregation and gentrification<sup>40</sup> in DC suggests that race is a large component in the contestation of place and place identity (Modan, 2007) in DC, as it is in many other places. In the following section, I showcase an example of publicly circulating discourses of DC as an aregional and racialized place.

#### 4 Public Images of DC

The following image (Figure 3) of DC is taken from the humorous, user-generated site, UrbanDictionary.com. In addition to being a repository for slang terms, neologisms, and Internet memes, users contribute dictionary-style entries on more everyday things. Descriptions of places, for instance, include geographic information, evaluative commentary, and descriptions of iconic, or commodified, facts about the place being described. Consider this description of Washington, DC:

<sup>40</sup> A topic for another study, gentrification is one of the keywords in DC’s (among numerous cities) public debates about race and place. In an article entitled “Confessions of a Black Gentrifier”, Hilton (2011) astutely and provocatively examines the strange position occupied by educated, geographically and socially mobile Black Washingtonians, both in the construction of widely circulating “Black equals poor” and “newcomers are oppressive interlopers” discourses in DC.

**Washington DC** 378 up, 58 down

Other than being the capital of the U.S., D.C. is known for having a predominantly Black population (not counting those that live in the outside suburbs, but go to work in the city). From this large Black population, D.C. has developed a very distinctive culture including its Go-Go music, mambo sauce, and style of dress for the younger population (a style that is very different from other metro areas that imitate NYC for the most part). And, like many other large metro area, the people here have their own slang and accent, one that is cross-bred from both the South and the North. Despite the recent development projects going on there, the Southeast section of DC is popularly known as the most dangerous area of the town. In addition, many long-time DC residents have been moving to the bordering counties such as Prince George's County, MD, Charles County, MD, and Alexandria, VA.

*I can tell you're from Washington DC, because you're accent doesn't have a heavy drawl like the Dirty South, but it definitely ain't New York or Philly.*

**Figure 3 Public Discourse about Washington, DC on UrbanDictionary.com**

The writer engages with both images of DC described above: the regionless capital city, and the distinctive Black city. DC's Black identity is shown in the writer's equating of DC culture with "distinctive [Black] culture including its Go-Go music [and] mambo sauce." Another reflection both of the social reality of segregation in DC, and the long-standing circulating discourse of Southeast DC (which comprises wards 7 and 8, as well as part of ward 6) as a dangerous, violent place. According to this writer, Washington DC is a culturally and demographically unique place. In addition, they write, DC is neither Northern, nor Southern. In the 'sample sentence' in italics at the bottom of the entry, the writer suggests that one way of knowing someone's from DC is because they don't sound like they're from the Dirty South, on the one hand, but on the other hand their speech is unlike northern dialects like New York or Boston. The addition of language as a typifying feature of Washington, DC, furthers the writer's conviction of DC's uniqueness.

This entry also suggests that a strong link exists in publicly circulating discourses of DC, between ideas about place, and ideas about language. I suggest that engagement with discourses of DC as an areal and Black place are apparent in metalinguistic commentary in sociolinguistic interviews with life-long residents of the DC area. When asked about what language is like locally, speakers do not produce rote phrases or perform iconic phonological variants (Schilling-Estes, 1998) or point to particular, commodified forms of language (Johnstone, 2009) that are identifiable as indexing DC. Rather, speakers negotiate the complex relationships among place, race, and language through a process known as recontextualization.

## 5 Intertextuality, Interdiscursivity, and Recontextualization

The notion of intertextuality draws on the ideas of Bakhtin (e.g. 1984[1930]) who argues that "[the text] lives only by coming into contact with another text ... illuminating both the posterior and anterior, joining a given text to a dialogue (Bakhtin, 1984[1930]: 162)". Intertextuality is the constant interplay between texts and their co-texts as well as texts and the sociocultural ideologies and widely established concepts which enable the texts to be interpreted. In an interactional setting we may look at these concepts as "manifest intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992)", that is, direct quotation, repetition, puns and repurposing of units of talk, and "interdiscursivity (Silverstein, 2005)", the connection

between what is said in the here-and-now, and the discourses which influence the talk and make the talk interpretable as belonging in a particular category.

This paper engages with the latter of the categories. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity in the context of the sociolinguistic interview suggests that speakers' recognition of things they have heard before, things they have been asked before, and things they have had opinions about before the interview occasion, color and guide their responses<sup>41</sup>.

Bauman and Briggs (1990) propose entextualization and recontextualization, two mechanisms by which reinterpretations of texts or discourses in new contexts become possible. Baumann and Briggs (1990: 73) write: “[entextualization] is the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit - a *text* - that can be lifted out of its interactional setting.” A text, then, is something that is recognizable, and which participants in an interaction are able to “lift out” of its context. Entextualization is the process by which a text becomes recognized as such. In the sociolinguistic interview, the interviewer’s question is perhaps most easily recognizable as entextualized – by asking a question, the interviewer signals to the interviewee that a particular kind of talk is appropriate. A question like “Do you have an accent?” entextualizes the immediate discourse as metalinguistic commentary.

The most significant part of Bauman and Briggs’ proposition to the study of metalinguistic discourse is the notion of recontextualization. Once a text has been entextualized, it is available for recontextualization – a repurposing of the text and the creation of a new connection between a text and its surroundings. Bauman and Briggs point out that the process of recontextualization is an act of control on the part of a speaker, allowing them to infuse texts with preferred meanings, or block the reading of dispreferred meanings. In the sociolinguistic interview, a speaker’s reply to a question is fundamentally an act of recontextualization. A question presents a fork in the road and allows the speaker to choose how they are going to answer it. In the case of metalinguistic commentary, asking a question about language prompts the interviewee to make connections between ideas about language and ideas about other parts of social life. In Washington, DC, talk about language occasions recontextualization as talk about DC with respect to region and race.

## 6 Place, Race, and Language in Metalinguistic Commentary

The following three examples illustrate how an entextualized topic – language in the local community in one case, and accentedness in two others – is transformed through recontextualization by the speakers. The first example, below, is taken from an interview with Mark, a 51-year-old White man, who is a lifelong resident of Washington, DC. The interviewer’s question, “Do you think you have an accent?”

### (4) Mark

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. Interviewer: | Do you think you have an accent?            |
| 2. Mark:        | Interesting! Good question!                 |
| 3.              | And the reason I say (.) a good question... |
| 4.              | There have been times                       |

---

<sup>41</sup> In this paper, I choose to retain the term ‘intertextuality’. The sociolinguistic interview is a speech event in which the interviewee operates within the “big I interview” frame, in which they assume a ‘knowledgeable’ and ‘thoughtful’ participant role (Nylund, 2010) and may make use not only of ideas about language and place, but also of repurposed thoughts and opinions – texts – which they have previous expressed.

5. where I have been with different groups of people  
 6. who... find out that I am a native Washingtonian.  
 7. Interviewer: Mm-hm.  
 8. Mark: Some... have said...  
 9. "But you speak like you're from the South!"  
 10. But I've had other people say...  
 11. "You speak... like you're from the North!"  
 12. Interviewer: @@@@  
 13. Mark: And I say, "What does that mean?"

Mark's response recontextualizes the topic of accentedness and engages with the previously described historical fact and public discourse of DC's aregionality. When asked whether he thinks he has an accent (line 1), Mark does not evaluate whether he does or not, but instead presents an imagined "outsider-dialect encounter" narrative (Johnstone, 2006). In Mark's reportedly repeated encounters, non-Washingtonians "find out" that he is from Washington (suggesting that this is not obvious, in line 6), and different outsiders evaluate his speech as drastically different as Southern and Northern (lines 9-11), again, suggesting that his Washington speech is not easily classifiable. Mark's recontextualization of "accent"-talk as "Where does DC language belong"? -talk shows a definite link to the discourse in which DC is neither seen as Northern, nor Southern.

In the next extract, Frank, a 44-year-old, African American, lifelong resident of the DC area, is being asked about language use in his community. Takoma Park, MD, where Frank lives, borders the Takoma neighborhood of Washington, DC. Frank has long lived in the area, and resided two blocks from the Maryland border until his fairly recent move to Takoma Park, MD, where he now lives close to the close to the DC border.

(5) Frank

14. Interviewer: Uh... is there, so do you think is there a way people here talk  
 15. that's identifiable as Takoma, I guess?  
 16. Frank: I think subjects but not- content of talk, but not the way they  
 17. talk.  
 18. Interviewer: Has, do you think your way of talking or your language use has  
 19. changed ever since you've moved to Takoma Park?  
 20. Frank: I think it just comes with exposure and adaptation.  
 21. I don't think it's necessarily geographical?  
 22. Uh, you know, but... and I think you also learn...  
 23. different contexts, in different communities, you can do  
different things.  
 24. Mm-hmm.  
 25. Interviewer: Cause I still can, you know, go back and relate very well and  
 26. Frank: talk. If they wanna call it Ebonics or whatever, you know, I –  
 27. you know, I can do that, that's=  
 28.   
 29. Interviewer:  
 30. Frank: Sure.  
 31. =But, uh, I don't think we're around...  
 32. Even the other African American families and people,  
 most people are not... talking that way

The interviewer contextualizes the topic not only as about language in the neighborhood, but about Frank's move from Takoma, DC, to Takoma Park, MD (lines 18-19), suggesting that the two places have distinct ways of speaking. Frank recontextualizes

the talk through his negation of the suggestion that geography matters (line 21) and his assertion that presence in, a mobility between, “different communities” (line 23) necessitates a repertoire of speaking styles, which he himself possesses. Frank here recontextualizes the metalinguistic talk, which proposed that talk in Takoma Park can be seen as distinctive. A more striking example of recontextualization as an act of control on the part of the speaker is seen in lines 26-28. Frank asserts that he can “go back [to DC]” and talk to the DC community where he used to live. Engaging with the idea that DC is Black, and that Black language is distinctive from non-Black language, Frank dismisses the imagined variety ascribed to him as “Ebonics or whatever (line 27)” before once again foregrounding stylistic repertoire, rather than distinctive ways of speaking, as a necessary component of his experience in DC. In this way, Frank is actively engaging with ideas of DC as a place – when he “goes back” to DC, he is perhaps expected to talk “Ebonics”, which Frank rejects. Talk about distinctive language in the community is in this example recontextualized as talk about the diversity of experience within the African American community in Washington.

In the final example, Fred, a 41-year-old White man, is asked to evaluate his own speech much like Mark was in example (4).

(6) Fred

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 33. Interviewer: | So do you think you have an accent?                                 |
| 34. Fred:        | I- no, I don't, I don't think I do.                                 |
| 35. Int:         | Do you think other people have accents?                             |
| 36. Fred:        | Well, you mean people I meet or people in Washington,               |
| 37.              | or just people in general?  |
| 38. Int:         | <<inc>>   |
| 39. Fred:        | Every-yes, I do, I hear accents all the time.                       |
| 40.              | Um, I like to but what's funny is no one can seem to s-             |
| 41.              | place where I'm from.   |
| 42.              | Uh and one thing that I have noticed is, uh,                        |
| 43.              | I think maybe I'm completely wrong,                                 |
| 44.              | <u>I haven't really thought about it but it seems to me</u>         |
| 45.              | <u>that people from Washington, uh, that are not ...</u>            |
| 46.              | <u>oh God, this is gonna sound awful,</u>                           |
| 47.              | <u>that aren't BLACK, you know, don't generally have accents.</u>   |
| 48.              | <u>You know? Or at least it's a very neutral kind of, you know,</u> |
| 49.              | <u>not like in Baltimore, New York or Boston.</u>                   |

Fred’s recontextualization of the “accent” talk he is asked to engage in engages both with ideas of DC as an accentless place, and ideas of DC as a racialized place. It is noteworthy that while Frank, above, worked to draw attention away from the perceived link between DC language and race, Fred draws attention *to* this link. By – reluctantly – suggesting that “people from Washington, uh, that are not... BLACK... don’t generally have accents (lines 45-47)”, Fred is drawing a sharp boundary between Black and White Washingtonians, where Blacks are accented and Whites are accentless. He then qualifies his statement by drawing another boundary between accentless White Washingtonians and accented residents of Baltimore, New York, and Boston (line 49). Fred is appealing to discourses of DC as a racially divided place, and of DC as ‘neutral’ in contrast to iconic cities and dialect regions.

## 7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to show that recontextualization is a powerful mechanism for the construction and circulation of language ideologies. In DC, asking how people here speak is also asking what the city itself is like, and what the people who live there are like. DC is seen as standing in geographic and linguistic contrast with both the North and the South. Most striking are the two discourses of race in DC: one in which Black and White residents are divided by place of residence and language (exemplified by Fred), and another in which monolithic portrayals of Black life in DC are rejected (as they are by Frank). Future work on this topic will more thoroughly examine metalinguistic discourse as a site of interdiscursive and ideological engagement, and language as a component of place identity.

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## Perceptual dialectology: The view from Amazonian Brazil

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### 1. Introduction

It is not surprising that in a nation the size of Brazil, with a population of nearly 200 million and a geographic area greater than that of the contiguous forty-eight states of the US, numerous regional dialects are spoken. Some of the dialects of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) are particularly well documented. This is true for instance of Paulista BP and Carioca BP, the dialects of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. Perhaps this is to be expected given that Brazil's population is particularly concentrated in these states, and given that they represent the financial and media epicenters of the country. The features of other BP dialects are generally less well documented, however, and in some cases few-to-no relevant studies have been published. The primary goal of the present paper is to offer an analysis of Brazilian perceptions of the speech of one region, in order to better understand the dialect (as well as the way in which it is construed) of that region. The paper also includes a preliminary analysis of some potential vowel differences evident when the speech of the region in question is contrasted with Paulista BP, for which extensive quality acoustic data have previously been published.

Brazil is divided into five geopolitical regions, as evident in Figure 1. One of the regions, the Norte, consists almost entirely of Brazilian Amazonia. With approximately fifteen million residents, the Norte represents less than 8% of Brazil's population. It is comprised of an enormous land mass however, consisting of about 45% of Brazil's area. The region is approximately 3.8 million square kilometers in size. The speech of this region is sometimes referred to as *dialecto Nortista*. This dialect represents a greater geographic area than the vast majority of (and potentially all) dialects of any extant language. For this reason alone it merits attention.

As a linguistic area, Amazonia is of great interest to many researchers, and a number of the languages of this region have been studied in some depth. I have been conducting research in Amazonia for some time (see e.g. Everett 2010, 2011, Everett & Madora in press), but this research is focused on languages spoken among Amazonian tribal populations. During a recent research trip, I began to discuss dialecto Nortista with some non-indigenous friends in the region, and this discussion served as the impetus for the present preliminary study on the dialect. My curiosity was raised by the metalinguistic assessments offered by some of these friends vis-à-vis their own dialect and other BP dialects, assessments I will return to below.



**Figure. 1. The five major regions of Brazil.**

In addition to BP dialects associated with large regions (such as dialeto Nortista or dialeto Sulista), there are numerous regional dialects associated with smaller geographic areas, for instance Cearense, Caipira, and Mineiro. This study does not attempt to describe perceptions of most of these regional varieties, and includes data on the other regions only to the extent that they help elucidate Brazilians' perceptions of dialeto Nortista. To that end, below we separately consider the perceptions of various BP dialects, associated with the regions in Figure 1 as well as some salient and well-known dialects of smaller regions such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The dialects of these regions are considered separately since, via popular media, residents of the *região Norte* are quite familiar with each of them. (See Reis 1998 and Pace 2009 for discussions of the pervasiveness of such media in the Norte.)



**Figure. 2. Location of Porto Velho, where this research was conducted.**

This research was conducted in the city of Porto Velho, capital of the state of Rondônia. The location of the city in southwest Amazonia is depicted in Figure 2. The study was conducted in a community outside the center of town, located along the banks of the Rio Madeira, a primary tributary of the Amazon. Locals refer to such riverside communities as *ribeirinho* communities. During informal discussions with speakers who

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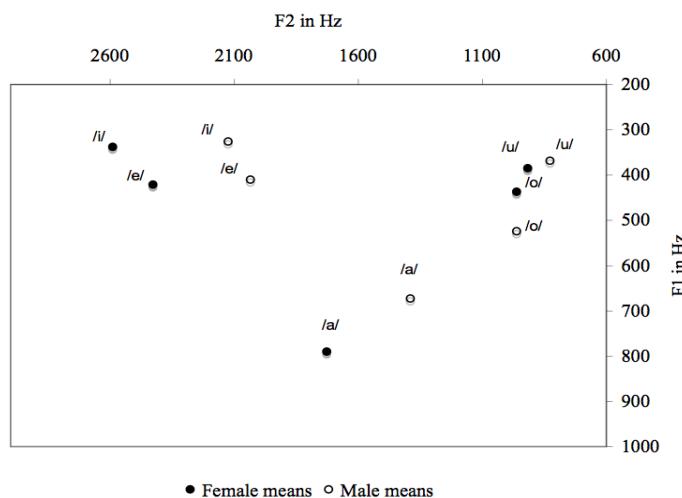
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have lived in or near the community their entire lives, I was provided with several metalinguistic assessments of the aspects of dialeto Nortista that distinguish it from the standard varieties of BP evident in the media. (It remains an open question just how accurate these assessments are.) These speakers suggested that dialeto Nortista is characterized by fewer instances of full 2<sup>nd</sup> singular pronoun usage. In other words, *você* is typically reduced to *cê*. This is actually a pattern that is observed throughout Brazil, but some from this region claim to reduce the pronoun at a more prodigious rate. The Nortista speakers surveyed also note that there are numerous lexical items that characterize their dialect, when contrasted with the dialects they are exposed to through the media. Interestingly, two speakers also claimed that there are differences in the vowels of dialeto Nortista, when contrasted with those of other regions.

The suggestion that Nortista vowels are in some way distinct is interesting but quite vague, and the two speakers in question were unable to provide any specificity regarding e.g. which vowels might be characterized by regional variants. In order to establish whether there was any evidence for such claims, I conducted a preliminary analysis of some Nortista vowels. This analysis is discussed in section 2. In sections 3 and 4 I discuss the perceptual dialectology study recently conducted, before offering some conclusions in section 5.

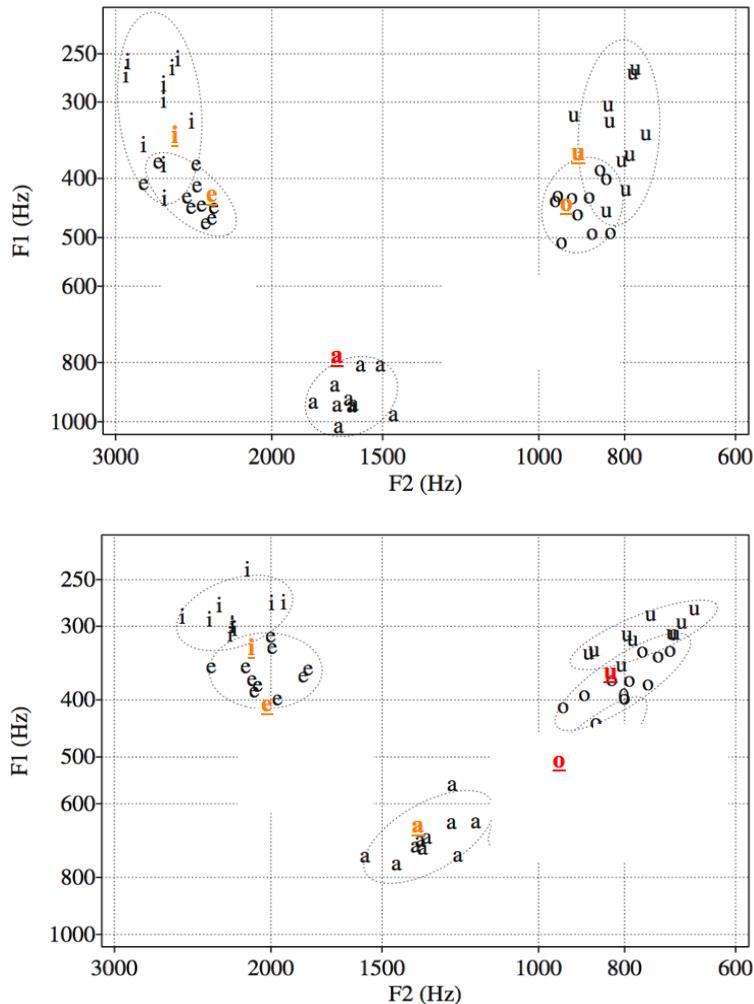
## 2. Analysis of vowel placement in BP Nortista

Ten Nortista speakers were recorded producing a list of 12 clauses. The stressed vowel of the clause-final word was excised and analyzed via Praat. Preceding place of articulation was controlled for, so that bilabial, alveolar, and velar consonantal placements occurred in an equal number of tokens, for each vowel type. Five oral vowels, evident in Figure 3, were analyzed. All vowels were peripheral, oral monophthongs. A total of 360 vowel tokens were analyzed (12 clauses x 10 speakers x 3 repetitions).



**Figure 3. Non-normalized vowel means for ten speakers (five male) of Nortista BP.**

In order to better assess whether the Nortista vowels recorded differed from those in more standard BP dialects, the F1-F2 means for all female speakers' vowels were averaged together and plotted. The same was done for the F1-F2 means for all male speakers' vowels. In Figure 4 the female means for the five vowels in question are contrasted with those obtained from an extensive study of Paulista BP vowels (Escudero et al. 2009). In the same figure, the males' means for the five vowels in question are superimposed over the vowel loci for BP-speaking Paulista males (also taken from Escudero et al. 2009).



**Figure 4.** Mean vowel loci for five female (above) and five male speakers of dialeto Nortista, superimposed over mean vowel loci of ten female Paulistas, and ten male Paulistas, respectively (Escudero et al. 2009). Underlined, colored letters represent vowel locations in current study. Red letters indicates vowel means that occurred outside an ellipse circumscribing all the means for that same vowel type in Escudero et al. (2009).

While the vowel findings depicted in Figures 3-4 are preliminary given that only ten Nortista speakers are considered and given that the formants of this study (and of Escudero et al. 2009) are not normalized, they nevertheless suggest that there may be some vowel differences between Nortista productions of the five vowels in question, when contrasted to the productions of the same vowels by speakers in São Paulo. In Figure 4 we see that the /a/ vowel of female Nortista speakers recorded tends to be produced slightly higher in the vowel space than that of their Paulista counterparts. We also observe that the /o/ and /u/ vowels of the male Nortista speakers recorded tend to be produced in a lower portion of the vowel space, when contrasted with the same vowel types of their Paulista counterparts. Higher /a/ vowels and lower /o/ and /u/ vowels suggest that the vowel spaces of the Nortista BP speakers recorded may be more contracted or slightly less peripheralized than the vowel spaces of Paulista BP speakers.

In short, these results are at least consistent with the metalinguistic assessments vis-à-vis Nortista vowels. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that these findings are based on ten speakers in one city only, and also that there may be some lurking methodological variable that explains the differences in Nortista and Paulista vowels obtained here. For now the data in Figure 4 are suggestive only, and await systematic replication.

### 3. Perceptual dialectology survey: Methods

In order to develop a better understanding of the dialect of the Norte, I conducted a study in perceptual dialectology. The primary purpose of the study was to test the perceptions of Nortista speakers regarding their own dialect, which is apparently characterized by, among other factors, the differences discussed in section 2. An ancillary goal was to test the perceptions of BP speakers from other regions of Brazil, vis-à-vis the Nortista dialect. I should note that some previous work on the perceptions of Brazilian dialects has been carried out in other regions of Brazil, for instance Rio Grande do Sul (see Faggion 1982 and Preston 1989).

A questionnaire was designed in order to assess speakers' perceptions of dialects according to three parameters, which can be loosely translated as 'correctness/education level', 'pleasantness/friendliness', and 'coolness.' The first two parameters are common to research on perceptual dialectology (see e.g. Preston 1989). The questionnaire is reproduced in Figure 5. A total of 55 speakers completed the questionnaire. Thirty-three of these were long-term residents of the Norte, while the others represented all of the four remaining regions of Brazil. While they were living in Rondônia at the time of the survey, they were raised elsewhere and had only been living in the state for a limited time.

Por favor dê um valor ao dialeto Brasileiro do lugar em questão.	
1. Indice de educação evidente na fala (1 a 10) 2. Portugues amigável/simpático (1 a 10) 3. Portugues que você acha legal (1 a 10)	
Região Norte	<hr/>
Região Nordeste	<hr/>
Região Centro-Oeste	<hr/>
Região Sul	<hr/>
Distrito Federal/Brasília	<hr/>
Estado de Rondônia	<hr/>
Estado de Minas Gerais	<hr/>
Estado de São Paulo	<hr/>
Estado do Rio de Janeiro	<hr/>

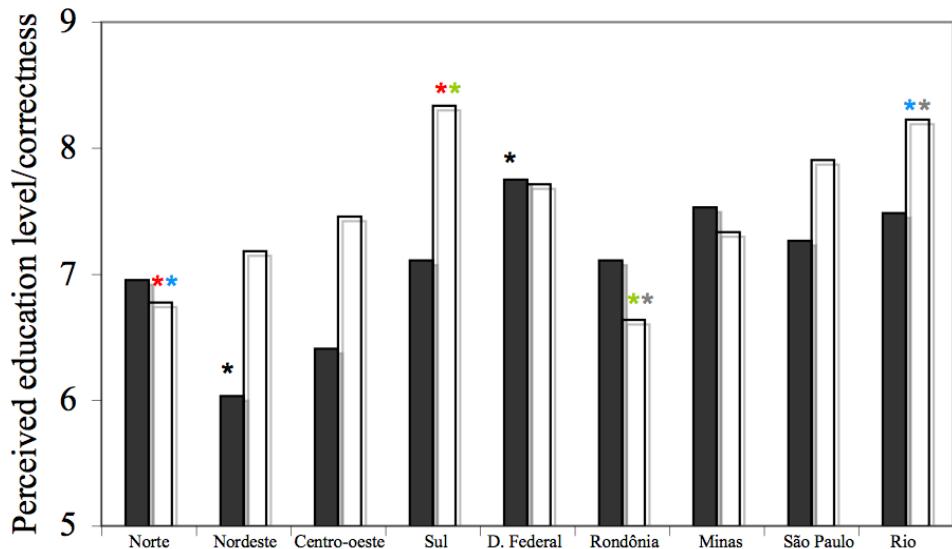
**Figure. 5. Questionnaire utilized in survey.**

As we see in Figure 5, participants were asked to evaluate the dialects of four major regions, including the Norte. They were also asked to separately evaluate the federal district, where the nation's capital is located, in addition to evaluating four states individually. One of these, Rondônia, was selected since the data were collected in that state. The other three, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro, were selected since the dialects of these regions are known to be quite distinct. The latter two states also represent the financial and cultural capitals of Brazil, and their dialects are the best represented in the media to which Nortista speakers are continually exposed.

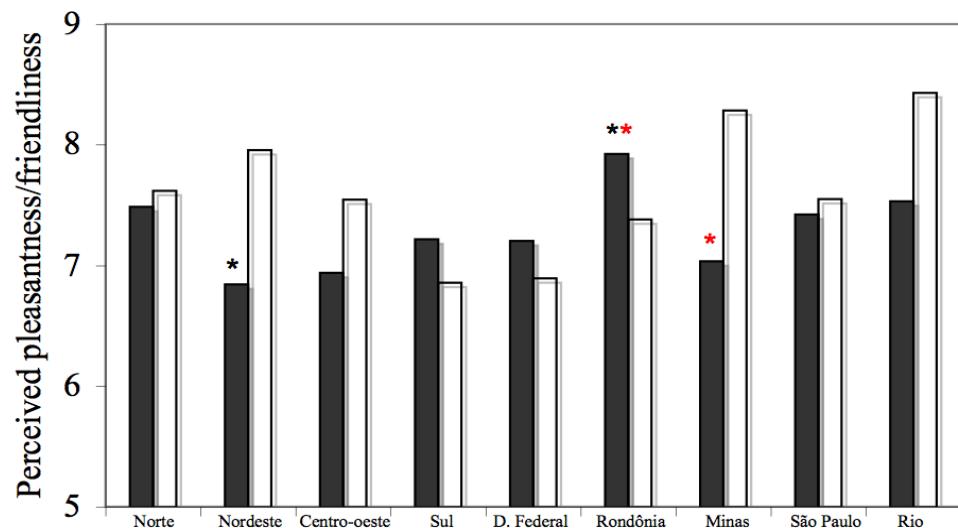
Respondents were asked to rate each dialect on a scale of 1-10, for each variable. Lower numbers denoted less of a particular variable, i.e. a dialect that was perceived as being less pleasant or correct or cool. Responses were tabulated and analyzed for significant disparities. The results are presented in the following section.

#### 4. Perceptual dialectology survey: Results and discussion

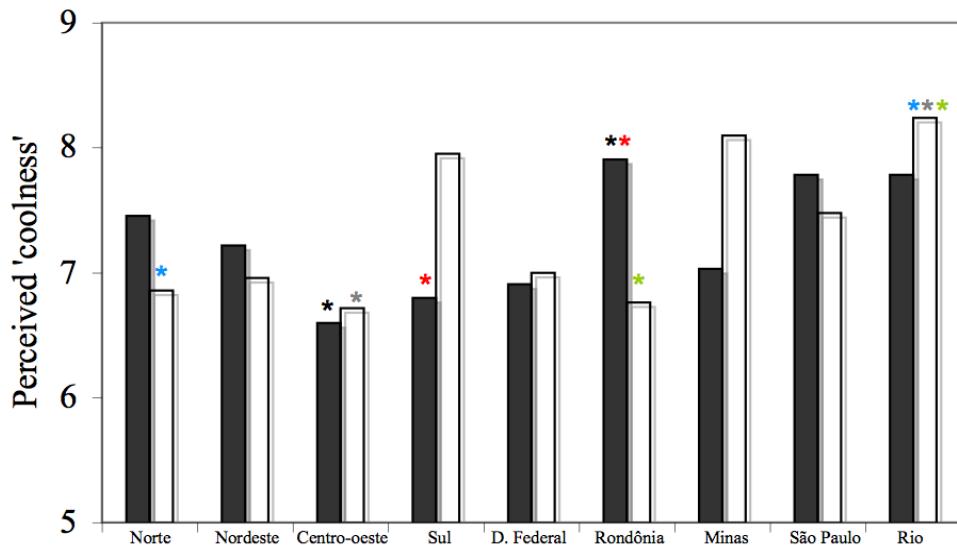
In Figure 6-8 the survey's results are depicted graphically. Figure 6 contains the mean responses for the first variable, perceived level of correctness/education. Figure 7 contains the mean responses for perceived level of pleasantness. Finally, Figure 8 contains the mean responses for perceived level of coolness.



**Figure. 6. Perceptions of dialects in terms of ‘correctness’.** Solid bars represent mean responses of speakers from the Norte, clear bars represent speakers from all other regions. Same-colored asterisks represent significant differences between two bars, according to a two-tailed paired t-test. ( $p<0.05$ )



**Figure. 7. Perceptions of dialects in terms of ‘pleasantness’.**



**Figure. 8. Perceptions of dialects in terms of ‘coolness’.**

The results presented in Figure 6-8 allow us to make several observations. Let me first offer some remarks on the perceptions of speakers from the Norte region. The speech of both Rondônia and the Norte were given high evaluations for ‘pleasantness’ and ‘coolness’, when contrasted to other regions. There was a significant disparity between the perceived ‘pleasantness’ of speech in Rondônia when contrasted to the Nordeste region and the state of Minas Gerais. With respect to ‘coolness’, the speech of Rondônia received significantly higher evaluations when contrasted with the speech of the Centro-Oeste and of the Sul. The dialects of Rio and São Paulo also fared well with respect to this variable. With respect to ‘correctness’ of the regions’ speech, Rondônia and the Norte received middle of the range scores, while the highest evaluations were for the speech of Brazil’s capital.

Some observations can also be made with respect to speakers from the remainder of Brazil. The most readily-apparent observation, and the most relevant for our purposes, is that the speech of the Norte and Rondônia was consistently ranked relatively low in terms of two variables, ‘correctness’ and ‘coolness’. With respect to correctness/education, the speech of Rio and the Sul were ranked highest, at significantly greater rates than the speech of both Rondônia and the Norte. With respect to ‘coolness’, the speech of Rio was again ranked significantly higher than that in Rondônia, the Norte, or the Centro-Oeste. Finally, with respect to ‘friendliness/pleasantness’, the dialect of the Norte and Rondônia received average evaluations, with Carioca (Rio) speech again receiving high evaluations. It is interesting to note that for non-Nortistas, Rio’s dialect was evaluated very high according to all three variables. This dialect remains particularly influential in the media, especially in novelas to which most Brazilians are frequently exposed, including Amazonian Brazilians (see Reis 1998, Pace 2009).

## 5. Conclusion

While the results in section 4 reveal significant disparities in the perception of the speech of different Brazilian regions, by Nortistas and others, it is interesting to note that the disparities are in general relatively small. For all three variables, the mean responses tend to vary only about 1 to 2 points on the scale utilized, which ranged from 1-10. Similar work conducted in the US tends to reveal larger disparities across regions. For example, when I surveyed 80 students in an introductory class in anthropological linguistics at the University of Miami, utilizing the same questionnaire (translated of course), the range of

responses pertaining to American regions varied much more substantially, with means that varied 4-5 points on the same scale. Similar findings are evident in other works on perceptual dialectology as well (e.g. Preston 1999). It is interesting to note then that, while the perceptions of the dialects of Brazilian regions are very real and certainly significant, they are somewhat modest in scope. This suggests that the attitudes of BP speakers towards other BP dialects are not typically very marked. The results of this study are consistent with this claim anyhow.

It is interesting to note as well that all the mean responses evident in Figures 6-8 are well over 5, suggesting an overall positive evaluation of all dialects tested. This is in sharp contradistinction to findings for the US, for instance, where perceptions of some dialects (e.g. Southern English) are often quite negative according to a host of studies by perceptual dialectologists. The Norte region has received waves of immigrants in recent decades, in large part due to government incentive programs. It is possible that the relatively weak (and non-negative) attitudes towards the Nortista dialect are due to this recency, as well as the conflation of various regional dialects in the Norte. Anecdotally I should add that, based on my experience, metalinguistic awareness of any particular linguistic features of this dialect by Brazilians from other regions is often quite low.

Finally, the results presented here suggest that the Norte and Rondônia more specifically can be considered regions of linguistic insecurity. Preston (1999:xxxiv) makes the following observation:

“...areas with a great deal of linguistic security rate the local area as uniquely correct, but they include a larger region in the area they consider most pleasant; respondents from areas of linguistic insecurity rate the local area as most pleasant, but they rate a number of areas as most correct”

Based on the results obtained for this study it seems clear that BP speakers in the Norte region consider their dialect to be very pleasant, but they do not rate it as being particularly correct. It is interesting to note that the results obtained here for Nortistas parallel closely those obtained in Preston (1999) for residents in another area of linguistic insecurity, Alabama. Those results suggest that speakers from Alabama rate their dialect as being the most pleasant in the US, but view the speech of their nation's capital as the most correct. Interestingly, this same pattern surfaced here for BP speakers from Rondônia. They considered their speech to be the most pleasant, while rating that of Brazil's capital as the most correct.

In this paper we have made an initial attempt to better document the dialect of the Norte region of Brazil. We have seen that in this dialect there may be differences in the vowel locations in the F1-F2 plane, when contrasted to Paulista vowels at least. More interestingly, perhaps, we have seen that this region can be characterized as an area of linguistic insecurity, and furthermore that BP speakers from other regions in Brazil tend to perceive the dialect of the Norte as sounding *relatively* uncool and uneducated.

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***THE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS IN  
COLOMBIA: COMMUNITY,  
IDENTITY, AND L2 SPANISH  
VARIATION OF ARTICLES***

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# Colombia

COSTA  
RICA

PANAMA

Caribbean Sea

VENEZUELA

PACIFIC  
OCEAN

ECUADOR

BRAZIL

PERU

84° W

80° W

76° W

72° W

68° W

64° W

4° S



# ***INTRODUCTION***

- ❖ Criteria: being born in Japan, or having at least one Japanese parent.
- ❖ Sociolinguistic interviews (31 participants).
- ❖ Analysis:  
Focus on those who were born in Japan.

Qualitative: To describe strategies of social identity.

*How important is the Japanese Community (JC) for you?*

Quantitative: To find a connection between L2 articles with groups of identity.

# ***PREVIOUS STUDIES***

## **Nikkei communities in Latin America:**

- ❖ Hirabayashi (2000, 2002): The International Nikkei Research Project INRP
- ❖ Sanmiguel (2006), Japanese in Colombia

## **Acquisition of Articles:**

- ❖ García Mayo & Hawkins (2009), Ionin (2003), Wakabayashi & Hall (1997), Murphy (1997), Trademan (2002), Snape (2006)
- ❖ Features in the UG that constrain acquisition of L2 articles (mainly in English).
- ❖ Article Choice Hypothesis.
- ❖ Articles as expletive marks of nominal phrases (Harder 2008).
- ❖ L2 articles mark referents where there is not an obvious way to identify them (Trenkic 2009).

# ***RESEARCH QUESTION***

To what extent is the self-identity of late bilinguals in the Japanese Community (JC) connected with their usage of L2-Spanish articles?

**Table 1. Information about participants.**

Arrival category	Participant	Identity	Proficiency	Age	Age of arrival	Year of arrival	Sex	Profession
Before 13 y/before 1965	P15	JC	Adv	82	7	1935	Woman	Farmer
	P24	JC	Adv	79	4	1935	Woman	Farmer
	P31	JC	Adv	62	5	1953	Woman	Farmer
After 13 y/before 1965	P6	JC	Adv	68	22	1964	Woman	Teacher
	P7	JC	Adv	60	21	1961	Man	Farmer
	P12	JC	Adv	73	20	1957	Woman	Teacher
	P29	JC	Adv	67	18	1961	Woman	Farmer
	P31	JC	Adv	77	24	1957	Man	Farmer
After 13 y/ after 1980	P13	JC	Beg	34	31	2007	Woman	Nurse
	P14	JC	Adv	57	27	1980	Woman	Teacher
After 13y/ after 1980	P1	NJC	Beg	33	31	2008	Woman	Biologist
	P3	NJC	Adv	31	22	2001	Woman	Engineer
	P9	NJC	Adv	58	30	1982	Man	Businessman
	P10	NJC	Beg	65	63	2008	Man	Engineer
	P11	NJC	Beg	62	61	2009	Man	Businessman
	P18	NJC	Adv	23	23	2010	Woman	Secretary
	P19	NJC	Int	24	24	2010	Man	Acupressurist
	P27	NJC	Beg	52	36	1994	Woman	Minister
	P28	NJC	Adv	50	31	1991	Man	Minister

# ***SOCIAL IDENTITY AND A COMMON HISTORY***

## **The beginning of the JC (1929-1939)**

*I am not Colombian or Japanese* (P30)

- ❖ Three waves: 1929, 1930, and 1935
- ❖ Preparing soil for farming: plantation *El Jagual*
- ❖ Cooperative of farmers

## **The World War II and pos-war (1939-1952)**

*Most died in war, my uncle and aunts, brother of my mother and of my father, family, all* (P24)

- ❖ Loss of ties with Japan
- ❖ Accused of being allies with Germans
- ❖ Concentration camps

# ***SOCIAL IDENTITY AND A COMMON HISTORY***

## **Integration with new immigrants (1952-1965)**

*Same work, first makes a contract three year, this three year to one as young people came to look for job (P31)*

- ❖ Labor contracts, and ‘war brides’ (Befu 2002)
- ❖ Association of Japanese Farmers
- ❖ Tenrikyo Church: project of expansion

## **Outsiders (after 1990)**

*I am not part of the Japanese Community (P3)*

- ❖ Volunteers, scientists, technicians
- ❖ Projects of cooperation
- ❖ Plans to go back Japan in the short term

# *QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS*

The Spanish language has a system of articles that agrees in gender, and number. The indefinite article is a *cardinal article* (Lyons 1999) . The word for the indefinite article is the same for the number *one*.

**Table 2.** *Articles in Spanish.*

	Singular		Plural	
	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine
<b>Definite</b>	la	el	las	los
<b>Indefinite</b>	una	un	unas	unos

# ***METHODOLOGY***

## **Data collection and digitalization**

- Transcriptions of interviews

## **Coding**

- Omissions of articles in contexts where a Spanish Native Speaker would produce an article

## **Analysis**

- Quantitative analysis: T-Test of usage of articles according to groups of identity (SPSS)
- Focus on those who arrived as adults

# ***OMISSIONS***

## Nouns in subject positions

- (1)      Ø      aire      está      como      frío. (P.14, JC)  
              air      is      like      cold.

‘The air is kind of cold’

## Abstract referents and nationalities

- (2)      Es      que      eso      era      Ø      filosofía  
              Is      that      DEM      was                         philosophy      [of]  
Ø      **japoneses** (P29, JC)  
              Japanese.people.  
‘That was the phyolosophy of the Japanese people’

## *OMISSIONS*

## Family names

- (3) Pero vino otro de (..), Ø sobrina  
But came other of nephew de  
él, para llevárselo en  
of him, for take.CL(DO).INF in  
la noche. (P6, JC)  
the night.

‘But other person came from... his nephew, to take him in the night’

# *OMISSIONS*

## Second mention

- (4) Todo como parte de un clan,  
All like part of a/one clan  
Ø clan Morimitsu (P6, JC)  
clan Morimitsu

‘All of them are as if they were part of a clan, the clan Morimitsu’

## Unique referents

- (5) Con Ø señor Jesús, cualquier cosa  
With Lord Jesus, any thing  
hay no? (P27, NJC)  
there.is, isn't there?  
‘There's any thing with Jesus the Lord’

# *OMISSIONS*

## Current expressions with articles

- (6) **Ninguno**      **no**      **sabe**      **preparar**      **a**  
None                NEG     knows    prepare            to  
**la**      **gente**      **quedó aquí**      **seis,**      **pero**      **sí**  
the        people    stayed    here        six,        but        EMPH  
**Ø**      **papá**      **y**      **la**      **mamá**  
              father    and        the        mother  
**funcionarios**      **toda**      **la**      **gente.** (P7, JC)  
officers                all        the        people  
**todos**      **Ø**      **gente**  
all                        people.

‘No one knew how to prepare the people who stayed, six, only the father and mother [of someone stayed], officers, all the people’.

## ***OMISSIONS EXCLUDED***

Predicate positions where mass vs. specific readings are possible:

- (7)    **Sí, finca, eh, cerca, tiene Ø? vacas,**  
         Yes, farm, uh, close, has cows  
**todo, Ø? comiendo pasto.** (P7, JC)  
         all eating grass.

Listings without verbal clue to determine argumenthood:

- (8)    **Pollo de guisado frito así,**  
         Chicken of stew fred, so,  
**pero como ese contramuslo completo,** **ese**  
but like that leg complete, that  
**más que asusté.** (P14, JC)  
more that scared.

‘I got mostly scared of the fried stew of chicken with the whole leg’

**Table 3. Spanish L2 article omissions in the Japanese bilinguals according to groups.**

	Participant	Production	Omissions	Total	Omissions%
JC	6	72	341	413	82.566586
	7	115	269	341	78.8856305
	12	151	142	293	48.4641638
	13	28	98	126	77.7777778
	14	33	152	185	82.1621622
	29	53	259	312	83.0128205
	31	46	136	182	74.7252747
		498	1397	1852	75.4
NJC	1	43	188	231	81.3852814
	10	86	135	222	60.8108108
	Beg	94	428	136	90.4411765
	11	13	123		
		236	874	589	75.7
NJC	19	84	173	261	66.2835249
Int.					
NJC	3	192	84	276	30.4347826
	9	190	34	224	15.1785714
	Adv	76	87	163	53.3742331
	28	191	129	320	40.3125
		649	334	983	34

# ***OMISSIONS OF ARTICLES***

- ❖ The difference between JC and Advance speakers of Spanish, who do not belong the JC, is significant ( $p = .007$ ).
- ❖ JC omit in a similar pattern as Non-JC Beg.
- ❖ Second language effect of omissions: foreign type of speech with no impact on felicitous communication.
- ❖ Indexicality of omissions involves different factors:
  - Acceptance of a foreign type of speech
  - Lack of explicit instruction
  - Spanish as a language forced by circumstances
  - Frequent addressees: children, employees, other Japanese

# ***SOCIAL IDENTITY THROUGH A SECOND LANGUAGE***

- ❖ L2: Non-Standard Spanish: *I used to go pay the workers. They teach me Spanish* (P6)
- ❖ Code switching in home: *I with my children speak Jaspanish*. In Spanish **Japoñol** (P29)
- ❖ Children as frequent addressees: *I used to speak only Japanese. I learned Spanish when my children started school* (P12)
- ❖ Usage of Spanish among the JC: *In the Association we speak more Spanish than Japanese* (P29).
- ❖ Joking attitude toward their own Spanish: *I speak funny, I just talk as I learned* (P6)
- ❖ Acceptance of having a foreign type of speech: *What can I do if I had to learn without school, no one corrected me* (P31)

# ***THE PRODUCTION OF INDEFINITE ARTICLES***

## **Work in progress**

- ❖ Linguistic variables
  - Indefinite article vs. Demonstrative/Definite article
- ❖ Social factors:
  - Identity with the JC
  - Instruction in Spanish
  - Time of exposure to Spanish in a Spanish speaking environment
  - Age of first exposure to Spanish
  - Spanish L2/L3

# ***THE PRODUCTION OF INDEFINITE ARTICLES***

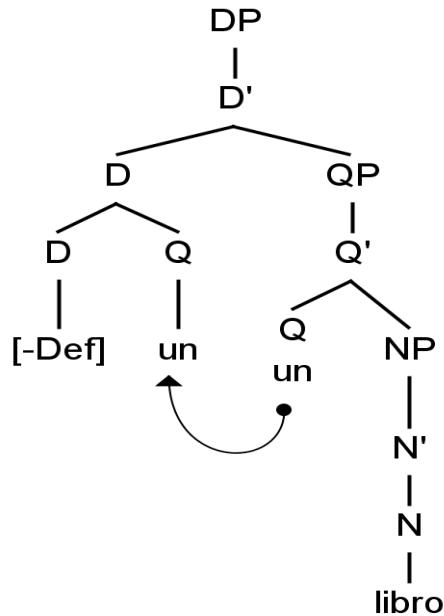
## **Work in progress**

- ❖Linguistic factors
  - Number-agreement with the noun
  - Number of the referent: singular vs. plural
  - Specificity: specific (first/second mention)/non-specific
  - Noun clause: presence/absence
  - Noun type: animate/inanimate/quantity
  - Case: nominative/accusative/dative/prepositional/adverbial /no verb

# *THE PRODUCTION OF INDEFINITE ARTICLES*

## Work in progress

Generative



Functionalist

*un* (= 1)

bleaching

*un*

[-Def]

**Table 4. Distribution of determiners in the Japanese Community**

INDEFINITE ARTICLE		DEFINITE ARTICLE / DEMONSTRATIVE	
%	N	%	N
32.8	226	67.2	462
Total N		688	

**Table 5. Linguistic factors in the production of indefinite articles among members of the JC . Non-significant results.**

	%	N	Weight
Number agreement			
Agreement	33.7	219	[.51]
Non-agreement noun	38.5	5	[.66]
Non-agreement referent	14.3	1	[.58]
No agreement	7.7	1	[.18]
Range			
Noun clause			
Presence	32.1	159	[.54]
Absence	34.7	67	[.48]
Range			

**Table 6. Linguistic factors in the production of indefinite articles among members of the JC Significant results.**

	%	N	Weight
Number of reference			
Singular	34.9	217	.53
Plural	13.8	8	.20
Range			33
Specificity			
First mention-Specific	55.7	78	.82
Second mention-	4.4	12	.12
Specific			
Non-Specific	50.2	136	.78
Range			70
Case			
Accusative	44.1	63	.70
No link with a verb	35.4	64	.60
Dative	33.3	1	.51
Nominative	27	38	.50
Prepositional phrase	20.7	23	.38
Adverbial expression	33.3	36	.23
Range			47
Type of noun			
Quantity	46.8	74	.75
Animate	27.9	48	.43
Inanimate	29.6	103	.41
Range			34

Total Chi-square = 148.6035  
Chi-square/cell = 1.1173  
Log likelihood = -301.996

# *THE PRODUCTION OF INDEFINITE ARTICLES*

## **Work in progress**

- (9)    **Al principio como que no, como**  
To.the begining like that no, like  
**dijeron que cultura, entonces un**  
said.they that cultura, then a/one  
**poquito el pensamiento (P31, JC)**  
little the thought.
- ‘At the beginning not [didn’t have problems], because, how can I say, due to the cultural differences, then [I changed] a little bit the way of thought’

# *THE PRODUCTION OF INDEFINITE ARTICLES*

## *Work in progress*

- (10) A      una      persona      que      da  
To      a/one      person      that      gives  
**igual**    **como**    le      **digo,**    **ahora**    **alguno**  
equal    as      to.you say,    now      some  
**hablar,**      **pero**    **no,**      un      **problema** (P7, JC)  
speak      but      not,      a/one      problem  
'I speak to a person, how can I say, who doesn't care,  
but it is a problem'.

# *THE PRODUCTION OF INDEFINITE ARTICLES*

## Work in progress

- (4)    **Todo como parte de un clan,**  
         All like part of a/one clan  
         **Ø clan Morimitsu (P6, JC)**  
                    clan Morimitsu  
  
‘All of them are as if they were part of a clan, the clan  
Morimitsu’

# ***CONCLUSION***

The connection between omissions and identity is still an open question. Identity is the integration of different factors, and one relevant factor is that the Japanese Community did not receive explicit instruction in Spanish. This is a social factor that has an impact on a cognitive factor.

# ***SOCIAL IDENTITY***

- ❖ The Spanish term ‘Japanese community’ or ‘Japanese colony’ refers to the arrivals prior to 1965
- ❖ Higher status of those who arrive in the first three waves (1929, 1931, 1935): *You should interview X, she is third wave* (Field notes).
- ❖ Community of practice: the Association of Farmers as a group to share traditions of the Japanese culture: *I go to the Association to meet countrymen* (P12)
- ❖ Values of honesty, hard work, and perseverance: *I educated Colombian workers little by little* (P29)
- ❖ Knowledge about the Japanese migration as a value: *You should interview X, she knows a lot about Japanese migration* (Field notes).

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**EXAMINATION OF THE QUOTATIVE MARKERS *LIKE*, *MITAINA* AND  
THEIR CO-OCCURRENCE IN JAPANESE/ENGLISH  
CODE-SWITCHING**

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### **1. Introduction**

Linguists have often described language as if it were an internally consistent whole, drawing data from monolingual speakers in homogeneous speech communities. No language group, however, has ever existed in isolation from other language groups. Bilingualism today is a phenomenon present in every country of the world, in all classes of society, and in all age groups (Grosjean, 1982: 1). Speakers of multiple languages defy the conception of language as a single invariant system. Code-switching, the concurrent use of two or more linguistic varieties within a single conversational turn or a sentence, is one such phenomenon (Meyer-Scotton, 2006: 800). This study investigates code-switching involving quotations within the speech of thirty-one Japanese/English bilingual international school students. The paper draws on the existing literature on quotative markers and tests previous monolingual findings about Japanese quotative markers against my new bilingual dataset<sup>42</sup>. In so doing, I attempt to explore features of quotative markers that are language-specific and cross-linguistic between Japanese and English, thus offering a more nuanced picture of human language.

The sociolinguistic literature often cites instances of bilingual speakers code-switching at the boundary between quotations and the forms that introduce or mark the quotations (henceforth “markers”) as in:

- (1) He says “*Ye hi medsin kentinyu kero bhai*” [Gumperz, 1977: 15]  
He says “*Continue taking this medicine, friend*”

Code-switching sets off reported speech against its surrounding conversational context and serves as a narrative device (Auer, 1995: 119; Sebba and Wooton, 1998: 274). Alfonzetti (1998: 205) views code-switching as a linguistic tool that marks a change in “footing,” when a speaker shifts from saying something himself to reporting another’s speech, thereby expressing the polyphony of discourse. Gardner-Chloros (2009: 75) similarly claims that the function of code-switching is to frame a question as marking the quotation twice over – once with the quotative verb and then with the change in language.

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<sup>42</sup> Unless otherwise attributed, all examples are taken from data I collected during the summer of 2010 at an international school in Yokohama, Japan (See section 5).

The code-switch not only marks the boundary between quotative verb and the quote itself, but also gives the speaker another voice; even the use of a single word in another variety can introduce the sense of momentarily invoking another persona or identity (p. 177).

Japanese/English code-switching around quotations, moreover, includes an additional layer of framing due to the syntactic difference between Japanese (Subject-Object-Verb) and English (Subject-Verb-Object). Switches between the two languages are potential violators of Poplack's (1988: 219) equivalence constraint, which requires that the surface word order of the two languages be homologous in the vicinity of the switch point. Conventionally, the monolingual Japanese speaker places the quotative marker *after* the quotation as in:

- (2) “*Aa chotto shabereru yo*” ***mitaina***. [Fujii, 2006: 75]  
 “Well, I can speak a little” ***mitaina***.

The monolingual English speaker, on the other hand, places the quotative marker *before* the quotation as in:

- (3) And she's **like** “Um...Well, that's cool.” [Romaine & Lange, 1991: 227]

This paper discusses, among other things, a phenomenon in which Japanese/English bilinguals, in addition to switching codes, places both English and Japanese quotative markers respectively *before* and *after* the single quotation as in:

- (4) She was **like** “Hey, you were really good at the concert” ***mitaina***. [3.1]  
 She was **like** “Hey, you were really good at the concert” ***mitaina***.

- (5) My mom's **like** “*Anta nihonjin no kuseni nande nihongo shaberenaino?*”  
***mitaina***. [3.31]

My mom's **like** “How come you can't speak Japanese even though you are Japanese?” ***mitaina***.

This doubling of the quotative markers applies to quotations that are primarily or completely in English, as shown in example (4), and for quotations that are primarily or completely in Japanese, as shown in example (5).

Unlike monolingual speakers, Japanese/English bilingual speakers have the choice of alternating between *mitaina* (example 2) or *like* (example 3), or using both simultaneously to frame a single quotation (examples 4-5). Despite the separate existing research on the quotative markers *mitaina* (Suzuki, 1995; Maynard, 2005; Fujii, 2006; Kato, 2010) and *like* (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007; Jones & Schieffelin, 2009; Buchstaller, et al.; 2010) among respective monolingual speakers, no previous study has examined the two quotative markers together in the speech of bilinguals. Moreover, prior research on Japanese quotative markers has primarily focused on one quotative variant at a time and failed to examine each in the context of other competing variants. This paper fuses two active lines of linguistics research – studies on how quotations are framed in speech (ie. of quotative markers) and how people code-switch. For the first time, it examines the occurrence and co-occurrence of quotative markers *mitaina* and *like* in Japanese/English code-switching against the totality of their competing variants *to/tte*, *toka* and *say*.

## 2. The Japanese quotative marker *mitaina*

Suzuki (1995: 55) first observed the use of sentence-final *mitaina* among Japanese people in their teens and twenties in 1990. According to Suzuki, the sentence-final *mitaina* originates from the postposing of the noun-modifying form of the auxiliary *mitai* ‘seem like, appear to be, look like’ (p. 57). The four functions of the auxiliary *mitai* include: 1) evidential; expressing that the preceding statement is based on the speaker’s speculation, 2) expressing similarity, 3) giving examples, and 4) hedge. From these four functions, Suzuki derives the central meaning of *mitaina* as ‘close to the truth’ (p. 59). Extending this definition, Suzuki argues that sentence-final *mitaina* has two primary functions in conversation – a discourse marker that signals a unit that elaborates on a statement made in another part of the conversation and expresses the speaker’s distance from the content of the unit. In explaining the latter definition of distance, Suzuki cites examples of *mitaina* as a quotative marker.

- (6) *Fujisaki tomatte iku tte. Fujisaki furo haitetta. “Jaa jaa ore furo hairu waa. Ore furo hainnaito dame nan da yo ne” mitaina.* [Suzuki, 1995: 63]

*Fujisaki said that he would stay overnight. Fujisaki went in to take a bath. “Well, well, then I’m going to take a bath. I can’t not take a bath, you know” mitaina.*

*Mitaina* follows the quotation and marks Fujisaki’s speech. Because the voice is attributed to another character and does not represent the speaker’s own experience or subjective views, Suzuki argues, the speaker feels distanced from what is marked by *mitaina* (p. 64). According to Suzuki, this **quotative** use and the resulting distance effect extends to the expression of one’s own feelings as well.

- (7) *Ano kurasu ni haitte iku toki ni nanka sugoku ne nanka isshuu no omosa wo kanjite jibun ga koochoku-shita yoo ni naru... “koko de wa amari mono wo ittakunai na” mitaina.* [Suzuki, 1995: 64]

*When I go into that classroom, I feel the heaviness of those around me strongly and I become sort of stiff... “I don’t want to say very much here” mitaina.*

In Suzuki’s view, reporting one’s own thoughts in the same manner one reports another’s speech using *mitaina* suggests the speaker’s objectification and emotional distancing from the content of the quotation.

Ten years after Suzuki’s article, Maynard (2005: 847) reported the spread of *mitaina* – a discourse marker used to insert speech within a conversation – from youth culture to the mature adult segment, as evidenced in her 2003 data. Maynard reinforces Suzuki’s definition of distancing; the approximating meaning of *mitaina* allows the speaker to report speech without making a commitment to what is being said, giving the impression of adding a disclaimer (p. 848). Maynard adds another dimension to the distancing effect. Because *mitaina* acts like a disclaimer and reduces the speaker’s responsibility for uttering the quotation, the speaker can take a more direct tone within the quotation and still maintains face. The speaker speaks in double-voiced discourse – the inserted conversation and the conversation-in-progress as its frame. Maynard suggests that the use of *mitaina* thus dramatizes a more vivid representation of speaker’s voice within the quotation, including paralinguistic features like intonations and accents.

- (8) *Kimono wo tsutsunda washizutsumi wo kakaete, “Sa, kaerotto!” mitaina.* [Maynard, 2005: 855]

*Holding the folded kimono wrapped in Japanese rice paper, “So, I’m going home now!” mitaina.*

The quotation in example (7) illustrates a style that a young, outgoing woman may choose. *Mitaina*-insertion transforms conversation into a demonstration, depicting the situation in livelier and more dramatic terms than otherwise would be the case (p. 855).

Fujii (2006) illustrates the use of utterance-final *mitaina* as a pragmatic marker for quoting thought and speech. Unlike Maynard (2005) who focuses on the polyphony of discourse, Fujii expands on Suzuki’s (1995) claim that the approximating meaning of *mitaina* allows speakers to use *mitaina* to report inner thoughts and feelings. Fujii argues that when quoting, the speaker virtually reconstructs somebody’s inner monologue, representing that speaker’s attitude, reactions, feelings and interpretations, but not necessarily what was actually uttered (p. 61). Quotation is only virtual and approximate, and is neither **completely** precise nor faithful to the original speech or thoughts and feelings (p. 90). According to Fujii, quotations are interpretive in nature rather than literal. Fujii re-defines the distancing effect of *mitaina* as a lack of commitment to the truth and authenticity of the quotation. Consequently, the speaker is able to describe a situation or entity with heightened attitudinal overtones using *mitaina*.

Matsumoto (2010) agrees with Fujii (2006) that the speech preceding *mitaina* is not a precise reproduction of the original speech. It is rather the speaker’s construction and performance that **represent** his or her observation and comment on the situation depicted in the conversation. Matsumoto calls this performed speech “constructed speech”; contrary to assumptions of previous studies, constructed speech is not a quotation or approximation of someone’s actual or imagined speech (p. 4). Matsumoto cites examples of *mitaina* that mark the speech of a person whom the speaker has never met or who may never actually exist. *Mitaina* qualifies how the speaker represents her impression or viewpoint to the addressee in the speech event, rather than signal an evidential expression. The animating function of a constructed speech invites greater involvement from the listener and increases inter-subjectivity.

### 3. The English quotative marker *like*

In one of the earliest papers on *like* as a quotative marker, Lange (1985) shows the high frequency of *like* in the colloquial speech of adolescents and young adults under the age of thirty. Romaine and Lange (1991) document the ongoing grammaticalization and the emergence of quotative *like* to mark reported speech and thought in American English. Grammaticalization (Traugott & Heine, 1991) is a type of language change whereby lexical items increase syntacticization and lose morphosyntactic independence to acquire new status as grammatical forms. This unidirectional process begins with the use of *like* as a preposition that takes a nominal or pronominal complement. *Like*, for instance, undergoes recategorization and becomes used as conjunction or complementizer. Since *like* can appear as a suffix as well as precede a clause or sentence, it is then reanalyzed as a discourse marker showing detachability and positional mobility (Romaine & Lange, 1991: 261). The paper argues that the meanings of the non-quotative discourse *like* - ‘for example’, ‘approximate’ and ‘similarity’- contribute to the quotative use of *like* (p. 245). The marker evokes examples of what might have been said or thought on occasions in the past or in the hypothetical future. Quotative *like* moreover shares the ambiguity of scope –

whether the listener would interpret a quotation introduced by *like* as speech or thought is unclear.

Upon examining the alternation between *like* and other verbs of saying such as *go* and *say*, Romaine and Lange (1991) claim that *like* demarcates roles in the speech event and indicates speaker subjectivity (p. 242). *Like* is more often used for self-representation (58% of the cases), whereas *say* is more often used for the speech of others (83%) (p. 243). Romaine and Lange suggest that *like* captures the emotive affective aspects of speech when retelling an event. The use of *like* moreover does not seem to commit the speaker to the actual occurrence of what is reported; the speech event is rather viewed as a dramatic exchange (p. 242).

Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007) build on the initial observations by Romaine and Lange (1991) and confirm that the quotative *like* overshadows all other forms among speakers under age thirty. Data collected in 2003 by Jones and Schieffelin (2009: 88) support this finding; among 248 university students between ages 18-22, *like* represented 75% of all quotative tokens dominating all competing variants. According to their study of 6,300 quotative tokens from a total of 199 speakers ages 9-87, internal dialogue consistently favors *like* over direct speech. Perhaps for this reason, high correlation exists between *like* and first person quotations.

- (9) SPEECH: I showed mine to my boyfriend and he was **like** “You didn’t make that”.  
[Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 296]
- (10) THOUGHT: I’m **like** “Okay, I gotta pretend like something happened, think something, think something” right? [Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2007: 211]

However, examination of individual age groups show that the pragmatic effect of inner thought favoring *like* is the weakest among the youngest group (ages 17-19). Tagliamonte and D’Arcy hypothesize that although *like* first entered the quotative system carrying strong pragmatic correlations, this effect may be weakening.

Buchstaller et al. (2010: 211) also record a sharp rise in the frequency of quotative *like* after 1995 that continues to rise until its peak in 2006. Confirming the predictions made by Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007), *like* introduces speech and thought in almost equal proportions, and introduces a new category that they call ‘stereotypes’ – characterizations of people or situation through quotes without actually attributing words or specific thoughts to them (p. 207). Jones and Schieffelin (2009: 105) also document instances of *like* marking gestures, facial expressions and non-verbal sounds in the data collected in 2006.

- (11) When you see like a bunch of hick families and the parents are **like** “gra:::h” [Jones & Schieffelin, 2009: 90]

These highly dramatic and expressive features, such as iconic representation and mimetic enactments, set *like* apart from traditional markers, such as *say* and *go*, that are used virtually exclusively for true quotes i.e. speech.

#### **4. *Mitaina* and *like***

Suzuki (1995) first draws the comparison between non-quotative Japanese *mitaina* and English *like*. Despite their strong similarities, she notes that *mitaina* elaborates on the previous statement it marks off whereas *like* contributes the most significant new information (p. 71). Suzuki suggests that perhaps this difference is due to their different

lengths of development; *mitaina* may still retain its original function strongly whereas *like* may have undergone further grammaticalization. Maynard (2005: 846) briefly notes the similarity between *mitaina* and *like* as quotative markers and their frequent use by adolescents in Japan, USA and England, but does not provide further information.

The existing literature claims that quotative *mitaina* in Japanese and quotative *like* in English function to introduce direct speech and thought. In comparison to their competing variants, both quotative markers seem to increase the expression of speakers' emotions and dramatize the content of their quotations. Japanese speakers achieve this through a type of distancing whereby speakers intentionally distance themselves from the content of the quote and remain noncommittal to the truth and authenticity of the quotation. This removes the pressure to reproduce original utterances precisely and allows Japanese speakers to freely interpret, dramatize and reconstruct the speech and thought of self and others using *mitaina*. Consequently, the distancing process achieves a seemingly contradictory effect of allowing speakers to insert or construct speech and thought more freely, directly and perhaps strongly with increased emotion. English speakers, on the other hand, seem to increase the expressivity of quotations by using *like* to introduce first person thought. As *like* undergoes further grammaticalization, however, this effect seems to weaken and English speakers instead achieve dramatization by inserting iconic representations, such as facial expressions and mimetic enactments within the quotations. The two markers thus seem to achieve a similar end, despite exploiting different means.

## 5. My data

In the summer of 2010, I returned to my alma mater in Yokohama, Japan, to conduct fourteen sociolinguistic interviews with thirty-one bilingual international school students (ages 15–18). Kite (2001) argues that international high school students in Japan are near-balanced bilinguals who use intra-sentential code-switching as the unmarked choice for informal communication with friends. To ensure fluency in Japanese/English code-switching among participants, I selected International Baccalaureate (IB) Bilingual Diploma candidates enrolled in both IB Japanese and English classes. With the consent of the school administration and parents, I recruited students through a small in-class presentation describing my research. The students participated in approximately one-hour long interviews with me, a native Japanese/English bilingual. All students were compensated financially for their participation.

Interviews consisted of two to three classmates at a time since some of the richest recordings of vernacular speech are obtained through group sessions (Labov, 1981). To collect quotative-rich data, I asked questions that elicited narratives of personal experiences from interviewees<sup>43</sup>. All interview questions [see Appendix] were prepared prior to the interviews and code-switches between Japanese and English. Question topics covered peers, dating, family, school, fear, dreams adopted from “Characteristic network of modules for adolescent or young adult speakers” (Labov, 1981: 35). The audio recordings yielded 562 quotations total, including 122 tokens of *mitaina*, 317 tokens of *like*, and 60 tokens of *like-mitaina* co-occurrence.

## 6. Findings

### 6.1 Competing variants of the quotative markers *mitaina* and *like*

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<sup>43</sup> As Labov (1984: 32) notes, “narratives of personal experiences [are] where community norms and styles of personal interaction are most plainly revealed, and where style is regularly shifted towards the vernacular”.

Of the 562 quotations recorded, 291 quotations were primarily Japanese, 217 quotations were primarily English, 41 quotations were Japanese/English code-switching and 13 quotations were nonverbal gestures. The proportion of Japanese and English quotations reflects the students' daily language use. The bilinguals generally use Japanese at home with family members, English at school with teachers and code-switch among friends and classmates.

First, the data illustrate the most frequent quotative markers and their competing variants in each language. *Like* is the most frequent English marker with a total of 317 tokens (91%). Its alternate variants include *say* (16 tokens; 4%) and *go* (3 tokens; 1%). *Mitaina* or *to/tte*<sup>44</sup> are the most frequent Japanese quotative markers with 122 tokens (37%) each. The third competing Japanese variant is *toka* (75 tokens; 22%). Whereas *like* is the single most dominant English markers, the Japanese markers are more equally distributed between *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka*. The frequency gradient of the Japanese markers suggests that speakers are discriminating between *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka* when choosing a marker to frame a quotation.

Japanese quotative markers		English quotative markers	
<i>mitaina</i>	122 (37%)	<i>like</i>	317 (91%)
<i>to/tte</i>	122 (37%)	<i>say</i>	16 (4%)
<i>toka</i>	75 (22%)	<i>go</i>	3 (1%)
<i>unframed</i>	13 (4%)	<i>unframed</i>	13 (4%)
TOTAL	332	TOTAL	349

**Table 1. Variants of Japanese and English quotative markers**

## 6.2 Comparing *mitaina* with its variants *to/tte* and *toka*

The relatively balanced distribution between *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka* suggests qualitative differences between the variants. In comparison to *mitaina*, studies on the quotative particle *to/tte* and *toka* (Ohori, 1995, 2000; Okamoto, 1995; Hayashi, 1997; Suzuki, 1999; Kato, 2010) have focused on their role in reporting direct speech, for instance, quoting utterances, marking hearsay, and repeating interlocutor's speech. Itani (1994: 385) describes *to/tte* as quotative markers that append to utterances whose propositional forms are attributed directly not to thoughts, but to spoken or written utterances. Hayashi (1997: 3) reports that all instances of sentence-final *to/tte* in his database contain explicit mentions of verbs of saying in immediately preceding lines. Maynard (2007) also cites every instance of *to/tte* and *toka* with the verbs of saying and contrasts them against the quotative *mitaina* that appears without such verbs. Suzuki (2007: 210) claims that the base property of quotative *to/tte* is to reproduce someone's utterance approximately if not exactly. To explicate, Suzuki provides an example of how speakers use *to/tte* to quote an immediately preceding utterance by the second-person interlocutor. Such patterns of quoting using *to/tte* are also found in the present data –

<sup>44</sup> *Tte* is often described as a colloquial variant of *to* (Hayashi, 1997; Kato, 2010). The current data includes 13 tokens of *to* and 122 tokens of *tte*; the greater frequency of *tte* is due to the informal style of the interviews. This study treats the two quotative markers as different realizations of essentially the same particle and refers to *to/tte* together.

- (12) A: *Mata “PowerPoint isn’t perfect so don’t use it” mitaina.*  
 M: *E, douiu imi? “PowerPoint isn’t perfect” tte.* [2.30-31]

A: *Again “PowerPoint isn’t perfect so don’t use it” mitaina.*  
 M: *Uh, what do you mean? “PowerPoint isn’t perfect” tte.*

In example (12), speaker A marks with *mitaina* the quotation of a teacher who prohibits the students’ use of PowerPoint slides for a homework assignment. The addressee M then asks for clarification of the teacher’s utterance by immediately using *tte* and quoting A’s speech verbatim. We can judge the accuracy of M’s reporting in this particular scene, because the original utterance immediately precedes the quotation. This example supports the literature that claims that *to/tte* and *toka* function to report true quotes with increased evidentiality and commitment to authenticity, compared with *mitaina*, which interprets and re-constructs quotations.

The examples of *mitaina* (example 13), *to/tte* and *toka* (example 14) below also highlight the speaker’s differing degrees of commitment to the authenticity of the quotations when using each quotative marker.

- (13) M: You want to check if you are right or not *jan. Sonde mitetara nanka, nandakke, U ga “Ha, omae nani yattenndayo, omae cheat shitenjaneeyo” mitaina. Nanka iwarete. “E?” mitaina. Sonde she gave me detention.* [2.51-2]

M: You want to check if you are right or not, *you know. So I was looking, what was it, U, “What, what are you doing? You better not be cheating” mitaina. (I) was told something. “Huh?” mitaina. And then she gave me detention.*

- (14) A: I knew it was me, I mean I’m the one who planned it and actually did it with my friends. *De nanka itte, de, “T, morattano, choko?” toka itte. Shitara “Un” tte. De “Darekara? Darekara?” ttara. “Sorega kaiteinaindayo” toka itte. “Ja, makasetokeyo” tte. “Kyo no owarimade ni orenga sagashitoku kara” toka itte. De gakko sono ichinichi owaratte houkagoni “T, T, wakattayo” tte. De taneakashi sunno.* [12.24-29]

A: I knew it was me, I mean I’m the one who planned it and actually did it with my friends. *And then (I) said like, and then, “T, did you get chocolates?” toka said. Like and then “yeah” tte. Then, “From who? From who?” ttara. “It actually isn’t written” toka said. “Well then, leave it to me” tte. “I’ll find out by the end of the day today” toka said. And then at the end of the school day, after school, “T, T, I know” tte. And then I reveal the secret.*

Both conversations are primarily Japanese and speakers use the variants *mitaina* (example 13), *to/tte* and *toka* (example 14). Speakers M and A animate their narration by inserting multiple voice of the third-person characters and the self. In example (13), a high school student M narrates how a female Teacher U falsely accused her of cheating and gives her detention. *Mitaina* marks the utterance, “What, what are you doing? You better not be cheating”. “*Ha*”, “*omae*” and “*-janeeyo*” are all conventionally male-style register that lack politeness and formality, and in the context of a classroom, would be completely inappropriate means for a female teacher to address her student. The quotation is clearly an exaggerated construction of Teacher U’s internal thoughts upon seeing a student’s delinquent behavior. The utterance moreover depicts Teacher U as a villain, viewing her

from the perspective of the victimized speaker M. In this way, we can assume that the quotation marked by *mitaina* is an interpretation and creation of speaker M upon retelling the story.

On the contrary, example (14) illustrates the repeated use of *to/tte* and *toka*. Speaker A recounts a story of how he pulled a prank on his classmate T by sending him fake chocolates on Valentine's Day. In the dialogue with T, speaker A promises to look for his secret admirer and finally reveals the truth at the end of the school day. Unlike the case in example (13), both speakers A and T use appropriate registers for teenage boys in their respective quotations. Speaker A continuously addresses T's name, modeling spoken dialogue rather than internal thought. Whereas example (13) uses the verb *say* ("iu") once, example (14) uses this verb four times. The quotatives *tte* and *toka* attached to the verb *say* ("iu") alternate repeatedly, supporting previous findings that predict a strong association between *to/tte*, *toka* and the verbs of saying.

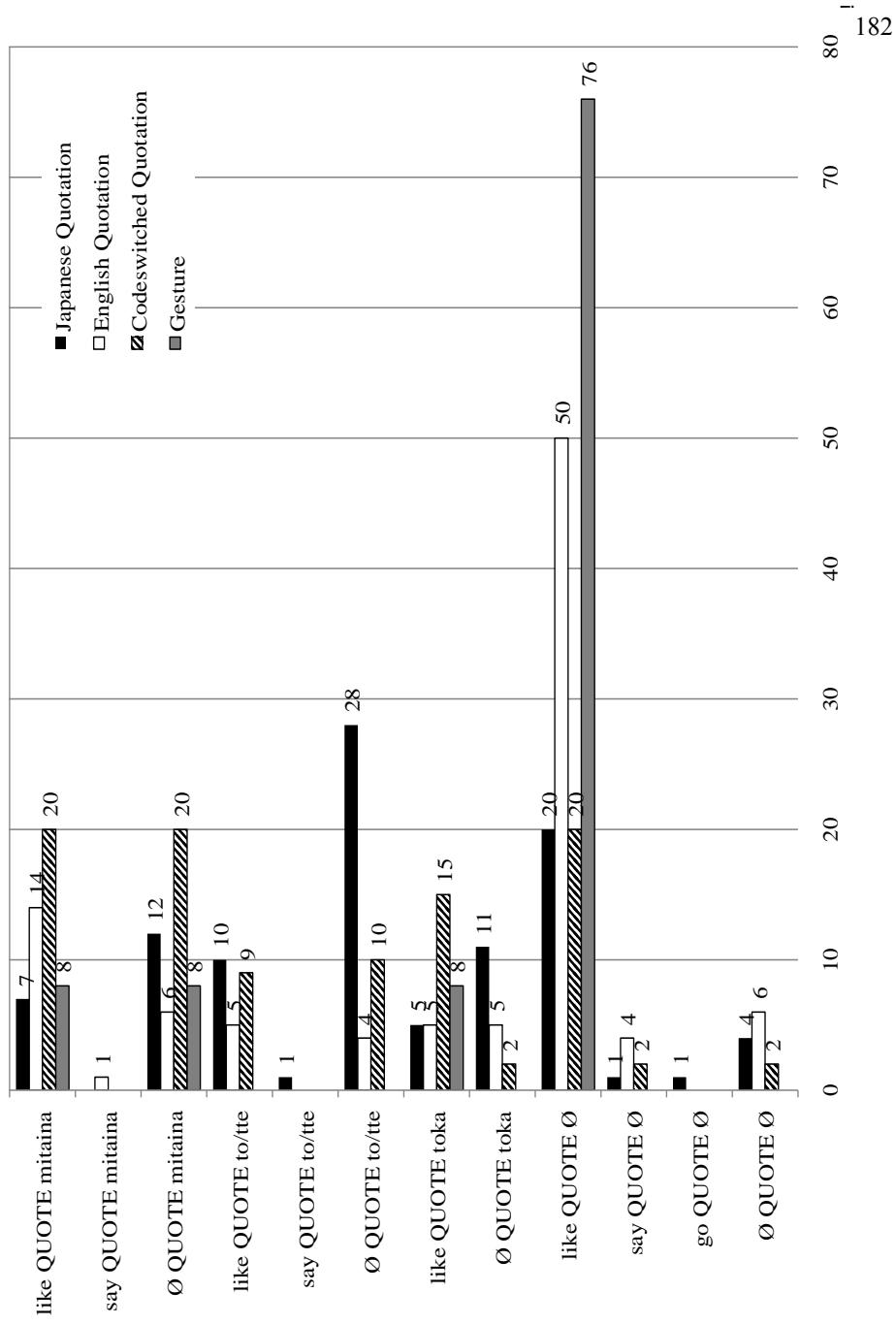
Whether an utterance actually occurred or whether the speaker's quotation remains faithful to the original utterance can never be fully verified within the scope of these two examples. The content of the quotations and verbs of saying, however, provide clues that suggest interpretation and construction of thought in example (13) and relatively authentic approximation or reporting of speech using *to/tte* and *toka* in example (14). The two examples reflect a repeating pattern in my data – the tendency for *mitaina* to mark interpreted and constructed quotations often in the form of thought versus the tendency for *to/tte* and *toka* to report true, authentic quotations often in the form of speech. We will return to this discussion of speech and thought in Section 6.5.

## 6.2 Examining the language of the quotation and the quotative markers

As reported earlier, the present data consists of 291 primarily Japanese quotations, 217 primarily English quotations, 41 code-switched quotations and 13 nonverbal gestures. The English marker *like* is the single most frequent quotative marker regardless of the language of the quotation. *Like* (120 tokens; 34%) is the most frequent marker for Japanese quotations followed by *to/tte* (109 tokens; 31%). *Like* (159 tokens; 60%) is the most frequent marker for English quotations followed by *mitaina* (46 tokens; 15%). The disproportionately high frequency of *like* – extremely popular in the English of younger people in North America, England, and other parts of the world – suggests that this marker frames all types of quotations for these young Japanese bilinguals, regardless of their language.

As shown in Figure 1, *like* is also the dominant marker of nonverbal gesture in my corpus (14 tokens; 93%). Previous studies (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Jones & Schieffelin, 2009) have observed the high frequency of *like* to introduce nonverbal mimetic performances or enactments among monolingual English speakers. *Like* presents gestures, facial expressions and other iconic representations that distinguishes it from traditional markers such as *say*. This mimetic function of *like* remains consistent in my Japanese/English bilingual data. The bilingual speaker even inserts culture-specific gestures, such as the American z-formation snapping (example 15) and Japanese bowing (example 16).

- (15) I said something which didn't make sense, and he was **like** "(snapping fingers in a Z-formation)". [5.35]
- (16) Yeah during the game and me, I was **like** "(repeated bowing)". [14.82]



**Figure 1. The relative frequency of all quotative variant pairs across Japanese quotation, English quotation, codeswitched quotation and non-verbal gesture**

In example (15), the speaker herself snaps her fingers in a z-formation with a facial expression showing attitude to mimic her teacher. In example (16), the Japanese speaker accidentally hits a ball too far in a volleyball match and subsequently bows to express apology. Although the action of bowing is specific to Japanese culture, the English *like* nevertheless marks the quotation emphasizing the dominant use of *like* regardless of the language it marks.

Japanese monolingual studies (Suzuki, 1995; Maynard, 2005) have also noted the function of *mitaina* to frame mimetic enactments; however, no specific examples have been cited. Suzuki also notes that demonstrations of facial expressions or gestures have

not been found (p. 69). The bilingual speakers' almost exclusive choice of *like* over *mitaina* in framing mimetic enactments suggest that this is a distinct function of *like* that does not overlap with *mitaina*.

The high frequency of *like* in introducing nonverbal gesture is one example. On a more global level, the disproportionately high frequency of *like* regardless of the content of quotation agrees with predictions of previous researchers (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Suzuki, 1995; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007) that *like* continues to undergo the later stages of or have undergone grammaticalization. Loss of semantic complexity or pragmatic significance and increase in abstractness of meaning (Traugott & Heine, 1991) characterizes these later stages. Matsumoto (2010) argues that *mitaina* follows the grammaticalization pattern of *like*, but is still in its earlier stages. My corpus suggests that *like* has undergone grammaticalization longer than any of the Japanese variants and consequently serves as an all-purpose marker compatible with quotations of both verbal and nonverbal Japanese, English and mixed languages.

### 6.3 Code-switches at boundaries between quotations and quotative markers

Historically, the literature on code-switching has cited numerous instances of bilingual speakers switching language at the boundary between the quotative marker and the quotation. (Auer 1995; Sebba & Wooton, 1998; Gardner-Chloros, 2009). The present data also includes such examples as in:

- (17) "Wow, what is this?" ***mitaina.*** [6.23]

Quantitative analysis of the data, however, suggests that despite the abundant examples of such code-switches in the literature, the languages of the quotative marker and the quotation are more likely to remain consistent than not. Again, the syntactic difference between Japanese and English allows the bilingual speaker to code-switch twice, *before* and *after* the quotation, as in:

**English quotative marker [switch] Quotation [switch] Japanese quotative marker**

As table 2 illustrates, a switch into Japanese quotation following an English marker occurred total of 124 times, whereas the language remained the same with no codeswitch in 170 instances. An English quotation switched into a Japanese quotative marker in 85 instances, whereas the language remained the same with no codeswitch 213 times. This general trend is true for every quotative variant, supporting the claim that switches occur relatively less frequently than no switches.

**Table 2. The frequency of codeswitches between quotation and quotative marker**

English quotation [switch] Japanese quotative marker		
<i>mitaina</i>	46	“Wow, what is this?” <b>mitaina.</b> [6.23]
<i>to/tte</i>	21	“I’m gonna be your damn dam guide for you” <b>toka.</b> [12.34]
<i>toka</i>	18	“I need love from you” <b>tte.</b> [8.9]
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>85</b>	
English quotative marker [switch] Japanese quotation		
<i>like</i>	120	I’m <b>like</b> “Muda, muda, muda”. [5.46] I’m <b>like</b> “Wasteful, wasteful, wasteful!”
<i>say</i>	4	Just came up and <b>said</b> “Anata ni hitomebore shimashita”. [14.7] Just came up and <b>said</b> “I fell in love with you at first sight”.
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>124</b>	
Japanese quotation [no switch] Japanese quotative marker		
<i>mitaina</i>	58	“Nani koistu?” <b>mitaina.</b> [10.64] “Who does she think she is?” <b>mitaina.</b>
<i>to/tte</i>	46	“Kore irimasuka?” <b>tte.</b> [3.26] “Do you need this?” <b>tte.</b>
<i>toka</i>	109	“Ojisan no koe ga shita” <b>toka.</b> [2.43] “(I) hear a middle-age man’s voice” <b>toka.</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>213</b>	
English quotative marker [no switch] English quotation		
<i>like</i>	159	I was <b>like</b> “Okay, open your eyes”. [5.28]
<i>say</i>	11	They <b>said</b> “We need to go home”. [10.33]
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>170</b>	

Meyer-Scotton (2008) categorizes such language switches as classic code-switching, in which abstract grammatical structure within a clause comes from only one of the participating languages (p. 337). She argues that bilingual speech presents a particular asymmetry between the participating languages. In her matrix language frame model, the matrix language determines the grammar and the embedded language must meet the matrix language conditions that apply to the clause as a whole. Examples (18) and (19) support Meyer-Scotton’s argument for the matrix language frame model:

- (18) I met this random Indian guy and he’s **like** “Watashi aruite gotanda ikitaindesu”. [3.9]  
I met this random Indian guy and he’s **like** “I want to go to Gotanda on foot”.
- (19) *Sokode direkuta- no hito ga* “Do you wanna do it?” **toka.** [12.8]  
*And there, the director person was like* “Do you wanna do it?” **toka.**

In example (18), the sentence follows the English subject-verb-object word order. When *like* introduces the quotation, the Japanese quotation is inserted. Within the quotation, Japanese grammar determines the structure. In example (19), the opposite is true. The example follows the Japanese subject-object-verb word order. The quotative marker *toka* attaches at the end of the quotation, following the Japanese syntax. Within the quotation, the English grammar governs the sentence. The two examples illustrate an asymmetry between Japanese and English.

However, the co-occurrence of Japanese and English quotative markers argues against Meyer-Scotton's matrix language frame model. Examples (20) and (21) defy the notion of matrix language and embedded language, and challenge her classic definition of code-switching.

- (20) It's **like** "Aaah, atashi four weeks ago crutches, *shikamo sonogo yonkagetsu* I couldn't play sports" **mitaina**. [7.10]  
 It's **like** "Umm, I was on crutches for four weeks, on top of that for four months afterwards I couldn't play sports" **mitaina**.
- (21) She's **like** "Nande ano why's she talking to you?" **mitaina**. [3.5]  
 She's **like** "How come this why's she talking to you?" **mitaina**.

In both examples (20) and (21), the identification of matrix language and embedded language proves difficult. The quotative markers *like* and *mitaina* double, defying the conception that only the grammar of one participating language governs bilingual speech. The structural well-formedness of the matrix language and the embedded language in the bilingual clause do not pass the congruence check. In example (20), the two grammars of Japanese and English are mixed even in the quotation alone. Similarly, in example (21), we cannot determine whether the sentence upholds primarily Japanese grammar or primarily English grammar for there seems to be symmetry, contradicting Meyer-Scotton's earlier definition of classic code-switching.

Although co-occurrences of quotative markers are fewer than the isolated cases, the Japanese and English quotative marker pairs, such as *like-mitaina*, argue against the previous claim that the quotation and the outer framing clause are well-formed constituents. Despite this syntactic mismatch, however, the Japanese/English bilinguals are able to form semantically meaningful and communicative utterances. Such analysis emphasizes the richness of the international school students' language, which goes beyond the traditional frameworks and characterizations of code-switching.

#### 6.4 Examining the co-occurrence of Japanese and English quotative markers

The ability to frame a quotation both at the *beginning* and *end* with quotative makers is a unique linguistic tool Japanese/English bilinguals possess. Examining which markers co-occur and how frequently demonstrates the cross-linguistic interaction between each pair of markers. As table 3 shows, the Japanese quotative *mitaina* favors the English *like* (60 tokens) more than its variant *say* (2 tokens). The English quotative *like* also favors *mitaina* (60 tokens) more than its variants *to/tte* (40 tokens) and *toka* (32 tokens). Looking at *like* and *mitaina* in the totality of other competing variants confirms that the two quotative markers favor one another.

<i>Mitaina</i> co-occurrence		Like co-occurrence	
like- <i>mitaina</i>	60	like- <i>mitaina</i>	60
<i>say-mitaina</i>	2	like- <i>to/tte</i>	40
		like- <i>toka</i>	32
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>132</b>

Table 3. Co-occurrence of Japanese and English quotative markers

The high frequency of the *like-mitaina* pair in my data draws particular attention because it does not follow the original pattern observed in the occurrence of isolated quotative variants. Among variants that mark Japanese quotations, *to/tte* appears 109 times whereas *mitaina* appears 58 times, approximately half in number. *To/tte* alone occurs in 94 cases, whereas *mitaina* alone occurs in 60 cases. When paired with *like*, however, *mitaina* becomes the most frequent variant. Examples (22) and (23) compares the function of *like-mitaina* in contrast with other variants *to/tte* and *toka*.

In example (20), speaker K shares her opinion about feeling judged for attending an international school. Both speaker K and addressee A agree that encounters with non-international school students or parents can create uncomfortable situations. When K attends her little sister's Japanese school event while on a holiday from her international high school, other Japanese parents inquire why she is there.

- (22) K1: *E, no, no, no, dakara San Mooru gakkou nakute choudo [little sister's] undoukai toka attara sorya ikujan?*  
 K2: So I went right?  
 K3: *Sousuruto it's like "Nande oneechan iruno?" mitaina.*  
 K4: You know what I mean?  
 K5: It's **like** "Is she not going to school?" **mitaina**.  
 K6: *De nanka shouganai kara "I go to international school" mitaina.*  
 K7: "*Eigo ga dekimasu*" **mitaina**.  
 K8: *Demo sousuruto "Oh my god" mitaina.*  
 A9: *Soutteiuka urayamashigararenn dakedo you don't know how souiuno douyatte riakuto sureba iinoka wakannai.*  
 K10: *Sou de "Eigo oshiete kudasaru?" toka iwarete.*  
 K11: It's **like** "*Eeeeeh*" **mitaina**.  
 A12: *Eeeeeh*

[14.74-78]

- K1: *Uh, no, no, no, so if there was no school at St. Maur and there was something like [little sister's] Sports Day I go, right?*  
 K2: So I went, right?  
 K3: *And then it's like, "How come the sister's here?" mitaina.*  
 K4: You know what I mean?  
 K5: It's **like** "Is she not going to school?" **mitaina**.  
 K6: *And I can't help it so "I go to international school" mitaina.*  
 K7: "*I can speak English*" **mitaina**.  
 K8: *But if I do that "Oh my god" mitaina.*  
 K9: *Yeah or people are envious but you don't know how I don't know how to react to things like that.*  
 K10: *Yeah and "Could you teach English?" toka (she) said.*  
 K11: It's like "*Uhhhhhhh*" **mitaina**.  
 A12: *Uhhhhhhh*

Speaker K alternates between *like*, *mitaina* and *toka* to frame six quotations that build the conversation between the Japanese mother and herself. Quotations framed by *like-mitaina* such as "*How come the sister's here?*" (K3) and "*Is she not going to school?*" (K5) express the internal thoughts of the mother. The language again suggests that speaker K constructs the internal thoughts and attributes them to the Japanese mother in the form of a quotation using *like-mitaina*. First, the Japanese mother would not ask the question in English, as speaker K does, in this monolingual Japanese context. It is also unlikely that the mother would explicitly ask K such impolite questions. Similarly, speaker K explains her situation to the mother using *mitaina* and again receives an unlikely response of "Oh

my god" (K8) from the Japanese mother marked by *mitaina*. The phrase "Oh my god" is not only in English, but is also a colloquial American phrase typical in the speech of adolescents. Speaker K is using *mitaina* to construct and communicate her attitudes in this conversation. The only quotation that employs the correct polite, feminine, formal register socially appropriate for the Japanese mother occurs in line 10, marked by *toka*. Speaker K again responds with a disrespectful moan-like noise using *like-mitaina*, unlikely to have actually occurred given this social context.

Following this conversation, speaker K continues to use non-quotative *toka* and *mitaina*. She explains that people create a stereotype of international students as those who are extremely competent at English and are planning to be "translator *toka*... ambassador *toka*...rich *ojousan* (*lady/princess*) *mitaina*". Similar to their quotative functions, while *toka* approximates relatively realistic careers for international students, *mitaina* further steers away and grossly exaggerates the stereotype. The quotations marked by *mitaina* however communicate speaker K's honest attitude of being judged by others outside of the international school community.

The use of quotative markers in example (21) serve as evidence to support the distinct characteristics of *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka* identified in the discussion of example (20).

(23) A1: *Sonde I left stuff in the locker.*

T2: *Nde locker kaettara* you don't have money.

T3: You're **like**

A4: "What the fuck? Who the fuck took my fucking money?"

T5: **Tte ittara** this dude comes in and he's like

A6: No, no *sorede* I, I had like rupee a thousand rupees which is like two thousand yen in my wallet.

A7: They didn't take the rupee.

A8: The thousand rupee *oiteatta none*.

A9: So as soon as I got it, this dude, it's like one of the fathers in St. Maur *ga* "Hey that's not your money" *toka sonna kanjina koto wo ittanone*.

T10: *Nde* did he start getting pissed off at you?

A11: *Un*

T12: When you were the victim?

A13: Yeah.

T14: And then he's **like** "What?" **mitaina**.

T15: And you said, you **said**

A16: "It's mine."

T17: "It's my money."

T18: And he's **like** "What? What are you talking about?" **mitaina**. [6.17-21]

A1: *Then I left stuff in the locker.*

T2: *And then went back to the locker and* you don't have money.

T3: You're **like-**

A4: "What the fuck? Who the fuck took my fucking money?"

T5: **Tte said** and this dude comes in and he's like

A6: No, no *and then* I, I had like rupee, a thousand rupees which is like two thousand yen in my wallet.

A7: They didn't take the rupee.

A8: The thousand rupee *was left, okay?*

A9: So as soon as I got it, this dude, it's like one of the fathers in St. Maur "Hey that's not your money" *toka said something like that*.

T10: *And then* did he start getting pissed off at you?

A11: *Un*

- T12: When you were the victim?  
 A13: Yeah.  
 T14: And then he's **like** "What?" ***mitaina***.  
 T15: And you said, you **said**-  
 A16: "It's mine."  
 T17: "It's my money."  
 T18: And he's **like** "What? What are you talking about?" ***mitaina***.

Example (21) illustrates an interesting case in which speaker A begins the narration of his experience and addressee T, who has previously heard the story, joins the act of narration. In the process of retelling the story together, speaker A and T's choice of quotative markers follow a particular pattern. When speaker A who actually experienced the incident inserts a quotation, *like* (T3), *to/tte* (T5), *toka* (A9) and *said* (T15) mark the quotation. On the other hand, when speaker T who did not directly experience the incident inserts a quotation, *like-mitaina* pairs (T14, T18) mark the quotation. The two speakers are together reporting and re-constructing an incident that occurred in the past. Speaker A reports his personal experience, whereas speaker T is creatively fabricates his friend's experience. The former involves increased evidentiality and approximation of a more authentic quotation marked by *to/tte* and *toka*, whereas the latter presents fictional construction of speaker T marked by *mitaina*.

Examples (20) and (21) contrast the distinct functions of *mitaina* versus *to/tte* and *toka*. Numerous instances of the *like-mitaina* pair (eg. K5, T14, T18) in the examples occur in otherwise completely English utterances. The only Japanese portion in such cases is the utterance-final *mitaina*. This data suggests that *like* and *mitaina* together do not emphasize shared characteristics, but rather the quotative marker *mitaina* must be adding some new meaning that has not yet been conveyed by the use of the preceding English marker *like*. The meaning of *mitaina* that is added to the function of *like*, *to/tte* and *toka* involves the speaker's interpretation, dramatization and re-construction upon retelling the story with quotations.

## 6.5 Speech and thought

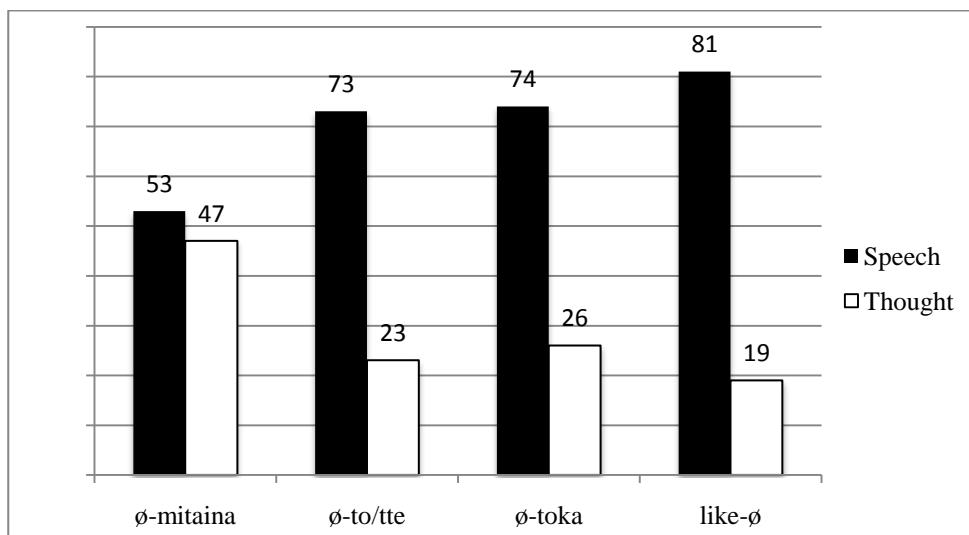
If *mitaina* functions to interpret and construct quotation rather than reproduce original quotation precisely, as previous literature and examples in my data suggest, then I hypothesize that *mitaina* would more frequently quote thought than speech. Since internal monologues are not generally voiced through verbal language, the speaker needs to interpret and construct thought in the form of a quotation when retelling a story.

The data in Table 4 compare the speech and thought encodings between the variants *mitaina*, *to/tte*, *toka* and *like*. In general, both Japanese and English quotations encode speech more frequently than thought. The only category that comes close to an exception is *mitaina* with Japanese quotations, where *mitaina* marks speech (53%) and thought (47%) equally. By contrast, with *to/tte*, *toka* and even *like* as quotative markers, speech is favored for Japanese quotations almost three times as often as thought is. English quotations are similar except that both for *mitaina* and *like*, speech is favored three times as often as thought is, and in the case of *to/tte* and *toka*, speech is favored categorically (ie. 100% of the time).

Mitaina co-occurrence	Speech	Thought	TOTAL
<b>Japanese QUOTE + mitaina</b>	<b>20 (53%)</b>	<b>18 (47%)</b>	<b>38</b>
English QUOTE + mitaina	10 (77%)	3 (23%)	13
Japanese QUOTE + <i>to/tte</i>	58 (73%)	22 (27%)	80
English QUOTE + <i>to/tte</i>	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	9
Japanese QUOTE + <i>toka</i>	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	31
English QUOTE + <i>toka</i>	11 (100%)	0 (0%)	11
<i>like</i> + Japanese QUOTE	47 (81%)	11 (19%)	58
<i>like</i> + English QUOTE	78 (72%)	31 (28%)	109

**Table 4.** Frequency of reported speech and thought marked by *mitaina*, *to/tte*, *toka* and *like*

While the hypothesis that *mitaina* marks quoted thought more than speech is not quite borne out, the distribution between the two is more or less equal, in stark contrast to the overwhelming preference for speech for other quotative markers when quoting in Japanese ( $p=0.025$ , d.f. =3).



**Figure 2.** Relative frequencies of *mitaina*, *to/tte*, *toka* and *like* marking speech and thought in Japanese quotations

Further examination of Japanese quotations marked by *mitaina* show that all 18 cases (100%) of thought encodings are reported as first-person thought whereas 7 cases (35%) of speech encodings are first-person and 13 cases (65%) are third-person speech. Perhaps these figures reflect the relative ease of re-constructing one's own thought in the past event versus constructing the internal thought of another person. The first-person thought quotations marked by *mitaina* often convey strong emotions, as in example (24).

- (24) “*Sonnna daremo oshietekurenai kara shiru wake nai jan*” ***mitaina***. *Mou nanka hidoi...* [2.10]  
 “*I mean, no one told me so how am I supposed to know?*” ***mitaina***. *It’s like cruel...* [2.10]

The speaker, who is not a central character in her high school social scene, is asked by her peer how she did not know obvious information such as boy A dating girl B. In response to her friend's inquiry "How did you not know?" which she labels as "*hidoi*" (*cruel*), the speaker pretends as though she actually knew. In her mind, however, she responds pleadingly with an emotionally-charged first-person thought, "I mean, no one told me so how am I supposed to know?" In retelling the story to another friend, she is able to express this hitherto unexpressed emotion in the form of a quotation. The speaker reconstructs a quotation that was not actually uttered and uses it as a vehicle to communicate her first-person attitude and emotion about the incident. The interpretive nature of *mitaina* allows the speaker to voice her internal thoughts, feelings and attitudes in the form of a quotation.

## 7. Conclusion

Traditional definitions of code-switching have underestimated the bilingual speaker's linguistic dexterity to mix two languages. The code-switching among the Japanese/English bilinguals challenges Meyer-Scotton's (2008) classic definition of code-switching. The simultaneous use of two quotative markers in two different languages shows that clear distinctions between the matrix language and the embedded language do not seem to exist within the speech of these international school students. This sample of bilingual speech also violates Poplack's (1988) equivalence constraint. When the bilingual speaker inserts a quotation in telling a story and frames the quotation with two makers (ie. *like* and *mitaina*) instead of one, the speaker mixes not only lexical items, but also the syntactic rules of both participating languages.

This paper has investigated quotative markers within the speech of bilingual international school students who fluidly code-switch between Japanese and English. My focus has been on the comparison of variants *like* and *mitaina*, and their co-occurrences to frame a single quotation. The examination of these markers in the totality of competing variants has yielded a more complete picture of the forms' independent functions and their shared characteristics. English *like* is the single most frequent marker regardless of the language or content of the quotations. The marker frames quotations in both Japanese and English as well as nonverbal representations, namely gesture. These data agree with previous studies (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Buchstaller et al, 2010) and confirm that *like* has undergone later stages of grammaticalization. Although *like* first entered the quotative system carrying strong pragmatic correlations, it has lost much of its lexical meaning due to syntacticization. By contrast, *mitaina* follows the same trajectory, but the marker is still in its earlier stages of grammaticalization. Japanese/English bilinguals distinguish its lexical meaning against those of its competitive variants *to/tte* and *toka*. A qualitative analysis shows that speakers use *mitaina* to interpret and re-construct speech and thought, whereas speakers use *to/tte*, *toka* and *like* to approximate and reenact the original utterance, if any ever existed. Quantitative analysis supports this pattern – unlike other quotative variants (*to/tte*, *toka*, *like*) that are used categorically or in the great majority of cases to frame quoted speech, *mitaina* equally frames thought and speech. When quotative markers co-occur, each marker contributes its distinct functions to the act of quoting rather than emphasizing the overlapping characteristics between the two markers. *Like-mitaina* pair occurs more frequently than any other variants, including *like-to/tte* and *like-toka*. The shared characteristics of markers *like*, *to/tte* and *toka*, and the high frequency of *like-mitaina* pair suggest that when the *like-mitaina* pair frames a single quotation, *mitaina* adds an interpretive meaning that does not overlap with the functions of the preceding marker *like*.

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## Appendix

### Sociolinguistic Interview Questions

*The Japanese portions of the interview questions are shown in capital letters.*

1. Can you tell me about a REALLY SCARY DREAM where you WERE SERIOUSLY SCARED?
2. AT SCHOOL have you ever been blamed for something you didn't do?
3. HAVE YOU EVER ENCOUNTERED A near-death experience ?
4. Can you tell me about a time where a FRIEND did something FUNNY and you COULDN'T STOP LAUGHING?
5. TELL ME an embarrassing story about you or your friend.
6. IN YOUR DREA DO YOU SPEAK IN English? OR Japanese? And has there ever been an odd dream AS A RESULT OF THE LANGUAGE?
7. DO YOU BELIEVE IN "Love at first sight"?
8. Have you ever ASKED OUT ? HOW did the guy/girl tell you?
9. HAVE YOU EVER REALLY disagreed WITH A TEACHER OR A PARENT? What happened?
10. HAS SOMETHING YOU SAW IN A DREAM EVER OCCURR IN real-life?
11. Do your parents have rules about WHO YOU CAN date OR NOT?
12. If you play sports: what was THE MOST memorable game for your team? What happened?

13. HAVE YOU EVER GOTTEN IN detention? How did it happen?
14. Have you ever thrown a surprise FOR SOMEONE? OR HAS SOMEONE EVER THROWN A surprise FOR you?
15. What do you think of mixing JAPANESE AND ENLIGHS IN THIS MANNER?
16. Have you ever felt judged by other people because YOU ATTEND AN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL?
17. HOW DOES YOUR LANGUAGE OR THE WAY YOU SPEAK change when you talk to different people?
18. HAVE YOU EVER HEARD A RIDICULOUS gossip OR RUMOR?
19. Are there classmates you think MAKE A GOOD/MATCHING COUPLE?
20. HAVE YOU EVER DONE A prank ON A FRIEND? HOW did it end up?
21. HAVE YOU EVER ENCOUNTERED supernatural phenomenon OR SPIRITS?
22. HOW frequently do you mix JPAANESE AND ENGLISH? WHICH IS easier for you?
23. Can you tell me something funny that happened recently ABOUT you, FRIEND OR FAMILY?
24. Have you ever played THE OUIGI BOARD?
25. Tell me a time and place when you felt REALLY LUCKY?

## **Abstracts of Presentation not included in the Proceedings**

### **Keynote Addresses**

#### **Tawkin' Metalinguistic Troot t'Joynalistic Pahwuh: *New York Times*, Indeed**

Michael Silverstein  
*University of Chicago*

On 19 November 2010, an article in the *New York Times* by Sam Roberts described efforts by native-born New Yorkers to learn to speak “General American.” In its online presentation, it became an instant flashpoint, stimulating over 600 comments before such responses were editorially terminated. This naturally effervescent stream of metalinguistic reflexivity is richer, in its way, than any sociolinguistic interview. As to ethno-metapragmatic construals of linguistic variation, the sample reveals what we might term the post-“dialectal” (Gumperz) status of “dialect” in American English – cf. “Pittsburghese” (Johnstone, Kiesling, et al.). And as a form of web-mediated communicative practice, the structure of the “conversation” reveals how the fora for airing “public opinion” have evolved and intersected under contemporary regimes of mediatization.

#### **Question Design and Political Positioning: Policing the Boundaries of the Mainstream**

Steve Clayman  
*UCLA*

Questions are conventionally understood as requests for information, but they also convey information in an indirect way about the speaker, the recipient, and the subject of inquiry. This latent function of question design is mobilized by journalists within news interviews and news conferences so as to position politicians and other public figures along a continuum from consensus to legitimate controversy to extremism. Question-answer sequences may thus be examined as an arena in which journalists and politicians struggle over whether the latter are to be understood as falling within or outside of the political mainstream.

#### **Translating Ching Chong: Contexts of Meaning and the Meaning of Context**

Elaine Chun  
*University of South Carolina*

During the past decade, ching-chong acts, or linguistic mockeries that allude to Asian incomprehensibility, have provoked explicit discussions of race and language in U.S. public spaces. This talk examines discourses that have emerged in response to ten YouTube video postings of such ching-chong acts. Specifically, I describe how the term

ching chong has become widely recirculated in public spaces as well as how users of this term strategically decontextualize and recontextualize (Bauman and Briggs 1990) ching-chong moments by invoking ideologies of race and language. First, I suggest that YouTube commenters may disagree about the racist potential of the term, but they typically share the assumption that "context matters" in its interpretation, specifically when they invoke ideologies of identity, intention, humor, history, and authenticity. Second, I illustrate how a single instance of ching-chong may lead to numerous (over 1,800) repetitions with trajectories of context that are that are, at once, patterned and unpredictable. Finally, I argue that the treatment of ching-chong as a recognizable, circulatable, decontextualizable, and enregistered (Agha 2003) word, in fact, lends it its potential to serve as an anti-racist tool.

## **Presentations**

### **Strategies of legitimization in discourse: Bush, Obama and the War on Terror**

Antonio Reyes

*University of Mississippi*

From an interdisciplinary framework anchored theoretically in Critical Discourse Analysis and using analytical tools from Systemic Functional Linguistics, this paper explains a crucial use of language in society: the process of legitimization. This paper explains the specific linguistic ways in which language represents an instrument of control (Hodge and Kress 1993:6) and manifests symbolic power (Bourdieu 2001) in discourse and society. This study proposes key strategies of legitimization employed by social actors to justify courses of action. The strategies of legitimization can be employed individually or in combination with others, and justify social practices through (1) emotions (particularly fear), (2) a hypothetical future, (3) rationality, (4) voices of expertise, and (5) altruism.

This study draws from examples of speeches by different ideological leaders, specifically George W. Bush and Barack Obama, in two different armed conflicts, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009), to underline their justifications of military presence in the notorious 'War on Terror'. This paper explores how the power of words is executed in political discourse to justify governmental decisions.

One of the strategies proposed in this study is legitimization through a hypothetical future. Legitimization often occurs through a time frame or time line connecting our past, present, and future. Political actors display the present as a period that requires taking action. These actions are related to a cause (a problem that occurred in the past) and a consequence (which may occur in the future).

In the legitimization process, the future is projected according to the possible actions taken in the present. In this way, the future displays two alternatives depicted in two different ways:

- a) If we do not do what the speaker proposes in the present, the past will repeat itself. Terrorism will spread:
  - "[R]adical Islamic extremists would grow in strength" (Bush, 1/11/2007)
  - "[T]his danger will only grow if al Qaeda can operate with impunity" (Obama 12/1/2009).

b) If we do act according to the speaker's suggestion, we will have security at home and "our children" will enjoy a series of values: peace, freedom, liberty, happiness. This constitutes a "moral evaluation" legitimization by reference to discourses of value (Van Leeuwen 2008: 109-110).

- "And therefore, in the long run, your children and grandchildren are more likely to live in peace with the advent of liberty" (Bush, 1/11/2007).

- "And we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples' children and grandchildren can live in freedom and access opportunity" (Obama, 12/1/2009).

Figure 1: This figure shows the legitimization of arguments through a time line.

PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
9/11/2001 = Origin of our problem	Decision making time: a)Ignore speaker's proposal (do not take action) = b)Act according to the speaker's proposal	a) Insecurity at Home. Spread of terrorism (connected to the past) b) Security at home and abroad. Peace and freedom.
Problem caused by "others"		

Hypothetical future problems are linguistically constructed by the use of conditional structures of the type: "(protasis) If + past -> (apodosis) would + Infinitive without to," i.e., "If we were to fail in Iraq, the enemy would follow us here to America" (Bush, 1/11/2007). This example shows how political actors attempt to achieve political goals by legitimizing actions through a hypothetical future, employing very specific linguistic choices. The future, then, constitutes "an ideologically significant site in which dominant political actors and institutions can exert power and control" (Dunmire 2007:19).

### Variation in Affective Sentence-Final Particle Use and Transcription on Taiwanese Mandarin Television Dramas

Rebecca Starr  
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Affective sentence-final particles (ASPs) in Mandarin Chinese discourse reflect the stances of conversation participants (Chu 2002, Wu 2004, etc.). In the case of Taiwanese Mandarin, in which ASPs are frequent and varied, research has shed light on how certain particles are used in discourse (Wu 2004), but questions remain as to the distribution of ASPs, their stylistic functions, and how their use has changed over time.

Our study draws from a corpus of Taiwanese television dramas to examine real-time changes in ASP use. The language of scripted television has been shown to reflect wider usage, and to influence language change (Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005, Stuart-Smith 2006). Taiwanese dramas are particularly significant, due to the popularity of Taiwanese media and its linguistic influence in other regions (Zhang 2005:437).

The present analysis contrasts three popular dramas: *The Stars Know My Heart* (Xing Xing Zhi Wo Xin) (1983), *Professor Hoe* (Chu Tou Bo Shi) (1989), and *Devil Beside You*

(E Mo Zai Shen Bian) (2005). 510 minutes of footage were analyzed, with 1,161 ASPs coded in total, including *a*, *ya*, *na*, *la*, *o*, *lo*, *ei*, *lei*, and *me*. Sociolinguistic information was also recorded for each major character.

Significant differences were found in the distribution of ASPs between the three dramas: the use of *ei* and *o* have increased over time ( $p < .0001$ ), while the use of *me* has decreased ( $p < .0001$ ). An analysis of subtitle transcription accuracy reveals a parallel pattern, in which *ei* and *o* have become increasingly accurately transcribed, while *me* transcription has decreased in accuracy relative to other ASPs. These phenomena indicate that *ei* and *o* are becoming more accepted into the linguistic mainstream.

Patterns in speakers: ASP use illustrate how ASPs are used to construct character identities. The use of ASPs is associated with immaturity, low education, and warmth, while their absence is associated with sophistication, professionalism, and coldness. These characteristics correlate with certain social groups within the dramas: professional working adults use far fewer ASPs than other groups (teenagers, retirees, working-class adults). Although the use of ASPs is conventionally associated with women (Callier 2007), female characters did not use them more frequently than men in this corpus. The ASP *ei* was found to be used primarily by teenagers in the 2005 program, but not in the older programs, suggesting that it has become a marker of adolescent identity.

This research represents a first step into a broader project of investigating how Taiwan publicly presents its complex linguistic situation for local and non-local consumption, and what influence this has had on Mandarin in Taiwan and elsewhere.

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**Sweetening Public Space:  
Language Ideologies and Emergent Roles of  
Moroccan Arabic in the Media**

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Given a complex multilingual situation in which oral and written varieties of a number of different languages compete and overlap for social, economic and cultural capital, Morocco provides a particularly rich setting for studying the role of language ideologies, beliefs about language structure, nature and use, in emergent forms of language in the media. As in other parts of the Arab world, one of the most striking characteristics of the Moroccan sociolinguistic scene is that two varieties of Arabic, Classical and Colloquial Moroccan, coexists in a diglossic relationship (Haeri 2000). Standard Arabic, though not a mother tongue of any speaker, is the most valued variety of Arabic and is associated with public institutions, religion, education and the media (Ennaji 2005). In contrast, colloquial Moroccan Arabic, a non-written language and the only language in Morocco for which a standard writing system does not exist, is viewed as backward and is associated with oral poetry and informal, everyday contexts. Furthermore, Standard Arabic has traditionally been linked with public, urban, and male domains whereas Moroccan Arabic has been linked to private, rural and female domains (Sadiqi 2008). Recently, however, the apparent naturalness and static quality of these binary relationships have been challenged by new and emergent public forms of Moroccan Arabic in both television and written advertising domains. In 2008, Moroccan audiences got to watch for the first time a foreign soap opera series dubbed directly into Moroccan Arabic and aired on international satellite TV. In 2010, the third largest mobile phone provider in Morocco launched a full scale ad campaign that for the first time in advertising history portrayed written Moroccan Arabic using the Arabic script.

This paper looks at both of these contexts and argues that the choices made about how to represent Moroccan Arabic in these novel oral and written domains are both ideologically grounded and historically contingent. It is suggested that these new media forms are indicative of and contribute to an "ideological elision" that is underway between Moroccan and Standard Arabic in which Moroccan Arabic is increasingly viewed as having adopted many of the positive connotations of Standard Arabic and has become the unmarked mother language in contrast to Berber, the other dominant, primarily unwritten mother language in Morocco (Hoffman 2008). Working from the notion of "language ideologies of differentiation," as referring to language ideologies that "divide spaces, moralities, types of people, activities and linguistic practices into opposed categories" (Gal 2005), this paper discusses how culturally resonant metaphors such as public/private and male/female have become anchored in these two media contexts through the semiotic processes involved in maintaining and renegotiating ideologies, thus forming the taken-for-granted basis for understanding the distinction in the first place. As Moroccan Arabic takes on new roles in these different public domains, these binaries in effect function as shifters by changing their denotation according to the contexts of use resulting in one side of the opposition becoming embedded in the other in a recursive cycle of nesting.

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### **The Use of Personal Pronoun in Political Campaign Advertisements in the Philippines**

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The study investigates the interplay of language, persuasion and culture, as reflected in the usage of pronouns in a political type of discourse such as political campaign advertisements on television. An examination of the linguistic features in a mediated type of discourse may reveal the speakers' strategies in their attempts of persuasion. For example, the first person plural pronouns can be used by politicians in their strategies to gain the people's allegiance, while the use of singular first person pronoun may result in exclusion of some groups. The variances in the use of pronouns can shed light on how participants project themselves and others. In the Tagalog language, the preference for certain pronouns reveal social distance, politeness, or solidarity. To serve as the framework for categorizing the Tagalog pronouns, the study adopts Schacter and Otanes' (1972) categories of personal pronouns; namely, genitive, absolute, and locative. The corpus consists of 60 political campaign ads shown on television for a national senatorial race. The study argues that pronouns are linguistic features that may render uniqueness in a particular type of political discourse that is generally persuasive in nature. Through the analysis of the frequency and usage of personal pronouns in the televised campaign ads, the study provides insights and discussions on the benefits of the agentive role of the pronoun, as well as the role of culture and other speaker motivations in the use of pronouns. Despite the significance of inclusive pronouns such as *tayo* 'we' in persuasive discourse, the study reveals the predominance of first person singular *ko* 'I' in the corpus.

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### **Competing Identities: A Discourse Analysis of Second- and Third-Generation Cretan Immigrants in Turkey**

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After the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, a compulsory population exchange took place between Greece and Turkey. The consequences of this exchange have been studied from different perspectives (Ari, 1995; Hirschon, 2003), yet language has received very little

attention although its constitutive role in identity construction of the members of such immigrant communities has been widely accepted (Baynham and De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2003; Joseph, 2004). This study aims to fill this gap by analyzing some of the ways in which second and third generation Cretans settled in Cunda discursively construct their identities.

The data for this study come from 13-hour recordings of semi-structured interviews with 11 second or third generation immigrants settled in Cunda. In each session, there were two researchers. The interviews took place either at the homes of the participants or in the office of an NGO called Cunda'yi Guzellestirme Dernegi.

The study basically focuses on ethnic identities made relevant and the role interview context plays on identity formation. In our participants' discourse, continuously set up oppositions between the Cretan and Turkish identities are quite frequent. The former is marked by direct references to being Cretan, positive attributes to Cretans and Cretan culture, and idealized representation of Crete. Turkish identity, on the other hand, is set up by establishing historical connections with Anatolia and old Turkish states, claims for being 'good citizens' of Republic of Turkey, and gratefulness to Turkish state for the initiation of the population exchange.

During the interviews, the participants constructed both Cretan and Turkish identities as evoked by the interview context. This might be due to fact that the participants know they are being recorded and being interviewed by researchers who are known to be Turkish and interested in the language Giritçe (Cretan). We have accounts where participants directly present themselves as Cretan without any interviewer or context prompt. Also, we have accounts told by the same participants about their having common historical and cultural background with the old Turkish states which includes a migration to Crete after had been Crete annexed by the Ottoman Empire. However, no records of history mentions Muslim migration to the Island of Crete and there are inaccuracies or inconsistencies in the historical facts presented to construct common historical ties.

The transitions between Cretan and Turkish identities are mostly observed when being Cretan might have implications for not being Turkish. In such contexts participants abruptly position themselves as Turkish and their speech turn into public performance having Turkish audience. In such contexts, "Turkishness" is constructed in opposition to Kurdish people and Cretan identity is presented as a sub- identity. In addition, in the construction of Turkish identity, participants talk about the allegiance to Turkish state and its founding principles in such a way that it echoes the official discourse of the state. The observations we make as an outsider show that in addition to language as a medium, spatial context and the role and existence of the participants do frame constructed identities and the language use.

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## Socializing Yiddish Metalinguistic Community Members through the Construction of Yiddish Source Languages as Resources or Rivals

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This paper examines how instructors and students within contemporary secular Yiddish educational contexts interactionally construct Yiddish source languages (including Hebrew, German, and Slavic languages) as "resources" or "rivals". Through discourse and conversation analysis of Yiddish classrooms, programs, and cultural events in Los Angeles, the Bay Area, and New York, I will argue that instructors' differential embodied stance (Goodwin 2007, DuBois 2007, Jaffe 2009) displays toward lexical and phonological alternatives derived from various source languages are one ongoing practice through which students are socialized into the Yiddish metalinguistic community and by extension an imagined nationhood of the Jewish diaspora.

Yiddish (meaning 'Jewish' in Yiddish), has been spoken by Ashkenazic (Western, Central, and Eastern European) Jews since approximately 1000 C.E. Due to the Holocaust, migration to and assimilation of large numbers of Jews in America and other countries; and the state of Israel's choice of Hebrew over Yiddish or other Jewish languages as the official language of the nation, the number of Yiddish speakers within the secular Jewish community has greatly diminished. On the other hand, at present numerous Orthodox Jewish communities utilize Yiddish as one of their daily languages. Due to all of these reasons, the current state of Yiddish and its metalinguistic community members is characterized by complexity and, at times, contradictions.

This research is part of a larger project that examines heritage language socialization practices that maintain (what I have termed) a "metalinguistic community", a community comprised of positioned social actors engaged in discursive practices about both an "endangered" language and cultural symbols tied to that language (e.g., food, music, theater, family histories). Building upon the notions of speech community (Gumperz 1968, Duranti 1997, Morgan 2004), linguistic community (Silverstein 1998a), local community (Grenoble and Whaley 2006), and discourse community (Watts 1999), "metalinguistic community" provides a theoretical framework for contexts in which participants may feel a strong connection to an (endangered) language but may lack familiarity with the language and its speakers.

Within the Yiddish metalinguistic community, participants are socialized first and foremost into language ideologies. One central practice within this community is the ongoing metalinguistic commentary about the sources of Yiddish vocabulary and grammar. In one example, taken from the second quarter of a first-year Yiddish language course, the teacher is engaged in drawing a detailed family tree for the students. During this discussion, one of the students asks how to say cousin, after which follows a metalinguistic presentation regarding two options for how to say the lexical item, *cuzine* and *shvester kind*.

- 01 St1: question.
- 02 Tea: Yoh.
- 03 St1: How would you say cousin.  
Lines skipped
- 08 Tea: We left that one out. [Cousin.] ((swings right arm)) Okay.
- 09 St2: [Cuzine.]
- 10 Tea: Yeah that?s one easy way I like that one. ((points to student  
11 with left hand))

- 12 All: ((Laughter))  
 13 Tea: Uh [di di ] cuzine=  
 14 St3: [cuzina]  
 15 St4: ?cuzin.  
 16 Tea: =or cuzin. (0.1) Der cuzin di cuzine. (.) ~But, there's another  
 17 way,~ ((scrunches face)) (.) which is in ((brings left hand down))  
 18 standard Yiddish which I hapt- I happen to (.) dislike  
 19 ((shakes head)) very much.  
 20 St1: Hmh  
 21 (0.3) ((Tea takes eraser with left hand, erases something on  
 22 board))  
 23 Tea: But it's there.

At lines 16-19, the instructor engages in an elaborate stance display practice regarding a standard Yiddish word derived from German. Though technically standard Yiddish is what is being taught in this class, the teacher's negative embodied stance towards the standard (and by extension German) communicates a different message. Frequently, teachers' personal experiences with the language are in direct conflict with what is supposed to be taught in class. Teachers may engage in subtle practices that could undermine the acquisition of standard language forms while socializing the students into an appreciation of the Yiddish varieties that came before any "standard" was established by the Yiddish organization YIVO. In contrast to the construction of German-based words as rivals, frequently Hebrew is constructed as a resource upon which students can depend when determining the meaning of words in Yiddish.

This paper provides a unique perspective on one socialization practice within the context of a metalinguistic community constructed around an endangered heritage language. In analyzing source languages' differential construction as resources vs. rivals, I demonstrate how languages themselves can be deployed as objects in the ongoing projects of constructing both past and present communities.

### **Reinforcing Ideologies: The Rhetorical Strategies Utilized by Large-Scale Media and Spanish-Language Media during the Nomination of Justice Sonia Sotomayor**

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Sotomayor is the first Latina to serve as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Her success has brought attention to the Latino population in the United States. When her nomination was announced, not only did the large-scale media networks contribute to the on-going political discourse but so did the Spanish networks. The Spanish media, specifically Univision and Telemundo, have also reported her nomination in a way that polarizes thus formulates independent perceptions of the political world. Therefore, both large-scale and Spanish media suggest the notion that the world of politics is like a spectator sport. By suggesting that the world of politics is like a spectator sport, the media also suggest that reporting the news is somewhat handled like a game. Thus, implying that there are strategic moves to make when reporting the news. Alongside, while playing the "game" or reporting on the political world, the media actually reinforce underpinned ideological premises.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the independent formulations of the political world presented by both the large-scale media systems and the Spanish media. In addition, this paper will explore the implications suggested by the sport metaphor. A comparative content analysis geared to explore rhetorical strategies employed by both large-scale media systems and Spanish media entities will be presented. The reason why the focus is on both of these media entities is the topic. Given that Sotomayor is the first Latina to reach this level of political success, the Spanish media have certainly embraced this differently than large-scale media systems (i.e. English media). How do the Spanish news report her nomination? That is, how does this compare to the reports presented by CNN, MSNBC, and FOX News? It seems as if the sport metaphor greatly applies to the methods employed by both large-scale media systems and Spanish media when reporting Sotomayor's nomination.

This essay will attempt to answer these questions and further explain the implications of the rhetorical strategies utilized by the media. First, this paper will present literature to date that encapsulates the intersections of rhetorical strategies and ideology. Second, a comparative content analysis will shed light on the rhetorical strategies employed by the media. Finally, this essay will conclude with a discussion on the meta-level issues suggested by these rhetorical strategies.

Louis Althusser proposes that the work of ideology is to reproduce the relations of production. Althusser describes people as the forces of production. Relations of production refer to the political superstructure of the field, where people establish their relationship to the modes of production. In other words, people maintain the modes of production by interacting with dominant ideological structures. In addition, Althusser claims that the ways in which ideology is materialized is through what he calls the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 207). He defines Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) as, "A certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions" (Althusser, 207). For example, ISAs are institutions such as Universities, Schools, the Family, Churches, Political Parties, various Media, Unions and Culture (Althusser, 208). In essence, Ideological State Apparatuses function by ideology. For example, the clashing of interests, opinions and values within political parties, churches or schools all derive from the idea of clashing ideologies. That is, the reason why we have conflict and disagreement among representatives of opposing political parties is because their structures or doctrines are motivated by ideology.

By portraying the world of politics as a spectator sport and promoting the idea of the "American Dream," the media reinforce the dominant ideology. According to Wilson II et al., the media serve five functions in society. One function speaks to the heart of this essay. Transmission is defined as, "the socialization function of the media, in which the media define the society, its norms and values, to the audience and through their portrayals and coverage assist members of the society in adopting, using and acting on those values" (Wilson II et al., 40). For the English speaking audience, the large-scale media systems define the norms and values through their polarized portrayals of political issues. The Spanish-language media encourage members of the Latino population to embrace academic success, thus assisting members of society to adopt the norms and values defined by them. The media successfully reinforce the dominant ideology because, as Stuart Hall states, "ideologies are most effective when we are not aware that how we formulate and construct a statement about the world is underpinned by ideological premises" (32). The media have sustained dominant ideologies for long periods, therefore establishing the norms and standards as normative and taken-for granted. Furthermore, this ideological normativity makes it challenging for audiences to become aware of the underpinned ideological premises.