Motivation for Code-switching in the Chinese Christian Church in the United States

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1. Introduction

Although Christianity is not regarded as a part of Chinese culture and traditional ideology, a large number of Chinese immigrants adopt a Christian faith after they come to the United States. Among these immigrants are undergraduate and graduate students, visiting scholars, professionals, and the spouses and parents of these groups of people. These Chinese people come from various areas, but mostly from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and other Southeast Asian countries. Other immigrants arrive in the US as Christians. Many Chinese Christians attend Chinese ethnic Christian churches (henceforth, "Chinese churches"). They attend Sunday services, Sunday school, Bible discussion groups, and many other types of gatherings. In fact, Christians comprise a notable portion of the Chinese population in the US, as Yang (1998:240) notes:

> The increase of new Chinese immigrants since the 1960s sparked a period of rapid growth in the number of Chinese churches in America. By 1994 they had increased to 700 (AFC 1994). Some survey data suggest that as many as 32 percent of Chinese in the US today are Christians (Hurh and Kim, 1990:20; Dart, 1997). This high rate is unprecedented in the history of the Chinese in diasporas as well as in China.

Church activities are conducted predominantly in one or two of the major Chinese languages, depending on which is the most common language in a given church community. Mandarin, Cantonese, and Taiwanese are the most commonly-used languages among church staff (e.g. pastors, deacons, Sunday school teachers, etc.), as well as among the laity in the Chinese church.

Although the dominant language in the Chinese church is Chinese, code-switching from Chinese to English is often observed among bilingual Chinese Christians in church settings. That is to say, such code-switching is a type of endo-bilingual interaction as defined by Lüdi (1987, cf. Winford, 2003:102), involving Chinese-English bilingual speakers who are native in one or more Chinese languages and proficient in English.

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Code-switching is defined by Thomason (2001:132) as "the use of materials from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation." She further divides the cover term code-switching into two categories; *code-switching* (in a narrow sense, which equates to inter-sentential switching and "is switching from one language to another at a sentence boundary") and *code-mixing* (which equates to intra-sentential switching and happens "within a single sentence"). Her definitions seem to exclude the phenomenon of switching codes on the discourse level, which happens beyond a single turn of communication and is defined by Myers-Scotton (1997) as *code alternation*.

Winford (2003: 103) provides a more inclusive definition of code-switching as "cases where bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event, switch codes within a single turn, or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance." "Alternation between codes within the same speech event", "switching codes within a single turn", and "mixing elements from two codes within the same utterance" correlate roughly to *code alternation*, *code-switching*, and *code-mixing*, respectively.

With regard to the motivation behind the phenomenon of code-switching, the ascertainment of which is a crucial pursuit of sociolinguistics, Auer (1995:124, cf. Winford, 2003:103) distinguishes four patterns of code-switching. Pattern I ("discourse-related switching") and Pattern II ("preference-related switching") correlate to *code alternation*. In Pattern III, the switching of codes is an "unmarked choice", and the matrix language (ML) is not clear. Pattern IV, by comparison, shows one language as the ML in which words or phrases from the other language are inserted. These latter two patterns echo either the concept of inter-sentential *code-switching* or that of intra-sentential *code-mixing*, depending on whether the ML is clearly detectable. Table 1 concludes the approximate relationship among these terms.

Table 1. Concepts under the general term "code-switching"

	Category	Definition in Winford (2003)	Auer's (1995) Pattern
1	*Code alternation*	Alternation between codes within the same speech event	I and II
2	a.*Code switching*	Switching codes within a single turn (inter-sentential)	III (ML is unclear); IV (ML is clear)
	b.*Code mixing*	Mixing elements from two codes within the same utterance (intra-sentential)	

Few studies have been conducted on the topic of code-switching in a church-related context. Shin (2010) explores the functions of Korean-English bilingual children's code-switching in a Korean Sunday school in Los Angeles through an analysis of code-switching data collected through audio recordings and interviews. He identifies situation-related code-switching by analyzing subjects' speech and specific situations which elicit the use of Korean. Shin shows that Korean is used in particular conversational acts and proposes that in the Korean church context, "the use of Korean in bilingual discourse may index Korean ethnic identity by evoking the traditional social ideology of relative status and increasing solidarity." (pp.91)

Another study was conducted by Albakry and Ofori (2011). They investigate code-switching between English and indigenous languages at Sunday services and in informal social interactions by believers in some Catholic churches in Accra, Ghana. Using data collected through the participant observation method, the authors find that English

dominates church activities in urban Accra, and is used extensively in combination with local languages. The authors argue that social settings, communicative purposes, linguistic abilities, and social relationships all influence the churchgoers' linguistic choices according to the communicative demands of the occasion. In the formal context of church services, Standard English tends to be used exclusively. In less formal church settings however, language alternation and the switching/mixing of English with local languages are widely observed.

The present study may be the first research effort to study Chinese-English code-switching phenomena in a church-related context in the United States. In this paper I investigate the motivation for code-switching in the Chinese church. The term code-switching is used here in a general sense, despite the fact that the main type of switching, as we will see later, is intra-sentential code-mixing, and inter-sentential code-switching is also seen(both terms used as defined by Thomason 2001). In Auer (1995)'s terminology, both belong to Pattern IV for the reason that the ML is without doubt Chinese.

2. Methodology

This research project began with a pilot study. I collected data by recoding conversations and discussions through the "participant observation" method (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). Over the course of a month, I observed and recorded more than four hours of Bible discussions among Chinese Christians. During the same period I observed Sunday services in a local Chinese church. Many cases of code-switching were identified; however, it was very difficult to identify relationships between code-switching and social factors like gender, education, dialect background, etc. Despite this vagueness, an empirical impression through preliminary observation was that code-switching in the Chinese church is most likely associated with the style of speech, with a more casual style containing more code-switching and a more formal style containing less code-switching. The aim of the remainder of this paper is to test this hypothesis.

The follow-up study, which comprises the main body of this paper, consists of two parts: video analysis and interview. The first part is video analysis. The site of this study is G Chinese Christian church (a pseudonym), located a major city in the Western United States. The church has posted many videos of both sermons and Sunday school discussions from the past seven years on its website, and all of these resources are accessible to the public. I investigated code-switching in the sermons alongside code-switching in the Sunday school discussions, with the sermon representing a more formal and serious context and the Sunday school discussions being more casual and relaxed.

To compare the two, I counted the occurrence of code-switching in both situations. To better control potential variables such as interpersonal differences and diachronic change, I focused on only one G church pastor. This pastor, Pastor Y (a pseudonym), is also a Sunday school teacher at the same church. I only studied in juxtaposition his sermons and Sunday school teachings from October to December 2008. I examined some cases of code-switching in the sermons and Sunday school discussions through discourse analysis.

The second part of this study is an in-depth thirty-two-minute-long telephone interview with Pastor Y.[1] Given my observations and interpretations from the video analysis, I directly asked Pastor Y for his own opinion on code-switching, mainly his explanation of his motivations for using or not using code-switching, as well as his attitude towards these linguistic behaviors. The purpose of the interview is to compare the pastor's (insider's) interpretation with my interpretations from an observer's (outsider's) perspective. With Pastor Y's consent, I recorded the entire interview. In later discussions in this paper, either rephrasing or direct quotation, depending on necessity, is provided to demonstrate Pastor Y's opinion. Since the interview was originally conducted in Mandarin Chinese, I also translated his words into English.

3. Video analysis

I compared three of Pastor Y's sermons with two of his Sunday school teachings in autumn 2008. The three sermons are: "The Meaning of Offerings" (奉獻的真意 *Fengxian de zhenyi*, October 5), "The Reward of Offerings" (奉獻的獎賞 F*engxian de jiangshang*, October 12), and "Dislocated Heart" (錯置的心靈 *Cuozhi de xinling*, October 26). The two Sunday school teachings are: "Genesis 2" (創世紀 2 *Chuangshi Ji 2*, December 14) and "Genesis 3" (創世紀 3 *Chuangshi Ji 3* December 28). The frequency of code-switching in each video file is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of code-switching in Pastor Y's sermons and Sunday school teachings

Category	Title	Length	Code-switching cases
Sermon	The Meaning of Offerings	36:13	1
	The Reward of Offerings	37:17	1
	Dislocated Heart	36:33	1
Sunday school teaching	Genesis 2	1:05:40	>37
	Genesis 3	1:13:15	> 18

The most noteworthy phenomenon is that in these three Sunday sermons, about 1 hour 50 minutes long in total, only three cases of code-switching are found. The first one is a translation of the sermon title into English ("Dislocated Heart"); the second one is a proper noun (SARS [Severe acute respiratory syndrome]); and the last one is "kid's corner" (a special classroom which typically does not exist in Chinese elementary schools).

In marked contrast, in the Sunday school teaching videos, during the total 2 hours and 19 minutes, there are no less than 55 cases of code-switching from Chinese to English, including both inter- and intra-clausal switching. In counting the cases, I did not count code-switching for the same words multiple times. For instance, "somehow" is used twice in "Genesis 2" and twice in "Genesis 3", but is only counted as one case. Below are some code-switching examples from the Sunday school classes. In order, I provide the original sentence transcribed in Chinese characters, then in *Pinyin* (standard romanized Chinese), then a word-by-word translation, and finally a complete English translation. Underlined words denote code-switching from Chinese to English.

[1] Although his real name is not given in this paper, I would like to express my deep gratitude towards Pastor Y. Without his kindness and patience in answering my questions during the interview, this paper may not have been possible.

(1) 這是個 good question, 但是我没有 answer, 啊, 没有 answer.
Zhè shì ge good question, dàn shì wǒ méi yǒu answer, a, méi yǒu answer.
This COP MW good question, but I not-have answer, yeah? not-have answer[2]
"This is a good question; but I don't have an answer, right? I don't have an answer."

Example 1 is a case of intra-sentential code-switching (or *code-mixing*). This case is from "Genesis 3", approximately 0:19:45. Pastor Y is making a comment about a question raised by one of the adult students during the discussion. He comments that it was a good question, but he does not have an answer to it. The teacher continues smiling, and sporadic giggles are heard among the students. The entire atmosphere is relatively relaxed.

(2) 你只要做好, 你可以變成神—no way, [pause] 不可能的事情.
Nǐ zhǐ yào zuò hǎo, nǐ kě yǐ biàn chéng shén—no way,bù kě néng de shì qing
You only need do well, you can change as God—no way, not possible DE thing
"If (as long as) you live right, you can be God—no way, it is impossible."

Example 2 is a case of inter-sentential code-switching. This case is taken from "Genesis 2", approximately 0:43:00. Pastor Y is explaining the difference between the Creator and the created, that there is no way for human beings to become God. He raises his voice slightly when he says "no way", and then there is a short pause. He uses both strategies to attract the audience's attention and convey the serious nature of his statement.

(3) 我不曉得神有没有什麽特别的一個…一個 boundary, I…I don't know.
Wǒ bù xiǎo de Shén yǒu méi yǒu shén me tè bié de yí gè…yí gè boundary, I… I don't know.
I not know God have-not-have what special DE one MW…one MW boundary, I… I don't know
"I am not sure if God sets any special boundary (for the Garden). I…I don't know."
[gesturing, pantomiming a box in the air with both hands]

Example 3 is a combination of intra- and inter-sentential code-switching, with the insertion of the word *boundary* as an intra-sentential type of code-switching and the use of the phrase *I don't know* as an inter-sentential code-switching. This case is taken from "Genesis 3", approximately 0:40:30. Pastor Y is responding to a question raised by one of his students about the boundary of the Garden of Eden. He is explaining his uncertainty regarding the existence of a boundary for the garden. Before he says the English word *boundary*, he hesitates briefly, seeming to search for this word in his brain. In the meantime, he gestures with both his hands, attempting to convey the concept of a box.

Another phenomenon that bears mentioning is the repetition of the same word or phrase after code-switching. In his Sunday school teachings, Pastor Yang switches to English several times. After saying a word or a phrase in English, he immediately proceeds to say the same word or phrase again in Chinese. Example 4 illustrates such a phenomenon. This is a sentence excerpted from "Genesis 2", approximately 0:36:35.

[2] Abbreviations: COP-copular; MW-measure word; DE-prenominal modification marker *de* 的.

(4) 這個其實都是 imply, 暗示著, 啊……三位一體的這種講法.
Zhè ge qí shí dōu shì imply, àn shì zhe, a..... Sān wèi yī tǐ de zhè zhǒng jiǎng fǎ.
This MW actually all COP imply, imply-ING, hmm…… Three-person-one-body DE this kind explanation.
"These actually all imply the explanation of the Trinity."
[pause, flipping his lecture notes]

Based on the video analyses, my preliminary proposal is that the differing speech styles expected to be used in different situations should account for the code-switching occurrence frequency difference. Sermons and Sunday worship services, on the one hand, are more formal, with religious rituals and larger numbers of attendees. The attendees usually do not know each other well, and there is no direct communication between the person giving the sermon and the audience. The Sunday services are held in a large room (usually in an auditorium), and sermons are focused on specific and detailed topics. Sunday school, on the other hand, provides a much more casual atmosphere. Far fewer people are gathered together, and the teaching and discussion take place in a smaller room (usually a classroom). The topics of discussion are more spontaneous, more general, and constantly changing. In addition, the relationship among attendees is closer, both between teacher and students as well as among the students. Many interactions take place, including questions and answers, and even jokes and laughter can be heard.

Blom and Gumperz (1972), based on their analysis of code-switching in a Norwegian city, argue that speakers are conscious of and able to take initiative to make choices regarding language use. Their language choice is constantly adjusted with changes in location, social relationship, and/or topic. Specific language choice helps bilingual speakers construct specific identities for themselves. Blom and Gumperz distinguish between situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching. Despite the weakness in justifying the juxtaposition of metaphorical code-switching with situational code-switching (the former can arguably be defined as a kind of the latter), their study makes it clear that language choice is not only decided by language background, but is also determined by social network.

For Pastor Y, there are at least two groups of people in his church network: one in the Sunday service, and the other in Sunday school. Therefore, I propose that Pastor Y's code-switching in the G church which represents a more casual, natural, informal, spontaneous, easy-going, everyday manner of speech, is attached to his social network of Sunday school attendees. The motivation is for the pastor to either construct a certain identity for himself, to elicit a specific reaction from the audience, or to exert a particular influence on the audience. This proposal is tested by the interview with Pastor Y in the subsequent section.

4. Interview

According to Pastor Y's feedback, it is natural for him to switch to English when speaking Chinese. This is the case both in teaching Sunday school and in many other everyday life situations. While both he and his wife are from a Mandarin Chinese-speaking community in East Asia, they have lived in the United Stated for over thirty years, and Pastor Y has been working as a pastor in Chinese churches for more than twenty years. They speak to each other in Mandarin Chinese but predominantly use

English when addressing their children at home. Even in the G church, the working language among church staff is English. All these factors contribute to Pastor Y's fluency in English, both in daily life and as a working language. It has been his habit to use English. He also notices that other pastors and staff members at G church, as long as they are Chinese-English bilingual, also use code-switching when speaking Chinese in everyday life.

Pastor Y even finds that sometimes it is not clear how to translate some expressions into Chinese. That is to say, some concepts, words, or phrases are probably stored in his lexicon primarily in an English phonological shape. Therefore, these concepts, words, and phrases, therefore, could have a natural output in English even in an otherwise Chinese sentence. This may be the reason for code-switching. Another reason Pastor Y feels comfortable switching to English when teaching Sunday school is that people around him all do this. I translate his comments on this subject below:

> *"About Sunday school—it is more relaxed, since in Sunday school there are usually two-way interactions and discussions. So, ……, (I) don't pay too much attention (to my speech), and (I am) relatively relaxed. That is how English comes out—because in daily life (we also) use English…… Chinese living here (in the US) basically all do this. That is, (they will) all say "(this is my) point", "anyway"—(they'll) all say things like these…… When talking to each other, all (Chinese) people use English (when speaking Chinese). Therefore when I answer questions (in Sunday school) I will also use English, inserting English into Chinese. Since (Chinese) people all interact in this way, this (code-switching) happens a lot (in my Sunday school teaching)."*[3]

On the other hand, Pastor Y makes a conscious choice to not use English in sermons on Sundays. To illustrate this, he introduces in detail the demographic structure of the G church in terms of population, age, occupations, people's English proficiency levels, and spiritual maturity. In the Mandarin Chinese congregation[4], over 400 people regularly attend Sunday services. The majority are professionals, who are generally proficient in English, but there are also some olds, often the parents of the professionals, who barely understand English. Others who experience difficulties with English include spouses of the professionals, Chinese restaurant workers, and some illegal immigrants. In total, the number of people who cannot use English in daily communication is roughly 150, approximately one third of the Mandarin Chinese congregation. When I confirmed with him if choosing not to use English when speaking to these groups is related to their low English proficiency, Pastor Y gave me a strongly positive answer:

> *"Oh ya ya (choosing not to use English and the audience's English skill level are) absolutely related. For instance, I also (teach) at our so-called Elders' Fellowship, or Evergreen Fellowship. Every week I teach there too. But in teaching I do not use English at all. This is because I……I am very careful, since*

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[3] "主日學呢, 就比較放鬆, 因為主日學常常有一些的雙向交流、討論. 所以呢, ... , 就不是那麼的在意, 比較放鬆. 那樣就會講出英文出來, 因為平常的講話當中也會講英文..... 在這邊生活的中國人基本上也都是這樣, 就是會用像 Point 啊, anyway 啊, 都會講這些東西..... 在互相講話的時候大家都會帶英文, 所以我回答的時候也會帶英文, 中文帶英文. 因為大家都是這樣子互動, 所以就比較常發生."

[4] There are also Cantonese and English congregations.

English for them—they are not able to understand (it). As a result, I am very careful not to use English."[5]

Pastor Y concluded by saying that he consciously restrains himself from switching to English when preaching in Chinese on Sundays. He does this to meet the needs of the members of the church community who lack proficiency or are less proficient in English.

It is especially important that Pastor Y mentioned his weekly teaching in the elders' fellowship, which is approximately a same context as the Sunday school setting: Informal Bible teaching in a smaller room to a comparatively small group of people (as compared to Sunday services) who know each other relatively well. This being the case, location, social relationship, and topic—all three elements which Blom and Gumperz (1972) argue as determining situational code-switching—are mostly the same in both the elders' fellowship and Sunday school. However, while in Sunday school Pastor Y frequently uses code-switching, he does not switch from Chinese to English at all when teaching at the elders' fellowship. His language choices in this latter situation are identical to those he uses in Sunday services, where both the location and the social relationship are different. This three-way relationship is shown in Figure 3. Note that "formality" is used in a very general sense, loosely indicating how formal/serious or casual/relaxed the atmosphere of an event is. For instance, a "Sunday school-like" event has low formality, while a "sermon-like" event has high formality.

Figure3. Pastor Y's code-switching in three G church activities

	Sunday school	Elder's fellowship	Sermon
Formality	Low		High
Code-switching	Yes	No	

This suggests that Blom and Gumperz's (1972) framework, which satisfactorily explains bilinguals' language choice, is insufficient in interpreting a bilingual's (in this paper, Pastor Y's) linguistic behavior while addressing monolinguals (the elders who know only Chinese). In the same way, it appears my hypothesis that Pastor Y's code-switching is motivated by concerns for style and identity construction does not hold. At least, the hypothesis is contradictory to Pastor Y's own interpretation.

Giles and Ogay's (2007) Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) sheds much light on the motivations for using code-switching amply in Sunday school teaching and yet rarely in sermons and elders' fellowship gatherings. The key conception of CAT is that interlocutors mutually adjust their speech and other forms of verbal/non-verbal communication to accommodate their conversation partners. There are two major mechanisms, namely, convergence and divergence, with the former as the strategy adjusting toward the other party's speech and the latter as the strategy shifting away from the other party's speech. In Pastor Y's case, he obviously converges with his audience both in sermons and in teaching the elders' fellowship. In the interview he mentions multiple times that the elders, as well as some other groups of churchgoers (e.g. Chinese restaurant workers), are not able to communicate in English. To accommodate these

[5] "噢 yaya 非常有關係! 譬如說, 我也在我們所謂的長輩團契, 也就是常青團契, 我每個禮拜也教課. 但是在教課當中我完全不用英文. 因為我..... 我很注意, 因為講英文對他們來講, 他們沒辦法瞭解. 所以, 我就很注意不用英文."

monolingual groups, he consciously shifts from code-switching, which is his normal way of speaking, to using Chinese only.

This convergence is independent of the formality or informality of the situation. Regardless of the location, topic, or social relationship with his audience, as long as the audience lacks sufficient English skills, Pastor Y will use Chinese without switching to English. Considering that roughly a third of Sunday service attendees belong to groups with low English levels and the elders' fellowship by definition consists of elderly individuals, it is understandable that only Chinese is used in both settings. Particularly worth noting, again, is the word *restrain (himself from using English)*, which Pastor Y uses in the interview. This is strong evidence that his code choice in sermons is not only conscious, but also with a clear intention.

CAT explains well Pastor Y's convergence towards the audience in sermons and elders' fellowship gatherings, and in the same way, this theory also provides an explanation for his convergence towards his English-Chinese bilingual audience in Sunday school. Recall that in the interview, as I directly quoted earlier, Pastor Y says that *in speaking of the Sunday school, it is more relaxed, since in Sunday school there are usually two-way interactions and discussions….. When talking to each other, all (Chinese) people use English (when speaking Chinese). Therefore when [he] answers questions (in Sunday school) [he] will also use English, inserting English into Chinese. Since (Chinese) people all interact in this way, this (code-switching) happens a lot (in [his] Sunday school teaching)*. Although one cannot claim that CAT is the decisive reason for code-switching in Sunday school teaching since switching from Chinese to English is Pastor Y's natural and *habitual* way of speaking, it would be reasonable to infer that CAT at least facilitates code-switching on the basis of his default way of speaking, for the reason that his interlocutors in Sunday school all speak with code-switching.

5. Conclusion

This paper studies the motivation for code-switching from Chinese to English in the Chinese Christian church in the United States. As a case study, this paper examines online videos of sermons and Sunday school teachings given by the same pastor. On a micro-level, in terms of individual linguistic behavior, this paper employs Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and argues that the motivation for code-switching is for the pastor to accommodate the audience's speech. In particular, when the audience is not proficient in English, the pastor only speaks Chinese most of the time, regardless the formality of the context; in contrast, he switches to English frequently when most of the audience is bilingual. It is important to note that in the pastor's case, code-switching is the default, and non-code-switching is marked. In such a case then, the question "Why not code-switching?" deserves more attention than "Why code-switching?"

On a macro-level, in terms of social structure and the social function of code-switching, this paper reiterates the classic notion that language as a code system conveys literal meanings. Nowadays, many sociolinguistic studies focus on the indexical functions of language, by which the speaker consciously and actively constructs his or her own identity within a certain social network. This beyond doubt is a valuable method of research. At the same time however, one must not forget the very basic function of language, viz. enabling people to communicate verbally. If verbal communication is unavailable in the first place (unless the said unavailability is deliberate), investigations of

concepts such as "style" and "personae" may lack practical foundations. In this paper, for instance, my hypothesis is that the motivation of code-switching is concerned with style and the building-up of identity. It is later rejected by the simple truth that if the pastor employs code-switching in some circumstances (for example, in sermons), he may fail to convey his literal meaning in the first place. The necessity of executing communication is primary to elaborating the communication. Without noting this, an analysis of style might still be theoretically reasonable; yet it is simply not in accordance with fact.

A final remark is that the methods of data collection used in this paper have both advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is in studying existent online videos, a method in which observers are not physically involved with, nor bring any interruption to the communication that he or she observes.[6] This type of observation at a distance can effectively avoid influence, if there would be any, on the observed community. At the same time however, this method presents disadvantages as well. Only able to see what the camera captures and presents, there is a substantial chance that the observer would miss much important information that would otherwise aid his or her analysis of the communication context. The incorrect hypothesis in this paper is largely the result of lack of information about the demographic structure of the G church, especially the linguistic backgrounds of the congregation. If this piece of information were known to me before the interview was conducted, it is very possible that my hypothesis would have been different. This, then, is the reason why the interview with Pastor Y is included and comprises a critical part of this study. It is only after comparing my (the outsider's) observation with the pastor's (the insider's) interpretation that the explanation of the motivations for code-switching and non-code-switching in the Chinese church become clear.

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[6] It bears mentioning again that the G church records its sermons and Sunday school teachings nearly every week, at least for the past seven years. It would be reasonable to assume then that the pastors and churchgoers there are fairly accustomed to the presence of the camera. Therefore, we should be able to assume that their communication represents a spontaneous (normal and unpretentious) type of speech.

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Azeri Morphosyntactic Variation: The Effect of Persian on NP Structures

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1. Introduction

Iran is a diverse country, with people of many religious and ethnic backgrounds who speak different languages as their first language. Persian is the dominant language and native speakers of Persian often do not learn a minority language. However, most speakers of minority languages in Iran also speak Persian to some degree. Persian serves as a lingua franca in Iran, and most publications and mass media are in this language. There is only limited publication or broadcasting programs in the other relatively popular languages of Iran, such as Azeri and Kurdish. In some societies, people use one language in their families, local communities, and work, but another language for education and official business. This is the situation in Iran: the only official language of Iran is Persian, and it is the only language used for education, including in Azeri-speaking areas. Many educated Azeris are totally fluent in both Azeri and Persian. Equally comfortable in both languages, bilingual speakers often engage in code-mixing when speaking to each other.

Azeri is classified as a Turkic language. There are two main varieties of the language can be recognized based on different cultural and linguistic regions. One variety, which is spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan, is called Azerbaijani and the other variety, which is spoken in Iran, is called Iranian Azeri or Azeri. This study focuses on the Azeri language as it is spoken in Iran. Azeri is a Turkic language, but it is strongly influenced by Persian, an Indo-European language. Azeri, with approximately 15–20 million speakers, has more speakers than any other non-Persian language in Iran (Crystal 2010). Most Azeri speakers inhabit the four provinces in the northwestern part of Iran. Each province has its own dialect—the Ardabil dialect in Ardabil province, the Tabriz dialect in East Azerbaijan province, the Urmia dialect in West Azerbaijan province and the Zanjan dialect in Zanjan province. The dialects are mutually intelligible, although they are distinguished by phonological and lexical criteria (Dehghani 2000). I am a native speaker of Azeri, born and raised in Tabriz, capital of East Azerbaijan province in northwestern Iran.

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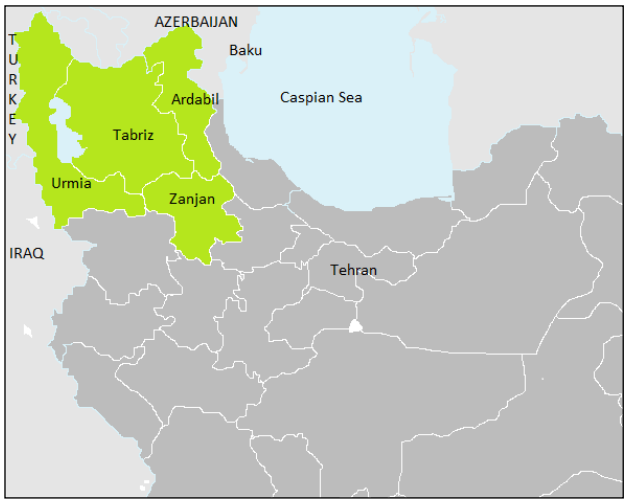
Image 1. Map of Azeri-speaking areas in Iran[1]



Given the dominance of Persian, and the long period of intensive contact, Azeri speakers differ in their fluency in Persian, ranging from monolinguals to fully functional bilinguals. People from the older generation who have little or no education are not able to read, write or speak Persian fluently. However, those who have higher education, which includes most of the younger generation, can read, write and speak Persian fluently. The reason is that they have been in contact with Persian for many years, they read academic publications in Persian, and of course, many of the educated people need to write academic texts.

Borrowing is not limited to lexical items. Myers-Scotton (1993) states that when two languages that are not genetically related share a geographical location, and there is a high degree of bilingualism or multilingualism, grammatical features of the dominant language may be adopted by the minority language. Since, Persian is the only official language in Iran it has political and cultural dominance over Azeri. This is exactly the sort of situation where one would expect the structure of a language to be influenced by another language, even if it is typologically dissimilar. Erfani (2012) explored this issue for a variety of morphosyntactic constructions in Azeri and found that several show signs of persification.

The main objective of this paper is to examine patterns of language variation among Azeri speakers in their use of relative clauses and compound nouns in order to determine the degree of influence of Persian on Azeri structure. To do this, I designed a study to investigate Azeri relative clause and compound noun constructions, collecting data from a variety of Azeri speakers. Section 2 gives an introduction to relative clauses in Azeri followed by an introduction to noun compounding in Azeri in section 3, as compared to Turkish and Persian. Section 4 describes the field study detailing the methodology. Section 5 analyses the relative clause and compound noun data and discusses the results in terms of two sociolinguistic factors—the age and level of education of the speaker. Finally, section 6 summarizes the results of this study and discusses what it reveals for the

[1] This map, retrieved November 1, 2012, is constructed using the map template from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blank-Map-Iran-With-Water-Bodies.PNG

future of the Azeri language.

2. Relative Clauses

Typological studies investigating relative clauses have established that there is a strong correlation between the basic word order in a language and the position of the relative clause in relation to the head noun (Downing, 1978; Keenan 1985). Relative clauses are categorized typologically with respect to the position of the head noun; pre-nominal RCs precede the head and post-nominal RCs following the head.
There are several ways of forming pre-nominal RCs two most common ways involve the relativizer suffixes *–(y)An* or *–dIK*, which are suffixed to a non-finite verb:[2]

(2) [(män-Ø) sän-ä Øi göstär-an] äksi
[(I-nom) you-dat show-rel] picture
'the picture that i showed you'

(3) [(män-(im)) sän-ä Øi göstär-dığ-ım] äksi
[I-(gen) you-dat show-rel-poss.1sg] picture
'the picture that I showed you'

Pre-nominal RCs are typical in Turkic languages. As in Azeri, the two most common ways involve the relativizer suffixes *–(y)An* or *–DIK* (Kornfilt 1997; Göksel and Kerslake 2005; Göksel 2009).

(4) [sırt-ın-da çanta ol-an] kız
[back-poss.3sg-loc bag be-rel] girl
'the girl who has a bag on her back'

(5) [Ankara-da gör-düğ-üm] bayan
[Ankara-loc see-rel-poss.1sg] lady
'the lady whom I saw in Ankara'

In addition to pre-nominal RCs, Azeri also has post-nominal RCs, presumably arising due to the influence of Persian. In this RC structure, the RC is introduced by the complementizer *ki* 'that' which is a borrowed from Persian *ke* 'that', and connects the head noun to the relative clause. In this structure, which is simpler than the pre-nominal RC structure, the relative clause takes a finite verb without any inflection for case or verbal agreement.

(6) o oğlani [ki Øi qısa şalvar gey-ib-dir]
that boy [comp short pants wear-pf.3sg]
'the boy who is wearing the short pants' (Participant 6: 2012)

(7) o adam-lar [ki türki kitab-lar-ı oxu-yar-lar]
that person-pl [comp Turkish book-pl-acc read-aor-pl]
'those people who read Turkish books' (Participant 4: 2012)

[2] The relativizers *–(y)An* and *–dIK* are the most common relativizers. There are two more relativizers *–mIş* and *–(y)AcAk*, which are used rarely in Azeri.

Persian has head-initial typology. Persian relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ke* 'that' and follow the head noun:

(8) ân doxtar [ke gol dâr-ad]
that girl [comp flower has-pres.3sg]
'the girl who has a flower'

3. Noun Compounding

Compounding, which is probably the most common morphological process cross-linguistically, can be defined as a lexical item consisting of two or more words used for generic rather than referential function, e.g. English garbage man or popcorn (Fabb 1998: 66). Azeri compound nouns come in two forms: one can be regarded as the native Turkic variant and the other variant is borrowed from Persian. Thus noun compounding can serve as a measure of Persian influence on Azeri. Native Azeri has right-headed noun-noun and adjective-noun compounding:

(9) märmär daş
marble stone
'marble stone' (Participant 3: 2012)

(10) böyük -maman
big mother (Participant 10: 2012)
'grandmother'

The above compounds are bare, but for noun-noun compounds, it is more common to use the linker *–(s)I*.

(11) Isfahlan känd -i
Isfahlan village -lnk
'Isfahlan village' (Participant 2: 2012)

(12) lobya kükü -si
bean omelet -lnk
'green bean omelet' (Participant 5: 2012)

Right-headed compound structures are typical in Turkic languages. As in Azeri, the most productive and frequently used compounds in Turkish are noun-noun and adjective-noun (Kornfilt 1997; Göksel and Kerslake 2005; Göksel 2009; Ralli and Bağrıaçık 2011; among others).

(13) ipek çorap
silk sock
'silk sock'

(14) böyük -anne
big -mother
'grandmother'

Noun-noun compounding can also be formed with an *–(s)I* suffix, as in:

(15) para çanta -sı
money bag -lnk
'purse'

(16) İngiliz edebiyat -ı
English literature -lnk
'English literature'

Persian also has bare noun-noun and noun-adjective compounds:

(17) âb -havij
water -carrot
'carrot juice'

(18) pedar -bozorg
father -big
'grandfather'

The above examples are left-headed, which is considered the default order of compounds in Persian (Kalbasi 1992; Shariat 2005; Anvari and Ahmadi-Givi 2006; Mahoozi 2006; Vahidian-Kamyar and Omrani 2006; Foroodi-Nejad and Paradis 2009), though right-headed compounds also occur.

(19) noxost -vazir
first -minister
'prime minister'

Another way of forming compounds in Persian is by means of the Ezafe construction.[3] The head noun is suffixed with the Ezafe *–(y)e* (the glide *-y-* occurs after vowels).

(20) daryâ -ye xazar
sea -ez Caspian
'Caspian sea'

(21) miz -e utu
table -ez iron
'ironing table'

Such compounds are left-headed. Persian is a language that has variable head positions in noun compound structures. Azeri speakers also frequently use the left-headed Ezafe construction:

(22) müdir -i mädräsä
director -ez school
'the school director' (Participant 3: 2012)

[3] In Persian, the Ezafe construction with a vowel *-e* occurs with various kinds of post-nominal modifiers, including APs, descriptive NPs, genitive NPs, and some PPs (Samiian 1994).

(23) zäban -i türki
language -ez Turkish
'Turkish language' (Participant 6: 2012)

These are formed with the Ezafe suffix, which is borrowed from Persian. The above phrases, which are direct quotation from Persian, could alternatively be expressed in Azeri by right-headed equivalents:

(24) mädräsä müdir -i
school director -lnk
'school director'

(25) türki dil -i
Turkish language -lnk
'Turkish language'

I consider the right-headed compound in Azeri to be the native Turkic pattern since Turkish generally lacks left-headed compounds.

4. Methodology

In order to investigate the morphosyntax of Azeri and the influence that Persian has on it, I travelled to Tabriz, Iran, to conduct a field study. This project is a qualitative/quantitative study designed to compare Azeri as spoken by the younger and older generations. This field research involved ten participants divided into two groups. The participants in the older generation (aged 65+) were mostly monolingual in Azeri and the participants in the younger generation (aged 20–35) were mostly bilingual in Azeri and Persian. They can be further sub-divided by their level of education (basic education or higher education). The interviews were recorded with a high quality digital voice recorder (Olympus WS 801). The participants were each involved in a 30-45 minute free conversation in an informal setting in a quiet room at the participant's home. The interviews resulted in a total of 6 hours and 50 minutes of speech (189 minutes by older speakers, 221 minutes by younger speakers). Selected data were transcribed and translated and these formed the basis of my dataset.

5. Data Analysis

Over the last forty years, language variation theorists have developed a methodology for applying sociolinguistic analysis to the variation found in the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic structure of a language. Labov (1972c) defines a linguistic variable as simply "two ways of saying the same thing." Tagliamonte (2006: 70) refines this notion, saying that the variants should not result from performance anomalies, but be linguistically well-formed. Furthermore, the frequency of variation should be robust: both variants must occur with sufficient frequency. A variationist approach to linguistic analysis can then look for factors that elucidate the systematic distribution of the variants. Ferguson (1959), Calteeaux (1994), Thomason and Kaufman (1998) and Thomason (2003) are among those to discuss the effect of social factors in language contact. When speakers of different languages live in close contact, their languages

influence each other, but they do so in piece-meal fashion, leading to complexities in the synchronic language structure and differences among speakers. Variations that gain popularity can gradually lead to loss of a variant and result in language change. According to Labov (1994, 2001), some of the socio-cultural factors that can affect the use of linguistic variables are age, sex, social class, ethnicity, race and community size.

My research seeks to examine language change in progress in the Azeri language by comparing the data from monolingual Azeri speakers to the data from bilingual Azeri-Persian speakers. This study shows that two socio-cultural factors, age and level of education, are relevant to morphosyntactic variation in Azeri. First, we look at the effect of the age and next the effect of education. The age of the speaker has been demonstrated to be an important social factor in language variation (Labov 2000). Differences between generations in linguistic behavior illustrate clear examples of language change in progress. Thus, the age of the speaker becomes an important factor when investigating the status of a linguistic structure in a community. One goal of my field study was to see whether the factor of age influences the choice of compound noun variant.

As stated earlier, Azeri has two relative clause and compound noun variants. My data yielded 85 tokens of RCs: 38 (45%) were pre-nominal and 47 (55%) were post-nominal. In other words, the persified head-initial construction was slightly preferred over the native Turkic head-final construction. In this study, which yielded 225 tokens of CNs, right-headed and left-headed compounds are both robustly attested, with a slight preference for the latter: 43% were right-headed (96 CNs) and 57% were left-headed (129 CNs). In other words, the persified left-headed CNs was slightly preferred over the native Turkic right-headed construction.

These results suggest that relative clauses and compound nouns provide good linguistic variables to investigate because both variants are produced frequently in daily speech. Given the results of the RC and CN data above, an obvious question to ask is whether the social factors of age and education influence the choice of variants in relative clause and noun compounding.

5.1 Effect of Age

The following tables give break-down in the results of the two types of the relative clauses and compound nouns as produced by older and younger groups of speakers.

Table 26. Number and percentage of pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs by older and younger groups

Participants	pre-nominal		post-nominal		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
older group	31	68	15	42	46
younger group	7	18	32	82	39
Total	38	45	47	55	85

As seen in table 26, the older speakers produced 31/46 pre-nominal RCs and 15/46 post-nominal RCs, whereas the younger speakers produced 7/39 pre-nominal RCs and 32/39 post-nominal RCs. Therefore, the results show that older participants tend to produce more pre-nominal RCs (68%), whereas the younger participants tend to produce

more of the post-nominal variant (82%). In sum, the total number of 38/85 of the pre-nominal variant (45%) and 47/85 of the post-nominal variant (55%) were found and transcribed.

Table 27. Number and percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by older and younger groups

Participants	right-headed		left-headed		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
older group	51	58	37	42	88
younger group	45	33	92	67	137
Total	96	43	129	57	225

As table 27 illustrates, the older speakers produced 51/88 right-headed compounds and 37/88 left-headed compounds, whereas the younger speakers produced 45/137 right-headed compounds and 92/137 left-headed compounds. Therefore, the results show that older participants tend to produce more of the right-headed compound noun variant (58%), whereas the younger participants tend to produce more of the left-headed borrowed variant (67%). The older participants tend to produce slightly more compounds with native Azeri structures than with the borrowed Persian order, whereas the younger participants tend to produce more compounds with the borrowed structure than with the native one.

5.2. Effect of Education

In the sociolinguistic literature, many studies have been done on the effect of education on language variation. Education may be the best factor measuring the social evaluation of features in a community, with higher levels of education correlating with linguistic features held to have prestige (Labov 2002: 60). In this study, the effect of education has been investigated differentiating between participants with little or no education versus those with some post-secondary education. The following tables present the number and percentage of pre-nominal versus post-nominal RCs and right-headed versus left-headed CNs tabulated for two groups of speakers—those with little or no education and those with higher education.

Table 28. Number and percentage of pre-nominal versus post-nominal RCs by level of education

Participants	pre-nominal		post-nominal		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
less educated	28	76	9	24	37
higher educated	10	21	38	79	48
Total	38	45	47	55	85

As table 28 shows, the less educated speakers produced 28/37 post-nominal RCs and 9/37 pre-nominal RCs, whereas the more educated speakers produced 10/48 pre-nominal RCs and 38/48 post-nominal RCs. That is, less educated participants tended to produce more of the head-final variant (76%) whereas the more educated participants tended to produce more of the head-initial variant (79%). These statistics show that the less educated

participants favor the native Azeri structure. In contrast, the behaviour of educated speakers is the opposite—they tend to produce RCs with the borrowed structure.

Table 29. Number and percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by level of education

Participants	right-headed		left-headed		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
less educated	40	71	16	29	56
higher educated	56	33	113	67	169
Total	96	43	129	57	225

Table 29 illustrates, the less educated speakers produced 40/56 right-headed compounds and 16/56 left-headed compounds, whereas the more highly educated speakers have produced 56/169 right-headed compounds and 113/169 left-headed compounds. The results show that the less educated participants tend to produce more of the right-headed variant (71%), whereas the more highly educated participants tend to produce more of the left-headed variant (67%). This statistic shows that the less educated participants favor the native Azeri structure. In contrast, the behavior of the educated speakers shows that they tend to produce more compounds with the borrowed structure.

To summarize, the findings in the present study show that noun compounds are a good sociolinguistic variable in Azeri because both right-headed and left-headed compound nouns are well attested. The data show that the factors of age and education influence the choice between variants. Summarizing the results overall, young and educated speakers, who have more contact with Persian through media, education and social contact, are more influenced by Persian structure. In contrast, older speakers, who are mostly monolingual and have less education in the Persian language, retain more native Azeri structures in their speech.

6. Conclusion

This study examines linguistic issues in Azeri, the effect of Persian on Azeri morphosyntax. Iranian Azeri has been strongly influenced by Persian, an Indo-European language. Intensive linguistic and cultural contact has led to considerable convergence between the two languages. Northwestern Iran is an ethno-linguistic contact zone where Azeri and Persian have been spoken side by side for more than a millennium.

We saw that in noun compounding, left-headed and right-headed compound nouns were used with almost equal frequency by the participants. However, the choice of structure differed slightly by the age and education of the participants. The finding of the current study is compatible with the findings of other studies on languages of the region. Johanson (1998) claims that persification in the Irano-Turkic area is promoted by increased education and communication. These findings also show that Azeri is becoming persified, as predicted in situations of language contact involving a politically-dominant language. An interesting future study would be to compare the status of Azeri to other varieties of the Azerbaijan language, particularly Northern Azerbaijani, the official language in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

According to the results of my study, the influence of Persian is seen to be greater among young, educated speakers. With respect to the factor of age, Sankoff and Thibault (1981) claim that if a syntactic variant is correlated with age, this may be evidence of language change in progress. For example, left-headed variant correlates with the younger group and thus this might be an indication of an evolution in the grammar of Azeri toward Persian structure. Sankoff and Thibault (1981) further argue that when variants coexist for a long time, it should be expected that this equivalence will be grammaticalized at a later time. Therefore, we should expect structures such as left-headed compound nouns, which has been borrowed from Persian and has coexisted with native Turkish structure for a long time, will be eventually be considered as canonical structures in the grammar of Azeri.

Furthermore, the difference between the two groups of speakers in my study suggests that the rate of persification of Azeri is accelerating. However, due to the small number of participants and tokens, these conclusions can only be suggestive. Additional quantitative studies with sufficient data are required to verify these results. This discovery is an issue of some concern. The topic of language endangerment often focuses on languages with small populations of people, e.g. indigenous languages of North America. But even when a language is spoken by millions of people, it can undergo rapid decline in the face of contact.

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Obscuring Causality in Rape Discourse: a Quantitative Analysis of Variation in Argument Structure

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1. Introduction

The verbs *rape* and *sexually assault* share grammatical properties with other words for violent crimes (e.g. *murder*, *assault*, *batter*). They are conventionally transitive with agentive subjects and direct object patients. The events in the world that *rape* and *sexually assault* describe motivate this argument structure; there is always at least one participant who causes the event or performs the act and at least one participant to whom the act is done. Since assailants willfully cause these events, they typically occur as agents in subject position, and since victims are unwillingly acted upon, they occur as patients in direct object position. While all of these events involve at least two people—an agent/assailant and a patient/victim—it is common for one or both of them to go unmentioned. In this paper, I analyze variation of agent/patient mentions in discourse about rape and sexual assault. Specifically, I am interested in what motivates speakers to choose one construction over another and how these choices potentially affect the perception of causation, blame, and responsibility.

2. Background

A variety of grammatical constructions make it optional to mention agents and patients. Agents can be eliminated through passive constructions and subjectless infinitives. The patient may not be expressed in habitual or generic uses. And in the case of nominalization, neither the patient nor agent needs to be present:

(1) Passivization: She was raped.
(2) Subjectless infinitive: It's immoral to rape someone.
(3) Generic/habitual use: Frats don't rape. People rape.
(4) Nominalization: The rape happened last Friday night.

Speakers may choose not to mention one or more event participant, because their role is seen as irrelevant or unimportant, or because they are unknown to the speaker. For instance, one may use an anticausative construction, like *the toy broke*, instead of the transitive *something or someone broke the toy*, because toys can become broken through a

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variety of causes which may be irrelevant to the fact that the toy is broken. The verbs *rape* and *sexually assault* differ from *break*, though, in that much more is known about their causes, since they entail sentience and volition on the part of the agent. It is always humans who most directly cause and are most directly affected by sexual violence. Additionally, because they describe serious crimes, it is expected that neither the agent nor patient is irrelevant or unimportant.

Failing to mention the agent/assailant and patient/victim leaves the causes and consequences of the event implicit. This can give the impression that there is no one to blame for sexual violence and there are no negative effects. Especially when the agent is not mentioned, there is a sense that sexual violence is naturally occurring and outside of human control. The examples below from newspaper articles illustrate this:

(5) Rape happens wherever people congregate because schmucks are everywhere (Bryer, 2007).
(6) Sometimes a certain brother doesn't do the right thing and a bad situation occurs where somebody is victimized (Ding, 2010).
(7) Rapes will happen (Belinsky, 2006).
(8) Therefore, there would be incentives for all members of the [fraternity] house to make sure that sexual assault does not occur (Ding, 2010).

The constructions used in each of these examples represent a choice of how to describe an event and frame the role of the participants. All of these sentences could be revised so that they do mention agents/assailants and patients/victims, even if the specific identity of the participant is unknown.

These subtle variations can have a big effect. Past research has shown that leaving the agent implicit in an event description alters the perception of responsibility and blame. Fausey and Boroditsky (2010) demonstrate this in their work on anticausative constructions. They found that listeners attribute greater blame to a participant that appears as the subject of a transitive verb than if that event is described with an anticausative construction. In anticausatives, the agent is not mentioned, meaning that their role in causing the event is implicit. Sample excerpts from their study are below:

(9) Transitive: Mrs. Smith followed her friends and as she stood up, she flopped her napkin on the centerpiece candle. She had ignited the napkin!
(10) Anticausative: Mrs. Smith followed her friends and as she stood up, her napkin flopped on the centerpiece candle. The napkin had ignited! (Fausey & Boroditsky, 2010)

In their study, participants attributed significantly less blame to implicit agents, like Mrs. Smith in the second example. When Mrs. Smith's role in the event was made explicit, though, as in the first example, study participants not only blamed her more, but also recommended harsher financial compensation for the damages. This discrepancy in blame and punishment persisted even when study participants watched identical video recordings of an event before reading about it.

This demonstrates that argument structure has a measurable effect on how listeners perceive causation, intention, and blame. Leaving the agent implicit alters the perception

of his or her responsibility. In light of this, it is likely that there are pragmatic, rhetorical, or interactional motivations for choosing one type of construction over another.

Lamb (1991) considers this very issue with respect to academic articles about men who batter their wives. She found that many scholars in general, especially male writers, obscured the agentive role of batterers through passivization, nominalization, and ambiguous reference. She proposes a number of reasons for why a writer would choose these constructions. One possibility is that agentless constructions evoke less discomfort, since they are less vivid. Another explanation is that this style of writing could reflect the author's theoretical perspective about blame and causation in the case of domestic violence. They may not view batterers as singularly responsible for their actions, but rather see other factors, such as societal norms and personal history, as contributing to violent behavior. She also considers the possibility that use of agentive, transitive constructions could come across as politically anti-male and be offensive to some readers.

3. The Study

The present study analyzes variation in argument structure in descriptions of rape and sexual assault. My goal is to expand upon past research and explore the possible motivations for and effects of leaving event participants implicit in rape discourse. Because causality and blame are hotly debated issues in discourse about sexual violence, this topic is important in the broader social and legal context. This paper addresses the following questions:

- Do men and women differ in how they describe rape and sexual assault?
- What may influence a speaker/writer to leave agents or patients implicit?
- As discussion of sexual violence has increased and become more mainstream, has there been any change in how it is discussed over time?

Specifically, I looked at variation in descriptions of rape or sexual assault within the student-run newspapers at Dartmouth College in Hanover, NH. While sexual violence, gender relations and sexism are a part of campus dialogue at most American universities, these topics are particularly prominent at Dartmouth. A number of factors contribute to the salience of these issues among students, faculty, administrators, and alumni, making this data source useful. The college was all-male from its founding in 1769 until 1972. Many students and alumni are fiercely loyal to the school and cherish the long-standing social traditions which some argue contribute to misconduct and unhealthy gender relations. These include single-sex Greek houses, unfettered access to alcohol, and competitive drinking events. 50-60% of students are members of social Greek houses, most of which are single-sexed. The majority of parties and social events take place in all-male fraternities. Most importantly, Dartmouth has a higher number of sexual assault reports than any of its peer institutions[1], despite having the smallest student body and being located in a low-crime rural area (Narula, 2010). Discussion about sexual violence on campus is often played out in the student newspapers. This means that articles and editorials not only report on actual events, but also debate the causes, consequences, prevention, and significance of rape and sexual assault in the abstract.

[1] The report compared campus crime statistics among schools in the Ivy League, Stanford, University of Chicago, MIT, and Duke.

Among the three largest publications, *The Dartmouth*, *The Dartmouth Review* and *The Mirror*, there were 290 articles written between 1993[2] and 2012 that discuss sexual violence. And in total, there were 1343 references to rape or sexual assault, excluding headlines and direct quotes. In gathering data, I searched each publication's online database for the words *rape* and *sexual(ly) assault*. I included every article that mentioned either of these, whether referencing an actual event or discussing the topic in the abstract. The unit of analysis for this study is reference to an event (actual or hypothetical) of sexual violence.

Each excerpt was coded for the lexical item and phrase type (VP or NP) used to refer to the event and whether or not the assailant or victim was mentioned. If an assailant was mentioned, I also noted whether it occurred in subject position, in a by-phrase, or with no direct syntactic relationship to the predicate. Each excerpt was also coded for author gender, year of publication, name of publication, article type (news or opinion piece), whether the event was real or hypothetical, and whether or not the victim or assailant was affiliated with the college. I conducted a multiple regression with Rbrul to test which nonlinguistic factors significantly correlated with each of the four dependent variables: assailant mention, victim mention, syntactic position of assailant, and nominalization.

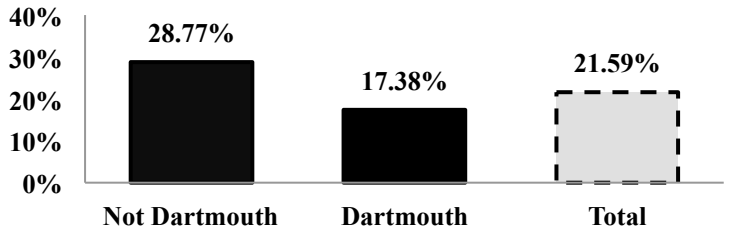
4. Results

Overall, 290 (21.59%) of the 1343 total excerpts contained a reference to the assailant, and 515 (38.35%) mentioned the victim. Of the 290 assailant mentions, 108 (37.24%) occurred in subject position, 40 (13.79%) in a by-phrase, and 142 (48.97%) elsewhere in the sentence. The authors used over 40 different words and phrases to describe rape and sexual assault. Some of the most common include *rape*, *sexual(ly) assault*, *date rape*, *sexual violence*, *sexual offense*, *sexual(ly) abuse*, *violate*, *incident*, and *take advantage of*. The event was expressed as a verb in 224 (16.68%) of excerpts and as a noun phrase in the remaining 1119 (83.32%).

Three of the independent variables significantly correlated with mention of an assailant. The strongest predictor was affiliation with the college ($p < 0.003$), followed by year of publication ($p = 0.017$), and finally the actuality of an event ($p = 0.003$). Authors were more likely to mention an assailant when the event participants had no affiliation with Dartmouth and when the event was real, as opposed to hypothetical. Assailant mention also decreased over time. Interestingly, the author's gender had no effect. These same variables, in addition to gender, also correlated with reference to a victim. Actuality of an event showed the strongest effect ($p = 4.96e^{-22}$), followed by affiliation with the college ($p < 0.00001$), gender ($p < 0.021$), and year of publication ($p < 0.002$). Female authors were more likely to mention the victim of an assault than male authors. None of the independent variables in the data set showed a statistically significant correlation with syntactic position of the assailant. The factors that significantly predicted nominalization were identical to those that predicted victim mention. However, it is not clear that nominalization by itself necessarily obscures causality, as Lamb's (1991) analysis suggests. For this reason, I only present and discuss the results for assailant and victim mention.

[2] Although these publications existed beforehand, only the issues from 1993 and later are available electronically.

Figure 1 Rates of assailant mention by affiliation with Dartmouth



Affiliation	*Assailant mentions*	*Total excerpts*	*Percentage*	*Logodds*	*Factor Weight*
None	143	497	28.77%	0.34	0.584
Dartmouth	147	846	17.38%	-0.34	0.416
Total	290	1343	21.59%		

Figure 2 Rates of assailant mention by year of publication

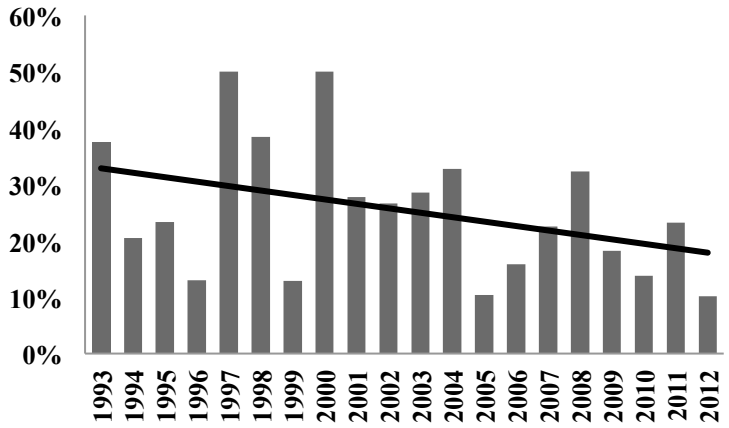
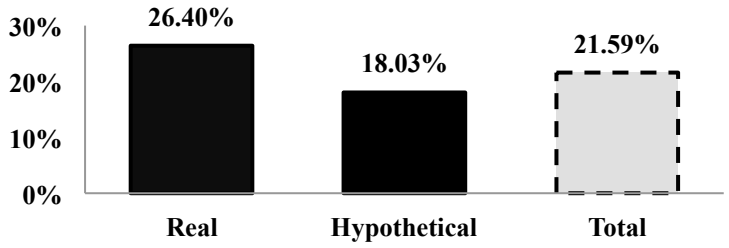
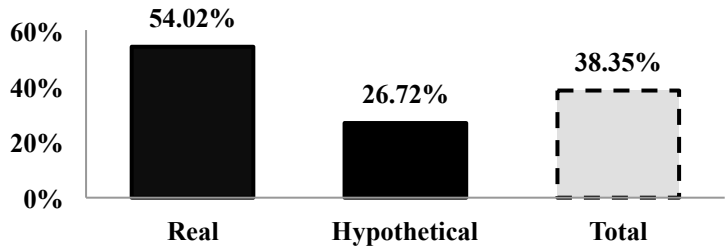


Figure 3 Rates of assailant mention by actuality of event



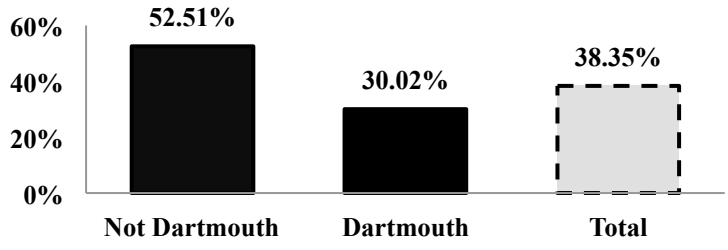
Actuality of event	*Assailant mentions*	*Total excerpts*	*Percentage*	*Logodds*	*Factor Weight*
Real	151	572	26.40%	0.203	0.551
Hypothetical	139	771	18.03%	-0.203	0.449
Total	290	1343	21.59%		

Figure 4 Rates of victim mention by actuality of event



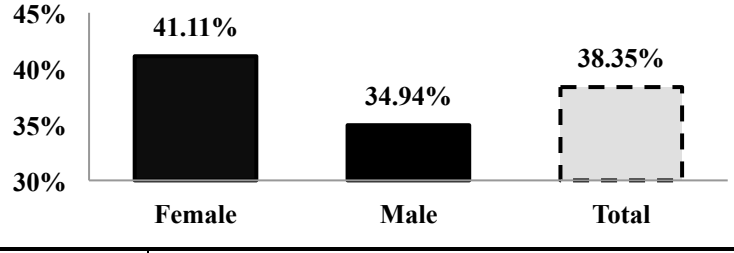
Actuality of event	*Victim mentions*	*Total excerpts*	*Percentage*	*Logodds*	*Factor Weight*
Real	309	572	54.02%	0.529	0.629
Hypothetical	206	771	26.72%	-0.529	0.371
Total	515	1343	38.35%		

Figure 5 Rates of victim mention by affiliation with Dartmouth



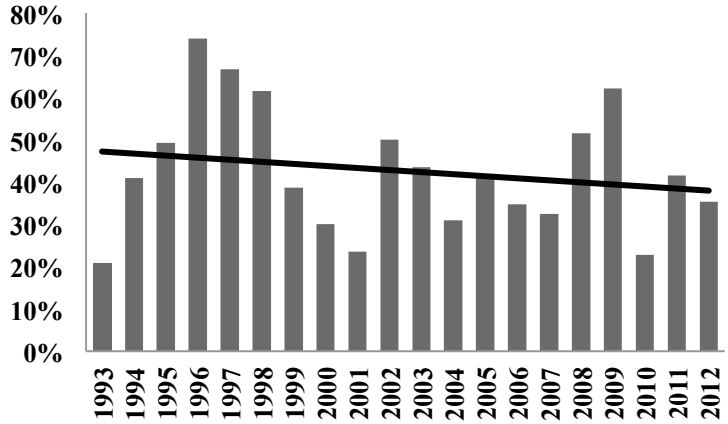
Affiliation	*Victim mentions*	*Total excerpts*	*Percentage*	*Logodds*	*Factor Weight*
None	261	497	52.51%	0.451	0.611
Dartmouth	254	846	30.02%	-0.451	0.389
Total	515	1343	38.35%		

Figure 6 Rates of victim mention by gender of author



Gender of author	*Victim mentions*	*Total excerpts*	*Percentage*	*Logodds*	*Factor Weight*
Female	305	742	41.11%	0.179	0.545
Male	210	601	34.94%	-0.179	0.455
Total	515	1343	38.35%		

Figure 7 Rates of victim mention by year of publication



Overall, these results demonstrate that nonlinguistic factors correlate with how an author describes rape and the role of the assailant and victim.

5. Discussion

It seems unsurprising that the discussion of hypothetical events involves fewer explicit references to participants, but it is difficult to pinpoint exactly why this is. Even when a rape is hypothetical, it is still necessary for there to be a hypothetical assailant and victim, and it is acceptable to mention these. However, it is possible that the participants are mentioned less often because they are not real and, therefore, have no real bearing on the world. Hypothetical rapists do not need to be punished for their crimes and cannot threaten a community's safety. Likewise, hypothetical victims are not actually affected by the events. Perhaps hypothetical event participants with no potential for affecting or interacting with the real world are deemed less mentionable as a result.

One finding that is more surprising is that the author's gender does not have as much of an effect on participant mention as might be expected. Lamb's (1991) study, discussed above, found that male writers were much more likely than female writers to use constructions that obscured the agency of batterers or eliminated them entirely. However, in this study, men and women were equally likely to mention the assailant and equally likely to put that assailant in subject position or a by-phrase. The one gender difference arose in the case of victim mention, where women were more likely to mention the victim of a rape than men were. One explanation for this could be that female writers are more likely to identify with the victim and emphasize the victim's experience, because they as women are more likely to have been or to become victims of sexual assault. Interestingly, though, both men and women overall are much more likely to mention the victim than the assailant, even though the existence of both participants (whether hypothetical or in actuality) is equally obligatory.

One of the strongest trends that emerges from this analysis is the negative correlation between participant mention and Dartmouth affiliation. If either the assailant or victim was a Dartmouth student, authors were less likely to make their role in the event explicit. A

likely reason for this is the strong loyalty many students and alumni have for the college, which motivates some to obscure the blame and negative consequences of fellow students' actions. This loyalty can also result in defensiveness against criticisms, or perceived criticisms, of the college and its students. This can make some reluctant to accuse their classmates of sexual assault for fear of backlash. The defensiveness and backlash against those who speak out are apparent throughout many opinion pieces and overtly discussed in a number of articles. The following quote from a female student illustrates this hesitance to point fingers:

(11) "I think it's perceived as radical or man-hating to even acknowledge that there is a problem – there's sort of this association with feminism," Elisabeth Ericson '11 said. "And also this sense that if you're saying there is a problem with sexual assault on this campus, then, by extension, you are accusing individual frat brothers of being rapists – they get very defensive and say 'Oh, but I'm not like that,' or 'my friend wouldn't do that.' There's this personal defensiveness that I think gets in the way of maybe acknowledging that there might be systemic factors" (Narula, 2010).

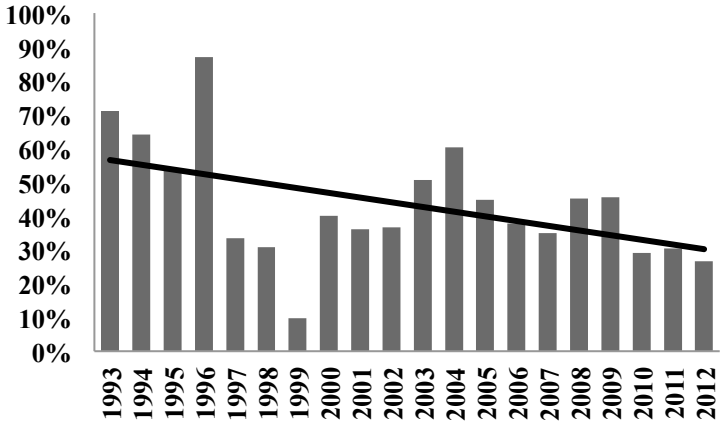
That students feel the need to tread lightly when talking about rape is further exemplified by an excerpt from an article about a "Speak Out" event, where victims share their stories:

(12) All of the readers wore Dartmouth clothing in order to emphasize that the intention of the event was not to speak against Dartmouth but to raise awareness of sexual assault (Jackling, 2007).

In this instance, the fact that rape victims speaking out against assault must explicitly and visually express their school spirit in order to not appear critical of the college suggests that speaking out against being raped is somehow speaking ill of Dartmouth. These associations present a possible explanation for why rapists and victims who are Dartmouth students are much less likely to be mentioned.

The trend that is perhaps most surprising is the inverse relationship between year of publication and participant mention. As time progressed between 1993 and 2012, authors made fewer explicit references to assailants and victims of rape. It is not immediately clear what is behind this pattern. But it is revealing to consider it alongside a simultaneous lexical shift from *rape* to *sexual assault* over this same two-decade period:

Figure 8 Events described as 'rape' by year of publication



As this graph shows, use of the word *rape* declined from 1993 to 2012. This was accompanied by an increase in phrases like *sexual assault*, *sexual violence*, *abuse*, etc.

Although they are often used interchangeably throughout the newspaper articles, the word *rape* differs from the phrase *sexual assault* along a number of dimensions. First, *rape* is canonically a transitive verb, which means it typically takes a subject and a direct object. *Sexual assault*, on the other hand, occurs most often as a noun phrase. So while *sexual assault* still refers to an event with at least two participants, speakers or writers are not obligated to make any mention of these participants. Semantically, *rape* refers to a specific type of crime, while *sexual assault* refers to a broad class of crimes. In addition to this, *rape* is a more powerful, evocative and upsetting word than *sexual assault*.

It is possible that this lexical shift from *rape* to *sexual assault* is due in part to an increased sensitivity to and inclusion of a broader class of crimes in the discussion of sexual violence. It is also possible that writers have made this lexical shift because of a more general change in their goals and reasons for writing about the topic. The word *rape* is evocative and shocking. This makes it effective for activism and consciousness-raising. In contrast, *sexual assault*, as a phrase, is less striking. So while words with shock-value can be effective for grabbing readers' attention, they may not hold their attention, because readers may become too uncomfortable and shut down. Therefore, using terms like *sexual assault* over *rape* may be more effective in promoting comfortable, open discussions.

Impressionistically, there seems to be a change in the perspectives of students writing about sexual assault over the two-decade period from 1993 to 2012. Not only has there been an increase in the number of articles written about this topic (see Figure 9), there also seems to be a diversification of the political goals these articles represent. Specifically, it appears that a greater number of non-activists have entered the public discourse about sexual violence as time has progressed, although activists on campus continue to make powerful consciousness-raising contributions to the school's newspapers.

Figure 9 Number of excerpts per year

Year of publication	*Number of excerpts*	*Year of publication*	*Number of excerpts*
1993	24	**2003**	140
1994	39	**2004**	58
1995	73	**2005**	29
1996	23	**2006**	164
1997	6	**2007**	40
1998	13	**2008**	31
1999	31	**2009**	66
2000	10	**2010**	145
2001	119	**2011**	125
2002	60	**2012**	147

6. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that nonlinguistic factors have the potential to motivate a speaker's choice of one event description over another. Although *rape* has a high degree of transitivity, the agents causing rape and the patients affected by it are left implicit more often than they are explicitly mentioned. The failure to mention the assailant of a rape positively correlates with events that are hypothetical and involve Dartmouth students. There was also a significant decrease in references to assailants over time. These factors had the same predictions for references to the victim. Male authors were also slightly less likely to mention a victim when discussing rape.

Regardless of the motivation behind the failure to mention rapists and victims in event descriptions, the effect is still potentially harmful. As Fausey and Boroditsky (2010) explain, listeners are more likely to attribute blame to event participants when they are explicitly expressed as the agents of the event. Listeners also demand harsher punishments for these event participants. A general underspecification of the agents and assailants of rape in public discourse has the potential to affect public opinion about who is at fault for rape and to what extent. This public opinion is important for a number of reasons: (1) juries of the general public determine guilt in criminal courts, and (2) victims who do not view their attackers as entirely culpable are less likely to report the crime.

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Universals and Variation in Question Intonation: A Comparative Study of Hawaiian and HCE Speech Melodies

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1. Introduction

Two languages spoken in the Hawaiian Islands are the focus of this comparative study. One is Hawaiian, referring to the language of the native people of Hawaii, a Polynesian language reportedly spoken by approximately 16,000 people as of the census years 2006-2008 (US Census, 2010). The other is Hawaii Creole English (HCE), referred to in Hawaii as "Pidgin", a creole language consisting of a combination of elements from English, Chinese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian. HCE is spoken by approximately 600,000 people out of a population of around 1.3 million people in Hawaii (Drager, 2012). The pidgin in Hawaii was heavily influenced by native Hawaiian speakers in it's development (Roberts, 1995) from pidgin to creole, and still maintains it's influence today as seen in the lexicon and heard in the intonation. This paper provides results from a comparative study of Hawaiian and HCE in order to better understand the methods used to differentiate questions from statements as both languages have falling intonation in all utterance types.

2. Question Universals

Phonologists such as Bolinger (1978, 1989), Gussenhoven (2002), and Ohala (1984) have made claims that intonation patterns are universal. Bolinger stated that generally declaratives have falling intonation patterns while interrogative or question intonation patterns have rising intonation patterns, as suggested in the Strong Universalist Hypothesis (SUH) in Bolinger (1978) as well as Bolinger (1989:425) " It seems reasonable to say (and we can assume) that the unmarked intonation for yes/no questions is rising, while the marked intonation is falling. The reverse is true of wh-questions."

Cross-linguistically, the intonation of questions is frequently characterized by a sharp final rise in pitch (Haan, 2002:41) and more specifically approximately 70% of the world's languages have rising intonation contours for questions while rising intonation for statements is quite rare (Bolinger, 1978; Gussenhoven, 2002). However, the languages with falling question intonation contradict the SUH. This paper investigates the way in which Hawaiian and HCE use intonation to differentiate questions and statements. By investigating language that perhaps don't behave as the majority often do, we can start to

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understand what is universal among languages. Is there something that all languages have in common with regards to question intonation? How do languages differentiate between statements and questions? How do variation and universals occupy the same theoretical space?

3. How do Languages Use Intonation to Convey Questions?

Overall it has been shown that rising intonation at the end of an utterance is a common strategy to indicate a question while falling question intonation is not as common (cf. Gussenhoven, 2002). In some languages, the use of high pitch at the onset is the most salient and is the key factor producing categorical differences (cf. Haan, 2002). Perhaps, instead of looking at the right edge of an utterance to identify typological differences (rising or falling intonation), we may find that more languages use higher onset pitch to signal questions, along with other cues such as high peak as well as a globally higher register (cf. Chen, 2005). It would seem straightforward and efficient to present the question cue at the onset so that the intent is relayed as soon as possible, accentuating the need for information and cooperation in the conversation exchange between speaker and listener. Whatever the way in which languages phonetically implement the categorical distinction between questions and statements, it has been observed that all distinctions exhibit some kind of height difference. According to Haan (2002) this high pitch can appear locally, for example in the onset, mid- utterance or final position of the utterance. It can also be seen globally, as an overall higher pitch register spanning across the entire utterance. It can also be seen in the absence of f0 downtrend, which is commonly seen in statements.

4. Question Variation

As already mentioned, the final rise intonation is used in many of the world's languages, including English. However, not all languages implement this distinction in the same manner. Grabe's (2001) intonational study of variation in English (IVIE) spanning across nine dialects of English in the British Isles demonstrates that the way in which question intonation is implemented in a language can vary greatly over relatively short geographic distances. This suggests that although languages can appear quite similar, there can be striking variations in their prosody in a relatively small geographic space. For example, Belfast English has rising intonation in both statements and questions (Grabe et al., 2003).

When investigating a language, which appears to have the same intonation in both questions and statements, the question arises; what cues does the speaker use to differentiate between statements and questions? While all utterance types, (i.e. statements, questions, as well as declarative questions) in Belfast followed a similar contour, there are distinctive differences. One of the cues found to differentiate grammatical categories, is the frequency of high final pitch use, as well as overall higher f0 averages (cf. Grabe et al., 2003). Haan (2002) also suggests a hypothesis to explain the height differences among different types of utterances. This Functional Hypothesis was tested on Dutch and the findings suggest that there is a latitudinal distinction that correlates to the amount of question marking either syntactically or lexically. For example, statements have on average lower fundamental frequency (f0, measured in hertz) measurements than questions. Declarative questions, which are not marked syntactically or lexically have the highest average f0. Yes/no questions, which may implement syntactic marking such as

subject-verb inversions, were discovered to have a slightly lower f0 average than declarative questions. Wh- questions, which usually have some kind of question marking have a lower average than yes/no questions. Declarative questions lack all syntactic and lexical marking for questions because they are in essence the same structure as a statement, however posed as a question. To clarify; the ordering of utterances based on average height of f0 proceed as follows going from highest average to lowest: declarative questions, yes/no questions, wh-questions, declaratives (statements). This hypothesis also plays out in the averages of f0 measurements as well in Grabe's IVIE studies (cf. Grabe, 2002), as well as the frequency of high final pitch use. These studies suggest that when the structure lacks lexical and syntactic markers for questions, it is the intonation that must do the work and is phonetically implemented as high pitch.

4.1 Falling Question Intonation

Falling question intonation, while not as common as rising question intonation is found in several languages across the world; Hungarian (cf. Ladd, 1996), Chickasaw (cf. Gordon, 2003), Neapolitan Italian (D'Imperio and House, 1997), to name a few, as well as Hawaiian and HCE which are the focus of this comparative study. Hawaiian and HCE both share the same intonation patterns (Murphy, 2012) and have falling intonation in both questions and statements. As previously mentioned, when a language has similar contours for both questions and statements, there are other cues that help make the distinction and Hawaiian and HCE are no exception. The purpose of this study was to identify the most salient cue that makes the distinction between questions and statements in both Hawaiian and HCE and to see if the two languages have any differences with regards to these question cues.

5. Methodology

Since the most naturalistic language data was necessary for the study, the use of audio files that would provide examples of spontaneous speech and not lab controlled or read aloud speech were needed. The reason for doing this was because the most accurate measure of height comparison was crucial to the analysis and innate qualities of questions require that one speaker asks another speaker for information, signaling a particular request for cooperation. This request is grammatically different than statements and as such, needs proper attention from the person to whom it is posed. Thus, for this reason, naturalistic data was crucial to the study. While the type of methodology (controlled lab speech vs. spontaneous speech) may be of little difference for studies on focus, stress alignment, or pitch accent alignment, for an intonation study that relies on naturalistic height such as mine, it is imperative that the most naturalistic environment is observed. In other words, if a participant is merely reading a question or statement of which is being recorded, the naturalistic height used to cue questions might not come through in these narrated examples. While having an experiment in a controlled environment has its benefits for some research, I think that the best data for this particular study was data that proved to be the most naturalistic.

The sources used were mostly publically accessible, with the exception of one, which there was special access provided. For Hawaiian data, Clinton Kanahele interviews conducted in 1970, from the Brigham Young University archives were used. For the HCE data, samples from a podcast (Anykine Kine podcast) which features natural conversation between two HCE speakers were used. The other sources used were interviews conducted

by Katie Drager of University of Hawaii, Manoa. The examples were analyzed using PRAAT software, which is free software and widely used for the analysis of speech.

6. Results

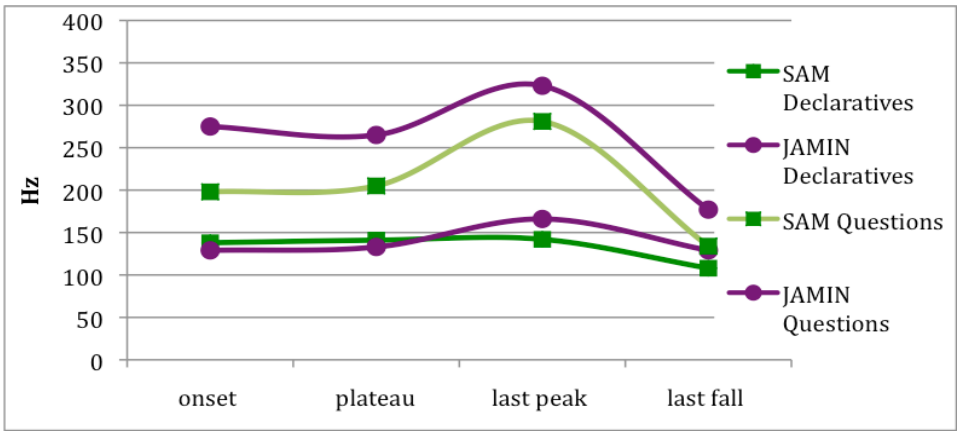
Preliminary observations using PRAAT software confirmed that Hawaiian and HCE share the same strategies for differentiating statements and questions. They both use a latitudinal variation in height that achieves the categorical distinction. Questions start at a higher pitch and maintain a high plateau before peaking at the last stressed syllable and then falling dramatically over the last syllables of the question. A statement starts lower than a question, rising gradually (plateau appears to gradually rise) to the last stressed syllable and then falls over the remaining syllable or syllables. So while questions and statements have a similar contour, the question contour starts higher, stays higher, peaks higher, resulting in a more dramatic fall. The results of my study provide a look at these contours.

To obtain comparable points in Hawaiian and HCE, measurements from four target areas: onset, plateau, last peak and last fall. All measurements for the target areas are measured in hertz. For the onset measurement, the point in which the utterance began was measured. Gaining onset measurements were crucial to see if the languages signaled questions early. The next measurement was taken by averaging the measurement for the entire length of the plateau, before the point in which the pitch rises. The next measurements taken were that of last high peak and the final fall, or the point at which the utterance ended. Results showed that in both HCE and Hawaiian, questions were differentiated from statements using higher onset, high plateau, followed by a higher pitch peak on the last peak and a sharper fall or wider pitch movement to the ending low pitch.

6.1 HCE Data

The following example shows two HCE speakers comparing their average measurements from 10 samples of questions and statements (20 total utterances for each person) for the four target areas. All audio samples were taken from spontaneous speech. Both speakers are males. Sam is in his 20's and Jamin is in his 40's.

(1) HCE Comparison of Two Male Speakers



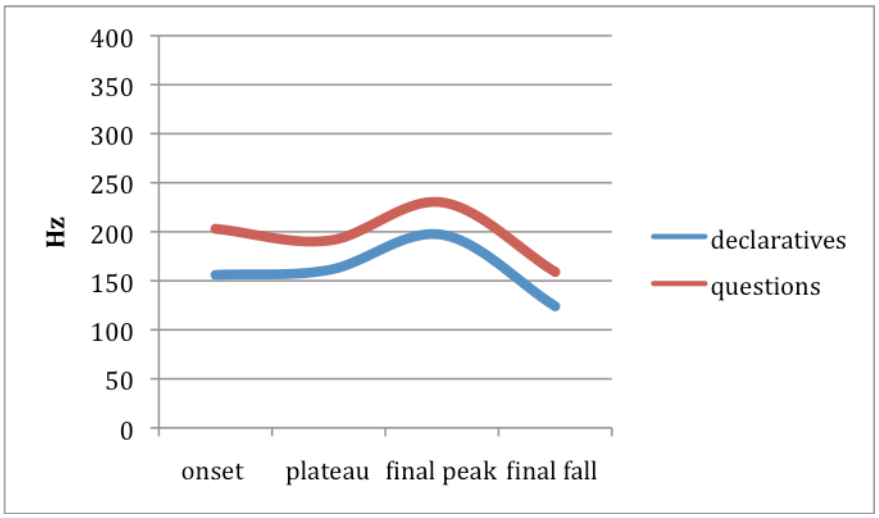
It is quite easy to identify the differences between questions and statements for these speakers of HCE. As mentioned before, HCE makes a categorical distinction between questions and statements using an overall higher pitch, but as well, highlighting a high onset and high last pitch. In addition to these differences is a wide pitch movement from the last peak to the last fall.

6.2 Hawaiian Data

For the Hawaiian data, collected from the publically accessible Brigham Young University archives, I collected samples specifically from Clinton Kanahele, a native Hawaiian speaker from Laie. The interviews were conducted in 1970, which made Clinton in his 60's at the time. Being the interviewer, the amount of questions he asked, both wh- and yes/no was robust. I averaged a total of 20 questions and 20 statements (40 total utterances) to measure each target area (onset, plateau average, last peak and last fall).

One important fact about Hawaiian to consider, is that yes/no questions and statements are structurally (syntactically) the same, it is the intonation that provides the distinction. To expand, yes/no questions have no lexical or syntactic markers for questions, leaving the intonation to do all the work to signal the question. The Functional Hypothesis, as per Haan (2002) would indicate that given the lack of question markers, the question f0 measurements would be predictably higher than the statements in order to make the distinction. The following results fall in line with this hypothesis. These results suggest that Hawaiian, much like HCE, uses higher pitch to signal questions even though both questions and statements have falling intonation.

(2) Hawaiian Statement and Question Intonation

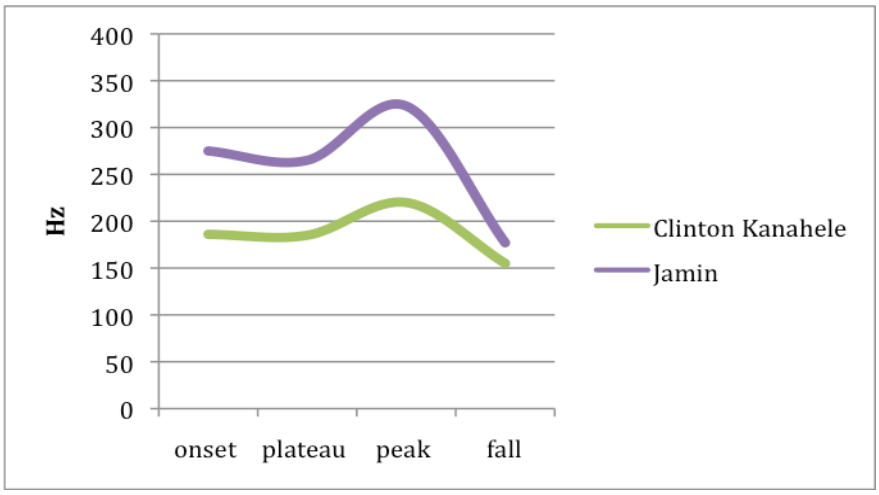


As can be seen in the example above, Hawaiian questions and statements share a similar pattern in Hawaiian, however, questions have a higher register than statements, starting with a higher pitch onset. This example represents 20 questions and 20 statements with average f0 measurements taken from four areas. Questions were not divided by type.

6.3 Comparison

The latitudinal question/statement distinction in Hawaiian is similar to that of HCE, however, it appears, at least from this amount of data, that Hawaiian does not display the wide pitch range that HCE does in questions. Below is an example of only question averages from Clinton Kanahele and Jamin (SOLIS, Drager interviews, 2012).

(3) Hawaiian and HCE Questions Compared



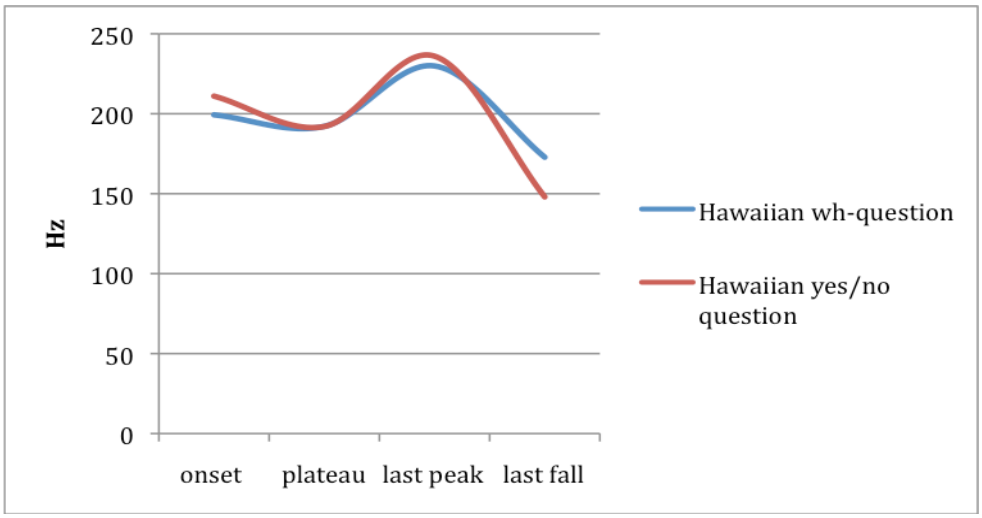
When Clinton's average question measurements are compared with Jamin's, it was discovered that the pitch differences were quite striking. Initially, this was attributed to the possibility that Clinton's statements were impacted by politeness factor that would need to be compared to some other interviews he conducted, where he was more familiar with the interviewee. However, when compared to two separate interviews with two different interviewees, the measurement did not have a noticeable difference in question pitch averages. Jamin's interviews were conducted with his sister, in a comfortable and familiar environment. Gussenhoven (2002) explains that higher pitch can also be a sign of politeness, however, that would not explain the much higher pitch of Jamin's questions over Clinton's? Jamin was mostly conversing with his sister in the interview, which was in a comfortable environment, without need for overt politeness. Further research is needed to find the answer to the overall differences in Hawaiian and HCE, but perhaps these answers can be found in a historical comparison, which could put the development of HCE into perspective.

6.4 Functional Hypothesis

When looking at specific differences in yes/no questions and wh-question pitch height, a series of 10 yes/no questions and 10 wh-questions in Hawaiian were compared, all of which came from Clinton Kanahele. No substantial differences in average f0 measurements were found. If the hypothesis was born out in Hawaiian, then the prediction would be that yes/no questions would be higher than wh-questions, due to the lack of syntactic and lexical markings in yes/no questions. In fact, Hawaiian does not have any structural difference between yes/no questions and statements, as I have mentioned before, creating an environment where intonation is the only indicator signaling questions. Yes/no questions, therefore, are much like declarative questions and given the predictions of the Functional Hypothesis, should have on average, the highest f0 measurements. What was

found is that yes/no questions were only slightly higher than the wh-questions, but not substantially higher.

(4) Hawaiian Wh- and Yes/No questions Compared



Further investigation would be necessary in order to see if the hypothesis plays out in a lab-controlled environment in Hawaiian as well as in HCE, replicating Haan (2002).

7. Summary

Evans and Levinson (2009:429) speak of the topic of variation such that ''languages differ so fundamentally from one another at every level of description that it is very hard to find any single structural property which they share." True indeed that languages vary, but the more they differ it seems the more they are the same, at least in terms of question intonation. As mentioned previously, according to Gussenhoven (2004), there are language universals but conformity to such universals is language specific, attributing to the variation. This variation can be seen in questions cross-linguistically as mentioned some languages have final high pitch (rising question intonation) while others have a final low pitch (falling question intonation) but all maintain the use of high pitch in some part of the question, be it high onset, high plateau, high final peak or high final rise. HCE and Hawaiian support this as well. Although it would appear that falling question intonation goes against a SUH, it turns out that HCE and Hawaiian adhere beautifully to what all languages use, which is the use of high pitch to provide grammatical category distinctions. Hawaiian and HCE, while having falling question and statement intonation, differentiate utterance types with the use of higher pitch found in onset, plateau (medial) and final peak. These phonetic implementations of question marking is consistent with the Functional Hypothesis as described by Haan (2002) and also applied by Grabe (2002), but more analysis needs to be done to provide a more thorough representation (i.e. yes/no questions higher than wh-questions). While, falling question intonation is not a common intonation contour among the world's languages, languages such as Hawaiian and HCE use high pitch in other locations in order to make question/statement distinctions. Also, as I have demonstrated comparing target pitch measurements, HCE has a higher pitch register in questions than does Hawaiian. Hawaiian does not have question words in the yes/no

question and so it is up to the intonation to carry the burden of differentiating statements vs. questions. Likewise, it is very common in HCE that question words are omitted and yes/no questions sound like declarative questions. This study is just the beginning of more investigation into the phonetic and phonological topics in Hawaiian and HCE.

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Intertextuality and the Metapragmatic Regimentation of Vocalic Variation[1]

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I consider how the entextualization of a vocalic variant in a salient text renders phonetic variability accessible to metapragmatic commentary. Specifically, I seek here to address a question Mendoza-Denton (2011:261) poses in her discussion of semiotic hitchhiking: "How do variables in different contexts of use and at different levels of metalinguistic awareness become recurrent features of personae, and become accessible to character portrayals of these personae by other speakers?" I address these questions in what follows by formulating the notion of INDEXICAL NESTING, through which I seek to capture how sociophonetic features, functioning as phono-indexicals, bootstrap interactional potential from the texts through which they occur.

Focusing on indexical nesting as one type of "co-occurrence," (Agha, 2005; Irvine, 1985; Podesva, 2008; Rampton, 2009; Sclafani, 2009; Zhang, 2008) I highlight the ways in which this relationship renders phono-indexicals accessible to voicing phenomena. To this end, my analysis considers the case of (aw) variation in Houston, where the monophthongal variant has become an enregistered feature of a distinguishable local voice. Regarding the role of monophthongal (aw) in regimenting senses of indigineity, I discuss how the metapragmatics of a local voice are framed and negotiated through constructed dialogue and explicit metapragmatic discourse. Furthermore, by focusing on how vocalic variation helps regiment specific utterances as tokens of register phenomena, I hope to throw light on the metasemiotic functionality of (entextualized) phono-indexicals as interpretable metonyms of enregistered voices.

With these goals in mind, I describe and discuss two cases studies in which speakers voice (aw) monophthongization to negotiate the metapragmatics of this stylistic practice. As the case studies will show, indexical nesting sets the stage for sociophonetic indexicals to bootstrap meaning potential from the larger structures in and through which they occur.

[1] I owe thanks to Nancy Niedzielski, Chris Koops, Norma Mendoza-Denton, Kit Woolard, and Kira Hall for discussions of the ideas examined in this paper. I am also indebted to audiences at SALSA and LISO. Any errors remaining are my own.

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Specifically, structural nesting puts phono-indexicals on display, connecting sounds to the words and larger textual vehicles in which they occur. Accordingly, I will argue that indexical nesting facilitates metapragmatic accessibility, insofar as this relationship yields intertextual resources through which speakers strategically mobilize sociophonetic variability toward interactional ends.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows. In Section 2, I describe indexical nesting in greater detail, situating this construct in relation to relevant ideas in the literature. Next, in Section 3, I discuss the broader research context that informs the present analysis. After this brief contextualization, I present two case studies in Section 4 that illustrate how indexical nesting foregrounds phonetic variation, putting it into intertextual circulation. Before I move on to a discussion of these case studies, however, I turn first to a brief explication and illustration of indexical nesting.

2. Indexical Nesting and Related Constructs

Broadly speaking, indexical nesting elaborates the structural relationship that characterizes Mendoza-Denton's (2011) formulation of semiotic hitchhiking by focusing on the role of entextualized variability in connecting phonetic variants and other indexical sign phenomena with evocatively-rich textures, such as taboo words. Regarding this connection, indexical nesting addresses a specific kind of co-occurrence relationship, wherein one indexical sign is structurally embedded in some higher-order unit of textual organization. By using metaphors such as "nesting" and "embedding" here, I aim to capture the componentiality of phonetic features and other indexicals that together contribute to the overall semiotic shape of a particular text. Specifically, I seek to highlight how embedded indexicals such as vocalic variants come to function as inputs to the co-construction of "voicing contrasts" (Agha, 2005).

Regarding how marked phono-indexicals contribute to such contrasts, we must first consider that a majority of these indexicals do not occur freely in isolation (Mendoza-Denton, 2011). To illustrate with a case of vocalic variation, consider /I/-lowering in (southern) California English, where neither the lowered nor the unlowered variant occurs in isolation as a monosyllabic word. Accordingly, our situated experience and knowledge of /I/-lowering must derive from our exposure to lexical items and texts through which the lowered variant not only occurs, but also crystallizes and acquires interactional potential (cf. Mendoza-Denton, 2011; Podesva, 2008; Schilling-Estes, 1998; Woolard, 2008).

Crucially, this acquisition of pragmatic functionality hinges on consistent realizations of the lowered variant in a text that bears important discourse functions, or evokes some salient position in the sociocultural landscape (Coupland, 2007; Mendoza-Denton, 2011; Podesva, 2008; Woolard, 2008). In the case of /I/-lowering, for instance, we note that speakers leverage the taboo word 'bitch' in both spoken and written portrayals of an enregistered Californian voice. For example, metapragmatic stereotyping in representations of local speech draw attention to /I/-lowering in part through eye-dialect spellings of the phono-lexical variant *betch*. In such cases, speakers foreground and negotiate the metapragmatics of the lowered variant by referencing its use in this evocatively-rich taboo word.

What this and similar cases of entextualized variability (Eckert, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 1997, 2011; Schilling-Estes, 1998; Woolard, 2008; Zhang, 2008) help to illustrate

is how the indexical potential of a sociophonetic feature is shaped by its consistent realization in a particular text. Extending this logic, indexical nesting focuses on the entextualization of a (phono-)indexical in some lexical item, idiom, or higher-order semiotic texture. More specifically, this construct seeks to capture how embedding textures function as intertextual touchstones for voicing and metapragmatically framing social-semiotic variability. In this way, the present account accords with Mendoza-Denton's (2011) examination of semiotic hitchhiking – particularly as both works focus on a kind of metapragmatic bootstrapping that arises through what Keane (2003) terms "bundling." Despite such similarities, indexical nesting differs from semiotic hitchhiking in both scope and foci.

For example, Mendoza-Denton (2011) formulates semiotic hitchhiking to address specifically the spread and reproducibility of creaky voice, a supra-segmental sign phenomenon that "has no referential meaning, no continuous segmentability," and which "can't even be pronounced in isolation." (Mendoza-Denton, 2011:262) Some vocalic variables, by contrast, *can* occur in isolation as various monosyllabic words. Consider Woolard's (2008) discussion of (ay) monophthongization in Texas, for instance. In this case, the vocalic variable (ay) – specifically the monophthongal variant [a:] – has become an emblematic feature of a local, enregistered voice. Regarding conditions of occurrence, we note that both variants may be realized in isolation, as the words 'eye' and 'awe' illustrate. Consequently, following Mendoza-Denton's criteria for hitchhiking, some vocalic variables would not qualify as semiotic hitchhikers because they require no additional sign vehicle to occur. That being said, while such variables fail to meet the first criterion of semiotic hitchhiking, they certainly meet the second criterion involving co-occurrence and "simultaneous circulation." (Mendoza-Denton, 2011:263)

In this regard then, both indexical nesting and semiotic hitchhiking focus on conditions of co-occurrence that catapult variables such as vowels and voice quality into wider social circulation. Regarding foci, however, we note several important differences between the two constructs. With semiotic hitchhiking, we see a focus on understanding how supra-segmental features of language gain wide social currency, despite appearing to lie beyond the conscious grasp of even those speakers who use such features. Indexical nesting, on the other hand, focuses less on spread and more on how the crystallization of a linguistic variant in an embedding texture produces an intertextual resource that enables speakers to mobilize sociolinguistic variability in the service of creating voicing contrasts.

Furthermore, indexical nesting applies to a wider range of phenomena than semiotic hitchhiking, which focuses specifically on features of language that have no dedicated sign vehicle of their own. By contrast, indexical nesting includes within its scope any structural relationship where one indexical sign is embedded in some higher-order textual unit, from which the nested indexical bootstraps metapragmatic accessibility. Thus, while I leverage indexical nesting below to motivate the role played by vocalic variants in constructing and exploiting voicing contrasts, this construct applies equally to any case of structural embedding in which one indexical sign acquires greater salience by virtue of its sedimentation in an evocative text.

With these points in mind, I further elaborate indexical nesting below through two case studies that examine how monophthongal (aw) becomes culturally legible through its realization in an idiomatic text. Specifically, I take a discourse-analytic perspective on the ways in which this feature crystallizes through its occurrence in an expression used among

many younger Black Houstonians. This expression – 'coming down' – entextualizes monophthongal (aw), as reflected by cases of eye-dialect spelling in which the expression is rendered as *COMIN DINE*. Crucially, the orthographic choice here echoes the homophony of words like 'down' and 'dine,' which may both be realized with monophthong as [da:n].

As I will show, the idiom *COMIN DINE* functions as a magnet for marked variation because this texture is tied intertextually to articulations of indigineity and personhood. Specifically, this expression extends a spatial metaphor used to describe a procession of cars 'coming down' the street. Through pragmatic extension, rappers have shaped an extended usage of *COMIN DINE* that means roughly "to show up and be recognized." Crucially, this extended use of the expression is connected through popular hip hop lyrics with explicit claims to indigineity, as the following analyses show. Through its use in such "identity-defining activities," (Woolard, 2008:447) *COMIN DINE* has become emblematic of a local voice, thus highlighting the use and meaning potential of monophthongal (aw).

Accordingly, the Houston case illustrates how an embedding texture ties phono-indexical variation to explicit representations of the "authentically-local." Furthermore, as my analysis will show, the entextualization of monophthongal (aw) in the idiom *COMIN DINE* provides speakers with an intertextual resource for highlighting and negotiating the import of (aw) variation. By examining how speakers leverage *COMIN DINE* in explicit metapragmatic discourse and constructed dialogue, the case studies illustrate how this expression enables speakers to mobilize phonetic variability in the service of constructing voicing contrasts. Before we examine exactly how such contrasts are achieved, I turn first to a brief description of the broader research context that informs the present study.

3. Indexical Nesting in its Broader Research Context

The work I report on here was carried out as part of a larger, ethnographic study focusing on the semiotics of inclusion and indigineity at a public radio station in Houston, Texas. Grounded in over four years of fieldwork, this research examines how speakers leverage entextualized variation to foreground, talk about, and manage the situated interpretation of phono-indexicals. Specifically, my work in Houston focuses on the contribution that such indexicals make in forging representations of indigineity. In this regard then, the present study shares an emphasis on the politics of phonetic variation with sociolinguistic studies of style (Bucholtz, 2011; Eckert, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Podesva, 2008; Zhang, 2008), which continue to demonstrate how subtle forms of variability contribute semiotically to articulations of groupness and senses of inclusion and exclusion.

Building on the insights of such studies, the case of variation that I examine below is tied intimately to contested representations of the authentically-local in hip hop lyrics. As numerous scholars have shown (Alim, 2002; Forman, 2002; Harrison, 2009; Ogbar, 2007), a focus on indigineity permeates articulations of personhood in a great deal of popular hip hop music. This focus is motivated by an ideology that invests putatively tough, lower-to-working class neighborhoods with a sense of authenticity. More specifically, these places function as indexicals of the status accorded to prominent figures or social icons who embody the qualities attributed to such neighborhoods. Thus, by claiming to be from these places, popular rappers make somewhat indirect claims regarding their toughness and other aspects of personal character.

Regarding such metonymic uses of place in hip hop lyrics, we observe that the city figures as prominently as the neighborhood in self-presentation. For instance, rappers who claim to be from and speak for a particular neighborhood also often claim to speak for, or represent, the city as a whole. Through their lyrics, such rappers flesh out images of the city by portraying particular neighborhoods and the lives lived there as representative of Houston. In this way then, popular artists who claim to speak for the city essentialize one perspective on indigineity through lyrics that selectively portray a cross-section of local practices and personae as essential to what makes Houston distinct from other city-specific music scenes.

Through their essentializing portrayals of the authentically-local, established rappers mobilize vernacularity to index an experiential connection to place – mediated by familiarity with and fluency in vernacular norms. For example, consider the colloquial terms for territorialized practices in the following excerpt, taken from an interview with Houston rapper Mike Jones: "I'm from H-Town. I sip lean. I ride candy paint. Grills in the mouth, diamonds shining. I love where I'm from. I'm proud of that." Here, Jones appeals to a number of social practices central to articulations of a distinctive Houston semiotic, including practices related to car culture ("candy paint" refers metonymically to a car with a custom paint job), drug culture ("sippin' lean," or drinking a codeine-laced beverage), and local fashion trends (wearing "grills" or diamond-encrusted jewelry fitted over one's teeth). By juxtaposing these colloquial terms for social practices with the declaration "I'm from H-Town," Jones subtly equates being from Houston with knowledge and usage of a broader vernacular register, to which terms such as "grills" and "lean" belong.

Thus, as this example helps to illustrate, artists like Jones (implicitly) regiment senses of indigineity through the selective foregrounding of vernacular items. Such foregrounding puts these items on display, while relegating competing vernacular norms to the social-semiotic margins. Accordingly, deciding whose vernacular norms to recruit in representing the city proves to be a highly political choice, through which rappers circumscribe the semiotic parameters of a local authenticity. Put differently, by selectively foregrounding indexicals of indigineity such as "grills" and "lean," popular rappers connect these vernacular items with a particular vision of the legitimately-local.

In what follows, I consider how the consistent occurrence of monophthongal (aw) in the expression *COMIN DINE* yields an intertextual resource that foregrounds (aw) monophthongization, enabling speakers to connect the use of this variant with specific articulations of the local. Crucially, the speakers cited below exploit this connection by putting (aw) variation to work through a variety of voicing strategies, including explicit metapragmatic discourse and constructed dialogue. As the case studies will show, speakers employ these strategies to highlight how monophthongal (aw) contributes to the negotiation of a distinctively-local aesthetic. Accordingly, the analyses that follow throw light on intertextual processes that enable speakers to voice and comment on vocalic variation.

4. (aw) Monophthongization: Two Case Studies

The first case study focuses on lyrics from a song called "Autobahn" by Houston-based rapper Savvi. This artist is part of a local group that goes by the name H.I.S.D – playing on an acronym for the Houston Independent School District. The decision to use such a spatially-inflected name echoes the group's focus on (re)defining the semiotic

contours of a local voice and identity. This focus manifests not only in naming practices, but also in lyrics that directly address the emergence of a local stereotype. Crucially, through their music, members of H.I.S.D. openly challenge lyrics that essentialize the semiotic terms of indigineity.

We have already seen the subtlety of such essentialization, for instance, in the Mike Jones excerpt. There, the artist fleshes out a sense of the local by referencing specific social practices, subsequently pushing forward processes of stereotypification. To illustrate how rappers marginalized by such processes orient to a local stereotype, consider the exchange in the following ethnographic excerpt. In this passage, Houston rapper Fat Tony (*FT*) echoes Mike Jones' comments above in discussing the influence of stereotyping on identity practices in local hip hop (I am speaker *C* in the transcript):

C Do you think there's a stereotype for Houston rap music?
FT Hell yes I think there's a stereotype.
C What is it? How would you describe it?
FT Just the whole, scene of like you know, candy cars, grills, stuff like that. Like cuz like that was what was presented first for like Houston rap music. Like when that was from the, the Still Tippin' video came out, that was what the whole country thought of just Houston rap music, period. Like that was, so, so, they just look at that and like obviously every-everybody would sound like that to them, you know? That's a, a big problem.

Here, Fat Tony cites the significance of Mike Jones' song "Still Tippin'" in shaping public images of Houston and distinguishing the city from competing music scenes. For example, the song cited features numerous references to local, lexicalized social practices, such as "tippin', or manipulating a hydraulic suspension while cruising "on four Vogues" (i.e. Vogue-brand tires). Established artists leverage such indices of lived experience by recontextualizing in-group terms for these practices, giving rise to an intertextually-grounded framework for legitimizing on-mic identities.

Rappers and groups such as H.I.S.D. draw on this framework to legitimize their own claims to indigineity, which call for a "multivocal" (Rodman, 1992) perspective on the local that leaves room for social-semiotic variability. To illustrate, consider the following example, in which H.I.S.D. group member Equality recontextualizes the expression "still tippin'" to index a distinctive Houston voice. Here, the artist employs a multi-lane highway metaphor to capture the polyphony that characterizes H.I.S.D.'s take on indigineity.

"Yall boys ain't that typical mayne [= man],"
Same road, we just tippin' from a different lane
beautiful side of an ugly game,
H-Town [ta:n], what a lovely twang,
What it do? Now the whole world lovin' our slang…

In this passage, we see how constructed dialogue – discussed in the second case study – may be leveraged to position both self and other. Specifically, the dialogue that Equality constructs involves the unknown, arguably fictive, voice of someone saying to H.I.S.D. that they "ain't that typical mayne." In this double-voiced declaration, Equality embeds

the distinctive Houston discourse marker and term of salutation, "mayne," in the turn of his fictive interlocutor (line 1), counterposing the cultural images evoked by this vernacular item with something alternative – a style not "typical" in regard, presumably, to popular currents of Houston rap music.

Equality distinguishes between competing currents in the next line, employing metastylistic discourse to compose a metaphor that creates space for multiplicity. Toward this end, Equality emphasizes social similarity by talking about the "same road" of hip hop cultural production in Houston. However, the artist subtly separates himself and his group from other popular currents via the car-culture metaphor, using the multi-lane source domain as a material analogue to the multiplicity that characterizes competing currents of Houston hip hop – each vying for equity or, in some cases, exclusivity when it comes to defining the semiotic parameters of indigineity.

As I have already noted, such parameters include the use of vernacular items like *COMIN DINE*, whose intertextual histories help connect nested phono-indexicals with hegemonic formulations of the local. In the following excerpt, Savvi comments on this connection through explicit metapragmatic discourse, through which he foregrounds the indexical potentials of (aw) monophthongization.

1 Hear the pound in the beat, H-Town what it be?
2 What it do? What it don't? What it is? What it be?
3 Would it be out of line [la:n], if I said *COMIN DINE* [da:n] or
4 Comin' out hard, with a millimeter nine, or
5 Corner one more time, see that booty from behind
6 This is underground king spit, organized noise with
7 aggravated monkey still swinging from a vine,
8 Grip it on that other level wood-wheel on recline…

To elucidate how phonetic variability is mobilized here to create voicing contrasts, I call attention first to the realization of (aw) in the passage. There, several words contain the variable in question, including 'pound,' 'Town,' 'underground,' and 'down.' Crucially, each of these words is realized with a pronounced diphthong, except in the case of *COMIN DINE*, where (aw) is realized monophthongally. I argue that this distribution provides evidence that the monophthongal variant may be mobilized through the expression *COMIN DINE* in order to construct voicing contrasts based in vocalic variability.

Regarding the metapragmatics surrounding this variability, we observe that Savvi calls attention to monophthongal (aw) through a rhetorical question that explicitly focuses on matters of pragmatic fit. By asking whether it would "be out of line" if he "said *COMIN DINE*," Savvi suggests that his use of this expression might be viewed by some Houstonians as inappropriate or inauthentic. Furthermore, addressing the whole of "H-Town" in line 1, Savvi questions not only who may legitimately use *COMIN DINE*, but also how the use of this expression should be read in relation to prior, authoritative usage in popular hip hop lyrics. In this regard then, Savvi challenges ideologies that construe monophthongal (aw) as an iconized indexical of an exclusive indigineity.

Thus, as this first case illustrates, *COMIN DINE* functions as an intertextual resource for regimenting construals of (aw) monophthongization. Specifically, Savvi interrogates the popular metapragmatics of monophthongal (aw) by asking who may legitimately use

the iconic expression in which this variant has crystallized. Accordingly, the H.I.S.D. excerpt demonstrates how monophthongal (aw) is brought into explicit metapragmatic focus through its contextualized use in an emblematic idiom. In the next case, we see how the metapragmatic negotiation of (aw) monophthongization may take on a subtler, more implicit character.

Specifically, the second case examines the use of constructed dialogue to voice contrasting perspectives of the local in an ethnographic interview, conducted in 2004 with Houston-based DJ Big Chance. Central below are the ways in which Big Chance's ventriloquism interacts with the surrounding co-text of the interview. For example, nowhere else is the phrase *COMIN DINE* used, and throughout the interview, Big Chance realizes (aw) diphthongally. No other word containing this variable is realized as monophthongally as the lengthened (39 ms) token in line 5. Accordingly, by monophthizing (aw) in the expression *COMIN DINE*, Big Chance voices what he and his constructed interactant perceive to be a style representative of Houston hip hop (again, I am the second speaker in the excerpt):

1 *BC* And and y'know it, uh, uh, like I said it's a style like uh..
2 no other <H> AND, you know what I, you know what I hate, uh..
3 I—this is one thing I dislike about Houston artists…
4 They'll say, "ah" they'll come up to me "ah yeah I don' rap like that
5 *COMIN DINE* and, all that otha stuff", and what I tell people is, Dog, w—
6 it's nothin wrong with, that rappin like you from Houston Texas cause
7 some cats'll come down here and "ah I don't sound like these boys around
8 here" Well there's nothing wrong with nothing wrong with soundin like
9 'em it's what you put into it [I mean]
10 *C* [that's right]
11 *BC* it's, it's not—it's nothing wrong with soundin like 'em, cause I'm a tell
12 you what, The, the people you tryin sound like the East and the, and the,
13 and the, and the ATLs but you know how they tryin to sound like, you
14 know who they, who they listenin to? Yall, Houston cats.

Key here is how Big Chance equates indigineity with a broader register to which *COMIN DINE* belongs: "it's nothing wrong with, that rappin like you from Houston Texas." For Big Chance, *COMIN DINE* is part and parcel of a register he views – and imagines others to view – as representative of hip hop in Houston. Moreover, through a subtle naturalizing move in line 6, my interlocutor portrays this register as *the* way to sound local, indicating indirectly that "rappin like you from Houston Texas" involves the mobilization of vernacular resources such as *COMIN DINE* and the monophthongal variant it entextualizes.

Big Chance leverages these resources in the passage above to construct voicing contrasts grounded in phonetic variability. As already noted, nowhere else in the interview did I find a token of (aw) as monophthongal as the realization in line 5. Furthermore, scanning the passage for tokens of (aw), we observe that several words contain this variable, including 'down,' 'sound,' and 'around.' Crucially, each of these items is produced dipthongally, save for the monophthongal realization of (aw) in the expression *COMIN DINE*. Moreover, by embedding this expression in constructed dialogue, Big Chance connects an overt change in voicing structure with the monophthongal production of (aw).

In these ways then, the two case studies illustrate how *COMIN DINE* and monophthongal (aw) are leveraged to regiment the social-semiotic parameters of indigineity. In both cases, speakers who otherwise seldom produce the monophthongal variant mobilize this indexical by leveraging *COMIN DINE* to construct voicing contrasts. Drawing on such distributional evidence, the analyses highlight how this expression functions as a cultural touchstone for negotiating the metapragmatics of monophthongal (aw). Moreover, as the H.I.S.D. excerpt suggests, *COMIN DINE* has become tethered indexically and intertextually to formulations of indigineity that downplay or erase multivocality. Accordingly, rappers such as Savvi of H.I.S.D. employ the expression in question to challenge widely-held beliefs regarding how Houston rappers should sound.

5. Conclusion

By examining the case of (aw) variation in context, I have sought in this article to highlight how speakers negotiate the metapragmatics of a phono-indexical through its use in an evocative text. As shown above, the entextualization of this indexical brings phonetic variability into dialogue with the interactional work done by *COMIN DINE*. Regarding this relationship between words and the sounds they entextualize, Podesva (2008:8) says "[s]ocial meaning may attach to phonetic qualities, but this meaning derives in part from the affect signaled by the referential meaning of words on which phonetic qualities appear." Accordingly, across occasions of use, monophthongal (aw) has become tethered not only to the geo-culturally-inflected idiom in which it occurs, but also to a broader co(n)text in which this idiom helps articulate an authentically-local voice by mobilizing vernacular speech.

Furthermore, focusing on indexical nesting as one type of co-occurrence, I have highlighted the ways in which this structural relationship renders phono-indexicals accessible to voicing strategies, such as constructed dialogue. Through such strategies, artists like Savvi construct voicing contrasts, calling attention to monophthongal (aw) and questioning its place in a distinctively-local aesthetic. In these ways, the present article builds on recent insights into the intertextual bases of phono-indexical meaning (Mendoza-Denton 2011; Schilling-Estes 1998; Woolard 2008) by addressing how intertextuality underwrites the politics of vocalic variation.

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