



Proceedings of SALSA XX: Languages and Societies in Contact

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“Como que era Mexicano”: Cross-Dialectal Passing in Transnational Migration

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Globalization has significantly undermined the political and economic effects of national borders, while simultaneously reinscribing them with powerful new social meanings. Language is a crucial resource for creating and maintaining, but also for contesting, such new meanings (Blommaert, 2003, 2010; Coupland, 2003). As communities become ever more transnational in scope, linguistic variation takes on increased importance for authenticating claims of national belonging, reinforcing what I call *ideologies of ethnonational linguistic distinctiveness* (cf. Irvine & Gal, 2000). Such ideologies assume a straightforward correspondence between geographic and linguistic borders, and as a consequence, both are conceptualized as equally impermeable.

This paper elucidates the interplay of territorial and linguistic boundaries, examining an account of cross-dialectal passing in which an undocumented Salvadoran migrant, Iván, describes how he utilized a particular ethnonational style to pass as Mexican during his unauthorized journey to the United States. Linguistic passing, understood as a fleeting act of self-presentation, involves the momentary use of semiotic resources not thought to “belong” to the speaker (Bucholtz, 1995; Piller, 2002; Rahman, 2009). In the passing performance, the speaker creates a persona that conceals facets of their “true” identity, making strategic use of deception in order to gain access to resources that would otherwise be inaccessible.

Cross-dialectal passing mobilizes more subtle linguistic differentiation than codeswitching or other practices that take up distinct languages. In analyzing cross-dialectal passing, therefore, it becomes crucial to examine which linguistic features speakers attend to as different, and to this end, Silverstein’s (1981) theorization of metalinguistic awareness serves as a useful analytical tool. Within this framework, Silverstein argues that speakers will be aware, and able to produce accounts, of those linguistic features that satisfy three criteria. Firstly, these items are characterized by “unavoidable referentiality”, being semantically complete (rather than bleached) with a full referential meaning (Silverstein, 1981; 5). Furthermore, the features must be “continuously segmentable” in that their referential meaning is contained within a single,

morphologically-simple element (Silverstein, 1981; 6). Finally, these items are “relatively presupposing” rather than “relatively creative”; in other words, their use depends on some independent contextual factor for a successful interpretation (Silverstein, 1981; 7).

Building on this theorization, I demonstrate that these three characteristics play a role in Iván’s metalinguistic account of cross-dialectal passing. However, my analysis further illustrates that such metalinguistic awareness is a more gradient phenomenon: while some features are explicitly identified, others are simply used contrastively with no overt commentary, while still others are not manipulated in the performance of different ethnonational styles. Crucially, metalinguistic awareness is shown to be situated in and emergent from speakers’ lived experience of linguistic variation. Therefore, while cross-dialectal passing transgresses linguistic borders, such performances simultaneously reveal the resiliency of linguistic habitus, thus both destabilizing and reinforcing ideologies of ethnonational linguistic distinctiveness.

The data for this paper comes from an ethnographic interview with Iván, which I conducted as part of my long-term research on communicative practices in transnational Salvadoran communities. Although he now resides in the U.S., Iván is originally from a small rural village in the coastal area of Eastern El Salvador, and I first met him during the four years I spent living there as a community worker and social justice activist. Although local gender norms have placed constraints of formality and distance on our relationship, my longstanding presence in the village has laid a foundation of trust that facilitates my research on this sensitive topic. In this interview, Iván described to me how he crossed Mexico with four other undocumented migrants in a semi-trailer truck. During this journey, their guide assigned Iván the role of pretending to be an assistant truck-driver, which involved performing a Mexican persona. In this first example, Iván spontaneously elaborated on the linguistic aspects of this experience, explaining the crucial importance of what he calls a “Mexican accent” in performing his role.

(1)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. LINET; Entonces, | So, |
| 2. y a ustedes, | <i>and all of you,</i> |
| 3. les tocaba quedarse allí atrás: | <i>did you have to stay there in the back?</i> |
| 4. IVÁN; A::llí, | <i>There,</i> |
| 5. allí estábamos- -- | <i>We were there --</i> |
| 6. No! | <i>No!</i> |
| 7. Yo me salía. | <i>I would go out.</i> |
| 8. LINET; A::h. | <i>Oh.</i> |
| 9. IVÁN; Yo me salía con el:, | <i>I would go out with him {the coyote},</i> |
| 10. como [que], | <i>as if,</i> |
| 11. LINET; [Ah pues]. | <i>Oh then.</i> |
| 12. IVÁN; como era el- -- | <i>as if - --</i> |
| 13. como que era Mexicano (verdad). | <i>as if I were Mexican (right).</i> |
| 14. También la hago un poco de Me-, | <i>I can also do a little bit the Me-,</i> |
| 15. del:, | <i>the,</i> |
| 16. (1.1) | |
| 17. IVÁN; el:, | <i>the,</i> |
| 18. el acento Mexica[no?] | <i>the Mexican accent?</i> |
| 19. LINET; [Ah, | <i>Oh,</i> |
| 20. IVÁN; Ya]. | <i>Yeah.</i> |

21.	LINET; lo] pódés.	<i>You can do it?</i>
22.	IVÁN; Ah-hah.	<i>Uh-huh.</i>
23.	mas o menos.	<i>more or less.</i>
24.	(0.5)	
25.	IVÁN; (Ibamos_a _traer) comida,	<i>(We would go to get) food,</i>
26.	"Ey ven,	<i>"Hey come,</i>
27.	para acá."	<i>over here."</i>
28.	Que "ayúdame."	<i>And "help me out"</i>

Iván's classification of this style as involving a specifically Mexican accent suggests that ideologies of ethnonational linguistic distinctiveness significantly undergird the framing and interpretation of experiences of cross-dialectal passing. Fundamentally, this account represents ethnonational identity as something which can be actively performed, thus problematizing fixed notions of national belonging. Such performativity allows passing by outsiders, as when Iván states that he acted "como que era Mexicano" ('as if I were Mexican'). Furthermore, language, and linguistic variation in particular, is explicitly identified as the semiotic resource that facilitates passing. Later on in his account of cross-dialectal passing, for example, Iván claims "ya no hablaba así como salvadoreño" ('I no longer spoke like a Salvadoran'). However, this identification conceptualizes Mexican and Salvadoran varieties as discrete, internally-homogeneous entities that are entirely distinct from one another, thus shoring up ideologies of ethnonational linguistic distinctiveness. Therefore, variation here serves as a resource that can be mobilized to challenge linguistic borders, but whose use paradoxically reinforces these very boundaries.

Furthermore, in performing cross-dialectal passing, Iván claims that "uno agarra el sistema" ('one catches on to the system'), emphasizing the structured nature of linguistic variation. This statement echoes theorizations of semiotic style that stress the importance of co-occurring linguistic features (Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Mendoza-Denton, 2000; 2011). Enregistered styles become identifiable in a given speech community precisely through the regular combination of specific features from different levels of the linguistic system. I turn now to an examination of the linguistic features that co-occur here, as Iván both describes and reenacts his cross-dialectal passing.

In recounting his passing performance, Iván explicitly identified several features of Mexican and Salvadoran Spanish. Table 1 includes a partial list of the first six items in the order in which they were produced. As shown here, the dialectal features explicitly identified by Iván all consist of symmetrical pairings of lexical items, where each variety has a distinct way of expressing a given referential meaning. The first two items on the list consist of differences in pronouns and expletives, and draw on features that have become enregistered as indexes of particular styles. The remaining words are all drawn from a single semantic domain, revealing the salience of speakers' lived experience in metalinguistic accounts of variation.

Turning first to the enregistered items, the first feature identified is the pronominal use of the *voseo* in Salvadoran Spanish, which is contrasted with the pronominal Mexican-variety equivalent, the *tuteo*. The pronoun 'vos' has been found to be a powerful marker of Salvadoran identity (Rivera-Mills, 2002; 2011), serving as an enregistered emblem of this ethnonational style. The second item on the list, "hijo de la chingada" ('son of a bitch'), and especially the word "chingada", plays a similar role in marking Mexican styles.

Table 1. Explicitly mentioned features by ethnonational variety

<i>Mexican</i>	<i>Salvadoran</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
tu	vos	2.SG informal pronoun
hijo de la chingada	hijo de la gran puta	'son of a bitch'
kilos	libras	'kilos' vs. 'pounds'
popote	pajilla	'drinking straw'
agua	refresco	'fruit juice'
agua pura	agua	'water'

Iván's representation, however, is more complex, and involves the explicit identification of several other features that are not as emblematic of particular ethnonational styles. These remaining lexical items all belong to the single semantic domain of food and beverages; the measurement systems of kilo and pound were referenced by Iván specifically in regard to purchasing items such as cheese and tortillas. This pattern reflects the fact that Iván's cross-dialectal passing occurred in a specific type of interaction – namely food-purchasing service encounters – illustrating that speakers' metalinguistic awareness is firmly situated in their lived experience of linguistic variation. Iván's account here reveals that his explicit awareness of the differences between these ethnonational styles is largely based on contrastive lexical sets. This finding clearly follows Silverstein's (1981) theorization, as these lexical items share the three features which he identifies as necessary for metalinguistic awareness.

However, Iván's account of cross-dialectal passing extends beyond such explicit metalinguistic commentary. In addition to explicitly identified items, Iván makes use of several other features as he performatively enacts the two styles, deploying these without overt comment in representing Mexican and Salvadoran styles. Most prominently, the verbs used in these utterances draw on the *voseo* and *tuteo verbal*, in which the morphology of the conjugated verb varies for each paradigm. For example, Iván produces two parallel initiations of a service encounter, one in each ethnonational style, which involve different conjugations of the verb "vender" ('to sell'). In Example 2, in which he performs a Mexican style, the stress is on the first syllable. In Example 3, performed in a Salvadoran style, the stress is on the penultimate syllable.

(2)

para que le vendan una tortillita, *so that they will sell you some tortillas,*
 "Véndeme un kilo de:, "Sell_T me a kilo of,
 de tortillas". of tortillas".

(3)

aquí decimos "Hey vendéme una libra de:, *here we say "Hey sell_V me a pound of",*
 "Hey vos vendéme una libra de [queso], "Hey you_V sell_V me a pound of cheese",

In reenacting his cross-dialectal passing, *vender* ('to sell') is the most frequent verb Iván uses, and he produces only the imperative forms of verbs, as directed towards him, or as used by him towards others. The sole use of the imperative form suggests that Iván's encounter with Mexican Spanish was significantly shaped by his personal experience; the overwhelming use of *vender*, taken with the salience of the semantic domain of food items, discussed above, indicates that service encounters were the primary interactional domain in which Iván was expected to produce Mexican Spanish (c.f. Piller, 2002). Thus, both the explicit metalinguistic account and the metapragmatic knowledge that allows the

contrastive use of particular features, is situated in and emergent from the speaker's specific experience of linguistic variation.

In addition to this morphological marking of the two ethnonational styles Iván's reenactment of his cross-dialectal passing involves the repeated performance of a particular prosodic contour. Previous research has demonstrated the salience of prosody in performances of Mexican Spanish by speakers of other varieties (Mendoza-Denton, 1994), suggesting that intonational contours may be enregistered and come to typify particular styles. Iván's performed Mexican utterances are characterized by the brevity of each intonation unit, with a mean length of 2.42 words per utterance, as compared to a mean length of 3.67 words for utterances that explicitly perform the Salvadoran variety. The intonational contour for the Mexican utterances involves an overall rise in pitch over the length of the contour, with level pitch or a very slight fall at the end of the unit. This can be compared with a different pattern in the explicitly Salvadoran utterances, which are characterized by a much more pronounced fall.

Figure 1: Pitch Traces for Mexican Utterances

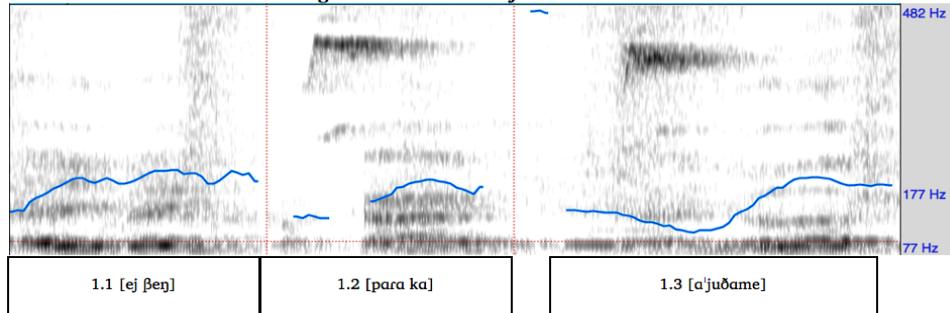
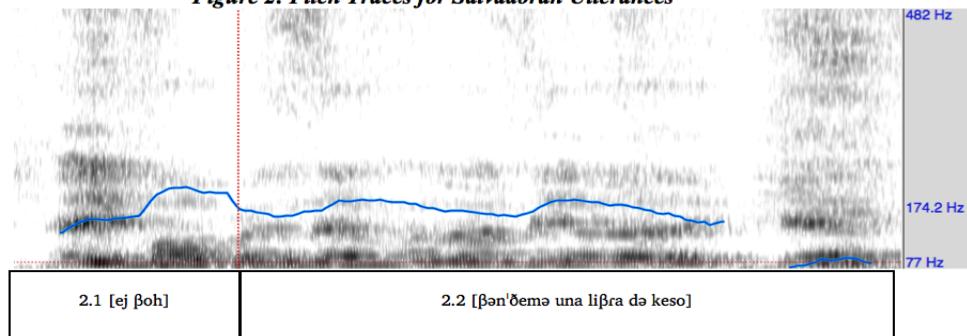


Figure 2: Pitch Traces for Salvadoran Utterances



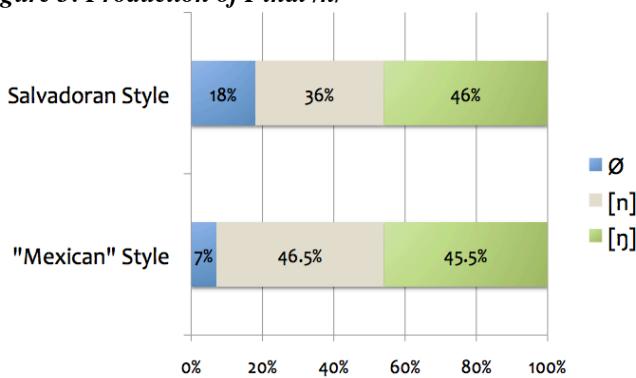
Within Silverstein's framework, Iván's lack of metalinguistic commentary about these morphosyntactic and prosodic features is not surprising, since they lack both referentiality and segmentability. However, these features are consistently deployed in metapragmatically-appropriate ways to depict speech from the two dialects. This finding calls into question Silverstein's (1981) assumption that metalinguistic commentary is the sole indicator of the speaker's metapragmatic awareness. Rather, these findings suggest a

more gradient understanding of such awareness, in that speakers may be able to explicitly articulate the usage of some features, while being able to appropriately manipulate other features despite their inability to overtly describe such usage.

The analysis thus far has illustrated how Iván manipulated lexical, morphological, and prosodic features of his speech in both describing and reenacting his cross-dialectal passing. However, in examining the phonological details of Iván's speech, I found that not all levels of linguistic structure were subject to manipulation. In fact, Iván's performance of a Mexican accent maintained two phonological features commonly associated with Salvadoran, but not Mexican, Spanish: word final nasal velarization ([son] → [son]) (Hernández, 2009, 2011; Lipski, 1986; Quesada Pacheco, 1996) and the lenition of [s], both word and syllable finally, with the fricative being aspirated or deleted altogether ([βos] → [βoh, βo]) (Aaron & Hernández, 2007; Canfield, 1960; Hoffman, 2010; Lipski 1985, 1986). I extracted and coded each token of these two features occurring in Ivan's account to examine the rates of velarization and lenition in utterances performed as Mexican. For comparison, these rates are contrasted with Iván's unmarked narration, since there was very little speech explicitly marked as performing a Salvadoran style.

Figure 3 presents the overall production of final alveolar nasals as either velarized, alveolar, or deleted. As can be seen, the overall velarization rates showed practically no variation, with final nasals velarizing about 46% of the time in both styles. The higher rates of alveolar production in the Mexican style – 46.5% as compared to 36% in the unmarked style, is attributable to the much higher rate of final nasal deletion occurring in the narration. However, the rates of velarization of final nasals is remarkably consistent across the utterances explicitly stylized as Mexican and in Iván's unmarked narrating style.

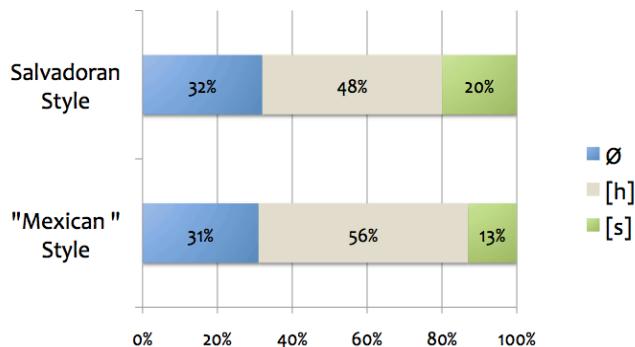
Figure 3: Production of Final /n/



Turning now to rates of [s] lenition, the overall production rates for this variable, in both syllable and word-final position, are presented in Figure 4. Here, some difference in lenition rates can be seen between the two speaking styles: counter-intuitively, the Mexican style actually has lower rates of sibilant retention (at 13%) than the unmarked narrating style (at 20%). Deletion rates are about the same for both styles, so the difference is in effect one of aspiration rates: the production of final /s/ in the utterances performed as Mexican was more likely to be aspirated than in the unmarked style. Nevertheless, this distribution shows that, rather than retaining more sibilants, as might be expected in

performing a Mexican style, Iván's performance actually shows slightly greater lenition rates. This brief quantitative analysis suggests that, unlike the prosodic, lexical, and morphosyntactic features Iván employs in producing his account, the phonological features of nasal velarization and /s/ lenition are not subject to consistent manipulation along dialectal lines.

Figure 4: Production of Final /s/



In summary, then, this analysis has demonstrated that Iván's description and reenactment of cross-dialectal passing involves manipulation of some linguistic features to distinguish the two ethnonational styles, while other potential resources are not taken up. Some manipulated features were subject to an explicit metalinguistic account, and these included both enregistered items such as the use of *vos* or *chingada*, as well as other lexical items from a prominent semantic domain. Other features, while lacking such explicit commentary, were used in metapragmatically appropriate ways: these included the morphological paradigm of the *tuteo* and *voseo*, as well as prosodic features. Finally, phonological features, specifically nasal velarization and sibilant lenition, were not manipulated along stylistic lines.

These findings are partially explained by theorizations of metalinguistic awareness that posit the characteristics of linguistic features themselves as the necessary conditions for explicit commentary. However, I have argued here for a broader conceptualization of metalinguistic awareness that includes the ability to contrastively deploy particular features in depicting different ethnonational styles. Such metapragmatic knowledge is a crucial component of how speakers understand and mobilize linguistic variation to create social meaning and achieve social actions. Furthermore, my analysis has demonstrated that metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness is situated in and emergent from speakers specific experiences of linguistic variation. In Iván's case, this can be seen in both the description and the reenactment of his cross-dialectal passing which, in addition to employing enregistered features, also takes up semantic domains and morphological paradigms that are specific to his interactions in food-purchasing service encounters. The salience of lived experience in shaping speakers' awareness of linguistic variation can also be seen in the lack of phonological distinction in the differently stylized utterances that Iván produces. Thus despite migrants' physical and linguistic crossing of national borders, traces of their geographic origins travel with them in their linguistic *habitus*.

The connection between language and globalization is therefore neither as unambiguously subversive nor as decidedly pernicious as it is sometimes portrayed to be,

but rather involves messy and at times contradictory efforts to manage and transgress borders. These practices, whether everyday or as exceptional as Iván's cross-dialectal passing, have contradictory effects on ideologies of ethnonational linguistic distinctiveness. Most clearly, passing invokes a performative sense of ethnonational identity, which enables the transgression of boundaries that are often assumed to be fixed. In Iván's case, the uniform phonology used in enacting each style produces an audible merging that blurs linguistic distinctiveness even further. However, ideologies of ethnonational linguistic distinctiveness are paradoxically shored up by the very transgression of borders. As seen in this data, metalinguistic accounts of variation take up and reinforce conceptualizations of styles as distinct linguistic systems tied to discrete geographic areas and groups of speakers. The identification and deployment of particular features to depict these ethnonational styles emphasizes their distinctiveness. Ultimately, this subversive act of crossing succeeds, not because Iván is taken as a Salvadoran performing a Mexican style, but because he is taken to be Mexican. Acts of cross-dialectal passing thus simultaneously transgress and reinforce both the ideological and experiential boundaries of linguistic variation, revealing that just as language is used to transform boundaries, so too do territorial borders impact language.

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**“Texas – It’s Like a Whole Nuther Country”: Mapping Texans’
Perceptions of Dialect Variation in the Lone Star State**

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1. Introduction

Dialect geographers have long been concerned with identifying and mapping dialect boundaries and describing linguistic differences within these boundaries. This research focuses primarily on production – fieldworkers record the linguistic features that are used regularly (or historically) among members of a community. The observed phonetic, morphosyntactic, and/or lexical differences are then superimposed on maps so that researchers can draw linguistic isoglosses to indicate dialect differences. This work has led to various linguistic atlases about English in the United States. A few notable examples are the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States*, the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States*, and the *Atlas of North American English*.

More recently, dialect geography research has begun to focus on documenting “perceived” dialect differences, i.e., where people believe dialect boundaries to exist along with their perceptions of language variation within those boundaries. This subfield of sociolinguistics, known as perceptual dialectology, explores non-linguists’ perceptions of

language variation and the ideology associated with the perceived variation (Hartley and Preston, 1999; Lippi-Green, 2012). One method perceptual dialectologists use to tap into perceived language variation and language ideology is the “draw-a-map” task (Preston, 1989). In this task, respondents are given a map of a specific geographic area (e.g., region, state, or country) and asked to draw lines or boundaries (polygons) on the map that identify locations where they think people speak differently. They are then asked to provide labels and a description (their perception) of the speech in each of these areas. The present study adapts this methodology to analyze perceived dialect boundaries and language variation within the state of Texas.

Since Preston’s initial study using the “draw-a-map” task, several other studies have used the same methodology to investigate “folk beliefs” about language variation both in the United States as a whole and in individual states. Fought (2002) gathered data from native Californians to study both their perceptions of speech in the U.S. and within the state of California. She surveyed 112 university students in Santa Barbara who completed a draw-a-map task on a U.S. map. Her results support Preston’s earlier findings that respondents’ mental maps correspond closely to linguistic stereotypes about the U.S. In addition, her data support later findings that suggest speech in the northern U.S. is generally perceived as more prestigious than speech in the south (Preston, 1996).

Bucholtz et al. (2007) also used the draw-a-map task to investigate perceptual dialect boundaries and language ideologies in California. With data from 703 students native to California, they examined the most frequently labeled regions, the social/linguistic labels applied to them, and the correlations between the most common labels and respondent ethnicity. Their analysis suggests that while respondents perceive language variation along a northern/southern California split, they more often associated these differences with social groups, language (e.g., English versus Spanish), and slang use.

Most relevant to the present study is the work done by Evans (2011) in the state of Washington. Using an adaptation of Preston’s “draw-a-map” method, Evans collected hand-drawn maps primarily from university students in two areas of the state. Through a process of “content analysis” (Garrett, Williams, & Evans, 2005) she identified twenty perceptual labels about speech in Washington, and using the geographical information system ArcGIS, she created heat maps as a visual representation of the overlap of these labels to illustrate the perceived dialect regions. Evans’ overall conclusion suggests a perceptual linguistic divide separating eastern Washington from the rest of the state.

Previous studies using draw-a-map tasks of the U.S. (Preston, 1989, 1996; Fought, 2002; Hartley, 2005), found that many respondents identified Texas as its own dialect region. Although people living outside the state may perceive all Texans to sound the same, it seems plausible that—similar to Californians—Texans’ opinions of their speech would vary. Thus, following the methods in Preston (1989), Bucholtz et al. (2007), and Evans (2011), the present study is designed to explore this variation.¹

2. Methodology

2.1 Fieldwork

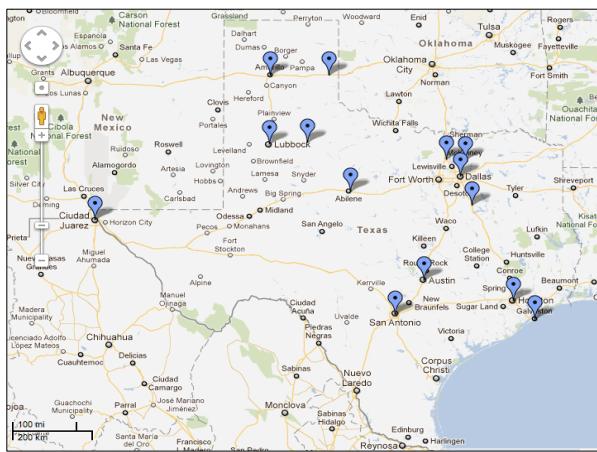
In order to tap into the dialect perceptions of Texans of various ages and backgrounds we collected hand-drawn maps from people living in major urban areas and their surrounding rural communities (Figure 1). Our fieldwork sites included malls, restaurants,

¹ A pilot study for this project was done in fall 2011 by students at the Univ. of North Texas enrolled in LING 4010 “English Language in America.” We would like to give special thanks to Dennis Preston who has consulted with us at each phase of the project as we developed our field methods and interpreted our maps.

bars, hotel lobbies, university campuses, stores, gas stations, and historical sites (e.g., the Capitol Building in Austin and the statue of Sam Houston in Huntsville). Respondents were randomly approached, given a map, and instructed to indicate places where they thought people in Texas sounded different, and next, to label those areas or write down what they would call that way of talking. Once they were finished we asked them to fill out demographic questions listed on the reverse side of the map.²

Using this technique we collected 402 maps; however, thirty-five maps had ambiguous demographic information or were not drawn on so they had to be discarded. This left a total of 367 maps from 182 females and 184 males between the ages of 18-87 for the analysis (see Tables 1 and 2).³

Figure 1. Fieldwork sites



Except for Lameli et al. (2008) and Jeon (2011), perceptual dialectologists have not analyzed differences between survey instruments or accounted for the effect that geo-spatial components on maps have on cultural organization of folk knowledge. In order to investigate these differences in Texas, we conducted a pilot study in fall 2011 using five maps, each with distinct information: major cities (indicated by small dots); major cities and highways; counties; 7 major geographic regions; and none (outline of the state only). A preliminary qualitative analysis of the data from each of these maps suggests that map type may influence how the respondents indicate perceived dialect areas. For example, we noted that maps with major cities might have distracted respondents because most indicated only those cities as dialect areas, whereas maps with counties seemed to provide too much information and may have confused respondents (there are 254 counties in Texas so the maps were very busy). In this study we present the first stage of our analysis of the perceptual data collected with just the outline and region maps⁴ – an example of each hand-drawn map is shown in Figure 2.

² The nine demographic questions included year born, sex, ethnicity, educational background, first language, time lived in Texas, place lived in the longest, self-identification as Texan, and self-identification as urban, rural, or suburban. The correlation between these demographic factors and the perceptual data is a topic of future analysis.

³ One respondent left the “male/female” question blank.

⁴ We are currently conducting a quantitative analysis of these data for the effect of map type.

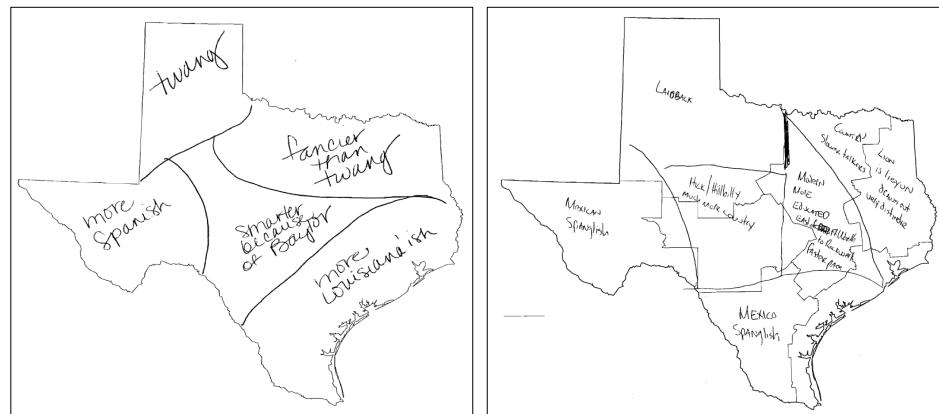
Table 1. Total respondents by year of birth

Year of Birth	# of Respondents	% of Total
1925-1962	72	19.60%
1963-1982	124	33.80%
1983-1994	186	46.30%
Unknown	1	<1%
Total	367	

Table 2. Total respondents by self-reported ethnicity

Ethnicity	# of Respondents	% of Total
White/Caucasian	204	55.6%
African American	31	8.4%
Hispanic	85	23.3%
Asian	5	1.4%
Native American	5	1.4%
Mixed	22	6.0%
Other	6	1.6%
Unknown	9	2.5%
Total	367	

Figure 2. Two respondents' hand-drawn outline (left) and geographic region (right) maps



Female b. 1963; Amarillo

Male b. 1950; Rockwall

2.2 Data Coding: Geographic Region

Each map was coded for geographic region(s) included in the polygons respondents drew representing their perceived dialect boundaries (Regions 1-7 in Table 3 below). Region 8 was added to account for respondents who circled the entire border with Mexico as a dialect region. As Figure 2 shows, respondents given the outline map often divided it into (perceived) dialect regions rather than just labeling those areas, and those given the region map often disregarded the printed geographic boundaries and drew in their own lines to indicate the dialect regions. Following Bucholtz et al. (2007), areas identified by respondents that significantly overlapped with more than one geographic region were coded as both (or all) regions as appropriate. For instance, if a respondent circled an area that included the Panhandle as well as the El Paso area, it was coded as both Panhandle

(Region 1) and Big Bend West (Region 2). This is reflected in Table 3 under the number of times a region was included in a polygon.

Table 3. Distribution of perceived dialect regions in Texas
(adapted from [window.state.tx.us/specialrpt/parks/overview.html](http://www.state.tx.us/specialrpt/parks/overview.html))

Region Code	Region Name	# of Times Included in a Polygon
Region 1	Panhandle Plains	334
Region 2	Big Bend West	273
Region 3	Hill Country	211
Region 4	Piney Woods	200
Region 5	North Central	307
Region 6	South/Valley	207
Region 7	Gulf Coast	125
Region 8	Border	51
Total		1,708

2.3 Data Coding: Perceptual Labels

All perceptual labels written on the maps or associated with polygons were entered into a spreadsheet and subsequently put into perceptual categories. Labels that were semantically related were included in the same perceptual category: for example, *sounds flat, more drawn out, mumble, chopped, clipped, slur, nasal, stutter, lisp*, were all coded as *Pronunciation*. This paper will discuss and compare the six most identified of the twenty-five categories we identified: *Spanish, Spanglish, Drawl, Twang, Country, and Normal*.

2.4 ArcGIS Analysis

Similar to Evans (2011), the present study uses the tools in ArcGIS 10.0 to create digital representations of respondents' mental maps. The benefit of using ArcGIS for perceptual dialectology is its capability to layer linguistic features and aggregate them on a map, producing maps where areas of greater color intensity represent higher concentrations of certain labels (Montgomery and Stoeckle, under review; Evans, 2011). First, each of the 367 hand-drawn maps was digitized and geo-referenced with a geographic coordinate system of Texas. Next, all polygons were traced onto the geo-referenced image. During this process, polygons are linked with the region and perceptual codes as well as respondents' demographic information in an attribute table. In the following step, called "spatial analysis," areas where polygons have a "union" are highlighted and an aggregate count is calculated. Queries about demographic and perceptual features can then be run in a statistical program designed for use with ArcGIS called PostGIS. Finally, composite heat maps can be generated, showing areas where the linguistic feature of interest is most and least identified by respondents. The maps in Figure 3 and Figures 5-9 are the outcome of this type of analysis.

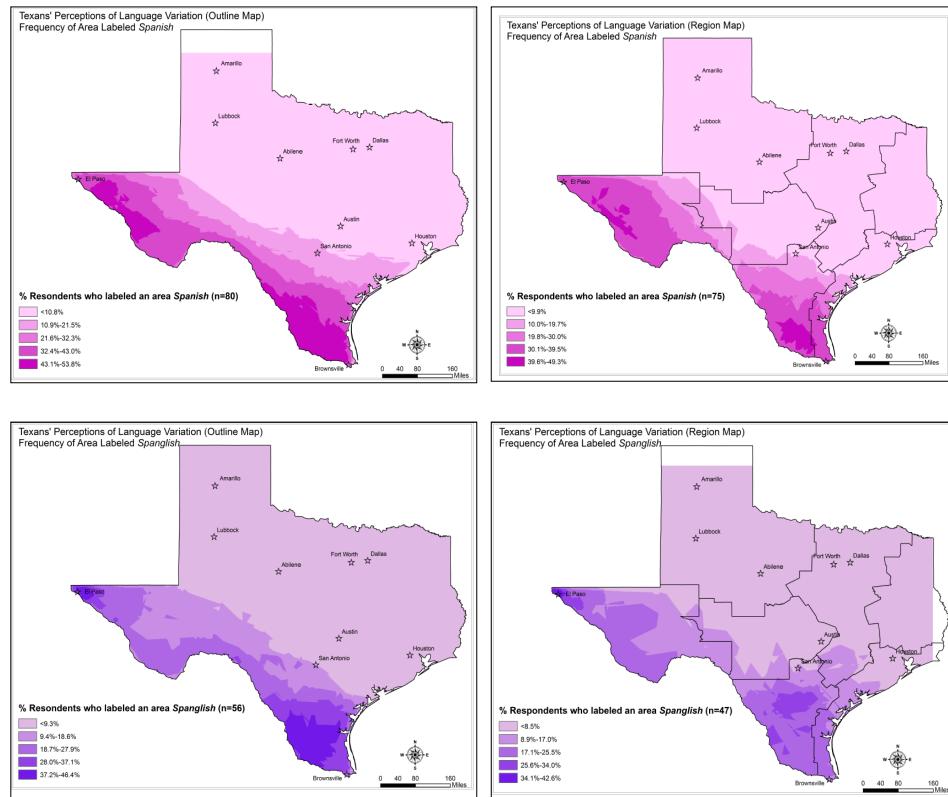
3. Results

3.1 Spanish and Spanglish

Spanish and *Spanglish* were the most frequent perceptual labels assigned to polygons by respondents—70% of all respondents identified an area with one or both of these labels. Key words used to code a feature *Spanish* included *Spanish, Hispanic, Mexico,*

Español, and *Mex*. Key words used to code a feature *Spanglish* included *Spanglish*, *Tejano*, *Tex-Mex*, *Latino*, *Texican*, and *Chicano*. A qualitative analysis of the maps in Figure 3 suggest that (1) there is only a slight difference between the outline and region maps; (2) there is little perceptual distinction between *Spanish* and *Spanglish*, and (3) as we hypothesized, Texas speech in the El Paso region, south Texas, and the border areas with Mexico are associated the most with some degree of Spanish influence.

Figure 3. Outline (left) and region (right) composite maps of *Spanish* and *Spanglish*



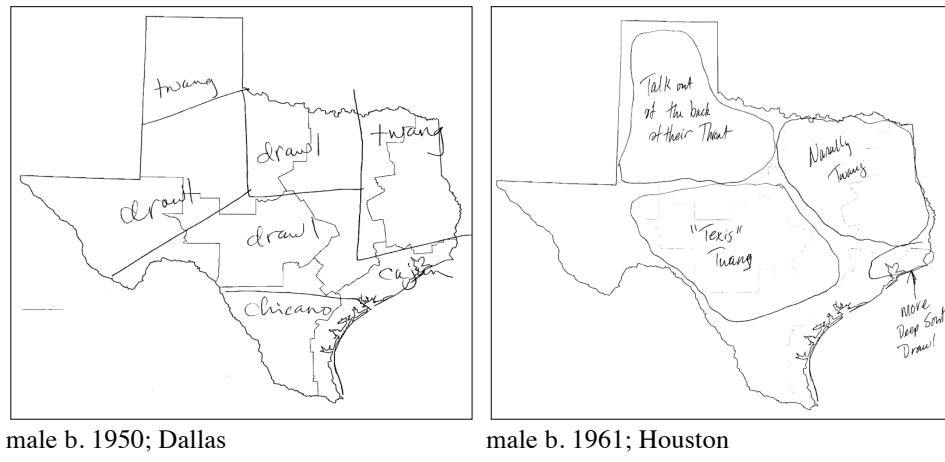
3.2 Drawl vs. Twang

The impression in the U.S. that Texas is both southern and western (Johnstone, 2003: 199-200) has been noted in previous dialectology studies (c.f. Carver, 1987; Lance, 1994; Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006)⁵ and is also reflected in the perceptual data from Texas. Over a third of respondents commented about this “split identity” on their maps, indicating that Texans both *drawl* (southern) and *twang* (western). Both of these terms refer to pronunciation—*drawl* denotes long vowels and/or diphthongs and is often paired with “southern” (Dorrill, 2003:123-24), and the onomatopoeic term *twang* (from the sound of a plucked string) refers to the manner of the speech sound, e.g., nasal, and is often paired with “western.” We suspected that respondents’ mental maps would distinguish geographic regions in the state where people drawl and twang. Contrary to our initial

⁵ Although Preston (1996) finds that people’s mental maps don’t include Texas as a southern or western state, but rather single it out as a separate speech area.

hypothesis, however, the perceived dialect boundaries of *Drawl* and *Twang* were not as clear-cut as those for *Spanish* and *Spanglish*. The comments on the hand-drawn maps in Figure 4 are typical of many of the maps we collected and lend support to the stereotype that Texans drawl in the Panhandle and Big Bend West and twang in the east and Piney Woods. However, Texans also perceive speech in the Panhandle as very “twangy,” and many respondents commented that people drawl across the Hill County and along the Gulf coast region from north of Houston down into the upper Valley. This is echoed in the labels that often coupled/associated *Drawl* and *Twang* with various geographic regions and cities in Texas, e.g., *east TX twang*, *east TX drawl*, *Dennison drawl*, *Tyler drawl*, *Amarillo twang*, *west TX drawl*, *Houston twang*, *Ft. Worth twang*, *Hispanic twang* and *Panhandle drawl*.⁶ In addition, the data suggest that *Drawl* and *Twang* are rarely associated with speech in El Paso and south Texas, where *Spanish/Spanglish* influence is greatest. The composite heat maps in Figures 5 and 6 illustrate these observations.⁷

Figure 4. Hand-drawn maps showing *drawl* and *twang*



3.3 Country (*Hick* and *Redneck*)

The number of times respondents labeled areas as *hick* or *redneck* was relatively low, and since these labels were assigned to similar geographic regions and in roughly equal proportions as *country* and its associated keywords (e.g., *good ol' boy*, *howdy*, *rural*, *farmer*, *boots an' jeans*), they were subsumed under the category *Country* when generating the composite heat map. Figure 7 suggests that both outline and region map respondents perceive the most country-sounding speech to be in the Panhandle (especially in and around Amarillo) and in East Texas. Similar to *Drawl* and *Twang*, *Country* is not associated with south Texas, especially in areas near the Mexico border—this is where *Spanish/Spanglish* is dominant. *Country* is also not associated with major cities outside of the Panhandle, including Dallas/Fort Worth and south to Austin, where respondents perceive “normal Texas speech” is spoken (see Figure 8).

⁶ The more generic labels *southern drawl*, *southern twang*, and *western drawl* were also very common.

⁷ Note that the outline and region maps are similar for *drawl* but appear to be different for *twang*. This could be an artifact of the low number of respondents who labeled *twang* on the region map and warrants further analysis.

Figure 5. Outline composite maps of *Drawl* (left) and *Twang* (right)

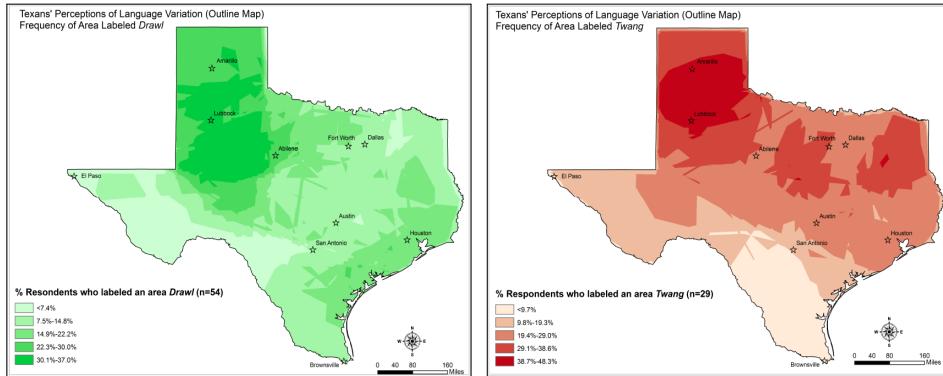


Figure 6. Region composite maps of *Drawl* (left) and *Twang* (right)

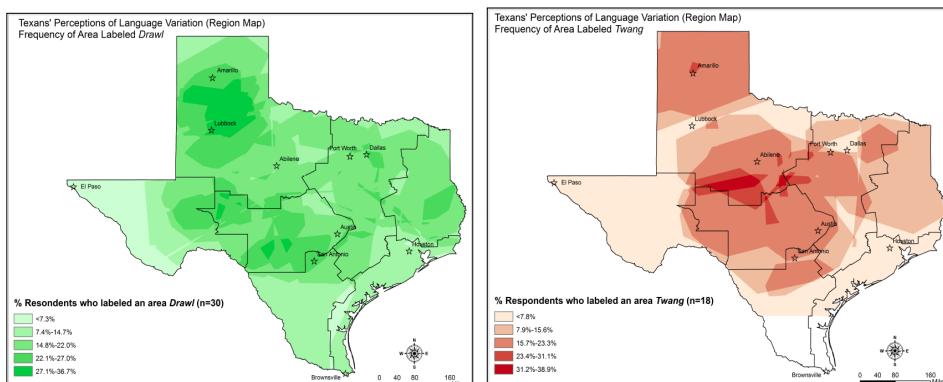
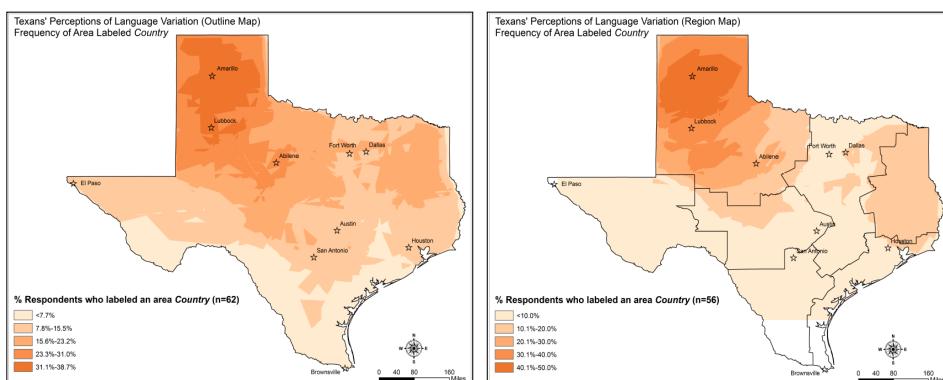


Figure 7. Outline (left) and region (right) composite maps with the label *Country*



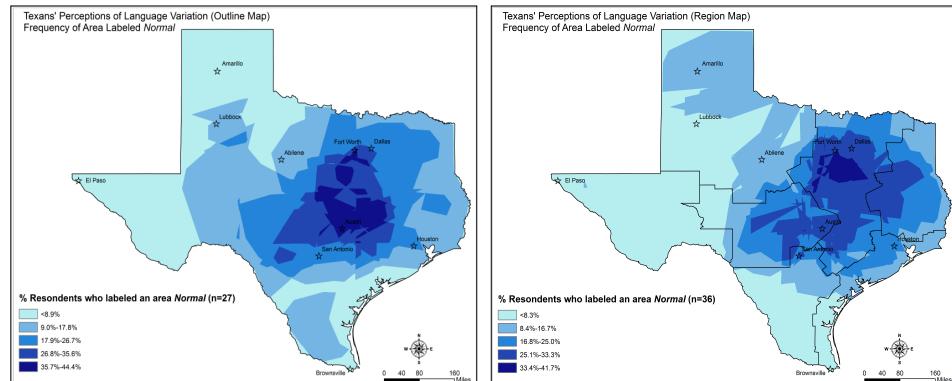
3.4 Where is “Normal Texan” Spoken?

Texas speech is rarely (if ever) perceived as “standard” or “correct” by non-Texans (cf. Preston, 1996; Fought, 2002). Texans, however, appear to have a clear idea about

what “educated” or “proper” Texas English is and where it is spoken. Those respondents identified areas on their maps and labeled them *proper*, *average*, *well-spoken*, *neutral*, *correct*, *educated*, *no accent*, *no slang*, *the norm*, *business-like*, *government standard*, *perfect*, *clear*, and *regular*, all of which we subsumed under the category *Normal*.

Qualitatively, the outline and region composite heat maps for *Normal* shown in Figure 8 are very similar, with both maps showing that “normal Texas speech” is perceived to be spoken by people who live in the North/Central region, especially around the Dallas/Ft. Worth metroplex, and along a southern corridor to Austin. A small number of respondents who lived outside of this “normal region” commented that “normal” was where they were from (cf. Preston, 1996)—this accounts for the 8% who circled areas in the Panhandle, El Paso, and in south Texas and wrote, “*normal TX accent. I'm from here so I'm sure I'm biased.*” Finally, if we compare the heat maps for *Normal* with those for *Country* (Fig. 7) and also *Drawl* and *Twang* (Figs. 5, 6) we see that Texans have a clear perception of who sounds “normal” and where they live: “normal Texas speech” is heard primarily in urban and suburban north and central Texas, it’s not spoken by hicks, rednecks, or people living in rural areas (as one respondent said, “*It doesn't sound country*”), and its speakers don’t drawl or twang.

Figure 8. Outline (left) and region (right) composite maps of *Normal*



4. Conclusion

Pickup trucks, cowboy boots, big belt buckles, horses, ranches, oil wells—these are the accouterments of the prototypical Texan, the Texans who we see portrayed in film, on TV, and in print. Of course we recognize that these are stereotypes, but people’s perceptions about speech are often influenced by stereotypes (Lippi-Green, 2012). While some of our findings were not surprising (e.g., the prevalence of *Spanish/Spanglish*), others, such as the relationship between *Country*, *Drawl*, and *Twang*, warrant further analysis, as does another frequent perceptual label, *Southern*, that was not included in this discussion. The present study, which taps into Texans’ impressions of their own way of talking from a geo-spatial perspective (cf. Johnstone, 2010) contributes to the growing body of perceptual dialectology and language attitude research at the local level (cf. Evans, 2011). The results echo the findings about California (Bucholtz et al., 2007) and Washington (Evans, 2011), suggesting that Texans do not view themselves as a homogeneous speech community, nor do they consider Texas to be the land of cowboys and hillbillies where everyone drawls and twangs and says “*Howdy yall!*”

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Arabic Words in the Spanish of Syrian Jewish Mexicans: A Case for ‘Heritage Words’

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1. Introduction

Toward the end of my fieldwork period in Mexico City, I met to discuss an article draft with Syrian Jewish Mexican sociologist Liz Hamui, foremost scholar of Mexican Jewry. The article was an overview of the local Jewish Mexican linguistic repertoire. Hamui was generally enthusiastic about the piece, but when we got to the section on Arabic loanwords, her smile faded. “*Palabras prestamos*,” (loanwords), she said with consternation. “Is that a linguistics term or what?” Yes it is, I answered. She continued: “*Es que, estas palabras no se nos han prestado. ¡Son nuestras!*” (It’s that, these words weren’t loaned to us. They’re ours!) I tried to explain that the term reflected the “perspective” of the Spanish language, which had borrowed the words from Arabic. But she still wasn’t satisfied. “Come up with a new term,” she said. “That can be your contribution.”

I politely agreed, but in reality, I quickly dismissed her suggestion. I wasn’t about to take on the canon of historical linguistics and usurp such a key concept as ‘loanword.’ But every time I used it in my writing, Liz’s disappointed face came back to haunt me. I realized she had a point. If I was committed to privileging speaker agency in my analysis, it made sense to use a term that reflected that. After reading some literature on heritage languages, a bell went off: *heritage words*.

In this paper, I explore the potential and limitations of using heritage words as an analytical tool, based on the case of Arabic words and phrases in the lexicon of young Mexicans of Syrian Jewish descent. These words are essential components of the local Jewish linguistic repertoire, which Benor defines as “the linguistic features Jews have access to that distinguish their speech or writing from that of local non-Jews” (Benor, 2009, p. 234).¹ Heritage words serve not only to signal ethnic distinction among Jewish Mexicans of different backgrounds. Rather, they are also an

¹ ‘Jewish linguistic repertoire’ is a subset of the more general theoretical construct of ‘ethnolinguistic repertoire’ (Benor, 2010).

important interactional resource for Syrian Jewish speakers to construct and enact relationships toward heritage. It is this capacity I highlight in applying the term heritage words to theorize how and why speakers use such lexical items. In so doing, I aim to foreground the role of speakers in contact-induced linguistic change and honor their perceived relationship to source languages: not borrowers, but rightful heirs. In defining the concept, I draw on notions of heritage language and engage with other scholarly formulations of linguistic “afterlife,” such as Shandler’s (2008) notion of postvernacularity. I also consider how heritage has been theorized in folklore and anthropology: as tangible and novel cultural production with recourse to the past, with political and economic dimensions. I then proceed to examining the case of *palabras árabes* (Arabic words) among Syrian Jewish Mexicans. I highlight four qualities: 1) Their association with strong emotion, as reflected in many of the semantic domains they occupy; 2) their salience; 3) the strong (largely negative) language ideologies associated with them and 4) their versatility and productivity in stance construction and identity work. I illustrate the latter point with a recording excerpt that features young Syrian Jewish women using Arabic words to construct an indeterminate, multivalent stance toward heritage. In my conclusion, I reflect on how the term may be useful to analyzing different sociolinguistic contexts and propose heritage words as a fruitful domain of comparative inquiry.

2. Theorizing Heritage and Language

2.1 Loanwords in Jewish Languages

While neglected in some studies of ethnic dialects or ethnolinguistic repertoires (the term I prefer), loanwords have long received a great deal of attention in Jewish language research. Indeed, they are central to defining ‘Jewish language,’ no matter how conservative the definition. Whether words from Hebrew and Aramaic in Yiddish, or words from Yiddish in the English of Jewish Americans, such lexical items play a prominent role in constructing and communicating Jewish identity. In a recent study, Benor and Cohen (Benor, 2011; Benor & Cohen, 2011) use survey data to analyze the lexicon of Jewish English, observing that “the use of loanwords is generally quite salient...and Jews make regular use of (them) to indicate to their audiences not only that they are Jewish but also that they are a certain type of Jew” (Benor, 2011, p. 144). As I describe below, these observations about the salience and productivity of such words apply to Jewish Mexican speakers as well.

2.2 Postvernacularity

Another Jewish language scholar who pays a lot of attention to words from ancestral languages is Jeffrey Shandler. In his exploration of Yiddish in postwar United States, Shandler coins the term *postvernacular* to describe a language’s continued existence once it has ceased to function as a whole-language medium of communication. He analyzes how non-Yiddish speakers produce and consume Yiddish in things like children’s books, humorous dictionaries, clothing and tchochkes, and in formal performance like klezmer music and Yiddish theater.

Shandler characterizes postvernacular language use as “a relational phenomenon. It always entails some awareness of its distance from vernacularity, which is usually contemplated in terms of retrospection” (2008, p. 22). It has the capacity to convey simultaneous mockery and affection, toward both the language itself and the ancestral worlds it evokes. Another defining feature of postvernacular Yiddish is what Shandler

calls “atomization,” or the display of isolated lexical items as “something less than a whole language” (2008, p. 126); here is where the relevance to heritage words comes to the fore. The embodiment of atomized Yiddish is Magnetic Poetry: tiny magnets that each display a single word or morpheme, which one could presumably arrange into novel sentences on a refrigerator door. But Shandler points out that a fluent Yiddish speaker would be at pains to construct a full sentence due to the lack of basic grammatical items. Rather, the 600 sticky words feature the most “extreme, the particularist and richly connotative” (2008, p. 127). Yiddish is rendered as “limited and fragmentary on one hand, aestheticized and charged with affect on the other hand” (2008, p. 127). Shandler likens these words to

“charged subatomic particles, endowed with a new energy by having broken free from the stable structures of a full vernacular code. Being magnetic, they are at liberty to attach themselves anywhere, in any fashion. And their endlessly, recombinant, artful play ultimately promises to enliven and transform another language – English...”(Shandler 2008, p. 128)

I find this a great way to envision heritage words in speech. As Silverstein (1981) argued, the semantic and structural properties of words make them the easiest linguistic entities to isolate, to talk about, to hold up and reflect upon. These qualities render words particularly object-like. Magnetic Poetry, as Shandler recognizes, is simply the literal, material embodiment of the inherent “thinginess” of words. This quasi-tangibility, together with their evocativeness and creative potential, is part of what makes ‘heritage’ an apt modifier for these words.

2.3 Heritage in Language and Culture

Why heritage? In using this label, I am directly borrowing (as it were) from the notion of ‘heritage language.’ This term is used to refer to a language with which speakers have a personal, genealogical connection, regardless of their degree of proficiency (Fishman, 2001; Valdés, 2001). What I like about how heritage language is defined, and what I hope to transfer to heritage word, is the emphasis on speakers: it is speakers’ relationships to a language that makes it a heritage language. In the way I conceive of it, this is also what makes a given lexical item a heritage word.

Clearly, ‘heritage word’ applies most neatly to lexical items from languages associated with a speaker’s known, lineal ancestors, such as the case of Arabic among Syrian Jewish Mexican speakers. However, I argue that the concept is most useful when we privilege emic understandings of heritage, rather than impose strict etymological or genealogical standards. Furthermore, I consider both synchronic and diachronic dimensions: Heritage is not only that which connects us to the past, but also what defines and unifies us in the present, whether the “us” in question is a small, face-to-face network or a transnational diaspora. On these grounds, I argue that words from both Modern Israeli Hebrew and Biblical Hebrew (used by speakers who identify as Jewish) should be considered heritage words as well. I say this because of the special status of Hebrew in Jewish collective identity and history, combined with the dimension of peoplehood that is central to defining Judaism and Jewishness. Indeed, much Hebrew language education for Jews in the United States is carried out under the rubric of heritage language education. While the topic certainly merits further exploration and debate, in this preliminary consideration I argue for analyzing Hebrew words among Jewish speakers under the rubric of heritage words.

While heritage language was my original inspiration for heritage words, I also consider how the concept of heritage has been theorized in folklore and anthropology. Scholars like Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett analyze heritage both as a mode of performance and an industry: think museums, historical preservation, reenactments, and “traditional” music, dance and handicraft productions. Below, I draw on Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s (1995) definitions of heritage – combined with my own formulations – in exploring how the concept applies to heritage words.

“Heritage is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, p. 369-370). This is the first definition of heritage Kirshenblatt-Gimblett presents in her article. Note the similarity between this and Shandler’s definition of postvernacular (“a relational phenomenon that entails some distance from vernacularity, in both time and space” (2008, p. 22)). Like Shandler, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett reminds us that heritage is not just something old that is still around. Rather, heritage is something we generate in the present. In the case of heritage words, each utterance is not simply a repetition of past forms, but rather a novel production (and indeed, the phonology and pragmatics of contemporary usages often differ greatly from the originals). While the relationship of these words to the past is “built in,” as it were, their meanings and functions are of the here and now. The way speakers construct and manage these temporalities constitutes a task for analysis.

Heritage is a tangible medium for articulating shared culture and history.

Heritage is not simply a feeling of commonality or a subjective relationship to the past. Rather, it is the tangible manifestations of these experiences; something we can produce, display, circulate and interpret. Heritage is therefore a *medium* with which people give form to notions of culture and belonging. This also applies to heritage words. I have previously underscored the relative materiality of lexical items compared to other elements of language. It is precisely this tangibility that allows them to serve as instruments for people to construct relationships toward their shared culture and history.

Heritage is political (and economic). Heritage is never neutral. Rather, there are always political and economic stakes in labeling a given practice or object as ‘heritage.’ Such stakes can include access to state-regulated benefits and resources (for example, in preserving a heritage site or teaching a heritage language) as well as money to be made from tourism. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it, heritage is a ‘value-added industry’ in that it “adds value to existing assets that have either ceased to be viable...or that never were economically productive” (1995, p. 370). The heritage projects Kirshenblatt-Gimblett analyzes also “produce the local for export” (1995, p. 372) through tourism. Thus, heritage is not just for *us*, but it is also – perhaps primarily – for *them*.

Heritage is contested. As a corollary to the previous point, it is important to recognize that what counts as heritage is always a highly charged question; one contested by different actors and stakeholders.

Do these latter qualities – political, economic and contested – apply to heritage words? I argue that they do, although somewhat differently than with the kinds of heritage projects Kirshenblatt-Gimblett considers. As I discuss below, Arabic words among Jewish Mexicans are indeed the subject of potent language ideologies. They are in this way politicized, albeit at a very local level. Nonetheless, I am aware that I risk imposing further politicization through labeling these words as heritage. Additionally, due to the

negative evaluations applied to Arabic words, I expect that some Syrian Jewish Mexicans will contest my designating them as ‘heritage.’ Such a designation implies they are a cultural resource worthy of preservation and celebration, and many simply do not see them as such.

The overtly economic dimension of heritage words may vary by context. The commodification of Yiddish among North American consumers, as Shandler explores, is well documented. In contrast, few Syrian Jewish heritage projects – much less those with economic potential – expressly feature the Arabic language. There is, however, at least one work that “produces the local for export” to a broader audience: not through tourism, but through literature. The novel *Los Dolientes* (2004) by Syrian Jewish Mexican author Jacobo Sefamí provides a glossary for the many Arabic and Hebrew words that pepper his characters’ speech, thereby making Syrian Jewish language and culture accessible to outsiders. While this lone book does not hold a candle to the vast body of commodified Yiddish, it demonstrates an incipient awareness of the capacity of the Arabic language to effectively represent Syrian Jewishness to outsiders. As I conceive of it, heritage words need not have any economic dimension at all to merit the label. My primary interest is in their social meanings and functions within the speech communities that use them. Nonetheless, because of their effectiveness in representing what is different or exotic about minority/immigrant subcultures, the economic potential of heritage words – for use in tourism or art – is always present.

3. The Case of Arabic Words among Syrian Jewish Mexicans

I now delve further into the details of Arabic heritage words among Syrian Jewish Mexicans. In the following overview, I emphasize four qualities of these words that, in my hypothesis, may be common to heritage words across sociolinguistic context. These are:

1. Emotionality
2. Salience
3. Strong language ideologies
4. Productivity in stance construction

3.1 Ethnographic Overview

Since its institutional beginnings in the early 20th century, the Jewish Mexican community has organized itself into separate sub-communities based on the origins of their founders. Two of these groups represent Jews from Syria and Lebanon: the Aleppan or ‘Halebi’ *Comunidad Maguen David*, and the Damascene/Lebanese or ‘Shami’ *Comunidad Monte Sinai*. The other two major groups represent Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern and Central Europe, and Sephardic Jews from Turkey, Greece and the Balkans. My research focused primarily on Syrian Jewish young people, from late teens to early thirties. The majority of these individuals were grandchildren or great-grandchildren of immigrants, although there were some whose own parents had migrated in a later wave to Mexico in the 1970s and 1980s. They are, for the most part, monolingual Spanish speakers until learning Hebrew in formal educational settings.

My broader research question regards how people used language to maintain (or alter) these ethno-geographic distinctions in the context of broad social and religious changes. Such changes include a general opening of relations between members of the four communities (including more “intermarriages” between members from different groups)

and shifts in the balance of intercommunal power and influence from Ashkenazi to Syrian sectors, due to the latter's increasing numbers and socioeconomic mobility. Finally, a transformative process in recent years has been the local growth of ultra-Orthodoxy, especially in the Syrian sectors. These styles of Jewish religious practice and belief, which emphasize stricture in adherence to laws of ritual observance, originated in Eastern Europe and remain dominated by Ashkenazi Jews worldwide. However, significant segments of Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jews in several countries have adopted ultra-Orthodox beliefs and practices (Deshen, 2005; Jacobson, 2006; Lehmann & Siebzehner, 2006). In Mexico City, it is the Halebi (Aleppan) community that has seen the greatest growth of ultra-Orthodoxy, although its effects pervade general Jewish life Mexico City. These religious changes, coupled with the demographic and socioeconomic shifts mentioned above, have served to complicate relations within and between the four ethnic Jewish sectors. My broader research goal is to understand how these changes are both reflected in and negotiated through language.

3.2 Methods

I gathered ethnographic data and recordings over more than a year of dissertation fieldwork in Mexico City. In addition to general participant observation in communal life, I conducted interviews with around 45 individuals. I also made recordings in religious classes that catered to young people and a university classroom that included Jewish and non-Jewish students. Finally, I conducted an activity I call “shadowing,” in which six people wore a voice recorder during most of an entire day. I accompanied them during part or all of this time. Throughout my fieldwork period and after, I compiled a list *palabras árabes* (Arabic words) I encountered and documented instances of their use, both in my fieldnotes and my recordings. I have documented about 65 words, excluding food words and numerals. In compiling this list, I privilege local categorizations rather than strict etymological standards. For example, there are many words derived from Hebrew and Aramaic, but within the context of Jewish Mexico, they are considered *palabras árabes*; that is, used by and associated with Syrian Jewish speakers.

3.3 Properties of Heritage Words

3.3.1 Emotionality

The list below represents the major semantic areas that Arabic heritage words occupy. In compiling this list, I was immediately struck by the many words that are used and associated with strong emotion. After presenting this list, I discuss how this quality of emotionality is relevant to designating them as heritage words².

1. Ethnic labels or ethnonyms
 - *Shami* ('Damascene Jew' or 'Member of the *Comunidad Monte Sinai*'). From the Arabic 'of the north' (referring to Damascus).
 - *Halebi* ('Aleppan Jew' or 'Member of the *Comunidad Maguen David*'). From the Arabic 'Aleppan.'

² I follow local orthographic conventions in representing these words, including /j/ to represent an unvoiced velar fricative ([χ]). The letter /h/ represents IPA [h] as it does in English (and occasionally in Spanish, although /h/ is most commonly silent).

2. Food. As Kershenovich (2002) has discussed in depth, food items such as *kipé*, *keftehs*, and *mejshi* play an important role in the expression and transmission of Syrian Jewish identity.
3. Religion
 - *Jajam*. This is the Hebrew word for ‘sage,’ but is used in some Sephardi/Middle Eastern groups as an address and title for rabbis.
 - *Knis* (Ar. ‘synagogue’).
4. Blessings and “verbal talismans,”³ including:
 - *Alamák*. Glossed as “*Que Dios te acompañe*” (‘May God accompany you’); used as a parting phrase. This is derived from the Arabic *Allah ma’ak*, ‘[May] God [be] with you.’
 - *Barminán*. This is glossed as “*Ni Dios lo quiera*” (‘Not even God desires it’). Commonly cited as ‘Arabic,’ it is ultimately of Aramaic origin.
 - *Mashalá*. (Ar. ‘it is God’s will), glossed as “*Que Dios lo cuide*” (‘May God take care of him), when talking about a child. Also said in remarking on other good or fortunate affairs.
5. Terms of endearment/affection, including:
 - *Habibi* (Ar. ‘my beloved’). Glossed as “*mi amor*” (‘my love’).
 - *Roji* (Ar. ‘my soul’). Glossed as “*mi vida, mi alma*” (‘my life, my soul’)
 - *Jazit/jazito/jazita*. Glossed as “*pobrecito/a*” (‘poor little thing’). This may ultimately derive from Judeo-Spanish.⁴
6. Insults, derogatory labels and bad words, or what my consultants call “*groserías*” (and generally reveal with some reluctance). These include:
 - *Fájam*. Glossed as “*horrible, feo*” (‘horrible, ugly’), possibly derived from the Arabic *fahm* (‘coal’).
 - *S’bale*. Glossed as “*basura*” (‘trash’), possibly derived from the Arabic *zabala* (‘filth, dung, trash’) (Avraham Ben-Rahamiél Qanaí, personal communication, November 20, 2008).
7. Nouns/adjectives for people_
 - *Ishire*. Noun used to refer to a non-Jewish, female domestic servant. It can also be an adjective meaning ‘common’ or ‘stupid.’
 - *Shatra*. Adjective describing a woman who is a good housewife and hostess, attentive to the needs of her family and her guests.
 - *Ami/mertamí*. Terms of address for fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, respectively. *Ami* comes from the Arabic ‘*ami*’ (lit. ‘my uncle,’ also used among many Arabic speakers as a title of respect for men other than one’s uncle) and *mertamí* from *merāt ámi*, (lit. ‘woman (wife) of my uncle’).
8. Money. Arabic is often used as a “secret language” when discussing finances, especially in the presence of domestic employees or strangers.
 - *Masari* (Ar. ‘money’).
9. Interjections/expressions of emotion. This is probably the most common domain, and one that overlaps with some of those above.
 - *Jarám*. This comes from the Arabic *harām* meaning ‘forbidden.’ I have heard it used in that sense, e.g., “*Eso es jarám*” (‘that is forbidden’). I have also heard it used in ways more similar to *barminán* (‘God forbid’) or simply as a stand-in

³ Matisoff (2000) has referred to such phrases as “psycho-ostensives” in his work on Yiddish phrases.

⁴ The Arabic-speaking Jewish communities in Syria received an influx of Judeo-Spanish-speaking immigrants beginning in the 15th century. Therefore, local Judeo-Arabic included many Judeo-Spanish words.

for ‘*que pena*’ (‘what a shame’), which is also a common usage in contemporary Syrian Arabic.

- *Shemá Israel* (Heb. ‘Hear, Israel’). These are the first two words of the most central prayer in Jewish liturgy. Halebi and Shami Mexicans also use it as an interjection to express surprise or angst. I include this as an Arabic heritage word because this usage is unique to Shami and Halebi Jews (and was likely used pre-migration).

I draw your attention to categories 4, 5, 6 and 9 because they have in common the quality of being used or associated with strong emotion. They are words one whispers in tenderness or shouts in anger. This reflects something Shandler observed about postvernacular Yiddish in the United States, as exemplified in Magnetic Poetry: it is the “extreme, the particularist and richly connotative” (2008, p. 127) that tend to be preserved. I propose that this set of qualities – color, evocativeness, and strong emotionality – set heritage words apart from other kinds of loanwords. Such qualities contribute to these words’ salience.

3.3.2 *Salience*

Whenever I told a Jewish Mexican that I was researching language and identity among Syrian Jews, they instantly rattled off a list of *palabras árabes*. I realized early on that these and other words from heritage languages –including Yiddish, Ladino, and Biblical and Modern Hebrew–performed a lot of the work of signaling ethnic and religious distinctions among Jewish Mexicans. One of my research participants “Dina” (see below) told her friends in a recording that she “spoke very Shami (Damascene Jewish).” When I later asked her what she meant, she specifically mentioned Arabic words. These words are certainly not the only linguistic boundary marker speakers recognize. Nonetheless, since words in general are among the most salient components of language, so too are heritage words among the most salient markers of ethnic distinction.

3.3.3 *Language Ideologies*

Of course, what is salient to speakers is also generally the subject of strong language ideologies. Among Jewish Mexicans, Arabic words are associated with negative stereotypes of Shamis and Halebis; stereotypes that can be characterized as Orientalist more broadly (Said, 1978). In particular, many people see Arabic words as icons (Irvine and Gal 1995) of a supposedly inherent Syrian Jewish religious mentality: one often cast as superstitious, ritualistic and pre-rational. I heard this critique as much from secular-leaning Ashkenazi Jews as from those aligned with ultra-Orthodoxy. People from the latter group, in particular, saw Arabic words as a foreign, Islamic influence, and therefore unfit for a proper Jewish lexicon. This ideology was frequently applied to the word *jarám*. At lunch at the home of an ultra-Orthodox (but not Syrian) rabbi, for example, I was talking about *jarám* with one of my Syrian Jewish research participants. We were laughing about the versatility of the *jarám* and its multiple senses, as I describe above. The rabbi had been listening quietly and spoke at an opportune moment. “*Jarám* isn’t just an Arabic word,” he said. “It’s an Islamic word.” He explained that it has to do with the Muslim concept of “*lo prohibido*” (the forbidden), and Judaism doesn’t embrace the same concept. His evaluation of this word was clear: this was an Islamic word, a foreign influence, an intruder. We as Jews should not use it. This ideology, of course, erases the long historical trajectory of Jews in Islamic lands and the shared culture between Arab Christians, Jews and Muslims. In its place, it imposes contemporary geopolitical schema

that serve to equate ‘Arab’ with ‘Muslim’ and position these in opposition to ‘Jewish.’

In addition to associating these words with Oriental superstition and Islamic influence, they are also linked to the unflattering local stereotype of the Syrian Jewish *shajato*. The word *shajato* comes from the Arabic word for sandals that men used to wear in the outdoor markets in Mexico City’s historic center. The *shajato* stereotype shares much in common with others associated with the *nouveau riche*: a combination of wealth and lack of formal education, as well as a public demeanor described as *prepotente* (arrogant or presumptuous). These negative evaluations can serve as strong disincentives for Syrian Jewish people to use Arabic words. Indeed, many told me they avoid using because they didn’t want to be seen as superstitious or *shajato*. At the same time, however, such ideologies surrounding heritage words – combined with their emotionality and general salience – make them especially potent for innovative usages. In my observations, Arabic heritage words don’t just function as signals of Syrian Jewish descent or communal membership. Rather, speakers use them creatively to construct complex, often indeterminate stances toward heritage. Below I present an example of such a usage.

3.3.4 Productivity in Stance Construction

This example is taken from the shadowing activity, in which one of my college-aged consultants “Dina” wore a voice recorder for 24 hours. This particular incident occurred during a get-together with her girlfriends from her high school. All were members of the Shami (Damascene) community. I heard far more Arabic words during this party than in almost any other context I’d recorded or observed. Often, these words were used in relatively habitual and unselfconscious ways. Other times, however, they were the subject of a great deal of laughter and verbal play. In this segment, the women are in the middle of a card game. One woman is reading another’s fortune in her Turkish coffee grounds. “Tani” is heard asking about the meaning of the mountain shape seen in the grounds. In the midst of this conversation, Dina indiscreetly burps, which causes the women to explode in laughter. Their subsequent interaction, focused on Dina’s utterance of the Arabic words *saja* and *sajten*, demonstrates how speakers can use Arabic words to embody “traditional” Syrian Jewish language and culture while simultaneously distancing themselves from it. The Arabic words in the following transcript are bolded.

Tani: *Qué significa la mon[taña]*
 Dina: *[(muchas faltaron)] Mili*
 Leah: *Que vas para la cima*
 ?: *U:::*
 ?: *[<chuckles>]*
 Tani: *(Me, ve) la montaña sí se [<unintel>]*
 Dina: *[<burps>]*
 Mili: *Vacíalas [<unintel>]*
 Various: *[<laughter>]*
 Tani: *Guácala Gina eso sí no lo po' creer <laughing>*
 Leah: *Que vergüenza, que vergüenza (unintel)*
 Dina: *No lo pensé <laughing>*
 Tani: *Sí! Sí al principio porque [<unintel>]*
 Dina: *[De veras] que no lo pensé*
 Various: *<Laughter>*
 Tani: *Qué asco*

Mili: *Est- a ver voy a decir algo eso se lla[ma saja]*
 Dina: *[(unintel)]*
 ?: *(Unintell)*
 Mili: *(Unintell) diles como se dice esa en árabe*
 Dina: *Saja! <Chuckle> Ellas, maleducadas me [deberían de decir] **sajten**.*
 Tani: *[(Qué significa la montaña?)]*
 Mili: **Sajten**
 Leah: *Provecho*
 ?: *La montaña que (unintel)*
 ?: *Pro[vecho]*
 Tani: *[Qué] significa la montaña.*
 Mili: *Que si montaña no va [(unintel)]*
 Dina: *[(Que eres] gra:::nde mirrey*
 Various: <laughter>

Tani: What does the mountain [mean]
 Dina: [(several are missing)] Mili
 Leah: That you're headed for the top
 ?: U::::
 ?: [<chuckles>]
 Tani: (Me, see) the mountain does [<unintel>]
 Dina: [<burps>]
 Mili: Empty them [(unintel)]
 Various: [<laughter>]
 Tani: Eww Dina that I really cannot believe <laughing>
 Leah: How embarrassing, how embarrassing (unintel)
 Dina: I wasn't thinking <laughing>
 Tani: Yes! Yes at first because [(unintel)]
 Dina: [Honestly] I wasn't thinking
 Various: <Laughter>
 Tani: How gross
 Mili: This- wait I'm going to say something that's call[ed **saja**]
 Dina: [(unintel)]
 ?: (Unintel)
 Mili: (Unintel) tell them how you say it in Arabic
 Dina: **Saja!** <Chuckle> These, rude girls [should say] **sajten**.
 Tani: [(What does the mountain mean?)]
 Mili: **Sajten**
 Leah: Bon appetit
 ?: The mountain that (unintel)
 ?: Bon [apetite]
 Tani: [What] does the mountain mean.
 Mili: That if the mountain doesn't go [(unintel)]
 Dina: [(That you are] grea::::t *mirrey*
 Various: <laughter>

The women's' interaction here is fundamentally performative; Mili keys the performance frame in line 17 by announcing "That's called *saja*," for the benefit of the recorder (and by proxy me, their imagined audience). *Saja* literally means 'health' in Arabic and is usually used in Syrian/Lebanese Arabic as a sort of blessing in response to a burp, although the women here use it to refer to the act itself. Mili then instructs Dina in

line 20, “tell them how you say that in Arabic.” When Dina exclaims *saja!* In line 21, the second consonant sound doesn’t resemble a typical Mexican Spanish /j/ (which is most commonly realized a voiceless velar fricative ([x])). Neither does it resemble the consonant sound of the original Arabic word (a voiceless pharyngeal fricative ([h])). Rather, it sounds very forced and approximates an epiglottal sound ([H]).

Dina then tells the recorder that her friends should be saying *sajten*, which is derived from the same Arabic root and is also used as a post-burp blessing (it is also used in ways similar to the Spanish *provecho* or the French *bon appetit*). Again, her pronunciation of the medial consonant is “emphasized,” this time through a backed realization of the usually velar sound. In the original Arabic words, this consonant in *saja* and *sajten* is represented by the letter heh (ح); a sound especially iconic of the Arabic language and its speakers. I have heard Jewish Mexicans of all backgrounds imitate it when invoking Syrian Jewish personas. The effect of Dina’s distorted pronunciation is to draw attention and mock its “Arabness.” I believe the fact that she does this with the words *saja* and *sajten* is not coincidental. Many people mentioned *sajten* as an Arabic word that is particularly *shajato*. In addition, the act of publicly burping itself can be seen as very *shajato*. The degree of the women’s mirth and embarrassment in this segment points to the gaps between their contemporary Mexican standards of decency, in which burping in public is a very serious faux pas, and Middle Eastern culture where it is considered a compliment after a meal. In this episode, the women use laughter, phonological manipulation and metadiscursive commentary to create a certain ironic distance between themselves and the Arabic words they utter. In this way, they construct a complex stance with regards to their “traditional” Syrian Jewish culture; one that simultaneously embraces and rejects, celebrates and derides. I believe heritage words are particularly effective in creating such stances because of the qualities I outline above: their emotionality, salience, and the strong language ideologies attached to them.

4. Conclusions

As highly salient, emotionally charged, quasi-material linguistic entities, these kinds of words do a lot of social work in minority subcultures. I seek to highlight these meanings and functions through applying the label of heritage words. Not only does this honor speakers’ affective ties to the source language, but it also draws attention to the importance of these words in creating ethnic distinction and constructing complex stances towards heritage. There are of course, some potential pitfalls and challenges in using heritage words as an analytical concept. One, as I’ve discussed, is the unavoidable political implications of labeling something as heritage. Another challenge is deciding what counts as heritage word in different contexts. I suggest above that Hebrew words among Jewish speakers indeed count because of the status of Hebrew in Jewish religion and history. Does this necessarily imply that Latin phrases should be considered as heritage words among Catholics? Arabic phrases among Muslim speakers worldwide? Once identified, do heritage words in other contexts have the same qualities of salience and emotionality that Arabic words have among Jewish Mexicans? Are they subject to strong language ideologies and prolific in the construction of stance vis-à-vis ethnic/religious group? These are the kinds of questions I hope will spur further comparative research on heritage words across ethnographic contexts. In addition to contributing toward studies of language and identity among immigrant and minority groups, the comparative study of heritage words has important implications for studies of language contact and change. As several papers in this conference have underscored (Ahmad, 2012; Epps, 2012), speaker motivations and ideologies are a key factor influencing the direction

of contact-induced change. Attention to how speakers use and evaluate words from heritage language provides important insight into the persistence of certain lexical items in new sociolinguistic contexts.

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Sources of Variation in Mongolian Sign Language

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1. Introduction¹

During a nine month period in which data on Mongolian Sign Language (MSL) were collected in a Field Methods course, there were numerous instances of disagreement between language consultants on the correct sign for a given concept. The present paper seeks to describe these disagreements in terms of the potential sources of language variation among language consultants. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: In section 1 we provide a sampling of previous work on language contact and language variation and describe the link between them. We then discuss the linguistic outcomes of contact situations between signed and spoken languages versus signed and signed languages as they relate to the present investigation. In section 2 we describe how data were collected and annotated and in section 3 we present our findings. Section 4 includes a discussion of these findings with respect to previous work on language contact, language variation, and language attitudes. In section 5 we close with brief mention of how to expand upon this work in the future.

1.1 Background: Language contact and language variation

Several studies of lexical variation in signed languages have been undertaken: Lucas, Bayley & Valli (1991) for American Sign Language (ASL); Schembri, Johnston & Goswell (2006), Schembri & Johnston (2006, 2007) for Australian Sign Language (Auslan); and McKee & McKee (2011) for New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL), just to

¹ Many thanks are in order here. First to our consultants (and in particular NB who has maintained contact with me and always been eager to answer questions), who shared their language with our group. Second, thanks to the members my Field Methods course and research team: Roxanne Moore, Page Roberts, Rachael (Manahan) Camp, Christina Healy and of course to Robert Johnson for helping to guide the path through our journey. A special artistic thank you to Christopher H. Brown for designing the graphic in Figure 4. Finally, thanks to Ceil Lucas, Richard P. Meier, Lynn Hou, and Elena Liskova for valuable input on earlier versions of this work. Any errors or misinterpretation of the data or literature are my own.

name a few. These investigations were developed for the specific purpose of documenting variation within each respective language-using community. Very generally, these studies documented variation as a factor of age, gender, region, language background, and educational background, among other influences. A common thread that runs through the variation present in each of these languages is contact with a majority spoken language, specifically, in the case of these languages, contact with English. To give an example, each of these languages has signs that are *initialized*; consider Figure 1. In Figure 1a we see the Auslan ‘M’ handshape (Auslan and NZSL use two-handed fingerspelling²). The movement of the active hand contacting the palm of the passive hand is reduplicated to form the sign MOTHER, so the final posture of the sign MOTHER would look much the same as what is pictured in Figure 1a. Figure 1b shows the final posture of the ASL sign KITCHEN, which is performed with a ‘K’ handshape, pictured in Figure 1c, on the dominant hand. Examples such as these encourage further examination of the possible ways in which contact phenomena can influence linguistic outcomes of contact.

Figure 1. Initialized signs (result of contact with majority spoken language)



In their seminal work on language contact within the American Deaf community, Lucas & Valli (1992) described the influence of five major foci, all of which have also been discussed in literature on contact in spoken languages. These are summarized in (1).

- (1) a. Structural linguistic outcomes of contact including but not limited to lexical borrowing, convergence and divergence (Weinreich, 1968)
- b. Genetic relations between languages (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988)
- c. Functions of respective languages in contact situations (Ferguson, 1959)
- d. Attitudes about contact (e.g. Mougeon & Beniak, 1987)
- e. Measurement of bilingualism (e.g. Ferguson, 1966)

As we will see, these foci, in particular (1a)-(1d), were particularly relevant in the present investigation and we will return to these in the discussion section below.

1.2 Types of language contact

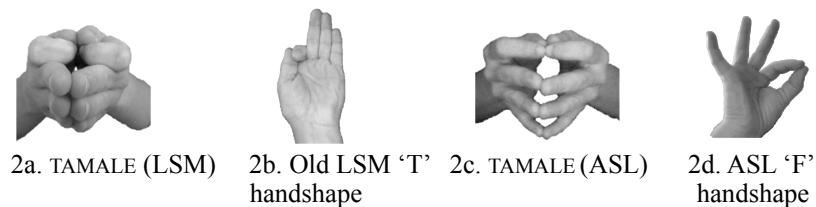
There seems to be a very clear relationship between language variation and language contact, particularly given the suggestions based on previous work summarized in (1). Specifically, and as it relates to the present investigation, language contact can lead to language variation in some situations. In this work it will be important to distinguish two types of contact and the specific types of linguistic outcomes associated with each. These are detailed below.

² Fingerspelling is a process used in some sign languages which involves using a manual alphabet in which each orthographic character used in a particular language is represented by a unique hand configuration. The manual alphabets of some languages are one-handed, like ASL, while others require both hands, like Auslan and NZSL. These manual representations for letters are also the hand configurations used in signs that involve initialization.

1.2.1 Inter-modal contact The first type of language contact is that which occurs between a signed language and a spoken language, very often, though not exclusively, through the orthography. This can be called inter-modal contact because the languages in contact use different modes of transmission (oral/aural for spoken languages versus visuo-gestural for signed languages). An example of the outcome of this type of contact was mentioned earlier and exemplified in Figure 1 with examples of initialized signs from two different languages. There are also other outcomes associated with the ways in which spoken languages and signed languages interact when they come into contact. For instance, signers might fingerspell *of* or *then* in ASL as a result of contact with English.

1.2.2 Intra-modal contact A topic on which there is less information than inter-modal contact, but one that is also relevant to the present investigation, is the linguistic outcomes of sign languages in contact with other sign languages (see Quinto-Pozos, 2007 for an edited collection of chapters that address this newer line of research). We saw several examples of inter-modal contact, but what might this intra-modal contact look like? Figure 2a illustrates the Mexican (LSM) sign TAMALE, which is produced with the handshape pictured in 2b. One type of phonological variation the author noted in southern New Mexico was an alternation between the use of the handshape pictured in 2b and the handshape in 2d for the sign TAMALE. One possible reason for this variation is that the handshape in 2b does not occur in ASL, but it is similar enough to the handshape in 2d that the latter is used in place of the former as the result of contact situations between LSM and ASL, yielding the southern New Mexican variant of TAMALE shown in Figure 2c. Quinto-Pozos (2007) noticed similar variation in the production of the ASL sign FAMILY in his own work (with alternations of the same handshapes pictured in Figure 2b and 2d) and has discussed it in terms of *interférence*, where knowledge of one language (use of one of these handshapes more regularly) interferes with the production of tokens in a contact language that require a similar, but crucially not identical, handshape.

Figure 2. Phonological variation that resulted from sign-to-sign language contact



Our language consultants, who we will introduce more formally and completely in 2.2, were involved in very complex contact situations involving spoken and signed languages synchronically and diachronically. To help illustrate this point, here are a couple of brief examples. Because Russia helped to establish the first school for the deaf in Mongolia, there are vestiges of contact between Russian Sign Language (RSL) and early MSL; for instance, the sign for *bed* is the same in both languages and there are other cognates as well. This is an example of intra-modal contact from the 1960s when the deaf school was founded. It has been some time since MSL had persistent contact with RSL. For an inter-modal example, one might consider the ongoing contact MSL has experienced with the majority spoken language, which can be seen in the use of fingerspelling. This long-standing contact is also apparent in a shift in the kinship system from forms introduced by RSL to forms consistent with kin terms found in spoken Mongolian, which adhere to the cultural values shared by all Mongolians, deaf and hearing alike (Geer, 2011).

1.3 Deaf education in Mongolia

So far we have described relevant literature related to language contact and variation, but it is also important to understand the language situation of our consultants on whom this project is based. To begin, it is important to understand the role of the languages in contact, namely MSL and Mongolian, in deaf education. For formal instruction at the school for the deaf, most instructors use fingerspelling, accompanied by the oral method³, as the predominant means of communication; this is a technique hearing teachers believe will help deaf children understand and acquire spoken and written Mongolian more efficiently (NB, personal communication). MSL is typically not used in the classroom for instruction, yet students sign with each other throughout the school day. This situation very closely mirrors the situation of English and ASL in deaf education noted by Lucas & Valli (1992) in which children are forced to acquire signed language from their peers, since it is most likely that their parents are hearing and thus are not in a position to transmit an accessible native language to their children. What is interesting in particular about the case of MSL is that it has been noted how quickly MSL seems to change. NB, for instance, on a visit to Ulaanbaatar from December 2011 to January 2012, noticed distinct cohorts of MSL users based on when they attended the deaf school. This suggests there is something significant about age with respect to language variation, at least in the present investigation.

1.4 Research question and hypotheses

As we have seen there is a deeply-rooted relationship between language contact and language variation, and while the present study was not developed for the purpose of explicitly documenting language variation in MSL, we hope to illustrate a brief snapshot of some of the variation present at least among the three language users who served as our informants. Specifically, we hope to answer the following question: what are the sources of variation in MSL? We expected to find a variety of factors that contribute to variation, but that most would fall under the umbrella of language contact. We also expected that strong language attitudes about signs and the languages in contact would influence which forms are preferred in one context or another. In particular, we would expect younger signers to have a stronger dispreference for signs of Russian origin, because MSL has become more fully developed with time. Second, the perceived status of the languages in contact might serve as a good predictor of which consultants prefer which signs in a given context. We would like to mention here that one limitation to this study is that the results we present are likely not generalizable. The sources of variation we present are specific to these signers in particular and may not account for variation in signers who have never studied in an ASL/English environment.

2. Methods

2.1 Data collection and transcription

In weekly filming sessions we elicited language from three signers of MSL in a variety of ways. For instance, elicitations were sometimes targeted to examine a particular feature of the language (e.g., basic word order, negation strategies or numeral incorporation). Other times we attempted to make the setting more naturalistic. For

³ The oral method refers to the use of spoken language with deaf children where students are encouraged to understand speech through lip-reading and use of residual hearing, and to produce spoken language with the use of voice.

instance, one consultant would be shown a short cartoon clip and then asked to describe the video (in MSL) to the other consultants. Video data were transcribed by members of the research team using ELAN⁴ software. What encouraged us to examine variation was that, regardless of the style of elicitation, throughout the course of data collection, a number of disagreements arose between consultants about the appropriate sign for a given thing or concept. There seemed to be a good deal of lexical variation, so for the present investigation, these instances of disagreements were noted in our transcripts for analysis.

2.2 Participants

Our language consultants for this project were three students from Gallaudet University's English Language Institute (ELI), each of whom was visiting from Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia and the home of the only school for the deaf, known as the 29th special school. A summary of each consultant's educational and linguistic backgrounds is presented in Table 1. Note that the number of semesters listed in the last column of the table is the number of semesters each consultant had completed at ELI by the time we finished our data collection.

Table 1. MSL consultant information

Consultant	Gender	Age	Educational background	Audiological status	Semesters at ELI
NB	F	29	BA, Linguistics; MA, Education	Born hearing, became deaf ~ age 11	6
AY	M	24	Secondary school	Born deaf	2
BG	M	33	Secondary school	Born deaf	3

There are several important aspects of our consultants' respective backgrounds to which we wish to draw the reader's attention. First, note that NB was born hearing and thus acquired Mongolian as a native language, whereas the other two consultants were not exposed to an accessible (signed) language until they entered the deaf school around age 5. After becoming deaf, NB attended the 29th special school for two years, before returning to a mainstream hearing program to complete her secondary education. After graduating, she pursued a Bachelor's degree in linguistics, a fact we did not become aware of until quite late in the data collection period. Much more than AY and BG, NB displayed great metalinguistic awareness, which seems to be the result of formal training in linguistics. The age difference between AY and BG is also worthy of mention, as it will become relevant in the discussion. Finally, we wish to point out that when we began our weekly filming sessions in the fall of 2009, AY had just arrived from Mongolia, and had no prior knowledge of ASL, though he acquired it quickly as the result of the immersive environment at Gallaudet's ELI. In those very early filming sessions, AY's language use was likely the most representative of MSL use in Ulaanbaatar at that time.

3. Findings

As we described above, instances of disagreements about the form of a sign were noted in the transcriptions of our weekly filming sessions. In particular, we were looking

⁴ More information and free downloads available from www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/

for some sort of explanation for why one consultant preferred form *A*, while the other consultant(s) preferred form *B*, thus allowing us to speculate as to why and how the variation developed. Upon re-examination of each of these instances of disagreement, five categories, though not necessarily mutually exclusive ones, emerged. These categories were sign etymology, “DEAF NOT USE”, “New” versus “Old” signs, use of fingerspelling, and items borrowed from ASL. Each will be detailed with several examples in subsequent sections.

3.1 Etymology

With respect to the etymology of different forms, there was a general dispreference for signs of Russian origin (whether the origin of the sign was really RSL or whether consultants only thought that to be the case). This trend was most apparent by consultants’ preferred kin terms (see Geer, 2011 for a full description of the MSL kinship system) though Baljiinyam (2007) also noted this trend more generally in her documentation of MSL development.

3.2 “DEAF NOT USE”

Another source of variation centered around disagreements between consultants which were resolved with one of them saying something like, *Sign it that way if you like, but no one will understand you because “DEAF NOT USE” [deaf people (in Mongolia) don’t use it]*. There were several examples of this type of disagreement, but one was particularly interesting. NB and BG disagreed on the sign for the concept of *everyday*. NB produced something which literally means “many sleeps”, while BG performed the sign for “one sleep” but with iterative aspect (“one sleep many times”) so roughly the same semantic content is conveyed with both forms.

3.3 “New” versus “Old” signs

Table 2. Descriptions of new versus old signs

Concept	Signs in competition	Description of disagreement
<i>daughter</i>	DAUGHTER vs. GIRL +BABY	NB and AY disagreed about the appropriate sign with the former producing GIRL+BABY and the latter producing a new sign phonologically unrelated to the compound. The disagreement was resolved when NB pointed out that the reason AY used that form was that he is “new” (meaning AY is young)
<i>forever</i>	FOREVER vs. fingerspelling	NB demonstrated her sign for FOREVER then asked BG for verification. Instead, BG disagreed, calling NB’s sign “new” and “technical” and stated that he preferred to fingerspell the Mongolian word for <i>forever</i> .
<i>help</i>	HELP _{agr} vs. HELP _{plain}	NB produced the agreement verb HELP which had previously been agreed upon between NB and AY, but BG disagreed and produced an alternative. AY indicated that he had never seen the sign before, and the dispute was settled when AY stated that BG is old.

Recall the ages of our consultants (see Table 1), and in particular that BG is almost ten years AY’s senior. Bear in mind also the length of time each consultant had been in the

United States. Variation among signs in this category tended to be related to one of these factors. Variation that stemmed from age differences was likely the result of how signing (whether MSL or just fingerspelling) was used when each consultant was a student at the school for the deaf. It also seems, based on comments consultants made about each other's preferred signs, that MSL is experiencing rapid change. We will return to this topic in the discussion section. Variation related to how long consultants had been studying at Gallaudet was also apparent. For instance, NB claimed she had never seen some of the signs that BG and AY used since she had been studying at Gallaudet longer than either of them. Examples of signs that vary as a factor of age or time away from Mongolia are given in Table 2.

3.4 Fingerspelling

We mentioned above that fingerspelling is a way to represent the orthographic characters of a given language in manual form, and this technique was used quite often among all of our consultants, but there were instances in which one consultant preferred to spell the Mongolian word as opposed to using a lexical sign to represent the concept in question. We saw one example of this type of variation above with *forever*, but there were others as well. Two examples are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Description of variation in fingerspelling versus using single lexical items

Concept	Signs in competition	Description of disagreement
<i>milk</i>	MILK vs. fingerspelling	NB produced the sign MILK and stated that it was appropriate for use as a noun and also as a verb meaning ' <i>to milk</i> '. BG and AY disagreed and said that the sign was appropriate only for the verb and that the noun should be fingerspelled.
<i>University student</i>	SCHOOL+PERSON vs. fingerspelling	NB and AY agreed that there was no sign specifically for students attending colleges or universities and that the concept would need to be fingerspelled. BG, however, created a compound, SCHOOL+PERSON and stated that his sign was an acceptable form, despite NB's and AY's argument that the sign would not be recognized in Mongolia as distinguishing secondary school students from those in higher education, it would just be interpreted as <i>student</i> .

3.5 Borrowed from ASL

Lexical borrowing from ASL gave rise to a great deal of variation in MSL, and interestingly, three subcategories within this source of variation emerged in the data. In the first group, some full signs from the ASL lexicon were borrowed in lieu of fingerspelling Mongolian words. An example of this is *coffee*. AY preferred to fingerspell the Mongolian word but NB said it was appropriate to use the ASL sign instead. A second type of borrowing from ASL involved changing only one parameter of the sign, usually the handshape, in order to match the ASL sign. An example of this from our data was the sign *FAMILY*. In this example, the newer form simply replaced the handshape of the older form with the ASL 'F' handshape. Another related but distinct example of this type of borrowing can be found in the MSL online dictionary (www.msl.mn). The MSL sign for *restaurant* is articulated with the same movement and location as the ASL sign, but instead

of using the ASL ‘R’ handshape, the MSL ‘R’ handshape is used (the Mongolian word also begins with ‘r’). A third type of borrowing from ASL involves using morphological strategies from ASL to create new signs in MSL. For example, the ASL signs HUSBAND and WIFE were originally compounds created from the lexical items MALE+MARRY and FEMALE+MARRY, respectively. NB preferred to use the sign WED (*the person I am wed to*), made by depicting the sliding of a wedding band onto the ring finger, for both *husband* and *wife*, indicating that a distinction could be made with context, but BG stated that it would be better to sign MALE+WED and FEMALE+WED because it is “the same as ASL.”

4. Discussion

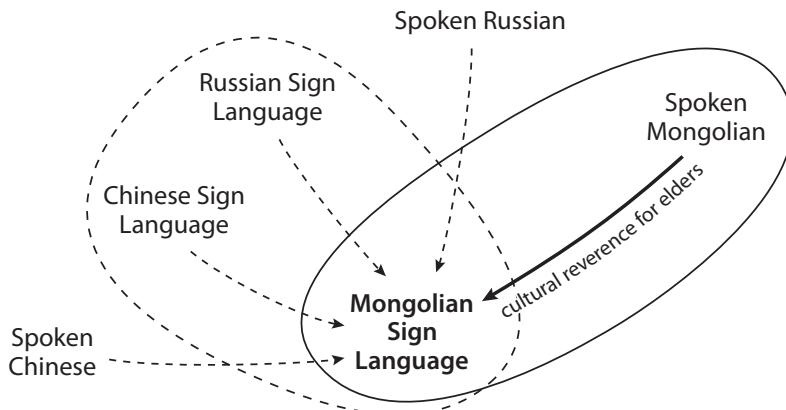
We have been describing the investigation of the potential sources of language variation in three users of MSL. In weekly elicitation sessions we noticed numerous disagreements about the correct form of a particular sign. The purpose of this investigation was to determine why such variation might exist and we hypothesized that the reasons for language variation would be in some way related to language contact. This turned out to be the case and the categories of variation related to contact listed in sections 3.1 to 3.5 will be discussed in greater detail here.

4.1 The foci of language contact

In section 1 we listed the five major foci of language contact mentioned by Lucas & Valli (1992) in their discussions of language contact in the American Deaf community. We return to the most relevant four here and discuss how the variation that seems to be related to the linguistic outcomes of contact fit in with these proposals.

4.1.1 Structural linguistic outcomes With respect to this focus (see (1a) above), several trends are apparent in the MSL data as a result of the different contact situations we have mentioned. Diachronically, there has been a tendency to diverge from RSL (a type of inter-modal contact). This was apparent in our data and has also been noted more formally in a thesis which examined the development of MSL including a description and analysis of the etymology of different signs (Baljinnyam, 2007). As the result of on-going intra-modal contact with spoken Mongolian, there has been a tendency to converge (at least) on aspects of the language that have cultural significance like the reverence for elders (see Figure 4) and the shift in the kinship system to reflect this (Geer, 2011).

Figure 4. Potential linguistic influences on MSL from areal contact languages



4.1.2 Genetic relations In (1b), we saw that Thomason & Kaufman (1988) proposed that the genetic relationship between languages in contact can affect how they interact. Israel & Sandler (2011), in their analysis of ASL, Israeli Sign Language and Al-Sayyid Bedouin Sign Language, also suggested genetic relationship as a factor that can influence language variation, along with three other factors, two of which are particularly relevant here: (1) language age and (2) the existence of prescriptive norms for that language. We might guess that MSL is genetically related to RSL, given the history of the first deaf school, but it is hard to know this for certain⁵ because we do not know what MSL looked like before the deaf school was founded and thus before there was persistent contact with RSL. What is more clear is that MSL is still relatively young, a characteristic Israel & Sandler suggested might result in more variation, and still seems to be experiencing rapid changes, something our consultants were very conscious of. Related to these changes is the emergence of some amount of prescriptive norms. Numerous times there were discussions among our consultants that were resolved by one of them stating they had seen a particular sign in the dictionary and therefore it was the right one.

4.1.3 Functions of languages in contact situations and attitudes about contact

With respect to the final two foci in (1c) and (1d) above, the role of deaf education in Mongolia and also the role of these consultants' education at Gallaudet's ELI are particularly important. As we mentioned before, MSL has lower status than Mongolian in the diglossic situation at the 29th special school. The function of Mongolian is one of formality, hence its perception as the higher language, while the function of MSL is more casual because it is not used for classroom instruction. The situation at Gallaudet is more complicated still. ELI instructors admonish students to never use their home sign languages and to use ASL at all times. The function of ASL is for instruction and for casual conversation. This attitude projected by ELI instructors is so strong that even during elicitation sessions, consultants were sometimes wary of using MSL.

4.2 Implications of language variation among our consultants

Quinto-Pozos (2007) noted an important consideration for the study of sign languages in contact is the role of education and foreign assistance in sign language development. As we have attempted to stress here, we are documenting variation in MSL, much of which is related to contact phenomena in three consultants in particular, who were studying at Gallaudet. Woll, Sutton-Spence & Elton (2001) noted that Gallaudet and its students have quite a lot of influence on the behavior of sign languages in contact because students come from all over the world to study and then return to their home countries, bringing with them their newly acquired knowledge and language (ASL). It is not implausible that when these students return to Mongolia, they will be seen as leaders in the deaf community and thus introduce more variation and potentially encourage more changes in the coming years.

5. Conclusions

We have attempted to illustrate a snapshot of the type of language variation in MSL among three consultants studying at the English Language Institute at Gallaudet University. While we acknowledge that it may not be appropriate to generalize the variation evidenced in the data we collected as part of our course in Field Methods to variation present in users of MSL in Mongolia who have never studied in the United

⁵ Woodward (2011) pointed out some challenges in determining relatedness of sign languages, but also offered general guidelines.

States, there are clearly interesting trends that unfolded in our analysis and encourage future work. We sincerely hope that in the future, researchers are able to go to Mongolia and perform wide and systematic sampling of MSL (in much the same manner as the larger-scale studies of variation listed in the introduction section) in an effort to document language variation that is more representative of the entire language-using community.

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[t]inking About Takoma: Race, Place, and Style at the Border of Washington, D.C.

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Language practice is instantiated in community as a means for community members to show affiliation or distance (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Bucholtz, 1999; Labov, 1966 and others). But what, exactly, do we mean by a "community?" We might understand community to be defined interpersonally based on shared social practice (Bucholtz, 1999; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992) geographically (Becker, 2009; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008; W. Labov, 1972a; William Labov, 1963, 1966), but in all instances, linguistic practice is a means for community members to index themselves as members of that community.

Yet for most people, the meaning of *community* comes from understandings of community as delimited by physical space; a neighborhood, a city, a school. Those who reside, do business, or otherwise inhabit that physical space become members of the community which that physical space defines. Tapping into the language practices of those who inhabit a physical space can shed light on discourses that are meaningful to the members of that community, and also on the ways in which the community understands itself.

The present study examines topic-related style-shifting in two speakers from one neighborhood in the District of Columbia. I argue that these speakers use an ethnoracially-marked phonological variant (stopping of interdental fricative) as a means of both indexing racial identity for themselves and also of rejecting the construction of their community as racialized space.

¹ I would like to thank Professor Robert Podesva, my classmates in the Seminar on Variation and Meaning at Georgetown University, spring 2011, and the attendees of the Symposium About Language and Society—Austin 2012 for their feedback on this paper. Any remaining errors are wholly my own.

1.0 Style-shifting As a Means of Expressing Community Identity

Many studies of language and place have looked rather extensively at groups of speakers, and the ways in which they collectively use linguistic variables to index ideologies of place and community membership. The most well-cited of these is Labov's (1966) study of the Lower East Side of Manhattan, and the linguistic features, particularly post-vocalic /r/ deletion, which index a lower east-side identity for the speakers there. This identity was found to be tied to other facets of group identity relevant to the lower east side community, such as race, class, and orientation toward other New York communities. Thus the indexical field (Eckert, 2008) for post-vocalic /r/ deletion at the time of Labov's study might encompass things such as "working class" and "blackness" as well as indexing residency in a particular locale.

These indexical links may shift, however, with the way the landscape itself changes over time. In her revisit to the Lower East Side, Becker (2009) explores the meaning of post-vocalic /r/ deletion forty years after Labov's initial study. In the intervening years, the lower east side has become a heavily gentrified and trendy area, home to Greenwich Village and other highly-desirable communities in Manhattan. Becker posits that in the face of so much migration to the area, /r/ deletion has become a marker of an "authentic lower east side" identity which allows longtime residents to make a linguistic differentiation between themselves and the gentrifying newcomers to the neighborhood.

Studies of the speech of entire communities such as these provide a great deal of information about what kinds of variants are available for speakers to draw upon. Yet studies of many speakers within a community which explore macro-level connections between language practice and identities of place and race may overlook subtleties in the complex negotiation of situating oneself as a member of a particular community through one's language practice (Podesva, 2007; Schilling-Estes, 2004). While interspeaker variation studies are useful tools to explain the ways ideologies and identities of place are negotiated, closer examinations of variation within the speech of individual speakers, known as intraspeaker variation, or style shifting, sheds light on the ways the practices ascribed to any given group function on an individual level. Speakers may vary their speech in order to indicate a stance (Du Bois, 2007) taken toward an individual or concept, which has been argued to motivate variation at both the segmental (Podesva, 2008) and suprasegmental (Nielsen, 2009) level; to express distance from or solidarity with a real or imagined audience (Bell, 1984; Hay, Jannedy, & Mendoza-Denton, 1999; Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994); to create or reject indexical links between language and racial identity (Anderson, 2008; Podesva, 2008), or to embody a particular character type (Podesva, 2007).

These multiple meanings which can be expressed through style shifting make intraspeaker variation a rich resource for understanding the kinds of links that speakers may make between themselves as members of a particular place-based community—the connections which turn physical space into socially meaningful place (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Yet thus far relatively few studies have examined intraspeaker variation as a means of exploring how individuals may use style shifting to indicate ties to the locales in which they live and work. The current study, which examines topic-induced style shifting in the speech of two African American residents of the same neighborhood in Washington, D.C. is an exploration which intends to begin to fill this gap.

2.0 Takoma D.C./Takoma Park MD as (A)Racial Space

It is often the case that discourses of place evoke discourses of self, for as one negotiates oneself as a member of a particular community, one also identifies with or distances oneself from the character type which may be associated with that community. For example in Johnstone and Kiesling's (2008) work, to accept the identity of "Pittsburgher" is to also tie to higher-order indexical links which ascribe a particular character type, that of the white male steelworker, to the identity of "Pittsburgher." In Modan's (2007) exploration of the District of Columbia community Mount Pleasant, to embody the identity of a Mount Pleasant resident is also to take on an identity of urban, multiethnic cosmopolitanism. These sorts of place-to-character links make discourses of place an interesting site to explore the ways in which ideologies of race, class, urban/suburban, and the like become codified in a physical space. The present study examines one such physical space, the neighborhood of Takoma, D.C./Takoma Park, Maryland.

Takoma/Takoma Park (hereafter called Takoma) is a neighborhood directly on the border between Washington, D.C. and Montgomery and Prince George's counties, Maryland. Considered one of the wealthier neighborhoods of Washington, D.C., Takoma has a median household income of \$66,600 as of the 2010 census according to the Takoma Park Census and Community Information Website (TPCCI), approximately \$14,000 more than the national median. The neighborhood is also relatively ethnically balanced, with a population that is 49% white and 35% African American. It is also a highly educated community, with over 91% of its adults residents holding high school diplomas, and 53% holding bachelor's degrees or higher.

Its relative racial balance, as well as its situation at the border of suburban Maryland and urban Washington D.C. makes Takoma a site uniquely positioned for analysis of discourses about place and race in the Washington D.C. region. By examining the ways residents of Takoma talk about themselves and their community, we can find both discourse and phonological evidence that sheds light on speakers' ideologies of themselves and their community.

3.0 Method

The present study combines variationist sociolinguistic techniques with discourse analysis to unearth some of the ways in which members may situate themselves as racialized members of a supposedly race-neutral community. Below I will discuss briefly the variable under study, the informants, and the quantitative methods used to study this variable.

3.1 *The Interdental Fricative*

This study explores phonological variation in a particular segment, the voiced and voiceless interdental fricative [ð] and [θ]. Fortition of these segments to [d] and [t] respectively is a known feature of African American English (AAE) (Fasold, 1972; Labov, 1972b; Rickford & Rickford, 2000; Thomas, 2007) and has been shown to be used in audience-directed and topic-based style-shifting (Grieser, 2010; Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994). In addition, studies such as the one conducted among Cajun English speakers by DuBois and Horvath (1998) have tied the fortition of the interdental fricative to both gender identity and community affiliation. In the present study, I use topic-based

style-shifting to examine the ways in which this feature helps two speakers characterize their neighborhood as aracial space.

3.2 The Informants and Interviews

The data for this study come from two sociolinguistic interviews conducted as part of the Language and Communication in the District of Columbia (LCDC) project (Schilling and Podesva 2008), an ongoing project of the Georgetown University Department of Linguistics. Peter, the first informant, is a fifty-seven-year-old, African American resident and owner of a barbershop in the neighborhood.² A lifetime D.C. resident who has lived mainly in the neighborhoods surrounding Takoma, Peter owns two barbershops, one in the Takoma neighborhood and one in Anacostia, a neighborhood in Southeast D.C. Peter is a frequent user of a number of features of AAE at multiple linguistic levels.

Mona, the second informant, is a professional African American woman in her forties. She, too, is a lifelong resident of D.C., having grown up along the Sixteenth Street corridor, a main thoroughfare through Northwest D.C. which in recent years has become a place where a number of the city's wealthier black population has come to settle (Graham, 1999; Robinson, 2010). She holds a bachelor's degree from Howard and a law degree from George Washington. For these reasons, these two speakers provide an interesting means of exploring not only how people see themselves racially within a community but also how this may or may not mesh with identities related to social class.

3.3 Quantitative Method

In order to hone in on the function of the variable as it relates to topic-based style shifting, tokens of the interdental fricative were coded for phonological and lexical factors as well as discourse factors which might affect the realization of the variable. The linguistic factors coded were preceding and following phonological environment, lexical category of the word (functional vs. lexical) and position of the interdental fricative (word-initial, word-medial, word-final). Discourse factors coded were the sex of the speaker and topic (the focus of this study).

The interviews were coded exhaustively for tokens of the interdental fricative within the topics of Takoma, of the DC/Maryland community more broadly; race talk (as defined by Myers & Williamson, 2001); and talk about language. The first pass coded the tokens impressionistically, and the impressionistic coding was checked by examining spectrographic image of approximately 10% of the stopped tokens in PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). Tokens were coded for all non-standard realizations: [Ø d t f v]; only the [d t] realizations were analyzed. Instances where the presence or absence of an interdental fricative were ambiguous, such as sentences like "We are part of [ə] community" (Peter), where [ə] could be either the indefinite article or a null realization of the interdental fricative on a definite article, were excluded from the analysis. In addition, realizations where a final token was followed by a glide [j] were excluded; such instances often resulted in palatalization of the final segment resulting in the affricate [ʃ] and making it difficult to determine the precise realization of the fricative. In total, 506 tokens were coded from the Mona interview and 852 tokens were coded from the Peter interview, for a

². This study was conducted by two interviewers of two different races, and as such, has been the subject of further study on addressee-induced style shift by the author (Grieser 2010).

total of 1358 tokens.

Statistical analysis of the factors under consideration was performed using multivariate regression in Rbrul (Johnson, 2009).

4.0 Data and Results

All data were coded for four linguistic factors: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, lexical category of the word, and position of the interdental fricative; and two discourse factors: sex and topic (age of the speakers and community of speakers were controlled for in speaker selection). All factors, linguistic and discourse, were found to be significant predictors of stopped realization of the interdental fricative in a binomial step-up and step-down regression. Below I consider each linguistic factor in turn, and finally turn to the social factors of speaker and topic that are of particular interest to this study.

4.1 Linguistic Factors

Table 4.1.1 Linguistic Factor Effects

	factor	tokens	% stopped	factor weight
lexical category				
	functional	1014	0.246	0.666
	lexical	344	0.015	0.143
preceding segment				
	vowels	387	0.191	0.964
	coronals	502	0.239	0.953
	pause	112	0.214	0.94
	consonants	356	0.157	0.933
following segment				
	consonants	124	0.185	0.995
	vowels	1227	0.205	0.986
position				
	initial	1171	0.219	0.693
	final	55	0.273	0.616
	medial	132	0.023	0.217

Tokens were coded for precise preceding and following phonological environment and examined for similarities in behavior across any identifiable natural classes. Based on this, the preceding environment was collapsed into four categories: vowels, coronal consonants, non-coronal consonants, and pause; following environment was collapsed into three categories: vowels, consonants, and pause. Both preceding [$p=0.029$] and following [$p = 0.027$] environments were found to be significant predictors of stopped variants. For preceding environment, vowels were found to have the strongest effect, followed by coronals, pauses and consonants; for following environment, consonants were found to

have a more significant effect.

In addition to phonological environment, the position of the interdental fricative (word-initial, word-medial, word-final) was found to be a significant predictor of stopped realization [$p=0.033$]. Finally, lexical category was found to be a significant predictor [$p < 0.0001$], with functional words being much more likely to be stopped than lexical words.

Table 4.1.1, above, lists the linguistic factors found to affect the realization of the interdental fricative, in descending order of effect as determined by factor weight.

4.2 Social Factors

Studies have shown that usage patterns of features of AAE vary across differing social classes (Labov, 1972c; Rahman, 2008; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). Thus it is unsurprising that Mona and Peter, who differ substantially in social class and social circles which they inhabit, exhibit quite different rates of th/dh fortition. Peter's stopped realization rate is nearly twice that of Mona's, as shown in the following table.

Table 4.2.1: Total N and % of stopped and fricated realization by speaker

	fricated		stopped		total N
	N	%	N	%	
Mona	444	87.75	62	12.25	506
Peter	640	75.12	212	24.88	852
Total	1084	79.82	274	20.18	1358

Sex of speaker (which in this two-speaker sample indicated the individual speaker) was found to be a significant factor in explaining th/dh realization [$p=0.0035$]. It is evident from both the descriptive statistics and regression that this comparison can reveal something about the ways in which speakers of two different classes might use a feature of AAE. Thus far, most studies of AAE have privileged the working-class male speaker (Peter in this analysis) as being the speaker of the most "authentic" AAE. Yet the U.S. black population continues to grow more socioeconomically diverse (Robinson 2010), and thus it is important to think about the ways in which black speakers who do not fall into this traditionally-analyzed group of authentic vernacular speakers use features of AAE. To do this, it is necessary to look more at more localized usages of AAE features, and the roles they play in creating social meaning for those who use them.

We see exactly this sort of localized variation in Mona's speech. Although on the whole, Mona uses the stopped variant just over 12% of the time, in one stretch of race talk encompassing 18 tokens, she uses a stopped variant six times and a null variant once, accounting for more than 33% of her total tokens in this stretch of speech, almost three times her overall rate for the interview. In her talk about gentrification and whites moving into Takoma for instance, the stopped variant is used quite frequently:

1. When I grew up there[d]
2. it was predominantly an African-American community,
3. Mhm.
4. and now, white families are starting to move into the[d] community.

5. As well as Latino families,
6. and-just-
7. when I was growing up
8. it wasn't that[d] ... white families couldn't live there[d]
9. because it was just
10. "Oh we don't talk to them[d] white
11. But it was just- they[ð] just didn't . Yeah.
12. Um, and-77 so they[d] started ... um ... close to the[ð] Metro station,
13. and then[ð] just kind of branched ... further[ð] out
14. and ...
15. They[ð] were accepted ,
16. but it was just when I went to- to high school at Coolidge ...
17. I don't think[θ] I had any white in my graduating class.

It is possible that by using an AAE variant to talk about white migration into black space, Mona is able to linguistically situate herself as an original and authentic member of the community like those in Becker's (2009) study, as well as to reclaim and reify the space as "black space" through the use of black-associated speech.

Mona's patterning with regard to the variable exists not only at the level of certain topics in relation to the entire interview, but also across even smaller stretches of talk within a broader topic. If we examine lines (11) through (13), for instance, we see that of six instances of the interdental fricative, all but one are realized fully fricated. This is in contrast to the rest of this stretch of speech, where all but one realization are stopped. Why is this? Looking more carefully at the content of these three lines, Mona is speaking specifically about the integration of Takoma, as white residents "started close to the Metro station" and "then ... branched further out." Thus we see the same pattern rarified on an even smaller level: as talk moves from the beginning of the neighborhood's integration to the point that white members are accepted, so Mona's speech moves away from an African American style of speech.

Peter, although a user of the stopped variant at almost twice Mona's rate, makes very sharp distinctions in his use of the variant in constructed dialogue (Tannen, 2007) for himself and for characters he portrays as being either hapless or very successful. In part of the interview, Peter tells a very animated story about the panhandler approaching him and providing a very close estimate of his day's earnings, and expresses his own puzzlement as to how the panhandler managed to come up with the figure he quotes. His realizations of the interdental fricative variable play a significant role in his construction of the differences between himself and the panhandler. Consider the following (realizations of the variable are marked in parentheses):

1. He had came down
2. and asked me for two dollars
3. and I asked him I said wait a minute
4. because I know he expecting me to come off real crazy whuhhh
5. I said let me get this([d]) straight
6. You want me to give you two dollars
7. You want me to reach into my pocket and the([ð]) money that([ð]) I stood there([d]) all day long and cut hair with
8. take my money and give it to you
9. so you can go back up into the(Ø) woods

10. ad smoke some crack (on) the([ð]) milk crate
11. and drink beer with the([d]) money that([ð]) I made all day
12. Is that([ð]) what you asking?
13. Is that([ð]) what you said because I'm not understanding
14. (4 lines omitted)
15. How he'd know how much money I got?
16. I'ma standing here watching everyone's come in here
17. because its certain ones of them(Ø) around here
18. they([d]) ain't going to get in nobody's chair but your chair
19. especially them([d]) gals
20. they([d]) come down there(Ø) for the(Ø) eyebrow arch
21. and they(Ø) don't mess with([d]) the([d]) rest of them(Ø)
22. I know they(Ø) came to you.

In this stretch of narrative, Peter positions himself as the hard worker in contrast to the panhandler's laziness; consider lines f-j, where Peter portrays himself as having "the money that I stood there all day long and cut hair with" in contrast to what he supposes the panhandler will do with the money: "so you can go back up into the woods and smoke some crack on the milk crate". He shows this difference through his descriptions of the panhandler, but he also uses the variables in the speech itself as part of his positioning.

In Peter's constructed dialogue for himself, in lines d-l, he uses the interdental fricative ten times. Of these ten, only four are stopped (40%). By contrast, in his constructed dialogue for the panhandler, all eleven instances of the interdental fricative are realized with the nonstandard, stopped variant. Because more standard realizations of a variable are commonly conflated with higher levels of education and higher status, Peter uses standard realizations of the interdental fricative in his own constructed speech as a way of reinforcing the distance between himself and the panhandler, and to paint himself as the educated hard-worker, which is congruent with his description of the panhandler's laziness in contrast to his own industrial work in the shop.

These sorts of close discourse analyses reveal the stopped variant to be doing a great deal of work for both speakers in constructing their ideologies of place and in constructing racialized, socioeconomically-stratified characters. In order to better quantify what was going on within the interviews, all 1358 tokens of dh/th were coded exhaustively for topic. This coding followed a "bottom-up" approach often used in coding phonetic factors; just as one might begin by coding each consonant separately and then examining if effects pattern according to natural classes, so the topics were first coded for the specific topic such as "cat" or "dog" or "vet" and then these things collapsed into larger categories such as "pets." This ultimately resulted in topics grouped into four categories: talk about language and language practice (language), talk about Takoma as a community (Takoma), talk about other communities in D.C. and Maryland (DCother) and talk about race (race), in order to test the hypothesis that speakers might use th/dh to contrast Takoma with other neighborhoods. When all four topics were included in the statistical model, topic was found to be a statistically suggestive, but not significant, predictor of stopped realization [$p < 0.08$]. However, it seems evident from the micro-level analyses presented above that topic is salient for the speakers; their speech patterns according to what and whom they speak about. This evidence justified the running of a second regression model, this time collapsing all community talk into one category, and all race talk into another. On this run, topic emerged as a statistically significant predictor of the stopped variant [$p = 0.024$].

Table 4.2.2 Topic Effect on Realization

factor	tokens	% stopped	factor weight
race	109	0.294	0.592
language	34	0.118	0.49
other	1215	0.196	0.418

5.0 Discussion

It seems very clear from discourse-level analyses of the speakers' data that the interdental fricative does work in the construction of racial identity and in the reification of Takoma as racialized space. However, clearer statistical evidence would come from the speakers using the feature more or less in talking about Takoma than in talking about other D.C. neighborhoods.

One explanation for the statistical modeling may come from the way race is codified in D.C. space. The two most recent censuses show increased migration of upper-class whites into the western quadrants of D.C., with increasing poverty and growing minority racial populations in the other two quadrants. Thus D.C. neighborhoods are often imbued with a sense of racialization—to talk about the heavily-black Southeast neighborhood of Anacostia is to talk about blackness, to talk about the predominately white neighborhoods in the upper Northwest is to talk about whiteness. Thus in the same way talk of language often cannot be separated from larger Discourses about race (Podesva 2008), to talk about D.C. as physical space is similarly to implicitly talk about race.

The lack of statistically significant difference between Takoma talk and non-Takoma talk, particularly in light of Mona's interview, may also indicate the speakers' different understanding of Takoma vs. D.C. more broadly. Takoma, to its residents, is consistently referred to as race-neutral—the idea is that the community is first and racial divides are not salient for its members. The lack of distinction between Takoma-oriented talk and non-Takoma-oriented talk may be best interpreted as a reflection of this general valuing of race neutrality and multiracial acceptance that is dominant throughout the Takoma community.

6.0 Conclusions

Variationist analyses provide insight into a community's macro- and micro-level language practice. They give us information about salient separations in discourse for particular speakers. Yet it is also important to situate variationist study within locally salient discourses of identity, which often are tied to place.

We have long understood that phonological variables may codify local, place-oriented identities (Labov, 1963). In the small study of Mona and Peter, their use of the variable in question is revealing with regard to its use to index racial identity. Talk about the District of Columbia occasions different use of the variable than does talk about race. Yet within talk about the District of Columbia, there is not a difference in the use of an ethnoracially-marked variant between talk about Takoma and talk about D.C. more broadly. I suggest that this is a sign that for these speakers, Takoma is to be interpreted as racially neutral space.

Further work is needed to examine whether or not this lack of distinction between District of Columbia talk and Takoma talk exists for more Takoma residents. In addition, while the rates of use of the variable support the hypothesis of a continuum in black speech styles which is related to social class, this is a very small sample of only two speakers, who, although contrasting on an area (class) in which this study is interested, do not provide so much evidence that generalizations can be made much beyond their own style. A greater number of informants across a variety of socioeconomic classes and careers would provide additional insight.

In his interview, Peter comments, “Doesn’t make a difference whether I’m black you white or what nationality you are. We’ve gotten past that you know....Doesn’t make a difference whether it’s D.C. or Maryland, bang! We are a part of a community.” It is this attitude which characterizes Takoma as a haven of race-neutral unity. Because to talk about D.C. is to talk about race, to balance Takoma talk with talk about other parts of D.C. is to implicitly reject race as a salient discourse of Takoma—it positions Takoma as exactly the race-neutral space in which Takoma residents take pride.

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Dialect variation in Romani and its implications for Romani historical linguistics

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1. Introduction

Romani is a language of Indo-Iranian origin, traditionally classified as Central Indo-Aryan. It is spoken by the Romani people (a.k.a. “Gypsies”), who are of South Asian descent but live primarily in Europe and the Americas. The Romani people are dispersed throughout these continents and have lived there for hundreds of years, so there are many

dialects of Romani, especially in Europe. Previous work on Romani historical linguistics, e.g. Turner (1926), has paid little attention to the variation in Romani dialects. However, we certainly cannot reconstruct Romani's South Asian ancestor without knowing how these dialects split up, so we need to gradually reconstruct back from as many varieties as possible. Furthermore, dialect variation can account for what may initially appear to be regular sound changes shared with the Indo-Iranian languages of South Asia. At the same time, there are also situations where dialect variation complicates what we know about Romani.

2. Dialect variation in Romani

Romani can be broadly classified into three dialect groups (Matras, 2000), which appear to have been the result of three separate migrations into Europe from present-day Turkey. The three dialect groups are Northern (a.k.a. Stratum I), Balkan (Stratum II), and Vlax (Stratum III). Northern Romani includes most varieties of Romani; one example of a Northern Romani variety is Welsh Romani, spoken in Wales. This stratum may represent the earliest migration out of Turkey. A second migration is represented by the Balkan varieties, spoken throughout the Balkans and including Gurbeti, which is spoken from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Bulgaria. Vlax Romani or Stratum III is the result of a migration at approximately the time of the Ottoman invasion of Europe; this stratum apparently broke up only after a period of common development in Romania. Examples include the Kalderash variety of Romania, which is now spoken elsewhere in Europe and the Americas as well, and the Mačvano variety, originally spoken in Serbia but now almost exclusively spoken in the Americas. In addition, a European language may be combined with a Romani lexicon. For example, Fennoromani is essentially Finnish with a large, though limited, Romani vocabulary.

The variation between these dialects is very often due to substantial contact with local varieties of European languages. Some of the variation is fairly straightforward and can arise as a result of either independent development or language contact. For example, palatalization before a high front vowel is very common in Romani (Matras, 2000). While the second person masculine singular possessive pronoun (i.e. 'your (masc. sg.)') in most varieties is *tiro*, it is *čiro* in some varieties and *kiro* in others. This seems to be the result of an independent development, but palatalization can also occur as a result of language contact. Fennoromani shows palatalization of velars, e.g. *čher* 'house' < *kher* (cf. *kher* in other varieties of Romani such as Kalderash) due to influence from Swedish, which has the same process. One other example of straightforward variation due to language contact is the adoption of the voiceless lateral fricative and devoiced alveolar trill from Welsh into Welsh Romani.

There are other cases where dialect variation complicates the historical picture. In some of these cases, language contact and dialect variation can cause changes to appear more regular than they really are. In others, the source of the dialect variation may be difficult to find or explain, although it is likely that language contact played an important role.

3. How dialect variation explains some apparent sound changes

There are some sound changes that may at first glance seem to occur regularly in Romani. It is claimed that some of these are even shared with Dardic languages. In fact, it is more likely in these cases that this is the result of dialect variation rather than regular phonological change. Four examples are discussed below.

One sound change that Turner (1926) proposed that Romani shared with three Indo-Iranian languages of South Asia (Kashmiri, Sindhi, and Lahnda) was as follows: Word-medial *r* preceded or followed by a consonant was metathesized to the position after the first consonant of the word, provided that this first consonant was dental (or perhaps labial). For example, Sanskrit **tarṣáyati* ‘he/she/it fears’ > Romani *trašel*. However, metathesis is very common in the languages of the world, and usually it occurs only sporadically, not as the result of a regular sound change. The same seems to be true in Romani; there are other words where metathesis occurs sporadically, and there seem to be exceptions to this rule, e.g. Sanskrit *tárdati* ‘splits open, sets free, hurts, kills’ > Welsh Romani *tardel* ‘drags’ without the expected metathesis (Turner, 2006). Thus, metathesis is most likely subject to dialect variation in Romani.

Another sound change that Zoller (2001) suggests Romani shares with Dardic languages is what he calls “metathesis of aspiration.” He says that in these languages, when an aspirated stop occurs word-medially, the aspiration moves to the first consonant. For example, the Sanskrit word for ‘armpit’ is *kákṣa*, and the equivalent in Romani that he lists *khak*. Again, though, metathesis is often a sporadic change, and there are varieties of Romani that have *kakh* for ‘armpit’ as well.

One other apparent sound change that e.g. Matras (2000) has pointed out is that *kh* often changes to *x* word-initially in Romani, e.g. Sanskrit *khā́dati* ‘he/she/it chews, bites, eats’ > Romani *xal* ‘he/she/it eats’. No one has explained why this change may have taken

place, although Romani could have adopted this sound from Iranian languages. This change, too, happens only sporadically in some varieties of Romani. Bosnian Gurbeti has *khuš-* and *xuš-*, which both mean ‘to whistle’ (Boretzky and Igla, 1994), so *kh* > *x* / #_ is certainly not a regular change that occurs in all dialects of Romani.

Finally, in the Romani words *jekh* ‘one’ and *nakh* ‘nose’, the final stop is aspirated even though it was unaspirated in Sanskrit, as it still is in most Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Hindi/Urdu *ek* ‘one’ and *nāk* ‘nose’). In Kashmiri, though, voiceless stops are frequently aspirated word-finally, so the Kashmiri words [ak^h] ‘one’ and [na:k^h] ‘nose’ both have aspiration just like their Romani equivalents. At first glance, this may suggest that Romani and Kashmiri both share word-final aspiration, but in fact, aspirated stops also occur sporadically in Romani. The word for ‘nobody’ in most varieties of Romani is *kònìk*, but Kalderash and Gurbeti have both *kònìk* and *khònìk* (Boretzky and Igla, 1994). This is probably due to contact with European languages, which mostly do not contrast aspirated and unaspirated stops. The sporadic occurrence of aspirated stops may also explain why metathesis of aspiration seems to occur in Romani.

Thus, metathesis of *r* and of aspiration, word-initial *kh* > *x*, and word-final aspiration are all more easily explained as the result of dialect variation and sporadic sound changes, even though they may appear to be regular sound changes. In fact, some may appear to suggest a connection to specific Indo-Iranian languages of South Asia, but they may be more easily explained as the result of independent innovation and contact with European languages. Unfortunately, in other situations, dialect variation is more difficult to explain.

4. Problematic dialect variation

So far, we have seen that dialect variation can be unproblematic for historical linguistics and that it can offer a different analysis of some apparent sound changes in Romani. There are also cases where dialect variation is problematic for historical linguistics and cannot be explained easily. One problematic case is that different varieties of Romani have different sets of rhotics, and explaining the origin of these rhotics is difficult. Another case, to be discussed later, is that Mačvano Vlax has two very distinctive affricates that require a historical explanation.

Some varieties of Romani have two rhotics, and others have only one. Those varieties that have two rhotics do not all have the same sounds (Matras, 2000). In some varieties,

one rhotic is an alveolar tap (sometimes phonetically realized as a trill by some speakers), and the other is a voiced uvular fricative or trill. We may represent the alveolar tap graphemically as *r* and the uvular rhotic as *rr*, because in other varieties, these rhotics (especially *rr*) may correspond to different sounds, and this allows us to conveniently indicate which sounds in one dialect correspond to which in another. In some other varieties, *r* is an alveolar tap, while *rr* is an alveolar trill. In Bulgarian Gurbeti, *r* is again an alveolar tap, but surprisingly enough, *rr* is a retroflex lateral approximant. The origin of these rhotics is unclear and subject to debate. Many believe that *rr* comes from retroflex stops in Indo-Iranian words, but Hancock (2006) points out that this does not explain why *rr* sometimes occurs in loanwords. In addition, there are words that have *r* corresponding to retroflex stops in their Indo-Iranian cognates. Surrounding varieties of European languages seem to play a role here; in particular, nonstandard varieties of Romanian help to explain why varieties in Romania have a uvular rhotic, and some varieties of other European languages may also help to explain the presence of a retroflex lateral. Standard Romanian supposedly has only one rhotic, which is an alveolar trill. However, nonstandard varieties of Romanian have a uvular rhotic contrasting with an alveolar one, like some varieties of Romani (Bardu, 2007). Even some speakers of Standard Romanian use a uvular rhotic instead of an alveolar trill. Similarly, descriptions of phonetic inventories in European languages do not usually include a retroflex lateral. Yet Moosmüller (2010), for instance, reports that Viennese German does have a retroflex lateral as an allophone of /l/. Thus, perhaps the retroflex lateral is not extremely rare in Europe and may have been acquired due to contact with European languages, rather than preserved from India (where many languages have a retroflex lateral approximant).

Rhotics are a well-known problem in the historical linguistics of Romani. Another problem that has received less attention is specific to one dialect; this problem is affricates in some varieties of Romani, especially Mačvano Vlax. Some varieties of Romani have three affricates: č [tʃ], čh [tʃʰ], and dž [dʒ]; these are probably the original pronunciation preserved from India, since most Indo-Iranian languages have these same three affricates. However, in some other varieties, such as Kalderash, čh is pronounced [ʂ], and dž is [ʐ]. In Mačvano Vlax, these are sequences of a retroflex stop followed by [r], i.e. čh [ʈr] and dž [ɖr] (Hancock, 1995). Perhaps the following chain of sound changes took place in all of these varieties of Romani: [tʃʰ], [dʒ] > [ts], [dz] > [ʂ], [ʐ]. That is to say, the aspiration from [tʃʰ] was lost and the fricative portion made retroflex in both affricates, and then the stop portion of each affricate assimilated to the place of articulation of the fricative portion. After this, [ts], [dz] > [ʈr], [ɖr] in Mačvano Vlax and to [ʂ], [ʐ] in Kalderash and some other varieties of Romani. In this case, too, the retroflex sounds may have come from contact with European languages rather than from Indian languages. Retroflex fricatives occur in Polish, for example, and retroflex stops certainly occur in Swedish, so it is possible that nonstandard varieties of other European languages also have these retroflex sounds.

In both of these cases, dialect variation poses a problem for historical linguistics. If different varieties of Romani have different rhotics, then there is a problem of figuring out whether there was originally one rhotic that split in some varieties (and evolved differently in different regions), or whether there were originally two that merged in the other varieties. This problem remains unsolved. Similarly, there is a problem of figuring out how affricates evolved in some varieties of Romani that do not have what are believed to have been the original affricates. In the case of these affricates, we can at least propose a set of sound changes that may have led to the variation that we see today. Substantial contact with European languages and nonstandard varieties of those languages seems to have played a role in the development of the sounds we see in modern varieties of Romani, and the development of uvular rhotics and retroflex sounds may well be a result of this heavy contact.

There is one more problem for Romani historical linguistics, having to do with the classification of Romani into three strata. The idea that the Romani people entered Europe in at least three separate migrations from Turkey suggests that each stratum represents a different stage of one variety spoken in Turkey. It is possible that the historical picture is even more complicated than this (perhaps there were already several varieties spoken in Turkey). Nevertheless, this implies that a full understanding of Romani dialect variation (from a diachronic perspective) requires a reconstruction of at least one variety of Romani spoken in Turkey. If all three strata are descended from one variety spoken in Turkey, then each stratum represents a different stage in the evolution of that variety, so it is necessary to understand how that variety evolved over time.

5. Conclusion

It is impossible to reconstruct the ancestor(s) of Romani without taking dialect variation into account, despite the lack of attention paid to this dialect variation in the context of Romani historical linguistics. Sometimes this variation is unproblematic, but at other times, it is difficult to account for and needs further research in order to be explained. What appears at first to be a regular sound change may turn out to be a change that happens idiosyncratically only in some varieties of Romani. Very often, this variation is due to long periods of contact with varieties (not necessarily standard varieties) of European languages.

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The Hawaiian Prosodic Imprint on Hawaii Creole English

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1.0 Introduction

Hawaii Creole English (HCE), which is referred to in Hawaii as ‘Pidgin’, is a creole language consisting of a combination of elements from English, Chinese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian and is spoken in the Hawaiian Islands. HCE developed around 1800 as a pidgin language. A pidgin is a simplified language used as a means of communication between groups of people who do not share a common language. In general, once the second generation of speakers learns the pidgin as children, they create a more complex system, filling in linguistic gaps of the pidgin and turning it into a creole (Singh, 2000:13). The pidgin in Hawaii was heavily influenced by native Hawaiian speakers and was originally called Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE), which later developed into Hawaiian Creole English.

While each of the different languages spoken in Hawaii contributed to the development of HCE, it has been argued by Siegel (2000:211) that of the substrate languages, Chinese and Portuguese dominated during the stabilization of HCE. In this paper, I will investigate the influence of native Hawaiian on HCE intonation and will validate what is anecdotally shared knowledge in the Hawaiian Islands, that native

Hawaiian has made an imprint on HCE. One of the most striking features of HCE is the intonation used in yes/no questions. A yes/no question can be answered with either a “yes” or “no” response. In English, the intonation on the sentence, “Are you going to school today?” rises at the end of the question. The corresponding HCE question peaks at school and falls sharply on today. In Hawaiian, the yes/no question intonation also peaks and falls at the end of the question. This paper examines yes/no question intonation in HCE and compares it to that of Hawaiian. I hypothesize that Hawaiian had a strong influence on HCE and I have developed a formal analysis of HCE and Hawaiian to test this hypothesis.

As noted by Vanderslice and Pierson (1967:156), “[t]he most neglected aspect of Pidgin [HCE] has been its suprasegmental or prosodic features...” This statement is still true today, over 40 years later, which makes the following paper important to the contribution of the body of knowledge of HCE, as well as of creole studies in general by accounting for the influence of contributing languages such as Hawaiian. Siegel (2000:199) also points out that the substratal influence in HCE has not been recognized and “virtually discounted over the past two decades.” A formal theoretical phonological account for Hawaiian influence on HCE has not yet been conducted and my research will add to the knowledge of HCE and Hawaiian, as well as challenge current creole genesis theories as well as universalist theories.

2.0 The Hawaiian Phonological Imprint on HCE Intonation: Hawaiian and HCE Data

Informally, a comparison between Hawaiian and HCE question intonation was made on the Instant Immersion Hawaiian web help site (to accompany audio CDs):

What makes the Hawaiian especially nice is the fact that you don't need to change any of the wording; only the intonation of your voice changes. And if you already familiar with local “Pidgin” English from Hawaii, then you will already know how the question intonation should sound, since it is used in Pidgin also.

Native speakers of Hawaiian and HCE have acknowledged this similarity, but to date, there is no formal description of Hawaiian Creole English using any current intonation frameworks. In Pidgin Grammar by Siegel and Sakoda, the extent of intonation description of HCE covers barely a page of text. In order to investigate in detail the influences of Hawaiian on HCE in terms of intonation, it is important to place Hawaiian and HCE into a framework that will best suit the process of comparison. Pierrehumbert's Autosegmental Metrical Theory (AM) intonation notation system represents a pitch contour through the use of pitch accents (marked with an asterisk) and edge tones or boundary tones (marked with the percentage sign). Pitch accents are represented through the use of a single H (high) or L (low) tone or a combination of the two. The stressed tone has an addition of an asterisk, i.e., H* or L*.

The examples below also have an instrumental analysis provided which is a graph that represents the fundamental frequency (F_0) of the speaker's voice. The instrumental analysis created in PRAAT (software) provides additional information to support my notation.

2.1 Methodology

In order to gather utterances in a natural state, free from the influence of elicitation, I gathered sound files from sources such as podcasts, YouTube videos and archived interviews as well as online language lessons. Two of the most useful resources I found provided most of my examples up to this point. One of these resources is the Clinton Kanahele Collection through Brigham Young University's online archive. This Hawaiian language resource is a collection of interviews of elders who grew up in Hawaii, all of them born around the late 1800s. The other is the HCE resource, AnyKine Kine podcast. This resource is a public podcast created by two men who were born and raised on Oahu, but have since moved away from Hawaii. They created the podcast while living in San Francisco, but they talk to each other in HCE, embracing their local Hawaii identity. I also interviewed HCE speakers and had them play a game called Guess Who?, where the players ask yes/no questions to try to guess their opponents selected person. Questions that might be asked would be, "Is your person wearing a hat?" or "Is your person a woman?"

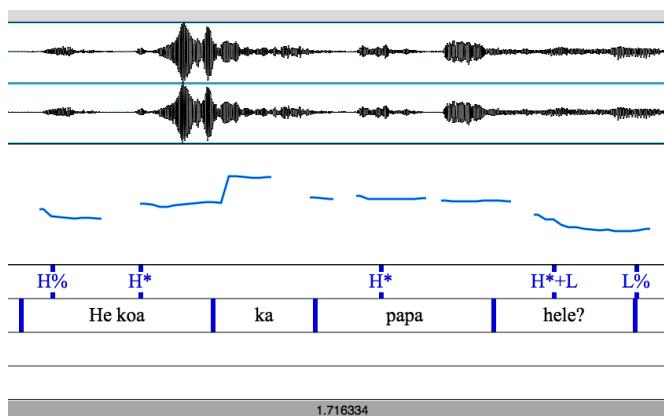
2.2 Hawaiian Data

The following example is taken from Living the Aloha Spirit, online Hawaiian Lessons on YouTube created by Ahonui Mims.

(1) Hawaiian Yes/No question

Hawaiian: He koa ka papahele?

English gloss: Is the flooring of koa (wood)?



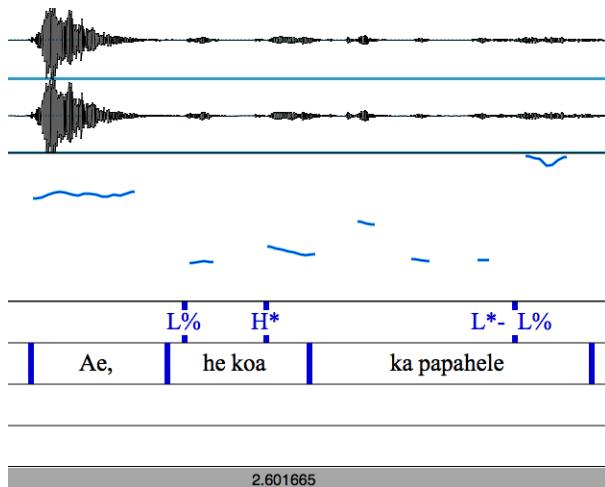
This example of a Hawaiian yes/no question demonstrates a falling intonation pattern. The utterance starts at a high tone and remains high throughout the entire question. The fall occurs on the last stressed syllable, ending on a low tone.

The following example is the statement, 'Yes, the flooring is of koa (wood).' Note that the question and the statement have identical structure, it is the intonation that differentiates the statement from the question. The statement starts at a low tone and then peaks at the first stressed syllable and the remaining parts of the utterance continue at a low tone, ending at a low tone.

(2) Hawaiian Statement

Hawaiian: Ae, he koa ka papahele.

English Gloss: Yes, the flooring is of koa (wood).

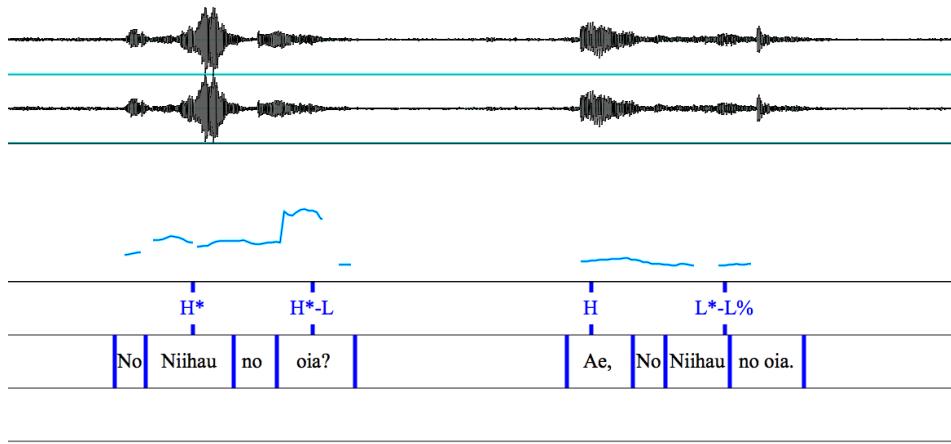


Displaying the Hawaiian yes/no question next to the statement demonstrates the striking contrastive falling pattern in the yes/no question that is not present in the statement. The following example represents two speakers, taken from the Clinton Kanahele Collection at Brigham Young University online archives. The first speaker asks the question and the second speaker answers.

(3) Hawaiian Yes/No Question and Statement

Hawaiian: No Niihau no oia? Ae, No Niihau no oia.

English Gloss: Is he from Niihau? Yes, he is from Ni'ihiu



This falling pattern can also be seen in the HCE data.

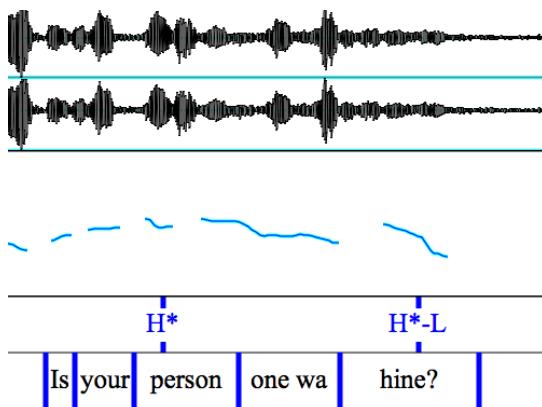
2.3 HCE Data

The next example is an HCE yes/no question taken from the Guess Who game interviews I conducted. The utterance starts at a high pitch, continues high and then the fall occurs on the last stressed syllable of the utterance. This pattern is consistent in both Hawaiian and HCE in yes/no questions.

(4) HCE Yes/No Question

HCE: Is your person one wahine?

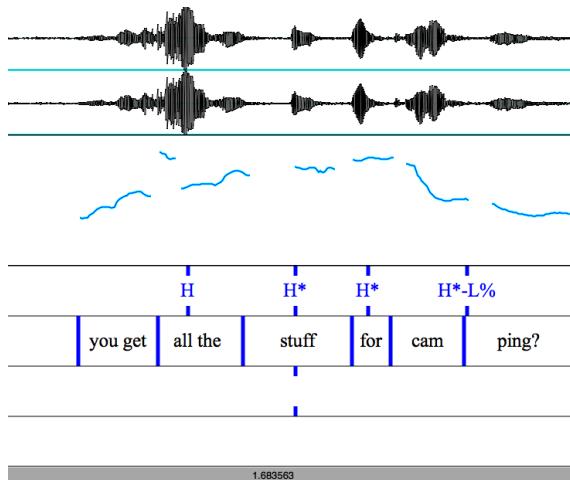
English gloss: Is your person a woman?



The following example is taken from a website, Full on Pidgin, which is designed to introduce people to HCE.

(5) HCE Yes/No Question

HCE: you get all the stuff for camping?



Much like the previous example, this utterance starts at a high tone, continues at a high tone, peaks on the last stressed syllable and has a dramatic fall. With the Hawaiian and HCE examples presented via instrumental analysis in PRAAT, it is easy to see the similar intonation patterns.

3.0 Implications of this study

This study not only provides crucial knowledge regarding the prosodic system of both HCE and Hawaiian, but it also challenges universalist theories as well as Bickerton's Language Bioprogram theory. Through this study, I also provide a theory of how the Hawaiian intonation imprint has endured through the evolution of HCE.

3.1 Universalist Claims

Phonologists such as Bolinger, Gussenhoven, and Ohala have made claims that intonation patterns to a large extent are universal. In particular, Bolinger stated that in general declaratives have falling intonation patterns while interrogative or question intonation patterns have rising intonation patterns. "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." (Bolinger, 1989: 435) As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the Yes/No Question intonation is falling in HCE, as well as in Hawaiian. Other claims to universals in phonology such as Ohala's Frequency Code and Gussenhoven's Effort Code attempt to explain interpretation of pitch variation such that a higher final pitch may indicate uncertainty or a question and a lower final pitch would indicate certainty or a statement. Developed by Ohala (1983), the Frequency Code is a biological code innate to human speech and thus expressing cross-

language similarities in the use of pitch to contrast questions (using high question intonation) and statements (using low statement intonation).

However languages such as Hawaiian and HCE pose a problem for such claims because these languages have falling intonation patterns for interrogatives and statements, which would counter what the Frequency code predicts (questions have rising intonation whereas statements have falling intonation). Hawaiian and HCE are not the only languages that behave differently from the universally expected patterns noted by the above listed phonologists. Catalan (Simonet, 2008) as well as Hungarian (Ladd, 2008) and Russian (Marakova, 2007) are languages that employ falling question intonation, to name a few.

3.2 Bickerton's Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH)

One theory of creole genesis is that the creole emerged out of a pidgin language. Bickerton (1981) questioned this theory and posited one that would include the use of innate human language requirements. In developing the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH), Bickerton did not include all creoles in his theory; he defined a “classic creole” situation that could be explained through the LBH. In this definition, the “classic creole situation” would be one where the creole speaking community would be those who were abruptly removed or ‘torn’ from their native cultures and whose native languages (the substrata) would be looked at as unfavorable. These “classic creoles” would also have emerged in situations where a pidgin language was used for a very short time and no more than 20 per cent of the community population represented superstratal speakers (80 per cent of the remaining community population was linguistically diverse). Bickerton used this definition to narrow down his research area to truly identify languages where “human linguistic capacity is stretched to the uttermost.” (Bickerton, 1981:4) In using this definition, he identified HCE as falling into the category of “classic creole”.

Bickerton did extensive fieldwork in Hawaii in 1973 and 1974 with a team who recorded speakers of both Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE) and Hawaiian Creole English (HCE). In evaluating HCE through his classic creole definition, Bickerton found that elements in HCE were missing in HPE and thus came to the conclusion that HCE did not emerge from HPE, which supported his theory that not all creoles emerged from a pidgin and that classic creole characteristics were due to the LBH.

With regards to phonology, if the LBH claims that “classic creoles” share innate syntactic and semantic universal language characteristics, then could it also assume universal phonological characteristics? For example, “classic creoles” would share unmarked phonological characteristics claimed by other Universalists such that it should be expected to hear these similar intonation patterns in many of these “classic creoles”. What would be viewed as ‘default’ or ‘unmarked’ intonation patterns used for yes/no questions and declaratives could be identified in these creoles. In short, yes/no questions would have a high final tone while statements would have a low final tone.

HCE poses a problem for a strict LBH approach. To expand, Hawaiian has a falling yes/no intonation pattern, which is considered ‘marked’. This pattern is consistent with what is seen in HCE as well, which would provide evidence against the claim that creoles default to ‘unmarked’ characteristics consistent with the LBH’s Universalist claim. This criticism holds especially strongly given Bickerton’s description of HCE as a “classic” creole, whereby he also came up with his LBH characteristics by comparing HPE and HCE

from examining movement rules, articles, verbal auxiliaries, for-to complementization, relativization and pronoun-copying. (Bickerton, 1981:17)

3.3 Creolist Claims and Founder's Effect

According to Sakoda & Siegel (2004:733) “The phonology of Hawai’i Creole also has some similarities to that of Hawaiian, Cantonese, and Portuguese, especially in the vowel system and intonation in questions, but these connections have not been studied in detail.” Siegel proposes that, of the substrate languages in Hawaii, Portuguese and Chinese had the most influence on HCE due to the increased numbers of these two immigrated groups and the decline of the native Hawaiian population during stabilization of the creole. However, due to the initial imprint Hawaiian had on Hawaiian Pidgin English, which continued when HCE developed, I claim that Hawaiian had more of an influence phonologically than has been acknowledged. Zelinsky (1973) and illustrates this point further.

Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been... Thus, in terms of lasting impact, activities of a few hundred, or even a few score, initial colonizers can mean much more for the cultural geography of a place than the contributions of tens of thousands of new immigrants a few generations later. (Zelinsky, 1973)

Mufwene (2007) applied this same principle to creole genesis suggesting that the structure of the creole was predetermined by the founding population. I support this view in explaining the phonological structure transferred from Hawaiian to HCE.

4.0 Summary of Findings

Based on an AM notation system, I have compared (table below) Hawaiian, English, and HCE utterances to illustrate the similarities that Hawaiian and HCE have as well as to highlight the differences that HCE and English have with regards to yes/no questions, wh-questions, declaratives (statements) and continuation intonation. Comparing HCE to English is important to this study in order to demonstrate key differences in HCE and English intonation to support the argument that HCE has not been influenced by English intonation at least with regard to yes/no question intonation. English uses syntax to highlight the difference between declaratives vs. interrogatives (yes/no and wh-questions) as well as contrasting intonation patterns. The Hawaiian language does not have any change in syntax or morphology for questions or statements; it only has intonation to rely on. This raises questions regarding interpretability. For example, what if all utterances have falling intonation patterns? How can a speaker convey different types of utterances and a listener interpret them? To answer this, it seems that the peak of the H tones is on the last stressed syllable in both HCE and Hawaiian and then falls abruptly on the remaining syllables.

From the data I have gathered, it would also seem the distinction comes from a higher global F_0 , in questions, to which the start of the utterance is a higher pitch that carries through the entire tune, while statements have a lower global F_0 . In HCE the same occurs-falling intonation in all categories, and having a higher global F_0 in questions. It is the overall height of the utterance in HCE and Hawaiian that indicates whether the utterance is a

question or statement. In summary, as seen from the table, HCE and Hawaiian have falling intonation for questions and statements, however the realization of the falling tune has differences which the speaker and listener can distinguish.

(6) Comparison of HCE, English, and Hawaiian

	YES NO?	WH?	Declarative	Continuation
HCE	Falling	Falling	Falling	Falling
ENGLISH	Rising	Falling	Falling	Rising
HAWAIIAN	Falling	Falling	Falling	Falling

5.0 Conclusions and Future Study

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate the relevance of Hawaiian intonation on HCE intonation and to provide evidence of this imprint. I have provided empirical and socio-historical evidence to support the claims I have made in this paper. After completing a comparative study as well as in depth socio-historical research, I have come to the conclusion that Hawaiian intonation did indeed have a lasting impact on HCE intonation despite what has been said by previous creolist such as Bickerton, Roberts, and Siegel. I have also provided evidence against a strong Universalist explanation of characteristics found in HCE as posited by Bickerton via the LBH as well as argued against other Universalist based claims made by Gussenhoven and Ohala (Frequency and Effort Codes). In the future, I will conduct more perception-based experiments to test the salience of my observations on the tonic differences in HCE and Hawaiian.

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What's up with *y'all*?: Sociopragmatic versatility in the “battle of the pronouns”

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1. Introduction

There has been much debate – mostly of a historical or grammatical nature – over the development and use of the second-person plural (2PPL) pronominal form *y'all* in American English. Accurate historical documentation of the form is scant, resulting in a wide range of theories regarding its origin, with some authors proposing that *y'all* is a calque of a creole or African pronoun system (Lipski, 1993) and others arguing that it is an importation from the Scots-Irish dialect (Montgomery 1992). Grammatically, it is generally accepted that *y'all* is an analogous suppletion of the Early Modern English pronoun system (Maynor, 2000; Tillery, Wilke, and Bailey, 2000), though it is certainly not the only form that fills the 2PPL pronoun slot in modern-day American English. While *you* is the accepted singular second-person form, it also and often functions as an implicit plural. Other pronouns in American English comparable to *y'all* include *yinz* (Johnstone, 2001), *you-uns* (Montgomery, 2002; Donahue 2007), and *you guys* (Maynor, 2000). These forms, along with *y'all*, have been shown to index certain aspects of identity such as social class, region, or ethnicity. However, the discourse-pragmatic functions of these forms have not been investigated. In this paper, I show how *y'all* in particular serves distinct sociopragmatic purposes by indexing affective stances among young Texas speakers.

I analyze a corpus of interactional video data in order to determine the state of *y'all* in what has been called the “battle of the pronouns” (Maynor, 2000). In contrast to many other scholarly considerations of *y'all* – which draw mainly on self-report surveys (e.g. Tillery, Wilke, and Bailey, 2000), constructed examples (e.g. Richardson, 1984), and historical texts (e.g. Lipski, 1993) – my analysis draws on interactional data, thus providing evidence of real-time language in use. The data I use come from an archive of video recordings of everyday interaction collected between 2004 and 2007 among undergraduates at a private university in central Texas and represent a small cross-section of young, educated Southern speakers. While most of the speakers are from Texas, other Southern states such as Mississippi and Tennessee are also represented. In the following analysis, I examine two issues: first, the distribution of *y'all* versus the competing forms *you guys* and plural *you*, and second, the sociopragmatic factors that give *y'all* a certain amount of interactional versatility, which may make it a desirable pronominal choice for some speakers.

2. How Does *Y'all* Compare to Plural *You* and *You Guys*?

In the first part of my analysis, I compare the occurrences of *y'all* with the two other most prominent 2PPL pronouns in my corpus of young Texan speakers: *you guys* and implicitly plural *you*. Because of the inherent ambiguity of the number of *you*, the coding of plural *you* was determined on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the surrounding context, including evidence of nonverbal cues. The counts and percentages of these pronouns are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Counts and percentages of *y'all*, *you guys*, and *you (pl)* among young Texas speakers.

(Corpus word count: 53,622)	Y'all	You guys	You (pl)	TOTAL
2PPL tokens (and percentages)	58 (43%)	19 (14%)	58 (43%)	135 (100%)

As Table 1 shows, *y'all* and plural *you* occur with the same frequency in my corpus. Although one might assume that plural *you* is the default and most frequent form of 2PPL pronoun in American English, my data indicate that *y'all* is in very real contention for the 2PPL slot among the speakers in my corpus. Even though neither *y'all* nor plural *you* is the statistically default form, when the discursive use of these forms is examined, it becomes clear that plural *you* is treated by speakers as the interactionally unmarked form, with *y'all* performing additional sociopragmatic work.

In comparison to *y'all* and *you (pl)*, *you guys* occurs at a much lower frequency in my data. This is in contrast to the findings of scholars who report that the form is being increasingly imported from outside the South into the dialect of young Southern speakers (Maynor, 1999, 2000). Moreover, where *you guys* is used, it does not seem to carry any clear gender distributions – either of speaker or addressees – which is also in contrast with recent scholarship on *you guys* (Maynor 2000). Table 2 summarizes the gender distribution of both speaker and addressees for the 19 tokens of *you guys* in my corpus.

Table 2. Gender distribution for speaker and addressees in tokens of *you guys*.

	Female Addressees	Male Addressees	Mixed Gender Group	Row Totals
Female Speaker	6	0	2	8
Male Speaker	3	5	3	11
Column Totals	9	5	5	19

3. Interspeaker Patterns in Pronoun Use

In order to discuss how young Southern speakers in my data use *y'all* in interaction, it is helpful to highlight the patterns of 2PPL pronoun use by several specific speakers. While the overall trends presented in Table 1 show statistical comparability in the frequency of plural *you* and *y'all*, individual speakers tend to have a preferred pronoun. Of the 29 speakers in my corpus, 19 use 2PPL pronouns. Of those 19 people, 3 use only *y'all*, 4 use no *y'all* at all, and 12 use a variety of 2PPL pronouns. These patterns are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of *y'all* among speakers in the corpus.

Pronoun Use	<i>Y'all Only</i>	No <i>Y'all</i>	Mixed Usage	Total
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Number of people	3	4	12	19
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An example of a *y'all*-only participant is Ann, an 18-year-old freshman from San Antonio, Texas, who exclusively and extensively uses *y'all* in an hour-long video of her and two friends playing a board game. In fact, in the video recording in which Ann appears, her *y'alls* make up 11 out of 13 – or 85% - of all speakers' 2PPL pronoun uses. Here I present two short examples in which Ann uses *y'all*. In the first example, Ann, who is playing the board game “Life” with her two friends Liz and Joy, explains the monetary benefits of having children within the game.

Example 1. (2004Life, 33:45-33:48)

- 1 Ann: Well,
 2 Well **y'all**,
 3 Well **y'all** get money at the end though for kids.

In the second example, Ann asks for clarification regarding the progression of game play.

Example 2. (2004Life, 40:42-40:45)

- 1 Ann: So wait.
 2 When **y'all** get here,
 3 I just keep (.) playing 'til I'm done.

As exemplified in these two excerpts, Ann uses *y'all* as her basic (and, in fact, only) 2PPL pronoun.

However, the exclusive use of *y'all* is not as common in the speech of individual speakers in my data as is a mixture of pronouns. In order to illustrate this pattern of use, I present another participant, Peter, a 35-year-old university staff member from San Antonio, Texas. He has, by far, the highest individual use of 2PPL pronoun tokens in my data, a total of 32 of 135 tokens. This fact is likely because the video recording that contains Peter captures a group meeting where he functions as the group leader. In Example 3, Peter is addressing the group and inquiring how they are doing on recruiting sponsors for an upcoming event the group is hosting.

Example 3. (2005Diversity, 47:04-47:06)

- 1 Peter: How are **y'all**,
 2 on recruitment then.

In a contrasting example, Peter uses implicitly plural *you* to address the members of the group in relation to their various responsibilities regarding the contacting of sponsorship groups.

Example 4. (2005Diversity, 47:04-47:06)

- 1 Peter: How's this for an idea.
 2 I don't know what **you** were gonna do,
 3 As far as contacting these different groups.

The plurality of Peter's *you* in line 2 is mainly interpretable from his embodied action, as he uses his hands and his gaze to gesture to several individuals in the group.

Figure 1. Peter's embodied action in indexing the plurality of *you* as seen in Example 4.



Thus, while *y'all* functions unambiguously as plural in most contexts, additional communicative effort may be needed to indicate the plurality of *you*.

4. The Functions of *Y'all*: An Emergent Discourse Marker?

As the previous four examples show, young speakers in Texas use a variety of second-person plural pronouns, displaying a great deal of interspeaker variation. Moreover, for speakers who use *y'all*, there is also variation in the types of discourse functions that this form can serve. McLemore (1991) notes that among Texas sorority women, *y'all* is used as an address term or vocative tag, a function not regularly performed by any other English pronoun. I also found this to be the case in my data: *y'all* is used not only to address a group but also to express certain sociopragmatic information as well. This finding suggests that *y'all* may be emerging as a type of discourse marker.

Other address terms have been investigated with respect to their discourse marker functions, including the American English slang term *dude* (Kiesling, 2004) and the Mexican Spanish slang term *güey* (Bucholtz, 2009). Among the criteria that these studies outline for membership in the discourse marker category are that such forms need not be referential and that they encode a speaker's stance. In my data, *y'all* is expanding beyond the function of a simple pronominal form and is gaining discourse-level functions.

However, *y'all* is different from *dude* or *güey* in several ways. First, it is a pronominal and not a nominal form, making it distinct both among pronominals, which typically do not function as either address terms or discourse markers, as well as among discourse markers, which typically do not grammaticalize from pronouns. Moreover, the type of stance that *y'all* indexes is different from *dude*, which indexes nonchalant cool solidarity and often masculinity, and *güey*, which indexes solidarity and highlights important information. In general, *y'all* tends to index a stance of high affect, such as indignation, frustration, and surprise. It may be possible, however, that *y'all* is used to index positive affective stances as well.

Despite the finds I discuss below, it is difficult to say unequivocally that *y'all* functions as a discourse marker, since it is not clear that it is ever fully nonreferential. All of my data consist of groups of people in which any co-present group or subgroup may be inferred to be the referent of *y'all* when used as an address term. On the other hand, in some instances, *y'all* displays prosodic cues which indicate that it is occurring at intonation breaks and even by itself as an entire intonation unit. The fact that *y'all* is prosodically separable from surrounding utterances indicates that it may be functioning more as a discourse marker.

Again, it is useful to look at several individuals' pronoun use to see the discourse functions of *y'all* in action. In Example 5, Ann is complaining to her gamemates that she has not yet acquired any children in their game of "Life."

Example 5. (2004Life, 33:36-33:39)

1 Ann: Y'all,

- 2 I have no babies.
 3 Liz: <falsetto> I'm sorry.

In addition to its function as an address term, *y'all* also seems to be performing sociopragmatic work here. For one thing, it is used as a preface to a complaint and indexes a high amount of affect. Moreover, Liz's response indicates not only that she is sympathizing with Ann's predicament but also that she is mirroring Ann's stance of high affect.

The next example also involves Ann complaining about her lack of substantive acquisitions in the board game. Once again, her complaint is prefaced by *y'all*, marking both a comment addressed to the whole group as well as a high-affect stance.

Example 6. (2004Life, 29:43-29:46)

- 1 Ann: **Y'all**,
 2 I have no kids,
 3 and I got my little sport coupe,
 4 with my house.

It is important to note that these episodes could very well have occurred without the use of *y'all*. Thus, Ann's decision to use the pronoun indicates that it is interactionally versatile both in getting the attention of the group and taking a stance toward her upcoming remarks.

Since Ann is an exclusive *y'all* user, it is hard to determine whether she uses *y'all* in a contrastive way to differentially mark stances. Clearer evidence of the sociopragmatic functions comes from comparing speakers who use both plural *you* and *y'all*, but for markedly different purposes in interaction. I examine the speech of two other participants in my data, Lisa and Kay. Lisa is a 20-year-old junior from Hurst, Texas, and Kay is a 21-year-old junior from Montgomery, Texas.

In the following examples, plural *you* is used as the unmarked 2PPL form, while *y'all* is often used to express high affect and stance-taking. In Example 7, Lisa is introducing a story about a detail she remembers from the children's television show "Sesame Street." In her opening statement, she addresses the whole group both by engaging multiple participants with her gaze (see Figure 2) and by using the implicitly plural form of *you*.

Example 7. (2006Dinner, 30:48-30:54)

- 1 Lisa: Did **you** ever see that Sesame Street thing,
 2 where the—
 3 the um,
 4 the drop of water would come from the faucet,

Figure 2. Lisa's use of gaze with encoding the plurality of *you*.



Again, as with Peter in Example 4, Lisa's *you* in line 1 is interpretable as plural through her use of gesture and gaze (see Figure 2). As she introduces the topic, she scans the table to check reciprocity from multiple members of the group.

Example 7 contrasts with Example 8, where the same group is engaged in an extended round of laughter after discussing a topic that they deem inappropriate to be captured on camera. At the end of the laughing episode, Lisa admonishes the group to make their conversation more appropriate for a "PG" audience (i.e. suitable for children under 13), and then expresses her concern that the researchers collecting the data will have to edit the preceding segment of video. In a preface to her final admonishment, she uses *y'all* both to draw attention to what she has to say and to mark a high degree of affect.

Example 8. (2006Dinner, 36:47-36:57)

- 1 Lisa: Let's PG it up people,
- 2 PG it up.
- 3 (group laughter)
- 4 They're gonna cut this whole thing.
- 5 **Y'all.**
- 6 Back to maturity.

Lisa uses *y'all* in this example as its own intonation unit with final intonation. Moreover, she has already addressed the group as "people" in line 1, which indicates that *y'all* is functioning less referentially and more as a discourse marker. However, the fact that *y'all* is tied to the imperative in line 6 also suggests that it is still functioning as a more pronoun-like address term as well.

Y'all may also be used to demonstrate high affect in subject and object positions, not just as address terms or discourse markers. In the next example, Kay, who uses both plural *you* and *y'all* in the corpus, employs *y'all* in the subject position to indicate surprise and perhaps a bit of disappointment that none of her friends have ever attended a game of their university's basketball team.

Example 9. (2005Dinner, 9:32-9:38)

- 1 Kim: [He was in the Lariat* today.]
- 2 Kay: [Do **y'all** not go to basketball games?]
- 3 Kim: I haven't been to one yet.
- 4 Kay: Oh my Go:d.

*the school newspaper

Figure 3. Kay's use of facial expression to display affective stance.



Kay uses *y'all*, along with her facial expression (see Figure 3) and intonation, in her affective stance display of surprise and disappointment that her friends have not attended a basketball game at their school. This example shows that not only is *y'all* emerging as a discourse marker in order to index affective sociopragmatic information, but that this aspect of affectual intensification may also be present when *y'all* is used as the subject or object of an utterance. Thus, the high-affect stance that is indexed when *y'all* is used as a discourse marker may also be present when it is used in other more prototypical pronominal positions.

As the examples presented here illustrate, *y'all* functions in a variety of ways in discourse. Its canonical function as an address term or pronominal form is being extended, and *y'all* is functioning as a discourse marker to index high-affect stances such as indignation, frustration, and surprise.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have demonstrated how uses of *y'all* in interaction show a change in progress among young Texas speakers. *Y'all* is an emergent discourse marker that indexes not only addressees but speaker affect as well. Moreover, I have shown that the distribution of both *y'all* and plural *you* is very similar in their overall patterning in my corpus, but that the distribution of pronoun use on an individual level shows a great deal of individual variation. Many individual speakers have a preferred pronoun, and those that use both pronouns tend to use them differently in interaction.

Thus, *y'all* is an interactional resource for indexing speakers' affective stance. Through the analysis of interactional data, we can see the variety of ways that people use the form and the various functions that it serves. While this study is preliminary, it draws attention to the fact that the discourse-pragmatic functions of pronouns need to be investigated more fully.

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