Language & Communication 32 (2012) 1–13

Contents lists available at SciVerse ScienceDirect

Language & Communication

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/langcom

Dialect, trope, and enregisterment in a Melanesian speech community

James Slotta *

Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637, USA
Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago, 1010 East 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637, USA

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:
Available online 14 December 2011

Keywords:
Enregisterment
Language variation
Trope
Social meaning
Textuality
Melanesia

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the enregisterment of dialect shibboleths among the Yopno of Papua New Guinea. The Yopno recognize dialect shibboleths as indexes of a speaker's "home village," yet people employ dialect shibboleths associated with others' villages in systematic ways, offering little explicit metapragmatic commentary about such uses. Through the analysis of two interactional events, this paper demonstrates how the social meaning of using another's dialect shibboleths is generated through figures of speech (i.e. tropes) that are manifest in the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse through parallelism. Though much work on enregisterment foregrounds the role of explicit metapragmatic discourse in the process, this case highlights the important role played by tropes figured in the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse.

© 2011 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

In September of 2008, I traveled to Kwembum village in the Yopno valley of Papua New Guinea to collect data on the local dialect of Yopno, a non-Austronesian language spoken by around 8000 people in the valley. As was usual in my forays around the valley, I was accompanied by a friend, K, from Nian village, the Yopno village where I was living. Over the course of our stay, it became clear that K was occasionally peppering his speech with expressions in Kwembum dialect and that some of the people in Kwembum were using a few Nian dialect expressions when speaking to him. When I asked K about why he did this, he explained that he had spent some years as a youth living in Kwembum and so he mixed Nian and Kwembum dialects occasionally.

Though this was the first time I had ever heard him use these Kwembum expressions, his explanation fit a common theme I was discovering in my inquires about people's use of dialect shibboleths. People consistently said that they used the dialect of the village where they were raised and any variance from that normative expectation was dismissed as a mistake. Though an important indication of a pervasive language ideology that sees dialect shibboleths as indexes of a speaker's socio-geographic provenance, this metapragmatic discourse on the use of dialect shibboleths became a less satisfying explanation of people's linguistic practice as I observed again and again people using the shibboleths of others' dialects in seemingly systematic ways. Greeting routines like those I observed in Kwembum, for example, commonly involved the speaker saying a few words in the addressee's dialect and the addressee reciprocating with a few words in the initial speaker's dialect. When I pointed this out to people, though, they could offer little explicit metapragmatic commentary on the practice.

I argue in this paper that the use of others' dialect shibboleths have social meanings generated and circulated not primarily in the *explicit* metapragmatic discourse of community members, but in the *implicit* metapragmatic structuring of discourse through parallelism. The recent rise to prominence of the study of language ideologies in linguistic anthropology (see Schieffelin et al., 1998; Kroskrity, 2000) has brought much needed attention to the role of explicit metalinguistic

* Address: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637, USA. Tel.: +1 971 227 4810.
E-mail address: jslotta@uchicago.edu

0271-5309/$ - see front matter © 2011 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.
doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2011.11.003

discourse in regimenting language practices, which has resulted in a number of culturally and socially sensitive accounts of the enregisterment of linguistic variants (e.g., Errington, 1985; Agha, 1998) – that is, the process in which variants come to have a distinct social meaning or social effect for (some) members of a speech community. As a result of this focus, though, the important role of the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse in processes of enregisterment is often overlooked or underplayed (but see Agha, 2003; Silverstein, 2004 for notable exceptions).

Recent work in sociolinguistics, on the other hand, has developed analyses of social meaning built around the concept of "style." This approach foregrounds the important, but implicit, role played by linguistic and non-linguistic signs co-occurring with variants in discourse in generating (new) social meanings for linguistic variants (see Section 2 for discussion and references). The approach to the social meaning of sociolinguistic variants I develop in this paper builds on this recent work, while expanding and clarifying it. In particular, I am concerned to show that sociolinguistic variants can be endowed with tropic significance through the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse.

Consider, for a moment, the more common tropes itemized in the study of literary art. "My love is a rose" – a metaphor – configures two noun phrases in this short text in a relation of equivalence: "my love" is equivalent in some respect to "a rose." The tropic significance – my love is delicate and beautiful or something of that sort – is construable from this configuration of signs. The meaning of "rose" is transformed through its incorporation in this figure of speech. In much the same way, the social meaning of sociolinguistic variants can be transformed through their incorporation in figures of speech, constructed by the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse through parallelism (see Section 2 for further discussion and references). Recognizing the potential for such tropic signification in instances of discourse considerably expands sociolinguistic analyses of social meaning beyond matters of style and speaker identity, and highlights the methodological importance of more thorough investigation of the signs that co-occur with variants as co-constituents in figures of speech.

This paper examines two interactional events recorded during my fieldwork in the Yopno valley of Papua New Guinea to show how parallels among linguistic and non-linguistic signs, including dialect shibboleths, generate a tropic significance for people's use of the dialect shibboleths of others. Far from being mere mistakes or meaningless mixing, the use of shibboleths of others' dialects is tropically meaningful in two distinct ways. In one, lexical shibboleths (i.e., words and expressions) of another's dialect are used to figurate an act of giving a gift to the addressee. In the second, phonic shibboleths (i.e., (morpho)phonological variants) of another's dialect are used to figurate an act of social distancing. I focus on two interactional events that clearly reveal these distinct tropic significations in their rich co-textual patterning of signs. Such instances are key sites where tropic significance is generated and disseminated through the speech community, as well as key sites for the analyst to investigate the social meaning of sociolinguistic variants, especially when the social meaning is not the subject of explicit metapragmatic commentary. But, these definitional moments also shed light on the social meanings of the use of others' dialect shibboleths in a number of other contexts (e.g., greetings) in which the tropic significance is less clearly spelled out in the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse.

2. Style and social meaning in sociolinguistics

The approach to enregisterment developed here draws on recent work in sociolinguistics that has begun to highlight the role of linguistic styles in transforming the social meaning of sociolinguistic variants. The sense of "style" in recent sociolinguistic work is rather different from that found in earlier sociolinguistic studies. In Labov's pioneering work on the social and stylistic stratification of English in New York City in the 1960s, "style" labeled significant differences in the rates of production of variants conditioned by differences in their context of use other than the socioeconomic category membership of the speaker (Labov, 1972, and more recently Labov, 2001). The differentiation of contextual styles was operationalized through the sociolinguistic interview, designed such that particular portions of the interview elicited different styles – from casual chit-chat before the official start of the interview, to more "formal" conversation during the official interview, through a series of reading tasks that were considered more formal yet. Though other influential approaches to the study of stylistic variation have questioned Labov's cognitive interpretation of the phenomenon, in which styles derive from differences in "attention paid to speech" in these contexts, the use of the term "style" to label intraspeaker variation is common to "audience design" (Bell, 1984) and the like.

Second and third wave sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2005), on the other hand, employs a rather different sense of the term "style." Dissatisfied with the macro-sociological categorization of speakers by socioeconomic class membership pervasive in first wave sociolinguistics, these newer approaches emphasize the creativity and agency of speakers in constructing their identity out of the linguistic variation found in a speech community (this position is advanced in Eckert, 2000, 2005, 2008, nd, and the work of others cited in this section; also Schilling-Estes, 1998; Johnstone, 1999; Coupland, 2007). Here, attention to linguistic styles has gone hand in hand with attention to clothing styles, bodily adornment, and other non-linguistic signs of social identity (Eckert, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2007). In this approach, the variants used by a speaker are not necessarily aggregated with those used by other speakers who share the same demographic profile. Rather, speakers and groups of speakers may have more or less unique speech styles composed of variants found in the speech community (e.g., Johnstone, 2009) – people are, in other words, bricoleurs constructing an identity or persona in and by their use of language.

Nonetheless, we can detect a thread connecting the two senses of style. In the Labovian formulation, style-shifting reflected the use of more prestigious variants under conditions where a speaker is paying greater attention to their speech, leading to phenomena such as "hypercorrection" (Labov, 1972). Highly conscious styles, in this perspective, are sites where

speakers strategically attempt to construct a socially prestigious identity for themselves. Third wave sociolinguistics expands on this point, emphasizing the pervasiveness and diversity of strategic and stylized uses of speech, thus raising questions about the importance of "attention paid to speech" in organizing stylistic diversity and constraining language change (Eckert, 2001). And questioning the assumption of a single, monolithic prestige group and register uniformly recognized by the members of a society – an assumption already troubled by notions like "covert prestige" (Trudgill, 1972) – second and third wave sociolinguists have also argued that the use of particular variants is not merely a matter of putting forward a prestigious identity, but a resource for constructing a wide variety of different identities and personae (Eckert, 2000). If socioeconomic category membership reflected in social dialect production is the constraining, "structural," axis of sociolinguistic analysis, identities and personae constructed in linguistic styles have become the axis of creativity and agency.

This second sense of style outlined above has brought to the fore questions about the social meaning of variants. If speakers "choose" variants to create an identity and do not simply use variants as a reflex of socioeconomic category membership, how do the variants constitute a meaningful identity or persona (Podesva, 2008)? The result has been a rather different engagement with the context and co-text in which variants are situated. Research in the first wave tradition has focused on variants as *reflections* of contextual factors ranging from the speaker's socioeconomic category membership, to the speech norms of addressees and audiences (Bell, 1984), to the roles and identities of participants in different interactional events (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Coupland, 1980). More recent approaches, informed by style in the third wave sense discussed above, have grappled with the role of linguistic and non-linguistic co(n)text as it *generates* the social meaning of variants. The social meaning of variants, in this perspective, is affected by the style – i.e., certain co-textual features – in which it occurs. As Eckert argues:

> The range of meanings outlines an indexical field, a constellation of ideologically related meanings, any of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable. Depending on the context of use, a variable can invoke meanings in different areas of that constellation. (nd: 24)

For example, Eckert discusses the social meaning of full tone in weakly stressed syllables in the speech of yuppies working for international businesses in Beijing (based on the research of Zhang, 2005). A variant associated with non-Mainland Mandarin speakers, full tone is said to lend a flair of cosmopolitanism to the speech of these Beijingers. But for full tone to signal the speaker's cosmopolitanism it is necessary that the full tone be co(n)textualized by other co-occurring signs indexing "Beijing Mandarin speaker" or "Mainland Standard Mandarin speaker":

> This variable, completely foreign to Beijing and never appearing in the speech of the managers in state-owned businesses, brings a very clear cosmopolitan quality to Yuppie speech. Zhang emphasizes that the speakers are not imitating Hong Kong speech, but calling on a Hong Kong feature to *bring Beijing into the transnational sphere*. (Eckert, 2005: 25; emphasis added)

That is, full tone used alongside variants of non-Mainland Mandarin would index simply "non-Mainland Mandarin speaker," while full tone used alongside Beijing Mandarin speech signals what Zhang and Eckert label as a "cosmopolitan" style. The significance of full tone rests not only on the associations which people have with it as a sociolinguistic variable, but also on the other linguistic and non-linguistic elements it co-occurs with.

The social meaning of the non-Mainland Mandarin variant is transformed as a constituent part of a trope of cosmopolitanism in this analysis. Like the denotational tropes catalogued in the study of literary art, the non-Mainland Mandarin variant takes on a superadded tropic significance as a result of its placement in discourse structured by co-textual parallelisms. As Jakobson's work on the poetic function and poetic parallelism (1960, 1968) made clear, parallels among linguistic elements in discourse figure – or diagram – alignments among them. These alignments, in turn, lend tropic significance to elements in the configuration, a significance that is different from their value apart from these co-textual alignments.

Take, for instance, a piece of contemporary poetic verse from Cee Lo Green's lyric of foul-mouthed bitterness after a girlfriend has left for greener pastures:

(1) Yeah I'm sorry, I can't afford a Ferrari,
(2) But that don't mean I can't get you there.
(3) I guess he's an Xbox and I'm more Atari,
(4) But the way you play your game ain't fair. (Cee Lo Green. "Fuck You.")

In line 3, there is a neatly expressed parallel:

Personal Pronoun –	Equative Copula –		Noun Phrase (species of video game consoles)
He	's		an Xbox
I	'm	(more)	Atari

Clearly the significance of this line is tropic – taken outside of this co-text "Xbox" denotes 'a sixth-generation video game console manufactured by Microsoft.' But the textual parallels in this portion of the lyric and in the song as a whole figure alignments among linguistic elements which construct a "figure of speech":

I	can't afford	Ferrari
||		∤
I	=	Atari
∤		∤
He	=	Xbox

The trope here is analogy – I:He::Atari:Xbox. This textual configuration of linguist elements foregrounds certain cultural stereotypes associated with 'Xboxes,' 'Ataris,' and 'Ferraris,' namely that Ferraris and Xboxes are valued as expensive commodities and Ataris are quite the opposite. The entire configuration then bears the tropic significance: "He has money and I don't." Note that the line "He's an Xbox" already suggests a figurative significance – a [+human] noun phrase equated to a [−animate] noun phrase certainly suggests a trope is in play, as in such classic metaphors as "My love is a rose." But the specific tropic significance of this line is clarified by additional parallels in the verse (e.g. "Ferrari") and the song as a whole.

In much the same way as a [+human] noun phrase equated to a [−animate] noun phrase suggests a trope is in play, the combination of a non-Mainland Mandarin variant with otherwise Mainland Standard Mandarin suggests a trope is in play. This trope operates not at the level of denotation, but at the level of non-denotational indexicals. The speaker is indexed simultaneously as "Mainland Standard Mandarin speaker" and "non-Mainland Mandarin speaker," with whatever cultural values of that identity that are foregrounded by this co-textualization. The alignment of these two indexical values focused on the speaker figurates an identity that extends beyond the "Mainland" region "into the transnational sphere" – a trope of cosmopolitanism. That this is a trope of "cosmopolitanism" is certainly not obvious to an outside observer, but can be clarified by reference either to the explicit metapragmatic discourse of members of the speech community, as Zhang does, or to the implicit metapragmatic structuring of additional parallels in instances of discourse, as is necessary in elucidating the tropic significance of Cee Lo Green's lyric.

Though this recent work in sociolinguistics has begun to highlight the importance of tropic signification in the enregisterment of sociolinguistic variants, it has done so within a framework limited by an almost exclusive focus on sociolinguistic styles and speaker identity (see also Agha, 2003; Silverstein, 2004 for analyses of tropes of identity involved in processes of enregisterment). A sociolinguistic style is indeed a routinized trope of speaker identity, but the tropic analysis of enregisterment should not be limited to styles and speaker identity (on the tendency to focus on identity to the exclusion of other important social effects of language use, see Hastings and Manning, 2004).

The approach developed here expands on the role of tropic signification in the enregisterment of sociolinguistic variants, showing that sociolinguistic styles as tropes of speaker identity are only one relatively limited manifestation of tropic signification in processes of enregisterment. In the analysis of enregisterment in the Yopno speech community in Sections 4 and 5, the tropic use of dialect shibboleths is shown to be a matter not of sociolinguistic style or speaker identity, but of the interpersonal transformation of the relation of speaker to addressee.

As noted in the introduction, the social meaning of using the shibboleths of another's dialect is the subject of little *explicit* metapragmatic discourse among the Yopno. Such a situation foregrounds the important role of the *implicit* metapragmatic structuring of discourse in generating and circulating the tropic signification of variants in the speech community, i.e., in enregistering variants with distinct social effects. A culturally sensitive account of the social meaning of dialect shibboleths under these conditions requires attention to discourse events involving these variants that have a rich set of co-textual parallels spelling out the tropes involved. In the next section, I set the stage for such analysis by presenting the dominant cultural view of dialect differences among the Yopno as indexes of a speaker's socio-geographic provenance. This language ideology *is* the subject of much explicit metapragmatic discourse. It is also a necessary, but not sufficient condition for generating the tropic significance of the use of another's dialect shibboleths as an act of giving a gift to another (Section 4) and an act of creating social distance from another (Section 5).

3. Dialects and speaker-focal indexes of provenance

The Yopno valley is carved out by the Yopno river and the side valleys bisected by its tributaries on the northern side of the Finisterre range in northeastern Papua New Guinea on the border of Morobe and Madang provinces. The 8000 or so people who live in the valley speak a number of languages. Tok Pisin, the English-based creole spoken in much of Papua New Guinea, is now widely known following the opening of government run schools in the 1970s. Schools remain the institutional center of Tok Pisin (and ideally English) use in the valley. Kâte, a non-Austronesia language of New Guinea that was used as a lingua franca by the Lutheran mission in colonial New Guinea, is still occasionally encountered in church services, though it has largely been supplanted by Tok Pisin. Languages spoken in neighboring regions – particularly, Nankina and Domung – are known by a small number of people raised in these areas who have relocated to the Yopno valley following marriage or disputes.

But the dominant language in the valley is Yopno, a non-Austronesian language. Aside from two villages at the southeastern end of the valley, the residents of the 23 or so other villages in the valley are said by most locals to speak a single language. Locals recognize dialectal differences that distinguish the Yopno spoken in most of these 23 villages, with a few villages said to have lost their distinctive dialectal variants at some point in the past. That is to say, a number of linguistic

variants found in the valley are enregistered as indexes marking the socio-geographic provenance of the person acting in the role of speaker. Lexical variants are central to these registers. When asked about dialectal differences, people can trot out a pat list of all the different ways of saying the "same" thing in different dialects, a common one being the various words for 'sweet potato': yawot in Nian village, inden in Gwa, gura in Weskokop, gwit in Nombo, goten in Isan, abom in Wandabung. At the same time, there are (morpho)phonological, phonotactic, and prosodic differences which set these enregistered dialects off from one another. People use adjectives and adverbs (e.g., jikni "heavy", timtim "quickly") to characterize the acoustic and articulatory differences among the different dialects.

As indexes of speaker provenance, linguistic variants are tied to a set of cultural values that normatively tie persons (generally men) to groups and groups to sociogeographic locales as well as set others (generally women) in motion across this landscape. The Yopno descent ideology (Sahlins, 1965) is rigidly patrilineal. Rights to particular plots of garden land and forest – a necessity for these subsistence horticulturalists who construct and heat their houses with materials collected from their land – are passed from father to children, ideally in a line that can be traced back over five or six generations to the ancestor who originally claimed the land. Present-day descendants of these ancestors form the core of clans (jalap), groups that may be enlarged by the incorporation of other individuals and families who arrived later. There is much dispute within clans over which patriline is the original, core line, but ideally there should be only one.

In the idealized dual organization of Yopno ethno-sociology, each clan has a partner clan (the two together are termed gapma–gapma). The two partner clans share a men's house, the erstwhile and to some extent on-going spiritual center of the group and an institution formerly responsible for the socialization of young men. Gapma–gapma are themselves often said to be descendants of a pair of brothers, the often cited kinship basis for the dual organization of social groups. Ideally, two men's houses, in turn, combine to form a village (see Wassmann, 1993 for a more detailed description).

A village, then, is normatively constituted around a core of four clans composing two gapma–gapma pairs, and includes other patrilines that have been incorporated since the village's founding. As rights to land are passed down patrilineally, most children are raised in villages where their father and his father were raised. In contrast to the patrilineal descent ideology, prohibitions on marriageability include all cognatically related kin – that is, one ideally should not marry a consanguine related either through one's father or mother. The effect of cognatically reckoned exogamy is that most intra-village pairings are not considered acceptable. Even one intra-village marriage in one's genealogy may impel an individual to marry outside of the village. Given the normative expectation of patrilocal residence following marriage and the greater ease with which marriage partners can be found in distant villages or outside the valley altogether, Yopno villages are composed of a male patrilineal core and a large proportion of in-married women. In the village of Nian, for example, two-thirds of the married women were raised in other Yopno villages or other regions of Papua New Guinea. Given the many in-marrying women, villages are hardly homogeneous linguistically.

Despite the diversity of dialects – not to mention languages – spoken in any Yopno village, one dialect is ideologically associated with the village and its patrilineal core. And yet, due to a variety of contingent circumstances, some men do not command the dialect of the village where they have patrilineally inherited rights to land. Historically and into the present, violent disputes among members of a village occasionally lead some to flee to neighboring villages where they are given land by a clan and are, for several generations, allowed to remain, always with the expectation that they will return to their own land someday. In addition, in the last several decades Yopno have taken on religious, educational, and medical positions that require them to work in other Yopno villages. My host in Nian village was a Lutheran church worker from another village. The 6 year old child of this family, though not yet attending the local pre-school, was already speaking the Nian dialect. Schooling is yet another factor that causes people to speak dialects other than their patrilineal dialect. Though the valley now boasts four schools offering classes up to grade 8, with a fifth school under development, a few villages must send their children to live in villages closer to schools while school is in session. In many cases, parents will send their children to distant schools despite the presence of a school nearby. One Nian parent who sent his daughter away to school reported that she was now speaking the dialect of the village she was boarding in.

Such contingencies upset normative expectations linking dialect, land, and patriline, and yet they too provide evidence that the dialectal variants used by speakers are ideologized as signaling the provenance of the speaker. In cases where a person's speech matches the village in which his or her patriline holds rights to land, people would offer little explanation of their language use aside from saying he is "a Nian man" (Nian amin) or she is "a Gwa woman" (Gwa manat). But in cases where a person's patrilineal village and their dialect variants did not match, the explanations tended to involve stories explaining what contingencies interrupted the normative expectation. For example, a number of older men in Ganggalut village used a number of dialect variants associated with Nian village. When I asked them why, they gave me an historical tale about how their ancestors fled from Ganggalut and took shelter in Nian, where they were raised. It was their generation that returned to Ganggalut and their children now speak proper Ganggalut dialect, they said.

Explanations of language use based on speaker provenance even extend to cases where people seem to be shifting between dialect variants in a context sensitive way. When asked why people use variants from other dialects, the most common metapragmatic commentary offered was either that they had misspoken (i.e., that they had used dialect variants inappropriate in a model in which variants should index speaker provenance) or that they had spent some time in their youth in the village and so inadvertently mixed two dialects (i.e. that they had used variants appropriately in a model in which variants should index speaker provenance). Both responses reveal the dominance of the ideology of speaker provenance in rationalizations of people's use of dialect shibboleths.

In a range of speech events that I observed, though, people used the shibboleths of others' dialects (often their addressees) in systematic ways that seemed at odds with the ideology of speaker provenance. But given the dominance of the ideology of speaker provenance, it was difficult to elicit any metapragmatic commentary that shed light on the social meaning of these uses. Does the use of others' dialect shibboleths have a relatively stable social meaning apart from being indexes of the speaker's provenance? How is such meaning generated and circulated through the speech community in a way that can account for the systematic occurrence of others' dialect shibboleths in interactional events of greetings, giving thanks, and the like? In the following two sections I highlight the role of the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse as a site where others' dialect shibboleths are enregistered with a tropic significance as part of a trope of gift giving (in the next section) and as part of a trope of social distancing (in Section 5).

4. The trope of gift giving and the enregisterment of lexical shibboleths

When greeting a person from another village, it is not uncommon to use a few words and expressions from that person's dialect. For example, one day in November of 2008, while returning to Nian from another village, I along with my traveling companions from Nian ran into the group from Tapmangke village on their way to a celebration in Nian village. As we all shook hands, most of them offered me and my companions a Nian style doraŋ taisi ('good day') to which my companions and I responded with a Tapmangke style gɨldet takasi ('good day'). Such dialect shifting clearly does not fit the dominant cultural model of dialect shibboleths as indexes of the speaker's provenance, and when I asked people about this practice they offered little by way of explicit metapragmatic explanation.

In my earlier discussion of tropes at the end of Section 2, I noted that the tropic significance of linguistic elements may be spelled out not only through explicit metapragmatic discourse, but also through additional parallels that form the co-text of the tropic usage. In this section, I have chosen one example of the tropic use of dialect shibboleths that contains a rich co-textual array of signs that spell out the tropic significance of the use of lexical shibboleths of another's dialect. It was through richly co-textualized, definitional events like this one that I was able to grasp the tropic significance of using another's dialect shibboleths and such events are likely important in the socialization of outsiders and the young to this tropic significance.

The celebration on that day in November 2008 marked the 15th anniversary of the construction of the Nian's "permanent materials" church – a structure with corrugated iron roofing, a timber frame, and plywood walls. Prior to this, the community had held joint services on significant occasions with the neighboring community of Nokopo in the latter's "permanent materials" church. For members of the Nian community, the efforts to purchase and haul the materials for the building from outside of the valley marked their commitment to Christianity as well as their "development" from a pre-modern way of life, a toe-hold on the climb to modernity.

Like other major events in Yopno social life, the celebration brought in participants from other villages to mark the importance of the occasion – groups to perform ceremonial dances honoring the anniversary as well as Christian leaders from other villages to offer religious instruction to the community. Indeed, the very fact that people from numerous villages are able to gather for such events without violence or fear is often hailed as one of the chief signs of these Christian times. One of the central themes of the celebration was the story of how the village of Nian accepted Christianity in the middle of the last century. The neighboring village of Nokopo, after parading from Nokopo through the old Nian village site to the contemporary village center – tracing the path of the Word of God from Nokopo to Nian up to the present – put on an elaborate skit telling the story of how people in Nokopo converted the "heathen" in Nian.

On another occasion that was part of the celebration, the village of Tapmangke came to Nian to perform ceremonial dances preceded by a Bible study run by a church leader from Tapmangke, N, who has been the prime consultant for an SIL Bible translator based in that village. Following the Bible study, the leader of the Nian congregation's Women's Group, S, an unmarried woman from Nian, offered her thanks to N not only for leading the Bible study but for his and his parents' role in strengthening the word of God in Nian over the past fifty years. I want to look closely at this linguistic and non-linguistic act of giving thanks as it provides the co(n)text for a tropically significant dialect shift at the conclusion of S's speech:

---

(1) meŋ nanyo pabɨŋ ɨdɨn yikgɨmal
(your) mother and father came and lived here
(2) Piŋkop dakwon paŋmukbe yut awmal
They built a church of God
(3) un pɨlɨŋ yutnaŋ awmal to kɨlɨ ekɨgɨ
they made a traditional-style house and they stayed
(4) ainyi un dakwon komposi yipgumalda kaegɨgɨ
they continually put the 'compost' of God (on us)
(5) ainyi kwakŋɨ maŋat yut awmal
they built a permanent materials church
(6) kɨlɨ untɨmon obek komposi siŋgi yipgumal
they came and they continued to put compost down

(7) kɨlɨ abɨsok doraŋ ɨdon ekwamaŋ
and now on this day we are here
(8) komposi yipmaŋ kaŋbe un kɨnda bamɨ tosok
they put compost down and here is the fruit of their work
(9) aek kɨnda kɨbɨdaŋ kɨŋbekwonto bamɨ **tai** dɨma bo yikdak
someplace where it is dry, is there **good** fruit?
(10) to abɨsok doraŋ ɨdon obɨmalon
so now on this day you two [N and his wife] have come
(11) komposi siŋgɨn yipmaakwal
and again put down compost
(12) Nian paŋmukbe komposi yipmaakwal
you put compost down on Nian congregation
(13) ungwan tɨkŋaŋ yikgamaŋ
we are filled to the brim with it
(14) to ya yaŋsi dayamaŋ
so we say thanks to you two
(15) kɨlɨ udon maŋat monjio parish esalesal ai Nokopo parish
the children of each parish, Nokopo parish [the Lutheran parish which Nian is part of]
(16) mum nambekwonda wo madepmɨkwon wosak
from children still asking for milk to big ones
(17) un un monjisok buru mi ne
those whose thinking is not yet clear, still
(18) ongwansi yumsi yabitno jil yikgamalsido kɨsek kɨsek
we just keep sending them to you two [to attend school near Tapmangke village]
(19) un **taisi**
which is **good**
(20) jilda kɨsiron ekwaŋ
they are in your hands
(21) kabi kɨnda Nokopo Parish dakwon pitda Tɨtɨp yikgaŋ
some from Nokopo Parish have come down and live in Teptep [another village where they go to school]
(22) grade 8 dit dakwonnaŋ dakŋoknaŋ dawarɨ sɨbɨlgɨmaŋ amɨn
those who were in grade 8, those who graduated, filled up on some (of the talk of God) [at the church service led by N at the graduation ceremony]
(23) kɨlɨ abɨsok Nian yomakwon Piŋkop gen niakwal
now in Nian village, you have spoken God's word to us
(24) Nian maŋat mondzio Kewieŋ yikgaŋ
the Nian children living in Kewieng [the parish that includes Tapmangke village]
(25) ai maŋat monjio Tɨtɨp yikgaŋ
and the children living in Teptep
(26) dakwon burusok un femilida yipmamaŋ
their spirit, our family has included in this (string bag) [which she holds up]
(27) **takasi** abɨdoŋ
thank you, you take it [she gives the string bag to N and his wife]
(28) kɨlɨ yik on ge **taka** yo **taka** dɨma at kaɴ
this string bag's mouth was not made **well**
(29) gak gen **taka y**o gakŋa akwi kɨdɨkŋɨ sɨbɨlat to sɨbɨlbɨ tɨkŋaŋ akwan
you yourself will add a **good** top portion, I finished the bottom so you finish the rest
(30) gakŋa gen **takaio** bamɨsi akwɨ toʁan
you yourself will finish it **well**

This speech of thanks is also an accounting of the good works that "you two" have done for "us." In fact, the speech's textual cohesion is built in large part through deictic parallels – gifts of good works coming from "there" to "here," from "you" to "us," from the past to the present (see Fig. 1). Lines 1–8 recount the evangelical work of N's parents, who came to Nian to teach in the church school. Lines 10–11 move to the present occasion, signaling a link between N's actions "today" and the past actions of his parents with repetition of the expression komposi yip – ('to put compost on') and the use of siŋgin ('still'). Line 14 then inverts the argument roles of the actors established in the preceding lines:

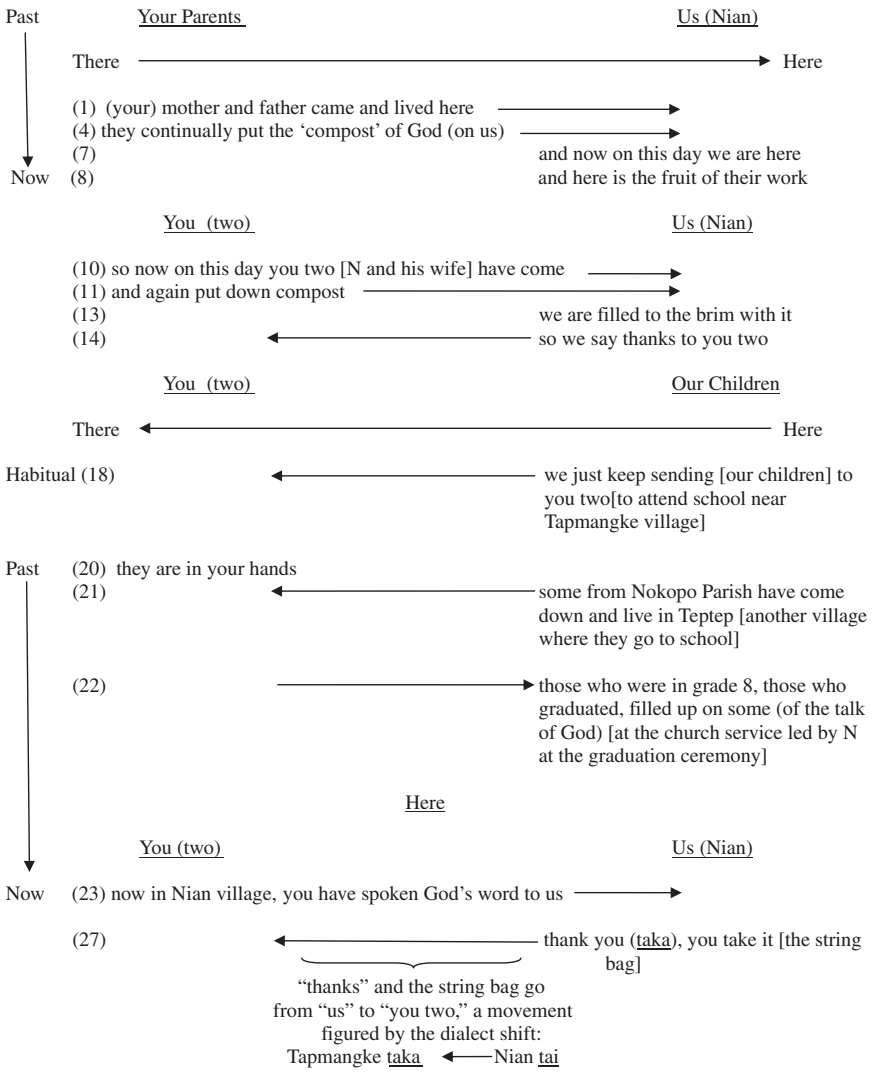

Fig. 1. This configuration of co-textual deictic parallels spelling out the tropic signification of the voicing of the Tapmangke lexical item taka in lines 27–30 as an act of linguistic gift giving.

(12) Nian paŋmukbe komposi yipmaakwal
you put compost down on Nian congregation
(13) ungwan tiknaŋ yikgamaŋ
we are filled to the brim with it
(14) to ya yaŋsi dayamaŋ
so we say thanks to you two

The gift of good works coming from "you" to "us" (line 12) is reciprocated by "us" giving "you" thanks (line 14).

Lines 15–22 lay out other good works that "you" have done for "us," namely caring for students from Nian who have gone to other schools in valley, especially Kewieng, a school close to Tapmangke village. N had also recently presided over a church service at the graduation of students at another school in Teptep, referenced in line 22. Line 23 returns again to the present, linking together all of these good works N and his wife have done for "us," "here," "then/now" and "our children," "there," in the past. S then holds up a string bag, a standard gift given as a sign of appreciation. In line 26 she invests it with the "spirit" of all of these people, present and absent who have received the good works of N and his wife. As she hands it over in line 27 she says taka 'thanks' using the Tapmangke variant of the word (Tapmangke: taka, Nian: tai; also meaning 'good, well' as in lines 8 and 16). Lines 25–27 continue this use of Tapmangke taka, a switch from her earlier use of tai in lines 8 and 16.

The switch from the speaker's Nian dialect shibboleth (tai) to the addressee's Tapmangke dialect shibboleth (taka) mirrors the movement of the string bag from "us" to "you." The multimodal co-text, organized by a series of deictic parallels, establishes a set of good works "you" have done for "us" and then inverts the roles of the actors – now from "us" to "you" – in an act of giving "thanks" as a reciprocation of these gifts. The "movement" from the Nian dialect shibboleth to the Tapmangke dialect shibboleth, from "us" to "you," figurates the giving of a gift, a tropic significance motivated by the deictic parallels structuring the multimodal co(n)text. This is a linguistic act of giving, in this case an act of "giving thanks." Given the centrality of gift exchange in Melanesian social life, this linguistic trope of gift exchange is hardly surprising (Schieffelin, 1990; Robbins, 2007).

Virtually every discussion of Melanesian social life since Malinowski's pioneering ethnography (1984 [1922]) touches on the role of gift exchange in creating and maintaining social affiliations. The gift of the string bag in the example above is a social act reciprocating the good works done by N. and his family for Nian, an act of reciprocation that both recognizes and maintains the affiliation of N.'s family with Nian village. For the Yopno, who are often separated from their kin by marriage, the on-going exchange of gifts with their kin and friends is crucial to maintaining their relationships. Without gift exchange, friendships die and kin become distant and ultimately forgotten. Greetings, then, are important moments to (re-)create the affiliation of the parties involved through the exchange of small gifts of betel nut or food. Like the relatively elaborate giving of thanks in the example above, affiliation is accomplished through gifts given and reciprocated, and also through linguistic tropes of gift giving – i.e., using lexical shibboleths of the dialect of one's addressee. The trope of gift giving figured through the use of another's dialect, like gift giving itself, is an interpersonal act, it transforms the social relation of speaker and addressee, sender and recipient. In many instances the recipient will recognize this act and reciprocate it by using a few words and expressions of the initial speaker.

The trope itself is constructed through the tropically meaningful movement between or lamination of participation frameworks cued by linguistic and non-linguistic signs, a semiotic "figure of speech" that Bakhtin discussed under the heading of "voice" (1981) and Goffman under the heading of "footing" (1981). When S. uses the Tapmangke dialect shibboleth taka alongside Nian dialect shibboleths, two distinct participation frameworks are indexed, one in which the speaker is a Nian person and another in which the speaker is a Tapmangke person, just like the addressee. These two distinct voices indexed in the text construct a figure of speech through the "movement" from one voice to the other, a movement that figurates the movement of a gift from sender (Nian person) to receiver (Tapmangke person). The tropic significance of using another's dialect shibboleths then crucially involves the ideology of dialect variants as indexes of speaker's socio-geographical provenance. But the tropic use of another's dialect shibboleths in textual parallels of voices has an added social meaning.

It is this added social meaning, routinized in acts of greeting, giving thanks, and other interactional events of affiliation that distinguishes the register discussed in this section from the register of dialect shibboleths discussed in the previous section. Unlike the explicit metapragmatic discourse involved in the enregisterment of dialect shibboleths as indexes of speaker provenance, the enregisterment of shibboleths of another's dialect is accomplished largely through their tropic use in textually-mediated interaction. Nonetheless, people in the Yopno valley, even those who do not speak the language fluently, know at least a few words and expressions from a number of other dialects and know how to use them to create interpersonal affiliation.

5. The trope of social distance and the enregisterment of phonic shibboleths

Though lexical shibboleths (i.e. words and expressions) of others' dialects are commonly used in the exchange of greetings and the like, I rarely encountered people employing the phonic shibboleths of other dialects – the morphophonological, prosodic, phonotactic, and phonetic characteristics of other dialects. On the rare occasions when I heard people use the phonic shibboleths of another dialect, everyone around almost invariably found the usage humorous. In such cases, the joke is not at the expense of the other dialect being imitated or its speakers. On only one occasion did I ever hear anyone disparage another dialect as sounding funny. Rather, the humor derives from people trying and inevitably failing to sound like the speaker of another dialect. Indeed, most people feel that any attempt to accurately and comprehensively use the phonic features of another dialect is doomed to fail. Unlike the lexical shibboleths of another's dialect, then, the phonic shibboleths are largely avoided.

Even people returning to the village where they have a patrilineal claim on land after being raised in another village reported that they never attempt to use the dialect of their patrilineal village. They were certain that people would mock them and that the attempt might even threaten their chances of successfully asserting their claim to their ancestral land. Why? What is so funny about using the phonic shibboleths of another's dialect? Why is the use of phonic shibboleths avoided by people returning to their ancestral villages? Clearly, people's sense that they will inevitably fail to pull it off and be humiliated keeps most people from trying, but what is the social meaning of using another dialect's phonic shibboleths incorrectly that makes this act at times humorous and at other times politically and economically threatening?

As with the previous example, I focus here on an interactional event that spells out in the richness of co-textual parallels the tropic significance of using another dialect's phonic shibboleths. The interaction occurred as people gathered for a meeting in Nian village to discuss preparations for the church celebration discussed above. In the usual way, a meeting had been called but only a small portion of the community's adults had arrived on time. They passed the time waiting for others to show up by chatting, smoking, and chewing betel nut, a mild stimulant enjoyed in parts of Asia and the Pacific. The talk

previous to this moved from the regular complaints about how hard it is to get people together for meetings to a more morose discussion of the failures of people to pay back the pigs they had borrowed from the church, pigs that were needed for the upcoming Church celebration. R, a male community leader from Nian, then requests betel nut and I., a younger woman from Wurap village, says she has none. Her in-law, P, an older man from Nian, then begins to tease her using phonic shibboleths of her dialect (underlined):

(1) R: gaok samagok yu dɨ pabɨŋba nono on yikgogwan mɨsɨŋ mɨsɨŋ dɨma egek
get some betel nut or wild betel nut and let's have some, don't just poke around in your string bag
(2) I.: yiknogwan yodi mɨni oni
I haven't got any in my string bag
(3) P: wurap maŋat disita wasok samagok nodi yo pabɨne nono
that's the way you Wurap women are, get some wild betel nut and let's have it
(4) I.: yodi mɨni
I haven't got any
(5) P: paga subuŋek ma wasɨp aŋek yigekwaŋ
you all are just hiding it and saying you haven't got any
(6) I.: gagok yo samagok yo mɨni, ak yiknogwan yodi mɨni
I don't have any betel nut or any wild betel nut, in my string bag there isn't any
(7) P: agwa ɨson sukuŋ ɨleŋ gagok toŋ pagɨ jutgwan yopmaŋek molaŋ piaŋ
but there's some betel nut on Sukung mountain [next to her home village of Wurap], where did you leave it when you came here [to be married]?
(8) I.: sɨkuŋ ɨleŋ gagok yo mɨni ɨso mɨlɨŋ gaman tɨmon gagok dɨ uton toŋ
there's no betel nut on Sukung mountain, there's some betel nut in the middle of the wild sugar cane
P: (laughter)

Requests for betel nut are a constant in Yopno life and especially in Nian and the upper reaches of the Yopno valley where it cannot be cultivated. Marriage and long-distance friendships are a crucial mode of securing access to the substance, either for personal use, gifting, or sale. Giving betel nut is an everyday means of cultivating and maintaining kin ties and friendships and ensuring harmonious relations between affines. It is also customarily given in rituals of reconciliation between villages and clans, and the exchange of betel nut is the central moment in the bride-price rituals which cement marriage ties (see Keck, 2005 for a more detailed discussion of the marriage ritual).

In this humorous request for betel nut, P uses a number of phonic shibboleths of his in-law's Wurap dialect. For example, his use of Wurap phonic shibboleths in line 7 contrasts with how the utterance would be spoken using the Nian dialect:

Wurap: agwa ɨson sukuŋ ɨleŋ gagok toŋ pagɨ jutgwan yopmaŋek molaŋ piaŋ
Nian: akwa ɨson sukuŋ ɨleŋ gaok toŋ pagɨ jutgwan yopmek molaŋ piaŋ

Note the contrast of voiced and voiceless intervocalic consonants (agwa/akwa), of intervocalic voiced consonants and zero (gagok/gaok), and of the verbal morphophonology (yopmaŋ-ek/yopm-ek).

As in the previous transcript, we have a Nian person voicing another dialect, here through the use of phonic shibboleths of that dialect. Unlike the previous example, the trope is not one of giving. Rather the disfluent voicing of the Wurap dialect indicates the inability of the speaker to take on a proper Wurap voice, figurating his being at a social distance from his addressee. The theme of being at a distance from I., the addressee, is manifested by a number of parallels in the text (see Fig. 2), particularly the opposition of *you – there – Wurap/Sukung mountain – have (wild) betel nut* to *us – here – Nian village/meeting house – don't have (wild) betel nut*. This is not only a comment on a present (here and now) lack of betel nut, but a more general biogeographical difference between Wurap and Nian – wild betel nut does not grow at Nian's high elevation, but it does in Wurap. There is a constant trade from lower elevation areas like Wurap where wild betel nut grows to higher elevation areas like Nian where it does not, and as a woman from Wurap I. is associated with the substance. Moreover, I. is P's in-law and as such has the obligation to supply him with betel nut if he is lacking.

The differences between Wurap and Nian established in this text – differences in terms of betel nut access, in terms of dialect, and even in terms of the conversation's participants, older (Nian) men and younger (Wurap) women in-laws – set up P's interactional point. The point might be summarized as: you should be a good in-law and make sure betel nut makes its way from your home village to my mouth. By highlighting the distance between himself and betel nut and between himself and her through his disfluent voicing of her dialect, he is challenging his in-law to bridge that distance with betel nut, a common form of exchange between in-laws that goes back to the exchange of bride-price that formalizes a marriage and depends crucially on the ritual exchange of betel nut between affines.

Like the example in the previous section, these textual parallels spell out the tropic signification figured through voicing the phonic shibboleths of another dialect. Far from indicating one's provenance or even giving a linguistic gift, the trope here is "being at a social distance from," neatly diagramed by the failure to achieve a close phonic replication of the other dialect.

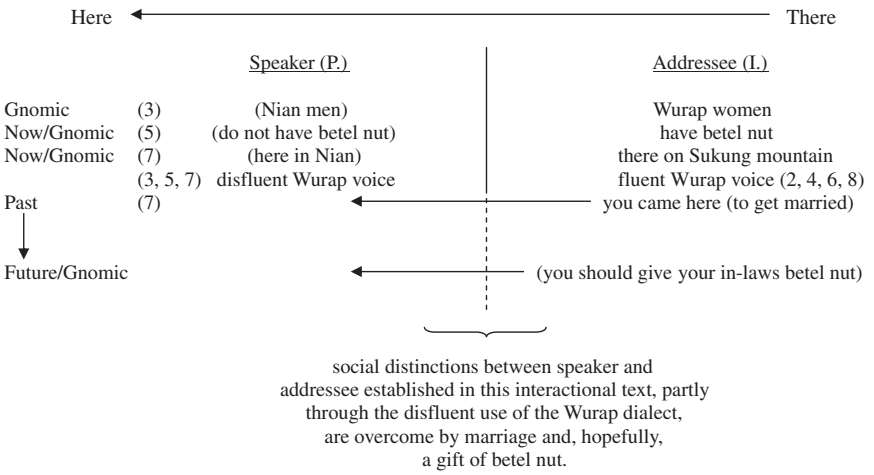

Fig. 2. This configuration of co-textual parallels spells out the tropic signification of the voicing of phonic shibboleths of Wurap dialect in lines 3, 5, and 7 as an act of social distancing. Items in parentheses are not explicitly mentioned in the text, but are implied by the emergent co-textual opposition between speaker and addressee sketched here.

Distancing oneself from another is a fraught act in a society that views social distance primarily as something to be overcome through exchange. Indeed, as in this example, creating distance is often the prelude to achieving closeness through gift giving, a way to indirectly request gifts.

It is no surprise then that use of the phonic shibboleths of another dialect is uncommon and often has a humorous effect. The humor derives from a speaker not "being herself," being at a distance from herself. Though for many Westerners not "being oneself" can be a matter of great personal anguish, for the Yopno being at a distance from oneself is a source of great humor. The most reliably funny characters in the skits that are put on during major community events are the cross-dressing young men who act and speak like old ladies. Because the actors are all known well as members of the community, the audience derives great amusement from even the slightest divergence in age, gender, dress, or temperament between the character and the actor portraying the character. And the actors in these skits spend much of their time embarrassed both by playing a role at variance with who they are and by the peels of laughter issuing from the audience.

In the more serious matter of people returning to their ancestral villages after one or more generations spent elsewhere, returning to their patrilineal villages after being raised in another village is a fraught process – would others recognize their claim to land? By attempting to employ the phonic shibboleths of their ancestral village's dialect, they not only face ridicule for acting at a distance from themselves, they can highlight their social distance from their ancestral village, making it harder to form alliances needed to secure their land and in extreme cases raising doubts about their rights to land in the village.

Phonic shibboleths of another's dialect are enregistered with a distinct, even opposite, tropic significance from the lexical shibboleths of another's dialect. Whereas I could elicit lexical shibboleths of other dialects from everyone I spoke to, few were willing to reproduce the phonic shibboleths of another dialect. Those who did generally did not manage to get far before they or others who were around broke into laughter. These different responses indicate that phonic shibboleths of others' dialects have been enregistered differently than lexical shibboleths. But it is only careful attention to the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse in instances of rich co-textual parallels that indicates to the outside observer what the distinct tropic significance of each of these registers is.

6. Conclusion

Recent work in sociolinguistics has highlighted the role of linguistic and non-linguistic co(n)text in shaping the social meaning of linguistic variants. The modes by which co-textual parallels motivate the significance of linguistic variants, however, have been unnecessarily limited to a focus on sociolinguistic styles and speaker identity. Clarifying the role of tropic signification in transforming the social meaning of variants, I have shown how sociolinguistic variants are invested with tropic significance as constituents of figures of speech, particularly in Bakhtinian voicing structures. Such a perspective significantly expands the purview of sociolinguistic analysis, being able to account for not only sociolinguists' focus on speaker identity, but a variety of interpersonal speech effects.

Because there is little explicit metapragmatic discourse about the social meaning of the use of others' dialect variants among the Yopno, the case presented here highlights the important role that the implicit metapragmatic structuring of discourse through parallelism can have in processes of enregisterment. I have focused in particular on examples that spell out, through a richness of co-textual parallels, the tropic significance of variants when used in these figures of speech. Attention to such speech events provides a valuable methodological tool to supplement the use of explicit metapragmatic discourse, which has become a staple of linguistic anthropological approaches to sociolinguistic variation. Such interactional events

consisting of richly co-textualized figures of speech also likely serve as key sites in the process of socialization to tropic signification, sites through which the tropic signification of variants is disseminated through a population in speech chains, much as in instances that involve explicit metapragmatic discourse (Agha, 2003).

The approach presented here offers analytic purchase on processes of enregisterment in which ethno-metapragmatic discourse does not or cannot explicitly state the ideological schemata in which variants are being enregistered. Jane Hill's work on "mock Spanish" (2005, 2008), for example, introduces several examples in which voicing structures play a role in constructing a mock Spanish register in the United States that "creat[es] a light stance and a desirable colloquial persona" (2008: 144) for the speaker. For example, register items like "mañana" and "cerveza" can project the voice of a stereotype – the "lazy" or "drunken Mexican" (2008: 42) – which is laminated to tropic effect onto the speech events in which they are used. The use of "cerveza" in the phrase "Let's get together and crack a few cervezas" metaphorically equates the stereotype of the "drunken Mexican" and the speaker – the speaker is not indexing that they are, in fact, the stereotype, but that they are acting *like* the stereotype for the moment. The tropic quality of such usage – of "playing at" being the stereotype – is one important element in enregistering elements of Mock Spanish as colloquial and light. But this voicing structure does not rise to level of conscious awareness for most language users.

As in Jane Hill's work, my analysis of the enregisterment of shibboleths of other dialects relies on the analysis of voicing structures and their tropic significance because there is little explicit metapragmatic discourse about the social meaning of such usage. As elsewhere, some enregistered effects of sociolinguistic variants, such as dialect shibboleths indexing speaker's provenance, are easily spelled out by most members of the speech community. Others, such as the use of dialect variants to "give gifts" or create social distance, are for the most part only spelled out in textually configured tropes. As Jakobson notes, "The poet's metalanguage may lag far behind his poetic language" (1981: 139). Some registers manifest little of their social meaning in the metalanguage of members of the speech community; attention to the "poetics" of tropic signification offers another site in which to track the on-going process of enregisterment.

Acknowledgements

My research in Papua New Guinea has been supported by a Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship and a Wenner-Gren Dissertation Fieldwork Grant. I would like to thank Aaron Ansell, Jillian Cavanaugh, Susan Gal, Naomi MacPherson, Salikoko Mufwene, Constantine Nakassis, Michael Silverstein, and Rupert Stasch for valuable comments on previous versions of this paper. Many thanks to Luke Fleming and Courtney Handman for detailed comments on this version. And to all of those who assisted my research in the Yopno valley, I give you my thanks.

References

Agha, A., 1998. Stereotypes and registers of honorific language. Language in Society 27, 151–193.
Agha, A., 2003. The social life of cultural value. Language and Communication 23, 231–273.
Bakhtin, M.M., 1981. Discourse in the novel. In: Holquist, M. (Ed.), The Dialogic Imagination. University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 259–422.
Bell, A., 1984. Language style as audience design. Language in Society 13, 145–204.
Blom, J-P., Gumperz, J.J., 1972. Social meaning in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway. In: Gumperz, J.J., Hymes, D. (Eds.), Directions in Sociolinguistics. Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc, New York, pp. 407–434.
Coupland, N., 1980. Style-shifting in a Cardiff work-setting. Language in Society 9, 1–12.
Coupland, N., 2007. Style: Language Variation and Identity. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Eckert, P., 2000. Linguistic Variation as Social Practice. Blackwell, Oxford.
Eckert, P., 2001. Style and social meaning. In: Eckert, P., Rickford, J.R. (Eds.), Style and Sociolinguistic Variation. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 119–126.
Eckert, P., 2005. Variation convention, and social meaning. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. Oakland, California.
Eckert, P., 2008. Variation and the indexical field. Journal of Sociolinguistics 12, 453–476.
Eckert, P., n.d. Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Variation. <www.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/ThreeWavesofVariation.pdf> (retrieved 19.06.11).
Errington, J.J., 1985. Language and Social Change in Java: Linguistic Reflexes of Modernization in a Traditional Royal Polity. Center for International Studies, Ohio University.
Goffman, E., 1981. Footing. In: Forms of Talk. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 124–159.
Hastings, A., Manning, P., 2004. Introduction: acts of alterity. Language and Communication 24, 291–311.
Hill, J., 2005. Intertextuality as source and evidence for indirect indexical meanings. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 15, 113–124.
Hill, J., 2008. The Everyday Language of White Racism. Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA.
Jakobson, R., 1960. Closing statement: linguistics and poetics. In: Sebeok, T. (Ed.), Style in Language. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 350–377.
Jakobson, R., 1968. The poetry of grammar and the grammar of poetry. Lingua, 21: 597–609.
Jakobson, R., 1981. Subliminal verbal patterning in poetry. In: Rudy, S. (Ed.), Selected Writings, vol. 3. Mouton Publishers, The Hague, pp. 136–147.
Johnstone, B., 1999. Uses of southern-sounding speech by contemporary Texas women. Journal of Sociolinguistics 3, 505–522.
Johnstone, B., 2009. Stance, style and the linguistic individual. In: Jaffe, A. (Ed.), Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Stance. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 29–52.
Keck, V., 2005. Social Discord and Bodily Disorders: Healing among the Yupno of Papua New Guinea. Carolina Academic Press, Durham, NC.
Kroskrity, P.V. (Ed.), 2000. Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.
Labov, W., 1972. Sociolinguistic Patterns. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
Labov, W., 2001. Principles of Linguistic Change: Social Factors. Blackwell, Oxford.
Malinowski, B., 1984 [1922]. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. Waveland Press Inc., Prospect Heights, IL.
Mendoza-Denton, N., 2007. Home Girls. Blackwell, Oxford.
Podesva, R.J., 2008. Three sources of stylistic meaning. Texas Linguistic Forum, vol. 51. Proceedings of the Symposium about Language and Society – Austin 15, pp. 1–14.

Robbins, J., 2007. You can't talk behind the Holy Spirit's back: Christianity and changing language ideologies in a Papua New Guinea society. In: Makihara, M., Schieffelin, B.B. (Eds.), Consequences of Contact. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 125–139.
Sahlins, M.D., 1965. On the ideology and composition of descent groups. Man 65, 104–107.
Schieffelin, B.B., 1990. The Give and Take of Everyday Life: Language Socialization of Kaluli Children. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Schieffelin, B.B., Woolard, K.A., Kroskrity, P.V. (Eds.), 1998. Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Schilling-Estes, N., 1998. Investigating 'self-conscious' speech: the performance register in Ocracoke English. Language in Society 27, 53–83.
Silverstein, M., 2004. "Cultural" concepts and the language-culture nexus. Current Anthropology 45, 621–652.
Trudgill, P., 1972. Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. Language in Society 1, 179–195.
Wassmann, J., 1993. Worlds in mind: the experience of an outside world in a community of the Finisterre Range of Papua New Guinea. Oceania 64, 117–145.
Zhang, Q., 2005. A Chinese yuppie in Beijing: Phonological variation and the construction of a new professional identity. Language in Society 34, 431–466.

James Slotta is a doctoral candidate in anthropology and linguistics at the University of Chicago. He has conducted research in Papua New Guinea, examining cultural conceptualizations of language and communication in the post-colonial era.