

Language Variety *in the* New South

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES
on CHANGE *and* VARIATION

EDITED BY

Jeffrey Reaser

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To Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey, two scholars whose vision for and dedication to linguistics in the South have guided the field through four meetings of LAVIS

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Language Variety in the New South

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Introduction

1. Introduction

The fourth decennial meeting of Language Variety in the South (henceforth LAVIS IV) in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 2015 built on and extended the rich academic foundation and tradition of the three preceding LAVIS meetings. By bringing together prominent linguists and language researchers, these meetings became the preeminent regional linguistics conference in the country. To fully contextualize the landscape for the present volume, we first revisit briefly the prior conferences and people that laid the foundation upon which we build.

1.1. LAVIS

The first Language Variety in the South conference, planned and coordinated by Michael B. Montgomery and Guy Bailey, was held at the University of South Carolina–Columbia in 1981 with support in part from the university and from the National Science Foundation (NSF; grant RD-*1899-81). The conference centered on black and white language varieties in the South and their relationship over time and place. The impetus for the initial conference was twofold. First was the organizers' conviction, shared by many other scholars working in the field of American dialectology at that time, that “no question in the study of American English is more crucial or more controversial than that of how the speech of blacks and whites in the South is related” (Montgomery and Bailey 1986:1). Second, the conveners observed that existing research on this crucial question was often of uneven quality, reliant on varying approaches and methodologies; thus, it was not advancing

in a cohesive manner. LAVIS was predicated on the need to bring together a variety of established scholars to showcase research about the issue of black-white speech relationships in the South and to establish sound methodologies to guide the field. Twenty-one papers from LAVIS were collected in the edited volume *Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White* (Montgomery and Bailey 1986), which would become a touchstone volume for the field of sociolinguistics.

1.2. LAVIS II

A decade after LAVIS, linguists in the South perceived a need “to assess and reassess what had been accomplished in the study of southern American language varieties” and to determine “where scholarship had been and where it was headed” (Bernstein, Nunnally, and Sabino 1997:xi). Accordingly, Cynthia Bernstein, Thomas Nunnally, and Robin Sabino coordinated a second Language Variety in the South conference (LAVIS II). With funding obtained from the NSF (grant SBR-9221890) and the support of other foundations and associations, most prominently the Southeastern Conference on Linguistics (SECOL), LAVIS II was held at Auburn University in 1993, parallel to the annual spring meeting of SECOL. By holding the two meetings concurrently, a greater cross-fertilization among scholars working on southern language variation was provided. The conferences also brought together both new and established scholars, resulting in an enthusiastic synergy that inspired a new generation of researchers (Montgomery 1997:3). The joint conferences greatly expanded parameters of LAVIS, recognizing the legitimacy of broader horizons of inquiry.

Unsurprisingly, language and ethnicity in the South, the major theme of LAVIS, continued to command center stage at LAVIS II, though the papers benefited from new approaches and advanced social sciences methodologies, including a number of cutting-edge quantitative studies (Bailey 1997:22).

At the same time, a broader research agenda was welcomed. LAVIS II included work on other languages having either historical or current standing in the South, including Chinese, Louisiana Creole, and Cajun French. A second area of expansion was the inclusion of discourse analysis and pragmatics, recognizing that examining language interaction is critical to defining the distinctive attributes of Southern American English. Like its predecessor, LAVIS II resulted in a landmark publication, *Language Variety in the South Revisited* (Bernstein, Nunnally, and Sabino 1997), which included thirty-eight papers (see chapter 1 in this volume).

1.3. LAVIS III

Like its predecessors, LAVIS III, hosted by Michael Picone and Catherine Evans Davies at the University of Alabama in April 2004, again showcased the state of research on language variety in the South. The theme of the conference, “Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,” explored two key issues with a series of subquestions. The first issue involved developing a better understanding of historical dialect geography and linguistic demographics in the South, including the role of indigenous languages and trade jargons, language variation from the Caribbean, and diverse European languages. Such a record — dependent on historians, anthropologists, and scholars from other disciplines, as well as linguists — is crucial to the establishment of accurate historical linguistic benchmarks against which comparisons can be made with current sociolinguistic configurations. The second question centered on assessing the state of old issues in the evolving cultural region, including the complex relationship between black and white speech, the introduction of new immigrant groups, and exploration beyond traditional social categories (i.e., age, ethnicity, gender, class). These themes invited the exploration of innovative methodologies within sociolinguistics and more integration of perspectives from other disciplines, such as psychology and sociology.

Once again held concurrently with SECOL, LAVIS III comprised seventy-six papers and six plenary speakers, including LAVIS I organizers Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey.¹ The closing plenary was given by Walt Wolfram, in which he promised to host LAVIS IV at NC State University. Forty-five papers from LAVIS III are published in *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches* (Picone and Davies 2015).

Wolfram’s promise in 2004 resulted in LAVIS IV, hosted in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 2015. As we surveyed the state of the field in preparing to organize the conference, it was clear that new powerful computer software and statistical methodologies allowed for entirely new ways of coding and analyzing data. It was also clear that the topic of urbanization along with concomitant demographic shifts was foremost on the minds of social scholars in the region. We settled on the slogan-esque theme “The New South” for LAVIS IV and sought to unite under this theme traditionally studied languages and regions (e.g., Appalachian English) with new themes (e.g., southern language on the Internet). In doing so, we also hoped to unite senior and earlier-career scholars. The participants included a number of presenters who have now presented at three or even all four LAVIS meetings, as well as a number of scholars participating in their first LAVIS conference.

2. The New South

When we settled on “The New South” as the theme for LAVIS IV, we had in mind the rapid population and economic shifts that have been transforming the southern United States since the 1960s. It also seemed to us that the phrase was being used with increasing frequency; though not a perfect measure, the uptick in usage on the Ngram plot in figure I.1 supports our impression. We believed this theme would generate paper topics that would allow us to plan a forward-looking conference still rooted in the history and traditions begun more than three decades before with the original LAVIS conference. The chapters in the present volume — all of which have grown out of LAVIS IV — affirm our hopes. The New South as a theme brought together papers that updated research on long-studied languages and dialects of the South, including Appalachian English, African American English, French, and the French-influenced dialects of English found in Louisiana. It also incorporated into LAVIS some topics not central to previous meetings, including Cherokee language revitalization, modern immigrant languages, southern speech on the Internet, Spanish-English contact in the South, and the changing dialects of southern cities, which is, perhaps, the quintessential question related to the New South.

Defining precisely what characterizes the New South is controversial, perhaps even impossible. It can be triangulated roughly, however, by demographic, cultural, and economic indicators. For example, consider one demographic trend observed in the 2010 U.S. Census, which found the South to be the fastest-growing region in the United States. More is said about this transformation later in this chapter, and its effects are considered throughout the volume. But this transformation has not occurred in a historical or sociological vacuum, and in fact, the current “New South” is not the first iteration of the term. Our embracing the term as the theme of LAVIS IV is, in some ways, embarrassingly myopic, as the notion of a New South has emerged prominently at least three times over the past century and a bit (see figure I.1). Though the term “New South” increasingly indexes the modern South, it was coined to denote a distant — but somewhat parallel — moment in the South’s history. In our defense, however, the modern transformation may be the successful manifestation of aspects of earlier hopes embedded in the slogan.

2.1. THE ORIGINAL NEW SOUTH

Coined in the late nineteenth century and made popular by *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady, “the New South” was originally an aspiratory

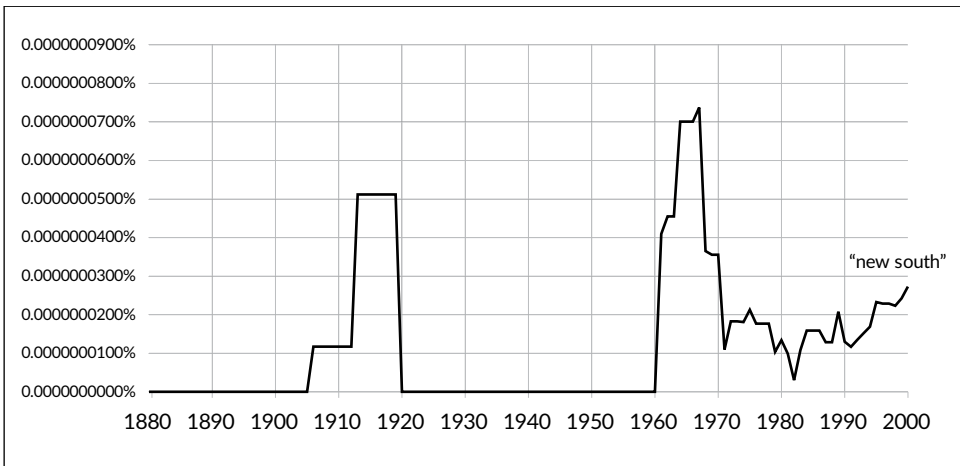


FIGURE I.1. Ngram plot for “New South” by year

slogan, representing the hope to spur the South “to win prosperity by copying the business and materialistic philosophy of the North” (Moger 1952:520). But the slogan was met with tepid enthusiasm and even less action. By the time Grady popularized the term, the financial potential of the South was well understood if poorly realized. An 1888 book titled *How to Get Rich in the South: Telling What to Do, How to Do It, and the Profits to Be Realized* was published by William H. Harrison Jr. This account was followed shortly by *Road to Wealth Leads through the South* (Robertson 1894), which argued that the South held tremendous untapped natural resources. Eugene Cook Robertson quoted a well-known speech by railroad magnate Chauncey M. Depew at Yale, in which he noted that “vast forests untouched, with enormous veins of coal and iron” made the South “the Bonanza of the future” (200). These resources did generate the wealth promised by the New South slogan, but generally speaking, this wealth more typically lined the pockets of Yankee businessmen rather than Southerners.

“New South” became increasingly sloganized, a rallying cry for national unity and to spur investment in the South: “It was invariably laden with a hopeful nationalism suggesting that the lately disaffected South was at least one in faith with the country — or would be as soon as a few more bonds were sold, another appropriation was passed, the depression was ended, or the new railroad was completed” (Woodward 1966:ix). So prominent was the New South anthem of assimilation that novelist George Washington Cable, fearing that the South was on the verge of losing its identity, concluded in

an 1882 commencement address at the University of Mississippi, that a more appropriate name was “No South” (reported in Burnett, 2012:21). Happily for this volume, even ninety years after Cable’s death, the South remains a culturally and linguistically distinct region. In many ways, this original New South arrived stillborn; the term fell out of popular usage, perhaps abandoned by the end of the First World War.

2.2. THE NEW SOUTH REVISITED

In the mid-twentieth century, historians, most prominently C. Vann Woodward, began to reclaim the term to reference a political reemergence in the South post-Reconstruction. Woodward’s 1951 germinal volume *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* details the political, economic, and sociological climate in the South during these formative decades and posits how they primed what he saw as a transformation leading to a New South in the decades that followed, though with the caveat, “The newness of the New South will be subject to considerable qualification” (1966:x). Woodward’s New South — that which emerged following 1913 — hinged more on political unity than on economic development or cultural shifts.

Though Woodward’s book was and remains remarkably influential (see, e.g., Boles and Johnson 2003), it was birthed just ahead of cultural shifts, including integration, that would crack foundations of southern life. In the “Author’s Preface to the Paperback Edition” of *Origins*, published in 1966, Woodward notes of the cultural shifts in the fifteen years since the book’s initial publishing “were probably as sharp as those that divided any two previous periods in southern history” (ix). He continues, “What could still be called, a mere decade and a half ago the ‘New South’ had in the meantime become one of the several Old Souths” (vii–viii). Though integration was the most obvious change that rendered this New South as yet another Old South, Woodward describes concurrent changes that transformed the region during this period: “The most conspicuous changes were those in racial relations, but hardly less profound have been those of an economic and political character” (vii). In effect, Woodward, the nation’s most eminent historian of the New South, was saying, forget the previous New South — the real New South begins now.

2.3. THE NEW SOUTH REBORN

Woodward’s 1966 observation was poignant. The period that followed the reissuing of his book saw the intensification of the civil rights movement leading to some of the most important social achievements of the twentieth century. It also witnessed an accelerating urbanization of the U.S. South and

coincided with the emergence of southern cities, including Atlanta, Charlotte, and Memphis, as economic and cultural hubs. One visible reflex of this moment in history is Research Triangle Park (RTP) in central North Carolina. Founded in 1959, RTP is now one of the largest research parks in the world and home to more than two hundred major companies, including IBM, a cornerstone of RTP since 1965. This moment in southern history is captured in other ways as well. In an attempt to define a southern identity amidst the civil rights movement, the editors of the *Progressive Farmer* launched *Southern Living* in 1966. The magazine was created to promote a suburban southern culture that contrasted with the region's rural heritage. Appropriately, the first issue arrived featuring an azalea-filled suburban yard from Mobile, Alabama, on the cover and a lead story promoting Houston as the "Giant of the South." Buried within the pages was a story on "Chicken-Party Style," which featured tips for entertaining and a recipe for Frito chili pie. The economic boom that had been primed during the post-Reconstruction decades finally arrived, and with it, a transition in southern identity from agrarian to modern. Alongside these social, demographic, and economic transformations, the term "New South" emerged again, more strongly than ever.

The changes in this New South were not entirely due to financial growth. Though the promise of well-paying jobs in manufacturing, banking, pharmaceuticals, and technology brought people from all over to the urban centers of the region, the changes to southern culture cannot be ascribed wholly to migration and immigration. Mass communication and travel accelerated exponentially during this period, with lasting effects on society as a whole. Particular to the South, air conditioning may have fundamentally changed the way Southerners interacted with one another. Writing in 1984, historian Raymond Arsenault notes, "Ask any southerner over thirty years of age to explain when the South has changed in recent decades, and he may begin with the civil rights movement or industrialization. But sooner or later he will come around to the subject of air conditioning. For better or worse, he will tell you, the air conditioner has changed the nature of southern life" (598). Perhaps it was fatigue associated with the term itself, or perhaps it was frustration over the pace of change, but the term "New South" began to fade from popular use again in the 1970s. Now, fifty years after these transitions accelerated, apparent time studies allow us to assess how they have affected language variety in the New South.

2.4. THE (NEW) NEW SOUTH

The increasing importance of the South over the past fifty years can be seen through virtually every scholarly lens: demographics, economics, politics, fine

arts, and (some would argue) literature. Reclaiming the moniker “New South” for the modern period seems to make sense from many perspectives. Consider politics: In the years between the Civil War and World War II, Andrew Johnson was the only president born in the South, and John Nance Garner was the only vice president born there. By contrast, since 1961, a Southerner has occupied at least one of these offices almost continuously, at least until Barack Obama and Joe Biden took office in 2009: Lyndon Johnson (Texas), Spiro Agnew (Maryland), Jimmy Carter (Georgia), George H. W. Bush (Texas), Bill Clinton (Arkansas), Al Gore (Tennessee), and George W. Bush (Texas). The political power of the New South has clearly followed the same trajectories as its wealth and demographics.

As regional pride blossoms, the moniker “New South” is increasingly being used to denote the modern and ever increasingly urban South. *Southern Living* magazine recently even introduced annual “Heroes of the New South” awards.² And in the mid-2000s, the Dodge brand of vehicles dubbed itself “the truck stop of the New South,” with ads depicting its line of pickup trucks in urban settings, suggesting that they were the quintessential maker of the South’s rural heritage for those who dwell in cities. Such examples, alongside the Ngram data above, suggest that the modern South is the latest incarnation of the New South, though this time it is less aspirational and more about describing the fulfillment of previously hoped for cultural and economic shifts. As with every previous usage, however, some resist the moniker as unnecessary or offensive. In fact, well-known novelist Walker Percy was said to have quipped, “My definition of a New South would be a South in which it never occurred to anybody to mention the New South” (quoted in Cobb 1999:150). Percy may have been the perfect person to make such an observation, given his literary contributions, which, surely to his chagrin, earned him the description “a novelist of the New South” in his *New York Times* obituary (Pace 1990).

2.5. WHAT THIS NEW SOUTH IS LIKE

By all measures, the transformation of the U.S. South has accelerated in recent years. After trailing the West’s growth rate in the 2000 U.S. Census, the 2010 Census found the South to be the fastest-growing area in the United States, growing 14.3 percent over the previous decade to more than 114 million people (for one media account, see Goldberg 2011). Apart from a few cities, such as Atlanta, Washington, DC, and Memphis, the South has had largely a rural history. For example, at the turn of the twentieth century, fewer than 15 percent of North Carolinians lived in urban areas (defined as

towns with more than 2,500 residents); now over 60 percent live in communities with more than 50,000 residents (see Wolfram and Reaser 2014:79). Cities like Charlotte, North Carolina, were certainly urban areas when LAVIS I was held but have grown from 315,000 residents to nearly 800,000 since then. Raleigh, where LAVIS IV was held, experienced even more dramatic growth, nearly tripling from 150,000 to 435,000 residents. In fact, the area around Raleigh has more than tripled in population; the RTP region grew from 635,000 in 1980 to more than 2 million currently.³ According to a recent list published by *Forbes*, eleven of the twenty fastest-growing U.S. cities are in the South (Carlyle 2014). At the same time, the South is not growing uniformly. Many traditionally important southern cities, including Birmingham, Alabama; Knoxville, Tennessee; Richmond, Virginia; and Columbia, South Carolina, have grown little over the period since LAVIS I was held.

Nonmetro regions have also undergone important cultural changes. The Appalachian Mountain region, for example, has been changed in part due to tourism, making local culture and dialect a potential cultural commodity vis-à-vis a marginalized variety associated with linguistic subordination, as it might be in more urban, transplant areas. At the same time, different areas of the region have not moved in lockstep; in fact, there were more economically distressed counties in Appalachia in 2014 (93) than in 1980 (80) (see Wood and Bischak 2000:36–41; Appalachian Regional Commission 2013).

The New South investigated in this volume is in part a story of demographic and economic boom alongside population and financial recession, but many other compelling narratives exist as well, including the cultural and demographic transformations brought by immigrants from all over the world. In the censuses of 2000 and 2010, states like Georgia and North Carolina had the fastest-growing Hispanic populations in the United States, with rates as high as 400 percent growth over two decades. Such statistics speak to the large numbers of immigrants arriving, but they also derive from the paucity of Hispanics in the region previously. Linguistically, this immigration resulted in the Southeast having the largest percentage of monolingual Spanish speakers of any region in the United States.⁴ While Hispanics are clearly the most visible group of recent immigrants to the South, other groups have transformed the region over the past thirty years, including large populations from Asia (Chinese, Vietnamese, Hmong, Indian, Pakistani, etc.), the Middle East (Lebanese, Iraqi, Egyptian, Saudi, Yemeni, etc.), and Southern and Eastern Europe (Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, etc.). We are perhaps past due in assessing the cultural and linguistic contributions of these diverse

groups, and this volume takes the first, smallest step toward rectifying that historical neglect.

3. Outline of This Volume

Using the new perspectives and contemporary approaches outlined in the volume from LAVIS III, the chapters in this volume extend the rich tradition of language studies in the South, which are documented in part in Picone and Davies (2015:2–5). This volume contains twenty-two chapters beyond this introduction, and all but the concluding chapter come from the twenty-nine invited talks of LAVIS IV.⁵ Seven presenters were unable to contribute for a variety of reasons, though their work and ideas certainly influenced those in this volume. We open this volume with an adaptation of William Kretzschmar’s closing plenary, which picks up where Wolfram’s closing chapter from the LAVIS III volume leaves off. It analyses the topical and theoretical shifts and constants over the four LAVIS meetings, tracing where we as a field of study have been and where we appear to be going.

In chapter 2, Dennis Preston overviews how English in the South has been regarded by folks from within and outside the region since the mid-eighteenth century. The discussion raises a number of key framing issues, including what exactly is the South, and how homogeneous is it? Spoiler alert: not very, which is good news both for this volume and for the future of LAVIS. Preston concludes that these social understandings of Southern English “are essential to a complete ethnographic account of a variety; they are a part of the explanatory reasoning in characterizing language variation and change.” We believe that Preston’s conclusion underlies all the analyses in the chapters that follow, and it leads seamlessly into Childs and Schneier’s investigation into southern identity in computer-mediated communication and Davies’s (with Myrick) look at southern identity and authenticity in country music.

We then turn toward updating the body of knowledge of a number of well-studied dialects endemic to the South. In chapter 5, Paul Reed offers an analysis how a very traditional yet “dynamic, varied, evolving region,” Appalachia, is changing in response to the pressures imposed by the New South. As with the preceding chapters, his analysis hinges on better understanding the competing influences on speakers’ rootedness, that is, how they embrace or eschew local identities in a region straddling the old and new.

Next, we navigate to Louisiana for an update on a region that has been featured more prominently in each subsequent LAVIS volume. Michael Picone

sketches this history, cataloging the many important contributions of the linguistically diverse Pelican State to linguistic knowledge and theory. His overview touches on a number of linguistic issues, including language preservation and commodification in the New South context. In chapter 7, picking up on one of Picone's themes, Katie Carmichael explores to what extent Cajun English can be thought of as a dialect of a broader Southern White English, given that Cajun speakers' French influence results in a vowel system very unlike the traditional southern vowel shift. She examines carefully the system of variable *r*-lessness in Cajun English and compares it to findings for New Orleans English and Southern White English and concludes that Cajun English remains distinct from neighboring English dialects and that the importance of language to Cajun identity may suggest "further divergence in the paths of Cajun English and other Southern Englishes in the future." Concluding the group of chapters addressing Louisiana, Nathalie Dajko examines the persistent symbolic importance of French in New Orleans, despite the fact that the language continues to recede in the city, where it is now spoken by less than 2 percent of residents. As an iconic New South city, New Orleans is increasingly a tourist destination and a backdrop for literary and other media portrayals. In these and other contexts, Dajko details how French is increasingly critical to defining New Orleans. Dajko melds new cultural studies with more traditional sociolinguistic frameworks, including sociolinguistic interviews of Cajun French speakers to paint a complex picture of French's linguistic and cultural capital in the New South landscape.

Perhaps no topic in American sociolinguistics has garnered more scholarly attention than African American English. Since William Labov's (1966) and Walt Wolfram's (1969) seminal studies of African American English in New York and Detroit, African American English has been studied in locations around the country and from a variety of perspectives. Much of the foundational research on the history and development of African American English in the South was presented at the first meeting of LAVIS and codified in *Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White* (Montgomery and Bailey 1986). Despite many volumes and articles on the topic, Tracey Weldon (chapter 9) and Sonja Lanehart and Ayesha Malik (chapter 10) offer two new and important contributions that investigate African Americans and African American English in two contrastive New South settings. Weldon examines language usage by southern, middle-class, suburban African Americans, a group that has become recognized only in recent decades. In contrast, Lanehart and Malik examine language, race, and identity in African Americans from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a majority-black city. Collectively, these

chapters offer complementary views of the diverse lives led by African Americans in the New South; though these groups intersect in important ways and on important issues, they diverge on others, suggesting continued and ever more sophisticated study of African American English remains critical. Mary Kohn follows up these chapters by examining the effects of current de facto segregation among African Americans in the New South. Using both longitudinal and apparent time data, Kohn analyzes vowel variation among African Americans in communities surrounding Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, which is a clear manifestation of the New South. She uses speakers' schools as an indicator of participant segregation, which allows her to tease out nuanced differences glossed over in previous analyses.

In chapter 12, Robin Dodsworth uses methodologies similar to Kohn's to investigate closely the linguistic transformations of Raleigh, North Carolina, whose recent history embodies the New South transformation. By combining an analysis of over 150 speakers' vowel systems with a sophisticated network analysis, Dodsworth offers the most detailed sociolinguistic description to date of language change in a New South city. The Infomap network analysis allows Dodsworth to segment the city into distinct communities, which experienced influence from outsiders at different times and with different intensities. The resulting analysis is the clearest depiction of the linguistic influence non-Southerners have had on southern speech in New South cities.

Though the influx of "Yankees" may be the most visible demographic shift in the New South, immigrant groups from other countries have played an important role in shaping modern southern communities. Though many groups, such as the Lebanese, began arriving in the South over a century ago, the medical, technology, and banking sectors that have grown more recently in the South have attracted immigrants from all over the world. In chapter 13, Agnes Bolonyai examines how one such immigrant community has adapted to life in the southeastern United States. She examines the life and linguistic experiences of "perpetual foreigners" who emigrated from Hungary. Applying discourse analysis methodologies to "where are you from?" narratives exposes important topics of place, identity, demography, and renegotiations of local linguistic marketplaces.

No group of immigrants is more noticeable in the United States South than those from Mexico and Central and South America. As noted above, the huge percentage increases in these populations attest both to the relative paucity of these groups in the South before the late twentieth century and to the relatively large numbers of arrivers over the 1990s and 2000s. While research on the English dialects that emerge from contact between English and Spanish

is not new (e.g., Metcalf 1974; Wolfram 1974), the language contact situation in the New South is different from those in California and New York City. For one thing, the variation of Spanish varieties brought to the South is greater than what shaped Chicano English in California and Puerto Rican English in New York City. Further, the social dynamics and economic circumstances that led to the contact are, again, dissimilar. For these reasons, we included a panel on the contact of English and Spanish in the New South and include three chapters examining different aspects of this contact. In chapter 14, Erik Thomas provides an overview of the state of research on Spanish in the U.S. Southeast before examining a number of vowel productions that offer insight into language transfer and the formation of a Mexican American English dialect. In chapter 15, Jim Michnowicz, writing with undergraduate students Alex Hyler, James Shepherd, and Sonya Trawick, investigates this contact by examining English loanwords adopted into the Spanish of native Spanish speakers. They find that younger speakers are more prone to using loanwords, as are groups with less than a high school education. The results of this inquiry “shed light on how bilingual speakers accommodate to the dominant language and culture around them.” Concluding this group of chapters, Phillip Carter and Andrew Lynch examine the South’s longest-standing site of intense Spanish-English contact: Miami, the so-called Capital of Latin America. As one of only two southern cities (San Antonio, Texas, is the other) in which Hispanics make up a majority of the population, Miami offers an entirely different social context than other southern cities. Its Hispanic residents are wealthier, and they are more likely to have connections to the Caribbean than are Hispanics elsewhere. Carter and Lynch review the literature of English in South Florida before delving into the language situation in Miami, concluding that while there is little Southern American English to be found in Miami, the city remains an important influence in “shaping the language scene in the South.”

The next group of chapters in this volume shifts from analyzing language variation to examining how the research of language variety in the South impacts the public in various ways. While the notion of sociolinguistic gratuity has been birthed within the life-span of LAVIS, the public has long been interested in issues of language variation and change. Kirk Hazen opens this discussion by thinking about what it means for linguists to take up the mantle of social justice related to language diversity. Covering more than two hundred years, he offers a history of efforts to engage the public’s interest in language, from Noah Webster through Lauren Squires’s (2014) response to Weird Al Yankovic’s song “Word Crimes” and John Rickford and Sharese

King's (2016) analysis of the discrediting of Rachel Jeantel's testimony due to her dialect in the Trayvon Martin court case. Hazen outlines the motivations, products, and successes of a substantial amount of outreach and engagement products, making his chapter the most thorough concordance of such efforts to date. He also discusses these efforts within the context of modern academia and offers suggestions for how linguists might pitch such programs to gain university support, or at least receive appropriate credit, for such work. The following chapter, by Anne Charity Hudley and Christine Mallinson, tells the story of one such prolonged social justice engagement effort that involved exposing hundreds of teachers in Virginia and Maryland to sociolinguistic knowledge. Their goal was to "bring an understanding of southern and African American language and culture" to a broad audience so that "more students who speak Southern and African American English do well in high school and go to college." They document their six-year effort engaging the public in general and schoolteachers specifically. They also examine critical issues in engagement, such as the role of participants as experts and how such work can fuel scholarship.

Our final group of chapters centers on language documentation and the remarkable story of language revitalization among the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians (EBCI). For more than fifty years, the Cherokee residents in the Qualla Boundary and neighboring communities were becoming increasingly monolingual. In fact, there are few fluent adult speakers of the eastern dialect of Cherokee below the age of fifty. Though not the first effort to protect the language, in 2004 the Cherokee Language Immersion School opened with seven students in a local childcare center. Later renamed the Atse Kituwah Cherokee Language Immersion Academy, the school now educates more than seventy-five children from seven months to fifth grade. In chapter 19, Walt Wolfram, Danica Cullinan, and Neal Hutcheson describe the role linguists and documentary filmmakers can play in assisting the language preservation and revitalization efforts of American Indian groups like the EBCI. They describe the process of creating the 2014 documentary *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee* and how their partnerships with the community and other key individuals developed over the project. A key contributor to the project, Hartwell Francis, describes in chapter 20 his experiences as director of the Cherokee Language Program at Western Carolina University, working with and supporting the EBCI's language efforts. He describes the multipronged approach the EBCI have employed to revitalize the language, including how technological innovations have been exploited in generating community interest. Specifically, Francis describes

four components of revitalization: community networks, language planning, observation, and documentation. The final chapter in this group brings an outsider's perspective to the language revitalization and documentation efforts. Christian Koops, a professor at the University of New Mexico who has worked with the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, provides a commentary on *First Language's* portrayal, highlighting the tension that always exists between filmmakers and subjects. He notes that there are complexities for the community in attempting to revitalize a language variety, including questions related to language authority and the linguistic marketplace. These questions have local political ramifications into which documentarians are pulled. As Koops notes, the tensions place documentarians in conflicting roles: "Each role seems to come with a slightly different set of ideas and commitments." His chapter illustrates how, in an ever more connected world, modern language documentation, which Koops terms "Revitalization 2.0," is an increasingly complex endeavor.

It has become somewhat of a tradition to conclude each LAVIS volume with a contribution by a senior scholar about the current state of linguistic research in the South, with an eye toward what topics, ideas, and methodologies might be featured prominently at the subsequent LAVIS. We both embrace and break from this tradition. The final chapter in this volume does assess the state of research on language variety in the South as documented in this volume; however, given the rapid advancement of linguistic and statistical methodologies, PhD student, volume coeditor, and conference co-organizer Eric Wilbanks seems the ideal choice to evaluate how the next decade might see language analysis change. Wilbanks speculates on what might become some of the key linguistic questions of the future South and how new methodologies might help in beginning to understand and answer them by LAVIS V.

About the Author

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Notes

1. LAVIS III was supported by NSF grant BCS-0317553, SECOL, the Deep South Regional Humanities Center, the South Atlantic Regional Humanities Council, the Central

Regional Humanities Council, the American Dialect Society, and the University of Alabama.

2. “Heroes of the New South Awards,” *Southern Living*, www.southernliving.com/general/heroes-of-the-new-south (accessed April 12, 2017).

3. All population figures are from www.census.gov.

4. Ibid.

5. For a full list of LAVIS IV papers, see linguistics.chass.ncsu.edu/lavis_secol.php (accessed April 12, 2017).

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William A. Kretzschmar Jr.

LAVIS

Where Are You Going, Where Have You Been?

1. Introduction

Anyone who works in an English department is likely to recognize the title of this chapter as the title of a fabulous Joyce Carol Oates short story. Connie, a pretty young girl of fifteen, flaunts her good looks to flirt with boys at a restaurant. One of the guys there, Arnold Friend, goes to her house in his funky gold car and tries to take her out. He is clearly a dangerous guy, much older, not somebody to be flirted with, and after a tense conversation Arnold threatens her family and Connie does leave the safety of her house. There the story ends. “Where are you going, where have you been?” asks the question we don’t have an answer for. Did Connie’s flirting invite Arnold to her house? Is she responsible for the threat to her family? And does she have to go with Arnold for whatever dark purposes he has in mind for her?

It’s a scary story. It was made into a 1985 movie called *Smooth Talk*, starring Laura Dern, who may be remembered more for her role in the *Jurassic Park* movies. The *Smooth Talk* movie is not notable except for the title, and I don’t think that Laura Dern looks very much like my vision of Joyce Carol Oates’s Connie. I always thought that Connie was southern, a young southern belle, but that was probably just because I was teaching the story in the South, or maybe because the South has both a beautiful side like Connie and a darker side like Arnold. Joyce Carol Oates is a Northerner, and the story was apparently inspired by serial murders in Tucson, Arizona, which may be geographically south but for most of us would not count as one of our traditional southern states. It’s a stretch to think of the South as the setting for

this story. Still, the story captures what we have been doing with language variety in the South: as analysts we are the product of where we have been, and the question is where we will be going. This chapter reviews the history of language variety in the South, from what analysts have made of it at earlier Language Variety in the South (LAVIS) meetings and what the talks at the current LAVIS meeting suggest about where we are going now.

2. Issues from LAVIS III

Like Connie, the South and its language have been the prettier sister in American language study, a place with evident language varieties. “Where are you going, where have you been?” is the right question for us to ask. To get a better idea of where we have been, let’s focus on Walt Wolfram’s comments in the summary conclusion of the published volume resulting from LAVIS III (Picone and Davies 2015), which divided the issues into six sections:

- Defining the South
- Southern language history
- Descriptive language foci
- African American English
- Sociolinguistic engagement
- Future directions

Wolfram (2015:748) observed that “defining the South — linguistically, geographically, and culturally — is still fair game, even as the region becomes increasingly bounded and commodified.” Despite the variation in Southern English, and in other languages spoken in the South, Wolfram notes, “the central geography of the South is indisputable” (although anywhere from eleven to seventeen states might be included in it) and it “has an overarching identity that sets it apart from other sections of the United States” (749). One of my favorite columnists, Leonard Pitts, affirmed that southern difference can be traced back to the Civil War, defining the South by resistance to social change. Pitts (2015) argued, however, that the “apartness” is no longer confined to the boundaries of the Confederacy, pointing to the religious freedom bill in Indiana. Really, Indiana as a part of the South? But this was Wolfram’s point, that there is a “continuing dispute as to its outward borders on all sides,” a “continuing debate” about the definition of the South (2015:749). That’s where we have been, in a place where we all feel that the South has a strong identity but where we cannot quite put borders on it — geographically, culturally, or linguistically.

Wolfram's second category, southern language history, follows from the first. This focus includes indigenous languages of the region and how most have died out. It also includes language contact situations and how most of the non-English European language communities have died out or are threatened, with the notable exception of Spanish. Where we have been, again, is thinking that there is a core identity to southern language history, with continuing debate about its boundaries.

Descriptive language foci was a broad category in which Wolfram considered vowel systems, quantitative methods related to surveys, and, more extensively, attention to different sociocultural groups. One of these groups, African Americans, has its own section in this coverage because "no topic has been more common to LAVIS than African American English" (Wolfram 2015:756). He noted that 80 percent of the articles published in the LAVIS I volume (Montgomery and Bailey 1986) had something to do with issues related to African American English. Where we had been, then, had moved from an earlier time with a monolithic view of African American English to a new position that, while not abandoning the older view, placed new emphasis on diversity among African Americans as they interacted with their communities across the South.

The next category, sociolinguistic engagement, stressed that "sociolinguists need to appreciate the fact that it is often difficult to provide an authentic profile of a linguistically subordinate language variety that the community itself will endorse" (Wolfram 2015:762). Where we have been with social engagement tells us that the linguistic facts are not enough to convince communities to relax their belief in linguistic subordination, that there is a standard language to which sociocultural varieties do not measure up.

Finally, Wolfram offered a few predictions about where the study of language in the South was going. He wrote about urbanization in the South and about study of change in progress across the South, especially in groups like the Hispanic community. He hoped that new methods for the study of social networks and communities of practice could be developed without abandoning large-scale surveys. Where we were going, Wolfram surmised, was not too different from where we had been.

3. LAVIS in Historical Perspective

Slightly more than a decade removed from LAVIS III, things are changing. To get a better idea of the scope of where we have been at LAVIS over the decades, I reviewed the three previous volumes of published papers and the

papers presented at LAVIS IV (including all of the papers presented, not just those published in this volume), resulting in a set of nine categories.

- Defining the South (same as Wolfram 2015)
- Gullah/creoles (some of the papers related to African American English)
- African American English (same as Wolfram)
- Southern language communities (some of Wolfram's foci)
- Features of Southern English (some of Wolfram's predictions)
- Teaching (like Wolfram's sociolinguistic engagement)
- Languages other than English (part of Wolfram's history)
- Discourse/individuals (some of Wolfram's predictions)
- Research methods (some of Wolfram's predictions)

This set is a larger number of categories than Wolfram's, though there is considerable overlap, as indicated above. These are ad hoc categories, and some of the papers might fall into more than one, but here I placed each paper into only one category. These nine categories can encompass all of the LAVIS papers from the published volumes and from this conference.

The summary graph of where we have been at LAVIS is given in figure 1.1. The chart plots the percentage of papers from each of the LAVIS publications (Montgomery and Bailey 1986; Bernstein, Nunnally, and Sabino 1997; Picone and Davies 2015) and LAVIS IV that fall into each of the nine categories. The average for each category should be one-ninth, or 11 percent, so peaks and dips on the chart above and below the 0.1 mark show that the category was represented by more or fewer papers than average. The categories with peaks for LAVIS I from 1981 and LAVIS II from 1993 have less representation currently. Where the peaks for LAVIS III and LAVIS IV cover up the others are the categories that are more represented at present. The figure indicates that a major change has taken place over time: when LAVIS started, there were many papers on African American English and on Gullah and creoles, but these categories have experienced a steady decline in the number of papers across the conferences. LAVIS IV has just one paper in the Gullah/creoles category and only half a dozen papers on African American English. On the other hand, the big issues for LAVIS III and LAVIS IV have focused on communities and languages other than English. LAVIS III also has an increased number of papers on discourse and on methods, which has declined toward the average for LAVIS IV. If papers on communities and on languages other than English are combined for LAVIS IV, the total is about 50 percent of the papers overall, which is nearly as high as the 60 percent of papers in those

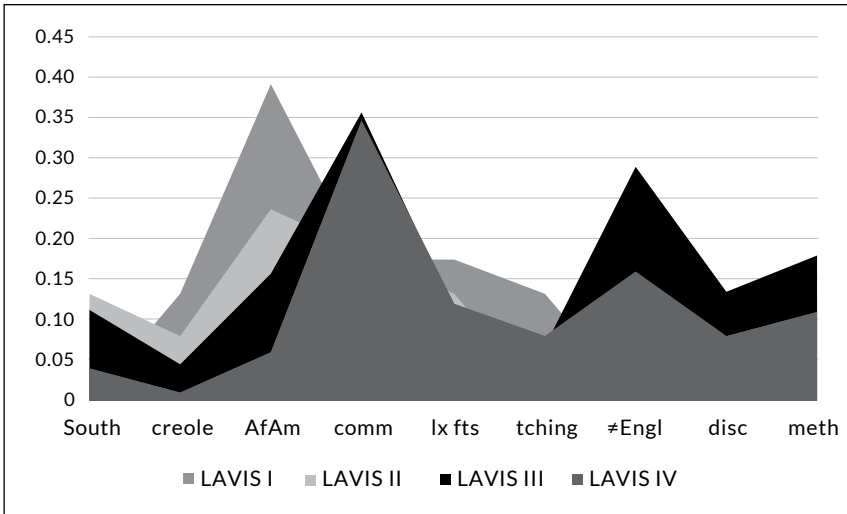


FIGURE 1.1. Area graph of categories of papers across the four LAVIS meetings. Categories correspond to the listing in the text.

categories from LAVIS III. The LAVIS conference has clearly moved from an overwhelming interest in an overarching language variety, like African American English, to an interest in all sorts of small varieties, including subregions, specific localities, or communities of practice.

Another view of the same data on the nine categories is presented in figure 1.2, where the percentage of papers from each of the LAVIS meetings is given separately. There are no papers at all from LAVIS I in four categories: defining the South, other languages, discourse, and methods. In the category defining the South, the number of papers has fallen off from average to less than half of average, an indication that perhaps linguists are no longer quite so focused on the South as one big place. Even LAVIS I and LAVIS II had a number of papers in the communities category, so linguists have always been quite interested in the localities and subgroups in the South. However, the number of papers in that category doubled for LAVIS III and LAVIS IV. The features category has had a fairly steady percentage of papers. The three categories at the right all had papers at LAVIS II, even an above average number of papers for methods, so those categories have been of concern for some time.

The preceding discussion indicates that over time we have become less interested in the South as a monolithic entity and more interested in all the

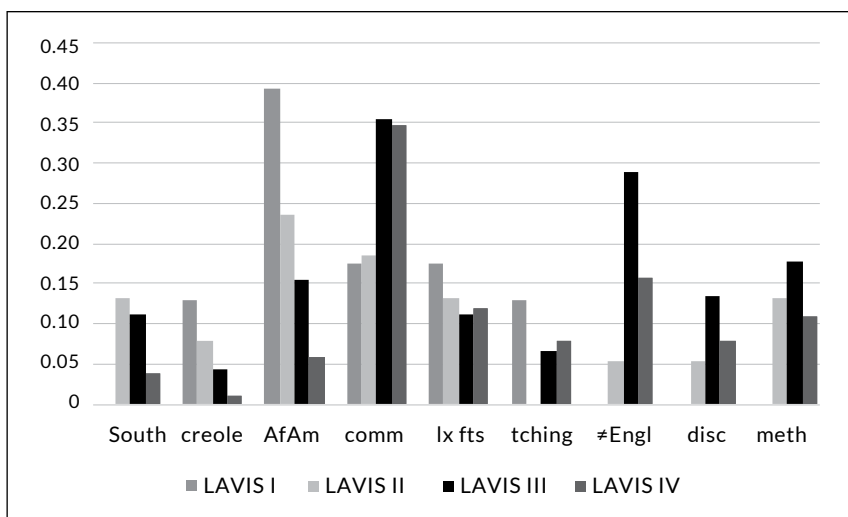


FIGURE 1.2. Bar graph of categories of papers across the four LAVIS meetings. Categories correspond to the listing in the text.

different communities that make up the South, or the constitution of the New South. As noted, columnist Leonard Pitts extended the old, Civil War idea of the South as far as Indiana, and perhaps we should agree with him that those old ideas of separation and resistance have been exported now beyond the traditional borders of the South, say, to Arizona as a place and to lots of conservative politicians nationwide. We can go beyond Wolfram's observation that the South has a core but no definite borders by noting that the New South is composed of many different communities. We have given up the core, if we ever had one in the South, in order to express ourselves in many different varieties of language in many different communities. At LAVIS IV, we examine the New South in all of its variations as a broad set of different communities.

At this point, let me offer a provocative observation. Have we ever really had a core of the Old South? According to Dennis Preston, perhaps not. In the map in figure 1.3 (from Kretzschmar 2009:231), redrawn from Preston's data, we see that the only place that 96 percent of his Michigan and Indiana respondents agreed was the South is around Columbus, Georgia, and Phenix City, Alabama — and not even 100 percent of respondents for that small area; 91 percent of Preston's subjects agreed on a somewhat larger area from Savannah, Georgia, on the coast to Montgomery, Alabama, in the west, which

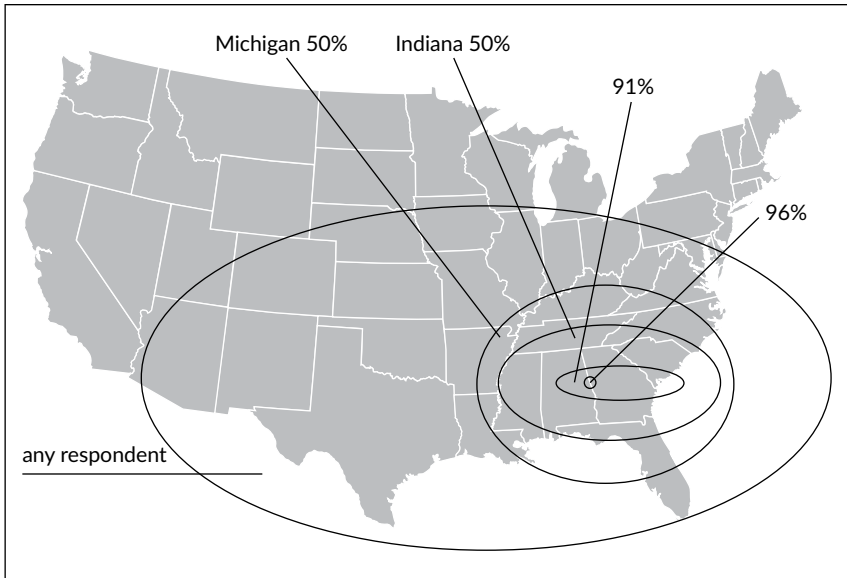


FIGURE 1.3. Ideas of what constitutes “the South” (from Kretzschmar 2009:231, redrawn from Preston’s data; reprinted with permission)

really was a plantation area historically, although that probably made little difference to the geographically challenged Michiganders and Hoosiers.

The important thing to see in figure 1.3 is the area of 50 percent agreement about what constitutes “the South.” The Indiana subjects included parts of seven states, not the whole Confederacy. The Michigan subjects included parts of fourteen states, several of them not part of the Confederacy. If you consider all of the subjects, the South extends in this map all the way to Tucson, Arizona, the site of the murders that motivated Joyce Carol Oates to write her story. Not many people would draw the South that way, but some did. From this point of view, it is hard to say that there was really a historical core of the South. The issue is not so much actual boundaries, or even counts of states to include in the South, but instead an idea of the South that we really don’t agree on. The best fit is the 50 percent level of agreement, which means that half of the subjects thought that an area about like this described the South. As Susan Tamasi (2003) has shown, our perceptions of areas like the South are not coherent, not the kind of idea that has a core and periphery. Instead, we might say that, even though we all have an idea of the South, our ideas are different. So, when people talk about the South,

they are talking about their own ideas of where it is and what it means, and each of us is presumptive enough to think that other people agree with us, even when they don't. This is how we can have a LAVIS conference at all: we are all interested in the South, whatever that means to each of us. This is also why, now more than ever, we are interested in talking about all the different communities in the South rather than about a monolithic entity. We never did really have a core South, just the perception of one, an illusion that all the different people in one ill-defined sector of the country somehow all spoke or all thought the same. When we have looked more closely, we have always known that they didn't all talk or think the same. So, Preston's evidence helps us see that there is no historical core of the Old South, either geographically or as an idea, just a range of locations and ideas that we might label as more or less southern.

As scholars, though, we do try to make things more explicit and to bring real evidence to what we say. We may look at papers that talk about the whole South to give us an idea of the past and present concern with the definition of "the South": ten old ones and four at LAVIS IV (table 1.1.). Many of these papers are overviews, like Preston's and this paper at LAVIS IV, and the Montgomery, Bailey, and Wolfram papers from previous LAVIS conferences. We also see three papers on how the South is represented in the *Dictionary of Regional English (DARE)*. Two more papers are by Dennis Preston, talking about perceptions of the South. Two papers by Montgomery are about nineteenth-century Southern English. One of the remaining papers is the LAVIS IV presentation by William Labov that discusses urban southern phonology. Labov and Preston, then, are the only ones really to make defining statements about the South as a whole entity, as opposed to overviews or topical papers. Trying to define the whole South as a monolithic entity, therefore, appears to be mostly a topic for papers like this one, where the author is assigned the job of talking about the whole South. People apparently prefer to talk about research topics that are more specific than about some generic South.

The Gullah and creole papers include five papers on the status of Gullah (table 1.2). One is on Louisiana creole. Only two are about the connections of creole with African Americans, older papers by Hancock and Sutcliffe. Thus, even in the past the creole papers have not been a hotbed for debate about the creole hypothesis for the origins of African American English. The sole paper on creoles from LAVIS IV is about Bible translation, so the old debate about creole origins is not raised again here. We may speculate that it will not be raised much in future at LAVIS.

TABLE 1.1. Papers on defining the South at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
II	Montgomery, LAVIS retrospective and assessment
II	Bailey, SAE: A prospective
II	Metcalfe, South in <i>DARE</i>
II	Hall, <i>LAGS</i> and <i>DARE</i>
II	Preston, South: Touchstone
III	Montgomery, Crucial century for Southern American English
III	Hall, South in <i>DARE</i> revisited
III	Preston, South still different
III	Bailey, Demographic South
III	Wolfram, Perspectives
IV	Preston, Southern (in time)
IV	Ellis and Montgomery, Mapping Southern American English
IV	Labov, Phonology of urban South
IV	Kretzschmar, Past/future of South

Of the twenty-five papers on African American English published from the first three LAVIS meetings, seven papers explicitly compare African American and white speech (table 1.3). Another seven papers discuss African American English in specific places. The topic of black-white speech differences is about as popular as talking about the specific characteristics of African American English in a particular place. The papers from LAVIS IV, however, are different: two of them are about new technologies, a computer corpus and social media; two are about the perception of African American English; and two address particular topics in the acquisition of African American English features, by different individuals or in different schools. These papers on African American English are not comparing black and white speech and are not documenting African American English in different places unless to provide evidence for a different kind of study. Where we are going is not where we have been, at least not for African American English. We have moved on, at LAVIS, to the consideration of African American English as a normal part of linguistic life in the New South. We no longer exceptionalize it and explain how it is different from white speech. This is an excellent sign

TABLE 1.2. Papers on Gullah and Creole at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
I	Cassidy, Gullah vs. Caribbean
I	Jones-Jackson, Status of Gullah
I	Hancock, Afro-Seminole creole
II	Mille, Gonzales's Gullah
II	Mufwene, Gullah development
II	Klingler, Louisiana creole
III	Sutcliffe, Creole in African American English
III	Klein, Gullah/Geechee
IV	Thiede and Brown, Creole Bible translations

of social progress in our research, not that we have forgotten about African American English, but that we now have mainstreamed it.

In the communities category (table 1.4), in the papers from previous LAVIS meetings all kinds of groups have been worthy of discussion. Sometimes it is the speech of cities, like New Orleans, Louisiana, or Birmingham, Alabama; sometimes, larger areas like Missouri or Alabama. Sometimes it is a racially limited group, like white speech in Anniston, Alabama, or a triracial community; sometimes, other ethnicities like religion or Spanish origin. What is notable about this category is that the percentage of papers in the communities category has doubled for LAVIS IV. One part of this increase comes from clusters of papers about particular places. Here we see eight papers about Appalachian English, another five about Louisiana, and four more about Miami, Florida. The thing to take home about these clusters is that we are willing to spend a great deal of our research time thinking about a subregion or city as an important locus for linguistic study. The issue of language contact has also produced a large cluster of papers at LAVIS IV, with nine papers about six different languages and their interaction with Southern English. This offers us yet more evidence that the New South is not monolithic, if so many immigrant groups can come to the South and participate in their own ways in southern culture. The rest of the papers treat different places, some of them not southern — we still spread our interests in speech communities very widely. So, where we are going is like where we have been with communities, only much more so.

TABLE 1.3. Papers on African American English at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
I	Rickford, Black and white speech in the South
I	Nichols, Prepositions in black and white English of coastal Carolina
I	Vaughn-Cooke, Lexical diffusion in decreolizing black English
I	Brewer, WPA ex-slave narratives
I	Dorrill, Vowels in southern black and white speech
I	Schrock, Black English in Arkansas
I	Butters and Nix, Black English in Wilmington
I	Hall, Black English in <i>DARE</i>
I	Wolfram, Black and white speech in sociolinguistic test bias
II	Schneider, Earlier black English
II	Cooley, Early representation of African American English
II	Brewer, Interview problems
II	Edwards, Southern in Detroit black English
II	Johnstone, South in black woman's story
II	Feagin, African contribution to southern
II	Maynor, <i>ain't</i> in African American English
II	Cukor-Avila, Southern rural African American vernacular English
II	Wolfram, African American vernacular English forms
III	Schneider, Early black and white English in corpora
III	Wright, St. Helena English
III	Van Herk, Nineteenth century African American English
III	Mufwene, Race and language development
III	Mallinson and Childs, African American English in Smoky Mountains
III	Nuckolls and Beito, Sound symbolism naming
III	Thomas and Reaser, Cues for identification of black and white speech
IV	Siebers, African American English corpus
IV	Weldon, Sounding black
IV	Cukor-Avila, Individuals and African American English

TABLE 1.3. Papers on African American English at LAVIS I–IV (*cont.*)

LAVIS meeting	Paper
IV	Lanehart, Perceptions of language and blackness
IV	Kohn, Segregation, African American English in the South
IV	Berry, African American English in social media

TABLE 1.4. Papers on communities at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
I	Gilbert, Brandywine tri-racial
I	Sommer, Southern urban English
I	Feagin, Norms in white English in Anniston
I	Davis, Southern adolescent English
II	Wolfram et al., Southern coastal
II	Southard, Pronunciation in eastern North Carolina
II	Bayley, Tejano English
II	Coles, Cues in New Orleans
II	Lance and Faries, Missouri vocabulary
II	Davis et al., Southern adolescent language
II	Labov and Ash, Birmingham, Alabama
III	Feagin, Sound change in Alabama
III	Bayley, Lucas, Louisiana American Sign Language
III	McNair, Mill villagers and farmers
III	Bernstein, Jewish language in the South
III	Lestrade, Language acquisition by Hispanics in Missouri
APPALACHIA	
IV	Montgomery, Appalachian border
IV	Burkette, Appalachian stance
IV	Reed, Appalachian pronunciation
IV	Thomas, Directions in Appalachian
IV	Alford, Albertville English
IV	Puckett, Appalachian identity
IV	Parker, Hasty, and Childs, New Appalachia
IV	Montgomery, Appalachian Englishes

TABLE 1.4. Papers on communities at LAVIS I–IV (*cont.*)

LAVIS meeting	Paper
LOUISIANA	
IV	Rice and Bennett, Cajun English
IV	Colomb, New Orleans
IV	Lindner, Language/culture in southern Louisiana
IV	Picone, Dialect in Louisiana
IV	Carmichael, <i>r</i> -less in Cajun, New Orleans
MIAMI	
IV	Mullen, Spanish/English in Miami
IV	López and Sims, Miami Latino English
IV	Carter, Miami in English and Spanish
IV	Carter et al., Metalinguistics of Miami
LANGUAGE CONTACT	
IV	Boehm et al., Acquisition in Karen group
IV	Reynolds, Acquisition in Karen group
IV	Boehm, Acquisition in Karen group
IV	Thomas, Mexican American English
IV	Michnowicz, Spanish/English in North Carolina
IV	Shport, Vietnamese English intonation
IV	Fellin, New Italians in the South
IV	Chun, Korean Americans in Texas
IV	Eads, Lebanese Americans
OTHERS	
IV	Sprowls, Southwestern Pennsylvania
IV	Tramontelli, Perceptual dialectology in Michigan
IV	Jones, Perception New England
IV	Teague and Reaser, North Carolina toponyms
IV	Dodsworth, Network clusters in Raleigh
IV	Reyes, Online language ideologies
IV	Hazen, Community engagement
IV	Barta, Linguistic subordination of groups

TABLE 1.5. Papers on linguistic features at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
I	Bailey and Bassett, Invariant <i>be</i>
I	Miller, <i>-sp, -st, -sk</i>
I	McDavid, Kentucky verb forms
I	Boertian, Double modals
II	Taylor, Rule ordering in phonology of Georgia and Alabama
II	Davies, Terms of address
II	Butters, <i>auntie-man</i>
II	Cassidy, Etymology in <i>DARE</i>
II	von Schneidemesser, Expletive, euphemism in <i>DARE</i>
III	Tillery, Southern grammar
III	Dubois and Horvath, Persistence of dialect features
III	Anderson, /aI/ glide weakening
III	Fridland, <i>cot-caught</i> in Memphis
III	Burkette, <i>a</i> -prefixing
IV	Bao, <i>very, really</i>
IV	Stanley, Forms of address
IV	McClarty, Intonation
IV	Hazen et al., <i>a/an</i>
IV	Cramer, Punctuation
IV	Jake and Myers-Scotton, Grammatical features in code-switching
IV	Ziegler, <i>you guys</i>
IV	Kendall and Fridland, Variation in southern shift
IV	Farrington, Kendall, and Fridland, Spectral shift in southern shift
IV	Millard, <i>pin/pen</i> merger in Miami
IV	Lee, /aI/ in Kentucky and Indiana
IV	Hazen et al., <i>z</i> devoicing

Papers in the features category are also quite varied (table 1.5). Previous LAVIS conferences had five papers on grammar, four on pronunciation, three on lexical issues, and a couple of papers on other subjects, showing balance across the levels of linguistic structure. The papers at LAVIS IV continue this pattern, both in balance and in number, with six papers on pronunciation,

TABLE 1.6. Papers on teaching at LAVIS IIV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
I	Scott, Mixed dialects in composition classroom
I	Lucas, <i>ain't/don't</i> variation in classroom
I	Billiard, Dialect, language development, reading for urban children
IV	Davis and Wilson, Passive by Chinese and South Koreans
IV	Torbert, Teaching with literature and song
IV	Reaser et al., Regional critical language pedagogies
IV	Marlow, Online linguistics courses
IV	Chung, Language variation for Chinese teachers of English
IV	Compton, Effect of teaching on perception of Appalachian
IV	Stephens, Teaching linguistics and Babel
IV	Lilienthal, Stance in service learning assessment

three on lexical issues, and three on grammatical topics. We may see a shift here toward pronunciation at the expense of grammatical papers. The rise to prominence of sociophonetics over the past eleven years is reflected here, as it has become much more common to produce acoustic phonetic evidence that can be processed in different ways.

The papers on teaching show a split (table 1.6), with a set of papers from LAVIS I and another, larger set from LAVIS IV. In part this may be due to the way the category was organized, since papers related to social outreach and engagement but not teaching are listed in other categories. What we see in these lists is a shift from a focus on composition and reading at LAVIS I to a much more varied view of language variation and teaching at LAVIS IV. Now we have papers about teaching in language contact situations and about service learning and online teaching.

Papers on languages other than English (table 1.7) have featured both European and Native American languages at previous LAVIS meetings. Louisiana French had the largest clusters of papers. At LAVIS IV, however, the largest cluster of papers is about Spanish, perhaps marking the great increase during the last decade in Spanish speakers resident in the South, or perhaps recognizing those speakers now that were already here before. There is also a cluster of Native American papers, but just one paper on Louisiana French.

The discourse category (table 1.8) had its highest percentage of papers at LAVIS III, with a somewhat lower percentage at LAVIS IV even though

TABLE 1.7. Papers on languages other than English at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
II	Picone, Louisiana French
II	Ching and Kung, Chinese in Memphis
III	Munroe, Native American languages
III	Chafe, Caddo
III	Rankin, Ofo
III	Broadwell, Timucua
III	Rudes, Cusabo/Taino
III	Picone, Louisiana French
III	Eble, Louisiana French
III	Klingler, Louisiana French
III	Dubois, Louisiana Cajun French
III	Lipski, Spanglish
III	Salas et al., Puerto Rican Spanish
SPANISH	
IV	Gudmestad, Mood use in Spanish
IV	Orozco, Spanish in the United States
IV	Cipria, Neutral Spanish
IV	Orozco and Dorado, Perception of Spanish
IV	Coles, Isleño Spanish
IV	Martínez-Mira, Spanish by Hispanics
NATIVE AMERICAN	
IV	Feltner, Chippewa
IV	Hardymon, Shawnee
IV	Husain, Cherokee
IV	Wolfram et al., Cherokee
OTHERS	
IV	Wallig, Korean hip-hop
IV	Palomaki, Binding in Finnish
IV	Burdette, Welsh and Spanish consonants
IV	White, Frequency learning Italian
IV	Dajko, Louisiana French
IV	Smith, Lao

TABLE 1.8. Papers on discourse at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
II	Weatherly, History
II	Wilmeth, Southern in Hank Williams
III	Davis, Lieber's <i>Americanisms</i>
III	Davies, Southern storytelling
III	Bean, Southern discourse styles
III	Thompson, Dialect and language ideology
III	Fridland and Bartlett, Perception, meaning of vowels
III	Davis, Southern in health care
IV	Johnstone, Enregistering Southern
IV	Davies, Performing Southern in music
IV	Thiede, Brain on story
IV	Inscoe, Southern translation in Japanese media
IV	Tyler, Character in code-switching
IV	Turnbull, Elitist ideology in fiction
IV	Bolonyai, Immigrant stories of southern experience
IV	Sawallis, Shakespearean pronunciation in singing

we have more actual papers at LAVIS IV. The qualitative mode of research is well represented but not a focus of our papers at LAVIS. We continue to be interested in literature and music as places where we can find and apply aspects of language variation. This is a stable category over the last three LAVIS meetings, and there is no reason to think that where we are going is not where we have been.

The last category, research methods, has also been stable across the last three LAVIS meetings, with higher than average percentages (table 1.9). In the past quantitative methods were most likely to have been discussed, in six of the eight papers. The advance in quantitative methods is less obvious at LAVIS IV. Papers include data collection, forensic sociolinguistics, and computer methods like stance annotation and making corpora. Perhaps this is because quantitative methods are now completely embedded in our field. The statistical package R has now taken over pride of place from the earlier, more limited Varbrul package and its successors, and statistical processing is expected in the papers that manipulate quantitative data.

TABLE 1.9. Papers on research methods at LAVIS I–IV

LAVIS meeting	Paper
II	Frazer, North-South boundary critique
II	Johnson, Geography and lexicon
II	Kretzschmar, Maps with statistics
II	Wikle, Quantitative mapping
II	Tillery, Social processes in language variation and change
III	Shackleton, Quantitative comparison of Southern English
III	Nerbonne, Variation aggregates in LAMSAS
III	Wolfram, Sociolinguistics engagement in community
IV	Axworthy et al., Skyping field methods
IV	Moeng, Distributional info for phonemes
IV	Hasty, Childs, and Van Herk, Surveys
IV	Anderson, Forensic sociolinguistics
IV	Charity Hudley and Mallison, Models for sociolinguistic justice
IV	Hazen, Making a corpus
IV	Hemmeter, Gender neutral stimuli
IV	Davis and Roeder, Perception over real time
IV	Kiesling et al., Stance annotation
IV	Schilling and Marsters, Sociolinguistic forensics
IV	Callesano and Carter, Implicit association test

4. Changes for the Future

The preceding discussion of changes and stability within the topical categories of LAVIS allows me to reiterate the main point: while the first two LAVIS conferences were greatly concerned with African American English as a research category, the meetings after the turn of the century have shifted toward a more inclusive view of communities, including communities where the language is not English. The non-English papers for LAVIS IV have dropped slightly, but they still command the second highest percentage of papers. This is a significant change in what we present and expect to be presented at LAVIS, and it is a positive change that we have been able to mainstream African American English among other speech communities. The six African American English papers at LAVIS IV are not far different in number

TABLE 1.10. Scale of speech communities in representative linguistics studies

Population	Paper
Millions	Kurath and McDavid (1961): regional dialects
Thousands	Labov (1966): class/ethnic varieties in New York City
Approx. 15 per network	Milroy (1980): social networks in Belfast
Central members plus others	Eckert (1989): jocks and burnouts at Belden High School
4 per community of practice	Mallinson and Childs (2007): church ladies and porch sitters in North Carolina

from the eight papers on Appalachia or the five papers on Louisiana. African American English remains a strong interest, a definite cluster of papers, but it no longer overwhelms everything else at LAVIS.

Our changes toward study of a great many communities is not just a change at LAVIS but one that goes along with continuing change in the study of language variation. As we see from the representative studies listed in table 1.10, the scale of our studies of speech communities has been driven down over the decades, from large regional and urban dialects to the speech of much smaller populations. The locus for varieties, the population of the speech community in which we expect to find some characteristic variety of speech, has fallen in size from millions of speakers to thousands to dozens to the single digits. Thus, the fact that we have moved away from large, monolithic views of language variety in the South simply mirrors what has been happening all across the country and the world as linguists have studied more and more communities at smaller sizes.

This movement aligns with my own recent research, my smooth talk about complex systems. Let's step back for a moment from our common assumptions about language, that there is one big system, a grammar, that all the speakers of a language share. That's where we have come from, but that is not where we are going. Instead, let's think about language as something that all of the speakers just do in any situation. Then we can think about human language in the same way that many other scientists across campus talk about their subjects. Complex systems all have lots of components that interact with one another constantly, and when they do, the components exchange information in some way. If they are ants, they exchange information about food sources or attackers; if they are cells in your immune system, they

exchange information about invading bacteria. This exchange of information leads to reinforcement, so that more ants participate in food gathering or defense or more cells begin to fight an invading pathogen, until stable patterns emerge. We can see the line of ants going back and forth to a food source, and we can measure higher levels of antibodies, and those are the stable patterns that have emerged. In several publications (Kretzschmar 2009, 2015) I maintain that the same thing happens in human language. The components of the complex system are all of us speakers, who are agents using linguistic resources in the same way that people are agents using financial resources in economics. We interact in speech or writing all the time, and when we do we exchange information not just as content but also about the way we talk or write. Stable patterns that we call language varieties emerge through reinforcement of our choices, whether in local areas or regions or in situations of language use (think written genres or types of conversations).

Consider, for example, the distribution of lexical choices to name a dragonfly plotted in figure 1.4 and listed below. What we find in all of our linguistic surveys and language corpora is a nonlinear distributional pattern like the one shown in figure 1.4: only a few of the choices for how to say something occur very often, whether word or pronunciation or grammatical choices, while most of the choices that we could make we hardly ever make. So, in figure 1.4 there were 119 different words or short phrases for what to call a dragonfly, and some of them were quite common in my Middle and South Atlantic States survey, but most of the responses — from 83 of the 119 responses — occurred only either once or twice.¹ This means that our sense that speakers of a language share a system comes mainly from that small number of choices we use all the time. Unfortunately, that way of thinking leaves out 80 percent of what speakers actually can say but only rarely say. We can describe this nonlinear pattern with the 80/20 rule that the economists talk about. For language, that rule might be stated as 80 percent of what people actually say comes from only 20 percent of what they could say. The flip side of this is that 80 percent of what people could say accounts for only 20 percent of what they do say. And sometimes the curve is even sharper: here, the top 10 percent of the dragonfly choices, twelve of them, account for 89 percent of what we actually elicited from people in the survey:

snake doctor: 536
snake feeder: 413
mosquito hawk: 360
darning needle: 294

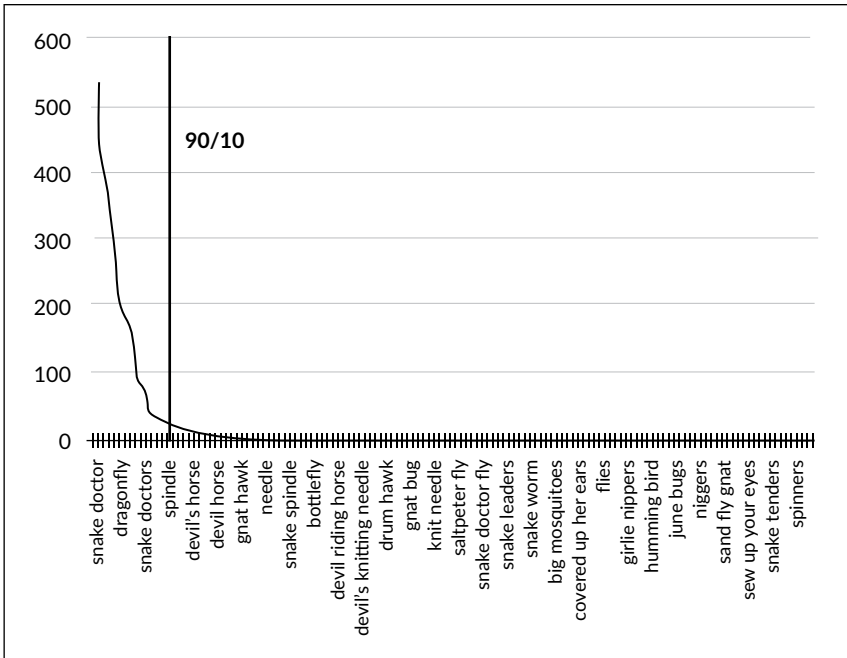


FIGURE 1.4. The 80/20 rule for naming a dragonfly (data from Middle and South Atlantic States survey, www.lap.uga.edu)

- dragonfly: 196
- skeeter hawk: 175
- devil's darning needle: 158
- mosquito hawks: 89
- snake doctors: 77
- dragonflies: 42
- snake feeders: 35
- darning needles: 28

This underlying distributional pattern, not previously recognized or, if it was suspected, not taken seriously, changes everything for how we should think about language. We can no longer think about language as being driven by a grammar. This is something about language that we did not know, and it changes how we must think about language.

The importance of complex systems for LAVIS today is a second property of the 80/20 distributional pattern: the nonlinear pattern scales to every level of analysis. So, in figure 1.5 we have the Middle and South Atlantic data

5. Conclusion

LAVIS has begun to deal with lots of communities in the same way that Connie flirted with lots of boys in the short story, without a real understanding of where that kind of activity would lead. On one level, I am doing my Arnold Friend impression: smooth talking you into actually doing something about those communities. The complex system of language is operating around us every day, and new groups of speakers have emerging patterns of language use in their vocabulary, in their pronunciation, and in their syntax. In all cases there will be a wide range of variants for doing the same thing in language, and some are very common, while most are not. We need to be serious about the distributional patterns that arise from complex systems, which is not difficult once we know that the 80/20 rule will always apply. We find these patterns at every scale, and the important thing to understand is that it is not remarkable to *find* some speech community of whatever size that has its own characteristics. Our goal for study of language variation in the South should be the description of these patterns, not just the discovery that there are patterns for different groups. We think we know what Arnold Friend wanted Connie to do by coming out with him, and now we know what we may expect from LAVIS.

The only thing left to say is what happened to Connie. In the Joyce Carol Oates short story there was a cliffhanger, but not knowing what happens doesn't work in a movie. The audience expects to find out whether Connie got seduced or murdered or what. In the movie *Smooth Talk*, Connie comes home after going out with Arnold, evidently shaken up, and she tells him that she never wants to see him again. We can do that at the next LAVIS meeting: come back after trying out the dark side of complex systems that threatens our assumptions about southern language and linguistics more generally. We may or may not choose to keep working with complex systems, but we won't be able to go back to where we were before. Our view of language variation in the South will be changed forever. And, as it was for Connie in *Smooth Talk*, that may not be such a bad thing after all.

About the Author

William A. Kretzschmar Jr. teaches at the University of Georgia. He runs the Linguistic Atlas Project, and his recent books promote analysis of language as a complex system.

Note

1. For information about the Middle and South Atlantic States survey, see www.lap.uga.edu/Site/LAMSAS.html (accessed April 12, 2017).

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Dennis R. Preston

[¹sʌδə̃n], [¹sʌδən], [¹sʌδɪən], [¹sʌδɪ̃], [sʌ̃:n], etc.

What We/They Think/Thought It Is/Was/Will Be

1. Background

Here we go again talking about language and variety in the South. Although there are good reasons to talk about the speech of any region, they are amplified in the study of Southern U.S. English (SUSE). One major area of that amplification lies in the historical and current regard for the language of the region, the regard of both insiders and outsiders — the major “we” and “they” of my subtitle. This chapter traces the origins and development of that regard, but I begin with another person dichotomy.

My first “we” versus “they” split is among linguists themselves. One theoretical point of view suggests that how nonlinguists regard language is of no value since the inaccessible computational mind carries out the basic procedures of organizing language (for both output and intake) by rules and constraints and their interaction with one another. Others, however, have taken the matter of regard for language variety as an essential fact in the study of variation and change. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) refer to social factors in all the problems of language variation and change: constraints, transition, embedding, evaluation, and actuation; but since I am concerned here with the regard in which a variety is held, my focus is on their characterization of evaluation: “The theory of language change must establish empirically the subjective correlates of the several layers and variables in a heterogeneous structure. Such subjective correlates . . . cannot be deduced from the place of the variables within linguistic structure” (186). In other

words, even though one has done a good job accounting for the shape of a variety, the way it is regarded will not have been automatically determined, and lacking that, the job of establishing a theory of language change will be incomplete. Most sociolinguists would in fact go further and say that, without the associated social facts, one could not even have established an acceptable account of the shape of a variety in the first place. In short, if one wants to do linguistics in general, the subjective correlates loom large, and since regard for SUSE is amplified, it looms even larger.

The goals of variation and change, however, are not the only sociolinguistic desiderata: “If the community’s own theory of linguistic repertoire and speech is considered (as it must be in any serious ethnographic account), matters become all the more complex and interesting” (Hymes 1972:39). In other words, if one is concerned with matters of language beyond structure and even beyond the social factors that impinge on any such structure, regard will open avenues that do not just enhance but are essential to the complex understanding of any ethnographic account of a language or variety.

Finally, since regard for SUSE is often negative and has repercussions for its speakers, a final linguistic need for the study of regard focuses on the application of regard knowledge to public service needs: “Most sociolinguists are do-gooders. Although a strong sense of social commitment is not a sociopolitical requisite for examining language in its social context, it certainly seems to characterize the lives of many sociolinguistic researchers” (Wolfram 2000:19)

2. Regard for SUSE

In what follows, as the subtitle suggests, I consider regard for SUSE from insiders and outsiders (we vs. they), from current and historical sources (think vs. thought), and with reference to its origins, future, domain, shape, and evaluation. I take these data from historical, literary, popular culture, and even academic sources and turn first to origins.

2.1. ORIGINS

The African background for the development of SUSE in general, not just for the descendent African American population, is a common belief; here is one from the eighteenth century: “One Thing they are very faulty in, with regard to their Children, which is, that when young, they suffer them too much to prowl amongst the young Negros, which insensibly causes them to imbibe their Manners and broken Speech” (*London Magazine* 1746:330). And another

from the nineteenth century: “She had a younger brother . . . who had as his chief playmate a black boy of about his own age. One day the parents of the white lad called him in for a serious talk. They knew that he would have to end having him as his best friend, but more to the point was his speech. It was explained that he spoke just like his black friend, and they could not be told apart. . . . The boy objected, asserting, ‘It don’t matter how I talks, everybody knows who ah is’” (Fishkin 1993 [where it is cited as a personal communication from McKaye Atwood]).

That southern African American Vernacular English has had an influence on European American SUSE now has long-standing recognition among sociolinguists (e.g., Wolfram 1974) and earlier attestation among dialectologists (e.g., Payne 1903). It has been more recently asserted, at least for specific features, in Thomas and Bailey (1998). A more common historical folk theory, however, has to do with the origins of the English of the South (or at least Appalachia) in Elizabethan English and, as the following illustrate, is not limited to nonacademic sources:

The eminent Shakespearean scholar, John Barton, has suggested that Shakespeare’s accent would have sounded to modern ears like a cross between a contemporary Irish, Yorkshire and West Country accent — and cites the present-day speech of the Appalachian Mountains as the most suitable model for actors attempting to imitate a period performance. (BBC Voices 2014)

The correspondence and writings of Queen Elizabeth I and such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Marlowe, Dryden, Bacon and even Shakespeare are sprinkled with words and expressions which today are commonplace in remote regions of North Carolina. You hear the Queen’s English in the coves and hollows of the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky mountains and on the windswept Outer Banks where time moves more leisurely. (Brown 1976)

Southern mountain dialect (as the folk speech of Appalachia is called by linguists) is certainly archaic, but the general historical period it represents can be narrowed down to the days of the first Queen Elizabeth. (Dial 1969)

We are more likely these days to take Michael Montgomery’s words as more authoritative: “The . . . picture of southern Appalachian English is one of conservatism and persistence of vernacular forms, but great inventiveness as well, a varied picture that contradicts the persistent popular belief that mountain speech has changed little from the colonial era, if not from an earlier or ‘Elizabethan’ time” (Montgomery and Hall 2004:xiv).

SUSE, or at least the non-Appalachian varieties, may have had a more recent and noninherited origin according to some, as this eighteenth-century comment indicates: “Before and just after the Revolution, many, perhaps it would be more accurate to say most, of our youth of opulent families were educated at English schools and universities” (Legaré and Bullen 1846:7). In contrast, this early nineteenth-century comment hardly suggests a posh origin for SUSE. An English traveler in 1805–6 noted that “they had heard a poor woman . . . who inhabited a miserable hut with only one room, deplore her sufferings in such language as a lady of the Court of St. James would have been proud to equal” (Silliman 1812:341–42).

I would do a disservice, however, to the origins of SUSE if I did not cite some more interesting popular observations; here is the snuff theory, with spelling and punctuation preserved: “I have a regular southern (country) accent. But everytime i throw in a dip, it maximizes my accent! I also have a friend at school that doesnt have an accent at all just a normal average american accent. And i gave him a pinch the other day and he immediatly had a southernish accent. Where did the southern accent (country) come from. Was it snuff or something else?”¹ And the heat theory: “I have heard that the southern accent started out as a British accent but was altered by the way ppl open their mouths in very hot weather. Remember, until the 1950s and in some homes 1960s or 70s, there was no air conditioning and it’s extremely hot in the South.”²

2.2. THE FUTURE

Although linguists have recently focused on the reduction of southern features, particularly in our largest southern cities (e.g., Tillery and Bailey 2008), nonlinguists have similar prognostications for its future. John Steinbeck, after leaving Montana (an area whose speech he very much liked for its authenticity, but he feared its demise), went on to evaluate other areas:

The West Coast went back again to packaged English. The Southwest keeps a grasp but a slipping grasp on localness.

Of course the deep south holds on by main strength to its regional expressions, just as it holds and treasures some other anachronisms, but no region can hold out for long against the highway, the high-tension line, and the national television.

What I am mourning is perhaps not worth saving, but I regret its loss nevertheless. (Steinbeck 1962:107)

Popular media would seem to agree; a cartoon I once saw showed an old-timer at a diner looking at a sign that, in addition to its \$10.00 BBQ,

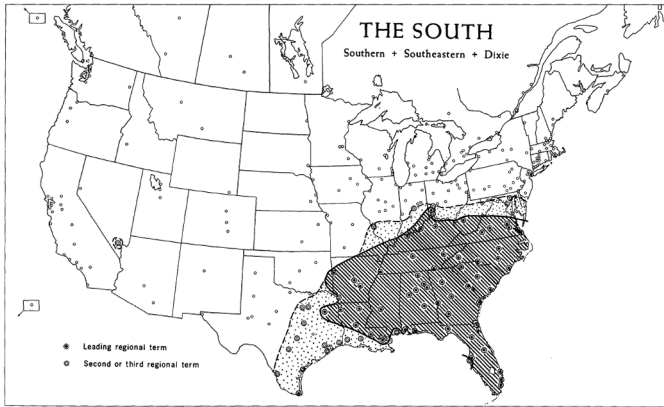


FIGURE 2.1. The “vernacular” South (Zelinsky 1980:8; reprinted with permission)

advertised “Chatter in a Vanishing Regional Dialect \$1.00 Extra.” And education must also be blamed: “Dr. Goodword at Play. I grew up just down the road from Andy Griffith in North Carolina. We both share a love for the southern accent of that warm and beautiful state. That southern accent has almost been successfully eradicated by the excellent southern school systems and the invasion of northern companies, eager to benefit from the high levels of creativity and intelligence found in the southern gene pool.”³ Linguists of course know that, although some aspects of the older versions are on the way out, the popular report of the death of SUSE makes for a better headline. Next we examine where what’s left of it is.

2.3. THE DOMAIN OF SUSE

Luckily, both cultural geographers and perceptual dialectologists have been interested in folk perceptions of the boundaries of the South, although the cultural studies do not directly address our linguistic concern — that is, one should not assume that where the “South” is is where SUSE is. The most famous of these general determinations of perceptual (or “vernacular”) regions is from Zelinsky (1980) (see figure 2.1), which shows a South very much like the Upper and Lower South combined in Carver’s (1987) map derived from *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Cassidy, Hall, and von Schneidmeyer 1996–2013; hereafter *DARE*) lexical data and also very much like the general phonological map in Labov, Ash, and Boberg’s (2006) map in *The Atlas of North American English* (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; hereafter *ANAE*), except for the latter’s inclusion of nearly all of Texas.

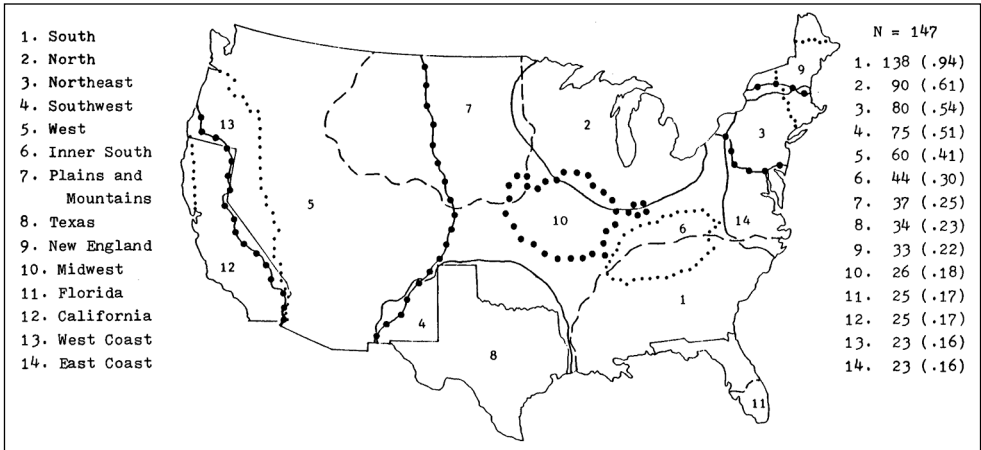


FIGURE 2.2. Composite of southeastern Michigan hand-drawn maps of U.S. regional speech differences (Preston 1996:305; reprinted with permission)

Perceptual dialectologists, however, have asked folk respondents to outline the boundaries of speech regions themselves, and figure 2.2 shows such a map from southeastern Michigan. Areas 1 (South) and 6 (Inner South or Appalachia) may be combined to make a bigger South whose northern boundary is not very different from Zelinsky’s and the above-mentioned dialectologists’ maps. This map, however, also shows a sharp boundary between Texas and the South, a position more like Carver’s *DARE* map than the *ANAE*, but we do not assume that popular impressions of speech or of vernacular areas will necessarily correspond to dialect survey results. The individual maps on which figure 2.2 was based have also been studied to determine which areas most respondents agree on as a part of a region. There was no 100 percent agreement among those respondents, but at the 91 percent level of agreement, a very small area emerges, midway along the north-south line that makes up the Eastern Alabama-Western Georgia border (Preston 1996:304); one must assume that this is the “heart” of the South for these southeastern Michiganders.

Of course, not every group of respondents will agree on the domain of SUSE. For example, on a map placement task for voice samples, southeastern Michigan respondents linked Florence and Dothan, Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; and Bowling Green, Kentucky in a southern group and linked New Albany, Indiana to a large northern group last. But southernmost Indiana respondents linked only Dothan, Florence, and Nashville in a smaller southern

group and added Bowling Green (last) and New Albany (next-to-last) to a larger northern group.

Now that we know where the South is (or at least where it is thought to be), we may ask what some popular notions of its linguistic facts are.

2.4. THE SHAPE OF SUSE

There is not space here to record both internal and external representations of real and imagined southern linguistic elements from phonology, lexicon, morphosyntax, and even pragmatics, but I hit some highlights.

Everybody appears to know about /aɪ/-monophthongization, and *ANAE* makes it the defining feature of the South at its widest expanse. A cartoon I recently saw showed two reindeer (northern animals, I had always assumed) ice skating on a pond. One warns the other, “Look out for that ice hole,” and he angrily responds, “What did you call me?” This, of course, ignores the more linguistically sophisticated fact that /aɪ/-monophthongization before voiceless elements occurs in a restricted area of the South, only part of Appalachia and the “Texas South” according to *ANAE*.

Another recent cartoon is phonetically better. Two baseball-capped, bib-overall-clad (I resist the folk spelling “overhaul”) men with pronounced overbites explain how the term “NASCAR” was invented. One of them, pointing to a car, says “NAS CAR, HUH?” The other responds, “YUP. REAL NAS!” Of course NASCAR has an /æ/ vowel, but the cartoonist is after the monophthongization of /aɪ/, and its eventual monophthongal and fronted position is not far from /æ/, although we also know that southern /æ/ is often raised and diphthongized (or triphthongized, i.e., “drawled”), a feature overlooked here.

In a Dan Piraro cartoon, a figure on television says of a recently deceased person that “he was pronounced dead at the scene. He will be buried in Mississippi, where he will be pronounced ‘day-ed.’” We would be assigning too much sophistication if we thought that Piraro was aware of the tense-lax reversal in the high and mid front vowels, but he no doubt has captured what many would characterize as the drawl, and his spelling representation of it is not so bad.

Another place to seek inside and outside representation of southern speech is in the numerous SUSE speech guides, ranging from book-length publications to glossaries on paper placemats; we have yet to see a thorough analysis of these representations, and it is a project well worth doing. Sticking with phonology, we find, as suggested in the above observations on NASCAR, an awareness of the raising and diphthongization of /æ/. In one booklet, for

example, “ain’t” is glossed as “the sister of your mother or father” (Mitchell 1976). Some respellings of the /ɔ/ vowel seem to reflect the diphthongal (i.e., [aʊ]) pronunciation of conservative southern speech. Mitchell (1976), for example, spells *all* as *awl*. Many such treatments of southern phonetics, however, are simply cases of eye dialect (“git,” “duz,” “wuz,” “inny,” “ketch,” etc.), a practice unfortunately not limited to folk representations (Preston 1982). The most extensive respellings and eye-dialect glossary I know of is Rigsbee (1981), in which, except for “fixin” (without “to” [9]) and “yaww” (defined as the “collective second person singular” [20]), all the examples are outlandish respellings of words or phrases, none particularly southern: “diduhnit” (*didn’t it* [7]), “whoamun” (*woman* [19]), and — one of the most amazing eye-dialect forms I have ever seen — “izit” (*is it* [11]), although the last page that guides us on the pronunciation of days, months, and numbers has the perhaps equally unbelievable “Martch” (21).

For the most part these so-called guides are often simply wrong and seem to represent any rural or traditional pronunciation as southern. The silliest is the recurrence in many of them of the form “crick” (for *creek*), a well-known Inland Northern, North Midlands, and Western term, little used in the South (e.g., *DARE* 3:840).

The lexicon of the South is widely represented in these sources as well, in some cases containing such little-known items as “larrupin’ good” (Wilder 1977), usually of a meal (“larruping,” *DARE* 3:293), and other much more general items such as “y’all” and “fixin’ to.” Opening one such guide to *SUSE* (Wilder 1984) almost at random, one can find “gaummy” (sticky, smeared, dirty; *DARE* 2:643), “begalmed” (same as “gaummy”; not in *DARE*), “thronging” (crowding, milling around; not in *DARE*, but “throng” and “thronged” are listed there as adjectives meaning “busy, occupied with work”; most of the citations show Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana; *DARE* 5:583), and “slaunchways” (at an angle; under “slaunchwise” in *DARE* 5:10).

Morphosyntax is only rarely called attention to, although sample sentences for the phonological and lexical matters just discussed often contain real and imagined examples. The glossary in *Redneckin’* (Jensen 1983), for example, gives as definition for “ackrit” (the folk spelling of *accurate*), “That there story ain’t exactly ackrit, now” (34), illustrating not only “ain’t” but also the demonstrative “that there.” It seems a little odd to me that the writer misses the opportunity to respell “exactly” in the illustrative sentence; I would have expected something like “zackly,” especially since the entry under “arnin” (*ironing*) on the same page uses the eye-dialect form “prest” (*pressed*). The same author offers “seed” and “clumb” preterits in her entry for “clumb,” and

a double modal appears in the sample sentence for “yestiddy”: “I might ought a took keer a that yestiddy” (36).

But the greatest folk documentation of SUSE lies outside phonology, lexicon, and morphosyntax. SUSE speakers are held in high folk regard for their sayings, witticisms, proverbialisms, descriptions, comebacks, insults, greetings and leave-takings, and a host of other pragmatic and interactional strategies. Wilder (1984) lists such matters from “Character and Personality Defined Flat Out” all the way to “This World and One More,” that is, from “Too poor to paint, too proud to whitewash: Southern aristocracy” (2) to “Treed and mowed: What a well tended graveyard ground should be” (208). Let us take a quick look at some threats from only one page recorded by Wilder:

I'll cloud up an' rain all over you.

I'm a good mind to tie your asshole in a knot.

I'll tan your hide till it won't hold shucks.

I'll cut yo' ass to thick to fish with an' to thin to fry. (78)

Many, many more could be added.

2.5. THE EVALUATION OF SUSE

The historical ratings of SUSE have been various. The first notice that SUSE (or at least an emerging SUSE) was not to be admired comes from the eighteenth century, although it may refer only to “American” rather than specifically southern use, but I list it here as a possible first notice. Francis Moore (1840:94) notes that *bluff* (in Georgia and South Carolina) inaccurately referred to a steep riverbank rather than steep land viewed from the sea.

But early on and persisting into the twentieth century is the perception of a genteel (or *Gone with the Wind*) South. Here is such an evaluation from the nineteenth century: “Engaged in a dispute, however violent may be the discussion, the courtesy of the ‘sir’ is never omitted” (McWhiney 1988:163, citing a nineteenth-century British visitor).

Late in the twentieth and surely in the twenty-first century, however, a “hillbilly” caricature has replaced the older genteel perception, at least partly due to civil rights struggles and the rise of stereotypical Upland South entertainments (e.g., *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *The Dukes of Hazard*), although there are plenty of older representatives (e.g., the famous *Li'l Abner* comic strip). Whatever the source, locals are not happy with it and mount various defenses:

Knowledge of the presence of Elizabethan English in Appalachia is so commonplace that it has diffused into the public sphere. It is not uncommon to hear an Appalachian make note of his Elizabethan-influenced

speech as a means of validating his “pedigree” to those who may view Appalachian people as “hillbillies” and thus unintelligent and backwards. I have caught myself doing this very thing when, after telling someone where my hometown is located, I am treated to yet another rendition of a certain little banjo tune. (Smith 2008:54–55n17)

As recently as World War II, there were pockets of pure Elizabethan English in Appalachia, and it’s now a too-little-known fact that many “ignorant” Southernisms are direct imports from Eton, Oxford, and Cambridge, from back when affluent Southern whites sent their kids there. (Howell 2011)

And this post from a colleague’s Facebook page: “Got this in an email from one of my brand new undergrads: ‘your Appalachian accent is a tad aggressive making you a little intimidating . . . don’t be offended. it’s better to be feared than loved.’ I wrote back: ‘I’d rather be loved than feared.’” But the degrading of SUSE is not always so overt; in fact, it often seems presupposed. In a mystery novel, a pathologist goes to ask permission to open a grave from a Virginia judge: “The orderliness of his desk told me that he was busy and quite capable, and his unfashionable tie and soft-soled shoes bespoke someone who did not give a damn how people like me assessed him. ‘Why do you want to violate the sepulcher?’ he asked in slow southern cadences that belied a quick mind as he turned a page in the legal pad” (Cornwell 1994:103).

Since “slow southern cadences that” belie “a quick mind” is presented as a fact, we may be even more amazed to learn that such a slow talker has, in fact, a quick and penetrating mind, as the rest of this encounter in the novel clearly shows. It may also be the case that in the following a University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee professor has not thought through the insult of his remark. An article titled, “UW Could Face \$300 Million Revenue Loss, Changes to Tenure, Shared Governance,” included this perspective:

“This will make a huge impact on our state,” said Professor Joe Austin.

...

“You can hear it in my voice; I’m from the south,” said Austin. “I’ve been running from Arkansas my whole life. We’re on the verge of becoming Arkansas. We really have to appeal to the citizens; I just don’t think people in Wisconsin want to live in Arkansas!” (Kilmer 2015)

Apparently some negative evaluators of SUSE don’t understand at all what is insulting in their remarks. A Yahoo! Answers segment contains this exchange on the question of what causes southern accents:

First off, I'm not insulting anyone. What causes southern . . . accents to manifest? Originally we all spoke either European English or even some other language. . . . There's nothing even remotely like this dialect from what I can tell so where did it originate? Or is it simply a biological side effect of a "lazy" tongue or possibly taking deeper breaths due to the mountain air having less oxygen so the words are a bit drawn out? Or possibly isolation causing a degradation in speech patterns? . . . Again, not insulting anyone, just questioning why it's there.

Update: Kristen stop being so defensive. I never said it sounded "funny." I was just questioning the accent's existence . . . although now that you mention it, just because scientists don't laugh at the platypus, doesn't mean it's NOT funny. ;)⁴

It's interesting that even words like "degradation" do not seem to suggest to this writer that he might be insulting someone.

Alas, even nonlinguist scientists fall prey to the temptation. In their study of the desirability of residence of U.S. states, Gould and White (1974), in their famous early book in folk geography, call the area rated low by their California respondents a "Southern Trough." Worse, Jordan (1978:304, figure 7) provides several perceptual maps of Texas derived from work with local respondents. I suppose the use of "Bible Belt" for the roughly northern half of the state is now in such common use as to cause little notice, but that the southern one-third of the state, which shows a cluster of anti-Hispanic slurs, would be labeled by the scientific investigator himself as the "Bigot Belt," not a name provided by any of his respondents, suggests not only an insensitivity but also an unscientific approach.

Not everything, however, is bleak in the evaluation of SUSE. Following investigations of typical northern respondents in which SUSE was downgraded for the characteristics "correct" and "pleasant" (e.g., Preston 1996), I wondered if those two categories might be too gross to capture certain more precise characterizations. To do this, I asked southeastern Michigan respondents to name as many characteristics of U.S. regional speech as they could think of, and I determined the following list from the most frequently named items, a technique often used in traditional matched-guise studies:

slow — fast
 polite — rude
 snobbish — down-to-earth
 educated — uneducated
 normal — abnormal

TABLE 2.1. Ratings by Michiganders of the North and the South for twelve attributes on a scale from 1 to 6 (from Preston 1999:366)

Rank	South		Rank	North	
	Attribute	Mean		Attribute	Mean
1	Casual	4.66	1	No drawl	5.11
2	Friendly	4.58	2	No twang	5.07
3	Down-to-earth	4.54	3	Normal	4.94
4	Polite	4.2	4	Smart	4.53
5	Not nasal	4.09	5	Good English	4.41
			6	Down-to-earth	4.19
6	Normal [abnormal]	3.22	7	Fast	4.12
7	Smart [dumb]	3.04	8	Educated	4.09
8	No twang [twang]	2.96	9.5	Friendly	4.00
9	Good English [bad English]	2.86	9.5	Polite	4.00
10	Educated [uneducated]	2.72	11	Not nasal	3.94
11	Fast [slow]	2.42	12	Casual	3.53
12	No drawl [drawl]	2.22			

- smart — dumb
- formal — casual
- bad English — good English
- friendly — unfriendly
- nasal — not nasal
- speaks with — without a drawl
- speaks with — without a twang

The respondents were shown a simplified version of figure 2.2 and were asked to rate the above paired opposites along a six-point Likert scale for each region. The results for the North (the local area) and the South are shown in table 2.1.

For the “status” traits, the North is clearly the winner, particularly for no drawl, no twang, normal, smart, and good English, but for the “solidarity” scores, the South has an edge, certainly for casual, friendly, down-to-earth,

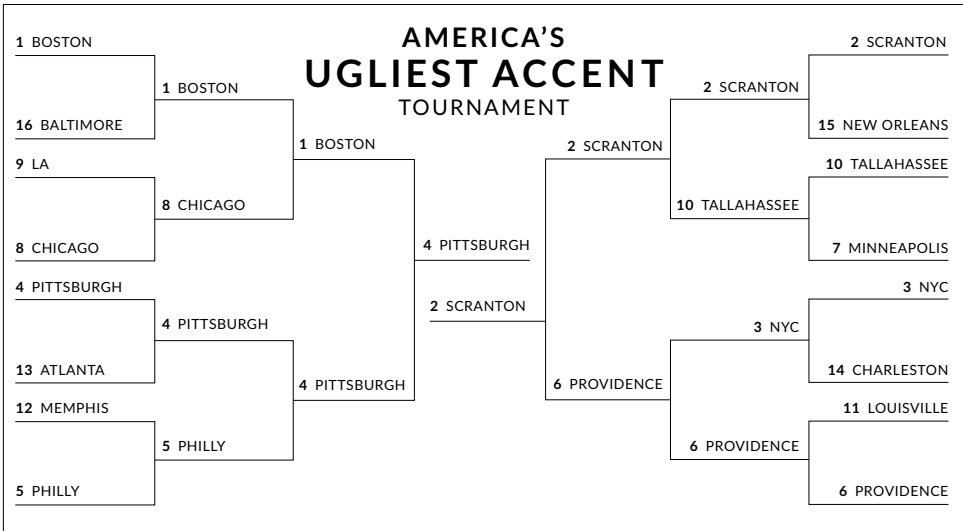


FIGURE 2.3. Gawker “America’s Ugliest Accent” contest (Evans 2014)

and polite, all positive evaluations that would seem to attest to the southern hospitality caricature. A recent Gawker poll (figure 2.3) also shows the South to be the big loser in the “Ugliest Accent” contest (Pittsburgh finally defeated Scranton in the finals). In every case when pitted against a city from another region, southern areas lose; in fact, no southern city makes it to the “elite eight” in ugly accents.

All these evaluative dimensions invite us to turn to the question of enregisterment, and there can be no doubt that the South has got it. Look again at figure 2.2; of the 147 southeastern Michiganders who drew speech regions of the United States on a blank map, 138 (94 percent) drew a South (and 30 percent drew an Appalachian or “Inner” South). The closest competitor for regional speech identity was the local area (the North), with only ninety responses (61 percent). Figure 2.4 shows this trend to treat the South as salient even at the state level, in this case in Ohio, where the largest number of respondents chose to imitate southern speech when invited to imitate any Ohio variety.

Barbara Johnstone has made Pittsburgh world famous among linguists by carefully cataloging its enregisterment (e.g., Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006), but unlike the South, which is enregistered internally and externally, most of Pittsburgh’s fame is local. People in Atlanta, Georgia; Kansas City, Missouri; and Los Angeles, California, do not imitate Pittsburgh monophthongization of /au/ and are not aware of “yinz,” but everybody in

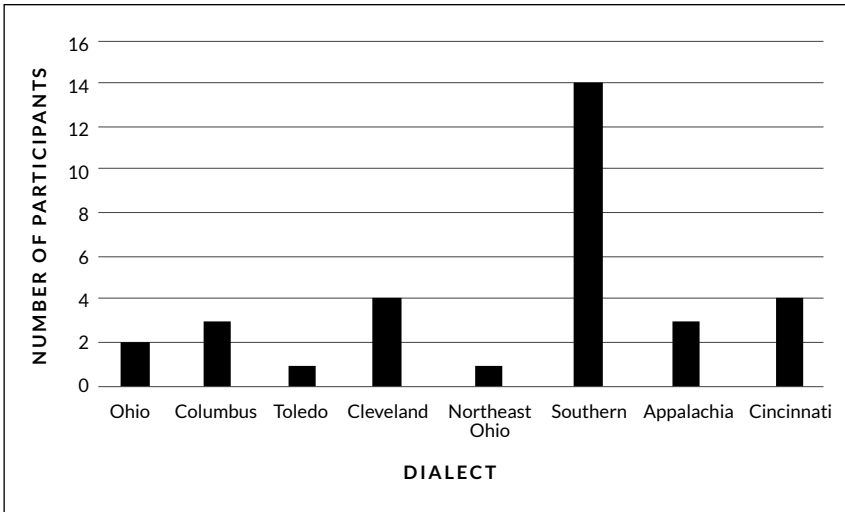


FIGURE 2.4. Regions selected by Ohio respondents for speech imitation (adapted from Torelli 2013, figure 12)

the United States seems to know about /aɪ/-monophthongization and “y’all.” There is also little or no doubt that a widespread commodification, often an accompaniment to enregisterment, exists for SUSE speechways and southern cultural practices and artifacts in general. If you believe you are necessarily in the South when you see a Confederate battle flag decal on a vehicle, you might be mistaken.

I do not recount here all the historical and cultural factors that have enregistered the South as the most salient speech region in the United States; it is territory that I have covered in the last two Language Variety in the South anthologies (Preston 1997, 2015). It is an enregisterment that we pass on to the next generation in its details as well as in its broader stereotypes.

Somewhere between the ages of five to six and nine to ten, we apparently not only acquire the ability to identify local and other speakers but also learn the associations with regional speech that are common in adult responses. As figure 2.5 shows, five- to six-year-olds from Illinois and Tennessee rate northern speech equally for the traits “smart” and “nice,” but by the time they reach nine to ten, they agree that northern speakers are not so nice but really smart.

Recent work in experimental approaches to regard for SUSE confirms the deep-seated nature of our responses to specific linguistic features. Campbell-Kibler (2012), for example, used the Implicit Association Test (IAT), a technique that bypasses working memory and elicits nonconscious responses,

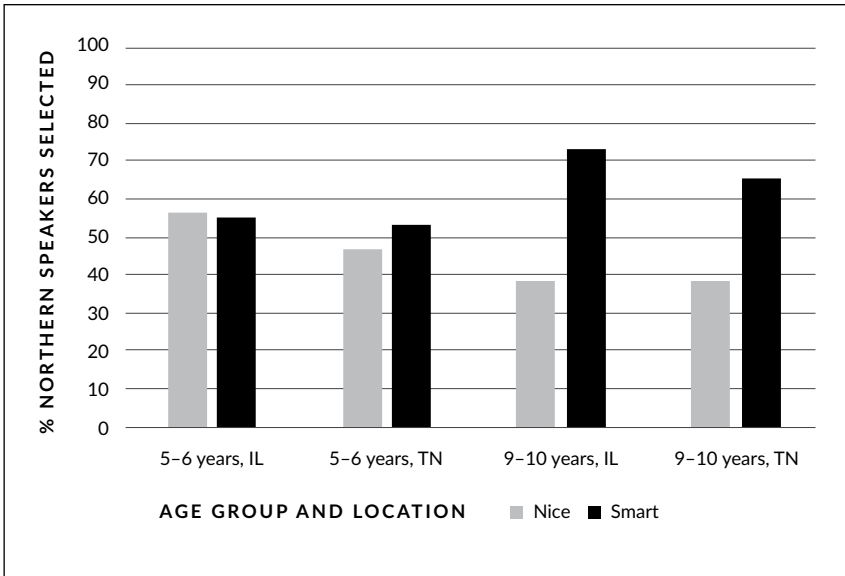


FIGURE 2.5. Age differences of ratings of northern speech for *nice* and *smart* by children from Illinois and Tennessee (adapted from Kinzler and DeJesus 2013:1153)

to determine the associations Ohio State University students have with the velar and alveolar variants of *-ing*. In written and audio presentations of the data in an IAT format, the respondents showed a significant association between the alveolar (so-called nonstandard) pronunciation of the variable and both southern states and /aɪ/-monophthongization for the spoken data and for both of those variables plus lower professional status for the written stimuli. In other words, respondents implicitly associate nonstandard “-in” not only with the South but also with other stereotypical linguistic features of the region.

In other attempts to measure automatic regard responses, event-related potential (ERP) data derived from electroencephalogram measurements have been used. Loudermilk (2015), for example, took such measurements from respondents who had already completed an IAT task to determine their degree of sensitivity to the *-ing* variable described just above. This task allowed him to separate respondents with low and high sensitivities to the variation. The ERP data focused on N400, a brain electrical activity that occurs roughly 400 milliseconds after the presentation of a stimulus. This activity is enhanced when nonsense words or incongruent items are presented. For example, “I shrugged my shoulders” would show small N400 activity, but

the presentation of “I shrugged my nose” would cause an increased response. N₄₀₀ is therefore interpreted as an indicator of processing ease or difficulty (Loudermilk 2015:145). Loudermilk studied the N₄₀₀ response to *-ing* of California respondents under several conditions; the ones of interest here are region (southern or California speaker), and IAT status (high or low sensitivity to *-ing*). For respondents whose sensitivity to *-ing* was low, alveolar variants produced a greater N₄₀₀ response when spoken by a California speaker, and velar variants also had enhanced N₄₀₀ responses when used by a southern speaker (152). In other words, the unexpected (or incongruent) form for these listeners (a nonstandard or informal form in California speech and a standard or formal form in southern speech) required greater processing time. Interestingly, the high-sensitivity respondents showed a greater N₄₀₀ for the congruent presentations (i.e., the alveolar variant in the southern voice and the velar in the California one). Although the low-sensitivity data are straightforward (incongruent items provoke greater processing), the high-sensitivity respondents’ performance is still something of a puzzle. Whatever the case, the stereotype of southern speech as less formal or nonstandard is obviously deeply buried.

Experimentalism, however, is not the only way to elicit deep-seated stereotypes about language variety. The tools of discourse analysis, particularly those that isolate presuppositional moves in discourse, yield rewards of a very similar nature to those found in IAT and even ERP studies, for they expose the assumed common ground among interlocutors. I am not alone in this belief: “Some of the most important and interesting aspects of ideology lie behind the scenes, in assumptions that are taken for granted — that are never explicitly stated in any format that would permit them also to be explicitly denied. As Silverstein (1979 and elsewhere) has suggested, the best place to look for language ideology may lie in the terms and presuppositions of metapragmatic discourse, not just in its assertions” (Irvine 2001:25). Some of this sort of analysis with reference to the South has been carried out in Hall-Lew and Stephens’s (2012) investigation of the notion “country talk” on the Oklahoma-Texas border (“Texoma”). More recently, Rodgers and Preston (2015) have applied these discourse analytic techniques to data collected from Oklahomans regarding Oklahoma speech. One of these conversations contains the following exchange:

- 92S: Is there a — is there a — an a — an a — an opinion or correlation
or — about — intelligence — related to — how somebody speaks?
93D: No. — If A was who I fly with, — he sounds like the hickest of
hicks — but that dude can do some crazy things with an airplane.

S's question about intelligence and speaking (92S) is denied by D (93D), but understanding the rest of 93D requires analysis of nonasserted material. It is support for D's denial of a relationship between speech and intelligence, but listeners must do some pragmatic disentangling. D's support for his denial is a counterexample: one cannot tell the intelligence of a speaker from their speech because A "sounds like the hickest of hicks" but can do "crazy things with an airplane." If the hearers do not know that "hicks" are widely assumed in the culture to be rural, uneducated, unsophisticated, and unintelligent, how will they know that "sounds like the hickest of hicks" is D's example of one who sounds unintelligent? He never asserts that. Equally mysterious without implicational work is that the ability to do "crazy things with an airplane" is an example of A's intelligence. S and D are pilots, however, and this expression is an acknowledgment of his considerable skill. Such pragmatic analyses are highly recommended for discursal data in order to uncover the tacit beliefs held by the respondents. In this case, the presupposed status of "hick" is essential to the flow of the conversation and is embedded in unasserted material. I believe that a rich tapestry of regard for SUSE may be determined by combining observational, experimental, and discourse analytic techniques and that we are already on the way.

3. Conclusions

This has been a very short excursion into the study of regard for, attitudes toward, and ideologies of SUSE. I believe such studies are worthwhile in every dimension of the linguistic enterprise, a position outlined in greater detail in Niedzielski and Preston (2003). They are essential to a complete ethnographic account of a variety; they are a part of the explanatory reasoning in characterizing language variation and change, as outlined in the quotation from Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) at the beginning of this chapter; they suggest descriptive and theoretical considerations that may escape the ear of the best-trained linguist, and they are a powerful tool in applied linguistics, perhaps particularly for anyone who would seek to devise programs that celebrate linguistic diversity in the face of negative stereotypes that may be used to retard the social and educational advancement of some speakers.

About the Author

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Notes

1. “Did the southern accent come from people dipping tabacco?” Yahoo! Answers, answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20120819192416AA6PrQl (accessed April 12, 2017).
2. “Where did the southern accent come from?” Yahoo! Answers, answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20110216124016AA7M7k2 (accessed April 12, 2017).
3. “Dr. Goodward’s office: A glossary of quaint southernisms,” *Alpha Dictionary*, www.alphadictionary.com/articles/southernese.html (accessed April 12, 2017).
4. “What causes ‘southern’ accents?” Yahoo! Answers, answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20080106210932AAUqodc (accessed April 12, 2017).

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Becky Childs and Joel Schneier

Language and the Internet in the New South

1. Introduction

This chapter considers the ways in which the Internet and computer-mediated communication (CMC) have helped bolster Southern English as a significant linguistic variety and, more important, the ways in which it has increased the profile of the Southern English linguistic community. The Internet and CMC represent a drastic shift in media technologies to highly interactive forms of mediated communication across diverse (geographic) dialect areas, and the consequences of this more robust sociolinguistic contact extend beyond diffusion (Androutsopoulos 2014b; Coupland 2014; Tagliamonte and Denis 2008). The opportunity to interact with speakers of other dialects and to understand the cultural and social differences and similarities that we may share with our online interlocutors is one of the many benefits afforded by the Internet. As we move into an increasingly wired (or wireless) world, the Internet serves as a tether to keep us connected to friends near and far (Baym 2010; Ling 2010), and the broad-scale cultural impacts of this mediatization (Hepp 2014) necessitates sociolinguistic change. Our online or digital presence is a significant component of our identity, one that like face-to-face interactions requires management and that is mediated through language (Donath 1998; Suler 2002; Thurlow 2003; Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin 2008; Spilioti 2011). For speakers in the southern United States, the Internet is a place where they can transmit, create, and even recreate what it means to be southern and to be a speaker of Southern English to a broader linguistic audience.

Indeed, Internet users are inundated daily with various representations of Southern English, and the ways in which they are displayed and interpreted

for the audience in these online mediums showcase the linguistic features that Southern English speakers feel best represent the South. In this chapter, we utilize several types of Internet data and examine the ways in which Southern English is employed in various genres of Internet communication. This approach to Southern English uses a two-pronged methodology. First, it looks at more widespread electronic representations of “authentic” Southern English as found in four archetypical Internet venues, such as online Internet quizzes designed for various audiences and online discussion-based forums that accompany them. In each of these we consider the ways that the linguistic forms are helping create or reaffirm enregistered Southern English (Johnstone 2004; Agha 2007), through not only the use and reference to Southern English language features but also the juxtaposition of the social norms attached to these southern features with other social norms of the northeastern or other regions of the United States. In the second part of this chapter, we look closely at linguistic data from instant messaging (IM) conversations of young, African American, Southern English speakers and compare this to their spoken linguistic data. We consider the ways in which mismatches between spoken and written linguistic data force us to examine the linguistic choices and off-the-shelf features (Eckert 2000) that speakers can employ to either challenge or reinforce their identities, both social and linguistic. Given the recognition and spread of Southern English features and stereotypes via these e-mediated contexts, the chapter ends with a discussion of the ways in which the Internet is now in many ways a hotbed for linguistic diversity where speakers are identifying not only southern from non-Southern speech and social attributes but also showcasing the ways in which linguistic features, as part of various linguistic styles, can be utilized to produce a particular identity.

2. Background

This study is situated within ongoing explorations of the relationship between media and social change, otherwise known as mediatization (Hepp 2014). Broadly speaking, mediatization challenges researchers to consider how the ubiquity of media technologies since the mid-twentieth century encompasses a complex linguistic marketplace that individuals trade in through their everyday communities of practice (Androustopoulos 2014b; Coupland 2014). Compared to traditional variationist perspectives, which have tended to downplay the impact of mediated communication (e.g., radio, television, and newsprint) on language change (Trudgill 1986; Labov

2001), mediatization perspectives argue that the everyday production and consumption of both spoken and written language in media technologies, otherwise known as mediation, play a significant role in shaping language ideologies at the cultural level (Milroy and Milroy 1985; Kristiansen 2014). For example, Kristiansen (2014) has argued that the divergent development of twentieth-century language ideologies in Denmark and Norway was indirectly influenced by adoption of standardized writing practices, which then directly influenced representations of these ideologies in broadcast media. The particular manner in which representations of ideologies are performed through broadcast media, whether emphasizing standard language ideology in Denmark or dialect ideology in Norway (Kristiansen 2014), thus becomes heteroglossic practices of voicing within and outside of broadcast media contexts (Androutsopoulos 2010). In this way, a newscaster voicing a particular dialect results in available “media fragments” (Androutsopoulos 2014b) that are de- and recontextualized by the newscaster’s audience so that these media fragments and their representation of dialects become linguistic and symbolic resources imbued with new meaning ready for diffusion in their communities of practice (Coupland 2007, 2014).

Technological innovations in the late twentieth century resulted in widespread adoption of Internet usage, allowing users to rapidly access information and engage in one-to-one or one-to-many forms of communication (Berners-Lee 1996; Castells 2004). The rapid growth of Internet usage has been accompanied by complex changes in hardware and software technologies that have made Internet usage a ubiquitous, mobile, and everyday activity (Lenhart 2015). Our twenty-first-century network society (Castells 2004) therefore involves highly interactive forms of mediated communication, which Coupland (2014:75) argues requires sociolinguists to “be alert to how speech itself enters into multiple relationships with other semiotic modes of action.” Among the myriad of “semiotic modes” are social networking sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube, which allow users control over what information they receive, creating a situation of controlled interactions and information exchange (Livingstone 2008; Pempek, Yermolayeva, and Calvert 2009). These new media technologies further extend the importance of mediatization perspectives to directly question how individuals come into contact with and meaningfully use linguistic resources through and from a diverse stream of media channels and interpersonal social networks. Specifically, Androutsopoulos (2014b) challenges sociolinguists to examine off-the-shelf changes (Eckert 2000), which may be disseminated through less interactive media (e.g., static online articles or YouTube), as well as under-the-counter changes (Milroy 2008), which may be disseminated

through highly interactive media (e.g., IM), as a means of understanding how individuals meaningfully interact with one another through recontextualized and stylized elements of discourse.

A great deal of research into the English-centered linguistic practices in these new media — particularly message-exchange channels such as text messaging — revolve around orthographic deviations from Standard Written English, perhaps in response to public perceptions and concerns about “broken language” on the Internet (Thurlow 2003, 2006). Much of this research has taxonomized new media language, by focusing on acronyms (i.e., “LOL” for *laugh out loud*), abbreviations (e.g., “bro” for *brother*), contractions (e.g., “txt” for *text*), homophonic use of letters and numbers (e.g., “gr8” for *great*), emojis and emoticons (e.g., “☺”), and grapho-phonological approximation (e.g., “wassup” for *what’s up*) (Thurlow 2003; Crystal 2006; Tagliamonte and Denis 2008; Squires 2012; Tagg 2012; Thurlow and Poff 2013). Scholars have further demonstrated that these features may vary according to traditional sociolinguistic factors, such as age (Schnoebelen 2012), gender (Baron and Ling 2011), ethnicity (Eisenstein 2013; Jones 2015), and region (Jones 2015; Pavalanathan and Eisenstein 2015). In other words, text-based new media allow speakers to manipulate their linguistic resources in ways that may parallel spoken linguistic repertoires.

At the same time, because these new media features are text based and therefore visual, individuals have more time and attention to allocate to deliberate selection, monitoring, and deployment of these features (Biber and Conrad 2009). In doing so, these features may be meaningfully deployed for functional purposes, such as audience modulation (Androutsopoulos 2014a; Pavalanathan and Eisenstein 2015), signaling of politeness strategies (Spilioti 2011), relational development (Baym 2010; Ling 2010), and even topic modulation (Thurlow 2003). This means that text-based features may be more readily enregistered (Agha 2007) and traded in as socially meaningful symbolic capital (Androutsopoulos 2014b). As such, in this study it was our intent to qualitatively demonstrate how socially meaningful features prevalent in the New South have been “entextualized” (Androutsopoulos 2014c) and incorporated into the indexical field (Eckert 2008) of what is considered to be southern language.

3. The New South on the Internet

The term “New South,” originally popularized by Henry Grady (1904), was coined in reference to the potential for economic growth in the South (for more on this term’s history, see the introduction to this volume). In this

chapter, “the New South,” which has taken on a number of meanings over time, describes the southern United States as an area more fully integrated within the United States socially. This view of the New South has modernization of society and attitudes at its core and moves the South into the wide American conversation in new ways (beyond agriculture) while still maintaining its distinctive characteristics of tradition, hospitality, and agrarian ways. Part of this new identity is the widespread recognition of different southern identities and practices that vary not just from rural to urban southern locales but also based on ethnicity and age, among other social factors. In short, the New South fits squarely, and uniquely, into Coupland’s (2007:29) conception of a late-modern society that “offers new opportunities for social change and for release from old structures and strictures.”

One of the most popular Internet platforms featuring representations of the South and Southern English is the online quiz. The quizzes are transmitted through a number of venues or genres of online communication ranging from social network platforms (e.g., Facebook) to online versions of newspapers. One example of this online quiz format that utilizes Southern English was offered on the website of Country Outfitter, a country clothing store.¹ The quiz, which was advertised on the company’s Facebook page, took a form and approach similar to many of other online quizzes. It provided a word or sentence and then a set of multiple-choice answers, with interactive commentary for each question. After the conclusion of the quiz there was a comment section where users could discuss components of the quiz.

The data for this analysis of language and the Internet in the New South come from four representative online venues where the South and Southern English were discussed by both the creators and the receivers of the information. A quick search of the Internet shows that online quizzes (featured on social media and online news sites), vlogs (video blogs), and other zones of social interaction such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are the primary locales where these quizzes are presented and produced. Within these online spaces a number of different people are present: users (those who interact with the product and comment or engage in communication with others about the product), creators (those who made the product and are watching those using it and at times interacting with those who are engaging in communication about the product), and observers (those who are only watching the interactions and do not participate actively in the conversations). For each of these situations the primary or first interaction is typically with not another user but, rather, the Internet quiz that contains representations of the South or Southern English. Although the Internet quiz is the primary

point of contact for users and is the item that has brought them into a communicative exchange questions of authenticity (in the creation and responses to the object may arise), where users may claim authority over cultural information is referenced either overtly or covertly in the quiz. Often these claims of ownership and knowing by quiz takers, as we demonstrate in the case studies presented below, concern the speech features utilized and cultural connotations referenced.

The Country Outfitters quiz relied heavily on two types of language: lexical items and idiomatic expressions. The lexical items in the quiz, such as *y'all*, *shit-kickers*, *britches*, *Coke*, *fixin to*, and *sugar*, were all highly salient features that in many cases carry heavy cultural connotations. For example, the question for *y'all* asks “More than one person” with possible answers being *people*, *group*, *y'all*, and *bunch*, thus making *y'all* stand out as the only non-Standard English answer. Further, given the widespread overt understanding of *y'all* as a southern dialectal feature, perhaps one of the most commented upon in Southern English (Bernstein 2003), the focus on highly salient, totemic markers in the creation of these exercises is obvious. Likewise, the question for *sugar* gives only two possible choices: *a sweetener* and *a kiss*. In this case, we see the juxtaposition of a standard definition with a dialectal definition, again making the answer obvious. Critically, both examples function to emphasize differences between the Standard English terms/definitions and the vernacular terms/definitions.

The idiomatic expressions that were quizzed followed a pattern similar to that of the lexical items in that the answer choices juxtapose a Standard English definition with a vernacular definition. More important, they draw on stereotypes of the South. For example, the quiz presented the phrase “she could eat corn through a picket fence” and gave the following as potential answers: “an incredibly hungry person” or “one with very large teeth.” Here we see that the idiomatic expression is one that gives a negative evaluation of another person and then embedded in this is a potential idea of rural or outdoor nature with the reference to a picket fence. This is similar to the question that asked about the phrase “don’t have a dog in that fight,” an idiomatic expression that describes someone with no reason to be arguing or involved in an altercation. Again, this answer contrasts with a Standard English answer, but more important, it not only depicts a stereotype of fighting or violence associated with the South but also presents images of rurality often associated with dog fighting (which evokes many negative associations).

This quiz, typical of those found on social networking sites, utilized a standard format where the correct Southern English answers are juxtaposed

with Standard English answers, thus not only making the Southern English answer stand out as the correct answer but also making its difference from Standard English obvious. In the case of the idiomatic expressions, the answers also promote stereotypes about the South and Southern English speakers. This quiz then provided an area where the material covered could be discussed. The discussion of the quiz, which took the form of social media posts, fell into three categories of meta-linguistic commentary:

1. Younger southern speakers claimed to not know the feature or say it was uncommon, thus distancing themselves or their community from the cultural associations with the feature (e.g., “I remember my grandmother used to say that”).
2. Observers from other regions commented on the nonstandard nature of the feature (e.g., “Hahaha, guess the heat down there got to their brains”).
3. Southern speakers used the discussion section as a solidarity building and affirming place for safe discussion (e.g., “Thank god I’m a country boy,” “I’m my own tough country lady”).

While the previous discussion covers one of the most common types of quiz found on social networking sites, other types of sites provide quizzes where users can test their knowledge of Southern English. In the online quiz “Are You a Rebel or a Yankee?”² the presentation and focus of the quiz is quite different. This quiz takes a more serious tone in the presentation of the questions and focuses on pronunciation (vocalic variation) and lexical forms. Further, the answers to the questions are all U.S. regional dialect forms attested in the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, the Harvard Dialect Survey, and even folk dictionaries. Once an answer is selected, the results tell only the region where the chosen feature is found. Absent from this quiz are the social stereotypes found in the previous example and, critically, the implicit contrast with Standard English that endorses a dichotomy of right and wrong language usage. Another example quiz that looks at Southern English, featured on the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution’s* website,³ presents questions on lexical forms. This quiz, like the first one discussed in this section, juxtaposes Southern English with Standard English, with interactive results that provide a tally at the end and notify you to try again if you are not “southern” enough. However, the audience for this quiz (an audience who would read the news online) is different from that for the first example (an audience who is using social media for entertainment purposes), as evidenced by the design, which provides detailed explanations for each answer and a target

sentence of correct usage for the dialect form. Thus, we see the different purposes for online quizzes that examine Southern English and southern culture: in-group entertainment and solidarity building in some situations and informational and educational purposes in others.

Another common location where we see Southern English on the Internet is via vlogs. One of the most popular locations for these is YouTube, where users can post original videos. A number of videos covering Southern English are present, and some (e.g., Walker 2010), intended for actors interested in learning about the southern accent, provide commentary on Southern English. Walker in her video points out one salient feature (postvocalic *r*) of Southern English and then provides a nonlinguistic explanation for postvocalic *r*-loss. The explanation, that *r*-loss is the result of extreme heat, is laden with stereotypes of the South.

Overall, the findings from the materials aimed at different audiences on the Internet (Facebook, local and regional newspapers, coverage in national media, and a vlog intended to help actors) show that the stereotypes of Southern English for the general public, that is, its defining features, tend to be salient lexical items and idiomatic phrases, followed by highly salient phonetic features, and very little morphosyntax is present. The methods for presenting Southern English are to juxtapose it with either Standard English or other highly salient American English dialects, thus making Southern English stand out. Further, and perhaps most important to linguistic research, the comments that follow these online materials often lead to discussions of the South and personal experiences of the South, with the metalinguistic commentary falling into the three categories of avoidance, critique, and solidarity.

These commentaries are all evocative of how enregistered linguistic features may be de- and recontextualized through mediation as southern lexical and idiomatic features are made into literal symbolic material through which individuals' social identities are assessed and categorized. Dialect quizzes such as these, therefore, represent a unique departure between new media and broadcast media. In broadcast media, such features may be performed by newscasters or radio personalities, decontextualized by a diverse range of audience members, and then recontextualized by those audience members in their everyday lives as they perform such features according to their perceived social and symbolic valuation (Coupland 2007; Androutsopoulos 2010). However, the online quiz format merges those processes into the same virtual space through contrasting vernacular and standard forms, categorizing identities based on those contrasts, and entextualizing metalinguistic

commentary that further values the constellation of features and social identities. As Georgakopoulou (2014) argues, new media channels from the Internet, such as these quizzes and vlogs, provide media fragments very different from those traditionally discussed by sociolinguists — ones that decontextualize and recontextualize the social meaning of linguistic capital — as well as function as media fragments in and of themselves (Androutsopoulos 2014b).

4. Sociolinguistic Data from CMC

Moving from widespread and publicly consumable Internet representations of Southern English, we now examine data actually produced by Southerners in CMC. This corpus derives from a study of language in Texana, North Carolina (Mallinson and Childs 2005), an Appalachian, African American community. This study looks at the speech of six young residents (male and female) of the community and compares the rate of postvocalic *r*-lessness in their spoken language to that of their language in IM. As table 3.1 shows, young Texana residents are fairly *r*-full in their speech (as found in data from ethnographic observation); that is, they tend to follow a pattern more similar to that of Appalachian English than to that of African American English (Wolfram 1969; Wolfram and Christian 1976; Bailey and Thomas 1998). However, despite the relatively small data sample, their online language shows an interesting contrast, as they employ frequent use of *r*-lessness, especially in specific lexical items. It is at this place of difference where we must consider the role of online representations of self and their connection to language choices (including register choice). For young Texana residents, the use of *r*-less language in their written communication moves them further from a more typical Appalachian English pattern toward patterns that are much more similar to those of urban African American English varieties.

Looking more specifically at instances of *r*-lessness in IM, the young residents had *r* absent in several lexical items, such as *lata* and *MOTHA* (see example 4), whereas in their spoken speech they were almost always entirely *r*-ful, specifically in these words. In addition to these differences, *r*-lessness was present in stylistic markers that are overtly associated with urban African American English norms such as *nigga*, *holla*, and *playa* (see example 5). The application of *r*-less variants for these lexical items, specifically in a written format where self-correction or editing can occur (Biber and Conrad 2009), allows for the creation of a more curated linguistic and social identity for these young people. Through these messages, many of which are away

TABLE 3.1. Rates of *r*-lessness among speakers in Texana, North Carolina

Speaker group	Percent <i>r</i> -less (<i>n</i> / <i>N</i> instances)	
	Unstressed	Stressed
Texana residents overall (<i>n</i> = 18)	18.3% (85/463)	3.1% (29/926)
Texana teenagers (<i>n</i> = 6)	5.9% (5/84)	2.8% (5/173)

or status messages that their connections online can see whenever they are posted, users are able to employ specific lexical items (including spelling that reflects particular pronunciations) that index particular social stances or affiliations. Example 6 shows mediated recontextualization by a young male resident as he utilizes lyrics (that include *r*-lessness) from a song by Dr. Dre, a popular rap artist, in his away message.

4. An away message posted by a young female: Texana is where I have lived my whole life
I love Georgia Bulldogs!!
I love Murphy Bulldogs!!
2 tears in a bucket *MOTHA* FUCK IT!!!
A conversation with a young male: well im gonna go so I'll talk to u *lata* 1
5. An away message posted by a young male: killaplayaoo: chillin . . . *holla* at me
6. An away message posted by a young male: ABCballaoo: Theres to kind of peeps in the world a TRU *NIGGA* OR A BITCH *NIGGA* which one do i fall under

Finally, in the IM data there were instances where a message would have *r*-lessness on several linguistic items (*nigga*, *holla*) but then have *r* present in an item (*later*) that was equally eligible for deletion (see example 7). The ways in which *holla* and *nigga* are functioning in this sentence are much different from *later*; that is, *holla* and *nigga* are used to signal a broader African American affiliation. However, *later* does not present the same opportunity for affiliation as the other lexical items because it is not functioning as a leave-taking marker, where we would typically find the stylistic form *lata* as employed by nonrhotic dialect speakers. Rather *later* is a time marker in this exchange. Thus, we can see that the ways in which *r*-lessness is employed in

the IM can be manipulated to reflect or highlight particular parts of a message to achieve a particular stylistic effect.

7. An away message status posted by young male: I'm gone out right now but leave a *nigga* some love and I'll *holla* at u *later* if u are still on

Despite having a highly rhotic spoken dialect (which reflects their geographic location in Appalachia), these young African Americans demonstrate deliberate use of *r*-less productions in their typed speech. *r*-Loss is tied to particular linguistic items, namely, highly salient off-the-shelf linguistic markers (Eckert 2000), such as *holla*, *nigga*, *lata* (when leave taking), and *balla*. Indeed, the social and stylistic roles of these *r*-less forms are distinct for these young speakers, as they differ from their spoken language and are most likely employed to index African American culture. These young people get to experiment with and utilize linguistic features online that are not a regular part of their spoken repertoire and thus present or create a persona for themselves and others (inside and outside their community) that falls more in line with their imagined or idealized self at a particular moment. In sum, as a result of CMC and mediatization, these young people are able to negotiate, navigate, and adopt linguistic styles outside of their typical spoken repertoire through trading in media fragments imbued with social meaning and linguistic capital, as seen in the use of a Dr. Dre lyric reference in example 6. They navigate the linguistic terrain of the local dialects, both of which are historically rooted in the South (Southern African American and Appalachian) but are typically viewed as mutually exclusive to create a linguistic self (Johnstone 1996) that can exhibit socially meaningful differences from their day-to-day real-life self.

The mismatch of spoken language data and online language data has much to say about the ways in which the Internet and social discourse about language have affected language users. The interactivity of the Internet lets us observe the linguistic performance and pinpoint the entextualized linguistic variables that are viewed as emblematic of particular dialects. Indeed, the stylistic moves made online are a form of identity making for a speaker or members of a community of practice. As evidenced by the data from Texana, the contrast in spoken language and online language data is an invitation for researchers to consider the ways that speakers socially categorize and use language features as part of real-world mediation practices. In the Texana community we see that, through the adoption of lexical items that index a particular speech community, these young people are able to adapt their identity linguistically, highlighting linguistic characteristics with the

group(s) (Appalachian and/or African American) they feel best represents them at the moment. Speakers can employ features to either challenge or reinforce their identities, but it is certain from all of the sources examined in this study that language users depend on highly salient and entextualized speech features when representing a linguistic identity online. This demonstrates not only how such features are for symbolic trade within their linguistic marketplace but also how deeply entangled these salient features are with entextualized mediated representations.

5. Conclusion

Representations of Southern English on the Internet and the ways that southern residents utilize CMC have much to tell linguists about the South and about the ways in which the Internet can aid in language research. First, from the quizzes and CMC covered in this chapter, we can conclude that these online representations are significant in that they identify linguistic features that draw interest. They pinpoint those features that they believe the lay audience feels are important markers of Southern English and, in doing so, become sites in and of themselves for negotiating and trading in the constellation of social meanings and values associated with Southern English. While some of these features may be those that we examine in sociolinguistic study, such as postvocalic *r*, others such as lexical items and idiomatic expressions are less commonly examined in large-scale sociolinguistic work. The discourse that surrounds these Internet venues is an ideal environment for linguists to look for important social and linguistic information about enregistered speech features and metalinguistic commentary on language and identity. These are the places where we can see commentary on overt and covert prestige and other social norms that we normally must intuit from our research. Certainly, the ways in which people discuss language on the Internet can serve as a marker or indicator of groups and locations that are undergoing rapid linguistic change.

Most important, this study shows that in a changing late-modern society such as the New South, linguistic changes are invariably negotiated through and augmented by mediation. As a result of the ubiquitous flow of rapidly changing mediated communication afforded to us by the Internet, opinions and ideas about language and language groups are more frequently traded in, and sociolinguists can follow the entextualized processes through which meaning is assigned to groups and their language much more clearly. While our study attempts to qualitatively demonstrate the CMC spaces in which

Southern English features are differentiated, valued, and deployed for indexed social meaning, we argue that diffusion patterns may be *directly* traced through attention to how individuals wade in the diverse stream of mediated channels. We therefore suggest that enhancing our sociolinguistic understanding of off-the-shelf language diffusion will require attention to the online spaces through which individuals come to trade in and meaningfully differentiate Southern English, and other varieties, within their communities of practice.

About the Authors

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Notes

1. "How Many *Southern Phrases* Do You Know?," Country Outfitter, countryoutfitter.life/quiz-southern-words/ (accessed December 16, 2016).
2. "Are You a Rebel or a Yankee?," AlphaDictionary.com, www.alphadictionary.com/articles/yankeetest.html (accessed April 12, 2017).
3. "Do you speak 'Southern'?", *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, www.ajc.com/southern-quiz/?ecmp=ajc_social_facebook_2014_sfp#_federated=1 (accessed April 12, 2017).

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*Catherine Evans Davies,
with Caroline Myrick*

Performing Southernness in Country Music

1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the theme of the New South by considering some of the key questions through the lens of country music. Who (or what) is southern? How is southernness indexed? Why would somebody who is not from the South want to perform southernness, and how can that be accomplished? This study tracks the performance of southernness through dialect from the origins of country music across five generations and suggests that certain features and representations have become iconic, creating a situation in which non-Southern speakers must sing with these features or risk being judged as inauthentic in a genre that prioritizes authenticity. Drawing upon Agha's (2003) description of enregisterment and Silverstein's (2003) notion of indexical order, a comparison of phonological, morphosyntactic, and discursive patterns in country music shows how certain regional speech features have become enregistered in country music as indexical of a specific social identity. The data illustrate processes of imitation, self-reflexive commentary in lyrics, and reinforcement through social media, which continue the cycle of defining and redefining the notion of authenticity through performance speech. They further demonstrate how the historical development of country music became inalienably linked to regional linguistic expression that now requires speakers to draw from a verbal repertoire (Gumperz 1964:137–38) in

which “speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey.”¹ More specifically, this chapter also shows how speakers may draw upon linguistic resources that index southernness and incidentally whiteness under the framework of the ethnolinguistic repertoire as recently defined by Benor (2010).

2. The Importance of Authenticity

Peterson (1997) points out the particular importance of authenticity to the genre because of its white southern rural working-class origins. The singers need to credibly project the voice of lived experience in the world of country music lyrics (Malone 1968, 2002; Fox 2004), even as they become successful and wealthy. They also need to honor what Rogers (1989) calls the sincerity contract with the audience. This can include what Brackett (2000:82) describes as being “true to one’s emotions” and “singing from the heart,” no matter how many times a song is performed.

Peterson’s work explains the importance of the notion of authenticity to the genre, yet details how that authenticity has been constructed from the beginning. Peterson (1997) analyzes what he calls the fabrication of authenticity in the case of the two southern men generally acknowledged to be the founders of country music, Jimmie Rodgers and Hank Williams, and indicates that cultural constructions were present at the origins. In the case of Rodgers (1897–1933), who was born near Meridian, Mississippi, the stage persona was the Singing Brakeman. The classic photo of him shows him wearing the denim cap and jacket of his railroad brakeman uniform, with a locomotive in the background. This persona had some reality in that he and his father were employed on the railroad. The cultural orientation of the brakeman, however, was to a romantic working-class male image of the time that was associated both with the relatively new technology of railroads and with the implied freedom of movement and lack of traditional responsibility. Hank Williams (1923–53), who was born in Butler County, Alabama, adopted the cowboy image included in the earlier designation of the genre as country and western, including not only ten-gallon hats and appropriate types of boots but also the classic western-style Nudie suits. Even though there were no cowboys in Alabama, Williams’s group was called the Drifting Cowboys, drawing on another romantic male image of the period but with the attributive adjective in their name also emphasizing the supposed freedom and mobility of the cowboy lifestyle.

3. The Construction of Country Music as Southern

Whereas today we automatically associate country music with the South, a special issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* (DuBois and Leary 2014) reminds us that vernacular music was performed from the earliest colonization in rural contexts throughout the United States. Murphy's (2014) history of the genre, titled *Yankee Twang: Country and Western Music in New England*, documents relatively recent history in the Northeast. One of the most famous artists in that part of the country, and a pioneer of the trucker music strain of country music, was Dick Curless. Curless (1932–95) was born in Maine, just a decade after Hank Williams, and was frequently depicted wearing a cowboy hat. His most famous song, from 1965, was “A Tombstone Every Mile,” about a very dangerous road in Maine near the Canadian border. Recorded interviews of Curless reveal that even though he lived in Maine and Massachusetts, he had a rhotic pronunciation, unlike the dominant regional pattern at that time. In the following excerpt from his famous song, we show via impressionistic phonetic transcription that he is not singing with a southern accent, in terms particularly of monophthongization or ungliding of /aɪ/, but he does use vernacular grammar, extending object pronoun *them* to demonstrative in “in them woods.”

Excerpt 1. Dick Curless from “A Tombstone Every Mile”

There's a stretch of road up north in Maine
 That's never ever seen a sm[ai]le
 If they buried all the truckers lost in them woods
 There'd be a tombstone every m[ai]le

In a complicated confluence of recording practices, commodification with the rise of Nashville as artistic and commercial center, and the work of scholars like Malone (2002), “country music” has been constructed over the past century as a southern white working-class art form (Cohen 2014), for which the notion of authenticity has been both central and yet redefined with each generation (Peterson 1997; Jensen 1998).

4. Southern Dialect in Country Music

In contrast with the personal inauthenticity of their stage personas, it appears, from an impressionistic comparison of limited recordings of speech available, that the dialects that were part of the performance of the music of

both Rodgers and Williams were consistent with the way that the two men actually spoke. Whereas Peterson (1997) in his work on authenticity, beyond a general remark about a “soft southern accent,” does not comment on the dialects of the singers, Wilmuth (1997) examined characteristics of Williams’s dialect across various levels in his analysis of the “Luke the Drifter” recordings in which the lyrics combine speaking and singing. Davies (2011) built on this work on Williams and also compared the few recordings of Rodgers’s speech with his singing, with particular attention to rhoticity and monophthongization of /aɪ/, finding impressionistically that Rodgers was variable in both rhoticity and /aɪ/-ungliding, whereas Williams had consistent strong rhoticity and /aɪ/-monophthongization. These claims appear to be consistent with data from the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (www.lap.uga.edu/Site/LAGS.html) from the Piney Woods areas, comparing the closest available speakers in relation to these two generations. Rodgers also had strong influence during his childhood from his aunt Dora Bozeman, an educated woman who had “finished” at a private academy for women in Mississippi, with a certificate to teach English (Porterfield 2007:14). He lived with her for five years, from age nine to fourteen, during which time he not only attended school but also lived with his teacher, who was a boarder with his aunt Dora. If these civilizing influences extended to any linguistic features, it might have included *r*-vocalization and variable monophthongization of /aɪ/. In the early lives of both of these men it is probable that they had few nonlocal dialect models. It is also known that both men were influenced by African American musicians with whom they had contact, such as Rufus Payne (“Tee-Tot”) in the early life of Hank Williams (Escott 2004:10). Both Rodgers and Williams also wrote many of their own songs, adding more levels of dialect to the performance of southernness.

5. Five Generations

Although it seems to be common knowledge that the genre of country music requires a performer to sing in some approximation of a southern accent, there is little research specifically on aspects of the contemporary dialect in country music. For other popular music genres, some scholarship exists that has extended consideration from early work on phonetics to discourse analysis and broader semiotic dimensions (Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Coupland 2011). For country music, linguistic analysis at the level of lexicon and syntax is offered in Fox (2004) in an ethnographic study of the genre in Texas, but in terms of dialect there seems to be very little other than Wilmuth (1997)

on Hank Williams's "Luke the Drifter" recordings, Davies (2003, 2005) on the group Alabama, Lide (2007) on accent and accommodation by nonnative southern speakers, and Davies (2014) that builds on Rogers and Williams (2000) and uses a discourse analytic approach to illustrate deployment of the resources of classic country music form and style.

In the mixed-methods study presented here, analyses of selected variables in phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, and discourse examine the performance of country music across five generations of successful singers in the genre. Because the two generally acknowledged founders of country music were male, we have selected male pairs of native and nonnative Southerners (with one exception to show a vocal characteristic of the music genre), choosing popular singers born at about twenty-year intervals. We selected in each case (drawing on online sources such as Billboard 2014) some of their best-selling songs as evidence of success within the genre. Starting from the premise that the founders wrote and sang in their heritage regional dialects and that the notion of authenticity will inevitably be enregistered as part of the genre and also constantly redefined and reenregistered, this study considers examples across the generations, along with themes and some genre-specific characteristics. Transcriptions of selected clips are included to show the relevant phonetic features; because of space limitations some discussions are more extensive than others. After discussion of the five generations, the data are theorized in terms of the notion of enregisterment, drawing on Agha (2003), Silverstein (2003), and Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006).

The following generations and singers were considered in this study:

- ▶ Generation 1: b. 1897, Mississippi: Jimmie Rodgers
 - Generation 1.5: b. 1914, Canada: Hank Snow
- ▶ Generation 2: b. 1923, Alabama: Hank Williams
- ▶ Generation 3
 - Southerner: b. 1949, Alabama: Randy Owen of the group Alabama
 - Non-Southerner: b. 1941, Minnesota: Bob Dylan (*Nashville Skyline*)
- ▶ Generation 4
 - Southerner: b. 1962, Texas: Clint Black
 - Non-Southerner: b. 1967, Australia: Keith Urban
- ▶ Generation 5
 - Southerners: b. 1987, Georgia: Tyler Hubbard of Florida Georgia Line; b. 1982, Mississippi, moved to Texas at age six: LeAnn Rimes

- Non-Southerner: b. 1990, Liverpool, England, with Northern Irish parents: Nathan Carter (top country star in Ireland)

5.1. FOUNDER GENERATIONS 1 AND 2

A common theme in country music is the difficulty of working-class life. This is often expressed in terms of ambivalence: appreciation of family and rootedness in a region, and yet at the same time the urge to be free and mobile as on a train, a cowboy on the range, or a long-haul trucker. Aspects of these themes can be seen in excerpt 1 above and in excerpts 2 and 3 below.

In each of the passages examined, we focus on the variable use of three iconic phonological features associated with southern speech: postvocalic rhoticity in items such as “poah” for *poor* or “fah” for *far*, the fronting *-ing* to *in’* (ING) in “swimmin” for *swimming* or “runnin” for *running*, and the monophthongization of the /aɪ/ diphthong in items such as “tahn” for *time* or “raht” for *right*. Each of these has been studied extensively in the sociolinguistic literature (e.g., Feagin 1979; Campbell-Kibler 2008; Hazen 2008; Forrest 2015; Wolfram and Schilling 2016). Furthermore, these are the most prominent features of southern speech seized upon in instructional guides for performing southern speech (Spencer 2016), reifying their indexical status. In some cases, as in the case of monophthongization of /aɪ/, southernness has iconic indexicality, whereas in other cases, such as ING, there are a range of indexical fields, and southernness and country are simply among the range of indexical options. For example, Eckert (2008) notes that ING may index social meanings from education and formality to affective traits such as articulateness and perceived speaking effort, along with indexing southernness and/or country (Campbell-Kibler 2007). Nonrhoticity has been an iconic feature in representing rural and southern speech, particularly older speech of the Plantation South, and is one of the traits that have been seized upon in portraying southern speech in film (Shuttlesworth 2014).

In terms of accent, it appears that both Rodgers, born 1897, and Williams, born 1923, were variable in their velar fronting for [ɪŋ]. On the other hand, there was a shift from Rodgers to Williams in terms of rhoticity and ungliding of /aɪ/. Whereas the spoken and sung recordings of Rodgers show variability, Williams is very consistent with a monophthongized or reduced glide on [aɪ] before voiced and voiceless consonants, as also noted by Wilmuth (1997:251), and a strong retroflex /r/. Williams thus uses an unrestricted version of monophthongization found in Highland and East Texas varieties of English. *r*-lessness, during this period, was restricted to lowland varieties of English and receding.

Excerpt 2. Jimmie Rodgers, from “Waiting for a Train”

[Spoken] All r[ai]ght. What do you want to hea[r]? That old song,

“Wait[ɪn] for a train?” All r[a:]t.

[Sung] All around the wate[r] tanks

Wait[ɪn] fo[r] a train

A thousand miles away from home

Sleep[ɪn] in the rain

...

He put me off in Texas

A state [a:] dear[slightly vocalized r]ly love

The w[a:]de open spaces all around me

The moon and the star[slightly vocalized r]s up above

Excerpt 3. Hank Williams, from “Pictures from Life’s Other Side”

[Spoken] The pictu[r]es from l[a:]f’s othe[r] s[a:]d

[Sung] A l[a:]fe has gone out with the t[a:]de

That m[a:]ght have been happy some day

There’s a poo[r] old mothe[r] at home

She’s watch[ɪn] and wait[ɪn] alone

Just long[ɪn] to hea[r] from a loved one so dea[r]

In terms of morphosyntax, a sampling from both Rodgers and Williams of five of their most famous songs yields one instance of personal dative for each singer (“I’m gonna buy me a pistol/shotgun”; “I had me a woman”), one instance of completive *done* for each singer (“The judge done said that he refused the fine”; “She’s done left and gone”), one double negative in Williams (“Cause nothing’s ever gonna be alright nohow”), one vernacular past tense in Williams (“My woman run away with another man”), and two instances of *ain’t* for each singer (“to try it just ain’t smart”; “if you ain’t got a damper”). Here we have stigmatized grammatical features that are both specifically southern in the case of completive *done* and the personal dative, and also general vernacular in the case of the past participles, *ain’t*, and double negative.

Turning now to lexicon and discourse, Rodgers is specific in naming southern locations (Texas, Tennessee, Dixieland) and in making both positive and negative judgments about places in the South. Whereas Williams does not have a lot of self-conscious “southern” material in his songs (apart from the song “Jambalaya” about Cajun culture), at the end of his radio shows he would say that he would be back next time “if the good Lord’s willin’ and the

creeks don't rise." This formulaic expression, which came to be associated with his spoken discourse, combines aspects of southern culture with linguistic features: an acknowledgment of a religious orientation to life, velar fronting, and an invocation of a rural setting in which rising creeks would mean problems with travel without bridges. The term "creek" (that he pronounced [krik]) is not specifically southern in that it is used throughout the United States, but it was one of a range of southern options with his pronunciation according to the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (dare.wisc.edu).

Two genre-specific features for country music are the yodel and a particular kind of wordplay. The vocal effect of the yodel (which was very popular in vernacular entertainment in the nineteenth century) can be heard in songs from both Rodgers and Williams. In Rodgers's song "Blue Yodel #1 (T for Texas)" it is represented in the lyrics as [Yodel]: "O-de-lay-ee-oo — a-lay-ee-o-lyee" and is a falsetto style that involves jumps of a fifth on the musical scale. Whereas other music genres may include wordplay in the lyrics, a particular style of wordplay has been identified with country music. Rogers and Williams (2000:50) call this style a "hinge construction," that is, "hinging a phrase to allow the second half to negate the first." These constructions can also be seen as a form of "garden path sentences" (Fodor and Ferreira 1998) that channel interpretation in a certain way and then suddenly violate expectations. One of Williams's most popular songs was titled: "I'll Never Get Out of This World Alive." In this case we expect "I'll never get out of this" to be followed by a nominal that expresses a problematic situation, such as "predicament" or "nightmare," but we are given "world" instead. Because we have been set up in this way, "world" is cast in a negative light. This is of course consistent with a stereotypical country music world view of trouble and difficulties associated with a low position in the economic hierarchy and matches the hard-luck lyrics of the song. After surprising us with the unexpected direct object, the construction then violates expectations further with "alive." Playing on life and death here, death is the only escape; this song was intended to be humorous, with the sardonic title, but it was particularly impactful because it was the last song released before Williams died at age twenty-nine.

5.2. GENERATION 3

This generation is represented by native Southerner Randy Owen, born in 1949 in Fort Payne, Alabama, who sings with his native North Alabama accent as lead in the group named Alabama. A former English major at Jacksonville State University, Owen wrote many of the songs for the group, which

is composed mostly of kin. The non-Southerner in this generation is Bob Dylan, born in 1941 in Hibbing, Minnesota, in the northern Iron Range. Although typically considered a “folk” artist, Dylan was selected because he came out with a “country” album in 1969 titled *Nashville Skyline*. “Country Pie” is one of the two songs written especially for the album.

Whereas Dylan’s “Country Pie” is a general celebration of southern culture, touching on music, food, and sociability, Alabama’s “Roll On Eighteen Wheeler” carries forward a thematic tradition from the founders. In its earliest form it was the mobility of the cowboy and the railroad brakeman, but then with Dick Curless that theme was extended to the long-haul trucker. Alabama’s song combines the mobility of the truck with the connectedness to family and home.

In terms of phonology, from Randy Owen in “Roll On Eighteen Wheeler,” we hear, for example, strong rhoticity in “wheele[r],” monophthongization of [ai] in “highway” and “night,” and velar fronting of [ɪŋ] in “morning” and “kissing.” Judging from recordings of interviews with Bob Dylan from the 1960s and more recently, his speaking style is rhotic with full glides on [ai]. Trudgill (1983:146) noticed that Dylan’s “singing style incorporates frequent use of [a:] and r-loss,” a finding of variability confirmed impressionistically from a sampling of his songs. In “Country Pie,” he achieves maximal monophthongization in the refrain, “Oh me oh m[a:], love that country p[a:].” There is more gliding in other iterations of “pie” and “lie.” The retroflex /r/ is strong in “fiddler play” but vocalized a bit in “dinner honey.” There is velar fronting in “playing.”

The lyrics in Alabama’s most popular songs include both southern vernacular features (complete *done* in “Me and my woman’s done made our plans” from “Tennessee River”) and general vernacular features (e.g., *them* as a demonstrative pronoun modifying a noun as direct object: “on them good ol’ Gospel songs” from “My Home’s in Alabama”). In “Country Pie” Dylan includes a personal dative (“saddle me up my big white goose”), representing a stereotypically southern feature, and two instances of general vernacular *ain’t*.

Rodgers started the trend of referring to specific southern places, and that trend is continued in the third generation. The group Alabama takes their name from their home state, and most of their songs include references to southern places and southern culture. Wordplay in a form of the hinge construction can be seen in a best-selling Alabama song, “When It All Goes South.” The current expression, indicating a negative, downward trend on a chart, plays on the spatial metaphor taken from a map. In the Northern Hemisphere, of course, down is south. The Alabama song plays with that

idea, reversing it with a positive depiction of the South as a refuge to which Northerners will retreat when their own Wall-Street-based worlds fall apart. In the case of Dylan's "Country Pie," we find a different kind of wordplay in the form of sexual double entendre, a style more closely associated with another southern musical genre, the blues.

5.3. GENERATION 4

Generation 4 is represented by Clint Black (as a native southern speaker) and Keith Urban (as a non-Southern speaker). Black wears both a cowboy hat and cowboy boots when he sings. In the lyrics to his song "Killin' Time," about his reaction to a failed love as an aspect of life's difficulties, we see velar fronting, /aɪ/ ungliding in all contexts, and strong rhoticity:

Excerpt 4. Clint Black, from "Killin' Time"

This kill[ɪn] t[a:]me is kill[ɪn] me
 Drink[ɪn] m[a:]self bl[a:]nd think[ɪn] [a:] won't see
 That if [a:] cross that l[a:]ne and they bu[r]y me
 Well, [a:] just m[a:]ght f[a:]nd [a:]'ll be kill[ɪn] t[a:]me fo[r] ete[r]nity

In this excerpt we also see wordplay in the country music tradition. In the initial line it occurs in the repetition of "killing," first in a metaphorical expression of wasting time or trying to make it pass without awareness, and then in a literal meaning of drinking himself to death as a potential consequence of his method of "killing time." In the second line we find another metaphorical expression "drinking myself blind" paired with a negation of the verb "to see," which is also used in a metaphorical way to express realization or understanding of his situation. And then in the final line after he has imagined his own death as a result of his excesses, we find a nice juxtaposition of the notion of "killing time" in the context of an eternity of death.

In the case of the native Australian Keith Urban, the most striking thing is his accommodation to an American southern accent as represented by certain pronunciation features. Lide (2007) demonstrated that Urban imitates certain key southern phonological features, including unglided /aɪ/. As a native speaker of a nonrhotic accent, he also had to add rhoticity to his singing repertoire. Lide found that Urban actually overproduced the unglided /aɪ/ compared with native southern artists. This makes sense if he was somehow made aware of certain key features and learned or was taught how to do them as a key element of his performance. This accommodation suggests iconization of unglided /aɪ/ and rhoticity for the genre.

5.4. GENERATION 5

Generation 5 is represented by the male Southerner Tyler Hubbard, who is currently very popular as part of the group Florida Georgia Line. The non-Southerner is Nathan Carter, who has hits in two genres in Ireland: Irish music and country music. Carter is currently the number one country star in Ireland.

In terms of themes, we still find the difficulties of working-class life (in particular in a song by Florida Georgia Line titled “Dirt”) but positive aspects in home and family and rootedness in a region. Whereas in the earlier generations we had trains and long-haul trucks, in the Florida Georgia Line songs we have young men with their girlfriends in trucks on southern country back roads (themes often described as “bro-country”). With Carter we actually have a long-haul trucker in an eighteen wheeler, but as with Alabama’s “Roll On Eighteen Wheeler” in the third generation, there is a connection to his wife and home, but with a twist: in this case he is an older man about to retire. But then he and his wife will take to the road in an RV to discover America together.

In “Fall for You,” Hubbard displays rhoticity and strong ungliding on /aɪ/ in all contexts:

Excerpt 5. Tyler Hubbard, from “Fall for You”

[a:]’m the k[a:]nd of g[a:]
 Who would neve[r] make the t[a:]me
 For anything that m[a:]ght t[a:] me down

In “Eighteen Wheels and a Dozen Roses,” Carter displays velar fronting and rhoticity, which are of course both natural to his Irish accent, but he also produces a strong imitation of ungliding of /aɪ/, which is not part of his Irish accent: l[a:]fe, w[a:]fe, ton[a:]ght, m[a:]les.

In Hubbard’s lyrics we see no stereotypically southern morphosyntactic features (i.e., no completive *done*, no dative of interest), and there is an absence of double negatives and *ain’t*. On the other hand, we find lots of examples of widespread vernacular forms, such as the following in “Cruise”: object pronoun to demonstrative (“she had them long tanned legs”), irregular verb forms (“I should have took the time to tell you”), preposition placement (“you can find us where the party’s at”), and zero copula (“Baby, you a song”). In “Eighteen Wheels and a Dozen Roses,” we find no southern grammatical features at all and only one instance of a general vernacular leveled form (“it don’t seem like a whole lot”).

As with Jimmie Rodgers's invocation of names of places in the South, carried forward in the third generation in the songs of the group named Alabama, in the fifth generation we have another group that takes its name from southern states, Florida Georgia Line, and there is an amplification of the use both of southern place names and of cultural items to evoke the idea of the South. Whereas Hank Williams had "if the good Lord's willin' and the creeks don't rise," in the fifth generation we find Hubbard's "oh, good Lord, she had them long tanned legs," although to be fair he does use a religious metaphor in the next lines: "In these times I need a saving grace, but time is running out and I'm starting to lose my faith."

Genre-specific features in this generation include both the typical style of wordplay and a variation on a vocal effect from the founders' generations. Whereas in the first and second generations the nineteenth-century yodel was an important part of some songs, by the fifth generation we find what Wise (2007:42) calls "third species yodel" being performed by LeAnn Rimes in "Blue": "The third species is a yodelled grace note . . . a long-held natural tone is followed by (or occasionally preceded by) a very brief yodelled tag. Known as 'feathering' in rockabilly parlance, this is an important vocal device as well as a style indicator for country music."

In Hubbard's "Fall for You," there are two instances of forms of hinge constructions. In the first example, "The best of you is gettin' the best of me," the word "best" is repeated, first in a relatively literal sense, that is, the woman's most attractive qualities, and then as part of an idiom meaning to overcome or defeat, in this case the singer. He doesn't want to be tied down, but he is losing the struggle against his own attraction to the woman. The second hinge construction, "I'm afraid I won't get up if I fall for you," continues the theme of the man's fear of becoming emotionally involved. In this case if he "falls for" her, that is, falls in love with her, he is worried that he will not be able to disentangle himself and regain his freedom. The two metaphorical uses of verbs create a visual image, interestingly reversed, perhaps to emphasize his fear; he doesn't say "if I fall for you I'm afraid that I won't get up." In Carter's "Eighteen Wheels and a Dozen Roses" wordplay occurs in a less sophisticated form through the extensive use of numbers in the title and in the lyrics, which adds "thirty years on the job," and "ten more miles on his four-day run."

6. Enregisterment in Country Music

Enregisterment encompasses the process(es) through which "a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized

register of forms,” linking speaker status to “a specific scheme of cultural values” (Agha 2003:231). The theory has been applied to describe a range of language variation, from the ways in which RP (Received Pronunciation) became indexical of social class and education (Agha 2003), to the process of *oinoglossia* (“wine talk”) becoming indexical of “refined” and “elite” stances (Silverstein 2003), to the enregisterment of Pittsburghese as indexical of “localness,” which marked a shift from indexing class to place (Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006).

Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006) used Agha’s enregisterment in tandem with Silverstein’s (2003) concept of indexical order to explain the ways in which specific features of Pittsburghese took on first-, second-, and third-order indexicality mirroring Labov’s preceding categorizations of indicator, marker, and stereotype. Conclusions put forth by Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006) highlight the usefulness of enregisterment and indexical order in examining performed speech. More specifically, they demonstrate how “an understanding of variability in speech communities, language attitudes, and the stylized performance of dialect is enhanced by exploring the historical and ideological processes that make resources for these practices available” (78). In an analogous way, selected southern regional features are the iconic vehicle for enregistering country music, whether or not the singer is a native Southern English speaker. At the same time, it is important to understand the broader ideological context of enregisterment that is embedded in history and life experiences. As Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson note, “We model a particularistic approach to linguistic and ideological change that is sensitive not only to ideas about language that circulate in the media but also to the life experiences of particular speakers. Furthermore, we show how an understanding of variability in speech communities, language attitudes, and the stylized performance of dialect is enhanced by exploring the historical and ideological processes that make resources for these practices available” (78).

Following Agha (2003), Silverstein (2003), and Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006), the current data suggest the sung dialects of Rodgers and Williams could be conceptualized as a first-order indexical for region, class, and gender. In contrast with their constructed stage personas, it would appear that their sung dialect represented their speech. Given the classic musical characteristics of the genre (Rogers and Williams 2000; Davies 2014), as country music became increasingly commodified and constructed as “southern,” it is proposed that the dialect found in the lyrics and performance took on second-order indexicality as part of the country music style and

that, accordingly, singers who were not native southern speakers began to imitate it as part of their performance. Whereas Agha (2003) used written sources such as handbooks to illustrate the effect of different discourses in his analysis of enregisterment of RP in Britain, the genre of country music has a unique resource in the form of oral histories in the archives of the Country Music Hall of Fame in Nashville, Tennessee. The archive contains an interview with Hank Snow (born in Nova Scotia in 1914) recorded later in his life (Country Music Hall of Fame 1968) after a very successful career in what we have called generation 1.5. In the oral history he said that starting out in Nova Scotia he “tried to sound exactly like Jimmie Rodgers.” We suggest that this could be considered early evidence of enregisterment within the community of aspiring performers. In the third generation, we first see enregisterment through metacommentary as part of the lyrics. In Alabama’s song, “My Home’s in Alabama,” the singer describes “speaking my Southern English just as natural as I please.” A 2015 album by the group Alabama is titled *Southern Drawl*. Another kind of enregisterment has taken place through scholarship, and this is perhaps the closest to Agha’s evidence concerning RP in terms of providing an authoritative judgment on the genre. This occurred in particular in Bill Malone’s editions of *Country Music, USA*, which first appeared in 1968, a second edition in 1985, with a third edition in 2010 done with Jocelyn Neal, which had a significant enregisterment effect within the community, defining country music as southern. As noted earlier, this thesis has been challenged only within the last year or so, but of course the enregisterment has had a profound effect. Enregisterment appears in the fourth generation in the accommodation of non-Southern speakers to a southern accent, and this is dramatic in the rise of a native Australian singer, Keith Urban, who has become very successful in American country music. In the constant redefinition within country music of “authenticity” in relation to the southern white working class, we no longer find any Rodgers-type railroad man personas (although the cowboy hat has been maintained as essential). Instead, a representation of southern dialect in the performance of country music appears to have moved to third-order indexicality with increasing commentary on the phenomenon. This is yet another form of enregisterment.

The following is an online commentary on Straight Dope Message Board, in response to question about “the country music accent”:

I think I know what you mean; country singers do tend to sound like they all have the same (or very similar) accent, at least while they are

singing. I do think that some of it is “put on” or at least exaggerated in some country singing simply because sometimes you can hear the same artists singing a country song with the heavy twang then singing a pop song without it. (MitzeKatze 2010)

Quotes such as this demonstrate how the historical development of country music has led to the genre itself becoming linked to a specific register, requiring singers of the genre to index authenticity by drawing from an ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor 2010) that is southern and white in the linguistic features performed. For those who might question how these linguistic features signal white identity, we note that of the linguistic features we have considered in terms of phonetics, morphosyntax, and discursive tropes, none is exclusively associated with vernacular African American speech as set forth in the primary reference works such as Rickford (1999) and Green (2002). Although many are shared African American English and Southern White Vernacular English traits, no distinctively vernacular African American English traits are selected. Using a fluid and variable set of ethnically indexical linguistic resources, members of the country music genre are able to — and expected to — index a white, southern, rural, working-class identity (Mann 2008; Nunn 2010).

7. Conclusion

We can now propose some answers to our original questions about the performance of southernness: Who (or what) is southern? How is southernness indexed? Why would somebody who is not from the South want to perform southernness, and how can that be accomplished? This snapshot of country music across five generations suggests that phonological features that were consistent for the singing of Hank Williams — in particular, strong rhoticity and ungliding of /aɪ/ in all contexts — have been carried forward such that non-Southerners who hope to succeed in country music have to accommodate. The *Atlas of North American English* (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006) defines the outer boundary of “the South” by “glide deletion of /aɪ/” before voiced consonants and word-finally, and the “Upper South”— which includes Nashville — by glide deletion also before voiceless consonants. Themes, vocal effects, and a particular style of wordplay have also been carried forward into the present. Distinctively southern vernacular grammatical constructions are the only element of the early genre that seem to have receded rather than become iconic, replaced by general vernacular constructions.

While noting the combination of recording practices, commodification, and the rise of Nashville as center as significant, this study has highlighted the role of scholarship in defining country music as southern and reinforcing the idea that performing country music was performing southernness. As part of the enregisterment process, the study has identified informal processes of imitation, self-reflexive commentary in the lyrics, and now the reinforcement of social media, all in the continuing cycle of redefining the notion of authenticity. The consideration of performance in country music adds to our understanding of the enregisterment process by revealing how features can become progressively iconic within a performance register, eventually coming to define the register itself.

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Note

1. For an examination of how southern speakers use sociolinguistic repertoire as expressive resource in the presentation of self in daily life, see Davies (2007).

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Paul E. Reed

Appalachia, Monophthongization, and Intonation

Rethinking Tradition

1. Introduction

The Appalachian Regional Commission (www.arc.gov) recognizes Appalachia as the mountainous region that stretches from northern Georgia to Pennsylvania. For nearly 150 years metropolitan America has viewed Appalachia as a region of interest, yet this interest has suffered from misinformation and distorted portrayals. John C. Campbell (1921:xxi) states that “Appalachia is a land about which, perhaps, more things are known that are not true than of any part of our country.” Sadly, this almost century-old statement rings as true today as ever. Some of the misinformation includes ideas that the region is culturally distinct from the rest of American culture. Additionally, the region is seen as culturally monolithic in spite of the fact that it spans thirteen states and includes millions of people. Portions of the monolithic idea derive from pervasive issues throughout (but not limited to) the region, such as low educational attainment and poverty. However, the roots of these problems, such as the role of extractive industry, and the present nuanced reality are typically missed. Articles and commentary regularly appear that promote circulating tropes of poverty and violence, regardless of their veracity or applicability when focusing on Appalachia (e.g., Williamson 2014). Frequent portrayals of the region’s high rates of poverty and its reliance on exploitative industry, coupled with the vast amounts of governmental investment

and aid since the highly publicized federal War on Poverty beginning in the 1960s, have buttressed preexisting stereotypes of the region's population as backward and uneducated (e.g., Luhman 1990; Ayers 1996:70–71).

Gleaned from the notions of a distinct culture that is internally monolithic, there are widespread beliefs that certain cultural practices within Appalachia, such as Child balladry and handicrafts (e.g., Whisnant 2008), have changed little from those that early British and Irish colonists and immigrants brought with them in the eighteenth century. Such a belief relies upon the idea that the distinctive culture has allowed such practices to continue without change for centuries, and thus further demonstrates the idea that Appalachia remains in the past, avoiding progress.

The reality of this dynamic, varied, evolving region gets lost within such cultural misunderstandings. A large body of literature demonstrates the internal cultural variation of Appalachia (see, e.g., Billings, Gurney, and Ledford 2000; Abramson and Haskell 2006). Further, this same literature shows that Appalachia is not necessarily completely distinct from other regions — it shares many aspects with other southern and rural regions. And, as with many stigmatized regions and cultures, native Appalachians are not unaware of circulating tropes — in fact, many actively work to contest much of the stigma.

One principal way that residents react against circulating stigmatization is by being very locally oriented. Scholarly descriptions of the region and its various cultural practices find place and place attachment are central (e.g., Jones 1994; Abramson and Haskell 2006). For example, many natives of East Tennessee (where the data for the present study originate) respond to questions about where they are from with “East Tennessee” or even the particular section of East Tennessee (see the author's answer, “upper north East Tennessee,” and responses in Montgomery 1995:73). Further, this sense of attachment can be very localized, potentially even to a particular parcel of ancestral land, often known as the homeplace (Cox 2006). I term this local attachment “rootedness.”

As Appalachia has a stigmatized status as a region, Appalachian English (AE) has a particularly stigmatized status as a language variety. This, of course, derives from cultural stereotypes and misinformed beliefs. Some people believe that AE, akin to other cultural practices, is somehow a historical variety of English, little changed from what was spoken when the region was founded.¹ This “Shakespearean English” myth reinforces the notion that the language and region both are stuck in the past. Like other stigmatized varieties, some believe that poverty, lack of education, and cultural

backwardness make AE somehow lesser (see Luhman 1990; Greene 2010; Reed 2014). The reality, of course, is that AE is not monolithic and that it is continuing to evolve and change.

A growing body of literature has now demonstrated that Appalachian speech varieties diverge in some respects from Mainstream American English and other Southern American English varieties (e.g., Pederson, McDaniel, and Adams 1986–93; Carver 1987; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006),² and the AE speech varieties are also not monolithic, hence the growing scholarly preference for the term “Appalachian Englishes.” Much of the literature on intraregional variation has largely focused on vocalic and morphosyntactic features. While some studies have indicated that some traditional features, such as /aɪ/-monophthongization and *a*-prefixing, may be receding (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; Jacewicz, Fox, and Salmons 2011a, 2011b), others have found that these features are not just persisting but possibly even advancing (Irons 2007; Greene 2010). In particular, Greene (2010) argues that the presence of AE features is part of a local identity and that speakers who use many AE phonological forms do so in opposition to standard language ideologies that denigrate any nonmainstream variety (see Lippi-Green 1997, 2012).

As with many stigmatized varieties, AE speakers exhibit a bifurcation of allegiance and acceptance regarding AE (see Lippi-Green 1997:221–28). Research has begun to show how some speakers associate a strong sense of pride and identification with local language (Greene 2010; Reed 2012, 2014). In conversations for the present study, participants had a variety of opinions. Some would say, “You try to not sound like a country bumpkin, like a hillbilly.”³ Others referenced their own “bad grammar,” “country slang,” or perhaps “horrible sound.”⁴ However, others expressed pride: “This is how we talk, there’s nothing wrong with it,” and “it’s like artwork, man, I love it!”⁵ Such varied responses indicate that standard language ideologies have made quite an impact, but at the same time, pride in the local variety is also present. Typically, the participants who express pride in the speech varieties also often mention how much the local region and community mean to them. The present study illustrates that such feelings of belonging, or rootedness, affect not only the affection of participants toward AE but also their actual linguistic behavior.

However, other research suggests that some natives orient *away* from the region culturally and, concomitantly, linguistically (Greene 2010; Reed 2012, 2014). Such a change in orientation is perhaps due to intense negative perception and stigma of the region and ways of speaking that are associated with it. Thus, the variation present may be related to how much or how

little a speaker is attached to the local area. This idea fits into our evolving understanding of variation, which includes individual identity, summarized by Foulkes, Scobbie, and Watts (2010:717): “The array of structured variation available to an individual, coupled with other factors such as ideology . . . can be seen as a rich resource from which the individual can choose elements in order to project their identity and achieve particular communicative goals.” All participants are individuals, and thus researchers must incorporate individual identity in their investigations of speech.

This study takes this idea of individual identity and presents new insight into a traditional AE linguistic feature, /aɪ/-monophthongization and initial insight into a newly identified variable, relatively frequent rising pitch accents. I chose /aɪ/-monophthongization because it features prominently in most studies of AE (e.g., Hall 1942; Wolfram and Christian 1976; Irons 2007; Greene 2010; Reed 2014) and in lay descriptions (see Venable 2013). Also, Feagin (2000:342) describes it as “the most notable unchanging element in southern states’ pronunciation.” In contrast, practically nothing has been written about rising pitch accents in AE aside from anecdotal mention, with the exception of Greene (2006). However, Botinis (2000:2) writes that “intonation is the most characteristic vocal means for communicating paralinguistic and indexical information”; thus, intonation should be an area where variation could be present. I hypothesized that an increase in rootedness increases both the rate of monophthongal realizations and the rate of rising pitch accents. I further hypothesized that an increase in rootedness changes how the pitch accents are realized. Incorporating a speaker’s rootedness, an aspect of their personal identity, allows for better understanding of the language variation present.

2. General Methodology

I drew all data for the present study from sociolinguistic interviews with twenty-two participants (eleven male, eleven female) drawn from a convenience sample. All participants were from Sneedville, a small rural town located in Hancock County, Tennessee, on the border between central and southern Appalachia. Participants were stratified by age: older (sixty and older) and younger (sixty or below). This was a natural age break for this particular cohort.

I also categorized speakers by their rootedness using responses to questions posed during the interview portion, following the methodology of Hadican and colleagues (2013). This method involves asking participants three

questions about their feelings toward the local area. A positive response is scored +1, a negative response is scored -1, and a neutral or indeterminate response is scored 0. Thus, the scores could range from -3 to 3. Participants with scores of 2 or greater were considered rooted; those who were 1 or below were nonrooted.⁶

I did not use socioeconomic status to stratify participants. Any type of class or status measure does not capture the social reality in Appalachia. Hurst (1992) argues that class (or what we might understand as class) is elusive in Appalachia. He argues that class/status functions differently in Appalachia, based more on local traditions and connections, geographic/cultural isolation, differing economy, and popular stigmatization. Participation and belonging are much more crucial than income or consumption. Thus, rootedness is more appropriate for classification than socioeconomic status or other typical status/class measures.

Each interview had three sections: a conversation portion, a reading passage, and word list. Each interview took place in a quiet room in the participant's home or workplace. Interviews lasted between forty-five to ninety minutes (averaging sixty minutes) and were recorded on a Tascam DR-40 digital recorder with an Audio Technica BP-896 or a Shure MX183 omnidirectional condenser lavalier microphone. I orthographically transcribed the interviews and subsequently force aligned using the FAVE suite (version 1.1.3; zenodo.org/record/9846#.WW6c7lG1vX4).

3. Monophthongization

Monophthongization extends across the language varieties of most of the southern United States, from the Mid-Atlantic coast to Texas (Kurath and McDavid 1961; Pederson, McDaniel, and Adams 1986–93; Wells 1982; Thomas 2001; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). Several systems of monophthongization exist (Thomas 2003), and its use is socially stratified (Pederson 1983; Bernstein 2006). Monophthongal realizations, particularly in prevoiceless contexts, are inversely correlated with class and education (Pederson 1983; Pederson, McDaniel, and Adams 1986–93; Bernstein 2006) and are primarily associated with rural areas (Hazen and Fluharty 2004; Irons 2007; Greene 2010).

With respect to Appalachia, a number of case studies (Hall 1942; Wolfram and Christian 1976; Greene 2010; Reed 2014) have consistently shown that it is a prominent feature in AE. Broader studies also suggest that monophthongization in Appalachia is more progressive than other areas with monophthongal varieties (Pederson, McDaniel, and Adams 1986–93; Pederson

1983; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). In AE, the process occurs in all phonetic contexts (open syllables, prevoiced, and prevoiceless) at much higher rates than in other monophthongal areas, occasionally approaching categorical monophthongal realizations (Hall 1942; Wolfram and Christian 1976; Pederson, McDaniel, and Adams 1986–93; Greene 2010).

AE speakers (and Southerners in general) along with other American English speakers are aware of monophthongization and its status as a regional and subregional linguistic caricature (Plichta and Preston 2005). Virtually every popular depiction of southern and Appalachian speech (see, e.g., Venable 2013) displays monophthongal /aɪ/ as a noteworthy feature. Moreover, it is a source of stigma, and as such, many respondents comment on the perception of monophthongal pronunciations, such as the following statement from a participant in the present study: “I had people to ask me to say, ‘nice white rice,’ and I would, and they would laugh. I realized that, that they were laughing at how I was saying it.”⁷ Despite its stigma, monophthongization has persisted, particularly in Appalachia and in other southern areas, particularly in rural regions (e.g., Bernstein 2006; Irons 2007; Greene 2010; Reed 2014).

3.1. MONOPHTHONGIZATION METHODOLOGY

From each interview, I extracted the first twenty-five prevoiceless /aɪ/ tokens from the conversation portion. I also included thirty prevoiceless /aɪ/ tokens from the reading passage. Thus, there were fifty-five total tokens for each of the twenty-two speakers, for a total of 1,210 prevoiceless tokens. I impressionistically coded these tokens for monophthongal realizations.

3.2. MONOPHTHONGIZATION RESULTS

These speakers, in the aggregate, were quite monophthongal, with an overall rate of 83 percent prevoiceless monophthongal realization (88 percent in conversation, 79 percent in reading). Since all speakers were native Appalachians, these rates of prevoiceless monophthongization were not unexpected. These speakers, born and raised in Appalachia, as a whole utilized features of this particular variety of AE.

Overall, males were 86 percent monophthongal in prevoiceless contexts (91 percent in conversation, 82 percent in reading), and females, 81 percent (86 percent in conversation, 76 percent in reading). *t*-Test results show that male and female means significantly differed (overall: $t = 2.2817$, $df = 21.71$, $p = 0.03$; conversation: $t = 2.1207$, $df = 21.501$, $p = 0.046$; reading: $t = 2.2354$, $df = 21.912$, $p = 0.036$).

Separating by age gave similar results of monophthongization being the norm. Older speakers were 85 percent monophthongal overall (89 percent in conversation, 82 percent in reading), and younger speakers, 82 percent (88 percent in conversation, 76 percent in reading). What is surprising here is that younger speakers did not significantly differ from older speakers overall or in conversation. However, in reading the two groups did significantly differ ($t = 2.1302$, $df = 19.003$, $p = 0.046$). Other studies have found that monophthongization decreases across age groups; however, this was not the case in my sample from Sneedville. This difference in reading may be attributable to education, which had greatly improved within Hancock County since 1960 (Tennessee State Government, 2017).

Overall, older males were 88 percent monophthongal (91 percent in conversation, 86 percent in reading), and older females, 82 percent (86 percent in conversation, 78 percent in reading). Younger males were 84 percent monophthongal overall (90 percent in conversation, 78 percent in reading), and younger females, 80 percent (86 percent in conversation, 74 percent in reading). Here the results start to show some patterning based primarily on task and age. In the conversation, the groups are quite indistinguishable. However, in the reading portion, younger females use fewer monophthongs.

When I included rootedness in the measures, a pattern clearly emerged. Overall, rooted speakers were 87 percent monophthongal, 91 percent in conversation, and 83 percent in the reading passage. Contrast this with non-rooted speakers, who were 80 percent monophthongal overall, 86 percent in conversation, and 75 percent in the reading. Figure 5.1 shows these results graphically.

Rootedness and sex also display the same pattern. Rooted males were 91 percent monophthongal overall, 95 percent in conversation, and 87 percent in reading; nonrooted males were 82 percent overall, 87 percent in conversation, and 77 percent in reading (figure 5.2, left). Rooted females were 84 percent monophthongal overall, 88 percent in conversation, and 79 percent in reading; nonrooted females were 78 percent overall, 85 percent in conversation, and 72 percent in reading (figure 5.2, right).

3.3. MONOPHTHONGIZATION DISCUSSION

For these speakers, rooted speakers have more prevoicless monophthongal tokens. This better explains the variation than does age or sex, as the differences hold across these factors. Greene (2010) noted that her eastern Kentucky speakers might use prevoicless monophthongization as a reaction against standard language ideologies. This may well be the case here, but

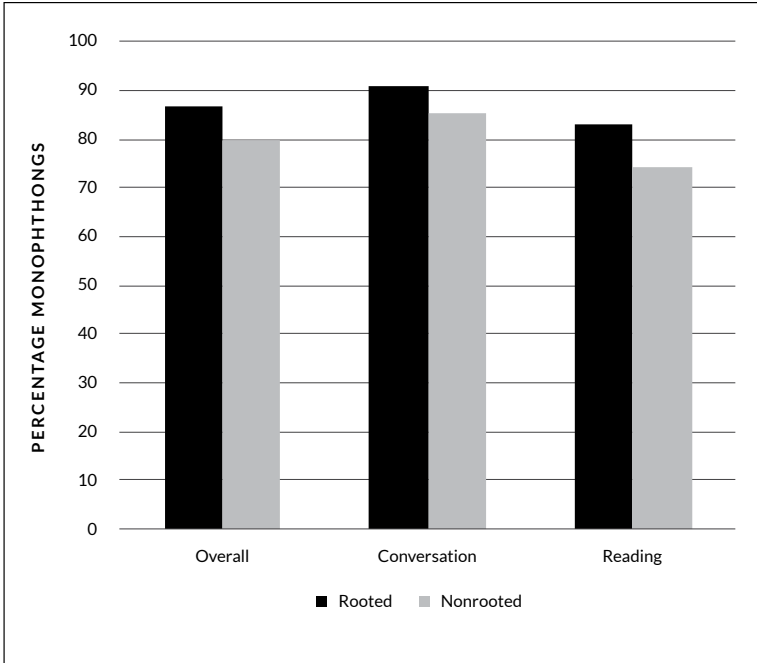


FIGURE 5.1. Monophthongal realizations by rootedness and interview task

additionally, high rates of prevoiceless monophthongization may signal to others that the local region is important, that local affiliation is important, and might serve as a socially unifying feature.

4. Intonation

A less salient feature of AE is the presence of a relatively high rate of rising pitch accents. Researchers have found that the relative frequency of pitch accents and the phonetic realization of pitch vary regionally in American English (e.g., Greene 2006; Arvaniti and Garding 2007; Clopper and Smiljanic 2011). For AE, there are anecdotal mentions of intonation. Williams (1992:17) writes, “Forming the rhythmic patterns of speech of the people of the southern mountains are low intonations and leisurely pace.” From this impressionistic description, low intonations would have to be contrasted with higher ones. Further, speakers in the present study often mention “tone,” “pace,” or “rhythm” as something they recognize in speech of friends and neighbors.⁸ There are other descriptions of how one can recognize a fellow speaker based on “how we talk” (e.g., Sloane 2009). Since many of these anecdotes appear

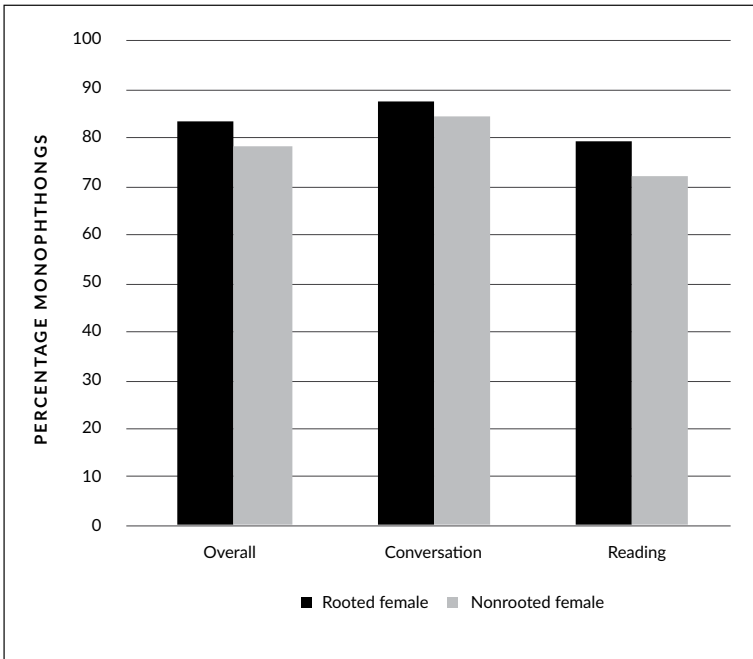
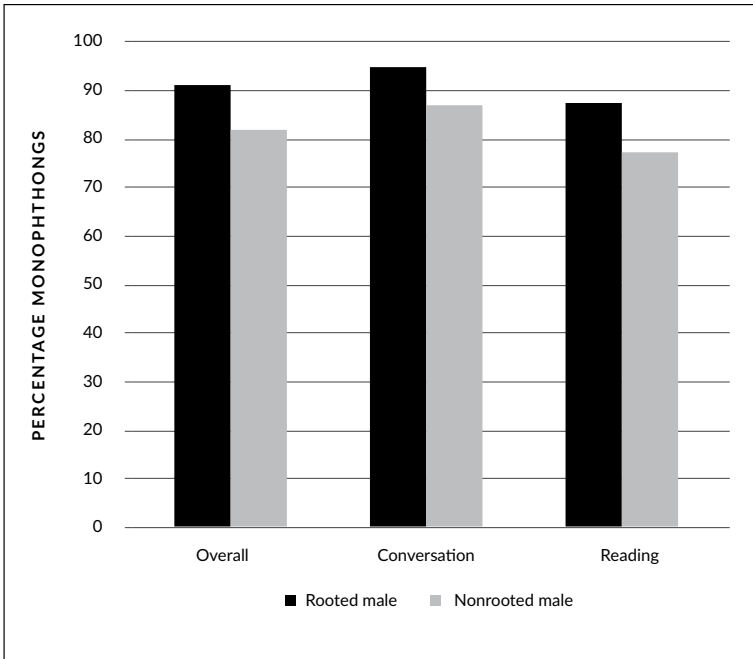


FIGURE 5.2. Monophthongal realizations by rootedness and interview task for males (top) and females (bottom)

to reference intonation, it is surprising that there is a distinct lack of intonation studies.

The only detailed study of AE intonation patterns to date is Greene (2006), which found a higher incidence of L+H* accents (a rising pitch on stressed syllables) among speakers in a northeastern Kentucky community, compared to speakers of Mainstream American English or other Southern American English varieties. However, Greene did not investigate precisely where the pitch accent was anchored in the syllable, nor did she consider possible correlations with local identity, both of which the present study includes.

4.1. INTONATION METHODOLOGY

The intonation analysis required a two-step process, both performed in Praat (version 5.3.14, www.praat.org). The first step was to label a section of speech following the ToBI (Tones and Break Indices) guidelines. ToBI (Beckman and Elam 1997) involves marking all tones and break indices. Tones include pitch accents and boundary tones. American English has five pitch accents; four of these are a high tone (H*), a low tone (L*), and their combinations, L+H* and L*+H. The difference between these latter pitch accents is that the L*+H may extend into the following syllable (Arvaniti and Garding 2007:549). The fifth pitch accent identified is H+!H*.⁹ I labeled three to five minutes of speech following the ToBI conventions, drawn from the middle of the conversational portion of the interview. I counted 100 pitch accents from each speaker and then tabulated the occurrence of each of the different pitch accents.

The second step was to measure the peak alignment of L+H* pitch accents, the pitch accent that occurs at a higher percentage in AE than in other American English varieties (Greene 2006). Using slightly adapted methodology outlined in Ladd and colleagues (2009), I calculated pitch accent onset (PA-On), a measure of the amount of time (in milliseconds) from the onset of the vowel containing the pitch accent to the highest pitch point.

4.2. INTONATION RESULTS

The use of intonation by these speakers, in the aggregate, was very similar to that of the participant cohort in Greene (2006). The most frequent pitch accent was H*, followed very closely by L+H* (figure 5.3). The frequency of L+H* was not significantly different from L+H* frequency from speakers in Greene's study (goodness-of-fit chi-square test: $\chi(1) = 0.10973$, $p = 0.7405$). Greene found that this relative frequency of L+H* was significantly different from mainstream English varieties and some other Southern American English varieties. Thus, the overall relative frequency of my speakers would be different from these varieties as well.

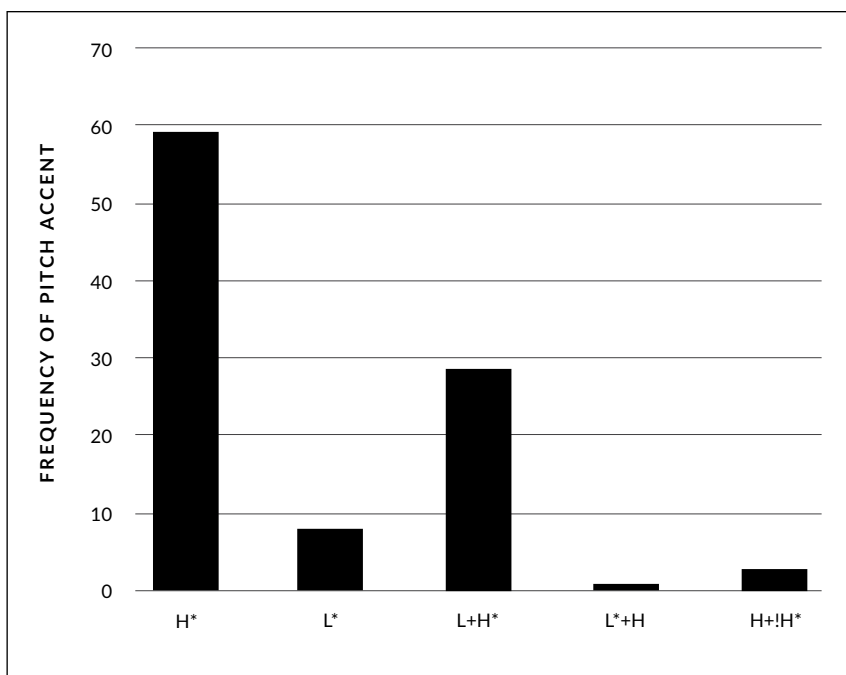


FIGURE 5.3. Average distribution of pitch accents for all speakers

To better understand how the social factors of gender, age, and rootedness impact the frequency of L+H*, I ran a mixed-effects logistic regression analysis, with speaker age, gender, and rootedness with two-way interactions as fixed independent variables, and individual speaker as a random independent variable. Main effects of age ($z = 2.575, p = 0.01$) and rootedness ($z = 3.397, p < 0.001$) were significant in the model, as was the age \times rootedness interaction ($z = -2.689, p = 0.007$). Younger speakers had fewer L+H* pitch accents than older speakers, and rooted speakers produced relatively more L+H* than nonrooted speakers (figure 5.4).

To analyze PA-On, I ran a mixed-effect linear regression model, with speaker age, speaker gender, and rootedness and two-way interactions as fixed independent variables, individual speaker as a random independent variable, and PA-On as the dependent variable. No main effects were significant. However, the gender \times age interaction was significant ($t = -2.201, p = 0.04$): younger males' PA-On were 46 milliseconds shorter than other groups. Additionally, the age \times rootedness interaction was significant ($t = 2.969, p = 0.00811$): younger nonrooted speakers' PA-On is 53.385 milliseconds longer on average than other groups.

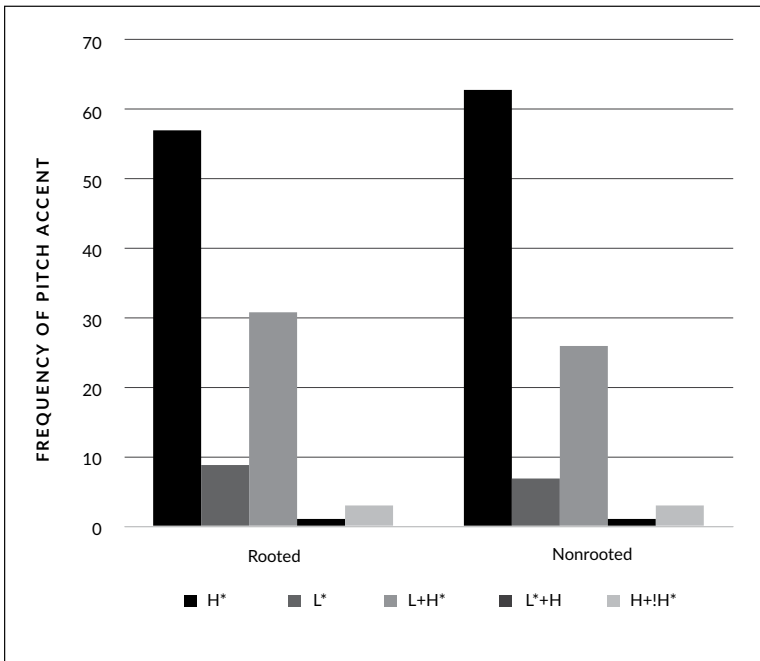
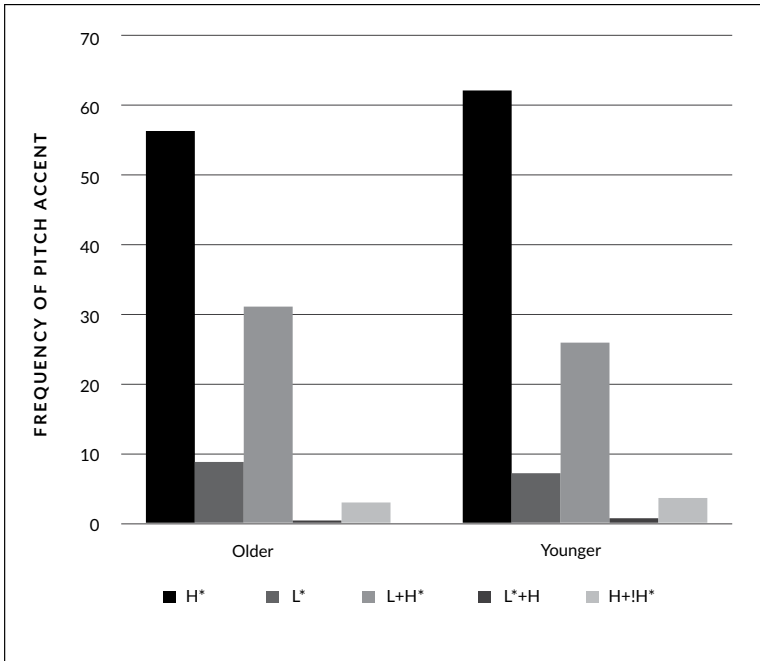


FIGURE 5.4. Distribution of pitch accents by speaker age (top) and rootedness (bottom)

4.3. INTONATION DISCUSSION

These results show that rooted speakers have a relatively higher frequency of L+H* pitch accents. There also appears to be an age effect, with younger speakers having slightly fewer L+H* pitch accents. With respect to PA-On, younger males had earlier L+H* peaks, while younger nonrooted speakers had later peaks. Thus, it appears that earlier peaks can signal both age and rootedness. Given that these particular features, relatively frequent rising pitch accents with earlier peaks, are not stigmatized, this may be a way to signal local attachment and belonging (rootedness) without opening a speaker to the stigma associated with other AE features, such as /aɪ/-monophthongization.

5. Conclusions

Taken together, these results reveal effects of rootedness on two features of AE. The results for monophthongization are consistent with previous literature on AE (e.g., Greene 2010; Reed 2014). However, where those studies anecdotally mention that monophthongization is related to local identity, the present study empirically shows that rootedness is important for the frequency of prevoiceless /aɪ/-monophthongization. The more rooted speakers are, the more frequent their monophthongal realizations.

With respect to intonation, specifically rising pitch accents, the results here show that more rooted speakers have more L+H* pitch accents, consistent with previous findings (Greene 2006). I have further shown that rootedness (in interaction with other social factors) also impacts the peak alignment, with more rooted speakers having an earlier peak.

Additional research incorporating rootedness (and other identity measures) is needed for other varieties of American English. Understanding that each speaker is an individual, with individual identities and attachments, is crucial. Finding ways to quantify aspects of these identities will permit a more rigorous and scientific investigation. Using both more individualized identity measures and traditional factors in conjunction will allow for a deeper understanding of language variation.

About the Author

Paul E. Reed is assistant professor of phonology/speech science at the University of Alabama. His dissertation, “Sounding Appalachian: Monophthongization, Rising Pitch Accents, and Rootedness,” analyzed the impact of local identity on speakers in Northeast Tennessee.

Notes

1. For a scholarly rebuttal to the language preservation belief, see Montgomery (2006).
2. These citations focus not solely on Appalachia but, rather, on dialectal regions of the United States and/or North America. However, their raw material, when taken as a collective whole, shows the quantitative and qualitative distinctiveness of some aspects of AE.
3. From an interview with a white female in her seventies (see section 2 on general methodology for a description of the interviews).
4. Each of these negative remarks came from numerous participants during their interviews.
5. From an interview with a white male in his sixties, and an interview with a white male in his thirties, respectively.
6. For the updated and expanded methodology, see Reed (2016).
7. From an interview with a white female in her thirties.
8. Several speakers from the present study used all of these terms to describe what sets local speech apart.
9. The ! stands for a downstepped pitch accent. Downstepping occurs when several successive pitch accents of the same type occur. Each sequential pitch accent may be slightly lower than the preceding one, thus “downstepped.”

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Michael D. Picone

Language Variety in Louisiana

Research Trends and Implications

1. Background

Having previously suffered from a level of neglect totally incommensurate with the richness and complexity of its succession of languagescapes, Louisiana has garnered ever-increasing attention as the object of linguistic investigation over the last few decades. This can be appropriately exemplified by comparing the progression of Language Variety in the South (LAVIS) gatherings over the decades. The publication stemming from the LAVIS I symposium, which was held in 1981 (Montgomery and Bailey 1986), contained only one contribution partially focused on Louisiana (Bailey and Basset 1986). At LAVIS II, held in 1993, Louisiana-based research gained ground, with three essays (Coles 1997; Klingler 1997; Picone 1997) appearing in the published volume (Bernstein, Nunnally and Sabino 1997). At the LAVIS III symposium, held in 2004, Louisiana-based research was quite prominent, with no fewer than eight essays devoted to a diversity of topics — English and French (Dubois 2015; Dubois and Horvath 2015; Eble 2015; Klingler 2015; Picone 2015a), American Indian languages (Chafe 2015; Rankin 2015), and American Sign Language (Bayley and Lucas 2015) — appearing in the subsequent publication (Picone and Davies 2015). Momentarily interrupting commentary on the progression of LAVIS symposia, in 2012, between LAVIS III and LAVIS IV, an important special issue of the *Southern Journal of Linguistics*, guest edited by Christina Schoux Casey, appeared bearing the title “Place in Sociolinguistics:

New Orleans” (Schoux Casey 2012). Helping to address the surprising paucity of prior research on language in New Orleans, this issue contained a dozen articles (and other assorted materials), most of which are cited below.¹ Returning now to commentary on the progression of symposia, LAVIS IV, somewhat after the fashion of LAVIS I, was configured differently than its two immediate predecessors (both based on open calls for papers) and featured targeted presentations, leading to fewer Louisiana-based contributions in this resulting volume, but by the same token providing an opportunity for an informative glimpse of the direction that much Louisiana-based research is now taking. In this regard, as requested by the symposium organizers, this chapter is partly composed of an overview of the state and trajectory of linguistic research in relation to Louisiana, this in keeping with the selected theme for the LAVIS IV volume, “The New South.”

Of course, the expression “New South” is itself not new, having been recycled at various intervals to refer to different things: the move toward an industrial base and away from a purely agrarian one, the more progressive post–Jim Crow South, and a more demographically and attitudinally diverse South (see the introduction to this volume). The latter, of course, is the most relevant to the changing linguistic profile of the contemporary South, including Louisiana. Moreover, in tandem with new languagescapes, it is largely a new cohort of emerging researchers who are investigating language variety and change in Louisiana, and they are using newer frameworks of analysis and developing original departures. Indeed, the following survey of the field reveals that much new research is being conducted in relation to stylistic practice and notions of language as performance. Nevertheless, the more recent work of veteran scholars remains vital and is mentioned in the following brief summary. Tracing such research trends is an undertaking that, in and of itself, can be informative to posterity. Nevertheless, going beyond a mere summary of research trends, this chapter seeks to enhance its relevance by accompanying the presentation of the state of the research with appropriate commentary aimed at provoking reflection about some of the perceived parameters of variationism, including a reappraisal of the notion of the vernacular. Additionally, observations about the influence of media on language variation in the Louisiana context are highlighted, and in this regard, I show how the notions of stylistic practice and language as performance take on special relevance in the Louisiana context in relation to certain language preservation efforts.

2. The “Diasystem” of Variation

Research trends in Louisiana can be succinctly categorized and organized under the different *dias* associated with variationism, with the addition of the preexistent but underutilized diamesic category and the introduction of an altogether new diapractic category that I arrived at to label stylistic practice and performance and set them apart, to the extent that they can be shown to be register independent and therefore distinct from diaphasic variation:

1. Diachronic: variation across time
2. Diatopic: geographic/regional variation
3. Diastratic: variation by social classes/groupings
4. Diaphasic: variation according to register
5. Diamesic: variation according to medium
6. Diapractic: variation according to stylistic practice/performance²

Of course, it can be argued that diachronic variation occupies a different status than the others since, setting aside for the moment the explanatory task of establishing motivations and mechanisms of change, diachronic variation is essentially the history of all the other variations in their successive stages and configurations. Organized as such, this summary resonates with Eugenio Coseriu’s long-standing conceptualization, according to which the traditional core *dias* of variation (terms 2–4) are subsystems that, taken together, constitute an overarching diasystem of variation characterizing a language (Coseriu 1976, 1981, 1987, 1998). Diamesic variation and diapractic variation did not appear in his original diasystem and were presumably subsumed under diaphasic variation. However, they have been promoted here because it is not always clear that they can be so subsumed, even when overlap may be significant. In relation to diamesic variation, in some media, especially in the arts, language use is not necessarily aimed at any predictable or predetermined audience and hence is not easily assignable to a defined social space that can be correlated with register. Moreover, a particular medium itself may constrain language use in various ways rather than social space; an example would be the need for succinct expression that syncs appropriately with the accompanying visuals in a complex multimodal articulation in comic books and graphic novels (see McCloud 2006:128–57). In relation to diapractic variation, in some cases — and New Orleans English may constitute such a case (see below) — “performance speech” (Schilling-Estes 1998; Davies

2007) and other forms of stylistic practice may be pervasive in all registers and hence may be, at least partially, register independent. Indeed, for stylistic practice to succeed in the continual renegotiation and construction of identity (à la Eckert 2012), the dissociation of linguistic features and register must be realizable at any given moment (see below). Furthermore, in the particular circumstances associated with the restricted use of endangered Louisiana French, register is essentially flattened, since little linguistically indexed stratification of social space remains (but see, for apparent instances of register-dependent variation, Carmichael 2007; Blainey 2009). A special association between diamesic variation and diapractic variation can be posited to the extent that stylistic practice may be constrained in certain aspects that depend on the medium of expression, for which I give examples below. Hence, for the purposes of this essay, diamesic and diapractic variation are highlighted rather than subsumed under diaphasic variation. However, while convenient to the present analysis and arguably register-free in some cases, in many instances these categories can also continue to be fairly comfortably subsumed under the overarching category diaphasic.

Though not mutually exclusive, the center of focus for the still-active veteran researchers is primarily diachronic, whereas for the new generation of Louisiana researchers the focus is primarily diapractic. The most apparent overlap of interest is in the diatopic category. Some of my own original research mentioned below can be qualified as primarily diamesic. Hence, these four categories — diachronic, diatopic, diapractic, and diamesic — will suffice for the framing of the following commentary, with most commentary dedicated to forward-looking trends coming under the heading of diapractic investigation.

3. Diachronic Variation

Diachronic investigation of language in Louisiana, usually sociohistorical and often in relation to contact linguistics, remains primarily a preoccupation of still active veteran researchers. Connie Eble (2008), using a networks-based framework, has further developed aspects of her LAVIS III contribution (Eble 2015) tracing the transition from French to English in nineteenth-century family correspondence. Though constituting mostly an investigation of the external history of language change, in her work Eble nevertheless notes the infrequency of code-switching in the epistolary corpus. When it does appear, switching almost always embodies a kind of stylistic flourish and is typically intersentential. Likewise, Thomas Klingler (2015) has expanded

upon his LAVIS III research by positing the non-Acadian origins of some of the demographic vectors contributing to Louisiana French (Klingler 2009), an endeavor in which he has also teamed up with phonologist Chantal Lyche (Klingler and Lyche 2012).³ Another veteran, Kevin Rottet (2006a), has elaborated further on his prior work (Rottet 2004) attempting to peel back the effects of dialect leveling in Louisiana in order to circumscribe any remaining evidence pointing to separate Acadian French and Creole society French linguistic stock. (The nineteenth-century acceptance of the term “Creole” is used here to refer to the locally born and bred population having French or Spanish ancestry.) To give one example, Rottet confirms the regional distribution of variant forms of the inanimate interrogative pronoun (typically *quoi* in areas of Acadian settlement and *qui* in areas associated with Creole society), an approach complemented to a degree by observations by Picone (2006). In another vein, with regard to Louisiana Creole, Rottet’s (2006b) analysis of interrogative pronouns also supports arguments for a monogenetic origin (contra Speedy [1995], who posits two separate threads of origin).⁴

Though her prior work embodied a fairly standard variationist approach revolving primarily around a synchronic corpus-based appraisal of diatopic and diastratic variation in French and English in Louisiana, Sylvie Dubois has now also shifted to a diachronic perspective in some of her more recent publications (Dubois 2010, 2014; Dubois, Leumas, and Richardson forthcoming). Like Eble’s (2008, 2015) studies based on nineteenth-century epistolary sources, the compendium of analyses brought together by Dubois (2010) makes profitable use of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century letters and documents, all in French, to tease out specificities of usage in Louisiana’s literate population. In a similar vein, Picone (2014; compare Picone 2003) examines the cautious use of nineteenth-century literary dialect by Louisiana-based authors, both English and French, in the reconstruction of earlier linguistic features, such as the variable presence in Plantation Society French of the dorsal /r/ ([ʀ] or [ʁ]) as the prestige variant in tandem with a similar evolution in France.⁵

4. Diatopic Variation

Diatopic variation is an area of overlapping focus for veteran and emergent researchers. Suitably epitomizing this, the research community will benefit from a significant boost when the magisterial work of veteran Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh, teaming up with emergent researcher Julia Mitko,

finally appears: *Grammaire comparée des français d'Acadie et de Louisiane, avec un aperçu sur Terre-Neuve*. The projected tome (the manuscript is already over nine hundred pages), comparing and contrasting the profiles of North American French as embodied in Acadia, Newfoundland and Louisiana, will certainly be informative in relation to the continuing debate (see work by Klingler cited above) concerning the dialectal origins of Louisiana French in relation to its Acadian predecessor, as well as other possible contributing vectors. Meanwhile, various studies by a partly veteran and partly newer cohort of researchers explore diatopic themes in relation to Louisiana's various linguistic communities, including comparisons of Cajun English and New Orleans English (Carmichael 2015a; see also chapter 7 this volume) and comparisons of francophone Prairie Cajuns and Bayou Cajuns (Dajko and Blainey 2016; Dajko, Klingler, and Lyche 2017). Blainey (2017) brings to light diatopic variation in Louisiana regarding the lowering of /ɛ/ preceding /r/ in French (for example, *frère* [frar] or [frær], "brother") which is sometimes considered to be an emblematic trait of Cajun identity, such that it may have higher incidence among younger Cajun French speakers than among their elders. Comparing varieties of North American French with one another and with European French, the veteran Rottet, in an unpublished manuscript titled "On the Origins of Preposition Stranding in Louisiana French" (2009), challenges prior analyses (with regard to Acadian French, see esp. King 2000, 2005) that have asserted that lexical borrowing from English of strandable prepositions (as in *quoi-ce qu'ils parlent about?* "what are they talking about?") has contributed to a generalization of strandability, allowing for a more liberal use of native North American French prepositions, including "weak prepositions" such as *de* (of), in similar configurations. Based on data from Louisiana French, however, Rottet counters with an alternative approach, positing reanalysis of English phrasal verbs (such as *give up* and *find out*) as fused functional units when inserted into French discourse, thereby disqualifying lexical borrowings as a direct avenue of syntactic change, and resorting instead to the notion of structural replication of English as the more likely path of change in Louisiana French.

With regard to Spanish, Orozco and Dorado (forthcoming) contrast the three historic Spanish dialects of Louisiana, all in different locations — Adaeseño (in northwest Louisiana, Natchitoches and Sabine Parishes, since the early eighteenth century, but recently extinct), Isleño (southeast of New Orleans, in Saint Bernard Parish, since the late eighteenth century, nearing extinction), and Brule (near Donaldsonville, in Ascension Parish, since the late eighteenth century, now vanished) — with the current rise of mostly immigrant

Mexican and Central American Spanish in a kind of “unplanned” revival of Spanish, which was given a boost due to the rebuilding boom in the aftermath of the devastating Hurricanes Rita and Katrina in 2005. Regarding vestigial Isleño Spanish in Louisiana, veteran researcher Felice Coles has published an interdialectal study in relation to Cuban Spanish (Coles 2005a).⁶

5. DiapRACTic Variation

For a largely younger cohort of emergent Louisiana researchers, diachronic preoccupations have given way to make room for a new focus on language and the construction of identity and on language and ideology in the mostly contemporary setting (for partial exceptions, where diachronic and sociohistorical issues remain central, see Lief 2012; White-Sustaita 2012). This was demonstrated at the LAVIS IV, held concurrent with the Southeastern Conference on Linguistics 82 gathering, where in addition to my own presentation (Picone 2015b), most of the other Louisiana-oriented presentations centered on contemporary identity-related themes: Colomb (2015) on New Orleans English across neighborhood/racial boundaries; Dajko (2015; see also Dajko 2012 and chapter 8 this volume) on the continued identity-signaling utility of declining Louisiana French; Lindner (2015) on fluctuating and conflicting opinions regarding the evolving status of regional French in relation to core views of Cajun culture; and veteran Coles (2015) on the commodification of disappearing Isleño Spanish. Much of the Louisiana-based work of Carole Salmon, another member of the emergent cohort, also revolves around issues of language and identity, either diachronic (Salmon 2009) or contemporary (Salmon and Dubois 2010a, 2010b). Based on a study of the behavior of the English discourse marker *but*, which is prevalent in Louisiana French alongside of native *mais*, Dajko and Carmichael (2014:159) demonstrate “that discourse markers may carry social meaning and be the site of identity construction as much as they are the site of text organization.” Among the emergent research on identity, a welcome development is a focus on language and dialect in Greater New Orleans, which heretofore has been remarkably understudied. See especially the work of Schoux Casey (2012, 2016, forthcoming), Carmichael (2012), and veteran Eble (2009) for observations concerning enregisterment and commodification of French regionalisms (in many cases, pseudo-regionalisms) in the Crescent City (compare Heller 2010; also in relation to language in New Orleans, see Eble 2006, 2011, 2012; for commodification in relation to nineteenth-century Louisiana-based literary dialect, see Picone 2014). In an on-the-job setting, Zhang (2012) reports on

the use of language by African Americans to appropriately flag identity at the historic Camellia Grill in New Orleans.

Language and construction of identity are in large part embodied in stylistic practice, including performance speech. This trajectory, which I have dubbed *diapractic*, resonates with what Eckert (2012) has termed the third wave of variation study. Her comments set the stage for what follows: “The first wave . . . established a pattern of socioeconomic stratification of linguistic forms. . . . Central to the theory was the notion of the vernacular . . . unaffected by socially motivated correction, . . . untouched by the reflexivity of human agency” (88). “The second wave began with the attribution of social agency to the use of vernacular as well as standard features and a focus on the vernacular as an expression of local or class identity” (91).

But like studies in the first wave, second-wave studies focused on apparently static categories of speakers and equated identity with category affiliation. . . . The principal move in the third wave then was [away] from a view of variation as a reflection of social identities and categories to[ward] the linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice. . . . Whereas the first two waves viewed the meaning of variation as incidental fallout from social space, the third wave views it as an essential feature of language. Variation constitutes a social semiotic system . . . variables cannot be consensual markers of fixed meanings; on the contrary, their central property must be indexical mutability. (93–94)

Stylistic practice, then, constitutes a purposeful, conscious operation in the manipulation of linguistic features to construct identity reflective of a personal stance in relation to ambient community ideologies. Consistent with this, based on her investigations of New Orleans English, Christina Schoux Casey made the following observation (see also Schoux Casey 2016, forthcoming):

The most salient aspect of my research thus far is the link between language and performance in New Orleans. The near-total evacuation of the city in 2005 [in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina] meant that those who returned constitute what one interviewee called “a 100 percent volunteer population.” I have found repeatedly in my research that New Orleanians, both natives and transplants, see themselves as ambassadors, embodying New Orleanian-ness through their cultural practices, with their language use as one practice. Arguably, for most New Orleanians,

unself-conscious speech is not the norm. Some degree of performance informs the everyday talk of residents, from self-identified Creoles to Garden District lawyers to transplanted “super natives.” (Schoux Casey, personal communication, July 31, 2014)

Eble (2006:46) has made a similar claim: “Local identity is a performance art in New Orleans, and people work at it” (see also Dubois 2016). Myers-Scotton’s (1993) conception of the social motivations for code-switching serves as a precursor foreshadowing the centrality of conscious stylistic practice to negotiate a particular identity arrived at linguistically. According to her model, which is predicated upon a rational actor framework of analysis, a speaker chooses to engage in code-switching to negotiate the optimal set of rights and obligations afforded by signaling situationally appropriate bi-cultural membership.

In terms of both general implications and setting the stage for more Louisiana-sourced examples, it is important to stop and reflect on the possible implications of Eckert’s notion of the third wave. To the extent that conscious stylistic practice is foregrounded, does this now greatly diminish or completely overthrow the notion of the vernacular in the Labovian sense? Put differently, if no level of speech is left where the speaker invests no self-conscious effort in the selection of features, can we still talk about a “vernacular” as an unmediated baseline against which variable features can be measured? Ferdinand de Saussure made a revolutionary and necessary break with philology so that modern linguistics could purchase a suitable synchronic foundation for investigation of authentic oral production, but in the process he created a false dichotomy between *langue* and *parole*, such that his framework reposed partly on an artificial baseline (*langue*). As is well known, the Chomskyan revolution maintained essentially the same dichotomy between “competence” and “performance,” with the former, an abstraction, serving once again as a problematic baseline. These dichotomies were overthrown by variationist sociolinguists because such configurations attempted to isolate the core investigation of language from the ubiquitous and constantly creative mechanisms of change, such that the researcher ends up investigating an artificially static model (as *langue* or “competence”). Hence, the Labovian variationist revolution provided a necessary corrective to the above. Yet ensconced within prototypical variationism there may be another artificial baseline if indeed the presumed unmediated vernacular proves to be a hypothetical abstraction unreflective of pervasive and conscious stylistic practice.

Moreover, consider the following rhetorical question. If I have no real vernacular and am in fact painting a newly revised picture of myself every day using language-based choices (among other things) as colors on my palette, then what substantive difference is there between what I do linguistically to self-create my character and what an author does with dialog to create any character? In this fashion, stylistic practice, as magnified in “performance speech” (Schilling-Estes 1998; Davies 2007) or in code-crossing à la Rampton (1995, 1998) but as being ever present in virtually all contexts, blurs greatly the boundary between so-called natural speech and artistic uses of language, such as in literary dialect (for special reference to Louisiana, see Cannon 2012; Picone 2014, 2016) and in increasingly prevalent code-switching in song lyrics (Picone 2002; see Louisiana-based examples below), to give just two examples among many.⁷

6. Diamesic Variation

Pursuing a diamesic vantage point that brings together the three interlinked themes of linguistic “performance” of identity, artistic performance incorporating code-mixing between English and acrolectal Louisiana Creole, and commodification, the lyrics of “Paper in My Shoe” popularized by zydeco artist Boozoo Chavis (1930–2001) in 1954 (ostensibly the first ever recording by a zydeco artist) are instructive. They also provide context and a jumping off place for considering a subsequent code-mixed iteration in the music of Michael Doucet and the Cajun music group BeauSoleil.

Paper in My Shoe

I got a paper in my shoe,	Mo gain papier dans mon soulier,
I got a paper in my shoe.	Mo gain papier dans mon soulier.
Oh, what your mama don't know	Oh, ça ta mama connaît pas,
And what your papa don't like.	Et ça ta pop aime pas.
Oh, what your mama don't know	Oh, ça ta mama connaît pas,
And what your papa don't like.	Et ça ta pop aime pas.
I got a paper in my shoe.	Mo gain papier dans mon soulier.

The exact meaning of the expression “I got a paper in my shoe” is contested, ranging from the fanciful — a hoodoo love charm — to the more mundane and plausible, namely, a symptom of being too poor to be able to plug up a hole with anything other than paper and/or too poor to wear anything other than hand-me-downs that must be stuffed with paper to fit,

hence not good dating material for a daughter, if the parents only knew. Regardless, what is important in the context of this essay is the use of highly structured intersentential code-switching. The fact that the content of the song is expressed both in English and in an acrolectal Louisiana Creole that is totally intelligible to any Louisiana French speaker allows the artist to achieve multiple goals. First of all, he ensures self-presentation of authentic identity by demonstrating creolophone/francophone credentials. He also reaches an unrestricted audience, by virtue of including verses switched to English, which is important in the context of language decline compromising the viability of Louisiana Creole and French. Hence, the linguistic profile of the song is simultaneously a statement about authentic identity and a statement about community inclusion in the face of linguistic heterogeneity. Hand-in-hand with the latter, the marketability of the song, both present and future, is obviously enhanced as well.

For the same set of reasons — and, in some cases, to add a statement about being a defender of Cajun identity, which is a more modern preoccupation — the tradition of switching verses between French and English has often been maintained by contemporary Cajun and zydeco music groups (Picone 2002:198). In the context of the discussion of the particularities of diamesic variation, notice that this is possible to do elegantly within the parameters of this particular medium, without sacrificing communicative efficiency — in fact, a communicative enhancement is obtained — whereas in a conversation that includes French speakers and monolingual English speakers this same strategy is far too cumbersome to implement, and lingua franca English prevails with, at best, a low-level, token-like switching to French forms such as *cher* (lit. “dear,” now a generic term of endearment in local English) for some speakers as an emblem of identity (for other examples, see Saloy 2012; Dajko et al. 2012; according to the latter the pronunciation of select place names can sometimes serve this purpose).

Nevertheless, a certain amount of artistic playfulness can occur in the medium of song that ends up surreptitiously, as it were, splitting momentarily the audience between English monolinguals and bilinguals and sending them different messages (see also Picone 2002:195). Consider, for example, Michael Doucet and BeauSoleil’s 1988 rendition of “Baby, Please Don’t Go”:

Baby, please don’t go, Baby, please don’t go
 Baby, please don’t go back to New Orleans,
 You know I love you so.
 Peux pas t’en aller, peux pas t’en aller

Peux pas t'en aller back à Nouvelle Orléans
 Peux pas t'en aller.
 Turn your lamp down low, turn your lamp down low,
 Turn your lamp down low, I beg of you,
 Baby, all night long.
 J'ai un papier dans mon soulier, J'ai un papier dans mon soulier,
 J'ai un papier dans mon soulier, mais tu ne connais pas,
 J'ai un papier dans mon soulier.⁸

The original author is unknown, but the song was first popularized in 1935 by Delta bluesman Big Joe Williams (1903 [Crawford, MS]–1982). BeauSoleil has transformed it from a monolingual English song to a bilingual English-French song, with alternating verses. As was the case with “Paper in My Shoe,” initially the same content is expressed in English and French. But then there is a twist: the song transitions from being fully inclusive to exclusive at the moment that the bilingual listener realizes that the second English verse, beginning with “Turn your lamp down low,” is followed by a French verse that is not a translation. Instead, BeauSoleil borrows and inserts the French verse from “Paper in My Shoe.” But there is another twist: the verse is altered. It is no longer the parents who are in the dark about the paper in the shoe but the lover herself: “mais tu connais pas” (“but you [2nd pers. sing.] don’t know”). Inclusion of this French verse and altered lyric creates a diegetic reframing. The alteration makes sense only if the lover herself is an English-speaking monolingual who is kept “in the dark” about her paramour’s true meager status, which provides a fitting counterpoint to the English verse that is not translated into French, “Turn your lamp down low.” Moreover, the monolingual lover becomes representative of all the English-speaking monolinguals in the listening audience who cannot grasp the full meaning of the song, but do not realize it. Once again, this particular medium, used to advantage, provides an opportunity for a deftly crafted statement about language identity that highlights and empowers the bilingual Louisianan at the unwitting expense of the monolingual anglophone.

While code-switching, both intersentential and intrasentential, is rampant in what is left of the historic francophone and creolophone communities in Louisiana, it rarely appears in the medium of songwriting other than in the form exemplified above, where switching takes place elegantly between verses. This is due to another, sometimes stigmatized dimension of linguistic identity in Louisiana among bilinguals. To elaborate, I cite regional columnist, pundit, and cartoonist Earl J. Comeaux, excerpted from

his 2000 “Galeemacha Column” (from French *galimatias* “gibberish, confused ramblings”):

We’re a little bit amused when we see outsiders and “Americans” laugh at our Cajun French with its blend of English words. As we have pointed out before, many things were unknown to the world or to the Cajuns when our ancestors left France, and as a result, Cajuns have adopted the English word for some things, like telephone and the airplane. Some outsiders mimic Cajuns for this supposed flaw in their language, and have the impression that Cajuns are speaking a pidgin language, part French and part English. These same folks would have died of shame if someone was to correctly point out to them that the King’s English is, by the same logic, really pidgin French.

This astute observation on the part of Comeaux, tinged with more than a little sarcasm, underscores the existence of diamesic parameters or constraints that may accompany different media, for not only is such naturally rampant code-switching rare in song, but it is also entirely absent from Comeaux’s own Cajun French comic strips, even though various French regionalisms are retained.⁹

7. Concluding Remarks

Language preservation is a constant concern when it comes to the status of French (on the largely positive attitudes toward the preservation of French among various student populations in the state, see Lindner forthcoming) and other vanishing heritage languages and dialects in Louisiana, in particular Louisiana Creole, Jenna Choctaw, Koasati (for background and ongoing preservation efforts, see Kimball forthcoming), Isleño Spanish (mentioned above), and “sleeping” Tunica (for background and a description of “reawakening” efforts, including an account of neological strategies employed for the expansion and refitting of the lexicon, see Maxwell and Anderson forthcoming). Language preservation efforts clearly intersect in various ways with attempts at bolstering language identity and with commodification. Concerning the latter, an unusual dynamic can set in where the more scarce a language becomes, the more its lingering remnants (by this same token, now tame and unthreatening), often of the “enregistered” variety (Johnstone 2009), become valuable as a commodity for certain interests (Heller 2010), such as the tourist industry, which is eager to tap local color for its value as an added attraction to turn a profit. This manifestation has been alluded to

in the work of Eble (2009) with regard to French (and pseudo-French) signage in contemporary New Orleans and, howbeit in a less exploitative fashion, in the work of Coles (2015) on the Isleño museum. Schoux Casey (2016, forthcoming) and Carmichael (2015b) also investigate aspects of this dynamic, mostly in regard to Greater New Orleans English (locally referred to as Yat), which is undergoing decline overall but, simultaneously, has attained strong emblematic value in relation to the local pride characterizing the post-Katrina population of New Orleans and suburbs (for example, Chalmette, Saint Bernard Parish, where Carmichael's study was undertaken). Hence, Yat lends itself to commodification aimed at locals and tourists alike (for an example of Yat appearing in a long-standing New Orleans-based comic strip by the local cartoonist Bunny Matthews, see Carmichael and Dajko 2016). Such commodification can lead to a kind of linguistic caricature, especially when profit is the overriding incentive. However, a more innocuous or even beneficial type of commodification can take place when products aimed at aiding bona fide efforts toward language preservation are made available on the market. In this vein, and to conclude this essay, a few remarks are in order on the intersection of diapractic variation and language preservation efforts regarding heritage French in Louisiana.

As a member of the lexicographic team of researchers responsible for the *Dictionary of Louisiana French* (Valdman et al. 2010), I have been following with interest its trajectory as an aid to the preservation of heritage French in Louisiana, which has always been one of the dictionary's foremost goals (subventions were obtained to make the volume affordable, and no royalties were requested by the team of authors).¹⁰ The dictionary is aimed at a general readership and is enriched with myriad examples of actual usage (with accompanying translations into English since most heritage speakers and "rememberers" are not literate in French), reflective of cultural practices as well as language, such that the sheer pleasure associated with its perusal has been a constant comment on the part of its readership. By all accounts the public reception has been warm: three printings to date; a total run of 6,400, with all but about 1,000 already sold; still selling at more than 300 copies per year. The dictionary has assumed a certain status of authority in the community. For example, on his triweekly Cajun French radio program *La Tasse de Café* (KVPI, Ville Platte, LA), Jim Soileau consults the *Dictionary of Louisiana French* on the air when there is debate about terms and usage. In fact, the dictionary has become a tool and a resource at the ready disposition of members of the community consciously engaging in what could be termed the amalgamation of language reclamation efforts and wholesale stylistic

practice in order to reinforce, extend, create, or experiment with French-heritage identity at the linguistic level. One such individual is Brad Nation, who in his own personal search to reestablish a linguistic component to his Cajun identity has authored and uploaded countless clips to YouTube (usually labeled “Cajun French Virtual Table Française” or some variation of that) as an aid to French acquisition. In one such clip (Nation 2014), he presents some of the published language-help sources available. Very prominent among them is the *Dictionary of Louisiana French*, about which he volunteers, “This is kind of considered by many to be our authoritative source on Louisiana French.” The point is, the dictionary qualifies as a successful commodity, to be sure, but its chief value is not that it turns a profit for anyone but, rather, that it has been discovered to be a valuable asset assisting individuals who are engaging in stylistic practice to various degrees as part of a linguistic enterprise to reinforce or establish a coveted identity. In this case, it is not a question of Cajun songsmiths who are crafting their art partly in French but, rather, an array of ordinary people who are negotiating a Cajun French/Louisiana French identity. In the face of many degrading counterforces characterizing past public perception of Louisiana French for generations, the *Dictionary of Louisiana French*, perhaps more than any other single publication to date (though there are many other valuable ones), has served to dignify regional French in Louisiana and restore a measure of pride in the community of its speakers.

About the Author

Michael D. Picone, professor of French and linguistics at the University of Alabama, coedited *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches* (2015), a product of LAVIS III.

Notes

1. Only two other substantial book-length compendiums of research on language in Louisiana can be named: Valdman (1997) and Dajko and Walton (forthcoming).
2. In the original talk given at LAVIS IV, in an attempt to find a suitable label incorporating the *dia-* prefix to refer to stylistic practice and performance, I wavered between the possible terms *diatropic* and *diapractic* and used primarily the former. Ultimately, however, in conversations informed by my colleague Catherine Evans Davies, I have opted for *diapractic* as the more appropriate label, esteeming that *diatropic* would require an infelicitous broadening of the definition of the stem *trope*.
3. Other recent scholarship by Lyche on Louisiana French, including her contribution to Dubois 2010, address themes of perennial interest in French phonology such as the

manifestation of liaison and the comportment of unstable schwa (Lyche 2010, 2011; Boutin and Lyche 2014).

4. Scholarly publications devoted to Louisiana Creole, which reached their momentary high point with the appearance of Valdman and colleagues (1998) and Klingler (2003), have become increasingly sparse and appear to be in a state of deceleration. A welcome exception to the downward trend is the source book compiled by veteran researcher Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh (2011).

5. The presence of the dorsal /r/ is still attested among vanishing populations of elderly French speakers on Grand Isle and, across Barataria Bay, at Grand Bayou, Diamond, West Point à la Hache, and adjacent communities heavily hit by Hurricane Katrina (Picone 2006). In ongoing research conducted by Nathan Wendte (2017), the behavior of the dorsal /r/ in various phonological environments is examined in comparison to the apical variety prevalent elsewhere.

6. Virtually alone in this capacity, Coles has been a productive researcher of the vanishing dialect of Isleño Spanish in Louisiana (see also Coles 2005b, 2009, 2010, 2012b, 2012c). See also Coles 2012a on the utility of Yat (Greater New Orleans English), among this same population, as a vehicle for signaling local identity in the absence of vanishing Isleño Spanish.

7. In relation to the onomastics of collective identity, see Campanella's (2012) commentary on the various names and sobriquets associated with the city of New Orleans.

8. Included in the 1988 album *Bayou Cadillac*. The title of the album contains a code-mixed pun in the form of a riff on the line "I'm gonna buy you a Cadillac" from B. B. King's "Please Love Me" (1953): buy you a Cadillac > Bayou Cadillac.

9. Comeaux and Ken Meaux were co-creators of the series *Bec Doux et Ses Amis*, which had a run from 1969 to 1992. See Leroy and Ancelet (2011).

10. The research leading up to the creation of the dictionary was funded principally by the National Endowment for the Humanities. For the publication itself, subventions and support were provided by the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, Indiana University, Tulane University, and the Consulat Général de France à la Nouvelle Orléans.

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Katie Carmichael

Cajuns as Southe(r)ne(r)s?

An Examination of Variable *r*-Lessness in Cajun English

1. Introduction

Louisiana has always been something of an anomaly in the American South — geographically it is distinguished by the crisscrossing bayous of the Mississippi delta; culturally it features a number of traditions linked to its French heritage, such as Mardi Gras; and linguistically it stands out due to the varied mixture of influences from French, Spanish, and African sources, among others. Louisiana's unique linguistic history is reflected in the current-day speech variety known as Cajun English, which is spoken throughout Acadiana, the triangle-shaped collection of Louisiana parishes that historically featured a strong presence of Cajun French.¹ One of the biggest differences between Cajun English and Southern White English is that Cajuns do not participate in the southern vowel shift (Wroblewski, Strand, and Dubois 2009; Carmichael 2013). The southern vowel shift is a reconfiguration of the American English vowel space characterized by the fronting of /oo/ and /u/ and a reversal in front tense and lax vowel pairs (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). The Cajun English vowel system, in contrast, has been argued to demonstrate influence from French resulting in unglided/monophthongal tense vowels [i, e, o, u] (Walton 1994; Strand, Good, and Wroblewski 2010; Wroblewski, Strand, and Dubois 2009; Carmichael 2013). Despite Louisiana's distinct linguistic and cultural heritage, Cajuns and Southerners do

share some linguistics practices. For example, /aɪ/-monophthongization and variable *r*-lessness are both features found in Acadiana (Dubois and Horvath 2000), as well as more broadly throughout the South (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). While this similarity suggests that Cajun English is not as divorced linguistically from the rest of the South as it may seem, the American English approximant /ɹ/ is not found in Cajun French, so it could have easily arisen in Cajun English initially through interference from French, rather than through some common source with neighboring southern dialects of English. The question arises: is variable *r*-lessness in Cajun English a feature that demonstrates the “Southernness” of Cajuns, in terms of dialectological classification, or does it appear to be a coincidental similarity that derives instead from French influence? A further question, in terms of situating Cajun English within broader trends in the American South, is whether *r*-lessness in Cajun English is on the retreat as is the case elsewhere in the South (Feagin 1990; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; Baranowski 2007; Schoux Casey 2013, 2016; Carmichael 2017). To address these issues, I analyzed (r) in the speech of Cajun English speakers of varying ages and linguistic backgrounds in terms of French fluency. Findings show that *r*-lessness is stable across age groups, and that fluency in French does not significantly predict *r*-lessness in the sample. This pattern differs from that of other French-influenced features in Cajun English, suggesting an alternate source of *r*-lessness. To examine the potential effect of nearby *r*-less varieties on Cajun English (r), I compared the system of (r) constraints in Cajun English with those documented for neighboring English dialects. The system of *r*-lessness in Cajun English does not resemble that of nearby varieties, making it unlikely that its presence in Cajun English is a result of contact with these variably *r*-less dialects. This chapter thus situates Cajun English within linguistic trends in the American South, bolstering previous work establishing its status as a dialect apart.

2. Sociohistorical and Linguistic Background

The current-day linguistic landscape of Louisiana has its roots in French colonization of North America. In the late seventeenth century, French explorers left modern-day Canada, heading down the Mississippi River in search of an outlet to the Pacific; what they found instead was the Mississippi delta, which flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. The entire area surrounding the river and its delta was claimed by France and named Louisiana after French King Louis XIV. The Louisiana territory changed hands several times between the French and Spanish before being purchased by Thomas Jefferson in 1803, to

soon after become part of the United States. Before the Louisiana Purchase took place, however, conflicts between the French and English in Canada resulted in the exile of French colonists from Acadia (modern-day Nova Scotia and New Brunswick). This large-scale expulsion of 12,000–18,000 Acadians was known as the Grand Dérangement (Brasseaux 2005). While many of these exiled Acadians would be sent back to France or placed in detention centers along the Atlantic coast of the United States, a significant portion relocated to the bayous of South Louisiana, mixing with existing populations there and becoming the cultural and ethnic group now called Cajuns (Le Menestrel 1999).

Along with certain cultural traditions — such as a fierce belief in individualism garnered as frontiersmen, as well as a devotion to their Catholic faith (Brasseaux 2005) — the Acadians brought to Louisiana their distinct variety of French. Cajun French is distinguished from modern-day hexagonal French by syntactic features such as progressive *après*, phonological features such as variable lenition of /ʒ/ to /h/, and lexical particularities such as *asteur* instead of *maintenant* to mean “now” — all of which are also common in Acadia and parts of the Caribbean (Papen and Rottet 1997; Picone 1997; Picone and Valdman 2005; Carmichael 2008). There are also features that seem to be the result of prolonged contact with English, such as certain borrowings (e.g., “*il a RETIRE*”; Carmichael 2007) and English-influenced syntactic structures (e.g., “*il aimait pas que mon père parlait à lui dans le français*”; Blyth 1997:37).

Despite this rich linguistic history, over the past century the number of French speakers in Louisiana has steeply declined, in part due to laws requiring compulsory education in English (Picone 1997). Nowadays in Louisiana, most French-speaking individuals are at least middle-aged, if not older. Louisianans have still found linguistic means to express their Cajun identity, however — but since many younger Cajuns do not have access to French, they do so in English (Dubois and Horvath 2000).

Many features of Cajun English can be traced back to French influence, even though most Cajun English speakers are now monolingual English speakers (Dubois and Horvath 1998a, 2000, 2002; Carmichael 2013). Some identifying features of Cajun English are presented in table 7.1. Features (1)–(3) in table 7.1 derive from French and are not common in other dialects of English in Louisiana, while features (4)–(6) — including variable *r*-lessness — are found in neighboring dialects such as Creole African American English (Wroblewski, Strand, and Dubois 2009), Southern White English (Feagin 1990; Marcotte 1992), and New Orleans English (Schoux Casey, 2016; Carmichael 2017).

TABLE 7.1. Cajun English linguistic features

Feature	References
(1) Nonaspiration of /p, t, k/	Rubrecht 1971; Walton 1994; Dubois and Horvath 2000, 2002; Coyne 2008; Carmichael 2013
(2) Syllable-initial deletion of /h/	Dubois and Horvath 2000, 2002; Coyne 2008
(3) Heavy vowel nasalization	Walton 1994; Dubois and Horvath 1998a
(4) Monophthongal /aɪ/	Scott 1992; Dubois and Horvath 1998a; Coyne 2008
(5) Th-stopping	Rubrecht 1971; Scott 1992; Walton 1994; Dubois and Horvath 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2002; Coyne 2008; Carmichael 2013
(6) Variability in pronunciation of /ɹ/	Rubrecht 1971; Walton 1994; Dubois and Horvath 2002; Coyne 2008

Some of the features of Cajun English, such as nonaspiration of voiceless stops /p, t, k/, are on the decline in Acadiana, while others, such as *th*-stopping, heavy nasalization, and monophthongal /aɪ/, demonstrate a V-shaped distribution across generations, with the youngest generation presenting higher rates of marked Cajun English variants than their parents' generation (Dubois and Horvath 2000, 2002). This pattern can be seen in the graph presented in figure 7.1. Dubois and Horvath (2000) interpret this V-shaped pattern as indicating the resurgence in the popularity of Cajun culture, and thus a desire in younger generations of speakers to express a linguistic connection to their Cajun heritage. Such ideologies are of particular interest in the present study because they may indicate a motivation for retaining variation in (r) longer than in other southern communities. Observing a similar V-shaped patterning for rates of *r*-lessness across generations would suggest that *r*-lessness follows the trajectory of other French-influenced features of Cajun English in becoming a marker of Cajun identity within Louisiana.

3. Variable *r*-Lessness in the Southern United States

Variable *r*-lessness has been studied throughout the American South, with most southern communities showing a decline in presence of *r*-lessness over time (see Feagin 1990 for Anniston, AL; Baranowski 2007 for Charleston, SC;

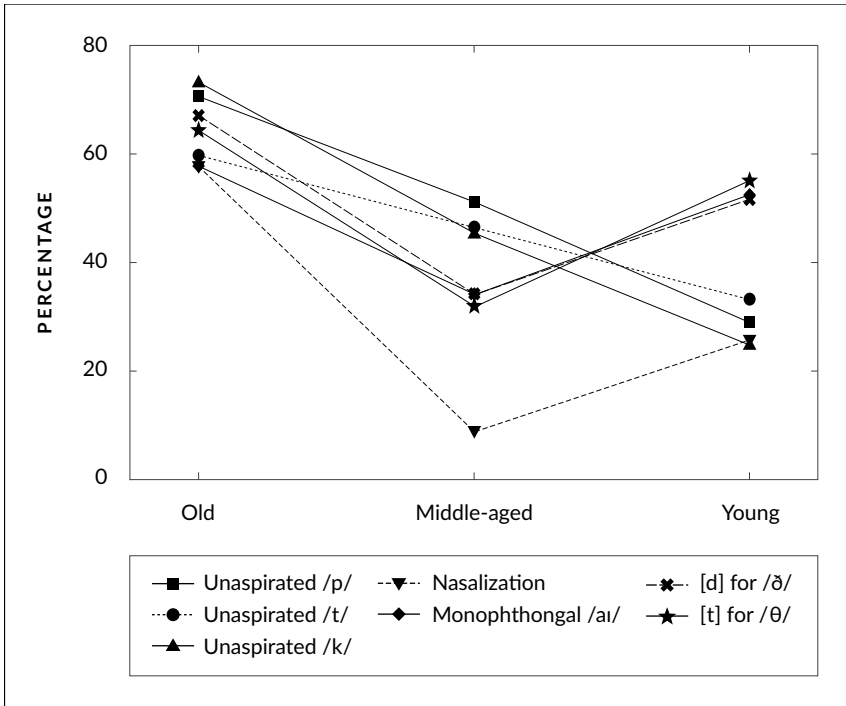


FIGURE 7.1. Distribution of Cajun English features across generations (adapted from Dubois and Horvath 2002:272)

and Schoux Casey 2016 and Carmichael 2017 for New Orleans, LA). *The Atlas of North American English (ANAE)* found *r*-lessness to be relatively uncommon in contemporary southern dialects, especially compared to the northeastern seaboard (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). *ANAE* researchers did not interview any Cajun English speakers, instead focusing their survey work in Louisiana on the urban centers of New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Shreveport. Within Louisiana and throughout the South more broadly, most *r*-less Southerners documented by *ANAE* were African Americans. And indeed, ethnic associations with *r*-less pronunciations have been suggested as a motivating factor for the shift toward increased *r*-fulness within the South, as Feagin (1990) proposed was the case in Anniston, Alabama. In this community, *r*-less pronunciations represented the prestige variant, in part because *r*-ful pronunciations in the South were historically associated with poor Scotch-Irish Southerners, while *r*-less pronunciations were more common with the

wealthy plantation class (Baranowski 2007). However, as Feagin noted, *r*-less pronunciations in the South are also common to black Southerners, leading her to hypothesize that one of the motivations for the shift toward *r*-fulness was as a method for southern whites to distinguish themselves from largely *r*-less southern blacks. As in Anniston, *r*-less pronunciations also represented the prestige variant in coastal Charleston, South Carolina. Baranowski (2007) demonstrated a similar shift toward *r*-fulness over time among white speakers in Charleston, with most speakers under thirty years of age completely *r*-ful by the time of his investigation.

In contrast with the studies mentioned above, *r*-lessness in New Orleans is not necessarily a prestigious feature. Although there was historically a “genteel” *r*-less uptown dialect in New Orleans (Kolker and Alvarez 1984), this dialect is all but extinct in the modern-day landscape of the city, with *r*-less pronunciations now most common in the speech of black and white working-class New Orleanians (Schoux Casey, Carmichael, and Dajko 2013; Schoux Casey 2016; Carmichael 2017). Mirroring other studies in the South, research on (r) in New Orleans has shown a shift toward *r*-fulness over time across ethnic groups (Reinecke 1951; Brennan 1983; Schoux Casey 2016; Carmichael 2017).

Despite being identified as a defining feature of Cajun English (Walton 1994; Wroblewski, Strand, and Dubois 2009; Carmichael forthcoming), variable *r*-lessness in Cajun English has received less attention from linguists than has *r*-lessness in the above dialects. There have been no systematic variationist examinations of (r) in Cajun English, but there has been documentation over time of the presence of this feature in Acadiana. In his work for the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, Rubrecht (1971) found variable *r*-lessness in the speech of seven individuals in communities throughout Acadiana. He noted that *r*-lessness in Acadiana appeared to be less consistent than in African American subjects he encountered in New Orleans, which suggests that this feature may be somewhat marginal within Cajun English. In contrast, Walton (1994) documented higher rates of *r*-lessness in “accent deepening” during storytelling, indicating that Cajun English speakers use this feature as a social and stylistic marker. Walton (1994) furthermore pointed out the geographic and ethnic associations that *r*-lessness can carry in South Louisiana, since this feature contrasts with North (“Anglo”) Louisiana, which is *r*-ful (Marcotte 1992). While these studies provide suggestions about the status of (r) in Cajun English, a systematic examination is required to determine its true patterning and use within Acadiana.

4. Methods

The data for this study were collected in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana, in summer 2009, using the friend-of-a-friend technique to identify potential interviewees. The resulting sample consisted of seventeen Cajun English speakers raised in and currently living in Lafourche Parish. All were white males twenty-six to eighty-three years of age (average age, 50.5 years) from primarily working-class backgrounds, with most working in the oil industry or shrimping/trawling — common careers in the region. These individuals were originally targeted as local joke tellers for a study aiming to examine accent deepening while joke-telling (see Carmichael 2013). As I discovered, joke-telling was a prototypically male activity in this community; for this reason, the sample consists of only men. I spoke with each individual for thirty minutes to two hours, eliciting narratives about their lives to document their casual speech register. Participants were also encouraged to tell as many Cajun jokes as they could remember. Only the conversational portion of the interviews was analyzed for the present study.

I selected thirty-minute segments judged to represent the most free-flowing narratives within each interview, transcribing them with the aid of three undergraduate research assistants; all transcribers are originally from Virginia, native speakers of *r*-ful dialects of American English. After transcribing, we coded the first fifty tokens of (*r*) for each speaker auditorily, marking “o” for *r*-less pronunciations and “1” for *r*-ful pronunciations. For any ambiguous tokens, we consulted one another’s opinions, and if we could not reach an agreement on the pronunciation as clearly fitting into either category, the token was excluded from the sample. Tokens adjacent to /*l*/ were excluded from the sample outright, since it is difficult to distinguish an *r*-ful pronunciation from a transition to /*l*/. To control the sample somewhat for lexical item, only the first three tokens of any given word were coded. Coding resulted in 847 total tokens.

Because we had four separate coders for this data set, it was necessary to derive intercoder reliability measures to ensure that the different coders had similar perceptions of what *r*-ful versus *r*-less tokens sound like. To this end, 5 percent of the total tokens were coded by all four of us; agreement across coders was at 80 percent, with a kappa statistic of 0.73. Kappa statistics take into account how many coders there are and what the likelihood of agreement is across that many individuals, so it is a better measure of reliability than simple percentage agreement. Clopper (2011) writes that a kappa statistic over 0.7 indicates good intercoder reliability; thus, I was satisfied that

the coding accurately captured the raw data and was in agreement across listeners.

The coding data were examined statistically for patterning across both internal (linguistic) and external (social) factors. Internal factors included preceding/containing vowel (BURR, BEER, BAR, BUTTER, BEAR, BORE, word type (lexical vs. function word), and morphological/syllabic context, summarized below:²

Word-final, preceding a pause (“They just got *here*”)

Word-final, preceding a vowel (“They just got *here and* then . . .”)

Word-final, preceding a consonant (“They just got *here when* . . .”)

Morpheme-final, closed (“*cares*”)

Morpheme-final, open (“*careless*”)

Morpheme-internal, closed (“*card*”)

Morpheme-internal, open (“*university*”)

Note that morphological/syllabic context collapses information about where in the word a token is located (word-final, morpheme-final, morpheme-internal), syllable type (open or closed), and what the following sound is in the case of adjacent word boundary (pause, vowel, consonant). All of these factors have been shown to be predictors of (r) in dialects of American English (Nagy and Irwin 2010; Schoux Casey 2016; Carmichael 2017), but because some combinations of these factors were not possible (e.g., only word-final tokens can precede a pause; no word-final tokens can be closed syllables), it was necessary to collapse these factors into a single predictor to generate statistical analyses.

External factors coded for were speaker age and linguistic background. In the statistical analysis, age was treated as a continuous variable rather than broken into generation as done by Dubois and Horvath (2000, 2002), although visual representations of the data divided by generation were examined as well, to determine whether (r) featured a V-shaped distribution across age groups. In terms of linguistic background, the sample was split between English-dominant speakers (seven) and French-proficient speakers (ten). To capture more nuance, speakers were subdivided into four language background groups according to their self-reported linguistic capabilities in combination with observed language use during the interview; this categorization resulted in two French dominant bilinguals, eight balanced bilinguals, three semispeakers of French, and four monolingual English speakers. There were no monolingual French speakers, given the decline of French in Louisiana, though some speakers did not learn English until later in life and

professed greater comfort speaking French than English (these speakers were categorized as French dominant bilinguals). Balanced bilinguals typically learned French and English simultaneously during childhood. A semispeaker is an individual that is nonfluent and noticeably aberrant in their speech; such speakers commonly arise toward the end of the life cycle of an endangered language (Dorian 1973, 1977). In the present study, speakers were considered members of this category if they explained that they spoke “only a little” French and were unable to hold a full conversation with the researcher but were indeed able to produce novel utterances (as opposed to set phrases or common sayings). Passive bilinguals (those who could understand French but not speak it) were considered monolingual English speakers for the purposes of this study, under the assumption that their ability to understand French would not significantly impact their production of English.

While age and linguistic background in South Louisiana — and indeed, in any language death situation — are often correlated, with older speakers more likely to be fluent in the declining language, this sample had a reasonable enough distribution of language backgrounds across age groups to warrant treating these two variables separately. The two French-dominant bilinguals in my sample were indeed two of the oldest participants, at ages seventy-seven and eighty-three, and semispeakers trended toward the younger end of the spectrum, ranging in age from thirty-two to forty-three. However, my sample included balanced bilinguals as old as seventy-seven and as young as twenty-six, and monolingual English speakers as old as sixty and as young as thirty-six, representing a strong spread across age groups.

Since the sample of speakers was more or less uniform across the factors of ethnic background, gender, and social class, these variables could not be tested.

5. Results

Speakers were 72.3 percent *r*-ful overall. This represents a relatively *r*-ful dialect, compared to the nearest variably *r*-less dialect in New Orleans, which features 61–65 percent *r*-fulness (Schoux Casey 2016; Carmichael 2017). This high rate of *r*-fulness does not necessarily indicate a shift toward categorical *r*-fulness, however. Unlike in New Orleans and other locales in the South (e.g., Charleston: Baranowski 2007) where *r*-lessness is on the retreat, none of the Cajun English speakers in this sample were categorically *r*-ful; every speaker featured at least a handful of *r*-less tokens.

TABLE 7.2. Final model for (r)

Factor/Level	[r - 1]	Random effect of speaker (SD = 0.878)			
		Estimate	SE	z-Value	p-Value
Word context					
Word-final, preceding a pause (reference)	62%				
Word-final, preceding a vowel	68%	0.256	0.397	0.645	0.518
Word-final, preceding a consonant	68%	0.478	0.352	1.357	0.175
Morpheme-final, open	69%	-0.244	0.580	-0.421	0.674
Morpheme-internal, open	69%	-0.378	0.456	-0.830	0.407
Morpheme-final, closed	76%	0.672	0.477	1.410	0.249
Morpheme-internal, closed	93%	1.480	0.518	2.854	<0.01*
Preceding vowel					
BUTTER (reference)	46%				
BORE	76%	1.593	0.282	5.650	<0.001*
BAR	84%	1.901	0.359	5.294	<0.001*
BEAR	85%	2.615	0.366	7.142	<0.001*
BURR	89%	2.772	0.363	7.630	<0.001*
BEER	96%	3.614	0.638	5.665	<0.001*
Word type					
Lexical (reference)	75%				
Functional	68%	-1.029	0.255	-4.036	<0.001*

Abbreviations: SD, standard deviation; SE, standard error. Data are for a total of 847 tokens from 17 speakers; the intercept estimate was -0.292 , with standard error of 0.398 .

*Significant at $p < 0.05$.

To understand the factors driving the variation in Cajun English (r), a logistic mixed-effects regression model was generated for all the data. In the model, I tested the fixed effects of preceding/containing vowel, morphological/syllabic context, and word type, as well as speaker age and language background. Random effect of speaker was also included in the model, to account for speaker-specific variation. To determine the best predictors of (r), I completed a “step-up” analysis in the statistical analysis suite R, beginning with a bare model, adding factors one by one and then performing a model

comparison between the barer and the fuller model. The final model is presented in table 7.2, which also provides *r*-fulness percentages ([*r* – ɪ]) across the various categories.

In this model, all three linguistic factors, but none of the social factors, were selected as significant predictors of (*r*). In terms of morphological/syllabic context, morpheme-internal, closed syllables (e.g., “*card*,” “*world*”) significantly favor [*r* – ɪ] pronunciations — indeed, almost categorically so — compared to the word-final, pause-adjacent reference point (e.g., “*she’s here.*”), which strongly disfavors [*r* – ɪ]. Tokens of (*r*) contained within unstressed *schwar*, as in the words “*butter*,” “*ladder*,” and “*ever*,” also significantly disfavor [*r* – ɪ] pronunciations compared to other vowel environments. Tokens of (*r*) in other vowel contexts feature nearly twice as high a percentage of [*r* – ɪ] pronunciations compared to *schwar*. Finally, function words (e.g., “*were*,” “*there*,” “*other*”) are significantly less likely to feature [*r* – ɪ] pronunciations compared to lexical words.

It is surprising that neither age nor linguistic background was a significant predictor of (*r*) in this sample. While there is a slight decline across age groups in use of *r*-less variants, it is not a statistically significant shift.³ There is also no V-shaped patterning across generations representing a resurgence in use of the feature. These findings suggest that (*r*) within Cajun English does not represent a change in progress; rather, it is a stable form of variation within the dialect. Variation across language background groups does not demonstrate any clear patterns, with monolingual English speakers and French-dominant bilinguals featuring the highest rates of *r*-lessness — unexpected since they are on opposite sides of the spectrum, linguistically speaking. The fact that fluency in French does not predict rates of *r*-lessness suggests that this feature does not have its roots in French interference, as some other Cajun English features do, and could point to its presence as instead the result of contact with neighboring *r*-less dialects of English. This question is examined in the following section.

6. Summary and Discussion

None of the speakers in this sample was categorically *r*-ful, and the analyses presented here found no statistically significant decline in rates of *r*-lessness across age groups. Variable *r*-lessness in Cajun English thus appears to be robust, and it features a number of linguistic constraints. *r*-less pronunciations are most favored within function words (e.g., “*never*”) and in unstressed

schwar (e.g., “butter” /bʌrʔ/) and least favored in morpheme-internal, closed syllables (e.g., “world”). The social factors of age and linguistic background are not significant predictors of *r*-lessness in Cajun English.

Variable *r*-lessness does not appear to be on the retreat in Cajun English as it has been documented to be elsewhere in the South, including Anniston, Alabama (Feagin 1990); Charleston, South Carolina (Baranowski 2007); and New Orleans, Louisiana (Schoux Casey 2016; Carmichael 2017). While additional data would be useful — in particular, speech from Cajun women, who have been shown to lead changes in progress, especially toward the prestige norm (Dubois and Horvath 2000) — this data set suggests that *r*-lessness in Cajun English is stable, unlike in other southern communities.

The stability of (r) across generations contrasts with variation in other features of Cajun English. Recall the V-shaped pattern from Dubois and Horvath (1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2002), presented in figure 7.1, in which *th*-stopping, /aɪ/-monophthongization, and heavy nasalization displayed a decline from the oldest generation to the middle generation, only to reverse the direction of the change in the youngest generation, such that the youngest speakers used the marked Cajun features in rates as high or higher than the oldest speakers. Only nonaspiration of /p, t, k/ featured a steady decline, perhaps due to use of aspiration to distinguish these sounds from /b, d, g/ in English. Though (r) did not follow either of these patterns, its stable presence in Cajun English across generations may suggest a more hopeful future for *r*-lessness in Acadiana than elsewhere in the South — whether as a positive identity marker of Cajunness or simply as a less stigmatized variant than in other parts of the South.

One question that arises in response to these analyses is how to interpret the fact that linguistic background does not predict rates of *r*-lessness. Is this finding a function of a limited sample, or does it indicate that variation in Cajun English (r) is not tied to initial French interference as many other Cajun English features are? And, if not, one possibility is that this feature entered the dialect through contact with neighboring *r*-less dialects of English. To address this question, it is useful to complete a qualitative comparison of constraints on (r) in Cajun English’s (r) system and two neighboring variably *r*-less dialects: Southern White English and New Orleans English. These varieties are roughly represented based on data collected in Anniston, Alabama (Feagin 1990) and the New Orleans suburb of Chalmette, Louisiana (Carmichael 2017). Since there are no variationist studies of *r*-lessness in Creole African American English, this neighboring variety was not included in the comparison — and indeed, the influence of Louisiana Creole (a French-based

TABLE 7.3. Constraints for Cajun English, New Orleans English, and Southern White English

Factor/level	Cajun English	New Orleans English (Carmichael 2014)	Southern White English (Feagin 1990)
Word context			
Following vowel favors [r-ɪ] more than consonants or pauses		.	.
Following pause favors [r-ɪ] more than consonants or vowels	.		
Morpheme-final, open syllable most disfavors [r-ɪ]		.	
Morpheme-internal, closed syllable most favors [r-ɪ]	.	.	
Preceding vowel			
BUTTER least favors [r-ɪ]	.	.	.
BEER most favors [r-ɪ]	.		
Front vowels > back vowels	.		.
Lexical category			
Lexical words favor [r-ɪ]	.	.	

Creole) on this dialect would likely render the comparison less useful for distinguishing French versus English influences on Cajun English *r*-lessness.⁴ The results of the comparison are presented in table 7.3, where dark shading represents features of Cajun English's (r) constraints that are specific to Cajun English and not shared with New Orleans English or Southern White English. Lighter shading indicates shared constraints between Cajun English and New Orleans English, specifically.

Table 7.3 demonstrates that the only constraint shared by all three dialects is that unstressed schwa least favors [r-ɪ], which is an incredibly common feature among variably *r*-less dialects in the United States — the dialects in Boston and New Hampshire, for example, also share this constraint ranking (Nagy and Irwin 2010). The only constraint shared between Cajun English and Southern White English to the exclusion of New Orleans English is the favoring of rhoticity following front vowels, in comparison with back

vowels — however, in Feagin’s (1990) data set BURN most favors [r – ɪ], compared to Cajun English in which BEER most favors [r – ɪ]. Cajun English shares with New Orleans English the favoring of [r – ɪ] within lexical words and in morpheme-internal, closed-syllable environments (lighter shading), neither of which is shared with Southern White English. This patterning, along with the geographic proximity between these two South Louisiana dialects, seems to suggest shared influences. However, lexical words commonly favor [r – ɪ] in dialects of English found in distant regions of the United States, such as New York (Becker 2014) and Boston (Nagy and Irwin 2010). In addition, the favoring of [r – ɪ] in morpheme-internal, closed-syllable environments could be explained by the shared feature of stressed schwa palatalization (e.g., “thirty-third” as *thoity-thoid*). In both dialects, this feature has become stereotyped and stigmatized to the point of extreme avoidance by the youngest generation of speakers (Labov 2007; Carmichael 2017), which could account for the consistent *r*-fulness in this environment for both dialects. Moreover, a number of features are not shared by Cajun English and New Orleans English (dark shading), supporting skepticism about a relationship between these varieties. Based on this comparison, it seems unlikely that *r*-lessness in Cajun English arose from contact with either Southern White English or New Orleans English. Variable *r*-lessness thus distinguishes Cajun English from other southern varieties of English in terms of not only its continued presence over time but also the constraints on its variation.

7. Conclusions

This study documented social and linguistic constraints on Cajun English *r*-lessness, situating this variation more broadly within (r) variation in the southern United States. Statistical analyses of (r) demonstrated that, unlike elsewhere in the American South, *r*-lessness represents a stable form of variation in Cajun English and is not in decline. Surprisingly, given the unique linguistic history of Cajun English, variable *r*-lessness in this dialect appears not to be predicted by proficiency in Cajun French. A comparison of constraints on (r) in Cajun English, Southern White English, and New Orleans English further revealed that constraints on Cajun English (r) differ substantially from either neighboring dialect. Based on these findings, it is impossible to settle upon whether Cajun English (r) derives from French influence, contact with neighboring *r*-less varieties of English, or some other independent form of development. A larger and more diverse data set might be able to address this question further. The strongest conclusion to make given the data at

hand is that *r*-lessness in Cajun English differentiates this dialect from other southern United States Englishes in multiple ways: not only is the system of constraints itself distinct, but also the continued presence of (*r*) variation — perhaps due to the social value of “sounding Cajun”— promises further divergence in the paths of Cajun English and other southern Englishes in the future.

About the Author

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Notes

1. Parishes are analogous to counties elsewhere in the United States.
2. I specify “containing” because BURN and BUTTER are technically examples of stressed and unstressed schwa, respectively, or rhoticized schwa. Because unstressed tokens are almost exclusively reduced to schwas in English, stress was captured within the preceding/containing vowel variable rather than treated separately.
3. I suspected, due to the large amount of variation in rates of *r*-fulness across speakers — which ranged from 36 percent *r*-ful to 90 percent *r*-ful — that the reason age did not represent a significant predictor was overall speaker-specific variability. Generating a logistic regression without the random effect of speaker confirmed this suspicion: when speaker-specific variation was not accounted for, age was a significant predictor of (*r*) in this data set. Perhaps this issue would be resolved by a larger corpus, and more data would reveal if there is, in fact, a statistically real decline in Cajun English *r*-lessness over apparent time. The present analysis, however, simply does not support that interpretation.
4. It could be argued that New Orleans English features French roots as well; however, the influence of French on modern-day New Orleans English is minimal. As Eble (2009:212) explains, the extent to which French enters current speech patterns is through New Orleans English speakers “consciously incorporate[ing] a small set of vocabulary from French to express an exotic non-Anglo-Saxon past.”

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Nathalie Dajko

The Continuing Symbolic Importance of French in Louisiana

1. Introduction

It is well known that Louisiana's French varieties are seriously endangered. The ten years between the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses alone saw a drop of 62,893 declared speakers — a decline of roughly 25 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 1990, U.S. Census Bureau 2000). In the city of New Orleans, the language is for all intents and purposes extinct: while the city does have a small percentage of native French-speaking residents, these are almost exclusively immigrants, whether from the French-speaking countryside or from abroad. In fact, New Orleans, despite its polyglot history, is today nearly exclusively monolingual, and the language spoken by 90.9 percent of residents (U.S. Census Bureau 2015) is English. Even within the roughly 9 percent who claim to speak something other than English, French is not strongly represented: the 2000 U.S. Census gives a rate of French speakers of only 1.5 percent. Fifteen years later, in the 2015 American Community Survey five-year estimate, the number is virtually unchanged: only 1.2 percent of respondents claimed to speak "French, including Patois, Cajun" or "French Creole" (U.S. Census Bureau 2015).

This reality is at odds with what seems to be a widespread understanding, at least among the general public, that French is a thriving, commonly heard language in Louisiana. Tourists frequently express surprise at not having heard any French in New Orleans and ask where they might go to hear it. They are stunned when they hear they will need to drive at least an hour

and look for elderly people. The 2003 film *Runaway Jury*, based on John Grisham's 1996 novel, contains a scene that is representative of the belief that French is still present, if not dominant, in the city: it features an elderly shopkeeper who, the protagonist is told, speaks only Cajun French. In practice, it is difficult bordering on impossible to find native speakers of Louisiana French in New Orleans, much less monolingual ones. (In fact, despite many years of following dead leads, I have personally met only one speaker, and she was better classified as a rememberer.)

This incongruity is, however, less perplexing than it may at first appear. This chapter examines the symbolic importance that a dying language may have for those who do not speak it via an interpretation of the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997), the “visibility and salience of languages” (Landry and Bourhis 1997:23) in a given geographic area. I examine multiple sources of data to argue that, while French is used by both government and private actors to promote an image for both entertainment and financial gain, the language is also still viable in some way beyond this and in fact continues to play a role in identity formation. In the countryside, a perception exercise shows that speakers often fail to understand that the way they speak English may be of interest and instead interpret questions about English to be about French. In the city, a survey on the use of a slang term of French origin shows a willingness that patterns along ethnic and/or neighborhood lines to accept even deliberately ungrammatical sentences if they feature a French term. In understanding the linguistic landscape I also consider the soundscape (Schafer 1993), the acoustic environment, arguing that the landscape is a reflection of the evolution of French in the soundscape.

2. The Linguistic Landscape

The study of linguistic landscape is interdisciplinary, intersecting with such fields as sociology, media studies, and psychology. As noted by Landry and Bourhis (1997), the concept was first examined by language planners in bilingual contexts (e.g., Maurais 1986). It appears to have emerged somewhat simultaneously among academics; Louis-Jean Calvet (1990) uses the terms “linguistic environment” and “graphic environment” (translation mine) in his discussion of public writing in Paris. Landry and Bourhis (1997) provide the foundational definition, however, and herald the emergence of a field of academic study. By their definition, the linguistic landscape is “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” (25). They

further note that this writing serves both an informational function beyond that of its outward purpose — it tells the reader where the boundaries of a linguistic territory are — and a symbolic function: the language(s) in which signs appear conveys information about the relative presence, power, and prestige of the languages spoken in a community. To borrow a line from Marshall McLuhan, some thirty years earlier, the medium is the message.

Other researchers have employed broader definitions. Calvet (1990) includes graffiti in his definition, and Landry and Bourhis themselves include it in their discussion, if not the definition. Sebba (2010:59) expands the definition by including not only (relatively) permanent public writing but also “unfixed” or “mobile” texts such as bank notes, product labels, pamphlets, stamps, tickets, handbills, and flyers. Shohamy and Waksman (2009) provide perhaps the broadest definition, suggesting that, in addition to graffiti, nongraphic texts such as “verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings” (314) should also be included, as should postings in cyberspace. In this chapter I adopt a position somewhere between the two broader definitions: I exclude verbal data but include mobile texts, objects and images, and cyberdata.

Researchers have divided elements of the linguistic landscape into official (top-down, government) and nonofficial (bottom-up, private) categories. Official writing includes road signs, street names, place names, and signs on government buildings. Nonofficial signs are those created by private citizens and include names and posters on private commercial enterprises and advertisements, such as billboards and flyers. Per Landry and Bourhis (1997), signs posted by private citizens present a more accurate representation of linguistic reality than do those of government officials, who may wish to promote (or not) the importance of a language. Ben-Rafael and colleagues (2006), however, show that private citizens may also be motivated to misrepresent the importance of a language given the language’s likeability, the image they want to project of themselves, and their position of power relative to that language. Sebba’s (2010) work concurs with this, using as illustration the Isle of Man, where Manx texts adorn the landscape but are not representative of any real community of speakers; Manx is used symbolically.

3. The Decline of French and Its Presence in the Linguistic Landscape

One cannot fault outsiders for their understanding that French is still alive and well in Louisiana; it features prominently on the linguistic landscape.

In cities like New Orleans and Lafayette, street signs may be bilingual in the downtown cores (also the main tourist draws); thus, in New Orleans's French Quarter one finds signs that read "Rue Dauphine" in small type above the large "Dauphine" that appears alone on signs elsewhere in the city. Lafayette has gone so far as to translate its street signs downtown, with the English name taking a backstage to the French, in writing so small it is easy to miss. The translation may result in significant change: "Main Street" becomes "Rue Principale." The prominence of French suggests that French is a living language used in official as well as private contexts and belies the reality that most Louisiana francophones are in fact illiterate in French. Festivals and other events may bear French names (for example, Festivals Acadiens et Créoles in Lafayette) or employ French spelling conventions (the Tremé Threauxdown in New Orleans in April 2015). Businesses and other enterprises (in one case a musical band) may use accents, in particular the acute accent, to suggest their French origins or a French pronunciation of their name (the latter presumably implying prestige as well). These accents appear in places they would not in French. For example, one finds Fakiér jewelers in Houma, or Robért supermarket (the accent in this case a leaf placed above the "e"). The house band at the Jolly Inn in Houma spells its name Couèche.

Unofficial use of French extends beyond signs intended for commercial gain, however. The people of Louisiana routinely play with the language; French spelling conventions are also used (often incorrectly) as a source of amusement. The use of *eaux* to indicate /o/ (presumably taken from well-known French names like Boudreaux, Thibodeaux, and Arceneaux) is well known nationally from its appearance in support of New Orleans's NFL football team: *Geaux Saints!* Within Louisiana it may be even better known for its use in support of Louisiana State University's team (*Geaux Tigers!*); I have also found it used to cheer on Nicholls State University's Colonels and the Ragin' Cajuns, the University of Louisiana at Lafayette's team. (Users are presumably generally oblivious to the fact that the "e" included in the orthography renders the preceding "g" /ʒ/). The use of *eaux* in this manner is particularly productive (figure 8.1).¹ The spelling is also widely used by everyday people in ephemeral contexts: when it snowed one morning in December 2008 I received a text message from a friend excitedly announcing "Sneaux!" Likewise, the dire warnings and school closings preceding a forecast snow storm in January 2014 produced the Twitter hash tag #sneauxpocalypse and inspired a cavalcade of Internet mockery (figure 8.2), particularly when the predicted blizzard produced not much more than rain and some minor ice.



FIGURE 8.1. The use of *eaux* to represent /o/. Photos by Nathalie Dajko and Katie Carmichael

Moreover, if visual imagery is to be included in the linguistic landscape, French is everywhere. The symbol par excellence of Louisiana is the fleur-de-lis; it is used to symbolically distinguish (South) Louisiana from the rest of America by virtue of its French heritage and, consequently, indirectly the French language. It is employed in both official and unofficial functions. Perhaps most important, it is the logo for Louisiana’s NFL franchise, the New Orleans Saints.² It therefore appears emblazoned on T-shirts, jerseys, hats, and other fan paraphernalia, some fan produced, such as the flag of the “Who Dat Nation” (the legion of die-hard fans), a modified stars and bars in black and gold with fleurs-de-lis in place of stars.

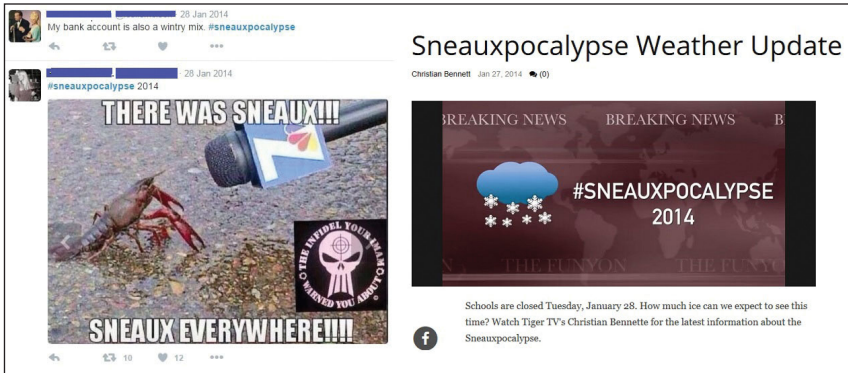


FIGURE 8.2. The Internet plays with *sneaux*. Photos by Nathalie Dajko. Image sources: twitter.com/hashtag/sneauxpocalypse (accessed February 18, 2016); www.sunow.com/tigertv/sneauxpocalypse-weather-update/article_e5bb6838-87b0-11e3-9c8b-001a4bcf6878.html (accessed August 14, 2017)

The fleur-de-lis also appears in government documents — the city of New Orleans employs a fleur-de-lis logo — and on public objects such as the recycling bins delivered by the city to every New Orleans home and that, due to a lack of back alleys, litter the roads daily. Consequently, on a given day one may well pass thousands of fleurs-de-lis on waste receptacles alone. The symbol also appears in home decorations, in architectural works such as fences, and on official flags (such as the flag of Acadiana) that are flown by both government and private citizens. In a single two-mile trip near my house on February 18, 2016, I passed hundreds of fleurs-de-lis on place markers, garbage cans, fences, flags (official and not), statuary, home decorations, and stained glass windows. The fleur-de-lis is omnipresent. Figure 8.3 provides a small sampling.

4. Decline of French

It is also true that Louisiana English has been influenced by French. Studies of Louisiana English (e.g., Cheramie and Gill 1992; Scott 1992; Cox 1992; Walton 1994; Dubois and Horvath 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003) show influence from French at lexical, phonological, syntactic, and suprasegmental levels. Across the state residents *make groceries* (shop for groceries; from the French *faire les courses*), visit their *parrains* (godfathers), and *pass* a good time. They may eat *mirlitons*, dress their sandwiches with *mynez* (mayonnaise), and



FIGURE 8.3. Fleur-de-lis imagery. Photos by Nathalie Dajko

occasionally eat a soup made from *caouenne* (snapping turtle). That said, the most salient French features, lexical items, are on the decline, at least in the city of New Orleans, and this is a fact that is frequently overtly remarked upon. In a brief survey I conducted of French lexical items in New Orleans in 2012 as a contingent to a study of street name pronunciations (Dajko et al. 2012), participants were asked if they recognized a series of French lexical items; 75 percent of people eleven to twenty-nine years of age were unfamiliar with the term *banquette* (sidewalk), and even terms like *parrain* were increasingly unknown to the youths.

Eble (2009:215) notes that “in New Orleans today, the French language is a piece of the city’s image. It is for fun and for funds.” This is perhaps best exemplified by the use of the expression *Laissez les bons temps rouler*, which one may find emblazoned on items for both tourist and local consumption across the state (see figure 8.4 for examples). The fact that it is both a calque of the English “Let the good times roll” and almost always misspelled is a testament to the fact that French is *not* the healthy language that its use here would seem to suggest it is. A T-shirt sold at a Walmart in Terrebonne Parish in 2011 drove this point home — its version was so mangled that the only possible conclusion is that it was a machine translation, and indeed, typing “Let the good time roll” into Google Translate renders the expression on the shirt: *Laissez le bon rouleau de temps* (*roll* in this case is a noun, and the French translation *rouleau* reflects this, to comic effect for those who speak French).

I do not disagree with Eble’s (2009:215) contention. However, evidence I have collected suggests that the use of French on the landscape goes deeper than this. Despite the decline (and indeed, disappearance) of both French and French-influenced features of Louisiana English varieties, French remains a key element of many native Louisianans’ identity. The use of the *eaux* spelling and the promotion of a *joie de vivre* represented by the expression *laissez les bons temps rouler* are certainly indicators of this trend; indeed, it could be argued that the use of *eaux* is a visual identity marker indicating South Louisiana identity, and that identity is tied to the use of French. Just what is going on, however, is unclear without further evidence. In the following two sections, I provide data suggesting that underlying the play is a sincere belief in the importance of French in modern, increasingly anglophone Louisiana.

5. The Countryside: Perception and Talking Flat

In 2013 I conducted a preliminary investigation of what it means to say someone talks “flat” in Louisiana. While conducting fieldwork in South Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes, I had frequently encountered references to



FIGURE 8.4. *Laissez les bons temps rouler* in its various guises

people with heavy local accents who were said to talk “flat.” While clearly the term indicates that someone has a nonstandard pronunciation, I was interested to know why the term *flat* in particular was used. Walton (1994) suggests that it may be linked to intonation and stress patterns; in her interviews in Terrebonne Parish, the more nonstandard one spoke, the more French-like their stress and intonation patterns became. French stress falls on the last syllable of a syllabic group; all other syllables are given equal

weight. Walton suggests that this equal distribution of stress may be linked to the descriptor “flat.” I was interested in testing this suggestion by seeing whether the term was limited to the bayou region, to South Louisiana in general, or whether it might be used as a generic term indicating nonstandard dialects. To gain some insight, I conducted a map-based perception exercise. Along with two students, I presented participants with a blank map of Louisiana showing only parish boundaries. We asked participants to make lines on the map showing where dialectal differences in English lay. The students, both native Louisianans, helped in selecting the map and in creating the list of possible ethnic/racial identifying labels included on the back of the map.³ We chose to include racial labels (white, black, and Asian) as well as ethnic labels (Cajun, Creole, Italian, and so on). Beyond this, we also collected data on the sex, age, and place of origin of the participants. Once participants had finished drawing on the maps, we asked them to label the maps, and we discussed the results, asking specifically about the term *flat*, whether or not it already appeared on their map. We drove to Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes and obtained responses from thirty-three people, all native to the southeastern part of the state.

What was immediately apparent was that I was not going to learn anything about the meaning of *flat*. However, I did learn a lot about people’s attitudes toward their speech: it was clear that the way they spoke English was of no consequence to them, and they couldn’t imagine that anybody might be interested in it. Moreover, most people appeared to be unaware that there might be variation in English around the state.⁴ One participant simply circled the entire map and labeled it “Louisiana English.” Another went to school in Monroe, in the north, and was aware that the language was different there but unaware of just how much variation there might be. She circled the name of every parish north of Natchitoches in addition to her own (Lafourche) in the south, and nothing else, noting that people in the circled parishes “probably have weird accents.” Many people claimed not to have ever heard the expression “talk flat,” and those who had heard it were at a loss to explain what it meant. One participant suggested that it referred to speaking with a “low tone”; his map (fig. 8.5) shows a gradation from south Terrebonne/Lafourche, with five concentric lines delimiting the very flat (in the southeast) to the less flat (in the northwest). He concluded that speaking flat meant to be “out of tune, like a fiddle.” It was clear from the maps that southeastern Louisiana, and particularly Terrebonne/Lafourche, were believed to have the strongest nonstandard dialects, with one mapmaker calling it “the deepest accent in all of the USA.”

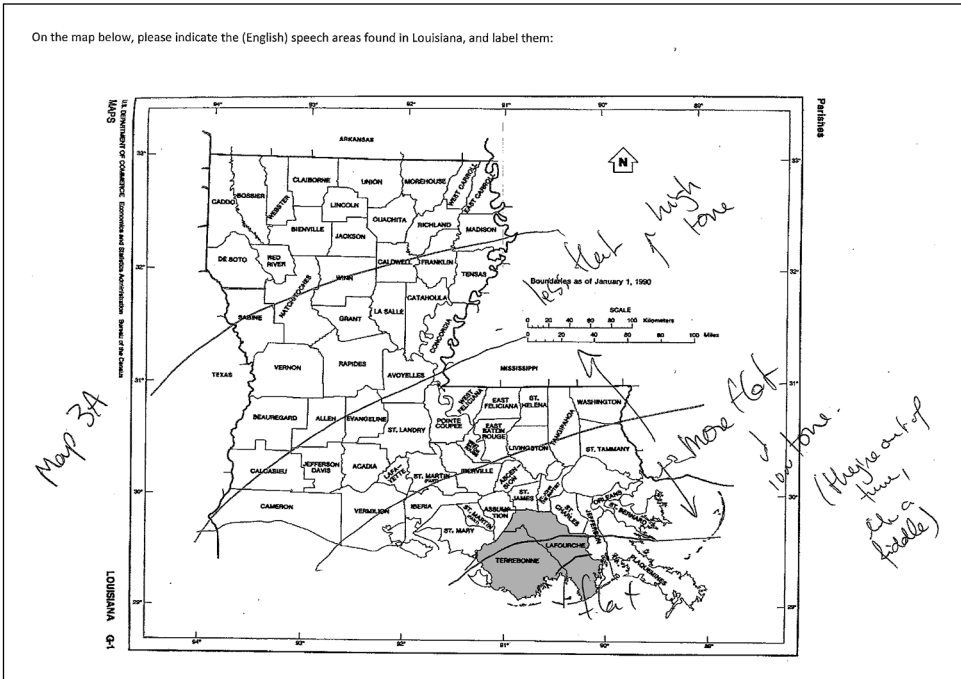


FIGURE 8.5. Participant map showing concentric zones of flatness. Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes, where the survey was conducted, are shaded. U.S. Census Bureau 1990, Louisiana G-1; Perry-Castañeda Library, University of Texas, www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/states/louisiana.gif (accessed April 20, 2017)

More interesting than an apparent lack of familiarity with a term I had frequently encountered, however, was a tendency to answer the question in reference not to English but, rather, to French. Though printed instructions on top of the page and verbal instructions both asked about English, a significant portion of respondents either described the distribution of French, referenced places in which French was still spoken, or suggested that French was the source of the peculiarities of the English spoken in South Louisiana. Figure 8.6 is representative. The map at the top shows five distinct regions: a northwest region wherein English is spoken, a region north of Lake Pontchartrain where, it is noted, speakers sound southern (“like Mississippi”), a southwest region labeled “Spanish, French, and English mixed,” and two regions in southeast Louisiana, where the speech is either Spanish influenced or French influenced. The map at the bottom was made by a participant who was even clearer about the fact that French is spoken. The map is divided

roughly in half, with the northern half labeled “English” and two regions in the southern half labeled “Creole” and “Our French.” Other maps reference “old time French,” “Strong French,” or “Bilingual French” or have regions labeled with both “English” and “French.” In one notable case a respondent labeled his map in such a manner that it was unclear whether he was including English in his answer at all: one region was labeled “Acadian, not like our French”; it was unclear while speaking to him, as well, that he understood that I was asking about English, as he continually responded with comments about French. This was particularly odd, given that he was a thirty-nine-year-old monolingual English speaker who identified himself ethnically on the form by the (controversial and potentially offensive) label *coonass*. In total, 25 percent of respondents referenced French as a living language in a survey that specifically asked them to discuss English. Another 30 percent described the English they speak as being with either a French, Creole, or Cajun “twist,” or “more” French, Creole, or Cajun. In the latter cases, it was unclear what they might mean by suggesting their English was “more French” (or, more confusing, Cajun/Creole). Regardless, it was apparent that to most participants in the exercise French was very much a part of their language ideology in some way. Though none of the participants had more than at best a passive knowledge of French, and while we were conducting the interview in English and pointedly *about* English, the majority stressed French either as the contributing factor to the dialect’s particularities or, in more extreme cases, as the language spoken in the area.

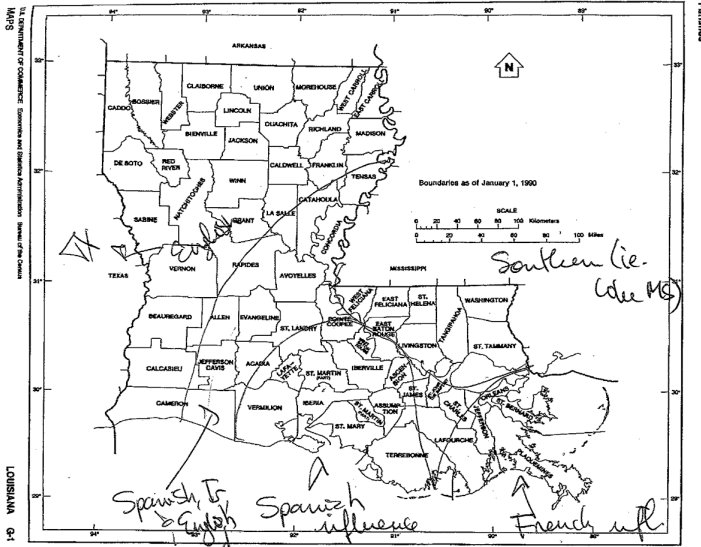
It is perhaps not surprising that people in rural areas, where French is in fact still spoken, if only nearly exclusively by those over the age of sixty, should still consider French an important part of their identity, though they may be monolingual English speakers themselves. Results from a survey conducted in New Orleans, where language shift is all but complete, however, suggest that the importance of a heritage language may persist even after the last speakers have disappeared.

6. New Orleans: Buku

In 2012, I conducted a survey investigating the use of the term *beaucoup*, pronounced [buku], with a group of graduate students.⁵ *Beaucoup* certainly has been used — pronounced [boku], as it is in French — by North Americans for generations, if sometimes ironically, to mean “a lot.” It is documented with this pronunciation by Webster’s dictionary with an earliest attestation of 1918. Its full meaning and historic distribution are unclear, however;

On the map below, please indicate the (English) speech areas found in Louisiana, and label them:

flat - don't have an accent, maybe?



On the map below, please indicate the (English) speech areas found in Louisiana, and label them:

"English"

"imaginary line"

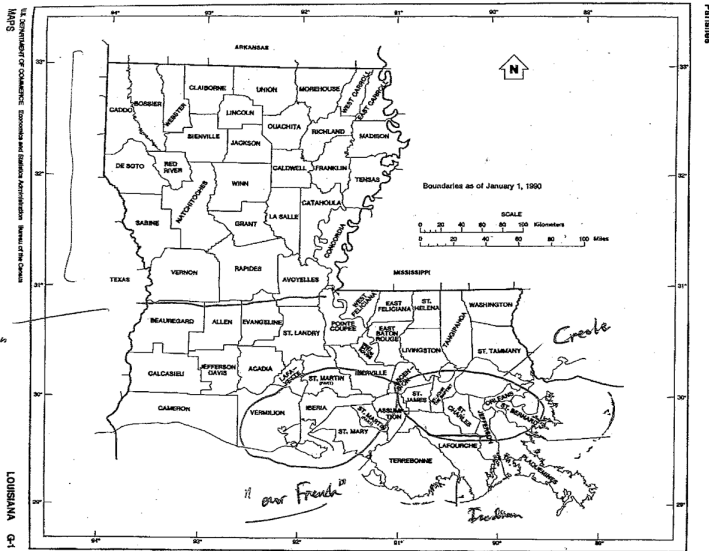


FIGURE 8.6. Participant maps showing references to French

Webster's gives no examples. Walt Wolfram (personal communication, February 15, 2016) reports that in the 1970s in the northern cities it appeared only in the speech of members of the African American community; white speakers were unfamiliar with it. Moreover, he reports that speakers were unaware of its French origin at the time. The entry at dictionary.com supports the ironic interpretation (and it is in this context that I encountered it in the 1990s in Vancouver, British Columbia), noting that it is "usually facetious"; this nonserious usage may be a later development. In any case, its attestation as [buku] appears to be at least somewhat independent from this.

The pronunciation [buku] appears (or appeared, at the time the survey was conducted in 2012; by 2014 youths were telling me it was *passé*) without irony in New Orleans English. While the results of the survey suggested that the term was most commonly attested among teenagers in historically black neighborhoods, white speakers did claim to use it as well, and with one exception it was certainly known to everyone who took the survey, even those who claimed not to use it.⁶ And while occasionally we encountered someone who was unaware of its French origins, many participants made overt comments suggesting that, in general, people know exactly where it comes from.

It is equally unclear that the term is borrowed indirectly from Louisiana French, or even that it originates in Louisiana, much less New Orleans. *Beaucoup* may be pronounced [buku] in Louisiana French varieties, but it is also not uncommon for English speakers to convert /o/ to /u/ when pronouncing French words; I frequently hear *cochon* [koʃɔ̃] pronounced [kuʃɔ̃], for example. Moreover, the paucity of speakers of Louisiana French, particularly in the New Orleans area, makes a recent direct borrowing from French (implied by the higher frequency of its use among young people) seem unlikely. Two master's theses produced at the University of New Orleans (Malin 1972; Aubert-Gex 1983) document *beaucoup*, but with no note on pronunciation. If anything, the fact that other entries in Aubert-Gex (1983) appear with International Phonetic Alphabet transcriptions suggests it represents [boku] rather than [buku], though this is not entirely clear: it appears as "Buku" in a nostalgia dictionary published by a layman in the late 1990s, recalling the speech of her youth in New Orleans' Seventh Ward (Smith 1998). A search of the term at the online Urban Dictionary reveals that [buku] is certainly known all over the country today. It appears under the French spelling *beaucoup* but also under variants indicating the pronunciation under discussion, including "boocoo," "bookoo," "buku," "booku," and "bukoo." Likewise, comments on the Merriam-Webster online entry for *beaucoup* discuss the pronunciation, with nearly all the commenters referencing [buku] in some

way. Internet denizens appear to be well aware of its French origins, and while many associate it with New Orleans, more give returning Vietnam veterans as the source. One commenter at Merriam-Webster's site reports that he heard the term pronounced [buku] in the 1960s by returning soldiers. Likewise, a native New Orleanian friend of mine, also a retired U.S. Army general and Vietnam veteran who completed six tours of duty between 1962 and 1973, reports hearing [buku] first among Vietnamese natives and on later tours from American combat soldiers, the latter often using it as an intensifier, for example, *beaucoup hot* or *beaucoup wet* (Victor Thorne, personal communication, February 15, 2016). For him, *beaucoup* is not emblematic of New Orleans — it is a sure-fire way to identify another Vietnam veteran. The intensifier function he reports is also attested in nonstandard dialects of French; whether soldiers — and later New Orleans youths, as discussed below — independently introduced this function is beyond the scope of this chapter, though it is possible. Whether [buku] has emerged twice, independently, is also beyond the scope of this chapter, but in any case it has become associated with New Orleans in the early twenty-first century: *buku* was the eleventh most commonly cited example of authentic New Orleans speech given by natives in the study I conducted in the spring of 2012 (Dajko et al. 2012), and it is used around town to signal local identity; a pop-up restaurant operating out of Finn McCool's pub in Midcity for several years billed itself Boo Koo BBQ, for example, and a local children's bounce house center is called Boo Koo Bounce. In March 2016, New Orleans hosted the fourth annual Buku Music and Art Project festival.

In 2012 we surveyed 224 residents from five loosely defined neighborhoods: Uptown, Central City, Midcity, Tremé/Seventh Ward, and the Eighth/Ninth Wards. In each neighborhood, we obtained responses from people between fourteen and seventy-two years of age. While this was not a comprehensive survey of the city (many neighborhoods were excluded; the city comprises seventy-three official neighborhoods, and we could not possibly survey them all), we attempted to cover a representative sample of the citizenry. For example, we selected wealthy (Uptown), middle class (Midcity), and working-class (Central City) neighborhoods. While race, ethnicity, social class, and neighborhood do not pattern perfectly, there are nonetheless historic trends that define many New Orleans neighborhoods today. For example, Tremé and the Seventh Ward were historically Creole, while Midcity was not.⁷ In each neighborhood, we surveyed people of both sexes and from whichever ethnic or racial groups might be present. So, because Central City is predominantly black (or it was at the time), we only have responses from

black residents in that neighborhood. Likewise, we found only residents who identified as black in Tremé and the Seventh Ward (several residents accepted Creole when offered but then added, “but black”). On the other hand, Midcity is more diverse, so we have responses from both black and white residents in that neighborhood.⁸

We presented participants with a list of nineteen sentences containing the word *buku* (spelled this way following a presentation I gave at a local high school, during which the students told me that this was how they spelled it) and asked them to rate each construction as follows:

1. I use this
2. I've heard this
3. I've never heard this, but it sounds fine to me
4. I've never heard this and I don't think anyone would use it
5. Unsure

Included in the list were sentences that used the term to mean “a lot of” (*I caught buku beads at Mardi Gras this year*) and as a general intensifier (*It's buku hot out today; That kid is buku crazy*). We included the first meaning in what we felt was a potentially odd position, word finally meaning “a lot” as well (*I'm full because I ate buku; He talks buku*). Finally, we included a few sentences that we were sure would be rejected by all participants as ungrammatical (*I hate buku running; I buku like video games*), simply to test participants' honesty and/or understanding of the task.

Space does not permit a full analysis of our results, though I will note in passing that *buku* was used as an intensifier primarily by teenagers; here I discuss the results by neighborhood only. Sentences containing *buku* with its first meaning (“a lot of”) were most likely to be accepted, with participants almost always selecting either “I use this” or “I've heard this.” This is unsurprising, given that the term is used in this manner (though generally pronounced as it is in French, [boku]), if somewhat ironically, across North America, as noted above. The sentence *That car cost buku bucks*, for example, was accepted nearly universally across the city. Patterns emerged, however, when the less grammatical and ungrammatical sentences were presented. The sentence *I buku like video games*, which we expected to be universally rejected, received the strongest rate of acceptance (62.5 percent) in Tremé and the Seventh Ward, followed by the Eighth and Ninth Wards at 37.5 percent. (Acceptance in this case includes the first three possible responses, including “I've never heard this but it sounds fine to me.”) The lowest rate of acceptance was 11.6 percent in Central City. Uptown and Midcity had comparable rates, at 18.4 percent and 25.5 percent, respectively ($p > 0.000$; table 8.1).

TABLE 8.1. Acceptability of “I buku like video games”

Location	Approval rate (%)
Tremé/Seventh Ward	62.5
Eighth/Ninth Wards	37.5
Midcity	25.5
Uptown	18.4
Central City	11.6

TABLE 8.2. Use of “I buku like video games”

Location	Mean response ^a
Tremé/Seventh Ward	2.42
Eighth/Ninth Wards	3.13
Midcity	3.51
Uptown	3.69
Central City	3.74

^aResponses ranged from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating least acceptance of the sentence.

The strength of this acceptance can also be measured, and it, too, varies by neighborhood. The list of levels of acceptance forms a Likert scale; “I use this” can be interpreted to indicate a very positive response to the sentence, with “I’ve never heard this and I don’t think anyone would use it” a very negative response. An analysis of variance shows the mean acceptance was much higher in Tremé and the Seventh Ward than in Central City (lower numbers indicate a more positive response; the Likert scale ran from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating strong acceptance and 4 rejection; unsure responses were discarded). The mean score for Tremé and the Seventh Ward is a full point and a third lower (indicating greater acceptance) than that for Central City ($p > 0.000$; table 8.2).

Several clues suggest that these numbers do not reflect reality. That is, it is unlikely that people in the Tremé are more likely to use such a construction than anyone else is. The fact that a number of respondents in those neighborhoods selected “I use this” for everything strongly suggests the responses do not reflect their actual usage. On the other hand, the enthusiasm with which they reacted to the term, assuring me that the word was French and

that they used it all the time, and engaging me in discussion for half an hour thereafter, coupled with shouts of “Yeah, we use that!” as they completed the exercise, suggests they were also not simply selecting the first item on the list to humor me and get rid of me. So, why would they choose to approve of constructions they almost certainly do not use?

Tremé and the Seventh Ward are traditionally Creole neighborhoods, and therefore heavily francophone, likely until very recently (residents cite parents and grandparents, now all passed away, as speakers, though they themselves do not speak the language). While francophones most certainly did live in other parts of the city (most notably the portions of Uptown that once formed plantations), those neighborhoods were long ago dominated by English speakers. In Dajko and colleagues (2012), when (different) residents were asked to provide examples of authentic New Orleans speech, residents from the formerly Creole neighborhoods provided French terms or talked about speaking French. They attributed unexpected pronunciations of street names, such as /pawər/ for *Pauger* (the expected pronunciation being /pəgər/), to French — incorrectly, as it happens: in French the name would be /pɔʒə/. While in Central City (a non-Creole, primarily black neighborhood) a few residents told me that *buku* “wasn’t even a word” and seemed ignorant of its origins, most residents did seem to be aware of its origins, and it is reasonable to expect this was also the case in Tremé and the Seventh Ward. Moreover, the formerly Creole neighborhoods are also those to attest the highest number of respondents claiming to not just know but use the French term *banquette*. Interestingly, however, Aubert-Gex (1983) shows a lower recognition rate of *beaucoup* in the Seventh Ward than does Malin’s (1972) data covering the city at large. In any case, the best interpretation of the data is that, in all likelihood, residents who approved of the deliberately ungrammatical sentences were really expressing their approval of a French term as a means of asserting a French-based identity. The neighborhoods located in what were once French strongholds maintained a stronger sense of French-based identity than did those located upriver. Race can be eliminated as a factor simply because Central City residents, who shared the self-identification as black, were in fact the least likely to approve of the ungrammatical sentences. Whether the rates of approval are representative of dialect boundaries, past or present, however, is unclear. What does seem clear is that a French-based identity is unevenly distributed across the landscape, with formerly French neighborhoods attesting a greater acceptance of French terms than those with little to no French heritage. Given that French is a necessary component (along with Catholicism and a mixed-race

background) of Creole identity, the results also suggest that, while residents of historically Creole neighborhoods now identify primarily as black, there is likely a lingering affiliation with Creole identity as well.

7. Conclusion

French has been and continues to be on the decline in Louisiana, even in former strongholds in the countryside. This is a fact both known and often lamented by the population, even as they engage actively in promotion of the language and playful use of it on a regular basis. We can draw several conclusions from the results of this study. First, Louisiana shows us that nontextual items are clearly a part of the linguistic landscape. Moreover, the presence of a language may even be fragmentary, as the use of *eaux* demonstrates. Second, the linguistic landscape in South Louisiana — that created for tourists as well as that created for locals — is reflective of the importance that French holds for modern residents. The map survey and the investigation into *buku* both reveal the importance that French has for modern Louisianans; visuals such as *eaux* and the omnipresent fleur-de-lis are elements of the soundscape that have bled into the landscape. Schafer (1993), in defining the soundscape (the acoustic environment, which includes human voices) of a place, presents three categories of sound. Keynote sounds are background sounds that set the tone for a place. Signals are consciously listened to; any sound may therefore become a signal when it is foregrounded. Soundmarks are sounds that possess some quality that makes them unique and therefore potentially identifying for a community. In New Orleans, the French language, and certain expressions in particular, overlap in the soundscape and the landscape. French exists in Louisiana at all three levels defined by Schafer. A clear illustration of this is *buku*, which at least for the residents of formerly Creole neighborhoods still functions as a community identifier and, in a case of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000), is associated with New Orleans by both natives and outsiders. Presumably, expressions like *buku* began life as keynotes, when French was still the dominant language of the state. Over time, as French receded, some expressions retained their salience and, possibly because of their French origins, became signals. Some of these signals subsequently became soundmarks as Louisianans recognized their uniqueness on the American scene. The events of the soundscape are projected onto the landscape, thus the ubiquity of French in the fleur-de-lis and the visual reference *eaux*. Because French itself functions as a soundmark, it is used to advertise the city to outsiders as much as it is used by insiders for

play. The use of French “for fun and for funds” (Eble 2009), while not untrue, is nonetheless the product of a complex process of identity formation.

About the Author

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Notes

1. Boudreaux’s Condeaux (until recently located in Golden Meadow, Lafourche Parish) courtesy Katie Carmichael.

2. And in fact, a native friend of mine blames the rise of the Saints franchise for the proliferation of fleurs-de-lis, claiming that, prior to its inception, they were far less visible.

3. I thank Zach Hebert and Shane Lief for their help with this portion of the study.

4. While Louisiana’s English varieties are woefully understudied, it is nonetheless clear that New Orleans alone sports a great deal of variation and that South Louisiana differs markedly from the northern reaches of the state, and possibly even from the Florida parishes to the north of Lake Pontchartrain. Of course, it is equally possible that nonstandard speakers wished to affiliate with more standard speakers elsewhere by claiming no difference between them.

5. I thank Patricia Anderson, Morakinyo Ogunmodimo, Austin Winslow, Mathilde Thomas, Whitney Karrigan, and Adebisola Adebisin for their participation in the project.

6. One twenty-five-year-old respondent claimed to neither use nor have heard any of the forms presented. This was surprising, especially given his age.

7. The term *Creole* is polysemic and therefore potentially confusing. In this context I am using it as it is most often used and defined by Louisiana natives in the research I have conducted in the past: it references a group of people of mixed African and European (French and sometimes Spanish) origin, historically both francophone and Catholic

8. We encountered few to no members of other groups in the neighborhoods we visited. The greater New Orleans area does, of course, have an important number of residents of Asian descent, most notably the Vietnamese population, but these people often live in far-flung areas and are of relatively recent arrival in the area. Likewise,

the significant Hispanic population in Midcity was very recently arrived, so we did not include them in the study.

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Tracey L. Weldon

Sounding Black

Labeling and Perceptions of African American Voices on Southern College Campuses

1. Introduction

Social commentary on “sounding black” circulates widely within (and, to some extent, outside) the African American speech community. Studies such as Baugh (1996) and Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh (1999) have shown that listeners are able to identify the racial and/or ethnic background of speakers, often with only minimal acoustic cues (see also Buck 1968; Abrams 1973; Lass et al. 1979; Foreman 2000; Wolfram 2001; Thomas and Reaser 2004). Beyond racial and ethnic identification, however, the concept of sounding black also speaks to perceptions of racial and ethnic identities. Consistent with Geneva Smitherman’s (2006:6) concept of linguistic push-pull, “Black folk loving, embracing, using Black Talk, while simultaneously rejecting and hatin on it,” there are often conflicting attitudes associated with sounding black.¹ Though linguistically unfounded, references to “sounding black” often connote a lack of education or sophistication (compare “bad English”) and can even allude to minstrel-like behavior and other negative racial stereotyping. Yet there remains a keen sense of the importance of sounding black as a means of constructing an African American identity and demonstrating one’s loyalty to and solidarity with the African American speech community (see Hoover 1978). This concept stands in opposition to that of “sounding

white” (also known as “sounding proper”), which, while also linguistically unfounded, tends to connote a certain level of education, sophistication, or “correctness” (compare “good English”). And yet, African American speakers who are perceived as sounding white are often ridiculed and ostracized by members of the African American speech community (see, e.g., Mitchell-Kernan 1971).

Many circulating labels (compare “folk categories” in Mitchell-Kernan 1971) describe the more nuanced distinctions that listeners make in their perceptions of African American voices. In South Carolina, labels such as “Country,” “Ghetto,” “Geechee,” and “Proper” speak to the diversity of African American voices (and identities) that are salient among listeners. From a linguistic perspective, however, little is known about how listeners assign such labels to speakers’ voices and what social characteristics are indexed through those assignments. College campuses provide an interesting context for examining these dynamics, given the linguistic tightrope that many college-educated African Americans find themselves having to navigate. Because sounding black plays such an important role in the construction of African American identity but is often perceived as being incompatible with sounding educated, many African American college students tend to develop a heightened awareness of the reactions to their linguistic choices and practices.

In a study of the attitudes of African American college students, staff, and administrators at a California university, Rahman (2008:170) found that Standard African American English (SAAE) (i.e., the use of standard grammar, in combination with ethnically marked phonological and prosodic features) was deemed by many African Americans to be the best way to meet “establishment requirements” while also allowing speakers to express their racial or ethnic identities (see also Buck 1968; Tucker and Lambert 1975; Hoover 1978).² However, listener perceptions of African American voices are likely to vary according to regional context. And the South adds an additional layer of complexity to these issues, given the marked and often stigmatized nature of both southern and African American language varieties in the United States (see, e.g., Lippi-Green 2012). In this chapter, I present the results of a study testing the attitudes and perceptions of college students in South Carolina toward a variety of African American voices. The results provide a glimpse into the more nuanced distinctions that listeners are able to make, as well as the ways in which certain African American voices are perceived by listeners on southern college campuses.

2. The Speakers

To collect the stimuli for this study, I recorded ten African American college students from South Carolina (six females and four males), with the goal of identifying a variety of African American voices among speakers who were social and regional peers of my targeted participant group (i.e., college students in the southeastern region of the United States.). I set out to recruit African American speakers representing a range of salient varieties. To this end, I recorded speakers whose voices might be considered “Proper”—a label that circulates widely within the African American speech community, typically to refer to African American speakers whose voices do not “sound black” from a prototypical (or even stereotypical) perspective and who are often viewed negatively because of the perception that they do not embrace their African American heritage and culture. While I identified these speakers myself, I discussed this label with the speakers, each of whom acknowledged that his or her voice had been described by others as “Proper.”

I also recorded speakers of SAAE, that is, speakers whose voices might be perceived as ethnically marked (or as “sounding black”), but without any overtly stigmatized phonological or grammatical features. Unlike “Proper,” SAAE is not a label that circulates among members of the general public. I therefore chose not to discuss this particular label with the speakers whom I recorded but instead identified them as SAAE speakers myself, based on my own judgments as a linguist and as a member of the African American speech community. Finally, as a third variety, I recorded speakers of Gullah (also known as Geechee) — an African American creole variety spoken along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia. I chose this variety because of its salience (and often stigma) in the region, as well as its distinctiveness vis-à-vis the other two varieties described above. All of the Gullah speakers whom I recorded identified Gullah as part of their own linguistic repertoires, though they were fluent in other, noncreole varieties as well. And while several of them acknowledged the stigma that too often accompanies Gullah, they also spoke of its significance as a marker of culture and identity, consistent with Smitherman’s (2006) push-pull concept described earlier.³

The stimuli for the study were ultimately drawn from six of the ten recorded speakers — one female and one male representing each of the three varieties described above. The six speakers were chosen based on the quality of their recordings, the distinctiveness of their voices vis-à-vis others of the same sex, and the extent to which their voices seemed exemplary of the

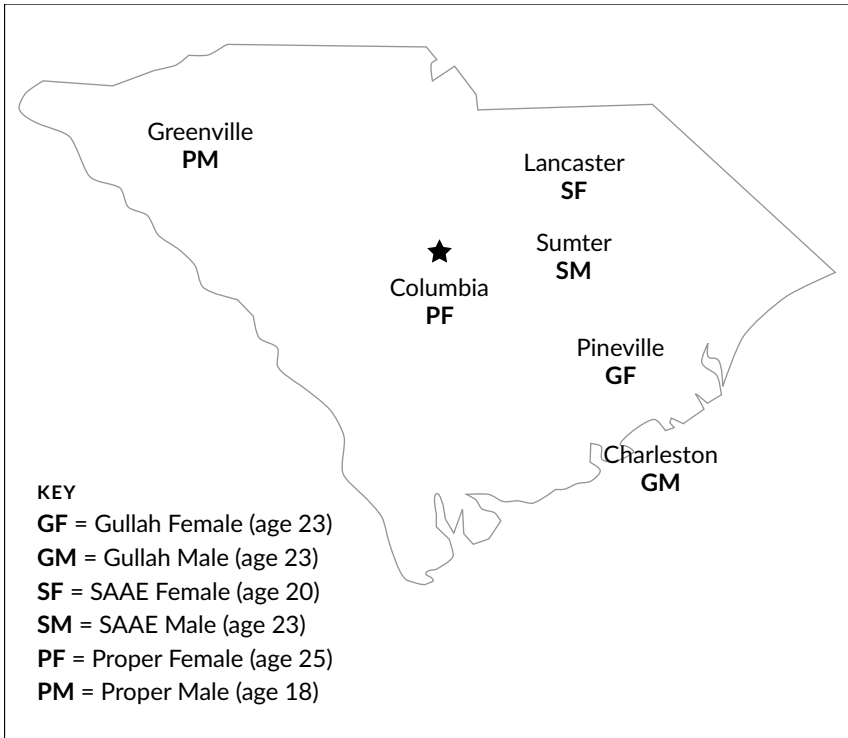


FIGURE 9.1. Distribution of speakers by age, sex, and hometown

above-mentioned varieties. With the exception of the Proper male, who self-identified as black-white biracial, all of the speakers identified as African American. The Proper female was a native of Columbia, South Carolina, who moved around as a military dependent. All of the other speakers were born and raised in South Carolina, with the exception of the Proper male, who was born in Pasadena, California, but raised in Greenville, South Carolina. Figure 9.1 shows the distribution of the speakers by age, sex, and hometown.

3. The Participants

To solicit participation for the study, I e-mailed faculty and leaders of various student organizations at several colleges and universities in South Carolina and Georgia, asking them to share the study link with their students. I restricted the solicitation to these two states in an effort to increase the likelihood of listeners having at least some familiarity with Gullah. Ultimately, all

of the study participants who indicated their university affiliation reported being enrolled in South Carolina schools. The study, which was designed to take approximately ten to fifteen minutes to complete, was conducted anonymously online, and no incentives were given for participation. Participants were informed at the outset that the focus of the study was on the labeling and perception of African American voices and the concept of “sounding black.”

After about three months of periodic solicitation during the fall 2014 and spring 2015 semesters, a total of fifty students had participated in the study. This chapter focuses on the results from the African American (AA) participants ($n = 33$) and European American (EA) participants ($n = 12$), who represented the majority of those who participated in the study. With the exception of one EA student who was attending a historically black college or university, all of the EA participants were enrolled in traditional white institutions. Among the 33 AA participants, 28 (85 percent) attended historically black colleges or universities; 4 (12 percent) attended traditional white institutions; and 1 participant (3 percent) chose not to reveal her or his university affiliation. Thirty (91 percent) of the AA participants and 6 (50 percent) of the EA participants reported having lived in the South their entire lives.

With regard to sex, 26 AA participants (79 percent) and 7 EA participants (58 percent) identified as female. All remaining participants identified as male. The AA participants ranged in age from eighteen to fifty-four; 25 (76 percent) were enrolled as undergraduate students at the time of the study, 7 (21 percent) were graduate students, and 1 (3 percent) chose not to share his or her degree-seeking status. The EA participants ranged in age from nineteen to thirty-two; all 12 students were enrolled as undergraduate students at the time of the study. A majority (36; 80 percent) of all participants were eighteen to twenty-five years old.

To determine the extent to which students' judgments might have been influenced by linguistics course work, I asked the participants how many linguistics classes they had taken. Among the AA respondents, 25 (76 percent) reported never having taken a linguistics class, 7 (21 percent) had taken a small number of linguistics classes, and 1 (3 percent) was majoring/minoring in linguistics. Among the EA respondents, 4 (33 percent) had never taken a linguistics class, 6 (50 percent) reported having taken a small number of linguistics classes, and 2 (17 percent) were majoring/minoring in linguistics.

I also asked the participants to select, among a list of options, which of the given varieties they spoke, if any. They were allowed to select all that applied. As shown in figure 9.2, the list of options offered heavily favored

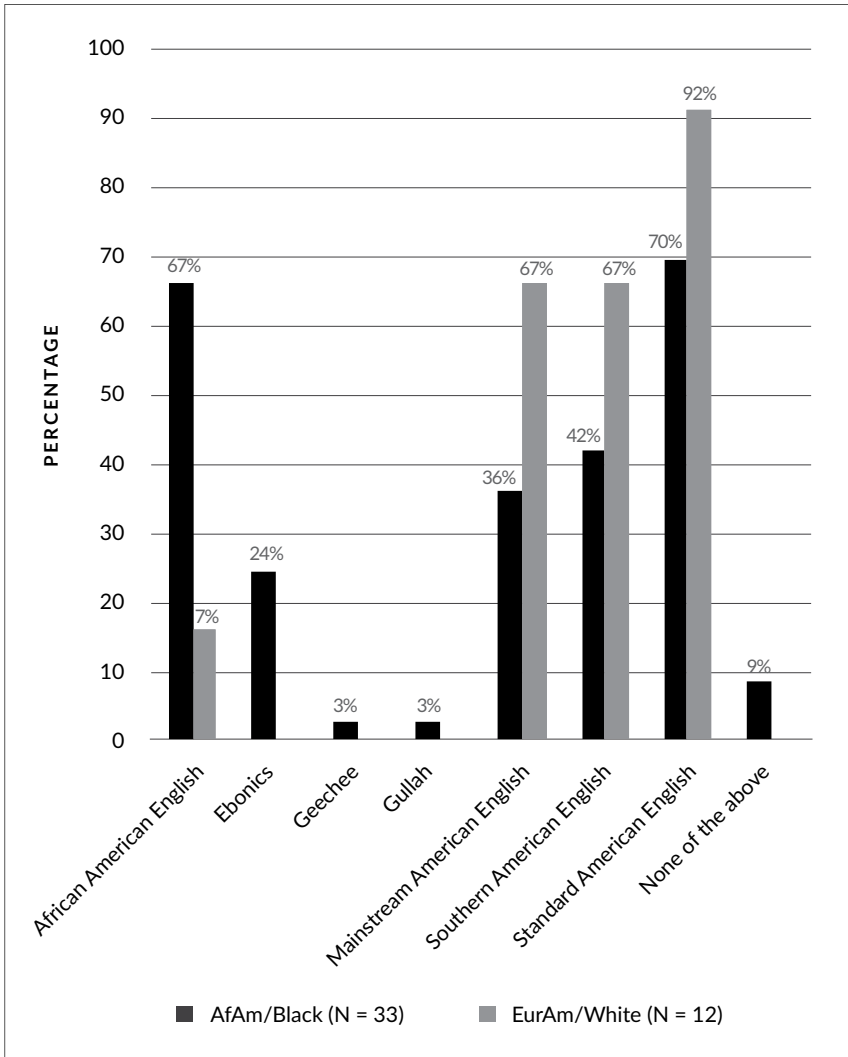


FIGURE 9.2. Participants’ self-reported linguistic varieties spoken

African American language varieties, given the focus in this study on “sounding black.” The variety selected most frequently among both groups, however, was Standard American English, chosen by 70 percent ($n = 23$) of AA respondents and 92 percent ($n = 11$) of EA respondents; 67 percent ($n = 22$) of AA respondents also selected African American English, and 67 percent ($n = 8$) of EA respondents also selected Mainstream American English and Southern American English.

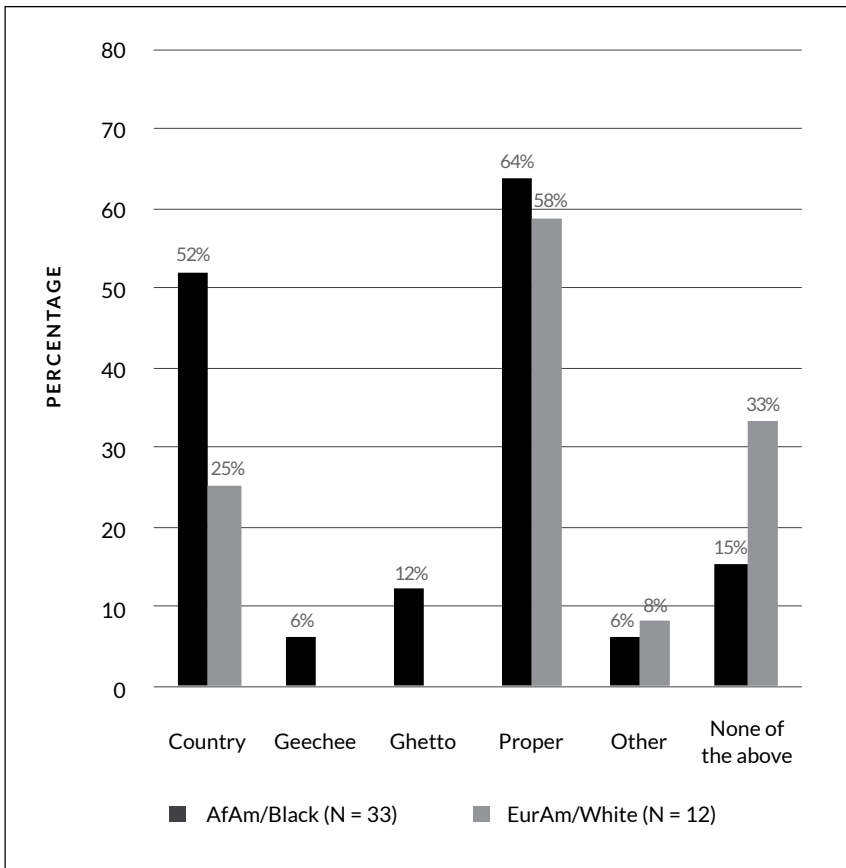


FIGURE 9.3. Participants' responses to the question "Which, if any, of the following labels would you use to describe your own speech?"

Participants were also asked to choose from a list of options which, if any, they would use to describe their own speech and which, if any, others had used to describe their speech. Again, they were instructed to select all that applied. As shown in figures 9.3 and 9.4, among the AA respondents, the label chosen most often was "Proper," selected by 64 percent ($n = 21$) of participants as a self-description and by 70 percent ($n = 23$) as a label that others had used to describe their speech. Second most frequent among AA respondents was "Country," selected by 52 percent ($n = 17$) of participants as a self-description and by 55 percent ($n = 18$) of participants as a label that others had used to describe their speech. Among the EA participants, the most frequent label for self-description was also "Proper," selected by 58 percent

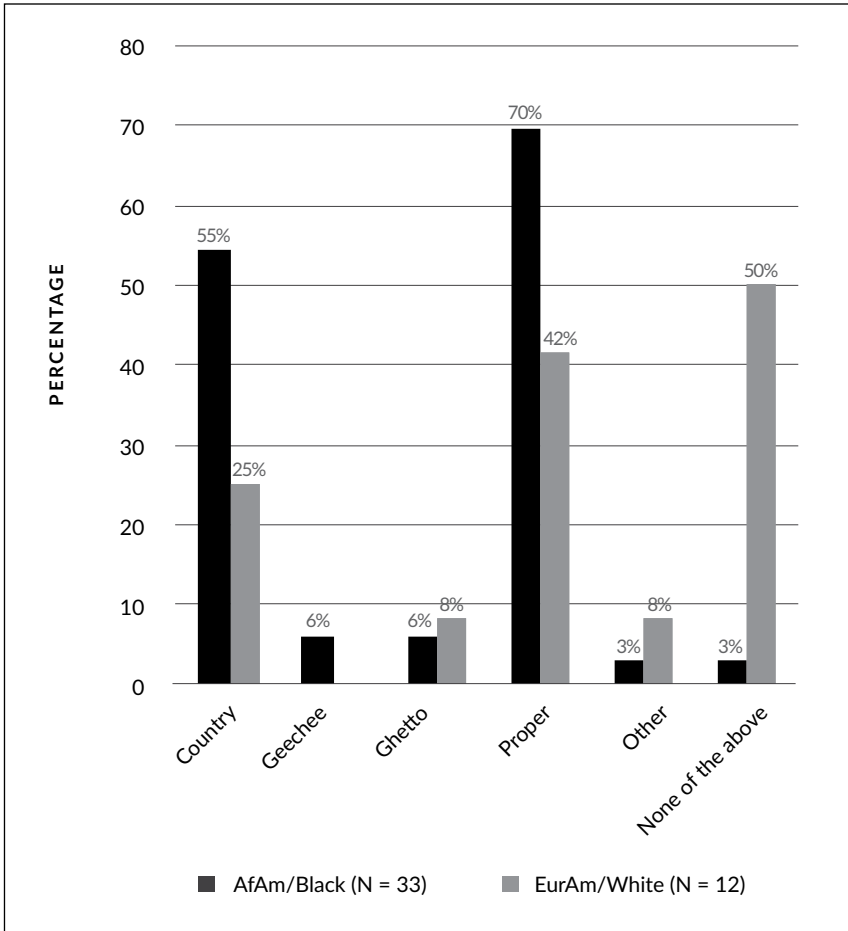


FIGURE 9.4. Participants’ responses to the question “Which, if any, of the following labels have others used to describe your speech?”

(*n* = 7) of respondents. However, 50 percent (*n* = 6) of respondents selected “none of the above” as the label used by others to describe their speech.

One final observation before turning to the results regards the label “Geechee.” Like most circulating labels used to describe African American language varieties, the term “Geechee” was once highly stigmatized in the region. However, there is at least anecdotal evidence that the label is being reappropriated by younger speakers.⁴ What is noteworthy in the present study is that an average of 50 percent of EA respondents reported having no familiarity with the label at all, in contrast to the AA respondents, almost

all of whom were familiar with it. While these results might reflect, in part, the observation made earlier that only 50 percent of EA participants had lived in the South their entire lives, this pattern also seems to point to a racial divide regarding familiarity with the Gullah community. I return to the connection between Gullah/Geechee and African American identity in the discussion section.

4. The Results

To create the stimuli for the perception study, I asked each speaker to read several word lists and reading passages. Using these texts controlled for grammatical variables and other linguistic phenomena, thus facilitating comparison across speakers. All recordings were done in my office, using Audacity (version 1.3.13-beta, in Unicode; www.audacityteam.org) and the internal microphone on my MacBook Pro.

For the purposes of the perception study, I presented listeners with three different stimuli from each speaker: the greeting “hello,” the act of “sucking teeth” followed by the expression “whatever,” and the first stanza of “Mary Had a Little Lamb.”⁵ For the first two stimuli, participants were asked to rate the voices on four circulating labels: “Country,” “Ghetto,” “Geechee,” and “Proper.” Based on observed patterns of usage, I predicted that the Gullah voices would be rated highest on “Geechee,” while the Proper voices would be rated highest on “Proper.” In the absence of any circulating labels for SAAE, I was less clear on how listeners would perceive and label these voices, though I expected them to pattern closer to Proper than to Gullah. The labels “Country” and “Ghetto” were included as additional circulating labels — the former typically to refer to rural speakers, and the latter, to refer to urban speakers, both connoting a certain lack of “class” or sophistication. “Mary Had a Little Lamb” was then presented as a more substantive stimulus, to observe how participants would rate the voices on a variety of social characteristics, such as friendliness, sexiness, or nerdiness. The responses to these three stimuli are discussed below.

4.1. “HELLO”

Using the greeting “hello” as a stimulus to test listener perceptions, Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh (1999) found that listeners were able to accurately assess the race/ethnicity of speakers using only minimal acoustic cues. I presented “hello” as the first stimulus in this study to determine whether listeners could make more nuanced distinctions — in this case, across a variety of

TABLE 9.1. Mean ratings of responses to “hello”

Label	Female voices			Male voices		
	Gullah	SAAE	Proper	Gullah	SAAE	Proper
African American responses						
Country	1.88	1.78	1.39	2.27	2.17	2.31
Geechee	3.26	1.04	1.17	2.54	1.22	1.26
Ghetto	2.43	1.22	1.04	2.52	1.18	1.45
Proper	1.68	3.93	4.70	2.08	3.28	3.24
European American responses						
Country	1.25	1.92	1.83	1.42	1.92	1.42
Geechee	3.60	1.00	1.00	1.40	1.86	1.00
Ghetto	2.58	1.75	1.18	2.75	2.08	1.33
Proper	2.08	3.58	4.50	2.75	3.82	3.17

Order of presentation: female Gullah, Proper, and then Standard African American English (SAAE), followed by male Proper, SAAE, and then Gullah. Participants ranked voices on a scale of 1–5, with 1 indicating not exemplifying the given label at all, and 5, strongly exemplifying the label. Shading indicates ratings above 3, indicating a positive rating.

African American voices — using the same stimulus.⁶ Unlike Purnell and colleagues, who employed a true “matched guise” technique, by which a single speaker represented multiple guises (compare Lambert et al. 1960), I presented listeners with stimuli from multiple speakers to create a more naturalistic, though less controlled, listening experience.⁷

For this stimulus, the female voices were played first, followed by the male voices.⁸ Then for each of the circulating labels participants were asked to rate the voices on a scale of 1–5, where 1 meant the voice did not exemplify the given label at all; 3, that the voice “kind of” exemplified the given label; and 5, that the voice “really” exemplified the given label. Any rating above 3, shown shaded in table 9.1, was interpreted as a positive rating, meaning that participants associated the voice with the given label.

None of the voices received ratings above 3 for “Country” or “Ghetto” in response to the “hello” stimulus, indicating that none of the voices was strongly associated with these two labels (table 9.1). Both AA and EA participants associated the female Gullah speaker’s voice with the “Geechee” label

and each of the SAAE and Proper speakers' voices with the Proper label. Predictably, the female Proper speaker's voice received the highest mean rating for Proper. However, among the male voices, the SAAE speaker actually received the highest mean rating for Proper, and the Gullah speaker did not receive any mean ratings above 3, indicating that his voice was not strongly associated with any of the given labels.

These data were tested for significance using a repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) performed in SPSS (version 22). As noted earlier, many of the EA participants were unfamiliar with the "Geechee" label and therefore chose not to rate the voices that they heard on this particular label, resulting in many empty cells in the data. Because repeated-measures ANOVA removes participants from the analysis when data are missing, including "Geechee" in the model for the EA participants significantly reduced the overall size of the EA data set. For this reason, I excluded "Geechee" from the statistical analysis for the EA responses but included it in the analysis of the AA responses, where there was almost categorical familiarity with the label. Given this difference in the label categories for the two participant groups, race/ethnicity was not tested as a between-subjects factor in the statistical analysis. However, separate within-subjects analyses were run for each group. Significant main effects and interactions from each ANOVA run are listed in table 9.2.⁹

While the statistical analyses revealed several significant main effects and interactions, of particular importance for the purposes of this investigation were the interactions between "label" and "voice." As shown in table 9.2, post hoc comparison of the estimated marginal means showed that AA participants rated Gullah significantly higher than other voices on the labels "Country," "Geechee," and "Ghetto," though the highest ratings were for "Geechee." Proper and SAAE were rated significantly higher on "Proper." Similar patterns were observed among the EA participants for "Proper." However, EA participants differed from AA participants in their rating of "Country," giving SAAE and Proper voices significantly higher ratings than Gullah (a near mirror image of the AA ratings). EA participants also differed from AA participants in their rating of "Ghetto," rating SAAE voices significantly higher than Proper voices, although both groups rated the Gullah voices highest on this label, as shown in figure 9.5.

The three-way interactions shown in figure 9.6 indicate that AA participants rated the Proper male voice as significantly more "Country" than the SAAE male voice, as indicated by the circled markers on the graph. In fact, the Proper male nearly tied the Gullah male, for the highest mean ratings

TABLE 9.2. ANOVA results of significant main effects and interactions for responses to “hello”

	African American responses	European American responses
Main effects		
Label	$f(3,16) = 16.982, p = 0.000$	$f(2,8) = 11.024, p = 0.005$
Voice	$f(2,17) = 9.147, p = 0.002$	$f(2,8) = 6.090, p = 0.025$
Interactions		
Label × sex	$f(3,16) = 3.793, p = 0.031$	$f(2,8) = 33.818, p = 0.000$
Label × voice	$f(6,13) = 18.176, p = 0.000$	$f(4,6) = 5.700, p = 0.031$
Country	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.022$)	SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.011$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.041$)
Geechee	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.000$); Proper ($p = 0.000$)	N/A ^a
Ghetto	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.002$); Proper ($p = 0.001$)	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.050$); Proper ($p = 0.001$) SAAE > Proper ($p = 0.034$)
Proper	SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.000$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$); SAAE ($p = 0.006$)	SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.000$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$)
Label × voice × sex	$f(6,13) = 7.072, p = 0.002$	—
Country	M: Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.001$) Proper > SAAE ($p = 0.004$)	—
Geechee	F: Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.000$); Proper ($p = 0.000$) M: Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.002$); Proper ($p = 0.003$)	—
Ghetto	F: Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.022$); Proper ($p = 0.003$) M: Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.001$); Proper ($p = 0.010$)	—
Proper	F: SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.000$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$); SAAE ($p = 0.002$) M: SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.000$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$)	—

SAAE, Standard African American English.

^aThe Geechee label was removed from the ANOVA run for European American respondents because of multiple empty cells.

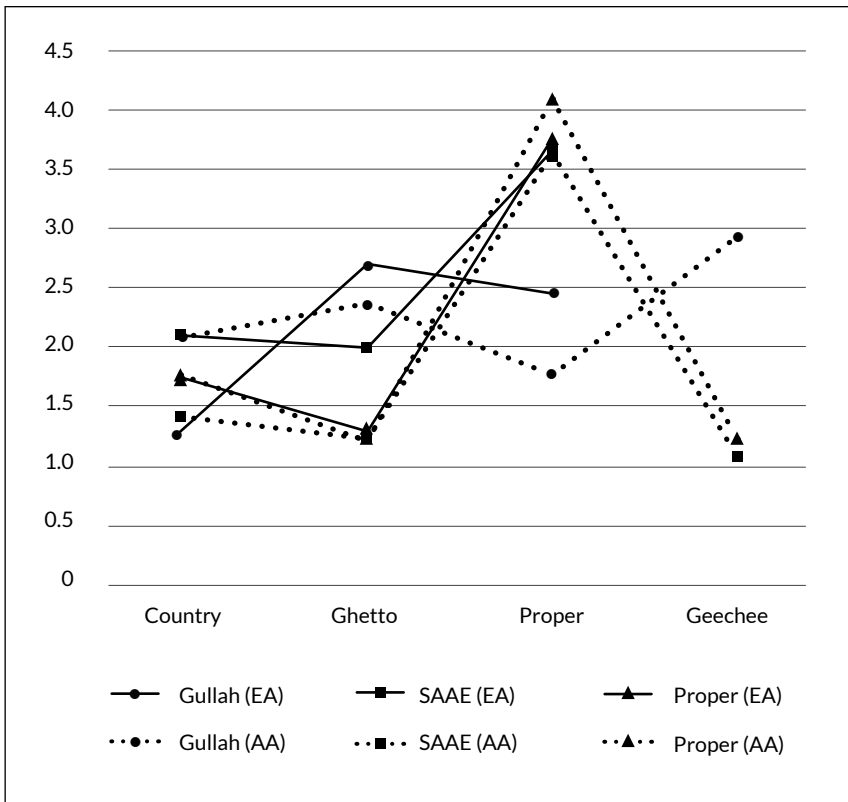


FIGURE 9.5. Estimated marginal means of label \times voice ratings for European American and African American responses to “hello”

for “Country” among AA respondents, although neither voice received mean ratings above 3 for this label.

The breakdown by sex in figure 9.6 also shows that the Gullah female received the highest mean rating for “Geechee,” followed by the Gullah male. The Gullah male received the highest mean rating for “Ghetto,” followed closely by the Gullah female. And the Proper female received the highest mean rating for “Proper,” followed closely by the SAAE female.

4.2. (SUCKING TEETH) “WHATEVER”

The second stimulus that participants heard was that of each speaker sucking her or his teeth, followed by “whatever,” an expression typically used by speakers to signal dismissiveness or a lack of concern for something or someone. Unlike “hello,” which is racially neutral, the act of sucking teeth is

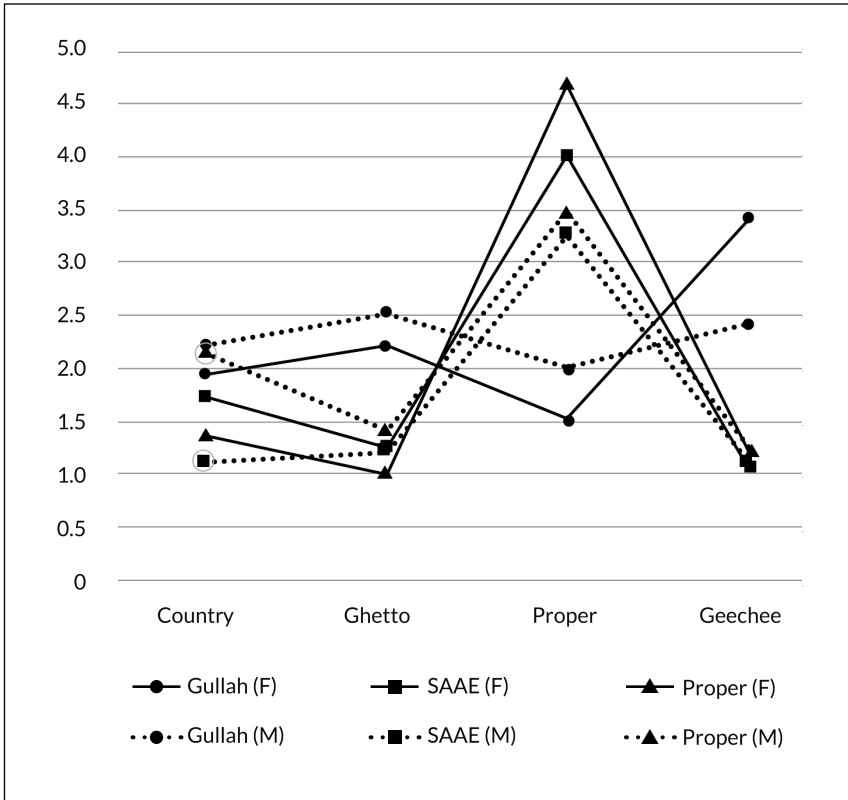


FIGURE 9.6. Estimated marginal means of label x voice x sex ratings for African American responses to “hello”

racially marked. As discussed in Rickford and Rickford (1976), sucking teeth to signal disgust or disapproval represents an African continuity, which, at least at the time of their study, had remained more-or-less restricted to African American speech communities in the United States. In fact, for most European American participants in their study, the distinctive meaning of the gesture vis-à-vis more mainstream gestures, such as the act of “cleaning one’s teeth,” was linguistically “camouflaged” (compare Spears 1982). Before recording this stimulus for my own study, I asked each speaker if she or he understood what was meant by the expression “sucking teeth.” Each one answered affirmatively and then proceeded to demonstrate the gesture correctly, with the exception of the Proper male, who said that he was familiar with the gesture but then demonstrated something more akin to cleaning his teeth. The waveform images shown in figure 9.7, which were captured using

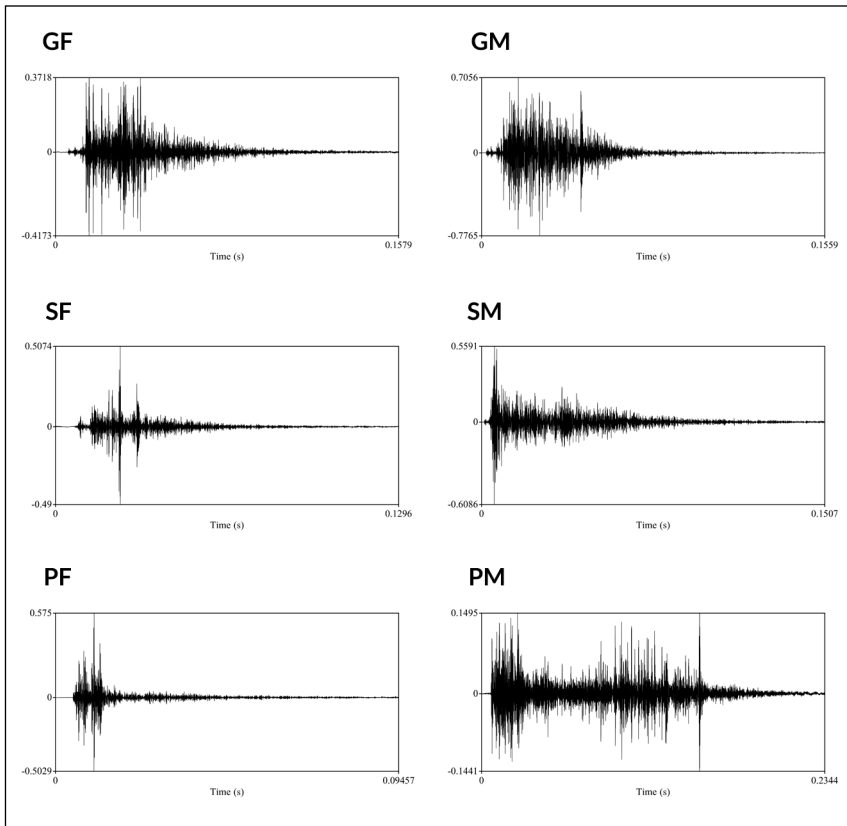


FIGURE 9.7. Waveforms for “sucking teeth” by the six stimulus speakers. G, Gullah; S, Standard African American English; P, Proper; F, female; M, male.

Praat (version 5.3.80, www.praat.org), show how his production of sucking teeth differed in length and amplitude from those of the other speakers.

Because I wanted to capture the speakers’ natural tendencies for producing the given stimuli, I did not “correct” this different production but instead used it for the perception study as produced. I presented this expression as the second stimulus in the study to determine whether a brief verbal cue that was racially marked and more semantically loaded would yield a different set of ratings than that observed for the more semantically neutral “hello.” The order of presentation for this stimulus was male voices followed by female voices, as described in the table 9.3 note.

Whereas none of the speakers received ratings above 3 for “Country” or “Ghetto” in response to the “hello” stimulus, three speakers — the Gullah

TABLE 9.3. Mean ratings of responses to (sucking teeth) “whatever”

Label	Female voices			Male voices		
	Gullah	SAAE	Proper	Gullah	SAAE	Proper
African American responses						
Country	3.69	1.67	1.87	3.04	2.04	1.87
Geechee	2.96	1.39	1.35	2.33	1.26	1.04
Ghetto	4.00	2.60	1.75	3.96	3.15	1.80
Proper	1.48	2.85	3.79	1.45	2.12	3.57
European American responses						
Country	2.58	1.83	2.00	1.92	1.20	1.42
Geechee	2.40	1.20	1.00	2.40	1.40	2.00
Ghetto	4.50	2.75	1.67	4.08	3.30	2.17
Proper	1.42	2.92	3.33	1.58	2.10	2.33

Order of presentation: male Standard African American English (SAAE), Proper, and then Gullah, followed by female Proper, SAAE, and then Gullah. Participants ranked voices on a scale of 1–5, with 1 indicating not exemplifying the given label at all, and 5, strongly exemplifying the label. Shading indicates ratings above 3, indicating a positive rating.

female, the Gullah male, and the SAAE male — received ratings above 3 for one or both of these labels in response to the second stimulus. Several factors likely contributed to these ratings. To the extent that sucking teeth, as a racially marked and dismissive gesture, indexes a certain stereotypical, nonmainstream identity, this act alone might have prompted the higher “Ghetto” ratings shown in table 9.3. And, given the strong association of post-vocalic *r*-lessness with both urban and rural working-class speech, the *r*-less pronunciation of “whatever” might have contributed to both the “Country” and “Ghetto” ratings that were assigned to Gullah speakers by AA participants. A comparison of the F_3 values in figure 9.8 points to a continuum of rhoticity, comprising the nonrhotic production of the Gullah speakers, the more intermediate (but impressionistically rhotic) production of the SAAE speakers, and the acutely rhotic production of the Proper speakers, whose F_3 values were more dramatically lowered.

This rhotic effect likely also played a role in the ratings of the SAAE female, Proper female, and Proper male voices, all of which retained relatively

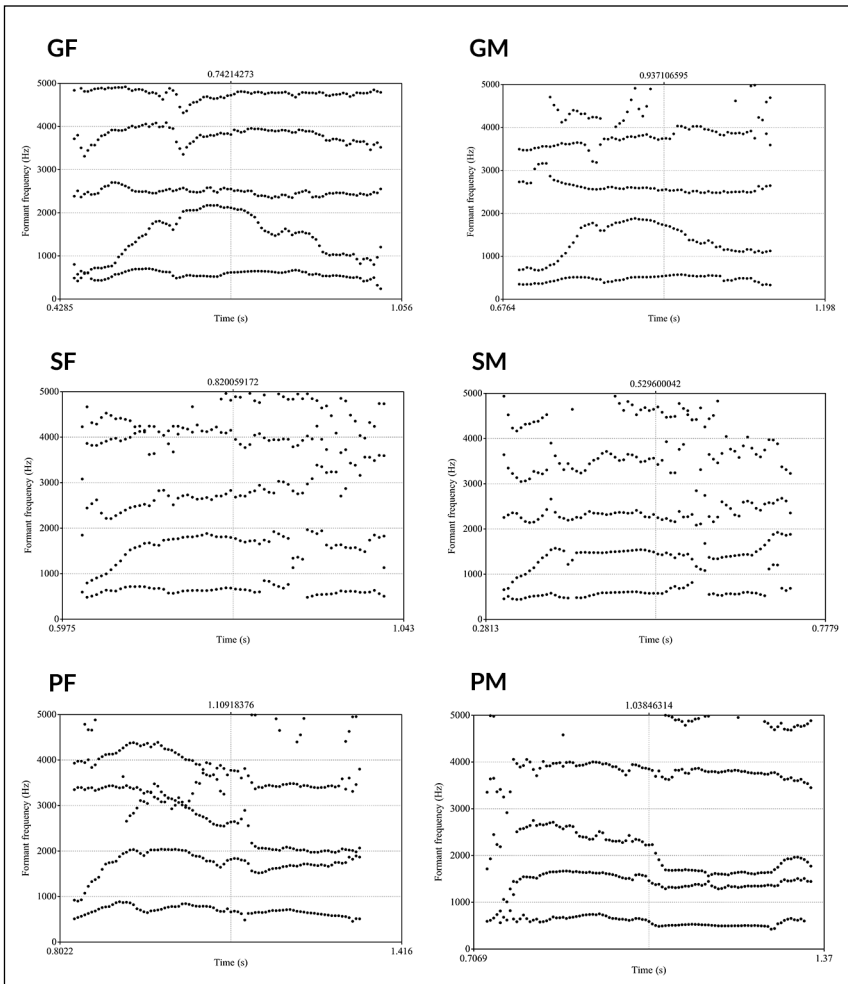


FIGURE 9.8. Formant contours for “whatever” for the six stimulus speakers. G, Gullah; S, Standard African American English; P, Proper; F, female; M, male.

high ratings for “Proper,” even in response to this more racially marked stimulus. As observed in Labov (1966:264), [r] constriction serves as an important indicator of “formal, educated speech” in the African American speech community. Among AA respondents, the Proper male’s rating for “Proper” actually went up on this second stimulus (from 3.24 to 3.57), perhaps in reaction to his *r*-ful pronunciation of “whatever,” in combination with the marked difference in “sucking teeth” described earlier.

As with “hello,” the “Geechee” label was removed from the ANOVA run on the EA data for this stimulus, because of multiple empty cells. Separate within-subjects analyses were therefore conducted for each group. Table 9.4 presents the significant main effects and interactions for each group, with additional results, where relevant, from post hoc comparisons of the estimated marginal means for interactions between label and voice.

Among AA respondents, Gullah was again found to be significantly different from the other voices on “Country,” “Geechee,” and “Ghetto.” Here, however, the Gullah voices were rated higher on “Country” and “Ghetto” than they were on “Geechee.” For EA respondents, there was no significant difference between the voices on “Country.” However, EA participants did rate Gullah voices higher than the other voices on “Ghetto,” consistent with AA participants. And both groups rated SAAE voices as significantly different from Proper voices on this label as well, thus producing a distinct Gullah > SAAE > Proper continuum for “Ghetto.” Among AA respondents, the “Proper” label was rated Proper > SAAE > Gullah — a mirror image to the “Ghetto” continuum — which was approximated by the EA respondents as well, who rated Proper and SAAE as significantly different from Gullah but not significantly different from one another. These results are presented in figure 9.9, with circles marking the opposing continua for “Ghetto” and “Proper.”

For this stimulus, the label × voice × sex interaction was significant only for EA participants (figure 9.10). As with the label × voice interaction, there was no significant difference between the voices on “Country.” The female Gullah speaker received the highest ratings for “Ghetto,” followed by the male Gullah speaker. Among the SAAE and Proper speakers, however, the male speakers received higher “Ghetto” ratings than their female counterparts, and the female Proper and SAAE speakers received the highest ratings for “Proper.”

4.3. “MARY HAD A LITTLE LAMB”

The final utterance that participants heard was the first stanza of “Mary Had a Little Lamb.”¹⁰ Here, listeners were asked to rate the voices they heard on nine social characteristics, distributed over four dimensions, as shown in table 9.5. These characteristics were chosen based on my own observations about the kinds of commentary that the voices in question tend to invoke. Several perceptual dialectology studies have shown that voices perceived as standard tend to be rated higher on status characteristics (e.g., intelligence),

TABLE 9.4. ANOVA results of significant main effects and interactions for responses to (sucking teeth) “whatever”

	African American responses	European American responses
Main effects		
Label	$f(3,18) = 18.218, p = 0.000$	Label $f(2,8) = 23.086, p = 0.000$
Voice	$f(2,19) = 19.862, p = 0.000$	Sex $f(1,9) = 18.254, p = 0.002$
Interactions		
Label × voice	$f(6,15) = 11.945, p = 0.000$	$f(4,6) = 34.637, p = 0.000$
Country	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.000$); Proper ($p = 0.001$)	Not significant
Geechee	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.000$); Proper ($p = 0.000$)	N/A ^a
Ghetto	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.000$); Proper ($p = 0.000$) SAAE > Proper ($p = 0.005$)	Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.003$); Proper ($p = 0.000$) SAAE > Proper ($p = 0.001$)
Proper	SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.000$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$); SAAE ($p = 0.000$)	SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.006$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$)
Label × sex	—	$f(2,8) = 6.106, p = 0.025$
Label × voice × sex	—	$f(4,6) = 14.228, p = 0.003$
Country	—	Not significant
Geechee	—	N/A ^a
Ghetto	—	F: Gullah > SAAE ($p = 0.000$); Proper ($p = 0.000$) SAAE > Proper ($p = 0.023$) M: Gullah > Proper ($p = 0.008$) SAAE > Proper ($p = 0.009$)
Proper	—	F: SAAE > Gullah ($p = 0.004$) Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.000$) M: Proper > Gullah ($p = 0.004$)

SAAE, Standard African American English.

^aThe Geechee label was removed from the ANOVA run for European American respondents because of multiple empty cells.

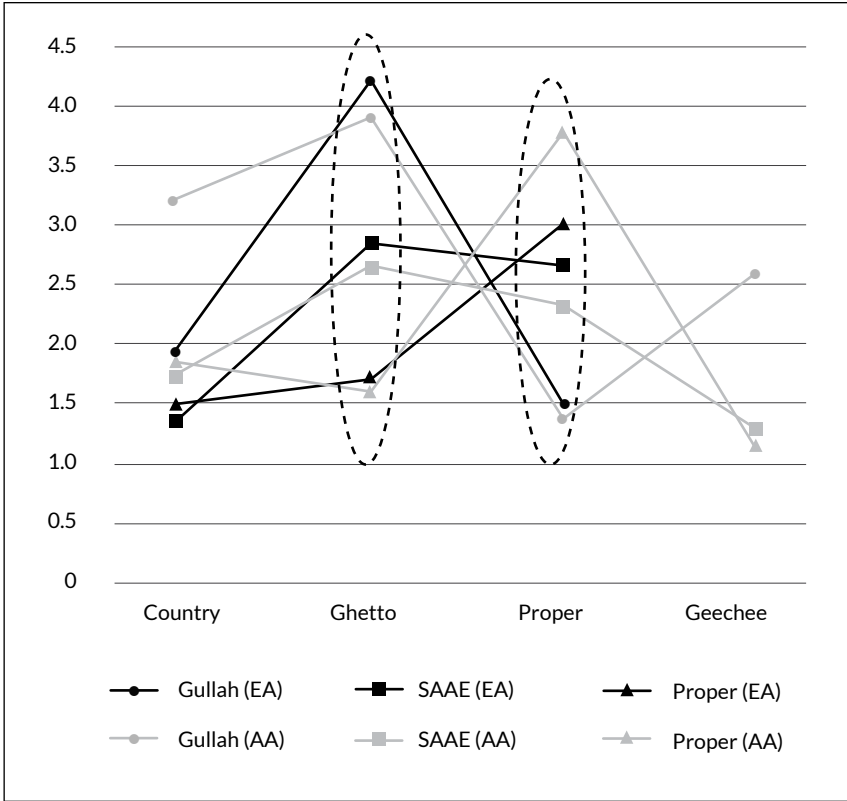


FIGURE 9.9. Estimated marginal means of label × voice ratings for European American and African American responses to (sucking teeth) “whatever.” Circles marking mirror-image responses for “Ghetto” and “Proper.”

while voices perceived as vernacular (or nonstandard) tend to be rated higher on solidarity characteristics (e.g., friendliness) (see, e.g., Lambert et al. 1960; Preston 1996, 2004). One of the goals in using this stimulus was to determine whether similar patterns of response might be observed for the Proper, SAAE, and Gullah voices, respectively, to the extent that they were perceived by listeners as existing along a standard-vernacular continuum. The order of presentation for this stimulus alternated between female and male voices, as described in the table 9.6 note.

Solidarity

The only solidarity characteristic that got ratings over 3 among AA participants was “friendly,” which was associated with the SAAE male and female

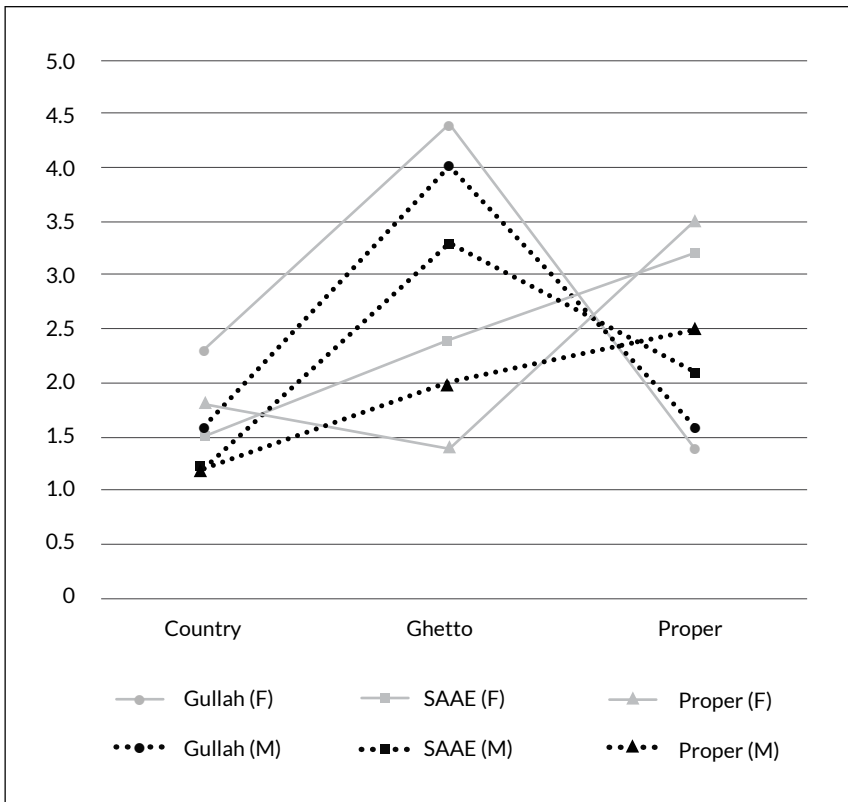


FIGURE 9.10. Estimated marginal means of label × voice × sex ratings for European American responses to (sucking teeth) “whatever”

voices as well as the Proper male voice. This is a somewhat unexpected result, given the common observation, noted above, that high-status voices tend to be rated lower on solidarity. However, studies such as those of Buck (1968) and Tucker and Lambert (1975), in which college students were asked to rate a variety of African American and European American voices along the standard-vernacular continuum, yielded similar results, wherein high-status voices were rated favorably not only on status dimensions but also on solidarity dimensions. Thus, the higher solidarity ratings observed here might be tied, at least in part, to the observation made earlier about participants perceiving their own voices as “Standard” or “Proper” and perhaps viewing these particular voices favorably because they found them to be more familiar or relatable.

TABLE 9.5. Social characteristics on which respondents rated voices in response to the “Mary Had a Little Lamb” stimulus

Dimension	Social characteristic
Solidarity	Cool, friendly, snooty
Gender/sexuality	Sexy, feminine, masculine
Intellect	Educated, nerdy
Racial identity	Strong black identity

The solidarity ratings among the EA participants were more mixed. While several voices were rated above 3 for friendliness, the Proper female voice was rated above 3 for both friendliness and snootiness — two seemingly incompatible characteristics. EA participants rated the SAAE female and Gullah male voices as “cool,” but none of the voices received a rating above 3 for coolness among the AA participants. Admittedly, the stimulus itself — a familiar children’s poem — did not readily lend itself to exhibitions of coolness. However, these results suggest that AA and EA listeners measured both coolness and snootiness in distinct ways.

Gender/Sexuality

With regard to gender/sexuality, none of the voices were rated as “sexy” by either AA or EA respondents. The nature of the stimulus likely played a role in these results as well. The female speakers were rated above 3 on femininity and the male speakers were rated above 3 on masculinity, except in the case of the Proper male, who did not receive any ratings above 3 by AA respondents on the gender/sexuality dimension. The apparent gender ambiguity of the Proper male’s voice from the perspective of AA listeners is worth further investigation, to determine whether “sounding proper” as a male is perceived as incompatible with sounding masculine.

Intellect

On the intellect dimension, AA respondents rated all of the voices above 3 for sounding educated, and EA respondents rated all of the voices, except that of the Gullah female, above 3 on this characteristic. The only voice rated above 3 for nerdiness was that of the Proper male, who received high ratings by both AA and EA respondents.

TABLE 9.6. Mean ratings of responses to “Mary Had a Little Lamb”

Dimension	Social characteristic	Female voices			Male voices		
		Gullah	SAAE	Proper	Gullah	SAAE	Proper
African American responses							
Solidarity	Cool	2.54	2.78	1.78	2.83	2.79	2.17
	Friendly	2.78	3.80	3.96	2.87	3.13	2.92
	Snooty	1.61	1.26	2.21	1.04	1.17	2.85
Gender/sexuality	Sexy	1.55	1.81	1.41	1.64	1.71	1.45
	Feminine	4.04	4.61	4.74	1.17	1.26	2.13
	Masculine	1.43	1.09	1.00	4.63	4.77	2.88
Intellect	Educated	3.00	4.33	4.24	3.04	3.79	4.24
	Nerdy	1.39	1.43	2.04	1.77	1.91	3.63
Racial identity	Strong black identity	4.42	4.13	1.14	4.15	4.38	1.39
European American responses							
Solidarity	Cool	2.75	3.00	2.17	3.67	2.83	2.08
	Friendly	2.92	3.64	3.67	3.67	3.08	2.92
	Snooty	1.42	1.67	3.08	1.33	1.75	2.75
Gender/sexuality	Sexy	1.25	1.50	1.58	2.08	1.75	1.17
	Feminine	4.25	4.33	4.50	1.00	1.00	1.92
	Masculine	1.42	1.25	1.08	4.58	4.83	3.25
Intellect	Educated	2.67	4.00	4.25	3.33	3.42	4.17
	Nerdy	1.00	1.50	1.92	1.25	1.36	3.25
Racial identity	Strong black identity	4.50	3.67	1.00	4.58	4.08	1.17

Order of presentation: Proper female, Gullah male, Standard African American English (SAAE) female, SAAE male, Gullah female, and then Proper male. Participants ranked voices on a scale of 1–5, with 1 indicating not exemplifying the given label at all, and 5, strongly exemplifying the label. Shading indicates ratings above 3, indicating a positive rating.

TABLE 9.7. ANOVA results of significant main effects and interactions for responses to “Mary Had a Little Lamb”

	African American responses	European American responses
Main effects		
Social characteristics	$f(8,10) = 25.727, p = 0.000$	$f(8,3) = 25.977, p = 0.011$
Voice	$f(2,16) = 3.794, p = 0.045$	$f(2,9) = 9.847, p = 0.005$
Interactions		
Social characteristics × sex	$f(8,10) = 123.921, p = 0.000$	$f(8,3) = 12.767, p = 0.030$
Voice × sex	—	$f(2,9) = 8.658, p = 0.008$

^aThe social characteristics × voice and social characteristics × sex interactions were removed from the European American analysis because of insufficient residual degrees of freedom.

Racial Identity

The category that showed the greatest consensus in ratings across the two racial groups was that of racial identity. Both AA and EA participants rated the Gullah and SAAE voices (male and female) above 3 for “strong black identity,” while both the Proper female and Proper male voices received low ratings in this regard. These results confirm the observation made earlier about Proper voices being perceived as a rejection of African American culture and values. They also speak to the clear association of both Gullah and SAAE voices with a strong African American identity.

In the initial ANOVA run for this stimulus, the EA data produced an error message for two interactions — social characteristics × voice and social characteristics × sex — indicating that there were “insufficient residual degrees of freedom,” which prevented the production of multivariate test statistics for these particular interactions.¹¹ I therefore analyzed the EA and AA data sets separately for this stimulus as well, and removed these two interactions from the model for the EA run. The results from these two runs are shown in table 9.7.

As with the other stimuli, the primary interest in conducting the statistical analyses was to look for significant interactions between voice and social characteristics (compare label) that might inform how listeners perceived the voices that they heard. As noted above, this interaction was removed from the EA run. Among AA participants, it was not significant.

5. Conclusion

The results of this study show that “sounding black” in the South is a rich and complex phenomenon. While the findings reported here more-or-less supported my original predictions regarding the association of Gullah voices with the label “Geechee” and Proper and SAAE voices with “Proper,” the results for “Country” and “Ghetto” did show some surprising trends across racial groups and to some extent by sex, that warrant further investigation. Other findings raise the question of the generalizability of the observed patterns. For example, to what extent are female Gullah speakers judged more harshly than male Gullah speakers on intellect? To what extent are male Proper speakers rated lower on masculinity and higher on nerdiness than other male speakers?

Some of the findings reported in this study are likely to be applicable to college campuses more generally, such as the rating of SAAE and Proper (i.e., high-status) voices as “friendly”—a finding that challenges conventional wisdom about the incompatibility of status and solidarity ratings. Others results are likely to be characteristic of the region, like the association of Gullah, as a regionally and ethnically marked variety, with a complex assortment of identities —“Country,” “Ghetto,” “Geechee.” And yet other patterns are likely to be generalizable beyond the South, like the perception of Proper voices as not “sounding black” and SAAE voices as “sounding black” but without many of the negative connotations associated with more saliently marked varieties. The nuanced meanings and associations highlighted here not only speak to the many and varied ways in which African American speakers “sound black” in the South but also demonstrate that listeners are attuned to the differences and well equipped to assess them.

About the Author

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Notes

1. While “talking black” and “sounding black” can refer to different, but related, linguistic phenomena, they are often used interchangeably in the African American speech community, with primary emphasis on a speaker’s phonology or prosody (see Mufwene 2001:45).

2. Rahman (2008) used the label black Standard English to refer to what I call SAAE. This variety has been referred to by several different labels in the linguistic literature, including Standard black English and African American Standard English (see, e.g., Hoover 1978; Taylor 1983; Spears 1988, 2015; Mufwene 2001). While Spears (2015) provides a narrower definition of African American Standard English, as one that is defined by the presence of “Distinctively Black Grammatical Features,” such as the use of stressed *BIN* to mark remote past, most of these labels have been used in a manner that is more-or-less consistent with the definition provided in the text.

3. While anecdotal in nature, it may be relevant to note the sex divide I observed among those whom I recorded for this study. While one of the male speakers talked about his own voice as having been described by others as “sexy,” one of the female speakers said that she tried very hard not to sound “Geechee” on campus. Another female speaker was so uncomfortable switching to Gullah for the purposes of the recording that she ultimately backed out and asked not to participate.

4. I base this claim on my own observations of commentary made by students at the University of South Carolina and other young people from the Gullah community, who seem to embrace the term “Geechee” while often distancing themselves from “Gullah” as something that their parents and/or grandparents speak or spoke. For example, following a talk in Georgetown, South Carolina, I was approached by a young woman who showed me her “Geechee girl” tattoo and expressed her preference for the label “Geechee” over “Gullah.” Such examples suggest that “Geechee” might be undergoing a generational shift both in meaning and in evaluation. A more thorough investigation is needed, however, to make any definitive claims in this regard.

5. As noted earlier, the speakers were initially asked to read several word lists and

reading passages, designed to elicit a variety of phonological and prosodic cues. In the text, I discuss the reasoning behind each of the selections for the perception study.

6. Participants were told in advance that the voices that they would be asked to rate were those of African American speakers.

7. Other speakers in the Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh (1999) study were used as distractors but were not included in the presentation of results.

8. For each of the three stimuli, the voices were presented in a different order to keep participants attentive and prevent them from answering by rote.

9. In tables 9.2, 9.4, and 9.7, the ANOVA ratings reflect only the responses of those participants who rated all of the voices in the perception study. Since participants were not required to rate every voice they heard, the ratings on which the ANOVA analyses were based are not necessarily identical to those shown in table 9.1, and other mean ratings tables, which include responses from all participants.

10. In an *ABC World News Tonight* episode on linguistic profiling that aired February 7, 2002, John Baugh used recitations of “Mary Had a Little Lamb” to demonstrate listeners’ ability to identify the racial or ethnic background of speakers based strictly on their voices. Baugh coined the term “linguistic profiling” to refer to the practice of discriminating against someone based on the sound of her or his voice, a phenomenon he observed while conducting research on housing discrimination (Baugh 1996, 2000; Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh 1999).

11. This error message was likely a product of the small data set and/or the large number of variables being tested.

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Sonja L. Lanehart and Ayesha M. Malik

Black Is, Black Isn't

Perceptions of Language and Blackness

1. Introduction

The human activity of language, the social construction of race, and the concept of identity are complicated. The ideologies surrounding language and race are even more complicated when they are examined along with identity. In this chapter, we parse each of these elements — language, race, and identity — among African American teenagers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a majority-Black city.¹ We do not aim to put words in the participants' mouths but instead to let participants explain their own attitudes and beliefs about language, race, and identity. In short, our goal is to let participants tell us their stories instead of us, the researchers, trying to “discover” them. In so doing as the basis of this ongoing research study, we explicate the complexity of language, race, and identity that inevitably leads us to even more complex and complicating views about racial identity and attitudes and beliefs about one's own language, and projections of those beliefs and attitudes onto others. After presenting the analysis of our data, we conclude with future directions for research on African American Language (AAL) and identity both generally and specifically with regard to this ongoing research project to gain a better understanding of the interplay of language, race, and identity of African Americans across generations.

2. Defining Out Loud: Language, Race, and Identity

2.1. AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE

Since this chapter deals with examining uses of language and identity in a community of African American teenagers in a majority-Black city, we start with how we define AAL. How AAL is discussed in the research is similar to the treatment of identity: we all seem to know what it is, so no one really takes the time to define it — we just know it when we see it. However, as we noted in our introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of African American Language* (Lanehart and Malik 2015), we can no longer assume that researchers mean the same thing when they use these terms and we have to be explicit about our use.

We use the term “African American Language” to refer to all variations of language use in African American communities, recognizing that there are many varieties within the umbrella term, including Gullah, African American Vernacular Language, and varieties reflecting differences in age/generation, sex and gender, sexuality, socioeconomic status and class, region, education, religion, and other affiliations and identities that intersect with one’s race, ethnicity, and nationality. This use also serves to bypass some of the problematic implications of the term “English” within the sociocultural and historical contexts of African slave descendants in the United States and the contested relationship to the motherland. We see the use of the term “AAL” as more neutral and, therefore, less marked. Regardless of which term one uses — African American English, African American Language, African American Vernacular English, African American Vernacular Language, or even Spoken Soul or Black Street Speech — they all refer to a language variety that is systematic, heterogeneous, and complex. It is what we do: “The language, only the language. . . . It is the thing that Black people love so much — the saying of words, holding them on the tongue, experimenting with them, playing with them. It’s a love, a passion. . . . The worst of all possible things that could happen would be to lose that language. There are certain things I cannot say without recourse to my language” (Toni Morrison, quoted in LeClair 1981:27). We study AAL because it is part of who we are and not just a career activity — it is personal. It provides a way to reclaim the richness of our language, culture, and heritage and to “do our language” ourselves — unapologetically.

2.2. RACE: ARE WE SO DIFFERENT?

Race does not exist biologically or anthropologically. Race is not in our DNA. Race and racism are social constructs that have histories, ideologies, and ontologies. Race is a way to establish hierarchy. It is that ephemeral thing

in Dr. Seuss's *The Sneetches*: it is whatever we want it to be that makes "us" better than "them."

Society says it is about skin color, land of origin, curses, and cultivation. It calls us red, white, black, brown, and yellow as though we are colors in a box of Crayola crayons, but it is not that. It is how we have constructed societies of haves and have-nots, those better than and those less than, those with the armies and navies and those more vulnerable. Along with race, we have ethnicity, nationality, religion, clan, heritage, and culture. We have constructed these hierarchies. But, as Toni Morrison (2014) said, we are all part of only one race: the human race.

In using these social constructs, we have to acknowledge not only whence they came but also that they can be used to categorize and organize peoples. While race — as problematic and flawed as it is — is used as a categorizing tool subsumed under human, ethnicity is a further subcategory like nationality. So, for example, someone can be racially categorized as Black and ethnically categorized as African American or nationally categorized as Dominican. We, for example, use "Black" to refer to peoples of African descent and "White" to refer to peoples of European descent, even though neither is categorical and both are fraught with nuance and gradation. We would also argue that the increased level of "mixing" and intermarriage has revealed how such categorizing is even more flawed and complicated.

2.3. IDENTITY: MAKE IT DO WHAT IT DO

We use Andrée Tabouret-Keller's (1997:323) explanation for how to think about identity: one's ability to get into focus with those with whom one wishes to identify is constrained. One can behave according to the behavioral patterns of groups one finds it desirable to identify with only to the extent that

- one can identify the groups (see Le Page 1986; Markus and Nurius 1986);
- one has both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyze their behavioral patterns (see Labov and Harris 1983; Ash and Myhill 1983);
- the motivation for joining the group is sufficiently powerful and is either reinforced or lessened by feedback from the group (see Le Page 1986; Markus and Nurius 1986); and
- one has the ability to modify one's behavior (see Ogbu 1999).

In our understanding of identity, there is a sense of community. At the same time, there is otherness. We choose to be part of groups, groups choose us, and groups say we are part of some other group and not theirs.

To better articulate the nuances of identity with respect to our language and our selves, we use Robert Le Page's concept of "acts of identity" (1986; for more detail, see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) and Hazel Markus's construct of "possible selves":

People create their linguistic systems (and we all have more than one) so as to resemble those of the groups with which from time to time they wish to identify. Both the groups, and their linguistic attributes, exist solely in the mind of each individual. When we talk we project the universe as we see it on to others as on to a cinema screen in our own images, expressed in the language we consider appropriate at that moment, and we invite others by these acts to share our universe. This does not necessarily mean that we accommodate our behaviour to resemble that of our audience, though we may do so. Rather, we behave in the way that — unconsciously or consciously — we think appropriate to the group with which at that moment we wish to identify. (Le Page 1986:23, emphasis added)

Possible selves represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming and, thus, provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation: "*An individual is free to create any variety of possible selves, yet the pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual's particular sociocultural and historical context and from the models, images, and symbols provided by the media and by the individual's immediate social experiences. Possible selves thus have the potential to reveal the inventive and constructive nature of the self but they also reflect the extent to which the self is socially determined and constrained*" (Markus and Nurius 1986:954, emphasis added). Acts of identity and possible selves together represent our language identity and our language selves (Lanehart 1996, 1998; for more detail, see Lanehart 2002).

Identifying as African American means that we hold a certain socioculture and sociohistory that is uniquely ours. While this relates to double-consciousness (see DuBois 1903; Smitherman 1986), we can also think about this in sociopsychological terms (Lanehart 2015): we have ways of speaking and communicating that derive from our experiences. How that language manifests depends more on our degree of identification with particular aspects of our language selves and how we see ourselves in micro and macro ways than it does with the person we may be speaking to at a given moment. How we present ourselves linguistically stems from our identity, but that

identity is composed of our past, current, and future possible selves, as well as space (i.e., where we are and where we want to be) and place (i.e., who we are and who we want to be — or don't want to be, since our feared possible selves are as important as our hoped for possible selves). We act as we see fit, but it is based on a more holistic perspective of how we see ourselves, how we see the world around us, and how we perceive that world sees us.

The interrelation of these three constructs — AAL, race, and identity — is the foundation for this research project. We believe the impact of the voices from this research study deepens our understanding of these intertwined constructs and beliefs as evidenced, in this case, by a group of African American teenagers.

3. Talking with the People

3.1. THE HOW OF IT

To access a more representative and complex view of language and identity, we used a phenomenological approach in our study. We attempted to balance females and males, as well as age cohorts, because too little research has been inclusive of African American communities, sex, and age/generation, and we felt it was important to represent a slice of the heterogeneous pie, so to speak, that makes up the African American community in the United States.

While we did not intentionally focus on AAL grammar, we did consider it when relevant to the research questions, just as we did for class, birthplace, education, age/generation, and salient identity. In other words, while this research investigates language and identity of African Americans, some participants' salient identity was their sexuality or their gender, as opposed to their race or ethnicity. This was most applicable for Ian (a pseudonym, as is the case with all names of participants), an eighteen-year-old senior in high school who identifies as a gay male. For him, his primary identity is being gay because the issues surrounding his sexuality were currently more profound in his life than issues surrounding his race or ethnicity — especially in a place where the vast majority of his peers were African American in a city that is majority Black. Thus, his secondary identity is being African American. As we know, one's salient identity is fluid and context-specific and impacts the language of the individual, which should be considered when researching communities. This knowledge alone suggests that the richness of African American communities is inclusive of more than just the impact or significance of their race or ethnicity. We are more than the sum of our parts.

To start each interview, we collected demographic data (e.g., sex, age, and birthplace/hometown). We used two guiding research questions in the general interview protocol, after collecting the preliminary demographic data:

1. What terms of reference do you use for the varied groups of the African Diaspora living in the United States? Or, what terms do you use for people with African ancestry? (If the teenager did not understand the question, we asked, “What terms do you use to describe your race or ethnicity? What about for those from the Caribbean? What about those from Africa?”)
 - a. Which particular term(s) of self-reference do you prefer personally?
 - b. Are there any offensive terms or terms you avoid?
 - c. Does it matter who uses these terms? For example, does it matter if the person who uses a particular term, whether offensive or not, is Black or non-Black?
2. What does “sounding Black” mean to you? What about “sounding White?”
 - a. How do you view it when Black people say either?
 - b. How do you view it when non-Black people say either?

3.2. THE PARTICIPANTS

In this phase of the research project, we conducted interviews about the perceptions of AAL and identity among African American teenagers ($n = 18$) who are in middle and high schools in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. We used snowball sampling to gather participants. Table 10.1 summarizes the demographics of the teenage participants we focus on in this chapter.

All but two of the teenage participants were in high school, with most being seniors. They were all of lower socioeconomic status, including some who lived in government housing. All the participants were originally from various parts of Louisiana but currently lived in the greater Baton Rouge area. Some were siblings, some were living in foster care, some were children of single parents, and some were in two-parent households.

4. What We Found: The Data and Discussion

To make sense of the data, we categorized responses into four groups: terms of self-reference to address racial and ethnic identity, offensive or avoided terms as part of research question 1, “sounding Black” descriptions and

TABLE 10.1. Teenager participant demographic data ($n = 18$)

ID	Pseudonym	Age (years)	Sex	School ^a	Grade	Interview length
TF1	Audrey	13	F	WD MS	7th	7m 52s
TF2	Bella	15	F	BA HS	10th	9m 22s
TF3	Chloe	15	F	WL HS	10th	14m 26s
TF4	Doris	15	F	MK HS	9th	10m 29s
TF5	Emma	15	F	MK HS	10th	9m 33s
TF6	Fannie	16	F	STJA HS	11th	10m 50s
TF7	Grace	17	F	MK HS	12th	9m 26s
TF8	Hannah	18	F	T HS	12th	8m 32s
TF9	Irene	18	F	T HS	12th	8m 50s
TM1	Aaron	14	M	MK HS	9th	9m 28s
TM2	Brett	14	M	PRA MS	8th	7m 49s
TM3	Caleb	15	M	MK HS	9th	6m 5s
TM4	Dylan	16	M	BK HS	10th	14m 1s
TM5	Elton	16	M	MK HS	11th	7m 50s
TM6	Frank	16	M	T HS	12th	7m 49s
TM7	Gavin	17	M	PV HS	12th	8m 48s
TM8	Hank	17	M	T HS	12th	3m 42s
TM9	Ian	18	M	T HS	12th	13m 9s

^aAbbreviations: HS, high school; MS, middle school

beliefs, and “sounding White” descriptions and beliefs to address views about language, race/ethnicity, and identity as part of research question 2 (see table 10.2). The first author conducted all interviews for this group.

4.1. TERMS OF SELF-REFERENCE: FOR AND AGAINST

All but one teenage participant used the terms “African American” and/or “Black,” but they were not necessarily interchangeable (see table 10.2). For example, according to Irene, an eighteen-year-old high school senior,

“Black” . . . just means you are, in some way, close to your — you have Black genes in you. “African American,” when I think of “African Amer-

ican,” I just, for some reason, feel like I’m, because I’m, technically, we all from Africa, but it makes me feel like, like I go back to history and think all that stuff, like when we first became, technically, like, I don’t know, free or like when they placed us in America, we were “African Americans.” In my opinion, I’m an American, but I’m a Black person. That’s how I see myself. I know I’m not the color black, but it’s just like, I like that word better than hearin’ “African American” or ‘cause, I’m not “African,” but I’m not a “Black” person, like I have more Irish blood in me than anything . . . but I deem myself “Black.”

Chloe, a fifteen-year-old high school sophomore, was the one participant most adamant about not liking either “Black” or “African American”: “Africa is actually a place. That’s actually a continent. That’s actually what you can be. You can be African; I don’t understand how you can be black. How are you a color? Like how are you white? How are you black? And ‘African American,’ that just sounds like two words slapped together for no reason. Either you can be African or you can be American. Why do you have to be called ‘African American’? So, I prefer, you know, just ‘American’ or, you know, just ‘African.’” While Chloe holds this personal belief, she will use “African American” or “Black” when describing others racially because “most people don’t like to be called ‘African,’ just ‘African.’ So, when I’m referring to other people, I’ll just say ‘Black’ or ‘African American.’” At fifteen years old, Chloe had some of the most thoughtful responses to the questions, which we will attribute, in part, to her voracious reading and identity as a writer. She also had the longest interview, at nearly fourteen and a half minutes (five minutes longer than the average interview length for the girls and six minutes longer than the average for the boys).

Table 10.2 shows the terms the teenagers either avoided using themselves or found to be offensive. According to Audrey, a thirteen-year-old seventh grader, “Oh, you sayin’ like, like if they call people out of they name?” “Call[ing] people out of they name” was frequently used by the teenagers to refer to offensive name-calling. Most interesting were the teenagers, like Doris, a fifteen-year-old high school freshman, who believed not only that “Negro” was offensive but also that it is the word they associate with “the N-word”: “‘Nigga’ not offensive, but ‘Negro’ is because they used to say that . . . back in the day.” For some of these teenagers, “Negro” had the same sting that “nigger/nigga” has for previous generations. Most teenagers did not have the same sociocultural and historical contexts for the two terms as older generations, but a sense of history for teenagers is different from that of older

TABLE 10.2. Summarized responses by participants: preferred terms of self-reference, offensive or avoided terms, “sounding Black,” and “sounding White”

	Speech	Terms of self-reference				Offensive/avoided terms					“Sounding Black”				“Sounding White”			
		AfrAm	Black	Negro	Other	Nigger(s)	Nigga	N-word	Other	None	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Other	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Other
Audry	AAVL	•				•								•			•	
Bella	AAVL	•				•					•					•		
Chloe	Bidialect				•		•		•					•				•
Doris	AAVL	•	•	•		•	•				•					•		
Emma	AAVL	•	•	•		•	•							•				
Fannie	MAE/ SAAL	•	•	•		•					•					•		
Grace	AAVL	•	•				•				•					•		
Hannah	AAVL	•	•			•	•				•					•		
Irene	AAVL	•	•			•			•		•					•		
Aaron	AAVL	•					•		•		•					•		
Brett	AAVL		•				•				•					•		
Caleb	AAVL	•	•			•					•					•		
Dylan	AAVL	•	•				•						•					•
Ellis	AAVL	•	•					•			•					•		
Frank	AAVL	•	•					•			•					•		
Gavin	AAVL	•	•					•			•					•		
Hank	AAVL	•	•					•			•					•		
Ian	AAVL	•	•							•	•					•		
TOTALS		16	14	3	1	6	6	5	2	1	14	0	0	4	0	14	1	3

Abbreviations: AAVL, African American Vernacular Language; MAE, Mainstream American English; SAAL, Standard African American Language.

generations. While “back in the day” for teenagers can mean 1960–80, for older generations that reference point is much deeper. We often complain that Black youths do not understand history, but it may be more that their sense of history is just different. So, “Negro,” a common term used by both Blacks and non-Blacks up until the 1970s, is problematic for teenagers whose idea of history is rooted in a time of desegregation. So, when I (Lanehart) uncovered this difference in terminology in the midst of conducting the interviews, I had to be sure to ask all teenagers what they meant by the N-word since I could not assume we had a shared definition of terms. Thus, “N-word” is one of the terms included in table 10.2 since, in retrospect, I cannot be sure in those instances if they meant “Negro” or “nigger/nigga.”

Most teenagers made a distinction between “nigger” (rhotic, or *r*-full pronunciation) and “nigga” (nonrhotic, or *r*-less pronunciation), with the former being more offensive generally than the latter regardless of who said it. According to Fannie, a sixteen-year-old high school sophomore:

Not “nigga,” but like “nigger,” like, with the *-er*. The *-a*, I’m okay with. Like, I don’t know why, but the *-er* is a problem. Yeah. If it’s someone who’s White and a friend of mine, it’s just that if we’ve reached that, like, level of friendship to where we feel comfortable, like, you call me a “nigga,” I’ll, like, call you, like, a “cracker,” if you’re White and, then, it’s like, if I know we’re friends and we’re just like joking around, then, that’s fine, but, if I don’t know you and that’s the first thing you say to me, then. . . . Yeah, it’s like “nigg-*a*” is, like, more of a friend type thing that like people in, like, my family would say, like, it’s not a bad word. It’s not a word you should be using all the time, but it’s not a bad word and it’s like, you can say it, but “nigg-*er*,” I feel like that, like, goes back to the old times and it’s like the *-er*, it’s symbolizing, like, “you’re beneath me,” and the *-a*, it’s kinda just like, “you’re chill.”

Those who would say “nigger” and not “nigga” were likely to be perceived as suspect because it marked them as part of an out-group, since in-group (i.e., young, hip, cool; not marked by race) members would know that the word is the nonrhotic “nigga.” To be marked as out-group in this case meant that your intentions were not as clear, so there may be ill-intent instead of familiarity. For some, like Hannah, an eighteen-year-old high school senior, there are more clear-cut rules: “If you’re like using the ‘N-word’ or something, yeah, I find it offensive, ’cause then you’re calling me outta my character. I mean, like, if we’re bein’ funny wit [*sic*] it, then it’s kinda okay, but if you just sayin’ it intentionally, then no, don’t, don’t use it. [But for someone

who is White], that's a no. Don't do that. Don't do that. Just don't call anyone out their names."

Although most teenagers said they believe "nigga" can be used in an offensive way (i.e., in the way they believed "nigger" to be offensive), most of them use it and do not take offense at its use, such as Irene: "I don't avoid it. I use it, pretty much — that, that's the most word I use. Like, I use that word a lot. It doesn't matter what race they are, as long as I, as long as I know they're not trying to, like, offend me. I know, like, a certain way they say it. It's [i.e., 'nigger' versus 'nigga'] like two different words to me." The distinction for these teenagers on whether it is offensive is context and intent. Most of them saw no problem with non-Blacks using the term. Teenagers noted how ubiquitous the term is in music and elsewhere. For them, it is as innocuous as saying "Hello." We would argue that "nigga" is not a simple case of reclamation or reappropriation as some would argue (see Kennedy 2002; Allan 2015; Archer 2015; Curzan 2016), but a wholly different word from "nigger." Again, this refers to the sense of history for teenagers as opposed to older generations. Unlike the reclamation of "queer" or "bitch," "nigga" is a separate word. It is not interchangeable for these teenagers with "nigger," and it does not mean the same thing. Further, "nigga" as a separate, different word from "nigger" might also explain the view of "Negro" being offensive if it is connected to "nigger" and not "nigga."

Included in terms to avoid was "African American" by Chloe, as expected given her colorblind, or race-neutral, perspective, and "Black" or "Black boy" by Aaron, a fourteen-year-old high school freshman. Ian was the only teenager who said no racial or ethnic terms were offensive to him, nor were there any terms he avoided: "[I don't find the N-word offensive because] people can say that, whether they're Black or White and it is, it is not offensive. People use it all the time. [It's] not [offensive] to me 'cause of the times that we live in now. It's more common 'cause like kids our age, they use that to they friends. They have White friends and White friends use the word now, so, I mean, if they like it, I love it."

Ian's sexuality as a gay man is more salient to him than his race or ethnicity. For him, he suffered more verbal abuse for being gay and out than being African American. While the research literature has shown that there is a generational gap regarding terms of self-reference with younger generations preferring "African American" and older generations preferring "Black" or "Black American" (Baugh 1991; Smitherman 1991), it may be that millennials are making a shift yet again.

4.2. “SOUNDING BLACK” VERSUS “SOUNDING WHITE”

In an attempt to get a better understanding about assumptions regarding AAL and identity, we asked the teenagers what “sounding Black” meant to them. Inevitably, they struggled with defining Blackness without Whiteness. However, predictably, Black speech was seen as negative and White speech was seen as normal or positive. So, when I asked the teenagers what “sounding Black” meant, they at some point defined it as not “sounding White.”

Definitions and descriptions for “sounding or talking Black” and “sounding or talking White” can be delineated into three groups: linguistic descriptions, personal attributes, or colorblind (see table 10.3). Typical of the descriptions for “sounding or talking Black” is Hank, a seventeen-year-old high school senior: “Like, you talk kinda ignorant. You talk like you ain’t got no home training, basically. Like, when you’re out in public and you just see someone shoutin’ out loud. And you don’t know how to pronounce words properly.” Four-fifths of the teenagers believed that when someone says you “sound Black,” it is meant in a negative way. In contrast, the vast majority of descriptions for “sounding or talking White” by the teenagers were positive, and the personal attributes were glowing for the most part. So, of course, Hank described “sounding or talking White” as “like you can talk properly and you know how to act out in public.” Only one teenager (Frank, a sixteen-year-old high school senior) thought that if someone says you “sound White” they mean it in a negative way. In other words, with the exception of Frank and the colorblind participants (i.e., Emma, Grace, and Gavin), more than three quarters of the teenagers viewed “sounding or talking White” as something positive. Compare that to four-fifths of the teenagers who viewed “sounding or talking Black” as something negative. And these descriptions are not only about the language but also about the people/speakers themselves, so it seems that linguistic discrimination is a proxy for racial and ethnic discrimination in the social realities of the teenagers:

Oh, I hate that! Ooh, I hate that. When people say you “sound Black” or you don’t “sound Black,” that means you don’t sound . . . Mm, okay, so, Black people are supposed to sound really, I guess, unedu . . . like. [indistinguishable sounds] It makes me mad. You’re supposed to sound “uneducated,” you know, using slangs all the time, you know, but it’s just, like, when you talk “proper” or whatnot, you not talkin’, you don’t sound Black. What does that mean? It means I sound educated? Thank you. [laughs] It’s like, how do I “sound Black”? The term, it’s just like, really . . . it’s off-putting. Is there a reason I need to sound like I come

from, like, a bad background? Is that gonna define me? So, do I have to sound like that just because I am Black or I am whatever y'all wanna call me? It's like, what is this term? (Chloe)

This positive perspective toward “sounding or talking White” is in contrast to previous literature, most notably Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu’s research on “acting White” (Fordham 1996; Fordham and Ogbu 1986), in which students viewed performing Whiteness as negative and performing Blackness as positive. According to Fordham and Ogbu (1986), high-achieving Black students were negatively labeled as “acting White” by their lower-achieving Black student peers. “Acting White” was being used negatively though the referents were high achievers. Of course, the corollary of “acting White” as high-achieving presumed “acting Black” to be low achieving. For the students Fordham and Ogbu (1986) studied, a strong Black identity meant a negative schooling outcome and weak Black identity meant a positive schooling outcome, but with reverse attitudes toward those students by other Black students. For our teenage participants, Whiteness had positive traits and is viewed positively. Blackness had high covert prestige but low social or educational status.

These teenagers were able to make astute observations about language and race that spoke to deeper societal issues and attitudes, as well as disconcerting implications about language and identity: “Most of Black charrun [i.e., children] ain’t really get taught well, and mostly White charrun got more of their learnin’, as they got, as they grew up. But me, as for me and myself, I was, I was taught . . . the same. Like, I-I-I was taught my alphabets and I-I was taught that when I was little. But, most Black kids ain’t get that” (Caleb, a fifteen-year-old high school freshman). Caleb associates “talking Black” with deficient schooling, illiteracy, and a lack of in-home education by parents.

4.3. LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Finally, in addition to the overwhelmingly positive attitudes and beliefs about “sounding or talking White,” the majority of the teenagers believed they “sounded White” and explicitly did not “sound Black,” despite evidence to the contrary. With the exception of Chloe, who was bidialectal (we only noted her use of consonant cluster simplification, creaky voice, and suck teeth), and Fannie, who said she was bidialectal but who displayed no vernacular grammar in her interview, all the other teenagers used stigmatized and salient vernacular grammar during their interviews, such as zero copula,

TABLE 10.3. Descriptions of “sounding Black” and “sounding White”

“Sounding Black”	“Sounding White”
LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS	
Positive	
	Softer (+ calm); certain diction, overemphasized/overenunciated; proper (+ English), correct (+ grammar, pronunciation)
Neutral	
Multidialectal; regional differences; southern drawl; differences in dialects, accents, vocabulary (+ words/diction), intonation (+ inflection/tone); voice quality (i.e., deeper, bass)	
Negative	
Bad/incorrect (+ grammar/pronunciation); not proper English; slang; fast, choppy rate of speech	Excessive use of “like”
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES	
Positive	
	Smart/intelligent, educated, speak well, professional and composed in public, formal, middle or upper class
Neutral	
Country (e.g., colloquialisms)	Country, cowboy
Negative	
Hood, ghetto, ratchet, trifling, messy/gossipy, unprofessional, unruly in public, profane, ignorant, uneducated	
COLORBLIND PERSPECTIVE	
Does not exist as a racial demarcation	

zero third-person singular *-s*, zero possessive *-s*, zero plural *-s*, zero past-tense and past-participle *-ed*, *they* possessive, existential *it*, question inversion, negative concord, *gon*, invariant *be*, habitual *be*, fricative stopping, *l* vocalization, and deletion of unstressed syllables, in addition to quotative *like*, *r* deletion, monophthongization, creaky voice, and suck teeth. We were surprised by how much these teenagers suck teeth and use creaky voice. Some of the excerpts we have included show a variety of vernacular grammar. Also of note, every one of them who said “Baton Rouge” pronounced “Rouge” with the FOOT vowel, or /rʊdʒ/, instead of the GOOSE vowel, or /ruʒ/. Further investigation should shed light on whether this is a regional or vernacular pronunciation. Overall, we believe it would be inaccurate to describe most of the teenagers as either “sounding or talking White” or bidialectal, despite their self-reported beliefs.

Though all but one of these teenagers was an African American Vernacular Language or bidialectal speaker, the vast majority did not want to claim Blackness in their speech, even though they often claimed it as an identity. A few teenagers did find the concept of “sounding Black” as peculiar because, as Dylan, a sixteen-year-old high school sophomore, put it, “[If someone says I sound ‘Black’], well, at first, it sounds stupid because they see I am Black.” Fannie made a very similar remark.

Despite what we witnessed hearing in the interviews, we think Irene provides a good concluding statement that represents the aspects of this research and the complexity of the relationship between language and race and language and identity as she evokes Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s *Acts of Identity* (1985) and brings us full circle:

“Sounding Black” would, most likely be people thinking you’re sounding, speaking like you’re stupid. . . . Speaking without a educated, like, voice. . . . And then, they look a certain way, like, “Oh, just because his pants saggin’ and he like this and he like this,” and like, exactly. People automatically think, from the way you talk or you chop up words or use slang, that you’re stupid, but you’re not and that’s what they usually define as “speaking Black.” But that’s not what it is. It’s just basically being relaxed ’cause when I’m relaxed, I don’t speak like this at all. I be like, [shouting and with forestressing] “Momma!” and I do all this other stuff I usually yell and scream. I don’t chop up my words when I’m playin’ with my brother. I’ll be like, “Aw, wassup, my nigga?” or somethin’ like that. But when I’m in a place where I know I need to be composed and act a certain way in order to, like, do things, I don’t speak like that. I speak like this.

5. Implications and Future Directions

There is a dearth of sociolinguist research on African American teenage girls in particular and teenagers in general as a cohort or peer group. While this means there are opportunities for additional discovery, the snapshot we give in this chapter shows there is also much need for redress, as evidenced by the key findings for this research. These teenagers' attitudes and beliefs about terms of self-reference skew toward "African American" instead of "Black" because the former is an identity rooted in a place and heritage while the latter is a Crayola crayon color — not who one can be. A subset of these teenagers claimed colorblindness (i.e., did not acknowledge the legitimacy of race as a social demarcation and therefore preferred not to see race) because language, race, and identity are not about the color of one's skin but the content of one's character. For them, all people are capable of behaving in ways that are not specific to one defined group but are accessible to all of humankind. While the teenagers' view of colorblindness stems from their desire for equality, critical race theorists view this perspective as a perpetuation of racism and White privilege (Bonilla-Silva 2013; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Denying that race exists does not make it go away, because "race is the child of racism, not the father" (Coates 2015:7).

These teenagers' attitudes and beliefs about offensive terms and terms to avoid were not those of their elders. As discussed earlier, their acceptance for "nigga" and their rejection of "nigger" is one thing, but their surprising rejection of "Negro" and that they equate it with the "N-word" is something else. Likewise, their ability to attribute "nigger" and "Negro," but not "nigga," to racist intent and historical discrimination is what some would call a reclamation of identity and subversion of historical hate by changing the phonology (-a instead of -er) and semantics (friend instead of foe or racist). Beyoncé's "Formation" (2016) and its use of "Negro" in an oppositional but positive way lends further evidence to generational differences, as she was in her mid-thirties and we are talking about teenagers.

These teenagers performed AAL without acceptance of its existence or its value. While some of the teenagers equated "sounding or talking Black" with being who they are, the vast majority viewed it personally or referentially as negative (e.g., loud, hood, ghetto, ratchet), less than (e.g., stupid, uneducated, profane), lacking (e.g., incorrect, bad, not proper, trifling, unprofessional, slang) — in spite of using stigmatized, vernacular language associated with being southern (e.g., *pin-pen* merger, *cot-caught* merger, nonrhotic), African American (e.g., zero copula; zero -s for third-person singular, possessive, or

plural; habitual and invariant *be*; reduplicated *-ed*), and from Baton Rouge (e.g., pronunciation of “Rouge” with the FOOT vowel, or /rʊdʒ/, instead of the GOOSE vowel, or /ruːʒ/). Their language is rooted in a place and a people despite their denial of such.

The ability to situate their language, race, and identity within a social and educational construct suggests they are cognizant of the mechanisms and implications of institutional and sociohistorical racism in their very southern and segregated communities. Even Fannie — who went to a private school, whose best friend was White, and whose speech did not contain stigmatized grammar — said she goes home to her African American family and speaks in the ways indicative of their history and culture.

Since it is clear that these teenagers are quite capable of deep reflection, maybe it is time to teach more truthful and critical views of history in general and American history in particular, instead of the “lies [our] teachers told [us]” (Loewen 2007) and tell us about history in order to make some feel better about themselves at the expense of others because the truth can be difficult to hear. History cannot continue to be colored with a self-denial brush, as some states now do with their historical accounts in public school textbooks.

Our next step in this research project is to expand it, and in addition to expanding the questions we are asking now, we intend to include sociophonetic analyses of the interview speech. We are interviewing more African American teenagers in Baton Rouge, since too little research is done with African Americans in Louisiana, especially the greater Baton Rouge area. We have also expanded this research to include Afro-Latin@ teenagers in San Antonio and surrounding majority-Hispanic areas. We are also including Afro-Latin@ teenagers in Baton Rouge and African heritage college students in San Antonio. We believe expanding the research in these ways will allow us to better understand the complexity of language and identity in Black communities.

Finally, we do not want to ignore the different time in which these African American teenagers are coming into adulthood. Even though there is growing racial and ethnic segregation in schools today compared with fifty years ago, we are also in an unprecedented time of information and global reach. While these teenagers are in segregated Louisiana, they also have access to the world through social media and the Internet. These teenagers are part of the native digital generation, even if they are poor or working class. Each of these teenagers has access to the world outside of the very segregated town most of them have known their whole lives (most of these teenagers had never been outside of Louisiana or flown in an airplane). The disconnect

between their psychological and spatial separation is nuanced and complex. We are at the intersections and the margins, a sort of liminal space, in language, race, and identity, with much to be done and discovered.

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Note

1. See Lanehart and Malik (2015) for our distinctions between our use of "African American" and "Black." As for the distinction we make between "Black" and "black" through the use of capitalization, the former is referential to race, while the latter is in reference to the color itself. The same logic applies to "White" versus "white." "Negro" is capitalized because of its use, historically, as a term to describe race.

This chapter includes discussion of one part of a larger research project that investigates the perceptions of African American Language (AAL) and identity in different generations and different sociocultural contexts among varied groups of Black Americans living in San Antonio, Texas, a majority-Hispanic city, and in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a majority-Black city. We interviewed four groups of participants: African American faculty and staff employees in San Antonio ($n = 17$), African American college students in San Antonio ($n = 19$), African American teenagers in Baton Rouge ($n = 18$) and in San Antonio ($n = 16$), and Afro-Latin@ teenagers in San Antonio and surrounding majority Hispanic areas ($n = 16$). This chapter focuses on only the teenager data from Baton Rouge.

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Mary Kohn

(De)Segregation

The Impact of De Facto and De Jure Segregation on African American English in the New South

1. Introduction

Scholars have assumed that segregation plays some role in promoting the distinctiveness of African American English (AAE) in the context of other regional varieties. As noted by Yaeger-Dror and Thomas (2010:8), “The degree to which a given AAE [speaker] accommodates to the local PVE [Predominant Vernacular English] norms is theoretically also influenced by the degree of actual face-to-face contact that occurs between members of each group in any given locale. Presumably, the greater the degree of segregation that exists in a given locale, the smaller the opportunity for assimilation or accommodation in either direction.” Yet, despite theoretical justifications for considering the importance of segregation in linguistic ecologies, segregation itself has rarely been incorporated as a metric in analyses of AAE. This gap exists despite the availability of demographic metrics at the community and school level, perhaps due to the early focus on highly segregated communities in the urban North (Wolfram 2007). Because there have been few studies of AAE from more integrated communities, the role of segregation in shaping AAE remains theoretical.

In the studies presented in this chapter, I asked what the relationship is between segregation and historical/contemporary patterns of language variation in AAE in the urban and suburban South, utilizing the Research

Triangle area in North Carolina as a test case. The dramatic demographic shifts associated with the transition to a New South economy affected various communities in the Triangle in distinct ways. The unique histories of Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh, the three corners of the Research Triangle, provide a platform to analyze the relationship between school segregation and language change in the contemporary South. I additionally zoom in on a historically middle-class African American community in Raleigh, North Carolina, to explore the influence of school desegregation through an apparent-time analysis.

Schools are loci of contact that have been shown to influence language during a time when speech is particularly malleable (Kerswill and Williams 2000, 2005; Dodsworth 2015). However, as this analysis reveals, the link between school and community segregation is currently so tight that even on a theoretical level it becomes irrelevant to disambiguate their individual contributions to community language patterns. Despite the interrelatedness of school and community segregation metrics, these variables are valuable as they may reveal the extent to which interethnic contact is necessary for language change to spread across communities.

2. A Brief History of Segregation in the South

2.1. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY SEGREGATION

While the Research Triangle is currently geographically and economically intertwined, qualifying as a Combined Statistical Area for U.S. Census purposes, individual communities in the area emerged from localized histories that leave their imprint on neighborhood and school structures today. Below, I provide a brief profile of the three corners of the Research Triangle to contextualize the subsequent analyses.

Even as school segregation predominated in the early part of the twentieth century, many southern communities were more integrated than the urban North, as both African Americans and European Americans resided close to city centers. Prior to World War I, Raleigh fit into this pattern, as historical African American neighborhoods such as South Park existed in close proximity to European American neighborhoods near the city center (Benjamin 2012). Similarly, Chapel Hill's historic African American neighborhoods were centrally located and in close proximity with downtown European American neighborhoods, limiting physical segregation.¹ This pattern contrasts with newer southern communities, which frequently have higher levels of segregation. Durham follows this pattern: its incorporation, and subsequent

population boom, mainly occurred after the Civil War. During postwar industrialization, Durham developed distinct African American neighborhoods that surrounded one of the most prominent African American business districts in the nation, known as “Black Wall Street” (Anderson 2011). This centralization of African American business and housing led to higher levels of historical neighborhood segregation compared to Raleigh or Chapel Hill.

Community segregation is not stable over time, however. Suburbanization after World War I brought the rise of planned communities and subsequent suburban white flight in Raleigh. Along with strategic planning from school boards, this led to increased segregation in Raleigh, such that today Durham and Raleigh are both considered moderately segregated cities, although neither city meets the definition of hypersegregation employed by Massey and Denton (1989) and frequently observed in the urban North. Chapel Hill, on the other hand, is considered highly integrated according to U.S. Census Bureau (2010)² segregation metrics, as a result of an exodus of African Americans from smaller towns in the South at the turn of the twentieth century (Waugh 2012). Subsequent student housing patterns have furthered this trend, an issue that has sparked concern about preserving African American culture and history in the town.³ More recent waves of immigration connected to the tech boom of the 1960s and 1970s have variably affected the region as well, with newer suburban communities emerging to meet the demands of immigrants attracted by companies such as IBM. These predominantly European American communities can be found throughout the Triangle, rapidly expanding on the outskirts of the urban hubs (Wei and Knox 2015).

2.2. SCHOOL SEGREGATION

In contrast to the local influences that shaped southern neighborhoods, southern public school segregation became directly affected by national interventions during the middle of twentieth century. As a result, by the 1980s southern schools were more integrated than the rest of the nation (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor 2013). Still, integration was not immediate or consistent, nor did it take effect in all locations at the same time. Even though the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision set a legal precedent for declaring separate but equal policies unconstitutional, desegregation did not begin to take effect in the Research Triangle until the late 1960s and early 1970s, as a result of sustained activism and court-ordered busing (Waugh 2012).

Chapel Hill, Raleigh, and Durham each took different paths toward desegregation, resulting in distinct patterns of school segregation today. Chapel

Hill proved to be the most progressive of the three communities during the civil rights era, becoming one of the first southern cities to desegregate without federal intervention (Waugh 2012). The school board in Durham, on the other hand, relied on stalling tactics to maintain the status quo for most of the 1960s. When integration became unavoidable, the school district experienced white flight to county and private schools. By 1970, the Durham city school system was over 85 percent African American, even as the Durham County schools were 72 percent European American. The city and county districts remained separate until 1992 (Anderson 2011). Even after consolidation, large disparities continue to exist across the high schools in the district, reflecting neighborhood segregation patterns.⁴ In Raleigh, to protect downtown communities from white flight, leaders chose to merge city and county schools early, only three years after court-ordered busing began, overriding a popular vote in favor of retaining separate systems (Benjamin 2012).

Progress on integration efforts has not been a straight path. A second wave of national legislation in the 1990s, along with joint rulings in 2007, *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District*, further stymied integration efforts by releasing many districts from federal oversight and limiting the use of race in school assignment (Reardon and Yun 2003). Districts took individualized approaches toward school assignment following these court decisions, leading to variable levels of segregation in the South (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor 2013). Some districts continued to promote integration efforts. Raleigh, for example, implemented a program of school assignment based on free lunch eligibility that has limited economic and, by proxy, racial segregation in the school district (Benjamin 2012).

Today, the three cornerstone cities of the Triangle each present different patterns of community and school segregation related to their own unique histories. Durham schools reflect long-standing community segregation patterns, as well as a certain degree of white flight from city schools, leading to many predominantly African American schools. The Raleigh school board's current program to avoid high-poverty schools also helps address racial segregation to some extent, making it a model of contemporary integration efforts. This does not suggest that residential segregation has been alleviated, as segregation metrics for neighborhoods closely match those of Durham (U.S. Census 2010). Chapel Hill is highly integrated at both the school and neighborhood level. However, the population of African Americans in Chapel Hill remains small after the turn-of-the-century exodus. As these three cities have distinct patterns of school segregation, even as they are part of the

same geographic and economic hub, their schools serve as an ideal test site for the influence of segregation on the spread of European American sound changes.

3. Linguistic Context

The linguistic context of the Research Triangle is notable for a widespread reversal of the southern vowel shift (SVS) among European Americans. In the SVS, the nucleus of /ɛ/ and, to a lesser extent, /ɪ/ raise along a peripheral path toward /e/ and /i/. In addition, /æ/ raises and becomes diphthongal in some communities. Rapid immigration to the Research Triangle in the 1960s reversed this trend, such that front lax vowels among European Americans in the Research Triangle are now lowered and monophthongal (see Dodsworth and Kohn 2012; Dodsworth 2015). Even as this sound change has spread rapidly among European Americans in communities affected by immigration, a distinct vowel system appears to resist this change. The African American Vowel System (AAVS) differs from contemporary southern European American patterns in that the front lax vowels are raised and monophthongal, with the midpoint of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ approaching /e/ and /i/, and with /æ/ raising and fronting as well. This pattern is found among older and younger African Americans alike, despite the rapid reversal of front lax vowel raising among European Americans in the region (Kohn 2014). Yet, just as with all aspects of AAE, not all African Americans participate to the same extent in front lax vowel raising. In the following studies, I explored the extent to which African Americans from different communities and different generations retain raised front lax vowels to identify the influence of segregation on participation in local European American sound changes that correspond to the dramatic social and economic shifts characteristic of the New South.

4. Study 1: Does School Segregation Correlate with Participation in the AAVS?

In the first half of this analysis, I focus on twenty-nine participants from the Frank Porter Graham (FPG) Project.⁵ FPG is a unique longitudinal study began in 1990 that tracked language development for sixty-seven African American children from infancy to early adulthood. While the corpus is longitudinal, I focus on a single time point, the post-high school interview, collected in 2011–12 when participants were around twenty years old.⁶ Interviews were conducted generally in the home of the participant

by fieldworkers that included at least one African American. Participants attended fifteen different high schools from across the Research Triangle, with African American student populations ranging from 14 percent to 96 percent of the student body. For this analysis, 2,953 stressed tokens of front lax vowels were measured using the FAVE (Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction) program suite (fave.ling.upenn.edu). I focus on midpoints because previous analysis indicates that the front lax vowels are monophthongal for this population (Risdal and Kohn 2014). Tokens were normalized using the method outlined in Lobanov (1971).

Figure 11.1 displays the normalized F_1 midpoint of three front lax vowel tokens produced by the twenty-nine participants. Each participant is represented by an individual box plot for each vowel, which captures the distribution of their F_1 measurements. Within each grouping, individuals are ordered by percentage of African American students attending their high school, from lowest to highest. The zero measure on the y-axis represents the middle of the vowel space, so tokens above zero are in the upper half and those below zero are in the lower half of the vowel space. Visual inspection indicates that participants who attend schools with fewer African American students have lower front lax vowels with wider ranges. The effect is large enough that students who attended schools that have a predominantly African American student body have /æ/ ranges that are almost identical to the /ɛ/ ranges found among the students who attended schools where less than 25 percent of the students identify as African American.

Regression analysis supports the observation that pronunciation of /æ/ and /ɛ/ correlates with school segregation, measured in this analysis as the percentage of African American students in the school (/æ/: -0.42 , $t = -3.96$, $p = 0.0007$, /ɛ/: -0.31 , $t = -3.8$, $p = 0.001$).⁷ The correlation between /ɪ/ and school segregation is not significant; however, this vowel class was never substantially shifted in the region and has not been as rigorous a part of the ongoing sound change among European Americans.

Figure 11.2 plots normalized midpoint /æ/ F_1 values, with speakers ordered by the percentage of African American students attending their high school, from lowest to highest.⁸ Schools are represented by shape, and gray scale indicates community.⁹ Notably, the participants from Chapel Hill come from two high schools: Chapel Hill High and East Chapel Hill High. Both schools have low proportions of African American students, with African American students composing about 15 percent of the student body.

It appears that the earlier school effect reflects to some extent community demographics. Chapel Hill participants are much more likely than their Durham cohorts to attend a predominantly European American school.

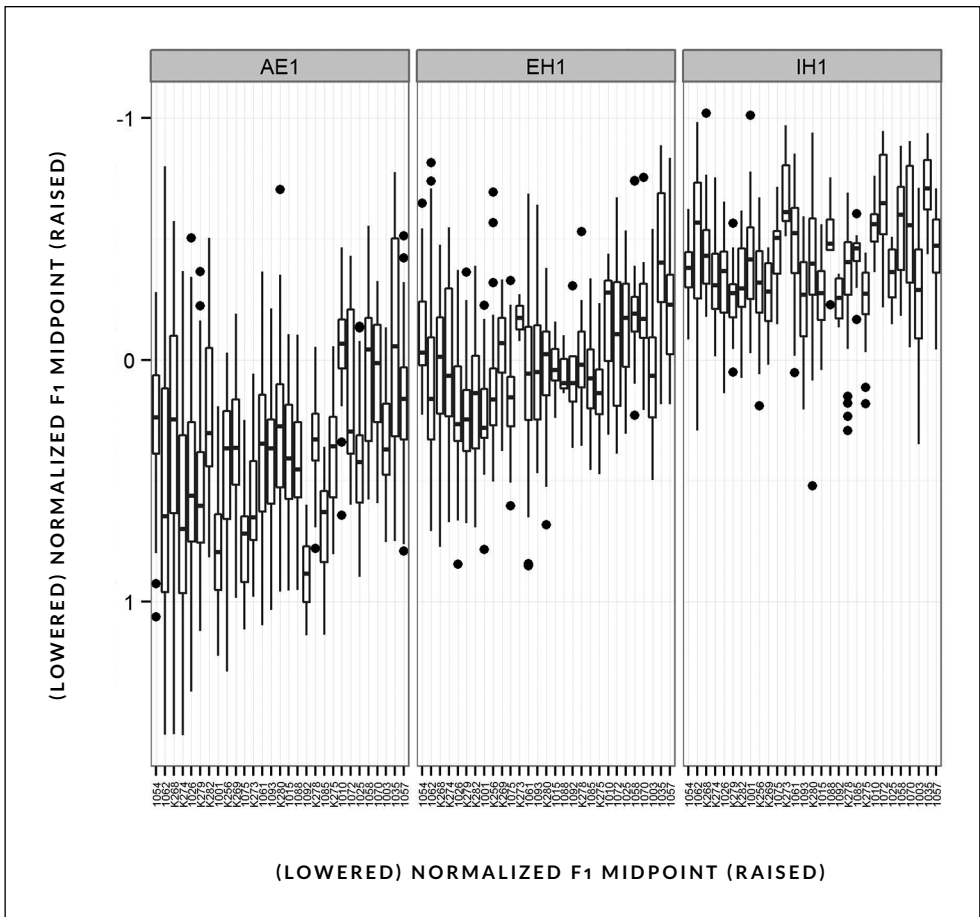


FIGURE 11.1. F_1 midpoint of front lax vowels (AE₁, /æ/; EH₁, /ɛ/; IH₁, /ɪ/) by participants, ordered by school segregation level (lowest to highest percentage of African American students, left to right). Box plots represent the range of tokens for each individual student.

Further, the community itself has low segregation indices, according to the 2010 U.S. Census, with a dissimilarity index of 0.19. There also appears to be minimal school imbalance as the demographics of Chapel Hill schools reflect the overall makeup of the community.¹⁰ These factors lead to a situation in which contact between African American students and European American cohorts is high, facilitating the spread of regional variants across groups. Responding to the question, “Did East [East Chapel Hill High] prepared you well for college?” participant 1062 responded, “Yes. Academically. Academically — well, yes, and socially because, um, although it’s like predominately Asian

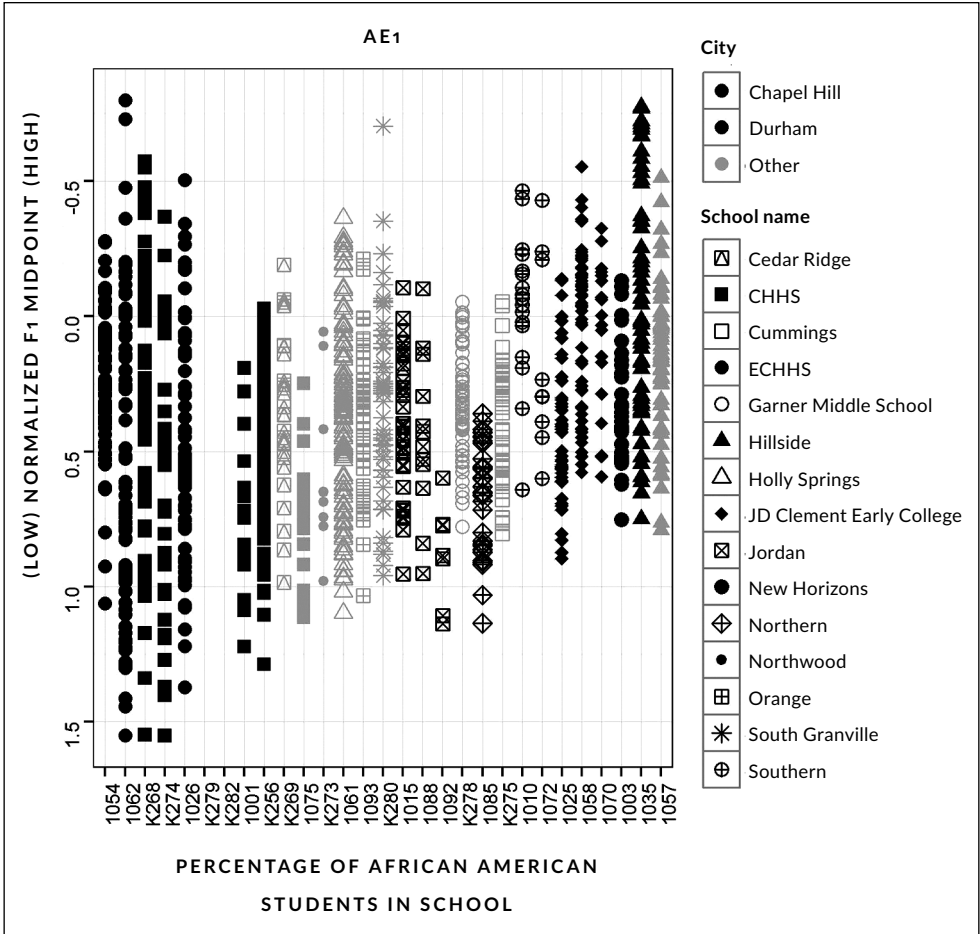


FIGURE 11.2. Pronunciation of /æ/ by school and community. Participants are ordered by school segregation level (lowest to highest percentage of African American students, left to right). Each school is represented by a different symbol, while city is indicated by gray scale. Note that students who moved between schools during high school are included in the “other” category.

and white you still — you still has different races. But East will make you become out of your — out of your comfort zone where you do have to socialize with other students or — Since I took like APs [advanced placement classes] and Honors classes sometimes I would be the only black student in class so I would — I would socialize with others.”

This kind of social contact is likely to facilitate the spread of language change across ethnic groups; yet, the experience of students like 1062 is

rarely documented in linguistics research. Within our sample, participants at Orange (26.5 percent African American), Holly Springs (23.6 percent African American), Northwood (23.1 percent African American), Cedar Ridge (17.2 percent African American), and South Granville (30 percent African American) are all likely to have similar experiences, with subsequent accommodation reflected in their lower front lax vowel classes.¹¹

Most of these majority–European American schools are also located in communities that are predominantly European American. For example, Cedar Ridge, Orange High School, and the Chapel Hill high schools are located in Orange County where only 12 percent of the population identifies as African American (U.S. Census 2010). School demographics in these communities recapitulate community demographics. Yet, even as Orange County students, attending high schools with similar demographics, cluster together, the Durham participants appear spread apart (figure 11.3). Notably, students who attend Jordan High (speakers 1015, 1088, and 1092) and Northern High (speaker 1085) generally do not have /æ/ ranges that extend above the middle of the vowel space, while their cohorts at the predominantly African American high schools Hillside, J. D. Clement Early College, New Horizons, and Southern all have /æ/ ranges that cross the middle of the vowel space (figure 11.3).

Closer examination reveals that Jordan differs from Southern, Hillside, and the Early College in that it is located on the west side of town closer to Chapel Hill. In this setting, Jordan is surrounded by relatively diverse neighborhoods. Similarly, Northern is located on Highway 501, a dividing line between predominantly European American and African American neighborhoods. The predominantly African American high schools, on the other hand, are located near North Carolina Central University, a historically black college or university, and older historically African American neighborhoods. In Durham, just as in Chapel Hill, school segregation patterns reflect community demographics. A student living on the southwest side of Durham, an area that often houses European American commuters to the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill and Research Triangle Park, is likely to have extensive contact with European Americans both at Jordan High and in her home neighborhood. Students attending the historically African American Hillside High, on the other hand, are much less likely to have contact with European Americans either in their 96 percent African American school or in one of the many historically African American neighborhoods that feed the high school. The contemporary analysis reveals that there is a strong correlation between school segregation and participation in the AAVS but that school segregation largely reflects or intensifies community patterns.

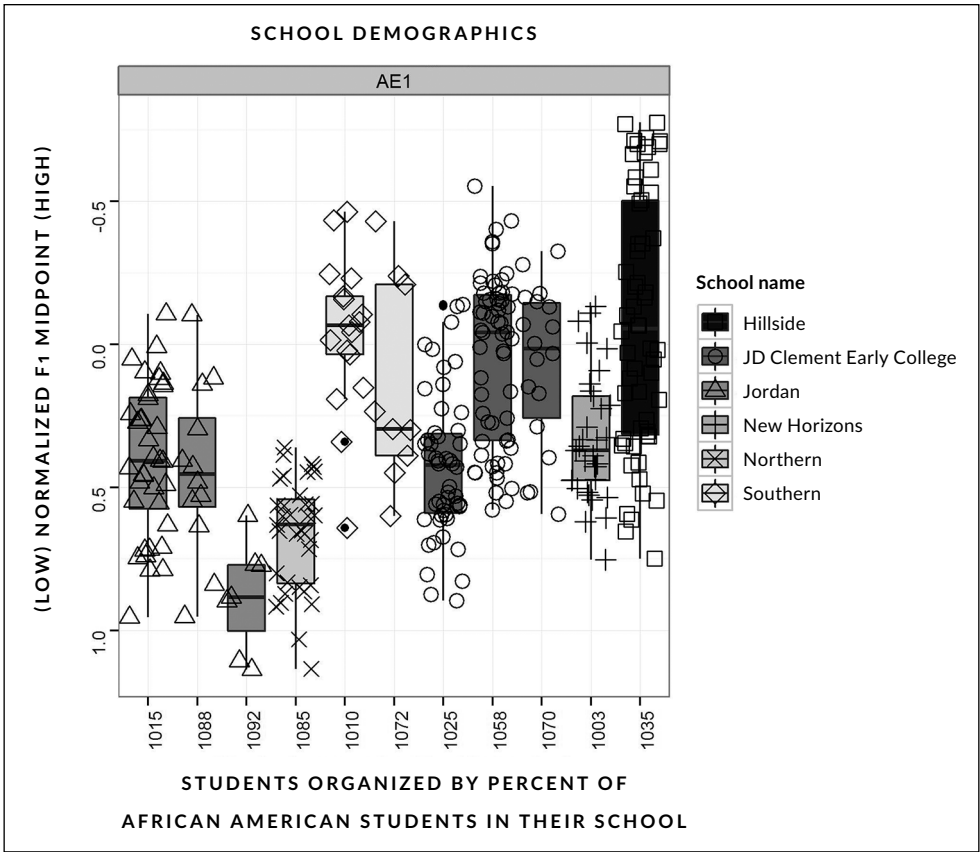


FIGURE 11.3. /æ/ tokens for Durham participants arranged by school segregation level. Jordan (left) had an African American student population of 41.6 percent; Northern, attended by 1085, 57.2 percent; Southern, 77.9 percent; J. D. Clement Early College, 81.4 percent; New Horizons, 84.3 percent; and Hillside, 90.8 percent.

5. Study 2: Is There Evidence That Court-Ordered School Integration Impacted AAVS?

It was '70 or '71 when they merged and that's when they integrated the schools. Now *that* was different. . . . Now, that was an experience because they bused us from inner city out. . . . Now we went from predominantly black schools to predominantly white schools. — Clara, Southeast Raleigh

Currently, there is evidence of a correlation between segregation at the community and school level and participation in the AAVS. But did court-ordered desegregation influence language patterns among African Americans in the

urban South? If so, what might such evidence indicate about the potentially distinct influences of community and school segregation on language variation? The second analysis explored this question through an apparent-time comparison of African American participants from Raleigh who attended schools prior to court-ordered desegregation and after desegregation occurred.

The year 1971 was a landmark in Raleigh, as the historically African American High School, Ligon, closed its doors with the introduction of desegregation via busing. Prior to this moment all European American schools were located in communities that were at least 97 percent European American, while all African American schools were located in census tracts to the Southeast that were at least 95 percent African American. Schools reflected community demographics at that time due to the pervasive community segregation that grew out of post-World War I suburbanization (Benjamin 2012). For this second study, I turned to the Southeast Raleigh Project (SR), a project started in 2009 that collected oral histories from residents of traditionally African American neighborhoods in Raleigh, North Carolina. Eleven of our participants from the SR Project, born between 1917 and 1947, grew up attending Ligon High under these segregated conditions. As illustrated by Clara's quote above, African American students in Raleigh born after 1963 faced a dramatically different landscape, attending a range of newly integrated high schools in the region. As a comparison to participants who attended segregated schools, I include nine participants born between 1963 and 1991, seven from the SR Project and two from the FPG Project who attended schools in the Wake County district after court-ordered desegregation. All SR interviews were conducted by African American fieldworkers in 2009–10. For this analysis, 1,466 tokens of front lax vowels were semiautomatically measured in Praat (version 5.4.01, www.praat.org) and normalized using techniques described in Lobanov (1971).

As detailed in section 2, during the early part of the 1970s the Research Triangle was not only experiencing social change associated with the civil rights era but also economic change associated with the New South, which led to the rapid immigration that triggered the reversal of the SVS in Raleigh. Do African Americans who began attending newly integrated schools at this time demonstrate linguistic changes associated with these monumental social shifts?

Figure 11.4 illustrates normalized F_1 and F_2 values from Raleigh participants for /æ/ and /ɛ/. Raised and fronted front lax tokens align with the AAVS, while retracted tokens are associated with the incoming sound changes associated with European Americans in the region. Tokens from

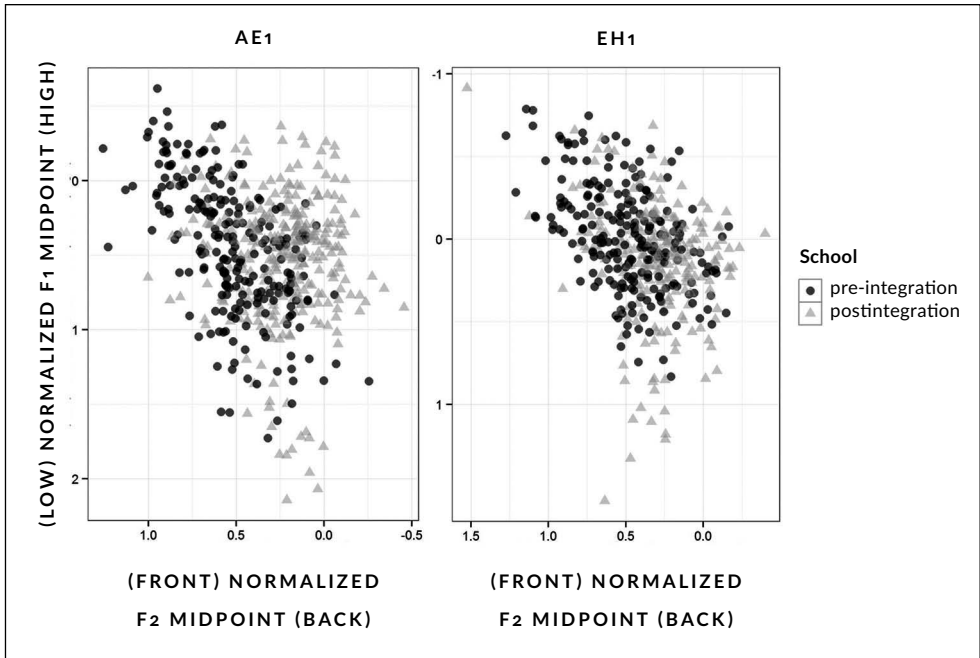


FIGURE 11.4. Normalized F_1 and F_2 values for /æ/ and /ɛ/ for pre- and postintegration participants in Raleigh, North Carolina

participants who attended segregated schools are shown with circles, and tokens for those who attended integrated schools are shown with triangles. Preintegration participants appear to have more fronted tokens for /æ/ and /ɛ/. However, the most apparent trend is the large amount of overlap between the two groups.

While mixed model regressions indicate that these groups significantly differ on the F_2 dimension of /æ/ (-0.18 , $t = -2.59$, $p = 0.018$) and /ɛ/ (-0.12 , $t = -2.37$, $p = 0.029$),¹² effect sizes are much smaller than either phonetic factors or the effect of school segregation observed in study 1. Further, there is no apparent-time pattern of lowering as would be expected given the strong correlation between F_1 /æ/ and /ɛ/ values and school demographics observed in study 1.

However, the results of the apparent-time analysis may be weak because so few students experienced demographic changes as a result of integration efforts. Three of the participants attend schools that clearly do not match the demographic profile of their home community, allowing for a closer look at

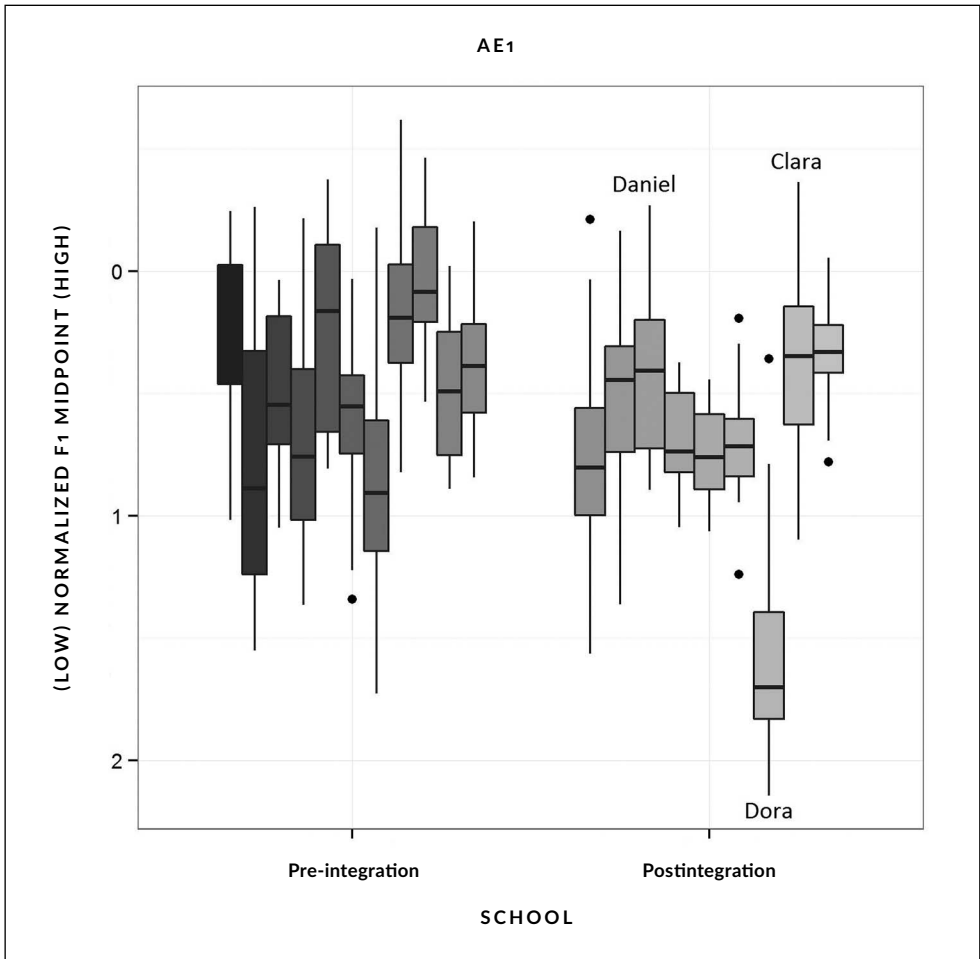


FIGURE 11.5. Normalized F_1 values for /æ/ for pre- and postintegration participants

the distinct influences of community and neighborhood segregation: Dora, Clara, and Daniel. Figure 11.5 displays box plots of normalized F_1 /æ/ values for pre- and postintegration speakers. Notably, Dora, who was born in 1987, appears as an outlier. She had a lowered front lax vowel system consistent with the incoming urban European American sound change. Dora attended Southeast Raleigh High, with 76 percent African American students. However, Dora chose to attend this school because of its prestigious magnet program. Rather than residing in southeast Raleigh, the residential district

for the school and a historically African American neighborhood, Dora grew up on the border of Cary, in Morrisville, the epicenter of 1960s immigration that triggered the reversal of the SVS. Dora's community experience likely encouraged contact with European Americans participating in the reversal of the SVS, leading to her participation in this sound change.

Clara and Daniel, on the other hand, serve as a point of contrast to Dora. Clara, born in 1963, lived in South Park, the hub of the downtown African American community. She attended segregated schools until the third grade but was bused to Cary High, a predominantly European American school, for high school. Even though she experienced contact at school with European Americans, her vowel system aligned with the AAVS as /æ/ was raised in the vowel space. Similarly, Daniel, born in 1972, grew up and continued to live in the same community as Clara. He also attended a predominantly European American high school, Broughton High. Yet, he clearly aligned with the AAVS. For these two speakers, integration at the high school level appears to have had a minimal effect on production. Our few clear examples of students whose communities did not match the demographic makeup of their school indicate that community norms may trump school norms. Still, this result must be taken with caution as it is based on a limited number of case studies. Further, high school may be too late a time point for evaluation. It is possible that Clara, Daniel, and Dora were more influenced by earlier educational institutions such as their elementary schools. Additional investigation is necessary to disentangle the effects of community and school demographics on participation in sound changes. More ethnographic approaches also are necessary to elucidate the influence of school-internal patterns of segregation related to various structures such as educational tracts or magnet programs, for example.

6. School or Community?

Study 1 suggests that school and community demographics influence participation in incoming European American sound changes. Yet, surprisingly, the apparent-time analysis in study 2 shows few differences between individuals who attended schools before and after segregation. These preliminary results suggest that community segregation levels may be a more powerful predictor of participation in European American sound changes than school demographics. Yet, these results must be approached with caution. The contemporary analysis offers little perspective on the independent role of schools and

communities precisely because community and school demographics have been tightly intertwined in New South communities. Benjamin (2012:227) describes the impact of changing neighborhood structures on schools as Raleigh transitioned to a New South economy: “The boundaries between the races had become geographic rather than social, and that legacy of physical separation remains a fixture of urban and suburban America. Actions in Raleigh, as elsewhere, clearly demonstrate that school policy and housing markets shaped each other so extensively that a line cannot be drawn between them.” Simply speaking, the situation that Clara, Dora, and Daniel found themselves in is an uncommon one. Within the New South, most children attend schools that mostly reflect their community demographics as school district planning became intertwined with neighborhood planning during the population growth of the last sixty years. Additionally, community and school demographics are likely to become increasingly intertwined as the Supreme Court backs away from any intervention in school assignment (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor 2013). Just as it may be difficult to tease apart the individual impacts of school policy and housing markets in spatial segregation, the linguistic impact of these combined forces are likely to be so intertwined that they must be considered in tandem.

While the individual contribution of school and community segregation is difficult to disentangle, there is clear evidence that spatial segregation to some degree influences African American participation in European American sound changes. Although this study focuses on New South communities, these findings may provide a unifying explanation for African American communities that show evidence of participating in European American sound changes (see, e.g., selected studies in Yaeger-Dror and Thomas 2010) and those that do not (e.g., Labov and Harris 1986), as such differences could reflect the extent to which community members experience spatial segregation.

Although the present analysis focuses on the impact of broad demographic patterns as well as larger school policies within the context of the New South, linguists may also wish to consider the impact of such variables as academic tracks and the establishment of social networks within the school. These factors may intensify patterns of segregation that exist at broader levels such as school district demographics or county-wide demographics. Yet, even in the absence of these more ethnographically informed investigations, the patterns identified in this study demonstrate the real linguistic impact of segregation in the New South.

About the Author

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Notes

1. Northside Neighborhood (www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community/northside-neighborhood [accessed August 16, 2017]) and Pine Knolls are two historically African American neighborhoods in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, with Northside dating back to the post-Reconstruction era (www.jacksoncenter.info [accessed April 12, 2017]).

2. All U.S. Census data can be found in the 2010 US Census Fact Finder, www.factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml (accessed April 12, 2017).

3. Town of Chapel Hill, “Northside Neighborhood,” www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community/northside-neighborhood (accessed April 12, 2017).

4. About one-fifth of Durham public school students would need to change schools to have all schools reflect the demographic makeup of Durham County (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor 2013).

5. Originally thirty participants were included in the analysis. However, one speaker, 1078, moved from a school with a low African American population to a school with a high African American population. The participant’s speech did not adjust to match peers, rendering 1078 an outlier. As such, this participant was excluded from the analysis.

6. Correlations between school segregation and front lax vowel raising at different time points are available for twenty of the speakers in Kohn (2014). I focus on the adult interview because interviews are longer and of better quality at this time point, and because no consistent pattern of change in front lax vowel raising was apparent between age sixteen and twenty for the initial twenty participants included in the analysis.

7. Regression models included random effect of speaker and fixed effects of preceding place of articulation, following place of articulation, following voicing, duration, and percentage of African American students in the high school.

8. Because of minor fluctuations in the student body and differences in birthdates, start dates, and failures to matriculate, there are minor differences in the demographic characteristic of a school across the cohort, as some participants attended the same school in different years.

9. K280 began school in Durham city but finished in the county system. Speaker 1057 moved frequently to a number of locations. Both students are included in the “Other” category due to difficulty placing them firmly in the Chapel Hill or Durham category.

10. Only 4 percent of the student body would have to be moved to have equal representation in Chapel Hill Schools (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vidor 2013).

11. All school demographic information can be found in the “Statistical Profile” available from the Public Schools of North Carolina website, www.ncpublicschools.org/fbs/resources/data/ (accessed April 12, 2017).

12. Regression analyses included the random factor of speaker and fixed factors of previous place of articulation, following place of articulation, following voicing, and duration, in addition to the variable of interest (generation). Results for F_1 for both /ɛ/ and /æ/ showed no significant difference between generations, and effect sizes were smaller than for the F_2 dimension.

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Robin Dodsworth

Community Detection and the Reversal of the Southern Vowel Shift in Raleigh, North Carolina

1. Introduction

Sociolinguists have long used information about network position to account for linguistic variation within communities. For example, Labov (1972) concludes that among the Jets, a group of adolescent boys in Harlem, rate of copula absence is positively correlated with centrality in the group network. Similarly, Milroy (1980) finds that integration in local networks correlates with maintenance of certain vernacular linguistic variants in Belfast and that neighborhood-based, high-density networks tend to enforce local linguistic norms. The conservative linguistic influence of high-density networks likely results from the fact that speakers with very dense local networks have relatively little contact with outsiders and thus little exposure to nonlocal linguistic norms. Underlying this idea is the “strength of weak ties” (Granovetter 1973), the notion that information travels between groups primarily through ties between acquaintances, or friends of friends, rather than through close friends; this is because close friends tend to know the same people and therefore have access to the same information.

As sociolinguistic corpora grow in size, it becomes increasingly feasible to use network data to look for the interactional mechanisms underlying familiar linguistic differences among socioeconomic groups, ethnic groups, and groups defined along other social axes. In fact, several early sociolinguistic studies attribute socioeconomic effects to the interaction between

class and social network structure (Trudgill 1974; Milroy and Milroy 1992; Eckert 2000). Labov (2001) investigates possible network explanations for the curvilinear pattern in Philadelphia, operationalizing social network as an index combining the speaker's density of interaction with others living on the same block and the percentage of named friends who live on the block versus elsewhere. Class and social network variables show independent and significant effects, among females, for the newest vowel changes in Philadelphia. Labov (2001:364) concludes that the leaders of linguistic change are those characterized by "expanded centrality," possessing both high numbers of contacts on the block and a high proportion of friends off the block.

Dialect contact research, particularly in social settings involving dramatic population shift, as in the present analysis, also offers evidence of network effects. As Kerswill and Williams (2000) observe, the process of focusing — the reduction of available linguistic forms in a dialect contact setting — may take longer or remain incomplete in sparsely populated regions without regular contact among speakers. For example, Britain (1997) contends that the focusing of phonological variables in the English Fens, following migration to the area during the seventeenth century, was originally hindered by the lack of regular interaction among children. Trudgill's (1998; Trudgill et al. 2000) analysis of the children and grandchildren of the first European settlers in New Zealand — another setting with a quickly changing population — similarly shows incomplete focusing during the first native-born generation. Again, the lack of focusing is attributed in part to the lack of regular interaction among children, as the population was not well connected and education was not centralized. When children have more regular interaction, it is possible for leveling and focusing to occur more quickly. Kerswill and Williams (2000) found significant focusing of phonological variables within the first native-born generation in the "new town" of Milton Keynes. The speakers in this generation, who were children at the time of recording and who lived in two adjacent neighborhoods, had regular contact at school.

In most sociolinguistic network research, a speaker's network characteristics are modeled via a single score along an index representing the aggregate of several social features, particularly in studies of intragroup contact as it relates to use of ethnically or locally marked variables (e.g., Ash and Myhill 1986; Labov and Harris 1986; Hoffman and Walker 2010; Fridland 2003; Cheshire et al. 2011; Sharma 2011; an exception to this practice is Labov 1972). Network indices have proven useful in accounting for intragroup linguistic differences, in part because of the analytical convenience of packaging

together multiple interrelated pieces of social information. Nevertheless, network indices often rely on self-reported or subjective data, which are prone to imprecision or even inaccuracy. They also tend to limit network data to speaker-by-speaker characterizations rather than considering holistic network structures. A related consideration is that defining boundaries among neighborhoods, or among social groups generally, is subject to the analyst's biases and imperfect ethnographic knowledge under the best of circumstances.

Contemporary network methods developed in related disciplines can profitably apply to sociolinguistics, thereby facilitating more precise quantitative analysis. One contemporary network method, community detection, offers a principled, reproducible method for establishing neighborhood or group boundaries using any kind of available network data. This chapter first describes a set of ongoing vowel changes in Raleigh, North Carolina, and reports a network analysis employing community detection.

2. The Reversal of the Southern Vowel Shift in Raleigh

The southern vowel shift (SVS) (Labov 1991; Fridland 2001; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006) is characteristic of a wide range of regional dialects in the southeastern United States. Several features distinguish southern vowel systems from other regional systems; the SVS refers specifically to the monophthongization of /aɪ/ (postulated by Labov, Ash, and Boberg [2006] as the triggering event for the SVS), the backing and lowering of the nuclei of the front tense diphthongs /i/ and /e/, and the raising and fronting of the nuclei of the front lax vowels /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/. Because the shift was mainly confined to the first half of each vowel's trajectory, the lax vowels also became variably diphthongal. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) found a wider geographic distribution for the shifting of the mid front vowels than for the high front vowels, and Raleigh, North Carolina, lies in a region characterized by the mid front but not a full high front shift. The present study focuses on the four front vowels implicated in the SVS, as well as the low front vowel /æ/, leaving aside the extremely iconic variable of /aɪ/-monophthongization.

In Raleigh and in other southern urban areas, the SVS began to reverse during the mid-twentieth century, such that the vowels are now shifting toward a regionally unmarked American system: the front tense vowels are becoming higher and fronter, and the front lax vowels are becoming lower, backer, and more monophthongal. Many southern urban areas are experiencing rapid retreat from the SVS as the result of post-World War II migration from outside the South. In Raleigh, migration and the resulting urban growth

were catalyzed by the development of Research Triangle Park, a technology industry hub that has attracted thousands of professionals from the northern United States since the early 1960s (Rohe 2011). During the 1990s, migrants to Raleigh came from a geographically diverse set of urban centers, including New York City, Washington, DC, and southern cities such as Charlotte and Atlanta. Contact between southern and nonsouthern dialects in Raleigh has led to the gradual but steady elimination of southern variants, such that the vowel systems of young speakers in Raleigh have few distinctive regional features (Dodsworth and Kohn 2012; Dodsworth 2013, 2014).

The suburban development resulting from in-migration during this time was predominantly to the north and west of Raleigh near Research Triangle Park. Neighborhoods in the eastern and southern areas of Raleigh were relatively insulated from the migration during the twentieth century, though suburban development to the southeast has recently accelerated. This analysis takes as a point of departure the assumption that, in a contact setting, interaction between the children of migrants and the children of natives, especially in school, drives the formation of a new, stable dialect (Kerswill and Williams 2000). Therefore, speakers who grew up in peripheral neighborhoods, especially in areas south of the city that have seen less suburban development, may have not only fewer connections to other areas of the city but also less exposure to the incoming nonsouthern dialects. By contrast, young speakers growing up in north Raleigh, many of them children of white-collar migrants from the North, may also occupy peripheral network positions and have little contact with groups of speakers with the indigenous southern vowel system.

Are network effects discernible in Raleigh, such that speakers who likely had more contact with the in-migrants while growing up show more advanced retreat from the SVS? This question is investigated via a subset of a corpus of conversational interviews, each roughly an hour long, with about 300 white and African American Raleigh natives. Data collection began in 2008 and is ongoing. Most interviews took place in speakers' homes with just the speaker and, in some cases, a spouse or friend present. While the interviews were largely unstructured, speakers were asked many of the same questions, including where they attended school, where in Raleigh they grew up, where their parents grew up, what occupations their parents had, and what were their own past and current occupations.

The present analysis uses acoustic data from 155 of the interviews (table 12.1). Speakers in this subset were born between 1923 and 1993 (mean = 1960), and they were all white. Formant values were measured in Praat (version 5.3.55, www.praat.org). For twenty-two of the speakers, vowel tokens were

TABLE 12.1. Summary of speakers

Characteristic	<i>n</i>
Sex	
Female	84
Male	71
Occupation	
Blue collar	17
Unskilled white collar	20
White collar	118
TOTAL	155

TABLE 12.2. Token counts per phoneme

Phoneme	Number of tokens
/i/	9,296
/ɪ/	9,710
/e/	12,168
/ɛ/	10,384
/æ/	12,984

identified by hand in the conversational interviews. Approximately twenty closed-syllable tokens per speaker of each of the five front vowels were measured, as well as twenty tokens of /a/ (the “cot” vowel, which remains distinct from the “caught” class for many Raleigh speakers) to supplement normalization. The remaining 133 interviews in the present sample were transcribed and aligned to the sound file using the Penn Phonetics Lab Forced Aligner (Yuan and Liberman 2008). Vowel tokens were identified and measured automatically in Praat and then hand-corrected where necessary. Vowel tokens with duration under sixty milliseconds or occurring before a vowel, liquid, glide, or nasal are excluded from the quantitative analysis. Tokens were normalized using a modified Lobanov (1971) procedure. Additional back vowels (other than /a/) were excluded from the normalization procedure due to the highly variable occurrence of back vowel fronting in southern dialects. Token counts appear in table 12.2.

The dependent variable in all subsequent quantitative analysis is the normalized F_2 minus the normalized F_1 ($Z_2 - Z_1$) at 25 percent of the vowel’s duration. This measure captures height and frontness together and reflects their relationship along the front diagonal of the American English vowel space

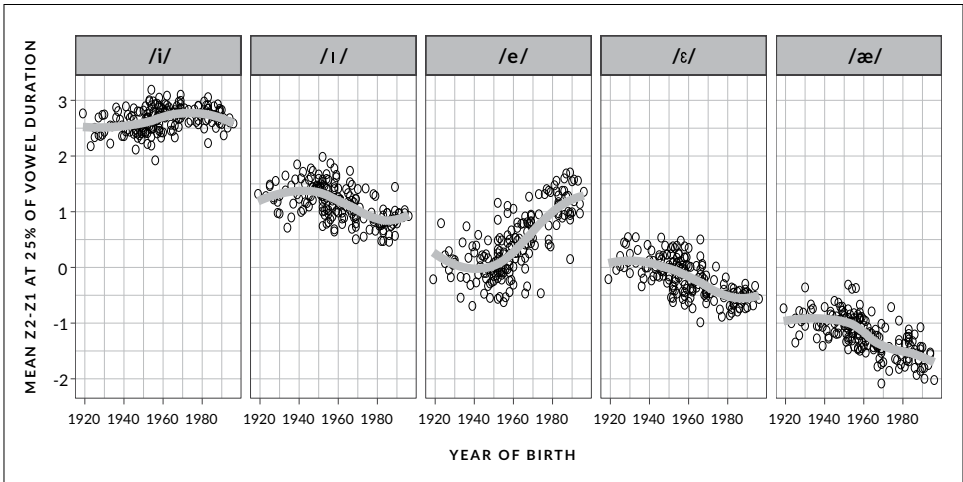


FIGURE 12.1. Change over time for five vowels in the Raleigh corpus (data from 180 speakers). The network analysis in this chapter uses a subset of these speakers.

(Labov, Rosenfelder, and Fruehwald 2013). Figure 12.1 shows the trajectories of change across apparent time using speaker means. All five vowels began to shift away from their southern positions, beginning with speakers born around 1950: the tense vowels shift higher and frontward along the diagonal, and the lax vowels shift in the opposite direction. Figure 12.1 additionally shows that the high vowels were never reversed in the aggregate, whereas the nuclei of the mid vowels were not distinct in the aggregate before 1950.

The interspeaker similarity at most time points in figure 12.1 suggests that the entire Raleigh community is retreating from the SVS. Nevertheless, professional white-collar speakers are leading the change, relative to unskilled white-collar speakers and blue-collar speakers (figure 12.2). The following analysis asks, in part, whether network is a better predictor of linguistic variation in Raleigh than occupation.

3. The Raleigh Network Data

The network data are derived from a two-mode, or bipartite, network. Bipartite network models differ from traditional models in having two distinct classes of nodes representing different social entities. Ties occur only between nodes of different types. Bipartite networks are commonly used to represent network ties among individuals and the social foci where they

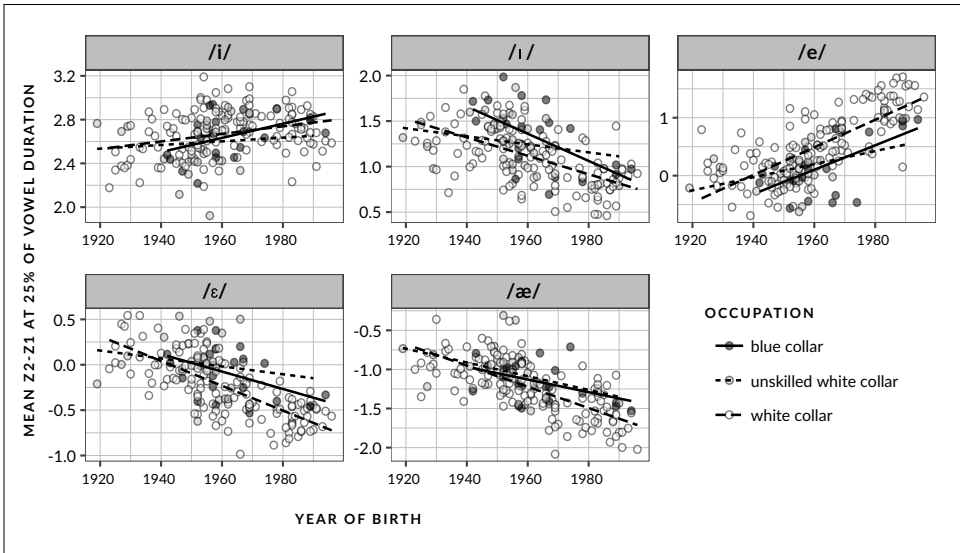


FIGURE 12.2. Change over time for five vowels in the Raleigh corpus, with speakers distinguished by occupational category (data from 180 speakers). The network analysis in this chapter uses a subset of these speakers.

come into contact, such as social events, board meetings, membership organizations, and schools. Bipartite network analysis has been used to empirically characterize the “duality” of individuals and their groups — individuals come together within groups that represent collectivities of their shared attributes. At the same time, an individual’s group affiliations define his or her points of reference (Breiger 1974). The bipartite approach also incorporates the idea that social interaction and network evolution occur within institutional, organizational, and temporal social foci (Feld 1981). Thus, a bipartite network representation can assert social proximity between people via their shared participation in an event, membership in an organization, and so forth (Davis et al. 1941; Latapy, Magnien, and Del Vecchio 2008; Opsahl 2013). For sociolinguistics, the utility of bipartite network data lies in the ability to model regular interaction between people as a function of their shared presence in a place they routinely go and talk to others. Shared presence in social settings is also likely to reflect other attributes such as social class background. Shared presence does not, of course, guarantee that two people talk to each other, but it does suggest repeated exposure to many of the same people and sociolinguistic norms.

A bipartite network was constructed from the Raleigh corpus by representing individual speakers with one set of nodes and schools (elementary, middle, and high schools) with the other set of nodes. The present analysis uses only elementary and middle schools to reduce the cohesion introduced by high schools, as many middle schools feed into the same high school. A link between a speaker and a school indicates attendance at the school for at least a year. Given the importance of childhood and adolescence for dialect acquisition and retention, school attendance offers an approximation of a speaker's peer network during a stage of life of particular import for language and dialect acquisition. Although a speaker's vernacular may change during his or her life (Sankoff and Blondeau 2007; Kohn 2013), sustained exposure to another dialect during adulthood does not normally result in full acquisition (Chambers 1992; Siegel 2010).

The two-mode network is transformed into a one-mode projection for the purpose of community detection (described below), such that all nodes represent individual speakers and links indicate coattendance at a school, possibly at different points in time. The one-mode network exhibits considerable variation in density and cohesion. Some nodes are embedded within dense substructures where they are connected to many contacts who are themselves tied. Others are nested within sparser portions of the network, usually corresponding to geographically peripheral neighborhoods.

4. Community Detection and the Network Analysis of the SVS in Raleigh

In network science, “communities” are areas in a network such that the density of ties within a community is relatively high and the density of ties between communities is relatively low. Nodes in the same community are likely to have something in common or to function in the same way, depending on the meaning of ties. For example, Girvan and Newman (2002) identify communities in a network of marine organisms in Chesapeake Bay, in which a link between organisms means that one feeds on another. The community detection algorithm mainly distinguishes surface-dwelling from bottom-dwelling organisms, pointing to self-contained ecological systems. In a social network, demarcating communities can reveal interactional patterns or social structures that were not apparent on the basis of node-level data. For sociolinguistics, community detection offers a replicable quantitative method for transforming network data into a set of categories amenable to standard variationist analysis. The categories may or may not correspond

to social groups that the analyst would have defined on the basis of ethnographic knowledge; the benefit of community detection is that it is replicable and avoids the analyst's biases.

There are several commonly used community detection methods, many of which work by maximizing modularity, or within-community versus between-community tie density. The present analysis, however, uses the Infomap algorithm (Rosvall and Bergstrom 2008), which instead finds communities by asking which partitioning of nodes into communities results in the minimum expected description length of a random walk through the network. The Infomap procedure divides the network into two descriptive levels: network modules (communities) have unique names, but the finer-grained structures within a module have names that are also used in other modules. This system is akin to city and street names: "Most U.S. cities have unique names, but street names are reused from one city to the next, such that each city has a Main Street and a Broadway and a Washington Avenue and so forth" (Rosvall and Bergstrom 2008:1120). Lancichinetti and Fortunato (2009) found that Infomap performs well across diverse network types. The communities identified by Infomap form the basis for assessing the relationship between network position and loss or retention of the SVS in Raleigh in this study.

The Infomap procedure yielded twenty communities when applied to the present Raleigh sample. All communities without at least five speakers born after 1950 were excluded from the analysis in view of the difficulty in assessing linguistic change over time. Nine communities remained (table 12.3). Herein lies a challenge with using community detection in a small network: even with only nine of the original set of communities, the analysis of linguistic change over time is hindered by the differences in size across communities. The pace of change over time is surely estimated better by a statistical model for a community with fifteen speakers than for a community with six speakers that encompasses a wider range of birth years (e.g., community 2 vs. community 9). An intuitive remedy would be to combine certain communities that represent proximal or demographically similar geographic areas, or communities that meet a certain connectivity threshold. But such a move would introduce exactly the type of analyst bias or even arbitrariness, and thus nonreplicability, that originally motivated the use of community detection (and in fact, the decision to exclude communities with fewer than five speakers post-1950 was somewhat arbitrary — why not four or six speakers?).

The communities in table 12.3 necessarily correspond to sets of elementary and middle schools because the network data are derived from school

TABLE 12.3. Infomap communities in the Raleigh network

Community	Number of speakers	Birth years
1	49	1927–83
2	15	1947–76
3	11	1952–81
4	12	1947–89
(5; omitted)	(fewer than 5)	N/A
6	8	1962–86
7	7	1940–66
8	9	1952–91
9	6	1947–89
10	5	1966–83

Community 5 and ten other communities were omitted from the following analysis because they had speaker counts < 5 . Thus, the regression analysis includes nine communities.

attendance. With the exception of community 7 (described further below), all of the communities are connected; that is, a path exists from every community to every other community, though not necessarily a direct link. The connectedness among communities reflects some speakers' attendance at multiple schools, as well as the fact that some elementary schools feed into more than one middle school. Community 1 consists mainly of speakers who attended the oldest, most geographically central public and private schools. The speakers in community 2 also attended relatively old, central Raleigh schools, but they attended a middle school in the western part of Raleigh's geographic core rather than the most central middle school. Communities 6, 8, and 10 consist of speakers who grew up in Raleigh's newer northern and northwestern periphery, areas in which residential development was catalyzed by the nearby tech industry.

The relationship between community and retention of SVS forms was assessed via two sets of mixed-effects regression models for each of the five front vowels represented in figures 12.1 and 12.2. In both sets of models, the dependent variable is $Z_2 - Z_1$ at the vowel nucleus. The first set of models includes all speakers in all communities other than 10, due to its restricted range of birth years. This set of regressions is intended to model the linguistic variation in total, rather than just after the reversal of the SVS began. The

TABLE 12.4. Regression models

Model	Fixed effects
1	year of birth (linear), occupation
2	year of birth (quadratic), occupation
3	year of birth (cubic), occupation
4	year of birth (linear) × occupation
5	year of birth (quadratic) × occupation
6	year of birth (cubic) × occupation
7	year of birth (linear), community
8	year of birth (quadratic), community
9	year of birth (cubic), community
10	year of birth (linear) × community
11	year of birth (quadratic) × community
12	year of birth (cubic) × community

All models contain the following fixed effects in addition to those listed in the table: place of articulation of the preceding segment, log (duration), sex.

second set of regressions includes all communities, but only speakers born after 1949, and the goal is to ask to what extent linguistic change over time is a function of community membership. In both sets of models, year of birth is alternately modeled as linear, quadratic, and cubic; this is because all of the vowels investigated here were stable in the sample prior to about 1950 and then showed roughly linear change over time until about 1980, at which point the change appears to slow down. The models also vary in whether they include an interaction between year of birth and either occupation or community (for the models with main effects for occupation and community, respectively). No model includes both occupation and community because they are highly correlated ($\chi^2 = 43$, $df = 14$, $p < 0.001$). Community 1, for example, is predominantly white collar, whereas community 7 has a larger share of unskilled white-collar speakers. All models include random intercepts for speaker and word, as well as random slopes for (log)duration by speaker. Table 12.4 lists the models used in both sets of regressions.

Model comparison on the basis of the Akaike information criterion shows that for three of the five vowels at least one model with community improves

on all models with occupation. In the case of /i/, the best model for both the analysis of the full range of birth years and the post-1950 analysis is model 8 in table 12.4, the model with a quadratic term for year of birth and no interaction between year of birth and community. That is, community is a better predictor of linguistic change over time than is occupation, but the model is not improved by allowing the birth-year slope to vary across communities. For /ɛ/ the same is true, except that the best model in both sets of regressions contains only a linear term for year of birth (model 7 in table 12.4). For /ɪ/, community improves upon occupation only in the post-1950 analysis, wherein the best model again contains only a linear term for year of birth.

The nature of the community effect is similar across the models in which community represents an improvement over occupation. Therefore, for conciseness, only the fitted values for the post-1950 /ɛ/ analysis are shown (figure 12.3). The top two lines in figure 12.3 correspond to communities 7 (with an upward slope) and 9 (with a downward slope), respectively, and the contrast between these communities and community 1 accounts for the community effect in the case of not only /ɛ/ but also /i/ and /ɪ/. Without communities 7 and 9, the model with community no longer improves on the occupation model. Community 7 corresponds to the southern neighborhood of Garner, which was relatively isolated from the earliest stages of in-migration, due in part to its distance from Research Triangle Park. (However, at present, Garner and the surrounding area have seen considerable growth.) As a group, the Garner speakers are unique in not showing the retreat from the SVS that every other community shows; while the addition of younger Garner speakers to the sample will likely reveal some change away from southern vowels, the existing Garner speakers are distinct from their peers. Community 9 corresponds to speakers who attended private schools exclusively and were therefore socially removed from the public school networks. As a group, these speakers show change over time, but they remain consistently more southern than their peers at every year of birth. It is important to note that although figure 12.3 displays a separate birth-year slope for each community, the best models for the three vowels showing community effects do not include interactions between community and year of birth. Therefore, the significant community effects are not reducible to the relatively flat (and even slightly positive) birth-year slopes visible for communities 7 and 10.

5. Conclusions

The school-based Raleigh communities identified by the Infomap procedure yielded a better model of the retreat from the SVS for three out of the five

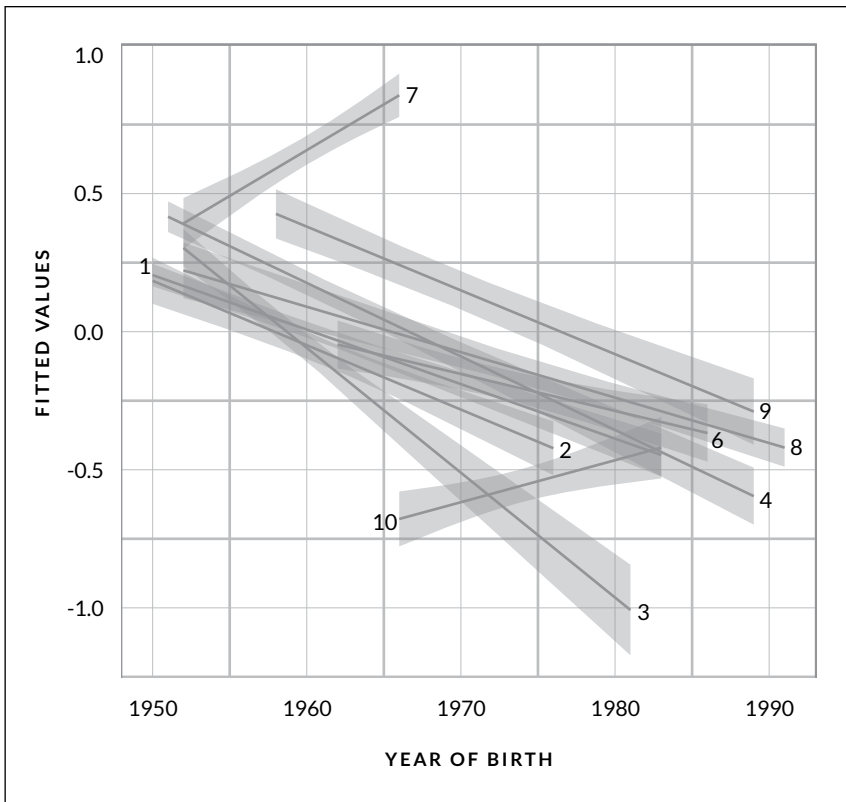


FIGURE 12.3. Fitted values for /ε/ by community

vowels tested here. In each case, two communities retained the southern vocalic forms to a greater extent than other communities: a neighborhood on the southern edge of Raleigh, and a group of speakers who attended exclusively private schools. Both of these groups were relatively isolated from the public school networks to the north and west that grew substantially as a result of white-collar in-migration during the second half of the twentieth century.

Despite the emergence of significant community effects, and their improvement on models with occupation, this analysis should be considered exploratory rather than conclusive. A remaining question is why the speakers who grew up in the relatively new neighborhoods in North Raleigh show no significant contrast with older neighborhoods in central Raleigh. It is possible that the type of network data used here does not offer a sufficiently nuanced interactional picture; conversely, the number of communities is prohibitively

large relative to the number of speakers. In addition, the interaction between occupation (or other socioeconomic variables) and community membership will be an important area for investigation as the sample grows. We can expect, however, that a strong correlation between occupation and network will persist, not only in the Raleigh data but also in other corpora. Modeling class and network as interrelated phenomena will be an important goal of network analysis in sociolinguistics as larger sociolinguistic corpora facilitate the application of contemporary network methods.

About the Author

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Agnes Bolonyai

Where Are You From?

Immigrant Stories of Accent, Belonging, and Other Experiences in the South

One of the questions I dread most is a seemingly innocent one: where are you from? I begin my response with an awkward pause as I try to assess what the person asking me this query really wants. Where was I born? Where I live now? Where I spent the most years of my life? Where I consider home? Do he or she want my full “location history” or just a polite one-line response?

— Heather Long, “My Least Favorite Question: Where Are You From”

1. Introduction

Recent years have seen a significant interest in mobility, migration, transnationalism, and the repercussions these sociocultural processes have for people, places, and practices under contemporary conditions of globalization. A wide and diverse range of scholars have argued that globalization, characterized by the circulation of people and practices, information and ideologies, material and symbolic resources across national boundaries, has destabilized the “natural” order of things, including long-held assumptions about the isomorphism of language, identity, and place. Scholars consider transnational movement the quintessential experience of our time. It injects tension, fluidity, and complexity into how people experience place, identity, and language and renders questions of belonging one the most difficult challenges of contemporary social life (Meinhof and Galasiński 2005). Transnational migrants, whose “disembedded” selves are seen as emblematic figures of our “liquid”

times (Bauman 2000), are at the heart of these profound challenges. The epigraph that introduces this chapter reflects migrants' struggle when faced with the problem of belonging every time their foreign accent invites the seemingly innocuous question: "Where are you from?" (hereafter WAYF). It has been well established that accents are not only a key sociolinguistic resource in the perception of ethnic boundaries (Urciuoli 1995) but also indexical objects available for scrutiny and social evaluation. By virtue of living in a place they do not "come from" and speaking with an accent that does not belong (where they "are at"), immigrants appear to disrupt assumed structures of belonging (Fortier 2000:70). Migrants' foreign accent gives them away as being not "from here" and routinely generates the WAYF question, which they find difficult to answer. What makes this simple question sociologically significant? How do people respond to practices of "dissection" (Fanon 1986, cited in Haritaworn 2009) and navigate the identity politics that plays out in the chronotopically inflected contact-zone of WAYF encounters?

This study explores these questions by focusing on Hungarian-American immigrants living in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the adjacent Research Triangle area and examining their personal narratives of WAYF encounters prompted by their foreign accent. As migration is "a singular, subjective and unique experience which resists generalizations" (Krzyzanowski and Wodak 2007:98), it is impossible to understand the specific and complex dynamics of the migrant condition without considering migrants' own voices. Personal narratives constitute a key resource for exploring the situated discursive processes of migrant identity formation and social differentiation as embedded within wider social contexts (Baynham and De Fina 2005). As a form of creative performance and social practice (Koven 2002), migrant narratives reveal what people "do" through storytelling. Here, I focus on what it means to be positioned as a "perpetual foreigner" and how struggles over (trans) national identification and (il)legitimate accents of belonging in particular time-spaces are discursively produced, contested, and subverted in WAYF encounters. Specifically, I am interested in how difference is produced, negotiated, and contested as transmigrants are positioned and position themselves and others chronotopically (Bakhtin 1981) in stories of WAYF encounters, and what identity strategies and social personas migrants adopt in an attempt to navigate chronotopic tensions of dissection that surface in these encounters.

My approach integrates insights from several theoretical perspectives. I draw from Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) notion of chronotope (Peeren 2006; Agha 2007), the concept of "dissection" (Haritaworn 2009) from multiracial theory, work on language attitudes (Pantos and Perkins 2012), and language

ideologies toward foreign-accented speech (Shuck 2006). Framed within a discourse-analytical approach, my analysis of WAYF narratives suggests that the WAYF question triggered by a nonnative accent is a boundary-marking practice of ritualized othering.¹ It is a form of spatialized difference that mobilizes, and reflects, intrinsic tensions between “nativist” and “transnationalist” chronotopes of belonging. WAYF encounters then become a contact zone where these chronotopic differences are produced, contested, and subverted.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. THE PROBLEMATICS OF THE WAYF QUESTION

Critical multiracial studies have long noted that racial boundaries and other identity categories of difference are constructed through discourses of exclusion in everyday interaction as part of larger processes of racialization. One example of mundane racializing discourse exposed by this body of research is the WAYF question that immigrants of color or “ambiguous phenotype” are regularly confronted with in much of the Western world. Critical mixed-race theorists have denounced the “sociologically significant” (Williams 1996) WAYF question as a “dissective” and “highly intrusive” (Haritaworn 2009) “interrogation ritual” (Hamm 2004, cited in Haritaworn 2009) that constitutes a form of “symbolic violence” toward “curious” racial minorities (Flam and Beauzamy 2008). It positions minorities of mixed race as exotic others whose visible difference — ambiguous body — the dominant are entitled to scrutinize and dissect (Haritaworn 2009). It indicates that they are seen to be “from somewhere else,” non-belonging, and perpetually out of place. Following this perspective, I suggest that nonnative-speaker (NNS) accent similarly makes migrants a legitimate target of dissection by native speakers (NS) and that similar processes of othering are at work when immigrants with NNS accents are identified and categorized in terms of their embodied difference.

2.2. WHY DOES A FOREIGN ACCENT INVITE INTERROGATION?

Ambiguous accent, as part of bodily *hexis* (Bourdieu 1991), can also draw inquiry and evaluation. Research on language attitudes has shown that not only do people assess a speaker’s identity based on accent, but they also generally have a negative bias against foreign-accented speech (Lippi-Green 1997; Gawronski and Bodenhausen 2007). This bias against nonnative accents — from infancy through adulthood — is deeply rooted in the evolutionary development of social cognition and predispositions that guide social categorization and group membership. Experimental studies in developmental

psychology (e.g., Kinzler et al. 2009) show that from early infancy, as early as five months, children display preference for their native accent over a nonnative accent. Young children choose to be friends with children with the same native language rather than foreign-accented children — even when they find a nonnative accent comprehensible. Moreover, white children privilege other-race children with a native accent over same-race children with a foreign accent, suggesting that nonnative accent may be an evolutionarily stronger negative out-group cue than race (Kinzler et al. 2009).

Numerous studies indicate that negative attitudes toward nonnative accent continue, indeed strengthen, through adulthood. NNS are often perceived less competent (Boyd 2003), less intelligent, less pleasant, and less prestigious (Lindemann 2003), especially NNS whose accent is viewed as Eastern European (Lindemann 2005). While nonstandard native accents are also subject to stigmatization, nonnative accents are scaled differently. In addition to a range of negative biases that either type of accent may evoke, only NNS have to contend with prejudice in terms of another layer of social difference and indexical category of (non)belonging — such as “migrant” or “foreigner” — that contests their identity on the scale of nationality. Research also shows that, because of genuine differences in processing, nonnative accents are perceptually more salient, more distinct, and inherently more difficult to process than native dialectal accents (Floccia et al. 2009). This inherently higher cognitive load imposed by nonnative accents routinely triggers dislike or negative social evaluation at the implicit level, even when listeners do not act on prejudice and attempt to avoid misattribution of processing difficulty to stereotypes (Alter and Oppenheimer 2009; Lev-Ari and Keysar 2010). Thus, nonnative accents are more likely to be perceived as incomprehensible, unintelligible, and foreign. Foreignness is a key factor in forming in-group versus out-group distinction (Lindemann 2003).

Through implicit associative processes, NNS are automatically categorized in terms of their accentedness and foreignness. Pantos and Perkins (2012) report that it takes thirty milliseconds to recognize nonnativeness of an accent, assign out-group status to the speaker, and activate implicit, preexisting biases and cognitive associations from memory. Interpreted from a sociolinguistic perspective, negative biases toward foreign-accented speech are embedded in the dominant, essentialist language ideology of nativeness (Lippi-Green 1997; Shuck 2006) that constructs, and justifies, a binary hierarchy with NS accent as superior, and NNS accent as nonfavorable, subordinate.

My analysis of narratives of WAYF encounters suggests that when NS treat NNS accent as out-of-place and iconic of the migrant’s foreignness and

otherness, they enact an ideology that is predicated on nativist assumptions about cultural and linguistic homogeneity, with fixed, isomorphic linkages among language, identity, and place. In contrast, the migrant experience mobilizes more flexible, transnationalist ideologies. I use a chronotopic lens to theorize how these conflicting ideological models are evoked and navigated in WAYF encounters between NS and NNS.

2.3. CHRONOTOPES

Bakhtin (1981:84) introduced the notion of chronotope to capture “the inseparability of space and time” as a “formally constitutive category of literature,” which determines what types of “voices,” actions, and meanings are represented in particular genres through “sociologically salient frames of contrast” (Agha 2007:323). For example, the representation of time-space-voice in the “here-and-now” of narration contrasts with the “there-and-then” of the narrated event (Dick 2010; Koven 2013). As a cultural concept, the chronotope is both a matrix and model of social action that governs people’s expectations of particular social practices and ideologies and through which people situate themselves and others as recognizable social types (Agha 2007; Koven 2013). Each cultural chronotope is a constellation of a particular type of time, space, and personhood “where only certain subjects, narratives, practices, and . . . identities . . . can legitimately take their place” (Peeren 2006:71). Scholarship focusing on discourses of migration and diaspora (Dick 2010; Koven 2013) governed by the “modernist” chronotope shows, for example, that transnational migrants often construct time-spaces of country of origin and place of settlement in opposition through recursive binaries and contrastive indexical values (e.g., rural vs. urban, backwardness vs. mobility).

This study shows how the WAYF question taps into different chronotopic models of belonging to which locals and migrants orient when positioning themselves and others as particular social personas. From a nativist chronotopic perspective, NS accents map onto a homogeneous time-space and monolingual language ideologies, while NNS accents are linked to the social persona of other, who naturally belongs to another chronotope. Migrants contest this nativist chronotope. Instead, they rely on a transnationalist chronotope, which legitimates belonging both in “here-and-now” of the host country and the “there-and-then” of place of birth. I also show that migrants challenge their chronotopic exclusion from “being here” by positive self-representation and by negative representation of NS locals, using parody, mockery, and essentialist stereotypes. Chronotopes provide a way of

capturing the situated, language-mediated spatiotemporal frames that are organized by particular ideologies of language, place, and identity and produced through discourse.

3. Research Context: The Hungarian American Community in North Carolina

Hungarian immigration has a long history in the United States, but it is only recently that the American South has emerged as a destination for Hungarian immigrants. According to the 2000 U.S. Census data, out of the total 1,398,702 persons with Hungarian ancestry in the United States (i.e., people who marked their ethnic origin as “Hungarian” on the U.S. Census survey), 22,811 resided in the southern region of the United States, and 16,100 were living in North Carolina. However, fewer than 10 percent of people of Hungarian origin in North Carolina reported Hungarian as the language spoken at home. The number of persons over five years of age who spoke Hungarian as a first or native language in North Carolina was 1,041 in 2000 (and 933 in 2010).² Hungarian Americans are well assimilated into American society. Most first-generation migrants are fluent speakers of both Hungarian and English, whereas most born in the United States are English dominant.

This study is part of a larger project that investigates issues of mobility, language, space, and identity in transmigration. It was conducted between 2007 and 2009 among Hungarian Americans living in the Research Triangle area of North Carolina, comprising Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, and nearby towns, as well as other towns in North Carolina (Elkin, Greenville, Greensboro). Most of the participants are members of the Triangle Hungarian Club, a self-sustaining, grass-roots organization founded in 1986, with a membership of about 300 members at the time of study. Club members meet roughly on a monthly basis with the primary purpose of maintaining their Hungarian cultural heritage, customs, and language. They participate annually in the local international festival, organize picnics, and multiday camps during major holidays, run a cultural-academic school for children, and communicate through social media platforms on the Internet. As the mission statement on the club’s Internet homepage states, “We are productive citizens of the United States and grateful for the opportunities given in our new homeland. Yet, there is a common bond and our ‘old’ culture brings us together for monthly meetings.”³ The dominant language of the conversations at social gatherings is Hungarian, with occasional code-switching to English;

however, since several members bring non-Hungarian spouses, friends, and English-dominant children to these meetings, English is used quite often.

Participants were fifty members of the Hungarian-American community, thirty-seven first-generation and thirteen second-generation migrants, twenty-two males and twenty-eight females, ranging ages from fifteen to eighty-eight. Participants represent three waves of migration to the United States. The first group emigrated after World War II, around 1948; the second group comprised refugees who left Hungary after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956; and the third group consisted of the most recent wave of migrants, who arrived in the pre- and post-Berlin Wall decades, in the 1980s and 1990s. Most of the participants were educated middle-class professionals, with a college or graduate degree.

The excerpts analyzed here derive from a corpus of seventy hours of audio-recorded and transcribed semistructured interviews, and sociolinguistic questionnaires. The interviews were organized as small-group dinner table conversations that lasted from 50 to 400 minutes, with an average length of 90 minutes. Interview topics included a range of issues related to the immigrant experience, such as motivation for migration, cultural identification and sense of belonging, language use and attitudes, cultural values and practices, visits to Hungary, and future plans.

For the purposes of this article, I analyze five WAYF narratives. In addition to the notion of chronotope, I employ discourse-analytical staples such as positioning, footing, stance, and double-voicing (Bakhtin 1981) to discuss the different strategies migrants used to represent themselves and others as social personas. While each narrative vignette illustrates an individual experience, together these WAYF stories are representative of accounts relayed by other participants in the study.

4. Narratives of WAYF Encounters: Chronotopic Conflicts and Strategies of Personhood

4.1. THE RESOLUTE CHALLENGER

The narrator in the first excerpt is a fifty-five-year-old woman who left Hungary with her husband when she was thirty-three. When asked whether Americans notice her accent, she offers three small stories. In each, the WAYF question is construed as a marker of chronotopic differentiation and the encounter as a site of othering, in relation to which she positions herself

as an increasingly resolute challenger of the dominant nativist chronotopic order excluding her. In this and the excerpts that follow, words spoken in English are in italics. Interviewee:

No but you know what really bothers me is when I go to a store and I'm shopping and then they always ask me (in exaggerated, mocking voice), "And where is your accent from?" And then the best is when — . . . and then he says "How long have you been here?" I say "Twenty." (mimicking disbelief) "And you still and you still have such a heavy accent?!" I say, "And it will be like this in forty years, too!" . . . It was funny, it was funny when we arrived in Brunswick and of course you have to go to church 'cause this is a Baptist university. So then the first time everyone is all around you and is like, "Oh, yay, Dr. N [interviewee's husband] is coming." And I'm there too and so I open my mouth and [they ask] "Where are you from?" I say, "*Ohio*." (mimicking sarcasm) "I didn't realize people in *Ohio* speak with such a strange accent," you know? And now when we're not here at home when we're not in *North Carolina* and people ask, "And where are you from?" [I say] "*North Carolina*." And then you know they're afraid to ask more questions, but I know that's not what they wanted to know. A colleague of mine asked me (imitating perplexed voice), "Why does it bother you that people ask?," and I said, "Because this is the first sign that people bring it to your attention that you're different that you're different from them." And I don't always feel that it is [considered] good that I'm different. Because you know it's different than when [they say] you're distinguished, you're *sophisticated*.

She starts out her story by framing the WAYF encounter as a routinely recurring ("always") event that takes place in a generalized time-space ("when I go to a store"), where generalized persons ("they") inquire about her accent. The experience of perpetual interpellation about her accent elicits heightened negative affective stance ("really bothers me"), but it is the ensuing dissection and public shaming for "still" having "such a heavy accent" "after twenty years" that unambiguously typifies her as a recognizable, negative other. Evoking broader racializing discourses about "lazy" migrants who are unwilling/incapable of speaking "good" English, these chronotopically inflected comments tag her to the "lazy migrant" chronotope and position her responsible for maintaining a strong foreign accent. She contests this negative positioning by enacting a defiant persona and through mockery. In a double-voiced (Bakhtin 1981), stylized performance, she uses directly

reported speech to at once mockingly reanimate and denounce the narrated character as a particular type: inquisitive, rude, and discriminatory. The story ends as the migrant figure, taking a defiant stance, projects her NNS-accented self into a future time-space (“And it will be like this in forty years, too!”), embracing her linguistic otherness as part of her habitus (Bourdieu 1991), or immutable identity.

Her second story describes an earlier and more specific experience that took place when the couple moved from Ohio, their first place of settlement, to New Jersey. Confronted with the WAYF question, her narrated persona lays claim to a place-identity that is linked to the immediate past and “here” (i.e., Ohio, her most recent place of dwelling). Her self-positioning signals an identity strategy of boundary crossing between two “models of personhood” (Agha 2007), between those who “naturally” belong and who do not. However, her identity claim gets a sarcastic brush-off; it is heard as inauthentic, misscaled, and/or incongruent with her NNS accent and the chronotopic frame (U.S.-born American) it purports to index. In another polyphonic act of contempt, she fuses multiple voices of parody: that of the NS disparagingly mocking her accented character in the story, and her own narrator/interlocutor voice that resists being ridiculed and othered, by subversively mocking the NS’s directly quoted words in her own telling of the story (“I didn’t realize people on Ohio speak with such a strange accent”).

Her third story is framed within the time-space of her here-and-now home, and calls attention to the conflicting chronotopic assumptions and mutual sense of disconnect that the WAYF question as a boundary marker draws out (“They’re afraid to ask more questions, but I know that’s not what they wanted to know.”). Enacting her transnationalist chronotopic personhood, she articulates the problematic of the WAYF question: it is an explicit marker of perceived otherness, an indicator that the migrant is defined and evaluated in terms of her NNS accent and therefore positioned as out of place and inferior. In turn, her counterstrategy to resist exclusionary dissection and assert belonging “here”—despite her foreign accent—appears to disrupt NS’s nativist assumptions that language and identity are bounded by and fixed in place.

4.2. THE EDUCATOR

The next excerpt is from a thirty-six-year-old pediatrician who moved to the United States at age twenty-five. Her narrative further problematizes the WAYF encounter and constructs it as a site of struggle over (mis)recognition and (il)legitimate spaces of belonging.

Interviewee: They often ask me where I am from. And then I say, “*Pitt County*.” And they look at me. Then I tell them, “*Hungary*.” And then they look at me again. . . . They say dumb things like, “Bucharest” [is in Hungary] and the like . . . that Hungary is Eastern Europe. When I gave a talk, I projected the map of Europe and I pointed at it, “*Here’s Hungary*.” And I told them, “Look, this is Europe. Where is Hungary? In the center of Europe.” I told them that Hungary is Central Europe.

Interviewer: And why is it important? That Hungary is not Eastern Europe?

Interviewee: Because East is . . . is . . . like East.

Interviewer: What does it mean?

Interviewee: Balkan. [Hungary is] Not the Balkans. (.) Not Romania. (.) Not Bulgaria. (.) Hungary. (.) But this is one of those things that now I told this to fifty people who have forgotten it twenty times over. So, it’s completely useless that I do this kind of things. I do it purely for my own self-esteem, because there is no point otherwise.

Assuming that identity/belonging is an intersubjective accomplishment (Bucholtz and Hall 2003), place-based identity claims in response to the WAYF question need to be recognizable and recognized. This story reveals the difficulty to evoke the “right” chronotopic location of belonging, as neither of her place-based identity claims is ratified: whether she locates herself in the local, here-and-now time-space (Pitt County) or global, then-and-there time-space (Hungary), she is heard as inauthentic or un/misrecognized. Fighting back from a space of discontinued or denied (inter)subjectivity, she responds with strategic agency. She performs the persona of an “educator” (Hungarian “type”) and “them” as geographically uninformed (American “type”) and recants a talk event she created in hopes of achieving a semi-otically produced intersubjective understanding of her chronotopic roots. Aware of the unequal indexical and symbolic values associated with different, hierarchically organized cultural time-spaces on the global market, she takes a stance that distinction of geographic and chronotopic belonging matters. In her depiction, the social and moral order is spatially coconstituted, and space defines identity by setting up available subject positions.

Her main concern is the distinction between “Eastern Europe” and “Central Europe” (and Hungary’s place therein). This difference is framed in terms of two sets of contrasting identities: one that is assigned versus one that is self-ascribed, and one loaded with stigmatized chronotopic indexicalities (“Balkan”) versus one imagined as centric (borderline West). She

distances herself from a perceived negative-identity position in a particular cultural chronotope (Balkan) through recursive mapping of spatial/geographical dichotomy and negative polarity markers that maximize identity differentiation and boundaries. She uses a strategy of division: she visualizes space (by using a map) and spatializes vision to construct a recognizable, upscaled chronotopic identity.

4.3. THE COUNTERPUNCHER

The next excerpt illustrates yet another response strategy that emerges when the migrant is positioned as other by virtue of her NNS accent. The narrator is an eighty-two-year-old long-time immigrant, who escaped from Hungary at age twenty-one. Prompted by her husband (H), she recounts an exchange with a pumpkin vendor, who refused to serve her at a local farmer's market.

H: But the most interesting thing is that the moment we open our mouths and utter “no,” they say, “where are you from?”

Interviewee: Yeah, and once an American from here [North Carolina], it's true he was a redneck he was at the Farmer's Market (.) you know, it's so beautiful when they sell pumpkins and he was dressed like he had sunglasses on and a hat with an American flag and I ask him, “How much?,” and he says, (imitating his vexed tone) “You have an accent!” And he was a real Southerner and I said, “You do too!” (.) He turned his back on me and left. (incredulously) Can you imagine? (.) He got offended that I said he also had an accent.

Her negative portrayal of the vendor derives from his orientation to not what she says but how she says it. We see him “erasing” her subjectivity as a customer, acting sociologically entitled to publicly expose her accent as problematic, and defining her as an other who lacks in the local form of symbolic capital. Such public othering through the WAYF question positions local versus foreign accents unequally, authorizing those on the home turf to patrol and reinforce boundaries between those who belong to the nativist chronotope and those who are out of place. However, rather than passively accepting her assigned out-group identity, she expresses agency through a strategy of counterpositioning both as a spunky character and a narrator of the story. As a character, she fights back by symbolically nudging the vendor out of his own chronotopic frame (“You do too!”), and as a narrator, she mobilizes negative stereotypes and constructs him as a “real Southerner” and a “redneck” other with a stigmatized regional accent.

4.4. THE IMPOSTOR

The next storyteller, a fifty-year-old man who has lived in the United States for twenty-three years, takes on the persona of a mischievous joker in a subversive act of resistance to the othering ritual of WAYF encounters.

Interviewee: Here and there, sometimes people ask me [where my accent is from], you know, and there are all kinds of different scenarios. Some people ask out of curiosity, others ask because they don't like my accent. And then one can give different answers, you know? Most of the time I say [when they ask], "Where are you from?" "Well," I say, "from Virginia." "Oh, really?" I say, "Yes, from *northern* Virginia (.) that's the dialect there."

Interviewer: And then?

Interviewee: They buy it, they totally buy it. "Okay, I haven't heard this dialect before, but okay then." Sometimes I can't help myself laughing and then I say, "No, no, no," or if they're not complete morons, they say, "Okay, good, that's not what I meant. Where are you really from?"

Inquiries into his accent are heard as motivated by two main types of affective stance: positive ("curiosity") and negative (dislike of accent), which in turn elicit "different answers" from the migrant. The narrator spotlights a response strategy that plays up the perceived ambiguity of his NNS accent and its chronotopic matrix. Constructing himself as a mischievous impostor and claiming, tongue-in-cheek, another peripheral, albeit NS sociospatial identity ("northern Virginia"), he engages in what Certeau (1984) calls an "oppositional tactic" within the space of the dominant other. While such a tactic is unlikely to result in the migrant's authentication (Bucholtz and Hall 2003) as an NS, it can inject a dash of confusion in an NS's chronotopic expectations, thereby granting the migrant momentary power of subversion. When the encounter is reframed as *bona fide*, the dissection continues with the inevitable, "Where are you really from?," indicating that the migrant with a foreign accent *really* cannot be from "here" and thus remains the target of the "perpetual foreigner syndrome" (Wu 2002).

4.5. THE CHARMING

The last excerpt is produced by a thirty-nine-year-old male physician, who came to the United States at age twenty-three. Rather than a stigma or liability, foreign accent is construed here as an exotic capital that is imbued with essentialist, sexualized meanings in the imagination of NS.

Interviewer: You mentioned that your accent is different. Does it bother you when people ask, “What accent do you have?” “Where are you from?”

Interviewee: No, no (.) I’m not too ashamed of it.

Interviewer: Not really?

Interviewee: Yeah I’m not ashamed of my accent, nay . . . [In medical school] it was generally a good sign to nurses (.) they would be into you with this European accent.

The narrator locates his past persona in a complex relation of gendered power asymmetry bound up with place. We are presented with a time-space of identification where American nurses are charmed by medical students’ foreign accented speech, where linguistic difference — Hungarian accent upgraded to European — is appreciated as a distinctive resource and object of sexualized scrutiny. That is, chronotopic boundaries are emphasized between “us” versus “them,” as linguistic and power differences are positively valorized both by NS and NNS.

5. Discussion

Bakhtin (1981:258) claims that “every entry into the sphere of meanings is accomplished only through the gates of the chronotope.” I have demonstrated how WAYF encounters between NS and NNS become a contact zone, where chronotopic difference of belonging is produced, contested, and subverted. Migrants’ stories revealed that the WAYF question prompted by their foreign accent is heard as an everyday form of othering that variably renders their personas as anomalous, out of place, unrecognizable, illegitimate, and inadequate, which they manage through different agentic strategies. As an enregistered form of spatialized linguistic difference, the WAYF question is grounded in banal mundane social interaction.

Viewing these encounters in terms of a chronotopic model (figure 13.1) sheds light on how and why tensions between NS locals and NNS migrants may emerge. I argued that the WAYF question presumes an isomorphic link among language, identity, and place (accent [NS/North Carolina] vs. foreign) defines the person (“us” vs. “them”), and the place (“from here” vs. “not from here”). This nativist ideology is at the heart of a cultural chronotope of stability and boundedness, an inheritance from Herder and the nation-states. Thus, from a nativist chronotopic perspective, NNS accent disrupts normative expectations as it indexes a figure of the foreign other, an outsider,

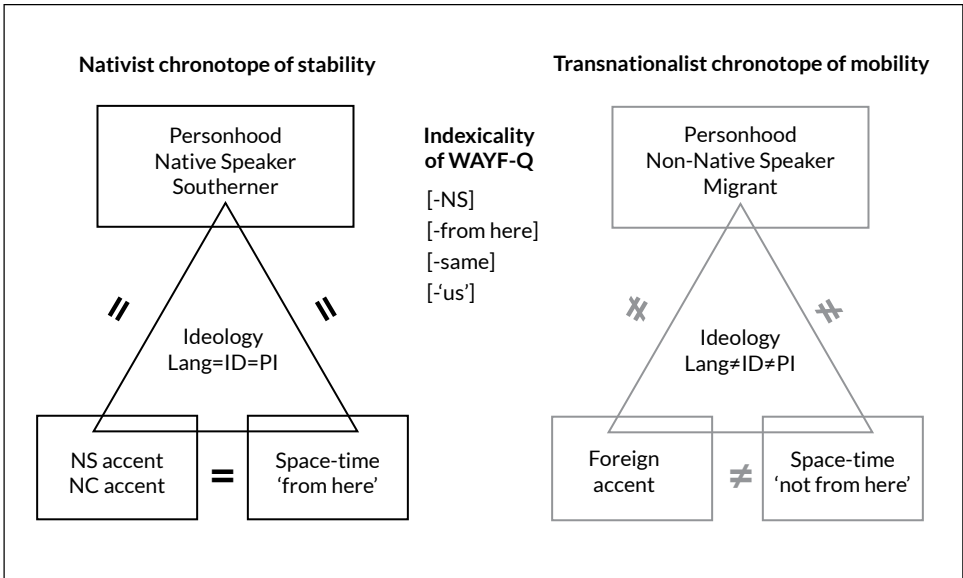


FIGURE 13.1. “Where are you from?” questions (WAYF-Q) as contact zones of chronotopic clash. NS, native speaker; NC, North Carolina; Lang, language; ID, identity; PI, place.

being from, born, and belonging somewhere else. By contrast, the transnationalist chronotope of mobility understands linkages of language, identity, and place as dynamic and flexible. Accordingly, a migrant from Hungary, taking a transnationalist perspective, may assume that she can legitimately claim to “be from” North Carolina, even if she was born outside the United States and speaks with a detectable foreign accent. In WAYF encounters these differing chronotopic models are brought into conflict, leading to struggles over authenticity and legitimacy of belonging. Still, although all interviewees located themselves within the chronotope of mobility in the WAYF stories, they pursued different boundary-making strategies, took up different stances, and forged different personae for themselves through creative and strategic acts of agency in attempts to navigate tensions of identification and social categorization.

6. Conclusion

While mobility “stands as an alternative to place, boundedness, foundations, and stability” (Cresswell 2006:2) in the era of globalization, it does not

completely erase isomorphic links between cultural identity, place, and language, nor does it preclude the production of boundaries of unequal indexicalities associated with different accents, places, and identities. This study has proposed a chronotopic perspective to illuminate how the seemingly innocent WAYF question functions as a boundary practice of ritualized othering in everyday interactions between NS locals and NNS migrants. When NS ask the WAYF question of migrants, even if they have been citizens for decades, it is because NS hear the foreign accent as a disruption of still dominant chronotopic expectations informed by deeply ingrained nativist ideologies. Thus, migrants' mundane use of language such as NNS accent contests local orders and linguistic hierarchies. As such, WAYF encounters are related to the local economy of language and show responses to the shifting demography in the South. As my analysis has demonstrated, migrants, governed by transnationalist chronotopic perspectives, claim legitimacy and authenticity of belonging regardless of their NNS accent, and predominantly hear dissective practices as exclusionary. Of course, identities are strategic and positional, whether they perform fixed or dynamic senses of belonging. WAYF encounters provide opportunity for migrant agency and a variety of subjectivities to enact, protest, subvert, or reappropriate and exploit in symbolic battles over belonging. The analysis of migrants' stories revealed struggles over linguistic difference, (mis)recognition and (il)legitimate spaces of belonging, indicating how indexical orders of otherness are constituted, contested, and negotiated, as people keep "imagining" their identities rooted in discontinuous or multiple chronotopic spaces marked by different accents. We have seen that migrants' stories are quintessentially heteroglossic, with migrant agents creatively mobilizing a range of identity strategies and social personas that ultimately work to challenge unequal and essentialist structures of belonging.

About the Author

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Notes

1. While the WAYF question inevitably highlights perceived difference and marks otherness, the particular indexical value (positive or negative distinction) assigned to such difference is not fixed, and the interpretative uptake of the WAYF question is not

invariable. The valorization of constructed difference is contingent upon dominant sociocultural ideologies and normative discourses of otherness circulating in communities differentially located in structures of power, as well as upon the individual's positioning and evaluative stance with respect to dominant narratives and/or a particular difference. Thus, the WAYF question does not have to be intentionally hostile and exclusionary; it may indicate positive curiosity or even serve as a means for seeking out sameness and potential categories of inclusion. The situated meaning of the initial WAYF question can be (re)defined and disambiguated by participants by drawing on various discursive cues such as prosody, nonverbal gestures, and evaluative stance markers that emerge in the unfolding interaction.

2. 2000 U.S. Census data, www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-recent/6196?style=print; 2010 U.S. Census data, apps.mla.org/cgi-shl/docstudio/docs.pl?map_data_results.

3. Hungarian American Club of the Triangle website, www.nchungarians.org (accessed March 13, 2013).

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Erik R. Thomas

What a Swarm of Variables Tells Us about the Formation of Mexican American English

1. Language Contact

Language contact has been a fertile topic for linguistic studies since the nineteenth century. Much of the discussion, of course, centers on such topics as bilingualism, how relative power of the languages affects the outcome, and whether features in particular languages originated internally or through contact with other languages. Today, however, it is possible to observe language contact situations as they develop. This kind of sociolinguistic study can shed considerable light on the process of linguistic transfer, yet sociolinguists are only beginning to explore it. The formation and continuing development of Mexican American English provide an ideal opportunity to examine transfer and its longer-term effects.

Transfer begins with interference from a source language into a target language as speakers learn a new language and entire communities shift their language. Phonetic aspects of interference have received considerable attention and have spawned theories to explain them, notably the Perceptual Assimilation Model (e.g., Best 1995) and the Speech Learning Model (e.g., Flege 2007). The former focuses on how speakers identify second-language (L2) phones with first-language (L1) phones when possible, whereas the latter emphasizes that learning of phonetic categories can continue throughout life, even to the point that one's L2 can influence his or her L1. These models

do not address the issue of what happens after interference, however. One prominent model that does is that of Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who propose a distinction between borrowing and interference. Borrowing, in their parlance, describes the adoption of foreign elements into one's L1 and occurs when language shift does not take place. It affects the lexicon most strongly. Interference occurs when a group does shift its language and involves the transfer of elements of L1 to L2. It affects phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax most strongly. Thomason and Kaufman concentrated on historical cases of language contact and transfer. The difficulty is that in historical examples a large proportion of what was happening on the ground is unknowable today. It is necessary to examine current situations to gain a fuller understanding of how language transfer operates.

The elements that are ordinarily involved in interference — phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax — are readily examined in sociolinguistic studies. Beyond creole studies, for which a vast literature exists but which represent a special kind of transfer, the corpus of sociolinguistic inquiry is relatively small. Studies that exist have tended to focus on groups with lower economic status who have moved into communities with a matrix of people of higher economic status and power. Horvath's (1985) study of Italian and Greek groups in Australia, which showed convergence with the matrix community by the second generation, was a landmark. Studies of guest-worker communities in continental Europe (e.g., Queen 2001, 2012; Nortier and Dorleijn 2008) have shown that such groups may form a distinctive dialect in their L2 by selectively maintaining features from an L1. Studies of southern Asian communities in Great Britain (e.g., Evans, Mistry, and Moreiras 2007; Hirson and Sohail 2007; Kerswill, Torgerson, and Fox 2007; Alam and Stuart-Smith 2011; Sharma 2011; Sharma and Sankaran 2011) have revealed a range of possibilities from nearly total assimilation to lack of assimilation, compounded by rich interactions with speakers' identities and style shifting.

The language contact situation with the longest history of study, however, is Latino English in the United States, and most of this work has focused on Mexican American English (MXAE). The earliest accounts of MXAE (Lynn 1945; Sawyer 1959, 1964) treated it as merely a transitional stage in the shift to English. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, it became clear that MXAE was developing into an established and enduring dialect of English in its own right. Most newer studies took that perspective. Some of these studies retained a focus on interference features from Spanish, such as devoiced /z/ as in *please* (e.g., Galindo 1987), and confusion of /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ as in *shoes*

and *choose* (e.g., Wald 1981). However, other variables, such as consonant cluster simplification and vowel realizations, gradually entered the picture as well (e.g., Hartford 1975; Godinez and Maddieson 1985), and a few studies examined acquisition of regional dialect features by Mexican Americans (e.g., McDowell and McRae 1972). Subjects who had learned English as young children were included in some studies. Most of the work during this period was conducted in Texas or California.

Recent work has expanded the study of MXAE in newer directions. Fought (1999, 2003) and Mendoza-Denton (2008) are notable for introducing social network analyses. Ocumpaugh (2010) and Roeder (2010) have shown, using acoustic analysis of vowels, that the degree of assimilation to local Anglo varieties in the Midwest may differ strikingly from what has been observed in the Southwest. Nevertheless, one recurring weakness of sociolinguistic studies of MXAE and, in fact, other contact varieties is that they have continued to focus on small numbers of linguistic variables — often only a single variable. Even if one variable shows noteworthy patterns that provide clues about the social identities of speakers, it cannot provide a complete picture of the intersecting identities that individuals exhibit. Each linguistic variable may reveal new social meanings and patterning. What is needed is inquiry that compares a large number of diverse variables.

2. The Study Community

“North Town” (a pseudonym used by Foley [1987], an earlier study of the community) is a majority–Mexican American municipality lying between San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande Valley. Unlike the latter two areas, European settlement passed over the vicinity of North Town until the late nineteenth century, when ranchers and farmers finally claimed the area. The local terrain, near-desert covered mostly with thorny scrub vegetation and sparse grass, had dissuaded potential settlers until other areas were filled. The town itself was founded in the 1880s along the route of a railroad. The original Anglo settlers were mostly “hill Southerners” by heritage, with roots in Tennessee, Arkansas, and other Upper Southern areas, though there were lowland Southerners as well. Immigrants from Mexico followed the Anglo settlement closely, and the *patron* system of an Anglo ranch or farm owner hosting one or more Latino families who lived in outlying buildings, common over much of the Southwest, developed rapidly. Latino men worked as farmhands or ranch hands, while women mostly performed domestic duties. Anglo children frequently learned Spanish from Mexican American children,

but relatively few Mexican Americans appear to have learned English during this period.

The *patron* system predominated until the 1920s, when tractors and other mechanical innovations rendered much of the labor obsolete. As mechanization progressed during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, Latino families were steadily evicted from their former homes. Many of them moved into villages and cities such as North Town, where other work was available. During the summers, they often traveled north to Midwestern states as migrant workers, returning at the end of the season. As early as the 1920s, Latinos constituted the majority in North Town. Two other interrelated transformations occurred during this period. First, authorities finally made school attendance by Mexican American children mandatory, albeit in segregated elementary schools. Second, the shift from Spanish to English began because use of English in schools was enforced.

The generation of Mexican American children who grew up in North Town during this period was the first of whom the majority learned English. North Town itself became highly segregated, with a well-to-do Anglo side east of the railroad and a poorer Mexican American part on the flood-prone west side. Mexican Americans were restricted in when they could go to the east side and were exploited in various other ways, such as by police and for their votes.

Nevertheless, Mexican Americans had begun attending high school by the 1940s, and during the 1950s they began to assert themselves civically. As a result, some municipal improvements, such as street paving, were instituted on the west side of town. Draconian educational practices led to a shift to English dominance among Mexican Americans, and currently, many Latino children have only a passive understanding of Spanish. Desegregation of elementary schools was completed in 1971. During the 1970s, Mexican Americans attempted to win control of city government under the political movement *La Raza Unida*, as documented by Foley (1987). Relations between Anglos and Mexican Americans became acrimonious for a few years. Although this attempt to control city government failed, by the 1980s Mexican Americans were increasingly dominating elected offices. Today, Mexican Americans control nearly all offices and many live on the wealthier east side. Local Anglos have even been displaced from their traditional bastion, ownership of land outside the town, as outsiders have bought ranches for private deer hunting preserves. The local economy has experienced ups and downs as agricultural crops have shifted and, most recently, hydraulic fracturing for methane has boomed. For the most part, though, new immigrants from Mexico or beyond bypass North Town for larger cities.

3. Method

For this study, forty-two subjects who had grown up in North Town or the surrounding county were analyzed. Thirty-one of the subjects (nine male, twenty-two female), ranging in year of birth from 1918 to 1997, were Mexican American, and eleven Anglos (nine male, two female), mostly from the oldest generation, were included to determine what the contact dialect of English had been in the community. Interviews were conducted in 2005 and 2007. They were conversational, though five subjects also read a story at the end of the interview, and all were tape-recorded. Nearly all of the interviews were conducted in private homes, and the remainder at workplaces. Mexican American subjects were interviewed in both English and Spanish when possible; the three interviewers were all Anglos from NC State University. Numbers of years of schooling and year of birth were used with continuous dependent variables. For discrete dependent variables, schooling was coded as less than high school graduation, high school graduate or some college, and bachelor's degree or more; year of birth was divided as pre-1940, 1940–59, 1960–79, and post-1979.

Analysis was conducted primarily through acoustic methods for phonetic variables, but mostly by auditory methods for morphosyntactic variables. For many variables, however, acoustic and auditory analyses were combined. All of the vowels were analyzed using linear predictive coding analysis in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2001), with two measurement points (35 milliseconds after the onset and before the offset) used for diphthongal analysis and one point in the center used for monophthongal analysis. No more than two tokens of the same lexical item were measured for each subject. At least ten tokens of each vowel were measured for each speaker when possible, though for some infrequent vowels, such as the BOY and BARE vowels, fewer tokens were available in the interviews. Nuclei and glides of the same diphthong thus functioned as separate variables. Except for /l/, consonantal coding relied on visual scrutiny of spectrograms in conjunction with auditory analysis. For example, coding of rhoticity was accomplished by examining spectrograms to determine whether F_3 of the /r/ was lower than in nearby syllables and by listening for whether a token sounded *r*-less or *r*-ful. I conducted the coding. Together, the analyzed variables add up to sixty-four, though in actuality this number is greater because F_1 and F_2 were analyzed separately.

Statistical analysis was conducted with one of two methods, as appropriate. Linear mixed-effects modeling was used for continuous variables,

including /l/ and all the vowels. Logistic regression was used for discrete variables, which included the remaining consonantal variables. Some variables, including prosodic rhythm, five of the vowels, and most morphosyntactic variables, have not been analyzed statistically yet because the coding is incomplete. Subjects were coded according to ethnicity, year of birth or generation, educational level, and sex. Linguistic factors, such as features of neighboring segments for vowels and consonants, were included in statistical analyses as appropriate. All analyses were conducted using R (version 2.15.2).

4. Results

Of primary interest in the analyses are the significance levels of the demographic variables — ethnicity, year of birth or generation, educational level, and sex. It was expected that different variables would show different patterns of significance. A single variable might show an idiosyncratic pattern. However, if a large number of variables showed the same pattern, it would demonstrate that this pattern represents an important division within the community.

Because each vowel was analyzed separately and within each vowel diphthongal nuclei and glides and F_1 and F_2 of all nuclei and glides were subjected to their own statistical analyses, the number of vocalic analyses became large, exactly as desired. For each variable, linear mixed-effects modeling was run twice: once with all independent variables, both demographic and linguistic, and the second time including only variables that had reached significance of $p < 0.10$ in the first run. Interactions between factors were added when appropriate. Then it was determined whether significance of a particular factor reached the $p < 0.05$ level in the second run. Although this process might be expected to produce type I errors, in fact, factors with $p > 0.05$ in the first run consistently showed higher p -values in the second run. Results revealed that four patterns were noticeably more frequent than any others: (a) ethnicity and year born were both significant, but not education or sex; (b) year born alone was significant; (c) ethnicity alone was significant; and (d) no demographic factors were significant. It is not surprising that some variables should show no statistical significance for demographic factors because certain linguistic forms, such as the form of the BET vowel, either were similar between English and Spanish or were acquired quickly by the first generation of Mexican Americans to learn English. The dominance of ethnicity and year of birth holds greater importance.

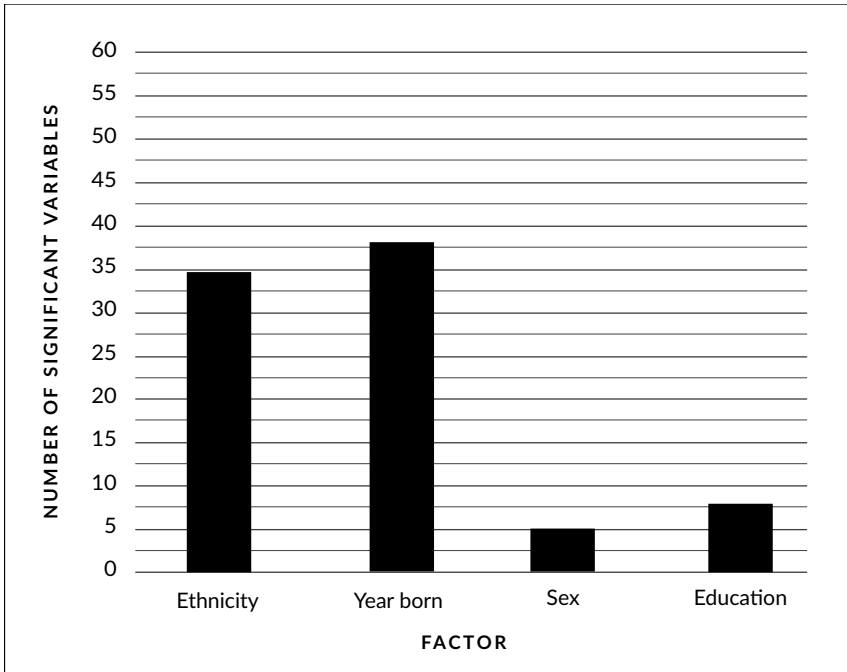


FIGURE 14.1. Numbers of significant ($p < 0.05$) vocalic variables for each demographic variable

Figure 14.1 shows the number of vocalic variables that were significant at $p < 0.05$ for each demographic factor. In this graph, a variable significant for both ethnicity and year of birth, for example, would be included in both the ethnicity column and the year born column. Year of birth and ethnicity show far greater importance than sex or education for North Town vowel variation. Those two factors thus appear to represent the main divisions in the community. Year of birth slightly outpaces ethnicity.

Vowel variants exhibit diverse patterns and sources. Several variants, including BITE/BIDE with a weak or absent glide, BOUT with a front nucleus and low glide, upgliding BOUGHT, BAIT with a relatively lowered nucleus, and merger of BAR and BORDER, are typical features of southern Anglo varieties or Texas Anglo English. None of those five has taken hold among Mexican Americans. Others, such as weak differentiation of BEET and BIT, BAT realized as a mid vowel close to BET, and strongly backed BOAT, constitute interference from Spanish. The first two interference features disappear

across generations, but fully backed BOAT persists. Two other variants, fronting of TOOT (i.e., /u/ after coronals) and the BOT/BOUGHT merger, increase across generations of Mexican Americans and apparently represent outside influence.

Nine consonantal variables were analyzed: realization of /ʃ/ as a fricative or affricate, realization of /tʃ/ as a fricative or affricate, realization of /dʒ/ as a fricative or affricate, relative “lightness” (nonvelar realization) or “darkness” (velarization) of /l/ in syllable-initial position, realization of /ð/ as a fricative or stop, assimilation of /ð/ to a preceding consonant, realization of historical /ju/ as [ju] or [u] after coronals, realization of historical /hw/ as [hw] or [w], and rhoticity. For /ʃ/ and /tʃ/, which have long been treated as iconic markers of MXAE, as well as for /dʒ/, which has usually been ignored, the nonstandard realizations occurred primarily among the oldest generation of Mexican Americans and only at low levels approximating their occurrence in Anglo English among later generations. Moreover, /ʃ/ realized as an affricate was favored word-initially and realization of /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ as fricatives was favored in noninitial positions. In contrast, nonvelar /l/ was maintained across all generations of Mexican Americans, while Anglos showed considerably greater velarization (see also Van Hofwegen 2009). In similar fashion, realization of word-initial /ð/ as a stop, variably dental or alveolar, persisted across generations in MXAE if the word followed a consonant or, especially, a pause. For these variables, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/ represent the loss of Spanish interference features, while the other two — nonvelarized /l/ and stopping of /ð/ — represent the incorporation of interference features into the emerging MXAE dialect.

The remaining consonantal variables are related to variation found in the matrix Anglo dialect. Assimilation of /ð/ to a preceding consonant, as in [wəz:æt] “was that,” occurs at low levels for all speakers but at much higher rates for certain Anglos. Mexican Americans never adopt high levels of this process. Maintenance of /ju/ after coronals, as in [nju] “new,” perseveres among Mexican Americans but seems to disappear among Anglos. It is particularly well preserved in *new* and *knew*. In like fashion, /hw/ was maintained longer and at greater levels among Mexican Americans than among Anglos, though it ultimately disappears in the speech of the youngest Mexican Americans. Nonrhoticity occurs among both ethnic groups, but, perhaps surprisingly, Mexican Americans tend to show higher levels of *r*-lessness. *R*-lessness is almost nonexistent in stressed, syllabic position, as in *first*. It is most common in the word *over*, for which *r*-lessness seems to be lexicalized for many speakers of both ethnicities, followed by position after /ð/, as

in *other*. When those two unstressed positions are removed, the remaining unstressed codas, such as *better*, group with coda /r/, as in *there* and *hard*.

Overall, the consonantal variables reaffirm the importance of ethnicity and year of birth/generation in cleaving North Town. Ethnicity is significant at $p < 0.05$ for all nine consonantal variables, and generation is significant for six. Sex shows significance for four variables; education, for three.

The remaining variables include prosodic rhythm, realization of *-ing*, and three morphosyntactic variables: quotatives, negative concord, and marking of verbal past tense. Only negative concord has been analyzed statistically so far. However, clear patterning is evident for each variable. For prosodic rhythm, the normalized pairwise variability index (nPVI) method of Low, Grabe, and Nolan (2000) was employed. Anglos consistently showed median nPVI values at the stress-timed end of the spectrum, and elderly Mexican Americans consistently showed median nPVI values at the syllable-timed end in their Spanish. Mexican Americans, as a group, showed intermediate values in their English, and this pattern is maintained across generations.

Realization of *-ing* shows its own complications. Sex may turn out to be important for it, as women tended to show higher rates of dorsal nasals than did men, as is commonly found. One of the important features is the presence of an [ɪn] realization, differing from both of the customarily reported variants, [ɪn] and [ɪŋ~ɪŋ]. [ɪn], or “-een,” is common among Mexican Americans of all generations but nearly absent among Anglos. Another feature of *-ing* is its syntactic conditioning. Figure 14.2 shows the occurrence of dorsal nasals in different syntactic functions, comparing usage among Mexican Americans, Anglo subjects, and one of the interviewers in the project. The fieldworker, an Anglo, shows prototypical strong conditioning, and the Anglo subjects show fairly marked syntactic conditioning as well, with dorsal nasals most common in adjectives and nouns. Mexican Americans, however, show only weak conditioning. This situation is what would be expected in language transfer in that complex rules found in the target language may not be acquired fully by the shifting group.

Each of the three remaining morphosyntactic variables shows a distinct pattern. For negative concord, ethnicity and generation are both statistically significant, with Mexican Americans exhibiting higher levels of multiple negation than Anglos and the second generation showing lower levels than the first, third, or fourth. For verbal past tense marking, elderly Mexican Americans often show unmarked forms in semantic contexts corresponding to the Spanish imperfect, but subsequent generations show marking in nearly all cases (Callahan 2008). With regard to quotatives, the *be like* form is almost

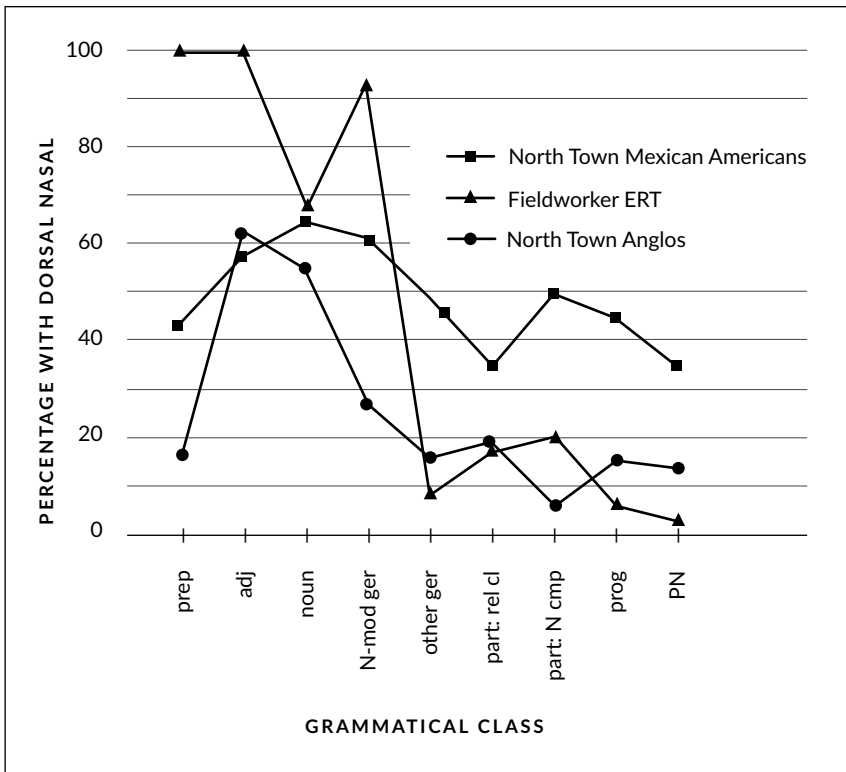


FIGURE 14.2. Percentage of *-ing* forms with a dorsal nasal, by syntactic function

nonexistent among the first two generations but common among the latter two and is apparently used the same way across ethnicities.

5. Discussion

The core finding from this study is that ethnicity and year of birth/generation are the crucial demographic variables that divide North Town sociolinguistically. Sex (as a proxy for gender) and education (as a proxy for social class) are far less important. The use of educational achievement to gauge social class distinctions may be open to question, but in this sample it corresponded closely to occupations, and a far larger sample would be needed to test the correlation with different kinds of occupations adequately.

The finding that year of birth/generation is as important as ethnicity is telling. In studies of interference, a common method is to compare the source

and target languages to determine the structural differences between them, from which predictions about features that will be difficult to acquire can be made. This method is not always effective for determining L2 learning difficulties, and its predictive ability suffers even more when it is applied to the longer-term situation of ethnolect formation. In the formation of new dialects with substrate features, sociolinguistic factors are regarded as the primary determinants of which features survive (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). In North Town, the first generation of Mexican Americans, the initial generation to learn English, showed numerous interference features from Spanish covering vocalic, consonantal, prosodic, and morphosyntactic realms. Even that generation acquired some features completely, however; for example, their voice onset times for voiceless stops, which measure the degree of aspiration, match those of Anglos (Summerlin 2014). After that generation, a great deal of settling out occurred. Some interference features, such as stop realizations of /ð/, “light” /l/, and the [in] realization of *-ing*, were maintained, while others, such as raised /æ/, confusion of /ʃ/ and /tʃ/, and unmarked past tense, were discarded. Structural linguistic factors alone cannot account for why some features persist as the ethnolect crystalizes and other features disappear.

The interaction with Anglo English is also important. One important feature of North Town is that the matrix Anglo dialect constituted a marked regional variety. This dialect is characterized by numerous vocalic features, such as monophthongal BITE/BIDE, and some other features such as high levels of assimilation of /ð/ to preceding consonants. These features are all rejected by Mexican Americans. Most likely, the discrimination and exploitation experienced in the past led Mexican Americans to avoid features that would identify them with local Anglos. Travel to the Midwest as migrant laborers, military service, and other sources of exposure such as media would have informed Mexican Americans of the regionality of those forms. Certain regional variants, such as the BIN/BEN merger (i.e., merger of the BIT and BET vowels before nasals) and pronunciation of *can't* as [k^heint], are common among Mexican Americans of all ages, and Mexican Americans preserve /hw/ and postcoronal /ju/, both demonstrably regional features, more robustly than Anglos. Nevertheless, these features are all (in phonological terms) lexical variants, while the features that are rejected are postlexical. The lexical versus postlexical distinction appears crucial in determining whether a regional Anglo feature can be adopted.

A final piece of the picture is the new variants that have entered the emerging ethnolect. Fronting of the TOOT vowel, merger of the BOT and

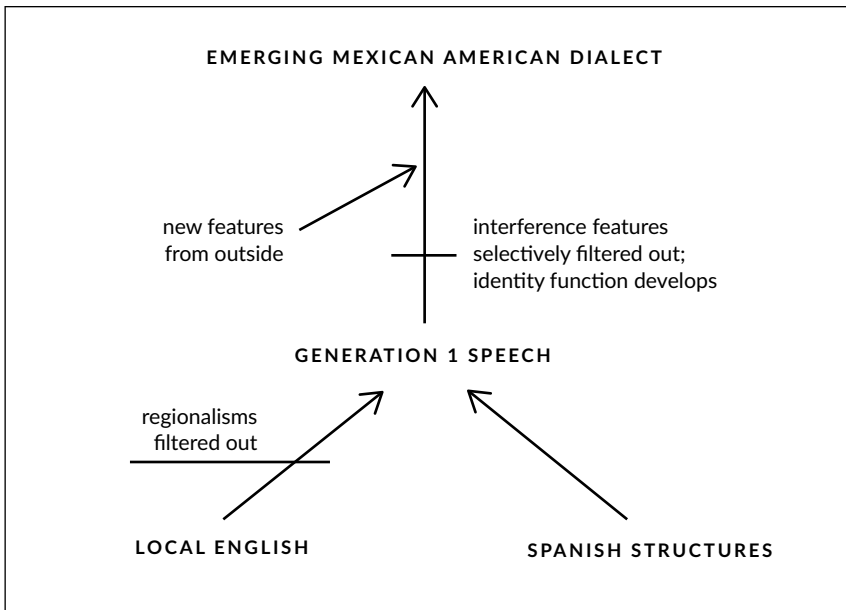


FIGURE 14.3. Model of the formation of Mexican American English in North Town

BOUGHT vowels (in North Town by lowering and unrounding of BOUGHT), the ultimate demise of /hw/, and quotative *be like* fall into this category. These features are all processes that have spread widely across the United States in recent decades. Importantly, they are not specific to the regional Anglo dialect, and the lack of this identification may make them acceptable to Mexican Americans.

The process of new dialect formation seen in North Town can be modeled as in figure 14.3, which shows that interference from Spanish is only the beginning of the process. The Mexican American community also has to determine whether to accept or reject features of the local Anglo dialect. As the dialect crystallizes, some Spanish influences are filtered out, perhaps because they become identified with nonnative speakers of English, and other features seep in from outside. Exactly why some features disappear and others persist is uncertain, but further investigation to determine answers is under way, and the reasons likely have to do with social meanings attached to each variant. The new dialect materializes and maintains its distinctiveness from both L2 English and Anglo English, but it is never static.

6. Outlook

The formation of ethnolects is a process that has been studied extensively by historical linguists and sociolinguists, with additional insights from phoneticians and other linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, neurologists, and others. However, ethnolectal development has lacked the kind of intensive linguistic analysis necessary to compare different inputs on the emerging variety as it forms. As shown here, doing so requires examination of large numbers of variables so that the overall prevalence of particular kinds of input can be discerned.

A possible criticism is that the technique employed here biases the analysis toward variables that are easily obtained from conversational interviews. It is quite possible, for example, that lexical variables may show quite different patterns if they could be analyzed or that gender might be realized more robustly in discourse formulas. The main counter to such arguments is that conversational interviews capture variables that appear most frequently and thus are those that dominate what listeners hear. Nevertheless, it would still be instructive for future researchers to apply the method of using large numbers of variables to other kinds of variables, such as discourse strategies.

About the Author

Erik R. Thomas is professor of linguistics at NC State University. He is the author of *Sociophonetics: An Introduction* (2011) and is currently editing a collection titled *Mexican American English: Substrate Influence and the Birth of an Ethnolect*.

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James Shepherd, and Sonya Trawick*

Spanish in North Carolina

English-Origin Loanwords in a Newly Forming Hispanic Community

1. Introduction

Lexical borrowing is a common result of language contact (Winford 2003). In the case of Spanish in the United States, numerous studies have established the widespread use of English-origin loanwords, popularly referred to as *anglicismos* or “*Spanglish*” words (Lipski 2008).¹ Most studies, however, have focused on determining the status of loanwords as either borrowings or single-word code-switches (Torres Cacoullous and Aaron 2003; Aaron 2015) or on the factors that encourage borrowing in the first place (Smead 1998; Ortigosa Pastor 2009; Shin 2010; Mrak 2011). The present study seeks to extend the literature on English loanwords in U.S. Spanish by examining the attitudes toward integrated borrowings by Spanish speakers in a newly forming contact situation in the southeastern United States.

While Spanish has a long history in the United States, the widespread presence of this language in North Carolina and elsewhere throughout the Southeast is a relatively recent phenomenon. As a point of departure for examining how Spanish and English interact in this newly bilingual environment, we examine the results of a linguistic survey administered to over 500 Spanish speakers residing in North Carolina, which has one of the fastest-growing Hispanic populations in the country (Pew Hispanic Center 2011).

This survey, based on the innovative, large undergraduate-class linguistic research detailed in Van Herk, DeDecker, and Thorburn (2014), examines attitudes toward English loanwords.² Our results show that the attitudes of Spanish speakers in North Carolina differ based on the type of loanword or its most common domain(s) of use, as well as on social factors such as the age, gender, country of origin, and education level of the speaker.

2. Spanish in North Carolina

The southeastern United States has experienced a boom in Hispanic immigration since the early 1990s. North Carolina in particular has experienced one of the largest increases in Hispanic population, with over 111 percent growth during the 2000s (Pew Hispanic Center 2011). As of the 2010 U.S. Census, North Carolina had the eleventh largest Hispanic population in the country, with more than 800,000 residents, accounting for over 8 percent of the total population.³ At the same time, the North Carolina Hispanic population is quite varied — North Carolina ranks fifth in the country in the number of foreign-born Hispanics (44 percent), while at the same time, U.S.-born Hispanics outnumber immigrants (56 percent) (Pew Hispanic Center 2014). North Carolina Hispanics also represent many countries of origin. Over half (61 percent) are from Mexico, with other small but important groups comprising the rest (13 percent from Central America, 9 percent from Puerto Rico, and 2 percent from Colombia, among others). The particular context in North Carolina allows researchers to examine the initial stages in the formation of bilingual communities, in ways that are no longer possible in regions with more established Hispanic populations (New York City, California, Chicago, Miami), where the bulk of research on U.S. Spanish has been focused.

Although there has been substantial research on Spanish-English contact in the Southeast, most of the investigations have been from the point of view of English sociolinguistics, that is, the effects of language contact on the English of immigrants and heritage speakers (for an overview, see Wolfram, Kohn, and Callahan-Price 2011). The present results are part of a larger project to study the effects of language/dialect contact on the Spanish of North Carolina Hispanics.

3. English Loanwords in U.S. Spanish

In situations of language contact, lexical borrowing is one of the first phenomena to occur, as the adoption of loanwords does not necessarily require

competence in the source language. In cases where immigrant groups form bilingual communities in a new locale, borrowing from the more prestigious national or regional language is often pervasive, as in the case of Hispanic immigrants in the United States (for an overview, see Winford 2003). Initially, the most common loanwords may include cultural borrowings, which refer to new concepts in the dominant culture (Myers-Scotton 2002). An example from the present data is “lonche” *lunch*, which as Lipski (2003) notes refers not to the extended, biggest meal of the day (*almuerzo*), traditionally eaten at home in Latin American countries, but instead to the quick lunch break common in U.S. contexts. Given sufficiently intense contact, other, less culturally specific terms may also be borrowed.

Sociolinguistic factors, such as the relative prestige of the two languages (and communities) in contact, processes of linguistic accommodation, and language ideology and loyalty, are often the deciding factors in determining the amount and type of borrowing (Winford 2003). For example, Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) show that local community norms and prestige are the strongest determining factors in loanword adoption among French-English bilinguals in Ottawa/Hull, Canada. Particularly relevant to English loanwords in U.S. Spanish are the construction and expression of in-group identity through the use of borrowings and code-switches (Montes-Alcalá 2000). Just as code-switching can mark speakers as part of a dual-identity community of bilinguals, the incorporation of English loanwords can identify the speaker as belonging to a community of U.S. Spanish speakers, different from recent immigrants and from monolingual Anglos.

Lexical borrowings can be categorized based on the relationship between the loanword and the receiving language. For example, a word such as “troca” (*pickup truck* (Span. *camioneta*),⁴ based on English “truck,” has no equivalent in monolingual Spanish and therefore is a case of a “pure loanword” (Winford 2003:45). Other examples from the present study would be “marqueta” *market* (Span. *mercado*) and “lonche” *lunch* (Span. *almuerzo*).

Another important category of loanwords is semantic extensions, when an existing word in monolingual varieties of the language acquires a new meaning based on a similar word in the contact language (Escobar and Potowski 2015:131). A clear example in the present study is “aplicación” with the meaning of *job application* (Span. *solicitud*). In monolingual Spanish, *aplicación* is used in the English sense of “an act of putting to use” or “an act of administering or superimposing,”⁵ a meaning shared by English “application.” Spanish *aplicación*, then, is more restricted semantically than its English counterpart. This overlap in semantics, the virtually identical form

in the two languages, and the ubiquity of the term in the U.S. economy result in a false cognate being turned into a true cognate for some speakers of North Carolina Spanish. The extension of monolingual Spanish *atender* from “to attend to X” to the English “to go to and be present” (Span. *asistir*) is another such case. Semantic extensions can also arise without an overlap in definition between the two languages in contact, such as “carpeta” (*carpet*, Span. *alfombra*), which in monolingual Spanish means *folder*, or “yarda” from English *yard*, that is, the green space surrounding a house (Span. *jardín*), which in monolingual Spanish refers to the unit of measurement.

Finally, calques imitating the donor language structure are another common type of loan and are often conceptualized as “translations” from the donor language into the receiving language (Winford 2003). Otheguy (2011:511) demonstrates that many cases that at first appear to be direct translations are actually examples of “conceptual convergence,” where it is not the grammar or morphology of the source language that is translated but, rather, the concept. A prototypical example of conceptual convergence is the case of “te llamo para atrás” *I’ll call you back* (Span. *te vuelvo a llamar*), where the monolingual Spanish conceptualization involves *returning* a call (“volver”), while the English conceptualization is one of calling *back* (“atrás”). Importantly, as Otheguy (2011) makes clear, the grammar of “te llamo para atrás” remains Spanish, with a prepositional phrase headed by “para” rather than the adverbial “back” in the English.

4. Research Questions and Methodology

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

- What is the rate of acceptance/positive attitudes toward integrated loanwords in North Carolina Spanish?
- Does loanword acceptance correlate with linguistic (particular loanword) and social (age, gender, level of education, country of origin, and generation) factors?

Data for this study were collected with a brief survey on Spanish in North Carolina, based in large part on Van Herk, DeDecker, and Thorburn (2014) survey of Newfoundland/Labrador lexical items and adapted to the bilingual context. Again, following Van Herk’s (2008) methodology for large-scale, class-based undergraduate research projects, over 500 surveys were distributed by undergraduate students in the first author’s courses on Spanish in

the United States. Each student was required to collect at least ten surveys, with a minimum of five collected via paper surveys, to avoid a possible technology/age bias in the data. The remaining surveys could be collected online via a Google Forms survey. The survey contained three sections, including language use in North Carolina, pronouns of address, and loanwords, along with a short biographical questionnaire. Only the loanword section is addressed here. Ten loanwords were chosen for the survey, based on both popular and academic accounts of U.S. Spanish (see table 15.1). Closely following Van Herk, DeDecker, and Thorburn (2014), participants were asked to indicate whether they say a particular loanword and the frequency with which they heard the loanword in North Carolina on a five-point scale, regardless of whether or not they say the word themselves. Finally, participants were asked to indicate who uses the word and, where possible, in what context.

Surveys of this type can lead to misinterpretations, as participants may answer what they think is correct rather than what they actually say. These results are not meant to supplant conversational analysis but instead are taken as a participant's acceptance of or openness to that loanword. All results are interpreted in that light.

Statistical analysis was carried out with Goldvarb Lion (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, and Smith 2012). Goldvarb was chosen primarily for the slash (/) function that permits data to be excluded from one factor group while still being included in the remaining factor groups (Tagliamonte 2006:180–81). This function is particularly valuable with survey data, where participants may not always completely fill out the survey. For example, if a participant left the age question blank but filled out the entire rest of the survey, the completed portion of the survey could still be analyzed, with that survey excluded only from the participant age factor analysis. The binary dependent variable was whether participants stated that they say a loanword (yes/no). A yes answer was taken to mean more acceptance of and positive attitudes toward a loanword. Independent variables were the individual loanwords, the country of origin of the participant (or participant's family) and participant age (18–30, 31–49, 50+), gender, education level (elementary, middle, high school, university), generation (heritage born in the United States, immigrant), and length of residence in the United States (for immigrants only). After excluding surveys with participants that were not native/heritage speakers of Spanish or that lived outside of North Carolina, 495 surveys were included in the final analysis, for a total of more than 4,600 individual tokens.

TABLE 15.1. Results of Goldvarb analysis

Factor	Category	Factor weight	Percentage	n
Loanword	Aplicación	0.84	77	466
	Parquear	0.78	70	468
	Lonche	0.57	50	467
	Troca	0.56	49	464
	Carpeta	0.54	48	467
	Yarda	0.51	45	464
	Atender	0.47	42	467
	Te llamo para atrás	0.45	40	460
	Wáchale	0.18	17	464
	Marqueta	0.14	13	460
	Region	Mexico	0.67	59
Central America		0.63	51	570
Caribbean		0.54	43	477
N. South America		0.39	27	1,214
Southern Cone		0.28	20	158
Age (years)	Younger (18–30)	0.59	50	2,380
	Middle (30–49)	0.54	42	1,652
	Older (50+)	0.37	26	411
Education	Elementary	0.68	69	150
	Middle	0.54	60	327
	High	0.43	54	907
	University	0.37	40	3,113
Generation	Heritage	0.57	54	1,455
	Immigrant	0.43	41	3,065
Gender	Men	0.54	50	1,943
	Women	0.47	42	2,604
Length of U.S. residence ^a	10+ years	0.55	41	1,754
	6–10 years	0.54	40	540
	0–5 years	0.41	28	328

Input, 0.48; log likelihood, -2538.857; total χ^2 , 1996.2761; χ^2 /cell, 1.0963; $p = 0.000$.

^aLength of U.S. residence was run as a separate model with immigrant speakers only.

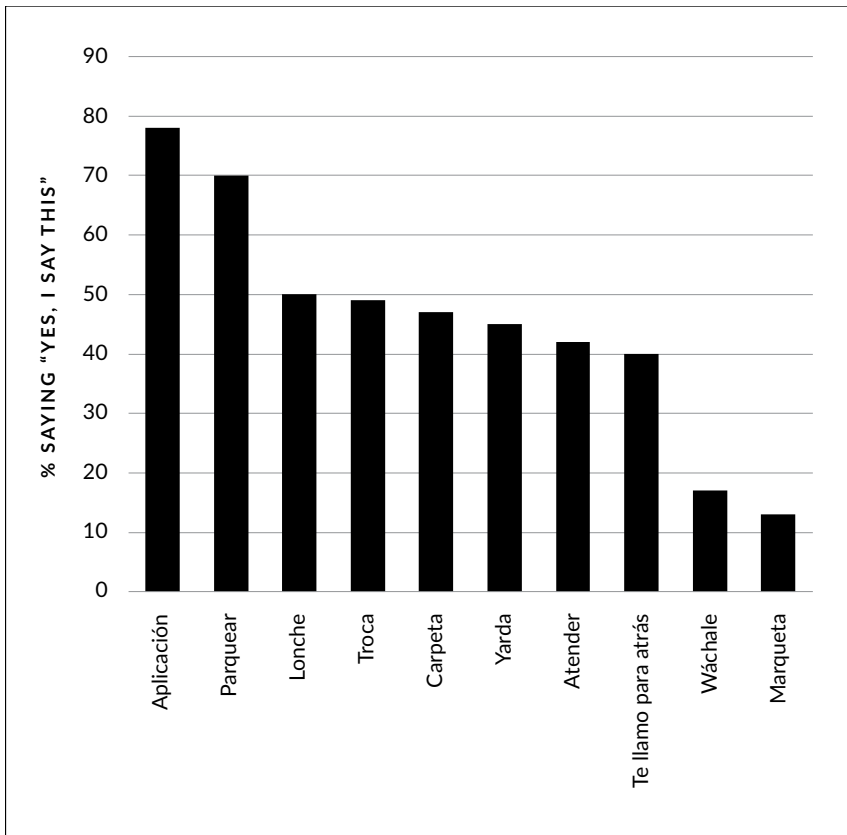


FIGURE 15.1. Percent responding “Yes, I say this” for each loanword

5. Results

Results of the Goldvarb analysis for the loanword data are shown in table 15.1, ranked by order of selection in the step-up/down analysis. A factor weight over 0.5 favors “Yes, I say this” on the survey. The strongest factor is the loanwords themselves, which are grouped into three general levels of acceptance, as shown in figure 15.1.

The top two loanwords, “aplicación” (*job application*) and “parquear” (*to park*), were accepted by a majority of participants, at 77 percent and 70 percent “yes,” respectively. As noted previously, “aplicación” is an example of a semantic extension, and the existence of a partial cognate in Spanish, facilitated by the heavy Romance influence in English vocabulary (Peñalosa

1980:57), likely plays an important role in the diffusion of the word into North Carolina Spanish. “Parquear” is a term that not only exists in North Carolina Spanish but also is widely used in many parts of the Spanish-speaking world in a variety of forms (e.g., “parqueo” *parking lot*), in competition with Spanish “estacionar.” The result of the widespread distribution of this and related words in many Spanish-speaking countries is that many speakers may not even consider “parquear” to be an English loanword.

The next six loanwords all hover between 40 percent and 50 percent acceptance. These include loanwords that may be most often related to certain jobs (landscaping, construction): “troca,” “carpeta,” “yarda,” and “lonche.” The other two words in this group represent different cases: “Atender” at present does not enjoy the same level of acceptance as “aplicación” but, as we discuss below, is on the rise; “te llamo para atrás” is accepted at 40 percent.

The final two words, “wáchale” and “marqueta,” are rejected by a large majority of the participants—they admit neither to saying them or to hearing them on a regular basis. “Wáchale” (*watch out; be careful; Span. ten cuidado*) is a hybrid form, composed of the English root *wa(t)ch*, the Spanish second-person singular imperative verbal ending *-a*, and the intensifier *-le*, primarily found in Mexican Spanish (e.g., “ándale” *come on; let’s go; OK*) (Torres Cacoullous 2002). The least accepted form on the survey is “marqueta.” Some participants indicated that “marqueta” is a common term in other parts of the United States (specifically California) but that it is not widely used in North Carolina Spanish.

Region of origin was the second highest ranked factor group, with Mexican and Central American participants, and to a lesser extent Caribbean speakers, reporting more use of English loanwords.⁶ This result corresponds in large part to the stereotypes, expressed by participants in the study, that many of the most obvious English-origin loanwords are primarily used by Mexican immigrants.

The acceptance of English loans in Spanish is increasing with younger age, as older speakers reported substantially lower rates of loanword use (figure 15.2). At the same time, participants with less than a high school education statistically favored higher loanword rates across age groups (figure 15.2). Lower levels of education had a constant effect across age groups (57–63 percent acceptance), while those with more education showed a steady increase from older to younger speakers (older, 19 percent; middle, 43 percent; younger, 53 percent), and younger speakers with more education converged with lesser-educated speakers of all ages in their levels of loanword acceptance.

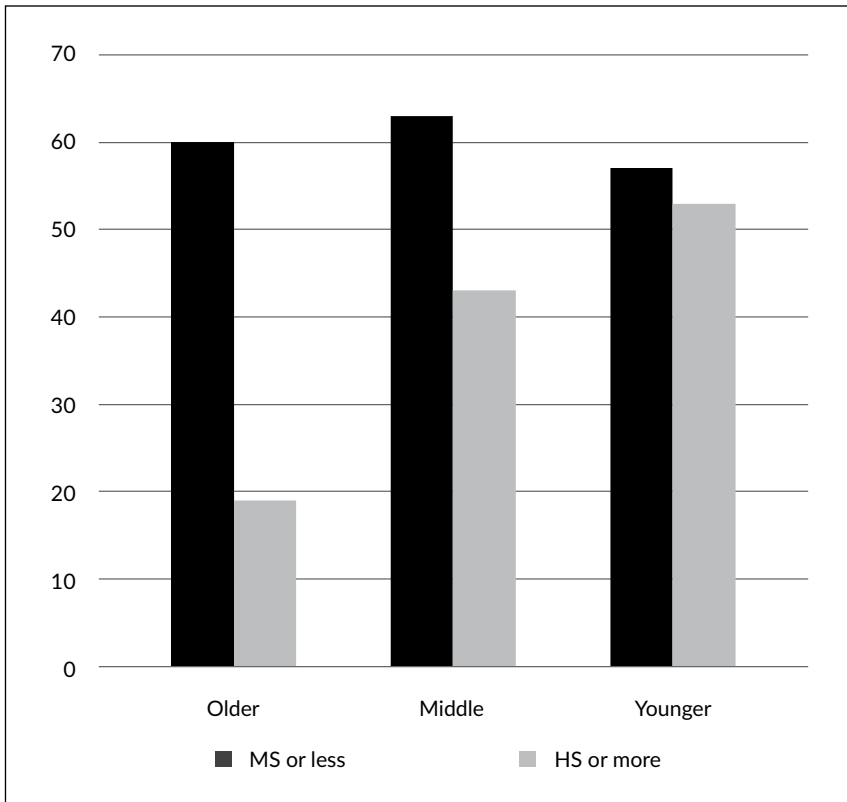


FIGURE 15.2. Loanword acceptance by age and education level

Not surprisingly, U.S.-born heritage speakers also reported more loanword use than did immigrants. With respect to immigrants, more time in the United States significantly conditioned more loanword use. Finally, men reported significantly higher rates of English loanwords, a tendency that is true for all of the loanwords studied here.

A comparison of each loanword across age groups allows us to see whether a word is increasing in use, decreasing in use, or remaining stable across generations (figure 15.3). All loanwords except “wáchale” and “marqueta” showed an increase in reported use across age groups, and younger speakers were leaders in the adoption of English-origin loanwords into North Carolina Spanish. Of note are the two clear examples of semantic extensions in the data, “aplicación” and “atender.” Reported use of “aplicación” was level across the two younger groups, with a marked increase from the oldest

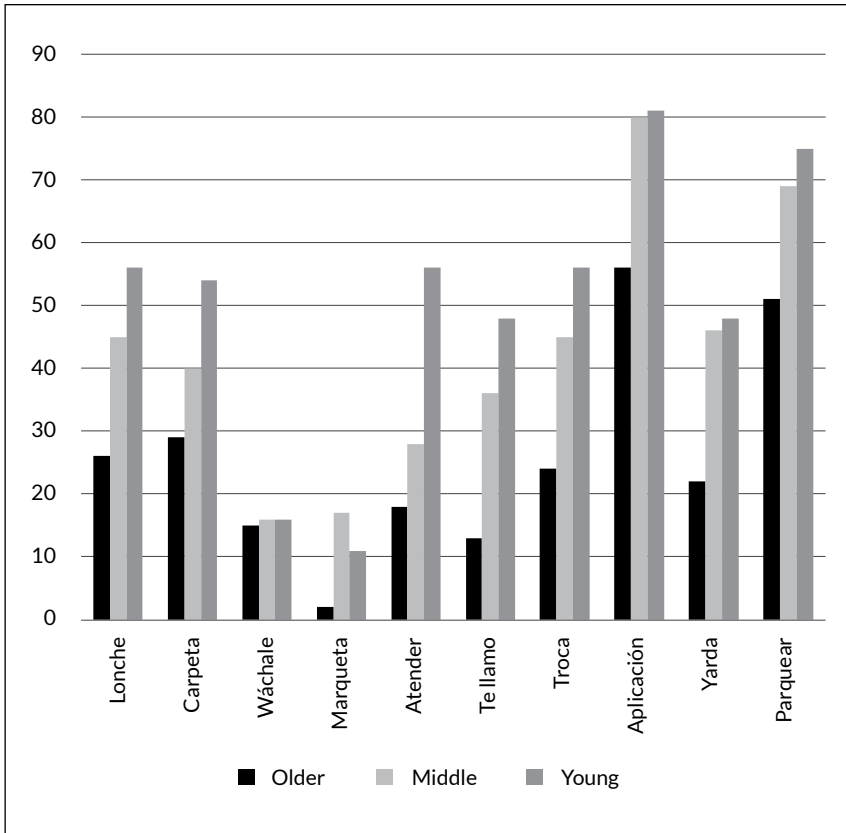


FIGURE 15.3. Comparison of age groups across loanwords

speakers. This leveling off is indicative of the fact that “aplicación” is essentially the only term used for *job application* by a large number of subgroups in North Carolina: reported use ranges from 75 percent to 93 percent based on education level, and from 62 percent to 82 percent based on region of origin. “Atender” showed the same increase in use across age groups but lagged a generation or more behind “aplicación,” although it is quickly gaining acceptance among heritage speakers. In fact, the increase from oldest to youngest across generations for “atender” is much greater (38 percent) than for “aplicación” (25 percent). This suggests possible different origins for these two semantic extensions in North Carolina Spanish. “Atender” is a new form that has been extended by speakers in North Carolina, through analogy with the English definition. “Aplicación,” on the other hand, appears to have

existed in the monolingual Spanish lects of at least some immigrants prior to contact with English.

The two exceptions to the increase across age groups are the same loanwords that were widely rejected by a majority of speakers (figure 15.1 and table 15.1). “Marqueta” evinces a sharp jump in reported use among the middle-aged group, followed by a sharp drop among the youngest speakers (figure 15.3). “Wáchale,” on the other hand, is virtually unchanged across age groups, neither increasing nor decreasing in North Carolina Spanish. Instead, “wáchale” is indicative of lower education level (50 percent for middle school or less vs. 19 percent for high school or more), men (26 percent vs. 9 percent for women), of Mexican origin (31 percent vs. 7 percent average for other regions). There is no difference of generation (17 percent for both immigrant and heritage speakers).

Comments made by participants about who used loanwords and in what contexts provide additional insight. Due to space limitations, we focus the discussion on comments made about the most frequently accepted word in our survey, “aplicación,” compared with one of the least accepted words, “wáchale.” There were a total of 222 comments for “aplicación,” and 173 for “wáchale.”

For “aplicación,” 93 percent of the comments can be considered positive or neutral, an evaluation that agrees with the overall results for acceptance of this term in table 15.1. Only 8 percent of these comments refer to a speaker’s country of origin. Of these, by far the most common answer (84 percent) states that “aplicación” is used by people from all Hispanic countries.

For “aplicación” most of the sixteen negative comments were self-critical, with participants stating that they say “aplicación,” even though the “correct” term is *solicitud*. The overwhelming acceptance of “aplicación” in the data can be summed up by the following comment from the survey on why “aplicación” is used: *¿Porque es la palabra que debe de ser usada?* (Because it is the word that should be used?).

Participants’ responses for “wáchale” show a different pattern: 34 percent of the total comments are unequivocally negative. Common negative comments stated that “wáchale” is used by “gente naca” (roughly equivalent to “redneck” or “hillbilly” in English), gang members, or lower social classes. Likewise, 51 percent of those that reported hearing “wáchale” “often” or “all the time” denied ever saying the word themselves (compared with 17 percent for “aplicación”). Several participants also indicated that “wáchale” is used in a joking or ironic fashion, as an exaggerated form of Spanglish. Interestingly, several participants explicitly named comedian George Lopez as a

frequent user of “wáchale,” again suggesting that for some speakers this term may be employed as an exaggerated marker of Mexican American identity. In fact, the majority of the remaining comments were neutral, rather than explicitly positive, and named particular nationalities. Of these, 71 percent identified “wáchale” as a Mexican term, a not surprising result given the Mexican-dialect morphology of the verbal ending *-le*. So, while “wáchale” may enjoy some currency among subgroups of Mexicans in North Carolina, most of the speakers surveyed rejected this form, because of both its obvious hybrid nature (one participant called it “tremendo Spanglish”) and the word’s connection to lower-class speakers.

6. Discussion

This study, while relatively small in scope, provides important details about how integrated loanwords are adopted and extended by immigrant and heritage speakers in a newly forming contact situation in North Carolina. Previous research (see Winford 2003) has indicated that loanword adoption is governed primarily by extralinguistic factors, such as the need to express new cultural concepts (as in the case of “lonche” here) or to show in-group identity. This certainly seems to be the case in North Carolina Spanish; all of the social factors analyzed were significant predictors of loanword acceptance.

Many popular accounts of U.S. Spanish suggest that loanwords are adopted wholesale, and even some academic studies do not distinguish between common and uncommon loanwords. These accounts put neologisms like “wáchale” on the same footing as semantic extensions like “aplicación,” which leads some nonscholarly authors to assume that lexical borrowing is a first step toward a breakdown in cross-dialectal communication or language loss (see the discussion on Spanglish in Lipski 2008). Our survey results indicate, however, that speakers are particular about the loanwords that they adopt, and the most “radical” examples are not always widely used or viewed favorably.

Studies on language contact indicate that an increased use of loanwords can be caused by cognitive factors related to bilingualism. Subconsciously, bilingual speakers may employ loanwords as one aspect of “strategies aimed at lightening the cognitive load of having to remember and use two different linguistic systems,” which can include the simplification of “lexical oppositions” (Silva-Corvalán 1994:6). Particularly with semantic extensions, North Carolina Spanish speakers are often using one form rather than two when speaking in both languages, simplifying their mental lexicon(s), thereby

lessening the semantic distance between the English and Spanish equivalents. Silva-Corvalán (1994:135), referring to morphosyntax, notes that the permeability to cross-linguistic influence is a function of the “existence of superficially . . . parallel structures in the languages in contact.” The present results suggest that parallelism may also be an important factor in lexical borrowing and may help explain why “aplicación” is widely accepted while “wáchale” is not. “Wáchale,” clearly a hybrid form, is rejected by most speakers, receives primarily negative evaluations regarding who uses it, and shows no change in acceptance across time. A comparison of these two forms, representing the two extremes of acceptance on the survey, clearly indicates that, despite popular blanket statements about Spanglish words in U.S. Spanish, not all loanwords are equal in the eyes of the speakers that actually use them (see Zentella 1990).

On a more conscious level, loanwords, as one salient aspect of U.S. Spanish, can be employed by speakers as a marker of in-group identity (see Peñalosa 1980). Employing a domain-specific term, such as “carpeta” or “yarda,” can mark speakers as belonging to the community of more established (and more integrated) Spanish speakers in the new bilingual context, distinguishing them from recent immigrants. At the same time, we argue that the use of integrated loanwords is a strategy for maintaining Spanish. As integrated loans, the words from our survey are best thought of as Spanish words of English origin. Loanwords may be explicitly used to avoid a switch to English. If speakers say “lonche” or “carpeta” instead of *lunch* or *carpet*, a switch to English is avoided — they maintain Spanish in the utterance but employ the term that conveys the cultural concept or expression from the dominant language. We argue that the competition between these lexical variants is rarely between “standard” Spanish “almuerzo” or “alfombra” and the loanword “lonche” or “carpeta”; rather, for many bilingual speakers the choice is between either the integrated loanword or the English word (*lunch* or *carpet*). Instead of hastening the shift to English, the use of loanwords can actually reinforce (a bilingual variety of) Spanish.

In cases of Spanish dialect contact in the United States, loanwords can also provide a neutral term that does not favor one particular dialect (Zentella 1990:1101). For example, “lunch” is generally *comida* in Mexico but *almuerzo* in many other countries. “Lonche” both avoids confusion across dialects and captures the cultural concept of a “lunch break” in the United States. Importantly, as Peñalosa (1980:111) notes, loanwords present “no problem in intracommunity communication” even if misunderstandings could arise with speakers from outside the community. Silva-Corvalán (1994:186), however,

downplays the possibilities for cross-dialect misunderstanding, which is so often cited in attacks on “Spanglish” and U.S. Spanish, observing that “the same inferential processes allow speakers of, for instance, Castilian and Chilean Spanish to understand one another even though their lexicons do not exactly correspond.” Terms that may cause more difficulty, such as “wáchale,” are restricted to a particular, small subgroup of North Carolina Hispanics and are not widely employed by most speakers.

7. Conclusions

The present results clearly indicate that, to paraphrase the well-known dictum, every loanword has its own history. Participants’ opinions about a particular loanword varied based on their own backgrounds, as well as the (perceived) backgrounds of speakers that use it, reinforcing the importance of social factors in the adoption of a loanword into North Carolina/U.S. Spanish.

If the level of loanword adoption is indicative of the level of a speaker’s acculturation into U.S. norms (Beltramo 1972), this study also demonstrates how younger speakers show more integration overall while at the same time selectively choosing to adopt or ignore a loanword based on its origin (extension vs. neologism), its domains of use, and the groups with which the word is associated. We have also demonstrated how loanwords diffuse through the community, as older speakers are stratified by education level, while younger speakers are converging toward more positive attitudes toward loanwords, regardless of level of education.

Methodologically, this study provides another example of the type of substantive, community-based research that can be carried out by undergraduates. One of the primary benefits of in-class projects of this sort, as demonstrated by Van Herk (2008), is that undergraduates get to do real linguistic research in a way that is accessible and manageable. As in Van Herk’s (2008) study, the students that participated in this project (including the three co-authors) mentioned on their evaluations the real research component as an exciting part of the course.

In closing, linguistic studies of the newly forming contact varieties of both English and Spanish in the Southeast can shed light on how bilingual speakers accommodate to the dominant language and culture around them, and how loanword adoption is a multifaceted process governed by both linguistic and social factors.

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Notes

1. We agree with Otheguy and Stern (2010) that “Spanglish” is not an accurate or appropriate term to describe features of Spanish in the United States. It is still the most common term, however, that speakers use to refer to their language and is used in that way in the present study.

2. We are indebted to Gerard Van Herk for generously sharing his survey materials and methods with us and encouraging us to adapt them to the study of Spanish in North Carolina.

3. Unless otherwise noted, all U.S. Census data come from www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs (accessed April 12, 2017).

4. Following Silva-Corvalán (1994), we use “Span.” to refer to monolingual or “standard” varieties of the language.

5. All English definitions are from the Merriam-Webster online dictionary at www.merriam-webster.com (accessed July 22, 2015).

6. Participants from Spain and of unspecified origin were excluded from the region factor group with the “/” function in Goldvarb, due to low token counts or overlap with generation. The few Spaniards that completed the survey showed the lowest rates of acceptance of English loanwords (15 percent). Both of these groups were included in the remaining factor groups.

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Phillip M. Carter and Andrew Lynch

On the Status of Miami as a Southern City

Defining Language and Region through Demography and Social History

1. Introduction: Defining “the South” as a Linguistic Region

In terms of sociolinguistic perception, no region of English-speaking North America is more salient than the U.S. South. Studies of perceptual dialectology (Preston 1989; Niedzielski and Preston 2003) have repeatedly shown that (a) U.S. listeners are good at identifying southern speech when they hear it, (b) participants taking part in map tasks are most likely to identify the South over other geographic regions (Lance 1999; Fought 2002; Hartley 2005), and (c) listeners exhibit strong and consistent language attitudes toward southern speech. Findings from the body of work investigating perceptions of language varieties in the South have led Preston (1997) to dub the region a “touchstone” for dialect perception in the U.S. and to write that “southern speech is still the most distinctive variety in the United States” (Preston 2014:324). In terms of linguistic structure, there is no shortage of work by sociolinguists and dialectologists documenting the unique grammatical, phonological, and lexical features that constitute the South’s many language varieties (for overviews, see Thomas 2004; Wolfram 2004; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2005). But although the South is widely perceived by nonlinguists as a distinctive linguistic region, and although linguists are generally in agreement about the sociolinguistic patterning of varieties of

English in the South, it turns out that knowing where “the South” starts and stops in geographic space is a rather complicated question. This is true in terms of both production (i.e., where Southern English is actually spoken) and perception (i.e., where people believe it is spoken).

In this chapter, we examine to what extent Miami, the geographically southernmost large city in the United States, might be considered as part of the South in sociolinguistic terms. On the one hand, metropolitan Miami is located in the southern state of Florida, which dialectologists as recent as Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) have characterized as belonging to the South on account of the presence of Southern English dialect features in the speech of Anglo whites. On the other hand, Miami is often popularly referred to as “the capital of Latin America” since *Time* magazine dubbed it such in 1993. Around the same time, scholars — in acknowledgment of the tremendous influence of Cuban refugees on the cultural landscape of South Florida — began to refer to Miami as “the capital of the Caribbean” (Grenier and Stepick 1992; Portes and Stepick 1993; Boswell 1994). While sociologists (Marrow 2011) and sociolinguists (Schecter and Bayley 2002; Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello 2004; Carter 2013, 2014) have begun to pay attention to the ways in which the South is being reshaped in linguistic and cultural terms by Spanish-speaking immigrants from Mexico and Central America, the sociolinguistic situation of Miami is substantially different than that observed in the parts of the South where that body of work is focused. This includes southern states such as North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia, which have experienced unprecedented growth in their Hispanic/Latino populations during the 1990s and 2000s, and the southern state of Texas, whose history is tied intimately to Mexico and whose Mexican American population is very long-standing. Compared to cities located in these southern states, Miami’s Hispanic/Latino population differs in three important ways. First, Latinos in Miami are not a numerical minority, as they are in all major cities throughout the South, except in San Antonio, where they constitute a slight numerical majority. Second, whereas Mexicans constitute the largest national-origin group in Latina/o communities throughout the South, Miami is much more diverse and characteristically more Caribbean in terms of national-origin groups. Third, U.S. Census data on annual household income and home language use show that Spanish is spoken not only in working-class neighborhoods but also in the middle-class and most highly affluent neighborhoods of Miami-Dade County (Carter and Lynch 2015). This is in contrast to Latino/a communities throughout the South, where Spanish is not a language of affluence.

Given that little sociolinguistic research has been conducted on English in Miami, we pursue our questions about Miami's place in the South by not only turning to the published literature on English in South Florida but also reviewing Miami's unique twentieth-century history. In section 2, we track the remarkable demographic changes that impacted Miami during the second half of the century, paying particular attention to the historical events, beginning with the Cuban Revolution of 1959, that brought forth these changes. We then briefly examine Miami history before the changes brought about by the Cuban Revolution in 1959, arguing that the conditions for linguistic diversity were already in place well before the arrival of Cubans en masse. In section 3, we describe the effects of twentieth-century sociodemographic change on the varieties of English spoken in Miami. We overview work from linguistic atlas projects that include the speech of Anglo whites in Miami, as well as work in progress on the English of Miami's diverse Latino populations. In section 4, we describe the sociolinguistic situation of Spanish in Miami, highlighting dialect diversity, dialect leveling, and the putative influence of English due to sustained contact. In the concluding section 5, we offer suggestions regarding how to conceive of Miami as a sociolinguistic site that is situated in the geographic South but is, at the same time, linguistically and culturally very distinctive.

2. Miami before and after the Cuban Revolution

Miami is now the United States' largest Latino-majority metropolitan area. At the time of the last U.S. Census (2010), 64.5 percent of residents of Miami-Dade County identified as "Hispanic or Latino." This figure reaches 70 percent in the city of Miami proper, and even higher in Miami-Dade municipalities such as Doral (79.5 percent) and Hialeah (94.7 percent). Brown and López (2013) reported that the only other major U.S. metropolitan area with a Hispanic/Latino population currently over 50 percent is San Antonio. These figures in Miami reflect patterns of (im)migration beginning during the second half of the twentieth century that owe principally to political crises in Latin America, which we briefly review here.

The first such event was the Cuban Revolution of 1959. When Fidel Castro defeated the government of Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban aristocracy — mostly racially white descendants of Spaniards and other European groups — feared the loss of privilege under Castro's communist plan for the island (Osorio 2013) and began to leave in exodus in 1960. In 1961, the U.S. federal government established the Cuban Refugee Program, which processed some

1,500–2,000 Cuban exiles per week at the now iconic Freedom Tower in downtown Miami, sometimes popularly referred to as the “Ellis Island” of Cuban immigration. Although the refugee program did not settle all exiles in South Florida, research shows that many who were sent elsewhere later returned to Miami (Boswell and Curtis 1984). These early immigrants — mostly wealthy, mostly white — constitute a group sometimes thought of as the “Golden Exiles” (Portes 1969). They were the first of what would be four culturally significant waves of Cuban immigration to Miami following the Castro takeover. Each of these waves, which have been described extensively by sociologists (Stepick et al. 2003; Osorio 2013), brought Cubans who differed in socioeconomic class, level of education, and ethnicity. In the 1960s and 1970s, the U.S. federal government chartered flights to bring the relatives of early exiles to Miami from Cuba. This group, known as “freedom flyers,” were largely middle class, though less affluent than their first-wave relatives. The freedom flight program came to an end by 1980, but by that time two decades had passed since the first wave of Cuban immigration had begun and Miami had secured its image as the place to go for Cubans eager to leave the island. The third wave of immigration began in April 1980, when the Castro government announced that anyone who wanted to leave the island could do so. A flotilla of boats carrying Cuban exiles left for Miami immediately; the influx to South Florida continued until a United States–Cuba accord was reached six months later. By then, the more than 125,000 Cubans who had arrived in Miami came to be known as *marielitos*, so named for Mariel Harbor, where the flotilla departed. Excepting the Mariel exodus, Cuban law prohibited Cuban nationals from leaving the island without government permission. Nevertheless, thousands of people left or attempted to leave the island by means of small boats or homemade rafts. Though this phenomenon began as early as the end of the Cuban Revolution, it reached crisis levels in July of 1994, when as many as 500 people reached the shores of Miami on a daily basis. The massive arrival of *balseros* (rafters), named for their means of conveyance via *balsas* (makeshift rafts), abated in 1995, but steady immigration from Cuba has continued through the present day; between 1990 and 2013, more than 500,000 Cuban nationals immigrated to the United States (López and Krogstad 2014).

The critical point for our purposes is not merely that Cuban exiles came to Miami in remarkable numbers in a short period of time but also that, in doing so, they helped lay the groundwork for Miami’s ongoing transformation into a pan-Latino U.S. city with deep cultural and economic ties to Latin America. First, early Cuban immigrants forged Miami’s vital economic

relationship to the Spanish-speaking world. Stepick and Stepick (2009:79) noted that Cuban immigrants — aided by social policies designed to support them — helped shift “Miami’s economic focus from northern tourists to southern trade.” Second, the Cuban presence shaped Miami as a city friendly to Spanish speakers, including the establishment of highly successful bilingual education programs in the 1960s and 1970s and a Spanish-speaking Chamber of Commerce. Thus, when Nicaraguans began fleeing their country in the early 1980s following a socialist takeover by the Sandinista regime in 1979, Miami was firmly established as the ideal go-to location for Latin American exiles fleeing radical, left-wing political revolutions (Portes and Stepick 1993). A second wave of Nicaraguans left en masse after war erupted between the Sandinistas and the Contras, making Nicaraguans the second largest national-origin group in Miami during the 1980s.

Although as a group Nicaraguans experienced less structural support and more discrimination than did Cubans upon arriving in Miami (Stepick and Stepick 2009:82), their presence in large numbers nudged Miami from being a Cuban city to a pan-Latino one. Thus, various conflicts in Colombia during the 1990s and 2000s drove a surge in immigration from Colombia to Miami, making Colombians the second largest national-origin group in Miami-Dade County today (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Political conflicts from the 1980s through the 2010s throughout Latin America have prompted new situations of exile to Miami, further diversifying the national-origin makeup of Miami’s Latina/o population. Of the ten largest national-origin Latino groups in the United States, Miami-Dade County is home to the largest concentrations of four of them: Cubans, Colombians, Hondurans, and Peruvians (Motel and Patten 2012). Today, all national-origin groups from the Spanish-speaking world are represented in Miami’s diverse Latino-majority population, including large contingents of Argentines, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Puerto Ricans, and Venezuelans.

Contemplating the makeup of Miami since its inception, one might argue that fluidity and transience are the city’s hallmark social characteristics. Nijman (2011:9) remarked that “what is interesting about Miami’s beginnings is not just that it happened so late, but that so many key players were established outsiders who came and went, without planting any roots.” Indeed, those credited with founding and developing the city from its incorporation in 1896 through the great land boom of the 1920s were from northern states: Julia Tuttle, considered the “mother of Miami,” moved to South Florida from Cleveland, Ohio, at the age of fifty-one; her friend Henry Flagler, whose railroad extension southward from West Palm Beach to the Miami River

brought life to the fledgling town, hailed from New York; John Collins and Carl Fisher, who made Miami Beach the “billion dollar sandbar,” moved to South Florida as wealthy older businessmen from New Jersey and Indiana, respectively (Redford 1970); George Merrick, architectural visionary and real estate entrepreneur who oversaw the planning and construction of Coral Gables, moved to South Florida from Massachusetts with his father at the age of twelve. During the great land boom of the 1920s, which was subsequently offset by the Great Hurricane of 1926 and the ensuing Crash of Wall Street, Miami came to be known as the Magic City because it seemed to spring nearly overnight from the swampland of the Everglades as if by magic. The county’s population grew from approximately 250 people in 1880 to about 5,000 by the turn of the century; the 1920 population of just under 43,000 swelled to some 143,000 by 1930 (Nijman 2011). The growth was largely attributable to transplants from northern states.

In 1910, blacks constituted more than 40 percent of Miami’s resident population; half of them were of Bahamian origin (Nijman 2011:16). The Bahamian immigrants who settled western Coconut Grove during the 1880s maintained close ties with the islands. Unlike in the “historical” South, then, Miami’s black population stemmed not from plantation economy social conditions but, rather, from migration of formerly enslaved populations to South Florida well after the abolition of slavery and from immigration from the Bahamas and, subsequently, other Caribbean nations. Much like in the historical South, however, segregation and racism were firmly entrenched in the social and physical structures of the growing city, and the Ku Klux Klan maintained a highly active following that included local political leaders and city police officers (Moore Parks and Bush 1996:57). Miami Beach’s growing Jewish population also faced blatant discrimination in the early years. By the 1940s, Miami would become a relocation and tourist destination for northern Jews, particularly from New York and the urban Northeast; Dade County’s Jewish population grew from just over 8,000 in 1940 to nearly 55,000 in 1950 (Nijman 2011:36). Nijman (2011:30) noted that “Miami’s elite was an exclusive WASP [i.e., Northern transplant] community. Southern racists dominated much of the police force, and anti-Semitic northerners kept Jews from buying or registering at many hotels.” Nijman also pointed out that Miami’s elite viewed the city “as a business opportunity rather than a place to live, and they usually held on to homes elsewhere” (30).

In sum, since its inception, Miami has been a racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse city. It has always been largely a city of migration, human flows, and highly fluid capital. The “local” or permanent resident population

has always been a relative minority in demographic terms, and the only stable or continuous industries during the twentieth century were real estate, construction, and tourism. In terms of the cultural imaginary, the city remained closely tied to the Spanish-speaking countries immediately to its south and bound up in tropical paradise tourist scenarios for Americans to the north. Clearly, in its social and cultural dimensions, Miami bears little resemblance to cities in the historical South, such as Jacksonville, Birmingham, Atlanta, Charleston, Charlotte, and Raleigh. We turn now to the question of language.

3. English in Miami: Is It Southern?

The demographic changes set forth in the preceding section make clear that during the second half of the twentieth century Miami became a city with a majority Hispanic/Latino population and that this population is highly diverse in national origin. We have not yet commented on the ways in which these demographic changes affected Miami's two largest pre-1959 ethnic groups: Anglo whites and African Americans. We entertain that question in this section on English in Miami, because it is our assertion that the types of English spoken (and not spoken) in Miami today owe to the various demographic changes associated with Miami's Latinization beginning in the 1960s.

Data from the 1960 U.S. Census show that in Anglo whites made up more than 80 percent of the Dade County population. That percentage had dwindled to less than 15 percent by the 2010 U.S. Census. Thus, concomitant with the Latinization of Miami's population was a displacement of the mid-century Anglo white majority. The two major linguistic atlas projects to study the English of Anglo whites in South Florida (Pederson 1988; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006) suggested that this variety can be classified as belonging to the South. In the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (Pederson 1988), three counties of South Florida — Dade, Broward, and Monroe — were grouped into a single dialect region. This classification was made on the basis of lexical and phonetic descriptions of the speech of Anglo white speakers in the region, including eight speakers from Miami. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) noted in their *Atlas of North American English* that the whole of Florida “belongs to a number of marginal regions.” They observed that Floridians avoid the /aɪ/-monophthongization that characterizes the rest of the South but that they do exhibit other phonological features of Southern English, such as the fronting of /o/ and resistance to the low back merger of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/. Miami — and the rest of South Florida — is classified by Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) as

belonging to the “Southeastern Region” partially on the basis of the presence of unmerged /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ in Miami speech. However, Doernberger and Cerny (2008) pointed out that only one informant was included from Miami and that she actually exhibited this merger in certain phonetic contexts.

Whatever the status of the low-back merger may be, it is clear that there is very little Southern English among Anglo whites in Miami today. This is true not only because there are so few Anglos in the city to begin with but also because many Anglo white families have migrated from other parts of the country, especially the Northeast and the Midwest. The southern whites who spoke the variety of Southern English described by Pederson (1988) no longer appear to be in Miami in appreciable numbers. Southern English features are nevertheless likely to be observable in the speech of African American speech communities with historical ties to the broader South. This remains an empirical question for future research, however, since no systematic study of African American English has ever been conducted in Miami (Carter and Lynch 2015:377).

The gradual disappearance of Southern English as an effect of Miami’s dwindling Anglo white population also means that immigrant children are not being exposed to southern dialect features in the speech of teachers and peers. English among children born in Miami to Latina/o immigrants appears to have taken its own form during the last half-century, with evidence of Spanish substrate influence on the lexicon and phonology. Systematic substrate influence on the speech of Miami-born Latinos appears to date as far back as the 1970s, when the participants in MacDonald’s (1985, 1988) studies of English in Little Havana were born. MacDonald observed that the English of Cuban Americans exhibited varying degrees of Spanish phonological influence, which correlated with integration into the local Cuban American community. More recently, Carter, López, and Sims (2014) investigated the speech of twenty-one Miami-born Latino/a college students of various national-origin backgrounds, as well as the speech of five Miami-born Anglo whites. They focused on two phonetic variables shown in previous studies of English in U.S. Latina/o communities to demonstrate Spanish influence: prosodic rhythm and the vowel quality of /æ/ in two phonetic environments, prenasal and non-prenasal. For prosodic rhythm, they found the speech of Latina/o participants to be significantly more syllable timed (i.e., Spanish-like) than that of the non-Latino group. For vowel quality, Latina/o speech was characterized by significantly lower and backer productions of /æ/ than the speech of Anglo whites. Mullen (2014) conducted a study of Spanish-derived calques in the English speech of Cuban immigrants and Miami-born

Cubans. Although loan-translated expressions were prevalent in the speech of both groups, the Miami-born group exhibited a more narrow range of such expressions and a decrease in frequency of their use compared to the immigrant group.

Although Labov (2008) noted that “nonnative” language influences from the immigrant generation disappear in the speech of their children, Sankoff (2002) observed that these influences may become durable dialect features in situations where the immigrant population becomes the local majority. This appears to be the case of English in Miami. We turn now to the situation of Spanish.

4. Spanish in Miami: What Is Its “Place”?

Even before Castro’s government takeover in 1959, Miami was socially and economically linked to Cuba, and Spanish language use was widespread in businesses, restaurants, stores, and hotels that catered to a constant flow of middle- and upper-class tourists and visitors from the island (Pérez 1999). Precisely for this reason, Portes and Stepick (1993:101) affirmed that “when the Cuban middle class did start to exit the island, it went to a social environment made utterly familiar by years of proper travel. . . . Cuba’s exiles did not really move to a foreign land.” From the early 1960s through the 1990s, the process of Cubanization and subsequent Hispanicization that Miami experienced was concomitant with the expansion of Spanish language use in public and private spheres throughout the city and in the realms of political debate and economic development (Boswell 1994). As we have already remarked, the situation of Spanish in South Florida has always been notably different than in the rest of the geographic South and the United States in general, in that its presence is not largely confined to home use, particular neighborhoods, socioeconomic strata, or racialized social groups (Lynch 2000; Carter and Lynch 2015). In this regard, despite an indisputable pattern of cross-generational shift to English dominance among second- and third-generation speakers in Miami, we can affirm that Spanish is indisputably a primary language of the city, second only to English in institutional and official terms.

One could argue that the current prevailing sociolinguistic conditions of Miami merely reflect the ongoing nature of what Miami has always been since its inception: a city of great diversity positioned at the doorstep of the Caribbean and Spanish-speaking Latin America, characterized by continuous flows of physical, symbolic, and economic capital, (im)migration, and sociopsychological transience (see Nijman 2011). In all likelihood, had these

conditions not already been present before the arrival en masse of Spanish speakers during the latter half of the twentieth century, Miami could not have been so readily transformed by the political and economic crises occurring first in Cuba and then in Nicaragua, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, and various other Latin American nations. Simultaneously, the ensuing conditions of late capitalism, the emergent discourse and economic structures of globalization that coalesced during the 1990s (see Duchêne and Heller 2012), and the subsequent boom of Miami's telecommunications and Spanish-speaking service industries all conspired to give Spanish a sociolinguistic (i.e., societal, political, economic, cultural) foothold that was unprecedented not just in South Florida but in the United States in general. In this regard, Miami has been truly unique in its sociolinguistic evolution within the U.S. context.

What Miami has shared to some extent with other major cities of the historical South is the extent to which tertiary-sector economic activity precipitated a postindustrial boom. This has been the case of rapidly growing urban centers such as Atlanta (perhaps the paragon example), Charlotte, Raleigh-Durham, Jacksonville, Nashville, and Birmingham. Despite the collapse of manual labor industry (particularly textile) and waning agricultural production in the South, these urban centers have experienced remarkable growth characterized by upward mobility and concentration of wealth, as well as an economically motivated influx of mostly Mexican-origin Spanish speakers. In these other major southern cities, however, the conditions of social transience, cultural flow, and linguistic diversity have been historically absent; in Miami, they have always been highly prevalent.

The great dialectal diversity of Miami's Spanish-speaking population, as well as the important sociolinguistic differences among its continuously morphing Cuban communities (Lynch 2009a, 2009b; Alfaraz 2014), not only pose compelling questions concerning Spanish-English language contact but also provide an ideal testing ground of sorts regarding processes of variation and change in Spanish (see Silva-Corvalán 1994; Otheguy and Zentella 2012). The first of such questions delve into the extent to which English language use — and dominance among Miami-born bilinguals — affects the structure of Spanish: is there evidence of transfer from English in terms of form and function? Silva-Corvalán (1994) argued that in Los Angeles the influence of English on the Spanish morphosyntactic system of Mexican-origin bilinguals was minimal and only indirect; that is, the processes of variation attested could be attributed not to direct transfer of English language form but, rather, to discursive-pragmatic patterns. On the other hand, Otheguy

and Zentella (2012) concluded that, across three generations in New York, there was indeed a direct influence of English syntax with respect to the expression of subject pronouns in Spanish, which is normatively a pro-drop language. Few studies have attempted to respond to such concerns in South Florida (Carter and Lynch 2015). The second major line of linguistic inquiry has to do with dialect contact in Spanish (particularly in terms of phonology and lexicon) and the ostensible evolution of a characteristically Miami and/or U.S. variety of Spanish. As Lynch (2013) has argued, this latter proposal is difficult to reconcile with two major tenets of traditional sociolinguistic theory: the elusive notion of a Spanish-speaking speech community (see Otheguy and Zentella 2012), in the face of a lack of generational continuity of the Spanish language in the U.S. context.

Briefly stated, the question of whether Spanish might possibly be considered as a language of the U.S. South is merely part and parcel of the more macrolevel ideological debate regarding the reputed existence of a U.S. Spanish and the “place” of varieties of Spanish within a national framework of English-dominant bilingualism and, ultimately, shift to English (near-)monolingualism. In the particular context of Miami, we must affirm that only time can tell if the vitality of bilingualism presently observable in the third generation of adult Cubans and the second generation of adult Nicaraguans and Colombians will remain in successive generations. Should it remain, concomitant with the continued influx of Spanish-dominant first-generation immigrants and the use of Spanish in the economic and cultural life of the city, we may more surely affirm that the language holds a secure place in South Florida on sociolinguistic grounds.

5. Conclusions

The answer to the question, is Miami in the South?, linguistically, depends once again on what we mean by “the South.” If we conceive of the South as a place characterized only by the traditional (and false) Anglo white–African American dichotomy and a place where only the speech varieties of those groups prevail, it is hard to imagine how Miami fits in. We suspect that this is the prevailing view of things, among both Miamians and those from elsewhere. Indeed, the linguistic data available on English in Miami provide no evidence for even traces of Southern English among the largest ethnic group — Latinos — and scant evidence for Southern English features among other groups. As sociolinguists specializing in language in U.S. Latina/o communities and as scholars of Miami, we would like to offer a slightly different

vantage point. First, the two largest Hispanic/Latino cities in the United States — Miami and San Antonio — are located in states that form part of the geographic South. This is not surprising given the southern border with Mexico and the Caribbean. But the populations of these cities also reflect complex linguistic and demographic trajectories that resist oversimplified notions of what the South is, has been, or could be. When we consider the history of Mexican farm workers in North Carolina (Marrow 2011), the *Isleños* of Louisiana's St. Bernard Parish (Lipski 1990), the Mexican history of Texas, the Spanish colonization of Florida, and the intimate nineteenth-century ties of Tampa and Key West to the island of Cuba, we are reminded of the many ways in which Spanish has always been part of the historical South.

The point is finally not to claim that Miami is a southern city in either cultural or linguistic terms but, rather, to note that Miami's Latino nature does not disqualify it as southern either. It is our hope that sociolinguists and scholars of southern language varieties will pay ever closer attention to the role that Spanish speakers and their bilingual offspring play in shaping the language scene in the South, whether or not Miami is ultimately considered a part of it.

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Sociolinguistic Outreach for the New South

Looking Back to Move Ahead

1. Introduction

One of the most infamous events of the civil rights movement happened in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to obey a bus driver's order to change seats. But few people know that her actions and the subsequent reaction were more thought out than spontaneous. Prior to Parks's celebrated deed, she completed a Race Relations course at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee where nonviolent civil disobedience had been discussed as a tactic. Further, E. D. Nixon, president of the NAACP chapter of Montgomery, Alabama, had planned action against segregation for some time before Parks's arrest; they were just waiting for the right moment to act. Parks's arrest provided the impetus to enact Nixon's plan to challenge segregation on the city's public buses. The subsequent success of the resulting carefully planned protests assured Parks's place in American history and ignited the movement that ultimately resulted in ending government-endorsed segregation. The NAACP was ready to take action the moment the opportunity arose.

In a similar vein, we may ask, are linguists ready to exploit significant cultural moments to advance linguistic justice? The Linguistic Society of America (LSA) has created materials to answer people's questions, including the social justice questions that arise in the increasingly diverse rural and city areas of the New South.¹ Certainly, such information will help the cause of sociolinguistic justice in the New South, where lingering effects of past

discrimination and subordination — linguistic and otherwise — continue to affect the lives of established and new minority groups. A fundamental problem in advancing issues related to linguistic social justice is that few people recognize either language as a topic requiring scientific study or linguists as the people who understand and engage in such endeavors. Even fewer people recognize language's relation to social justice. The challenge is for linguists to employ their expertise to engage society, both for their profession and for linguistic social justice.

2. The Broader Context of Outreach

If linguistic social justice is the duty of all linguists, how does such work fit into the traditional university meritocracy of academic productivity? Further, what role might the university itself play in supporting or promoting linguistic social justice? The modern university in the South and elsewhere has changed drastically from its beginnings. The earliest universities served a small population drawn from a narrow economic, ethnic, and religious subset of society. In contrast, spurred by legal, philosophical, and financial rationales, modern universities attempt to serve a more diverse population, especially in terms of ethnicity, geography, and socioeconomic background. Today, modern universities look to expand their customer base, extending their influence as widely as possible. In concert with this approach, one of the critical roles of the university remains its role as a caretaker and an adviser to other social institutions. That role helps to justify universities' financial burden on society and provides the rationale to teach beyond university walls.

Sociolinguists engaged in social justice outreach seek to help the world better understand language, including how language works and how humans use it to create and maintain their societies. As linguists, we want to help people use knowledge about language to better their own and others' lives, be that through improved technologies mediating human-computer interaction or improved education. As such, outreach activities ultimately benefit both constituent and academic groups and should be seen as integral to the symbiotic relationship between universities and their constituencies. In the modern academy, however, scholars' service to societal efforts has not often been rewarded, as it falls outside of the activities universities typically consider when deciding questions of promotion and tenure. With this chapter, I argue for an expanded concept of outreach, with the hope that this broadened definition will foster a better future of engagement for linguists.

Creating a future where linguistics as a discipline is outwardly focused

is critical, as language is one of humanity's most distinguishing traits. Because every human society uses language as an evaluative tool for social standing, there are few topics more entwined with issues of social justice. Unfortunately, linguistics is not typically one of the disciplines recognized as central to this struggle. Fields like education, sociology, political science, and economics embrace research directly related to social justice, but language is a less recognized vehicle for discrimination than are other markers. This lack of recognition is exactly what makes language-related prejudice so critical to study and expose: discrimination resulting from language "ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible. If one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to be common sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain inequalities" (Fairclough 2001:71).

Linguistics straddles both the sciences and the humanities: research funding opportunities are available with either the National Science Foundation or the National Endowment for the Humanities and even occasionally with the National Institutes of Health, suggesting that the linguistic craft is thus valuable in many ways. Yet our current position in society does not reflect the potential benefits linguists could provide; the public continues to rely on "common sense" rather than scientific understandings of language. Further, little institutional funding is set aside for linguistic work. This marginalized status leaves linguistics virtually invisible to the public, which makes it difficult to convince others of the social justice issues intertwined with language variation. With social justice in mind, the improvement of the linguistics position in society is up to the linguists. As Wolfram, Reaser, and Vaughn (2008:2) write: "Sociolinguists can work with community members to ensure that language variation is documented and described in a valid and reliable way; to raise the level of consciousness within and outside the community about the past, current, and future state of the language variation; and to engage representative community agents and agencies in an effort to understand and explicate the role of language in community life." Spreading information widely about how language works should, in theory, help move society in the direction of being more tolerant of language diversity. Therefore, to achieve the social goals we hold as a field, linguists must be ready with outreach materials and strategies to take full advantage of every opportunity. It is doubtful that, as a profession, we are prepared in the ways we should be. If the next Rosa Parks steps boldly onto our scene, are we ready to engage? The following paragraphs outline some ways linguists have responded to language-related moments of cultural significance.

Consider linguists' response to the national discussions about Ebonics in the late 1970s and again in 1996–97. While linguists responded admirably, they were reactive rather than proactive in their efforts. The Ebonics school-board resolution was passed by the Oakland Unified School District on December 18, 1996. By the time linguists responded formally on January 3, 1997, via a resolution of the LSA, media coverage had already spread linguistic misinformation around the world (for more on the media's reporting and linguists' responses, see, e.g., Wolfram 1998). To this day, the public assumes the media's misrepresentations are true, suggesting that linguists missed the moment to promote a scientific understanding of language variation. These were grand, and at the times frustrating, opportunities for public outreach and for organized efforts to change people's minds about how the world works. A more proactive response may have been successful in getting out ahead of the media reporting.

Rapid responses are important. Consider the social scene, especially online, when in July 2014 Weird Al Yankovic promoted "Word Crimes," his music video set to the tune of Robin Thicke's "Blurred Lines." The song is a prescriptivist's jaunt through various language pet peeves: the differentiation between "less" and "fewer," "who" and "whom," and "good" and "well." Weird Al is none too kind to those who commit these "word crimes"; here's one of his insults: "You're a lost cause. Go back to preschool, get out of the gene pool, and try your best to not drool." Linguist Lauren Squires responded quickly to this swelling attention with a guide for linguists detailing how to use the song to foster discussion in college-level classes. As Squires (2014) writes, "While 'grammar nerds' are psyched about Weird Al's new 'Word Crimes' video, many linguists are shaking their heads and feeling a little hopeless about what the public enthusiasm about it represents: a society where largely trivial, largely arbitrary standards of linguistic correctness are heavily privileged, and people feel justified in degrading and attacking those who don't do things the 'correct' way." Squires's Language Log entry garnered 140 comments (some quite lengthy), and the subsequent discussion and teaching materials provide an example of how linguists can use a teachable moment to work collectively and quickly to engage a large audience, in this case students in a wide variety of linguistics classes. In this instance, when the cultural moment arrived, linguists were ready to work with it.

Current parameters of how the academy defines scholarly work for tenure and promotion may encourage reactive rather than proactive approaches, hindering linguistic social justice overall. Revising faculty evaluation processes so that they appropriately reward community outreach can allow

scholars to prioritize this important work. Consider the case of New South public outreach guru Katy Ryan of West Virginia University, who in 2004 founded the Appalachian Prison Book Project (APBP). “[The APBP] is a tax-exempt 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization that sends free books to women and men who are imprisoned in the Appalachian region. The Project sends books to West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Many prisons throughout the South lack adequate libraries, and books can be a real lifeline to people doing time. Real southern progress will require better education for all, including our swollen prison population. Studies have repeatedly shown that recidivism rates go down when people in prison have access to educational programs. APBP considers its work part of this larger social goal.”² This work, though certainly personally rewarding and beneficial for the prisoner-participants’ literacy development and social rehabilitation, has also brought considerable recognition to West Virginia University. This work conducted by Ryan and the APBP volunteers, however, is viewed as service, which would traditionally be just 20 percent of Ryan’s workload at West Virginia University. To make enough time in her workday for the APBP, she negotiated a 30 percent workload for service, which is something other universities may not permit, despite the potential recognition brought to the university. Furthermore, in this example, Ryan is able to meet the university’s research requirement only by producing publications that fall under the still emerging category of “scholarship of teaching and learning,” which not all universities currently recognize for cases of tenure and promotion. To facilitate similar outreach, which is beneficial for constitute populations, universities, and researchers, universities need to provide more support and recognition of service as not only a legitimate part but also a critical part of an academic’s contribution. As Ryan writes on the APBP website: “APBP considers its work part of this larger social goal. We also believe that education is a human right that extends to those who are serving long terms and may not have the chance to leave prison.”³ To provide the time necessary for outreach duties, we need to revise our faculty evaluation processes so that they recognize community outreach as critically aligned with the university’s mission and, subsequently, reward such work appropriately. Until that time, we need to espouse engaged scholarship and entrepreneurial thinking to make our outreach as productive and effective as possible.

For this chapter, the overall goal is to expand the scope of the term “outreach” through a look back at some historical examples and a current set of exemplary programs. Though the current locus for much language outreach is in the U.S. South, which has traditionally been the battleground for other

civil rights initiatives, earlier outreach efforts began largely in regions with less contentious sociocultural and sociolinguistic politics. This retrospective is important because these language scholars accomplished monumental achievements and dedicated themselves to reaching outside their immediate audiences to a wider world. We proceed chronologically, starting with Noah Webster at the nation's founding, moving to Charles Fries after the founding of the LSA, and then to Sterling Leonard and Philip Gove, central figures in the culture wars of the 1960s. Though these scholars were not regionalized Southerners, it is essential to understand their formative role for later applications in a regional context.

3. Historical Precedents

3.1. NOAH WEBSTER

Kendall (2011) has argued that Noah Webster should be on the canonical list of "Founding Fathers," and not just because of his renowned, eponymous dictionary: he was also a major force behind the creation of federal copyright laws, a contributor to the first census, and a close adviser to George Washington.

As a schoolteacher, Webster worked in cramped conditions with too many children, but he was most dismayed with the available teaching materials. At that time, instructors used British readers and spellers. Following the adage that necessity is often the mother of invention, Webster crafted his own three-volume set of teaching materials, designed for the American audience and crafted from American culture. Together, these comprised the *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, consisting of a speller (1783), a grammar (1784), and a reader (1785). Of the three books, the one most closely related to modern concepts of outreach was the speller, originally titled *The First Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language*. In the speller and later in his dictionary, he designed American spellings in contrast to British spellings: *defense* (British *defence*), *color* (British *colour*), *traveler* (British *traveller*), *center* (British *centre*). With its prodigious sales across the newborn country, Webster turned suggested spelling reforms into a source of national pride; though linguistic in nature, this work influenced nearly everyone's language opinions and helped distinguish the English of America from the English of England.

As Webster explained later in his life, he saw publications as his best opportunity to proactively influence the public's views of language: "If any material good is ever to proceed from my attempts to correct certain disorders

and errors in our language, it must be from the influence of my writing on the rising generations.”⁴ These innovative works became the standard for educational materials in the new country because Webster’s influence was broad. Perhaps the best assessment comes from Jefferson Davis before the U.S. Civil War, in September 1858: “Above all other people we are one, and above all books which have united us in the bond of a common language, I place the good-old spelling book of Noah Webster. We have a unity of language which no other people possess and we owe this unity above all to Noah Webster’s Yankee spelling book” (quoted in Kendall 2011:93–94). The speller eventually went through 385 editions and sold more than 100 million copies by the end of the nineteenth century, resulting in an extensive, decades-long outreach effort.

Given the remarkable sales of his works, it is easy to imagine that Webster was purely financially motivated; however, when he began to publish his own works, they were often sold by publishers with no compensation to the author. At the time, any copyright laws were at the state level, so Webster had to travel, including throughout the South, to pursue his entrepreneurial work for patriotic language reform. Eventually, Webster persuaded Congress to enact federal copyright laws. In this role of American language impresario, Noah Webster was also the first to promote a book through touring lectures, where he would rent a hall and advertise to draw crowds (Kendall 2011). Since his work brought him only limited financial dividends, we can conclude that at least part of Webster’s motivation for his wide travels was improving the language knowledge of his fellow Americans. Seen this way, he is the first American to engage in language outreach.

3.2. CHARLES FRIES

Born at the end of the nineteenth century and the neogrammarian heyday, Charles Fries helped transform linguistics in America for the twentieth century. He taught at Bucknell (1911–20) before becoming a professor at Michigan for over three decades (1920–58). He was the editor of the *College Edition of the English Journal* (1929–37) and an early organizer behind the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *Early Modern English Dictionary* (Marckwardt 1968:206). Fries’s zeal for organizing and leading language scholars propelled him to become a founding member of the LSA in 1924 and the president of the National Council of Teachers of English in 1927. Fries advocated that linguists work directly with primary and secondary teachers of English. He wanted the teaching of English to be informed by modern linguistic thought. In that vein, Fries established the English Language Institute

at the University of Michigan in 1941, the first university program dedicated to helping educators teach English to nonnative speakers. The English Language Institute, through its sheer number of students, scholars, and educational materials, propagated the teaching of English around the world (e.g., Germany, Japan, Latin America, and China).

Beyond his pedagogical writings, themselves voluminous, Fries also had numerous other influential publications, including *American English Grammar* (1940), *The Structure of English* (1952), and *Linguistics and Reading* (1963). Through these publications, one of his most important effects was to push the concept of “descriptive linguistics” as a valid way to view language.

In all his outreach, to either English schoolteachers or to English-as-second-language teachers, Fries energetically disseminated enlightened views about the teaching of English. He wanted to help teachers better educate students about language, especially English. He was one of the earliest linguists, starting in the 1920s, to work with educational professionals to improve secondary school English education. It was a top-down effort, but he aimed to radically change how teachers taught English and writing in American classrooms. The changes he proposed had ripple effects as pragmatic concerns of usage infiltrated English classrooms, all the way into the 1960s when modern education was accused, wrongly, of losing all of its standards (Skinner 2012). Fries’s outreach was so foundational and so effective that critics complained (without much effect) about the changes it wrought for decades.

In contrasting reactions to the work of Webster and Fries, the prescriptive approach of Webster received more public praise than the descriptive approach of Fries. This difference underscores the challenge linguists face in fighting the often invisible workings of language discrimination. The challenge is heightened in the New South, where the prescriptive stance remains entrenched as a complement to good manners. In this context, sociolinguistic justice and outreach may appear subversive to some while empowering to others. With continued broad outreach efforts found in the engagement of many southern-based universities such as NC State University, West Virginia University, William & Mary, the University of Georgia, Mississippi, and Coastal Carolina, the older attitudes about prescriptivism are being challenged with scientifically valid understandings of language variation. More students are being trained in sociolinguistics in the South, and outreach programs are being implemented to increase the democratization of knowledge about language diversity in the South.

3.3. STERLING LEONARD

Concurrent with Fries, Sterling Leonard (1888–1931) published several books about English usage, including *Current English Usage*, published by National Council of Teachers of English posthumously in 1932. That particular study broke with traditional expectations of what should be taught in an English classroom. Prior to *Current English Usage*, teaching “grammar” was considered a moral activity designed to instill proper character in students. Extending Fries’s descriptive approach to language, Leonard convened a usage panel and used written surveys to offer quantitative results to guide users on over two hundred questions of usage. Consider the following phrases:

It is me.

It is a healthy climate for children.

Everyone was here, but they all went home early. (Leonard 1932:3, 95)

These expressions were all points of concern for teachers of English in the 1930s, but few today would recognize exactly what the points of contention would have been. Prescriptive rules of the time argued for the following usages: *It is I* (because the grammatical case of the pronoun after *is* was historically nominative); *It is a healthful climate* (in parallel with *bountiful* and *beautiful*); *Everyone was here, but those people went home early* (because *they* could not be used with an indefinite sense and *everyone* was incorrectly presumed to be singular). Leonard’s expert panel offered guidance on these and many other usages. For example, for the first phrase, three linguists rated “It is me” as “illiterate” while twenty-five deemed it acceptable. Respondents from the business world, however, were less tolerant: eighteen condemned the usage while only five approved. Overall, 130 judges approved the usage, while 91 condemned it (Leonard 1932:108). Armed with data about how different groups viewed the usage, language users could make informed language choices. Although there was criticism of *Current English Usage*, linguists largely supported it. As University of Wisconsin professor William Ellery Leonard (1933:57) wrote, “I think the report is a realistic presentation of linguistic facts, as distinct from the stupid traditions and pedantic artificialities in so many of the so-called rules of grammar in the textbooks, and that it cannot but jolt into a realistic confrontation of linguistic facts many a teacher of English, incidentally decreasing the sufferings of the youngsters in some cases and disputes with their less ‘cultured’ parents in others.”

As with modern outreach efforts, there is often an uproar. Wallace Rice (1933:58) wrote: “Edward J. Tobin [superintendent of Cook County, IL schools]

. . . told his teachers to stop marking *it is me* as an error [following Leonard's advice], to quit correcting it in their pupils' speech. If you have ever been near a striking thunderbolt, you have a notion of what happened to the United States soon as the direful news got abroad." The goal for Leonard's quantitative study was to demonstrate the gap between prescriptive norms and conventions of authentic language usage. To do this, he described for English teachers how the language was used and evaluated; as illustrated below, equipping teachers with the knowledge and skills to better describe language usage remains one of the central themes of modern linguistics outreach programs (see, e.g., Reaser and Wolfram 2007; Wheeler and Swords 2010). Given the heightened social-evaluation stakes for southern regional forms by speakers from other regions (Preston 1997), a focus on descriptive conventions would be more likely to neutralize some of the traditional subordination of these forms.

3.4. PHILIP GOVE

Considering some of the similarities between Noah Webster and Philip Gove, their different approaches are striking. In certain ways, Philip Gove can be seen as the intellectual heir to Webster, as Gove took on the role of editor, starting in 1950, of what would become *Merriam Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (1961). Certainly, Gove's role in revising the dictionary had effects on people's perception of English and dictionaries in general, in much the same way that Webster greatly affected the early American intellectual scene. Yet, Gove's goal was to make a modern dictionary for a modern world. To do that, he aimed to follow modern descriptive linguistic ideas about usage; Webster had wanted to establish an American prescriptivism apart from the British tradition. Gove's descriptivist foundation came from linguists, and he asserted the each person's right to language knowledge: "Everyone who knows enough to know he speaks English can assert an inalienable right to correct the speech of his fellow man and to throw stones at his dictionary" (quoted in Morton 1994:153).

The other important difference was *Webster's Third* was created by a large staff, whereas Webster's effort was largely a solitary venture. Gove's cost was \$3,500,000, and the work consumed 757 editor-years. The resulting *Webster's Third* encompassed more than 450,000 entries, but from the previous edition 250,000 were dropped to make room for the 100,000 new ones. Essentially, it was out with the old, in with the new. The result of this tremendous effort, to create a thorough survey of modern usage and not a beacon of English purity, has been seen as the opening shot in the culture wars.

Although *Webster's Third* was well received in England, the reaction in the United States was more confrontational. Dwight Macdonald, social critic and essayist, claimed that Gove had “untuned the string, made a sop of the solid structure of English, and encouraged the language to eat up himself” (quoted in Skinner 2012:282). This last expression borrows a phrase from Shakespeare (*Troilus and Cressida*, act 1, scene 3) about a pride-induced fall and offers a clear pointer to the kind of cultural reference Macdonald was exhorting. *Webster's Second* (1934) had been seen as a prescriptivist touchstone and a defender of tradition in the English language. When Gove's leadership took the revision to an empirical survey (e.g., what language do people actually use?), the resulting *Webster's Third* was seen as lackadaisical. The *New York Times* wrote that *Webster's Third* had “surrendered to the permissive school that has been busily extending its beachhead on English instruction” (quoted in Skinner 2012:15). That beachhead was established by Charles Fries and Sterling Leonard starting in the 1920s. From the public's perspective, Gove's linguistic outreach took place within the most venerable institutions of prescriptive authority, although lexicographers had dealt with shibboleths for years. Gove purposefully placed the production of *Webster's Third* on linguistic foundations, setting out the reasoning of language scholars for all the public to see.

These early linguistic outreach projects involved assessing and describing language norms scientifically for a broad audience, generally with the goal of helping the user make informed language choices. Meanwhile, some popular regional descriptive accounts were produced, including Norman E. Eliason's *Tarheel Talk* (1956), but its effects were local, tapping into regional pride. Linguists did not target public school classrooms and teachers directly until the mid-1960s. The earliest plans for outreach programs comes from Shuy's *Social Dialects and Language Learning* (1965), which fostered not only Walt Wolfram's work but also William Labov's renowned essay “The Logic of Nonstandard English” (1969). These early works formed the foundation upon which modern outreach and engagement work are constructed. Perhaps the clearest statement describing the modern ethos of linguistic engagement come from John Rickford (1999:315): “The fundamental rationale for getting involved in application, advocacy, and empowerment is that we owe it to the people whose data fuel our theories and descriptions; but these are good things to do even if we don't deal directly with native speakers and communities, and enacting them may help us to respond to the interests of our students and to the needs of our field.” From the needs of our field to the needs of society, linguistic outreach can provide knowledge and training for many emerging challenges in the New South.

4. Modern Examples

Today's scholars are constrained by challenges different from those faced by earlier scholars. The faculty contracts for most modern universities, especially the land-grant institutions in the United States, directly specify the ideal percentage of time for the categories of research, teaching, and service (e.g., 40 percent, 40 percent, 20 percent). Within such a paradigm, service is often the least important category and is normally judged less rigorously for tenure and promotion than are research and teaching. In addition, the service component is commonly conceived of as service within the department or campus — such as committee work — rather than outreach to broader communities. This arrangement actually discourages more involved outreach. Yet if universities were to shift their workload paradigm to consider research, teaching, and service under the enterprise of *scholarship*, then outreach and engagement could be better seen as the scholarly activities they are and become an integral part of the university mission. Currently, the most common way of getting scholarship credit for outreach is “engaged research,” that is, research *on* the outreach project. While it is good practice to assess the impacts outreach projects have on constituents, such research is often not afforded the respect of more theoretically oriented work, and it does not satisfy the publication requirements of some universities. Of course, some outreach projects, such as community dictionaries and oral histories, may resist traditional academic assessment, which is why it is critical for the discipline and academy to work toward more formalized protocols for encouraging and rewarding outreach work. In the case of the Appalachian Prison Book Project, Ryan has been able to negotiate counting her outreach work as research for the purposes of tenure and promotion. A review of a selection of successful twenty-first-century outreach projects that have contributed to language scholarship illustrates how service and research can happen concurrently.

One of the lessons learned from earlier linguistic outreach is that linguists must have ready materials, such as online FAQs and videos, to explain the most basic qualities of language variation and its fundamental role in human life. We also need a pool of experts ready to communicate linguistic information effectively to the public in “science accommodation,” the translation of technical scientific language analysis for the public. To facilitate this, both the LSA and the American Dialect Society have proactively assembled “expert lists” for media inquiries and have facilitated panels to develop best practices for engaging with the media. While the media is one critical arena of

engagement, Godley, Reaser, and Moore (2015) suggest that linguists should use schools and teacher education programs to “prime the pump” ahead of events themselves. All schools should be places “to prepare students for citizenship in a deliberative democracy, [and] to develop their capacity to understand different perspectives” (Liggett 2014:2). When teaching moments present themselves, linguists must be ready to teach the public about how language works; further, linguists should explore all opportunities for formal and informal public education about language so that the citizenship as a whole is more open to learn from these moments of cultural significance.

At times, the needs of the community may directly prompt the connections between language scholars and the public. This situation arises with one of the most pressing issues for language scholars: endangered languages around the world. Some community activists work toward language revitalization, developing curricula with language scholars. In the South, the Language and Life Project collaborated with the community to build *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee* (2014), the Emmy-winning documentary on the history and revitalization of Cherokee in North Carolina. The focus on endangerment can also include receding dialects, as demonstrated by the focus on the eroding dialects of the South, such as the Outer Banks (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995; Wolfram, Hazen, and Schilling-Estes 1999), as well as creoles, as exemplified in focus on the recession of Gullah-Geechee (Jones-Jackson 1987). Both of these projects combined all components of scholarship (research, teaching, and service). Linguistics scholars in the South have been engaged in a number of ongoing efforts to document and celebrate eroding language traditions of the South.

Some community-led efforts are wide-ranging and intersect with language scholarship only at certain points, but linguists should understand that communities themselves see language and dialect topics as part of their overall cultural heritage, not as narrow and separate topics of study. Ideally, as language documentarian Neal Hutcheson puts it, “the community is well-represented to the extent that it recognizes itself in the end result. But it is still an interpretation” (quoted in Wolfram, Reaser, and Vaughn 2008:18). Consider the range of Appalshop, one such community effort in Appalachia: “Appalshop is a non-profit multi-disciplinary arts and education center in the heart of Appalachia producing original films, video, theater, music and spoken-word recordings, radio, photography, multimedia, and books.”⁵ With that array of programs and products, many different topics (from politics to natural resources) have been included, and the infrastructure exists for programs on dialect awareness. In one Appalshop program, a teen summer

camp develops a documentary about a topic of their choice; campers research, script, film, and edit under Appalshop's guidance.

The Appalshop video *Searching for an Appalachian Accent* (Quillen and Caudill 2002) examines language variation in their community, insiders' experiences with dialect discrimination, and what their local dialect means to them. In one scene, a native of rural Kentucky describes her pride in her distinctive dialect and her offense when she is asked to perform on command for outsiders' entertainment. The video is not aimed at an academic audience, nor does it espouse academic views, but the video creators have clearly come to understand the role language variation plays on a daily basis in their community and what it has meant to the development of the community over several generations. Through the training and resources, Appalshop provided for this documentary; they helped community members educate themselves about the issue of dialect discrimination. According to the Appalshop website: "Appalshop is dedicated to the proposition that the world is immeasurably enriched when local cultures garner the resources, including new technologies, to tell their own stories and to listen to the unique stories of others. The creative acts of listening and telling are Appalshop's core competency."⁶ These competencies work well as Appalshop trains community members to be aware of social inequalities, including dialect discrimination (Dunstan et al. 2015). These endeavors work symbiotically with the community engagement efforts of linguists and universities.

Whereas Appalshop is a proactive, full-time organization established to help the community, most linguistic outreach operates with requests of community members and within the larger scholarship profile. For example, the West Virginia Dialect Project (WVDP) was founded in 1998 to research language variation in the Mountain State and to teach people how language works. Through several funding opportunities from the National Endowment for the Humanities and National Science Foundation, the WVDP has conducted interviews with native Appalachians and conducted quantitative analysis of language variation and change. Its outreach efforts include dialect awareness programs for community groups and secondary schools, as well as a West Virginia dialect curriculum complete with lesson plans. This kind of outreach works on an on-demand basis, where the WVDP advertises its outreach programs and community members request events. Sometimes civic organizations such as Kiwanis, Rotary, or literacy volunteers request dialect awareness programs; at other times, organizations such as medical schools or social workers request programs on the language variety and

heritage in West Virginia. What is crucial for linguistic outreach is that materials and programs be ready to meet the demand and that advertising help to prompt demand. Some programs go further and initiate linguistic outreach on a regular basis.

One of the oldest, most extensive, and most successful outreach programs is the Language and Life Project (LLP) at NC State University (languageandlife.org). Walt Wolfram established the LLP in 1993, but its ethos started well before then. When Wolfram graduated from the Hartford Seminary with a PhD in 1969, he was set up to be a missionary and Bible translator. His plans went awry when his church in Philadelphia could not raise the money to send him and his family on a mission trip. After a stint painting houses, Wolfram was recruited into academia by Roger Shuy and set up shop at Federal City College (later reconfigured as the University of the District of Columbia). In and around Washington, DC, Wolfram turned his missionary zeal into a passion for linguistic outreach in different local communities. When he moved to NC State twenty-five years later, he founded the LLP to expand and enhance this linguistic outreach, teaching and encouraging others to do the same.

Since then, members of the LLP have conducted research on many North Carolina dialects, from the coast to the mountains, collecting over 3,500 recordings. Importantly, members of the LLP have created and performed outreach programs related to language in the American South for over twenty-four years, in the process training many graduate students and future teachers in the art of doing outreach. The explicit goals for the LLP are to provide information about language differences for public and educational interests and to use research material for the improvement of educational programs about language and culture. Early on, outreach efforts began with *Ocracoke Speaks: The Distinct Sounds of the Hoi Toide Brogue*, an audio collection of stories from the island community of Ocracoke, North Carolina. In addition, Wolfram developed dialect awareness programs for secondary classes and a weeklong curriculum for the eighth grade classroom in the Ocracoke middle school. Over the years, the LLP has produced fourteen different outreach projects and eleven documentaries on language variation in the U.S. South, such as the award-winning *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee*. These projects include the ever-popular annual state fair exhibit, complete with videos, oral histories, buttons with local sayings, and merchandise. Perhaps the most widely shared resource has been the LLP interactive dialect quiz, which challenges participants to test their knowledge about language variation in

North Carolina.⁷ Like Webster's efforts at our nation's founding, Walt Wolfram and the LLP engage people's sense of regional pride to foster learning about language.

For schools specifically, the LLP has set the standard in linguistic educational programs for the rest of the nation. Theirs is the first program to account fully for language variation across an entire state in conjunction with state educational standards. Specifically, Reaser and Wolfram (2007) developed a robust language variation module for middle school social studies classes. Their 450-instructional-minute, multimedia curriculum on language diversity in North Carolina can be taught effectively by classroom teachers who have no training in linguistics. In addition, Reaser and Wolfram have also developed other educational resources such as video vignettes from their extensive scholarship with language variation. At the college level, Stephany Dunstan, Walt Wolfram, Andrey Jaeger, and Rebecca Crandall have created an award-winning program to teach the entire NC State campus about language diversity, a first for any university (Dunstan et al. 2015). In this case, the linguistic community is engaging the entire university community.

Overall, the LLP has trained many outreach specialists who continued those efforts in their subsequent teaching careers through texts for teacher education, including the book *Dialects at School: Educating Linguistically Diverse Students* by Reaser and colleagues (2017) and texts by Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011, 2014) focusing on students in the South. In addition, efforts such as these have provided many opportunities to weave state pride with knowledge about language variation in states such as North Carolina, West Virginia, and other southern states. Graduate and undergraduate students in the NC State linguistic programs have provided thousands of hours of work toward the documentaries, dialect awareness programs, and exhibits of the LLP's successful projects.

One graduate of the LLP program, Christine Mallinson, now at University of Maryland, Baltimore County, has collaborated extensively with Anne Charity Hudley (then) of the College of William & Mary. Together they address the role of language in social inequalities. Many linguists believe that linguistics has a role to play in helping the United States become a more equitable nation, even in its judicial system. As Mallinson and Charity Hudley argue (see chapter 18 in this volume), the pressing issues fostering inequalities in the United States include high rates of poverty and a long history of racial injustices. They established six major partnerships to disseminate relevant linguistic information to educational leaders, including many classroom teachers.

In an innovative move, they also brought sociolinguistic outreach to three hundred southern judges in the state of Florida through workshops at the College of Advanced Judicial Studies (2013) and the Annual Education Program Conference of County Court Judges (2014). At these workshops, they taught judges how linguistic differences can affect courtroom decision making, providing tools and strategies to respond ethically to language differences.

In fact, linguists in the New South, including Roger Shuy (Georgetown), Ron Butters (Duke), Natalie Schilling (Georgetown), and Bridget Anderson (Old Dominion), have been instrumental in bringing to light issues of linguistic justice in courtroom settings. In Florida, in the trial of George Zimmerman for killing Trayvon Martin that captured the national attention, the defense used the language variation of Rachel Jeantel, the prosecution's key witness, to discredit her testimony (Rickford and King 2016). Rickford and King's (2016) explanation of the dialect discrimination in the courtroom illustrates the blossoming ethnic and dialect complexity of the New South. In this emerging context, these scholars' efforts have been critical in helping legal professionals correctly interpret language variation.

Even a few examples demonstrate how important linguists' knowledge can be in such cases and demonstrates why it is critical that linguists continue to work to educate the public about recognizing the importance of relying on language experts. One successful case involved Walt Wolfram in the 1970s who acted as an expert witness for a defense team of an African American man accused of murder. The police claimed the suspect had given a confession when he said, "I ain't killed nobody." Wolfram explained how multiple negation actually works and what the suspect meant with that statement.

As these cases illustrate, too many people in the justice system want to act as language experts. Linguists have opportunities to reach out to legal professionals and help them understand how language works. These are moments, like the one Rosa Parks created, where prepared knowledge and plans for outreach could be well placed when opportunities arise. These efforts are especially critical in the New South, where issues of civil rights persist today. Though not a traditional literacy test, recent voter ID laws in the New South have been found to be created specifically to depress African Americans' right to vote (Wines and Binder 2016). Further, the region, despite its increasing complexity and importance to the country, continues to have its dialects stigmatized by outsiders, which perpetuates the harmful ideologies linguists seek to dislodge. For these and other reasons, the New South must continue to be the locus of linguistic social justice programs.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

From historical to modern scholars, several different qualities have developed. Older efforts were unidirectional, perhaps necessarily so, but seldom did they look for input from their immediate audience or respond earnestly to make adjustments when faced with critiques. They were men in power who moved as they saw best, reacting to problems around them, proactively creating new paths for language outreach. However, despite their lasting influence on large swaths of culture and society, their work would not have always satisfied modern concepts of scholarship as defined by the academy. Indeed, it is hard to imagine scholars within the modern academy undertaking the sort of monumental outreach projects of earlier generations precisely because those efforts have not been supported or recognized by universities in cases of tenure and promotion. Instead of broad and ambitious outreach work, scholars too often do not engage with the public or, when they do, engage more modestly and with specific communities. Modern engagement work has also been guided by a different ethic, where modern outreach leaders work in collaborative ventures with local audiences who play a role in the development of the outreach program. Local interests are a priority, and the community's leaders are often required to approve or invite the outreach efforts.

Yet some themes run steadily throughout the history of American linguistic outreach. From the time of Noah Webster to the present day, pride has been a motivating factor — whether on the broad national scale, as with Webster, or in local communities, as with Wolfram for North Carolina. Most people consider language to be an inseparable part of culture. Local language variation marks one culture as different from another. When the United States was in the process of emerging from the long cultural shadow of England, Webster emphasized and created distinctions in language and spellings, which he hoped would unify the young nation. Charles Fries and Sterling Leonard worked to use linguistic description to improve English language teaching for both domestic and foreign students, aiming for pride in the scientific findings about usage in modern America. Philip Gove firmly embraced this reliance on usage as the primary quality of a dictionary, placing pride not in exclusionary criteria of social elites but in the language variation patterns of regular people. The thread that binds this early outreach is that language scholars want communities to feel proud of their language varieties, even when regional and national norms run counter to local language variation patterns. This same thread continues to guide modern scholars' engagement in linguistic social justice outreach work.

As linguists and teachers, we cannot serve the needs of the broader community by working solely within the university setting. It is incumbent upon scholars to educate people beyond the campus as we help to change the world. Because the efforts required are substantial, universities must be convinced to support such efforts by recognizing them as a critical part of scholarship. Such a change may seem radical, but it is not entirely a break from history. Though universities no longer broadcast it, in the Western world much of academic tradition is rooted in the Christian Church, including the robes, hoods, and caps worn at formal functions. This tradition also previously included missionary goals, in part advanced by serving as society's trusted advisor. Like the Christian church, modern secular universities have missionary goals, though they are described with phrases such as "increase market share," "build a better brand," and "attract the best students." Faculty at modern universities also want to propagate their ideas within the public, at times with an enthusiasm akin to religious zeal, resulting in enhanced linguistic outreach programs. Engaged scholarship is one means by which scholars can help universities achieve these missionary goals, but only if universities return to the definition of scholarship that persisted in the days of Fries. This shift would be beneficial to scholar, university, and community. In fact, some fields — squarely in the lens of social justice — are already afforded such accommodation. Social work and education, for example, routinely reward community impact as intellectual contribution. Given the importance of language in social justice issues, linguists should be at the vanguard of effecting this change within universities.

It is clear that community outreach is an increasingly important goal for linguists. With this kind of direction, language scholars can expand the reach of linguistic outreach with collaborative teams. Consider two examples of linguists who have found ways to engage in outreach as part of their professional lives. First, Julie Sweetland at the FrameWorks Institute collaborates with community leaders and educational innovators to create educational materials specific to the needs of each community group. As she writes: "This involves distilling and synthesizing key insights from FrameWorks research and designing workshops, study circles, strategic communication working groups, toolkits, online courses and other professional learning opportunities so that communicators can apply the research findings effectively."⁸ Second, Jeffrey Reaser at NC State has focused his scholarship on the intersections between sociolinguistics and education, developing the *Voices of North Carolina* curriculum and coauthoring with Wolfram *Talkin' Tar Heel: How Our Voices Tell the Story of North Carolina (2014)*, a popular book on dialects in North Carolina. These scholars work with scholars from various fields and

translational teams to craft research knowledge into teaching materials and then convince teachers of the value of these new curricula.

Linguists have much to learn from these historical lessons, and as a field we must embrace collaborative goals for the twenty-first century. On the face-to-face level, sociolinguists such as Wolfram have established a tradition of promoting local dialects and arguing for their legitimacy through dialect awareness programs. In addition, many of the programs profiled in this chapter promote language analysis, the fulcrum for the field of linguistics. Language analysis is also the core of outreach programs such as the International Linguistic Olympiad (www.ioling.org) and the North American Computational Linguistics Olympiad (www.nacloweb.org), both of which encourage high school students to solve linguistic puzzles and build critical reasoning skills.

As part of linguistic outreach goals, the simple act of outing a mistaken assumption about language helps to further public education. The mere undertaking of putting the myths on the table of public discussion is a win in itself. For example, a typical assumption for a public audience is that a modern standard variety of English came to the United States and then modern dialects of English devolved from that standard. By articulating this stance as a myth, linguists can help audiences consider that many varieties of English came to North America, not just one. Through these considerations, linguistic outreach can help students sharpen their skills of metalinguistic awareness and understanding of language's social connections. For the general public, linguistic outreach can illuminate the social connections we all share and provide meaningful moments in which we can consider how to treat each other. Especially in the rapidly transforming landscape of the New South, dialect and language contact is increasingly common; with greater language awareness we will be able to work toward more cohesive communities.

It is true that only a small percentage of any audience will be thoroughly convinced by linguistic outreach efforts, but those are still important wins. Language scholars of all stripes should also understand that disagreement is normal and that establishing a scholar-community symbiotic relationship is a win in itself because community support is a strong justification for scholarly funding. Having the right structure for an outreach program will help foster such symbiosis.

Community engagement programs in the twenty-first century should at least include a clear, publicly accessible statement of goals and assumptions and make available materials for different age groups, from senior citizens to

elementary school students, with multiple entertaining components for every substantial point, so that the publicly interesting material is more numerous than dense lessons. These materials should incorporate the community's needs and be able to be used by the community itself with minimal training and be packaged and distributed through social networks.

Language scholars share many goals with their universities. Primarily, they want to help the world adopt the modern understanding of language. As linguists, we want people to enhance their metalinguistic skills, develop their social awareness of language judgments, and work toward sociolinguistic justice in society. Such basic motivations should be the foundation to linguistic outreach. Accordingly, to encourage more outreach from academics, we must revise our faculty evaluation procedures to appropriately reward community outreach as scholarship.

In the end, language scholars should commit to regular community outreach to bring linguistic education to wider audiences. Like the social justice training Rosa Parks received before her courageous decision on a Montgomery bus, we never know how our outreach will affect the world. Outreach is a scholarly project, one that can yield community connections as well as scholarly knowledge, and with community engagement linguists can help communities solve social problems while fostering linguistic awareness.

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Notes

1. The LSA's materials can be found at www.linguisticsociety.org/lisa-publications/faq-pamphlets.

2. FrameWorks Institute home page, www.frameworksinstitute.org (accessed April 12, 2017). More on the APBP can be found at aprisonbookproject.wordpress.com.
3. Appalachian Prison Book Project website, aprisonbookproject.wordpress.com/about/ (accessed April 12, 2017).
4. Noah Webster to his son-in-law, William Fowler, December 14, 1837, quoted in Kendall (2011:xiii).
5. “Appalshop Receives 2015 ArtPlace America Grant for “Mining the Meaning” Project in Letcher County,” www.appalshop.org/news/appalshop-receives-2015-artplace-america-grant/ (accessed April 12, 2017).
6. Appalshop’s Facebook page, www.facebook.com/pg/Appalshop/about/ (accessed April 12, 2017).
7. The LLP interactive dialect quiz, “Test Your Tarheel Talk,” is available at languageandlife.org/dialectquiz/dialectquiz.php.
8. Appalachian Prison Book Project, aprisonbookproject.wordpress.com (accessed April 12, 2017).

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*Anne H. Charity Hudley and
Christine Mallinson*

We Must Go Home Again

Interdisciplinary Models of Progressive Partnerships to Promote Linguistic Justice in the New South

1. Introduction

Through the concerted efforts of linguists, allied scholars, and practitioners, the U.S. South has been the locus of important research that aims to understand the role of language in social inequalities. Some of the most chronic social issues that have long contributed to inequalities in the United States and in the South of the past are still critically relevant in the New South, where poverty remains high, especially among students in schools (Southern Educational Foundation 2013), and where racial and economic injustices and disparities in the legal system have a lingering history (Equal Justice Initiative 2014).

We frame the rationale for and the pursuit of linguistic justice in the New South while keeping in mind the words of Martin Luther King Jr., who talked about the need for America to put its own “house in order” in a 1967 speech he delivered in South Carolina, one year before he was assassinated.¹ His words compel us to ask whether our own houses are in order, as linguists and as scholars either who come from the South or whose work relates directly to this important region. How do linguists view our responsibility to address injustice, specifically in the New South? And how can we use linguistic

knowledge and tools to combat social inequalities that are particularly prevalent in contemporary southern educational settings? Within this intellectual frame, we contend that King rejects the notion that basic research is separate and distinct from research that is applied and/or oriented toward social justice. Accordingly, the model of linguistic research to which we adhere recognizes the importance of understanding how linguistic inequalities are intertwined with persistent social inequalities in the southern communities where we grew up and in which we now work, while at the same time marshaling language as a mechanism for social change.

As southern scholars, we have taken King's message to heart and to mind in considering our personal and professional responsibilities — to ourselves, our families, our communities, our educational institutions, and our disciplines. In line with the social movement argument that the personal is political, we recognize how our own histories and social contexts have influenced our development as scholars and our perspectives on the role of language and linguistic research. For both of us, the way we see justice and injustice has much to do with the long history of racial segregation and economic and social disparities in the southern communities where we grew up and that we call home.

Anne was born and raised in Varina, Virginia, a magisterial district just east of Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the former Confederate States of America. Inequalities in income and housing opportunities, vestiges of the time of segregation, which affected whites, African Americans, and Native Americans, still persist through widespread racism and discrimination. After leaving Virginia to attend college and graduate school at Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania, Anne returned home to work at the College of William & Mary to participate in the further integration of higher education in Virginia. Christine grew up in the small town of Salisbury, North Carolina, about an hour's drive from the Appalachian border. She was raised in a family where everyone had migrated to the South — her parents from New York and Pennsylvania to North Carolina for college, and her maternal grandparents, who were originally from Germany and who had less than a high school education. After attending college and graduate school at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and NC State University, Christine moved to Baltimore — which some have called the “southernmost northern city” and the “northernmost southern city”— to work at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Our experiences, both learned and lived, have shaped how we view the intricate and complex relationships between language, literacy, culture, and

education. We recognize the linguistic divisions along racial/ethnic status, social class, region, and language learner status that were significant lines of social demarcation in our small hometowns. We acknowledge the history of educational injustices embedded in Anne's story, hired as a professor at a university that graduated its first residential undergraduates in 1971, just a few years before she was born. We also see how local economic contexts affect educational opportunities. Until the opening of a temporary library facility a few years ago, Charles City County — a neighboring county of William & Mary — where the per capita income in 2013 was \$26,198, was the only jurisdiction left in the Commonwealth of Virginia that does not have a free-standing library. And in the small town of Spencer, North Carolina, where Christine's high school was located and where the per capita income is less than \$16,500 a year, there was no public library until 2014. Similar and long-standing educational disparities persist in Baltimore, Maryland, where in 2014 the predominantly white Baltimore County school system had a graduation rate of almost 85 percent, compared to 65 percent for the predominantly African American schools in the city of Baltimore. Much as sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) theorized, understanding the relationship between one's "personal troubles" and "public issues" is essential in developing a sociological imagination — a means by which to articulate the connections between social environment and broader, macrolevel social and historical structures that constrain individuals' social lives and opportunities. Our own experiences with and insight into educational disparities directly informed our view that language is critical to the pursuit of equality, particularly in educational arenas, and spurred our determination to apply sociolinguistic knowledge to social justice endeavors. As described in Charity Hudley (2013), our research and actions are direct, articulated responses to societal injustices that we have borne witness to, not just linguistic issues that we have observed or read about.

Within our social justice framework, we seek for our work to help address some of these inequalities, by establishing partnerships with different student, teacher, and public groups. Following King's model, our work dismantles barriers and seeks to reintellectualize applied and community issues (rather than deintellectualizing them, as can be common in academia). We also follow in the footsteps of many linguists before us who, as Charity (2008) outlines, have called for our discipline to use our insights about language to make ourselves and our discipline relevant to social problems and bring about social change. Saussure (1983:7) reasons, "Of what use is

linguistics? For the study of language to remain solely the business of a handful of specialists would be a quite unacceptable state of affairs.” In “The Socially-Minded Linguist,” Bolinger (1979:404) enjoins linguists not to “stay aloof” from concentrations of power and inequality that are often also “questions of language.” Wolfram (2012) considers the injustice of keeping academic information to ourselves, rather than using it as a public good, and he asserts that linguists should “be visionary and entrepreneurial” in how we consider the public dimension of our work (114). We must work not in a solitary capacity but collaboratively, with people outside of our current linguistics circles, including journalists, educators, students, and community partners (116). We must also work to end models of linguistics that are exclusive and that devalue related fields. Collaborations with researchers and practitioners in education, speech and hearing, TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages), applied linguistics, and other related fields are crucial to the future of linguistic justice. Finally, we look to John Rickford and the Committee on Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics of the Linguistic Society of America, who have identified one of the great injustices in linguistics: our discipline benefits from the study of languages and language varieties such as African American English, yet African Americans are greatly underrepresented in academia and among the students and faculty in linguistics departments (Rickford 1997, 2014).

In light of these articulations of the responsibility that linguists have to underserved groups, both in our research communities and in our discipline, we consider several questions: how do we bring an understanding of southern and African American language and culture to the public, in communities throughout the New South and in the United States generally? How can we ensure that more students who speak Southern and African American English do well in high school and go to college? Take and do well in our own university classes? Major in linguistics? Graduate with honors? Attend graduate school? What vertical partnerships can be set up, such as outreach with K-12? What about horizontal partnerships, for example, interdisciplinary connections, not only with English, education, and other humanities-based disciplines but with science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) as well? To illustrate some ways in which linguists are uniquely positioned to forge such pathways and advance sociolinguistic justice within a contemporary southern context, in the next section we share findings from major educational partnerships we have established to disseminate relevant linguistic information and promote educational equity.

2. Educational Initiatives for Linguistic Justice

In this section, we focus on our main partnership, Language Variation in the Classroom (2008–15), a six-year umbrella initiative through which we held professional development workshops with several hundred K-12 educators across Virginia and Maryland and drew participants from these networks for subsequent research studies. Some of these professional development workshops were held in conjunction with other initiatives in Virginia and Maryland, including the Middle Grades Partnership (2009–13), the Virginia Capstone English Academy and the School University Research Network's Visible Teaching, Assessment, Learning and Leading programs (2010–15), and our National Science Foundation collaborative research grants (1050938 and 1051056) on assessing sociolinguistic engagement with K–12 STEM education.

Over the past several decades, sociolinguists have sought to provide integrated linguistic and cultural instruction to K-12 educators. Such materials have been found to promote positive ideologies about language differences among educators and to positively impact their pedagogical practices (see, e.g., Gipe, Duffy, and Richards 1989; Craig and Washington 2006; Sweetland 2006; Adger, Wolfram, and Christian 2007; Reaser and Wolfram 2007).² Despite the fact that culturally and linguistically responsive materials are relevant and necessary for all educators, however, most sociolinguists have worked primarily with language arts or other humanities-based educators and have not generally reached those in STEM. Culturally and linguistically diverse students do not leave their language patterns at the door when they enter STEM classrooms, but STEM educators may not realize linguistic issues are just as critical in their classes as in the language arts (Lemke 1990; Lindholm-Leary and Borsato 2006; Schleppegrell 2009). As Nieto (2002:94) points out, all educators need a fundamental understanding of language and should receive training “literacy, bilingual and multicultural education.” Thus, as linguists we must begin to turn our attention to ways that language matters across the disciplines and seek to bring linguistic knowledge to educators and students beyond the humanities. Our model of culturally and linguistically responsive professional development seeks to address such gaps in teacher education across the disciplines.

With our Language Variation in the Classroom workshops, we had a primary goal of working with southern-based educators to understand language differences, pedagogical practices, and student assessment related to linguistic diversity and language variation, particularly for students from southern and/or African American backgrounds. According to Guskey and

Yoon (2009:496–97), workshops are effective professional development, particularly when they involve outside experts, engage participants in active learning, give “sufficient time for [educators] to engage” with the materials, and include follow-up activities; in fact, “*all of the studies that showed a positive relationship between professional development and improvements in student learning involved workshops or summer institutes.*” We envisioned our workshops as a step toward building more comprehensive models of culturally and linguistically responsive professional development for K-12 educators, in the service of promoting the education, engagement, and retention of students from traditionally underserved groups, particularly African American students.

Importantly, no assessments or other information were collected during the workshops so that participants could experience a safe, anxiety-free environment in which they knew they were not being evaluated about information that they might not yet have had the opportunity to learn. After the workshops, participants were invited to participate in our research study, designed to determine how participants applied what they had learned during the workshops. We collected a range of follow-up data that from post-workshop surveys (collected soon after the workshops had ended) plus semi-structured one- to two-hour-long interviews and focus groups (conducted three to nine months later). Allowing time to pass between when workshops and conducting the interviews and focus groups gave participants time to reflect further on linguistic and cultural challenges in their classrooms, integrate information they had learned during the workshop into their teaching, and consider the successes and challenges of any pedagogical strategies they had implemented as a result of the workshop. In these ways, we learned with educators, rather than more simply just providing them with linguistic information.³

Our Language Variation in the Classroom workshops proceeded from the framework of multicultural education. We integrated sociolinguistic information into approaches to diversity with which educators across the disciplines are usually already familiar, so that we could co-construct classroom curricula and praxis (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011). Five main topic areas were covered, whereby participants learned how language use and language discrimination can perpetuate advantage and disadvantage in U.S. schools (Labov 2008; Banks 2013). First, school culture and student culture can interact and conflict with each other in ways that affect students’ attitudes about learning and about subject areas, and even their test scores. Second, biases against students who speak nonstandard varieties of English — notably,

African American English and Southern English varieties — can be prevalent in schools, among educators and other students. Third, consistent bias and linguistic/cultural mismatches can decrease student confidence and affect student performance and achievement. To address these three topics, we sought to help our southern-based (and many of them also southern-born) educators frame how they think about the complexities of culture, communication, and education within the contexts of their specific discipline. Fourth, texts, tests, and so forth, are generally written in the language that Standard-English-speaking students know best. Fifth, structural linguistic issues, including the use of jargon, may affect student comprehension of and performance on test questions. We related this knowledge and experience to the privilege that certain students have when they enter classrooms: students who come to school already speaking and writing in standardized ways and knowing the norms, conventions, and rules of school English (including STEM registers) have several advantages and privileges, whereas those who do not already know the norms and conventions of standardized English are at a disadvantage (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011). Participants therefore learned that issues related to literacy and reading fluency may be separate from academic ability and that the challenges their students face are more than simply jargon or writing based; rather, they have complex sociological, cultural, and linguistic dimensions. Compared to educators from the humanities or “soft” sciences, educators in STEM fields often found it challenging to reconcile the common belief that STEM vocabulary and subject matter are more objective or universal, even as they noticed cultural and linguistic differences in STEM content, teaching, and learning.

After covering the five main topic areas in our workshop, in the sixth and final segment we focused on application. Building linguistic and cultural competence among educators and students can combat these educational issues and inequalities. To do so, we guided participants to think about sources of linguistic and cultural inequality in their classrooms or schools and how to address these issues, on individual (educator and student) as well as institutional (school) levels. At the close of our workshop, we encouraged participants to think about and map out ideas for how they would develop longer-term action plans for additional strategies or practices to implement in their teaching. Providing participants with strategies and tools that they could apply in their classrooms was critically important to us as workshop developers and leaders. Whether or not educators are able to successfully implement what they learn is a primary marker of the effectiveness of professional development (Fullan 2007). Moreover, successful implementation — when

educators change their behaviors and practices and see improvement in student learning — has been found to directly and effectively change educators' own attitudes and beliefs (Desimone et al. 2002; Darling-Hammond 2005; Fullan 2007).⁴

3. The Discourse of Linguistic Justice in the New South

“The South, as always, will help determine the nation’s future. This path toward progress demands a concerted effort to deepen and expand social justice work in the South,” notes a report by Grantmakers for Southern Progress (2013:4). To promote social justice in today’s New South and to ensure its equitable future, we must “set aside shorthand language and take the time to have conversations about what [we] are trying to achieve and, just as importantly, why” (17). This sentiment is applicable to linguists, who must consider how we might set aside unnecessary jargon to reach wide audiences, particularly in educational contexts. How can we best initiate, foster, and sustain ethically sound collaborations with various communities? How can we maximize our efforts for the public good? According to Alice Roberts (2012), a professor of public engagement, to answer these questions requires scholars to reject a deficit model in which the public is seen as needing to be educated and instead implement one that centers on and privileges dialogue. Within linguistics, we call for our own scholarly awareness of the assertions we make as scholars and the values they suggest. Despite the fact that the general public may not have the linguistic expertise we have as scholars, we identify a need to move away from communication styles that privilege linguists as fact holders and myth busters, in ways that can subordinate or even denigrate public linguistic knowledge or perceptions (Mallinson and Charity Hudley 2013). Linguists themselves can perpetuate ideologies of language subordination (Lippi-Green 2012), and we must ensure that we do not carry these sentiments with us, even inadvertently, into communities where we work. Assertions of who “knows” linguistics and who doesn’t, our classification of what does or does not “count” as linguistics, an overemphasis on terminology, the trivialization of folk linguistic knowledge — such behaviors can mystify language for participants rather than clarify it. Such attitudes carry the implicit notion that linguists are the only experts on language, which can be deafening to the ears of underrepresented students, educators, principals, and other community members and off-putting to gatekeepers who otherwise might permit access to schools and communities as sites for linguistic engagement.

Instead, we consider how linguists can implement a dialogue-based model of communication with the public. Roberts (2012) agrees that scientists are the best people to engage with the wider public about scientific issues, but she suggests that as scholars we prepare ourselves to communicate with new audiences in order to be most effective in our outreach. For instance, in the dialogue-based approach that we take in our own engagement work, we avoid taking a narrow view of what linguistics is; rather, we take a definition of linguistics and language that is broadly conceived and encourage our participants to do the same. Thus, for our workshops, we invited our participants to share their interests and goals for what linguistic subjects would be explored and discussed, before each workshop began, and we included their topics in our workshops, even if the subjects they wanted to learn about (e.g., texting language, cursing, slurs; see Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2014) were not those that linguists are generally concerned with. Such approaches, we suggest, help position linguistics not as esoteric but as broadly relevant to educators and educational communities. In another example, although we ourselves used basic linguistic terminology, such as “African American English,” we acknowledged that labels can be tricky, complicated, and sometimes problematic. We encouraged participants to use (or come up with) terms that they find most comfortable, encouraging frank discussion and thereby breaking down barriers between scholarly and public communication.

Finally, we encourage linguists to utilize skills of discourse and communication by promoting greater sharing of information across traditional borders. In K-12 settings, linguists must continue to learn from educators about how language and culture intersect within educational settings; in this respect, linguists’ research and outreach goals can converge (Bucholtz, Casillas, and Lee 2015). In higher education, we encourage building partnerships particularly with other institutions whose students may be underserved in education and in linguistics, particularly in the South — including community colleges, historically black colleges and universities, and Latin@-serving institutions — despite the fact that such institutions may not have linguistics departments or programs defined as such. What is taught to linguistics or English students about education, culture, and diversity? What is taught to education students about language, culture, and diversity? What are our colleagues in allied fields teaching students about language, either explicitly or implicitly (Labov and Charity Hudley 2009)? These are places where linguists can systematically ask questions and promote change.

Rather than viewing outreach as a separate, deintellectualized task that comes into focus only after the scholarly research has been completed, as sociolinguists we have much to gain and much to contribute when we weave public engagement into our research and have comprehensive linguistic and cultural knowledge of specific, localized communities. Linguistic awareness and knowledge are critical to addressing social inequalities, particularly in the New South, where histories of racial discrimination and exclusion have left a particularly deep and enduring mark on education. To apply it most effectively, however, requires us to adopt a comprehensive framework of language and social change in which we first “get our own houses in order,” by promoting structural change not only in other educational contexts but also within the setting of linguistics departments at our colleges and universities and within our discipline. This model also promotes a view in which we, as scholars, are encouraged to focus on and draw upon the experiences of ourselves as well as others. As humanities- and social-science-based scholars, we feel that it is critical for each of us to develop our sociological imaginations in ways that help us understand, interpret, and apply our insights into the “personal troubles” of ourselves and others to solving central “public issues” (Mills 1959). In addition, as linguists specifically, we must use our scholarly insights into communication and culture to work within communities to build culturally supportive, diverse, accessible, and equitable educational environments that value the linguistic resources that students and educators of all linguistic backgrounds bring to classrooms. Through southern educational partnerships such as those we have discussed in this chapter, we illustrate how we as linguists can play a central role in effectively sharing linguistic insight across educational groups and applying sociolinguistic knowledge in ways that advance and integrate the goal of promoting social justice in the New South.

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Notes

1. Martin Luther King Jr., unpublished speech delivered at a Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff retreat, May 22, 1967, KCLA 32, Penn Center, Frogmore, SC.
2. See also the Penn Reading Initiative and its tutoring manual, *The Reading Road*, at www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/PRI/.
3. More detail on the content and methods of our workshops is provided in Mallinson and colleagues (2011), Mallinson and Charity Hudley (2014), and Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2016).
4. Discussing specific applications that our southern-based educator participants have implemented is outside the scope of this chapter; descriptions of pedagogical strategies they have used, featuring educators' quotes and first-person vignettes, are provided in Mallinson and colleagues (2011), Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2014), and Mallinson and Charity Hudley (2014). Our website (charityhudleymallinson.com/resources/stem/) provides a vignette written by "Marley," a southern-born, public middle school science teacher in Virginia, who was inspired by what she learned during our workshop about the value of language and culture and she drafted new goals for her teaching, including redesigning her curriculum to more fully engage her African American student population in the science content she teaches.

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Negotiating Language Presentation

Linguists, Communities, and Producers

1. Introduction

Predictions of language death among the world's languages are ominous; by the end of the twenty-first century, up to 90 percent of the world's languages will become extinct (Krauss 1992). Given this grave forecast, language endangerment has become a critical concern in contemporary linguistics. Linguistic documentation of moribund languages has become a priority in the field, and a number of public and private funding programs have been established to ensure the description of the world's language diversity. Linguists stand united in their support of documentation, entailing the collection of audio tapes and texts, the production of descriptive grammars, and the compilation of dictionaries, along with the establishment of secure digital archives where these data and materials can be stored for future generations of community members and for scientific-linguistic purposes.

The endangered status of so many of the world's languages has also led to the development of language revitalization programs, with the goal of regenerating and sustaining languages that would be doomed to extinction without intervention of some type. More controversy exists about the utility of these revitalization programs in which a language community, through political, community, and educational means, attempts to increase the number

of active speakers of the language, particularly children who can carry forth the language for future generations. Many linguists support such efforts directly or indirectly (Hinton and Hale 2001; Grenoble and Whaley 2006), but some do not view this as a feasible enterprise for reasons that extend from a theoretical rationale in which language shift, including extinction, is seen as a natural consequence of language dynamics over time (Ladefoged 1992; Mufwene 2001, 2004) to a concern about the logistical feasibility of reversing the vitality of a language in decline (Walsh 2005).

More recently, the plight of endangered languages has been captured in popular documentary films that portray the epidemic of language loss. Films such as *The Linguists* (Kramer, Miller, and Newberger 2008) and *Language Matters with Bob Holman* (Grubin 2015) depict more general situations of language loss with illustrative examples, and such films as *We Still Live Here, as Nutayuneân* (Makepeace 2011) and *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee* (Hutcheson and Cullinan 2014) highlight particular situations that involve moribund languages.

One obvious goal of such media productions is the attempt to raise public awareness to the endangered state of the majority of the world's languages. Compared with the public awareness of biological species, language endangerment is dramatically underrepresented, undervalued, and underfunded. But other issues arise in the portrayals of moribund languages in these documentaries. How do the communities view these popular portrayals of their community and their language? To what extent may these documentaries be a collaborative presentation between the producers and community members in telling its language story? If so, how is this collaboration strategically accomplished?

We examine some of these issues by considering the production of the documentary *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee* (Hutcheson and Cullinan 2014), a film that attempts to describe the moribund Cherokee language among the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) in the mountains of western North Carolina. Though there are, of course, unique dimensions that define this situation, it may also be viewed as prototypical in terms of other endangered language situations and therefore instructive on a broader level, particularly as a public media project presenting the community to a national audience of viewers. As Bell and Garrett (1998:3–4) note, “The media reflect and influence the formation and expression of culture, politics and social life” and offer “a rich source of readily accessible data for research and teaching.”

2. Linguistic Gratuity and *First Language*

Over the last couple of decades, the Language and Life Project at NC State University has been engaged in an array of outreach activities programs that have included the production of more than ten documentaries for regional and national television broadcast, the construction of a number of museum exhibits, the development of a language awareness curriculum for the public education in North Carolina (Reaser and Wolfram 2007), the publication of trade books for the public about dialects (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1997; Wolfram and Reaser 2014), and the development of linguistic diversity programs for institutions, including higher education (Dunstan et al. 2015). All of these programs are inspired by the principle of linguistic gratuity (Wolfram 1993, 2016) in which linguists give back to communities that have fueled their research. These venues have received relatively wide public recognition in the media, and it is thus not uncommon for residents of North Carolina to be aware of some of these activities, a relatively rare situation for sociolinguistics and the public.

A regular custom in initiating research projects is to consult communities about ways in which we might return favors that would profit the communities in some way, including but not limited to language. In our previous research, these initial offers have led to the construction of museum exhibits¹ and documentaries that celebrate history (Rowe and Grimes 2006), social issues (Hutcheson 2013), music (Hutcheson 2006), and notable community citizens (Grimes 2005), as well as language and other aspects of community life. Accordingly, it was not unusual for the Language and Life Project at NC State to offer gratuity to the Cherokee community when we initiated a research project on identity, dialect, and language in 2013 (Wolfram, Daugherty, and Cullinan 2014). At the time, the Atse Kituwah Cherokee Language Immersion Academy was growing its immersion program, and it had caught the attention of a number of national and international media venues, including national and international television crews who visited the community for a day, filmed classes, talked to instructors and administrators, and then produced a brief vignette for national and/or international broadcast based on their cameo visit to the community. Understandably, these brief broadcasts had no input from community members following the one-time encounter with the producers.

As part of our initial contact for the proposed research project, we visited with some of the administrators of community-based language and culture programs in the Qualla Boundary, as well as the resource faculty in

the Cherokee Language Program at Western Carolina University, which has worked closely with the community on its immersion efforts. Our visit concluded with an offer to work with the community in any capacity that might utilize our resources to benefit their language programs. A couple of days later, we received an e-mail from one of our contacts during the initial visit suggesting that a short promotional documentary on the immersion program at Atse Kituwah Immersion Academy might be one way to give back to the community. That simple suggestion led to the development of *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee*, an hour-long documentary that has now been broadcast on national and local PBS channels, received a variety of awards at film festivals,² and received a Midsouth Emmy in 2015 in the Cultural/Documentary category.

It is possible to work with communities in a number of different relationships, including what Cameron and colleagues (1992) refer to as ethical research, advocacy research and empowerment research. From an ethical perspective, researchers take care to ensure that there is no harm to community participants, their privacy is protected, and the participants are adequately compensated for any inconvenience. Advocacy-based research is characterized by a commitment on the part of the researcher to do research “on and for subjects,” whereas empowerment-based research is research on, for, and with the community in recognition of the fact that “subjects have their own agendas and research should try to address them” (Cameron et al. 1992:14). Documentary production has the potential to embrace all three of these goals if it involves a strong, vested collaborative component with the community that embraces the community’s goals and presents their perspective.

3. Strategic Collaboration

The nature of the collaborative relationships between linguistic researchers or documentarians and the community is always complicated. Each group and individual brings to the project different socialized backgrounds, diverse areas of interest and expertise, variant understandings of language and other behavioral phenomena, and goals and concerns that might be quite varied — and, in some cases, in conflict. The conceptual and strategic development of a documentary film are formidable challenges for those who seek to faithfully represent a community voice (or voices) and perspective while authentically representing a perspective that aligns with the field of linguistics and the producer’s expertise in production and representation.

Lynn McKnight (2003) of the Center for Documentary Studies notes: “Out in the field, the documentarian is not a solo agent pursuing art for art’s sake, nor is she or he the old-school marauding ethnographer, parachuting into exotic territory and ferreting out cultural goods for publication or display at some high-minded institution. Instead, in this paradigm, practicing the documentary arts always involves tangible connections with the community, from start to finish, and that can — and should — take a long time (if there’s ever a real end to these engagements).” From what producers choose to film in the collection of footage to the final microdetails, editing decisions affect the presentation and representation in significant ways, ranging from ideological perspective to visual perception and symbolism. In such an elusive, subjective setting, how can a collaborative relationship be developed and maintained — one that is sensitive to the differential concerns and interests of the linguist, community members, and film producer?

Our general procedure is to actively involve community participants during at least three stages in the process: in the initial conception of the project, during the active collection of footage, and in several incremental stages of editing before the documentary is released for public distribution. Participation in the initial conceptualization of the project allows us to define the project together and to explore the goals, structure, and ideology of the project. It also gives the community a vested interest in the project from the onset. In the history of the Language and Life Project at NC State, in some cases, this initial meeting with community representatives has led to a significant reconceptualization, or even resulted in abandoning the original project for an alternative one.

Before any filming took place, we solicited the input of administrators at Atse Kituwah Immersion Academy, as well as the community language and culture program administrators with whom we had made first contact. We conveyed our goal to document language revitalization efforts and to produce a video that would provide lasting benefits to their program and the EBCI. Beyond that, we asked them what they would like us to capture, whom we should interview, and what would best illustrate the value of the program. Our contacts responded by facilitating a schedule that included filming classroom and recreational activities, as well as interviews with staff, parents, and children. In an effort to frame the academy within the context of the community, our network of contacts led us to interview other important community members, including the EBCI chief, Michel Hicks, the director of the Cherokee Preservation Foundation at the time, Annette Saunooke Clapsaddle, and tribal elder and Beloved Man Jerry Wolfe, among others.

Our network of contacts was not unlike the “friend-of-a-friend network” and “snowball sample” commonly used in community-based sociolinguistic studies for interviewing community members (Milroy and Gordon 2003).

Six weeks later we returned with a draft video and reviewed it with three small community audiences, including administrators and staff at Atse Kituwah Immersion Academy, members of the Kituwah Preservation and Education Program, language faculty from Western Carolina’s Cherokee Language Program who serve as resource specialists for the academy, and Cherokee language specialists who run a summer language camp in Robbinsville, and their students. We reemphasized our intent to represent the community’s perspective and sought their input again. Among other useful responses, one Cherokee man politely but forcefully wondered why a video about Cherokee language preservation did not include more spoken Cherokee. Working with native speakers, we had indeed conducted interviews in the Cherokee language. However, pending community input on the direction of the project, we had not approached the challenge of translating and working with it. The man’s response encouraged us to find a way to work with the Cherokee language material and to seek other opportunities to gather interviews in the language, and it ultimately contributed to the producer’s decision to prioritize Cherokee in the production.

Another outcome of the review was the challenge of representing the community’s voice. Opinions about the film’s tone and message were mixed, from “we’re saving the language” to “we’re struggling against impossible odds.” Complex and contradictory attitudes and feelings about the status of the language and the extraordinary efforts and resources being deployed to revitalize it were revealed in responses to the video draft and would resonate throughout the project.

The development of the project into a fuller account of the community’s efforts to revitalize the language led us to Snowbird, a more isolated Cherokee community in Graham County almost an hour to the southwest of the town of Cherokee (Swain County), generally considered to be the cultural epicenter of the community. Our second video review took place at the summer language camp in Robbinsville, the town closest to Snowbird. The video was well received there, and we discussed plans to return and film instruction and activities at the language camp, as well as other events and people suggested by the language specialists at the camp. Responding to a request made by the language camp instructors, a complete recording of the camp’s culminating project, a play performed in Cherokee for the community, was provided to them within weeks of the event.

The producers engaged the help of the camp's language specialists to create full transcripts of all Cherokee interview material. In addition to their usefulness for the film, these transcripts will accompany copies of the raw video material for future use in the community language programs. The use of language in the second cut of the film was radically transformed, characterized by extended narratives in Cherokee with subtitles in English. In fact, approximately 20–25 percent of the film is now in Cherokee, and the final cut starts with and ends in extended comments in Cherokee to underscore the significant cultural, historical, and linguistic loss if this language were allowed to become extinct. One of the positive, unintended outcomes of this additional collection of footage was the accumulation of several hours of high-quality audiovisual conversation in Cherokee for documentation purposes and for potential use in Cherokee language instruction. In fact, the final version of the documentary should be useful for courses of instruction, given the amount of Cherokee and subtitles that enable students to expand their proficiency in Cherokee.

Viewers of the film may notice that speech in Cherokee is not always immediately translated in subtitles, an attempt to honor the “first language” and encourage the majority non-Cherokee-speaking audiences to appreciate what a language may convey on a more subtle level difficult to translate.

Before the final version of the film was released, we previewed two more versions with groups of community representatives from Cherokee and from Snowbird and reviewed selected vignettes in the documentary with individual community members for feedback. The collaborative feedback was thus incremental and ongoing up through the final cut, which was once again ratified by the advisory group from the school, community, and tribal council. The premieres of the documentary at the Museum of Natural History in Raleigh, North Carolina, and at the Southern Anthropological Society Meeting in Cherokee, North Carolina, were also collaborative events, with representatives from the EBCI and people portrayed in the film serving on discussion panels at both events. While this level of community interaction is hardly standard procedure for most film productions and may challenge standard editing practices where the producers maintain ultimate executive control, collaborative projects with communities require a somewhat different participatory model that ensures involvement from start to finish.

At the same time we were reviewing different cuts of the film for community residents, we showed an earlier cut of the documentary to different focus groups that ranged from linguists to general student audiences. For example, we showed several cuts of the documentary to the staff, students,

and friends of the Language and Life Project at NC State. We also sent a copy of an early cut to the program officers of the Documenting Endangered Language Program, cosponsored by the National Science Foundation and National Endowment for the Humanities, to elicit feedback from language endangerment specialists. One of their important recommendations offered by linguists was to include more information about language structure in the film so that viewers could understand how Cherokee grammatical distinctions sometimes differed radically from the kinds of grammatical distinctions viewers might be used from familiarity with Indo-European languages. Communicating such information visually without lapsing into metalinguistic jargon is naturally a challenge, but some animation of rudimentary sketches of different objects done by an adolescent artist proved to be both informative and entertaining in describing a noun classificatory system defined by object shapes and animate status (Language and Life Project 2016). We found that triangulation from different groups representing community interests, public audience concerns, and professional expertise in language, linguistics, and endangerment offered a complementary and diverse set of perspectives that was synergistic. From the perspective of the producers, the production was intended to be informative, entertaining, and socially responsible.

4. Transparency and Editing

Editing is never a neutral activity; it is grounded in underlying ideologies that contextualize and affect all aspects of the film, driven by both conscious and unconscious decisions that affect everything from the inclusion of subjects and participants to the b-roll that enhances the visual landscape and frames the documentary. In many respects, it is probably more authentic to acknowledge some of the biases that can enter the editing process and to acknowledge underlying values than to ignore or deny them. For example, in the documentary *First Language* we assume that (a) language loss is a scientific and social concern in society; (b) revitalization programs provide a viable alternative for regenerating language proficiency; (c) communities, with the support of educators and linguists, should lead efforts to counter language loss; and (d) documentaries for public distribution enable and support the process of language revitalization. All of these foundation beliefs for the documentary might be — and have been — questioned by some community members, language scholars, and the public. Nonetheless, these are core values that need to be recognized on a theoretical and practical level as they consciously and unconsciously impact our editing decisions. As much as we

might rely on the collaborative and consultative process to mitigate some of these production biases, objectivity is not realistically possible. This understanding, however, does not mean we cannot adopt strategies that counter the executive control that seems endemic to the producers.

The Language and Life Project at NC State has adopted a set of strategies to mitigate executive control and minimize manipulative effect in documentaries (summarized in table 19.1). For example, we use minimal narration in our documentaries. The storylines of our documentaries are typically carried forth by the subjects and scenes rather than through explicit narration by a designated “expert narrator” who may intentionally or inadvertently interprets the story. Many of our documentaries have no designated narrator per se, as is the case for *First Language*.

Another strategy is the use of multiple community voices. In using a variety of community voices, we offer diverse perspectives; sometimes these voices will support, amplify, and complement other voices in the documentary, and sometimes they will contradict others, thus illustrating the different community perspectives. In presenting comments of people within a documentary, it is also important to provide space between interview comments to enable viewers to process and interpret the comments for themselves. In this respect, interstitial scenes portraying community activities and the surrounding landscape serve an important discourse function, tacitly encouraging viewer reflection. As in natural conversations, pauses serve important functions in documentary presentation.

Another important transparency principle in documentaries is to casually reveal the recording process so that viewers can see where and how the interviews were conducted and who is doing the interviewing. For example, hearing a producer’s interview question without showing the producer offers insight into the interaction and the interview dynamic that contextualizes a subject’s comments. In the process of editing a documentary production, trick shots, clever composition, and fancy transitions are avoided in a documentary that aims for authenticity.

In producing documentaries with and for the community, it is also strategic to contextualize the film with local performers — musicians, artisans, and other local performers who provide contextual background. By contrast, outside experts on the topic of the documentary should be used cautiously. These experts provide essential information, background, and perspective, but they also view the community from an external, metaperspective that can disempower the community. In *Mountain Talk* (Hutcheson 2005), one of the earlier documentaries on Appalachian English, we decided to use no

TABLE 19.1. Strategies used by the Language and Life Project to minimize manipulative effects in documentaries

Technique	Purpose
Use minimal narration	Allows subjects and scenes to carry storylines
Use multiple community voices	Offers diverse perspectives
Provide space between interview comments	Allows viewers to process and interpret comments
Casually reveal the recording process	Shows where and how the interviews were conducted
Avoid trick shots, clever composition, and fancy transitions	Enhances authenticity
Contextualize the film with local performers	Provides contextual background
Use outside experts cautiously	Avoids disempowering the community

Compiled from Neal Hutcheson, e-mail correspondence with Walt Wolfram, September 27, 2007.

outside experts to give commentary on the variety of English, limiting the comments to those from the community. A couple of linguists objected to the insider portrayal of the variety, which did not explicitly reject the interpretation of the variety as the retention of an earlier form of English. We tried to edit the footage in such a way that it would not perpetuate the myth that Appalachian English was simply Shakespearian English (Montgomery 1998), but this was not done to the satisfaction of a couple of linguists (Montgomery 2005). When we previewed the documentary *Mountain Talk* at the Appalachian Studies Association annual conference held in the mountains of western North Carolina, we invited a number of community members to the preview. A linguist in attendance observed that we should have had an expert explicitly reject the Shakespearian or Elizabethan English language myth. Several of the community residents present at the preview, however, reacted to the comment by thanking us for allowing the community to tell its own story rather than having outsiders interpret the community for viewers. Since that time, we have come to understand that nonlinguists in Appalachia may be using the reference to Appalachian English as Old English or Elizabethan English as a kind of metaphor for the retention of older forms rather than a literal reference to a static language variety frozen in time.

Linguists, however, have chosen to interpret their metaphor as a simplistic folk language belief. Editing calls for a tender balance between community stories and the description and interpretation by experts, but communities need to use and hear their own voices in the story.

5. Scrutinizing the Collaborative Model

Communities are hardly harmonious, consensual social organisms, and neither are linguists and producers. Obviously, differing opinions are voiced within and outside the community about the topics covered in a documentary and in the way it is presented. In this setting, practical questions arise about what it means operationally to work *with*, not for, over, or above, the community and the level of community ownership that is appropriate given the dynamics of collaboration between the producers, linguists, and the community. What are the benefits of the collaborative model, what are its limitations, and what are some of the unforeseen consequences? We have observed conversations among community members about presentation, topical inclusion, and controversial topics, and it is difficult for producers to make editing decisions that balance even consensual positions with production concerns about artistic presentation and authentic content, let alone differing positions from within the community.

As we noted, the underlying ideology of a documentary like *First Language* is the value and utility of revitalization programs, a position shared by the community members of the ad hoc advisory committee and most of the focus groups where the film was previewed during the editing process. However, this position is not consensual among all linguists and community members. The rationale for revitalization presented in the documentary is largely embedded in an argument of identity, and language revitalization is viewed as an act of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). As Marta (2011:1) notes, “The overarching reason for any language reclamation movement is primarily to help to create and/or reinforce a sense of identity in the people for whom the language is being revived or revitalized.” In this capacity, the revitalized language is associated with a cultural *Weltanschauung* and the sense of homeland or *Heimat* (Rohkrämer and Schultz 2009). As one young speaker who attends Atse Kituwah Immersion Academy observes, “A lot of people think that it’s just a language, but like, if you’re Cherokee it’s like your home.” Themes of language linked to cultural identity, culture, and homeland are a common thread in the documentary. Renissa Walker, Kituwah Preservation and Education Program Manager for the EBCCI, notes: “Within

the language are values and traditions and history and ways of life. That's what speaking Cherokee is about, and so without that, we lose all of that. We don't just lose something that's very difficult or that, something that, you know, our elderly people speak Cherokee. We lose who, really, the heart and soul of who we are as Cherokee people." Tom Belt, coordinator of the Cherokee Language Program at Western Carolina University, offers similar ideas: "This is what is so critical and so important to our identity and our future as a people is, to continue on making the same sound that was given to us by the creator. Our language. It's a sound that hasn't been heard here for sixty years." Finally, Bo Taylor, a community leader and head of the Warriors of AniKituhwah, shares his hopes for the future: "I want them to celebrate our culture by keeping our language alive. I know that they're learning their language and they're learning their culture."

A theme more implicit in the documentary presentation is the issue of historical justice and sociopolitical equity. The boarding schools' banning and punishing for the use of indigenous language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is an important practical reason for the rapid decline of American Indian languages, so it stands to reason that language revival may be viewed as a kind of social justice against the broader-based repressive sociopolitical policies implemented by the U.S. government. As Jean Bushyhead in *First Language* observes: "I'm not so sure that language was the only reason that the children were encouraged to speak English and not Cherokee. I think it probably had a lot to do with uh, Americanizing the Cherokee children." Language reclamation may thus be viewed as an act of social justice that empowers historically oppressed groups such as American Indians.

For linguists, one of the scientific rationales for the language preservation and reclamation is related to diversity (Krauss 1992; Mühlhäusler 2000). Language diversity is essential for establishing universals in language and parametric variation within and across languages. This is an issue introduced in the documentary by including a short excerpt from a TED Talk, but it is a rationale never mentioned by members of the Cherokee community per se. Local communities have primary cultural, social, and historical concerns that minimize global language endangerment and broad-based, external global concerns related to science; this perspective needs to be understood both by linguists and by producers. This, however, does not mean that communities are necessarily opposed to these more global, supportive justifications.

There are other issues presented in documentaries about language revitalization that may, however, lead to conflict over the view of language

assumed by community members and that held by linguists or sociolinguists. For example, many indigenous communities follow quite prescriptive norms for revitalization, imposing structural norms for the language found among older generations of speakers. From this perspective, revitalizing language is capturing the language as spoken by the elders. But it is probably unrealistic to think that children learning Cherokee today will, in fact, learn the older version of the language used by their elders. Though children are sometimes enrolled in the immersion program from six months to a year old, it is still being learned for the most part as a second language and is therefore subject to transfer from the English and from interlanguage. Furthermore, the language is learned in the context of vernacular southern Appalachian English, and many younger speakers manifest influence from southern vowels, to the point that Cherokees from Oklahoma have referred to the Cherokee spoken by members of the EBCI as “Cherokee with a southern accent.” As Tyler Howe, tribal historic specialist for the EBCI, notes in footage collected for the documentary *First Language*: “I’ve heard Oklahoma Cherokees say that Cherokees of Cherokee, North Carolina, or Snowbird, are the only Cherokees they’ve ever spoken with that have a southern accent. So somehow the language here in the East has this twist of, it’s Cherokee with a mountain accent.”

Other Cherokee language structures used by the elder generation are subject to be modified, for example, the reduction or loss of tone distinctions, the system of verbal complements, and tense-mood-aspect system. The new generation of speakers cannot be expected to maintain the standards of Cherokee held by the elderly generation. These issues may have great consequence for the revitalization of Cherokee and still have to be resolved. And such controversies are unexplored in a film that presents a uniform voice on the value of revitalization movements. Decisions about these issues are sometimes deliberate and other times unintended as producers, linguists, and community members negotiate agreement in presentation.

6. Conclusion

Collaboration among linguists, community members, and producers is an ongoing process of negotiation and compromise that is both process and product. Linguists and producers need to be sensitive to criticism and input from different interest groups throughout the process of the project’s development, remembering why the project was undertaken in the first place. Criticism of our projects needs to be taken seriously but not personally, and

linguists cannot afford to be defensive about the investment of professional expertise, creativity, energy, resources, and good intentions. Flexibility in the evolution of a project is critical, sometimes leading to a product that may be a faint resemblance of the original idea. That was certainly the case of *First Language*. In the final analysis, the community deserves to recognize itself and to feel comfortable with what it sees in terms of its representation. If the community can see itself comfortably and confidently in the final product, then we can be assured that, despite the interpretation imposed by the producer and linguists in the process, the community can be well served in the presentation.

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Notes

1. One example is the exhibit *Freedom's Voice: Celebrating the Black Experience on the Outer Banks*, curated by Charlotte Vaughn and Drew Grimes, at the Gallery of the Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC, 2006–7.

2. Some awards the film has received include Best Public Service Film at the American Indian Film Festival (2015), Audience Award at the Red Rock Film Festival (2015), Tar Heel Tie-In Award at the Longleaf Film Festival (2015), and Best Regional Documentary Award at the Southeastern Film Festival (2015).

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Hartwell S. Francis

The Role of the University in Negotiating Language Revitalization

1. Introduction

Recently, the Western Carolina University Cherokee Language Program has had the pleasure to work with the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) community to document language revitalization efforts in the community. From our position in the University of North Carolina system, we were able to work with the Language and Life Project at NC State University in the production of *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee* (Hutcheson and Cullinan 2014), a feature-length video documentary of efforts to revitalize the Cherokee language in western North Carolina, the homeland of the Cherokee people and still home to the EBCI. The documentary, its portrayal of the community, and our work on documentation of language revitalization in the community provide the background to the present discussion of the role of the university and of higher education in worldwide language revitalization and language plurality.

The documentary begins with speaker Myrtle Driver Johnson, a Beloved Woman of the EBCI, expressing her concern that her dog may be the last being with whom she will be able to engage in Cherokee language interaction. Johnson's introduction to the problem signals an awareness of language loss that her parents' generation did not necessarily share. Several times in the documentary, Cherokee language speakers recall that in their youth everyone around them spoke the Cherokee language. The speakers recall and lament socioeconomic pressures that pushed them and their parents to

cede cultural space to the English language. We believe it is incumbent on universities to study and understand the benefits of language diversity and the loss of language diversity.

First Language shows how fragile language can be and presents a clear picture of a moribund language. Beloved Man Jerry Wolfe, for example, cites 200 Cherokee speakers out of an EBCI population of 14,000 — roughly 1.5 percent. The speakers interviewed in the documentary are all older adults, beyond middle age. The older speakers contrast with the young language learners, and significantly, there are few fluent adult speakers between the ages of fifteen and fifty. Because family-based intergenerational transfer has effectively halted, the community will no longer speak the language without drastic intervention. In the documentary, however, we see that the people are open to presenting their work and their struggle to save their language in spite of the grave injustices perpetrated on them in the past and in spite of the socioeconomic and political pressures to shift to English.

At the most obvious level, the Cherokee language of the EBCI is in grave danger of disappearing. The documentary shows that people of the EBCI are quite concerned about the loss of their language. With this background, I examine language revitalization problems discussed in the literature, consider problems that we have seen in our efforts at the university and in the community, and attempt to articulate an adequately constrained and productive role for universities in language revitalization efforts. By unpacking the documentary, we can elucidate the role of universities in understanding heritage language context in community interaction, in language planning, in language observation and documentation, and in language education.

The literature on successful community-based language revitalization indicates four key program levels (Whaley 2011): community, planning, observation and documentation, and education. The university plays a significant role at each level. We are quite proud that most of the younger adult language learners portrayed in the documentary came through Western Carolina University. For better or worse, universities are components of communities, and it behooves us to understand the university in the context of the community. Universities as educational institutions are able to provide clear assessment of the potential for language heritage revitalization and to steward, to some extent, language planning processes. Further, universities can increase positive valuation of a heritage language. Universities also maintain the capacity for state-of-the-art language observation and documentation, including current community-based approaches. Universities, for better or worse, are critical to achieving state-certified education programs

from cradle to grave. With the documentary as background, I examine the complexity of the Cherokee-speaking community and the role of universities in language planning, documentation, and education.

2. Community

Working with the community to understand language and education ecology is a key role of universities. Hermes (2007), for example, describes how language loss in a community can lead youth in the community to reject academic discipline. Of more concern, Hallett, Chandler, and Lalonde (2007) describe increases in youth suicide correlated with heritage language loss. By portraying representatives and graduates of Western Carolina University actively engaged in language documentation and education, the documentary demonstrates the role of universities in complex communities.

The documentary can be read as a low-resolution map of community complexity. The EBCI maintained its portion of the Cherokee homeland during and after the removal of the old Cherokee Nation in 1838. Current Cherokee, North Carolina, lands of the EBCI and its members were outside the old Cherokee Nation (Finger 1984:16). Current Graham County, North Carolina, lands were allotted to a combination of Cherokee people who avoided removal and who returned after removal (Finger 1984:49).

The documentary emphasizes and prioritizes the Cherokee language, providing a sample of dialect variation. The speakers express themselves in the Cherokee language, and there are subtitles for non-Cherokee-speaking audiences. Cherokee language is an Iroquoian language, but it is the only member of the southern branch, separated from other Iroquoian languages by thousands of years (Lounsbury 1961). Scholars have recognized three dialects of Cherokee since at least Worcester (1828). The Lower, Eastern, or Eladi dialect has been lost. The Middle or Kituhwa dialect and the Western, Overhill, or Odali dialect are still spoken today (Mooney 1900:16–17; King 1975:9–10). Scholars have argued for three distinct dialects based on regular segmental sound correspondences; supersegmental and morphosyntactic comparison studies remain to be done. The Cherokee language spoken around Cherokee, North Carolina, has been categorized as Kituhwa dialect. The Cherokee language spoken in the Snowbird community near Robbinsville, North Carolina, has been characterized as “a mixing of elements from the Overhill and Middle dialects” (King 1975:10). In the video, Myrtle Driver Johnson, Marie Junaluska, and Jonah Wolfe from the Cherokee, North Carolina, community represent subdialects of the Kituhwa dialect. Mary Brown and Shirley Oswalt

from the Snowbird community near Robbinsville, North Carolina, represent the Snowbird dialect.

The documentary presents young immersion program speakers and older second-language speakers. It provides examples of different types of speakers and learners, and demonstrates university participation in the community. In the documentary, as a representative of Western Carolina University, I speak to the summer school students and lead them through some of the materials and techniques developed in the Cherokee Language Program at the university. I work with the immersion students, participating with them in the completion of their Cherokee language worksheets. I work with the Cherokee Language Consortium of the Cherokee Nation, the United Keetoowah Band, and the EBCCI, assisting in the development of meeting agendas and documenting meeting content. Universities play a role in supporting language interactions in the community through education, administration, and sponsorship.

Universities, by working with the speakers of a heritage language, play a role in the valuation of the language in the community and across communities. Anderson (2011) notes the influence of the wider community on language loss. The language ideology of the matrix culture greatly determines the health of the language of a small population of speakers. Universities have a role in educating the general population on the importance of diversity in a range of domains: financial, agricultural, cultural, and linguistic. In this context, universities, grounded in the liberal education tradition, can represent the languages of small populations to the larger community in order to emphasize the benefits of diverse world views and to demonstrate the power, effectiveness, and beauty of diverse languages. Johns and Mazurkewich (2001:358) maintain that “it is important in terms of status of a native language within its own region that it be taught at the university level.” The documentary itself, guided in part through universities, represents the role of universities in language valuation.

However, universities face a problem of authenticity in language revitalization work. In the Cherokee Language Program at Western Carolina University, coordinator Thomas Belt is a speaker of the Western or Overhill dialect. This creates a crisis of authenticity for our program in the community, in which distinct dialects have developed. In our experience, adult language learners will build up a set of language prejudices around their heritage language, perhaps in part as a defensive mechanism against the grueling task of language acquisition. As language obsolesces, speakers begin to feel inadequate to the task of representing the entire community. They question

their own language ability and become reluctant to participate in language education activities (Adkins 2013). The corollary is that language learners in the community question teacher language authenticity. Awareness of the problem and education on the problem are the purview of universities.

The *First Language* documentary demonstrates only a sample of the complexity of the community. Speakers from a range of different neighborhoods, separated by scores of miles, outline their various experiences as speakers and learners. The documentary presents several different language education projects: the Western Carolina University Cherokee Language Program, the Atse Kituwah Cherokee Language Immersion Academy, the Snowbird Summer School, the Graham County Indian Education Craft School, and the Cherokee Language Consortium. Although the documentary captures significant complexity in the community, the portrayal is still limited, leaving out many formal and informal adult language education programs and Cherokee language programs in the regional school system. Significantly, the documentary leaves out the considerable Cherokee language work that is happening in the Cherokee Central Schools district, and it leaves out the extensive language revitalization work of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and of the United Keetoowah Band. Because the interactions of even a small population in a restricted geography can be quite complex, it is difficult to develop a complete survey in a short time. With a significant investment in community relations, universities can play an important role in coordinating language efforts and developing relationships across programs.

3. Language Planning

In our experience, state authorities do not understand the problems involved in language revitalization. Without the involvement of state authorities, teacher certification and formal K-12 language instruction are difficult to attain. In some cases, states have ceded certification authority to sovereign communities, but in our experience, state authorities require contracted standardized language testing for language instructor certification and state-certified K-12 teachers with a language subject focus. We see very few language speakers who are also education professionals, and state certification becomes an obstacle. It is better to find exceptions for a handful of high school language instructors than to attempt a contracted standardized language test for a language with few or no written texts, a grammar written as a doctoral thesis, and an aging and dialectically diverse speaker base. Communicating language

program challenges and researching and testing solutions is a key role of universities.

Communicating the value of language is the first goal. Bender (2002) discusses in detail the symbolic value of Cherokee language in the EBCI community, and the *First Language* documentary at times focuses on Cherokee language signage as an indication of Cherokee cultural vitality. Universities are in a position to educate those outside the community on the symbolic value of language and they can develop education policy at all levels in support of heritage languages. Courses in languages of small populations do not happen without political and symbolic work, and our work at Western Carolina University has included advising our partners on the development of legislation. In 2013, for example, the North Carolina legislature passed Senate Bill 444, the UNC/Cherokee Language Bill, and the governor signed it into law as Session Law 2013-322. The law requires all University of North Carolina System constituent institutions to develop and implement a policy that recognizes Cherokee language as a language a student may use to satisfy degree-based language requirements. Western Carolina University makes overall system success possible by offering Cherokee language to the system through online language education, but given the cost of a language program, universities must be convinced of its benefit. Universities can play a key role in valuation that can result in legislation leading to the possibility of language programs community-wide.

Communicating the task at hand is the second goal. Universities are in a position to make a clear assessment of potential for a language revitalization program and to advise on different models for language revitalization. Critiques of language maintenance programs indicate the need to gather the language resources in the community context. Accessible, leveled language learning materials emerge as the greatest community need (Penfield and Tucker 2011). Language and language arts education professionals emerge as a close second (Johns and Mazurkewich 2001). Additionally, research indicates that communication networks in a community are key to maintaining a language (Frey 2013). Universities have a role in assisting the community in compiling materials and planning for their use.

Universities are in a position to advise on and assist with the development of language curricula at all levels. In our experience, we recognize a critical need for developing a quality two-year high school program. The North Carolina public higher education system, for example, requires two years of high school language study for initial enrollment in the state's universities.

Developing heritage language classes in regional high schools allows students to study their heritage language and remain on college track. Further, the high school language course work ensures that students enter university programs at a higher language level. Without communication with universities, communities do not necessarily know about university entrance requirements and language policy choices.

The education system itself emerges as a key domain of language use, and universities are in a position to encourage the development of the education system to serve the needs of language communities. It is education policy that promotes or prevents heritage language use. At Western Carolina University, our work has included the development of heritage language courses at our university. We offer Cherokee language as a component of study leading to a degree in another field. Our goal, based on community input, is to ground our students in the Cherokee language as they seek professional degrees in education. Universities decide on the extent of language scholarship and course work, whether it will be a team working on the problem as research or as a field methods course and whether it will include course work in the language.

Immersion, K-12, and university programs presuppose Cherokee language medium educators, who begin to develop as adolescents, and universities have the capacity to reach these adolescents and develop them into language scholars and educators who can build language education programs. Poignantly, jesse little doe baird [sic] (2013:21) writes, “Since we had no speakers and could not afford to hire a linguist to teach us about the documents written in our language, i [sic] went back to school.” Johns and Mazurkewich (2001) outline a program for the development of education professionals who happen to teach in their native languages. They observe that literacy and language arts courses in indigenous languages are few and far between, and they argue that it is vital that universities offer these kinds of courses.

The literature on language revitalization and maintenance is replete with advice for interested scholars on avoiding problems. Whaley (2011) urges scholars and, through them, communities to plan carefully for language program development because scholars underestimate the complexity of the community, the language, language-use networks, and control of the program. As a community participant, a university is potentially the locus for planning for these problems. However, language revitalization can be an expensive and difficult project, and the benefits can be difficult to discern. Universities will require clear articulation of program goals, and they will

have to work closely with communities to develop heritage languages as a subject area.

4. Observation and Documentation

In the *First Language* documentary, the juxtaposition of the aged speakers and the children in the classrooms presents a compelling portrayal of interrupted intergenerational transfer. The parents want their children to speak the language of their grandparents. The children, eloquently portrayed in the documentary, want to learn their heritage language. The grandparent speakers are committed to current community projects in Cherokee language education, yet the language continues to obsolesce. The current older generation has been unable to pass the Cherokee language to the current middle-aged and younger generation. The language is moribund, and all the intergenerational speakers of the language are past child-bearing age. Nevertheless, language interactions between parents and their children are critical to language revitalization and continued health. Universities, which already encourage intergenerational language activity, have a role in observing and documenting language use shifts.

In the documentary, Melody Turner expresses the central problem with institutional transfer of language heritage. She notes that the students require constant rehearsing in the language because they lose the language from one course of study to the next. The only domain of Cherokee language use for some of the children in the community is the educational institution. Other educators interviewed in the documentary note the prevalence of English language in the community, and they understand the Sisyphean nature of language revitalization. The interviewees in the documentary clearly articulate and lament a subtractive language ideology, “a zero-sum game, necessitating the replacement of all non-valorized languages with the dominant ones” (Anderson 2011:274). Universities, through research exemplified by the documentary, can work with communities to document language attitudes and language use and can work to disseminate research results to communities.

Clearly universities play a role in quality language history research. Walker and Sarbaugh (1993), for example, outline the history of the Cherokee writing system, the syllabary developed by Sequoyah circa 1820. The *First Language* documentary demonstrates the importance of the writing system in the community. But the best Cherokee language documentations are written

for linguists as an audience (e.g., Feeling 1975; King 1975; Cook 1979). The best Cherokee language instruction materials are relatively unstructured, based on incorrect analyses of the language, and presented in unproductive, obsolete language learning methods (e.g., Walker 1965; Holmes and Smith 1975). Penfield and Tucker (2011) outline the literature on problems faced by communities attempting to develop language programs based on language documentation written for the academic audience.

Often overlooked is the role of Cherokee people themselves as scholars of the language. The documentary demonstrates Cherokee speakers, teachers, and learners as scholars of their own language. It is simply astounding, for example, that there is little scholarly understanding of the one hundred years of typeset Cherokee language literature from the advent of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper in 1828 to the end of the *Cherokee Advocate* newspaper in 1906. Without community-based scholarly research and packaging of information, a field of study cannot be presented as received knowledge for professional application and further development. In some sense, this paucity of scholarly research exposes the past and current bias of language work. Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1966) and Mooney (1900) devoted their attention to manuscripts in the language because the manuscripts appeared to be more authentically Cherokee. Parins (2013), in his brief discussion of Cherokee language literature, devotes his attention to texts available in English. He focuses on sacred texts translated by Mooney and by Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick and on widely distributed and discussed translations from English. In language revitalization work, universities have a role in shifting focus from narrowly conceived academic study to community driven language use research leading to application.

Penfield and Tucker (2011) outline the emerging field of contemporary community-based language documentation. They point to a false distinction between documentation as scientific and efforts to preserve language as nonscientific. Documentation as a record of patterns of use is a key component of revitalization. The *First Language* documentary, for example, shows low-stakes assessment as a part of the language learning process. In the documentary, Lou Jackson assesses a language learner on color vocabulary. In our experience, assessment is one of the few times when language learners and language speakers sit down together and interact in the language. Community-based assessment should be “ecologically sensitive” (Fulcher 2010:2) and emphasize communication and language attainment over consequences. Universities are in a position to encourage documentation of community-based language assessment as a component of language

documentation. The research can provide communities with insight into language attitudes, language attainment goals, and language revitalization progress.

5. Language Education

Heritage language education involves K-12 programs, community classes, immersion camps, workshops, master-apprentice programs, and more. It involves working with all age groups simultaneously, first- and second-language acquisition, teaching techniques, materials development, curriculum development, and teacher training. With the interruption of intergenerational transfer succinctly portrayed in the documentary, it is a foregone conclusion that many of the current generation and of subsequent generations of educators will be speakers of Cherokee as a second language. Universities have a well-established role in developing language experts and educators.

Universities are in a position to determine the extent to which language education presupposes language standardization. Language standardization may be impossible in the compressed time frame in which we would like to see language programs implemented. The already difficult problem of developing a standard language for literature and education is complicated by dialect and language obsolescence. In the documentary, printer J. Frank Brannon succinctly summarizes the state of affairs: global languages have had hundreds of years and thousands of scholars working to develop language standards and literatures, while languages of small populations seem forced to develop standards and literatures in only decades if they are to remain vital. Significantly, discussions and debates about language standardization most often occur outside the use of the language. In the short term, we should examine the assumptions of standardization.

We have seen pressure to change or abandon the Cherokee syllabic writing system, which is portrayed throughout the documentary. The effort to change or abandon a writing system is a symptom of language loss. Foremost, these efforts indicate that no reading or writing in Cherokee is happening in the community. Writing system issues then dominate and exhaust participants. Perhaps more disconcerting, orthography redevelopment efforts represent a common strategy in the face of the surprising difficulty of second-language learning and education. Because the task of acquiring a language fluently is so difficult, language learners and educators seek out easy solutions. The easiest naive analysis is that students are not learning because the language is not written in a particular way. In our experience, graded language learning

materials and communicative teaching techniques provide better outcomes than revised orthographies.

With some understanding of language variation as background, scholars can negotiate with the community to come to pragmatic solutions for continuing work on curricula, materials, and pedagogical techniques for teaching with written and unwritten texts in the language while discussions of standards continue. As the documentary shows, current efforts center on formal education of child learners. The documentary shows children in the Cherokee language immersion program and children in a second-language learning program. It also shows the adult language learners in their roles as instructors in the immersion and second-language learning programs. Universities are in a position to encourage the valuation of different dialects and learner language while research on language obsolescence and revitalization continue.

The immersion school is the most successful model for reaching the goal of creating a new generation of speakers (Anderson 2011:282). However, language immersion education requires a cohort of professional instructors who can deliver their lessons in the target language and a curriculum and materials based in the target language. The reality for many languages is that the professional teachers will be second-language learners. In particular, future education professionals will depend heavily on materials that have already been prepared in the target language. This presupposes years of age-graded content lessons in a dozen subject areas in the target language. Western Carolina University already trains students in the development of curriculum and materials, and it is a small step to training students in development of target language curriculum and materials. The documentary shows Cherokee Language Consortium speakers, the last cohort of intergenerational speakers, developing fluent Cherokee language models for adaptation and adoption by Cherokee medium educators.

Universities have a role in packaging and delivering language education materials. The tradition in linguistic fieldwork is to produce a grammar, a dictionary, and a set of texts. This model has been replaced, to great acclaim (Anderson 2011:284), with a new model to produce a grammar, an electronic dictionary, and an electronic text. However, there is little empirical evidence of the benefit of the change. Universities can more closely consider the domains of language use and of electronically mediated domains in particular. Many contemporary information distribution systems are developed in universities, and universities and community colleges are the location for training in information distribution systems, including social media. Nevertheless,

caution is in order, and the research role of universities toward developing best practices becomes salient. The promise of the digital domain is not that we can create electronic dictionaries for the classroom but that speakers and learners can more easily access materials and language-use networks. The *First Language* documentary, for example, shows students in the immersion classroom using and reading from digital devices, and it shows the summer school students recording Cherokee language data to smartphones.

While a language community will need professional community language educators, the focus of university language programs should be on developing competent language users who can function professionally in other domains. For a small population, it does not make sense to develop a surplus of language instructors for positions that cannot be funded. Instead, universities can develop students in other content areas, especially education, while ensuring that they have the tools to maintain a lifelong habit of language learning and use.

6. Conclusion

Close-knit indigenous communities will understand immediately any pandering or trespass. Developing a positive, mutually beneficial relationship, on the other hand, will require outside institutions to commit for the long term, to participate constantly, and to produce results that are valuable to the community. To make the commitment to community, a university has to be convinced that there is benefit from a program in a nonglobal language. Beliefs in functionality and monetary value that are detrimental to indigenous languages persist and work against language reclamation projects. Scholars within universities must continue to argue for the cognitive, health, and cultural benefits of diversity in general. They must argue specifically for the benefits of languages that have been deprecated as inferior and actively suppressed. The intersection of communities and universities produces research into heritage languages as a key component of culture, identity, and well-being (Chew 2015:158). Universities can provide resources for the discussion of the issues involved and, by doing so, increase the prestige and understanding of the languages in the wider community. By engendering positive valuation, universities make language scholarship more likely.

In part, shift in the perception of nonglobal languages develops from recognition that marginalized populations and universities are components of communities. Understanding community networks is key to language revitalization projects. The responsibility for safeguarding the language properly

rests with the community, and too often language revitalization programs lose sight of the goal of developing the speaking community. Universities can work with communities to expand networks of language users and domains of language use, but becoming a speaker is a difficult, lifelong, community-based task. Universities can ground language learners in the basic structures of the language and prepare students for autonomous learning and for community-based learning, but universities have a role in ensuring that students of the language leave with other content skills. Universities can guide students through language learning to become lifelong language students and even becoming K-12 educators, linguists, sociologists, doctors, and professionals of other types.

As members of communities, universities have a responsibility to listen to other community members and institutions. Universities can accept all community-sanctioned language users and document their language use and language use networks. Based on language documentation, universities have a duty to develop materials and to assist in distribution according to the desires and needs of communities. Universities need to work to demystify education and the education system because one of the many contradictions in language revitalization is that the language of universities and its proxy the textbook is never the language of the community. Nevertheless, communities often feel inadequate in the face of the education system. Universities demystify the process by articulating the goals of teacher training with respect to the local languages and cultures (Johns and Mazurkewich 2001:357).

Language obsolescence presents a profound pragmatic challenge to linguistics. The task of revitalizing a language is so broad that it touches on sociolinguistics and the study of language and identity and language-use networks, on descriptive linguistics and the need to understand and explain language structure, and on historical linguistics to illuminate contact changes and to trace language changes up to the language of the children in immersion schools. Language revitalization work quickly highlights both the inadequacy of most descriptions of languages and the chasm between description and use. One of the principal implications of language revitalization work is that language is not a rule-based, independent object in a book. Instead, language revitalization work leads theorists to understand language as a system of patterns created by community interactions. Understanding language as a system of patterns created by the community has implications for the university as an institution of the community.

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Christian Koops

Language Revitalization and Sociolinguistics

A Commentary on *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee*

1. Introduction

I would like to use this commentary on Neal Hutcheson and Danica Cullinan's 2014 documentary *First Language: The Race to Save Cherokee* as an opportunity to speak about language revitalization to an audience of sociolinguists. The documentary raises a number of questions about language variation and change — sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly — that are also often discussed in our field. That makes it possible to contrast the interviewees' explicit and implicit ideas about language with those typically found in sociolinguistic discussions. I choose this approach here in part because my own work as a variationist sociolinguist on the one hand and as a contributor to language revitalization on the other has sometimes put me in different roles, roles that correspond roughly to the two perspectives I contrast here. Each role seems to come with a slightly different set of ideas and commitments. A number of these ideas and commitments can be observed in the documentary, which is why I believe a discussion of them will be of interest to viewers of the documentary, in particular to linguists and all who approach the documentary from a sociolinguistic perspective.

To begin this discussion, let me point out that, at least at first glance, variationist sociolinguistics with its long history of community outreach and

engagement (see, e.g., Wolfram, Reaser, and Vaughn 2008) seems to be naturally aligned with language revitalization activism. After all, in each case the goals involve fostering public support for and an understanding of the value of a minority language or language variety. On a closer view, however, the two traditions turn out to be rather different. Arguably, one outward indicator of this disconnect is that linguists working in revitalization are not very often sociolinguists. In my experience, they are more commonly linguists trained in documentation, linguistic anthropologists, or educational linguists. One reason may be that variationist sociolinguistics with its focus on dialects has not always linked up as easily with issues of multilingualism as some of these other fields. Another possible reason, and the one I explore here, is that some of the assumptions of language revitalization actually conflict with ideas in sociolinguistics. In the following, I discuss several examples of such points of contrast. I conclude with a consideration of the goals of language revitalization overall and the question of what might be gained if revitalization activism incorporated a perspective more similar to that usually adopted in sociolinguistic activism.

2. Language and Ethnic Identity

One striking aspect of *First Language*, especially when viewed in the context of the other documentaries from the Language and Life Project at NC State University, is the high degree of conscious ideological reflection displayed by the interviewees as they talk about language. Viewers don't need to infer what the interviewees' language attitudes are or what social meaning the Cherokee language has to them. This is explained explicitly and eloquently by the interviewees themselves. In this way, we are quickly introduced to the central theme of the documentary: the relationship between speaking Cherokee and being Cherokee. The idea that the language is a critical component of Cherokee identity, perhaps *the* key to being Cherokee, is what explains the remarkable efforts put forward by the interviewees. In fact, this idea makes it seem self-evident that, in order for the Cherokees to maintain their ethnic identity, the language must not cease to be spoken. This message is most urgently delivered by Renissa McLaughlin, the New Kituwah Academy program director: "Within the language are values, and traditions, and history, and ways of life. That's what speaking Cherokee is about. And so, without that we lose all of that. We don't just lose something that's very difficult or that's something that our elderly people [speak]. We lose really the heart and soul of who we are as Cherokee people."

The video producers align the narrative fully with this view of the relationship between language and ethnic identity, in which speaking the language naturally follows from and completes other ways of being Cherokee. Some of the interviewees' comments suggest a quasi-iconic relationship between the Cherokee language, Cherokee ancestry, and the Cherokee homeland, which is featured in the form of the local nature imagery that frames the documentary.

It is only at one point that the video producers gently explore a difficult implication of this language ideology, namely, the conclusion that, for those who today no longer speak the language, a true Cherokee way of life may be unattainable. Hartwell Francis, linguist and program director of the Cherokee Language Program at Western Carolina University, relativizes this strong view in the documentary: "I think that rhetoric is a little bit too harsh, but definitely that would be one of the major drives for learning the Cherokee language, is your sense of Cherokee heritage and the language as who you are or who you want to be."

It is at this point that the documentary suggests for a moment an alternative understanding of the relationship between language and identity, one in which being Cherokee is not as closely linked to one's command of the ancestral language and could also find other linguistic expression. One might develop this line of thinking further and ask whether it would be possible to "be Cherokee" in English, for example, as a speaker of a Cherokee substrate variety of English. But as Wolfram, Daugherty, and Cullinan (2014) have shown in their comparison of language ideologies in the Lumbee and Cherokee communities of North Carolina, this possibility is not part of the Cherokee community's self-perception. Rather, the choice is seen as that between English or Cherokee, thereby erasing dialect variation as a site of social meaning. The documentary's narrative largely follows this perspective.

3. The Role of Educational Institutions

Perhaps the most obvious point of tension between the findings of sociolinguistics and the assumptions behind revitalization in the context of the documentary is the role of educational institutions in bringing about language change. The majority, although not all, of the revitalization efforts featured in *First Language* are school based. The immersion school is presented as the key mechanism whereby the language will be reintroduced into the community: "These little ones is where the turnaround is going to begin. They are

going to take the language and the culture that they're learning now and pass it on to their children.”

In the literature on language variation and change, by contrast, schools are not usually credited with the ability to directly mold students' linguistic identities. Work on language and identity formation in the school context (e.g., Eckert 2000) suggests that schools play a more variable and indirect role. Educational institutions may set the scene for the development of a “peer-based social order” (Eckert 2008:25), but the linguistic choices made in the construction of this order are in the hands of the members of the peer cohort. Preadolescents and adolescents position themselves in one way or another to what the school has in mind for them, but the idea that adult institutions directly shape adolescent identities is not an obvious proposition. At least, it does not seem self-evident that the new generation of Cherokee speakers will naturally continue their parents' project. Of course, the interviewees see the immersion school not as an ordinary school but as an extension of the family. Yet here again, a contrast emerges with the long-standing observation that older children and adolescents may not be oriented to their parents, or even necessarily to their siblings, in defining their own linguistic identity but, rather, that they are oriented to their peer group (Labov 1964).

4. Linguistic Innovation

A related issue is the question of linguistic innovation in the course of language revitalization. From a sociolinguistic perspective, one would be open to the idea that child and adult learners who adopt for themselves a linguistic identity that involves speaking Cherokee will also, consciously or unconsciously, change the language in small ways to suit their own social purposes. In fact, some amount of linguistic innovation would be expected to occur. However, the idea of innovation seems to conflict with the goals of revitalization. It would appear that language revitalization is intrinsically a normative enterprise in which the new generation of speakers is held to the standards of the last generation of first-language speakers. How does one square this with the decidedly descriptive view of language held by sociolinguists?

First Language does not delve into the issue of language change, but it includes a large amount of Cherokee spoken by L1 speakers as well as by adult and child L2 speakers. This allows the audience to hear some differences. My own experience with second-language learners of Cherokee leads me to expect innovation especially in the upcoming generation's phonology, as

the complex Cherokee tone and accent system (Uchihara 2016) is shaped by contact-induced change. It will be interesting to see how communities engaged in revitalization today, such as the one featured in the documentary, deal with the phenomenon of innovation. One interesting recent example comes from a dissertation on the notion of speakerhood in the context of the Oklahoma Cherokee revitalization program: Teehee (2014) finds that adult second-language learners, when faced with the formidable task of attaining native-like fluency, regularly sidestep this challenge by rejecting the label of “speaker” for themselves altogether, preferring instead other terms, such as “user.”

5. The Historical Causes of Language Shift

The question of how to interpret language change in revitalization arises not only for the future of Cherokee but also for its past, specifically the historical causes of the communities’ shift to English in the first place: “Language revitalization involves counter-balancing the forces which have caused or are causing language shift” (Grenoble and Whaley 2006:21). It follows that in order for a revitalization program to address these forces effectively, they have to be examined and taken into account. What the causes of language shift were in the case of the North Carolina Cherokee and how contemporary revitalization efforts seek to balance them are not addressed in much detail in *First Language* (but see Frey 2013). The documentary briefly reviews some relevant factors, specifically the traumatic boarding school experience and the forced assimilation of Cherokee speakers in the first half of the twentieth century. This narrative is of course of the highest importance. Still, the next set of interview clips also hint at other factors. One speaker notes, “Our parents wanted better things for us and encouraged us to learn English.” Another recalls, “[My mother] talked to us in the Cherokee language, but there was a bigger interest in the English, because that’s the way we were living.”

These quotes speak to the powerful socioeconomic incentives for Cherokee speakers to shift to English and to the changing social meaning of Cherokee and English during the twentieth century. The documentary does not dwell on the earlier generations’ reasons for allowing language shift to happen, perhaps to avoid the conclusion that the loss of the language was in some respect “their fault.” Here it would be possible to go further by adopting a perspective from which language shift is viewed not strictly as loss but also as a motivated choice, even if that choice was not a free choice but one made under unfair circumstances (Bobaljik 1998). Shining more light on

this choice would have the benefit of granting the earlier generations more agency rather than casting them largely in the role of victims. It would also make it possible to examine the possibility that for some in these earlier generations speaking Cherokee was not as tightly fused with Cherokee cultural identity as it is for the interviewees today.

6. The Goals of Language Revitalization

A particularly difficult question raised by *First Language* is that of the ultimate goal of revitalization. At what point can a community consider its ancestral language to be revitalized? The documentary offers what might be called a “pure” interpretation. The goal is the renewal of intergenerational transmission of Cherokee as a first language (see also Hinton 2011). In my experience of working in language revitalization off and on for over a decade, this idea of creating a new generation of speakers who will then pass the language on to their children was fairly widespread in the early 2000s. Today, with the hindsight of a decade and a half, and keeping in mind the issues discussed above, one might argue for a recalibration of these goals. Doing so holds the promise of making revitalization more attainable. In addition, it may also help align ideas in the fields of language revitalization and sociolinguistics about how language choices work and what linguistic activism can and should achieve.

For the sake of the argument, we might distinguish a revitalization 1.0 from a revitalization 2.0. By the former I mean the type of activism that emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which embraced the ambitious goals seen in the documentary. By the latter I mean a new type, more modest and pragmatic in its aims but profiting from an updated and expanded definition of what counts as successful revitalization. To illustrate the 2.0 version, it is useful to look at existing revitalization efforts with a view to what has already been achieved. If we were to compare the North Carolina communities’ level of awareness and appreciation of the language today with what existed before there was widespread interest in “saving” it, we might find that what has been created already is a broad-based, community-wide effort to find out as much as possible about the language and to use it as often as is practical. The creation of such a movement might count as revitalization in its own right. From a more encompassing perspective, then, any effort to document the language and make it accessible to the community on an enduring basis, including the various efforts showcased in the documentary, and in fact the

making and distribution of this documentary itself, would count as successful revitalization rather than merely the preparation for it. Ultimately, this idea of revitalization might turn out to be quite similar in spirit to sociolinguistic outreach efforts (Wolfram, Reaser, and Vaughn 2008). The crucial similarity is that in both cases bringing about the reversal of language choices, while desirable, is secondary to achieving a reversal of language attitudes by fostering an informed engagement with language.

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Eric Wilbanks

Variationist Research in the South

Current Perspectives and Future Directions

1. Introduction

Like the changing nature of the South itself, the methodologies, questions, and communities central to linguistic variationist work in the South are rapidly evolving. As new groups and communities gain prominence in the region, researchers are quick to document the sociolinguistic effect such shifts have on both well-established and new communities. As new methodologies are developed, variationists in the South are quick to adapt them to address their research questions, expanding and diversifying the scope of their analyses. Despite this constant evolution of focus and method, several common, underlying themes have shaped the nature of variationist linguistic work in the South and will continue to do so for decades to come. This combination of long-established and emergent research topics is a telling indication of the vitality of the variationist tradition in the region, as researchers are well equipped to tackle the changing face of the South and apply insights gained from previous work to new questions. In the sections that follow, I document what I view to be the research issues that will define the nature of variationist work in the South in future decades: urbanization and increased ethnolinguistic diversity, African American English, Spanish language contact, and methodological and statistical innovations. These insights are drawn in part from the fruitful cross-pollination of research at the concurrent meetings of Language Variety in the South (LAVIS) IV and Southeastern Conference on Linguistics (SECOL) 82 held at NC State University in April 2015. It is my hope

that this chapter highlights some of the emergent topics and methodologies that will define our discipline in the coming years and provide a beneficial reference for researchers old and new.

2. Changing Demographics in the South

2.1. URBANIZATION

Following the release of the 2000 U.S. Census, Tillery, Bailey, and Wikle (2004) detailed the three main demographic phenomena that are likely to shape the trajectory of demographics in the United States during the twenty-first century. These forces — urbanization, migration (both domestic and foreign), and ethnic diversification — are particularly prominent within the South as changing demographics continue to shape the social contexts of the region.¹ Consider the data presented in figure 22.1, which show that the share of Southerners residing in urban areas has increased from 18 percent to 76 percent in just over a century.

This rise in urbanization in the South is due in part to the influx of domestic in-migrants from other regions in the United States, with developing southern industries and commercial interests drawing workers from other states and subsequently contributing to the growth of suburbs and urban centers. The renewed migration of African Americans from the North to the South, termed the “New Great Migration” (Frey 2004), has also dramatically shaped the patterns of domestic migration in the South. As presented in figure 22.2, the South remains the region with domestic in-migrants comprising the highest percentage of its population.

In his concluding chapter of the LAVIS III volume (Picone and Davies 2015), Walt Wolfram echoed the sentiment of Tillery, Bailey, and Wikle (2004), underscoring the importance of these dramatic demographic shifts and noting that “there is surprisingly little study of language change taking place in the major metropolitan areas of the South” (Wolfram 2015:762). Since LAVIS III was held, the urban South as a locus for language variation and change has become a fruitful topic for investigation, with much research focusing on the reversal of the southern vowel shift or other dialect-leveling processes occurring in urban centers (e.g., Thomas 2001; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; Dodsworth and Kohn 2012; Forrest 2013; Wilbanks 2016; see also chapter 12 this volume). Through investigations such as these, we have begun to exploit the unique demographic changes in the urban South to broaden our understanding of the principles governing language change. As the South experiences rapid urbanization and population shift, research into urban-rural

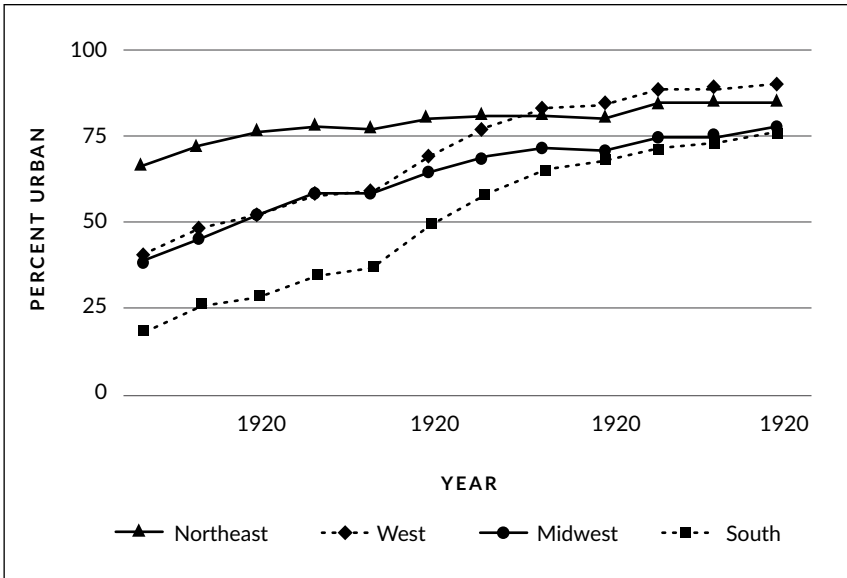


FIGURE 22.1. Urban population as a percentage of the total population, by U.S. region

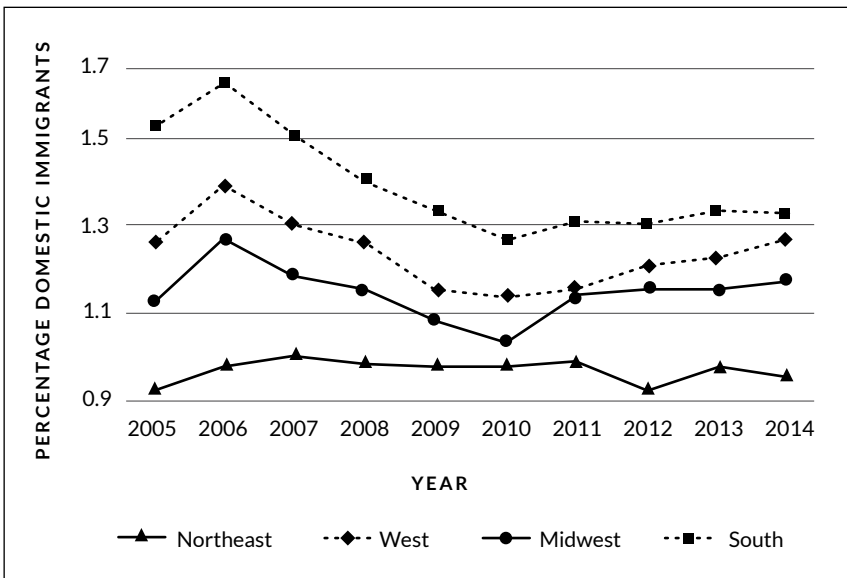


FIGURE 22.2. Domestic in-migrants as a percentage of the total population, by U.S. region

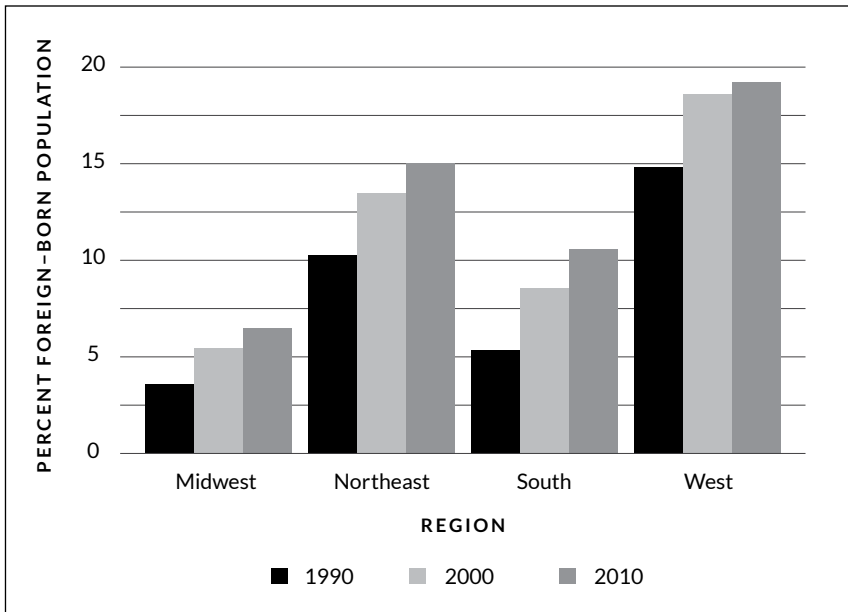


FIGURE 22.3. Foreign-born population as a percentage of the total population, by U.S. region

dynamics, social networks, and dialect leveling will likely similarly advance our knowledge of linguistic theory in general.

2.2. ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

Although immigration to the United States slowed during the first half of the twentieth century due to World Wars and the Great Depression, a resurgence of foreign immigration continues to increase the diversity of ethnicities and languages present in the nation. As shown in figure 22.3, this increase in immigration is pronounced in the South and across the country — for example, the percentage of foreign-born southern residents has more than doubled between 1990 and 2010.² With this immigration has come a diversification of the languages spoken in the South. From 2000 to 2014, for example, the number of Southerners older than five who spoke a language other than English in the home rose from 15.3 percent to 18.5 percent.

Although most of the foreign-born population came from Mexico or other Latin American countries, the South also includes sizable and growing communities of South Asian and East Asian origin. Figure 22.4 presents the changing face of the South by charting the percent change of various racial

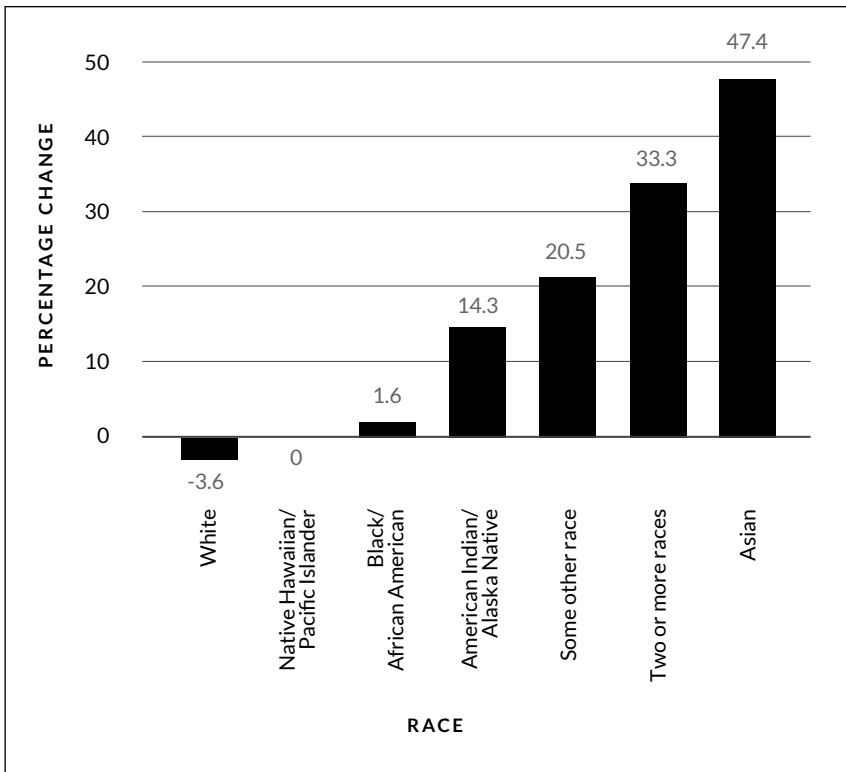


FIGURE 22.4. Percent change of racial groups in the South, 2000–2010

groups from 2000 to 2010. Notably, white Southerners saw a decrease of 3.6 percent, while minority racial groups saw dramatic increases. The percent change of the Asian population in the South is especially pronounced, reflecting the growing importance of this group in the South. Unlike investigations centered on well-established Asian ethnic enclaves in the Northeast or West Coast, linguistic work on Asian communities in the South is quite limited (for notable exceptions, see Chung 2014; Chun 2015). Future considerations of the linguistic varieties of the South would be remiss to exclude this growing community.

With the increasing linguistic and ethnic diversification of the South, variationists are uniquely poised to address the complex relationships among ethnic varieties, multilingualism and language contact, and language change. The importance of such investigations cannot be understated; over sixty years ago Weinreich (1953) noted that linguistic diversity in the United States

“might be made a fruitful new point of departure” given that the diverse set of languages present in the country —“some of them comprising several distinct dialects — are of the most different structures, and the sociocultural relations between the various language communities run the gamut” (114). Given that globally multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception (Fasold 1984), how will the expansion of linguistic diversity and innovative instances of sustained language contact shape the sociolinguistic nature of the South? How will these emerging communities in the South, specifically Latinx and Asian groups, be shaped by and in turn influence the nature of Southern American English?³ These questions merit further consideration, and their importance to the study of language in the South will only continue to grow over the following decades.

3. African American English

3.1. DIVERSITY OF VOICES

African American English (AAE) has for decades been one of the core pillars of variationist research in the South.⁴ In fact, the edited volume from the first LAVIS conference is titled *Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White* (Montgomery and Bailey 1986), and most of its chapters focus on the relationship between black and white English in the South. Reflecting the field’s long-storied interest in the history and roots of AAE, some of the earliest variationist work in the South focused on comparing varieties of black and white English to evaluate competing claims of the creolist, Anglicist, and neo-Anglicist hypotheses (for discussions of the competing views, see Rickford 1998; Poplack 2000; Green 2002; Wolfram and Thomas 2002). The focus on the South as the locus of AAE is unsurprising given its sociocultural context and the region’s social and demographic history. As Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2015:183) note, “A complete understanding of AAVE, its historical development, and its recent trajectory requires an understanding of the relationship between features of that variety and the sociocultural history of African Americans that is rooted in the rural South.” In some of the earliest work, AAE is treated as a monolithic entity defined solely by its relationships with white English varieties. Our conceptualization of AAE has become more refined over the recent years, however. Approaching the question of language variation and ethnolinguistic varieties through a constructivist lens, conceptualizations of what AAE is and means have evolved as the field has moved away from essentialist framings and instead focused on frameworks, such as the ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor 2010), that emphasize the role of the individual in language choice and variation.

With this shift in theoretical approach has come an increased interest in the myriad ways of using and doing AAE. As Weldon notes in chapter 9 in this volume, perceptions of AAE or “sounding black” in the South are diverse and varied, with both listeners and speakers drawing upon rich indexical fields and salient semantic connections. Weldon’s experimental results “speak to the diversity of African American voices (and identities) that are salient among listeners” in the South and are a prime example of the innovative nature of current variationist research on AAE in the South.

Looking toward the future of research on AAE in the South, this focus on the diversity of individual identities, as well as the relationship between individual constructions of language and macrosocial community patterns, is likely to continue. An especially promising vein of research along these lines deals with intersectionality in the construction of personal identities through language practice. Inherent in the diversity of African American voices and identities in the South is a dimensionality and intersection of multiple facets of being. Individuals simultaneously negotiate their identities within the dimensions of gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, and race, for example, to construct their identity and patterns of language usage. As Levon (2015:303) argues, only by “centering our analyses on the social, historical, ideological, and linguistic relationships between these categories and the different lived articulations” among them can we begin to refine our notion of intersectionality and linguistic practice. Participants in Lanehart and Malik’s study (see chapter 10 in this volume), for instance, exhibit diverse and nuanced discursive stances toward the relationship between their identity and African American Language as they work to negotiate their identities across several categories simultaneously. Ian, for example, held that racial and ethnic terms were not particularly offensive to him (in contrast to many of his peers), and as Lanehart and Malik argue, this perspective toward language practice was shaped by the intersectional nature of Ian’s construction of identity as he negotiated his simultaneous identification as a gay male and as an African American.

3.2. WHITENESS AS UNMARKED

Sociolinguists have been intrigued by the relationship between regional and ethnic varieties since the field’s inception, and much research has been carried out on the various degrees to which African Americans participate in “regional” varieties or changes. While the view that AAE is not subject to regional variation has been challenged and generally set aside (Wolfram and Kohn 2015), problematic framings of the relationship between African Americans and “regional” varieties can still be observed. Namely, many works in

the variationist tradition, especially earlier investigations, construct their models of regional varieties from data collected from white speakers, often ignoring that ethnic dialects are a part of that definition. As Becker and Coggshall (2009:756) note, even Labov's seminal work, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City (1964)*, "is largely interpreted as a study of variation and change in white NYCE [New York City English]" given that the "African American speakers were largely excluded from the analysis." In most cases, these samples biased toward white speakers are due to accessibility issues: perhaps in the region studied there are simply fewer African American speakers to sample, or perhaps investigators feel they do not have the same level of access to the African American communities in their region.⁵ However, defining regional varieties through samples consisting only of white speakers may contribute to hegemonies of whiteness as the unmarked norm and perpetuates the marginalization of the diversity of voices and identities within the region (Bloomquist and Gooden 2015). This hegemonic association of whiteness as the unmarked is long-standing but has been challenged in recent decades by investigations into the ways in which whiteness is actively constructed (Bucholtz 2011). As Trechter and Bucholtz (2001:6) argue, we must view "whiteness as a racial category whose unmarked status must be problematized, thereby ensuring that whiteness, in all its diverse manifestations, is not only seen but also heard." Defining regional varieties through samples consisting only of white speakers only contributes to the othering of nonwhite community members and to the marginalization of their contributions to the regional variety. As we work toward refining our definitions of what it means to speak Southern American English, we must remain vigilant of the power such definitions hold in establishing who is a legitimate and authentic speaker of the community and who is marginalized.

4. Spanish in the South

4.1. CHANGING POPULATIONS

Spanish has been a major player in the sociolinguistic history of the United States for centuries, with robust Spanish-speaking enclaves well established in the Southwest and urban centers like New York City and Miami. Continued immigration of foreign-born Spanish speakers, as well as growing numbers of U.S.-born Spanish-English bilinguals, has dramatically defined the sociocultural character of the region and shaped patterns of language contact and use. While these traditional communities continue to dominate in sheer numbers of Spanish speakers, the past two decades have seen a marked influx of Spanish speakers to the Southeast.⁶

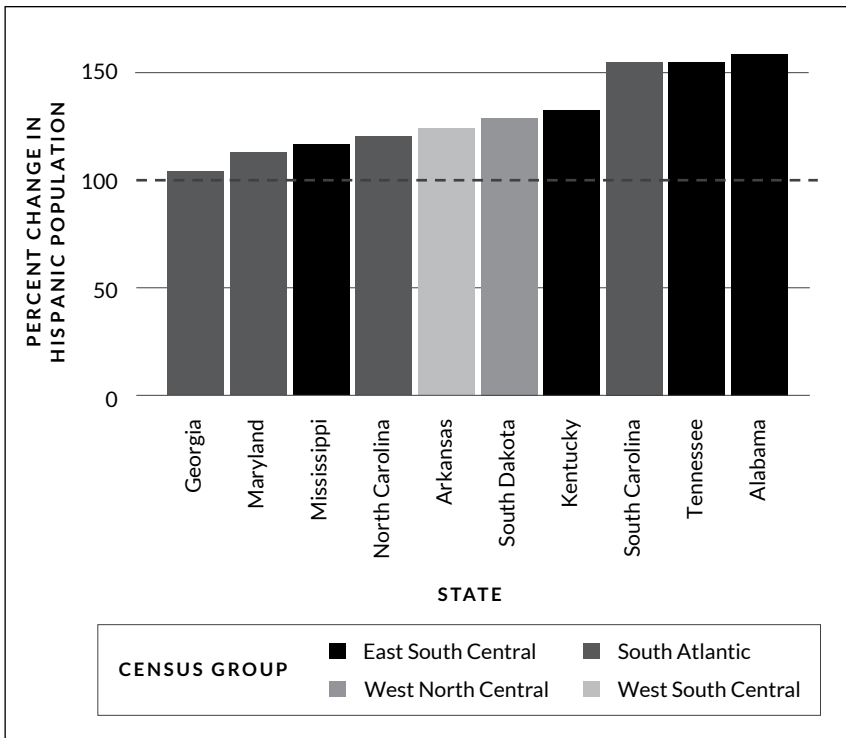


FIGURE 22.5. Top ten fastest-growing Hispanic populations, by state, 2000–2011

The data presented in figure 22.5, drawn from the Pew Research Center (Brown and López 2013), showcase this dramatic demographic shift. Of the top ten U.S. states with the highest percent increase in Hispanic population, nine are included in census definitions of the South. Though dramatic in nature, the increased presence of Latinxs and the opportunities for new veins of linguistic research in the South have been highly anticipated. Lipski (2015:672), for example, notes that “as Spanish speakers in southern states grow in numbers and prominence, the nuanced English and Spanish that result from this cross-fertilization will further enrich the linguistic profile of our communities.” This cross-fertilization is certainly evident in the papers presented at the joint meeting of LAVIS IV and SECOL 82, of which fourteen focused on varieties of Spanish or Latinx English.

4.2. SPANISH LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE SOUTH

A common theme in variationist work on Spanish in the South has been its relationship with English and the various outcomes associated with language

contact in the region. Thomas, for example (see chapter 14 in this volume), studies the English of “North Town,” Texas, through an impressive analysis of over sixty phonetic and morphosyntactic variables and provides evidence supporting the emergence of a Mexican American ethnolect in the city. This process of new dialect formation is of great interest to variationists, and the study of the underlying principles governing the outcome of language contact in various sociolinguistic settings in the South will likely be a fruitful endeavor in the years to come. Central to this issue of Spanish-English contact in the South is the trajectory of second- and third-generation Spanish speakers and the degree to which their English fluency interacts with their varying levels of Spanish fluency. The nature of the substrate influence of English on Spanish production is an area of growing research in the South, with works like Ronquest and colleagues (2016a, 2016b) demonstrating the changing nature of Spanish in the South as influenced by degree of exposure to English, length of residence in the United States, and heritage speaker status, among other factors.

While contact between Spanish and English is, of course, of critical importance in the trajectory of both languages in the South, of equal interest is the diverse Spanish dialect contact in the region. Although most Spanish-speaking immigrants in the region are from Mexico or Puerto Rico, smaller communities from across Central America, South America, and the Iberian Peninsula are well represented. This diverse set of linguistic and social backgrounds in the South is an ideal dialect contact situation, with highly educated, upper-class immigrants from the Southern Cone contrasting with lower-middle-class immigrants from Mexico and Central America. As Michnowicz and colleagues argue (see chapter 15 in this volume), evidence of dialect leveling of Spanish in the South can be found at all levels of language, even in patterns of loanword acceptance. Given the changing nature of both the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking populations in the South, comparisons of dialect leveling processes in both languages in a single community may be especially illuminating. Are patterns of dialect leveling influenced by the minority/majority status of the language of the dialects in question? Are bilinguals in the South who participate most in dialect-leveling processes in one of their languages more likely to participate in dialect leveling in their second language? At the moment, there are few stable bilingual communities in the South (especially the Southeast), and the future of Spanish in the region is unclear. As such, the present moment represents the ideal opportunity to study the changing nature of Spanish-English contact in the South across a wide variety of sociolinguistic settings.

5. Methodological Advances

5.1. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Perhaps the most dramatic change in variationist work in the South in the past decade has been the immense and prolific incorporation of advances in computational methodologies to facilitate data processing and analysis. The reach and impact of these technological advances cannot be understated. While the earliest pioneers in the field labored for weeks to process and analyze hundreds of tokens (often forced to transcribe and code tokens by hand), in some modern work it is not uncommon to observe token counts in the hundreds of thousands. Increased processing power of today's computers has allowed linguists to ask questions and test hypotheses on scales unimaginable to researchers mere decades ago. This expanded lens of analysis is perhaps most salient in work dealing with phonetics or phonology (see, e.g., chapters 11 and 12 in this volume), in which large speech corpora with thousands of tokens have benefited greatly from automated extraction and analysis. Other subdisciplines have benefited from improved computational methodologies as well, with innovative work in morphology, syntax, and discourse increasingly utilizing language corpora and automated analyses (see, e.g., Kiesling et al. 2016).

Analyses of large speech corpora have been greatly facilitated by automatic phonetic transcription through forced alignment. Drawn from technologies in automatic speech recognition, forced alignment converts an input sound file and orthographic transcript into a time-aligned sequence of phonemes. Although still susceptible to errors, automatic alignment of speech data has drastically reduced the processing time required to arrive at phonological transcription.⁷ Combined with automated acoustic analysis in a platform such as Praat, these force-aligned transcriptions can allow a researcher to efficiently (and very nearly instantaneously) produce acoustic analyses of large corpora. For instance, Labov, Rosenfelder, and Fruehwald (2013) note that utilizing forced-alignment technologies allowed them to increase the number of analyzed tokens from each interview from around three hundred to around nine thousand. Although truly unsupervised transcription is a ways off,⁸ forced alignment has proven to be an invaluable inclusion in the variationist tool kit, and its utilization will only increase in the future.

While previously lying solely within the purview of computational linguists, developing fluency in scripting or computational methodologies is becoming increasingly common for linguists in other subdisciplines. Seats in the Linguistic Society of America's Summer Institute classes on Praat

scripting, programming in Python, and computational approaches to corpus analysis are quickly filled, and workshops on computational methodologies are quite well received at conferences such as *New Ways of Analyzing Variation*. As the available technologies continue to evolve, variationists in the South would be wise to exploit them for their own purposes, expanding the lens and scope of their analyses.

5.2. STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

While not unique to studies of the South, technological advances and innovations in statistics and engineering are dramatically affecting the scope of language variation analyses. One of the most widespread of these innovations has been the introduction of more robust and flexible statistical methods to the variationist's tool kit. Linguists in the South have been quick to adopt these methods for their own analyses, and many of these tools (e.g., mixed-effects modeling, community detection algorithms, random inference trees, and generalized additive models) have been introduced or refined in presentations at LAVIS IV (see, e.g., chapter 12 this volume).

Mixed-effects modeling is becoming especially prevalent in variation research and is poised to become the industry standard, with researchers across the South continuing to place an emphasis on incorporating robust statistical analyses into their work. In the seven chapters within this volume with a quantitative bent, for example, statistical support is presented in each, with four utilizing mixed-effects modeling. Compared to other methods, mixed-effects modeling allows for more nuanced and robust statistical comparisons, all while accounting for multilevel interactions and sophisticated random-effects structures (Baayen, Davidson, and Bates 2008). This shift in methodology is facilitated by the popularity of software like R, SAS, and SPSS, which have increased access to statistical methods and streamlined processes into user-friendly functions and commands. With these tools in hand, we can begin to push these new methodologies to their limits and apply them to our questions of language variation.

5.3. ANALYZING TRAJECTORIES

In recent years, work on the dynamics of production and perception have demonstrated that listeners and speakers are sensitive to temporal differences in speech (e.g., vowel formant trajectories, dynamics of fricative spectra), not just differences in static values (Thomas 2002:172). The quest to analyze the temporal variability of language production and perception in

the South has led to substantial development and application of innovative methods, mainly in the analysis of the time-series vowel production data. Koops (2010), for example, draws upon smoothing-spline ANOVA (Gu 2002) models of F_2 trajectories to argue for the presence of two competing processes of /u/-fronting in English of Houston, Texas. These two competing processes, a Southern process and a mainstream process, differ critically in the degree to which nucleus and glide are distinct, with the mainstream fronted /u/ characterized by greater temporal variability of F_2 . In a related approach, Kohn and Risdal (2014) investigate the shape of F_2 trajectories of the front lax vowels in North Carolina English by fitting a series of cubic polynomials to the data. After these curves were fitted, the authors then extracted the cubic coefficient as a measure of the degree of diphthongality of each token, thereby drastically reducing the dimensionality of the time-series data. This coefficient was then implemented as the dependent factor in a variety of linear mixed-effect models, which demonstrated that, although appearing equivalent in steady-state measurements, African American and European Americans in North Carolina differ significantly in their F_2 trajectories, with European Americans producing more diphthongal front-lax vowels.

Clearly, accurately modeling the time-series nature of language production and perception is critical to our understanding of the linguistic processes at work in the South. One promising methodological development along this front is the utilization of generalized additive mixed modeling (GAMM; Wood 2011). This statistical methodology is a type of nonlinear regression that involves fitting a combination of base smooth functions to the data. Unlike the process presented in Kohn and Risdal (2014), the specific nature or shape of these functions is not declared prior to the analysis, allowing the combination of complex functions to more accurately fit the data. Critically, GAMMs allow for nuanced treatments of predictor variables and random effects not available through these alternative approaches, with the process of generating and interpreting statistical output from GAMM-fitting packages in R being similar, though not identical, to the more mainstream linear models familiar to many variationists.⁹ While most methods presented here have focused on the time-series nature of vowel acoustics, it is important to remember that trajectories and temporal variability are fruitfully applied to many other aspects of linguistic perception and production, for example, eye-tracking data (McMurray et al. 2010; van Rij, Hollebrandse, and Hendriks 2016), ultrasound tongue traces (Mielke 2015), fricative acoustics (Iskarous,

Shadle, and Proctor 2011), electroencephalograms (Boehm et al. 2014), and pitch contours (Grabe, Kochanski, and Coleman 2007).

5.4. HARNESSING RANDOM EFFECTS

Looking toward the future, one of the exciting developments in statistical analyses in linguistics is the expanded utilization of random effects. The mantra of the past decade or so has to include random effects in models to filter out the variability from noisy factors like speaker or word. However, a promising methodology is beginning to emerge as researchers begin to exploit the information contained in random-effect terms instead of simply including the terms as filters irrelevant to the main analysis. As discussed by Drager and Hay (2012), random effects can aid both in determining how an individual's patterns relate to the community-level patterns and in providing alternative means for speaker normalization. For example, Hay and Maclagan (2012) demonstrate the utility of random intercepts for normalization of vocal tract sizes in their investigation of /r/-sandhi in New Zealand English. After fitting a mixed-effects linear model to F_3 values of /r/ in morpheme-internal environments (e.g., *dairy*), the speaker intercepts are applied to a separate F_3 data set of linking /r/ environments, providing a method for speaker-specific vocal tract normalization. Crucially, this cascading model approach necessitates that the random terms generated from one set be applied to a separate, independent data set.¹⁰ As Drager and Hay (2012) note, this approach could prove particularly useful for studies of intraspeaker variability in patterns of production and perception. An example of the use of random effects to investigate individual variation, Hall-Lew (2013) analyzes the progression of the *cot-caught* merger in San Francisco and combines random intercepts and Euclidean distance measures to diagnose instances of “flip-flop,” a process in which a small number of speakers “overshoot” the movement of *caught* toward *cot* in acoustic space and as a result produce caught vowels with higher formant frequencies than even the youngest, merged speakers. This phenomenon provides an excellent test case for the value of combining information from random-effect terms to more traditional measures to examine the role of individual variation. Other fruitful investigations of random effect terms are presented in Marsden (2013), Drager (2015), and Clark and Watson (2016). As linguists in the South continue to push the limits of the statistical methods available to them, it is likely that the inclusion of random effects as components of the main analysis rather than as merely non-informative controls will continue to inform analyses of individual- and community-level variation.

6. Concluding Remarks

As this chapter has outlined, the changing nature of the South, including rapid urbanization and growing populations of South and East Asian immigrants, is presenting researchers with myriad novel lines of research. Investigations on the influence of increased contact with Spanish and emerging Latinx varieties of English will continue to shed light on the processes of multilingualism, new dialect formation, and dialect leveling operating within the region. With increased multilingualism and ethnic diversity, the nature of what it means to “speak Southern” is rapidly evolving, and linguistic research in the South will likely benefit from this diversification in the years to come. Innovative work on AAE in the South and the intersectionality of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and other ways of being has strengthened variationist theory and highlighted the diversity of voices that constitute African American Language. These advances in theoretical framings have been accompanied by methodological innovations as well. Improved computational power and storage have ushered in the age of “big data” studies that complement, rather than replace other varieties of work. The rise of forced alignment, scripting, and automatic acoustic measurements is providing variationists with the tools to study large spoken corpora of Southern speech to examine the mechanisms of language variation and change on an enormous scale. Advances in statistical methods have strengthened our analyses, allowing us to test hypotheses and model variation more robustly. Specifically, statistical modeling of the temporal characteristics of language and the exploitation of random-effects terms as meaningful sources of data are novel methodologies well suited to the analysis of variation and change.

Looking toward the future, it is likely that research on these emergent communities, methodologies, and theoretical frameworks will continue to strengthen and develop linguistic theory, and the next meeting of LAVIS will likely explore each of these diverse themes in more depth. With the field’s robust adaptation to the changing dynamics of the region and new methodological innovations, the future of variationist research in the South is bright.

About the Author

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Notes

1. In the discussion and figures that follow, I refer to the regions defined by the U.S. Census: Northeast, Midwest, South, and West.
2. Unless otherwise noted, demographic data presented in the discussion and figures that follow are drawn from the online databases of the U.S. Census factfinder (factfinder.census.gov) or U.S. Census American Community Survey (www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/).
3. “Latinx” is a gender-neutral alternative to “Latino/a” (masculine/feminine) and “Latin@” (binary).
4. For discussions on the nuances of terminology used in discussion of African American Language, see Green (2002), Lanehart and Malik (2015), and chapter 10 in this volume.
5. This is especially relevant given the underrepresentation of minorities in linguistics and academia in general.
6. Though this immigration has slowed somewhat following 2008 and a period of economic recession.
7. Current industry-standard forced alignment systems are based on Hidden Markov Models. It remains unclear whether emergent Artificial Neural Network methodologies may improve the precision of forced-alignment systems.
8. But see exciting works such as DARLA, the Dartmouth Linguistic Automation suite of vowel formant extraction tools (Reddy and Stanford 2015); unsupervised transcription may not be so far off in the future after all.
9. An example of a GAMM-fitting package in R is *itsadug* (see cran.r-project.org/web/packages/itsadug/index.html).
10. Consult Drager and Hay (2012:70) for other important considerations for the cascading models approach.

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