Locating Language:
A Symposium on the Linguistics of Place

The Ohio State University
April 20-21, 2013

A speaker's hometown, birthplace, neighborhood, region, or country may be key, if not primary, factors in their self-identity, often in interaction with other social factors such as gender, ethnicity, or political affiliation. While region or geography is sometimes taken for granted in linguistic work, recent research has highlighted the complexity of the ways in which speakers use language to orient towards place, demonstrating that linguistic practice does not merely reflect place, but also constructs it.

Locating Language: A Symposium on the Linguistics of Place invites dialogue about the relationship between language, place, and identity from both well-established researchers and new voices. The format of the symposium mixes traditional presentations with extended question/discussion periods.

Saturday April 20th – Round Room, third floor Ohio Union

8:30am	Check-in and breakfast
8:50am	Welcome

9:00-10:00am – Plenary talk

Geographical Space and the "Linguistics of Place"
Barbara Johnstone

10:00am	**Break**

10:15-11:45am – Session A

Migration of a dialect: The case of the post-Katrina diaspora in Greater New Orleans

Katie Carmichael

Metalanguage and enregisterment on a social, regional, and dialectal boundary

Anastasia Nylund

Narrated Community: Migration and Discursive Circulation in a Zapotec Transborder Community

Elizabeth Falconi

11:45am	**Break**
12:00pm	Lunch & Poster Session (Barbie Tootle Room and Cape Hayes Room)

2:00-3:30pm – Session B

Endangered language and place: From legítimo Caviteño to national and global citizen

Marivic Lesho

Place and dialect leveling in Denmark

Malene Monka

One Hundred Words for Green: Amazonian Kichwas and the Language of the Forest

Michael Wroblewski

3:30pm	**Break**
3:45pm	Break-out sessions + discussion
5:15pm	**Break**

5:30-6:30am – Plenary talk

The Personal is Spatial, the Spatial is Personal: 'Jewish Talk' in Amsterdam
Galey Modan

7:00pm	Dinner at George Wells Knight House

Sunday April 21st – Round Room, third floor Ohio Union

8:30am   Breakfast

9:00-10:30am – Session C

Location and Heritage Effects on the Vowel Characteristics among Monolingual English Speakers from Michigan's Upper Peninsula

Wil Rankinen

Language on the Line: Canadian English and Identity in a Border Town

Laura Baxter

Locating Language in the "Finnish American Nesting Place"

Kathryn Remlinger

10:30am   **Break**

11:00am-12:00pm – Plenary talk

Tartan, Haggis, and Accents: Tourists' consumption of linguistic variation in Scotland
Lauren Hall-Lew

12:00pm   Lunch + discussion (Cartoon Room)

1:30 pm   End of Symposium

Plenary talks

Geographical Space and the "Linguistics of Place"
Barbara Johnstone, Carnegie Mellon University

This talk traces the history of geographical inquiry with a particular eye to the parallel history of dialectology and sociolinguistics. My goals are, first, to encourage sociolinguists to think critically about terms such as "geography," "place,"and "space,"and, second, to provide an overview of the ways in which geographers have used these terms and others like them. Linguistics and geography have ridden the same political and intellectual currents over the past two centuries. During that time, linguists concerned with variation and change have imagined our object of inquiry – language – in various ways: as structure or process; as relatively orderly and predictable or fundamentally stochastic and unpredictable; as autonomous or distributed; as a cognitive or a social phenomenon. We have paid less and more belated attention to defining the variables we use to account for the distribution of linguistic forms across time and space, variables such as "society", "gender", "age", or "region". Investigating how geographers have imagined the object of their inquiry enriches our sense of the conceptual possibilities suggested by the phrase "the linguistics of place."

The Personal is Spatial, the Spatial is Personal: 'Jewish Talk' in Amsterdam
Galey Modan, The Ohio State University

How speakers orient to place has been an object of sociolinguistic inquiry since the founding of the field. As anyone who has been trained in the sociolinguistic interview knows, it is an inherent part of our fundamental methodology, the sociolinguistic interview. While questions about streets, neighborhoods, and cities or towns have been used to get informants talking and learn how people's speech varies with the ways they feel about the places they discuss, traditionally such lines of inquiry have focused on what speakers' language tells us about who they are, rather than what kind of places they live and circulate in. This means that we tend to think of places as static and existing a priori to speakers talking about them. In recent years, however, we've started to learn from cultural geographers that places are social constructs. Just as language helps us to create certain class, ethnic, and gendered identities, for ourselves, we use language to inflect geographic territories with class-, ethnic-, and gender-based identities, to name but a few social axes. In other words, language is a fundamental tool by which we transform space into place.

In this talk, I examine how residents, media, and government in Amsterdam, the Netherlands use discourses of Jews and things Jewish to create a range of identities for their city. Although Jews make up a minute proportion of Amsterdam's population, they figure prominently in the city's story about itself. Jews' inclusion in the body politic, however, is tenuous; across a wide array of discursive settings, Jews are created as simultaneously insiders and outsiders. This double-edged positionality serves as a strategic resource available for Amsterdammers to pick up and use for multiple goals related to the construction of multiple divergent local identities for themselves, other residents, and the city at-large. In this presentation, I investigate how insider/outsider identities are created in such domains as discussions/examples of Yiddish borrowings in Amsterdam Dutch; discursive and material practices of Ajax soccer fans (the local soccer team); museum and tourism materials; and media reports asserting that local Muslims (particularly those of Moroccan descent) are antisemitic. I use these examples to argue that, as sociolinguists, it serves us well to attend to the linguistic construction of place itself. However, it is clear that our longstanding interest with how talk of place creates personal identity is also an important part of the picture, since talk of place often, if not always, includes talk of people. Thus, personal identities are perhaps always an artifact of place construction practices.

Tartan, Haggis, and Accents:
Tourists' consumption of linguistic variation in Scotland[1]

Lauren Hall-Lew, University of Edinburgh

Research in tourism geography has long considered how both tourists and members of the tourism industry contribute to the social construction of place (Relph 1976; Urry 1995; Meethan 2001; Bærenholdt et al. 2004). Similarly, traditional research in dialect geography relied on place as the main factor in accounting for patterns of linguistic variation (Gilliéron 1902-1910; see Chambers & Trudgill 1980). But despite parallel theoretical interests in place-construction, tourism scholars have paid relatively little attention to dialectology, and dialectology has paid relatively little attention to tourism. This may be, in part, because one focuses on place as an ever-changing site of consumption and performance (tourism studies) while the other has relied on place as a locatable authenticity (traditional dialectology). Happily, contemporary dialectology has joined sociolinguistics in the recognition that "linguistic practice does not merely reflect place, but also constructs it" (this symposium). This means that the study of linguistic variation is ripe for interdisciplinary collaboration with tourism geography, something that is already well-recognized outside of variation studies in a growing body of sociolinguistic work based on tourism contexts (Heller 2003; Coupland et al. 2005; Jaworski & Pritchard 2005; Thurlow & Jaworski 2010; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2011). Given that sociolinguistics was founded on a study linking patterns of linguistic variation to attitudes about tourism (Labov 1972), tourism contexts clearly offer a wealth of opportunity for understanding the role of language in the construction of place. Blommaert (2009:565) notes that "[w]hen people move across physical as well as social space their repertoires are redefined. And conversely, movements of others (tourists or businesspeople) affect the value and function of local speech repertoires." Building on the tradition of Martha's Vineyard, some variationist research has considered the impact of tourism on the dialect performances of locals (Schilling-Estes 1998, Dubois & Horvath 2000). However, less attention has been given to the construction of place by the tourists, themselves.

This talk presents pilot data on the language attitudes of visitors to Edinburgh, Scotland in August 2012. Tourists visit Edinburgh for different reasons, many of them connected to Scottish culture and heritage. However, hundreds of thousands of tourists visit each August, not because of a direct interest in Scottish culture, but rather to participate in one of the city's many summer festivals, particularly the Fringe festival (http://www.edfringe.com/). This presents an opportunity to test whether different motivations for travel impact tourists' attitudes toward the linguistic variation they encounter in Edinburgh. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1977; 1991) notion of the linguistic market, we hypothesize that visitors motivated by an interest in Scottish culture may be more invested in the exchange value of Edinburgh's linguistic construction of place than visitors focused only on the Fringe festival. To test this quantitatively, I analyze 37 language attitudes surveys, divided according to each respondent's self-described purpose for visiting Edinburgh along with their answer to the question "Is experiencing Scottish culture important to you while you are on this trip?" These two criteria resulted in three groups: festival tourists uninterested in Scottish culture (N=15), festival tourists interested in Scottish culture (N=17), and non-festival tourists interested in Scottish culture (N=5). Although preliminary, the results suggest that tourists' motivations are a robust predictor of their attitudes toward the local linguistic landscape. This is likely to be especially true in a context like Edinburgh, where the tourism industry is a major part of the local economy, and where linguistic variation strongly indexes place authenticity. Focusing on the co-constructive forces of both tourists and locals, in contexts like this, highlights the intersubjective nature of place construction.

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1. This talk is based on joint work with Amie Fairs (University of Edinburgh) and Alan A. Lew (Northern Arizona University).

Presentations & Posters

Asturian features and the conflict
between urban and regional identity in Asturias

Sonia Barnes, The Ohio State University

Asturian, the regional language of Asturias (Spain), and Spanish have been in contact since the 14th Century. Despite the fact that language shift is gradually taking place in Asturias towards Spanish, some linguistic features of Asturian are still being used in the Spanish of Asturian speakers(Sánchez Álvarez 1979, D'Andres 2001). Among these features are the raised vowels that appear in the masculine singular morpheme /-u/, as opposed to Spanish /-o/, as in el perru vs. Spanish el perro ('the dog'), and the feminine plural morpheme /-es/ as opposed to Spanish /-as/, as in les cases vs. Spanish las casas('the houses') (Antón 1995, Prieto 1991). The appearance of the high variant in the urban varieties of the language is a consequence of the borrowing of the Asturian morpheme; however,speakers show variation in its use, alternating between the Asturian and Spanish variants.

Previous research has found that the variation between Asturian and Spanish features corresponds to a tension between regional and urban identity. Prieto (1991) reports that the use of Spanish is stigmatized in Gijón and monolingual speakers of Spanish (or speakers that try to erase any interference from Asturian) are referred to as falantes finos('fancy speakers'). Thus, there is a sense of regional identity linked to the use of Asturian features. Dyzmann (2000) claims that cases of linguistic interference between Spanish and Asturian have a double function: on the one hand, they reflect the speakers' desire to communicate in the regional language; on the other hand, they also indicate the social necessity of showing competence in Spanish, motivated by a desire on the part of the speakers to distance themselves from the rural world and its characteristic speech, which is also negatively stigmatized by urban speakers.

In this study I examine the role that Asturian raised vowels have in the construction of this urban identity in the city of Gijón. The first part of the study investigates how linguistic features from Asturian or Spanish are used to evaluate the identity of speakers. Using the Matched Guise Technique (Lambert et al. 1960), the participants in the study rate speakers' utterances containing one of the variants(/-u/ or /-o/ and /-es/ or /-as/ respectively) with regard to various social characteristics. The results show that participants rate speakers that use Asturian variants as significantly more rural than those that use the Spanish one. The second part of the study consists of a qualitative analysis ofspeakers' comments on the use of Asturian and Asturian features. The informants are thirty speakers from Gijon. The analysis reveals that speakers recognize the difference between the rural and the urban varieties and are aware that their linguistic variety is neither Spanish nor Asturian. Speakersthat have negative attitudes towards the use of Asturian have less control over the inclusion of Asturian features. Even though they use Asturian raised vowels in their speech, they qualify their variety as "bad" or "incorrect" Spanish. Speakers who have a positive attitude towards Asturian show greater control in the use of the variables under study, reserving the use of Asturian vowels to certain topics of conversation and the perceived social status and regional identity of their addressee.

Speakers from Gijón use Asturian raised final vowels as part of a set of features that are manipulated to construct a particular urban identity. While not all these features equally associated with regional identity, raised vowels are often associated to Asturian speech and stigmatized as rural. However, for some speakers the use of raised vowels carries prestige linked regional identity. The tension between stigma and prestige governs the intra speaker variation observed in the urban varieties of the language, with speakers controlling the use of Asturian featuresin order to only show a degree of "Asturianness" that allows them to maintain their urban status.

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Language on the Line:
Canadian English and Identity in a Border Town

Laura Baxter, York University

This paper reports on change over time in the dialect of English spoken in and around the town of Stanstead, Quebec, a small Canadian municipality located directly across the border from the American town of Derby Line, Vermont.

An analysis of archival recordings of speakers born in the region in the early 1900s reveals the presence of features characteristic of the American dialect region of Eastern New England,such as r-vocalization and fronted /ah/ (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006). Since the first settlers in the Stanstead region were American immigrants from New England, the presence of these features can be traced back to settlement history, and the continued contact between adjacent Canadian and American border towns.

While residents of Stanstead and Derby Line have traditionally thought of themselves as members of one community with an arbitrary line running through it, over time the American and Canadian governments have developed increasingly strict policies of border policing. This has essentially divided the community against itself, escalating physical and psychological barriers and decreasing interaction and communication between both sides.

Data from a more recent corpus (Thibault 2008) shows New England dialect features persist in the speech of Stanstead residents born as late as the 1950s. However, they are virtually absent in the speech of younger generations. Rather, young speakers in this community speak a dialect of English very close to the Canadian Standard suggesting a rise in the importance of national identity over the formerly more important local identity.

Indeed, this change in dialect coincides with a striking change in attitude towards Americans. While the attitude of older speakers is positive, expressing solidarity and communality between Americans and Canadians, younger Canadian speakers have a disdainful, and sometimes hostile attitude towards Americans. Thus, as the political border is strengthened socially and physically, we also see a psychological and linguistic result, as the border beginsto act as a dialect boundary.

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Operationalizing Place:
/r/ vocalization and place ideology on New York City's Lower East Side

Kara Becker, Reed College

While a growing body of literature has focused scholarly attention on what has been called the sociolinguistics of place (Johnstone 2004; Eckert 2004; Modan 2007), less work has directly incorporated place as an operationalized variable into quantitative sociolinguistic analyses. This paper presents an analysis of /r/ vocalization in New York City English (NYCE) that incorporates place as a discrete variable in a mixed effects logistic regression model, and finds that speakers' orientation to place does account for variation in the production of syllable coda /r/.

Researchers working to operationalize speakers' sense of place into variationist analyses have found results for intra-speaker variation (Becker 2009; Grieser 2012). Becker (2009), working with a small sample of NYCE speakers on the Lower East Side, created a binary topic variable, chunking each speaker's interview into Lower East Side topics and non-Lower East Side topics. This variable accounted for more of the variance in a logistic regression for /r/ vocalization than the standard casual/careful distinction of Labov (2001), and was argued to demonstrate the use of non-rhoticity to construct a positive place identity. The current work takes an inter-speaker approach to place and creates a discrete ordinal variable operationalizing speakers' descriptions of the Lower East Side's geographic boundaries as an indicator of place ideology (see Hall-Lew 2012). This variable resulted from an ethnographically informed content analysis of speaker interviews, and contains five ranked levels of place ideology that range from total orientation to a traditional Lower East Side to total orientation to a contemporary Lower East Side. The five place rankings pattern according to /r/ production, so that speakers with more traditional place ideologies are more non-rhotic, while speakers with more contemporary place ideologies are more rhotic.

However, when this place variable is included in a mixed effects logistic regression for the whole sample of 64 Lower East Side speakers, all social factors but place are selected. Because NYCE is undergoing change in progress for /r/ vocalization in the direction of rhoticity, it appears that the factor year of birth accounts for the variance in /r/ better than place. And in fact four of the five speaker ethnic groups show strong positive correlations between rhoticity and year of birth. African American speakers, however, show no correlation, and when these speakers are considered separately in a regression analysis, the place ideology variable is selected as a significant predictor of /r/ vocalization.

In presenting results that show that operationalized place ideology can account for variation in a statistical model, I also discuss issues, both theoretical and methodological, related to operationalizing place, and conclude that more work should work to incorporate the sociolinguistics of place into variationist analyses.

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The Linguistics of Onverwacht: 'Black Afrikaners' in South Africa

Anne-Marie Beukes, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Onverwacht is a small rural village near Pretoria, South Africa. It has been home to a small Afrikaansspeaking community for almost 150 years. The inhabitants of Onverwacht are the descendants of free slaves from the Cape of Good Hope and Africans up country who were employed as labourers and domestic servants by groups of white people (Boers) that left the Cape in 1857 to escape British rule. These groups, who spoke the Dutch-Afrikaans vernacular, crossed the interior to settle in the northern part of South Africa in the two Boer Republics.

The ancestors of the Onverwacht inhabitants worked on farms and bought their own plots. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) they joined the Boer armed forces to fight for their land. After the War and the defeat of the Boer forces by the British they lost their land, but were unexpectedly given land in 1905 by an Afrikaner farmer. Some worked at the Cullinan diamond mine and were subsequently able to purchase more land. However, in 1965 the oppressive apartheid system destroyed the heart of the Onverwacht community when many residents were displaced to the socalled Bantustans in remote areas (e.g. KwaNdebele, QwaQwa and Bophuthatswana), places where they had never set foot.

From the turn of the 19th century the people of Onverwacht shifted to using Afrikaans through a process of acculturation. They henceforth identified themselves as 'Swart Afrikaners' (Black Afrikaners). This paper will report on an on-going study of language use in the village of Onverwacht since 2010 with a view to arriving at an understanding of speaking in Onverwacht. The aim of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the processes of identity construction that resulted in this community viewing themselves as 'Black Afrikaners' in the 20th and early 21st centuries given the role of both 'self-identification' and the perceptions and attitudes of 'others' in the construction of (ethnic) identity. Some of the key issues that this study is exploring are the following:

- The nature of the relationship between the Afrikaans language and the construction of (ethnic) identity in the Onverwacht township.

- The nature of the social and political settings that provide the backdrop against which language functions as a symbol and 'marker' in this community.

- Why would a black community use a speech variety associated with another group intimately linked with colonialism and apartheid?

Unidimensional Identities in a Multidimensional Linguistic Space: Variation & Ideology in Cape Verde

Eric Brown, University of Michigan

Linguistic varieties in Cape Verde are directly tied to geography, specifically at the insular level. Based mostly on the historical details of settlement but also partly in speaker intuitions and tradition/convention, Cape Verdeans and linguists associate "pure" creole (i.e. basilectal) with the island of Santiago and the Portuguese-like (i.e. acrolectal) varieties are centered on the island of São Vicente.

For this paper, I provide and analyze the results of sociolinguistic interviews conducted in the field that elicit meta-linguistic commentary about variation in Cape Verde. Given the long history of Cape Verdean Creole, internal variation and varying rates of decreolization have led to inconsistencies between the labels "basilectal" and "acrolectal" and the linguistic data. As an example from this fieldwork, gender and plural marking of inanimate nouns, as it exists in Portuguese, was produced in the "basilectal" variety. Furthermore, there exist additional paradoxes between belief and practice: I encountered monolingual Creole speakers who claim they "don't speak a language" and others who are highly supportive of increased formal domains for Creole but produce some of the aforementioned "non-creole" variation.

I show that within these interviews, the linguistic variation produced is influenced by the interaction of the speaker's island of origin, and thus their beliefs about what type of variety they speak, and his or her stance toward Creole, specifically its suitability in wider official domains. I further argue that it is the interaction of these two factors within the background of a larger, dichotomizing, semiotic system that accounts for some of the inconsistencies identified here.

While part of this system includes a multidimensional model of the creole continuum that is necessary for accounting for the "language" of linguistic variation in Cape Verdean Creole, speakers are ideologically tied to, and thus force their interpretations of their own variable data into a uni-dimensional continuum.

This continuum gets its form from linguistic ideologies and is crystallized through the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursion, and erasure. This continuum is also aligned and inextricably tied with an overarching social continuum with "African" and "European" poles that helps position and positions Cape Verdeans politically, socially, and linguistically. This semiotic system links local and global geography with hierarchies of race, the creole continuum, and ultimately as part of the domain of language, standardization. Depending on a speaker's relationship to this semiotic system, their own dialect, and their stance toward Creole, standardization can be about

Creole's relationship with Portuguese or it can be about "pure" (i.e. non-decreolized or basilectal) forms of spoken Creole. These two perspectives lead to the varying and sometimes contradictory linguistic behavior between individuals in these interviews. Therefore I argue that discussions of variation that are ostensibly tied to geography may also invoke ideologies similar to those seen in discussions of standardization.

The implication of this work is that even languages without widely adopted and accepted standard varieties use ideologies invoked in standardization. Not all speakers however, will agree on what is "standard" with sometimes-radical departures depending on the overall semiotics and speaker stances. An analysis like this not only helps us account for the variability of this language but also the competing and sometimes opposite socio-cultural "value" of variation in the linguistic marketplace. References

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Migration of a dialect:
The case of the post-Katrina diaspora in Greater New Orleans

Katie Carmichael, The Ohio State University

New Orleanians have always been preoccupied with certain places in the city—from the uptown/downtown division (Martinez & LaCorgne 1986) to specific neighborhoods (Kolker & Alvarez 1984) to modern day distinctions between the suburbs and areas within city limits (Mucciaccio 2009). Allegiance to these locales can be seen in the commodification of place via tee shirts and other material culture, as well as in song lyrics (Carmichael & Dajko 2012). But what happens when one's physical link to a given place is shifted as a result of a natural disaster?

New Orleans' distinct dialect has often been compared to a New York accent due to features such as r-lessness and a split short-a system (e.g. Lyman 1971; Labov 2007). Since integration in the 1960s, many of the city-dwelling speakers of this dialect moved to suburban towns such as Chalmette. Chalmette is a working class town located on a low-lying, water-locked strip of land East of New Orleans. Geographically and socially isolated, residents of Chalmette have retained stigmatized features of Greater New Orleans (GNO) English in their speech as other areas in and around the city have lost many iconic dialectal features (Mucciaccio 2009). When Hurricane Katrina struck in 2005, Chalmette was completely submerged by the storm surge, displacing residents for several months before they were allowed to return and survey the damage to their homes. This incident resulted in a diaspora of Chalmette natives throughout GNO and beyond, as some chose not to return to Chalmette. A heavy concentration of Chalmatians migrated to the Northshore of Lake Pontchartrain (Lasley 2012), approximately an hour drive from Chalmette and other suburban towns surrounding New Orleans. Historically, the Northshore has been more rural than the Southshore, but has also developed into a wealthier suburb as New Orleanians have fled crime and other problems in the city. Likely due to the distance from New Orleans across Lake Pontchartrain, as well as its sparsely populated past, GNO English features are not associated with the Northshore. Thus the inpouring of Chalmatians has drawn notable attention to their dialect, which has been the topic of conversation among native Northshore residents and transplants alike. This study examines GNO English features in the speech of Chalmette natives who returned to Chalmette post-Katrina and those who have migrated en masse to the linguistically unmarked Northshore.

To better understand the circulation and evolution of GNO English features following Hurricane Katrina, I examine the previously established GNO English variable of (r) and a newer variable, (aw), which features phonetically conditioned variation in the speech of younger participant. While it has been demonstrated that r-lessness has been declining within GNO over the past fifty years (Reinecke 1951; Brennan 1983), variation in the /aw/ vowel has not been documented in the literature on GNO English. Preliminary results indicate little difference between the speaker populations in Chalmette and those displaced to the Northshore, which may indicate use of these features to express a Southshore-linked identity. This study contributes to the growing knowledge about the relationship between language and a sense of place (e.g. Johnstone, Andrus, & Danielson 2006).

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Narrated Community: Migration and Discursive Circulation in a Zapotec Transborder Community

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Drawing on ethnographic research in a Zapotec transborder community formed by migration between San Juan Guelavía, Oaxaca and Los Angeles, California, I explore stories of migration told by or about migrants and the migration of stories themselves as they circulate across borders, contexts, speakers and languages. Members of the Guelavian community on both sides of the border depended heavily on language to maintain ties across distance and time. Through the comparative analysis of talk across contexts, speakers and geographic locations I demonstrate the myriad ways in which members of this community stitch their lives together across time and space. In phone conversations riddled with tangles of spatial deictics, ritual return migrations, and personal narratives Guelavians navigated the complex geography of transborder life, and negotiated the meaning of their movement and non-movement through the community. I suggest that Guelavians living in Oaxaca, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, comprise a "narrated community," as they use narrative to make sense of their disparate experiences and (re)create tiesto one another amid geographic, temporal and linguistic separations. Among far-flung diasporic populations, the organization of personal narratives and other speech genres (e.g. storytelling, ritual language) around a common frame of reference is a crucial medium for connecting people across time and space. For Guelavians one such discursive orientation is San Juan Guelavía itself, the geographic center of gravity for community members. The village serves as a physical, moral, spiritual, cultural and linguistic anchor for Guelavians and is continually evoked through their talk and other practices. Accordingly, the use of San Juan Guelavía Zapotec (SJGZ), a linguistic variety that is unique to the community, is a powerful index of belonging to the village. This relationship between language and community is complicated by dual patterns of language shift underway from SJGZ towards Spanish and English on both sides of the border, as Guelavians must increasingly traverse linguistic borders in their efforts to maintain community and familial bonds. These shifts counter the processes of discursive and material circulation community members engage in to maintain community and familial cohesion across borders. I demonstrated the challenges faced by community members in marking their alignment with one another in the absence of shared physical spaces, experiences, or even a shared language. However, amid a widespread preoccupation with fragmentation and loss, transborder community members tell and circulate stories about themselves, producing a shared body of references and common orientations that constitutes a powerful form of connectivity; a narrated community. Amid the challenges of geographic dispersal, long-term separation and cultural transformation, the continuing coherence of the Guelavian transborder community counters pervasive assumptions that equate global migration with homogenization and deterritorialization.

At the intersection of place and ethnicity:
Yemenite identities and Hebrew pharyngeals

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Although Modern Hebrew has been the topic of some sociolinguistic research, much is still unknown about even the most basic aspects of socially meaningful segmental variation in Israel. With respect to regional variation, Ravid (1995) claims that "Israel is too small and Modern Hebrew too young for local dialects to have formed". However, that does not mean that place has no role in linguistic variation. This paper, based on ongoing fieldwork in Israel, demonstrates how place and ethnic identity interact in the use of the Hebrew pharyngeals.

The ethnic distinction between Mizrahis (Jews of Middle Eastern descent) and Ashkenazis (Jews of European descent) has important social meaning in Israel, with Mizrahis tending to have lower income and education (Dvir et al. 2004). This social stratification is coupled with a persistent linguistic stereotype: that Mizrahis, but not Ashkenazis, use the pharyngeal segments ayin ([ʕ], a voiced pharyngeal approximant) and het ([ħ], a voiceless pharyngeal fricative) (Blanc 1968, Zuckerman 2005). Despite this stereotype, the extant work shows that pharyngeals are in rapid decline and very uncommon in the speech of Mizrahis as well (Lefkowitz 2004, Laufer 2009) – most speakers merge them with their non-pharyngeal counterparts ([ʔ] and [x]). In fact, Davis (1984), who interviewed Mizrahis in predominantly Mizrahi towns, found only 5% pharyngealization among 12 year olds and predicted: "in a generation or two, the pharyngeals will have disappeared completely from Israeli Hebrew". However, analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews that I have conducted shows that the prediction was premature. In 2012, the pharyngeals may have disappeared from the speech of most Mizrahis, but they are alive and well for some.

Understanding the patterns of variation requires problematizing the notion of "Mizrahi", which is not a monolithic construct, but rather a broad cover term for many sub-groups which have quite distinct cultures and settling patterns, coming from Morocco, Yemen, Iraq, Iran and so forth. When ethnicity is regarded as a dichotomy between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi, the results are in line with the received wisdom: only Mizrahis phayrngealized at all, though most of them did not, especially not the younger speakers. However, a more fine grained notion of ethnicity reveals a further pattern – the most robust users of pharyngeals (with 90% or virtually categorical pharyngealization) were of Yemenite descent. Nevertheless, the story does not end with simply replacing one ethnic category with another more nuanced one. My fieldwork focused on two locations in the Tel-Aviv area – Tel Aviv proper, and Rosh Ha'ayin, a lower middle class suburb at the Eastern edge of the Tel Aviv sprawl. While older Yemenites produced pharyngeals in both locations, the only speakers under 40 with robust pharyngealiaztion were from Rosh-Ha'ayin (including some in their early twenties). Indeed, the locations are two very different places; whereas Tel Aviv has a very mixed ethnic make up, Rosh Ha'ayin has a special link to Yemenite-ness: originally founded as a town for Yemenite immigrants, it was almost exclusively Yemenite until two decades ago. Though the town now has a more diverse population, the core neighborhoods are still predominately Yemenite. The language ideologies of the speakers reveal that even younger speakers, who grew up with a mixed population, think of their hometown as intimately related to Yemenite identity.

To conclude, the data demonstrate that pharyngeals can still be found in Hebrew, but the category "Mizrahi" might not be the most relevant one for sociolinguistic variation. Differences within broad ethnic categories illustrate the importance of adopting a more nuanced notion of ethnicity – the ethnic identity of a Yemenite from Rosh Ha'ayin is not the same as that of one form Tel-Aviv, and these differences are crucial for interpreting the linguistic variation.

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Indianness and True Grit in Rural Northern California:
How the Nor-Rel-Muk mix Country, California and Indian Englishes to construct opposition and authenticity

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Geographic, social, and ideological borders between the rural and the urban both divide populations and give rise to linguistic differentiation (Fox 2004; Niedzielski and Preston 2004; Hall-Lew and Stephens 2011).California is often portrayed as a sunny oasis of liberalism, urbanity, and opulence (Eckert 2008), but much of the state is conservative, sparsely populated, non-white dominant, and/or poor. In this paper, I examine how rural-urban oppositionsin California propagate fractally (Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000) within one remote community, Hayfork, and how these oppositions shape patterns of language variation.

I focus on how the Nor-Rel-Muk combine linguistic practices with different indexical values in order to align themselves with the local Country ethos while simultaneously disaligning themselves from hegemonic whiteness and urbanity. In particular, I use my participant ethnography to shed light on how two male elders, Sonny and Jim, use /o/-fronting and the cotcaught merger—two variables found in whiteCalifornia English (Eckert 2008) and Southern Englishes (Labov et al. 2006)—and was-were leveling to was—a variable found in many "nonstandard" English dialects, including Southern (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2003) and Indian Englishes(Leap 1993). The data come from a corpus of 70 sociolinguistic interviews I collected in Hayfork and the surrounding area, and every occurrence of /o/, /a/, and /oh/ (>75ms and not before /r/ or /l/) as well as every potential token of was-were leveling in Sonny and Jim's interviews were analyzed. The vowel data were normalized using the Watt and Fabricius (2002) method, and inter-speaker and inter-vowel formant differences were then tested for statistical significance using mixed effects models in R.

The data reveal many similarities between Sonny and Jim's styles. Neither speaker fronts /o/; both speakers have a significantly backer /o/ than the mean /o/ of a diverse sample of white speakers from the nearest urban center, Redding ($p < .0001$). This /o/-backing, unique to Hayfork's Native community, is indexical of Indianness. Both speakers also realize overlapping vowel spreads for /a/ and /oh/, indexing their indigenous Californianess. Lastly, Sonny and Jim participate in was-were leveling to was. However, Sonny levels were to was 67% of the time while Jim levels were to was 27% of the time. Was-were leveling may always carry the secondorder indexes of informal and nonstandard, but this difference raises the question: What else might was-were leveling "mean" in Hayfork?

A closer look at the data uncovers differences between the two speakersthat help me to disentangle the local indexical value of was.Jim's /o/ is even backer than Sonny's ($p < .0001$), and he realizes a significant difference in F1 ($p < .0001$) between /a/ and /oh/. These disparities reflect Sonny and Jim's differential engagements with Native culture.Jim is the grandson of the last living full-blooded Nor-Rel-Muk and native Nor-Rel-Muk Wintu speaker. This unique access to Nor-Rel-Muk language, religion, and rites allowed him to acquire lower-level language features associated with deep Indianness. Sonny grew up around other Indians, but he reports that he did not develop an interest in his tribe'slinguistic, cultural, and spiritual practices until he reached adulthood. His vowels, then, belie his later adoption of a tribal orientation. And since was-were leveling is a variable available in Hayfork at large, Sonny's more frequent use of was may indicate a greater integration with white social networks as well as a greater affiliation with Country. Sonny's persona is not one of deep Indianness; he's a self-described an "Indian cowboy." Thus, while Sonny and Jim's individual sociolinguistic styles are interesting in their own right, more importantly, they represent two different ways of being Nor-Rel-Muk in a white-dominant, Country town.

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Unexpected, Owned, and Contrasted:
Constructing a Border Neighborhood in Interview

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Although modern sociolinguistics takes as a given that communities can be formed by mutual shared practice (Bucholtz, 1999; Eckert & McConell-Ginet, 1992 and others), for most speakers with whom we work, the notion of "community" is deeply imbued in their understanding of the physical spaces in which they work and live. As such, in pursuit of a full understanding of the social meaning of any given speaker's speech, we must consider the "where" of speakers' experiences, and the ways in which they take stances regarding that space.

This paper is a discourse analysis of two sociolinguistic interviews from the Language and Communication in the District of Columbia (LCDC) project (Schilling and Podesva 2008), an ongoing project of the Georgetown University Department of Linguistics. The interviews were both conducted by the author for use in a course in sociolinguistic field methods in the spring of 2009. This particular class studied the neighborhood of Takoma, D.C. and its adjacent and complementary neighborhood, Takoma Park, Maryland.

Interview one was conducted with "Peter," a fifty-seven-year-old, African American lifetime D.C. resident and owner of a barbershop in the neighborhood. It was conducted by two interviewers over the course of two and a half hours, and has been the subject of further study on addressee-induced style shift by the author. Interview two was conducted with "Duncan," a mid-thirties coffee shop owner also in the neighborhood. The author interviewed this subject alone. Both interviews employed traditional sociolinguistic interviewing techniques, and also included the drawing of a cognitive map of the Takoma/Takoma Park neighborhood.

In the course of their interviews, both Duncan and Peter use methods such as contrasting Takoma to other neighborhoods in Washington, D.C., and by taking stances toward the other D.C. spaces, are able to characterize Takoma as both contested space, but also race-neutral and pleasant space. They create Takoma by using narratives to illustrate the character of the people they find in their community, by taking their own stances toward the issues they perceive as salient in their community and the prevalent ideologies of race and involvement in the community, and also by contrasting Takoma with other places in the District of Columbia. Each of these is then drawn upon to cast Takoma in the light which that speaker chooses, and ultimately create an image of a border neighborhood—both appreciated for its urban cosmopolitanism, and celebrated for its suburban peace.

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Performing Gallo, Imagining Place:
Language and Regional Identity in Brittany, France

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This linguistic anthropology paper is part of a larger project exploring the intersection of place, personhood and performance among speakers of Gallo, a nationally and regionally marginalized language of Brittany, France. For this paper, I concentrate on the discursive practices of five Gallo-language amateur and professional performers, including storytellers (contous), singers (chantous), and sketch comedians. My analysis focuses on linguistic representations and practices in various settings and genres: videorecorded performances at Gallo cultural festivals and gatherings (both those I have recorded, and those posted online by the performers themselves); newspaper articles and locally published books written about the performers; and the performers' modes of self-presentation on their personal websites and in interviews. Specifically, I explore how Gallo serves as a resource for speakers constructing models of personhood (Agha 2007a), such as 'cosmopolitan artist' or 'traditional rural resident,' in the context of circulating ideologies of modernity, place and community.

Gallo speakers live within various geographic and linguistic borders, both real and imagined (Modan 2007). While for many people – in Brittany as well as elsewhere – the entire region is associated with the Breton language, the eastern half of the region has historically spoken Gallo, not Breton. Gallo advocates often invoke "la ligne Sébillot," or the dividing line proposed by the nineteenth-century ethnologist Paul Sébillot between the Breton- and Gallo-speaking areas of Brittany. The geographic stratification of Breton and Gallo is seen in the name of the town Mur-de-Bretagne ("Wall of Brittany,") positioned along the Sébillot line. However, Broudic's (1995) study of the border reveals it to be much less neatly delineated than popular imagination would have it. Gallo performers must also negotiate what it means to be Breton ("from Brittany") without speaking Breton, as well as the extent to which they collaborate or compete with activists from "la Bretagne bretonnante," as well as activists for other oïl languages elsewhere in France.

Place is incorporated into Gallo performers' shifting personae in a chronotopic fashion (Bakhtin 1981; Silverstein 2005; Agha 2007b). The role of place in Gallo identification processes at both denotational and interactional levels can be seen when "gallésants" introduce themselves at Gallo gatherings by naming their specific place of origin, not only by town but by "lieux-dits," or places known to local residents by names referring to geographical or historical landmarks. Additionally, Gallo storytellers begin by locating narrated events in specific places and will often change these places from one telling to the next in order to suit the epistemological landscape of their audience. In addition to fine-tuned local place references, however, the Gallo performers I discuss also bring in indexical associations with geographically disparate languages and places by incorporating elements of globalized discourse practices such as Hip Hop (Alim 2006; Pennycook 2007), and also by demonstrating detailed knowledge about far-away places. Finally, although these Gallo speakers often enact stances of regionalized linguistic marginalization, they also participate in French public space in privileged ways, as white, largely economically comfortable, native citizens of France.

I argue that the highly local, yet also global, Gallo personae evoked in artistic creation make Gallo relevant to contemporary life in ways not afforded by traditional representations of Gallo as part of a regional heritage. Through a brief investigation of discourse in regional policy documents and activist manifestos, I illustrate that speakers have recourse to two overarching strategies in advocating for Gallo: institutions often represent Gallo as a timeless object of cultural heritage, while the language practices of Gallo performers and students indicate that Gallo can be a tool for artistic and linguistic invention. Both strategies position Gallo as optimally "not French"; the first focuses on Gallo syntactic structure to claim an independent Latin lineage, while the second incorporates Gallo into globalized performance genres such as rap, thus aligning it with geographically disparate languages, and emphasizes the sound quality of Gallo (with its non-French segments such as [h, tʃ, dʒ]) as a means of distinguishing it from French. I explore the possibilities and limitations of these strategies for how speakers and other local residents define Gallo in terms of modernity and tradition. My analyses complicate ideological distinctions between "local" and "global" language practices (Kearney 1995) and also interrogate discourses of diversity and authenticity (Urciuoli 2010; Pennycook 2007) in the context of late-modern models of regionalized citizenship.

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Endangered language and place:
From legítimo Caviteño to national and global citizen

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In this paper, I examine the role of place identity in language shift and endangerment, focusing on a case study of Cavite Chabacano, a severely endangered Spanish-lexified creole spoken in Cavite City, Philippines. Cavite Chabacano has declined significantly over the past century due to migration, education policy, national language policy, and socioeconomic pressures (Lesho & Sippola to appear). While Lesho & Sippola identify how institutional and local attitudes have led to a shift from Chabacano to the national languages Filipino and English, the present study focuses more explicitly on the role of shifting attitudes about place in describing the current level of vitality of the language. I show evidence from participant observation, interviews, a perceptual map task, and a collection of Chabacano texts suggesting that while Cavite City residents still associate speaking Chabacano with being legítimo Caviteño 'legitimately from Cavite', Caviteños below grandparental age now have a more national and global orientation, although they look upon Chabacano and the tradition that it represents with nostalgia. This shift away from locally oriented identity corresponds to the rise of the Philippines as an independent nation and the mass exportation of labor over the past century.

Language attitudes at the macro and micro level toward dominant and minority languages have often been identified as key factors in language vitality (e.g. Bradley 2002, Grenoble & Whaley 2006, UNESCO 2003), but there has been little analysis of speakers' attitudes and identity in terms of place. With migration, assimilation policies, environmental change or destruction, and other factors also often described as contributing to language loss, it is important to consider how place identity is affected by such cultural changes, as is being done in other disciplines like geography (McKay & Brady 2005). With regard to diaspora populations, Lo Bianco (2010) writes that "identities are projected into imaginative realms, producing more varied and hybrid kinds of psychological association of place, identity and language in response to the need for belonging and attachment". In Cavite City, I show how the idea of legítimo Caviteño has faded into the imaginative realm as language shift has taken place.

Cavite Chabacano is associated with local values, place identity, and the past. When recruiting speakers, I was often referred to people who are legítimo 'legitimate', a term that came up repeatedly during fieldwork. For example, on one perceptual map task, a speaker lamented that in most areas of the city, nuay ma mga legítimo 'there are no more legitimate (people)'. Another speaker mentioned that although he did not speak Chabacano much when he was younger, people told him that he should because he came from a locally prominent legítimo family. The map task also revealed that there is one particular Cavite City district that is seen as being truly Chabacano, and certain features found there, such as phrasefinal mid vowel raising, are associated with positive values (Lesho 2013), perhaps enregistered in the sense of Agha (2003) and Johnstone (2009). Further evidence of the enregisterment of Chabacano as the legitimate local language, as opposed to Tagalog, Spanish, or English, comes from analysis of Chabacano texts, which consist mainly of nostalgic reflection about growing up in Cavite before World War II and dedication to the local patron saint. Conversations with those not fluent in Chabacano are also tinged with nostalgia when it comes to the creole. Many regret not knowing the language, but report that whether they work locally or go abroad as Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), they must use other languages.

Taken together, these different types of evidence show that older people who speak Chabacano are authenticated as the legitimate Cavite residents. While Chabacano is no longer considered relevant or useful in Cavite City, it is imbued with nostalgia and local meaning for speakers and non-speakers alike. But if Chabacano speakers are mga legítimo, who are the other 97% of people living in Cavite City? Although they take pride in where they are from, their orientation seems to have changed from local to national and global citizens as the Philippine government has promoted OFWs as the country's bagong bayani 'new heroes' for their role in boosting the economy, despite the social costs of encouraging people to temporarily or permanently leave their communities behind. McKay & Bradley (2005) show how in other small Philippine communities, place identity has shifted from local to translocal as residents market themselves as "world-travellers and global subjects, rather than 'tribal minorities'". This study shows how this kind of shift in place identity can affect language vitality in a particular community, and on a larger scale, how such shifts can lead to widespread language endangerment nationwide.

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Complicating Regional Identity:
Young women's redefinition of "Southern" identity

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This paper investigates regional identity following the work of recent scholars who argue that such identities must be appreciated for their complexity and locally construction (e.g., Johnstone 2011, Modan 2007, Myers 2006, Rose 2006). In this paper, I investigate regional identity among adolescent females in the urban U.S. South, specifically examining how these speakers position themselvesin relation to the label "Southern." Drawing on data from an ethnographic study of identity and language use among members of an elite high school sorority, which I call LGF, my analysis explores the ways that female Southern adolescents variably construct their Southern identities.

These Southern adolescents, LGF members, often express an ambivalent relationship to their regional identity, negotiating the tension between avoiding nationally-recognized regional stigma and embracing certain positively-valued aspects of regional identities. These shifting attitudes necessitate an understanding of regional identity in more specific terms, for example as regional social personae, the products of combined resources which simultaneously index multiple social meanings (e.g., Eckert 2008, Moore & Podesva 2009, Zhang 2005) or as regional models of personhood (Agha 2007), with which registers of talk become associated.I therefore present an analysis of Southern identity which attends to both stigmatized and valued aspects of this regional affiliation.

Using audio-recorded interactions, focus groups, and interviews, as well as observations from my ethnographic fieldwork, I examine the strategies that LGF members use to delimit their identities as Southerners. In particular, I show that LGF members are reluctant to align themselves with the general label "Southern" unless that term has been problematized, specified, and reconstructed as referring to a locally-valued version of Southern identity which is urban, rather than rural, and modern, rather than traditional. This complicated pattern of selfidentification in order to avoid regional stigma highlights the need to view of regional identities from intersectional perspectives. That is, it becomes apparent that for female adolescents in the urban South, claiming a "Southern" identity requires negotiation of tensions between stigmatized stereotypes and positively-valued local models of regional identity.

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Authenticating Place Identity: intersecting scales of place and time

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This paper examines how older speakers in the American South construct place identity in relation to multiple scales of place and time, looking at how they relate large-scale identity categories,such asregion, to more local categories of belonging, such as church. Focusing on the strategy of authentication (e.g., Bucholtz 2003, Bucholtz and Hall 2005), which "highlights the agentive processes whereby claims to realness are asserted" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004), this analysis examines the ways in which speakers claim or reject an identity in terms of a particular place scale or trajectory through time.In other words, it investigates how speakers orient to regionally- or locally-based models of personhood (Agha 2007), in which identifying as Southern may intersect with other locally-relevant notions of identity, such as community involvement, histories of local institutions, and church membership. Using discourse analytic methods to analyze ethnographic interviews, I analyze the ways in which multiple scales of place may be depicted as intersecting but constant across various timescales (e.g., Wortham 2006).

Current sociolinguistic approaches to the construction of place identity examine how it is locally and discursively constructed (e.g., Johnstone 1990, Johnstone 2011, Modan 2007, Myers 2006). These studies focus on place identities at different levels, such asregion (e.g., Preston 1996), city (e.g., Johnstone and Kiesling 2008, Becker 2009), and neighborhood (e.g., Hall-Lew 2010, Modan 2007), often in terms of other aspects of identity. This paper aimsto contribute to this body of work by analyzing how individual speakers construct place identification across several of these levels of place, depicting one scale of place through the lens of another, thus expanding our understanding of how various notions of place are linked across multiple scales.

In addition, while the relationship between language and place is often researched, sociolinguistic research has largely not addressed how older adults construct place identity, excepting Rose (2006), who focuses on phonological variation in her analysis of older speakers in Wisconsin. This paper seeks to address discursive identity construction as part of a lifelong process by examining how older adults identify with multiple scales of place and time.

Preliminary analyses of an interview with one older speaker of Southern American English have shown that she constructs place identity by orienting to local scales of place and connecting changes in the physical and social landscape to her own life experiences, thus constructing forms of place identity that redefine supra-local notions of place and time in terms of local events. Rather than orienting to supra-local ways of place identification, such as region or state, she focuses on constructing more locally-based forms of place identity, such as city, neighborhood, and church. She does this through three intersecting strategies for authentication focusing on local notions of belonging: emphasizing the time spent in local places, illustrating knowledge of local places and changes, and telling stories about her own experiences in local places. In other words, authentication is not so much about the characteristics associated with being Southern; rather, by establishing a temporal relationship with local scales of place, she demonstrates knowledge that implicitly authenticates her Southern identity.

In my present continuation of this study, I explore the extent to which the trend of defining supra-local place categories through locally-relevant understandings of place can be seen as typical of this population, or rather, if it is one of several competing strategies used by older speakers as they define their life histories and trajectories in terms of place. I argue that in addition to investigating ways of identifying in terms of a pan-regional Southern identity, we must also examine alternative ways that olderspeakers of Southern American English authenticate their identities as "Southern," such as through locally-relevant ways of belonging.

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Place and dialect leveling in Denmark

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This paper demonstrates that processes of globalization such as urbanization and social and geographic mobility may on the one hand lead to dialect leveling and on the other hand to dialect awareness and celebration of linguistic localness (Johnstone 2010). The paper reports on a real time panel study in three towns in distinct dialect areas in Denmark. It examines language change in 18 speakers recorded in 1978 to 2010 and emphasizes the advantages of approaching 'place' from different angles when investigating patterns of language change.

At the time of the early recordings, the three towns were in different stages of ongoing dialect leveling processes (Pedersen 2003). In the town of Odder, dialect leveling was advanced (Nielsen and Nyberg 1992; 1993) informants' language being regional dialect or regional standard (Auer, Hinskens et al. 2005). In the towns of Vinderup and Tinglev, informants' languages featured substantial amounts of dialect features (Kristensen 1980; Pedersen 1986). In 2005 to 2010, researchers at the Danish National Research Center for Language Change in Real Time (LANCHART) and the University of Southern Denmark re-interviewed informants, thus providing data for investigating language change in real time (see www.lanchart.dk). The present paper focuses on the geographically non-mobile informants.

Quantitative analyses of morphological and phonological variables show different patterns of language change in the three towns. In Odder, language has changed slightly towards Danish standard. In Vinderup, dialect has been leveled extensively between recordings (especially among female informants), whereas in Tinglev, informants' language has not changed at all. Despite the fact that these dialect areas are situated in a rather small country and have been subjected to similar processes of globalization results go in opposite directions. In order to explain the differences in language change found, attention must be given not only to space effects, i.e. distance, proximity, location as conceptualized in traditional approaches to dialect leveling (e.g. Trudgill 1974) – but also to place effects, i.e. the ensemble of sociolinguistic conditions within speech localities (Horvath and Horvath 2001; Britain 2009; Blommaert 2010). This paper examines the impact of social and structural factors of place (historic, demographic, and socio-economic) (e.g. Britain 2002) as well as phenomenological factors (conceptualizations of place, sense of belonging and sense of place) (Johnstone 2010; Quist 2010; Jørgensen, Fallov et al. 2011) on language change in real time.

Social and structural factors of place may explain why conceptualizations of – and perceived relations between – language and home town/region differ in the three towns. Qualitative analyses show that talk about talk (Johnstone 2004) is common and positive in Tinglev; rare and predominantly negative in Vinderup; and almost non-existent in Odder.

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Metalanguage and enregisterment
on a social, regional, and dialectal boundary

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This study considers the enregisterment of speech in Washington, DC. Because of the intimate connection between metalinguistic commentary and ideologies of language/place (e.g. Coupland and Jaworski 2004), tracing the relationships among speakers' ideas of what it means to be from and speak like you are from a place contributes to a broader understanding of the role language plays in reflecting localness in places undergoing social change.

Much work on the relationship between language and local identity has considered longsettled, tight-knit neighborhoods. There remains a significant gap in the study of inherently diverse (Johnstone and Bean 1997), rapidly growing (e.g. Dodsworth 2008), less-studied and marginal (Evans 2011) communities, and those spanning dialect boundaries (Campbell-Kibler 2011). Washington, DC, is a particularly interesting case to consider, owing to its unique status as a regionally and linguistically marginal (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006), rapidly growing city whose sociopolitical history reflects differences in labor and migration patterns from many cities in the US (Manning 1998).

Production studies in neighboring areas (Bowie 2001, Hazen and Dodsworth 2012) attribute receding Southern features to increased orientation to 'cosmopolitan' cities including DC. In DC, the Southern- and AAVE-linked features /l/-vocalization (Nylund 2012), non-rhoticity (Jamsu and Schilling 2010) and (ay)-monophthongization (Jamsu, Callier and Lee 2009) are receding. In short, linguistically it appears that DC is becoming 'less Southern' and varieties of white and African American language are converging. Against this linguistic and regional backdrop, I ask: How does Washingtonians' metalanguage reflect sociopolitical discourses circulating in the city, and what is the status of the enregisterment of Washington, DC, language as a cultural object?

I present data from sociolinguistic interviews with Washingtonians, mediated performances of DC-specific speech and activity, and a perceptual dialectology survey. Interview and survey data indicate that: (a) Washingtonians see DC as a 'cosmopolitan' city surrounded by 'accented' areas; (b) African American speakers and neighborhoods are often viewed as 'accented' by non-AAs; (c) AAs reject race-linked dialect difference as essentialist, favoring stylistic explanations (c.f. Rahman 2008); (d) Southern/Northern, black/white, and cosmopolitan/rural distinctions are frequently made by Washingtonians when discussing dialect difference. In the media examples, stylized 'localness' emerges through a co-construction of dialect and activity. Linguistic forms hitch a ride (Mendoza Denton 2011) on topical vehicles (sports, gentrification), foregrounding race as the most significant dividing line, both linguistically and culturally, in DC.

In sum, the data suggest that Washington, DC, language is only partially enregistered. Even so, it plays a significant role in negotiating questions of identity, with questions of 'local' language engendering discussion and display of racial division and (unsettled) questions of regional identity. Washington, DC thus represents an instructive case of the role of language in the construction of identity in contested and changing communities, even absent widely circulating discourses of local language.

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Naming urban and rural spaces

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Place can be defined as a symbolic construction of connected and competing discourses (e.g. Lefebvre 1991; Mugerauer 1985; Cresswell 2004). One of the most powerful discursive means for constructing and defining places is the act of naming (Tuan 1991, 1996). In this paper we wish to discuss how names are used by speakers – not only as a resource for identity performance and stance-taking, but also – to construct places and make them meaningful. First, we present examples of the practice of claiming places in Danish hip-hop lyrics and graffiti. Alternative place names are employed to challenge established discourses of urban spaces, typically by portraying them as dangerous suburbs where alcoholics, pushers and gangs hang out. When claiming a place in hip-hop lyrics or graffiti young people use locations as resources in performances or as identity markers and they contribute to the ongoing discursive construction of the places in question. Second, drawing on data from urban and rural speech communities in Denmark, we argue that the act of naming is part of a continuous mental mapping, turning surrounding, undifferentiated space into local, meaningful place. Bringing in different kinds of spatial language (place names, deictics, directional adverbs) we show that viewpoint and positioning with regard to specific places of interest is encoded and conceptualized continuously and consistently in language. We specifically show that the construal of places is not only connected with more dramatic events and social stance-taking but is also reflecting social routine, regular business and activities. We claim that 'speaking from a place' (Blommaert 2010) is a continuous socio-cognitive activity.

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Location and Heritage Effects on the Vowel Characteristics among Monolingual English Speakers from Michigan's Upper Peninsula

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In the rural speech communities of Michigan's Upper Peninsula (UP), there still lingers an influence of immigrant languages among persons who are no longer speakers of those languages, but nevertheless, whose English remains distinct (Rankinen, 2010). In addition, there is a possible compounding effect of location among persons who reside in, as oppose to those on the periphery of, the town centers in this rural region. This report examines an 88 monolingual English-speaking sample of the rural speech communities from Michigan's Marquette County; this study compares 41 UP Finnish-Americans with 47 UP Italian-Americans. Both heritage groups are stratified by age (i.e., young, middle, old), sex, and social status (i.e., middle vs. working), and location (i.e., urban vs. rural).

All respondents are recorded in sociolinguistic interviews, which are comprised of a word list, a reading passage, and casual conversation. All data reported is drawn from the word list and reading passage sections only. The acoustic characteristics of the speakers' vowels are determined by using a Linear Predictive Coding analysis (Praat). All data are normalized, and plotted, in [R] using a speaker-, formant- and vowel-extrinsic Bayesian normalization model to not only directly compare speakers whose physical characteristics are different from one another, but also to disentangle this anatomical effect from a co-mingling sociolinguistic effect present in this particular dataset (Rankinen and de Jong, 2011; Albin and Rankinen, 2012). Therefore, this normalization procedure, similar to other traditional normalization algorithms, allows for the pooling of a large number of speakers to show community norms for the heritage, location and other sociolinguistic predictors of interest.

Earlier examination of the Finnish-American sample had shown evidence for a Canadian influence with perhaps some lingering Finnish characteristics. The ItalianAmerican data supports this claim by showing further evidence of Canadian vowel system characteristics, i.e., Ontario Canadian characteristics (Boberg, 2008). This external Canadian influence, in fact, is shown to be most prevalent among the younger UP speakers, particularly among the young Italian-American community. The younger UP speakers' system in general can be characterized as having 1) further front /i/ and /u/ vowels, 2) lowered and backed /ɪ/, /ɛ/ and /æ/, 3) slightly distinct vowel qualities of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/. However, this heritage and age effect is further complicated when the geographic distribution of speakers relative to population density is taken into account. Finnish Americans tend to be less pronounced in these Canadian vowel characteristics and reside in the rural peripheries outside the urbanized, albeit rural, town centers, while the Italian Americans tend to be more pronounced in these characteristics and reside predominately in the more social environments of these town centers.

Work in other areas, e.g., on urban/rural distinctions in Minnesota, has revealed effects associated with a changing rural and urban landscape (Nguyen, 2011). The UP is an excellent test case to show how relatively urbanized rural town centersin a sparsely populated region can still be seen as breeding grounds for linguistic propagation. This report ultimately seeks to determine if the evidence of a strong Canadian influence on the English vowel systems among the more urbanized Finnish and Italian immigrant descendants is more widespread than on those who are located in more ruralized regions of Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

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Locating Language in the "Finnish American Nesting Place"

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This study examines how language is used to perform Finnish American identity at ethnic festivals in Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula, which one international festival claims is the "Finnish American nesting place" and that is "a pivotal center for Finnish American culture." These festivals provide particularly rich opportunities for mapping language and identity where individuals rely on discursive and metadiscursive practices not only to claim their "Finnishness" (Wilce 2006), but also to authenticate it by locating it in a particular place through the use of enregistered ethnic and regional features and by enacting it through participation in traditional leisure activities and foodways. The significance of language in both defining 'Finnish American' and locating it in the Keweenaw is evident in festival advertisements and websites, activities, and presentations, souvenirs, as well as participants' use and display of family names. Meanings associated with these practices and the people–language–place connection are reinforced and legitimized through festival displays of historical records, census maps, traditional folkway demonstrations and lessons, the use of Finnish, and references to historical Finnish texts and folklore. More importantly, individuals from outside the region and who do not claim Finnish American identities, recognize what it means to be 'Finnish American' with enregistered features such as yah and the shibboleth sauna [saʊnə] (Remlinger 2009, Tramontelli & Remlinger 2012). While enregisterment and related levels of indexicality are key in both the performance and recognition of these symbolic social and linguistic practices(Beal 2009;Johnstone 2010; Purnell, Raimy, & Salmons 2009), historical processes are also a significant element linking Finnish American identity, language use, and the Keweenaw, for it is historicity that legitimates these connections (Milroy 2002). Thus, historical, discursive, and ideological processes contribute to the idea of an authentic ethnic identity and to locating it in language tied to a particular place.

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Fascinated by disappearance: Local language and nostalgia

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"We are fascinated by all forms of disappearance" - Jean Baudrillard

This paper explores the interrelationship of local language, globalization, nostalgia, and commodification. Much recent scholarship has shown how the idea of *the local* is generated as a bulwark against the perceived rise of a homogenizing, culture-threatening globalization. I would like to argue that discursive acts of nostalgia are one of the mechanisms that create the local, enshrining ways of speaking and other cultural practices considered indigenous to a place. Nostalgia is a devotion to memory, so that what is nostalgically enshrined or enregistered as local is predominantly language that is falling into disuse, that is disappearing from contemporary speech even as it is being valorized as a sign of "real" place. The fractions of language circulated as being local are thus increasingly simulations of what used to be routine talk. I'm thinking of Jean Baudrillard's idea of simulation, what he describes as a state "inaugurated by a liquidation of all referentials and their artificial resurrection in the systems of signs" (1994 [1981]: 2). The "liquidation of all referentials" is the disappearance of objects--including language--as a necessary step towards their existence as signs, or simulations of their original existence. Baudrillard puts this process another way, saying "every event first passes through an historical existence being revived under a parodical form" (1994: 35). Linguistic features are historical events that can become enregistered or revived as signs, revived as simulations.

The simulation of local language elides historical association of local features with often undesirable social meanings: low socioeconomic class, poor education, or unfashionable provincialism. These former associations remain shadowy presences in the new life of linguistic features as beloved signs of the local. That these shadowy associations persist is suggested by the fact that those who treasure local language most ardently are often those who do not possess them in their own speech, a condition termed "linguistic NIMBY-ism" by Michael Silverstein, who observes that people "seem to cherish and hold on to them [local accents] as much by violation as by performance" (2011: 5).

I would also like to suggest that linguistic disappearance and commodification are linked; that, as a result of the global transformation of traditional, place-rooted populations to more mobile, deracinated individuals, local language is nostalgically revived for commercial purposes. Merchandise and entertainment enregister local language for use as what Monica Heller calls a "a sign of authenticity, useful as added value for niche markets" (Heller 2010: 102). Local language is thus both simultaneously animadverse to and animated by processes of globalization and commodification. Finally, while the social meanings of local linguistic features are created and maintained in part by large-scale social processes, individual speakers are increasingly agentively engaged with these larger processes, employing local linguistic features in often nostalgic performances of place-aligned identities.

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Dialect meta-register and popular linguistic awareness
in heritage marketing and tourism

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A public campaign launched in 2007 in Valdres, Norway, has endeavored to market the sensorial richness of the rural district to grow an established tourist base. Focusing on what visitors can see, feel, taste, smell, and hear in their experiences of both cultural heritage and mountain wilderness in Valdres, the campaign has contributed to increased visibility for local "folk" traditions, from music and dance to artisanal food production. This has coincided with the recent revaluation of the distinctive Valdres dialect (Strand 2012), a twenty-first-century trend that follows many decades of unidirectional dialect convergence toward the speech of nearby urban Oslo (Kvåle 1999). Significantly, the new Valdres marketing scheme seems to be capitalizing on the presently high social and symbolic value of the local dialect by incorporating certain distinctive words and pronunciations into signage and tourism literature, and by encouraging local businesses to do the same.

Here, it is clear that the Valdres dialect is not just a geographical language variety, but also one that meets Agha's criteria for consideration as a register, or an enregistered dialect (2007). Similar cases involving processes of (re-)enregisterment and commodification of local or regional dialects have been identified by sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists working in places like Pittsburgh (e.g., Johnstone 2009) and Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Remlinger 2009) in the United States. In all of these cases, dialect commodification seems to necessarily be a post-enregisterment phenomenon, and one that aids in the social reproduction of the dialect as a linguistic-semiotic register. Crucially, one aspect of dialect commodification seems to be a reductive norming or "standardization" of the non-standard dialect-register, as, for example, when a select few local phonological and lexical forms are rendered in print and sold on objects like t-shirts and thermometers (Author 2010). In cases like these we can observe an essentializing transformation of local linguistic varieties within a twenty-first-century heritage tourism context, as has been demonstrated for other elements of "traditional" cultures and identities worldwide in recent years (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009).

In this paper, I critically examine dialect-register commodification in the Valdres case, basing my analysis on long-term ethnographic fieldwork. I question whether contemporary pro-dialect projects in Valdres marketing schemes, while overtly supporting local linguistic and cultural revitalization, might also potentially threaten the vitality of the Valdres dialect as a complete linguistic system over time through the widespread use and circulation of just a select few dialect forms/features. Additionally, I argue that the kinds of popular linguistic awareness and dialect re-enregisterment evident in tourism-oriented dialect commodification processes and products in places like Valdres and Pittsburgh are somewhat distinct from the more general processes of (re-)enregisterment Agha has described (2007). In dialect commodification, I suggest that the (implicit) reduction of a dialect to a relatively small set of distinctive, popularly identifiable linguistic forms, along with the normalization of those forms, might be considered a kind of "hyper-enregisterment" with the capacity to transform the original dialect-register into what we might describe as register of itself, or a "meta-register."

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Putting Race in its Place:
Routes of Blackness in Santiago de Cuba's Carnivalesque

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Speech practices are now often studied in light of their capacity to actively construct place and negotiate location as a source of social identifications. But theorizations of the "linguistics of place" nonetheless often rely on rather static correlations between linguistic features, geography, and identity that do not fully engage anthropology's current emphasis on dynamic "flows," shifting "scapes," and (globally) circulating "styles." While the latter perspective sometimeslacks semiotic precision, it does challenge us toward a more dynamic understanding of the discursive construction of space and the mutual "mapping" of linguistic (and other semiotic) features onto social and physical space, and vice versa. This paper is an initial attempt to inject motion, mobility, and flux into a study of the discursive racialization of space in one locale by tracing how walked and danced routes of a Cuban city's Carnival (and related "folkloric" processions) enact the racialization of bodies, cultural forms, and neighborhoods, and how these semiotically multimodal, performed diagrams of "routes of Blackness" are then taken up in various circuits of local and national discourse about identity and belonging.

The eastern Cuban city of Santiago de Cuba has long been prominent among the "routes" of the Black Atlantic. I draw upon my ethnographic research there since 1998, focusing in particular on data collected between 2008-2011 for a study of racializing discourses, where Blackness--indexed not only by bodily phenotype but also by various linguistic registers, bodily dispositions, social dangers, and participation in "folkloric" cultural forms--is emplaced as a characteristic of only some neighborhoods in the city. In the Cuban imagination, Santiago de Cuba is "Blacker" and "more Caribbean" than other Cuban cities; its folk religiosity, music and dance traditions, and particularly its July Carnival are often pointed out as emblematic of the city. The city's residents at times embrace this notion of shared patrimony, but are quick to point out that Black communities and cultural practices are concentrated in certain older, poorer neighborhoods encircling the city's historic core. Taken at face value, residents' descriptions of Santiago as a city of neighborhoods, some of which support carnival ensembles and folk religious practices, and some of which don't, suggest a static mapping of cultural (and linguistic) forms to racial/class categories to physical locations. But the Cuban Revolution has invested more than half a century in trying to unravel just these sorts of racial and class associations, for example through housing and educational policies, with the result that one's address is no longer so predictive of one's race, class, or cultural affiliations(if indeed it ever fully was). During Carnival season, however, organized ensembles and carnivalesque crowds alike flow along particular routesthat locate differing aspects of Carnival in and across different sections of the city, each with different associated notions of tradition, structures of participation, rewards, and dangers. A more careful analysis suggests that it is through such movements through space, and the discursive representations of these motions and routes, that Blackness gains the force of a bodily "fact of birth" mapped (and map-able) onto physical places, social locations, and cultural forms.

One Hundred Words for Green:
Amazonian Kichwas and the Language of the Forest

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The classic picture of Amazonia is one of a "botanical and zoologica conservatory, only incidentally inhabited by humans" (Descola 1996:1-2). Its native peoples have been long imagined as rainforest stewards and keepers of precious ecological knowledge. Studies of Amazonian languages and cultures have reinforced this idea, often revealing indigenous Amazonians' exceptional linguistic practices, notably, the encoding of vast ecological knowledge in complex semantic domains. Like the "eskimos," who have been famously represented as a people with "one hundred words for snow," amythologizing of linguistic reality is taking place in the Amazonian region of Tena, Ecuador, where Kichwa people are cast as the guardians of elaborate, endangered forest lexicon. Their linguistic connection to the rainforest is being actively restored in a time of language shift, urbanization, ecotourism, and multiculturalist policies.

Previous studies in Amazonian Kichwa communities have demonstrated a highly developed body of traditional ecological knowledge and its expression in the nuanced lexicon of local flora and fauna (Orr & Wrisely 1965), sound-symbolic grammar, cognition, and performance (Nuckolls 1996), mythological discourse (Uzendoski 1999, 2005), storytelling practices (Kohn 2005), politicking and artistic production (Whitten & Whitten 2008). In the bourgeoning projects of language revitalization and intercultural education, Amazonian Kichwa media-makers draw heavily on the ecological-steward trope in their public redefinition of an indigenous identity that is distinctly Amazonian. Linguistically, they highlight the richness of local Kichwa ecological lexicon and its deep historical connection with a traditional Amazonian worldview. While many Kichwa speakers in Tena point to their distinctive phonology as a marker of Amazonian ethnic identity vis-à-vis highland Kichwas, Kichwa ecological lexicon has become a defining feature of local cultural identity, especially in the version that is packaged for multiethnic (inter)national audiences.

This paper examines the spotlighting of Amazonian Kichwa ecological lexicon in a reconnecting of urbanizing Amazonian Kichwas to rural, lowland, forest geography. I examine this linking of language and place by Kichwas and non-Kichwas in everyday conversation and in bilingual intercultural media, including urban cultural exhibitions, native beauty pageants, oratory and musical performances, and t.v. talk shows. Here, look at the linguistic encoding of historical place in the creation of an indigenous identity that is tailored for an intercultural era.

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