

Indexicality and experience: Exploring the meanings of /aw/-monophthongization in Pittsburgh¹

Barbara Johnstone and Scott F. Kiesling

*Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and University of
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

In this paper we test the hypothesis that monophthongal /aw/ is semiotically associated with local identity in Pittsburgh. We compare results of an experimental task that directly elicits participants' sense of the indexical value of /aw/-monophthongization with the occurrence of this variant in the same people's speech. People who hear monophthongal /aw/ as an index of localness are *unlikely* to have this feature in their own speech, and many of the people who *do* monophthongize /aw/ do not associate this variant with localness. Exploring how four of these participants talk about this feature and its meanings, we show that the indexical meanings of speech features can vary widely within a community, and we illustrate the danger of confusing the meaning assigned by hearers to a linguistic form with the meaning users would assign to it. We suggest that a phenomenological approach, attending to the multiplicity and indeterminacy of indexical relations and to how such relations arise historically and in lived experience, can lead to a more nuanced account of the distribution of social meanings of variant forms than can studies of perception or production alone.

KEYWORDS: Dialect awareness, experience, indexicality, Pittsburgh, place identity, phenomenology

1. INTRODUCTION

Research by linguists has identified the monophthongization of the diphthong /aw/ (so that *house* is realized as [ha:s]) as a distinctive characteristic of the Western Pennsylvania dialect (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006). Western Pennsylvanians have also noticed this feature. Monophthongal /aw/, often represented as 'ah' in words like 'dahntahn' or 'aht,' is used in print media discourse more than three times as often as any other phonological feature to adduce or mock local identity (Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski 2002). It appears on every t-shirt, coffee mug, souvenir shot glass, and refrigerator magnet bearing a list of 'Pittsburghese' words as well as in every dictionary-like list of local dialect features in print and on the internet, and it is frequently mentioned when Pittsburghers talk

about local speech (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004; Johnstone 2006; Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006). In unself conscious vernacular speech, /aw/ monophthongization is available for sociolinguistic work: it is stylistically variable in many Pittsburghers' speech, and it also varies with gender. The feature is receding, but apparently more slowly in men's speech, the speech of people born in Pittsburgh (Kiesling and Wisnosky 2003), and possibly working-class speech (Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski 2002).

These observations suggest that one reason for this feature's persistence and for its variability in Pittsburghers' speech may be that Pittsburghers are using the feature to project local identity. Several facts suggest that people may monophthongize /aw/ because monophthongal /aw/ indexes localness, so that using it is a way to lay claim to local identity: the fact that Pittsburghers hear some people and not others monophthongizing /aw/, and in some contexts more than others; the fact that at least some Pittsburghers talk about and hear others talk about /aw/-monophthongization; and the fact that this feature is used, in discourse about localness and local talk, to evoke and construct local identity. We have proposed this hypothesis in previous work (Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski 2002; Kiesling and Wisnosky 2003).

In this paper we report on a test of this hypothesis that compares the results of a perception experiment that directly elicits the indexical meanings (Silverstein 2003; Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006) of this variant with the presence or absence of the variant in the speech of the same people. Our principal finding is that the speakers who hear monophthongal /aw/ as indexing local identity are in fact *unlikely* to have this variant in their own speech, while speakers who do not hear this feature as local are about equally likely to monophthongize /aw/ as not to. In other words, while /aw/ monophthongization clearly indexes local identity for some speakers, these are not, on the whole, the speakers who actually use it. Further, at least half of the people who do monophthongize /aw/ are not doing so because it indexes local identity to them, since, for them, the monophthongal variant is indistinguishable from the diphthongal variant, or since they do not identify the monophthongal variant with localness. To explore the reasons for these findings and suggest further dimensions of the social meaning of monophthongal /aw/ in Pittsburgh, we then turn to an analysis of how four of these speakers talk about this feature, in the course of a perception task and during an accompanying interview.

Our results highlight the degree to which the indexical meanings of speech features can vary within a community. Such variation arises because indexical meaning is created and reinforced in local practices in which different people participate in different ways, if at all. While it is often possible to find recurring semiotic relationships between linguistic variants and social meanings, the way in which a particular person will interpret a particular form is not determined by such larger-scale patterns. This is because different people experience the sociolinguistic world differently. Some people's experience of local forms and their indexical meanings is relatively regimented by widely circulating

metapragmatic practices that link forms and social meanings in the same way, repeatedly, for many people. These form-meaning links can be captured as statistical regularities, as we will show; they are the 'shared norms' that characterize speech communities of the sort Labov has described. Other people, though, may draw on more personal experiences to interpret form-meaning links, or they may not create such links at all, so it is highly unlikely that a linguistic form will have the same indexical meaning across a socially stratified geographical community.

As a result, features can be heard as bearing second- or third-order indexical meaning without having been meant that way. This suggests that sociolinguists need to be more careful than we sometimes are to avoid the 'intentional fallacy', the assumption, that is, that it is possible to derive a speaker's intention from a hearer's interpretation. Our results complicate the notion of 'dialect awareness,' showing that individuals and groups within a community can perceive, interpret, talk about, stereotype, and/or perform local-sounding speech features in a wide variety of ways, with a variety of effects.

2. IDENTITY, INDEXICALITY, AND LINGUISTIC VARIATION

Our work builds on research about the sociolinguistic roles of indexicality and social and personal identity. Research by Eckert (2000), Kiesling (2005), and others shows that the repeated use of different variants in different self-presentational styles associated with locally relevant social groupings can cause particular variants to become semiotically associated with particular ways of being and acting. Linguistic anthropologist Michael Silverstein provides a model of how this happens. According to Silverstein, relationships between linguistic form and social meaning can occur at various levels of abstraction or 'orders of indexicality.' An n -th order indexical correlation becomes a socially meaningful $n + 1$ -th order index when the correlation is imbued with meaning drawn from local ideology: 'any n -th order indexical presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the "appropriateness" of its usage in that context' (2003: 193). For example, many Texans orient to a schematization that associates rural practices with regional authenticity. According to this schematization, 'real' Texans are ranchers, cowboys, or people from small, close-knit towns (Johnstone 1998). The practice of monophthongizing /ai/ before voiceless obstruents is correlated, in many Texans' experience, with speakers' being from the country. (In other words, /ai/-monophthongization is a first-order index of someone's being rural.) This means that /ai/-monophthongization before voiceless obstruents may (but need not necessarily) become socially meaningful: /ai/-monophthongization may come to seem appropriate coming from a rural Texan and inappropriate in contexts in which rural identity is stigmatized. Monophthongizing /ai/ may thus come to be used as a signal of or claim to a rural identity, and hence to authentic Texanness – in other words, as a second-order index of regional

Table 1: Types of Indexical Meaning (adapted from Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006: 82–83)

Silverstein (2003)	Labov (1972: 178–180)	in Pittsburgh
<p>'n-th-order indexical': A feature whose use can be correlated with a socio-demographic identity (e.g. region or class) or a semantic function (e.g. number-marking). N-th-order accounts are 'scientific' (p. 205), i.e. could be generated by a cultural outsider such as a linguist. The feature's indexicality is 'presupposing,' occurrence of the feature can only be interpreted with reference to a pre-existing partition of social or semantic space.</p> <p>'n + 1-th-order indexical': An n-th order indexical feature that has been assigned 'an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation' (p. 212), i.e. a meaning in terms of one or more native ideologies (the idea that certain people speak more correctly than others, for example, or that some people are due greater respect than others). The feature has been 'enregistered,' that is, it has become associated with a style of speech and can be used to create a context for that style. Its indexicality is thus 'entailing' or 'creative.'</p>	<p>'indicator': A variable feature which shows no pattern of stylistic variation in users' speech, affecting all items in the relevant word classes. Speakers are not aware of the variable. The variable is 'defined as a function of group membership,' or, as its use spreads in subsequent generations, group membership and age.</p>	<p>first-order indexicality: At this stage, the frequency of regional variants in a person's speech can be correlated with whether he/she is from southwestern PA (especially from Pittsburgh) working-class, and/or male. But for socially non-mobile speakers in dense, multiplex social networks, these correlations are not noticeable, because 'everybody speaks that way.'</p>
<p>'marker': A variable feature which shows stylistic variation, i.e. speakers use different the use of one variant or another is socially meaningful. Speakers are not necessarily aware of the variables or their social meanings, however.</p>	<p>'marker': A variable feature which shows stylistic variation, i.e. speakers use different variants in different contexts, because the use of one variant or another is socially meaningful. Speakers are not necessarily aware of the variables or their social meanings, however.</p>	<p>second-order indexicality: Regional features become available for social work; speakers start to notice and attribute meaning to regional variants and shift styles in their own speech. The meaning of these forms is shaped, for many, by ideologies about class and correctness, though regional forms can also be linked with locality by people who have had the 'localness' of these forms called to attention, and there are more idiosyncratic linkages as well. Note that not all features will acquire second-order indexical meaning for all speakers.</p>

'(n + 1) + 1-th-order indexical':

An indexical phenomenon at order *n* + 1 can come to have another, (*n* + 1) + 1-th-order, indexical meaning when a subset of *its* features come to be perceived as meaningful according to another ideological schema. Uses of features from this new subset presuppose the context that was created by the use of features at the *n* + 1-th order of indexicality and can create a new context. Less precisely, each increase is a meta-level interpretation of the next-lower one.

'stereotype':

A variable feature which is the overt topic of social comment; may become increasingly divorced from forms that are actually used; the form may eventually disappear from vernacular speech.

third-order indexicality:

Third order indexicality involves explicit metadiscourse and results in increased codification of 'Pittsburghese'. Forms start to become third-order indexicals when people who notice the existence of second-order stylistic variation in Pittsburghers' speech link the regional variants they are most likely to hear with Pittsburgh identity, drawing on the idea that places and dialects are essentially linked (every place has a dialect; knowing a place means knowing its dialect). These people can use regional forms drawn from highly codified lists to perform local identity, often in ironic, semi-serious ways. This use of local features presupposes that there is a correlation between local orientation and local-sounding speech (local forms can thus be used even by people who have never actually heard local speech), and it can show that a person knows how Pittsburghers talk.

authenticity. (Bailey 1991 suggests that this has, in fact, occurred.) Table 1 sketches Silverstein's 'orders of indexicality' as they compare to William Labov's (1972: 178–180) taxonomy of types of social meaning that linguistic features can carry, and as they have played out in Pittsburgh.

'First-order' indexicality is the kind of correlation between a form and a socio-demographic identity or pragmatic function that an outsider could observe. In Labov's taxonomy, first-order indexicals are 'indicators.' For example, work by Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006), Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski (2002), and Kiesling and Wisnosky (2003) shows that the monophthongization of the diphthong /aw/ occurs in the speech of people from a particular part of southwestern Pennsylvania and rarely elsewhere, and it is more likely to occur in the speech of working-class males born in Pittsburgh than in that of other people. Thus monophthongal /aw/ is an indicator (Labov) or first-order index (Silverstein) of someone's being from that area, working-class, and/or male.

During the first stage of a sound change, when a variable is a Labovian indicator, community members have not noticed the first-order indexical correlation between form and demography, perhaps because they have only heard one variant of the variable used. They thus cannot make use of the correlation to interpret others' speech or project social identity. Second-order indexicality occurs when people begin to use first-order correlations to do social work. For example, because monophthongal /aw/ is distributed the way it is, someone who has been socially and/or geographically mobile enough to have experienced this distribution may hear monophthongal /aw/ as suggesting that the speaker is from southwestern Pennsylvania and/or working-class and/or masculine. Accordingly, people who can use this feature variably may use it less when they are trying harder to sound educated or cosmopolitan, or more when they are trying harder to sound like working-class men or like other Pittsburghers. Labov refers to linguistic forms that do this kind of work as 'markers.' For various reasons, not all first-order indexical correlations come to do second-order sociolinguistic work. Silverstein (2001) and Preston (1996), drawing on Silverstein, discuss these 'limits of awareness,' to which we return later on.

Second-order indexicality thus involves '1st-order indexical variation that has been swept up into an ideologically-driven metapragmatics' (Silverstein 2003: 219). (It should be noted that 'metapragmatic' activity is not necessarily 'metadiscursive,' so speakers are not necessarily aware of second-order indexicality in such a way as to be able to talk about it.²) A first-order index is only a potential second-order index; not all correlations become socially meaningful. As we will show, second-order indexical relations can link phonetic and lexical form with 'social meaning' in many ways. Drawing meaning from widely shared schematizations of the connections between language and social meaning, particular non-standard forms hearable in Pittsburgh can sound incorrect, working-class, masculine, or local. But there are also other schematizations, resulting from more idiosyncratic experience, that link local forms with particular personal identities (such as 'Ann') or with other social identities (such as

'hillbillies'); and, for some speakers, some local forms have no second-order indexical meaning at all.

The (aw) variable acquires third-order indexical meaning when it gets 'swept up' into explicit lists of local words and their meanings and reflexive performances of local identities, in the context of widely circulating discourse about the connection between local identity and local speech that reflects and reinforces a schematization in which language varieties are naturally linked to places. Just as only a subset of the form-demographic category correlations linguists describe do second-order indexical work, only a subset of the socially meaningful features of Pittsburgh speech have been taken up into the third order of indexicality represented by overt discourse about 'Pittsburghese' (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004; Johnstone 2005, 2006.)

Since variationists typically identify the populations we study as speech communities and define speech communities as groups of people sharing norms for the production, perception, and/or interpretation of variable forms (Eckert, 2000: 30–33; Patrick 2002), the ways in which different subsets of our research populations may be aware of different variables and draw on different indexical linkages between these variables and social meanings are often relatively invisible. As a result, variationists have sometimes assumed that the second-order indexical value of a feature can be read off of the social identities of those who use it. For example, for Fridland, Bartlett, and Kreutz (2004: 4), 'it seems reasonable that groups of speakers who use the same phonetic variant(s) and share some recognizable social characteristic are using that variant as a marker of that membership.' In other words, first-order correlations between demographic categorizations and linguistic variants are sometimes taken as sufficient evidence that there are meaningful second-order indexical links that allow speakers and hearers to use these variants to perform and interpret social identity work. However, as Eckert points out (1996: 49), 'broad demographic patterns of variation . . . suggest possible social interpretations of variation. But information about how variation actually functions as a communicative resource lies at the local level.'

Accordingly, Eckert and many other variationists adduce independent evidence that features correlated with social identities function as second-order indexes of these identities. This evidence has come from modes of work that are suited to exploring the 'local level' of potential social meaning: ethnography (Labov 1963; Eckert 1996, 2000), interviews (Dyer 2002), survey research (Bailey 1991), discourse analysis (Eckert 1996), pragmatics (Sidnell 1999), or some combination of these.

Work like this takes an important step beyond the assumption that any correlation between a form and a demographic label provided by the linguist represents a mechanism by which speech community members index the demographic category in question. However, in all this work, the assumption is that the correlations are meaningful, and ethnographic and other evidence is used to support claims about what the meaning is. In other words, first-order

indexical correlation is assumed to have second-order indexical meaning. The possibility that some variables may play no second-order indexical role, for some or all community members, tends not to arise. Nor does the possibility that different indexical links between linguistic form and social meaning may become relevant at different moments in interaction or across different discourse genres, and that different people may draw on different, even sometimes idiosyncratic, senses of what choices among variable forms mean, or about whether they mean anything at all (O'Barr and Atkins 1980; Ochs 1992). Variationists' traditional focus on larger, relatively homogeneous communities has tended to divert attention from these aspects of indexicality.

Perceptual dialectologists (Preston 1989; Niedzielski and Preston 1999; Long and Preston 2000) explore second-order indexical meanings from the point of view of hearers. Although most of this work builds on the social-psychological tradition of gauging attitudes to languages or dialects as a whole rather than to particular features of them (Tucker and Lambert 1969; Ryan and Giles 1982), a growing body of research uses experimental techniques to study which distinctions carry social meaning (Thomas and Reaser 2004), what kinds of contextual conditions affect these judgments (Niedzielski 1999), and which elements of the speech signal are responsible for perceptual differentiation (Friedland, Bartlett and Kreuz 2004). Taken together, these studies show that for some variants in the right situations, some speakers do use first-order indexicals to do second-order indexical work. For the most part, however, perceptual dialectological research takes place on a relatively large scale, since relatively large numbers of subjects are required for statistical tests to work. The indexical meanings of variants are assumed to be deducible by averaging across the subject population. Results about the perception of indexical meaning are linked to generalizations about how people with subjects' researcher-defined social identity (Americans, for Thomas and Reaser; Detroiters and Canadians, for Niedzielski; Memphians, for Friedland, Bartlett and Kreuz) produce these forms, but not with findings about the actual subjects' production. Although the actual generalizations are based on a statistical averaging of individuals, the idealized model that emerges is one in which all members of a community share indexical form-meaning links. Variation within the community is glossed over. Furthermore, the range of possible social identities and/or indexical forms is typically determined by the researcher, and forced-choice techniques require subjects to make meaning judgments. This means that forms that otherwise have no second-order indexical value might become invested with indexical meaning as a result of the task, in which subjects are required to use them as clues in the absence of any others. In other words, the task could be creating the indexical association rather than measuring a pre-existing one. So while work in perceptual dialectology has given us important insight into what features of the speech signal can serve as cues to second-order indexical meaning and how contextual factors influence judgments, it does not provide answers to questions about which variables acquire second-order indexical meaning or about what this meaning

is in a particular case, and to which particular speakers these meanings are relevant.

Below we describe an experiment designed to do just this. First, however, we provide some background information about the variable we are exploring.

3. /aw/ - MONOPHTHONGIZATION IN PITTSBURGH

3.1 *Phonetic characteristics*

Prototypical Pittsburgh /aw/-monophthongization is characterized by a lack of movement back from the nucleus. The nucleus is most often a low central vowel [a:] which retains the length of the diphthong. (The low back vowels are also backed in Pittsburgh; see Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006: 271–275). Figure 1 shows a woman’s monophthongal /aw/ in *house*. Note how the first and second formants remain almost parallel throughout the vowel.

The ‘glide weakening’ process is well-known for the front-rising diphthong /ay/ (which is also present in Pittsburgh speech), but glide weakening for back-rising /aw/ is rare in English dialects. The processes for both are fairly similar, with a shortening of the F2 distance between nucleus and glide (see Schilling-Estes 1996 on /ay/). In Southwestern Pennsylvania, /aw/ monophthongization can occur in any phonetic environment, but it appears to be somewhat more likely before liquids and nasals than before obstruents and less frequent in word-final position than elsewhere.

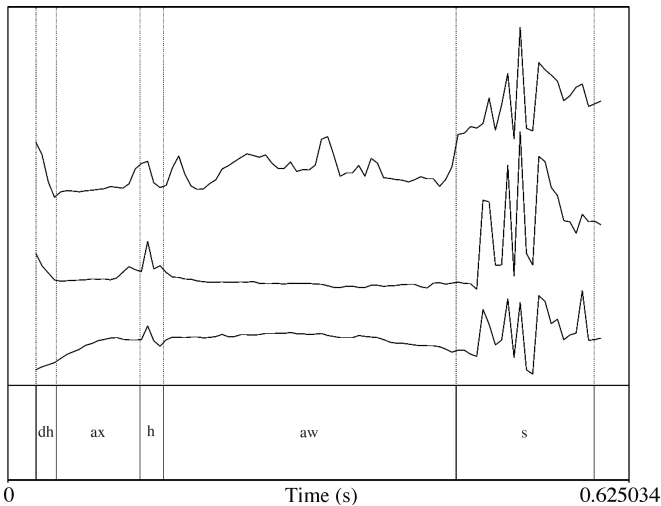


Figure 1: Formant tracks of monophthongal pronunciation of /aw/ in ‘the house’

3.2 *Previous research*

Our previous work on /aw/-monophthongization in Pittsburgh has drawn on discourse analytic and ethnographic evidence, together with quantitative analysis of several kinds of speech data, to propose that this feature may be indexically linked with local identity. Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski (2002), using data from documentary film supplemented with interviews, showed that monophthongal /aw/ appears to be stable in the speech of young working-class males, who monophthongize at the same rate as their fathers' generation does. For a possible explanation of this, they adduced an analysis of 190 examples of respelled representations of local speech in the print media. This revealed that monophthongal /aw/ accounted for over 21 percent of the tokens in the corpus, while the feature next most often stereotyped in respellings accounted for only 8.4 percent of the tokens. In other words, /aw/-monophthongization is represented in print as an example of what local speech sounds like almost three times as often as any other feature. 'Pittsburghers thus tell each other over and over,' Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski said, 'that "real" Pittsburghers say things like "dahntahn"' (2002: 160). In other words, we suggested that young men might monophthongize /aw/ because doing so expressed their Pittsburgh identity.

Kiesling and Wisnosky (2003) carried out a telephone survey of 50 Pittsburgh-area residents selected at random, asking them questions the answers to which elicited various variable features, including (aw). (For example, the answer to 'Can you tell me what part of Pittsburgh the USX Tower is located in?' was 'downtown.')

They found that younger speakers were on the whole much less likely to monophthongize than older speakers were, and that for each age category, males monophthongized more than females. Among women, only those in the oldest age group favored monophthongization. In addition, there was a strong effect for whether the speaker was born in Pittsburgh, with those born in the city the only category favoring monophthongization. Cross-tabulation showed that, among men born in the city, the youngest men monophthongized the most, while among rural males the oldest group monophthongized the most.

Kiesling and Wisnosky suggest that the reason for these patterns may be that local-sounding speech, and in particular monophthongal /aw/, indexes what they call 'heritage prestige.' As social historian Oestreicher (1989: 142) comments, 'If Pittsburgh has been a symbol of an earlier industrial culture, it has also been distinctive in the endurance of cultural patterns that grew out of an earlier industrial age. . . . There is more than a little nostalgia for old symbols in local popular culture . . . born out of some very contemporary fears.' Kiesling and Wisnosky support their suggestion with evidence from an extended interview with a popular local radio personality, Jim Krenn, who performs skits that involve local characters with exaggerated local accents and names that evoke local identity (like the stereotypical Polish-immigrant name Stanley P. Kachowski). A survey conducted by Wisnosky (2003) revealed that Pittsburghers find these skits funny, not offensive, in part because they are performed by a local person

with working-class roots who sounds like a Pittsburgher even when he is not performing. DJ Krenn explains the attraction of ‘Pittsburghese’ by saying it is ‘that part of us that connects to the community . . . and I think that’s the emotional button that it hit whenever I . . . did Stanley for the first time. It . . . connected everybody to remember maybe where they came from, you know, at some time in their lives, even if they didn’t come from a good place, it’s the times that it was good, or whatever, it’s where they came from, their essence, who they are, where they’re from, some pride there’ (Wisnosky 2003: 66).

4. THE ‘SENTENCE VERSIONS’ TASK

In our adaptation of the matched guise technique, participants listened to single-sentence guises which differed only in the realization of a single phoneme in a single word. All of the sentences were spoken by the same speaker, who recorded two versions of each sentence. The speaker was not a native of Pittsburgh; however, acoustic analysis shows that she produced the monophthongal guise as it would be pronounced by a native Pittsburgher, with a low vowel and retained length (compare her formant tracks in Figure 2 with the ‘authentic’ production in Figure 1).

Participants in the matched guise task were 36 of the 56 people who had participated, by September 2004, in sociolinguistic interviews in three Pittsburgh-area neighborhoods. Each guise was played twice. The order of presentation of the guises – standard variant first vs. nonstandard variant first

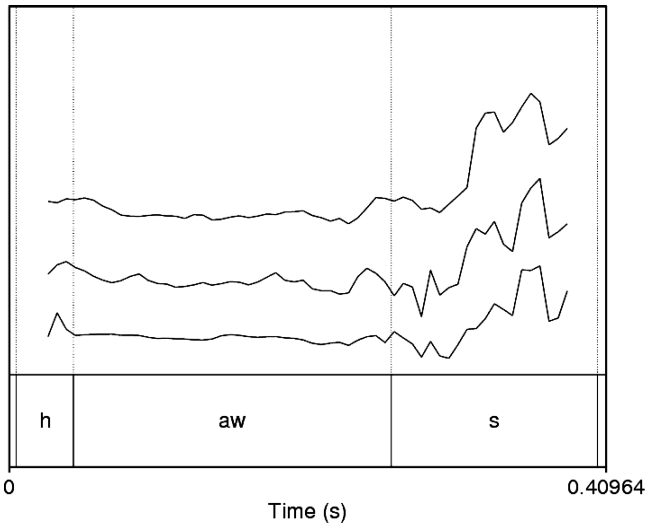


Figure 2: Formant tracks of monophthongal /aw/ stimulus (‘house’) for the matched guise test

– was randomized, although it was the same for each subject. There were ten prompts. Participants were first asked if they heard a difference between the two guises. If they said they did, they were then asked a series of questions eliciting the indexical meanings of the feature. The questions were these:

- a. Which version is more like the way a Pittsburgher would say the sentence?
- b. Which version is more like the way somebody working-class would say the sentence?
- c. Which version is more like the way a younger person would say the sentence?
- d. Which version is more like the way a girl or woman would say the sentence?
- e. Which version is more correct?

Questions (a) – (d) were asked in rotating order; question (e) was always asked last, so as to minimize the effect of correctness judgments on answers to the other questions. For each question, participants could answer ‘version a,’ ‘version b,’ or ‘neither one.’ Results for three other variables show that participants were in fact making the kinds of distinctions we hoped they would make, not, for example, identifying all the less standard-sounding features as local or choosing answers at random.³

5. RESULTS FOR (aw)

We now turn to the responses to question (a), ‘Which version is more like the way a Pittsburgher would say the sentence?’, in connection with the prompt that involved /aw/-monophthongization. This was the eighth of the ten prompts, so that subjects had already had considerable practice with the task. The two guises were these:

- 8a. We bought a [haws] b. We bought a [ha:s]

As Figure 3 shows, 25 of the 36 respondents said that the sentence version with the monophthongal variant of *house* sounded more like the way a Pittsburgher would say it. Four said that [haws] and [ha:s] sounded the same, five heard a difference but said that neither sounded more like a Pittsburgher, and two said that [haws] was the more local-sounding variant.

We then compared these results with how the same people pronounced this variable in sociolinguistic interview speech. Although the perception task was only administered to 36 of the 56 participants in the study, the entire sample was coded with an eye to other work. Every token of (aw) in each of the 56 speakers’ interviews was auditorily coded, for a total of 4076 (minimum per speaker: 4; maximum: 176; mean: 73). Each token was given a score of 1, 2, or 3, with 1 denoting a token that is clearly diphthongal, 3 clearly monophthongal and 2 in between.

To check validity and to add descriptive detail, a random-sample subset of 169 tokens, about 3 tokens per speaker, was analyzed instrumentally. Measurements were taken using the interval analysis function in Akustyk, an add-on to Praat.

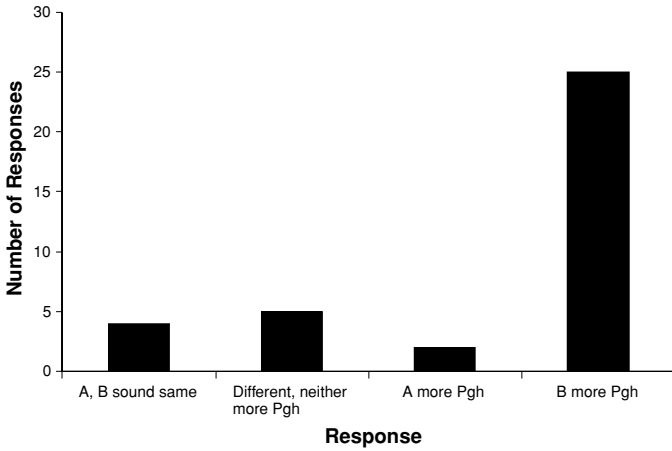


Figure 3: Responses for the matched guise task for (aw). Choice B is the monophthongized variant

The acoustically measured tokens were then subjected to an ANOVA to test whether the categories of the auditory classification were valid for F1 and/or F2. The difference between nucleus and glide (in Hertz) was the dependent variable, with the auditory categories the independent. The ANOVA showed that the auditory classification was reliably measuring F2 differences only ($F: 22.001, df = 2, p <= 0.0001$), and that these differences were between the diphthong (rated 1) and the other two categories, as measured by a Bonferroni adjustment. These statistics provided evidence that the 2 vs. 3 choices were not coding a distinction, and so the tokens coded 2 or 3 were collapsed into one ‘diphthong’ category.

Turning now to the results for just the 36 speakers who did the perception task (Figure 4), there is a statistically significant relationship between those who use the *diphthongal* pronunciation in their own speech and those who select response B, identifying the *monophthongal* pronunciation of *house* with Pittsburgh speech (Chi-square = 334.58, $df = 6, p <= 0.001$).

6. FOUR CASE STUDIES

These results provide no evidence that people monophthongize /aw/ because doing so is a way to show that one’s identity is local. Our hypothesis is thus not supported. What the results do show is that people who associate monophthongal /aw/ with local speech are unlikely to have this feature in their own speech.

According to the standard Labovian account (1972: 180), features that become stereotypes, the subject of overt comment as to their social meaning, typically

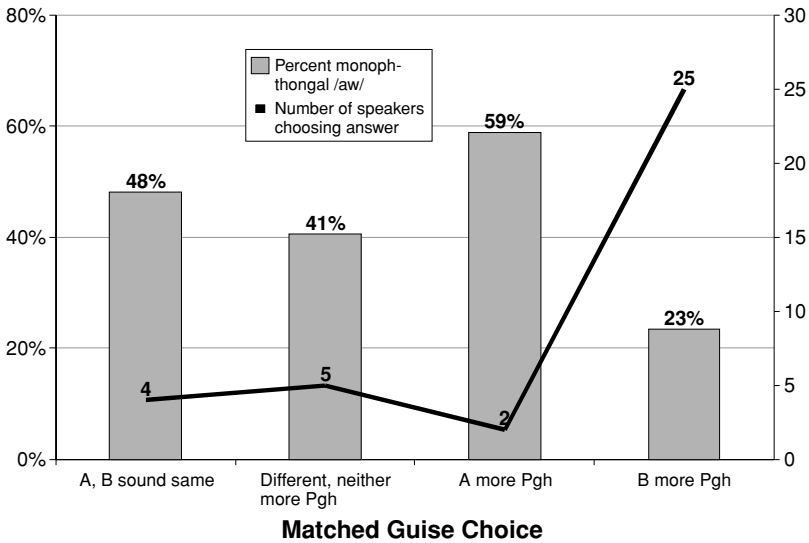


Figure 4: Comparison of the number of responses on the matched guise task with the amount of monophthongization in speakers choosing each option. The bars show the mean amount of monophthongization for speakers choosing a particular category, and the line shows the number of speakers who fall in that category. For example, 25 of the 36 subjects chose ‘B more Pittsburgh’, but this group only monophthongized 23 percent of the time overall

recede and eventually die out. This account may be adequate for explaining our overall finding: speakers who choose monophthongal /aw/ as the local-sounding variant on the perception task may do so at least in part because it is stereotyped, and if this is the case, then it is not surprising that these speakers are unlikely to have the feature in their speech.⁴ However, about a quarter of the speakers who hear monophthongal /aw/ as local *do* themselves monophthongize, and 30 percent of our sample do not hear monophthongal /aw/ as local, so this sort of stereotyping cannot enter into an explanation of why they behave as they do with respect to this feature. To understand these findings, we need a more nuanced account of how social indexicality and the pronunciation of (aw) are connected. For this, we turn to several case studies. We explore the second-order indexical meaning (if any) of this feature to four individuals on the basis of their use of and metalinguistic talk about it. As we will show, for one of these individuals monophthongal /aw/ has no second-order indexical meaning. For the others, monophthongal /aw/ has a variety of second-order indexical meanings, not all of which are connected with local identity.

In the final module of the sociolinguistic interview, the fieldworker invited participants to talk about local speech via the question, ‘Have you ever heard of

Table 2: Case-study speakers: matched guise responses and degree of monophthongization in their speech

Speaker	Matched guise response	% monophthong	#/N
Esther R.	[haws] and [ha:s] sound the same	100.0	19/19
Lydia H.	[haws] and [ha:s] sound different, neither sounds more Pittsburgh	7.7	5/65
Dennis C.	[haws] sounds more Pittsburgh	62.0	111/179
Jason E.	[ha:s] sounds more Pittsburgh	57.0	57/100

“Pittsburghese”?’ If they said they had, the fieldworker asked for a definition and some examples. So both here and, spontaneously, in other parts of the interview, participants provided metalinguistic talk that sheds direct light on how linguistic form and social meaning are linked for them, some of it about monophthongal /aw/ in particular. Further, the sentence versions perception task itself elicited spontaneous talk about the prompts and their meanings, and this talk was also recorded. In what follows, we discuss four speakers, each of whom made a different choice on the matched guise task. Only the last of these speakers linked /aw/-monophthongization with the projection of a local identity, and he is able to use the feature for this purpose only in fairly self-conscious, performed speech. For the others, monophthongal /aw/ and localness are linked in a variety of other ways, or not linked at all. The speakers and their responses are summarized in Table 2.

In drawing conclusions about the indexical meaning of monophthongal /aw/ for these speakers from the interviews, we focus on what they said. Because the indexical meaning of a form for a particular speaker cannot be predicted with any certainty on the basis of ideological schematizations that circulate on a broader scale, we avoid speculating about what these speakers may be intending to do through the way they pronounce words unless we have clear independent evidence in the form of matched-guise or interview data.

6.1 Esther R.: [haws] and [ha:s] sound the same

Esther R., who was 86 years old when interviewed in 2003, represents the first group in Figure 3, those who said they could not hear a difference between the monophthongal and diphthongal variants of /aw/ in *house*. On average, tokens of (aw) by people in this group were about equally likely to be monophthongal as diphthongal, but Esther R. uses the nonstandard monophthongal variant 100 percent of the time in interview speech.

For Esther R., local speech forms do not function as second-order indexes of social identities. In the interview, she claimed never to have heard of ‘Pittsburghese’ and said she did not think there is a local accent. Later in the interview, she did claim to use some local words, like *redd up* (to tidy),

and to know people who use *yunz* ('you, plural', also pronounced and spelled *yinz*). However, she linked these forms only to personal identities of individual speakers, as she did here, addressing her son: 'You know who I often think about using [*yunz*]? [Ann.] Remember?' Here, and elsewhere, she appears never to have thought about local forms in terms of schematizations linking them to localness, standardness, region, gender, or any other larger social category.

6.2 *Lydia H.: [haws] and [has] sound different, neither sounds more Pittsburgh*

The second group in Figure 3, those who claimed to hear a difference between the two variants but said that neither sounded more like the way a Pittsburgher would say the word, is represented by Lydia H. She was 83 years old when interviewed. Her interview speech is even more standard with respect to (aw) than the combined score for this group: 93.3 percent diphthongal and 7.7 percent monophthongal. When presented with the nonstandard version of (aw), she remarked, 'I haven't heard anybody say that.'

Lydia H. does, however, think that there is a local dialect. When she talked about it, she drew on an ideological schematization that is reflected in the folk dictionary (McCool 1982) she reports purchasing ('They have a Pittsburghese book I picked up from Borders'). This schematization links regional dialect with word choice rather than grammar or phonology (Johnstone 2005): 'Well, sometimes people put the *an'at* [and that] . . . they'll say "an' at"'. She also draws on a schematization that links standardness with grammar and usage, including the prohibition of sentence-final prepositions: 'Well, and often people put prepositions at the end of the sentences and that, that bothers me.' This, she claims, is the result of her education: 'Having been steeped in English Writing Composition, I know that's not something you do.' Phonology does not enter into the set of resources that, for her, can function as second-order indexes of non-standardness or regionally-marked speech. When asked whether she has ever been told she has an accent, Lydia H. recalls being told by a teacher at her elite college that Pittsburgh had 'the second worst speech in all of the United States.' However, because she considers herself well educated and links standardness to education, she does not seem to take this to suggest that her own phonology, or that of other Pittsburghers, might sound non-standard.

6.3 *Dennis C.: [haws] sounds more Pittsburgh*

Dennis C., who was 54 years old when interviewed, chose the more standard diphthongal variant as the one most likely to be the way a Pittsburgher would say the word *house*. In interview speech, Dennis's rate of monophthongization is close to the average for people who made this choice: 38.0 percent of his tokens of (aw) were diphthongal, 62.0 percent monophthongal. (Scores for this group as a whole were 41.1 percent and 58.9 percent, respectively.)

repeating the monophthongal variant twice, he asserts that it ‘sounds terrible, not Pittsburgh.’ As he repeats the monophthongal prompt, he actually produces it diphthongally first and then monophthongally. Together with the fact that he monophthongizes almost invariantly in *sound(s)*, *out*, and *pronunciation*, this suggests that he does not have productive control over the variable, and thus cannot be using monophthongization to project localness or any other aspect of identity, even though he might be heard as doing so. When the fieldworker probed further, he claimed that he thinks [ha:s] sounds like ‘some hillbillies, somewhere out in the hills somewhere, some strange thing from Ligonier’ (the mountain town where his father worked for a time), ‘certain pronunciations common to the country folk for some odd reason.’

6.4 Jason E. [ha:s] sounds more Pittsburgh

Jason E. is the kind of speaker who is best captured in Labov’s account of the link between stereotyping and the avoidance of dialect forms. Jason was 17 years old when he was interviewed. His speech sounds supra-local in most respects; his score for /aw/ monophthongization was 57.0 percent, but most of the glide-reduction in his speech can be attributed to its speed. In the perception task, he identified the guise with [ha:s] as the one that sounds more like the way a Pittsburgher would say it; thus he is in the largest group in Figure 3. Though he is a native Pittsburgher, he claimed not to speak the local dialect. Nevertheless, he was eager to discuss and perform both what he called ‘the actual accent of the Pittsburgher’ and ‘the words that we use and no one else uses.’ Jason E. also showed that he associates monophthongal /aw/ with local identity in the interview, where this was the first feature he used to exemplify ‘Pittsburghese’ as an accent. When he performs ‘Pittsburghese’ in Extract 2, he relies on words that include monophthongal /aw/ to make his point about both accent and usage. The extract begins after the interviewer asks him to define ‘Pittsburghese.’

Extract 2: FH21 dahntahn

1. Jason E. It’s a- I wouldn’t say it’s a language, it’s a- like a- what’s the word- um, a . dialect . unique . to . this . area. ((as if reciting a dictionary definition))
2. BJ And what is-, what are some things, what are some examples of it?
3. Jason E. Uh well, you have- I think there’s two- two things that make it up. There’s uh, the actual accent of the Pittsburgher, and then there’s, the words, that we use and no one else uses. And you know the accent would be like, instead of saying ‘down’ you’d say ‘dahn’ ([[dæ:n]]), or you know- Uh, also the way you, the way you use words, which I guess fits into the second category. You know, ‘dahn’ ([[dæ:n]]), Welcome to, Max- ‘like ‘Knox’s Pierogi House’ ([[nɔOksɔ@z pɔ@ro^w< gi hæ:s]]). You know, that, that kind of thing. Or instead of saying ‘I’m going to this place’ they say ‘I’m goin’ dahn’ ([[dæ:n]]) blah blah blah.’

4. BJ 'Dahn ([[da:n]]) street.' *Dahn* ([[da:n]]), yeah.
5. Jason E. 'I'm goin' dahn ([[da:n]]) the street. I'm going dahn ([[da:n]]) a John's ([[janz]]) hahs ([[ha:s]]).'
6. BJ 'Dahn John ([[da:n] jɔn]) – dahn a John's hahs' ([[da:n] ɔ@ jɔnz ha:s]).
7. Jason E. 'Dahn John's hahs' ([[da:n] jɔnz ha:s]). Yeah.
8. BJ Mm hmm
9. Jason E. Yeah. I (hate)- It's a really ugly accent (I think.)

The first actual example Jason E. gives is the local pronunciation of *down* represented in the respelling 'dahn.' After repeating the pronunciation of this single word, he offers a phrase that includes a local-sounding restaurant name: 'Welcome to Knox's Pierogi House.'⁶ He performs several features of local speech in this phrase: he rounds the low back vowel in *Knox*, fronts the /o/ in *pierogi*, and monophthongizes the /aw/ in *house*. As his illustration of 'Pittsburghese' continues, Jason E. continues to utilize this feature, working it repeatedly into the performance in *down* and *house* and supplementing it with other phonological features.

To Jason E., as to Mary H., monophthongal /aw/ sounds incorrect; Jason E. also calls the local accent 'ugly.' Although he does once include himself in the group that uses Pittsburghese, using the pronoun *we* in 'the words that we use that no one else uses,' he does a great deal of work in the interview to distance himself from local speech, which he claims not to speak. He even misperforms monophthongal /aw/ (as [æ:] rather than [a:]) the first three times he says *down* and the first time he says *house*, until the fieldworker models the correct local pronunciation in line 9.⁷ Localness and social stigma are explicitly linked for Jason, and monophthongal /aw/ is explicitly linked with both.

7. DISCUSSION

We started this paper by hypothesizing that the Pittsburghers to whom monophthongal /aw/ sounds local are also the people who use this feature. We found that the people to whom monophthongal /aw/ sounds local are in fact those who are the *least* likely to use it in unselfconscious speech. We also found that the people who do monophthongize in unselfconscious speech may not link monophthongal /aw/ with local identity and so cannot be monophthongizing to express or claim such an identity. Our four case studies revealed some of the possible ways in which Pittsburghers invest local forms, and monophthongal /aw/ in particular, with second- and third-order indexical meaning (if they do so at all). Our findings thus show that the relationship between higher-order indexicality and usage is a great deal more complex than is sometimes assumed. The only way to find out what a feature indexes to a particular speaker at a particular moment is to ask. Our matched guise task represents one way of asking, our interviews another.

Our results bear out Silverstein's (2003) account of orders of indexicality and Preston's (1996) account of factors that can enhance folk linguistic awareness. They remind us that the existence of a simple correlation – a first-order indexical relationship, in other words – between a social identity and the occurrence of a particular feature is a necessary but not sufficient precursor to higher-order indexicalities. This is because only a subset of n -th-order features, if any, get invested with $n + 1$ -th-order indexical meaning. In other words, not all variants have social meaning.

Of the first-order indexical correlations between linguistic form and social identity that are potentially available, only those that become linked with a particular schematization of the relationship between linguistic form and social meaning acquire second-order indexical meaning. A traditional analysis of /aw/-monophthongization in a representative sample of Pittsburghers would show that /aw/-monophthongization is statistically associated with older, male, working-class speakers (Kiesling and Wisnosky 2003). But this does not mean that anyone who monophthongizes, or hears someone else monophthongize, is orienting to this correlation as meaningful. Some people, in some situations, may monophthongize because they want, consciously or not, to show that they are like older, male, working-class Pittsburghers, and, to people who do link the use of local speech with local identity, anyone who monophthongizes can be heard as local. We cannot assume, however, either that this indexical meaning is widely shared or that it is the only possible such meaning.

Our findings have both methodological and theoretical implications for the study of variation and identity. Methodologically, our findings suggest that we need to pay more attention to our own interpretive practices than we sometimes have. This calls for increased reflexivity, that is, increased attention to the ideological schematizations that shape how we hear the variants we study. Sociolinguists exposed to nonstandard forms are likely to draw on ideological schematizations (theoretical models, in other words) that link variation with region, class, gender, race, and age, and sometimes social practice, style, or identity. We need to be careful not to assume that the people we are studying draw on the same theories as we do. This means that we need to be more diligent about uncovering evidence from multiple sources for our claims about the social meanings of linguistic forms.

Furthermore, our findings serve as a reminder that indexical meaning carried by a linguistic form from the point of view of a hearer may not be the same as the meaning of that feature to the speaker. People who hear Dennis C. or Esther R.'s speech, full of /aw/-monophthongization, may hear them as projecting Pittsburgh identity, but neither Dennis nor Esther would interpret this feature that way in someone else's speech. (Esther would not notice it, and Dennis would think the speaker sounded rural.) If we fail to specify whose perspective we are taking when we talk about indexical meaning in 'the speech community,' we may be guilty of what literary critics call the 'intentional fallacy,' the fallacy of attributing readers' interpretations to authors' intentions.

On the theoretical plane, our results suggest the need for a bottom-up phenomenological approach to indexicality to supplement the more top-down approaches that have been dominant to date. Our results highlight the fundamental indeterminacy of relations between forms and meanings. Although we can certainly generalize, we cannot specify the meaning of a particular variant for all speakers in a community, whether this be a speech community in the Labovian sense or a community of practice (Eckert 2000). We have shown that indexical meaning varies from speaker to speaker, and that some speakers may have more than one way of interpreting locally-hearable forms. This does not mean that we cannot find patterns in the various meanings and how they articulate with larger social categories, practices and ideologies, or that we cannot explain why those meanings arise and how they spread. But we need to supplement approaches that aim to generalize about the social meanings of linguistic forms with a theoretical framework that supports multiple, layered, even contradictory meanings in a speech community.

We suggest that a phenomenological approach to indexicality – that is, an approach that starts by examining people's sociolinguistic worlds from their experiential perspectives – provides such a framework. Such an approach requires two kinds of work: case studies of individuals' sociolinguistic worlds as they experience them (Johnstone 1996, 2000; Johnstone and Bean 1997) and historical research about the sociolinguistic landscapes of the past (Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006; Zhang 2006). To illustrate what such an approach can do, we offer a sketch of Pittsburgh's sociolinguistic history that draws on both case-study and historical research, setting the phenomenal sociolinguistic worlds of the four Pittsburghers discussed above into the context of local history.⁸

People who were educated in Pittsburgh schools in the early or mid-20th century are likely to have been told that certain local morphosyntactic features are incorrect, if they were told anything about the difference between how Pittsburghers and other people talked. But since their teachers had local accents and used local forms, phonological and lexical features of Pittsburgh speech tended to receive little attention. This means that, like Esther R., students of this era may not associate local speech forms with any higher-order indexical meaning. In Esther R.'s environment, as in the environments of most Pittsburghers, monophthongal /aw/ could be observed to be correlated with class, gender, and place of origin, as well as with the degree to which a person's life experience involves local practices (Kiesling et al. 2005). But nothing in Esther's environment has called her attention to these correlations or invested them with meaning. Thus Esther does not perceive the difference between monophthongal and diphthongal variants of (aw), and this variable carries no higher-order indexical meaning for her.

If, like Lydia H., people of this generation do have first-order indexical form-meaning correlations called to their attention, these are likely to be

morphosyntactic ones. For Lydia, who does hear the difference between the two variants of (aw) but identifies neither one as more local, features of local lexis and syntax carry second-order indexical meaning, but phonological variation does not. At least two ideological schematizations are in play for her: one that links region and word choice, the way folk dictionaries typically do, and one that links syntactic variability with education and correctness, the way teachers traditionally did. Lydia H. shares the latter schematization with many other Americans (Preston 1996: 54–59), for whom variants are heard to differ based on how correct they are. In Lydia's linguistic world, locally-hearable forms are second-order indexes of incorrectness, not localness. Furthermore, since correctness, in her experience, is relevant mainly in connection with writing, she links variability in lexis and syntax indexically with degrees of correctness, but not variability in phonology.

People of Esther and Lydia's generation tended to grow up in ethnically segregated neighborhoods. Working-class children like Esther, who were the offspring of southern and eastern European immigrants, often attended schools run by mono-ethnic Catholic parishes, which meant that they were not exposed to people who talked differently than they did until high school or later. Upper-middle-class Pittsburghers like Lydia were less likely to attend Catholic schools and more likely to attend private college-preparatory academies catering to the children of the Protestant (mostly Presbyterian) upper classes. Thus their peer groups also contained few people who spoke differently than they did, at least until they left Pittsburgh for university. In general, people who do not hear local forms as bearing social meaning, or whose ideological schematizations about local speech link it exclusively to correctness, thus tend to be older and to have lived in more dense, multiplex social networks than other Pittsburghers.

After World War II, when unionized (and thus better paid) Pittsburgh industrial workers began to move to the suburbs and vacation on the Atlantic coast, Pittsburghers increasingly encountered people from other social strata and other regions, and they began to notice and sometimes talk about linguistic difference. Articles in the local newspapers about Pittsburgh speech became increasingly frequent during the 1950s, and the term 'Pittsburghese' appears to date from 1967 (Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006: 95). In 1982, an extremely popular folk dictionary first appeared (McCool 1982), possibly sparked by a local dialectologist with whom its author may have studied, who had recently developed a list of Pittsburgh words and phrases for a church group holding a conference in the city. These articles, and McCool's book, tended to include or consist of dictionary-like lists of local words, with definitions and humorous sample sentences. This helped circulate the idea that Pittsburgh speech consisted of a particular set of words and phrases and helped link it with a nostalgic sense of local pride. It is not accidental that the decline and collapse of the region's major industry, steelmaking, occurred during this period; Pittsburghers needed a new set of practices to link the city's identity with, and speech forms represented as

unique to the area could help serve that purpose, as long as they were represented as optional and more funny than embarrassing.

Because they tend to have local accents and use local morphosyntactic forms, Pittsburghers of the post-WWII generation participate in two sets of public metadiscursive practices, ones that link local forms with incorrectness and ones that link them with nostalgia and pride. Someone like Dennis C., who knows he has a local accent because he has heard people say he does, but cannot hear or control it, represents one of the outcomes for people of this generation. The schematization on which Dennis bases his interpretation of monophthongal /aw/ is, as we have seen, idiosyncratic. For Dennis C., unlike Esther or Lydia, phonological variability is a second-order indexical resource, but he hears the local variant as rural and does not link it with Pittsburgh. The particular ideological schematization he brings to bear, in which forms are heard to differ based on how 'hillbilly' or 'redneck' they are, is based in his own personal history. While this schematization is salient for many Americans, it is not widely shared in Pittsburgh, where people rarely contrast urban with rural speech or allude to Pittsburgh's Appalachian setting. The ideological schematization that Dennis C. brings to bear on the variability available in his environment is like that of a dialectologist, who invests correlations between linguistic variability and geographic place with meaning through the belief that varieties map naturally onto places (Johnstone 2004). Even though he cannot produce one of the two variants at will, Dennis C. hears the difference between them and attributes it indexically to where a speaker is from. However, unlike some other Pittsburghers and in accordance with very personal experience (the way his father talked and his strongly positive, sometimes defensive attitude about Pittsburgh), he does not link the regional form to Pittsburgh, hearing it instead as rural and identifying the more standard variant with the city. This schematization may also be linked with an ideology of urbanness that evaluates it positively in comparison with ruralness.

For people of Dennis G.'s generation, second-order indexical linkages between linguistic form and social meaning are unstable and variable. These Pittsburghers tend to toggle among multiple ways of thinking about local speech, making multiple contextually driven indexical links between local forms and social identities. The same person, in the same conversation, can identify local forms both as embarrassing and as charming; middle-aged Pittsburghers tend to claim local accents (whether they have them or not), but their attitudes about sounding local are ambiguous.

Younger people like Jason have grown up in an environment in which, due to phonological leveling (Trudgill 1986; Milroy 2002), fewer young Pittsburghers use features that could make them sound local in unselfconscious speech, but in which discourse linking local forms to a stereotypical, nostalgia-linked local character type has become increasingly pervasive. They have also grown up in an increasingly diverse environment, attending racially integrated schools, travelling more, more likely to go to universities in other areas. Thus they are

more likely to have interacted with, and accommodated to, peers who did not have Pittsburgh accents.

Jason E., like many other people his age, experiences the schematization of regional forms as linked to local identity mainly in widely circulating media 'publicity' (on t-shirts, in folk dictionaries, and the like) where locally-hearable forms are treated as 'folk culture artifacts' (Preston 1996: 59–72). Preston suggests that particular linguistic variants can rise to the level of folk-linguistic awareness as they acquire 'performance potential' by being part of a folkloristic framework. In Silverstein's terms, people like Jason notice the second-order indexical relationship, by virtue of which people use non-local forms when they are trying to sound educated or cosmopolitan and local forms when they are not, and they forge a third-order indexical link between a subset of these local forms and the performance of an authentic local identity. In such a third-order schematization, regional forms like monophthongal /aw/ function as 'traditional items of knowledge that arise in recurring performances' (Abrahams 1969: 106, quoted in Preston 1996: 59). Jason's attempts to perform local variants, including /aw/-monophthongization, are, like most performances, imperfect. Together with what he says about regional speech, these performances show that for him regional forms are indexically linked to a stereotypical local identity. As a middle-class, half-African American adolescent, Jason does not aspire to this identity, and he does not use socially indexical regional forms in unselfconscious speech, where they might sound uneducated (to someone like Lydia) or rural (to someone like Dennis). Note, however, that he is the only one of these four speakers who can use more regional-sounding forms to sound more like a 'real' Pittsburgher. A subset of locally-hearable forms serve Jason as resources for showing that he has insider knowledge about the city, even if he doesn't self-identify as, or sound like, a stereotypical Pittsburgher.

Jason is not alone among his peers in using local forms to display local knowledge, in performances like Jason's in which they imitate stereotypical Pittsburghers. Like Jason, younger middle-class Pittsburghers tend to distance themselves from people who use local forms in everyday speech (and in fact they tend to use many fewer local forms in their own vernacular speech). Young Pittsburghers like Jason have access to both the second-order, more negative indexical meaning of monophthongal /aw/ as incorrect or careless and the more positive, nostalgic, third-order indexical meaning of (other people's) monophthongal /aw/ as authentically Pittsburgh. For them, the indexicality of local forms is relatively regimented and orderly: in their sociolinguistic world, a small subset of the forms that their parents may interpret as nostalgic reminders of their youth or as signs of a lack of education, or in some other way, have come to be identified with a stereotypical local character type exemplified by Stanley P. Kachowski, the character created by radio DJ Jim Krenn. This persona is sometimes referred to as the 'Yinzer,' a term derived from the local pronoun *yinz*. These forms are available for performances of and allusions to localness that

mock the stereotypical working-class Pittsburgher of the industrial era, and in so doing, project, and are heard by their peers as projecting, local knowledge and post-industrial urban hipness. This is the generation that has founded a literary magazine, modeled on the *New Yorker*, ironically named the *New Yinzer*.

To conclude, we suggest that a phenomenological approach to the social meaning of linguistic variation, one that pays particular attention to the multiplicity and indeterminacy of indexical relations and to the way in which such relations arise in lived experience, can lead to a more nuanced account of the social meanings of variant forms in a speech community than has been available heretofore.

It is people's lived experiences that create indexicality. Since every speaker has a different history of experience with pairings of context and form, speakers may have many different senses of the potential indexical meanings of particular forms. Indexical relations are forged in individuals' phenomenal experience of their particular sociolinguistic worlds. People who listen to Jim Krenn's radio show may come to think of the stereotypical Pittsburgher as Polish, since Krenn's stereotypical-Pittsburgher character has a Polish name. Another person may associate /aw/-monophthongization with Polishness because he has a Polish aunt who used this form a lot when he was a child. What is necessary, in order for indexical meaning to arise, is that there be a correlation available in an individual's environment to which second-order indexical meaning can be attached: a correlation between the name 'Stanley P. Kachowski' and a local-sounding accent, or between the presence of a particular aunt and the presence of particular linguistic forms. There need be no correlation in the speech community at large between being Polish and monophthongizing, nor need the indexical meaning be discussed or shared with others.

But precisely because of the indeterminacy of indexical meaning, some forms do become the object of metapragmatic attention, and this can serve to stabilize the indexical meanings of the forms for speakers throughout the community. Through public metapragmatic practices such as English classes and job-interview seminars (where Pittsburghers are told that their accent sounds uneducated), as well as the sale and circulation of folk dictionaries, newspaper caricatures of local types saying things in local ways, conversations between nostalgic ex-Pittsburghers, and newspaper and TV interviews with local linguists (in which Pittsburghers are told that their accent is unique and interesting), social meanings for a subset of variable forms in a speech community may start to circulate and become increasingly similar from speaker to speaker. (In a detailed account of the history of Received Pronunciation in England, Agha 2003 refers to this process as 'enregistration.')

It is these form-meaning links that outsiders such as sociolinguists tend to notice. But different people have access to different of these metapragmatic activities, and some have access to none of them.

NOTES

1. This project was funded in part by grants from Carnegie Mellon University, the University of Pittsburgh, and the U.S. National Science Foundation (award nos. BCS-0417684 and BCS-0417657). Together with Jennifer Andrus, Dan Baumgardt, and Anna M. Schardt, we presented an earlier, quite different version of the paper at N-WAV 33 in 2004; in 2006 we presented an intermediate version to the University of Pittsburgh Anthropology Colloquium. We are grateful to Jenny, Dan, and Anna, to our audiences at both talks, to Marc Wisnosky, to Maeve Eberhardt, and to members of the Pitt/CMU Social Meaning in Language group. Thanks also to the participants in the Workshop on Pittsburgh Speech and Society held in March 2002, for valuable advice about the design and organization of this project. We received very useful suggestions for final revisions from two reviewers for this journal and from Nik Coupland and Allan Bell.
2. Milroy (2000) uses Silverstein's orders of indexicality to model language-ideological differences between the U.S. and Britain. However, Milroy appears to confuse metapragmatic and metadiscursive practices, claiming that 'second-order indexicality . . . involv[es] the noticing (overt or covert), discussion, and rationalization of basic first-order indexicality' (2000: 65). The claim that linguistic variables can only do second-order indexical work if they are the object of 'discussion' conflates two different orders of indexicality corresponding to what Labov calls 'marking' and 'stereotyping'.
3. In addition to (aw), we explored responses to the variables (oh), (ow), and (aeh) (in Labov's 1994 notation). For the (oh) variable, the [ɔ] allophone is the one that can be heard locally, but since the low back vowels (oh) and (o) are merged for Pittsburghers, we would expect them not to be able to hear the difference. For the (ow) variable, we expected Pittsburghers to be able to hear the difference between a fronted [o^{w<}] and a non-fronted [o^w] but not to identify either as 'more like a Pittsburgher,' since this feature is not subject to local stereotyping. For (aeh), the nonstandard version was the non-local one, so we expected subjects to identify the *standard* version with Pittsburgh. Our expectations were borne out in all cases.
4. Speakers who said that the guise with monophthongal /aw/ sounded like the way a Pittsburgher would say it, but did not themselves monophthongize, were on average younger than speakers in the other three categories. This would also support the Labovian account.
5. Transcription conventions:
 - Overlapping speech is in square brackets, aligned at the left:
[word word]
[word]
 - Words that were not clearly interpretable by the transcriber even after multiple hearings are enclosed in single parentheses: (word)
 - Phonetic transcriptions are enclosed in double parentheses: (([ha:s])).
 - Turns that are not separated by a pause have an equals sign at the end of the first =
= and the beginning of the second.
 - Brief pauses are indicated with full stops, the number corresponding to the length of the pause.
 - Emphasis is indicated by *italicization*.
 - Speech that sounds as if it represents another voice is surrounded by 'single quotation marks.'

6. Pierogies (stuffed dumplings brought to the area by Russian and Eastern European immigrants) are considered the quintessential Pittsburgh food. There are many variant spellings; *pierogi* and *pierogie* are the most common in Pittsburgh, where the word is often Anglicized by being treated as a count noun and pluralized (*pierogies*). 'Knox' is not a stereotypical Pittsburgh name, but it contains an /o/, which allows Jason to incorporate the local fronted variant of this phoneme. 'House' is one of the two words most commonly used to illustrate /aw/-monophthongization. (The other is 'downtown'.)
7. Likewise, although Jason has produced the backed, rounded local form of the low back vowel in *Knox*'s, he does not produce it in *John*'s until the fieldworker models it in line 11. Either the fieldworker's renditions remind him of the sound of the local forms, or he is modeling his 'Pittsburghese' on the speech of an older person he believes to be from Pittsburgh.
8. See Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson (2006) for an extended discussion of the sociolinguistic history of Pittsburgh.

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Address correspondence to:

Barbara Johnstone
Department of English
Carnegie Mellon University
Pittsburgh PA 15213
U.S.A.

bj4@andrew.cmu.edu