

 aptara <small>The Oxford Linguistics Company</small>	JOSL	josl_512	Dispatch: 9-5-2011	CE: N/A
	Journal	MSP No.	No. of pages: 23	PE: Pey Ling

1 *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 00/0, 2011: 1–23

2 3 4 **Dialect enregisterment in performance¹**

5
6
7 **Barbara Johnstone**

8 *Carnegie Mellon University, Pennsylvania*

9
10
11
12 This paper explores sociolinguistic enregisterment in two comedy sketches
13 performed by a team of radio DJs. I show that dialect enregisterment
14 works differently in these high performances than in other genres. Unlike
15 the cultural artifacts that have been the focus of previous work, this sort
16 of broadcast comedic performance creates multiple possibilities for the
17 enregisterment of unexpected linguistic forms. Linking locally-occurring
18 forms to multiple models of speech, behavior, and action, performances like
19 these expand the set of potential meanings of particular forms by linking
20 them with new or additional registers, creating semiotic alignments between
21 different social identities that can be indexed by the same forms. Thus, in
22 addition to describing what an idealized ‘culturally literate’ audience member
23 needs to know in order to understand the performance, it may also repay our
24 effort to ask how actual hearers understand what is going on.

25
26 Dieser Artikel untersucht die Entstehung von soziolinguistischen Registern
27 in zwei von einem Radio DJ Team aufgeführten Sketchen. Hierbei wird
28 gezeigt, dass sich ‘dialect enregisterment’ in künstlerischen Darbietungen
29 grundlegend von der Herausbildung dialektaler Register in anderen
30 Genres unterscheidet. Im Gegensatz zu in früheren Studien behandelten
31 Kulturprodukten eröffnet die vorliegende Art von Rundfunk-Sketch mehrere
32 Möglichkeiten für den Einbezug unerwarteter linguistischer Formen
33 in den Prozess des ‘dialect enregisterment’. Da sie lokal auftretende
34 Formen mit multiplen Sprach-, Verhaltens- und Aktionsmustern verbinden,
35 erlauben solche künstlerischen Darbietungen eine Ausweitung des
36 Bedeutungspotenzials spezifischer Formen, indem sie diese mit neuen
37 oder zusätzlichen Registern verknüpfen und damit aus semiotischer Sicht
38 verschiedene soziale Identitäten insofern miteinander verschmelzen, als diese
39 durch dieselbe Form angezeigt werden. Neben der Beschreibung des für
40 das Verständnis der Sketche notwendigen kulturellen Wissens durch einen
41 idealisierten, gebildeten Zuhörer lohnt es daher auch zu fragen, wie andere
42 Hörer die Darbietung verstehen könnten. [German]

43
44 **KEYWORDS:** Audience, dialect, enregisterment, performance,
45 Pittsburgh, radio

46
47 The process by which sets of linguistic forms become ideologically linked
48 with social identities has been called ‘enregisterment’ (Agha 2003, 2006).
49 Enregisterment occurs through ‘metapragmatic’ activities that permeate
50 discourse (Silverstein 1993). These are activities in which people show one

1 2

JOHNSTONE

2 another how forms and meanings are to be linked. In recent work, my colleagues
3 and I have been exploring how one set of linguistic forms has become enregistered
4 as the dialect known as 'Pittsburghese' through a variety of discursive practices,
5 including face-to-face conversational interaction, online discussion board talk,
6 personal experience narrative, and the production and consumption of t-shirts
7 (Johnstone 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2011; Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson
8 2006; Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004).

9 In this paper I explore sociolinguistic enregisterment in a setting that turns out
10 to be considerably more complex: highly self-conscious broadcast performances
11 of speech and social identity. My data consists of two comedy sketches performed
12 by a team of radio DJs. Both sketches revolve around characters who talk in
13 ways that can be taken to sound local, thus potentially enregistering features of
14 their speech with Pittsburghese. But the characters' speech can be taken to index
15 other things about them, too, including gender, class, profession, and personal
16 identity. I ask whether dialect enregisterment works differently in these high
17 performances than it does in other genres. How do the facts that the sketches
18 are created and performed by professional actors, clearly framed as humorous
19 performances, and broadcast via radio and internet to a wide audience shape
20 how the sketches draw on and create links between linguistic form and social
21 meaning? To answer this question, I explore what social identity or identities
22 are being evoked or created (and thus what kinds of enregisterment are being
23 proposed) in each sketch, and what linguistic forms can be said to be doing this
24 semiotic work. I use this analysis to support two claims – one theoretical and one
25 methodological – about high performance.

26 First, I argue that performances such as these can mean different things to
27 different hearers. I suggest that they are, in fact, designed to do so. Unlike
28 the cultural artifacts that have been the focus of previous work on dialect
29 enregisterment, this sort of broadcast comedic performance creates multiple
30 possibilities for the interpretation of unexpected linguistic forms. As a result,
31 different audience members may draw on different cultural frameworks to make
32 these forms meaningful. By linking locally-occurring forms to multiple models
33 of speech, behavior, and action, performances like these can act as a centrifugal
34 force, expanding the set of potential meanings of particular forms by linking
35 them with new or additional registers, creating semiotic alignments between
36 different cultural schemata that can be indexed by the same forms. (By 'cultural
37 schemata' I mean models of what possible meanings are and what kinds of
38 forms can index them. For example, a cultural schema that links linguistic
39 differences with differences in correctness leads Americans often to hear the
40 difference between two variants as meaning 'correct' in the case of one and
41 'incorrect' in the case of the other. Another widely shared cultural schema is
42 one that links linguistic difference with place, so that the use of a variant form is
43 heard as meaning that the speaker is from somewhere else.) Performances can,
44 thus, counteract the focusing, centripetal force of enregisterment practices like
45

1 DIALECT ENREGISTERMENT IN PERFORMANCE 3

2 the others I have studied, which tend to standardize the dialect by limiting the
3 number of forms enregistered with it and reducing their polysemy.

4 Although the argument I make here points to the need for descriptions of
5 how particular groups of people actually interpret the skits and comparisons
6 among subsets of the skits' actual audiences, I do not do either of these things
7 here. Instead, I simply show that the skits can evoke different social identities
8 in different ways for different listeners. I do this primarily on the basis of
9 ethnographic work in Pittsburgh conducted between 2001 and 2011 that has
10 involved talking to Pittsburghers about what Pittsburgh speech, and particular
11 features of Pittsburgh speech, mean to them, as well as observing how features
12 of local speech are interpreted in other contexts. For specific examples of inter-
13 individual differences in the interpretation of these two skits, I draw on listenings
14 to and discussions of the skits with a group of men and women of different ages,
15 with varying degrees of access to Pittsburgh cultural knowledge and familiarity
16 with Pittsburgh speech (relevant in both skits), varying degrees of familiarity with
17 the popular music of the late 1970s (potentially relevant in the first skit), and
18 varying degrees of immersion in discourses surrounding motherhood, politics,
19 and working-class femininity and masculinity (relevant in one or another of the
20 skits).

21 My primary argument leads, secondarily, to a methodological caveat to
22 scholars interested in the linguistic and cultural outcomes of performance. In
23 addition to describing what an idealized 'culturally literate' audience member
24 needs to know in order to understand a performance, it may also repay our
25 effort to ask who may actually be in the audience and how those people might
26 understand what is going on. While focusing on hypostatized 'acculturated'
27 audiences helps us see how performance is implicated in the *transmission* of
28 culture and language, focusing on the multiple interpretive schemata brought
29 to bear by actual audience members, each culturally literate in a different way
30 and to a somewhat different degree, can help us see how performance can be
31 implicated in cultural and linguistic *change*.

32
33 **THE ENREGISTERMENT OF DIALECT**

34
35 Linguists have traditionally thought about linguistic variation in terms of
36 'varieties': relatively stable sets of linguistic rules or conventions that can be
37 mapped onto physical or social spaces. The varieties called 'dialects' are ones
38 that can be mapped onto geographical space, or, in the case of 'social dialects,'
39 onto demographically defined social groups. A person who employs features of
40 a particular variety can, in this way of thinking, be identified with the place or
41 group the dialect maps onto. Sociolinguists' work over the past decade or two
42 has productively complicated this picture. We now ask questions about why
43 people use features of one variety or another, rather than assuming that people
44 inevitably speak the way they first learned to speak, and the answers we arrive
45

at have to do with identity and agency rather than only with geography and demography. And we ask how linguistic features get linked with varieties in the first place. How do particular words, ways of pronouncing words, grammatical patterns, and patterns of intonation come to point to particular identities and activities?

One useful way of thinking about this comes from linguistic anthropologists in the semiotic tradition. Drawing on the work of Roman Jakobson and Charles S. Peirce, anthropologists Michael Silverstein (1992, 1993, 2003) and Asif Agha (2003, 2006) have developed a framework that helps us see how 'social meanings' and linguistic choices can come to be linked and how sets of linguistic choices can come to be understood as varieties. Two of the key concepts in this framework are *indexicality* and *enregisterment*. A sign is indexical if it is related to its meaning by virtue of co-occurring with the thing it is taken to mean. When we hear thunder, we often experience lightening, rain, and a darkening sky, so the sound of thunder may lead us to expect a storm. Because the sound of thunder evokes storminess in this way, thunder noise can be used to evoke a storm in a staged play. Likewise, if hearing a particular word or structure used, or a word pronounced a particular way, is experienced in connection with a particular style of dress or grooming, a particular set of social alignments, or a particular social activity, that pronunciation may evoke and/or create a social identity.

Indexical links between forms and meanings can be fleeting, idiosyncratic, and changeable. But indexical links are often created in the context of already-available cultural schemata. To talk about this, it is useful to use Agha's (2003, 2006) concept of enregisterment. A register emerges when a number of indexical relationships begin to be seen as related; a particular linguistic form (or non-linguistic sign) is *enregistered* when it becomes included in a register.

My co-workers and I have used a combination of historical research, ethnography, discourse analysis, and sociolinguistic interviews to describe how a set of linguistic features that were once not noticed at all, then used and heard primarily as markers of socio-economic class, have come to be linked to place and enregistered as a dialect called 'Pittsburghese.' Speech features now thought of as local figure in practices of social identification as potential markers of social class and local orientation and as tools for making more self-conscious regional identity claims. In the process, we have looked at a variety of discursive practices and material artifacts that serve to link locally-hearable speech forms with the city. In some cases, the indexical linkages people are invited to make are obvious, and the cultural schema that organizes the enregistration process is unambiguous. For example, a t-shirt that depicts local linguistic forms in speech balloons emanating from windows in the Pittsburgh skyline makes the hard-to-miss suggestion that these forms are to be linked with the city, a suggestion that makes sense in the context of the widespread cultural schema that links places with dialects and dialects with places. Someone who failed to get this point would find the shirt mystifying. Likewise, a person who sums up a situation in which

2 someone corrected her grammar by saying ‘That’s a Pittsburgh thing’ has clearly
3 formed an indexical link between the non-standard form she used and her place
4 of origin.

5 In what follows, I turn to a class of cases in which things are not so simple. In
6 the radio performances, the potentials for enregisterment are multiple, and we
7 cannot be sure what indexical links will be forged or what cultural schemata will
8 be evoked to enregister them. The construction of humorous personae like the
9 ones in the skits can enregister particular linguistic forms in multiple overlapping
10 ways, some linked to place and some not, sometimes aligning different cultural
11 schemata with one another but sometimes juxtaposing conflicting schemata.
12 Broadcast humor like this must appeal to a wide audience; it has to be funny in
13 different ways to different people.² It can be useful, as a way of getting at widely
14 circulating ideologies of language and identity, to stipulate a ‘culturally literate’
15 or ‘acculturated’ hearer who understands every instance of non-standard or
16 unexpected speech the same way as the performer does and the same way as
17 every other hearer does. However, doing this obscures how the stochastic nature
18 of discourse, perhaps particularly performance, can lead to ideological change,
19 broadening the repertoire of forms associated with a particular persona or activity
20 and shifting their meanings. To put it another way, describing the knowledge of
21 an idealized listener highlights how the meanings of linguistic choices become
22 focused and standardized, while describing the multiple meanings a performance
23 can have highlights the creative, emergent side of the process.

24 25 THE SKITS

26
27 The data to be analyzed in what follows consists of two comedy skits performed
28 by the cast of WDVE radio’s *DVE Morning Show*. (I use the skits, and
29 my transcriptions of them, with the permission of WDVE Radio.) WDVE’s
30 programming is geared particularly to young and middle-aged men. The station
31 is the radio broadcaster for Pittsburgh Steelers (American football) games and
32 was the long-time source of the distinctive and beloved voice of play-by-play
33 announcer Myron Cope. The music is rock from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.
34 The station’s website offers links to slide shows that include ‘Wind Blown
35 Skirts,’ ‘Sexy World Cup Fans,’ and ‘Busty Boxing Babes,’ as well as photos
36 of cheerleaders and attractive young female station ‘crew members’ at the most
37 recent Pittsburgh Steelers game. The *Morning Show* airs during commuting
38 hours, 6:00 – 9:00 a.m. On the show, music, news, and traffic and weather
39 reports are interspersed with skits performed by Jim Krenn, Randy Baumann,
40 and other station crew members and guests. The skits are typically two to three
41 minutes long.

42 The skits I analyze here were reproduced on a CD released around 2000 (it
43 is undated) that was sold in local record stores to raise money for charity. They
44 were originally performed on the *Morning Show*. One, called ‘Mother,’ is (or
45 can at least be heard as) a parody of a song by the same name by Pink Floyd.

The other is a 'Commentary' performed by Jim Krenn, the *Morning Show's* star DJ, playing the fictional WDVE Station Manager Stanley P. Kachowski.

The skits are performances

Whether or not all discourse is, in a technical sense, performance, there is no question from an ethnographic point of view that these two skits count as performances to the audiences for whom they are designed. As Richard Bauman (1977: 11) describes it,

[P]erformance as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. . . . From the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done Additionally, it is marked as available for the enhancement of experience, through the present enjoyment of the intrinsic qualities of the act of expression itself. Performance thus . . . gives license to the audience to regard the act of expression and the performer with special intensity.

Anyone who took the content of the skits as literal accounts of reality would either be a complete cultural outsider or be pretending to be one. What the performers are responsible for is not propositional truth but 'displays of communicative competence,' and the skits are evaluated not (or not only) on the basis of how realistic they are but on the basis of how well they are done. The point is enjoyment resulting from the combination of cultural celebration, mild cultural critique, and competent, original performances of fictional personae. If the performers are successful, audiences laugh. The performers are behind microphones in a radio studio, inviting audiences to 'regard [them] with special intensity.' Furthermore, the skits are 'keyed' as performances (Bauman 1977: 16–24) via 'special codes' involving the use of non-standard and/or unexpected words, pronunciations, and intonation patterns; 'special paralinguistic features' such as music, laughter on the part of the performers, and raised speech volume; and 'appeals to tradition' including the evocation of characters and settings that the audience is familiar with and the creative use of familiar strategies for constructing the skits.

Mother

This skit was performed by Randy Baumann, singing and accompanying himself on the guitar, and Cris Winter (a female member of the *Morning Show* crew), who played the Mother character. I focus on Winter's performance here, though the lyrics sung by Baumann are included in the transcription. In my analysis of the skit, I explore the potential indexical meanings of the linguistic choices Cris Winter makes as she voices the Mother character. Of the many possibilities, I focus on three: Winter could be said to use linguistic variation to sound like a mother, to sound working class, and/or to sound local. I use the following

2 typographic conventions to highlight the sets of features I will discuss in what
 3 follows: elements of the performance that might index a mother's style are
 4 underlined; elements that might index a working-class persona are italicized;
 5 and elements that might index a Pittsburgh identity are in bold-face. I have
 6 not tried to highlight every feature that could conceivably be taken as an
 7 index of one or another of these three styles, only the ones I will be talking
 8 about. Some features can index more than one social identity. Phonetic features
 9 that could be semiotically associated with any of these social identities are
 10 also transcribed phonetically in the column to the right, and explanatory
 11 glosses about material that requires insider knowledge to interpret are below
 12 the transcript. Transcription conventions can be found in the Appendix. The
 13 phonetic features I will be discussing in connection with this skit are as follows:

- 14 • Monophthongal realization of /au/, so that *slouch* can be pronounced [slɑ:tʃ].
- 15 • Fronted realization of /o/, so that *over* can be pronounced [o[˘]vɜr].
- 16 • Lowered, rounded realization of the low back vowel /a/, so that *soccer* can be
- 17 pronounced [sɔkɜr].
- 18 • Vocalized realization of /l/, so that *old* can be pronounced [oʊd].
- 19 • Deletion of /ð/, so that *that* can be pronounced as [æt].
- 20 • Alveolar realization of *-ing*, so that *smoking* can be pronounced as [smo<km].
- 21 • Elided pronunciations of *going to* [gʌnə], *have to* [hæftə], *let me* [ləmi], etc.

22
 23 **Extract 1:** 'Mother' (RB = Randy Bauman; M = Mother; the skit can be audited
 24 at <http://www.andrew.cmu.edu/user/bj4/Mother.mp3>)

26	1 RB <i>Mother says I better sit up straight.</i>	
27	M You're <i>gonna</i> get curvature of the spine like	[gʌnə]
28	<u>your Uncle Lou</u> don't slouch!	[dɒn] [slɑ:tʃ]
29		
30	2 RB <i>Mother tells me not to make that face.</i>	
31	M <u>If you keep makin' 'at</u> face you're	[mekɪn] [æt]
32	<u>gonna freeze like 'at!</u>	[gʌnə] [æt]
33		
34	3 RB <i>Mother calls me out by all my brothers' names.</i>	
35	M Jim, Frank, Charlie, Gar-, whatever the hell	
36	your name is, get over here!	[o [˘] vɜr]
37		
38	4 RB <i>Oooh ahh, mother drives to all the games.</i>	
39	M <i>Git</i> your ass in the car I <i>haveta</i>	[gɪt] [hæɪtə]
40	pick up your sister at soccer after I drop you	[sɔkɜr] [drɒp]
41	off at karate!	[ɔf] [kərədi]
42		
43	5 RB <i>Mother told me to eat all I took.</i>	
44	M <u>There's kids starvin' in Africa</u> <u>that'll love them</u>	[ðæDlɪv]
45	<u>Brussels sprouts! Ain't yinz paid no attention</u>	
46	<u>to that Sally Struthers^a commercial?</u>	

- 1 8 JOHNSTONE
-
- 2 6 RB *Mother made it clear she wasn't my cook.*
- 3 M **Ohh**, you don't like Brussels sprouts? Well [o:[<]] [dð]
- 4 feel free to order **off** the menu! We have [ɔf]
- 5 Like It, or Lump It.^b
- 6
- 7 7 RB *Mother always spit on tissues to clean my face.*
- 8 M Come here, your face is filthy. *Lemme* [lɛmi]
- 9 get that crud **off** it! [ɔf]
- 10
- 11 8 RB *Ooooh ahh Mama hates a messy place.*
- 12 M What the hell happened in here? What if
- 13 *company* comes over? [kʌmpni]
- 14
- 15 9 RB *Hush, now baby, baby, don't you cry.*
- 16 M If you're *gonna* cry I'm *gonna* give [gʌnə] [gʌnə]
- 17 *ya* something to cry about. [yə]
- 18
- 19 10 RB *Mama's gonna be your alarm clock for you.*
- 20 M *Git outta* bed! [gɪt] [aDə]
- 21
- 22 11 RB *Mama will be your doctor too.*
- 23 M Put Vicks^c **on** your chest! [ɔn]
- 24
- 25 12 RB *Mama's gonna wait up until you get in.*
- 26 *Mama will always find out where you've been.*
- 27 M Were you down **at'ta** park [ætə]
- 28 *drinkin'* Boone's Farm?^d [drɪŋkɪn]
- 29
- 30 13 RB *Mama's gonna make sure your underwear's clean.*
- 31 M So help me, if you get in an accident *and* [n]
- 32 you **got** skid marks in your underwear I'm [gɔt]
- 33 *gonna* die. [gʌnə]
- 34
- 35 14 RB *Ooooh, babe, ooooh, babe, oh babe,*
- 36 *you'll always be baby to me.*
- 37 M No matter how **old** you get you'll [o^{<w}d]
- 38 still be my **baby**, and you're **not** [nɔt]
- 39 too **old** for a *lickin'* ! [o^wd] [lɪkɪn]
- 40
- 41 15 RB *Mother caught me out back getting ((pause)) high.*
- 42 M Were you'**unz** behind the garage
- 43 *smokin'* pot? [smo[<]kɪn] [pɔt]

- 44 a. Sally Struthers: an actress known and satirized for appearances in late-night TV commercials raising money for poor children in developing countries.
- 45 b. 'Like it or lump it': Eat it or go without. Here the Mother character uses the two phrases 'like it' and 'lump it' as if they were the names of menu items.
- c. Vicks: mentholated petroleum jelly, a traditional remedy.
- d. Boone's Farm: inexpensive flavored apple wine.

2 Many regular listeners will hear the song as a take-off on a song of the
3 same name by Pink Floyd, released on the album called *The Wall*. The lyrics
4 of the song are based loosely on those of the Pink Floyd song, and the choruses
5 are the same as the Pink Floyd ones. *The Wall* is a collection of dark-toned
6 songs performed in the character of a disillusioned overdosing rock star who
7 wants to wall himself off from the world; the original 'Mother' depicts a bleak
8 back-to-the-womb fantasy. In the skit, lines of the now parodically sentimental
9 song about the singer's mother alternate with spoken-word illustrations by a
10 'mother' character voiced by a female member of the show's crew. The parody
11 invites *Morning Show* listeners to recognize the skit as a take-off on the Pink
12 Floyd song, although not all the focus group members actually did. People who
13 did not get the Pink Floyd connection could still enjoy the skit. A great deal
14 of the potential humor of the skit has to do with the mismatch between the
15 sentimental-sounding song lyrics and the persona of the mother character who
16 illustrates them, and noticing this does not depend on knowing the original
17 song.

18 The mother identity is clearest on the level of reference and word choice. The
19 sung part of the skit sets the character up as a mother, depicting her as doing
20 things mothers do such as telling their children to sit up straight, chauffeuring
21 them, spitting on tissues to clean their faces, occasionally getting their names
22 wrong in the heat of the moment. This aspect of the skit's potential meaning
23 resonated particularly with the female members of the focus group, who said
24 they could see themselves in the character. Among the many things the mother
25 character does that could be taken to index that she is speaking as a mother
26 are using the kin terms *your uncle* (line 1) and *my baby* (14); reusing formulas
27 that many listeners would associate with a stereotypical mother ('If you keep
28 making that face you're going to freeze like that'; 'There are kids starving in
29 [part of the world] that would love that [food item child isn't eating]'); and
30 adopting sing-songy intonation in 'No matter how old you get you'll still be
31 my baby' (14). The mother character is both typical and atypical: her behavior
32 departs sometimes from the sentimental cultural schema of good motherhood
33 with which her audience is familiar (and which is evoked in the lyrics) and teeters
34 on the brink of the cultural schema of the bad mother, who shouts, curses, and
35 threatens to hit. Yet, as noted, she reminds some listeners of their mothers and
36 others of themselves as mothers, sometimes because they too act in some of these
37 ways but would not publicize the fact.

38 It would be hard to imagine anyone understanding or appreciating this
39 skit without noticing at least some of the ways in which the social identity
40 of the mother is played with, and, indeed, no one in the focus group missed
41 this. But there are a number of possible ways of hearing where this mother
42 is located in class and space. For one thing, she could be a working-class
43 mother. Linguistic variants that sound working class to at least some Americans
44 include:
45

1 10

JOHNSTONE

- 2 • voice quality (low pitch, relatively monotone intonation);
- 3 • morphosyntactic features such as multiple negation ('Ain't yinz paid no
- 4 attention . . .');
- 5 • *git* [git] for *get*;
- 6 • the alveolar variant of '*ing* (mak[ɪn] in line 2, starv[ɪn] in 5, drink[ɪn] in 12,
- 7 lick[ɪn] in 14, and smok[ɪn] in 15); and
- 8 • elision associated with fast, casual speech (*gonna* [gʌnə], *haveta* [hætə], *that'll*
- 9 *love* [ðæDlʌv], *lemme* [lɛmi] 'let me', *comp'ny* [kʌmpni]) 'company'.

10 Heightened rhoticity, particularly at the beginning of the skit, could sound
 11 working-class; it could also sound place-linked to some hearers, since it can be
 12 heard in Appalachian speech. Likewise, the stopping of interdental (*that* [æt],
 13 *the* [ə], *them* [dɛm], and so on) is in its distribution both working class and local
 14 and can be heard either way. References to class- and gender-linked practices
 15 like drinking Boone's Farm might also encourage a hearing of the character that
 16 evoked working-class register and, possibly, enregistered some of these features
 17 with it. The focus-group member who had recently moved to Pittsburgh and was
 18 not yet attuned to the sounds of and discourse about Pittsburgh speech heard
 19 the mother character primarily as working class.

20 For another thing, this mother could sound like she is from the Pittsburgh
 21 area. Winter makes a gesture toward this reading of her character's identity at
 22 the very beginning. In the (stressed) last word of the first line she pronounces
 23 *slouch* with monophthongal /au/, as [slatʃ]. Monophthongization of /au/ (so
 24 that *house* can sound like [ha:s] or *out* like [a:t]) is stereotypically associated
 25 with Pittsburghese, or the local dialect as it is locally imagined. Winter does
 26 not monophthongize /au/ in every possible environment in the skit, so that, to
 27 someone who can hear this variant as different from the standard variant, it may
 28 stand out perceptually when she does. Of five opportunities to monophthongize
 29 /au/, Winter does so only once. Interestingly, she does *not* monophthongize the
 30 /au/ in *Brussels sprouts*, thus failing to take advantage of another phrase-final,
 31 stressed, 'phono-opportunity,' to use Coupland's (1985) apt term, to display the
 32 feature. This inconsistency could be taken to index the fact that Winter does
 33 not monophthongize /au/ in her 'real' (unselfconscious, everyday) persona; we
 34 return to this sort of enregisterment below.

35 Another widely recognized index of a Pittsburgh identity is to use *yinz* or
 36 *you'unz*, rather than *you*, as the second-person plural personal pronoun. Winter
 37 does this twice. Another feature of the performance that could sound local, at
 38 least to some listeners, is the fronting of /o/. Like monophthongal /au/, this
 39 feature is variable in Winter's performance. Of ten opportunities to front /o/,
 40 Winter does so four times, all in particularly audible places where the fronting
 41 is likely to stand out: 'Get over [o<vr] here!' in line 4, 'Ohhh [o:<], you don't
 42 like Brussels sprouts?' in line 6, 'No matter how old [o<w d] you get' in line 14,
 43 and 'Were you'unz . . . smokin' [smo<kn] pot?' in line 16. Vocalization of /l/, a
 44 feature of local speech that outsiders often notice, occurs only twice in Winter's
 45

2 performance, both times in the same word, *old* [oʊd] in ‘no matter how old you
3 get,’ line 14.

4 Line 8 includes the words *soccer* and *karate* in stressed, phrase-final and in
5 one case line-final position. Winter pronounces both with the rounded low back
6 vowel, [ɔ], that linguists identify as characteristic of the Pittsburgh area. This
7 vowel takes part in the Pittsburgh Chain Shift proposed by Labov et al. (Labov,
8 Ash and Boberg 2005: 271–272).³ To an outsider’s ear, like mine and those of
9 all but one other members of the focus group, it can sound as if soccer and karate
10 had been chosen, over other activities mothers could drive children to, precisely
11 because they provide opportunities to showcase this vowel. Pittsburghers do not
12 notice this feature of local speech, since it is the result of a merger and, thus,
13 sounds the same to them as the other, more widespread variant of this vowel
14 in North America. So local listeners could not, for the most part, hear this as
15 an index of local identity. Winter pronounces the merged low back vowel this
16 way invariably, throughout the skit, which suggests that it may not be part of
17 the performance from her point of view, either. Still, it is hearable to a non-
18 Pittsburgher as evoking a Pittsburgh identity. For all the focus-group members
19 except the newcomer, features of Pittsburgh speech and features of working-class
20 speech overlapped in different ways. Some listeners, for example, heard alveolar
21 *-ing* as local, some as working class, some as both.

22 To sum up, Winter’s character is likely to be taken as a mother by any listener.
23 This means that aspects of the way Winter talks evoke and create one or more
24 cultural schemas of motherhood. The linguistic forms she uses may already be
25 enregistered as indexes of one or another of these schemas for a given listener.
26 For another listener, the performance may enregister them. For most listeners,
27 what happens is probably a mix of the two processes: they hear certain forms as
28 familiar indices of models of motherhood, while other forms become associated
29 with motherhood for the first time. Additionally, some listeners take the Mother
30 character to be a Pittsburgher. Some take her to be working class. Some may hear
31 Cris Winter in her public persona as Cris Winter the DJ, in addition to hearing
32 the character she creates in this skit.

33 The fact that the mother voice alternates with lines of a song highlights the
34 contrast between the voice (or voices) represented in the song and the voice (or
35 voices) represented in the spoken lines. This juxtaposition also contributes to the
36 enregistration process by which features of the mother’s speech become linked
37 with social identities. But this does not work the same way for every listener.
38 Some may hear the skit as a comment on the Pink Floyd song, so that the mother
39 schema evoked in the original song becomes overlaid with the ones evoked in
40 the parody. For some, the performance may overlay a mother schema on a
41 Pittsburgher schema, so that the song is about what a Pittsburgh mother is like.
42 Or the song could be interpreted as a depiction of a working-class mother, or as
43 a comment on all mothers, or as a parody of one’s own mother. In other words,
44 the language of the performance, on all levels, can potentially be or become
45 enregistered with multiple cultural schemata. Likewise, multiple listenings (for

1 12

JOHNSTONE

2 people who own the CD) can enregister the same forms in different ways for the
3 same listener.

4
5 ***Stanley P. Kachowski/Jim Krenn***

6 The skit called ‘Stanley P. Kachowski and Gore’ instantiates a sub-genre of
7 *Morning Show* skits that is familiar to regular listeners: Jim Krenn’s Stanley
8 P. Kachowski character makes regular appearances on the show. Stanley
9 P. Kachowski is presented as the ‘station manager’ of WDVE. Although he is
10 sometimes represented as barging in on the DJs in the studio, at other times he
11 performs monologues which are framed as pre-recorded editorial commentary
12 about current events. The one under consideration here is of this sort. This skit
13 was originally broadcast during the 2000 U.S. presidential campaign, when
14 then Vice-President Albert Gore was running against George W. Bush to replace
15 Bill Clinton as President, with Senator Joseph Lieberman as Gore’s running mate.
16 It takes off from a recent visit to Pittsburgh by presidential candidate Gore and
17 vice-presidential candidate Lieberman. The monologue revolves in part around
18 a pun on ‘Tipper,’ which is Gore’s wife’s name.

19 There are at least three kinds of enregisterment that could be going on in the
20 turns produced by Jim Krenn, who plays the Stanley P. Kachowski character.
21 First, Krenn could be heard as representing Kachowski as having a Pittsburgh
22 accent. Second, Krenn could be heard as representing Kachowski as having
23 a stereotypical working-class, male lifestyle. Third, Krenn could be heard as
24 representing himself as himself, in a performance of his own public persona
25 consistent with audiences’ expectations. All three of these activities involve the
26 use of non-standard speech forms that reinforce the content of the skit. Randy
27 Baumann plays the role of the announcer, who introduces and concludes the
28 monologue. Baumann also breaks away from this role and into his public persona
29 as Randy Baumann, on occasion.

30 I use the following typographic conventions to highlight the sets of features
31 I will discuss in what follows: In Baumann’s lines, elements of the performance
32 that might index formality are underlined. In Krenn’s lines, elements of the
33 performance that might index a working-class male style are italicized and
34 elements that might index a Pittsburgh identity are in bold-face. As with the
35 ‘Mother’ skit, phonetic features I discuss are also transcribed phonetically in the
36 right-hand column. Again, I have not tried to highlight every feature that could
37 conceivably be taken as an index of one or another of these three styles, only the
38 ones I will discuss. In addition to the ones listed in connection with the ‘Mother’
39 skit, I discuss the following phonetic features in connection with this skit:

- 40
41 • Lowering of /ε/, so that *commentary* can be pronounced [kaməntε^vri]
42 • Fronted realization of /u/, so that *boom* can be pronounced [bu[<]m]
43 • Lowering of /ʌ/, so that *stuff* can be pronounced [stʌ^vf]
44 • Stopping of /δ/, so that *that* can be pronounced as [æt] or *those* as [do[<]z]
45

DIALECT ENREGISTERMENT IN PERFORMANCE

13

Extract 2: Stanley P. Kachowski and Gore (A = Announcer; SPK = Stanley P. Kachowski; RB = Randy Bauman; JK = Jim Krenn; the skit can be audited at <http://www.andrew.cmu.edu/user/bj4/KachowskiGore.mp3>)

- | | | | |
|----|-------|--|--|
| 1 | A | And now with a commentary, please welcome
General Manager of WDVE, Mr. Stanley P.
Kachowski. | [kəmɒntɛˈri]
[kətˈʃaʊski] |
| 2 | SPK | Hey, <i>Stanley P. Kachowski</i> , P is for
politics , you know Gore is in
town , what a go-, oh what a great time we had,
I <i>gotta</i> tell <i>ya</i> I'm not really
political or anything like <i>that</i> , you
know , it's just that you know we were
<i>partijin'</i> they're, everybody's <i>sayin'</i> how, you
know , he's boring and stuff , <i>this guy ain't</i>
<i>boring</i> , he's crazy! Hey I'm <i>tellin'</i> y-, Randy,
he's a wild man! [He's a wild- | [kətˈʃaʊski]
[pɔːwɪtɪks] [no<]
[tʌn]
[gɔːDə] [jə] [nɔt]
[pɔːwɪtɪkʊw] [æt]
[no<] [no<]
[pɔːrdɪjɪn] [seɪn]
[no<] [stʌˈf]
[tɛlm]
[wɑːd] [wɑːd] |
| 3 | A | [Well that goes s- against his
image, I would say, <u>Stan</u> = | |
| 4 | SPK | = Did you see <i>on the</i>
news they sai- who endo- who endorsed <i>them</i> ,
Franco Harris, ^a did you see that? | [ɔnə]
[əm] |
| 5 | A | No. | |
| 6 | SPK | Yeah, Franco Harris <i>come out</i> 'n
endorsed <i>them</i> . And he's wild , they didn't
have it <i>on the</i> news but then Van Morrison ^b
came out on the other side and endorsed <i>them</i>
and did you see 'He inhales! He inhales!' ^c | [kʌˈm] [a:t] [n]
[əm] [wɑːd]
[ɔnə]
[a:t] [əm] |
| 7 | A/ RB | ((laughs)) | |
| 8 | SPK | You know and Gore's just throwing his
arms up <i>in the</i> air, and stuff . So we go
down <i>there's</i> me, <i>there's</i> Gore,
<i>there's</i> Lieberman, right and you know what
we do we hop in my pea-green Vega, you
know , | [no<] [θro<wɪn]
[ɪni][stʌˈf] [go<]
[da:n] [ərz] [ərz]
[ərz] [no<]
[hɔp]
[no<] |
| 9 | A/RB | The three of you? | |
| 10 | SPK | 'cause we want to be
<i>inconspicuous</i> . So,
don't worry, don't worry, I have
my my Foster Grants on , my my sunglasses,
just to give that, you know , little look of the, | [kʌˈz] [wanə]
[ɪnkɒnsprɪkiəs]
[dɔ<] [dɔ<]
[fɔstr] [ɔn]
[no<] |

1	14	JOHNSTONE
2		
3		
4	11 A/RB	Secret [Service ^d
5	12 SPK	[Secret Service, <i>kind of</i> look, you
6		know , and, uh, the cookie sheets ^e <i>that that</i> I
7		have, riveted <i>on the</i> you know , fender areas
8		of my pea-green Vega to pass
9		
10	13 A/RB	(((laughs)))
11	14 SPK	[inspection <i>for</i> emissions test,] ^f pretty sure
12		<i>those are bullet</i> -proof. But anyway, so we're
13		driving, we go down Club Elite, ^g OK, we
14		go in there, and and Gore looks at me and says
15		'Stanley, your money's no good in
16		Club Elite, 'cause I'm like
17		<i>getting</i> all <i>kind of</i> cash from people for this
18		campaign thing, I'll just write it into one of
19		those campaign fund-raisers accou- ^h 'Oh, OK.'
20		It's (Terry Weigel's) ⁱ last night, you know , so
21		(I'm like) 'Whoo, let's go in!' So he, th- an-,
22		and Gore, let me tell you <i>something</i> , he saw
23		all (Terry Weigel's) movies , too, by <i>the way</i> ,
24		Inferno being his favorite =
25	15 A	= Big fan.
26	16 SPK	Big fan. So anyway we go in <i>there</i> and we're,
27		you know Albert gives us some great seats and
28		we're sitting <i>there</i> and next thing you know ,
29		(Terry Weigel) comes over
30		<i>to</i> Gore, you know , and he goes , 'Hey, I may
31		be running for President but I but right now I'm
32		already <i>Vice</i> President.' ^j You know ,
33		so next thing you know , he's <i>getting</i>
34		a lap dance. They're <i>screaming</i> , crowd's
35		<i>screaming</i> , all of a sudden you
36		know , they're getting in- the crowd's even
37		<i>getting</i> into it (watching this), they're <i>yelling</i>
38		'[tɪpɹ, tɪpɹ, tɪpɹ]!' And then he pulls out twenty
39		dollars , you know he s-, he just sticks it in <i>the</i>
40		g-string, and <i>screaming</i> '[tɪpɹ]!' he gets another
41		twenty ou- ti- 'tip-' puts it in right in <i>there</i> ,
42		(they) yell '[tɪpɹ]!' you know the whole crowd
43		(and) 'Tipper Gore's in <i>the doorway</i> !'
44		
45		

17 A/RB ((laughs))

- 18 SPK/JK 'She's *in the doorway!*' ((A/RB laughing)) [ɪnə]
 The **crowd** was *trying* to help him [kra:d] [traɪm]
out! ((A/RB laughing)) **You'unz** *should have* [a:t] [ʃʊdə]
 seen the look **on** his face! Oh, my good-, he [ɔn]
 jumped **up**, he just went, ((A/RB laughing)) she [ɔʒʌ^vmpɪ] [ʌ^vp]
 grabbed him by *the ear* and just twisted it and [ɔʒʌ^vst] [di]
boom, he was just, he was **gone**. [bu[<]m] [gɔn]
Me and Lieberman just looked at each other, [mi:n]
 we went **down to** Primanti's **got** a kosher [da:nə] [gɔt]
capicola [n] [n] [pɔ^{wi}ft]
and cheese and, you know, just **polished** [æt] [ɔf] [ədə]
that off, and *that* was the end of *the* [næt]
 night, we just, we couldn't help but laugh [dō[<]]
 though. He'll recover, **don't** worry. I don't [votɪm] [jə]
 know who I'm *voting* for yet, but I tell *you* [ədə]
 what, ((A/RB laughing)) I'll vote for him
 for *partier of the year*. This is Stanley P. [kətʃa:ski]
Kachowski, [rimajndɪm]
reminding you, tipping is good ()
 ((SPK/JB laugh))
- 19 A/RB For a written transcript of Mr. Kachowski's [kətʃauskɪz]
 statements, send a self-abused, stomped
 antelope to WDVE, Pittsburgh. [p^hɪtsbök]

- a. Franco Harris: A former Pittsburgh football star who often makes public appearances in the area.
 b. Van Morrison: An international rock/blues star of the 1970s–1990s.
 c. 'He inhales!': A reference to a well-known political *faux pas*, when then U.S. Presidential candidate Bill Clinton told an interviewer that he had tried marijuana in his youth but 'didn't inhale.'
 d. Secret service: the plain-clothes guards who protect the President and other political figures whose jobs put them at risk. Members of the secret service stereotypically wear dark glasses.
 e. Cookie sheets: flat metal baking trays.
 f. 'Pass inspection for emissions test': In Pennsylvania, automobiles must be inspected annually to ensure they are safe ('pass inspection'). They must also pass an 'emissions test' that measures pollutants emitted by the car. Krenn has conflated the two kinds of tests here.
 g. Club Elite: a Pittsburgh night club where strip-tease is performed.
 h. 'Campaign fund-raisers account': Money donated by members of the public to support a political campaign. It would be highly questionable to use such money to entertain people at a strip club.
 i. Terry Weigel: presumably a star in pornographic films.
 j. *Vice President*: The stress on the word *vice* brings out the potential ambiguity of 'Vice President,' making it hearable as meaning 'the president of vice.'

The skit begins with a phrase of classical music reminiscent of the Elgar *Pomp and Circumstance*, familiar to many Americans as the music played at graduation ceremonies, and with the voice of an 'announcer' played by Randy Baumann, who sets a formal scene by saying, 'And now with a commentary, please welcome

1 16

JOHNSTONE

2 General Manager of WDVE, Mr. Stanley P. Kachowski.’ The music continues to
3 repeat throughout the performance. Baumann’s use of Kachowski’s full title
4 and the honorific ‘Mr.’ continue the scene-setting, as does the announcer’s
5 low-pitched, relatively monotone, evenly-spaced voice and the lowered /ε/ he
6 produces in *commentary* [kaməntɛ^vri], which can be heard as an attempt to
7 pronounce the word the way it is spelled or to sound vaguely British. What
8 follows would constitute a complete violation of the expectations set up by the
9 introductory framing, if much of the audience did not actually expect something
10 like it.

11 To represent Kachowski as speaking with a Pittsburgh accent, Krenn voices
12 him in such an accent, drawing on stereotyped links between a subset of
13 locally hearable non-standard phonological features and local identity. As
14 mentioned above, one of these is the monophthongization of /au/. The name
15 Kachowski (which Krenn, of course, chose for his character) is itself a phono-
16 opportunity for the production of this variant, with /au/ in its stressed syllable.
17 Krenn has Kachowski start by saying the name, monophthongizing the /au/:
18 [kətʃa:ski]. Also close to the beginning of the skit is the word *town*, which is a
19 stereotypical environment for /au/-monophthongization when it occurs in the
20 word *downtown* ([da:nta:n]) (Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski 2002). Unlike
21 Winter, however, Krenn is consistent having Kachowski monophthongize /au/:
22 of 15 occurrences of /au/ in Kachowski/Krenn’s speech in the skit, 13 are
23 monophthongal, one is partly monophthongized, and only one is diphthongal.
24 Like the Mother character, the Kachowski character employs other features
25 that can be associated with Pittsburgh speech, by insiders and/or by outsiders:
26 *you’unz*; fronted /o/; a rounded low back vowel; and vocalized /l/. Like Winter,
27 Krenn produces the rounded variant of the low back vowel invariantly. His
28 /o/-fronting is, however, much more consistent than Winter’s. As noted above,
29 Winter’s Mother character fronts /o/ only in particularly audible words, and less
30 than half the time, whereas Krenn’s Kachowski fronts /o/ in 29 out of 40 possible
31 cases, or almost three-fourths of the time. In Krenn’s skit, it is the *non*-fronting
32 of /o/ that is unusual. Non-fronted /o/ occurs in unstressed syllables of proper
33 names (*Franco*, lines 4 and 6, and *Inferno*, line 14), in ‘Oh, okay.’ (line 14) where
34 he is quoting his character, in particularly fast speech (two instances of *you know*
35 at the punch line of the ‘tip her/Tipper’ joke, line 16), and in the word *capicola*,
36 line 18. Krenn stops fronting /o/ at the end of the skit, in line 18, where *you*
37 *know*, *don’t know* (twice), and *vote* all have non-fronted /o/. At this point Krenn
38 is arguably moving out of the Kachowski persona and into the Jim Krenn the
39 DJ persona. Additionally, Krenn almost invariably lowers /ʌ/ in words like *stuff*,
40 *just*, and *something*, and he sometimes fronts /u/. Neither of these features of
41 Pittsburgh speech is part of Winter’s performance.

42 ‘Stanley P. Kachowski,’ a stereotypical Polish-immigrant name, evokes a
43 working-class persona for local listeners, since stereotypical working-class
44 Pittsburghers are descendants of the Eastern European immigrants who came
45 between 1890 and 1920 to work in Pittsburgh’s steel mills. Features of Krenn’s

2 speech that might point to his character's being working class include some
3 of the same features we saw in Winter's performance of the mother: elision
4 (*goma* [gʌnə], *on the* [ɔnə], *of the* [əjə]); alveolar *-ing*; and deleted or stopped
5 interdental. Non-standard syntax can also be enregistered with a working-class
6 male schema: non-standard negation in 'this guy **ain't** boring;' and a non-
7 standard preterit form in 'Franco Harris **come** out and endorsed them.' Krenn
8 can also rely on the content of the skit: 'partying' at a strip club; being 'wild;'
9 going to Primanti's (a popular sandwich shop) for a late-night meal. In line 10
10 of the skit, Krenn has Kachowski pronounce *inconspicuous* in a slow, somewhat
11 labored, hyper-correct way, [ɪnkənsˈpɪkiəs], that suggests that the word is not
12 part of Kachowski's everyday lexicon.

13 Representing Kachowski as driving 'a pea-green Vega' is a succinct way for
14 Krenn to invite the inference that the Kachowski character is later-middle aged
15 and from working-class roots. Chevrolet Vegas were produced in the 1970s;
16 they were inexpensive and sporty-looking and appealed to young men of limited
17 means, like the working-class generation that came of age in 1970s Pittsburgh,
18 when steelmaking jobs were quickly disappearing. They were also unreliable, it
19 turned out, now considered candidates for 'the worst Detroit car ever' (Newman
20 2008), and the pea-green color soon looked dated. Someone driving such a car
21 (not to mention imagining that baking sheets are bullet-proof) is also represented
22 as hapless, to listeners who get the reference. This sort of haplessness goes along
23 with the working-class Pittsburgh male persona with which Krenn can be taken
24 to be playing. Since getting the reference requires remembering the cultural
25 milieu of the 1980s, only the older focus-group members were able to articulate
26 what the 'pea-green Vega' could suggest. To others, the reference was funny
27 because green is an unusual color for a car, but most of the humor of this segment
28 of the skit was carried by the reference to using cookie sheets for bullet-proofing.

29 The reference to 'kosher capicola and cheese' sandwiches can be heard as
30 another such tightly-packed, multi-voiced indexical, simultaneously pointing to
31 the facts that Joseph Lieberman (an observant Jew) eats only kosher food, that
32 a sandwich combining cheese and meat could not be kosher, that the real Jim
33 Krenn knows these things, and that the fictional Stanley Kachowski is oblivious
34 to them. Only one focus-group member got this, however, and only on repeated
35 listening. For those who did not, 'kosher capicola and cheese' was funny in a
36 different way, because it seemed over-specified and, for some, because kosher
37 food and Primanti's are not usually associated in local minds.

38 Performances of fictional personas are inevitably laminated (Goffman 1986:
39 156–157) on the actors' performances of their own public personae. As Bakhtin
40 (1981) showed, performances are always 'double-voiced' in that the voice of
41 the performer is always intertwined with the voices of the characters being
42 performed. It is clear in the data at hand, both from the ethnographic evidence
43 and from linguistic details, that the public persona of Jim Krenn the WDVE DJ is
44 hearable to many people who listen to Stanley P. Kachowski skits. For one thing, it
45 is hearable to some listeners that Jim Krenn, unlike Cris Winter, has a Pittsburgh

2 accent. Although they both draw on the same repertoire of features that can
3 be heard as voicing Pittsburgh-sounding personas in their performances, Krenn
4 is, as we have seen, much more consistent in using these features throughout
5 the performance than Winter is. While Winter performs Pittsburgh speech by
6 selectively (and inconsistently) deploying particularly salient features of the
7 dialect like monophthongal /au/, fronted /o/, and *you'unz*, Krenn's performance
8 includes both salient features of local speech and ones that are not. In addition,
9 Krenn's speech is characterized by a phonological variant that Winter does
10 not use. Krenn's /ʌ/, in words like *stuff*, *come*, *club*, and *something*, is almost
11 invariably lowered. This means that Krenn's speech, unlike Winter's, displays
12 both elements of the Pittsburgh chain shift described by Labov et al. Although
13 lowered /ʌ/ is never commented on or self-consciously worked into performances
14 of local speech, listeners who are familiar with the gestalt that is a Pittsburgh
15 accent and who have heard Krenn in situations in which he is not performing
16 Stanley P. Kachowski may in fact know that he always sounds like a Pittsburgher,
17 even if his performance is not as exaggerated as in the Kachowski role. People
18 who know about him (which is fairly likely in the case of fellow Pittsburghers,
19 since Krenn has often been profiled in the press) know that he grew up in a
20 working-class family in an old, working-class, inner-city neighborhood. Thus,
21 at least some listeners hear not just a fictional character but Jim Krenn the radio
22 DJ as well.⁴

23 In fact, some of the potential for humor in the *'DVE Morning Show* skits has
24 to do with how the parodic double-voicing calls attention to itself. In general,
25 the fact that Krenn, Baumann, and their colleagues are local celebrities means
26 that local listeners are likely to know who is doing the performances on the
27 show and what to expect in the performances. This means that the fact that
28 there are authorial voices behind the characters' voices is harder to overlook
29 than it is in the routine double-voicings of everyday conversation. In particular,
30 the skits often play with the fact that laminations of personas projected as 'real'
31 and personas projected as 'fictional' can come unstuck, so that the performer
32 slips between the voice of his character and a voice that can be heard as his or
33 her own.⁵ In the Stanley P. Kachowski skit this can be heard to occur in the
34 lines I have labeled with two sets of initials, those of the performer and those
35 of his character. Lines 1–11 contrast Randy Baumann speaking in character
36 as the announcer (A) with Randy Baumann speaking as Randy Baumann
37 the DJ (RB).

38 In line 1, as noted above, Baumann speaks in a formal style, pronouncing
39 *commentary* with a stylized lowered vowel in the final syllable and adopting formal
40 diction. In line 2, Kachowski addresses the announcer as Randy ('I'm tellin' y-
41 Randy, he's a wild man!'). The fictional announcer could be fictionalized Randy
42 Baumann doing part of his DJ job, or Jim Krenn could be slipping out of the
43 Kachowski character to address Baumann the way he would if Krenn were not
44 in character as Kachowski. Baumann treats this turn as having been spoken
45 in character, though, and, in line 3, Baumann responds in character as the

2 announcer, addressing Kachowski ('Stan,' or possibly a cut-off 'Stanley'), not
3 Krenn (who would be 'Jimmy'), and sticking to the careful diction ('I would say')
4 of the announcer character.

5 In line 7, however, Baumann responds to the Kachowski turn of line
6 6 by laughing, something the announcer would not do. Here, in other words,
7 Baumann has come unstuck from the announcer, slipping out of an announcer
8 persona and into a Baumann persona. He does likewise in his subsequent two
9 turns, interjecting a request for clarification in line 9 and adopting a more casual
10 tone than the announcer's (*you* as [jə]), and interjecting to assist Krenn in his
11 improvisation by suggesting a phrase, 'Secret Service,' in line 11.

12 At the end of the skit, however, the Randy-the-DJ persona and the announcer
13 persona become completely intertwined. Baumann speaks in the announcer's
14 formal diction, referring to the other speaker as 'Mr. Kachowski,' pronouncing
15 the article *a* as [ɛj] rather than [ə], and pronouncing *Pittsburgh* as [p^hitsbök],
16 vocalizing the /r/ in such a way as to suggest formal British speech to many
17 Americans. He voices a formula often heard at the end of commentaries of the
18 sort being played on here: 'For a written transcript . . . send a self-addressed,
19 stamped envelope . . .' But his play on the words of this formula ('self-abused,
20 stomped antelope') evoke the Randy Baumann persona, the persona of the
21 comic DJ. Krenn stays in character as Kachowski throughout most of the
22 skit. But in his final turn, he, too, can be said to break partly into Jim Krenn
23 persona, no longer fronting /o/ and laughing because Kachowski's story is so
24 funny.

25 To adapt Dell Hymes' (1975) term, 'breakthroughs out of performance' such
26 as these can serve as cues to performance, reminders that something double-
27 voice, reflexive, and artful is going on. They can also point to the improvisational
28 quality of the performance, in that things can spontaneously become so funny
29 that the actors 'crack up,' falling out of character. When they do, they fall
30 into other characters, however, those of themselves as they present themselves
31 on the 'DVE Morning Show, Jim Krenn and Randy Baumann, the drive-time
32 DJs.

33 To sum up, features of Krenn's and Baumann's speech, like the features of
34 Winter's speech discussed above, can be heard in multiple ways, or, to put it
35 another way, enregistered according to multiple cultural schemata. A feature
36 that evokes (and helps to construct) a Pittsburgh persona may also evoke (and
37 help to construct) a working-class persona, or it may evoke both, thus serving
38 to overlay and align Pittsburgh and working-class identities. The same feature,
39 or the distribution of the feature across the skit, may also enregister the feature
40 with the Jim Krenn persona, reminding listeners (or creating the impression)
41 that Krenn is a working-class Pittsburgher. Alternatively, a person could hear
42 this skit and find it funny because of the joke about Al and Tipper Gore, oblivious
43 to how the skit plays on characterological stereotypes. And there are many other
44 references, overt and covert, to identities and events that may be juxtaposed in
45 new ways, for some listeners.

2 **DISCUSSION**

3
4 To answer the question I posed at the beginning of this paper, dialect
5 enregisterment works somewhat differently in the *'DVE Morning Show* skits
6 than it does in other genres. Whereas conversations about speech, dialect
7 dictionaries, t-shirts, and the like tend to focus and standardize the list of things
8 that count as instances of Pittsburghese, the *Morning Show* skits tend to open up
9 new possibilities for the enregisterment of locally-hearable linguistic forms. The
10 defining feature of linguistic performance is that it calls meta-communicative
11 attention to itself, putting on display not only what the message means but
12 how. Performance puts the focus on what Roman Jakobson called the 'poetic
13 function' of discourse: 'The set [*Einstellung*] towards the MESSAGE as such, focus
14 on the message for its own sake, is the POETIC function of language' (Jakobson
15 1960: 356). Poetic discourse (in this broad Jakobsonian sense) is reflexive: it is
16 about itself, sometimes as much as it is about what it denotes. Performers ask
17 not just 'What does it mean that I am saying these words?' but 'What does it
18 mean that I am saying these words *this way*?' As a result, 'poetic patterning
19 extracts discourse from particular speech events and explores its relationship to
20 a diversity of social settings' (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 61).

21 In the case of the *'DVE Morning Show* skits, audiences are implicitly asked to
22 reflect on: what it could mean that a mother character has a Pittsburgh accent;
23 what it could mean that she also sounds working class; how good mothers and
24 bad mothers are related; why the station manager would sound like a working-
25 class man; why an announcer would try to sound British; what it says about Jim
26 Krenn that he sounds the way he does. Not all audience members are asked the
27 same questions – if one cannot hear a rounded low back vowel, then this feature
28 could not mean anything – and no one is given answers. Thus, the skits act as a
29 centrifugal force, mixing characters and voices up in new ways and so opening
30 up new possibilities for the indexical meaning of familiar forms.

31 Much of the previous research on dialect stylization (Coupland 2001; Rampton
32 1999) has as its central problematic how ideas about cultural and linguistic
33 authenticity are reproduced. As I have shown, however, not all instances of
34 dialect stylization are meant to project just one set of meanings, and not all
35 audience members share the same interpretive repertoire. As Coupland notes in
36 the context of a wider look at stylization, 'high performance and heavily stylized
37 representations complicate the links between sociolinguistic practice and social
38 meaning' in that 'they can . . . expose those links quite strikingly and make them
39 available for critical reassessment' (Coupland 2007: 171). As I have shown
40 here, the use of non-standard or otherwise unexpected forms in performances
41 can reinforce existing form-meaning links, call existing links into question, or
42 create new links, and which combination of these possibilities actually occurs
43 depends on who is listening. Thus, to return to the second of the two themes
44 of this paper, a full account of dialect enregisterment in performance should
45 take into account that the interpretations of hypothetical 'culturally literate'

2 audiences are not the only ways such performances can be heard. This suggests
3 the need for work based not just on the analyst's interpretations but on the
4 interpretations of other potential audience members as well.

6
7 **NOTES**

- 8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
1. For comments and other help at various stages in the writing and rewriting of this paper, I would like to thank Jennifer Andrus, Richard Bauman, Allan Bell, David Britain, Andy Gibson, Adam Hodges, Scott F. Kiesling, Tom Mitchell, and Mark Thompson, as well as audiences at the University of Freiburg, Germany and the University of Lancaster, U.K. A Faculty Research Leave from Carnegie Mellon University in 2010–2011 and a generous semester-long research fellowship in 2011 from the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS) at the University of Freiburg provided the time to do this work. Andrea Moll graciously translated the abstract into German.
 2. Thanks to Mark Thompson for suggesting this.
 3. In this chain shift, the central vowel /ʌ/ is lowered towards the position of /a/, which moves up and back to merge with /ɔ/.
 4. On at least one YouTube video, Jim Krenn is identified as Stanley P. Kachowski even though he is not actually performing that role (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rktzCAGsaxA>). This points to how closely the two identities are laminated, for some listeners.
 5. In this respect the *WDVE Morning Show* performers are like the African American drag queens described by Rusty Barrett (1998), who perform both in the persona of a female celebrity and in 'their own unique persona,' which is also highly stylized.
-

26
27
28 **REFERENCES**

- 29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
- Agha, Asif. 2003. The social life of a cultural value. *Language and Communication* 23: 231–273.
- Agha, Asif. 2006. *Language and Social Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination* (Michael Holquist ed., C. Emerson and Michael Holquist trans.). Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Barrett, Rusty. 1998. Markedness and styleswitching in performances by African American drag queens. In Carol Myers Scotton (ed.) *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. New York/Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press. 139–161.
- Bauman, Richard. 1977. *Verbal Art as Performance*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.
- Bauman, Richard and Charles Briggs. 1990. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59–88.
- Coupland, Nikolas. 1985. 'Hark, hark the lark': Social motivations for phonological style-shifting. *Language and Communication* 5: 153–172.
- Coupland, Nikolas. 2001. Dialect stylization in radio talk. *Language in Society* 30: 345–375.

- 2 Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style: Language Variation and Identity*. Cambridge, U.K.:
3 Cambridge University Press.
- 4 Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*.
5 Boston, Massachusetts: Northwestern University Press.
- 6 Hymes, Dell H. 1975. Breakthrough into performance. In Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth
7 S. Goldstein (eds.) *Performance and Communication*. The Hague, The Netherlands:
8 Mouton. 12–74.
- 9 Jakobson, Roman. 1960. Concluding statement: Linguistics and poetics. In Thomas
10 Sebeok (ed.) *Style in Language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. 350–377.
- 11 Johnstone, Barbara. 2007a. Linking identity and dialect through stancetaking. In
12 Robert Englebretson (ed.) *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity in Interaction*.
13 Amsterdam, The Netherlands/Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins
14 Publishing Company. 49–68.
- 15 Johnstone, Barbara. 2007b. A new role for narrative in variationist sociolinguistics.
16 In Michael Bamberg (ed.) *Narrative: State of the Art*. Amsterdam, The
17 Netherlands/Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
18 57–67.
- 19 Johnstone, Barbara. 2009. Pittsburghese shirts: Commodification and the
20 enregisterment of an urban dialect. *American Speech* 84: 157–175.
- 21 Johnstone, Barbara. 2011. Making Pittsburghese: Communication technology,
22 expertise, and the discursive construction of a regional dialect. *Language and*
23 *Communication* 31: 3–15.
- 24 Johnstone, Barbara, Jennifer Andrus and Andrew E. Danielson. 2006. Mobility,
25 indexicality, and the enregisterment of ‘Pittsburghese’. *Journal of English Linguistics*
26 34: 77–104.
- 27 Johnstone, Barbara and Daniel Baumgardt. 2004. ‘Pittsburghese’ online: Vernacular
28 norming in conversation. *American Speech* 79: 115–145.
- 29 Johnstone, Barbara, Neetea Bhasin and Denise Wittkofski. 2002. ‘Dahntahn
30 Pittsburgh’: Monophthongal /aw/ and representations of localness in southwestern
31 Pennsylvania. *American Speech* 77: 148–166.
- 32 Labov, William, Sharon Ash and Charles Boberg. 2005. *Atlas of North American*
33 *English: Phonetics, Phonology and Sound Change*. Berlin, Germany/New York:
34 Mouton de Gruyter.
- 35 Newman, Rick. 2008, 19 December. The Chevy Vega: The worst Detroit
36 car ever? *U.S. News and World Report*. Last accessed 20 October
37 2010 at [http://money.usnews.com/money/blogs/flowchart/2008/12/19/the-](http://money.usnews.com/money/blogs/flowchart/2008/12/19/the-chevy-vega-the-worst-detroit-car-ever)
38 [chevy-vega-the-worst-detroit-car-ever](http://money.usnews.com/money/blogs/flowchart/2008/12/19/the-chevy-vega-the-worst-detroit-car-ever).
- 39 Rampton, Ben (ed.). 1999. Styling the ‘other’. Theme issue of *Journal of Sociolinguistics*
40 3: 421–556.
- 41 Silverstein, Michael 1992. The indeterminacy of contextualization: When is
42 enough enough? In Peter Auer and Aldo Di Luzio (eds.) *The Contextualization*
43 *of Language*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands/Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John
44 Benjamins Publishing Co. 55–76.
- 45 Silverstein, Michael. 1993. Metapragmatic discourse and metapragmatic function. In
John A. Lucy (ed.) *Reflexive Language*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
33–58.
- Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life.
Language and Communication 23: 193–229.

2 **APPENDIX: Transcription conventions**

Convention	Explanation
<u>underline</u>	In Extract 1: Elements that might index a mother's style have been underlined.
	In Extract 2: Elements that might index formality (Bauman) have been underlined.
Bold-face	Elements that might index a Pittsburgh identity have been bolded.
<i>italics</i>	Elements that might index working-class style are set in italics.
((laughs))	Laughter, pauses, and other aural elements of the skits that cannot be easily transcribed in words are enclosed in double parentheses.
speaker 1 talks = = speaker 2 talks	Aligned equals signs indicate that the second utterance follows immediately on the first.
speaker 1 [talks] [speaker 2 talks] too	Square brackets enclose simultaneous speech, which is left-aligned.
(words I was not sure of)	Single parentheses signal that the material inside them is the transcriber's best guess, since the words were unclear or unknown. Empty single parentheses indicate the presence of verbal material we could not make out.

Address correspondence to:

*Barbara Johnstone
Department of English
Carnegie Mellon University
Pittsburgh
PA 15213-3890
U.S.A.*

bj4@andrew.cmu.edu

MARKED PROOF

Please correct and return this set

Please use the proof correction marks shown below for all alterations and corrections. If you wish to return your proof by fax you should ensure that all amendments are written clearly in dark ink and are made well within the page margins.

<i>Instruction to printer</i>	<i>Textual mark</i>	<i>Marginal mark</i>
Leave unchanged	... under matter to remain	Ⓜ
Insert in text the matter indicated in the margin	⌞	New matter followed by ⌞ or ⌞Ⓜ
Delete	/ through single character, rule or underline or ⌞ through all characters to be deleted	Ⓜ or ⓂⓂ
Substitute character or substitute part of one or more word(s)	/ through letter or ⌞ through characters	new character / or new characters /
Change to italics	— under matter to be changed	↵
Change to capitals	≡ under matter to be changed	≡
Change to small capitals	≡ under matter to be changed	≡
Change to bold type	~ under matter to be changed	~
Change to bold italic	≈ under matter to be changed	≈
Change to lower case	Encircle matter to be changed	⊖
Change italic to upright type	(As above)	↕
Change bold to non-bold type	(As above)	↕
Insert ‘superior’ character	/ through character or ⌞ where required	Y or X under character e.g. Y or X
Insert ‘inferior’ character	(As above)	⌞ over character e.g. ⌞
Insert full stop	(As above)	⊙
Insert comma	(As above)	,
Insert single quotation marks	(As above)	Y or X and/or Y or X
Insert double quotation marks	(As above)	Y or X and/or Y or X
Insert hyphen	(As above)	⊞
Start new paragraph	└	└
No new paragraph	↪	↪
Transpose	└	└
Close up	linking ○ characters	○
Insert or substitute space between characters or words	/ through character or ⌞ where required	Y
Reduce space between characters or words	 between characters or words affected	↑