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Morphophonological Practice: An Ethnographic Study of Grammar and Discourse in Four
American English Stuttering Speech Communities

by

Nathaniel William Dumas

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor William F. Hanks, Chair
Professor Patricia Baquedano-López
Professor Charles L. Briggs
Professor Sharon Inkelas

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Abstract

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Using the Practice Theory Approach to Language, this dissertation examines how social actors use communicative practices within activities to constitute a communicative context that I call the American English Stuttering Speech Community (AESSC). Building on previous linguistic research on stuttering and sociological research on collectives of persons-who-stutter, I expand upon and diverge from many of the available analytical models and conceptual frameworks. Contrary to previous work in linguistics and speech pathology that locates stuttering as a disability, I argue for conceptualizing stuttering as sociolinguistic variation (i.e., linguistic behavior partly driven by social context). Moreover, I extend previous ethnographic research in sociology that positions collectives of persons-who-stutter (PWS) as "self-help groups." I reposition these collectives as part of a broader "speech community," which entails participation in particular discursive activities in addition to sharing linguistic form. The dissertation, thus, analyzes the AESSC as a communicative context established by numerous groups over time that (1) organize around stuttering as a kind of linguistic variation and (2) develop speech genres and activities that reconfigure the interactional identities of "speaker" and "hearer," and other facets of social organization.

To develop this argument, I analyze data from audio-visual recordings and transcripts of face-to-face, naturally-occurring interactions of meetings from three California chapters in the "Stuttering Organization of America" (SOA, pseudonym). My dissertation is structured in the following manner. Chapter One introduces the research question, analytical framework, and relevant background literature used in the study. Building off a previously unexplored hypothesis by Landar (1961), Chapter Two argues for a linguistic analysis of stuttering forms as variational duplication and uses field recordings of naturally-occurring interaction. This chapter also presents a formal definition of stuttering as variation, with a specific focus on American Stuttering English (ASE). Chapters Three and Four analyze two routine genres in SOA as socioculturally-situated activities that are interdiscursive with and provide new perspectives on prior types of speech events. "Introductions" (Chapter Three) allow ASE speakers to re-negotiate the act of saying one's name, construct a self within interaction that signals the stance "I am more than my speech," or complex personhood, and constitute interactants as members of the community. The "talking circle" (Chapter Four) analysis demonstrates how interactants use verbal art (e.g., narrative) as performance to implicitly recreate aesthetics of good/bad speech,

jointly negotiate evaluations of one's linguistic style, and, indirectly, produce an alternative linguistic market that recognizes ASE speakers as effective public speakers. Finally, I analyze how social actors, through media literacy practices within face-to-face and computer-mediated discourse practices, negotiate different alignments towards each other, their speech, and representations of their speech through mainstream media genres (e.g., jokes and human-interest stories featured in films and electronic media). Chapter Six summarizes the findings and suggests the theoretical, conceptual and methodological implications of the work.

In sum, using the AESSC as a case study, the dissertation contributes insights to linguistic anthropology. This study analyzes how persons, in a particular sociohistorical context, jointly accomplish (a) the construction of linguistic forms and their multiple meanings; (b) the discursive activities of which these forms are a part of; and (c) the identities and collectives that these activities constitute.

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Transcription conventions

Conventions are adopted from the Jefferson system (2004) as used in Conversation Analysis.

Turn Sequence
- "NAME:" represents the name of the interactant (all names are pseudonyms). "[" indicates the onset of overlapped talk and "]" represents the termination of overlapped talk. "=" represents talk that is latched onto the previous utterance. (O.#) represents a measurement of pauses in tenths of a second.

Turn Shape
- "?" represents a rising intonation at the end of a turn-construction unit (TCU). "." represents a falling intonation at the end of a TCU. "," represents a slightly rising intonation at the end of a TCU. "Wo:rd" represents an elongation of a sound, usually for expressive purposes. The more the colons, the longer the elongations. "Wo:rd" represents a word or sound that has a falling intonation contour. "Wo:rd" represents a word or sound that has a rising intonation contour. "↑"represents a sharp rising intonation and "↓" represents a sharp falling intonation. "> <" indicate the onset and termination of rushed talk. "Word" represents emphasis in some part of the talk, such as loudness. "-" represents either an indication of the stuttering construction or sound cutoff. When "-" refers to a stuttering construction, this is notated by the transcription of the first duplicants [XX]-word. "Heh" and "@" represent laugh tokens.

Analyst's Annotations
- "(WORD)" indicates a best guess at talk that is difficult to hear. "( )" represents inaudible talk. "((WORD))" represents non-verbal actions. (XX) represents a last name or some other identifier that was removed for confidentiality purposes.

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I would like to thank my dissertation committee for all of their hard work and dedication in getting me to this point. In particular, I want to extend my deepest appreciation to Bill Hanks, who has gone above and beyond the call of duty as a mentor and chair. I also want to thank Lanita Jacobs-Huey, the first linguistic anthropologist who ever believed that I could pull this off and nurtured in me a love for fine-grained analysis. Special thanks also goes to my colleagues in the Linguistic Anthropology Working Group, the Discourse Lab, and the Graduate Students in Linguistic Anthropology. I would also like to thank the following organizations for their financial and intellectual support of this project: the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation for the final dissertation year support, the A. Richard Diebold Fellowship Program, and the Andrew W. Mellon-Benjamin E. Mays Graduate Initiatives Program.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation is an ethnographic study on how people develop social meanings around sociolinguistic variation through a focus on routine practices within a particular context. Sociolinguistic variation is the process by which two particular strings, or grammatical outputs, are semantically identical but differ in their phonological, morphological, and/or syntactic shape. This phenomenon contrasts with the process known as ambiguity in language, whereby one string can signify two or more referents (Anttila 2002). As Hanks (1990, 2005) has shown, ambiguity in language, or the resolution of meaning through deictic referential practice, has particular implications in how people come to take up positions and position-takings in particular contexts within the social world. On the other side, sociolinguists have also shown that sociolinguistic variation has a significant role for social actors' in their attempts to produce particular identities and how their identities inform particular instances of variation (e.g., Eckert 2000). Moreover, Anttila (2002) reminds us that a study of sociolinguistic variation is also vital in our understandings of grammar and how internal and external constraints work together in language change and innovation. In this way, a study of variation renders visible the particular complexities of language that are often obscured through the use of introspective, or intuitive, data. Indeed, the study of sociolinguistic variation is one that allows us to understand the deeply dialectical, or interwoven, nature of linguistic forms and identity that are presupposed and created within context (Silverstein 1976). However, this dissertation is also significant for broader problems in social theory that characterize contemporary anthropology.

For many anthropologists regardless of subfields and methodological differences, we are united around questions on the complex processes of the formation of subjectivities and identities, how this is done through the everyday and the routine, and how these practices circulate within particular domains of time-space. We investigate how such a circulation of and inculcation of practices and subjectivities also participate within the broader processes of how society reproduces itself, including its unequal distribution of power and inequality amongst groups (e.g., Appadurai 1996, Hircshkind 2001). No longer do we aim to examine these questions of social reproduction in a mechanical style, whereby the social actor is entirely at the mercy of a centralized domain of power. Instead, we have come to see power as rather decentralized, implicit, and embedded within interactions that are within context, interdiscursive with each other, and continue to create as well as call attention to inequality and social control. It is also this characterization of power that has allowed us to see possible pockets of resignification and change, to varying, rather than full degrees, through practices (e.g., Mahmood 2001). Thus, in this sense, we as anthropologists, across subfields, focus not only on the analysis of practices, but how practices further re-inscribe as well as potentially transform identities. It is this general disciplinary milieu that this dissertation seeks to intervene in and present the study of variation as an insightful way for exploring these broader social processes.

For this dissertation, the study of variation is positioned not only as the study of linguistic form. It is also as the study of how subjectivities are produced and reproduced in real-time interactions within particular constraints of power. Thus, to study variation affords us the opportunity to understand processes of how the habitual circulation and iteration (Derrida 1977, Butler 1990) of particular practices can, over time, shift in their meaning, what such shifts mean in regards to broader power-laden discourses that pre-exist and partially determine interactions, and how is it that social actors navigate these shifts in the significance of practices in moment-

by-moment interactions. In this sense, to study variation is to study (a) the formation, reproduction, and circulation of identities (Mendoza-Denton 2002; Bucholtz and Hall 2005) and (b) how these processes are caught up in multiple, intersecting but not necessarily consolidated structures of power.

This particular ethnographic case that I offer has a twist, though. This is the first study that conceives of a particular practice—stuttering—as sociolinguistic variation. In particular, I will be focusing on speakers of what I will define as American Stuttering English (ASE, see Chapter Two). Many readers may think of stuttering as either a phenomenon that they report themselves to do in particular, troublesome moments or a pathology that a particular group of others do quite frequently and noticeably. Through a close examination of empirical data, I reposition stuttering in the latter sense as an orderly grammatical practice, rather than pathology. As such, this study contributes to our rethinking and conceptual broadening of another general process in grammar—reduplication—and how social actors orient to this linguistic form as practice. Stuttering is a practice that has high stakes for the co-construction of their individual and collective identities within activities, which are themselves embedded within power-laden contexts. This study also expands on previous studies of language and identity, which previously position particular gender, ethnic, age, or socioeconomic groups. In this study, I focus on a group of people, speakers of a stuttering variety, for whom language *is* identity and may help us to rethink our current understandings of the relationship between language and identity. Now that I have gone over the broader implications of this study, I now present the ethnographic case.

This study examines how persons, through communicative practices in US, English-speaking stuttering speech communities in Northern and Southern California, negotiate complex and dynamic relationships to stuttering as variation within selected contexts.[1] These kinds of communities have existed since the early 1950s (Borkman 1973), but my work focuses on those communities, known in emic terms as "chapters," formed by the Stuttering Organization of America (SOA, pseudonym). Founded in the late 1970s, SOA describes itself as a non-profit "self-help"[2] group for persons who stutter. In its founding year, it established six chapters in California. In the early 1980s, the organization began distributing its official newsletter. A year later, members organized SOA's first national conference, which has since been ongoing and draws an estimated 500 persons annually. According to their website, SOA now holds an official membership of over 2500 people and has over 80 chapters throughout the United States. On the global level, the group is affiliated with several international organizations that also organize around stuttering, even though their purposes vary. For analytical purposes of this study, SOA and its chapters will be referred to as part of the American English Stuttering Speech Community (AESSC), to be defined in more detail below. SOA is also positioned in this study as a contemporary historical manifestation of the AESSC.

In talking of collectives organizing around stuttering, scholars often take two perspectives. The first perspective is that of solitude. The ASE speaker exists in a lonely world of "fluent" people and, by all costs, avoids other ASE speakers. Such a perspective is vividly

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[1] There might be some question as to whether this is their explicit aim, or intention, in communication. While participants describe their activities as being a place of support for "persons-who-stutter" (universally speaking), I assume that their interactive practices actually encompass much more than what they describe (cf. Garfinkel 1967) and, thus, the practices here are analyzed as primarily implicit aims that are analytically discovered through rich analysis of the talk.

[2] I emphasize that "self-help" is how the SOA describes itself, but this should not be taken as its only function. Moreover, I hypothesize that the use of this descriptor must be understood in the context of the SOA being founded and the initial tensions between SOA and speech pathologists.

captured by Edwin Lemert (1951:151), who explicitly asserts that it would be a mistake to posit any special culture of ASE speakers beyond their interactions in clinical settings. Collectives are unlikely to sustain themselves because these speakers, by their very nature, desire to assimilate to "fluent" lifestyles and would never consider joining or making their own collective. While intuitively appealing, this line reasoning obscures a crucial observation for this construction of solitude. Borkman (1973, 1974) argues that some speech pathologists expressed a lack of support for such groups, for fear that they would become a retreat from the fluent world. Thus, solitude is not a matter of personal choice at all times, but a "choice" that is also constructed by other domains of power. One also finds the solitary thesis in many popular films and mainstream publications that depict ASE speakers as a solitary figure. While this view of ASE speakers as solitary is relatively accurate for some, it is not the *only* social experience that these speakers and their spouses experience. This brings us to the second perspective.

As the first sociologist to study in depth collectives around stuttering, Thomasina Borkman finds that there is a rich group life of ASE speakers outside of clinic settings. While Lemert's observation may have been accurate for a time, Borkman (1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1999) challenges this assumption by providing textual, ethnographic, and survey evidence. Her evidence demonstrates that such collectives have existed since 1952 not only in the United States, but also in New Zealand, Holland, and Sweden. Through the framework of organizational sociology, Borkman conceptualizes such collectives to be "stutterers' mutual self-help organization" and defines it as "a group of stutterers, primarily organized and controlled by stutterers to ameliorate their speech problems" (1975:348). Writing against the idea that such groups are "closed," Borkman and Hickey (1978) highlight variation in practices of the groups in regards to their engagement with institutions (e.g., media) outside of the groups. Shaw et al. (1985:6) also observe that there are two historically phases in regards to the collectives that organize around stuttering-as-reduplication. They characterize the first period as multiple, local groups formed in different cities without a national organization (e.g., Borkman 1973). The second period begins in 1974, when at least three national organizations had established or re-organized existing groups. It is this period in which SOA is a part of and where my work ethnographically begins.

In this dissertation, I focus on how members in SOA do communicative practices within particular discourse genres to co-construct, contest, and resignify multiple identities, places, and activities in relation to their speech. I draw upon data gathered from naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction, semi-structured interviews with members and participants of SOA chapters, and media representations produced by and in the collective. Broadly speaking, this dissertation study aims to contribute to understanding how social actors, as part of the human condition, use communicative practices to construct, take up positions in, and critique multiple means of social organization in regards to variation. Moreover, I aim to offer a refined and descriptive perspective, rather than prescriptive perspective, towards an often marginalized, but far from invisible, linguistic practice. Finally, this project descriptively adds to the growing literature on the anthropology of the US (Arensberg 1955; Kimball 1955; Messerschmidt 1981; Spindler and Spindler 1983; Moffatt 1992; Di Leonardo 1998; Masley 2007).

Overview of Chapter
The first section is a preliminary discussion of how I distinguish this dissertation study from speech pathology and the sociology of stuttering. However, this section is not exhaustive, as I will continue to draw attention to these differences throughout this chapter and the remainder of

the dissertation. I then present the conceptual and methodological framework that undergirds this study: the Practice Theory Approach to Language (PTAL), a contemporary paradigm in linguistic anthropology that emerges through the works of William Hanks (2005a,b). I then conclude with an overview and description of the following chapters.

Diverging from and Conversing with Previous Interlocutors
Speech pathology, because of its focus on stuttering as pathology, has been able to continue constituting speakers of a stuttering variety as linguistically deficient. This has resulted in the obscuring of alternative ways of positioning the form, ways that have indeed been expressed in the literature but not picked up for further consideration. For example, linguist Herbert Landar (1961) argues that the stuttering form is not in any way deformed; instead, it is a "special morpheme" that speakers know how to build and deploy similar to other reduplication outputs that derive or inflect morphosyntactic items. By special morpheme, he means one that can be described as present in the grammatical system but limited in everyday use, although he does not explicitly state that it has a stable template. He goes on to note that scholarly ideas of stigma and deformed outputs in performance come about after the process of linguistic normalization and judgments that are intuitively based within the process of data collection. Another example of an alternative view of the form comes from the conversation analytic tradition of inductive research. Jefferson (2004 [1975]) discusses one use of stuttering in conversation as a function to stop overlap, as opposed to being oriented to in subsequent turns as deformed speech through overt metalinguistic assessments. From these two schools of thought alone come two important insights for reconceptualizing stuttering: (1) stuttering is grammatical and sociolinguistic variation; and (2) there are many different kinds of stuttering which project and produce different social orders, or participant frameworks, which may or may not include the ratification of the identity of persons-who-stutter and fluent speaker. However, these insights have gone unnoticed until now. This dissertation is unique because it synthesizes and further develops the hypothesis set forth by Landar on stuttering as sociolinguistic variation and a mechanism for making social order within face-to-face interaction and beyond. In this regard, this study strongly contends that when speakers metalinguistically assess stuttering as 'disability,' this is done with regards to particular recipients in particular contexts (see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:727), rather than being a universal, omnipresent and authoritative view.

Moving Beyond Explicit Social Orders, Locating Tacit Social Orders
In addition to its expansion on innovative and alternative understandings of form, this study is also the first *anthropological* study of the American English Stuttering Speech Community. Sociologists have previously researched these communities primarily through the lens of organizational analysis (e.g., Borkman 1973, 1974, 1999). These works rely on some ethnographic work, surveys, interviews, and comparative analysis of different groups within and beyond the United States. The studies are impressive in their combination of qualitative, quantitative, and historical data to demonstrate the factors that contribute to a group's sustenance as well as decline. They also provide insight into the administrative structure of such groups. Moreover, the use of organizational analysis as an appropriate tool is considered justified by the observation that such groups often use the word "association" or "organization" in their names.

This study diverges from the organizational perspective by arguing that there is another structure operating beneath the level of "formal organization." As Giddens (1984:402) notes, not

all forms of social organization have a name that can be explicitly articulated by a group for a variety of reasons in what he calls the discursive culture. In part, they are nameless because they are a part of the common-sense picture many of us take for background, and for participants to describe them in any setting is a social accomplishment (Garfinkel 1967). Because these other social orders do not have an expressable name, this does not necessarily negate their worth. On the contrary, these forms of social organization are equally powerful and worthy of study because they are deeply woven into the social background of these groups and make social life just as possible as those which can be named. One such kind of social order, which is the focus of my study, is one that is produced by talk-in-interaction. As Schegloff (2007:xiii) notes, this kind of social order that is built through talk can endure while and even long after an explicitly-stated organization, such as nation-state or voluntary association, may have ceased to exist.

This study contends that the named and unnamed interactive practices of the AESSC, in its multiple incarnations such as SOA, play a significant role in *(re)producing a speech community* as a communicative field, which I will define below. This production of a speech community does not necessarily need to be conflated with an official organization, although, in this case, for historical and culturally-contingent reasons, they exist, at times in certain communicative events, as overlapping projects. However, the production of an organization versus speech community can also exist as divergent projects. Moreover, the project of making a speech community is not necessarily intentional or conscious, which makes it all the more effective in the (re)making of social life as well as challenging for the analyst to examine. This is where my work intervenes as both an extension and divergence from previous works that have sought to examine the social organization of communities that organize around stuttering.

A Practice Theory Approach to Language

To conceptualize and interpret the ways that social actors negotiate relationships to variation in language and language use, this dissertation uses a Practice Theory Approach to Language (henceforth, PTAL). Hanks asserts that "a practice approach to language focuses precisely on the *relations* between verbal action, linguistic and other semiotic systems, and the commonsense ideas that speakers have about language and the social world of which it is a part. It implies units of analysis distinct from those of other approaches" (2005a:191). Hanks (1996: 230) notes that a PTAL analysis incorporates the nexus of formal structure-activity-schemata as all simultaneously playing a role in the analysis of social interaction at the same time (Figure 4). Form, in a broad semiotic sense, refers primarily to the importance of grammar in the description and the role it plays in the lives of speakers. Activity refers to the nature of communicative practice in some concrete action in the world (such as filling buckets of water in an agricultural village). Schemata refers to the typifications (Schutz 1971) that persons have about their use of form and activity and rely on, but at the same time do not necessarily reproduce them identically (Hanks 1993, 2009). The most important thing about schemata is that it underscores the fact that groups do have ideas about language which should be taken into account and not be seen as mere epiphenomenon, as is often the case in formal linguistics in deciding grammaticality and ungrammaticality. In talking about schemata, one should also distinguish the fact that schemata does not necessarily mean that persons can and will faithfully follow the frameworks of the activity and form, but that they have room for negotiation within the actual activity itself as it unfolds moment-by-moment. Thus, schemata pre-exist the moment, or activity, but the activity

can also reshape the schemata, just as the form can also reshape, or be reshaped, by engagement in concrete activities in the world.

Basic Conceptual Units
Habitus and Field

Adapted from practice sociology (Bourdieu 1977, 1990), Hanks (2005a,b) uses the concept of habitus, defined as an enduring set of dispositions that social actors are socialized to in social settings. Habitus is to be conceived of not as conscious behavior at all times, but as embodied and corporeal actions that can include, but need not necessarily be, within the actors awareness. In short, the social actor learns the rules to forget the rules. However, the concept does not imply pure structural reproduction, which makes it a major departure from previous structuralist approaches. The social actor improvises within everyday action, but these improvisations, contrary to some phenomenological approaches, are constrained by an understanding of the available options. For Hanks (2005b), the concept of habitus is best exemplified in linguistic practice, where members of a community learn to embody orientations towards speaking and yet recount them only within a rule-based framework (see Hanks 1993). As will be discussed in Chapter Two, this study repositions stuttering as a register that takes its place in a linguistic habitus (Hanks 1987) to describe it as a practice that is predictable but also able to be used creatively in regards to internal (i.e., linguistic) and external (i.e., social) factors. The concept of habitus is linked with the concept of social field (Bourdieu 1993, 1985), which is defined as a space of positions, position-takings, and certain kinds of valued actions within a particular social domain. Examples of social fields include the academic system and the field of cultural production, or art. Social fields relate to the habitus in this sense. The habitus adjusts to the social field for which one is in and it can also establish homologies across fields. For a more in-depth treatment of field as a complex concept, see Hanks (2005b).

Drawing on practice sociology, Hanks expands the notion of social field, defined broadly as a set of positions and position takings. One can have fields such as the legal field, the journalism field, and even the academic field, which involve taking up positions and vacating them. Taking this core concept, Hanks offers the communicative field as a heuristic through PTAL, defined as the following:

> For our purposes, a discursive or communicative field can be thought of as a distinctive kind of context in which practice is embedded. In a field, in contrast to most contexts, individuals have trajectories, careers occupying certain (sequences of) positions. Furthermore, viewed from outside, any field has a boundary that is usually contested but that sets it apart from other fields and limits agents' access to positions and forms of value. More precisely, in any social field there are boundary processes that constrain who can engage in different positions and which moves can be made and which not. It is not that all fields have clear, stable boundaries but that the problem of limits is endogenous to any field and must figure in our description. Viewed from inside, agents' access to positions and trajectories is analogously limited by their differential power, credentials, and other factors that contribute to the specificity of the whole. Ultimately, "field" is a descriptive term whose value depends on the specificity and pertinence of the analysis it makes possible. [2005a:192]

An example of the communicative field for Hanks is the deictic field (see also Hanks 1990, 2005a), or relations established through the use of deictic forms such as "I," "you," "us," etc. I discuss this because this dissertation positions the collectives under study here as speech communities. However, I do not use speech communities as has been used and critiqued

elsewhere. Instead, I suggest that we can consider the speech community as a communicative field, where linguistic practice is constrained by the possibilities of moves that are allowed within the field. Similar to the deictic field (2005:194), the speech community is relatively autonomous, with some of its own logical principles. At other times, it is embedded, within other fields such as family or kinship, gangs, business executive meetings, etc. (see Bourdieu 1993, Hanks 2006).[3] Thus, the speech community-as-field, like the deictic field, is ubiquitous, for it is involved in "every field in which agents communicate with language" (2005:194).[4] In this framework, I locate collectives in the US that organize around stuttering as the American English Stuttering Speech Community, which is defined in the following manner:

- The American English Stuttering Speech Community is a *speech community, which is itself a communicative field,* that has existed at least since 1952 as a medium and outcome of the practices that social actors engage in that implicitly and explicitly reproduce, rupture, and negotiate dispositions towards stuttering, which is an orderly variation in context. The latter claim on stuttering as variation is not an exclusive ideological move, but also a major empirical claim that will be examined in the dissertation.

This definition will be operationalized throughout the rest of the dissertation. In this light, I move away from the speech community as 'groups' and more into a social order, or context, that interactants can embed, interpret, and even establish homologies with.

Discourse Genres

To explore the way social actors draw on and reproduce a new linguistic habitués, I focus on the discursive genres within the AESSC. According to Hanks (2005b:75), the concept of discourse genres allows the analyst, like social actors we study, to locate and fragment language into sets of genres that often index, or are contiguous with, and play crucial roles within different social fields. This unit is greater than an utterance and at the same time not the entire size of language itself (Hanks 1996:242). Most importantly, discourse genres, as a unit, allows us to focus on the ways of speaking that a group employs, in both naturally-occurring interactions and written texts and how they deploy particular devices in ways that allow speakers to both reproduce as well as improvise within the constraints. Genre, in this sense, is a prime illustration of habitus at work because it produces homologies and available perceptual schemes (Hanks 1996:246; see also Hanks 1987). It is a clear example of sedimented ways of doing an action (combining linguistic and other semiotic features in discourse as well as their accompanying ideologies) that speakers come to rely on in crafting something new but different in the same sense. Through a focus on routine genres, researchers discover how speakers, within a group, rely on a particular schemata to shape their actions; however, the schemata is a resource by which they can construe discourse, or text, in a particular way that is also designed for that particular context and detail to its contextual features (see also Briggs 1988:20-21). In this regard, discourse genres allow social actors and the analyst to conceptualize the link between actual speech situations and a subset of common-sense ideas people have about their language. This is because genre relies on schemata

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[3] According to Hanks (2006:123), a "nomothetic bias toward autonomous schemas hide heteronymous effects that are systematic and consequential for a theory of context." I take from this that we presuppose in PTAL that fields come always-already heteronymous and that autonomy is an active process that analysts, or any other agents, create for particular goals. In this sense, autonomy of a social field is an achievement.

that persons have, but it is also in these genres that we show how the schemata are deployed and transformed through ways that may be conscious or not. Even more important, this allows one to see linguistic behavior, in this case genre, as an embodied activity that also focuses not only on the speech itself but also how actors use space and place as a resource in the scene in constituting the genre. *In this dissertation, I will examine (a) two communal discourse genres, introductions and the speaking circle speech, as my analytical foci, and (b) literacy practices that social actors in the AESSC use to orient to other discourse genres (e.g., human-interest stories and comedy films) as a means of creating, critiquing, and reproducing their linguistic habitus.* This dissertation incorporates data from three SOA chapters, which I will describe in detail below.

Ethnographic Description of Chapter A

General Demographics

Founded in the mid-1990s, Chapter A was located within a major city of Southern California. The estimated population of the city is roughly over three and a half million people, and includes the following ethnic breakdown: 46.9% White American, 11.2% African American, 10.0% Asian American, 0.8% Native American, 0.2% Pacific Islander, 25.7% from other races, and 5.2% from two or more races; and 46.5% of Hispanic or Latino (of any race). It is also home to several major research universities and community colleges. Moreover, the city is described as one of the most linguistically-diverse areas, with over 224 languages spoken in the city in addition to English.

The Local Setup

The first meeting place of Chapter A was a small, upscale mall in an affluent part of the city. They held their meetings in one of a small number of conference rooms located in the mall and near the vicinity of the food court. Participants would stand outside in the hall and wait for a security guard to let them in. Also, it is important to note that the participants did not put up signs or any other marking on the door, which also had a glass pane for people to peer into. Moreover, within the conference room, there was a chalkboard that was located right next to the door upon entering. To my knowledge, it was never used during any of the meetings I observed.

Halfway through my time in the field, the group changed locations to a local library within roughly the same area. This was primarily because there was a cost to rent the room and a requirement of an insurance premium. Usually, the cost was covered by donations from the persons who attended the meeting, but when the national SOA office discovered that the chapter was paying for a space, it strongly encouraged them to find a new space that did not include a charge. The chapter did so by relocating to the local library. In the library, the chapter met in another reading room that was usually reserved for children's activities. It contained a table in the center of the room and chairs that were usually folded, which members had to arrange for participants.

Demographics of the Participants

Most of the participants were men, but the participants tended to vary along ethnic lines. For instance, one can look at the ethnic makeup of the core participants in the group: Will was an

early 20s Indian-Latino college student; Justin was a mid-30s African-American male teller at a bank; and Ivan was a mid-70s retired white male. Sometimes, female students from a neighboring university would visit the chapter for an assignment in their speech-language pathology class. Moreover, the chapter's meeting numbers were usually small, with a rough average of 4 to 6 people per night, even though their chapter rosters showed a membership of over 30 people.

Recurrent Activities

Chapter A met once a month for an hour and a half. During the time of observation (2002-2004), its membership roster contained 30 "official" members.[5] The chapter met once a month for two hours. The group did have one activity that was recurrent: 'doing a round,' which is its version of an introduction. Persons each went around the room and said their name and any other information that they cared to share, including matters around their speech. During the time that they met in the mall, participants did try a particular version of what I will analyze in Chapter Four as the speaking circle, an activity which was quite routine in Chapter B. In this particular activity, people would go in front of the room and perform unplanned speeches on a topic of one's choice and then receive feedback. A third recurring activity I witnessed was the sharing of articles on stuttering amongst participants. They would collectively read sections of the article and discuss them. The collective reading aspect was done in line with a sociolinguistic belief within the AESSC: persons who stutter will often have "trouble" reading aloud and thus this was a manner of re-appropriating the act of reading aloud (see Chapter Five). However, this activity did not happen after the chapter moved to the local library, whereby the usual topic then began to be what the future of the chapter would be. This discussion was also key during that time because Ivan no longer wanted to run the chapter and Will was unable to continue to do it because of his college coursework and work schedule. Thus, midway through 2004, the chapter decided to close its doors.

Other Activities beyond the Chapter Meetings (Including Internet Presence)

Chapter A did have a website, but the website had been left in disarray after one of the two co-founders died and the other co-founder had gone off to pursue other opportunities. Thus, a new website was launched with pictures and a description of the chapter, including its meeting place, but it did not include opportunities for users to interact via resources such as blogs, listserv postings, etc. Moreover, the chapter leaders Ivan and then Will did make use of email during that time to communicate with people. Some of the emails later in my fieldwork would include discussions about the financial problems of the chapter in regards to the cost of the meeting site as well as how to use the funding to secure a new spot. Also, because Chapter A was the newest in the Southern California area, they did not have much contact with other chapters in the area, to my knowledge. During my first year of fieldwork, many of the chapter members did attend the national SOA conference, primarily because it was held that year in a neighboring county. Thus, this did allow them to meet with persons from other local chapters in Southern California. However, as far as I was able to observe, the chapter remained rather isolated from the other chapters.

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[5] It is difficult to be sure of the accuracy of this count, however, because all chapters have people constantly flowing in and out. Some who attend put their names down on the contact list, while others do not. Hence, this is why I assess "membership" based not on these contact lists but on how speakers interact in the space.

Ethnographic Description of Chapter B
General Location Demographics
Located in a relatively affluent part of Southern California, Chapter B was founded in the early 1980s. Broadly speaking, the county of its location is primarily suburban, contains roughly three million people, encompasses about 900 square miles, and is bordered by the Pacific Ocean. It contains several private universities, two public universities, and over ten community colleges. The county's residents are over 75% white and 33.8% of persons who identify as Latino or of a Hispanic origin. Within the city of the chapter's location itself, the ethnic breakdown is: Hispanic (All Races) 52.4%; White 29.6%; Asian 13.4%; Black 2.6%; Multi-race 1.1%; Hawaiian/Pacific Islander .3%; Other .3%; American Indian/Eskimo .2%. Moreover, the city's population was over 340,000. The top occupational careers of the city population were professional, engineering, scientific and business services; wholesale and retail trade; leisure and hospital services; government; and manufacturing. In terms of education, there are 46 elementary schools, nine junior high schools, 14 high schools, and six alternative education centers. Within the linguistic realm, 53 languages are reported to be spoken within the school system. In terms of transportation, three major interstate highways run through the county. The county also has a major mass transit system, which includes buses and a rail system.

The Local Setup
Chapter B met twice a month in a conference room within a major hospital. Their choice of meeting place has nothing to do with their views on the form itself; its choice was driven primarily by its convenience and also its financial cost, as the use of the room was free. To reach the room, one had to enter through the waiting room of the hospital and take an elevator up to the higher floor. Upon entering the vast room, there were four tables that would be arranged in the formation of a larger rectangle, with chairs set up around it. The room also included a small kitchenette area in the back, which was where participants, on a rolling volunteer basis, would bring food for the meeting breaks. This would also serve as a place for persons to congregate during break time within the meetings. Other artifacts in the room included an overhead projector, a pull-down projection screen, a television and VCR. Only once during my time in the field did I see the participants use the television and VCR, which led to a discussion of a news clip on CNN (see Dumas 2004).

Demographics of the Participants
While there were some nights with only four people in attendance, meetings usually averaged about 10 people per night. The core members of the group were a mixture of males and females. This chapter was lead by a white female person who stutters, Beth, who was an elementary school teacher in her late 20s. Ethnically speaking, the group consisted of African-Americans, White Americans, a Scandinavian-American, and Asian-Americans. The age of the participants ranged from their early 20s to late 70s. Moreover, the group rarely included visits from speech-language pathologists and therapists.

Recurrent Activities and Ties with Other Chapters
Chapter B met twice a month, every other week, for two hours. Probably as a result of their long term existence, the group had developed a relatively stable set of discourse genres and a routine for their sequence. This made it somewhat more convenient to observe and analyze the generic

constraints and ways of improvising within these particular communicative practices. Their meetings always began with introductions, which are analyzed in detail in Chapter Three. This was then followed by the talking circle speech, an activity in which formal speaking was practiced and, as I will argue in Chapter Four, the aesthetics and politics of verbal art are subtly critiqued and evaluated. At times, if there were a large number of people at the meetings, the group would take its break halfway through.

During break times, persons would congregate around the kitchenette area and talk primarily about events and people in their lives beyond the chapter. As for if there is any marked shift in their communicative styles during this particular time in the meetings, I would venture to guess that there are but it would be hard to say definitively, given the quality of the recordings and placement of my recording equipment. If there was pressing organizational business, this was always handled at the end of the speaking circle.[6] On other nights, the chapter had an event known as game night, which included games like "charades." Chapter B also threw social events, such as a dinner and Christmas parties, outside of the meetings. As far as their internet presence, the chapter communicated primarily via email, but they did not have a listserv or website during the time of my fieldwork. According to the SOA website, Chapter B still exists to this day.

Ethnographic Description of Chapter C
General Geographic Characteristics
Chapter C met in a hospital within a neighborhood in a large, metropolitan Northern California city with a population of over 1 million people. The neighborhood itself is a middle-class neighborhood with roughly 6,000 people, roughly split between single and married couples, many of which do not have kids. Moreover, the area is known for attracting foreign-born urbanites, such as those from Asia and Russia. The area itself also has several middle schools, high schools, and elementary schools. The major hospital where the meetings are held is readily accessible by bus and by car. In its immediate surrounding, the hospital is surrounded by several restaurants, stores, and bars. The group chose the hospital primarily because it is free of charge, as the SOA national office encourages groups to meet in spaces which do not incur costs.

The Local Setup
The meetings were held within a hospital conference room, with often the group moving from one room to another. Because they often moved constantly, one had to check the sign to see where the meeting was. Also, Barry, the eldest participant of the group (in his 70s), was also the one who would tape up signs on the door to let people know where they were. In this sense, there was an explicit semiotic marking of this particular site as a kind of space, or explicit notation of this an instantiation of the AESSC. Although the rooms ranged in size, they all tended to have the same, relatively impersonal feeling with off-white colored walls, padded chairs, and white tables. The group members always sat around these tables in a circular-like formation.

Demographics of Participants
During my fieldwork with this particular chapter, nearly all the participants were white and either in professional careers or being trained for them. In terms of gender, nearly all but one participant were males. The only female participant was Carla, a speech-language pathologist in

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[6] At this point, one could argue that there is explicit orientation to the category of "organization" in the discourse. However, I have chosen not to analyze this discourse here because it is beyond the scope of my project.

her 30s, who described her role as providing a professional perspective to the group. Finally, in regards to ethnicity, I was the only African-American person there and there were no Latinos or other historically-underrepresented ethnic groups. However, the age demographics of Chapter C were interesting in their distribution. The youngest participant tended to be me, whereas most of them were in their 30s to 40s, but the group also included persons in their 60s and 70s. Barry attended on a regular basis and would often be the only recurring member there.

Recurrent Activities and Themes
Chapter C met once a month for an hour and a half in the evenings. In terms of recurrent activities, the only explicit ritual that they had was the check-ins. Food was often not a part of their staple activities unless it was a special holiday. During check-ins, people would go around the room and just say what new things were happening to them in their lives, many of which had nothing to do with being a speaker of a stuttering variety at all. For instance, Wes, the chapter leader who was also employed in investment banking, would often talk about the new baby in his immediate family. It was only when there was a newcomer that there would be an explicit switch to stuttering as a topic of discussion during check-in. For the most part, though, check-ins consisted of people talking about their work lives, family, or other important parts of their lives. Wes would sometimes have a pre-planned topic, which he would post on the website if he had time. However, Chapter C often chose to keep it rather organic and discuss recurring topics such as the constant and dynamic relationships they had with their speech (affective-wise), stuttering and parenting (e.g., when to tell your child about your own stuttering, etc.), re-narrating interactive events that they found difficult, the moral underpinnings of covert/overt stuttering, and their experiences with different therapy programs.

Thus, the topics and the way it was structured reflected their ideological description of themselves as, first and foremost, a support group, which they took seriously and modeled itself after other similar groups like it, in a homological sense. Because of their sense of a support and self-help group, my presence as an ethnographer often caused concern in regards to the recordings that I made. Wes often expressed concerned that my activities could potentially impede the further construction of the group as a support system. As a result, I was not allowed to record in Chapter C anymore after six months. However, through the constitution of my presence as a kind of breach, I was able to discern that, for this particular chapter, the use of the support/self-help as a descriptor was an important device in constituting their collective identity and their individual relationships to that collective.

Other Activities Beyond the Chapter Meetings
Members of Chapter C, particularly the chapter leader Wes, were active in the listserv. In fact, during my first meeting, Wes asked me if I was able to get on the listserv and made sure I was using the correct one. Often times, at meetings, members would talk about their identity in regards to the activities of other chapters as well, using information gleaned online to make comparisons between them and other chapters. Members of Chapter C also posted links to articles that they found interesting about stuttering and used the listserv to post their meeting times and dates. Wes would also use the listserv to post pre-planned topics for the meetings. In terms of other activities offline, this chapter did send people to participate in other community events, such as a panel that was put together by a member of another chapter in her class on experiences of persons-who-stutter. They also participated in an area-wide movie night, held at

one of the local universities, and many of their members attended the local Christmas party that brought together many of their members.

Ethnographic Description of Chapter D
General Geographic Characteristics
Located in Northern California, Chapter D met in a city that is in a central location, equally distant from several other major metropolitan areas in the area. The city's population was over 150,000. The population consisted of the following ethnic groups: African American 10.6 %; Asian/Pacific Islander 20.5%; Hispanic 34.2 %; White 29.2 %; Other 0.9 %; two or more Races 4.6 %. The city has two local subway mass transit stations that connect it to other parts of the area, one Amtrak station, and a small executive airport. According to the local government's website, by 1990, the city reportedly became "one of the top 15 most ethnically-diverse communities in the nation." The city also contains five high schools, five middle schools, over eleven elementary schools, one community college and a major, 4-year university.

The Local Setup
Chapter D met every third Monday and for an hour and a half in the evenings. At the time of my entrance into the field, Chapter D held its meetings in the office of one of the two chapter leaders, Paula. Paula was a psychologist and has her office in the back area of a Mexican arts and crafts store, which is located in the downtown area that has recently been revamped to be more pedestrian friendly. Upon entering the back office space, one saw a poster of Spanish-speaking famous persons-who-stutter, or Stuttering Spanish speakers, posted on a wall. The back story behind this poster, according to Paula, is that it was made by the owner of the arts and crafts store, during the bilingual open house that Chapter D held in the fall of 2009. Another important thing to note about this setup is that people often sit in a circle, or a semi-circle, and people will arrange the setup in this way, some sitting on couches and others on chairs, with a table in the center that often contains magazines and some arts and crafts materials, presumably from the owner. At times, when there are light refreshments at the meetings (e.g., candy), this will be placed there. I also would place my audio recording equipment on another table located next to the couches but not visible to the participants, after I acquired their consent to be recorded.

My Entrance during a Reformation Period
When I entered this particular chapter, it was in a state of rebuilding and reformulating its collective identity. Because there are few people who would consider themselves long-timers, I am not sure how long the chapter had been in existence. However, when I re-entered, I was made aware that it had disbanded or gone inactive for a temporary time. During that time, a mid-thirties Mexican-American and Stuttering Spanish speaker, Jose, played a pivotal role in reviving the SOA chapter. According to Wanda, a speech-language therapist who is a long-time member of the group but is an AFE speaker, Jose was her first client and she encouraged him to finally go to a meeting, which he kept delaying. Finally, they both went and Jose enjoyed the experience so much that he continued to attend the meetings. When the chapter began to disband, for reasons which I was never told, Jose, with Wanda's encouragement, took up the challenge of reviving it during the middle of 2009. During that revival period, Chapter D met in a local restaurant/bar. When I entered in November 2009, this was the first time they met in the office space located in the Mexican store. Also, in January 2010, Jose moved out of the state to pursue other educational

goals, and the chapter was passed on to Paula and Rick, a researcher in the biotech industry who is in his early 30s. I should also note that I had previously met Rick before I entered Chapter D, for he had previously attended meetings in Chapter C when it was under a different leadership.

Demographics of Meeting Participants
For the most part, Chapter D, in their face-to-face meetings, tended to have a diverse make-up of participants, ethnically speaking. The average number of attendees was typically around 5-6 persons per meeting. Participants came from multiple backgrounds, including Asian-American, Mexican-American, Caucasian-American, and Italian-American. There have not been that many African-Americans to participate in the chapter; in fact, I was usually the only African-American. Mostly all the participants were speakers of stuttering varieties in English and other languages. Females also attended the meetings regularly, with most being stuttering speakers with the exception of Wanda, the speech-language pathologist. As far as age, the youngest person at the chapter tended to be in their early 20s and the oldest in their mid to late 30s. Occasionally, teenagers did attend with their parents. (When this did occur, I had the parents give consent for their teenage child.) In terms of socioeconomic status, most people at the meetings also tended to be particularly in white collar/professional careers (e.g., education, counseling, biotechnology, speech therapy). Thus, the majority of the participants would be identified as middle to upper middle class.

Staple Activities: Opening/Closing Ritual
Within this chapter, the participants officially made use of the welcoming and closing words of SOA. This is a particular text which is authored by the national office and used at some of the meetings of other chapters. The following words are read at the beginning of the meeting:

> Welcome to (Chapter D) of the (Stuttering Organization of America). The Stuttering Organization of America is a nonprofit organization dedicated to bringing hope, dignity, support, education, and empowerment to children and adults who stutter and to their families.
> If you are a person who stutters, or have a special interest in stuttering, you are welcome here. For the time we meet here, this room is a very special place.
> It is a place where we are accepted and supported;
> It is a place where we can relax and speak freely;
> It is a place where we can stutter openly without fear and embarrassment;
> It is a place where we can practice whatever speaking and communicating techniques with which we may feel comfortable.
> Together, we will help each other and we will help ourselves to accept and cope with our stuttering, to build our self-confidence, and to improve our verbal communication skills to the best of our abilities.
> We who stutter, and those who support and help us, are not alone. Together we are strong.

The above words are read as a means of officially beginning the meetings and, one could argue, as a means of transforming the space/place into the meeting itself through a speech event that combines literacy and oral skills. Also, as a part of opening the meetings, participants sign-in for each meeting and, at times, distribution of the SOA national monthly newsletter, which also

features updates about what other chapters are doing as part of a broader, imagined community. As a counterpart to the opening part of Chapter D, they also close their meetings through the reading of the closing words, which are featured below.

> May the spirit we have shared tonight help our speech in the coming weeks, until we meet again.
> May we go forth gladly into speaking situations, without force or struggle, accepting ourselves regardless of our fluency, and listening to the sounds of our voices.
> We are not alone. Together we are strong.

The closing words signaled a formal end of the meeting space itself, although this does not necessarily bring an end to the talk in between participants, which can include a further discussion of topics discussed during the meetings. However, these words operated as a particular device in also tying this particular communicative context of meetings to future contexts outside of the AESSC. Moreover, the chapter did not include a break in its meeting times; they continued to let whatever topic they are pursuing continue. Before the closing ritual, Josh, when he led the meetings, also did a summary of what was discussed in the meetings, which gets sent to the national SOA office and also posted on the website. The summary was co-authored by other participants in the meeting, for he would often ask what it was that we all covered.

General Description of Meetings and Extra-Meeting Activities
When Paula was in charge of the meetings, there were mostly no pre-planned topics of discussion, or topics that were explicitly cast in their interactions as pre-planned. Interactants tended to flow from one topic to the next, depending on what people say during their check-in/introductions routine. Common topics included whether stuttering is a disability or not, discriminatory practices in the AFESC against them, the lack of adequate and influential representation of persons-who-stutter as role models in the press, covert versus overt stuttering, and dealing with naïve fluent speakers on a daily basis. When Rick led the meetings, though, he did use pre-planned topics. For instance, in April 2010, one of the pre-planned topics was, "If you woke up tomorrow and you were totally fluent, how would you feel and what would you do?" However, they are not announced on the chapter's website. In addition to their face-to-face meetings, though, Chapter D, like the other chapters in this Northern California area, also made extensive use of topical discussion with their listserv. The chapter leaders, in particular, often post summaries of their events to the listserv, which are summaries of the topics discussed and how many attended. Another topic that was often posted were reminders of where the next meeting will be, announcements of other special interest events that one of the members may be doing (such as guest talks and panels at local colleges) and literacy events where people posted articles about stuttering in the news. Thus, in this sense, Chapter D went beyond their monthly meetings in the face-to-face when it comes to sustaining their sense of community.

 Finally, the chapter did do some social events outside of the meetings, some of which involved other nearby chapters. One such event was the local Christmas party, in which members of all the local chapters were invited. Another event was a special screening of a particular movie at a local university, which was sponsored by a group of speech-language pathology students. In addition to these events, Chapter D also conducted other sporadic social events, such as going out for drinks at a local bar and their spring hike, in which they invited their members, and their

significant others and children to participate. For the most part, the data for this dissertation does not come from Chapter D. However, my ethnographic participant-observation and recordings in this chapter do provide a means for understanding recurrent themes within the AESSC as well as the degree to which chapters vary within their ideologically-laden activities, including the degree to which they explicitly self-identify as a support group and when.

Methods

I observed Chapter A from 2002 thru early 2004, Chapter B from 2002 thru May 2004, Chapter C from 2008-2009, and Chapter D from 2009-2010.[7] During the meetings, I was a participant in the events under study (introductions, talking circle, and literacy practices). It was therefore difficult to take extensive ethnographic notes during the interactions, even though sporadic jottings were possible. Upon leaving the meetings, I immediately began drafting a set of ethnographic notes and then reconstructed these jottings into a coherent narrative the following day (Emerson et al. 1995). These notes became important in deciphering information in the recorded interactions when I was finally allowed to record the meetings in my second year of fieldwork. Being a participant-observer in the initial stages was vital in attempting to understand not only their discursive structures, but also in building rapport and trust in a group that is used to being gazed upon by outsiders for other kinds of scientific research.

In addition to long-term participant-observation, my use of multi-sited ethnography became important in understanding diversity within the collective and also a means for distinguishing this project from similar studies in sociology. For instance, Borkman (1999) focuses solely on *one* chapter in an organization similar to SOA. As a result, researchers could rightfully question how representative this particular group's actions are of the rich, communal and interactive life of the broader AESSC over time and space. My study diverges from this previous move, in part inspired by recent developments in anthropology (Marcus 1995). Had I immersed myself in one SOA chapter, my analysis and generalizations would have been restricted solely to that setting. By conducting fieldwork in three different chapters, I was able to discern some of the underlying dispositions were towards language and interaction and how groups varied in actualizing these dispositions in interaction. This is not to say that my problems of representativeness are completely eradicated, but the multi-sited approach does provide more breadth and depth that can help us to understand how these selected chapters differ in regards to other ones.

To obtain the necessary data needed to answer my research questions, I conducted audio recordings first and, after a few months, introduced the videocamera in the fieldsites. The strategy is similar to that employed in (Goodwin 1990), who argues that the videocamera, for some groups, can actually take on more importance in the sight as a focus of attention rather than their routine events. As a result, the analyst does not obtain the expected data on the routine interactive events, but, instead, acquires data on how participants co-construct the act of recording in a particular context. In some ways, these metapragmatic events themselves are rich data for seeing how participants learn how to become "anthropological subjects" and how they draw on tools in the immediate, semiotic environment to make this happen. However, as it is not

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[7] During this time, I also attended the 2002 SOA National Convention to gain an idea of how particular discursive events at the chapter level were interdiscursive with events that are held at the conventions. However, the data that points to these connections will not be analyzed in this study and will form the basis for future research on how local and translocal practices have an indexical relationship to each other.

the focus of the dissertation, the concern with using audio first was to ensure, or maintain, some level of comfort with the interactants as they continued their routine activities.[8] Because the audio-recording equipment employed was small, as compared to the camera, it did not appear to cause too much of a concern in Chapter A, B, or C, mainly because it was easier to forget or ignore.[9] There were a few comments often made to the recorder at certain times, such as during people's talking circle speeches or during the mid-meeting break in Chapter B, when people would move into informal, two or-three party conversations with each other. For the most part, though, there were little to no comments made explicitly about the presence of the recorder. After a few months, I made the transition to the video-camera in Chapter B. I was unable to do this with Chapter A because it had folded by the time I felt comfortable introducing the camera with them. In building the visual corpus, or audio-visual corpus, with Chapter B, there were several discussions about the camera that occurred in the initial parts of the meeting. Some of the comments included what it was doing here, who had a concern with being recorded that night, etc. However, after answering these questions with the help of the chapter leader, I was able to continue recording.

In Chapter C, I introduced the camera in the second half of fieldwork, similar to Chapter B. However, the participants in Chapter C were made aware of the forthcoming presence of the videocamera through earlier discussions with me around the Institutional Review Board consent and media release form. In conjunction with the SOA Research Board, we reached a negotiation that I would be allowed to make audio-visual recordings with the stipulation that the videotapes would not be shown in public or have stills published. I agreed to this primarily to protect the confidentiality of the subject and I was permitted to use the videotapes in discussing data with fellow professional researchers. Upon agreeing to these conditions, I was allowed to begin recording Chapter C. However, no video recordings were ever made because the chapter leader later changed his mind about allowing me to record in order to preserve the level of comfort in the group. Thus, data from Chapter C is audio-recorded.

Because of the two-fold aims of the dissertation, I employ two different methods. In regards to linguistic analysis, I transcribed tokens of stuttering forms and their derived practices (see Chapter Two) and then coded them to discern particular patterns. I then modeled these patterns through Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas and Zoll 2005) to consider stuttering as variational duplication. However, because my goal is to also move beyond the form and integrate it into how people take up relationships to variation within situated linguistic practices, I draw upon culturally-contexted conversation analysis (Moerman 1988; Moerman 1990/1991) within the PTAL as a means to understand how, through talk, social actors take up positions and position-takings in the communicative context of the American English Stuttering Speech Community. The term refers specifically to the principles put forth by Michael Moerman to describe how, through the properties of conversation, as discovered by traditional conversation analysis (CA), interactants 'do' culture (see also Goodwin 1990). Because my study examines how parties in interaction organize their actions in respect to each other to build and reproduce social orders, I employ the Jefferson transcription style used in conversation analysis (Jefferson

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[8] However, these events are rich data for seeing how participants learn how to "become" anthropological subjects and how they draw on tools in the immediate, semiotic environment to make this happen.
[9] For Chapter A and B, I used a Sony mini-disc recorder for audio recordings. For Chapters C and D, I used an Edirol R9 Digital Recorder. Visual recordings for Chapter B were done with a Sony Digital 8 camcorder. For Chapter D, I used a Sony MiniDV camcorder. The camcorder was placed it on a tripod in the corner of the room to obtain wide shots of the participants as well as to not significantly disturb the ongoing scene.

2004). However, as Watanabe (2001:136-39) notes, most transcription styles for qualitative research were developed from a fluent perspective. As a result, researchers of the AESSC find themselves at a creative crossroads in designing symbols that allow them to represent particular interactional aspects of turn design and shapes of stuttering forms. My style of transcription notates stuttering forms and linguistic practices that are in complementary distribution with stuttering (e.g., fillers) using the IPA, as will be noted in the subsequent chapters.

Upon transcribing and performing a tentative analysis of a fragment of talk, I drew on another method from CA: group data sessions. I conducted these sessions with my fellow graduate students and invited faculty at the University of California, Berkeley. Patterned after those done in the pure CA tradition (Have 1999: 123-25), these sessions involve bringing together scholars with varying disciplinary backgrounds and knowledge of the ethnographic scene. Together, the lead investigator and attendees work to scrutinize what is happening in selected data recordings. The investigator provides a minimum amount of context necessary for understanding, at least, the opening of the interaction. Afterwards, the group watches the data either in its entirety at first and then in brief intervals, or watches the opposite. During the intervals, participants may also ask the researcher to replay particular stretches of the data to see what action is being done by the talk and how participants, in their subsequent actions, characterize that action. The sessions were beneficial for highlighting particular resources and other elements in the scenes that, for various reasons (e.g., my familiarity with the data from previous replayings), were backgrounded for me. Moreover, because of the wide range of participants' expertise, these sessions allowed me to further defend my own analysis of the data and contemplate the plausibility of other alternative interpretations.

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation is structured in the following manner. Chapter Two provides a preliminary model of a variationist perspective to stuttering, a model that further explores Landar's hypothesis and extends it into formal models of reduplication and conversation analysis. I begin by reviewing the previous linguistic insights that speech pathologists have uncovered in regards to stuttering. However, I diverge from these previous scholars in my interpretation of the data. Whereas they see the findings as evidence for disability and deformation of the same underlying input, I interpret the findings as morphologically-conditioned phonology and variation. This kind of interpretation is possible when one moves away from imagined examples, reports on action, and laboratory-induced communication tasks and into naturally-occurring communication. It is here that one sees stuttering and stuttering-like forms as interactionally-effective style. The model underscores a point made by Ford et al. (2002:9), who argue that a move to conversational data has the potential for us to even rethink our ideas of what is a language. In sum, I present the variationist model as an integrated one that relies on inductively-grounded observations rather than pre-existing principles of what is and is not language and takes seriously the interwoven nature of grammar and interaction.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five examine how social actors use discourse genres to negotiate a relationship to this particular variant in their lifeworlds. Chapter Five ties the genre of "introductions" to previous discussions in anthropology and CA on the structure and role of greetings in everyday life. They allow participants to renegotiate the event of saying one's name and also other information about oneself, which is a highly charged event in the AESSC and for speakers of a stuttering variety beyond the AESSC. I write that the event is highly charged

because of the belief in the AESSC that speakers are most prone to constitute the identity of an American Stuttering English (ASE) speaker when performing the act of saying their own name. The argument presented in this chapter is that these recipient-designed introductions allow members to socially (rather than individually) accomplish a movement beyond seeing the speaker as either "fluent" or "ASE speaker" and more towards the speaker as comprised of a complex persona. Social actors use the genre to strategically invoke two stances: my speech is distinctive but at the same time, my speech is not the only thing I "do." Thus, introductions do double duty in being a resource for constructing, foregrounding, and backgrounding multiple identities. Most importantly, introductions are significant because they are an important interactive technology that social actors use to (re)build SOA and tacitly reproduce and alter particular communicative norms of listening and hearing.

Chapter Four analyzes the "speaking circle" as an example of the dynamic nature of how social actors use verbal art/performance to re-orient themselves to stuttering as variation within public speaking. This particular activity, which is in many ways the most elaborate in the selection of and termination of activities, entails the display of social actors' skills in verbal art and performance as well as how participants become resocialized to think about the "gaze" that stuttering often provokes, particularly in mainstream representations. Moreover, in the speaking circle, social actors use narratives of others and/or the self to build or disalign with a common social world and publicly-displayable stances (whether epistemic or affective) in regards to events in the world that are supposedly mundane. Thus, the speaking circle allows us to see how the AESSC uses stories and other extended turns as participant structures. The speaking circle is also important because it allows the analyst to see how participants must manage face work in evaluating performances as they tread the line between complimenting on the structure versus content of the speaker in explicit means. Such face work, as I will argue in this chapter, is consequential for reproducing an alternative linguistic market in the AESSC, whereby ASE is incorporated as part of "complex performancehood," whereby ASE is not defining characteristic of the effectiveness of an oratorical performance.

Chapter Five examines the interpretive literacy practices in the AESSC, which are the least studied aspect of the AESSC. This downplaying of literacy practices is partly because people, including analysts, assume the AESSC to be only concerned with orality. Previous ethnographic research of the AESSC and my own archival research shows the AESSC as also displaying concern with not only oral (or audio texts) but visual/print renderings of their speech. I position these literacy events themselves as participant structures whereby interactants use texts to build their dynamic sense of community. Moreover, it is through these events that social actors perform a semiotic analysis on their own speech, using the words of others as entextualized in these other texts. The findings of this chapter are significant because my analysis renders visible the different ways that social actors in SOA and the AESSC, broadly speaking, have configured different ideas of and performances of multiple literacies, many of which are not always recognized in other settings by speech pathologists. Hence, this chapter begins a critical dialogue on the sociopolitical nature of literacy in and beyond the AESSC. Chapter Six concludes by reviewing the insights from the conceptual and empirical chapters and outlines future areas of research inspired by this study.

Chapter Two: Rethinking Form, or Expanding Landar's Hypothesis[1]

> It is a not very controversial, but sometimes disregarded, part of our own approach that everybody's (layman's and scholar's) theories and suppositions about language and society are powerfully conditioned by the culture and tradition within which he/she works—conditioned, that is, positively or negatively.
> —Robert Le Page and Andree Tabouret-Keller

Within contemporary linguistics, researchers have relegated stuttering to the domain of speech pathology, with phonetics being the exception (Arbisi-Kelm 2006). This thinking can be traced back to the foundations of American mainstream linguistics. Pioneers such as Leonard Bloomfield (1933:34) and Charles Hockett (1958: 143-44) specifically went out of their way to insist that a science of language is not to be concerned with stuttering as an appropriate phenomenon. While their impacts on linguistics may have been superseded by the Chomskyan revolution, the positioning of stuttering as outside of linguistics has remained strong and steady. Moreover, within sociolinguistics, which is concerned with the relationship between language variation and social, cultural and linguistic factors, scholars have learned much about the limitations of formalist approaches that exclude the role of the speech community as a social field embedded in other social fields. However, even sociolinguistic scholars and their related fields have also positioned stuttering as beyond the focus of a science of language, with no studies of stuttering as sociolinguistic variation to this date. This chapter aims to make an intervention in the literature on this front.

In this chapter, I contend that the evaluation of stuttering as a pathology may be a premature generalization and driven by pseudo-prescriptive and culturally-intuitive ideas of what is/is not a language and variation. This kind of claim may sound all too familiar to sociolinguists. Sociolinguists have often confronted similar ideas when studying variants that are simultaneously embraced and stigmatized. For instance, Baugh (1983:37) notes that conducting an introspective analysis of grammaticality for African-American English, during the earlier era of sociolinguistics, was problematic in university settings because many viewed it within a stigmatizing frame. The same can be applied to scholarly discourses on stuttering today. In the current academic milieu, students and scholars would more than likely reject stuttering forms as well-formed morphophonological strings. These same linguistic appraisers of grammaticality would probably report that they do not "stutter" at all, or that they "stutter" sometimes, and that these are to be considered "mistakes," or temporary "breakdowns in performance" during conversation. In short, these communicative and textual constitutions of linguistic practices and their outliers by academics reproduce the idea that stuttering has nothing to offer the linguist or the sociolinguist interested in variation. However, this view has not always been equally shared, and this dissertation seeks to expand on perspectives that diverge from this conventional position.

In a somewhat unknown article, Herbert Landar (1961) pushes linguists to consider stuttering as a kind of reduplication. In his preliminary and inductively-based model, the stuttering forms are not treated as deformed. In fact, Landar (1961:246) argues that the forms constitute a group of special morphemes characterized by limited frequency of use. Landar's argument is unique in that he refuses a deductive and prescriptive approach in mainstream linguistics that immediately normalizes 'fluency.' Expanding on Landar's view, I argue that

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[1] I thank Russell Rhodes for his rich and insightful comments on earlier drafts of this chapter. I also thank Sharon Inkelas for giving me the opportunity to think through these thoughts in the Fall 2006 semester of Advanced Morphology, when she introduced me to Morphological Doubling Theory.

there are further, adequate reasons to restrict what I will call the deductive, 'disorder' perspective to stuttering. In its place, I contend that scholars explore what I call the inductive, 'variationist' approach to stuttering.[2]

A crucial component of the 'variationist' approach is that stuttering is not *like* language (contra Watanabe 2001), but *is* a complex linguistic variation within broader grammatical 'systems' such as 'English.' I specifically use 'variation' here in line with Anttila (2002), who argues for variation as driven by both external (i.e., social) and internal (i.e., linguistic) factors. Moreover, contrary to mainstream formal linguistics, Anttila positions variation as a central, rather than marginal, topic of formal theories of grammar and competence. Anttila (2002:210) formally defines 'variation' as a case where two phonological strings have the same semantic identity but differ in the grammatical processes that produce them. Taking up variation in this light, this chapter expands on Landar's argument that stuttering constructions are variants of the same semantic form, albeit in an 'unconventional' shape. As Landar observes, these variant forms are ones that do not appear in the 'normalized' data set of formal linguists.[3] However, as will be shown below, they do occur in naturally-occurring interaction and in particular linguistic environments. On this note, the variationist approach to stuttering variants uses data from naturally-occurring communication and insights from linguistic research on duplication.

Organization of Chapter
This chapter is structured in the following manner. In the first section, I argue for the empirical existence of variational duplication and suggest that stuttering is, in fact, the persistence of a productive process that many speakers use in child language. I then turn to the literature on linguistic factors in regards to stuttering from speech pathologists. I restrict myself only to linguistic factors here, as much of the research on social factors relies on reports of action by way of surveys and interviews, rather than an observation of action itself.[4] The chapter then proceeds to revisit Landar's data and framework on stuttering as duplication, using Morphological Doubling Theory. Following this discussion, I analyze my findings from English, using both mock forms and actual forms from naturally-occurring interaction, to demonstrate the order in the form. Finally, I conclude with defining what American Stuttering English is for this dissertation—a nonstandard variation.

Does General Variational Duplication Exist? Evidence from Child Language
One of Landar's (1961) greatest insights is that stuttering is similar to duplication. More specifically, in his discussion of stuttering, he comes close to positioning the form as variation, but does not use this phrase exactly. Given that we are using variation as defined in (1), I expand on his insights by offering the idea that stuttering is a part of a broader phenomenon of variational duplication. Variational duplication is defined here as duplication that exists within natural language but does not participate in morphosemantic changes, as scholars have previously believed this to be the only function of duplication, at least in ideal adult grammars.

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[2] I use the terms deductive and inductive here deliberately, for in the variationist approach, the analyst restricts the characterization of an action as deformed or disabled when approaching data.

[3] 'Normalization' is Landar's term for the process by which linguists, upon going through the data, remove such forms under the guise that they are 'mistakes' and not considered part of a standard linguistic system.

[4] I am also not discussing the neuroscientific or brain-based research on stuttering because it falls outside of the scope of my expertise. Moreover, there is still debate over what exactly these studies truly show in terms of cause and effect. However, I do welcome future engagement with scholars in this tradition.

In short, we can have two types of duplication: morphosemantic and non-morphosemantic shifting variation, as I will discuss below.[5]

Hurch (2005:6) reminds us that reduplication does occur at particular stages within child language, or the process of language acquisition more broadly (see also Fee and Ingram 1982). This can occur, he argues, even when "the adult state" does not include the regular use of reduplication for grammatical (e.g., morphosemantic) means. Hurch goes on to note that "there has often been postulated a specific correlation between reduplication and child language...In this context, it also has been hypothesized that the occurrence of early reduplication might be one of the origins of reduplicative mechanisms in adult language." (2005:6). Data gathered from Dressler et al. (2005) illuminate this point.

Dressler et al. (2005) provide us with results from their cross-linguistic study on the role of duplication within child language, with all data coming from language systems that do not contain morphosemantic duplication: French, German, Polish, and Russian. This is key because it shows that "extragrammatical" reduplication (their term) can exist as an autonomous morphological construction, rather than being tied directly to morphosyntactic constructions. In particular, they find that the children within their study do produce "reduplicative modifications of non-onomatopoetic adult target words" (2005:462). Their work includes both paradigmatic and syntagmatic duplication. Paradigmatic reduplication forms have to do with the use of reduplication to, in some ways, change the meaning of the word around intensification or iterative aspect. Most striking, for this analysis, are their cases where monosyllabic words are reduplicated in syntagmatic , as reproduced in (1) with the reduplicated form on the left-most column and the adult target form on its right.

(1)   Monosyllabic reduplication in child language (Dressler et al. 2005:463)

German	bebe	Bär	'bear'	Jan (1 year, 3 months)
	babauch	bauch	'belly'	Jan (1 year, 8 months)
Breton	kokozh	kozh	'old'	
	Ober bebek	ober bek	'to eat'	
French	la'lam	lampe	'lamp'	Emma (1 year, 5 months)

Within these examples, Dressler et al. (2005) note that these types of constructions occur in what they term a premorphology phase. They also note that, upon transitioning to protomorphology, these kinds of constructions are said to disappear sharply (2005:464), while some can be retained for and appear in particular morphosemantic environments. This study and others like it consider reduplication to be simply a means to an end: it is a process that helps the child transition to an adult grammar. My question, though, is do these orderly forms simply disappear? Or is it that, if they do not disappear, we then label them as another form, which is considered pathological speech and stuttering, nonetheless?

What I propose here is that when we look at speakers of stuttering varieties, what we observe is not the disappearance of duplication for nonreferential purposes, but its persistence as

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[5] Zuraw (2002) also discusses another kind of reduplication, aggressive reduplication, that is phonologically-motivated and also does not produce morphosemantic changes. However, there is some debate as to whether the cases that this analysis brings forth are duplication or another kind of process that can be discussed in other ways (Inkelas, Personal Communication).

a productive process. In this sense, what I am suggesting is that, over time, the pattern can become more patterned. However, our cultural ideas of language and standardization drive us to see it as something that should not be happening when, on a purely linguistic ground, the persistence of duplication in child language may not be surprising since there is no natural reason why the child should give up the process. However, when it becomes patterned, we recast this behavior as "stuttering" and something that should not be done. Yet I argue for it here as variational duplication, similar to what is seen as child language, and, like others (see Hursch 2005:6), postulate that child language is the diachronic ground from which new forms in language can emerge (Hopper 1988; Weber 1997).

The Systematic Nature of Stuttering as Variational Duplication

As reviewed in Arbisi-Kelm (2006), researchers have related the phenomenon of stuttering to (1) word-level, (2) syntactic and semantic, (3) segmental, (4) suprasegmental, and (5) sentence-planning and utterance factors. In regards to word-level, scholars argue that content words are more prone to stuttering than function words, due in part to function words being more frequent than content words (Dayalu et al. 2002; Howell et al. 1999; Prins et al. 1997). On the level of syntax and semantics, function words preceding content words tend to be more "disfluent" (Au-Yeung et al. 1998). Research analyzing segmental factors is quite extensive, dating back to (Brown 1938), and has often yielded contradictory results. Scholars have found stuttering to be common on word-initial segments (Brown 1938, 1945; Soderberg 1962; Hubbard 1998; Natke et al. 2002). In regards to consonants vs. vowels, some studies have found consonants to be more prone to stuttering than vowels (Brown 1938, 1945; Hahn 1942; Taylor 1966), while another study found there to be no distinction (Soderberg 1962). Suprasegmental effects have also been controversial, as some studies have shown stuttering to be prone to lexically stressed (as opposed to unstressed) positions (Brown 1938; Wingate 1988), with no effect being found in (Hubbard 1998). In regards to contrastive focus, focused morphosyntactic items in the sentence tend to carry the stuttering form (Klouda and Cooper 1988). Finally, in regards to the syntax and phonetic spell-out interface, factors such as edge-effects, syntactic complexity, and utterance length have yielded contradictory results. Ultimately, what these results show is that stuttering is patterned in language, which is important for further noting that the form is anything but deformed, even though the paradigm in which the research was carried out in names it as such. However, I now want to relocate these general findings above in a new vocabulary, posed by Landar (1961), and couple this with a re-analysis of the phonological shapes of duplication.

Re-analyzing Landar's Data through Morphological Doubling Theory

Expanding on the idea of stuttering as a kind of variational duplication that can continue well on into adulthood, I turn to Landar's hypothesis that the stuttering has something to do with reduplication as a productive process (1961:246). To explore this, I turn to some examples from Landar's data, as noted in (2).

(2) Examples from Navajo stuttering (Landar 1961)
a.)	cin	cincincin	'block'
b.)	dinilgai	dinildinilgai	'it's white-ish'
c.)	dadadooλ'iz	dadooλ'izˇ	'they are blue'
d.)	dededeigo	deigo	'upright'

| e.) | ɬíɬíɬigai | ɬigai | 'it's white' |
| f.) | nátnátnát'oh | nát'oh | 'tobacco' |

In looking at the examples above, I first want to draw attention to the fact that (2a, c, d, e, and f) all appear to be examples in which the forms share the pattern of CV(C) reduplication of the initial word of a supposedly fluent grammar. (2b) may be an exception, however, because it may, in fact, not be a stuttering, or variational duplication token. Instead, it may actually be an example of self-initiated self-performed repair, as is a common conversational practice that also has similar shapes of stuttering at times, which I discuss later in the chapter. This is hard to tell because we do not have the entire recordings of the speakers at our disposal, but this seems to fit well because it is quite rare for speakers to repeat more than a single syllable in the process of stuttering. Thus, within the prosodic patterning alone, all of the duplicants seem to share the same shape—mono-syllabic. Moreover, all the copies are positioned on the word-boundary, which is considered a prominent place of positioning in terms of words (another is the stressed syllable).

The second item I want to draw attention to in Landar's collection of forms is the question of identity between the base and the copies. In his transcription style of the speaker's performance, the vowels in the copies and those in the base (e.g., non-duplicated form) are exactly the same. Moreover, the consonants are also the same, with no cluster simplification. Thus, for Navajo, we could argue that, for stuttering as variational duplication, there is an adherence to faithfulness in the input. By this, I mean the base and the copies must retain the same segment material as were present in the input. However, there is a question about to what degree the vowel must be faithful, as I will show in my work on stuttering in English. Moreover, because Landar may not be working from actual recorded tapes in his analysis, which the work leaves unclear, his transcription style may not be reflecting the phonetic actualizations. Instead, it may reflect phonological and morphological understandings that speakers have of the bases and copies as the same word, but yet as different parts with different instructions. In some languages, it may mean keep the vowel the same or reduce it in the copies. What is important here, though, is that we can actually come to model and understand Landar's data and, soon, my data in English through the use of Morphological Doubling Theory.

What is Morphological Doubling Theory?
Beyond Phonological Copying Theories
Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) is designed to model reduplication, such as the cases above. MDT stands in contrast to a previous strand of theories of reduplication that privilege phonological copying. In phonological copying theories, the morphology calls for only one item from the lexicon and/or constructicon. An empty, or skeletal morpheme, RED, which is inflected or derived (i.e. it has a subcategorized meaning attached to it) is attached to the morpheme. The RED morpheme is then fleshed out with adjacent morphological, or phonological material, from the morpheme and is then argued to have additional phonological constraints (such as RED must have two syllables). Optimality Theory (OT), an output-output driven theory as discussed extensively in (Kager 1999), provides one such example of a phonological copying theory of reduplication. OT particularly explores it through Base-Reduplicant Correspondence Theory (BRCT) (McCarthy and Prince 1995), positing special constraints for reduplication structures. However, out of their multiple concerns with BRCT (such as overgeneration in regards to "backcopying"), Inkelas and Zoll (2005) also observe that theories of phonological copying are often unable to deal with certain types of phenomenon that also fall under reduplication. For

instance, in some outputs, the base or reduplicant often can contain phonological material not present in the input, thereby violating faithful constraints.[6] This is particularly evident in cases in (3), whereby two synonyms are called for and differ drastically in their phonological makeup.

(3)   Hindi examples from Inkelas and Zoll (2005:59), taken from Singh (1982)
        dhan-daulat   'money-money'
        sak-sabji   'vegetable-vegetable'
        sneh-muhabbat   'love-love'

In sum, they argue that a theory that rests solely on phonological copying cannot explain all processes of duplication in regards to word-formation. For them, this also entails that a new theory be developed that uses processes not restricted to reduplication, but can apply to morphology as a whole (such as truncation).[7]

Morphological Doubling Theory as a Morpho-Semantic Theory of Duplication

Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) is proposed as an alternative that privileges morpho-semantic features as driving reduplication more than phonological processes. In this approach and taken from the sign-based morphological framework (Orgun 1999), co-phonologies are posited to accompany morphological structures. However, in the bundles, the information contains syntactic, semantic, and phonological mappings, which map across classes. MDT also talks of morphology as "constructions," defined in the following way:

> A "construction," broadly speaking, is any morphological rule or pattern that combines sisters into a single constituent. Each individual affix, compounding rule, truncation construction, and/or reduplication process is a unique morphological construction. Constructions can be related to each other under the rubric of more general "meta-constructions," which capture commonalities in the morphological component of the grammar. [Inkelas and Zoll 2005:12]

This can be a general class or can work with two classes whereby the cophonologies are embedded in a master ranking and are mapped to verbs, nouns, or some other morpho-semantic construction. As such, MDT is a framework designed to account for reduplication as morphologically-conditioned phonology.
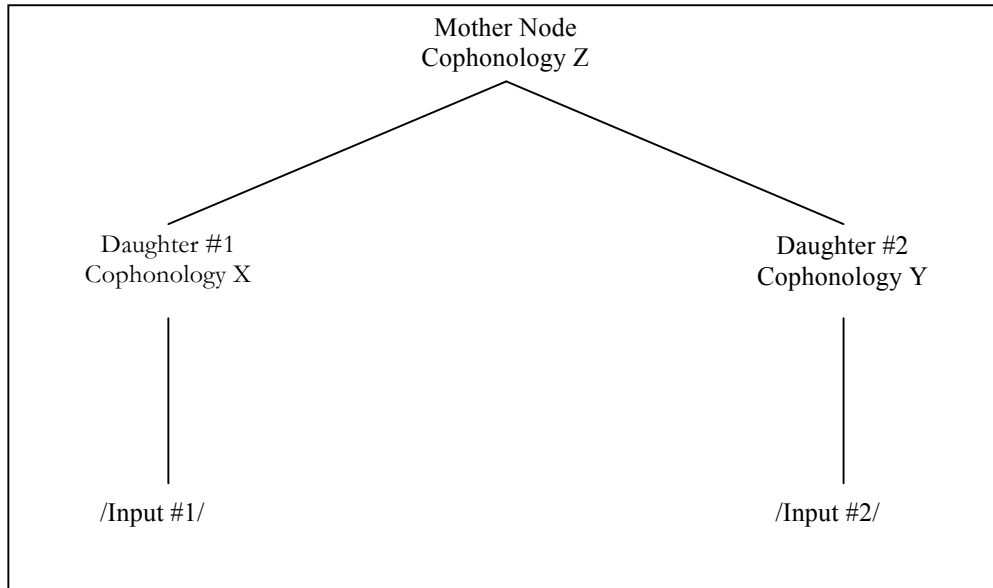
Unlike phonological copying theories, MDT posits that the reduplication construction calls for two copies (or potentially more) of the same morphological constituent, whereby they must be alike morphosemantically. The identical phonological identity is an epiphenomenon, which is predicted rather than a requisite. On this note, MDT is a native identity theory, whereas BRCT posits a coerced identity relationship between the base and reduplicant. In this sense, MDT predicts and accurately accounts for duplication constructions whereby the phonological identity is distinct but the morphosemantic identities are the same, as in the examples above. Given all this, MDT approaches a duplication construction as being the output of two daughters

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[6] Faithful constraints, in Optimality Theory (Kager 1999), are a kind of constraints that prohibit introducing new items in the output that are not present in the input. These are juxtaposed to markedness constraints, a set of constraints that are designed to produce well-formed outputs (such as in a grammar that prevents consonant clusters even though the material may be present in the input).

[7] It is important to note that they do distinguish reduplication from processes of pseudoreduplication, whereby material from a stem or word is used to fill in another part of a word to satisfy well-formedness constraints in a particular affix.
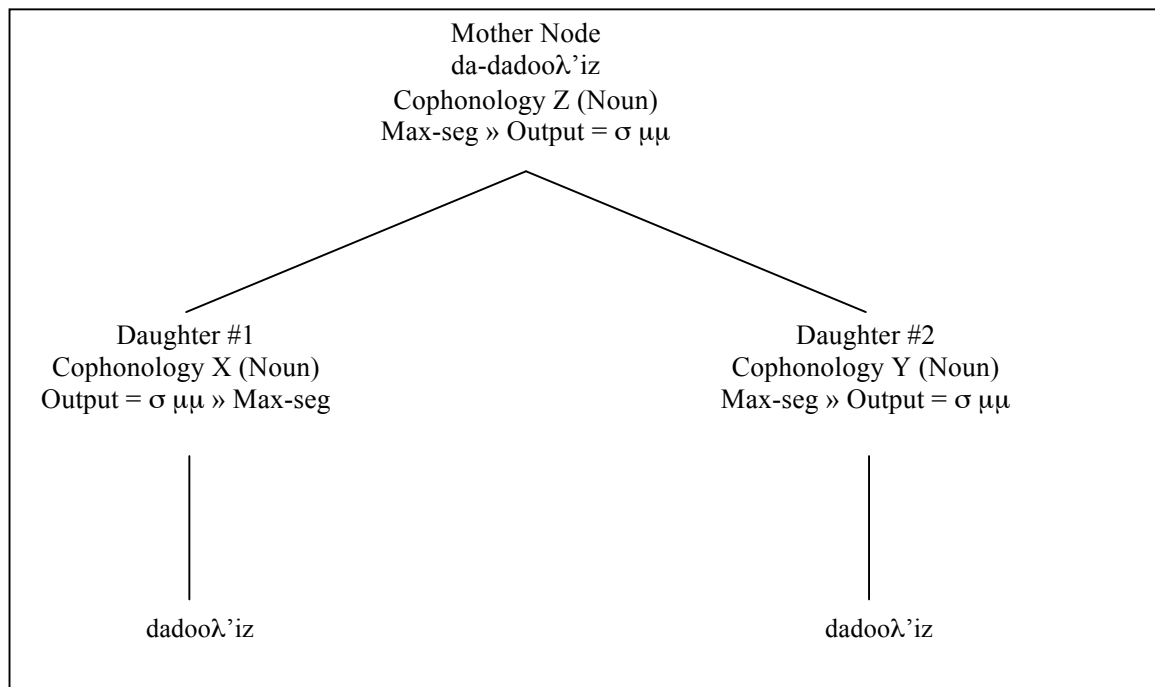
that are phonologically independent and may have differing phonological mappings, whereby one daughter may be truncated or have new material substituted in for it. This is illustrated in (4).

(4)

```
                        Mother Node
                       Cophonology Z



        Daughter #1                        Daughter #2
        Cophonology X                      Cophonology Y

              |                                  |
              |                                  |
              |                                  |

          /Input #1/                         /Input #2/
```

(5) Stuttering as Reduplication
(Co-phonologies marked via rankings in Optimality Theory, see Kager 1999)

```
                         Mother Node
                        da-dadooλ'iz
                      Cophonology Z (Noun)
                    Max-seg » Output = σ μμ



        Daughter #1                             Daughter #2
     Cophonology X (Noun)                    Cophonology Y (Noun)
   Output = σ μμ » Max-seg                  Max-seg » Output = σ μμ

              |                                      |
              |                                      |
              |                                      |

          dadooλ'iz                              dadooλ'iz
```

Conceiving of Stuttering as Variational Duplication

I now want to return to Landar's data, using one of his examples below and modeled via MDT in (5), based on (4). The analysis in (5) captures some of the previous insights from above. One will observe the requirement that the two daughters must be morphosemantically similar, rather than dissimilar. Also, because the example above is a morphologically-complex word, there might be other daughters with phonological mappings nested within another daughter. Hence, further research will have to assess for the effects of morphologically-complex constructions. Furthermore, (5) shows that one of the daughters has different phonological instructions than the other daughter, whereby one is truncated. Their output, or the mother node, is a function of the two daughters. I now turn to similar examples that one finds within English, as collected through my fieldwork in Chapter C in SOA.

Findings in English

Performance and Speech Play

To demonstrate the idea that stuttering is an orderly form within the mindset of speakers, I turn to the instances in which speakers of stuttering varieties perform instances of stuttering within a performance frame. As such, I take seriously the claim from scholars like Sherzer (2002), who notes that speech play allows one to examine speakers' ideas about language and form. My choice of using representations and vocalizations from speakers of a stuttering variety, rather than stylizations of their speech by their fluent counterparts in the US context, is deliberate. This is because, if anything, these speakers' performances will reflect, perhaps, a partial understanding of the form that is closer to how it operates, rather than over-exaggerating it on forms that one would not expect to see it on. I must also note, though, that these performances of 'mock stuttering,' or stylizations, by speakers of stuttering varieties is actually quite rare in this context, for it can easily be taken to be disrespectful. However, instances of this do exist, such as this joke that is re-written and posted on the listserv from Chapter C (6).

(6)
```
59   On the subject of humor, a non-stutterer recently
60   told me a joke about stuttering. He prefaced it
61   by saying "I think you'll like this joke about
62   stuttering," and I hope you will too...
63
64   A bus driver asks a rider "C-C-Can I see your T-
65   T-Ticket P-P-Please", and the man replies "N-N-No
66   P-P-Problem here you G-G-Go".
67
68   Next day the same guy rides the bus and the bus
69   driver asks "C-C-Can I see your T-T-Ticket P-P-
70   Please", and the man replies with perfect fluency
71   "But of course, here you go old chap. Thank you
72   very much now."
73
74   The bus driver replies "Aha, S-S-so you are
75   fluent a-a-a-after all. So you were j-j-just
76   making fun of me yesterday, how r-r-rude."
77
78   The passenger replies "N-N-No I am a S-S-
```

```
79   Stutterer. I was J-J-Just making fun of all Th-
80   Th-The blowhard fluent p-p-people"
```

While I look at this joke as part of a literacy event in Chapter Five, for now I want to focus on the metalinguistic awareness that the joke-teller displays in regards to the form, which I isolate now below in (7).

> (7) Tokens of Variational Duplication in the Chapter C Joke
>   a) C-C-Can
>   b) T-T-Ticket
>   c) P-P-Please
>   d) G-G-Go
>   e) S-S-so
>   f) a-a-a-after
>   g) j-j-just
>   h) r-r-rude
>   i) N-N-No
>   j) S-S-Stutterer
>   k) Th-Th-The* (th = ð)
>   l) p-p-people

Upon examining these tokens, note how, for each of the forms, there are three morphological constituents that are called for, rather than the minimal two or seven or eight. Second, they are all placed at the beginning of the word, thereby ignoring cases, as I will show below, of word-internal duplication. Third, in regards to the CV structure of the duplicants, the poster reproduces the first segment but not the vowel. My explanation for this is that, as we will see in the data below, the vowel in the duplicants tend to be reduced and speakers may otherwise not pay them much attention or erase them in their representations. Also, when a vowel is represented in the duplicants as the initial segment, note how it also appears to stand alone. My hypothesis here is that, similar to what happens with CV duplicant representations, speakers also erase or are not aware that they may also producing a glottal stop with the vowel (which could be what the dashes represent), because of its inaudibility. Furthermore, within this example, out of the tokens represented, there is an even split of stuttering forms on content words (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and function words, which probably occurs because this is an exaggerated performance in the joke. Nonetheless, from this performance example, we perhaps get a glimpse into what the ideal speaker of a stuttering variety actually would sound like, in the sense that stuttering may, in fact, be patterned triplication and the other duplicants may actually be restarts or repairs on the form. Moreover, through looking at performance data in the form of jokes and representations, we see how adult speakers represent and critically reflect on the nature of the grammatical system within their situated, communal practices.[8]

In another example from Chapter C during a May 2009 meeting, I had the opportunity to witness another participant perform a stuttering event for the group. Barry, a white male in his 70s, was discussing one of his previous experiences in therapy and one of the techniques where they had to actually perform the stuttering form in everyday contexts as part of the therapy. In his

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[8] For more on the advantages and disadvantages of working with written texts to investigate language variation, see Schneider (2002).

recitation, he produced the following form, as noted in (8), around discussing a hypothetical situation where he had to ask for vanilla ice cream at the store.

> (8) [və-və-və-və]-v[ə]nilla   'vanilla'   Barry

Note how, in this token, which was one of the rare tokens of performance that I got in Chapter C, Barry's play form actually has four duplicants in word-initial, rather than word-internal, position. However, what is interesting, upon listening to them, is each of the duplicant copies have roughly the same duration (.57-.43-.44-.43, in seconds). This is actually a key point, for a common tactic that I saw in my data was the rushing through of some of the duplicants during speech events where the form occurs. Also, note how in this play form, the duplicant occurs in a word-initial position and in a trisyllabic word, which is different from the play forms above, which were all monosyllabic or disyllabic. Moreover, the vowel in the duplicant and bases are identical in their identity, without either being a lax vowel, which is often what one can expect in stuttering forms.

      I highlight these mock examples because they show playful genres as times when speakers reflect on aspects of the schemata behind their form. In looking at the schemata reflected in their forms, we can further understand and make sense of the data that I will now show below, which is taken from Chapter C during their naturally-occurring talk (n = 200). From these examples, we are able to discern a general, schematic pattern of linguistic competence, rather than a degeneration of competence, that comes to rise in performance with the linguistic system and, in this joke, language in general (and language users), are objectified. I now turn to the ways in which social actors maintain a fidelity to this schemata and also orient towards it in various ways.

Data from Naturally-Occurring Communication
The Problem of Distinguishing Stuttering from Stuttering-Like Shapes
Before moving into the discussion of the form of stuttering in English among persons who identify as persons-who-stutter, I must first note that one must distinguish between forms that appear to look like stuttering forms but, in fact, are something else. For instance, forms of repair, as have been pointed out by conversation analysts, do appear to often have similar phonological shapes to stuttering, as noted in (9).

> (9)   (Jefferson 2004 [1975]:48)
> a.)   Johnson: [[I'm glad to hear it.
>   → Roberts: [[But-uh-uh, uh understand that um Franklin…
> b.)   Gladys: [[En-
>   Edna: [[En you need [som:e] uh,]
>   →Gladys: [S- s-] sh:]redded lettuce?

In the above example, Jefferson (2004 [1975]) notes that stuttering forms, presumably by persons who do not stutter, use the forms as a means of repairing the dynamics of the turn-taking system in conversation. By this, I mean that the forms, as noted above, occur during overlapped talk, which is indicated by the brackets. As we will see below, they also carry a duplicant shape that includes either a syllable or the duplication of the first segment, such as sonorants. Thus, this

is to be conceived of here as different from the kind of duplication we are interested in, for the kind I will discuss below occurs in non-overlapped environments.

There are also other forms that show morphophonological 'shapes' that are similar to what many of us would consider stuttering if we did not know the speakers or contexts. For instance, one can examine instances of self-initiated self-repair (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Fox et al. 1996), which are exemplified by word cut-offs and re-starting a turn construction unit, as in (10).

(10)　　→B:　Wh-what is yer friend's name
　　　　　　B:　　Cuz my <u>son</u> lives in Sherman Oaks
　　　　　　(Schegloff, Sacks, and Jefferson 1979:18)

These phenomena in (10) differ in regards to (9) in that these are argued to be cut-offs of a word and do not go on recursively, yet they can stop at the first syllable with the canonical CV shape before it is restarted. I bring up these two cases because they are significant for showing that it is difficult to often distinguish what could be stuttering from other forms. Hence, by selecting an environment within the AESSC, such as SOA meetings, one is in a better place to actually hear the form in a natural context, which may be harder to decipher in other contexts.

Duplicant Shapes: Placement and Structure
The first thing I want to call attention to in my data in Chapter C, is that, for the most part, infixing within the word was quite rare; most of the duplication tokens occurred at the word-initial boundary. Examples of this are given below in (11), using IPA transcription for the duplicant.

(11)
a)　[tə]-ten　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Barry
b)　[dI]-definitely　　　　　　　　　　　　　Wes
c)　[t]-talk　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Wes
d)　[kʊ(m)-k-k]-competing　　　　　　　　　Wes
e)　[mə-mə-mə-mə]-months　　　　　　　　Rick
f)　[k-k-k]-cure　　　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
g)　[fə-fə-fə-fə]-fix　　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
h)　[tə-tə-tə-tə-tə-tə-tə-tə-tə-tə-tə]-type　　　Rick
i)　[kə-kə-kə-kə-kə-kə-kə-kə-kə]-keeping　　Rick
j)　[də-də-də-də-də]-database　　　　　　　Rick
k)　[mɛ-mɛ-mɛ]-map　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
l)　[hə-hə]-happened　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
m)　[mʊ]-more　　　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
n)　[tə-tə-tə]-talk　　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
o)　[q]-questions　　　　　　　　　　　　Rick
p)　[f-f-f-f-f-fɪ-fɪ-fɪ-fɪ]-fill　　　　　　　　Rick

In examining these tokens, observe that in the base and duplicants, at least with these speakers, the vowels differ in one important way. The first vowel is usually more lax, whereas the vowel in the other daughter is actually more pronounced. This differs in regards to Landar's data, for both

vowels in his system do not appear to have different qualities. However, this could also be the case for English alone because English tends to reduce vowels except for in primary and secondary stress. What this does point us to is that the two vowels have different co-phonologies in their input, which is reflected in the final construction in the mother node. Moreover, with voiceless plosives in the duplicants (e.g., /t/) and voiceless sonorants (e.g., /s/), it is possible to not even have an audible vowel, which makes one wonder if the vowel is actually being pronounced but becomes devoiced due to feature assimilation (voicing). Thus, this also links back to the previous examples from the performance and stylization of the form, where speakers often mark only the consonant segment and not the vowel.

Another point of evidence that notes that the preferred place of the duplicant is word-initial comes from the placement of other grammatical processes that speakers somehow learn in order to sidestep or to avoid producing the construction, in part, more than likely, for their audiences and an adherence to the fluent standard (cf. Bell 2001). The two main ways that I observed among speakers in Chapter C occurred with the gemination of consonants, as noted in (12).

(12)
a) [sː]ay   Wes
b) [lː]anguages   Wes
c) [lː]etting   Wes
d) [mː]essage   Wes
e) [fː]an   Wes
f) [pː]ractices   Wes
g) [bː]ack   Wes

My hypothesis is that this particular linguistic tactic is learned through therapy, which would make sense in this case for the speaker who produced these particular tokens (Wes) had been through several programs since he was in high school up until his adult years. However, although no duplicants are produced, the fact that this phonological process of geminating consonants (e.g., by extending their length in some way), occurs in the same place as the duplicant gives us some idea that the form itself should be in this particular place. Moreover, this tactic was common on voiced consonants, especially fricatives, more than plosives. I hypothesize that this is the case because, with voiceless consonants, this could be mistaken as a pause in the conversation.[9]

Considering Word-Internal Duplication
As I noted above, word-internal duplication is often not considered part of the schemata, as mentioned in performances, although it does happen. However, word-internal duplication is not sporadic as one might think. In all my tokens, they occurred all in the same place: right next to the stressed syllable in the nuclei. Moreover, what did occur in these word-initial areas, when I saw them, was not duplicant form itself, but another kind of behavior—the gemination of consonants.

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[9] This process also occurred on one token of a compound word, where the second word in the compound actually had a geminated sonorant (/s/). However, because the form was so rare on compounds in my recordings of Chapter C, more work may need to be done on this.

(13)
 a) e[nI-nI-nI-nI-nI-nI-nI-nI-nI]-nitial   Rick
 b) sin[s-s-s]ere   Wes
 c) an[x.zː]iety   Rick
 d) conver[sː]ation   Wes
 e) sympa[θː]etic   Wes
 f) in.[t]-tently   Wes

In the above examples, what appears to happen is a sort of infixation process. The duplicants are inserted within the word and right before a place of prosodic prominence (the stressed syllable). Moreover, in the case of (a), what we see is, perhaps, is that the word-initial vowel, for this speaker, is treated as extrametrical. However, the duplicants still contain a somewhat lax vowel, relative to the initial syllable nuclei in the base. In cases of word-internal stuttering where there is not a duplicant, we observe the gemination of particular consonants and lengthening of sonorants. As for how to account for infixing in this sense, there is a possibility that, for cases like these, a skeletal RED morpheme does attach itself inside of these constructions and copies the right-most adjacent phonological material. To negotiate on line the delay of a duplicants and pull off a fluent form, speakers can then re-write this copy with a lengthening of the preceding consonant. Thus, in this case, it may appear that duplication may be phonologically motivated. Moreover, one could also account for this practice via analogy. If the duplicants is supposed to occur at a word-initial boundary, that can also correspond, at times to a stressed syllable in English in the case of disyllabic words. Thus, this may account for some speakers use of infixing within their linguistic competence. However, in the other cases of the duplicants in word-initial stage, it is easier to see that the morphology may be calling twice (or more) for a morphological constituent and each of the daughters in the construction have different phonological constructions.

Bringing It All Together: The Definition of American Stuttering English
In the introductory chapter, I noted that this dissertation would conceive of stuttering as variational duplication, rather than a disability. To argue that something is variation in the sociolinguistic sense, the analyst must demonstrate that there is order to the form. Moreover, this is easier said than done, for the analyst must find the context that speakers themselves have constituted as a place for its appropriate use, even though the form may be used in contexts that they and the dominant culture may consider inappropriate. That said, this explains my choice of obtaining data from the SOA and the AESSC, more broadly, in this context, for it is in this environment that speakers are supposed to be free to use the form as they would like. By using data from naturally-occurring interactions, we can get a sense of how the form operates in everyday conversation, rather than through simulations of experiments. Finally, in taking this within a context where speakers perceive themselves to all speak the same way, in a relative sense, as they all identify as persons-who-stutter, we can get a sense of the same patterns that occur across speakers. That said, I now turn to the final challenge of defining ASE.

ASE is defined, first and foremost, as variation, in which it is related to another form in AFE that does not include a duplicants. In this sense, '[mɛ-mɛ-mɛ]-map' and 'map' are both united in that they refer to the same signified /map/ (see Landar 1961:245) . Thus, it is another way that can be used to say the same thing. However, it is important to note that this is a *nonstandard* variation, with the idea that standardization is very much about ideas of norms and

power, rather than natural, cognitive reasoning (Bourdieu 1991; Gal 1989). Second, on a structural level, ASE is situated as a grammar that produces reduplication outputs that follow particular constraints. The first constraint is the placement of the duplicants in relation to the base, in that they occur word-initially. Although there are cases of word-internal duplication, when we look at speakers' mock performances of the form, this does not seem to occur. Thus, in practical matters, word-internal duplication is possible and does occur in the same location (next to a stressed syllable and copies the phonological material from the stressed syllable). However, it does not seem to be an optimal candidate for reasons which may have to do with making a word intelligible for the interlocutors.

Third, in regards to the phonological shape of the duplicant itself, the base, in contrast to the copies, is truncated to one syllable (CV). Moreover, within this syllable, there is faithfulness to the input in regards to the initial consonant. However, the vowel is usually more lax than the base syllable, although it must occur in the same vowel space, roughly speaking, as the base (for instance, matching of front or back). Finally, I contend that ASE also includes other linguistic processes, such as the elongation or gemination of particular consonants, which mark a person's idiolect, or stylistic relation to ASE. I hypothesize that these are late rules that speakers learn either explicitly in speech therapies or implicitly as part of their means of navigating through a world dominated by AFE as the standard.

It is also important to note that ASE is different from our expected cases of reduplication in English. As Sherzer (2002:17) points out, English speakers do use reduplication for expressive morphology (Zwicky and Pullum 1987) and playful variation. For instance, one hears the form in particular artistic performances by musicians as a means of iconicity in regards to affect. AFE speakers can also use variational duplication in cases whereby speakers take up their use of the form as indexing nervousness, uncertainty and deceit around their words in a particular activity (cf. Ochs 1992). However, this is to be distinguished from ASE, for these purposes appear to be pragmatically marked, whereas for an ASE grammar, the practice of variational duplication can occur across contexts, even though speakers may say it occurs more in some contexts more than others, as part of their schemata.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to bring a new perspective to stuttering that emphasizes grammatical creativity, rather than deformity, within constraints. Moreover, it is this view of stuttering that will be explored further throughout the remainder of the dissertation, and readers should think of stuttering, when used, as morpho-semantically driven variational duplication. However, again, it is important to keep in mind that this is a perspective that is still developing, both conceptually and methodologically, and findings on this may change as we explore more the formal, structural patterns of stuttering varieties as grammatical systems. We still have much to observe and learn about the way the form works in regards to other variables, such as age and gender. For the remainder of the dissertation, I switch gears to focus on how social actors, through situated linguistic practices, negotiate relationships to their variant, which will include a mixture of grammatical, ethnographic and discourse analysis. In short, it is not just enough to study form, but to study how form is embedded in other broader projects of making and critiquing sociolinguistic identities in habitual practice.

Chapter Three:
Introductions as the Sociopolitical Co-Construction of Complex Personhood[1]

The goal of the next three chapters is to demonstrate how ASE speakers negotiate relationships, or positions and position-takings, to their nonstandard variation to their peers within the AESSC as a communicative contexts. In particular, I focus on how this work is done through discourse genres--introductions (this chapter), the talking circle speech (Chapter Four)--and interpretive media literacy practices (Chapter Five). In this chapter, I focus on how social actors use the discourse genre (Hanks 1987, 1996, 2005a) of introductions as practice to negotiate a relationship to being a speaker of sociolinguistic variation. I examine the structure and sociopolitical consequences of introductions—as a subset of greetings, or access rituals (Goffman 1971; see also Schiffrin 1977)—within Chapter B of SOA.

Locally speaking, introductions in SOA serve as a resource by which participants invoke the AESSC as a communicative context and take up positions within it. By this, I mean that introductions are a significant device that participants use to key (Goffman 1974) the frame of the AESSC as the relevant social field for the here and now. This includes its schemata of communicative practices and the participants who are ratified and not ratified to use these practices in the experienced here and now. However, this is far from a simple re-enactment, or token, of a type of discourse. Co-present parties socially accomplish their actions within interaction through the emerging moment, with the potential for changing the positions and position-takings associated with being a speaker of a stuttering variety in the AESSC. Thus, introductions become significant for producing local relationships among people in a particular here and now, turn by turn and action by action within the turn. However, this is not the only importance of introductions in this arena. There lies greater significance behind the habitual performing of the genre.

One of the key functions of introductions is to formulate a persona for co-present parties to orient to in future activities to come. Introductions, in a broad sense, pose a problem for interactants in constructing an identity that is recognizable to the participants. Thus, it relies on knowledge of and is interdiscursive with other pre-existing, and often authoritative discourses (Bakhtin 1981; Bucholtz and Hall 2005) of the self and other. For instance, people do not make up new descriptors on the spot most times. Instead, they invoke and rely on regular categorizations and their accompanying indexical targets (e.g., lawyer, doctor, professor, etc.) that they have used and heard others use in previous interactions. Such invocations also produce respective understandings for recipients and have consequences for how the interaction will proceed. This is especially significant when one of the identities posed here has to do with being a speaker of American Stuttering English (ASE), a variation of covert prestige (Labov 1966). A commonly held sociolinguistic belief in the AESSC is that speakers of ASE have a tendency to produce variational duplication tokens on their own name. As a result, through the linguistic performance of one's name, one can, but does not always, take up the identity of being an ASE

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speaker (Borkman 1999). Moreover, to invoke the identity of being a speaker of ASE, or not, is often interdiscursive with previous representations of other sociolinguistic identities of ASE and American Fluent English (AFE) speakers. Such instances can be of characters from mainstream films and television shows or even human interest stories that foreground ASE speakers as somehow out of the norm. Thus, introductions within SOA are themselves dialogic (Bakhtin 1981) with other representations of identity, ones that are repeated, altered, or held up for critique.

I argue that one of the significant roles of introductions is that they allow participants to do "complex personhood" (Gordon 1997) as a preferred and habitual strategy, or face (Goffman 1967), for producing a persona. This complexity is contrastive with existing representations that often erase such complexity and focus on ASE speakers for their sociolinguistic identity. To understand this claim, it is important to position introductions as one of the many interactive technologies for participants to implicitly take up contradictory but mutually informing stances (DuBois 2007) in regards to being and becoming a speaker of ASE. Those two stances can be described as "My speech is my identity" (e.g., as captured in the emic phrase "person-who-stutters") and "My speech is not the only part of my identity." The former, which Spivak (1987) would consider as strategic essentialism, is often one that these same speakers invoke in broader mainstream representations (e.g., newspaper stories in major venues) for public outreach and awareness. Moreover, in these popular representations produced within the AFESC, ASE speakers are often essentialized to their speech and their complex identity is often denied. However, in the AESSC, the production of a complex persona (Eckert 2002) is actually the preferred position and position-taking within the AESSC as a communicative context in SOA. In sum, I aim to show that introductions have a twofold purpose. First, they establish relationships in the participant framework, with consequences for prospective relations for the remainder of their interactions. Second, this discourse genre also allows social actors to do political work in countering essentializing formulations of their identity within a political economy of discourse and texts, regardless of intent (Bauman and Briggs 1990).

Overview of Chapter
This chapter is organized in the following manner. The first section discusses the existing anthropological and sociological research on introductions.[2] This discussion allows one to discern the general resources that interactants in SOA rely on in formulating introductions. I also note the current gaps in the literature on introductions as a rich source of data for researchers who explore how identity is dynamically co-constructed through everyday communicative routines. Afterward, I discuss the data set from which this particular genre comes. In the third section, I present and analyze my findings, using selected examples of introductions from Chapter B, one of my three fieldsites in SOA. The findings are separated into two parts: (a) sequence organization (Schegloff 2007:2) of introductions and (b) turn shapes of introductions. I then discern the implications for this genre in broader mainstream discourse and conclude with a summary of findings.

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[2] For a review on the psychological literature on introductions, see Pillet-Shore (2008).

Previous Literature on Greetings and Introductions
Structural Properties of Greetings
Beginning with Firth (1972), scholars who examine the structural properties of greetings foreground their conventionalized but complex structure. By complex, I mean that greetings, as actions, can be performed through a variety of syntactic structures and lexical items. For instance, social actors can use items such as attention-getting devices ("Hello"), time of day ("Good morning"), and so forth. Despite such variation, the preferred option in the interaction is a relatively predictable and conventional utterance (Duranti 1997). However, the conversational importance of greetings is not rendered visible by the analysis of one speaker's utterance, as is often done in traditional speech act theory (Schegloff 1988). For social actors, greetings are embedded in a larger structure beyond the 'sentence' or 'utterance.' Scholars like Caton (1986) note their "chain"-like sequence (Goffman 1981), or their conventional instantiation as adjacency pairs with a preferred first and second pair part, depending on the context (Schegloff 2007).

The kinds of greetings that have been analyzed typically entail, minimally, one turn-construction unit in each turn at talk. However, as Caton (1986) notes for Arabic, depending on the values at play, speakers can achieve more than one turn construction unit in a first or second pair part in the doing of greetings. Similarly, Irvine (1974) shows that adjacency pairs are not the only way to describe the structure, for the Wolof greeting system has multiple pairs within one greeting as an event, making it a complex and often expanded sequence (Jefferson and Schenkein 1977). Finally, in addition to the verbal component, conventionalized gestures in addition to verbal forms can also constitute greetings as actions (e.g., Firth 1972, Goody 1972). At times, a gesture can even take the place of a verbal greeting in initiating encounters. However, according to Firth, this is quite rare, and the verbal component of a greeting must usually be present to help in the accomplishment of mutual orientation alongside gaze and posture.

It is important to emphasize that, in order to structurally understand greetings, one must also take into account its broader role within the interaction. To perform an analysis solely at the lexical or phrasal level, speaker-centric perspective may be convenient for many analysts. However, it is a distortion of how participants themselves experience greetings (see Caton 1986). By this, I mean that greetings can often take other forms, such as a question about where one is going. It may look on the surface as a question, but, instead, can operate as a ritual means of initiating an encounter (see an example in Firth 1972). Hence syntactic shape alone does not necessarily determine whether a particular stretch of talk is or is not a greeting or not. It must be assessed in light of the surrounding conversational environment and as how the interactants understand it to operate. As Goffman (1971), Duranti (1997) and Pillet-Shore (2008) argue, the greeting will most likely be found at a boundary edge. This could be, for instance, in the turn-initial component and at the broader onset of some interactive event. As a result of its placement, greetings are described by scholars as a means of bracketing an activity, or opening up the possibility of future activities to occur (e.g., Schiffrin 1977) and the range of conventional or typical greetings differ by the kind of uptake they call for.

Identity Consequences
In addition to the structural properties of opening encounters, research also foregrounds the consequences of greetings for the creation of identities in interaction. In general, identities in any interaction can be presupposed and/or created within the context (Silverstein 1976), and linguistic anthropologists have pointed to the indexical relationship between the forms themselves and the identities that they directly or indirectly constitute (e.g., Ochs 1992). Thus,

structures in any interactive event, such as greetings, are rarely neutral. Greetings affect the kinds of identities that parties at talk seek to build, re-establish, and/or maintain (Goffman 1971; Caton 1986; Firth 1972; Goody 1972; Irvine 1974; Chen 1993). Along these lines, the discussions of greetings-identity nexus can be divided into two types of research: (a) the way greetings, in their design, presuppose that person X and Y have a relationship of quality Z; and (b) the way greetings can be used to increase person X's status in regards to Y, thereby improvising or building on their current relationship. As such, greetings, including introductions, serve as a rich source of data for anthropologists and other scholars interested in the habitual reconstruction and alteration of identity.

To further describe these consequences of identity (re)construction in greetings, Caton (1986) provides a useful concept in regards to "person." In his study of Yemeni greetings, Caton argues that scholars should move beyond the individual, cultural definition of "person" and adopt a more interaction-based concept that is also wedded to the interactive act of greeting. He writes:

> Rather, I am concerned with a categorical conception of the person that forms a kind of baseline for social interaction, after which actors may try to find out more about each other that will identify them as individuals with certain kinds of backgrounds, specific political affiliations, approximate wealth, and so forth, such specific information then being used to "negotiate" social interaction (Geertz 1979) and reality (Rosen 1984). In themselves a kind of prelude for social transactions, greetings, not surprisingly, are crucial as a pragmatic act in which the former kind of "person" (public versus private and categorical versus individual) is constructed. [1986:292]

Caton's conceptual definition provides a fruitful way for understanding how identity in greetings not only exists before the current moment but is also a social project within the moment. The re-definition pushes us to consider identity in greetings as both a time to establish a relationship to previous contexts as well as project a potentially new identity in this context. Thus, "person" is a socially-constructed and interactively-built complex sign in greetings, rather than a list of static, pre-existing attributes.

Caton's work contrasts with most traditional anthropological research in which the social identities of the parties in the interaction are assumed to be relatively fixed. The speaker, in this classic framework, performs a token of some general type of cultural category as a nice and bounded set of markers. When questions of agency are invoked, they center on the project of status manipulation, or the raising or lowering of status (e.g., Goody 1972, Irvine 1974, Firth 1972). In contrast, Caton's perspective allows one to position identity as discursively emergent in greetings, just as it is experienced for the participants in interaction.

In sum, this chapter relies on and expands on the aforementioned literature on the language and identity consequences to demonstrate how greetings and introductions allow for the public construction (rather than representation) of communally-valued persona in the AESSC: complex personhood (Gordon 1997). I argue that the construction of complex personhood is also a tacit move to call attention to the homogenous processes beyond the AESSC that flatten the identity of these particular social actors. Thus, this study adds to an emerging body of empirical research on greetings through a specific focus on social actors in the AESSC as a communicative context. I highlight how participants take these broad understandings of greetings and use them to do particular work in the construction of their communicative context. Moreover, the research on greetings and introductions allows us to further understand how the AESSC embeds this particular, relatively autonomous practice into a situated context for doing positions and position-takings in this social field. To support this claim, I turn to examples of how this

discourse genre, as an activity, is sequentially accomplished within the broader event at hand (the creation of a collective in a SOA meeting) an then examine specifically the practices used in formulating an identity.

Sequence Organization of Introductions in the AESSC
Action #1: Description as Pre-pre sequence

Official introductions do not immediately begin in Chapter B as soon as persons are all co-present in the same space, even unofficial ones which may have occurred in spaces outside of the meeting. Instead, what occurs first is a pre-pre sequence that operates first as a welcome as well as place-formulating turn (Schegloff 1972) that designates both the location and communicative context at play. Moreover, by this time, all participants are seated around the table (see Figure 1) in a circular format. An example of the pre-pre sequence is given in (1).

```
        (1)     Pre-Sequence (7/15/2003)
   1    BETH: Alri:ght, Welcome everyone to the Stuttering Organization of
   2    America, This is our (.8) uhm ((teeth sucking)) second meeting of (.)
   3    July::, (This is going to be) our speaking circle ↑night, uhm (.6)
   4    ((teeth sucking)) I'd like to welcome Dwi:ght [(    )?]=
   5    DWIGHT:                                       [Correct,]
   6    BETH: =Dwight is (.6) is (1.2) Keisha's husband, It's great to have her,
   7    Oh there's Dr. B:, Hey Dr. B::, (.8) how ↑are ya.
   8    DR B: Doin' well,
   9    BETH: Go::d. We're just starti:ng (.8) ↑Just starting. Just in time.
  10    (.5) We'll start off with-We'll s::tart off with introductio:ns, Uhm
  11    (.4) just tell us who you are, what you're doing, what you've been up
  12    ↑to, uhm we'll do (1.0) two (.) two to three minutes Tom? Or you know
  13    what, let's not time this, Just whatever you want to tell us. And then
  14    we'll start the ↑second part. (1.1) ((teeth sucking)) Which is a little
  15    more ↑formal.
```

In her initial turn construction unit, Beth, the chapter leader, opens the meeting with a general welcome to a broad descriptor "everyone" and formulates this as the meeting space for SOA. She uses deictics, such as "this" and "our" (l. 2), to continue to formulate the space in time ("second meeting of July") and activity (l. 3, "our speaking circle night") in both the here-now and in contrast to other broader contexts, such as the American Fluent English Speech Community (Hanks 2005). After this formulation, Beth uses the pre-sequence to also initiate a mediated introduction of a newcomer (l. 4-6), as noted in Pillet-Shore (2008) as a preferred conversational move. By mediated, this refers to the preferred strategy of using a mediator with information about two parties to introduce one to the group. In this case, Beth is familiar with both Dwight and the SOA participants. Thus, this turn construction unit fulfills a structurally-preferred action of mediating the introduction here. Moreover, on a related note, Beth uses the floor to also recognize and integrate a newcomer ("Dr. B") into the ongoing activity (l. 7-8) by describing what has just occurred (Pillet-Shore 2008). However, these two actions (the mediated introduction and the incorporation of newcomers) are particular to this interaction, rather than a pattern that holds across all interactions in my corpus.

Nonetheless, these two occurrences do show the ways in which the pre-sequence is achieved and how social actors must negotiate other potential actions, or frame breaks, in the scene. Beth then resumes the description sequence (l. 11-12), which then leads into a more

specific description from SOA to the introduction sequence. She formulates the directions using what appears to be a mitigated, rather than explicit, directive form (Ervin-Tripp 1976) (e.g., "Just tell us who you are"), projecting what actions are to come next and leaving it up to participants to negotiate. In her formulation of the context, note how her continued use of referential indexicals also figure into the formulation ("us," "you"), which anchor their meaning within the context as well as work to build the context of relevant parties who are ratified to hear the interaction. Moreover, her use of verb tense and aspect is also significant. In requesting the content of introductions, Beth offers interlocutors the present tense ("are"), progressive or habitual aspect ("are doing") (Comrie 1976), and past tense ("have been up to") as resources to formulate a self. As such, Beth's turn positions interlocutors, in this pre-sequence and formulation of the sequence, to utilize time as a resource in formulating a sense of self in the introduction, which many of them do, as exemplified in the example below. In short, her metalinguistic instructions do the work of stipulating the information that interactants are to supply, which explicitly says one is more than one's speech.

Again, there are a few other side sequences (Jefferson 1972) in regards to frame breaks and the negotiation of the rules. What is important is that this sequence occurs before anyone can officially launch their own introduction. Additionally, it is through this description sequence that the activity is formulated and that the relevant next moves are set up. The pre-pre sequence also contains a projection of the activity soon to come after the introductions and an assessment of the future activity ("more formal"). However, even before one can go into an introduction, there is another problem that the interactants must negotiate: the selection of the relevant next speaker.

Action #2: Pre-Sequence Summons-Answer Request
After the completion of the pre-pre sequence (the formulation of the description by the chapter leader), the floor is open for volunteers. The challenge at this point is to negotiate who is to be selected as the next speaker. Consider the talk in (2), which immediately follows (1).

```
    (2)  Summons-Answer Sequence
16  BETH: Alright, anyone?
17  (.)
18  Anyone?
19  (1.8)
20  Thought that hand was going up.=
21  ALL: =Heh heh heh
22  BETH: Anybody?
23  CHRIS: ((Raises his hand))
24  BETH: Let's hear it for Chris, [((clap))]
25  ALL:                           [((clap))]
```

In (2), Beth closes the description sequence, as normative metalinguistic framing, with "Alright," signaling its end and the opening for the summons-answer pre-sequence (l. 16) (Schegloff 1968, 2007). The summons is presented as the first pair part with the word "anyone," with a rising intonation. Note here that she repeats the summons and then incorporates a parenthetical remark (l. 20), commenting on an observation in the scene and eliciting laughter (l. 21). Such a commentary, although brief, demonstrates the ways in which monitoring occurs not only in the verbal sense but also in the non-verbal sense for ratification (e.g., the second part of the pre-sequence, answer). Finally, Chris raises his hand (l. 23), accepting the summons through gesture. Beth ratifies the answer in her subsequent turn, followed by a more general ratification through everyone's clapping.

What is important to note in Actions #1 and #2 is that both provide an understanding for seeing how much interactive work is done before anyone even does a single introduction. In the above examples, Beth invokes the communicative context and its relevant activities before even getting to the summons-answer sequence. In the description sequence of the introduction, Beth also licenses the strategy of the macro-turn (Duranti 1981), signaled through how much time one has in their introduction, thereby giving the selected speaker room for many turn-construction units as well as the challenge to the interlocutors of knowing when and how to monitor their contributions, be they as continuers or assessments in the middle of the macro-turn. Moreover, the summons-answer sequence is one that requires not only two-pair parts but a sequence-closing third (the clapping) that also opens the door for a macro-turn. Thus, an examination of the pre-sequence shows how social actors must achieve the macro-turn in its relevant place in the interaction.

Action #3: The Introduction as Macro-Turn
In the previous section, I discussed how introductions are built up to by all the participants through the organization of their actions in respect to one another. At this particular point, introductions are done with a macro-turn format. According to Duranti (1981:80-85), macro-turns contain the following features:

- Allocation through pre-allocation, self-selection, other-selection, perhaps with a preference structure
- Backchannel responses of agreement from audience
- Gaps longer than turns in conversation
- Speech signaled by speaker through conventional formula
- Some items may be pre-specified in advance
- Not all people have right to speak at any given time

Indeed, macro-turns are not simply given to one party nor pre-allocated. They must be achieved and coordinated through the monitoring of participants in regards to the relevant signs. Such signs can include raising one's hand or a verbal acceptance, and then ratified once put out there in the floor. Upon the sequence-closing third, being the claps, the introduction begins. Again, I draw from the same example from the same night, and show in (3) Chris's macro-turn.

```
     (3) Introduction as Macro-Turn
24   BETH: Let's hear it for Chris, [((clap))]
25   ALL:                          [((clap))]
26   (1.0)
27   CHRIS: Hello, (.) uh (.) my name is Chris (X), (.) uh right now I'm a
28   welder for (XX XXX), (.) uh things are actually going kinda slow at
29   work, (.6) gonna have a couple of days off a-at the end of the month,
30   (.8) And if things don't pick up, then I'll (.) be looking at getting
31   laid off.
32   (.8)
33   (XX): Mmm=
34   CHRIS: =But we'll see what happens, uh I just graduated too, so (.5) uh
35   it's not like I want to stay there much longer (1.7) [e]-anyway, (.8)
36   uhm (.5) let's see, (1.7) uh (.) a week and a half ago I went (.5)
37   skydiving for the first ↑time=
38   (JOHN): =Wo:w
```

```
39    CHRIS: =Which was a blast, (.5) a lot of fun, probably the funnest thing
40    I've ever done, (.6) uh and I kinda want to go and get my (.5) license
41    so I can do it by myse:lf, (.5) but that's gonna have to wait for a
42    while, till (.) I have more money, (.5) a::nd (.4) that's about it,
```

Upon ratification of his turn by Beth through a directive to clap (l. 24, "Let's hear it for Chris"), which also projects the appropriate response, Chris initiates the project of opening and sustaining a macro-turn. He begins with a turn-initial greeting (l. 27, "Hello") and the conventional formula for an introduction opening (l. 27, "My name is Chris."). While I will focus more on the turn-design of this in the second section, what is important to note here, in terms of sequence, is that Chris's turn contains several turn construction units and two important topic negotiations (work to skydiving) (Button and Casey 1984, 1988/1989). The use of the macro-turn format also re-organizes the preferred actions of the recipients. They limit their contributions to minimal assessments (usually with one word), displaying their understanding that this is a multi-turn construction unit genre. What is also important to note here is how Chris signals to his interlocutors explicitly that he will relinquish his rights to the conversational floor at another turn-initial boundary (l. 42). In this sense, the sequence of the macro-turn can be said to constitute the following:

1. Greeting (e.g., l. 27)
2. Announcing of name (e.g., l. 27)
3. Replay of one's week or background information (e.g., l. 27-42)
4. Explicit closing (e.g., l. 42-43)

Eventually I will get more into the dynamics of greetings and the significance of announcing one's name. However, what I want to draw attention to here is that the introductions themselves have a particular preferred sequence, which has consequences for where participants, or interlocutors, can also contribute through assessments. For instance, assessment work occurs primarily in stage 3 of the macro-turn. Moreover, it is also in stage 3 where participants can also do insert strategies, such as repair or topic expansion (via offering or proffering, see Schegloff 2007).

       Nonetheless, the sequence tends to maintain this format and speakers and hearers must watch for the ways in which the turn is opened and closed. In the work of closing, it is the current speaker's job to project an end to his turn, for macro-turns themselves are tricky in negotiating endpoints. This is unlike conventional turns where a speaker is guaranteed at least one turn construction unit before a next speaker typically takes the cue to take the floor (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). However, when there is topic expansion, the negotiation of closing the floor becomes a bit more elaborate in its coordination. Moreover, although the above turn has several silences in it, it is also important to note that these are not taken as places for recipients to enter the floor and take a turn.

Action #4: Ratification of Closing
After the speaker has made explicit the intentionality of the turn's closing point, this is not enough. Upon hearing the announcement of the turn's end, this too must be ratified in some way, as I will now show in (4).

```
     (4)Ratification of Closing
39   CHRIS: =Which was a blast, (.5) a lot of fun, probably the funnest
40   thing I've ever done, (.6) uh and I kinda want to go and get my (.5)
41   license so I can do it by myse:lf, (.5) but that's gonna have to wait
42   for a while, till (.) I have more money, (.5) a::nd (.4) that's about
43   it,
44   BETH: Alright. [Very nice jo:b.]
45   ALL:            [((Clap))
```

In lines 42-43, Chris makes explicit that the macro-turn is coming to an end, which leaves the job of ratifying this action of closure. Beth takes up this in her subsequent turn (l. 44), noting its completion with "Alright" and providing an assessment as everyone else claps (l. 45). The claps themselves are an index of ratification and also imbue the act of introducing as one of symbolic capital in this context. As such, the sequence-closing third occurs not only with an assessment, thereby signaling the somewhat performance-nature of introductions in Chapter B. It also shows that introductions themselves are a co-constructed event that is carefully navigated at every turn, organizing what are to be relevant actions (such as the clapping) to not only open but also close and ratify the closing of the introduction. In this sense, introductions are far from a solo act. They rely on interactants knowing the sequential nature of how introductions are constructed and what their respective macro and micro-interactional roles are at particular points (Goodwin 1987).

Action #5: Closing of Entire Sequence
At this point, I have focused primarily on the sequence of how one introduction is opened and then closed. I have not discussed how the entire sequence is closed once the entire group has now constituted themselves as ratified interlocutors. As for how to illustrate this, the closing is rather formulaic and it announces the closure of one particular realm of the activity and goes into the other one with a brief description of the activity to come. In this sense, one can argue that introductions, as a genre and an activity, can be considered relatively bounded in Chapter B's sense. This is explicitly signaled by the closing formula that is often used. Moreover, one can also appreciate the ways in which social actors bring about the opening, continued negotiation of the sequence, and the end of the sequence with the idea that it projects other relevant next-actions and next-speakers.

Preference within the Sequence Organization of Introductions
At this point, it should be evident that introductions themselves are not solo acts that can stand alone. Instead, they are a part of a rich sequence of events and achieved through a coordination of contingent actions by social actors. Such an achievement involves close monitoring by the social actors to see not only where they are in the sequence, but how this organizes what actions are and are not expected of them to achieve coherence in subsequent actions. Moreover, in the above analysis of sequence, one can also deduce that there are particular preferred actions (e.g., Boyle 2000, Schegloff 2007, 1988, Pomerantz 1984)., rather than anything going for the next move. In looking at the summons-answer sequence in (1), one sees that the preferred response to the answer sequence is one that the recipient offers himself or herself to the floor, rather than simply talking and going on with the introduction. To argue that this is the case, I turn to (5).

```
     (5) Initiation Sequence (Chapter B, 8/3/2003)
1    BETH: Next volunteer,
2    (1.0)
```

```
 3    VIC: Oh well (I'm a)-since [I'm so=]
 4    BETH:                     [>Let's hear it<] =
 5    VIC: =So new-new to the group=
 6    BETH: =Okay=
 7    VIC: =so I guess I'll start=
 8    BETH: =>Let's hear it for V[ic],<
 9    VIC:                       [So]
10    ALL:     [((clap))]
11    BETH:   [[(        )]]
12    (NATE): Heh
13    VIC: Yes [so yes]=
14    (X):            =[(        )]
```

In (5), one observes this adherence to preference for introductions to be volunteered. Vic's stretch of talk operates as a prefacing remark and also a bit of self-formulation on himself as a novice in the group. However, he has not raised his hand at this point and thus the talk appears to come from nowhere. Beth begins the ratification of his turn (l. 4) with a directive but then stops to allow Vic to finish his turn-construction unit (l. 5, 7). After he has told the group he will begin his introduction, Beth then completes the sequence-closing third of the summons-answer sequence (l. 8, 10) and Vic is allowed to begin his turn. Thus, this example provides a sense of what happens when the preferred sequence of actions is somehow breached and how interactants re-achieve the routine.

Moreover, there are two ways to make others aware that one is a body that is available to do an introduction: through explicit verbal means, as in the case of Vic's, or through raising one's hand. However, my data set does not show that one way is dispreferred and socially sanctioned if it is performed; both strategies are equally valued. As such, this ensures that the speaker that is selected next remains a "volunteer," rather than being forced to speak, which goes against one of the central tenets of Chapter B. (See example in corpus on this.) Second, in regards to the design of the first pair part in the summons-answer sequence, the summons is presented in the sense of a general descriptor (i.e., not naming anyone in particular). This further projects another kind of response: the future next speaker should organize his or her actions as ones that are understood to be voluntary, rather than forced. In this sense, this finding diverges from Pillet-Shore's (2008) observation that the preferred structure in everyday conversation, when one seeks to elicit an introduction from others, is to offer one's own name first. In this case, Beth does not offer her introduction first, but opens the floor to others. My perspective on this, though, is that this is a context-sensitive issue for Chapter B, for in Chapter C, the chapter leader, Wes, actually starts introductions (known "indigenously" as "check-ins") by offering his first. Thus, there is also diversity in the collective with regards to preference structure of the invitation to introduce oneself to others.

In regards to the introduction itself, one notices that the preferred response from interlocutors is the lack of response during the extended turn, or macro-turn. This does not mean that the interlocutors are passive. For instance, as noted in (2), social actors can and do perform assessments of the speaker's current talk, or use continuers. However, interlocutors do not immediately start speaking at the end of what they think is one aspect of the macro-turn. Any questions, including those that can trigger a repair sequence during the macro-turn, must be reserved until the end of the turn, which must be explicitly signaled by the current speaker. My hypothesis as to why this occurs has to do with the idea that interactants believe that a person's macro-turn should remain hers or his, rather than being co-opted. This is linked to an action that

happens to many speakers of stuttering varieties by fluent speakers: the co-opting of turns or the use of repair operators, such as "What?," which call attention to the talk as somehow troubling.

Finally, the preferred closing sequence (or sequence-closing sequence) is done through clapping and, perhaps, some co-occurring assessment done by one of the social actors. Although I do not have evidence for this, I suspect that no clapping or an explicit assessment of someone's speech in a negative light could be seen, for instance, as a negative evaluation of both the individual and the collective. Also, to not clap could lower the social face of the evaluating interactant in regards to the group. In post-introduction structural positions, social actors can engage in topic expansions. Such expansions are socially achieved, rather than simply given as the norm, and are only licensed at particular points in the interaction. For instance, let us look at the example in (6), which occurs after the participant, Vic, has finished his introduction, as signaled by the claps.

```
       (6) Topic Expansion (Chapter B, 08/03/2003)
30     ALL:           [((Clap))]
31     BETH:               [Vic? is ↑that ↓chips] like the chips that you eat?
32     (.6)
33     VIC: Oh I uh (wish) [(          ),]=
34     BETH:               [(>Do you-<)]
35     NATE:                            [Heh heh]
36     VIC: =Actually those-those are the chips for the (cards) and all like
37     you know (in a)/(for the) [PCs]=
38     BETH:                             [(O::h)/(O::k-]
39     VIC: =Oh that would be much more fun-fun ah to work with ah those chips
40     (those chips)=
41     BETH: =I thought I [had a] (great)/(way) [(    )]
42     VIC:              =[Yeah]
43     BETH: =say can you have [[Frito Lay make a **baked frito**]]?
44                            [((Beth hitting the table with fist))]
45     NATE:       [[Heh heh heh huh huh huh huh]]
46     (XX):       [Heh heh heh]
47     KEISHA:  [(**Bamn.**)] you just (.) >get it on out there.<
48     BETH:   [**Ba:ked Fri:to.**  that's where I'm going.]
49     NATE: [eh eh heh heh heh heh heh]
50     VIC:              [[Baked uhm (      )]]=
51     BETH: =I thought I had a way in. but that's okay.=
52     VIC: =Sorry about that.=
53     BETH: =That's okay.=
54     VIC: Can't do that yet,=
55     (XX): =Heh heh
56     BETH: Baked Frito:s, they have baked Dorito:s, baked La:ys, (1.3) baked
57     (XX):     [Ruffles,]
58     KEISA:    [Potatoes,]
59     (XX): Hhhh
60     BETH: Baked Ruffles,
61     JOHN: ↑You're just never ↑satis↓fied, are you,
62     (.)
63     (XX):   [Heh heh heh]
64     BETH: I'm looking for the goo:d ta:sty low fat wa:y, (1.0) you know?
65     (.)al↑right, thank you [Vi:c.]
66     ALL:                        [((Clap))]
67     BETH:                        [(So glad you're back.) next volunteer?]
```

(6) is distinctive because, in line 30, the signal for the sequence-closing sequence has occurred with all participants clapping. However, Beth triggers an other-initiated self-repair sequence (l. 31-32) in response to something earlier in Vic's macro-turn. However, once this sequence is closed, another one starts on the topic of Baked Fritos, which opens up the participant framework for everyone else and not simply Vic. However, note how Beth closes this sequence (l. 67) with the use of the lexical item "Alright," marking a closure of this sequence, which is then followed by a repetition of the same sequence-closing sequence (the clapping of the hands). Indeed, while it may seem like a detour, I use (6) to illustrate that the preferred sequence for topic expansion and repair sequences does not occur until after the macro-turn. This also suggests, for instance, that the collective norm in this communicative context is to focus moreso on the content of the speaker and to avoid repair sequences in the middle of the turn, rather than interrupting during the turn.

Overall Significance of Sequence Organization
Speaker-Centric versus Socio-Centric Analyses
An analysis of sequence is important because it shows how social actors coordinate their actions with a displayable structural preference of next-moves to keep the flow. This is even the case when there are insert strategies, such as topic expansion. This analysis stands in contrast to a speaker-centric approach that focuses on the sole content of one introduction. By highlighting sequence first, one discerns the significance of introductions as not only about the formulation of selves, but it is also a social project that is built on prior moves and partially determines future moves. In this section, I illustrated how social actors build introductions so as to occur rather seamlessly and through rich coordination of each other's actions.

Moreover, it is through the sequence of introductions that the entire collective is built around the table in a circular format. Introductions themselves are not simply a means for saying who one is; it is a communal device to make co-present parties into part of a broader collective. Through introductions, people become relevant participants who have particular responsibilities and interactional personas that are open for monitoring and may be used as a resource in subsequent actions in interaction. Hence, people are not simply co-present but are prepared to heighten their participation in a focused interaction (Goffman 1967).

Formulating Selves in the Macro-Turn: Turn Design in Introductions
Beyond Sequence: Formulation of Self as Practice in the Macro-Turn
Now that we have seen how social actors build the context for this kind of action, we turn to the action, or challenge, of designing a turn. As Pillet-Shore (2008) notes, there are multiple ways of introducing oneself and speakers are often forced to fashion their responses in regards to what they perceive the context and interlocutors to be. Given that the relevant action is to introduce oneself, the questions here are now the following: How does one use linguistic and other resources to accomplish this action in a way that is attuned to the recipients in SOA, as a manifestation of the AESSC? Moreover, is there a possibility that this practice may be doing other work beyond the immediate context?

Through an examination of the data below, I argue that social actors in SOA, as members of a broader AESSC, construct a preferred persona that highlights that one is more than one's sociolinguistic identity. Moreover, this construction of a persona, with the sociolinguistic identity as backgrounded rather than foregrounded, operates in more tacit work of co-constructing complex personhood as a valued communal persona, rather than a flattened subjectivity that is

reducible only to one's sociolinguistic identity, be it an ASE or AFE speaker. From the viewpoint of practice, introductions, as a discourse genre, allows social actors to take up and socially ratify positions and associated position-takings in the AESSC, as a social field, with the preference for complex personhood. To illustrate these points, we return to the example from Chris's introduction (7) and compare it to another introduction by Vic (8).

```
    (7) Chris's Introduction (Chapter B, 07/15/2003)
27  CHRIS: Hello, (.) uh (.) my name is Chris (X), (.) uh right now I'm a
28  welder for (XX XXX), (.) uh things are actually going kinda slow at
29  work, (.6) gonna have a couple of days off a-at the end of the month,
30  (.8) And if things don't pick up, then I'll (.) be looking at getting
31  laid off.
32  (.8)
33  (XX): Mmm=
34  CHRIS: =But we'll see what happens, uh I just graduated too, so (.5) uh
35  it's not like I want to stay there much longer (1.7) [e]-anyway, (.8)
36  uhm (.5) let's see, (1.7) uh (.) a week and a half ago I went (.5)
37  skydiving for the first ↑time=
38  (JOHN): =Wo:w
39  CHRIS: =Which was a blast, (.5) a lot of fun, probably the funnest thing
40  I've ever done, (.6) uh and I kinda want to go and get my (.5) license
41  so I can do it by myse:lf, (.5) but that's gonna have to wait for a
42  while, till (.) I have more money, (.5) a::nd (.4) that's about it,


    (8) Vic's Introduction (Chapter B, 08/03/2003)
15  VIC: =This being my first uh time (in doing) this speech thing, so I'm
16  not sure how I'll do, but I'll just see how it goes. so hi I'm uh-Vic uh
17  uhm-(XX), uh I've been uh in uh-New-uh-port Beach slash uh-So uh-Cal for
18  like uh-six or ten months now, (.4) I-I just moved here from like
19  Boulder uh like ten uh-months back or so, (.4) and I've been here and I
20  work in a-for a chip company doing some uh-stuff with chips and its most
21  like uh (.) more like uh-product applications, engineering for chips and
22  all, so I've been doing that for a while, uhm I've been out of school
23  for uh six uh [sə-se]-s[e:]ven (  ) years (now) six (.7) or seven years
24  or so (2.0), huh huh, and uhm and I a-uh-moved to US like six years back
25  or so (uh and I came) and my home country is (.) is (.) India, uh that
26  is where I came from, and I've been here since then, uhm (.6) and I'm
27  sure what else should I say, so I guess I'll just s:stop here for now,
28  [(   .)]
29  BETH:            [(    )]
```

Since the reader is relatively familiar with Chris's introduction, I will make a few brief comments on Vic's introduction before conducting a closer, granular analysis. The excerpt I am sharing from Vic occurs, of course, after he has answered the summons, as discussed above. Vic has accepted the summons and engages in some pre-introduction work, or parenthetical, metacommunicative assessments where he constitutes himself as a "novice." This framing as a "novice" also positions the audience to potentially see his turn as that of a first-timer and that this could potentially affect his competent performance of the genre (l. 15-16). Such pre-introduction assessments, thus, makes relevant the category of "novice" for the collective, in contrast to expert. This further suggests that there is an orientation towards the idea of introductions as requiring a kind of skill, or communicative competence. As such, this clip is set up in contrast to the introduction from Chris, who is an experienced member. Now that I have established the

context of Vic's introduction and its relation to Chris's, I focus on how Chris and Vic both design their turns to accomplish the communally-valued persona of complex personhood.

The Introduction as the Invocation of Multiple Categories
Chris's Introduction
Before moving into the broader work of introductions, I first want to focus on the linguistic aspects of Chris's turn design at the morphophonological level in regards to variational duplication. First, Chris's macro-turn contains relatively few tokens of variational duplication (l. 29, 35). Such a view is in line with this work, though, in that speakers of ASE as variation do not always use ASE. However, as I will argue below, a lack of tokens variational duplication that signify ASE does not necessarily mean that interactants cannot enact positions and position-takings of an ASE speaker within the AESSC. Second, upon closer inspection of the two tokens present, they are also unique because they occur on non-content words (e.g., nouns/verbs), but more on function words at syntactically-prominent places. For the first token, "a-at", this occurs as the syntactic head of a prepositional phrase. The second token, "[e]-anyway" comes after a pause and is used to mark a topic shift. What is maintained, though, is that vowel in the copy is higher than the vowel in the full word, yet they remain matched in that they are both front vowels. However, the presence of variational duplication on function words suggests either (a) overapplication that may be idiosyncratic or (b) non-significant variational duplication, for the practice of duplicating function words and pronouns is also common in AFE speakers too.

Now that I have discussed the morphophonological aspects of the two tokens in Chris's introduction, I turn to the broader work that Chris does in taking up a particular position as an ASE speaker in this communicative context. In looking at (7), one observes how Chris formulates a number and quality of different types of categories and, as such, personas, for others to orient to. A central device in this process is the use of referential indexicals, including "I," "my," deictic verbs such as "be," adverbs such as "right now", and locative pronouns such as "there", which are interpretable in regards to the here-now. However, these forms also take their significance as devices that Chris uses to situate himself within the communicative field of the AESSC in relation to the other positions (Hanks 2005, 1990). Chris also uses linguistic devices that situate him in time, particularly adverbs and tense. In particular, he uses the conditional (Traugott 1986) to formulate a "potential" identity (l. 30-31) as an unemployed worker. As noted above, his turn construction units contain single and complex adverb phrases as complements ("just," "right now," "a week and a half ago") (l. 34, 36) to further anchor himself and actions within a particular time-space in relationship to his interlocutors' sense of time. Chris also uses the future tense ("gonna", "we'll see") (l. 34, 41) as a means of not only formulating a persona that is here-now, but one that steps into the future. Finally, Chris produces many assessments, by way of adjectives, that Chris invokes in his turn. Such assessments are used to negotiate his relationship, or stance (Du Bois 2007), to the primary topics of his macro-turn: work ("slow") (l. 28) and skydiving ("blast," "fun", intensifiers through comparatives ("funnest") (l. 39).

After announcing his name, Chris formulates his persona through his current occupation ("a welder," l. 27-28) and uses this to take up a brief discussion of work problems (slow hours and being laid off). He also invokes the category of a recent graduate (l. 34-35) in connection to his current job woes as a means of discussing future plans for employment. Thus, the first part of the turn takes on the characteristic of trouble talk (Jefferson and Lee 1992; Jefferson 1984) which also potentially makes the recipients responsible for responding or assessing his troubles. To get out of trouble talk and the interactional identity of troubles-teller, Chris invokes the use of the pause (l. 35) for .8 seconds and then again at .5, signaling that a shift in topic will occur also

by the use of "Let's see." He then launches into a second part of the introduction: a brief replay of his skydiving adventure. This switch to a new topic affords Chris the structural opportunity to formulate himself as a recent skydiver and someone who loves it so much that he wants to receive a license.[3] What is important here, though, is that the identity of an ASE or AFE speaker is *not* formulated as part of his introduction, even though it is in the communicative context of the AESSC in SOA. Instead, what one sees is the multiple invocation of multiple categories and subject positions that do not include ASE speaker explicitly. As Chris's macro-turn demonstrates, interactants take up the challenge of connecting these other disparate identities through linguistic and conversational devices, with the project of formulating a complex persona beyond sociolinguistic identity.

Vic's Introduction: Formulating Multiple Personas through Place
On a grammatical level, Vic's introduction (8) differs from Chris's introduction in the use of one particular idiolectal feature: the use of the phonological filler 'uhm' or 'uh.' I consider this to be a feature designed to delay the production of a variational duplication because of its location at particular points in the turn. For instance, one sees it inserted within particular syntactic units, such as noun phrases (e.g., l. 15, 'first uh time) and word-internally (l. 17, 'New-uh-port Beach'). This differs from Chris's use of 'uhms,' which occur at the beginning of turns as a means of holding the floor (see example (7, l. 27, 34, 40). It is through the 'uhms' in these places that the variational duplication token can often be delayed and allow one to produce a version of an AFE token with an ASE twist. In this sense, one could argue the 'uhms' to be a recontextualized interactional device as a means of enacting a particular kind identity, one that seeks to avoid the act of producing ASE tokens but at the same time not producing a typical AFE token. In linguistic terms, these particular uhms and uhs can be considered as an instance of fixed segmentism (Inkelas 2006) and a semantically-empty daughter that replaces the truncated first daughter (or partial duplicant). To capture this insight, I have marked these fillers as connected to part of the upcoming word through a dash (e.g., uh-Vic). Moreover, these 'uhms' and 'uhs' are significant from the use of word-search tokens because of their sequential location, moreso than their intonation, for they appear to share the same intonational rises as the tokens one would see in word-search environments within turns. Thus, the use of the 'uhm' /'uh' device can also be argued to be in complementary distribution with the place where one would normally see the duplicant. Additionally, Vic's use of this idiolect feature, in some ways, can also be argued to constitute Vic's identity as a 'novice' within this particular context. His use of this particular device, in some ways, goes against the idea of the AESSC as a communicative context where one can actually do uninhibited variational duplication. In regards to his token on the verb (l. 27), which is where one would predict them to fall. Similar to what is noted in Chapter Two, Vic also lengthens the obstruent (l. 27), a grammatical process which inhibits the production of a variational duplicant token but, at the same time, does not come off as a token within an AFE grammar. While this discussion of fillers is brief, I will return to a more thorough analysis of this device in the next chapter.

When Vic does produce tokens of variational duplication, one notices that his do fall on the beginning, or boundary edges of turn-construction units (l. 18, 'I-I') and content words. In this case, Vic's tokens occur on the adjective use of "seven" (l. 23, which is modeled in Figure 2 as the combination of three morphological inputs, or daughter nodes, via Morphological

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[3] While not noted in the example below, this discussion does launch into topic expansion after the sequence-closing claps.

Doubling Theory). Upon listening to the sample, we see that it occurs in the initial position and duplicates the stressed syllable of the word 'seven.' The duplicants differ, however, within their vowel quality, in which there is a dependency relationship between the daughters in the morphological construction, in Morphological Doubling Theory terms (see Chapter Two). For instance, the vowel is rewritten so that the vowel is slightly more lax and central in the first of the three copies, whereas in the final daughter, the vowel is not re-written and faithfulness to the input is maintained (front, close mid-high vowel). What is interesting in this token is that the final daughter contains a lengthened vowel, which may be used as a stylistic marker to further distinguish it from the earlier copies. However, in looking at the earlier tokens in my corpus, compensatory lengthening of the final daughter is not a requirement.[4] The vowel lengthening can be, interpreted, as an analogical operation to obstruent or sonorant lengthening. In the latter kind of lengthening, the first daughter is re-written and this could be interpreted as single-segment copying, which is different from conventional duplication (see Inkelas 2006). In short, it may be idiosyncratic within this particular performance and can also be a potential device for others to pick up and alter their other emergent grammars. I now want to shift the attention to how Vic uses other conversational structures and syntactic devices to further formulate his identity as an ASE speaker alongside the morphophonological realm within the communicative context of the AESSC.

Like Chris's introduction in (7), Vic also makes use of referential indexicals through first-person pronouns ("I", "my"), the use of deictic "be" ("I am"), demonstratives ("this,") and spatial deictics ("here") (l. 18, 19, 26, 28). The locatives are a prevalent resource here because Vic's turn is constructed primarily about location and identity, something we will return to below. Moreover, Vic uses adverbs as verb complements ("ten months," "seven years") (l. 18, 23-24, 25) to signify time in many places, in regards to constituting himself in relation to both his current here-now and other members of the group (e.g., those who may have lived in southern California longer or shorter than he did.) In addition to time, Vic also uses proper place names used with "be" (e.g., area, country, etc.) (l. 17, 18, 19, 26). His use of proper place names further operates to situate him in previous and current places, including his current position in the AESSC. What is interesting though is that the turn actually uses few assessments about the act of moving. Instead, he does assessment work on the activity of the introduction itself. Through particular phrases in his turn construction units ("my first time doing this speech thing" and "I'm sure what I should say next," l. 15-16, 27-28), Vic constitutes his position as uncertain and novice-like in regards to the activity of introductions. Thus, in his pre-acceptance and even at the end of his turn, he formulates an epistemic stance towards his current and future interactional and individual identity through such phrases (e.g., "I am not sure what…" and "I'm not sure how I will do…"). This also further constitutes his sense of self in relation to the collective, for one can only be a novice in relationship to a context.

We now turn to the central work that these linguistic devices are doing within the discursive event. In lines 18-20, Vic focuses exclusively on where he has moved from. Using the social and cultural saliences of places as interactional resources (Schegloff 1972; Feld and Basso 1996; Myers 2006), he constitutes a place-identity (Prohansky et al. 1983) that is recipient-designed for his interlocutors (Newport Beach, So-Cal for Southern California). Through the

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[4] Also, one interpretation for the similarity of vowel quality between the second and third daughter in the construction is that the second daughter and third daughter may, in fact, be one unit: a self-initiated self-performed repair of the full copy. Thus, it may be that there really are only two true morphophonologically-real daughters but it appears to be three, due to linguistic performance factors.

naming of his different locations, Vic constitutes a subjectivity as someone who is relatively new to the area, hence a novice not only to the group but also to Southern California. Following a brief pause, he transitions from geographic novicehood to his career in engineering (working with computer chips) (l. 19-22), which he explicitly notes he's being doing for a while (l. 21-22) in comparison to living in Southern California. Thus, there is a juxtaposition set up between novice in place and expert in a career. Afterwards, he moves into the formulation of the category "former student" (out of school for several years, but with no anchoring in place). Following a significant pause of two seconds, he transitions in the macro-turn (l. 23-26) towards an extended discussion of his formulation of another category, "immigrant." This is explicitly signified when he notes that he has also moved from India to the US some time back, before closing out his introduction. Most importantly, the types of persona that Vic formulates are not explicitly an ASE or AFE speaker except for early in his turn (l. 15-16). In the pre-introduction turn-construction units, he constitutes himself as a 'novice' in this particular place where this kind of persona is expected for other reasons. Nonetheless, Vic transitions from this formulation before the conventional opening (e.g., greeting and proposition of name-saying) and designs his turn to invoke the categories of someone that has a distinctive relationship to space and place and is also an expert engineer. In short, as a novice, Vic recognizes that the expected turn design is that by which one takes up the position of ASE speaker and the position-taking of "I am more than my sociolinguistic identity," or complex personhood.

The Introduction as Establishment of a Communally-Valued Persona
In most of the tokens that I collected over the 2003-2004 period as well as from my ethnographic notes, social actors in Chapter B overwhelmingly formulate their turns to convey that they are more than their sociolinguistic identity, as in the cases of (7) and (8). This is in stark contrast to Chapter A, for instance, where there appeared to be not much sanctioning either way. However, in Chapter B, if one examines the pre-pre sequence, which is the description sequence of the activity, note how it is formulated in a way that foregrounds other aspects of oneself rather than one's sociolinguistic identity, as repeated in (9).

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(9) Beth's Description Sequence
BETH: Go::d. We're just starti:ng (.8) ↑Just starting. Just in time. (.5)
We'll start off with-We'll s::tart off with introductio:ns, Uhm (.4) just
tell us who you are, what you're doing, what you've been up ↑to, uhm
we'll do (1.0) two (.) two to three minutes Tom? Or you know what, let's
not time this, Just whatever you want to tell us. And then we'll start
the ↑second part. (1.1) ((teeth sucking)) Which is a little more
↑formal. Alright, Anyone?
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In examining (9) again, Beth, in her prospective description sequence for future introductions, formulates the sequence in terms of not only what the time should be, but also the content. Although it seems quite vague, what is unique is the way that Beth's turn places the recipients of the description and instructional sequence in a position to orient to a preferred turn shape that focuses on a non-sociolinguistic identity. Beth provides a mitigated directive for the prospective speakers to say who they are (which gets taken up as a formulation to say one's name), what their job is, and if there are any tellables (Sacks and Jefferson 1992) that they would like to report from their lives to presumably unknowing recipients within this interaction.

In this sense, the contents of the introduction, their shape, or formulation of their action in a particular way, reflect a particular understanding of the pre-pre sequence. This is not only in

terms of design, but also in terms of the kind of persona as valued in this context of recipients. I am not saying that people did not use the introductions as a means to take up the other stance, "I am my sociolinguistic identity," but in cases where this did happen, two strategies occurred: subsequent introductions did not take on this stance or the current speaker, similar to the strategy employed by Chris in (7), switches topics within the macro-turn and opts for both personas. To exemplify this, I turn to a final example below (10).

The Use of Topic Proffering from Others to (Re)produce the Expected Persona Identity
Nick's introduction (10) occurs after the summons-answer sequence has occurred. What is distinctive is that, in comparison to the earlier examples in Chapter Five, his introduction begins after he himself answers his own summons-answer sequence. I speculate that this happened because no one performed any gestures to signal their availability. As a result, Nick, as chapter leader, self-initiates his own introduction by saying, "Alright, I'll go." He then proceeds to do the activity of formulating a person in the here and now.

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     (10) Nick's Introduction (Chapter B, 02/03/2004)
 1   NICK: Hi everybody, my name is (.) Nick (XX). i'm twenty-nine years old.
 2   i live in (XXX), and I really am looking forward to (.) ↑this ↓meeting.
 3   my ↑speech the last few ↓days (.) i'd ↑say >the last couple of ↓months<
 4   ↑hasn't ↓been (.) where it ↑has been for (.)  uh the last year or so. (.)
 5   which ↑doesn't necessarily ↓bother me. but i'm ↑going to (.) ↓Michigan
 6   in a week and a half, and I'm gonna be there for a week and a half, and
 7   (.) being in (.) a city, (.) around people who are friends, but (.) f-
 8   friends I don't see very (.) often, >i see these people< two to three
 9   times a (.) year, (.) my speech (.) I ↑tend to worry about it a little
10   more in that en(.)↑viron↓ment.
11   X:    ((Throat clearing))
12   NICK: And I-especially the last (.) uh couple of days I've had a lot
13   more (.) disfluency. and the 'uhms' are back. a ↑lot ↓more. (.) and uh
14   (.) I don't ↑want ↓that when I'm in (.) Michigan because (.) my speech
15   hasn't been a real ↑topic for me when I've been in Michigan for the last
16   year-year and a half. (.) everybody knows that I uh (.) uh stutter, and
17   they-they're ↑fine with it and ↑I'm ↓fine with it, but it's just ->you
18   know how it is,< just one of those things where you (.) ↑wanna be s-
19   somewhere near your ↓best when you're around people that you don't see
20   very uh (.) uh often. so uh-today for example I was on the phone making
21   a few (.) uh (.) ↑phone↓calls to uh (.) uh friends or -or (.) uh (.)
22   ↑family ↓members, and just 'uh uh uh uhm, uh uh uh uh,' and just a ↑lot
23   of ↓them. (.) and I ↑try not to -I-I-I ↑don't let it ↑bother me
24   (neces↑sarily), >as far as I don't< beat myself ↑up, but it ↑does bother
25   me a ↑little bit. >just because,< (.) I know I can ↑do ↑better, I (just)
26   I ↑think I need to ↑focus maybe (.) a little more. >and< when I'm in
27   that moment, pull out of it. stop myself. stop the 'uhms.'
28   X:    ((Cough))
29   NICK: Refocus, and then con↑ti↓nue. but it's harder t -to do it sometimes
30   when you're in that moment cuz (.) all you ↑wan↓na do is (.) get that
31   (.) ↑word ↓out. (.) so uh (.) that's a little bit (.) uh frustrating,
32   >but like I said< I am going to Michigan soon so that'll be ↑great, (.)
33   uhm,
34   DR B: Wha-wha what's happenening back there? y-you go there pretty
35   often, once a year?
36   NICK: My mom is one of (.) uh uh twelve kids, and (.) so it's a-it's (.)
37   a (.) large family, uhm I believe I have (.) on my mom's side (.) forty
38   six cousins, [first] cousins,
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39    (X):                              [@@@]
40    NICK: And [[probably]] around fifty second cousins,
41    (X):       [[XX]]
42    NATE:      [[Wow]]
43    NICK: and third cousins I don't even know, (.) uhm so it's a big family,
44    (.) I used to go out with my family maybe once (.) a (.) year and do the
45    whole (.) uh uh visiting all the aunts and uncles and (.) relatives, I
46    don't anymore, I pretty much go visit one (.) uncle one aunt and a few
47    uh (.) uh cousins. and one cousin in (.) particular is like a (.) uh (.)
48    a sister uh (.) uh (.) uh to me, and so I stay with her. and I just-I
49    work seven days a (.) a week, I don't get much (.) uh sleep, and I don't
50    (.) go out (.) very much, so when I'm there, I can go out every night
51    and have fun, sleep as much as I want to, and work out during (.) the
52    day. it's like the three things I need most, I get when I'm there. and
53    it's pretty inexpensive, people say why do you go to uh (.) uh uh uh
54    Michigan? I get everything I need. I'm not working, I'm sleeping, I'm
55    having fun, and that's it. so. that's why I try to go out there as often
56    as I can >because her friends< (.) have become (.) uh my friends, so
57    when I'm out there, it's just like hanging out with (.) you know uh (.)
58    uh friends. (.)  so it's fun. (.) but (.) I think that's it,
59    [thank you].
60    ALL: [((Clap))]
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In the initial part of (10), we notice that Nick's introduction begins in a way that is conventional with the way that introductions in SOA work with the typical greeting ("Hi everybody") and then the declarative statement of identity, which uses deictic pronouns "my" before the noun to highlight Nick as a figure apart from the ground of interlocutors within the communicative context of the AESSC (l. 1). He continues with other descriptors of himself, using the deictic pronouns and "be" to further situate himself through age and location of residence, which again would be standard items we would expect in introductions as part of first-time encounters. The formulation shifts from a standard and, more than likely, reiterable (Derrida 1977) chain of signifiers to another style of situating himself within the scene. In particular, Nick uses intonation on "really" (l. 2) and the deictic demonstrative "this" in combination with his characterization of the setting "meeting" as resources to make his 'introduction' relevant to the here-now. In the following turn construction unit, Nick syntactically foregrounds his "speech" (l. 2-3) as the main subject of his clauses and characterizes his linguistic performance within a developmental logic of time, which he upgrades from "days" to "months" (l. 3-4).

In the subsequent turn construction unit, he negotiates his relationship to this development as somewhat mitigated ("doesn't necessarily bother me"). However, the use of the conjunction "but" (l. 5) signals that this previous stance will soon shift towards another, which it does. Whereas Nick's relationship to his speech becomes negotiated through a logic of time, this new turn construction unit sets up a relationship to his speech through the logic of time and place. This is not to say that his earlier formulation was 'place-less,' as the audience can assume he is talking about his life in his current city. However, in this new shift, 'Michigan' becomes foregrounded as a place that will soon be linked to the aesthetics of speaking well around another group of people ('friends') that are also marked by their temporality, or as people he does not see very often (l. 7-10). As a result, Nick begins to produce a new stance: that being the face-work (Goffman 1967) of an ASE speaker and how it is a potential source of trouble.

In this shift, Nick continues to perform metapragmatic commentary on his speech through the use of a replay, rather than a narrative (l. 12-13). In particular, he highlights the use

of the 'uhms' as a grammatical device, which in this case is an underspecified CV that can be epenthesized or re-written over the duplicated syllable. Again, Nick uses this turn to formulate Michigan as a place where that kind of linguistic behavior is undesirable (l. 14) despite his declaring people in Michigan as accepting of ASE. Again, Nick shifts back and forth between the future (Michigan) and the relative past ("today" l. 20) as a means of taking up a stance of undesirability towards this particular device (l. 22-23) as his linguistic performance not being something to beat oneself up over. However, he does re-negotiate a new epistemic stance to his speech by noting that he "knows" (l. 25) that he can do better. This sets the stage for the remainder of his turn. In this sense, Nick moves from trouble-talk to moving into the role of self-initiated self-advising, signaled by the use of directives (l. 26-27, 29). However, he renegotiates a relationship to the advice he also just gives himself through assessing it as "frustrating" (l. 31). Around l. 32, Nick begins to formulate what could be considered a potential closing (Sacks and Schegloff 1973), whereby speakers do some re-casting and repeating of the previous topic. As such, Dr. B uses this as a possible place to transition into a new place. This place is not treated as a place to close the introduction because it lacks the conventional closing formula, which is a phrase along the lines of "I think that's it."

What is important here, though, is that up until this point, Nick has focused primarily on his relationship to his speech in his macro-introduction. This is done through a move from trouble-talk, which is developed in relation to space and time, to advice-giving and then back to a re-assessment of the advice. Moreover, Nick's talk is primarily about being, in some ways, responsible as an ASE speaker to be at her or his "best" (l. 19) around new people. It is not the responsibility of others to be good listeners, but it is on Nick to be a good speaker. However, his characterization of a good speaker is through the erasure of the 'uhms' rather than no duplicants at all. Thus, through the introduction, Nick uses this as an opportunity to provide a position-taking around the identity of an ASE speaker that is foregrounded, rather than backgrounded. This would appear to be an appropriate stance, in part, because he is, after all, addressing an audience of fellow ASE speakers. Moreover, in Chapters A, C, and D, this would have probably worked and produced a topicalization sequence through the contributions of other interlocutors. However, in the case of Chapter B, this move causes a topic-proffering that Nick accepts, which moves away from ASE speaker as foregrounded to backgrounded.

Dr. B's question (l. 33-34) prompts the movement from ASE speaker as foregrounded to backgrounded. In regards to grammatical design, Dr. B's first token of variational duplication occurs at a boundary edge of the turn. The first daughter in 'what' has a structurally-reduced shape (CV) that contains a reduced vowel (schwa) in a Wh-word. The same occurs with the second turn construction unit on the deictic pronoun 'you.' In looking at the shape of Dr. B's turn, let us first note that it occurs in an interesting sequential order: (a) question, (b) proposition, and (c) another final question. In regards to (a), Dr. B's first turn construction unit uses a wh-question that inquires to Nick about the significance of actions happening "there," a deictic pronoun that refers to Michigan. Dr. B then formulates his proposition with another deictic "You" referring to Nick as someone who is mobile and maintains the use of "there," still understood as indexing Michigan. The proposition is also enlightening because it offers the other participants another clue as to the relationship between Nick and Dr. B, one as intimates who know something of each other that has not been revealed in Nick's earlier part of his macro-turn. The final question is interesting in that it does not take the conventional syntactic shape of a question in English, but it can be considered, for these purposes, a tag question. This tag

question, given its rising intonation, appears to operate as an appeal for Nick to confirm, which he eventually does (l. 35-37).

As a whole, Dr. B's turn signifies a topic-proffering turn, which consists of not just one but three turn construction units. Moreover, through the use of deictic pronouns, the "you" comes to focus not so much on Nick the ASE speaker but Nick the mobile traveler. Compared to Nick's turn, which is relatively long, as it is a macro-turn, Dr. B's turn is minimal in that it includes three turn construction units. However, it is far from irrelevant. Through his turn design, Dr. B does not explicitly state, "You should take up another stance." Instead, he uses the topic-proffering question to offer Nick the chance to do so voluntarily. Thus, the use of the question in a particular way (wh-question) offers a more mitigated way for a directive that you should consider another line for the sake of the participants. Given these observations, I want to now focus on how Nick's subsequent turn construction units are description turns whereby they are designed to emphasize himself as part of a family, with the constant parallel use of 'description sequences' ("Pronoun + copula") or ("Pronoun" + have).

Taking up the New Stance: Nick's Reformulation of Self

Similar to the first part of his macro-turn where Nick formulates a sense of self and speakerhood in relation to place, Nick builds on this but now changes his relation from ASE speaker to place. Instead, this new formulation builds on his relationship as a part of a larger family (l. 35-37), through the use of several propositional statements that focus on the quantity of family on his mother's side, with varying degrees of epistemic stance (e.g., l. 36 "I believe"). He then continues with this particular stance by moving from a description of his family to what he does on his trip. Nick uses the habitual progressive (l. 43) to describe how this trip is different from others in terms of who he visits, how often, and even why. He also proceeds to formulate a new relationship between himself and place by juxtaposing his activities in Michigan with his life in his current location. Thus, we get a series of replays that constitute home as a place of routines (l. 47-49), in contrast to "there" (e.g., Michigan), which is formulated as a place of leisure. Nick then uses a question by way of reported speech, similar to Dr. B's but de-personalizing it through the use of the generic noun "people," to answer Dr. B's question. In this sense, Nick displays an understanding of Dr. B's request for "why" but also recasts it in a more generic sense, which he has technically already answered. Thus, the latter part of this turn can be considered a recap, again as part of the closing sequence. As noted above, recapping is done when persons are near the point of closing out one part of the activity (Sacks and Schegloff 1973). This is explicitly signaled through Nick's phrase "I think that's it" (l. 58), which displays to the interlocutors that the introduction is over. This is further accentuated by the use of 'thank you' (l. 58), which leads to the clapping sequence simultaneously. Overall, one sees that Nick's initial formulation of self is quite different, even though there is some consistency in that it remains talk about Michigan. However, in formulating these particular places and his relationship to those places, one sees a motion from discussion of morally-good interactant to a mobile vacationer. As such, his sociolinguistic identity retreats and the preferred formulation of self in Chapter B—complex personhood—remains as the relevant categorization that interactants should maintain.

Discussion and Implications

The previous analysis focused on how social actors formulate a sense of self in regards to the immediate, or local, scene. Moreover, I have noted that the communally-valued persona, based on my corpus, is the constructing of a self in which one's sociolinguistic identity is

backgrounded and one's extra-sociolinguistic identity is foregrounded. In the local context, this suggests that the introductions are recipient-designed in regards to the communicative context one is in and how this is renewed through the acts of the social actors. However, at the same time, what this does not tell us is the potential social consequences of these particular, seemingly arbitrary actions. At this point, I now want to venture beyond the immediate locale and focus on the broader, identity work that these introductions are doing.

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is defined as the social positioning of self and other. Moreover, identities are far from fixed, but are constantly fluid in their enactment in sociolinguistic acts. Additionally, social actors often find themselves acting in alignment with particular subjectivities established for them beyond the interaction. Moreover, Butler (1990) argues that the action that constitutes the subject as X (e.g., gender, sexual person, etc.). However, such actions are not free, but are a part of a political economy of compulsory repetitions of signifiers and social actors are subject to quite serious sanctions if not followed. The tension between performativity within constraints is key when discussing this genre of the AESSC. One of the places where one learns how to be a particular ASE speaker through the eyes of the AFESC is through places like media and film. Within large-scale representations, in addition to other everyday influences, persons are often socialized, as Lippi-Green (1997) notes, into not only how to treat a person with a sociolinguistic variation but also how to be treated as a person of sociolinguistic variation so to be recognizable. Such representations are often flattening, in some sense, and although they do mention other attributes of a person, what is primarily foregrounded is their manner of speaking. As such, a complex persona becomes simplified. This occurs, for instance, in the cases of human-interest stories that focus on ASE speakers that often position them as either victims or survivors. Moreover, they remain positioned as somehow still on the outside, as a pathological speaker, rather than a speaker of a different variety. As such, this particular subjectivity of the ASE speaker prevails in the mainstream representations and also provides a subjectivity that others can recognize ASE speakers by in everyday interactions outside of the images.

It is in this vein that the micro-interactional act of introductions takes on a different valence. Regardless of intention, introductions maintain an interdiscursive (Silverstein 2005; Bakhtin 1981) relationship with other representations of the self that are placed on ASE speakers. In looking at the two perspectives, or personas, that one can take up in the introduction, I note that one is communally-valued and the other is allowed but not necessarily structurally preferred.[5] The sociolinguistic-centered persona is the one that one most often sees in popular representations, whereby there is always a comment made about an ASE speaker and their manner of speaking as the focal element of identity (e.g., McLellan 1989). Rarely is the ASE identity backgrounded and ASE is treated as a nonstandard variation. In the AESSC, the preferred introduction reverses this particular, popular style of identity work.

Indeed, the introduction becomes a means for formulating a self that is in disalignment with other representations. It becomes a rupture in the citation chains (Derrida 1977), a break, in the formulation of self. In this sense, the introduction becomes a political device for not only constructing a communally-valued persona, but also one that is at odds with a fluent-centric perspective in the AFESC. By fluent-centric, in this case, AFE speakers are often allowed to have this identity backgrounded and other identities are placed in the forefront as important; the opposite occurs for ASE speakers most times. In the introduction sequence, however, social

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[5] Moreover, it is also important to note that this preference is also chapter specific, although you do see traces of it in Chapter C during check-in before they move into sociolinguistic-centered topics.

actors take up the ASE perspective but with the same privileges of AFE speakers, whereby the variant is positioned as the nonstandard norm in all its forms. Thus, they socially accomplish complex personhood, which is often an act that is taken from them in mainstream representations that seem to flatten them into particular tropes.
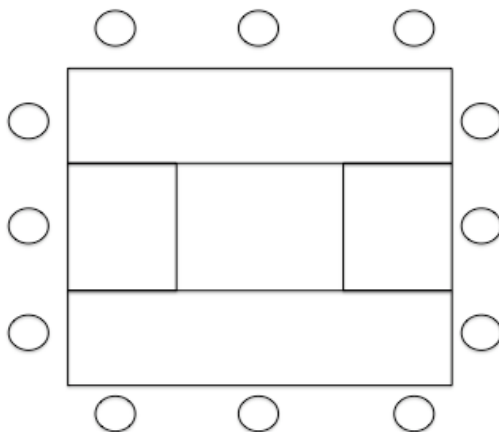
Figure 3.1. The spatial layout of participants during introductions in Chapter B. This layout is similar across all three chapters I did fieldwork in. Circles represent participants and the rectangles represent tables that speakers are seated at.
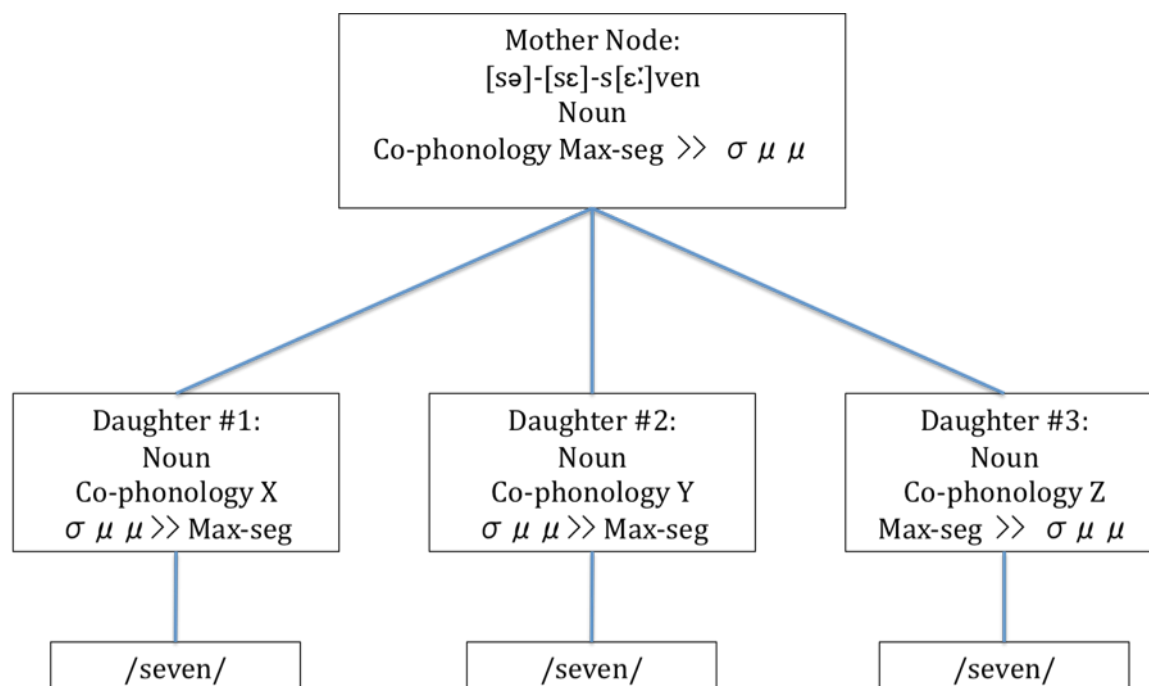

Figure 3.2. The modeling of Vic's token on 'seven' via Morphological Doubling Theory. Although not marked here, there may be another constraint that may require that the vowel in the first or second daughter be reduced.

Chapter Four: Norm-Breaking and Norm-Making in the Speaking Circle and the (Re)production of an Alternative Linguistic Market

This chapter focuses on another way that social actors use communicative practices to construct another stance towards variation: the use of performance as a mode of interaction and as a means for co-constructing ASE as an acceptable variation within formal (Irvine 1979) speaking situations.[1] The title of this chapter is inspired by Elinor Keenan [Ochs] (1989) early study from the ethnography of speaking on women and men's speech in Madagascar and is a way to capture the social and transformative effects of performance in this particular AESSC. In this study, the Malagasy speech community generally favors speaking styles that are associated with indirectness. Members associated men's speech with indirectness as a valued style of speaking and as a part of a broader norm of avoiding conflict and contact. In contrast, they associated women with direct speech, which was argued to be not as desirable. However, during particular everyday events that called for direct speech (e.g., confrontation), women were recruited as the acceptable persons. While this study, like many early studies of language and gender, may make problematic assumptions concerning theorizing of gender, Ochs' study holds a kernel of insight for this chapter. Keenan's [Ochs] work takes seriously the idea of sociolinguistic norms as *actively* made and broken, *who* gets to do this work, and *when* one can do this work. It pushes scholars to confront the role of identity and authority in establishing linguistic norms, and how these norms can be exploited for political and social gains. However, gender is not the only arena in which sociolinguistic norms are reconfigured and contested. The same can be said for the way that AFE and ASE operate within the arena of public speaking as a mode of performance within the context of the American Stuttering English Speech Community (AESSC) and the American Fluent English Speech Community (AFESC). To underscore this point, I turn to a recent event that occurred in the political realm, one of the most salient social fields that promote a particular language ideology of purity and clarity around denotational practice (Silverstein 1998) in the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991) of the United States.

During the 2009 Virginia gubernatorial race, Sheila Johnson, a prominent philanthropist and co-founder of Black Entertainment Television (BET), made news for performing mock stutter of Senator Creigh Deeds, a candidate in the race. Her responses at a local fundraiser were captured in a YouTube video and other online newspapers. The most notable quotation was the following: "We need someone who can really communicate," she said. "And Bob McDonnell can communicate. The other people that I talk to, especially his o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-opponent…could not articulate what needs to be done" (Stein 2009). Johnson's comment constitutes herself as an appropriate linguistic appraiser and reproduces a particular ideology of a language community in regards to American political oratory: there is only one way of speaking that is acceptable, and it is the standard variation of a language. Any other non-standard varieties must be abandoned or employed only for stylistic purposes, but never as the sole style for communication. In this case, American Fluent English (AFE) is the standard and American Stuttering English (ASE) is the non-standard.

The incident did prompt many responses from participants in the election, groups like SOA, and many online commentators on how successful ASE speakers are in public arenas.

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[1] Given that performance is used differently in linguistics to often refer to actual speaking rather than grammatical competence (Chomsky 1965:251), I should note that I am using performance in a different way, as verbal art, which will become clear in the conceptual framework.

Figures that were cited in these online debates were persons such as Vice-President Joe Biden and James Earl Jones.[2] What is interesting for this chapter, though, is that this particular event demonstrates how ASE speakers are positioned as norm-breakers in public speaking and AFE speakers as norm-makers. In this context, even though ASE speakers actually are speaking, their non-standard variation is relegated to a non-language at all (Preston 2002:64).[3] Indeed, examples like this demonstrate that, for most people's common-sense frameworks, "fluent varieties" are an ideal, unmarked norm that is universal for particular contexts.

This chapter focuses specifically on a situated activity within Chapter B, the speaking circle, in which this norm is broken and new norms are made by social actors. Within the speaking circle, interactants, many being ASE speakers, perform a public speech before their peers and their peers evaluate them. While one's first intuition is that is only a speaking exercise, closer, critical analysis shows that it is a political and social event in doing verbal art (Bauman 1977; Bauman and Briggs 1990). In their speeches, the narratives range from a discussion of being an ASE speaker in particular contexts to mundane topics on what they are going to do over the weekend. Regardless of the content of the talk, this activity is significant because it allows interactants in SOA co-construct persons themselves as norm-breakers and norm-makers. In particular, social actors in this communicative context use the performance nature of the speaking circle as a resource for critiquing the linguistic market of the AFESC and co-constructing an alternative linguistic market (Woolard 1985:738-748). In this alternative linguistic market, social actors develop habitual and transformative evaluation practices around the use of ASE in public speaking. These practices raise, rather than lower, the linguistic value of ASE and endorse the position-taking of "complex performancehood," or the communal view that locates ASE in relation to multimodality and as only a part of what makes one effective verbal artist.

Overview of Chapter
This chapter is organized in the following manner. In the first section, I selectively review the literature on the concepts of linguistic markets and performance, from the anthropological tradition and related fields, in order to conceptualize the communicative practice of the speaking circle. I then discuss the source of data and the mode of analysis. For the analysis, I focus on both the sequence organization and grammatical and macro-turn design of one speaking circle speech. I then conclude with a summary of the findings and its implications for future research on performance in the AESSC and how it figures into the making of an alternative linguistic market.

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[2] The interesting element about these cited figures is that they often constitute themselves as "reformed" or persons who "overcame" their stuttering variety, which seems to be a condition for acceptance into broader mainstream circles.

[3] What is also interesting about this incident is that Sheila Johnson, an African American female, is also licensed to promote further linguistic desegregation when the network that she once oversaw, Black Entertainment Television (BET), is also one of the largest mainstream venues for the distribution of another non-standard variation, African-American English. Like ASE, African-American English is also caught up in battles of "correctness" and the indexical nature of competence to do particular jobs. However, this point of departure will be covered in another, forthcoming paper.

Conceptual Overview: Linguistic Markets and Performance
The concept of "linguistic market" is proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1991) as a means of understanding the relationships between language to class. Language is considered to be linguistic capital, which is, itself, part of other kinds of symbolic capital. Moreover, the language of the dominating class is reproduced as the standard through formal institutions such as schools and the government, which is, itself a part of symbolic domination in a "fully integrated market." Overall, as Gal (1989) notes, such an approach is powerful in understanding the relationships between standardization and power, which cannot be totally understood from a purely cognitive framework. Despite its effectiveness, scholars have developed critiques of the concept (Woolard 1985; Haeri 1997; Hasan 1999). For instance, Woolard argues that such a framing over-privileges the role of formal institutions such as schools. Moreover, in its strict application, scholars are faced with problems on how to account for explaining what happens when the variety produced by the state is not that of the dominating class (Haeri 1997). Combined, scholars assert that it under-theorizes the role of arenas that encourage the use of the nonstandard, beyond classifying them as 'lax' environments where the standard need not apply, and it has complications for conceiving of the market as 'fully integrated.' On this perspective, Woolard offers the concept of alternative and oppositional markets, which are inspired by philosopher Raymond Williams. According to Woolard, the 'alternative wants to be left alone with a different way of life, while the opposition seeks to change society in its light' (1985:745). Woolard also notes that it is difficult to assign a static nature to a nonstandard variety as either A or B, for there is a very 'narrow line' (1985:745). I invoke this concept because it affords a conceptual vocabulary that I will rely on for interpreting the speaking circle speeches. In particular, I argue that the speaking circle speeches form discourse genres by which an alternative linguistic market is produced within the AESSC. However, what is also equally important to note is that the speaking circle speeches are performances, which is an arena that has also received great attention in linguistic anthropology and related fields and is key for understanding the speaking circle.

Taking a text-centered approach and Prague School Functionalist approach, Roman Jakobson (1960) considers performance within the poetic function as one of several functions of language beyond reference. Moreover, Richard Bauman (1977; 1986) conceptualizes performance beyond the text as a mode of interaction with particular norms of evaluation and the assumption of responsibility to display a certain kind of competence in verbal art. Because it is situated, discussions of performance and context become intertwined (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Briggs 1988) and must be studied within context, rather than removed for purely structural analysis. Moreover, scholars such as Richard Schechner (1985, 2002) have also considered performance as having the potential to not only transport performers and the audience to a different taleworld (Young 1987) for a certain time; it can also be instrumental in transforming the social order, including subjectivities, within the sociocultural sphere (Butler 1990). Most importantly, performance is a key arena for scholars to investigate what people do with identity and their perspectives on it within social fields (Bauman 2000). As this chapter will show, performances in the speaking circle within the AESSC make sense within this general light, for it is one of several resources to critique and potentially alter the linguistic market by transforming the linguistic consciousness of subjects over time.

Source of Data
To develop this argument, I draw on data from ethnographic fieldnotes and audio-visual recordings of the speaking circle in Chapter B. Within Chapter A, participants did try a similar practice that had a similar name. However, they did not make it part of their staple routine and, thus, returned to their format of informal conversation for their meetings. During my fieldwork with Chapter C, the group also sought to keep it relatively informal with selected topics but they did not have any formal speaking routines such as the speaking circle. Thus, Chapter B is unique in this regard because they integrated formal performance into their meetings, with a makeshift stage, audience, and mode of evaluating.

The Schemata of the Speaking Circle in Local Contexts
Within Chapter B, the speaking circle follows the performance and closing of "introductions," the activity analyzed in the previous chapter. To describe it, I want to use the formulation of the activity as displayed by participants in the scene in (1).

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    (1) Activity Formulation (Chapter B, 03/02/2004)
1   ALL: [((Clap))]
2   NICK: [We're gonna start] [ə] (.) [ə]-sp↑eaking c↑ircle, [ə]-(Stephen's)
3   our [ə]-[ə]-official [ə]-[ə]-timer, sponsored by [ə]-Rolex,
4   XX: {Okay.)
5   ADAM: May I ask (you) a ques[tion]?
6   XX:                        [XX Mr.] Chairman.
7   STEPHEN: [@@]
8   NATE:    [@@]
9   NICK:       [>Whatever you want to call it.<] Yes sir.
10  ADAM: Isn't >speaking circl↓es<-don't you have two options? you can talk
11  or >or< people can ask you questions?
12  NICK: Yes you may.=
13  ADAM: =Okay.
14  NICK: You can do whatever you want. we're-we haven't thrown out a [ə]-
15  title in some time, >the reason being< I think we're all going through
16  different (.) things and some people have things that they really want
17  to share, (.) and >get off< (.) of their chest, other people (.) you
18  know just wanna take in [ə]-[ə]-questions, so (.) it's ↑up (.) to you.
19  [(>whatever you want< XX)]
20  ADAM: [(XXXXX)]
21  NICK: Uhm five minutes,
22  XX:  [XX]
23  NICK: (Stephen) will (.) hold up (.) one finger when you have one minute
24  left, just to (.) let you know, and when you're ↑done  he'll (.) hold up
25  (.) his finger (.) one more time. stay up there, (.) we'll ask you (.)
26  how that felt and give you the (.) positive [ə]-c↑omm↓ents. (.5) any
27  volunteers? (.6) °I wanna go first.°
28  ALL: ((CLAP))
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This formulation is done usually when there is at least one new person in the group and establishes the performance frame (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974) as relevant at this point in their meeting. The claps at the opening of (1) signal the end of the introductions and mark the next sequentially-relevant place for beginning a new activity. In this formulation, Nick highlights that the activity is timed (l. 2-3), but he is then interrupted by Adam (l. 5) , a frequent member of

the SOA chapter, who does a pre-sequencing move (a pre-amble to a question) (Schegloff 1980) that initiates a clarification sequence with Nick that re-negotiation of the frame (MH Goodwin 1985). Adam formulates his question around the speaking circle speech as one of variability— either a monologue or the use of questions (l. 10-11). Nick immediately produces an agreement confirmation to Adam's polarity question and then accounts for why the structure has changed, which seems to be warranted in this ethnographic context since Chapter B had a reputation for having a remarkable, stable structure. Nick then repeats Adam's options from his previous turns and concludes his turn with the statement that one can do what one pleases in their time in the speaking circle (l. 18).

After concluding this reformulation, Nick re-starts with the announcement of the time constraints (l. 20) and then describes what Stephen, the time-keeper, will do to let participants know when their time is expiring. In this sense, Nick makes the participants aware of the indexical nature of gestures, which become markers for the progression of the activity into positive comments (l. 24-25) and how one should also embody their presence before the group (staying up "there"). After the formulation is complete, Nick opens the floor with the summons "Any volunteers?" which is sequentially-relevant here because it can only occur once the instructions have been given and interactants are made aware of how they are to organize their attention as performers or the audience. Thus, this routine, co-authored formulation of the activity provides persons with the necessary information to engage in the participation framework with a kind of status (e.g., speaker, evaluator, performer, audience member, etc.)

After this accepting the summons to the answer to participate, a person receives applause from the crowd as she enters the speaking circle zone by crossing a threshold in the center of the room (see Figure 4.1).[4] For about five minutes, the participant is now the primary performer within the interaction and must formulate a coherent speech during her time within the circle.[5] Upon the completion of one's speech, the audience claps, signaling the closing of the performance frame and opening up the space for what is called "positive feedback." Within "positive feedback," the audience provides the speaker with comments about his or her speech. However, while any comment is possible, not all are permissible. Each party is encouraged to perform upgrading, rather than downgrading, assessments in their evaluation of the performance. Implicit in this process of evaluation is the idea that ASE cannot be commented on as a problem within this formal speaking event. Such a downgrading commentary has the potential to lower

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[4] The repetition of the summons-answer sequence in this AESSC is interesting on two levels. One would think that, if someone has already signaled herself as available for introductions and made oneself into a ratified interactant, then there would be no need for a second summons-answer sequence. Closer inspection of the double-summons strategy suggests two reasons for its necessity. First, the new sequence occurs at a boundary edge of the activity, projecting a change in the participation status of co-present parties as they move from one activity to another. Second, it provides an opportunity to see how participants must make known their dynamic status of availability (Schegloff 1986). By this, I mean one can be available for the previous activity ("introductions") and then do non-availability for the "talking circle" entirely or in a scalar degree (e.g., "I am only available to be an evaluator or just audience member."). A forthcoming paper will examine this strategy more and what the consequences are for being available and unavailable in performance frames, as well as if there are any direct sanctioning procedures around the different participation statuses.

[5] Another SOA participant, usually the same person for all speeches except her own, keeps time with her watch. At times, performers will break their speech and engage in side sequences (Jefferson 1972) with the time-keeper to inquire how much time she has left in the circle, constituting the metacommunicative importance of "time" as a meaningful concept in the activity. However, such by-play episodes (Goffman 1981; MH Goodwin 1997) usually occur near the end of the speech and a forthcoming paper will explore the significance of such frame breaks and how social actors must negotiate these and re-key the performance frame as a social accomplishment.

the face of the recipient as well as the evaluator, for one can appear as too focused on becoming an AFE speaker and thereby reproducing the norm that the speaking circle is, by its very nature, designed to work against. After the positive feedback session has ended, the speaker receives another positive assessment through applause as she takes her seat. This continues until all participants who wish to give a speech have the opportunity to do so.

Case Study: "I Met Somebody"
Now that I have provided the general description and context of the speaking circle, I now turn to an examination of the granular aspects of this communicative practice, or how social actors accomplish this routine moment-to-moment, and its broader implications. I focus on a single example (2) of a narrative telling by Nick, which I am calling "I met somebody" (recorded 3/2/2004). I am using a single example here because the speaking circle speeches, as noted in earlier, are quite lengthy. Nonetheless, while there will always be distinctions between each event, one can glean much from examining one particular example as a relative exemplar of the genre in general. Moreover, the point is that, for the most part, regardless of content of talk, the general actions that participants take will be the same across the board. Future work will delve into the variational aspects of these actions though.

In this excerpt, Nick has returned from family visits and has already noted in his introduction that he wants to use his time in the Talking Circle to discuss this. Because it is a narrative, there exist two different kinds of casts of characters: those in the storyrealm and those in the taleworld (Young 1987). Within the storyrealm, or the context in which the social actors of SOA are situated, the participants are Wade, Phil, Nick, Scott, Henry, Nate (the researcher), Stephen. Within the taleworld, or the world in which the characters of the narrative exist, the characters are Nick, the female love interest, the friend of the love interest, the love interest's family (sister, sister's husband, parents), Nick's friends in Michigan, and Nick's cousin in Vegas.

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    (2) "I Met Somebody" (Simplified transcript)
27  (All clap as Nick enters the speaking circle zone.)
28  NICK: okay. uhm I was in Michigan, which as you know I go t-to Michigan
29  about two or three times a year.(I) have a good time there. it's-it's a
30  time for me to sleep, (.) go out every night which (.) here I never do
31  cause I work [ə]-all the time. and work out still. which (.) I have to
32  do otherwise I'll go [ə]-↑nuts. uhm (.) my speech when I first [ə]-got
33  there was a little "Uh uh uh" ((creaky voice)) and which is fine. I'm at
34  a point in w- in-with (.) my speech now that I don't have to be ə
35  fluent, I don't have to be (.) perfect, rea-realistically I (.) probably
36  never will. so I'm at a point in my life where I'm [ə]-comfortable with
37  that but I still would like to be as good as I (.) ca:n be. especially
38  when I'm around people that I see a few times a year and they all know
39  about it, we've-I'm at a point where I'll [ə]-let people [ə]-know and
40  we'll [ə]-talk about it. so when I first got there I was kinda like o:h
41  no: is this gonna be one of tho:se [ə]- trips where I feel like my
42  speech plays a bigger role than it (.) needs to, fortunately it [ə]-
43  didn't. so that was nice. uhm (.) and the same thing, last night I was
44  there I met somebody.  which happened (.) the last time I was there.(a)
45  f:riend walked up to me at this [ə]-[ə]-[ə]-bar slash (.) club and says
46  hey my friend wants to meet you, ((Unclear)) {here at home} I'd be like
47  (uh) OK, but I'd be nervous and whatever, there I'm not. like I'm a
48  different person there. I'm a lot more relaxed, like I think the people
49  there especially the women are more [ə]-[ə]-genuine let's say, they're
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50   not looking for the guy that makes a hundred thousand dollars and drives
51   a Benz and can offer them (.) the world. they're more interested in who
52   you are as a person. not what you do and what you (.) make. some people
53   w-would say {oh oh that's-that's-that's harsh} whatever, that's the way
54   I look at it. so when I'm in Michigan I'm a lot more (.) comfortable
55   when it comes to [ə]-women. so I sat down with this girl, I was talking
56   to her, (.) fifteen minutes into it she's like [ə]-what's your phone
57   number? cause (.) she knew I lived here, I already told her what I did,
58   blah blah bla:h, we were y-[ə]-[ə]-hittin it off. so I gave her my [ə]-
59   [ə]-phone number and I-in return [ə]-[ə]-[ə]-[ə]-[ə]-[ə]-her number. at
60   that time I have to let her know. years ago I would've never told her
61   that I [ə]-stuttered. cause I was liquored up. and w-when I'm liquored
62   up, (.) I'm pretty [ə]-[ə]-fluent. so I said well I just have to let you
63   know that if you were to (.) call me-when you do call me (.) and I see
64   that it's you number one I'll be a little more [ə]-[ə]-nervous. number
65   two, I (.) [ə]-stutter. (.) and when I'm not liquored up you will ([ə]-
66   )be able to notice it more. she's like (.) o::ka:y? and I-so we (.) [ə]-
67   talked about it, and (.) I mentioned it one more time, she goes (.) it's
68   okay. I don't care. she's like I like you if you stutter,
69   oh well, it-it doesn't bother me. don't be nervous. don't be nervous. so
70   the next day I was [ə] (.) [ə]-flying out and she said she sent me (.) a
71   text message saying you know call me [ə]-before you leave, so I called
72   her (.) at the airport. now mind you I hate people who (.) speak on:
73   their phone in (.) a public (.) [ə]-place, like right in the middle of
74   y-everybody, where everybody can hear their (.) conversation. number
75   one I think its (.) rude and I don't wanna hear it, (.) number two, I
76   don't want everybody to hear my (.) [ə]-stuttering. so (.) I try not to.
77   so luckily I was in a (.) [ə]-terminal where I found a nice (.) [ə]-
78   quiet (.) [ə]-area where I could sit and  [ə] (.) [ə]-(sled) hh over
79   this phone call, hh I called the girl up, we spoke, I was (.) a little
80   "Uh uh uh uh", but she was cool with it. I was cool with it. I mean I
81   hung thinking I could've done better but I did it, (.) years ago I would
82   have never made that (.) [ə]-phonecall, I would've met her (.) that
83   night and (.) that would've been the (.) [ə]-end of it, so that was
84   cool, (.) fast forward to (.1) that was two: weekends ago. this past
85   weekend (I) was going to Vegas, which she knew. her parents live in
86   Vegas, (.) and her sister lives in (.) [ə]-Scottsdale. she was flying
87   out there. she said you should go to [ə]-Scottsdale. I said I can't. I'm
88   meeting my (.) [ə]-cousin in (.) Vegas. long story short I'm driving out
89   there, (.) she (.) gets in Arizona, wants to see me so (badly) that she
90   talks her family (.) her sister, husband, friend (.) and younger sister
91   into--after flying for four hours they got in a car and drive (.) six
92   hours to meet me in [ə]-Vegas. (.) so we hung out that night,
93   ((Nick looks at Stephen))
94   one minute? or I'm done,
95   STEPHEN: one [minute]
96            ((raises one finger on right hand))
97   NICK:        [one] minute
98   ((Nick repeats Stephen's gesture then turns back to other participants))
99   so that was cool, >we hung out that whole night,< had (.) a great time.
100  (.) [ə]-we've been talking, (1.0) who knows. it just feels good to be at
101  a point where (.) I can meet someone that's genuine, I have those fears,
102  we talk about it, I deal with them, now it's not a-a-a (.) [ə]-[ə]-[ə]-
103  issue.
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As a whole, one can characterize Nick's speaking circle speech as a token of a general type of love story, which has particular types of audience expectations. Person A meets Person B in a particular place and time and, through movement through a series of story catalyses (Barthes 1988), they come to move from two co-present bodies getting to know each other to a (potential) single couple. Through his performance of a narrative of the self (Ochs and Capps 1996; Ochs 2004), Nick not only displays his competence in public speaking, but also his competence in the creation of a text as part of a genre. By this, I mean Nick, as a performer, arranges and elaborate on particular events and places into a coherent and sequentially-relevant and recontextualizable text that is interpretable within a sociohistoral and communal matrix (Hanks 1989). Moreover, this narrative is one that does not necessarily stand alone. Audience members and the performer must also rely on their exposure to other intertextual and intra-cultural performances that come together to formulate the culturally-generic category of love story within and beyond the AESSC (Briggs and Bauman 1992). In this sense, the narrative allows Nick to formulate a "life" out of his story (Ricœur 1992). At the same time, Nick uses the resources and expectations of the genre to make another commentary on power, sociolinguistic difference, and morality.

In this taleworld (Young 1987), Nick speaks a variety (ASE) that is often devalued within both the non-narrative and narrated society and is forced with the obstacle of telling the potential partner, who we shall call "the girl." The narrative, therefore, retains a fidelity to the referential nature of the contemporary cultural lifeworld (Ryan 1991) that the audience and tellers are situated in. (This is not a trivial matter, for not all narratives maintain fidelity to the semantic universe of the tellers and audiences, such as fairy tales.) The obstacle of sociolinguistic differences, as the driving catalysis, makes sense for interactants who are knowledgeable of the culturally-based positions and position-takings that are associated within the AFESC. With no knowledge of this, the narrative could fail to other audiences because it refuses to have a culturally-relevant point (Labov 1972a) or is not necessarily a "tellable" (Sacks 1992) for this reason. Indeed, Nick's narrative becomes significant within the broader activity of the speaking circle because his story performance provides a critical perspective on often tacit, taken-for-granted aspects of the everyday around issues of sociolinguistic morality, which I now to turn to.

Language, Indexicality, and Lived Space
A prevailing characteristic in Nick's performance of his story is its formulation of the relationships between language and senses of place (Feld and Basso 1996; Basso 1996). As part of the orientation (Labov 1972) of the narrative, Nick establishes with his audience the relevance of local ethnopragmatics concerning lived space (Hanks 1990) variation, and their indexical relation. Nick initially foregrounds the relations between two spaces—Michigan and his home in Southern California (done through the deictic "here")—as about his work schedule. Nick formulates "home" as a place where he is constantly working for money or working out at the gym, with little time to rest and little time for a social life (l. 30-32). Michigan, on the other hand, is formulated as a vacation spot with aspects of leisure time for sleep, family, and friends (l. 29-30). After this formulation, Nick constitutes Michigan as a zone of intimates with family and friends that he can talk about his identity as an ASE speaker (l. 38-39). However, while he characterizes Michigan as a place where he is open about identity as an ASE speaker, he expresses the desire "to be as good as I can be" (l. 37). In the taleworld, Michigan is not entirely a sociolinguistic contact zone full of unconditional acceptance; it is one that he characterizes as a particular zone of linguistic tension. On the other hand, "home" in Southern California (and perhaps outside of the AESSC) is implicitly marked as a place where Nick has a linguistic

habitus that predisposes him to hide his particular variant in social settings within the AFESC. Thus, communicative dispositions of openness and secrecy become marked not as trans-contextual norms; they are ones which are indexically targeted at and constitute particular places. Moreover, it is through this general understanding of Michigan as a different place with a different linguistic habitus that we can understand its relationship to the politics of disclosure as a moral act when it comes to his encounter within a particular place: the club in Michigan.

Critiquing and Reproducing the Speech Event of Disclosure
As one moves through Nick's narrative to the point of the story, we get to the critical events of language, place, and disclosure, the latter which Nick discusses briefly in his characterization of Michigan. To understand the significance of this speech event, it is important to note that disclosure is often a controversial subject in the AESSC. Participants often discuss their awareness of the effects of disclosure, as a speech act, in the political economy. For instance, one chapter member mentioned in a meeting that she waited a year to disclose her ASE identity to her boyfriend, in part for fear of the way she felt she would be treated after the act of disclosure within the relationship. Another popular framing of disclosure occurs in talk about the workplace and whether or not to disclose one's identity and how, as was often discussed in Chapter C. Within the AESSC, disclosure does happen through formulaic phrases such as, "I've been stuttering since I was X." However, each of the disclosures, in each of the contexts, do different kinds of work in the recasting of identities and precontextualize forthcoming interactions. I foreground this to show that the act of disclosure itself is a contextually-bounded event that is often achieved and its execution is indexically grounded in presupposed notions of who the interlocutors are (Silverstein 1976). I now return to how Nick frames disclosure, as restored behavior (Schechner 1985), in his love story.

In his story, Nick locates disclosure as an act that is not simply automatic; instead, it is a speech event that is achieved and sequentially relevant at a particular place. Nick waits until he has finished talking to "the girl" about supposedly mundane conversations and then discloses only when she asks him for his phone number (l. 56-57). Moreover, he uses the narrative devices of indices (Barthes 1988), or internal thought states of the character, as a means of layering the event with significance for his audience. He contends that when he is "liquored" up, he is fluent and, thus, may not appear as an authentic sociolinguistic speaker (Coupland 2003). However, there is another unspoken idea that makes disclosure relevant here: the phone. The use of the phone is a communally-significant event because there is a sociolinguistic belief in the community that, because of this communicative domain's exclusive focus on orality, ASE speakers will stutter more. Thus, phone conversations becomes a place where disclosure could potentially happen, regardless of an explicit referential statement of identity ("I am an ASE speaker/person-who-stutters") and not just to the intended recipient of talk. This is noted, for instance, further in the narrative when Nick discusses having to call "the girl" on the phone (l. 71-81) and not wanting overhearers, or non-ratified participants, to know he is a competent ASE speaker. Thus, through his use of language to convey his internal mental state and through the background information that audiences must fill in, one comes to see the heightened importance of disclosing, which Nick now takes great linguistic effort to dramatize.

To underscore the significance of this act of disclosure to "the girl" in the club and, perhaps, build up suspense, Nick uses modality ("would," l. 60) to create a conditional world in a past time where he would have never disclosed before the giving of the phone number. He uses this linguistic recasting of the conditional time-world, or possible-world (Ryan 1991) to give an

understanding to his interlocutors how this time in the tale is different. Moreover, Nick does a breakthrough into performance (Hymes 1981) through his use of reported speech and the transposition of the deictic frame (l. 62-66). The use of the quotative has several levels of importance. First, Nick's replaying of the event through reported speech has implications for re-entextualization processes of framing this sociocultural act (Urban 1996). By thus, I mean it provides a means for learning and reproducing means of disclosure that can potentially used by other interlocutors in the group who may have never done this. Second, Nick's formulation of the act of disclosing to intimates is also one that is loaded with morality. He conveys this moral stance through the use of the deontic modal "have to" (l. 62), signifying cultural ideas of responsibility. His narrative enacts a particular stance to the sociolinguistic event of disclosure as object: one that constitutes the subject as a morally-good speaker in this context. To not disclose or to pass could be seen as somehow strange or immoral in the community's terms (as noted in the distinction between "overt" and "covert" stuttering). The story is rich not only for its happy ending (Nick gets "the girl"), but it is also rich because of the important critical commentary it provides for us on the ideological richness of the act of disclosing a sociolinguistic identity within dynamic communal norms of interpretation (e.g., that they are context bound). At the same time, there is another rich use of the story for the community: that being its place as a valuable object of verbal art in the linguistic economy.

Transforming Subjects within the Political Economy of Language
Speaking circle speeches like Nick's may be but are not always used by speakers to explicitly critique AFE-ASE speaker context-bound relations explicitly through narratives. Many of the speeches tend to be replays or stories of one's week or future plans that one has for a vacation of some sorts. However, what unites all speeches in this genre is that they are part of a situated, broader performance activity that seeks to transform (Schechner 1985, 2002) linguistic consciousness towards ASE in public speeches. The activity is designed to encourage speakers and audience's relationships to ASE as a part of one's speaking style but also as something that does not necessarily negate the effectiveness of the speech and the speechmaker's competence. In short, the activity encourages persons to endorse "complex performancehood," building off the insights in Chapter Three on "complex personhood." However, this transformation of linguistic embodiment is not one that is in the hands of the performer. Instead, audience members actively participate in this re-framing and re-valuing through the section of the activity known as "positive feedback." During "positive feedback," the audience members must display their reflexive awareness to the performance as it happens (Berger and Del Negro 2002) and convey their understandings of it in a way that also promotes new ideas of public performance, or careful speaking.

To demonstrate the ways in which this remaking of linguistic consciousness occurs, I first examine two selected grammatical and interactive practices that characterize Nick as an ASE speaker and how evaluators take stances to the variant and the performer. In regards to grammar, I analyze the patterning of two highly prevalent practices in Nick's speech: the pause and the use of the filler (Feldman and Menn 2003) syllable "uhm"/"uh" [əm, ə]. I focus on these two devices because, in any other forum of public speech (such as a narrative), these two devices in the AFESC would constitute Nick as disfluent and pathological, thereby non-effective. However, in the AESSC, these same devices are ones that evaluators orient to as part of "complex performancehood" and increase the value of the verbal good and the giver. In short, the key to

understanding the speaking circle speeches is to understand the emergent grammar moves within the speaking circle (the pause and the uhm/uhs) and then to understand how evaluators and performances take up stances to these grammatical moves as part of a broader political economy of language.

The pragmatics and grammar of silence
One of the first notable characteristics of Nick's speech is his frequent uses of the pause as a grammatical and interactive resource in particular locations of his macro-turn (Duranti 1981). Within the context of Standard American English conversations, interactants often understand that pauses in conversation do a variety of work. Such uses can include invitations to word searches, indications of hesitation within a dispreferred turn as part of a second-pair part of an adjacency pair, or the initiation of some sort of conversational repair. Within formal modes of communication, pauses can also be used for heightening emotion and emphasizing particular parts of one's turn-construction-units. However, for ASE speakers within my fieldsites, the pause can occur in particular places where one would normally expect the duplicant to occur. Such pauses are described in the community as 'silent blocks.' By this, persons remark that the person is still using the variant, but it is not pronounced. The pauses in Nick's speech are usually adjacent (a) to the use of a phonological filler, which I will discuss in detail below, and (b) before content words (rather than at the beginning of the turn-construction unit). In regards to (b), one observes this in places such as right before a deictic pronoun (l. 30, 31), complex noun phrases (l. 34, 44, 51, 91-92), adjectives (e.g., l. 54, 73) adverbs (l. 35), and verbs (l. 42, 63, 89). Nick's pauses occur in complementary distribution with places where the variant would be expected to occur.

As for other reasons as to why the pause is employed here, it is important to remember that the pause may signal a shift in style awareness to careful speech in formal genres (Labov 1966, 1972b). In careful speech, interactants are expected to monitor their speaking style so as to not use a nonstandard variant and, instead, go for the prestige form. Thus, the pause in these particular environments is not just a question of rhythmic pace for heightened affect. It signals to the interlocutors that the performer, Nick, is making attempts to partially orient to the standard norms of the AFESC within the AESSC by attempting to not use ASE in this activity. In this sense, this explanation further shows that speakers may often still carry a linguistic habitus from the AFESC into the AESSC and that the transition, or circulation, from one communicative context to the next is not entirely linear. Moreover, within a domain within the AFESC, the use and places of pauses in Nick's formal speech would be seen as showing uncertainty and lack of cohesiveness, thereby making Nick an ineffective speaker. However, within the AESSC, these pauses do a different kind of work that is pragmatic and partially grammatical. Interactants like Nick in the AESSC provide another example in the situated use of silence (Tannen and Saville-Troike 1985).

The Patterning of /ə/ as a Phonological Filler
In examining Nick's speech, one of the first characteristics I turn to is his use of the phonological filler, which is phonetically realized as [əm] or [ə]. In the community's terms, which are often taken from speech-language pathology, this particular type of device is also known as a "secondary behavior," or "secondaries" for short. By this, the secondary rationalization (Boas 1995 [1911]) is that, by use of these practices, they prevent a person from using ASE as a nonstandard and non-accepted variant and supposedly allow a person to produce the standard,

AFE. While I grant the community's definition some understanding, it is important to note that this kind of linguistic position and position-taking continue to endorse the AFE mode as the norm and takes a functional approach to the these devices in regards to discourse. This is not to say that these explanations are not always on point, for there may be a validity in this. However, when one takes the sociolinguistic view of variational duplication, the use of [əm, ə], which I will now notate as /ə/, actually will be considered here to be a phonological filler.

According to Feldman and Menn (2003) in the context of child language, fillers are forms without clear transition targets in what are considered to be "adult" forms of speech; thus, they cannot be considered proto-words. In specific, "filler" refers to "a string that the child uses relatively consistently" in one or two of the following dimensions: phonetic, syntactic/distributional, or semantic (2003:736) and works to "fill in for parts of the utterance that the child has not mastered." In expanding the framework of (Peters 2001), they argue that fillers can come in five types: phonological fillers, empty pivots, protomorphological fillers, partially analyzed forms, and morphosyntactic forms. Moreover, fillers are common across languages. However, they note that fillers, as a conceptual term, are not to be confused with what they call "hesitation noises" (2003:736) which are often used as floor holders or projections of dis-preferred turn shapes. For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on phonological fillers, which "reflect phonological (although not morphosyntactic) attributes of the input. They seem to preserve the number of syllables and/or the prosodic rhythm of the target" (2003:739).

To recap from Chapter Two, I argued that the abstract representation of a stuttering form is like reduplication without a shift in meaning. As modeled within Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT), the morphology calls for two constituents that are semantically the same but can have different phonological instructions with them to make a construction. Now, let us imagine a speaker, like Nick, that is in a particular genre of speaking, such as the public speech, whereby he must address his interlocutors with some sort of tellable (Sacks 1992) that his interlocutors did not know. While it is acceptable for one to construct and then say a token of variational duplication in the AESSC as context, this does not always mean one will. In this sense, variational duplication is a part of one's habitus, but the social field in which one is in (and the other social fields which one also becomes embedded in, such as the performance field) requires an adjustment of the habitus to the positions and position-takings of the social field. Thus, how is this linguistic habitus adjustment done? Through the use of the melodic re-writing, which is not an uncommon process in duplication in general. As Inkelas and Zoll (2005) note, there can be cases where melodic re-writing occurs in one daughter of the duplicant construction. For instance, this is the case of examples like "fancy-schmancy," whereby the second daughter has new segments that have been re-written over the interdental fricative [f]. Thus, what we are seeing is that the two daughters, of course, can be different when one includes different segmental material.

I want to now extend the same reasoning to the use of the use of /ə/. As often remarked in communal discourse, some ASE speakers discuss their acquisition of /ə/ as a phonological filler. Thus, this occurs in a different developmental process that mirrors but is not similar to child language. ASE speakers often talk of this acquisition after some event, or institution, has made them aware of their speaking style as non-desirable. Thus, this is a case of new, motivated (rather than arbitrary) additions to the grammar over the lifespan. However, what is different about this conception here is this. The filler is not being used to "fill" in material that the child has not mastered in a normative understanding of grammar, as Feldman and Menn's (2003) framework, at face value, would lead us to conclude. Instead, the speaker has already mastered an ASE

grammar and the phonological filler, like others, work in pre-nominal or pre-verbal positions (Feldman and Menn 2003:736). Moreover, when one examines the shape of the filler like /ə/ closely, one sees that, like fillers in general, it preserves the same number of syllables as the first daughter in the duplicant. It still satisfies the (C)V requirement of the first daughter. Moreover, the semantic meaning of the mother node is still the same as if it were a duplicants there, since both duplicants in an ASE grammar do not add any further semantic meaning to it. Most importantly, it allows the ASE speaker, like Nick in this case, to produce a negotiated, or creative, approximation to the AFE speaking patterns because no duplicants are there.

Thus, grammatically, /ə/ works as a particularly intriguing device. However, on a pragmatic plane, the use of the phonological filler can run the risk of being seen even more as a "disfluent" speaker. For instance, one could consider the presence of such strings as indexing "uncertainty" (since the same device can also potentially invite word search) or nervousness (which can be a social inference from when people must give a dispreferred response to a previous turn, since the preference for agreement often looms high in many interactive activities). Indeed, one is neither using pure AFE or ASE, but something in between in a diverse zone of linguistic diffusion (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) to constitute oneself as AFE but with a unique twist. Moreover, within the community, the use of "fillers" are also somewhat looked down upon because they have consequences for an insincere presentation of self (Goffman 1959). By this, I mean that this could potentially go against the communal schemata of it being acceptable to use ASE within the AESSC and further allows the AFESC to retain power, as the standard, in this particular arena. However, in positive feedback, orientation by the audience to devices like the filler actually becomes incorporated as part of a re-valuating and re-signifying the same device in a new context and activity (Derrida 1977).

Setting the Base Value of the Performance through First-Position Assessments
Once the speaker concludes his speech, the chapter leader or co-leader initiates positive feedback, as shown in (3).

```
     (3) Positive Feedback
104  ALL: [(clap)]
105  CHRIS: [How'd that feel?]
106  NICK:                    [Good.] (Ahem) >I ↑missed the last meeting
107  cause I was in Michigan. so it's ↑been< (.) ↑four ↓weeks. (and) (.)
108  these meetings keep me (.) maintained. (.) so >it felt really good just
109  to be up here. (.) do my little thing.
110  (.)
111  CHRIS: Positive feed↑back (.) for (N↑ick).
112  NICK (to WADE):  =Yes sir.
113  (.)
114  Nick and Wade exchange a Q&A on if Nick stutters more with females than
115  with guys (one minute omitted)
116  WADE: So so you ə you ə you did ə ə ə ə >↑ good on your ↓speech.<
117  (.)
118  NICK: Oh ↑thank ↓you sir.
119  (.)
120  NICK: ↑Yes ↓sir.
121  STEPHEN: ∞(Yeah X)∞ your eye contact was (XXXX) (look around (.) at
122  everybody), and your voice is (.) very projecting (and uh) (.) (you
123  have) (↑pleasant) ↓voice.
124  (.)
125  NICK: Thank you sir.
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126    (.)
127    ALL: ((Clap))
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The first evaluation, or assessment, is done by Nick himself. However, I want to point out that the event is initiated not by the speaker himself, but by the leader of the activity that night, Chris, with the question of "How did that feel?" (l. 105). In this adjacency pair, Chris proffers for a first-position assessment from the speaker, Nick. In Du Bois's (DuBois 2007:139-182) terms, Nick must first construct a stance to the object (his speech), which is what the deictic demonstrative "that" refers back to, that allows him to build a intersubjective bridge of alignment to his interlocutors. Moreover, my ethnographic observations of this event on another night revealed that the chapter leader also asks this question to expose the talking circle speaker to the arbitrary nature of potentially negative self-evaluations in comparison to the stances that others take to the same object. Thus, the performer's first-position assessments, as responses, can be either positive or negative. Nick's quick response suggests that he will do the conversationally-preferred positive, rather than negative appraisal of being "up there."

Moreover, Nick follows-up his first-position assessment with another turn-construction-unit, where he explains his positive assessment of the event as a result of his being his being away and, perhaps, not having this opportunity elsewhere (l. 106-108). He then repeats his assessment at the end and follows it up with "doing my little thing" in order to close this part of the sequence. His final turn components further objectify the five minute speech into a bit of a small "thing," which it is anything but a small performance in the community's terms. Nonetheless, the data show that this first-position assessment is one that is offered by the speaker and sets the groundwork for further assessment work, which is then beckoned for by Chris from others through the use of a directive (l. 111). However, these second-, third- and n-th position assessments operate as a process of metacommunicative valuation in the broader alternative and dominant linguistic markets within the political economy of language.

Positive Feedback: Evaluator and the Role of Language in Valuating Speech
To begin the discussion on the communal evaluation and re-valuation of ASE as a kind of capital within the linguistic market, I start with the way that the first appraiser, Wade, formulates his brief but significant assessment (l. 116). Before he engages in his assessment, he initiates an extended question and answer period with Nick on a part of his speech, which I have omitted in the transcript. Their discussion focuses primarily on whether Nick stutters more with men or women and the reasons that may be. Their question and answer sequence could be classified as topic-proffering sequence (Schegloff 2007), which is not entirely the appropriate sequential location for this particular activity. However, Wade repairs this breach and re-negotiates the order of the interaction by concluding their exchange with the preferred second-pair part: a second-position assessment on Nick's speech. However, Wade does not provide a specific list of traits for Nick; he simply says that the performer did a "good" job on "your speech," with the assessment segment (adjective) preceding the complex assessable ("job on your speech"). On the one hand, "your speech" could refer to the speech itself (the narrative). On the other hand, "your speech" could also refer to Nick's sociolinguistic performance in regards to his competence in the ASE grammar. I bring up these two readings of the comments because they both hint at the ways in which this comment is saturated with communal meaning without much said, thus rendering visible indeterminacy in communicative practice (Hanks 1996). Moreover, in his appraisal of Nick's speech, Wade also does not devalue the use of Nick's grammatical devices—the pause and the use of the phonological filler—which occur in the expected contexts where

tokens of variational duplication would be. Instead, his comments raise the value of Nick's style of speaking. Nick responds with the expected sequence-closing third ("thank you sir"), which ratifies that the acceptance of this particular second-assessment, the closure of this linguistic exchange on the market between Nick and Wade, and his availability for more linguistic appraisal from the remaining interlocutors.

Continuing the process of linguistic appraisal, Nick calls on Stephen, who, like Wade, had raised his hand to let Nick know that he, among the co-present bodies, is available for commentary/evaluation. As in many other multi-party contexts, this particular gesture operates here as a summons for Nick's attention, which he answers (l. 120), and then allows the process to proceed. Note how Stephen draws attention to and assesses the embodied nature of Nick's performance, with a focus on his eye contact and his voice. He also concludes his final turn-construction-unit by using the deictic second-person pronoun and the verb "have" with direct object that is made more positive with the word "pleasant." In short, Stephen focuses more on the other aspects of Nick's performance in a way that is more specific than Wade's. At the same time, Stephen highlights the body and the vocal delivery, to foreground the position that there are other aspects of being a great speaker than the absence or presence of an ASE grammar, including the use of other stylistic devices such as the pause and the phonological filler. Similar to the first evaluation sequence, Nick performs the expected sequence-closing third of thanking his evaluator before all participants close the sequence with another clap.

In sum, the significance of the audience members' comments are that they become verbal goods (Irvine 1989). Audience members exchange these goods for and valuate another communicative object: the performance, which is voluntarily given by the performer. The presence of these compliments indexes that this transaction has occurred. Additionally, the compliments for a speaking circle speech and speaker praise and upgrade her or his status in a manner that implicitly enforced within the collective. Most importantly, such assessments are not only worth something for the speaker. The unfolding of "positive feedback" is a key opportunity for raising the value of its version of verbal art with ASE. Through their compliments, they transform not only the immediate performance, but also critique, reproduce, and, to some degree, alter the ideas of public speaking, which is something that many ASE speakers shy away from. In this light, the speaking circle is performative (Butler 1990). It affords the opportunity for interactants to (a) take value-laden signifiers from another mode of speaking within the AFESC, (b) embed them into the AESSC, and (c) re-signify them into an arena that accepts ASE and re-signifies it as part of "complex performancehood." Social actors in this site challenge, with every production of the speaking circle (both in terms of performance and evaluation), the position-taking that being a great public speaker need not be negated by the presence of ASE.

Discussion and Conclusion: The (Re)production of a New, Alternative Linguistic Market
As one will recall from the beginning of the chapter, the example of Sheila Johnson's mockery of Creigh Deeds highlights the significance of ASE within the dominant, linguistic market of the AFESC. ASE is condemned within one's participation within the political economy and is often cited as a reason for removing persons from participation in particular roles in the political economy. However, this chapter has also revealed the ways in which the AESSC, through the use of the speaking circle, works to create another linguistic market, which I am choosing to consider an alternative for now. I argue that it is alternative, for the participants do not exactly endorse an explicit agenda to go out and demand that their modes of evaluation and speaking be

accepted in the AFESC. Instead, it becomes an alternative place whereby ASE is positioned as another way of speaking. Within this alternative linguistic market, one observes the opposite tendency and communal encouragement for participants to actually use the nonstandard. In line with Woolard (1985), I agree that this is not necessarily because there is an absence of the pressures of a dominating linguistic market like the AFESC. Social actors must do just as much work to adjust their linguistic habitus towards this new, alternative linguistic market, which is situated in the AESSC and through the specific activity of the speaking circle. To be clear, this alternative linguistic market is anything but bounded, for its very presence is motivated by its relation with the dominant market. Participation in this alternative market is also not free for all persons to enter, for one must have a command of ASE in some form or another as speaker or hearer. Moreover, the presence and reproduction of such an alternative market, to reiterate, does not mean a complete overhaul of the dominant market. This is important to remember so as to avoid the danger of romanticizing the speaking circle practices exclusively as resistance (Mahmood 2001).

In sum, this chapter builds on the previous chapter on introductions in regards to the ways social actors, within particular activities and genres within the AESSC, complexify their sociolinguistic identity. Through introductions, social actors in the AESSC, as embedded within SOA, do complex personhood, or the process of formulating a complex sign of the self in a world that would otherwise reduce their self-identity to their sociolinguistic aspects. In this chapter, the speaking circle shows the way their activities render visible the local ethnopragmatic understanding of "complex performancehood," or the process of foregrounding other parts of public speechmaking. "Complex performancehood" is itself a stance that accompanies and is reproduced within the evaluation practices of the speaking circle. Most importantly, it operates in the construction of a new, alternative linguistic market whereby the nonstandard is valued as part of public speechmaking. Such a move is key, for public speechmaking as a genre is one of the places where the dominating effects of the linguistic market of the AFESC is most clearly illustrated. However, the speaking circle performances show that this domination is far from fixed and static, but instead is constantly re-framed.
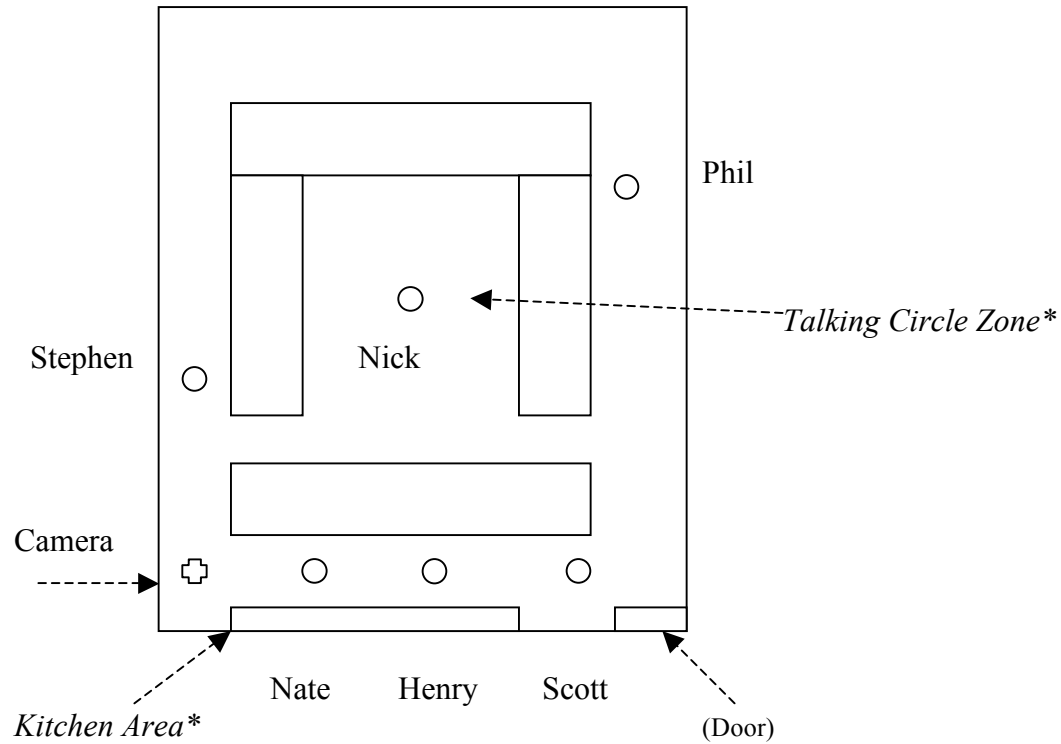
Figure 4.1. The spatial layout of the speaking circle for Nick's speech. Speakers cross an opening between the tables (represented by rectangles), usually on the right side of the room, to enter the speaking circle and remain here for the duration of their speech and receiving of "positive feedback."

Chapter Five: Literacy as Situated Practice for Identity Work in the American English Stuttering Speech Community[1]

Together, Chapters Five and Six have focused primarily on the social accomplishment of sociolinguistic identity through genres that have an explicit name in the AESSC as communicative context. However, not all discourse genres that constitute this context and do identity work have explicit names (Goodwin 1990:23). Yet, despite their un-named nature, they remain key for our understanding of the resources that social actors use to take up positions and position-takings in the AESSC. Here I focus on one of these kinds of unnamed practices, which I choose to call literacy practices, a term borrowed from New Literacy Studies, which will be discussed in detail below. In particular, the present chapter focuses on a subset of literacy practices whereby social actors interpret texts from mainstream media genres (e.g., jokes as part of a comedic film and human-interest newspaper stories) and use language to co-construct their relationship to representations of sociolinguistic variation and to each other within the contemporary AESSC.

Literacy practices are defined as any event in which persons employ literacy skills (reading, writing, and interpreting various kinds of texts) and/or explicitly discuss such skills in a social setting (Street 1984; Street 1993). For ASE speakers in this ethnographic context, literacy practices are often staple practices of childhood speech therapy , as noted by the participants in earlier ethnographic accounts of the AESSC (Borkman 1999). Research studies done by speech-language pathologists also often use data from literacy practices in order to assess where someone falls within the spectrum of ASE competence. For instance, during my fieldwork with Chapter D, the chapter leader, Wes, participated in a medical study on a drug to reduce a person's competence in ASE, which affected his eligibility for the study. To figure out where he fell in regards to the competency in ASE and AFE, he had to read aloud a passage in front of a camera. Thus, to understand the significance of the literacy dilemma in the AESSC and AFESC contexts, I turn to Smith's (1986:266-267) concept of "multiple illiteracies," rather than a single kind of "illiteracy." By this, I mean that ASE speakers are not "illiterate" in the strict sense of not knowing how to read, write, and interpret. Instead, these particular discourses of literacy position ASE speakers as contextually "illiterate" in regards of the context of reading aloud. Their practices of using ASE in this literacy-orality activity go against the definition of "literacy" established by AFE speakers, whereby a strict adherence to AFE in recitation is not only required but also a tactic for reproducing allegiance to AFE as the norm.

In a different but related strand of research on literacy, speech-language pathologists have also conducted exclusive quantitative studies on literacy disorders and ASE speakers (Blood et al. 2003; Nippold and Schwarz 1990). Because of the implicit preoccupation with the pathological perspective, their analyses leave unexplored the sociocultural salience of literacy practices from the participants' perspective and as consequential for understanding language, social organization, and power. Their research frames literacy as a set of autonomous cognitive skills of reading, interpreting, and writing print texts; as such, their focal question becomes

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whether ASE speakers have higher rates of reading 'disorders,' as compared to American Fluent English speakers. These academic discourses and research orientations problematically reproduce the belief that ASE, as an already-constituted pathology, can be naturally associated with the possibility of other cognitive disorders. Furthermore, the literature tacitly promotes AFE speakers as a natural, privileged sociolinguistic category with "fluent" literacy practices that others should emulate. Given the shifting consensus among scholars in the New Literacy Studies (Street 1993; Gee 2008; Heath 1983) that literacy is an ideological process, rather than an autonomous and individual set of skills, the speech-language pathology perspective reveals itself as not only deficit-based, but also outdated. In short, the autonomous approach takes a top-down view that often promotes a deficit view for many children and adults, with significant consequences for social policy in employment and education (Baquedano-López 2004:249). The New Literacy Studies framework takes an ethnographic, ideological, and often activity-based view that recognizes and validates other literacies beyond a conventional, institutional understanding (Besnier 1995). In particular, I will be focusing on how social actors do critical media literacy as communicative practice in the producing and critiquing of the AESSC. Future work will focus on the sociolinguistic competence and performance questions in regards to reading aloud in this naturally-occurring context.

Using New Literacy Studies as a guiding framework, this chapter analyzes the linguistic and other communicative resources, such as written and other multimedia texts, that social actors in the AESSC draw on in taking up making and remaking identities (Moje and Lewis 2007). Baquedano-López crucially reminds scholars that "literacy is part of one's orientation to a lived reality made meaningful through the interpretation of text, that is, to written and oral descriptions and explanations of events that are endowed with sociohistorical value" (2004:246). In short, it is more than the ability to read, write, and answer pre-existing multiple choice questions on standardized tests. The chapter also takes seriously the methodological observation noted by Baquedano-López on a language-in-context approach to literacy:

> Analyses that take a closer look at grammar and the pragmatics of talk in interaction are invaluable for understanding the cultural practices that construct, maintain, and transform literacy expectations across institutional contexts. Attention to linguistic detail allows for the opportunity to observe emergent literacies *in situ*. [2004:249]

With a focus on three interactions from online and offline contexts, I foreground an analysis of the grammar and pragmatics of how interactants do interpretations of media and their investment within it as a kind of literacy (Alvermann and Hagwood 2000; Sholle and Denski 1993, 1995). This chapter argues that participants, in engaging in media literacy, co-construct and critique framings of their sociolinguistic identities, or positions and position-takings in the AESSC, using literate products from other communicative contexts. I will discuss the written literacy practices of SOA and other organizations in future research, as there is quite an extensive history of the production of counternarratives within counterpublics (Fraser 1992; Warner 2002). Additionally, this chapter excludes data whereby speakers do read aloud, in part because I was unable to collect audio-visual recordings of this practice in naturally-occurring interactions.

This investigation of interpretive media literacy practices is comparative, as Besnier (1995) notes, in its use of both face-to-face practices and computer-mediated discourse, which is conceived here as a hybrid of writing and speaking practices (Baron 2005). Using culturally-contexted conversation analysis (which includes insights from ethnographic fieldnotes) and computer-mediated communication discourse analysis, I show how participants draw on

communicative resources across literacy contexts to (a) negotiate multiple and, at times, oppositional stances towards different kinds of texts on their sociolinguistic identity (e.g., film, print media, internet electronic listservs) and (b) manage and reorganize social (including sociolinguistic) identities through their relationships with each other, relationships that are produced through stances taken towards these texts (Boyarin 1989). In sum, through this ethnographic and discourse analytic case study, scholars can understand the role of language in doing critical media literacy as an activity to co-construct dynamic relationships between sociolinguistic variation and discourse genres in diverse textual modalities, particularly ones that are ideologically-laden representations of speech. Moreover, an application of New Literacy Studies to the AESSC allows researchers of the AESSC to further understand other complex relationships that ASE speakers form towards a certain kind of literacy in this particular context, a facet that is often obscured through self-reporting and impressionistic data sources. Finally, this study contributes to the anthropology of media (Askew and Wilk 2002; Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002) by showing how people, in situated interactions, use language and media to critique and build their lifeworlds.

Overview of Chapter
The first section outlines how the linguistic anthropology of stuttering uses insights from the New Literacy Studies as a conceptual lens to analyze and rethink the place of literacy events in the AESSC. Next, I analyze data from both online and offline practices in three SOA chapters. I conclude with how these findings complement the existing literature and what implications that these insights have for future research on the AESSC and their use of language in regards to media, stance, and socialization.

Some Conceptual Assumptions in the Linguistic Anthropology of Stuttering's Approach to Literacy and Its Commensurability with Previous Approaches
Despite problematic assumptions and methodological limitations, speech-language pathology studies on literacy do draw attention to the controversial nature of literacy within the AESSC and, consequentially, the American Fluent English Speech Community. For instance, the ability to read aloud in AFE as a sign of a potential employee's competence often gets many ASE speakers disqualified for jobs. In the AESSC, reading aloud also becomes a means for discerning sociolinguistic competence in ASE between speakers (i.e., who is "fluent" when one reads). Thus, because of its central importance, the Linguistic Anthropology of Stuttering cannot turn its back on these concerns and problems, as they are also pressing problems for the participants themselves outside of such controlled experimental settings and survey reports. However, there is more at stake than questions of sociolinguistic performance and the paradigm scholars use to explore literacy in this context must take this into account to capture the participants' perspectives. The paradigm I propose here departs from the existing principles and respective methodological choices of the speech-language pathology literature. In particular, four key assumptions guide this study:

1. Literacy, or the ability to read, write, and interpret texts, is an ideologically-rich, community-specific, and co-constructed communicative practice that influences the cognitive and has consequential stakes for the construction of collective and individual identity. (Street 1984, 1993, Heath 1983, Gee 2008, Baquedano-Lopez 2004)

2. As it is a socially-recognizable practice (Scribner and Cole 1981), analysts can use ethnographic perspectives (Schieffelin and Gilmore 1986; Heath and Street 2008) with discourse analysis to explore how participants co-construct culturally-mediated notions of literacy practices and take up stances and identities towards public and counterpublic discourse.[2]

3. Literacy practices are not primarily focused on one kind of skill or text (e.g., reading print media) at the expense of others, but must encompass multiple types of texts within their matrices of interpretation. In essence, there are multiple literacies, rather than one single, undifferentiated category of literacy (New London Group 1996), which can include film and other multimodal texts, such as online news stories that include videos.

4. Literacy practices and schooling practices must be disentangled, for not all of literacy practices take place in the school. Moreover, relating this to (1), not all literacy issues are cognitive, but some are effects of the schooling environment (Scribner and Cole 1981; Scribner and Cole 1988; Scribner 1988; Mahiri 2004; Mahiri and Sablo 1996).

Through these principles, the Linguistic Anthropology of Stuttering situates itself as part of New Literacy Studies. This reorientation may prompt one to consider whether the evidence discussed in the earlier speech-language pathology studies is commensurate with the data that I will use in this chapter, that which is gained from long-term ethnography in the site. My provisional answer is that the two orientations produce incommensurate data because they are guided by different research assumptions, including assumptions on the sources of data. For instance, some of the data from the reading disorders research comes primarily from administering the SAT and comparing scores or the use of survey data. While speech-language pathology studies position performance on the SAT as a neutral, context-free source of data for assessing competence in literacy, I argue that it is a context-specific and culturally-biased product and process of valuation (see especially Steele and Aronson 1995). Second, data from the survey questions themselves have schemata that are partially co-authored by the researcher's assumptions, thereby affecting the kinds of answers one gives. The Linguistic Anthropology of Stuttering's approach to literacy focuses not so much on relative comparisons between speakers to determine competency 'gaps.' On the contrary, my approach here foregrounds literacies as process and products in communal-making projects of social organization for the individual and the collective (Brandt and Clinton 2002). Indeed, literacy is more than cognitive, context-free skills. Instead, I conceive of it as a practice embedded in a social field and a practice that social actors use to (re)make social fields by potentially critiquing and altering the available positions and position-takings in the AESSC as communicative context (see also Schieffelin 1986:viii). This is particularly evident when social actors engage in critical media literacy, which I turn to now.

Media Literacy as Practice in the AESSC: A Fundamental Description
In formulating a general understanding of media literacy in the AESSC, I draw on Scribner and Cole's (1981) conceptualization of literacy as a synthesis of technology, skills, and knowledges. In regards to technology, the events that I ethnographically observed requires the use of a script,

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[2] I use ethnographic perspectives on literacy practices as defined by Schieffelin, who argues that "we mean descriptions that take into account the perspective of the members of a social group, including the beliefs and values that underlie and organize their activities and utterances. An ethnographic perspective allows the researcher to find out the meaning of events for those who are involved in them" (1986:viii).

newsletters or VHS videotapes, VCRs, DVD players and DVDs, computers, and other kinds of technology associated with media viewing. In regards to knowledge(s), the members of the AESSC must be familiar with the genres they are looking at and its generic conventions (e.g., human interest stories, fiction films, stand-up comedy films, listservs, etc.) and how to read those genres (for instance, with print, left to right, or with cinema, to understand the editing involved so as to read time and space and narrative structure). They must also be familiar with "cultural" information (e.g., aesthetic ideas on speech) that is critically reflected on and referenced within each of those texts.

On the level of skills, the participants in SOA must possess a wealth of sensor-motor skills, such as sight, hearing, and use of limbs to receive the paper from someone else, to type, or to watch. For certain literacy events like those in Dumas (2004), they must also possess cognitive and linguistic skills to understand how to read aloud (e.g., falling and rising intonations as corresponding with punctuation marks) and what not to read. Another necessary skill set is cognitive skills for understanding and interpreting particular texts, assessing their central point, and engaging in other kinds of reasoning and counterarguments. Now that I have laid out a general framework for ethnographically understanding literacy in the AESSC, I turn to a close analysis of three selected instances of literacy practices whereby participants interpret texts and their relevance for their lifeworlds.

I seek to show how social actors use language and literacy to critically unpack multiple kinds of texts and to deliberate their own sociolinguistic identities within and beyond the particular context. The first instance comes from Chapter A, in which three interactants—Will, Justin, and Nate (the researcher)—discuss the meanings of a joke within a filmic text and the affective experience of reading and consuming such a film. The second and third examples come from my corpus of online computer-mediated communications that I observed with Chapter C and their interactions with other Northern California chapter members. These two examples focus on discussions about stories that focus on ASE speakers and are featured within one local newspaper and a national newspaper. While occurring in different contexts and involving different modes of consuming, all three instances show that interactants in the AESSC use the discourse genre of media literacy in order to further co-construct individual and collective identities.

"I didn't like the Kings of Comedy": Co-Constructing Conflicting Stances and Identities in Face-to-Face Interaction
The first example is taken from Chapter A before they disbanded. The interactants include Will (mid-20s), the current chapter leader and undergraduate student during this time; Justin (mid-30s), an employee at a local bank and long-time member; and Nate, the researcher. Attendance during this particular meeting in July 2003 was relatively low because the group has just moved to a new meeting location. However, the discussion here on a selective portion of a particular film proved itself to be quite revealing to me in the way the participants attempt to renegotiate different stances towards a particular literacy event via film and how they call on previous literacy events to contextualize this one. The discussion began early in the meeting. I was talking about the research interests of my then-faculty mentor who was doing ethnographic fieldwork on African-American stand-up comedians in Southern California. At this point, Will uses this as a means of entering into a discussion of a joke about stuttering, as told by Bernie Mac in a

comedic stand-up film. His first-position assessment initiates what will be an assessment activity (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992:155-56) within a media literacy event, beginning in (1).

```
(1) Kings of Comedy (7/2003)
1   JUSTIN: X (.) XXX
2   WILL: Uhm:: (SUCKS TEETH) I didn't like u:::h the Kings of Comedy.  >you
3   know wh[y]<?
4   JUSTIN: [Wh↑a::t?]
5   WILL: [Cause] at the very end,(.4)
6   NATE: Do you mean,
7   JUSTIN: [Wh↑a::t?]
8   WILL:    [There was-] there was a--there was (TEETH CLATTERING) a
9   segment uhm (.) (SUCKS TEETH) where uhm (.1) what's his name?
10  NATE: [Bernie-Bernie Mac.]
11  JUSTIN: [Bernie Ma:c.]
12  WILL: Uhm, yeah.
13  JUSTIN: [Bernie Mac XXX @@]
14  WILL:       [Bernie Mac] had [[that]] SEGment [[[about stuttering.]]]
15  NATE:                        [[@]]
16  JUSTIN:                                      [[[[About the k↑id and
17  the-]]]
18  NATE: Ye::s [I KNEW you were gonna SAY that.]
19  JUSTIN: [THAT was hiLLA::rious.]
```

The film under discussion is the *Original Kings of Comedy* (Lee 2000), a documentary about several African-American comedians, which is interspersed with clips of their stand-up routines. One of the cast members, Bernie Mac, performs a joke about his supposed nephew who is an ASE speaker. In the joke, his nephew attempts to speak while getting on the bus. The driver closes the door and drives each time. After the second time, the kid's mother goes to the bus top and confronts the driver on what she perceives to be discriminatory behavior. The driver turns out to also be an ASE speaker and says that he thought the kid was making fun of him, eliciting an enormous amount of laughter from the audience. Now that we know the premise of the joke, I now turn to the interpretive discussion that ensued.

In the opening lines of the activity, Will performs his affective assessment before the referent and through the verb phrase: past tense auxiliary ("do") + negative polarity adverb + verb ("like"). He immediately does a rush through in his next turn-construction unit (l. 2-3), a question (Schegloff 1987). This can be taken as an invitation to secure more rights to the floor because, outside of a macro-turn framework, speakers are guaranteed, at minimum, one turn-construction-unit before the selection of next speaker may occur (Sacks et al. 1974). Moreover, Will's rush through may also be done because there is some awareness on Will's part that he is offering a non-expected assessment that will have to be explained. This non-expected nature of the assessment is actually confirmed by Justin's one-word response (l. 4) and repetition of the one-word response again (l. 7) with a higher intonation rise. Instead of an outright production of the counter-assessment or disagreement, Justin projects his surprise to Will's assessment through the Wh-word "what" as a repair initiator, which is a common device for signaling disagreements with a first-position assessment (Pomerantz 1984:71). Moreover, he delivers this disagreeing "what" using expressive phonology, particularly through a rise in intonation, twice in the interaction (Ogden 2006). Justin's repair initiator, as an onset to a counter-stance, also recontextualizes Will's previous assessment talk as a tellable (Sacks 1992) that must also be

accounted for, which helps him to secure rights to expand on a new topic: the explanation of his assessment.

As Will begins to explain his reasoning in the next turn, Nate (the ethnographer) attempts to take the floor by suggesting he too knows what Will is referring to even before the utterance ends (l. 6). Nate's turn is significant because it signals that both share first-order access to the referent (Heritage and Raymond 2005), which is confirmed moments later. Will utilizes the conversational phenomenon of word search (l. 9) (Goodwin 1987) to invite his interlocutors to help build the referential figure (the comedian Bernie Mac) from the ground. Nate and Justin concurrently do this (l. 10-11) as an appropriate next-move in the interaction for the literacy event to proceed smoothly. Moreover, their collaborative endeavor also provides the opportunity for them to position themselves as interactants who are in an epistemic place to do forthcoming assessment work (Heritage and Raymond 2005). As both Nate and Justin highlight the referential figure , Justin begins to laugh (l. 13), which Nate takes as an invitation to also laugh (Jefferson 1985) only after initiated. Justin's laugh tokens projects to his interlocutors that his forthcoming assessment will be one of humor, rather than seriousness, which is later confirmed (l. 19).

In performing his second-assessment (Pomerantz 1984:59) after a delay, Justin raises his volume on the deictic demonstrative ("THAT was hilla:rious"), emphatically layering both the joke and his disagreement of Will's stance with affect. Justin also designs his counter-assessment as a declarative, which displays to his recipients the idea that his stance is generated as independent from his own experiences (Heritage and Raymond 2005:23). However, now there are two assessments towards the text that must be negotiated as well as how to negotiate the identity of the "consuming" or "reading" subject. Thus, the problems for interactants in this interaction become not only "What does this joke mean?" but also "What does it mean for me to consume the joke in this way as part of making my identity as an ASE speaker?" It is these next two questions that I now turn to in this analysis of the events in (2), taken from the same interaction as it continues.

```
     (2)  (several lines omitted)
20   WILL: That was embarrassing.
21   JUSTIN: [Actually actually--]
22   WILL:    [(I'm sorry about that.)/(Sorry bout that.)]
23   JUSTIN:    Actually (.) I think it actually worked to your advantage
24   because--
25   WILL: [Heh Heh]
26   JUSTIN: [I mean] it was--it was more of a positive thing because (.) H-
27   here ya-the-the kid is [uh,]
28   NATE:                    [Heh @@]
29   JUSTIN:  The mom is thinking that, you know, he's teasing him, but-but
30   [when-when in actuality it's like the--]
31   NATE:  [@@] He's teasing [[me]]
32   JUSTIN:                   [[(The dri-)]]  [Exa:ctly.]
33   NATE:                                    [X (Yeah)]
34   JUSTIN: Like the driver is the one that feels like he's being teased,
35   you [know XX] ?
36   NATE: [Yeah XXXX]
37   JUSTIN: And [[so it's like--]]
38   WILL:       [[Okay.]]
39              [[[Like-]]]
40   JUSTIN:    [[[It's-]]]
41   WILL: Okay.
42   JUSTIN: It's not what you think. you know [what] I'm saying?
```

```
43   WILL:                                        [Right.]
44   JUSTIN: At least-it's [hila::rious. @]
```

The excerpt in (2) continues a few minutes after Justin has introduced his counter-assessment on the Bernie Mac joke. To rationalize his assessment, Justin attempts to offer a candidate interpretation of the joke to counter Will's stance (l. 23). He recasts it, however, from a personal investment ("worked to your [Will's] advantage") to foregrounding and assessing the joke ("it") itself as a positive thing. This new, affective stance is one that is done with much self-initiated self-repair in the turn (l. 26-27), in part because of, perhaps, the delicacy of maintaining communal alignments but also preserving and respecting other's individual stances. When Justin states, "I think it actually worked to your advantage," he also recontextualizes the original literacy event of consuming the text ("it") as something of an empowering representation for Will, in contrast to conventional, denigrating images of persons-who-stutter in general. Moreover, Justin and Nate also use the device of reported speech to not only replay but also sequentially embed this part of the joke-as-text in this interaction ("He's teasing me," which is a line from the film, l. 31). Such a repetition further intensifies Justin's comedic assessment. Will expresses an understanding of this particular reading eventually with single-word agreement tokens, such as "Okay," and "right" (l. 41, 43), to express his alignment with the new stance being put on the table. Justin then repeats his original stance of "That was hilarious" (l. 45) which makes use of format tying (Goodwin 1990) with Will's earlier comment "That was embarrassing" (l. 20). Both turn-construction-units are designed in the following manner: deictic demonstrative + past tense copula + assessment segment (adjective). Hence, one sees not only examples of two stances towards the same text being elaborated on, but one also the ways in which both interactants attempt to use linguistic resources in this project that build off each other. Moreover, what Justin elaborates on in the joke is not the entire story itself, but the recipients' epistemic stances (via mental predicates such as "think") on the cast of characters in the joke's story, or taleworld (Young 1987). However, for Will, what is important in this conversation is the actual stylization of the stuttering event, as opposed to internal states of mind or the motives of the character, as revealed in (3).

```
     (3)
46   WILL: It's just-it felt so [(personal). you know?]
47   JUSTIN:                    [I know what you're talking about though.]
48   I-I definitely know what you're talkin' bout. I can uhm (.) think back
49   to (1.0) times in school,
50   WILL:  [(Right.)]
51   NATE:  [(Yeah.)]
52   JUSTIN:      [Where] there'd be like--you know, say we had to read a (.)
53   book in school, and there was a character that-that stuttered, I mean
54   you just felt like all eyes were on you. you know? it's like, o:ka::y.
55   you know. but (.) everybody may-may not even know that you-you stutter
56   at all, but you just--you know, you kinda, (1.0) feel that when people
57   laugh and this and that, that they're not just laughing at that
58   character, that they're laughing at you.
59   WILL: Right. [right.]
60   JUSTIN:        [You] know?
61   WILL:  [[Yeah.]]
62   JUSTIN:      [[So,]]  I can uh (.) understand what you're saying there,
63   but I'm sorry, that was funny.  (Hx) @ @ @
64   NATE: (That was funny.)/(It was funny.)
```

As the conversation continues, Will continues to invite some alignment to his assessment of the viewing experience through the use of the turn-final tag question, "You know?" (l. 46). Justin immediately responds with epistemic certainty on Will's assessment twice, with the second repetition include the adverbial intensifier "definitely" (l. 47-48), thereby upgrading his alignment and understanding of Will's experience. Justin demonstrates his understanding of Will's assessment by doing a temporal replay of a previous discursive and literacy context in formal schooling (l. 48-49), whereby one had to reading particular texts that had a stuttering character in it. In this turn, Justin makes this habitual experience of consuming and reading as interdiscursive (Silverstein 2005) with Will's experience of viewing the *Kings of Comedy*. Will and Nate both offer continuers (Schegloff 1982; Goodwin 1986) that also signal agreement ("Right") and ("Yeah") (l. 50-51), suggesting that another common ground of experience is being built. While Justin does not elaborate on whether the reading is done aloud or silent, he does note that what is relevant is the feeling of "all eyes were on you" (l. 54). He too uses the tag question "You know?" (l. 60) to incorporate the interlocutors in this particular participation framework. Moreover, he breaks through into the performance (Hymes 1981) using the affective quotative "O:k::ay" (l. 54) as a means of conveying the awkwardness of being on stage in that particular literacy practice. However, he turns the discussion onto the fact of negotiating knowledge on behalf of the co-present consumers/readers in the literacy context (who knows if X is a PWS or not?). Despite his partial alignment with Will's conveyed experience, Justin still stands by his stance of the text, coupled with an apology for why he cannot fully reject the joke (l. 63).

Broadly speaking, the *Kings of Comedy* discussion is important because it demonstrates two major points that will also be relevant in the next two examples. The first is that, within media literacy practices, social actors routinely embed assessment activities within them. Thus, literacy is not just about interpretation as an epistemic matter; it is also about affective investment in the interpretation of the text. Second, media literacy practices becomes an opportunity for interactants like Will and Justin to deliberate on what it means for someone to read and consume a (filmic) text in terms of identity work as an ASE speaker, or a speaker of a stuttering variety in general. By consuming the text in Will's sense, one runs the risk of being seen as overly sensitive to representations, while at the same time drawing attention to the potential damaging nature of them. On the other hand, in taking Justin's stance, one constitutes the subjectivity of being able to laugh at representations and take the power back from their ability to damage one's sociolinguistic identity. In this sense, we come to see two particular positions and position-takings that are available for social actors to take and intersubjectively negotiate in interactions around literacy.

"50 Years Ago"—Doing Media Literacy Online
In the previous example, I discussed how social actors select a particular representation of themselves—a joke from a stand-up comedy film—in order to debate the ways in which one should read the representation. In Sholle and Denski's framework (1995), this is an example of critiquing one's affective investment in the text as a kind of reader and consumer. For the next example, I focus on a shorter episode that is taken from the online listserv of Chapter C, which I observed from 2008-2009. Chapter C now shares this listserv with regional Northern California chapters. Previously, the members had their own listserv, but due to several reasons, they

decided to move to this pre-established one. Moreover, the listserv is accessible only by password for members to post. Some common literacy uses of the listserv include (a) announcing chapter meetings; (b) summarizing chapter meetings; (c) seeking and giving advice, such as with issues pertaining to education and employment; and (d) literacy events, or the discussion of some kind of text through written means, which is the focus of this chapter.

For convenience, I have made additional changes to the presentation of the data. Spatial location of date/time of post appears differently on the listserv from the way it is presented here. Second, I added line numbers for ease of reference, though they do not appear on the list serv. Third, I have made an attempt to maintain the prose of each post-construction-unit as spatially located on the listserv and as participants experience it. The term post-construction-unit refers to the building blocks of written, online posts in asynchronous computer-mediated communication, similar to the term turn-construction-units as the building blocks of conversational turns. For more on the distinctions between the two, see Dumas (2009). It is important to note that the term "post-construction-unit" is not specific to the AESSC, but is a general resource for all persons who post online to use. Also, when I use the word "post," this refers to the post itself. The term "poster" refers to the social actor who uploads a comment to the list serv. Fourth, the letters (e.g., A,B) are used to mark sequential posters. No actual poster names are used for confidentiality purposes. Finally, [XX] refers to the place where the real name of the listserv appears. This is preserved to give an idea of what social actors see when they post without compromising confidentiality.

In this first example from the listserv, the interactants are engaged with a discussion of the article, "Special day raises awareness—Teen confidently spreads word about stuttering" (Robertson 2008). The article is one of another common human-interest stories that seek to educate the American Fluent English Speech Community about the everyday challenges of being a speaker of ASE. What is unique about the article is that it focuses on a teenager who actually refuses to continue speech therapy and embraces his identity as an ASE speaker. With this summary, I turn now to the sequence and design of the actions that social actors use to do a media literacy event online (4).

```
     (4) 50 Years Ago
 1   Post A, 8/22/2008, 6:46 PM
 2   Sacramento Bee Article
 3   http://www.sacbee.com/101/story/1329963.html
 4
 5   Post B, 8/22/2008, 9:35 PM
 6   RE: [XX] Sacramento Bee Article
 7   I encourage all to read this article. The subject
 8   of the article is one tough kid. I wish I had been
 9   like him 50 years ago.
10   (Automatically-generated reference to poster A)
11
12   Post C, 8/22/2008, 11:13 PM
13   Re: [XX] Sacramento Bee Article
14   Thank you for the article!
15   C
16   (C's business link)
17
18   Post D, 8/23/2008, 9:29 PM
19   Re: [XX] Sacramento Bee Article
```

```
20    What a great article!!   The chronicle and Trib
21    should do the same!
22    D
23    (D's business address signature)
```

Poster A initiates the literacy event through a minimal noun phrase, which foregrounds the source of the article, in the subject line (l. 2). A then the posts of the link, which can be taken as an invitation to read the article (l. 3). As a result of the way the invitation is framed, Poster B provides an assessment of the article through the use of a mitigated directive (l. 7) and then gives an extended description (l. 7-8), in part brought on by the minimal description from Post A. This is then followed by another assessment of the kid in the article, which I will discuss further below. Poster C implements another relevant next-action (l. 14), a thanking to A, thereby providing insight into the idea that the posting of the link was designed to be an invitation to read. Finally, in Post D, the relevant next-action, similar to Post B, is another assessment that is also followed by a directive. From this brief example, we can elucidate that the following structure occurs for a literacy event: (1) offering of text is the first pair part (which may or may not include a first-assessment) and (2) the second pair part is (explicit or implicit) acceptance and then (3) explicit assessment work. The presence of assessments is key for it indexes the idea that social actors have read the text in some off-server arena and thereby puts them in an epistemic position to make assessments (Heritage and Raymond 2005). At this point, I now want to turn to the ways in which social actors use post-design to do the particular actions, and how the design in this example allows one to do media literacy as a cultural practice in asynchronous CMC.

In describing the sequence of the literacy practice above, I identified Poster A's contribution as the initiation of the event. This is done, however, through only one post-construction-unit, which can simply be a link, rather than a clause. The only description that is given to potential posters is the source of the article and the link. As a result, this makes relevant the post-shape of Poster B, who not only provides an assessment of the article as part of the initial PCU, but then an extended summary. Poster B also builds a link back to previous discourse through the referential indexical "this" (l. 7), which is also redundant with the RE: in the subject line (l. 6), which also signals to readers and posters that this post is also connected to the one that came before it. Done through the form of a mitigated directive, Poster B's strong positive assessment increases the value of the text in the discussion through the use of a mitigated directive that is addressed to "all," rather than some (l. 7).

Poster B's description itself is also not a neutral, complete summary, for the article has other topics in it. However, for Poster B, the primary assessable in the article is the kid, which he modifies with the assessment segment "tough." This assessment segment allows Poster B with to affectively take a stance (DuBois 2007) on one of the protagonists in the article as well as potentially encouraging others to read the article to discover why the kid is "tough." B's third post-construction-unit is sequentially-linked in this action by now moving back from the article and now discussing her own affective involvement in the piece. This is performed through her use of a transitive, present-tense verb with the complex complement (l. 8, "I wish" X) to convey another possible and more desirable past world ("50 years ago"). In this sense, the third action conveys the idea that this "one tough kid," or the representation of him, is one that is morally-good (Taylor 1989) and may be possible, perhaps, only in this particular, contemporary moment where refusal of speech therapy is a possible course of action with particular significance.

After Poster B, Poster C completes the next relevant action, acceptance (l. 14), using only one post-construction-unit. However, C uses the exclamation marks at the end of his statement to

signal heightened affect, which operates perhaps as a correlate to oral expressive phonology in doing agreements (Ogden 2006). This is also paralleled through Poster D's use of two quotation marks (l. 20) within her assessment, which further accentuates the use of the adjective/assessment segment "great" in regards to the assessable. What is significant is the final post-construction-unit of Poster D. On close inspection, Post D formulates a moral directive for other representations (l. 20-21) through the use of modality. However, she uses deontic modality in her directive, which is traditionally used to signal moral responsibility. This is key, for it suggests that other mainstream representations ("The chronicle" and Trib") are not doing either this kind of article or representations like it, but "should" be. Hence, this final post-construction-unit points to the awareness that, within the current contexts, there are problematic representations of their identity that exist in mainstream mediums like newspapers and that there is a desire for counter-representations out there within these kinds of mediums. Moreover, this is not only a desire, but it is also expressed as an action of responsibility and obligation, thereby providing an insight into means of discussing the politics of representations. Such discourse also points to social actors' awareness of the potential of these representations to contribute to some sort of social change on the identity of ASE speakers and what it means to be a speaker of this particular variety.

In sum, this example seeks to demonstrate how, similar to the *Kings of Comedy* example, social actors initiate and assess texts that are relevant to the construction of their sociolinguistic identity. Moreover, unlike the *Kings of Comedy* example, this first example from online asynchronous computer-mediated communication is similar to the events discussed in Dumas (2004), where social actors in the AESSC collectively read the same text together at the same time. While it is hard to say when the other posters read the online article, this example does bear a similarity in that the same article is accessible to all persons in the space and it is used to build a common referential ground for the preceding discourse. In particular, the analysis has drawn attention to how the assessments around the text and their own individual and collective investments are achieved through monitoring of and response to others' actions. This monitoring, in turn, affects not only when they do subsequent actions, such as assessments and directives, but also how they are done. Such assessments are far from neutral; they are important for constructing the positions and position-takings that are available in this context when it comes to negotiating relationships to identity and variation. However, the constructing, taking-up, and vacating of these positions are done through the use of the written words of others in a chain of literacy practices.

"Great Video": Using Literacy to Revisit and Critique Categorizations

For the last example (5), I turn to another instance of media literacy whereby a new poster initiates a discussion of a particular representation of a video that is embedded within the text of a larger online article from the *New York Times* (Cavett 2009). The article "Why Can't We Talk Like This?" focuses on Broadway actor and author Jonathan Miller, who is also a person-who-stutters. However, in the article, the author barely mentions that Miller is a speaker of a stuttering variety, but simply says that one should forward this to persons who are. It is this particular part of the video that sparks an entry into media literacy and, within this, an assessment activity.

```
   (5) Great Video
1  Post A, 6/4/2009, 4:27 PM
2  The link below was posted on the (SOA) Chapter Leaders
3  website. The video embedded in the article is long,
4  but you can fast forward to about 16.30 minutes in and
5  Jonathan Miller talks in great length about his
6  stuttering in front of a very large audience.
7  Inspirational, in my mind.
8  http://cavett.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/29/why-cant-
9  we-talk-like-this/?ref=opini\on&8ty&emc=ty
10
11 Post B, 6/7/2009, 5:02 PM
12 Re: [XX] Great video
13 thanks for the video link (A), it was interesting to
14 hear so well put into words the anticipation,
15 avoidance, and substitutions that we all go through.
16 Would everyone agree though that Jonathan's strategy
17 of avoidance (he avoided his own name and other feared
18 names during the interview) is not the recommended
19 course of action? I guess it depends on each
20 individual PWS and what his/her goals are. But for me,
21 I finally learned to stop being afraid to stutter (for
22 the most part) when I began to tackle my feared words
23 head-on.
24 -(X X)
25
26 Post C, 6/8/2009, 4:22 AM
27 Re: [XX] Great video
28 I agree (B).  I was impressed at how well he spoke but
29 when he mentioned how he constantly avoided certain
30 words and syllables in conversation I found that to be
31 somewhat strange, though it certainly works for him.
32 His brain must be lightning fast to be able to do that
33 because he was very fluent with not much hesitation.
34 I would think that would be mentally exhausting after
35 an interview like that though.
36 (Previous reference to poster)
37
38 Post B, 6/8/2009  4:27 AM
39 Re: [XX] Great video
40 Yeah I was thinking the same thing
41
42 Post D, 6/8/2009, 11:49 PM
43 Re: Great video
44 (Quoted information about Post A)
45 What a great example of disclosing being a stutterer
46 with dignity and humor.
47 His final point hit home: that one can either
48 - "attempt to pass" or
49 - use it as "part of their myth", "an elaborate device
50 of ostentation", "make it
51 a virtue".
52
53 He seemed to be working both angles (at least in that
54 interview), and in fact I think that most well
55 adjusted stutterers do both: attempting to work around
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56   the stuttering and also putting it out there as an
57   endearing quirk.
58
59   On the subject of humor, a non-stutterer recently told
60   me a joke about stuttering. He prefaced it by saying
61   "I think you'll like this joke about stuttering," and
62   I hope you will too...
63
64   A bus driver asks a rider "C-C-Can I see your T-T-
65   Ticket P-P-Please", and the man replies "N-N-No P-P-
66   Problem here you G-G-Go".
67
68   Next day the same guy rides the bus and the bus driver
69   asks "C-C-Can I see your T-T-Ticket P-P-Please", and
70   the man replies with perfect fluency "But of course,
71   here you go old chap. Thank you very much now."
72
73   The bus driver replies "Aha, S-S-so you are fluent a-
74   a-a-after all. So you were j-j-just making fun of me
75   yesterday, how r-r-rude."
76
77   The passenger replies "N-N-No I am a S-S-Stutterer. I
78   was J-J-Just making fun of all Th-Th-The blowhard
79   fluent p-p-people"
```

Poster A initiates the activity by offering a recipient-designed description of the text that also foregrounds of a particular excerpt (l. 2-6). The recipient-design nature is conveyed even more by A's use of in-group acronyms such as SOA, which makes sense in this context but could be taken differently in others. In his description, A's post conveys the idea that the text has traveled from one particular cyberspace discursive context (the SOA website) to this one. Thus, A interdiscursively links the text between two different literacy contexts as part of his preface, a tactic which will be repeated by another poster later (l. 59-62). His characterization of the video with the adjective "long" (l. 3) also suggests that he is designing this invitation to view for an intended audience that is, in fact, concerned about time and that also not all parts of the video will be affectively relevant to the identity projects at hand. This description is followed by A's assessment of the text. This assessment work is done through the use of an adjective ("inspirational," l. 7), coupled with the use of a prepositional phrase that highlights his own mental state and downgrades the idea of the possible assessment that everyone should follow the ideologies within the text. Moreover, A's posting of the link (l. 8-9) is done as a non-explicit offer for others to view a selected part of the video (l. 4) on their own time and in a separate cyberviewing space (e.g., a separate browser tab or window). The link is provided last, after description and assessment work. Most importantly, within the framework of media literacy, A foregrounds how this particular text has particular stakes for the consequences of making his identity as an ASE speaker. To view, or read, this particular multimedia text is not simply about the decoding procedure of interpretation; it is also about how the text, for A, becomes a resource for making social meaning around his identity as an ASE speaker in a particular communicative context. Such first-assessments also set the stage for others to agree or disagree with and co-construct the text's worth for the (re)making of identity, as we will see below through their subsequent actions.

Before moving into his own assessments, Poster B begins his initial post-construction-unit with a thank you. This preferred second pair-part to offering shows B's understanding of A's

posting of the link as an invitation to view (l. 13). B then provides an assessment on his own act of viewing the specific clip noted by A as important (l. 13-15). B does this through the syntactic device of extraposition (Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson 2008) to convey an assessment on the act of hearing about Miller's sociolinguistic norms in interaction (l. 13). As B uses past tense in the extraposition construction, B implicitly displays that she has seen the clip and is now in a position to offer commentary. In this phrase concerning the referential content, B uses the deictic "we all," as a potentially classic case of the first person plural inclusive that includes addressees, to constitute the text's significance to a lived virtual speech community as context (l. 15). Within this post-construction unit, B objectifies and analyzes what it means to be an ASE speaker at particular times ("anticipation, avoidance, and substitutions"). Thus, such an observation suggests that there is a kind of self-awareness that continuously marks interaction for ASE speakers in multiple interactions that may not be present for AFE speakers.

B then poses a question (l. 16-19) for inviting future assessments on preferred courses of moral actions within interaction. Following the question, B engages in a parenthetical aside and disclaimer (l. 19-23) that seeks to mitigate his stance on Jonathan Miller's actions of "avoidance." His move also downgrades his epistemic certainty by noting that for himself (l. 20), this is not a part of his sociolinguistic pragmatics, for he has overcome the "problem." This downgrading is also similar to A's earlier move (l. 7). While such a discourse strategy may seem to distance him away from the collective context, this strategy of mitigation actually enacts one of the positions and position-takings of the AESSC: that speakers of ASE maintain some kind of imagined sense of personal autonomy around their sociolinguistic schemata towards the variety in context. Such an aside displays B's awareness that other answers are out there and are potential counters to this assessment of the text's instructional value.

In the following response, Poster C (l. 28) displays the preference for agreement to B's perhaps leading polarity question and also does assessment work (l. 28) on the story protagonist. C performs his second-assessment to B's assessment through the use of the following syntactic shape: pronoun "I" + copula ("be") + adjective/assessment segment ("impressed"). Such a post-turn-construction unit foregrounds her particular position from that of other possible assessments and subjective investments. It also provides C the opportunity to continue the work of semiotic analysis that was initiated by B concerning Jonathan's metalinguistic awareness, signaled by the avoidance of particular words and syllables.

However, C's post focuses on sociolinguistic performance of Jonathan Miller, which is at first positive and then, through the use of the conjunction "but," signals that there is a change in her stance—that of "strange" towards his linguistic performance (l. 28-31). Through the use of the adjective, C conveys that the actions are not clearly good or bad, but somehow affectively at odds with an implicit moral code of authenticity that operates within the AESSC around using the variant. C follows B's post shape in framing Jonathan's actions as his own (through the use of deictics, e.g., l. 30) and not one that should be taken as a generic and authoritative stance, nor something that should be entirely condemned. In the follow-up post to C, B uses a minimal post-construction-unit (one clause), expresses his agreement with C's stance on Jonathan Miller's actions within the discourse genre of interviewing, which has ramifications for how both B and C construct together the idea of what it means to be an ASE speaker within the AFESC through the moral prism of the AESSC.

Like the previous posters to the discussion, Poster D provides a positive assessment of the text, including its protagonists, with adjectives such as "great" (l. 45). However, D initially focuses less on his own personal state around viewing and more on the text itself, which is

signaled by the lack of personal pronouns. One may recall that this is a similar tactic used by Justin in the first example of the *Kings of Comedy*. D's post also uses the resources of quoted speech (l. 48-51) to call back to and re-center aspects of the text into this particular context, making it relevant to the contemporary discussion. D uses the stances conveyed in the quotatives to re-cast the previous interpretations of B and C's disapproving assessments on the activity of interview (l. 53-54). She re-constitutes Jonathan Miller's actions, instead, as constitutive of a particular kind of general identity ("well-adjusted stutterers") that is guided by particular dispositions towards the variety that he introduces into the discussion. Moreover, the invocation of such a categorization suggests that there is a such thing as a competent ASE speaker in regards to navigating interaction, rather than one that aimlessly bumbles through it. D strengthens her assertion of the validity of her claims by the phrase "in fact" (l. 54), coupled with the slightly downplaying nature of the phrase "I think." In this sense, D takes a stronger assertive stance than A, B, or C, but not too strong to the point of appearing authoritative.

Moreover, D invokes the text's concern with humor (l. 59) to sequentially breakthrough into another literacy event: the telling, or writing, of a joke (l. 64-79). D performs a recontextualization and literal entextualization of previous discourse (a joke told in a presumably offline space) as a means of continuing the discussion of disclosure but also, perhaps, closing the assessment activity on the article. The poster also engages in precontextualization through the use of the future tense (l. 62) in his hopes that the interlocutors will also enjoy the new literacy event—the reading of the joke. In terms of content, the joke is similar to the *Original Kings of Comedy* incident that kicked off the previous discussion, in that the author and principals (Goffman 1974; Goffman 1981) of the joke are AFE speakers while the animated figures, or protagonists, are ASE speakers. While the joke itself is interesting to analyze, particularly in the way that ASE speakers themselves represent their speaking style through literacy, this detracts from the central point: that media literacy events, be they singular or chain-like, are part of the project of meaning-making and identity-making. Such (re)entextualizations and circulation of discourse demonstrates that AFE and ASE speakers, in doing these particular repetitions, can also then move into the process of making new counter-representations. Such counter-representations need not be made from scratch; instead, they can be dialogic (Bakhtin 1981), in that they rely on the use of previous discourses within this communicative context.

Conclusion and Implications

Like the previous examples I have shown, this final example is meant to underscore the point that, within the AESSC, literacy is not simply about a question of cognitive skills of understanding. Literacy has high stakes for the deliberations of identities, identities that are produced discursively produced elsewhere and are embedded within this emergent discourse genre (Brandt and Clinton 2002). Media literacy, although not named, is a particular kind of interpretive practice for orienting to discourse genres, such as jokes in filmic texts and human-interest stories, and allows social actors to take up particular identities within the AESSC and also reflect on those outside of the AESSC. In particular, I have focused on the act of interpretation across face-to-face and online contexts to show its far-reaching nature. I have also shown that social actors take up stances towards a variety of texts beyond traditional genres and formats (e.g., the printed versus online newspaper with embedded videos that show ASE speakers through all their multimodal practices). In doing such stance work with each other, social actors come to create new understandings of their identities as well as typify and critique

their dynamic linguistic and pragmatic strategies. Such ethnographic research into literacy in the AESSC is distinct from the common views of literacy that dominate existing research in speech-language pathology, whereby literacy is not directly about identity but about the display of individual, cognitive skills (or lack, thereof). While an analysis of these practices may not have much relevance for the actual linguistic competence of the variant in this paradigm, such analysis does allow us to see how members in the AESSC negotiate ideas of communicative competence (Hymes 1974) in regards to the use of the form and variant. Moreover, through a situated look at how interpretations are arrived at and unfold, we are allowed to see how social actors, as a routine practice, constantly reframe metapragmatics through the decentering and recentering of texts that are produced outside of the AESSC but find their way into this communicative context. In short, products from other literacy practices can and do become resources for speakers to negotiate complex relationships to positions and position-takings of sociolinguistic variation and their identity as speakers of a nonstandard variety.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Using the Practice Theory Approach to Language, I have argued that American Stuttering English speakers co-construct and reproduce discourse genres that re-negotiate understandings of their sociolinguistic selves in a market that otherwise denigrates their speaking styles. In the dominating context of the American Fluent English Speech Community (AFESC), American Stuttering English (ASE) is considered a pathology, or deformation of the standard, American Fluent English (AFE). This idea has also been historically reproduced through mainstream linguistics, which has previously excluded its domain of study, despite its presence in naturally-occurring interaction and as a significant part of people's communicative practices in their lifeworlds. However, by examining situated linguistic practices, this study shows that social actors implicitly orient to their speech as sociolinguistic variation and, using particular discourse genres, create the American Stuttering English Speech Community (AESSC) as a communicative field that habitually revaluates ASE. The findings here extend previous work in sociology that focuses on the communal practices of groups that organize themselves around stuttering within a social context, but it adds to our understandings by focusing on the grammar and pragmatics of language. Moreover, this work extends previous work in linguistics around duplication by arguing for stuttering as systematic and variational duplication.

In Chapter Two, I presented an alternative model of stuttering that positions it as variational duplication, or a kind of sociolinguistic variation that does not participate in the change of word-meaning. This remodeling was motivated by the implicit, rather than explicit, understanding of stuttering in the AESSC as a manner of speaking that brings them together. Even though ASE speakers in the AESSC may espouse the disability or pathological perspective in explicit metacommunicative discourse, their discourse genres subtly position their speech as variation. Indeed, the disability perspective is to be separated from actual linguistic reasoning, the former which is derived primarily from ideas that reinforce the dominant linguistic market. The dissertation aimed to show that such a position is not merely ideological, but has empirical weight when it is considered with different conceptual tools—particularly Morphological Doubling Theory and Emergent Grammar—when applied to naturally-occurring interactions where the form is allowed to be used in context. Indeed, this dissertation has sought to continue and expand on the insights posed by Landar (Landar 1961)first in regards to Navajo, whereby stuttering can be repositioned as a significant object of study in linguistics.

Building off this insight, I sought to show how social actors take up positions and position-takings in regards to the form and within particular contexts through their interactions. In Chapters Three, Four, and Five, I examined three particular discourse genres as sites for reformulating understandings of speakerhood and hearerhood within the AESSC. In regards to introductions, social actors oriented to the position and position-taking of "complex personhood." By this, I mean that one does self-reference in a way that downplays ASE as only one aspect of a person, thereby refuting an essentialism that they often face in the AFESC as well as reclaim the act of saying one's name. Moreover, the act re-negotiates the act of saying one's name within introductions, a culturally-salient act for ASE speakers since it is believed that they will use the variant more on their own name and potentially risk damage to their social face within the initiation of new contexts.

In analyzing the speaking circle, I demonstrated how interactants actively create an alternative linguistic market through the discourse genre of the speaking circle speech. Through their habitual practices of evaluation, ASE speakers re-evaluated and gave higher value than they

would be in the dominating linguistic market. Similar to the work of introductions, the speaking circle speeches encourage persons to examine the competence of ASE speakers through the perspective of "complex performancehood." "Complex performancehood" is a stance that somewhat downplays the presence of ASE within performances by highlighting other aspects of embodiment in performance, such as eye gaze and voice projection. As a result, this allows ASE speakers to constitute themselves and others as effective public speech makers without making ASE a major area of critique in their oral performance. Such a view stands in contrast to the dominant ideas of the AFESC, where the presence of any stuttering variety is often used to license one as incompetent for particular kinds of labor within the political economy (e.g., the political field).

Finally, in examining online and offline literacy practices, I demonstrated how social actors assess and evaluate other discourse genres, such as jokes on stuttering within films and human-interest newspaper stories. This is more than simply an act of decoding pre-existing ideologies in a text. It is through these practices of orienting to genres that interactants deliberated and re-negotiated their collective and individual identities around language use and metalinguistic awareness. In sum, these chapters serve to show the way that social actors, through situated and routine activities, position themselves dynamically in relation to a nonstandard variant within this aspect of their everyday lives. In short, variation, in this context, is not just a phenomenon for linguists to come to terms with or for someone to hear as epiphenomenal. It is something for persons to negotiate multiple relationships to within constraints of power and symbolic domination. I now turn to the broader significance of my findings for linguistics and anthropology.

Significance for Linguistics, Anthropology and Broader Society

In regards to linguistics, this study is significant because it adds another layer to our understandings of the general research on the grammatical practice of duplication. Typically, duplication has only been considered as a morphological process that contributes to the semantic changing of a word's meaning. However, as noted earlier, there are other kinds of variational duplication that do exist in natural language but are not always picked up for further study, such as aggressive duplication and child language duplication. I add to this body of literature by arguing for an examination of a kind of duplication that has been with us for quite some time as a stable, sociolinguistic variable but has yet to be picked up for future study. Moreover, in studying variational duplication, we come to understand the various purposes that duplication can be recruited for and how similar and different each of them are in their manifestations due to the intersection of internal and social factors.

Second, for anthropologists, the study is significant because sociolinguistic variation and its place within social groups is a part of the human condition and experience that persons must all come to reckon with. As scholars in sociolinguistics, anthropology, and practice sociology have argued consistently, practices of sociolinguistic variation mediate, constitute, and reproduce ideas of identity, inequality and power are often reproduced. Moreover, the negotiation of persons to variation has varying degrees of importance for more groups than of others. Thus a focus on language in regards to variation and its relationship to discourse genres adds to our nuanced understandings of what it means to be human in contemporary times. However, this ethnographic and linguistic case is unique, for I have examined a particular group of people for whom language is central but is not necessarily an index towards ethnicity, gender, or spatial

identity. Furthermore, my findings provide a new dimension to the anthropology of the US in regards to sociolinguistic variation, for this is the first study that actively examines this particular group within a linguistic anthropological lens and thereby adds to our understanding of the diverse human experiences within the US.

Most importantly, this study makes a particular contribution to broader society in regards to the politics of representation in the study of stuttering. It provides the beginning of a style of scholarship that humanizes ASE speakers in a way that does not necessarily reproduce the disability perspective. This is key, for the disability perspective is often the perspective that can be argued to dominate everyday actions and institutional policies, all of which continue to reinforce the dominant ideas of the AFESC, despite their good intentions. By adopting a sociolinguistic perspective, this study aims to push scholars to go against the current politics of representation and locate speakers of stuttering varieties as creative speakers, rather than persons whose speaking deforms language. This is not to say that this study dismisses biological or genetic evidence. However, it questions whether one can say that the physical and cognitive realm can fully be said to be the source of stuttering and other practices that are derived from it.

Instead, this study takes an alternative view towards the cognitive-social link: that stuttering is all around us as special morphological constructions, rather than "mistakes," and can become grammaticalized over time for certain speakers within their cognitive workings. Indeed, I am suggesting, which future work will explore, that it may indeed be the social that drives changes within the cognitive, which, as we know from cross-linguistic work, can already handle reduplication as a practice. Moreover, the sociolinguistic perspective renders visible how power not only constrains persons but also enables them to re-interpret and re-signify identities within both the scholarly and non-scholarly realms. In this sense, the perspective provides a glimpse for society in understanding ideas of language change in a world that continues to position ASE speakers as relatively static in mediated representations.

Future Research
This study is important not only for what it has argued but for the kinds of studies which it makes possible. First, the study sets the stage for future studies on the formal and sociolinguistic exploration of stuttering as variation through long-term and ethnographic work. In particular, we need more research that compares the ways in which social actors within the AESSC use discourse genres in more geographical contexts to see how persons come to take up new interpretations of sociolinguistic identity of ASE speaker and hearer. In short, to fully understand the complexity of the AESSC as a communicative context, we need more ethnographies that rely on the use of naturally-occurring interactions, rather than reports of actions, to understand how new identities are being made and presupposed within situated talk. Moreover, it is worthwhile to expand the focus beyond the US and into other cultural contexts that have similar collectives. This expansion would place scholars in an optimal position to further understand the role that other intersecting factors may play in the construction of stuttering speech communities in various historical and spatio-temporal sites. This also prevents scholars from generalizing on what may, in fact, be factors specific to certain parts of the US and California, even more.

Second, this work pushes scholars to pursue new directions on acquisition and socialization studies. ASE has been argued to be a nonstandard variant and that it takes on different indexical values depending on the context and activity. In short, the dominant market of the AFESC is not always the prevailing market of norms that people orient to. Even though we

are always in a state of being and becoming with no endpoint of socialization, this study does provide a first step in understanding what social actors perceive to be the underlying, unspoken ends are to one stage in the lifespan in the AESSC. Thus, this now encourages researchers to ask, particularly through a language socialization paradigm (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002), how and what ASE speakers—children and adults—acquire through the form in both the AFESC and AESSC.

At this moment, we have no language socialization studies on either of these contexts, despite the wealth of anecdotal evidence that is often shared by adults within the collective. Through a language socialization perspective, we may be able to see how children and adults differ are socialized to orient to stuttering forms in diverse contexts. For instance, in Chapter D, one of the chapter co-leaders had recently started a group for teenage ASE speakers, which differs in its activities. Instead of bringing them all together to simply talk, these young participants do activities such as group photography exhibits and pizza parties. Thus, future research would do well to look at the way that potential routines for socialization become reconfigured when age is a category. Through language socialization studies, this may also help us to understand the genesis of the set of practices that speakers use in order to prohibit the production of duplication tokens in their speech (e.g., the pause and phonological fillers) and what their presence reveals about the ongoing development of sociocultural ideas of communication.

Finally, this study yields potential for future research on literacy as a process to critique and re-negotiate sociolinguistic identities. As I noted in the previous chapter, social actors in the AESSC have co-opted literacy for a variety of means and for use in a variety of discourse genres. Indeed, this is far more complex that the framings of literacy practices that often characterize the work from speech-language pathologists. Future researchers may find an interest in tracing, through literacy practices, potential patterns and changes around (a) the construction of the AESSC as a communicative context and (b) the practices of circulation in creating a linguistic counterpublic (Warner 2002; Fraser 1992). For instance, early in the AESSC, groups relied on the use of print media and television. However, now there are other multimedia literacy practices that have recently entered into their communicative routines, from electronic listservs to Facebook to the online publication of SOA's newsletters. Thus, future work could address how literacy practices come to be, how the powers of authorship are distributed within the communicative context, and how social actors use these particular literacy documents in their face-to-face interactions within and beyond the community to circulate new ideas of language and language use.

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