TALKING BLACK IN PUBLIC SPACES: AN INVESTIGATION OF IDENTITY
AND THE USE OF PREACHING STYLE IN BLACK PUBLIC SPEECH

BY

ERICA R. BRITT

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

 Professor Rakesh M. Bhatt, Chair
 Professor Jennifer Cole
 Associate Professor Michele Koven
 Assistant Professor Adrienne Lo
 Associate Professor Tracey L. Weldon, The University of South Carolina

Abstract

   This dissertation utilizes a sociocultural linguistic approach that combines sociolinguistic, discourse analytic and ethnographic methods in order to examine how black public figures use African American English (AAE) to express complex identities in interaction. This study explores the interaction between phonological, grammatical, suprasegmental and rhetorical features of black speech and situational factors related to event structuring, speaker goals, and audience composition. Overall, this study illustrates how shifts in speaking style can help speakers manage the presentation of controversial political and social messages. While the speakers in this study make limited use of hallmark vernacular features of AAE (such as copula deletion and invariant *be*), they consistently draw from a black stylistic repertoire, specifically *black preaching style*, that allows them to take controversial political stances as they express their ethnic, religious, and philosophical affiliation with members of the black community.

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Ulysses Britt, Jr., planted deeply in my heart. Each day that I live and the accomplishments that

I achieve in life are possible because of the love and hope that you had for our family. I love you

and I miss you.

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1   Overview

This dissertation[1] utilizes a sociocultural linguistic approach in order to examine how black public figures use African American English (AAE)[2] speaking styles to express complex identities in interaction. This study explores the interaction between phonological, syntactic and rhetorical features of black speech and situational factors related to event structuring, speaker goals, and audience composition. Overall, this study illustrates how shifts in speaking style can help speakers manage the presentation of controversial political and social messages. While the speakers in this study make limited use of hallmark vernacular features of AAE (such as copula deletion and invariant *be*), each of the speakers consistently draws from a black stylistic repertoire, including *black preaching style*, that allows them to express their ethnic, religious, and philosophical affiliation with members of the black community.

These findings are significant since they run counter to expectations that upwardly mobile black public figures are fully assimilated into mainstream American culture and abandon black ways of speaking for mainstream speaking styles. In fact, black public figures activate linguistic resources that demonstrate their movement from local ethnic spaces to broader mainstream domains. However, these practices only become salient when researchers pursue

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[1] Segments of the analysis presented in this dissertation are an extension of an analysis previously published in Britt (2011). The copyright holder has provided permission to reprint and reuse this material.

[2] In accordance with a number of scholars on Black Language and African American Vernacular English (Labov 1972a; Smitherman 1977; Green 2002; Alim 2004; among others) the term African American English (AAE) as used in this study refers to a wide range of linguistic structures, modes and communicative norms used by African Americans of all backgrounds. Importantly, AAE consists of structural features including the well-attested syntactic and phonological features of African American Vernacular English (also labeled Black English Vernacular) (such as copula deletion and invariant *be*) and stylistic modes and structures (such as call and response, signifying, preaching and playing the dozens).

methodologies that examine the intersection of linguistic form, speaking context, and identity performance.

This study, then, not only adds to the growing body of research on the use of African American English in public domains, but it also combines methodologies from a number of disciplinary backgrounds in order to capture the nuances of style shifting in black speech.

1.1   Introduction to the Research Problems

Interest in research on African American English (AAE) surged during the civil rights era and focused on challenging prevailing academic and social perceptions of black verbal depravation by providing a complete account of the structure and regularity of black speech. Most notable were Labov's *Language in the Inner City* (1972a) and *The Study of Nonstandard English* (1974) which, through their thoughtful methodological approach to linguistic variation, helped to legitimate black speech in scholarly circles and, more specifically, presented Black English Vernacular (BEV) as a logical, highly structured linguistic system. The intellectual inertia of Labov's innovative methodology led to a host of studies that outline the syntactic, phonological, and prosodic features of black speech (Dillard 1972; Tarone 1973; Smitherman 1977; Rickford 1999) and the code switching/style shifting patterns of black Americans (Baugh 1983; Rickford and McNair-Knox 1994; Alim 2004). Scholars have also provided more detailed descriptions of the stylistic repertoires of black Americans including the well-recognized *black preaching style* (Mitchell 1970; Smitherman 1977; Spencer 1987; Rickford and Rickford 2000), stylistic modes such as *signifying* and *marking* (Mitchell-Kernan 2001), differences between black and white speech styles (Kochman 1981), and attitudes towards black speech in public domains (Morgan 2002).

Following Labov's methodological insight of utilizing vernacular, street language as a primary data source, many of these studies have given powerful insights into the creative potential of urban black speech. Yet what has been sidelined in these intellectual discourses was another dimension of black life – the role of the professional and public experiences on black linguistic choices. As pointed out by Kendall and Wolfram (2009), many studies on AAE have focused on the speech of the vernacular speaking, urban black youth, often privileging their speech as the most "authentic" and true representation of black speech. For example, Smitherman (2000) emphasizes her preference for analyzing data from a "grass-roots" subset of the black community when she says

> It should be clear that all along I been talkin about that Black Experience associated with the grass-roots folks, the masses…in short, all those Black folks who do not aspire to White-middle-class-American-standards (2000: 61).

Exclusive attention towards the most visible members of this "grass-roots" subject pool, the urban street youth, is reflected in Labov (1972a) which focused on a register of Black Speech that he termed Black English Vernacular or

> that relatively uniform grammar found in its most consistent form in the speech of Black youth from 8 to 19 years old who participate fully in the street cultures of the inner cities (1972: xiii).

Although Labov points out that there is an important distinction between the BEV spoken in the inner city areas of major cities and Black English or "the whole range of language forms used by Black people in the United States" (xiii), little has been done since that time to fully articulate the range of style shifting patterns that exist beyond the inner city, street, and youth cultures.

This empirical void has not gone without comment. In response to Dillard (1972) who argued that nearly eighty percent of blacks speak Black English, Morgan (2001) has argued that the remaining hypothetical twenty percent have been treated as alien to the black community. Thus,

> those who do not fit the model of the vernacular-idealized speaker (the 20 percent) are therefore, according to this sociolinguistic paradigm, not African American or, to put it in modern terms, not the "authentic Other" (2001: 85).

Yet, contrary to the standard assumption that middle- and upper middle-class blacks are culturally deprived and fully assimilated into mainstream culture, Morgan has found that non-working class blacks are deeply rooted in black culture and values. Furthermore, Lacy (2004) also argues that middle-class blacks have developed important ways of staying connected with the black community as they move between black and white worlds. In fact, Lacy's work suggests that these individuals are engaged in a type of *strategic assimilation* where their interactions in black spaces (including the black church, black fraternities and sororities, and other black social institutions) provide them with a continual connection to the black social world. As Lacy points out

> many middle-class Blacks with access to majority White colleges, workplaces, and neighborhoods continue to consciously retain their connections to the Black world as well; through their interactions in these Black spaces, middle-class Blacks construct and maintain Black racial identities (2004: 910).

In short, the trend in the characterization of authentic black speech as urban, lower working class may be troublesome since it may have the profound impact of de-legitimizing the experiences of blacks outside of the urban, street setting. Furthermore, as scholars such as

Baugh (1983), Spears (1988) and McWhorter (1998) have pointed out, black speech, in fact, falls on a continuum of features (ranging from the vernacular to more standard speech styles) based on the speaker's educational background and the context of use. Thus, there appears to be a growing understanding among linguists about what counts as "authentic" and representative black speech. As demonstrated by the work of recent scholars on AAE (Linnes 1998; Ervin-Tripp 2001; Weldon 2004; among others), a complete understanding of black speech requires an understanding of not only the speech styles of the urban black youth, but also black, college-educated professors, politicians and community leaders.

Furthermore, a speaker's ability to shift between linguistic styles involves the mobilization of a wide range of linguistic features and cultural knowledge (Irvine 2001; Eckert 2001). By focusing on the urban, vernacular-speaking youth, a number of linguistic and cultural resources that were mobilized in black speech were sidelined. For example, style shifting in public speech requires that the speaker be aware of not only the cultural practices of the community, but also the sacred-secular dimensions of black life (Smitherman 1977) where "those closest to the spiritual realm assume priority in social relationships" and "only those blacks who can perform stunning feats of oral gymnastics become culture heroes and leaders in the community" (1977: 76). This sacred-secular continuum, with its emphasis on verbal performance and its foundation in a spiritual world-view, is the thread that unifies the speech styles of a wide array of black speakers from poets, disc-jockeys, and rappers, to politicians, academicians and preachers. As a result, a complete understanding of black language requires a broad empirical focus that includes both the street and the pubic spaces that organize the linguistic performances of black professionals.

For example, Linnes (1998) has found that although middle class blacks make use of fewer vernacular features, their use of AAVE (African American Vernacular English) when talking about ethnic or cultural themes represents a type of diglossia, and that their maintenance of AAVE symbolizes their ethnic and cultural loyalty to the black community. Ervin-Tripp (2001), in examining the speech of Civil Rights figures Stokely Carmichael and Dick Gregory, found that AAVE and Standard English (SE) features surface strategically and for stylistic effect, often serving as an indicator of the speaker's ideologies about how different ethnic groups utilize these linguistic forms. In addition, Weldon's (2004) examination of the speech of black leaders speaking at the 2004 State of the Black Union reveals variation in the distribution of AAVE features ranging from speakers who made very little use of AAVE features (reflecting inherent variability) to speakers, such as the host Tavis Smiley, who used the features more frequently (reflecting a conscious code switching pattern). Speakers also demonstrated metalinguistic awareness of their language use, at times commenting on the use of "Ebonics" and Standard English in the black community. Yet the bigger picture that emerges in Weldon's study is the flexibility of professional black speech, including the use of vernacular features of AAE, Mainstream American English (MAE) and rhetorical strategies such as *signifying*, *call and response* and a black preaching register. As Weldon observes, the types of variation seen at the symposium may relate to situational constraints, such as the host's need to code switch between AAE and MAE in order to appeal to both AAE and MAE speaking audience members (including both the present viewing audience and potential over hearers from the C-SPAN television audience).

These studies provide a useful starting point for this dissertation in that they reveal the sensitivity of black public speakers to situational and cultural influences on their linguistic

choices. Yet questions still emerge, begging for further analysis, related to understanding the speaker's moment-by-moment expression of interactionally relevant identities. In fact, research in the interdisciplinary framework of sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) suggests that speakers have a number of linguistic tools at their disposal for signaling their interactionally relevant social positions. As Bucholtz and Hall point out, identity is not only a reflection of macro level social categories such as race and gender, but also a reflection of moment-to-moment needs of interaction. Identities can emerge depending on the momentary needs of an interaction (such as whether the speaker is acting as a friend, a teacher or a minister towards other interlocutors). These identities may also emerge at the same time that speakers index broader social identities such as ethnicity (African American) or gender (male or female). In fact, speaker identities are not fixed to "obvious" or pre-assigned social categories, but emerge during discourse depending on the linguistic cues that speakers use. Furthermore, these linguistic cues have not only the power to *signal* a particular identity, but to *redefine* both speaker and hearer interactional roles.

Therefore, this dissertation is concerned with not only the empirical domain of black public speech, but also how black leaders use black speaking styles (such as *preaching style*) in order to redefine their relationships with black audience members and, therefore, make their messages more palatable to this audience.

1.2   Research Questions

The central research questions that will be explored in this dissertation are the following:

1. What phonological, syntactic, and morphological features of AAE are used by the black public figures in this study?

2. What contextualization cues (segmental and suprasegmental, lexical, thematic, and rhetorical) of *black preaching style* are utilized in black public speech and how does *black preaching style* intersect with the content of the speaker's message (including speaker stances and the speaker's ethnic and professional self-categorization)?

3. What are the combined and individual effects of indexical and rhetorical processes (such as stance taking and shifts to black preaching style) on audience response?

1.3   Methodology

The primary data for this dissertation comes from DVD recordings of the 2008 State of the Black Union, a yearly, day-long symposium hosted by African American journalist Tavis Smiley and broadcast on C-SPAN. Guests for this symposium include black political figures, academicians, entertainers, college and high school students and clergy members. The speakers selected for analysis in this dissertation are Cleo Fields (born in 1962), lawyer and former member of Congress, Sheila Jackson Lee (born in 1950), lawyer and current member of the Congressional Black Caucus, and Eddie Glaude Jr. (born in 1968), professor of African American studies and religion at Princeton.

In the spirit of sociocultural linguistics, this dissertation draws from insights of a number of lines of linguistic inquiry including quantitative sociolinguistic methods (Labov 1972b); research on the indexical and lexical processes that contribute to identity performance (Silverstein, 1995; Irvine 2001; Myers Scotton 1984, 1988, 1998; Sacks 1992); work on identity performance and audience design (Hymes 1975; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Bell 1984, 1992, 1999, 2001); research

that explores identity and stancetaking (Ochs 1992; Eckert 1989, 2001; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Heritage and Raymond 2005; Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009); and ethnographic approaches that contextualize linguistic behavior (Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Saville-Troike, 1997).

A discourse-level transcription method (based on conversation analysis transcription methods) was used in order to highlight (among other features) the suprasegmental features of AAE that are utilized in the construction of *black preaching style*. Furthermore, phonetic transcriptions were made of the speeches given by Cleo Fields, Sheila Jackson Lee, and Eddie Glaude. The transcriptions were examined for the presence of features of AAE phonology while word-level transcriptions were investigated for the presence of AAE and non-mainstream American English syntax and morphology. Finally, The contexts of black preaching were examined in conjunction with the phonological and grammatical variation, the membership categorization devices (Sacks 1992; McIlvenny 1996) and speaker stances (in the form of evaluations and affective displays) (Englebretson, 2007; DuBois 2007) that speakers utilize to construct their messages.

2   Summary of Results

Overall, the speakers in this study utilized a limited subset of AAE phonological features including r-lessness, g-dropping, consonant cluster reduction, /ai/ monophthongization and fricative stopping and a narrow subset of syntactic and morphological features such as the use of *ain't* as a preverbal negator, the use of *have* instead of *has*, the use of *was* with plural subjects, and one instance of copula deletion. Interestingly, while AAE phonology and syntax play a limited role in the speeches in this study, AAE stylistic and rhetorical features play a substantial role in the ways that the speakers craft their messages. In fact, suprasegmental and rhetorical

features of *black preaching* style highlight the kind of interactional framework (and thus situated identities) that the speakers are establishing with their addressees. Supported by evidence from the historical contextualization of preacher-congregation interactions in church settings, I find that the use of preaching style serves as a contextualization cue to the type of event that is being performed (i.e. a shift from "doing symposium" or "doing conversation" to "doing church") and the speaker and interlocutor's relationships (i.e. from symposium-goers or conversation partners to congregation members). The indexical power of preaching style suggests that speakers create the potential for gaining benefits when they take on the "rights" that accompany being a preacher (i.e. elevated status and respect and audience agreement) while at the same time fulfilling the "obligations" of giving truth and clear guidance on social matters. Critically, these uses of preaching style co-occur with moments where speakers take risky stances on political and social issues and as they position themselves (through self-descriptions) as loving or committed members of the black community. In other words, preaching style allows speakers to cloak themselves with the status and respect of a preacher while simultaneously evoking an interactional framework that encourages audience agreement in the form of "amen." These frameworks are critical since they provide a favorable context for the reception of their controversial messages and self-characterizations.

3   Organization of Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation will be organized as follows:

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the overarching sociocultural framework of this dissertation and will provide a discussion of how insights from sociocultural linguistics are important for research on African American English.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the three research questions that will be explored in this dissertation and the methodologies that will be applied to the investigation of these questions. Since the different research questions invite different methodologies, a review of the literature that motivates the different methodologies will also be presented.

Chapter 4 provides the ethnographic background of this study including information on the history of the State of the Black Union, speaker backgrounds, information on the 2008 political context, information about the 2008 SBU setting and a discussion of the participants' metapragmatic understandings of the interactional frameworks for the event. Furthermore, Chapter 4 will provide a discussion of the sacred-secular dimension of black life, the role of the church in the black community, and the impact of the church on black public speaking.

Chapter 5 provides the results of the analysis of phonological, syntactic and morphological variation for the speakers in this study. In support of the overall goal of this dissertation, this chapter provides an account of which vernacular features of AAE surface in the speech of black public figures and provides a foundation for the analysis and discussion of stylistic variation in the chapter that follows.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the style shifting, stance taking and membership categorization practices of the three main speakers of this study and the interactional consequences of these style shifts.

Chapter 7 concludes, discusses the limitations of the present dissertation and provides the directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This dissertation is concerned with the unfolding of identity in discourse and the implications of this unfolding on speaker-interlocutor interaction. Through a combination of methods this dissertation explores the linguistic means whereby black public speakers construct multiple layers of identity in discourse. In addition, I examine how speaker styles[3] (as opposed to independent phonological, grammatical or lexical features of a social dialect[4]) are utilized to redefine speaker-listener roles in interaction. This chapter begins with a review of the principles of the sociocultural approach that are central for the analyses in this dissertation and concludes with a discussion of how a sociocultural approach provides important contributions to research on African American English.

1   Sociocultural Linguistics

In terms of its theoretical and methodological scope, this dissertation is centered in the realm of sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) and seeks to find the intersection between a number of domains including ethnographic, sociolinguistic, and discourse analytic traditions in order to provide a nuanced understanding of language and identity in black public speech.

Overall, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) create a framework for the analysis of identity as

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[3] I use the term *style* (following Irvine (2001), Hymes (1974), Smitherman (1977)) to refer to constellations of phonological, grammatical, suprasegmental, and rhetorical features that, working together, are socially meaningful and recognizable outside their normal contexts of use (such as *preaching style*).

[4] I use the term *social dialect* (Ferguson (1994), Hymes (1974), and Finegan and Biber (1994)) to refer to linguistic features (including lexical, grammatical, and phonological features) typically associated with a particular social or ethnic group (such as African American English or Chicano English).

constituted in linguistic interaction and argue for the "analytic value of approaching identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories" (2005: 585-586). Critically, they argue that "identity does not emerge at a single analytic level – whether vowel quality, turn shape, code choice, or ideological structure – but operates at multiple levels simultaneously" (2005: 586).

As described by Bucholtz and Hall, the goal of sociocultural linguistics is to provide an interdisciplinary approach to the emergence of identity in discourse based on the following five principles (reproduced from Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 588-605):

1. Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon. (2005: 588)
2. Identities encompass (a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles. (2005: 592)
3. Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups. (2005: 594)
4. Identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy. (2005: 599)
5. Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts. (2005: 606)

This approach treats identity as a multilayered phenomenon that surfaces through many linguistic processes. Drawing from the conversation analytic and ethnomethodological paradigms that inform Bucholtz and Hall's approach, I follow an approach that places the burden on the analyst to determine the identities that speakers make relevant in interaction (rather than

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relying on pre-determined or visible social categorizations as the sole explanatory variables for linguistic behavior). In this approach "social life is a continuous display of people's local understandings of what is going on" (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 1) and the analyst's goal is to determine the different kinds of relevant a types and levels of identities and social positionings that speakers make relevant in discourse.

As a point of terminological clarification, I am primarily concerned with three important types of identities that surface at several layers of interaction: *Discourse identities*, *situational identities*, and *transportable identities*. Following Zimmerman (1998), I define discourse identities as micro-level identities that come into play at the level of moment-by-moment interaction. They "furnish the focus for the type of discourse activity projected and recognized by participants, what they are doing interactionally in a particular spate of talk" (1998: 92). Several kinds of discourse identities include *speaker/hearer*, *caller/answerer*, *storyteller/recipient*, *questioner/answerer* (1998: 92). Thus, as a conversation unfolds, an individual may move back and forward between discourse identities depending on the content of their turn (i.e. a questioner may become an answerer depending on the conversational moves of their interlocutor).

As speakers move from situation to situation, the range of relevant discourse identities may be constrained by the demands of an activity or the particular goals that an individual may have in interaction. Thus, situated identities

> come into play within the precincts of particular types of situation. Indeed, such situations are effectively brought into being and sustained by participants engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets (Zimmerman 1998: 90).

The notion of situated identities is particularly useful in explaining the differences between interactions in courtroom interrogations and television interviews. Thus, the discourse identities of questioner/answerer have different implications in these two distinct situational contexts given that the situated identities of lawyer/defendant or television host/guest have implications for who is routinely expected to do the bulk of the questioning or answering and for what purposes (Zimmerman 1998).

Finally, transportable identities are, as their name suggests, those identities that "travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction" (Zimmerman 1998: 90). These identities are the most "visible" in the sense that they are readily identifiable based on physical or cultural cues. Thus, transportable identities may include gender, race or age since cues for these identities are often visible to fellow interactants.

In the course of this dissertation, I will explore how these various levels of identity are made relevant and the linguistic means and motivations for displaying discourse, situated and transportable identities. For example, while the discourse identities that are at play in this dissertation are relatively stable across the context of the speeches (i.e. participants are either speakers/hearers or questioners/answerers), their situated identities can shift according to the linguistic cues that speakers utilize. Thus, the pairings of situated identities that are relevant for the speaking context of this study include conversationalist/conversationalist, moderator/panelist/conference attendee, and preacher/congregant. As I argue, the speakers utilize a range of linguistic cues to signal the kind of interactional frameworks (and the situated identities that these frameworks entail) that are relevant for the ongoing interaction.

Yet, critical to this analysis is the fact that speakers utilize linguistic cues for different

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situated activities as a strategic resource for their interactional goals. Thus, shifts in interactional frameworks (and the situated identities that they entail) co-occur at moments where speakers make explicit claims about, or revisions of, broader, transportable identities (through the use of membership categorizations) and use stance taking to display their beliefs and positions on particular issues.

In the next sections, I will provide a broad overview of studies that motivate the research on identity performance in interaction, followed by a discussion of the linguistic processes that are relevant for the analysis in this dissertation and a discussion of how research on sociocultural linguistics will provide a more nuanced discussion of language and identity in African American speech.

2   Language and Identity Performance

While the linguistic performance of identity has been examined by a number of scholars, Goffman (1959) starts from the important position that individuals are motivated by the need to present a particular (socially acceptable) public face to other members of their community. For Goffman, performance is defined as "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" (1959: 15-16). Critically, as an individual engages in interactions with others, they signal through linguistic means information about who they are and where they are from. In short, Goffman argues that individuals are heavily invested in influencing how others view them since this may have implications for the speaker's well being or ability to successfully conduct business with other interactants. Similarly, Hymes (1975), Bauman and Briggs (1990), Bucholtz and Hall (2005),

among others, argue that identity is a discursive social construct that emerges in interaction with important implications for speakers and hearers.

Interestingly, the relevance of the linguistic performance of identity becomes clear in the cases where speakers present linguistic identities that do not conform to their "obvious" transportable identity or when speakers demonstrate more nuanced social affiliations. In certain cases, individuals can use language to challenge and redefine the social relationships between native speakers of each code (Rampton 1995, 2000; Cutler 1999); they can use speech styles in the display of (a sometimes stereotyped) identity to individuals outside the boundaries of their speech community (Bell 1999); or they can display nuanced, locally relevant identity categories (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

For example, Rampton (1995) has provided an important perspective on the influence of code choice on identity performance by exploring how Panjabi, Creole and Indian English are used by Londoners who are not members of the ethnic groups that typically use these codes (for example, Panjabi spoken by Anglo and Afro-Caribbeans, Creole spoken by Anglos and Panjabis, and Indian English spoken by all three groups). In a summary of this approach, Rampton (2000) argues that *crossing*, or using a code typically associated with another ethnic group, can call attention to how group alignments are closely connected to expectations about who can speak what code and when. Thus, crossing "involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries" (2000: 54). Yet, as Rampton (1995) points out, speakers in his community are also in the process of developing a type of "new ethnicity" where "crossing involved the active ongoing construction of a new inheritance from within multiracial interaction itself" (1995: 297). Although the speakers' ethnic backgrounds are still quite important for their

group affiliations, their patterns of crossing may reflect a more collective local identity that crosses the ethnic lines that were salient at the time of the study.

Cutler (1999) also found crossing into AAVE by young, white teens in North America to be a useful tool for the performance of identity. Cutler's informant, a young middle-class white male with mostly white friends, demonstrated strong affinity for black and hip hop culture as reflected in his style of dress and choice of AAVE variants. Cutler observed that between the ages of 13 and 14, a young white male named Mike displayed features associated with AAVE including r-lessness after a vowel, and TH-stopping. In addition, the Black English lexical items and phonological features (including vowel lengthening, stress and rhythm, and syllable contraction) appeared in Mike's speech demonstrating his orientation to AAVE. However, by the age of 15, Cutler observes that Mike began to express resentment for the fact that his African American friends excluded him. Cutler points out that

> by 16 he seemed to see himself in opposition to the black community. He continued, however, to use AAVE...but this was no longer an attempt to construct a black identity. Instead, it laid claim to participation in hip-hop as the dominant consumption-based youth culture (1999: 321).

Overall, Mike's experimentation with AAVE reflects that speakers can appropriate linguistic forms typically associated with another group in order to neutralize differences between social groups and to display speaker affiliation with a target group.

Additionally, Bell (1999) provides an interesting case study of New Zealand airline commercials and the use of Maori language by non-Maori New Zealanders in order to define a broader New Zealand identity. In this context, Maori language is used as a symbolic resource to define New Zealand identity where "even though within New Zealand, Maori arguably constitute

'the other', outside New Zealand they offer the most available means of distinguishing New Zealand from other cultures" (1999: 528). Furthermore, the use of Maori language and, more specifically the song "Pokarekare Ana" in Air NZ commercials, signifies the use of a stylized version of the "other" to define New Zealand identity outside the national borders. Bell argues that Pokaerekare Ana is "the only Maori song that most Pakeha New Zealanders know. This is the song that New Zealanders will perform when they are called on overseas to present an item from their country" (1999: 529).

Finally, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) provide evidence, through ethnographic observation, of the linguistic expression of local cultural positions in California high school girls. While the broader, transportable identities of gender, age and race may have provided important information about their linguistic behavior, ethnographic inquiry allowed Bucholtz and Hall to explore how more nuanced levels of identity are at play in local, everyday discourse (such as the use of the quotatives *go*, *be like*, and *be all* to signal nerdiness, nonconformity and trendiness).

As these examples indicate, speaker identities are not necessarily fixed to their transportable identity (or macro-level social category) but can shift in interaction depending on the kinds of linguistic moves that speakers make. This notion is echoed in the work of Koven (1998) who examined the speech of Luso-descendants, the adult bilingual children of Portuguese immigrants who reside in France. According to Koven

> it follows that speakers' relative social identities are not fixed prior to the interaction but, rather, emerge within it. In the act of speaking, people are forced to situate themselves relative to what they are saying as being a particular kind of socially recognizable person (1998: 412-413).

This process is further captured by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985)'s notion of *acts of identity*. For Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, speakers shift their linguistic practices with the purpose of projecting a certain, socially desirable image to their interlocutors. Through their linguistic practices

> the speaker is projecting his inner universe, implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least insofar as they recognize his language as an accurate symbolization of the world, and to share his attitudes towards it. By verbalizing as he does, he is seeking to reinforce his models of the world, and hopes for acts of solidarity from those with whom he wishes to identify (1985: 181).

When considering the ways that identities may shift in discourse, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) identify several processes that are critical for the linguistic performance of identity. As they point out

> Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups (2005: 594)

With this in mind, the important analytical categories selected for this dissertation are the membership categorizations that speakers use to explicitly identify themselves, the stances that they take with respect to objects, and the indexical value of various ways of speaking.

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2.1   Indexicality

Research on indexicality will provide an important starting point for discussing the ways that speakers align themselves with particular, linguistically constructed identities. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) point out, "the concept of indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (2005: 595). As elaborated by Silverstein (1995), the notion of *indexicality* allows theorists to make the concrete linkages between meaningful linguistic behaviors and the cultures that provide the contexts for their interpretations. In other words, linguistic behavior is socially meaningful strictly because "the behavior is a complex of signs (sign vehicles) that signal, or stand for, something in some respect" (1995: 187-188). In addition, Duranti (1997) argues that indices are defined as "signs that have some kind of existential relation with what they refer to" (1997: 17). Indices that clearly display this existential relationship include grammatical features such as demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, temporal expressions, and spatial expressions. However, the code used at any given moment may also have an indexical association. In this case Duranti argues that "by uttering a word in another language, speakers might point to another time or place, where either they or their addressee have been or will be" (1997: 18).

Along these lines Gumperz (1982) introduces the notion of *contextualization cues*, a useful concept for analyzing linguistic variables that signal (or *index*) which situated and transportable identities are relevant in discourse. For Gumperz, contextualization cues are the linguistic variations that speakers attend to in order to understand how to interpret speech. Thus, Gumperz argues that "constellations of surface features of message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (1982: 131).   Examples

of contextualization cues put forth by Gumperz include: code, dialect and style switching; prosody, syntax, formulaic expressions, and features related to conversational openings and closings (1982: 131).

Indexicality and contextualization cues have powerful implications for studies of language and identity performance. As seen in the extensive literature on code switching and style shifting, individuals can draw from (sometimes iconic) associations of linguistic forms with certain types of speakers to construct identities (or alignments) within a speech community (Eckert 1989, 2001; Bucholtz and Hall 2005). For example, Eckert (1989)'s discussion of *jocks* and *burnouts*, two socially opposed categories of adolescents in a Detroit high school, provides critical evidence that identity encompasses local cultural positions and that individuals can signal their alignment with these positions through linguistic means. As summarized in Eckert (2001), "the jocks and the burnouts develop their opposition through an elaborate stylistic complex that involves clothing, makeup, hair style, jewelry...and of course language" (2001: 124). In short, "the systematic differentiation of vocalic variables across the board results in quite distinct ways of speaking that embody both gender and class-based social categories" (2001: 124). In this case, extreme variations in the raising and backing of the variable /ai/ become iconic of the extreme styles of dress for the most extreme group - the burn-ed out burnout girls - in this study (2001: 125). Speakers can utilize these iconic associations in order signal, through linguistic means, their affiliation with one social group as opposed to another.

The importance of indexicality can also be seen in cases where speakers use linguistic structures ideologically associated with other groups in order to make certain dimensions of their identities "visible" in discourse. For example, Irvine (2001) demonstrates how villagers in a Wolof speaking community in Senegal developed an ideology about two *types* of speakers - *géér*

(high ranking nobles) and *gewel* (low ranking griots) – eventually resulting in linguistic differences between the groups becoming *iconic* of those groups. The high-ranking *géér* were believed to be stabile, lethargic, and bland (2001: 35) and, as a result, "noble" speech style "is the style of the laconic, restrained, torpid or cautious speaker who lacks special rhetorical skills or fluency" (2001: 35). Extreme variants of the noble style include, low-pitched drawl, mumbling, and simple or incomplete sentence structures (2001: 36). On the other hand, lower raking *gewel* are believed to be highly affective and excitable personalities with a theatrical and energetic rhetorical styles. Thus, "griot speech" is iconic of (or indexes) the griot personality involving extreme forms with sharp pitch contour, morphological and syntactic devices for emphasis, intensification and repetitive parallelisms, and vivid vocabulary (2001: 35). Furthermore, Irvine finds that all members of society draw from the linguistic features associated with griot and noble speech in order to indicate subtle levels of rank (2001: 38). In other words, speakers can draw from the iconic features of the "noble", including more drawn out, low-pitched, and slow speech to express their higher status even if they are not members of the noble class.

This analysis of Wolof speaking styles suggests that style shifting is a useful tool for self-characterization particularly because of the regular associations that interlocutors have about each code. Like Rampton (1995)'s Panjabi, Creole and Indian English speakers, Cutler (1999)'s AAVE speaker, and Bell (1999)'s Maori speakers, speakers in Irvine's study utilize the indexical associations of codes in order to make a claim about who they are. In this case, speakers can utilize linguistic means to make certain identities more "visible" in interaction since language is indexically loaded, or "points to" particular identities and interactional roles.

2.2   Membership Categorization

Unlike indexicality, which relies on a speaker's internalized understanding of the regular associations of codes with socially meaningful identities, membership categorizations work at making certain types of identities (usually transportable identities) explicit in discourse. Membership category sets (Sacks 1992), or the lexical items that refer to speaker (or audience) gender, sex, age, ethnicity or other social categorizations, are important because they tell speakers "which" type of person they are interacting with. In other words when you identify which category your fellow interlocutor is assigned to "you can feel that you know a great deal about the person, and can readily formulate topics of conversation based on the knowledge stored in terms of that category" (1992: 41).

Membership categorization can be put to use in conversations as individuals seek to build alliances and support from their fellow interlocutors. For example, McIlvenny (1996) examines how speakers at the Speakers' Corner in London negotiate identities as they speak before potentially hostile audiences. The Speaker's Corner is a public space where individuals debate political and social issues and can be considered a hostile environment because speakers with different beliefs and opinions are interacting in close proximity and there is fierce competition for speaking time. As they speak their opinions, these "soapbox orators" can evoke cultural identity through membership categorization devices (MCD), yet their audience members, who actively participate, can either support or challenge their categorization by heckling or applauding. According to McIlvenny,

> Audience support is a strong motivation for membership category ascription, yet a result is that speakers can gloss over or suppress differences so as to elicit support from and solidarity with a section of the audience against another category. Speakers, and hecklers to some extent, routinely work on their audiences using

membership-categorization routines: to elicit affiliative responses, to ascribe identities to individuals or sections of the audience and to realign audiences against particular individuals (1996: 21)

Because the participants at the Speakers' Corner have not organized with the intent to see a particular speaker or for a particular cause, their membership categories may not be predictable and, therefore, their alignment with the speaker may not be guaranteed. Therefore, membership categorizations related to speaker ethnicity, gender and political orientation are important because they serve as signals to interlocutors about the social position of the speaker and contribute to the speaker's broader identity claims, particularly as an interaction unfolds.

2.3   Stance

While the discussion so far has focused on the linguistic means whereby speakers display their alignment with or membership in particular social groups, stance works more broadly to display not only "kinds" of people, but also how those people think and feel about individuals, ideas and the ongoing interaction. Thus, stance, defined as "the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations in discourse" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 595), will also be important for examining the ongoing development of speaker positioning in this dissertation.

Stancetaking, or "taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one's utterance" (Jaffe 2009: 3) has been explored by a number of authors (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Du Bois 2007; Ochs 1992; Heritage and Raymond 2005; Kiesling 2009, among others) who explore the ways that individuals position themselves in discourse. Despite the numerous studies of stance, there is not a unified methodology and approach to this social phenomenon since there are many different ways to indicate different types of stance in discourse. For example,

Englebretson (2007) points out that the term *stance* has been used by several authors to refer encompass a rage of phenomenon including *subjectivity* and *evaluation* and authors may even avoid the term stance altogether when conducting research on the same phenomena (2). Furthermore, stance can be subdivided into "evaluation ("value judgments," "assessments," and "attitudes"), affect ("personal feelings")….and epistemicity ("commitment")" (2007: 17). In addition, some critical areas of interest for researchers on stance are the lexical and grammatical means by which speakers encode stance. Examples include the use of modality, adverbials, evaluative adjectives and nouns, complement clauses and complement-taking predicates (2007: 17).

Despite the range of phenomena encompassed under the notion of stance, Du Bois (2007) argues that stance, and its linguistic manifestations, is still a useful concept for the analysis of speaker positioning. According to Du Bois

> one of the most important things we do with words is to take a stance. Stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value (2007: 139)

In other words, through linguistic means we signal our beliefs about, evaluations of and commitments to the words and ideas that we present to other interlocutors. For Du Bois, stancetaking is *dialogic* in the sense that a speaker may construct their current speech from previous utterances and exchanges and that speakers juxtapose their current utterances against segments of prior talk. In this case, speakers build their current stance upon prior stances taken by themselves or others. Accordingly

> As stances build on each other dialogically, the analogy implied by their structural parallelism triggers a series of interpretative and interactional consequences,

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which will be seen to carry significant implications for the interaction at hand, and, at a more general level, for the theory of stance (2007: 140)

Furthermore, Du Bois argues that stances involve *intersubjectivity*, or "the relation between one actor's subjectivity and another's" (2007: 140). The dialogic and intersubjective elements of stance work together in conjunction with speaker actions. For example, a speaker can first engage in the act of taking a stance (for example, through evaluation). This act of evaluation, or stance taking, then becomes socially meaningful for the interlocutors who, in turn, can take a stance relative to the initial speaker's stance on a particular object. Thus "stance both derives from and has consequences for social actors, whose lives are impacted by the stances they and others take" (2007: 141).

If we consider the big picture of stance taking, Du Bois proposes that stances can be decomposed into a triangle of interactions where "the stancetaker (1) evaluates an object, (2) positions a subject (usually the self), and (3) aligns with other subjects" (2007: 163). This stance triangle, reproduced in Figure 1 below, is critical for understanding the interactions between speakers and interlocutors.
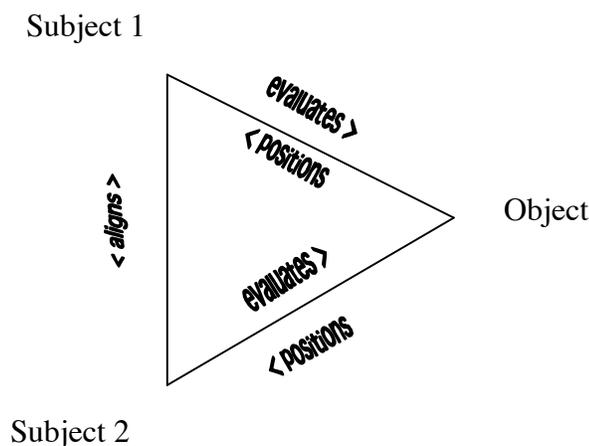
Figure 1: The stance triangle (reproduced from Du Bois 2007: 163)

The stance triangle, which depicts the ways that two or more individuals (subjects) align their beliefs about something (the object), is useful to understand interactions like (1) below from Dubois 2007.

(1)   From Du Bois 2007: 165

        1 SAM: I don't like those
        2   (0.2)
        3 ANGELA: I don't either

In this case, Subject 1 (Sam) evaluates (*I don't like*) an object (*those*) and Subject 2 (Angela) provides the same evaluation of the object. That they are aligned or take the same stance on the object is further indicated by the word *either*. As Du Bois points out, this stance taking is dialogic in the sense that Angela is using the same sentence structure as Sam to build her own stance on the object.

Following Du Bois (2007), Jaffe (2009) argues that when a speaker indicates their stance (i.e. through their positive or negative evaluations) they are indicating their alignment with other participants in discourse. Yet, at a broader level, the notion of stance is important for sociolinguistic research in that it allows the analyst to explore the ways that speakers and hearers are assigned roles as discourse unfolds. For example, Jaworski and Thurlow (2009) examine the linguistic manifestations of taking an elite stance where elitism is defined as

> a person's orientation or making a claim to exclusivity, superiority, and/or distinctiveness on the grounds of status, knowledge, authenticity, taste, erudition, experience, insight, wealth or any other quality warranting the speaker/author to take a higher moral, aesthetic, intellectual, material, or any other form of standing in relation to another subject (2009: 196).

In their work, Jaworski and Thurlow find that authors of travelogues, through their

evaluations of ways of dressing, eating and photographing during travel, position themselves as "arbiters of good taste" (201).   Coupland and Coupland (2009) also find that lifestyle writers establish a stance of authoritarianism where (through the use of imperatives, expert knowledge, claims that the author has knowledge of the best solutions for weight loss, and a problem-solution format) the author takes on a teaching and leadership role with respect to the reader (236). In addition Johnstone (2007) found that speakers of the Pittsburghese display their competence in the Pittsburgh dialect as they simultaneously evaluate or determine what can be considered authentic use of their dialect. In other words, Johnstone argues that their use of Pittsburghese *while* talking about their dialect represents their claim to first-hand, expert authority to talk about and evaluate the dialect.

In another interesting discussion of stance and style, Johnstone (2009) examines how an individual's repeated stance taking moves can work together to create a consistent speaking style or public persona. In this particular study, Johnstone found that African American politician Barbara Jordan's speaking style was a reflection of her past in competitive speaking and her legal training which promoted displays of epistemic certainty and personal authority in her speech. By examining stance taking moves across a number of speeches, Johnstone identified a distinctive "Barbara Jordan Style" that took the form of a consistent, powerful public persona. This authoritative persona included the use of sentence-level features (such as elevated lexical choices, multi-syllabic words, care in encoding (reflected in highly embedded syntax including relative clauses and rephrasing of key ideas), epistemic certainty (reflected in the use of predictive modals, such as *will* and *would*, and private verbs, such as *believe* and *feel*, with first person subjects), the display of moral authority (through the use of copular *be* to present statements of fact) and the use of personal experience as source of certainty.

As these examples indicate, speakers can utilize stance to signal their beliefs (about people, ideas and ongoing talk). In addition, patterns in stance taking across time can indicate broader, linguistically consistent public "personas". Like membership categorizations, a speaker's identity (or, broadly speaking, their interactional position) can be signaled by their explicit evaluation, affective orientations, and epistemic position on the objects of evaluation. Although, providing an exhaustive account of speaker stance taking practices is not the primary goal of this dissertation, the linguistic manifestations of speaker stance (such as affective, epistemic or evaluative stance taking) are critical for highlighting the interactional significance of stylistic variation.

3   Identity in Interaction

The research reviewed thus far indicates that there are several linguistic means by which speakers can signal their social positioning interaction. Speakers can explicitly identify themselves as members of a social category, they can use a code that is routinely associated with a social group for the purposes of associating with that group, or they can explicitly express their opinions about a topic or object and their relative commitments to and affective feelings toward the topic or object in question. These linguistic strategies work together to provide to listeners important information about the speaker's social position in the interaction. Yet, this signaling is only the first part of the communicative event. The ways that listeners respond to these interactional cues are critical for the unfolding of an interaction.

The influence of speakers and hearers on linguistic behavior has long been recognized in linguistic research. For example, Giles and Powesland (1975) provide a model for action-oriented code switching based on social psychological factors of human interaction. Namely,

they argue that speakers can adjust their speech to include the phonological and syntactic variants of their interlocutor's speech (*accommodation*) or make their speech maximally different from the speech of their interlocutors (*non-accommodation*). These accommodative/non-accommodative acts are motivated by the speaker's awareness of the costs and rewards of presenting themselves as being similar to or different from their interlocutors. In other words "accommodation through speech can be regarded as an attempt on the part of a speaker to modify or disguise his persona in order to make it more acceptable to the person addressed" (1975: 158). The notion of accommodation has proven useful in predicting some of the inter-personal factors that contribute to style shifts. This functional approach to style shifting that considers the role of the audience has also been taken up by Bell (1984).

Bell (1984) proposes a connection between the social stratification in a community, the set of stylistic variants available, and the individual's utilization of those variants for communicative purposes. The resultant model, the Audience Design framework, "assumes that persons respond mainly to other persons, that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk" (1984: 159). With this in mind, Bell assigns the categories of *speaker* (the primary participant), *addressee* (the known, ratified and directly addressed), *auditors* (known and ratified, but not directly addressed), *overhearers* (known but not ratified participants), and *eavesdroppers* (unknown participants) (1984: 159). Under this model, the speaker "designs" or chooses linguistic variants according to the kinds of audience members present. In addition, Bell points out that non-audience factors such as *topic* and *setting* may also have an impact on the speaker's choice of variants.

Within this model, style shifts may be either *responsive*, where the speaker's linguistic choices occur in response to situational factors (such as topic and setting), or *initiative*, where the

speaker changes the situation such that they are "infusing the flavour of one setting into a different context" (Bell 1999: 524). Critically, Bell argues that the "initiative shift is essentially a redefinition, by the speaker, of the relationship between the speaker and addressee" (Bell 1984: 185).

The models of audience design described thus far indicate that speakers actively shape their linguistic performances for communicative effects on audience members of certain backgrounds. Additionally, the communicative effect can be as simple as signaling to a interlocutor that the speaker is "one of us" or that, as Blom and Gumperz (1972) or Myers-Scotton (1984, 1988, 1998) argue, the speaker wants to introduce a fundamental redefinition of the speaker-hearer roles in interaction.

First, Blom and Gumperz (1972), in their discussion of situational and metaphorical code switching, take into account the ways that individuals use linguistic norms (or the regular associations of codes with situation and speaker types) to their advantage in defining and *redefining* the expectations for the situation. Accordingly,

> Situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and social situation. The linguistic forms employed are critical features of the event in the sense that any violation of selection rules changes members' perception of the event. A person who uses the standard where only the dialect is appropriate violates commonly accepted norms (1972: 424)

Thus, through the violation of a set of norms that are prescribed for a certain situation, individuals can cause a shift in the expectations of the participants in the event. For example, Blom and Gumperz cite an example of how using Ranamal in formal lectures (which should be delivered in Bokmal) is a useful tool for teachers that allows students to become more open engaged in discussion (1972: 424).

On the other hand, metaphorical code switching is defined as switches that produce no change in the "definition of participants' mutual rights and obligations" (1972: 425). For example, the individual who discusses familial concerns with an office clerk may use a non-standard dialect, while public affairs and business transactions are conducted in the standard dialect. In the case of metaphorical code switching, topical shifts do not change the general expectations about the clerk's rights and obligations to perform his or her duty, yet they do have the effect of temporarily evoking feelings associated with the switched code (i.e. familiarity or informality). In this type of switch, "the situations in question allow for the enactment of two or more different relationships among the same set of individuals" (1972: 425).

Overall, Blom and Gumperz's model highlights the social and situational norms of language use in order to explain the meaningfulness of a code switch. Thus, teachers who switch from the standard to a dialect during a lecture have used code switching to encourage the listener to shift their role in the conversation to a more informal, expressive role. Furthermore, the office clerk who engages in metaphorical code switching from the standard to the dialect also has the effect of evoking feelings of home and family that may be associated with the dialect. Yet, this is done without disrupting the roles played by the participants in the conversation (i.e. the clerk still performs his or her expected duties).

This approach has been applied by Coupland (1985) who analyzes the motivational factors that govern shifts in segmental phonological features of a male, Cardiff English speaking radio-presenter during a broadcast radio-request show. His analysis reveals that the presenter engages in metaphoric code switching in the form of "'external' transfers (transfers outside the 'normal' repertoire)" for the broadcast environment (1985: 162) when introducing a new record or providing commentary on a record. In these cases the presenter Americanizes his phonology

when identifying the song and their singers. These shifts toward American English phonology demonstrate his role of "acting the pop-music DJ" (1985: 162) which allows him to parody this DJ register and "to emphasize the divide between the slick transatlantic manner and the pervasive parochialism of the FH's broadcasting style" (1985: 162). Other dialect shifts occur including shifting to South-West English dialect or in shifts towards Cockney in order to entertain through inaccurate pronunciations. In other instances, phonological variation marks solidarity with the Cardiff community. These types of style shifts allow speakers to build up nuanced, interactionally relevant identities that may or may not match their macro-level social category or their stated professional role.

Building on the insights of metaphorical and situational code shifting and indexicality, Myers Scotton's (1984, 1988, 1998), through the notions of *rights and obligations* and *rights and obligations sets* (RO sets), provides a detailed framework that explains why codes have the potential to redefine speaker/addressee relationships. Myers-Scotton (1988) argues that "all linguistic code choices are indexical of a set of rights and obligations holding between participants in a conversational exchange" (1988: 152). For Myers-Scotton, rights and obligations reflect the speaker and interlocutor's expectations about which codes occur in what situations and the interactional frameworks that are derived from these conventional expectations. For example, the use of standard English may be expected for public, formal lectures while the use of a non-standard dialect may be expected for private, informal discussions. In terms of style, the use of preaching style, comedic style, and DJ style may be expected in church sermons, comedic routines, or radio broadcasts respectively. As a result, code choices that vary from the community's normative expectations about which codes occur where and when can

rock the social boat, or at least alter its course. They are signals of the speaker's intent to change the relationship with the addressee, in terms of the rights and obligations balance– to dis-identify with the normative balance. (Myers-Scotton 1985: 109).

When matched against the speaker's expectations for a certain interaction, the use of a particular code can create a conversational implicature that highlights or makes salient certain elements of the speakers' interpersonal relationship, *or rights and obligations sets* (RO sets). Thus, the use of standard English in an informal family setting may signal that the speaker wants to shift to a formal, distant relationship between speakers, while non-standard English in a formal, business setting may signal that the speaker wants to shift to a more intimate relationship. Each of these involves a shift from one, expected RO set to another, unexpected RO set for that particular context.

Similarly, citing examples including the use of Romanian versus German in Transylvania, the use of Hungarian versus German in Austria, the use of Catalan in Barcelona, and Italian in West Germany Gal (1988) argues that code switching is "a conversational strategy that is used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries and is used to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their accompanying rights and obligations" (247). Heller (1988) also argues that

Codeswitching provides a clear example of the ways in which individuals draw on their linguistic resources to signal changes in different aspects of context which they wish to foreground, to make salient, thereby opening opportunities for the redefinition of social reality, exploiting or creating ambiguity in the relationships between form and context to do so (1988: 10).

Studies like these highlight an important fact about the relationship between linguistic variants, normative expectations and audience reactions. That is, the speaker has the creative flexibility to either uphold the linguistic norms (and therefore the roles and expectations) of the context or redefine those roles by switching to another linguistic (or stylistic) system. In short, linguistic choices not only respond to the context, but are actively mobilized by speaker redefine contexts and, therefore, speaker-hearer relations.

As described in earlier sections, speakers can utilize linguistic means to signal the kinds of identities that they are relevant in interaction, especially as they display or re-define the available macro-level (or transportable) social identities. However, the work in this section indicates that linguistic means can also be utilized to re-define micro-level (or situated) identities in interaction. Thus, linguistic codes (through their indexical potential) signal to listeners the broader interactional frameworks that are being performed, and the situated identities that are relevant for those types of interactions. Furthermore, the situated identities that speakers display are populated with expectations for the kinds of roles (or rights and obligations) that the speakers are expected to play when they inhabit those roles.

4   African American English and Identity Performance

The research described so far suggests that speakers have a number of linguistic tools at their disposal for signaling their interactionally relevant social positions. Thus, speaker identities are not fixed to "obvious" or pre-assigned social categories, but emerge during discourse depending on the linguistic cues that speakers use. Furthermore, these linguistic cues have not only the power to *signal* a particular identity, but to *redefine* both speaker and hearer interactional roles.

These insights, and the methodological approaches that have made these insights possible, have allowed scholars to understand the nuanced identity performances in a range of social contexts and for a range of ethnic groups. Yet, a brief overview of the research on African American English suggests that these methodological insights are underutilized in the exploration of black identity in interaction, especially in the limited research on the language practices of African Americans in public domains.

Gaining momentum with Labov (1972a, 1974)'s and Labov et al. (1968)'s pivotal studies of non-standard and African American English in the early 1970s, a host of researchers have covered a wide range of topics and taken a number of methodological approaches to the investigation of African American speech. Some scholars, with the aim of investigating the systematic differences between black and white speech, have provided a descriptive account of the phonological and syntactic features of the dialect (Dillard 1972, Labov 1972a, Baugh 1983, Rickford 1999, Smitherman 2000, Green 2002, among others).

Others, such as Abrahams (1970), Abrahams and Gay (1975), Smitherman (1977) Kochman (1981), Baugh (1983), Morgan (1994, 2001) and Mitchell-Kernan (2001), provided important ethnographic and historical contextualizations of black speech and the black speech community, illuminating the connections between black speaking styles and the African oral tradition and illustrating social and cultural differences between black and white speaking styles. From these works, critical modes of communication have been described and contextualized including *rapping*, *running it down*, *jiving*, *shucking*, *copping a plea*, *sounding*, *playing the dozens*, *loud talking* (Abrahams and Gay 1975), *exaggerated language, mimicry, proverbial statements, punning, braggadocio, indirection, tonal semantics, narrative sequencing* (Smitherman 1977), and *signifying* and *marking* (Mitchell-Kernan 2001). Baugh (1983) also

provided an important categorization system for determining which social contexts favor certain

modes of communication. In addition, Kochman (1981) provides an important discussion of the

different assumptions that black and white speakers bring to a communicative context and

highlights how differences in conversational conventions such as turn-taking and direct questions

may lead to communication breakdown.

While these ethnographic and qualitative studies provide important foundations for

understanding black speech, other researchers have been concerned with more nuanced

discussions of the situational motivations for style shifting in the black community. Using a

combination of quantitative sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches, a number of scholars

such as Baugh (1983), Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994), Linnes (1998), Hay et al. (1999),

Alim (2004), and Kendall and Wolfram (2009) have examined how situational formality,

addressee identity and topic, age, and communicative purpose influence the use of AAE

syntactic and phonological features such as post vocalic /r/ deletion, /ai/ monophthongization,

and copula deletion. These studies are important since they provide evidence of broader

contextual factors that influence stylistic variation in black speech. For example, Baugh (1983)

has found that black street speech events can be situated along two axes: familiarity among

speakers and membership in Black Street culture. The intersection of these axes leads to the

following types of speech events (reproduced from Baugh 1983: 26)

Type 1	depicts speech events that have familiar participants, all of whom are natives of the Black vernacular culture. They also share long-term relationships, which tend to be close-knit and self-supporting.
Type 2	represents speech events where participants are not well acquainted but are members of the Black vernacular culture
Type 3	indicates speech events where participants are well acquainted but Black street speech is not shared; solidarity may or may not exist between any two or more individuals.
Type 4	corresponds to speech events where participants are not familiar nor is Black street speech common to all (1983: 26)

Based on this categorization, Baugh has found that stylistic modes like *playing the dozens* are typically reserved for type 1 events instead of type 2 since there is a danger of negative reactions from unfamiliar individuals (26). On the other hand, stylistic modes like *shuckin and jivin* were found in all event types. This is due to the fact that this mode is commonly used as a strategy to favorably change the course of interactions with Blacks and Whites in power. Thus, variation in speech and speech styles is sensitive to situational factors. Baugh also points out that speech can be influenced by topic such that "style shifts may be influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the speaker's personal assessment of the topic under discussion, although the same topic may trigger opposite shifts from various street speakers" (60). In addition, Baugh found that black street speech is sensitive to situational formality, with influences on syllable contraction and expansion (such that informal speaking contexts favored vernacular pronunciations with syllable reduction), forestressing of bi-syllabic words in informal contexts, and hypercorrection (such that speakers reinterpret and regularize standard forms and paradigms in formal contexts) (1983: 60-66).

In addition, Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994), identified addressee and topic-influenced shifts in the speech of an eighteen year old African American female, Foxy, from East Palo Alto, California. Data was taken from two interviews: one with Foxy, McNair-Knox (the co-author) and her daughter, Roberta, a sixteen year old African American female; and another interview with Beth, a European American grad student from Stanford. These interviews were examined for style shifting across the two interview contexts using zero copula, invariant *be*, plural *-s*, third singular present -s, and possessive -s as variables (1994: 236). The findings reveal that in addressee influenced style shift: 1) possessive -s absence was higher in the interview with the African American researcher and her daughter; 2) plural -s absence was not significantly

different according to interviewer, suggesting that this feature was not marked for speaker identity 3) third singular -s absence was affected by verb type such that -s absence was higher in the interview with the African American researcher and her daughter in every case except for the verb *say*; 4) copula/ aux is/are absence was higher in the interview with the African Americans than the European American; and 5) that invariant habitual *be* was more frequent with African Americans for second person and plural subjects, followed by first person singular, and least for third person singular subjects (1994: 255) and was used more with following -ing verbs. Overall, the results of this study suggest that speaker's ethnic identity was a significant factor in variation of features such as possessive -s absence, third-singluar absence, copula absence, and invariant be, while the feature plural -s did not respond to interlocutor ethnicity.

Along similar lines, Alim (2004), using semi-structured conversations to examine the speech of four high school students, Linnes (1998), examining sociolinguistic interviews with thirty middle-class Black English speakers between the ages of 16 and 91, Hay et al. (1999) examining the speech of African American talk show host Oprah Winfrey, and Kendall and Wolfram (2009), examining the speech of a black female mayor and black male town manager, found that topic as well as interlocutor ethnicity, cultural knowledge, familiarity, and age directly impacted their subjects use of AAE features.

Using quantitative methods for slightly different purposes, Ervin-Tripp (2001) and Rahman (2007) examined strategic uses of AAE speaking styles in public speech. Thus, in examining the speech of college educated African Americans who served as key figures in the Civil Rights movement, Stokely Carmichael, Chair of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and comedian and political activist Dick Gregory, Ervin-Tripp found interesting differences in the distributions of AAE and SE features. For Carmichael, AAE surfaced

strategically and contrasted with his normally SE dominated speech style. Thus when Carmichael intended to make a point to African American audience members, AAE features surfaced in the punch line, contrasting with the careful SE speech directed at a member of the media and the television audience. In this switch to AAE, features such as "*gon*, prosodic drop, and prolongation of the final clause, and vowel height and prolongation of *kiy::ll*" were used in the punch line of speech at a Black Power rally" (2001: 50). Furthermore, In Gregory's speech, several AAVE features, including phonological reduction, copula absence, and number disagreement appeared. As Ervin-Tripp points out, there were few opportunities for Copula absence and number agreement, yet when these features did show up, they appeared in high numbers (47 and 75 percent respectively) and were quite strategic.

In speech directed at African American audiences, Gregory shifted from the unmarked AAVE style to SE (which included "carefully articulated middle-class English with strong /r/ and final clusters" (Ervin-Tripp 2001: 52)) in order to depict rioters as being sophisticated. Next, when engaging in talk that depicted family interaction, the AAVE features that dominate the description of the event contrast with the SE features used to convey the voice of the Declaration of Independence and politically minded youth. In this case, "Standard English from a respected source is used to subvert, to promote revolution, to question American political consistency" (2001: 52). Finally shifting also occurred when putting AAVE in the mouth of Whites (2001: 53). Here, the stylistic effect of putting AAVE in the mouths of Whites (as in the case of using AAVE as the voice of Paul Revere) is to link the condition of African Americans with the desires of Revolutionaries (2001: 53) or putting non-standard features such as lack of number agreement to depict Alabama governor George Wallace in a humorous way (2001: 53). AAVE features also surface in Gregory's speech as he engages in "soapbox" variety of speaking directed

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at Whites. This shift is signaled by "marked lexical items like *nigger* and *mammy*, *gon*, and *yo'* and *they* for the possessive, and AAVE monopthongization and cluster reduction of *mind*" (2001: 54). Ervin-Tripp argues that the stylistic effect of this switch is to emphasize the difference between the ethnicity of the speaker (Gregory) and the hearers (the White audience) and create the stance that ""we" are Black and "you" are White" (2001: 55).

Overall, Ervin-Tripp suggests that the features described above are significantly linked with language ideology. Thus,

> What we see in Dick Gregory is a deft use of identity features at critical junctures to represent both the ideological message of White culture in the constitution and its interpretation by African-American citizens as indicated by AAVE features (2001: 55).

Along similar lines, Rahman (2007), in examining African American narrative comedy, also found that diphthongal and monophthongal variations of /ai/ can be strategically utilized by comedians in order to construct middle-class, white establishment characters (who use diphtongal /ai/) and down to earth African American characters (who use monophthongal /ai/). Furthermore, Rahman points out that even in cases where other segmental features of AAE are not present, monophthongal variants of /ai/ are likely to be present in black speech.   The mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches by Ervin Tripp and Rahman provide evidence that AAE speakers rely on the ideological (or indexical) value of codes for creative communicative effect during code shifting.

5   Discussion

As the studies described so far indicate, researchers on African American English draw from a number of methodological arenas including ethnography and quantitative sociolinguistics to understand the linguistic practices of African Americans. These methodological approaches are important because they provide depth to our understanding of how micro-level linguistic features (such as phonological and syntactic features) and communicative modes (such as *rappin* or *call-and-response*) are distributed in interaction. Yet, while they provide an important account of the contexts that license certain speaking styles or account for variations in specific linguistic features (such as copula presence or absence), more work needs to be done to explore the nuances of the to moment-by-moment interactional moves that speakers can, and do make for communicative purposes.

For example, quantitative studies like those provided by Rickford and McNair Knox (1994) and Alim (2004) provide a global understanding of the presence or absence of linguistic features (and the factors that condition these variations), but the nuances of individual interactions and communicative purposes (particularly in terms of the fluidity of identity in interaction) is not clear. In addition, while Ervin Tripp (2001) and Rahman (2007) provide a more nuanced account of speaker positioning in interaction, their approach is limited to stylizations of others (such as whites or blacks) rather than the speaker's claims about their own linguistic identities. Thus, linguistic variation becomes a tool that speakers use to shift from their baseline performance to the stylization of the voices of characters based on the ideological loading of the linguistic features used. Yet, each of these studies leave room for questions about the potential for speakers to use style shifting as a tool for shifting their own roles (in relation to audience members) throughout the interaction.

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Finally, the quantitative sociolinguistic paradigm has focused on individual segmental features of AAE phonology and syntax. However, this research leaves room for questions regarding the interactional significance of broader speaking styles which combine both segmental and suprasegmental features of AAE. Yet, when we consider the research on AAE described so far, there appears to be a preference for investigating what Alim (2004) terms *sociolinguistic style* (or the frequency and distribution of several morpho-syntactic and phonological variables) as opposed to *interactional style* (or a discourse analysis of AAE modes such as *falsetto* or *suck teeth* in interaction) and its impact on speaker-hearer relationships (2004: 19). Although Baugh (1983) identifies the contexts that license black modes of communication such as *playing the dozens* or *shuckin and jiving*, it would be interesting to note the interactional implications of using such styles across a range of (licensed and unlicensed) social contexts and for speakers outside the street community. Furthermore, while Labov (1972a) and Harness Goodwin (1990) have provided excellent accounts of talk in interaction, especially related to the ways African American youths use narrative structure to organize interaction, more work needs to be done to expand the empirical description to the public speaking contexts of African American adults and professionals who use socially recognizable speaking styles (such as *preaching*) in interaction. As Irvine (2001) critically points out

> styles in speaking involve the ways speakers, as agents in social (and sociolinguistic) space, negotiate their positions and goals within a system of distinctions and possibilities. Their acts of speaking are ideologically mediated, since those acts necessarily involve the speaker's understandings of salient social groups, activities, and practices, including forms of talk. Such understandings incorporate evaluations and are weighed by the speaker's social position and interest. They are also affected by differences in speaker's access to relevant practices. Social acts, including acts of speaking, are informed by an ideologized

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system of representations, and no matter how instrumental they may be to some particular social goal, they also participate in the "work of representation" (2001: 23-24)

Accordingly, I argue that styles do a great deal of work for speakers in this study in that they call attention to recognizable types and personas. Types and personas, in turn, color a listener's perception of who the speakers present themselves to be. Style, as a theoretic concept, is important when we consider what styles may mean for African Americans who are engaged in the public presentation of black identity. The exploration of the intersection of style and ethnic identity is crucial because, as Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) have argued, shared ethnic culture can be a tool that is mobilized for a number of political and social goals. Thus,

the ability to manage or adapt to diverse communicative situations has become essential and the ability to interact with people with whom one has no personal acquaintance is crucial to acquiring even a small measure of personal and social control. We have to talk in order to establish our rights and entitlements (1982: 4)

For the speakers in this study, the mobilization of ethnic styles and ways of speaking becomes critical for the reception of their points of view before a predominantly black audience. Critically, the context of their speeches, The State of the Black Union, is part of a larger movement to create a public space for the analysis and discussion of the black condition in the United States. The speakers, as politicians, authors, educators and other public figures have an interest in utilizing their ethnicity (and ethnic ways of speaking) in order to establish their rights to express an authoritative opinion about how to solve the ills of the black community. Through language, they connect with their largely unfamiliar audience, adding an air of authenticity and authority to the content of their messages.

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Therefore, this dissertation adopts the sociocultural approach that treats speaker identity (or interactional positioning) as dynamic and evolving during interaction. This approach examines the linguistic (both segmental and suprasegmental) means where by speakers develop different interactional positionings during interaction that evolve across the span of the interaction in response to the speaker's communicative goals. Thus, it becomes clear that suprasegmental and rhetorical features of an AAE speaking style, *black preaching*, mark shifts in the interactional framework between black public speakers and their addressees. These features redefine whether the speakers and hearers are participating in a secular symposium or conversational framework, or a sacred, church-oriented interactional framework. This use of AAE ways of speaking, designed specifically for a black audience that recognizes black preaching, send signals to the addressees regarding the *RO sets* that determine the level of participation expected (such as providing applause and saying "amen") and provide the favorable contexts for speakers to make risky political and social moves.

<u>Chapter 3: Research Questions and Methodology</u>

This chapter provides an overview of the three research questions that will be explored in this dissertation and the methodologies that will be applied to the investigation of these questions. Since the different research questions invite different methodologies, a review of the literature that motivates the different methodologies will be presented.

1   Research Questions

This dissertation provides a close, qualitative examination of African American English (AAE) and explores the interaction between phonological, syntactic, and rhetorical features of AAE and moment-by-moment situational factors related to the event structuring, speaker goals, and audience composition. This study contributes to research on AAE by exploring the identity-management strategies that accompany style shifting in black public speech. This analytical and empirical focus will contribute to a better understanding of the dialect, register, and style shifting by black leaders, allowing us to broaden our understanding of black speech.

The central questions of this dissertation are the following:

1.   What phonological, syntactic, and morphological features of AAE are used by the black public figures in this study?

2.   What contextualization cues (segmental and suprasegmental, lexical, thematic, and rhetorical) of *black preaching style* are utilized in black public speech and how does *black preaching style* intersect with the content of the speaker's message (including speaker stances and the speaker's ethnic and professional self-categorization)?

3.   What are the combined and individual effects of indexical and rhetorical processes

(such as stance taking and shifts to black preaching style) on audience response?

2   Data

The primary data for this dissertation comes from DVD recordings of the 2008 State of

the Black Union, a yearly, day-long symposium hosted by Tavis Smiley and broadcast on C-

SPAN each spring. Guests for this symposium include black political figures, academicians,

entertainers, college and high school students and clergy members. The State of the Black Union

was chosen as the data source since it stands as an excellent exemplar of the contexts of black

public speaking that have been sidelined in AAE research that focuses on urban youth.

While a number of studies of AAE have utilized the sociolinguistic interview as primary

tool for data collection, this study utilizes a similar data-collection methodology as Ervin-Tripp

(2001), who examined recordings speeches of black civil rights leaders, Weldon (2004), who

examined public speeches given the 2004 State of the Black Union, and Rahman (2007), who

examined televised performances of black comedians. On the one hand, data from

sociolinguistic interviews is favorable in that it allows for the close examination of speaker

beliefs about their linguistic choices while eliciting authentic, vernacular language use in

naturalistic settings. However, the educational backgrounds, socio-economic status, and the

highly visible leadership roles of upwardly mobile, public or professional black figures often

place these members of the black community in formal, public contexts where they must straddle

two worlds - one black and one white - with potentially complicated linguistic results. The

exploration of AAE in public contexts provides an added layer of information about context and

audience-speaker interaction that cannot be gained in the private, conversational contexts favored by sociolinguistic interviews.

The 2008 SBU involved a morning session that lasted 3 hours 26 minutes, an afternoon session that lasted 3 hours 53 minutes, an intermission activity featuring educational seminars lasting one hour, and a speech and a question and answer session with presidential candidate Hillary Clinton lasting 46 minutes. The speakers selected for analysis in this dissertation were Cleo Fields (born in 1962), lawyer and former member of Congress, Sheila Jackson Lee (born in 1950), lawyer and current member of the Congressional Black Caucus, and Eddie Glaude Jr. (born in 1968), professor of African American studies and religion at Princeton. The speeches of these participants were included in this study since: 1) their speech represents a departure from the participants' metapragmatic discussions and understandings of the event as a conference or symposium and "conversation"/"dialogue", 2) their speech elicits responses such as "amen" from the audience (as opposed to the strict laughter and applause elicited in other segments of speech and 3) the speakers use a speaking style (in this case *black preaching style*) that differs from their stated professional domain (i.e. no speaker in this study is present at the symposium in the capacity of a minister). This last point is critical since it indicates that, rather than appearing out of professional habit, these features are being actively recruited for the purposes of the present interaction. The speeches selected for this study make up a corpus of a total of 3,687 words. The details of this corpus are provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Corpus details

Speaker	Session (Speaking Time)	Speech Duration	Word Count
Cleo Fields	Morning Session (10:49 a.m. ET)	5 minutes, 23 seconds	680
Eddie Glaude, Jr	Afternoon Session (2:51 p.m. ET)	5 minutes, 55 seconds	786
Sheila Jackson Lee	Afternoon Session (4:01 p.m. ET)	15 minutes, 8 seconds	2221
Total		26 minutes, 26 seconds	3687 words

3 Ethnographic Background

As Bauman and Sherzer (1974) point out, works that seek to provide an ethnography of speaking must be careful to identify the system of norms and principles, goals, values and systems of evaluation that operate in a community for the production and perception of discourse. In addition the ethnographer of speaking must understand "the means of speaking available to its members" which include "linguistic varieties and other codes and subcodes, the use of which counts as speech within the community, and the distribution of which constitutes the linguistic repertoires of its members" (1974: 7). In addition, Bauman and Sherzer argue that

> speaking is situated within and seen as meaningful in terms of native contexts of speech activity, i.e., culture-specific settings, scenes, and institutions in which speaking is done. Moreover, this speaking is carried on by the members of the community as incumbents of speaking (and listening) roles, socially defined and situated in relevant contexts (1974: 7).

Saville-Troike (1997) also argues that ethnographic approaches to the study of language must also include "identifying recurrent events, recognizing their salient components, and discovering the relationship among components and between the event and other aspects of

society" (1997: 126). Some important pieces of ethnographic data identified by Saville-Troike include, among others, background information on the history of the community, information on the social organization (including institutions, identities of leaders, network analyses of role relationships), data about the features of the linguistic code used, and identification of the boundaries of the communicative events.

Therefore, I will provide an ethnographic description of the event which includes the following: 1) a description of the speakers' backgrounds; 2) a description of the event (including its historical background, the 2008 political context, the physical context of the speaking event and the participants' metapragmatic understandings of the interactional frameworks for the event) and; 3) a historical contextualization of the linguistic repertoires of the black speech community, specifically providing a historical account of the black church as a key social institution that fosters black public speaking styles and provides the context for the culturally specific roles that speakers and listeners inhabit in this study.

4   Transcription Methods and Reliability

The audio files from DVD recordings of the 2008 SBU were extracted using the Wondershare DVD Audio Ripper program and a word-level transcription of these sound files was created using a Praat TextGrid. Pauses, or areas of silence between words, were also labeled using an interval tier in Praat and the durations of these pauses were automatically extracted.

Using the extracted audio files and word-level transcripts, phonetic transcriptions were made of the speeches given by Cleo Fields, Sheila Jackson Lee, and Eddie Glaude. The transcriptions were examined for the presence of features of AAE phonology reported in Labov

(1972a), Baugh (1983), Rickford (1999) and Green (2002). (A summary of the AAE

phonological features examined is presented in Appendix A).

Furthermore, a discourse-level transcription method was applied to the word-level

transcript. This discourse-level transcription method was adopted from conversation analysis

transcription methods developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and utilized by

Atkinson and Heritage (1984) and Atkinson (1984). The discourse-level transcription symbols

and descriptions are listed in Table 2.

Table 2: Discourse-level transcription conventions

Symbol	Description	Symbol	Description
?	'question' intonation (i.e. rising pitch towards the higher end of the speaker's pitch range) at the end of phrase	↑ ↓	Pitch accents relative to the surrounding speech. Stretches of talk following the upward pointing arrow are delivered with a dramatic upward pitch movement and stretches following the downward pointing arrow are delivered with a dramatic downward pitch movement.
.	'period' intonation (i.e. falling pitch towards the bottom of the speaker's pitch range) at the end of phrase	underline	Underlined syllables are delivered with stress or emphasis by the speaker. Stress and emphasis are defined as including one or more of the following: slight increase in volume, careful articulation of consonants, slight increase in length of vowels
,	'comma' intonation (i.e. low tone rising towards the middle of the speaker's pitch range, indicating that the phrase is not complete) at the end of phrase	CAP	stretches of speech that are capitalized are delivered loudly relative to the surrounding talk
-x-	isolated/single clap	:	colons indicate lengthening or drawing out of the preceding sound. (note: this label is used to indicate lengthening above and beyond the slight lengthening typically indicated by an underline)
XXXXX	loud applause	(( ))	labeler characterizations of stretches of talk: aspiration, teeth sucking and glottal or gravely quality on consonants or stretches of talk

Table 2(cont.)

xxxxxxx	applause at moderate volume	(0.0)	durations of pauses or breaks measured in tenths of seconds
x-xx-x-	sporadic/hesitant clapping	(.)	indicates a "micro-pause" or a pause shorter than five tenths (0.5) of a second
xxXXXX	applause amplitude increases	> < ° °	stretches of talk between the > and < were delivered at a faster speaking rate than surrounding talk; stretches of talk between the ° symbols were delivered at lower volume than surrounding talk
XXXxxx	applause amplitude decreases	[ ]	indicate overlapping speech: [indicates the point where the overlap begins;] indicates where the overlap ends

The discourse-level transcription method utilized in this dissertation is useful in that it allows for the annotation of a great deal of information including pausing, rises in intonation, added stress, aspiration, vowel lengthening, volume increases and audience-speaker interactions – critical elements of AAE style. Although the conversation analysis transcription methods suggested by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and Atkinson and Heritage (1984) are intended for micro-level analyses of turn-by-turn conversational exchanges, the level of phonological detail encoded in CA transcriptions is useful for describing subtle linguistic variations that have implications on speaker-hearer interactions, particularly in the case of public speaking events.

In order to identify whether the discourse-level transcription conventions reliably capture word- and phrase-level prominences and pauses, a second labeler[5] (hereafter Labeler B) was recruited and trained in the discourse-level transcription method utilized in this dissertation.

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[5] Prior to participating in this study Labeler B also received a semester of graduate-level training in the conversation analysis transcription methods developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974)

After training, Labeler B was given six[6] sound files, each approximately 30 seconds long,

representing a 622-word subset of the 3,687 word dissertation corpus (or 16.8%of the

dissertation corpus). Labeler B was also provided a word-level transcript that contained speaker

turn labels but no labels for word-level prominence, phrase-level prominence, or pauses.

While the pause durations in the dissertation corpus were measured using Praat, Labeler

B was asked to estimate the pause durations and assign pause duration labels according to the

following guidelines: Long pauses (labeled (+) are pauses lasting .50 seconds or longer; micro

pauses (labeled (.)) are pauses lasting less than .50 seconds. Labeler B was asked not to label

applause quality, applause durations and points of overlap.

The levels of agreement between the researcher (hereafter Labeler A) and Labeler B were

determined using a pairwise comparison (Pitrelli et al. 1994) (i.e. a comparison of the label that

the transcribers placed on each word or space between words) for word labels, phrase labels, and

pause labels, and a kappa statistic (Cohen 1960). The kappa statistic provides information about

the degree of agreement when two labelers independently categorize units into independent,

mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories of nominal scale (Cohen 1960:38). The kappa

statistic is calculated using the formula in (1) below:

(1) $$k = \frac{P_o - P_c}{1 - P_c}$$

where P_o is the percent of agreement between transcribers and P_c is the proportion of agreement

that would be expected by chance (Cohen 1960). Landis and Koch (1977) suggest the following

benchmarks for interpreting the strength of agreement using the kappa statistic: Poor agreement

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[6] Two sound files were selected from each of the three speakers (Cleo Fields, Sheila Jackson Lee, and Eddie Glaude, Jr.) for a total of six sound files.

(less than 0.00); Slight agreement (0.00 – 0.20); Fair agreement (0.21 – 0.40); Moderate

agreement (0.41 – 0.60); Substantial agreement (0.61 – 0.80); Almost perfect agreement (0.81 –

1.00) (Landis and Koch 1977: 165).

Increased Speaking Rate and Decreased Volume. The paired label for increased speaking rate

[> <] was used three times by Labeler A and twice by Labeler B. However, there was no overlap

and/or agreement in the placement of these labels. The paired symbols for decreased volume [°]

were not used by either of the labelers.

Word-level prominence. Word-level prominence is defined by the presence of one (or a

combination) of the following labels: upward pitch [↑], downward pitch [↓], emphasis

[underline], loudness [CAPS], or lengthening [:]. Since labels for word level prominence are not

mutually exclusive (i.e. a word can contain both raised pitch and loudness), the kappa statistic for

inter-labeler reliability was determined based on whether a word contained one or more labels

(prominent) or none of the labels (not prominent). Table 3 shows the agreement matrix for the

presence or absence of word-level prominence.

Table 3: Agreement Matrix for Word-level Prominence (Column
headings indicate labels assigned by labeler A and row headings are
labels assigned by labeler B)

	Prominent	Not Prominent	Total
Prominent	144	16	160
Not Prominent	91	371	462
Total	235	387	622

The agreement rate for whether or not there was word-level prominence (regardless of the choice of label) was 82%. The kappa statistic for strength of agreement was .609, or moderate agreement. In the 144 instances that both labelers agreed that there was word-level prominence, they showed complete agreement on the labeling of 69% (or 100 out of 144) of the cases.

Although the rate of agreement on word-level prominence labels is low, an examination of the 44 disagreed upon cases reveals the following systematic patterns. First, in each of the 14 cases were Labeler A used the [:] symbol for lengthening (and where Labeler B did not use the [:] symbol), Labeler B used the underline symbol. For example, in (2) below Labeler A has indicated that the words *stand, moment* and *engage* contain emphasis (underline) as well as lengthening [:] of a vocalic segment (i.e. lengthening above and beyond the slight lengthening that may accompany segments that are emphasized). On the other hand, Labeler B indicated that there was only emphasis (which may include slight lengthening).

(2)

Labeler A	**Labeler B**
sta:nd	stand
↑mo:ment	moment
enga:ge	engage

This suggests that the difference between Labeler A and B regarding the lengthening symbol may be a matter of degree and that the [:] and underline symbols may be difficult differentiate due to the shared lengthening quality. In order to address this issue in future transcriptions, separate labels must be developed that do not share the lengthening feature.

Furthermore, in 27 of the 28 cases where Labeler A used the upward pitch accent symbol (↑), Labeler B used either the emphasis (underline) symbol or the loudness (CAPS) notations.

For example, in (3) below, Labeler A indicates that the words *ways* and *my* have both pitch accent and emphasis, while Labeler B only indicates emphasis. In the word *race*, Labeler A indicates that there is both emphasis and pitch accent while Labeler B indicates that there is only loudness.

(3)
        Labeler A   **Labeler B**
        ↑`ways`   `ways`
        ↑`my`   `my`
        ↑`race`   `RACE`

These differences may indicate that while both speakers agree that there is some sort of prominence on these words, determining the kind of prominence may be more difficult. This suggests that more clarification may have been needed during the training period or that measurements of pitch or intensity may be needed in future versions of this study in order to confirm the presence or absence of pitch accent, loudness or emphasis.

Phrase-level prominence. The choice that each labeler can make for phrase-level prominence on each of the 622 words is 1 out of 4 mutually exclusive categories ("question" intonation [?], "comma" intonation [,], "period" intonation [.], and no phrase-level intonation). The agreement matrix for phrase-level prominence is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Agreement Matrix for Phrase-level Prominence (Column headings indicate labels assigned by labeler A and row headings are labels assigned by labeler B)

	"Question" [?]	"Period" [.]	"Comma" [,]	None	Total
"Question" [?]	0	0	0	0	0
"Period" [.]	0	25	0	6	31
"Comma" [,]	5	1	2	22	30
None	1	4	1	555	561
Total	6	30	3	583	622

The agreement on presence or absence of phrase-level prominence was 95% (with a kappa statistic of .631, or substantial agreement). The agreement on presence or absence and the choice of phrase-level prominence was 94% (with a kappa statistic of .576, or moderate agreement). The agreement on the choice of label when both transcribers agreed that there is phrase-level prominence was 81% (with a kappa statistic of .531, or moderate agreement).

In the six cases where the labelers disagreed about the labeling for phrase prominence there are systematic differences. For example, in the 5 cases that Labeler A used the label for "question" intonation [?] (or intonation moving towards the higher end of the speakers pitch range at the end of a phrase), labeler B marked these phrases as having "comma" intonation [,] (or intonation moving towards the middle of the speaker's pitch range signaling that the phrase is incomplete). Since both the comma and question intonation markers show upward pitch movement (rather than the downward pitch movement captured by the "period" intonation marker), they may also be slightly difficult to differentiate.

Pauses. The choice that each labeler can make for pause type on each of the 622 words is 1 out of 3 mutually exclusive categories (long pause [(+)], micro-pause [(.)], or no pause). The agreement matrix for pause type is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Agreement Matrix for Pauses (Column headings indicate labels assigned by labeler A and row headings are labels assigned by labeler B)

	Long Pause [(+)]	Micro-Pause [(.)]	No Pause	Total
Long Pause [(+)]	27	0	0	27
Micro-Pause [(.)]	7	10	0	17
No Pause	9	24	545	578
Total	43	34	545	622

The agreement on presence or absence of pause was 95% (with a kappa statistic of 0.700, or substantial agreement). The agreement rate on the presence or absence and choice of pause type was 94% (with a kappa statistic of .645, or substantial agreement). When both labelers agreed that there was a pause, the agreement rate on the type of pause was 84% (with a kappa statistic of .636, or substantial agreement). The slightly lower rate of agreement on pause type labeling may be due to the fact that Labeler B was unable to measure the pauses and, therefore, needed to estimate whether a pause was longer than a half second. Although estimating pause durations is a common procedure in conversation analysis transcription methods, measuring pauses may be a better alternative.

A summary of the agreement rates and kappa statistics for each of the comparisons is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of Agreement Rates and Kappa Statistics

	Agreement Rate	Kappa Coefficient
Presence of word-level prominence	82%	.609
Choice of word prominence labels	69%	---
Presence of phrase-level prominence	95%	.631
Choice of phrase prominence labels	81%	.531
Presence of pause	95%	.700
Choice of pause label	84%	.636

The agreement rates and kappa statistics suggest that the pause and phrase level transcription conventions are the most reliable while the degree of word-level prominence is more difficult to determine. However, all of the kappa statistics indicate that the labelers showed at least a moderate level of agreement suggesting that the conventions used in this dissertation will provide an adequate starting point for a qualitative analysis of the suprasegmental features of AAE captured by these labels. This transcription system can be fortified by future studies that include an acoustic analysis that confirms the presence or absence of pitch accent, lengthening, volume increase or decrease and speaking rate.

5   Black Preaching Style Features

After completing the discourse-level transcription utilizing the method described above, clusters of suprasegmental, segmental, and rhetorical and lexical features that indicate the presence of black preaching style were identified in the speeches analyzed in this dissertation. Black preaching style, widely recognized in the speaking style of black leaders such as the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, is particularly grounded in the sacred-secular continuum of black speech where "those closest to the spiritual realm assume priority in social relationships" and "only those blacks who can perform stunning feats of oral gymnastics become culture heroes and leaders in the community" (Smitherman 1977: 76). This sacred-secular continuum, with its emphasis on verbal performance and its foundation in a spiritual world-view, is the thread that unifies the speaking styles of a wide array of black speakers from poets, disc-jockeys, and rappers, to politicians, academicians and preachers.

Preaching, which is an important part of the sacred-secular continuum of black speech, is geared specifically towards an audience that relies on preaching cues in order to make their

churchgoing experience meaningful and memorable. Thus the skillful employment of elements

of preaching style during a church service is critical since the preaching must be engaging

enough to hold the congregants' attention. During a church service,

> worshipers must be cued to stand or clap or sway or say "Amen" or wave their
> palms in testimony through a variety of rhetorical strategies that work them up
> and draw them in, including innovative metaphors and similes; apt narratives and
> quotations; appropriate variation in voice quality, gesture, pace, pitch and volume;
> a skillful deployment of alliteration, improvisation, humor, repetition, and rhyme
> (Rickford and Rickford 2000:40)

It is important to note that, while there are recognizable features of black preaching, a

great deal of variation may exist in preaching style according to denomination and congregation

preferences. For example, Black Methodist churches where ministers and congregations tended

to be more educated, have been described as eschewing loud or exaggerated preaching styles

while Baptist churches, with less stringent requirements for ministers and a wider demographic

for congregants, have been described as favoring more vibrant services (Rosenberg 1970;

Birmingham 1977; and Cogdell and Wilson 1980)

While the features of a black preacher's speaking style are variable depending on their

moment-by-moment interaction with the audience (Mitchell 1970) there are a number of

important features that can be found in black sermons including segmental and suprasegmental

features and broader rhetorical structuring.

5.1   Segmental features

The use of AAE phonological and syntactic features may vary across preachers, yet

vernacular speech is an important tool for preachers to make their messages more down to earth

and accessible. For example, Mitchell (1970) argues that black preachers follow a hermeneutic organized around two principles whereby "one must declare the gospel in the language of the people – the vernacular" and "the gospel must speak to the contemporary man and his needs" (1970: 29). Pitts (1993), in the examination of Afro-Baptist church rituals, also points out the importance of vernacular features of AAE in a preacher's message. For speakers in Pitts' study, rates of vernacular features (such as velar nasal fronting and negative concord) increased during the sermon climax (as compared to the preacher's conversational speech).

In terms of the impact of AAE phonology and syntax on the preacher's message, Gumperz (1982) examined audience responses to shifts between MAE and AAE in the speech of a San Francisco minister. Listeners found that in segments where the preacher used more AAE phonological and syntactic features, the speaker was seen as "talking black" for the purposes of making the message more personalized (1982: 194-195). This brief discussion of AAE phonology and syntax in black preaching suggests that AAE can be a tool for preachers to make their message more personal and relevant their AAE speaking audiences, especially as they reach the climax of their messages.

5.2   Suprasegmental features

According to Smitherman (1977) *tonal semantics* is another important part of the black oral tradition that involves using the voice as an instrument and can be found during talk-singing (1977: 137), repetition and alliterative word play (1977: 142) and the use of intonational contour and may involve "deliberately halting, slow, exaggerated pronunciation of important words" (1977: 145) and rhyme. The tonal semantic (or suprasegmental) features of black preaching have been described by a number of researchers and include: sustained intonation (usually at

climax of the sermon) and melody; rhythm; manipulation of voice quality to produce a gravelly

tone; initial slow rate of delivery; stammer and hesitations (Mitchell 1970; Holt 1972;

Smitherman 1977, 2000; Gumperz 1982; Spencer 1987; Pitts 1993; Rickford and Rickford 2000;

Green 2002). In addition, Spencer (1987) argues that the rhythmic nature of black preaching can

be observed in the treatment of words and phrases as motives that are delivered with identical

rhythm, expanding or contracting words in order to fit them into metrical units, "hitting a lick" or

the percussiveness and punctuation of strong consonants, alliteration and super imposing rhythm

over syllables.

There is a great deal of variation in terms of where and how intonation and other

suprasegmental features are used during preaching. For example, Rosenberg (1970) points out

that sermons can be spoken with a relatively flat intonation or even chanted. In the rare chanted

sermon, the speech contains consistency in length and metrical units while non-chanted sermons

may contain a wider range of syntactic structures and may even pattern after public oratory and

conversational speech (1970: 12-13). In addition, Mitchell (1970) points out that while some

preachers save sustained intonation only for the climax of their sermon, others use sustained tone

throughout the sermon. Importantly, the use of sustained tone depends greatly on how

comfortable the preacher and congregation are with intonation and the over-use or insincere use

of intonation can have negative implications for the preacher (1970: 162-166). In addition, the

slow rate of delivery, stammer and hesitation can be an important tool for giving audience

members more time to let the message sink in (in the case of a slow rate of delivery) and

building suspense (in the case of stammer and hesitation).

Finally, Pitts (1989) in his examination of the West African poetics of black preaching,

found that long pauses tended to mark important information while short pauses aided in listener

comprehension. Furthermore, rapid speech signaled to congregation members that the content contained non-essential background information, while vocal intensity was used to emphasize key points of the message. Finally, volume and speech rate increase as preachers shift from one stage of their sermon to another. Critically, during the climax of the sermon

> Language loses its semantic-logical function while assuming a purely poetic one in which reference is no longer the issue…Form replaces content as primary focus: contextualization decreases until each line becomes chanted, truncated utterance with unvarying prosody except melody (1989: 143)

Each of the suprasegmental cues described thus far is important for managing the organization and uptake of the general message. As speakers employ different cues, they signal which parts of the message are critical, they make elements of the message easily comprehendible and they draw listeners into the unfolding message.

5.3   Sermon Structuring

Like segmental and suprasegmental features, the organizational structure of a sermon can vary from preacher to preacher, especially given the level of preparation and spontaneity that the speaker prefers. As Rosenberg (1970) points out, preachers can be defined as "manuscript" preachers (those who rely heavily on a prepared script) or "spiritual" preachers (those who utilize extemporaneous speech) (1970: 11-12). Yet, despite the level of preparation, some recognizable features of the preacher's spiritual message, or sermon, include: jokes and the use of intimate themes in order to engage the audience and create a relaxed mood; folk story telling techniques; illustrative narratives; biblical metaphors and themes; "probing the depths", or a point-to-point progression where the preacher "guides his seekers rather than arguing with his opponents"

(Mitchell 1970:179); and an engaging climax. The climax is a critical and widely recognizable moment in the sermon since it involves a shift "from objective fact to subjective testimony" (1970: 188-189). Here "preachers…lay bare their souls in symbolic and contagiously free affirmation" (1970: 189) and become first-hand witnesses to the ideas that they are presenting. Finally, the climax marks the moment in which the preacher makes his or her message memorable and complete. In other words, through creative variations in pitch, tone and rhetorical structuring, "the idea…is embraced and celebrated. It is, as it were, burned into the consciousness of the hearer" (1970: 194).

5.4   Audience Response: Call and Response and "Amen"

Finally, an important component of the black church service is the level of interaction between preacher and congregation. *Call-and-response* is a an important carry-over from African communication strategies where congregants "talk back" to the preacher and involves co-signing (i.e. displaying agreement about what has been said), encouragement, repetition, completing another's utterances and acknowledging that something is correct (Smitherman 1977: 194; Mitchell 1970: 44). For example, excerpt (4) below contains a sample call and response that is quite common in black religious events:

(4)   From Smitherman (1977: 104)

Preacher ("caller"):	My theme for today is Waiting on the Lord
Congregation ("responders," all speaking simultaneously):	Take yo' time, take yo' time
	Fix it up, Reb!
	Preach it, Reb!

In this excerpt, the congregation provides supportive comments, such as "fix it up" or "preach it" encouraging the preacher to continue with his message.

6   Discussion

The phonological and syntactic variation analysis will provide an important touch point with earlier AAE studies that have laid the groundwork for research on black speech. Information about the kinds of AAE features used by the speakers in this study is critical for our understanding the kinds of AAE features that surface in black public speech and helps researchers understand the differences between black public speech and black street speech. Furthermore, as the reliability study indicates, the discourse-level transcription method developed from the conversation analysis framework serves as an important and reliable tool for analyzing suprasegmental and rhetorical features of black speech and also allows the researcher to explore how these features impact speaker-hearer interactions in public speaking events.

Overall, the methodologies described in this chapter aim to capture the various levels of AAE (including segmental features (i.e. phonological and syntactic features), suprasegmental features (such as pitch and volume increases and lengthening of consonantal and vocalic segments) and rhetorical features (such as sermon structuring and probing the depths)) that are employed by the speakers in this study. Furthermore, the ethnographic contextualization provides an added layer of socially relevant information about what may impact speaker-hearer interactions at the 2008 SBU. As a result, these methodologies contribute to a nuanced look at black language and the contextual and linguistic factors that shape moment-by-moment interactions for black public speakers.

Chapter 4: Ethnographic Background

This chapter provides a brief discussion of the background and linguistic profiles of the three speakers chosen for analysis in this dissertation. This chapter will also provide a description of the State of the Black Union (SBU) including its history and its goals, the political context and setting of the event as well as the speaker's metapragmatic understandings of the interactional frameworks of the event. In addition, this chapter will provide an overview of the sacred-secular dimension of black language as well as a discussion of the role of the church and church leaders in social and political dimensions of black life. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a discussion of how the sacred and the secular intersect in meaningful ways for the participants of the event and how the interactional frameworks associated with "doing conversation," "doing symposium" and "doing church" become relevant for the 2008 SBU.

1   The State of the Black Union

1.1   Event Background

As a space for debate of black themes and issues, the SBU was conceived of by African American journalist Tavis Smiley as a public platform for black intellectuals, religious figures, entertainers, and politicians to discuss and debate issues relevant to the black community. In his open letter[7] to participants at the event, Smiley describes the SBU as a meeting with a specific purpose: to hold political leaders and members of the community accountable to the needs of their black constituents[8]. The first State of the Black Union was held in the year 2000 in Los

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[7] See Smiley (2008)

[8] The SBU symposium series, aiming to develop solutions to key issues in the black community, has also initiated *The Covenant Movement* which includes the publication of a series of texts

Angeles and its theme was "Advocacy in the Next Millennium: New Paradigms for Progress." Over the next eight years, the SBU was hosted in Washington, DC., Philadelphia, Detroit, Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Jamestown and finally in New Orleans in 2008. In the eight years between 2000 and 2008, the SBU covered a range of themes including community, church, family, health, the economy and the role of African Americans in American history ("State of the Black Union 10th Anniversary," n.d.). The theme for the 2008 SBU was "Reclaiming Our Democracy, Deciding Our Future" and involved discussions of: the role of the African American vote in 2008 elections; Barack Obama's possible election; the effects of the election on the economic, social and political future of the black community; the mortgage crisis and its effects on the economy; and post-Hurricane Katrina rebuilding.

1.2 Speaker Backgrounds

The speakers selected for analysis in this dissertation were Cleo Fields (born in 1962), lawyer and former member of Congress, Sheila Jackson Lee (born in 1950), lawyer and current member of the Congressional Black Caucus, and Eddie Glaude Jr. (born in 1968), professor of African American studies and religion at Princeton.

Cleo Fields was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He grew up as the seventh of ten children in a household headed by his mother after his father died when he was four years old ("Introducing Cleo Fields," 1988: 186). After attending Southern University and receiving a Bachelor's degree in Mass Communications, Fields received a law degree from Southern University School of Law in 1987. That same year, at 24 years of age, Fields became a member

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(including *The Covenant with Black America, The Covenant in Action,* and *Accountable: Making The Covenant Real*) that outline the steps that individuals and politicians can take to address these issues. See Smiley (2006; 2007) and Smiley and Robinson(2009) for further details.

of the Louisiana State Senate, the youngest person ever elected to this office in Louisiana and the youngest state senator in the nation at the time ("Cleo Fields Biography," 2009).   Fields was also elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1992 representing the 4th Congressional district of Louisiana and, after an unsuccessful bid for Governor of Louisiana in 1994, completed two terms in Congress. In 1997 he returned to Louisiana and served as senator of the 14th Senatorial District of Louisiana. Following his work in government, Fields established the Fields Law Firm, LLC, helped establish the Louisiana Leadership Institute, and served as the Chair of the Louisiana Legislative Black Caucus from 2000-2001. ("Cleo Fields Biography," 2009). In 1988, Fields also participated in the Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, serving as a delegate at the Democratic National Convention. ("Introducing Cleo Fields," 1988: 186). According to his 2009 Louisiana Leadership Institute profile, Fields is a member of Mt. Pilgrim Baptist Church ("Cleo Fields Biography," 2009).

Sheila Jackson Lee was born in Queens, New York. In 1992 she received a Bachelors of Arts in political science from Yale followed by a law degree from the University of Virginia School of Law in 1975. She served as staff counsel for the U.S. House Select Committee on Assassinations from 1977-1978, an attorney for United Energy Resources from 1978-1980, an associated municipal court judge in Houston from 1987-1990, an at-large member of the Houston City Council from 1990-1994, and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for the eighteenth district of Texas from 1995 to the present (Smith 2009: 53).

Eddie Glaude, Jr. was born in Moss Point, Mississippi ("Eddie Glaude, Jr., Ph.D.," n.d.). He received his Bachelors of Arts in Political Science from Morehouse College in 1989, his Masters of Arts in African American Studies from Temple University in 1991, his Masters of Arts in Religion from Princeton University in 1996 and his doctorate in Religion from Princeton

in 1996. He served as a faculty member and department chair of the Department of Religion at Bowdoin College and as a visiting professor at Amherst College before joining the faculty of Princeton University in 2002. He is currently the William S. Tod Professor of Religion and African American Studies as well as the Chair of the Center for African American Studies at Princeton University. Glaude's Areas of research include the history of African American Religion, Black Nationalism(s) and Black Power and American Pragmatism. He has been described by his mentor, Dr. Cornel West as "the towering intellectual of his generation" (Frazier 2009). In addition to his scholarship, Glaude has participated in a number of public speaking forums including participating in a ten-city tour with African American Journalist Tavis Smiley discussing *The Covenant with Black America* in 2006 and a fourteen-city tour with Smiley discussing *The Covenant in Action* in 2007[9].

1.3   Political Context

The year 2008 was an important year in American political history, particularly as it set the stage for the possible election of the first African American or woman as president. Although other African Americans (including Shirley Chisholm, Jesse Jackson and Alan Keyes) had run for previous presidential elections, broad support from blacks, whites, Hispanics, labor leaders, military leaders, as well as young and old voters gave Barack Obama a viable chance for the presidential election (Halperin 2008). In addition, Hillary Clinton's candidacy was also of particular interest since her husband, Bill Clinton, was a former president who was highly popular with Democrats. Clinton's candidacy was also historic for women in politics. As Balz and Johnson (2009) argued, "no former First Lady had ever sought the presidency; no female

[9] Background information gathered from Glaude's curriculum vitae; see Glaude (n.d.) for further details.

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politician had ever begun the presidential campaign as a favorite…"(44). And, as Curry (2007) points out

> Due to Sen. Hillary Clinton's prominence and her husband's claims on the affections of Democrats, inevitably the 2008 contest will be something of a referendum on Bill and Hillary Clinton. There have been famously political first ladies in the past, such as Eleanor Roosevelt. But history offers no precedents for how voters react to the wife of a former president running for his old job (Curry 2007).

At the time of the 2008 State of the Black Union, Hilliary Clinton and Barack Obama were in close contention for the Democratic Party nomination. To win the Democratic Party nomination for the presidential election, candidates needed to win a simple majority of delegates, or 2025 out of 4049 available delegates. Of those delegates, 796 were superdelegates who cast their vote in the August 2008 Democratic National Convention, while the other 80 percent were awarded to candidates through state primary elections (Garber 2008).

Superdelegates were created by the Democratic Party to ensure that suitable candidates were chosen for the party nomination based on the superdelegates' insights regarding candidate quality and their overall ability to win a general election. Automatic superdelegates include governors, members of congress and members of the Democratic National Committee while select former party leaders were also given superdelegate status (Plouffe 2009). Superdelegates are "not bound by their state's or district's election results" (Plouffe 2009: 178) and "unlike standard delegates to the national convention, who are selected by voters in primaries and caucuses, the supers—simply because they hold key public or party offices – are entitled to cast a vote for the nominee of their choosing" (Halperin 2008). Interestingly "the large number of superdelegates means that in a close race, it is possible (though not likely) that if a mass of them

voted together, they could actually tip the nomination to the candidate who came in second with pledged delegates" (Plouffe 2009: 177).

By the time of the 2008 State of the Black Union, Obama and Clinton were in a tight race for the popular vote and superdelegate support. As of February 9, 2008, Clinton led Obama 250 to 179 in superdelegates (Plouffe 2009: 178). In addition, as of February 18, 2008, Clinton and Obama held 50.2% and 49.8% of the popular vote in primary elections (Tumulty 2008). Close results in the popular vote made superdelegate support extremely important in the 2008 election cycle. However, superdelegates, particularly those members of congress who held elected offices, had to make a critical choice – to lend their vote to the candidate that won the popular vote in their voting district, or to support the candidate of their choice despite the results of their voting districts. The latter choice was risky, particularly for superdelegates whose votes went against the wishes of their constituents. In fact, after strong gains in the popular vote, Obama argued in an interview that "those [super-delegates] who are elected officials, party insiders, would have to think long and hard about how they approach the nomination when the people they claim to represent have said, 'Obama's our guy'" (Hook and Barabak 2008). Democratic National Committee member Donna Brazile also threatened to give up her position in the Democratic party if superdelegate votes overturned popular votes ("Brazile: I'll quit…," 2008). Yet, superdelegates were still conflicted by the opportunity to make a history by supporting the election of the first African American or woman for president. As House Majority Whip Jim Clyburn pointed out in a 2008 interview, "It's a very emotional thing. People who have been waiting for years to vote for a woman or a black find themselves conflicted having to make a choice between the two at one time. That's very, very tough, especially on African American women" (Tapper 2008).

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Several superdelegates attended the 2008 State of the Black Union and included U.S. House of Representatives members Eleanor Holmes Norton and Sheila Jackson-Lee, Democratic National Committee members Donna Brazile and Stephanie Tubbs Jones, and New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin (elected as a superdelegate on May 3, 2008[10]).[11]

1.4   Event Setting

The 2008 SBU was held on February 23, 2008 at the Ernest N. Morial Convention Center Conference Auditorium in New Orleans, Louisiana. There were 4,500 registrants for the event ("State of the Black Union Opens," 2008).

During each session of the even, panelists for the symposium sat on a stage in a row facing the audience members while Smiley stood at a podium on the left side of the stage. The co-host for the event, radio and television host Tom Joyner, fielded questions from audience members from the floor seating area of the auditorium. A sketch of the seating plan is presented in Figure 2 followed by a list of speakers in Figure 3.

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[10] See The Caucus: The Politics and Government Blog of the Times (2008)
[11] See "Democratic super delegates" (n.d.); "Barack Obama: Identified Super Delegates" (n.d.); and "Brazile: I'll quit," (2008)

Figure 2: SBU Main Stage Seating Plan

| P | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |

Main Stage

| Floor Seating | A (Standing) | Floor Seating |
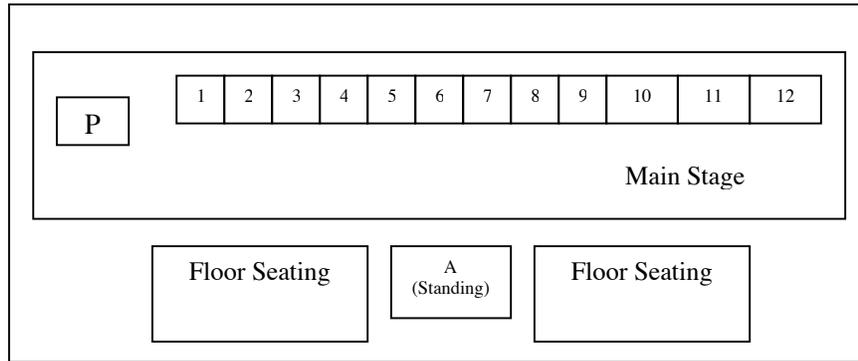
Figure 3: SBU Speaker List and Seating Position

Position	Morning Session	Afternoon Session
P	Tavis Smiley	Tavis Smiley
1	Eleanor Holmes Norton	Dr. Na'im Akbar
2	Dr. Norman Francis	Stephanie L. Woodward
3	Angela Glover Blackwell	Michael Steele
4	Rev. Jesse Jackson	Dr. Eddie Glaude, Jr.
5	Mayor Ray Nagin	Sheila Jackson Lee
6	Naomi Churchill Earp	Dr. Cornel West
7	Dr. Michael Eric Dyson	Donna Brazile
8	Cleo Fields	Dick Gregory
9	Stephanie Tubbs Jones	Nicole C. Lee
10	Darron Boyce	Dr. Robert Franklin
11	Pastor Melvin Jones	Rev. Al Sharpton
12	---	Herreast Harrison
A	Tom Joyner	Tom Joyner

Panelists sat on a raised, lighted platform, while audience members were seated in darkened seats in rows of floor seating at the front of the stage and elevated rows of seats in the auditorium. A sketch of the auditorium layout is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4: SBU Auditorium Layout
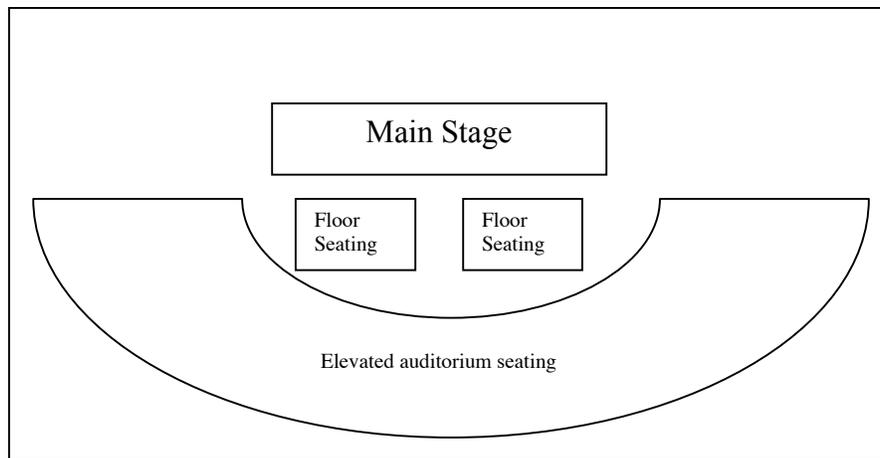
The 2008 forum involved a morning session that lasted 3 hours 26 minutes, an afternoon session that lasted 3 hours 53 minutes, an intermission activity featuring educational seminars lasting one hour, and a speech and a question and answer session with presidential candidate Hillary Clinton lasting 46 minutes. The morning and afternoon sessions were structured to include: sponsor introductions and announcements by the moderator; a brief speech from Lt. Governor Mitchell Landrieu at the beginning of the afternoon session; questions from the moderator directed at the panelists; five to twenty minute speeches by panelists in response to moderator questions; questions and commentaries on panelist speeches from the moderator; and questions from members of the audience.

While demographic data about the live audience members for the 2008 symposium were unavailable at the time of this study, Smiley explicitly describes the symposium as a space for blacks to discuss issues in their community. In other words, the symposium seems to be geared

towards a mainly black live audience. This is confirmed through visual inspection of the video that reveals a predominantly black, yet multicultural, audience.

1.5   Interactional Frameworks of the Event

While the previous sections described the historical and political context for the speakers and the event, this section provides information about the participants' metapragmatic understanding of the event. Overall, the participant's awareness of the "types" of events that they are engaged in are important for how they interpret what is going on. In fact, Gumperz (1982) argues that

> communication is a social activity requiring the coordinated efforts of two or more individuals…Before even deciding to take part in an interaction, we need to be able to infer, if only in the most general terms, what the interaction is about and what is expected of us. For example, we must be able to agree on whether we are just chatting to pass the time, exchanging anecdotes or experiences, or just whether the intent is to explore the details of particular issues. Once involved in a conversation, both speaker and hearer must actively respond to what transpires by signaling involvement (1982: 1)

By examining the participant's understandings of the frameworks that are at play for this event, we can also determine when new frames of interaction come about and how speakers derive meaning from these shifts in interactional framework, particularly in terms of the situated identities (and the rights and obligations that these identities evoke).

First, the gathering is explicitly described as a symposium by Smiley in his website describing the event ("State of the Black Union," n.d.). In terms of the interactional expectations, one can argue that interactions in conferences and symposia (and the platform monologues given during conferences) involve limited audience participation/interruption during

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the course of the moderator or panelist's initial speech and presentation (Schegloff 1987;

Goffman 1981). For example, Goffman (1981), describing the *platform monologue*, argues that

> when talk comes from the podium, what does the hearing is an audience, not a set
> of fellow conversationalists. Audiences hear in a way special to them…Indeed,
> and fundamentally, the role of the audience is to appreciate remarks made, not to
> reply in any direct way… "back-channel" response alone is what is meant to be
> available to them. They give the floor but (except during the question period)
> rarely get it (1981: 137-138).

Thus, in the conferences or symposia that provide a context for platform monologues,

one would expect speakers to inhabit the situational identities of moderator/panelist/conference

attendee that calls for uninterrupted presentations of information by the moderator or panelist

followed by questions from the audience members.

That participants orient to these situational identities becomes clear in moments like

excerpt (1) below, a stretch of speech uttered by the moderator following the break between the

morning and afternoon session of the SBU. Here, Smiley engages in what I will call "doing

symposium" where he introduces the panelists of the symposium and sponsors or provides

details about the day's events.   For the remainder of this dissertation, speaker names will be

abbreviated as follows: TS = Tavis Smiley, CF= Cleo Fields, SJL= Sheila Jackson Lee, EG =

Eddie Glaude, CW = Cornel West, and Aud= audience. (Discourse-level transcription

conventions can be found in Chapter 3 and Appendix D[12]).

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[12]Discourse-level transcriptions are provided in the body of the text where suprasegmental features are relevant for the analysis; otherwise, word-level transcriptions are provided. Complete discourse-level transcriptions of speeches given by Fields, Glaude, and Jackson Lee are provided in Appendix E.

(1)

1	TS:	Through<u>out</u> today's <u>proceedings</u> the <u>ushers</u> >will be moving throughout the <u>aisles</u>
2		as they were in the <u>first</u> session<(.5) to <u>pick</u> up<u> your</u> (1) uh <u>index</u> <u>cards</u> that you
3		were given on >which you might want to write a <u>question</u>,< (.) and we will try
4		to get to those<u> questions</u> (.) uh (.) near the <u>end</u> of >the panel discussion we'll get
5		to some of <u>your</u> questions (.5) here in the audience and if you are >watching at
6		<u>home</u> or wherever you might <u>be</u>< (.5) you can log on to <u>black</u> America we:b (.)
7		dot com <u>black</u> (.) <u>America</u>(.)<u>web</u> dot com to submit a question and we might just
8		get to it <u>that</u> way if you submit it (.) via (.) the internet (.) now very quickly
9		(.5) just three other items that I <u>want</u> to share with you that you might uh find of
10		particular <u>interest</u>,(.5) and then we are ready to go. (.) Item number one…

Smiley further displays his orientation to this interactional framework with the speaking style that he uses to construct his message. In fact, this speaking style (which features frequent stretches of rapid speech, stress on main content words, and brief pauses throughout and at the ends of sentences) seems to highlight Smiley's role as event moderator. Within this role, Smiley provides clearly articulated information about the structure of the event without being interrupted by the audience. In fact, the long stretches of rapid speech seem to discourage audience interruption and interaction while important information is conveyed. Furthermore, audience members are explicitly encouraged to ask questions on index cards which would be answered at an allotted time *after* panelists finish their primary speeches.

Furthermore, the speaker and audience orientation to the event as a formal, symposium is also reinforced through the physical arrangement of the stage and general seating area. Panelists for the symposium sit on a stage in a row facing the audience members while Smiley stands at a podium on the left side of the stage. Furthermore, panelists are on a raised, lighted platform, while audience members are seated in darkened seats in front of the stage. This physical arrangement (which foregrounds the panelists and masks the individual identities of the audience members) has the effect of highlighting the fact that speakers are delivering a type of platform

monologue typical of a symposium or political speech rather than face-to-face interaction in a conversation.

While the event is framed as a symposium through both linguistic and physical means, There are other linguistic and semiotic cues that leave room for the re-framing (or even co-framing) of event as a "conversation," "dialogue," and "discussion" between panelists and audience members. For example, in the first lines of an open letter to 2008 conference participants, Smiley says "Thank you for joining us in New Orleans for this year's conversation" (Smiley 2008). In addition, the participants in this study acknowledge the potential for having a "dialogue," "discourse" or "debate" with the participants. For example, Sheila Jackson Lee utilizes the terms "dialogue" and "discourse" to describe the day's events in (2) below:

(2)

```
1      SJL:   uh this room has um a sprinkling of those Tavis who are diverse.
2             and I do think that is an important note of this dialogue and discourse.
```

In addition, Cleo Fields describes the event as a "civil intellectual debate" in (3) below:

(3)

```
1      CF:    well first of all Tavis let me uh thank you for having this civil intellectual
2             debate today.
```

Finally, Eddie Glaude, Jr. describes his hopes for having "dialogue" with his audience members about the importance of race in the context of the 2008 presidential elections in (4):

(4)

```
1    EG:    so the question we have to ask ourselves what is the backdrop of
2           asking that question of making that que- that utterance in
3           this moment what's the storm and stress of today Now when we ask
4           that question I hope we dialogue about it.
```

As these excerpts indicate each of the speakers present an understanding of the SBU as a space for dialogue, discussion and debate. While it is clear that, due to the size of the audience and physical seating arrangements, audience members would be precluded from engaging in true face-to-face debate or dialogue, there is still room for them to signal their engagement through backchanneling typical of conversations.

Interestingly, this informal interactional framework is further supported by the semiotic cues from the seating arrangement. Thus, while panelists are seated on a platform that separates them from the audience, they are seated in plush chairs reminiscent of furniture that would typically be found in the living room of a home or other intimate conversational spaces. Speakers often shift their bodily orientation to face each other during panelist monologues. This additional physical cue, which signals a more intimate conversational setting, leaves room for speakers to blur the lines between conversation and symposium frameworks such that panelists can turn and engage each other face-to-face, or they can encourage more interaction from their audience members.

In the frameworks described thus far, speakers and audience members seem to have available the situated roles of moderator/panelist/conference attendee or conversationalist/conversationalist (albeit constrained by the seating arrangement). While inhabiting the moderator or panelist roles, speakers provide key information about the event and organize their talk using consistent pacing and pausing and relatively stable intonation.

Furthermore, audience members show their orientation to each of these roles by providing applause or laughter as backchannel cues or by talking back to the speaker.

However, in addition to symposium and conversational frameworks, the event is (both explicitly and implicitly) framed as a church or religious gathering, a domain where preaching style and sermonizing are common. Evidence of this framework occurs first in the morning session which began with an invocation and prayer from Reverend Dr. C.S. Gordon, the Pastor of New Zion Baptist Church. Smiley also engages in call and response with the audience and explicitly refers to the audience as a "church." This is demonstrated in excerpt (5) below where he requests confirmation by asking "can the church say amen" in line 3:

(5)

```
1     TS:    we want you to vote your conscience we just want to use the
2            deliberatous space every year to prick that conscience, but we gotta do
3            it with a love language. Can the church say amen?
4     Aud:   amen
```

In this particular interaction, the speaker and audience members are actively engaged in the interaction. However, rather than just providing laughter or applause, the audience members are proving an answer that ratifies the host's stance on the civil nature of the event. This kind of response allows the host to gain confirmation that his stance has been taken up, and allows him to proceed with the events.

Interestingly, this shift to doing church reflects an important component of black life – the role of the church as an important political and social institution. In the next section I will discuss the historical significance of the black church, its impact on black public speakers and the situational norms for black church interactions.

2   The Sacred and The Secular

2.1   The Sacred-Secular Dimension of Black Language

Black oratory is particularly grounded in the sacred-secular continuum of black speech

where "those closest to the spiritual realm assume priority in social relationships" and "only

those blacks who can perform stunning feats of oral gymnastics become culture heroes and

leaders in the community" (Smitherman 1977: 76). This sacred-secular continuum, with its

emphasis on verbal performance and its foundation in a spiritual world-view, is the thread that

unifies the speaking styles of a wide array of black speakers from poets, disc-jockeys, and

rappers, to politicians, academicians and preachers.

Importantly, black preaching style is part of the AAE tradition whereby the 'man of

words' and his verbal dexterity is highly valued in the black community. The importance of this

dexterity is evidenced in the work of Abrahams (1970) who classifies two important types of

'men of words' in black communities. First, *broad talkers* are "those who rely on wit and other

verbally economical devices, and who commonly use the informal, creole-based code as their

medium" (505-506). Secondly, *good talkers* are "those who rely on ornamental diction and

elaborated grammar and syntax, and who gravitate toward an approximation of Standard English

as their primary medium of expression" (506). Overall, when considering how speech is valued

in the black community, Abrahams (1976) argues that

> emphasis on effective talking found throughout Afro-America, the demand for
> copiousness and verbal adaptability on the part of the speaker, the expectation that
> a speaker will elicit a high decree of verbal and kinesthetic feedback from his
> audience….the license to repeat and to utilize the entire range of vocal effects, the
> overlapping of voices, and the open-ended structures of conversation – all of these
> traits and many more are the features of the speaking system which must be

considered in any discussion of the structures and maintenance of Black ways of talking (15-16).

Thus, well-versed public speakers in the black community are always aware that their speech has the potential to create a dynamic shift in their relationship with the audience. In fact, as will be seen in the analysis in Chapter 6, widely recognizable stylistic features of black preaching become highly favorable tools for evoking agreement, most noticeably in the form of "amen" and applause from the audience. Overall, the speakers in this study draw from a domain where the black preacher energetically explicates (biblical) truth while encouraging audience engagement and agreement (Rickford and Rickford 2000).

2.2   The Church and Black Preachers

A survey by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (2008) found that black Americans were the most likely of all ethnic and racial groups in the United States to declare a formal religious affiliation (2008: 8). In this survey, 85% of African Americans identified themselves as Christian, 12% were unaffiliated with any particular religious group and 2% were affiliated with other religions (including Judaism, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism). Interestingly, of the 12% of African Americans who were unaffiliated with any one particular religion, 8% still declared that they found religion to be somewhat important in their lives. Finally, 59% of black adults were affiliated with historically black Protestant churches while 15% and 4% were affiliated with white evangelical and mainstream Protestant churches, respectively (2008: 40-41).

As this survey suggests, black Christian life is an important component of the backgrounds of African American audience members for the State of the Black Union. In fact,

the black church has long been described as a pivotal social institution in the black community (Du Bois 1903; Cogdell and Wilson 1980; Birmingham 1977; Johnson 2010; among others). The earliest, secretive spiritual meetings held by slaves evolved into a highly organized Christian institution which "rapidly became the first, and most powerful, black social institution in America" (Birmingham 1977: 106). W.E. B. Du Bois (1903), in his pivotal work *The Souls of Black Folk*, argued that the black church is the center of black social life where the physical structure of the black church was the site of community organization meetings ranging from church-based Sunday schools to popular entertainment events. According to Higginbotham (1993) "the church itself became the domain for the expression, celebration, and pursuit of a black collective will and identity" (1993: 9). As a central institution, the church provided cohesiveness to the black community and offered blacks important tools to deal with the racial oppression that they experienced in their daily lives (Holt 1972).

Yet, when considering the community's evolving relationship with the church, Benjamin (2007) points out that for African Americans, several different notions of community have evolved since the early 1900s based on pivotal social events that redefined black and white relations and black spiritual life. These social events created three important generational epochs in the modern black community: the World War I generation of individuals born from 1900-1924; the World War II generation of individuals born from 1925-1949; and the civil rights generation of individual born from 1950-1975 (2007: 3). Within each of these epochs, Benjamin argues that blacks had different orientations to a range of social phenomenon including religious life and mainstream American culture. For instance, the World War I generation placed strong emphasis on leadership from community elders and church leaders. Black institutional networks were important sources of education and mentoring for blacks that aspired to a limited

set of occupations including "preacher, teacher, doctor or entrepreneur" (2007: 4). In terms of

religious life, the World War I generation was most closely affiliated with church life. In fact

> The church, the soul of the black community, sustained blacks' hope that they
> could, through stewardship, which was grounded in their spiritual faith, lift
> themselves from the depths of racial oppression and look for a more just world to
> come (2007: 4).

This strong affiliation with the church and other black social institutions shifted with the

World War II generation who experienced a drastic shift in economic conditions. Blacks of this

generation migrated in large numbers to northern cities in pursuit of jobs in stockyards, mills and

the automotive industry, among others (Benjamin 2007: 5). For this generation there was a

"decline in elders' authority; the loosening of established familial, religious and communal ties;

the emergence and acculturation of new styles of behaviors and values" (2007: 5). More

strikingly, the civil rights generation experienced a drastic shift towards equality that challenged

the status quo and the role of authority figures both in and outside the community. Members of

the civil rights generation shifted to a more individualistic outlook that contrasted sharply with

the more communal outlook of earlier generations. In addition, blacks of this generation

participated in protest movements that challenged fundamental values as well as class, gender

and economic divides in American culture (2007: 6).

Despite these shifts in community and religious orientation since the 1900s, the centrality

of the church cannot be denied in the modern black community. As Cogdell and Wilson (1980)

argue, members of the black community have historically seen the church as a place of refuge

and escape from the (racial, social and economic) injustice of everyday life. Members of the

community could take on leadership roles in the church which "compensates for their lack of recognition in the white community" (1980: 32).

Within this context, the preacher occupied one of the highest and most visible leadership positions in the black community (Holt 1972). As Du Bois (1903) observes

> the Preacher is the most unique personality developed by the Negro on American soil. A leader, a politician, an orator, a "boss," an intriguer, and idealist, -all these he is, and ever, too, the centre of a group of men…The combination of a certain adroitness with deep-seated earnestness, of tact with consummate ability, gave him his preeminence, and helps him maintain it (1903: 155).

In addition, the black preacher holds a critical position as mediator between the sacred and secular. In fact, the black preacher was a multipurpose figure that served (in times as early as slavery) as

> the healer of the sick, the interpreter of the Unknown, the comforter of the sorrowing, the supernatural avenger of wrong, and the one who rudely but picturesquely expressed the longing, disappointment, and resentment of a stolen and oppressed people (Du Bois 1903: 159).

Associated with this position is the high level of esteem and respect accorded to both the preacher and their family and an accompanying mystical view of the preacher as mediator between sacred and secular domains of everyday life. In other words, this esteemed leader carries a great deal of social and political clout in the black community that sees the church as a critical source of spiritual and social support.

Furthermore, as the preacher performs their most iconic duty – that of providing moving and inspirational messages during church services– their linguistic performances become tools for engaging the congregation in a highly interactive religious event. During this event, the

suprasegmental and rhetorical features of preaching style send signals to the congregation about what information is critical in the preacher's message and provide an invitation to congregation members to provide a direct critique of the message as it unfolds. This creates a potentially threatening position for the preacher whose message may not be ratified by audience members. However, the benefits of this interactive move may outweigh this threat in that preachers can use audience feedback in order to re-craft their messages as they unfold in order to make them more favorable to the (potentially resistant) audience.

In addition, in the context of the church service, preachers and congregants are aware of the dual expectations that: 1) the preacher will provide important spiritual information that will allow congregants to survive the challenges of daily life, and 2) the congregants will provide vocal cues signaling their ratification of the preacher's message. Thus, preacher-congregant interactions come with an implicit schema for the rights and obligations, or interactional expectations for participants. In short, in the context of the church, situated identities of preacher-congregant hold important expectations regarding the kinds of roles that preachers and congregants perform.

2.3   The Church and Politics

The connection between black churches and black public speakers has its roots in the increasingly public and political nature of black churches. For example, the origins of role of the church as a place of refuge from racial inequalities can be found in the early establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination and other independent black congregations that were formed order to avoid racism that they faced from white Christians of the same denominations (Johnson 2010: 451). Furthermore, due to the rapid urbanization of the black

community after the Civil war, the black church began to take on an additional role as an important political institution. While 90 percent of blacks lived in the South immediately after the Civil War, mass migrations of blacks to the North between 1916 and 1930 brought large portions of the black community into Northern urban centers (Johnson 2010: 454). In fact "urbanization produced majority concentrations of blacks for the first time in northern cities" (2010: 457). The growing black community in urban centers led to "white flight" creating voting districts that were dominated by African Americans. As Johnson points out

> The ministers of black churches in these contexts were quick to seize upon this leverage and brokered agreements with politicians by agreeing to promote a particular candidate in their churches in exchange for political favors such as parks for African Americans, appointments of blacks to public office, etc. (2010: 457).

Continuing into the civil rights era, the connection between black religious domains and political activism is clearly demonstrated, especially with the establishment of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (whose aim was to end segregation in public transportation) in 1957 and the election of Martin Luther King, Jr. as its chair. Facing attack and opposition, both from private and government sources, the SCLC created a new era in religious expression whereby "the violent reality of racism and apartheid ultimately compelled a concerted resistance from within the South's Black Belt to express their religion in stridently political terms" (Johnson 2010: 458).

In the post civil-rights era, black religious life and politics remain strongly intertwined. In fact, as the black theology movement grew, "African American theologians and religious scholars began to articulate a formal black theology based on the sources and norms of American history and political imperative" (Johnson 2010: 459). Though black theology did not become

widespread in most churches, it still had the effect of drawing attention to the complexity of race and the spiritual history of the United States. In addition, churches continue to place emphasis on political concerns which is

> particularly true for the growing number of African American Christians who have become wed to the conservative fundamentalist sectors of American Christianity. These churches increasingly deploy Christian nationalism and biblical literalism to define their Christian identities (Johnson 2010: 460).

Given the connection between the church, church leaders (such as Martin Luther King and Jesse Jackson), and political activism, the shift to "doing church" during the State of the Black Union is not unusual since it represents the intersection of sacred and secular dimensions of black life. Furthermore, as black church leaders took their oratorical styles to the political stage, preaching style became a visible and recognizable component of American political life.

3   Discussion

This historical account presented in the previous sections suggests that the black church is a recognizable, if not central social institution for the African American speakers and audience members in this study. Despite the fact that there may be a great deal of variation in religious and spiritual affiliation in the black community, the strong influence of black Christian life becomes evident from the ways that black church themes and practices are introduced into the context of the SBU. This observation supports Cogdell and Wilson (1980)'s findings about the centrality of the church in the black experience. As they argue, the church's influence can be seen in the ways that individuals in their study respond to questions about their attendance at church. Thus

If the respondent is in regular attendance, pride and self-adulation are expressed; if otherwise, responses may be negative, belligerent and even defensive. But deep down there will be a nagging feeling of guilt born out of the inherent belief that God, through the pastor and church, has a hold on everyone (1980: 28)

In fact, the "hold" of the church in black life is evident in the ways that speakers in this study evoke religious themes and language, as well as the fact that the event is opened with a prayer by the Reverend Dr. C.S. Gordon, the Pastor of New Zion Baptist Church. Thus, the SBU is positioned by organizers and participants at the critical juncture between religious and political life in the black community.

With this in mind, the participants' metapragmatic understandings of the event and its potential interactional frameworks also reflect the available participant interactional roles or (Rights and Obligation sets) that may be in play for this event. Thus, while the event is described as a symposium and a conversation between black leaders and black community members, the participants also create room for a sacred dimension of interaction. This third dimension is important since it evokes a different set of interactional norms and speaker-hearer roles (or Rights and Obligations sets). A brief summary of the features of each interactional framework as well as the potential Rights and Obligation sets are described in Table 7.

Table 7: Interactional Frameworks and RO sets

Framework	Features	Situated Identities and Rights and Obligations
conference	• Platform monologue by panelist • Limited audience participation or interruption except for backchannel responses (i.e. applause) • Audience response/questions following panelist speech • Moderator and panelists seated on raised platform or at podium in front of an audience	**Moderator** • Organizes event by providing outline of events and allocating speaker (and audience) turns **Panelist** • Provides platform monologue in response to moderator questions **Conference Attendee** • (Silently) receives content of speeches • Responds with questions and commentary at allocated times • Display engagement with applause and laughter
conversation	• Extensive turn-taking • Potential overlap • Back-channeling to signal engagement	**Conversationalists** • potentially lengthy dialogue with turn-taking • directly respond to fellow conversationalists as talk unfolds
church	• Preacher positioned on raised platform or in front of congregation • Delivery of sermon (using preaching style) • Audience engagement (through call and response, shouting "amen")	**Preacher** • Presentation of biblical "truth" • Active engagement in call and response throughout the sermon **Congregation** • Ratification of preacher's message through "amen" and other vocal shows of support • Active engagement in call and response throughout the sermon

In terms of rights and obligations, Smiley's speaking style (which features frequent stretches of rapid speech, emphasis on main content words, and brief pauses throughout and at the ends of sentences) seems to highlight his role as event moderator. Within this role, Smiley

has the obligation of giving the audience pertinent, clearly articulated information about the structure of the event while having the right not to be interrupted by the audience as he provides organizational information. In fact, the long stretches of rapid speech seem to discourage audience interruption and interaction while certain background information is conveyed. Furthermore, speakers inhabit the situated role of panelist by providing platform monologues where they provide information about their political views or the state of the black community. Audience members inhabit the role of conference attendee by refraining from interrupting the panelist or moderator until allotted times and signal their involvement through applause or laughter.

At other times, speakers also shift towards a framework that is more conversational in nature. In terms of rights and obligations, the speaker signals, through breaks in their speech, or by telling jokes, that the audience is welcomed to actively participate in the dialogue at which point audience responds with laughter. In some cases, co-panelists directly comment on the speeches that are unfolding, and panelist speeches are intersected with laughter and applause from the audience members.

Most importantly the interactional norms for church gatherings provide that there will be a presentation of (usually biblical) "truth" on the part of the authoritative preacher figure, audience response/ratification of that "truth" in the form of "amen", and overall active engagement on the part of the audience at each point of the preacher's presentation.

In fact, as the data in chapter 6 reveals, the use of preaching style indicates a shift in RO set and understanding of the type of event that is being performed (i.e. a shift from "doing symposium" or "doing conversation" to "doing church") and the speaker and interlocutor's relationships (i.e. from symposium-goers or conversation partners to congregation members). In

addition, speakers create the potential for gaining benefits when they take on the "rights" that accompany being a preacher (i.e. elevated status and respect, audience agreement, and ethnic affiliation) while at the same time fulfilling the "obligations" of giving truth and clear guidance on social matters.

Observations about the interactional framework of the event become essential for understanding the linguistic behavior of the participants, particularly in light of the political context of the event. As described above, the 2008 SBU occurred during a tense political moment in the African American community. As African Americans were poised to select the first African American president, the superdelegates and politicians at the event were under heavy scrutiny regarding their candidate of choice. Superdelegates and politicians at the SBU who offered support for Hillary Clinton faced ridicule and threats of being ostracized for supporting a white candidate. Furthermore, questions about the importance of race became salient during the SBU given the historical significance of electing an African American as president. Thus, the potential shift to a framework of "doing church" as opposed to "doing conference" or "doing symposium" is critical since the RO sets of doing church (which include providing supportive feedback for the speaker) provide a favorable context for potentially controversial political and social stances.

Chapter 5: Variation Analysis

This chapter provides an analysis of the phonological, syntactic and morphological features of AAE (as well as the departures from MAE syntax) that are used by the black public speakers in this study. As scholars widen the scope of research on African American speech, the patterns of linguistic variation in non-working class individuals including members of the middle class (Linnes 1998), black entertainers and comedians (Rahman 2007; Hay et al. 1999) and black public figures (Weldon 2004; Kendall and Wolfram 2009) become more important for a complete understanding of black speech. In light of the importance of widening the scope of AAE research, this chapter contributes to this growing body of research non-working class AAE.

1   Phonological Features of AAE

Phonetic transcriptions were made of the speeches given by Cleo Fields, Sheila Jackson Lee, and Eddie Glaude. The transcriptions were examined for the presence of features of AAE phonology reported in Labov (1972a), Baugh (1983), Rickford (1999) and Green (2002). (A summary of the AAE phonological features examined is presented in Appendix A).

For the AAE features identified, the number of relevant contexts for each of the features were identified and compared to number of actual instances that the features were realized in the speeches. A summary of the high frequency features, the number of times that these features were realized, and the number of available contexts is provided in Table 8. Furthermore, Figure 5 displays the distributions of these high frequency features (based on the percentage of AAE contexts that were realized) for each speaker. Low frequency features will be discussed in section 1.6.

Table 8: Distribution of High Frequency AAE Phonological Features:

Cells display incidence of variants/total environments and percentages

Feature	Example	Cleo Fields	Sheila Jackson Lee	Eddie Glaude, Jr.
word-final consonant cluster reduction for clusters with same voicing feature and negative items (*ain't* and *don't*)	and [æn]	47/58 (81%)	67/121 (55%)	26/55 (47%)
g-dropping	having [hævɪn]	8/10 (80%)	6/48 (12.5%)	---
/ai/ monophthongization	I [a]	33/53 (62.26%)	10/118 (8.47%)	3/26 (11.54%)
fricative stopping of ð to [d] in word-initial position	This [dɪs]	35/60 (58.33%)	6/230 (2.61%)	1/97 (1.03%)
r-lessness	center [sɪntə]	17/61 (27.86%)	19/278 (6.83%)	11/88 (12.5%)

Figure 5: High frequency AAE phonological features by speaker (Percentages)
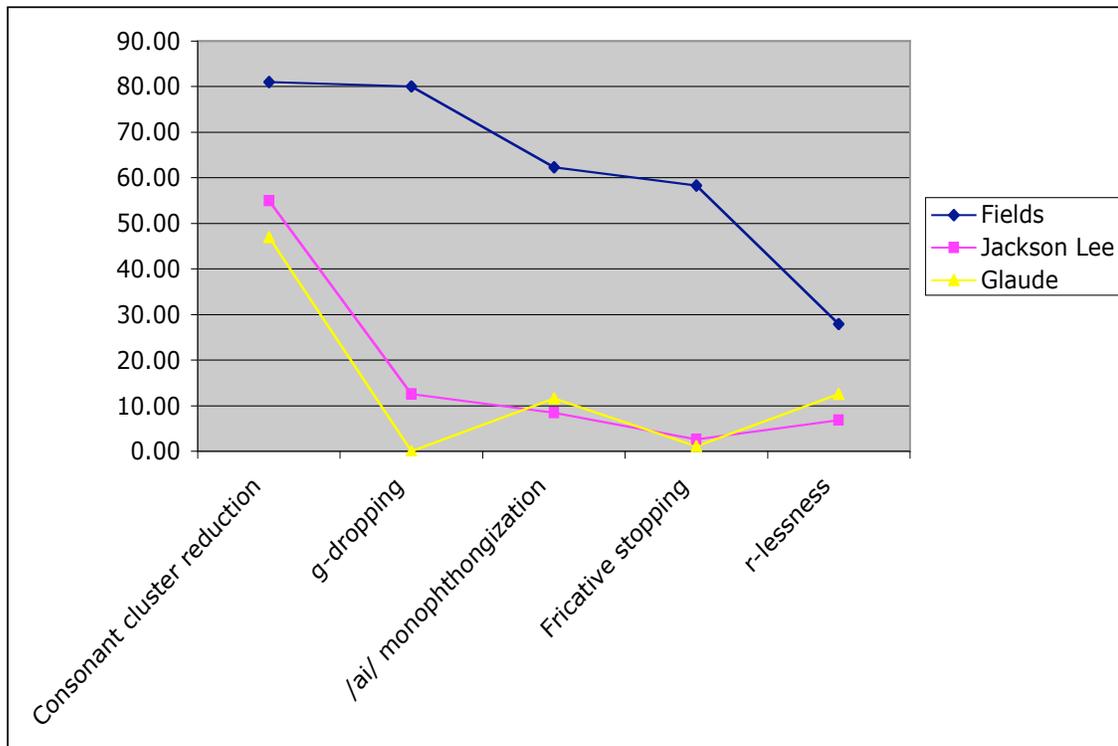
1.1   Consonant Cluster Reduction

According to Labov (1972a), word-final consonant cluster reduction is a common process in black speech and, although this process is shared by whites, it has a wider social distribution amongst blacks than whites (1972a:17). The primary consonant clusters that are involved in reduction are those that end in /t/ or /d/ (most often reducing clusters ending in –st, -ft, -nd, -nt, -ld, -zd, and –md), /s/ or /z/, and the clusters –*sp* and –*sk* (Labov 1972a). Additionally, consonant clusters can only be reduced when both consonants share the voicing feature (except in the case of negative forms like *ain't* and *don't*) (Rickford 1999).

Baugh (1983) also points out that in black street speech, /s/, /t/ and /d/ reduction is conditioned by the grammatical function of the ending such that endings that do not serve a grammatical role are more likely to be reduced while those that are ambiguous (i.e. they mark past tense in words that also have changes in pronunciation that mark the past tense such as *kept*, *told* and *left*) or have a grammatical function (such as marking the past tense) are least likely to be reduced (1983: 98). Green (2002) also points out that important conditioning factors for consonant cluster reduction include 1) the use of casual or careful speech (such that clusters are more likely retained in careful speech), 2) the addition of a suffix that begins with consonants or vowels (i.e. consonant clusters are more likely retained before suffixes that begin with vowels, while clusters are more likely reduced when the following suffix begins with a consonant[13]) and 3) whether the following word begins with a consonant vowel[14].

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[13] Although reduction may occur if the cluster precedes the suffixes –*er* and –*ing* while clusters preceding –*able* are more likely to be retained. (Green 2009: 112-113)
[14] Thomas (2007) points out that although most dialects delete the stop in the consonant cluster –*st* when the following word begins with a consonant, AAVE speakers are more likely than middle class AAE speakers and European American English speakers to reduce the cluster when the following word begins with a vowel (i.e. "past a house" becomes "pas'a house")(2007:455)

Consonant cluster reduction is the most common feature for all of the speakers in this study. For word-final consonant clusters with the same voicing feature and the final cluster of negative items (such as *ain't* and *don't*) Fields shows 81% reduction followed by Jackson Lee (with 55% reduction) and Glaude (with 47% reduction).

1.2   g-dropping

As Wolfram and Shilling-Estes (2006) point out, "g-dropping," or fronting of the velar nasal, is common in vernacular varieties of English, yet this feature has also been attested in the speech of African Americans (Pitts 1993; Rickford 1999; Weldon 2004). Velar nasal fronting also has clear associations with attention to speech and informality not only for AAE speakers, but across American English dialects (Pitts 1993). Rates of velar nasal fronting seem to indicate pronounced differences between Fields (who g-drops in 80 percent of the contexts) and Jackson Lee (who g-drops in 12.5% of the contexts) and Glaude (who does not participate in g-dropping).

1.3   /ai/ Monophthongization

Although /ai/ monophthongization is a feature that has also been attested in both black and white speech, particularly in the South (Thomas 2007), it has been shown to have important associations with ethnic identity for African Americans, and black public figures in particular. For example, in examining /ai/ monophthongization in the speech of African American talk show host Ophrah Winfrey, Hay et al. (1999) found that the presence of an African American referee significantly increases the Winfrey's rates of monophthongization.

Rahman (2007), in examining African American narrative comedy, also found that diphthongal and monophthongal variations of /ai/ can be strategically utilized by comedians in

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order to construct middle-class, white establishment characters (who use diphtongal /ai/) and

down to earth African American characters (who use monophthongal /ai/). Furthermore,

Rahman points out that even in cases where other segmental features of AAE are not present,

monophthongal variants of /ai/ are likely to be present in black speech. Overall, /ai/

monophthongization seems to be an important indicator of African American identity and

community membership, particularly for black public speakers and entertainers. Again, Fields

displays the highest rates of /ai/ monophthongization (with 62.26% of the instances of /ai/

realized as a monophthong) while Glaude and Jackson Lee have the lowest instances of /ai/

monophthongization (at 11.54% and 8.47% respectively).

1.4   Interdental Fricative Substitution

Next, when examining the speech of street youths in New York City, Labov et al. (1968)

found that rates of interdental fricative substitution dropped as speaking contexts became more

formal. For adults, Labov et al. found that, particularly for voiced interdental fricatives, working

class northerners and southerners had the highest frequency of substitution in informal settings

while middle-class adult speakers had the lowest rates of substitution in informal settings. Both

working class and middle-class adults also demonstrated sensitivity to formality in that all

groups such that the rates of fricative substitution drops with formality. However, lower class

adults in the south (i.e. those without a high school education engaged in unskilled occupations)

show a slight rise in voiced interdental fricative substitution in (more formal) single interviews.

Labov et al. found that, as a group, adults do not display regular style shifting patterns for

interdental fricative substitution with a great deal of variation across individual speakers. In

addition Thomas (2007) points out that interdental fricative substitutions are less common in

Detroit for African American women, speakers of higher social class and speakers with higher rates of contact with whites (citing Wolfram 1969) and that interdental fricative substitution is found for blacks and whites in the Gulf states, but is more common for African Americans in this area (citing the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States or *LAGS*).

As Rickford (1999) points out, Fricative stopping in African American speech may involve realization of [θ] as *t* word initially and as *f* word medially and finally or the realization of [ð] as *d* word initially and as *v* word medially and finally. For the speakers in this study, the only variant of fricative stopping that appeared is the realization of [ð] as *d* word initially. For this feature, Fields displays the highest rates of fricative stopping with (at 58.33%) while Jackson Lee and Glaude are the most conservative with respect to this feature (at 2.61% and 1.03% respectively)

1.5   Rates of r-lessness

While r-lessness is a feature that is present in both black and white speech, Thomas (2007) points out that African Americans show greater rates of r-lessness when compared to European Americans. As a feature that is subject to situational style shifting, rates of r-lessness in African American speech have been shown to decrease with formal contexts and formal speaking styles. For example, Labov (1972a), in his examination of vernacular variants in the speech of preadolescent youths (both white and black) and middle-class adults, found that for all groups, rates of r-lessness increased in informal settings that favored vernacular speaking styles while r-fullness increased for all groups in formal speaking styles. When comparing speech in settings ranging from informal interviews to reading lists and isolated word lists, Labov found

that middle-class speakers showed more extreme stylistic shifts than working-class speakers. The sensitivity of r-lessness to style shifting is also supported by Baugh (1983) who found that in black street speech, rates of r-lessness correspond to situational formality.

However, Thomas (2007) points out that rates of r-lessness can vary widely in the black community depending on the specific community of speakers. For example, (citing Thomas (1989/1993), Hinton and Pollock (2000), Labov et al. (1968) and Anshen (1970)), Thomas (2007) points out that speakers can have almost no instances of r-lessness (in Ohio and Iowa) to over 90% realization of r-lessness (in New York and North Carolina). Kendall and Wolfram (2009) also found that a black, female mayor in her late forties utilized post-vocalic r-lessness 41.9 percent of the time (or in 39 instances out of 93 available environments) when giving public addresses in a predominantly black community. In the same study, the town manager, a black male in his mid fifties, demonstrated r-lessness 61.7 percent of the time (or in 42 instances out of 68 available environments) in a radio interview with a wider, ethnically mixed audience and a white radio host.

The speakers in this study fall on a continuum of with respect to r-lessness. While Sheila Jackson Lee has more r-ful speech (with only 6.83% of her speech being r-less), Cleo Fields and Eddie Glaude exhibit higher instances of r-lessness (at 27.86% and 12.5% respectively).

1.6   Other AAE Phonological Features

In addition to the high-frequency phonological features described in the previous sections, Cleo Fields utilizes one instance of bisyllabic foresstressing, three instances of unstressed syllable deletion, three instances of deletion and vocalization of /l/ after a vowel, and one instance of devoicing of a word-final voiced stop after a vowel. Sheila Jackson Lee also

displays one instance of unstressed syllable deletion. Eddie Glaude, Jr. has no instances of these

features. A summary of these features with examples is presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Instances of Low Frequency AAE Phonological Features

Feature	Cleo Fields	Sheila Jackson Lee	Eddie Glaude, Jr
stressed first syllable	police [ˈpoʊ.lis]	---	---
unstressed syllable deletion	particularly [pətɪkli] experience [ɪkspɪrɪns] Hillary [hɪɹɚi]	Hillary [hɪri]	---
deletion/vocalization of l after vowel	I'll [aː] well [wə] school [skuː]	---	---
Devoicing of word-final voiced stops after vowel	committed [kəmɪtɪt]	---	---

2   AAE and Non-MAE Syntax and Morphology

In addition to phonological variation, the speeches were examined for the use of syntactic

and morphological markers of AAE (A summary of the AAE syntactic and morphological

features examined appears in Appendix B) as well as non-MAE syntax. A careful examination

of the speech of Cleo Fields, Sheila Jackson Lee and Eddie Glaude reveals only 12 instances of

vernacular AAE or departures from MAE syntax.

Syntactic and morphological features of AAE include copula/auxiliary *is* and *are* deletion

in the present tense, use of *have* instead of "has," the use of *ain't* as a preverbal negator, the use

of *was* with plural subjects, and the use of *y'all* as a second person plural pronoun. Departures

from MAE syntax include novel uses of derivational morphemes, use of the morpheme –est

following the comparative *most*, and using *got* without *have* in a possessive construction. AAE

syntactic and morphological features and non-MAE features are noted in Table 10.

Table 10: Instances of AAE and non-mainstream syntax and morphology

Speaker	Utterance
Cleo Fields	1. They ∅ together on that issue
	2. We got a woman, a minority, and an African American, a minority, running for president
	3. I will be very disappointed and would be ready to fight, 'cause I'm one of those intentional blacks, if somebody raised a finger at this sister who have worked so hard for so long and have been representing black people better than most people can ever dream of
Sheila Jackson Lee	4. We cannot leave here without being fully recognizing that we should draw upon the Samaritan in us
	5. There are those of us in our aging homes that wish we could find some brothers that was painting and building right now
	6. And I think we have a challenge as we go through these elections because we have the most mightiest movement that I've ever seen
	7. I am happy that people are voting but I want you to keep them votingly involved
	8. Now I left one person out. WE Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Sojourner Truth who said ain't I a woman.
	9. I hope y'all will go to my website and get H.R. 4545 I wouldn't be right if I didn't call out a bill number and that is the equalization of crack cocaine.
	10. I need y'all to find that bill
Eddie Glaude, Jr.	11. See. Did y'all hear me?
	12. And so part of what we see in this moment is the very ways in which race have orga-, has organized our very conception of democratic ideals"

Given that Fields, Jackson Lee, and Glaude's speeches lasted 5 minutes and 23 seconds, 15 minutes and 8 seconds, and 5 minutes and 55 seconds, respectively, non-MAE and AAE syntactic features are quite rare in their speech. Similar to the Speakers in Weldon (2004)'s study of black public speakers at the 2004 State of the Black Union, all of the speakers in this study use AAE features at least once (including utterances 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12), although Glaude rephrases his use of *have* in 12 to the MAE *has*. Interestingly, Jackson Lee also uses a number of novel constructions, including 4, 6, and 7 above.

3   Discussion

The phonological, syntactic and morphological features used by the speakers in this study paint an interesting picture of black public speech. First, while the phonological features that appear in this study are more common in African American speech, these features have also been attested in a number of dialects of American English including Southern English and working class white speech. Phonological features that are exclusive to African American communities, particularly in vernacular speech, or that are relatively rare in European American speech (such as metathesis of –sk in *ask* or the substitution of –skr for -str[15]) do not appear in this data set. Of the features of AAE syntax, several features used by the speakers in this study, including the use of *ain't* and *y'all,* have also been attested in Southern English (Cukor-Avila 2001). Furthermore, copula deletion only occurs once in this data set while other syntactic features that are commonly attested in vernacular AAE (such as invariant *be*[16]) are absent. This suggests that the speakers are speaking a variety of AAE that is closer to the standard end of the continuum of African

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[15] See Thomas (2007)
[16] See Labov (1972a) and Baugh (1983)

American speech. As Spears (2007) points out, many African American communities contain speakers who use both vernacular AAE and standard AAE and that speakers may switch between these ends of the continuum depending on their interlocutors (2007: 425). For the speakers in this study it appears that they are using a variety of AAE that allows them to connect with African American audience members, but that they may avoid the features of AAE that would be more stigmatized in academic or mainstream settings, particularly those features that do not overlap with features found in other American English dialects.

Consistent with Weldon (2004) who found that speakers at the 2004 State of the Black union displayed a wide range of AAE features, the speakers in this study also appear to fall along a continuum of AAE feature usage. As pointed out by Weldon, motivations for variations in feature usage may correspond to the moment-by-moment needs of the speaker. For example, Weldon found that the host of the event, Tavis Smiley, used higher rates of AAE features in order to facilitate his duties as a host to be more appealing and facilitate audience interaction. In contrast, speakers who use limited AAE features may be more sensitive to formality.

Overall, this analysis provides a baseline sketch of the speaker's orientation to the AAE speech community. The speakers in this study make limited use of vernacular AAE syntax and phonology, yet all of the speakers use AAE at least once in their speech. Furthermore, the speakers display a range of variability in terms of the types of features used. While a surface look at the rates of AAE phonological and syntactic features would seem to support the notion that African American public speakers display a preference for more mainstream (and less vernacular) styles in public contexts, the analysis of style shifting in the following chapter provides an additional, critical layer of information about the importance of AAE speaking styles – and particularly black preaching - at key moments of interaction.

Chapter 6: Style, Stance and Membership

This chapter provides evidence for the active recruitment of an AAE speaking style –

black preaching – at critical moments in interaction. In fact, an analysis of the membership

categorizations and stance taking moves (in the form of evaluation and affective displays) that

speakers use in the context of preaching style, as well as a discussion of the segmental,

suprasegmental and rhetorical shifts towards preaching style, demonstrates that this speaking

style is actively recruited by the black public speakers in this study. Thus, as speakers make

particular social categorizations and stances interactionally relevant, their use of preaching style

signals a shift in interactional framework allowing audience members to "talk back" to and

confirm the various kinds of stances and identities that speakers have taken up.

In the sections that follow, I will provide an analysis of the style shifting, stance taking

and membership categorization practices for Cleo Fields, Eddie Glaude, and Sheila Jackson Lee,

as well as a discussion of the broader implications of these style shifting practices for the

speakers in this study. In the excerpts presented in this chapter, speaker names are abbreviated

as follows: TS = Tavis Smiley, CF= Cleo Fields, SJL= Sheila Jackson Lee, EG = Eddie Glaude,

CW = Cornel West, and Aud= audience

1   Cleo Fields

For each of the speakers in this study, the moderator questions outline important social

and political issues that they should address in their speeches. Thus, Smiley's question to Cleo

Fields in (1) below highlights the fact that black Americans who have openly supported Hillary

Clinton or who have offered criticisms of Barack Obama have received harsh responses from the

black community including being labeled as "traitors" or "sellouts" (line 14) and have even

received death threats (line 7).

(1)   [Excerpts from Smiley's Question to Cleo Fields] [17]

1	Smiley:	…there are too many black folk, in congress, some of us on radio
2		and television, who have been thrown under the bus…
3		… There's some folk in black America who have been thrown
4		under the bus. For talking about accountability more than anything
5		else. As paramount, and I plead guilty unapologetically. Others, as
6		the congresswoman just suggested, who've been catching hell.
7		Had to change numbers. Some folk getting death threats because
8		of the emotionality and excitement and the lack of wise
9		enthusiasm…
10		…How do we have a conversation inside black America where that
11		kind of animus does not exist? How can we have a conversation
12		about this campaign or any other issue where we are divided in the
13		community without the kind of name calling, the hater talk, the
14		traitor talk, the sell out talk…
15		…The question, How do we have a civil loving dialogue when
16		there is a divide in our community?

The themes highlighted in this excerpt, along with the tense political context (described

in Chapter 4), suggest that Fields, who spoke during the morning session, must walk a fine line

between offering helpful suggestions for creating a civil dialogue in the community about the

freedom of candidate choice (lines 15-16) and his own desire to express his stance regarding his

candidate of choice.

In fact, prior to his use of preaching style, Fields engages in a discussion of his advice for

the community regarding their freedom of choice of political candidate as well as a discussion of

his life experiences (including his childhood aspirations to be president and his experience as a

supporter of Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns). In addition, Fields'

discussion of the 2008 presidential elections includes moments where he provides his evaluative

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[17] The full content of moderator questions for each speaker appears in Appendix C

stance on politicians who support candidates besides Obama. For example, in (2) below, Fields

argues that members of legislature should not be treated badly for their political alliances. In this

excerpt, Fields also uses a number of AAE features including unstressed medial syllable deletion

(line 2), consonant cluster reduction (lines 2, 8, 9, 12, 13) interdental fricative stopping (lines 8,

9, and 11), g-dropping (line 10), /ai/ monophthongization (lines 9 and 15), and final consonant

devoicing (line 8) (IPA transcriptions are provided below words delivered with with AAE

phonology).

(2)

1	CF:	so <u>mem</u>bers of the black <u>cau</u>cus or members of <u>state</u> legislatures who su<u>pport</u>,
2		(2.1) <u>Hill</u>ary ↑<u>Cl</u>inton? (1.5) have a <u>right</u> to <u>do</u> that. (1.3) and they <u>ought</u> (.) not
		[hɪɚ·i] [æn]
3		(.) be (.) <u>rid</u>iculed <u>for</u> it.
4	Aud:	that's right (1.6)
5	CF:	they just <u>really</u> <u>ought</u> not be. (2) Because
6		they <u>all</u> have their own ex<u>peri</u>ences >I can only talk about <u>my</u> experience as a
7		former member of the <u>black</u> caucus < that (.) that group of <u>people</u> let me tell you
8		they're some of the most (1.5) te<u>na</u>cious, (0.6) com<u>mit</u>ted, (2.3) and they're <u>in</u> the
		[kəmɪtɪt] [æn][der]
9		mi<u>no</u>rity and they <u>fight</u> (.) all the time >you're not gonna have them< (1.5) uh
		[æn] [tam] [dɪm]
10		<u>hav</u>ing any dis<u>sen</u>tion about, (1.4) fair <u>hous</u>ing. (1.0) or <u>any</u> dis<u>sen</u>tion about <u>how</u>
		[hævɪn] [haʊzɪn]
11		<u>we</u> (.) give money to HBC↑U:s (.) mister president. (1.4) they to<u>gether</u> on
		[dei]
12		that issue (.) and <u>we</u> ought not di<u>vide</u> ourselves as a com<u>mun</u>ity because we got
		[æn]
13		a <u>wo:ma:n</u> (.) a (.) minority and a (.) an <u>Afri</u>can A<u>meri</u>can (.) a minority
		[æn]
14		running for <u>president</u>. (1.0)
15		<u>I</u> can only give you [<u>my</u> perspective.]
		[ma]
16	Aud:	[x-x-x-][xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
		[------(1.9---------][------------(2.0)---------]

In this example Fields utilizes statements with deontic, or obligational, modality (Fairclough 2003) (signified by "ought" in lines 2, 5 and 12) to take the position that members of legislature should be allowed support their candidate of choice (as a "right") and that they should not receive negative treatment from the community. He goes on to argue that members of the Congressional Black Caucus (including those who have differing opinions on who should be the Democratic candidate for president) are "tenacious" and "committed" (line 8). This suggests that despite their internal differences and political choices, he still evaluates these candidates highly. Here, his stance is clearly positive towards members of legislature who support either Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama as the Democratic candidates for the 2008 election.

Furthermore, in this excerpt Fields comments on the relevance of his overall opinions about the election by saying "I can only talk about my experience as a former member of the black caucus" in lines 6-7 and "I can only give you my perspective" in line 15. In these excerpts, he expresses that his certainty about the outcome of the election is based squarely on his own personal viewpoint and opinion.

Interestingly, his stance taking moves, which suggest the importance of freedom of choice and that downplay his beliefs by grounding them in personal experience (as opposed to objective fact), create a context whereby his use of preaching style becomes more salient. In fact, in the excerpt that follows, Fields utilizes elements of preaching style as a momentary rhetorical device near the climax of his speech where he suggests that Obama will win the election.

In excerpt (3) below, Fields marks his transition to the climax of his talk (and the beginning of his use of preaching style) with pausing, alliteration, vowel repetition, syntactic parallelism, increased volume and elevated tone. While AAE phonological features appear in

this segment of his talk (including vowel monophthongization, consonant cluster deletion and

post-vocalic /r/ vocalization in lines 1, 10, and 12 of Excerpt 3 below), these features are used

sparingly (particularly compared to excerpt 1) and give way to the more salient features of black

preaching style. The first cue to the use of preaching begins in line 2 with the elevated tone

(beginning with "you know"), followed by the repetition of the vowel /i/ in "teach" and "seat" in

lines 2 and 3. Next, syntactic parallelism appears in the use of the verbs "seat", "stand", and

"run" (which are repeated in lines 3 and 5, 7 and 9, and 12 and 19 respectively) followed by the

alliteration of the consonant /m/ in lines 10 and 12.

(3)


```
1       CF     >if I  was in the caucus I would just give em my experience and I would say
                  [a]               [a]      [jʌs]                           [a]
2              ↑you know< WEB Du↑Bo:is , (1)  sta:rted to teach , (1) so Rosa Parks could take
3              her seat  (1)
4       Aud:   amen
5       CF:    and Rosa Parks took her seat  (1.0)
6       Aud:   amen
7       CF:    so we could all take a ↑stand (1.0)
8       Aud:   amen
9       CF:    ((elevated volume and tone)) we took a sta:nd so
10             [Martin Luther could ma:rch,(0.6)
                               [matʃ]
11      Aud:   [x- xx- x-x -xx- x- x- x- x- x- x -x-x-x-x-x-x-x

12      CF:    [Ma:rtin ma:rched so]Jesse Jackson could run,=
                    [matʃt]
13      Aud:   [xx –x –x x-  x- xx x]
14      TS:    [=GON¹⁸ Cleo Fields
               [----------(2.3)---------][---(3.1)---]
15      Aud:   [     ((shouting, whooping))     ]
16      Aud:   [XX- X- XX- XX- XXXXXXXX  [XXXXXXXXXXX]
17      CF:    ((increased volume)) [a:nd (2.8) ]
```

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[18] or *go on*; similar in function to "go head", "tell it" and other verbal comments and emotional
responses described in Smitherman 1977: 104-107.

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```
                  [--------(7.0)---------------------]
18      Aud:      [XXXXXxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-x
19      CF:       [and ↑Jesse (1.3) Jesse Jackson ↑ran=


                  [--------(1.3)------]
20      Aud:      [x-x-x-x-x-x-xxx-
21      CF:       =so Obama could ↑win


                  [--------(7.6)----------
22      Aud:      [((loud whistles, shouts))
23      Aud:      [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
```

Notably, the use of syntactic parallelism, vowel repetition, alliteration and increased tone and volume evoke audience engagement in the form of "amen" in lines 4, 6, and 8 and even "GON Cleo Fields" by the moderator in line 14. What is interesting is that Fields moves line by line, presenting one new piece of information at a time allowing it to be ratified (in the form of "amen") before "stacking" on the next utterance. Thus, through the slow presentation of chunks of speech (such as "Rosa parks took her seat" followed by "so we could all take a stand" in lines 5 and 7), Fields stacks then ratifies each new utterance until he reaches his surprising conclusion (in line 21) that Obama will be the winner of the election. His declaration that Obama will win is surprising since Smiley has continually requested that panelists talk objectively about the issues and candidates rather than serving as a surrogate for their candidate of choice. Fields, who until this point in the speech has been quite neutral about his candidate choice (and who has encouraged the fair treatment of those who support Clinton), breaks with the tone set by Smiley and in his own speech by promoting his candidate of choice, allowing this to be the one of the last, most memorable words of his speech. As seen in lines 22 and 23, the audience responds to this unexpected move with overwhelming applause, whistles and shouts.

As with the typical climax of a sermon, Fields' use of preaching style throughout this segment cues audience response and engagement during this critical moment of his talk. This

climax reinforces his overall message and allows him to assert his "subjective testimony" (much like a preacher closing a sermon) and his convictions about the outcome of the election. The audience responds to this testimony by talking back to Fields rather than just offering applause or remaining silent until the speech is finished as one would expect during a conference or symposium.

2   Eddie Glaude Jr.

Like Cleo Fields, Eddie Glaude, who spoke during the afternoon session of the SBU, receives important cues from the moderator about the important themes that should be covered in his speech. Thus, as Americans were poised to elect the first black president, Smiley, in (4) below, raises the question of whether race is an important and relevant issue in American political and social life (lines 4, 5, and 11).

(4)   [Excerpts from Smiley's Question to Glaude]

1	Smiley:	All right Eddie Glaude. While we are on this path let's just stay on this.
2		Because many of us coming through the airport to be here for this
3		conversation today no doubt saw this cover on one of the nation's leading
4		magazines where they asked the question on a magazine over: Is race still
5		relevant? Some of us believe that even asking that question suggests that
6		obviously race is still
7	Audience:	relevant
8	Smiley:	but they asked that question. And we find ourselves in New Orleans in this
9		moment 40 years after King's assassination. 140 years today Du Bois is
10		born. Later raising this question. Now we got major magazines on the
11		newsstand with covers asking: Is race still relevant? And to that cover
12		and to those editors and to those in this room and watching on TV today
13		with regards to that question you say what?

Thus, while Fields dealt with the controversy about the political candidate of choice, Glaude dealt with the broader issue of race and its significance in the 2008 elections. In response

to this question, Glaude constructs a lengthy discussion that resembles a sermon or lesson on the importance of race. In the context of this "sermon" Eddie Glaude Jr. utilizes elongation, pausing, and increased pitch and volume, changes in vocal quality, call and response and probing the depths, to signal his shift to preaching style in the excerpts below. AAE phonological features (such as /ai/ monophthongization, post-vocalic /r/ vocalization, and consonant cluster reduction) surface sparingly in Glaude's speech, giving way to the more prevalent preaching style and sermon structure. First, elongation of vowels occurs in lines 4, 5 and 9 of excerpt (5) below. In addition, Glaude initiates "calls" in lines 10 and 17 below to evoke the "responses" in lines 11, 12 and 18 below.

(5)

```
1     EG:   Du Bois has made (0.5) a philosophical claim (1.1) to let (.) suffering  (.)
2           speak (1.1)
3     Aud:  um
4     EG:   he's ma:de (.) a po↑litical claim (1.1) to put cata:strophe at the center
                                                                          [sɪntə]
5           (1.3) he's made a cla:im about enga::ged activism (.) as Reverend
6           Sharpton has led us to know. ((smacks)) but he also makes (.)
7           in the backdrop of this (.) a descriptive claim (0.6) and we need to
8           wrap our minds around this ((elevated tone through "what"))
9           because if you enga:ge in the wrong (.) diagnosis (0.7) often times you give the
10          wrong what. (.)
11    TS:   [prognosis
12    Aud:  [prognosis=
13     CW:  [=that's right
14    Aud:  [x- x-
15    EG:   so Du Bois's descr↑iptive account is absolutely essential (1.0) He is ta:lking about
16          (.) America (.) at the (.) tu:rn of the twentieth century. (0.7) coming out of
17          the gilded age yes?
18    Aud:  yes
```

The call and response of lines 10-18 is capped by Glaude's positive evaluation of W.E.B. Du Bois and his perspective on race in the 21st century (as "absolutely essential" in line 15).

Thus, in this first segment of the speech, Glaude leads the audience to through the initial stage of his argument about the importance of race and receives feedback (in lines 11, 12 and 18).

Call and response also occurs in lines 6, 9 and 17 of excerpt (6) below where Glaude explicitly asks the audience "did yall hear me" followed by "umm" and "yeah" from the audience in lines 7 and 8. This is accompanied by elevated tone in line 1, the change in glottal quality in the word "uh" of line 2, increased volume, tone and emphasis on the word "easy" line 10, and aspiration of the /h/ in "hook" in line 11 below.

(6)

1	EG:	Now when we a:sk that question °I hope we dialogue about it. ° (1) right when
		[æs] [a]
2		we a:sk that question in ↑light of (.) this ↑other question. (1) ((glottal quality)) uh
		[æs] [ʌðə]
3		have we (.5) tran↑scended race. (.5) (hhh) I take that as a (.) a mo:ve (.) to avo:id
		[a]
4		(.) the storm and stress.
5	Aud:	ummm
6	EG:	see did yall hear me?
7	Aud:	umm
8	Aud:	yeah
9	EG:	did you hear me? (.5) the point is to say it's
10		↑EASY (1) to vote for: (.5) a black
11		candidate (1) ((inhales)) if that will get you off the ((aspirated h in "hook')) hook
12	Aud:	that's right
13	EG:	for the storm and stress that black and brown [peoples are catching.
14	Aud:	[xx-
15	Aud:	um
16	Aud:	amen
17	EG:	(.) did you get (.) you (.) you hear that

The call and response patterns and rhetorical strategy demonstrated in Excerpts 5 and 6 above fit the larger patterns described by Mitchell (1970) of probing the depths where the preacher leads the audience step by step through the points of their message. This rhetorical

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strategy is signaled in lines 7 and 8 of excerpt (5) where Glaude utilizes the stance verb "need" to signify his stance that both he and the audience members should come to a collective understanding (i.e. "we need to wrap our minds around this"). This strategy continues in line 1 of excerpt (6) where Glaude utilizes attitudinal stance verb "hope" to offer an aside or commentary on how he wishes the information that he presents is to be received (i.e. "I hope we dialogue about it"). In addition, the use of lexical items like "right" and "see" in lines 1 and 6 that elicit audience alignment, and explicit statements like "the point is to say..." in line 9 to rephrase and signal the gist of his argument.

Finally, in excerpt (7) below, Glaude transitions into a quasi climax (signaled by elevated tone in line 1, a series of upward pitch movements that accentuate words like "see" and "moment" in lines 1-8, and the use of biblical imagery (i.e. "serpent" in line 4)) to reinforce his message about the significance of race in modern politics.

(7)

```
1    EG:    and so part of what we ↑SEE in this ↑mo:ment is the very ↑wa:ys in which
2           ((aspiration/whispered quality, elevated volume)) ↑race have org- has ↑organized
3           (.) our very ↑conception of democratic ideals. (.)the very ↑ways in which ↑race
4           (.) constitutes the ↑serpent (.2) wrapped around the ↑legs of the ↑table upon
5           which the [↑decla↑ration
6    Aud:             [x- x-
7    EG:    of ↑inde ↑pendence was ↑si:gned (.) for ↑these folk to say that ↑race (.) doesn't
8           ↑matter in ↑this moment is to ↑say they don't want to deal with the hell that black
            [mætə]
9           and brown [people (.)
10   Aud:             [xxxxxxxx
            [------------------------------(4.6)-------------------]
11   Aud:   [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx- xx- xxx-xx-xx-xx]
12   EG:    [are catching(3.9)so part of what we have to do:…
```

In this excerpt, the preaching style and the variations in pitch and emphasis make the message memorable and complete. This excerpt also allows Glaude to emphasize his awareness

of the personal struggles of blacks in America, which includes the ironic effects of racial politics in a democratic society.

Overall, Glaude uses preaching style to structure his entire message in a way that directly engages the audience. Notably, the type of engagement overwhelmingly involves active ratification of each point of his message (in the form of "amen" or "that's right") by the audience members leading up to one of the main conclusions of his talk.

3   Sheila Jackson Lee

Finally, Sheila Jackson Lee, who spoke latest in the day, receives a question from the Moderator regarding the divided state of the Congressional Black Caucus, particularly regarding their candidate of choice (lines 4 and 5). Importantly, Smiley, in excerpt (8) emphasizes that speakers are not asked to serve as proxies for their candidate of choice (lines 6-10).

(8)   [Excerpt of Smiley's Question to Jackson Lee]

1	Smiley:	Congresswoman in our earlier panel with your colleague, a couple of your
2		colleagues Stephanie Tubbs Jones on our earlier panel, Eleanor Holmes
3		Norton on our earlier panel. Uh, we were talking about the fact that never,
4		in my lifetime at least, have I seen the Congressional Black Caucus of
5		which you are a member so divided. Almost right down the middle. This
6		caucus is divided. On the democratic side of this, of this process. And I
7		said earlier we're not, we didn't ask you or anybody else here to be a
8		proxy for anybody I want you to speak for yourself. It's not about running
9		their agenda. They were invited to do that themselves, to appear to make
10		their own case. But I do want to ask you your take on a question I asked
11		in the earlier panel which is, what - help me envision how, when, where,
12		who's gonna call it, that come to Jesus meeting happens, when all is said
13		and done because …Somebody's gonna win somebody's gonna lose.
14		When that happens, how do we as black folk remain focused as we've all-
15		as you've all been saying, stay focused on the agenda that matters to us
16		and move beyond whatever's going to happen here that may very well be
17		over in just a few days from now on March the 4th?

The context of the moderator's question is important in that it rearticulates Smiley's preference that speakers do not serve as proxies for their candidate of choice. In addition, it highlights the tense political climate surrounding the 2008 election and the need for the community to regroup around important issues for the community after the elections conclude (lines 14-17).

Like Fields and Glaude, Jackson Lee utilizes features of black preaching style in response to the moderator's question. As the excerpts below demonstrate, elongated consonants and vowels, stress, pausing, and church themes are used by Jackson Lee to explicate her version of the "truth" (that she loves her community) despite her eventual admission that she is a supporter of Clinton (a controversial position for black politicians during the 2008 election cycle). She also utilizes AAE phonology sparingly (limited to post-vocalic /r/ vocalization, consonant cluster reduction, and /ai/ monophthongization in the excerpts below) allowing preaching style to become more salient in her speech.

Jackson Lee begins her speech in excerpt (9) below, by giving a preface to her talk, in this case, an apology for her strained voice.

(9)

```
1    SJL:    well first of all let me uh (.) apologize for my voice (.) uh
2            it will carry on as long as it will (1)
```

However, after a one second pause, Jackson Lee immediately transitions into presenting her message, but with a noticeable shift in style. Thus, in excerpt (10) below, Jackson Lee employs elongation of vowels and consonants (lines 1, 5 and 6), lexical items (like *brother* and *sister*), themes associated with the church (lines 2-7), and slow pace indicated by frequent and lengthy pauses (lines 5-8).

(10)

1	SJL:	I a:m: at a <u>point</u> having <u>listen:ed</u> to my: <u>brothers</u> and <u>sisters</u> of being <u>full</u>. (0.9)
		[brʌðəz]
2		and <u>those</u> of you of the ↑ <u>church</u> understand what it is when you are ↑<u>full</u>
		[ʌndɚstæn]
3	CW:	um
4	Aud:	amen
5	SJL:	u:h it <u>means</u> tha:t (.) there <u>is</u> (.) a:: (1.0) ex<u>peri</u>ence that you <u>cannot</u> (1.1)
6		ex<u>press</u>:. (0.9) u:h it i:s when you be<u>gin</u> to <u>look</u> at your (.) <u>fel</u>low church
7		member and you see <u>love</u> (.) or (0.5) uh you be<u>gin</u> to feel the <u>real</u>ness of <u>God</u>
8		and <u>let</u> me just say I <u>love</u> you. (0.6) my brothers and sisters. (.)
		[brʌðəz]
9	CW	[love you
10	Aud:	[love you
11	Aud:	[xx- x-x=
		[-----------------------(4.1)------------------------]
12	Aud:	[=xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-xx-xx]
13	SJL:	[<u>love</u> you my brothers and sisters.(2.6)uh this…]

The preaching style in excerpt (10) above seems to be a strategic resource for

encouraging agreement (in the form of "amen," "love you" and applause) from audience

members in lines 4, 9, 10, and 12. As seen earlier in Cleo Fields' climax, Jackson Lee also stacks

the information that she is presenting in small, ratifiable chunks. In this case, she is constructing

a positive self characterization which includes a positive affective stance towards the community

(signaled by "I love you my brothers and sisters" in lines 8 and 13) and the notion that this

emotion is linked to the spiritual connection that she has with her "brothers" and "sisters" of the

churchgoing audience.

As is often found in black sermons, Jackson Lee also engages in the use of personal

narrative, demonstrated by her retelling of the post-hurricane events in excerpt (11) below. This

segment fulfills the key role of sermonic narratives of connecting the speaker's and the

audience's experiences and providing first-hand testimony. These details also lend credence to

her constructed identity of a loving church member who expresses solidarity with the pain and

suffering of the community (lines 5-9 below). In conjunction with this narrative, Jackson Lee

also instructs the audience to consider the convention site, which is hosted in post-Hurricane

Katrina New Orleans, as "sacred ground" (lines 13 and 14 below). Here Jackson Lee displays an

elevated hierarchical position (demonstrated by the power to declare events or places sacred)

similar to the authoritative role of the black preacher whose elevated status is guaranteed by his

or her God-given moral authority.

(11)

```
1    SJL:   so that you can be in the right tone as I begin to tackle this question let me also
2           say to my sister Donna, (0.9) as you well know members of the congressional
                                                               [membəz]
3           black caucus the conscience  of this congress, (1.0) we:re in the forefront. (0.4) of
4           the battle. (0.9) for our sisters and brothers here in Louisiana as you well know,
                                     [sɪstəz]
5           (1.0) I was on the phone with my colleague in Texas as the buses were unloading,
6           (0.8) I lived most of my life. (0.7) in the Astrodome. (0.9) in various centers
                              [lɪv]
7           around Houston. (1.0) praying and hugging and embracing those who, (.)
8           would look out of their windows in Houston (.) and still see bodies. (0.9)
9           floating by them. (1.0) oil. (1.7) not knowing where their loved ones (.) were.
10          (1.5) whether they were here at the convention center. (0.9) whether they were
11          somewhere else and so I would say, (1.2) though we can't stop talk, (.) just like,
                               [æn]                                                [jus]
12          (0.6) tho:se (.) in Freedman's Town in Houston who are now buried (0.8) we are
13          on sacred ground. (1.3) and those of you who can in your mi:nd as I speak (0.2)
                                                                                    [a]
14          get a moment of silence (0.8) because we are on sacred (.) ground. (1.0) then
                                                                                [grɑʊn]
15          you need to do so. (0.9) for I have never stopped. (.) feeling the pain (1.2) of
16          watching tho:se (.) separated from (.) children (0.9)…
```

In this excerpt, Jackson Lee engages in a lengthy narrative where she describes her

personal experiences helping the community including living and working at the Astrodome

helping hurricane victims (lines 5 and 6), praying, hugging and feeling pain for the victims (lines 7 and 15). Jackson Lee also instructs the audience to "get a moment of silence" (lines 13-14 above) based on her personal experience and knowledge of the deaths that occurred in the vicinity of the symposium site.

Finally, Jackson Lee's "sermon" reaches a quasi-climax in excerpt 12 below ("quasi" in the sense that this utterance does not complete her talk, but completes her initial self characterization) signaled by elevated pitch at the end of statements (lines 4 and 5) and syntactic parallelism of the frame "I-verb-____" (in lines 2, 5, 7, 11, 14).

(12)

```
1       SJL:    let me build  upon the message that has been given, (.) in two fold ways the
2               international agenda (.) and the domestic agenda ↑I am (0.6) the national co
3               chair for Hillary Rodham Clinton. (0.9) I did not leave my blackness at the door,
4       Aud:    ((shouting)
5       SJL:    (0.8) I: am still a sister, (0.7)
                            [sɪstə]
6       CW:     um
7       SJL:    I shout in [church (0.4)]
8       Aud:             [x-xx-xxxx-xx]
9       CW:     that's right

                [-------------------------------(2.3)----------------------------]
10      Aud:    [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
11      SJL:    ((increased volume)) [I love the lo:rd and I ↑love my people]=
                                     [a]                    [a]
12      CW:     =that's right
                [-------(0.5)-------]
13      Aud:    [x-x- xx- x-x –x  x-]
14      SJL:    [(1.6) I LOVE you.]

15      CW:     that's right (1) that's right (1.5) that's right
```

In this excerpt Lee's style evokes audience reaction (in the form of shouting, "um" and "that's right," and applause) in lines 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, and 15 which ratifies her affective stance as a loving member of the church and black community (lines 3, 5, 7, 11, and 14) and her dual

membership categorizations as *national co-chair for Hillary Rodham* Clinton and *sister* (lines 2, 3, and 5).

Interestingly, the style in this example occurs alongside her controversial admission of her categorization as a supporter of the Clinton campaign. As these examples indicate, Lee engages in a step-by-step presentation of her stances on the community and Clinton's candidacy as well as the positive construction of her character (as a Clinton supporter and *sister*). Through the preaching style, audience members are cued to ratify her position at each step, signaled by responses such as "amen" "love you" and "that's right" in the excerpts above.

4   Discussion

As the excerpts described above demonstrate, preaching style emerges as a tool for the speakers to draw their audience members in to a highly affirmative interaction. As demonstrated by Fields' speech, talks can be punctuated by elements of preaching style (including parallelism, tone movement and volume increase) in order to make a conclusion more memorable (and in his case, more surprising) for the audience. On the other hand, speakers, like Jackson Lee and Glaude, organize large segments of their message utilizing the structure of a sermon (including the presentation of narratives and personal accounts, utilizing biblical themes and an engaging climax). In addition, as speakers signal their shifts to black preaching style, they make heavy use of the suprasegmental and rhetorical features of preaching (including lengthening, stress, intonation, and probing the depths), which is particularly true for Jackson Lee and Glaude.

While these speakers differ in the distribution of stylistic elements in their speech, their verbal performances are unified by the following factors. First, their speech activates the sacred continuum of black church life, exemplified by the "amens" (as opposed to strict laughter and

applause) that they evoke from the audience members. Secondly, the preaching style occurs as speakers mitigate the dangers of performing risky political stances, present surprising conclusions, or outline broader points of their messages. In Fields' case, preaching allows him to prime the audience for his reversal – the revelation of his overt endorsement of presidential candidate Barack Obama. In Jackson Lee's case, preaching and sermonizing help package her carefully constructed identity as an authentic African American woman who shows deep concern for and commitment to her community. Finally, Glaude's use of preaching and probing the depths drills home his carefully structured argument about the significance of race in the 21st century. In other words, preaching style is put into service in contexts where the speaker's stances or membership categorizations need ratification or support from the audience members.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

1   Overview

For the speakers in this study, the mobilization of ethnic styles and ways of speaking becomes essential for the reception of their points of view before a predominantly black audience. Critically, the context of their speeches, The 2008 State of the Black Union, is part of a larger movement to create a public space for the analysis and discussion of the black condition in the United States. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, the speakers utilize AAE speaking styles, particularly black preaching, in order to gain ratification for their stances about how to solve the ills of the black community. Overall, preaching style represents an important choice for black public speakers and taps into the sacred-secular dimension of black oral culture (Smitherman 1977, 2000).

2   Discussion of Results

The methodologies utilized in this dissertation make several layers of identity performance visible in the speeches of black public figures. First, through membership categorization devices, speakers can highlight which elements of their public personas are relevant for the unfolding talk. This is particularly true for Jackson Lee who emphasizes her identity as a "sister" despite her controversial admission of being a Clinton supporter. For Jackson Lee, this identity as a black woman is intertwined with her spiritual roots and her love for the black community ("I shout in church, I love the Lord, and I love my people"). Interestingly, Jackson Lee utilizes the situated identities associated with preaching in order to

ratify her claims to the broader, transportable identity of being a *sister* that she must defend (and even re-define) due to her controversial political stance.

Furthermore, the speakers in this study utilize preaching style as they display a range of affective and evaluative stances that signal to the audience members where they stand on key issues. For example, Jackson Lee presents a positive affective stance towards her community, Fields supports the right of the audience to support their candidate of choice (while simultaneously projecting Obama as the winner of the elections), and Glaude reiterates the importance of race in the 21st century following the perspective of Du Bois in the early 1900s.

Critically, these controversial categorizations and stances are presented in the context of preaching style which creates space for the audience members to engage these categorizations and stances head on. Like the preacher who risks facing a "quiet" church, the speakers in this study take the risk that they won't receive a confirming shout of "amen" (and that their audience members will retain the situated role of panelist/conference attendee). However, as the data demonstrate, these speakers are highly successful at utilizing their speaking style to garnering the most desirable responses from their audience.

Overall, the act of speaking in a formal, public context as political and academic authorities, the act of speaking with an audience of African American peers, and the act of speaking before an audience of potential ethnically diverse overhearers all require linguistic finesse. Yet, as demonstrated in this dissertation, the speaking styles used by public figures help frame the kinds of acts being performed by the speakers. Namely, as speakers are "doing symposium" their styles shift to reflect the demands of this more formal setting. Yet, as speakers switch to the more sacred "church" gathering, the formal, symposium style gives way to a spiritually charged "church" atmosphere. As the "amens" from the audience members indicate,

the audience members are able to recognize the speaker's shift towards a more sacred framework signaled by the constellations of iconic features of preaching style (such as pausing, syntactic parallelism, and pitch, volume and vowel length modifications). Overall, speakers choose the frame (drawing from the symposium, conversation, and church domains) that suits their immediate rhetorical goals (in this case, to lead the audience point-by-point through their message and self characterizations).

3   The Contributions of This Study

These findings provide two important contributions to the study of African American speech and language in interaction. First, this study highlights the rich empirical domain black public speaking. While black public figures, individuals that routinely negotiate both black and white linguistic worlds, might be considered poor candidates for authentic black speech, the speakers in this study show a complex distribution of AAE ways of speaking. On the one hand, the phonological and syntactic variation analysis of this study may seem to confirm McWhorter (1998)'s argument that "the depth of one's Black English correlates with level of education: Black English gets diluted among African Americans with more education and thus more face-to-face contact with Whites" (146).

However, the traditional markers of authentic, vernacular AAE speech - segmental and grammatical features of AAE – provide only a limited picture of the black verbal performance for these speakers. In fact, rhetorical structuring and segmental features of preaching style do an extraordinary amount of interactional work for these speakers. This is critical given the largely positive reception of this style by audience members who recognize the contextualization cues for this ethnic speaking style.

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Secondly, this study provides support for sociocultural approaches to the study of language in interaction. Namely, the various layers of speaker positioning intersect at critical moments of the interaction with a direct impact on speaker-hearer roles and relationships. As described earlier, the speaker's identities and social positions are not fixed, but unfold during interaction as they display more nuanced ways of being black - including taking controversial social stances that might seem at odds with black identity. The speakers also shift their position from symposium attendee to spiritual leader by utilizing this style that is so intimately connected with the black preacher. Thus, the consideration of the membership categorizations, stance taking and indexical processes presents a more nuanced picture of the speaker's interactional identities as they unfold.

4   Limitations and Problems in This Research

While this study utilized a broad, qualitative approach that combines a number of methodologies in order to illustrate the nuances of identity performance in black public speech, there are certain limitations to this approach as well as limitations inherent in the use of televised public speech.

For example, traditional quantitative sociolinguistic studies provide an account of the ways that social variables, including speaker and audience age, gender and ethnicity, and region of origin, and situational factors, such as formality and topic, impact linguistic behavior. However, this study is limited in this respect given that the public speaking event chosen for analysis limits the choices of subjects. For example, of the panelists at the symposium that utilized preaching style (and who weren't preachers by profession), two of the three are male. Furthermore, all speakers who fit the initial criteria for selection happen to fall in relatively close

range of ages that place them in the civil-rights generation described by Benjamin (2007).

Finally, the audience is relatively homogenous, the formality of the event was controlled, and the

topics across the three speakers were fixed on political and racial issues. These limitations are,

unfortunately, a drawback of utilizing spontaneous, public speech, rather than more controlled

sociolinguistic interviews.

In order to address these limitations, speakers who represent a range of ages, regions and

genders would be need to be selected from a variety of public speaking events, before a variety

of audiences. Furthermore, this group of speakers would need to be tracked across a range of

formal and informal events and discussing a range of topics. This would allow the researcher to

make broader generalizations about the influences of sociolinguistic and situational variables on

the use of AAE styles in black public speech.

Furthermore, this study is limited in that the researcher did not have direct access to the

speakers and audience members in order to provide a deeper ethnographic account of the

indexical values of the linguistic tools utilized by the speakers. As a result, this study utilized

historical data and previous linguistic research as primary sources of information about the

indexical values of black preaching style. Yet, a broader, more comprehensive ethnographic

approach would require direct observations, interviews and discussions with audience members

and speakers from the 2008 SBU in order to determine the speakers' understandings of and

motivations for using preaching style as well as the direct indexical effects of the linguistic

variations on audience members for the SBU.

Along similar lines, the limitations inherent in this original data set and the goals of the

original research questions place limitations on some of the broader theoretical and empirical

generalizations that can be made at this point, especially related to the broader social functions of

code switching and stance taking. For example, as Johnstone (2009) pointed out, African American politician Barbara Jordan displayed regular stance taking moves across a number of speeches that contributed to a "Barbara Jordan Style." This style took the form of a consistent, powerful public persona and included the of sentence-level features (such as elevated lexical choices, multi-syllabic words, care in encoding (reflected in highly embedded syntax including relative clauses and rephrasing of key ideas), epistemic certainty (reflected in the use of predictive modals, such as *will* and *would*, and private verbs, such as *believe* and *feel*, with first person subjects), the display of moral authority (through the use of copular *be* to present statements of fact) and the use of personal experience as source of certainty. Similarly, Jaworski and Thurlow (2009) and Coupland and Coupland (2009), in an examination of a corpus of travelogues and extracts from lifestyle magazines, found that authors can display an elitist stance or a stance of having expert knowledge through their use of imperatives, evaluations and the use of expert knowledge across a number of texts.

What these examples suggest is that, across time and context, clusters of stance taking moves can indicate broader, linguistically consistent public "personas." However, given that the primary concern of this dissertation was to explore the creative potential for the use of preaching style in black public speakers, the examination of stance was limited to the immediate contexts of preaching. Yet, if we consider the broader distributions of stance-taking strategies across the speeches, the potential for stance as persona management strategies becomes clear.

For example, the results of the analysis of phonological, syntactic and stylistic variation indicate that Jackson Lee and Glaude are similar in their use of the most acrolectal variety of AAE as well as more structured patterns of preaching (including probing the depths and storytelling). This contrasts sharply with Fields who utilizes the most vernacular speech and

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reserves his use of preaching style to intonation, alliteration, and repetition at the end of his climax. These distributions in style are similar to descriptions of the denominational differences between Methodist and Baptist preachers. Importantly, Methodist preachers, who tended to be more educated and are found to have more affluent congregations, tended to be more reserved in their preaching style while Baptist preachers, who tended to have less education relied heavily on energetic, and sometimes less structured sermons (Rosenberg 1970, Birmingham 1977, and Cogdell and Wilson 1980).

Furthermore, the linguistic variations and style shifting practices of the speakers in this study seem to reflect Abraham's categorization of speaker types in the African American community. Thus, *broad talkers* are defined as "those who rely on wit and other verbally economical devices, and who commonly use the informal, creole-based code as their medium" (Abrahams 1970: 505-506). Secondly, *good talkers* are "those who rely on ornamental diction and elaborated grammar and syntax, and who gravitate toward an approximation of Standard English as their primary medium of expression" (Abrahams 1970: 506).

What this may mean is that the speakers in the study may be engaged in the display of two distinct types of interactional personas that may reflect the speaker's upbringing and experiences with vernacular AAE. However, this is only speculation given that interviews with the speakers would be needed to ascertain the relevant influences on and goals for style shifting in their speech. Furthermore, a more systematic study would be needed of the stance taking processes across the speeches, as well as a comparison of these speaker's styles across contexts. Finally, I would argue that focus group interviews with members of the speech community would be needed in order to ascertain the broader indexical implications of these (and other) potential personas and audience reactions to the individual and combined linguistic cues.

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5 Directions for Future Research

   In addition to quantitative and ethnographic approaches that would address the limitations described in the previous section, more work must also be done in describing the range of speaking styles that black public figures utilize in public spaces. For example, while *black preaching* and *call and response* appear to be licensed in the context of the SBU (which features a predominantly black audience), how might this and other speaking styles (including *rapping*, *running it down*, *jiving*, *shucking*, *copping a plea*, *sounding*, *playing the dozens*, *loud talking*, *exaggerated language*, *mimicry*, *proverbial statements*, *punning*, *braggadocio*, *indirection, tonal semantics, narrative sequencing*, and *signifying* and *marking*) be used by a range of black public speakers and how might these stylistic modes be employed before audiences of different demographic backgrounds? In addition, how might these styles be modified by their speakers to suit the needs of different communicative contexts and before different audiences. For example, is Jackson Lee's use of preaching style at the SBU similar to her use (if any) of preaching style before Congress?

   Furthermore, while this study examined the *presence* and *impact* of black styles in interaction, interesting questions arise about the *impressions* or judgments that audience members hold of speakers who use different styles. For example, while the speakers in this study were able to garner applause and "amen" at key moments of their speeches, there is no doubt that there might be audience members who resisted the religious framework presented by the speakers (and whose silent resistance was masked by their more vocal co-participants). It would be interesting to find out, through focus groups and interviews, audience reactions to and judgments about the different contextualization cues for preaching (as well as the continuum of AAE features in the speeches).

6   Discussion

The data analyzed in this dissertation suggest that black public and professional speech is an important empirical domain for research. Thus, while black public speakers may make limited use of phonological and syntactic features of AAE, black speaking styles can be actively recruited by these speakers for communicative effect.   Overall, by utilizing black preaching style, and the rights and obligations that accompany it, the speakers in this study temporarily cloak themselves with the status and respect associated with the black preacher, providing a favorable context for the reception of their message. The data suggests that switches across styles are functionally motivated with the aim of allowing participants to set the tone and agenda of the interaction in a way that favors more engaged and open interactions between the speakers and audience members. Yet, more work needs to be done to explore the broader range of style shifting practices that may be available in black public speech.

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Appendix A – Phonological Features of AAE

Phonological Features		
Feature	Example	Sources
Reduction of word-final consonant clusters that share the voicing feature and negative forms like *ain't* and *don't*.	*hand* as han; *desk* as des; *passed* as pass	Labov 1972a; Baugh 1983; Rickford 1999; Green 2002; Thomas 2007
Deletion of word-final single consonants, especially nasals, after a vowel	*man* as [mã]	(Rickford 1999)
Devoicing of word-final voiced stops after vowel: [b] as [p], [d] as [t], [g] as [k]	*pig* as pik, *bad* as [bæt]	Labov 1972a; Rickford 1999; Green 2002
realization of /ŋ/ as [n]:	*walking* as walkin	Rickford 1999; Green 2002
realization of [ɵ] as *t* word initially and as *f* word medially and finally	*thin* as tin; *bath* as baf	Labov 1972; Rickford 1999
realization of [ð] as *d* word initially and as *v* word medially and finally	*then* as den; *brother* as bruver	Labov 1972a; Rickford 1999)
realization as *thr* as *th* before [u] or [o]	*throwdown* as thodown	Labov 1972a; Rickford 1999
deletion or vocalization of l after vowel (particularly if following word begins with *b, m, or w*)	*help* as he'p	Labov 1972a; Rickford 1999
deletion or vocalization of r after vowel, intervocallically, and in preconsonantal postvocalic position	*sister* as sistuh; *Carol* as Ca'ol; *court* as as [kot]	Labov 1972a; Baugh 1983; Rickford 1999; Green 2002; Thomas 2007
deletion of *d* and *g* in certain tense-aspect auxiliaries	"I don't know" as "I 'on't know"; "I'm gonna do it" as "ah'm 'a do it"	Rickford 1999
unstressed initial and medial syllable deletion (more common in older speakers; also common in other American English dialects)	*secretary* as sec't'ry; *probably* as prob'li	Baugh 1983; Rickford 1999
metathesis of adjacent consonants	*ask* as aks	Rickford 1999

realization of voiced fricatives (*v* and *z*) as voiced stops (*b*) and (*d*) word medially before a nasal	*seven* as seben; *isn't* as idn't	Rickford 1999
realization of syllable initial *str* as *skr*	*street* as skreet	Labov 1972a; Rickford 1999; Green 2002
realization of diphthongal *ay* and *oy* as monophthongs	*I* as ah and *boy* as boah	Labov 1972a; Rickford 1999; Green 2002
neutralization or merger of [ɪ] and [ɛ] before nasals	as in *pin* and *pen*	Rickford 1999
variable forestressing (i.e. stress on first rather than second syllable) of bisyllabic words	in the following words: *police*, *hotel*, *July*	Baugh 1983; Rickford 1999
realization of *-ing* as *-ang* and "ink" as *ank*	*sing* as sang	Rickford 1999

Appendix B - Syntactic and Morphological features of AAE

Syntax and Morphology	
Feature	Example and source
absence of copula/auxiliary *is a* and *are* in present tense	He ∅ tall (Rickford 1999: 6)
use of invariant *be* to express habitual aspect	They just *be* doing they job (Baugh 1983: 71)
use of *steady* as continuative marker	Them fools be *steady* hustlin everybody they see (Baugh 1983: 86)
unstressed *been* for present perfect tense	He *been* sick (Rickford 1999: 6)
stressed *BIN* for remote past	We *been* lived here (Baugh 1983: 80)
perfective *done* for completed actions	He *done* busted his lip (Baugh 1983: 74).
future perfective *be done* for resultatives for future or conditional perfect tense	They *be done* spent my money before I even get a look at it (Baugh 1983: 78).
finna for immediate future	They *finna* do something (Green 2002: 71)
indignant *come*	They *come* walking in here like they was gon' make us change our minds (Green 2002: 73)
double modals	He *might could* (cited by Rickford 1999:6)
had for simple past tense	Then we *had* went outside (cited by Rickford 1999:6)
liketa/*poseta* as quasi-modals	My father *liketo* kill me (Labov 1972a: 56)
absence of third person singular marker (-s) in present tense	He walk∅ (Rickford 1999: 7)
generalization of *is* and *was* for plural and second person subjects	We *was* there (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Past tense or preterite form used past participle	She *has* ran (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Use of past participle as past tense or preterite form	She *seen* him yesterday (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Use of reduplication of past tense or participle	*light-skinded* (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Verb stem used as past tense or preterite form	He *come* down here yesterday (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Absence of possessive –s	John ∅ house (Rickford 1999:7)
Absence of plural –s	Two boy∅ (Rickford 1999:7)
an nem to mark associative plurals	Felici*an nem* (cited by Rickford 1999:7)

Use of appositive or pleonastic pronouns	That teacher, *she* yell at the kids (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Use of *yall* and *they* for second person plural and third person plural possessive	It's *y'all* ball (cited by Rickford 1999:7)
Use of *ain't* as a preverbal negator	He *ain't* here (Rickford 1999:8)
Object pronouns used after a verb as personal dative	Ahma git *me* a gig (cited by Rickford 1998:8)
multiple negation	*Not none* of my people come from up north (Baugh 1983: 83)
Negative inversion	Can't nobody say nothing (Rickford 1999: 8)
Use of existential *it* instead of *there*	*It's* a school up there (cited by Rickford 1999:8)

Moderator Question to Cleo Fields

State of the Black Union, February 28, 2011. 10:47 a.m. ET

Tavis Smiley: As the congresswoman just laid out a moment ago and I appreciate her integrity and honesty about this there are too many black folk, in congress, some of us on radio and television, who have been thrown under the bus

Audience: There it is

Stephanie Tubbs Jones: There it is. I'm with you Tavis

Smiley: And I ain't endorsed nobody and I still. Well, this ain't about me. Anyway. There's some folk in black America who have been thrown under the bus. For talking about accountability more than anything else. As paramount, and I plead guilty unapologetically. Others, as the congresswoman just suggested, who've been catching hell. Had to change numbers. Some folk getting death threats because of the emotionality and excitement and the lack of wise enthusiasm. The lack of wise enthusiasm that we see rampant in our community. I raise that because I want to hit this thing head on today. I'm not running from this and I ain't gonna let y'all run from this. How do we in black America - You've been in the body politic and now you can step back away from it and look at it. So you've had this experience in congress at the federal level and at the state level. How do we have a conversation inside black America where that kind of animus does not exist? How can we have a conversation about this campaign or any other issue where we are divided in the community without the kind of name calling, the hater talk, the traitor talk, the sell out talk? How do we have an honest brokered conversation? An honestly brokered conversation about, as the congresswoman said, the best interests of black people without throwing folk under the bus. I think we live in a country, I hope we live in a country, where one day we won't be talking about just a white woman and a black but what about two black folk vying for the nomination of either party to go to the white house. If we can't handle this - Lord Jesus what will we do with two black folk going at it for the nomination of the party?

The question, How do we have a civil loving dialogue when there is a divide in our community.

Moderator Question to Eddie Glaude Jr.

State of the Black Union, February 28, 2011. 2:50 p.m. ET

Tavis Smiley:	All right Eddie Glaude. While we are on this path let's just stay on this. Because many of us coming through the airport to be here for this conversation today no doubt saw this cover on one of the nation's leading magazines where they asked the question on a magazine over: Is race still relevant? Some of us believe that even asking that question suggests that obviously race is still
Audience:	relevant
Smiley:	But they asked that question. And we find ourselves in New Orleans in this moment 40 years after King's assassination. 140 years today Du Bois is born. Later raising this question. Now we got major magazines on the newsstand with covers asking: Is race still relevant? And to that cover and to those editors and to those in this room and watching on TV today with regards to that question you say what?
Audience:	Yeah
Glaude:	There it is
Smiley:	That was them, yeah.
Glaude:	There it is
Smiley:	All right. Now, Eddie Glaude

Moderator Question to Sheila Jackson Lee

State of the Black Union, February 28, 2011. 4:00 p.m. ET

Tavis Smiley:	Congresswoman in our earlier panel with your colleague, a couple of your colleagues, Stephanie Tubbs Jones on our earlier panel, Eleanor Holmes Norton on our earlier panel. Uh, we were talking about the fact that never, in my lifetime at least, have I seen the Congressional Black Caucus of which you are a member so divided. Almost right down the middle. This caucus is divided. On the democratic side of this, of this process. And I said earlier we're not, we didn't ask you or anybody else here to be a proxy for anybody I want you to speak for yourself. It's not about running their agenda. They were invited to do that themselves, to appear to make their own case. But I do want to ask you your take on a question I asked in the earlier panel which is, what - help me envision how, when, where, who's gonna call it, that come to Jesus meeting happens, when all is said and done because somebody's gonna
Audience	win
Smiley:	and somebody's gonna
Audience:	lose
Smiley:	Somebody's gonna win somebody's gonna lose. When that happens how do we as black folk remain focused as we've all- as you've all been saying, stay focused on the agenda that matters to us and move beyond whatever's going to happen here that may very well be over in just a few days from now on March the 4th?

Appendix D - Discourse-level Transcript Conventions

Symbol	Description	Symbol	Description
?	'question' intonation (i.e. rising pitch towards the higher end of the speaker's pitch range) at the end of phrase	↑ ↓	Pitch accents relative to the surrounding speech. Stretches of talk following the upward pointing arrow are delivered with a dramatic upward pitch movement and stretches following the downward pointing arrow are delivered with a dramatic downward pitch movement.
.	'period' intonation (i.e. falling pitch towards the bottom of the speaker's pitch range) at the end of phrase	underline	Underlined syllables are delivered with stress or emphasis by the speaker. Stress and emphasis are defined as including one or more of the following: slight increase in volume, careful articulation of consonants, slight increase in length of vowels
,	'comma' intonation (i.e. low tone rising towards the middle of the speaker's pitch range, indicating that the phrase is not complete) at the end of phrase	CAP	stretches of speech that are capitalized are delivered loudly relative to the surrounding talk
-x-	isolated/single clap	:	colons indicate lengthening or drawing out of the preceding sound. (note: this label is used to indicate lengthening above and beyond the slight lengthening typically indicated by an underline)
XXXXX	loud applause	(( ))	labeler characterizations of stretches of talk: aspiration, teeth sucking and glottal or gravely quality on consonants or stretches of talk
xxxxxxx	applause at moderate volume	(0.0)	durations of pauses or breaks measured in tenths of seconds
x-xx-x-	sporadic/hesitant clapping	(.)	indicates a "micro-pause" or a pause shorter than five tenths (0.5) of a second
xxXXXX	applause amplitude increases	> < ° °	stretches of talk between the > and < were delivered at a faster speaking rate than surrounding talk; stretches of talk between the ° symbols were delivered at lower volume than surrounding talk
XXXxxx	applause amplitude decreases	[ ]	indicate overlapping speech: [indicates the point where the overlap begins;] indicates where the overlap ends

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Speaker names will be abbreviated as follows: TS = Tavis Smiley, CF= Cleo Fields, SJL= Sheila Jackson Lee, EG = Eddie Glaude, and CW = Cornel West

Cleo Fields

Speech given at the State of the Black Union. February 28, 2008; 10:49 a.m. ET


```
CF:          well ↑first of all Tavis let me uh thank you:.
             (0.9) for having (.)this (0.5) civil: (.)
             intellectual debate (.) today. (.)
Audience:    ((laughter))
Audience:    yeah
CW:          that's right. that's right.
Audience:    um hum
CF:          particularly at the place that you're having it.
             because (.) a few years ago. (1.0) at this same
             place
Audience:    um hum
CF:          (1.4) and perhaps the same [time
Audience:                               [um
             (1.0)
 CF:         there were so many peopl:e (0.6) who were having
             a different debate. (1.6) and they wanted help
             (.) they didn't care if the person was bl- was
             black or
             white [they just=
Audience:          [right
CF:          =wanted to get out of [ha:rms way.
                                   [----(1.9)---][--(2.0)----]
Audience:                          [xxxxxxxxXXXX[XXXXXXXXXxx]
CF:                                                 [now
```

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                 I I (.) I wanna be very careful how I approach
                 this because this is a (.) (1.6) ↑people like
                 Doctor Ki:ng (1.9) who fought so ha:rd, ↑he
                 fought, (.) so that (.) people could make, (1.6)
                 f- (1.6) decisions and live in a country where
                 they (0.9) when they made those decisions they
                 would be free from any type of (0.5) apprisals.
                 (1.1)
Audience:        yes
CF:              so members of the black caucus or members of
                 state legislatures who support (2.1) Hillary
                 ↑Clinton? (1.5) have a right to do that. (1.3)
                 and they ought (.) not (.) be (.) ridiculed for
                 it.
Audience:        that's right
                 (1.6)
CF:              they just really ought not be.(2) Because they
                 all have their own experiences >I can only talk
                 about my experience as a former member of the
                 black caucus < that (.) that group of people let
                 me tell you they're some of the most (1.5)
                 tenacious, (0.6) committed, (2.3) and they're in
                 the minority and they fight (.) all the time
                 >you're not gonna have them< (1.5) uh having any
                 dissention about, (1.4) fair housing. (1.0) or
                 any dissention about how we (.) give money to
                 HBC↑U:s (.) mister president. (1.4) they together
                 on that issue (.) and we ought not divide
                 ourselves as a community because we got a wo:ma:n
                 (.) a (.) minority and a (.) an African American
                 (.) a minority running for president. (1.0) I can
                 only give you
```

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```
                    [my perspective. ]
Audience:    [     x-x-x-      ][xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
             [------(1.9------][------------(2.0)---------]


CF:          if (.) if I were in the mem- (.) in the uh
             caucus? (2.6) in eighty ↑four, (0.5) I had a
             person who when  I was at Southern University,
             (1.2)in eighty four
             there [was a person,
Audience:          [((shouts))
Audience:          [xxxxxxxxxxXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXxxxxxxxxx]
                   [------------(4.8)--------------]


CF:          I dreamed Tavis one day to be president. (1.7)
             and the reason I dreamed to be president (.)
             becau:se (1)  when I was in the seventh gra:de
             (.) the >first day of school you stand up and
             state your name and what you want to be in the
             future?< (0.9) and >a:ll the kids would stand up
             with their new school clothes on and they would
             say my name is Ja:n? Doe Jo:hn Doe and I wanna be
             doctor when I grow up I wanna be lawyer when  I
             grow up ↑I wanted to be a police officer and they
             all had new school clothes on I came from a
             family of ten?< (1.2) and I had hand me downs.
             (1.8) and when ↑my turn came around I wanted to
             say something bigger than everybody else in the
             (.) in the ↑room.


Audience:    [((laughter))]
             [(1.1)][(1.6)][----------------(1.22)----------]
Audience:           [xxXXX][xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
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CF:                            [and so(.)↑I stood up and I said]


                   ((elevated pitch)) >my name is Cleo Fields and I
                   wanna be president of the United States of
                   America when I grow up ((end elevated pitch)) and
                   everybody laughed.< (0.6)
Audience:          um
CF:                including the teacher. (.)


                   [---(2.6 )---]
Audience           [((laughter))]


CF:                and it was that day I deci:ded (1.0) that I
                   wanted to know what a president was about and
                   ↑then I met a man by the name of Jesse Jackson.
                   (.)


Audience:          [ye:ah
                   [-(2.1)-][--------------(2.0)-----------------]
Audience           [xxxxxxx][xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-x-x]
CF:                        [in ↑eighty ↑four who ran for president]


                   and gave me an opportunity to run around. and I'm
                   just telling you my perspective. (.)


AUDIENCE:          um
                   (0.9)
CF:                a:nd then in eighty eight he came ↑back (0.9) and
                   we ran around a↑gain (0.5) tried become
                   president. (2.1) so if ↑I was at the ↑caucus (.)
                   >if  I  was in the caucus I would just give em my
                   experience and I would say ↑you know < WEB
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                Du↑Bo:is  (1)  sta:rted to teach  (1) so Rosa

                Parks could take her seat  (1)


Audience:       amen
CF:             and Rosa Parks took her seat   (1.0)
Audience:       amen
CF:             so we could all take a ↑stand (1.0)
Audiene:        amen
CF:             ((elevated volume and tone)) we took a sta:nd so
                [Martin Luther could ma:rch,(0.6)
Audience:       [x- xx- x-x -xx- x- x- x- x- x- x -x-x-x-x-x-x-x



CF:             [Ma:rtin ma:rched so]Jesse Jackson could run,=
Audience:       [xx —x —x x-   x- xx -x]


TS:             =[GON Cleo Fields
                [---------(2.3)---------][---(3.1)---]
Audience:       [          ((shouting, whooping))         ]
Audience:       [XX- X- XX- XX- XXXXXXX  [XXXXXXXXXX]
CF:                     ((increased volume)) [a:nd (2.8) ]


                [--------(7.0)---------------------]
Audience:       [XXXXXxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-x
CF:             [and ↑Jesse (1.3) Jesse Jackson ↑ran


                [--------(1.3)------]
Audience:       [x-x-x-x-x-x-xxx-
CF:             so Obama could ↑win
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             [--------(7.6)-----------
Audience:    [((loud whistles, shouts))
Audience:    [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX


             [--------(11.7)-----------
Audience:    [((loud whistles, shouts))
Audience:    [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
CF:          [that would be (11.0)



             [---(3.5)-] [-----------(1.8)-----------------]
Audience:    [((shouting, whistles))                       ]
Audience:    [xxxx- xxxx- x- x- x- x- x- x- x  x-  x-     x-
CF:          [now (3.4)] [having said that and I'll get off of



Audience:    [          ((shouting))              ]
CF:          [it (0.7) having said that (2.1)]


             I will: (.) be very (1.1) disappointed, (2.5) and
             would be ready to fight.(0.7)


             [---(3.5)----]
Audience:    [((laughter))]


CF:          because I'm [one of those
TS:                      [th-th-there-there Goes that kingian


             commitment [to=
CF:                      [yeah


TS:          =nonviolence but go ahead.
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                      [---(3.0)----]
Audience:             [((laughter))]


CF:                   because I'm one of those intentional blacks, (.)


                      [---(3.0)----][-------(1.0)-----------]
Audience:             [((laughter))][x- xx- x- xx- x-xx xx-x
CF:                                 [would be ready to fight]


                      [-----------------(6.0)-----------------]
Audience:             [((shouts, laughter))
                      [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
CF:                   [(3.0) if (0.5) if (0.8) if(.)if somebody]



                      [-----------------(2.2)-----------------]
Audience:             [x- xx- x- xx- x-xx xx-x x   x   x  x  x
CF:                   [(0.6) and I and I wanna make this last point]


CF:                   if somebody (1.3) ra:ised a ↑finger (1.2) at this
                      sister. (.)


Audience:             [alright
Audience:             [that's right
Audience:             [right
                      [X-
                      (1.0)


CF:                   who have worked so ha:rd.
Audience               that's right
                       (0.6)
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Cf:              for so long.
Audience:        That's right
                 (1.0)
CF:              and have been representing black people better
                 than most people can ever dream of. (1.3)


Audience:        [That's right
Audience:        [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
CF:              [(1.2) °and that's (0.6) that's my thought°
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Eddie Glaude Jr.

Speech given at the State of the Black Union. February 28, 2008; 2:51 p.m. ET

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EG:          well first of all let me (.) let me (.) say (.)
             uh thank you (.) for again making this: (.)
             possible (0.6) uh: (glottalization)) (.) as you
             always know I (.) I say I'm a country boy from
             moss point (.) mississippi right [down the road
Audience:                                     [Yeah
             [------------(5.4)--------]
Audience:    [     ((loud shouting))     ]
             [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-]
EG:          [(4.9)   so it's good (.)]

             it's good to be ↑home (0.9) um and it's good to
             be in this place for a variety of reasons let me
             pick up on (.) some of the remarks that've been
             made. (1.0) dubois has made (0.5) a philosophical
             claim. (1.1) to let (.) suffering (.) speak (1.1)
             he's ma:de (.) a (.) po↑litical claim. (1.1) to
             put cata:strophe at the center. (1.3) he's made a
             cla:im about enga::ged (.) activism. (.) as
             reverend sharpton has led us to know.
             ((smacks))(1.0) but he also makes (.) in the
             backdrop of this (.) a descriptive claim. (0.6)
             and we need to wrap our minds around this. (0.6)
             because if you enga:ge in the wrong (.) diagnosis
             (0.7) often times you give the wrong what. (.)
TS:          [prognosis
Audience:    [prognosis=

CW:          [=that's right
```

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Audience:        [x- x-
                 (.)
EG:              so Dubois's descr↑iptive account is absolutely
                 essential (1.0) He is ta:lking about (.) America
                 (.) at the (.) tu:rn of the twentieth century.
                 (0.7) coming out of the gilded age yes?
Audience:        yes
EG:              (0.7) and what is the gilded age. the gilded age
                 is where there is (.) this extraordinary (0.5)
                 shall we say tra:nsfer of wealth to those who
                 ha:ve (.) and those who don't have. (.) fat cats
                 (.) eating (.) eight (.) course meals while (.)
                 you have folk (.) lo:cked out (.) so there's a
                 cla:ss divide that (.) defines America. (0.5)
                 he's t also talking about what else he's talking
                 about (.) America in its empirial a:mbitions.
                 Right? (.) this is where (.) America begins to
                 make it's  into the Phillipines ↑this is when (.)
                 America begins to say that (.) manifest destiny
                 (.) extends bey:ond the US sho::res. (.) ↑right
                 (.) he's also talking about what else (.) the
                 sedimentaiton of Jim and Jane crow in the South.
                 (.) right (.) that is to say (.) that (.) this
                 (.) reconciliation of the white (.) south and the
                 white (.) north on the backs and necks of black
                 folk (.) ha:ve (.) interesting implications for
                 (.) us (.) as a people so DuBois says when he
                 asks (.)  ques↓tion. (0.8) is the problem of the
                 twentieth century (.) the problem of the color
                 line when  he makes (.) that statement (.) it's
                 against the (.) backdrop (.) of the storm and
                 s:tress (.) of the twentieth century. (.) yes?
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(0.7) so the <u>ques</u>tion we have to <u>ask</u> ourselves (.) <u>what</u> (.) is the (.) <u>back</u>drop of <u>asking</u> <u>that</u> <u>ques</u>tion (.) of <u>mak</u>ing that (.) que- (.) that <u>ut</u>terance (.) in <u>this</u> moment. (.) what's the <u>sto:rm</u> (.) and <u>s:tress</u> (.) of (.) to↑<u>day</u> (.) Now when we <u>a:sk</u> that question °I hope we dialogue about it. ° (1) right ((sucks teeth)) when we <u>a:sk</u> that question in ↑<u>light</u> of (.) this ↑<u>other</u> question. (1) ((glottal quality)) uh have we (.5) tran↑<u>scen</u>ded race. (.5) (hhh) I   <u>take</u> that as a (.) a <u>mo:ve</u> (.) to <u>avo:id</u> (.) the <u>storm</u> and <u>stress</u>.

Audience: ummm

EG: see did <u>yall</u> hear me?

Audience: umm

Audience: yeah

EG: did you hear me? (.5) the <u>point</u> is to say it's ↑<u>EASY</u> (1) to <u>vote</u> <u>for</u>: (.5) a <u>black</u> <u>can</u>didate. (1) ((inhales)) if <u>that</u> will <u>get</u> you off the ((aspirated h in "hook')) <u>hook</u>

Audience: that's right

EG: for the <u>sto:rm</u> and <u>stress</u> that <u>black</u> and <u>brown</u> [peoples are <u>catching.</u>

Audience   [xx-

Audience: um

Audience: amen

EG: (.) did you <u>get</u> (.) you (.) you hear that (0.5) it's (.) <u>ea::sy</u> to put <u>fo::rward</u> (.) the <u>cla:im</u> (.) that we have (.) <u>o:verco:me</u> (0.8) the <u>contradic</u>tions of American democracy cause re<u>mem</u>ber (.) we're not only <u>cele</u>brating the hundred and <u>for</u>tieth <u>birth</u>day (.) of the <u>grand</u>

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                    (.) intellectual WEB Du↑bois (.) but we're
                    selling  (.) celebrating or recognizing rather
                    (.) the two hundredth (.) anniversary of the end
                    of the Trans Atlantic slave trade. (1.0) January
                    one Eighteen O eight (.) Yes?
TS:                 yes
EG:                 (0.6) ((elevated tone relative to previous
                    utterances)) and so part of what we ↑SEE in this
                    ↑mo:ment is the very ↑wa:ys in which
                    ((aspiration/whispered quality, elevated volume))
                    ↑race have org- has ↑organized (.) our very
                    con↑ception of democratic ideals. (.)the very
                    ↑ways in which ↑race (.) constitutes the ↑serpent
                    (.) wrapped around the ↑legs of the ↑table upon
                    which the [↑decla↑ration
Audience:                    [x- x-

EG:                 of ↑inde_↑pendence was ↑si:gned (.) for ↑these
                    folk to say that ↑race (.) doesn't ↑matter in
                    ↑this moment is to ↑say they don't want to deal
                    with the hell that black and brown [people (.)
Audience:                                               [xxxxxxx
                    [--------------------(4.6)-------------------]
Audience:           [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx- xx- xxx-xx-xx-xx]
EG:                 [are catching(3.9)so part of what we have to do:

                    (1.5) pa:rt of what we have to do reverend. (0.6)
                    is enga:ge in a descr↑iption (0.6) that's ↑APT
                    (.) to the complexity of our moment.
Audience:           yes,yes
                    (0.8)
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EG:              Dubo:is did not have to contend (.) with the fact
                 that we have a female (0.5) and a mal- a- black
                 man (.) running (.) for president. (0.9) we do.
                 (0.6) Dubois didn't have to contend with (.)
                 black folk having access to mainstream social
                 capital in ways that we've never seen before. (.)
                 Du↑BOIS didn't have to deal with the fact (0.2)
                 that you have a doctor Cornel West (.) ↑AT (0.6)
                 Princeton and Harvard struggling to get him back.
                 [Du↑Bois didn't have to ↑deal with.
Audience:        [((laughter))
                 [--------------------(5.4)--------------------]
Audience:        [xx-  xx-  x- x- xx-  xx-  x- x- xx-  xx-  x- x-]
EG:              [(2.6)You hear me?(1.7)Du↑Bois didn't have ↑deal]
                 with the re↑a:lity that it ↑see:ms that we have
                 come so fa:r, (.) Yet that come so far (.) is
                 juxtaposed against (.) those folk who are
                 ↑l:ocked out (.) in- on the margins (.) and
                 catching hell in ways we've never seen before.
Audience:        yes
                 (.)
EG:              so what we have to ↑do (.) before we get to the
                 philosophical (0.9) while we engage in the
                 political. (0.5) while we mobilize mobilize
                 ourselves to enga:ge in the kind of activism (.)
                 that Reverend Sharpton has delineated. (.) we
                 have to offer ((gravelly voice through "moment"))
                 (.) the right (.) diagnosis of the moment (.) so
                 that we can engage properly
Audience:        um
Audience:        xx-xx[xx-xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
TS:                   [Dr. Eddie ↑Glaude,

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Sheila Jackson Lee

Speech given at the State of the Black Union. February 28, 2008; 4:01 p.m. ET

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SJL:              well first of all let me uh apologize for my
                  voice (.) uh it will carry on as long as it will,
                  (1.6) I a:m: at a point having listen:ed to my:
                  brothers and sisters of being full. (0.9) and
                  those of you of the church understand what it is
                  when you are ↑full.
CW:               um
Audience:         amen
SJL:              u:h it means tha:t (.) there is (.) a:: (1.0)
                  experience that you cannot (1.1) express:.(0.9)
Audience:         um
SJL:              u:h it i:s when  you begin to look at your: (.)
                  fellow church member and you see love (.) or:
                  (0.5) uh you begin to feel the realness of Go:d
                  and let me just say I love you. (0.6) my brothers
                  and sisters. (.)
CW                [love you
Audience:         [love you
Audience          [xx- x-x=

Audience:         [-------------------(4.1)-------------------]
                  [=xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-xx-xx]
SJL:              [love you my brothers and sisters.(2.6) uh this]
                  ↑ room has um (.) a sprinkling of those Tavis who
                  are diverse. (1.2) and I do think that is an
                  important note of this (.) dialogue and
                  discourse. (1.3) Tavis (.) Smiley (.) needs (.)
                  no (.) apologists. (0.8) he needs no de↑ fender.
                  (1.0) but let me come here and say, (1.2) that W
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                    E B Du↑Bois and Martin King, (0.8) a:re shouting
                    for joy.
CW:                 um
SJL:                (0.9) among others.
Ct:                 um
SJL:                (1.0) because Tavis has ↑ recognized the value
                    (0.7) of diverse thought.(1.0) he recognizes the
                    importance of (.) enga:ging you. (1.0)
CW:                 that's right
SJL:                and ↑in that he has accepted some of the ↑spears,
                    (0.8) that he has withstood.
Audience:           that's right
Audience:           amen
SJL:                (1.1) so: (0.7) military those of us in the
                    United states congress are: (.) declared two star
                    ↑generals, (0.8) I sal↑ute you.(.)
Audience:           ((laughter))

SJL:                mister Smiley for [(2.1) who you are. (2.4)]
Audience:                             [((shouts))
Audience:                             [---------(5.2)---------]
                                      [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]

SJL:                my love goes out (.) to: your mo:m and to:
                    Cornell's mo:m and to all the mothers and
                    fathers. (1.3) uh and u- (0.8) so that you can be
                    in the right tone as I begin to tackle this
                    question let me also say to my sister Donna,
                    (0.9) as you well know members of the
                    congressional black caucus the conscience  of
                    this congress, (1.0) we:re in the forefront. (.)
                    of the battle. (0.9) for our sisters and brothers
```

here in Loui<u>sia</u>na as you well know, (1.0) I was
on the <u>phone</u> with my <u>col</u>league in <u>Texas</u> as the
<u>bus</u>es were unl<u>oa</u>ding, (0.8) I lived most of my
<u>life.</u> (0.7) in the Astro Dome. (0.9) in various
centers around Houston. (1.0) <u>pray</u>ing and <u>hug</u>ging
and em<u>brac</u>ing <u>those</u> who, (.) would look out of
their <u>win</u>dows in <u>Hous</u>ton (.) and <u>still </u>see
<u>bod</u>ies. (0.9) <u>floa</u>ting <u>by</u> them. (1.0) <u>oil.</u> (1.7)
<u>not</u> knowing where their <u>loved</u> ones (.) <u>were.</u>
(1.5) <u>whe</u>ther they were here at the con<u>ven</u>tion
center. (0.9) <u>whe</u>ther they were somewhere else
and <u>so</u> I would <u>say,</u> (1.2) though we <u>can't</u> stop
<u>talk,</u> (.) <u>just</u> like, (0.6) <u>tho:se</u> (.) in
<u>Freed</u>man's Town in <u>Hous</u>ton who are now <u>buried</u>
(0.8) we are on <u>sacred</u> <u>ground.</u> (1.3) and <u>those</u> of
you who can in your <u>mi:nd</u> as I speak (.) get a
<u>mo</u>ment of <u>si</u>lence (0.8) because we are on <u>sacred</u>
(.) <u>ground.</u> (1.0) then you need to do so. (0.9)
for I have <u>nev</u>er stopped. (.) <u>feel</u>ing the <u>pain</u>
(1.2) of <u>wat</u>ching tho:se (.) <u>sep</u>arated from (.)
<u>chil</u>dren (0.9) we were <u>hust</u>ling <u>ca:rs</u> in the
(0.5) <u>Astro</u> Dome in order to get, (.) <u>one</u> <u>mother</u>
who <u>found</u> on the comp<u>u</u>ter my <u>chil</u>dren are in San
An<u>to</u>nio.(0.5)

CW: um
SJL: (1.0) and <u>so</u> ↑<u>we</u> should not ↑ <u>le:ave</u> here (.)
              Mayor <u>Nag</u>in who has (0.7) been <u>con</u>stant in ↑
              <u>Wa</u>shington, (1.1) <u>work</u>ing with the congressional
              black <u>caucus,</u> (0.5) <u>not</u> div<u>ided</u> on this ↑ <u>issue</u>
              (.) ↑ <u>we</u> cannot <u>leave</u> here. (.5) without being
              (0.6) <u>fully</u> <u>recog</u>nizing. (0.7) that we should
              <u>draw</u> upon (.) the <u>good</u> Samaritan in <u>us:</u>

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Audience:        yes
SJL:             (0.8) and that is the person of course that (0.8)
                 ↑ did not (.) ignore (0.6) the battered and the
                 abused but really (1.1) took their time (.) to
                 stop by the way side and make a difference. (0.6)
                 I ↑say all that because,  (0.5) in all of this
                 presidential politics,(0.8) what you gave birth
                 to. (.) what Martin Luther King gave birth to (.)
                 the congressional black caucus the: existence of
                 the (.) voting rights act of nineteen sixty five
                 gets lost. (1.0) uh and ↑I might say Tavis that
                 we are not (0.7) against or divided we are for
                 somebody. (1.1) uh and we recognize that we are
                 in a grand moment?
CW:              yes yes
SJL:             (1.0) uh that this is catastrophic?
CW:              um
SJL:             (0.6) that we should not bamboozle America? (0.7)
                 and it is crucial. (0.8) ((smacks)) I believe.
                 (0.9) that who(.)ever gets, (.) elected and my
                 ↑good friend (.) Michael Steele will be welcomed
                 into my home any time, (.) He's not Ward Connoly.
                 (0.8) uh and so
Audience:        [((laughter))
                 [---------(4.3)----]
Audience:        [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]

SJL:             uh and I just wanna do a PS on that because I
                 want you to know. (1.0) that a number of States,
                 (0.6) will have in the general election on the
                 ballot (0.7) the elimination of affirmative
                 action he's making his way across A↑merica (0.7)
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              and so it is not only a Presidential election
              that we have to worry about (.) it is a turning
              back the ↑clock (.) that we have to deal with (.)
              and we need to be on the battle front.
Audience:     [---------(3.1)--------]
              [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]


Audience:     [xxx-x-x]
SJL:          [we a:re] (.) for somebody in the congressional
              black caucus? and, (.) let me build  upon the
              message that has been given, (.) in two fold ways
              the international agenda (.) and the domestic
              agenda ↑I am (0.6) the national co chair for
              Hillary Rodham Clinton. (0.9) I did not leave my
              blackness at the door?


Audience:     ((shouting)
SJL:          (0.8) I: am still a sister? (0.7)
CW:           um
SJL:          I shout in [church (.)]
Audience:                [x-xx-xxxx-xx]
CW:           that's right


              [---------------(2.3)---------------]
Audience:     [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]


SJL:          ((increased volume))
              [I love the lo:rd and I ↑love my people]=


Cornel West:  =that's right
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                    [-------(0.5)-------]
Audience:           [x-x- xx- x-x —x  x-]
SJL:                [(1.6) I LOVE you.]


Cornel West:        [that's right (1) that's right (1.5) that's right
                    [-------(2.5)-------]
Audience:           [x-x- xx- x-x —x  x-]


Audience:           [x-xx x-x-x x- x- x-  x]
SJL:                [and I love the va:lue,]
                    (1.4)
                    and the opportunity that we have. ((returns to
                    normal volume))(1.6) ↑this (.) roo:m of
                    intellectual thought. (1.4) WE Du ↓Bois, (0.6) and
                    by the way I beg of you to give money to the
                    institute in Accra Ghana, (0.9) those of you who
                    are now (.) so (.) infused by his leadership,
                    (0.9) it is a beautiful place (.) and you should
                    go ↑visit it. (2.2) but there was also a
                    discourse, (0.6) between the two (.) Booker T
                    Washington and WE Dubois. (1.4)
CW:                 Oh yes
Audience:           yes
SJL:                and at that ti:me, (.) there were (.) the: (.)
                    opponents (.) of Booker ↑T (1.3)
Audience:           that's right
SJL:                uncle tom negro they said. (1.7)
Audience:
SJL:                but they did not (.) as doctor Franklin said look
                    at the situation and the ti:me. (1.1) to be able
                    to understand that ↑he simply said (.5) you folk
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	coming <u>out,</u> (1.2) uh (.) <u>had</u> not <u>reached</u> (.) <u>Har</u>vard yet.
CW:	um. that's right
SJL:	(1.4) and so you can be <u>ARTISANS</u>. (0.9) you can be the <u>carpenters</u> and the <u>painters</u> and the <u>builders</u> and <u>lord</u> <u>knows,</u> (0.5) there are <u>those</u> of us (.) in o:ur (0.5) <u>aging</u> <u>homes</u> that wish we could <u>find</u> some <u>bro</u>thers
Audience:	that's right
SJL:	that was painting and building right now [------(3.2)------]
Audience:	[xxxxx[xxxxxxxxxx]
CW:	[Absolutely
SJL:	it was a dis<u>cuss</u>ion,(.) that was vi:<u>ewed</u> (.) as a di<u>vi:de</u>(.) of the black com<u>mun</u>ity. (1.2) <u>colored</u> people at that time. (1.1) but <u>really</u> it <u>was</u>,(.) the best of <u>all</u> of us. (0.7) because it was WE Du <u>Bois</u>,((breathy)) (0.9) <u>spea</u>king about the talented <u>tenth</u>↑ (0.7) and <u>put</u>ting on them the <u>bur</u>den of their <u>people</u> <u>don't</u> come to <u>Harvard</u>, (.) and <u>show</u> <u>out</u>, (.) you <u>newly</u>, (.) <u>re</u>constructed <u>ne</u>groes, (0.6)
Audience:	((audience response))
SJL:	who had been <u>governor:s</u> and <u>senator:s</u> and, (.) your <u>child</u>ren would <u>come</u>,(.) and <u>think</u> that you could <u>come</u> here, (.) without <u>pit</u>tance? (0.6)
CW:	UUUM
SJL:	W.E. Du <u>Bo:is</u>, (.) <u>said</u> what we had to ↑<u>do</u> (.) if we were <u>con</u>gress people and <u>senator:s</u> and <u>may</u>ors. (1.6) and Booker <u>T</u> said, (1.1) support your <u>fam</u>ilies (1.0) <u>build</u> your ↑com<u>mun</u>ities (0.6)

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Audience:      [x-  x  x-       -xx         x-   x-      ]
SJL:           [I don't know why we are, (0.7) conflicted] with
               that.
Audience:      ((single audience member speaking, unclear
               response))
SJL:           (1.9) and so, (1.0) putting that, (.) to today's
               time. (1.3) Hillary Clinton is someone you all
               know, (1.4) and I think we have a challenge as we
               go through these elections (1.3) because (.) we
               ha:ve, (0.6) the most mightiest movement that
               I've ever seen (0.9) and I'm shouting about it
               (0.5)
CW:            um
SJL:           I'm not angry, (1) I am happy that people are
               voting, (.)

SJL:           but I want you to keep them
Audience:      [x- x- x-
SJL:           [(0.6) votingly (0.1) invo:lved.(1.1)
CW:            um
SJL:           (1.1) and as they are voting, (0.7) it is up to
               us that is in this room because as I look at the
               faces, (0.5) of the conciousness that brought you
               here today means that you are opinion makers (.)
               you're talking to somebody your name may not be
               the history books. (1.1) let us not go through
               these elections in ↑anger. (1.5) ↑I am supporting
               senator Clinton because she is a friend? (1.4) I:
               knew her (0.5) for a long time? (.) known her for
               a long time. (1.1) but her backgroun:d (.) can
               not be challenged. (0.6) as it relates to her
               commitment to civil rights.
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Audience:        [x- x-
SJL:             [I'm not gonna go in:to: (0.5) uh the beginnings
                 of her life? but (.) she was a legal services
                 lawyer. (.) you know some the other stories.
                 (1.0) but she was a (.) fighter for tho:se who
                 were getting evicted. (1.3) as a young (.)  legal
                 services lawyer. (0.8) she was on the water gate
                 (1.0) committee during the impeachment with (.)
                 Barbara Jordan my mentor. (0.8) who understood
                 (0.9) the value of we the people. (1.0) so (1.0)
                 when we (.) come back to the congressional black
                 caucus (.) would you please view us (1.2) for
                 the: (.) BROADness of our perspective. (0.9) u::h
                 and the: (0.7) reSULTS that we represent (.) that
                 you've made us. (0.6) for none of us got here,
                 (.) originally (0.6) without coming under the
                 ninteen sixty five voting rights act.

                 [-------(1.1)-----][-----------(4.2)--------]
Audience:        [x- x-x- x-x- x-  ][xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx- xx- x]
SJL:             [(1.0) none of us.][ (1.9) and ↑when (1.2) we]
                 engage, (1.0) which is fine the first amendment
                 is something that I: (.) fully appreciate (0.7)
                 in hostile debate, (1.1) ca:lling folk names
                 (0.8) diminishing their integrity and their
                 blackness (.) you are (.) penetrating (.) the
                 generation that you are so (.) proud of (.) that
                 has got involved (.) you are training them that
                 that's what you ↑do (.) when you disagree you
                 fight
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CW:            u:::m  (.) [yeah, that's right, that's right
SJL:                      [I think that's wrong.
Audience:      ((individual speaking, unclear))
SJL:           we disagree with wo:rds and discourse. (0.8)
               someone is supporting the fine senator from
               Illinois. (.) someone else is supporring senator
               from, (1.0) New York.(0.6) I obviously I'm on the
               side of the aisle that hopes that you're not
               supporting anybody that's coming from Arizona,
               (.) or Arkansas at this time.


               [---(2.0)----]
Cornel West:   [((laughter))]
Audience:      [((laughter))]


SJL:           but [I am a friend.
TS:                [((laughter))


               [----(2.5)---]
Audience:      [xx-   xx
Cornel West:   [((laughter))]
SJL:           [((laughter))] but the congressional black caucus
               represents, (.) generational change. (1.2) °it's
               sweet.°
Cornel West:   summ
SJL:           (1.1) so you have a Charlie Rangel chairing the
               ways and means committee, (.) you can't ignore
               that, (.) he is BATTling, (.) for a CHANGE in the
               PSYCchic (.) of this country (.) on the [tax
               system, (.)
Audience:      [x- x-
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SJL: one of the most <u>power</u>ful people, (.) in the
               <u>cong</u>ress but <u>Kendrick Meek</u>, (.) a <u>young</u> brother
               (0.6) is a <u>new</u> member of that committee. (1.0)
               being <u>tut</u>ored for <u>lead</u>ership. (1.4) and you have
               <u>brothers</u> like <u>Jesse Jack</u>son <u>Artur Davis</u> and we
               have <u>Gwen Moore</u> and (.) <u>Yvette Clark</u> (.) you
               have(.) <u>folk</u> (.) <u>that</u> (.) are being <u>groomed</u> (.)
               in the congressional black caucus we are d–(0.6)
               if you will for someone (.) different. (1.2) °I'm
               <u>push</u>ing for my <u>can</u>didate.° (1.1) <u>but</u> as <u>all</u> of us
               have <u>said</u> (.) it is <u>not</u> a<u>bout</u> (1.2) the <u>idea</u>
               that you are so en<u>gag</u>ed in a <u>per</u>son. (0.6) that
               you <u>cannot deal</u> with the a<u>gen</u>da.
CW: that's right
               (0.8)
SJL: so <u>Tavis</u> listen me <u>tell</u> you how we come
               Together. (.) how we <u>peace</u> meal this together.
               (0.5) as the voice continues to get <u>weak</u> but the
               spirit is <u>strong</u>. (2.1) <u>we</u> should (.) <u>ask</u> and
               de<u>mand</u>(.) every president <u>one</u> (1.1) and (.) <u>you</u>
               wouldn't de<u>mand</u> it. (0.7) but <u>I</u> wanna <u>see</u> in the
               <u>White</u> house (1.1) uh there is (.) the Thomas
               Jefferson roo:m, there's a <u>red</u> roo:m, (0.7) and
               <u>you've</u> seen the <u>int</u>erviews where ABC et cetera,
               (.) <u>Tavis Smi</u>ley should be the <u>first</u>. (1.0) that
               <u>comes</u> in there and does a <u>one</u> on one <u>int</u>erview
               with the <u>newly</u> e<u>lect</u>ed <u>pre</u>sident (.) of the
               [Un<u>i</u>ted States of A↑<u>me</u>rica.
Audience   [((shouts))
Audience: [xxx]

CW: yeah

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                   [--(1.9)---][------------(5.5)---------]
Audience:          [xxxxxxxxx][xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
SJL:                         [one on ↑one= (5.0)          ]
CW:                                       =[one on one]


Audience:          [xxxxxxxxxxxxx- x- x-]
SJL:               [the second thi:ng i:s]
                   that, (.) that president, (.) call fo:r, (.) a
                   civil rights, (0.4) consortium, (0.3) in the
                   White House.
Audience:          wow
                   (1.1)


SJL:               in the first, (.) Hundred ↑days. (0.7)
Audience:          that's right
SJL:               if you a:re (.) so serious. (.) about (.) the
                   black (.) vote that (.) somebody has received
                   ultimately because (.) when you get in the
                   general election (.) someone will get it (.) that
                   will be the victor.
CW:                That's right
SJL:               (1.4) that should be the serious outpouring.
                   (1.2) so let me:, (.) sort of, (.) close (.) on
                   issues (.) so that you can know (0.6) that I am
                   not (.) geared (.) to a candidate  (0.6) but I:
                   hope, (.) that you will be open minded enough
                   (0.6) to view senator Hillary Rodham Clinton as
                   ↑someone, (1.6) who ↑you, (0.9) have, (.)
                   dialogued with, (0.6) and who has been (.) action
                   oriented, (.) on your issues >now I left one
                   person out.< (0.8) WE DuBois, Booker t
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	Washington, Sojourner <u>Truth</u> who said <u>ain't</u> I a ↑<u>wo</u>man.
CW:	Um
Audience:	((response))
	(1.3)
SJL:	<u>sex</u>ism is °↑real°
CW:	Oh <u>yes</u> it is
	(1.4)
SJL:	it is a (.) <u>gla:ss</u> <u>stee:l</u> °↑ceiling° (1.7) my <u>sisters</u> I am a<u>pprec</u>iative of your su<u>pport</u> (.) of a <u>candi</u>date of your <u>choos</u>ing. (1.1) but it is <u>frank</u>ly, (.) hi<u>stor</u>ic,(1.1) and it has never been <u>done</u> that a woman has <u>run</u>, (.) for <u>pres</u>ident, (.) and there are ↑<u>atti</u>tudes. (1.1) about this race. (0.9) that are <u>driv</u>en by: (.) the <u>fact</u> that one <u>candi</u>date is a <u>woman</u>. (1.3) but <u>we</u> have to <u>come</u> <u>full</u> <u>cir</u>cle <u>back</u> to<u>ge</u>ther again. (1.3) and that <u>cir</u>cle is <u>this</u>. (1.2) since <u>two</u> thousand and <u>one</u> the <u>Bush</u> adminis<u>tra</u>tion has <u>filed</u> (1.0) <u>forty</u> <u>six</u> <u>ti</u>tle <u>seven</u> <u>cases</u>. (0.8) that means <u>six</u> a <u>year</u>. (0.7) I don't know of anybody would <u>raise</u> their <u>hand</u> if they <u>felt</u> (.) some dis- they had been dis<u>crim</u>inated a<u>gainst</u>, (.) or (.) <u>knew</u> that they could <u>file</u> a <u>ti</u>tle <u>seven</u>. (.) it <u>means</u> the <u>govern</u>ment (.) has <u>failed</u> (.) in <u>us</u>ing the <u>laws</u> (.) that have been <u>passed</u> for our <u>bene</u>fit. (1.3) at the <u>same</u> ↑<u>time</u>? (1.4) >I hope yall will go to my <u>web</u> site and get <u>H</u> <u>R</u> <u>forty</u> <u>five</u> <u>forty</u> <u>five</u> I wouldn't be <u>right</u> if I didn't <u>call</u> out a <u>bill</u> number< (.) and that is the (.) <u>equal</u>ization of <u>crack</u> co↑<u>caine</u>.
CW:	um

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                       (0.8)
SJL:                   [you think something was done already.]
Audience:              [xx- xxx- xx- xx-  xx- xx- xxx-  xx- x-]

SJL:                   [(1.3)you think th-- the courts did it. (.)]
Audience:              [xx- xxx- xx- xx-  xx- xx- xxx-  xx- x-x-x]

SJL:                   the courts didn't do it. (1.1) the courts only
                       ruled on one ↑case.(0.6) and that case wa:s saying
                       that ↑judges, (.) had a right to their
                       dis↑cretion. (0.5) you know what the s- (0.5)
                       district uh- the U S attorney said? (0.6) I'm not
                       following the courts, (0.7) the law (.) is still a
                       distinction between crack cocaine (.) eighty six
                       percent of those in jail, (1.1) are African
                       American ↑men. (0.9)
Audience:              [xxx
SJL:                   [and sixty six percent this is on the crack
                       cocaine difference (.) and sixty six percent (.)
                       of the users of cocaine (.) are ↑white people.
                       (1.3) that makes us all cousins. (0.5)
Audience:              ((laughter))
SJL:                   (0.9) a:ll working together. (1.0)
CW:                    um
SJL:                   so, (1.0) it is an agenda. (.) what about an
                       early release program >you haven't heard of that
                       you say I got parole probation in the federal
                       system it's mandatory.< (0.8) so I have a bill to
                       say let folk out after forty five so they go and
                       support their ↑families. (0.9) I need yall to
                       find that bill. (.) that's the kind of (.)
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                    provocative   ag<u>e</u>nda (.) a<u>mong</u> <u>o</u>thers (.) that you
                    want (.) <u>pre</u>sident
TS:                 le-
SJL:                to <u>have.</u>(.) the cong<u>re</u>ssional black <u>ca</u>ucus (.)
                    Tavis (.)
TS:                 yes I'm coming ((laughs))
SJL:                (1.0) <u>will</u> <u>be</u> as<u>sured</u> ((laughs)) (1.3) will be
                    as<u>sured</u> to <u>come</u> <u>back</u> a<u>round</u> to<u>ge</u>ther (1.2) on
                    <u>those</u> <u>issues</u>. (.) and <u>we</u> will be <u>un</u>ifi:ed, (0.6)
                    <u>not</u> di<u>vi</u>ded because we are <u>for</u> someone, (0.6)
                    we're not a<u>gainst</u> an<u>y</u>thing.
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EDUCATION
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
      Ph.D. in Linguistics, 2011
      M.A. in Linguistics, 2007
University of North Carolina at Charlotte
      M.A. in English, 2004
      B.A. in English (Minor in Spanish), magna cum laude, 2002
University of Florida
      A.A. in English, 2000

PUBLICATION
(2011) 'Can the Church Say Amen': Strategic Uses of Black Preaching Style at the
      State of the Black Union. *Language in Society* 40(2).

RESEARCH
Research Assistant: Project on Prosody Variation in American English Dialects: African
      American Vernacular English (AAVE). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
      Summer 2006 – Spring 2008.

TEACHING
LING 111, Language in Globalization (UIUC, Instructor, TA)
LING 250, Language in the USA (UIUC, Instructor, TA)
LING 105, Language in Daily Life (UIUC, TA)
LING 100, Introduction to Language Science (UIUC, Instructor, TA)
ENGL 1102, Writing in the Academic Community (UNCC, Instructor)
ENGL 1101, English Composition (UNCC, Instructor)
English Writing Lab Tutor (Pädagogische Hochschule, Ludwigsburg, Germany)
Writing Resources Center Consultant. (UNCC)

ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES
Student reviewer: *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Oct 2007
Reviewer: Studies in Linguistic Sciences, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign
Organizer: Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities (IPRH) funded reading group:
      Language, Style, Identity, and Globalization. 2008-09 academic year.

REFERREED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS
2010
"Can the Church Say Amen: Strategic Uses of Black Preaching Style" at the American Dialect
   Society, Baltimore, Maryland. January 7-9.

"A Sociolinguistic Model for Variety Identification." Panel presentation: *Theoretical Perspectives on English Language Variation: Where WE Stands* at the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) Atlanta, Georgia, March 6-9

"Talking Black in Public Spaces." 3rd Annual African American Studies Symposium. University of Texas, San Antonio. San Antonio, Texas. April 16

2009

"Strategic Uses of Black Preaching Style-Shifting at the State of the Black Union." Panel Presentation: *The Functional Motivations of Code-Switching: Testing the Limits of Theory* at the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), Denver, Colorado, March 21-24.

2008

"Doing 'Being Objective' in AAVE" at the 2008 annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). Chicago, Illinois. January 4

2007

"Voicing, Indexicality, and African American Vernacular English" at the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), Costa Mesa, CA, April 22

2005

"Intonational Distinctiveness of African American English" with Jennifer Cole, Erik R. Thomas, & Elizabeth L. Cogshall at New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 34, New York University, October 23

2004

"Truth, Rationality, and Metaphoric Systems of Understanding: Rethinking the Role of Metaphor in the Construction of Argument" with Ronald F. Lunsford at the South Atlantic Modern Language Association (SAMLA), Roanoke, Virginia, November 13

"Motivation Factors Across Proficiency Levels: A study of university students in the foreign language classroom" with Jonathan Smart to the Language and Variety in the South III (LAVIS III)/South Eastern Conference on Linguistics LXX (SECOL LXX), University of Alabama, April 15

2003

"Bridging the Gap between Europe and America: Two Graduate Students' Experiences in Europe" with Betsy Newman to the International Writing Centers Association (IWCA)/National Conference on Peer Tutoring in Writing (NCPTW) Joint Conference, Hershey, Pennsylvania, October 25

"Restructuring Writing Centers to Reflect Change in the Growing ESL Population: A Discussion of Techniques and Attitudes" with Erin Lanahan and Betsy Newman to the Southeastern Writing Center Association (SWCA) Conference, Charlotte, North Carolina, February 15

<u>INVITED LECTURES</u>
African American English Style." Panelist: Cross-Disciplinary Diversity Conference.
    Department of History, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. March 29, 2008.

"African American English, its origins and social implications for its use." Anthropology 104:
    Talking Culture. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. October 30, 2007

<u>MEMBERSHIPS</u>
Linguistic Society of America
Modern Language Association
International Association of World Englishes

<u>HONORS AND AWARDS</u>
Chin-Wu Kim Student Research Award. Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois at
        Urbana-Champaign. May 2011.
Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award. Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois at
        Urbana-Champaign. 2009-2010 academic year.
Ranked "excellent," Center for Teaching Excellence, Instructor and Course Evaluation System
        (ICES). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Fall 2009, Spring 2010
Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship Recipient (Arabic). University of Illinois at
    Urbana-Champaign, Fall 2007 - Spring 2008
Graduate College Fellowship, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004-2007
Summer Pre-doctoral Institute Participant, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004.
Graduate Teaching Assistantship, University of North Carolina at Charlotte. 2002-2004