LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND NON-BINARY GENDER IN HAWAI‘I

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To Teej, who taught me to challenge normativities.
The world would be so much better if you were still in it.
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Abstract

This dissertation provides a close examination of the linguistic stylings of three individuals in Hawai'i who identify with non-binary gender: one as māhū, one as a trans man, and one as a masculine lesbian who considers herself ‘one of the guys.’ These three individuals use linguistic resources to construct and project their identities, and through their interaction, they build and communicate their gendered selves. The dissertation uses a combination of methodological approaches in order to thoroughly investigate how language is used in the three speakers’ interactions to do identity work. I spent almost two years getting to know the participants in order to better understand their experiences and motivations. I asked them to collect data in environments that were typical of their daily interactions with their friends and loved ones. I used careful examination of the discourse together with phonetic analysis to examine how linguistic resources were being deployed to make meaning in particular contexts and therefore working in that specific moment to construct each individual’s unique identity. The three individuals use resources that index characteristics and behaviors associated with masculine, feminine, and māhū identity, and in doing so, construct and project an identity that feels authentic to their experience and their conception of self. Because their experiences and identities are different from one another, they use a wide variety of linguistic resources in this pursuit. Furthermore, each individual’s use of linguistic resources changes as his or her motivations and targets change, showing that identity is not a single inherent entity but an everchanging, evergrowing thing made up of the many different facets and experiences of the individual. Language provides a window into that process.
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Chapter 1 · Introduction

1.1. Overview

Individuals, with or without the conscious awareness or intention of doing so, construct their identities in daily interaction with their linguistic and non-linguistic behavior and convey that identity to those they interact with even as it is being constructed in the interaction. This dissertation seeks to provide an acute understanding of how three specific individuals, Larz, Jody, and Dawn, use linguistic features in daily life to perform different aspects of who they are, and in doing so, construct their cohesive gender identities. All three individuals have lived most of their lives on O’ahu, Hawai‘i’s most populous island, and identify with non-binary gender; one as māhū\(^1\), one as a man or trans man, and one as a masculine lesbian who is ‘one of the guys\(^2\).’ They have all struggled throughout their lives to be themselves without having to conform to other people’s expectations for masculinity or femininity. At the same time, they are also all three most comfortable with masculine physical presentation, and have had to struggle for their presentation as masculine to be accepted because they were assigned female. Their gender identities are quite different from one another, as are the linguistic resources that they use in order to construct those identities in multicultural, multilingual Hawai‘i. In examining their talk and their use of linguistic variation across contexts and stances, we can begin to form a picture of how their identities are being made and how socially meaningful linguistic resources are being deployed to this end and also better understand the diversity of gender identity and gender practice.

This dissertation employs a combination of methodologies in order to best understand and convey how the three speakers meaningfully engage with linguistic styling in order to construct their personas. I first engaged in a type of ethnography in which I became friends with each person and spent more than a year interacting with them and their friends and family and observing them in different types of environments, as well as spending a great deal of one-on-one time with them so

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\(^1\) Māhū is a gender category in the Hawai‘i islands that was prominent in traditional Hawaiian culture. Māhū individuals are traditionally males or females that adopted roles that were generally associated with the gender not associated with their male or female sex. This term is discussed further in Section 2.2.5.

\(^2\) Throughout this dissertation, the labels or descriptions of gender or sex used for the participants are terms that they themselves prefer to use to refer to their gender or sex. The pronouns used for each participant are also their chosen pronouns.
that we came to know each other well. I gave them recorders so that they could collect recordings of themselves with their friends and families, engaging in everyday interactions where they felt comfortable. I also interviewed them myself in a semi-formal manner similar to that of a typical sociolinguistic interview. I then transcribed and analyzed all of the data that were collected from each participant and used both examination of the discourse and phonetic analysis to describe how the speakers were using linguistic variants in specific instances to make meaning and construct identity. All of these approaches together allowed me to have access to real-life talk that is representative of how the speakers interact with their friends and family, firsthand experience with a large volume of the speakers' talk beyond these recordings so that I could better interpret their behavior and perhaps better understand their motivations, and contextual understandings of specific instances within the recordings so that I could look at how meaningful variation is used in a particular moment.

The analysis of the data shows that the three individuals use linguistic resources that index aspects of their identities, and some of these aspects are associated with gender, so that the individuals thus construct and project their gendered selves. They do this in very different ways, both because their gender identities are diverse, and because, as individuals, they have access to and experience with different arrays of meaningful variation. This diversity of behavior and gender identity serves to remind us that individuals are unique and distinctive and will thus behave in ways that sometimes defy blanket categorization. These three masculine individuals are not a single type of person, and their masculinity is not a single type of characterization. At the same time, their talk and their identity construction is only meaningful because making meaning is a shared, interactional pursuit, and indexation and association happens in a community. Individuals are idiosyncratically exposed to a staggering amount of meaningful behavior that they then may or may not use themselves. They can also creatively carve out new indexations and associations that become meaningful to their identity. This complex relationship between the uniqueness of the individual and the connectedness of the community may seem contradictory, but it this complexity that allows us to be unique selves and also to communicate those unique selves to others.

1.2. Aims and motivations

The aims of this study reflect major changes in the research goals of the study of language that have taken place across the social sciences. Researchers have been looking toward talk-in-
interaction (Schegloff 1998) as the locus of social order and social discourse as well as the derivation of individual identity since the 1970s. Only more recently, some researchers have begun to apply structural linguistic analysis to these same data sources to examine how linguistic variables contribute meaning to the discourse formation and identity-making that takes place in interaction (Johnstone & Kiesling 2008, Kiesling 1996, Bucholtz 1999, 2001, 2006). Researchers also examine individuals’ uses of community resources to see how meaning is being deployed from moment to moment (Eckert 2000, Podesva 2007, 2008). This study aims to contribute to this line of inquiry by closely examining hours of talk of individuals in daily contexts, interacting with their friends, coworkers, and loved ones. By providing an overview of how each individual speaks as well as an analysis of specific moments of their talk, I can closely examine how each person performs and constitutes their identity— their personality, gender, background, current stance, etc., through the phonetic and grammatical variables that they use in different contexts. By examining their talk across contexts, I can achieve a fuller picture of the persona that each of them projects as it is subtly adapted for each situation.

Combining ethnographic research with examination of recordings of everyday interaction allows me, as a researcher, to evaluate the social meaning of a particular utterance with the knowledge and intuition that comes from being friends with a person. My evaluations of the talk come not only from my knowledge as a fellow speaker of the language, but from many hours spent talking to the person and their acquaintances. Combining an analysis of the phonetic and grammatical elements of the talk with the context in which they are found allows me to look closely at what the purpose and place of the talk is so that I can better understand how the structural elements being used are contributing to the mood and goal of the utterance. This combination of approaches allows me to go beyond general statements concerning how the speakers’ use of variation situates them among other speakers to exploring how their use of structural elements changes in different moments to relevantly reflect facets of their personality or social identity that are important in that context. It also allows deeper understanding of what particular variants mean for the speaker, and ostensibly, for the community.

Another aim of this study is to closely examine the language use of speakers who prefer to express masculinity or non-binary gender. These three participants have thought about gender and its social boundaries in a very intentional way and have come to the conclusion that the binary system of gender doesn’t align with their experience and their sense of self, and at the same time have concluded that they often relate to characteristics and roles that are commonly associated with
masculinity. Larz, Jody, and Dawn have persisted in being who they are and embracing and pursuing more masculine characteristics despite society’s imposed expectations regarding their gendered behavior, while also pursuing other-gendered characteristics that are important to them. Their behavior thus aids in aiming for shifting identity targets moment to moment, much of the time targeting masculine associations, but also sometimes targeting roles and characteristics associated with other genders. They are not exceptional in participating in gendered behavior of course, as all people engage in behaviors that associate them with characteristics and roles that are then linked to gender, but because these three individuals perform gender in a liminal space, their gendered behavior is often more perceptible, and studying and discussing liminal gender performance can help to deconstruct dangerous and hurtful gender normativities. Furthermore, these three individuals’ gender identities are different from one another, even though they all subscribe to more masculine personas. Examining the diversity of conceptions and performances of masculinity and non-binary gender can deconstruct not only the idea of binary gender, but the ideology that masculinity itself is homogenous.

The dissertation provides both a general overview of each speaker’s linguistic profile including their vowel space and utilization of traits like pitch and speech rate as well as a closer look at moments of their talk that exemplify projections of their identity with an analysis of how structural elements are being used in that moment to perform their identity and to add meaning to the utterance. In this close examination, I can pose questions about how traits that are commonly gendered are used by these speakers, about how much variation there is in these gendered traits, about how gender is constructed with linguistic variation, and about how this performance changes in different contexts. The goal, then, is to understand how each person constructs their gender identity, as well as a host of other important facets of his or her person, using linguistic resources and, in turn, to understand more about how language use makes us who we are for the people with whom we interact. At the same time, the analysis provides a complex description of an individual, unique in their habits, personalities, and experiences, and the way that individual is made manifest in everyday interaction through linguistic variation in their talk.

Hawai‘i is an exceptional place to do this research because it is itself a site of great diversity, in both cultures and languages. The Hawaiian Islands, located two thousand miles southwest of Mainland North America, were first settled by Polynesian voyagers, and other people began arriving as early as the sixteenth century. In the 19th century, sugarcane plantations were established in the islands, and these brought workers from around the world. Immigrants arrived in waves from Asia,
Europe, and Central America, as well as from other Pacific islands. Today, Hawai‘i has just over 1.4 million residents, 93% of them with a heritage other than Hawaiian (U.S. Census 2012). Rather than sugar export, tourism is now Hawai‘i’s strongest contributor to the economy, with tourism contributing 16.4% to the state’s GDP (Tian 2014). These influences have led to a complex multicultural, multilingual society. Many residents of O‘ahu, when asked about their ethnicity, list five or six different ethnicities in an order of percentage or the amount that they identify with the associated culture. Local food and culture is a bricolage of Hawaiian, Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, Sāmoan, Chinese, and other rich heritages’ long traditions because residents from all of these different backgrounds participate in honoring and enacting the cultural traditions of their or their ancestors’ native cultures alongside honoring Hawaiian cultural traditions. Above and beyond these different ethnic identities, one of the most prominent identities in the islands is being a local (Labrador 2004, Okamura 1994). Being local can mean several different things: some people use it to label people who are from Hawai‘i and non-White and others use it to mean belonging to Hawai‘i in some way or other. This belonging can be established in several ways. Someone might achieve localness by coming from a family that has been in Hawai‘i for generations, by participating in local activities, or by speaking Pidgin\(^3\). More than anything, localness is an identity that stems from attitude and behavior, so that anyone could be local if they do and say the right things in the right way.

Along with this cultural diversity comes linguistic diversity. Residents of Hawai‘i sometimes speak Hawaiian, languages from their native countries, a unique dialect of English referred to as Hawai‘i English (Drager 2013, Kirtley et al. to appear, Sato 1991), Pidgin (a contact language that formed on the plantations of the 19th century, and then creolized), or a combination of some or all of these. It is not uncommon for residents to be bilingual or multilingual. This rich linguistic diversity means that the linguistic resources available to speakers in Hawai‘i are vast. Larz, Jody, and Dawn represent different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic experiences on O‘ahu. Larz primarily identifies as Hawaiian, Jody as Jewish, and Dawn as Filipino. Both Larz and Dawn can speak Pidgin, but use it to very different degrees. Their various experiences mean that each speaker has a different repertoire of meaningful linguistic resources from which to make meaning and construct identity.

\(^3\) ‘Pidgin’ is the name used by speakers of what scholars often call Hawai‘i Creole English, and it will be referred to as Pidgin throughout this dissertation.
1.3. Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. In Chapter 1, I have provided an overview of the study and described the specific goals and motivations for the research and for the methodologies used. In Chapter 2, I provide information that helps to contextualize this study within academic research on style, gender, and language. I first provide an overview of how style has been treated by social scientists and introduce a few theoretical frameworks that influence the approach to and treatment of style in this dissertation. I next provide information about gender theory and about gender in culture. Finally, I discuss the research on how language and gender (or often sex) interact and research on language in Hawai‘i. Chapter 3 is a description of the methods used in this dissertation and an explanation of the motivations for their use. Chapters 4 through 6 are individual profiles of the three speakers. Each individual is discussed in their own chapter, and within the chapter, I describe my time spent with the person, the person’s background and characteristics, the person’s speech, and specific uses of variation from the recordings that work to construct the person’s identity. Finally, in Chapter 7, I discuss the implications of the study of the three individuals’ speech, including the contributions that are made by the methodologies that I used, what the findings say about gender identity, what the findings might show us about linguistic theory, and further considerations and questions that arose throughout the research.
Chapter 2 · Style, Gender, and Language

2.1. Style

There have been many uses of the term ‘style’ within sociolinguistic research, uses that vary across the different social sciences that are concerned with social aspects of language. This section serves to introduce both how style has been approached across sociolinguistic research paradigms and how it is approached in this dissertation.

Style, most broadly, is a manner of doing something, made up of an assemblage of choices (Coupland 2007). Outside of discussions of linguistic variation, style is used to denote both individuals’ approaches to expressing themselves idiosyncratically and to denote behavioral patterns that can be adopted by any individual in order to associate with the connotations of subscribing to a particular group or ideology. We can talk about Lady Gaga’s style and understand it to mean the particular behaviors that she as an individual might engage in, but we can also talk about an individual having a hipster style such that we understand that this person has adopted the behaviors shared with other hipsters: skinny jeans, vintage glasses, bangs, artisanal cheese, and pickling vegetables. Thus, style can mean both the behavior of a particular individual or a description of a way of behaving that is shared by many individuals. This same dyad of uses exists within language scholarship. Some researchers use the term ‘style’ to discuss intraspeaker variation (the variety of ways of speaking that one person uses in their talk), and others use the term to talk about manners of speaking, each carrying social meaning, that can be adopted by various people in different situations. Certain understandings of style allow us to understand it as both of these things, and these understandings are fundamental to this dissertation.

2.1.1. Audience-centered conceptions of style

Scholars have long been interested in contextual changes in individuals’ speech as well as social meaning expressed through linguistic behaviors by groups of people, though these inquiries have not always used the word ‘style’. The subfield of linguistic stylistics considered the structural differences in texts with different social purposes. Within this tradition Martin Joos developed a conception of style in which language was organized around a formality hierarchy (1967). Style was also addressed in linguistic anthropology and ethnography of speaking, where it coincides with
discussions of speech genres and functions, a favored concept in the field of linguistic anthropology (see Bakhtin 1968). Genres are “culturally recognized, patterned ways of speaking, or structured cognitive frameworks for engaging in discourse” (Coupland 2007: 15). These include formal contexts like political speeches or writing for a novel but also less formal contexts like flirting or meeting a friend unexpectedly.

In the 1970s and ‘80s, several different groups of researchers began to view linguistic variation as driven by the shifting social needs of speakers when interacting with different interlocutors. Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson’s work on politeness strategies introduced the concept of ‘face,’ wherein people have two different types of interests that they are navigating around in every interaction; one type, called ‘positive face’ are those interests having to do with reputations or the way that individuals are perceived, the other, ‘negative face’ are those interests having to do with maintaining individual autonomy (1987). When we are in interactions with others, then, we sometimes behave in order to increase our own estimates in the minds of others, but at other times, we behave in order to promote agendas that are personally advantageous and all the while, keep our interlocutors’ interests in mind as well. Similarly, Accommodation Theory, a line of inquiry that examines how speakers change their speech with different interlocutors, was developed by Howard Giles and others within Social Psychology in the 1970s (Giles 1973, Giles and Powesland 1975) and further developed in the following decades (Giles and Coupland 1991, Giles and Williams 1992). This theory emphasized speakers’ motives for changing their speech during talk. Speakers were thought to be driven by a desire to be socially attractive and a desire to communicate efficiently (Coupland 2007).

Finally, Allan Bell developed the concept of ‘audience design’ that argued that variation in style was affected by the audience of the talk, either the actual person being addressed, other people present for the talk (overhearing or listening in), or other absent persons, called referees, who had influence over the talk because they existed in the mind of the speaker and were brought to mind by the focus of the talk (Bell 1984). In Bell’s conception of interaction, speakers might accommodate to these other interactants in different ways according to their relationships with them. It may be that speech would shift to be more like that of interlocutors or it might shift away from them. Bell’s framework went beyond just a simple contention that speech was designed around the audience and considered style in a broader manner. Like others, Bell argues that linguistic variation comes about from meaningful associations between social groups and linguistic variables at the societal level and is then used by individuals to mark social relationships. Variation marks the social traits of all the
individuals in a society such that the variants themselves take on social meaning. Individual speech then reflects these meanings as individual speakers use the linguistic traits that correlate to their own social characteristics, though they also shift their style during interaction by using linguistic variation related to the social characteristics of their interlocutors. As mentioned above, speakers might also shift their speech in accordance with a design for speakers not present for the talk because those speakers are either the typical audience of the talk that is taking place, because the speaker desires to align with that group of speakers, or because those speakers are somehow the subject of the talk (Bell 2001). This way of viewing intraspeaker variation establishes a study of an individual’s speech that centers entirely around social relationships, as even linguistic variation seemingly influenced by topic change or genre change is said to be affected by a human referee associated with the topic or by the typical audience of that genre.

2.1.2. Style in variationist sociolinguistics

Both accommodation theory and audience design remain popular in variationist sociolinguistics, although the primary outlook on style in variationist linguistics comes from the models of William Labov, developed in the 1960s. Style was first used within variationist sociolinguistics by Labov to describe the amount of attention that speakers were paying to their speech at a given moment and the linguistic variants that they were using as a result. Labov was working from a theoretical framework in which speakers were viewed as using linguistic variation that related directly to the social categories to which they belonged. An individual learned their speech from other similar individuals and had a baseline, authentic way of talking that reflected their social traits. This manner of speaking (quantified as the frequency with which they used various linguistic variants) could be shifted towards a more standard manner of speaking (a variety with a less frequent use of non-standard forms) in formal contexts, but instances of this ‘natural’ speech were taken as representative of the speaker’s dialect and also the dialect of speakers with shared social traits. Furthermore, Labov’s work in New York City showed that speakers seemed to have a range of linguistic variation that was related to their socioeconomic status, and the variants that they used from their restricted repertoire in a particular context had to do with the formality of the context (1964). What Labov called ‘style’ had to do with his finding that in more formal situations, speakers used variants on the more standard end of their range of speech behaviors, while in less formal contexts or in more casual talk, they used variants more at the vernacular end of the range. Labov asserted that this shift occurred in speech used in formal situations because speakers were
more likely to be paying close attention to the way that they spoke, but in more casual contexts, they were less likely to be carefully monitoring their speech (1972a)\(^4\). This conception of stylistic variation led Labov to seek out interview contexts that produced a less formal response from the speakers because this speech was viewed as a more ‘natural’ example of the interviewee’s speech (1972b).

Other variationist researchers found similar stratifications within interview contexts in research carried out in the 1970s. Many studies were carried out with methodologies like Labov’s in other locations, and these researchers found that their speakers were also more likely to use vernacular forms in the parts of the interviews where they became emotional or during narrative talk, while they used more standard variants during the formal parts of the interview or during reading tasks (Trudgill 1974, Wolfram 1969, Reid 1978, Romaine 1984). Though this view of style greatly influenced the methodology used in most variationist production surveys, the study of style as a central focus of research was set aside for decades within variationist linguistics.

There have been several criticisms levied against Labov’s treatment of variation and style in the past two decades or so. One criticism of Labovian variationist linguistics is that it assumes certain broad social categories to be meaningful across communities. Broad groupings like sex, region, or socioeconomic class are treated as preexisting the speaker, and the speaker’s behavior is treated as stemming from their membership in these groups. Beginning in the 1980s, the preexistence of these categories and their local relevance was called into question as researchers came to view these social factors, too, as constructs that were made and could be remade at the local level (Eckert 1989). In response, variationist research turned to examining the social categories that were relevant and meaningful to a particular research site. Researchers studied what are called ‘communities of practice,’ a term used for small groups of people who meet together regularly and pursue common goals (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 2000). They studied the dynamics within the community and investigated how language interacts with these dynamics (Milroy and Margrain 1980, Gumperz 1982, Eckert 1989). Labov’s own early work, too, examined variation that was meaningful in smaller communities. His work on Martha’s Vineyard showed how speakers deployed the realization of a single vowel to express alignment with or away from the community (Labov 1972a).

All of this research didn’t assume broad social categories to be inherent and important but instead provided a more local perspective and established important connections between macrosociological

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\(^4\) It is important to note that Labov has stated that this conception of style is meant to describe behavior in an interview context and is not an explanation of everyday use of variation (Labov et al. 2012).
groups and more locally meaningful social categories. However, it still focused on static categories and viewed an individual’s identity as equated with involvement with these categories.

Another criticism of Labovian variationist work is that it forces a view that an aggregation of the use of a linguistic variant relates to a speaker’s position in a social class hierarchy. This implies that linguistic variation and also its social meaning are inherently linear. If a speaker uses negative concord more frequently, for example, that speaker is lower in the social hierarchy. This overlooks the meaningfulness of a single use of a linguistic variant in a particular context, and it also overlooks a speaker’s ability to use linguistic variation for creative purposes. Labov’s understanding of style admirably captures the tendencies of large groups of speakers, but it offers us a view of individual speech that entails a quantitative configuration in which speakers belong to speech groups based on their class, region, gender, and ethnicity speak in a predictable manner with only the ability to move up or down a given scale of linguistic variation by increasing or decreasing the frequency of their use of different variants. This does not allow for the idea that speakers might use a variant for some other purpose or that they might be crafting (consciously or unconsciously) their speech meaningfully as they speak. As Coupland writes, “reliance on frequency as the main criterion of sociolinguistic difference introduces a considerable level of abstraction into the account of variation” (2007: 41). By examining the use of variation in context and considering how linguistic variation is being deployed in different situations, we can learn more about what variation actually means for speakers, because it is highly unlikely that it is as restricted and hierarchical as quantitative variationist linguistics has sometimes implied. By providing only an overview of the averages of speakers’ language use and comparing these averages to other speakers (see e.g., Labov 1972, Wolfram 1969), we ignore the variation present in an individual speaker’s talk and gloss over the very interesting exceptions to generalizations of their language use. With close analysis of individual utterances, the speakers’ talk can be analyzed in a way that better reflects the way that we believe speakers to be utilizing variation. Single speakers don’t think of themselves as ‘mostly casual,’ for example, and therefore employ the linguistic features that are associated with casualness a particular percentage of the time to reflect their ‘mostly casual’ identity. Rather, moment to moment, they use the variant that is appropriate for the situation, and if there are more specific moments in the interaction wherein the speaker is conveying casualness, then more variants associated with casualness will be produced. It is helpful for analysis, then, to know how often a speaker uses variants or to what degree, and to also explore the types of utterances in which both the typical and less typical variants might appear and to ask in what way the variant was being used meaningfully in
that case and if there are perhaps multiple meanings that are being achieved by the use of that variant.

2.1.3. Style in sociocultural linguistics

Some sociolinguists have adapted social constructionist ideas from philosophy and sociology to the specific research goals of sociolinguistic questions in order to examine individual meaning making and identity construction. Social constructionism, broadly, is the idea that people construct their experiences in the world and their beliefs about those experiences through talk (or thought) rather than having discovered inherent categories and principles that existed prior to talk about those categories and principles (see, for example, Foucault 1972, Foucault, Martin, Gutman, and Hutton 1988, Garfinkel 2008, Goffman 1959, etc.). Our experience of the world is constructed through talk about the world. Linguistic interaction, then, is the means by which our sensory experiences are interpreted into meaningful systems. J.L. Austin asserted that language is not merely descriptive, but is constitutive (1962). This concept is now termed ‘performativity,’ and it stresses that linguistic utterances are acts themselves, in that they bring about consequences or enact identity.

Importantly, these ideas extend past the constructions that speakers are actively building to constructions of the speakers themselves. Individual identity, too, is a construction brought about in interaction. Rather than viewing identity as a reflection of an a priori inner self, social constructionists view interaction as where the self comes to exist. Goffman (1959) offers a theory of everyday interactions and acts of identity in which people in everyday situations are acting out roles with ascribed expectations and molding who they are with the actions they take and the impressions they communicate. All people, in the behaviors in which they engage; the way they walk, dress, talk, interact with others, the relationships they choose and the jobs they take, are constantly performing and building their personas. Therefore, human behavior, linguistic interaction in particular, is the means by which a person (and some would argue, much of that person’s reality) is constructed, and this construction is an ongoing, continuous daily practice that can be examined in discourse.

The contemporary conception of style for linguists working under these sociocultural theoretical assumptions views stylistic variation as social practice that does constructive identity work. In this view, style is a set of co-occurring linguistic variables that together project individuals’ shifting personas (with different notions of the amount of agency that a speaker has in this process (Coupland 2007)). In this theoretical paradigm, sociolinguistic variation is reimagined; social meaning is attached to linguistic variables so that when the variables are used, they carry meaning
into the talk. Linguistic features can take on meaning from a correlation that exists in the world between the feature and another variable that is then generalized such that the feature comes to index that variable in other contexts. Alternatively, linguistic features can at first become a distinguishing feature of some group’s speech and then be used to index that particular group. Linguistic features achieve flexible meanings, and they become resources that are available to different groups of speakers to index the values that are relevant to the particular group. Individual speakers choose from these features to create clusters of linguistic features that form particular styles that work to produce their identity in different contexts and different times by invoking membership in a group or relationships to a particular characteristic or stance (Eckert 2012). This practice of piecing together meaningful behaviors to create a style or persona has been called ‘bricolage’ (Eckert 2008, Hebdige 1979). Individual speakers do not always have to use the same style of speech, and they may learn or develop new styles as their social needs change throughout life. They can then use styles from their repertoire or even construct new styles through creative use of combinations of socially meaningful linguistic variables in order to interact meaningfully in varying contexts. They can also participate in the creative forging of new meanings for specific linguistic features. Styles achieve meaning in specific contexts with the influence of the people interacting, the subject, the location, the time, etc., and it is the implementation of these styles in interaction that constitutes the identities that we claim for ourselves. This conception of style is expansive enough to encompass notions of both intraspeaker variation and interspeaker variation in that we can talk about the different styles that a single person uses to express their identity or we can talk about groups of people that might share similar styles.

2.1.4. Relevant research programs

The next question, then, is what types of research programs and theoretical frameworks can be developed to examine this sociocultural notion of style? Coupland asserts that analysis of this imagining of stylistic variation is analysis of “how style resources are put together creatively” (2007: 3). This analysis takes as its primary concern how variation adds meaning to discourse, both what speakers intend to mean and what listeners take it to mean and also how variation does identity work in interaction. Several researchers have already begun work that combines close examination of discursive context with linguistic analysis to promote this research agenda.

Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall developed a research framework that addresses how social constructionism affects an understanding of sociolinguistic interaction and the way that it should
therefore be examined. Their framework explains the theoretical assumptions of social
constructionists working within language and identity in order to provide a stronger theoretical base
from which to continue this line of research (2005). The first principle of the Bucholtz and Hall
framework addresses and counters a long held idea that language merely reflected the inner state and
identity of the individual. This principle instead states that identity is a product of interactive
processes and performances and is as much a social and cultural construct as it is a psychological
one. The second principle challenges the idea that identity is merely a collection of intersecting social
categories of which an individual is a part. Rather, what is meant by identity can be as broad as
whole social categories like class or ethnicity or as narrow as particular temporary stances. The third
principle focuses on the mechanism by which language works to construct identity. This mechanism
is called indexicality; it involves the semiotic linking of linguistic traits to social meaning. The
principle outlines the areas of language in which indexicality can be found and identity produced.
Language can index identity through labels and categories, discussion of one’s own or others’
identities, evaluative orientations to talk, roles in ongoing conversation, or use of linguistic features
or systems that are associated with particular people or groups. The fourth principle emphasizes
identity as a relational construct. It states that identities acquire meaning in the context of other
available identity categories and other individuals, and it also points out that individuals can have
different types of relationships with identity categories that shape their own selves; individuals need
not just be the same as or different from a particular category or group, their positioning can be
much more nuanced. The final principle states that identity can be constructed through intentional
and unintentional behaviors, through others’ impressions, or through larger social ideologies and
structures. It is therefore highly mutable.

These five principles together, then, provide a cohesive picture of how identity is viewed
within sociocultural linguistic research and also provide a theoretical framework from which this
dissertation was carried out. Bucholtz and Hall’s individual studies are built on this research
framework. Bucholtz has used interaction to look at a broad range of identity constructions,
including but not limited to young white Californians, undergraduate science students, young
school setting showed how the speakers used features of superstandard English to perform
components of their nerd identities: whiteness and intellect (2001). Kira Hall’s work has focused on
the construction of gender identities. She has done a great deal of work that examines how gender is
performed by the Hijras of India (2005, 1997, 1996, 1995). Though both scholars tend to use
descriptive phonological analysis and other linguistic analyses rather than acoustic analysis, they have carried out studies that combine detailed linguistic analysis with discourse analysis.

Penelope Eckert is one of the most significant proponents of this conception of style in variationist sociolinguistics. Her early work integrated concepts from other disciplines in order to ask new questions about variation, and she found that variation doesn’t only index broad social categories, but indexes local meanings that can be investigated using ethnographic and phonetic tools in conjunction. Her studies investigate how individuals index identity categories using linguistic styles, and she uses a combination of methodologies to do so. Her well-known study of teenagers in suburban Detroit who aligned themselves with their high school community versus those who aligned themselves with the city (1989) provides an important example of how variationist linguistic studies can use quantitative results while also examining how linguistic features are being used in particular contexts to achieve meaningful aims (2000). Not only did Eckert’s study look at social categories more locally meaningful and locally constructed than large categories like sex and ethnicity, but her study also paired quantitative surveys of the speech of the high schoolers with examination of how linguistic variants appeared in particular lexical items or types of speech like greetings or flirting. This methodology goes a long way toward examining questions of what variation actually is to the speakers who use it and how meaning is deployed rather than just how variation is structured.

Robert Podesva’s work examines how speakers use co-occurring linguistic variants to style social personas across contexts, and much of his work examines linguistic variables that cross segmental boundaries, like voice quality and intonation, which tend to be less studied in sociophonetics. His dissertation and subsequent publications (with a methodology that greatly influenced the one used for this dissertation) explored variation in the speech of three speakers across three different situation types. Podesva gave the speakers microphones and recorders and asked them to record themselves in contexts they felt comfortable with, and he then analyzed the variation in the interactions, looking specifically at how the use of particular variables changed when the speakers were interacting with different purposes. These changes reflected changes in styles, and these styles together gave a more complete picture of the individuals’ identities. Podesva analyzed different types of phonetic variables and found that the speakers developed various personas that served socially important roles in particular contexts by styling themselves with linguistic variants. The speakers did not always have the same persona, but rather, styled themselves differently to suit their social needs for varying situations (2007, 2008). Linguistic resources allowed them to project
different facets of their identities that would be useful to them for the moment, but their whole identities were made up of the sum of these personas, a whole that Podesva was better able to capture by working with data that varied in purpose, place, and interlocutor.

Nikolas Coupland’s investigations of style and intraspeaker variation have spanned decades, and his understanding of style was foundational to this dissertation. Coupland began investigating style in a travel agency in Cardiff (1980). There, he recorded the speech of the women who worked at the agency, presupposing that a travel agency is a place where people of different socioeconomic classes and cultural backgrounds interact regularly, and that he would be able to record his participants in different speech acts and different levels of familiarity with their interlocutors (2007). His first analysis divided the recorded speech into different ‘contexts’ loosely based around a hierarchy of formality and examined how five linguistic variables were realized in those contexts. This early study, however, still treated variation as linear and sought to quantify the use of variables during a given exchange. In his 2007 book, Coupland returned to the travel agency data with a new framework from which to analyze the interactions therein. Coupland introduces several key concepts that he believes to be vital to studies of style, some his own insights and others borrowed from key theorists of style. His suggestion is that using these concepts to understand discrete interactions provides a thorough conceptualization of how variation is being used to contribute meaning to the talk and also how variation is being used for identity construction.

The first concept is that of ‘targeting.’ ‘Targeting’ is the work that is being done to shape a speaker’s persona according to a particular social goal. Speakers are working to shape their own identities, respond and shape the identities of their interlocutors, or even responding to the identities of people not present for the talk. Linguistic variation can be used as a tool to index these social targets. ‘Framing,’ a key concept for Erving Goffman (1974) and later developed at length in discourse analysis by Deborah Tannen (1993), is the idea that experience and talk are organized into preconceived contexts, and people have expectations of the content and roles thereof. If we are entering into a particular frame then, during an interaction, we will already have expectations of what we might hear or how we are expected to behave linguistically, which will prime us for hearing and interpreting or even producing certain linguistic variants and not others. Coupland breaks these frames into three types: ‘socio-cultural framing,’ ‘genre framing,’ and ‘interpersonal framing.’ ‘Socio-cultural framing’ organizes how interactants view one another and how they are to relate based on a pre-existing social ecology. These frames involve people’s social characteristics and their relationships to one another. ‘Genre framing’ organizes the talk that people can engage in. These
frames define the goals of the specific interaction taking place (e.g. business meeting or first date) and the way that the participants are expected to behave in such a situation. Different genre frames can foreground or background the identities of the interactants such that their social identities may take on more or less importance in that interaction. The final type of framing is ‘interpersonal framing,’ wherein participants’ relationships are organized at the local level. Linguistic features that are meaningful in a broader context or not meaningful at all to other speakers might have meanings specific to the relationship taking place in an interaction. In addition, some of the linguistic work being done in the interaction is shaping the interpersonal relationship of the interactants.

‘Voicing’ has to do with how a speaker represents the ownership of what they are saying. Mikhail Bakhtin introduced the concept of ‘multiple voicing’ and how speakers (or novelists) can adopt the voice of another identity or character (1968). Coupland uses this same understanding for everyday interaction. Speakers often reconstruct the words of other speakers in imitations, quotes, or parodies or use the manner of speaking of another person for these same reasons. Higgins (2015) argues that such speech performances are powerful because they allow “speakers to position themselves in strategic ways in reference to the speech that they are performing.” (137) Furthermore, if speakers are multilingual, they “have very complex tools at hand for identity work.” (137) Several different studies have looked at how voicing another speaker can be used to do identity work. Voicing can be used to mock or deride another person (Goodwin and Alim 2010, Vidal 2015) or idea (Higgins 2015), build solidarity (Rampton 1995), build rapport (Lamb 2015), define hierarchies of authority or power (Chun 2009, Vidal 2015), or construct oneself as a member of a community (Canagarajah 2012, Coupland 2001).

‘Keying’ is the tone of the utterance, whether speakers are serious about what they are saying or whether they are, for example, engaging in some kind of verbal play. Understanding the key of the utterance is vital to understanding the true meaning of the way that variation is being used. The final concept is an extension of ‘keying.’ ‘Loading’ has to do with how invested a speaker is in the identity that they are portraying in an interaction. Keeping evolving targets, frames, voices, and keys in mind while examining a specific interaction allows us to understand what identity

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5 Coupland (2001) called this practice ‘stylization’ where he defines it as “the knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context” (345), but in Coupland (2007), he discusses this same practice as ‘voicing,’ perhaps to use the term attributed to Bakhtin. I chose to use ‘voicing’ because it relates to discussion of Bakhtin’s work and because it is easier to differentiate from ‘style’ which has a different use and is used throughout the dissertation.
projections are taking place during any given utterance and how linguistic variation is being used meaningfully in each context. Using this framework, a researcher can single out specific interactions and seek to understand the entirety of the interaction’s context from the perspective of its interactants before ascribing meaning to the linguistic traits that are being used. This practice allows us to be stringent in a more qualitative approach to variation and meaning while also using phonetic and discourse analysis simultaneously.

Finally, another way of understanding variation at the interactional level that encompasses many of the ideas above is the concept of stance-taking. Stance is the relationship that speakers have to the propositions that they utter or to the people with whom they are interacting. It is “a linguistically articulated form of social action whose meaning is to be construed within the broader scope of language, interaction, and sociocultural value” (DuBois 2007: 139). In every linguistic act, speakers take a stance and relay that stance through their linguistic choices. They might be seeking to teach or to persuade or to be the leader in a given interaction, and their intention is communicated through the way that they deliver an utterance. Some work with stance has focused on speakers’ relationships to the utterance itself. This conception of stance centers around things like how certain speakers felt about their utterances or how they feel about the contents of the utterance (Biber and Finegan 1989, Hunston and Thompson 2000). Stance-taking also has to do with social relationships. Elinor Ochs includes evidential stances such as certainty with other stances such as friendliness or contriteness that serve an interpersonal function (1992). Acts of social identity or category membership also fall within the bounds of interpersonal stance. Kiesling (2009) and Johnstone (2009) argue that stance is the source of social meaning in variation in that variation takes on meaning during specific contexts where a stance is being taken (a process called interior indexicality), and that over time, the social meaning of the variant will broaden as the variant becomes associated with broader social groups. This occurs because forms that regularly appear in a particular context will become associated with that context. Kiesling provides the example of the proliferation of the word ‘dude,’ which was first used in surf culture to index casual masculinity (a stance), but then picked up by other speakers because of this meaning until it became more broadly indexical of casual masculinity or even just casualness in America in general (2009). For researchers who prefer the stance-taking paradigm, the concept of stance is broad enough to encompass many of the other concepts proposed by language scholars working with style. For instance, a speaker’s stance toward a context might be conceived of as the genre of the speech act, or their stance toward their
interlocutor can also be conceived of as ‘footing’ (Goffman 1979) or ‘framing’ (Goffman 1974, Tannen 1993 (see below)).

Kiesling’s 1996 dissertation provides an example of how to examine stance-taking and variation. Kiesling used data from different settings where different interactional styles were appropriate. He then categorized these data into three types: interview speech, meeting speech, and socializing speech, and examined the use of one linguistic variant across these different types of speech. He found that the speakers, despite sharing most social characteristics, realized the -ING ending differently during meetings. Speakers who sought to project a laid-back or oppositional stance were more likely to use the alveolar variant of the variable, which has typically been associated with vernacular, non-standard speech. Kiesling argues that the alveolar variant has indexicalities with hard-working masculinity, and that the speakers are able to use it to project a predictable but varied set of stances. In other studies, Kiesling has used other labels for types of speech interactions, but his goal is the same: to show that “a personal style is created through habitual stancetakings (and in the case of innovative styles, in some cases defines the initial indexicalities of the variant)” (Kiesling 2009: 191).

Studies that use a stance-taking framework provide another theoretical paradigm that treats speakers’ social goals during each utterance as central to understanding social meaning in variation. Barbara Johnstone, also a researcher working from a stance framework, stresses the need to examine the speech of individual speakers, and she has carried out several studies in this vein. Her perspective is that an integral aspect of language is the idiosyncrasy of each individual’s speech. She writes that human listeners don’t respond well to a non-individualized version of language, and that a unique self is an important social and psychological aspect of language. In fact, she wrote that one could view factors like gender, ethnicity, or audience as resources that individuals are using to create their own unique selves rather than as determinants of how those speakers will speak. Therefore, sociolinguists should be examining questions like how individuals construct selves through their deployment of language, whether different individuals deploy variation in different ways, or “why actual, situated utterances take the shapes they do” (1996: 19). She calls for research that examines how individuals draw on the varied resources around them to enact multiple ways of sounding in their own speech to suit the particular needs of the situation and examines how different speakers utilize this variation to greater or lesser degrees.

Close analysis of variation in discourse, then, makes an important contribution different than that of analyzing the speech of groups. In-depth analysis of the speech of an individual across
interactions allows us to explore social construction in interaction in a way that is sensitive to a fuller experience of the speaker. It allows us to explore what speakers can achieve socially through manipulation of linguistic variation and to ask important questions about how variation relates to identity construction. Though this type of analysis is inherently less tidy than quantitative surveys, it allows us to examine how linguistic variants are adding social meaning to discourse and how individual speakers navigate a larger social ecology of linguistic variation in specific interaction.

Though this literature review cannot hope to be a comprehensive description of all of the scholarship having to do with language and style, the theories and studies that have been presented here are the ones most influential to the present work. This study will take a social constructionist approach to identity and language in the hopes of describing how three individual speakers construct their whole selves through their language, with some emphasis on how gender is achieved through linguistic means. In order to carry out this task, the methodological and theoretical work of many scholars is needed. In particular, the examination of the discourse in the following chapters will take ideas from multiple analytical frameworks (whose concepts and even terms often overlap) in order to define specific types of interaction and to define participant roles, stances of the speakers, and other contextual information.

2.2. Gender

The discourse that all of the world’s people are either male or female or men or women and that these categories constitute naturally distinct types of beings is threaded throughout everyday interactions and materials. Official documents, like birth certificates and passports, require one of these two categories to be chosen for an individual (excepting Germany, Australia, Nepal, Bangladesh, India, and New Zealand, which include a third category). Oftentimes, bathrooms are divided into two choices, and everyone must decide which to enter. The social roles of each category are overtly taught to children, and the expectations for these two different ‘types’ of people are widely different from one another in most contemporary societies. For many people, including those in academia and even for many feminists, the categories of two different genders that stem from two different sexes seem natural and even inevitable. The discourse has become hegemonic. However, though this practice-based sexual dimorphism is widespread, the division of people into biologically male and female categories based on their reproductive organs is neither ubiquitous nor inevitable, and the further extension of social roles that are fulfilled based upon having one or the other
reproductive capacity are even less absolute. The division of the world into two sexes that constitute two social roles is the product of one way of dividing people based on their physical traits, but it is not an innate practice of all human societies. Discourses of sex and gender are quite various both historically and cross-culturally.

2.2.1. Fuzzy\textsuperscript{6} sex

‘Sexes’ are labels given to individuals based on biological factors. It is commonly taught that chromosomes cause the physiological characteristics that are used to assign sex, though theories in genetics propose that human sex is actually determined by a gene sequence called the SRY, which is typically found on the Y chromosome (De la Chapelle 1972). There are several genetic variations that are possible in human beings, however, wherein this particular circumstance is not found. These different genetic makeups are treated as ‘disorders,’ and individuals who are born with these relatively infrequent conditions are generally given corrective hormonal treatments that cause them to fit into more typical male or female phenotypes (Blackless, Charuvastra, Derryck, Fausto-Sterling, Lauzanne, and Lee 2000). At present, in most cases in the West, babies are assigned either a male or female designation at birth. For Western medicine, having a phallus indicates a male and not having a phallus indicates a female. This division of all humans into two physical types is called ‘dimorphism,’ and it is the predominant view in many contemporary societies (Herdt 1993). In recent decades, if a child is born with genitalia that is not easily identified as either male or female, the parents are informed and doctors make a recommendation about which sex the baby should be assigned based on which sex the child shares the most biological traits with. Until the 1980s in the United States (and in some cases since then), however, medical personnel made this decision at the child’s birth, based on the length of the phallic tubercle (Beh and Diamond 2000).

This manner of dividing humans into two sex groups is not the only way that societies have constructed biological sex. At different times and in different places, societies have had between one and three biological sexes, often constructed based on physical traits other than the presence of a penis or a vagina. In fact, the Western biological imagining of sex that is widely held today is a recent development, one that slowly developed alongside modern medicine. For many centuries of thought concerning the human body and human forms in the West, there was thought to be one sex, of which some people were a fully complete specimen (i.e., males) and others were a failed, stalled, or incomplete version (i.e., females) (Ringrose 1993). In this discourse, an adult male, capable of and

\textsuperscript{6} This term is here used to denote a thing as not having clear boundaries.
willing to procreate, was a fully realized human person. Women were imagined as lesser, never-
destined-to-be-complete humans; useful, however, for their aid in creating other complete male
individuals. Adolescent boys, old men, sterile men, or men who were not interested in procreation
with a woman were all individuals who had not reached the full potential of manhood or had passed
it by.

There are also some societies that have divided humans into more than two sexes. In two
particular locales, where a form of genetic condition called 5-alpha reductase deficiency syndrome is
more common than in other parts of the world, human beings can be identified as male, female, or
another label that denotes that the individual has the above condition. Individuals with 5-alpha
reductase deficiency do not metabolize testosterone into DHT in the womb and are therefore born
with ambiguous genitalia that appear more like labia than like a scrotum, so that in places with few
cases of the condition, the children are often considered to be female at birth (Herdt 1990). Later,
when puberty comes on, these individuals develop the secondary sex characteristics of males, their
penises grow, and their testes descend. Many individuals born with 5-alpha reductase deficiency are
thus raised as girls, but after puberty, are seen as men. In one group in the Dominican Republic and
one in New Guinea, however, this condition is common enough that it has become recognizable,
often at birth (Herdt 1990). In these places, there is a separate category for individuals born with the
condition; a third sex.

2.2.2. Fuzzy gender

‘Gender’ is generally used to denote labels given to the social roles that individuals with
different assigned sexes play in society (though this view of gender is a bit outdated, and more
contemporary views will be discussed in detail later in the chapter). Often, the normative discourse
comprises two gender roles that extend from individuals’ sex based on the ‘natural’ proclivities of
one sex or the other (wherein, for instance, men are better warriors, women are more nurturing,
men are more reasonable, while women are more emotional, etc.), but there are many and diverse
examples of cultures that include other gender categories that are based on such factors as sexual
orientation, performance of gendered labor, or religious behavior. In these cases, it is possible to fit
a role other than that of strictly man or woman or to cross from one gender to another.

One need not look far to see the two sharply delineated gender roles prevalent in many
societies. This dichotomization is so powerful that there is a great deal of pressure for everyone to
feel like they are a man or a woman, but not to feel both. The genders are often thought to be
natural categories that align with the true nature of males and females. Many practices, particularly in childrearing, involve the separation of the two genders into different spaces, and expectations for girls and boys are very different. While specific beliefs about the characteristics of each gender are highly varied across societies, general practices such as women as gardeners, caregivers, and gossipers and men as warriors, hunters, and leaders are widespread. A woman or a man doing the labor or participating in the activities of the other gender is not always acceptable because those individuals are crossing out of their gendered categories.

In contrast to this, there are a number of examples of societal constructs around the world wherein individuals born with male genitalia enact feminine gender norms or individuals born with female genitalia enact masculine gender norms. Nanda writes that in what is now India, dating back to the ancient texts of Hinduism, there has been a third gender category for both humans and for the Hindu deities. In India (and Pakistan and Bangladesh, though the third gender has many different names in these nations and in various parts of India), the Hijra (having left one’s tribe) are individuals from the lower classes who are either born with ambiguous genitalia or do not feel they want to live as their assigned gender. These individuals are either taken away at a young age or choose to leave their homes to live together in separate communities. Nanda further argues that individuals who have become part of a Hijra community serve a ritual and spiritual function in the Hindu community because they are believed to have been given the power to bless or curse men as recompense for their own sexual loss, but though the Hijra have this structured place in Hindu culture, they are often a persecuted and denigrated community, and they live their lives on the periphery of Indian society (1993).

Though Western countries generally now acknowledge only two genders in practice, some historians analyze Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as changing from having two to having four genders which were based on the interplay between sex and sexual orientation. There were men, women, sodomites (homosexual men), and sapphists (homosexual women) (Trumbach 1993). More recently, sexual orientation and gender have been extricated from one another, but there persists a practice of conflating ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ with ‘lesbian’ and ‘gay,’ so much so that many people insist that gay men have the characteristics of women and gay women have the characteristics of men.

In Thailand, Jackson (2000) argues, the complexity of the understanding of phet (which Jackson translates as types of eroticized gender) has increased greatly since the 1960s. Before the 60s, he writes, there were only three forms of phet: men, women, and an intermediate category.
called kathoey (409). In the 60s, however, the Thai concept of katheoy split into a number of different variants, though from the 70s that particular term was no longer used for masculine women, and in contemporary Thai culture, the term is largely used for male-to-female transsexuals. Beginning in the 1970s, a specific culture of female masculinity (and new labels to go with it) spread throughout the country. Masculine women are called toms, short for English ‘tomboys,’ and the women who have relationships with them are called dees (Jackson 2000). This type of relationship is widespread for young people in Thailand. Toms wear men’s clothing and use masculine pronouns. Though these relationships are often sexual, the concept of female same-sex desire is different in Thailand than in the West, and the label ‘lesbian’ is considered offensive and inaccurate by many females in same-sex relationships (Jackson 2000, Sinnott 2004). Sinnott (2004) argues that the tom-dee culture was made possible by socioeconomic changes that allowed women to leave the villages and their family homes and live in places where sexual exploration became a possibility. In this socioeconomic climate, females are able to remain unmarried and find employment to support themselves so that they can identify as masculine without fear of their families’ disapproval (75).

Throughout nineteenth century Europe, a practice of biological females wearing men’s clothing and taking on men’s occupational roles was reported in many different historical sources. René Grémaux looks specifically at cases of such gender crossing in the Balkans in the beginning of the twentieth century (1993). Because land and houses could only pass to a man and because each family needed to be protected in interclan warfare, families who had no sons were at a distinct and pressing disadvantage. In this case, girls sometimes either volunteered or were designated to become sons. From a young age, these individuals (called virgjinesha in Albania) would begin to dress in men’s clothing and only perform labor tasks that were either specifically men’s work or were suitable for either men or women. They didn’t ever marry men or have children (though in some cases, they did marry women). Whether these individuals were upholding gender dichotomy then, or enacting some third gender category is an open question, one which Grémaux answers by arguing that the form of life lived by virgjinesha is not that of either a man or a woman in this society, but centers around a vow to virginity; and that virgjinesha, in participating in the social practices of both women and men and participating in a social role that is prescribed to neither (that being virginity) are practicing a creative bricolage that results in an entirely new gender category. This is an argument that is important for other societies as well. Though some people may assert that gender-liminal individuals are merely playing the part of the opposite gender and therefore upholding gender
dichotomies, the actual practice of third categories of gender are usually not so polarizing, and often involve additional expectations or roles beyond that of either men or women.

In North America, there is a third-gender category in many of the Native American tribes. As many as 150 societies have been reported as including a third gender (Roscoe 1993). Now often referred to as ‘two-spirit,’ and formerly labelled ‘berdache’ (from the Persian word that is used to refer to the younger male in a homosexual relationship) (Roscoe 1993), this third-gender category comprises people who do not wear the clothing of the gender typically associated with their sex, and who perform the labor of the opposite gender. Therefore, male two-spirit persons have often participated in crafts and domestic work while female two-spirit persons have hunted and taken leadership roles. In addition, two-spirit people are often viewed as supernaturally sanctified, having been given their role in spiritual dreams or religious rites. Finally, these individuals’ behavior sets them apart from women and men, as they in some cases have worn clothing and ornaments distinct from that of men and women. In many tribes, they have undergone rites that are specific to their gender. Two-spirit people were and are often accepted members of society, and given special honor and respect. Their institutional place in society has commonly been as a spiritual leader or healer. Some cases of North-American two-spirit people are perhaps the most clearly identifiable as three-gender systems rather than systems in which members of one sex take on some or all of the gender characteristics of the gender associated with the opposite sex. It appears that in many North American tribes, people were thought to be naturally divided into three social genders, made apparent to them at some point in life (Roscoe 1993).

These examples by no means provide a comprehensive description of the alternatives to gender binarism throughout history. They are merely some of the instances about which the most research has been published. What all of these examples together demonstrate, however, is that there is clearly no single, ‘natural’ way that humans group people into genders, and that gender categories have always been various and somewhat mutable. Furthermore, in some cases, a society’s beliefs allow for an overlap between gender categories such that individuals can move from category to category in their lifetimes. Even in these examples, though, where sex and gender run beyond sexual and gender binarism, sex and gender are still often treated as clearly bounded categories, such that all people must fit into one of the demarcated sex or gender categories because these categories are believed to encompass the entirety of the human experience.
2.2.3. Contemporary American gender

Medical conceptions of sex or gender in the West tend to uphold binary views of sex and gender in that individuals with ‘gender dysphoric’ afflictions are said to feel that they are members of the opposite gender or sex, but not necessarily to feel that there are options beyond male or female, man or woman. Between the 1950s and the 1990s, there were two possible labels for individuals who wanted to participate in opposite sex or gender behaviors: ‘transsexual’ or ‘transvestite.’ ‘Transsexual’ is a term for individuals born of one sex who wish to have the biological characteristics of the opposite sex. ‘Transvestite,’ in contrast, is a label for individuals who do not wish to change their own bodies but want to wear the clothing of the opposite gender (Bolin 1993). In the 1990s, a new term was developed that can be useful as a category for those who feel that they most relate to another gender- ‘transgender.’ This term allows for more inclusivity, and Anne Bolin writes that it “is a community term denoting kinship among those with gender-variant identities. It supplants the dichotomy of transsexual and transvestite with a concept of continuity” (1993: 451). In addition, some transitioned transsexuals don’t choose to pass as a person born with the sex with which they now align, but rather, make it known that they have changed sex or gender so that attention can be brought to the fuzziness of sex and gender labels or because they identify more with trans identity than they do with one of the two sex or gender categories. For these individuals, ‘transgender’ is also a useful label.

There are of course more social categories in American culture that are defined by the mixing or crossing of masculine and feminine traits. Specifically, individuals assigned female at birth can choose to be girls, women, tomboys, femme lesbians, butch lesbians, men, trans men, F-to-M, androgynes; and in Hawai‘i, also butchies (masculine females) or māhū. These are all categories having to do with gender, but many individuals don’t fit neatly into one category or relate to one category across their lifetimes. Gender is a construct not just in theory but for every individual as well, and each of us must navigate our own gender identities no matter our gender identity.

There are also individuals who sometimes borrow behaviors of the opposite gender in performance contexts. Drag kings and queens are people who participate in shows as members of the opposite gender. Drag has a very long history in the performing arts, and it has gained popularity in the last several decades in America. There is a thriving pageant circuit for both queens and kings as well as drag companies in most major cities. The personal identities of drag performers are various, with many employing traits usually associated with the opposite gender primarily for performance and identifying as the gender associated with their sex in daily life, but others
identifying as transgender in everyday life. Still other drag performers are transsexuals who have had
gender reassignment procedures to reform their bodies to match the gender that they perform (this
is especially true in Hawai’i). All of these categories occupy the space between the two widely-
recognized sexes and genders.

It is important to take a moment here to discuss a social factor that is often confounded with
sex and gender: an individual’s sexuality. It is a common misconception that all people who identify
as a gender or sex other than the one they were assigned at birth are sexually attracted to members
of that same sex. This is definitely not the case. One’s sex, gender, and sexuality are all separate
characteristics. It is entirely possible to meet a trans man who is attracted to men, a drag queen who
is attracted to women, a lesbian who is feminine, or a masculine female who is attracted to men.
Individuals in this study are therefore identified as they prefer to identify, with their sexuality and
their gender extricated from one another to the degree that they prefer and labeled separately
according to how they have chosen to identify.

2.2.4. Social constructionist gender theory

Though for a long time, the identity of each individual is thought of as a predetermined
inevitability, social theory in the wake of postmodernism has redefined how we look at how we
become who we are, and cultural and historical relativism have led to a more variable conception of
individual identity in which identity is constantly constructed in social interaction and in how one is
positioned in relation to others and broader society. Who we are as individuals and who we continue
to become, including our ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, are not categories that are handed to us at
birth, rigid and defined, but flexible, mutable constructions that are shaped and reshaped throughout
our lifetimes. These social constructs, integral parts of our identities, are not one single definable
thing that we fall into by accident, but rather are made and remade by society and in human
relations.

In the last three decades or so, theories of gender have also shifted and grown so that its
mutability, diversity, and constructedness are highlighted in research in the areas of queer studies,
anthropology, sociology, sociocultural linguistics, and linguistic anthropology. It is not enough to say
that cultures can divide humans into more than two categories or that those categories can change.
It is important here to note that this logic extends further than simply deconstructing sexual
binarism. If it is possible to construct other categories beyond ‘woman’ and ‘man’ to which a person
can belong, what does that say about the nature of the categories of ‘woman’ and ‘man?’ Are they
not, too, constructed, fuzzy categories that must be defined by the societies in which they are found? Are not the expectations and realizations of these categories various across societies, and does this not mean that the categories ‘man’ and ‘woman’ or ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ are also constructed and therefore discursive? Judith Butler’s important work, “Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity,” argued that all gender is performed (1990). She provides a history of sex and gender (borrowing the idea of the history of a discourse from Foucault (e.g. 1972)) to show how it is purely discursive and can therefore be deconstructed. Butler’s main proposal concerning gender is that being a man or woman is not a natural fact, but rather, constituted through performative acts that constantly produce the body and the self as a sexed and gendered entity. These repeated acts, over time, congeal to create the appearance of a unified substance, a ‘natural’ type of being. In fact, though, identity is a practice, and cultural categories of being are the results of rule-bound discourse that is found in the mundane acts of everyday interaction. Gender is a constant performance, but not a performance by a subject who is said to exist prior to the act of gendering. Rather, identity is always being made, but never preexisting. Therefore, there are no people who are born as boys and girls who then inevitably become men and women, but rather, these identities are produced and negotiated throughout life. One can then understand that being a man or being masculine might just as well be true of a female assigned body and being a woman or being feminine might be true of a male assigned body. In addition, one can envision contexts in which there are genders beyond that of man and woman. In writing about studying drag performance, for example, Butler suggests that, “the strange, the incoherent, that which falls “outside,” gives us a way of understanding the taken-for-granted world of sexual categorization as a constructed one, indeed, as one that might well be constructed differently” (Butler 1990: 110). If gender and sex are constantly being built up around us in both linguistic and non-linguistic interaction, then none of us is born ‘man,’ ‘woman,’ or any other gender category, but are constructed that way by the socially meaningful behaviors we perform. This would mean that there are no innate masculine or feminine propensities that individuals have as a result of their biological sex, and instead, that while humans are born with different reproductive capacities, they may have many other different characteristics as well that could be used to divide them into separate categories. The division of people into two groups based on their reproductive organs is not innate or inevitable.
2.2.5. Gender and sexuality in traditional Hawaiian culture and today

In the islands of Polynesia, including Tahiti, Sāmoa, Tonga, Hawaiʻi, and Tuvalu, there is a practice that allows for the existence of individuals who are neither men nor women, but identify as another gender, sharing some of the characteristics and roles of both genders, and more often participating in the social behaviors of members of the opposite gender from their assigned sex. In each Polynesian society, these gender-liminal individuals, as Besnier prefers to refer to them (1993), are identified by several different category labels. In Tahiti and Hawaiʻi, they are māhū; in Sāmoa, faʻafafine (in the fashion of a woman); in Tonga, fakaleiti (like a lady); and in Tuvalu, pinapinaaine. Most of the literature about gender-liminal individuals in Polynesia focuses on biological males, with only one researcher (Elliston 1999) discussing biological females. Deborah Elliston writes that during her time in the Society Islands of Tahiti, she learned that for the people that she interviewed, māhū was a category for all individuals who had the attributes of both men and women. She argues that perhaps female-bodied māhū have not been discussed because of issues of notice-ability. Because the “codes, cues, signs, and performances of female bodied māhū gender” are difficult to discern, the early explorers may have overlooked such individuals and more contemporary accounts might make the same mistake” (235). It is just as likely that the cultural biases of early explores and even researchers todays are responsible for blinding visitors to what cues that may be perfectly apparent to people on the islands. Even so, there are accounts of individuals in many of these societies who are also born female but take on a gender-liminal identity (Besnier 1993, Elliston 1999), though researchers have either not found them or have not focused on them.

Although there are commonalities in alternative gender in Polynesia, it cannot be seen as one conception across the region because there is so much diversity in the way that people identifying as gender-liminal behave and engage with society. For example, in Tonga, Besnier reports that there is thought to be only one fakaleiti per village, so that if the village’s fakaleiti leaves, another can take her place, but that there cannot be two dwelling in the same place at one time (Besnier 2002). In Tuvalu, being pinapinaaine seems to have most to do with performing women’s work rather than men’s (Besnier 1993). There is great diversity in how individuals self-present within a single Polynesian society as well. Some Polynesian gender-liminal individuals borrow social behaviors from both men and women simultaneously, some exaggerate the behaviors of women so as to not appear realistic, while others attempt to ‘pass’ convincingly as members of the opposite sex. Finally, gender-liminality in Polynesia is not always a permanent label given to an individual. Individuals can change...
genders in a lifetime, choosing to adopt the masculine role of husband after having lived for many years as a third-gender person (Besnier 1993).

What we know about gender in traditional Hawaiian culture is limited. Hawaiian was an oral language, and as such, knowledge of traditional Hawaiian practices comes to us only through Hawaiians who learned to write from the missionaries and chronicled their experiences in pre-colonial Hawai‘i, from the accounts of the foreigners themselves, or from oral accounts of Hawaiians (who had often taken on the Calvinist values of the foreigners). This means that much of the information is passed through a filter of Calvinist values or at the least a Western worldview, so that it is difficult to know exactly how gender was conceived of or practiced before the arrival of foreigners. What is attested to by primary sources is that there were individuals in Hawai‘i that dressed in the clothing of the opposite gender than that associated with their sex and that these individuals were both male and female. We also know that same-sex relationships were common for the ali‘i (royalty) of Hawai‘i so that genealogies would not be interrupted with children born from unsuitable unions (Malo 1903). Much of the rest of the information about traditional Hawaiian gender and sexuality is cultural knowledge that may or may not be entirely accurate (so the following account is information that is thought to be true by Hawaiian scholars and gender researchers at present).

The dictionary writers of the Hawaiian language have translated the word māhū as meaning ‘hermaphrodite’ or ‘homosexual’ (Pukui and Elbert 1986), but it is believed by some scholars that this is an inaccurate understanding of the word (Aki 1995). A more accurate understanding is that māhū were “a masculine female or an effeminate male who took on the role of the opposite gender” (Aki 1995: 137). The Hawaiians believed that every individual had within them the traits of both men and women, but some individuals had more traits of the opposite gender or were more balanced than others and could therefore enter into the occupations and social roles of the opposite gender from their assigned sex (Pukui, Haertig, Lee, Parker, Ball, Titcomb, Coste, Elbert, Mookini and Nishizawa 1972). Many believe that the deity who oversees the hula, Laka, is of mixed gender, so that there is great power in possessing claims to both genders, and there is spiritual precedent for a deep respect of māhū (Robertson 1989). This respect extends also into the history of pre-contact Hawai‘i. Māhū were said to be healers and powerful spiritual practitioners as well as keepers of cultural knowledge and tradition. Though stories about māhū in pre-contact Hawai‘i are generally about males who fulfill the social roles of women, there are also attestations of females who took on the traditionally male roles of warrior and prophet (Pukui et al. 1972).
In contemporary Hawai‘i, there are many clashing responses to non-heteronormative relationships and non-cis\textsuperscript{7} identities in Hawai‘i. This clash of perspectives can be seen in both political and non-political environments. A bill recently passed in the legislature that will allow people to have the gender on their birth certificates changed without having undergone a surgical transition if they have a statement from a medical or mental health provider. Hawai‘i just last year passed the Marriage Equality Act after a twenty year-long battle, but there was a strong presence of demonstrators both for and against the act in the days leading up to its vote. Many people in Hawai‘i practice some form of Christianity, as Hawai‘i has been heavily influenced by both a long history of Christian mission work and also a more recent influx of Mormon influence. Many branches of these religions condemn non-procreative sexuality or family life (Boswell 2009). Additionally, a great deal of the population on O‘ahu comes from Eastern-Asian cultures where homosexuality and gender-liminality are not accepted, and another twenty or so percent of people on O‘ahu are in the U.S. Military, which until 2011 did not allow its members to practice homosexuality openly, and still does not allow transgendered individuals to join its ranks (to change soon, led by a commendable effort by an individual stationed in Hawai‘i at present). Though many Polynesians are subscribe to Western religious practices and do not accept homosexuality or traditional gender roles, some Polynesian residents are accepting of gender-liminality; in many Hawaiian families, māhū individuals are accepted as a part of the fabric of family life. There are also many socially liberal habitants of Hawai‘i. As a result, it is possible to identify as one of many different gender-liminal identities and achieve a great deal of respect in Hawai‘i; there are cultural leaders who identify as māhū and Hawai‘i’s Kim Coco Iwamoto, who identifies as transgender, was elected to the Hawai‘i Board of Education for two terms and is now a commissioner on the Hawai‘i Civil Rights Commission.

Even while many locals disapprove of non-cis, non-hetero identities, drag performance has been an important part of O‘ahu’s nightlife for several decades. In the 1960s, there was a very popular drag venue called ‘The Glades’ where both drag queens and māhū performed, and the show was frequented by locals and tourists alike. When ‘The Glades’ closed, a much smaller show cropped up in a bar in Waikiki, and that venue still hosts drag performances today. There are also some gay bars that host drag nights occasionally. There is a large drag pageant on O‘ahu called the Universal Show Queen Pageant that has taken place every year since 1984 and is attended by large numbers of the members and supporters of the Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgender-Queer-Intersex (LGBTQI)\textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{7}‘Cis’ is a prefix used to describe individuals who most relate to the gender associated with the sex they were assigned.
community. Gender-liminal individuals on O'ahu of diverse identities interact with and support one another. Transgender, transsexual, and māhū individuals perform in drag shows alongside gay male drag queens, and the two Hawai‘i drag kings (this number is hopefully on the rise) perform alongside the drag queens.

2.2.6. Gender variation for individuals in Hawai‘i assigned female at birth

Today, there are many different gender-liminal identities on O'ahu, but none are normalized universally in the way that māhū identity seems to have been normalized pre-contact. For individuals assigned female sex who identify as masculine, including the individuals described in this study, there are different influences providing views of how to conceive of their own gender, and each individual is influenced by the traditions in which they participate and also from the views available in their experience on O'ahu. There is a strong permeation of Western ideologies of gender and sexuality in Hawai‘i, so that gender binarism is highly influential and transsexualism and transgenderism are ideological options. There also continues to be a common practice of lesbian relationships on O'ahu wherein one partner performs femininity and the other performs masculinity so that female assigned gender-liminal individuals might most readily identify as masculine lesbians or butchies, which is a particular subset of masculine lesbians in Hawai‘i. The concept of māhū has also been revived in contemporary society\(^8\) so that individuals can claim this identity, which allows for them to claim the power that the identity had/has in Hawaiian culture.

Since contact with foreigners and especially since the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, Western ideologies have become highly influential in the islands, especially those from England and the United States. Additionally, a majority of the residents of Hawai‘i now are not Hawaiian, and many do not feel a cultural tie to traditional Hawaiian practice or ideology, so other concepts of gender and sexuality are more important to them. Even for some Hawaiians, these Western gender categories are easier to identify with and speak more accurately to their experience. For people born assigned female who identify as men but do not want to alter their bodies, ‘transgender’ or ‘transmasculine’ are appropriate terms. For individuals who do seek to alter their bodies to masculinize their bodies, the word ‘transsexual’ is still used, especially in medical treatment, though ‘transgender’ is also used.

\(^{8}\) The concept may never have died out though the use of the word became a derogatory term for a homosexual man. It is probable that Hawaiians continued to practice the gender identity even as the term became used for labeling a sexual orientation.
A person who is assigned female sex at birth and identifies as a man is often called female-to-male (F-to-M), a label that individuals sometimes use for themselves, even after their transitions are complete. Most transmasculine individuals go through two different transitions, sometimes concurrent, but not always. A social transition is one in which an individual begins to let his family, friends, and coworkers know that he is a man and would like to be referred to with masculine pronouns. The second transition is medical, and for those who choose to alter their bodies, the process of physical alteration is highly variable, and each individual has a unique timeline (Zimman 2012). The effects of testosterone are similar to those experienced by boys during puberty: the voice lowers, new hair grows on the face and body, the structure of the face and body changes, and the individual gains a greater ability to build muscle. Beyond hormone therapy, there are several surgical procedures that are options. Many transmasculine individuals undergo chest reconstruction, where the breasts are removed and the contours of the chest are masculinized and the nipples repositioned. Hysterectomies are also not uncommon for people undergoing medical transition, but genital procedures are less common.

Females need not become men to achieve masculinity. Women, too, can be bros, dudes, guys, tomboys, or, in Hawaiʻi, butchies. There are plenty of hetero- or asexual women who prefer masculine gender labels or relate most to masculine identities, and within the homosexual population, many women perform masculine roles, both socially and sexually. On Oʻahu, being both masculine and local generally means dressing in a particular way and participating in certain activities. Here, butchies and masculine women tend to wear jeans or board shorts, t-shirts and button-down shirts open, and slippahs⁹ or work boots. Their beach clothing is board shorts and a sports bra, often with a baseball cap. Their hair can be short or long, as long hair is both feminine and masculine in Hawaiʻi depending on the wearer. Masculine women on Oʻahu often hold jobs that have been traditionally held by men: construction, corrections officers, longshoremen, or security. These traits do not of course describe every masculine-identifying woman on Oʻahu, but they are shared by many.

For Hawaiians and for some local individuals who are active in the Hawaiian community though not Hawaiian themselves, māhū is a viable gender identity. In the last three decades, coinciding with the Hawaiian Renaissance, there has been a struggle to reclaim the word māhū and restore its use to that of traditional Hawaiian culture, so some gender-liminal individuals in Hawaiʻi

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⁹ ‘Slippahs’ is the local word for the particular type of sandals often called flip-flops. This term is highly salient as a local marker.
much prefer the term to others. Most individuals who self-identify as māhū are assigned males who enact feminine gender most of the time. Some of these individuals, particularly those still involved in Hawaiian cultural practice and those living in more rural areas, do not use hormones or surgeries to physically alter their bodies, but rather wear feminine clothing and use feminine pronouns, dance feminine hula, and take on nurturing roles in the family. Generally, these individuals also date and marry men. There are also individuals who use medical interventions to alter their bodies with hormone injections and surgeries. The female participant in this dissertation who identifies as māhū enacts her masculinity with clothing choices and behavior and has no desire to medically change her body.

The scene for non-hetero, non-cis sexualities and genders for people assigned female is much less apparent than for those assigned male. In other communities, there are lesbian bars and drag king troupes, but neither of these things exists on O'ahu. There is a once-a-month event for lesbians that moves locations, and one local gay bar has a girl’s night occasionally. This means that for most individuals, their support and community includes many other genders and sexualities. It also means that it is somewhat easier to have a sense of community if you grew up in Hawaiʻi and met people through school and activities than if you have moved to the islands from the Mainland. Sports are also an important way that masculine females form relationships and meet one another, so there are many masculine-identifying individuals on outrigger paddling, softball, football, and roller-derby teams.

2.3. Language

2.3.1. Language and gender

While some of the differences in linguistic tendencies for women and men are physiologically driven, others are purely social. Ideological values related to gender are indexed to linguistic variables, and these variables are imbued with gendered social meaning. For example, women are often expected to be submissive while men were expected to be dominant, so linguistic variants indexing these traits might have become associated with the relevant speaker purely as a result of his or her sex or gender. This section will look briefly first at those linguistic traits that correlate with sex that are physiologically motivated and then examine socially motivated traits that are different across genders.
A couple of linguistic traits are affected by physiological differences between cis men and cis women. Male vocal tracts tend to be longer than females’, and their vocal folds grow at a faster rate at puberty because of hormonal changes, leaving them with longer vocal folds. These differences lead to differences in the average fundamental frequencies (perceived as pitch) and the formant dispersions of men and women’s voices. Fundamental frequency refers to the rate at which the vocal folds vibrate when air passes through them. It can be manipulated by stretching the vocal folds. The air that is in the vocal tract has natural frequencies at which it resonates, determined by the vocal tract’s size and shape. Formant dispersion refers to how far apart these resonances are positioned. In longer vocal tracts, these resonances tend to be closer together, so that formant dispersion is lower. Thus, men tend to have lower voices and formants that are closer together than women (Puts, Hodges, Cárdenas and Gaulin 2007).

There are a nearly infinite number of possible linguistic differences between men’s and women’s speech driven by social factors, indeed as many possibilities as there are linguistic traits. Even differences which are physiologically affected can also be partly socially influenced. The difference between men’s and women’s average pitch, for instance, is not the same across languages. In Dutch, average pitch is very close for women and men, while Japanese, for example, has a very wide pitch difference between the genders (Van Bezooijen 1995). This shows that linguistic variation based on physiological differences between sexes can be socially meaningful and that average pitch plays different social roles cross-linguistically. Studies have also cast doubt on the physiological influence of another trait that correlates with gender: the production of /s/. Gendered variation has been found in only a couple of the world’s languages, showing that it is most likely not a physical difference but a social one (Heffernan 2004). American women produce /s/ with a shorter cavity in front of their tongues than American men, producing higher frequency concentrations of energy in its production (Fuchs and Toda 2010).

Studies of American English have also found that women tend to have breathier speech than men (Klatt and Klatt 1990, Mendoza, Valencia, Muñoz, and Trujillo 1996). Breathiness is a voice quality wherein more air is allowed through the vocal folds during phonation. These studies did not directly examine whether differences in breathiness are physiologically affected, but it is probable that this is largely a social difference. Similar to this, creaky voice has also been correlated with sex and/or gender in English. In 1977, Monsen and Engebretson asserted that creak occurred for male speakers more frequently utterance-finally than for women, and Henton and Bladon (1988) went on to argue that it was a marker of masculine or hypermasculine speech. However, more recent studies
have found female speakers using more creak than men, with Lefkowitz and Sicoli (2007) concluding that the feature is used to assert authority and Yuasa (2010) associating it with upward mobility. Mendoza-Denton (2011) finds that both men and women use creak in the construction of a “hardcore persona” in the context of Southern California Chicano culture (262). She argues that the feature can be more associated with men in some contexts and women in other contexts because it denotes toughness, and this local meaning allows it to be marked differently according to the identity practices of the community members.

Another acoustic feature commonly discussed in connection with sex and gender is the release of word-final /t/. This feature has been correlated with a wide range of speakers from nerd girls (Bucholtz 2001) to Orthodox Jews (Bunin Benor 2001), and it is said in these cases to index intelligence and articulateness. However, the variable has also been associated with gender and sexuality. Bunin Benor found in her community of speakers that men released word-final /t/ twice as often as women, though all of the speakers were frequent users of /t/ release. Podesva (2008) found that his participant used more frequent /t/ release to perform a ‘diva’ style and to index the showier aspects of his sexuality. These findings together suggest that the variant might be used to convey articulateness, and when it is combined with other variants, it can be used to contribute to different social styles of which articulateness is an aspect.

Another linguistic variable that has received a lot of attention recently in relation to its gendered use in English is the intonational contour labeled ‘High-rising terminal’ or ‘HRT.’ Across regional dialects of English, it has become more and more common to hear pitch rise at the end of a statement in the same way that it would for a question, and the increased frequency of this intonational contour has been shown to be more common for women than men in several British and American dialects (Barry 2007, Guy, Horvath, Vonwiller, Daisley, and Rogers 1986, Britain 1992, Warren 2005, Clopper and Smiljanic 2011), though Fletcher, Grabe, and Warren (2004) found an opposite correlation in Australian English wherein men used HRT more frequently. The increase of this intonational contour, because it places question intonation onto a statement, has been proposed to denote uncertainty or seeking approval from the interlocutor, and if this is so, these social meanings may have caused HRT to become gendered because speakers who have less power must seek social approval.

Finally, there have also been studies that have correlated phonetic distinctiveness with the sex or gender of the speaker. Male speakers of English have been shown to speak less clearly than females. Labov (1972) and Whiteside (1996) found that female vowel spaces tended to be more
dispersed than males’ from the same region, even after normalization, and Blandon, Henton, and Pickering (1984) and Henton (1995) attributed this difference to females enunciating their vowels more clearly than males do. It has also been found that female speakers tend to reduce unstressed vowels less often than male speakers (Henton 1990, Byrd 1994). Males are also more likely to delete, assimilate, or weaken consonants. Examples include: deletion of final /t/ and /d/ (Neu 1980), deletion of medial /t/ and /d/ (Zue and Lafarriere 1979), lenition of medial /ɾ/ (Bauer 2005), and assimilation of voicing in /h/ (Koenig 2000). These are just some of the examples that show male speakers using more lenition and weakening than females.

There are also patterns in the differences in the way that men and women navigate phonological language change. Gauchat (1905) first demonstrated that women tend to lead in sound change, and numerous linguistic surveys have found this same trend (e.g. Labov 1964, 1990), but other studies have shown men leading other changes (Trudgill 1972, Labov 1972a). It seems, then, that the innovation of a linguistic variable is another platform for social meaning. If movement in a variable becomes associated with one gender or another because of how it indexes roles or characteristics, that gender will be more likely to instantiate that change. It has been found in many different languages and dialects that women higher in socioeconomic status tend to be more conservative concerning vernacular linguistic variables, and this affects the types of changes they participate in (Labov 1990).

In addition to acoustic differences, there are many studies that have examined other linguistic differences between men’s and women’s speech. Language is a layered system, and beyond the phonological level, social meaning can be attached to use of lexical items, grammatical constructs, intonational patterns, and discursive practices. For example, Mulac and colleagues described what they labeled the ‘Gender-linked Language Effect,’ a list of linguistic variables the use of which varied significantly in English according to the gender of the speaker. They found that men tended to use more impersonal constructions, vocal pauses, elliptical sentences, justifiers, and spatial and geographical references. Women tended to use more adverbs, personal pronouns, negations, cognitive verbs, dependent clauses without the conjunctions realized, oppositions, and pauses (Mulac and Lundell 1986, Mulac, Incontro, and James 1985, Mulac, Wiemann, Widenmann, and Gibson 1988).

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10 Studies such as this, that make general claims about men and women are becoming less common.
There have also been a handful of studies on the acoustic differences in speech of heterosexual versus homosexual female speakers of American English, though they have all focused on pitch and pitch range. Queen (1997) and Moonwomon-Baird (1997) use a small number of speakers to conclude that lesbian speakers have lower pitch and narrower pitch range than heterosexual speakers. A larger study (n=24) in Waksler (2001) examined mean pitch and pitch range of straight and lesbian speakers in the San Francisco area, but found no significant differences between sexualities. Finally, Van Borsel, Vandaele, and Corthals (2013) conducted a phonetic study of 102 speakers completing a reading task in order to compare pitch and pitch range across sexualities. They found a significant difference where lesbian speakers exhibited lower pitch values and narrower pitch range than straight women. These studies may indicate that pitch and pitch range are a linguistic resource available to indicate sexual orientation for female speakers.

There are several sociophonetic studies that research transgender/transsexual subjects. Hazenberg (2012) compares the use of /s/, intensifiers, and prosodic variation across straight and queer men and women and transsexual speakers and finds that the six cells of the study have very different patterns of usage, showing that these individuals use these variants in the construction of gender identity. Both Zimman (2012) and Papp (2011) examine the acoustic properties of the voices of transsexual men who were in the first year of transition using hormone therapy. They quantify the effects of testosterone on overall fundamental frequency, formants, and sibilant energy in trans men’s speech, and they also examine which of the observed changes were due to physical changes and which were performative differences, finding that physiological changes caused by hormone treatment cannot account for all of the changes in their participants’ speech, which points to the active construction of gender identity. Zimman also examines the social identities of each of his participants and how these identities interact with the particular speech variables that changed for each participant throughout the year, pointing out that masculinity is not one single construct but enacted differently by different individuals, and these differences in identity are reflected and constructed by speech behavior. In addition to these sociophonetic studies, there is also research that utilizes discourse analysis and examines things like pronoun choice, grammatical gender, or choice of gender or sexuality labels as well as topic of conversation and discourse role in transgender communities (e.g. Hall 1997; Hall and O’Donovan 1996; Saisuwian 2011, 2013).

There is also a great deal of literature from speech pathologists and speech therapists concerning the speech of transsexuals that gives advice on counseling transsexuals in how to ‘appropriately’ speak like the other gender. This literature also sometimes examines acoustic qualities.
like fundamental frequency and pitch range to assess how acoustic properties of the voice change during and after transition (Adler and van Borsel 2006, Bralley, Bull, Gore, and Edgerton 1978, Cosyns, Borsel, Wierckx, Dedecker, Peer, Daelman, Laenen, and T'Sjoen 2013, Dacakis 2002, Davies and Goldberg 2006). However, this literature does not take into account variation in language, nor does it allow for much diversity in how transitioned individuals should present themselves in speech.

Gender is performed in all parts of the linguistic system; in the pronouns that individuals choose for themselves, in the labels used to describe gender and sexuality, and in the performance of individuals’ voices. The resources that individuals can use in gender construction can be taken from diverging linguistic systems and styles that index things other than gender. In Hawai‘i, the mixing of many different cultures and traditions together makes the pool from which individuals might draw even more diverse.

2.3.2. Language in Hawai‘i

At the arrival of Europeans, all of the inhabitants of Hawai‘i spoke Hawaiian, a Polynesian language very similar to its closest Pacific relatives (i.e., Marquesan, Tahitian, and Māori). After Europeans began to visit the islands, the numbers of Native Hawaiians diminished, largely due to the introduction of outside disease and increased warfare. In addition, Western influence meant that the Hawaiian culture, like many other colonized areas, was repressed nearly to extinction. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, English was forced upon Hawaiians, and it became the language of the government and even of schooling. This, alongside the general decline of the number of Hawaiian people on the islands, led to great devastation of the Hawaiian language.

Hawai‘i is also home to Pidgin. It developed as a pidgin, a contact language that is not used as a first language, on the plantations in the late nineteenth century as a shared language for workers from China, Japan, Portugal, the Philippines, and many other Asian nations. Its primary lexifier is English, but other aspects of Pidgin come from Portuguese, Japanese, Filipino, Cantonese, Hawaiian, Korean, and others. In the early 20th century, the pidgin creolized as it became the dominant and first language of many children born on the plantations. Today, there are an estimated 600,000 speakers of Pidgin across the Hawaiian islands (Sakoda and Siegel 2008).

Concurrently with the development of Pidgin, English gained a stronger hold in more domains in Hawai‘i. It became the language of the schools and official exchanges, much to the detriment of the Hawaiian language. Since the 1920s then, many speakers in Hawai‘i have been
bilingual in Pidgin and English, using Pidgin and English while generally holding the ideology that Pidgin is for casual contexts and English for more formal settings (Marlow and Giles 2008). Local speakers of both languages learn when it is considered appropriate to use which linguistic system and switch between them for different purposes. If they do not correctly use each linguistic system, some feel that they are in danger of seeming uppity in casual settings or uneducated in formal settings (Marlow and Giles 2008: 59). Each language has its own prestige value, but being able to properly identify when to use the language of covert prestige and when to use the language of overt prestige is a valuable skill in this bilingual context.

On O'ahu, an estimated 27.8% of homes use a language other than English as the primary mode of communication. Around 22% of these speak an Asian or Pacific language (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). In addition to this, the English spoken in Hawai'i is a regional dialect with features making it unique from other varieties of English spoken around the world (Drager, Kirtley, Grama, and Simpson 2013, Kirtley, Grama, Drager, and Simpson to appear). This diversity of languages and people means that people who grow up in Hawai'i are exposed to a wide range of cultures, and they also have a wide range of linguistic experiences that give them a great number of linguistic resources to use in enacting and building their ethnic, gender, and sexual identities.

The speakers in this study speak Pidgin, Hawai'i English, Standard American English (hereafter SAE), or a mixture of all three systems. In addition, they use vocabulary and phrases from other languages for some purposes. As this study examines variation in the phonetic realizations produced by the speakers, the phonological systems of Pidgin and Hawai'i English are briefly introduced below, while lexical and grammatical items specific to Hawai'i will be discussed during the analysis chapters alongside the relevant results. For the participant who primarily uses a form of American English, his variety of English will be described in the chapter presenting the analysis of his speech.

Before describing the individual phonological systems of Pidgin and Hawai'i English, it is also important to briefly discuss the relationship that these two systems have to one another. Pidgin is primarily lexified by English, and for many people who live in Hawai'i, and even for some visitors, the two systems are mutually intelligible because there is so much English in Pidgin. In addition, older varieties of Pidgin or varieties found in more rural areas are often what locals call ‘heavier’ (akin to what linguists call basilectal), while ‘lighter’ Pidgin shares more features with Hawai'i English. Empirical evidence in support of this is provided in Grama (2015), who found that younger speakers of Pidgin had vowel spaces more similar to English than older speakers did. Thus,
‘lighter’ Pidgin might be considered to be English by some listeners and Pidgin by others, depending on the listener’s experiences with the systems and depending on how basilectal their own use of Pidgin might be. Decisions about what system is being used are sometimes best left to the individual speaker to make. In this dissertation, for the speakers of Hawai’i English and Pidgin, the focus will be on the specific features of an utterance, and at times, it will be most productive to talk about features as local rather than as belonging to Pidgin or English because the features are shared across the two systems, but not shared with other linguistic systems spoken outside of Hawai’i. However, if a feature is found only in Pidgin and not shared with Hawai’i English, it may be referred to as such.

Hawai’i English shares some features with Pidgin and many with SAE. Sato (1993: 135), who used auditory analysis, lists four phonological features of Hawai’i English that are similar to the phonological features of Pidgin. Similar to what is observed in Pidgin, she describes Hawai’i English as exhibiting non-centralized vowels in unstressed syllables, interdental fricative stopping, monophthongized GOAT\(^{11}\) and FACE, and vocalic /r/ in coda position. Acoustic analysis by Drager and colleagues has shown many vowel patterns that are similar to patterns found in other varieties of English but also some vowel realizations that are specific to Hawai’i English (Kirtley et al. to appear). Some characteristics (such as GOAT monophthongization) can be generalized to all speakers of Hawai’i English, while there are also some differences between the vowels of older and younger speakers, implying that several changes are currently taking place in the dialect (Drager et al. 2013, Simpson et al. 2014). As in many varieties of the American West, the LOT-THOUGHT merger is nearly complete in Hawai’i\(^{12}\) (Hay, Drager, and Thomas 2013). Also similar to many other English varieties (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006), GOOSE is fronted in post-coronal positions, while FOOT is fronted in all contexts. Kirtley et al. (to appear) corroborates that GOAT is monophthongal, as reported by Sato (1993), and it is realized in an especially back position. Also, FACE is characterized by less formant movement than in other dialects, with a trajectory primarily along the second formant rather than the first. The nucleus of MOUTH is further back in Hawai’i English than in other varieties, with a trajectory largely along the second formant rather than the first. The short front vowels, KIT, DRESS, and TRAP are undergoing change in Hawai’i English: TRAP is lowered and

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\(^{11}\) This dissertation uses Wells’ lexical sets to name particular vowel phonemes (1982). This system uses words in which a particular vowel is found to identify the vowel sound itself. For example, KIT refers to /ɪ/ and GOOSE refers to /u/.

\(^{12}\) The low back vowels may be involved in different mergers in Hawai’i English and Pidgin. It is not yet known how bilingual speakers utilize this section of the vowel space to do social work and is an interesting question for future research.
retracted by young speakers, and KIT and DRESS are lowered. It would seem at first that the three vowels may be involved in a chain shift similar to that occurring in Canadian and Californian Englishes. However, while TRAP is retracted in the speech of younger speakers, unlike in other varieties of English where this is taking place, with the exception of Latino Californian speakers, (Eckert 2008), the retraction occurs before both oral and nasal sounds.

Basilectal Pidgin has a consonant inventory similar to that of English, except that in Pidgin, /t/ is commonly glottalized word-finally, the coronal stops are palatalized pre-rhotically, /θ/ and /ð/ are often stopped (referred to in this dissertation as /dh/ stopping), and /r/ and /l/ are commonly vocalized in codas (Sakoda and Siegel 2008). The vowels of Pidgin are quite different than English vowels, however. For older speakers, Pidgin does not have a spectral distinction between high lax and high tense vowels. Instead, the distinctions between FLEECE and KIT and GOOSE and FOOT (as well as LOT and STRUT) are maintained with length (Grama 2015: 249). Pidgin also maintains a distinction between LOT and THOUGHT, while LOT and STRUT are merged, and for many speakers, DRESS and TRAP are one phoneme (Sakoda and Siegel 2008: 222). In addition, FACE and GOAT are monophthongal in Pidgin (Grama 2015: 101). Pidgin also uses less vowel reduction. In places where a reduced vowel would be used in English, Pidgin uses the non-centralized vowel (229). Grama (2015) further found that there is a significant difference in the vowel systems for older and younger Pidgin speakers. Younger speakers exhibit no such spectral overlap between the high vowels, having changed to maintain spectral differences for these vowels that are distinct in the English vowel system. They also maintain a distinction between STRUT and LOT that older speakers do not and their THOUGHT vowels are beginning to move forward and down. Grama (2015) also showed that Pidgin speakers exhibit a complete merger between DRESS and TRAP before /l/ and a distinction between TRAP and BATH that has been lost in many dialects of American English, though this distinction is not as pronounced as that found in British English (217).

There has been very little gender difference described in both Hawai‘i English and Pidgin. In an acoustic study of Hawai‘i English front vowels, men produced both DRESS and KIT in a lower position than did women (Drager et al. 2013). Other than this difference, very little is known about differences between men’s and women’s speech specific to this dialect. Grama’s dissertation on the Pidgin vowel system found very few differences in vowel realization correlated with the speaker’s gender. He found only that women exhibit a raising of LOT and the nucleus of MOUTH across generations while men do not and that women produce lower realizations of KIT than men (the opposite of the result found for Hawai‘i English) and produce LOT and THOUGHT more similarly
(2015). These similarities between the way that women and men use Pidgin may have to do with the social goals of its speakers. Because Pidgin is used to index localness, and as my participants mentioned, to index toughness, it’s probable that speakers do not use variation in Pidgin for the purpose of indexing gender. It is also possible that gendered variation didn’t appear in the interview setting of the data used for Grama’s study but does exist in other settings. The interview setting doesn’t always facilitate use of the entire spectrum of variation.

Because the amount of acoustic work done in Hawai‘i is small, particularly as concerns any variables beyond vowels, and the sociolinguistic work concerning gender is even more limited, it was very important that I get to know the context well and spend a lot of time around local speakers, observing how variation was used and how it was interpreted by local interlocutors. In a study context with a smaller amount of literature about the area, ethnographic work becomes all the more vital. The next chapter will describe how I used ethnography to understand the social meaning of variation used by my participants and it will also describe what I hope to accomplish with this study and the methodology that I used in order to work towards these goals. I used a combination of approaches so that I could provide three case studies of speakers, delving into their identities and their language use so that I can talk about how one constructs and motivates the other.
Chapter 3 • Methods

The goal of this study is to understand the various linguistic means by which individuals construct their identities in interaction across topics, genres, and speech partners. As such, several research tools were used in order to first gain access to talk in context and to then conscientiously analyze how meaning is being conveyed in that talk. I used ethnographic research, self-recording, sociolinguistic interviews, phonetic analysis, and examination of discourse all together in order to describe how linguistic styles are used in interaction to convey meaning and build an identity. I used ethnography in order to be able to interpret discourse and to better understand which linguistic variables a particular person might be likely to use in what situations and where those variables might have come from. I interviewed the main participants of this study in sociolinguistic interviews as well as interviewing and casually chatting with other members of the LGBTQI community on O’ahu. I also collected recordings of the participants interacting with other people in their lives and in different sorts of contexts so that I could pose questions about intraspeaker variation that have not been looked at in many other studies. For these recordings, the participants were trained to use the recording device themselves and were responsible for collecting recordings in different situations. All of these data collection methods resulted in field notes, personal relationships with my participants and their loved ones, and around 15 hours of recordings.

I combined analysis of the discourse with examination of the phonetic and lexico-grammatical stylings that the participants used so that I could comment on how they were using structural aspects of language to layer meaning and identity work on to their talk and on how phonetic and grammatical variables were wielded both to form reoccurring styles and to accommodate different contexts. I also used broader quantitative analysis of some variables to examine whether overall rates of occurrence or levels of linguistic variables might show trends across different genres or contexts. This analysis was carried out with a strong base built from the extensive amount of time spent with the participants and in the LGBTQI community on O’ahu so that my interpretations would be thoroughly informed.
3.1. Ethnography

From the 1960s through the 1990s, the preferred methodology of variationist sociolinguistics was the sociolinguistic interview, wherein researchers would survey the language variation of an area by interviewing people they were meeting for the first time, and attempting to make these interviews as natural as possible by asking questions that provoked emotional responses. In this type of approach, which is still commonly used, the participants are grouped by the social factors (e.g. ethnicity, social class, gender, etc.) they have in common, and differences in their speech are analyzed as correlated with these factors. This methodology is appropriate for seeking out generalized behaviors of pre-identified abstract social categories, and is also useful for obtaining specific demographic information from speakers and collecting speech in a controlled environment.

More recently, ethnography has become indispensable to many variationist sociolinguists. Ethnography is a qualitative methodology that involves long-term participant observation by the researcher. In ethnographic research, the researcher observes the participants in many different contexts, comes to know the participants quite well, and meets the people with whom the participants come into contact. Because of this extended interaction, the researcher can get a fuller understanding of the styles that each speaker uses and the choices (conscious or unconscious) that the speaker makes in different circumstances. In the first ethnographic studies within variationist sociolinguistics, many researchers studied a community that met in the same space made up of members who knew one another (Bucholtz 2006; Eckert 1989; Mendoza-Denton 1997). While this kind of ethnographic work allows the researcher to have a comprehensive understanding of a small community, the approach limits the researcher to certain environments, usually school or work, which people are required to attend regularly. During this process, the researcher meets individuals and forms close bonds with some individuals in the community. I did this type of ethnographic research in order to make contacts and to better understand the LGBTQI and gender-liminal communities of O’ahu, but the bulk of my ethnographic work in this dissertation was done a bit differently.

Because the goals of this study are highly tied to individual behavior and idiosyncrasy, my methodology involved beginning with individuals and learning about their personal communities by spending time with them. In his dissertation, Lal Zimman (a member of this committee) takes this different approach to ethnography. He argues that people orient to social constructs beyond their smaller communities and that these large social constructs, which form important abstract realities
for community members, are in fact “the collective project of a series of overlapping communities of practice, with different practices at their core” (2012: 78). Even if individuals may not all be part of a single social network, they still belong to overlapping networks that together constitute a larger abstract category like ‘transgenderists.’ Thus, in his ethnographic work, Zimman participated in the activities of several different smaller groups that are part of the transmasculine network in San Francisco, and he studied people who did not necessarily know one another, but who were connected through the trans community at large, either through shared medical resources, community-wide events, or membership of broad internet communities. He spent large amounts of time with each individual participant, though he did not spend time with all of them in one place, as this was not the circumstance of their connection to one another. A similar approach to Zimman’s was used for this dissertation. The members of the gender-liminal community on O‘ahu attend some of the same events and frequent many of the same bars, as well as receiving medical care from the same health centers, but there is not a single meeting place where I carried out all of my observations.

3.1.1. Laying a foundation

I was initially interested broadly in queer and alternative gender identity in Hawai‘i, and began my inquiries while considering research within the māhū community on O‘ahu. My ethnographic research began in the fall of 2012 with many failed attempts to make face-to-face contact with individuals in the male-to-female māhū community. After reading a book of interviews with transwomen and māhū on O‘ahu, I contacted the author and asked him for advice on whom I might contact to learn more about becoming involved in the community and building relationships. He directed me toward a very prominent figure in the O‘ahu māhū and hula communities who had been of great help to him (now featured in a popular documentary). I contacted her through social media, and she was gracious enough to set up a phone interview with me in which we discussed my hopes for my research and in which she gave me advice about how to proceed. She directed me toward the only remaining NGO on O‘ahu that specifically works with the māhū community, an organization that works to help HIV patients and to prevent further transmission of the disease. She also encouraged me to make sure that I was not exploiting the people with whom I hoped to work. She informed me that many people have approached the community, asked them to share their stories, and benefited from those results without really providing any benefits back to those people whose stories they had taken. She warned me to seek above all to find ways to either make my work
useful to the people I would study or to return to them the favors of their participation with simple things like buying meals or offering rides. I have sought to provide compensation in the forms of dinners or favors whenever possible, as my participants are very busy people, and the time that they give me is a sacrifice for them.

On this consultant’s advice, I contacted the NGO to offer my volunteer services in order to make friends and begin to become involved in the community, but after repeated attempts, I never heard back and decided that I would have to make contacts through different avenues. I joined a drag performance class in order to meet new people and to experience some amount of gender crossing myself (and also because drag performance is just plain fun). Through the class, I learned a lot more about gender and sexuality in Hawai‘i. Around the same time, I met with Rebecca Stotzer (a committee member), who works in the Social Work department at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and was doing survey work that involved the māhū and transgender and transsexual communities of O‘ahu in order to ask her for advice and to consult with her about our shared research interests. She asked me about whether I might be interested in individuals who had been born female, and when I said “yes!”, she told me that she would happily try to put me in contact with an individual that she knew, who I subsequently contacted and who is featured in Chapter 4. By the end of that semester, I had met six individuals of various gender identities who were willing to participate in my dissertation work, but I felt that the scope of the specific investigation of individual style lacked some amount of focus, so I decided to focus on just three of the individuals for the in-depth examination of individual style and use the ethnographic information from others and in some cases interview data from others as resources to situate the stylistic choices of the three individuals within a broader context. I chose to focus on individuals who were born female but now express a masculine identity (māhū, man, and masculine lesbian), who have lived a majority of their lives in Hawai‘i, and who had lived on O‘ahu from at least as early as high school. I made this decision because it narrows my inquiry to performances of masculine identities, which can allow for a more focused and effective deconstruction of the notion that a shared social characteristic necessarily implies similitude. I also made this decision because, in Hawai‘i at least, masculine females and trans men are less visible than other queer identities, and I wanted to tell the stories of these individuals.

In the drag performance class that I took in the spring semester of 2014, I was introduced to drag culture in Hawai‘i and learned more about gender-liminal identities on the islands in general. As explained in Chapter 2, Hawai‘i is divided along different social lines than the Mainland in terms of
which people mix at social functions. Therefore, spending time at drag performances or with drag performers can also mean spending time with individuals of other gender-liminal identities. The class began with informational sessions to introduce us to drag culture around the world and the specific drag culture of Hawai‘i. We had lessons on the prominent drag clubs that were open in the 1960s in downtown Honolulu, with special guests who had performed at these clubs. We attended rehearsals for one of the drag shows that runs weekly in Waikiki. We also had classes with special guest speakers who talked about their gender-liminality or their particular interest in gender crossing or performance. The class met at a bar in Waikiki every Monday night to watch RuPaul’s Drag Race together with our teacher hosting. In the latter part of the semester, we began to learn the art of drag performances ourselves, learning about costuming, makeup, lip syncing, dancing, and MCing. The end of the semester included several performances where we ourselves performed solo or group lip-syncs in bars in Waikiki or on campus. I was one of only two drag kings in the performances. In the class with me were three regularly performing drag queens and the only regularly performing drag king on O‘ahu, Hunter Down (or Shain), who was also interviewed for this dissertation. Through this class, I learned a great deal about queer culture, particularly performative culture by non-whites, and much of the information included in the descriptions of gender in Hawai‘i was learned through my experiences in this course and through spending a large amount of time with my drag teacher and with his friends and acquaintances, as well as through shadowing and interviewing Shain about his perspectives on gender-liminality and drag performance on O‘ahu.

The contextual research, then, was done in the drag class, including many outings to performances and to rehearsals or pageants; in time spent in paddling clubs with teammates who were gender-liminal; and in interviews with individuals who fit some but not all of my criteria for being included in the in-depth ethnographic portion of the dissertation. The ethnographic research that specifically involves the three individuals being closely examined was accomplished through hours of time spent with the individuals in informal interactions, a great deal about which will be said in each individual’s chapter, as well as sociolinguistic interviews with each participant.

3.1.2. Individual interaction

When I first met or talked with each of the participants in this study, I told them about my general academic interests and my specific goals for the present research. I shared with them that I wanted to know more about the performance of masculinity in language, that I was interested in people with gender-liminal or gender-transitioning/transitioned identities, and that I was interested
in a broad spectrum of what it meant to be masculine. I explained that my research would first include months of occasional visits and time spent together and that what I was asking of them amounted to being my friend first and being researched secondarily. It was important to me to establish a relationship with the participants that did not exploit the willingness of the participants to give of themselves, but was more akin to a friendship in that there was a sharing of ideas, favors, and time spent together. For this reason, for each of them, it was important to both them and to me that we felt comfortable with each other and actually felt that we could trust one another and spend time together pleasantly, and our first meetings served the purpose of confirming that we would be able to be friends.

I informed each participant that after spending time with them and meeting some of the people in their lives, I would be both interviewing them more formally and also asking them to record themselves. Over the past two years, then, I have met with each participant at dinners, performances, or parties a minimum of five times each for a minimum total number of twelve hours spent with each in an informal setting where no recording took place. After each meeting, I would write notes about what I had learned or observations that seemed important to me. I never took notes while I was with the participants. I spent more than one hundred hours of social time with the participant that I spent the most time with, so I discontinued note taking after every social meeting, but wrote down new information or events if they were particularly interesting to me. In this way, I was able to be present when the participants interacted with different people in their lives and observed them in multiple contexts. I was also able to establish a relationship that went beyond interviewer because I knew some of their family and friends and had interacted with them socially. My time with the participants varied greatly across individuals, but in general, the meetings that we had were just like having coffee or dinner with a friend. Particularly for the first couple of meetings, we would sit down together and talk pointedly about their pasts and identities for an hour or two. The following social activities became more diverse in nature.

3.2. Profile of the researcher

As has been stressed by many a theoretician and researcher, people interact differently in different contexts, and researchers both affect the environment in which the participant is acting and also understand and interpret that environment through their own biases, stereotypes, and experiences (Rickford & McNair-Knox 1994, Milroy & Gordon 2008). The researcher operates as a
sort of filter of the actual circumstances of the ethnographic experience, as every researcher will tend to notice some things and not others and will interpret some things in a way that another researcher might not have (Mendoza-Denton 2008). It is important to be aware of personal biases, to consult participants about their own interpretations of events when possible, and to constantly question one’s own experience. My relationship with each participant was different, and each one no doubt saw me in a different way and thus behaved in different ways towards me, and I no doubt built perceptions of them that caused me to interpret their actions through the lenses of those perceptions; this being both the essence of and sometimes a blockade against interpreting meaning in interaction. Therefore, the best that I can do for the reader, who must at some level, take my word on the interpretations in this research, is to offer, when possible, the actual data that I am discussing and a thorough description of my relationship with each participant and of the social and behavioral facts concerning me, the researcher.

I am a female who identifies as a woman who is attracted to individuals of all gender identities, and I am married to a man. My sexuality is usually not addressed since I am married to a man, but my participants know that I have dated women and that I am attracted to people of all gender and sex identities. I have several visible tattoos, which are common for locals in Hawai‘i and also social markers of alternativeness in American culture. With my hair and style, I like to borrow from different gender norms, so that I might appear more feminine or more masculine on different days. In personality, I am sociable and opinionated, with a dry sense of humor and a bluntness about me that people generally respond quickly to, be it negative or positive. My participants share these traits with me, so I was able to form relationships with them quickly and create lasting friendships.

I was born and raised in a small town in Kansas in a white family with an older brother and a younger sister. My father is a shop teacher and farm hand, and my mother stayed home to care for us as I was growing up. My family is very Baptist, and this was a significant part of my younger years, though I am no longer religious now. I moved to Arkansas when I was seventeen to attend a small university where I majored in English, and after school, I taught for a year in Japan, a year in Seattle, and a year in Poland before coming back to America to attend graduate school. I moved to Hawai‘i in 2009, and I’ve lived on O‘ahu for six years. When I first arrived, I wasn’t involved with local activities and didn’t have many friends who were local outside of the university campus, but after a couple years of living in Hawai‘i, I became much more engaged with community concerns and local activities. I began work on a wide-scale Hawai‘i English project in 2011 (Drager et al. 2013, Kirtley et al. to appear) that drew me into a specific interest in language in Hawai‘i, and in 2012, I
started outrigger canoe paddling, which strengthened my relationship to the O‘ahu community, as the activity is a very traditional and important aspect of Polynesian culture and many locals participate in it. Paddling has taken me outside of the university environment and exposed me to much more local language and culture than I would have experienced if I had continued to only have friends from campus throughout my education.

Because I am a Mainlander and an alternative-looking haole (white person or foreigner), locals never assume that I am local. In addition, because I was not raised here, I cannot participate in an important relationship-building conversation that most locals engage in when they first meet. In Hawai‘i, when two locals meet, the first question they generally ask one another is “Where’d you go to school?” If they know anything about one another’s schools, they will continue this conversation, seeking to find friends or family members that they might have in common. If they don’t know one another’s schools well, they will often ask about another activity or community that they might share so that they can find other shared acquaintances.

The way that I speak now has been affected by the many places that I’ve lived and the social goals that have become important to me. I was raised in the South-Midlands dialect region with two parents who have Midwestern dialects, so I have many of the markers of this dialect area, like the COT/CAUGHT merger and the PIN/PEN merger. However, I’ve lived in areas without the PIN/PEN merger for eight years now, and I’ve begun to maintain the distinction sometimes. My speech has become much less South-Midlands than my family’s. Also, I am a speaker who changes a great deal according to the interlocutor I am engaged with. In particular, I use many local features of speech when speaking with a local, particularly monophthongized GOAT and the ‘yeah’ question tag, as well as local intonational contours. Hopefully this description of me and my speech will allow readers to understand how my participants might have viewed me and to understand the lens through which I have completed this work.

3.3. Recording

Despite the fact that I have formed relationships with my participants that go beyond those that typically exist between interviewers and interviewees, I did not want to use only data that were recorded with me present at the time, even if I were in another room. I wanted to allow my participants the freedom of recording at any time that they felt comfortable doing so in order to obtain recordings of talk that included their everyday interactions or included situations where I
would not naturally be a participant. To get these recordings, I gave each of my participants somewhere between one and three months with a small recording device (a Yamaha Pocketrak Pr7) and an over-the-ear microphone (a Samson SE10T\textsuperscript{13}). The participants were excited about this prospect and looked forward to their time with the recorder. My priorities for choosing recording equipment were high quality retention of the speakers’ voices along with unobtrusive size and appearance and ease of use since the equipment would be traveling along with several different people and I would not be present to troubleshoot. The recorder is small enough to fit in a pocket, while the microphone is secured over the ear and sits around three inches from the speaker’s mouth. This combination ensured recordings in which the speech of the wearer retained phonetic integrity and the content of the interlocutors’ speech was always audible as well. My hope was that the participants would be able to forget about wearing the mic as time passed, and in some cases, particularly at home, this happened, as evidenced in comments made in the recordings. Outside of the home, they were more cognizant of the device. I had many issues with the microphone because of its connection to the device, and I actually lost a great deal of data that had been recorded as silence. For each of the three participants, three hours or more of recorded conversation was lost.

The participants recorded themselves while interacting at home and in other environments where they felt comfortable taking the recording equipment. At the beginning of the recording period, I met with each individual to teach them to use the equipment and to make sure they felt comfortable with its use. I also told them my expectations for what they would be recording and how many hours I would ideally have recorded of each of them. I asked them to try to record conversations with different people in their lives and try to include at least five of these six possible interlocutors in their recordings: a significant other or dating partner, a father, a mother, a stranger or new acquaintance, a student or subordinate, and a pet. Not all of these interlocutors were possible conversation partners for every participant during the recording period, so I wanted to get as many shared contexts as possible, realizing that I would not obtain a perfect match of situations across all three participants. I explained to them that I was looking at how they interacted differently with different people in their lives and looking specifically at how their voices changed with different conversation partners.

Near the end of each participant’s time with the equipment, I met with them to complete an in-depth and focused sociolinguistic interview, using the same recording equipment because they

\textsuperscript{13} This microphone had to be replaced with a GE over-the-ear headset for one participant because the Samson microphone’s connection was broken.
had become accustomed to it. In scheduling these interviews, I told the participants that I would be asking them a lot of questions, that the interviews would be detailed, and also that I would be asking them for some information that I myself already knew from spending time with them. I wanted, however, to be able to capture the way that they would want that information relayed or to be able to ask important follow-up questions. I made sure that they knew that the interview might seem redundant because I wanted to make certain that I was faithfully representing their views of their experiences and identities. I also told them that they were welcome to invite their loved ones to be present for the interviews if they thought that their loved ones might want to contribute or might be able to give additional relevant information. At the interviews, I told the participants that in order to protect their privacy, they could choose to use their own names or to use pseudonyms. If they chose to use pseudonyms, they chose them at this time and all documents and files concerning the participants were then identified with that name. Each interview consisted of three parts. We first talked about each person’s general biographical information. I asked them about their childhoods, families, jobs, and hopes for the future, as well as some questions about beliefs and strengths. The next section included questions about gender. I asked them about gender in Hawai‘i and elsewhere, about their own gender identity and their experiences with gender and sexuality, and about different gender concepts. Finally, I asked them questions about their language use, particularly about what they might notice about their own speech style or how it might have changed over time. I asked follow-up and clarification questions when useful. When I reached a question that I already knew the answer to, I made sure to phrase the question in such a way that they knew I had been listening in our time together and knew the answer, but that I wanted to ask again to capture their answers in the recording. The interviews lasted between one and two hours, and I tried to speak as little as possible during that time so that I could gather as much information as possible; this was a different balance than the one that I struck in most of the time that I spent with participants, where I was enacting a friendship rather than carrying out an interview.

3.4. Analysis

Once I had collected all of the recordings from a participant, I transcribed and time-aligned them using the program Transcriber (Boudahmane, Manta, Antoine, Galliano, and Barras 2013), which allows you to break recordings into any length of utterance and type the speech during that turn, as well as label the speaker for the turn. I divided the recordings into segments at long pauses
or at the end of intonational phrases (IPs). For each of these transcripts, I generated a Microsoft Word document of the text, and while I listened through the recording a second time, I both checked the transcription to make sure that it was accurate and marked the text document for a variety of speech acts and interlocutors as well as any particularly interesting linguistic instances, describing the speech act using the ‘comments’ function. I also coded for the addressee of the utterance. I entered each of these utterances into one Excel spreadsheet per participant, including descriptive information about the utterance and the interlocutors present for it. I then divided each utterance into separate IPs such that each IP had its own row in the spreadsheet.

I have an independent LaBB-CAT database set up on a server on my home computer into which I next uploaded both the transcripts and the recordings. LaBB-CAT is a browser-based tool that stores transcripts and media files and allows many different types of searches through your data as well as facilitating annotations and forced alignments (Fromont and Hay 2015). After the transcripts from a participant had been uploaded, I force-aligned each transcript using the Hidden Markov Model Toolkit (HTK). This forced alignment aligns the recording to the orthography at the phonological level. After the transcripts and recordings have been aligned at the segment level, they are searchable at all levels, and once a search has been completed, the researcher can download a segment of the media file along with a Praat textgrid that can be opened together for analysis in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2015). The textgrid contains tiers for the phrase, the words, and if LaBB-CAT has been set up with a dictionary, a tier of the phonemes for each word. If given enough data from one speaker, the program can produce these phonetic alignments with remarkable accuracy, though it does make consistent mistakes with accurately aligning /h/, /r/, and /l/. I downloaded the relevant textgrid for each utterance that I had marked earlier during the close listening to the recordings.

I next opened each textgrid and its corresponding audio file in Praat. For each IP, I measured its length, average pitch, the pitch of its highest point, and the pitch of its lowest point. To find the pitch range of each IP, I subtracted each IPs minimum pitch from its maximum pitch. I calculated the average pitch, the average minimum pitch, the average maximum pitch, and the average pitch range across IPs as well in order to be able to compare each utterance to an overall tendency of the speaker. I also noted whether any final /t/’s in the IP were released and recorded the length of long fricatives and affricates. Because of its important relationship to gendered speech, I examined the alveolar fricative /s/ specifically. For each participant, I measured each instance of /s/, noting its center of gravity (CoG) and its skew. These readings were taken from a middle
section of the fricative using the appropriate functions in Praat. Finally, I noted any additional phonetic details of the IP, such as vowel realizations or voice quality, that seemed to lend social meaning to the utterance. Measurements were taken for IPs from utterances of all types, and some of the IPs were marked in this early stage as important examples of linguistic resources being used to add meaning to the utterance. Examples chosen from these marked IPs will be the ones that are specifically described in the results chapters for each speaker, though the other IPs are included in the broader analysis so that particular linguistic traits can also be discussed more generally. Between 420 and 450 IPs were analyzed for each speaker. I provide a general analysis of each speaker’s speech that includes information about how pitch, speech rate, fricative length or other traits common to each individual, and voice quality interact and in what kind of speech activities each trait occurs and then describe individual types of speech acts and how phonetic realizations add meaning to specific IPs.

I examined the overall vowel space of each speaker in order to provide the reader with an overview of how each speaker realized each vowel so that particular instances could be compared to this average and in order to describe the general traits of each speaker’s speech. For this study, I analyzed FLEECE, KIT, FACE, DRESS, TRAP, STRUT, LOT, THOUGHT, FOOT, GOOSE, GOAT, CHOICE, MOUTH and PRICE. To do this, I analyzed instances of each vowel in stressed syllables without a following /r/ or /l/ (except in the case of CHOICE, where because of its small token number, I included instances where /l/ began the following syllable). I also avoided instances of KIT before a velar nasal because of their atypicality. Though the HTK alignment is consistently quite accurate, it is not perfect, so I opened each textgrid and audio file for each token to check the segmentation. In cases where the segmentation was completely wrong, I discarded that token and moved on to the next. In cases where the segmentation had included some of the surrounding phone or had missed some of the vowel, I moved the boundary so that it more faithfully captured only the vowel segment. I did this by paying closest attention to the waveform and segmenting where the change of energy indicated the beginning or end of the vowel, always at the nearest zero crossing. Once I had at least 100 tokens of each vowel (except in the case of CHOICE, FOOT, and MOUTH), I ran a Praat script to extract information about each token. The duration of the vowel, its pitch, its surrounding phonological context, and measurements of its first three formants at 20%, 30%, 40%, 50%, 60%, 70%, and 80% through the duration of the vowel were collected into a spreadsheet. I next checked each of these readings and discarded any readings where the reading at the midpoint (or at 30% and 70% for diphthongs) was not consistent with the readings of the formants directly around it (this
being relative to the different vowels) because this inconsistent reading indicated that the Praat program had not correctly found the formant in that case. For each vowel, on average, only one to two tokens were discarded for this reason. This left around 100 tokens per vowel per speaker, for an average total of 1300 vowel tokens per speaker. For monophthongs, I calculated the average of the midpoint of the first two formants for each vowel, and for diphthongs, I calculated the average of the first two formants at 30% and 70% through the vowel to examine the average movement throughout the vowel. Figures were created to show the distribution of how each monophthong is realized for the speaker, as well as the trajectories of the diphthongs, and they can be found in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

For each speaker’s chapter, I chose utterances to look at specifically that exemplified the way that linguistic traits are used to achieve a variety of goals for the speaker. In the few hours of recordings that were collected from each participant, the participant used language to work towards achieving many different social goals in several different contexts. The types of goals (identity-shaping, relationship-forming, communicating, etc.) for which each participant uses socially-meaningful linguistic traits provides a broad view of who that individual is, and understanding the linguistic means by which they achieve these goals tells us how they go about making themselves into that individual through interaction. I tried to provide examples that, taken together, provide a thorough analysis of each person’s speech. For each IP, I describe the context and mood of the talk and analyze the goals of the speaker, and then I provide a comprehensive analysis of what linguistic traits are being used by the speaker and how they contribute to achieving the meaning of the particular utterance. For every analysis, I provide a Praat textgrid with the phrase and also the segments, time-aligned to both a waveform and a spectrogram.

The following three chapters will provide a thorough account of the results of this methodology. Each speaker will be introduced and analyzed in his or her own chapter, and I hope to show how each speaker’s gender identity and personality are constructed and reflected in their speech behavior.
4.1. An introduction to Larz

Larz was the first participant that I met for this project, and as mentioned in Chapter 3, I met her through a researcher at the university who had met Larz during her time as a graduate student in the School of Social Work. We had exchanged emails before our first meeting, and we agreed to meet in front of Whole Foods on the east side of the island. I was nervous about the meeting because I knew that the level of participation that I was asking for from each participant would mean a lot of their time and energy, and it was important that I got along with each person and that they liked me as well. We lounged on a sofa outside of the store for an hour at that first meeting, talking about her background, about gender in Hawai‘i, about her work, and about our mutual interest in gender in-between-ness. Larz was excited that I wanted to write about people who had been assigned female at birth but identified as masculine, and she was particularly excited that I would be writing about individuals who chose not to medically alter their bodies alongside individuals who had, as she sometimes feels misunderstood and underrepresented in discussions of gender and sex. After our talk, we browsed the store, and I introduced her to chocolate covered honeycomb.

Larz and I spent time together five times outside of the interview. Four of these times were just the two of us, and one time, we attended a talk/dance party that Jody (of Chapter 5) put on at a small venue downtown. Larz and I are both crazy about good food, so we would meet for dinner at places that we loved or wanted to try out and talked over food and drinks for a couple of hours. Each time, we talked a great deal about gender issues in Hawai‘i, as Larz is interested in pursuing study of the topic herself sometime soon. She works in the prison system on O‘ahu, and she would like to complete a PhD with a dissertation that examines how gender identity affects relationship dynamics between inmates and how ‘masculine females’ adjust to life in prison and prepare for their transitions back into society. We also talked about her work quite a bit, as I asked her a lot of questions about the penal system in Hawai‘i and what she thought about how it could be improved. In the time that we have been friends, Larz has gone through many life changes, changing jobs and

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14 This is the term that Larz prefers to use as an umbrella term for non-transitioned, female assigned, masculine-identifying individuals.
changing relationship status, so these changes were also central to our conversations. Each time that we met, Larz’s answers are short and a bit hesitant at first, but once we had talked for ten minutes or so, she became more comfortable and began to tell stories and converse freely, and we had fun and laughed and shared through the rest of our time together. At the dance party, where we were around other people instead of just chatting by ourselves, Larz was very different. She is quiet around strangers but very talkative around people she knows, so that night at the dance party, she was shy and didn’t talk to new people.

Larz keeps her black, straight hair long and always tied back in a low bun. She’s of average height but strong and solid, so that she says many people find her intimidating the first time they meet her. She wears jeans and work boots every day with a button-down shirt, usually plaid or an aloha shirt. Around her neck, she wears a large gold chain with a gold makua (fishing hook) with a black pearl on it. The makua is a Hawaiian symbol of prosperity and luck. Larz identifies as having female sex and has identified as māhū for the past fifteen years, since she first learned that the term had traditionally been used in Hawai‘i for and by people of both sexes. She feels that her gender identity is neither completely feminine nor completely masculine, and the characterization of expressing characteristics of both men and women best describes her. She embodies the strength and toughness of masculinity and the nurturing of femininity, and though she wears men’s clothing and is often seen as a man by others, she doesn’t want to identify as either a man or a woman, though she feels strongly about continuing to embrace having a female body.

Larz was born into a family from Waimānalo, a small town on the eastern side of the island with a reputation of being laidback and populated by locals and Hawaiians. She was born fourth of five kids, with three sisters and a brother, though she says that she was always her father’s favorite as a child. Larz’s childhood was difficult but also full of love from some members of her family. Her father was strict and angry, often abusive after he’d been drinking, taking out his anger on any member of the family nearby. Her mother, however, was loving and supportive, and Larz was also close to her grandparents on her mother’s side. Larz says her life was “traumatic,” “but only in one aspect of it cause there was there’s so much different, um, people that were involved in my life so as far as with my father, it was always traumatic cause he was alcoholic but with my grandparents, it was like totally wonderful so having both of them kind of balanced it out.” From a young age, Larz wasn’t interested in the same things as her sisters, and she had different chores at home and spent a lot more time outside. She loved to ride BMX bikes and skateboard. She did the outdoor chores in the yard while her sisters were responsible for cooking and cleaning. Her father was at times
supportive of her interests and used to take her to get new bike equipment or skateboards. They also built a playhouse on their property together. However, when Larz was eleven, a family member told her parents that she had seen Larz holding hands with a girl, and the family immediately went to great lengths to ‘fix’ her. Her parents are Jehovah’s Witnesses, and they believed that homosexuality is a sin and an affliction, so they sent her to the nearby hospital’s psychiatric ward where she was admitted to be treated for her homosexuality and was prescribed depression medication. These efforts damaged Larz’s relationship with her family for years. She moved out of her family’s house at eleven, lived with her girlfriend’s family, and didn’t have contact again until she was about to graduate high school. After years of counseling and ho’oponopono\textsuperscript{15}, she now has a loving relationship with her entire family, even living downstairs from her parents in Waimānalo\textsuperscript{16}. She says of this change that she “learned how to talk with them about it and what it was like, what they were trying to do, not seeing that you just cannot be trying to change a kid cause being gay isn’t something that you can beat out of someone.” Larz is also very close to her cousins and other members of her extended family, and her family members are her primary support structure and closest friends.

As a child, Larz wanted to be a fire person, but she has instead become a social worker, a job that she loves and finds fulfillment through. She attended college on O’ahu while also working full time, and after finishing her Bachelor’s, she got her Master’s in Social Work at the university. She would like to continue with her education in the next couple of years. Right now, though, she is working at the women’s prison facility, and she loves to challenge and teach the women there, especially she says, the masculine females. She asks them questions about what it is that they want from life and how they’re going to achieve their goals when they’ve served their sentences. She also teaches her clients about Hawaiian history and cultural trauma in the hopes of helping them understand how they got where they are and how they might avoid making the same mistakes again in the future. Larz hopes to continue her education, but she also has aspirations to set up a non-profit organization on O’ahu that will help Hawaiian women transition back into the community after they have served prison time. She feels that her life’s purpose is to help educate the Hawaiian people and connect them to their culture in a way that will help them lift themselves up and stay out of the prison system. She has experienced in her work the astounding disproportionality of Hawaiian

\textsuperscript{15} Ho’oponopono is a Hawaiian cultural practice of healing and reconciliation.

\textsuperscript{16} In Hawai‘i, it is common for several generations of a family to live in one structure or on one property throughout life because of the very high cost of property and the emphasis on maintaining close family connections.
inmates in the prison system, and she is working with a team at her present facility to build a program that teaches Hawaiian women traditional Hawaiian practices and history in order to empower them and hopefully return to them a sense of pride in who they are that will allow them to stay out of the system in the future and contribute meaningfully to the Hawaiian community. She also supports aspirations of a Hawaiian nation, and wants to work to restore the land to Hawaiians and help them build connections to the ahupua'a\textsuperscript{17} in order to restore the Hawaiian system of sustainability.

Larz is a very caring person, one who likes to counsel others and to help out when she can. This is her favorite thing about herself. She says that she is supportive and loving because she has learned to support and love herself. Larz’s life is extremely busy. She loves her job, so she spends more time there than she has to, and leaves still thinking about her work. After work, she goes to yoga or paddles for the canoe club in Waimānalo. She also belongs to a group that advocates for the advancement of Polynesian women, and she is studying to pass Social Work exams. She has a tumultuous relationship with her girlfriend, who she has been dating on and off for the past seven years. They had a terrible breakup midway through this study, but they are now dating again and when her girlfriend returns from working in the Philippines, she will live with Larz for a while.

On her father’s side, Larz’s family is Hawaiian. She doesn’t have much contact with her father’s side of the family, though, and knows only about an ancestor on that side about seven generations back. She’s presently working on filling in the gaps between that ancestor and her grandparents to find out exactly where her family on that side comes from and what kind of lives they lived in the interim. Larz’s grandmother on her mother’s side is Hawaiian and Māori, and she used to tell her grandchildren that she had married their grandfather because he wasn’t Hawaiian and, that way, she knew they weren’t related. Her grandfather is Puerto Rican and Cherokee, and Larz grew up with him telling her stories and traditions from his cultures, particularly the practices of the Cherokee people. When she was a child, he told her about Native Americans who identified with practices from both genders, how they were said to have the traits of both men and women and how they were respected in Cherokee culture. Now, these cultural influences, Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, Māori, and Cherokee, are all important to Larz.

\textsuperscript{17}The ahupua’a system is a traditional system of land division in which each island is divided into wedge shapes that run from the mountain crests down to the sea. Each ahupua’a followed the natural course of the waterways and the size of each was determined by the natural resources available there. Areas with fewer natural resources would be divided into larger sections to compensate for the scarcity of resources.
About fifteen years ago, while Larz was taking an ethnic studies class, she learned more about the traditional role of māhū in Hawaiian culture. The teacher of her class and also one of her kūpuna (teacher) told her that before Western intervention, there been a large number of māhū, both female and male, and that female māhū danced hula with the men and were warriors. Today, new terms differentiate māhū with female and male sex as māhū kāne (man) and māhū wāhine (woman), but in traditional culture, there was no differentiation, and a person of any sex might be called māhū. Larz, who had learned from her grandfather from a young age about two-spirit gender in Native American culture, had long felt herself to be neither a man or a woman, but belonging somewhere in the middle of a continuum. Māhū was a perfect characterization of how she felt about her gender, and she has identified in this way since. She says that being māhū means that “you have two spirits you possess and that makes you different, you can understand from all these different aspects.” Even before that, Larz didn’t feel comfortable with terms for sexual orientation and gender that were ascribed to her by others and didn’t identify using those characterizations. She never identified as a lesbian because a teacher taught her that lesbians were women who had sex with each other for the benefit of men. Instead, when she was younger, she always told people that she was gay. She also never related to transgender as a way to identify herself because she was taught that to be a transgender individual who was assigned female sex at birth, one needed to feel as if they wanted to become a male and she never felt that way. For Larz, being māhū is a vital connection to Hawaiian tradition and beliefs, and it’s also, as she puts it, “a quick four-letter word” that resonates with her feelings about her gender identity. There has been a lot of pushback against Larz identifying as māhū. At times, māhū wāhine friends object to her use of the term for herself because they think that the term only applies to individuals with male sex. She then informs them of the traditional role and place of māhū in Hawai‘i and the prevalence of female māhū in pre-contact society. She is also told by ‘Westerners’ that she and other masculine-identifying females want to become male and want to transition and that they are transsexuals. She, however, is happy to have a female body and a masculine presentation, to exist between wāhine and kāne in a place honored and respected in traditional Hawaiian life.

In identifying as māhū, Larz has thought a great deal about what that means and how it applies to who she is. She feels strongly that she is neither entirely a man nor entirely a woman, but values and embodies character traits that are typically associated with both masculinity and femininity. Though she chooses to wear men’s clothing and physically present a very masculine identity, she simultaneously seeks to maintain a self that embraces an in-betweenness that can’t be
contained by conceptions of one gender or the other. Additionally, she seeks to embody the cultural traditions of māhū in Hawai‘i, who are said to have been healers, spiritual leaders, and keepers of cultural knowledge and practice. Female māhū were also warriors and protectors. These beliefs about traditional māhū identity are an integral part of Larz’s conception of gender. Larz’s behavior and construction of identity reflect this careful balancing of traits. In her job and in her close relationships, she is a nurturer and spiritual guide as well as a promoter of Hawaiian tradition. She seeks to comfort others and help them to heal as she has healed, and she also works to help others understand how Hawaiian culture can be a part of that healing. At the same time, she is also strong and tough and embodies traits typically associated with masculinity. She can be quite intimidating with her gruffness and is quick to stand up for herself and others. She doesn’t back down from a fight or an argument and often offers her opinion and presses the subject if there is something that she disagrees with. In addition, a big part of masculinity in Hawai‘i is a casualness or laid-back attitude that is highly valued on the islands. Though Larz sometimes shows emotional investment in what she is talking about or in an argument she is having, she often also projects a laidback and easygoing personality with a nonchalance that performs a type of local masculinity. In the next section, I present excerpts from Larz’s speech samples that exemplify the many different ways in which she expresses herself. Evident in these clips are an array of phonetic traits that Larz utilizes to construct her style and stance. Prior to presenting these various clips, I present an overview of speech traits from across all of her data as a kind of baseline for comparison.

4.2. Larz’s speech

The recordings that Larz produced are in comfortable settings where she was talking to close friends and relatives. In one recording, she is talking to a close friend on Skype. Another is of a long conversation on Skype with her girlfriend in the Philippines. In another, she is talking briefly with her parents, and in the last recording, she is hanging out at a garage sale on the front lawn with her niece and her niece’s friend. These are all local interlocutors, as Larz rarely interacts with non-locals, and she uses variation in both Pidgin and Hawai‘i English in these contexts to shape her identity and express her individuality as the subject matter and tone of the talk changes. In total, there are three hours and twenty eight minutes of recording from these settings, and one hour and forty minutes of interview data.
Larz grew up around many languages, but primarily, her greatest linguistic influence has been Pidgin. Some relatives speak Hawaiian and some speak Spanish, but most of the family speaks Pidgin in the home. Her mother speaks Hawai‘i English with some Pidgin code-switching while her father speaks Pidgin almost all of the time. Larz herself spoke mostly Pidgin and Hawai‘i English growing up and was told when she attended community college that she needed to be able to code-switch into standard English to succeed. She made a conscious decision then to not go out of her way to change the way that she spoke in the classroom. She says that there is a place for Standard English, at work or in the courts and at the legislature, but she thinks that a local classroom is a fine place for Pidgin and local kine talk, as it’s a part of her culture and her heritage. She tries to use it as much as possible. Larz also hopes to begin studying ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian) soon. She could never fit it into her schedule while she was at school, as it is a five-day-a-week commitment, but she wants to begin learning it now and has been compelled to do so by her kūpuna.

Larz is aware that she changes the way that she speaks on a daily basis for different interlocutors, and she thinks that these changes are mostly driven by the interlocutor’s education level. She says that for people who didn’t go to college, she uses simpler forms and her pidgin gets heavier, but when she speaks with her friends from academia, her language choices are very different. Larz doesn’t believe her linguistic choices to be influenced by a desire to sound masculine, as she thinks that her voice isn’t masculine or feminine, but other people often think that she is a man on the phone and sometimes in person. Her speech can be very intimidating and tough-sounding, but she also has the capacity to sound very soft and comforting. Her supervisor at work told her that when she first saw her she didn’t know what to think of her because her appearance was so masculine, but that when she began to talk, it was like she was singing a song and her voice was so soft that she couldn’t believe that it was coming from her.

Larz uses two linguistic systems, and switches back and forth between them quickly, sometimes even in the same sentence. As described in Chapter 2, speakers of Pidgin and Hawai‘i English have varying ideas about what constitutes each system and about how to characterize their own speech, so it is difficult to know which system is being used in a given phrase. For some speakers, using particular phonetic resources constitutes Pidgin, while for others, grammatical or lexical resources must be used for speech to be characterized as Pidgin. In addition, younger Pidgin speakers’ vowels have converged towards Hawai‘i English a great deal over the last several decades so that their Pidgin vowel space and Hawai‘i English vowel space are much the same, even though other phonetic traits of Pidgin remain (Grama 2015). It is impossible to give an exact account of
how much of the data from Larz is Pidgin and how much is Hawai‘i English, as this classification is somewhat subjective\textsuperscript{18}, but Larz considers herself to be a Pidgin speaker who can also speak English when necessary, and her language use corroborates her own characterization of herself.

Since it is impossible to know without a doubt whether Larz believed herself to be using one system or the other in a particular context and because Larz’s age suggests that she is a Pidgin speaker whose vowels are similar to her Hawai‘i English vowels (Grama 2015), general analysis of Larz’s vowel space is taken from all contexts, whether Pidgin or Hawai‘i English. A more specific look at her use of vowels will occasionally be provided in the analysis of variation in particular utterances. Figure 1 shows a representation of Larz’s vowel space. The first and second formants of vowels roughly correlate with the position of the tongue in the mouth such that the hertz values of the first formant negatively correlate to the tongue’s height and the hertz values of the second formant negatively correlate to the tongue’s backness in the vocal cavity. A speaker’s vowels can thus be represented with the first formant on the \(y\)-axis and the second formant on the \(x\)-axis in a way that replicates the space of the speaker’s mouth if one were looking at them in profile with their lips facing to the left of the figure. Those vowels at the top left of a vowel space represented in this way are thus considered high front vowels (with the tongue nearer the teeth and the roof of the mouth) while those in the bottom right would be considered low back vowels (with the tongue nearer the throat and the bottom of the mouth). The median value of all of the tokens analyzed for each vowel is represented by a diamond, and lines extend from the diamond to the 25\textsuperscript{th} and 75\textsuperscript{th} percentile of all of the tokens, so that each cross represents the inner 50\% of the realizations of each vowel.

Larz’s vowel space is what we might expect of a middle-aged speaker of Hawai‘i English and Pidgin. In contrast to older speakers of Pidgin, Larz most often produces distinct tokens of FLEECE and KIT, GOOSE and FOOT, and LOT and STRUT, suggesting that her Pidgin, like other younger speakers of Pidgin, has converged toward English. At the same time, her KIT and DRESS vowels are not lowered and retracted like those of younger Hawai‘i English speakers. Despite seemingly not

\textsuperscript{18} Grama’s 2015 dissertation provides a very useful measure called the Pidgin Density Measure (PDM) to classify the level of Pidgin being used by a speaker based on non-phonological features, but for the purpose of this dissertation, creating such a measure for only one speaker with no context probably wouldn’t be very helpful. Additionally, the PDM was created without phonological features taken into consideration because Grama was himself analyzing vowels, but in reality, it is likely that many Pidgin speakers use phonological features to classify which system is being used, and therefore Grama’s PDM might not reflect the amount of Pidgin that Larz herself would feel that she uses.
participating in the lowering and retracting of KIT and DRESS, her TRAP vowel is very low and back as is typical of young speakers, and it is realized this way both before nasals and non-nasals. Larz is also participating in the fronting of GOOSE and FOOT, with GOOSE fronted after coronals and FOOT fronted in all contexts. Characteristic of local speech, both her FACE and GOAT vowels are monophthongal, and GOAT is far back in the vowel space (Kirtley et al. to appear). The nucleus of her MOUTH vowel is also very back in the vowel space, though the trajectory of this diphthong is more along F1 than many other Hawai’i English speakers. Though Larz’s LOT and THOUGHT appear to be somewhat distinct in Figure 1, in reality there is a great deal of overlap between the two vowels, such that while she may maintain a distinction some of the time, some phonological contexts are more advanced in the merger.

![Figure 1: Larz’s vowel space showing the median values of each monophthong with crosses extending to their interquartile ranges (25% through and 75% through) and the average values of the diphthongs shown with arrows indicating the movement of each diphthong from 30% through its realization to 70% through.](image)

Though a treatment of Larz’s speech later in the chapter will focus on specific phrases and how variation is used therein to make meaning and construct identity, here we will look at a more general analysis of her speech, examining how some linguistic resources are used overall and in what contexts they appear. This general analysis will provide a context for specific analysis that will allow
the reader to understand how behavior in a particular case might fit into Larz’s behavior more generally. I analyzed 428 intonational phrases from Larz’s recordings. Ninety-one of these phrases came from the interview setting, while the remainder came from self-recorded conversational data. Larz’s average pitch across these phrases was 200.1 Hz (StdDev 51.4 Hz), while her average maximum pitch within a phrase was 263.5 Hz (StdDev 85.5 Hz) and her average minimum pitch within a phrase was 149.4 Hz (StdDev 32.2 Hz). The average pitch range was 114.2 Hz (StdDev 73.9 Hz). The average length of a single intonational phrase was 2.03 seconds, and the average number of phonemic syllables per second in each phrase was 4.94 (StdDev 1.41 syll/sec). Finally, the average center of gravity of Larz’s voiceless alveolar fricative was 5507.4 Hz with an average skew of .12.19

Table 4.1 provides a general analysis of Larz’s speech, describing how phonetic traits are used when Larz is expressing different stances. The 428 phrases from the recordings were first divided into those that came from the conversational settings and those from the interview. They were then further categorized into how aspects of Larz’s identity were highlighted in that specific moment.20 Aspects of Larz’s identity were chosen based on both what Larz had said were the most important and most prominent parts of who she is and also on my own observations of how I and others view her and how she seems to strive to be viewed.21 Finally, each aspect of identity was further divided into the type of talk each phrase represented. For each of these categories, averages were derived that characterize the phonetic qualities of the speech within that category. The table shows the number of phrases that was included in each category for the speaker as well as the average pitch, pitch range, and speech rate for each type of speech. I’ve also included information about linguistic traits that were identified several times for phrases in that category, indicating that the linguistic feature might be common to the type of speech being described. As can be seen in the table, Larz’s speech in the interview setting is quite different in general than her speech in the

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19 As discussed in Section 2.3.1, the skewness of /s/ is often analyzed as a correlate of gender and sexuality. It represents whether there is more acoustic energy skewed toward the higher frequencies or the lower frequencies (Zimman 2012). Negative skew is often associated with sounding gay (Campbell-Kibler 2011, Munson et al. 2006). This negative skew is usually found in fronter productions of /s/ (Podesva and Van Hofwegen 2014).

20 This is not to say that each phrase could only possibly portray one aspect of her identity, only that this type of identity work seems to be best achieved in the phrase. In reality, each moment, situated in a complex circumstance, undoubtedly reflects multiple facets of the speaker’s identity. However, it is useful to somehow categorize the phrases so that general tendencies across the individuals’ speech can be identified. Instead of using an established list of stances, frames, or genres, I categorized the speech according to my understanding of each participant’s identity and social motivations.

21 This is also how aspects of identity were chosen for Jody and Dawn.
recordings of conversation with her friends and loved ones. Her pitch is much lower and narrower in range in the interview, and she uses creak throughout her talk. Most of her speech in this setting is used to provide information about which Larz is an expert. Looking more closely at the conversational data, we see that there are some salient differences across stances here as well. Her speech is much higher and wider in pitch range when her talk is derisive or argumentative or when she is expressing an opinion, and she tends to use more local features at these times as well. She also uses more intensity in her obstruents during these phrases. In contrast, when she is joking, her pitch is lower and narrower in range and she elides her speech, and when she is teaching others, her speech is low, quiet, and deliberate.

Larz makes use of non-modal voice quality a great deal in her speech, largely creaky voice and falsetto. She uses these resources differently in different contexts, and together, around 100 of the phrases have one of these two voice qualities in some amount. Creaky voice is found in around 78 of the phrases. It shows up most at the end of phrases, but it appears throughout the phrase in some cases as well. Fifty-three of the phrases come from the interview session, while only fifteen are in utterances addressed to Larz’s girlfriend and ten addressed to her close friend. Most of these cases from the conversational data come from moments when Larz was telling a story, giving important advice, or exchanging mundane details about her day. From the interview setting, creak is used for every function. Larz uses it when talking about herself and also when quoting herself and others. In particular, she uses it when she is talking about something important. This suggests that Larz uses creak to convey seriousness and authority as well as for conveying continuity in storytelling.

Falsetto is used in Pidgin to express excitement or a confrontational stance (examples of which will provided below). Larz uses falsetto in 19 of the phrases from the recordings, only one of them from the interview setting. This falsetto accompanies other features of local or Pidgin speech, such as Pidgin focusing, Pidgin predicates, Pidgin sentence tags, local intonational contours, stopped interdental fricatives, r-lessness, and consonant cluster simplification. Her uses of falsetto convey great emotional investment in the talk, and it is generally used when Larz is upset or surprised, though falsetto can also be used in bantering or storytelling in Pidgin, and there are a couple of cases of this as well in Larz’s speech. Many of the examples of falsetto when Larz is talking to her girlfriend or her close friend are disagreements.
Table 4.1: Overview of phonetic characteristics associated with different aspects of identity and types of talk in Larz's speech in both the conversational settings and in the interview including pitch, pitch range, and speech rate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Identity</th>
<th>Type of Talk</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Range</th>
<th>Speech Rate</th>
<th>Other Notable Linguistic Characteristics</th>
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<td>186.7</td>
<td>4.95</td>
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<td>command</td>
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<td>186.7</td>
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Note: Pidgin, falsetto, wide range, elision, local intonation, r-lessness, stopped /dh/, creak, pausing, quiet, enunciated, low explanation, intense obstruents, stopped /dh/, modal voice, intense obstruents, low, stopped /dh/, elision, local intonation, pauses.
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- **Laidback**: low, local intonation, r-less, Pidgin, narrow pitch range
- **Nurturing and Supportive**: local vowels, local intonation, standard intonation, Pidgin, falsetto, pauses, wide range
- **Opinionated**: long and intense fricatives, wide range, low, Pidgin, local intonation
- **Playful**: stopped /dh/, breathiness
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Notes:
- Romantic: Drawn out syllables, elision, narrow range
- Spiritual: Long fricatives, enunciated, low, slow, pauses
- Tough: Pidgin, falsetto, local intonation, loud, swearing
- Interview Data: Creak, pauses
- Knowledgeable: Creak, pauses, low, standard intonation
- Laidback: Elision
In contrast to Dawn in Chapter 6, who can speak Pidgin, Hawai‘i English, and SAE but speaks Hawai‘i English the majority of the time, Larz considers herself predominantly a Pidgin speaker, and even when her speech contains no grammatical features of Pidgin, it still often contains phonological features that many locals would consider indicating Pidgin use. She code-switches to using more Standard English-like phonological features when she is speaking to a non-local or when she is being very serious, but even in these cases, some local phonological features are often still present (e.g. /dh/ stopping or local intonation). Using local linguistic features can serve a variety of purposes. The most obvious of these is that it marks the speaker as belonging to the place. It increases comradery and belonging as a shared marker of identity. Using local speech can also express that a local speaker is emotionally invested in what they are saying. They are speaking ‘authentically’ to convey their commitment to their words. It can also be respectful. Especially for interlocutors who aren’t comfortable with English or with Mainland dialects of English specifically, using local linguistic features is respectful and implies intimacy and solicitude for the interlocutor, as the speaker is attuning to which linguistic system will be most readily understood by the listener. Finally, using local features is also at times a way to index toughness or masculinity.

Representing Larz’s speech orthographically (and that of Dawn in Chapter 6) requires a decision about which orthography would best represent the manner in which I am talking about Larz’s speech, and I argue, which would be least likely to make a claim about which system Larz is using in a particular exchange. There are more than one specific orthographies used for Pidgin, and it is also possible to write out what is being said by Larz at all times using English orthography.

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Particularly because there are phrases that are characterized by Pidgin features in one part but not throughout, it is problematic to use an orthography that implies that an utterance is Pidgin. At the same time, I do recognize that using English orthography might not faithfully capture which system is being used. As such, for consistency’s sake across the chapters and because many readers are not familiar with orthographies that represent Pidgin (including Pidgin speakers themselves), I am going to represent Larz and her interlocutor’s speech in English orthography, but I will also be careful to include within the phrase an indication of the salient local phonological features, stopped /dh/ and r-lessness, by marking stopped interdental fricatives as either ‘t’ or ‘d’ and placing parentheses around them and also placing parentheses around /r/ phonemes that are vocalic.

4.2.1. Larz as counselor

Larz is a serious person who has built her life around helping and counseling others as she herself was counseled in the past so that she could become who she is now. Her work as a social worker requires her to help her clients to overcome their struggles in prison, and Larz often serves a similar role outside of work. She offers advice to her friends and family and projects an authority on healthy living. Because she had much to forgive and overcome in life in order to reestablish a relationship with her family and find peace for herself, she sees herself and is seen by others as a source of wisdom on overcoming similar issues. Larz uses different types of linguistic styles to construct and perform wisdom and authority, drawing on more or less casual resources in turn to accomplish different facets of her identity as counselor.

Example 1 is part of a conversation Larz has with her close friend in which Larz is advising her friend on how to deal with her daughter in the midst of a messy break-up. Her friend’s daughter is only seven and doesn’t really understand why her mother’s girlfriend is no longer around and misses having her in her life. Her mother, however, doesn’t want her daughter to express any sort of negative feeling about the development and wants her to get over it quickly. Larz reminds her friend that her daughter is a child and that it’s not healthy for her to have to suppress and hide her feelings about the situation. In this exchange, Larz first uses local linguistic resources and casual and emotive speech to construct herself as emotionally involved and morally authoritative and also perhaps to soften her speech as she disagrees with her friend’s behavior and then switches to less local, more deliberate resources that construct her as a wise authority on how to act right and responsibly raise children.
In lines 1.7 and 1.8, Larz chastises her friend, objecting to the friend’s belief that her daughter should be completely stoic. The friend has yelled at and punished the child for crying, and Larz isn’t shy about telling her friend that this isn’t acceptable. Her rebuke is phrased as a question in a way that conveys disbelief that the friend would find that behavior acceptable. Larz uses local features to convey emotional investment in what she is saying. Both speakers are local, and they
generally use Pidgin or more local features from Hawai‘i English to speak with each other. Using local resources here indexes both spontaneity of communication and their close relationship to one another. Larz, therefore, particularly uses more local and casual features when her speech is passionate or she is working to maintain her relationships. In this case, Larz must be careful to clearly state her disagreement with her friend’s actions while also refraining from making the friend angry. This exchange works to strike a careful balance between these outcomes, evidenced by the fact that her friend is eventually convinced by her arguments without being offended\textsuperscript{22}.

Figure 2\textsuperscript{23}: Spectrogram and Waveform of lines 7 and 8 from Example 1. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 3.25 seconds. The pitch window is set from 50-500 Hz.

As mentioned above, this rebuke is phrased as a question, serving to call into question Larz’s friend’s actions and to ask the friend to participate in a dialogue about her behavior instead of directly condemning her. Larz’s speech herein exhibits several linguistic resources that are from local speech, expressing familiarity and emotion. First, the first part of the rebuke is set apart as its own intonational phrase, and Larz uses a local intonational contour that signals continuation, one that is most commonly used in questions and dependent clauses but can also be used on focused parts of a sentence in order to signal that more of the thought is to come. The contour is achieved through the pitch rising either from the first syllable or from a low pitch accent up to the syllable preceding the final stressed syllable in the phrase, where it drops dramatically to a low tone on the final stressed syllable.

\textsuperscript{22}The figures provided for each example include a spectrogram and waveform of each section of speech, as well as a time-aligned phonemic transcription. In addition, the pitch is marked throughout the phrase when trackable with a blue line. For Larz, the pitch window of each figure is set to 50-400 Hz unless the phrase is particularly high, in which case the range of the figure is given next to the figure’s title.

\textsuperscript{23}Larz lost the windshield from her microphone before recording, so her waveforms are not as clean as the other participants at moments where there is a great deal of ambient noise or at loud noises including frication in her own speech.

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sylable of a phrase (Kirtley 2014). Victoria Anderson argues that this tone is underlyingly a high + low * pitch accent such that the low tone falls on the final stress and the pitch rises to meet a high tone on the preceding syllable (2003). In this example, the pitch starts at 223 Hz and climbs 126 Hz from that first syllable to the syllable preceding the final stress. The pitch then drops 172 Hz to the very next syllable, a dramatic drop off with no slope. Larz also uses a stopped interdental fricative on ‘that’ that is characteristic of Pidgin and casual Hawai‘i English. In Pidgin, interdental fricatives, voiced and unvoiced, are generally stopped unless they precede /r/, in which case they become palato-alveolar affricates. Speakers of Hawai‘i English also stop these fricatives in some cases, which is considered to be a more local realization. Larz frequently stops these fricatives, though the intensity of the release can work to emphasize or deemphasize the localness of her speech. In this utterance, the stop at the beginning of ‘that’ is particularly prominent. In local speech, falsetto can be used to further widen the pitch range of a phrase to emote more strongly. Falsetto can also be used throughout the phrase for this same purpose. These extremely high pitches convey excitement, either positive or negative. They can even be used to signal aggression. In this phrase, Larz uses these high tones to make the rebuke more emotive and emphasize her disbelief and disagreement. In the first part of the phrase, the pitch climbs to 349 Hz at its highest point, and the final boundary tone of the phrase is produced at 477 Hz. Larz also exaggerates the release of obstruents in this phrase in a way that requires more energy expenditure in the delivery of the utterance and therefore indexes investment in what she is saying. This extreme range and high boundary tone along with intense obstruents express Larz’s incredulity and strong reaction to her friend’s behavior, offering a strong judgment, but at the same time, her use of local features maintains a personal and intimate tone that softens her rebuke and protects her relationship with her friend.

Larz’s tone changes as the exchange continues, and she begins to use linguistic resources that convey seriousness and authority in her speech. Her linguistic choices construct an identity of teacher, an individual qualified and experienced in giving advice. In line 1.19, Larz gives a command to her friend, telling her how to deal with her daughter’s grief. She uses clear and deliberate speech and careful listing as a rhetorical device to persuasively advise her friend. The style of her speech is very different here than the preceding example, though they are only seconds apart in delivery, as she has changed from an incredulous and judging listener to an advisor, actively promoting the

24 With the exception of one example in Chapter 5, included to provide credibility and exemplify the complexity of such analyses, the analyses of the relative intensity of obstruents was determined through auditory analysis.
correct plan of action for her friend. In Hawai‘i, English and standard pronunciation are linguistic tools of power, and using more standard features indexes this relationship with authority and formality.

Figure 3: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 19 from Example 1. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 3.54 seconds.

Larz conveys clear thinking and authority with her deliberate and carefully enunciated speech in line 1.19, delivered in a steady manner with low pitch. The pitch of the phrase is lower than average, and quite a bit lower than her usual conversation pitch outside of the interview setting. The range of the phrase is also below average, and for the latter portion of the phrase, she maintains notably monotonous pitch in order to give equal weight to each portion of the list she is itemizing. Larz expresses carefulness of speech, and therefore carefulness of thought through deliberate delivery of each syllable and each segment. Across the phrase, each syllable is about the same length and given equal stress to emphasize the importance of what she is saying. She exaggerates the obstruents of the phrase, producing long and articulated stops and fricatives such that she sounds sure of what she is saying and her speech accomplishes a type of oratorical effectiveness. Rather than eliding her speech or using features like r-lessness or deletion, that she often uses in conversation, every segment is realized and given significant weight. This clear enunciation in combination with her low pitch and pronounced modality convey authority and conviction.

Larz uses similar characteristics in lines 1.28 and 1.29; though here, she also incorporates pausing alongside careful enunciation in order to express her opinion and enter into a short lecture on the nature of raising children. Here also, she uses decidedly SAE intonational patterns that differentiate this speech from more personal, casual speech.
Line 1.28 is characterized by long pauses and drawn out syllables that combine to create a very slow speech rate of 3.74 syllables/second. The release of /p/ at the end of ‘up’ and the GOOSE vowels of ‘do’ are exaggerated and extended so that Larz sounds as if she is thinking carefully as she speaks and choosing her words deliberately and delivering them emphatically. In addition, her intonation in this first phrase signals continuation in Standard English rather than the local contour, and this contour is punctuated by a high boundary tone that makes her speech less domineering while also indexing a more performative speech style. Line 1.29 is low in pitch and narrow in pitch range, both linguistic traits that are commonly used in Larz’s speech when she is being particularly serious. Here also, she strongly exaggerates parts of the phrase, conveying deliberate and careful thought. In both phrases, in contrast to many other realizations in Larz’s speech, the interdental fricatives are all realized as full fricatives rather than stops, an additional way in which Larz uses more Standard English and therefore adds formality to her talk.

Example 2 comes from an exchange in which Larz gives advice to her niece and her niece’s friend about good dating policies. Larz is talking with the girls about the dating pool on O‘ahu and which regions to avoid in order to find a good dating partner. She recommends that the girls avoid
dating anyone from their hometown and anyone with a criminal record. She is showing her concern for the girls and playing the part of a nurturer and advisor by sharing her experiences and opinions, but at the same time, she isn’t seeking to set herself up strictly as a parental figure in this interaction. Rather, Larz goes back and forth between acting like a big sister or older cousin and acting like a parent or teacher. She accomplishes this by sometimes giving advice that is produced in a slightly more formal way and sometimes keeping her language casual and using a lot of strong language and expletives. Larz at turns sets herself up as a wise, older counselor and then, by using very local speech peppered with resources that index toughness and masculinity, as the cooler older relative who also shows concern for the girls’ welfare. Both of these facets of her identity are important in her relationship to these younger relatives and friends.

In the recordings of Larz’s interaction with her niece and niece’s friend, Larz uses primarily Pidgin, and if not Pidgin, then very local Hawai‘i English. In line 2.2, however, her speech is less local, and she uses features of Standard English. Her speech here is carefully produced and enunciated to construct a wiser, older adult who knows from experience that the girls should avoid sleeping with anyone in their hometown. In contrast, in line 2.16, Larz’s use of Pidgin and casual speech characteristics work to build trust so that her advice is less overbearing and more friendly and nurturing.

(2) NF\textsuperscript{25}: 1 I neve(r) go for anybody from Waimānalo
Larz: 2 I mean you don’t sleep with (d)em
3 yeah you don’t do it in Waimānalo
4 cause first off (d)ey could be your fuckin’ family
5 numbe(r) one fo(r) me
NF: 6 too many Hawaiian guys
Larz: 7 why?
NF: 8 frickin’ family
Larz: 9 okay
10 I was I was thinking more the abuse concept
Niece: 11 is she gonna get abused?
Larz: 12 no
13 I mean well
14 ch it’s a possibility
15 depends what guy you end up wi(t)

\textsuperscript{25} NF stands for Larz’s niece’s friend
you not dating anybody from Halawa or anything like (d)at ah?

NF: I would not be able to

Figure 6: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 2 from Example 2. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.65 seconds.

The linguistic resources used in line 2.2 are a mixture of local and standard English. The interdental sound at the beginning of ‘them’ is stopped here, but at the same time, the intonational contour signaling continuation is the standard English raise in pitch, and the grammar is entirely English. The phrase is all modal, a voice quality that is used more in casual settings that are less formal for Larz, and the pitch is quite a bit higher than average. These resources all work together to build a style that Larz uses to express a strong opinion in a conversational setting. Larz uses a stopped interdental here that expresses her localness and conveys her belonging to the region about which they are talking, but at the same time, this phrase is more standard than the rest of this interaction so that Larz is distanced from her interlocutors and her advice is delivered in a slightly less familiar tone.

Rather than setting Larz apart as teacher or distant authority figure, the speech in line 2.16 does work to build a more casual trust between Larz and her niece’s friend, who she was meeting for the first time in this interaction. Larz uses a sentence tag at the end of the utterance that draws a response from her interlocutor, turning the phrase into both a question and a sort of command. With her phrasing, Larz is confirming that the girl isn’t dating anyone with a criminal past and also expressing her judgment that this behavior would be unacceptable. Larz uses casual and familiar local speech so that she seems like a trustworthy person to disclose this personal information to, and at the same time, she constructs herself as a sort of local family member, one that is nurturing and concerned for the girl’s welfare and familiar enough with her to use casual speech.

Halawa is the men’s state prison on O‘ahu.
Figure 7: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 16 from Example 2. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 3.04 seconds.

This utterance has a wide range and doesn’t exhibit the creak that Larz often uses for serious speech. The phrase is spoken quickly with a great deal of elision at 6.27 syllables/second. This quick speech rate along with the missing modal ‘be’ and the sentence tag at the end of the sentence work together with ‘like that’ produced as /laɪdæt/ to produce a casual, Pidgin phrase that conveys concern and builds comradery and trust.

4.2.2. Larz as nurturer

Larz has been in monogamous relationships almost continuously since she was eleven years old. Her relationships, though complicated and tumultuous, are important to her, and she works hard to express her love and care and to be nurturing to her girlfriend. The following interactions exemplify the different ways that Larz expresses her love to her girlfriend and constructs this nurturing and caring facet of her identity. In the first, she expresses her deep interest in what her girlfriend says, no matter how mundane, to show that she is actively listening. Next, she is romantic towards her girlfriend in a style that is masculine and cool so that she is being caring without being too sentimentaL In contrast to this, she also sometimes expresses her love using cutesy language and linguistic resources to keep her interactions with her girlfriend playful and fun as well as romantic and appreciative. Finally, she shows her care for her girlfriend by prodding her with nurturing suggestions for her behavior. All of these behaviors, expressed with varying linguistic resources, work to maintain Larz’s relationship with her girlfriend despite their disagreements and confrontations at other times, and construct Larz as a caretaker and lover.

In Example 3, Larz’s girlfriend has changed the subject of their conversation to avoid an argument that was brewing and is telling Larz about her toenail just suddenly falling off shortly after she arrived in the Philippines. This interaction about her toenail goes on for several minutes, and Larz is effusive in expressing her interest and concern for her girlfriend’s welfare. She accomplishes
this effusiveness with an extremely drawn out qualifier ‘so,’ excursions to the highest parts of her range that create a pitch range much wider than average, and fully realized segments across the phrase.

(3) GF:\[1\]  
1  so like I'm like  
2  "oh my gosh I hope I don't start losing all my toenails"  
3  (laughter)  
4  they'll just dry and pop off like  
5  look everything happens  
6  Larz:  
7  that is just so amazing to me  
8  holy moly  
9  Larz:  
10  I know  
11  Larz:  
12  they'll just dry and pop off like  
13  Larz:  
14  I had a friend in elementary school (d)at had her toenail like just missing from as far back as  
15  Larz:  
16  I can remember  
17  Larz:  
18  til graduation you know  
19  Larz:  
20  like she never did have one toenail grow back

Figure 8: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 6 from Example 3. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.86 seconds. The pitch window is set from 50 Hz to 500 Hz.

Line 3.6’s most salient characteristics are its range and the very long ‘so’ that makes up about 32% of the phrase. The phrase moves across 319.7 Hz with a peak of 476.1 Hz so that Larz sounds excited. The /s/ at the beginning of ‘so’ is intense, low in frequency, and long so that it too conveys energy invested in what Larz is saying. Each segment in the phrase is realized, and vowels such as GOOSE in ‘to’ that might usually be centralized are produced more peripherally. This phrase is not in Pidgin, nor is it particularly locally phrased, but GOAT in ‘so’ is monophthongal and back, maintaining the localness of the speech. This vowel is about 200 Hz further back in the vowel space than average.

\[27\] GF stands for Larz’s girlfriend
and moves hardly at all across its length, even though it lasts for .55 seconds. In sum, then, the phrase is produced with a great deal of energy, conveying that Larz is invested in what her girlfriend has said and that she finds her girlfriend’s experiences to be important and interesting, and at the same time it is kept casual with local vowels and the informal intensifier ‘so.’

Example 4 is one of the most sentimental that is exchanged between Larz and her girlfriend, and Larz is expressing her love and commitment to their relationship despite their being apart for several months. In line 4.1, Larz changes the subject in the conversation with the romantic admission that she’s already missing her girlfriend even though it’s only been a couple of weeks apart so far. Her romantic statement is produced with linguistic traits that keep it casual and masculine so that Larz, even in her vulnerability, is cool and tough seeming.

(4) Larz: 1 yeah we's missing you already
GF: 2 oh yeah?
3 you were?
Larz: 4 mega
GF: 5 what even the dog?
Larz: 6 yep that's what we talk story about
7 I talk to him
8 I talk to him
9 and then he's his head and his ears goes back and forth
10 and I tell him
11 “what do you think she's doing right now?
12 do you think she's moe moe28?”
13 and you know?
14 and then I tell him that
15 “oh yep she's in the Philippines
16 she's probably cruising and sightseeing and eating Filipino food”
17 and then he just looks
18 you know like he you know how he is
19 paying attention to me talking

28 A Pidgin word meaning ‘sleep’ or ‘sleeping’
Line 4.1 is fast, mumbled, monotone, quiet, and local, projecting casual and local masculinity even as Larz shows a great deal of sentiment. This hyper-masculine way of speaking here might actually serve to counteract the sentimentality, and it also works to construct Larz’s masculinity in their relationship. The speech rate of the phrase is 6.55 syllables/second, and as it is so fast, the speech is elided. Obstruents are weakened, and the vowels are less peripheral. Larz’s pitch range here is only 26.8 Hz across the phrase, and her overall average pitch is only 138.0 Hz. These linguistic characteristics convey that little effort is being put into producing the phrase, making it sound cool and aloof. The phrase is also local in phrasing. Larz uses the third-person singular on a first-person plural pronoun, and she ends the phrase with ‘already,’ a sentence tag common in Pidgin, though here it is unclear whether she is using it in the Pidgin or in the English manner. The way that the word is produced, however, with the vocalized /l/ and the stress shared in the last two syllables, makes the phrase more local. These linguistic traits downplay the sentimentality of the statement by projecting a cool masculinity through casualness and detachment.

As the exchange continues, Larz reenacts for her girlfriend the conversations that she purports having with her girlfriend’s dog, who she is watching while her girlfriend is away. This is an endearing image of Larz sitting at home with the dog and guessing what their loved one is doing at the moment while he looks back at her as if he can understand what she is saying. Matching this adorable playfulness that displays the love that is shared in their small family unit, line 4.16 is produced in a playful and cute manner such that it is also romantic and conveys Larz’s vulnerability and playfulness rather than project her cool casualness as the last phrase did.
Cuteness is achieved through slowed down speech, akin to babytalk, with wide and frequent pitch excursions and careful enunciation of each word. Her speech rate here is 2.53 syllables/second, much slower than average. Her pitch range is also wider, at 143.9 Hz, though her average pitch in this phrase is exactly her average pitch overall. She also repeats the same pitch pattern across the list items so that the phrase as a whole takes on a sing-songy quality. Her vowels, too, are carefully enunciated so that each one is far to the periphery of her vowel space. Because these linguistic strategies are used in talk to children, they take on a playful role here in this phrase, where Larz is quoting herself to her girlfriend.

Larz also expresses her love and caring through overt nurturing in the form of telling her girlfriend what she thinks would be best for her to do or even in being a bit bossy at times. Sometimes this nurturing can be the beginning of a brief argument between the two of them, but it is generally another way that Larz cares for her girlfriend and constructs her identity as nurturer and healer. In Example 5, Larz and her girlfriend are nearing the end of a very long video call, and Larz is encouraging her girlfriend to get some more sleep before her day has to officially begin.

(5) Larz: 1 okay
2 well I'll talk to you later then
3 you go moe moe?
GF: 4 no I gonna be up already
Larz: 5 just go sleep for little while
6 that only gon take you little while for get back to bed
GF: 7 yeah
Larz: 8 two minutes
(snores)
9 crash
GF: 10 no I'm gonna get up already
11 drink coffee

Larz: 12 nah
13 go moe moe a little while
14 I talk to you soon
15 call me when you get time

Figure 11: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 6 from Example 5. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.28 seconds.

In line 5.6, Larz’s pitch is lower than average across the recordings, which means that it is much lower than most of the conversational data. At the same time, the pitch range is quite wide, at 144.3 Hz. Larz uses grammatical features of Pidgin here like the missing article before ‘little’ or ‘for’ in place of what would be ‘to’ before ‘get back to bed’ if it were English. She begins the phrase with ‘that’ instead of ‘it’s.’ In addition, the realization of ‘for’ exemplifies Pidgin r-lessness, where GOAT is raised and followed directly by the velar stop of the next word. The low pitch used here in a Pidgin phrase constructs an intimacy between the two of them wherein Larz achieves authoritativeness but also expresses tenderness by using their shared first language to nurture her girlfriend and prompt her to keep rested and healthy.

4.2.3. Larz as knowledgeable

Larz has spent time pursuing higher education and hopes to continue with further time in academia, and she works hard to know a lot about the things that she is interested in. Among other things, she knows a lot about Hawaiian culture, about gender, and about the prison system, things about which she has made herself an expert, and she's proud of this knowledge. When she is enacting this expert role, she uses particular linguistic traits that lend authority and make her seem contemplative, careful, and knowledgeable. This style of speech is characterized by lower pitch, longer pauses between words, fully realized segments, quietness, and oftentimes, creaky voice. These
characteristics convey authority and thoughtfulness and construct Larz as an educated and careful speaker.

This first example of Larz conveying her expertise comes from the interview. In the interview, Larz used this speech style most of the time, though she doesn’t use it nearly as much when she is speaking to me in other settings. For the interview, though, her expertise was being demanded of her, and the style was appropriate for answering the questions. Many of the answers during the interview came back around to Larz’s work, as that is her passion and she spends much of her time there. In Example 6, she is discussing counseling her clients about what it is that got them to where they are and how they can change their lives going forward. She talks here about how her clients have never thought about how cultural circumstances played a part in their own lives and how after telling some, the idea spreads through the prison so that other inmates will come to her wanting to talk about historical trauma and what that means to them.

(6) Larz: 1 yeah
2 and then for the women like
3 I they just sometimes when I'm speaking with them
4 they have no idea
5 no clue as to what or what was the pathway for them being there
6 and then when we take it all the way back
7 and break it down
8 it comes you know right back to the whole you know culture of historical trauma

Figure 12: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 5 from Example 6. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 6.29 seconds.

The speech in line 6.5 is much lower than Larz’s average of 200.1 Hz at only 165.0 Hz. There are lengthy pauses between words as she carefully prepares to move on in her thought so that the speech rate is slow at 2.49 syllables/second. The segments of the phrase are fully realized instead of
being elided into one another, with some of the obstruents lengthened or intensified so as to indicate carefulness and investment in the talk. The release of /k/ at the beginning of ‘clue’ especially is emphasized and drawn out. In contrast to most of Larz’s speech, where interdental fricatives are stopped or glottalized, the /θ/ in ‘pathway’ is fricated and long. Finally, the phrase contains significant creak. Creaky voice is common in Larz’s speech when she is being serious, and it is often used across several words or even across an entire phrase. She sometimes uses creak throughout, causing the perception of her pitch to be lower than she might be able to achieve, and she also often uses it at boundaries in a way that produces a low boundary pitch that is perceptually lower than the surrounding speech. This is necessary when her pitch across a phrase is particularly low. In this phrase, Larz uses creak at the end of ‘pathway’ and on ‘there.’ These moments of creak convey authority and intelligence so that what she is saying attains more gravitas and Larz herself is constructed as wise and knowledgeable.

Larz’s primary goal in life is to help other Hawaiians to learn more about their culture and to use that knowledge to live healthy and rewarding lives. She is passionate about Hawaiian issues, and she actively participates in projects and communities whose intentions are to uplift the Hawaiian people and in particular, teach Hawaiians in the prison system skills from traditional Hawaiian culture that will enrich their lives when they are finally out of the system. Larz has been studying about Hawaiian concepts that have healing power or that encourage sustainability, and she shares what she learns with those she encounters. In the following phrase, Larz is talking with me in the interview about her broad goals in life and what she hopes to accomplish. She wants to promote a return to the ahupua’a system, which provides a structure of sustainable living that works within the bounds of each island’s natural resources and landscape. Her speech in Example 7 constructs an authoritative speaker knowledgeable of Hawaiian issues using some of the same features as the phrase above.

(7) Joelle: 1 what are your hopes for the future?
2 what are your goals?
Larz: 3 um the Hawaiian nation
4 so yeah and being able to restore the land to the people
5 then they wouldn't have to be housed in a facility
6 you know
7 and the whole uh reconnection to the ahupua’a
8 and all of that sustainability
9 so it's a whole bigger thing
Line 7.7 is characterized by low pitch, long pauses, SAE grammar and intonation, and a great deal of creak; all characteristics of Larz’s speech when she is constructing herself as expert. Though the average pitch across the phrase can’t be taken because of the amount of creak, those parts of the phrase that are not creaked are between 120 and 130 Hz, extremely low in Larz’s pitch range. Larz uses rising tone to signal continuation instead of using more local intonation patterns to hold the floor. About 1.5 seconds of the phrase are creaked, which is exemplary of Larz’s speech during the interview, wherein phrases predominately contained creak. Finally, Larz used the Hawaiian word ahupua’a here to describe to me her hopes for the future. She could have used another word or phrase (e.g., land), as many people do when they are speaking to non-Hawaiians, but she chose to use the Hawaiian word for the concept about which she was talking, and in doing so, she gave herself the opportunity as well to pronounce the word with phonemic traits of the Hawaiian language, with careful Hawaiian vowel realizations and a glottal stop dividing the /a/ vowels at the end of the word, styling herself as knowledgeable of Hawaiian concepts and language.

In Example 8, Larz is talking to her girlfriend about the nuns that her girlfriend is working with in the Philippines. They are discussing how the nuns always hire their family members for any odd jobs that need to be done around the convent, and that in this way, they are keeping the money received by the church in the family. Larz is arguing that they are a part, therefore, of the same economic systems that non-religious people are a part of and that they are benefiting financially from their supposedly selfless lifestyles. In line 8.12, Larz uses the Socratic method to convince her girlfriend that even though the nuns are not rich, they are still economically advantaged and therefore a bit hypocritical. Larz is often argumentative, and we will look at more examples of her arguments later on in the chapter, but in contrast to those other arguments, where Larz is often more local in her speech with higher pitch and faster speech rate, in this exchange, Larz isn’t arguing
as much as she is taking on a teaching role in which she tries to convince her girlfriend of the dubious economic systems that underlie all exchanges. As such, her speech works to construct Larz as expert and teacher here in much the same way that she is expert and teacher in the interview setting.

(8) GF:  1 so it's like it's kinda cool in a way
  2 that they all look out for each other
  3 and they all give each other the business you know
  4 instead of and they all help out with the responsibilities
  5 so if one is like one is busy or one is whatever
  6 the other one will come and be like right there to do the service
Larz:  7 so they keep the wealth in the family right?
  8 that's how it works
GF:  10 yeah but they still all poor
  11 like I mean
Larz:  12 but are they as poor as the poorest person there?
GF:  13 no
Larz:  14 kay
  15 it's the same system
  16 it's just at a different level
  17 yes

Figure 14: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 12 from Example 8. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.70 seconds.

In line 8.12, Larz uses lower pitch, quietness, and careful speech to construct herself as authoritative and to discuss something about which she is passionate. The pitch of this phrase is only 176.3 Hz. Each segment of every word is carefully and fully realized, with each fricative receiving more than a
tenth of a second, and the /r/’s, which are often not realized in local speech, here are fully realized. Here, too, the interdental fricatives are not stopped. These characteristics, in combination with an SAE intonational contour, make the phrase sound very standard and make it stand out from the surrounding talk with Larz’s girlfriend, which switches back and forth between Pidgin and English, but is generally more local-sounding than this phrase. This standardness together with low pitch and a quiet and drawn-out end of the phrase serve a rhetorical function in which Larz seeks to persuade her girlfriend of the ubiquitous dubiousness of religious figures.

4.2.4. Larz as tough

Though Larz is a counselor and a nurturer, and while she can be soft and comforting, she is also at other times intimidating or rough. She can project a great deal of toughness, and she doesn’t hedge her arguments when she disagrees with her speech partner. For the most part, Larz uses Pidgin or very local Hawai‘i English in moments when she is being tough or disagreeing. She also tends to swear a great deal and elide her speech. In addition, Larz uses falsetto meaningfully when angry or defensive in combination with these other traits in order to convey her disapproval.

Seeming at times to be callous and unsympathetic is also a part of Larz’s identity, and these moments work to index a stereotypical tough guy who can’t be manipulated into caring too much for women. We’ll now look at a few examples where Larz is talking about her relationships with her girlfriend or with acquaintances and claiming a sort of coldness towards them. She is actively portraying herself as unmoved by the plaintive interactions she’s discussing so that she comes across as rigid in her treatment of women, a claim that, as we have seen, doesn’t actually always play out in her interactions. She uses derision and rough language here to dismiss the women’s emotional reactions, and in doing so, she sets herself up as opposed to their emotionality and comes across herself as stoic and indifferent.

In Example 9, Larz is talking with her niece and her niece’s friend out in front of the house where they are having a garage sale. Her niece, like Larz, has a difficult relationship with her girlfriend, and they are talking about how they react to fights when their girlfriends accuse them of not caring enough about their relationships. As their conversation proceeds, both Larz and her niece portray themselves in their talk both as the partners who have been wronged in some way and also the partners who are less emotionally involved. First, Larz quotes herself hypothetically chastising a girlfriend who doesn’t behave as she should, but then she goes on to tell about a fight that seems to have actually occurred wherein she acted as if indifferent to her girlfriend’s feelings. In American
popular culture, the role of nagging and fretting about the other partner’s lack of commitment and care is usually taken up by the woman in the relationship, while the man is nonchalant and impervious to her complaints. Larz portrays herself here in a way that is similar to the role of that man (I make no claim as to whether this was a conscious intention or not), where, in her story, her girlfriend accuses her of devaluing her and her response is derisive and dismissive. Somehow, though, in the end, it’s unclear whether this is a telling of an actual fight or if Larz is simply posturing for her niece as a tough lover who doesn’t take any bullshit.

The linguistic resources that Larz uses in line 9.18 work in this context to portray Larz’s dismissiveness and malice in the situation and they construct her as tough and indifferent.

(9) Niece: 1 then it’s a whole crying thing
Larz: 2 you know (d)ey chasing after you on the freeway
Niece: 3 “you didn’t love me all (d)is time”
Larz: 4 well motherfucking t act right
5 act right
6 shit man
Niece: 7 all this time I spent
Larz: 8 yep
9 all (d)is time I spent
10 all (d)is money I wasted on you
11 every time I say (d)at
12 ho brah we get into one whole big fight
13 “what you mean?
14 how can you put how can you put a price on me?”
15 I said
16 “(d)ere is no price
17 it’s free”
18 (laughter)
19 “no fuckin’ ask me stupid ass questions like (d)at (d)en
cause I gon give you one dumbass answer”
In line 9.18, unlike many other phrases where Larz is conveying that she is upset, she doesn’t use falsetto. At the same time, though, it is quite a bit higher than her average pitch at 251.86 Hz. It is also faster than average. The phrase also exhibits some local features, with ‘no’ in place of ‘don’t’ and stopped interdental fricatives at the beginning of ‘that’ and ‘then.’ There is quite a bit of lenition in the phrase, with the consonant cluster of ‘act’ simplified to /k/ and the /k/ of ‘like’ completely deleted. This elision contrasts with the treatment of ‘fuckin’,’ which is emphasized with a long /f/ and an intense release of /k/ so that it stands out as the focal center of the phrase and highlights Larz’s vitriol. The local features of the phrase along with its speed and elision convey a tough local masculinity that is emotionally detached, while the swearing in the phrase and its emphasis express anger, so that the phrase successfully constructs Larz’s tough and callous side.

In Example 10, Larz is again talking with her friend on a video call about her friend’s messy breakup. Now, though, they are no longer talking about the friend’s daughter, but discussing the friend’s ex’s attempts to reach out to Larz and get her to take her side in the fight. Larz is reassuring her friend that she isn’t taking her ex’s side and is belittling the ex for her behavior after the breakup. Like the phrase just discussed, Larz portrays herself as indifferent to the ex’s pleas but uses more dynamic linguistic resources to portray her spite for the ex’s plight. In line 10.6, Larz disputes the ex’s seeming belief that she would be on her side, and in lines 10.24 and 10.25, Larz mocks the ex for listing off in a text all of the possessions that she would like her to help her get back from the friend. Larz’s participation in this disputation and mockery not only construct her callousness but also helps to cement her relationship with her friend because in this case, this otherwise spiteful behavior helps to express where Larz’s loyalties lie.
and I'm thinking
“what the fuck does this all mean?”
because

shit I ain't having a conversation wi(t) her
you know?
fucking retard
(laughter)
she's so reta(r)ded you know (d)at?

Friend: saw her yesterday morning
I was home

Larz: she's so fuckin' retarded
like she trips me out for real
but eh you love her
(d)at's on you

Friend: fucker
(laughter)
you loved (name removed)
I mean

Larz: yeah I love her
(laughter)
frick man
but she not gon be texting you about our fucking scraps
(laughter)
like (name removed)
she texting me (d)e fuckin' details

every(t)ing she get ove(r) (d)e(re)
like down to (d)e fuckin' flatiron

Friend: down to the fuckin' flatiron man
(laughter)
In line 10.6, Larz uses extremely high pitch and wide pitch range to voice her objection and express frustration. As explained in section 4.2.1, in Hawai‘i English and in Pidgin, high pitch moments or falsetto voice can be used to express that a speaker is excited, positively or negatively, and this feature doesn’t necessarily denote femininity. It can be used to convey that the speaker is upset and ready to fight or defend, and it therefore can index a sort of tough expressiveness. The average pitch of this phrase is 359.05 Hz, with a range extending from as low at 208.83 Hz to as high as 497.16 Hz. This extremely wide contour in this case indexes emotional investment and indignation. The phrase begins with ‘shit’ realized with a long /ʃ/ for emphasis in addition to exhibiting local and casual features such as the word ‘ain’t’ and a stopped fricative at the end of ‘with,’ so that, like the phrase before, these local features combined with a hyperarticulated swear word work to construct local toughness. This, in combination with her use of pitch here, performs a strong objection that maintains Larz’s toughness.

Lines 10.24 and 10.25 are extremely performative, meant to be amusing to Larz’s interlocutor as they openly mock the ex’s listing of every single thing that she wants back from the friend after their breakup. Larz uses loud, heavy Pidgin with local intonational contours emphasized by a wide pitch range that changes dramatically across the utterance, making the humorous mockery apparent, as indicated by her friend’s repetition of the final part of the utterance. She also emphasizes the ex’s request for her flatiron, a tool that Larz herself never uses. The request for this item in particular is funny to Larz and her friend because of its frivolousness, and Larz’s pronunciation of the word serves to deride the request.
This phrase, unlike phrases where the linguistic system may be ambiguous, uses Pidgin grammar and many phonological Pidgin features, making it exemplary of Larz’s Pidgin use. She uses ‘get’ as the possessive verb here in addition to stopped interdental fricatives in ‘everything,’ ‘there,’ and ‘the’ and r-less ‘over’ and ‘there.’ The KIT vowel preceding the velar nasal in ‘everything’ in particular is produced particularly differently in this phrase. Older Pidgin speakers show no spectral distinction between KIT and FLEECE (Grama 2015), but for the most part, these vowels are spectrally distinct for Larz. However, in this case, Larz produces the KIT vowel in ‘everything’ in the same space as her FLEECE vowel. This realization is shown in Figure 18\(^{29}\). This high realization of the vowel makes the Pidgin used in this phrase sound ‘heavier.’ The first part of the utterance also exhibits the local intonational contour signaling continuance, as the pitch rises to the syllable before the final stress and drops a dramatic 155 Hz to the final syllable. The phrase is above average in pitch by a bit, and it is quite a bit above average in pitch range. These characteristics add to the drama of the delivery. Larz derides the request for the flatiron by using harsher voice quality and drawing out the word as well as lengthening and intensifying the initial /f/ so that it mirrors the long and intense /f/ of the preceding ‘fuckin,’ conveying contempt.

\(^{29}\) The figure is made up of two kernel density plots of a representative sample of tokens of the two vowels. This manner of plotting vowel data clearly demonstrates the concentrations of data points.
4.2.5. Larz as opinionated

Larz expresses her opinions frankly and without apology. She uses strong emotional language to make her opinion known, but she also uses derision and sarcasm to express her judgments on matters. As is apparent in the three phrases in this section, it is important to Larz to subvert hegemonic power structures and speak out against normalized beliefs that she contends with, and she does so by aligning herself with the oppressed party, with dismissal of these structures, and with sarcastic derision. The next three examples show this variety of ways that Larz states strong opinions, exemplifying the frankness with which she speaks.

In Example 11, Larz’s girlfriend is telling her about a scholarship program in the Philippines where she is working that comes with many stipulations; the recipients aren’t allowed to date while they receive the money. Larz shows her support of her girlfriend’s opinion that this is wrong and gives her own judgment of the stipulation with this phrase. She expresses her righteous indignation with linguistic resources that convey strong emotion, and she also uses casual resources that align herself with ‘the people’ instead of with those in power.

(11) GF: 1 you gotta
  2 you gotta not have a boyfriend or a girlfriend
Larz: 3 what?
GF: 4 you gotta like
yes have all these like

Larz: that is like personal kine rights man
GF: yeah
but that's not how it is over here yeah
so I was just like shocked like
“oh my gosh
he cannot tell (d)em how to they can live their lifestyle just because he giving them money for education”
Larz: right

Larz uses a dramatically wide pitch range and carefully enunciated obstruents to convey her emotional attachment to what she is saying. Line 11.6 goes as high as 497.60 Hz and down to 139.68 Hz, covering almost the entire range of Larz’s pitch. Every fricative is long and intense, and the bursts of the initial /p/ and /k/ of ‘personal’ and ‘kine’ respectively are also intense and lengthened. All of these resources require a great deal of energy use and using them indexes a commitment to the talk. At the same time, Larz keeps the phrase casual rather than distant and formal by using the casual lexical items focuser ‘like’ and ‘man’ and the local lexical item ‘kine.’ In addition, the TRAP vowel in ‘man’ in this phrase is exemplary of local retraction and backing before a nasal. This wide pitch contour and careful production of segments convey her emotional reaction to the unfairness of what her girlfriend has told her, while her use of informal and local lexical items and local vowels keep the speech personal and relatable.

In Example 12, Larz is again talking to her girlfriend about the nuns that she is working with overseas. Her girlfriend has told her that they don’t give any money to the offering in church, and Larz has argued that there is no point in giving money if they are the ones that are receiving it from the church ultimately. She then jokes that they might get paid under the table and begins to express
her feelings about organized religion, no doubt in part stemming from the relationship that she had with her religious parents during her youth. She has no love for religion and distrusts very religious people. She expresses that casual disdain in line 12.10, using low-energy linguistic resources to convey her detachment from religion and a sing-songy intonation that mocks the topic of the utterance.

(12) Larz: 1 do (d)e y get paid?
GF: 2 I don’t (t)ink so
Larz: 3 get paid on the cool
4 they get paid cash
(laughter)
5 huh?
GF: 6 I don’t know
7 I don’t (t)ink so
Larz: 8 yeah you just gotta think about it from all (d)e different angles
9 you know what I mean?
10 because like any other shit religion is just for me bullshit
11 you know?
12 you know

Larz uses low pitch, redundant intonation, and an emphatic and meaningfully produced swear word to express her dismissal and disdain for religious activity while at the same time softening the contentiousness of what she is saying with the playfulness of her delivery. Line 12.10 starts out already well under Larz’s average pitch, and it steadily declines over its length, ending at only 127.37 Hz. She sort of sings the words ‘any other shit’ so that the stressed syllables in each word are drawn out to the same length and intoned stepwise down. This sing-songy intonation and decline convey
mockery and belittle the topic of the talk by trivializing it. Finally, she ends the statement with summing up all religion as ‘bullshit’ and she produces it in a way that has become popular in American culture, with a longer silence before the stop, an exaggerated stress on the first syllable accomplished largely through length, and a lowered and retracted FOOT vowel in ‘bull’ that crosses into the space of GOAT with a long /ʃ/. This pronunciation of the word adds playfulness to the phrase. These resources succeed at two different goals for this phrase. They convey Larz’s feelings about religion iconically, but they are also without vitriol so that they take the edge off of what could possibly be an offensive statement to some people.

In this last phrase that exemplifies Larz expressing her opinions without hesitance, Larz uses sarcasm to relay a harsh judgment of the topic. It is common for Larz to use humor to deride something that she strongly disagrees with, and in this case, her girlfriend’s associate in the Philippines is the target. Larz’s girlfriend works alongside a woman in the Philippines who is lauded for her good works and charity, but Larz’s girlfriend has told Larz in a previous conversation that the woman refers to all homosexuals as ‘homos.’ Larz now brings up this behavior again by suggesting that her girlfriend make sure to send love from her to the older woman. Larz’s suggestion is rife with sarcasm, as she has conflated the woman using the word ‘homo’ with general homophobia, as evidenced by Larz’s girlfriend next arguing that the word is just the term that is used in the Philippines rather than a judgment of the behavior of the individuals it identifies. Larz, however, is both offended and amused by the word and condemns the behavior of the woman by proposing that she herself demonstrate the loving charity towards the woman that the woman’s religion calls for, highlighting the woman’s hypocrisy. Larz accomplishes this sarcastic polite exchange with linguistic resources that convey complete earnestness and politeness. Her speech is deliberate and very standard in a way that crafts formality and sincerity and constructs the perfect sarcasm of the statement.

(13) GF: 1 yeah
2 and she’s done a lot of things and been a lot of places and all
3 as like not like as a young adult
4 all those
5 like middle age yeah
Larz: 6 all as a senior citizen
GF: 7 yep
Larz: 8 well when you see her
you give her my love from this homo
(laughter)
tell her
“oh that your homo friend said “love””
yeah they're not she's not um judgmental
that's just the term that they refer to
I know babe I know
yeah if anything she's the most like um liberal
I'm not saying that in a bad way I'm just saying it because it's fuckin' hilarious

Larz expresses sarcastic sincerity in this statement by using linguistic resources that convey earnestness and deliberate attention to her speech. Each word of line 13.9 receives weight with no obstruents weakened or vowels centralized. It is as if each syllable is stressed, with ‘love’ and ‘homo’ receiving extra stress, and every word is subject to the lengthening and intensifying of English stress. The fricatives in particular are long and intense. The phrase is slightly lower than average, which makes it quite a bit lower than most of her speech in casual contexts and lends mock seriousness to the talk. These features together convey an earnestness that works to contrast with Larz’s actual feelings toward the woman.

4.2.6. Larz as argumentative

When Larz is actively disagreeing with her speech partner, her speech takes on more energetic characteristics that convey her emotional investment in the exchange. Like her speech when she is projecting her toughness, this talk tends to have more local linguistic features. In lines 14.12 and 14.13, too, she uses a great deal of falsetto, used to convey a clear objection to what has been said and project a readiness to defend herself. In Example 14, Larz and her girlfriend are

Figure 21: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 9 from Example 13. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.45 seconds.
talking about when her girlfriend returns home. She doesn’t want to live with Larz’s family, and Larz argues here that she doesn’t really live with them, she just lives on the same property as them. Larz argues that her living situation now is analogous to one that her girlfriend had before, and attempts to analogize that if she is living with her parents now, then her girlfriend lived with her family before as well. This plan backfires, however, as her girlfriend concedes that yes, she did in fact live with her family before, just as Larz is living with her family now. Larz contends that her girlfriend is wrong about this evaluation, and she goes on to chastise her girlfriend for her tactics in this argument. She uses falsetto and local features to voice her argument and concludes her command at the end of the utterance with much lower speech, giving more authority to her chastising.

(14)  
GF: 1 you live wi(t) your mo(d)e(r)  
Larz: 2 I don't live wi(t) my mo(d)e(r)  
GF: 3 if you live wi(t) your uncle  
  4 you live wi(t) your mo(d)e(r)  
Larz: 5 no I don't live wi(t) any of (d)em  
  6 I live in the house  
  7 it could be like one apartment  
  8 just like you no live wi(t) ----  
  9 you live wi(t) (d)em?  
10 you was living wi(t)  
GF: 11 yeah I lived wi(t) (d)em  
Larz: 12 no fuckin' live wi(t) (d)em  
  13 no act stupid  
GF: 14 lived wi(t) all of (d)em  
Larz: 15 oh okay

Figure 22: Spectrogram and Waveform of lines 12 and 13 from Example 14. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.38 seconds. The pitch window is set from 50 Hz to 550 Hz.
Line 14.12 peaks near the beginning at the top of Larz’s speaking range at 515.95 Hz, where she uses falsetto to express disagreement. The utterance has grammatical features of Pidgin, with ‘no’ for negation of the verb in the first clause and negation in the imperative of the second clause. The beginning of the first clause is also weakened and the subject is left off. The phonology of the statements is also local, with the interdental fricative of ‘with’ elided and of ‘them’ stopped. The consonant cluster /sk/ of ‘ask’ is simplified as well, with the /k/ deleted. These local features and this use of extremely high pitch are typical of local argument and of Larz’s own linguistic styling of disagreement with other locals.

This next argument example typifies a more authoritative type of argument from Larz. In Example 15, she is arguing with her girlfriend about whether her girlfriend’s characterization of her associate as ‘famous’ is actually appropriate. Larz argues that this word doesn’t apply here and that a different way of phrasing it would be more apt. At this point in the discussion, Larz and her girlfriend have already been arguing about this for several moments, and they are actually getting a bit upset about it. Line 15.11 is a sort of summation from Larz in which she attempts to close the argument with her opinion, acting as if she has won and her argument has prevailed. She achieves this with features that are both informal and authoritative so that she conveys certainty and finality.

(15) GF:  1 uh no like she's famous in her own way
         2 like they're famous in their own way
         3 like all her human rights stuff
         4 and her being vocal and all (d)at kind of stuffs
Larz: 5    okay
GF:  6    yeah
Larz: 7    alright
GF:  8    like you gotta get out of the American perception of
Larz: 9    of famous?
GF: 10   yeah
Larz: 11  (d)en maybe you gotta choose ano(d)ec(r) word
GF: 12   no
Larz: 13 cause that's an American word
Figure 23: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 11 from Example 15. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.91 seconds.

Line 15.11 is characterized by low pitch and elision, as well as local pronunciation, making the phrase at once cool and tough as well as authoritative. The average pitch of the phrase is 180.84 Hz. Larz accomplishes earnestness in the phrase with intensity and an exaggerated affricate at the beginning of ‘choose.’ ‘Maybe’ and ‘you’ are elided, while ‘you gotta’ is weakened so that the phrase conveys the cool toughness that comes with less clear speech. The interdental fricatives of the phrase are stopped and ‘another’ is r-less, making the phrase more local. These features together construct authority without pretension and project a local toughness.

4.2.7. Larz as laidback

So far, most of the phrases that have been described from Larz have created a picture of her as an intense person with strong emotional investment, whether that be in counseling others, in discussing subjects that she finds significant, or in disagreements. However, a major part of Larz’s identity and the person that she presents to others is her chillness. Though Larz can quickly become emotional and use her talk to convince, defend, or dissuade, much of the time she is laidback and prides herself on being able to keep her cool. In particular, when she is around groups of people, she is quiet and calm and exudes a sort of peacefulness. This laidback attitude and behavior is valued in Hawai‘i, and it is something often associated with island life. It is also an important aspect of Hawaiian masculinity. In this final exchange in this profile of Larz, she directly constructs this laidback, “over-it” part of her identity. Example 16 comes again from her conversation with her friend about her messy breakup. Larz tells her friend that she doesn’t care about what’s on facebook or how the friend and her ex are battling there; she is done with the drama. She expresses this by stating that she wants a beer. Beer is central to unwinding after work or, in Hawai‘i, to spending time at the beach with friends and family, and because of this, it is also symbolically significant to local culture. It is a symbol of relaxation, a laidback attitude, and local masculinity. By stating that she
wants a beer, Larz is asserting that she is done with caring about the facebook page and ready to move on to relaxing without drama. Her linguistic performance in these two utterances asking for a beer further emphasize her laidback attitude, as she uses resources that index casualness and chillness.

(16) Larz: 1 oh well
2 yeah I I haven't been on facebook in for a long time already
3 so I don't know what's on your page
4 I don't know what's on ----'s page
5 I don't even know if I want to know
6 like I don't fucking care
7 you know?
Friend: 8 uh-huh
Larz: 9 fuck
10 I just want to drink a fuckin' beer already
   (laughter)
11 shit
12 it's like holy shit
13 give me a bee(r)

Figure 24: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 10 from Example 16. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.67 seconds.

Larz uses the very informal ‘fuckin’ with the alveolar nasal, typical of her casual speech, but in line 16.10, she doesn’t emphasize its obstruents in such a way to express anger or emotion. Instead, here it is a marker of casualness and informality that provides levity in the phrase. The phrase in general is low energy, with low pitch at 150.16 Hz and low intensity. Larz ends the phrase with the Pidgin sentence-final ‘already,’ denoting her desire for the thing right away. Her pronunciation of this word in particular, constructs the chillness of the phrase, with its quietness, low pitch, and deleted /l/.
Line 16.13 is the height of local chillness. The phrase is low and quiet, at only 160.45 Hz, with little change in pitch or intensity across the utterance. It is also elided, with the /v/ of ‘give’ deleted. Larz exaggerates Pidgin phonology here to emphasize the localness of her phrase and convey its laid-back intention. The /r/ of ‘beer’ is vocalized and KIT in ‘give’ is produced in the space of FLEECE, as can be seen in Figure 26, exhibiting the spectral overlap of older Pidgin speakers and emphasizing the localness of the phrase. These low energy resources combined with very local features create an exceptionally chill phrase meant to construct Larz as over the drama and too cool to care.

4.3. Summing up Larz

Larz embraces the traditional concept of māhū identity, an individual in society that doesn’t cleave to either feminine or masculine things, but embraces properties of both kāne and wāhine. For
her, māhū are also healers and spiritual practitioners, people who pass on Hawaiian stories and practices and who have a special place because of their connection to gender in-betweenness. Larz seeks to embody all of these characteristics and to honor that tradition by being a counselor and by uplifting other Hawaiians. She is nurturing and emotional, but she is also at times tough and argumentative. She has strong opinions that she doesn’t hedge and she is quick to offer judgment, but she also values and projects a laidback attitude towards life, a sort of live and let live philosophy. Her physical presentation associates her with masculinity, as does the way that she carries herself and moves, but she argues that she doesn’t feel that she is either masculine or feminine in her speech behavior, but is always something in between.

When Larz is giving advice to her loved ones, she seems to have two very different styles of talk. At times, she uses local resources like intonational contours or /dh/ stopping and wide pitch range to express solidarity and emotion, and at other times, she uses more resources from SAE with low pitch, long pauses, and creak to perform expertise and wisdom. These same resources are used in moments when Larz is talking about matters of importance to her or things about which she is an expert. She uses this creak, low pitch, and pausing in the interview setting. Larz constructs toughness with local phrasing, a lot of swearing, a wide pitch range that includes moments of falsetto voice, stopped /dh/, r-lessness, and more Pidgin-like vowels, as well as using Pidgin grammar. She uses these same features to argue. When giving her opinions, she enunciates more carefully and also uses long fricatives that emphasize her emotional attachment to the talk. This contrasts with moments when she is projecting a more laidback self, where she is quieter with low pitch and a narrower pitch range as she uses Pidgin and local resources.

Larz’s talk provides an example of an individual who varies a great deal across interlocutors and targets, using more or less formal linguistic codes to accomplish the construction of identity. Larz uses local resources for a wide range of aims, some of them even seemingly contrastive. Yet, these resources are used meaningfully in different contexts because their meanings are malleable, and Larz adeptly uses them with other linguistic variation to form styles that work together to construct her identity and her gender. Chapter 7 will address these matters in more detail, looking at how the other two speakers are similar and dissimilar from Larz and what this might tell us about identity and meaning-making. Now, in Chapter 5, we’ll discuss Jody, one of Larz’s closest friends and an individual who chose to transition by changing his body with hormones and surgery. Jody has been a man for more than twenty years, and with his long, full beard and muscular figure, his physical appearance works to project his masculinity, but he is determined to find balance in his life,
and this balance extends to his gender identity, which he asserts shouldn’t be understood as masculine or feminine but as a guy doing what makes him happy.
Chapter 5 · Jody

5.1. An introduction to Jody

I first heard of Jody through Larz. During my first meeting with her, she suggested that her good friend, Jody, might also be willing to participate in my research, as he was a transitioned man and an advocate in the transmasculine community. She gave him my number and made the introductions by text. Jody and I talked over the phone before meeting face-to-face. I think that he wanted to make sure that we would get along, as he is particular about who he allows in his life, and he also wanted to assess the work that I would be doing. We talked on the phone for about half an hour about ourselves and about the research so that we could establish whether we would be a good fit for one another. The phone conversation went well, and he agreed to be a participant. Our first meeting took place in his home in Kailua on the East side of O’ahu, and we have spent a great deal of our time together there since, as Jody prefers to be near home much of the time.

The first time Jody and I met, we hung out on his couch in his living room. We talked about how language is particularly interesting in transgender individuals’ lives, how the words that are chosen to describe body parts and movements and the words used during sexual intimacy are an important part of transitioning contentedly. We shared general information about who we are and what we like to do, and we also laughed a lot. Jody is a really fun person, and our time together has involved a lot of joking and laughter. Jody gave me a couple of books on that visit, one was his favorite research on trans men, written by Aaron Devor, and the other is a book of poems he wrote about his own experience with gender. That first visit, I also met Jody’s girlfriend Arleen for the first time. At the time, Arleen didn’t live there, but she now does, so she is always there when I visit. Arleen is an extremely sweet and quiet person who was a teacher but now works from home. She is Filipina and grew up moving from place to place to place, as she is from a military family.

After our first visit, my time with Jody has become much less formal. I have spent more time with Jody than with the other participants, and we have become very close friends. Jody is a great listener and loves to offer advice, so our relationship is very reciprocal, with both of us sharing about what’s been going on in our lives. We see each other at least once a month if we’re not traveling off island. Most of our time together is spent in Jody’s living room or close to his house on walks or trips to Whole Foods. We eat dinner and watch TV on the couch and comment on what
we’re seeing or take a walk to the beach that is only about ten minutes away. On our walks, we confide in one another and offer opinions about decisions that have to be made. If my husband Todd comes along for the visit, we have a planned agenda concerning what we will watch, but if it is just me, our goals are mostly aimless. We spend the first half hour or so of each home visit catching up on what is going on in life while Jody settles what he will eat for dinner or completes some last minute task. He usually arrives home at exactly the same time that I arrive because he has planned out his day to the minute. While he settles in, I chat with Arleen and watch reality television with her. When we settle down to watch something, we all share the couch, and Jody and Arleen are generally snuggled up near each other so that they can be affectionate throughout the evening.

I’ve also spent time with Jody away from his home in Kailua. When we had known each other for several months, Jody decided to try to put together a dance night where he could dance somewhere besides his living room to music that he loves (mentioned in Chapter 4). I suggested the arts center in downtown Honolulu that our friend Shain manages, and he contacted him and set it up. He has organized three of these dance nights and also one charity event at the center since then. I’ve gone to every one, and brought friends to a couple. For one of the nights, Jody gave a talk about his experience with gender and with transitioning, and I was able to experience how Jody talks about his gender to a more general crowd. One thing in particular that I was struck by during this talk was that when he talks about himself before his transition, he says things like “I used to look like a woman” instead of “I used to be a woman.” Who he is now is who he has always felt he was, so being a woman was like wearing a costume for Jody, and he was finally able to take it off. I have also attended a class that Jody was teaching, went on a double date with Todd and Arleen in tow, and attended Jody’s birthday party, an assemblage of eight of his closest friends.

Before our first meeting, I didn’t know much about Jody or what he looked like, except that Larz had told me that he was small in stature. Jody is intentional about his appearance and has worked to craft an outward persona that expresses his interests and displays his masculinity. He keeps his head bald and has an immaculately-groomed red beard that reaches to his chest. Jody is highly committed to keeping his body healthy. This includes being careful about what he puts into it and also going to the gym almost every day. As a result, he has hardly any body fat and has very prominent muscles. He wears black tank tops or t-shirts, often band t-shirts or t-shirts with a dark, gothic subject matter, jeans, and black boots, though around the house, he often wears a tank top and boxers. He also has a black motorcycle jacket that he wears if he visits the Mainland. He wears
small wire-rimmed glasses and often stands with his hands in his pockets and his legs wide apart in a stance that makes him seem more imposing.

Jody is originally from New York, but has lived primarily in Kailua since he was 15, when his family moved to Hawai‘i. His parents have remained in the same house since that move, and Jody now lives with them, in an attached structure. In the last couple of decades, he has lived on the Mainland for short periods of time, but the majority of his time has been on O‘ahu, including his high school years, undergraduate education, one of his Master’s degrees, and all of his time post-education. In New York, his family moved from place to place, with a new house every six months or so, playing the real estate market, until they had enough capital to move to Hawai‘i. This meant that Jody attended a new school every year. Because Jody was also an only child, he had to be very independent and spend his time entertaining himself. His childhood was hard because as a female looking child who dressed like a boy, he was teased and bullied a lot for how he looked. The only positive experience that Jody remembers from childhood was the outlet that he found for his enterprising nature. He started a candy-selling business when he was still young, marking up the prices of the candy that he bought wholesale and selling it to his classmates. This is how he found some amount of acceptance from his peers and also how he felt that he had risen above their taunting. Jody also dealt with bullying by defending himself forcibly. He was a violent child and teenager as a result of the anger he felt at not being accepted, and he fought with the people who targeted him. He also used violence to protect himself from sexual attention. Because of this behavior, he says, “I didn’t feel safe at home, and I didn’t feel safe at school because I was teased at school and then when I got home I was angry that I was teased, so I was mean, and I got hit a lot.”

Jody’s relationship with his parents has changed a lot since childhood. He now lives in an apartment attached to his parents’ house, and he sees them daily. They are supportive of him and love Arleen, and their interactions are congenial and caring. Jody believes in reincarnation and that every person chooses their position in the next life, so he believes that he chose all of the circumstances of this life. He says, “I chose my family, I chose everything that happened to me, I chose being born in the wrong body” because he feels that he needed to learn lessons from his parents. From his parents, he learned “to be strong and listen to my intuition, learned how to think outside the box, learned how to survive.” Because of this, he has worked hard to forgive them and to have compassion for them despite their interactions when he was younger. His parents taught him to think outside of the box and to listen to his intuition, and he is grateful for their strength.
Jody’s family is Jewish. All four of his grandparents came to America after World War II, and his grandfather remained religiously Jewish, going to temple regularly and taking Jody along, while the rest of the family no longer attended temple. Jody’s family knew that he was masculine from a young age, and they largely accepted it. His grandparents in particular were very supportive of his expressions of gender. His grandmother would take him to the boys’ section of the department store and insist that he be able to try on clothes in the boys’ dressing room. His grandfather also dressed him in boys’ clothes and took him to baseball games. Only one family member, an uncle, treated him badly because of his masculinity, and that uncle refused to acknowledge his transition, which started when Jody was 22. Jody’s parents have been accepting of his transition, if still concerned for its difficulties. His father asked him if he might not just be able to stay a lesbian rather than undergoing surgery, but when Jody said that this was something that he had to do and explained the distinction between his sexuality and his gender, his father became very supportive, even encouraging him to follow through with his surgeries in the hospital when the procedures became overwhelming and Jody was thinking of calling them off.

When Jody moved to Hawai‘i, he began attending the high school very near his house in Kailua. He didn’t fit in there, and had only one friend, but she was a very close friend and helped him to get through those difficult years. They went to college together at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, where Jody finished in three years with an English degree. He then went on to get an M.A. in English and an M.F.A in creative writing, both on the Mainland. His project for the completion of the M.F.A is the book of poems that he wrote about his gender. Since then, Jody has made his living teaching English and sometimes also editing on the side. He teaches at the undergraduate level and has taught at many of the community colleges in the University of Hawai‘i system as well as the private universities on the island. In the time that I have known him, he has mostly worked from home, teaching online English courses. Jody says that being a teacher is all that he can remember ever wanting to do. He has loved teaching others since he was a child, and he loves his work now, giving his students information that they’re going to need for the rest of their lives, giving them the freedom to research what they are interested in.

Jody has only ever dated women. He’s been attracted to girls since he was very young, claiming that he probably had a crush on a nurse in the delivery room, and has never felt an attraction for a man, though he does have a lot of curiosity about sex with men. He is mostly curious about what the power dynamics in a sexual encounter with a man would be like. He has a hard time trusting men, though, and his friendships are almost exclusively with women. He loves a woman’s
body and a woman’s energy. Jody and Arleen have been together eleven of the past twenty years. They met in their early twenties, and were engaged to be married after two years of dating. After nine years together, they split up, were apart for eight years, but reunited about two years ago and have been dating since. Between these times, Jody was married to a woman and was helping to raise her young son. He and his wife decided that they wanted different things, and they divorced amicably.

Because he feels uncomfortable using labels and categories, Jody likes to say that there are biological men and there are men who were born female, can empathize with women, having walked in the world as one physically, but have a masculine soul and were never actually women. He considers himself “someone who was born in the wrong body” but who is now a guy, a guy “with both a cock and a pussy.” From a young age, around second or third grade, Jody didn’t want to wear girls’ clothing, and he played with the boys. His role models were tough characters on TV, like Fonzie or tomboys on sitcoms. He began wearing the clothes that he liked in the fourth grade: ripped jeans, high-top sneakers, t-shirts with the Doors or Motley Crue. After moving to Hawai‘i, Jody didn’t fit into the lesbian communities. He thinks that he was essentially something different, and as a man, he just didn’t fit in to the community and never found connections there.

During his time on the Mainland more than twenty years ago, while receiving his Master’s, Jody was approached on campus about a support group for people undergoing gender transitions. At the time, he wasn’t thinking about changing his body, but he was curious, and he went to the group. After a couple of meetings, he decided that transitioning was something that he had to do, and within months, he acquired the necessary paperwork to have the mastectomy and hysterectomy that would change his physical form. Jody took control of his medical transition, choosing for himself how to proceed with dosages and surgeries. He has had testosterone injections every two weeks for more than two decades, has grown out a very impressive beard, and maintains a lean and muscular physique. Jody views masculinity as an essential mode of expression, such that he is essentially masculine, but at the same time, he hesitates to talk about it in that way at all because he thinks that maybe the constructs of masculinity and femininity are simply labels that help us to feel safe, but that they are meaningless. Thus, he is just essentially himself, doing the things that make him happy and bring him fulfillment, and others can choose to label that as masculine if they find that useful. It is also important to note that for Jody, and for the other participants as well, their own gender identity and practice is fluid and changes in different circumstances and for different audiences.
Jody’s talk works to perform a self that is masculine in an unconventional way, a self that is spiritual, authoritative, particular, silly, sexual, and highly expressive. Though Jody has worked hard to present as a physical man, he prefers to be masculine in an alternative way, one that allows for him to continue to relate primarily to women and to pursue whatever interests he loves. Empathy with the experience of women and interests that are typically associated with women are important to Jody, and the facets of masculinity that he enjoys are part of alternative culture. He doesn’t want to be associated with macho-ness or stereotypical masculine interests like sports or cars. Instead, he enjoys horror and gothic culture, as well as pursuits of alternative spiritualities and the supernatural. He mocks and derides mainstream masculine culture, and his talk sometimes works to disassociate him from it. The instances of Jody’s speech described in this chapter highlight the ways that Jody uses linguistic resources to complete this whole picture of his identity. He at turns uses resources that index levity or gravity, sexiness or crudeness, masculinity or femininity, to perform a complete person that encompasses all of these traits and cannot be described as a few simplified social categories with which he has been grouped. His identity unfolds over time with the wide variety of variation that he uses such that a single instance of speech can tell us some, but certainly not all of what there is to know about Jody, and it is the variation of his linguistic practice that characterizes the full individual.

5.2. Jody’s speech

As described above, Jody prefers to spend much of his time either at home or engaging in activities with select people that he is comfortable with. He works from home as an English professor online, and he often has visitors to the house if he wishes to spend time with them, rather than going to their places. Jody’s recording contexts, therefore, are less diverse than the other participants. At the same time, Jody’s accommodations to his interlocutor are driven less by becoming more or less like his interlocutor than by highlighting a particular facet of his own personality (seriousness, silliness, dominance, etc.). He doesn’t, for example, use more local speech when speaking with locals or speak differently in general to men than to women. This consistency of identity is something that he is very much aware of and works to maintain. Despite not changing as much across contexts, Jody does usually perform the many facets of his identity in each context because he is very expressive and can change quickly from a serious mood to performing silly wordplay or imitations. The recordings of conversations in Jody’s living room are typical
representations of his interactions in general and provide excellent examples of stylistic meaning-making and identity performance.

I asked Jody about what he thought about his own speech and how it has changed and what he has intentionally done to change it across his lifetime. He said that before he began taking hormones, he intentionally lowered his pitch because he was already binding his breasts and wanted to be thought of as a man, but that once the hormones began to change his voice, he stopped intentionally altering the pitch of his voice. There are other strategies that he reports using to sound more masculine as well. He says that he tries to speak in a tougher way, using more intimidating language and delivery. He might sound a bit angrier or use curse words, or he might allow his New York accent to be more apparent in order to project a masculine energy. He says that learning to communicate this way was a survival tool and allowed him to protect himself. When asked about how others perceive him from hearing his speech, he said that they don’t always know his gender (his androgynous name contributes to this) but they can often tell that he is originally from New York.

Because Jody has lived in many places and because of his family’s background, he does not speak Hawai’i English despite having lived in Hawai’i for many years. His dialect is most affected by his time in New York and by standard American English, so his speech is quite unlike the other two participants. At the same time, Jody is a member of a prominent community on the island, Mainlanders who moved here one or two generations ago and now live mostly in the suburbs and largely on the East and South sides of O’ahu. Kailua, where Jody lives, is made up of a high percentage of haole ‘migrants’ to Hawai’i who now call this place home. These speakers do not always use Hawai’i English, though this is variant across individuals; they very rarely speak Pidgin; and they are influenced by regional dialects of the Mainland, especially West Coast English and Standard American English. Even speakers of this group who were born and raised in Hawai’i or whose parents were born and raised in Hawai’i may not use the features of Hawai’i English that make it different than other varieties of American English.

Jody’s vowels show some of the typical features of a speaker from the Northeast. Figure 27 shows a representation of his vowel space. Jody observes the distinction between LOT and THOUGHT, and the distinction between tense and lax realizations of TRAP in different phonemic contexts (specific to New York City). Figure 28 is a graph containing density plots of Jody’s TRAP tokens in positions that are typically tensed or laxed in New York English (Becker & Wong 2010), and it is apparent that the distinction is maintained in his speech. At the same time, he is also
participating in some changes that are taking place across America and Hawai‘i. Jody’s GOOSE is fronted post-coronally, but FOOT does not show this same tendency. His KIT vowel is retracted, and DRESS is both retracted and lowered, with particular realizations being very backed and lowered. GOOSE fronting and the retraction of the short front vowels are both changes that are taking place in Hawai‘i English (Drager et al. 2013, Simpson et al. 2014), as well as in some dialects of the Mainland, so- given the amount of time he has spent in Hawai‘i- it is unsurprising that Jody is participating in these changes.

Figure 27: Jody’s vowel space showing the median values of each monophthong with crosses extending to their interquartile ranges and the average values of the diphthongs shown with arrows indicating the movement of each diphthong from 30% through its realization to 70% through.
In the 439 intonational phrases analyzed for Jody’s data, Jody’s use of pitch is highly variable. His average pitch was 152.3 Hz (StdDev 42.8), with an average maximum pitch of 203.0 Hz (StdDev 64.9) and an average minimum pitch of 108.5 Hz (StdDev 30.8), although his pitch went up into the high 600’s during his use of falsetto and below 100 Hz in many cases. Jody’s average pitch range during a single IP was 94 Hz (StdDev 55.3). The length of the IPs averaged 1.57 seconds, and his average speech rate was 4.99 phonemic syllables/second (StdDev 1.8). His voiceless alveolar fricatives were an average of 5705.8 Hz with a skew of 0.98 Hz.

Table 5.1 provides a general analysis of Jody’s speech, describing how phonetic traits are used when Jody is expressing different stances. Like was done for Larz, all of the utterances from Jody’s recordings were categorized as conveying different aspects of his identity and then further categorized into different types of talk. These utterances are also divided into those taken from the conversational data and those from the interview setting. The table shows the average pitch, pitch range, and speech rate for each type of speech as well as phonetic characteristics that were relatively common to the category. The information in the table shows that, like Larz, Jody’s speech is lower in the interview than elsewhere. In the interview setting, Jody’s speech tends to be low, quiet, and narrower in pitch range with use of creak, long pauses, and long fricatives. In the conversational settings, Jody uses high pitch when he is imitating or quoting others or being derisive. His pitch is much lower when he is being romantic or arguing. Jody meaningfully uses more or less enunciated
speech. His stops are heavily aspirated and intense when he is making a joke, expressing frustration or excitement, or being derisive. His speech is more elided when he is imitating a man or asking a question. He also uses various voice qualities a great deal in the conversational setting to make meaning, particularly using creak, falsetto, and breathiness.

Table 5.1: Overview of phonetic characteristics associated with different aspects of identity and types of talk in Jody’s speech in both the conversational settings and in the interview including pitch, pitch range, and speech rate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Identity</th>
<th>Type of Talk</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Range</th>
<th>Speech Rate</th>
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In general, more extreme realizations of phonetic characteristics appear most often in IPs from Jody that are highly performative, where imitations are occurring or the speech is highly emotive, as might be expected. Jody seems to use low pitch and narrow pitch range to voice masculine personas, during romantic or sexual interactions, or for more negative speech activities, while higher pitch and wider pitch range tend to appear when voicing feminine personas, engaging in performative storytelling, or expressing high levels of emotion—both negative and positive. Of course, these are general observations, and meaning is made in specific moments, so we now turn to particular instances of speech activities to examine how Jody uses phonetic traits to add meaning to the talk.

Jody asserts that his greatest priority in life is to achieve balance, which he believes is the way to attain happiness. This goal translates into his character, as he is never one side of oppositions, but rather, behaves on one end of the spectrum in some ways and at the other end in other ways. At times, he is incredibly serious, but the next moment, he is entirely irreverent and able to find humor in anything. He thinks of himself as an expert on a great number of subjects, but he’s always willing to stop and learn. Jody is picky about his surroundings and his interactions with people such that he is prone to complaining, but at the same time, he is incredibly compassionate and takes it upon himself to make other people’s lives more peaceful and to help others understand their own feelings towards gender, their families, and forgiveness. Finally, though Jody is a man and has worked hard to achieve a masculine body, he shies away from many prototypically masculine activities and gravitates toward femininity in his companions and participates in more prototypically feminine interests. Like Larz, Jody doesn’t feel that he is only masculine, even though with his full beard and defined musculature, he isn’t physically androgynous to others. He feels that he participates in the activities that make him happy, he walks and talks the way that makes him comfortable, and he has achieved the body that makes him feel he is in his own skin, but that labelling all of this as masculine doesn’t fully capture who he is. He doesn’t feel a need, in fact, to be labelled at all. Rather, he desires to keep the balance between opposites and defy polarities. Jody’s speech behavior constructs him as this balanced person that is serious yet silly, picky yet joyful, masculine yet feminine.

5.2.1. Jody as serious

In looking closely at his speech, we find that Jody adeptly uses linguistic resources to aim for opposing social targets, and the examples in this chapter will show how he constructs this balanced
and contradictory identity. We’ll look first at how Jody manages to be at times very serious and passionate about his interests and at other times to be completely silly and irreverent. He uses his talk to vacillate between these different aspects of his person, changing his speech to express earnestness and then to play.

There are some things in life that Jody takes very seriously, and especially the self that he presents to people who do not know him well is a self that is above all else knowledgeable and spiritual. These next two examples are examples of Jody talking about two of the things that he is the most passionate about and also that he considers himself expert in. They are the subjects that he has invested the most of his time in learning about: spirituality and gender. When he is serious about a topic of a spiritual nature, Jody uses softer speech with traits with feminine associations. In moments when he is performing his expertise, Jody uses low pitch with very little pitch change to convey authoritativeness and knowledgeable.

Line 1.2 comes from a conversation that Jody is having with Arleen about the creation of a flyer for a charity event that he is planning. He has returned to this subject multiple times in the conversation and continues to ask if seven dollars might be an appropriate cover charge. He is explaining here that he feels that the number seven has spiritual power and would be a better choice than five. Along with crystals, healing with oils, astrology, reiki, and other alternative spiritualities, Jody believes in numerology. When Jody talks about any of these subjects, he tends to use more feminine linguistic resources. I can only speculate as to why these are the resources that index spirituality for Jody, but there are several likely connections between femininity and alternative spiritualities. The first and most obvious is that many of the individuals with whom Jody practices these spiritualities are feminine, meaning that in his experience, speech about these matters is generally performed by feminine speakers. In addition, for Jody, other people’s masculinity is associated with violence and rigidity, whereas femininity is peaceful and accepting, aligning feminine traits with other matters of acceptance and peace. This alignment may have caused Jody to associate feminine behaviors with talk about spirituality.

30 For each phrase, there is a screenshot of the Praat window of the data, including the waveform, spectrogram, pitch (in blue), phrase, and time-aligned phonemic segments. For Jody, the window is set to 50-300 Hz unless the phrase is particularly high, in which case the range of the figure is given in the figure’s title.
do you think it should just be five dollars?
I guess it's just that seven is like su- a more powerful number for me
than five

Figure 29: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 2 from Example 1. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 4.19 seconds.

Line 1.2 has average pitch and a wide pitch range, in contrast to other phrases where Jody is being serious and uses low pitch and a narrow pitch range, but it is more typical of instances where he is talking about spiritual matters, which are often not quite so low and have a wider pitch range. The phrase is also characterized by very high frequency /s/’s. The /s/ at the end of ‘guess’ is 6930.7 Hz and has negative skew, which has been shown to be perceived as feminine (Munson 2007), a rarity for Jody, and the /s/’s in ‘just’ and ‘seven’ are both above 7000 Hz, as compared to his average of 5705.8 Hz. This is also one of the few instances where Jody ends a declarative statement with a high boundary tone, known as a high-rising terminal (HRT). This intonation contour, because it is similar to question intonation in English, makes speech sound uncertain. As described in Section 2.3.1, HRTs are also often associated with women’s speech (Barry 2007, Guy et al. 1986, Britain 1992, Warren 2005). In this case, Jody’s use of HRT on a statement of belief makes him sound like he is seeking approval for his belief. These feminine realizations of /s/ and the use of HRT are perhaps being used here because of the spiritual content of the phrase. The resources work to make Jody less sure in his assertion of belief and therefore help to construct a less forceful way of expressing an opinion. This type of expression helps to project a searching and accepting individual.

Line 2.2 is typical of Jody’s speech when he is being serious but not talking about spiritual matters. This example is taken from the interview setting, and in Example 2, I have asked Jody to describe how he prefers to label his gender. Throughout most of the interview and when Jody is

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31 For Jody, the pitch window of each figure is set to 50-350 Hz unless the phrase is particularly high, in which case the range of the figure is given next to the figure’s title.
lecturing or giving a talk about something about which he is an expert, his speech works to construct
him as authoritative. His pitch is much lower than in other contexts, and it fluctuates very little. He
also commonly uses phrase-final creak and achieves the impression of even lower pitch at boundary
tones.

(2) Jody: 1 you know and I don't
  2 I almost want to say there's no such thing as masculinity or femininity
  3 but we do that
  4 we say there is because we need to put labels on our behavior
  5 but I do not
  6 I'm me
  7 and I act the way I act
  8 and people will label it masculine because that's the definition of it
  9 but really it's just me

The kind of delivery that Jody uses in situations where he is the expert is typified in line 2.2. The
average pitch of the phrase is only 107.6 Hz, his pitch range is narrower than average, and the phrase
is rather quiet. Jody uses creak across the last two words such that an even lower impression of the
phrase is given than would be achieved in modal voice. Like Larz, Jody sometimes uses this voice
quality to add a sort of unpretentious authority when he is providing information or expertise.
Creaky voice was thought to be used more frequently by male speakers and to convey authority
(Henton and Bladon 1988), but it has also been shown more recently to be used by young female
speakers and perceived to convey unpretentious upward mobility (Yuasa 2010), and Jody uses it at
times in a way that adds authority without coming across as cocky.
5.2.2. Jody as silly

Though Jody often presents a serious self to the public, the majority of his talk in private settings has a lighter tone and constructs Jody as a fun person, capable of not taking himself or any other thing too seriously. There are two main strategies that Jody often uses to achieve humor, and he does so frequently enough that they are an integral part of his identity: crude humor and the voicing of characters. Jody voices different people and personas throughout the recordings, and much of who Jody is or what he believes is conveyed through this talk as speech that is in opposition to the traits that are generally characteristic of his own speech. He sometimes derides a concept, a personality trait, or a group of people by taking on phonetic characteristics that index them (whether they are correct representations is an entirely different subject) enough that the listener knows the subject of the derision while at the same time exaggerating the speech or falsely representing the concept, trait, or people so as to mock them in some way. At other times, the voicings that Jody engages in are meant to be humorous but not derisive. These too, though, embody the way that Jody views the subject of the voicing or the characteristics thereof. Being able to interpret this mocking or humor through phonetic cues aids the interlocutor in interpreting Jody’s values and goals. All of these examples of Jody voicing other people or personality traits that are not really his own still influence how he is seen and contribute to the construction of his identity, even if only in juxtaposition to the way that he tends to be. In cases where Jody’s goal is to be humorous or irreverent, he often uses wider pitch range or non-modal voice qualities. We will look at a couple of these voicings here in this section and a couple more in section 5.3.6 when we discuss Jody’s performance and derision of femininities and masculinities.

Jody loves to joke and talk about taboo subjects; sex, defecation, genitalia, etc., and this irreverence is important to him. He has a playful attitude about these topics that others consider impolite. As such, he jokes about these topics often and also frequently addresses his comfort with these taboo subjects. In Example 3, Arleen and Jody are talking about whether they would ever be comfortable with other people taking part in their sexual encounters. Jody says that he might be okay with it, but not if it included men. In the performative phrase that we are examining here, Jody is using male genitalia as a synecdoche for men, and is then denigrating male genitalia as inherently dirty and contagious. The phonetic resources that he uses to accompany the delivery of this phrase index the traits that he is attributing to male genitalia and enliven the performance so that it is both funny and disturbing.
Jody: you know I'm kind of a voyeur

I like to watch stuff

but I don't like to participate

I just like to watch

ah it would depend on the person

no men though

no dirty penies

no dirty diseased penies

Figure 31: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 9 from Example 3. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.39 seconds.

Jody uses a combination of phonetic traits to create a creepy voicing that accompanies a diminutive affix (penis becomes penie becomes penies) that makes the word ‘penis’ infantile. He performs this unattractive character with the voice quality that he uses throughout the phrase and with his production of the final fricative. His voice quality in the utterance is pharyngealized and somewhat nasalized to create a tension in the vocal tract reminiscent of Igor, the assistant to the mad Dr. Frankenstein, and the final fricative is dentalized so that the phrase is produced as if with a lisp. These characteristics make the phrase reminiscent of unattractiveness and emphasize the unattractiveness of the idea of male genitalia for Jody while also constructing Jody as a performer and as funny.

In line 4.3, Jody again uses an infantile lexical item for male genitalia that at once infantilizes and shocks coupled with the voicing of a sort of character in order to add humor. While Jody is producing the flyer for his charity event, he jokes with Arleen about the events they will have, and in
this phrase, he voices an announcer persona, like the kind who announces dance clubs or events on the radio, announcing the presence of one of the guest performers. In this case, humor is achieved with the juxtaposition of a phonetic performance indexing a radio announcer and content that would most likely never be found on the radio.

(4) Jody: 1 I should make a video and post it on Facebook
2 performances by (name removed) and (name removed) and (name removed) and (name removed)
3 DJ Lovecraft spins his big weenie around the dance floor
4 what are you watching?
Arleen: 5 Supernatural

Every syllable of line 4.3 is exaggerated, with the obstruents intensified, and there is stress put on every syllable with volume, pitch, and length. This causes the speech rate to be extremely slow at only 2.43 syllables/second. Several voice qualities are used here to convey social information. Jody whispers the second syllable of 'Lovecraft,' which adds intrigue to the utterance. This is also supported with breathy voice in the second half of the phrase, conveying sexiness and allure. The last syllable is exaggeratedly creaked, which gives the utterance the sound of lower pitch as well as conveying casual coolness. Also adding to the casual coolness of the final word is a vocalized /r/, so that the word is realized as [flo-ə] with two syllables in the way that one might hear radio DJs or announcers for dance shows in the ‘50s pronounce the word.

As Jody loves to discuss the taboo and engage in irreverence, he has little regard for pretense, and in line 5.8, he mocks poshness by voicing a diva-type character who is making an unnecessary demand. This exchange is funny because Jody is in fact very particular, like the stereotype of a diva, but at the same time, nothing else about him fits this profile, and his
performance of this diva voice is far from his true identity. Using the voice for humor, then, highlights his dissimilarity from an uppity diva and works to construct his identity in much the same way that more ‘authentic’ performances do.

(5)  
Jody:  1  no I need a professional wiper  
2  actually maybe I should install a bidet  
3  oh my god  
4  can we do that?  
Arleen:  5  a bidet all the way babe  
Jody:  6  can you wipe my ass or what?  
Arleen:  7  no babe  
Jody:  8  I need a bidet  
9  it sounds funny

Figure 33: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 8 from Example 5. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.12 seconds.

Jody has just had a conversation with Arleen about the annoyance of wiping after defecating, and she has suggested that a bidet might be a better option. He realizes that he actually would love a bidet, but in the next moment, produces this utterance, suggesting that he realizes that having a bidet might be haughty. He voices himself as a rich, spoiled person with extravagant needs by using phonetic resources, mocking himself in order to create humor. Line 5.8 is low in pitch, at only 111.1 Hz, and it is produced in breathy voice. This breathiness is so exaggerated that the final vowel is drawn out, then devoiced, and finally, followed by an [h]. This exaggerated breathy segment lasts .56 seconds. This voicing mimics the starlets of early cinema to index the voice of a pampered diva. The phrase is funny because this diva persona is at once juxtaposed against Jody’s hypermasculine presentation while at the same time in line with his actual demanding nature. This leads us to the next pair of oppositions that characterize Jody’s identity: particularity and joyfulness.
5.2.3. Jody as particular

Being particular about circumstances is central to who Jody is. He doesn’t like to be near people he doesn’t know or like, and he likes environments that he frequents to be predictable and clean. When they are not, he generally works to change them or leaves. He doesn’t feel a need to compromise his expectations, which leads to him being satisfied with life’s outcomes much of the time. Another important part of Jody’s particularity is that he enjoys complaining when people have done something to mar his expectations for a place. This complaining is an integral part of Jody’s persona, but it is not mean-spirited or angry; on the contrary, it is often excited or even fun instead. Jody uses iconic linguistic resources to vent his frustrations and to participate in a sort of common genre for him: the complaint. Two different types of social targets appear in Jody’s complaints. The first is toughness and the second is earnestness. Jody uses linguistic resources like cursing and alveolar ING to construct himself as masculine and tough and he uses careful, over-enunciated speech to project earnestness. In this way, his complaints come across as empowering rather than enfeebling.

In Example 6, Jody has been telling Arleen about how his afternoon has gone. He begins the narrative at the gym where he’s very content with the way things are going and then all of that begins to fall apart. In lines 6.3 and 6.11, Jody expresses his great displeasure using a number of devices that appear in other utterances where he is frustrated or annoyed. Jody produces obstruents with great expenditure of energy in order to express emotional investment in his subject or in the particular interaction, conveying his attachment to the talk, both when he is very happy or very frustrated. This section will examine how this enunciation is used with other linguistic traits in order to construct his particularity in some contexts and his joy in others. Careful enunciations of the sounds in line 6.3 relay the earnestness with which Jody is speaking. He is not being passive about the production of the utterance, but is exerting a great amount of energy in the realization of each sound segment, which expresses the emotion with which he is telling the story. This articulation is an important resource that Jody uses to relay his investment in what he is saying, and its use in the next several examples will stand in contrast with utterances that we will examine later in the chapter that express masculinity and a cool detachment from the subject matter.

(6) Jody: 1 course I have to say yes  
2 so I say "yes but could you please put on the smaller light  
3 and not the poisonous chemical lights"
4 I didn't say that part
5 I put on the light
6 the one without the poisons
Jody: 7 so then she gets on the bike right in back of the my the one that I'm on
Arleen: 8 what the fuck?
9 there's so many bikes there
Jody: 10 okay
11 there are like forty fucking bikes in the room
12 some and then she's not in front of me
13 she's in back of me
14 so I have to breathe her breath in

In this IP, Jody is voicing a fictionalized version of what he would like to have said to a woman at the gym when she asked if she could turn on the lights. He didn’t want the lights on, so he is expressing his annoyance at this request and also his disdain for a particular type of lights at the gym. He does this with dramatic changes in intensity coupled with highly emphasized obstruents. The stressed syllable in ‘chemical’ jumps in intensity from the preceding syllable, and the aspiration on /k/ is explosive and long, at .15 seconds. Similarly, the final /t/ of ‘lights’ is aspirated and the /s/ is a long .27 seconds. This over-articulation extends also to the vowels. It is as if Jody is accentuating every articulation to denote disdain, and he takes his time and enunciates each sound to do so. The PRICE in ‘lights’ is extremely diphthongized, changing 652 Hz in F2 from a reading at 30% through the vowel to 70% through the vowel compared to an average change of 361.5 Hz in F2 across realizations of PRICE. Finally, the /s/ at the end of ‘lights’ is produced at a high frequency, at 6610.3 Hz.
In line 6.11, Jody is annoyed because there are many bikes in the fitness room, but the woman who has entered the room chooses the one nearest him. Jody doesn’t like to be physically close to strangers, so this is a very frustrating thing that has happened to him. This IP serves to express his frustration at the irony of his situation, and he uses casual linguistic variables that make the delivery of this IP conversational while emphasizing his annoyance with careful enunciation.

Jody uses focuser ‘like’ to emphasize the large number of bikes available and to increase the casualness with which this part of the story is being told. The alveolar ING, here on “fuckin” has also been shown to index casualness (Campbell-Kibler 2006, 2007, 2008). These casual resources create a narrator that is tough and cool even though the complaint is also performed with high energy dedicated to the production of the obstruents. In this IP, Jody expresses displeasure with emphasized /f/’s on both ‘forty’ and ‘fuckin’,” and with a fully realized and aspirated release of /k/ at the end of ‘like.’ The fricatives are louder than his /f/’s tend to be, and the first is also quite long. In this one instance, we will stop to take a closer look at how these consonants compare to Jody’s use of /f/ across the analyzed intonational phrases. Drawing from ninety-six realizations of

Whenever a speech segment is processed by a listener, the mind does a staggering number of largely unconscious ‘calculations’ that compare the incoming segment to other speech that the listener has heard before so that the listener can determine what, if any, special meaning is being conveyed by the production of the segment. How fast and loud the surrounding speech is, the phonological effect of the surrounding segments, the innate characteristics of the segment, and the ways that the speaker has produced the segment in the past are just some of the factors that must be considered to determine if the segment in this case is conveying social meaning. This means that a human listener is often a more reliable determiner of whether a sound is typical or not and of what it might mean if not. Even so, analyzing these factors quantitatively can lend credibility and help to confirm that the listener is correct in their analysis. I provide such a quantitative analysis here to add that credibility as well as illustrate how complex these auditory analyses are for the listener.
syllable-initial /f/ from Jody’s data, I calculated the average length and intensity of Jody’s /f/ s as well as the average difference in intensity between the preceding and following segments and the /f/ segments themselves. These values are provided in Table 5.2. In comparing the /f/ s in this phrase to these averages, we find that the /f/ in ‘forty’ is much longer than average at 0.19 seconds and louder than average at 43.6 dB, but it is also followed by a loud segment which may account somewhat for its loudness. The second /f/, found in ‘fuckin’,’ is not longer than average, but it is a great deal louder than average at 47.7 dB, and the surrounding segments are not a great deal louder than this, making the /f/ stand out as emphasized. When these fricatives are coupled with the released /k/, the high energy of the speech here is emphasized.

Table 5.2: Average measurements of ninety-six tokens of syllable-initial /f/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Difference in intensity from preceding segment</th>
<th>Difference in intensity from following segment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.13 seconds</td>
<td>37.52 dB</td>
<td>8.43 dB</td>
<td>10.18 dB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 7 provides an example of Jody conveying frustration, annoyance, and disdain outside of that narrative context. Here, too, Jody uses intensified obstruents to convey his stronger emotions, but there are also some phonetic traits that were not discussed above. In this part of the recording, Jody is talking about a Facebook friend who posts long posts that Jody doesn’t like. Jody is expressing disdain for the posts and for the person who writes them.

(7) Jody: 1 what is wrong with this guy?
         2 he’s so obnoxious
         3 I’m gonna unfriend him
Arleen: 4 cause when people get a little bit of followers
         5 then all the sudden
         6 they’re like have important things to say
Jody:  7 ugh
         8 they don’t have anything important to say
This disdain in the content is highlighted by the phonetic cues in the signal. First, the /f/ in ‘unfriend’ is longer than this fricative generally is. Also, the pitch of the phrase is low, reaching to the lowest part of Jody’s range by the end, and Jody uses creak in this phrase to convey his distancing of himself from the friend, a slightly different meaning than that proposed for it above, but one that could be argued to extend from creak indexing power and authority. In this case, I argue, the creaky quality of the last half of the phrase expresses Jody’s indifference to this person and to remaining his friend by conveying distance from the topic being discussed. Line 7.3 also provides an example of a linguistic feature that Jody uses several times throughout the recordings to convey negative emotion. He realizes KIT tokens in a lower position in moments where he is frustrated or using expletives. In this example, this lowered KIT is found in ‘him.’ Figure 37 shows the midpoints of the formants from ‘him’ from line 7.3 in relation to the cloud of KIT vowels and DRESS vowels analyzed in the general analysis. You can see in this figure that Jody’s vowel in ‘him’ is outside of the cloud of other KIT tokens and produced with formants similar to those for DRESS. The few tokens that populate the small cloud of KIT examples that are set apart from the rest of the cloud in Figure 5.11 are also emotionally charged words, three of five of them curse words.
Figure 37: Plot showing the average formant values of KIT in the word from line 7.3 in relation to the density plots of the tokens of KIT and DRESS analyzed from Jody’s speech. The graph shows that the token of KIT is in the space of DRESS vowels.

Jody often downplays his negativity using linguistic play that makes his delivery cute and likeable and lightens the blow of what he is actually saying. Lines 8.6 and 8.10 from Example 8 exemplify this cute delivery of negativity. The cute and playful linguistic resources used in the phrases mask and undermine the misanthropy of the first statement and the inappropriateness of the second with the humor of juxtaposing the content of the statements with the way they are phonetically realized. This contradiction makes these statements funny while constructing Jody as humorous and playful even while also acknowledging his misanthropy and introversion. In Example 8, Jody’s mother is talking to Jody and Arleen about the fact that they rarely go out, and Jody replies that this is because he doesn’t really like people. He’d rather stay home and entertain himself.

(8)            Mother: 1 I know you two aren't going you know
                Jody: 2 we never go anywhere
                3 because we meet people we don't like
                4 see anybody
                5 I can't stand people
                6 people annoy me
                Arleen: 7 I like the idea of going out
                Jody: 8 yeah but then I like the idea of staying home in my underwear
                9 and walking around naked and
                10 eating donuts and watching criminal minds and masturbating

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Line 8.6 is characterized by higher than average pitch and abruptly realized and intense segments, but most of its disarming cuteness is achieved with an intonational strategy that indexes cuteness in a Little Rascals-esque way. Rather than directly relaying that he finds people annoying, which would be a serious statement, he adds humor and cuteness to the statement by a very long final stressed syllable followed by a very short final syllable with a raised boundary tone. This intonational contour can be applied to any statement to index cuteness and present a child-like delivery, and its use here constructs Jody as child-like and playful even as he is saying that he doesn't like people.

Further on in Example 8, Jody's mother has gone back to her part of the house, closing the door behind her, and in line 8.10, Jody is continuing a statement that he was making as she left where he talks about why he likes to stay home. Now he continues with listing what he likes to do at home, adding an admission of a taboo activity for the amusement of Arleen, who is still in the room.

33 This is not to say that Jody was intentionally channeling The Little Rascals, only to use a comparison in order to clarify where else we might hear such an intonational strategy.
The phrase comprises a list of activities that are his favorite, and he uses list intonation over the length of the phrase, but as each new item is listed, his voice becomes higher, faster, and more tense until the final comedic admission, where his voice quality is completely different than the beginning of the statement and outside the range of his usual speech. The pitch changes dramatically across list items, where the average pitch across the first item is 125.8 Hz and the pitch across the final item is 194.7 Hz. Tension is accomplished through laryngeal raising, which can be seen in the raising of the second formant and a constricted vocal tract. In order to emphasize the humor of the final word, ‘masturbating,’ Jody draws out the high and tense /ɪŋ/ syllable and does not put on a low statement boundary tone, but instead leaves the statement with the high tone of the list intonation. These phonetic resources clearly mark this statement as exceptional to most of Jody’s talk and convey the performance of the phrase. The rising tension, conveyed in pitch, rate, and physical tension in the vocal tract, convey the key of the statement, such that the listener knows that Jody is building up to a punchline and that he is performing humor.

5.2.4. Jody as joyful

Though many of the above examples may have made it seem that Jody is most often a negative person, this is not the case. Jody expresses a wide range of emotions, and his talk describing the pleasures of life or his positive reactions to things is equally as invested as his talk about his negative emotions. In this first example of a highly positive utterance from Jody, he uses pitch as a linguistic resource that also conveys emotional investment. Extreme pitch fluctuations are commonly used by Jody to convey delight. In line 9.3, Jody is surprised and pleased at how a flyer that he’s working on is coming along, and he primarily expresses his pleasure here with extremely wide pitch excursions that reach to the highest points of his register.

(9) Jody: 1 I wonder if
2 oh wow
3 that flyer looks really good
4 holy crap
5 “raise your vibration fundraiser for next step”
6 should I put the ages on here?
Arleen: 7 the ages?
These extreme peaks and the up and down from syllable to syllable convey his excitement and
delight. The average pitch of this phrase is well above average at 204.3 Hz, but it is its range that sets
it apart particularly. The highest point of the phrase is at 394.5 Hz and the lowest is at 105.7 Hz,
such that the phrase extends from the very highest part of his non-falsetto register to his low
register, and fluctuates back and forth between these ranges throughout the phrase. These frequency
peaks and valleys convey excitement through dramatic changes that are salient to the listener.

At the time of the recording (and for months after) Jody and Arleen had become enamored
with a particular type of vegan donut from Whole Foods and were going through at least a box per
week. In Example 10, as in many other parts of the recordings, Jody is extolling the virtues of these
donuts, and in this example, he is expressing his pleasure most enthusiastically. This is one example
of how Jody uses phonetic traits that are akin to singing in his talk, a behavior that is not uncommon
for him. He uses traits borrowed from singing for wordplay and sometimes, as in this case, to
convey his happiness. This example also highlights how Jody uses swearing to achieve many
different types of aims. His swearing is by no means restricted to moments when he is angry or
enacting toughness. Swearing also provides levity to some phrases, perhaps because of the
unexpectedness of having such a taboo word present in a mundane expression of pleasure. This
contradiction makes the phrase humorous while also communicating the emphasis that Jody is
placing on the statement.

(10) Jody: 1 oh these are my favorite fucking donuts in the world
       2 well the chocolate one is yours
       3 Arleen: well do you want to share?
       4 Jody: no
       5 Arleen: okay
Jody begins the phrase with a long ‘oh’ that conveys ecstasy through breathiness and high pitch. The word is produced high in his range and sustained like a cry rather than a lexical item, and he continues with a phrase that is produced in a sung-speech manner in that the pitch goal of each word remains the same throughout the phrase, and the final note is sustained on this pitch with a fluctuation that mimics vibrato. At the same time, the obstruents of this phrase are also lengthened and intensified. In particular, the initial release of breath in the /f/ on ‘favorite’ is very intense. In contrast to other realizations of the word, the nasal at the end of ‘fucking’ in this phrase is realized as velar, denoting less casualness than the ‘fuckin’ that Jody uses elsewhere. The breathiness at the beginning combined with strong obstruents and a singing-like intonation work together to convey joy.

5.2.5. Jody as tender

This section will look at examples where Jody constructs a nurturing, cute, or sentimental identity, traits often associated with femininity and these will later contrast to other moments where his targets are more tough or cool aspects of self. For Jody, loving animals is an important aspect of living well. He believes that spending time with animals increases a person’s peace and helps them to love. His parents’ dogs are his primary interaction with animals, and they come over from the main house often to visit. In Example 11, Jody is talking to one of the dogs who is begging for food. Jody talks to the dog carefully and lovingly, constructing and expressing his nurturing side.

(11)  Jody:  1  dottie you're not allowed to have that
         2  no no dottie
         3  no you're not allowed to have that dottie
         4  alright I'll give you a little piece
         5  just a little piece
Jody is producing comforting and nurturing speech to talk to the dog. The pitch of line 11.4 is low, and the phrase is quiet. It is also produced entirely in modal voice. At the same time, the phrase ends with a long and noticeably high /s/, 7014.0 Hz, ending the word ‘piece.’ This is the only instance where we find this high, more feminine /s/ being used with notably low pitch, and the resulting sound of the phrase is subdued, feminine, and intentionally calming.

Cuteness is another integral facet of Jody’s identity (as seen in Example 8), and many of his social targets reflect his goal of being seen as cute and playful when he is around those who know him best. Jody constructs himself as cute and playful using resources more typically used by young feminine speakers or resources associated with children’s speech. This is a side of him that he doesn’t show as readily to strangers or acquaintances, but when he is around close friends or Arleen, his language use constructs this playful self. Some strong examples of this cuteness come from a narrative that Jody told me during the interview about his best friend in high school. The narrative is meant to be humorous, and his telling it is in a context of his relaying why he loves her and how close they were to each other as teenagers. The passage examined here is about how Jody used to share his lunch with his friend because the lunch that her parents sent with her wasn’t fit to consume. In this phrase, Jody’s use of linguistic resources works to voice a narrator that is relevant to the story that he is telling. This story took place when Jody was in high school, and his narration of the story indexes this identity: a teenager. At the same time, Jody’s speech is also emphasizing the cute and playful aspects of his identity at present.

(12) Jody: 1 and she used to have this soggy cheese sandwich
2 her parents did not make her food at all for lunch
3 but my mom would make me two bags of food for lunch
4 so I always gave her the lunch one of my bags
5 and she always
6 I'm surprised she didn't get botulism
7 cause that cheese sandwich was in her locker all day
8 and then it was like
9 it was like so gross
In line 12.9, Jody is still talking about the cheese sandwich, and he uses phrasing that is typical of young speakers and stereotypical of valley girl talk. He is telling a story about how he felt about the sandwich as a teenager, and his speech indexes that teenage self. He uses the focuser ‘like’ in this instance as well as the intensifier ‘so.’ Jody tends to use the focuser ‘like’ during narratives and in the interview situation (perhaps because I tend to overuse it), but he uses ‘so’ as an intensifier less frequently. It is the way that he realizes these young lexical items, however, that makes this IP sound so different from his other speech. The phrase begins with a quickly produced ‘it was like’ with rising tone at the end and a small pause after ‘like’ where the /k/ has been released. This is followed with a long and high (6590.3 Hz) /s/ on an emphasized ‘so’ and finally a high-rising terminal on ‘gross,’ which also has a long /s/. These phonetic traits together give the phrase the sound associated with a young speaker, and the contrast with the way that Jody speaks at other times also provides levity to the talk. Because this language use is not typical for Jody and it is found in this context, it is easy for the listener to tell that the key is not serious and that Jody is engaging in highlighting playful aspects of his identity.

There are many moments in the recordings where Jody and Arleen are interacting in a romantic or sexual way. These moments occur spontaneously in the midst of whatever else they are doing, as Jody interrupts his activity to pay attention to Arleen. Because their living environment is small and the only seating is one chair and one couch, the couple is usually within arm’s reach of each other so that any moment might be interrupted with physical interaction or flirting. In these very intimate moments, Jody’s talk takes on different phonetic characteristics from other speech, and line 13.3, the beginning of a sexual advance, provides an example of this playful sentimentality.

(13)  Jody: 1 whatcha doin’?
Arleen: 2 what are you doing?
Jody: 3 I'm just you know lookin’
4 mmm
5 I love you honey
Arleen: 6 I love you too
Figure 45: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 3 from Example 13. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 3.08 seconds. The pitch window is set from 50-350 Hz.

Line 13.3 is very quiet, breathy, and wide in pitch range at 245.5 Hz of difference, with low points that reach to the very bottom of Jody’s range at 81.9 Hz. Cool casualness is achieved with the insertion of ‘you know’ followed by a long pause and an alveolar nasal at the end of ‘lookin’.’ These traits make the phrase playful and fun so that his sexual advance is not seen as coming on too strong or as overbearing, while breathiness and the use of pitch convey his sexy intentions. The combination of linguistic resources that he uses here allow him to remain unthreatening while initiating sexual interaction.

5.2.6. Jody voicing femininity and masculinity

We will now look at some examples of Jody voicing and mocking both feminine and masculine speakers to examine how these voicings also work to construct Jody’s relation to masculine and feminine identities as they distance him from the very identities that he mocks through hyperbolic imitation. First, let’s examine two examples of Jody entertainingly voicing speakers who are women. These two very different voicings serve different purposes in that one is primarily funny and the other primarily derisive, but they are both effective in contrasting with Jody’s masculine gender identity and in providing humor and excitement in his speech. The hyperbole of the femininity of the performances contrasts with Jody’s usual speech, causing Jody’s masculinity to be highlighted in juxtaposition. In Example 14, Jody, Arleen, Todd, and I have been joking about the possibility of Jody and Arleen recording their sex with my microphone. Here, Jody continues by telling us that he doesn’t mind if there is pornography starring him available, and he performs a voicing of me in the future, bragging about a valuable recording I have of him having sex, someday when he is a famous porn star. The voice that he performs, then, is a version of me that is self-satisfied and boasting, and these traits motivate the phonetic realization of the phrase.
Jody: 1 yeah baby
  2 then when I get famous you're like
  3 "look
  4 I have this recording of Jody Rose"
Todd: 5 then we can blackmail you
Jody: 6 yeah that's fantastic
  7 I don't give a shit

Figure 46: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 4 from Example 14. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.65 seconds.

The average pitch of the phrase is 193.7 Hz with a pitch range of 129.5 Hz. The phrase is produced in breathy voice with a long and loud /dʒ/ and /z/, with the /z/ devoiced, lengthened, and segmented from the vowel so that it is more salient. This [s] is one of the highest that Jody produces at 8238.3 Hz, with a high level of negative skew. Most salient in the phrase is the realization of GOAT in ‘Rose.’ Jody delays the movement of the vowel until about 70% through so that the vowel is relatively stable in the space of STRUT for this long first part. These phonetic traits are exaggerations of femininity and of poshness, and the result of their use together is a caricature of a haughty woman, one that, when attributed to me as a speaker, is humorous and mocks this kind of haughtiness.

In line 15.7, Jody is mocking the woman at the gym in the story that was discussed earlier, who came into the bike room and got onto the bike directly behind him. He was angry about her intrusion, and in the story, he seeks to characterize her in such a way that the listener will also find her obnoxious. Here, Jody derisively voices the woman by repeating what she said in a manner that exaggerates traits of her speech. His performance here derides the woman’s demands and intrusion, setting her up as the antagonist of the story, and it also serves to contrast with Jody, who in the
telling of the story, constructs himself as a man quietly and peacefully trying to go about his workout.

(15) Jody: 
1 there's no one in the bike room
2 and I'm so excited
3 so I bring my exercise ball into the bike room
4 and I shut off the lights
5 and within one minute
6 someone comes into the bike room
7 "can I put the light on?"
8 of course I have to say yes
9 so I say
10 "yes but could you please put on the smaller light
11 and not the poisonous chemical lights"

Figure 47: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 7 from Example 15. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.17 seconds. The pitch window is set from 50-750 Hz.

Jody voices this woman in a way that makes it obvious that he found her annoying because the phonetic characteristics of the phrase are stereotypically whiny and obnoxious (think Janet from ‘Friends’ or Fran Drescher in ‘The Nanny’). The phrase is the highest that Jody produces, as it is in falsetto, with an average pitch of 466.3 Hz and a maximum pitch of 698.2 Hz. The nasality of the final vowel is exaggerated, and Jody uses sliding pitch and drawn out syllables at the end of the phrase in a way that conveys pleading, and this pleading coupled with the extremely high pitch and nasal quality give the phrase its obnoxious sound. In addition, the vowels of the phrase are abnormal for Jody, as he is voicing an exaggerated character. The diphthong PRICE in ‘light’ is long and exaggerated with the second portion extending into the vowel space of FLEECE. The height of THOUGHT in the word ‘on,’ and therefore the distinction between LOT and THOUGHT, is emphasized
as the vowel moves from the back portion of the space of THOUGHT for the first part of the vowel to the space of DRESS. These vowels give the voice that Jody is performing a regional flair so that he is exaggerating a Northeastern whiny woman’s speech for humor and to emphasize the woman’s obnoxiousness.

In contrast to these voicings of women, the next three examples are of moments when Jody exhibits his contempt for normative masculinity by voicing men that he has just seen on TV in exaggerated ways, highlighting their posturing. Lines 16.1, 17.1, and 17.2 come from a part of the recording where Jody and Arleen are watching a reality television show called ‘90 day Fiancé’ that follows couples through the days leading up to their possible weddings while one member of the couple is on a fiancé visa, and Jody is mocking a couple of the male characters by voicing them with stereotypical masculine talk. These voicings speak to how Jody conceives of young men’s behavior and performance of masculinity. The first phrase voices a gangster-like masculinity similar to that of the characters from ‘The Sopranos’ or ‘Goodfellas.’

(16)

Jody: 1 “yeah I play pool”
2 “yeah let's play pool”
3 oh look at those girls
4 they're flirting

Figure 48: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 1 from Example 16. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.50 seconds.

Line 16.1 begins with a long ‘yeah,’ produced in much the way that gangsters of the 40s were stereotyped as beginning each statement. The word is dragged out over .63 seconds, with the glide lengthened and the vowel tensed so that the word is symbolic of the hypermasculinity of gangster culture. Throughout the phrase, his voice quality is a little bit harsh and also velarized so that there is added tension in the vocal tract because the tongue has been moved backwards and upwards and the
pharynx tightened. In contrast to the examples that we look at next, the consonants of this phrase are clearly enunciated, with heavy aspiration on the /p/'s of both ‘play’ and ‘pool.’ The /l/ in ‘pool’ is vocalized, as is characteristic of New York English (Labov 1964). These linguistic resources together create a voicing of an old-time East-coast gangster, a symbol of toughness and masculinity, one that Jody is mocking here.

Lines 17.1 and 17.2 use other resources to construct a different style associated with normative hypermasculinity, but Jody is again mocking the speakers of such a style with his overexaggeration and the discourse of his imitations. Here, Jody is mocking the cultural practice of boasting about sexual exploits. He voices a character that relentlessly brags about how many women he has been with in a completely unsophisticated manner. The way in which the character discusses sex, it sounds almost as if he is entirely unfamiliar with the actual act. In this voicing, too, infantile words for penis are used. The character’s bumbling contradicts his own boasting about how much sex he has had and sets him up as a ridiculous caricature of masculine prowess. The speech style mimicked in these two phrases is more akin to a ‘bro’ or ‘dude’ way of talking, one that is not as retro and dated as the last phrase was. In these phrases, Jody uses lenition to produce a feeling of coolness and detachment. Just as strong enunciations of speech can index emotional investment and involvement with what is being said, lenition can serve to give the impression that the speaker doesn’t care or is too cool to put much effort into their speech. Jody uses this sort of low-energy speech to mimic masculine speech. He also uses this linguistic resource to index toughness and coolness in speech that isn’t the voicing of another person. Such lenition can apply to sound segments, word boundaries, or even voice quality. The next several examples will show different ways that lenition appears and is used by Jody to perform toughness and detachment.

(17) Jody: 1 “fucked a lot of girls man”
        2 “you put your wiener in a lot of girls man”
        3 “I don’t know man”
        4 “when I put my wiener in her
        5 it’s tight”
In these two phrases, imitations of hypermasculinity, a voice quality that Laver refers to as lax or muffled voice, “a diffused voice not projected from the mouth and frequently associated with excessive relaxation of the oral and pharyngeal cavities” (1980: 84) is used, and there is also some slight breathiness present. This voice quality has weaker energy in the upper harmonics and gives the impression of laziness or casualness. Adding to this conveyance of lack of effort is a weakening of obstruents. For example, in ‘you put your wiener in a lot of girls man,’ GOOSE is centralized to schwa in ‘you,’ the release of /t/ is delayed to produce an affricate in place of /t/ and /j/ in ‘put your,’ the /r/ in ‘wiener’ is deleted, and ‘of’ is produced as schwa. This elision conveys a relaxed and cool attitude. Both phrases here end with ‘man,’ produced in the same way in the two phrases. The word is drawn out, low, and monotone. TRAP is almost identical in the two realizations, tensed and high even when compared to Jody’s tensed TRAP vowels. This instantiation of ‘man’ is one used in popular culture, usually as indicative of stoner, Cheech and Chong sort of characters. The use of the word in these cases makes the phrases even more casual and bro-y. Interestingly, the phrases both sound as if they are low in pitch, but this impression is achieved with voice quality, as their actual
pitch is higher than average for Jody. Lenition, muffled voice quality, and the use of the phrase-ending ‘man’ together form a ‘bro’ style that Jody uses to mock the practice of sexual strutting.

### 5.2.7. Jody as tough and cool

Though Jody uses feminine speech traits or traits that convey openness and approachability in some utterances, as seen in some examples that we have already examined above, he also seeks to come across as tough or intimidating in some contexts, and he uses different linguistic resources that index this toughness. While in the above examples, Jody is voicing and mocking someone, Jody uses some of the same linguistic resources to index toughness and coolness in speech that is not a voicing of someone else. He uses lenition stylistically to give the impression that he is emotionally detached or too cool to exert a great amount of energy in the talk, conveying toughness and masculinity. His swearing is also at times a resource to construct this tough coolness. In Example 18, Jody is expressing his opinion of two people on the show who are waiting until marriage to have sex. Jody thinks this is a contemptuous concept, and he relays his conviction in a way that constructs him as in opposition to their practice. His use of linguistic resources indexes both his adverse feelings to their choice and his own tough coolness in making choices that are less boring.

(18) Jody: 1 wait I don't understand
2 why are they religious or something?
Arleen: 3 yeah well
4 he is I guess
Jody: 5 how fuckin' boring man
6 so you're gonna marry someone that you never even fucked?
7 what if they're a bad lay?
8 then what?

![Figure 51: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 5 from Example 18. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.60 seconds.](image-url)
In line 18.5, Jody again uses the same phrase-final instantiation of ‘man,’ produced in much the same way as in lines 17.1 and 17.2. The word takes the pitch of the preceding word and maintains that same pitch throughout its length. The TRAP vowel in the word is tensed, and the word is lengthened. This particular phrase also conveys casualness and masculinity with an alveolar nasal in ‘fuckin.’ Jody’s disdain for the concept of waiting until marriage to have sex is conveyed in the intense production of the obstruents in ‘fuckin,’ where the /f/ is particularly long and loud, at 0.21 seconds and 42.6 dB. Here, he manages to use resources like this intense /f/, that conveys contempt, alongside resources that index more of a casual attitude, so that his contempt is coupled with cool detachment.

In the following three examples, Jody uses lenition, voice quality, and a particular realization of ‘baby’ in a way that is light and playful that constructs him as a man with a bit of swagger. In line 19.3, Jody and Arleen have been fooling around, and Jody has just commented on her breasts becoming swollen when he touches them. After this, he jokes about how his hand is responsible for their response.

(19) Jody: 1 oh yeah
2 you know your titties get more swollen as I touch them?
3 it's cause they like my hand baby
4 baby
5 baby
6 what's this?
Arleen: 7 don't

Figure 52: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 3 from Example 19. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.99 seconds.

The pitch of line 19.3 where the pitch can be read is a low 93.8 Hz. Jody also uses creak to achieve an even lower sound, and at the end of the phrase, he uses breathiness to add sexiness to the
utterance. The consonants of the phrase are elided so that the phrase is produced as [ts kəz ɛt lɑɪ mə hænd bebbɪ], with the first vowel deleted, the interdental fricative of ‘they’ deleted, and the final vowel of the phrase centralized. The final word, ‘baby,’ is produced quickly, with FACE slightly monophthongized and FLEECE lowered to the space of KIT, which adds a flippancy and coolness to the utterance. The way that this word is pronounced here is similar to the way that Elvis made famous.

(20) Jody: 1 holy shit
2 it's my new girlfriend baby
3 she's the one that I got to sign up yesterday
Arleen: 4 what did she write?

Figure 53: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 2 from Example 20. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.96 seconds.

In line 20.2, Jody is teasing Arleen about a girl that he had just met the day before, saying that they are now involved. In this phrase, his pitch is also low at 97.2 Hz average, but here he uses harsh and breathy voice to convey masculine sexiness. The phrase is harsh throughout until the final word again, where he uses breathy voice and a final /h/ at the end of the word, adding to the conveyance of sexiness. The FLEECE in ‘baby’ is again lowered, here to the space of TRAP.

(21) Arleen: 1 it's gonna last
Jody: 2 that's gonna last baby
3 woah what happened to him?
4 you realize he's gonna be tempted by American women to fuck right?
The cool realization of ‘baby’ appears again in line 21.2, where Jody is commenting on a relationship that he has seen on television. This phrase is average in pitch, and breathiness extends through the entire utterance. The final word is produced in the same manner as those above, with FLEECE lowered to the space of DRESS, and Jody uses segment weakening to further emphasize the casual coolness of his delivery. He completely deletes both /t/’s in the phrase, producing ‘that’s’ as [ðæz] and ‘last’ as [læz] and using ‘gonna’ rather than ‘going to.’

In these three phrases then, Jody conveys coolness and masculine sexuality with his pitch, voice quality, and the realization of ‘baby,’ a realization that appears several times in the recordings and indexes the way that the word was used by Elvis. The phrases are not entirely earnest, as the showy masculinity is also a bit playful. These performances contrast with the careful enunciation of sound segments that Jody consistently uses in speech that works to convey his emotional attachment to the subject. He uses lenition to do just the opposite, to convey detachment, which is seen as cool and masculine in American culture (Heffernan 2010). Lenition works as indexical to detachment because eliding segments requires the speaker to use less energy in segment transitions. Thus, an elided phrase requires less energy than a clearly enunciated one. A lack of energy being used is iconic of detachment, and it makes sense that lenition would come to be socially indexical of social and emotional distance.

5.3. Summing up Jody

Jody is a man who defies being easily labeled and categorized, a man who is not afraid to talk about once looking like a woman, about his long struggle to become the man who he is today, and about what achieving that manhood means to him personally. Jody has found happiness in balance and in being honest with himself and others about what he wants from life and how he wants to
look and act. In the end, Jody can be a whole range of different things at different moments, and he uses his talk to construct himself as his needs and desires change at these different times.

When Jody is being serious and sharing his expertise, he tends to use low pitch and speak much more quietly than when he is excited and uses high pitch and wide pitch excursion with intense productions of obstruents. When he is being particular or complaining, he often uses heavy aspiration and long fricatives as well as swearing and slower speech rate to accentuate his displeasure. Jody takes part in a great deal of word play and silliness, and he loves to be crude, and at these times, he uses different voice qualities and a very wide pitch range as well as qualities borrowed from singing to be entertaining and play with speech. He uses feminine linguistic resources like high frequency /s/ sounds, particular intonational strategies, breathiness, and long fricatives to talk about spiritual matters and to perform a cute speech style. When he is constructing himself as tough or cool or performing voicings of tough coolness, he instead uses stylistic lenition and muffled or harsh voice as well as reoccurring lexical items. Jody uses this wide range of linguistic resources to construct himself moment to moment and to accomplish very different goals and build different relationships such that in sum total, he isn’t one thing or another, but rather a person in balance, neither entirely masculine or entirely feminine, but instead, Jody.

Examining Jody’s speech, in addition to showing us how Jody as an individual is constructed from these varied moments and acts, also shows us that an individual’s targets and therefore speech can change a great deal without changes in interlocutor or location. All of Jody’s speech is recorded in his home, where he spends most of his time, and he is primarily addressing Arleen, but his targets change across these interactions because stance can have to do with more than place or person being addressed. At the same time, Jody also provides an example, in contrast to Larz and Dawn, of a speaker who doesn’t change his speech in expected ways for different interlocutors and, according to him and his family, has remained consistent in his speech for decades despite moving to Hawai‘i as an adolescent, where a different dialect of English is spoken. Jody is stubborn about being in control of his presentation of self, and he consciously works to be consistent in identity across contexts, no matter who he is interacting with. This may be why his speech changes a great deal in a single context but a greater range is not necessarily found across contexts. Jody’s speech also shows us that a single linguistic variant or group of variants can be used meaningfully across different types of speech acts and in different styles because their more general meaning can be made specific by being combined with other resources. These topics and other implications from Jody’s speech will be discussed further in Chapter 7. We will now turn to Dawn, an individual who does appreciate and
participate in normative masculinities but who has not medically masculinized her body. She wants to be seen as one of the guys, and uses her interests and behaviors to accomplish this goal.
Chapter 6 • Dawn

6.1. An introduction to Dawn

I met Dawn at a friend’s birthday gathering in Waikiki. Dawn and my friend knew each other through an LGBT military community that primarily connects online but occasionally also meets in person. When I arrived at the restaurant, Dawn and my friend were talking at the bar, and by the time Dawn and I were introduced, my friend had already told her a little bit about my interest in gender in Hawai‘i. When we moved to another bar down the street, which was a bit quieter, I told her about how I was interested in people from Hawai‘i who expressed masculinity, and we talked a little bit about what masculinity in Hawai‘i looks like. I asked her if she would be willing to be a part of my dissertation, and like I told all three of the participants, I told her that that would mean first spending time together and then somewhere down the line, being recorded. She said she’d be very interested in participating, and we exchanged numbers.

During my first couple of times spending time with Dawn, she invited me to come observe her teaching at her dojo. She has practiced karate since she was a small child, and her dad is also an instructor at the dojo where she now teaches. In the first class I observed, she was teaching five and six year olds who were just starting karate, and she let me sit on the mat in the practice space nearby their workout so I could watch her interactions with them. Dawn loves teaching the youngest students, and you can see how much joy she derives from these interactions while she works. In the dojo, Dawn presents a strong figure that takes discipline and practice seriously, but she sometimes allows this projection to be broken with playful verbal jabs at students or sarcastic interactions with her peers. Both times that I observed her teaching, I stayed after to chat with Dawn, spending time getting to know each other and asking her questions about karate. During the first visit, her father was also there, so I was able to meet him and also observe them talking about how the day’s practice had gone.

The next two times that I met with Dawn, it was for dinner with both Dawn and her fiancé, Michelle. Both times, we met at the restaurant, and the two of them talked in equal amounts. They had been dating for several years, lived together, and planned to get married soon. At these dinners, Dawn and Michelle talked mostly about their relationship with each other, their relationship with their families, and their upcoming wedding. Their wedding (which took place in August 2015) had
been causing a great deal of stress for the two of them and had strained Dawn’s relationship with her mother, so it was the central topic of conversation.

I also visited Dawn in her apartment a couple of times after she got off of work. When I first met Dawn, she and Michelle were living with Michelle’s parents in Ewa Beach, a town in the western portion of O‘ahu, but they moved into a studio apartment right in the center of Honolulu in August 2014. Now, they share the tiny one-room space with their pet cat, and when I come to visit, we sit on the mattress or the floor in the single room and talk about how things are going for Dawn. Todd and I also attended a meetup of people who like to play the game Cards Against Humanity that Dawn invited us to. Dawn sometimes meets friends through the internet site Reddit, where strangers with similar interests can find one another and set up times to play games or go hiking, etc. Dawn had been to the Cards Against Humanity meetup once before, and she asked if we’d like to come to the next one, so we spent about five hours there, getting to know the other players and playing the card game.

Dawn is of average height and average build with long, straight, dark hair. Outside of work, she generally wears baggy jeans, a t-shirt, and a loose flannel or sweater over the t-shirt. When she’s not dressed up, she wears a baseball cap with a flat bill, slightly askew. To dress up, she wears button down shirts untucked with slacks and a tie. At both of her jobs, Dawn has to wear a uniform, a military uniform for the Air Force National Guard and a gi for her job as a karate instructor. Dawn identifies as a woman publicly, though she prefers to be thought of as ‘a dude,’ and her dress and mannerisms work to project that identity. Her clothing and movements convey a laid-back attitude outside of work and a strong competence when she’s in uniform or at the dojo.

Dawn was born in Hawai‘i and has lived on O‘ahu for 22 of her 25 years. Though she has a good relationship with her parents now, she had a difficult childhood, complicated by custody battles between her parents. Her parents divorced when she was very young, and when she was only seven, she learned that the man she believed to be her father was not her biological father. There was another man whom she had no relationship with who was her biological father, and she now had to balance three parents, as well as the spouses that her mother and fathers would marry. This caused a lot of confusion and anger for Dawn as a child that was further compounded when her mother decided to move to the Mainland. She took Dawn and her brother along with her when Dawn was thirteen, and they moved to New Jersey and later to New York, but Dawn visited her (non-biological) father in the summers, and when she was fifteen, asked if she could live in Hawai‘i
permanently. This brought on a custody battle that was eventually resolved with Dawn coming back to live in Hawai‘i, but her brother and mother staying on the Mainland.

Now, Dawn has a good relationship with all three of her parents, and she sees them regularly, though with the wedding planning that went on, the complications of this family situation were highlighted again. Despite these complications, Dawn has a rich family network. She is close to her (non-biological) father and his wife and her two sisters of that marriage, and she is also very close to Michelle’s family, so she has a lot of support and love. Dawn’s family is a mixture of ethnicities, and she has been raised with exposure to many of the cultural traditions of her heritage. Her mother is Filipino, Chinese, Spanish, and Hawaiian, while her biological father is European-American, but her non-biological father, who is still the main father figure in her life, is Filipino and Portuguese. Growing up, her local Filipino grandparents were a large influence, and the first time that we met, Dawn introduced herself to me as local Filipino, as this is the culture that she feels the strongest ties to.

When she was a kid, Dawn changed what profession she wanted to go into constantly, as she had aspirations of every sort. Now, she balances two different jobs that she finds rewarding. Her first job is as an aircraft mechanic for the Hawai‘i Air National Guard. She works as a dedicated mechanic for a single aircraft at a time, which means that she sometimes has to travel overseas when her aircraft is loaned out for a mission. She likes this job because it has allowed her to travel and come back stateside with interesting stories about her exploits overseas and because the job is generally relaxed. She says, “I like telling stories too, so just going places and doing shit, and then I'll come back and tell people like “yeah man, I totally got into a fight in Thailand” or like “I partied in Vegas” or “I went to Germany or I went to Amsterdam” like just tell stories.” Her second job is teaching at her karate dojo in the evenings and sometimes weekends when she is not deployed. She is responsible for teaching all levels and also doing some clerical work for the dojo. Both jobs lack job security, but she loves them. Her long term goal is to reach full-time status as a technician and eventually retire from the Air National Guard and possibly open up her own dojo.

Dawn grew up in the suburbs just west of Honolulu and attended public school there except for the three years that she lived on the Mainland as an adolescent. Her parents suggested that she attend a private school on O’ahu, as she had the grades and test scores to go to a more prestigious school, but she wanted to stay with her friends, and she didn’t want to be singled out and given special treatment because of her excellent performance at school. She says that it has been much easier for her in Hawai‘i than it was on the Mainland. Kids were cruel on the Mainland, and she felt
like she had to hide who she was there. From the time she was young, she liked girls, and in Hawai‘i, this fact about her was just treated in the same way as it would be for girls who liked boys. She said that she was taunted right alongside the other kids, but that ‘boy’ was replaced with ‘girl’ in their rhymes, without any malice.

Dawn met Michelle four years ago through Michelle’s girlfriend at the time. Michelle’s girlfriend told Dawn that she had been cheating and would be leaving Michelle soon, so Dawn immediately stepped in and they have been together since. They first lived with Michelle’s family, at Michelle’s insistence, and then moved to their own apartment three years after meeting and are now married. Michelle is presently twenty-four years old and originally from Montreal, though she has lived in Hawai‘i since the beginning of high school. Her first language is French, which is still the language she uses with her family, and she learned English only in school until moving to Hawai‘i, so she still considers it to be a foreign language. Dawn and Michelle plan to have children in the next few years, and they hope to stay on O‘ahu but find a home that is big enough for a family.

Though Dawn as a woman at work and with her family, she also identifies as masculine, and as mentioned above, prefers to be thought of by friends as one of the dudes. About this she says that though publicly “I’ll acknowledge, you know, like, I’m a woman,” “I still lean more towards the masculine side.” She says, “I prefer to do masculine things, and I feel like I think more masculine as opposed to feminine, but I can see both ways and I can feel both ways.” She had male role models when she was a kid. She loved The Ninja Turtles and wanted to be Rafael. Her father was her hero, and she wanted to be tough and strong like him, to lift heavy things and show off her muscles. She never felt that she could relate to dresses, shopping, or lipstick. These desires and interests continued into her adolescence, when she also began to pursue relationships with girls and continued to participate in activities more associated with guys than girls. Dawn admires the qualities that she thinks are associated with masculinity and wants to be seen as possessing those qualities. For her, masculinity means being physically and mechanically capable, being aware of the world, being able to woo women, and being strong. It is also important to be one of the guys, to be able to joke and be seen as funny and to be able to engage in posturing and contests of ‘machoness.’ She has found it difficult to fully participate in masculine exchanges and to be authentic in social situations though. She feels like she is sometimes awkward because the way that she would normally behave, telling crude jokes or lifting heavy things, isn’t seen as normal because she’s a woman. This causes her to not know what self to present to others in certain situations so that she is often quiet and avoids eye contact at work or around new people. It’s only when she’s had a few drinks or when
she’s with her close friends that she feels like she can be who she is and be accepted as one of the 
guys. Unlike Jody, Dawn has never felt a desire to alter her body with surgery or hormones to 
achieve a more masculine physique, and yet her interests and even her behavior are more aligned 
with prototypically masculine activities and traits. In some ways, this means that her behavior must 
be used, perhaps even more so than for Jody, to convey her masculinity to those with whom she 
interacts, as her physical self is more feminine. Dawn projects competence, knowledgeability, 
toughness, and orientation to family and place and also manages to be funny and sometimes 
profane. These goals and personas are achieved in different contexts by Dawn changing her 
projections of self and aiming for different social targets. Dawn’s speech reflects not only her 
alignment with masculine activities and interactions, but also her masculine self.

6.2. Dawn’s speech

Dawn spends much of her time with her family and with Michelle and Michelle’s family, but 
she is also quite social, meeting new people and keeping up relationships with friends and 
coworkers. The recordings of Dawn that were used for this study come from many of these 
different contexts. There is one recording of Dawn and Michelle at home watching Grease, one of 
Dawn at a bar with the group that plays Cards Against Humanity (this recording was not taken from 
the time that I attended this group), one of Dawn talking to her sister while they are on an errand, 
one where Dawn is at Michelle’s parents’ home on a weekend morning but takes a call from her 
father, two short recordings where Dawn is speaking with coworkers at the dojo, and one of Dawn 
interacting with many members of her family (grandfather, grandmother, stepmother, sister, father, 
and Michelle) at her father’s house. Across these many contexts, Dawn uses her talk to accentuate 
different facets of her identity and to construct and maintain relationships.

When Dawn was young, she was often told that she sounded like a boy, and people told her 
that it sounded as if she was trying to make her voice sound lower. When she called her friends, she 
was often mistaken for a boy. Now, she doesn’t feel that she intentionally works to change her voice 
in a particular way often, but says that if she were trying to sound tough she would use masculine 
Pidgin and try to be more monotone, and if she were trying to be serious and masculine she would 
use lower pitch and less pitch change. Other than that, she feels that she is an awkward speaker 
often because her mind works faster than her ability to speak, so that she makes a lot of mistakes 
and has to self-correct.
Dawn has had many different types of linguistic influences in her life, and she therefore has a wide range of resources from which to draw. Growing up, she was exposed to Hawai‘i English and Pidgin at home, though her mother discouraged Pidgin at the same time as her (non-biological) father used it with his friends or after drinking a few beers. Her mother grew up both in Hawai‘i and on the Mainland, so she was uncomfortable with Pidgin use, and Dawn learned it at school from her peers rather than from her mother. Some of her grandparents speak Tagalog and her stepmom’s mom speaks Japanese, so she also grew up around those languages being spoken at family gatherings. Dawn says that at the time that she went away to Basic Training, she spoke very locally, but the influence of training and the military changed that. When she returned, her coworkers teased her by saying “ho you talk like one haole now eh.” After five years working at the Hawai‘i Air National Guard, which is made up of locals and mainlanders, she’s pretty comfortable switching back and forth between SAE and Hawai‘i English for different audiences, and she can also speak Pidgin, though she uses it primarily with her older relatives, her coworkers, and when quoting other people’s speech. To complicate this further, Michelle and her family are not local, nor are they first language speakers of English, so the local dialect and Canadian English are the most familiar dialects of English for them. The way that Dawn talks to me varies quite a bit. I am a speaker that changes the way that I’m speaking for my audience a great deal, and particularly with local speakers, I often use local features. Dawn sometimes responds to this, becoming more local in her speech the longer our interaction is. This is probably also due to her becoming more relaxed as our interaction proceeds.

As discussed in section 4.2, many locals recognize the social implications of linguistic use and feel that getting ahead means sounding more like Mainland speakers, so that it is useful to speak in a certain way on the beach or at family gatherings, but that speech should change when in a more formal setting (Marlow and Giles 2008). That said, many of the features of Hawai‘i English that make it different from other varieties are below the level of consciousness and are not at all stigmatized, such that many Hawai‘i English speakers don’t recognize that they sound different than mainlanders. Dawn’s experience has been different than many locals, however. In addition to this pressure to refrain from using local linguistic features in formal contexts, Dawn has also been influenced greatly by her time serving with the military and her orientation to Mainland culture.

Dawn’s vowel space looks typical for a young Hawai‘i English speaker. She is participating in all of the changes that other young speakers exhibit (Drager et al. 2013). Her GOOSE is fronted in post-coronal positions, while FOOT is fronted in general, with a few examples of extreme fronting in
post-coronal positions, but much less of a distinction between post-coronal and non-post-coronal than GOOSE. The distinction between post-coronal and non-post-coronal GOOSE is not entirely in F2 as it is for many speakers with this split, but is also in F1, with non-post-coronal tokens of GOOSE being lower than post-coronal tokens in addition to being backed. Both GOAT and FACE are monophthongal, and GOAT is far back in the vowel space. LOT and THOUGHT show a great deal of overlap, suggesting that Dawn participates in the merger, as do most young Hawai‘i English speakers. Finally, Dawn’s short front vowels are backed and retracted, and Dawn’s KIT vowel seems to exhibit a degree of retraction that was shown to be more common in male speakers than females in a previous study, wherein female speakers of Hawai‘i English exhibited lowering and retraction for DRESS and TRAP but much less so for KIT (Drager et al. 2013). Additionally, Dawn produces a low and back TRAP before nasals in keeping with Hawai‘i English TRAP. Unlike other dialects where TRAP is lowered and retracted generally but raised before nasals, TRAP is lowered and retracted to an equal degree before nasals in Hawai‘i English (Kirtley et al. to appear), and Dawn’s realizations generally follow this pattern, though there is a greater degree of variation for TRAP before nasals than there is for TRAP before non-nasals, indicating that Dawn may participate in variation in this feature. Dawn’s CHOICE vowel doesn’t seem to behave like those of other Hawai‘i English speakers based on the analysis of the few examples that were available in the recording, but the long trajectory of CHOICE, which starts very far back in the vowel space, looks abnormal only because 62% of the instances of tokens of CHOICE followed a bilabial plosive, which lowers the second formant and caused the overall average hertz value of the beginning of Dawn’s CHOICE vowel to seem further back than it might have if a greater number of tokens had been found in other phonological environments.

From Dawn’s recordings, I analyzed 424 intonational phrases. The general analysis of these phrases is presented here. Dawn’s average pitch across phrases was 224 Hz (StdDev 36.2 Hz), with an average maximum pitch of 271.7 Hz (StdDev 54.4 Hz) and an average minimum of 185.5 Hz (StdDev 33.5 Hz). On average, Dawn’s pitch changed 86.6 Hz in a single intonational phrase (StdDev 49.5 Hz). An average phrase was 1.41 seconds long with an average rate of production of 5.88 syllables/second (StdDev 1.62 syll/sec). The average center of gravity of Dawn’s voiceless alveolar fricative was 6081.6 Hz with an average skew of .72 Hz.

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34 There are also more tokens of pre-nasal TRAP than in other contexts, so it might be this larger representation that leads to a wider variation in the way that it is produced.
Information on the general analysis of Dawn’s speech is provided in Table 6.1, produced in the same way as for Larz and Jody. The table describes how phonetic traits are used across contexts in both the interview and the conversational settings. The information in the table shows that like the other two speakers, Dawn’s speech is lower in the interview setting, though the difference is not as dramatic for her. Her style in the interview was much more informal than the other participants, as she told stories and talked about problems that she was having at the time just as much as answering the questions that were put to her, so her talk reflects that difference. You can see in the table that when she was answering the interview questions by giving me information, her pitch was much lower, and her speech was also quite creaky. Elsewhere in the interview, she used local intonation, voice quality and higher pitch to quote or imitate local speakers a great deal. Likewise, in the conversational settings, when Dawn is giving information, her pitch is a bit lower and she uses more creak. In these settings, however, information giving is also sometimes characterized by local phrasing, stopped /dh/, elision, and Pidgin. Dawn tends to use higher pitch and different voice qualities when she is quoting or imitating others. She tends to elide her speech a great deal, using less
clear speech as a resource when asking a question, arguing, being derogative or excited, or giving an explanation. Finally, creak appears in 51 different phrases across the recordings, and we will examine some of the ways that it is used later in the chapter.

Table 6.1: Overview of phonetic characteristics associated with different aspects of identity and types of talk in Dawn’s speech in both the conversational settings and in the interview including pitch, pitch range, and speech rate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Identity</th>
<th>Type of Talk</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Range</th>
<th>Speech Rate</th>
<th>Other Notable Linguistic Characteristics</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>84.6</td>
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<td>joking</td>
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- **non-modal voice quality, alveolar INS, elision, local phrasing**
- **fast**
- **non-modal voice quality, elision, intensely aspirated stops, creak**
- **creak, low**
- **creak, enunciated, stopped /dh/**
Additionally, in the 424 phrases, there are 34 phrases that contain non-phonological linguistic features that are either from Pidgin or are unique to Hawai‘i English and don’t exist in SAE. These features include Pidgin grammatical markers, Pidgin word order, Pidgin discourse markers, Pidgin determiners, and question and dependent clause intonational contours found in both Pidgin and Hawai‘i English. These features are largely found in phrases where Dawn is talking to her family or from imitations or quotes from the recording of the interview. In addition, Dawn uses stopped interdental fricatives occasionally. They are found in at least 27 phrases, across a wide range of interlocutors, and they sometimes co-occur with other local linguistic features. These variants are found on function words, most frequently ‘with,’ ‘the,’ ‘that,’ and ‘this.’ Dawn uses interdental stopping in exchanges with her family or when quoting local speakers.

Dawn uses linguistic resources to perform all of the many facets of her identity and to change adeptly for the social target that is aimed for at a given moment. To index toughness or masculinity, at different times Dawn uses narrower pitch range, faster pitch rate, local lexical items or contours, swearing, or elision. These resources work together with the content of the talk to construct a tough Dawn, one that casually fights or has opinions about cars or sports. Dawn uses creaky voice and clear and full enunciation of obstruents in order to perform competence and seriousness. She also uses some local linguistic resources like local lexical items or intonational...
contours or more expletives when she is speaking with emotion or to align herself with her family members.

We'll begin our close analysis of how Dawn uses linguistic resources to build and project her identity with several examples from a single story that exemplify a variety of the aspects of her persona that are frequently being highlighted. In particular, these examples and the story that they come from provide a glimpse at the way that Dawn often presents to acquaintances or to people that she doesn’t yet know well. These examples illustrate her assertions of toughness and masculinity, her being one of the guys, and her skill as an imitator, which is a skill she prides herself in. After looking at these examples from the story, we’ll move on to other examples that further illustrate how Dawn uses linguistic resources to construct toughness and humor.

The story in Example 1 comes from one of the times that Dawn stopped over in Thailand on her way home from deployment, and the content introduces new listeners to aspects of Dawn that she is proud of. It’s about her encounter with a Muay Thai fighter in a bar in Thailand, where she lost a fight miserably to a very experienced and hustling competitor girl. It is one of Dawn’s favorites to tell (I have, for example, heard the story three times), and here, she is telling the story to a group of about eight new friends at a meetup in a bar where they are about to play Cards against Humanity. The story is about world travel, fighting, and drinking, so in telling the story, Dawn appears worldly, scrappy, and fun, and she also voices many of the characters in the story so that her telling is entertaining, and establishes herself as a gifted storyteller.

(1)  
Dawn: 1 cause they know that I train
2 so they’re like
3 "yeah that would be cool right?
4 like wouldn't you want to fight?"
5 and I'm like
6 "yeah that's that actually sounds pretty cool
7 I would like to go against a amateur Thai fighter
8 that would be cool"
9 so then we we get to Thailand
(aside) 10 I know
11 this guy's already shaking his head
12 he knows where it's going

35 For Dawn, the pitch window of each figure is set to 50-400 Hz unless the phrase is particularly high, in which case the range of the figure is given next to the figure’s title.
frickin' we get there
and the first thing we did was drink

... and then they're
the guy working the bar
he's like
"you want to fight?"
I'm like
"yeah"
he goes
"do you want to fight a boy or a girl?"
I said
"I want to fight a girl"
"okay"

then a couple minutes later he comes back dragging this girl
and she's like putting on this whole act like
"oh my gosh

I don't know how
so sorry
I don't know"
and like she was all like that

... yeah they oh yeah
that was the thing too
they were like oh
"do you want to do boxing or kickboxing?"
and I at least I was

I wasn't too drunk to be like "kickboxing"
I was just like
"no just hands please"

Line 1.12 is an aside from Dawn's telling of the story of her fight in Thailand. Her story has a sense of inevitability to it, and it fits into a particular genre of story, one which is humorous because the narrator is duped in a predictable manner and able to laugh at his or her own misfortune. In this case, the story is about a typically masculine pastime: bar fighting. In telling the story, Dawn can appear vulnerable and sympathetic while also, counterintuitively, portraying herself as tough and masculine. Since the story is recognizable as one that ends up poorly for the narrator,
the audience participates in its telling with sympathetic gestures before the telling has become grim, and this back and forth between the audience and the narrator, too, has a place in the genre. This example comes from this type of exchange, where one listener has caught on to what will take place in the story, quite early in its telling, and Dawn acknowledges his understanding with an aside.

Figure 56: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 12 from Example 1. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 0.64 seconds.

Line 1.12 serves both to draw the listener in to the narrator’s inner circle of experience and also to build suspense and emphasize the terrible fate that is about to befall the narrator. Dawn uses a set phrase as an aside to convey a masculine familiarity, and the phonetic traits of the phrase perform this fraternal informality. It is one of the fastest of the phrases that were analyzed, at 8.99 syllables/second. This quickness gives the utterance a mumbled and casual quality. The phrase has very little change in pitch; it has average pitch overall, but maintains this pitch throughout the phrase so that the phrase doesn’t exhibit the energy expenditure of drastic changes in pitch. The final nasal on ‘going’ is alveolar, which as mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5 has been shown to index casualness and less formal speech. These features together work to perform this casual aside, through which Dawn constructs a cool and masculine familiarity with a specific audience member of her story.

Dawn loves to imitate others, which she considers to be a salient characteristic of her speech and a talent. These imitations are quite wide-ranging and reflect what types of speakers she has been around most often in her life, as well as sometimes reflecting her relationships to or opinions of the ideas or people that are being imitated (see Rampton 1995 for a discussion of other speakers using this same kind of strategy). In the Thai bar, she was tricked into thinking that the girl she was about to fight wasn’t trained and wouldn’t be a challenge, but she of course got beat up badly shortly thereafter. Here, she is imitating the woman that she fought telling her that she didn’t really know how to fight right before they entered the match. Her performance is meant to entertain her
audience and also to convey the manipulation perpetrated by her opponent, so that she uses sound to exaggerate the obsequiousness of the woman and to voice her non-native English. The voicing effectively captures the woman’s manipulation but also hyperbolizes Dawn’s victimhood in being hustled.

![Spectrogram and Waveform](image)

Figure 57: Spectrogram and Waveform of lines 29 and 30 from Example 1. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.61 seconds. The pitch window is set from 50-600 Hz.

Dawn uses traits of second language speakers of Asian languages (not all of the traits are necessarily Thai) to create a voicing of this “timid” Asian woman. Dawn uses falsetto to create an exaggeratedly high female voice at an average of 446.9 Hz. She uses fronted GOAT and a glottal stop in place of the /t/ in ‘don’t.’ MOUTH in ‘how’ is monophthongized to TRAP, while LOT is rounded to the space of a non-merged THOUGHT vowel. The /s/’s in ‘so’ and ‘sorry’ are the highest that Dawn produces across the phrases that were examined, at 9206.5 Hz and 11441.5 Hz, and they are both negatively skewed at -0.39 and -0.62, which is very atypical of Dawn’s /s/’s. Dawn may be using these atypical sibilants to increase the femininity of her voicing, or it may be an imitation of the production of an /s/ used by Asian non-native speakers of English. Either way, these sibilants are produced very differently than those used elsewhere by Dawn. Finally, the /r/ in ‘sorry’ is produced as the flap that is found in Japanese, a sound used for English /r/ and /l/ by non-native speakers. All of these traits together create a voicing of an Asian speaker of English, though this combination of traits might be an imitation of a sort of pan-Asian accent (McGowan to appear) rather than the actual phonology of a second language speaker. Even so, the imitation is recognizable, and the extreme high pitch creates an exaggerated whining that entertains the audience of the story with its hyperbole.

Line 1.39 is an example of Dawn performing what she might sound like if she were drunk and did something rash as a result. The phrase serves as a hypothetical that is meant to be amusing, because even though she really got beat in the fight that takes place in the story, it could have been
worse, and this phrase invites the listener to imagine that worse scenario. She is performing for them a version of herself that only appears under a great deal of alcoholic influence, and that performance serves as amusing and also serves to introduce them to a tough and uninhibited version of Dawn that the audience wouldn’t otherwise have a chance to meet on this occasion.

During her imitation of her own hypothetical drunk self, where she yells ‘kickboxing,’ Dawn uses tense, harsh voice (a restricted laryngeal cavity) to convey tough excitement. Her pitch here is high, but this is coupled with harsh voice to convey exuberance without losing the toughness associated with the meaning. Dawn uses a wide pitch range, high pitch, and voice quality here to perform an exuberant and impulsive self, one meant to contrast with her only slightly less rash actual self in the story. The rest of the phrase is much more monotone, clearly enunciated, but still conveying excitement and toughness through pitch and intensity. Through this voicing, the listener is introduced to a drunk version of Dawn, one that makes decisions without thinking and takes on challenges that are too great. In creating this hypothetical situation, Dawn is able to introduce her audience to an aspect of her persona that they are not actually interacting with at the moment, but a part of herself that she admires and thinks of as fun-loving and impulsive. She also implies that there is a part of her that would be up for such a challenge. She is the type of person that ends up in fights. She is tough and willing to engage with the world. It just takes a few drinks. By telling this story at the bar, Dawn can let it be known that she is such a person. She conveys throughout her telling of this story her toughness and her status as one of the guys, and she also comes across as humble. All the while, her story is entertaining, and the listener is engaged and wants to know more.
6.2.1. Dawn as tough

We’ll now look at a few examples from Dawn’s speech outside of this story context wherein Dawn enacts toughness either through voicing others or through her own voice. As mentioned above, Dawn has made toughness a priority since she was a child. Unlike Jody in Chapter 5, Dawn embraces many of the traits of prototypical masculinity and the activities that come along with them. This acceptance is apparent in her linguistic performance.

In talking about her childhood with a coworker at the dojo, Dawn imitates a sensei that she had when she was young. She tells a story about how she was scared of him when she was his student because he assigned them push-ups if they misbehaved. In this case, she had been talking to her friends, and she imitates his proscribed punishment, yelled across the cafeteria where they were testing for a belt.

(2) Dawn: 1 when I was a kid 2 he used to scare me 3 I remember like 4 he gave us push ups one time during test cause I was talking to my friends in the back 5 and like he yelled from across the cafeteria 6 he's like 7 "you back there push up" 8 and I was like 9 "ah"

Here, Dawn manipulates voice quality instead of increasing intensity, imitating the sound of angry yelling without being too loud. The voice quality in the phrase is quite variant. The tension of her vocal tract has different effects, and these effects are inconsistent across the entire phrase. The
phrase is produced in whispery voice from the second syllable, but for the final two syllables, her voice is also harsh, giving the impression of lower pitch, even though the actual pitch is still much higher than Dawn’s average. These voice qualities can be products of tense voice (Laver 1980), and here they work in tandem with high pitch to imply a yelled command. This phrase, like the last, is high in pitch at 378.9 Hz, and has a pitch range of 100 Hz, which is narrow for such a high phrase. The syllables are uniform in length and intensity, giving the phrase a monotonous shouted sound, like that of a drill sergeant. Her voicing of her intimidating male teacher to her female coworker works to display Dawn’s exposure to intense training in the activities in which she has engaged and emphasizes her experience with tough male authority figures. In imitating her teacher, Dawn comes across as both entertaining and tough because she is able to mimic his rough training methods and at the same time illustrate through the story that she underwent this strenuous training herself.

In line 3.7, Dawn and Michelle are watching the scene in Grease where the boys are racing for pink slips. Dawn mocks the driver for his overly confident driving, and in doing so, places herself in a position of knowing better than he about the car and its abilities.

(3) Dawn: 4 it looks like they’re going so slow 5 like they’re barely going sixty miles an hour 6 sweet jump 7 and it totally fucks up the car 8 hah hah

This phrase is mostly elided, except for the expletive in the middle of the phrase, which is strengthened and emphasized. The first three words are reduced so that ‘and it totally’ is produced as [n toli], but this reduction is followed with a long /f/, lasting .25 seconds. In this way, Dawn uses low energy to convey her cool detachment while clearly enunciating the word in the phrase that adds
toughness. The phrase ends with a henchman-like snicker that contributes to the derision being performed here but also helps Dawn to target a ‘dude’ image, one in which she is able to mock a man for his destructive pride. The pitch of the phrase is 183.6 Hz, well below average, so that when combined with the reduction and weakening of segments, the phrase works to convey masculinity and coolness.

The next two examples come from stories that Dawn told me during the interview about her experiences with women. In both cases, the story’s climax amounted to an altercation with a competing love interest. Dawn uses linguistic resources that index casualness to talk about her actions so that her behavior is downplayed and normalized as she treats it as no big deal. This treatment conveys to the listener that this behavior is common for the narrator (though it is not) so that it is implied that Dawn frequently has to rough up competitors or steal lovers away.

For a while, Dawn and Michelle shared a friend who had a romantic interest in Michelle. Dawn asked the friend repeatedly to stop hitting on Michelle, and the last time that it happened, the interaction became physical when Dawn pushed the friend down. Here, she is relaying the story to me, but first says, somewhat idiomatically, that she was forced to come to blows with the friend by saying that she had to “punch her face.” Dawn uses linguistic resources here to mention this physical altercation with the utmost casualness so that it comes across as necessary and even commonplace for Dawn, such that it’s no big thing that she sometimes fights (although outside of karate, Dawn isn’t actually prone to fighting). By coming across as so casual and indifferent to the encounter here, Dawn shapes herself as tough and physically strong. Her phrasing makes it seem as if fighting is for her nothing out of the ordinary.

(4) Dawn: 1 and another one I kind of had a falling out with
2 because she liked (name removed)
3 and I had to like punch her face
4 I had to knock her out
(laughter)

Joelle: 5 like literally or?
Dawn: 6 well
Joelle: 7 figuratively?
Dawn: 8 well I mean
9 I didn't actually knock her out
10 I just knocked her ass to the ground
First, Dawn uses very low, sagging pitch in this phrase, ending line 4.3 with creak in a way that
denotes using little energy to produce the words. The creak also conveys a casual indifference to
what she is saying. Dawn also uses focuser 'like,' which is used in more informal speech (Dailey-
O'Cain 2000), and can thus also be used to make the phrase sound more casual and less emotionally
charged. The final /s/ of this phrase is low at 4855.9 Hz, making it a more masculine realization of
the sibilant, which adds to the casual toughness of the phrase.

Dawn and Michelle met through Michelle's ex-girlfriend, and in Example 5, Dawn is talking
about the exchange that she had with the ex when the ex found out that Dawn was pursuing a
relationship with Michelle. Her retelling of her response to the ex’s anger is a boast about this win,
but the phrase also conveys Dawn’s coolness in the situation, where she responds to the anger of
the ex with a flippant and local sort of linguistic shrug of the shoulders.

(5)  
Dawn: 1 yeah but she got pissed though
2 she's like
3 "what the fuck?"
4 she's like
5 "I thought we were friends"
6 I'm like
7 "eh fair game"
8 I was just like
9 "fuck you"

Joelle: 10 wow
11 well that worked out really well though

Dawn: 12 yep
Line 5.7 begins with a local discourse marker, ‘eh,’ used in many different contexts in both Hawai’i English and Pidgin. This form of the word is generally used to draw attention, and it can be used in contentious situations. By using the word here, Dawn indexes local toughness. She produces the word in a typical manner; it is produced high in her range, peaking at 310.6 Hz and sliding down to a trough at 184.7 Hz. It is followed by a long pause. The rest of the phrase denotes a relaxed attitude toward the encounter, both with the discourse and the way that it is produced. Dawn uses an idiomatic expression from hunting to convey that she followed the rules of friendship, and she does so by stretching out the final word into a laugh, showing that she is able to laugh off her opponent’s anger and coolly walk away from a fight.

6.2.2. Dawn as entertaining

Dawn prides herself in being able to participate in a particular kind of verbal repartee that is commonly seen as masculine in American culture, a type of crude humor that she labels “dick jokes” for one type of joke that fits into the characterization. Interactions can sometimes be like a game of chicken, with each party escalating the taboo nature of their talk, and if a person can participate in this back and forth, they achieve a sort of masculine comradery. Dawn has voiced her frustration with not being expected to take part in this verbal play at work because she is a woman, and she’s also expressed that being accepted into this manner of interacting is an integral part of her close friendships with her friends from the dojo where they see her as “one of the dudes.” In this particular example of this crude type of humor, Dawn uses high pitch, fluctuation in pitch, and voice quality to voice a personality other than her own in complaining about being spermed on, adding humor to a ridiculous statement that is humorous because of its incorrect lexical usage and because of its taboo subject. This example comes from a recording of Dawn hanging out with Michelle’s family and a family friend before they decide where to go for breakfast. They are talking about a card

Figure 62: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 7 from Example 5. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.19 seconds.
game that they’ve recently discovered that asks the players to match fictional characters and creatures with silly superpowers.

(6) MF\textsuperscript{36}: 1 and you'd just get like a a creature and then a power
2 and then you get something happening to the creature
3 and she got like Cathulu jerking off and sperming in his own eyes
Dawn: 4 it's a verb
5 “oh you spermed on me”
MF: 6 I had a I had like a wolverine who couldn't stop uh uh going to the bathroom
7 he had diarrhea
Dawn: 8 you got to be careful wiping your ass when you're Wolverine

Figure 63: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 5 from Example 6. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.17 seconds.

The phrase is produced at 258.3 Hz average, but the first two words are even higher, and the pitch flutters across them. There is creak leading into modal voice in the voiced portion of ‘spermed.’ The /s/ beginning ‘spermed’ is low and skewed very positive at 1.75, so that the phrase doesn’t come across as feminine, despite its relatively higher pitch. Rather, because of the unsteadiness of the pitch and because of the voice quality, it sounds like a complaining old man character, which lends more strangeness to the situation conjured by the phrase and adds to the humor.

As described above, imitating others is an important part of Dawn’s interactions. She believes this to be the most distinguishing characteristic of her speech, and she also uses it to entertain. Different imitations serve different functions. In some cases, Dawn’s imitations highlight the communities or people with which she has been involved, doing work in interaction to convey to the listener the authentic access that she has had to the person or people that she is now voicing.

\textsuperscript{36} MF stands for Michelle’s Father.
In other cases, Dawn uses voices from popular culture to add humor to her talk. In these cases, her skill at appropriating a cultural meme conveys her hipness with contemporary culture and highlights her coolness.

Example 7 comes from the recording of Dawn and her sister running an errand. For much of her exchange with her sister, Dawn is giving her serious advice by talking about her own experience with their father, but Dawn also bolsters her relationship with her sister with humor. In line 7.5, Dawn is mocking a boy that has an interest in her sister and who has been courting her. To do so, she uses a question style and voice quality that entered cultural consciousness through a popular character from the 1999 movie ‘Office Space:’ Milton Waddams (the stapler guy). This character is often voiced to construct a nerdy, timid person in a recognizable and humorous way (though whether members of the younger generation know who they are voicing is an open question). For this example, Dawn phrases a hypothetical request of her sister’s suitor in a way very similar to that of the Office Space character.

(7) Sister: 1 he got me flowers
Dawn: 2 and what?
3 and what did that envelope say?
Sister: 4 um it said
Dawn: 5 "will you be my girlfriend?"
Sister: 6 no
7 “I hope this brightens up your day because you always brighten mines”
8 or something like that

Figure 64: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 5 from Example 7. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.14 seconds.
To achieve this imitation, Dawn has to use the recognizable features of the stapler guy’s speech. The voice quality of the phrase is an important aspect of accurate imitation. Dawn uses tongue-fronted voice quality so that her speech is constricted to a high and front place in the vocal tract. This tongue movement also causes tension in the back of the vocal tract, as the root of the tongue is tensed. The utterance is also nasalized throughout. These voice qualities together give it its distinctive nerdy sound. Dawn also uses pitch that is higher than average and pitch range that is narrower here. The phrase is mumbled with the words elided, and the intonational contour is different than most questions posed in English. There is no question boundary tone present; instead the pitch is leveled for the final two syllables. These features voice the cultural meme prompted by the movie character so that the suitor is being derided as he is aligned with the nerdy and pathetic character, and the performance constructs Dawn as funny and mocking in this exchange with her sister.

The next imitation example is a humorous voicing of a personified version of Prada, the clothing and accessories company. In Example 8, Dawn has been joking with Michelle and her family about Prada coming to visit Michelle at work, and here, Dawn voices what Miss Prada would sound like if she actually came to visit. Her imitation uses exaggerated linguistic resources that index extreme femininity, which sharply contrasts with the way that Dawn actually speaks. Her personification of this company as a haughty and overly wrought woman provides humor to the context as Dawn continues the line of humor that has been established in the conversation.

(8) Dawn: 1 so did you get that from work?
Michelle: 2 yeah
3 Prada the company itself gave it to me
MF: 4 Miss Prada came to the company today
5 and they gave me candy
6 “oh my god hi
7 can I help you?
8 I'm Miss Prada
9 I want to I want to give you”
Dawn: 10 “and I want to personally give you some candy”
11 oh no
Dawn doesn’t use high pitch to achieve this voicing of a woman. Her pitch here is below her own average, in fact. Instead, she uses voice quality, aspiration, and the realizations of the sibilants to create this character that is sultry and alluring in a rather sexualized way similar to the speech of Marilyn Monroe. Most of the phrase is breathy, while the final half of the final word is creaked. The /t/ between ‘want’ and ‘to’ has long aspiration, and the /p/ at the beginning of ‘personally’ has frication for .07 seconds. The first /s/ in the phrase is very high, at 8398.6 c.o.g. with neither negative nor positive skew, making it less skewed than average for Dawn, while the second /s/ is advanced to the interdental position, exaggerating the frontedness of feminine /s/’s. Additionally, this voicing is not a local speaker, and Dawn uses SAE here to construct a Mainland speaker of English rather than a local one. In particular, the vowel that would be produced differently in Hawai’i than on the Mainland in this phrase is TRAP before a nasal. In Hawai’i English, and in Dawn’s speech, this vowel is back and low in all phonological environments. In this phrase, however, TRAP is in the higher and fronter space of Dawn’s TRAP vowel before a nasal, making the phrase sound more like SAE or even like other dialects where the backing and lowering of TRAP does not apply before a nasal.
Sometimes, in addition to adding humor or entertainment to the telling of a story, Dawn’s imitations also convey her close ties to Hawai‘i, as she can show through accurate imitations of local speech that she is from the islands and knows Pidgin. Using Pidgin and local speech with other locals is important for the variety of reasons discussed earlier in the chapter, but Dawn also uses local speech with non-locals to assert her local identity. By correctly and authentically making use of local linguistic systems, even if only in imitations or quotes, Dawn displays her comfort with these systems and asserts her experience as a local. Here she is telling me about a coworker of hers who grew up in Wai‘anae, an area known for speakers of heavy Pidgin. Her coworker is female but very masculine, and Dawn is illustrating how her coworker uses much higher pitch and more local language when she’s excited.

(9)  
Dawn: 1 then when she gets excited  
2 "ho brah  
3 you know (d)e fuckin’”  
4 she sounds just like that too  
5 "ho (d)e fuckin' guys  
6 ho brah (d)e’y’re so mean  
7 you see (d)at guy wen jump off (d)e“  
8 I don’t know  
9 it’s just
In these adjoining phrases, Dawn uses falsetto, a voice quality frequently used in Pidgin for a variety of reasons (Vanderslice & Pierson 1967), as discussed in section 4.2. Her average pitch is 429 Hz and 372.9 Hz in the two phrases. Both phrases begin with the exclamation37 ‘ho,’ used commonly in Pidgin and also perhaps one of the most common stereotypes of local speech. When this word is used at the beginning of a phrase, it starts off high in the speaker’s range and decreases from there. If the following word takes a low tone, the pitch of the phrase will continue to fall to meet that tone, and if the following word takes a high tone, the pitch will rise again to the frequency at which the phrase began. These phrases provide examples of both of these contours. GOAT in both Pidgin and Hawai‘i English is monophthongized, and the vowel is monophthongized in both cases of ‘ho’ here, though in the second case, the word is elided to the next so that the labial closure affects the trajectory of the vowel. Other lexical items that are common to Pidgin found in these phrases include ‘fuckin’ and ‘brah.’ Variations of ‘fuck’ like ‘fuckin’ with the alveolar nasal and ‘fuckas’ are much more common and less offensive in Pidgin than in English. These two phrases form a sentence in Pidgin, one in which the subject has been focused by following it with a pronoun. This is the most common way to accomplish subject focusing in Pidgin (Sakoda & Siegel 2003). Finally, the segments that would be interdental fricatives in SAE are stopped in these examples, as is characteristic of Pidgin and Hawai‘i English. The falsetto used in these phrases may not sound typically tough or masculine to non-locals, but as argued in Chapter 4, in Pidgin, high pitch can be used to index excitement in a way that does not denote femininity or timidity, but can in fact convey toughness in a specifically local context.

In this next phrase, Dawn relays the teasing of her school friends. When she was young, her parents offered to send her to private school, as she had the grades to be admitted to the

37 Sakoda and Siegel choose to call ‘ho’ an exclamation even when used in a sentence like this one, though it may be more akin to a discourse marker.
competitive schools on the island, but Dawn didn't want to go, and in this example, she is telling me in the interview about her experience at the public schools. She relays her friends’ teasing of her about her being smart.

(10) Dawn: 1 but I felt bad
2 and like my friends too
3 they're like
4 they would kind of like tease me a little bit for it or like
5 "oh you can do my homework"
6 I'm like
7 “kay I don't want to go to private school because I'm smart
8 I just want to stay in public school
9 and I want to stay with my friends
10 and I just want to be normal”

The phrase begins with the use of the exclamatory ‘oh,’ shortened and elided to the following word. It is high in Dawn’s range and slides down, as is normal for the word. This question is posed with local intonation, and as is common in Pidgin and Hawai‘i English, the question is formed without inversion. The question starts out at 252 Hz on ‘you’ and rises to 314 Hz before dropping to 219 Hz for the final syllable, indicating that a question has been asked. Here again, Dawn’s use of local features in a quote asserts her localness, and it also makes a claim as to her authentic experience as a public school kid on O‘ahu.
6.2.3. Dawn as knowledgeable

Though Dawn wants to have fun and be entertaining with her family, friends, and coworkers, it is also important to her to be seen as efficient and respectable in her jobs and in her roles in her family. In addition to all of the examples of levity and toughness from Dawn’s speech, there are also times when Dawn’s goals are to construct herself as emotionally involved in an interaction that is doing important relationship building or to express to others her knowledgeability and competence. Being worldly, reliable, and capable is the epitome of success in life for Dawn and also how she views exemplary masculinity. The following examples show her actively constructing her identity to include these characteristics.

In Example 11, Dawn is having a serious conversation with her sister in which she is relaying her own experience as a teenager with dealing with their father’s reaction to boys. Her sister has just had an experience with her father reacting strongly to a boy’s pursuit, and although Dawn has never dated boys, she had experience with them pursuing her when she was a teenager. She is bonding with her sister by sharing her own experience and also working to impart expectations to her sister concerning how and why her father might act the way he does.

(11) Dawn: 1 yeah see he never had to go through stuff like this with me
2 because it never really happened with me
3 because well
4 boys would be weird towards me and stuff
5 they still are but
Sister: 6 what do you mean weird?
Dawn: 7 just like no they
8 they’d follow me around
9 or like they'd ask me to be their girlfriend
10 stuff like that
Figure 69: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 2 from Example 11. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.57 seconds.

Dawn uses low pitch, at 188.3 Hz, very little pitch change, with only 38 Hz of difference, and lenition to project an authoritative figure who at the same time is casual and not overly emotional. Her pitch and narrow pitch range convey seriousness, while there are many lenitions throughout the phrase that work to convey her casualness and detachment. Both ‘it’ and ‘never’ are reduced, with ‘it’ expressed as a centralized vowel and the medial fricative of ‘never’ deleted. The final two vowels of the phrase, in ‘with’ and ‘me’ are centralized so that the impression conveyed is that energy is not being expended to realize the vowels in the periphery of the vowel space. Instead, KIT in ‘with’ is produced in the space of schwa and FLEECE in ‘me’ is realized as KIT. Her speech here accomplishes a serious tone while also constructing Dawn as a confidante rather than a know-it-all. Dawn desires to come across as worldly and knowledgeable, goals that she overtly states, but she often balances this with markers of casualness in such a way that she remains likeable and approachable.

As exemplified in line 11.2, Dawn sometimes actively constructs herself as mentor or teacher to her siblings, and it is important to her to be viewed as educated, worldly, and knowledgeable in other relationships as well. Dawn did well in school, and she joined the National Guard because she wanted to travel and learn more about the world. She enjoys sharing what she has learned and often conveys her knowledgeable in talk. In Example 12 from the interview, Dawn is answering a question about why it might have been different to grow up in Hawai‘i as an LGBTQ youth than it would be on the Mainland. Dawn responds that because of traditional Pacific gender roles that people are familiar with in Hawai‘i, there is a greater acceptance of non-cis and non-hetero genders and sexualities. Her response is thoughtful and educated, and she does work with her response to convey her understanding of this subject and project an educated and intelligent self. Dawn’s acumen is here supported with her clear and full enunciation of obstruents.
Dawn: 1 I guess because in the Sāmoan culture
2 you know like having a boy playing like a feminine role in the house
3 is culturally acceptable and even encouraged
4 so so I guess like that kind of that kind of uh helps for it to be more open
5 but at the same time
6 I see parallels like like I guess um from religion

Figure 70: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 3 from Example 12. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 2.65 seconds.

Whereas, much of the time, Dawn elides her speech, simplifies consonant clusters, and doesn’t release stops, this phrase shows the opposite behavior. The fricative of ‘is’ is emphasized and lengthened, every obstruent of every word is pronounced, and the final /d/ of ‘encouraged’ is devoiced, released, and intensely aspirated. These clear enunciations of each segment express that Dawn is exerting careful energy in the production of her speech and index involvement and planning. She conveys seriousness and authority with low pitch and a relatively narrow pitch range and strengthens her speech to project an educated authority.

6.2.4. Dawn as capable

One of the most important aspects of masculinity as Dawn views it is competence, and she works hard in her actions and her talk to construct herself as a capable person, particularly mechanically. Her job is to fix and maintain aircraft, and she is often called upon by her father and other family members to help out around the house on tasks that would often be considered tasks for men or sons, and this aspect of her person is an integral part of what she is proud of about herself. Lines 13.5 and 14.3 exemplify how Dawn uses linguistic resources at moments when she is constructing herself as handy and capable and how those resources help to construct that aspect of her person.
In Example 13, Dawn has been working to figure out why a guitar pedal doesn’t seem to be working, and she is reporting to Michelle what she has discovered about the problem.

(13) Michelle: 1 do the pedal work?
Dawn: 2 no
3 you know what?
4 I didn't notice that one of the uh one of the cords is broken
5 so we're probably gonna have to fix that before we can even use it

Most of the phrase is in creaky voice, though it begins with low pitch as well. The creaky voice gives the impression of even lower pitch and conveys an aloofness and intelligence that construct Dawn as an expert in this exchange. She has diagnosed the pedal and here projects her prowess in what would often be considered a masculine area. In addition to using creaky voice to accomplish this projection, Dawn also begins the phrase with a very masculine /s/. The sibilant is only 4571.4 Hz with a very positive skew. Also, the phrase is characterized by little energy exertion so that the impression of pitch and intensity flag across the phrase and many of the obstruents are weakened. These resources together project a masculine detachment while Dawn asserts her mechanical knowledge, projecting a capable and masculine persona.

In contrast to the last phrase, in line 14.3, Dawn uses very clear modal speech to communicate with her father about the problem that she has identified with the pedal. This is a different type of exchange than the one before: though her target of capability may be the same, she is framing a different interpersonal relationship. Here, she is communicating with her father about the problem, and their stance towards the problem is a shared one, such that Dawn’s goal must be to clearly communicate with her father while also projecting her knowledgeability. Additionally, such
exchanges maintain relationships, and Dawn speaks in such a way to relate to her father and strengthen their bond.

(14) Dawn: 1 no like you know for the like
2 I guess on the terminal
3 where it connects to (d)ej battery
4 you got (d)ej red and (d)ej black wire
5 the black wire is broken

Dawn accomplishes these things by using intense modal voice with clear enunciation while also using stopped /dh/, a marker of localness and toughness. In this way, her speech here is authoritative and also local, a speech characteristic that Dawn learned from her father.

6.2.5. Dawn as family-oriented

Dawn, in addition to being a tough, capable, and funny person, is also extremely caring. She loves her family very much and is involved in their lives. She is also very supportive of Michelle. With her sisters, Dawn constructs herself as a mentor and a friend as well as buddy who they can joke around with and make fun of their parents with. She does this by using linguistic resources that convey an approachable seriousness at times and resources that voice funny imitations or perform wordplay at other times. With her grandparents, Dawn uses more local linguistic resources, accommodating to their own speech and also indexing her connection to Hawai`i and to her heritage. In the recordings, she can be heard using more local variants of MOUTH and GOAT, local phrasing, consonant cluster simplification, /dh/ stopping, and word order inversions, all linguistic resources from Pidgin or Hawai`i English that convey her own localness and connection to her family’s local speech.
In line 15.2, Dawn is inquiring after her youngest sister’s homework, which she follows up with an offer to help her sister if she ever needs it. The phrasing of the inquiry reflects the nurturing goal of the example and works to construct Dawn as a caring and family-oriented big sister.

(15)  Dawn: 1 there it is
       2 how much more homework you got?
Sister: 3 a lot
Dawn: 4 what do you mean a lot?
Sister: 5 I have to do my social studies
       6 and I have to do the whole chapter for my language class
Dawn: 7 you got it?
Sister: 8 yeah
Dawn: 9 oh okay
       10 I’m pretty smart so

Dawn speaks softly here, with average pitch. Her use of ‘you got’ in place of ‘do you have’ is a casual choice as well as a more local way to construct the question. In addition to this word choice, Dawn uses local question intonation here, with the pitch rising on the second syllable all the way to the syllable before the final stress, where it drops 80 Hz. These casual and local linguistic resources construct an approachable persona that is using localness here to index connection and place instead of toughness.

Similar work is being done in line 16.2, where Dawn has returned from the kitchen with food to bring back to Michelle and to her sister. She is acting as nurturer here, and at the same time, she uses linguistic resources to perform her connection to her heritage.
Figure 74: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 2 from Example 16. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.61 seconds.

The GOAT vowel, when backed and monophthongized, indexes localness, and this is a resource that Dawn manipulates to meaningfully accommodate to context and interlocutor. Much of the time, as shown in Figure 6.1, Dawn’s GOAT vowel is back and monophthongal, but she produces it as more or less back and monophthongal in different circumstances and she also produces some tokens of the vowel that are much more similar to GOAT in SAE, for example, during her time at the bar with a majority of Mainland speakers or when arguing with her father on the phone when she is trying to clarify a point. In this example, there are three GOAT vowels, all relatively back and monophthongal, though Dawn may be using these realizations differently in the two words in which they appear. In the case of ‘adobo,’ Dawn’s monophthongal pronunciations might work to produce more Filipino-like vowels in this word so that her pronunciation of the word might be more authentic to her Filipino heritage. In producing food words with the phonology of one’s heritage language, a speaker can claim that heritage as their own. In the case of ‘stove,’ Dawn produces a GOAT far back in the vowel space with very little movement in either of the first two formants, indexing localness. In addition to this marker of localness, Dawn also stops the fricative of ‘then.’
Dawn is also very playful with her sister in a way that strengthens their bond. In this example, Dawn mocks her sister in a childish way, teasing her little sister to provide levity and cement their relationship as one in which they can have fun together in addition to Dawn providing help or counsel.

(17)  Sister: 1 take care of the chicken
      Dawn: 2 you take care of the chicken
      Sister: 3 mom do it with me
            4 I'm hungry

Figure 75: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 2 from Example 17. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 1.56 seconds.

Dawn voices mock indignation by lengthening and intensifying the last word of the phrase, a part of the phrase that she is parroting from what her sister had just said. The word makes up half of the phrase, and the affricate and stop are given particular emphasis through length and aspiration. The nasal is also drawn out. The phrase also has a playful sing-songy quality to it caused by fluctuations of pitch. These traits together make the phrase childish and playful.

Finally, we’ll examine a few phrases where Dawn is speaking with her grandfather and grandmother at her father’s house. Both of her elderly relatives are Filipino and local, and they speak Pidgin, Tagalog, and Hawai‘i English. Her grandfather is local and has learned Hawai‘i English from birth, but for her grandmother, it is a second language. When Dawn is speaking with her grandparents, she uses many different local linguistic resources. This use serves many functions in this context. Dawn is showing respect by accommodating to the linguistic systems that her grandparents are most comfortable with and also solidifying the ties between herself and them by using resources that are available to all of them because of their belonging to this place and community. Dawn is also enacting, in these moments, her own sense of belonging by using language
that asserts her local identity and her connection to Hawai‘i and to the Filipino community and its history in the islands. Local resources, when used correctly by speakers who connect with them, can not only strengthen bonds between local parties, but they can also provide the speaker with a sense of comfort and solidarity, as they index a shared heritage and strong ties to the land, to family, and to shared experience. Dawn doesn’t only use local resources in speaking with her elderly family members, as we have seen above, but these times are perhaps her most consistent use of these resources, as every phrase from these exchanges uses some local resource or other. In this first phrase, Dawn is talking to her grandfather about a shared acquaintance they have, a man that is just a bit younger than Dawn and is at college. She’s telling her grandfather about the man’s plans and why he has shifted directions.

(18) Grandfather: 1 what is it?
2 influence from a friend?
Dawn: 3 yeah
Grandfather: 4 hmm
Dawn: 5 I mean (d)at's (d)e know
6 being a DJ
7 (d)at's (d)e popular thing now
8 so he wants to be a DJ
9 but like I said
10 he doesn't
11 he's never he never really did anything musical
12 he's always about sports

This phrase offers examples of two of the more common and perhaps subtle local resources that Dawn commonly makes use of. First, the phrase begins with two stopped interdental fricatives. As
explained above, in Pidgin, all interdental fricatives are stopped, while in Hawai'i English, this is a resource that is used less consistently but which can index localness or toughness for the speaker when used. Dawn uses it occasionally, oftentimes in moments when she is asserting her toughness or her local identity. In this case, the stopping lends localness to her speech, which works in this case to link her to her interlocutor and to accommodate to the way that he speaks. In addition, the final vowel of the phrase is an exemplary example of the way that MOUTH is produced in Hawai'i English, different from other dialects of English. The vowel starts farther back in the vowel space than in other dialects (Kirtley et al. to appear), in this case, in the space of Dawn's LOT and THOUGHT. It moves from there both back and up, but much of the movement takes place in F2, so that the vowel moves to the very back of her vowel space, and moves only 84 Hz upwards. This realization of MOUTH is particularly local and indexes both place and community.

In this part of the exchange between Dawn and her grandparents, she has come back from the living room to the kitchen where they are preparing food, having taken some of this food to Michelle to try. Dawn is offering a compliment to her grandparents, as Michelle loved the food and ate all of the sample that Dawn had taken in.

(19)

Grandfather: 1 she she didn't like it?
Dawn: 2 no she did
3 she ate
Grandfather: 4 oh
Dawn: 5 she ate the whole (t)ing
Grandfather: 6 hmm

Figure 77: Spectrogram and Waveform of line 5 from Example 19. Time-aligned phonemic segments are provided in the text grid. The excerpt is 0.79 seconds.
In this phrase, Dawn again uses /dh/ stopping to index localness, this time on both a voiced and a voiceless interdental fricative at the beginning of ‘the’ and ‘thing.’ Such stops in Hawai‘i English are much less common on voiceless fricatives than on voiced fricatives, and these cases are more salient as a result. This is one of the variants that might cause a local listener or speaker to label this utterance as Pidgin. In addition to this consonantal marker of localness, Dawn also produces a vocalic /l/ at the end of ‘whole,’ another trait of Pidgin. The /l/ is produced as a vowel (or underlyingly, may be deleted) such that the word is realized as [ho]. As you can see in the figure, the vowel extends to the silence of the following stop. These two phonetic resources together make the phrase sound Pidgin-y, though the grammar is not Pidgin. She had the option of using Pidgin past tense marking, and it doesn’t appear here, so that the phrase is only phonetically very local. This is a common strategy for young Pidgin speakers. Many of them borrow phonetic markers of Pidgin and even lexical items but don’t use the grammatical structures available as well. As explained in Section 2.3.2, some speakers even consider this type of speech to be Pidgin.

Dawn uses local phonetic resources as well as local phrasing in line 20.11 to index community and place and strengthen her bond with her grandfather. Here, she’s talking about the problems that she had been having with her mother over her upcoming wedding. Her mother wanted to have more say of what would happen at the wedding, and it was causing problems in their relationship. Dawn is explaining these issues to her grandfather in Example 20, and line 20.11 is phrased in a way that is not SAE, and there are also local phonetic variants present here.

(20) Dawn: 1 she's giving me guilt trips
    Grandfather: 2 hmm? oh well
    Dawn: 3 she's been trying to
    4 she's been trying to help with (d)e wedding and stuff
    5 but then she keeps giving me guilt trips when I don't listen to her
    6 or you know if I don't
    7 and she if she suggests some(t)jing
    8 and I don't like it
    9 (d)en she she just goes
    10 "oh"
    11 she just make all cry baby about it
    12 so I'm just I'm
    13 I'm upset with her right now
The phrasing of line 20.11 is local, and in addition, the /l/ of ‘all’ is vocalized so that the word is produced as [a]. The consonant cluster of /st/ at the end of ‘just’ is simplified to [s], a feature that is highlighted by the pause after the word. Clusters are often simplified in fast or elided speech, but in this case, there is plenty of time for the /t/ to be released or glottalized, but the word is produced without any release. Finally, the nucleus of the MOUTH vowel in ‘about’ is very far back in the vowel space, this time, as far back as Dawn’s GOAT space. It moves even further back throughout its production.

6.3. Summing up Dawn

Masculinity is an integral part of Dawn’s identity, and what that means to her is toughness, worldliness, and competence. It is important to Dawn to be seen as tough, capable, nurturing, and respectful, and less serious characteristics are also important to her. She loves to tell stories, and part of her talent as a storyteller is her ability to imitate the people that show up in her stories. She has a gifted ear for the way that others speak, and reproducing their speech enriches her narratives. It is important to Dawn to be seen as one of the guys, so that she likes to tell what she calls ‘dick jokes’ and convey youthful normative masculinity and coolness as well. Finally, her heritage and her localness are important parts of her identity, and she uses local linguistic resources to index her Filipino heritage and her long family history on the islands and to connect with her family. Dawn is adept at adapting across contexts and using speech contextually to target different social goals and organize different social relationships. As such, her speech is highly variant, and she utilizes linguistic

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38 This is not to say that Dawn thinks that these qualities are absent from feminine individuals or from femininity, only that they are integral to her conception of masculinity.
resources moment-to-moment to express different facets of her persona or to entertain her interlocutors.

Constructing her masculine identity includes performances of toughness, competence, and humor, all performed with meaningful linguistic resources. Dawn performs toughness in her speech with jokes, imitations, storytelling, and posturing. These speech styles tend to be fast with weakened obstruents and centralized vowels, and she also uses alveolar nasals, a lot of swearing, creak, and lower /s/'s. She projects her knowledgeability with low pitch and clear enunciation of segments. In moments when she is stressing her competence, she uses creak, low pitch, and low /s/'s. Performing imitations is also a salient part of Dawn’s talk and of her personality as an entertainer. These imitations are amusing and at the same time express the wide range of encounters that Dawn has had in life, as she is able to accurately imitate many different types of people or characters from her experiences or from social tropes or memes. She is able to imitate her coworkers’ and classmates’ localness with intonational contours, pidgin grammar, lexical items, or monophthongized GOAT. She voices masculine authority figures that she’s interacted with in life, using voice quality, clipped speech, and sustained pitch to convey the intensity of a drill sergeant-type masculinity. She imitates Asian non-native English speakers who she has encountered in Hawai‘i and abroad, and uses these imitations to entertain. Finally, she also has access to voices and characters that are funny in American culture more broadly, and in imitating them, she participates in this broader culture. In these examples, she uses voice quality and intonation to recreate the voice of the stapler guy and high /s/ sounds and careful enunciation with breathy voice to give a voice to Prada. Finally, Dawn works to maintain her relationships with her family and show her alignment and care for them. She does this using more local linguistic resources than elsewhere in her talk, using speech more similar to their own that indexes place and belonging. When talking with her family, especially her grandparents, she uses local vowels, r-lessness, local phrasing, and stopped /dh/. These linguistic performances all together construct and project Dawn, who is at once an entertainer, a nurturer, a local, a mechanic, a karate black belt, a woman, a dude, and so much more.

In Chapter 7, we will look more closely at what Dawn’s speech performance can tell us more generally in relation to Larz and Jody and also as an individual speaker. We will discuss Dawn’s performance of gender. Dawn is physically female and looks like a woman even as she presents a masculine self in clothing and movements, and her speech behavior and her identity performance tend to be more masculine. She participates in prototypical masculine activities and works to be considered one of the guys by making dirty jokes or telling stories about fighting or cars. We will
also look at how Dawn’s talk shows the value of looking at specific moments in the interaction, as
she tends to use certain resources sparingly but meaningfully, demonstrating how if one were to look
at an interaction as a whole rather than in parts, it would gloss over these important usages.
Chapter 7 · Discussion

The case studies provided in this dissertation shed light on not only variant speech practice in individuals but also on how gender and other aspects of identity are malleable and constructed in interaction. The close analysis of the speech of single individuals contributes to our understanding of how and why speakers use particular linguistic variants. In this chapter, I will talk about the benefits of the methodological approach of the dissertation, examining how combining qualitative and quantitative analyses as well as establishing relationships with the research participants allowed me to better understand and describe the variation in the data. I will then examine more closely the ways that the speech data from Larz, Jody, and Dawn can contribute to our understanding of the performance of masculine and non-binary gender identities and our understanding of how speakers use variation in interaction in both similar and dissimilar ways to achieve differing social targets. Finally, I will discuss additional points that arose throughout this research that I think are important to consider.

7.1. Contributions of the methodology

This dissertation used a combination of methodological approaches in order to intensively examine the speech and the identity constructions of three individuals who were assigned female sex at birth but now identify with non-binary gender and present as masculine. This combination of approaches was essential to being able to study the participants’ speech and their projections of self so closely. I got to know each of the three speakers as a friend and interacted with them in a variety of contexts in order to have personal knowledge of their speech habits and their conceptions of themselves as well as interacting with the broad community of which they are a part here on O’ahu. Next, I asked them to record themselves in environments where they were comfortable and their interactions were natural and common. As Tyler Schnoebelen (2012) asserted, “putting a conversation under a microscope offers a number of benefits: (i) looking at real-life discourse gives us a wide variety of phenomena to consider; (ii) such diversity also lets us explore a number of different methods; and (iii) connected discourse means that we get to see how these phenomena unfold over time.” (48) Then, in the analysis, I approached their speech both qualitatively and quantitatively, using discourse to understand their motivations and performances of identity and
phonetic and linguistic analysis to describe how their talk contributed to those performances. Several sociolinguists have called for such a methodology for many years (Coupland 2001, Podesva 2007, Schilling-Estes 1998, Zimmel 2012) and Natalie Schilling-Estes called it “the best method of analysis for developing an understanding of why speakers style-shift” (1998: 55). This combination of approaches led me to a deep understanding of Larz’s, Jody’s, and Dawn’s talk and their use of linguistic features to construct identity that I hope has been effectively conveyed in this dissertation.

One thing that became apparent in working with these three speakers was that individuals differ greatly in the amount that they vary across different contexts and with different interlocutors. Some of this difference may be due to conscious decisions that individuals make, and some of it is no doubt a subconscious process having to do with speakers’ social goals but also their linguistic abilities and cognitive structure. While both Jody and Larz voiced their commitment to remaining consistent in their speech across contexts (with a few stated exceptions from Larz), Larz actually is much more likely to change her speech than Jody with different interlocutors. Jody has lived in Hawai’i for more than 20 years, and he moved here when he was still in high school, yet he picked up no obvious local speech features, even the tag word ‘yeah’ that is added to yes/no questions by most locals and even visitors when they have been here only a few weeks. His alignment isn’t to localness and Hawai’i, and he claims to have changed little in his speech over his lifetime except those changes that were brought about from the physical changes of gender transition. At the same time, Jody is a very performative speaker, engaging in a great deal of voicing and play, so that his speech tends to vary widely within a single interaction. Larz, on the other hand, grew up speaking predominantly Pidgin and more local Hawai’i English in school, but the effects of her higher education and making friends in academia are apparent when she speaks in more formal settings. She uses a different repertoire of intonational contours, different lexical items, and the phonetic characteristics of her speech change dramatically in more formal contexts. In contrast to Larz and Jody, Dawn does not report making a conscious decision to try to remain consistent across contexts, but rather, expresses her knowledge of the value of being able to speak to different people differently and to turn on her ‘haole’ talk when she is at work. She reports consciously speaking to different parents at the dojo with local or non-local features based on their ethnicity and whether they are military or local, and at work in the hanger, she carefully chooses to use Pidgin features with her local coworkers and not with her coworkers from the Mainland. These differences in the behavior of even just these three speakers indicate that variation should be looked for not only across things like place and interlocutor or across different levels of formality, but should be sought
in more nuanced changes of stance driven by changing attitudes, displays of identity, genre, levels of authenticity, etc. If one were to divide the speech data into categories based only on who was being addressed or in what context they were being addressed and then search out generalized differences across these categories, one would certainly find meaningful changes across the categories, but also miss out on the motivations behind the differences and gloss over outliers within each category. For example, the analysis of Dawn’s interview would suggest that her speech changes only a little bit from other contexts in being somewhat lower and slower with more creak, but in truth, her speech within this context varied a great deal such that when she was being serious and answering my questions with informational talk, her speech was a great deal lower and slower, but when she was telling stories, her speech had a wider pitch range, more swearing, and more local features. Specific moments of her interaction with me were quite different than the aggregate, and in looking at those specific moments, it’s possible to find her motivation for using a variant in a particular way. Particularly when a speaker is in a setting more comfortable than a lab or an interview with a stranger, their intentions for each utterance can be mercurial.

A methodology that examines a large amount of an individual’s talk and looks for meaning being made in specific moments also better matches the way that many theorists believe speakers are actually crafting their talk and therefore constructing their identities. People do not have a preconceived notion of their identity in an entire interaction that they then seek to project with the amount or frequency of a particular variant that they use across that interaction. Instead, speakers have differing goals across single speech acts, and they use linguistic variation in that single instance that is appropriate for achieving their goals. When Larz sat down to have a Skype conversation with her girlfriend, she didn’t turn on a mode of interaction that mandated her identity and precipitated her speech behavior across the entire encounter such that any given moment from the encounter would then be indicative of who she is or how she speaks in an interaction with her girlfriend. Likewise, an aggregate analysis of the encounter would not share its traits with individual moments within that encounter. Instead, the aspects and personas that Larz wishes to highlight or perform change from moment to moment even within this one context. At one point, Larz shared a story with her girlfriend about an encounter she had with a Hawaiian spiritual leader, and Larz highlighted her seriousness and commitment to Hawaiian identity with the content and form of her talk. Directly after this, Larz’s girlfriend tells her about her toenail falling off, and Larz’s next statements are concerned and silly at the same time and construct Larz as nurturing and playful. For each moment of talk, Larz’s intentions and targets changed, and the linguistic features that she used to
craft her interaction changed with them. Providing a quantitative analysis of this more specific exchange more closely reflects Larz’s own speech behavior, as she likely uses variation for specific reasons moment to moment as her needs and desires change.

In order to carry out this kind of close analysis of variation, quantitative methods are not enough. Understanding a speaker’s goals and performances of identity requires that quantitative analysis be accompanied with a qualitative understanding and description of the interaction. The more acutely the researcher wants to examine the meaning work that variation is doing, the more sophisticated and involved the qualitative analysis must become. I found in doing this work that I couldn’t be satisfied with a short list of interactional modes or stances in which the speakers might be engaging in a given utterance. Having a predetermined list into which all exchanges must fit necessarily erases some of the nuances of the actual talk as the researcher attempts to place each utterance in a category, and it also likely fails to encompass all of the utterances being described. That kind of work is useful and certainly better than no qualitative description at all (and indeed, I used it herein to provide a general description), but I argue that if possible, it is helpful to also look at and provide more in-depth details of each exchange that is being analyzed. Coupland’s list of key concepts that are vital to the study of style can be of great help in this qualitative analysis (2007).

Keeping in mind the speaker’s social target, the frame in which they are participating, whether they are voicing another speaker, and how invested they are in the talk provides the researcher with a framework from which to begin understanding and describing each interaction. It is also important to think about and provide for the reader when possible what the conversation is about, who it’s with, what their mood is, what emotion their talk conveys, how their talk is taken by the interlocutor if that is apparent in the exchange, and what facet of their identities the speakers are highlighting and constructing in the talk. If nuanced details like these are considered by the researcher and then provided for the reader, a close understanding of the meaning accomplished in the variation is more likely and is made accessible to the reader. These details being provided also allows the reader to better trust the interpretation of the researcher or even to form an informed disagreement with the researcher’s interpretation.

Such qualitative interpretation of the data is made possible by close ethnographic relationships built with participants. If I were given the recorded conversations of the participants without any personal experience of their locale or without time spent with each person, I might interpret both the social target of an exchange and the way that variation is making meaning in the exchange differently. Because I had spent well over a year with each person, observing them in many
different contexts and with many people and establishing a personal relationship with them as well, I was better equipped to tell what was meaningful as opposed to accidental and to tell what was typical or atypical of their speech. My broad experience with their speech allowed me to choose examples that represent the meaning making in which they engage and hopefully also to faithfully describe their identity and how they go about constructing it\textsuperscript{39}.

Another important advantage of the methodology I used was that I was examining the speech closely, listening for any and all possible meaning-making being done with linguistic resources. Of course, I surely failed to account for all of the different types of resources that are used by these three speakers (and in fact, I have conducted much more analysis than what I have presented here), and I’m sure that I had prominent biases towards particular types of features, but in being open to talking about different linguistic resources and listening intensely to all of the data many times, I think I was better able to accurately portray how the speakers are making meaning with variation and which variation is actually doing important social work. Sociophoneticians often look at a few set variants because they are either easier to analyze or because they have become well-studied topics, but by starting first with the utterance that seems to be doing important identity work and then analyzing what features are being used therein, we can identify the linguistic variables that are most in play for individual speakers and how they are putting them to use\textsuperscript{40}. If I had entered into my analysis of the recordings with a closed set of variables to examine, I would probably have missed out on features that ended up being most interesting and that are most saliently meaningful in the participants’ talk. I did start the study with some features in mind to look at, features that the literature has shown tend to correlate with gender or sex or with local identity, but I was open to describing features that were not included in this pre-formulated list, and I think that this openness was advantageous.

\subsection*{7.2. Gender}

The varying gender identities of Larz, Jody, and Dawn not only contradict and help to deconstruct ideas about all people fitting into two gender identities, masculine or feminine, but they

\textsuperscript{39} I recognize that this isn’t always a realistic possibility for research and don’t wish to belittle work with a shorter scope, only to suggest that more depth and more observation is generally helpful for understanding.

\textsuperscript{40} At the same time, the researcher has to be careful not to be picking examples that are not representative or common to the speaker’s actual language use. By providing both specific examples and a general analysis of how variation is used, I hope to have avoided this pitfall a bit.
also destabilize the concept of masculinity. While all three speakers use physical markers of masculinity like men’s clothing, jewelry, accessories, and masculine ways of standing and walking, they understand their gender to be not strictly masculine, as they understand the division of gender into two categories to be an artifice that doesn’t fully suit their conceptions of self. Their experiences have a great deal to teach us about just how constructed gender truly is and how that truth particularly affects individuals who don’t conform to the alignment of assigned sex and gender roles and characteristics.

As discussed in Chapter 2, gender is an artificial construct that, by nature of being constructed, varies across different cultures and times. It is often a grouping of characteristics and roles that a culture associates with the culture’s conceptions of the sexes. These groupings then become expectations for how a person assigned to a sex tends to or should behave. Individuals growing up in a specific culture learn these expectations and that these behaviors are expected of them based on their assigned sex. They also often learn that if they feel that they relate most to roles or characteristics expected of the gender that isn’t associated with their assigned sex, there is something wrong or different about who they are. There is of course a varying degree of flexibility allowed in participating in the associations of the opposite gender across cultures, and some participations are more culturally taboo than others, so that, for example, a girl who plays sports and climbs trees is often accepted in American culture, but a boy who likes dolls and wants to wear makeup is not. And, that girl will most likely be pressured to climb down from the tree and act more demure at times as she enters adolescence. Additionally, what behaviors and roles are associated with a culture’s genders can vary even within a culture, so that each individual may conceive of different things to be masculine, feminine, or another gender category. Therefore, individuals’ conceptions of who or what is masculine, feminine, māhū, etc. are also somewhat different. Thankfully, cultural conceptions of gender are changing, with more acceptance of individuals who were assigned one sex at birth but identify with the gender associated with another sex. However, even still, conceptions of gender as binary are still dominant so that what is not feminine is necessarily masculine and what is not masculine is necessarily feminine, as if they are polarities that define one another by what they are not. The common expectation for a narrative of the childhood of non-cisgender individuals is that they didn’t feel that they were a girl or a boy from the time that they were young and they wanted to play with trucks or dolls respectively. There is less room for alternative narratives. Larz, Jody, and Dawn have narratives like that one that they are used to telling, but their conceptions of their own gender aren’t nearly so binary if you ask more of them than what
activities they were drawn to as children. They feel that masculinity is a label for many of the activities and roles that they are drawn to, but that femininity is a label for some as well. They feel that they want to present as masculine in what they wear and how they dress but they want to acknowledge that who they are doesn’t necessarily only stem from cultural expectations of gender, but is simply who they want to be, and that self embraces some roles and activities associated with femininity too. The three of them approach this liminal space very differently, choosing different ways to talk about their gender and their biological presentation of self. Larz identifies as māhū, a gender construct from traditional Hawaiian culture that acknowledges that some individuals embody characteristics and relate to roles that are associated with both genders and that recognizes the power and gifts that might come along from having strengths associated with both masculinity and femininity. She strives to be a healer and counselor, a purveyor of Hawaiian knowledge, and strong and stoic as well. Jody identifies as a man and loves to look tough and project masculine strength while also being spiritually minded and calming. He endeavors to achieve a balance of masculine and feminine energy and at the same time reflect what he calls his inner masculine essence. Dawn identifies as a woman at work and with her family, but she generally prefers to be thought of as “one of the guys.” She perhaps most closely identifies with the label of lesbian, as, for her, sexuality is an integral part of her gender. She enjoys aspects of mainstream masculinity like sports, cars, drinking, and fighting, and she likes to participate in groups in ways that she views as masculine, projecting competence and a crude sense of humor that allows her to be accepted by her friends as more masculine than feminine. The persistence of Larz, Jody, and Dawn’s gender non-conformity challenges concepts of gender normativity not only in these pages, but in the every day, as each of them are ambassadors of the acceptance and understanding that gender is an artificial construction that sometimes dangerously places false expectations on people.

The participants’ gender identities are also reflected in their linguistic behavior. The data show that each participant performs gender through the performance of characteristics and behaviors associated with masculine, feminine, or māhū identity, and these performances are achieved through use of meaningful linguistic variation. For the most part, both because their gender identities are different from one another and because other aspects of their identities are different, the three speakers use different features to work at identity construction. Larz uses local resources like intonational contours, /dh/ stopping, swearing, and falsetto to express toughness and also to construct herself as having street smarts that make her counsel valuable. She also uses local resources to construct herself as laidback and chill. When she is emphasizing her expertise or her
cultural knowledge, she uses low pitch, creak, and a great deal of pausing. All of these performances contribute to her performance of māhū identity by indexing aspects that are associated to that gendered concept. Jody’s voice was changed by his medical transition so that he has low pitch from his physiology, and when he is around loved ones, he says he doesn’t emphasize trying to sound more masculine than what is now natural for him. However, when he is around strangers or people he doesn’t know well or when he is specifically acting tough or conveying his expertise, he at times uses lenition, low /s/ sounds, even lower pitch, and a slower speech rate to do so. Dawn constructs her masculine identity through indexing her toughness, her competence, and her crude sense of humor. At these times, she tends to speak quickly with weakened obstruents and centralized vowels, creak, low /s/, and alveolar nasals. She also constructs her close commitment to her family with local resources like stopped /dh/, intonational contours, and some Pidgin lexical items. Beyond these idiosyncrasies, the participants share the use of one strategy in particular to perform aspects of masculinity. When Larz, Jody, or Dawn are conveying toughness or coolness, characteristics that involve emotional distance, they use less clear speech to construct these styles. Their speech is faster in these moments, with more centralized vowels, shorter and less intense obstruents, more deletion of segments, and more contractions. These features require less energy for production, and index less investment on the part of the speaker, which in turn indexes toughness and stoicism, both characteristics that are largely associated with masculinity. Research has found that males tend to use less clear speech than females (Bauer 2005; Bradlow, Torretta, and Pisoni 1996; Henton 1995), and I argue that it is likely the indexical relationship that I just described that underlies some of this correlation.

Finally, echoing the arguments that Zimman made in the discussion chapter of his own dissertation, studying a range of masculine identities performed by individuals raised as girls contributes importantly to both the literature concerning gender and that concerning sociophonetic behavior. In many studies, participants are labeled by their sex or by their gender, sometimes with no discussion of what constitutes either or even with a seeming lack of understanding of how they are different. Then, the speech behavior of the labelled participants is taken as representative of these broad social categories. Studies like this dissertation and like Zimman (2012) and Papp (2011) help to deconstruct this practice of binarism, emphasizing that speech is not determined by a single label that can be checked in a box, but by much more nuanced aspects of identity and circumstance that change throughout a speaker’s talk. Additionally, Zimman argues that it is vital to recognize that every masculine individual constructs their identity with the resources available to them according to
their own relationship to concepts of men, maleness, or masculinity. Every individual has different goals for their self-presentation. Even within this small group of three participants, there is a wide variety of conceptions of what masculinity is and what it means to each individual. The speech behavior of each individual, then, not only reflects this wide variation but also works to constitute these expressions of masculinity. Ultimately, Larz, Jody, and Dawn are embracing the constructedness of gender every day in the gendered path that they walk while also struggling to be accepted as what society has deemed masculine even though they were assigned female sex. They have found balance and peace with their gender identities by actively constructing a middle space in which to exist, but they have all done it in completely different ways: Jody by physically becoming a man but spurning traditional masculinity, Dawn by accepting the label of ‘woman’ while also embracing traditional masculine interests, and Larz by embracing gender beyond the binary from her traditional culture as māhū.

7.3. Language, indexicality, and the construction of identity

Theoretical ideas about style introduced in Chapter 2 best explain the speech behavior of the three participants. Contemporary sociolinguists have argued that linguistic forms take on meaning based on associations with speaker groups who use them or indexical relationships with naturally occurring circumstances and these forms then become resources for speakers to use to make meaning in their talk and perform their identities in ways that their interlocutor can understand and interact with (Eckert 2000, 2012). These resources have general (changeable) meanings before situated use that listeners may be able to identify or respond to, but it is in context that they achieve specific meaning and become useful in the construction of identity and in meaning making in interaction, as the other resources with which they are used and the general context of the talk narrow their possible meaning from a small field of possibilities (Campbell-Kibler 2006, Kiesling 1996, 2009). Speakers do not behave in the same way across contexts, but craft different speaking styles using a combination of meaningful linguistic features so that their talk in the moment is aimed at achieving particular social targets, targets that change both across and within conversations. Further, resources do not necessarily index broad social categories (and in fact rarely do), but often index more specific attitudes, behaviors, or characteristics of the individual that can then be associated with broader categories like race, class, or gender. Particularly relevant to this dissertation, Elinor Ochs argues that this is especially true for gender, as most languages do not have many
features that could be said to directly index gender, but that rather, features will index roles that tend to be gender specific or characteristics that tend to be gendered and therefore become indexical of masculinity or femininity (1992).

Kiesling calls these social targets and interactional modes ‘stances,’ and further argues that “stance is the main interactional meaning being created, and it is a precursor, or primitive, in sociolinguistic variation: that is, sociolinguistic variants are initially associated with interactional stances and these stances become in turn associated with a social group meaning in a community over time and repeated use.” (2009: 172) This umbrella term for all targets, modes, or relationships to topic or interlocutor is very useful, as, in truth, speakers (and listeners) have many different types of motivation and types of influence that affect their talk, and in focusing on only some of those types or even in trying to categorize them into a few narrow categories, some influences are lost. It is most useful to acknowledge that the field of motivations and targets is wide and try when possible to garner and provide as much information as possible about the moment being discussed. In this way, all of these specific details can be called stance but that term can remain necessarily broad.

Working from this understanding of social meaning and indexicality, we would expect that our three speakers would constantly variously construct their identities through language use rather than reflecting a single inherent identity. We might also expect that they would use linguistic features to index social characteristics and societal roles that are associated with gender in order to perform their gender identities. Finally, we would expect that speakers would achieve meaning in context through different combinations of linguistic features, and would use resources specific to their experiences. We find that these expectations are met in the conversation data collected from each participant. Their behavior changes a great deal across the recordings in ways quite dissimilar from one another because of their very different identities and experiences, and they change the way that they speak not just in different places with different interlocutors, but to reflect different parts of their complex selves, in turn constructing whole selves with complicated relationships to the concept of gender. We will now look in more detail at how the participants’ behavior is consistent with ideas of sociolinguistic indexicality and the construction of social identity.

The three speakers are of course multi-faceted and highlight different aspects of their whole selves at different times. Though one may try to construct a list of categories into which they fit (success is highly doubtful), this list isn’t going to be able to describe them totally, nor will it explain all of their speech behavior. Additionally, their behavior at a given point of time isn’t going to be reflective of this entire list. Rather, they might use features that convey their sense of place or their
bossiness or their anger in that moment towards a particular topic, and these features aren’t the same
ones that they would use for another purpose. It is the sum total of their behavior that not just
reflects who they are but constitutes that identity. In looking at a diversity of these moments, we are
able to see a larger swathe of the individual, though we can’t claim to know them entirely. Larz
recognizes a distinction between her academic self and her local and Hawaiian self that is made up
of relationships with people of different backgrounds and prompts different behavior. Even so,
these facets of her identity are certainly sometimes present in contexts where one part is being
stressed more than the other. When she is talking with her friends and family, she sometimes enters
into a kind of teaching mode, sharing knowledge that she has recently gathered. When she is talking
with people she knows through academia, she sometimes uses more local speech to deliver
emotional reactions or in telling stories. Thus, beyond just these divisions of her identity that she
herself acknowledges, Larz expresses the complexity of her identity within interactions as well. In
her interaction with her niece and her niece’s friend, she was at turns spiritually reflective, nurturing,
and then posturing as tough and indifferent. These different stances that she took were constructed
through quite different linguistic choices. Jody’s speech changes drastically in a single interaction
because he tends to have so much fun with his talk at times but also talks intently about things he is
invested in. His performativity and his emotionality drive his speech to be characterized by wide
variation as his motivations change and he cycles through these different goals. When he is
presenting his serious self, he projects a sense of calm through more mild linguistic behavior, but
when he is joking, at play, or responding with anger or joy his linguistic behavior is high in energy,
so that his speech is characterized by clearly enunciated obstruents, wide pitch range, and high
intensity. Dawn is adept at changing her speech for her environment. She is highly socially aware
and cares a great deal about the maintenance of her relationships, so she is likely to change her
speech to accommodate her interlocutor. She can use Standard English features when she is
speaking to non-locals but switch to Pidgin or Hawai’i English for her family or for local coworkers.
Her speech is tough and masculine when she is hanging out with the guys but can be soft and
nurturing when she talks to Michelle or her sisters. She also, though, participates in a lot of voicing
of real people or of characters that increases the variation of her speech and also contributes to her
projection of identity. Quotes and imitations comprise so much of her speech that there is perhaps
more variation as a result. Individual’s identities are made up of the variation in their performances.
A single moment tells us only about who the person is in that one context with that one intent, but a
wider sampling of moments can begin to tell us who they are or who they strive to be.
Contrary to the way that identity has been treated in much of variationist sociolinguistic research, where broad social identity categories are treated as correlated with and explanatory of linguistic behavior, individuals are rarely striving to convey these larger groupings and may even struggle to find resources that would be used to do so. Instead, oftentimes, variation is linked to much smaller, more locally meaningful groups or to personality traits or attitudes that can then be linked to those broader categories. For this study, it is particularly important to acknowledge that this is the case for gender. Very few linguistic features directly index a speaker’s gender in the linguistic context where these participants live and speak. Unlike some languages, there are no morphological requirements based on speaker gender nor phonological traits that can be used by one gender but would be socially strange if used by another in English. Instead, most gender construction comes about through the use of linguistic resources that index characteristics and roles that tend to be associated with one gender or another. In the case of these three individuals, who physically present in ways that are typically associated with masculinity, but who embrace characteristics of both masculinity and femininity, gender is something different to each of them, and their sociolinguistic behavior works to construct those different identities through indexing various characteristics and roles that are then associated with the gender identity with which they associate (or are associating with at the time). The speakers are not using features that directly tell us that they are masculine, feminine, or māhū, but instead they index more specific traits, groups, and interests that then express something about their gender, a connection that they may or may not have intended or realized themselves.

The analysis of the speakers shows that while linguistic resources may be meaningful in the abstract, they achieve specific meaning when they are placed in a context and used in conjunction with other groupings of features. The participants might use one particular feature in two very different contexts for different purposes, exploiting its abstract social meaning in different ways such that its specific meaning becomes apparent in use, and it in turn adds to the interaction once its meaning is apparent. For example, Dawn used creaky voice quite a bit throughout her interactions, but it was used across many different contexts, some that seemed to have little in common. She used it when she was telling me a story about a violent encounter with a girl who was trying to steal Michelle, and the creak was used along with an /s/ with a very low center of gravity, low pitch, and weakened obstruents. In this case, Dawn was constructing a casual indifference to her need to be violent that made her seem tough and cool. Dawn used creak elsewhere as well though. In one instance, Dawn is telling Michelle that there is food still cooking in the kitchen. In this phrase, she
uses more monophthongized GOAT and a slower speech rate in combination with the creak, and her
talk is nurturing. In this case, her use of creak is found in an instance where she is participating in a
parental sort of care and expressing her capability of looking after her girlfriend’s needs. There are
two cases in Chapter 4, discussing Larz, where Larz uses a raised KIT vowel that is much higher than
her average and overlaps with the space in which she typically produces FLEECE. This raised vowel is
typical of Pidgin, but much more common for older Pidgin speakers. In these two uses of the
variable, Larz’s construction of identity is different, as in one she is being funny and performing
frustration and in the other she is expressing a laidback indifference, but she highlights each facet of
her identity with variants that index localness. In the first case, where Larz is projecting frustration
and deriding her friend’s ex, the vowel is found in conjunction with r-lessness, Pidgin grammar, local
intonation, and stopped /dh/ that also convey localness, which in this case builds solidarity, but she
also uses high pitch and intense frication to stress the emotionality of the talk. The KIT vowel, then,
works to construct a highly performative local exchange full of emotion but tough at the same time.
In the second case, the phrase is also characterized by r-lessness and local intonation, but it is low in
pitch, quiet, and elided such that the combination of the variables constructs Larz as completely chill
and not participating in any of the drama of the first phrase. These examples, and many more that
exist in the data, show that speakers exploit the abstract meanings of social variants to construct
specific meaning in context. Each speaker then might do this differently, and the idiosyncratic use of
variation requires that the researcher understand what the abstract meaning-form relationships of
variants might be in a particular community as well as observing how each speaker has come to
incorporate those relationships into their own speech.

Importantly, social meaning comes about in a community of speakers, it does not reside in
an individual speaker, or it would serve no purpose. Speakers learn the meaning of variation in the
circumstances in which they find themselves so that no two people have the same experience with
or access to the array of meaningful linguistic features. Instead, their experiences expose them to
new variation that they generate associations for because of the circumstances in which they learn
that variation. The amount of their continued exposure to that variation determines how that
meaning might change or how relevant it remains to the individual speaker. This means that we
would expect three speakers from the same region and in some of the same social circles to share
some use of variation but to be unique from one another as well. In the case of these three speakers,
their variety of identities and their family backgrounds have made them quite disparate in the way
that they use variation. We’ll first look at some of the linguistic variation that they use in similar ways

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and then we’ll examine just a couple of examples of their differences, as their speech is generally quite different in ways that have been described in Chapters 4 through 6.

The variation that the participants have in common and use in similar ways is probably variation that is available for a large number of English speakers and some of which may even be found cross-linguistically, as the meanings of the relationships are sometimes instantiated by sound symbolism. The first is a feature that all three participants use in deriding a person or idea. All three participants commonly use intense frication in both stops and fricatives in their derision, particularly on obstruents that are part of a swear word, but also just in emphasizing the aspect of the topic that they are deriding. This high energy expenditure conveys a commitment to the talk, indexing emotional speech so that the speakers use it to emphasize their strong feelings of disdain for the topic. The participants also all commonly use creak when they are being derisive. Creak seems to have the opposite indexation of intense frication, as it conveys low energy and has a connection to distance, and I argue that in this case, that meaning is being used to distance the speaker from the topic of the talk. Another feature that the speakers share in common, as mentioned in section 7.2, is using less clear speech to index masculinity. In phrases where the speakers are imitating machoness, participating in casual fraternity, illustrating their competence, or particularly when they are performing toughness, they use lenition and conjoined words as well as more centralized vowels to perform these traits that are associated with masculinity. Finally, all three participants construct themselves as experts or as intelligent information sharers in similar ways. In these instances where they are sharing information about themselves or about topics that they are well versed in, they use long pauses, more careful enunciation, lower pitch, and less intensity overall to construct this authority and knowledgeability. They also use more creak. In contrast to these uses of traits that the participants have in common, most of their speech is quite different, and they perform similar tasks using very different resources. For example, when Jody tells a story, he uses wide pitch range, long pauses, and prominently articulated obstruents in a way that is engaging and emotive. Dawn, on the other hand, tells stories with a narrower pitch range, faster speech rate, and with local resources like stopped /dh/ and local intonational contours. Her storytelling works to construct her as tough and cool. Similarly, the three participants use very different features from one another when they are being romantic with their significant others. Larz’s speech in romantic encounters is low and soft with narrow pitch range and very slow speech rate. Jody uses a great deal of non-modal voice qualities, primarily breathiness or creak, in his romantic moments with Arleen. He also uses very low pitch and speaks quietly. Dawn, on the other hand, speaks very quickly in these types of moments,
with very narrow pitch range and a great deal of creak. All of this data shows us that speakers share access to the social meaning of a great deal of variation but do not have the same experiences with it and therefore craft their own speech differently from one another based on their exposure to different features as well as according to their specific social needs.

In addition to merely accommodating to the experience of different interlocutors, speakers also highlight different facets of their identity for different people, and this is also a driver of changes in speech across interlocutor. For example, although Jody’s speech is quite consistent in some ways across contexts, he tends to emphasize his serious side when he is around strangers or acquaintances, while he is more often silly when he is around loved ones. This means that his identity for strangers is crafted as an expert and spiritual guru, and so the features that construct these parts of his identity are more frequent in these social contexts. The speakers change their speech for different interlocutors, but within these broad social targets, more specific social targets arise and become important, so that their speech also changes moment to moment as their identity is being constructed in constantly shifting ways.

7.4. Additional considerations

7.4.1. What else does variation do?

The form of our talk has a complex relationship with its content. In the variationist approach to sociolinguistic variation, socially meaningful linguistic forms are often treated as conveying social information about the speaker that is quite separate from the specificities of the interaction, so that, for example, a white girl nerd might say [ðæt kʰætʰ iz kʰwɑɪtʰ kʰjutʰ] but a local Hawaiian guy would say [kʰjut də kʰæt], and they would both mean to say that the cat they are seeing is cute, but they would have at the same time indicated that they are of different genders, ethnicities, and places with their use of different linguistic features. However, socially meaningful linguistic features do more than index social features of the speaker; they also help to make the meaning of the talk itself even while they construct the identity of the speaker. With more knowledge of the above hypothetical speakers and the context in which they made their observations, we might be able to say for example, that the girl was disagreeing with her interlocutor with authority by using the particular linguistic features that she used while the guy was flirting with his local interlocutor by complimenting her cat using features that indexed shared orientation to place and a non-threatening
Linguistic features that are seemingly social in meaning are at once social and semantic. Let’s return to an example from Larz’s speech, example 16.13 from Chapter 4, repeated here:

Larz: 1 oh well
2 yeah I I haven't been on facebook in for a long time already
3 so I don't know what's on your page
4 I don't know what's on -----’s page
5 I don't even know if I want to know
6 like I don't fucking care
7 you know?
Friend: 8 uh-huh
Larz: 9 fuck
10 I just want to drink a fuckin' beer already
   (laughter)
11 shit
12 it's like holy shit
13 give me a bee(r)

In this utterance, Larz is speaking with her friend about being done with all of the drama that comes from hers and her friend’s romantic relationships, and she indicates her dismissal of that drama with a request for a beer. Her request is not literal. She is not even in the same place as her friend, as they are speaking over video chat, but the words on their own would be a command for a person to give her a beverage. The linguistic features that she uses, however, work at once to tell her interlocutor more about who Larz is, and also to tell her what she means by her statement. Larz uses a Pidgin-like realization of KIT in ‘give,’ vocalizes the /r/ of ‘beer,’ and uses local intonation, as well as using low pitch and a fast speech rate. All of these features together work to produce the speech as hyper-local and very laidback so that the speech act can be recognized as a metaphor that uses being done with work for the day and moving on to hanging out with a beer to mean that she is done with the drama and ready to move on to relaxing and being over the stress. These same linguistic features construct Larz’s identity in the interaction as laidback and local, even as they help to make the meaning of the statement clear. Socially meaningful variation doesn’t only tell the interlocutor to which social categories the speaker belongs. It helps to convey the meaning the speaker intends while also working to construct the speaker’s identity moment to moment. In examining these features in real interaction, we can better understand how individual variants meaningfully contribute to a person’s identity but also how they can be used to add to the semantic content of the talk.
7.4.2. How do imitations and quotes contribute to identity?

The participants in this study use a great deal of voicing to accomplish different social goals. They quote past interlocutors or imitate people that they know or characters that they have seen, and though all of these speech performances voice another person or identity, they also work to contribute to the identity construction of each speaker. As Higgins (2015) argues, voicing someone else provides speakers “with a means of displaying stances, navigating tensions, and positioning themselves and others.” (137) As shown in Chapter 5, Jody used voicing to imitate people that he was watching on TV in order to mock the ideologies and personas of those people and situate himself in opposition to their hypermasculinity. He also achieved humor by using voicing to imitate exaggeratedly feminine voices that contrast with his very masculine physical presentation. In Chapter 6, we saw that Dawn used imitations of her opponent in the fight in Thailand to liven up her storytelling and add to the authenticity of her experience. She also often voices locals using Pidgin or local linguistic features when telling a story in a way that emphasizes her experience growing up in Hawai‘i. These voicings achieve varying social goals in context, but they all also contribute to the identity of the speaker. In voicing others, whether in mockery or in solidarity, speakers position themselves in relation to the person being voiced or to that person’s position or ideology. These positionings work to construct speakers, even as they voice speech that is not totally their own. It is important, then, to consider these speech performances alongside those performances where speakers speak in their own voices, as they can be just as integral to the construction of identity.

7.4.3. How aware of or in control of speech are speakers?

Studying the meaning making of individuals, and even choosing what language to use to write about it brings up issues concerning the control that people have over what linguistic variation is available to them and the way that they use it, and how aware people are of its use. Many scholars conceive of an individual’s linguistic styling as a sort of ‘speech repertoire,’ a range of possible ways of speaking to which each individual has access and from which they choose in order to speak appropriately or advantageously in different situations (Coupland 2007). However, even using language like ‘choose’ implies that speakers have some control over how they will speak situationally and invites the question of how much intention or control exists in building such a repertoire. Pierre Bourdieu’s idea of ‘habitus’ has greatly influenced how social scientists think about behavioral patterns. ‘Habitus’ is the idea that behaviors associated with people’s social groups become ingrained in individuals’ actions such that they express their social affiliations in a way that is normalized for
the actors (1991). In this paradigm, where language is concerned, there is a great deal of linguistic constraint, wherein speakers learn a range of socially suitable speech styles from a young age and produce language within that range habitually throughout their lifetimes without electing to speak in any particular way, but rather behaving in a way that was structured into them during their developmental phase. The social landscape, then, is perpetuated in speakers that are confined to their social standing and must enact that standing through their speech because it is the speech that they have acquired.

The alternative to this way of thinking about linguistic styling is one that conceives of speakers as making motivated choices between linguistic forms, whether or not they are fully conscious of these choices or alternatives and whether or not they are able to explicate their linguistic decisions. This is the view that is more in line with the stylistics discussed throughout this dissertation. Butler writes that speakers can reshape meanings during speech performance and that “the speech act, as a rite of institution, is one whose contexts are never fully determined in advance” (1997: 161). In this view, individuals’ speech repertoires are expansive, shaped from their entire experience of language use, and as Tannen writes, “cultural patterns do not prescribe the form that a speaker’s discourse will take, but provide a range from which individuals choose strategies that they habitually use in expressing their individual styles” (2007: 86). Speakers are not just playing out behavioral fates that have been laid out for them as a birthright, but are using meaningful variation learned from the linguistic experiences that they have had in order to accomplish social goals.

Though most speakers are certainly limited in behavior by their exposure and their capacity for imitation, they have the ability to change the way that they speak over their lifetimes and even over the course of a single day. Speakers can even use the speech styles of other individuals, as discussed in section 7.4.2, to achieve social goals. Though sociolinguists have struggled for decades to record the ‘authentic’ speech of participants, if individuals are always performing identity, there is no one authentic voice of an individual, but rather, individual identities comprise the entire body of individuals’ utterances. Coupland writes, “speakers invoke voices that have had historic, consensual meanings and values, but, in performance, they break the semiotic chains that are the basis of their supposed authenticity” (2007: 182). Capturing a speaker’s projection of identity through language, then, is always going to be an incomplete task, while examining how speakers construct meaning and identity is possible but requires a wide range of interactional contexts.
7.5. Limitations and future directions

This study succeeds in providing a complex analysis of three individuals’ speech, showing that gender conceptions and constructions are diverse and idiosyncratic and that gender is constructed through the use of variation in interaction. Going forward, there are many research programs that could build on this study and move beyond its limitations to examine more questions about how individuals use speech across contexts and in specific instances to construct identity. First, this study only examined the speech of three individuals, and even within this small number, a great deal of diversity was emphasized, but there is more work to be done here. Future studies should continue to examine how gender is constructed for all types of speakers. Every person, whether they are trans, cis, non-binary, etc., performs gender, and it is important to study a broad range of gender identities in order to destabilize the idea that there is a normal and to destabilize conceptions of homogeneity. Studies of individuals’ speech and identity would be particularly enriched by focusing on individuals who are going through important changes in their lives or taking on new experiences that might challenge and change their conceptions of self and therefore their linguistic constructions of self. It would be useful to examine the linguistic behavior of individuals who are moving to new places, starting new careers, or joining the military, for example, because these individuals may learn new meaningful resources or even begin to emphasize different aspects of their identities. Similarly, longitudinal studies that look at individuals across a wide span of time would tell us a great deal about how identity changes over a lifetime and how individuals learn and begin to use meaningful variation. Such studies could even begin with examining identity work being done by children, analyzing where and how children learn variation and how it is integrated into their individual behavior as a projection of their idiosyncratic selves. Work that followed speakers over decades of time, examining their individual behavior and their speech in specific moments, would tell us a great deal about how variation is acquired, integrated, and maybe eventually discarded and also tell us more about how changeable or flexible identity is and how that is reflected in language.

Another direction for similar work to take in the future is to continue to combine qualitative methods with more quantitative pursuits in order to enrich understanding. One possibility is using more quantitative phonetic analysis in examining individuals’ speech. Though this study did compare specific realizations to averages in some cases, this wasn’t the case for every variable that was examined, and this type of quantitative analysis may prove fruitful in understanding more about to
what degree speakers vary in the realization of different types of variables. Another suggestion is using experimental methods to complement the interpretation of socially meaningful variation in the data. Perception experiments are useful for understanding how listeners interpret variation and if they agree on that interpretation, so experiments could be designed to complement the interpretations of the researcher. Whatever the directions that future work goes, I hope that this dissertation has shown that it is important to examine the speech of individuals and to examine their speech across contexts and in specific moments in order to step back from overgeneralizations and gain a greater understanding of identities being constructed and conveyed in talk.

7.6. Conclusion

This dissertation has introduced you to three remarkable individuals who perpetually challenge the gender normativities they were brought up in and succeed in pursuing the behaviors and interests that best produce and express their authentic identities. Their everyday linguistic performances construct and reflect these identities, and in examining these performances, we begin to understand the connections that exist between linguistic variation and meaning and also begin to understand how these individuals’ identities are being made in talk. For Larz, who identifies as māhū and therefore intentionally expresses traits and roles linked to this traditional gender identity, her speech behavior reflects the characteristics that constitute being māhū. She uses local resources to create connections with her family and friends that allow her to nurture and counsel them, and she also uses resources that convey authority and wisdom to construct herself as healer and purveyor of knowledge. At other times, she uses features that construct her as tough or implacable and emphasize her masculinity, or she comes across as cool and laidback, which are also important aspects of local masculinity. Jody, a man, shies away from some of the most common associations with masculinity, but he embraces a particular type of alternative culture and its expressions of masculine toughness. With strangers whom he doesn’t trust, he projects this hard, tough self, but with the people that he loves and trusts, his social projections are more frequently of silliness, strong emotion, and spirituality. These contrasts help him to achieve a balance in life, one that is reflected in his gender identity. Dawn, a woman who is at the same time ‘one of the guys’ or ‘a dude,’ embraces and participates in behaviors and roles commonly associated with more normative masculinities. She indexes these masculinities through conveyances of toughness, crude humor, casual stoicism, competence, and fraternity with men. She also uses local resources and joking to
relate to her family and solidify familial ties. These three individuals and their linguistic behavior challenge gender binarism and the homogeneity of masculinity, showing that speakers can use linguistic resources to construct and project identities outside of strictly ‘man’ or ‘woman’ that are more true to the individual’s experience of self. They do this by participating in a complex practice of utilizing linguistic variation to both perform different aspects of their person and to target changing social goals across varying circumstances.
References


