The Student Journal of the Department of Anglophone Studies

Editorial

The Student Journal of the Department of Anglophone Studies aims to provide visibility to excellent student papers. As a platform, it will broaden scholarly discourse across a variety of fields and provide access to the research interests of our Department. We value the scholarly sophistication and intellectual integrity of our students and therefore believe that student papers should not merely pass across our desks and vanish into the university archives. By publishing the papers in the journal, we not only lend visibility but we also give students the opportunity to engage in the writing and publishing process and to go through a proper editorial process – from submission to integrating comments and following formatting guidelines.

As the Department of Anglophone Studies brings together a variety of fields, including linguistics, EFL, literary studies and cultural studies, the student journal will similarly exhibit an interdisciplinary quality. It will also reflect the diverse experience of our writers, from undergraduate to graduate level. Indeed, while the journal strives for excellence, excellence is an ambiguous concept. Papers may take a particularly innovative approach to a topic, stand out for their contribution to existing scholarship, or examine overlooked material. The journal will therefore embrace the different facets of excellence, functioning as a platform for outstanding work while allowing students to speak in their own voices. This approach will hopefully expand scholarly discourse and enrich conversations in our Department and our fields of teaching and research.

Revenge and Coming to Terms with the Past in Post-War Kosovo

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Revenge may be thought of as a thick and extended chain that binds people inexorably together. This enforced connection also exists in Kosovo, the smallest country in the Balkans. Kosovo is bordered by Montenegro to the northwest, Serbia to the north and east, North Macedonia to the south, and Albania to the west. As a form of justice, the motive of revenge links Kosovo to most of its neighbours, especially to Serbia and Albania. In the case of the former, the reason for this link is a yearning for vengeance over past violent deeds, and in the latter, the shared tradition of blood revenge as part of a social codification called the *Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini* connects them culturally.[2] Topographically, Albania and Kosovo are connected by a shared border. In 1912, Albania was able to gain independence and has been a neutral state in the Balkans since then. Kosovo, in contrast, suffered oppression, first by the Ottomans and later by Serbia. The culmination of this oppression was the Kosovo War of 1998, a conflict which had been simmering since the early 1990s. The war ended with the intervention of NATO, causing Serbia to yield and withdraw its military forces from Kosovo in 1999.

Today, nearly two decades after the end of the Kosovo War, the processes of reconciliation and commemoration remain problematic. Post-war Kosovo has been engaged in the process of coming to terms with the past as it simultaneously attempts to establish itself as a new nation. However, Kosovo also faces particular

1 This essay was initially submitted as a BA thesis which was supervised by Prof. Dr. Vanessa Agnew. I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Agnew for her constructive suggestions and the support in revising this paper.

2 The Kanun was originally formulated by the Albanian nobleman Lekë Dukagjini (1410–1481) (see Tarifa 3). However, the actual author of the written version of the customary laws is accredited to Shtjefën Konstantin Gjeçov. After his death, work on the written Kanun remained incomplete. Nonetheless, the Kanun was published under his name in 1933 by Franciscans who used Gjeçov's notes and manuscripts to complete the customary law (see Fox xvii).

challenges. It is characterised by a profoundly ingrained 'revenge culture' that is the result of the customary law of the blood feud codified in the *Kanun*, a set of customary laws originating in Albania.[3] Although the Kanun has its roots in Albania, the code was later increasingly accepted and came to serve as common law not only in the entire region of northern Albania but also in Kosovo and Montenegro (see Tarifa 4). Some may argue that this ancient tradition is a problem of the past and no longer the norm for a Kosovar society that is striving for modernity and aims to join the European Union. Yet, the laws of the Kanun are still respected when it comes to murder and its settlement.

Kosovan blood feuds arise within the context of the Kanun's law, which stipulates that "Blood is Paid for with Blood" (Gjeçov 172) under section CXXVI, book X, article §917. This article states that "blood is never unavenged" (174). The laws regarding the procedure after a killing are described in book 10, "The Law Regarding Crimes," in several chapters that regulate the procedures necessary to be followed after a revenge killing (see Gjeçov 170). The widespread custom raises broader questions about the capacity of Kosovars to establish a peaceful society with modern, democratic, and judicial institutions. This would include the endeavour to forge a path to peace with its neighbour Serbia. Thus, the question is whether the ingrained custom of revenge, which regulates private disputes, has become an impulse that has negative effects on Kosovar society at large with consequences for its process of coming to terms with the past. So, we might enquire into how Kosovars mourn, how they commemorate their dead, how they come to terms with what they have done and what has been done to them, and lastly, whether they seek forgiveness or retribution.

By analysing the particular challenge that Kosovo faces in its process of remembering and healing, I will shed light on the implications of customary blood revenge – habitual remembering, intergenerational storytelling, honour, masculinity, and the ostracization of women in commemorative practices. These aspects, which have been imposed by the Kanun and its customary practice of blood revenge, are noticeable in Kosovo's present-day commemoration process. Therefore, they are worthy of close scrutiny because they tab into the overarching

3 The Kanun represents a series of norms, values, and injunctions that were passed down orally for generations. It entails l,263 articles and its customary laws are subdivided into twelve books: church, family, marriage, house, work, transfer of property, spoken word, honour, damages, the law regarding crimes, the Kanun of the elderly, and exemptions and exceptions (see Tarifa 11).

question of what kind of work memory culture should do. The aspect of habitual remembering is evident in the habit of Kosovars to remember their conflictual past with Serbia. The implication of generational transfer enables Kosovars to pass on memories of this conflictual past to the next generations, thus, continuing to perpetuate divisions between Kosovars and Serbs. Further, the concept of honour, which is the most important principle of the Kanun, is expressed in present-day commemorative practices while being predominantly associated with masculinity. This, however, results in the ostracization of women from Kosovo's dominant commemorative landscape.

This essay will present these implications of customary blood revenge as part of Kosovo's collective memory with reference to the novel *Broken April* (1978) by Ismail Kadare. Although published in 1978, the novel is considered to be a monumental work of fiction in Albanian literature because it accurately represents the repercussions of the Kanun's customary blood revenge on the Albanian people. Hence, it serves here as the primary example which illustrates the above-mentioned implications of customary blood revenge. Against the backdrop of Kosovo's recent history, I will further tackle the repercussions of customary revenge for present commemorative practices, specifically, the *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex* (2013) and the art installation *Thinking of You* (2015) by the British-Albanian conceptual artist Alketa Xhafa Mripa. As commemorative practices which arose from the recent war, these memorials represent attempts of coming to terms with the past while simultaneously embodying the pitfalls and challenges of contemporary memory work. Finally, this essay will examine the role of revenge culture in fostering peaceful relations with Serbia. In this process, forgetting is less than ideal when coping with a violent past; so, it would seem more desirable to pursue processes of forgiveness and cooperation to unite Kosovars and Serbs.

KOSOVO'S CONFLICTUAL PAST

The name of the country *Kosovo* is familiar to many, since it often appears in the global media, especially during the first decade of the new millennium. However, the "tiny place with a tiny population" (Judah xiii), in the middle of the Balkans, is not of much significance to most people. Yet, the country does matter politically because it is part of Europe's 'backyard,' and it was the reason NATO fought its first

war (see Judah xiii). Since then, Kosovo has become the site of international friction between European, U.S., and Russian leaders (see Judah xiii).

As Denis MacShane emphasises, "Kosovans are steeped in history" (16). It is thus worth sketching its history in order to comprehend the politics regarding the extensive conflict with Serbia. But beyond that, an understanding of Kosovo's history is vital to properly apprehend the power of customary blood revenge in contemporary commemoration practises. The word *Kosovo* derives from a Serbian word, *Kos*, meaning 'blackbird,' which became the name of the centre of the medieval Serbian empire (see Judah 31). Serbia lost Kosovo to the Ottoman Empire that ruled the territory from the mid-fifteenth to the early twentieth century, while Islam spread among the Albanian-speaking population (see Allcock, Young, and Lampe 2019). In the early twentieth century, Kosovo was incorporated into Serbia and remained a Serbian province until the end of the century. Throughout this time, Kosovo was part of the former Yugoslavia which comprised Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Croatia (see Judah xvii). In the early 1990s, however, Yugoslavia began to collapse and consequently, war overtook the region, forcing hundreds of thousands of refugees to flee northward. During this period, all former Yugoslav nations gained independence, except Kosovo which remained a province of Serbia.

During the late 1990s, Kosovars became increasingly frustrated with Serbia's continuing repression and the failure of the eight-year-long campaign of passive resistance led by their President Ibrahim Rugova (see Malcolm xxvii). Consequently, confrontations between Kosovo-Albanian and Serb forces arose in 1997, while Serb law enforcements had to retreat after they met with armed resistance by Kosovars. During a later confrontation in 1998, Serb forces responded aggressively to an armed revolt led by Kosovars. This response stimulated the growth of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) which served as the reason for Serb militaries to attack Kosovar villages in the summer of 1998 and execute a campaign that aimed to free the territory of Kosovars (see Malcolm xxvii–xxviii). The conflict in Kosovo forced around 850,000 people to flee the territory in response to ethnic cleansing (see Judah xvii). Noel Malcolm argues that Serbian troops had been instructed to solve the 'Kosovo problem' with a campaign, which was a "coordinated operation of 'ethnic cleansing'" (Malcolm xxxvi–xxxviii). In Malcolm's view, Kosovars were forced to leave the region and never come back because this campaign did not have a military purpose but a demographic one (see xxxvi).

Additionally, to Malcolm's view, it can be added that the campaign was also a political strategy because it brought about the change of political outcomes. The goal was to permanently uproot a significant proportion of the rural population of Kosovo (see Malcolm xxxii). In early 1999, this campaign continued to be executed by the Serb military, while Western governments attempted to stop the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević, and proposed granting Kosovo autonomy. However, Milošević refused and what began as an uprising led by Kosovars, escalated into an international crisis which concluded in an air bombardment by NATO in 1999 on the remaining Yugoslav states, Serbia and Montenegro (see xxviii).

After the NATO intervention, Kosovo steadily developed the structures of an independent country under the supervision of the UN, and on 17 February 2008, it declared independence from Serbia, thus becoming the "world's newest and most controversial of states" (Judah xiii). The declaration of Kosovo's independence raised the hopes of many Albanians because it seemed to point to the end of the conflict. Unfortunately, this was not the case as Kosovo remained a region in conflict (see Judah xvii). The declaration of Kosovo's independence has been a traumatic experience for many Serbs. Kosovo is perceived as "the cradle of Serbs" (Malcolm 41) and their 'Jerusalem' (see Malcolm xxxi). For many Serbs, it is still considered a definite part of Serbia. Kosovo-Albanians, on the other hand, argue that independence is their right and an amending of the wrongs inflicted by Serbia (see Judah viii–xix). By grasping Kosovo's history and more specifically its violent past with Serbia, it becomes much more transparent how customary blood revenge might affect Kosovo's recent memory work and why the questions posed in the introduction are worth pursuing.

THE YEARNING FOR REVENGE

As Karl Marx argues, the traditions of the dead generations weigh like nightmares on the minds of the living (see 5). For ethnic Albanians, this statement holds true within the ever-present custom of blood vengeance. A recent article on *BBC News* gave evidence to that view by reporting that 68 families in Northern Albania are currently involved in blood feuds (see Hosken & Kasapi 2017). As early as the 1990s, Anton Çetta, a Kosovar academic, along with other activists and intellectuals, led an 'anti-vendetta' campaign in the form of a reconciliation committee that sought

to bring blood feuds between Kosovar families to an end. The goal of this campaign was to solve and pacify the many blood feuds that were damaging Kosovo's society (see Elsie 3). The committee was successful appeasing more than 900 feuds (see 3).

The practice of blood revenge did decline throughout the political instability after the 1998–99 conflict because Kosovars were motivated to fight against the Serbs (see Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009). After the war, however, blood feuds re-emerged. Particularly allegations of collaboration with Serbs triggered more blood feuds which were targeted at Kosovars (see Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009). Although the desire for revenge is an innate human instinct, for Kosovars, this longing has been intensely reinforced by the laws of the Kanun. Given its codification, revenge might be thought of as a cultural principle for Kosovars, especially if oppression, aggression, or violence have been experienced in the past. Therefore, the laws regarding blood feuds seem to reinforce the yearning to take revenge, which is not necessarily aimed at fellow Kosovars but towards the Serb minority living in Kosovo.

Indeed, foreign policymakers in Kosovo underrated the desire for revenge amongst the Kosovars who returned home at the end of the war (see Judah 286). The Kosovar journalist Veton Surroi highlights this point, addressing vengeance and violence toward Serbs in his work. He states that the returning Kosovars were not sympathetic towards Serbs as he appeals to Kosovars to take responsibility for the crimes committed against the Serbian population after NATO forces assumed control (see MacShane 57). Surroi pleads for understanding, asserting that he and his fellow citizen should reflect on the fact that they were in the same position a few months earlier. He argues that although Serbs were responsible for disturbing atrocities during the war, this is not a justification for taking revenge (see Surroi in MacShane 57).

Marx's assertion about the weight of the past on the living is just as true for the main character Gjorg Berisha in Ismail Kadare's *Broken April* (1978), a novel which deals with the custom of blood revenge reinforced by the Kanun. Kadare's novel is set in Northern Albania in the 1930s during the reign of King Zogu I. At that time, Albania was an inaccessible country where people relied on customary law rather than state authorities. However, the novel was written in the 1970s, under the regime of the Communist Enver Hoxha, a brutal dictator, who exerted absolute control over his small country from 1945 to 1985 (see Morgan 8). Throughout the Hoxha regime, the Kanun was prohibited, but the fact that Kadare

invoked the theme of the Kanun when it was strictly outlawed testifies to its firm place in the collective memory of Albanians. So, *Broken April* serves here as an example of the prevalence of the Kanun and its revenge culture in the collective memory of Albanians and Kosovars.

The Kanun is at the centre of the novel because no moment in the storyline is not concerned with the legal system of the customary law. *Broken April* tells the story of the 26-year-old Gjorg Berisha who lives on the high plateau in the northern highlands of Albania where the Kanun is the functioning law. Under these laws, the protagonist Gjorg, is forced to commit a murder in retaliation for the death of his brother. Because of this vengeful act, a member of the opposing family will kill him in turn. This cycle of revenge between the Berisha and Kryeqyqe families began 70 years earlier when the Kryeqyqe family granted shelter to a passing traveller. A man from Gjorg's family killed the traveller, and this violated the hospitality that the Kryeqyqe family had extended to the stranger. Obligated by the laws of the Kanun, which hold hospitality towards guests as the highest virtue, the Kryeqyqes were bound to avenge his death, and thus began the generations-long blood feud between the two families. After Gjorg avenges the death of his brother, his life is regulated by the customary law more profoundly than ever. The Kanun grants him a thirty-day truce, called *bessa*,[4] during which he has to take a journey to pay the blood tax to the feudal blood steward. Soon the day arrives when his truce is at an end, and he has to hide. Shortly after that, a Kryeqyqe man discovers him in his hiding place and kills Gjorg according to the rules of the Kanun.

In *Broken April*, Kadare does not merely investigate the law of the blood feud and the custom of blood vengeance but rather the repercussions of the past on the present. Therefore, not only the act of blood vengeance should be considered, but also the effect of the custom on the yearning of ethnic Albanians to take revenge against potential perpetrators. Given this backdrop, one might ask how the narrative portrays implications of the customary law of the blood feud on large-scale processes of coping with the past, such as commemoration and reconciliation. These processes are of prime importance for societies with a conflictual history. According to the British historian Timothy Garton Ash, the notion of coming to terms with the past derives from the two German words *Geschichtsaufarbeitung*

4 The Albanian word 'bessa' has several meanings, e.g. as a word of honour, faith, trust, protection, and truce (see Camaj xiv).

and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* which denote "'dealing with the past,' 'treating the past,' 'working over the past' and, in the latter case, even 'overcoming the past'" (Ash quoted in Dragović-Solo 33–34). These terms are frequently used interchangeably to refer to processes of remembrance and the construction of public awareness about a traumatic past, including official discourse and public memory. The process of 'coming to terms with the past' occurs after terror, repression, or conflict within a state that is marked by profound human rights violations (see Dragović-Solo 34). In light of the process of coping with a violent past and for the sake of not repeating it, it is necessary to examine the structures in which a particular collective memory shapes society.

HABITUAL REMEMBERING AND STORYTELLING

The custom of blood vengeance can be considered as more than just a cultural tradition. It is a monument of Albanian culture and thus a part of Albanian and Kosovar collective memory. As the character Bessian emphasises in *Broken April*, the section devoted to the law of the blood feud "is one of the most monumental constitutions that have come into being in the world, and we Albanians ought to be proud of having begotten it" (Kadare 72). As such, the Kanun and its customary law of the blood feud impose the practice of habitual remembering on Kosovars.

The novel *Broken April* is filled with acts of remembrance. At the beginning of the novel, Gjorg has to remember several steps before and after he kills the male member of the Kryeqyqe family who has to be murdered in turn. As his victim is in near sight, "in keeping up with the custom, he warned the man before he fired" (Kadare 9). After the man is shot, he reminds himself that according to the rules of the Kanun, he has to turn him on his back and leave the man's rifle close to his head (see Kadare 10). This habitual remembering invigorates Kosovars to uphold the laws of the Kanun and their exact rules. Beyond that, the law of the blood feud reinforces memorization in relation to conflict. The Kanun forces families who are embroiled in blood feuds to remember what was done to them and consequently to exact retribution. In *Broken April*, Gjorg is repeatedly reminded of his dead brother by the hanging shirt on the upper storey of his family's *Kulla*, a traditional tower-house. The Kanun requires the blood-soaked shirt of the killed family member to be hung up until the blood of the owner has been avenged (see Kadare 22). People

believe that once the bloodstains turn into a yellow colour "the dead man cries out for vengeance" (45).

According to Andreas Huyssen, a society's collective memory is exchanged in its beliefs, values, rituals, and institutions which are shaped by reconstruction (see 249). In keeping with this observation, the hanging shirt serves as an indicator which suggests that the time for revenge has come (see Kadare 22). The fact that the grieving families are *required* to hang the blood-soaked shirt as a reminder of revenge can be associated with the constructiveness of collective memory in the present. This notion has been introduced by Maurice Halbwachs, who stresses that collective memory is reconstructed in the present, while its notions, customs and traditions are borrowed from the past (see Halbwachs 22).[5] Thus, the distinct act of hanging up the shirt becomes a *dynamic* site that creates a reminder for revenge. Moreover, it transforms a simple shirt into a memorial with tragic repercussions for Gjorg who is repeatedly haunted by the image of the hanging shirt (see Kadare 111). This tradition constructs Gjorg's present by carrying the past, as a haunting memory, into the present until it is time to take vengeance.

This habit of remembering is also embedded in the *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex* (2013) in Prekaz, a municipality in the city of Skenderaj in Kosovo. The site commemorates the Attack of Prekaz on 5 March 1998 by Serbian forces. In this attack, Adem Jashari, who was the founder of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), and the fifty-six members of his extended family, including women, children and the elderly, were killed under gunfire between March 5th and 8th in 1998 (see Krasniqi 2). The complex, which is a state-sponsored memorial, comprises three components, the family residence (see Appendix image 1), the graveyard (see Appendix image 2) and the museum (see Appendix image 3). For this memorial, the whole Kosovar society plays a crucial role in its effectiveness. As Halbwachs stresses, the role of society in collective memory is decisive because memories are obtained, remembered, identified, and localised in society (see Halbwachs 38). His theory is fundamental for understanding the role of society when it comes to the collective memory of Kosovars, given the fact that it is because of society that the custom of blood vengeance has persisted. This is also the case for the Memorial

5 Maurice Halbwachs is considered to be the founding father of the sociology of collective memory. He published influential texts in which he pioneered the term 'collective memory' and developed his concept of *collective mémoire* in the 1920s. Especially his works *On Collective Memory* (1925) and *The Collective Memory* (1950) were of prime importance for the concept.

Complex since it represents the memory of Kosovars and generates a collectively shared past. Consequently, the hoisted flags in front of the family residence symbolise the value of suffering and dying for one's nation. The minimalist graveyard, which is safeguarded by members of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF), represents the authority of the Jashari family within Kosovar society. Lastly, the museum suggests that remembering the attack merely through the house and the graveyard is not sufficient. Thus, the account and its meaning for Kosovo's history and collective memory have to be strengthened by enhancing the memory of the attack in the form of a museum.

One consequence of the Kanun's longevity is generational transfer. Concerning this, Halbwachs addresses collective memory in the family, religious communities, and social classes. According to him, family memory, for instance, is common intergenerational memory which is created through social interaction and communication (see Erll 17). Consequently, memory can be shared through the repeated, usually oral, recollection of family memory (see 17). These notions of inter-generational memory offer an insight into the ability of the Kanun, and its customary practice of blood revenge, to reach an extension of longevity due to the oral transmission of the custom from generation to generation. Hence, intergenerational storytelling is crucial for the tradition of blood vengeance to persist. The oral tradition is realised in the form of myths and rituals, which transfer experience and knowledge to subsequent generations and make it thereby perpetual.

Broken April highlights the impossibility of breaking the cycle of revenge as each generation repeats ancient rites that are inherited from preceding generations (see Karacan 31). The customs of the Kanun can be seen as a memory of a parental past (see Karacan 30) because it is inherited memory. Indeed, Gjorg learns about the rules of blood feuds from his family, especially his father. In *Broken April*, it is Gjorg's father who demands him to do what is expected according to the Kanun, "you must go to the burial. You must also go to the funeral dinner to honour the man's soul […] for that reason you must go" (Kadare 14–15). It is his father who reminds Gjorg repeatedly to respect family honour and thus of his duty to avenge his brother, as he recites the words of the Kanun, "two fingers-breadth of honour have been stamped on our forehead by almighty God […] whiten or further besmirch your dirty face" (46).

In Kosovo, telling stories of ancient conflicts is not merely a human tradition, but it can be seen as an inherited tradition from the Kanun. The law of the blood feud relies on communicative storytelling for its persistence, and as collective memory, it is shaped through social interaction. This interaction occurs primarily in the transfer of family memories through intergenerational storytelling (see Ahonen 14). As Ann Rigney argues, cultural remembrance depends on an "internal dynamic" (346) which results from exchanged stories among contemporaries who witnessed the selective focus on 'canonical' sites which serve as points of reference across generations (see Rigney 346). This is also true about the *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex* since students are taught the story of Adem Jashari and his family at an early age through history textbooks and school visits to the Memorial Complex (see Bailey 2018).

However, intergenerational storytelling can also result in collective memory, which divides 'us' from the 'other' (see Ahonen 14). The law of the blood feud and its role in the community cause profound discord between the Berisha and Kryeqyqe families in *Broken April*. Similarly, the constantly reiterated narrative surrounding Adem Jashari reinforces divisions between Kosovars and Serbs since it serves as the dominant narrative in the process of nation-building (see Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 526). According to Anna Di Lellio and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers, the Memorial Complex epitomises resistance and therefore acts as a reminder of the obligation to not forget those who helped liberate the nation from the enemy (see Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 526). Beyond that, memorials can perpetuate divisions within societies because their meaning is not necessarily about reconciliation (see Viejo-Rose 472). Consequently, the intergenerational storytelling of the Jashari account has an adverse effect on the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia, since memories of the war are still circulating, the contempt towards Serbs has not dwindled.

The customary law of blood vengeance regulates the aspect of silence when it comes to taboos because it enforces the acceptance of certain events instead of questioning them. It precludes active discourse because this is interpreted as a sign of weakness. For instance, Gjorg is not allowed to question the fact that he has to kill someone because this would bring disgrace upon his family. The art installation *Thinking of You* (2015) by the artist Alketa Xhafa Mripa, in contrast, seeks to break the silence through an act of artistic retribution, namely by hanging women's dresses inside what is perceived to be the predominantly male space of a football

stadium (see Appendix image 4). The installation was presented in 2015 in a football stadium in Pristina, Kosovo. The artist collected more than 5000 pieces of clothing to hang in the open on clotheslines and thereby represent the female victims of rape and sexual violence in the Kosovo War.

Similar to the blood-stained shirt of Gjorg's brother, the hanging dresses represent the constructiveness of a memory discourse that tends to remain unprocessed and unaddressed within the Kosovar society. According to the artist Xhafa Mripa, the goal of the installation is to break the silence around sexual violence, to negate its stigma, show solidarity with victims, and mount a call to action (see Xhafa Mripa "Art as the Catalyst"). The installation uses storytelling differently than *Broken April*. In so doing, it prefers discussion over silence concerning social taboos like sexual violence. This way, it opens new avenues for the commemoration of the war by giving victims the possibility of addressing their traumas instead of repressing them. For Kosovar society as a whole, this means that uncomfortable issues need to be dealt with instead of being usurped by nationalist discourse.

HONOUR, MASCULINITY AND THE OSTRACIZATION OF WOMEN

The customary law of the blood feud is a patriarchal tradition because it firmly reinforces notions of honour and masculinity. The most crucial principle, not only of the entire Kanun but especially of the law regarding blood feuds, is the concept of *honour*. Either as personal honour or as family honour, it is fundamental for the principles of the Kanun (see Malcolm 18) and the supreme moral value among Albanian families (see Tarifa 8). This supreme moral value is emphasised, for example, by writer Edith Durham when she poses the (rhetorical) question in *High Albania* (1909),[6] "what profit is life to a man if his honour be not clean? To cleanse his honour no price is too great" (Durham 32). According to the Kanun, if a man's honour is offended it cannot be paid with property, but this kind of wrongdoing can only be paid for by blood (see Malcolm 18). Consequently, the spilled blood of that victim then waits for the purification by blood from his own family (see

[6] Edith Durham was a British travel writer and author of the popular anthropological account *High Albania* (1909) which has become a canonical text for Albanian and Kosovar anthropology.

Malcolm 20). Durham further highlights the importance of the concept of honour in the law of the blood feud when she argues that until a dishonoured man has not restored his honour, he will be regarded as an outcast who is treated with contempt by his fellows in the community "and to clean his honour, he kills" (Durham 41).

The concept of honour is crucial in the execution of blood vengeance and it appears repeatedly in *Broken April*. As Gjorg recalls the words "two fingers-breadth of honour on our forehead" (Kadare 46), he wonders why this phrase and its meaning are of such importance (see 46). Yet, he comprehends that the risk of losing his honour would be far worse than the punishments his father could impose on him (see 46). Exacting blood vengeance elevates a simple man to an *honourable* man who will be respected within the community. As Bessian explains to his wife, natural causes of death are shameful to men, and the only goal throughout their life is to receive honour which ensures him a "modest memorial on his death" (71). Further in the novel, this honourable cause of death is expressed as a wish for a new-born male child, "may he have a long life, and die by the rifle" (71).

Consequently, honour in the custom of blood revenge is principally associated with masculinity. Wherever the word honour appears, typically the word man is also mentioned. Killing by the rifle within the blood feud designates men who avenge a death as so-called 'justicers.' In the Kanun, "the justicers were a kind of vanguard of the clan, the one who carried out the killings, but also the first to be killed in the blood feud" (Kadare 49). Being stained by blood elevates men to unforgettable justicers, who, as Gjorg explains, are the "flower of the clan, its marrow, and its chief memorial" (49–50). He further adds that other men or events are forgotten in the life of the mountaineers but "the justicers, tiny, inextinguishable flames on the graves of the clan, were never affected from its memory" (49–50). This specific way of killing and dying for honour requires a particular form of masculinity which celebrates courage, as Gjorg's father reminds his son, "it is up to you to be a man or not" (46).

The concept of honour is particularly apparent in the *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex*. The figure of Adem Jashari has become the avenged son of Kosovo who brought honour to the country. Kosovars perceive him as an honourable man who did not yield to Serb forces. Thus, honour generates masculinity which can be observed in the memorialisation of Adem Jashari who has become the "man of sacrifice" (Krasniqi 15). According to Vjollca Krasniqi, he is constructed as a man who sacrificed himself because he perceived his and his family's death as a form of

martyrdom, i.e. "dying for his mission is to sacrifice himself so that others might live" (15). Hence, collective identity and collective suffering establish dying for the nation as worthwhile. As the brochure of the Memorial Complex states, the fallen blood of the Jasharis gives Prekaz where the attack took place, "the honour [of being] called the birthplace of Kosova's freedom" (Fylli 13). The concept of honour can be considered a tradition which exerts a substantial impact on present-day commemoration. As a tradition, it has been modified into a contemporary idea within Kosovo which coexists according to the needs of the present, specifically, national independence (see Karacan 37–38).

Moreover, the rewards of the custom of blood vengeance for a man are honour, maleness, and nobility. The alternative, reconciliation, merely ushers in peace, something to which families engaged in ancient blood feuds are not accustomed. As Gjorg states, "perhaps it took years to get used to peace, just as it had taken so many years to get used to its absence. The mechanism of the blood feud was such that even as it freed you, it kept you bound to it in spirit for a long time" (Kadare 49). According to the steward of blood in *Broken April*, there is a difference between old and new blood feuds. While new feuds were easier to reconcile, old ones are hard to settle (see Kadare 144). In the same way, one can assume that in post-war Kosovo reconciliation is harder to achieve because the conflict between Serbs and Kosovars is akin to an 'old blood feud.' Thus, the conflict is hard to settle, while remembering the conflictual past remains easy.

Within the law of the blood feud, women are entirely precluded from the concept of honour. If they want to be considered as honourable as men, they have to become so-called 'Sworn Virgins' who relinquish their femininity so as to be recognised and respected as male members of the household.[7] In light of this traditional practice, the repercussions of the honour concept negatively affect the commemoration of female victims of sexual abuse during the war. In Kosovar society, as in many other societies, dealing with victims of rape and sexual violence is considered distasteful and therefore dishonourable. In response, the artist of *Thinking of You* wanted to launch a debate about sexual violence, an issue which is considered a taboo within Kosovar society. Beyond that, the installation highlights the fact that women's voices tend to be ignored and that, prior to the

7 'Albanian Sworn Virgins' are unmarried women in Albania and Kosovo who assume a male role, wearing men's clothes and doing men's work (see de Waal 194).

Thinking of You installation, there was no shared discourse concerning rape in Kosovo's commemorative landscape.

Because of its ground-breaking status, the installation might be considered a 'counter-monument', a concept proposed by James E. Young. The counter-monument has surfaced as a new and critical form of commemorative practice which opposes traditional monumentality (see Young 271). The installation *Thinking of You* can be considered a counter-monument because it contests the principles of conventional memorial spaces like the *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex*. Ann Rigney praises the counter-monument for publicly remembering groups that are usually ignored or left out of standard commemorative practices (see Rigney 13), in this case, Kosovar women. In keeping with Young's notion of the counter-monument, *Thinking of You* provokes, moves, demands interaction, and then disappears again (see Young 277). It *provokes* by thematising the crime of sexual violence in the Kosovo War. It *moves* by giving the victims of rape, considered a tabooed issue, a voice. As a counter-monument, it invites individuals to actively take part in the actualisation of the installation to which hundreds of women offered their clothes and, in doing so, makes each of them "self-memorialisers […] by inviting viewers to commemorate themselves" (Young 279). Lastly, it *disappeared* again without leaving any material mark but a mental one.

CONCLUSION

This article analysed the interrelation between the custom of blood vengeance and commemorative practices in Kosovo. This could be observed in the repercussions of the custom for the process of coping with a conflictual past. First, it has become apparent that ethnic Albanians devote time and effort to remembering a past which is constructed for nationalist purposes. At the same time, less value is attached to forgiveness and reconciliation. Second, the process of coming to terms with the past in Kosovo is still in its early stages and more thoughtful work has to be done. At this stage, commemorative practices perpetuate a division between Kosovars and Serbs and undermine the role of women in society by ascribing heroism to nationalist fighters. Third, many Kosovars are not ready to forgive or reconcile because society places excessive emphasis on retribution. My arguments suggest that the customary law of the blood feud has a profound influence on Kosovo's

efforts to deal with its conflictual past. In this way, customary vengeance and the memory of the recent war create a vicious cycle of revenge against 'the other,' i.e. Serbs. In addition, remembering a conflictual past fosters retribution because it addresses collective memories which are imbued with conflict thus promoting further contempt towards Serbia.

The re-emergence of blood feuds after the Kosovo War points to the failure of the country to constitute a modern state characterised by peaceful coexistence with Serbia. For this goal to be accomplished, a national discourse about proper remembrance, forgiveness, and reconciliation is needed. However, the findings in the analysis above demonstrate that many Kosovars are not yet ready to forget. It needs to be stressed that reconciling with Serbia does not mean disregarding their atrocities. Coming to terms with the past and reconciliation are only possible if both sides assume responsibility for their actions. Kosovo and Serbia will need to offer justice to the victims of their crimes and come to terms with what was done to them as well as what they did to others. Serbia has not critically addressed the wrongs it committed during the Kosovo War. Rather, the belief is still widespread that Kosovo is an unrelinquishable part of Serbian culture (see Weller 277). Knowing this, it comes as no surprise that Kosovars have not critically reviewed their past either. It is incumbent on Kosovars to begin forgiving the Serbs living in northern Kosovo and for the perpetrators to take responsibility themselves (see Weller 267). For Kosovo, commemorative practices, such as the installation *Thinking of You,* which sheds light on excluded groups and addresses taboos, should be more dominant in coping with the past. National myths may be treated critically in history books, but they hold no place in commemorative acts.

This article opened with the statement that revenge was like an everlasting chain. Friedrich Nietzsche proposed a means of breaking free from these chains and attaining happiness, namely, by learning to forget. But, according to the philosopher, a man cannot learn to forget, so "he always hangs onto past things. No matter how far or how fast he runs, this chain runs with him" (306). For the sake of peace and reconciliation, a better recommendation for breaking the chain of revenge would be not to forget but to replace hatred and contempt with forgiveness and cooperation.

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Appendix

Image 1: Family house, *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex*. 2013, Prekaz, Skenderaj.

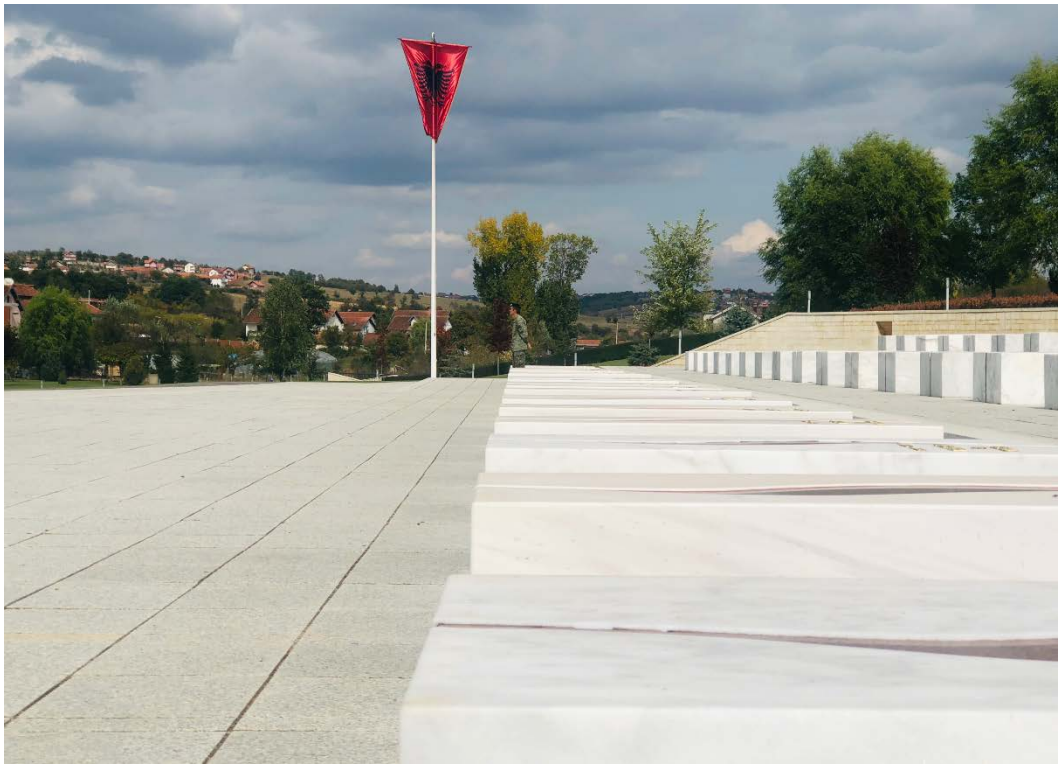

Image 2*:* Graveyard*, Adem Jashari Memorial Complex*. 2013, Prekaz, Skenderaj.

Image 3: Museum, *Adem Jashari Memorial Complex*. 2013, Prekaz, Skenderaj

Image 4: Xhafa Mripa, Alketa. *Thinking of You.* 2015, Pristina.

"Something Very, Very Strange in These Old Woods"

Wilderness and Otherness in *Twin Peaks*

VIKTORIA GRAF[1]

The work of American filmmaker and artist David Lynch has always invited a broad spectrum of interpretations and readings, yet leaving his viewers often alone in their striving for conclusion. Lynch's statement "I never interpret my art. I let the audience do it" (qtd. in Sheen and Davison 3) seems like an invitation to do just that – finding one's own interpretative key in a pool of seemingly infinite possible explanations. The series *Twin Peaks*, which was first broadcast over two seasons in 1990 and 1991 before its revival in 2017, is often subject to scrutiny by its audience and scholars as well. Due to its abstractness and unconventionality – both in plot and cinematography – many of its viewers continue to elaborate on different aspects. Two of these aspects are the tropes of Otherness and wilderness that the creators evidently made use of; however, they have received very little scholarly attention so far. Therefore, this essay explores the world of *Twin Peaks* by focusing on the two tropes, which I argue play a central role in the TV show.

Despite its homicide plot, *Twin Peaks* does not necessarily revolve around the mysterious killing of high school girl and prom queen Laura Palmer and the question of who murdered her. The TV show rather explores how the natural environment and the Native American past come into play to explain the supernatural occurrences in the eponymous town of Twin Peaks. The protagonist, FBI Special Agent Dale Cooper, in search of Laura's murderer inevitably learns that there is more to the remote Twin Peaks than meets the eye. As the fictional town is located on former Nez Perce territory, the series makes use of Native American iconography and mythology. Evidence for this can be found, for instance, in the Native American iconography of one of the series' frequently used

1 This essay is a shortened version of Viktoria Graf's BA thesis which was supervised by Dr Elena Furlanetto. The author would like to thank Dr Elena Furlanetto and Prof Dr Josef Raab for their constructive criticism in revising this paper.

locations, the Great Northern Hotel, or the frequent references to a supernatural presence in the woods by Nez Perce Twin Peaks deputy chief Hawk. Furthermore, the significance of the mystery in the woods – the wilderness – and the influence of indigeneity and otherworldly elements – the Otherness – is expanded in co-creator Mark Frost's epistolary novel *The Secret History of Twin Peaks* (2016), published 25 years after the show's cancellation in 1991.

I argue that the unintelligibility of *Twin Peaks* derives from the show's fascination with fears of wilderness and Otherness. The fictional characters seek an explanation for the uncanny occurrences in the town, as fear and inquisitiveness often go hand in hand. In order to explore my thesis, this essay examines elements of the mythologized frontier in the TV show and Twin Peak's past as a logging town. Furthermore, I analyze the importance of Native American symbolism to the plot, albeit often used problematically, and elements reminiscent of Lovecraftian fiction to portray a supernatural form of Otherness in *Twin Peaks*.

WILDERNESS AND OTHERNESS IN AMERICAN MYTHOLOGY

Giles Gunn argues that "American writers and thinkers have been obsessed [...] with what might be termed the problem of otherness, the problem of coping with forms of existence assumed to be alien to one's own" (193). Gunn submits the potential ethical and religious problems of imagining an "Other" based on one's own subjective perception, which is often reproduced in writing. He refers to "Nature," an essay written by American poet and leader of the transcendentalist movement Ralph Waldo Emerson, which distinguishes between the "Me" and the "not-Me" (see 196). Most prominently, the Puritan settlers established a connection between the concepts of Otherness and wilderness when they felt confronted with an unknown territory, the "not-Me". Eventually, however, the wilderness transformed their perception of themselves "as transplanted Europeans" (201) – their sense of "Me" (see 198).

The concept of wilderness cannot be found exclusively in an American context. Explorers and settlers from Europe were familiar with wilderness long before they set foot on the American continent. Vast parts of Europe were still unexplored during the Middle Ages, which already deeply implemented

wilderness as a concept in the Western imagination. Especially the dark and mysterious forest became a popular trope in European folklore, recurrently used as an imaginable setting inhabited by demons and spirits (see Nash 8). It was perceived as something alien; an "insecure and uncomfortable environment against which civilization had waged an unceasing struggle" (8).

It may safely be said that the first American settlers' negative attitude toward the wilderness was profoundly influenced by the aforementioned mindset. The American pioneer had to fend for food, shelter, and a presumed "danger of succumbing to the wildness of his surroundings and reverting to savagery himself" (Nash 24). The settler's fear of the wild and the unknown becomes apparent when looking at Puritan writings from the early New England Settlements of the seventeenth century. The Puritans' imagination was filled with "wonders of the invisible world" (Bergland 27), as described by New England Puritan minister Cotton Mather in his eponymous 1693 book. Claiming to have had uncanny apparitions of shadowy figures and beasts, but also "manifestations of the great," the Puritans believed that they battled a physical and metaphysical war "between Satan and God" (27).

FRONTIER MYTH AND THE VANISHING INDIAN

It comes as no surprise that the frontier myth, too, ties in with the concepts of wilderness and Otherness. The frontier is a self-perpetuating narrative in American history and has attained mythical status that dramatizes the society's ideology and morality (see Slotkin 5). Its ideological task was to justify the founding of the American colonies for the sake of progress and modernization and is based on the premise of the impossibility of the coexistence of Natives and settlers (see 10-12).

More important than the origin of the frontier myth, however, is its end which greatly influenced its mythologizing. Mostly used to describe the advancement of European settlement and the formation of a U.S. American identity in the early period of American history, Frederick Jackson Turner declared the closure of the frontier in 1890 as the West had been settled by then in his view. At the same time, the East experienced monumental unanticipated and complex changes – "organized crime and abuse of political power, recreation

and sports, overtime and child welfare laws, women's rights and minimum wages, violent racism, severe poverty, and vast wealth" (Stoeltje 241). The frontier became a nostalgic trope, as white American authors began to portray a nostalgic yearning for that period. People started to feel a "longing for a beauty, integrity, and purity that was lost in the misty past" (Stoeltje 242). Seemingly forgotten were the atrocities of the extermination of the Native Americans, as the increasingly romanticized and idealized frontier period found its way into literature and art.

The vanishing Indian trope became the predominant representation of Native Americans. Once portrayed as the "noble savage," an ideal often associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, American authors began to make use of Rousseau's picture of the natural person free from the guilt of civilization's failings, as early as the 1800s, even before the presumed closing of the frontier (see Dippie 18-19). Extinction was considered to be the Natives' inevitable fate and manifested itself the idea of the vanishing Indian, doomed to succumb to the advancement of "civilization" over "wilderness" (see 20-21). Whether "savage" or "noble red man," Anglo-American fictional and non-fictional literature locates Native Americans somewhere on the spectrum of these two stereotypical categories. Later, these stereotypes found their way into other media, most prominently the Hollywood Western which popularized stereotypical and often racist filmic depictions of Native Americans (see Benshoff and Griffin 110). Yet, other genres such as the horror film also make use of Native American elements by employing, for example, the motif of indigenous haunting. The trope of the cursed, spectral woods or Native American burial grounds are indebted to the Puritans' belief that Indigenous people are "demonic presences inhabiting the howling wilderness" (Boyd and Thrush viii). Colleen Boyd and Coll Thrush argue that the Native ghost trope "perform[s] a wide range of cultural and political work" (ix), playing with the moral anxiety of Anglo-Americans regarding the displacement of the Native Americans in the past by drawing from indigenous believes in supernatural powers (see ix).

The myths of the frontier and the vanishing Indian seem to epitomize the constant conflict, literally and emotionally, between a (specific) American Self and its (presumed) Other. Native Americans continue to be a vehicle for a variety of such sentiments in the Anglo-American mindset. *Twin Peaks*, too, makes use of a frontier nostalgia in its depiction of space, its use of cinematography, and the adaption of indigenous elements in its narrative.

LOVECRAFT COUNTRY: THE ISOLATED SMALL TOWN WITH A DARK SECRET

In American fiction, the tropes of wilderness and Otherness are not only embodied by the Native American and the frontier but also by more surreal beings, another kind of 'Other.' These beings oftentimes hail from unknown and dangerous realms comparable to an other-worldly kind of wilderness. Albeit a fairly recent phenomenon, celestial beings or creatures from other dimensions have continuously been finding their way into print and visual media (see Sturma 318-320).

The fiction of American author Howard Phillips Lovecraft is considered to be of great importance in regard to the representation of "entities, things and places that [lie] 'beyond'" (Kneale 106). His inclination to set his narratives in fictional small towns exhibiting uncanny elements which evoke some sort of strangeness (see 112) – something from beyond – appears familiar when looking at more modern day narratives (see Lagan 538-539). Novels such as *Needful Things* (1991) by Stephen King (see 538), but also popular television series like *Stranger Things* (2016) and *Twin Peaks* feature an American small town with a dark, otherworldly secret which lends itself to induce a fear of the "lost corners of relatively familiar places" (Kneale 112).

Lovecraft's stories are most of the time set in real and fictional locations in New England, which are referred to as "Lovecraft Country" (see Alban). Imaginary towns like 'Arkham' and 'Dunwich' are initially "realistically described" but "become uncanny as Lovecraft introduces elements 'from beyond'" (Kneale 112). A metaphorical threshold between the realistic world and another dimension is a prevalent theme in Lovecraft's fiction (see 113). James Kneale gives the example of Lovecraft's short story "From Beyond" (1934), in which the narrator comes to the "shocking realization that 'strange, inaccessible worlds exist at our very elbows', not just alongside but *within* our own" (emphasis in original, Kneale 113). This quote also aptly captures the other-dimensional atmosphere of *Twin Peaks*.

Lovecraft is also known for his racist beliefs and fear of miscegenation. His racism is also mirrored in his fiction, as he often uses themes like hybridity and cross-species inbreeding. The unearthly creatures in Lovecraft's works are usually humanoids showing different degrees of human and inhuman features, such as the

'Deep Ones' in *The Shadow Over Innsmouth* (1931) (see Kneale 114-115). John Lagan argues that narratives of small-town horror, as often exhibited Lovecraft's works, "harbor the past, preserve tradition, resist change" (Lagan 546) and are often lined with xenophobia and paranoia (see 546).

Otherness in Lovecraft's fiction, then, is represented by extradimensional worlds threatening the otherwise familiar small town and thereby draw allegory from older Puritan tropes of wilderness. Otherness is embodied by uncanny, oftentimes otherworldly creatures that are, again, based on xenophobic ideas.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WILDERNESS AND OTHERNESS IN *TWIN PEAKS*

"There's a sort of evil out there. Something very, very strange in these old woods. Call it what you want. A darkness, a presence. It takes many forms but ... it's been out there for as long as anyone can remember and we've always been here to fight it," (Frost and Lynch 1.3) says Twin Peaks Sheriff Harry S. Truman relatively early in the series. In the scene, Truman, Deputy Chief Hawk, and the owner of the town's local gas station, Big Ed Hurley, are briefing FBI Special Agent Dale Cooper on the mystery that revolves around the town of Twin Peaks. The show juxtaposes this threatening and uncanny side of Twin Peaks with the homely pleasantries of small town life as the men talk about murder over a cup of coffee and a slice of Huckleberry Pie in the coziness of the Double R Diner. I argue that the Sheriff's sentiment epitomizes the significance of the concepts of wilderness and Otherness in *Twin Peaks* and is crucial to the unintelligibility of the TV show. Even though Truman's explanation remains intangible, the viewer learns that "Twin Peaks is different" (1.3).

Lynch and Frost made use of a variety of American cultural myths: "civilization and savagery, [...] village and wilderness," and, more blatantly, "good and evil" (see Carroll 293). The following pages will analyze a selection of elements – characters, locations, and aesthetic choices – that reveal the series' concern with this duality and the fear of wilderness and Otherness.

"SO MANY TREES"

When David Lynch was asked about space in *Twin Peaks*, he envisioned it as "a place surrounded by woods. That's important. For as long as anybody can remember, woods have been mysterious places. So they were a character in my mind [...] There are things about the Northwest that are unique" (Lynch, *Lynch on Lynch* 162). Looking at the choice of locations and sets in the series, it is evident that he kept his word. The fictional American small town of Twin Peaks is located at the edge of the woods, far away from big cities in the rural areas of Washington State – or, as explained by Agent Cooper: "Five miles south of the Canadian border, twelve miles west of the state line. Never seen so many trees in my life" (Frost and Lynch 1.1).

Unlike most other TV shows at that time that radiated a "soundstage anonymity" (Lim 86),[2] *Twin Peaks* creates a strong sense of space in establishing recognizable iconic locations, such as the Great Northern Hotel, the Double R Diner, or the Twin Peaks Sherriff Station as well as landscapes like the rustling foliage of Ghostwood Forest in a transition scene or cascading waterfalls in the title sequence (see 86). However, "civilization" and nature seem to coexist unsettlingly in the imaginary space of *Twin Peaks* (see Joseph 76). Based on its design and function, each location appears to contribute differently to the narrative and mood of the series and contains its own secret.

A FRONTIER TOWN

At first glance, Twin Peaks appears to be an average American small town in the Northwest; a spot of human life surrounded by nature, embodying the archetype of a sylvan village. In his essay "Picturing America" (2006), Greil Marcus stresses the importance of Twin Peaks being set in the West because as "a place at the far end of the American march, it remains less fixed, less settled than the places left behind" (30). This description alludes to the westward expansion of European settlers and places *Twin Peaks* within the frontier myth.

2 Lim indicates a loss of authenticity regarding space when shooting on the soundstage of a studio as opposed to filming at actual locations.

Twin Peaks can be described as an emblematic Western logging town, as the lumber industry is indispensible to its economy. Two autochthonous families, the Packards and the Hornes, seem to be profiting most from the commercialization of the Ghostwood Forest. In his novel *The Secret History of Twin Peaks*, Mark Frost provides additional information about the origin of the town. The character of Robert Jacoby, editor of the fictional newspaper *Twin Peaks Gazette*, elaborates on the founding of Twin Peaks. He states that

> James Packard arrived first [...] Inspired by a vision, [he] traveled west and, moved by its natural beauty and untouched trees, laid claim to ten thousand acres around White Tail Falls in 1890. Once the railroad built a spur line from Spokane to connect Packard's mill to the Northern Pacific, the Packard Timber Company became the economic engine for the town that sprang up around his burgeoning business: the Town of Twin Peaks. (Frost 157)

This section refers repeatedly to the frontier myth and westward expansion, as James Packard "traveled west" to find his fortune in an "untouched, natural beauty." The allusion to the building of the railroad adds to the understanding that Twin Peaks was settled on the principles of Manifest Destiny by cutting down the forest for financial profit (see Lowry 102).

Orville Horne, member of the second important founding family, "arrived in 1905 and opened a well-financed general store and dry goods business [...] [which] grew into a three-story anchor of the business district known as Horne's Department Store" (Frost 159). The success of Orville's business and legacy lives on in his grandson Benjamin Horne, owner of the Great Northern Hotel and arch-capitalist of the town (see Zontos 117). In the series, Ben Horne tries to expand his wealth mainly at the expense of the natural environment as he negotiates with a group of Icelandic investors to build a country club on the location of the Ghostwood Forest. His hotel "with its pinewood panels and its taxidermied animal heads, emblematizes the belief that nature exists for man's use alone" (Lowry 102). The show portrays him as a despicable character whose behavior results in ecological dilapidation (see 102).

Another aspect linking *Twin Peaks* to the frontier myth is its nostalgic quality. Even though the series' narrative takes place in 1989, plenty of its cultural iconography borrow from a 1950s America, such as the jukebox in the Double R Diner or characters' outfits, most explicitly Audrey Horne in her plaid skirts and

saddle shoes (see Lowry 101). Other iconography dates back even further, even to the nineteenth century, exhibiting a more explicit reference to the town's frontier past. The interior of the Great Northern Hotel, for example, is plastered with murals reminiscent of the Suquamish Tribe's painting style (see Spooner 108). Oftentimes, the town's portrayal seems to suggest a simple and carefree life close to the beauty of nature.

With its aesthetics and musical score, *Twin Peaks* creates a nostalgic atmosphere, which already becomes apparent in the title sequence. Angelo Badalamenti's iconic melancholic "Twin Peaks Theme" of deep and slow bass tones and a montage including some key locations and images introduce the viewer to the town of Twin Peaks. The title sequence includes a little bird sitting on a branch, the Packard Sawmill's smoking chimneys in the sunset light, close ups of the lumber mill's blades being repetitiously sharpened by sparking grinding machines, the "Welcome to Twin Peaks, Population 51,201" sign next to the main road leading into town, and a shot of the scenic White Tails falls, which fades into a tracking shot capturing the maroon colored surface of a river slowly bickering along. Each shot is connected by soft dissolves and tinted in natural green and brown earth colors. The opening credits convey a distinct mood for the locality of Twin Peaks (see Fischer 164-165): they evoke a feeling of familiarity but, in accordance to the prevalent dualism in the series, also create an eerie, almost delusive atmosphere, suggesting it is more illusion than reality. Oftentimes, the diegesis and design of the series seem theatrical and fake, which alludes to Sheriff Truman's statement that Twin Peaks is "different,"[3] housing something that is 'Other'.

The portrayal of space in *Twin Peaks* draws from popular images of small frontier towns. Its aesthetics amplify a sense of nostalgia often connected to the myth which is, for instance, realized in the series' opening titles' music and cinematography. However, the surrounding forest is far from being just an object of (frontier-style) exploitation but actively contributes to the narrative by harboring a mystery and yet holding answers to the unintelligible happenings in *Twin Peaks*.

3 The performance of the actors further exemplifies the point: in one scene, actors were required to act "convincingly" (Lacey 127) while in the next their behavior becomes exaggeratedly melodramatic creating a comic effect (see 127-128).

THE MYSTERY UNDER THE DOUGLAS FIRS

The woods surrounding the town can be seen as "the stage, the place of the weird" (Joseph 79). Several aspects refer to the wilderness' core value to the series' narrative and development of events, as the forest holds a ubiquitous presence in almost every narrative strand. Even when a shot captures the Great Northern Hotel or the sheriff's station, the forest and the mountains appear in the background of the picture, dwarfing these small islands of inhabited areas with their majesty.

However, the forest also functions as a place of action rather than just a prop. The Ghostwood as a setting is connected to the creation, presentation, and revelation of the mysteries haunting Twin Peaks. Eventually, the forest serves as another character (see Shimabukuro 122-124). In the first season, the mystery sheltered in the woods revolves around Laura Palmer's murder and the secrets of her double life (see 124), such as her 'side job' as a prostitute at the Canadian brothel One Eyed Jacks. The second season focuses on the fear and horror Windom Earle, a former FBI agent, brings to Twin Peaks who hides in the woods trying to win control over the Black Lodge (see 124).

The viewer is constantly reminded that the woodlands play a key role in the narrative. In contrast to characters such as Ben Horne, most people recognize the mystical peculiarities and qualities of the woods. Agent Cooper, who is thoroughly fascinated by the vastness of forest enclosing Twin Peaks, oftentimes comments on the majesty of the trees stating, for example: "Sheriff, what kind of fantastic trees have you got growing around here? Big, majestic"; or "Man... smell those trees. Smell those Douglas firs" (Frost and Lynch 1.1).

Other characters in the TV show inscribe the "big, majestic trees" with spiritual properties (see Lowry 102). Margaret Lanterman, for example, known as the Log Lady, opens every episode sitting in her cabin, holding her log, and ambiguously refers to the theme of the respective episode in a series of monologues. Considered to be mentally ill by most of the town's residents, the Log Lady believes that she is able to communicate with the spiritual world through her log (see Woods 99). She is never seen without it, carrying the log like a baby and trying to assure others that it is conveying messages: "My log hears things I cannot hear. But my log tells me about the sounds, about the new words.

Even though it has stopped growing larger, my log is aware" (Frost and Lynch Log Lady introduction to 2.21).

Even though the woods are portrayed as dark and threatening in many situations, they also function as messengers providing answers because "as potential spirit entities, trees absorb, record, and reflect" (Lowry 103). Although reluctant to believe in the powers of the log at first, Agent Cooper eventually consults Margaret Lanterman and her log later on in the show to solve the murder of Laura Palmer. Cooper and his investigation team visit the Log Lady in her cabin and ask her about what her log saw the night Laura Palmer was murdered to which she replies:

> Shhh, I'll do the talking. Dark. Laughing. The owls were flying. Many things were blocked. Laughing. Two Men, two girls. Flashlights pass by in the woods over the bridge. The owls were near. The dark was pressing in on her. Quiet then. Later, footsteps. One man passed by. Screams far away. Terrible, terrible. One voice. (Frost and Lynch 1.6)

In this passage, Agent Cooper learns that seemingly unexplainable transformations can occur in the Ghostwood Forest. Cooper concludes that the two girls must have been Laura and another girl, Ronette Pulaski, who was abducted together with Laura but was found alive, catatonically walking along a rail bridge before lapsing into a coma. He considers "the log an unnerving yet benevolent force" (Lowry 104) contributing to the solving of the murder. Eventually, Cooper presumes that he has to venture deeper into the wilderness to find the answers to the mystery (see 104). The idea of the forest as a dark source of evil still possessing powerful knowledge appears reminiscent of the popular trope in European folklore. Suggestively called Ghostwood, the forest surrounding Twin Peaks evidently harbors a metaphysical presence.[4]

The intentions of the spirits are, again, dualistic. As it is later revealed, Killer BOB, an entity from the Black Lodge, a realm of pure evil in another dimension, possessed Leland Palmer, Laura's father, who molested and murdered his daughter under BOB's control (see Frost and Lynch 2.7). The entrance to the Black Lodge is

4 Even though there is no explicit mention of the nature of this presence in the series, the mystery of the spirits in the woods seems to precede the actual founding of the town and has been there long before the Packards and Hornes.

located at Glastonbury Grove, a part of the Ghostwood Forest which opens as a portal in the center of a circle of twelve sycamore trees during the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn (see Frost and Lynch 2.20). The danger lurking in the woods as well as the trope of abduction and captivity recall elements of the Puritan fear of the wilderness.[5] Yet, there are other important locations and entities in the forest of a more benevolent nature, such as Margaret Lanterman's log. As revealed in *The Secret History of Twin Peaks*, the log is inhabited by the spirit of her deceased husband who fell into a burning ravine in the forest while on duty as the volunteer fire chief (see Frost 318).

The forest around Twin Peaks also works as a frame for the diegesis. All clues leading to the solving of the mysteries inevitably also lead to the forest itself or to places in the woods. To give another example, Ronette Pulaski, after escaping her torment and after witnessing the murder of Laura in an abandoned train car in the forest, is shown "walking along railroad tracks, the literal road to civilization, and then ultimately emerging from the forest" (Shimabukuro 124). The constant threat emanating from the wilderness, starting with the abduction of Ronette and Laura in the pilot episode, draws from the Puritan fear of the 'Other,' the evil spirits lurking in the woods. Nonetheless, the relation between nature and the town in the narrative appears to be both symbiotic (the log helping to solve the mystery) and dangerous (the woods as a hiding place for evil entities such as BOB) which underlines the pervasive dualism in *Twin Peaks.*

SMALL TOWN IDYLL VS. STRANGE OCCURRENCES

While Ghostwood Forest provides a stage for numerous unintelligible happenings in the series and even though it seems to embody the quiet and peaceful small town on the outside, Twin Peaks arguably resembles the typical Lovecraftian corrupted and foreboding rural American village on the inside. Similar to Dunwich or Innsmouth in Lovecraft's fiction, Twin Peaks initially presents itself

5 This notion becomes apparent when looking at Puritan writings from the early New England settlements. Narratives of captivity were pivotal for colonial America and became a popular literary genre in Anglo-American writing of the seventeenth century (see Sayre 3). Johnson defines the genre in a racist and ideologically charged manner, speaking of an "ordeal of a colonial Euro-American woman, who is taken captive by mercilessly predatory Indian 'savages' assailing the virtuous frontier family" (see Johnson).

as a fairly mediocre, perhaps even boring 'jerkwater town.' Yet, the presentation of objects and locations in the TV show often move back and forth between evoking a feeling of exaggerated familiarity and abstruseness. The filming of trivial objects, such as the taxidermied deer head sitting on the table next to Laura's safety deposit box being examined by Truman and Cooper, suggests that they are of significance to the plot; yet they have no narrative function other than creating an eerie atmosphere. Slow panning shots accompanied by threatening music furthermore capture locations such as the Palmers' middle class American living room. This technique evokes a feeling of terror; as the series progresses, these images increasingly correlate with this feeling (see Glaubitz and Schröter 22-23). After all, the living room is not only an everyday place for family gatherings but also the scene of a murder, Laura's cousin Maddy Ferguson. Scenes like that underline the notion that seemingly trifling and familiar objects and places create an uneasy feeling and can be read through Kneale's description of the remote American town generating a fear of "the lost corners of relatively familiar places" (112).

The threshold between the real world and another dimension is a common theme in Lovecraft's narratives. The protagonist's realization in "From Beyond" (1934) that "strange, inaccessible worlds exist at our very elbows" brings to mind the multidimensionality of Twin Peaks. The idea of multiple dimensions embedded in the same town finds its correspondent in the Black and White Lodge.[6] They can be seen as a "place that [lies] beyond" (Kneale 106) and is inhabited by strange entities, such as BOB, or a character literally called The Man from Another Place. Both entities appear human, yet they exhibit distinct extraordinary features. The show uses Michael J. Anderson to portray The Man from Another Place because the actor lives with a genetic disorder causing brittle bones and leaving him with a smaller stature (Internet Movie Database). The show further alters the cadence of his speech by employing phonetic reversals to portray the character as Other. The Black Lodge itself appears extraordinary in comparison to the rest of *Twin Peaks* because it seems to consist of an infinite, red-curtained sequence of hallways and rooms with chevron-patterned floors, the so called Red Room. When applied to the "civilization" versus wilderness dualism,

6 Even though the series references the White Lodge, it is neither used as a place of action, nor described in terms of its appearance.

the Black Lodge seems to represent a domestic place decorated in utterly unfamiliar and uncanny fashion.

Neither David Lynch nor Mark Frost commented on whether their ideas were influenced by H.P. Lovecraft or not. However, some of the uncanny occurrences in *Twin Peaks* regarding Otherness and wilderness arguably resemble common themes in Lovecraftian fiction. The idyllic community bit by bit reveals itself to be corrupted by a grave menace prowling in the Ghostwood Forest hailing from an entirely different reality.

INTERTWINING FACT & FICTION: NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBES IN THE NORTHWEST

It is safe to say that *Twin Peaks* hardly relies on traditional representation of Native Americans found in film genres such as the Western. However, the series does not only employ Native American iconography and aesthetics but also uses indigenous myths as plot elements. Lynch and Frost amplify the story of their fictional town with plenty of Native American references, both historic and imaginary. While the inclusion of stereotypical indigenous elements enriches the narrative and sense of locality of the series, its colonialist and non-native purposes shall also be critically evaluated.

In *The Secret History of Twin Peaks*, Mark Frost combines historical figures and events with fabricated elements to embellish the story of Twin Peaks. For example, he includes passages from the expedition journals of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, two pioneers known for their *Voyage of Discovery*, which is considered the largest US government expedition of the nineteenth century (see Bergon 128). While it is true that Lewis and Clark did get into contact with various Native Americans, among them the Nez Perce people who actually guided the two pioneers (see Lewis and Clark, Entry: 20th September 1805), Frost adds fictitious sections to the original journals to write Twin Peaks into U.S. history and thereby establishes the frontier narrative of *Twin Peaks* (see 9).[7]

7 The following excerpt is taken from an original entry by William Clark, dated 21st September 1805

> The Cheif [*sic*] drew me a kind of chart of the river [...] the river passed thro'gh [*sic*] the mountains at which place was a great fall of the water passing through the rocks. (Lewis and Clark)

Another adaption of Native American history is Frost's allusion to the historical character of Chief Joseph, a leader and spokesperson of the Wallowa band of the Nez Perce who lived in the Pacific Northwest. Two of his most renowned speeches are his surrender speech (1877) and his "Plea for Justice" (1879) held in front of an assembly of congressmen in Lincoln Hall in Washington D.C. (see Nerburn 151). Frost includes extracts of both speeches in his novel. Again, he adds fictional passages supposedly stated by Joseph such as "I will go now to the place known to our ancestors, seldom visited, the place of smoke by the great falls and twin mountains, to seek the aid of the Great Spirit Chief in this time of need" (Frost 43). The novel thereby alludes to the fictional location of Twin Peaks with the White Tail Falls and the ghost of Ghostwood. Yet, Frost also uses actual passages from the speeches to stress the importance of the spirit world to the Nez Perce: "We were taught to believe the Great Spirit sees and hears everything, and that he never forgets" (52).

With *The Secret History of Twin Peaks,* Mark Frost expanded on the importance of Native American history in *Twin Peaks*. The allusions to historical events and Native American people contributes to a sense of spirituality and the supernatural atmosphere in the forest surrounding the fictional town. Frost in particular plays with the belief that ghosts and spirits haunt former indigenous territories after the violent displacement of their Native American inhabitants in the past (see Boyd and Thrush ix). The Great Spirit, an entity which the Nez Perce believed in, may also have been the archetype for the presence in the Ghostwood Forest.

But elements in the series also convey the importance of indigenous culture. Native American petroglyphs carved in the walls of Owl Cave inevitably become a

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This excerpt is taken from *The Secret History of Twin Peaks* and refers to the original quoted above:

> With great cheerfulness Twisted Hair drew me a kind of chart of the river on a white elk skin. He said that the river forked a long distance above and passed through two mountains at which place was a great fall of the water passing through the rocks. [...] our Shoshone guide thinks it regards something like the peculiar fascination with spirits we find among the Indians in this region. (9)

In the original passage, there is no mention of spirits and the natives' fascination for them. However, Frost seems to make use of this passage in order to stress the supernatural component of the mystery in Twin Peaks and arguably refers to the Natives' belief in spirituality.

centerpiece to the solving of the mysteries. These prominent remnants of indigenous culture in a frontier town illustrate the anxiety described by Boyd and Thrush and "function as unsettling reminders of past colonial sins" (Bil). These past colonial sins are also prominent in another scene. When Annie Blackburn gives her Miss Twin Peaks Contest speech, her words are inspired by Duwamish Chief Seattle and function to highlight her rejection of the commercial exploitation of the Ghostwood forest by Ben Horne:[8]

> Your dead are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its majestic mountains. When the last red man has vanished from this earth, these forests and shores will still hold their spirits. For the Indians love the earth as a newborn loves its mother's heartbeat. (Frost and Lynch 2.21)

The prevalence and importance of indigenous symbolism and mysticism to the plot and, as Geoff Bil calls it, "local flavor" of *Twin Peaks* is unequivocal. The usage of native iconography and myths contributes to the series' ambiguity and mysteriousness; yet feels stereotypical and cliché given their use to condemn environmental destruction. The show as a "white settler drama" (Bil) tends to appropriate native culture for non-native purposes which becomes particularly apparent in the stereotypical representations of BOB and Chief Deputy Hawk.

BOB AND CHIEF DEPUTY HAWK

Whereas the use of Native American culture functioned to embellish the tone and atmosphere of *Twin Peaks*, at times ambiguously, the characters of BOB and Chief Deputy Hawk clearly stand in the colonial tradition of the presumably "violent, aggressive, and demonic" Native American figure (Benshoff and Griffin 103) and the honorable type who "maintain[s] purer instincts about nature and the world around [him]" (104).

8 The authenticity of Chief Seattle's speech is questioned by a scholarly consensus, yet it continues to be used as an unsettling reminder of colonial sins in cinematic narratives (see Bil).

BOB, a local spirit who has been living in Twin Peaks since ancient times and "the diabolical centre of violence in *Twin Peaks*" (Bil) is not explicitly identified as a Native American character but is based on American indigenous mythology (see Bil). He is the personified evil being responsible for numerous cases of captivity and murder in the town. Adhering to his archetype, BOB is notorious for his cruelty. The fact that he is rather spirit than human further links him to the Puritan tradition of imagining Native Americans as demons or spirits dwelling in the wilderness around the village. Even his outward appearance invokes the stereotype: "his long oily hair and his grimace and threatening postures also recall [...] obvious signs of the archetype" (Carroll 291). BOB even appears to be mimicking a most feared practice of the 'evil savage:' while in possession of Leland Palmer, BOB repeatedly hits his forehead against the door of the jail cell (Frost and Lynch 2.9); soon after he has taken possession of Agent Cooper's body, he smashes his head into a mirror (2.22). Both victims are left with a bloody slash in the forehead, visually reminiscent of a scalping ritual (see Carroll 291). The fact that BOB is capable of possessing Leland and later Cooper could actually be seen as an allegory to the white settlers' fear of the reversion and assimilation to "savagery," described by Roderick Nash as the "danger of succumbing to the wildness of his surroundings and reverting to savagery himself" (24).

BOB is juxtaposed with another stereotypical Native American type: the 'Noble Red Man' embodied by Chief Deputy Hawk. He assists the white protagonists by giving spiritual insight into the otherworldly mysteries unfolding in *Twin Peaks* (see Bil). Hawk has a close relationship to nature and – similarly to the Log Lady – understands the connection between Twin Peaks' natural and spiritual world. Hawk thereby resembles popular filmic representation of natives in the 1980s and '90s, more specifically the stereotype of the transcendental, spiritual indigenous figure. With his tracking abilities and aptronymous nick name 'Hawk,' he also invokes the stereotypical hawkeye-type hunter depiction of indigenous Americans. Mark Frost describes Hawk as "a full-blooded Nez Perce" (198), which again underlines the tribe's presence in the town then and now. In the episode "Masked Ball," Hawk informs Agent Cooper about the presence of the Black Lodge and explains that it has been referenced in Nez Perce stories as a mythological location for a long time

> My people believe that the White Lodge is a place where the spirits that rule man and nature reside. There is also a legend of a place called the Black Lodge: the shadow self of the White Lodge. Legend says that every spirit must pass through there on the way to perfection [...] But it is said that if you confront the Black Lodge with imperfect courage, it will utterly annihilate your soul. (Frost and Lynch 2.11)

To some extent, Lynch and Frost appear to have tried to partially undermine stereotypical representations of Native American elements and characters. When Gwen Morton meets Hawk, she says: "God, after all we've done to you, how you must hate us white people" to which Hawk replies "Some of my best friends are white people" (2.8). Bil argues that this declaration could be seen as a reversal of a common racist idiom. Hawk responds to Gwen's racist statement ironically by using a formulation usually deployed to dodge accusations of racism thereby deflecting the victimization implied in her utterance. Although the show arguably presents Hawk in a more favorable light, his character still functions as a "generic Native American tasked with ameliorating settler guilt" (Bil). Even though Hawk educates Cooper about the other-dimensional mysteries in Twin Peaks, he struggles to solve the mysteries himself; eventually it is Cooper who "traverses the dimensional aperture into the Black Lodge itself" (Bil).

Additionally, the implementation of BOB as the main antagonist in the series grew out of similarly stereotypical thinking. In an interview with *Twin Peaks Online*, Frost explains that "the idea for BOB originated in American Indian mythology and that he was a local evil spirit whose presence in the Twin Peaks area dates back to ancient times" (Twin Peaks Online). This statement, again, stresses the notion that BOB and his depiction is reminiscent of the stereotypical representation of an 'evil savage' archetype, prowling in the woods in his spirit form.[9] In the end, the show upholds its tendencies of including indigenous

9 The casting choice for BOB slightly complicates his reading as a Native American archetype. Initially, Lynch and Frost had already decided on Leland Palmer being Laura's murderer. However, during the shooting of the pilot, a new plot idea evolved. Initially, Frank Silva was the set dresser for *Twin Peaks*. During the shooting of one scene in which Sarah Palmer bolts up from her couch and screams, Silva's reflection could be seen in a mirror behind her. Even though it was unintentional, Lynch decided to use the footage and create a new character for Silva – BOB (see Lynch, *Lynch on Lynch* 164).

elements and characters merely for the purpose of adding mystery rather than serving native ends.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that the unintelligibility at the core of David Lynch's series *Twin Peaks* is based on the white settlers' primeval fear of wilderness and Otherness. *Twin Peaks* also exhibits features of the Lovecraftian small town located in a rural area surrounded by woods and threatened by entities from another dimension. Again, a tension between "civilization" and wilderness is at the linchpin of these narratives and their mysteries. Due to its (fictional) colonial history, Twin Peaks also resembles an exemplary frontier town. The Ghostwood Forest suggests an allusion to the Puritan notion of wilderness and the folkloric forest harbouring danger. Nonetheless, the series does not only portray the wilderness surrounding Twin Peaks in a threatening manner. While Laura Palmer is held captive and murdered in the woods, the forest is also shown in a positive light. With its beautiful trees and benevolent spirits, the Ghostwood Forest is more than just a fear-inducing wilderness.

In regard to the prevalent image of the indigenous American embodying the 'Other,' Native iconography and beliefs, both fictional and historic, fulfil two major functions. First, they add to the horror in the woods, mainly through the character of BOB, the stereotypical 'evil savage' who captures and kills young women. Second, they contribute to the solving of the mystery by referencing the vanished Nez Perce tribe and their knowledge of the Black Lodge. Similarly, Chief Deputy Hawk functions as a spiritual guide providing insights into the mysteries surrounding the town. However, in contrast to its otherwise unconventional elements, the show does not challenge stereotypical depictions of Native American symbolism, culture, and characters.

Despite the unconventional, often unintelligible diegesis of Lynch's and Frost's *Twin Peaks*, the series still refers to and reproduces the long-standing Puritan fear of the Other. *Twin Peaks* often plays problematically with stereotypical tropes of Otherness and wilderness to establish an oftentimes uncanny and captivating cinematic experience in its plot and visual style.

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“Maybe Black Folk do got a Problem with bein’ Punctual”

A Phonetic Analysis of *Orange is the New Black*

ISABELL DERKSEN[1]

Given the broader context of US-produced media, in which black women are vastly underrepresented (see Women's Media Center), the Netflix series *Orange is the New Black* (*OITNB*) represents a comparatively racially diverse cast (see Brinkhurst-Cuff). In addition to racial diversity, each individual character has their own accent, style, and individual behavior. This is arguably part of why the series attracts such a large viewership and why it gathers so much media attention. While the series’ portrayal of different racial groups and their corresponding accents might be notable from a representational standpoint, we can take a closer look at the linguistic behavior of individual characters and their specific linguistic representations from a sociolinguistic standpoint. In observing the actors’ linguistic behavior outside the show impressionistically, for example, there is a remarkable difference between the actors’ spontaneous speech production and their staged and stylized linguistic behavior in portraying characters on the show. Specifically, African American actresses Samira Wiley and Adrienne C. Moore both seem to use features commonly associated with African American English (AAE) in the show, but less so in spontaneous speech (e.g. youtube videos). This impressionistic observation is investigated more closely in this paper.

The major aim of this study is to examine the linguistic behavior of African American women in the Netflix series *OITNB* by focusing on the linguistic depiction, in order to find out how linguistic performances play a role in reproducing stereotypical African American personae. To do so, I analyze the use of three stereotypical phonological variables of AAE: interdental fricative in the onset position, rhoticity, and /ay/-monophthongization. The scope of this paper is,

1 This essay was initially submitted as a Bachelor thesis and supervised by Dr. Teresa Pratt. I would like to thank Dr. Teresa Pratt and Dr. Yolandi Ribbens-Klein for their extraordinary mentoring and constructive criticism in revising this paper.

therefore, limited to linguistic patterns, and how they may reproduce language ideologies and thus racialized stereotypes.

In the course of this study, I argue that the mass media participates in the reproduction and perpetuation of racialized stereotypes by portraying African American characters not as distinguishable but as sufficiently alike to point out their ethnic affiliation. Hence, the first sections outlines the performance of racialized linguistic behavior in the mass media, including studies which focus on the representation of AAE in the media. In this context, I discuss the entanglement of common stereotypes, linguistic features, and extralinguistic variables. By doing *style*, defined as the *visible manifestation of social meaning*, the characters in *OITNB* seem alike, which contributes to racial stereotyping (see Eckert 43).

"I AIN'T SAYING I'M NO SCIENTIST OR NOTHING, BUT THE SHOES IN THE BUNK, CORRECT?"

"[P]erformance is always more than just language" (Bell and Gibson 566). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's concept of "acts of ethnoracial identity" describes how interlocutors actively create their ethnoracial identity through language by choosing from varied linguistic repertoires and thereby conveying specific (ethnoracial) meanings (see Chun and Lo 221).[2] This theory relies on the global deployment of the term *performance* as an everyday social practice, such that individuals are always constructing their identity in interaction. However, the boundary between staged performance and everyday, spontaneous speech must be defined. Coupland introduces the term *high performance* to refer to staged and framed communication.[3] He lays out the relationship between performance and social meaning:

> The (high) performance frame establishes a relationship between the meanings co-articulated in the performed event and the meanings that define the wider

2 This theory pays attention to the interlocutor who constructs their identity in a conscious and individual way. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that those acts are not exclusively based on individual choices but also language ideologies in society (see Chun and Lo 223).

3 By relying on Richard Bauman, Coupland defines high performances as public and " scheduled events, typically pre-announced and planned, and therefore programmed" (147).

> cultural or social formation. This relationship, and this duality of meaning, are laid open to scrutiny when social styles are performed. (149)

Framed performances are, thus, in general based on existing controlling and racial images which were apprehended beforehand in certain social contexts. Language ideologies emerge, therefore, not orientated to the perception of an objective linguistic reality but rather to "ways that we are socialized to recognize certain distinctions" (Chun and Lo 224).

Those ethnoracial language ideologies are closely connected to specific personae. Linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of a character need to be take into account when creating a racialized persona on stage (see Bell and Gibson 566; see Rosa and Flores 629). In this way, (stereotypical) performances become linked to the actor's linguistic representation and cause the establishment of "relationships of contiguity or co-occurrence between signs, linguistic or nonlinguistic, [which] are recognizable as socially meaningful events and enable the reading of performative acts as indicative of particular socially locatable identities" (Eisenlohr 18). Therefore, language and race become *co-naturalized* so that ideologies are constantly reproduced.[4] Based on Agha's theory of enregisterment, this process is called *raciolinguistic enregisterment* (see Rosa and Flores 631).[5]

Specific personae can, thus, index a set of stereotypical language ideologies and specific social categories. However, to understand how language ideologies are kept relevant, one must discuss the perspective of the audience. This shift of focus allows to understand to what extent "language ideologies associated with social categories produce the perception of linguistic signs" (Rosa and Flores 628).[6] The audience is, thus, an important component regarding language ideologies. One could argue that viewers might be aware of language ideologies and racialized stereotypes in order to decode performances in a critical way. Yet, stylized language can only be noticed by "an acculturated audience [who is] able to read and predisposed to judge the semiotic value of a projected persona or genre" (Coupland 154). For example exaggerated performance must be able to be recognized as such,

4 Co-naturalization can be defined as "construction and naturalization of languages as bounded and separate objects associated with particular racial groups" (Rosa and Flores 621).

5 Enregisterment describes "the process whereby forms of language are endowed with cultural value as coherent sets" (Rosa and Flores 632).

6 Rosa and Flores call this concept indexical inversion.

and irony and parody must be properly conveyed so that the intentionally inauthentic linguistic depiction is in all cases perceived as provocation (see Morson 63). In the mass media, however, it is impossible to control the audience, which means that a stereotypical depiction of an African American character might fail to trigger a reflection of biased judgments and reinforce already enregistered racial indices instead. The media, especially television, has a major influence on people's judgment and can evoke such changes since "psychological engagement with a TV show can also help accelerate the propagation of rapidly diffusing linguistic change" (Stuart-Smith et al. 502).

If only a few marked features are used,[7] audiences might consider the representation of an African American character as diverse and authentic. Yet, Black characters who are less stereotypical would likely be recognized as African American and assigned to one uniform ethnic group. Marlene G. Fine and Carolyn Anderson named this phenomenon "black but not too black" and criticize the homogenized representation of African American speakers (see 406). Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall expand this assumption with the concept of *adequation*:

> The term adequation emphasizes the fact that in order for groups or individuals to be positioned as alike, they need not – and in any case cannot – be identical, but must merely be understood as sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes. (599)

Ultimately, the entertainment industry plays an important role in shaping and reproducing racialized stereotypes. Producers might decide on a diverse cast including the different use of AAE variables, but only as diverse as black characters are still identifiable with their racialized identity.

"YOU SAYING WE ALL LOOK ALIKE?"

The linguistic behavior of a character is pivotal in forming a character's image in the media (see Green 214). In other words, the representation of a marked language

7 The concept of markedness relies on the assumption that "all linguistic codes or varieties come to have a social and psychological associations in the speech communities in which they are used" (Myers-Scotton 22).

variety has an influence on the audience's judgment regarding the presented character.

AAE, though historically studied as a relatively homogenous variety (see Labov), has been more recently described as a complex linguistic system that has its own set of rules with a range of variations.[8] Linguistic differences occur in all varieties and communities; AAE, like other varieties, is not homogenous and static, nor is it restricted to particular language rules (see Eberhardt and Freeman 304). For example, sound change, diachronic, diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variation influence the speaker's language (see Dury and Picton 60). But especially the concept of *doing stance* shapes variation in language use. According to Du Bois, the latter concept describes how speakers must always position themselves regarding the given context and present interlocutors:

> Stance is public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field. (163)

Despite those findings, the media often reproduces the myth of AAE as one uniform variety and African Americans as one fixed ethnicity leading to a reduction of cultural diversity and ignorance of individuality within the group (see Anderson and Fine 397).[9]

Consequently, the goal of the (white-dominated) media industry is not to represent an authentic image of a language variety (see Coupland 150). For example, even though *OITNB* has a diverse cast, its producer Jenji Kohan decided to provide the first insight to the prison setting through the lens of "the wealthy, white, and college-educated character Piper Chapman […] in order to sell the show to Netflix producers" (Scott 223). The first season focuses on how the main character struggles in accepting her new life in prison. Furthermore, her love life plays a central role

8 This assumption is closely connected to the idea of the ethnolinguistic repertoire which describes "a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities" (Benor 160). Sarah Bunin Benor incorporates the concept of indexicality which suggests that linguistic choices convey social meaning (see Silverstein).

9 Classifying African American English as one ethnolect should be regarded with caution. By grouping a language variety based on its ethnicity, the focus lays on a fixed, homogenous and non-standard variation thereby disregarding other relevant linguistic actions when establishing social identities (see Jaspers 100).

in the plotline. The prison staff often privileges Piper, the white female lead, by providing her with a furlough and lending her a phone for example. Although Piper's prison experience as a white woman is not representative, especially in comparison to the disproportionately black/latinx prison population,[10] Jenji Kohan chose this perspective prioritizing the interests of a presumed white viewership. Thus, one should not forget that a series such as *OITNB* is a product of the television industry, written and produced by predominantly white Netflix producers who are able to decide what to portray and how to represent minority groups (see Bell and Gibson 557). The acclaimed diversity in shows might always then be neglected when the audience ratings count more than racial justice. As Lisa J. Green states, the accurate depiction of a non-stereotypical black character would not trigger the attention from the viewers and is therefore not likely to be seen (see 204).

The homogenized linguistic depiction in the media simultaneously aligns with the characteristics often ascribed stereotypically to black female characters: lack of intelligence and/or education and participation in criminal activities. Linking this linguistic behavior to black figures causes a prejudiced connection in the viewers' minds and participates thereby in the process of *raciolinguistic enregisterment*, since black speech is so readily associated with an image of an uneducated black person (see Rosa and Flores 631). The use of one single feature alone can impact the listener's judgment. Regarding this, a typical example is the *aks* variant, alternating /æks/-use. The /æks/-variant is associated with blackness on the one hand and carelessness and a lack of intelligence on the other hand (see Lippi-Green 191). This perpetuates the static standard/non-standard-binary, such that AAE, and other marginalized language varieties, come to be associated "with sloppiness and lack of intelligence, among other negative traits" (Rahman 143). This stereotype links the language behavior to a person's moral character and professional potential which has not only a negative influence on the white audience, but on speakers of marginalized varieties as well (see 165).

The observation that conscious linguistic choices lead to personal success aligns with the notion that speaking AAE prevents somebody from being able to achieve professional success. Many African Americans have articulated the impression that they are only able to pursue a career if they avoid the use of AAE

10 Based on Gabbidon and Greene's encyclopedia of race and crime, it can be stated that African Americans are often overrepresented in the prison system. .

features (see Smitherman 129). Consequentially, this language ideology ignores the structural and institutional racism that is present regardless of an individuals' actual language use. Sharese King analyzes one example of an African American persona, "the Mobile Black Professional" (King 33), in her study of black speakers in Rochester. These speakers create their linguistic style and identity by avoiding features which index their cultural background and ethnicity to pursue their career goals (see King 51). Racialized individuals are put under disproportionate pressure to change their linguistic behavior in order to meet normative standards of the system. Instead of a systemic change, individuals try to adapt to the existing norms to be successful.

In contrast to this concept, stands the "Hood Kid persona" (King 59), also described in King's Rochester study. In the entertainment industry, notions of the urban ghetto prevail in portrayals of black character who are stereotypically associated with drugs and violence (see Green 212). This is embodied by the "Hood Kid persona" and is associated with the usage of iconic AAE variables (see King 60). In addition to the environment and the linguistic behavior, further semiotic resources play a role in constructing the style of a "Hood Kid persona." Those include inter alia the style of dress and references to hip hop culture (see King 60, 63–64). Taken together, these personae are ideological constructs that I will investigate here in *OITNB*.

THE SPEAKERS AND SELECTED DATA SETS

In order to analyze the linguistic behavior of the speakers as accurately as possible, a specific "speech genre" (Bakthin 60) was chosen. Genre is the organization of utterances in a specific context based on three aspects: content, style and structure (see 60). Linguistic choices define the style of a particular genre. This style is proportionately stable and determines the way of communication in a certain context (see 65). For this research, the genre underlines the recurring theme of black criminality. More precisely, any scene including the context of drug dealing was selected and coded. Given the general discussion of the entertainment industry early, it could be expected that the analyzed characters style their language in a very similar way.

However, considering the "stance" of the characters, certain differences in language production could also emerge (see Du Bois 139). By taking stance, speakers index their position concerning the utterance on a linguistic level. This means that "[v]ia specific acts of stancetaking, value can be focused and directed at a precise target, as locally relevant values are activated to frame the significance of participant actions" (143). Therefore, it would be legitimate to assume that characters with different stances have distinct linguistic patterns, even though, both may be part of the same speech genre.

While racialized representations of minority groups in the media have been discussed to some extent (see Littlefield; Mastro; Bucholtz and Lopez; Haynes), the aim of this essay is to find out in how far individual characters in *OITNB* use diverse linguistic patterns. Therefore, the essay analyzes the linguistic performance of two African American characters: Cindy Hayes, played by Adrienne C. Moore, and Poussey Washington, performed by Samira Wiley. Both characters are present in the first season, but feature more prominently in the second season. Therefore, the second season serves as relevant data for the analysis.

Orange Is The New Black takes place in a women's prison in Litchfield, New York. This dramedy, which was first released in July 2013, and at the time of this writing contains six seasons, is inspired by Piper Kerman's memoir describing her experience during her fifteen months sentence in federal prison. The series begins with the arrival of the main character Piper Chapman, played by Taylor Schilling, in prison and through whose perspective life in jail is presented first. Piper, who led the perfect American life with a fiancé and a wealthy family, was involved in a drug smuggling business with a former college lover, for which she faces a fifteen months sentence. In prison, Piper is permanently confronted with racial segregation in prison as every character is categorized by race: all African American inmates belong to one group and all Latinx inmates to another. Thus, one could argue that in the Litchfield prison all "race-conscious laws have been formally dismantled" (Scott 230).

This study, however, concentrates on the portrayal of two African American characters: Cindy Hayes and Poussey Washington. A comparison of their language use promises to be particularly fruitful because both are part of the same speech genre, albeit not the same stance which sees Hayes participating and Washington rejecting the in-prison drug business.

Cindy Hayes is a black character who is known for her extravagant hairstyle and her loud voice. Her character is outspoken and funny. Before coming to prison, Hayes worked as an airport TSA agent in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. She took advantage of her position by stealing passenger's valuables and food from the airport and spent a lot of time screening good-looking men. She is serving time at Litchfield for stealing from passengers at her work. In the second season, she is depicted as a somewhat unintelligent inmate who acts impetuously. For example, after first refusing to work for a drug business run from within the prison, she changes her mind just because the operation leader, Vee, shares a cake with her. Furthermore, rather than selling cigarettes for stamps, as it was requested by Vee, Hayes decides to benefit from the situation and has others work for her without thinking of the consequences.

Hayes does not mind making jokes at other people's expenses. Several times she mocks Suzanne Warren, an inmate who is mentally ill. Her self-confidence is also reflected in the way she deals with her body. She is proud of her (non-normative, large) body shape and does not hesitate to show this: "I don't wanna wear no sack. I got curves. I'm a plushious [sic] woman" (Kohan and Friedman 2.2). As is true for the other black characters in this series, Hayes is aware of the racism in prison (see Charlton). Hayes seems rather like a stereotypical character. Well-known TV tropes can be recognized when taking a closer look at this character. Her laziness and careless actions on the one hand and the outspoken and entertaining personality on the other hand serve as amusing counterpart to the injustice in prison.

Poussey Washington is known for her expressive smiles, an indication of her popularity as an inmate loved by everyone. Before coming to prison, Poussey had to live in several countries due to her father's job in the military. She stayed in France and Germany and is therefore able to speak three languages fluently. She was arrested for possessing Cannabis with intent to sell. In prison, she works in the library with her best friend Taystee. She knows a lot about literature and possesses vast general knowledge. She is very independent and remains true to her convictions even when others do not.

Poussey Washington cares about other people, especially the other black inmates. She calls them her family;, she always protects, defends, and helps other inmates as if it was the most natural thing: "It's what you do for family" (Kohan and Friedman 2.2). Even in prison, she maintains her faith in the good of people and has

a clear moral compass. Therefore, she does not support the actions of Vee Parker, who, in many ways, takes on the role of the villain by leading the other black inmates in her attempt take over the prison. Poussey calls her "the criminal element" (Kohan and Friedman 2.12) and does not understand why her "family" becomes part of the drug dealing business in prison. She is the only black character who is immune to Vee's manipulation. Despite all her effort, she is not able to persuade the other inmates. As a consequence of her failure, Washington's usual positive character changes. She is sad, mad, and cannot comprehend the others' behavior. Poussey seems to deviate from the stereotypical black in-mate at first sight. However, a closer look finds that she also voices typical TV tropes.

Washington's and Hayes' different personality supports the argument that they do not take the same stances. This is why it is extremely interesting to find out whether this is represented in the series. If this is the case, both characters would behave differently on a linguistic level and underline the prima facie diverse cast.

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

For the present analysis, a general listening to the selected data was necessary, especially in order to avoid following typical AAE patterns and provide an objective coding instead. Every element was thus a possible token. After having obtained a general overview, the data was more closely analyzed and a pattern of items which are stereotypically associated with AAE was recognized. The scope of the present analysis includes three phonological features: /th/ in word initial position, post-vocalic /r/ and /ɑy/- monophthongization. Earlier research has connected these features with black speakers and stereotypes (see Green, Hoover, King, Rahman, Wolfram and Schilling). In all, fifteen scenes with a duration between 40 seconds and two minutes, in which either one or both speakers occur, were phonetically coded.

Post-vocalic /r/	r¹	rhotic
	r²	non-rhotic
	r□	ambiguous tokens
/ay/-realization	ay¹	diphthongal
	ay²	monophthongal
	ay□	ambiguous tokens

Interdental fricative	th¹	ð or θ
	th²	stopping
	th³	labialization
	th⁴	absence
	th□	ambiguous tokens

Figure 1: *labels for analysis.*

Since the focus of this quantitative analysis was on the sound realization and not onbody movement, the MP4 video files, which were purchased for this paper, were converted to MP3 files and then transcribed and coded in ELAN. In order to code as accurately as possible, single tokens were extracted in PRAAT for a separate listening in consideration of the depicted sound waves. For the purpose of inter-rater reliability, 20% of the data were also coded by Dr. Teresa Pratt. The inter-rater reliability was 77%.[11]

The realization of the interdental fricative was examined in word initial position.[12] Th³ was originally used as label for the labialization of interdental fricatives. However, generally this does not occur in the word onset and was thus disregarded in the interpretation of the present study (see E. R. Thomas 454). Concerning /ɑy/-diphthongs, tokens which are situated before voiceless consonants were excluded in this study since it is in general less likely in this phonetic environment that a diphthong is monophthongal (see J. Thomas).

RESULTS

Reproducing linguistic features which are stereotypically associated with AAE contributes to creating clichéd personae and causes reification and maintenance of racial stereotypes. The analysis demonstrates that the analyzed characters use

11 To be more precise, the inter-rater reliability was 100% for /ay/-diphthongs, 71% for interdental fricatives in the onset position, and 76% for rhoticity. Especially, concerning /ay/-diphthongs, it is important to mention that the reliability coding may not hold with more data. In a further study with a larger data set, this should be looked at more closely.

12 The different labels derive from the Kara Becker's study of linguistic repertoire and ethnic identities in New York City.

stereotypical AAE features and reproduce language ideologies, albeit to different extents.

While Washington produces more than half (68%) of her occurrences of interdental fricative in word-initial position as fricative (as expected in Standard American English),[13] Hayes produces a relatively high rate (63%) of *interdental stopping*, a more typical AAE feature. Function words such as *the* and *those* but also content words such as *thing* and *other* are therefore pronounced with the voiced or voiceless alveolar stops [d, t]. Furthermore, Hayes omits the first consonant repeatedly (17%) when it comes to the personal pronoun *them* which leads to a contraction of the item. In contrast to Hayes, Washington does not apply this realization. Even though th^4 might only indicate colloquial language, Hayes' and Washington's linguistic behavior differ from each other. Comparing the usage of both speakers, the pattern seems straightforward: Hayes' way of talking embodies a stereotypical black persona and Washington represents the linguistic counterpart to that. The data shows a contrast between the characters: Washington's use of th^1 is approximately as high as Hayes' usage of th^2. Nevertheless, it should not be disregarded that Washington, too, reproduces the phonetic features connected to AAE, albeit to a lesser extent (24%). The linguistic performance of both speakers, thus, confirms stereotypes which are already reproduced by body language, sartorial style and content of the series.

13 I refer in this paper to the term Standard American English (SAE) for the sake of clarity. However, I agree with the argument that there is not such a phenomenon as the standard (as Lippi-Green calls it the Standard Language Myth).

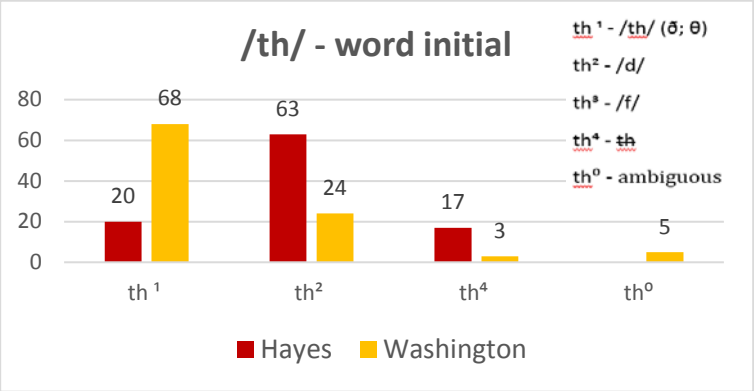

Figure 2: *interdental fricatives in initial position, Cindy Hayes, Poussey Washington.*

The second analyzed feature, *rhoticity*, seems to follow the same patterns. Derhotacization, deletion of vocalic or post-vocalic /r/, is a marked variation pattern regarding AAE. Similar to the interdental fricative, Hayes' linguistic behavior stands out clearly: 80% of her tokens are r-less. Items such as *holders* and *percent*, both clearly in the context of the relevant drug subject, are pronounced as follows: [hoʊldəz] and [pə'sɛn]. A detailed look at the analysis provides further insight into her consistent linguistic behavior: 100% of the function words are realized /r/-less. In contrast to the interdental fricative, the linguistic behavior of both characters is similar. Washington shares a relatively high usage of the AAE-associated linguistic feature (60%). Her linguistic behavior, the /r/-lessness, can be argued with taking *stance* toward the dealing genre. For example, when Vee tries to convince Poussey Washington to start a business in prison, she does not agree:

Washington:	Oh, my hooch? That's just fo[r] fun. The[r]e's no cha[r]ge.
Parker:	The girls would pay for it.
Washington:	I mean, but that ain't the point. I make it fo[r] me and my friends. (Kohan and Friedman 2.4)

Even though she follows this pattern, the usage is not as consistent as Hayes' since rhoticity does only occur in nearly 40% of Washington's utterances. In general, this figure indicates that Washington and Hayes are both able to be recognized as AAE speakers due to their predominant and stereotypical realization of post-vocalic /r/.

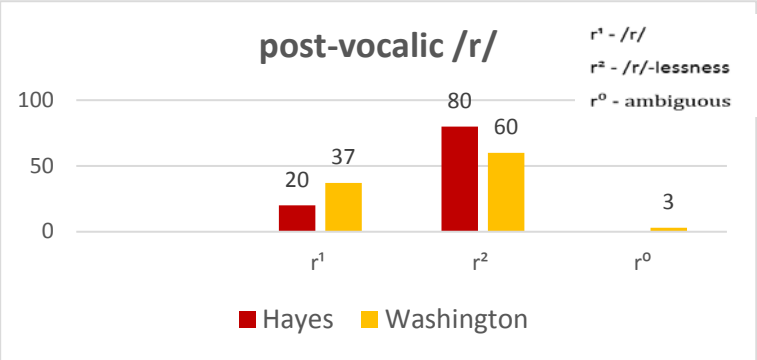

Figure 3: *realization of /ay/-diphthong, Cindy Hayes and Poussey Washington.*

The results discussed thus far indicate that both characters use patterns which are associated with AAE, yet Washington's linguistic behavior is not as stereotypical as Hayes'. Thus, it would be coherent if this pattern was reflected in the third analyzed phonetical feature, monophthongization of /ay/, as well. However, this is not the case. For example, the prototypical monophthong associated with AAE that clearly indexes ethnicity is the lexical item *time*. In Washington's performance, this item occurs twice. In both cases the realization is monophthongal [tɑ:m]. Other content words such as *smiling* and function words such as the personal pronoun *I* are mostly pronounced. In total, Washington realizes /ay/ as a monophthong at a rate of 63%.

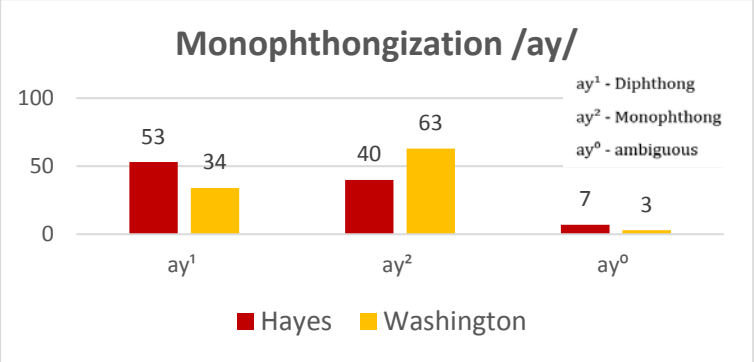

Figure 4: *rhoticity, Cindy Hayes and Poussey Washington.*

In Hayes' utterances, monophthongs (53%) and diphthongs (40%) occur nearly in the same amount whereas she does not monophthongize content words. If the audience would only be exposed to this phonological feature in order to judge whether Hayes uses AAE, the results would not be unambiguous. It is, however, dubious that the use of this common AAE pattern would have an influence on

perceiving Hayes as less black since both previously discussed linguistic features, along with extralinguistic aspects of her character's portrayal, highlight her clear depiction as stereotypical black character.

"YOU PEOPLE? YOU MEAN BLACK PEOPLE!"

Hayes' linguistic performance is characterized by a high use of AAE-aligned variables. Th-stopping as well as postvocalic r-lessness reinforce the representation of her character as stereotypically black. Those features, already register as racially marked, perpetuate and reinforce the association between this linguistic realization and racialized identity. Hayes' clichéd depiction, hence, evokes the creation of the "Hood Kid persona" (King 115). This persona is described as being part of a community which is clearly distinguishable from the white and mainstream society. Using marked linguistic variables is not the only way that Hayes expresses her group affiliation to this community. She does *hood* by styling her identity: her loud speech behavior, her singing, her dancing, and her involvement in the activity of drug dealing, all reinforce her depiction as a stereotypical African American character (see 81).

In contrast to Hayes, Washington produces those two stereotypical features to a lesser extent. Only a few interdental stoppings occur in her utterances. There is a clear discrepancy between Hayes' and Washington's use of this variable. Thus, both characters represent different personas. Similar to the "Mobile Black Professional," Washington would like to focus on the future life (see 41). She is interested in pursuing a career and does not mind moving to a different state or country in order to do so. Her ability to speak three languages and her literary interests further portray Washington as an upwardly-mobile character within normative class stratification. This behavior suggests a linguistic production which approaches SAE, in particular because of the assumption that AAE speakers have no accessibility to this world (see Rahman 167).

While the analysis of the interdental fricative in the word onset position shows a high discrepancy between Hayes' and Washington's portrayal of the language variety, the rhoticity complicates the idea that both characters do not show the same group affiliation. Certainly, Washington uses more rhotic postvocalic /r/ than non-rhotic, but the amount of r-lessness in her speech

production is high enough to recognize her as an African American speaker. Thus, the linguistic performance of both characters is sufficiently similar to evoke categorizing the two to the same ethnic group, which reduces the individual to one homogenous group (see Bucholtz and Hall 599).

Yet, minor variations in the linguistic features suggests that both characters differ from each other. This is emphasized in their personality and attitude. As stated above, Washington does not support the drug industry in prison, in opposite to Hayes, who participates in making this business work, even if that means that she has to harm other inmates. One main reason for the different realization of the variables might be their stance towards the genre of "drug dealing in prison," in particular since "any choice of linguistic form made by a speakers [sic] is based ultimately on the interpersonal or epistemic *stance* they wish to take with their various interlocutors at a particular time" (Kiesling 172). Thus, *OITNB* does not completely disregard possible variations of a speaker's linguistic realization.

Interestingly, the amount of /ay/-monophthongization usage is reversed: Washington produces more than half of the tokens monophthongal whereas Hayes uses diphthongs, which are associated with SAE, to a greater extent. Although Washington uses the other linguistic variables to a lesser extent and does not participate in activities stereotypical ascribed to black characters, her (stereotypical) language production suggests that she still has a distinctive group affiliation. However, looking impressionistically at Washington's performance, she uses other stereotypical AAE features, such as zero copula and negative concord, which were not included in the analysis. She aligns with the African American 'group' and is easily recognized as such through the stereotypical use of these features. Hayes' more standard-oriented use of the feature on the other hand, indicates that AAE speakers do not use one uniform variety and may not realize all features aligned with the variation to the same extent. If this was the case, Hayes may have been perceived as inauthentic and even considered *too black* (see Fine and Anderson 406). Thus, both characters produce 'just enough' of the necessary phonological aspects to index a black persona. The performances and the African American identities are adequately stylized to index similarities and alikeness (see Bucholtz and Hall 599).

The persistent maintenance of these stereotypes in *OITNB* causes an ongoing *raciolinguistic enregisterment* which means that the link between cultural stereotypes, the depiction of the "Hood Kid persona," and the linguistic behavior is

preserved and accessible to a mass audience through the media (see Pratt and D'Onofrio 309). Instead of maintaining controlling images and stereotypes, a series such as *OITNB* should avoid the constant reproduction of ideologies since those "[i]ndexical links between forms and meanings can be […] changeable" (Johnstone 660).

"THIS IS SOME RACISM RIGHT HERE"

Over the course of this thesis, I have demonstrated that *OITNB* participates in the reproduction and perpetuation of racialized stereotypes and language ideologies by portraying African American characters as nearly alike. Nevertheless, it should not be disregarded that differences in one language variety are also performed. Portraying differences is of great importance in order to overcome the myth of a homogenous variety and to present African Americans as unique individuals. However, the range of varieties is kept narrow enough to recognize the speakers as adequately African American. Eventually, ethnicity constitutes one vital aspect in creating a social identity in *OITNB*.

Given the fact that the reproduction of racialized stereotypes in the mass media negatively influences speakers of the language variety, I emphasize the importance of ending the ongoing reproduction of monolithic and thus inauthentic portrayals of African Americans. Thus, it is not only crucial to omit the performance of stereotypes but also to break the indexical links between language variety and those prejudices. Only in this way, can the ongoing enregisterment of racialized stereotypes (i.e. the maintenance of association of the linguistic behavior and social practices) be ended or changed (see Agha).

The aim of the current study was to reveal whether the linguistic representations correspond to the first impression of diversity in *OITNB*. The phonetic analysis of the interdental fricative in the onset position, rhoticity, and /ay/-monophthongization, three variables that are typically associated with AAE, showed that both African American characters used variations which are considered to be stereotypically black. However, both speakers' linguistic behavior differs from each other. Hayes' high proportion of AAE features suggests that she depicts an stereotypical black speaker, the "Hood Kid persona." Washington also uses the AAE variables, albeit to a lesser extent for which she might still be

recognized as "black but not too black." The variation in both characters speak to their different *stance* which shows that *OITNB* does not depict characters of the same ethnicity as simply uniform. Yet, both personae depict stereotypical black speakers at the same time. Their performance is adequately stylized in order to classify them as African American. Once again, ethnicity seems to be the overarching aspect in creating a persona.

In conclusion, despite minor variations in the portrayal of African American characters, the analysis showed that the reproduction of racialized stereotypes continues even in TV shows with an explicit claim to diversity. The entertainment industry should be held accountable for portraying entrenched representation of black people, abandon the reproduction of stereotypes, and present a complex portrayal of language performance in order to end racial profiling in the media (see King 116; Scott 236).

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“Make it Sound like We back on a Plantation!”

Received Pronunciation and African American Vernacular English in *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*

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When people are asked to name differences between British English and American English, they tend to refer the difference in vocabulary for the same objects, e.g. *cookie* and *biscuit*. Others might point to the varieties in orthographic realisations of a word as in *color* and *colour*. However, the differences between the two varieties can be broken down into even more aspects.

During the 1990s the popular American sitcom *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (aired on NBC from 1990 until 1996) did not only find a wide audience in the United States but was broadcasted all around the world. Today, people can take a trip down memory lane and watch the series on streaming platforms like Netflix. Especially foreign viewers, but also Americans, notice that the language some characters use differ from each other: most prominently protagonist Will speaks with an American accent while the butler of the American Banks family, Geoffrey, talks British. Having a closer look at the way these two characters talk, one can see that various features of the two varieties occur. Therefore, in this paper I decided to focus on the fields of phonology and grammar by analysing the language of Will and Geoffrey in the opening scene of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* in order to investigate how English varieties are represented in the series and how they therefore underline the differences between the characters. Because the sitcom is an American show the main focus will be on the American variety, in particular African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

The approach of answering this question is going to be divided into the following steps: first, this paper will give an introduction to *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* before providing a short overview about the English varieties Received Pronunciation and African American Vernacular English. Afterwards, my paper

1 This essay was initially submitted as a term paper and supervised by Carolin Schneider.

will analyse the data collected from *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* with particular attention to the different features of both varieties.[2]

Overall, this paper will not solely present the differences between two varieties but it will also show that the series' producers did not only make use of things like clothing and characters' behaviour to show their differences but that linguistic features underline those differences as well.

INTRODUCING *THE FRESH PRINCE OF BEL-AIR*

The US-American TV show *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* deals with the African American teenage protagonist Will Smith (played by Will Smith) who originally lived in West-Philadelphia. After getting into trouble his mother sent him to Bel-Air to live with his aunt Vivienne and her family as the opening songs explains (see Appendix A). Her husband Philip is a highly acknowledged lawyer which is why the Banks family can afford living in a big mansion and has a butler, Geoffrey.

The show often contrasts Will who grew up in a working-class neighbourhood and his exuberant behaviour with the social norms and expectations of the upper-class Banks family in a humorous way. He rarely knows when to behave or talk appropriately in most situations. As a consequence, Will gets into trouble with his family or involves the family members in embarrassing situations. Therefore, particularly the family's butler, Geoffrey, struggles to cope with Will's behaviour as he – in contrast – is a person who mostly acts according to traditions and rules.

Since Geoffrey uses RP and Will speaks AAVE, *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* features both a British and American variety of the English language. The U.S. sitcom can thus serve as a foundation for this paper in order to examine features of these two varieties and to explore their representation in the series.

1 The transcribed conversation between the two example speakers (both orthographic and in IPA) can be found in the appendix as well as the lyrics of the opening song.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DIFFERENT VARIETIES AND THEIR FEATURES

The English language has numerous different varieties which are spoken in different parts of the world. Received Pronunciation (RP), which is spoken "by only 3-5 per cent of the population of England" (Trudgill and Hannah 15) is considered standard in England. However, the accent cannot be assigned to a certain region of the country as it is a non-regional accent, "i.e. if speakers have an RP accent, you cannot tell which area of England they come from, which is not the case for any other type of the British accent" (15). Hence, it is considered a social variety. American English, on the other hand, does not have a standard way of pronunciation (see Dretzke 165). Except for the East and the South, the pronunciation in the rest of the United States – at least to some extent – "is particularly uniform" (165). In the following this kind of American English is referred to as General American English (GenAmE) (see 165).

PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES: A GENERAL OVERVIEW

Different varieties of any language can be formed within social environments or are located in either different parts of a country, a continent or even the globe. Oftentimes the features of these varieties are expressed through pronunciation. Phonological differences can vary from slight changes to the loss or the addition of sounds. Featuring two different varieties of English, *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* serves as a good example to show those differences with Geoffrey as an RP speaker and Will as an AAVE speaker. In this case, the phonological differences are the most striking which is why they are focussed on.

British English has numerous different varieties and Received Pronunciation possesses three striking features. One of them is rhoticity*:* Most British varieties, RP being among them, are *non-rhotic* which means that the pronunciation of the /r/ sound is left out in given cases (see Aslam and Kak 94), while GenAmE is considered a *rhotic* variety. A GenAmE speaker would therefore pronounce the words *chart* and *joker* as /ʧɑrt/ and /ˈʤoʊkər/ in contrast to an RP speaker who would say /ʧɑːt/ and /ˈʤəʊkə/. Here, the /r/ sound is only pronounced when it is followed by a vowel

as in *frog* /frɒg/ (94). However, RP makes use of *linking-r*. The phrase *car owner*, for example, would be realised as /kɑːr ˈəʊnə/ because the following word starts with a vowel (while *car* on its own is only /kɑː/) (see 94-95). Moreover, sometimes an alveolar tap /ɾ/ is used for a /r/ sound between vowels such as in *American* (/əˈmɛɾɪkən/) (see 20).

Another important feature of RP is the /ɒ/ sound which does not surface in American varieties of English at all (see Dretzke 39). An RP speaker pronounces *hot*, *object* and *shop* as /hɒt/, /ˈɒbʤɪkt/ and /ʃɒp/ while a GenAmE speaker would simply use an /ɑː/ sound saying /hɑːt/, /ɑːbʤɛkt/ and /ʃɑːp/ (39).

Lastly, RP speakers realise the /ɑː/ sound when an orthographic <a> stands before the sounds /f/, /θ/, /s/ or the nasal clusters /nt/, /ns/, /nʃ/, /nd/ and /mp/ (see Trudgil and Hannah 18). Examples for this can be found in *laugh*, *path*, *grass*, *plant*, *dance*, *branch*, *demand* and *sample* being realised as /lɑːf/, /pɑːθ/, /grɑːs/, /plɑːnt/, /dɑːns/, /brɑːnʧ/, /dɪˈmɑːnd/ and /ˈsɑːmpl/ (39). By contrast, a GenAmE speaker would pronounce the /æ/ sound (/læf/, /pæθ/, /græs/, /plænt/, /dæns/, /brænʧ/, /dɪˈmænd/ and /ˈsæmpl/) (see Aslam and Kak 97).

African American Vernacular English exhibits seven phonological features. One of them is the abbreviation of certain consonant sound combination endings such as *-pt* (as in *script*), *-st* (as in *trust*), *-ld* (as in *fold*), *-ct* (as in *expect*), *-ft* (as in *craft*) or *-nd* (as in *friend*) (see Green 85). This means that *friend* (/frɛnd/) would be pronounced /frɛn/ or *fold* (/foʊld/) would become /foʊl/. However, they also delete single consonants at the end of words: if a word ends with a single consonant (especially a nasal) that follows a vowel the consonant is oftentimes dropped which results in words such as *man* (/mən/) or *cat* (/kæt/) being pronounced as /mæ/ or /kæ/ (see Rickford 4).

Another commonly known feature of AAVE is that the gerund *-ing* is not realised as /ɪŋ/ but as /ɪn/ (see 4). An example for this phenomenon is the following: whereas an RP speaker for example would refer to *swimming* as /ˈswɪmɪŋ/ an AAVE speaker would say /ˈswɪmɪn/. Nevertheless, this feature only occurs if the *-ing* is really the suffix of a word (see Green 122). That means that words like *sing* (/sɪŋ/) and *ring* (/rɪŋ/) do not become */sɪn/ and */rɪn/ (see 4).

When it comes to the interdental fricatives, AAVE speakers usually use neither the voiceless /θ/ nor the voiced /ð/ which are both realised as <th> in writing. Instead, they use a /d/ sound when a word starts with a voiced interdental fricative (/ð/) as in *that* (/ðæt/) so it becomes /dæt/. A word like *with* (/wɪð/) is

pronounced /wɪt/ so the /ð/ at the end of a word is replaced by a /t/ sound. In the case of /ð/ between two vowels it becomes a /v/ sound such as in /brʌvə/ in *brother* (/ˈbrʌðə/) (see Finegan and Rockford 86). If a voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ occurs at the end of a word such as in *bath* (/bæθ/) it is pronounced with a /f/ sound and becomes /bæf/. Also, if /θ/ occurs in the middle of a word such as in *birthday* (/ˈbɜrθˌdeɪ/) it becomes /f/ resulting in /ˈbɜrfˌdeɪ/. The pronunciation of either "*t*, *d*, *f* or *v* thus depends on the special properties of the corresponding *th* sound and its position in the word" (86).

Unlike other American varieties of English there is significantly less rhoticity found in AAVE. The final /r/ sound is dropped when it is supposed to follow a vowel as in *sister* (/ˈsɪstər/) which becomes /ˈsɪstə/ (see Rickford 5). This also occurs when the /r/ sound is at the end of a word that is followed by a word that begins with a consonant (see 5). An example for this is *cover girl* (/ˈkʌvər gɜrl/]) which becomes /ˈkʌvə gɜːl/. However, due to the *linking-r* phenomenon the /r/ sound is in fact realised in case the following word starts with a vowel such as in *father is* which becomes /ˈfɑðər ɪz/ (see 5).

Also, AAVE speakers oftentimes nasalise the /nt/ sound in an auxiliary like *don't* and pronounce it /dõ/ (see Green 85) and have a different realisation of given diphthongs. When an AAVE speaker refers to themselves they would pronounce their *I* (/aɪ/) more like /ɑː/ (see Rickford 5) and thereby drop the /ɪ/ sound. A different example is the word *time* (/taɪm/) that is pronounced /tɑːm/ in AAVE.

Given the fact that Received Pronunciation is considered a standard variety, it functions as the reference for grammatical features and their common realisations while other forms of English are seen as variations thereof. The omission of the auxiliary *is* or *are* and the elimination of the third person singular *-s* suffix constitute the two grammatical most common features in African American Vernacular English. An AAVE speaker describes a present tense action or state, they would not say "He is coming" or "They are great" but drop the auxiliaries *is* and *are* (see Rickford 6) by saying only "He coming" and "They great." Another common feature in AAVE is to leave out the third person singular *-s* suffix (see 7). Hereby, the sentence *He plays the guitar* becomes *He play the guitar*.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data for this paper consists of the very first scene of the first episode in season 1 of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (see transcript of the scene in appendix B), which aired in 1990. In the opening scene an American but also a British variety occur. The ninety-second scene has been transcribed into the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) using John C. Wells' *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (2009) in order to find phonological differences between the varieties. Furthermore, the varieties' different specific features had to be investigated, as well as counted. Overall there are eleven different features that viewers of the show come across. Each feature that occurs in the analysed scene is listed below and highlighted within the sentence it occurred in.

The following sections deal with the first dialogue of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* in which the example speakers Will and Geoffrey meet for the first time. Will arrives at his aunt Vivienne's house which is now his home and is being welcomed by butler Geoffrey who he mistakes for his uncle Phil. The features of Received Pronunciation and African American Vernacular English, which can be found in this scene, are being listed together with the environment they occur in. In order to highlight in which words exactly the feature is used, they are written in bold letters in the following. The underlined words mark the uses of linking-r and alveolar taps. Furthermore, the IPA transcription is given as well.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION

In the opening scene, Geoffrey uses the following phonological features of RP (the full transcribed conversation can be found in appendix C).

Example 1: "I am not <u>your uncle</u> Philip."
(aɪ æm nɒt jɔːr ˈʌŋkl ˈfɪlɪp.)

Example 2: "You have the right house. I am Geoffrey, **your** uncle's **butler**."
(juː hæv ðə raɪt haʊs**.** aɪ æm ˈʤɛfri jɔːr ˈʌŋklz ˈbʌtlə.)

Example 3: "If you will follow me I will show you to <u>your room</u>, **Master** William."
(ɪf juː wɪl ˈfɒləʊ miː aɪ wɪl ʃəʊ juː tuː jɔː ɾuːm ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm.)

Example 4: "**Master** William, tradition dictates that a clean, unbreakable line be drawn between a family and **their butler**. **Therefore**, it

is necessary **for** the operation of the household that you address me as *Geoffrey* and I in **turn** address you by **your** proper title. ***Master*** *William*."
(ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm trəˈdɪʃən ˈdɪkteɪts ðæt ə kliːn ˌʌnˈbreɪkəbl laɪn biː drɔːn bɪˈtwiːn ə ˈfæmɪli ænd ðeə ˈbʌtlə. ˈðeəfɔː ɪt ɪz ˈnɛsɪsəri fɔː ðiˌ ɒpəˈreɪʃən ɒv ə ˈhaʊshəʊld ðæt juː əˈdrɛs miː æz ˈdʒɛfri ænd aɪ ɪn tɜːn əˈdrɛs juː baɪ jɔː ˈprɒpə ˈtaɪtl. ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm.)

Geoffrey leaves out the /r/ sounds in examples 1, 2 and 4 resulting in the realisations /jɔː/, /ˈbʌtlə/, /ˈmɑːstə/, /ðeə/, /ˈðeəfɔː/, /fɔː/ and /tɜːn/ which marks non-rhoticity instead of saying /jɔːr/, /ˈbʌtlər/, /ˈmɑːstər/, /ðɛr/, /ˈðɛrˌfɔr/, /fɔr/ and /tɜrn/ as it would typically be done by a GenAmE speaker. Also, he makes use of the linking-r when he says *your uncle* (/jɔːr ˈʌŋkl/) in example 2. Apart from that, Geoffrey makes an alveolar tap as the /r/ sound is between two vowels in the words *(your) room* (/ɾuːm/) and *operation* (/ˌɒpəˈɾeɪʃən/) (examples 3 and 4).

Example 5: "I am **not** your uncle Philip."
(aɪ æm nɒt jɔːr ˈʌŋkl ˈfɪlɪp.)

Example 6: "If you will **follow** me I will show you to your room, Master William."
(ɪf juː wɪl ˈfɒləʊ miː aɪ wɪl ʃəʊ juː tuː jɔː ɾuːm ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm.)

Example 7: "Therefore, it is necessary for the **operation of** a household that you address me as Geoffrey and I in turn address you by your **proper** title."
(ˈðeəfɔː ɪt ɪz ˈnɛsɪsəri fɔː ðiˌ ɒpəˈɾeɪʃən ɒv ə ˈhaʊshəʊld ðæt juː əˈdrɛs miː æz ˈdʒɛfri ænd aɪ ɪn tɜːn əˈdrɛs juː baɪ jɔː ˈprɒpə ˈtaɪtl.)

Geoffrey also pronounces the words "not," "follow," "operation," "of" and "proper" as /nɒt/, /ˈfɒləʊ/, /ˌɒpəˈreɪʃən/, /ɒv/ and /ˈprɒpə/ thereby vocalizing the /ɒ/ sound differently than a GenAmE speaker who would say /nɑt/, /ˈfɑloʊ/, /ˌɑpəˈreɪʃən/, /ʌv/ and /ˈprɑpər/.

Example 8: "Come with me, **Master** William."
(kʌm wɪð miː ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm)

With regard to the */aː/* sound, a GenAmE speaker would say /ˈmæstər/. Geoffrey, on the other hand, makes use of the /ɑː/ sound and says /ˈmɑːstə/. He does not use any other words that would feature the /ɑː/ sound in the rest of the given dialogue.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH

The opening scene of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* also contains the seven AAVE features previously discussed. To minimize repetition, I refrain from listing every single word or case of the given dialogue between Will and Geoffrey that matched the phonological and grammatical features of RP and AAVE (the whole dialogue can be found in appendix B).

Example 9: "Hey man, it's cool if you **just** call me Will, man."
(heɪ mæ ɪts kul ɪf ju ʤis kəl mi wɪl mæ.)

Example 10: "[…] Lemme rap to you for a **second**, man. […] Make it **sound** like we back on a plantation. […]"
([…] lɛmi ræp tə ju fɔː ə ˈsɛkən mæ. […] meɪk ɪt saʊn laɪk wi bæk ɑn ə ˌplænˈteɪʃən. […])

The given dialogue shows the reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words. Here, Will drops the last sounds in the words that end with <st> and <nd> and hereby says /ʤɪs/, /sɛkən/ and /saʊn/ in example 9 and 10 while it should actually be /ʤʌst/, /sɛkənd/ and /saʊnd/. He also deletes single consonants at the end of words in example 11. As the nasal /n/ sound follows a vowel Will pronounces *man* as /mæ/ which is the result of omitting the final /n/ sound.

Example 11: "Hey **man**, it's cool if you just call me *Will*, **man**."
(heɪ mæ ɪts kul ɪf ju ʤis kəl mi wɪl mæ.)

Furthermore, like typical for AAVE speakers Will does not say /ŋ/ in words that end with the gerund suffix *-ing* but reduces the final sound only to /n/. In the following utterances Will pronounces the words in bold differently:

Example 12: "Hey, Uncle Phil. Oh man. How you **doin'**?"
(heɪ ˈʌŋkl fɪl. oʊ mæ. haʊ jə ˈduːɪn.)

Example 13: "[…] I didn't know there were so many brothers **livin'** in this neighbourhood."
([…] aː ˈdɪdənt noʊ ðeə wə soʊ ˈmɛni ˈbrʌðəz ˈlɪvɪn ɪn dɪs ˈneɪbəˌhʊd.)

Will only pronounces the words "doin'" and "livin'" as /ˈduɪn/ (example 12) and /ˈlɪvɪn/ (example 13). Here, a GenAmE speaker would say /ˈduɪŋ/ and /ˈlɪvɪŋ/ in contrast.

Example 14: "[…] so many brothers living in **this** neighborhood."
([…] soʊ ˈmɛni ˈbrʌðəz ˈlɪvɪn ɪn dɪs ˈneɪbəˌhʊd.)
Example 15: "[…] All **this** Master William stuff, man, I'm not down with **that**, man. […]"
([…] ɔl dɪs ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm stʌf mæ aːm nɑt daʊn wɪð dæt mæ. […])
Example 16: "Check **this**. […]. **That's** dope!"
(ʧɛk dɪs. […] . dæts doʊp.)

In examples 14 to 16 Will modifies the realisation of his interdental fricatives very obviously. Here he replaces all his /ð/ sounds in /ðɪs/ and /ðæt/ with /d/ sounds resulting in him saying /dɪs/ and /dæt/.

Another important feature, which shows that Will speaks AAVE, is that he does not pronounce /r/ sounds that follow vowels which is actually untypical for most of the American English varieties.

Example 17: "[…] so many brothers living in this **neighborhood**. […]"
([…] soʊ ˈmɛni ˈbrʌðəz ˈlɪvɪn ɪn dɪs ˈneɪbəˌhʊd. […])
Example 18: "Are you, robo **butler**, man?"
(ɑr ju ˈroʊboʊ ˈbʌtlə mæ?)
Example 19: "[…] All this **Master** William stuff, I'm not down with that, man. […]"
([…] ɔl dɪs ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm stʌf mæ aːm nɑt daʊn wɪð dæt mæ. […])

Will says /ˈneɪbəˌhʊd/ and /ˈbʌtlə/ instead of /ˈneɪbərˌhʊd/ and /ˈbʌtlər/. Also, he does not say /ˈmɑːstər/ but /ˈmɑːstə/.

As already mentioned, AAVE speakers oftentimes nasalise the /nt/ sound in an auxiliary like *don't* and pronounce it /dõ/ (see Green 85). However, according to Rickford, rather the initial /d/ sound in *don't* is omitted resulting in something like *'on* (see 5). Due to this theoretical contradiction, I refrained from analysing Will's pronunciation of the given auxiliaries.

Furthermore, a modification of the diphthong /aɪ/ by Will can be found in the analysed dialogue marked by examples 20 and 21.

Example 20: "**My** fault, man. **I** musta got the wrong crib. But ayo, **I** didn't know[…]"
([…] maː fɔlt mæ. aː mʌst gɑt ðə rɔŋ krɪb. bʌ ˈeɪoʊ aː ˈdɪdənt noʊ […])

Example 21: "All this Master William stuff, **I'm** not down with that, man."
(ɔl dɪs ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm stʌf mæ aːm nɑt daʊn wɪð dæt mæ.)

The diphthong /aɪ/ becomes an /ɑː/ sound which can be seen in example 20 in the words *my* and *I*. Example 21 shows that Will pronounces /aɪ/ in *I'm* as /ɑːm/.

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH

The feature of omitting the copula/auxiliary is also present in the first scene of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*.

Example 22: "[…] We Ø doin' alright, huh?"
([…] wiˈdʊɪn ˌɔlˈraɪt hʌ?)

Example 23: "Make it sound like we Ø back on a plantation."
(meɪk ɪt saʊn laɪk wi bæk ɑn ə ˌplænˈteɪʃən.)

While in example 22 it would be "We are doin' alright, huh?" and "Make it sound like we are on a plantation" (example 23) for GenAmE speakers, Will actually drops the "are" in both sentences. However, he does not use this feature when abbreviating "is" as in "it's" (see example 11 "Hey man, *it's* cool if you just call me Will, man.") and "that's" (see example 16 "*That's* dope!").

Similarly, the dropping of the third person singular *-s* is something that the viewers of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* encounter regularly for example, when Will says "All this Master William stuff, I'm not down with that, man. Make Ø it sound like we back on a plantation" (ɔl dɪs ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm stʌf mæ aːm nɑt daʊn wɪð dæt mæ. meɪk ɪt saʊn laɪk wi bæk ɑn ə ˌplænˈteɪʃən). Here, Will leaves out the third person singular suffix *-s* in the word "make" in contrast to the standard variety of GenAmE.

Also, a direct comparison is possible due to the fact that both Will and Geoffrey say the words *that*, *this*, *butler*, *Master*, *I* and *not* in the given

conversation. As already elaborated above, Will pronounces *that* and *this* as /dæt/ and /dɪs/ replacing the interdental fricative /ð/ with a /d/ (see examples 14, 15 and 16) sound, while Geoffrey's pronunciation of these words does not come with any exceptional features. As both speakers, however, pronounce the word *butler* as /ˈbʌtlə/ (compare examples 4 and 18), they delete the /r/ sound which shows that both varieties are *non-rhotic*. This can also be observed with the word *Master* (/ˈmɑːstə/) (examples 3 and 19). Moreover, it is striking that Will uses the /ɑː/ sound in *Master* as well instead of saying /ˈmæstə/ as GenAmE speakers use /æ/. Additionally, in example 1 Geoffrey's realisation of the word *I* is the diphthong /aɪ/. Meanwhile, Will (in example 20) only says /ɑː/. When hearing Geoffrey's realisation of *not* (/nɒt/) (example 1) one can clearly tell that he is not a GenAmE speaker. The /ɒ/ sound only exists in the British varieties of English. Therefore, Will's /nɑt/ (example 21) contrasts immediately with Geofrey's /ɑ/ sound.

RESULTS

The opening scene of The *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* shows that African American Vernacular English and Received Pronunciation have many different features and that the varieties do not only differ in minor things like different orthographic realisations or only rhoticity. Needless to say, AAVE is closer to General American English than to RP because it is an American variety of English. However, AAVE and RP do share the non-rhoticity. But other than that, these two varieties are very different from each other. The Britishness of Geoffrey is being emphasized by making use of various striking RP features such as the *non-rhoticity*, the /ɒ/ sound that is only used in British varieties of English and the */ɑː/* sound in given circumstances. While RP is a standard variety, AAVE has many features that deviate from the common use of English in America such as in the field of phonology which includes the reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words, deletion of single consonants at the end of words, replacing /ŋ/ by /n/ in the *-ing* gerund, different realisations of the interdental fricatives, nasalisation of the /nt/ sound in given auxiliaries or a different realisation of given diphthongs like /aɪ/. All of these features are presented in the segment of the series that was analysed in this paper.

In terms of grammatical features of AAVE, the study found only the omission of the copular/auxiliary *is* and *are*, and the elimination of the third person singular *-s* suffix. This has different reasons: first of all, it is only a ninety-second dialogue which was analysed. Will may use more features throughout the rest of the series. Second, according to John R. Rickford "no one uses all of the features […] 100 percent of the time" (9) and we cannot examine which and how many other features of AAVE Will uses by only looking at these given ninety seconds. However, this leaves room for further studies which can include more episodes or seasons of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*.

CONCLUSION

Returning to the scenario of asking people to name differences between British English and American English it is now clear that they would not necessarily only name differences in vocabulary or different orthographic realisations of certain words. In fact, there are numerous other linguistic aspects that show differences between these two varieties. The paper has shown that the opening scene of the '90s sitcom *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* uses several additional features of both varieties. The British representation is shown by butler Geoffrey who realises the /ɒ/ and /ɑː/ sound differently. The seven features of African American Vernacular English that occur in the analysed scene are the reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words, deletion of single consonants at the end of words, replacing /ŋ/ by /n/ in *-ing*, realisation of the interdental fricatives as /t/, /d/, /f/ or /v/, nasalisation of the /nt/ sound in given auxiliaries and the different realisation of given diphthongs. The only feature found in the opening scene that both varieties share is rhoticity.

In sum, the opening scene of *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* represents a broad range of AAVE features and contrasts them with those of RP. Therefore, it shows that producers do not only make use of things such as characters' clothing or behaviour in order to stress differences between them but that language plays an important role in doing so, too. Further studies could expand the dataset to more dialogues between Will and Geoffrey within the series and analyse matching phonological and grammatical features of RP and AAVE. This also applies to the field of sociocultural and sociolinguistic features that had to be left out for this

paper, such as why those two varieties where chosen for the portrayal of both characters and the implications such representation entail.

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Appendix

Appendix A

"The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air" by DJ Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince

Now this is a story all about how
My life got flipped-turned upside down
And I'd like to take a minute
Just sit right there
I'll tell you how I became the prince of a town called Bel-Air

In west Philadelphia born and raised

On the playground was where I spent most of my days
Chillin' out maxin' relaxin' all cool
And all shooting some b-ball outside of the school
When a couple of guys who were up to no good
Started making trouble in my neighborhood
I got in one little fight and my mom got scared
She said, "You're movin' with your auntie and uncle in Bel-Air."

I begged and pleaded with her day after day
But she packed my suitcase and sent me on my way
She gave me a kiss and then she gave me my ticket.
I put my Walkman on and said, "I might as well kick it."

First class, yo, this is bad
Drinking orange juice out of a champagne glass.
Is this what the people of Bel-Air living like?
Hmm, this might be alright.

But wait I hear they're prissy, bourgeois, all that
Is this the type of place that they just send this cool cat?
I don't think so
I'll see when I get there
I hope they're prepared for the prince of Bel-Air

Well, the plane landed and when I came out
There was a dude who looked like a cop standing there with my name out
I ain't trying to get arrested yet
I just got here
I sprang with the quickness like lightning, disappeared

I whistled for a cab and when it came near
The license plate said "Fresh" and it had dice in the mirror
If anything I could say that this cab was rare
But I thought, "Nah, forget it."
– "Yo, home to Bel-Air."

I pulled up to the house about 7 or 8
And I yelled to the cabbie, "Yo home smell ya later."
I looked at my kingdom
I was finally there
To sit on my throne as the Prince of Bel-Air

Appendix B

Conversation between Will (W) and Geoffrey (G) in the first scene of Episode 1, Season 1, of *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*.

W: "Hey, Uncle Phil! Oh man! How ya doin'?"
G: "I am not your uncle Philip."
W: "Oh uh my fault, man. I musta got the wrong crib. But ayo, I didn't know there were so many brothers livin' in this neighbourhood. We doin' alright, huh?"
G: "You have the right house. I am Geoffrey, your uncle's butler."
W: "Oh okay, well, uh cheerio an' all that rot. […] Bring the horses 'round, would you?"
G: "If you will follow me, I will show you to your room, Master William."
W: "Hey man, it's cool if you just call me *Will*, man."
G: "Master William, tradition dictates that a clean, unbreakable line be drawn between a family and their butler. Therefore, it is necessary for the operation of the household that you address me as *Geoffrey* and I in turn address you by your proper title. *Master William*."
W: "Who are you? Robo butler, man?"
G: "Come with me, Master William."
W: "Yo, yo, G, G, G, lemme rap to you for a second, man. All this Master William stuff, man, I'm not down with that, man. Make it sound like we back on a plantation. Somethin' like *Massah William, Massah William!* Let's come up with somethin' better that you could call me!"
G: "What would you prefer?!"
W: "Check this. *His royal Freshness*. That's dope!"
G: "Master William, walk this way."

Appendix C

Conversation between Will (W) and Geoffrey (G) in the first scene of Episode 1, Season 1, of *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (IPA).

W: heɪ ˈʌŋkl fɪl. oʊ mæ. haʊ jə ˈduːɪn
G: aɪ æm nɒt jɔːr ˈʌŋkl ˈfɪlɪp
W: oʊ ʌ maː fɔlt mæ. aː mʌst gɑt ðə rɔŋ krɪb. bʌ ˈeɪoʊ aː ˈdɪdənt noʊ ðeə wə soʊ ˈmɛni ˈbrʌðəz ˈlɪvɪn ɪn dɪs ˈneɪbəˌhʊd. wiˈduɪn ˌɔlˈraɪt hʌ
G: juː hæv ðə raɪt haʊs. aɪ æm ˈʤɛfri jɔːr ˈʌŋklz ˈbʌtlə.
W: oʊ ˌoʊˈkeɪ wɛl ʌ ˈʧɪrioʊ ænd ɔl ðæt rɑt […] brɪŋ ðə ˈhaʊəzɪz raʊnd wʊd ju
G: ɪf juː wɪl ˈfɒləʊ miː aɪ wɪl ʃəʊ juː tuː jɔː ɾuːm ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm
W: heɪ mæ ɪts kul ɪf ju ʤis kɔl mi wɪl mæ
G: ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm trəˈdɪʃən ˈdɪkteɪts ðæt ə kliːn ˌʌnˈbreɪkəbl laɪn biː drɔːn bɪˈtwiːn ə ˈfæmɪli ænd ðeə ˈbʌtlə. ˈðeəfɔː ɪt ɪz ˈnɛsɪsəri fɔː ðiˌɒpəˈɾeɪʃən ɒv ə ˈhaʊshəʊld ðæt juː əˈdrɛs miː æz ˈʤɛfri ænd aɪ ɪn tɜːn əˈdrɛs juː baɪ jɔː ˈprɒpə ˈtaɪtl. ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm
W: ɑr ju ˈroʊboʊ ˈbʌtlə mæ
G: kʌm wɪð miː ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm
W: joʊ joʊ ʤi ʤi ʤi lɛmi ræp tə ju fɔː ə ˈsɛkən mæ. ɔl dɪs ˈmɑːstə ˈwɪljəm stʌf mæ aːm nɑt daʊn wɪð dæt mæ. meɪk ɪt saʊn laɪk wi bæk ɑn ə ˌplænˈteɪʃən. ˈmɑːsə ˈwɪljəm mɑːsə ˈwɪljəm. lɛts kʌm ʌp wɪð ˈsʌmθɪn ˈbɛtə dæt ju kʊd kɔl mi
G: wɒt wʊd juː priˈfɜː
W: ʧɛk dɪs. hɪz ˈrɔɪəl ˈfrɛʃnəs. dæts doʊp

“Melts me Heart, always”

Yorkshire Dialect Variation in selected Features of Louis Tomlinson

JENNIFER THOM[1]

When Louis Tomlinson, a 27-year old singer, calls his One Direction band members ‘lads’ in interviews or talks about fan encounters where he is asked to write someone a ‘ta-u,’ it becomes apparent that he does not use Received Pronunciation. Instead, he speaks some form of dialect. The pronunciation of a phrase such as “melts me heart always” may sound like an unconventional vernacular, but for One Direction fans, it is a typical feature of Louis Tomlinson. Yet, his distinct dialect is not apparent in his singing; since there is a general consensus that boybands should be easily accessible. Regarding this ease of understanding, an article in the *Mirror* from 2013 reports that One Direction’s management expects the members to sing with an American accent (see Moodie). However, One Direction’s fanbase loves the members’ accents, especially Tomlinson’s. If you google search ‘Louis Tomlinson accent’ the search results that will come up consist mostly of multiple tumblr, Twitter and Facebook pages dedicated to Louis Tomlinson’s dialect and fans claiming how much they love his dialect. But which dialect does he make use of exactly and how can we recognise it? A first indication is that of geographical location. Louis Tomlinson is from Doncaster, which is a city in the North of England, a region of rich linguistic variety. More precisely, Doncaster is located in Yorkshire, the largest county of England. The local variety in the region is called the Yorkshire Dialect.

In order to point out the specific features used by Louis Tomlinson, this paper begins by introducing the Yorkshire Dialect. I am primarily interested in exploring how the Yorkshire Dialect developed to indicate its various features and qualities because these changes distinguish it from Received Pronunciation and provide Yorkshire with its specific character. I will first investigate the influences of other

1 This essay was initially submitted as a term paper and supervised by Carolin Schneider.

languages before discussing the linguistic background of the dialect. I pay particular attention to those periods which heavily affected the dialect. At times, I will also point out possible differences between the North and the South. Furthermore, it is important to establish the differences between the Yorkshire Dialect and Received Pronunciation by looking at, for example, phonological features such as differences in vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs and consonants as well as the phenomenon of the so-called *Definite Article Reduction.* Grammatical features of the dialect are also taken into account; for instance, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions and verbs.

After explaining the methodology and data this paper uses, I shift focus to the question of whether Louis Tomlinson speaks Yorkshire Dialect. To do so, this paper analyses both phonological and grammatical features used by Louis Tomlinson in comparison to Received Pronunciation. Afterwards, the paper investigates similarities and deviations between Tomlinson's speech and the Yorkshire Dialect.

YORKSHIRE DIALECT

This paper is concerned with the Yorkshire Dialect, which can also be referred to as broad Yorkshire (see Kellett 1). As mentioned in the introduction, Yorkshire is located in the North of England (for geographical details, see Appendix A). Until 1974 Yorkshire was furthermore divided into North Riding, East Riding and West Riding (Appendix B). Since 1974 the county itself has been divided into North Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire. For the purpose of this paper, however, the former division will be used (see Rawling 95).

Today's Yorkshire Dialect still represents traces of Old English, Old Norse, Middle English, German, Dutch and Modern English. One of the earliest influences found in Yorkshire Dialect is Old English which entered the language through the Angles. Old English consisted of the *Northumbrian dialect* and the *Mercian dialect.* Northumbrian was more common in Yorkshire, but Mercian eventually spread in the Southern part of Yorkshire. This is viewed as the origin of the difference between the language in the North and East Ridings and the language in the West Riding (see 98).

Old English is still evident in pronunciation as sound changes were not taken up in the North of England as they were in the South. An example for this is that in the North, words such as 'long,' 'strong' and 'wrong' maintained the Old English

/ʌ/ sound, whereas in the South the sound changed to /ɒ/ (see Rawling 98). Another example for this is that /ɪ/ transitioned to the diphthong /ʌɪ/ as in /blʌɪnd/, but in Yorkshire it remained /blɪnd/. Grammatical features of Old English can be seen mostly in plurals, pronouns and verbal past tense. Plural forms can be identified through a word final *-n* such as in *een,* which translates as 'eyes' or a vowel mutilation such as *kye* which means 'cows' (see Rawling 98). A final feature of Old English still found in Yorkshire Dialect is the formation of pronouns. 'Yon' finds its origin in the Old English word *□eon* and translates to 'that over there.' Another example, which is not exclusive to Yorkshire Dialect, is the shortening of the pronoun 'them' to 'em' that originated from Old English *hem* (see Rawling 98).

Through the Scandinavians and the Normans, many new words entered the English language, and some of them can only be found in dialect today. For example, the Scandinavians brought *Old Norse* words such as 'sackless,' which derives from *saklauss* and means 'foolish, simple, stupid' or 'nay,' which originates from *nei* and translates as 'no' (see Rawling 99). The Normans brought derivations of French words such as *arran* (from French 'arraigne') for 'spider' or 'spider's web' (see Rawling 100).

Another heavy influence on Yorkshire Dialect which brought mostly phonological changes is Middle English. Some phonemes either became pure vowels while other vowels became diphthongs (see Rawling 101). This phonological change was not exclusive to vowels but can also be found in the shift from uvular fricative /χ/ to labiodental /f/. Scholars argued that this is the reason why words such as 'dough' and 'plough' are realised as /dʊf; dʊəf/ and /plʊf; plɪəf/ occasionally (see Rawling 100-101).

Scholarship also believes that definitive article reduction entered Yorkshire Dialect through Middle English. There are many theories regarding this phenomenon, the one with the most support being that it derived from the assimilated Middle English word *te* (originally *þe*) and was the first introduction to the reduced article (see Rawling 101). In Middle English, plural forms of nouns after numerals did not exist. This can be visualised in the example *þre □er,* which translates to 'three year.' This feature was still found in the twentieth century, as was documented by the *Survey of English Dialects* (see Rawling 102). Dialectal reflexive suffixes such as '-sel,' '-sen,' '-seln,' '-sens' also originate from the Middle English word for self, *seluen*, as in, for example, 'missen' instead of 'myself' or 'theirsens' instead of 'themselves' (see Rawling 102). Middle English also introduced

an array of new words, and some of them are still used in Yorkshire Dialect today such as 'lad' which originates from *ladde* and means 'boy, youth' or 'close' which derives from *clos* and means 'field' (see Rawling 102).

Further influences of Yorkshire come from German, Dutch and Modern English. German and Dutch brought mostly new terminology for coal-mining. For example, Yorkshire Dialect adopted words such as 'kibble' which derives from the German word *Kübel* ('bucket') and is used to describe a steel bucket used in coal-mining. From Dutch, it took words such as 'corve' which originates from *Korf* ('basket') and denotes a utensil used to move coal in the mines (see Rawling 102). Modern English is the origin of phonological features which aid in distinguishing Northern English Dialects from Southern English Dialects. In the London area, for example, vowel shifts occurred from /ʌ/ to /a:/ in words such as 'bath,' 'past,' 'laugh' or /ʊ/ to /ʌ/ as in 'cut,' 'but,' 'rug.' However, in the North, these vowel shifts did not occur. Another example for this is the vowel [e] which shifted to become the diphthong /eɪ/ for instance in words such as 'make,' 'take,' 'tame' in the South of England, but remained the same in the North (see Rawling 103).

Similar to the linguistic features, vowels in Yorkshire Dialect are also realised differently than they are in Received Pronunciation. For example, in RP the /a:/ in 'path,' 'pass' or 'branch' is realised in Yorkshire Dialect as /ʌ/. /ʌ/ is also used instead of /ɒ/ in words such as, for instance, 'wrong,' 'want' or 'wasp.' [e] can either be realised as /e/ as in /bed/ or as /eɪ/ such as in /neɪm/. Furthermore, /i:/ in Yorkshire Dialect is realised as the diphthong /ɪə/ as in /fi:l/ ('feel') which becomes /fɪəl/ instead. The /ɒ/ as in /pɒt/ ('pot') can either be realised identical to RP or as /ɔ:/ as /stɔ:n/ ('stone'). The final vowel shift which occurs in Yorkshire Dialect is that instead of 'but' being realised as /bʌt/ it is realised as /bʊt/ and therefore /ʌ/ shifts to /ʊ/ (see Kellett 1).

Diphthong and Triphthong shifts depend on geographical location and are different in West Riding when compared to North and East Riding. I will only focus on the West Riding variation in this paper since Doncaster is located in West Riding, and it is therefore assumed that Louis Tomlinson makes use of the West Riding dialect. The diphthong /əʊ/ in /fləʊ/ ('flow') in West Riding is realised as /ʊə/, however, in 'coal' it is realised as /ɔɪ/. In Southern parts of West Riding /aʊ/ as in /haʊs/ ('house') can also be realised as /a:/ which is also the case for the triphthong /ʌɪə/ as in /fʌɪə/ ('fire') and would, therefore, be realised as /fa:/ (see Rawling 104).

In Yorkshire Dialect some consonants are pronounced more explicitly than they are in RP. An example for this is the word 'lad' where the final /d/ is emphasised and mimics the /d/ in /lædə/. This phenomenon occurs mostly at the end of sentences where it calls for emphasis (see Kellett 27). A further phenomenon is the h-dropping. In Yorkshire dialect almost every spelled [h] is not pronounced (see Kellett 27). Examples for this are: 'home' is realised as /ʊəm/ or 'hat' is realised as /at/ or 'here' is realised as /ɪə/. Final /s/ and /t/ sounds can be realised in a voiced manner /z/ or /d/. For instance, 'he saw us' would, therefore, sound like /i: sɔ: ʌz/ or /bʌt/ would be realised as /bʌd/ (see Kellett 28). Furthermore, [t] can also be pronounced as the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the middle of a word, or at the end of words (see Kellett 28). Another feature of consonants in Yorkshire Dialect is the omittance of the final /g/ sound in 'ing'-ending words (see Kellett 28). Examples for this case are: 'going' is realised as /gʊəɪn/ or 'having' is realised as /avɪn/ or 'shouting is realised as /ʃaʊtɪn/. A final feature of consonants in Yorkshire Dialect is the shift of the replacement of an intervocalic [t] with /ɹ/. This can be found in examples such as 'what about it' which is realised as /wɒɹ ə ˈbu:t ɪt/. The /ɹ/ can also occur at the end of words, however, this depends on geographical location and is usually not the case in West Riding (see Rawling 105).

Definite Article Reduction also plays an important role in understanding Yorkshire Dialect, particularly its phonological features. In writing, the reduction of the definite article 'the' is represented as either 't' or 'th.' In phonology various allomorphs represent it, for example /d/, /ʔ/, /ʔt/ and /θ/. In some parts of Yorkshire, the usage of these allomorphs can differ within smaller regions, and no set standard exists as to which sound is used in what part of the country (see Rawling 106). However, there have been some observations made to determine when a certain allomorph is used and what influences the decision, for instance, /t/ is used when a vowel follows, /t/ is used before consonants, except for [t], /ʔ/ or /tʔ/ is used when [t] follows and /ʔ/ is used when [l], [s] or [r] follows (see Rawling 106). In some areas the use of /ʔ/, /t/ and /θ/ can vary. The usage of the reduced definite article is not only influenced by its phonological environment but is also used when something is being referred to (see Rawling 106)

There are numerous grammatical features which distinguish Yorkshire Dialect from Received Pronunciation. The non-existence of plural forms after numerals has already been mentioned. Further differences in grammar from pronouns, adverbs and prepositions to verbs will be looked at in the following.

Unlike Received Pronunciation, Yorkshire Dialect kept the second person singular pronouns 'thou,' 'thee,' 'thy' and 'thine.' However, this is only the case in intimate situations when speaking to family members or friends. In all other settings, the standard forms are used. 'It' can be shortened to 't' in both pronunciation and written form. Furthermore, 'us' has two meanings in Yorkshire Dialect, one of them being that it is used instead of 'me' and the second one being that it is used instead of 'our.' However, the second case only applies to West Riding. Additionally, 'what' and 'at' can replace 'who,' whereas 'that' can be replaced as 'what' or 'as.'

Adverbs which are used to reinforce meaning can differ from those in Received Pronunciation (see Rawling 108). Examples of this are: 'over' instead of 'too' or 'right' instead of 'vary' or 'fair' instead of 'really, completely.' In addition to adverbs, prepositions in Yorkshire Dialect are more distinct than they are in Received Pronunciation. In addition to 'between,' Yorkshire Dialect also knows 'atween,' 'atwixt' and 'betwixt.' 'Aboon' has the same meaning as 'above,' the meaning of 'amenst' is identical to 'opposite' and 'ahint' identical to 'behind.' Furthermore, 'while' can also be used in the context of 'till.' Finally, 'of' can either be represented by 'on' or be overlooked entirely (see Rawling 108).

Verb inflections and modifications in Yorkshire Dialect also differ from those in Received Pronunciation. For example, final '-s' is added not only to the third person singular but also to other forms such as in 'thou sees.' An exception to this is 'they' where '-en' can be added as in for example 'they looken.' In past tense, some variation such as 'spack' is used instead of 'spoke.' Endings such as '-ed' and '-en' are also used for past participles as in 'catched' instead of 'caught' or 'cutten' instead of 'cut.' Furthermore, in Yorkshire Dialect a different conjugation of the verb 'be' can occur (see Rawling 108): 'I is' instead of 'I am' or 'thou is' instead of 'you are' or 'they is' instead of 'they are.' This is also the case for past tense conjugation: 'I were' instead of 'I was' or 'thou/we/they was' instead of 'you/we/they are.' Furthermore, 'sal' is used rather than 'shall,' as well as 'mun' instead of 'must' which is also the case in its negated form 'mun't' (see Rawling 108). Generally, negations are composed in the same way as they are in Received Pronunciation, however, there is some variation. 'I am not' can become 'I ammet' or 'I'm none' and 'we have not' can become 'we han't/hannot'. Double negatives can also occur, for example in 'nobody's had no time to go home' which is equal in meaning to 'nobody has had time to go home' (see Rawling 108).

ANALYSIS

To properly assess whether Louis Tomlinson's uses a Yorkshire Dialect, I have chosen a video compilation from YouTube. The compilation titled "Louis Tomlinson's Strong Accent" features various excerpts from different interviews by Louis Tomlinson and already suggests to represent his dialect. Instead of a single interview, this video is of particular value because it covers more features and therefore provides more material to explore which features Louis Tomlinson uses most frequently and how they coincide or differ from the features of Yorkshire Dialect.

The "Louis Tomlinson's Strong Accent" video features many characteristics of Louis Tomlinson's accent, which differ from Received Pronunciation. The most noticeable differences in Tomlinson's English are vowel shifts which can be found multiple times throughout the video. The vowel shift he uses the most is /ʌ/ to /ʊ/. Examples found are listed in table 1.

Table 1: vowel shift /ʌ/ to /ʊ/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'couple'	/kʌpl/	/kʊpl/ (1:52)
'nothing'	/nʌθɪŋ/	/nʊθɪn/ (1:54, 3:10)
'up'	/ʌp/	/ʊp/ (1:55)
'someone'	/sʌmwʌn/	/sʊmwʊn/ (2:01)
'something'	/sʌmθɪŋ/	/sʊmθɪn/ (2:09)
'come'	/kʌm/	/kʊm/ (2:10)
'gun'	/gʌn/	/gʊn/ (2:18)
'structured'	/strʌktʃəd/	/strʊktʃəd/ (2:26)
'everyone'	/evrɪwʌn/	/evrɪwʊn/ (2:28)

Another vowel shift he makes use of is from /æ/ to /ʌ/. When Louis talks about his tattoo and calls it 'random' he pronounces it as /rʌndəm/ rather than /rændəm/. In the same context, instead of pronouncing 'ramp' as /ræmp/, Louis pronounces it as /rʌmp/ (1:48). A further example for this vowel shift is at 2:22 in the video when he says, 'I felt bad because' and pronounces it as /aɪ felt bʌd bɪˈkɒz/ instead of /aɪ

felt bæd bɪˈkɒz/. The final example for this shift occurs when he realises 'that' as /ðʌʔ/ instead of as /ðæt/ (2:52).

Table 2: vowel shift/æ/ to /ʌ/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'random'	/rændəm/	/rʌndəm/ (1:46)
'ramp'	/ræmp/	/rʌmp/ (1:48)
'I felt bad because'	/aɪ felt bæd bɪˈkɒz/	/aɪ felt bʌd bɪˈkɒz/ (2:22)
'that'	/ðæt/	/ðʌʔ/ (2:52)

Furthermore, he pronounces /ɒ/ instead of /ʌ/ when, for example, he says 'to be fair love.' He pronounces it as /tu: bi: feə lɒv/ and not /tuː biː feə lʌv/ (1:17). This again occurs when he says /lɒvlɪ/ rather than /lʌvli/ (2:41).

Table 3: vowel shift /ɒ/ to /ʌ/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'to be fair love'	/tuː biː feə lʌv/	/tu: bi: feə lɒv/ (1:17)
'lovely'	/lʌvli/	/lɒvlɪ/ (2:41)

A final vowel shift, which only occurs once in this video at 2:27 is from /a:/ to /ʌ/ when he says 'I didn't get a chance' and it is realised as /aɪ dɪdnt get ðə ʧʌns/ instead of as /aɪ dɪdnt get ðə ʧɑːns/.

Table 4: vowel shift /a:/ to /ʌ/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'I didn't get a chance'	/aɪ dɪdnt get ðə ʧɑːns/	/aɪ dɪdnt get ðə ʧʌns/ (2:27)

When he pronounces 'a lot of pressure for me,' he shifts from vowel to diphthong saying /ə lɒt ɒv ˈpreʃə fɔː meɪ/ instead of /ə lɒt ɒv ˈprɛʃə fɔː miː/. He therefore realises [e] as /eɪ/ (1:19).

Table 5: vowel to diphthong shift /iː/ to /eɪ/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
‘a lot of pressure for me’	/ə lɒt ɒv ˈprɛʃə fɔː miː/	/ə lɒt ɒv ˈpreʃə fɔː meɪ/ (1:19)

Lastly, a diphthong shift also occurs when Tomlinson talks about ‘skateboarder here’ pronouncing the ‘here’ as /eə/ rather than /hɪə/ and therefore replaces the /ɪə/ with /eə/ (1:43).

Table 6: diphthong shift /ɪə/ to /eə/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
‘here’	/hɪə/	/eə/ (1:43)

In the video, Tomlinson also exhibits numerous variations in consonant pronunciation. The most prominent and most frequent is the realisation of [t], [d] and [k] as /ʔ/. Table 7 lists all of the examples:

Table 7: consonant realisation [t], [d] and [k] as /ʔ/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
‘what’	/wɒt/	/wɒʔ/ (1:16)
‘could’	/kud/	/kuʔ/ (1:29)
‘like’	/laɪk/	/laɪʔ/ (1:38)
‘tweeted’	/twɪːtəd/	/twɪːʔəd/ (1:53)
‘right’	/raɪt/	/raɪʔ/ (1:57)
‘tattoo’	/təˈtʊ/	/təˈʔʊ/ (2:18)
‘later’	/ləɪtə/	/ləɪʔə/ (2:37)
‘got’	/gɒt/	/gɒʔ/ (2:45)
‘gotta get that right’	/gɒtə gɛt ðæt raɪt/	/gɒtə geʔ ðʌʔ raɪʔ/ 2:52)
‘hot dog’	/hɒt dɒg/	/hɒʔ dɒg/ (3:15)

Tomlinson also tends to replace the final word sound /ŋ/ with /n/ and thereby omits the word final /g/. Examples for this are:

Table 8: omission of final /g/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'anything'	/enɪθɪŋ/	/enɪθɪn/ (1:22; 1:30)
'nothing'	/nʌθɪŋ/	/nʊθɪn/ (1:54; 3:10)
'something'	/sʌmθɪŋ/	/sʊmθɪn/ (2:09)
'scoffing eating'	/skɒfɪŋ iːtɪŋ/	/skɒfɪn iːtɪn/ (3:12)

An additional feature of consonant variation in the video is h-dropping. The first example occurs when he says 'skateboarder here' (1:43). Instead of pronouncing the phrase as /skeɪtbɔːdə hɪə/, he says /skeɪtbɔːdə eə/. For 'can't have a cup of tea' Tomlinson states /kɑːnt æv ə kʊp ɒv tiː/ instead of /kɑːnt hæv ə kʌp ɒv tiː/ (1:56). The final example for his consonant variation happens as Tomlinson speaks of 'home' as /əʊm/ and not as /həʊm/ (2:33).

Table 9: h-dropping		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'skateboarder here'	/skeɪtbɔːdə hɪə/	/skeɪtbɔːdə eə/ (1:43)
'can't have a cup of tea'	/kɑːnt hæv ə kʌp ɒv tiː/	/kɑːnt æv ə kʊp ɒv tiː/ (1:56)
'home'	/həʊm/	/əʊm/ (2:33)

The final example of his consonant variation is the phrase 'north of England' which Tomlinson articulates as /nɔːf ɒv ˈɪŋgləɪnd/ instead of /nɔːθ ɒv ˈɪŋgləɪnd/. He also pronounces the [th] as /f/ instead of the voiceless interdental fricative (2:39).

Table 10: consonant realisation [th] as /f/		
Lexeme	**RP**	**Louis Tomlinson**
'north of England'	/nɔːθ ɒv ˈɪŋgləɪnd/	/nɔːf ɒv ˈɪŋgləɪnd/ (2:39)

In regard to grammar, Tomlinson only replaces the possessive pronoun 'my' with the personal pronoun 'me' multiple times throughout the video. He does not make use of any additional grammatical deviances. Examples for the pronoun include:

Table 11: pronoun replacement	
RP	**Louis Tomlinson**
'just in my boxers'	'just in **me** boxers' (0:45)
'my little signature x smiley face'	'**me** little signature x smiley face' (1:26)
'why I got my oops'	'why I got **me** oops' (1:50)
'Someone's ringing my bell relentlessly'	'Someone's ringing **me** bell relentlessly' (2:02)
'I get my phone out'	'I get **me** phone out' (2:22)
'melts my heart always'	'melts **me** heart always' (2:42)

The last important feature of Tomlinson's use of dialect and his variation from Received Pronunciation is neither of phonological nor grammatical nature. Rather, his use of the word 'lad' (1:03) in his expression 'oh come on lad' presents a lexical variation as Tomlinson expresses disbelief about the radio host not understanding him.

RESULTS

The study of linguistic features found in the "Louis Tomlinson's Strong Accent" video reveal a close correlation with numerous features of the Yorkshire Dialect. The phonological features Louis Tomlinson frequently uses place him squarely in the Yorkshire Dialect. He makes use of most of the consonant shifts such as a glottal stop replacing /t/ in the middle of words as well as h-dropping at the beginning of some words and omitting [g] at the end of words. Additionally, he occasionally pronounces [k] and [d] with a glottal stop as well. When it comes to vowels, most features Louis Tomlinson uses also coincide with features of the Yorkshire Dialect such as the shifts from /ʌ/ to /ʊ/, as in 'come,' which he uses frequently, as well as /a:/ to /ʌ/ as in 'chance' and realising [e] as /eɪ/. However, there are also discrepancies

in Tomlinson's variation. He uses /ʌ/ instead of /æ/ numerous times, an example being 'ramp,' which was not listed as one of the features of the Yorkshire Dialect but is nevertheless frequently used by Louis Tomlinson. Another interesting observation is that he shifts from /ʌ/ to /ɒ/ whereas in Yorkshire Dialect speakers usually pronounce the /ɒ/ as /ʌ/ instead. Although he makes no use of the diphthong changes characteristic for Yorkshire Dialect, he shifts from /ɪə/ to /eə/ (table 6) in his speech pattern.

With regard to the grammatical features, Louis uses neither his adverbs, prepositions nor verb inflections as typically found in Yorkshire Dialect. He does, however, use 'me' instead of 'my' (table 11), but this is not listed as a feature of the Yorkshire Dialect. The final feature which shows that Louis is a speaker of the Yorkshire Dialect is his use of the word 'lad.'

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I provided an overview of the dialect to establish and name Louis Tomlinson's features and categorise them as Yorkshire Dialect. The vowel and consonant changes he uses are a clear indication that he uses Yorkshire Dialect even as he uses none of the grammatical features. Further investigation could be done for the few features he uses which are not common for this specific dialect to explore any other influences on Tomlinson's language. Since the analysed video compilation only provides some examples of his speech pattern, an in-depth study of more videos and situations would offer a more detailed understanding of Tomlinson's dialect.

Another promising venue of study would be to take a closer look at the sociocultural aspect of Tomlinson's use of dialect. As a public figure, he travels internationally and communicates with many people, many of whom are not native speakers of the English language. Tomlinson might moderate his dialect in interviews or public appearances to be more accessible and more easily understood. This could be the reason as to why this study found mostly phonological changes and why Tomlinson uses none of the grammatical features of the Yorkshire Dialect. These tend to be more complex and would perhaps complicate his communication with fans, journalist and artist from around the world. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if he uses more dialectal variation in his personal life when he

talks to friends or family. However, this paper could not consider these situations because recordings are harder to acquire.

Lastly, for further studies, the *Yorkshire Dialect Society* could also be of help since they are frequently involved in studies of Yorkshire Dialect and release 'transactions' for every full decade including studies and other transcripts. These transactions date back to 1897 and provide the possibility of a diachronic look at Yorkshire Dialect and its change over the decades. Overall the society provides additional material for an in-depth look at the dialect and plenty of sources for further studies of the Yorkshire Dialect.

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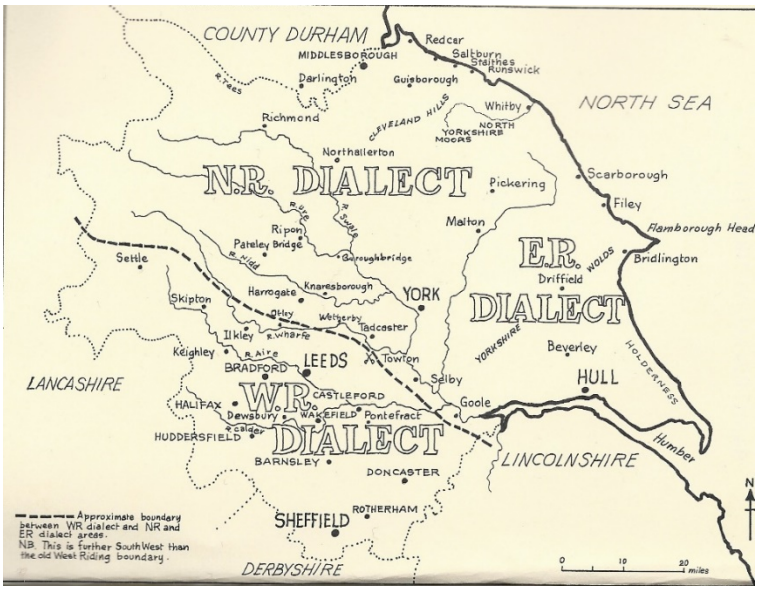
APPENDIX

Appendix A

Source: Wikipedia

Apendix B



Source: Kellet 1992

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