

Channeling Charlie: Suprasegmental pronunciation in a second language learner's
performance of others' voices

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Abstract

This paper explores interlanguage in use by analyzing suprasegmental pronunciation in narratives recounted by Heriberto, an adult immigrant who started using English in his late teens. Within these narratives, Heriberto performs the ‘voices’ of people he interacts with currently, or has interacted with in the past, including the voices of coworkers, former roommates and even a student who attends the school at which he works. The quotes within his narrative are not direct quotes in a strict sense, but align with the phenomenon of ‘constructed dialogue’ (Yule, 1998). Some of the most interesting work on constructed dialogue comes from a sociocultural framework. Specifically, there is a small body of research that applies Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of ‘double voicing’ to the voice performance of bilingual speakers and second language learners (Tarone & Broner, 2001; Vang, 2013; LaScotte, 2016), and almost none documenting the suprasegmental pronunciation features of those voices. Following these studies, I utilize Bakhtin’s construct of ‘double voicing’ in my analysis of the participant’s suprasegmental pronunciation in his performance of voices in constructed dialogue. Through qualitative and quantitative analysis, including comparisons of suprasegmental pronunciation features in the participant’s base style and in his performances of other voices, I examine the way his stylization in double voicing reflects varieties of English commonly enacted in the local culture. Stimulated recall was employed to explore the participant’s insights into his own use of others’ voices. This paper concludes by reflecting on second language acquisition and agency in light of these findings and suggesting possible implications for the teaching of pronunciation in the second language classroom.

Introduction

This paper gives a snapshot of interlanguage in use by analyzing narratives recounted by Heriberto, an adult immigrant who started using English in his late teens. Within these narratives, Heriberto performs the ‘voices’ of people he interacts with currently, or has interacted with in the past, including the voices of coworkers, former roommates and even a student who attends the school where he works.

Literature Review

For anyone, there is, arguably, rarely a conversation that includes only the voices of those present. Many of our conversations include other voices, or reports of what was said in past conversations by other speakers. Traditionally, grammar texts have presented two ways of reporting what was said: ‘direct quotation’, which Tannen (1989) defines as instances in which “another's utterance is framed as dialogue in the other's voice” (“Annie said, ‘I’ll meet you there’”) and ‘indirect quotation’, which refers to when “another's speech is paraphrased in the current speaker's voice” (“Annie said that she would meet you there”) (p. 102). The meanings of these forms are also dichotomized. Direct quotation is often understood as being “connected more clearly to the moment of utterance”, while indirect quotation is seen as an *interpretation* of what was originally said (Yule, 1998, p. 274). However, because speech is always inextricably interwoven into the context in which it was spoken, the simple act of taking an utterance from one context and moving it to another transforms the meaning of the utterance, infusing it with new intentions. As Bakhtin ([1975] 1981) noted, “given the appropriate methods for framing, one may bring about fundamental changes even in another’s utterance accurately quoted” (p.340). Tannen (1989) also questions the construct of ‘reported

speech', proposing that all discourse framed as dialogue (introduced by quotative frames such as, 'be', 'said' or 'be like'), is the speaker's interpretation, not a 'report' of what was said. Instead of calling it 'reported speech' she proposes the term 'constructed dialogue' in recognition of the fact that all reenacted dialogue is a 'recontextualization' and creative appropriation of the words of others (Tannen, 1989, p. 19).

While all constructed dialogue is, to some degree, a product or 'construction' of the speaker, the nature of the relationship between the quote and the original utterance can vary greatly. For instance, a given quotation could represent an utterance that *was* spoken aloud, an utterance that simply *could have been* spoken aloud, or even the speakers thoughts or feelings in the present moment. In order to distinguish between these various types of constructed dialogue, Buchstaller (2001) proposes a "hypotheticality continuum". Within this framework, quotations are categorized as 'realis', 'hypothetical' or 'situational'— 'realis' lying on one end of the continuum and 'situational' on the other. 'Realis' quotes are reenactments of a past conversation that actually took place, though the speaker rarely quotes the exact words of the "character". These quotes are usually found within "a defined and plausible communicative situation" (Buchstaller, 2001, p. 6). Buchstaller gives the following example:

(3) *Being mistaken for a woman*

A: the other day I went into a bar and this guy asked me to dance,

B: @@@@ [@@@@ @

A: [and all he saw was my hair,
and **he goes** 'do you wanna dance' ?
I turn around and **go** 'what' ?

B @@@@.hhh

A: and **he goes** 'do you wanna dance' ?

I go 'no no'.

he goes 'oh oh I'm sorry'.

I go 'yeah you better be',

(p. 6)

In this segment, it appears likely that the majority of these quotes are directly related to original utterances that were spoken aloud. This is indicated by the fact that speaker A describes a defined communicative situation, providing contextual details, such as the time and place at which the conversation took place.

Farther along the continuum, speakers use ‘hypothetical’ quotes to express attitudes and opinions. Buchstaller points out that, by putting voice to her feelings about a past event or conversation, the speaker is able to make the retelling more vivid. Unlike realis quotes, the purpose is not to recount what was said in an interaction, but to “make an inner state available to hearers”, as seen in the following example in which two speakers discuss the problems with plastic grocery bags:

(4) *Plastic bags*

- B: Yeah in fact I have one today,
 A: ri[ght.
 B: [the only problem with those is sometimes they got holes in the bottom.
 A: yeah [they
 B: [and @@ it's like 'whoops there goes my chips,
 A: [yeah
 B: [okay fine'.

(p. 7)

Here, speaker B makes visible his/her thoughts about a past event—her chips falling out of a hole in her plastic grocery bag. It is unlikely that this utterance was spoken aloud, which is made especially clear by the absence of contextual details and the use of the subject “**it**” within the quotative frame.

Opposing ‘realis’ on the continuum are ‘situational’ quotes. Similar to hypothetical quotes, these do not necessarily index real speech. However, unlike hypothetical quotes, the communicative situation that they index is not in the past but in

the present. According to Buchstaller (2001), “the quote can be understood as a comment on the present situation clad in the format of a quote” (p. 7). She gives the following example from her data:

(5) Cooking

- B: So I enjoy you know cooking thinks to take over to her hou[se or -
A: [oh that’s nice,
B: yeah and it is fun for me to do that,
It is something I enjoy doing,
It’s funny though it’s like ‘I don’t really want to cook for us’

This example was identified as a situational quote because there does not appear to index a past event at all. Rather, speaker B seems to be commenting on her present feelings about cooking. In fact, it could be the case that this speaker is realizing the irony of her situation in the moment.

The phenomenon of constructed dialogue is not limited to the discourse of first language speakers. There is evidence that bilinguals and language learners perform the voices of others for various communicative purposes as well. In fact, the analysis of the discourse of bilingual speakers has provided the field with important insights into constructed dialogue. Much of the work on this topic has been in the field of sociolinguistics and has been concerned with code switching. In their analyses of constructed dialogue in bilingual discourse, both Alvarez-Caccamo (1996) and Koven (2001) have found that speakers often represent discourse in a language other than the language in which the original utterance was spoken. In addition to lending evidence to the claim that represented dialogues are in fact “constructed”, these studies also reveal

that bilingual speakers use constructed dialogue to perform cultural identities, aligning themselves with certain groups and individuals while distancing themselves from others.

In her analysis of constructed dialogue within bilingual discourse, Vang (2013) found that the Japanese-English bilingual participants used code switching to take on a different role, or voice. This usually took the form of performing the voice of another culturally Japanese individual in Japanese, within primarily English discourse. She theorizes that code-switching to Japanese allowed them to add drama to constructed dialogues, as well as to communicate Japanese American ethnic identities.

Rampton (2013) considers the effect of character performance in constructed dialogue on the language production of a bilingual speaker, Mandeep, who began to use English later in life. Central to Rampton's analysis of Mandeep's character performance is the concept of "stylization", which he defines as "reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of linguistic varieties that lie outside their habitual repertoire" (Rampton, 1995, 2006). Stylization is different than the notion of 'register' because, similar to double voicing, it "involves a degree of self-conscious performance, a second-order meta-representation of varieties and styles" (Rampton, 2013, p. 361). Analyzing Mandeep's language from a quantitative style-shifting perspective, Rampton found that he more closely approximates phonological elements of different local varieties of English when he reports the speech of another, than when he speaks in his base style.

Rampton's findings may have implications for second language pedagogy, particularly for teaching pronunciation. In fact, Colleen Meyers, an instructor in the International Teaching Assistant (ITA) program at the University of Minnesota, has

developed an activity that harnesses the potential language benefits of performing the voices of others, which she calls the “Mirroring Project”. With the goal of acquiring a more comprehensible English pronunciation, students imitate, or “mirror” strategically selected pronunciation models. Each student’s model is chosen only after Colleen works with students to identify aspects of their pronunciation that most interfere with intelligibility and comprehensibility. With this information in mind, students search for a short video clip (approximately 7-10 sentences) of a native speaker or “comprehensible and intelligible L2 model who is well-suited to the pronunciation features that they specifically need” (Meyers, 2013). Meyers explains that it is also important that they select a model with whom they can identify or who they find interesting. Additionally, she adds that video clips with a clear message and strong emotion are particularly good models for imitation. Students initially record a “cold” version of themselves imitating the model with no instruction, and then, at the end of the project, and after pedagogical intervention, a final version.

Meyers offers the example, with video support, of one of her students, “Mary”. Mary was working to improve focal stress and pitch patterns for highlighting key information, skills that will enable her to deliver engaging and effective lectures as a teaching assistant (<http://newsmanager.commpartners.com/tesolvdms/issues/2013-07-27/6.html>). In order to target these areas, she selected a segment of a TED Talk by Yang Lan (2011), a highly intelligible and comprehensible L2 speaker of English who is known as the “Oprah of China”. Meyers notes that Lan was an excellent model for Mary due to her clear stress and intonation patterns. Additionally, Lan’s nonverbal communication, another area of focus for Mary, exuded confidence and charisma. From her cold version

to final version, Mary became much more comprehensible and engaging as she mirrored Lan. In particular, she clearly marked focus words through increased amplitude and appropriate intonation patterns in her final recording.

Though not an English language learner, prominent actress Emily Blunt also testifies to the beneficial effect that performing the voices of others can have on language production. As a child, actress Emily Blunt had a severe speech impediment (Phillip, 2014). She especially struggled to pronounce vowels and felt completely paralyzed by her stutter in social situations. However, everything changed when one of Blunt's teachers convinced her to try out for a school play. The play was about time travel and she played "the contemporary, modern kid". Amazingly, she remarks, "I spoke fluently for the first time in a long time, doing a stupid Northern accent that helped me". Her more recent acting gigs have included acting alongside Tom Cruise in *The Edge of Tomorrow* and starring in the Disney Film, *Into the Woods*. While heartwarming, Emily's story begs the question: what made her teacher think that trying out for the school play would be a good idea for a child with a speech impediment, and not an utterly traumatizing experience? According to Emily, the suggestion was prompted by a very intriguing observation that he had made: When Emily did impressions of her friends, she didn't stutter.

What is most remarkable about both Blunt's performance of the "contemporary modern kid", and Mary's mirroring of Yang Lan, is that the channeling of another personality enabled both women to more closely approximate a style of language than they are otherwise able to produce; it even helped them overcome pronunciation difficulties.

How can we explain this phenomenon from a psycholinguistic and sociocultural perspective? Some of the most interesting work in this area adopts Russian sociocultural philosopher; Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) construct of "double voiced discourse". Double voiced discourse refers to speech when there are two voices are present--both "the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author" (1981, p. 296). In double voiced discourse speakers "reenact dialogue between themselves and another imagined interlocutor no longer physically present in the retell" (LaScotte, 2016, p. 4). Thus, instances of double voicing represent a new imagined interactional context.

Double voicing draws on Vygotsky's notion of internalization, which refers to a mediation process by which new language present in a speakers social environment is internalized and then "[used] to regulate their own mental activity" (Lantolf & Beckett, 2009, p. 460). Tarone and Broner (2001) point out that Bakhtin's discussion of double voicing

...suggests that when the language varieties of others are learned, they are associated in the mind of the learner with the personal characteristics of those other speakers.

Thus, the learner internalizes and retains as distinct the language varieties characteristics of different roles and registers and can use them as desired (p. 365).

In other words, because the mediation process of double voicing is primarily social, it implies the appropriation of another's worldviews, values and personality along with certain language forms and functions.

One study that sheds light on the role of double voicing in second language acquisition is Tarone and Broner's (2001) research on the language play of Spanish

immersion students. Through their analysis of classroom interaction, Tarone and Broner observed students using Spanish to create imaginary worlds, often playing different roles by performing different voices. Viewing it as a form of Cook's (1997) "ludic language play", they propose that double voicing, may facilitate the acquisition of multiple varieties of language, which are important for achieving various social goals (p. 375). Additionally, Tarone (2000) argues that ludic language play, specifically creatively playing with IL forms, may stretch a learner's interlanguage system, opening it up to development. This may also be true of double voicing, especially when a second language user attempts to mirror the language of a speaker of a local variety of the target language and, as a result, produces language (pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary) outside of their IL rule system.

Examining the effect of double voicing on the immediate language production of second language learners, LaScotte (2016) analyzes the constructed dialogue of two French women who speak English as an additional language. He performs a CAF analysis to discover the extent to which the language of two French women who are L2 speakers of English differs when they double voice within narratives. He found that the complexity, accuracy and fluency of the participants' language changed when participants performed the voices of others, the most significant differences being in accuracy and fluency. His findings lend support to the notion that learners internalize and perform the language of others, which may lead to variable linguistic systems.

The present study also explores the effect of double voicing on language production, but focuses on changes in suprasegmental pronunciation rather than syntactic or lexical complexity, accuracy, and fluency. I draw on the notion of 'stylization', as well

as 'double voicing in constructed dialogue' in order to explore the extent to which the double voicing of a second language speaker of English differs from his base style, as well as the extent to which his performances resonate with varieties of English commonly enacted in the local culture in which he lives.

Research question:

- How does the suprasegmental pronunciation of a second language speaker of English differ from his base style when “double-voicing”: performing the voices of other speakers of English within oral narratives?

The Participant

This study analyzes the oral English of a 28-year old Chilean man named Heriberto who is a first language Spanish speaker. Heriberto identifies as Hispanic, and is proud of his Mapuche (largest indigenous group in Chile) heritage on his father’s side and French and Spanish heritage on his mother’s side. He began learning English around the age of 14, after what has been determined as ‘the critical period’ for language acquisition. Scovel (1988) asserted that after the critical period, it is nearly impossible to acquire native-like pronunciation in a second language, as pronunciation is an aspect of language with a “neuromuscular basis”. Since then, a number of studies have called into question the existence of an absolute physical and neurological barrier to nativelike pronunciation after a certain age (i.e. Bongaerts, 1991; Abu-Rabia & Kehat, 2004; Flege et. al, 2006; Hui-Ya, 2016). Nonetheless, consistent with the critical period hypothesis, Heriberto’s usual pronunciation of English is accented; it contains easily identifiable influences of his native language, Spanish.

At the time of the study, Heriberto had lived in the U.S. for 10 years and 7 months. Heriberto immigrated to Minnesota from southern Chile the summer before his senior in high school when his father had accepted an invitation to plant and pastor a church for the Latino communities in southern Minnesota in partnership with a local English-speaking church. Heriberto, the youngest of four brothers and the only child still living at home, decided to go along. To have time to adjust, he went ahead of his parents and stayed with a family from the church for a month before school started. In an informal interview with Heriberto, he said about his experience upon arriving to the small Minnesota town, “I had this picture in my mind of like going to the U.S...[but] I felt like [this town], kinda like, oh, what’s that smell? I arrived at the end of April and I just smelled, well it’s basically like hog poop. And I was with this man from the church and he was like, “Yep, that’s the smell of money”. In addition to feeling disappointed with his surroundings, Heriberto recalled trying to use his limited English with his host family the morning after he arrived: “I do remember having a conversation, but probably if you ask them now, it’s like yeah, you were not able to say anything.”

In preparation for the move, he had discontinued his last semester of high school classes in Chile and instead enrolled in English classes at a private language institute. Before then, he had taken several years of compulsory English classes as part of this basic education. However, he says he “didn’t actually learn much English” in those classes. Upon his arrival, Heriberto did not take any ESL classes or receive language support services, in part because of the limited resources at the Minnesota town’s small public high school. However, he remembers struggling with writing in English and speaking in academic classes, as well as in social situations. He described being invited to

a party soon after his arrival: “I obviously didn’t know anybody and my English wasn’t that good. So then I will start doing magic tricks to be cool and impress, I dunno...I used it as a means of breaking the ice.”

After graduating from high school, Heriberto was accepted to a small Christian college in Iowa. His TOEFL score upon applying for entrance required him to take a semester of ESL classes. In 2008, Heriberto left school due to the death of his father and moved back to southern Minnesota to be with his mother. During this time he took distance-learning courses at a local community college. After a year of living with his mother, taking classes, and volunteering at a ministry for disadvantaged youth, Heriberto decided to move to Minneapolis and go back to school. He explained how he followed the advice of his mentor and former youth pastor, who told him to “Find a solid church to plug into first, and then find a school in the area”. After he decided to attend a church in downtown Minneapolis, the pastor of which had been influential to his faith, he enrolled in a community college in that area. Through the church, Heriberto got connected with a community of primarily American college students and formed deep friendships, eventually rooming with several students at the University of Minnesota. He commented, “Living in that community helped me to understand myself more...and really see the big cultural differences between Chilean culture and American culture.” Through this community, Heriberto met me, a first language English speaker from Minnesota with advanced proficiency in Spanish, and we began dating. After college, we got married. Having met in an English-speaking context, we speak primarily English at home, but often code switch, depending on the social context and topic of conversation.

In addition to using English as his primary social and home language for the previous eight years, at the time of the study, Heriberto had been working as an office manager at a local charter school for two years. There, he used both English and Spanish daily, communicating with coworkers and directors in English, and also regularly communicating with Spanish speaking parents and translating for meetings. While Heriberto feels very comfortable speaking English and has a high level of oral fluency, especially pragmatic fluency, he mentioned feeling discouraged about his language at times:

There are days that I feel secure, there are days that I don't feel secure, um, with my language. Or maybe just moments, even at work. It feels like, is it because I am using too much Spanish at work that it seems like my English is not being understood? Because lately I've been...how do you say it...more times people have been asking me to repeat and in the past they didn't. I don't know if people were just being too nice, or if they just got used to my accent.

Data Collection

The data for this study is comprised of three interviews with Heriberto, totaling 41 minutes, as well as 67 minutes of naturally occurring conversation. Data were recorded over a span of three weeks. Before consenting to partake in this study, he was informed that the purpose of the study was to learn more about how languages are learned. He received no indication of the specific area of learner language that would be examined this study—analyzing changes in features of his pronunciation when performing the voices of others. The naturally occurring conversations between Heriberto and I took

place in various everyday settings, such as at home over a meal or tea, or in the car. As is typical for us, conversations revolved around happenings at work or school that day, especially events that were particularly interesting or challenging. The interviews, on the other hand, were structured loosely around questions and probes designed to elicit narratives, such as “Tell me about a time you were annoyed recently” or “When was a time that you laughed really hard?” As expected, the content of these interviews were mainly stories about various occurrences and people in his life. The conversations were audio recorded using an application for the iPhone 6 called Voice Memos. Two of the three interviews were video-recorded using video software on a Mac computer and one was audio recorded using Voice Memos.

Data Analysis

After recording the data, I listened to all of the recordings and transcribed (see Appendix A for transcription conventions) segments in which Heriberto was clearly telling a story (Appendix B). Both the naturally occurring conversations and interviews contained numerous narratives. Within these narratives, I identified all quotes, or speech segments in which Heriberto attributed a voice to another speaker or to himself in the form of reported speech (see Appendix C).

Speech segments classified as quotes were introduced by reporting verbs such as “said” or “told”, quotatives such as “be like” or “go”, or a form that has been called a “zero quotative” (Yule & Mathis, 1994; Winter, 2002). According to Mathis and Yule (1994) in the absence of a quotative, there is typically “paralinguistic modulation of voice quality...to indicate another voice” (p. 65), along with deictic shifts, which help hearers to

attribute the voice to the correct character within the narrative. The following is an example of a zero quotative from my data:

N: And my [femiΛ] and tibia were broken. And uh @@ Andres said that he only can remember that just being obviously like, afraid, and like, with fear trying to like, make me walk, like he will like, get me up and, Ø “come on, we have to go get to mom!”

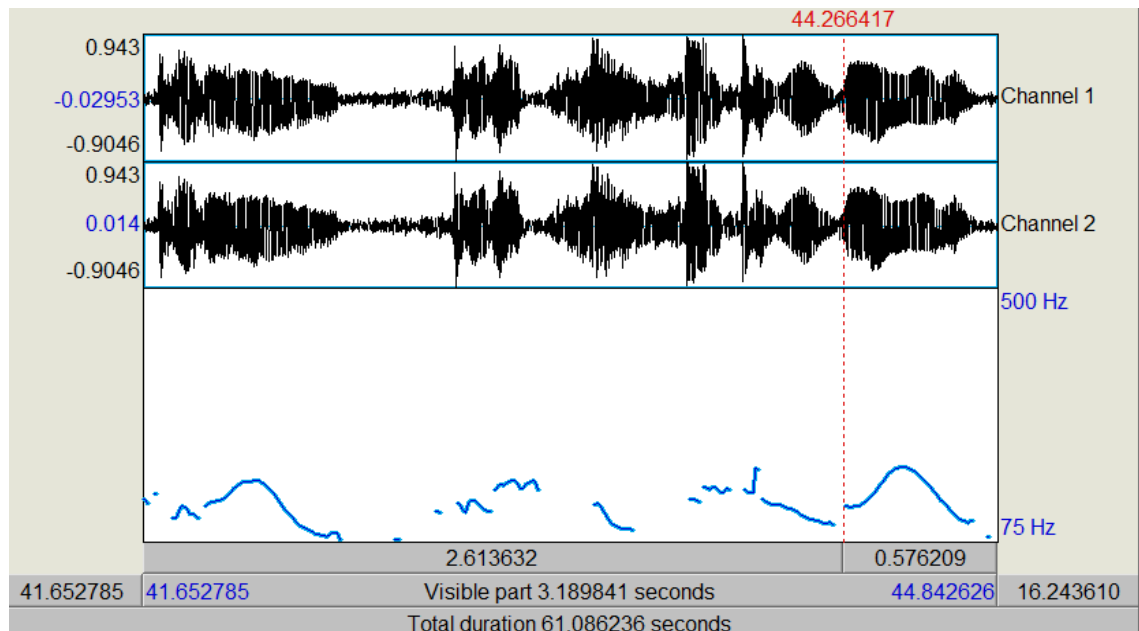
In this constructed dialogue, Heriberto modifies his voice, making it higher in pitch to perform the voice of his brother as a child. Additionally, there is a deictic shift indicated by the command “come on” and presence of the first person plural, *we*, though he is clearly not addressing the hearer. Thus, despite the fact that no quotative is present, another voice is identifiable within Heriberto’s narrative.

Because I am interested in the relationship between stylization and double voicing in constructed dialogue, I selected four examples of constructed dialogue from the data in which voices attributed to other characters are not only syntactically marked through quotatives and deictic shifts, but are also physically marked by paralinguistic modulation of voice quality and changes in style.

I analyzed these four examples of Heriberto’s performance of other voices in both a qualitative and quantitative manner, focusing primarily on shifts in speaking style and pronunciation that seemed to characterize these voices. I drew on insights gained from the Stimulated Recalls and PRAAT analyses of supraegmental pronunciation, along with my own interpretations of discourse contexts and meanings to move towards a deeper understanding of the double voicing practices of this bilingual speaker.

In the quantitative analysis, I utilized PRAAT, a scientific software program for the analysis of speech, to visualize and analyze ‘base style segments’ and double-voicing segments in terms of change in suprasegmental pronunciation, specifically pitch, amplitude and vowel length. Figure 1.1 is an example of a PRAAT display. At the top of the display, the black shapes illustrate amplitude and time. The vertical axis represents amplitude, measured in Pascal units (capturing anything between -1 and 1 Pascal units), while the horizontal axis represents time measured in seconds (measuring down to .000001 sec). At the bottom of the display, the blue line illustrates pitch and time. Here, the vertical axis represents pitch, measured in Hertz (from 75 to 500 Hz), while the horizontal axis once again represents time in seconds. In Figure 1.1 illustrates a sound clip that is 3.18941 seconds in length.

Figure 1.1: PRAAT Display, Example



Additionally, I arranged a consultation with Colleen Meyers, in which I asked her to convey her perceptions of changes in Heriberto’s pronunciation in those segments. Her

insights were invaluable, and inform much of the analysis that follows. I used the following conventions in my transcription of the four selected examples of constructed dialogue.

As far as qualitative analysis, the constructed dialogues identified in the data were categorized using Buchstaller's (2001) framework for quotations. An example of narrative containing real dialogue from our data is included below (with the discourse quotative in bold and the double voiced segment underlined):

N: I was working, uh, filming this event. And, a friend of mine came and uh, he asked me like, umm, I forgot what the specific question was, but he just said, like, 'hey can you bring me a glass of wine and bring me some cocktails' and, kind of like if I'm like here, like wai--umm, waitressing? Um, waitering? Uh, like the whole joke of like, being Hispanic.

In this narrative, Heriberto attributes a quote to a friend of his in order to recount the interaction as he remembers and perceived it. This can be defined as real speech. On the other hand, the purpose of hypothetical dialogue is not to recount what was said in an interaction, but to "make inner state available to hearers", as seen in the following quote from my data:

N I have met these parents or, uh, like
they're like, 'yeah. She deserves like a like a punishment.'
I was like, 'well...you should establish a punishment at home.'

In this narrative, the speaker did not actually say this to a student's parents, but is using a particular voice to express his opinion about what parents have said to him in the past. It also may be true that the speaker *would* say this in a hypothetical situation (if the conditions were right). There were no clear examples of situational quotes in my data, in

part because it is not specified within the communicative context whether a quote refers to an opinion or attitude that originated in the past or present.

Stimulated Recall

In an attempt to gain further insight into the examples of “double voicing” that Heriberto produced in the data, I used Stimulated Recall. Lyle (2003) defines stimulated recall as “a family of introspective research procedures through which cognitive processes can be investigated by inviting subjects to recall when prompted by a video sequence, their concurrent thinking during that event” (p. 861). I asked Heriberto to listen to or watch segments of audio and video-recordings in which he “double voiced”, or quoted other voices; I asked him to reflect on what he was thinking during the recorded segments and whether he felt that he was using another voice, and if so, whose voice it was. I stopped the recording after each direct quote, and if he had a comment, he recorded his reflections on the Voice Memo app. We then resumed the interview or conversation recording and repeated the process.

Findings and Discussion

The results of this analysis address the question: How does the suprasegmental pronunciation of a second language speaker of English differ from his base style when “double-voicing”: performing the voices of other speakers of English within oral narratives?

In this section, I describe the results of my analysis of four examples of Heriberto’s performance of other voices. The first example comes from the naturalistic data taken from a conversation that Heriberto and I had over dinner. Prior to this dialogue, Heriberto had received a phone call from the parents of one of the students at

his school. Because he does not typically receive calls from parents at home, after the phone conversation he explained the situation. That late afternoon, the student's parents had called the office to inquire about the whereabouts of their son, as he had not ridden the bus home from school. Before the student left, he had used the school phone to call his "parents", but Heriberto overheard him making plans with what sounded like another teenager. In line (a), I ask if any of the school staff would talk to this student about this the next day. Heriberto replied that "Arionna¹", the dean of students, would take care of the situation. He then performs what seems to be her voice in line (c) and (d) as indicated by the discourse quotative "be like" in line (b). Arionna is an African American woman in her early 30s. At the time of this interview, Heriberto had known her for a little under a year. He described her as "down to earth, approachable and smart".

Example 1: "that was unsafe" (double voicing Arionna)

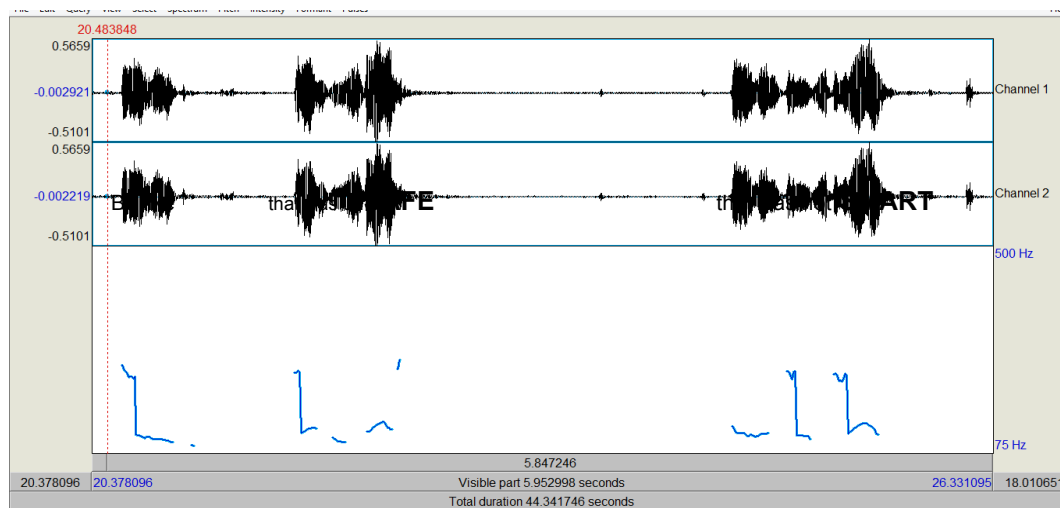
- Leah (a) Mmhm (-) So they'll TALK to him? Arionna will TALK_to him?
 Heriberto (b) Oh yeah (.) Be like (.)
 (c) 'that was unSAFE (-) that WAS NOT SMART
 (d) Like you had your PARENTS, like, so, three forty-five, no FOUR,
 over three (e) hours just like (.) not knowing where WERE you.'

In this example, in line (b) Heriberto uses a discourse quotative *be like* to introduce what seems to be the voice of Arionna in a part of a hypothetical dialogue that he predicts will occur the next day at the school where he works. In line (c) after a short pause following the *be like* quotative, Heriberto launches into a more emphatic style of speaking. PRAAT analysis shows he enacts this emphasis, in part, through suprasegmental pronunciation: an increase in amplitude, clear pausing, more enunciated

¹ All names are pseudonyms

speech, and clear focus words. In Figure 1.1, which shows a PRAAT analysis of line (c) we see that the overall amplitude is higher than in the preceding utterance in line (b), reaching up to .5659 m for strongly stressed syllables in the words *unSAFE* and *SMART*, which are clearly his focus words. In combination with higher amplitude, the PRAAT analysis confirms that he also uses vowel lengthening to mark his focus words. The three syllable phrase *that was un-* spans .46 seconds, while the single syllable word *safe* spans .44 seconds, almost the same amount of time. Similarly, the three syllable phrase *that was not* spans .57 seconds, while single syllable word *smart* spans .65 seconds.

Figure 1.2: PRAAT Display, Double Voicing Arionna (Example 1, line c):



Interestingly, line (c) is grouped into two clear “metrical feet” (“that was unsafe” and “that was not smart”) with the strongly stressed syllables (safe and smart) occurring at similar intervals. This creates a strongly rhythmic beat, which is typical of stress-timed English language varieties (Celce-Murcia, Brinton & Goodwin, 2010). This is noteworthy, because, as we will see in later examples, the rhythm of Heriberto’s base dialect when speaking with me tends to follow a syllable-timed pattern. This is likely due to L1 transfer from Spanish, which is classified as a syllable-timed language.

We have observed that, in this quote, Heriberto's speech becomes more clear and rhythmic. From the discourse it appears that he is performing the voice of Arionna—he is expressing what he thinks she will say to the student. However, when listening to this quote during the stimulated recall, Heriberto immediately identified the voice as belonging to his officemate, “Samm”, a young, white woman: “Samm’s... Yeah, that’s totally Samm”. When I asked him why he used Samm’s voice in place of Arionna’s (earlier in the conversation he had said that Arionna would be the one to talk to the student), he explained, “I think only because I work with Samm and I’m more around her and I can just hear—she has used that language before in other situations...I have heard her use that language, cause I’ve been in the same room, when she’s talking to students.” In other words, he uses Samm’s voice to stand in for Arionna’s, a less familiar voice from the same context. In a later conversation, Heriberto mentioned that he thinks Samm is much firmer with the high school students than he is, and reflected on the varying expectations and pressures that seem to come along with their ethnic and gender identities in the context of an inner city high school. Heriberto’s choice to use Samm’s voice to stand in for Arionna’s, may also suggest that he has internalized Samm’s voice as characteristic of a certain disciplinary role within the school. In Bahktinian terms, Heriberto has internalized characteristics of the voice of Samm and appropriated them for his own expressive purposes (Bakhtin, 1981).

It is interesting to note that out of the 36 quotative frames employed by Heriberto, this is the only instance of Heriberto using the un-conjugated form of *be like* as a discourse quotative. One possible explanation for this, which Heriberto suggested in the stimulated recall, could be that since he was predicting what she might say in the future

(hypothetical dialogue), he had wanted to form *would be like*, but dropped of the ‘would’. However, he does correctly use ‘would’ to express the conditional mood in other places within the same conversation:

- (1) Umm, like how **would** you coordinate that?
- (2) I know families that they are not documented and they **would** [reach out to the police]

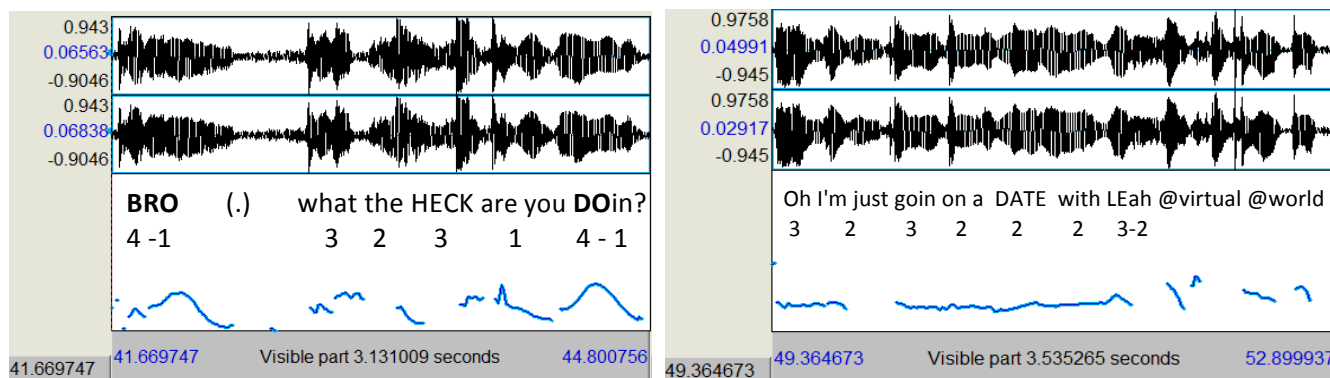
Another possibility is that Heriberto chose this quotative common in AAVE (Cukor-Avila, 2002), because he was (purportedly) approximating the voice of Arionna, who is African American.

Example Two comes from one of the unstructured interviews during which Heriberto told a story about trying to go on a “virtual date” with me while I was studying abroad. He narrates that he downloaded free software so that we could meet in a virtual world. At this point in the narrative, Heriberto re-enacts the reaction of his roommate, “Matt”, when he enters the room and sees the computer screen. Matt is a white male in his late 20s who Heriberto describes as “athletic, introverted and reserved”. He also said that Matt is “someone who really cares for people”. He is a staff member of the college ministry in which Heriberto was involved, and, at the time of this interview, Heriberto had known him for 2.5 years. He considers him a close friend.

Example 2: “Bro, what heck are you doin?” (Double voicing “Matt”)

- N
- (a) And my **ROOM**mate (.) MATT comes into the ROOM
 - (b) and he knows obviously that I'm chatting with LEah
 - (c) And then he goes like (.) ‘**BRO** (.) what the HECK are you **DO**in?’
 - (d) And then I just told him tell I TOLD him
 - (e) ‘oh I'm just goin on a date with LEah @virtual @world’

Figure 1.3: PRAAT Display, ‘Matt’ voice (Example 2, line c) v. ‘self’ voice (Example 2, line e)



As in the first example, the performance of someone else’s voice is signaled by a discourse quotative followed by a definite pause at the beginning of line (c). Heriberto uses the discourse quotative *goes like* in the historical present to introduce the voice of his roommate “Matt”. What is unique about this example is that there is a very obvious shift in vocal quality when Heriberto produces, indeed seems to “mirror”, the voice of his roommate, Matt. In this mirroring, he purposefully modulates the frequency and amplitude of his voice, creating a vocal flutter. This flutter is especially prominent in his articulation of the words *bro* and *heck*, and seems to me to be one of the hallmarks of stereotypical ‘surfer’ or ‘skater’ speak. This is a prime example of stylization, which Bakhtin defines as “an artistic representation of another’s linguistic style, an artistic image of another’s language” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 362). Here, Heriberto uses double-voicing as comedy, or even parody, to add humor and liveliness to his story as a form of language play, similar to what Tarone and Broner (2001) observed with the Spanish immersion students.

As a result, his pronunciation once again begins to more clearly align with that of local varieties of English. When I played this segment for Colleen Meyers, she commented on the overall clarity and comprehensibility of the utterance *Bro, what the heck are you doin*. As in the previous example, PRAAT shows his suprasegmentals are very exaggerated and clear. Factors that contribute to this are his use of pausing and lengthening, as well as a pattern of rhythm and intonation that resonate with local varieties of English. A comparison with a segment immediately afterwards, in which Heriberto performs his own response to his roommate, showcases the extent of difference in suprasegmentals between the two segments.

Intonation levels in performing Matt and Heriberto's voices

Heriberto quoting Matt : **BRO** (.) what the HECK are you **DO**in?

4 -1 3 2 3 1 4 - 1


Heriberto quoting himself: 'Oh I'm just goin on a DATE with LEah @@

3 2 3 2 2 2 3 -2

When Heriberto quotes his roommate, *heck* is lightly stressed and both *bro* and the first syllable of *doin* are strongly stressed, whereas in his quoting of himself he only lightly stresses two syllables (*date* and the first syllable of *leah*). There are also notable differences in intonation. Overall, there is much more pitch variation when Heriberto performs Matt's voice. When quoting himself his intonation is more monotone, staying at intonation levels 2 and 3. However, when quoting Matt, he uses all four intonation levels: 1 through 4. . He moves from emphatic high level 4 pitch down to level 1 on the word *bro*, and from level 4 to level 2 at the end of the sentence on *doin*. This creates a wave pattern with four peaks, visible in the PRAAT analysis (Figure 1.2). According to Celce-

Murcia et. al (2010), “When a speaker expresses an excited emotion..., the range of pitch is expanded and an exaggerated rising intonation is used”. In excited speech, the prominent syllable (of the focus word), has a high (3) or extra high tone (4) and is preceded by a low tone. Heriberto’s intonation when performing Matt’s voice fits this pattern. This is an appropriate expression of emotion for the context, since Matt was reacting to an unexpected and strange situation in the story. Heriberto’s intonation also somewhat matches Celce-Murcia et al’s example of a 3-2-4-1 intonation pattern for expressing surprise or disbelief:

You’ve gotta be KIDDing!



In addition to using an intonation pattern typical for expressing strong emotion in English, Heriberto also employs pauses and lengthening effectively. After *bro* there is a .4 second pause, which not only adds emphasis to what he’s about to say, but also makes his speech more comprehensible. This pause is visible in the PRAAT analysis in figure 1.2 as well. Notice that in he does not use such pauses when he quotes himself (Figure 1.3). When quoting Matt, he lengthens *bro* quite a bit, which seems to function as an attention getter, as well as focus word *doin*. He also lengthens *heck* to a lesser extent.

In Example 3, when asked about his day at work, Heriberto tells a story about an interaction between an office staff worker and a ninth grade student who had just been suspended from school. As he recounts the interaction, he dramatically performs the voice of the ninth grade student named “Trisha”. Trisha is a female, African American student who has completed most of her K-12 education in the Minneapolis area. According to Heriberto, Trisha typically speaks vernacular ‘black English’ with both school staff and her classmates.

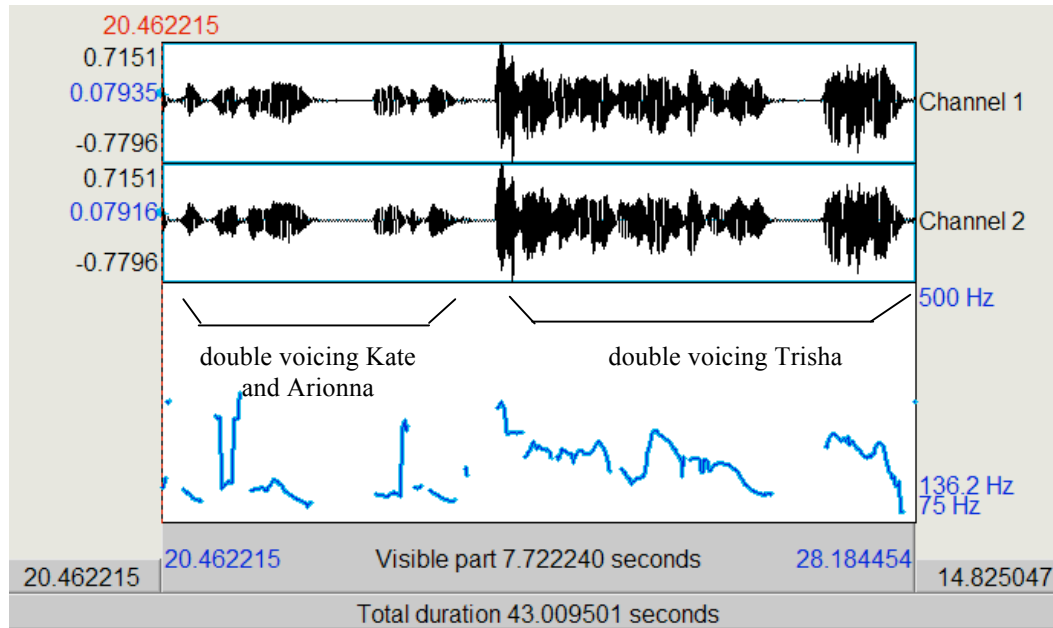
Example 3: Double Voicing Trisha

- N (a) And it's like (.) TRiSha calm DOWN like we wanna TALK to you
 (b) Ø 'NO talkings not doing ANYthin! Like I'm not gonna TALK right now'
 (c) (.1) be like 'I'M gonna call my MOM!'
 (d) Ø 'Alright but you need to calm DOWN'
 (e) Ø 'NO! [kalmnan] down will not do ANYthin' (.)

Here, Heriberto dramatically enacts a conversation between a student named Trisha and another speaker. Upon initial analysis, it was not clear within the dialogue whether the second voice in the dialogue is Heriberto's or the voice of another coworker since he introduces the mystery voice with "it's like" (lines a and f) and "just like" (line g).

However, in the stimulated recall Heriberto reported that he personally was not actually part of this conversation, but had overheard it from a neighboring room. According to Heriberto, the dialogue was between the principal "Kate", the dean of students Arionna, and Trisha. It appears that he merges the voices of the two women into one 'voice of authority'. About line (a) he explains, "I don't remember who said it because they were both talking...I combined them". However, in line (f) and (g) he asserted that he was using Kate's voice, specifically.

Figure 1.4: PRAAT Display, Double Voicing Kate, Arionna, and Trisha (Example 3, lines a-e):



Unlike in the previous examples, in lines (b) through (e), voices are not introduced with discourse quotatives, and there are no pauses to mark shifts in voice between lines (a) and (b) and lines (c) through (e). Heriberto presents direct speech forms with zero quotatives in lines (b), (d), and (e), making the dialogue feel fast-paced and intense. Nonetheless, voices are clearly differentiated by various factors, the most obvious being dramatic shifts in amplitude. In Figure 1.3, which shows a PRAAT analysis of lines (a) through (e), we see a dramatic spike in amplitude when Heriberto first switches to Trisha's voice in line (b), reaching up to .71 m on the word "No!". He maintains high amplitude levels throughout his double voicing of Trisha. Heriberto also distinguishes between voices by using a faster rate of speech when performing Trisha's voice. For example, when double voicing Arionna/Kate in line (a), Heriberto produces 13 syllables in 4.3 seconds. In the following 4.3 seconds, he produces almost double the number of syllables when enacting Trisha in lines (b) and (c) (24 syllables in 4.3 seconds). When listening to this segment for comprehensibility (not necessarily analyzing

the effectiveness of the voice for double voicing), Colleen Meyers noted that his fast pace here contributes to a “less clear” pronunciation of individual words than his performances of the voices immediately preceding and, generally, less clear than the majority of his speech.

Along with a wide amplitude range, Heriberto uses a wider pitch range in his performance of these two voices than we typically see in his base. Notably, when performing Trisha’s voice, he uses a higher pitched voice than is typical for him.

4 3 3 3 3 2 3 3 3 4 4 3

(b) Ø ‘**NO** talkings not doing **ANY**thin! Like I’m not gonna **TALK** right now’

4 3 3 3 3 2 3 4 2

(e) Ø ‘**NO!** [kalmnan] down will not do **ANY**thin’ (.)

In both lines (b) and (c), Heriberto reaches level 4 pitch on the word “NO”, shifting into a falsetto register, and then stays at relatively high pitch for the rest of the utterance (around level 3). Line (b) ends in a level contour, where line (c) ends in a falling final contour. Interestingly, it has been documented that black English is often characterized by a wider pitch range and higher pitch levels than white English or formal black English. Level and rising final pitch contours are another defining feature of black vernacular English (Tarone, 1973).

Considering this, the perceived lack of clarity in his performance of Trisha’s voice may reflect that Heriberto is focusing less on the clarity of individual words and more on using intonation and amplitude to convey an emotional message. Pike (1945) notes that “we often react more violently to the intonational meanings than to the lexical one; if a man’s [sic] tone of voice belies his words, we immediately assume the

intonation more faithfully reflects his true linguistic intentions” (p.22). Later, Cruttenden (1981) took this claim a step further, arguing that the primary function of pronunciation is not primarily grammar, discourse, or attitude, but that intonation functions with its own set of meanings. In this sense, Heriberto has successfully conveyed an intonational meaning, as anger is a powerful emotion that results in a wide range of amplitude and pitch as is seen in Figure 1.3.

Additionally, despite his fast rate of speech, he manages to strongly stress the most important content words. In the first sentence of line (b) he strongly stresses *NO* and *ANYthing* by raising his amplitude and lengthening the vowels. To keep up the rhythm while maintaining a fast pace, he runs together the unstressed phrase *talkings not doing*. In the second sentence of line (b) strongly stresses *TALK*, while words *I’m not gonna* run together. The effect of this is that his speech resembles stress-timed rhythm when double voicing Trisha.

In the fourth example, Heriberto uses reported speech to express his own attitude. He ascribes the quote to himself, however later in the stimulated recall that he said he used the internalized voice of his friend “Charlie” to express his feelings of disillusionment. Charlie is a white male in his mid-20s. He is a first language English speaker with a low level of proficiency in German, which he took to fulfill a second language requirement in the college of liberal arts. At the time of this interview, Heriberto had known Charlie for 4.5 years. He also lived with Charlie for 2 years during his college years and was in the same “discipleship group” as him, which is an intentional Christian community of 3-5 members that meets together weekly to support each other in their walk of faith through prayer, scripture study and reflection. As with Matt, Heriberto

considers Charlie an intimate friend to this day. Heriberto describes Charlie as someone who is “easy to get along with, “loud” and “a funny guy”, but also “super approachable, and really honest and raw”.

Example 4: “Man, I don’t know if I enjoy this” (double voicing Charlie)

- N (a) I think today (.) I think today has been the HARDEST day for me (.)
 (b) kinda like, feeling like I’m not LIKING this poSItion because (.)
 (c) all I was doing was PHONE calls (.)
 (d) and I was like, “MAN (.) I don’t know if I enJOY **THIS**.”

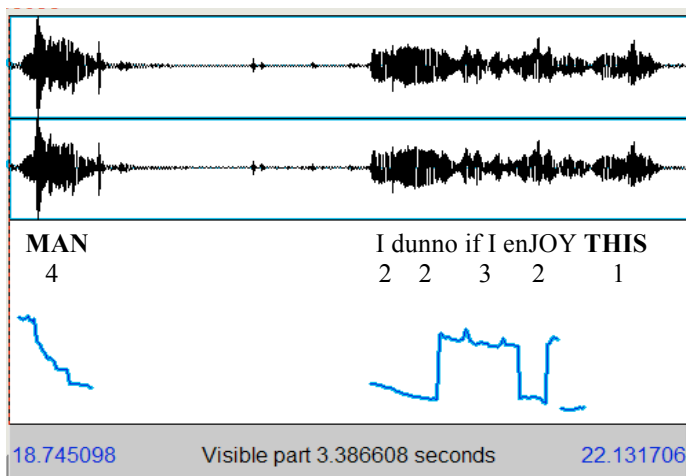


Figure 1.5: PRAAT Display, Double Voicing Charlie (Example 4, line d) v. his voice (line a)

Here, in channeling Charlie’s voice, Heriberto uses a discourse quotative to introduce *his own* inner thoughts and attitudes about his job, specifically his discontent over being on the phone so much (line d). When comparing this segment to Heriberto’s voicing of himself in example 3, line (e), very few similarities arise between these two performances of ‘self voice’. For example, in voicing Charlie in Example 4, intonation levels vary from level 1 to 4, whereas his Heriberto voice in Example 2 stayed between level 2 and 3 intonation. Additionally, in Example 4 line (d) he strongly stresses *MAN* and *THIS* and

lightly stresses *enJOY*, while his focus words were only lightly stressed in Example 2, line (e).

However, several similarities do emerge in terms of intonation, pausing and sentence stress between his performance of an ‘Heriberto voice’ in Example 4 line (d) and a ‘Matt voice’ in Example 3, line (c):

Heriberto voice (Example 4, line d):

MAN (.) I dunno if I enJOY **THIS**
4 2 2 3 3 1

Matt voice (Example 2, line c):

BRO (.) what the HECK are you **DO**in?
4 -1 3 2 3 1 4 - 1

In terms of sentence stress, the first word in both examples (both of which happen to be informal forms of address for a male friend) are strongly stressed. The form of address is followed by a pause in both cases (1.3 second pause in example 4; .5 second pause in example 3), which helps with comprehensibility. Following the pause, syllables in the middle section of both segments are unstressed and lightly stressed. Finally, both segments end with strong stress, though in Example 4, line (d) the last syllable is strongly stressed, while in Example 2, line (c) the second to last syllable is strongly stressed.

Why might Heriberto’s self voice in this example more closely approximate his double voicing of Matt, a monolingual English speaker? Heriberto’s input during the stimulated recall sheds light on this question. After playing this segment back to him, I asked him if the quote was something he thought to himself during the day, or whether he was expressing his feelings in the moment. He responded: “I guess I was thinking that that morning, saying that in my head. But the phrase with ‘Man’, I think I can hear Charlie in that.” He also explained the discourse meaning of this voice: “It’s just talking to...I guess confessing, or being honest about something...or [he uses] it when he wants

to encourage somebody too. He'll be like, 'man, don't listen to that crap', or 'man, all I wanna tell you is blank'. Not only has Heriberto internalized and attached specific discourse meanings to features of Charlie's voice, he uses Charlie's voice to express *his own* thoughts when these align with Charlie's stance of confessing or being honest. This suggests that he has taken these features of Charlie's voice and incorporated them into his own repertoire of voices.

The *what* and the *how* of the speech act

Quoting involves reporting content—what Buchstaller (2001) calls the “*what* of the original speech act” (p. 13). However, more often than not, an individual does not simply report what was said, but “does something that enables the hearer to SEE for himself what it is” (Clark & Gerrig, 1990, p. 802), which Buchstaller calls the “*how* of the original speech act” (p. 13). This *showing* often includes gestures, facial expressions, and of course, imitating the voice of the original speaker. The analysis of examples of double voicing in Heriberto's narratives reveal that, when performing the voices of other speakers of English, Heriberto imitates elements of their suprasegmental pronunciation, producing speech that is more aligned with local varieties of English. That is, although he acquired English after the critical period, and so retains features of Spanish in his baseline pronunciation of English, he has the ability to pronounce English in a far more native-like way when he is double-voicing—producing the voices of his American acquaintances and friends. Specifically, he used intonation patterns for expressing surprise and anger in many ‘mainstream’ varieties of English (examples 2 and 3); he uses vowel lengthening and shifts in amplitude and pitch to mark his focuses words (all examples); the rhythm of his speech more closely approximated that of stress-timed

languages (examples 1, 2 and 3); and he utilizes pausing to make his language sound more like that of monolingual English speakers (examples 1, 2, and 4).

Additionally, the fact that in Example 4, Heriberto has incorporated pronunciation features of his friend Charlie's voice, both physical and psychological, into his own voice, when he expresses as confession or honesty some of his deepest feelings, suggests that double voicing may indeed lead to second language acquisition. In Example 4, Heriberto, in a sense, "borrows" Charlie's manner of expressing certain sentiments as a way to express his own similar thoughts and feelings. This results in pronunciation that more closely approximates the speech of a monolingual English speaker than in other self-quotes, such as in Example 2, which represent his base style. As Tarone (2000) theorized, it may be the case that the experimentation and play involved in double voicing stretches the interlanguage beyond its normal rules, creating space for growth. Ultimately, by appropriating the proficiency of other's, learners expand their language resources.

The notion aligns with Bakhtin's idea that no voice is original. In fact, he describes the language of every individual as "populated" with the voices of others. In his essay, "Discourse in the Novel", Bakhtin articulates,

"(The word in language) becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention...it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word and make it one's own." (Bakhtin, 1981, pp.288-9)

In other words, as social creatures, each of our voices is made up of a multitude of voices. Like Heriberto's present double voicing of his former college roommates, for all speakers, the voices we have internalized are artifacts, providing us with a window into our language acquisition processes. In fact, perhaps language acquisition, whether it be a first, second, or fifth language, is simply a process of interacting with and internalizing other voices, often representing other language varieties, and then incorporating them in our own language repertoire to take out and use when they suit our communicative purposes.

Implications for Teaching

Several scholars have called into question Scovel's critical period hypothesis, and have explored other factors that may facilitate or inhibit pronunciation acquisition. The present study lends supports to this body of research, as Heriberto's pronunciation closely approximated that of monolingual English speakers when double voicing. However, these findings also complicate conceptualizations of pronunciation that ignore its relationship with identity, and fail to account for variation in individuals' pronunciation across social contexts. Because pronunciation is twin skin to identity (Tarone, 1978), and current work from a post cultural perspective sees identity as fluid and in the moment, as teachers, we must first recognize that our student's pronunciation is wrapped up in their identity, which is complex and multifaceted. This may explain why speakers who are physically able to produce phonological elements of a language when speaking within certain communicative contexts, often do not use native like pronunciation in other contexts.

Typically, approaches to teaching pronunciation to second language learners have been bottom up. Examples of Celce-Murica et al's (2010) suggestions for teaching

include assigning worksheets in which students listen to conversations and identify the correct intonation contour for selected contexts (p. 254) and using choral reading of dialogues as a form of controlled practice (p. 260). Their only suggestion under the heading of ‘communicative practice’ is a conversation practice activity in which one student reads sentences, such as “He had a heart attack” to which the other student responds with one of the provided exclamations, such as “How awful!” (p. 268).

Similarly, for teaching sentence stress and rhythm, Celce-Murica et al. (2010) suggest listening discrimination; listening to and repeating nursery rhymes, limericks, and Jazz Chants (p. 213); congruent rhythm drills (215), and focused-sentence level readings (p. 216).

While these kinds of bottom up, controlled practices have their place, the findings from this study, as well as the success of Meyers’ (2013) Mirroring Project, suggest that a holistic, top-down approach to teaching pronunciation may be more effective. If learners are naturally able to “mirror” or “perform” voices, including aspects of suprasegmental pronunciation, we as teachers should tap into this natural ability. As Meyers has done with her ITA students, it may be useful to design projects and activities in which learners are encouraged to “channel” a variety of fluent speakers, or “put on” other voices. In general, activities involving drama or skits may be particularly suited for helping students to get outside of themselves, stepping into another role and another way of speaking. Perhaps it’s time to get out the puppets!

Meyer’s ‘Mirroring Project’ could easily be condensed and adapted into a shorter activity by having students act out a short scene or line from a movie or show. First, students could analyze the pronunciation of the actors, identifying thought groups,

stressed words, pitch patterns etc. After completing the analysis, they practice and record the scene or line using a simple platform such as FlipGrid (for short lines) or VoiceThread. By recording themselves, students would then have the opportunity to compare their pronunciation to actor's pronunciation in the original scene.

Language learners may also benefit from engaging in storytelling activities, since narratives typically contain constructed dialogue. For example, students could be given prompts designed to elicit stories with strong emotions, similar to the prompts I gave Heriberto (Tell me about a time you laughed really hard recently; Tell me about a time you were offended or annoyed, etc.), and encouraged to perform the voices of the characters in their stories. Students could record themselves telling their stories, and, after targeted pronunciation instruction, make observations about their own pronunciation with the guidance of the teacher, even utilizing PRAAT to visualize changes in their pronunciation when they quote the voices of others.

Limitations

The limitations of this study are mainly methodological. Specifically, while I believe that using stimulated recall as a methodology had invaluable affordances— for example, it offered an opportunity to hear participant's interpretations of his own voice and gave me access to his memories and feelings associated with different styles— the method also had its limitations. One important limitation is that, because the process is something that must be learned, and the participant gets better at it over time. Because of this, data that the participant analyzed earlier in the process may be less rich than that which was analyzed towards the end of the process. Additionally, the participant may have overlooked interesting instances of double voicing before getting the hang of the

process. Finally, I found that, in using this methodology, it was tempting to take Heriberto's interpretations of his language as definitive, rather than as one part of the picture. Nonetheless, I recommend stimulated recall as a useful tool for other researchers in L2 pronunciation because of the affordances mentioned above.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that aspects of the suprasegmental pronunciation of Heriberto, a late acquirer of English L2, such as intonation, rhythm, sentence stress, pausing and vowel lengthening, more closely resonate with local varieties of English when he performs the voices of various individuals in his life. We also saw that double voicing can be a highly complex phenomenon, as Heriberto invokes multi-layered voices for various purposes. In order to convey real dialogue, hypothetical dialogue and his inner thoughts, he sometimes uses one voice to play the part of another (Sam's voice standing in for Arionna's). Both of these findings demonstrate that pronunciation is inextricably tied to our ever-changing identities as social creatures. As Heriberto developed deep friendships with his college roommates, they began to share ways of speaking and thinking—they changed him and he them. Our relationships influence us, impacting the way we think, behave, and speak.

Finally, the findings of this study challenge monolingual bias in teaching pronunciation. Too often, we as teachers provide our multilingual and multidialectal students with only monolingual pronunciation models. This is not only discriminatory, but does not serve our students' academic and social goals. As Tarone and Broner's (2001) assert, "the advanced L2 learner must master not just one register or language variety, but several: all those voices or varieties appropriate to the speech communities to

which the learner belongs, or wishes to belong” (p. 375). Thus, just as Heriberto was able to draw on a variety of voices that he had internalized as he told stories, internalizing a variety of voices provides learners with the tools needed to achieve their various social goals, language teachers should take care to discover their students’ social goals and take every opportunity to provide students with language models who speak a diversity of language varieties.

While this study raises questions about the role of imitation in second language acquisition, broader generalizations cannot be made based on the findings of one qualitative case study of an individual learner. For that reason, more research should be conducted on the effects of double voicing, not only focusing on pronunciation, but on morphological and lexical components of speech as well.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

Symbols

key Unstressed

KEY Secondary stress

KEY Primary stress

(.) Pause lasting more than .1 seconds

! An animated or emphatic tone

@ Laughter

[] Approximation of sounds in case of inaccurate pronunciation of an English word

Ø Zero quotative

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

Narrative 1: Can you bring me some wine?

1. L Tell me about a time when you felt, that you were offended by someone recently.
2. H The only one I think of, I can think of was this past, march. Is that recent?
3. L Yeah. I mean just the last time you felt offended.
4. H Yeah. Um, just the-- how to explain it, the-- I would say it this way. So, I was at
5. this gathering, this event, and um, I was working, uh, filming, this event. And, a
6. friend of mine came and uh, he asked me like, umm, I forgot what the specific
7. question was, but he asked me like, something like, 'hey I would like you'--sorry
8. that's not a question-- he just said, like, 'hey can you bring me a glass of wine
9. and bring me some cocktails' and, kind of like if I'm like here, like wai--umm, not
10. [unintelligible]...waitressing? um, waitering? Um, like the whole joke of like,
11. being hispanic. And just like, I'm there like, to do that. Uh, when clearly I was
12. like filming. Um...so, I felt offended.

Narrative 2: Broken Legs

1. L Thank you. Perfect, okay, the next-- I'll let you take a bite of your ice cream. The
2. next question is...Tell me a story about a time you got injured or hurt.
3. H @@@
4. L Okay, you need a moment?
5. H Um, does it count if like, I don't really like really remember it? But I know what
6. happened?
7. L Sure.
8. H So, I was, two...ish? Two, three years? Yeah. I should have been at least three
9. years because I actually walked. So, my mom had, my mom-
10. My mom asked my brother, Jaime, to go and buy some stuff at this store

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

11. that it was one block away from our house. And apparently like, for some reason
 12. either like, I heard the word store, or like go and buy something, that I just like
 13. (snaps fingers) got up from my, uh, cuna, from my bed, or...cage. Not cage
 14. (laughs), you know what I'm--(laughs)I'm...anyw--(laughs) um, and my mom told
 15. me that I just ran after my brother, Felipe, who was, what? Ss-eight years? And
 16. um, like, somehow like, I either like, um, got to him, or getting his attention on
 17. the way, to the store. So like, we started walking together, but then instead of
 18. like, cro- crossing the street at the corner, with my brother, holding his hand, I
 19. just like ran to the other corner, and a car just came and like, ran-ran over me, or
 20. hit me, I guess. And my [femia] and tibia were broken. And uh @@ Jaime
 21. said that he only can remember that just being obviously like, afraid, and like,
 22. with fear trying to like, make me walk, like, like he will like, get me up and,
 23. ☐“come on, we have to go get to mom!” And like, I will just like fall down
 24. because, like, I don't know if I was like, crying, or conscious, or not @@. But
 25. like, my legs were like obviously broken.
-

Narrative 3: Listening In

1. **L** When's a time you laughed really hard?
2. **H** It's kind of a short story. But the one I remember, I used to share the room with
3. ah, Dana. And Dana and Charlie are like good friends. Really,
4. really good friends. They-- more like brothers. Um, funny stories about them.
5. Anyways, with me and Dana we were, uh, going to bed. Getting ready for
6. bed. And Charlie came in, um, just to chat. I can't remember what we were
7. talking with him. And um, and then like, so Charlie was like 'okay, I gotta go, like
8. I'm gonna go'. And -or we just said something like, 'we gotta go to bed right now

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

9. so like leave.’ So then like, me and Dana were both sleeping on uh, um, uh,
 10. bunkbeds? And uh, so we cannot really see what’s going on under. Like, ground
 11. level. And like Charlie turn off the light and close the door. But we didn’t--what we
 12. didn’t know was that Charlie, like, turn off the light, close the door, but he just,
 13. ah, he stayed in the room. And we were like, we were talking about, we switched
 14. topics from like, start talking about us, kinda like friends, to like, just talking about
 15. our fiances, at that point. And we were talking about dates and like how much
 16. we--like, we cannot wait to be married. And like wake up with our love, our
 17. lovers next to us, and all that. So we were really excited. And the funny thing
 18. was like, uh-I dunno we were talking for like 5 or 10 minutes. And then we hear
 19. like, this scream like “oh my gosh! Like you guys were like talking about your
 20. girls. I thought you guys would be talking about me.” And like Dana was like
 21. “Oh my gosh Charlie! I can’t believe how like, selfish-or like self-centered you
 22. are.” And uh, it was really funny because he was waiting there for like those 5 or
 23. 10 minutes just like, to expect that we will be talking about him @@.
-

Narrative 4: It’s better to ignore what people say

1. **L** Can you tell me, um, in as much detail as you can about one
 2. conversation that you
 3. had today at work.
 4. **H** Um, could it be with a student right?
 5. **L** Anyone. Just don't use their real name.
 6. **H** Yeah. Uh...I had a conversation with, sorry. With this student that he spend time
 7. in the office before going to lunch. He, he was having kind of like a tricky
 8. morning. Um, I um I actually saw him while he was in uh, um in language. I went
 9. in to help the professor and he was, um in a sense not being himself? Ah that's

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

10. not true. Um, anyways. So, he was talking when he was asked to be quiet and
11. work. Oh no it will pick it up. And, so anyways at lunch time came and I wanted to
12. to chat with him so we went to the room next to room next to the office. And I just
13. sit down with him and ask him about what was going on in the classroom. Why
14. he has like talking while, uh when the teacher --the teacher asked him to, be
15. quiet and work and he just **started explaining like,** 'Fernando say this. Uh, this
16. other student did this. He told me this and so went like this, um. And then I, then
17. he said, uh...I will put that finger like in your ass or something like that', um. So I
18. was **∅** 'well we have talk about this before, like why, why do you engage with that
19. kind of language with that kind of response when in the past we said like, you
20. know, it's better for you to just be quiet and ignore what other people say to you.'
21. And ah, we just talk about, um that a lot of times we obviously respond in ways
22. that we don't, um, like really represent us in a good way, ah talking back. And I
23. told him about my story when my ah, when I was in eighth grade I was really
24. ashamed of how I responded to what my classmate told me. I **will** say something
25. about my mom and I, I reacted in a poor way and like in fighting--
26. **L** You said something about your mom, or he said something about your mom?
27. **H** Uh that he said something about my mom
28. **L** Ok.
29. **N** And so **I was like** 'I I was disappointed in myself after the after the fight because I
30. knew that that wasn't right'. And ah we just were talking about how a lot of times,
31. ah, us guys, mainly us us guys, ah we have this message from the culture that
32. like the way that you handle thing is like, um, you putting yourself out there and
33. showing yourself strong and you always have the last word kind of thing. And I
34. ask him what what, if he knows what that means having the kind of like last word

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

35. and he didn't know. So **I was like**, 'it's kinda like when you say somethin and then
36. this other guy says something meaner ah, that it [lives] you without like a
37. comeback ah, or like a response'. Um, so **it's like** 'oh I understand I see that, **and**
38. **like** 'yeah I a lot of times like I feel like that way like I need to like I dunno say
39. something back kinda like to show that I'm cool that whatever'. So, he
40. understood. Um, and then we just, yeah we just said that it's it's hard and I
41. understand that like a lot of times we, we human being we react in a poor way
42. and we just need to be careful and think about before we act--
43. **L** what did he do that was reacting poorly?
44. **H** He was just talking back and ah, just responding to the inappropriate, um
45. messages or things that this other guy was saying about like what he was gonna
46. do to him and--
47. **L** But what was what was he- I don't understand what was his response? What what
- was his response, what was inappropriate?
48. **H** I Just just the things that he was saying back, uh to the other student. And just
49. using inappropriate language.
-

Narrative 5: Dinner Conversation

1. **L** So, what happens like at school with now, with this student--is he going to get in
2. trouble?
3. **H** Uhh
4. **L** Or I mean, I guess he can't really get in trouble, can he?
5. **H** Yeah he cannot
6. **L** Well, what will happen?
7. **H** Umm. (clears throat) I mean. probably, oh wow this is really spicy. Probably

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

8. Kleah will call. I mean talk to Christian, um, about this. Um. And I I don't
9. think, I don- I don't think he can get in trouble. Like it's just out aside of the
10. school umm. If he gets demerits and things like that I--no. He shou--that would
11. be absurd. Like I will I will push back @ for him and be like. Mmmhh.
12. Probably. I--ee--To be honest though I think parents will be like, will not be
13. opposed to that.
14. **L** Really?
15. **H** Yeah @@. I, I have met these parents or, umm, like she's- they're like "yeah.
16. She deserves like a like a punishment." I was like, "well...you should establish a
17. punishment at home."
18. **L** Mmhhh. (pause) So they'll talk to him? Kleah will talk to him?
19. **H** Oh yeah. Be like, "that was unsafe. that was not smart. Like you had your
20. parents, like, So, 3:45, no 4, over 3 hours just like not knowing where were you."
21. **H** How are the veggies?
22. **L** Good, you want some?
23. **H** Umm...sure. I feel like I've been eating a lot of carbs and no veggies.
24. **L** You need kale.
25. **H** Mmhmm
-
26. **H** I think today. I think today has been the hardest day for me. Kinda like, feeling
27. like I'm not liking this position because, all I was doing was phone calls. And I
- was like, "man. I don't know if I enjoy this."
25. **L** But is--that's not every day though.
26. **H** Yeah it's not. I--
27. **L** Everyday there are things that, or, you know what I mean?
28. **H** Yeah. I felt. So I felt a little bit, not, I guess, ah frustrated. Umm, So, the both of

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

29. the elementary schools and the--I think college prep als-as well for parent's a—
30. conference, there system is, like they been sending home letter-letters and like, a
31. schedule of like the day and like different times, like 15 minutes and whatnot.
32. **L** Mmhmm.
33. **H** Saying, "at this time you can meet, um. Please be like-
34. **L** -Available?
35. **H** Available like, like we will call them, or they can sign up for like, oh like "I'm
36. going to go to Tuesday at 10 am." Um and they have to be at 10 am
37. because only the window is like 15 minutes.
38. **L** For what?
39. **N** To meet with a, with a teacher.
40. **L** Like a conference?
41. **N** Yeah. But in the high school we're sayin like, anytime between 2 and 6.
42. Just come whenever. Umm but, still like three different, three different, ah
43. different advisors, they asked me to like call with them to parents and ask,
44. "what time would you like to come that day?" So I'm-I mean I'm like "why
45. we just didn't like just send these pages?" For me and like not to spend
46. time calling these families and still ask for the time. leave the other five, six
47. teachers. Umm, like how would you coordinate that, so, I think. I think what
48. we're doing is like the best. @@
-
49. **H**: I'm gonna call quick the parents.
50. **L**: What?
51. **H**: I'm gonna call quick the parents and see if they have something. If they don't I'm
52. gonna be like, just encourage them to reach out to the police.
53. **L**: Do you think that they will? Are they documented?

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

54. **H:** Umm... I dunno. I, I know families that they are not documented and they would—

55. **L:** And they would still be willing to reach out to the police.

56. **H:** Yeah. And the police cannot do anything about that.

Narrative 6: Virtual Date

1. **H** So this story was um...happened when I was dating my wife, back in the day.
2. And my wife was in Ecuador. Um, and she, we'd been apart for like close to a
3. month I think at this point. And uh, she uh wanted to really like do something fun
4. over skype or something like google chat. So we're doing that.
5. But then she's like, 'hey my my teacher told me about this thing that you can go
6. on dates like virtual because it's like a virtual, uh virtual world'.
7. Uh, and then @@ uh, I downloaded this thing and this software or game that
8. looked like Sims City or Sims. So I started like looking fo-for Leah, and ah, I found
9. like one of the options was like you can fly around this ah virtual world on a-- on a
10. bat. And my roommate Mike comes into the room and he knows obviously that I'm
11. chatting with Leah.
12. And then he goes like, 'Bro. What the heck are you doin?'
13. And then I just told him, tell, I told him, 'Oh I'm just going on a date with Leah @@
14. a virtual world.'
15. And he just started laughing really hard, because it was so funny and bizarre.

Narrative 7: Grocery Store Dilemma

1. **L** Tell me about the last time you remember feeling annoyed.
2. **H** Oh, I'm bad at this.

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

3. L You're doing awesome what do you mean?
4. H Annoyed. Hmm. Oh, yeah @@@
5. L Which one are you going to answer?
6. H Annoying.
7. L Okay.
8. H Don't get mad
9. L I won't get mad
10. H On Sunday @@ spending a freaking two hours almost in the grocery
11. trying to decide what to buy. Um, for supper.
12. L But you have to, you have to tell it as a story. You can't tell a story that I--
13. H Oh sorry @@
14. L I mean, if I know it you have to pretend like I don't--
15. H So, I was meeting my wife Leah, at Whole Foods. Um, after church. And I, I was
16. tired. Leah was pretty, very tired. Um, and she, she had a good--like at the
17. beginning we, I saw that she had a good energy level, or kind of, what's the word,
18. energy level and, I don't know having the (pause) the happiness, to be there and
19. to do things. And, after we ate, for some reason it seems just something happen
20. really quickly that, her energy level just went down. Um, and then it was really
21. hard to pick, uh, food that we were about to eat, uh for the, for the, for Sunday
22. night. We were planning to have people over, and because of her diet, um, it was
23. hard to figure it out like, what's the best thing to have. We had something in mind,
24. Curanto, but I called the people to make sure that they didn't have any sort of
25. allergies. And they didn't but I got the feeling that they didn't really wanted to eat
26. mariscos-- "Mariscos" [in "gringo" accent] (laughs). Seafood, uh (laughs)-- and
27. um, so then, I um, I felt that I had to come up with a plan, another plan. And I just
28. **thought like,** "s--let's make some soup!" But my wife, didn't really like the idea.

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

29. And then she did, and then she didn't. And then she didn't and then she did. And
30. then she **said like**, "whatever. Let's think about them." So then I was **like**, "okay
31. let's do [once] chileno because it's the most simple thing that we can have, and
32. they're chileans, um, and they eat that, during the evenings." And then I can tell
33. she wasn't happy. Um, well @@ not just because of her face expression but
34. because what, she just **told** me, "I'm not going to be there. I'm not going to go." @
35. So I was **like**, "what's going on?" And (laughs) and, uh, I really wanted to take her
36. to, home, and just be like, and **tell her**, "stay at home. Let me do this. Um, and I'll,
37. I will be back." But she didn't. So, yeah, I felt annoyed for half an hour.

Appendix B: Quotes

“Voice”	Quotative			
Heriberto (I)	(4) So I was Ø ‘well we have talk about this before, like why, why do you engage with that kind of language with that kind of response when in the past we said like, you know, it's better for you to just be quiet and ignore what other people say to you.’	(4) And so I was like ‘I was disappointed in myself after the after the fight because I knew that that wasn't right’	(4) And I ask him what what, if he knows what that means having the kind of like last word and he didn't know. So I was like , “it's kinda like when you say somethin and then this other guy says something meaner ah, that it [lives] you without like a comeback ah, or like a response.”	(5) I was like , “well...you should establish a punishment at home.”
	(5) I think today. I think today has been the hardest day for me. Kinda like, feeling like I'm not liking this position because, all I was doing was phone calls. And I was like , “man, I don't know if I enjoy this.”	(5) So I'm-I mean I'm like “why we just didn't like just send these pages?” For me and like not to spend time calling these families and still ask for the time	(6) And then I just told him, tell, I told him , “Oh I'm just going on a date with Leah (laughs) a virtual world.”	(7) We had something in mind, [kuranto], but I called the people to make sure that they didn't have any sort of allergies. And they didn't but I got the feeling that they didn't really wanted to eat mariscos Ø “Mariscos!” [in “gringo” accent] (laughs). Seafood, uh (laughs)
	(7) I um, I felt that I had to come up with a plan, another plan. And I just thought like , “S-- let's make some soup!”	(7) So then I was like , “Okay let's do <i>once chileno</i> because it's the most simple thing that we can have, and they're Chileans, um, and they eat that, during the evenings.”	(7) And (laughs) and, uh, I really wanted to take her to, home, and just be like , and tell her , “Stay at home. Let me do this. Um, and I'll, I will be back.” But she didn't. So, yeah, I felt annoyed for half an hour.	(7) So I was like , “What's going on?”
Leah	(6) And uh, she uh wanted to really like do something fun over skype or something like google chat. So we're doing that. But then she's like , “Hey my my teacher told me about this thing that you can go on dates like virtual because it's like a virtual, uh virtual world.”	(7) But my wife, didn't really like the idea. And then she did, and then she didn't. And then she didn't and then she did. And then she said like , “Whatever. Let's think about them.”	(7) And then I can tell she wasn't happy. Um, well (laughs) not just because of her face expression but because what, she just told me , “I'm not going to be there. I'm not going to go.” (laughs)	
‘friend’	(1:5-12) So, I was at this gathering, this event, and um, I was working, uh, filming, this event. And, a friend of mine came and uh, he asked me like, umm, I forgot what the specific question was, but he asked me like, something like , ‘hey I would like you’--sorry that's not a question-- he just said, like , ‘hey can you bring me a glass of wine and bring me some cocktails’ and, kind of like if I'm like here, like wai--umm, not [unintelligible]...waitressing? um, waitring? Um, like the whole joke of like, being hispanic. And just like, I'm there like, to do that.			

Appendix B: Quotes

His brother (as a child)	(2) So like, we started walking together, but then instead of like, cro- crossing the street at the corner, with my brother, holding his hand, I just like ran to the other corner, and a car just came and like, ran-ran over me, or hit me, I guess. And my [femiΛ] and tibia were broken. And uh (laughs) Andres said that he only can remember that just being obviously like, afraid, and like, with fear trying to like, make me walk, like, like he will like, get me up and, Ø <u>“come on, we have to go get to mom!”</u> And like, I will just like fall down because, like, I don’t know if I was like, crying, or conscious, or not (laughs).	
Charlie (roomate)	(3) And Charlie came in, um, just to chat. I can’t remember what we were talking with him. And um, and then like, so Charlie was like <u>‘okay I gotta go, like I’m gonna go’.</u>	And the funny thing was like, uh-I dunno we were talking for like 5 or 10 minutes. And then we hear like, this scream like <u>“oh my gosh! Like you guys were like talking about your girls. I thought you guys would be talking about me.”</u>
Dana (roomate)	(3) And like Dana was like , <u>“Oh my gosh Charlie! I can’t believe how like, selfish-or like self-centered you are.”</u>	
Matt (roomate)	And my roommate Matt comes into the room and he knows obviously that I’m chatting with Leah. And then he goes like , <u>‘Broooo. What the heck are you doin?’</u>	
male high school student	And I just sit down with him and ask him about what was going on in the classroom. Why he has like talking while, uh when the teacher --the teacher asked him to, be quiet and work and he just started explaining like , <u>‘Fernando say this. Uh, this other student did this. He told me this and so went like this, um. And then I, then he said, uh...I will put that finger like in your ass or something like that’, um.</u>	Um, so it’s like , <u>‘oh I understand I see that, and like yeah I a lot of times like I feel like that way like I need to like I dunno say something back kinda like to show that I’m cool that whatever’.</u> So, he understood.
parents	(5) Yeah (laughs). I, I have met these parents or, umm, like she’s- they’re like <u>“yeah. She deserves like a like a punishment.”</u>	
‘We’	And -or we just said something like , <u>‘we gotta go to bed right now so like leave.’</u>	-- Available like, like we will call them, or they can sign up for like, oh like <u>“I’m going to go to Tuesday at 10 am.”</u>
?	(5) L: Mmhhh. (pause) So they’ll talk to him? Kleah will talk to him? N: Oh yeah. Be like , <u>“that was unsafe. That was not smart. Like you had your parents, like, So, 3:45, no 4, over 3 hours just like not knowing where were you.”</u>	
Letter	Umm, So, the both of the elementary schools and the--I think college prep als-as well for parent’s ah conference, there system is, like they been sending home letter-letters and like, a schedule of like the day and like different times, like 15 minutes and whatnot. L Mhmmm. N Saying , <u>“at this time you can meet, umm. Please be like-</u> L -Available?	

Appendix B: Quotes

Jill	And then she sees this shadow getting like closer to the tent and going like this. And uh, and then she's like obviously like freaks out and just like like " <u>James! James! Somebody's outside of of the window</u> ". I mean the, the tent.			Jill is like freaking out like , " <u>James, do something!</u> "		
James	I mean the, the tent. And uh, he's like , " <u>Oh gosh, like what's what's happening</u> " and like he sees like the shadow at night.	Then as soon as like he goes like , " <u>Hey! Like what are you doin!</u> ", like the shadow goes like down, like this.	Yeah and then James is like , " <u>Hey, like, what are you doing! Like what the heck are you doing outside of my tent?</u> "	Yeah, No, he said like , " <u>Well Katie's not here!</u> " (laughs)	So he goes outside, and he's like , " <u>Hey!</u> " And then like, kind of like this person just vanished.	
'Ghost' girl	And then at some point she says like , " <u>I'm looking for Katie</u> "					