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Stylistic Variation of Gullah Geechee Language Practices in Coastal Tourism Contexts

John Kibler McCullough

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STYLISTIC VARIATION OF GULLAH GEECHEE LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN
COASTAL TOURISM CONTEXTS

by

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“All that you touch You Change. All that you Change Changes you. The only lasting
truth Is Change. God is Change.”

- Octavia E. Butler, Parable of the Sower (Earthseed, #1)

DEDICATION

To Mom and Dad,

Who have hiked this journey with me every step of the way.

Love y'all to infinity.

- Spud

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There is no amount of words I can type on this page that can encompass the love, appreciation, and gratitude I have for the many, many people who supported me during the preparation, research, and writing of this dissertation. Those who know me (and what is likely evident from the page count of this document) know that I tend to use many words where few would suffice, but I want to put that compulsion to use right now to mention and thank those who walked this long and winding path with me.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the language practices and ideologies of Gullah Geechee (GG) tour guides in Charleston, South Carolina, particularly analyzing how language stylization is used by tour guides in the construction of personae as intercommunity culture and language brokers. Often, indigenous cultural artifacts are commodified through the setting of the tourism industry for consumption by outsiders; Gullah Geechee, a Sea Island creole language spoken along the southeastern United States coast, is directly affected by this characteristic of tourism. GG has been exposed to rapid de-isolation in the past 80 years; this exposure has brought isolated enclaves of GG communities into contact with the consumerism, capitalism, and tourism characteristics of other developing metropolitan areas. The linkage between ethnicity and perceived authenticity and epistemic authority is a critical aspect of this industry. This project studies how the expectations surrounding touristic experiences are highly based on a monolithic racialized language ideology, where authenticity is often tied to an essentialized perception of race. Although tourism as commodification and stylization within Black language have significant representation in the literature, this research instead analyzes the ways in which particular language practices become stylized, commodified, and curated in the creation and maintenance of tour guide brands that allow them to navigate outsider and institutional perceptions of authenticity and authority.

The data collected consists of over twenty hours of ethnographic tour and interview audio, seven tour guide websites and supplementary materials, hundreds of TripAdvisor reviews, a survey concerning tourist expectations, evaluations and experiences pre- and post- tour, and multiple tourist and tour guide YouTube videos. The tours and interviews have been discursively analyzed for observations concerning tour guide and tourist language ideologies, metalinguistic awareness, and stylization practices of tour guides both on and off tours; additional tourist ideologies were elicited from reviews and surveys, and additional moments of tour guide stylization from websites, supplementary materials, social media, and YouTube videos. This provides a typology of moments and genres of stylization; linguistic features of marked stylization; the metalinguistic, metapragmatic, and metadiscursive practices of tour guides; and tensions between intercommunity stances and language ideologies of one another.

Research finds that tour guides operate with a high level of metapragmatic awareness concerning *performance register (self-)stylization* as a tool of linguistic commodification, in that outsider perceptions of authenticity and authority are closely tied to stylized language practices. Guides use *metatouristic stancetaking* to navigate and negotiate tensions between tourist expectations and evaluations, guides' own agency and positioning within their communities, and as intercommunity intermediaries. As GG is not spoken or easily understood by the majority of tourists, guides also curate these moments of stylization into digestible moments that fall into purposes of reported and constructed speech, language-sharing, and epistemic authority as *curated enregistered commodification*. Stylization is largely indicated with phonetic and prosodic markedness; however, lexical items tend to be the most recognizable by tourists and those that are

showcased and repeated by outsiders as part of the branding of ‘authentic’ native and localized GG intercommunity experiences.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

@	Laughter, by pulse
# #	Unclear, muffled, or otherwise obstructed speech
(.)	Stop or pause, in seconds
[]	Speech overlap
:	Lengthening of segment
!	Especially emphatic utterance
,	Small pause or catch, less than one second
?	Rising intonation indicating a question
-	False start or interruption
=	Latching, with immediately following intonation unit
< >	Suprasegmental or paralinguistic information
<i>italics</i>	Stylized speech
bold	Higher pitch speech

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	African American Language
AAE	African American English
CAAT.....	Charleston African American Tours
CACVB.....	Charleston Area Convention and Visitors Bureau
CHT.....	Cultural Heritage Tourism
CTA.....	Charleston Tours Association
CVRTC	Charleston Visitor Reception and Transportation Center
FC.....	Frankly Charleston Black History Tours
GG.....	Gullah Geechee
GGCHC.....	Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor
GGT	Gullah Geechee Tours of Charleston
GT	Gullah Tours
IFJ	Institute for Justice
MAE.....	Mainstream American English
SAE.....	Southern American English
SIT.....	Sites and Insights Tours

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 OVERVIEW

Language and its power to create the physical, social, and cultural body speaks to its role as a social phenomenon that ties together personhood and identity, producing communities that share in this rich resource in order to better understand and navigate the shifting worlds around them. It is these resources that historically marginalized and disenfranchised communities must continually draw from in order to weather the erosion of their humanity by outside forces such as stigmatization, segregation, and various types of genocide, while also reflecting the internal agency and resilience that defines community pride and social action. This ability to withstand the pressures imposed by the institutions of dominant speech communities, along with histories of social and geographic isolation, are responsible for the creation of robust enclaves of linguistic variation and identity formation. Gullah Geechee, an English-lexified creole language spoken by descendants of enslaved West African and West Indian populations in the southeastern United States, presents a clear example of the realization of this type of language development and emergence. When de-isolation occurs in these communities, rapid integration of insiders and outsiders create situations of contemporary language and cultural contact, where situations of language accommodation, assimilation, or maintenance are constantly being negotiated within and between communities and

individuals along boundaries of power and identity. Although this variation between regional and local communities continues to be an understudied area of sociolinguistics and the nascent raciolinguistic subfield, this study of Gullah Geechee tour guides as intercommunity liaisons seeks to contribute an illustration of a facet of local language by both highlighting how language is used to stake claims of locality and authenticity, demarcating community belonging, as well as how this language use is taken up by outsiders in the ‘linguistic marketplace’ of cultural and heritage tourism (CHT). This dissertation reflects a continuing goal of modern sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological study in its examination of institutional and societal forces on marginalized speech communities, particularly in purported ‘cultural renaissance’ and ‘post-racial’ contexts of the 21st century neoliberal American sociopolitical landscape.

Scholarship of African American language (AAL) in the United States continues to revolutionize the perspective of Black and non-Black discourses on variation of language and identity and orients these discourses away from previous frameworks that backgrounded the White gaze and White listening subject as unmarked pressures on Black communities; research has consistently dissolved these monolithic and homogenous illustrations of previous academic generations and foregrounds the heterogeneity of Black identity and construction of race and belonging in particular communities. The Gullah Geechee community distribution can be roughly associated with the boundaries of the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor (GGHC), itself a federal and state commission that based its demarcations on established areas of Gullah Geechee historical communities, with the exception of diasporic enclaves in Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico. This identifies the stretch of coast of the southeastern United States, from

approximately Wilmington, North Carolina to Jacksonville, Florida, as the Gullah Geechee population area, encompassing the various Sea Islands off the coast, as well as inland approximately thirty miles.

Gullah Geechee as a language has considerable academic research and scholarship documenting its historical instantiation, origin debates, and relationship with other creole languages and AAL, which co-exist and intertwine with changing cultural perceptions of outsiders and have often colored research with particular types of language ideologies and their various counter-ideological turns, even exemplified by the continual debate of ‘language, dialect, accent’ by academics and its own speakers. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to attempt to resolve taxonomic claims or situate the language among various origin hypotheses; multiple theories are considered for how they reflect the ways that tour guides and other community experts navigate understandings of the community from a linguistic viewpoint. However, the research is not without bias and does not shy away from illustrating how the framing of many of these theories has been the product of set agendas of academics and outsiders, rather than from the notions and intuitions of the community itself. A major focus of this research instead is to center the experiences of contemporary Gullah Geechee voices, specifically tour guides acting as intercommunity intermediaries and ‘ambassadors’, and the ways in which language variation, performance, and stylization are actively utilized during intercommunity interactions of various genres.

This study examines the local circulation of ideologies between producers and consumers of language, culture, and the constructed artifacts of Gullah Geechee speakers, as well as how these local interactions inform macro-level raciolinguistic ideologies

concerning the imposition of White supremacy and capitalist institutions on marginalized and stigmatized communities of practice, while accounting for strategies of circumvention and counter-resistance by community members that reflect a particular Gullah Geechee linguistic and cultural identity. This project is situated within a mixed-method analytical framework that incorporates the ethnography of cultural and heritage tourism with linguistic frameworks of discourse analysis, stance and stylization, indexicality and enregisterment, and raciolinguistics, in order to foreground the complex constellation of race, ethnicity, language, and power relations that inform the tensions between Gullah Geechee tour guides and outsider tourists, as well as the larger ideologies of hegemonic institutions and commodification of cultural capital.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF STUDY AND SITE

The study is based on over five years of ethnographic research that occurred between 2017 and 2022 in the southeastern Lowcountry of South Carolina and Georgia. Although the primary focus of the dissertation involves the Gullah Geechee community, tour guides, and tourism industry of Charleston, South Carolina specifically, several other local coastal tourism areas were investigated, other tour guides were interviewed, and other locations associated with Gullah Geechee communities were scouted (e.g., Savannah, St. Simons Island, Sapelo Island, and Daufuskie Island) to give a more robust perspective to the multi-sited ethnographic context of the chosen research site.

The study of African American and Black identity is intimately tied to the history of Gullah Geechee, and by association the history of Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston was responsible for the majority of slave importations both in the Southeast and in the United States, and as a result of the high proportion of Black to White persons,

developed language contact situations described as fertile ground for creole language genesis (Kytte and Roberts 2018). These plantation environments established a distinct linguistic landscape of the area, which was only exacerbated after the post-Civil War emancipation of the enslaved population. Formerly enslaved communities remained on sea islands or settled in areas where they would hopefully avoid the rancor of resentful White populations during the Reconstruction era, producing extended periods of geographic and social isolation. Although this isolation gradually lessened after the Jim Crow era and in the post-WWII infrastructure boom, the sharp de-isolation as Gullah Geechee land became prime real estate for resorts, golf courses and vacation homes had a profound effect on the insular communities; this was assisted in no small part by exoduses from these areas during waves of the Great Migration by generations seeking socioeconomic mobility and a modernity apart from the conservative South. It is the culmination of these ebbs and flows of movement that have sedimented into the current landscape of Charleston and the surrounding communities—a major metropolitan area that relies heavily on tourism and therefore has a vested interest in producing narratives and experiences that absorb and reflect the expectations of tourists. While this revitalized interest in ‘local’ and ‘authentic’ culture of Charleston draws in bodies and funds, it also co-occurs with the spectre of gentrification and displacement that pushes Black communities further and further from familial areas, moving both minority metropolitan and waterfront Gullah Geechee populations into the outlying towns and further affecting the linguistic landscape of the region.

1.3 DISCOURSES SURROUNDING THE ORIGINS OF GULLAH GEECHEE

Linguistic studies of Gullah Geechee first emerged from the exoticizing and infantilizing gazes of White folk ethnographers who were driven largely by the curiosity and allure of primitivist movements¹ searching for “African survivals”. Not until anthropologists such as Boas and Herkovits credited indigenous populations with some kind of linguistic and cultural agency were academic perceptions able to pivot, and this scholastic turn is exemplified by Lorenzo Dow Turner’s seminal work *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Turner 1949), which forms the bedrock of Gullah Geechee research today. Although outsider research has not always been kind to Gullah Geechee, the insistent work of academics and community experts has forced re-examinations of race and language, including but not limited to identification of structural mechanisms both like and unlike the internal rule-governed structures of African American English (AAE).

Gullah Geechee as a distinct variety has been examined through an academic lens in earnest since Turner’s *Africanisms*. Turner’s work is responsible for germinating the counternarrative that not only had enslaved peoples and their descendants not lost their language since their forced arrival and later resettlement of the Sea Islands, the language was retained in hundreds of loanwords, linguistic elements, and names that could be directly linked to over a dozen African languages. This counternarrative not only contested racialized ‘language regard’² of Gullah Geechee as in some way deficient or

¹ Characterized by the actions of outsider perspectives such as Julia Peterkin’s *Roll, Jordan, Roll* and Mary Granger’s *Drums and Shadows* as part of the Federal Writer’s Project’s Savannah Unit (Cooper 2017)

² Defined as bringing “together the evaluative notions typical of language attitude study, the beliefs about language more often discussed in folk linguistic and ethnographic studies, and the ideologies elaborated on by both sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists” (Preston 2019).

degraded English, it also mediated for a renewal of Gullah Geechee culture and personhood (Campbell 2011).

Characterized chiefly by its unique linguistic structure and sound when compared to surrounding language varieties, Gullah Geechee is also associated with the related aspects of historical geographic and sociocultural isolation that have allowed for its longstanding retention of many of its most salient divergent features. Although isolated to a certain extent before and after emancipation, it is still evident that an English superstrate³ played a role in the development of historical Gullah Geechee. However, the origins of that English-lexifier and its interaction with an African substrate are often contested in the context of the effects of Barbadian-origin and African-origin slave populations (Hirsch 2003).

While the development of Gullah Geechee from creole genesis via English pidginization has much representation in the literature (Hancock 1980; Hirsch 2003; Mufwene 2007; 1997a), a much more contentious site of argument lies in isolating where exactly the language contact was responsible for the emergence of Gullah Geechee as it exists in the minds of historians and linguists. Multiple sites and viaducts of this emergence are largely split into West-African or West Indies-origin camps, where transported slaves would have either brought with them a decreolized Barbadian English or a ‘true’ creole in the form of Guinea Coast Creole English. The latter is also characterized by its relationship to the historical and synchronic Sierra Leone Krio, especially in strong Creolist work that seeks to emphasize this Krio-creole connection

³ In creolist contexts, superstrate indicates the variety of overt prestige and power introduced, typically a colonial one, while substrate indicates the existent language of the pre-existing local population, typically highly stigmatized by colonial powers (Holm 2000).

and decouple parallels with Jamaican and Barbadian varieties (Hancock 1980). The Sierra Leone connection is well-represented by the Gullah Geechee community and scholars, highlighting these connections in the spirit of the West African link established earlier by Turner and galvanized by Africa-Gullah Geechee connection scholars such as Joseph Opala (Opala 1987; Cross 2008).

Creole emergence can be framed as an extension of second-language acquisition, or as emergent shifts (i.e. target shifts) towards languages that were socioeconomically dominant, although also the language of oppression (Mufwene 2010). While Mufwene's framework situates Gullah Geechee as a regional variety of AAE (Mufwene 1998), a strict demarcation of AAE and Gullah Geechee still supports the notion that the varieties fall under an umbrella of African American Language (AAL), one with historical and regional variations, and situates them as separately emerging varieties that have been made monolith by outsider perceptions and language convergence due to geographic and sociocultural de-isolation.

Turner is the most notable for establishing connections between Gullah Geechee and languages of the Black diaspora, but this relationship is also a foundational framework for the following generations of creolists who wish to establish this specific composition of Gullah Geechee (Moore 1980; Mufwene and Condon 1993). The Anglicist hypothesis explicitly frames the emergence of Gullah Geechee (and other varieties of AAE) as language variation from contact with European American dialects, giving negligible to no influence of African languages as salient in the language developed over the generations by enslaved peoples and their descendants (Wolfram and Schilling 2016). This hypothesis explains features of AAE that are dissimilar from

surrounding varieties as preservations of earlier British dialect features lost as Mainstream American English (MAE⁴) began to innovate away from British English varieties. The Neo-Anglicist hypothesis indicates African Americans imported into areas with higher proportions of Whites and from ports such as Virginia and Maryland incorporated English much differently than those traveling through Charleston and the surrounding Sea Islands and working in plantation areas, where they were much less likely to directly interact with White European-American English speakers (Wolfram and Thomas 2002).

The Creolist hypothesis highlighted not only a historical connection of a widespread creole of people of African descent across this diaspora, it also illustrated how this diaspora had distilled synchronic representations of these connections, including Sierra Leone Krio, Jamaican patois, and Bajan creole, as well as Gullah Geechee (Wolfram and Schilling 2016). The Substratist hypothesis recognizes that while many areas of AAE converged with neighboring varieties, there also remains “a longstanding ethnolinguistic divide” (Wolfram and Schilling 2016) and persistently divergent features of AAE loci that point to a substrate derived from African languages. This acceptance of some type of creole, creolization, or proto-creole as affecting AAE and languages such as Gullah Geechee allows for a more nuanced understanding of existent English-lexified creole languages today and their interrelationship. It is not the purpose of this study to produce an ‘answer’ to the origins of Gullah Geechee, rather to understand the ways that attempts at categorization have affected the legitimation of the variety by scholars,

⁴ The variety of American English considered devoid of socially stigmatized structures, often perceived as ‘standard’ even along continua of standardness and formality (Wolfram and Schilling 2016).

institutional forces, and the Gullah Geechee community itself, as shown through ideological discourses circulating in the intercommunity tourist setting.

1.4 LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF GULLAH GEECHEE

Gullah Geechee linguistic studies have typically focused on highlighting clines of distinctiveness of the language from the structures of surrounding varieties. Klein identifies three distinct patterns of interaction: the convergence of certain creole grammatical structures with English (Jones-Jackson 1978; 1987), maintenance of certain distinct structures (Mufwene 1991; 1994; Nichols 1986) and divergence of English and creole structures (Hopkins 1994), while recognizing a need to expand the breadth of analysis done with Gullah Geechee phonology (Klein 2014). The deliberate negotiation of what is ‘appropriate’ for what non-community members can and should hear has also led to considerations of what ‘authentic’ Gullah is, and how isolating qualities of the language may affect its vitality and survivability (Mufwene 1993; 1997b).

Studies of Gullah Geechee syntax represent the phenomena of copula variability (Weldon 2003a), sentential subordination (Mufwene 1989), verbal auxiliaries (Wylie 1990), and relational effects of syntax based on community contact (Moody 2011; Troike 2003; Weldon 2003b). Pronominal and plural marking systems are also salient sites for comparative and variationist studies including number delimitation (Rickford 1990) and diachronic evidence of variation or pronoun paradigm leveling (Nichols 1976; Troike 2003). Lexical studies of Gullah Geechee continue to track the shift (variously framed as assimilation, loss, or decreolization) of the language through retention and innovation of lexical items, especially those derived from West African (Jones-Jackson 1978; Turner 1949) or West Indies (Holm 1983) origin. Discursive studies of Gullah Geechee are often

tied to notions of intracommunity performance, denoting culturally encoded frames such as call-and-response (Smith 1999), highlighting the integral nature of the audience and the nature of discursive frames as highly intersubjective and signaled by prosodic and pragmatic elements. Gullah Geechee identity and culture is inextricably tied to the discourse; despite interspeaker variation, discursive frames retain features encoded with cultural and sociohistorical aspects of the Gullah Geechee personhood narrative (L. D. Brown 2005).

Phonological studies of Gullah Geechee owe much to the original documentation and transcription of Turner (Weldon 2018), but are again framed within the matrix of relative distance to AAE (Troike 2015), African languages (Jones-Jackson 1978; Klein 2011), and West Indian creole languages (Taylor 1963). Research of Gullah Geechee phonetics and phonology include both diachronic (Troike 2003) and synchronic literature; although much of Turner's phonetic and phonological sketch was synchronic, contemporary analysis uses his documentation as a benchmark to relatively compare the trajectory to the language over time and often geographic and demographic spaces. These studies are also tied to microlinguistic change, maintenance, and intraspeaker variation (i.e. style-shifting) that speakers undergo in order to agentively situate themselves in a time and space relative to the community, e.g. uses of aph(er)esis across generations (Klein 2006; 2014). The representation of the variety in phonological studies also takes into consideration the lectal level (and language designation, e.g. 'dialect' versus 'accent') of the documentation (Preeshl 2022), but is again influenced by its placement into ideologies of decreolization and related frameworks of language shift or decay, e.g. debasilectalization (Mufwene 1997b; 2004; J. F. Siegel 2010, 201).

1.4.1 RELATIONSHIP OF GULLAH GEECHEE TO AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH (AAE)

This designation of Gullah Geechee as a creole language places implications on the trajectory of modern research by asking two main questions: (1) what is Gullah Geechee's historic and featural relationship to AAE and (2) how is that relationship affecting Gullah Geechee's continuing status as a creole (Troike 2015; Weldon and Moody 2015). The convergence of Gullah Geechee with other types of Black Englishes to produce a distinct African American English downplays the existent creole features of Gullah Geechee while strengthening the proximal ties between the African American and Gullah Geechee communities, and provides a composite origin of AAE genesis (Jones-Jackson 1986; 1978; Mufwene 1998; 2001). But this type of language change is identified variably as shifting, assimilation, decreolization, or endangerment (Mufwene 1991; 1997b). Gullah Geechee linguistic distinctiveness is provided as evidence of its separate, yet interwoven history with AAE (Spears 2009), as well as characteristics that makes salient its individual identity (Hinton and Pollock 2000; Klein 2014; Troike 2015; Weldon 2018). The linguistic relationship between the varieties also shapes the attitudes exerted by out-group members on both AAE and Gullah Geechee community identities: those unfamiliar with Gullah Geechee will often identify Gullah Geechee as AAE with reduced intelligibility by both AAE and non-AAE speakers. Even those exposed to Gullah Geechee but still in the extracommunity may have a hard time distinguishing between the varieties and may use sociophonetic cues (e.g. [r/l] alternation, r-lessness, elision, prosodic contours, or indexical assemblages of multiple features) to justify their identifications. While the relationship between the varieties of AAE and Gullah Geechee

have been studied (Moody 2015; Weldon and Moody 2015), the relationship of the representative communities and intercommunity perceptions can be further explored. This language and community contact is also unique because of the overlapping shared featural and ethnic history of Gullah Geechee and AAE, and provides evidence of how language communities (e.g. AAE) evaluate and utilize the identities within the less-represented (or assimilating) language (i.e. Gullah Geechee), for example the pejorative designation of stigmatized ways of speaking as ‘talking Geechee’.

1.4.2 CREOLE LANGUAGES: CONTINUA AND SPECTRA

The distinction of creoles from their European language-lexifiers is characterized by multiple and generational localized divergences that build up over time and produce variation and evolution while still facilitating communication, as with any type of language evolution (Mufwene 2007). The exceptionalism of the terminology is rooted in colonial ideologies of exoticization (Wolfram and Schilling 2016), which frame creole languages as sites of extraordinary language contact (Mufwene 2001), mixing where the notions of a ‘real’ language become difficult to realize (Degraff 2005), and acts a site of continuing contestation of linguistic “simplicity” (Good 2012) and innovation/expansion (Hudson and Eigsti 2003). This situates Gullah Geechee within the larger frame of examining the relationship between identity and creole languages, which are characterized in part by conscious and unconscious shifts between acrolectal (superstratal) and basilectal (substratal) levels on a creole continuum (Campbell 2011; Klein 2014; Weldon 2018).⁵ Speakers of creole languages often have access to or contact

⁵ The creole continuum represents the theoretical spectrum of linguistic admixture variation available in a given creole language based on two polemic levels: the basilect (lowest level) represented by the substrate (language represented by speakers with less power) and the acrolect (highest level) represented by the superstrate (language represented by speakers with the most power). A mesolect (middle level) is the

with a standard-like superstrate language and therefore when performing conscious translingual style shifts are making, and being aware of, evaluations of their variety and constructing identities accordingly (Kepley 2011; Moll 2015; Ohama et al. 2000) . This indexing of identity, register, and voice and its subsequent proliferation through linguistic phenomena has copious representation in the literature, both theoretically and applied (Agha 2005; 2004; Eckert 2008; Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006; Silverstein 2003a; Woolard 2008); however, less work has been done on the modern relationship between Gullah Geechee language and identity through performance (cf. Smith 1999).

Contemporary examinations of language regard reveal a more complicated relationship between overt and covert prestige⁶, identity, and evaluative attitudes (Ohama et al. 2000). There is an increasing embrace of a wider stylistic range from which speakers can draw iconized social categories and identities (Drager and Grama 2014; Wassink 1999) that reveal the metadiscursive and metapragmatic awareness of speakers to use language in a symbolic manner (Fenigsen 2003). These interdiscursive sites are noteworthy as not just areas of tension, but domains where a wider variety of metapragmatic responses and strategies can be used to minimize erasures of identity and work towards demarginalization and solidarity (Marlow and Giles 2008; 2010), and adopt attitudes of collective action that do not further entrench existent imperialist ideologies (J. Siegel 2007).

median of these; however, all of these levels may shift as a language *decreolizes* or assimilates (Holm 2000).

⁶ *Covert prestige* as “use of distinct microlinguistic features to situate oneself as a member of a linguistic community” (Klein 2006) and *overt prestige* as the power and status associated with a hegemonic, dominant, mainstream, or majority language variety.

1.4.3 SIMILAR PHENOMENA IN OTHER CARIBBEAN CREOLES AND AAE

Both Gullah Geechee and Bahamian English occupy a linguistic space that is not only structurally similar, but also represents a similar position in creole continua between other English-lexified creoles and AAE (Holm 1983). This is evidenced by shared linguistic features, such as selective monophthongization, that occur in Bahamian and Gullah Geechee, but are not prevalent in other creole varieties (although part of the Caribbean creole diaspora like Bahamian). This relationship is recognized both by academics and speaker intercommunity perception and evaluation of linguistic forms linking sociohistorical realities (e.g. economic and political transmissions between the Carolinas and Bahamas in the colonial era) and a desire to distinguish notions of shared contact from common ancestry.

These types of relationships and connections are usually contextualized in the understanding of how English-lexified creoles of the mainland United States, Caribbean, and West Africa share substratal and superstratal features; however, research scoping outward that looks at how African substrates influence other lexifier creole languages provides a more comprehensive perspective of the effects and spread of creole features through the transatlantic slave trade (Parkvall 2000). The language of Afro-Cuban, a Spanish-lexified creole found in Cuba, contains labiovelar stops such as /kp/ and /gb/ that are not found in Spanish, but they are found in the descendants of the African substrate languages that form the basilect of the variety (Hopkins 1992). Like features of Gullah Geechee that have ‘resisted’ notions of decreolization (e.g. auxiliaries *da* and *bin*), these types of substratal retentions represent a conscious indexing of non-superstratal forms with community saliency and ways of being through ways of speaking.

1 4.4 HISTORICAL DEPICTIONS OF GULLAH GEECHEE

The early documentation of Gullah Geechee is undeniably influenced by the views of racialized and othering depictions, notably those of Ambrose Gonzales, whose linguistic sketches today are considered to be exoticized and commodified caricatures of the language (e.g. use of eye dialect⁷ along with varying attention paid to phonetic orthography), but remain some of the earliest attempts at illustrating the variety (Mille 2012) which provide context for later comparisons with Gullah Geechee from AAE. These somewhat myopic depictions for the purpose of outsider observation provide sociolinguistic information not only about the speech community, but also evaluations by the extracommunity that were impressed and possibly uptaken by Gullah Geechee speakers (Troike 2003).

Stylistic devices to represent the linguistic features of ‘nonstandard’ varieties fall into two main categories, both of which reveal just as much about the ideologies held by the writer towards the speaker and speech as they do about the speech itself (A. M. Jaffe 2000): representations without phonetic realization, rather meant to caricaturize speakers as different from a perceived standard speech community in some way (i.e. eye dialect), and representations that indicate phonetic and phonological realities of speakers of nonstandard varieties that may or may not be loaded with marginalizing or stigmatizing ideologies (Barry 2001). *De Nyew Testament* is a salient artifact to examine how codification works in this particular creole language context, positively evaluated by the community as a symbolic resource of the intersection of language and faith (Sea Island

⁷ Defined as “The use of spelling to suggest dialect difference; the spelling does not reflect an actual dialect difference” (Wolfram and Schilling 2016).

Translation Team 2005). Depiction through translations such as these illustrates language practices with a codified artifact that represents a chronotope where time and space merge into an inseparable reality (Bakhtin 1986); that particular conceptualization and utility of language evokes a sense of community belonging and nostalgia for a perceived past (Berliner 2020), bound up with ideologies of ‘pure’ identities and language. These chronotopes provide intertextual sites where in-groups can further subdivide and recognize the salience of geographically-bounded communities (Shinault-Small 2021) rather than a linguistic monolith. Standardization within covert prestige speech communities commodifies orthography, whether referencing a perceived expression of ‘authentic’ identity (Ferguson 1996) or reifying a social stereotype, and embodies a shared set of codes that produce a particular persona and voice (A. M. Jaffe 2000). These particular identities may be perceived as agentively subversive in their iconicity (Andronis 2003), which can contest contemporary hegemonic language ideologies (“De Good Nyews Bout Translayshun?” 2007) but are also limited by perceptions of authority and legitimacy of the language practices they are represented by.

Many discourses surrounding Gullah Geechee and its historical depiction draw parallels with colonial ideologies of heteronomous and subordinate cultures benefitting from the linguistic imposition of imperialist institutions (Collins and Mufwene 2005). The embedding of Gullah Geechee within these colonialist frameworks runs the danger of reproducing exoticizing or fetishizing representations of the language, even as it seeks to present the language as a legitimate linguistic structure; consistent contesting of negative attitudes is difficult to enact due to the continuing prescriptive ideologies that seek to invalidate the legitimacy and use of nonstandard varieties (J. Siegel 1999; 2007).

1.5 HISTORY OF GULLAH GEECHEE AND INTERCOMMUNITY CONTACT

The Gullah Geechee people are descended from West African and Caribbean slaves imported to the Southeastern United States, specifically Charleston and the surrounding Lowcountry and Sea Islands, from the 17th through the 19th centuries as part of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Specifically, slaves were chosen from the Rice Coast or Windward Coast of West Africa because of their knowledge of rice-growing techniques, which were in high demand. These tribes along the Rice Coast were the Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, Baga, Limba, Temne, Mende, Vai, Kissi, and Kpella, located in the present-day countries of Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia, and Senegal (Opala 1987). The etymology of Gullah has been variously given as deriving from Gola (Turner 1949), Angola, Gallinas, or Galo, tribes or regions associated with Sierra Leone (Opala 1987). The term Geechee is traditionally understood as an endonym, especially for Gullah Geechee speakers in the Georgia Lowcountry, but with a similarly competing etymology: either from the Kissi tribe of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea (Turner 1949), or from the Ogeechee River that runs parallel to the Savannah River near the Golden Isles of Georgia (Cross 2008; Graham 2017). The discourse around endonymic and exonymic naming practices of Gullah Geechee vary widely based on positionality to the community and individual orientation to the indices tied to designations. Both Gullah and Geechee were historically seen as pejorative⁸, with Gullah less so, and many outwardly-perceived or self-identified Gullah Geechee speakers may still refer to their variety as English or an ‘accent’. However, these conventions and connotations seem to be in flux, with the

⁸ ‘Geechee’ is still seen by some as pejorative, especially by older speakers from or familiar with the Lowcountry area; can also be semantically expanded to indicate regionalized or racialized vernacular speech that is perceived as difficult to understand. Relatedly can mean ‘nonsense language’ or ‘gibberish’.

reclamation of Geechee as a label for Georgia-based Gullah Geechee language or ‘less formal’ term for a Gullah Geechee person, e.g. the tour guide Al Miller self-identifying as a ‘freshwater Geechee’ (Miller 2021); younger speakers are also making naming distinctions based on language variation, e.g. the Gullah Geechee Experience activists identifying *chillun* ‘children’ as Gullah and *churn* as Geechee (Geechee X 2019, 101).

The distancing of White sharecroppers and plantation owners from malaria-carrying marshland created a unique demographic in the Lowcountry where African Americans formed the majority, with far less intimate interactions and continued contact with White populations and the creation of areas and communities of relative isolation (Opala 1987). After emancipation, the Gullah Geechee community largely remained in their traditional areas, working as wage laborers and sharecroppers, until the collapse of the rice economy by 1900. This collapse, along with the abandonment of the plantations, situated the community in highly geographically and economically isolated locations, with connectors and bridges from the Sea Islands to the mainland not being built until at least 20 years later (Opala 1987).

The Avery Normal Institute (‘Avery School’) and Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School (‘Penn School’) are critical in understanding the placement of Gullah Geechee and Black identity in the institution, specifically in the way Reconstruction-era ideologies and spaces were transmuted from sites of sociocultural and prescriptivist controls to centers of legitimized cultural revitalization and mediation. Both schools placed an emphasis on the ‘correctness’ of English, encouraging students to speak in the local standardized English, but did not explicitly enforce a language policy restricting the use of Gullah Geechee for students. By contrast, they used implicit language and cultural

ideologies to highlight a bifurcating attitude towards the language. However, its use was co-indexed and commodified with other obstacles to social mobility through perceptions of illiteracy and other socioeconomic roles that required ‘good English’ (Agha 2011; Smalls 2012). At both schools this created the notion of a ‘third space’ where language practices associated with Gullah Geechee selfhood and identity could exist and compete with dominant language ideologies, producing complex personhoods that while not overtly valorized, were embodied by students (Smalls 2012). Both schools became loci of historic recognition and revitalization efforts, as well as enduring physical and metaphysical symbols of Gullah Geechee identity and history.

Campbell provides a concentric model of Gullah Geechee personhood in its relation to the Gullah Geechee Cultural Renaissance, which diffuses outward in five circles: traditional Gullahs, modern Gullahs, Gullah family, Gullah diaspora, Gullah descendants (Campbell 2011). Determining the scope of Gullah Geechee speakers within this model proves to be a complicated task. Compounded by various designations of the variety as language, dialect, accent (Chambers and Trudgill 1998), or erased in perceived monoliths of AAE, the notions of who counts as a speaker are often contingent on linguistic ideologies that equate linguistic competence with embodiment (Ramos-Zayas 2011), a framework that leaves the speakers of many marginalized varieties as non-speakers of their own language. Statistics give projected population numbers of between 159,222 and 262,623 Gullah Geechee people in the 2000 census (cf. the total African American population of 652,701) in the coastal counties of South Carolina and Georgia (National Park Service 2005), a number corroborated by the 250,000 number from the 2015 census (“Sea Island Creole English” 2020). In the Charleston metropolitan area

alone, the African American population maintains around 25% of the total area population at 196,281 (U.S. Census Bureau 2019); projecting the same rough proportion density of Gullah Geechee people as in other Lowcountry counties, this would give approximately 75,180 Gullah Geechee individuals in the Charleston metropolitan area. Reported speaker numbers, when available, are also inconsistent due to reasons of ideology and recognition mentioned above, ‘official’ speakers being given between 390 and 5,000 (“Sea Island Creole English” 2020).

Gullah Geechee has been observed to have been undergoing generalized transitions towards more local MAE, Southern American English (SAE) and AAE forms for speakers (Nichols 1976). These transitions have been variously perceived as stemming from assimilation and decreolization (Jones-Jackson 1984; 1986; 1987), to selective retention or proliferation of distinct features and structures (Hopkins 1994; Mille 1990; Mufwene 1994; 1997a). Decreolization is often tied to linguicide (language death) when creole languages are considered; however, the notions of ‘reduction’ as linguistic attrition and population attrition (i.e. co-indexed as signs of moribund linguistic vitality) are simplifications of phenomena (Mufwene 1997b) such as a functional diglossia, where in-group basilectal⁹ forms and out-group acrolectal forms serve distinct social functions, rather than distinct trajectories towards a total acrolectalization or assimilation (Mufwene 1991). These discourses of death and linguicide also obfuscate alternative perspectives of natural language attrition and retention as in competition and selection (Mufwene 2004). This view of decreolization via assimilation becomes more

⁹ In creolist contexts, creole language exist along a theoretical *creole continuum*, where language expression varies along a cline of two extreme ‘lects’ or levels: the *basilect*, representing the overt prestige superstrate, and the *acrolect*, representing the covert prestige substrate (Holm 2000).

analogous with discourses eroding landownership of traditional Gullah Geechee spaces being supplanted by tourism and resort environments (Graves 2013; Hamilton 2010; Tyler 2001).

The rhetoric of language endangerment and loss often frames language as a commodified product to be owned, hypervalorized as a cultural capital under constant threat of attack by external forces (Hill 2002). Language revitalization movements can be separated from language reclamation, as the latter attempts to move past notions of colonial violence and trauma narratives in order to make visible the speakers of the language, rather than maintaining oppressive power structures in the neoliberal project (Meissner 2018). An evaporation of many of the social stratifications that defined Gullah Geechee and outsider delineations is to some extent expected considering the context of geographic and social de-isolation, which naturally affect the substance of the language itself (Jones-Jackson 1984).

Gullah Geechee construction of self and identity is inherently tied to ideologies of race, ethnolinguistic repertoire, and creole language that is overlaid on placements in physical and geographical space (Hamilton 2012), with much of the discourse around ownership of language and culture (Huggins, Sun, and Davidson 2018) echoing the same types of conversations about ownership and reclamation of land and place, with locality as a locus of these notions (Hamilton 2010). However, this personhood need not only be shaped by historical extracommunity perspectives of Gullah Geechee difference, these identities can be, and in many cases are necessarily co-constructed through enregistered language practices shared among a community sharing chronotopes and mediating personhood through a variety of language use that can all be constituted as ‘authentic’

Gullah Geechee (Smalls 2012). This concentric circling of personhood can be visualized as a nexus of idealized or ‘most authentic’ Gullah Geechee identity based on cultural practice, community ties, race, and location; the Gullah Geechee term *binyah* (lit. ‘been here’) indicates an authenticated local Gullah Geechee, while the term *kumyah* (lit. ‘come here’) denotes someone that may be Gullah Geechee through ancestry and cultural practice, but was not born and(/or) raised in the Lowcountry¹⁰. The creation of these terms may be a direct response to the influx of perceived outsiders and increasing agency and desire to distinguish native from newcomer, especially in the context of tourism and resort culture, with identification of an additional term *former* as “an island native who has island ancestry, but no longer lives there permanently” (Klein 2006). Similar ‘linguistic partitions’ are found in other English creole-speaking and diasporic African populations, e.g. the Turks and Caicos Islands *visitor*, *resident*, and *belonger*¹¹ distinction, all indicating “linguistic negotiations of who belongs and does not” (Klein 2006). However, it should be noted that these terms are not simple discrete labels of belonging that carry objective designation within the community, and rather are shifting and dynamic denotations that instead reflect the nature of ‘authenticated’ or ‘legitimated’ Gullah Geechee personhood as one that is constructed through a variety of perspectives. Although a bifurcation can be made along lines of literal meaning when determining who is ‘native’ (i.e. either having *been* here or having *come* here), it can be seen that insiders

¹⁰ This is also complicated by a small but recognized population of White Gullah Geechee speakers, typically older speakers who grew up in social contexts where they were in frequent and extended contact with Black Gullah Geechee speakers (e.g. the family employed a Gullah Geechee housekeeper or nanny) and adopted it as a near-L1 or L2. However, it would be difficult to argue that a self-identification of White speakers as Gullah Geechee would be recognized by the larger Gullah Geechee community, and certainly not a *binyah*.

¹¹ See also Hawaiian Creole English nexus of belonging between *haole* (‘(usually White) outsider’), *local*, *kama‘āina* (‘resident of Hawai‘i’), *kānaka maoli* (‘native or aboriginal Hawaiian’) (Higgins 2015).

have a stricter view of who is *binyah* than some of the looser ‘self-determination’ of *kumyahs*. As Hargrove (2000) notes: “Comeyas, regardless of their level of sincerity concerning Gullah preservation, are often viewed as having no right to participate in community affairs.” This designation of belonging also need not only be along ethnoracial lines, as some of her interview participants indicate a need for new ‘ways of communicating’ in the intercommunity, where the term denotes more locality than Gullah Geechee identity specifically: “*the comeyas who are black and the comeyas who are white and the binyas who are black and the binyas who are white are going to have to find a way to create the new way of communicating*” (Hargrove 2000). This also ties into notions of commodification and appropriation, with the community identifying those “essentially now claiming Gullah identity” (Hargrove 2000) as potentially exploitative, damaging both the community’s ability to improve their own socioeconomic mobility, but creating scenarios where “people are coming here to learn about Gullah culture and being even further mis-educated by comeyas pretending to be natives” (Hargrove 2000), i.e. producing false epistemic sources that may negatively affect representation and outsider perceptions. Because of the subjective and somewhat controversial nature of the terminology, the Gullah Geechee identity markers *binyah* and *kumyah* are only used throughout this dissertation in cases where individuals have *self-identified* as one or the other, either directly to me during tours or interviews, or in literature provided by individuals through their own sources (e.g. personal websites, social media, etc.). In no way should my description of the terms and designation of participants be read as anything other than an observation on how authenticity and self-identification towards a locus of belonging work as symbolic capital in the intercommunity space.

Language learning resources do exist, but are offered mostly in the forms of phrasebooks (Geraty 1997), online for the benefit of local k-12 education (South Carolina ETV Commission 2021) or lists of common lexical items and phrases in online spaces, particularly as part of the commercial product experience (Georgia Historical Society 1998; Gullah Heritage Trail Tours 2017; Gullah Museum 2015; Hilton Head Island-Bluffton Chamber of Commerce & Visitor and Convention Bureau 2021; Sweetgrass Marketing 1999). A recent contrast in these digital domains is the concurrently social and linguistic activism of the Gullah Geechee Experience (GX), which offers a multimedia online presence (Geechee Experience 2021; Page 2022). Another facet of the domain of Gullah Geechee language-learning and sharing are the efforts of Sunn m’Cheaux, a professor who teaches a Gullah language course in Harvard University’s African Language Program. The use of Gullah Geechee in this academic context reflects continuing ideologies about the language, fulfilling the expectations of the extracommunity and avoiding certain prescriptive attitudes towards a mesolectal variety that is ‘too close’ to AAE for the language to be considered a separate structural entity (m’Cheaux 2021; 2020).

1.6 WHITE LISTENING SUBJECTS: IDEOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE AND RACE

The conception of the White listening subject can be connected to the monoglossic language ideology, where idealized monolingualism of a standard norm is imposed on all speakers of a nation regardless of the actual existence of a speech community of the norm (Rosa 2016b). The White listening subject frames the conceptualization of racialized languages as always in relative proximities to the language practices of the mainstream,

despite the language used being a style or register that would be legitimized or deemed appropriate if not co-constructed with the racialized subject (Rosa and Flores 2017).

The raciolinguistic perspective theorizes the historical and contemporary co-naturalization of language and race, where modernity retroactively reconstructs race and language as an inextricable product where prescriptive ideologies about one can justify systems of repression on another (Rosa and Flores 2017). The respective homogenization of linguistic features of disempowered groups (Inoue 2004), then resulting commodification or appropriation of the features for social gain produce reiterations of the ‘other’ that can be linked to race and authenticity (R. Hall 2019); these commodified linguistic performances often take basilectal or stylized forms while simultaneously signaling the restriction of those forms to intracommunity interactions. Rhematization, erasure, and fractal recursivity¹² all coordinate to reify ideological entrenchment: sociolinguistic icons become attached to individuals and communities, heterogeneous features are made monolith, and ideologies of hegemony become recreated in marginalized communities; this homogenizes racialized populations and categorizes them along institutional axes rather than fluid intersectional identities, as this facilitates control over languages and bodies (Andronis 2003; Irvine, Gal, and Kroskrity 2000; Woolard 2008).

Language-constructing interactional identities are often only recognized as embodying the individual when it is understood and able to be controlled by institutional

¹² *Rhematization* as “a contrast of indexes is interpreted as a contrast in depictions”, *erasure* as the “aspect of ideological work through which some phenomena (linguistic forms, or types of persons, or activities) are rendered invisible”, and *fractal recursivity* as “that aspect of ideological work that reiterates the comparison created by the axis of differentiation, altering the sets of objects that are compared, under contrast” (Gal and Irvine 2019).

practices (Rosa and Flores 2017). Even if Whiteness is not iconically valorized, the associated indices of socioeconomic mobility, formality, and education through language alone reproduce dichotomies of problematic constitutions of racialized individuals (Rosa and Flores 2017); these ideologies are imposed on the entire community and diffuse through it (Rosa and Flores 2017). Because much of the historical narrative has already been shaped by the products of White supremacy, such as nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism, reconfiguring White supremacy to accommodate to modernizing frameworks such as globalism, late-stage capitalism, and neoliberalism take little effort (Rosa and Flores 2017). This commodification of language practices is also visible in educational contexts, that often seemingly encourage the use of local language practices, but only in selective contexts and only co-existent with dominant language use and access e.g. the discourse surrounding the ‘remediation’ of AAE as opposed to strategies of legitimation in opposition to hegemonic standard language ideologies (Rosa 2016b)

1.7 LINGUISTIC, CULTURAL, AND HERITAGE TOURISM

1.7.1 ETHNOGRAPHIES OF PLACE AND SPACE

Tourism ethnographies themselves ask questions of the nature of the social world, how identities are perceived to be constructed within bounded spaces, and if and when these bounded spaces can define or delimit a community or culture (Andrews, Jimura, and Dixon 2019). Although community-based tourism is often initially presented as the beneficial model for the community and in-group individual, it can still reproduce unconscious assumptions about White supremacy and superiority, in that authority is often still granted by outsider investors and experts, where local values and intrinsic intracommunity insight is ignored for the sake of sustainable profits (Koot 2019). While

traditional views of tourism ethnographies focus on the touristic site as a bounded space, it should rather be viewed “as a performative field rather than a container of social action” (Andrews, Jimura, and Dixon 2019).

Land becomes both a symbolic and actuated site of displacement, with land value often strategically increased to encourage the migration of indigenous or ancestral populations (Ganguly-Scrase and Lahiri-Dutt 2016). As local tourism regulates and becomes shaped by institutional forces, it becomes a niche in which only selected community members may take part in the economic opportunity (Ganguly-Scrase and Lahiri-Dutt 2016). Locals who want to take part in the local tourism industry are thus forced to align with the extracommunity’s idealized perspectives on what the cultural product or practice ‘should’ look like, and curate the experience to the notions of appropriate behavior, which also becomes intertwined with claims of authenticity of certain individuals and the distinction of discourses of ‘inauthenticity’ with competing local community members.

1.7.2 EFFECTS OF TOURISM ON LANGUAGE

Language functions as a highly symbolic commodity of the tourism enterprise; however, this commodification of language is only possible inasmuch as it is recognized as a salient product that can be distinguished from the mainstream and surrounding varieties, as well as indexed to other features that produce regional identities (Remlinger 2018).

Historical ideologies and stigmas can still prevent total hegemonic disrupture and marginalized community autonomy, unless these communities are able to successfully challenge entrenched ideologies through discourses of empowerment, agency, and revival (Heller, Pujolar, and Duchêne 2014). Tourism markets often recontextualize signs and

icons of contemporary life as chronotopic ones (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014), that can be consumed by tourists as legitimate sites of authentic culture in an interactional context. The active participation of communities in delineating, maintaining, and reviving cultural spaces and practices is an ongoing project of the modern face of community-based tourism (Dolezal 2019). These types of constructions can either contribute to degeneration or revitalization of local cultures based on the amount and type of community involvement with the tourism industry (Sayari and Yolol 2019).

1.7.3 THE ROLE AND BRAND OF GULLAH GEECHEE IN CHARLESTON TOURISM INDUSTRY

As noted earlier, the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor is a national heritage area that extends from northern Florida to southern North Carolina, whose purpose is to “recognize, sustain, and celebrate the important contributions” made by the Gullah Geechee through assisting state and local governments in preserving cultural and historical artifacts, as well as educating the public of the Gullah Geechee identity and impact (Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission 2012). The Commission situates the tourist and community interrelationship within its framework of interpretative-based education with formal and informal interactions. Informal interactions and interpretations are characterized by spontaneous events that simultaneously diffuse culture and knowledge to extracommunity members, while formal or direct education contributes to outsider understanding in a contextualized method that allows for diffusion within other non-Gullah Geechee communities (Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission 2012).

A connection to the land is also reflective of an intricate, tightly-woven community connection, where cultural and linguistic practices both indicate a membership or commonality, and also reproduce ideologies attractive to sustainable ecotourism (Halfacre, Hurley, and Grabbatin 2010; Tyler 2001). Ecotourism is a logical extension from this sustainability model that minimizes environmental impacts and forefronts a nature-based experience and setting, with promotion or elevation of conservation and collaborative communities (Tyler 2001). Urbanization is in direct contrast with much of these goals framed as ‘destructionment’ in which environments and cultures are simultaneously ruptured by interference and undermining of indigenous societies by colonizing ones (Thomson 2019).

The tourism industry and its proliferation of the variety of artifacts and discourses that surround its machinations are representative of the importance of the ‘brand’ in terms of the creation and maintenance of ideological indices and semiotic linkages. Brand in this context is in turn tied to both citationality and performativity (Nakassis 2012): discourses and ideologies are modular, fractal components of larger constellations of semiotic products that may be circulated or indexically-ordered in various states of authenticity, but the performance of the brand always contains a continuous generation of an artifact that may be further interdiscursively cited (Nakassis 2013). This shifting language regard produce two registers: ‘appropriate’ enregistered language that embodies the covert prestige of the variety without the inclusion of basilectal expression that is perceived as ‘too much’ or alienating, and inappropriate or ‘uncontrolled’ uses of the variety that may be perceived as detrimental to brand image because it plays into existing linguistic stereotypes and associated ideologies (Hiramoto 2011).

1.8 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.8.1. RACIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

This study draws heavily from the raciolinguistic framework proposed by Rosa and Flores (Flores and Rosa 2015; Rosa 2016b; Rosa and Flores 2017), in which language and race are co-articulated and laminated onto one another by hegemonic pressures, particularly the White listening subject. It is this subject that dictates the unmarked-marked dichotomy and privileges the linguistic expression of the dominant population while consistently evaluating the minority language as deficient and deviant—an ideological position that in the perception of the status quo is as inescapable as the speaker's race. Although we know through the framing of the raciolinguistic system that this is an illogical and ill-founded perspective of linguistic and socially-constructed racial reality, it is still the case that these assumptions act as macro-level ideologies that infuse micro-level social interactions with indexical meaning, and these interactions themselves then reify the outstanding preconceived notions and expectations for intercommunity interaction. This dissertation explores the ways in which these constructed realities are reflected in the imaginaries of tourists as outsiders and responses of tour guides to these reflective imaginaries.

For the purpose of informing the analysis of this dissertation, the raciolinguistic framework is supplemented by two of its predecessors: Irvine and Gal's notion of language ideology (Irvine, Gal, and Kroskrity 2000; Gal and Irvine 2019) and Inoue's articulation of indexical inversion (Inoue 2004). The effects of ideology via rhematization, erasure, and fractal recursivity give insight into how attitudes and evaluations become indexical of language and the community it represents; the

heterogeneous is made monolith by dominant group ideologies, reducing the identity of communities into easily-consumable (and disposable) stereotypes that seek to delegitimize varying language practices through comparisons to an idealized homogenous norm. These hegemonic pressures do not affect members of a speech community equilaterally; however, these pressures are recursively applied within the community, with status quo ideologies further weakening covert prestige. These processes can be tied to indexical inversion in the sense that history is yet another expression of power and control by dominant institutions—the narratives of marginalized communities are often written for them, and become the reality that is later entrenched and embodied by later speakers. This top-down imposition of linguistic identity can easily be seen in the effects of the cultural and heritage tourism industry, wherein sociocultural lived experiences of individuals are seen as less marketable than idealized or symbolic experiences that reify status quo assumptions of the ‘roles’ of minority speech community members.

1.8.2. STYLIZATION AND THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

The framework of linguistic style and Coupland’s 2001 stylization, extended from Eckert’s 2003 personae and Bucholtz and Hall’s 2005 emergent intersubjective identity are key in understanding how the language practices of these tour guides operate at both the communicative and entrepreneurial level. Linguistic style as intraspeaker variation recognizes a wide range of resources from which speakers can draw to do things with language; however, in the case of minority or marginalized languages, and especially with creole languages of this type, it interacts with awareness and conscious performance in ways that are not always apparent or accessible to majority language communities. As creole languages operate on a creole continuum, basilectal and acrolectal language

resources can be extracted for a variety of discursive purposes for speakers. This styling of language with consideration of substrate and superstrate-lexifier shows how attuned speakers are to variation and their awareness of socially-indexed meanings of this variation, e.g. when a particular lectal level is evaluated positively with covert prestige or negatively with lacking overt prestige. The logical expansion of style is the expression of a register in the linguistic performance that is seen as a symbolic embodiment of the enregistered variety at its ‘fullest’, i.e. stylized performance. Again, this requires awareness of how variation affects perception for various types of listeners, for various types of purposes. However for stylization to be an effective indexical link for speaker and listener, the form must be beyond the Labovian 1973 indicator and marker to the point of the linguistic stereotype¹³—the listener must be able to draw from language ideologies of what the language is supposed to be like, whether this is a reality of the language for the majority of its speakers or not.

These socially-indexed language practices are subsumed with Benor’s 2010 ethnolinguistic repertoire, which accounts for variation both within language of speaker and community, but also the positioning of that language and speaker to perceived racial category. Although earlier conceptualizations of the ethnolect were used to attribute the co-articulation of race and language in the minds of outsiders (Hoffman and Walker 2010), this model was not sufficient at explaining the construction of identity as fluid and highly variable among speakers of seemingly the same social categories. The ethnolinguistic repertoire instead recognizes constellations of features that are sometime

¹³ That is to say, the form gains social meaning over time, with speakers becoming increasingly aware of the link between form and social association and linguistic forms becoming subject to metalinguistic awareness, both inside and outside the community of practice they represent.

used to index race, sometimes region, and so on (Fix 2014; Wendte 2019). Stylization is a component of this repertoire in that it is an expression of a specific set of these features in order to perform a specific pragmatic function, tying together race and language in a construct that while not the lived reality of speakers, may reify outsider expectations or be used to index belonging or locality.

1.8.3. INDEXICALITY

Many of the features of the ethnolinguistic repertoire are lexical, syntactic, phonetic, pragmatic and prosodic, spread across many different linguistic modes of expression that vary by speaker. For the purposes of this dissertation, the awareness of indexical meaning and its relationship with Silverstein's 2003 indexical orders can be highlighted through sociophonetic variation that occurs between stylistic shifts of tour guides—triggered by topic and theme, genre, audience, and location. Particularly salient is the variable of rhoticity; r-lessness is a very salient marker of identity in English, both synchronically and diachronically it acts as a dividing isoglossic line between various regions and communities (Baranowski 2006; 2013; Labov 1972a; Wolfram and Schilling 2016). Its overt markedness and tendency to be affected by postvocalic environments make it highly indexical and frequently the discussion of metalinguistic commentary, indicating it is an effective portion of enregisterment and stylization situations. Gullah Geechee is an r-less variety (McCullough 2022; Turner 1949; Weldon 2018), a feature it shares not only with AAE, but also with the historical prestige variety of (White) Charlestonian English (Baranowski 2006; 2013). This means that r-lessness in this localized area holds a wide array of synchronic and diachronic indexical constellations, and tour guides as arbiters of history, culture, and language, as well as Gullah Geechee speakers themselves, are likely

to make socially significant decisions in their use of r-lessness when indexing identity affiliation or a stylized performance. While the current study focuses on conscious production of r-lessness as part of the curated or stylistic performance register, it should be noted that r-lessness as a linguistic stereotype in Gullah Geechee occurs below the level of conscious awareness as well.

1.9 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The methodological approach of this dissertation continues in the tradition shaped and established by Labov and other variationists who have worked with Black communities (Green 2002b; Labov and Harris 1986; Moody 2011; Morgan 2002; King 2018; Weldon 2021; Wolfram 1969). This involves participant observations and sociolinguistic interviews to collect data and analyze moments of linguistic variation with social and stylistic meaning, and also applying statistical methods when applicable to find out which variables are significant when, where and how and salient in terms of their indexical linkages and expressions (Rickford 2014). Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used throughout this study—it is the intent of the research to give shape to the discourses and narratives embedded in the interviews through qualitative analysis, while simultaneously supporting claims of associations between ideology, identity, and variation through empirical evidence of where and how variables are distributed and perceived.

The collected interview and observational data represents a vast bulk of language practices; it is the responsibility and goal of this study to present the data as accurately as possible, letting it ‘speak for itself’ and expressing the robust range of speaker style, performance and personae that it has captured. A fortunate effect of gathering multiple

genres and modalities from many of the same speakers means that a more thorough documentation of their voice, and the person linked to that way of speaking and being can hopefully be clearly depicted through the data presented here.

A concern of other dissertations and large-scale work of Black and Gullah Geechee language is that of the single-structure study, which this work hopes to circumvent by incorporating a variety of linguistic features under observation. The use of isolated forms or features to pattern entire analyses or generalizations onto ways of speaking can have severely detrimental effects to the research and the community it seeks to understand, often being unable to conceptualize the relationship between various forms and their social meanings due to being given an incomplete picture of the larger linguistic structure. Another concern of this project in particular is the positionality of the researcher and my effect on the data collection as a White male academic beyond even the usual instantiation of the observer's paradox: I have tried to reflexively consider the full range of the impact of my presence on this research, my participants, and community. I present the potential benefits, drawbacks, and consequences of this type of intercommunity etic research in Chapter 3, but the overall analysis does take this into consideration as an extension of the frameworks I have provided above, particularly the White listening subject.

For the Charleston-based research, the five tour guides whose tours were either centered on Gullah Geechee history or the Black experience were the focus; however, this study uses three guides in particular to frame the research questions and provide evidence of the theoretical claims. The data collection spread across multiple modalities in order to capture as many perspectives on the linguistic and ideological features under

examination; participant observation, interviews with tour guides, tourists, and community efforts, tourist surveys, reviews, and testimonials, and texts authored by the guides all contribute to the evaluation of this site of intercommunity tension. However, as with the foregrounding of three tour guides, the tour guide interviews and participant observation of the tours themselves form the foundation of the data, with supplementary evidence given as necessary to provide context to the site and analyses. There were two particular aims to the tour guide interviews across multiple occurrences: metalinguistic ideologies revealing tour guide awareness and control of stylistic variation in performance genres, and sociophonetic elicitation meant to extract acoustic evidence of this stylization during moments of curated expression.

1.10 GOALS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overarching question guiding this research is: *How does the language of Gullah Geechee tour guides shape the expectations of tourists, and how is it also shaped by these expectations and evaluations?* This can be delineated into three specific routes of investigation.

1. *What are the language practices that Gullah tour guides are engaging in to index their authenticity and authority via the expectations and evaluations of the extracommunity?*
 - a. What types of framing and footing occur in the touristic encounter that allow for the establishment of these indices?
 - b. How is this domain unique compared to other intercommunity interactions, and what sociocultural factors shape these events?

2. *What variety is enregistered through these intercommunity tensions and through which sociolinguistic features?*
 - a. Is the curated nature of the tour, subsuming tourist and tour guide interaction, affecting the ideologies around the language and the realization of the language itself?
 - b. How does this stylized variety get taken up or accommodated by contemporary Gullah Geechee speakers across the age, gender, and locality boundaries?
3. *Finally, what kinds of larger raciolinguistic ideologies of creole language, authenticity, and authority do their language performances either reproduce or disrupt?*
 - a. What do these localized interactions tell us about the effects of hegemonic and capitalist forces on marginalized bodies, even under the guises of cultural appreciation?
 - b. How do non-Black institutional conceptualizations of race and ethnicity inform continuing efforts at recognition and legitimation of stigmatized language varieties, especially creole languages, in the United States?

1.11 PURPOSE, SIGNIFICANCE, CONTRIBUTION OF STUDY

The purpose of the study is to center a perspective on Gullah Geechee tour guides and the ways in which intra-, inter-, and extracommunity pressures affect their language expression, and to a larger extent their identity as a Gullah Geechee person and representative. The current framework allows for an understanding in which notions of authenticity, authority, and appropriateness, as refractions of the navigation of overt and

covert prestige varieties (Labov 1971), can be indexed through curated and spontaneous intercommunity interactions in the context of the tour site. The power relations between tour guide and tourist, while often fleeting in nature, serve to further reinforce or disrupt the entrenchment of historical and social attitudes towards particular styles of linguistic embodiment and expression. Although the role of tour guide as intercommunity intermediary has considerable depictions in the literature, this particular domain of tensions represents a site in which a recent renewal of interest in linguistic and cultural expression, bolstered by regional and federal legitimation can have simultaneously beneficial and detrimental effects on community and individual language practices.

The position and experiences of tour guides, their identities, narrative, and navigations of current economic and sociopolitical climates illustrate important areas of research that ask how individuals are commodified even while apparently supported under neoliberal forces and discourses of revitalization and renaissance. I examine these experiences and the circulation of discourses that these experiences produce, and the way that these local circulations inform larger ideologies concerning language, race, and continuing systemic inequities in intercommunity interactions. This study represents a bottom-up approach in understanding how raciolinguistic ideologies circulate as socially constructed realities. These realities perpetuate the iconicity of indexed and enregistered language varieties, where language becomes symbolic of community and personhood. It also illustrates the erasure of heterogeneous identities under an imposed sociocultural monolith. Finally, it represents fractal recursivity as imposed external hegemonies become recirculated in the intracommunity as individuals compete for limited availability of cultural capital as an economic resource.

With this research, I aim to identify how perceptions of personhood are produced and maintained throughout intercommunity interactions, and how Gullah Geechee tour guides are able to navigate individual relationships to locality, Blackness, and the Gullah Geechee experience within tensions and resistance to extracommunity expectations and evaluations on themselves and their narratives as cultural and linguistic commodities in the symbolic marketplace. The study also aims to analyze these interactions and linguistic artifacts at both the discursive and sociophonetic level, establishing how curation and expectation can affect language expression and the types of stylized variation that occur in intercommunity contexts.

1.12 OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION

The dissertation is organized of eight chapters as follows. Chapter 1 has provided the background of the linguistic studies of Gullah Geechee that the current project contributes to. This includes discourses surrounding origins, relationships to other creole languages and AAE, historical depictions, and the history of intercommunity contact that have informed these perspectives. Chapter 2 provides the literature review of the combinatorial theoretical frameworks I employ for this research. This hybrid framework incorporates notions of raciolinguistics, language ideology, and the White listening subject into the context of linguistic, cultural, and heritage tourism. The frameworks of discourse analysis and stylization, realized here modified as *metatouristic stancetaking*, *performance register (self-)stylization*, and *curated enregistered commodification* offer evidence of Gullah Geechee language as social action. A stylization framework in particular accounts for the various conscious and unconscious shifts occurring in participant interviews, which is illustrated using a sociophonetic examination of acoustic

features, namely rhoticity and pitch-shifting in tour guide performance register. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of this project—data, site and participant selection, and data transcription. It also offers additional considerations of my positionality and effects on interviews and participants themselves. Chapter 4 situates the tour sites, guides, and tourists within the ethnographic context, giving an overview of notions of community demarcation and belonging and effects of extracommunity audiences on these intercommunity interactions. This chapter also considers how these intercommunity effects have shaped the enregisterment process of ‘tour Gullah Geechee’ heard in these curated contexts. Chapter 5 analyzes the presentation, performances, and personae of tour guides. This covers both tours and interviews, as well as introducing the supplemental materials and linguistic artifacts authored by the guides, which gives a more comprehensive perspective of the ethnolinguistic repertoires of guides; these repertoires are also examined as symbolic resources used in projects of commodification of personhood. Chapter 6 illustrates the role of language style, style-shifting, and stylization by tour guides. The use of style-shifting to reinforce or disrupt personae, voice others, or produce moments of commodifiable language is a central portion of the Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour. By analyzing style as it relates to performance and the brand, the effect of circulating ideologies and the tour guide responses and navigations within those ideological spaces emerges. Chapter 7 introduces tourist review and survey data by reviewing the metalinguistic commentary and ideologies expressed by tourists during reviews, surveys, and interviews. These discourses inform claims of authenticity and authority, juxtaposed with their perspective on the effects of the White listening subject and notions of ‘appropriate’ language use by hegemonic and capitalist forces. The

chapter closes by drawing together the narratives regarding the concepts of community and the placement of guides, especially in their roles as intercommunity language and culture brokers and community figures. Chapter 8 concludes with a discussion and summation of the analysis provided, explores the implication of this project in economies of language and race, and considers limitations and future directions of research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES

The raciolinguistic perspective framework as popularized by Flores and Rosa “theorizes the historical co-naturalization of language and race”, which traces the lineage of co-naturalization and frames contemporary projects of disrupting White supremacy through de-naturalization of these categories (Rosa and Flores 2017). Finding that many contemporary linguistic ideologies are racialized with regards to bodies, the framework critiques the conflation of linguistic deficiency with discourses of ‘appropriateness’ as conventionalized by the *white gaze*, i.e. “a perspective that privileges dominant White perspectives on the linguistic and cultural practices of racialized communities” (Flores and Rosa 2015). The raciolinguistic perspective moves beyond essentialist and racializing frameworks such as ‘deficit’, ‘verbal deprivation’, and ‘nonstandard’ viewpoints, which although purportedly often-contested in modern sociolinguistics, actually still form the pervasive underpinning of much of the historical and structural processes and institutional sites. Rosa and Flores’s work in this regard centers on the racialized subject and the “continued rearticulation” or tensions between Whiteness and the othered non-Whiteness. It also concerns itself with how racialized perceptions always stigmatize, regardless of proximity of language practices to idealized hegemonic standards. They introduce five parts of the *raciolinguistic perspective*: “(i) historical and contemporary

co-naturalizations of race and language as part of the colonial formation of modernity; (ii) perceptions of racial and linguistic difference; (iii) regimentations of racial and linguistic categories; (iv) racial and linguistic intersections and assemblages; and (v) the contestation of racial and linguistic power formations” (Rosa and Flores 2017).

This perspective highlights the historical and colonialized practice of constructing and naturalizing race and language as bounded entities that can be tied together in projects of power, division, and marginalization. Through these discrete, bounded constructions, hegemonies could be produced that established superiority and supremacy discourses, as well as justification for perpetuating those social and institutional hierarchies through “racialized ideologies of languagelessness (Rosa 2016b) that position colonized subjects as incapable of communicating legitimately in any language”. This imposition of Eurocentric values and obligation to “master” a European language, paired with the reality that fluent or native racialized speakers of a European language would still not be legitimated as full members of the (post)colonial society still informs much of the discourse surrounding stigmatized, marginalized, and/or racialized communities of practice today (Rosa and Flores 2017).

Rosa and Flores reiterate that “racially hegemonic perceptions can be enacted not simply by individuals but also nonhuman entities such as institutions, policies, and technologies associated with linguistic profiling, and not simply by White individuals but rather by Whiteness as an historical and contemporary subject position that can be situationally inhabited both by individuals recognized as White and nonwhite”, where Whiteness is inherently tied to hegemonic processes and pressures in institutional endeavors (e.g. in the case of this study, the tourism industry). In Flores and Rosa (Flores

and Rosa 2015), it was found that language practices of racialized subjects are positioned as “deviant and inferior” from the perspective of the White listening subject, despite the same practices being accepted and valorized when produced by White speaking subjects. This focus on listening subjects (Inoue 2004) reveals how accents, stereotypes, and other components of language style are often overdetermined by the perceptions and expectations of status quo, majority, or overt prestige variety users. This is a reflection and refraction of the legitimated White-oriented *monoglossic* (i.e. “monoglot Standard” (Hill 2008b; Silverstein 1996)) ideology of American culture and larger ideology of overdetermination of racialized embodied and linguistic practices overall in the United States; Whiteness and the White perceiving subject are central components in the interpretation of language practices, agency, and legitimation of non-White speaker populations. While language ideologies, “sets of interested positions about language that represent themselves as forms of common sense” (Hill 2008b) are not necessarily racist, race-making, or racializing, they do rationalize or justify the ways people feel about particular types of language, and therefore imbue language with social and material capital in a system of symbolic economy (Irvine, Gal, and Kroskrity 2000). In this context, the monoglot standard ideology dictates that only one linguistic form may be “correct”, thus dichotomizing speakers based on a linking of “correctness” and high prestige.

The raciolinguistic perspective also synthesizes analyses of linguistic reification through articulation of the project of *raciolinguistic enregisterment*, “whereby linguistic and racial forms are jointly constructed as sets and rendered mutually recognizable as named languages/varieties and racial categories (Rosa and Flores 2017). Register

formation, where language becomes imbued with sociocultural value (Agha 2005), becomes particularly salient in contexts where constructs are reified and naturalized as discrete, bounded entities, where “people come to look like a language and sound like a race”. This enregisterment can be taken for granted in ‘distinctiveness’ or ‘discreteness’ approaches, where bound sets of features are indexed to racial categories, constructing boundaries that delineate an ‘authentic’ raciolinguistic category and its dichotomized ‘other’. Rosa and Flores incorporate Bucholtz and Hall’s (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) notion of identity as the positioning of the self and other, where “authentic signs of racialized models of personhood” (Rosa and Flores 2017) are constructed, reinforced, (over)determined, contested, and disrupted by outsider, White listening subject imaginations. Like other identity categories, e.g. ethnolinguistic identity, intercommunity perceptual identity categories are “ideologically informed, discursively constructed, and contextually dependent” (Wendte 2019). These categorical ‘extracommunity imaginaries’ create structures such as ‘unmarked’, ‘standard’, ‘native’ language practices that are positioned in contrast to racially ‘marked’ subjects that are perceived as inherently lacking or illegitimate; raciolinguistic enregisterment seeks to critique the process by which particular forms become emblematic of racial category, status and/or place and the kinds of “institutional and interpersonal consequences” (Rosa and Flores 2017) that are made salient through these linkages.

The raciolinguistic perspective as a comparative, critical, and intersectional approach also considers “how assemblages of signs and identities are configured in particular contexts, from particular perspectives, and with particular consequences” (Rosa and Flores 2017), where these bundles, linkages, or constellations of features become

sites of scrutiny that shape and are shaped by the positioning and perceptions of the self and other. These expectations and evaluations (articulated as *raciolinguistic profiling* by Rosa and Flores) have sociocultural, symbolic, and material consequences in both the localized interaction and perpetuation of larger macro-level raciolinguistic structures and ideologies, where (re)circulations between these micro and macro levels are in danger of (re)producing the co-naturalization of race and language as inherent and self-evident. This hegemonic assertion of self-evidence and ubiquity also allow for the perpetuation of structuralized and systemic inequities, which become norms in institutional environments and practices, especially those persistent in their denial of racism (Hill 2008a). These norms are tied to histories and contemporary imaginaries of White supremacy, “post-racial” and “post-colonial” neoliberal projects; the raciolinguistic perspective seeks to dismantle these pervasive ideologies within institutional and interactional systems (Rosa and Flores 2017). It should also be noted that within this neoliberal perspective that superficially orients itself as “diverse” and “antiracist”, discourse surrounding racist language is often obfuscated through arguments of not how to dismantle the underlying inequitable racialized systems, but rather on what “counts” as racist language. Chun 2016 identifies two axes of racist meaning: locus (*the where*) and temporality (*the when*). Racist language may in its basest semantic self be offensive (*referentialist*) or represent larger surrounding ideologies (*contextualist*); it may reflect preexisting racialized realities (*determinist*) or produce trajectories of “linguistic and social consequences” (Chun 2016) because of its act (*potentialist*). Racist language in this case is both reified and commodified, with the raciolinguistic perspective underscoring the neoliberal fixation towards individualistic responsibility.

This framework also brings attention to the turn towards understanding language as economy, commodification, and capital through *linguistic materiality* (Heller and Duchêne 2012), where it challenges the further exploration of how race and Whiteness intersect with commodification of language and the body, especially in racialization that positions socially-stratified Whiteness as still more valorized than “problematic racial Others” in projects of embodiment of “the good ethnic citizen” (Uricoli 1994). This adoption of a ‘raceclass’ approach rather than “erasing” critiques of social stratification, socioeconomic mobility, and access, instead interrogates the ways in which White supremacy and capitalism are inextricably intertwined and share the goal of continued “subordination and marginalization of racialized populations” (Rosa and Flores 2017). This interrogation becomes particularly important in the context of neoliberal enterprises that impose responsibility of racial and class inequity on the individual rather than a disruption of structural entities; although a transition to “a formally antiracist liberal capitalist modernity” (Rosa and Flores 2017) is seemingly beneficial, in actuality it perpetuates systems of White supremacy by imposing expectations on racialized communities to modify, align, or accommodate their behaviors and linguistic practices to social “norms” (i.e. hegemonic White status quo language practices) to instantiate socioeconomic mobility, representation, and legitimation as projects of “appropriateness”. This ‘racial capitalism’ instead positions class ascendance as the accumulation of capital through linguistic and cultural commodification, where legitimation is intimately tied to discourses of exclusion and limited economic niches. In this system, success is measured within a matrix of “structured mobility” (Uricoli 1994) based on expectations of and about a particular racialized community. Hill 2008

identifies these as the projects of White racism in the American sociopolitical matrix: (1) the production of a taxonomy of human types; (2) the assignment of individuals and groups within the taxonomy of types through racialization or racial formation; (3) the arrangement of these types in a hegemony; and (4) the movement of resources, both material and symbolic, from the lower levels of the hierarchy to the upper levels in such a way as to elevate Whiteness and denigrate and pejorate non-Whiteness. The White and Anglocentric perspectives are commonly used to force standards of ‘ethnic orientation’ (i.e. “speakers’ sociolinguistic practices and attitudes” (Nagy, Chociejska, and Hoffman 2014)) onto perspectives and ideologies towards language variation by non-English heritage language speakers. Even in the case of reconfigured ethnolinguistic boundaries, Whiteness operates as a site of identity where personhood may be “deepened” with ethnolinguistic resources (Fix 2014) (e.g. AAE phonological features used by White women with African American ties), but accommodationist discourses are not imposed in the same way that Black speakers are often expected to “raise” their language. In ‘accommodationist’-oriented approaches, “language practices of racialized communities must be modified in order to combat racial inequity” (Rosa and Flores 2017) with end goals of attracting ‘exceptional’ people of color that gain acceptance and “pass” expectations and evaluations of White listening subjects. However, this “passing” is still a highly subjective process that incorporates multiple bundles of norms that continue to co-naturalize race and language based on intersections of class, locality, and commodified “worth” within systems of sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and sociopolitical economy.

Flores and Rosa also offer the raciolinguistic perspective as a method of critical scholarship through which resilience, resistance, and rearticulation of inequitable social and institutional structures can be performed. Models such as the *heteroglossic language ideologies* and *critical language awareness* are used to challenge hegemonic language practices and monolingual language ideologies, both being representative of creating and valuing more space (both public and private) for complex multivarietal linguistic phenomena and redefining consciousness, awareness, and notions of prestige for minoritized language speakers (Flores and Rosa 2015). However, these frameworks do not exist in a vacuum; rather, they are extensions of the ongoing intracommunity articulations of agency, access, and awareness when it comes to language-centered “models of personhood” (Agha 2004). While the raciolinguistic perspective observes a persistent measure of stigmatization and marginalization in racialized systems, it also acknowledges the many ways in which minority language speakers disrupt subordinating flows. Marginalized language communities are acutely metalinguistically and metapragmatically aware of the effects and consequences of particular language practices in ways that hegemonic speakers are often not; these covert prestige language varieties offer symbolic capital that can be utilized in projects of personhood, community, and commodity that are unfamiliar to overt prestige speakers. However, this positioning or identification as a ‘(non)prestige’ speaker is not always a matter of speaker agency; Flores and Rosa (2015) argue “people are positioned as speakers of prestige or nonprestige language varieties based not on what they actually do with language but, rather, how they are heard by the White listening subject”. This reiterates that legitimization *of* language and legitimization *through* language are complex processes that

occur differently in intra-, extra-, and intercommunity interactions, which is particularly salient in contexts such as the current study which examine concentric circles of linguistic identity and belonging.

This negotiating of the raciolinguistic perspective as one that critiques existent racialized ideological linguistic practices as well as highlights the synchronic and diachronic navigations of minoritized and racialized communities is increasingly well-represented in contemporary academic literature. This can be seen in the proposal of the *raciolinguistic chronotope* (Rosa 2016a) building off of Bakhtin's 1981 *chronotope* that "co-construct[s] race and language in ways that produce particular relationships between the past, present, and future" (Flores, Lewis, and Phuong 2018); these chronotopes often construct the bases of both listening subject expectations and the formation of models of personhood for minoritized speakers, but in very different ways, e.g. "chronotopes of anxiety". Racialized communities have historically experienced radical severances between past and future, with intra- and extracommunity perspectives often contrasting on how reconnection should occur and what inhabiting the present looks and feels like. For minoritized languages and cultures, institutions have a vested interest in an idealized or ignored past and a commodifiable or controllable future, but increasing visibility and representation of these communities in the public sphere challenges the imposed norms of model ethnicization and "appropriateness" (Speciale 2022). Although these chronotopes may be commodified and consumed by the extracommunity for neoliberal-capitalist, exoticist-voyeurist purposes, they can just as saliently act as sites of memory, narrative, and personhood-constructing through interdiscursive acts (Smalls 2012).

This use of the raciolinguistic perspective in educational scholarship, e.g. *critical translanguaging pedagogy* (Martin, Aponte, and García 2019), reveals how a heteroglossic framework applied to minoritized language speakers humanizes rather than essentializes, speaking to the work that can be done across institutional contexts for heritage and youth language speakers in particular. This is made even more clear through studies such as Vigouroux (2017) that reflect ongoing entextualization and enregisterment of linguistic stereotypes along racialized lines; recent perceptual studies (Hughes 2020; Kutlu 2020) on the effects of raciolinguistic ideologies on accent and stereotype foreground the need to incorporate both theoretical and applied raciolinguistics to better understand the mediation of visual and auditory cues that draw from and perpetuate raciolinguistic stereotypes across all social contexts. Hughes (2020) in particular finds that even “a progressive, well-intentioned, and well-trained teacher can participate in biased rating behavior” that has material consequences on the language use of the minoritized speaker based on the White listening subject.

2.1.1 INDEXICAL INVERSION

The raciolinguistic perspective draws from and builds upon two key notions of earlier racialized-language scholarship: indexical inversion and the masculine listening subject (Inoue 2004) and the White listening subject (Chun 2001; Flores and Rosa 2015; Hill 1998; 2008d). In Inoue’s work, ‘intersubjective social realities’ represent ongoing interactional processes and draw a temporal relationship between the indexing and the indexed, where nationalism and gender become intertwined in the “memorialization” of Japanese women’s language as a nexus of semiotic features and site of metapragmatic knowledge of how women (should/did) speak. This nationalistic spotlight on “linguistic

corruption” (Inoue 2004) can be seen in reflections of global modernity discourses across the world, including in moral panics of corruption and degradation of language and social order in contemporary American language and educational policy. This hearkening for an idealized and uncontaminated “pure” indexed language is also comparable to discourses of conservative language purism, exoticism, and the African survivals linguistic and anthropological turn in Gullah Geechee scholarship of the early 20th century (Cooper 2017), where national interest monolithizes a linguistic other and commodifies its cultural significance while simultaneously presenting it as a site of regression and indexical inversion—where an imagined version of the language and culture exists in a national memory and comes to shape the ongoing positioning and personhood of its subject.

While the concept of language ideology foregrounds the relationship between language and social power through its accumulation of material and symbolic capital (Gal 1989; Gal and Irvine 2019; Irvine, Gal, and Kroskrity 2000), Inoue’s inclusion of historicity and temporality provides an additional axis through which to examine conflicting representations and interpretations of the who and why of language practices. These additional components allow for a clearer identification and understanding of the semiotic process of *indexical inversion*: where the relationship between the indexing and the indexed is switched, this switch is entrenched as an iconic representation of sociolinguistic and sociohistorical fact, and the icon becomes a metapragmatic discourse in itself that normalizes the inversion (Inoue 2004). In her study, a linkage between the metapragmatic and iconic notion of “[Japanese] schoolgirls are morally corrupt because they use vulgar speech” and “[Japanese] schoolgirls use vulgar speech because they are

morally corrupt”¹⁴ reveals a manufactured, presupposed construction of indexically-linked speech and morality that existed only as a contemporary re-imagining by the masculine perceiving/listening subject (as a proxy of the hegemonic unmarked status quo subject). This inversion and collapse of the link between indexing and indexed produces an iconized construction that assumes a causal relationship taken up as a given sociohistorical and sociolinguistic fact, i.e. a site from which the indexical target and outsider perceiving subjects draw their expectations of linguistic form and practice.

This process of indexical inversion also reveals a relationship between enregisterment, representation and power, as those who are perceived to have authority are responsible for articulating, mediating, and circulating the iconized ideology until it becomes social reality and metapragmatic narrative ‘fact’. Enregisterment in this context is reflective of what Karimzad (2021) calls *individual chronotopization histories*, where perception is skewed through “socialization about different time–space frames and the people, relations, discourses, and resources therein guide their language use both from and about particular contexts”. Certain social actors are then integral in the process of entextualizing these semiotic resources in and across chronotopic contexts that draw from and are drawn from metapragmatic narratives. These metapragmatic narratives unsurprisingly blame a nebulous periphery that diffuses and “corrupts” towards an idealized or ideological center, where boundaries become blurred and “social crisis is indexical crisis” (Inoue 2004); it inevitably depicts a type of deviation, resistance, or rebellion that underlies a fetishization and commodification of the idealized language by the status quo listening subject. This temporalization of demographic, whether it be race,

¹⁴ A linguistic ‘Euthyphro dilemma’.

class, gender, or locality, abstracts the subject and positions language practices in such a way that shapes the subjectivity of the contemporary subject but is shaped by metapragmatic narratives and “memories” of outsider listening subjects with established power and authority, with salient consequences on projects of recognition and legitimation.

2.1.2 WHITE PUBLIC SPACE

Much work centered on the *white listening/perceiving subject* can be traced back to discourses on creation and maintenance of what Hill calls the *white public space* (Hill 1998) and its project of maintaining racism within a system of “normative” Whiteness, i.e. *conventionalized* (Chun 2011). Hill defines the White public space as “a morally significant set of contexts that are the most important sites of the practices of a racializing hegemony, in which Whites are invisibly normal, and in which racialized populations are visibly marginal and the objects of monitoring ranging from individual judgment to Official English legislation”. The question derived from this concept of “What discourse processes relate the racialization of bodies to the racialization of kinds of speech?” echoes the foundations of Rosa and Flores’ raciolinguistic perspective; Hill identifies these discourses through both ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ indexicalities (Hill 1998). Direct indexicality justifies linguistic appropriation by the majority language population, while indirect indexicality simultaneously stigmatizes an appropriated speech community through reproduced linguistic and cultural stereotypes, and valorizes ‘Whiteness’ as a linguistic and cultural capital that indexes an “unmarked normative order” (Hill 1998). This creation of racial capital through “folk categories” of race (Hill 2008a), historical stigmatization, and contemporary institutional and social discrimination allows for easiest

navigation (i.e. privilege) of the White public space by those with the most access to the capital of Whiteness, e.g. overt prestige language use. Thus, a White public space is created through the White perceiving subject in two ways: (1) a scrutiny and surveillance of racialized language for “signs of linguistic disorder” and (2) the unwillingness or inability to recognize those same signs in the speech of Whites, where this particular type of language mixing gains, rather than loses, prestige.

The White public space is defined by its fixation on boundaries, barriers, and discrete categories of social control, it necessarily creates a dichotomy of ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ spheres of language experiences, prestige, and intercommunity interactions (Uricoli 1996). Note that the unmarked instantiation of this White public space exists in stark contrast in the minds of most White Americans of where White racism still exists, (e.g. the rural American South) although this is a stereotyping of regional norms that discounts racialized realities across the United States as a whole; rather, covert discrimination is either ignored via silence or inattention or rationalized as individualist or self-imposed disparities, perpetuated by self-segregation and not institutional projects (Hill 2008a). Hill elaborates that discourses are “also made available in absences” (Hill 2008b), or what is ideologically signified by *not* being said, at least not out loud. This covert racism circulates freely in the White public space, often unchecked, because its co-construction of indexical meanings is under the level of conscious awareness for status quo White English speakers (Hill 2008b), and when confronted, speakers will often point to overt racist discourses in circulation as “real” racism.

Hill, building on Uricoli (1996), discusses the dichotomized contrast between stigmatized intra-community evaluations of racialized subjects as “acting White” and

public-facing projects of “ethnification” (e.g. cultural festivals) to keep difference “cultural, neat, and safe”. This can also be compared with Silverstein’s (2003) *museologization*, where artifacts or practices of emblematic value become symbolically imbued with a social space-time (i.e. *chronotopicality*) and commodified for a “consumption of ethnicity”. These all underscore anxieties (of marginalized and majority language users) of the use of non-English varieties in the White public space, i.e. the “appropriate” and “acceptable” times and places to use marginalized language varieties, for whom and by whom (and by whose authority). Uricoli (1994) distinguishes between *race-making* and *ethnicizing*¹⁵ processes as those that constrict the racialized subject within hegemonic stratifications (the former) or “progress” the subject and/or community towards the “model ethnic American citizen” (the latter); however, the ethnicized subject is still constrained by notions and norms of “appropriate” behavior, language practices, and models/figures/tropes of personhood (Agha 2004; 2005), even in emergent contexts, based on status quo perceptions and expectations. The perception of linguistic features (e.g. accent) performed by the racialized subject are also overdetermined (or confabulated) by the White listening subject when presented with other signs of racialized identity, i.e. “racial labels shape fundamental perceptions” (Hill 2008a); however, the opposite is also true in that White covert prestige is often built on the same types of distinguishing linguistic features marked as “disorderly and dangerous” in the outer sphere when used by racialized speakers.

¹⁵ Cf. Silverstein’s (Silverstein 2003b) *elite re-ethnicization* that “revers[es] the traditional inverse relationship between schedulings of class and identity”, where non-overt prestige languages become “too visible” and the state attempts strategies of repression through de-legitimation and renegotiation of ethnolinguistic identity.

Whiteness in this space excludes racialized bodies from particular social, economic, and material resources while constructing itself as a “homogenizing heterogeneity” (Hill 1998) that assembles bricolaged features it finds valuable (cf. appropriation (Hill 2008c), crossing (Rampton 1995), crossover (Smitherman 1994) while devaluing those same features when used by the racialized community of origin in the White public space. This idealized heterogeneity is not diffused equally across the racialized spheres; although it is a central component of the construction of the White public persona (in projects of sounding informal, colloquial, cool, etc.), race and language are often tied together in homogenous, monolithic, and overdetermined ways in racialized language practices where heterogeneity is more likely to be perceived as “disorder” of an ethnolect and a “threat” to norms of “appropriate” minoritized language usage. This linguistic disorder can be iconized to perceptions of “ethnic community disorder” (Uricoli 1994) in which “good” individuals in the community are responsible for offsetting the “failures” of negatively stereotyped members in personhood, acts, and language practices.

2.1.3 “AUTHENTIC” ACTS OF RACIALIZATION

Within these public spheres, it is also important to note perception, expectation, and evaluation of the racialized subject (i.e. body and language) is not a static, bound process. Rather, it is more helpful to conceptualize it an ongoing process of “reading race” (Chun 2011), where race and racialized language negotiates the self and other along multiple axes of social dimension that index complex personae rather than isolated signs. These personae are continuously critiqued through evaluative acts as social practices, where

authenticity¹⁶ of an identity is contextualized based on how local raciolinguistic ideologies (and expectations of racial performances) correspond with racialized language practices and perceived racial subjectivity. This positions the reading of race as a robust site of cultural practice embedded in discursive practice, producing discursive chains across time and space that become recognizable as “conventionalized understandings of racialized patterns” (Chun 2011), whose moments are used by interactants to assemble and perceive signs. Chun views reading race as racialization in three ways: (1) an act of discursive, interactional indexical assignment, (2) inseparable from macro-level (ratio)cultural processes and formations, e.g. semiotic linkages such as sociohistorical enregisterment (Agha 2005; Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006), and (3) the creation of ideological links between race and other social dimensions.

In her analysis of “Diversity High”, Chun highlights the varied types of racialized acts performed by and imposed on participants (in this case, high school students), where both self-imposed and institutionally-deigned identities were often mutable and combinatory to some extent, with metapragmatic commentary designating racial performances of the self and other as (in)authentic. Metapragmatic tactics, such as stylization, explicit “call-outs” of behavior, and stances towards “acting/sounding X” reflect that although dynamic and often fluid, racialized constructions, performances, perceptions, expectations, and evaluations are mapped onto language as given social

¹⁶ Although ‘authenticity’ itself is a difficult concept to discretely define, it may be more useful to either define what it is *not* (“‘inauthenticity’ would manifest itself as a failure to display a person’s true self in terms of their sociolinguistic individualities and/or to reject conventionalised speech behaviours which are not *truly* their own.”) or how it is identified by others as the practice of *authentication*: “the performative dimension of authenticity, then, is ‘a discursive process, rather than authenticity as a claimed or experienced quality of language or culture, [which] can then be taken up analytically as one dimension of a set of intersubjective ‘tactics’, [and] through which people can make claims about their own or others’ statuses as authentic or inauthentic members of social groups’” (Lacoste, Leimgruber, and Breyer 2014).

realities in the lives of speakers. As Chun (2011) elaborates, racialized categories may also act as “metonymic placeholders for more complex cultural types”, with symbolic capitals of ‘Whiteness’ and ‘blackness’ representing other underlying social dimensions such as class (urban, rural, bougie, trashy), gender (masculine, feminine), and character (aggressive, trustworthy); these re-mappings offer discursive opportunities to discuss more complex intersecting social axes in more “acceptable” ways in public spaces and iconically conflate certain styles and personae into stereotyped or conventionalized bundles of features. This is particularly illuminating in the case of (“non”)standard English as juxtaposed with perceptions of “White English” or ‘talking White’, where “describing non-White speakers in class-related terms (*she sounds educated, he speaks proper, he is articulate*) may be understood as implicit racial judgment” (Chun 2011) and erases the heterogeneity of varieties such as Middle-class AAE (Weldon 2021).

2.2. ETHNOGRAPHY OF TOURISM

The dissertation study utilizes frameworks of the ethnography of tourism (Bruner 2005; Bruner et al. 2019), linguistic tourism, and language commodification in order to best situate the gathering and analysis of anthropological, linguistic, and economic data. Tourism research itself investigates the social, cultural, and economic impacts of touristic enterprises as a series of interactions and transactions in a given space; like the other sociolinguistic and anthropological/ethnographic frameworks utilized in this study, this positions the necessity of a critically reflexive perspective to mediate the experience of guides, tourists, participants, consultants, and the researcher that best mitigates consequences to populations while maximizing the agency and visibility of those represented in this study. Tourism ethnography attempts to construct and interpret

communities but needs to be situated according to an understanding of power relations between researcher and community and resulting ethical considerations in producing “objects of knowledge” Framing tourism research as a *difference-familiarity* dichotomy, Ryan (2005) emphasizes the centrality of the ‘tourism experience’ as both the motivation and chief concern of the tourism industry and therefore, of tourism research that “seeks to locate the tourist experience both within and outside of the parameters of conventional social organization”. The ethics of tourism research also require continuous interrogation as tourism itself inherently deals with the branding, commodification, and often exoticizing of groups of people by outsiders; the researcher and the pursuit of discourses of ‘authenticity’ or ‘truth’ can easily perpetuate existing cycles of hegemonic and economic pressure against vulnerable populations. These discourses also underscore the concept of power as it relates to tourism and tourism research: power is relational between individuals and institutional actors and cannot be analyzed from a “neutral” perspective, i.e. observing power relations means in some way taking part, being influenced by them, and influencing others with them (M. C. Hall 2011b). As Hall explains “research is where knowledge meets power” and ties together economic, political, and social systems that have academics attempt to produce and legitimate knowledge from a position of privilege. Identifying the self in relation to the site, the community, participants, and relations of power is critical from the perspective of micro-scale (e.g. interview) to macro-scale (e.g. ideology) effects (M. C. Hall 2011b); interconnecting power structures are often fluid and prone to disruption, and the presence of researchers as ‘academic elites’ can also affect these flows (Leopold 2011). Tourism fieldwork, especially fieldwork observation, also means negotiating and navigating

multiple identities (e.g. White, researcher, outsider, tourist) and the effects and power relations of each of these identities interacting with various participants in the tourist industry (Allan 2011), i.e. how these variable intersections affect the ethnographic process, reflexivity, community, and tourist institutions.

The dissertation work uses ethnographic case studies and participant observation of a series of tours that are linked together through the shared space (both physical and social) of the field site, although smaller sub-cases can be identified throughout the analysis that are both representative of larger social representations (Beeton 2005) while also providing evidence of localized interlocuter interactions. Within tourism ethnographies, case studies have run the risk of being overbiased perspectives of etic researchers and in particular tone-deaf to the impacts on communities and tourism workers (Beeton 2005); however, the anthropological reflexive turn's application here, including awareness of one's imposition into a community, as well as open communication with participants and not including personally sensitive information, greatly reduces the chances of ethical issues. The use of 'action ethnography' also adds to this by making the research useful and available to empower and give a voice to the community (Cole 2005). Cole also writes that the action ethnography naturally pairs with participation observation, "includ[ing] casual conversations, in-depth informal unstructured interviews, structured interviews, and questionnaires" (Cole 2005) in order to interpret meaning through interaction in the 'everyday life'¹⁷. This also means negotiating participant responses aligning with 'conformist strategies' (Cole 2005) that

¹⁷ Haldrup and Larsen 2010 argue for a "de-exoticizing" perspective of tourism where the tourist gaze is not separate from 'everyday life' but is a part of it.

attempt to avoid “wrong answers” and are subject to the Observer’s Paradox, but also consider power relationships and multiple voicing of interview interactions (Jennings 2005). The dual role as both participant and observer means being selective with the data collection while being immersed in the touristic event; this access of data as ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973) where the most meaningful data emerges through limited notes and acquisition is itself a reflection of the multilayering of voices throughout the ethnographic inscription.

The relationship between tourism and space cannot be overstated, as the negotiation of the spatial setting of the touristic encounter is constructed by both tourist experience and tourism industry. This also intersects with conceptualizations of fieldwork from a spatial perspective, where mobilities of tourists and researchers are “more than just shifts in space or time” (M. C. Hall 2011a) and represent interconnected social and economic relations rather than isolated elements. Hall (2011) identifies six types of interrelated (fieldwork) spaces: temporal space, physical space, regulatory/political space, ethical space, social space and theoretical/methodological space; these apply to the spaces created by and for tourists as well. The “significance of space is constructed for the tourist”, but the tourist also themselves creates the encounter with space; therefore contemporary tourism research needs to be concerned with the remapping of spatial relations of dynamic mobilities rather than strictly fixed preconfigured contexts (Crouch 2005), with tourism itself as a form of “temporary mobility” (M. C. Hall 2011a). Heritage tourism in particular naturally has an intimate relationship with the concept of heritage and heritage space(s), meaning that curation of heritage and “critiques of authenticity” (Crouch 2005) by tourist-oriented institutions can make problematic the relationship

between tourism, tourists, and tourism workers. The making of ‘geographies of tourism’ are actively constructed by the tourist, which can be seen saliently in tourist practice and tourist performance. These performances are tied to spaces of significance linking physical and cultural geographies that then shape future touristic sites and events (Crouch 2005). Over time these become sedimented in such a way that they no longer reflect tourist imaginaries, but touristic enactments that have effects on individuals, communities, and industries.

2.2.1 LINGUISTIC TOURISM

Language as a site of contact in tourism contexts is increasingly represented in sociolinguistics; because of tourism as both a material and symbolic environment of fluid meaning-making, the overlapping domains allow for a more nuanced understanding of how forces of economy, power, and commodification have effects on mainstream and minoritized language communities (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014). Because cultural and heritage tourism fixates itself on the exoticized Other, its representation and branding of embodied language practices, artifacts, and remediations of intercommunity interactions for extracommunity consumption (Thurlow and Jaworski 2014) highlights the tension between in-group agency and out-group expectations. Heritage and cultural tourism as an institution and social force are also influenced by discourses of ethnicity and articulations of ethnocentrism; “tourism contributes to the process of image and identity formation” (Hitchcock 1999) and also allows for reevaluation and challenging of earlier ethnic(ized) stereotypes. Hitchcock continues that “ethnicity permeates most aspects of tourism, but it is not simply a matter of image making and representation”, with interethnic, intercommunity interactions providing negotiations and performances of

ethnicity and ethnolinguistic embodiment as social actions. Language can become a shared commodity along with ethnic identity in tourism domains that “can create a new hierarchy of ethnicities which puts some identities at the center in terms of their commodity value in the market” (B. K. Sharma 2018), positioning a repertoire of multiple cultural and language practices as an appealing commodity in both transactional and representational contexts. Emergent discourses of ethnic diversity in these touristic environments still reflect neoliberal facets (e.g. iconization), but do challenge existing sedimented structures of ethnic perception by outsiders through functions of semiotic value (B. K. Sharma 2018).

Tourism is a salient domain for the transmission of semiotic and economic resources where “the regular practices and exchanges (both material and symbolic) of tourism consistently destabilize otherwise sedimented notions of insider/outsider, authenticity, culture and place; it also challenges received meanings of language(s), interaction, multilingualism, and community” (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014). A central component of tourism practices is the drive and generation of ‘authenticity’ (Heller and Duchêne 2012; Heller, Pujolar, and Duchêne 2014) as both market(ing) and product, where intercultural contact acts as a “prime site of social categorization and distinction” (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014), but consumption of the ‘local’ is almost always the paramount goal. Authenticity can be tied or rooted to place, in this case the touristic site as host to ‘linguistic landscapes’ where mediation of what sites represent and the circulation of narratives¹⁸ and discourses within these spaces are themselves

¹⁸ “Personal narrative is a way of using language or another symbolic system to imbue life events with a temporal and logical order, to demystify them and establish coherence across past, present, and as yet unrealized experience” (Ochs and Capps 2001).

negotiations between guide, tourist, and institution, each with their own strategies and agendas (Waksman and Shohamy 2020). The linguistic or semiotic landscape connects time with space (Humberstone 2021), and produces meaning in its ‘place-making’ (Lazar 2022) that is a reified embodiment of much of the allure and draw of touristic sites and the creation of touristic imaginaries. In these touristic contexts, markers of difference and distinction are objectified into economic value, shaped by the *tourist gaze*: “the socially organized, systematized and disciplining ways in which tourism is structured and learned” (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014), where regimes of truth are shaped by curating and intercommunity interactional forces. Some of these curating phenomena, including the *souvenirizing* of language as “mutual constructions of ‘otherness’” (Husa 2020) into simplified, stylized, consumable pieces (Cordeiro 2011), are highly productive processes in the current study and reflect the metalinguistic awareness of the symbolic value of language in these projects of authenticity and intercommunity economic enterprise.

For communities historically disenfranchised or locked out of access to many types of socioeconomic mobility, tourism in the globalized, late modernity era represents the linking together of material goods and cultural values; symbolic goods and economic values (Heller, Pujolar, and Duchêne 2014). Language as capital is no exception to this symbolic marketplace, with ‘linguistic entrepreneurship’ as “the act of aligning with the moral imperative to strategically exploit language-related resources for enhancing one’s worth in the world” (De Costa, Park, and Wee 2021) representative of much of the spirit of self-reliance a niche-making in a given tourism market. Because of the asymmetric and hegemonic nature of (political) economic exchanges (Bourdieu 1991), it is not to say that

they are not still marginalized in many of these tourism-driven activities; however, opportunities emerge to flourish within a limited economic niche despite the reconfigurations of memory, narrative, culture, and ethnolinguistic boundaries. Tourism also sees instances of groups using a sudden acquisition of cultural and economic recognition to challenge existing discourses and hegemonic pressures; from a linguistic standpoint this can be expressed in language styles, performances and embodiments that have historically been suppressed or oppressed by monoglossic policy or ideology, e.g. emergent di- or heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1986) in the intercultural domain. This points to the nature of language in these commodifiable contexts as a *performative* resource, where there exists a continuous tension between projects of authentication and commodification (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014). In this commodification, or ‘language materiality’, material conditions actually produce the conditions that lead to the commodification of language and the situations where “tourism stakeholders...commodify and control the value of linguistic forms and identities to some degree” (Lamb and Sharma 2021) and linguistic capital both shapes and is shaped by ‘assemblage’ tensions within the touristic space. Consumptions of language performance by tourists are not unilateral events—although they are purportedly for extracommunity consumption, they also serve a symbolic purpose to highlight the insider and outsider dichotomy. For example, in this excerpt from Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow, a Māori guide indexes his authenticity and belonging through metacommentary on a significantly long native place name:

[T]he guide does not simply use the name of the village as an index of place; he performs it, puts it on display, shows off his own skill in pronouncing it and implies that the tourists do not belong, because they are only able to repeat the shortest and simplest version of the name, and they find the full name baffling and amusing. The place-name becomes a shibboleth separating the locals/the Maori from visitors/non-Maori, Self from Other. (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014)

Similar moments of performance, although superficially resembling a ‘lesson’ of language exchange, are at a deeper level metalinguistic stance-making moments that invert typical relationships between majority and minority language groups that further legitimate the covert prestige language practice of guides.

Ongoing moments of discourse, performance, and interaction, e.g. tourist-guide communication, reflect the emergent nature of ‘contextualization cues’ and how semiotic and ethnolinguistic repertoires are employed dynamically to provide guides the strategies and resources to answer the needs of tourists (B. K. Sharma 2020). Although guided tours use “features of dominant scripts to exoticize places and authenticate cultures to cater to [tourist] imaginations” (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen 2014; B. K. Sharma 2020), it is the unfolding interactions between and around these curated events that illustrate power relations with regards to guide agency, authority, and authenticity and tourist experience and expectation. Various semiotic and ethnolinguistic repertoires are used by guides to respond to unpredictable interactional frames, but this flexibility also reveals the privileging of tourist language norms during the event; the agency of the tourism worker is constrained by dominant ideologies, socioeconomic forces and tourist-guide social structures. As Sharma (2020) explains: “power in discourse is influenced by the structures of power behind discourse”, where guides can frame tours in a way that conforms to tourist imaginaries or have their authority undermined by tourists’ disempowering ideologies of competence.

The tension between authentication and commodification takes additional complexities within the tourism market (Heller, Pujolar, and Duchêne 2014), as the notion of ‘authenticity’ may be at odds with what is economically viable,

extracommunity-appealing, or in alignment the expectations of stereotyped language practices. The contrast of the tourist gaze and insider construction of authenticity reflect a problem of intercommunity positioning and control, asking “when you choose to commodify yourself, who gets to decide what the commodity should look like? Who sets the terms of the market? How do you make not only products and consumers, but also producers?” (Heller, Jaworski, and Thurlow 2014). As this is a domain where language is intimately tied to the self as a product and a brand, there exists a continuous negotiation of how to *promote* oneself while also *protecting* oneself from various consequences of outsider evaluation. Discourses of authenticity in tourism environments are also often ideologically related to those of “traditional” language and cultural practices and artifacts, but the notion of authentic here is subjective based on institutional desires and regulations of identities in the touristic marketplace (Castañeda 1997). During state-organized projects of curated and constructed touristic indigeneity and authenticity, the state has a vested interest in exerting its power in the “training” of traditional cultural tourism workers that are easily regulated and less prone to resistance or disruption of the tourism industry. While governments and institutions are increasingly accepting of the economic benefits of traditional cultural and heritage tourism, the organization of “appropriate” spaces for tourism workers to exist—and through which “appropriate” linguistic and cultural practices, are all methods of maintaining social and economic control over the presentation and aesthetic of the touristic space (Castañeda 2009). Like other heritage resources that are “provided” back to indigenous and local tourism workers for heritage-making practices (Torrealba Alfonzo and Navas Méndez 2021), the loaning or leasing of space for the touristic enterprise reflects the contingent nature of the workers’

legitimation: heritage in this context is no longer truly concerned with “link[ing] together ancestor and descendant” (Castañeda 2009), but is colonized as ownership, resource or property that must be recognized by “legal mechanisms of control and management”.

Tourism in the context of the history of the Southeastern Lowcountry¹⁹ reflects the ongoing tension between the racial and cultural memory of the region and the romanticization of a past for narrative comfort and profit in the tourist imaginary, with what Hargrove (2009) describes as the “reinvention of the plantation”, “forced amnesia”, and revision of White supremacy that continue to exploit through racialized practice. Charleston in particular stands as a critical site for understanding the relationship between tourist appeal, accepted beliefs about American history, and the “rhetorics of remembering slavery” (Poirot and Watson 2015) that are embedded in physical spaces. This is especially true in the representation of Gullah Geechee history and culture in the Lowcountry and Charleston, as Gullah Geechee history is “pivotal in rewriting an accurate cultural history of Africans in the Americas” (Hargrove 2009) and Gullah Geechee communities were imperative to the existence and maintenance of Charleston, S.C. as a place and an identity. The *rhetoricity of place* proposed by Poirot and Watson is the act of “place-making”, where space is *textualized* into place where it becomes a site that is laden with memory, meaning, and locality (cf. enregisterment *to* a place), and individual and group identity becomes tied to spatially-mapped narratives. These narratives are perpetuated by a cultural consciousness of myth and historical memory, with narratives able to become delinked and recontextualized to serve the needs of the

¹⁹ The ‘Lowcountry’ is defined as the coastal region “extending along the Atlantic seaboard from North Carolina to Florida” (Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission 2012) but often carries chronotopic connotations of isolated, rural environs characterized by ocean, swamp, marsh, and island terrain.

ideology and identity of a particular community; this can be situated in Hargrove's 2009 'social field of Whiteness' and 'White racism as habitus', in which hegemonic dominance is maintained by controlling sociohistorical narrative, e.g. through tourism. In the case of the American South, specifically Charleston, the Whitewashing of the 'Lost Cause' myth and refashioning of an idealized Southern identity can be attributed to both cultural embarrassment and a post-World War I tourism boom (Poirot and Watson 2015). These ameliorations of Southern apologia, including the "contented slave" and "kindly slaveowner" archetypes are not only intimately intertwined with persistent media depictions of the South, but have also been fundamental components of the touristic representations of local history. The tourist imaginaries of Charleston "coordinate narratives, ideologies, and material characteristics of a locale to attract tourists and invite them to participate in a fantasy that propels a visitor's escape from his/her ordinary preoccupations" (Poirot and Watson 2015), combining fragments of pre-existing expectations, ideologies, and assumptions of place to "actualize a visitor's experience of the destination".

The actualized locales of these imaginaries are regulated by governmental and privatized entities such as the Tourism Commission and the Charleston Area Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB), which carefully monitor and control the legitimation and certification of tour guides, vendors, and historians in the area. These processes of legitimation also reveal the particular narratives of history and set of knowledge that guides must have to pass their certification test, narratives that emphasize the resilience, democratic nature, and "commitment to religious and political freedom" (Poirot and Watson 2015). Discourses that foreground the role of African American history and

slavery in Charleston represent a minority of the tourism narratives in the historic downtown landscape, with guides avoiding mentioning slave labor (or the role of Black labor even in current preservation efforts) or recasting assumptions about the reality of slavery in the city (e.g. the mentioning of almost three thousand free Black people occupying the city by the early nineteenth century). This recasting was further emphasized by the designation of Charleston urban slavery as “more humane, free, and modern than its plantation cousin” (Poirot and Watson 2015) and emphasis on cases of freed Black residents who themselves owned slaves as symbols of the “beneficiary of White benevolence”. The Charlestonian paradox of historic preservation coupled with rapid gentrification or “urban renewal” also reflects the historical and physical erasure of Black history and identity, as well as continuing displacement of Black residents and business: between 1920 and 1990, there was an estimated 88% decrease of the Black residential population (Hargrove 2009). Hargrove offers a harrowing depiction of the manifestation of White racism as habitus:

Black-owned businesses often lack the necessary advertising budgets, as they continue to encounter racism in granting or denying access to bank loans. Within such a system, Black entrepreneurs simply cannot compete with monopolistic White-owned tour companies. Furthermore (as my broader research suggests) Whites on vacation often want their fantasies of the genteel South reinforced, thus taking a tour that represents any part of the black perspective seems much less “objective” and undesirable. In light of White logic, my research suggests that tourists pick tours utilizing a different set of criteria. Based on numerous deliberate ethnographic observations across time and space, I think it is safe to say that Whites prefer taking tours in the company of other Whites; thus offering some form of protection against White guilt. (Hargrove 2009)

It is this continued representation of White supremacy within historical memory and the hegemonic institution of the tourism industry that is being challenged by the increasing amount of African American history and Gullah Geechee heritage tours in the

city today; although not all of them directly disrupt the profit- and apologist-driven idealizations of Charleston and Southern history, they do represent agentive recalibrations of the industry that give some measure of autonomy in providing visibility to marginalized voices within the tourist imaginary and reality.

2.2.2.1 GULLAH GEECHEE TOURISM

The relationship between Gullah Geechee personhood and the tourism industry is an important intersectional perspective in the literature, particularly due to an increasingly critical look at contemporary tourism industry practices and effects on marginalized populations. Both Thomas (1977) and (1980) identified the immediate cultural and economic effects of the rapid de-isolation, urbanization, and commercialization of formerly rural areas traditionally inhabited by the Gullah Geechee community, e.g. the counterbalancing of new employment opportunities in the service sector and socioeconomic benefits with racist and discriminatory practices against Black populations, including hiring rates, segregation, and diminishing land ownership. While Thomas recognizes that the influx of tourist industry-related jobs on Kiawah island due to its acquisition by private investors in the late 1970s could provide “certain fringe benefits and opportunities for at least a small amount of upward mobility...[and] lessen the severe problems of unemployment that have characterized the region” (J. S. M. Thomas 1977), she also points out that many of the jobs would be “seasonal and part-time in nature”, at the whims of larger discriminatory hiring entities and tied to the process of land development ‘Black Sea Island cultural erosion’, and ownership loss by Black locals. This highlights the complex nature of urbanizing and commercializing de-isolation practices in marginalized communities—the short-term economic and material

benefits cannot easily be squared with long-term cultural and symbolic ones, particularly in the context of ownership and migration discourses. This extends into questions of agency and “responsibility” in and to the community: are Gullah Geechee individuals moving to other areas because of better socioeconomic or political environments elsewhere, because of rising property values and taxes of familial land, pressures by resort builders to move, or interactions of some or all of these effects? Do individuals have a “responsibility” to preserve cultural, local, or legal ties to (the) land in spite of potential socioeconomic mobilities? Do individuals have responsibilities of traditional crafts or livelihoods, or touristic endeavors to preserve or perpetuate cultural practices?

Thomas (1980) also follows up with a focus on later effects of urbanization and commercialization of rural Gullah Geechee communities under rapid demographic and socioeconomic shifts; however, the framing of the article centering rural Southern Black families as a “declining breed” does seem to take a tack towards the rhetoric of ‘vulnerable endangerment in need of saving’ rather than more contemporary perspectives of ‘changing and/or assimilating in need of recontextualizing the community cultural landscape’. There is a marked shift between and 1970 away from the agricultural to the labor and service sectors, but Thomas notes that that had little effect on the systemic poverty of rural Black communities; rather than attributing it to solely unemployment, it can be connected to *underemployment*, where Black working families made markedly less than their White counterparts and had distinctly less education (e.g. in 1976, 71.8% of Black residents on Johns Island under 50 had less than a ninth grade education) (J. S. M. Thomas 1980). The corporate tourism industry was welcomed as a wellspring of Black islander employment opportunities, particularly the resort development of Kiawah

Island. While there may have been an increase in available jobs for Black workers in the hotel and service industries, there was not a correlative increase in the effect on wages for “unskilled” or “undereducated” laborers for which attitudes of “sullenness and resentment that many [Black workers] display towards white visitors, thus reducing the volume of business” (J. S. M. Thomas 1980) was attributed. This does add evidence to the pervasive collaborative nature of white supremacy and capitalism within the tourism industry, where economic opportunity for a marginalized community is highly regulated and restricted: “a chambermaid-caddy economy never made anyone except motel owners solvent” (J. S. M. Thomas 1980). This also contributed to cycles of underemployment and undereducation, where short-term, entry-level work was exploited by the Chamber of Commerce and seen as easy money, luring young Black workers out of school, “insuring their entrapment in a low-wage, low-skill market” with little chance of promotion. Thomas also recognized that Black-owned businesses survived only with robust patronization by other Black community members, as White islanders and tourists preferred services that they perceived to be of a “higher”²⁰ quality (J. S. M. Thomas 1980). During the end of the 1970s and turn of the 1980s, the “blessing” of new resorts and accompanying jobs were double-edged in that they could stem the tide of exodus of young people away from rural jobless communities and provide socioeconomic mobilities; however, there existed an overt limited economic niche in which progression could occur, especially given the limited educational opportunity and skill sets preferred by “professional” jobs. Thomas highlights that Black employment in the tourism sector

²⁰ The irony of local Black businesses lacking the resources to modernize and become more “tourist-attractive” because of a lack of White consumers viewing them as “dilapidated” (J. S. M. Thomas 1980) is not lost here.

represented a possibility for improvement that was still marred by White supremacist hegemonic pressures, including expectations of Black laborers to “to cause no trouble and do her work well” (J. S. M. Thomas 1980) for White supervisors, as well as an active grounding of Black worker-run unions that threatened state power structures and therefore were refused with “phenomenal obstinacy”. This again highlights the dual and conflictual nature of the economic conditions of the Gullah Geechee community in the late 1970s: shifting from isolated farm life to a commercializing tourism industry of “a chambermaid-caddy economy” and willing to endure difficult conditions of seasonal work, underemployment, and capitalist white supremacy as a trade-off for modernization, population retention, and socioeconomic progression²¹.

We can also look to Hargrove’s (2000) ethnographic thesis and Graves’s work on tourism and preservation (Correa and Graves 2015; Graves 2010; 2013) for a better understanding of the juxtaposition of commoditization and tourism *by* Gullah Geechee (for themselves) and *for* Gullah Geechee (by outsiders). Both challenge earlier waves of conservationist thought that frame ‘folk’ cultures within discourses of vulnerability in need of “isolation and protection from an encroaching modern world” (Graves 2010), with Graves writing:

The word preservation implies something of a state permanence and purity, which seems to be at odds with the dynamism and permeability of culture. Surely effective cultural preservation is not achieved by pinning a culture down like a butterfly, yet some forms of cultural identity and practice must arguably remain consistent over time if preservation is to be successful. Given the supposed permanent nature of preservation and the very personal issues of cultural identity

²¹ “[T]he descendants of the proud and independent Gullah serve as a fairly docile, stable, low-wage labor pool, tolerant of the resort’s sporadic seasons and grateful for an alternative to the field” (J. S. M. Thomas 1980).

at stake, it is important in every case of preservation to ask who is defining the preservation and for whom (Graves 2013).

Both recognize that much of the perception of Gullah Geechee culture and personhood has been collected and shaped by outsider forces with an emphasis on a nostalgic past (Graves 2010; Hargrove 2002), and pushes for emic self-definition and self-actualization, and the agency to “rewrite history from the standpoint of their unique indigenous experience” (Hargrove 2000). Gullah Geechee identity is complexly constructed from socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and sociocultural elements that also use the past in particular ways to position personhood in the present; however, this overfocus on “relics of the past” (Graves 2013) can easily obfuscate more progressive representations of contemporary issues surrounding the community. The intercommunity recasting of Gullah Geechee as a “culture of shame to one of proud Gullah [Geechee] heritage for the sake of future progress” is inextricably tied to the capitalist projects of (ethnic) tourism (Hargrove 2000). Ethnic tourism, as an institution of the labor market, is a double-edged sword like any other process of the neoliberal system: while it can bring awareness of indigenous communities and respective damages done by government and state forces, its ability to commodify culture for outsider capital can cause it to take advantage of the indigenous communities it espouses to represent and support. In this context, ethnic tourism is “a situation in which the tourist visits a particular location in search of cultural exoticism or ethnic exoticism of a particular group” (Hargrove 2000), where tourists seek out “authentic” interactions outside of designated tourist spaces, but “does not require that the host be interested in such interaction”. This also means identifying cultures as an exotic Other in some way (through either internal or external designation) and may prove to be more disruptive to local communities than other modes

of cultural heritage tourism through encroachment on previously isolated communities. Ethnic tourism can be further distinguished from cultural heritage tourism in its motivation: cultural heritage tourism foregrounds symbolic and material artifacts that represent a culture, but ethnic tourism showcases “a particular way of life in which the subject of interest in the native living out that cultural existence” (Hargrove 2000) that is especially subject to (historical and contemporary) projects of racialization and exoticization (Staidum Jr. 2022). The boundary between exploitation and appreciation seems most clearly defined by respect afforded locals by outsiders; without respect locals often feel caricaturized or stereotyped into curated, stylized personalities. In the case of Gullah Geechee these types of tourist-host discourses emerge as expecting “traditional” Gullah Geechee occupations or clothing, asking locals to “talk Gullah” (Hargrove 2000) or “Gullah gawking” (Faulkenberry et al. 2000), i.e. “*touring* black bodies” (Staidum Jr. 2022). While tourism can be damaging and exploitative, its ability to stimulate economic growth in communities with limited opportunities for socioeconomic mobility along with initiatives to avoid “selling a culture” can make it an attractive prospect with enthusiastic community participation. It is recognized that when local communities are actively involved in the tourism development process and “pursued with senses of integrity and social responsibility (Graves 2013) there exists more opportunities for community benefit. However, that power remains overwhelmingly consolidated in formal institutions that provides much of the momentum for processes of authentication and legitimization of individuals and historical narratives, i.e. privileging the concerns and values of the dominant group over the minority (Graves 2013; Hargrove 2000). These realities of belonging and history are individually positioned and construct a particular place through

many different actors, reflecting the tensions inherent between forces of insider and outsider, community and individual, and sociocultural and institutional memory; in the case of Gullah Geechee these often-competing forces can be mediated as agency and ability of subjects' "power to define and represent themselves on their own terms" (Hargrove 2002). Studies of ethnic tourism have identified ways in which this commoditization moves beyond traditional commodities of capital and begins to profit off of 'cultural intangibles' that are the "history, material and folk culture, and ethnic identity of indigenous and minority groups" (Hargrove 2000). In the case of Gullah Geechee tourism this often manifests through cultural marketing and linguistic artifacts²² at salient sites such as various Gullah Geechee festivals that occur throughout the Lowcountry as state initiatives to contribute to local tourism and preserve local heritage. Modes of 'alternative tourism' that "are consistent with natural, social, and community values...ecologically sound...a less destructive impact...and non-exploitative" (Hargrove 2000) are being increasingly considered to push back against mass tourism and cultural commodification. Alternative cultural heritage tourism also provides local leaders and cultural institutions the agency to decide what qualifies as authentic Gullah Geechee cultural practices, as well as address epistemic issues of existent models such as tourists attaining "only a superficial understanding of the culture through their limited interactions with local people in structured tourist settings²³" (Graves 2013).

²² However, a differentiation between linguistic artifacts made using Gullah Geechee language and likeness by outsiders and those made by community members for their own marketing and entrepreneurship should be made here.

²³ Mufwene (1997) also attributes this to the relative lack of outsider influence on contemporary Gullah Geechee, as tourists will presumably not have extended conversations with service industry workers and workers such as basketweavers are likely to be diglossic in their outsider accommodation performances.

Cultural commodification in this context is “the use of particular images and ideas which define a particular group for the explicit function of economic benefit” (Hargrove 2000), in this case material (sweetgrass baskets), symbolic (public-facing Gullah Geechee storytelling or spirituals), or linguistic artifacts (tourism literature). Commodification is further specified as *commoditization* by Hargrove:

The use of the term *commoditization*...[is] in reference to the appropriation of Gullah imagery, ideas, knowledge, language, and material culture in any way that is not conducive to cultural preservation. It also refers to the creation of an ‘exoticism’ concerning Gullah culture which is increasingly being utilized to boost tourism revenue throughout South Carolina. (Hargrove 2000)

The commoditization of intangible resources into marketable items produced and consumed by outsiders occurs both at the individual level (e.g. independent entrepreneurs) but at the institutional level (e.g. government agencies and tourism industries) often simultaneously, creating ‘curated’ or ‘packaged’ culture palatable to the consumer markets (Hargrove 2002). Graves similarly describes this process as *commercialization* in that “while images and products of Gullah culture are sold for entertainment and tourism purposes, the industries that package and capitalize on the culture do not necessarily give back to the communities that they supposedly help to preserve through public education and economic development” (Graves 2013). Although there is a transformation of the perceived prestige of Gullah language, culture, and personhood, this transfiguration is not consistent and unilateral; rather, it depends on unpredictable economic and social pressures reflecting the instabilities and disruption that institutional influence (such as that of the tourist industry) can have on local communities, even those increasing in representation and agency as their cultural capital becomes more valued in the symbolic marketplace. For example, Eugene Frazier reflects

on the cultural and linguistic stylization/commercialization, stating: “I don’t think some of it is portrayed in the exact form that it was. I think some people try to spicy it up a little. . . the things that I see to be honest with you, I think people are trying to market things. . .” (Graves 2010). Additionally, while sweetgrass weavers have been increasingly displaced from traditional selling areas due to development, their craft has been increasingly viewed with respect and prestige by institutions (e.g. schools, museums, festivals, Parks and Recreation Departments) as it has become increasingly synonymous with a localized identity of Charleston itself, but one that can be a “(re)creation and misrepresentation of Gullah identity” (Hargrove 2000). The representation of basket makers is typically “frozen within time and space of the plantation era and thus undermine the ability of Gullah women to represent themselves”, becoming chronotopic icons that fulfill outsider expectations. Attitudes surrounding these artifact chronotopes range from them supporting a “culture of servitude” (Faulkenberry et al. 2000) that damages local culture and economic mobility to discourses of resilience and empowerment that retain and perpetuate cultural practices across generations. Sweetgrass baskets themselves, as well as images of them and women weaving them (often taken without permission, attribution, or consent) become iconic of the city in institutional spaces such as the visitor’s center, often without tangible benefit to the subjects. A select few basket weavers are even able to make and sell their wares “inside the [visitor’s] center—almost as if they are ‘on exhibit’” (Hargrove 2002). The word “Gullah” was often used to index a sense of “authentic” Charleston identity even in businesses where largely white-owned and operated or artifacts were produced or sold by non-Gullah Geechee. However, Hargrove also notes that iconic and commodified ‘Gullah-ness’ is

increasingly used by Gullah Geechee entrepreneurs themselves, including a restaurant offering “authentic Gullah cuisine” using sweetgrass basket imagery with the display and sale of sweetgrass baskets inside, and even a description of a “Gullah Tour²⁴²⁵” (emphasis mine):

The most surprising was the "Gullah Tour" which caters to visitors exclusively interested in the African American history of Charleston. I overheard many tourists inquiring about this tour which is growing rapidly in popularity. The tour guide is a *local Gullah* of Charleston. He is a *licensed guide*, lecturer, and author with a vested interest in the area. It amounts to a tour of historic Charleston *spoken in Gullah*, (with several additional sites concerning slavery); however, the *guide's command of the language* makes this an interesting way for tourists to spend the afternoon. He also occasionally *tells a Gullah folktale or two*. The increasing interest in Gullah can be attributed to a rise in black consciousness, which brings African Americans from all over the United States to the rural and isolated areas of the American South in search of possible historical connections to their own past (Hargrove 2000).

This can also be seen in the shifting and displacement of sweetgrass basket weaving materials: materials were becoming increasingly rare due to development, so weavers were forced to import materials from Florida or Savannah. Although this was officially offset by the creation of a sweetgrass reserve on Bull’s Island, the island was only accessible by boat, with weavers who lacked transportation or a permit unable to take part in the “benefits” of local community projects.²⁶ Sweetgrass basket weaving also illustrates an underlying concern for much of ethnic tourism as a niche commodity, with basket weaving as an overly competitive market that is oversaturated in regulated spaces

²⁴ Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours.

²⁵ Graves (2010) also mentions a Gullah Geechee-centric tour as an event offered by the third James Island Gullah Heritage festival: Al Miller (of Sites and Insights) takes guests on his *Porgy* tour to several locations related to Gullah Geechee and African American history and culture

²⁶ The irony of this comes full circle when one considers that sweetgrass is now being used as landscaping material by development companies in the same areas as the basket stands were displaced from, and that sweetgrass weavers have been routinely excluded from cultural events such as the dedication of a historical marker that highlighted the connection between Sea Island and Sierra Leone basketry (Hargrove 2000).

and even those regulated spaces restricted by economic access and tourist demand (Hargrove 2000).

The transformation of Gullah Geechee language from stigmatization to a higher prestige (in certain sociocultural contexts) points towards two sources of change: the increasing tourism dollars specifically attributed towards Gullah Geechee language and culture (Hargrove 2000), and the role of the Gullah Geechee community itself in its endeavor, agency, and awareness for cultural and linguistic delineation of a particular type of personhood (separate but interconnected with notions of Blackness and Southern locality). As Graves (2013) points out, tourism, while helpful in terms of economic development and education, does not necessarily provide a “panacea” to erosion of Gullah Geechee land and culture—he finds that communication within the community and between local communities in terms of information sharing, activism, and legislation should be a priority. He emphasizes that while the cultural intercommunication that occurs in touristic settings needs to deepen through more significant intercultural engagements and public awareness (Correa and Graves 2015), simultaneously intracommunity communication is also necessary to continue to mitigate intracommunity stigmas and provide more robust repertoires from which complex models of personhood can be drawn. Despite this need, there exists a series of internal tensions that also characterize the heterogeneous and shifting nature of the Gullah Geechee community, including the identification of authority figures within the community who legitimate “appropriate ways to educate visitors about Gullah history and culture without forsaking the integrity of those involved” (Hargrove 2000); these notions of “appropriate” figures of curated personhood consider how to make tourism compatible with various types of

outsider forces and beneficial for a range of community members, while opposing further overdevelopment and commoditizing models of tourism. Hargrove highlights these internal tensions as sites of multivocality, viewing them as a fractally recursive force that divides a necessary cohesion within the community and stymies Gullah Geechee development and preservation. She notes that “there is contestation over who is really Gullah, who is in it for the money, and who has the right to be involved” (Hargrove 2000), where belonging cannot be simply determined by a singular feature, although from outsider imagined or stereotyped realities it often is. “Inauthentic” Gullah Geechee branding or personhood in this context can be viewed as “cultural destructionment” or ‘cultural fakes’ (Thomson 2019), a “misappropriated” use of identity and tourism utilized as a “cultural effort to appeal to the distorted sense of Southern history among outsiders” using superficial elements of features of belonging. These features, such as ancestry and locality (e.g. *kumyah* vs. *binya*) act as demarcations of contestation and obstacles to claims of ‘authentic’ Gullah Geechee identity. There also remains divisive internal perspectives on language as a shibboleth of personhood and a symbol of pride or stigma, with conflicting ideologies of ‘acceptability’ versus ‘authenticity’ often along generational and class lines. Overall these conflicts represent larger tensions between notions of ‘preservation’ and ‘progress’ and how subjects orient stances towards each of these:

The contradictory desires for preservation and progress—preservation: trying to preserve or protect community and local culture from modernity, and progress: trying to modernize under a general banner of progressive social and economic change—reflect two ongoing forms of colonization at work, in the sense that both are a forced contextualization of people and places within certain systems of knowledge that privilege a particular modernist sense of linear history. Just as the concept of a culture that is somehow behind the curve of modern progress can be

used to form the basis of a stigma, it can also serve as the basis for creating a tourism... commodity (Graves 2013).

Tourism, legislation, and political movement without community collaboration can be seen as a top-down preservation force; however, community-engaged initiatives such as the federal Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Act represent institutional and intercommunity communication²⁷ and renewed discourse over the nature of preservation. Graves (2013) recontextualizes the touristic space as a site of communication, but that communication too often is mediated through systems of transaction or commodity rather than dialogue, viewing Gullah Geechee culture as a relic of a romanticized past or curated spectacle; these public intercultural intercommunity spaces can instead be sites where more significant communication itself represents preservation.

The tourism industry consistently renegotiates its trajectory between exploitation and opportunity when it comes to providing curated sites for locals to practice and produce intangible and material culture and for outsiders to consume it. Its awareness of the attractiveness of cultural nostalgia and subsequent commoditization (e.g. hosting sweetgrass basket weavers at 'living history projects' on Lowcountry plantations) again reflects the tensions between appropriation and appreciation, and who is provided the agency to make decisions regarding which aspects of personhood may be curated. The empowerment of Gullah Geechee individuals to affect these decisions comes largely in part to increasing activism of community leaders and personalities in the public eye (e.g. Queen Quet, Ron and Natalie Daise), but also from tour guides and other local individuals who take part directly in the tourist consumer culture. However, Hargrove

²⁷ This is not to say that many in the Gullah Geechee community do not view institutional projects like this with the same type of skepticism as other outsider "interventions".

also points out the ‘academic’ tourism industry, in which academics consume Gullah Geechee language and culture for their own material gain and leave little to no benefit to the community; oppositional to projects of ‘development’, these can be seen as practices of ‘destructionment’ (Goodwine 1998; Thomson 2019). There still exists an environment of distrust among much of the community after years of outsider exploitation and bad-faith consumption and commodification, requiring active dialogue between outsider and insider, academic and community. This is especially true considering the context of how Gullah Geechee culture, history, and memory has been shaped by outsider forces, particularly academic and touristic institutions, to the point of ‘authority’ being oriented to outsiders rather than locals, and locals being accused of “contributing to the death of the language” (Hargrove 2000) and culture for not aligning with outsider expectations. Hargrove recommends grassroots-oriented tourism and local involvement, with an increase in community members offering tours and performances; however, she notes that although outside exploitative and capitalist forces remain a threat to Gullah Geechee solvency, the major obstacle is the internal community conflicts in contestation of belonging and vision of community empowerment.

Contemporary ethnographic and critical sources, especially those who heavily work with Marquetta Goodwine (Graves 2010; Hargrove 2000; Thomson 2019), emphasize the importance of the relationship between Gullah Geechee personhood, preservation, and the land: “For Gullahs, land is an extension of themselves” (Graves 2013). Tourism, while a central component of the economic development of the Gullah Geechee community, also carries the additional symptom of increased traffic to de-isolated, traditionally Gullah Geechee areas, which were (and are) rapidly bought up and

overdeveloped by resorts, golf courses, and gated communities. This echoes back to the phenomenon of what Thomas (J. S. M. Thomas 1977; 1980) was seeing in the late 1970s, where tourism brings education and development, and while development may offer jobs and economic opportunity, it also provides its own set of cultural and economic instabilities, especially long-term as traditional lands disappear. Tour groups can also contribute to ‘cultural destructionment’ and misappropriation through the presence of ‘cultural fakes’ who perform a type of Gullah Geechee personhood designed for the comfort and exoticized expectations of white outsiders (Thomson 2019), reflecting a persistent industry of “counterfeit” Gullah Geechee culture, branding, and belonging. Although still stereotyped in many ways as a culturally isolated and insular community, many Gullah Geechee communities seek to maintain traditions and benefit from modernity through intercultural interaction while still being wary of exploitative outsider practices (Graves 2013). Displacement through tax increases, better economic and educational opportunity elsewhere, or even assimilation into non-Gullah Geechee cultures (Faulkenberry et al. 2000) can be longitudinally attributed to the tourism industry; however, the industry also contributes to the “proliferation” of Gullah Geechee in new spaces and modalities, including representation in media, activism, and education. Organizational activism (e.g. the Gullah/Geechee Nation) seeks to reverse the flow of this destructionment and displacement (Brabec and Richardson 2007; Goodwine 1998) through cultural preservation, land retention, and electronic ‘grassroots’ scholarship (Graves 2010); tourism is often not a central component of activism and is left to larger institutional bodies such as the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission, which dedicates demarcated areas, resources, and funding to preservation, but itself raises

questions of “how Gullah culture is both interpreted and produced...in collaboration with cultural outsiders”.

2.3 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Knowing that systematic variation is a structural and symbolic feature highly emblematic of creole languages, discourse²⁸ analysis allows for a categorization of where variation occurs (Litosseliti 2010) in what contexts, and provides opportunities to see larger patterns of interactions between speakers that may induce variation based on power differentials and speaker stance during the tour interaction. Variation occurs across the discursive environment and is distributed based on interspeaker and intraspeaker conditions (Meyerhoff, Schlee, and MacKenzie 2015), and can be measured by considering baselines across lectal levels as perceived by both intra- and extracommunity evaluations. The current study has a central interest in the interplay between micro-level interactions and macro-level ideologies. By examining the explicit and implicit attitudes interlocutors have towards language and each other during the speech event, we can ascertain where these ideologies stem from, how they are diffused between respective communities, and the effects they have on future intercommunity interactions. Ideological discourses can be elicited through metalinguistic commentary and awareness of linguistic markers and stereotypes, as well as attitudes towards iconized aspects of the language (Meyerhoff, Schlee, and MacKenzie 2015). This analysis of text, index, and context across events is imperative in the context of this research because of the highly narrative and metanarrative structure of the tour and its surrounding discourses; where

²⁸ Taken from Hill's (Hill 2008b) 'discourse' as “all the varieties of talk and text”. Cf. Foucauldian notion of 'discourses' as “sets of fundamental principles that organize the world” (Foucault and Nazzari 1972; Hill 2008a) whose meanings intersect with *systems*, *beliefs*, *ideologies*, and *social realities*.

components of the speech event can be both individually and collaboratively analyzed in order to track emergent norms and social meanings through language use (Wortham and Reyes 2015).

A principal component of the research asks how the ideological expectations and evaluations of the extracommunity affect the language used during tours, and the extent to which that curated speech comes to represent the speech community overall. This stylization of tour-located Gullah Geechee can be examined through metadiscursive and metapragmatic components, where tour guides as Gullah Geechee speakers recognize, can comment on, and can modulate their language to perform specific indexical functions for the purposes of the tour and maintaining perceptions of authenticity and authority. This laminating of stylized language with the embedding of intercommunity ideologies over time could evidence the enregisterment of ‘tour Gullah Geechee’ as a curated register used in intercommunity interaction.

Style shifts can be measured during the tour event and analyzed by the types of frames and footing that cause them to emerge, as well as how they become tied to temporal personae during the tour that themselves are tied to larger constructions and understandings of individual and intercommunity identities. Shifting can also be observed within the tour event frame as spontaneous (unplanned) or curated (planned) contexts, where the guide’s normal narration and performance may be interrupted or disrupted by unexpected circumstances; it is possible to observe emergent patterns in style-shifting that would not occur in other socially-situated events (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2017).

Discourse analysis asks us to consider Halliday's three *metafunctions* (Halliday 1978) and how speakers accomplish the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. The identification and interpretation of these portions of the event, as well as the interpretation of the speech event through the perspective of various interlocutors, form the basis of the interdiscursive perspective and how we further analyze emergences and patterns throughout the event. The links between sign and social meaning are not a stable given and themselves represent sights of evaluation and metadiscourse, with *voices* (Agha 2005; Bakhtin 1986) as enregistered sets of associations are more commonly sites of discourse analysis because of their more salient pathways (Wortham and Reyes 2015); however, emergent meanings are critical in forming a more complete perspective on how micro-level interactions form and are informed by larger ideological patterns. The construal and construction of identifiable voices gives discursive sites at which speakers can take evaluative stances and alignments to themselves, others, and interactive contexts, providing moments of explicit or implicit metapragmatic discourse. In the context of the touristic event, the establishing of voices and their contrasts or counterpositionings is critical to both the maintenance of the event frame, interlocuter stance, and intersubjective identity formations. Although participants are only sometimes overtly aware of their construal and configuration of signs and indexicals within a given speech event, discourse analysis presents a framework through which emergent discourses can be linked together as speech chains (Agha 2007) that illustrate linkages between pathways of events and how interlocutors orient themselves to these social processes.

This contextualization across events as an accumulation of signs (Silverstein 1992) is also the result of accrual and accretion of various stances taken by interlocutors in, around, and about the speech event. It is this stabilizing of the speech event as a kind of social action that indicates *entextualization* (Bauman and Briggs 2003), where context can be “carried across” the event and becomes identifiable or inferable by participants as to what the norms and conventions of the interaction, and roles within the interaction often entail. The trajectory of this entextualization, along with enregisterment, can be interpreted through the uptake of the relationship between sign and meaning and how evaluation and presupposition become integral to the understanding of a particular social link. These organizations of signs help establish a consistent context that simultaneously models and is modeled by emergent patterns within and about the discourse, with identity being positioned as interlocutors align with stances towards or away from each other and the content and/or context of the interaction. This entextualization is itself a component of Bauman and Briggs’s (Bauman and Briggs 1990) *recontextualization* as narratives are repurposed for new events while still maintaining essential elements of progenitor texts; language is an especially potent symbolic resource that is taken up within this perpetuation and proliferation, the touristic genre in this case being most concerned with the maintenance and modulation of the register²⁹ that becomes *enregistered* through these events, and what this enregisterment means for the linking together of language, person, and place. The process of enregisterment framed within discourse analysis encourages the exploration of emergent and shifting pathways towards stereotyping of cultural and linguistic patterns, where speakers have overlapping constellations of shared linguistic

²⁹ Cf. dialect that indexes (often demographic-based) affiliation rather than register indexing present frame, footing and/or stance (Irvine 2001).

indices forming heterogeneous repertoires, rather than assigning communities of practice shared and static sets of language features. The discourse surrounding the expectations and evaluations of this stereotyped language, whether real or imagined, can be examined through interdiscursive sign-link relationships and the effects of these social processes on speakers.

The use of discourse analysis to examine Gullah Geechee has some representation in the literature, particularly in ethnographic dissertation work (L. D. Brown 2005; Graves 2010; Smith 1999). While Graves mostly uses the framework as a contrastive analytic to a ritual model of communication conceptual tool, both Brown and Smith center their research on how Gullah Geechee culture is encapsulated and incorporated within both the everyday and ritualized speech events within the community. Smith's study uses discourse analysis to examine the relationship between performer, performance, and audience in "converging vectors of intersubjective experience which make up performance relationships", which helps inform this study in conceptualizations of definitions of audience and performance events, especially in the ways in which *structures of expectation* affect the dis/alignments within a specific cultural matrix of intercommunity interaction in the Lowcountry. Brown in particular recognizes the dearth of previous discourse analytic examinations of Gullah Geechee discourse and the importance of 'ethnography of communication' in contributing to reversing ideological labellings of Gullah Geechee language and culture by outsiders. Both of these studies reflect and reiterate the significant importance of oral tradition to Gullah Geechee and Black culture overall, which are further validated through methodological approaches that center this perspective.

The use of discourse analysis in creole language studies overall ranges from evaluating approaches and experiences within educational settings (Kepley 2011; Sato 1989) to spanning the divide between “micro-discourse analysis” (Deuber 2014) and globalized, transnational perspectives that take into account notions of scale (Carr and Lempert 2016). These projects of scale help to locate discourses of creole languages at various sociocultural and institutional levels and use empirical evidence of conversation in situ to point towards larger ideological frames and patterns, rather than making either generalized interpretations or hyperfixating on singular temporary acts (Harris and Rampton 2007). Hinrichs and Farquharson (2011) synthesize the perspectives of Fenigsen, Deuber, and others to articulate the particular role of the individual and the relationship between individual, agency, and spoken/written discourse in the context of creole languages, creolistics, and creole language-focused sociolinguistics; the construction of social meaning in creole language contexts becomes a complex conversation between politics of transcription and “nonstandard” spellings. This analysis of various discourses in creole language environments is further complexified by potential divides between native speakers’ discrete blocking of language (e.g. (non)-English or (non)-creole) and outsider linguist and ethnographer framing of stylistic variation alongside the creole continuum: “Native speakers in creole communities, who perform the linguistic data that we aim to explain, typically think of themselves as having separate varieties at their disposal that can be used in discourse work” (Hinrichs and Farquarson 2011). The discourse around creole language and its speakers shifts as notions of code-switching, style-shifting, Bakhtinian doublevoicing, and lectal variation become intertwined within and around speaker interactions. Although discourse analysis

is not explicitly stated as the frame in which much of the ideology surrounding creole language narrative and personhood has been situated, discourse itself does provide the evidence to support claims of belonging to place and community associated with these languages, and discourse acts as part of the mediation between community and individual personhood (Fenigsen 1999; T. Furukawa 2007; Hamilton 2012; Smalls 2012).

The use of discourse analysis in the construction of language and race, most pertinent to the current study in the context of African American Language (AAL) has substantial representation in the literature, connecting perspectives on codeswitching, pragmatic markers, and speech events in intercommunity interaction and delineation. Again we can see an application of discourse analysis in evaluating codeswitching practices in educational settings, where attitudes towards and utilizations of both Standard English and AAL have marked impacts on the rhetoric surrounding academic achievement and individual agency against hegemonic forces (Holmes 2012). Holmes's study reveals how speech events that accrue accurate knowledge of AAL by Black students become linked to the appreciation of existent codeswitching capabilities and recognition of bilingualism, i.e. the intra- and interdiscursivity of linked speech events helps students realize that "gaining expertise in SE does not mean giving up allegiance to AAL³⁰" (Holmes 2012). The use of (critical) discourse analysis here allows both for observation of speech events and their interlinkages, but also considers how power and resources are reinforced or disrupted during interactions and engagement with various texts, condensing into discursive ideologies. These "discourses of power" (Morgan 2002)

³⁰ Here equivocated to AAVE and AAE; the distinction has considerations for the relationship between language designation, representation, and prestige, but is beyond the scope of this study.

as ideologies are bound up within the speech, speech event, and speakers themselves, in the case of AAL as in a heteroglossic relationship with Mainstream American English (MAE)³¹. This positions discourse analysis as a critical framework from which more nuanced understandings of interactional elements such as social face, indirectness, and Du Boisian ‘double consciousness’ (W. E. B. Du Bois 1911; Itzigsohn and Brown 2020) can be understood. It also draws attention to the juxtaposition of how intracommunity discourse is in contact with and counters dominant discourse as a series of “counterhegemonic signs” (Morgan 2009) against language and cultural ideals and standards imposed by Anglo-American status quos. It is by analyzing competing discourses and their constituent stances, frames, and genres that invoke pathways of resistance from the micro-level speech event to the macro-level ideological speech chain. It is also important to note Morgan’s 1994 characterizing of the history of gendered discourse in AAL; resources of indirectness, counterlanguage, and style-shifting are shown to be distributed differently across men’s and women’s interactions, and as the current study focuses on men in genres that are more often associated within the community with women, i.e. narrative and performance, the ways in which speech events emerge across the tours and interviews do not always occur along clean-cut lines of discursive expectations. The focus on these discourse routines speaks to a larger model of Black communications (Green 2002a) and speech events that are significant in their

³¹ Note that along with the previously-provided definition of MAE as being “perceived as ‘standard’”, the adoption of the term ‘standardized’ English by Rosa and Flores complicates the distinction of style/register shift/switch as social constructs. The position of this research is that movements and variation within speech repertoires can be affected by ideologies of a standard; however, an ‘objective standard’ variety only exists inasmuch as it is reified by hegemonic forces that marginalize minority language varieties. For discourse analysis, identifying movement and variation within a repertoire does not force strict demarcation of varieties but rather observes featural ‘flows’ across discourse with various functions, and asks how speakers and listeners themselves conceptualize, categorize, and realize personae and entities (discrete or spectral, static or dynamic) from bundles of features.

curation and regulation for tourist audiences and establish certain types of authenticity during the course of the tour, can be moderated and modulated for specific purposes during the tour (e.g. evoking the atmosphere of the Black church) while also being authentic to the identity of the tour guide's language and stance towards their community. Discourse analysis (either holistically or components of it) is used substantially to distinguish between styles of racialized speech, often highlighting the distinct characteristics of (features of) AAE discourse, including verbal paradigm leveling (Labov and Harris 1986) and verbal aspect (Pitts 1986), and variable plural marking (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1994). The use of AAE in crossing practices across speech events and racial matrices, as in Chun's 2001 tri-racial examination of the discourse of and about AAE use in Black, White, and Asian American communities establishes that the interactional, performed speech events are critical to the construction and proliferation of various accreted stances and "dialogized heteroglossia". Although the features available within the ethnolinguistic repertoire may for some actors in some moments be similar, the types of identities that emerge through unfolding discourse reflect existent language practices tied to notions of belonging; even for non-Black AAE users, while more generalized patterns of feature usage may be present, the discourse varies significantly by community ties, symbolic function, and ideological orientation to ethnicity (Fix 2014). Intercommunity and intracommunity discourse analysis studies therefore help to form a more comprehensive perspective on the pathways of processes such as enregisterment, stance accretion, and mediations of personhood, e.g. (Mallinson and Childs 2007) illustration of how even enclave AAE communities exhibit significant discursive and feature variation and resist assumptions of homogeneity.

2.3.1 FRAMING AND FOOTING

The proposed study components, both participant observation and interviews, are examined within the framework of discourse analysis. This conceptualization of the framework is based on notions of framing and footing (subsuming stance and alignment) in the tradition of the ‘stance triangle’ (Du Bois, 2007). The seminal work of Goffman 1974 introduces frame analysis as a means to which we can reasonably answer the question “What is going on here?”, as well as the relationship between reality and performance that produces ‘worlds’ of social realities. Goffman’s work establishes the importance of perspective and context for these situational frames, particularly the simultaneous occurrences within situations that do not only occur in the vacuum of the chronotope itself, but rather are linked together by expectations and accretions of practices and perspectives themselves into *frames* as “definitions of a situation [that] are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them” (Goffman 1974). The analysis of these primary social frameworks means first identifying that which makes events meaningful and interpretable, even if everyday individuals are not fully aware of the completeness of the intersecting frame(work)s. Most relevant to the current study is Goffman’s typology of a group’s “framework of frameworks—its belief system, its ‘cosmology’” (Goffman 1974) and the effects of the pressure of these frames and the consequences of their deviation, divergence, or disruption. These repeated frames keyed as *technical redos* undergo strategizing, planning, practicing, and sequencing in advance that lead to the production and construction of the event of substance, but each event is subject to minor (re)transformations at each iteration, i.e. *laminations* of activity

where the *rim* indicates the event's social meaning and the innermost lamination denoting the mechanics of the activity itself. As interaction can often only be understood in specific context, Tannen and Wallat's (1987) distinction between the localized frame, its alignments, and larger *knowledge schemas* that "refer to participants' expectations about people, objects, events and settings in the world" (Tannen and Wallat 1987). This distinction provides sites of particular interest in potential mismatches, where frames can be shifted by a disruption of expectations. Frame shifting is often indexed through changes in register that vary based on address and audience, but each interactive frame is associated with identifiable activities that establish footing while participants collaborate in the moderation and negotiation of frames. Frames may be constructed, reinforced, or ruptured throughout the discourse; particularly, conflicting schemas during the speech activity will produce various linguistic and paralinguistic responses based on interlocuter stance, where interlocuters employ discursive strategies (e.g. repair) to either continue, recalibrate, or end the interaction. Implications for the schema-frame-conflict in the tour guide-tourist interactions are especially important in terms of power differentials and symbolic language practices and will be further discussed in the analysis of style-shifting and stylization.

The emergence and maintenance of *face*, "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Tannen 2009), reflects the importance of underlying frames in that social cues can be taken up or discarded by audiences and addressees. However, context is especially critical in cross-cultural communication, where situated interpretation relies on collaborative understanding of these "contextualization cues" to re-embed the frame in

the cultural matrix of the interactants. This tying of face to frame highlights the importance of the performance and style of the speaker in the relation to and impression of the self and other, where participant roles are enacted at the local frame but often drawn from larger accreted schema.

Goffman continues this analysis beyond the frame level into the level of *footing* or *stance shift*, where interlocuters change roles, registers, and/or social alignments in their interpretation and interaction of a framed event that indicates something about the relationship between interlocuters, their values, and their perspectives on the event, its framing, and one another (Goffman 1981). He notes that footing and its changes in orientation and stance can often be linked to, or identified by linguistic changes (i.e. Gumperz's *codeswitching*) within the social encounter; however, these changes are highly contextual based on the role, power, and expectations of the (imagined or real, ratified or unratified) audience. Footing also provides an interpretative examination of participant roles (e.g. speaker and addressee/hearer) and how these influence and are influenced by frames of language practices. Drawing from the triad proposed by Hymes and Du Bois, Levinson extends the work of Goffman beyond the 'traditional' scheme of how speakers speak for and address themselves and others (tying to Shannon and Weaver's *communication theory model*), and changes in participation status (Levinson 1988). This typology further nuances the relationship between interlocuter, interaction, and discursive content by recognizing the role of grammaticalized and indexical features embedded in utterances; a salient takeaway being that "an understanding of the underlying distinctions in participant role" (Levinson 1988) is critical to the joining between framing and footing in emergent discourse.

The stance triangle of Du Bois is critical to the situating of the current research in that it establishes how stance assigns social value, positions social actors, highlights alignments between them, and invokes/evokes larger structures of sociocultural value (J. W. Du Bois 2007). Stance itself is a “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” (J. W. Du Bois 2007), where its production and interpretation in an interactional context both inform and is informed by previous and subsequent discursive chains. These utterances take three typological stance-forms: evaluative, positional, and alignment, with other proposed candidates (e.g. epistemic and affective). This is invoked by the notion of *intersubjectivity*, where joint linguistic and social actions between subjects allow participant stances to emerge, be perceived, and responded to, proliferating their own stance acts. Du Bois visualizes this with the *stance triangle*, which attempts to answer three questions about the stancetaking event: “(1) Who is the stancetaker? (2) What is the object of stance? (3) What stance is the stancetaker responding to?” (J. W. Du Bois 2007). This model highlights the agentive nature of stance, i.e. it “is an act of evaluation owned by a social actor” (J. W. Du Bois 2007), in that stance is an action that unfolds over time in the process of identity work and interwoven into discursive events, e.g. the construction and perception of authenticity in intersubjective interactions.

This stance triangle, and its contemporary models of analysis of style (Bucholtz 2009), indexicality (Nakassis 2018), and intersubjective and relational identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) are able to track emergent personae that develop during the discursive

moment, and how those personae inform and are informed by other interlinked, circulating discourses between interlocutors. This negotiating of stance during the discursive event is also informed and intersected by the notion of audience design, where linguistic and stylistic variation will occur based on the relation between interlocutors and what each of them thinks and expects their language, and by extension indexical ideologies of that language, can do when performing and embodying them (Bell 1984). The genre (Briggs and Bauman 1992) of the tour event is also important to consider in the context of interlocuter and intersubjective relation, where these ‘genres of economy’ (Gershon and Prentice 2021) enact multiple interactions representative of shifting social organizations and use of linguistic capital is often dynamic and fluid in the touristic space. Intraspeaker variation is closely associated with stylistic variation as well as grafted onto creole language variation in the form of shifting between lectal levels for stylistic, referential, or indexical purposes; much of the power distribution in terms of authority is inverted during the tour event, where norms of mainstream language can often be flouted and justified as the creation and curation of linguistic and cultural artifacts (Kelly-Holmes, Pietikäinen, and Moriarty 2011).

2.3.2 METALINGUISTIC, METADISCURSIVE, METAPRAGMATIC

Metalinguage as an evaluation and perception on language as a social meaning reflects the importance of language as more than a self-contained mode of communication, highlighting the critical work that contestation, negotiation, and discursive navigation perform in the social investment of the relationship between sign and meaning. While metalinguage as a concept can be broadly split between scientific register and folk (meta)communication (van Leeuwen 2004), sociolinguistic metalinguistic inquiry has

largely concerned itself with the function of metalanguage as commentary or awareness of communicative and language distinction. Within sociolinguistics (and diffused outward into the socially-mediated lives of its subjects), metalanguage illustrates the highly contextualized use of language as a series of “strategic, often reflexive, socially imbued practices” (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). Coupland and Jaworski identify five interlocking sociolinguistic traditions where metalanguage has played a substantial part: 1) performance events, 2) language attitudes, 3) language representation, 4) language ideology, and 5) style and stylization.

Metalanguage as a component of language ordering and site of discourse itself reveals that both context and framing information for speakers (cf. Halliday’s interpersonal and metacommunicative function of language with textual function) builds and fills structures of social interaction, where Gumperz’s (1992) contextualization bundles indices with linguistic features across the utterance. From this context within and surrounding the performance event, interactional norms and “non-isolable” metalinguistic messages are received and either further embedded as normative assumptions or contested through explicature (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). The performance event as described by Bauman 1992 is inherently reflexive, where layers of inference are laminated to discursive frames that allow for various metalinguistic and metacultural observations by social actors, even in the “everyday performance” of style.

A particularly salient site of metalinguistic commentary and awareness research comes from the “folklinguistics” that subsumes language attitudes (Marlow and Giles 2008), perceptual dialectology (Preston and Robinson 2005) and variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1973), where the reality of community or folkloric metalinguistic

perception exists alongside and should arguably inform the agenda of scientific “fact” or research. The placement of metalanguage within language regard typology foregrounds interaction between socioculturally-structured meaning and linguistically-constrained metapragmatic awareness in that it “opens up a sociolinguistic agenda on contextualization processes in situated interaction” (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). That is to say, language regard frames interaction as not only contextual, but also contextualized by previous interactional expectations and contextualizing following interactions; our awareness of what language is doing and our ability to talk about it affects how we use language across interlocking discursive chains. Preston characterizes “metalanguage 1” as a conscious phenomenon of “overt commentary about language” (Preston 2004) regardless of its usage in either “scientific” or “folk” contexts, distinguished between internal (self) and external (other) evaluations. This characteristic of metalanguage (i.e. conscious metalanguage) as necessarily conscious is easily illustrated by “talking *about* language” as a common discursive event, where interlocutors focus on form rather than the message; this is especially salient in contexts where forms are considered “marked” in some way (whether the speaker intends them to be or not), triggering “overt awareness” and a site for metalinguistic commentary. The metalinguistic commentary may range from simply attention to production (i.e. stereotype or stylization), but if a form goes unnoticed (e.g. is an indicator rather than a marker) (Labov 1971), it is unlikely that it will constitute a metalinguistic event. Listener recognition and metalinguistic awareness is key, being even more important the fidelity of the production or performance by the speaker. However, what causes a form to become noticed is itself bound up with more complex considerations than just language;

as Preston (2004) explains in Williams, Whitehead, and Miller's 1971 study, the language of children was evaluated negatively (or found to be marked) based on their visual appearance (i.e. Anglo or minority features), even if the same Anglo child's voice was played when shown the visual cue of a minority child. Similarly, Preston finds a significant amount of Anglo-Americans perceive the use of any AAE as performance, while native speakers naturally view it as normal everyday use; however, Anglo English lacks this perception unless it is being regionally or socially stereotyped, stylized, or caricatured in some way. Finally, Preston offers data of an individual whose overt metalinguistic commentary concerning the nature of AAE is iconized through stylized performance that assigns social characteristics (e.g. "laziness", inability or unwillingness to be understood) with linguistic features (e.g. apheresis, elision); this iconization is particularly potent (and justified) in the mind of the speaker because of their underlying shared metalinguistic folk beliefs. The accretion of individuated perceptions into underlying macro-level or presupposed beliefs about language form Preston's *metalinguage 3*, which while not "literally" representing language use do absolutely embed themselves into social structures (e.g. linguistic norms) that themselves trigger overt *metalinguistic 1* commentary. Norms and prescriptive rules (e.g. correctness) play a large role in the maintenance of language attitudes and metalinguistic awareness, but it should be noted this awareness is distributed differentially among speakers of status quo versus minoritized varieties. Speakers who believe their language is the overt prestige norm may lack metalinguistic awareness of their own linguistic use, while stigmatized variety speakers who are more aware of the effects of hegemonic linguistic attitudes often exhibit more conscious control of their stylistic repertoire. Having speakers articulate

these metalinguistic folk ideologies and folk representations help uncover where everyday speakers think linguistic phenomenon are located, what their evaluations of the phenomenon tell us about those who use it (i.e. insider perspectives), or tell us about those who they associate with it (i.e. outsider perspectives).

Metalanguage can also be conceptualized within the context of Bakhtinian heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1986), where linguistic form and voices of multiple *socio-ideological* groupings and positionings are negotiated dialogically with past, present, and future discourses, i.e. the emergent nature of discourse means speaker styles are dependent (whether in terms of accommodation or distinction) on speaking (and perceiving) styles of others. Although Bakhtin distinguishes between the unconscious language variation of “heteroglossia alone” and the metalinguistically-conscious “heteroglossia with awareness”, the level of awareness in control of language choice is secondary to the understanding that speaker language performance always is dependent on speaker knowledge, perception, and orientation of other linguistic forms. These choices again reflect that while the depth, density, or type of any particular speaker’s metalinguistic awareness may vary wildly, metalinguistic choices (e.g. styling) are all acts of “linguistic representation” (Coupland and Jaworski 2004) that index the various social meaning of discrete linguistic forms. Metalinguistic acts vary in their overtness, purpose, and execution; for the purposes of the current study, three main functions are central in how metalanguage is used: reported speech (i.e. Preston’s *metalanguage 2*), representing the self and other, and the “marking” of particular moments of discourse. This representational function of metalanguage is integral to conceptualizations of “blending” discursive sites, where intertextuality and multivoicing are inherent

components of performance events (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). In these events where stylization plays a part, metalinguistic awareness is invoked through particular types of language usage that are simultaneously both a part of and distinct from other elements of the (ethno)linguistic repertoire. These stylized elements then themselves form potential texts that listeners use to frame attitudes and expectations in future heteroglossic interactions that themselves may shape other representational metalanguage.

Metalanguage is a helpful framework through which to analyze deployments of language ideologies, social control, and stylization that shares a connective role with metapragmatics in illustrating the interplay between micro- and macro- level social discourse processes. These metapragmatic ideologies, rather than being concerned with the referentialist function of language, are instead positioned to “rationalize and justify the usages and functions of language” (Hill 2008b), examining the consequences and social actions of language use.

Language ideologies are salient reifications of metalanguage in that they exist within language use itself, both as overt talk *about* language and covert metapragmatic signaling across local and supralocal discursive events (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). Languages as socially-bounded entities are tied to specific sociocultural frames that shift over time based on distributions of power and representation; these distributions coalesce around perceptions of language as “correct”, “standard”, “appropriate”, “formal” (or the opposing axes), where these indices (along with communicative meanings) are realized as socially real only through repeated historical entrenchments of metalinguistic evaluations. Although Irvine, Gal and Kroskrity’s (2000) taxonomy of *iconization*, *recursivity*, and *erasure* is mentioned above, it is pertinent to recast it from a metalinguistic perspective as

well: characteristics that become iconically linked to communities and individuals through linguistic features, the reiteration of hegemonic forces within smaller social organizations, and the retention of stereotypic generalizations through erasing of sociolinguistic features are all recognizable as processes employed using metalinguistic control. The talking about of language (and the control of how that language is talked about) forms the basis of the “social meaning” of language as the ideological discourses surrounding language become embedded as sociohistorical “fact” taken for granted. Coupland and Jaworski (2004) emphasize that ‘language awareness’ is often involved in explicit and direct practices that counter, disrupt, or manipulate hegemonic language ideologies; it is a “matter of metalinguistic competence” that in many cases allow speakers to identify, navigate, and negotiate hegemonies by consciously drawing from their linguistic repertoire in metadiscursively and metapragmatically aware ways. This is particularly salient in the language practices of speakers of marginalized or stigmatized varieties, whose metalinguistic awareness often stems from an acute understanding of what language *does* and how stylistic variation and control are contextually applied across intercommunity discursive events in ways that status quo variety speakers may lack implicit understanding of.

At the crossroads of metalanguage, ideology, and the previously-discussed stance is Jaffe’s (2009) *metasociolinguistic stancetaking*. This paradigm “allows speakers to negotiate their own and others’ roles with respect to the complex, circulating discourses surrounding race, place, and identity” (Nylund 2017), investigating the ways speakers construct dialogue and voice imagined interlocutors whose language ideologies and stances contrast their own. These contrasts emphasize the sociolinguistic differentiations

of “accuracy of depiction” between speakers and others, especially concerning the relationship between language practice and identity tied to locality and place (Valentinsson 2022). Nylund’s study in particular examines how ideological discourse circulates about language and its speakers in Washington, DC, which while having an ethnoracially and socially diverse composition, is often characterized by widely circulating stereotypes of “affluent, White, highly educated persons who commute from the suburbs” (Nylund 2017). These social and linguistic stereotypes then in part add to the erasure of AAE speech patterns and communities local to DC, which is directly contested in African American community narratives of mutual exclusivity between White people and an “authentic” DC community of color. Nylund’s study is particularly useful in that it foregrounds the importance of metalinguistic discourse in the sociolinguistic interview; although intra-interview metalinguistic commentary has been overlooked due to high awareness to speech, the interview itself represents a site of authentic speech event, where style reflects positioning of self, other, topic and language thorough *speaker design* (Grieser 2019; 2013). Speakers perform themselves and language through their style during the interview that reflect interactional portrayals that extend beyond the speech event; particularly in contexts of marginalized language (e.g. AAE), an awareness of the constant scrutiny of the variety is embedded in the stance-driven style-shifting. These performances when embedded in narratives can also contain instances of *constructed dialogue* (Nylund 2017), where speakers tie sociolinguistic ideologies to instances of what imagined others *might, could, frequently, or habitually* say, with these dialogues often marked with stylized or otherwise overtly marked metalinguistic features.

2.3.2.1 AWARENESS

Awareness as a site at which to study “one’s consciousness of events or experiences” (Drager and Kirtley 2016) in the context of language use is an important component of framing the current study’s analysis of stance, style, and metalinguistic, metadiscursive, and metapragmatic elements. Contemporaries of Preston’s framework of awareness recognize its division into multiple continua: available/unavailable, detailed/global, accurate/inaccurate, and full control/no control, with social objects such as *correctness* or orthography bringing variables to the level of socially salient awareness (McGowan and Babel 2020). Drager and Kirtley distinguish between the *noticing* and *perceiving* of differences, with the former leading to awareness but the latter also subsuming reflexive or unconscious experiences (cf. (un)conscious language variation). Language awareness is sensitive to many variables depending on context—as depicted above, metalinguistic awareness forms a large part of the social navigation of marginalized speech communities in terms of style shifting and “appropriate” language usage. It also helps to illustrate more nuanced models of motivation in variation such as codeswitching, patterned by discourse or participant, rather than frameworks that erase speaker consciousness and agency (Verschik 2016). However, this linkage of variety and personhood is also highly reified by conceptualizations of rootedness or expectations of place, ‘rootedness’ and belonging (Carmichael 2016; Reed 2020). Carmichael’s work in particular examines place-linked awareness as situated between *speaker agency* and *speaker accommodation* (i.e. control) frameworks, where variation occurs at more conscious or unconscious levels respectively. Carmichael’s (2016) study also bridges the intra- and interspeaker awareness framework by drawing on Preston and Robinson’s (2005) link between place

and regional dialect; she found that sociolinguistic awareness for more macro-level mental scheme seem to derive from personal experience and media representation in constructing these expectations (and by extension, responses or evaluations to “unmet” expectations). Awareness and control as foundational to the creation, maintenance, and disruption of expectations and evaluations is also represented in language contact, especially in the context of “normative” or assumed standard language practices abutting emergent, developing, or multilingual variety speakers. The literature reflects a consistent acute awareness in those deemed or perceived to be “non-native” speakers in marginalized contexts, and although it may be assumed that proficiency level is the main variable in this sensitivity to awareness, individual orientations towards language regard (D. Sharma 2005). Sharma identifies the potential effects of “risk” in awareness and agency in that syntactic structures tend to be more highly stigmatized and thus avoided in projects of proficiency, but phonology is “seen in less prescriptive terms and may be recruited more readily” for identity construction (legitimized and evaluated as appropriate in the intra- and extra-community). Marginalized speakers exhibit high degrees of consciousness and awareness along with a distinction between Labovian variables: “stereotypes are often manifested in explicit performances or imitations, and markers are often evident in self-corrections” (D. Sharma 2005).

Awareness affects both production and perception, as both are influenced by social context and interactional orientations and alignments drawing from micro- and macro-social ideologies, but it should also be made clear its distinction (although complementary) from *attention* (Drager and Kirtley 2016). Perception itself is often operating on at least two levels of awareness, as McGowan and Babel (2020) explains

that acoustic perception does not always align with what listeners *believe* they are hearing—in fact, participant responses showed that listener narratives often reveal attitudes that are different or contradictory from conscious social perceptions depending on where and to what attention was drawn. Although an interlocuter may be aware of a sociolinguistic variable, they may not always attend to it, and in fact may shift attention to a different facet or social category that they find meaningful to the current discursive context (Drager and Kirtley 2016). Attention may be drawn to particular indices or social relationships which can ‘trigger’ awareness or create a semiotic linkage between forms that may have otherwise gone unnoticed, providing it with social ‘weight’. A particularly weighted social meaning over time becomes a stereotype, itself influenced by and influencing other representations. Drager & Kirtley state “[while] stereotypical imitations of speech influence subsequent speech perception, we also argue that stereotypes can be represented as abstract representations that are indexed to phonetic exemplars”, which are sites rife with metalinguistically aware possibilities. They go on to illustrate that awareness in terms of linguistic stereotypes is maintained by bidirectional pressure: implicit stereotypes emerge below the level of consciousness through a bottom-up process, and “explicit stereotypes (those which the speaker-hearer is aware of) influence speech through top-down processes (from abstract representations)” (Drager and Kirtley 2016).

Awareness has considerable effects on both speakers and listeners at both local, interactional and more global, ideological levels. Whether it is at the *implicit* or *explicit* level of awareness (McGowan and Babel 2020), speakers draw resources from their linguistic repertoire to do things with language, and these resources and their effects

differ vastly between marginalized and mainstream language speakers. By contrast, listeners draw from exemplars and stereotypes to come pre-loaded with expectations about a given discursive interaction, and this awareness (or lack thereof) itself has effects on what speakers *believe* they hear versus what they *actually* hear, and their according (re)actions. The interface of these effects can be clearly seen in studies that specifically highlight the effects of awareness on communities of color, e.g. Mitri and Terry's (2014) research on phonological awareness in young AAE speakers that found that speakers who used more AAE in their everyday lives were significantly more aware and sensitive to dialectal differences than the speakers who used higher amounts of MAE.

2.4 STYLE

The notion of style, conceptualized as “situationally dependent intraspeaker variation” (Roberts 2004) is a critical component that ties together much of the ideologies of indexicality, identity, enregisterment, and the linguistic embodiment of self and community. Style as connective tissue between the individual and their identity, and how that identity is negotiated with communities, has only recently become foregrounded in creole language studies to juxtapose more traditional research on interspeaker variation along the post-creole continuum (Bickerton 1975; Rickford 1987). The logical extension of this core concept is that of stylization, defined by Coupland as “the knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context” (Bucholtz 2009; Coupland 2001), establishing the linguistic boundaries of the intercommunity interaction and stance to the out-group listening subject, and establishing the ability to navigate between styles as context and content require. Although until relatively recently

characterized as an understudied variable of social variation, stylistic variation is increasingly visible in sociolinguistics, especially when considering ‘addressee- and topic-influenced style shift’ as in Rickford and McNair-Knox’s (1994) landmark study.

Style is inherently metalinguistic in action based on its dependence on linguistic and communicative understanding, and the selection of stylistic variants from within a linguistic repertoire informed by that understanding, in order to achieve a social- interactional outcome (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). Style is intimately tied to both performance-as-embodiment and identity-as-relational as a speaker’s metalinguistic knowledge of styles, stylings, and stylizations undoubtedly affects how they draw upon and utilize features from their repertoire, as well as their predictions of how those features will be taken up (e.g. authenticated or delegitimated) by interlocuters, and from there how those features will construct both temporary stance and longer-standing personhood by listeners. Stylization within a metalinguistic (and metapragmatic) matrix is directly complicated by the concepts of authenticity and ownership; phenomena such as Rampton (1995) and Chun’s (2001) *crossing* indicate overt moments of stylized language coopted by speakers that is seemingly “anomalous”, “out of place”, or creates doubt that the speaker “owns” the style in which they are speaking. While much of the conversation surrounding stylization looks at Bakhtinian *vari-directional double voicing* (Rampton 1995), where stereotyped sociolinguistic features are performed in order to other or distance oneself from the language while still evoking portions of its indexical field, the current study focuses on Bakhtinian *uni-directional double voicing* that “endorses or validates” the metalinguistically-aware stylization as an authentic self for an outside other, as in Schilling’s (1998) Ocracoke *performance speech* (cf. unidirectional

double voicing as a stylized performance by an outsider that “passes” by some insider metric). That is not to say that this type of metalinguistic and metapragmatic performance is only used in practices of outsider gratification or authentication—as the analysis will show, speakers in particular contexts employ stylization-as-voice for a variety of discursive, ideological, and stance-constructing purposes.

Style is deeply connected with the accretion and taking up of stance through linguistic form, also forming a central tie with audience design as linguistic choice that is influenced by social action and social meaning; however, more contemporary conceptualizations of style realize it as “primitive”, where style is emergent first, becoming linked to interactional stances that themselves become imbued with social meaning (Eckert 2003) as they become embedded in local and supralocal community norms (Kiesling 2009). As seen in Sharma (2018), style variation can be understood to be affected by three dynamics: multivarietalism or multiple registers within a repertoire, *asymmetric style dominance* of an underlying or less-conscious ‘default’ style, and *biographical indexicality* to perform authenticated stances in interaction (i.e. the ‘real me’). Styles as repeated stancetaking can be construed as registers, participant roles or social identities based on how linguistic elements of the discursive event are linked with enduring or temporary social meaning; while earlier variationist sociolinguistics framed stylistic variation as stemming from awareness, audience design or idealized speaker (groups), other contemporary perspectives highlight the importance of individual style and its contribution to the construction of larger enregistered linguistic and social meaning (Johnstone 2009). Bell’s *style axiom* captures this sentiment: “variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the

variation which exists between speakers on the ‘social’ dimension” (Bell 1984), i.e. evaluation and style consideration act as the interface between inter- and intraspeaker variation. Bell elaborates on this with four aspects to the character of style construction: (1) group has its own identity, evaluated by self and others, (2) group differentiates its language from others: “social” or interspeaker variation, (3) group’s language is evaluated by self and others: linguistic evaluation, (4) others shift relative to group’s language: “style” or intraspeaker variation (Bell 1997). Variationist canon recognizes that alongside addressee and audience, style is sensitive to the contexts of speaker motivation and topic influence, with particular attention being paid to meanings drawn into, and those constructed within, the discourse element (e.g. within, across, and about sociolinguistic interviews) (Rickford and McNair-Knox 1994). Rickford (2014) also draws direct attention to the importance that these “Metaphorical” style-shifts have in tandem with “Situational” (i.e. changes in participant, audience, addresser/ee interlocuter frameworks) with ideological meanings despite the type of text or discursive artifact (e.g. style shifting in “serendipitous” situations versus “orchestrated” as in sociolinguistic interviews or corpora). It is these meanings across interactions and in specific interactions that become tied to stylistic variables, and these constellatory variables produce personae of performance that may at once represent the individual while also being associated with more general language practices of a group. When these personae are enduring, they can often be tied to identity, illustrating “habitual patterns of stancetaking” (Kiesling 2009) that form repertoires of use. These repertoires can be further understood as part of the indexical matrix, where indexes both construct and iterate context around the stancetaking event, where social meaning is negotiated through evaluation, positionality,

and alignment within a particular frame. Style situates speakers who understand themselves as social beings, engaged in practices and oriented in relation to other social actors; it is necessarily dynamic and relational between individual, group, and association of linguistic and social features (Kiesling and Schilling-Estes 1998). However, as Kiesling 2009 notes, awareness and control remain major variables in analysis of stance and style, which may depend chiefly on the enregisterment (Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006) of a style or repertoire in a certain space, with careful attention by insiders and outsiders being paid to productions and perceptions of authenticity and authority of local identity. Although it would be simplest to illustrate the discourses surrounding style as a conflated unilateral movement from attention-to-speech to third-wave variationist approaches, a more comprehensive overview of the literature instead encourages the notion that there is *always* an “element of self-consciousness or performativity” to all ways of speaking, as speakers shift in style and register based on internal and external purposes, even if self-consciousness subsumes levels of unconscious awareness and control (Schilling-Estes 2008).

This pipelining of the study of identity into the study of style (and by subsummation, the study of stance, framing, footing, and indexicality) has allowed for the continuous expansion of the repertoire-perspective of individual and community identity beyond the prototypical Labovian vernacular/standard self-monitoring; Podesva extrapolates from the main ‘three waves’ of variationist/style-oriented studies to identify three (and a proposed fourth) characteristics of style as social meaning: (a) assemblage of social meaning through linguistic featural components, (b) contrast with other styles, (c) occurrence in specific moments of interaction and (d) the histories (both global and local)

of styles (Podesva 2008). This drawing of “contextually-bound meaning” reifies the importance of interaction beyond set social categories and rather asks linguists, anthropologists, and other social scientists to consider how these alignments and personae are (re)constructed across space and time as embedded in unfolding discursive events (Bucholtz 2009). Bucholtz’s coalescing of style, performance, and ideology illustrates how symbolic form and metapragmatic stereotype form bidirectional processes: bottom-up productions from localized interactions and styles and top-down constructions shaped by “broader cultural ideologies”, both continuously circulating and shaping emergent discourse. As is articulated through the work of Ochs, *particular linguistic forms perform particular pragmatic work*, where at both direct and indirect levels of indexicality, we can see linguistic variables become increasingly indexically linked to stances. Although variables may begin as indicators with little semiotic association, as they are repeatedly entrenched in social meanings through the enregisterment process, they abstract from direct to indirect levels of indexicality and become more representative of more stereotyped ideological associations rather than just localized stances or identities (Bucholtz 2009). It is also important to reiterate that this is not occurring to linguistic features in a vacuum—style is indexed through repertoires, clusters, or constellations of semiotic elements (i.e. linguistic and nonlinguistic resources) all undergoing various interactive dynamics; however, single extracted elements can be useful to track trajectories of features through and around performances and identities, particularly in understanding how singular features can be used as shibboleths or linguistic shorthand of authenticity, epistemic authority, and community belonging.

Observations of style also allow us to use it as a central nexus that can not only connect discourses of identity and stance, but critically tie these concepts to language attitudes and ideologies. Irvine (2001) provides three “lessons” of style and its orientation towards language ideologies: styles are (1) *systems of distinction*, (2) *ideologically mediated* and (3) *aesthetically consistent*. It is these three views of style that help to organize the Bordieuan *social space*, where language participates in the “work of representation” that is necessarily relational and partial. Language ideologies are representative of this partial account of societal, cultural, community, and individual perspectives as they provide metalinguistic and metapragmatic sites at which styles provide identification of indexical significance of combined language practices (Irvine 2022). Irvine also comments on the intertwining of nomenclature such as style, dialect, and register, with styles as possible sets of registers (cf. *(ethnolinguistic) repertoire*) with variable usage and at least some type of awareness or control based on audience, topic, frame, etc. Although argument can be made that nuances each of these concepts, a central takeaway of the shared typology is that of the “principle of differentiation” (Irvine 2001), where ideological and indexical features are embedded in particular language practices that are both *consistently distinctive* and *distinctively consistent* in their uses, voicings, and stylings. The placement of style within a given cultural matrix is done through ideological mediation, and this mediation illustrated through iconization/(rhematization), (fractal) recursivity, and erasure. Style is therefore often less about specific features and more about “contrasts and relationships between styles” where a social group’s distinctiveness can be used to make inherent links between linguistic and social features, either creating oppositional subcategories within the social group, or erasing variation

within the group in projects of monolithization. As Scanlon (2020) points out, although features may be associated with ethnoracial identity (in his case linguistic features of AAL), these features, ideologies, and meanings are mutable based on interactional contexts, emergent during style-shifting. Both Black and White speakers used AAL as semiotic and class-indexing resources in the Pacific Northwest region he studied; however, Black speakers stylistically differentiated their use of AAL from their White counterparts by drawing from both ‘super-regional’ AAL as well as broader regional stylistic features (Scanlon 2020). Similarly, Alim (2004) emphasizes the robust denotational, identity-constructing, and community-affirming resources afforded Black language (BL), which “persists despite every attempt by Whites to eradicate it.” Although continued to be misinterpreted through the ideologies of ‘linguistic supremacy’ and ‘linguistic profiling’, which seek to maintain hegemonic structures of stigmatization and overt racialization through application of MAE grammatical rules onto BL, BL practices including style-shifting reflect the “broad range of speech styles” especially associated with Black youth. At once a way of navigating White hegemonic pressures and a way of indexing intercommunity metalinguistic awareness, BL style-shifting pushes back against de-agentivizing dominant language ideologies and mediates conversation in interaction with consideration to race, familiarity, topic, and other simultaneously occurring contexts (Alim 2004).

The conversation between style, register, language and dialect shifts considerably in the context of creole languages, not only in considerations of system-internal processes such as the creole continuum and “decreolization” (better cast as language change), but also in how ideologies, attitudes, and perspectives circulate in creole language

communities concerning standards and discrete-versus-spectrum language practices in the minds of individuals and institutions. Group identity factors and social motivations may have an impact on the dimensions of creole continua, affecting trajectories of convergence and divergence of the creole language in relation to its historic instantiation and contemporary relationship with surrounding language varieties (Roberts 2004). The social considerations, including intracommunity ideologies, point towards style as a component of the linguistic elaboration; for creole languages that may alternatively converge or diverge from both substratal and lexifier³² features, style-as-framework helps to understand how attitudes of overt prestige and covert prestige forces develop a basilect that “provide greater resources for performing identities” separate from other ‘local’ cultures. (Roberts 2004). Like other communities of practice with historically low prestige, creole language metadiscourse often centers around variation as deviation from a (post)-colonialist “standard” English; speakers have high levels of linguistic awareness and metalinguistic competence from which to articulate and navigate notions of “appropriate” style and language variation, even in conditions of increasing covert prestige and linguistic tolerance (Deuber 2014). Deuber frames the extremely high level of linguistic variation in the anglophone Caribbean as the creole continuum system itself, which helps to both recognize the complex (and often problematized) theoretical underpinnings of the term while also linking it to non-creolist variationist discourses that essentially analyze the same phenomena without the particular colonial and plantation contexts that creolistics is often situated within. An important note Deuber also makes is that while the creole continuum assumes purported poles of ‘English’ and ‘Creole’,

³² *Lexifier*, *lexical source*, *base language*, or *superstrate* as the language from which creoles draw their lexicon (Holm 2000), e.g. Gullah Geechee as an English-lexified creole language.

speaker and listener orientations to where ‘English’ begins and ends are highly subjective and according to personal and societal style; these subsume other sociocultural axes such as formality and education, with speakers and outsiders alike making their own gradations and categorizations based on “marked” morphosyntactic and phonetic features. The creole-style situation is also complexified by speaker awareness and control based on situational (interlocuter), metaphorical (topic), and textual (speech event), i.e. the coalition of language variation in creole language communities as both linguistic and social phenomena, which better positions it alongside other persistent language contact frameworks such as di-/heteroglossia and mixed languages. This also foregrounds a particular frame of understanding “standards” of English and “Standard English” in Caribbean contexts, Deuber points to an asymmetrical bias of representation of Standard Jamaican in the literature, but with emergent scholarship examining standard and creole ideologies in Trinidad and Tobago as well (Deuber 2014). Although Standard English and “folk speech” research represent two different strands of investigation of creole language ideologies in the Caribbean, it is necessary to acknowledge the role that both of these play in constructing the notion of style within a creole language system. Interestingly, as much of the earlier work in this area sought to establish baselines of the extreme portions of the continuum (i.e. basilect and acrolect), mesolectal stylistic variation is more perceived as a “frame of reference than an object of investigation” (Deuber 2014), which may affect contemporary framings that insiders and outsiders hold concerning creole language practices.

2.4.2 STYLIZATION

Coupland bridges style into *stylization* using the intermediary notion of *styling*, a “process of contextualization, where speakers actively create context rather than passively responding to it” (Coupland 2007), i.e. where intraspeaker meets interspeaker variation and relation. He gives four processes integral to this contextualization: targeting, framing, keying, and loading. Targeting involves the ascribing of identity to oneself as well as others, framing as the making of social meanings more or less relevant through certain discursive frames, voicing being the ways a speaker claims or recontextualizes the voices of others, keying indexing intersection of register and genre, and loading indicating projection of speaker embodiment of identity. Styling contextualizes *stylization*, and is defined by Coupland as “projection of ‘personas, identities, and genres other than those that are presumedly current in the speech event, where ‘projected personas and genres derive from well-known identity repertoires, even though they may not be represented in full’” (Coupland 2001; 2007; Deuber 2014). Although stylization via Coupland may be conceptualized as projection to the point of ‘high performance’, illustrating the ‘artificiality’ of performance and associated with ‘strategic authenticity’, stylization has also been (re)cast as bridging micro- and macro-level analyses (i.e. ideological and individual interactions) and constructing and performing the ethnolinguistic repertoire between speakers in interaction (Deuber 2014; Schilling-Estes 2004). It is this particular casting of stylization that centrally concerns the current project; one that incorporates unidirectional double voicing and constructs identity within the everyday and curated performance, particularly in how creole language speakers negotiate style across the intercommunity interaction (Bakhtin 1986;

Rampton 1995). Stylization affects all levels of speech within the repertoire, from single utterances to entire performances, and stylization ‘of and through dialect’ provides a perspective through which Bakhtinian voicing is enacted beyond isolated discursive events across interactions (Coupland 2001). Stylization also recalibrates notions of authenticity (cf. the variationist canon of certain individual speakers as the most “true” or “authentic” representations of a bounded speech community) to better conceptualize how speakers ‘own’ their language and the social meanings of the performance, both by “authentic” ingroup speakers and “authenticated” reproductions by outgroups using metalinguistic awareness of linguistic stereotypes (Coupland 2001). This can also be tied to Bauman and Briggs’s 1990 notion of entextualization as the performance is reconstituted and recreated, e.g. both by repeated tours by the same guide or the tour frame utilized by all guides of a certain cultural tourism niche; each of these reproductions may not be wholly “accurate” in the sense that they are perfect copies of the original text or touristic moment, but the stylized performances within them speak to the larger cultural meaning, authentication, and indexical embodiment. Coupland makes it clear that his particular notion of stylization “dislocates” speakers and has speakers “de-authenticate” themselves; while these very performance events can allow for a type of cultural authenticity and metalinguistic indexing, they are still designed with a separation from “true” ingroup markers in mind. That is to say, they neither “subscribe to” nor “discredit” the language practices of a particular community. This is echoed in other examinations of stylization in which the performance’s exaggerated conventions deconstruct existent folk linguistic attitudes through highly aware bricolaged moments that take into account language practices themselves, as well as perceptions, expectations,

and evaluations surrounding them (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou 2012). In this perspective of stylization, the performance is a component within certain socially-constructed indexical orders, where the indexical field is subject to recontextualization based on the purpose, genre, and frame of the performance itself. This movement between orders can align with stylized moments and/or code/lectal-shifting that both indexes awareness of linguistic stereotype and social meaning while drawing attentions to sites of “context clash”, i.e. meaningful enactments of distinct linguistic performances for ideological purposes (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou 2012). However, this study draws on a reconfiguration of this stylization, where metalinguistic awareness, control and acute understanding of intergroup ideologies shape the linguistic performance that pushes back against stigmatization and extracommunity evaluation while simultaneously drawing on linguistic stereotypes and expectations to construct speaker authenticity and agentive ingroup language authority. ‘Doing Gullah Geechee’ in this way is simultaneously authenticating and authority-affirming while also speaking to the multivocalic nature of the ethnolinguistic repertoire construing Gullah Geechee personhood. Coupland’s stylization does represent a progression past work on individual behavior and variation into a framework of continuous performance and social practice, where language styling is motivated, interconnecting temporary and more durative personae that may be conscious and metalinguistically or socially aware (cf. audience design and Labovian hypercorrection (Labov 1972b; Coupland 2007)). This is even referenced by the reiterating of style as *strategic persona management*, where while (stylized) language is “on display” (Schilling-Estes 1998) or “put on” (Rampton 1995), it is simultaneously representative of multiple voices within a single speaker; the authenticity of the dialect is

only accentuated by both contexts of “ownership” and the challenge of interlocutors in metadiscursively identifying the where, when, why, and how shifting is occurring (Coupland 2001). Of note are two major deviations (or modifications) of Coupland’s typology of stylization: 1) although he posits that stylization can be analyzed as “strategic inauthenticity”, the current study’s positioning of stylization as “curated style-shifted language suffused with indexical features for extracommunity consumption” realizes that speakers are strategically authenticating themselves through controlled multiple voicing and 2) while dialect varieties are well-configured for stylized performances because of well-bounded or stereotyped repertoires with sociocultural associations, it can be argued that ethnolinguistic creole varieties in intercommunity contact situations represent an even more robust environment where ideologies are pervasive due to sociohistorical stigmatizations.

In terms of stylization within the context of multilingual performance, notions of authenticity still form much of the center of the research developments. For multilingual speakers, authenticity in a modernist framework is often still contested along discrete co-constructed identities and social categories where legitimacy may be challenged through ideologies surrounding language, class, and community belonging (Higgins 2015). Multilingual stylization is also a “knowing act of performance”, but has different consequences for the identity work and resources in “negotiating their interactions...displaying stances, navigating tensions, and positioning themselves and others” (Higgins 2015). Across both contexts of *mundane* and *high performance* contexts of stylization, stylization itself is an examination of the language of everyday life that allows for “double-edged stances” through Bakhtinian double-voicing and the attribution

of identity, albeit a multifaceted one, throughout and beyond localized interlocuter discursive events. The strength of stylization lies within its ability to allow speakers to situate themselves strategically throughout the performance and acts as a *system of distinction*, despite occurring beyond a particular generic norm (e.g. curated contexts). It is recognized that listeners may leave the performance event with different indexical interpretations of the stylization due to their individual orientations to ideological and indexical fields, highlighting multilingual stylization as language practice that speaks to the intersubjectivity of identity positioning. Higgins posits a *continuum of stylization* that illustrates the range of interactional effects that stylization (by both self or ‘other’) inhabits, from poles of *mockery or insult* to *(self-)styling or affirmations of culture*; these poles also form an axis with degrees of utility by in- or out-group-ness (Higgins 2015). This typology is helpful for clarifying the vast difference between out-group and in-group uses of stylization, as well as the importance of considering social relations (e.g. social status, class, or linguistic prestige) that affect the indexicalities of stylized language practices. The current study examines stylization that is both in-group and self-styling, an affirmation of culture and authentication of identity; however, the stylized performance is curated and construed for consumption by the extracommunity. While it is performed for the out-group, this particular mode of stylization still draws attention to the boundary between speaker and outsider, indexes an awareness of the social meaning of multiple styles throughout the performance, and emphasizes the symbolic value of the language, pushing back against sociohistorical stigmatizations or essentializations (explicit or implicit).

Similarly, in the context of stylization within the creole language framework, language style ties into particular relationships with historical and contemporary depictions and designations of the language, producing ambivalent ideologies Furukawa (and others analyzing Hawai‘i Creole) describes as *linguistic schizophrenia* (G. Furukawa 2018). This push and pull between prestige and stigma, personal and institutional attitudes and evaluations, and generational language practices speaks to how “change” as concept in creole language communities operates at multiple discursive levels. This means not only changing attitudes by governmental entities and policies, but also local or small-scale interactional discourses, and even change across lectal levels across discursive contexts themselves. Stylization in these contexts takes on additional meaning by drawing from a large range of ethnolinguistic repertoire resources that often contest and challenge attitudes of “legitimate” or discrete language practices, especially when perceived and evaluated by non-creole language-speaking outsiders. However, this is not to say that insiders carry ideologies that do not mirror or fractally recurse the perspective of outsiders; rather, intracommunity contexts are complexified by competing covert and overt prestige norms that concern both language practices as well as depictions of those language practices (i.e. stylings or stylized performances). In the case of Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) or Pidgin, the use of language indexes inherent locality, but its variable relationship to Hawai‘i English means that outsiders often conflate the varieties and indices as one and the same, further blurring the line of where listeners will draw distinctions between language, dialect, and accent, and frame their evaluations accordingly (G. Furukawa 2018). Furukawa also notes that this ‘polycentricity’ of power helps to illustrate how creole language communities may be

represented by multiple “languages of power” as loci from which indexical fields or constellations of meaning may be extracted (G. Furukawa 2018). This also helps to better situate the various orientations and positionings of listeners during a stylized performance event, where the stylization may be taken up variably as positive or negative, genuine or inauthentic, exaggerated or realistic, etc. based on the individual’s local interactional stance and macro-level ideological alignment.

Linguistic forms are often saliently affected by a self-identification of a speaker with a particular speech community or community of practice. This is demonstrated in the construction of identity through highly marked or stylized language in order to index an in-group membership. However, this indexation does not only happen in the intracommunity, in certain intercommunity contexts (e.g. the tour event) this stylized language use co-indexes authenticity to the target cultural community, producing a perceived more authentic cultural artifact. This stylistic variation can also be phonetically measured and accounted for, and while Gullah Geechee has significant phonological literature, a sociophonetic account of its modern instantiation would allow for a better illustration of the trajectory of the language in this intercommunity context.

2.4.3 ETHNOLINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

The current study draws from the construction of the *ethnolinguistic repertoire*, realized in (Benor 2010) as “a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities”. This perspective allows for (and attributes) the role of agency in individual and categorical or community-level speech, while also un-restricting much of the dynamicity of language rather than relegating to a purely bounded entity that is determined by social categories. In this approach, Benor

recognizes that social actions like stance and indexicality (e.g. adequation or distinction of varietal features for social purposes) are done through the use of *distinctive linguistic features*: “any elements of language that are marked as distinct from language used in other groups (whether or not speakers are aware of them), including system-level morphosyntactic, phonological, and prosodic features, as well as sporadic lexical and discourse features” (Benor 2010). In contrast with the framing of linguistic repertoires as the total sum of linguistic resources available for an individual (Gumperz 1964), Benor narrows her proposal of this repertoire as combinatory (i.e. bricolaged) distinctive resources used by any given group to establish identities and construct models of personhood. This can be seen as intersecting with similar sociocultural processes of indexical linkage and performance such as *enregisterment* (Agha 2005; Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson 2006) and *emblematic identity marking* (Silverstein 2003b).

The ethnolinguistic repertoire approach simultaneously captures both the individual and ethnic group distinctive feature variation to better understand the ways that “activities, ideologies, allegiances, contacts with other groups, boundaries between insiders and outsiders, and, especially, variation within the group” (Benor 2010) affect language practices. The construction of identity through linking locality and community simultaneously creates series of groups and group orientations: “such forces operate fractally at yet more local levels of groupness (community), as well as operating so as to create cross-cutting senses of groupness” (Silverstein 2003b). Benor’s ethnolinguistic repertoire examines *across* ethnic groups to track phenomena such as the enregisterment of particular repertoires and the stereotyping and stylization of language and culture by insiders and outsiders. The approach is also helpful for recognizing the “semiotic

potential” of articulating the permeable boundaries of groups historically associated with discourses of (inter)mixing and social liminality, e.g. Creole communities (Wendte 2019). Wendte’s study finds that although ethnolinguistic identities of Creole communities have often been contested by outsider forces, Creole language identity practices provide “a full range of semiotic resources that license an individual to identify as Creole and be seen as Creole by others” (Wendte 2019), i.e. salient as a site of evaluation for “ideologically coherent” ethnolinguistic, local, and commodifiable authenticity. This framework both partially refutes, solves, and moves past what Benor describes as the “ethnolect problem”, wherein discrete, bounded spheres of language to determine ethnic groups (and vice versa; using ethnic affiliation to determine language practice)³³ fails to capture ranges of variation within heterogeneous ethnic groups often made homogenous by hegemonic gazes and pressures. While it is a given assumption or intuition of the social category construction “emerging from certain cultural assumptions about language” (Silverstein 2003b), i.e. language beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies, sociolinguistics as a field of study also finds itself often being unable to extract itself from this deterministic essentialism. Considering this, the ethnolinguistic repertoire approach makes irrelevant the question of “where do we draw the line between speaker and non-speaker of an ethnolect?” (Benor 2010), as instead of belonging through distinctive feature density, belonging is instead constructed as “use (or non-use) of a group’s distinctive repertoire, whether or not she considers herself part of that group”. This approach also accounts for individual variation in preference for the use of different resources, as well as incorporating multiple axes of intersectionality and demography into

³³ E.g. Silverstein’s (Silverstein 2003b) *glottonym*, the creation and designation of an ethnolinguistic label as a process of chronotopicality.

a repertoire, rather than framing an ethnolect strictly along a continuum towards or away from another ethnolect (often the unmarked, mainstream, or White English variety). King (King 2018) comments that the ethnolinguistic repertoire “ignores the ability of variables beyond the ethnolect to do racial identity work”, but contemporary reconfigurations of Benor’s approach address the *heterogeneous collectivity*, i.e. that language and the people who use it are heterogeneous and often without singular indexation. Specifically Becker’s 2014 intraspeaker analysis of a Black woman from New York City found that ethnolectal features could index place identity, and regional features could index racial identity: “Neither variable singularly indexes race or place and this broader understanding of the repertoire is meant to capture the work a variable can do in constructing a speaker’s multidimensional identity” (King 2018). This again works towards a de-monolithizing of an ethnic group and accounts for regional and class variation in languages such as AAE, which until recently (Childs and Mallinson 2004; Moody 2011; Weldon 2021) has had relatively little regional variation attribution, especially when compared with White regional and class-associated Englishes (Wolfram and Schilling 2016). This racializing or ethnicizing of the individual or group as a product of a particular time-space social context (i.e. Karimzad’s 2021 *chronotopization*) points towards how idealized chronotopes by those in power and asymmetrical intersubjectivity create norms for recognizing or legitimating groups in ways that may run counter to their internal and individual senses of locality, alignment, and belonging.

The ethnolinguistic repertoire approach incorporates perspectives of ‘codeswitching’ and ‘style-shifting’ in its analysis to account for Benor’s (2010) observation that “speakers of ‘ethnolects’ tend to have some degree of awareness that

their speech is distinct from others.” They may temper their use of distinctive features when they speak to non-group members, and they may be able to switch fluidly between the ‘ethnolect’ and ‘Standard English’”. However, viewing intra-speaker variation as a series of discrete ‘shifts’ necessarily refers back to the question of distinctive feature density: how much or how many distinctive features must be used in a given utterance to be considered/perceived/evaluated as a ‘ethnolect’ rather than a ‘standard’ or mainstream variety? By extension, how does the White, hegemonic, status quo, or authoritative gaze factor into these perceptions, and what is happening at this intersection of gaze and audience/referee design? Benor also describes a ‘second repertoire acquisition’ (Benor 2010), which although not a new style, is “rather a new repertoire of features that differ from what they are used to”, indicating a type of awareness and control that is influenced by linguistic, cultural, and social factors rather than static boundaries of community and ethnic group belonging.

The ethnolinguistic repertoire approach recognizes that “speakers make variable use of their group’s ethnolinguistic repertoire to index their complex and shifting orientations, and listeners use these linguistic cues to perceive and categorize speakers” (Benor 2010); as ethnic groups themselves are often dynamically constructed and reconfigured through intra- and intergroup interactions (Wolfram 2018), the repertoires associated or enregistered by groups can often help to identify components such as a ‘core members’, ‘marginal members’ and ‘non-members’ through discourses and ideologies surrounding language practices. That is not to say membership is set or static in these instances, but instead that group or community belonging is something indexed by constellations of distinctive features (or conspicuous absence thereof) and is

repeatedly a site of acceptance, contestation, and reiteration of social positionings at multiple intervals of what Silverstein (2003) describes as ‘social space-times’ or *chronotopicalities*. These distinctive features are set apart from what Benor calls ‘unmarked American English’: an abstract, idealized representation of speech that might be used by middle-class members of any ethnic group in any region of the United States but that lacks features marked as belonging to the distinctive repertoire of a particular group” (Benor 2010), which she attempts to establish to circumvent the problematicity of always conflating ‘standard English’ (Pullum 1999) with ‘White English’ (Chun 2001), ‘mainstream (American) English’ (Lippi-Green 2012), or ‘General American or English’ (Labov and Harris 1986). However, she also recognizes that while “the notion of an unmarked norm privileges the speech of middle- and upper-class European Americans and others in power” (Benor 2010), as a ‘strategic reification’ it is impossible (or nearly so) to discuss ethnic language variation without orienting it in relation to markedness or distinctive feature approaches.

It is important to note that Benor’s ethnolinguistic repertoire framework “sees individuals as making selective use of a distinctive repertoire, but it makes no claims as to the consciousness surrounding that selective use” (Benor 2010); instead it emphasizes that there are multiple levels of linguistic, cognitive, and social factors that one can observe as affecting speaker awareness, control, and agency. The effects of sociohistorical phenomena such as enregisterment of a variety or circulating discourses or ideologies about sets of language practices, are imperative sites of analysis in better understanding the construction of ethnic groups in the minds of insiders and outsiders. Studies such as Noels Kil and Fang (2014) are interested in quantifying these types of

considerations—their study found three indices that were associated with affiliations, solidarity, and self-identification with a particular group: *ethnolinguistic vitality*, *language attitudes*, and *ethnolinguistic identity*. The triaging of these three indices (minimally) can help to locate a speaker’s *ethnolinguistic orientation* beyond a discrete ethnolect-ethnic group designation and identify the features of a stylistic and ethnolinguistic repertoire within a specific chronotopic context. This is especially interesting when we consider (at the individual and the group level) the ebb and flow of distinctive features within and without the ethnolinguistic repertoire, the roles of locality, authority, authenticity, power, and belonging, and the effects of educational and institutional access. For example, Landry and Bourhis (1997) find that the saturation (or absence) of the language in the linguistic landscape directly affects the valuation by group members of their own language community (i.e. a *carryover effect*), with “rival” language groups competing for visibility within the landscape, but to the privilege of the dominant language group that controls state and institutional apparatuses. Thus, the linguistic landscape serves as a symbolic battleground of language visibility and valuation where high-vitality, high-prestige languages have more of their ethnolinguistic repertoire perceived as “legitimate” and “appropriate” language use. Even an increase in ethnolinguistic awareness of stigmatized or minoritized speakers does not guarantee freedom from hegemonic or neoliberal pressures, as the commodification of the self through performances of the ethnolinguistic repertoire in contexts of outsider evaluations of insider identity can support essentializing discourses rather than linguistic agency (B. K. Sharma and Phyak 2017).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The study takes a mixed method approach in its scope and scale. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through participant observation and interviews, as the ethnographic and descriptive documentation informed much of the analytic framing and results. The initial analysis of the tour site and interlocuter interactions between tour guide and tourist were conducted with both participant observation and discourse analysis in mind. Because the central focus of the dissertation is style and emergent language regard, much of the salient evidence of these phenomena is found throughout discursive moments, including narrative, interaction/turns, and interdiscursive linkages. The tourism and linguistic (anthropological) ethnographic methods are interrelated chiefly by being concerned with the perceptions of identity and belonging at a particular place in time. Participant observation preceded the later interviews and linguistic elicitations necessarily to inform the types of interactions and circulating discourses that these interviews were framed to analyze. This participant observation, as firmly etic and outside of the community, can be contrasted with native anthropological ethnographies from within the community (Graham 2017), and as such produces different results that speak to both the intercommunity tensions of Gullah Geechee and non-Gullah Geechee, in-group and out-group, and researcher and participant through the power relations inherent in these intersections. It is this emergence of the understanding of power

relations and embedded cultural meanings that informs other sociolinguistic analysis in the tradition of ‘thick description’ of the signs and symbols inherent in underlying practices (Geertz 1973).

3.1 SITE SELECTION

The sites selected for the study were the tours offered by three tour companies in Charleston, South Carolina: Gullah Tours, which is owned and operated by Alphonso Brown, Sites and Insights Tours, owned and operated by Al Miller, and Gullah Geechee Tours, operated by Godfrey K Hill. All three sites constitute the tour vehicles and tour routes themselves, including mobile and walking tours. The tour companies operate out of the Charleston Visitor’s Center and share a space with other tour buses and companies that center around more generalized interests, rather than specifically catering to Gullah Geechee linguistic and cultural tourism.

The criteria for the sites chosen were based on several considerations:

1. The sites need to be at a perceived Lowcountry epicenter for Gullah Geechee culture (and language).
2. The sites need to be in the same general area, where comparisons can be drawn without having to consider significant geographical variation between tour companies.
3. There needs to be more than one tour company chosen, but the number of companies observed needs to take into account a focal point of intracommunity and intercommunity tensions, rather than aggregating too many fine-grained sociolinguistic details.

4. The sites need to have similar routes, reaches, and goals, preferably with a similar³⁴ online presence.
5. In order to maximize the potential benefits of the research for the individual and the community in which the research is driven, the sites need to be selected based on the willingness of the tour operator to engage in the research.

Each fulfilled criterion has a corresponding justification. Charleston is exceedingly well represented as an epicenter of Gullah Geechee culture, especially with its reputation as a metropolitan area in the American South which caters to high amounts of historical, cultural and heritage coastal tourism. The three selected sites are both in regional (Charleston) and local (downtown Charleston at the Charleston Visitor's Center) perceived epicenters, and in the same general area, as they share a parking and staging location at the visitor's center and have many of the same stops along the tour routes. Selecting tour companies in different metropolitan areas (e.g. Savannah, Georgia) or geographic areas with distinctly different demographic compositions (e.g. coastal towns such as Beaufort or the surrounding Sea Islands), while undoubtedly a robust site of comparative ideologies and linguistic strategies, would have been less beneficial for examining more localized circulations of discourse and cultural capital. These three sites were specifically chosen because of the inherent tensions that emerge with these being the three most visible Gullah Geechee-centered tour companies in Charleston: not only are there intracommunity tensions in terms of contestation of authenticity and history,

³⁴ 'Similar' here referring to sharing much of the same target audience and content.

there are also economic considerations to dominate a relatively restricted niche of cultural tourism. The tour companies represent similar interests in terms of tour goals, focusing on the Gullah Geechee experience and how it interconnects with the larger history of Charleston, although their relationship between established historical narratives of race, particularly the construction of Black identity, vary from other guides and tour companies in interesting ways. The criterion of digital presence is also justified, as the three tour companies host visible websites that not only contain requisite information on the tour logistics themselves, but also act as repositories and artifacts that index an authentic and authoritative identity. However, the final criterion is the most important, especially in the context of outsider engagement and historical appropriations by academics and other institutional agents. Fortunately, all three tour guides, when being made aware of the scope, context, and goals of the research, were willing to act as participants and resources of the dissertation work. This criterion reiterates that as an outsider, it is my responsibility to consider the effects of this research and analysis on both the personal livelihoods of participants, as well as how the data represent the culture and language of a community that deserves recognition and appreciation without the commodification and exoticization that can often be a product of institutional endeavors. It also concerns itself with how White supremacy and capitalist commodification are interrelated ventures, and as a White, etic researcher, how my intercommunity interactions speak to the reproduction or at least identification of structural systems of inequity and agency even in the other intercommunity interactions I analyze³⁵.

³⁵ Further addressed in the 'Additional Considerations' section later in this chapter.

3.2 PARTICIPANT SELECTION

The participant selection³⁶ is necessarily split into two components: tour guides and tourists. As the tour guides are intimately and inextricably tied to their sites, selecting them consequently identifies the respective tour guide as a participant, confirmed by their consent and willingness to participate in the research. The reasons for selecting the three tour guides, Alphonso Brown of Gullah Tours, Al Miller of Sites and Insights Tours, and Godfrey K Hill of Gullah Geechee Tours mirrors the selection, criteria, and justification above. Additionally, the selection of these three tour guides in particular again can be summarized by the Gullah Geechee-centered nature of their tours, their proximity both in the context of Lowcountry geography and to one another, and their high visibility in the cultural tourism industry, both online and through non-digital advertising and marketing.

For the participation component of tourists, around ten tourists participated in informal post-tour interviews after completing tours from either company based on convenience and willingness to participate, and seven tourists completed online surveys. Because the surveys were further removed temporally than the post-tour interviews, the survey participants were able to produce different discourses about their experiences within different frames and modalities.

Both interviewed and surveyed tourist participants represented a range of the following demographic variables: current location, previous knowledge of, or relationship to, Gullah Geechee, age, gender, self-identified race and/or ethnicity. Interviews and surveys with participants only occurred with individuals who expressed

³⁶ Protocol for the tour guides and tourist interviews can be found in Appendix A.

interest and willingness to participate under informed consent, while interviewed tourist participants understood that they were being audio recorded.

Based on the criteria above, around twenty individuals were selected as tourist research participants based on the availability and willingness of tourists to participate through surveys and interviews. These numbers also incorporate the supplementary interviews that were conducted with other tour guides and community members to enrich the perspective of the principal interview participants. Each of the methodological criterion has a corresponding justification. The temporal element of the tour and the tourist-produced research artifact itself is important in understanding not only the pre-existing perceptions and expectations of the guides, but the attitudes and ideologies that emerge from tourists after a tour, as well as the effect of temporal and spatial displacement on tourist narratives. These narratives were distillations of the elements that remain in their discourses of the tourist experience and how it affected their perceptions of the Gullah Geechee speech community going forward. The demographic background of the tourists is critical in establishing a varied and intersectional view of tourist motivations for taking the tours, their attitudes towards the Gullah Geechee community, and their expectations before the tours and evaluations following them. Although ideally the study would control for as many permutations of the demographic categories established by the interview protocols and survey questions as possible, a naturalistic array of tour participants and the demographics of groups emerged, which illustrated various effects certain types of groups had on the performance of the tour itself. New categories and community affiliations also naturally emerged when the tourist data was analyzed, reflecting interactional and intersubjective identity constructions during and

around tours rather than overgeneralizing tourist types through preselected combinations of tourists beforehand.

Because the tour guides are public figures and easily recognizable by their tour brand and company, as well as identifying information in their websites and self-authored books, the decision was made in collaboration and cooperation with the guides to not anonymize their identities. The tour guides who involved in this study were enthusiastic about participating as themselves with no desire to anonymize, and additionally framed the use of their names and brands as opportunities for marketing of their companies. As this was viewed by all parties as a mutually beneficial endeavor, names and companies were preserved whenever it could be perceived as positively contributing to the guide and company's visibility. However, in cases where data could be taken up as potentially detrimental to their business, reputation, or interpersonal relationships, steps were taken to anonymize excerpts and identities where necessary.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation formed the first half of the data collection, consisting of going on tours and observing guides and tourists in order to produce an ethnographic sketch, from which interview questions and analyses were elicited with more confident understanding of what kinds of questions can produce emergent discourses. The study mapped out the logistics of tours, including routes, topics discussed, typical demographics and numbers of attendance, as well as typical styles of performance by tour guides. The study population was Gullah Geechee and Black tour guides, the tourists engaging with their tours, in Charleston, S.C., for the purpose of examining intertouristic ideological and

evaluative flow. By examining tour guides, tourists, and tours as triangulated sources, emergent patterns of language practices and perceptions of those practices could be analyzed. The study received IRB approval (Pro00109720) of the 'Exempt' review type on 04/29/2021.

The routes of each tour were distinguished by number of stops, where stops were, and how long stops and tours overall lasted. At each stop, the topics discussed were recorded, also taking into account marked linguistic or discursive features that differed from other speech patterns and linguistic practices during the tour. Demographics of each tour were recorded, noting how many tourists were taking part in each tour, some basic demographic information that was observed or emerged in conversations during the tour, with how the tour guides engaged with the tourists based on these demographic factors elicited during tour guide interviews. The content and style of the performances are important considerations, especially in the case of the repeated tour, where comparisons and contrasts between individual tours and tour companies can be observed. Relevant features included metalinguistic awareness and commentary, intercommunity interaction, and discursive framing and footing of tourists and tour guides during the course of the tour.

Audio was recorded during the entirety of each tour. Recordings were obtained with a ZOOM H4N "Handy Recorder", with a cellphone recorder used as a backup. I placed the recording devices in a discreet location near the tour guide, where while visible to tourist and guide, they were more easily dismissed as electronic accessories and

more likely to be forgotten about during the course of the tour³⁷. The tour guides allowed and encouraged recordings to be made by tour participants, which can be evidenced by videos uploaded by previous tourists on video-sharing sites. The audio quality was consistently acceptable to hear the tour guide voice and provide sufficient material for transcription and discourse analysis; however, fine-grained sociophonetic analysis of stylized and non-stylized speech features were only elicited during the tour guide interviews in an environment with less interference and more consistent quality. After the pilot study where a small sample of three initial tours were recorded, the data collection was refined with regards to recorder placement, directional recording, addition of multiple recording devices, where recording parameters minimized initial issues such as too much ambient noise.

In addition to the audio recordings, field notes were also recorded. The field notes provided supplementary commentary on the discursive elements, content, and context of the tour not covered in audio recordings alone and were transcribed digitally to allow for searching and indexing of particular tokens and themes. The audio recordings represent the bulk of the elicited data from the participant observation, totaling over 16 hours. The three initial tours from the pilot study were conducted using these methods and provided consistent and substantial multimodal data for later analysis. This was assessed by comparing recording and notetaking results from each tour and discerning emergent patterns of thematic similarity between tours, as well as being able to clearly identify the

³⁷ An attempt to mitigate the *observer's paradox*, where “any time we observe we affect what we see because others monitor our presence and act accordingly” (Duranti 1997).

nuanced divergence of each tour as per the tour's stated intent, from advertising material and explicit confirmation by tour guides during the interview process.

3.3.2 INTERVIEWS

The interviews were intended to elicit language ideologies and attitudes towards linguistic practices of tour guides by tourists. Interviews were split into two main types (tour guide and tourist), with the tourist group being split into two sub-types (in-person and online). The interview protocol was organized as follows: demographics, history, identity, authenticity, authority, appropriateness, language, tours, commodification, and social action. These themes were chosen as a reflection of the theoretical and ethnographic framework and were hypothesized to be the best approach to elicit discourse that sufficiently spoke to the research questions. A template of the protocol can be found in Appendix A.

Tour guide interviews ran approximately an hour per each session, using the protocol as a template but letting naturalistic conversational discourse steer the course of the interview. The following tour guides were interviewed (background information available in Chapter 4): Alphonso Brown, Al Miller, Alada Shinault-Small, Nate Hutchinson, and Franklin Williams. These participants were chosen based on their tour branding (Gullah Geechee and/or Black/African American) and located in Charleston. The guides were each approached and informed of the research and asked if they would be willing to participate. Those who agreed to participate gave their informed consent and were compensated for their time for interviews. While the interview protocol ideally took place over multiple interviews, with two one-hour interviews per tour guide (with the exception of Shinault-Small, who was interviewed six times, and Williams and

Hutchinson, who were both interviewed once) to elicit more fine-grained responses, the protocol also incorporated a series of ‘core questions’ asked to guides to ensure comparability and focus on key interests in the event that further interviews were not possible; however, all interviewed guides were enthusiastic participants, very gracious with their time and amenable to multiple interviews. Tourists interviews in-person ran approximately ten minutes per participant session; while initially this proposed a modality of interviewing individual tourists travelling alone or who experience the tour as a part of a cohesive group (e.g. family, reunion, church group), it was later determined that online interviews through Zoom were less disruptive to the interview process and tourist experience. The interviews also focused on locating levels of pre-existing and post-tour Gullah Geechee-centered knowledge and worked to ascertain what kinds of effects it has on the tour experience overall, as well as what kinds of truth and narratives are added to that knowledge and retained after the event. Tourists were asked to complete an online follow-up survey through Qualtrics, which contained more questions whose answers could be constructed over a longer period of time and also displaced from the immediacy of the tour event. Participation was encouraged with moderate gift card compensation; tour guides, in-person tourists, and online tourist survey-takers were all compensated for their time, with opportunities to provide survey data, interviews, or both. Guides were paid \$50 per interview, and tourists were paid \$10 per interview and survey.

The online survey used a Likert scale to elicit evaluations of tours and tour guide language practices, as well as affective stances by tourists. It contains similar questions to the in-person tourist interviews; however, the asynchronous format allows for a higher number of questions to be asked regarding expectations, evaluations, and ideologies of

tourists. Participants for the online surveys were recruited through in-person surveying on tours, with me handing out cards on tours and at the Charleston Visitor's Center, and through digital distribution to former tour participants to increase the width and breadth of answers elicited. The latter participant type was recruited by canvassing travel and tourist review sites and seeking participation by those who had previously completed tours, regardless of their review content. The online surveys, of which seven were completed, displaced both spatially and temporally from the tour site, engage with understanding of how dislocation affects evaluations of marginalized communities over time; patterns emerged concerning retained linguistic ideologies and diffusion among the extracommunity (by review, testimonial, or word of mouth) before being re-imposed on a stigmatized community through expectation.

3.3.3 DIGITAL ARTIFACTS

As all three of the tour companies selected have visible online presences and company websites, these digital domains also represent important secondary sites from which indices of authenticity and authority were extracted, as well as elements of identity construction, and practices by which the tour guides market their cultural capital as commodity. All three principal sites were analyzed by breadth and depth of site content; typographic, stylistic, and discursive elements; access to multimodal tour logistics; linkages to supplemental materials as physical artifacts; and presence of testimonials. While the websites inevitably are created in order to present the best representation of the tours, the guides, and their connections to the community and the cultural product they provide, the sites act as extensions of both the product and the guide and inform both intercommunity considerations and expectations.

While some testimonials and customer reviews are located on-site, the majority of (non-curated) feedback about the tours can be found on trip and travel review sites. The ratings and comments on these sites were analyzed for customer satisfaction, extractable demographic information, and how the commentary content reinforced or disrupted my own or others' observations of the tour experience. Although tour testimonials and reviews are often impressionistic and polemic, they do represent the evaluations of tourists post-tour and thus show how tourist expectations shaped the perceived experience, as well as the potential reevaluation of those expectations. The reviews and testimonials also provide an intersubjective domain, where users interact with one another and create intertextual discourses from which attitudes surrounding the tour and the guides and their performances can emerge.

3.4 DATA TRANSCRIPTION

Understanding that transcription is a direct statement of linguistic sociopolitical power (Bucholtz 2000), the current study takes two approaches in its creole language transcription: speaker-oriented and community-oriented. Native speaker intuitions are critical at every level of the linguistic analysis, and the orthography used by the community should be the first source of orthographic protocols. It should also be mentioned that these representations are still being embedded with the perceptual ideologies of both speaker, researcher, and any reader of the transcription (A. Jaffe 2012), therefore notions of transcription 'accuracy' are entangled with concerns of appropriation, exoticization, fetishization, or by contrast, representing the language in an acrolectal or hypercorrect manner in order to avoid those concerns. These prescriptive orthographic ideologies can have real-world effects, as the text can then be entextualized

and taken up in institutional discourses in ways that further marginalize speakers or criminalize ways of speaking (Park and Bucholtz 2009; Patrick and Buell 2000). These notions of representation are further complicated in a creole language such as Gullah Geechee, where language designation (i.e. where English ends and Gullah Geechee begins) is intimately tied to identity and language ideology. Consideration was thus be taken to first understand how the structural mechanics of the language intersect with the sociocultural ideologies around the variety, and what the effects of “getting it right” can be (Brown & Casanova, 2014).

The orthography used to represent Gullah Geechee is already a sociocultural consideration that varies greatly depending on the audience being written for and the author’s own stylistic preference and (native speaker) intuition. Although sources such as the Gullah Geechee translation of the New Testament (*‘De Nyew Testament’*) could be seen to be a representation of what a ‘standardized’³⁸ Gullah Geechee orthography would look like and a potential model, community members show considerable variation between phonetic and English-based spelling, use of eye dialect, and inclusion of apostrophes to indicate ‘deletion’ or apheresis. This is in concordance with pronunciation and lexical variation inherent to the language based on speaker style and source as well. Take for example the translation of the word ‘brother’ in three Gullah Geechee excerpts by different authors:

³⁸ As with many other racialized mixed languages and creoles, standardization as a locus of ideological tension reflects much of the competing perspectives of what an emblematic language “should” look like (i.e. recognized or legitimated), even within the community (Babcock 2022). The guides during my research were somewhat divided in how they felt towards the representation afforded by DNT, split between attitudes of ‘standardization as legitimation’ and as an inaccurate representation of the ‘living’ language.

Table 3.1 Variation of ‘brother’ in Gullah Geechee literature

<i>Source</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<i>A Gullah Guide to Charleston</i>	Alphonso Brown (2008)	Reblun Tuppuh ‘n ‘e fadduh, ‘n ‘e brudduh , Jaymes Tuppuh ,stablish de fus‘ Sunday school fuh blacks een de Baptist chu’ch (p. 134)	Reverend Tupper and his father and his brother, James Tupper established the first Sunday School for Blacks in the Baptist Church
<i>Gullah Folktales from the Georgia Coast</i>	Charles Colcock Jones Jr. (2000)	Buh Rattlesnake laugh at um, an eh mek answer at eh know eh yiz long mo na de stick (p, 111-112)	Brother Rattlesnake laughed at him, and he answered that he knew he is longer than the stick
<i>De Nyew Testament</i>	Sea Island Translation Team (2005)	Wa mek ya see de leetle splinta ob wood een ya broda eye, bot ya ain pay no mind ta de big log een ya own eye? (Mat. 7.3)	What makes you see the little splinter of wood in your brother’s eye, but you pay no attention to the big log in your own eye?

Ignoring (for now) what they may reflect about phonetic variation by different speakers and speaker communities, the orthographic variation throughout these excerpts illustrates the difficulty in choosing a ‘correct’ orthographic style and representation of Gullah Geechee, especially by outsiders. The depiction of ‘brother’ as *brudduh*, *buh*, and *broda* respectively show that author preference supersedes the need for adherence to an artificially prescriptive ‘standard’ orthography in many cases, as Gullah Geechee is still considered by many to be chiefly an oral language, even by native speakers in the community (A. Brown 2021)³⁹. For the purposes of this study, the orthographic conventions used to represent spoken Gullah Geechee from spoken excerpts are a

³⁹ Brown: ‘It’s not a written language. It’s a spoken language. Any attempt at writing it, is to use follow your basic rules in writing of English, of phonics, in English.’

combination of the styles of the guides who have written in Gullah Geechee, while avoiding the use of apostrophes and eye dialect wherever possible. This both helps to improve readability and comprehensibility for readers and also attempts to circumvent some of the ideological associations between eye dialect⁴⁰ and apostrophe use as essentializing or stigmatizing minority languages without standardized orthographies, especially when documenting the voices of ‘others’ as an etic observer. Written Gullah Geechee has been preserved as it depicted in print.

3.5 ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

The collection of interview data from tour guides, and interview and survey data from tourists provide a distinction between attitudes towards language and the tours themselves as performance experiences by both the intracommunity and the extracommunity. The intracommunity, as represented by the tour guides, produced discourses concerning the logistics of the tour, expectations of various types of tourists and their responses, and linguistic strategies that shape the experience of the tour. The extracommunity, represented by the tourists, acted as the discursive foil, from which their pre-existing attitudes and stances towards Gullah Geechee, their expectations of the tour artifact and tour guide, and their evaluations and post-tour perceptions of the tour experience were elicited. The discourse and metalinguistic commentary also were not only analyzed in its observation of community demarcations; participant interviews and surveys are also used to comment on how tourists view other tourists (like and unlike) themselves on tours in the extracommunity, and how tour guides view each other, their

⁴⁰ Defined as “The use of spelling to suggest dialect difference; the spelling does not reflect an actual dialect difference” (Wolfram and Schilling 2016).

community, and their perceptions of the intracommunity evaluations of their membership and alignment as well.

Although I am distally etic to this community as a cisgender White male researcher, one of the reasons this particular site and participant type were chosen was precisely because of my (lack of) proximity. The community members accessed are accustomed to roles as intercommunity intermediaries, culture brokers, and public personalities, and ostensibly found the presence of an additional observer relatively unobtrusive, as their vocation is intrinsically tied to touristic observation. The tour guides recruited for this research have a high amount of visibility in the Charleston cultural tourism industry, as well as online. This indicates that there is also a higher amount of metadiscourse and feedback circulating both by them and about them; therefore a more robust perspective on their performance and constructed touristic artifact is possible. The guides were only recruited if they appeared enthusiastic and accommodative to the research; this level of engagement was indicated to me by their engagement with details about the research project, as well as a willingness to ask me difficult questions concerning my intention and motivations for centering this work around them, and particularly how this study would give something back to the community and benefit representation of Gullah Geechee language and culture, rather than continuing historic patterns of commodification and appropriation. Tourist reviews were included in this research to produce a more complete image of the discourses circulating tours, their guides, and the Gullah Geechee community. Although the dissertation focuses on the language regard and practices of the tour guides, it is also important to support claims of

expectations and evaluations of tourists that shape these practices with specific narratives expressing these ideologies.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

From the participant observation and interviews, data was elicited and analyzed both at a generalized level for all participants in terms of discourse analysis and macro-level ideologies, but also a more fine-grained stylistic level for tour guides in order to determine where variation occurs in discursive contexts, and what it can tell us about how Gullah Geechee is used as a linguistic commodity. Throughout all frames and modalities, there were instances of highly stylized performances of Gullah Geechee; although they were curated and often isolated for particular purposes, due to the expectation by tour guides that they were interacting with outsiders without much access to the language, they were consistent, existent, and salient enough moments to anchor performance, interactions, and metalinguistic commentary. Qualitative data for the participant observation portion measured interactions within the framework of discourse analysis, including turn-taking, interruptions, pauses, and how the flow of discourse is produced within the tour event. Within the discourse itself, moments of identity construction, reinforcement, contestation and disruption were analyzed as elements of stance and footing (e.g. epistemic claims, call-and-response, challenges to established authority or narratives).

Interviews also followed along the same protocols as the participant observation in terms of analyzing both the content of the interview as well as discursive elements. Tour guide interviews were conducted in locations that allow for analysis of instances where style-shifting or stylization occurred and were represented by sociophonetic

variation. Two sociophonetic variables emerged as particularly distinct throughout the style-shifted and stylized performances of guides: pitch-shifting and r-lessness. Although the current study does not analyze these in fine-grained detail, their persistent presence during Gullah Geechee language production indicates that they are salient components of the repertoire that guides use when shifting or stylizing Gullah Geechee. R-lessness and pitch-shifting were frequent enough in shifted and stylized speech to act as potential points of reference as to when these moments were occurring, especially when present with other indexical features (e.g. apheresis, final cluster reduction, lexical items). These two features were chosen in particular both due to the researcher's own familiarity with these features in a sociophonetic context (McCullough 2022; 2023), as well to provide further representation of the distribution of these features in contemporary performance register Gullah Geechee. Both features exist in AAE as well, which also motivated their inclusion as a way to observe how the same feature may be bundled with others in a repertoire that are 'chosen' by speakers in the production of a particular variety or figure of personhood. In this way, overlapping features do not 'belong' to a single variety, but unique assemblages become co-associated with accreted stances and personae and co-construct salient indexical fields and enregistered varieties. In the case of Gullah Geechee and AAE, Gullah Geechee speakers who want to make their language practices 'distinct' from AAE emphasize or 'strengthen' both shared features and unique features (e.g. vocalic qualities), but because many features are shared, it would be difficult to completely discard those features in favor of only using 'uniquely' Gullah Geechee ones⁴¹. Variation in rhoticity between speakers, performances, and styles is discussed

⁴¹ As in other cases of regional variation of associated varieties, lexical and morphosyntactic features also provide considerable indexical strength here, especially if they are not shared with the variety being

here as part of the indexical field shared between Gullah Geechee and AAE, and how demarcation between those varieties is signaled using specific assemblages of features although some features are shared. While descriptions of the markedness of Gullah Geechee vowels compared to neighboring varieties has better representation in the literature, r-lessness has also been identified regularly throughout the literature as an indexical marker (Weldon 2018), but its ‘strength’ in Gullah Geechee compared to other r-less varieties (e.g. AAE and White Charlestonian English) has been less explored, especially moving from an impressionistic to more fine-grained sociophonetic examination. I have previously observed that r-lessness is a highly salient feature in contemporary Gullah Geechee, with ‘stronger’ r-lessness occurring when speakers are self-stylizing Gullah Geechee during a performance compared to either their non-stylized speech or stylized ‘White speech’ (McCullough 2022). Using a baseline of perceptual acoustic rhoticity⁴² and speaker deviations from that baseline during various style shifts, I observed that while r-lessness operates as a discrete marker of Gullah Geechee identity, it is also enregistered to the point where the speaker maintains r-fulness in their non-stylized speech to highlight the distance between Gullah Geechee and English. This emphasizes both their ability to switch between the two varieties as self-conceptualized discrete linguistic entities and the simultaneous demarcation of themselves as authenticated native speakers from the outside White listening subject with r-lessness as a part of a very salient phonetic feature set doing this indexical work. In this study, r-lessness was still coded impressionistically (i.e. not indicated in the phonetic orthography

‘distanced’ from (e.g. the use of *I declare* or double modals in Gullah Geechee sharing association more so with SAE than with AAE, therefore distinguishing it although the feature is still shared regionally).

⁴² Established as perceptible r-fulness in MAE measured at an F3-F2 difference of 3.0 Bark (E. R. Thomas 2010).

where an underlying [r] is found in the English superstrate, e.g. *fu*h ‘for’); however, the previous research did allow for some observations in rhotic variation in a stylized catchphrase (see Section 6.2.3). The repeated instances of r-less tokens in stylized speech compared to r-ful (or variable) pronunciations in other styles of the performance register confirms some of the findings in McCullough 2022 and provides a robust site from which to further analyze r-lessness as part of the strategic resource for stylization in this context. Gullah Geechee prosody has also been documented and represented in the literature (Weldon 2018), especially with regards to its relationship to West African intonational patterns (Turner 1949), but again less so within a sociophonetic context as compared to neighboring linguistic varieties. In previous research I have observed that prosodic markedness, specifically falsetto, is a highly active component of style-shifting and stylization for some Gullah Geechee guides during tour performances (McCullough 2023). This focus on a particular mode of phonation during both stylized and non-stylized moments was helpful not only in that establishes an acoustic pitch benchmark for a speaker⁴³ in the current research, but this benchmark helped make it clearer when pitch-shifts were occurring in guides’ speech than by only using impressionistic perception. Although pitch-shifting coding was still performed largely impressionistically, having an established ‘footprint’ of where, when, and how a speaker was pitch-shifting using a specific type of phonation assisted in elucidating why stylization happens in the current research, with pitch-shifting as a salient sociophonetic variable. As the research found, pitch-shifting as being particularly meaningful in variation in moments of curation and spontaneous speech and allowed for measurements across different discursive

⁴³ A baseline average modal phonation of Alphonso Brown established at 162.06Hz, with a stylized falsetto reaching 653.83Hz.

environments to analyze where and how socially-situated variation occurs for participants, it is designated in the data transcripts using **bolded** text, while stylized moments themselves are highlighted using *italics*.

This project analyzes the data using three principle interlocking theoretical frameworks: *metatouristic stancetaking*, *performance register style-shifting*, and *curated enregistered commodification*. *Metatouristic stancetaking* draws from Nylund's 2017 and Jaffe's 2009 *metasociolinguistic stancetaking* and the touristic site, where differential knowledge of the expectations, norms, and genre of the tour experience are directly responsible for the interaction between tourists and tour guides, with the tour content acting as the stance object. In this framework, guides establish their stance to their identity and community through language practices that both reinforce this in-group belonging, authenticity, and authority, as well as the demarcation of belonging and reification of outsider status and community boundary of tourists. Within this touristic environment, guides utilize *performance register style-shifting*, which draws from Benor's 2010 and King's 2018 *ethnolinguistic repertoire* and Schilling's 1998 *performance style-shifting*. Guides perform various personae for the purposes of the tour, embodying these personae through stylized voicing of themselves and in various styles. These styles and their shifts are all represented by different bundles of linguistic and indexical features, all contained within the performance repertoire of guides and consciously manipulated in the indexation of identity and construction of personhood. The framework of *curated enregistered commodification* draws from Agha's 2005 and Johnstone's 2016 *enregisterment*, Heller, Pujolar, and Duchêne's 2014 *linguistic commodification* and Rosa and Flores's 2017 *raciolinguistic ideologies*. This framework

illustrates the production of specific expressions of commodifiable language that are constructed chiefly for outsider consumption, how this language becomes circulated by guides and representative of outsider stereotypes of the language, and the ideological effects of language regard by outsiders in intercommunity interactions, particularly in hegemonic and institutional settings. The combinatory frameworks can be summarized with the following statement: Within [frames], the $\begin{matrix} \text{theme} \\ \text{topic} \end{matrix}$ delivered through the

$\left[\begin{matrix} \text{style} \\ \text{voice} \\ \text{performance} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{(co-)constructs} \\ \text{reinforces} \\ \text{disrupts} \end{matrix} \right] \text{the } \left[\begin{matrix} \text{index} \\ \text{stance/footing} \\ \text{positioning} \end{matrix} \right] \text{ of } \left[\begin{matrix} \text{personhood} \\ \text{embodiment} \end{matrix} \right] \text{ in [interaction]}$
with outsider language $\left[\begin{matrix} \text{regard} \\ \text{attitudes} \\ \text{perceptions} \end{matrix} \right]$.

As a point of consideration involving analysis through the above-listed frameworks, the relationship between the creole continuum, style, and stylization should also be briefly clarified here. The purpose of this dissertation project is not to interrogate the deliberation around the presence of the creole continuum in Gullah Geechee, in particular the placement and trajectory of individual speakers and the language as a whole in relation to the theoretical poles of acrolect and basilect and the medial mesolect. This is not how the speakers in this study conceptualize their language, in fact themselves categorizing their language repertoires as largely binary in nature, visualizing discrete language entities of ‘English’ and ‘Gullah Geechee’. Therefore the ‘strength’ or presence of features during style-shifting and stylization will not be measured as basilectal or mesolectal per se, but rather instead representative of the drawing from the repertoire of Gullah Geechee features in the minds of speakers, markers in the case of style-shifting and stereotypes in the case of (self-)stylization. For Gullah Geechee, these features

included lexical (e.g. *buckra*, *unna*), morphosyntactic (e.g. complementizer *fuh*, stressed BIN, nominalized deictic *dem*), phonological (e.g. dental occlusion⁴⁴ *dem* ‘them’ or *tiefn* ‘thieving’, apheresis *spect* ‘expect’, vocalic markedness *ya* ‘here’) as well as discursive markers that signaled switches in voicing, constructed, or reported(/quotative/quoted) speech (e.g. pitch-shifting and/or falsetto). The shift or stylization of tour guide language is not marked by a singular salient feature, rather the co-occurrence of multiple, somewhat variable features sharing an indexical constellation. Discursive turns where bundles of these features were present indicated style shifts, and extended moments of this change in style, accompanied with an increased frequency and intensity of these features were indicative of stylization practices. That is not to say that the speech of guides does not contain basilectal or mesolectal features as part of their stylistic and performance repertoires; rather this framing of marked changes or shifts between languages, registers, and styles instead signals to listeners that guides are in command of, and will ‘switch’ between, English and Gullah Geechee and within Gullah Geechee produce varying sets of indexical features emblematic of the language. Because style and style-shifting are not always discrete entities, it should be noted that stylization falls under this same impressionistic and perceptual complexity. It would be irresponsible (and untrue) to say that it was always perfectly clear in this research where stylized moments were happening; instead, the focus of the analysis was on the consistency of identifying stylization through the observational framework and by looking for overt discursive markers of shifts, along with the bundling of linguistic features at a frequency or density that was significantly different than the surrounding speech. This echoes previous

⁴⁴ Also variously termed *fortition* and *neutralization* throughout the literature.

observations (Schilling-Estes 1998) about performance versus non-performance speech as not neatly divisible—the analyses made here are less about constraining styles to strict sets of features and instead observing both how styles flow across performances while performing multiple functions and how speakers themselves may be conceptualizing and designating discrete linguistic entities. Along those lines as well, note that while stylization is stylistically represented in the transcription excerpts of this dissertation through italics, this should not be taken to mean that stylization is always ‘switching’ explicitly in that moment; rather, it is where a perceptible threshold of stylization shift is occurring and being represented at the word level for the sake of clarity.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

This chapter introduces the ethnographic background of the dissertation and provides social, cultural, economic, and political context for the situation of Gullah Geechee tour guides in Charleston, South Carolina. This includes the nature of the tourism industry in Charleston, the reification of this industry in the form of the bureau and visitor's center, and the relationship between these entities and considerations of legitimation. I will also cover a description of each of the primary, secondary, and tertiary tour guides and companies who participated in this research, with particular attention paid to establishing some of their identity 'branding', language practices, and interactions with the tourism bureau as an institution.

4.1 CHARLESTON TOURISM BUREAU AND VISITOR'S CENTER

Charleston, South Carolina attracts an estimated 7.43 million visitors per year, generating \$3.43 billion dollars in labor earnings and a total economic impact of over \$9.7 billion, with 24% of Charleston County's economy being attributed to tourism (Guttentag and Patience 2019). An Office of Tourism analysis revealed that in 2018 and 2019 the majority of visitors are 50+ years, college educated, upper-middle class, and Caucasian, i.e. Charleston "continues to attract an affluent visitor group" (Guttentag and Patience 2019). This immediately tells us two things about the tourism industry in Charleston: it is a significant economic contributor to the municipality, region, and the state, and the

industry and those it benefits have a vested interest in not just maintaining a tourism culture but continuing to expand it. For this industry to continue to proliferate, it needs several components, including internal bureaucracy, visitor-facing infrastructure, and a labor system at a variety of class, skill, and demographic levels from which to support the institution. The tourist season in Charleston ‘officially’ (among tour guides) opens March 1st, peaking between July and August, with the biggest weekend draws being Memorial Day and Labor Day; an estimated 80% of tourists taking Black or Gullah Geechee-centric tours are family reunions, with the remaining 20% clientele being made up of church groups, individuals, or individual families (Shinault-Small 2020).

The Charleston Area Convention and Visitor’s Bureau (CACVB), also known as Explore Charleston, operates as the central infrastructure hub for the tourism industry in the city of Charleston and surrounding areas, with visitor centers located downtown, on Kiawah Island, and in Mount Pleasant and North Charleston. As the Charleston metropolitan area is situated in Charleston, Dorchester, and Berkeley counties, Explore Charleston serves as a “regional tourism marketing organization and represents ten different funding governments” for the area (“Charleston Area CVB - Official Site For Your Trip to Charleston” 2022). In the current information era, its most accessible component is its website (www.charlestoncvb.com), a glossy hub site that offers a wide variety of information, services, and media concerning Charleston tourism.

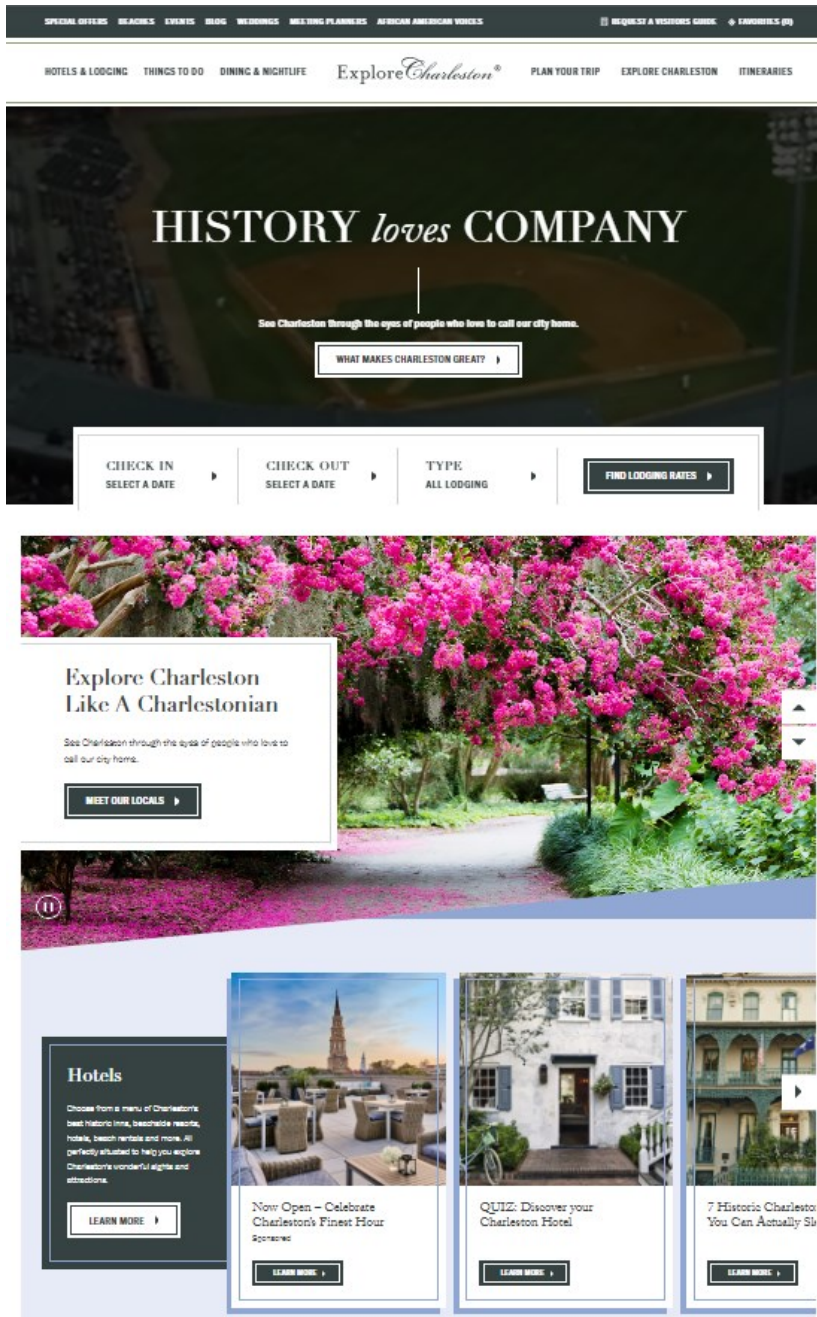


Figure 4.1 The “Explore Charleston” website homepage

There are a few features of this website that I feel are pertinent in our larger discussion of local tour guides and their interface with the larger tourism industry; as this website bills itself as the virtual counterpart to the physical visitor centers, it can be seen as a visualization of the image and message that the CACVB desires to have represented

and shape the expectations of potential tourists. The website hosts a multitude of blog posts and press releases to advertise events, openings, and amenities highlighted by the CACVB. One of these posts, “Charleston is Named #1 Small City in the U.S.”, is particularly important in terms of the city’s contemporary identity and its relationship with the tourism industry. Awarded in 2016 by the *Condé Nast Traveler* Readers’ Choice Awards, this title features heavily in Charleston’s advertising, tourist appeal, and in the branding and marketing of the CACVB and individual tour companies, along with another 2016 number one ranking by travel website *Travel+Leisure*. This accolade is still used in contemporary branding (“Ready to Visit the City Voted #1 in the United States by Readers of *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Travel+Leisure*?”) although Charleston now lists at number two in the *Condé Nast Traveler* rankings but has retained its number one title in the *Travel+Leisure* “Best Cities in the U.S.” ranking for ten years running (“The Best Cities in the U.S.: 2021 Readers’ Choice Awards” 2021; “The 15 Best Cities in the United States” 2022). This reflects the drive of much of Charleston’s tourism industry to maintain and bolster its image and reputation as a top-ranking city and tourist destination, which diffuses to the various businesses and amenities that vie for the opportunity to be listed on the website. As the website is often the first place outsiders, newcomers, or first-timers will engage with the tourism industry, it itself is a competitive marketplace for local business owners at a variety of amenity levels.

The website also offers statements on the CACVB itself (“Who We Are”) including a “Diversity, Equity & Inclusion Statement and Commitment” and a brief summary of Charleston’s history (“Historic Overview”). The Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) statement includes boilerplate statements found in many corporate

commitments to issues of sustainability and accessibility; however, of note here is the particular orientation of the CACVB to Charleston's relationship with racial disparities specifically. Take this segment from the page (emphasis mine):

Discrimination is an undeniable legacy of our painful *local* and national history. Racial disparities and implicit and explicit bias persist, and we acknowledge the toll that systemic racism has had on marginalized groups, *particularly Black communities*. As the region's destination marketing organization, Explore Charleston is steadfast in our desire to create a more informed, just and equitable community *as we share our region's complete and unvarnished story*. We have made strides over the past several years and are proud of our organization and industry's efforts to ensure tourism is an *inclusive, honest, and economically beneficial contributor* to the greater Charleston area and our state. ("Who We Are" 2022)

Of note here are the claims to locality, authenticity, and honesty stated by the CACVB, and how these are set up in direct opposition to claims by many local activists and members of the Black and Gullah Geechee community. A persistent theme to varying degrees across multiple tour guides interviews, tours, and tourist reviews is the reluctance or refusal of the Visitor's Bureau and Charleston itself to accept the legacy and impact of slavery in the city and its effects on historic and contemporary sociocultural and socioeconomic struggles. The extent to which the CACVB has "Whitewashed" history and imposes pressures on guides and companies to do the same is highly subjective to the individual; however, it should be noted that multiple Black tour guides center their 'brand' around the narrative of offering the 'real' or 'true' history of Charleston with regards to enslaved peoples and the Black experience. This can also be compared with reviews White-owned tour companies and White guides left by tourists who felt that the tour's content represented a kind of romanticized Southern apologia, designed to minimize discomfort of White tourists while perpetuating historical myths about slave conditions and realities in Charleston. Combined with claims made by Black tour guides

of being vastly underrepresented in the tourism industry (e.g. K Hill 2019 claiming 1% of the local guide population) and of Black and Gullah Geechee guides having their language policed by external pressures, we begin to see the dissonance between the ‘face’ of Explore Charleston with its actual and material impact. The seven objectives listed by the “Who We Are” page are also contentious when compared to the narratives and lived experiences of many non-White locals (emphasis mine):

1. Promote the region as an inviting, inclusive destination.
2. *Inspire a deeper understanding and appreciation of the contributions - from the 17th century to present day - of Africans and African Americans to Charleston's cultural heritage, including the pain and prosperity, heartbreak and hope.*
3. Enrich marketing efforts to connect most effectively and *authentically* with visitors.
4. *Support minority-led businesses that can benefit from tourism.*
5. *Build the cultural competence of internal and external audiences with the goal of cultural proficiency.*
6. Evaluate opportunities to recruit and develop individuals from diverse backgrounds for staff, leadership, and governance opportunities.
7. Lead workforce development programs to ensure the Greater Charleston community is more fully represented in the industry at all levels. (“Who We Are” 2022)

Numbers 4 and 5 make for interesting statements when faced with the reality of current conversations of cultural appropriation and ‘blackfishing’ (i.e. the intentional outward appearance a business is Black-owned and operated for purposes of ‘authenticity’, ‘locality’ and cultural exoticization but actually owned by non-Black individuals) happening in Charleston with regards to multiple local businesses, including restaurants, retail, and tour companies (Associated Press 2020). However, number 2 can be interpolated even on the Explore Charleston website itself; the “Historic Overview” page, at around 1300 words, contains one mention of the word ‘slave’ and no mentions of ‘Black’, ‘African’, or ‘African American’. Instead, the historic overview draws a line from the original settlement of the area to contemporary preserved Charleston, with

emphasis placed on its historical religious tolerance, plantation harvests (“Prosperity from an agrarian society was mixed with great interest in cultural affairs”), number of Civil War troops, casualties, and shots fired, and the role of natural disasters in shaping the city (“A Historic Overview of Charleston, SC” 2022).

The Explore Charleston website contains an “African American Voices” section that takes visitors to a self-contained *Voices: Stories of Change, Charleston, SC* website (africanamericancharleston.com) and does highlight Black and Gullah Geechee culture and history in Charleston. This website contains a robust timeline of Black history in Charleston, as well as several ‘themes’ visitors can search by (e.g. “African & Gullah Roots”, “Civil Rights”, “Economics of Slavery”), which then take them to one of the thirteen articles written specifically for the *Voices* website (e.g. “The Barbados Connection”, “Gullah Foodways & Traditions”). Other site options take viewers back to the main CACVB website in order to plan visits, itineraries, or view main site CACVB blog posts. These 4 CACVB blog posts highlight sites of Black culture around Charleston (“11 Historic African American Sites to Visit in Charleston”, “14 Spots to Experience Gullah Culture in Charleston”), offer guidance on how to engage with Gullah Geechee culture while visiting (“10 Ways to Experience Gullah Culture in Charleston”), or offer a rudimentary introduction to Gullah Geechee culture (“Guide to Gullah”). Interestingly, only two tour guides/companies are mentioned here: Al Miller’s Sites and Insights and Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours, with the “Guide to Gullah” article largely acting as an advertisement for Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tour (along with his backstory and his book) alone (“Guide to Gullah” 2017). Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours is also the only tour suggested in the 3-day Black history of “Soul of the City” itinerary which includes

multiple restaurants, galleries, and plantations. However, all of the major Black and/or Gullah Geechee tour guides/companies⁴⁵ can be found under the “African American/Multi-Cultural Tours” section of the website, along with the Old South Carriage Co., Avery Research Center for African-American History and Culture, Middleton Place, and Drayton Hall. This indicates a continuing theme found throughout this research of a limited commodifiable niche, where guides directly benefit from exposure through tourism centers and visitor bureaus but are often selected as those who ‘best’ represent the image and culture of a given area.

Although outside the immediate scope of this research, I do want to include a brief note about other major tourism websites and how these relate to the marketing and branding of the Charleston tour guide participants. Charleston.com, which is a competing resource hub site owned and operated by The City Site, LLC in Charleston, contains much of the same information as the Explore Charleston website; although as it is not affiliated to the CACVB, it does operate as a less ‘glossy’ site concerned with Charleston’s ‘number one’ status. While the site offers a similarly wide variety of businesses and amenities, it should be noted that out of the 19 tours it advertises, the only Black/Gullah Geechee tour listed is Godfrey K Hill’s Gullah Geechee Tours (“Tours and Cruises | Business Listings” 2020). The South Carolina official tourism website, *Discover South Carolina* (discoversouthcarolina.com) offers a more holistic view of Black and Gullah Geechee cultural sites, amenities, and experiences in the state, where Charleston features heavily. The website contains dedicated sections for Black history and includes

⁴⁵ Charleston African American Tour (Nate Hutchinson), Frankly Charleston BHT (Frank Williams), Gullah Geechee Tours (Godfrey K Hill), Gullah Tours (Alphonso Brown), and Sites & Insights Tours (Al Miller).

articles on Gullah Geechee heritage (“Discover the Gullah Culture”, “Gullah Culture: Then & Now”) and cuisine (“A History of Gullah Cuisine”, “Southern, Lowcountry, Gullah or Soul—What’s the Difference Between These SC Cooking Styles?”). It also advertises a 2-day Lowcountry Gullah Heritage Tour with Emory Campbell as the narrator/tour guide, and although the tour travels throughout the Lowcountry including Hilton Head, Beaufort, St. Helena Island, and Charleston and stops at multiple museums, galleries, historical sites, and restaurants, the only mention of other tours are Hilton Head’s Gullah Heritage Trails Tours and Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours (“Lowcountry Gullah Heritage Tour” 2022).

Although it is no longer mandatory for tour guides in Charleston to undergo the certification process and become a licensed tour guide due to the case finding mandatory licensing as a violation of the First Amendment (*Billups v. City of Charleston* 2018), there has been a strong pushback against this ruling within the tourism industry by many established companies. Originally, the city code required the obtainment of a tour guide license through the passing of both a written and oral exam. The two-hour written exam’s 200 questions are taken from the *Tour Guide Training Manual*, a 490-page book the city has produced and sells for \$45 (“Tour Guide Information | Charleston, SC - Official Website” 2022). After passing the exam with a score of 80%⁴⁶ or higher, the guide then must pass an oral exam where they are graded based on “verbal descriptions and storytelling about randomly selected sites around Charleston”. For temporary licenses, a separate written exam is administered, and city code required “the script the new guide

⁴⁶ The passing score was lowered to 70% and the oral component of the exam was dropped after the case was won and certification became voluntary (“Tour Guide Information | Charleston, SC - Official Website” 2022).

plans to use, so it can be ‘approved for accuracy’” (Wimer 2022). This process was litigated as violating First Amendment rights in *Billups vs. City of Charleston* by three plaintiffs who did not achieve the 80% passing score on their examination. The legal nonprofit Institute for Justice (IFJ) managed the case, and on their website provides the background of both the case and the three plaintiffs. IFJ presents the situations of the plaintiffs as being one where the examination (and by proxy the bureau) requires an idiosyncratic yet comprehensive yet myopic view of Charleston history, including “a question about the lead singer of the 90s band Hootie and the Blowfish” and “offensively light on important topics like slavery and the African-American experience in Charleston” (Wimer 2022). This is in direct opposition to the depiction of the plaintiffs by local institutions as “a few local residents who had taken and flunked Charleston’s tour guide test” (Behre 2020) and found the test “overly burdensome” (E. Williams 2018), where the test is one that just requires “a baseline level of knowledge about the city’s history” (Behre 2020). IFJ contended that while licensing through standardized test taking in Charleston is purportedly “to provide accurate, factual, and updated information to its visitors and residents” (Wimer 2022), certification does not guarantee the quality of tourist experiences and a single test implies that tour guide knowledge needs to be specifically comprehensive without regard to the scope of the tour type or experience. This also positions an interesting site of tension when it comes to tour guide agency regarding historical narratives: IFJ maintains that temporary licensed guides have their scripts highly regulated while licensed guides have little to no oversight⁴⁷ on what is said ‘factually’ during their tours (Wimer 2022); the institutional opposition *also* states

⁴⁷ This non-regulation of licensed tour guide narratives and tourist reactions will be discussed in a later chapter.

“licensed tour guides have always been able to say what they want...only regulating who could profit from giving tours on the city’s streets” but also “maintain a standard” (Behre 2020). Many tour guides, the tourism bureau, and other institutions (e.g. the city paper *The Post and Courier*) viewed the loss as an “attack” on Charleston’s “enlightened” local tour guides and its “carefully crafted visitor experience”, with individuals representing these entities defending the certification requirements as “giv[ing] our guests the feeling of trust, knowing that the knowledge this person is sharing is accurate”⁴⁸ (Behre 2020; E. Williams 2018). This court ruling has led to the reactionary and privatized formation of the ‘Palmetto Guild’ in 2019 that only accepts certified guides and businesses that only hire certified guides in order to highlight the ‘quality’ differences between certified and uncertified guides (E. Williams 2018). The guild is the subsidiary of the Charleston Tours Association (CTA), itself created in 1997 as an “association of professionals who are exceedingly knowledgeable...and committed to sharing the authentic history of Charleston” (Charleston Tours Association 2022). The CTA website (<https://tourcharleston.org>) hosts the association and guild’s mission statement, member lists, and tour guide and company listings. Certified guides and/or companies may join the guild with memberships ranging from \$25 to \$250 dollars, with higher-ranking memberships mostly allowing for more robust listing options on the CTA website (e.g. the ‘Corporate Gold’ level providing: email/phone listing, weblink, logo, up to ten category listings, 50 word description, and three pictures). The Palmetto Guild currently stands at around 195 members, including all but two⁴⁹ of the Gullah Geechee/Black tour

⁴⁸ “After all, barbers in South Carolina must be licensed, and some could argue a hairstyle is a form of speech, or at least expression.”

⁴⁹ Frankly Charleston BHT (Franklin Williams) and Gullah Gullah Tours (Godfrey K Hill).

guides participating in this current study (Charleston Tours Association 2022). The guild is heavily endorsed by the CACVB, being featured in the official Charleston's visitor guides and on the Explore Charleston website. On the website, the Palmetto Guild is one of the three services listed under 'Visitor Services' and 'Reservation Services', with the website imploring tourists to "please look for those tour companies that are members of the Palmetto Guild Association to ensure you are exploring with a certified tour guide" and reminding them to "tour with the experts" ("Palmetto Guild - Charleston's Certified Tour Guides - Charleston Area CVB" 2022). The guild seems to be the logical extension of neoliberal forces within in the tourism industry—an aggressive privatization and monetization of services that recreate the earlier city code regulations through coalitions of privately-owned businesses with government entities, simultaneously emphasizing the voluntary nature of certification while also solely endorsing licensed tour operations. There is also a visual component to the branding and visibility of the guild, as its logo is distributed to members for use on their vehicles, marketing materials, and websites, with signs for the group also visibly posted in the Charleston visitor centers. The Visitor's Center largely caters to certified tour companies now part of the Palmetto Guild; however, some guides who run their tours from the center (e.g. Godfrey KHill) actively eschew this certification and in fact take pride in remaining outside of this system, citing Whitewashed historical narratives, elitism, and prejudiced hiring practices as reasons to not become legitimated in this particular way. This positions the Visitor's Center as a physical and socioeconomic marketplace of many tensions surrounding legitimation and recognition in the local tourism industry, as individual players have individual orientations to what produces 'quality' tours along historical and cultural lines, and how

guides respond to industry and tourist expectations when commodifying their experiences, narratives and knowledge.

The visitor-facing entity of the CACVB is the Charleston Visitor Reception and Transportation Center (CVRTC), called the Visitor's Center for short. Opened to the public in 1991, the Visitor's Center ("Visitor Center | Charleston, SC - Official Website" 2022) is often the first stop on many a tourist's trip in Charleston, being located on Meeting Street on the edge of downtown, providing a stop from the interstate where visitors can collect themselves and information concerning the city before they plunge into the area proper. In a building from 1856 that was the old Deans Warehouse and part of a National Historic Landmark District along with the William Aiken House and Associated Railroad Structures, the Visitor's Center not only acts as a structural ambassador for incoming tourists, it also symbolically represents the larger aesthetic, drive, and ideologies surrounding the CACVB's economic and cultural mission. The center offers a few small exhibits about Charleston's history and a gift shop, but its main purpose is to provide information about local businesses and facilitate tourist experiences through ticket sales to museums, tours, plantations, and other sites, guiding them towards opportunities that best represent the brand of tourism Charleston has to offer and who have partnered with or been endorsed by the CACVB, including the Palmetto Guild. On most days one can also find a few women selling and sewing sweetgrass baskets in the middle of the Visitor's Center, giving an air of regionalized authenticity to the space even as visitors enter the intertouristic space. As with many curated spaces 'legitimized' by the city for sweetgrass basket-makers to sell their wares (e.g. the Charleston City Market), it can be difficult for vendors to claim or maintain 'rights' to this highly visible but limited

space; like the Market, the center also visibly and actively discourages the buying of sweetgrass roses, often sold by young Black or Gullah Geechee men in the surrounding area⁵⁰. The Visitor's Center acts a literal hub with many of the officially-sanctioned tour guides and companies operating their buses, carriages, or beginning their walking tours at the center; it is a common sight to see lines of buses parked under the covered awning outside the center⁵¹ throughout the day.

4.2 GULLAH TOURS

Gullah Tours (GT) is owned and operated by Alphonso Brown (AB), who also serves as its only guide. Brown, (~70), has been operating tours for over 20 years, and is from the small township of Rantowles, SC, located about 12 miles from Charleston. Brown is a licensed tour guide and part of the Palmetto Guild, and is by far the most well-known, well-established, and well-advertised Gullah Geechee-centric tour guide in Charleston. He is also the author of the supplementary text *A Gullah Guide to Charleston*, which documents locations that he goes over on his tours, including most entries in both Mainstream American English (MAE) and Gullah Geechee of his own orthographic representative style.

Unlike many of the other guides who offer a variety of types, themes, or tour 'experiences', GT is characterized by its two-hour tour in a 25-passenger, air-conditioned bus, where reservations are required (by Brown's personal cellphone number, the tour

⁵⁰ There are competing given motivations for this reaction: 1) the men are not 'authentically' Gullah Geechee and should not be making/selling the roses, 2) sweetgrass products and production is highly regulated in Charleston through the curating of 'appropriate' spaces, 3) it presents a liability to tourists as peddlers may be 'aggressive' (Przetak 2021).

⁵¹ This has also created some interesting interactions surrounding similarly named tour companies (e.g. Gullah Tours and Gullah Gullah/Gullah Geechee tours) and the events that unfold should a tourist end up on the wrong bus/van and on the wrong tour.

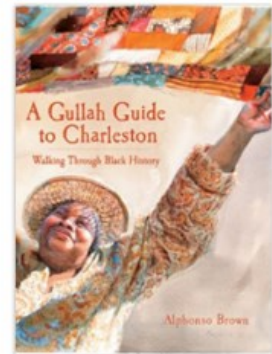
company number, or an online reservation form). Tour prices are set at \$25. GT does offer private step-on tours and group bookings on a charter bus for \$625; however, these are far less common than its daily public tours. Tours are offered at 11am and 1pm Monday through Saturday, year-round. GT's website also offers additional on-tour storytelling amenities: "Gullah storytelling is available upon request. The true stories focus on Gullah Language, culture, and music. They are entertaining in nature, with bits of humor, yet remain sincere and accurate in their history and portrayal of the Gullah people" (A. Brown 2022b). The website also lists pages with information about many of its 'Sites Visited', which also include topics GT details during the tour, giving an overview of the actual content of the tour itself: Black Slave Owner, Catfish Row, Denmark Vesey's [home], Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Hexes/Fixes/Roots, Jones Hotel, Old Slave Mart, Philip Simmons Blacksmith, Slave Quarters, Sweetgrass Market, the Patty Wagon, The Underground Railroad, The Whipping House (A. Brown 2022b). I do want to draw attention to the Gullah Geechee educational resources on the GT website, where a 'Gullah' tab has pages labeled 'Gullah language', 'Gullah words', 'Hear and read Gullah' and 'Did you know that...'.



The Gullah Language

Gullah is an English-based, creolized language that naturally evolved from the unique circumstances of, and was spoken by, the slaves in South Carolina and Georgia. It is not written language. It is sometimes referred to as the patois of the Lowcountry. Along with many of the African and English words and expressions, it also contains some other foreign languages or whatever could be picked up, depending on the nationality of the slave owner. The word Gullah is believed to be a mispronunciation of the African word Gora or Gola, which were names of tribes living in Sierra Leone, West Africa. The Via people, or Gala, or Gallinas are believed to be the African connection for the Gullah people in the Sea Islands.

Enrich your Gullah Tour experience by purchasing **A Gullah Guide to Charleston** before your tour. Written by your tour guide, **Alphonso Brown**



Click on Image above to review **Alphonso Brown's Book**

Figure 4.2 Gullah Language section from Gullah Tours website

GT describes the Gullah Geechee as the “patois of the Lowcountry” and “not a written language”, and in its ‘Gullah words’ section includes “Gullah Tours – Charleston, SC – Abridged Gullah Dictionary: A Glossary of Gullah Words taken from *The Black Border* by Ambrose E. Gonzales, and the Vocabulary of Alphonso Brown⁵²” (A. Brown

⁵² While Ambrose Gonzales is credited as one of the first ‘documentarians’ of Gullah Geechee, later perspectives have recognized that his exoticizing and racialized depictions of the language, while helpful for some identification of Gullah Geechee features, are also projections of racial stereotypes of the era (Mille 2012).

2022a). This dictionary contains over a thousand translation entries, including substrate lexical terms (*hunnuh* ‘you’), superstratal terms with Gullah Geechee phonology (*hice* ‘hoist’), or eye dialect terms with phonetic orthographic representations (*iz* ‘is’; *b’long* ‘belong’; *b’kause* ‘because’)⁵³. On the ‘Hear and Read Gullah’ page, GT has Gullah Geechee texts of the Lord’s Prayer, the Twenty Third Psalm, and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a Dream Speech” all translated by Alphonso Brown, with audio of the Biblical excerpts also provided by Brown.

4.3 SITES AND INSIGHTS TOURS

Sites and Insights Tours, Inc. (SIT) is owned and operated by Al Miller (AM), “Certified Tour Guide, Lecturer, Author, Community Historian, & Realtor with Pathway Real Estate Group, LLC” (Miller 2022), who also serves as its only guide. Miller (~60) has over 34 years of tour guide experience, and is from Mullins, SC. Miller is a licensed tour guide and part of the Palmetto Guild and advertises his tours as having an “emphasis on African American history and culture” that offer a “retelling of the people & events that have shaped a modern city is infused with a unique blend of music, history, & storytelling” with private tours, group tours, and lectures available. He is also the author of the supplementary text *Tourists Can Say the Darndest Things!: Exploring Historic Charleston, South Carolina*, which documents tourist remarks, sections of his tour experiences, and personal reflections of the 2015 Mother Emanuel shooting, as he is deeply involved with the congregation and community of the church.

SIT offer a variety of tour experiences, with 5 tour options⁵⁴ in a 25-passenger, air-

⁵³ Pronunciation varies here for Brown between a fully-realized vowel and a reduced (or deleted) one.

⁵⁴ The following tours are offered: ‘1 Hr. Charleston Black History, Gullah Geechee & Porgy & Bess Tour’, ‘2 Hr. Charleston Black History, Gullah Geechee & Porgy & Bess Tour’, ‘2.5 Hr. Charleston Black

conditioned bus, where reservations are required (by Miller's personal cellphone number, the tour company number, or an online ticket-buying form where Miller follows up with time and date using provided customer contact information). Like GT, tours are usually offered at 11am and 1pm Monday through Saturday, year-round; however, because SIT provides more specific types of tours, they may run modified times based on how many tourists have signed up for a particular tour. The '1 Hr. Charleston Black History' tour costs \$20 and offers the following main points:

Mother Emanuel AME Church, Denmark Vesey Slave Insurrection Plot, The East Side, Aiken-Rhett House, Gullah Geechee Culture, Free Blacks, Catfish Row, Porgy & Bess, Civil War, Slave Auction Sites, Philip Simmons Ironwork, The Battery, Old City Jail, Avery School and more. This tour stops at Mother Emanuel Church, Philip Simmons Statue, [and] The Battery (Miller 2022).

The '2 Hr. Charleston Black History' tour costs \$25 and "includes all sites and insights from the one-hour tour plus: Site of the Hanging Tree, The West Side, Burke High School, Hampton Park, Wagener Terrace Neighborhood, [and the] Lowndes Grove Plantation House" (Miller 2022). The '2 Hr. Sea Island Tour' costs \$40 and offers the following experience:

38 miles round trip departing Visitor Center. See and hear about James and Johns Island History, Gullah Geechee Culture, Gullah Geechee communities, McLeod Plantation, Massachusetts 54th Regiment, Stono River Slave Rebellion, Seashore Farmers' Lodge, Porgy's Memorial at Burn Churchyard Cemetery (James Island Presbyterian Church), Angel Oak Tree and more. Stops are made at Angel Oak Tree, Johns Island; James Island Presbyterian Church and Seashore Farmers' Lodge in Sol Legare, James Island, and much more (Miller 2022).

The '2.5 Hr. City/Island Tour' costs \$40 and is a "combination City/Island Tour offer[ing] a dual experience: a condensed tour of Charleston and James and Johns

History, Gullah Geechee and Porgy & Bess, Sea Island Tour (City/ Island Tour)', '2 Hr. Sea Island Tour (James & Johns Island)', and the '2 Hr. Charleston Amen Church Tour'.

Islands, covering over 38 miles roundtrip. This tour covers most of the City of Charleston and Island Sites listed except Wagener Terrace Neighborhood, Hampton Park, Lowndes Grove Plantation House and Seashore Farmers' Lodge” (Miller 2022). The final tour offered is the ‘2 Hr. Amen Church Tour’, costing \$25 and offering an “explor[ation of] history & stories of Charleston's Black & White Houses of Worship from slavery to the present which declared Charleston as The Holy City. Your guide will entertain you with Hymns, Spirituals and Gospel. After this experience, who knows, you might say, ‘Amen!’ Tour stops at some sites” (Miller 2022).

1 1-HOUR CHARLESTON BLACK HISTORY, GULLAH GEECHEE AND PORGY & BESS TOUR
See and Hear: Mother Emanuel AME Church, Denmark Vesey Slave Insurrection Plot, The East Side, Aiken-Rhett House, Gullah Geechee Culture, Free Blacks, Catfish Row, Porgy & Bess, Civil War, Slave Auction Sites, Philip Simmons Ironwork, The Battery, Old City Jail, Avery School and more. This tour stops at Mother Emanuel Church, Philip Simmons Statue, and The Battery.

2 2-HOUR CHARLESTON BLACK HISTORY, GULLAH GEECHEE, PORGY & BESS TOUR
(This tour covers more of Charleston Historic peninsula than most tours)
See and Hear: This tour includes all sites and insights from the 1-Hour tour plus: Site of Hanging Tree, The West Side, Burke High School, Hampton Park, Wagener Terrace Neighborhood, Lowndes Grove Plantation House and more. This tour includes all stops from the 1-Hour tour, and Hampton Park.

3 2-HOUR SEA ISLAND GULLAH GEECHEE, BLACK HISTORY AND PORGY & BESS TOUR OF JAMES & JOHNS ISLANDS
(This tour covers over 30 miles round trip departing Visitor Center)
See and Hear: Gullah Geechee Culture & Communities, McLeod Plantation, Massachussetts 54th Regiment, Stono River Slave Rebellion, Seashore Farmers' Lodge, Porgy's Memorial at Burn Churchyard Cemetery (James Island Presbyterian Church), Angel Oak Tree and more. Stops are made at Angel Oak Tree, Johns Island; James Island Presbyterian Church and Seashore Farmers' Lodge in Sol Legare, James Island.

4 2 ½ HOUR CHARLESTON BLACK HISTORY, GULLAH GEECHEE, PORGY & BESS AND SEA ISLAND TOURS
(This popular combination City/Island Tour offers a dual experience, a condensed tour of Charleston and James & Johns Islands, and covers over 30 miles round trip departing Visitor Center).
See and Hear: This tour covers most of the City of Charleston and Island Sites except Wagener Terrace Neighborhood, Hampton Park, Lowndes Grove Plantation House and Seashore Farmers' Lodge.

5 2-HOUR CHARLESTON AMEN CHURCH TOUR
See and Hear: Explore history & stories of Charleston's Black & White Houses of Worship from slavery to the present which declared Charleston as The Holy City. Your guide will entertain you with Hymns, Spirituals and Gospel. After this experience, who knows, you might say, 'Amen!' Tour stops at some sites.

Images and Labels:
MOTHER EMANUEL AME CHURCH
PHILIP SIMMONS STATUE
MARKER AT HAMPTON PARK
BURKE HIGH SCHOOL
CHURCHES OF CHARLESTON
PAINTING BY JOHN W. JONES (WATCHING THE GULLS)
MASSACHUSETTS 54TH REGIMENT
FREE BLACK: RICHARD HOLLOWAY
MILES BREWTON HOUSE
CATFISH ROW

Figure 4.3 Tour options and descriptions from Sites and Insights Tours, Inc.’s brochure

An enduring theme of SIT that is saliently present is the emphasis on both musical and religious aspects and performances of much of the tours offered. Alphonso Brown and Al Miller both have an impressive musical background that is foregrounded in their biographical sections on their websites, including a shared membership in the Choraliers Music Club as well as holding advanced degrees in Music (by Brown) and in Speech-Dramatic Arts (by Miller). These biographical sections also provide their religious affiliation, background, and membership, again reflecting the importance of religion and music in establishing both guides' placement in the community and authority to share information concerning these topics during tours. Churches as critical historical and cultural sites for the Gullah Geechee community feature prominently in tours offered by both companies; particularly for SIT the branding of multiple tours is centered around music (e.g. 'Porgy & Bess tours'), religion (e.g. 'Amen Church Tour'), or an intertwining of both, with the Amen tour explicitly advertising 'Houses of Worship' and an experience of "Hymns, Spirituals, and Gospel". While GT provides a considerable amount of the same historical and narrative context surrounding religious sites, gospels, spirituals, and *Porgy & Bess*, SIT deviates from this practice somewhat by incorporating moments of musicality during the tour itself.

4.4 GULLAH GEECHEE TOURS

Gullah Geechee Tours of Charleston (GGT), also known as Gullah Gullah Tours (gullahgullah.tours), Gullah Gullah Africa Black History Tours of Charleston SC (gullahgeecheeafrica.com), and Gullah Geechee Africa Tours (gullahgeecheetours.com) is owned and operated by Godfrey K Hill (GKH), "a vetted historian and a licensed

certified⁵⁵ tour guide with the city of Charleston” (KHill 2022), who also serves as its only guide. KHill (~40) is from South River, New Jersey; however, was raised in Ashleyville⁵⁶, South Carolina. KHill advertises himself as being uniquely authentic from other tour guides as he is “Charleston Gullah-bred and raised in the deep Charleston Rooted Gullah/Geechee Heritage and Spirit” and emphasizes this authority⁵⁷ as “there is no other Charleston Gullah/Geechee licensed certified tour guide in the world” (KHill 2022). He is also the author of the supplementary text *GULLAH GEECHIE: The Blood Root to Charleston's Slave Trade and Redemption (Rev 22)* and a companion DVD documentary *Gullah Geechee Unchained: Charleston Tourism Uncertified*, both of which expand the narrative of his tour experience, with particular attention paid to “monuments and artifacts that are known to hide sacred secrets right in front of your eyes” (KHill 2020b). The descriptor for the text also explicitly draws attention the licensing controversy in Charleston: “Charleston has lost its unconstitutional, illegal certification requirements and now is God’s Perfect Time for His promise of redemption” (KHill 2022) and one of the litigants from the original IFJ case, Kimberly Billups, is also listed as a collaborator on the ‘Charleston Tourism Uncertified’ DVD. It is clear that concepts are licensing, certification, authenticity and institutional authority are intimately intertwined with GGT’s touristic narrative and scope.

⁵⁵ Although Godfrey states this on his website, during his tours he explicitly denies this licensed/certified status, as he positions himself in direct opposition to much of the established institutional narrative. This will be further detailed in section 5.1.1.

⁵⁶ More contemporarily known as West Ashley, a subdivision of Charleston across the Ashley River, approximately four miles outside of downtown.

⁵⁷ “I am the only Native Charleston Gullah historian, researcher, and curator” (KHill 2022).

GGT offer a variety of tour experiences, with 8 tour options⁵⁸ in a Mercedes Benz Chariot, where reservations are required (by an online reservation form or tour company number). Like GT and SIT, tours are usually offered at 11am and 1pm Monday through Saturday, year-round; however, GGT also offers tours on Sundays. As of this writing, the only tour with online availability is the ‘Gullah Geechee Tour with Godfrey’, by far the most popular and the flagship tour of GGT. The ‘Gullah Geechee Tour with Godfrey’ last for 1 hour, costs \$49.95, and offers the following experience:

On this tour, we’ll take an unflinching look at the history of the Gullah, as well as what makes their culture and language so fascinating!

Here are some the different aspects of the Gullah that we will explore:

- Who are they really?
- Why are they so peculiar?
- Where does their language originate?
- Where do the Gullah people come from?
- What is their connection to the slave trade?
- What does Gullah really mean?
- What is the difference between Gullah and Geechee? (KHill 2022)

The ‘Geechee Gullah Walking Tour’ lasts one hour, costs \$49.95 (\$40 if purchased from the Visitor’s Center), and offers the following sites: “Hanging trees, Slave auction blocks, Largest slave highway in the world, Largest slave cemetery in the world, Pineapple water fountain, Barracoons, Churches, Underground dungeons & tunnels, Statue of Lucifer/Lucy, Key locations where spirits, ghosts & demons dwell” (KHill 2022). Unlike almost all of the other tours, this tour meets at the Charleston Battery, in view of Fort Sumter, and ends at Waterfront Park. The ‘Gullah After Dark

⁵⁸ The following tours are offered: ‘Tour with Godfrey’, ‘Gullah Geechee Walking Tour’, ‘After Dark with Godfrey’, ‘Biblical and Historical Tour’, ‘Thy Kingdom Comes on Earth Tour’, ‘(Talking) Geechee Gullah Walking Tour’, ‘From Negroes back to Hebrews to Gullah & Geechee’, and ‘Judah’s Journey, The Walking Tour To Cross Over the Big River’.

with Godfrey’ tour costs \$49.95 and lists the same experience as the ‘Gullah Geechee Tour with Godfrey’, but additionally includes an ‘Ancient Gullah Spiritual Song & Chant’. The ‘Biblical and Historical City of Charleston Tour’ lasts one hour, costs \$49.95 and has the main purpose of joining “historical facts of the Holy City with biblical truths of the Holy Bible” and offering the following features: “The Hanging Tree of the Martyred (Acts 5:30), Denmark Vessey [sic] and His Band of Brothers, Dr. Buzzard the Legend, The Truth about the Gullah People, The Slave Market (Deuteronomy 28:68), And much more!” (KHill 2022). The ‘Thy Kingdom Comes on Earth Tour’ lasts 1 hour, costs \$45, and provides the following explanation:

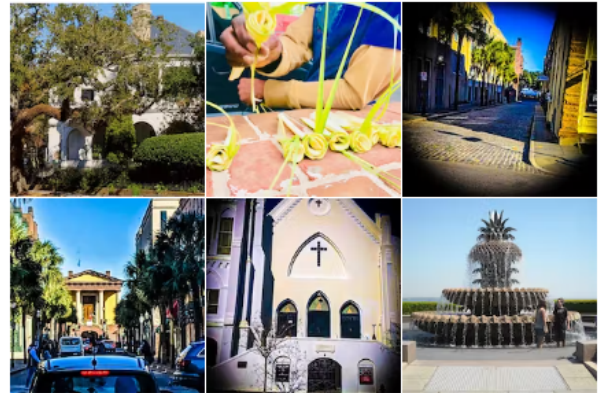
The end of the World Tour. When one kingdom ends the next Kingdom begins. Rising up from the dust of the ground are the hidden Gullah GeeChee People of strange speech. They are know for speaking an ancient language most people are unfamiliar with... The shocking destruction brought to America in the year of 2020 marks the Beginning to a New World of Redemption. (Gullah is the ancient Hebrew word for Redemption.) (KHill 2022).

Another tour offered is the ‘Talking Geechee Gullah Walking Tour’, costing \$49.95 and focuses on the history of Mother Emmanuel Church, its founders, and its role in the Charleston 9 shooting, including the following sites: “The Historical Mother Emmanuel Church, Slave hanging chains, The best friend train, William Aiken Rhett Slave Mansion, The Kings highway, Little Jerusalem the Jewish district, Custom made slave auction blocks, Slave kitchen houses, *First private train depot in America” (KHill 2022). Although six tours are offered, most of the content is very similar in nature, deviating mostly by modality (walking versus riding) or temporality (daytime versus nighttime) and use the baseline flagship tour as the ‘template’ on which the other tours are modeled.

About Us

Gullah Geechee Tours offers a one-of-a-kind experience for locals, tourists, and anyone interested in true slave history. There is no other tour offered in the city of Charleston that comes close to giving such a unique and genuine experience about the city's history. Our tour is the most talked about tour in the city and it's the only tour that gives the most accurate understanding of the world-famous slave trade which was championed right here in the Holy City of Charleston, SC. Charleston tourism does not talk about its hugely successful slave trade although our city was #1 in America for slavery.

Your certified tour guide Godfrey Gullah Jac is the only Charleston Gullah historian. He is a full-blooded Gullah Geechee. Godfrey Gullah Jac speaks in great detail about African American history and slave history right here in Charleston, SC. Come have a look and take a listen to an ancient history about the mysterious people descending from way across da water. The Gullah Geechee people broke the chains of slavery into freedom. Come and hear our true history.



Godfrey's new book & DVD now available for purchase.

Figure 4.4 'About Us' section from the Gullah Geechee Tours website

It should be noted that Gullah Geechee Tours online presence is robust and complicated. Although Gullah Geechee Tours is the main brand of the tour company, incorporating its main website, YouTube channel, and social media pages, it also exists as 'Gullah Gullah Tours' with a corresponding website (gullahgullah.tours) and its own separate Facebook page, as well as allowing site visitors to book tours (which it says operates daily from 9am-8pm or 9am-5pm depending on the page and offers walking

tours). This booking system links to the same portal as the Gullah Geechee Tours website, and the Gullah Gullah Tours website also links to the Gullah Geechee Tours YouTube channel. The Gullah Gullah Tours website also contains a biography for Godfrey, a video and image gallery, and a blog page with 10 posts, including titles such as “Secret Gullah Geechee symbols”, “Charleston black tour operator arrested for taking pictures on the slave auction market” and “Bachelorette party having Real Slave Talk In Charleston the Holy City”. The official GGT YouTube channel has over 850 videos, with all but around 15 having been uploaded in the past year (KHill 2017); most of the videos are very short, acting as promos for the various tours offered by GGT, but also include vlog-type videos providing Godfrey’s views on the tourism industry (“Charleston Tourism is only a secret code name Slave History. GODFREY Gullah JAC”), other local tour guides, (“White tour guide caught telling lies about slave auction blocks in Charleston to tourist customers”) and his perspective on the relationship between established historical narratives and counternarratives (“Charleston used a sellout African American political fool to apologize for slavery.Charleston Gullah”). Godfrey also has a personal website, ‘Gullah Jac’ (gullahjac.com), where he links to his book, events and appearances, and tours; however, this website seems to have only been active in 2020. This website also contains a blog with only three entries, all from April 2020: “Godfrey KHill The Gullah Man of Charleston”, “14 Super Gullah Geechie Ways to live through Quarantine”, and “The blood type to a true Gullah Geechie Man”. This last post reveals some more of KHill’s perspective surrounding official Charleston tourist industry narrative and certification, stating “Charleston went as far as to create a tour guide manual that is a certified book of Charleston historically documented lies the holy city

still protects today even after it has been ruled unconstitutional and a violation of the 1st amendment rights” (KHill 2020c), again referencing the IFJ litigation. It becomes clear that there is an established counterinstitutional counternarrative that Godfrey, and by extension GGT, positions himself as, using both liturgical allegory and indications of White supremacy (emphasis mine):

[F]ormer Mayor Joe Riley, argued requiring tour guides to be licensed was not about controlling the free speech of the Blacks of Charleston by *controlling their real history*, but more about regulating business to protect the slave history that Charleston’s slave owners created...*he did not want to risk harming Charleston’s lucrative tourism industry for allowing the possibility of negative customer experiences*. The history created by the slave-trading families of Charleston is the history Charleston protects by insuring their guides *memorize and regurgitate the White history* created and compiled together in the Charleston tour guide manual. The Charleston tour guide manual is also known as the real Charleston bible of the Holy City, but it is no Bible at all but a book of *reconstructed lies* written in order to camouflage the Black truth about Charleston’s most sacred historical secrets...the Charleston tour guide manual is nothing more than foolishness to God. (KHill 2020c)

All three of the tour companies used as primary data in this dissertation project take up differential strategies in establishing themselves as authentic and authoritative sources of Gullah Geechee personhood and knowledge perceptible by mostly outsider, non-local tourists. GT has become symbolic of the archetypal Gullah Geechee experience in Charleston, being featured most heavily in material and artifacts marketed towards tourists through the tourism industry itself and is visibly commodifiable through its simple design and structure, and explicit emphasis on Gullah Geechee language as identity-constructing and identifying resource. SIT follows in a similar pattern; however, it distinguishes itself through a focus on musicality and more diverse offerings of tour packages and experiences, especially centered around gospel, spirituals, and *Porgy & Bess*. GGT offers the most iconoclastic, complex, and counterestablishment experience,

deliberately indexing its alterity from status quo narratives (even those perpetuated by others in the community) and hegemonic pressures, while simultaneously still taking part in them to some degree (e.g. using the Visitor's Center as its pickup point like the other tour companies); as its owner is also the youngest and more radically activist-performing of the three, GGT also employs a far more comprehensive online presence, including multiple websites, social media, and a highly active YouTube channel to combine brand, personhood, and performance in a very different method than other local tours.

4.5 OTHER TOURS AND GUIDES

Two other Charleston tour companies were used during the data collection process as secondary data, in order to more holistically survey the landscape of Black and Gullah Geechee-centered tour experiences. The first of these 'Charleston African American Tours' (CAAT) (charlestonafricanamericantours.com), are operated by Nate Hutchinson (NH) and John Warren, both "certified licensed tour guides who are descendants of enslaved Africans and slave owners" and *binyahs*. Hutchinson "speaks fluent Gullah" and Warren is a "descendant of the Native Americans that once inhabited the area" (Hutchinson 2019). Tours given in a Mercedes Sprinter van, and run \$30 cash or \$35 credit card and visitor's center tickets, and are reserved using an online form or phone call. The other tour company is Charleston's newest Black-centered company, 'Frankly Charleston Black History Tours' (FC) (franklycharleston.com), owned by Franklin D. Williams (FW) (head guide) and his wife. Williams has been part of the tourism industry since 2001 and opened 'Frankly Charleston' in 2015, and advertises his tour experience as exploring "the other Charleston" (F. D. Williams 2022). However, Williams is a Florida native, and does not identify as Gullah Geechee; rather, the tour focuses on Black

history and experiences of the enslaved people and freedmen of Charleston. Similar to the presentation of Gullah Geechee Tours, FC incorporates language that confronts and challenges established narratives and indicates ‘hidden knowledges’, where “below the surface of Charleston’s modern attraction and charm, lay secrets that escape all but the most inquisitive visitors” (F. D. Williams 2022). The tours run Monday through Saturday, 10am and 2pm, and Sunday at 11am, costing \$32. Although initially focusing on walk-only tours, as of April 2022 FC now offers a ride/walk alternative for its 2pm tours that “continue to peek beneath the veneer of The Other Charleston...[y]our guide will share the struggles of what forging freedom for the enslaved was like” (F. D. Williams 2022).

Both of these tour companies share similarities with the primary data tour guides, reflecting that there are particular patterns of branding, identity, and locality that form tour guide personhoods as they shape tour experiences for outsiders. CAAT is owned and operated by *binyah*, are licensed and certified, and offer much of the established historical, cultural, and linguistic narrative on Gullah Geechee experiences in Charleston. By contrast, FC’s Williams is a *kumyah* and does not position himself as inside the local community; however, he does brand himself as a guide who offers a counterestablishment narrative and as an authority of Black history and experience that is ostensibly either erased or whitewashed by other tour experiences.

A major source of insider knowledge also comes from Alada ‘Muima’ Shinault-Small (AS). A *binyah* who has been a tour guide since 1982, she has been in the industry for over forty years (Shinault-Small 2020). Shinault-Small has worked with multiple companies and with other guides (including as a business partner with Al Miller’s Sites

and Insights Tours and editing his book) as one of the first Black woman tour guides in Charleston. She transitioned into the private tour sector as ‘freelancer’ rather than being part of the public bus tours that form the company model of the other participants, also offering Gullah Geechee storytelling and presentations. She is a central member and consultant of the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission (GGHCC) as well, providing cultural expertise and knowledge for Commission policy. Shinault-Small positions herself as separate and distinct from the other principal guides in that she does not overtly advertise her services through digital or physical means; rather she has built her clientele over her long tenure and her customer base through recommendations and word-of-mouth and offering flexibility in her tour modality (e.g. multi-day tours, virtual tours). It should also be noted that Shinault-Small is unique in that she is the only female tour guide that was interviewed for this dissertation research; this is significant not only because it highlights the asymmetric representation of male tour guides catering to Black and Gullah Geechee experiences in Charleston, but also in how this division of labor may be becoming increasingly gendered, as Shinault-Small indicated to me that as far as she knew, she was the *only* female Gullah Geechee tour guide currently operating in Charleston⁵⁹. Shinault-Small’s central placement to the community, together with her longitudinal experience with multiple levels of the tourism industry, positions her as a critical primary source of information about Gullah Geechee tourism. Through repeated interviews with her, I was able to form a much more comprehensive perspective about

⁵⁹ Although this is not the case throughout the GGCHC, as there are women operating as tour guides in less metropolitan areas (e.g. Kitty K. Green and her “Geechie 5 Team” daughters and granddaughters, Seretha, Sherri, Tara, and Dominique of the St. Helena Island “Gullah-N-Geechie Mahn Tours” (Gullah-N-Geechie Mahn Tours 2018)), there is still a noticeable lack of female Gullah Geechee tour guides, especially when compared to the prevalence of women as storytellers, singers, and performers, and nearly ubiquitously as public-facing sweetgrass basket-sewers.

the intersection of Gullah Geechee personhood and tourism that also provided much of the background data about the industry itself (e.g. seasonal trends, licensing protocols, tour demographic compositions, etc.).

CHAPTER 5

TOUR GUIDE NARRATIVES AND TOUR DISCOURSES

This chapter analyzes the narratives and discourses as a particular genre produced by tour guides during their various tours. This includes the logistics of tours, their spatiotemporal considerations, and how the same sites can elicit different touristic experiences from guides with respect to different narrative scope and intent. These observations of the tour genre will also be analyzed with regards to how narrative and counter-narrative add to practices of insider authentication and epistemic stance-making. I will also provide a description of other tour elements, specifically anecdotes, song, and the supplementary material created by tour guides to enrich the tour experience, contribute to their brand, and act as sites of legitimation.

5.1 HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

The bedrock of the content provided in the tour experience of the participating tour companies is that of the historical narrative. Although particular tours may be advertised as heritage or cultural tours, the majority of a Gullah Geechee and/or Black history tour will be dedicated to this genre, even as it intersects with other features of the tour event typology. In fact, this facet of tour experience seems to be the one most heavily encouraged by the Charleston Area Convention and Visitor's Bureau (CACVB), with the successful certification (and previous licensing requirements) being very reliant on memory and knowledge of Charleston history at various times and concerning particular

sites. Advertising and marketing also rely heavily on the notion and conception of the historical narrative, with history seemingly placed above (or equal to) ‘culture’ and ‘heritage’ as focal points of the tour experiences.

These narratives also act as temporal and spatial anchorings of the tour along its designated route; guides will begin tours at the Visitor’s Center (itself a historic building that often acts as the first ‘site’ to be provided a history) and drive pre-determined routes that detail the historical importance of various physical and geospatial sites in the allotted time. While along those routes and in between stops, other types of intratour genres will occur, as will historical information about specific individuals or more abstract concepts that are not located in a physical space along the tour route; however, the tour itself moves along these routes using historically significant sites as ‘nodes’ where more small-scale and also larger interconnecting historical narratives unfold. Because tours last up to four hours in some cases, e.g. SIT’s multi-island Porgy & Bess historical site tour, tour guides must be adept at filling in these interstitial moments between sites with means of keeping tourists entertained as well as using the opportunity to provide other educational information, with many of these liminal moments of transportation being where the other types of tour features occur. The historical appeal of Charleston is a highly visible and highly marketable aspect—many of its homes are considered historically significant, recognizable, or are themselves landmarks, and tours that foreground historical narratives benefit from incorporating as many of these sites along routes as possible. However, these paths must also take into consideration total time of the tour, traffic flow in a city with highly congested streets in the vacation and tour-centric summer months, and ability and availability of other information or methods of entertaining tourists in between sites

of interest. This creates routes that are rather non-linear in nature in some cases, and that also are not able to capture a significant portion of historical sites in a single tour. Tours are roughly 90% scripted, with improvisation mostly occurring as guides adapt to logistic elements (e.g. traffic, construction) and considerations to specific tourist demographics (e.g. a few solo travelers versus an at-capacity family reunion). This means guides must make carefully calculated decisions that are attuned to what tourists want in terms of historic site availability and popularity: if their tour is the only one tourists will go on during their stay, should they maximize the number of most-popular sites? If their tour is the second or third tour a group does, should they deviate from this established path in order to show lesser-known sites to provide a more comprehensive view of the city and mitigate tourist attention fatigue (and by extension engagement, tips, and good reviews)? In this example Alphonso both explicitly addresses the temporal constraints of the historical narrative component of a tour, both by commenting on how long a “complete” history of Charleston would take and offering his remedy to this shortcoming: purchasing his book *The Gullah Guide to Charleston*, which lists information about most of the toured sites in both Gullah Geechee and English.

Excerpt 5.1 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|--|
| 1 | AB | now the tour last for two hours, if you need more then what you've to do |
| 2 | | is to get the book |
| 3 | T; SM ⁶⁰ | [@@@] @@@ |
| 4 | AB | it's my book |
| 5 | | it's called the Gullah Guide to Charleston= |
| 6 | T | I saw that [I saw that] |
| 7 | AB | it's in Gullah, [and English] |
| 8 | | are they really augment many of the wonderful site that I wanna show you |
| 9 | | if I had to take the time you the complete history of one site |

⁶⁰ ‘SM’ throughout the transcripts denotes the researcher, derived from a nickname.

10 that'll take bout two weeks
 11 T @@@
 12 AB if I have to show you all of Charleston, lookin at four years=
 13 get the book=all the place

Below Alada comments on some of the logistical thought process by tourists (and by extension the foresight of tour guides) when it comes to planning a trip and a tour in tandem. As tour guides construct their tour experiences, they must consider how the temporal constraint of the tour affects their ability to deliver a narrative that satisfies the customer expectation while also remaining 'true' to the historical facts of the tour and any internal conflicts guides may face about the veracity of certain 'facts' propagated by mainstream narratives and/or the CVB.

Excerpt 5.2 Alada Shinault-Small (Interview 1)

1 AS well, I will I will say that sometimes people do do just get on a random tour=
 (22:31)
 2 that is that's not uncommon
 3 SM okay
 4 AS if people are in the tour in town for a day
 5 and because I've had that experience enough that it is notable
 6 people in town for a day and their time is running out and they want to do a tour
 7 they'll so they'll jump on your bus because it
 fits within their time frame
 8 SM okay
 9 AS or and that happens because you- this this, this area (1.0)
 10 has a lot of daytrippers and in fact, that's a part of the CVB's
 11 the Convention and Visitors Bureau's current, marketing campaign among
 COVID
 12 is targeting the driver-inners
 13 SM oh, wow okay (23:22)
 14 AS from the one two hour, three hour distance

As she calls them, the 'driver-inners' may indeed have randomly chosen a tour without any preconceived understanding of what kind of tour they are going on; if tourists are automatically assuming any tour in Charleston is centered around its history,

cultural heritage⁶¹ tour guides have to consider how to intersperse this with Black and Gullah Geechee history as well. She continues:

Excerpt 5.3 Alada Shinault-Small (Interview 1)

- 1 AS well, yeah
- 2 for the person who just wants to get away for the day or just you know
- 3 the common thing had been
- 4 tour shop and eat, and go back ho:me
- 5 so, you have a tremendous (1.0)
- 6 amount of people coming in from Charlotte, area
- 7 as you can definitely do
- 8 Charlotte to Charleston in a day
- 9 it's a long day but you can do it
- 10 just this the church groups in particular
- 11 even people, is another market for people
- 12 who are doing Myrtle Beach or Savannah and then
- 13 do the day trip to Charleston
- 14 so then they're only two hours away
- 15 so you're going to Myrtle Beach
- 16 for all of that, stuff

For many tourists, the historical narrative aspect of the tour and the tour itself is one component of the holistic tour experience, rather than a centerpiece from which other considerations of the trip are subordinate. Although Charleston's history is a major attraction for tourists, it is not the only attraction or the only coastal destination for many tourists, especially drive-inners from Charlotte who can make a dedicated trip to Myrtle Beach, Charleston, and/or Savannah in a relatively short time. Although Myrtle Beach is considered more of an attraction for recreational tourism, both Charleston and

⁶¹ I would also like to comment here on my own distinction and use of 'cultural heritage tourism' versus 'ethnic tourism'. Although the terms share much overlap in tourism anthropology, ethnic tourism's specific role as one where tourists seek out "authentic" interactions outside of designated tourist spaces does not apply well here within a highly-curated metropolitan tourist space. Additionally, because guides do not 'introduce' tourists to 'real' in-person Gullah Geechee individuals on tours (other than themselves), tour experiences provided on the more rural Sea Islands, where tourist imaginaries often place 'real' (and arguably more exoticized) Gullah Geechee belonging, are a better fit for the ethnic tourism categorization.

Savannah's reputation as historical cities primes many tourists for historical narrative-centered tours, and resultingly tour guides incorporate these expectations.

Although this genre may be the baseline or backbone of the tour experience, rote recitation of facts associated with a particular place would do little to distinguish guides from the competition; therefore they must be consciously aware of how they intertwine performance, narrative, and history during the tour. Guides variously identify this as entertainment or storytelling; however, a consistent through-line is the necessity to recognize this genre as 'truth' that has value beyond the touristic event itself. Here Franklin makes it clear that not only is it his responsibility to tell the truth during his Black history tours, but he also actually views it as *only* possible to dispense a truthful narrative of history, as "history happened".

Excerpt 5.4 Franklin Williams (Interview 1)

- 1 FW [I told you though]
- 2 you can't
- 3 how could you make up bullshit about history?
- 4 history happened @@@@
- 5 you know?
- 6 but imma dress it up, to tell a story (42:34)
- 7 to me, letting the industry down
- 8 that actually shou:ld be working right along with the school system to continue to
- 9 educate people
- 10 about the bits that the school couldn't put out there for you=

He also acknowledges that this truth is "dressed up" as a story for tourists, but that this packaging of truth and history as narrative supplements the education provided by the school system, in this case implied to be lacking and in need of additional historical context.

The relationship between history and the Black experience is also something the guides must take into consideration, especially considering how historical narratives concerning enslavement and brutal conditions of racism could be uncomfortable or traumatic for any tourist, but particularly Black tourists with generational ties and family members who may have kept components of it from descendants to shield them from some harm. Nate comments here on the relatively recent mainstream embracing of Black culture by the Black community, in that by attempting to ‘protect’ their descendants from the painful narratives of their experiences, previous generations may have actually had a “negative” effect by withholding intergenerational knowledge.

Excerpt 5.5 Nate Hutchinson (Interview 1)

- 1 NH and I think, a lot of reasons why a lot of African Americans didn't embrace history (3:57)
- 2 because the generation of previous generation actually they actually lived through the pain of it
- 3 and they did not want to expose the next generation
- 4 so that had a negative effect in that we didn't get a full knowledge of their experience
- 5 because it was kind of painful
- 6 SM mhm
- 7 NH but now we can appreciate we like
- 8 because time has transpired and things have gotten a lot better
- 9 and we have more of a great appreciation for now (4:18)

He further details that the further away we move earlier history, the more people, in this case tourists, may appreciate history that has some kind of personal stake to them.

Because many of the historical sites of Charleston on tours are shared among tour guides, we can expect to see parallel structures in the historical narrative genre, especially when it comes to well-established or more mainstream historical ‘facts’. Many tourists who go on tours also come with pre-existing historical knowledge and expect their knowledge to match the tour guides’. In cases where inconsistency occurs, there can be

several types of responses which tend to contest tour guide epistemic authority.

Therefore, guides are often encouraged to maintain a cohesive narrative of established historical fact, especially if tourists take the opportunity to ask questions, such as challenging the guide's authority of knowledge or simply requesting more information. Below is an excerpt from a similar portion of both Gullah Tours and Sites and Insights Tours, which characterize several ubiquitous features of the historical narrative of a tour. In the GT excerpt, we have two main historical sites that are discussed: Catfish Row and the First Baptist Church. The two sites are directly next to one another, making this a good opportunity for guides to continue a drive uninterrupted while they provide a narrative with a transition in between.

Excerpt 5.6 Gullah Tours (Tour 2)

3 AB DuBose Heyward wrote the book, Porgy
4 his wife Dorothy made a play by the book and produced it on Broadway
5 George Gershwin saw the play, read the book
6 and composed his opera called Porgy and Bess
7 in the book and the opera
8 the setting that they use is an area that Blacks have always known as Cabbage Row
9 but they refer to it as Cat.fish Row all this Catfish Row
10 Bess lived for awhile Porgy lived the last years of his life
11 but they both probably frequent the area because Blacks and Whites and all
12 #ganged# here together
13 Charleston has never had segregated housing, never had segregated, churches
14 if you woulda come to Charleston do the research
15 on the Civil Rights movement *you'll find* the rough spots but basically, very short
16 lived
17 we were all related, blood related
18 many of us have become sons and daughters of the Confederacy if you want (55:33)
19 I know I can, but I just figure why pay all that due:s just to frustrate a #few# people
20 it is #a difficult relationship already why make it more difficult# **I ain gon wan it**
21 **nuh mo** (4.0) (55:43)
22 on our right (1.0) this way Baptist
23 south of the Mason, how about throwing your kiss at mama
24 the first Baptist Church in the south established back in 1682
25 Robert Mills, the man who did the Washington Monument designed the building
26 and the gate

In the case of GT we can see in lines 1-10 the establishment of the site and its relevance to Charleston history, in this case its relation to Dubose Heyward, Dorothy Heyward, George Gershwin, *Porgy*, and *Bess*, all people central to the creation of the book and play *Porgy* and opera *Porgy & Bess*. The visually confirmed location of the 1920s and 30s tenement Catfish Row is given context, in this case its alteration by Heyward from the original name ‘Cabbage Row’ given by its occupants. History concerning *Porgy & Bess* is a popular component of many Charleston tours, but particularly in Black and Gullah Geechee-centric tours, to the point where it is the focal point and name of one of Sites and Insights most popular tour offerings. As the tour passes the site, Alphonso uses the transitional space before his next planned site to discuss the state of segregation in Charleston’s history. He begins by linking the narrative of *Porgy and Bess* (lines 10 & 11: ‘but they both probably frequent the area because Blacks and Whites and all ganged up here together’) to his explicit statement “Charleston has never had segregated housing, never had segregated, churches” (line 12). While a historically contentious statement in itself, Alphonso uses this statement and previously established historical and literary fact to produce a message of racial unity within Charleston’s history (line 15: we were all related, blood related many of us have become sons and daughters of the Confederacy if you want). This theme of relative historical racial integration is a distinct theme of Alphonso’s tours, and stands in direct contrast with narratives and sentiment provided by tours that ‘reveal’ a ‘true’ history of Charleston (e.g. GGT and FC tours). However, he also acknowledges that this co-belonging in predominantly White spaces (i.e. the Daughters of the Confederacy organization) would not necessarily be taken up as legitimate by the status quo and

dismisses the idea, ending this portion of the narrative with a stylized catchphrase used throughout the tour (*I ain gon wan it nuh mo* ‘I’m not going to want it anymore’)⁶².

After a pause while the bus reaches its next site, he introduces it with both spatial deixis and by speaking to assumed Baptists among the tourists (line 19: ‘on our right this way Baptist’) and following with another of his catchphrases, this one used to indicate that someone belongs to a particular denomination and they are visiting the site of the first (or very old) church of that denomination in the city, the state, or in the South (line 20: ‘how about throwing your kiss at mama’)⁶³. He then provides the basic information of the site, including the name and the date of construction. From here he takes the opportunity to supplement this information with additional context of the church’s gate and its blacksmith. This is significant because of another larger and more pervasive theme of Alphonso’s tours: that of the historic iron gates of Charleston and their relationship to the Gullah Geechee blacksmith, Philip Simmons. In both cases, these ubiquitous historic sites of Charleston are expanded from their original narrative capacity (e.g. name, date and link to popular tourist imaginary or knowledge) to incorporate interwoven themes that define the tour, the spirit of the tour company, and personal beliefs of the guides themselves; however, these themes are still somewhat defined by the guide’s relationship to the mainstream historical narrative discourse, especially salient if the guide is certified and/or a Palmetto Guild member.

⁶² When possible, the gloss is given in MAE and attempts to match register regarding formality.

⁶³ This ‘catchphrase’ is variably stylized as discussed later in the Section 6.1.1.3.

By contrast, the same spatial and narrative junction of the tour is covered quite differently by Sites and Insights, owing to differences between the tour intent, guide knowledge and beliefs, and guide expectation of tourist expectations.

Excerpt 5.7 Sites and Insights (Tour 2)

- 1 AM look to your right (1:10:48)
- 2 you see catfish #is# written above this (1.0) the, the arch here
- 3 everybody see it?
- 4 #so# this is a black tenement in the 1920s and 30s
- 5 when the story Porgy and the opera Porgy and Bess were written
- 6 the Blacks would plant cabbage in the courtya:rd
- 7 and that was first called Cabbage Row
- 8 Gershwin who wrote the opera called it Catfish Row
- 9 the men were fishermen
- 10 they were members of a fleet called the Mosquito Fleet (1:11:17)
- 11 off in the distance they look like mosquitoes
- 12 look to your left, there's a marker between the two black shutters
- 13 it says Dubose Hayward house (1.0)
- 14 lets you know that Dubose Heyward lived there 76 Church Street where he wrote,
the story of Porgy
- 15 as information to you, the church building to your right is First Baptist
- 16 it's the oldest church building in the city
- 17 I'm sorry it's the oldest, Baptist Church in the south excuse me
- 18 First Baptist the congregation was founded in 1682 (16.0) (1:11:49)

As the SIT bus route goes along the same route as the GT bus does for this portion of the tour (and much of the downtown route along and near the Battery is the same), the site description begins with spatial deixis and visual confirmation. Al indicates where the literal starting point of the site begins as Catfish Row, echoing the rote historical facts also given by Alphonso (line 4: 'So this is a Black tenement in the 1920s and 30s'). It is important to note here that Al does not indicate the cohabitation of this space by poor Whites at any given historical time, which also means the narrative 'pathway' of discussing the non-segregated nature of Charleston's racial history also does not emerge. Instead, Al continues with the etymological narrative of Cabbage Row and

its literary and then later reality transformation into Catfish Row via Gershwin's rebranding. Although Al will include more comprehensive information about the relationship between Catfish Row and *Porgy & Bess*, he does break up this biographical information with lines 9-11, instead providing additional information about the lives of some of the men in the tenement, an additional naming of these men, and an explanation and etymology of the term 'Mosquito Fleet'. However, this disruption of the biographical narrative does not last long, with an explicit spatial deictic refocusing (line 12: 'look to your left, there's a marker') that brings tourist attention back from the imagined 'fleet' in the distance to the biographical narrative and anchors it again to a visual cue, the marker indicating DuBose Heyward's house. Al then gives the final portion of information about Heyward and *Porgy* for this site, before immediately turning his attention to the next site, 'closing' the biographical narrative section. As the bus is moving at this point, he immediately switches from biographical to rote historical fact recitation, even using explicit framing of the turn (line 15: 'as information to you').

While lines 15-18 represent another example of the rote and established historical narrative (i.e. 'fact-stating'), it is also interesting to note here what a 'repair' process looks like when a guide makes a mistake involving established historical facts. Al correctly identifies the church as First Baptist; however, he states that it is the oldest church building in the city. Quickly realizing his mistake, he frames his reiteration as an apology both at the beginning and end of the utterance (line 17: 'I'm sorry...excuse me') and corrects his original statement both denominationally ('oldest church' versus 'oldest *Baptist* church') and geographically ('in the city' versus 'in the South'). He then provides the same established date as Alphonso and continues the tour along to the next site—note

that there is a 16-second pause between his line about the establishment of the church and when he begins speaking again. There is no additional information about the church, including the mention of Robert Mills as the architect and gatemaker.

The co-existence of the same sites during this portion of the tour by two tour guides allows us to make some observations about the historical narrative frame of the tour. The first is, that for the guides who try to adhere to the ‘established’, ‘official’, ‘historical’, (or i.e. Visitor’s Bureau) historical facts of people and places in Charleston, there are particular sites that these tours will always stop at, at least if they want a successful tour and to mitigate chances for tourists to feel as if they were not given a fulfilling historical experience. Because of the relatively confined nature of Charleston’s historic downtown, many of these sites are in close proximity to one another, allowing for the ‘chaining’ together of sites as the bus drives from location to location. In the interstitial driving moments of the tour along the route, guides may either add additional information that provides more context about a site, or they may use the opportunity to make claims that are more anecdotal in nature, that may deviate or run divergently from the historical narrative, even that of other tour guides who share many of the same narrative beats. Once at a site, although there may be parallelisms in the recitation of rote historical facts such as names and dates, the context of the historical narrative is refracted through the scope of the tour, intent of the tour guide, and perceived engagement of the consumer. For example, although the above excerpt has GT and SIT both visiting Catfish Row and the First Baptist Church, the skeletal structure of the historical narrative is filled in quite differently, creating very different resulting experiences. Both guides acknowledge the importance of Catfish Row to both the creation of *Porgy & Bess* and the

lives of its tenants, as well as the historic role of the First Baptist Church in the South. However, GT intersperses a biographical narrative with his claim of a non-segregated Charleston, with anecdotal response on the reality of things and ending with a stylized Gullah Geechee catchphrase, while SIT provides context for the occupation of some of the tenement men with no mention of race relations. Also note that because this SIT tour is billed as a ‘Porgy & Bess Tour’, Al does not go into great detail about the background and impact of the book, play, or opera here, as he contextualizes the literary and musical works further throughout the tour; Alphonso on the other hand gives the majority of the historical narrative about this subject that he will give on the tour (although a later portion of the tour explores the history and life of Porgy himself, rather than Gershwin or Heyward). GT also approaches the First Baptist Church site with not only the rote historical element, but uses it as an opportunity to both use an established catchphrase on his tour and detail the architect for the church and its gate; this narratively links this site with others on the tour that share these overarching themes, specifically religion and its nurturing nature (e.g. ‘throw your kiss at mama’ said at other historic religious buildings) and a focus on gates, iron-making, and blacksmithing tied largely to Philip J. Simmons. Al on the other hand spends very little time on the content of the First Baptist Church site, providing rote historical fact although his tour also shares deeply in its thematic association and discussion of religious veneration. Instead, his relaying of the historical narrative here illustrates the importance of rapid repair functions in the tour guide discursive framing, as tourists who fashion themselves avid historians are quick to point out even perceived mistakes, challenging the authority of guides’ knowledge while

indexing their own historical competence, which could disrupt or derail the flow of the historical narrative during tours.

5.1.1 CONTESTED OR “SECRET” HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

Although some of the tour guides for the most part adhere to an established historical narrative, whether through their own education, reiterating information provided by ‘official’ sources such as the CVB, or a synthesis or both, at least two of the independent guides in Charleston adopt a counterstance to this narrative framing. Both Frankly Charleston and Gullah Geechee Tours brand themselves as operators resistant to the mainstream narrative, but to differing degrees based on topic and context. FC and GGT operate in a sub-niche of the Black history/Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour that positions a narrative of ‘true’ or ‘secret’ history, often directly in opposition to the ‘Whitewashing’ of history by White supremacists, hegemonic forces, and institutional authority.

The motivations for this reveal some complex interactions between commodification, branding, appeals to authority, and epistemologies in relation to guides and themselves, each other, the tourism industry, and tourists. In the following excerpt between Godfrey K Hill of Gullah Geechee Tours and a pedestrian (P1) during a walking segment of a tour, we see some of the key ideological concepts that emerge during contested narrative discourses.

Excerpt 5.8 Gullah Geechee Tours (Tour 2)

- 1 GKH that's my grandma right, right down the street (54:23)
- 2 not, not on the street, but you know here
- 3 it's all control, it's all control
- 4 your real name your real history your real history your granddaddy know
- 5 now's the time for us-

6 P1 be a part of it
 7 GKH four hundred years huh?
 8 P1 to be a part of it
 9 GKH right
 10 P1 be someone who's right, you gotta whole lot of family
 11 gotta get the stories gotta get the #memories#
 12 but if you just, leave it on your own, you'll never get it (54:48)
 13 GKH number one city right chere
 14 P1 right
 15 GKH for slave history, number one=

Rhetoric of ‘control’ (Line 3) play heavily into conversations of established historical narratives, particularly when tied to accusations of institutional involvement; often it is the case that ‘Whitewashing’ is used in this context, not only to indicate a sanitization of historical narrative against uncomfortable truths but deliberately invoking concepts of racializing forces that seek to redirect the arc of history into a specific discourse that minimizes both the achievements and atrocities undergone by Black populations during antebellum, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow South Carolina. Note here that the pedestrian agrees with the motivation for this type of ‘exposed’ or ‘uncovered’ truth, where after GGT’s explicit indication of the importance of reality or truth (Line 4: ‘your real name your real history...’), the pedestrian follows up with the importance of both being a part of history and memory-making itself (Line 6; Line 8: ‘be a part of it’) and that is not knowledge that can be gained individually, but rather a process of collective, familial, and ancestral memory (Line 12: but if you just, leave it on your own, you'll never get it’) that is distilled by someone with epistemic authority, in this case heavily inferred to be a tour guide who makes a stance directly against controlling narrative forces. Franklin Williams of Frankly Charleston explicitly states (anti-)Whitewashing as one of his motivating factors, highlighting the stance that guides take in between the tourism bureau and visitors:

Excerpt 5.9 Franklin Williams (Interview 1)

- 9 FW and because (2.0) they feel this is what the people want, that whitewash history
10 SM mhm
11 FW you know you got the carriage companies
12 you've got some of the motorized tools and things like that out there
13 that write these scripts because they feel, this is what, the industry want (11:32)
14 I got my license (1.0)
15 and this one, tour company
16 I said I might give them a try you know just to stay busy and you know
17 every now and then make me some weekend change
18 SM right
19 FW and, the thing about it was the history that they wanted me to tell wasn't my story
20 it was their story, [I couldn't do that]
21 SM [they had a-they had a narrative], [they wanted you] to be the mouthpiece for it=
22 FW [yeah] exactly
23 now you've got-you looking at a Black man that's talking whitewash history to
(12:03)
24 Black and White people coming to a colony that they know what went on here=
25 they just want to tweak it a little bit the history to learn something
26 different that they didn't learn in school
27 but now you got a Black man sitting up here looking like Uncle Tom (1.0)
28 can't do it, [I couldn't do it]

Here Franklin notes that he feels there is a desire to whitewash the historical narrative by both portions of the tourism industry and by certain demographics of guests; he points out that this is often codified by 'scripts' (Line 13) that licensed tour guides are provided by the larger companies, drawing particular attention to the carriage tour companies, which employ larger numbers of guides than the individually or partner-run Gullah Geechee/Black tour companies and have had a reputation of putting consumer comfort over historical accuracy. He then recounts a situation after he had become licensed and overtly makes a stance between himself and the tour company (line 19-20: 'the history that they wanted me to tell wasn't *my* story it was *their* story'). This kind of direct footing illustrates that guides who brand themselves are arbiters of 'true' Black history in Charleston create a dichotomy of themselves and truth, and other guides/the

industry and whitewashed truth, in which perpetuating the narrative would run counter to both the guide's integrity and the knowledge (whether conscious or below the surface-level) of many tourists, regardless of ethnic background. It is also important to note that Franklin identifies as Black and not Gullah Geechee, as an outsider from Florida who moved to Charleston as an adult; meaning that this in-grouping, while saliently aligned against out-group communities, has additional concentric layers for Gullah Geechee guides who position themselves as running oppositionally to whitewashed hegemonic historic narratives.

Franklin continues that providing this narrative would position him as an 'Uncle Tom' (line 27), pejoratively aligning himself as a Black man who is willing to jeopardize his own values, authority, and knowledge for the benefit of industry protocols and White tourist comfort. He recognizes that many tourists, regardless of whether they are White or Black, go on historic tours to learn something beyond their classroom education (line 26) and they would recognize that he is just providing them a script of recycled, 'canned', or curated information and complacent in the further whitewashing of history.

Excerpt 5.10 Franklin Williams (Interview 1)

- 41 SM they're probably like [oh], like we don't have to feel bad if you're telling us this
42 FW [yeah]
43 and vice versa (12:47)
44 and I think the other way I think White guests that hear the truth coming from
White tour guides
45 that might be comfortable for them too, you know?
46 because but but the thing that get me
47 some White tour guide that I know can tell the history they won't do it (13:01)
48 they will not tell that black story because they feel like
49 man you know I don't think my people want to hear it=
50 whatchu mean your people don't want to hear that
51 SM @@@@
52 FW and I tell them, dude

53 I had yo people yesterday, right after they got off of your tour=
 54 SM and they wanted to hear it=
 55 FW and they wanted to hear it=
 56 SM that's money for you, I mean you're in the niche you're n-
 57 FW that's what me and Brown say me and Brown say
 58 they don't want to tell the story I will I'll take the money [@] (13:23)

Franklin also describes the landscape surrounding tour narratives by White guests and guides, where guests might seek out more difficult truths from White tour guides, as being in that environment might cause discomfort when narratives more explicitly detailing the atrocities of slavery are produced by Black and/or Gullah Geechee tour guides. However, Franklin highlights a salient consideration in the intertouristic relationship, where guides attempt to fulfill the expectations and desires of the tourist experience—in this case White guides refraining from telling ‘Black stories’ because of a lack of interest, comfort, belief, or a combination of these stances (line 48-49: ‘you know I don't think my people want to hear it= whatchu mean your people don't want to hear that’). He directly disputes this, arguing that contrary to the expectations assumed by the White tour guides, he has encountered multiple tourists who feel their tour is lacking historical depth in some way and look to his tour to provide a more authoritative and comprehensive experience (lines 53-55). This provides motivation along an epistemic axis, but also in terms of a limited niche available in tourism of Black guides providing Black history across a range of tourist ethnicities, rather than consternating over the perceived comfort or desire of White tourists by White guides. He indicates that he is willing to ‘take the money to tell the story’ (line 57), filling a niche and providing a service that is in some ways inaccessible (whether willingly/intentionally or identity/experience-wise) by White tour guides and/or guides who work for larger tour companies. It is also interesting to note here (line 57) that he aligns himself with

Alphonso Brown, a Gullah Geechee tour guide, in that they both agree that by recognizing of a niche created by reticent or avoidant tour guide practices provides them with an advantage in both setting themselves apart from other tour companies and creating income through their particular brand of narrative-sharing. This is only made more interesting by the evaluation of Brown's tours as themselves Whitewashed or aligned towards the comfort of White tourists by other counterstanced companies (i.e. GGT), signaling that the perception of epistemic authority and 'true' narratives are not monolithic, instead based in (inter)subjectivities of guides in relation to their individual modes of personhood and tour purpose.

Bound up within the historical narrative frame is the juxtaposition between epistemic truth and falsehood, particularly with what constructs and constitutes lying within the touristic environment and what the (counter)response should be. Because the tours can be generally divided between two main tracks, that of prevailing historic narrative and that of the counternarrative (perceived as the 'Whitewashed' narrative and the 'ahistorical' narrative by its respective opposing discourse), there is considerable conversation within the Gullah Geechee/Black tourism community about the responsibility of a tour guide to provide tourists with a version of the truth that represents authentic identity and authoritative knowledge about Charleston history and its relationship to Black personhood. For companies who brand themselves as producing knowledge that has been obfuscated by institutionally-imposed pressures (i.e. Frankly Charleston and Gullah Geechee Tours), there ranges implication to outright condemnation of the Whitewashing of historical narratives and its effects on Black history and culture. This provides ample opportunity during the touristic event to

‘uncover’ the meaning of particular sites and reconfigure their place in Black culture and history, exposing the ‘lie’ of the tourism industry or larger racializing and minoritizing systems. The excerpt from a Gullah Geechee Tours driving tour below introduces the ways in which narratives of true history are approached by those taking a counterstance approach.

Excerpt 5.11 Gullah Geechee Tours (Tour 2)

- 1 GKH I had- right under the tree you got a slave auction block (29:56)
- 2 don't nobody see it don't nobody talk about it
- 3 slave auction blocks
- 4 SM don't they usually tell everybody it's for the carriage stops?
- 5 GKH everyone, every tour guide says that is a carriage step, it's a carriage step
- 6 it's in the tour guide manual, when I wrote my book
- 7 I wrote it from, the tour guide manual, and the- you saw this right?
- 8 my source the tour guide manual and the Bible
- 9 the tour guide manual says, those are carriage steps (30:27)

During Godfrey’s tour, he points out a stone block, a common sight in front of many historic Charleston homes and businesses. Although this is commonly, ubiquitously, and innocuously identified as a ‘carriage step’, a historical artifact that made it easier for passengers to step up and enter carriages, Godfrey identifies this artifact as a slave auction block. After identifying the artifact, Godfrey indicates that he is part of a very limited circle of people willing to discuss the ‘true’ significance of the artifact (line 2: ‘don’t nobody see it don’t nobody talk about it’), where the prevailing narrative perpetuated by the status quo obfuscates the actual history. After being asked about this established narrative, Godfrey insists both that ‘every’ tour guide perpetuates this falsehood and it is even codified in the tour guide manual (line 6). This acknowledgement of codification and the de-legitimation of codified ‘facts’ can be seen as a central component for much of the more polemic counterstance historical narrative,

and in fact ties in integrally with producing discrete ‘fact versus fiction’ discourses. Godfrey juxtaposes this clearly in line 8, inferring that his book (as an extension of his epistemic authority, tour experience, and self-brand) incorporates and refutes the narrative imposed by the tourism bureau and instead infuses it with truth through virtue of using the Bible as a supplemental text (with the implication being that the Bible is an infallible source of cultural, linguistic, and historic knowledge and fact).

Excerpt 5.12 Gullah Geechee Tours (Tour 2)

13 GKH o:h we gonna talk about it (5.0) carriages Old South remember the red sash?
 14 that's the KKK the red sash was the blood when they would slash (40:41)
 15 remember the red sash in your face?
 16 no Black tour guides, not one, I was the only one at Palmetto Carriage Tour
 17 six months never did not one tour, that's amazing (3.0)
 18 learn all of their lies
 19 they got three- four scripts now four scripts that you memorize (1.0)
 20 and no one's from Charleston but it don't matter they tellin scripts of this lies lies
 21 tour guide manual is a lie I prove it all day
 22 don't nobody- any- if I'm lyin any tour guide, let's talk about it (41:16)
 23 cause I wanna be right, I don't wanna be mean I just want to be right= tell the truth
 24 these are lies, not one person, can disagree
 25 cause it's right= yeah we know it's lies is what they say we know it's lies
 26 well why are you telling it for money then?
 27 if you know it's lies if you know we sold slaves in the slave market
 28 why are you saying we didn't (1.0) check, everything you see here (41:38)

Later on the same tour Godfrey reiterates the association between the tour guide manual (as a proxy for the ‘corrupted’ tourism bureau and industry) and lies. Besides explicitly stating this (line 21), he also juxtaposes the ‘lies’ of the tour guide manual with his own motivation for speaking the counternarrative, i.e. his desire to be truthful and present historical fact to tourists (line 23: ‘I just want to be right, tell the truth), rather than commodify his knowledge at the expense of his morals. This discourse continues with the rhetorical assumption that ‘not one person’ (putting the burden of guilt on *all* Charleston tour guides) can disagree that they are perpetuating historic falsehoods;

however, he again presents this situation with himself as running counter to this corrupting force. Not only does he ‘prove’ (line 21) these lies wrong routinely during his tour, he also points out the hypocrisy of knowing a historical narrative is a lie, providing it to tourists, and accepting their money (line 25-26: ‘they say we know it’s lies, well why are you telling it for money then?’). By establishing his own tour, brand, and identity as one that is aligned with both absolute truth and exposing lies and corruption, K Hill is able to create an authoritatively epistemic stance that is in opposition to other Black and Gullah Geechee tour guides that simultaneously de-authenticates them as authorities of knowledge concerning historical narrative and fact⁶⁴.

It is also important to note that a major part of GGT’s tour experience relies on an interweaving of established fact, redefined fact, and historical fable in order to maintain tourist (suspension of dis)belief. For example, in lines 13-16, he comments on the racist symbolism and continuing racialized practices of the Old South Carriage Company, a carriage tour company emblematic of many of the ‘typical’ features of carriage tours in Charleston. Godfrey overtly links their logo, which includes a red sash, to iconography associated with the violent and racist history of the Ku Klux Klan, which is then contemporarily linked to the company’s apparent lack of diversity in hiring non-White tour guides (line 16: ‘no Black tour guides, not one’). Although his claim of the visual association between the Old South Carriage Company (founded in 1983) and the KKK presents as dubious, there are controversies surrounding the company and their relationship to Lost Cause and Southern romanticism whose documented existence may

⁶⁴ How well this succeeds in terms of audience design, tourist expectation, and commodification of knowledge will be discussed more directly in the tourist ideologies chapter.

provide enough legitimacy for tourists to accept GGT's narrative as a historically 'exposed' fact. Carriage companies in Charleston have struggled in recent years to provide sufficient evidence that they hire and employ significant amounts of non-White tour guides to stave off claims of racist hiring practices; however, Old South Carriage Company in particular criticized for its requiring guides to dress in period-appropriate Confederate Civil War costumes as late as 2014 (Bednar 2014). This co-layering of historical and contemporary fact with more lurid contested narratives does position counterstance tour guides as intermediaries of particular knowledge that was previously 'buried' by the status quo and although lacking direct evidence, can be 'supported' by comparisons to and extrapolations of documented events.

Excerpt 5.13 Gullah Geechee Tours (Tour 2)

10 GKH check it out (2.0) they said they never so:ld slaves here
 11 this is where you were tortured all the way do:wn to the- all the way to the end
 12 you were- you were sold in the very front now very front up on the top of the
 steps=
 13 my family ain't never left we've always been here, my grandmother we might see
 on Vendu range
 14 my grandmama #with# my aunts my uncles my cousins
 15 we ain't never left our story has never changed we tell the same story (50:14)
 16 everybody is lying, lying (1.0) lying for money it's all controlled
 17 you don't got no Black tour guides you had to deal with a certification
 18 I got that thrown out
 19 a certification, for over what was it?
 20 sixty years you got to take the certified test, that's bullshit
 21 Blacks can't pass the test, you can't even pass the test (2.0)
 22 federal, judge said it is unconstitutional

The excerpt above, again from later in the same tour, distills much of the discursive and ideological stances that counternarratives occupy in the Black/Gullah Geechee historical narrative tour frame. A common historical and physical site of contention is the Charleston City Market, which occupies four blocks of downtown

Meeting Street in Charleston. The Market, in operation since the 1790s, has provided vendors open-air stands to sell their wares, at one point being specifically used for enslaved persons to buy and trade wares for their masters, plantations, or for their own income (as part of the task system), later extended to freedmen and then finally to vendors in general. This historical association with the City Market and enslaved persons has undoubtedly added to the common misconception that slaves were sold at the Charleston City Market; however, slaves were never sold at that location, rather being sold at public auctions until those were outlawed in 1856, then being sold at private facilities—the relevant site for the misconception controversy being Ryan’s Slave Mart or the Old Slave Mart. The history and utility of the Charleston City Market and the Old Slave Market have been often tied together by historic and tourist imagination, but while this conflation is routinely debunked, it does offer another locus of ‘exposed’ truth for counternarratives to weaponize against established historical narratives. In lines 10-12, Godfrey asserts the selling of slaves at the Charleston Market, drawing on inferences of the tourism industry intentionally obfuscating the history of the Market while staking claim to his own knowledge about the site’s history, anchoring this knowledge to the rootedness of his family, who as local Charleston Gullah Geechee natives would not ‘Whitewash’ their history for outsider consumption (lines 13-16: ‘my family ain't never left we've always been here...we ain't never left our story has never changed we tell the same story’). Again we can see the co-construction of regional identity authenticity with epistemic authority, while also the de-legitimation and authorization of outsider narratives along lines of racialization and fabrication. Godfrey also links this discourse to the ongoing contention of the certification and licensing requirement for tour guides in

Charleston, citing his role in the federal legislation that removed the official requirement (lines 17-22). He also makes a claim here concerning the racial inequality in tour guide hiring and licensing practices in Charleston, both as a statement on the lack of total representation (line 17: ‘you don’t got no Black tour guides you had to deal with a certification’) and that the licensing process itself, with its testing component, is a covertly racist method to prevent Black tour guides from being certified (line 22: Blacks can’t pass the test, you can’t even pass the test). Although (or perhaps because) it is not directly related to the expected historical narrative of Charleston frame, the topic of certification on the tour to tourists illustrates the intent of GGT to ‘bring to light’ themes and events that other guides may find taboo to discuss, in this case insider information and controversy that would often not lend itself to the expectations of the tourist imaginary.

Tour guides who do not position themselves in direct oppositional stance to the prevailing historical narrative approach the frame differently in regards to disrupture through lying and the value of consistency in ‘truthful’ tour experiences. Here Alada comments on the reality of tour guides presenting (even slight) differences in historical and cultural narratives on their tours.

Excerpt 5.14 Alada Shinault-Small (Interview 2)

- 1 SM so I mean so even though the route was relatively similar (1:20:42)
- 2 the stop offs were very very different, and of course the content was, radically different @ (2.0)
- 3 AS yeah, again you know you, can carve whatever niche (1.0) that works for you
- 4 in terms of what you want to impart, a:nd, to increase your marketability
- 5 but just don't, be inaccurate and lie (1:21:12)
- 6 SM Yeah it is like-
- 7 AS and it makes it difficult for the rest of us too
- 8 you take his tour and hear one thing

9 and then get on mine and hear something radically different about the same site #to
 people#
10 what's up with dat? (1:21:30)

She acknowledges that each guide seeks to find a niche that fits in with both the scope and intent of their tour, as well as being considerate of themselves and their tour experience as a profitable brand (line 3-4), but also emphasizes the need for truth as a social capital in the intermediation between guide and tourist (line 5: ‘but just, don’t be inaccurate and lie’). However, her reasoning here is not necessarily only out of some desire to preserve historic fact as an axiomatic or objective historical narrative; rather, it also causes a cascade effect that could negatively impact how the interdiscursive elements of tours could be destabilized between inconsistent narratives that are experienced by the same tourists. Because tours share many of the same sites, and many tourists go on multiple tours to achieve a more holistic Charleston ‘experience’, inconsistencies both create opportunities for guides to de-authorize each other via the delegitimizing practices of tourists (e.g. asking confrontational questions about historical or established ‘fact’) and also may destabilize understandings of the events and context surrounding a particular site (line 8-9: ‘you take his tour and hear one thing and then get on mine and hear something radically different about the same site’), allowing more alternative or contested narratives to proliferate more freely among tourists or counternarrative guides. Similarly to Alada’s feelings about the importance of epistemic authority and truth, in the excerpt below Alphonso reiterates that the interface between tour guide and tourist knowledge and expectations can sometimes be a self-correcting process.

Excerpt 5.15 Alphonso Brown (Interview 2)

1 SM yeah cause you have to be licensed right? (27:50)

2 AB right gotta be licensed
 3 SM right
 4 AB but, all that you have to do now
 5 go down to City Hall, and you tell em you wanna do- you become a tour guide
 6 okay they give you a business license, that's the law now (28:03)
 7 SM and that's it [they just] kind of hand it no questions asked
 8 AB [that's it] that's it
 9 SM and then you can- [so] anybody can hop on a bus and like-
 10 AB [yeah] get yo- follow the rule get you a bus
 11 if you wanna get a bus, you gonna have to report to the, tours commission approved
 bus
 12 and that- if you get the right kinda bus= that's it, [that's it]
 13 SM [so] you can get on a bus with people who have no more knowledge
 14 I mean then Wikipedia or something-
 15 AB yeah but, if you get on the bus to someone who have no knowledge (28:30)
 16 what can I tell you= you gonna tell somebody else to get on that bus?
 17 SM but what if they fake it real well? what if they you know [@@@]
 18 [a::h] the truth will catch up witchu, make no matter what the truth will catch up

Not only does he feel that the truth will ‘catch up witchu’ (line 18) in terms of tour guide scripts and narratives, but that tourist expectations and responses to the particular brand, scope, and intent of the tour directly affect the ‘word of mouth’ marketing aspect of tours (whether directly to other potential customers or distributed through networks such as review sites and social media). Alphonso explicitly refers to knowledge here as a capital perceivable and transactional by tourists, where tourist evaluations have ideological and material consequences in terms of consumer interdiscursivity (line 16: ‘you gonna tell somebody else to get on that bus?’). He also refers to the licensing process in the wake of the federal banning of the certification requirement in Charleston, taking the stance of the lack of regulation potentially producing guides with less epistemic authority (line 5-6: ‘but, all that you have to do now go down to City Hall, and you tell em you wanna do- you become a tour guide’), but also allowing a higher level of accessibility for potential guides. Notably, his stance lacks the dual racialized implication of GGT’s stance towards licensing: that the certification

requirement is directly entrenched in White supremacy, restricting the amount of Black tour guides (and by extension, Black identity, culture, and historic authority) and that dismantling the requirement would create more equity and accessibility for Black tour guides.

Excerpt 5.16 Alphonso Brown (Interview 2)

- 35 AB don't you know that test is two hundred questions, and can, fail only twenty
36 SM two hundr- so you can- you have to get a nintey, above a ninety
37 AB eighty
38 SM an eight- <tsk>
39 AB I took the test bout three times, by the fourth time- and fail it three times= (29:33)
40 by the fourth time I took the test
41 I knew I was gonna pass

Alphonso recognizes that the test can be difficult in terms of amount of information required to pass, making it clear that those requirements are important to ensuring a baseline of guide knowledge, but also highlighting that even he, someone with years of experience and guide knowledge, did not guarantee a first-time pass (line 39: 'I took the test three times...and fail it three times'). Rather, he became familiar with the particular type and scope of historical narrative knowledge that the certification examination required through repeated instances of taking it (line 40-41: 'by the fourth time I took the test I knew I was gonna pass'). This highlights a clear distinction between established narrative and counternarrative guides along lines of oppositional legitimation: guides who still value the licensing and certification process index legitimation through this process, whereas those who eschew the licensing and certification process as obstacles to uncovering hidden or uncomfortable truth instead index legitimation through direct refutation of it. Both groups actually de-legitimate each other's epistemic authority by way of the opposing stances towards this central tension.

It is important to note that because the Gullah Geechee community is small, historically isolated, and still in many ways marginalized as it is culturally valorized, ideologies about how to engage with outsiders, particularly White ones, vary greatly among individuals. The Black and Gullah Geechee tour industry is no exception to these ideologies, in fact being particularly sensitive to them as they have to consider outsiders as the main consumers of their tour and brand. While this means a construction of outward-facing personhood in intercommunity terms, it also has consequences for intracommunity footing of guides and community members creating space for themselves in a limited socioeconomic niche.

Excerpt 5.17 Alphonso Brown (Interview 1)

- 15 AB but them, I don't know what changed, they, tell people I'm lyin bout Charleston=
 16 #don't listen em# I'm lyin this I'm lyin that and, don't listen to me and blah blah blah
 17 and, they, hate me I don't know why
 18 SM @@@
 19 AB I don't know why, because I don't embrace, their, dialogue
 20 SM [their- their particular] view, right? cause they've got a narrative (41:00)
 21 AB [I don't embrace it][yeah]
 22 SM [and] I mean they're like, and I- cause I mean, I've been on their tour twice
 23 I've been on your tour twice, [and it] is v:ery different
 24 AB [mhm] yeah
 25 SM narratives of history-
 26 AB I said to them, if you like doing this style of tour help yourself
 27 for you ain't gonna get no customer you ain't gettin no, #ain't gonna get any# White
 28 people
 29 because this is, you see I told them
 29 your tour is like fighting the civil rights movement again
 30 SM @@
 31 AB you can't be, belittling, berating White people
 32 and expect them to take your tour and give you money=
 33 you know you don't want to lie but nevertheless
 34 the civil rights movement is over they don't have the movement now

In this interview excerpt, Alphonso reveals some of the complicated interpersonal tension that can be particularly difficult in a small cultural heritage tourism niche, made

even more turbulent by the fact that he felt that he and another tour guide were friends at one point, and he did his best to help them get their footing in the industry (a feeling and narrative shared by other established Gullah Geechee tour guides as well). There is an emphasis on ‘truth’ as a critical social capital for the tour guide, with the overt lack of it here (i.e. ‘lyin’) as perpetuated by Godfrey against Alphonso as not just a personal characterization (line 17: ‘he, hate me I don't know why), but also a de-legitimation of Alphonso as a source of epistemic authority and therefore a reason to avoid GT as a brand altogether (line 16: ‘I'm lyin this I'm lyin that and, don't listen to me’). He rationalizes this conflict coming from his refusal to ‘embrace his dialogue’ (line 19, 21) concerning alternative historical narratives, but still acknowledges that other guides can run their tour with their brand and narrative in the way they feel is most true to their intent (line 26: ‘if you like doing this style of tour help yourself’). However, he points out what he sees as a major flaw in the touristic discourse of these counternarratives: that the ideologies perpetuated some tours can be taken up as anti-White, which could directly harm his ability to attract White tourists. Alphonso explicitly calls attention to discourses that are ‘belittling, berating White people’ (line 31), draws a direct link between White tourist comfort, customer satisfaction and profit (line 32: ‘[can’t] expect them to take your tour and give you money’), and again establishes how truth in this narrative genre is highly commodifiable capital (line 33: ‘you know you don’t want to lie but nevertheless’). He also refers twice in this excerpt to the Civil Rights movement, making a parallel between potentially uncomfortable discourses to historic activism, both in that counternarrative tours can act a site of interracial tension (line 29: ‘your tour is like fighting the Civil Rights movement again’) and that the time and place (i.e.

‘appropriateness’) of more incendiary discourse or potential conflict has passed (line 34: ‘the Civil Rights movement is over they don’t have the movement now’).

This takes on an additional layer of meaning when considered in the context of guides like K Hill being relatively prolific in Charleston’s Black Lives Matter movement and other Black activism, having once been arrested in a confrontation with White vendors at the Charleston Market who were selling stereotypically racialized ‘mammy dolls’ (K Hill 2020a), in what Godfrey framed as ‘interrupting a Slave Sale that was taking place on the Charleston Slave Auction Market’. In his retelling of the events surrounding the confrontation, Godfrey refers to several elements of his touristic discourse concerning scripts (‘Charleston has been giving the same tours and the same tour guide tests to promote scripted tours for more than forty years’), authenticity (‘A black-owned Gullah tourism company is telling their own history, instead of wealthy plantation descendant tour guides telling their inaccurate version of the Slave’s history’), Godfrey’s specific in-group authenticity (‘If you want a real authentic Charleston tour experience, you must take a Gullah Geechee tour. It is the only place you will find Charleston’s Only Native Charleston Gullah Historian’), the ‘silencing’ of counternarratives (‘Because this company offers a totally different perspective on the history of Charleston, the city is again attempting to silence this black owned tour operation from speaking the truth about the city’s history’), the Charleston tourism industry (‘Charleston has been giving the same canned speech to tourists for more than forty years... to protect its tour guide training “integrity” in order to protect Charleston tourism from its true history... The first manual and the second had a black history section of only nine pages in a five-hundred-page book’), the licensing situation (‘Until this past year, there were only six black City

of Charleston licensed tour guides and over seven hundred White City of Charleston licensed guides'), and the revelation of 'secret' or 'true' history ('The true history of Black African American Slavery is so significant that only an authentic Gullah Geechee historian can properly handle its impact of Charleston and its hidden spiritual messages and secrets').

5.2 ANECDOTES AND SONG

A major component of the Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour is the sharing of story and anecdote. These not only move the discourse of the tour beyond rote historical narrative, providing tourists with moments of 'culture' from which they can contextualize more intimate knowledge of Gullah Geechee history and heritage, but these also act as salient sites of authenticity for the guides. These sites of authenticity move the guides past a perception of simply providing a transaction of information (that one would often associate with a historic tour and/or a tour from a larger company) and give the guides opportunities to share their specific experiences as intercultural intercommunity intermediaries. Tourists with some pre-existing knowledge of Gullah Geechee often associate the culture and heritage to contain this component, as this genre is often ubiquitously associated with the community; this can be seen in the Gullah Geechee storytelling events at Boone Hall, Gullah Geechee festivals across the Lowcountry, and public performances of Gullah Geechee storytelling at media events and increasingly in digital spaces as well. Because of the particular niche of the Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour, this genre operates differently than it would in a static space. There is a spatiotemporal element, as guides may tell stories but must limit their length to between stops and sites, as well as consider tourist interest and engagement. Guides have a

repertoire of stories and anecdotes to pull from, with not every tour containing the same story elements told in exactly the same way; however, there are some consistent patterns of anecdotes that seem to be more intimately tied to the individual ‘brand’ of a guide, especially in instances where stories may index a particular model of personhood being constructed on and around the tour. This excerpt from an interview with Nate Hutchinson of Charleston African American Tours (CAAT) reflects some common elements found throughout the anecdote and story genre of tours, as well as referencing the metatouristic function of this genre.

Excerpt 5.18 Nate Hutchinson (Interview 1)

- 9 SM so but even when it comes to like even when you have to kind of entertain
 10 what kind of stuff do you what kind of Gullah do you use or in that moment?
 11 NH well I tell stories sometimes and I do this on my tour quite often you know
 12 when I when I feel people are losing interest or not- kind of doing a little comedy
 to-
 13 you know I talk about you know I had this uncle named uncle double T
 14 and, he told me he, he needed me to take him to the eye doctor (13:33)
 15 and I said uncle wha- what's wrong with your eyes?
 16 he said *well boy the doctor done tell me I got a Cadillac in my eye*
 17 *an gotta get Cadillac had to come out*
 18 I said uncle he said cataract and he said
 19 [*no put no cat on da rack*] he says *em Cadillac*
 20 SM [@@@]

When asked about the use of Gullah as entertainment, Nate explicitly mentions stories as a strategy to maintain tourist interest, and also identifies them as a comedic genre (line 12). The story he gives here contains typological elements typically found across the stories provided by tour guides: 1) a relation to family or locality that places them physically or culturally in the Gullah Geechee community, 2) comedy as a storytelling genre, 3) reported speech of another and 4) stylized Gullah Geechee (or AAE). While stories need not contain all 4 components, multiple elements are often used

to index an outsider-perceivable authenticity, whether through cultural, geospatial, or linguistic means. For example, in Nate's story, he introduces a familial relation, the uncle 'Double T'. The uncle requests that Nate take him to the eye doctor, and when asked why, he responds with his 'diagnosis' (line 16: 'the doctor done tell me I got a Cadillac in my eye'). Nate switches into a stylized Gullah Geechee here once he begins the reported speech, indicating not only how Double T talks, but Nate as a *binyah* local can both understand and reproduce the style at the syntactic, phonological, and prosodic level. The crux of the joke here, the incongruity between the Mainstream American English (MAE) 'cataract' and Double T's 'Cadillac' reflects multiple phonological characteristics of GG, i.e. intervocalic voicing, lateralization, and final cluster reduction. Nate's ability to switch between the reported speech style and his more MAE or acrolectal-approaching style further indexes his perceived authenticity as a local and native speaker production, while also signalling his role as an intercommunity intermediary who can shift based on audience and purpose.

While anecdotes are the second most common discourse genre of the tour, their ubiquity is certainly not distributed evenly among guides, who use the genre at different times to achieve different purposes. One of these 'time and purpose' intersections is the 'introduction story', told near the beginning of the tour. Because tourists may enter the bus with a range of pre-existing knowledge and expectation of the tour, guide, and experience, guides use the introduction story to establish a tour's tone, somewhat curate the tourist imaginary, as well as utilize the typological components above to construct a model of personhood that will be perceived authentically in some way by outsider tourists. In this way, they can also gauge this pre-existing cultural and linguistic

knowledge of Gullah Geechee on a specific tour and modulate the tour experience accordingly; although the tour remains largely scripted without much improvisation, a guide might acknowledge when they are interacting with someone with some knowledge or access to the language by ‘quizzing’ them on a specific term or phrase, or making a reference to a local family or area as a stance towards a tourist who may identify as less of an outsider⁶⁵. Not all Gullah Geechee and Black tour guides utilize this introduction story; however, for those who do (i.e. Gullah Tours and Sites & Insights Tours), this introductory element allows the guides to educate and entertain tourists and from the start produce the touristic frame and their initial footing within it. In this introduction from the beginning of a Gullah Tours tour, Alphonso recounts a story his grandfather used to tell his family concerning deer hunters and their Black companion.

Excerpt 5.19 Gullah Tours (Tour 2)

- 23 AB my granddaddy, my granddaddy used to like #when# tell us the story
 24 about the two White deer hunters= (1:00)
 25 they went deer hunting on this particular day unfortunately
 26 they didn't find anything, they had a Negro companion with them=
 27 so the Negro companion said to them
 28 *wen unna de de de de no unna de de*
 29 *wen unna no de de de de de de* (2.0)
 30 and y'all didn't understand a word=
 31 you mean I can't do this tour in Gullah today?

This story contains all four elements from the typology previously discussed, and also contains elements of the ‘language-sharing’ genre (discussed below) and intercommunity language ideologies. Firstly, the linkage to family relation is produced,

⁶⁵ It should be noted that it is very rare for local Gullah Geechee community members to go on these tours. In the case that someone identifies themselves as Gullah Geechee to a guide, it is much more likely to be understood as having (kinship or geographic) ties to the area (almost certainly not indexed as a *binyah*) and very much still treated as an outsider tourist. In this way the stance of ‘tourist’ very often supplants other personae and identity alignments.

both by ‘granddaddy’ and ‘us’ (line 23), indicating the importance of the story to the *binyah* family of Alphonso. Secondly, there is a humorous element that complexifies upon retellings of the story. Thirdly, the story uses the reported speech of Alphonso’s grandfather, and finally, that speech is highly stylized in nature. Upon the first telling of the story (of which there are typically three repetitions within the first five minutes of the tour), the expectation is that tourists will be completely unable to understand the stylized reported speech (line 28-29: ‘*wen unna de de de de no unna de de wen unna no de de de de de*’)⁶⁶. As will be discussed below concerning language-sharing, this opens a frame allowing Alphonso to teach tourists some Gullah Geechee. However, as it stands here, it also operates as a stance-making strategy by Alphonso: as a native Gullah Geechee speaker, he makes a delineation between insiders and outsiders, their lack of competency in the language (line 30: ‘and y’all didn’t understand a word’), reifying the language as ‘real’ in a salient metalinguistic way. Shortly after, Alphonso produces the (non-literal) translation of the statement (‘when you all are there, the deer knows you’re there, when you’re not there, the deer is there’), and the full realization of the humor within the introductory story is produced. The humor comes from the perceived homophony of the several elements (e.g. *de* meaning ‘there’, ‘the’, ‘they’, and ‘deer’) but also from the straightforward logic of the hunters’ companion. Therefore, through a humorous introductory anecdote, Alphonso has established several things: he is a local, authentic, community insider, native Gullah Geechee speaker; the tourists are out-group members who lack competence in Gullah Geechee and require translation; the bus is an ‘appropriate’ space of Gullah Geechee usage where the language is valorized, rather than

⁶⁶ Eng. ‘when you’re there, the deer know you’re there. When you’re not there, the deer are there.’

subordinated by hegemonic MAE language practices; and he as the intercommunity intermediary culture, knowledge, and language broker has the competence and epistemic authority necessary to translate and transact information to the tourists, through (but not limited to) a style-shifting repertoire. The introductory story of Sites & Insights Tours contains some similar typological elements to GT; however, the execution reflects a different persona being constructed, albeit the retention of tour guide as the intercommunity intermediary. Here Al Miller recounts a story from his childhood, with his parents as the principal characters involved.

Excerpt 5.20 Sites and Insights Tours (Tour 1)

4 AM now (2.0) let me give an example of something
 5 since you most #know# a meal is not a meal unless you have rice
 6 *ma* parents in nineteen sixty-nine growing up as a child
 7 got into the #ugliest# argument over rice, we ate it every day
 8 every morning for breakfast I had grits
 9 then at other times it was rice (6:01)
 10 well one Friday night ladies and I'm not ignoring you gentlemen, when I say
 ladies=
 11 you gonna know why I'm saying ladies in a minute
 12 ladies my mama decided not to cook rice and my daddy got upset=
 13 it's not that- she cooked mashed potatoes that's a starch
 14 Daddy said Dorothy where's the rice?
 15 kay just some of y'all ladies do the same thing my mama did=
 16 put her hands on her hip= she mad now, Sonny
 17 I'm trying to fix some rice argument was on big time
 18 Mama lost the argument everybody (6:29)
 19 because back then the men were the breadwinners
 20 and Daddy was demanding at times= Daddy could be hell=
 21 I'm talking about my dad ain't tryin to figure out nobody's Dad #on this bus#=
 22 [#talkin bout# my Daddy okay?]
 23 T [@@@@@]

This story establishes a discursive link to Gullah Geechee, Black, and Southern cultures in the propensity of rice at every meal (line 5, 7, and 9) and traditional gender roles within the family unit (line 18-19: 'Mama lost the argument everybody, because

back then the men were the breadwinners’). It also fulfills the story typology by presenting a humorous vignette (line 17: ‘argument was on big time’) and the use of reported speech (line 14: ‘Daddy said Dorothy where’s the rice’). However, the SIT introductory story lacks the use of stylized speech within the reported speech frame unlike the GT introductory story; in fact, Al lacks much stylized speech overall within this example besides a strong monophthongization of *ma* ‘my’ (line 6) in variation with a more diphthongized version found elsewhere (line 21). Like GT, the SIT introductory story also operates as an opportunity for intertouristic interaction, as Al refers to the gendered groups on the bus (line 10: ‘well one Friday night ladies and I’m not ignoring you gentlemen, when I say ladies= you gonna know why I’m saying ladies in a minute’) to have passengers align with their gendered expectations of the outcome of the story, as well as create a footing that specifically aligns ‘ladies’ on the bus with the persona of his ‘mama’ (line 15-16: kay just some of y’all ladies do the same thing my mama did= put her hands on her hip= she mad now, Sonny’) both with a deictic and an embodied action. The combinatory usage of humor and ‘drawing in’ of tourists by asking them questions and expecting participation is a common feature of the tours, as it helps to maintain tourist attention and provide them with a more personable, individualized, or ‘genuine’ experience. Using an introductory story creates a frame of expectations for how this intertouristic flow of information and interaction will occur, very much ‘setting the stage’ for the rest of the tour and constructing a model of interaction that can curate tourist expectations in a way that is more manageable for tour guides.

The next major type of tour stories are stories about other tourists. Again, these are opportunities to combine historical, cultural, and local knowledge in ways that are

commodifiable performances for the sake of the tourist experience and to expand the tourist imaginary. The tours that utilize this subgenre the most (again Gullah Tours and Sites and Insights) typically align with much of the storytelling typology, being recounted for laughs but also to co-construct the guide as a source of local knowledge and authentic experience. It is also interesting to note that many of these stories center on tour guides recounting interactions with women, particularly Black women as tourists. Much of this may be attributed to the incongruity of the stories, where traditionally taboo topics of death and murder are made more humorous by the morbidly inquisitive (and perceptibly unexpected) nature of the tourists asking about them. In the excerpt below, Alphonso Brown recounts a story concerning an older woman questioning him about a *root* or *fix*, i.e. the use of local folk practices (or ‘hoodoo’) to work negative effects on an individual.

Excerpt 5.21 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 1371 AB one day on tour (1.0) I tell ya this all the time (50:41)
 1372 #little# lady pulled me aside, and whispered and asked me
 1373 mister, you don't know who I can get in touch with about that kind of thing *ha*
 1374 #lady# was serious I was so shocked I said lady that stuff backfires on ya
 1375 she said but yeah but we got a minister that we tryin to get rid of
 1376 T @@@@
 1377 T oh god
 1378 T @@@@
 1379 AB yeah she did little miss serious
 1380 T oh gosh
 1381 AB and say he use root to stay where he is, and we need something to counteract=
 1382 I said lady hol up
 1383 T @@@
 1384 AB I said you treadin on dangerous territory (51:15)
 1385 T @@@
 1386 AB I said I can't help you: but you keep lookin
 1387 SM @
 1388 SM @@
 1389 AB I guarantee you'll find something you can't handle
 1390 or gon find someone who gonna gyp you and all your money or both
 1391 now I know I lied a little bit= we all tell a lie

1392 I coulda told little lady where to go
 1393 well yeah lady going right there on King Street= one block ova
 1394 all the way up near, Cannon Street
 1395 this little raggy drug store called Cut Rate Drugstore, up in the hood (1.0)

It should be noted that conversations about Voodoo, hoodoo, and rootwork are common expectations from outsiders when considering the Gullah Geechee culture and heritage, much of which can be attributed to primitivist perspectives and media from the 1920s and 1930s. Although some guides may often steer clear of this topic due to its easily exoticized or essentialized nature by outsiders, others may incorporate aspects of this system of beliefs when discussing Gullah Geechee culture more generally but are careful to bring it up at least in ways that do not directly demean or denigrate practitioners. In the current research, it was found that Charleston tour guides mention it more offhandedly or use it in often-humorous stories; however, tour guides on the Sea Islands, particularly St. Helena Island and Sapelo Island, tend to be more reticent to discuss these practices, due perhaps to primitivist ideologies and expectations still suturing tourist imaginaries of an ‘untouched’ or ‘lost to time’ Gullah Geechee local culture (Cooper 2017). In this story, the woman interrogates Alphonso’s knowledge of where to procure material to counteract a root, in this case one used by a local minister to retain his current position. Alphonso stylizes her voice somewhat with *ha* ‘here’ (line 1373), but most of the performance is focused on the incongruous content of the story, where a minister would be unexpected by outsiders to use rootwork to achieve career aspirations (line 1375, 1381). The incongruity frame here is also reaffirmed with Alphonso’s use of diminutive language (‘little lady’, ‘little miss serious’) to juxtapose with the seriousness of the situation. However, although the story is largely performed for tourist entertainment, it also reaffirms Alphonso’s epistemic authority and local

knowledge, both of local custom and also geospatial awareness of place and material relating to local practices. He identifies himself as someone aware of the consequences of misapplied rootwork (line 1374: 'I said lady that stuff backfires on ya'), warns her (line 1384: 'I said you treadin on dangerous territory'), and discusses the material and spiritual danger (line 1389-1390: 'I guarantee you'll find something you can't handle or gon find someone who gonna gyp you and all your money or both'). He is not only taking a direct stance away from her as someone with a lack of knowledge and caution, but simultaneously constructing himself as someone who both has the necessary knowledge (line 1392: 'I coulda told little lady where to go') and specific knowledge of a site tied to hoodoo practices and materials (line 1393-1395). This stance-taking is made even more explicit by his admission of being untruthful with the tourist (line 1386, 1391: I said I can't help you: but you keep lookin...now I know I lied a little bit= we all tell a lie) in order to act as a cautious gatekeeper and to protect her (as well as possible protect the reputation of the drug store that provides materials for rootwork). His willingness to provide the current tourists with not only this story as a source of entertainment, but also with the specifics of the location and description of this drug store (line 1395: 'this little raggy drug store...up in the hood') shows some alignment with the tourists taking the tour, creating a dichotomy that places the current group as one with the necessary knowledge to make better decisions involving respect of local practices. There is a consistent interpolation of this adequation and distinction throughout the tour—guides produce salient moments of discourse that may temporarily align tourists with them, but there are always persistent reminders that the guides themselves are the authentic and authoritative local liaisons responsible for sharing 'appropriate' knowledge to outsiders

as they see fit. The excerpt below represents another tourist story, this time recounted during a SIT tour. Al Miller has a marked interest in tourist stories and discourses, even having authored the supplemental material book titled *Tourists Can Say the Darndest Things!*. His story here accomplishes much of the same typological and epistemic ground that the GT tourist story does, namely positioning him as an authority on local knowledge and as an entertainer.

Excerpt 5.22 Sites and Insights Tours (Tour 1)

- 1 AM look to your left these flowers in the median (2:27:27)
- 2 are poi:son oleanders (1.0) some local women have been known
- 3 to take these leaves to boil tea to poison their husbands
- 4 @@
- 5 and that's why they call it [widow's tea]
- 6 T1 [@@@]@@@
- 7 AM don't worry fellas I got your back fellas (6.0)
- 8 the- they listen they are pretty but they are poison they're dangerous
- 9 one Black woman said no that's th- they used to call it widow's tea
- 10 T2 okay
- 11 AM one Black woman said no that's that love you honey tea
- 12 T @@@@]
- 13 AM [I] almost said love you to death tea (2:28:00)
- 14 this man said no that's good insurance tea
- 15 on a serious no they they are poison
- 16 T2 mm okay (5.0)
- 17 AM one day you all- see see people don't know me=
- 18 I mean I just love I love people love having fun
- 19 one day the lady say stop
- 20 T3 @@@
- 21 AM at the bus and and guess what I roll down the window and and
- 22 pop one and pass it back to her and guess what?
- 23 her husband didn't say a word= guess what she said honey (2:28:30)
- 24 you better put it back because my husband got the keys to the car @
- 25 T @@@@@

While traveling near the Charleston Battery in between stops, Miller remarks on the presence of oleander, a poisonous flowering plant common in the region, reproducing a local historical narrative of women using the leaves to boil ‘widows tea’ and poison

their husbands (line 1-5). He provides some other names for the tea ('love you honey tea', 'love you to death tea', 'good insurance tea'), each humorously referring to the tea's capacity to kill the drinker. He then refers to an occasion where he picked a leaf and gave it to a woman sitting with her husband, who told him to throw the leaf away 'because my husband got the keys to the car' (line 23). Miller's repeated assurances that the plant is poisonous (line 2, line 7, line 15) reflect his knowledge paired with local custom of naming and using the tea. Also of note is his repeated explicit designation of Black women having this insider knowledge as well (line 9, 11), again with humor being constructed in the story as a wife's intent to poison her husband was thwarted with his having the keys to the car (line 23). Here Miller refers to gendered distinction (line 7: 'don't worry fellas I got your back fellas') and the 'fact' that only wives make the tea to align tourists by gendered expectations, including the stereotyped stoic nature of husbands even under threat of poisoning (line 22: 'her husband didn't say a word'). This framing of the tourist story and Miller himself as a performer, entertainer, and storyteller as well as a tour guide is also explicitly indexed within the discourse (line 17-18: 'see people don't know me= I mean I just love I love people love having fun'). It should also be noted that these stories are steadfast and consistent tool in the repertoire of these guides, being utilized on every tour at similar times and locations and performing specific purposes each time beyond the scope of simply entertaining tourists, but also producing framing and footing that position guides and tourists in particular ways concerning models of personhood, systems of knowledge, and tourist imaginaries.

While most of the stories provided on the tour are meant to entertain through humor, guides may also use more somber genres of story to make explicit ties to their

communities, rituals and traditions, and relationship to tragedy, loss, and grief within the Gullah Geechee and Black cultural matrix. The excerpt below from a SIT tour performs each of these functions, with Al Miller taking the opportunity to share local knowledge with tourists, index his own epistemic authority, and draw a clear linkage to his relationship between his community and tradition across generational lines.

Excerpt 5.23 Sites and Insights (Tour 2)

- 7 AM when I was a child, let's say grandmama died and she had a bunch of grandchildren (54:05)
- 8 two men from the funeral home would, get get involved with a ritual-
- 9 what we call passing the child or passing children
- 10 they pick up little Johnny, when funeral directors, implore you
- 11 pick up little Johnny and pass Johnny across grandma's grave=
- 12 a casket to the other man now they gonna pick up little Susie
- 13 pick up little Henry (1.0) this is called passing the child or passing children=
- 14 have anybody heard of this ritual?
- 15 T no (54:32)
- 16 AM okay why is this done? (3.0)
- 17 T1 why
- 18 AM so for three reasons that I know of number one, to protect the child
- 19 number two, so that that dead person spirit will not come back and take the child
- 20 okay, and, so: that the children will not be afraid of that person=
- 21 those three reasons, I had a Black woman two weeks ago
- 22 her mother was buried in Georgetown she grew up in some part, of of the North (55:03)
- 23 and she said she was six when her mom died
- 24 her brother was twelve but they were all young
- 25 and she said grandmama told them say tell them what they were gonna do
- 26 so the funeral directors those men were gonna pick up them
- 27 and then pass them across the mom's, grave or casket
- 28 so that they would not be afraid of her and so that
- 29 her spirit would not come back and take them
- 30 today everybody= it's a liability issue funeral homes don't get involved with that anymore
- 31 they leave it up to the families (1.0) in 2009 (55:34)
- 32 my nephew PJ Purpose Miller Jr was killed in a car accident
- 33 we went back to the cemetery and I picked up Mayer=
- 34 my brother's granddaughter and passed Mayer across PJ's grave
- 35 to one of my other brothers, okay? (1.0)
- 36 I'm sure Mayer remembers that she certainly remember me holding her

He first introduces the concept of ‘passing the child’ (line 9), a burial tradition historically common in Lowcountry Black communities. After giving tourists an opportunity to show their knowledge of the practice (line 14, 16: ‘have anybody heard of this ritual...why is this done?’), he gives three reasons for its use: 1) to protect the child, 2) to appease the spirit of the deceased, and 3) to keep the child from fearing the deceased (line 18-20). He then moves beyond this cultural knowledge and ties it to a story of a tourist from Georgetown who was ‘passed over’ the grave of her deceased mother, anchoring the practice in a reality through anecdote (line 21-29). Miller then comments on the loss of tradition in the face of modernity (line 29-31: ‘it’s a liability issue funeral homes don’t get involved with that anymore, they leave it up to the families’), and links the introduction of the ritual and the anecdote of the tourist with his own experience with tragedy and tradition. He recounts the story of a nephew killed in a car accident, and his personal role during the funeral, passing his brother’s granddaughter across the grave, and how the event was a significant one for the family, especially the grand-niece who was passed over (line 32-36). The use of a more somber story here instead of a humorous one allows Miller to explain the role of ritual and tradition in times and spaces of grief in the Gullah Geechee community, while also providing opportunity for him to share his knowledge about specific cultural elements not only as an authority on the subject, but also an authentic member of the community who has personal ties to the practice within his family spanning generations.

The last genre that is typologically significant during the tour is the use of song by tour guides. Discussion and explanation of the role of songs, singing, gospel, and spirituals are a large component of the tour, as they are both central facets of Gullah

Geechee community and outsider expectations. For example, Gullah cultural history during the tours ubiquitously includes the history and significance of “Amelia’s Song”. A funeral hymn passed down from the grandmother of Amelia Dawley. Lorenzo Dow Turner discovered it was a preserved Mende language artifact during his linguistic documentation of Gullah Geechee in the 1920s (Campbell 2011). However, while the history of song and spirituality may be significant points of interest on a tour, not all tour guides engage with the subject in the same way. In the following interview excerpt, Al Miller distinguishes methods of sharing of knowledge with expectations of entertainment and performance between himself and another tour guide:

Excerpt 5.24 Al Miller (Interview 2)

- 15 AM and she- she's not, she's not gonna do some things she's not gonna sing
 16 she's not gonna try to make people laugh
 17 SM she just gonna give you the- [just give you the information]
 18 AM [just give it to you plain] yeah and and cause I've heard people say
 19 well, in fact there was a **review** that someone wrote and they said
 20 there's nothing wrong with the tour but make sure Al Miller does the tour=
 21 she read it (1.0) cause that's when she was working for me full time
 22 she read it but, you know and then she'll tell people well, I'm not Al (41:11)
 23 SM [@@@]@@@
 24 AM [so I don't sing] and and and I tell people well that's what she chose to do=
 25 she chose not to sing not that you **have to**

Here Al makes a clear distinction between his tour and others: while some tours can be perceived as more pragmatic transmission of information and knowledge (line 18), he places value in the commodifiable capital of ‘entertainment’ during his tour through humorous elements and song (line 15-16). In fact, he draws a clear line between willingness to entertain if that fulfills tourist expectations and positive tourist evaluations and retention, even if the more ‘straightforward’ pragmatic elements of other tours are evaluated positively (line 19-20: ‘someone wrote and they said, there’s nothing wrong

with the tour but make sure Al Miller does the tour'). Although all Gullah Geechee tour guides can technically run their tours at their own discretion, produce historical narratives and share knowledge in the ways they see fit, and access commodifiable cultural capital as authentic in-group community members, the marketability and 'brand' of the tour is sometimes shaped by tourist expectations, and evaluations of 'entertainment' are one such facet of this. Out of the observed and surveyed Black and Gullah Geechee tour guides, only Sites & Insights Tours used songs as a genre, and even then, not on every tour. Although Alphonso Brown and Al Miller both have musical backgrounds, even sharing membership in some choral and professional organizations, Al Miller puts a larger emphasis on the musical history of Gullah Geechee. This is in large part due to the scope of multiple of his tours explicitly focusing on the play and opera *Porgy & Bess*, of which he has contributed multiple vocal roles, including as 'Sportin' Life' in the first performance in Charleston in 1970. He incorporates some partial portions of these songs in the song (e.g. "T'ain't Necessarily So") and during one tour has tourists accompany him in singing "Summertime"; while he offers these during most tours, the use of religious songs is more restricted, relegated to tour groups who take on particularly engaged and positive stances with Al's invitation to participate interactively.

Excerpt 5.25 Sites and Insights (Tour 1)

- 1 AM so, Gershwin put a lot of soul into this opera, and, so he noticed something (1:43:22)
- 2 the pattern of these Black folk singing in Charleston | <starts clapping 1/4>
- 3 #now# I always start off a song with a single clap just to #kind# of do it now
- 4 with a lo:t of energy (1.0) and whenever get about a half or three fourths into the verse (2.0)
- 5 then pick it up with a three four clap | <starts clapping 3/4>
- 6 originated from Africa then Caribbean #held over# to the Sea Islands
- 7 then it kinda spre:ad throughout (2.0) (1:42:43)

8	AM;	oh we are climbing Jacob's Ladder oh we are	<singing, clapping 1/4, tourists start clapping/singing>
	T	climbing Jacob's Ladder	
9		oh we are climbing Jacob's Ladder soldiers of the	<clapping 3/4>
		[cross] (1:44:21)	
10	T	[woo:]	<clapping 1/4>
11	AM;	oh every round goes higher and higher oh every	
	T	round goes higher and higher	<clapping 3/4, singing ends>
12		oh every round goes higher and higher soldiers of the	
		cross	<applause>
13	T2	alright	
14	T	ya:y @@@ that was great	<applause>
15	AM	[church on the bus] (1:44:59)	
16	T	ya:y @@@ woo: @@	<applause>
17	AM	so, it's almost always cut off on the last beat	

The above excerpt from a SIT illustrates the composition of one of these intertouristic interactive moments utilizing spiritual song as a way to engage, educate, and entertain tourists. Al opens the frame by contextualizing it within his scope of knowledge of the history of Gershwin's incorporation of Black spiritual or 'soul' (line 1) sound into *Porgy & Bess*. This is more largely contextualized with the origin of this particular rhythmic structure and clap, stomp, and vocalizing pattern from Africa, to the Caribbean, and then to the Sea Islands (line 5-7). He further explains the organization of clapping rhythm patterns in Gullah Geechee spirituals (line 4-5), then begins performing the rhythm he previously introduced and starts singing the spiritual "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder", at which point the majority of the bus joins in with clapping and vocalizing (line 8-12). This forms an interesting site of intertouristic stancetaking for multiple reasons. This site of cultural exchange could well be unidirectional as an additional mode of 'cultural showcasing' in the case that the majority of tourists on the bus were White or unfamiliar with Black spirituals (or uncomfortable with singing them in a public setting). Therefore, this performance works best and maximizes its collaborative and participatory capacity when the bus contains a majority of tourists who

are familiar with the specific spiritual, comfortable with singing it, and engaged in the genre (as a facsimile of the Black church experience) in that moment. Unlike many of the linguistic components of Gullah Geechee tours, which explicitly delineate between in-group and out-group, this collaborative element of the tour aligns the non-local Black experience with the Gullah Geechee one. Those who are unfamiliar with the songs or Black church practices either may take a stance away from this salient moment or take up the opportunity to learn and/or join in with the experience. However, during a later tour with SIT (of the same ‘type’), it was observed that this portion of the tour played out much differently, with the majority of tourists being unfamiliar with the specific song Al began singing for his demonstration and therefore not producing a collaborative frame, but rather a more unidirectional ‘cultural exchange’ or showcasing. In the case that the first moment of collaborative singing ‘works’ or executes a participatory frame, Al provides additional moments that engage tourists in this way to produce a particularly memorable tour experience. For example, later in a tour with a group that had joined him in singing multiple times, Al opens another song frame with the spiritual “Come Out The Wilderness”:

Excerpt 5.26 Sites and Insights (Tour 1)

1	AM	but that's where the old song comes from (1:48:50)	
2	AM; T	tell me how did you feel when you come out the wilderness	<singing, starts 1/4 stomping; tourists start singing/clapping>
3		come out the wilderness come out the wilderness	
4		tell me how did you feel when you come out the wilderness leaning on the Lord	
5		oh leaning on the Lord leaning on the Lord	<3/4 clapping>
6		I'ma leaning on the Lord who died on Calvary	<1/4 clapping, singing/clapping ends>
7	AM	<i>honey got dat ting now?</i>	<3/4 clapping ends>
8	T	ye:s @@@@ (1:49:30)	<applause>
9		now	
10	T2	the spirit is definitely alive and well here today	

11 T yea:h! @@@@ | <applause>
 12 AM and listen don't let me have them church groups=
 13 oh my goodness the bus is rockin [@@@@]
 14 T [@@@@] (1:49:44)

While the introduction of the first hymn was linked to a moment of historical narrative discourse contextualizing the role of spirituals in *Porgy & Bess*, this song frame is linked to the Gullah Geechee cultural and religious practice of ‘seeking’. This event constitutes an adherent asking for the interpretation of prayers and dreams by a spiritual leader following a period of isolation in the wilderness, at which point they begin their Christian ‘walk’ in a particular denomination. Although Al could share knowledge of this practice through rote description to tourists, as he knows that this specific group has already taken a positive stance towards spirituals and participation on this tour, he instead contextualizes the event by having the tourists join him in singing a spiritual linked to the practice (line 1-6). He closes out the frame with a stylized ‘catchphrase’ taken from a moment of reported speech earlier in the tour (line 7: ‘honey got dat ting now?’), both to signal the end of the frame as well as to check on audience understanding and evaluation of the event. He receives explicit positive affirmation by a tourist (line 10: ‘the spirit is definitely alive and well here today!’) with other tourists indicating their alignment with this statement, and then closes out the frame by humorously referring to the nature of church groups to energetically participate in that portion of the tour (line 12-13).

The use of song during SIT tours reflects a particular style in the navigation of tourist expectation and participation during the cultural heritage tour. Although it is not always possible to incorporate collaborative song into the tour, whether because of tourist (a)positionality to Black spiritual songs or a lack of overall engagement with the performance, the enthusiastic response of tourists when it does work indicates that this is

a successful instantiation of Al's particular 'brand' of Gullah Geechee personhood that is both marketable and commodifiable by tourists. Not only does this further deepen perceptions of his authenticity to the community by outsiders, it also produces moments of stance-making in which shared cultural associations align tourists with the Gullah Geechee community in a genre that is particularly close to their personal knowledge and experiences. Because many tourists associate 'spiritual' musicality with their understanding of Gullah Geechee heritage and culture, these performances align with their expectations in meaningful ways that the tour can provide. Although a unidirectional model of transmission can 'work', whether through rote knowledge and description or cultural 'showcasing' through guides singing without collaboration, these moments of stronger tourist participation seem to create particularly strong tourist experiences that allow them to commodify and 'take away' more from the event overall. Although similar to the showcasing and use of marked language during the tour in terms of evaluations of authenticity and branding, collaborative song seeks to adequate intertouristic interactions rather than the intercommunity distinction that moments of marked language index.

5.3 LANGUAGE DISPLAY AND SHARING: SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Because the tour is in many ways an extension of the 'brand' of the tour guide, itself a commodifiable persona of the guide's model of personhood, this brand can be extended beyond the tour itself in various ways that develop these personae and strengthen claims of tour guide and tour company positionalities to the Gullah Geechee community. One of the main ways guides accomplish this is the production and distribution of supplementary material, media that operates as cultural and linguistic artifacts tying guides to particular

ideologies, practices, and styles. The three central guides for this research have all produced at least one supplementary artifact, which provides perspectives of how the guides perceive themselves and would like to be perceived by tourists and community outsiders. These supplementary texts allow the guides to curate expectations and evaluations of themselves to a certain extent, in that these artifacts may either prime tourists before they engage the tour and content or allow tourists afterward to complement the tour with additional information; either way guides are able to produce context within the scope and intent of the touristic experience on their own terms, as well as commodify a portion of their perceived authenticity and authority. I will introduce the three representative texts here; more detailed examines of specific portions can be found in later sections.

Alphonso Brown's book, titled *A Gullah Guide to Charleston: Walking Through Black History* (GGC), presents itself as a supplementary guide to a Gullah Tours tour, providing biographical and historical information of many Black and Gullah Geechee-oriented sites beyond the scope of what the 2-hour tour is reasonably able to cover. Split into 'Gullah History', 'Walking Tour', and 'Driving Tour' sections, the book lists 67 total stops; 54 are within the walking tour section, mostly the downtown area covered by the bus tour GT offer, and 13 are from the driving tour section, which represents outlying sites visited on the tour (e.g. Philip Simmons's house) and stops outside of (down)town (e.g. McCleod Planation). The book takes a pragmatic, straightforward tone when it comes to delivering its historical narrative, accompanied with maps, illustrations, and photographs of relevant Charlestonian people and places. However, its most unique feature compared to the other supplemental tour artifacts is Alphonso's personal

translations of some entries between Gullah Geechee and English. While these are discussed in more detail below, it is important to introduce here Alphonso's use of the language in order to showcase a stylized representation for interested buyers. Also important to consider is the juxtaposition of the Gullah Geechee sections with English translations in order to make distinct the separation between the two languages; most of the English sections are rearranged or longer than their Gullah Geechee counterparts, with additional or more detailed information.

5. 65 Alexander Street

"Harp of David" Gate by Philip Simmons

De 'lid'jus khaa'rectuh ob dis gate repuhzent de feelin' ob Mistuh 'n Mis Ahmstead Harrison who lib yuh den. 'Fo dat 'e bin de home ob Anna Banks wah help staa't McClennan/Bank Hos'bittle. Mistuh Harrison paah bin Fadduh Chaa'ls Harrison, one ob de Rectuh ob St. Maa'k 'Piscabal Chu'ch. De gate bin fix yuh 'wrung 1960. De gate bin zine by Fullup Simmons. Look how de end ob dem scroll duh curl een tight. 'E curl 'em likkuh dem gate mekuh bin do yuh obbuh two hunnud od yea'. 'E say, "Ef yuh shum curl een tight, uh mek um or 'e bin mek by dem great gate mekuh wah lib yuh way back yonduh."

The religious character of this gate, designed and forged by Philip Simmons, represented the personality of Mr. and Mrs. Armstead Harrison, who at that time were the owners of the house. Armstead Harrison's father, Father Charles A. Harrison was a rector of Saint Mark Episcopal Church. The gate was commissioned around 1960. The scrolls of this gate, like all of Simmons's gates, are tightly curled on the ends. This is a style that was used by many of the great gate makers around the world. Simmons once remarked, "If you see the ends curled in tight, I made it or it was made some 200 years ago by some great gate makers here in America." The property once belonged to the family of Anna Banks, one of the founders of the McLennan/Banks hospital (A. Brown 2008, 28-29).

These Gullah Geechee sections provide sites of perceivable authenticity and authority through Brown's translations, bolstered with the additional 'insider' information of the tour sites. It should also be noted that the Gullah Geechee Brown uses here in his translation is also considered by Brown to be a "watered-down

version...privately used among friends and acquaintances...certainly not the same pure and original sound of the Southern, rural, black 1920s” (A. Brown 2008, 14). GGC offers more insight into Brown’s language ideologies (see below), but it more holistically represents a ‘fleshed out’ version of his own tour, and by extension, the production of the cultural and historical narrative he feels is both most accurate and most necessary to provide to visitors, tourists, and outsiders.

Al Miller’s book, *Tourists Can Say the Darndest Things! Exploring Historic Charleston, South Carolina* (TCS) takes a very different approach to the supplemental material genre. Although it also includes a general expansion of many of the stops visited on Sights & Insights Tours’s downtown tour (with two sequels planned to cover other areas, e.g. James and Johns Island), TGC’s purpose is much more entertainment-driven. This orientation towards humor and entertainment corresponds strongly with the SIT tour brand, scope, and intent; this positions the text as an extension beyond rote historical narrative and produces much of the same emphasis on performance and anecdote that occurs on Miller’s tours. Sections are separated by geographic location and each chapter begins with a historical background frame but are soon interspersed with intertouristic moments in the form of anecdotes that Miller provides concerning tourists’ responses to specific historical sites, people, and events. As is expected with Miller’s tone and intratouristic performance, the anecdotes in these sections are designed to entertain through humor while also providing education for outsiders (and reifying his local knowledge):

Other famous persons buried in the churchyard which, is divided into an eastern and a western section are Edward Rutledge, signer of the Declaration of Independence and a SC governor; Dubose Heyward, author of the novel *Porgy*

and co-author of the opera *Porgy and Bess*; and several colonial governors and Episcopal bishops. “My husband and I worshipped there (St. Phillips) on our last trip to Charleston, and the music was *just fabulous!*” Mrs. Stockton from Fort Wayne, IN exclaimed with much excitement. “We heard about that John C. Calhoun guy on another tour, and who in the world would want dead bones?” Mrs. White from Bristol, TN asked. Ms. Susan from Lawrence, SC put in her two cents with a distinct southern accent: “I reckon he was for the southern cause so they had to protect him from those Yankee soldiers. I guess it *was* a little silly to move him so many times.”

The Old Slave Mart Museum at 6 Chalmers Street is coming up on the left. It has exhibits and interactive stations in which visitors can get a true sense of the realities of American enslavement while physically being present in a space where people of African descent were shuttled to, inspected, bid on, became the personal property of whomever bid the highest amount of money, and then whisked away - with or without the family members with whom they came there (Miller 2017, 72-73).

As with GGC, Miller’s book contains photos and illustrations that give visual context to many locations and stops, including maps, signage, slave sale broadsides, and funeral programs. He also explicitly comments on the metatouristic function of the tour (Miller 2017, 5-8), as the central focus of the book is on tourist expectation, evaluation, and reaction to the sites and tour experience. While the majority of metatouristic commentary is anecdotal and meant to entertain, TCS does also comment on the navigation of ‘appropriate’ topic and method of audience design based on audience (e.g. identifying a brothel in front of a pastor or explaining a chamber pot to young tourists). The book also contains multiple sections concerning Gullah Geechee culture and specifically language:

And from 2004 to the present, a typical greeting by me, Mr. Tour Guide, might go this way with my speaking in the Gullah language: “Way unna chillun from?” (Where are you from?) Visitors’ responses range from smiles and laughs to excitement and confusion. I’ve heard “What did you say?” “What?” “Whoa?” or “You went foreign on us for a moment!” Those who understand the language have stated, “That’s Gullah you’re speaking,” or “That’s Geechee you’re speaking.” (Miller 2017, 1)

Miller uses excerpts in Gullah Geechee to highlight intercommunity demarcations and insider knowledge while at the same time creating concentric levels of authenticity for himself as an insider but not a local: “Thanks to local Charlestonians for sharing your stories and insight which have afforded me a unique perspective and a better understanding of Charleston's history given that I'm a ‘cumya’ and you are ‘binyas’” (Miller 2017, pvii). Although he clearly admits to being a non-local, he still uses language as a performance in order to ‘play’ with notions of authenticity and locality with the understanding that tourists will accept him as both authentic and local with a sufficient use of Gullah Geechee:

On numerous occasions I've been asked by visitors “And where are *you* from?” Some African Americans who're familiar with Gullah have told Mr. Tour Guide that he doesn't sound like he's from Charleston. Occasionally, then I'll give a quick response in Gullah like: “And how unna know I ain from ya?” (How do you know that I'm not from here?) With that response some think Mr. Tour Guide is a Charlestonian. Then I'll reveal the truth I'm not a Charlestonian, I'm originally from Mullins, SC, a small town in Marion Country, 116 miles north of Charleston (Miller 2017, 2).

A notable feature of this book is a major emphasis on the historical and cultural significance of Emanuel AME Church and reflections on the 2015 ‘Emanuel 9’ shooting and Miller’s personal loss of family relatives and friends (Miller 2017, 16-45). TCS includes remarks made by Miller concerning the tragedy, interviews with family members, media from the observances, and a full photographic retrospective. This further accentuates the divergence of this book as supplemental artifact from GGC in that it seeks to foreground Miller’s connection to the tragedy, ties to the community, and the site as holy, rather than its iteration as purely a touristic site removed from a contemporary sociocultural history.

Godfrey K Hill's book, titled *Gullah Geechee: The Blood Root to Charleston's Slave Trade & Redemption (Rev 22)* (GBR), represents the most divergent scope, tone, and intent from the other material for a supplemental artifact, again accurately reflecting an extension of the mission and purpose of the brand of Gullah Geechee Tours. The book acts as Bible and as manifesto, providing religious exegesis, commentary on slavery and the tourism industry in Charleston, the history of Gullah Geechee as it relates to the authors personal cosmology, and an allegorical biography of Godfrey's own birth and life (KHill 2020b). GBR is unique in that it does not mention, advertise, or market GGT's tour at all; rather, it is meant to directly expand on Godfrey's personal belief system and his perspective on the Black experience and identity. The writing style takes motivation from Biblical prose ("Oh God, please have mercy on me. The slave master's children have all grown up and now, they are the men of Charleston's Slave history called tourism" (KHill 2020b, 5)), including its own verses and 'Psalms' (e.g. '**Gullah Geechee Psalms 56**⁶⁷'), as well as direct quotations from the King James Version of the Bible. GBR contains a significant amount of intracommunity commentary, including perspectives on Queen Quet's 'sovereignty' in the Gullah Geechee nation along exegetical lines ("some of the Gullah Geechee people believe a queen could rule over them as their head, but dogs, do lie. The wicked dog's bark is deceitful, and her teeth are fueled with much venom and dogs do bite but she is weak." (KHill 2020b, 13)) and relationships with White communities ("today, in the Gullah Geechee culture, that coon spirit is the most effeminate and the most sought after Gullah Geechee image Charleston loves to promote and use to advertise to White people that are looking to be entertained

⁶⁷ KHill uses nonstandard orthography, punctuation and stylistic elements throughout his book; these have been preserved here, i.e. (sic) where applicable in this section.

by the damaging scars of slavery” (KHill 2020b, 83)). Throughout all of these different topics the book invokes, a claim or emphasis of ‘true’ knowledge as opposed to ‘hidden’ or buried knowledge is consistent throughout:

They have no true knowledge about the Gullah Geechee Hebrew people of the looka ya. If you were to ask your so-called Gullah Geechee historians or teachers or professors what Gullah or Geechee means, they would tell you that Gullah and Geechee are West African words, belonging to the African’s language of origin, and these are only some of the old lies because there are so many of their lies. Check any museum and listen to what they call history about the slaves and see what they all say and begin to connect the dots for yourself. (KHill 2020b, 89)

GBR produces multiple histories, one of which being a personal mythology of the author’s birth and life that uses gospel quotes to create parallels with the birth of Christ (e.g. **Matthew 2: 13-14**) and a metaphysical etiology of Gullah Geechee origins, linking it with the Hebrew Israelites (“In the beginning, God made Gullah to be the ruler over his kingdom of the chosen people. The land was called Negroland. King Gullah lived in the heart of the holy city... with his beautiful wife named Ogeechee. They had twins; a Gullah Geechee boy and a Geechee Gullah girl” (KHill 2020b, 151)). These histories tie into GBR’s perspectives concerning the tourism industry as well, one created “by way of Slavery” that continues to work counter to the federal dissolution of the certification requirement (i.e. the Palmetto Guild) and perpetuate ‘lies’ within the historical narrative and make the industry less accessible to Black, African American, and Gullah Geechee tour guides: “Charleston's evil leaders arrogantly...still offer the test if you want to work for any of them that only support corruption, and the certification test that has proven historical lies throughout the book” (KHill 2020b, 19). One final component of the book is the origin, description, and explanation of Gullah Geechee language provided by Godfrey, again with a mixture of history, religion, and social commentary. This

perspective situates English as a “baby language” that is “less than six hundred years old” (KHill 2020b, 102) in contrast to Gullah Geechee, originating from “the original ancient Hebrew language”. The link between religion and language is explicit as it forms much of the ‘justification’ for Gullah Geechee legitimacy (“Gullah people speak in the exact same language structure that the Bible is written in”), with parallels commonly drawn in the book between Jesus Christ and the Gullah Geechee people: “Christ spoke in the Hebrew tongue. Gullah is a Hebrew word for Christ Jesus, the Redeemer’s secret bloodline connections to the Gullah Geechie people the slave trade.” (KHill 2020b, 107). The GBR also provides a list of “ANCIENT HEBREW WORDS THAT SURVIVED” including “Massa = Burden...Boi Ye = To call attention to...Look Yah = Look at God...Kum Bai Yah = Hebrew song the Slaves regularly sang in Hebrew” (KHill 2020b, 150). It is also important to note the relationship between Gullah Geechee and AAE as depicted by GBR:

The Gullah Geechie language has been entirely under attack by Satan himself, and he is always very busy. A group of so called language experts studied the Gullah language, and from their miss-understanding, they have developed a new language based off of their spiritual perspective, and they have copyright ownership with this false corruption of the Gullah language in order to prove they now fully understand and own Gullah. They call it “Ebonics.” It's now taught as a second language and spoken by many people. The Gullah Geechie culture is one of the most exploited cultures in America today in this new year of twenty-twenty. Ebonics is a cursed language, a systematic mockery of the real Gullah culture and it was planted amongst the Gullah Geechie people as a lower form of babbelling even as the infant baby babbels when it try to talk but has no control over its tongue and is unable to speak properly as a man (KHill 2020b, 169).

As seen in the excerpt above, GBR as supplemental material offers a radically different approach to producing knowledge and ideology as an extension of its brand. By interweaving religion, history, and personal perspectives, this artifact clearly represents a belief system that sets itself apart from the more mainstream narratives of the other

supplemental artifacts and therefore sets its author and tour company apart from the more mainstream or institutionally-aligned companies as well. Language practices and language as an object feature significantly in all three texts; however, each text approaches Gullah Geechee differently as both a subject and a tool to be used. While GGC heavily features stylized Gullah Geechee and ‘translations’ as a way of indexing an authentic personhood, TCS instead focuses on Gullah Geechee culture as a subject and the guide’s own interior but non-local positioning, while GBR positions Gullah Geechee language as legitimating the history and culture through spiritual affiliation and distance from contact varieties (e.g. AAE and White Englishes).

CHAPTER 6

TOUR GUIDE STYLE, STYLE-SHIFTING, AND STYLIZATION

This chapter analyzes the use of intraspeaker variation, or style, by tour guides and how this variation incorporates shifts and performances of stylization during tours. This includes an overview of linguistic style and its interaction with notions of framing, footing, stance, and the production of personae. The use of style-shifting to distinguish between personae, different discursive components of the tour, and guides themselves are also observed as enregistered language practices that speak to guides metalinguistic awareness and navigation of outsider hegemonic language regard. The chapter concludes with the documentation and typology of tour guide self-stylization practices, in which they use particular sets of features to further make claims towards their insider authenticity and authority, voice themselves and others, and use commodifiable and souvenirized language in their catchphrases and branding.

6.1 STYLE AND STYLE-SHIFTING

What ties together the framing and footing of the intertouristic experience with the circulating discourses and ideologies of Gullah Geechee language and personhood is the production, performance, and perception of *style*. While the simple definition of style as ‘intraspeaker variation’ is sufficient for much of this analysis, it still bears mentioning of

how linguistic styling can be tied to Nakassian style of the body and brand⁶⁸ (Nakassis 2012), which is particularly distinct in this sociolinguistic context. Although language is always being performed, and therefore tied to the body and embodiment in meaningful ways, it becomes clear that the touristic site is incredibly robust in its reification of performance. Guides are literally performing for an audience while simultaneously performing personhood as well as demarcating belonging and their positionality within their community. Stylistic variation between Gullah Geechee and English provides guides with a resource that allows them to navigate tourist expectations and negotiate the tour experience through conscious and directed language practices. Each guide employs a unique style that is a reflection of his individual orientation towards his performance repertoire, including variation along axes of register, creole continuum, and language variety. Because all principle guides (GT, GGT, SIT) identify as Gullah Geechee, we can situate them as having not only ‘high’ and ‘low’ registers, a performance register specifically curated for the tour experience, an acrolectal and at least mesolectal Gullah Geechee continua, and command of AAE, Southern American English (SAE), and MAE to some degree⁶⁹; this three-dimensional repertoire produces a space where not only personhood in terms of locality, race/ethnicity, age, and gender are constructed, but also

⁶⁸ “The brand is a mix of sameness and difference, contiguity and comparability, an identity that projects differences of voice, time, and space. It is citational, and this makes it able to be performative” (Nakassis 2012).

⁶⁹ To reiterate, it is not to say that these are necessarily discrete linguistic entities, although they may exist that way in the minds of speakers with each also having a separate set of indexicalities and language ideologies. In fact, it is because there is considerable overlap between these varieties and many of their features that may motivate speakers as intercommunity intermediaries to conceptualize and designate them discretely, while simultaneously pulling from overlapping features when performing a particular personae, e.g. ‘translating’ for outsiders. Because of this, there were certainly moments during the research where distinctions may have been ‘murkier’ than others, but efforts were taken to be consistent in how these perceptions were made, including (meta)discursive and (meta)pragmatic contextualization of what the language was (being perceived as) ‘doing’ in that moment.

the ways in which perceptions of authenticity or belonging to communities based on these features are also positioned for the evaluation of interlocutors. While some contemporary work has examined this under the *ethnolinguistic repertoire framework* (Benor 2010), modified frameworks such as (King 2018) challenges this framework to move past a construction of ethnicity in this way, rather looking at both how multiple features can index individual identities and individual features come to index multiple identities. The assemblage of linguistic features from this repertoire and both their conscious and unconscious deployments in interaction are the individual styles of these guides, particularly of note in the current analysis at moments of *style-shifting*. Rather than looking at the language practices of guides as discrete (or even spectral) movement along a single axis of variation (e.g. register, continua, language), these shifts occur in conjunction with multiple axes based on the needs of a speaker's performance, whether that performance be a conscious curation (e.g. the tour), an unconscious stance (e.g. differentiation from a subject), or a combination of both (e.g. a metalinguistically aware performance with varying 'strengths' of stylization). Style shifts occur for a multitude of reasons during and around the tour but can be largely consolidated into three major components: *frame*, *theme/topic*, and *stance/foot/alignment*.

A major site of style, especially as a baseline or benchmark for style-shifting and the construction of other personae occurs typologically in the historical narratives section of the tour. Because this is the 'standard' component of a tour, with the most rote and regimented frame, and often a central part of the status quo expectations of the tour

genre, it acts as both a site of the unmarked⁷⁰ from which to examine style-shifting as well establishing the production of a set of language practices that themselves index the style of the historical narrative genre. Language used by guides during this portion of the tour is typically the least stylized, as it represents the least exoticized segment of the tour and it is also the most salient opportunity to construct themselves as producers of epistemic authority in the evaluations of tourists. It also lends itself to a perception of authenticity; however, not necessarily a racialized authenticity of the guide as a member of the Gullah Geechee community, instead authentically a Charleston local with expert knowledge of history and location. In the following example, Alphonso provides a historical narrative for the insurrection attempt by Denmark Vesey.

Excerpt 6.1 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 1 AB on our right, o:ld jail (1.0) completed, 1801 stopped using it, 1938 (1:13:50)
- 2 T wow
- 3 AB ever heard of (1.0) Denmark Vesey
- 4 T yes yes
- 5 AB famous insurrectionist fi:nally get into the history books of America
- 6 had plans to overthrow the slave-established government here in Charleston
- 7 developing his **pla:ns**? his main conce:rn? don't let the house slaves find out
- 8 well they did the rest is history they caught about sixty of his main conspirators=
- 9 hang half of em run the otha half outta town
- 10 Denmark Vesey had five men who he called his trusted lieutenants= (1:14:31)
- 11 when they were caught, they were chained to the floor (1.0) of the Whitney House
- 12 the Whitney House was a jail for the Blacks, also known as the execution house
- 13 the workhouse sometimes call it the sugarhouse where they plant sugarcane
- 14 this building here jail for the Whites, here for the Blacks just on the other side of it
- 15 earthquake shook her down so badly they never rebuilt it

After confirming if the audience is familiar with the figure, he gives a summary of Vesey, his lack of acknowledgement in the mainstream historical record (line 5), and ties

⁷⁰ 'Unmarked' here in the sense of most likely to be understood by MAE-speaking outsiders, not the 'typical' style employed by guides in their everyday lives outside of the curated touristic performance.

the narrative spatially to the Old Charleston Jail where the bus is currently stopped and the site is located. By creating temporospatial narrative, Brown produces a chronotope of particular time and place, as well as tying it to person, and this frame is not only indicated by the content of the stop but also his style of delivering the narrative. As can be seen, the performance here is relatively unidirectional and rote information delivered with a more MAE-adjacent language style; however, line 9 ('hang half of em run the otha half outta town') is interesting in that it marks a style shift into a lower register⁷¹ (i.e. aphesis, final r-deletion, contraction, an increase in speech speed) before returning to his narrative style in the following phrase. Although the purpose of the historical narrative and its style is to provide 'facts' or historical information in a relatively unmarked manner, Alphonso still intersperses these frames with style-shifted segments, both to keep tourists engaged through marked shifts and to also indicate a flexible and entertaining performance register available to him as the overarching frame of the tour itself. It also draws attention to how register, dialect, and language all coalesce under the notion of 'style' as even in this section Alphonso shifts into a less formal, less hegemonically unmarked, and less 'standard' (by outsider and his own perceptions) style in order to accomplish something consciously with this portion of the performance.

However, it should be mentioned that the historical narrative portions of the tour are neither uninterrupted segments nor monolithic in style. In the case of the former, the historical narrative portion is the 'default setting' of the tour and allows guides, at their discretion based on the needs of the tour and wants of the tourists, to 'veer off' into other

⁷¹ 'Lower' register here indicating less formality as well as more features associated with the non-MAE varieties within the repertoire.

touristic discursive frames, each themselves indicated with explicit discursive markers as well as style-shifting to orient tourists to the new frame. In the excerpt below, Al Miller showcases rapid frame and style-shifting to deliver multiple types of information to tourists through a performance of multiple personae.

Excerpt 6.2 Sites and Insights (Tour 2)

- 1 AM so (2.0) our next stop, is James Island Presbyterian Church (17:30)
- 2 where Samuel Smalls is buried the Black man who's the real Porgy
- 3 he was from James Island (3.0)
- 4 another old Gullah Geechee belief (1.0) it's bad luck, for a woman, to buy a man
- 5 a new pair of shoes, he'll walk out of your li:fe or he'll walk all over you (2.0)
- 6 one day this woman's response honey that's why I bought my ex two pair
- 7 T @@ (17:58)
- 8 AM she wanted him gone (2.0)
- 9 so again as you look around what makes it so beautiful
- 10 the saltwater marshes these saltwater tidal creeks these creeks run to the rivers
- 11 the rivers run into the Atlantic Ocean (9.0)
- 12 if someone was called a Geechee, years ago, that was not a good thing
- 13 the person who said it gotta be willing to fight, the reason being because (18:33)
- 14 it was a derogatory term, offside is we've got those who are Gullah Geechee
- 15 as being ignorant stupid silly, backwards and can't talk= all these negative thoughts
- 16 so some parents and grandparents saw to it, that their children and grandchildren
- 17 will
- 18 not be speaking, Gullah, think about it= an o:ld English school grandmother (1.0)
- 19 she's telling her grandchildren, you don't bring that kind of talk into this house=
- (19:03)
- do I make myself clear?

In lines 1-4 he adopts the historical (and cultural) narrative frame, similar to the above historical narrative excerpt with Alphonso in that he ties the current narrative portion to a physical site. In this case he deepens the chronotopic association with a literary iteration (i.e. *Porgy*), placing tourists familiar with the work and its characters, either before the tour or after learning about the history of *Porgy & Bess* earlier on tour, at a position to conflate literary and historical realities (e.g. line 2: 'the Black man who's the real Porgy'). After a pause, he then provides a superstition or belief from Gullah

Geechee culture concerning a woman buying a man shoes, which both adds to the perception of Miller as an authority on Gullah Geechee beliefs, positioning a humorous dichotomy of ‘men’s roles and stereotypes versus women’s’ (a common invocation of humor during SIT tours) and providing him a segue to a frame of reported speech in line 6, indicated by a discursive shift of gendered language (‘honey’) and a style shift involving plural -s absence characteristic of informal AAE (‘two pair’). Along with this shifting and the additional commentary about the reported speech (line 8: ‘she wanted him gone’), it is clear that Miller is attempting to stylistically construct a feeling of intimacy and familiarity with the tourist audience through anecdotal style and informal language. We can then see a shift back into a more formal style concerning the surrounding natural environment (line 9-11) before topic-shifting to the sociohistorical ideologies surrounding the term ‘Geechee’. He uses this shift to explicitly evoke imagery of an older Gullah Geechee woman (line 17: ‘think about it= an o:ld English school grandmother’) before shifting into reported speech, with an imagined speaker and audience (‘grandchildren’) and stylistic indication of ‘older’ speech (i.e. line 18: ‘you don’t bring that kind of talk into this house’), cf. ‘you don’t talk like that in this house’. In this single excerpt we see four frame shifts (historical narrative, reported speech, environmental commentary, reported speech) and four topic shifts (Samuel Smalls, buying shoes, salt marshes, ‘Geechee’ speech) that do not seamlessly overlap; rather, style shifts are used within each of these sections along with discourse markers and content to indicate movement from one physical or conversational site to another. Throughout, Miller uses style to both take stances with the tourist audience as one with informal speech and intimacy through anecdote, while simultaneously indexing his

position as an authority historical, environmental, and in-group knowledge (which means distinguishing his stance from tourist ‘lack’ of that knowledge and his subsequent imparting of it); however, he cannot index these epistemic authorities in a singular way, meaning different contexts of authority indexation and alignment require different speech styles and an awareness of where and how shifts need to occur.

In the case of the latter, each guide’s unique constellation of performance features aligned towards their own personhood, the scope and intent of the tour, and perceptions of tourist expectation and evaluation, produces a style all their own. In the case of the three principle participants in this study, a rough distinction can be made between the practiced, rote recitation performance style of GT and SIT (i.e. the *docent* persona) with the energetic, stream-of-consciousness style of GGT (i.e. the *preacher* persona), the content of their historical narratives notwithstanding. In the following narrative, we can see how Brown embodies this docent persona through his practiced style and performance.

Excerpt 6.3 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 13 AB the residential section of this part of town (1.5) back round in the early 1700 (31:32)
14 was once known as your French
15 T [Quarter]
16 T1 [shipping business]
17 AB we still call this here the French Quarter
18 T mhm
19 AB many of the Huguenots settled there also, this part of town from like 1800 to round
20 1943
21 was once known as the red light zone
21 T ooh @@
22 AB bad part of town
23 T @@@
24 AB well depends on who you're talking to
25 T @@@@
26 AB house of ill repute, you came down here at that time

27 you knew exactly what you was comin for (32:00)
 28 T @@@@
 29 AB was frequented by the mulattos the octaroons and the quadroons
 30 a mulatto is of course between a White and a Black= Obama

In lines 13-19, Brown recites rote historical knowledge and background of Charleston's French Quarter. However, he pivots into the more taboo yet still historically factual topic of the Quarter being a 'red light district' for much of its existence (line 20-26), where the persona is maintained but the formality of rote recitation is lowered and alignment with tourists in the sharing of this 'seedy' knowledge is increased. We can see with positive evaluations by tourists, indicated by laughter after each of his statements (lines 21, 23, 25, 28), that tourists take a positive stance towards Brown's persona and the stance object in this case, while he is providing additional information on a temporospatial tour site. While formality and alignment are working inversely with the topic shift here, note that as Brown shifts topic his style becomes less rigid and more relaxed and conversational through shared cultural context (line 24: 'well depends on who you're talking to') and euphemism (line 27: 'you knew exactly what you was comin for') indicating a type of collaborative in-group knowledge alignment. Also note that while Brown's historical narrative and docent persona performance register is 'high' compared to his other styles, it is characterized by features found in AAE, SAE, and non-formal MAE such as apheresis ('back round'), deictic postposition ('this here'), and copula leveling ('you was'), indicating that these features alone do not depict a style shift for him. Rather a style shift for Brown is more saliently indicated by the co-occurrence of these features outside of this persona and frame. By contrast, the excerpt below is an example from Gullah Gullah Tours, where Godfrey embodies a preacher persona,

characterized by a more stream of consciousness and word association performance approach.

Excerpt 6.4 Gullah Geechee Tours (Tour 2)

1 GKH two pyramids it's a portal it's a gateway it's a doorway it's the eleven (11:58)
2 Charleston is the gateway city the doorway city the portal, the rabbit hole the-
3 the nother dimension all of the dimensions th- the slaves sung in Hebrew
4 right here in Charleston in Hebrew *kum ba yah* talking to those UFOs
5 nother dimension dimensions chariots its dimensions portals gateways
6 33rd parallel specifically now where them ships disappear at (1.0)
7 equipment don't work quite quite we:ll all kind a, ghostly sightings
8 and if you look up the 33rd parallel it's always a whole bunch of bloo:d (12:26)
9 a lot a lot a lot of death a lot of death prisons death row
10 the history is real people pay no attention don't got no time for that=
11 we gotta go to the club I got to get some xxx I got to find something to do=
12 I got to get hi:gh (2.0) who tryna really pay attention to th-
13 who doing this real work? not many people
14 for he said whoever come and drink from the water of life freely (1.5)
15 I ain't begging you now this over here's where the good stuff at (12:54)
16 but you got it all jewelry everything distractions everything
17 you gotta walk up the hill now come and drink drink all you want now

Gullah Gullah Tours is less illustrative of a 'strict' historical narrative tour and instead combines historical, pseudohistorical, fringe belief and conspiracy theory narratives with mythological, pop culture, philosophical, and religious discourses to produce Godfrey's personal brand of individual and community personhood. As can be seen in lines 1-6, Godfrey's discursive style involves linkages and creating connections between signs and symbols as deciphered by his belief system. In this excerpt this starts with the title of Charleston as 'the Gateway city' linked to concepts of portals, rabbit holes, and other dimensions, which are then linked to UFOs and 'chariots' (i.e. 'chariots of fire', a reference to the Biblical visions of Ezekiel popularly conceived by UFO enthusiasts as extraterrestrial sightings) and then connected to the Bible as a religious text, with Hebrew as its liturgical language, and Hebrew being the ancestor of the Gullah

Geechee language and the language that the slaves spoke (line 3-4). Godfrey's speech for much of the tour is intentionally rapid, with long intonation units elided together. The use of this rapid speech and repetition for emphasis (line 9: 'a lot a lot a lot of death a lot of death prisons death row') evokes the preaching style common in many southern denominational churches and street proselytization, and is also a hallmark of Black Hebrew Israelites, whose views Godfrey shares, particularly the relationship between the tribes of Israel, Black origin and identity, and specifically the linguistic connection between Hebrew and Black language. Between lines 13 and 14 a style-shift can be seen; Godfrey switches into paraphrasing a Bible verse (John 4:14: 'but whoever drinks of the water that I will give him shall never thirst; but the water that I will give him will become in him a well of water springing up to eternal life'), including a higher register 'Biblical' performance style. But then he shifts back into a non-Biblical, informal speaking while he discusses 'worldly distractions' (line 15: 'I ain't begging you now this over here's where the good stuff at'), indicated by informal features such as *ain't*, *this over here*, and copula deletion. Godfrey then finishes this historical, exegetical, and proselytizing frame with line 17, which ties together the Biblical message and style from line 14 with an earlier deciphering of the nursery rhyme of Jack and Jill as symbolic of 'secret' knowledge of the Biblical message of the water of life. By switching between speech styles while still embodying this preacher persona, Godfrey is able to link established historical fact and Biblical quote with some of his more esoteric statements, allowing for thematic and discursive linkages that are highly individual and produces a markedly different performance and tour experience than other guides. Again, this reiterates style as a connective tissue between guide identity, tour brand, and knowledge-sharing as an

interactional element of the tour: the style of language used during the historical narrative portion is tied to how the guide wants to present themselves as an epistemic authority and present their version of the narrative, with their specific orientation to the ‘reality’ of history in a meaningful way.

The next largest component of the tour, and therefore the next most salient site of style-as-brand, style-as-embodiment, and style-shifting is the anecdote and storytelling frame of the tour. While the historical narrative portion of the tour is often viewed as the most ‘necessary’ element of a successful tour of this type, tourists undertaking a cultural heritage tour have a high expectation of personal anecdotes and stories during the tour to give the tour, the guide, and the locations ‘character’. Character in this sense means that the guides have provided more than the ‘standard’ historical information about a particular location, leaving tourists with a sense of intimacy with a place; however, guides are also aware that tourists who leave a tour without a certain amount of predetermined or expected historical knowledge will often evaluate their epistemic authority negatively, meaning they must strike a balance between the intimacy of anecdote and the authority of the historical narrative. As seen below, here Al Miller shifts from a cultural narrative concerning Gullah Geechee funeral practices into a hypothetical anecdote about the justification to those practices, to a further shift into an anecdote for humorous effect.

Excerpt 6.5 Sites and Insights Tours (Tour 1)

- 3 AM why would you have money now we gettin into some deep Gullah Geechee stuff=
4 we gonna identify Gullah Geechee in a little bit (2.0) why money=
5 let's say we're superstitious and we get into disagreement about what ever
6 and I passed away and you going to feel bad
7 because you did not get a chance to ask me for forgiveness

8 so what you might do is take some money, and place it in my front pocket=
 9 somewhere in my casket, if not you might place it on my gra:ve (53:29)
 10 what in the world are you doing? you are paying me so my spirit won't harm you
 11 T @@@@ o:h [wow]
 12 AM a friend [of mine] used to work at a local funeral home
 13 she said that after numerous wake services, the staff found money in the casket
 14 course she never said they left the money there

In this excerpt, Miller personalizes the ‘constructed event’ in lines 3-10 through deictic usage (i.e. ‘you’ as a Gullah Geechee community member, ‘I’ as Miller himself and the deceased, and ‘we’ as hypothetical acquaintances), footing tourists temporarily within the Gullah Geechee in-group sphere and aligning them with Gullah Geechee cultural practices (line 5: ‘let’s say we’re superstitious’). This type of stylistic framing allows Miller to both provide a cultural showcase and narrative of a particular practice, but also creates intimacy between himself and tourists as ‘sharing’ in this experience. Also note that this is not framed as an anecdote of something that actually happened, but rather is a ‘constructed event’ (cf. *constructed speech* Nylund 2017) that allows for the participants to play a role in the speech event. Tourists take a stance as temporary insiders, while throughout Miller continues to strengthen the perception of his epistemic authority of authentic funerary practices. After being evaluated positively by tourists in line 11, Miller then shifts into a non-hypothetical anecdote in his storytelling style, establishing the character and scene in line 12, then using a reported speech frame to deliver the short anecdote in lines 13-14. The anecdote is meant to be humorous and entertain, playing on the incongruity of the solemnity and respect of funerary traditions with a taboo of stealing money from the deceased, especially money specifically used to appease the dead. Again it can be seen here that the thematic style shifts along with the frame style and the speech style, with Miller taking what could be seen as a grave subject

and both using language to align tourists within the cultural practice and defusing a potentially tense topic with a humorous anecdote, all of which are also opportunities for tourists to (re)evaluate Miller as being an authentic authority of Gullah Geechee practices and personhood.

Stylistic innovation, language play, and stylization become much more common during the storytelling and anecdote portions of the tour; this is perhaps most apparent when it comes to the reported or constructed speech of others as discussed below. As introduced previously, the four-point typology incorporates both reported and stylized speech as linguistic markers of the storytelling genre; because reported speech itself often is discursively marked (i.e. verbs of saying) as well as structurally marked (i.e. through stylization as the voices of others), stories where guides voice others, including themselves displaced in time/space, are robust sites of style-shifting. The following example, where Alphonso Brown discusses Philip Simmons, the Gullah Geechee term *tiefn*, and Gullah Geechee phonetics, exemplifies how style-shifting, self-styling, and stylization can all interplay in rapid succession for both personhood and persona construction along with tourist consumption and entertainment.

Excerpt 6.6 Gullah Tours (Tour 2)

- 4 AB Mr. Simmons told me some time ago fore he die:d
 5 *sei e na we don mount dem gate, on da pin, like that no mo*
 6 I said **why** Mr. Simmons
 7 *dey tiefn um*
 8 SM @@
 9 AB y'all missed that one he said we don't mount them in the pins like that anymore=
 10 I said why (1.0) *cause they been tiefn um*
 11 T1 takin em
 12 SM [stealin them]
 13 AB [#no:#] seizing em thieving em *tiefn em*
 14 T1 thief or [taking] em?

15 AB thieving [them] there are no ‘th’ sounds in many of the West African languages
 16 many Black **Charlestonians** still have difficulty pronouncing that ‘th’ sound
 (15:10)
 17 I have been taught, and it is with concerted effort
 18 that I say this that them these they and thief
 19 otherwise *dis dat dem dese den tief* comin through easier

The excerpt opens with Alphonso stylizing the reported speech of Simmons, also incorporating a distinctly higher pitch than his normal speaking voice. Line 5 includes phonological (*dem gate*) and syntactic (*no mo*) stylization, but the stylization also ‘spreads’ to the discursive reported speech marker itself (*sei e* ‘he says’), showing that the style shifts do not always necessarily align with frame or speech act shifts, but may ‘bleed’ into portions that are styled differently. He then uses the reported speech of Simmons to introduce the word *tiefn* ‘stealing’ in line 7, before shifting back into his unmarked style to comment on the outsider tourists’ inability to understand his stylized Gullah Geechee and provide a ‘translation’ in MAE (line 9: ‘y’all missed that one he said we don’t mount them in the pins like that anymore=’). He then re-introduces *tiefn* after reporting his own and Simmons’s speech, at which point participating tourists (in this case T1 being a Black woman who uses AAE in interactions during the tour) interact by guessing the meaning through context. In his response (line 13: ‘[#no:#] seizing em thieving em tiefn em’) a style transition can be seen from the higher register to stylized register, however with apheresis occurring in *em* for each style’s form, drawing attention instead to the linguistic transition to the stylized form. In lines 15-19, Brown provides metalinguistic commentary on dental occlusion in AAE and Gullah Geechee, citing its origin (line 15: ‘there are no ‘th’ sounds in many of the West African languages’), its current ethnolinguistic stereotyping (line 16: ‘many Black Charlestonians still have difficulty pronouncing that ‘th’ sound’), and his own orientation towards ‘correct’ or

‘standard’ phonological forms (line 17-18: ‘I have been taught, and it is with concerted effort that I say this that them these they and thief’). This type of metalinguistically aware commentary points towards Brown’s insider knowledge of the ideologies around his language, particularly with regard to outsider stigmatizing forces, but also highlights his ability to shift between register and style of his own speech in order to navigate various listener expectations. However, he does draw attention to the fact that his ‘default’ is the occluded or more Gullah Geechee (line 19: ‘otherwise *dis dat dem dese den tief* comin through easier’), speaking to his ‘natural’ style outside of intercommunity performance registers. This excerpt is particularly useful in illustrating the utility of style-shifting in embodying the self and the other in multiple personae, while also highlighting the positionality of guides as intercommunity intermediaries in this context, who can ‘translate’ between language and style as the situation requires, but always remaining perceivably ‘authentic’ to the in-group personhood being continuously constructed.

As with the historical narrative frame, the storytelling frame also presents ‘evidence’ of tour guide authenticity and authority for the evaluation of outsider tourists—it is not only the content of their stories here that constructs them as ‘authentic’ locals and community members as well as ‘authorities’ on their community and insider knowledge of the Charleston area, it is also their stylistic variation here in terms of performing personae of less mainstream (and assumed more ‘real’) selves and voices of other ‘real’ Gullah Geechee people. Style here is marked from the historical narrative frame not only in its interspeaker variation (of what a ‘correct’ style for the historical narrative genre entails) but its wide intraspeaker variation measured through shifts that play with voice, locality, and even gender. Here Alphonso Brown provides constructed

speech and reported speech of Black women as pertaining to the ‘character’ or morals of young women in Charleston.

Excerpt 6.7 Gullah Tours (Tour 2)

- 973 AB lower Black people
974 had nothin to do with they health low Black pertained to your character (33:12)
975 them ladies said their daughters
976 *mind gyal how yuh go to and mess round in dat street and lo:se your character*
977 *ain no man wan no gyal wid no **half character** so ladies hang on to them*
character
978 T @@
979 AB one lady said a few days ago if that was my character been gone
980 T @@@@[@@@@]
981 AB [I said lady] I said lady you need to go open up the field
982 this is the holy city

Similar to other stylized personae embodiments, Brown indicates the speech of women through explicit discursive marking ‘said’ and stylization seen in lines 976 and 977. However, we can contrast the use of stylized constructed speech here, not meant to be taken as a specific anecdotal quote but instead a distillation of what women stereotypically ‘would’ say to their daughters, with reported speech in lines 979 and 981. In line 979 (‘one lady said a few days ago if that was my character been gone’) Brown presents this reported speech, including the stylistic use of AAE stressed *been*, which is contrasted with his self-reported speech in line 981. Although Brown uses some characteristic features of AAE in his narrative style throughout, e.g. paradigm leveling (‘they health’)⁷², this is contrasted sharply with the Gullah Geechee features in the stylized lines, including a high pitch-shift or falsetto that accompanies many of the segmental features. Interestingly, in line 977 (‘*ain no man wan no gyal wid no **half***’

⁷² Paradigm leveling is a feature shared with Gullah Geechee; however, because there is a deliberate contrast between this style and the stylized Gullah Geechee in the following lines, it has been co-associated with the other non-stylized AAE features (e.g. nominalized deictic ‘them ladies’).

character so ladies hang on to them **character**')⁷³ we can see a partial de-stylization halfway through the intonation, switching back into his unmarked speaking style but still retaining deictic levelling and a repetition of the falsettoed term ('them **character**'; cf. 'that character'). Again, this points towards a spread or diffusion of stylization at multiple levels of consciousness across an utterance—Brown is style-shifting out of a more stylized performance but still retaining certain features, some for emphatic effect. It should also be noted here that Brown when using self-reported speech does not self-stylize his speech; rather he maintains his unmarked speaking style to highlight the difference between his speech in the anecdotal context and the voices of the constructed women he is invoking. While he does use stressed *been* for the reported speech of the second anecdote, the whole utterance is not stylized to the degree of the constructed speech, distinguishing the anecdotes, the speakers, and the voices Brown is performing simultaneously through these shifts. Reported speech and anecdotes involving women, particularly Black women, are common portions of both GT and SIT tours. Most of these anecdotes are either recounted for humorous effect, owing in no small part to the incongruity of the tour guides performing the gendered and stylized voices of others while contrasting their own voices with shifting, or drawing from the experiences and knowledge of Gullah Geechee women in the community, both embodying legitimated community positioning and belonging and establishing cultural epistemic authority.

The last major typological component of the tour is the language display, language-sharing, or language showcase sections. While Gullah Geechee culture,

⁷³ Note the bolded speech here to indicate pitch-shifting; this intonational feature commonly occurs in style-shifted moments, indicating a variable of sociophonetic meaning and significance as part of the 'accent' associated with Gullah Geechee.

especially religious culture (e.g. spiritual and ring shouts) and material culture and artifacts (e.g. sweetgrass baskets, food), along with Gullah Geechee, African American, and Black Charleston history is the central element of the cultural history tour, language plays a significant role in the authentication of the tour along cultural lines. Although language is by far not the only means of emblematic representation of Gullah Geechee culture, it does add to a constellation of indexical features that signals a more fully ‘authentic’ Gullah Geechee personhood by outsiders (if they are aware of Gullah Geechee at all). Therefore, along with historical narratives and anecdotes, curated language practices are part of the performance repertoire that position guides as epistemic authorities and authentic Gullah Geechee speakers by tourists. However, as with the other typological frames, language-sharing does not constitute a monolithic template with a consistent interspeaker performance. Speaker style, and their movement along repertoire axes during style-shifting, is highly variable and individual, as is their positioning to the entity of ‘Gullah Geechee language’ itself. For example, during GT tours, Alphonso Brown frequently invokes Gullah Geechee as a language, providing a language-sharing frame at the beginning of tours and acknowledging that he has a ‘heavy’ accent or may be hard to understand, situating himself as closer to a mesolectal Gullah Geechee style and further from AAE and MAE and/or ‘higher’ registers.

Excerpt 6.8 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 136 AB in Gullah **we** say *it kam witcha*
 137 T yeah
 138 AB *it kam witcha* ca:rry it with ya *kam widya*
 139 Mr. Simmons said *now Alphonso hap me*
 140 *I always wantcha fuh bring the people eya now*
 141 *but don't spect me fuh sitchere an wait on unna, I got tings fuh do*
 142 *if I de I de ya if I ain de I ain deya*
 143 T @@@@

144 that's easy one! What'd I say?
 145 SM; if you here you here
 T
 146 T now you not
 147 AB yea:h (3:57)
 148 T @@
 149 AB I still see a whole lotta puzzled looks
 150 god if I #lapse# into Gullah **some y'all gonna be in trouble**
 151 okay one more time one more time

Here Alphonso Brown produces a characteristic form of his language-sharing frame, with the introduction, larger embedding, interactional, and commentary segments of the frame. As is typical for much of this frame, first a specific term or phrase is introduced, in this case *kam witcha* (line 136). Then the phrase is either immediately translated for context, or Brown uses the opportunity to make metalinguistic commentary on the lack of comprehension by non-Gullah Geechee outsiders; in this case the former occurs with Brown repeating the phrase with a stylized production, shifting to an unmarked-style translation, then re-shifting to a variant of the original phrase with affricate voicing (line 138: '*kam widya*'). Also note that although there is a style-shift occurring twice in this utterance, even in his explanation or 'translation' style, he still produces the form *ya* for 'you' (cf. his use of more deliberate non-schwa 'you' in his higher register performance style), more akin to informal registers and similar to Gullah Geechee *yuh*. After translating the phrase and repeating it, Brown then produces a longer stylized utterance via the reported speech of Philip Simmons (lines 140-142). Although often the translation component of the language-sharing is followed by a longer utterance with the 'key' phrase embedded within it for context, in this particular excerpt Brown instead provides stylized reported speech without contextualizing it. After the tourist audience reacts and positively evaluates (in this case through laughter signaling they are

impressed with the voicing performance), Brown opens the frame to an interactional one, both commenting on the apparent ease with which he can produce legitimate Gullah Geechee and then tasking tourists with comprehending the utterance (line 144: ‘that’s easy one! What’d I say?’). This interactional frame also acts an ‘anchor point’ of context in the tour, drawing context and comprehension from earlier participation; in this case Brown is ‘calling back’ to an earlier language-sharing tour portion where stylized Gullah Geechee is used when explaining why hunters were unable to find deer, playing on the homophonous nature of the words *de*, *ya*, and *deya*. Therefore, tourists have already been exposed to the translation and metalinguistic commentary (i.e. their lack of insider knowledge and communicative competence⁷⁴) concerning this phrase, now reiterated and itself embedded in a novel, larger utterance. After giving tourists time to respond in interaction (lines 145-146), Brown again provides explicit metalinguistic commentary (lines 149-150), pointing out visual cues of lack of comprehension by tourists and commenting on Gullah Geechee being his unconscious or ‘true default’ language use (i.e. ‘lapse’), a use that must be consciously shifted into a ‘less-Gullah Geechee’ style closer to AAE or MAE in order for tourists to be able to understand him. The excerpt then ends with Brown signposting that he will be repeating the phrase, this time more slowly and deliberately, in order to allow tourists another opportunity to correctly translate, interpret, and comprehend the phrase. Brown’s use of style-shifts in the language-sharing frame reveals how robust this particular frame is in conceptualizing guides’ commands of multiple language varieties, registers, and styles when voicing themselves and others, but also how this shifting lends itself to the showcasing of a particular type of language

⁷⁴ (line 30: ‘and y’all didn’t understand a word’)

interesting (and often expected) to outsider tourists as well as providing opportunities for tourists to ‘learn’ the language in a curated capacity and interact with the tour guide while doing so. It also highlights the guides’ positionings as intercommunity intermediaries: not only is this a highly salient index of linguistic authenticity and legitimation by an in-group community member, but the specific environment of ‘language-sharing’ in this context allows guides to make explicit metalinguistic commentary about the demarcation between insiders and outsiders and the inability of outsiders to understand Brown’s ‘natural’ Gullah Geechee language practices. It should be noted that this commentary within this language-sharing frame is an important moment of hegemonic inversion; as there are many social contexts where marked Gullah Geechee would be taken up negatively by outsiders as being ‘inappropriate’ (e.g. during a service encounter or in a prescriptivized classroom setting), this is an opportunity for guides to draw attention to the language’s characteristics and put tourists on the ‘back foot’ by way of their inability to innately understand Gullah Geechee. These moments of inversion also highlight outsiders’ ‘linguistic deficiency’ (that would often be prescribed to Gullah Geechee speakers in cases where ‘standard’ English is expected) in a way that draws attention to ideologies of ‘language shame’ but mitigated by an environment of collaboration and humor that does not create too much discomfort or inordinately ‘inconvenience’ tourists. Although Gullah Geechee is ‘appropriate’ and legitimated in this specific intercommunity context, guides must still negotiate its usage and balance it with tourists’ ability and willingness to understand, i.e. their linguistic comfort (lest an overabundance of Gullah Geechee or stylized language alienate or create linguistic anxiety for tourists and shift its use to ‘inappropriate’); the language-sharing frame allows for this kind of hegemonic

inversion, guide agency, performance, and metalinguistic commentary to perform multiple functions simultaneously during the tour in an interlinguistic interactive environment.

By contrast Al Miller's Gullah Geechee style during language-sharing patterns much differently than Brown's; while he also curates moments of stylized Gullah Geechee, it is a much more marked style-shift from his narrative and storytelling personae style. This reflects a much more dynamic shift when he does style-shift, as well as accentuates his command of multiple registers.

Excerpt 6.9 Sites and Insights Tours (Tour 1)

- 1 AM now (1.0) if the average person who speaks Gullah, if they came on this bus
(1:56:38)
2 to speak to you they would say to you in Gullah how do you do=
3 instead something like this you ready? *how unnachillun fuh do? how unnachillun*=
4 *#here#* we'll say it slowly c'mon *ha*
5 T *ha*
6 AM *unna*
7 T *unna*
8 AM *chillun*
9 T *chillun*
10 AM *fuh do*
11 T *fuh do*
12 AM now let's say *ha unnachillun fuh do?*
13 T *ha unnachillun fuh do*=
14 AM very good now, what're you here for in Gullah what're you here for ready? (1:57:05)
15 *wa unna ya fuh do?*
16 [*wa unna ya fuh do?*]
17 T [*wa unna ya fuh do?*]
18 AM *unna ya fuh tour unna ya* to see Charleston, alright when you eat and I'm sure
19 by the time I'm finished you be ready to eat won't you?
20 T *@@@ yeah*
21 AM then you can say *now I gwan fuh eat*
22 [*now I gwan fuh eat*]
23 T [*now I gwan fuh eat*]

As with the previous excerpt, we can identify some common typological features of the language-sharing frame but filtered through Miller's particular orientation to the language and individual style. Miller opens up the frame with the constructed scenario of interacting with a Gullah speaker (notably not himself) 'if they came on this bus' (line 1). He then provides the key phrase *how unnachillun fuh do?* and then begins an interactional, participatory model of call-and-response between himself and the tourists. This slowed down, word-by-word repetition and transmission of the phrase (lines 4-11) looks very different than Brown's language-sharing model above in that it much more resembles the stereotypical language classroom, with a 'repeat-after-me' style interaction for tourists to incrementally repeat each word (or part of a word in the case of *unna* then *chillun* or short phrase in the case of *fuh do*). The components are then put back together for the whole key phrase with an additional request for repetition and participation (line 12: now let's say *ha unnachillun fuh do?*), with tourists producing the entire utterance (line 13) before Miller moves on to the next language-sharing node, this time the Gullah Geechee version of 'what're you here for' (line 14). This time the model repeats, however without the word-by-word component and rather the shared and overlapping repetition of the entire key phrase, likely in part because it contains multiple Gullah Geechee words that tourists are now 'familiar' with (i.e. *unna* and *fuh do*) and only two 'new' elements, *wa* 'what' and *ya* 'here'. After tourists repeat the phrase, he then uses it as a template to describe what tourists may be in Charleston for (line 18: *unna ya fuh tour unna ya* to see Charleston), again evoking the template, fill-in-the-blank format of introductory language classrooms, but then shifts out of Gullah Geechee to introduce an additional scenario (line 18-19: alright when you eat and I'm sure by the time I'm finished

you be ready to eat won't you?). He uses this scenario to then provide another language-sharing node with the key phrase *now I gwan ta eat* (line 21), again having tourists repeat the entire phrase with Miller saying it along with them. Of note of this last language-sharing moment is the use of the verb to 'eat'. The basilectal form of 'eat' in Gullah Geechee is *nyam*, and it is surprising that Miller does not use it here as an opportunity to further stylize his language and explain both its roots in West African languages and etymology as the root of 'yam' in English, as this is relatively popular knowledge for those with Gullah Geechee exposure. However, because he moves on to and through several other language-sharing moments during this frame, he likely used a mesolectal (i.e. recognizable) term to keep his flow relatively uninterrupted. We can see Miller's utility of the language-sharing model unfolding somewhat differently than Brown's, although accomplishing many of the same goals; however, noticeably absent is the metalinguistic commentary to explicitly create distinction between insiders and outsiders. While Brown calls attention to tourists' lack of Gullah Geechee competency, Miller instead constructs his epistemic authority and in-group authenticity through the language-sharing model and the content itself. This is also due in part to Brown's self-established awareness of his Gullah Geechee accent, which makes even his default performance register more difficult for some tourists to understand (as will be discussed in the following chapter). By contrast, Miller's default performance style is much more akin to higher-register AAE and SAE, meaning he does not necessarily need to draw attention to the ideologies surrounding his own variety, rather he can construct his particular model of personhood more implicitly. Although as a result of this particular positioning, Miller's language-sharing frames contain less of the hegemonic inversion discussed above during

Brown's tours, where there is explicit in-group and out-group demarcation along linguistic lines; in Miller's excerpt, this distinction is subsumed implicitly through the nature of the language-sharing model in itself as transmitting linguistic knowledge from a speaker to learning by non-speakers. In terms of style and style-shifting in Miller's language-sharing frame, his shift into stylized Gullah Geechee is clearly marked, and at least in this example has less feature diffusion than Brown's shifting, which tends to bleed some stylized characteristics across the utterance despite the register produced. Miller's shifts in the language-sharing frame seem to occur mostly at the phrase level, particularly after requesting repetition and participation by the audience (line 4: 'we'll say it slowly'; line 12: 'now let's say'; line 21: 'then you can say'). However, we can see a de-stylizing in line 18 ('*unna ya fuh tour unna ya* to see Charleston') within the phrasal template he has established as he begins to shift into the next phrase, which is in his default performance register. Note that these interactional repetition requests are also distinct from the constructed scenario invoked in lines 1-2 ('now if the average person who speaks Gullah, if they came on this bus to speak to you they would say to you in Gullah how do you do='), but the constructed scenario does 'set up' the language-sharing frame, even refraining from using Gullah Geechee (instead meta-translating it as in 'they would say to you in Gullah Geechee how do you do') until he opens the participatory segment of the language-sharing frame, indicated by both discursive elements (line 3: 'you ready?') and a style shift of the first key Gullah Geechee phrase.

For both of these guides, being seen as in 'command' of multiple language varieties contributes to their evaluations of authenticity and epistemic authority by outsiders. Through the lens of authenticity, tourists seek a 'unique' and 'immersive'

experience beyond the scope of history that standard or ‘normal’ tours can provide. In order to fulfill this capital of uniqueness, especially in a limited socioeconomic and sociocultural niche, guides must establish themselves as the ‘most’ authentic or idealized Gullah Geechee intermediary or provide some type of entertainment or service that sets them apart from other Gullah Geechee tour guides. For an immersive experience, guides must also fulfill tourist expectations of Gullah Geechee cultural proximity and discursive intimacy, providing tourists with ‘character’, stories, and language that evokes a particular chronotopic imaginary. Simultaneously, guides must navigate a narrow set of ideologies concerning the ‘appropriateness’ of their linguistic performance, in that an oversaturation of language may give tourists a kind of linguistic anxiety and an underrepresentation of either historical knowledge or cultural intimacy may cause tourists to feel they were not immersed, their expectations were not fulfilled, and a negative evaluation will be produced. Language styling is a pivotal resource that allows guides to utilize their metalinguistic awareness, and audience design and accommodation in crafting and curating ‘moments’ of language and tourist experiences. Not only do these style-shifts construct models of evaluative authentic personhood, through the ‘letting in’ of tourists into ‘real’ Gullah Geechee language through language-sharing and shared alignment of tourist and tour guide in that moment (all the while reifying and preserving the insider-outsider language dichotomy), they also produce commodifiable moments that tourists take with them as intangible artifacts of language that signal ‘unique’ and ‘immersive’ touristic experiences.

Stylistic variation and style-shifting does not only signal the genre and frame being invoked in the tour, but also is sensitive to the content within frames themselves.

Unsurprisingly, certain terms, themes, and topics produce more frequent and salient moments of style-shifting. As illustrated above, guides tend to consciously shift to establish new frames, voice others, but also throughout discourse as they align themselves more intimately and familiarly with tourists. Moments of discourse that are highly emotional exhibit more frequent style-shifts, particularly when intersecting with frames already highly marked by style-shifting. Although larger shifts happen predominately at the phrasal level, more incremental shifting (e.g. the use of falsetto) of words can be seen in order to indicate elements of emphasis, or contrast between differing styles to draw attention to pronunciation and signal a marked speech form of some kind.

The last major use of linguistic style and style-shifting for Gullah Geechee guides during the tour is the making and taking of stance with regards to stance objects and interlocutors in the intercommunity interaction; guides demarcate identities, ideologies, and communities through their use of style throughout the tour, and often reposition or shift themselves through the shift of language practices. Both tourists and tour guides know from the outset of the tour that they are both entering a space of intercommunity interaction, the context and tension of which is repeatedly drawn through stance. Guides are responsible for creating many of the discursive frames that form the tour (although some these frames are not unique to the cultural heritage tour or tours in general) and establish their positionality to themselves, tourists, and the subjects of the tour by demarcating boundaries of in-group and out-group, constructing elements of personhood and establishing a sense of belonging to their particular community. Guides are expected to navigate narrow tracks of these concepts, as making a stance too distant from tourists,

although distinct, may be perceived as uninviting, impermeable, or hostile, affecting tourist uptake and positive evaluation (in the form of good reviews and tips, i.e. the exchange of commodified capital). However, taking a stance too near or adequated to tourists during the whole of the tour may also run the risk of negative evaluation as it may dilute the sense of ‘other’ that many tourists who want an ‘immersive’ or unique touristic experience are seeking. Guides are acutely aware of the negotiations of stance, alignment, and sociocultural distance that are dynamic and unique to each tour group, and ‘style’ is a major way in which they manage these expectations, i.e. metatouristic stancetaking. Style-shifts and styles particular to discursive frames and specific voices become indexical of various personae and events during the tour, providing clear signaling for tourists of what models of personhood are currently being embodied and also performed in dynamic ways that ostensibly keep tourists satisfied and entertained. By making and taking stance in these salient ways, guides simultaneously are able to construct their personae in ways that are perceived as ‘authentic’, ‘authoritative’ and ‘appropriate’ by outsiders while highlighting the out-groupness of tourists. It is this intercommunity permeation that guides as intercommunity intermediaries practice that forms much of the allure and appeal of the tour—guides are temporarily ‘letting in’ and sharing Gullah Geechee culture with outsiders through the use of language, whether as embodied voice or object of interest in its own right. Without clear and conscious awareness of how tours and tourists operate within this intercommunity matrix, guides would not be able to maintain stance in a way that successfully navigates these permeations as memorable and commodifiable moments. It is this commodification of the performances that they share with outsiders, as well as their insider knowledge, that

produces the tourist experience, in which guides become agentive curators of Gullah Geechee-ness that is often still minimized in hegemonic or institutional interactions. It should also certainly be noted that stance is not a monolith but rather individual to the tour and guide. Guides have particular orientations and notions of belonging to their community, use of the language, and even other guides. As was illustrated above, guides like Al Miller, while identifying as Gullah Geechee still orient themselves culturally and geospatially (as a ‘freshwater Geechee’) very differently than Alphonso Brown, who uses and manipulates his language in entirely different ways, even in the same touristic frames. They both also take clear stances away from some of the ideologies and practices of younger or more iconoclastic tour guides like Godfrey K Hill, whose stancemaking is done much more through content and consistent style than embodied style-shifts that distinguish him from other guides.

6.2 MOMENTS OF STYLIZATION

While style itself represents the variation inherent in the axes of the performance repertoire of speakers, the exaggerated use of basilectal, ‘heavily accented’, or *stylized* language forms throughout the tour is a major component in the curation and construction of personae for various functions as part of the touristic experience. This can be differentiated somewhat from the above typology of style-shifting in that while style-shifting may move in smaller increments in the space of the repertoire, stylization is marked by an extreme or hyper-expressed performance of Gullah Geechee indexical features in this case. Although much of the literature of stylization has focused on outsiders stylizing particular communities through identifying and replicating hyper-exaggerated stereotypes of (often stigmatized) language practices, the guides here are

more accurately and more often engaging in *self-stylization* of their own Gullah Geechee resources. The typologies and analysis above have already identified and illustrated many examples of stylization, but the phenomenon is such a distinct and critical part of the linguistic showcase of the Gullah Geechee tour that identifying where these ‘moments’ of stylization occur reveals much about the metalinguistically aware language practices of tour guides and their agency in making radical shifts in style in producing curated language for both personhood-constructing and tourist expectation-fulfilling purposes. I also want to distinguish between the ‘naturalistic’ (albeit still discursively curated) stylization occurring during tours as opposed to ‘elicited’ stylization that occurred during interviews. This dissertation focuses on moments of stylization as they emerged during the course of tour as part of the repertoire of linguistic practices for ‘tour Gullah Geechee’; however, that is not to say guides are averse to (self-)stylization practices in other contexts, including outsider interviews. In fact, during interviews guides were very participatory when asked to ‘perform’ Gullah Geechee in a way that was likely to elicit stylized speech, the most common of which being either to read a passage from *De Nyew Testament* or give a ‘reenactment’ of a portion of the tour that was typically stylized. As a clearly positioned outsider but also as a researcher who interacted with guides over the course of several sessions, I observed guides did not ‘put on’ much stylization throughout the interview outside of clearly telegraphed contexts⁷⁵ (similar to the proactive “performance phrases” by Ocracoke English speakers to researchers (Schilling-Estes 1998)). Stylization for the Gullah Geechee tour guides in the current study can be

⁷⁵ This does not imply that there was not variation between guides’ tour performance and interview registers—my position as a white outsider researcher certainly played a role in some shifting towards MAE features during interviews. However, my familiarity with Charleston and my own SAE dialect had an effect in affecting this shift across multiple interviews as well.

separated into three main ‘moments’: epistemic claims (indexing epistemic authority), reported and constructed speech (indexing authenticity and authority of the language), and catchphrases and branding (indexing an awareness of commodification practices).

6.2.1 EPISTEMIC CLAIMS

For guides to be taken ‘seriously’ as both members of the Gullah Geechee community and knowledgeable about Charleston and its geography and history, beyond legitimation through official viaducts (i.e. the certification and licensing process previously, membership in the Palmetto Guild more recently), guides also have to legitimate themselves during the tour by establishing themselves as *epistemic authorities*, in that the claims they make about touristic sites are taken up as ‘true’ by tourists. In this interview excerpt with Nate Hutchinson of Charleston African American tours, Hutchinson outright states the types of ideologies surrounding his language and identity, how it affects perceptions of his authority, knowledge, and legitimacy, and how he navigates those evaluations.

Excerpt 6.10 Nate Hutchinson (Interview 1)

- 24 NH and, I learned right off the bat that you know, people, can somewhat judge you
25 by, by your speech
26 SM hoo [yeah @@@@@]
27 NH [so basically, yeah so for the most part] yeah you have to be
28 conscious and cognitive #to the# fact
29 but, but we're getting back to the authenticity part of it though=
30 that's basically, what I showcase in my tour, is that
31 that the things that were passed down from generation to generation
32 I'm able to bring that to my clients and in real terms and they
33 give them a good understanding what Gullah Geechee is about and
34 being degreed in American and world history I'm able to connect you know
35 all of the, things that transpired in history as it relates to South Carolina
36 as relates to Charleston and even internationally to things that
37 had an effect on the African slave trade so I'm able to convey that to my customer

In lines 24-25 and 28, Hutchinson remarks on the continuing stigmatization of Gullah Geechee and the awareness that community members must have when interacting with outsiders in order to be taken seriously, being ‘conscious and cognitive’ (line 28) of how, when, and where they use their native language. This consciousness and metalinguistic awareness speaks to the ability (and agency) in style-shifting for particular audiences and contexts, and evokes the Du Boisian ‘double consciousness’ as speakers change language for out-group evaluation and consumption. This idea of being conscious of one’s own (minoritized) language again subsumes the qualities of an ‘authority’ on their language and an ‘authenticated’ speaker, but also the nuance of being socially and metalinguistically aware of the ‘appropriateness’ of Gullah Geechee usage, i.e. when it will be taken up with more appreciation or covert prestige, or evaluated or associated negatively (due to linguistic anxiety, marginalized language ideologies, etc.). Hutchinson then goes on to explain that he establishes his authenticity through showcasing things directly linking him to the community (line 31: ‘the things that were passed down from generation to generation I’m able to bring that to my clients and in real terms’), including a pictorial history of his family and connection to the area. Beyond his in-group authority, he also highlights himself as a legitimated authority of historical knowledge through the holding of relevant higher education degrees that tourists would recognize as a status symbol of legitimacy and expertise in a touristic context (line 32: ‘being degreed in American and world history I’m able to connect you know’). This background not only legitimates him from outsider perspectives who may emphasize the importance of degreed historians and tour guides, but the applied knowledge also makes him more ‘competitive’ in the tourism market and provides tourists with a more comprehensive

experience by being able to contextualize various historical narratives to Charleston specifically and ‘convey that to my customer’ (line 37). Therefore, the construction of epistemic authority tied to an awareness of language expression in and around the tour is not only for the sake of performance and content, but also gives tour guides multiple methods to navigate tourist expectations stemming from their pre-existing imaginaries.

For a multitude of reasons these claims can be (and sometimes are) challenged by tourists, especially those who fashion themselves historians or ‘experts’ concerning the Charleston sociohistorical content of tours. In the following excerpt from an interview with Alphonso Brown, Brown comments on my question that directly asks about these challenges and how to navigate tensions between tourist and tour guide knowledge and stances taken away from guides and their legitimacy by tourists (i.e. intratouristic face-threatening acts).

Excerpt 6.11 Alphonso Brown (Interview 1)

- 1 SM do you ever have people challenge you #know# challenge your narrative (13:26)
- 2 or challenging the things you say or?
- 3 AB let me see (2.0)
- 4 no not a real challenge (2.0) cause (3.0) not a real challenge because
- 5 unless you can prove it if they challenge me (2.0)
- 6 I said well I want to look into that
- 7 but now can you can I can I can if I can I can look into what you're saying=
- 8 I'll look into I- I don't make em feel bad [no:]
- 9 SM [right] (1.0)
- 10 AB I'll let them know= (13:55)
- 11 well let me look into that I'll che- check into that cause you- what you saying is
- 12 helpful
- 13 make it seem it's really gonna help me- [help- helpful]
- 14 [@@]@@
- 15 and I said but, you kno:w I say I can't prove it
- 16 SM right
- 17 AB show me somethin show me somethin show me why you- where you-
- 18 cou- where you get it from
- 19 SM teach me something new right?

Although he begins by refuting that tourists challenge him (line 4), he soon recasts this as how he navigates tourists' challenges, highlighting the tension between maintaining his epistemic authority (lines 4-5: 'not a real challenge because unless you can prove it if they challenge me') while also not confronting or face-threatening tourists. Brown's maintenance of tourist comfort and taking a stance towards potentially challenging tourists takes on multiple forms: his meta-awareness of evaluative maintenance and face-saving (line 8: 'I don't make em feel bad [no:]'), his stance towards collaborative epistemic authority (line 11: 'well let me look into that I'll check into that') and 'acknowledging' tourist participatory assistance (line 11-12: 'what you saying is helpful make it seem it's really gonna help me'), and giving tourists an opportunity to add to his own knowledge but only by 'proving' a fact with historical evidence of some kind (line 16-17: 'show me somethin show me why you- where you- cou- where you get it from').

This epistemic authority also extends to perceptions of knowledge about the Gullah Geechee community. This intersects with, but is not mutually inclusive with perceptions of 'authentic' membership within the Gullah Geechee community or an 'authentic' Gullah Geechee identity by outsiders, as there can be outsiders who are perceived as etic 'authorities' on Gullah Geechee culture (e.g. Lorenzo Dow Turner). However, when it comes to Gullah Geechee tour guides, these conceptualizations often become mutually inclusive, as their community knowledge becomes inextricably tied to their belonging, in-group status, or legitimacy. This examination of authority therefore becomes one of questioned authenticity, and beyond explicit claims to index this (e.g. kinship ties, ancestry, regional background), language stylization is an effective

component of this indexical constellation. In this interview excerpt with Alada Shinault-Small, she illustrates the tensions inherent in perceptions of ‘native’ Gullah Geechee membership and local belonging with outsider challenges.

Excerpt 6.12 Alada Shinault-Small (Interview 2)

- 13 AS you know and like if- when when you tell them that you're you're native (37:10)
 14 but then (1.0) I've had people challenge me and tell me you're not from here
 15 SM @@@[@@]
 16 AS [um] you know and I say yes I am and they'll- in my face telling me no I'm not
 17 you know but what what squashes that is when, I can go back and forth from
 18 you know, from Gullah to, not Gullah, so that'll make em shut up
 19 SM @@@@[@]
 20 AS [#but are#] you know and they they they thinkin okay you-
 21 you're telling me you're from here, you owe me to (1.0) (37:33)
 22 and your term which is a good one to sound like it
 23 if you say you're from here then you need to sound like it (2.0)
 24 not all of us: sound like it p- anymore, again that has historical reasons as well

Here Shinault-Small constructs a scenario from her experiences with directly face-threatening challenges to her Gullah Geechee personhood, directly tied to notions of belonging (i.e. *binyah* status), where interlocuters take a stance away from her perceived authenticity and therefore her authority to speak emically concerning Gullah Geechee topics. The stance object, here Shinault-Small's ‘native’ status, becomes explicitly tied to her language practices, specifically style shifting (line 17-18: what squashes that is when I can go back and forth from you know, from Gullah to, not Gullah') to ‘make em shut up’ as a strategy to contest the challenge. This speaks not only to the metalinguistic awareness of Gullah Geechee speakers in the importance of style-shifting to embody multiple personae, but also the bifurcation of Gullah and ‘not Gullah’ in Shinault-Small's conceptualization of the language varieties as distinct repertoires to draw from in establishing these personae, as well as curating somewhat the indices and ideologies the personae tied to the styled language forms evoke. She then goes on to the logical

extension of the scenario, when tourists are then ‘satisfied’ with her nativeness or authenticity, there then becomes an expectation of ‘linguistic entitlement’ (line 21: ‘you’re telling me you’re from here, you owe me’) where locals perceived as Gullah Geechee perform the language for curious outsiders (line 23: ‘if you say you’re from here then you need to sound like it’). This type of intercommunity interaction highlights the interplay between ‘authenticity’ and ‘appropriateness’ in this context, as outsiders may challenge the identity of community members and then may expect a particular type of language use or style which they evaluate based on their preconceived ideologies about the language; however, the language used here must in some way align with these preconceptions while also being somewhat ‘in line’ with what tourists can commodify (i.e. digestible and not to the point of causing them anxiety or discomfort). Shinault-Small points out the contemporary status of the language and how the preconceived outsider imaginaries incorrectly essentialize the language and do not reflect the current landscape of Gullah Geechee ‘sounding like’ (line 24: ‘not all of us: sound like it p-anymore, again that has historical reasons as well’). Therefore, language style as an object in its own right becomes a site of commentary, contestation, and construction as a proxy for those same challenges about identity, belonging, and personhood.

6.2.2 REPORTED AND CONSTRUCTED SPEECH

By far the most frequent use of stylization by tour guides is the stylization of Gullah Geechee during moments of reported, self-reported, and constructed speech on tours. Guides who utilize stylization as part of the performance repertoire (namely GGT and SIT in the current study) typically embed stylized moments into speech that is ‘displaced’ from their current register by either voicing another, constructing voices of others, or

voicing themselves in another time, space, or context separate from the present. Reported speech and constructed speech, while often distinct from one another, need not be mutually exclusive; the narrative and anecdote-based nature of much of these cultural heritage tours makes it occasionally difficult to label other-voiced speech as only one or the other, when it may be more helpful to conceptualize them as similar ways of representing others through language with different orientations to specific individuals (reported) versus more generalized speech events (constructed). Outside of the language-sharing frame and some catchphrases used by guides, stylization remains most frequent in (self-)reported and constructed speech moments, which allow guides to illustrate particularly salient and marked language practices in curated contexts; these stylized practices perform multiple indexical and ideological roles simultaneously, highlighting the command of multiple registers by guides (and therefore speaking to their metalinguistic awareness and control), establishing guides as authentic speakers who are authorities on Gullah Geechee language practices, and providing tourists with commodified language ‘moments’ that fulfill tourist expectations and imaginaries as part of their Gullah Geechee experience by ‘authenticated’ or legitimated intercommunity intermediaries. In this excerpt Alphonso Brown recounts how women, specifically older women, discussed concepts of colorism and class within the Black and Gullah Geechee community in Charleston.

Excerpt 6.13 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 967 AB #just as# I’m dark as I am my grandmama said to me
 968 *bo:y don’tchu all go chere an play widdem lower Black people*
 969 T @@@
 970 @@@
 971 AB lower Black people
 972 had nothin to do with they health low Black pertained to your character (33:12)

973 them ladies said their daughters
974 *mind gyal how yuh go to and mess round in dat street and lo:se your character*

He provides two instances of reported speech here, one quote from his grandmother and another, more constructed example of how ‘ladies’ would speak to their daughters in general. Both stylized utterances (line 968 and 974) reflect similar styles, i.e. Brown does not alter the features of stylization in any meaningful way between the two. The moments of stylization are markedly different than Brown’s speech preceding each utterance before the reported speech discourse marker ‘said’ and are not only denoted by phonetic (affrication of *don’tchu*, *chere*, and *widdem*; occlusion of *dat*; apheresis of *round*) and lexical (*mind gyal*) features but both also are stylized with a higher pitch than the surrounding speech and his default register. This reiterates that stylization is not indicated by isolated or singular linguistic features, rather guides draw from multiple elements in the repertoire to make the stylized elements distinct in a way that outsiders recognize this as a particular language practice linked to an indexical model of personhood (or at least an embodied persona). Stylization is also more clearly identified in these moments through both explicit discursive marking of when reported speech is about to occur and maintaining stylization across a clause, rather than shorter phrases or individual words. Stylization ‘works’ best when there is enough linguistic content for guides to produce that tourists can recognize as distinct from the surrounding speech and associate with a particular persona and voice, where they construct, reinforce, or disrupt tourist expectations and ideologies about the language. Although Brown’s non-reported speech here also contains stylistic elements reflective of his more informal performance register (line 972-973: ‘nothin to do with they health...them ladies said their daughters’), he makes a clear distinction between this speaking style and his stylized reported speech

by shifting multiple repertoire features simultaneously. In this excerpt from an SIT tour with Al Miller, Miller uses constructed speech multiple times with stylized features to both position tourists as taking part in a stylized speech event, as well as taking a stance with tourists and incorporating them into a language showcase that has elements of the language-sharing frame.

Excerpt 6.14 Sites and Insights Tours (Tour 2)

- 34 AM ladies, in Charleston you got a short dress on #those# sisters they didn't like it
 35 they gon call you down to the carpet *now gyal your frock mighty high innit?*
 36 meaning your frock is mighty high isn't it? or you might say (1:58:00)
 37 *look at that gyal with the frock all highsup* your frock's all highstup
 38 T @@@@
 39 AM and you know what? I- #if# you ever it's good havin folk and they can tell you their
 version
 40 this one lady lady said well my grandmama told me girl I see your glory
 41 T @@@@[@@]
 42 AM and gentle[men] I see your **Christmas**
 43 T @@@@ yes
 44 AM Christmas and all the holidays
 45 T @@@@ yes @@[@@] (1:58:21)
 46 AM [yes] and it's ama:zing #ours# grandparents and great-grandparents spoke this way
 (1.0)
 47 and them young boys in them saggin pants *look at em widhis pants down e boonki*
 48 T @@@[@@]
 49 AM [down his] *boonki* that's another word for your behind is your *boo:nki*

In the first constructed speech moment, Miller creates a scenario where the women on the tour are being criticized by other (ostensibly local Gullah Geechee) women, where the Charleston women are indicated with stylized speech after the discursive element 'call' (line 35: '*now gyal your frock mighty high innit?*'). Contrasted with reported speech, the 'sisters' here do not represent any specific individual that Miller is quoting; rather he is giving voice to the 'idea' of how Gullah Geechee women would respond in this constructed interaction, also positioning these constructed women as taking stance away from women on the tour (indicated by the deictic 'you' in lines 34 and

35). This construction of a scenario, interlocuters, and their voice in interaction with tourist subjects provides an opportunity for Miller to engage tourists while also creating a moment of stylized speech that he can then translate (line 36) and recast with a slightly modified stylized voicing (line 37: '*look at that gyal with the frock all highs up*'). This is contrasted with the following double-embedded reported speech (line 40: 'this one lady lady said well my grandmama told me girl I see your glory'), notable in that it is not stylized and referring to two specific individuals as an anecdote by Miller. He then again prepares to use constructed speech in this excerpt to refer to the ways of speaking of previous generations (line 46: '[yes] and it's ama:zing #ours# grandparents and great-grandparents spoke this way') to stylize an utterance for humorous effect (line 47: 'and them young boys in them saggin pants *look at em widhis pants down e boonki*'). Note that this utterance does not begin as stylized but in Miller's default performance register, shifting into a stylized form after introducing the topic (of sagging pants on young men). While positively evaluated by tourists (line 48) and meant to entertain, it also connects to a language-sharing moment where Miller explains the meaning of *boonki*. This excerpt not only illustrates stylization as embodiments of voicing, but also an adaptable component of the tour that connects to other frames of the tour typology (e.g. language-sharing), where guides can create immersive moments of commodifiable language for tourists that aligns them with Gullah Geechee, even if they do not understand every word in the stylized voice. This excerpt from Alphonso Brown's tour also illustrates constructed speech and its distinction from reported speech in its ability to generalize personae through specific language practices.

Excerpt 6.15 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 1 AB many law firms, were, and still is located on Broad Street
2 T m[hm]
3 [Blacks] got the thing of sayin (31:00)
4 *mind gyal how you unravel your mouth down on Broad Street talk*
5 T @@@@
6 AB mind how ya unravel your mouth down on Broad Street talk which means
7 mind how you gossip, you'll be sue:d, by one of the lawyers on Broad Street
8 #for# gabbin or gossiping
9 T @@
10 AB the next person's response would be *my god gyal I declare I ain't crack my teet*

Here Brown constructs the stylized speech of Black Charlestonians as saying ‘*mind gyal how you unravel your mouth down on Broad Street talk*’ (line 4); note the combination of verbal (‘*mind*’), lexicalized (‘*gyal*’), and high pitch-shifted features to produce stylization throughout the entire utterance. Brown then ‘de-stylizes’ the speech in line 6, speaking more slowly and emphasizing each word in contrast to the rapid and elided utterance⁷⁶ in line 4 to facilitate speaker understanding. This acts as an interstitial form that links to his translation in line 7, the translation frame indicated explicitly (line 6: ‘which means’) and then produced with interpretative and spatiocultural context (i.e. that Broad Street historically has many law firms with lawyers that would sue the constructed interlocutor for gossiping). Note also the three synonyms given here, ‘gossiping’, ‘gabbin’, and the marked *unravel your mouth*. Gullah Geechee (as with other English-lexified creoles and other regionalized or marginalized English varieties spoken in the United States) is popularly conceptualized (by both insiders and outsiders) as using more ‘colorful’ periphrastic phrases than surrounding varieties, especially MAE, e.g. Gullah Geechee *crack my teet* ‘open my mouth (to talk or gossip)’ or Hawaiian Creole English *broke da mouf* ‘delicious’. In fact, we see the introduction of one of these

⁷⁶ I.e. prosodic indicators marking a style shift.

periphrases in the following line, where Brown constructs another interlocuter responding to the statement made by Black Charlestonians in line 3 (line 10: ‘*my god gyal I declare I ain’t crack my teet*’). The stylization here parallels his earlier constructed speech, with some identical elements (*gyal*), verbal features co-associated with SAE or older AAE (*I declare*) and a periphrastic component concerning talking or gossiping (*crack my teet*). This both allows tourists to contextualize the meaning of the utterance using previously introduced and parallel components, as well as providing a frame for Brown to introduce the novel stylized phrase of *crack my teet*, which after translating and explaining, he continues to use throughout the tour at various points. This highlights the versatility and variability offered by stylization, especially for a creole language, in this particular intercommunity performance context. Although a cultural heritage and historical tour has genre elements that are ‘necessary’ for a successful tourist evaluation, the guides’ own style is a critical part of distinguishing themselves from other guides and other communities. Beyond their own style and brand, stylization of language practices in this manner not only creates more ‘fulfilling’ tourist experiences, but also reflects pressure of outsider expectations regarding Gullah Geechee language and culture, and guides’ responses to those pressures. Voicing through stylization also interconnects with the notions of creating touristic spaces that are immersive through anecdote and personal connection, with guides evoking characters (both real and constructed) through sets of stylized features that can be combined in various ways to embody adaptable personae for responding to the needs of the tour. All the while these curated performances reflect and display guides’ persistent roles as intermediaries whose ethnolinguistic repertoire positions them as authentic authorities on the community to outsiders.

6.2.3 CATCHPHRASES AND BRANDING

An additional utility of stylization is that, similar to the roles listed above, curated moments of marked language performance can contribute to the ‘branding’ of a guide, tour, and tour company, i.e. creating ‘unique’ touristic experiences that can shape tourist imaginaries in some significant way. This becomes particularly fascinating when considering the relationship between language and culture, and individual and community in the branding process. Unlike guides who are representative of the status quo or the majority speech community (e.g. White MAE-speaking guides), Gullah Geechee tour guides are identifiable and identify with a marked community with a distinct language and culture (and both the covert prestige or marginalizing ideologies associated with that personhood); this means that guides can distinguish themselves and their tours from the surrounding offerings, not only by promising intercommunity and insider ‘access’ to knowledge and culture, but also showcasing that personhood as embodied through language specifically. This distillation of Gullah Geechee language into branding is not restricted to tour guides; rather, it is becoming an increasingly salient part of the linking together of personhood and the body with representation in the digital or global sphere, especially in cases where identity *is* the brand. For example, Sunn M’Cheaux, a self-identified *binyah* who is the first language instructor of Gullah Geechee at Harvard University, uses Gullah Geechee in his branding, biographic, and press materials, including the phrase *muss tek kyeh de root fa heal de tree* (‘must take care of the root to nourish the tree’) and more distinctly the hashtag *#weoutchea* (‘we’re out here’) on his social media (m’Cheaux 2020). Another is Marquetta Goodwine’s *disya we be* (‘this is who we are’) as the branding and tagline for the Gullah Geechee Nation

(Queen Quet 2012). More recently, and more explicitly illustrative of language branding linked to the body, the activist group Gullah Geechee Experience sells apparel displaying stylized Gullah Geechee, in which the members are dressed in many of their social media posts (Page 2022). These include merchandise with the phrases *boi e col/nippy/hawt outchea* ('boy it's cold/hot out here'), and *my English ain't broken, I Geechee* ('my English isn't broken, I'm Geechee'). In this way, similar to other localized forms of language being used as symbols of both local identity and commodifiable tourist interests (Remlinger 2018), the visibility of language here inverts perceptions of its stigma, instead representing a locus of covert prestige and pride that defies hegemonic pressures of 'appropriate' mainstream language use. This branding is even used, albeit to a much more limited extent, in the marketing practices of some Charleston Gullah Geechee tourism. This is seen most clearly in Godfrey K Hill's Gullah Geechee Tours, whose logo and website includes the phrase *look yah* 'look here' prominently in its imagery and promotional materials (this phrase is also used extensively by GGX in their social media).

However, it should also be noted that this branding through stylized language use is not always taken up and evaluated positively, especially when the language is co-opted by outsiders in ways that further marginalize the community, siphon linguistic and economic resources, and position themselves in a way that indulges in positive ideologies surrounding a culture but are not actually representative or belong to that culture. In the case of Gullah Geechee, a highly visible example of this is the 'Gullah Gourmet' company located in Charleston. The company produces recipe bags that include dry ingredients for a variety of traditional Southern, Black, and Gullah Geechee dishes, giving them ethnicized or stylized names (e.g. 'Gullah Gullah Gumbo', 'Geechie Peachie

Cobbla’, ‘Yard Bird Batta’, ‘Grandputters Fried Oysters’, ‘Flippidy Flap Jacks’), and decorates the bags in a newspaper-style print that includes a recipe on the back. These recipes are written in what the owner Debbie Nelson describes as not Gullah Geechee, but a “variation” of it⁷⁷ (E. Williams 2020); here is the recipe from their ‘GULLAH GULLAH GUMBO INSTRUCKSHUNS’:

PUT 4 CUP A WADDA IN DA POT, DUMP DA SAUCE MIX IN ‘EM AN STIR ‘EM UP GOOD FASHION BRING TA BOIL, DEN TURN EM DOWN LOW AND SIMMA FA ‘BOUT 30 MINUTE. NOW IF YA JUS BUN SHRIMPIN’ DRESS ‘EM AN PUT ‘BOUT HAF A POUND IN YA SKILLET, COOK ‘EM UP AN ADD ‘EM TA DA SAUCE WHEN IT’S MOST READY. IF YA WANNA YA CAN BOIL DEM SHRIMP OR COOK ‘EM IN WIT DA SAUCE. IF YA NETS BUN BARE DEN FIX DIS WITHOUT DA SHRIMP, DON’T YA WORRY IT’S GOOD WITHOUT ‘EM TOO! NOW WHILE DATS A GWINE ON PUT 2 CUP A WADDA IN Y’UDDA POT AND BRING ‘EM TA A BOIL PUT DA RICE IN DA POT STIR ‘EM UP AGAIN GOOD FASHION AN TOP ‘EM OFF WIT DA LID. NOW TURN ‘EM DOWN TA LOW HEAT AND COOK ‘EM FA BOUT 20 MINUTE. PUT DA RICE ON DA PLATE AND DISH UP DA SAUCE WIT OR WITHOUT DA SHRIMP AND FEED YA FAMILY. DIS BAG MAKES A GRACIOUS PLENTY!! WATCH FA DA KICK AN ENJOY ‘EM!! (Nelson 2023)

The stylization here by Nelson, who is a White woman outside of the Gullah Geechee community, has come under fire directly through Gullah Geechee spokespeople and activists, including the aforementioned Gullah/Geechee Nation and Gullah Geechee Experience. Although an article from 2020 (E. Williams 2020) states Nelson has said “she would change the company’s name. She wrote that she now recognizes the name ‘could be seen as culturally insensitive,’ something she ‘never intended’ and ‘is not okay with’”, as of the time of this writing the company name remains unchanged and the bags are still for sale, both on the company and corporate retailer websites, with their original labelling. While this instance represents linguistic appropriation in an explicitly capitalist

⁷⁷ I.e. eye dialect.

commodification context and this stylization is more in line with Coupland's original framework of outsider hyperexaggerated performance (as well as 'mascotification' and 'souvenirization' discussed elsewhere), it also illustrates how linguistic stereotyping often imitates more the 'feel' of a language than its actual iteration, and only 'works' if outsiders can agree the outsider-produced and outsider-perceived performance evokes the embodied ideologies of their perceptions of a particular community. Certain aspects of the stylized recipe above may reflect actual language practices of mesolectal or basilectal Gullah Geechee, but the hyperproduction of stylization by an outsider in this case is more easily seen as essentializing and exoticizing the language and community, not even considering the social and economic effects this type of branding may have on individuals from a historically stigmatized community who were not consulted nor compensated. Nelson's own rationale for using this Gullah Geechee 'variation' on her packaging is as follows:

THE GULLAH DIALECT IS A MIXTURE OF ELIZABETHAN ENGLISH AND VARIOUS AFRICAN DIALECTS THAT IS BEAUTIFULLY RHYTHMIC, THOUGH IT CAN SOMETIMES BE RATHER DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND. WE HAVE SIMPLIFIED THE LANGUAGE IN OUR PRODUCTS' INSTRUCTIONS, BECAUSE IF IT WERE TRUE GULLAH MOST PEOPLE TODAY WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND IT. AS A CHILD, I WOULD LOVE TO LISTEN TO THE GULLAH LANGUAGE AND ALL OF THE STORIES AND THE SONGS THAT STILL RING IN MY HEAD. THE LANGUAGE IS STILL SPOKEN ON SOME OF THE OUTER ISLANDS AROUND OUR AREA, BUT IT IS ALMOST A LOST LANGUAGE AND I WANTED TO TRY TO KEEP IT ALIVE AND PAY HOMAGE TO THE VIBRANT CULTURE AND PEOPLE. IN OTHER WORDS, WHEN SOMEONE BUYS A PACKAGE OF GULLAH GOURMET, I NOT ONLY WANT THEM TO TAKE HOME THE FLAVOR OF CHARLESTON, BUT ALSO A BIT OF LOWCOUNTRY CULTURE. (Nelson 2023)

It is clear that the use of Gullah Geechee-like language for this brand is meant to evoke ideologies of a 'simpler', 'rustic', or 'comfortable' time, not unlike perceptions of

rural existent Sea Island communities as representative of ‘untouched’ or ‘unspoiled’ land and culture. However, the production of linguistic inaccuracy and folk misconception (‘a mixture of Elizabethan English and various African dialects’) around the language, tied with ‘false-positive’ ideologies⁷⁸ (‘beautifully rhythmic’) by an outsider here illustrates the damage that stylization and stereotyping can do even with ostensibly good intent, especially when tied to capital and commodity. The positioning of idealized historical Gullah Geechee as an exoticized language divorced from its present iteration (‘we have simplified the language...because if it were true Gullah’) and the depiction of it as a non-agentive entity in its own survival (‘it is almost a lost language and I wanted to try to keep it alive and pay homage to the vibrant culture and language’) echoes earlier primitivist outsider ethnographies that sought to preserve a particular type of language and personhood without considering its contemporary language practices and communities.

Outside of linguistic branding and commodifiable language, language-as-brand is also used tour-internally, as ‘catchphrases’ during tours achieve much of the same purpose when used by guides in this context of stylization. Alphonso Brown of Gullah Tours is distinctly representative of this usage; although other Gullah Geechee and Black tour guides use catchphrases to some extent, his are unique in the number, frequency, and stylization practices of some of them as commodifiable linguistic ‘souvenirs’. A non-stylized example of this would be his catchphrase ‘it’s in my book’ or ‘get the book’, which occurs ten times on average during a two-hour tour.

⁷⁸ Similar to descriptions of minoritized varieties as ‘colorful’ or ‘vibrant’ by outsiders when deemed ‘appropriate’ or appreciated, but negatively evaluated in institutional (e.g. educational or service industry) contexts.

Excerpt 6.16 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

236 AB now the tour last for two hours, if you need more then what you've to do
237 is to get the book
238 T; SM [@@@] @@@
239 AB it's my book
240 it's called the Gullah Guide to Charleston=
241 T I saw that [I saw that]
242 AB it's in Gullah, [and English]
243 are they really **augment** many of the wonderful site that I wanna show you
244 if I had to take the time you the complete history of one site
245 that'll take bout two **weeks**
246 T @@@
247 AB if I have to show you all of Charleston, lookin at four years=
248 get the book=all the place
249 Visitor's Center gottem, museum there on the right they's gottem (7:24)

In this excerpt, taken from near the beginning of Brown's tour, he introduces the book and the catchphrase, as well as justifies the reasoning for the creation and purchase of the book and its role as supplementary material to provide more comprehensive information than the tour covers. He explicitly recommends the book for its ability to offer a more complete tourist experience (line 237) as an 'augmentation' of the touristic sites (line 243), as a linguistic artifact that uses both Gullah and English (line 242) and where it is available for purchase (line 249). He also explains hyperbolically the necessity of the book along spatiotemporal lines, with sharing the history of tour sites (line 245) and all of Charleston (line 247) as taking inordinate amounts of time, and the implication being that his book can provide that information in a more reasonable timeframe. After this introduction, the 'book' catchphrase acts a reminder that tourists are only getting a portion of a site's history, where more supplemental information about that history can be found, and even 'teasing' knowledge that he omits during the tour and is available in the book.

Excerpt 6.17 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

655 AB something very very supernatural
656 happened to John C Calhoun reason why he hide that right hand
657 and if #you wanna# find out what it is (1.0)
658 when you get back to the Visitor's Center (1.0)
659 go head and get my book
660 T @@@@

This excerpt also reveals another important use of the catchphrase, that of humor, intimacy, and entertainment. As evident by the laughter following the catchphrase in line 659, guests have been exposed to the phrase enough to recognize it as a catchphrase and its purpose to remind them to buy Brown's book. While it may act as an actual reminder and link to a purchasable artifact, this strategic deployment of repetition is meant to both mitigate any tourist annoyance at being reminded but also entertain them (although this is not always successful as will be discussed in the next chapter). Catchphrases only 'work' when they are repeated to the point of recognizability and have some entertainment value to listeners, and by creating a 'cliffhanger' here using the catchphrase, Brown creates a stance towards his book and has tourists aligning with him, as well as offering them the allure of 'hidden' knowledge. This curation of comfort, intimacy, and personalization is a persistent theme throughout many of the tours, as the ability to create unique and immersive experiences for tourists is often dependent on being aware and negotiating stances tourists are taking towards guides and tour content. Catchphrases are one distinct way to personalize the tour, and in the examples that follow, we will see how marked or stylized language can be 'souvenirized' in this way for tourist consumption.

The next catchphrase Brown employees is 'throw a kiss at mama' used much less frequently, only two to three times on average during a tour. However, even in this relatively infrequent usage it remains distinct in that it ties together the historical

narrative portion of his tour concerning religion with using informal language to take a stance towards religious institutions as the stance object, while also having tourists take a stance towards him through indices of warm, personability, or intimacy.

Excerpt 6.18 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 1097 AB church in front of us, St. Philips Episcopal Church now St. Philips Church (39:25)
1098 SM St. Philips
1099 T uh huh
1100 AB oldest congregation, south of Virginia
1101 if you're an **Episcopal**ian you throw your kiss at mama
1102 T @@
1103 AB in 1682 St. Philips first built on the site where St. Michaels is now located
1104 well this isn't Michaels, congregation grew
1105 needed a brand new building came in 1710 builds up a brand new building
1106 unfortunately destroyed by fire, twice
1107 T mm
1108 AB so what we see here, dates back to 1838 they'll let you know (39:58)
1109 they may not have the oldest church building like it's supposed to but they a:re
1110 oldest congregation
1111 T mhm
1112 AB they say that they're so **o:ld** that that's where God lives

This catchphrase is used when pointing out religious sites on the tour purported to be the 'first', or by extension the 'mother' of a denomination, in the case of Brown's tour St. Philips Episcopal and First Baptist Church in downtown Charleston with some of the oldest congregations in the South and in the United States. By positioning these sites as the 'mother' of particular denominations, using a more informal phrase of respect and endearment 'throw your kiss', and using the more informal and intimate term 'mama', Brown engages with tourists who may be congregants of those denominations. Not only does this speak to the pride that congregations take in their affiliation with established or origin sites of their denomination (line 1110), but simultaneously speaks to Brown's knowledge of the site's history and his deference to the religious importance of the site.

By tying together these elements along with the use of intimate and informal language, the distillation of a catchphrase here produces a commodifiable portion of the tour that tourists may take with them, and importantly, reiterate and repeat among their own community (i.e. potential future consumers).

Another catchphrase Brown uses during the tour operates similarly in terms of intimate and informal language styling to align with tourists but is used in a very different stance-demarcating context. The phrase *imma tell (on y'all)*⁷⁹ is used on average five times during Brown's tours (not including repetitions of the phrase in the same utterance), where Brown playfully indicates that he is going to 'tell on' the tour group after they laugh or respond with positive evaluation to something 'taboo' or 'controversial' he has said.

Excerpt 6.19 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

- 347 AB I said **well lady we all still pay tax to be free**
348 T [@@@ god]
349 T2 [@@]
350 AB **if you don't pay your tax, you go to jail!**
351 T @@@@
352 AB don't **believe me**, ask Wesley Snipes he'll tell ya
353 T @@@@[@@@@@@]
354 AB [oh imma tell on y'all imma tell imma tell imma tell]

This example of the catchphrase above is indicative of its relatively consistent contextual usage throughout the tour. Here, Brown is finishing an anecdote about a woman on the tour being upset about a historical fact Brown had introduced concerning free Blacks having to pay 'freedom taxes'. Brown connects this historical fact to his contemporary perspective (line 347) and states a humorous justification of the situation's

⁷⁹ An example indicative of the intersecting language forms of GG, SAE, and AAE, where this utterance could be representative of any exclusively or multiple simultaneously.

still-present reality (line 348). He then makes a cultural reference to Wesley Snipes, the context being that Snipes was popularly known at the time as a millionaire actor being investigated by the IRS for tax evasion; Brown evokes this as a humorous ‘aside’ (line 352: ‘don’t **believe me**, ask Wesley Snipes he’ll tell ya’), referring to the consequences (removal of freedom) from a recognizable figure (a Black man). This elicits a raucous positive evaluation from the tourists (line 353), followed by Brown’s use of the catchphrase (line 354: ‘[oh imma tell on y’all imma tell imma tell imma tell]’). The catchphrase here operates as it does throughout the tour, where Brown creates intimacy and alignment with tourists through a shared conscious inversion of the phrase’s surface level meaning (i.e. that he will ‘tell on’ them or report them to some authority figure). This catchphrase as a moment of shared intercultural intimacy ‘works’ because it both draws in tourists to the ‘conspiracy’ of Brown’s pointed side comment, but also shares in the humorous and playful elements of the phrases culturally-contextual operation. In the other instances during the tour, Brown usually uses this catchphrase when he mentions ‘contentious’ popular or recognizable figures that he is speaking negatively about in an ‘aside’ manner (e.g. Dick Cheney and John C. Calhoun), the implication being that these are figures of authority and power, and that him ‘telling on’ the group and choosing not to is an act of stance-taking towards the tourists. Also note his use of informal language here again to construct intimacy with tourists in these moments; his style uses AAE *imma* rather than higher register ‘I’m going to’ or less formal ‘I’m gonna’ and the use of *y’all*. Even the use of ‘tell on’ versus a more formal verbal phrasing (e.g. report) indexes an intimate familiarity here. Again, these catchphrases do not only operate as branding or repeated utterances in a vacuum; rather, they perform stance functions in the discourse

itself and coordinate language styling to do so and can be deployed throughout the tour to reify these intersubjective interactions while producing recognizable moments that make distinct aspects of the larger tourist experience.

The final catchphrase used significantly throughout Gullah Tours's tours is particularly interesting because of its intersection with marked language stylization. The catchphrase *I ain gon warn you no mo* 'I'm not going to warn you anymore' is used four times on average during the tour and again operates not only as a commodifiable language souvenir for tourists to 'take with' them and remember the tour by, it also acts as a stance-making function, albeit constructing stance differently than the catchphrases above.

Excerpt 6.20 Gullah Tours (Tour 1)

702 AB the Black son died in Edgefield bout a year **fore he did**
703 dem old folks said **mind little bit** dem tings *in da dark e comin in da light*
704 T [@@@@@]
705 AB [*I ain gon warn you no mo*]
706 T; T4 @@@@@@

This excerpt illustrates the typical setup and production of the catchphrase, where Brown has introduced information that he ostensibly will not repeat, in this case a sentiment in stylized speech by the older community that hidden knowledge often becomes revealed (line 703: '**mind little bit** dem tings *in da dark e comin in da light*'). He frames this statement as something that he has now 'warned' the audience about and will no longer be advising them on, and uses the catchphrase (line 705) which overlaps with the laughter of the group in response to his stylized voicing of 'dem old folks' in the previous utterance; as with the other catchphrases, this one has been previously introduced, and its reiterated or 'callback' use here elicits a positive evaluation from

tourists. The use of stylized language in the catchphrase here is important for multiple reasons, compared to and alongside the utility of other intra-tour branding and catchphrases. Firstly, the use of stylized language throughout the tour is usually accompanied by positive evaluation in the form of laughter by tourists. Whether it is from purely entertainment value, appreciation, or the incongruity of lack of Gullah Geechee communicative competence by outsiders paired with Brown's metalinguistic commentary on lack of outsider competence ('y'all ain't understand a word you mean I can't do this tour in Gullah today?'), stylized language moments are distinct and frequent enough to be sites of intercommunity interaction through evaluation. As one of the purposes of catchphrases is to create curated commodifiable linguistic souvenirs for outsider consumption, and stylized speech is especially recognizable and distinct in tourist perceptions, the assemblage of these features into stylized catchphrases seems particularly potent for producing more immersive and unique tourist experiences. Simultaneously, the capacity of stylized speech to demarcate insider and outsider belonging and knowledge is retained here, as Brown's use of the catchphrase not only linguistically indicates his stylistic adaptability as intercommunity intermediary, but also discursively indicates to tourists that he is a position of epistemic authority here, divulging information on a limited basis at his own discretion of what is important and appropriate for outsiders to know. The phrase *I ain gonna wan you no mo* also foots tourists closer to Brown, as he is creating a more personable space where he has 'warned' tourists because of the intimacy shared between them in a 'parental' style, while also maintaining a stance that indexes the discrete separation of Gullah Geechee and outsider. As this is stylized speech, it can also be observed as a phrase under variation, including *I*

ain gonna warn you no mo and *I no wan you no mo*. These variants are interesting in the context of the creole continuum in that they both display features that indicate movement along the continuum present in Gullah Geechee (and many English-lexified creoles in general), i.e. variable rhoticity (*wan* versus *warn*) and variable verbal negation structure (*ain gonna* versus *no*). The variation of these forms does not seem to be a conscious stylization on the part of the speaker; rather as the entire catchphrase is ‘stylized’, Brown produces a similar catchphrase with varying degrees of basilectal elements (but with the consistent retention elements of *wa(r)n* and non-MAE informal *no mo*⁸⁰). This specific catchphrase particularly embodies the signifying and symbolic function of both stylization and intra-touristic branding, where Brown’s construction of discrete Gullah Geechee personhood through his language practices also becomes moments of commodifiable language for tourist consumption.

⁸⁰ I.e. this feature exists in informal Gullah Geechee, AAE, and SAE, all varieties within Brown’s repertoire.

CHAPTER 7

TOURIST STANCE, IDEOLOGY, EXPECTATION AND EVALUATION

This chapter analyzes the stances, ideologies, expectations, and evaluations produced by tourists through the medium of TripAdvisor reviews. This includes an overview of TripAdvisor as a source of outsider perceptions and ideologies, and the overarching themes and patterns that emerged from the Gullah Geechee tour data set. I then analyze the various ideologies and expectations salient throughout reviews, with particular attention paid to how tourists can reinforce and perpetuate outsider hegemonic pressures in capitalist and institutional contexts. This is made explicitly clear in the highlighting of language ideologies and metalinguistic commentary found in reviews, where linguistic capital is evaluated by outsiders in the symbolic marketplace of the intercommunity interaction. The chapter concludes with an analysis of tour review evaluations as indicative of the stance-making and taking that tourists embody both on and off the tours, and how these interact with the personae produced by guides through their tour discourses and their language practices.

7.1 TRIPADVISOR REVIEWS

Like all communities, tourists are not a monolith—in fact, the sheer variability of demography, motivation, and interaction shown by the tourist community is so heterogeneous as to be almost unmanageable in approaching tourists as any kind of distinct ethnographic unit. However, there are certain aspects, entrenchments, and flows

of tourists within the tourism industry that do allow for examination of larger conceptualizations of tourist experiences and imaginaries. One of the more consistent characteristics of tourists (as a proxy of human interaction in general) is that when tourists embark on tours, they come predisposed with sets of expectations of the tour's purpose, what they hope to achieve from the experience, and pre-existing knowledge (or admitted lack thereof) of the tour's scope and content. These expectations, which may be shaped by something as intimate as personal experiences, distal as media exposure, stereotype, or word of mouth, or almost non-existent and therefore subject to associations and assumptions rather than inductions, become the ideological matrix that the tour, guide, and tour content are filtered through, i.e. evaluated. Like tourist expectations, these evaluations can range from seemingly empirical observations concerning veracity of historical fact, logistics, or cost-benefit analysis to highly subjective and emotive responses to the touristic setting and experience overall; as with other types of perceptual and attitudinal studies, the reification and articulation of these evaluations (i.e. ideologies) tell us just as much, if not more, about *who* is making these statements and how they think, than who or what these evaluations are *about*. In the case of the LHC (language cultural heritage) tour, these evaluative ideologies provide an illustrative viewpoint of how outsiders perceive insiders, what types of language are used to express these perspectives, and the interdiscursive circulation that occurs around touristic experiences. Tourism is a unique proxy for intercommunity, intercultural, and interlinguistic interaction in the inherently capitalist nature of the institution: tourists feel compelled and entitled to demand the 'best' experience for their financial investment, and by positioning their evaluations as about the tour or its content, there can be heavy

amounts of covert language about guides, their culture, and their language that would normally be deemed ‘inappropriate’ or ‘insensitive’ if said outright. In the case of the Gullah Geechee tour, many of the existing ideologies circulating about the language and community (positive and negative) emerge in evaluations by outsiders through curated interactions (i.e. tours) and distilled through reviews on websites such as AirBnb, Facebook, Google, and Trip Advisor. Because much of Gullah Geechee’s history with regards to its simultaneous marginalization and appreciation by hegemonic majority forces has been ethnicized and exoticized, we can view a diachronic throughline of indexical inversion present throughout the conceptualization of Gullah Geechee by non-Gullah Geechee, where what Gullah Geechee ‘is’ has been constructed and dictated without much regard to community consultation and consent. The Gullah Geechee community has weathered much of this raciolinguistic control through strong internal identity and an increasing agency and representation through its self-sufficiency; this also extends into the cultural and heritage tourism industry, where community members as entrepreneurs and brands are able to represent and market themselves to outsiders while reifying a distinct model of individual and collective personhood through practices of legitimation (e.g. claims to authenticity and expertise). However, this marketing of community and identity is not unidirectional, instead with the ever-increasing ubiquity of digitally-mediated intercommunity interaction being a site at which the feedback loop of performance-evaluation-response can be observed. This can be clearly illustrated in the intertextual nature of tourist review sites, where tourists can comment their expectations and evaluations of a particular cultural or heritage experience and insiders can respond to

these claims, either through direct discourse on the review site or by reconfiguring their commodified experience in some reactive (i.e. reinforcing or disruptive) way.

Tourist reviews are a well-established genre as travel literature, and are well-represented in the literature (Cenni and Goethals 2020; 2021), both in their historical (e.g. travel records and logs, memoirs) and contemporary (e.g. guide books, reviews) depictions. Travel reviews allow tourists to temporarily act as experts in their experiences, providing descriptions of particular amenities, tips and information concerning the subject matter, and also reflecting their pre-existing or now post-travel knowledge. This reflects again the capitalistic and commodified nature of tours and tourism: tourists have exchanged one type of capital (economic) for another (sociocultural or epistemic), and reviews are one such way to indicate the satisfaction with this transmission of capital while also an opportunity to showcase the effectiveness of their ‘final product’ (i.e. what they gained from the experience). TripAdvisor (created in 2000) is the main and most popular online resource for tourists to post, read, and share reviews about their touristic endeavors in which the site can roughly be split into producer (e.g. tour company) and consumer (e.g. tourist) halves. Companies are able to advertise their services and potential customers able to search amenities, buy tickets, and reserve spaces, but the ability to write and read reviews of specific amenities is arguably its most important function, and in terms of intertextual engagement and ideological verbalization is certainly the most useful feature for the current study. Previous research centered on TripAdvisor analyzing how listings and reviews mediate intertouristic discourses as a ‘new textual genre’ (Compagnone and Fiorentino 2018) and the ‘dark tourism’ (Kallas 2020) practices of Southern plantation tourism are especially relevant to

the current study; while tour sites have a vested interest in discourses that best play to positive associations of heritage and nostalgia despite historical realities, tourist reviews as a (increasingly digital) genre capture much of narrative, ideological, and evaluative language of consumers. These reviews as genre and text also provide us with the opportunity to understand the circulation of discourses in both the Foucauldian and Aghan sense—as themselves sites of discourse they shape broader public understandings of the tours themselves, i.e. they are an active part of the ideological feedback loop between the reality and imaginary of both tourists and larger conceptualizations of what Gullah Geechee is from an outsider perspective. In this way they are not just evidence of internal beliefs (as expectation-evaluation interfaces or sites of stance) but also social acts that produce interdiscursive linkages between and within communities. As a way of sharing and circulating stances in a specific moment of time and space, the reviews are intertextual artifacts that feed into ideological discourses around the expectations of intercommunity interaction and sociocultural capital.



Figure 6.1 TripAdvisor review

The above example illustrates a ‘typical’ TripAdvisor review in terms of layout and formatting. Users create a screenname, optional profile picture, and optionally indicate their geographic location. Their total number of review contributions is also displayed ostensibly in order to foot themselves as an established traveler or ‘expert’ in some capacity through repeated travel experiences. Other site users can ‘like’ a review to indicate that they agree with its content or find it helpful, and the user rates the experience or amenity from 0-5. Under that a title is displayed, and following that is the date of the experience and the social context in which it was taken (e.g. alone, as a couple, with friends, family, etc.). The review is given underneath the title, with a final indicator at the bottom of the review of when the review was written. The review is a clear, distinct text that depicts the experience and evaluation of the consumer through their satisfaction with the services provided, with the non-review matter reflecting enough personal information about the poster to legitimate them in the review space, whether through a geographic claim or experience expertise (although it should be mentioned that the main claim and footwork is often made most salient in the body of the review itself). Here is the same review illustrated in the format that review examples will be provided in for the remainder of the text⁸¹:

Example 7.1 (Review 167)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
African-American history of Charleston	4	GT	Oct-20
This was my wife and my first visit to Charleston. Alphonso's tour was a very good introduction to African-American people, places and historical events. He speaks Gullah at the			

⁸¹ Any bolded or italicized text in these reviews is emphasis mine, and the relevant portion of the review under analysis; however, the entire review is provided for context (unedited, i.e. (sic) where applicable).

start of the tour and describes some of the culture. Most of the driving tour does not focus on Gullah culture but more so on the wider African-American history of Charleston. We gained an appreciation for local metal artist, Philip Simmons, whose work can be seen all over town. The tour makes a brief stop at his former shop. We learned a lot on the tour. The tour starts and ends at the Visitor Center which has interesting displays and clean restrooms.

The format here omits the username, location, number of contributions, and number of other users who found the review helpful. Although some of that information may reveal interesting patterns concerning the possible interactions of where reviews are coming from and how established a user is as an ‘authority’ with the review content, it was not found to be significant data in the current study. Rather, reviews were discursively and corpus analyzed based on their content for emergent patterns at this time.

7.1.1 TRIPADVISOR DATA

The current project collected 442 consumer reviews for Trip Advisor, spread over 6 different tour companies. The majority ($n=427$) were collected from the companies used as primary sources (i.e. Gullah Tours, Gullah Geechee Tours, Sites & Insights Tours, and Frankly Charleston Tours), with a small sample of non-Gullah Geechee or non-Black-owned tour companies who provide ‘African American History’ tours (i.e. ‘Charleston’s African-American History & Philip Simmons Walking Tour’ by Holy City History Tours and ‘African-American History Tour in Charleston’ by Gallivanter Tours of Charleston) reviews included for complementary context. Of the representative sample, 59 posts were 1-star, 34 were 2-star, 35 were 3-star, 118 were 4-star, and 280 were 5-star reviews⁸².

⁸² All of the 1–4-star reviews available on TripAdvisor were collected. However, only a representative portion of the 5-star reviews were used, due to overall frequency, comparatively little content, and to

Using AntConc, Nvivo 12, and a modified Excel spreadsheet⁸³, the review content was organized by tour company and score and then using text analysis and concordance ‘decontextualization’ operations, the most common, most interesting, and most significant words and themes were extracted. In order to better visualize how and where tourists were saying what, significant terms were ‘binned’ into themes. These themes, tourist discourses around them, the underlying ideologies they reflect, their interaction with guides and tour content, and the analysis of the expectation-evaluation interface follows below.

7.1.2 OVERARCHING THEMES, TOPICS, AND PATTERNS OF REVIEWS

While tour reviews can contain wildly different scope, context, and narrative styles, there do tend to be overarching themes and patterns by users leaving reviews. In this case, since the niche ‘genre’ of experience is the same, we can expect to find some relative consistency in repeated content tokens. Using AntConc’s n-gram feature and ignoring both ‘stop’ and non-content words, the following ten tokens were extracted as the most frequent throughout the TripAdvisor tourist reviews:

Table 5.1: n-gram for most frequent content tokens in tourist reviews

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Number of reviews in which a word appeared</i>	<i>Percentage frequency (of total collected reviews n=427)</i>	<i>Number of instances of a word</i>	<i>Percentage frequency (of total collected words n=32161)</i>
1	tour	388	90.87%	958	2.97876%
2	charleston	252	59.02%	384	1.19399%
3	history	231	54.10%	338	1.05096%

assuage some of my own concerns surrounding statements I had heard about potential fake or paid 5-star reviews for some companies.

⁸³ Many thanks to Elaine Chun for providing the initial formulae and layout for this spreadsheet.

4	gullah	219	51.29%	351	1.09138%
5	inform	163	38.17%	182	0.56590%
6	guide	159	37.24%	183	0.56901%
7	learn	120	28.10%	152	0.47262%
8	culture	104	24.36%	112	0.34825%
9	black	75	17.56%	65	0.20211%
10	experience	73	17.10%	94	0.29228%

Even from this initial extraction, we can derive some pertinent information about outsider tourist perspectives, the content of reviews, and the underlying attitudes that these reviews represent. The near-ubiquitous use of ‘tour’ (90.87%) to comment on the touristic experience is unsurprising but does highlight the disparity between the acknowledgment and evaluation of what service is being offered compared to information *about* the tour, exemplified by the next three terms, ‘Charleston’ (59.02%), ‘history’ (54.10%), and ‘Gullah’ (51.29%). Although the principal tours are superficially similar in what they offer and how the tour experience is marketed, the geospatial token is found most often, which is significant when considering that the main tours used in this study present themselves as Gullah Geechee history and cultural tours, but tourists are less likely to mention Gullah Geechee compared to ‘Charleston’ or ‘history’. The next three terms, ‘inform’ (38.17%), ‘guide’ (37.24%), and ‘learn’ (28.10%) help to begin to illustrate how many of the reviews position themselves as evaluative commentary on the tour content, scope, and the tour guides themselves. The token ‘inform’ also subsumes related word forms, including ‘information’, ‘informative’, etc. and speaks to the epistemic authority of guides in their capacity to transmit knowledge to tourists. This and the ‘learn’ token are directly tied to evaluations of this commodified epistemic

transmission, where positive and negative evaluations can be extracted from the surrounding context of these tokens (which will be discussed below). When ‘guide’ appears during a review, which occurs in approximately a third of collected reviews, it indicates a direct evaluation of the tour guide in some way. The nature of this evaluation, whether on content, language, personality, logistical elements, is particularly interesting in the ways that tourists often will frame guides as service providers, which in the case of negative evaluations can be perceived as commenting on the *service* provided rather than on the guide themselves in order to mitigate perceptions of ‘face-threatening’ or ‘attacking’ guides as individuals or the community by proxy.

Example 7.2 (Review 396)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Disappointing	2	SIT	Jul-17
Our group took the 2 1/2 hour tour and only stopped at the Angel tree & the headstone for "Porgy". We would like to have seen the slave quarters since we were told there would be at least 3 stops. Tour was somewhat boring since it did focus more on Porgy and Bess and more of the guide's personal experience than we expected .			

In the above example, it can be seen that although the guide is mentioned, personal evaluation of Miller as an individual is avoided although the tour is ‘disappointing’. Instead, the reviewer focuses on their expectations (i.e. slave quarters, at least 3 stops) and negatively evaluates the tour experience as an unfulfillment of those expectations. This also reiterates the earlier statement about the heterogeneous and subjective nature of the tourist demographic; while this review in particular negatively evaluates Miller based on the content (i.e. Porgy and Bess and Miller’s personal experiences), that exact content

is what other reviewers highly praise, positively evaluating the intimate nature of the tour as characteristics indexing Miller’s in-group status and providing a more satisfying holistic cultural tour experience.

In order to better visualize the reviewer responses, tokens were organized into rough ‘themes’ that broadly represent much of the content in the TripAdvisor reviews. By no means purely discrete or exhaustive, these themes rather illustrate some of the most frequent or most salient patterns emergent as part of the touristic review genre. Unsurprisingly, some themes were nearly ubiquitously found in reviews, while others were much less common; however, even thematic tokens less prevalent still reveal distinct underlying ideologies and attitudes towards guides, Gullah Geechee, and Black identity and culture. Several categories were also created that were more functional in nature, both in order to illustrate evaluative and sentiment-based tokens, as well as extract purely discursive and stylistic linguistic observations.

Table 5.2: Thematic and functional categories of review tokens

<i>thematic</i>		
<i>category</i>	<i>tokens</i>	<i>comments</i>
commodity	advertise (7) sell (2) deal (8) money (28) book (48) business (8) expensive (1) cheap (0) price (10) worth (36) cost (5) buy (4) purchase (8)	‘book’ token especially prevalent in discourses concerning Alphonso’s ‘catchphrase’ and bringing up his book to tourists
false	false (8) conspiracy (23) propagand ⁸⁴ (3) claim (8)	The ‘conspiracy’ tokens are all attributed to Godfrey’s tours where

⁸⁴ In cases with multiple relevant inflectional and derivational forms, root forms were used, with unrelated derivations ignored.

	illuminat (7) lie (3) doubt (3) bias (3)	tourists took a stance away from his claims
history	histo (251) cultur (107) stor (39) narrat (10) learn (120) trad (11) politic (5) perspective (36) free (6) tell (34) told (29) sing (27) song (7) teach (8) taught (11) lesson (14) gate (18) famil (29) descen (10)	As mentioned above, 'history' as a topic is highly prevalent in the reviews
language	language (41) understand (27) accent (9) dialect (6) speak (19) word (16) sound (4) hear slow (1) fast (5) style (5) voice (5) tone (6) listen (10) spoke (17) talk (26) name (13) say (16) said (25) hear (41) quick (8) phras (6)	Although not a densely- occurring theme, obviously the most pertinent to the current study and will be further discussed in its own section below. Tokens denoting commentary on speech rate also included
race	Black (75) African (59) White (12) Gullah (219) Geech (35) African American (34) race (2) raci (11) prejudice (2) slav (81) heritage (10) African- (14)	
religion	religio (9) Bible (22) Hebrew (12) Israel (9) preach (8) pray (1) church (16) Christian (1) verse (10) gospel (1) spirit (5)	
tourism	center (17) visit (59) tour (388) tourist (11) experience (73) guide (159) island (20) plantation (6) downtown (11) market (10) food (8) review (17) rate (20) basket (3) Charleston (252) city (77) south (15)	A surprisingly small amount of tokens about places <i>in</i> Charleston and lack of discourse around sweetgrass baskets

truth	real (80) tru (60) eviden (4) told (29) secret (9) authent (1) know (129) fact (34) sense (15) genuine (2) original (3) only (62) local (16) believe (4) expert (4)	Note the single instance of 'authentic', this will be explored below
<i>functional</i>		
<i>category</i>	<i>tokens</i>	<i>comments</i>
evaluative	feel (25) ok (7) thought (38) think (17) focus (21) wish (21) want (46) would like (4) should (18) looking forward (8) would (118) need (16) surprise (8)	
negative evaluations	bad (8) terrible (3) awful (0) disappoint (36) waste (15) difficult (6) horrible (1) mistake (3) ruin (2) hate (8) sad (4) poor (2) rough (49)	An overall lack of <i>overt</i> negative evaluative language throughout all reviews, including very negative ones
personal negative (evaluations)	unprofessional (4) boring (1) appr (2) argu (2) debat (2) rude (1) offensive (4) confus (6) uncomfortable (7)	Very low instances of face- threatening personal evaluations, as discussed above
personal positive (evaluations)	persona (37) funny (20) humor (16) profession (11) entertain (54) energ (7) passion (32) expect (34) knowledge (100) inform (163) educat (23) comfort (34) honest (7) agree (2) convers (7)	High frequency of tokens related to epistemic authority ('knowledge' and 'inform')
positive evaluations	good (41) great (84) amazing (15) excellent (25) excit (9) appreciate (19) awesome (10) beautiful (14) recommend (77) enjoy (68) interesting (54) cool	Significant frequency of tourists as temporary 'experts' or 'authorities' on the experience, denoted by 'recommend'

	(7) love (21) best (29) wonderful (25) rich (13) pleasant (8) nice (15)
quantifier	definitely (27) maybe (5) probably (8) certain (6) sure (22) at all (8) very (226) really (51) little (32) never (31) always (4) some (113) not (146) any (58) enough (20) many (42) extremely (21) more (109) less (12) much (79)

As shown above, tourists covered a wide range of themes concerning the tours, guides, and tour content. From these themes, we can observe and analyze much of the interface between tourist expectations and evaluations, and many of the underlying ideologies that represent larger conceptualizations and generalizations about cultural heritage tourism and Black and/or Gullah Geechee identity by outsiders. For the purpose of this study, particular interest will be paid to discourses around tour guide language and tourist orientation to guides' language practices. Tourists and their perceptions and pre-suppositions towards the subjects of these tours do not occur in a vacuum; rather, tourists reviews reveal much about the stances tourists take towards and away from guides and tour content through their engagement in the genre as temporary 'experts' of the particular touristic experience, offering advice, feedback, and commentary to potential future customers (and in some cases the guides themselves).

7.2 TOURIST IDEOLOGIES AND EXPECTATIONS

Tourists approach touristic experiences with a preconceived set of notions of what tour content should 'provide' to them as consumers, or at least what they expect they will leave the experience with in terms of entertainment or knowledge. In many cases, there is

explicit discourse within the tour review that captures these sentiments. Tour reviews ubiquitously provide *evaluations* in the form of customer satisfaction with a particular experience; however, when *expectations* form a portion of the review it is often to reflect, compare, and contrast the preconfigured notions of the tour and the previously-held attitudes and ideologies of tourist imaginaries directly with how the experience reified, reinforced, or disrupted these preconceptions. This use of expectations, often as a subjective dissonance with the ‘reality’ of their experience, illustrates how tourists simultaneously take stances away from the guide-as-company and tour-as-object but usually frame their responses as dissatisfaction with services rendered rather than a singular overt focus on the identity or personhood of the guide as individual. The following review illustrates a negative expectation-evaluation dissonance of Gullah Geechee Tours (GGT), indicated not only by the review title and content, but also the lowest attributed score possible.

Example 7.3 (Review 67)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Eh....	1	GGT	May-21
<p>Let me first say that I’m a PhD candidate who studies black politics and rural political activism in the South. I booked this tour expecting to learn more about the Gullah/Geechee culture because I know there have been efforts to preserve the cuisine and language. This wasn’t that tour at all. I thought he and Alphonso were both from the same tour company (Alphonso has glowing reviews and our guide badmouthed him as we drove past). The negative reviews are accurate and I wish I saw them before booking. There is some historical information but it’s woven into conspiracy theories and Bible verses. I’m a social scientist by training so I was looking for verifiable historical information which was often lacking. Do what you want with your money, but this wasn’t for me.</p>			

In the above example, the reviewer first establishes their positionality to the sociopolitical context of the tour and their own epistemic authority ('a PhD candidate who studies black politics and rural political activism in the South'), a claim that both positions them and also speaks to how their expectations are informed, in this case from a specific higher education background that relates directly to the tour content. They then explicitly state the dissonance between their expectation and the reality of the tour ('expecting to learn more about the Gullah/Geechee culture because I know there have been efforts to preserve the cuisine and language'), with a specific pointing towards their own previous knowledge of preservation efforts. The evaluation continues with a comparison between GGT and Gullah Tours (GT) and a reinforcing of 'negative' reviews, also directly commodifying the experience by giving 'advice' to other potential consumers concerning their financial (and epistemic) investment. The final expectation discourse ('I'm a social scientist by training so I was looking for verifiable historical information which was often lacking') restates much of the original orientation and resultant negative evaluation. The reviewer here 'strengthens' the force of his negative evaluation through his establishment of his own expertise and authority and overtly stating his expectations that the tour failed to provide. Even less negative reviews may still reflect a salient dissonance, especially when taken into consideration *where* the expectations are stemming from when tourists provide some of that context. Consider this 'average' review of Gullah Tours, that has 'mixed' sentiments and evaluations of the experience with the expectations creating the touristic frame as both juxtaposition and foil.

Example 7.4 (Review 157)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
More a tour of Charleston with Gullah comments than a Gullah focused tour	3	GT	Feb-16
<p>Friends urged us to join them on this tour after hearing all the positive reviews. I admit I did not research it in advance but given the name expected that the tour would emphasize the Gullah history and culture. We've been to Charleston a number of times so I was looking forward to a unique perspective. It was basically a tour of historic Charleston with some commentary on African American and slave history. Mr. Brown was charming and informative and this tour will give you an overview of historic Charleston but one ought to be aware of what it is/isn't.</p>			

Here we are again introduced to some background information about the consumers, giving context for the expectation-evaluation matrix. These tourists indicate the importance of the tour company's name in constructing an expectation for its scope and content ('given the name expected that the tour would emphasize the Gullah history and culture') even without having done their own research on this company specifically and instead being convinced by friends, who themselves had heard 'all the positive reviews'. The reviewer then presents their expectations as reflective of their background, highlighting that because of their previous knowledge and experience with the area, that this tour in particular should provide them a 'unique perspective', ostensibly because of in-group status of Brown. Brown's reputation as positionality and the name of the company itself created an expectation for these tourists as 'experienced' previous visitors ('We've been to Charleston a number of times'), which was then met with a dissonant experience and lukewarm evaluation based on their perception of the tour content as 'non-unique'. Many tourists seek out Gullah Geechee-centric tours specifically because

of their expectations of a unique and immersive experience, and when tours are not perceived to offer anything beyond a ‘basic’ history tour, consumers may evaluate it negatively, despite positive evaluations of Brown himself in this case (‘charming and informative’). This also highlights the potentially double-edged aspect of an ethnically or culturally niche tour, in that tourists are expecting particular language or cultural practices, markers of community belonging, or ‘revealed’ knowledge, with this review indicating that ‘some commentary on African American slave history’ did not qualify to their satisfaction. By contrast, expectation-evaluation dissonance does not always have to be framed as a negative outcome of the tour event; rather, the conceptualization of an experience as an ‘unexpected surprise’ as provided in the following positive GGT review illustrates just how wide the subjective divide between different tourist expectations can range.

Example 7.5 (Review 283)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Gullah Gullah Tour	5	GGT	Mar-17
<p>The tour was totally different than what we expected and both my friend and I were fascinated by the wealth of information presented about the Gullah people, especially from a spiritual point of view. Our tour guide, Godfrey, was passionate and very entertaining about the secrets he shared. You will look at Charleston very differently after taking this tour and will be looking for its secrets too. We are highly recommending this tour to everyone. It was time very well spent!</p>			

In this example, the reviewer indicates immediately her strong satisfaction with the tour and with the guide as an individual. Although she does not explicitly state what she was expecting, she instead provides the reader with the perspective of this tour being ‘totally different’ while still presenting a ‘wealth’ of information about Gullah Geechee

culture and its emphasis on spirituality. As Godfrey markets his tours and his self as directly competing with dominant hegemonic ideologies and narratives surrounding Charleston and Gullah Geechee history and culture, it should come as little surprise that his claims are strong stance objects for tourists to center discourse around. In this case, it seems that these tourists' expectations were informed by their idea of what a 'typical' Gullah Geechee-centered tour should look like, and the dissonance produced a strongly positive evaluation about both the tour's content and Godfrey's performance overall ('passionate and very entertaining'). It is also interesting to note their specific denotation of Godfrey's narrative as imparting 'secrets' to them, adding to his tours' stated aims as revealing secret of 'hidden' knowledge of the 'truth' in Charleston; this review even goes one step further as to indicate this tours' ability to alter perspective ('You will look at Charleston very differently after taking this tour and will be looking for its secrets too'), in a sense defying expectations based on circulating narrative norms.

The concept of preconceived expectations of tourists can also be tied to sentiments of 'anticipation' or aspects of the touristic experience that tourists are 'looking forward to'. Like other expectations, these discourses of anticipation are highly tourist-dependent, but are always used to establish an ideological or attitudinal foundation from which evaluations will be synthesized after the tour. In this example for Al Miler's Sites and Insights Tours (SIT), we can observe the contrast between tourists who had preconceived expectations but had not researched the tour companies themselves with those whose research directly informed their expectations.

Example 7.6 (Review 378)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
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A learning journey	5	SIT	Dec-22
<p>As soon as I knew we were going to Charleston, I started researching options for tours that would center the Black experience and history, especially to include the unique culture and story of the Gullah-Geechee community. I booked the 2.5 hour Sights and Insights tour right after arranging our flights and accommodations, then had a few months to build up anticipation. Today we finally got to attend the tour, and I thank Mr. Miller for this unique and special opportunity. He is so knowledgeable, charismatic and engaging - he really made all the content come alive in a way that could never be matched by me just reading up and only gaining a secondhand understanding. I've seen elsewhere in another person's review that they felt there was not enough time off the bus to walk around: my feeling is that we got a lot of sightseeing in, and were offered the chance to step out for pictures, more information etc. plenty of times while still respecting the communities we passed through. I would encourage anyone considering it to book a tour and put your Charleston experience in context with Sights and Insights.</p>			

The reviewer here opens with the background information of establishing themselves immediately as the type of tourist consumer with a strong goal and intent of tour experience in mind. From the outset, the goal for this reviewer was a tour ‘that would center the Black experience and history, especially to include the unique culture and story of the Gullah-Geechee community’, which reflects not only their pre-research expectations (an interest in Black and Gullah Geechee stories), but also the perspective that motivated their consumer research. There is a temporal aspect to this researched expectation (‘a few months to build up anticipation’), and the resultant strong positive evaluation that even takes into consideration the positioning between tourist, guide, and community (‘while still respecting the communities we passed through’). The evaluation not only explicitly indexes Miller’s epistemic authority, even when compared to the pre-existing knowledge and research of the reviewer (‘could never be matched by me just reading up and only gaining a secondhand understanding’) but also directly refutes the less positive stances taken by other reviewers (‘I’ve seen elsewhere in another person’s

review’), which reinforces the personal expectation-constructing research of this reviewer. The modality and delivery of information and narratives during a tour is also often a component of reviews that overtly discuss the expectations of the experience, where not only do tourists have presupposed attitudes towards the community and its practices, but also how this knowledge is transferred to outsiders who may share differing viewpoints and opinions. Take for instance this moderately positive GGT review that attempts to justify their expectations of the tour with the modality of the experience.

Example 7.7 (Review 127)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Informative ride	4	GGT	Sep-18
<p>The tour guide shared a number of interesting and often controversial views, ideas, thoughts and was very provocative in a positive way. However, given the depth of views shared, it was not amenable to a tour per se, It would have been better held in a sit down discussion. Having said this, he generated a lot of food for thought which I am always happy to entertain as a life long learner.I was looking forward to seeing more sites of the city ie. slave museum as part of the tour . If you are looking for a time of sharing real ideas on what is going on among black people and their continued psychological and financial enslavement, this is the tour to go on.Give the tour a 4 for information provided..</p>			

This review opens with discourse that seeks to counterbalance the tour content (‘interesting and often controversial views, ideas, thoughts’) and performance (‘provocative and positive’) with commentary concerning the delivery of the narrative (‘it was not amenable to a tour per se’). The reviewer here has established their expectation of tours as genre that does not typically focus on ‘depth of views’; rather, more intense interactions about difficult or taboo topics relegated to a modality that invites more conversation than entertainment (‘It would have been better held in a sit down

discussion’). This expectation is only further reinforced by the reviewer positioning themselves as a ‘life long learner’, which along with other expectation-evaluation discourse (‘a time of sharing real ideas’) evokes imagery of a lecture or classroom over a tour. This modality is even explicitly contrasted with the reviewer’s expectation of what a touristic experience entails (‘I was looking forward to seeing more sites of the city ie. slave museum as part of the tour’), indicating a dissonance between event expectation and reality; however, the informative content of the experience itself garnered a score of 4 despite a mismatch of entertainment and education. This mismatch between entertainment and education is a salient locus of expectation discourses and evaluation outcomes; reviewers as tourists and temporary authorities on the experience may radically project these expectations onto guides, with stronger projections often producing stronger disappointment and more negative evaluations. In the following example from a GT review, ideologies concerning language and identity can be seen emerging within a ‘dissatisfaction discourse’ that takes a strong stance away from Brown and his narrative presentation.

Example 7.8 (Review 146)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Worthless	2	GT	May-19
<p>I was very, very disappointed with this tour. The "Gullah experience tour" was one of the things I was most looking forward to in coming to Charleston. Alphonso was EXTREMELY difficult to understand. His spiel seemed very canned and robotic. He seemed more concerned about how the whites oppressed the blacks then in really explaining about the Gullah culture and history. I learned virtually nothing. Then away the end, he spent 10 minutes in self congratulations: telling us all about where his tour has been written up and all of his accomplishments. I would never recommend this tour to anyone. I'm sure I could learn much more by reading a book.</p>			

Here the reviewer contests most, if not all of, the positive aspects of their expectations of Gullah Tours and Brown as a tour guide. Opening the review with strongly evaluative language ('very disappointed') and the use of scare quotes to indicate a lack of authenticity or legitimacy ('the "Gullah experience tour"'), the reviewer directly positions themselves and their expectations as running counter to the experience, even with the tour being one of the things they were 'most looking forward to in coming to Charleston'. This expectation clearly establishes a large dissonance in how the reviewer perceived the tour and Brown as a guide, which compared to a review containing only an evaluative component, strengthens its sentimental and emotive force. It also represents an attempt to 'justify' the reviewer's following ideological discourse as less of a face-threatening act against Brown as an individual or a Gullah Geechee community member, and instead positioning him as providing an inadequate service. The first discursive turn is a linguistic ideological one, commenting on Brown's Gullah Geechee accent as observed by an (MAE-writing)⁸⁵ outsider ('Alphonso was EXTREMELY difficult to understand'). This type of evaluation falls directly in line with stereotypical hegemonic ideologies against minority languages, including and especially Gullah Geechee when being compared to status quo or dominant English varieties in terms of racialized 'intelligibility'. The negative ideology is not limited to 'comprehensibility' however, as Brown's performance style is also critiqued ('His spiel seemed very canned and robotic'). Note that as detailed above, guides use a well-entrenched script during tours that often varies only with situational or interactional disruptions to the usual 'flow' of a tour; what the reviewer may be commenting on here is the tendency for repeated scripts or speeches

⁸⁵ The variety of American English considered devoid of socially stigmatized structures, often perceived as 'standard' even along continua of standardness and formality (Wolfram and Schilling 2016).

to contain less intonational contouring and have more moments of monotonicity in performances that are regularly repeated. Following this, the next turn focuses on the touristic content, specifically narratives of racial injustice in Charleston ('He seemed more concerned about how the whites oppressed the blacks'), which the reviewer distinctly takes a stance away from. This stance away from the narrative object and Brown as the transmitter of that object is highlighted by the reviewer as a flagrant contrast or misconstruing of the tour's purpose ('then in really explaining about the Gullah culture and history'), which clearly indicates the expectations constructed by the reviewer about the narrative of the tour, Brown's 'appropriate' positionality of that narrative, and his 'obligation' to fulfill an expectation of a certain level of explicitly Gullah Geechee content. Although it could be argued that Gullah Geechee culture and history is inextricably bound up in part with narratives of racial oppression in Charleston, the reviewer provides a clear epistemic evaluative ('I leaned virtually nothing') that indicates footing away from this particular insider perspective. The final turn evaluates discourses of recognition and legitimation by Brown himself ('he spent 10 minutes in self congratulations: telling us all about where his tour has been written up and all of his accomplishments'); this is especially interesting when considering that it is these exact discursive elements that many tourists take a stance towards in perceiving Brown as a legitimate authority on Gullah Geechee history, culture, and language as an authentic insider. Many tourist expectations involving the content of the tour and in choosing the 'best' tour are centered around the tour with the best reviews, guides with the most accolades, and companies with the most 'visible' appearance. This further illustrates the subjective utility of commodifiable identity as capital in these intertouristic interactions:

although guides can choose to index their authenticity and authority through cultural or institutional practices, often outsider perceptions of what practices are deemed ‘appropriate’ are what presuppose the expectations and entail the resultant evaluations. This can be despite or even in spite of the experiences and observations of others (tourists and even in-group members), regardless of expertise about or positioning to the community⁸⁶.

7.2.1 TOURIST METALINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

Both because language as an element of interest is closely tethered in conceptualizations and expectations of the Gullah Geechee cultural and heritage tour, and the fact that the tour is performed with stylistic and narrative considerations of language in mind, reviews that comment on language are found throughout the TripAdvisor pages for the tour companies. These discourses on language, echoing other attitudinal and perceptual dialectology studies, may reveal piecemeal information on the practices of language producers, but are far more useful in eliciting language ideologies around the perception of language practices on tours. As seen above, these ideologies are often tied with discourses around satisfaction with the holistic experience based on the expectation-evaluation matrix. For example, this negative review of Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours incorporates both linguistic commentary with a comparison of the surrounding touristic landscape.

Example 7.9 (Review 142)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
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⁸⁶ The reviewer here gives no indication if their parting evaluative (‘I’m sure I could learn much more by reading a book’) includes Brown’s book, which by all metrics could be regarded as an authentically ‘Gullah experience’ authored by a community insider.

Kill Me Now	1	GT	Jul-11
<p>Except for a brief Gullah language lesson from the front of the bus, this is just two hours of riding around in downtown Charleston pointing out the same sights as every other tour....except talking incessantly about iron gate maker Philip Simmons. We wanted to die after the first 15 minutes and couldn't escape for another 1 1/2 hours. Argh!!</p>			

Here the reviewer opens with an observation about a contrasting element of Brown's tour, that of 'a brief Gullah language lesson from the front of the bus'.

Although Gullah Geechee is used on the tour, this review finds that element does not distinguish GT from surrounding tours in Charleston ('the same sights as every other tour'). This illustrates that not only do tourists come with expectations of unique (e.g. exoticized) elements that distinguish this niche of a cultural heritage tour, but the elements must be frequent, dense, or sufficient enough by some perceptual metric to receive a positive evaluation. In this case, even a distinguishing element does not necessarily equate to a positive experience, with this reviewer negatively evaluating both the Gullah Geechee lesson and also the 'over'-presence of discourse around specific Gullah Geechee individuals ('talking incessantly about iron gate maker Philip Simmons'). Language ideologies can just as often and as strongly be positive indicators of outsider attitudes when evaluating 'authentic' language practices. The following review about Al Miller's Sites and Insights tour provides a clear illustration of the common co-occurrence of language ideological and authenticating discourse.

Example 7.10 (Review 407)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
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Dynamic Passionate Guide	5	SIT	Sep-18
<p>My three high school friends and I decided on Charleston as our destination for our bi-annual vacation. Getting a Gullah tour was recommended and we were fortunate that Al Miller had space on his 2.5 hour tour. We all agreed that it was the highlight of our three day Charleston adventure. Al is lively, entertaining and has a wealth of information to share about Gullah. He speaks the language and engages you with the history. He is a historian and is a great spokesperson for Charleston.</p>			

In this example, the reviewer makes it clear from the outset that their evaluation of Miller is strongly positive. After being recommended a Gullah tour (establishing some baseline of expectation), the reviewer and their friends take a stance towards the overall experience as being the apex of their Charleston ‘adventure’. Their perception of Miller evaluates his performance style (‘lively, entertaining’) and claims to epistemic authority (‘wealth of information to share about Gullah’), indexing his perceived authenticity through his language practices specifically. His command of the language is attached to both his ability to engage tourists with history and his sharing of Gullah Geechee-specific information, indicating the quality of ‘immersive’ that many tourists are seeking in a niche cultural heritage tour. The review ends by legitimating Miller, both as a historical authority (‘historian’) and positioning him with language that echoes that of the Charleston Area Convention and Visitors Bureau (CACVB) of guides as ‘ambassadors’ to the city (‘spokesperson for Charleston’). Although positive evaluations often contain positive stances towards language practices and therefore more positive language ideologies, this is not unilaterally the case. Even in cases where a high score is received and the overall experience is denoted by positive feedback, ideologies about language can

emerge through comments and critiques about the guide’s language practices. In the following review about Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours, the review provides a very positive and thorough evaluation of their tour, but also slightly more critical metalinguistic commentary.

Example 7.11 (Review 363)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
a must if you want to understand Charleston's history	5	GT	Feb-20
this is another do not miss tour. Very interesting historical tour of the city highlighting the contributions of the African Americans that shaped this city, state, country. Our tour guide was a little hard to understand but you train your ear and listen to his explanations of the Gullah language. It was a long tour full of the history of these Americans, their contributions, their housing, customs, industry and background. He explained so much it was hard to absorb (but GOOD). I said a prayer when we stopped at some of the gravesites of the slaves, at the Methodist church where those bible study people we killed. Very moving tour. Spiritual for me!			

Here the reviewer takes a very positive stance towards the holistic tour experience, foregrounding the tour’s content and scope (‘highlighting the contributions of the African Americans’) and indicating that this content was sufficiently dense in terms of breadth and depth (‘a long tour full of the history of these Americans’). They even frame the amount of information as almost overwhelming, but still in a style that shows a stance towards Brown (‘He explained so much it was hard to absorb (but GOOD)’). The language ideological component here comes in the form of perception of comprehensibility (‘Our tour guide was a little hard to understand’), indicating the Brown’s use of Gullah Geechee or his accent in some way obfuscated interlinguistic

intelligibility during the tour. However, instead of framing this ideology as a stigmatizing one, the reviewer depicts the process of perceptual accommodation ('but you train your ear and listen') as a component of the intertouristic interaction. This interaction produces an outcome of both epistemic transmission and increased comprehensibility throughout the tour ('listen to his explanations of the Gullah language'), where tourists are exposed to Brown's speech style 'natively' but also to lessons and explanations about Gullah Geechee which help outsiders improve their understanding. This is an interesting inversion of a stigmatizing ideological interaction, where the onus would be on the minority language speaker to accommodate their speech in an 'appropriate' manner to aid in majority comprehension. In this hegemonically inverted context, where the covert prestige of Gullah Geechee is foregrounded and appreciated as a commodifiable object, outsiders 'train' themselves by listening and learning from guides, although it should come as no surprise that this inversion does not always occur and in fact the hegemonic ideologies are reinforced in more negative reviews with linguistic ideological content. This also speaks to the 'willingness' of certain tourists with expectations of being immersed in Gullah Geechee language and culture to both learn and learn about the language, as opposed to types of tourists who find that content unnecessary or inappropriate to their tourist imaginaries. It is this commodifiable nature of Gullah Geechee language on the tour and tourist stances towards it that also illustrate both the salience of language ideologies and the 'souvenirization' of commodifiable language by tourists who positively engage with Gullah Geechee language practices. The following example from a Gullah Tours review is significant not only because the review explicitly brings up Gullah Geechee language as a considerable portion of the tour content, but also because

the reviewer produces commodified language souvenirized from the experience and their language-sharing intercommunity interaction with Brown.

Example 7.12 (Review 299)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Amazing Tour; A Masterclass in Gullah & Charleston!	5	GT	Aug-22
<p>Alphonso and Gullah Tours is an exceptional experience! This 2 hour tour is worth every penny and then some! We learned so much about Charleston, Gullah (language) and even Historical details about past (slavery to civil war), how it influences the present and whats coming in the future. Alphonso seems to know everyone we drove by and knew everything about even real estate costs and city government. The best part was visiting Phillip Simmons home, and getting to meet his family and how they are continuing the legacy. (And if you don't know who that is...you will - Simmons spent 78 years as a blacksmith, focusing on decorative iron work.) Don't believe the hype of other tours, this is the only one you need. Cant wait to come back to Charleston to explore more with Gullah Tours. And Hope Alphonso adds other experiences and tour themes to the options, so we can keep learning from him. Alphonso said, " Don' git los' now!" (Come back soon). And We wont git los', we Will be back soon!</p>			

In this thorough review, it can be seen that language (and knowledge about the language) features as a significant positive takeaway from the tour and also establishes Brown's epistemic authority ('We learned so much') as well as ties to the local government and community ('Alphonso seems to know everyone we drove by'), positioning him as an authenticated local. There is an emphasis on intercommunity interaction ('explore more') and information transmission ('so we can keep learning from him') that illustrate the reviewer's stance towards Brown as an intercultural intermediary and repository of knowledge; however, the last sentence of the review also highlights how this type of transmission can be symbolically distilled. The use of reported speech here invokes the stylization practices of guides as previously analyzed, in this case the

phrase *don' git los' now!* and its non-GG translation 'come back soon'. This reproduction of stylized speech represents the souvenirization of curated language practices by Brown and its uptake by positively-evaluating tourists. In this case, tourists commodified the language, literally 'taking it with them' and producing the 'results' of their Gullah Geechee-language learning in this discursive context. Not only does this reflect a retention of linguistic content from the tour itself, it also illustrates the ideological and perceptual 'filtration' of Brown's language practices into the tourist's own repertoire. Note the use of apostrophes to indicate cluster reduction, an orthographic practice shared by Brown but intentionally avoided by some other Gullah Geechee speakers who perceive it as nonstandard orthography (i.e. eye dialect) or indexing the language as nonstandard in some way; this use of apostrophe to represent regional or otherwise marginalized varieties is well-attested, especially when it comes to outsider stylization or stereotyping of minority language performances. This souvenirized language, as with other stylized catchphrases, co-constructs a type of linguistic intimacy and language showcasing between guides and tourists, producing sites where tourists take an affiliative stance towards guides and their language practices while also constructing guides as 'authentic' Gullah Geechee language users. In this way, tourists who later reproduce the language temporarily invoke this affiliation with the guide and language akin to learning a phrase in a language classroom or other language-sharing context that is highly indexically imbued. In this case, the tourist is invoking this stylized linguistic souvenir to index their affiliation with Brown and positively evaluate the tour by sharing in the intimate symbolic connotation of the phrase similar to other regional ritualized greetings and goodbyes (cf. SAE *y'all come back now y'hear?*). Here the tourists even incorporate

the stylized phrase into their own speech, conjugating the phrase ('We wont git los') and reiterating it in their own speech style ('Will be back soon'), mirroring the translation provided by Brown during the tour. It should be reiterated that the density and frequency of 'brand' components of a tour, in the case of the current project information about Gullah Geechee, are constructed inconsistently across tourists based on their own expectations and individual ideological orientations to Gullah Geechee discourse content. The following Gullah Tours review, although giving a moderately high score (4), provides an example of how perceptions of culture, history, and language are not inextricable from one another when it comes to tourist evaluations.

Example 7.13 (Review 203)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Nice African American History introduction to the city.	4	GT	Apr-14
While the tour is entitled Gullah tours, there isn't much emphasis placed on the Gullah culture or history in the tour, other than the language that Alphonso will frequently use and teach you about. So if you are looking strictly for a Gullah in-depth tour, this probably isn't the right one. That being said, this tour does a very nice job of giving you an introduction to the African American history of the city as well as some of the general history. Alphonso is well versed in the city's history and is very funny, making the tour quite enjoyable. I would really recommend this tour early on in your visit to Charleston to get an overview of some of the most important landmarks in the city. From this tour (as it is not an on and off tour) you can then decide which sites you wish to study more in depth and visit.			

In this example there is an emphasis again placed on the semiotic function of the tour company name as indicative of how tourists should construct their expectations, with this reviewer contrasting the name-as-signifier with the actual delivery of Gullah

Geechee-centric content ('there isn't much emphasis placed on the Gullah culture or history in the tour'). This juxtaposition of symbolic expectation with its non-fulfillment in some capacity also again highlights how heterogeneous these expectation-evaluation interfaces are for intertouristic interaction, as guides are performing and providing similar content across tours at different times but producing different and even oppositional uptake and stances by tourists. While the reviewer finds the Gullah Geechee historical and cultural components of the tour lacking, they do acknowledge that Brown engages significantly in language-sharing and showcasing during the tour ('other than the language that Alphonso will frequently use and teach you about'). What is interesting about this statement is the de-linking of language from culture and history here, with the implication being that the discourse around language does not necessarily subsume Gullah Geechee history and culture, preventing the tour's scope from being perceived as 'detailed' Gullah-Geechee-focused ('if you are looking strictly for a Gullah in-depth tour, this probably isn't the right one'). The review positions Brown as a satisfactory transmitter of historical information; however, it emphasizes that his knowledge centers around more 'outer-layer' history, i.e. Black and Charleston ('an introduction to the African American history of the city as well as some of the general history'), but positions these histories as decidedly 'non-Gullah Geechee'. The bifurcation between Black history and Gullah Geechee history by tourists is not an infrequent discursive element in reviews, particularly those with non-positive evaluations, where there seems to be a disconnect in the preconceived knowledge in the relationship between these histories. In these cases, it seems that there is an 'idealized' preconception of Gullah Geechee personhood and community, tied to rural isolation and separate from an urban

chronotope, which affects expectations of the historical information provided by guides, who may be perceived (as in the above example) of not going ‘in-depth’ about Gullah Geechee history specifically. However, positively-evaluating reviews often frame being provided detailed history about Charleston as the main expectation, with language being tied to the experience as a ‘bonus’. In the following review about Gullah Tours, the tourist evaluates from the starting point of a goal of information about Charleston, with additional layers of locality and linguistic authenticity contributing to the experience.

Example 7.14 (Review 217)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
There's a reason it's one of the top 5 in Charleston	4	GT	May-12
<p>The Gullah Tour in Charleston was a delightful experience. Two hours on an air-conditioned bus with the most charming, humorous, and friendly guide imaginable. There was so much information he provided about Charleston that we were on information overload. We love to take "overview" tours of cities we visit, and this was one of the very best. Not only do you learn a little Gullah, but you learn facts about Charleston that some other tours and all the guide books leave out - and you learn it from someone who has his roots here and speaks the language (Gullah) fluently. If you only have time for one tour, this is definitely the one you want to take.</p>			

Similar to Example 7.11 above, this review evaluates the touristic experience along the lines of ‘information overload’ as a positive, with their expectation of the tour as an ‘overview’ of the city. The reviewer indicates the ‘extra’ or ‘secret’ knowledge provided by GT, and directly attributes it to the insider status of Brown as a community local. This in-group status is authenticated through Brown’s ties to the area (‘you learn it from someone who has his roots here’) but especially through his language practices

(‘and speaks the language (Gullah) fluently’), legitimating the variety both as a language and Brown as a fluent speaker. This shows that for some outsiders, there is inherent tethering of geospatial locality and linguistic fluency *together* as indexing authentic personhood, and someone embodying this personhood is uniquely positioned to provide detailed content that is ‘left out’ on other tours by non-Gullah Geechee guides. The persona of ‘language expert’ is even more concretely established with explicit mention of the language-sharing component of the tour (‘Not only do you learn a little Gullah’), reifying Brown’s status as both a fluent speaker and intercommunity intermediary. Here we can see that language as an object is performing multiple roles in the commodifiable tourist space: while the language learning provides tour content in its lesson, it also links to other indices of guide locality and belonging that increases the likelihood of tourists footing towards Brown as an authority of ‘non-mainstream’ Charleston historical and cultural knowledge. It should be noted that the uptake of only ‘non-mainstream’ knowledge is not unilaterally accepted as a sufficient content for a positive evaluation of the tour; in the next example, a review from Godfrey K Hill’s Gullah Geechee Tours details the dissonance between expected narratives and the potential response when tourists are exposed to counternarratives.

Example 7.15 (Review 9)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Something missing--but nonetheless this tour guide packs a punch	3	GGT	Feb-19
From photos on the website and reviews I think there is some confusion about the content of the current tours offered by Godfrey. He lectures with fervor, Power Point style, from his comfortable black Mercedes van, which he drives (all passengers stay seated) to various stops			

around the city, and reviews not only the brutality of slavery, but his own theories--looking to the Bible (or book of G' Spells) and history--of who the Gullah people are. I appreciated the opportunity Godfrey provided for conversations during and after the tour. In the end, **I realized I had learned very little about the Gullah people and their language culture, which I had expected to be central to the tour.**

This review opens with commentary concerning the establishment of expectations through extratouristic material ('photos on the website and reviews') and the discrepancy between the tour experience and the expectation ('there is some confusion about the content of the current tours offered'), despite previous research by this tourist. Although positively aligning with his speaking style ('He lectures with fervor, Power Point style') and tour amenities, the review acknowledges that the historical narratives provided by the tour seem to diverge somewhat from secular mainstream discourses in constructing the origin of Gullah Geechee identity ('his own theories--looking to the Bible (or book of G' Spells) and history--of who the Gullah people are'). While the tourists were exposed to historical and cultural content, the reviewer indicates that, specifically in the context of learning about Gullah Geechee community and language ('I realized I had learned very little about the Gullah people and their language culture'), this still fell short of their expectations ('I had expected to be central to the tour'). This final statement seems somewhat at odds with the previous indication of learning about 'who the Gullah people are', with the tourist evaluation being based on the presence of knowledge about specific aspects of Gullah Geechee identity. We can see here that language is marked as a salient point of interest for outsiders seeking to learn more about Gullah Geechee personhood, and the lack of 'meaningful' sociocultural content, despite the proffered theories by a Gullah Geechee community member, is not enough to produce a positive evaluation.

Here, identity, belonging, and perceived authenticity and in-group authority are not enough; an experience that fulfills the expected exposure to the ‘big 3’ aspects of Gullah Geechee interest (i.e. history, culture, and language) supersedes discourses that are not ‘accepted’ by outsiders.

We should at this point draw some attention to outsider or ‘folk’ perceptions of the language status and recognition of Gullah Geechee as a language variety. These terms are ideologically suffused with notions of power, representation, and legitimacy, and their use when categorizing varieties historically stigmatized by hegemonic outside forces and speech communities is relevant here. While Gullah Geechee language can be seen as paradoxically a source of anxiety and a source of pride for speakers, or an emblem of stigma and an emblem of culture for outsiders, the ways that one speaks *about* Gullah Geechee is revealing of the circulating ideologies about the variety and its speaker community. For a cultural heritage tour that often incorporates (or is expected to) linguistic elements, the designatory language used by reviewers often illustrates how language legitimation and recognition discourses circulate around and about a community, particularly when considering how language is commodified in this intercommunity space. This example from Gullah Tours, while short, contains robust ideological and metalinguistic commentary when considered from the perspective of language commodification and language-as-object.

Example 7.16 (Review 197)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Enjoyable and educational.	4	GT	Aug-14

Really enjoyed the tour Alphonso was **very knowledgeable and informative. Alphonso spoke some Gullah language and then translated in English.** Well worth the money.

The above review positively positions Brown as an epistemic authority ('knowledgeable and informative') who is adept at intercommunity knowledge transmission ('educational'). However, the interesting thing about this review is the construction of this perception of authority through Brown's language and language-sharing practices. Not only does the review refer to the use of Gullah Geechee during the tour, they make a specific mention of *translation* of Gullah Geechee into English (cf. *learning* of Gullah Geechee in earlier review examples). This framing of the language-sharing component of the tour as a discrete translation between two languages, rather than a 'lesson' in the language variety foregrounds the perceptions of the tourist (or their distillation of GT tour content concerning Gullah Geechee) of Gullah Geechee as an entity separate from English. The use of 'translation' here also reinforces the bilingual nature of Brown's repertoire and its connotation legitimates the action, even compared to some of the language other reviews (and even Brown himself) use to refer to shifts (e.g. switch, lapse). Many reviews opt to use different terms for designating Gullah Geechee, but the attitudes towards the tour, the guide, and their language do not necessarily align with ideological connotations around designatory language (or how majority language-speaking outsiders would perceive minority language use outside of the tour context). The following example from Al Miller's Sites and Insights contains an instance of 'dialect' to describe Gullah Geechee, but recognizes its overt prestige rather than any prescriptive ideologies.

Example 7.17 (Review 237)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Very Informative and Entertaining	4	SIT	Nov-16
My wife and I had the good fortune of taking this tour on a beautiful, sunny, but cool fall day. We were pleasantly surprised to learn that we were the only two customers on the tour (probably due to off-season). Our driver/guide (Al Miller) was very knowledgeable, and courteous. He was also very patient in answering our many questions. The highlight of the tour was when he would speak in the gullah dialect , and when he would burst into singing "Porgy & Bess" show tunes. He could easily perform on Broadway!			

Here the evaluative language echoes many other positive reviews, particularly when describing the epistemic authority ('knowledgeable') and stances towards Miller's temperament as a guide ('courteous'; 'patient'). Most strikingly, it emphasizes the apex of the tour experience as being Miller's use of Gullah Geechee ('highlight of the tour was when he would speak in the gullah dialect'). This focus on his style-shifted language practices and designating the variety as a 'dialect' is significant, and obviously had a large impact on the uptake of the tour by the reviewer. This commentary on his dialect use is also connected to Miller's use of song during many tours, specifically singing music from *Porgy & Bess*. Miller's use of Gullah Geechee in both of these contexts is taken up by outsiders as an acoustic command of the language, and in this case beyond rote language lessons as compared to Alphonso Brown's use. 'Dialect' here invokes ideological indices commonly associated with varieties perceived as regional or 'non-standard' in some way, which is also reinforced by the language used in, and the content of *Porgy & Bess*. The book, play, and opera deliberately uses stylized and eye-dialectal AAE to evoke a chronotope of early 20th century Jim Crow South, so the co-association

of language use and resulting ideologies with ‘dialectal’ Gullah Geechee use by Miller in this review is significant, although not negative or stigmatizing. The designation of Gullah Geechee as a dialect also does not necessarily indicate a less-informative, less-educational, or unwillingness to engage with Gullah Geechee language on the tour by outsiders; although it does not receive language ‘status’ in some reviews, this does not seem to be less of a valuation on Gullah Geechee overall, but rather the internal ideological taxonomy of folk perception of the language-dialect divide. The following example from a GT review highlights that dialect-as-object does not ‘devalue’ Gullah Geechee as an object worth le)arning or being educated about.

Example 7.18 (Review 216)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Informative and entertaining	4	GT	Jun-12
<p>Alphonso Brown is an interesting and entertaining tour guide, but he spent too much time waxing eloquent on the iron gate creations of Philip Simmons, the creator of many of the exquisite garden gates of Charleston. Beyond a few short lessons on speaking in the Gullah dialect and a few stories of the city from the Gullah perspective, there was very little about the history of how the local Gullah people lived and how there culture has influenced history. Our only opportunity to leave the bus was a short stop at Simmons' blacksmith shop and a small "museum" that was really a blatant ploy for "tips". The "If you don't like it, you don't pay" tack sounds generous, but one rarely can walk away without paying anything and feeling no guilt. That said, it was very educational and worth the two hours and the fee.</p>			

Although this review gives a moderately high score (4), its commentary on the tour experience finds some significant flaws in the tour content, specifically the focus on Philip Simmons (‘he spent too much time waxing eloquent on the iron gate creations of Philip Simmons’) and what the reviewer frames as unsavory business practices (‘really a

blatant ploy for "tips"). Again there is a de-linking of Gullah Geechee history and culture from language: the reviewer indicates a paucity of Gullah Geechee-centric content ('there was very little about the history of how the local Gullah people lived and how there culture has influenced history') but does acknowledge the presence of Gullah Geechee language and narratives during the experience ('a few stories of the city from the Gullah perspective'). The language-sharing component of the tour mentioned here ('a few short lessons on speaking in the Gullah dialect') and its use of the term 'dialect' indicate a lack of overall satisfaction with the component but also draw attention to how local ways of speaking are ideologically marked by outsiders and reveal some inner categorization of language variety and speech communities. Although choosing to recognize Gullah as a dialect in this review, the tourist still responds somewhat positively to the lesson as 'educational', an evaluative that would be conspicuously absent if the variety used in the language-sharing segment of the tour was not marked or stylized in some way. The next example reinforces this positive ideological association of dialect with another GT review, in this example specifically tying Brown's epistemic and in-group authority with language practices.

Example 7.19 (Review 297)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
A Must Take Tour if you Really want a full picture of the history of Charleston	5	GT	Nov-22
Without a doubt, one of the most informative, entertaining and thought provoking tours I have ever been on. Alphonso Brown is a master story teller, with a total command of the the Gullah dialect and also a wonderful sense of humor and perspective. I cannot recommend him highly enough. The tour is in some ways heart breaking. Especially when he stopped at the storied AME church to tell us that he personally knew 5 of the people brutally murdered by			

Dylan Roof. A potent reminder that the evil of racism is still very much alive. He is also the author of a well known book on this history called A Gullah Tour of Charleston. The tour lasted around 2.5 hours and went by in a flash. If you want to get the full picture of the history of Charleston, this is a must do tour. **Not to be confused with the other Geechee Gullah tour in town.** You want Alphonso Brown.

A decidedly positive review, the above example uses strong evaluative language ('one of the most informative, entertaining and thought provoking tours I have ever been on') to take a stance towards the tour content, the tour itself, and Brown as providing a fulfilling touristic experience. This review legitimates Brown's expertise directly in multiple ways: recognizing his supplemental material and authorship ('the author of a well known book on this history called A Gullah Tour of Charleston'), distinguishing his company as his brand from other entities in the niche ('Not to be confused with the other Geechee Gullah tour in town'), and emphasizing the comprehensive nature of the experience ('the full picture of the history of Charleston'). But a distinct aspect of this legitimation is highlighting his narrative and performance style ('a master story teller') and metalinguistic commentary surrounding his language use ('a total command of the the Gullah dialect'). This focus on performance and language practice is significant in their co-occurrence, as much of Brown's performance style is tied to his use of stylized Gullah Geechee for voicing and entertainment purposes. The use of 'dialect' is striking following the phrase 'total command', evoking both linguistic fluency as well as competency in performance-register style-shifting. Here a bundling together of performance, style, and language can be seen as Brown's repertoire, with a metalinguistically aware command of his native 'dialect' giving him the capacity to

consciously control and shift his language for different discursive purposes, as well as index his in-group belonging and linguistic authority.

In contrast to language and dialect, the use of ‘accent’ as a descriptor and designator for a way of speaking is not only covertly ideological, but in the case of these reviews (and very often elsewhere), is present with overt ideological commentary. Accent as perceptible by outsiders is heavily linguistically stereotyped and linked to the indexical associations of that language variety and its perceived community of origin and use despite the reality, salience, or idealization of that community. Because tours are heavily performance and acoustic-based in nature, commentary on accent, both by itself or as a lead-in to other discourses about the tour logistics, provides outsiders-as-consumers ‘space’ to evaluate the language of the guides without appearing overtly stigmatizing to the community or language that the guide is representative of. However, this is complicated by the tight linkages between tour company, guide, and brand in the case of these Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tours, especially because each company’s sole owner is the sole guide, making for a 1:1 relationship when evaluating the performance of guides along linguistically ideological lines, in this case attitudes towards ‘accent’. In this context where language and culture are much of the drive and the commodifiable capital of these guides, critiques of language practices that are marked are stereotyped in some way by outsiders are strong illustrations of hegemonic marginalization of non-mainstream language practices. The following example exemplifies this as a review of Alphonso Brown’s Gullah Tours, which packages stigmatizing language ideology as part and parcel with dissatisfaction with the overall tour experience.

Example 7.20 (Review 148)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Ok tour but needs improvement	2	GT	Jul-16
<p>I went on the gullah tour about 10 years ago and I bragged and bragged about it to others for years. So when I had the chance to bring my family who never visited Charleston before, the first tour I booked was the gullah tour online . This time I was not happy. Although the duration was good, we couldn't understand Alphonse very well at all. He had a very strong accent that made the trip very difficult to enjoy. I think that if you are going to use the native language that is hard to understand, a translator is needed on the tour bus. Plus the bus was overbooked. I don't think I will be back.</p>			

Although this reviewer has previously been on this specific tour with GT, this particular experience had a significant dissonance between their pre-established expectation and their evaluation of the tour. The focal point of their dissonance is Brown's speaking style, or specifically the lack of perceptual intelligibility by the tourist and their family ('we couldn't understand Alphonso very well at all'). Despite not bringing up the stylized language sections of the tour as specific points to where this lack of comprehensibility may have been most salient, this review instead essentializes the overall stylistic repertoire of Brown to a 'very strong accent', directly attributing this 'inability' to understand him as having a negative impact ('made the trip very difficult to enjoy'). The review then continues this metalinguistic commentary with an ideological and logistic recommendation on the 'appropriate' use of language on a tour in order to facilitate intertouristic linguistic accommodation, first by taking a stance away from Gullah Geechee as a 'native language that is hard to understand' and suggesting the inclusion of another language expert to interpret for Brown ('a translator is needed on the

tour bus'). Recognizing that this statement is suffused with a marginalizing language ideology, I think it is best to deconstruct this commentary from the perspective that has been previously established of the tour site as an intertouristic space where the normal hegemonic attitudes towards 'appropriate' marginalized language use are inverted. Within the tour site, and still within some larger bounds of hegemonic and commodified ideological pressures, guides are able to use their native language in ways that outside that context (e.g. a service encounter) might be taken up by majority-language speakers as 'inappropriate', either by causing linguistic anxiety or being perceived as impeding communication. In the tour site, guides may 'play' with this linguistic anxiety, producing language they know is not understood by outsiders, in order to both create opportunities of language-sharing as well as showcasing the language, as the commodifiable language object is a major draw of the Gullah Geechee tour. Instead of reinforcing this inversion, this particular review instead reverts the site to its external ideological norm, and puts on the onus of communicative competence on Brown, despite Gullah Geechee language being a major part of the identity of the tour and the guide. Furthermore, the recommendation of providing a translator on the tour bus to allay this situation also reinforces hegemonic stigmatization while simultaneously flattening down Brown's linguistic repertoire to a single variety. As has been ubiquitously illustrated throughout this study, these tour guides have a large stylistic repertoire from which they consciously produce particular styles of language to perform specific tasks, from communicative and functional to stylistic and persona-constructing. The suggestion here being that this guide requires a translator to act as the interpretative intermediary reproduces the lack of agency stigmatized speakers have historically encountered often when engaged with

mainstream language ideologies, that not only is their native language in some way insufficient, but as is their command of multiple varieties. However, metalinguistic commentary on accent, even when moderately negative, need not extend to a holistically negative evaluation concerning the guide and/or the tour content. In this next example, also from GT, the reviewer's discourse surrounding Brown's accent is more complex in its engagement with the tour content and Brown's performance as the tour experience itself.

Example 7.21 (Review 175)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Wonderful Tour, But Hard to Understand	4	GT	Aug-18
<p>Alfonso was a wonderful guide and had all kinds of great information about Charleston from the local African American perspective. Stories about Charleston leaders, both good and bad, made us laugh and cry. Because Alfonso's accent is so strong, it can be hard to understand him. I hung on for dear life and caught about 65% of it. Our pre-teen tried, but eventually gave up. I tried to repeat as many stories to her as I could while trying not to distract others. Still, I'd highly recommend this tour because of the overwhelming amount of compelling information. Make your reservations well ahead (several weeks) and get there 20 minutes ahead at least. We arrived 10 minutes ahead and took the last seats on the bus. My husband was also a bit bothered by Alfonso's promise to give away a book if someone knew the answer to a question. My husband did, but the promise wasn't kept.</p>			

Here the reviewer strikes a balance between positive evaluation about the tour content ('great information about Charleston'), the storytelling narratives ('Stories...made us laugh and cry'), and Brown's persona ('a wonderful guide') with a more critical evaluation of his performance style and language ('Wonderful Tour, But Hard to Understand'). This review does construct Brown as an authentic and epistemic source from a perspective of both racial and geospatial belonging ('the local African

American perspective'), as well as reiterating the abundant sociohistorical content the tour provides ('the overwhelming amount of compelling information'); however, the metalinguistic commentary makes it clear that the intercommunity linguistic interface in this situation could impede the transmission of that knowledge based on outsider perception. Again the observation of Brown's accent being 'strong' is paired with a comprehensibility judgment ('it can be hard to understand him'), in this case being idiomatically co-contextualized with the touristic site as a bus or ride ('I hung on for dear life'). The use of figurative language here expresses the reviewers intent of 'gentle' ideological critique rather than taking an overtly negative stance away from Brown and his performance; however, they also include an quantified intelligibility metric ('caught about 65% of it') to reflect their comprehension more literally. This linguistic commentary also illustrates presumably one of the worse-case scenarios for a guide, i.e. the complete footing away and disconnection from the tour and guide when understanding fails ('Our pre-teen tried, but eventually gave up'). This type of complete communicative interaction disengagement represents a total breakdown of the intercommunity intermediary environment that guides seek to construct; in this specific case the review tries to 'repair' the miscommunication through their own intracommunity interpretative accommodation ('I tried to repeat as many stories to her as I could') while also being cognizant of the pragmatic norms of the tour site ('while trying not to distract others'). This metatouristic awareness by the reviewer reflects the pre-existing knowledge of tour frames and flow that many tourists have that are intertwined with other politeness norms, also recognizing that overtly 'translating' for Brown may be perceived as rude or offensive by other tourists or Brown himself, not to mention disruptive to the

flow of the experience. Metalinguistic commentary framed as ‘recommendations’ to future tourist consumers representing an interesting nexus of covert and overt language ideologies. In this next review of GT, although the tone and style is unequivocally positive, it signals a perception of Alphonso Brown’s language as marked in some way that has repercussions for perceptual competence and therefore absorption of the total tour content.

Example 7.22 (Review 179)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Take this Tour First!	4	GT	Apr-18
<p>We took this tour near the end of our vacation and wished we had taken it on our first day. Forget the carriage tours and do this one instead. You see so much more during the two hours and we saw areas of the city we would have missed. Mr. Brown introduces you to the Gullah language and shows you the slave quarters scattered around Charleston. If you want a true experience of the Gullah culture then you need to leave the city and head to one of the islands. Mr. Brown also shares architectural information and history as well as pointing out the wrought iron work of Mr. Simmons. You do have to listen carefully because Mr. Brown has an accent and speaks quickly, at least for our northern ears.</p>			

While this review is glowing in many of its sentiments (‘wished we had taken it on our first day’), it also reveals some underlying attitudes towards locality that might not be as overt on first reading, as well as explicit commentary on Gullah Geechee language. The review positions ‘true’ Gullah Geechee culture in a specific place that indexes the most ‘authentic’ culture as geospatially bound and detached from a metropolitan center (‘you need to leave the city and head to one of the islands’) which has the effect of simultaneously partially delegitimizing the authenticity of Gullah Geechee culture found in the city. Unsurprisingly, this type of idealization is not uncommon and is often linked

to chronotopes of a specific model of Gullah Geechee personhood and culture akin to tourist imaginaries of places (until recently) ‘untouched’ by modernity, e.g. Daufuskie Island and Sapelo Island, where for many the locus of Gullah Geechee ‘lives’. However, the reviewer does acknowledge the language-sharing component of the tour, with Brown ‘introducing’ tourists to the Gullah Geechee language, although the use of ‘introduce’ here followed by the statement of where ‘true’ Gullah Geechee culture is can be possibly read as Brown providing a gateway to Gullah Geechee culture rather than necessarily embodying it. The metalinguistic commentary echoes earlier examples, pointing out Brown’s speaking style and rate (‘has an accent and speaks quickly’), but contains two other noteworthy elements: regional distinction and recommendation. In this review, the tourist identifies themselves as ‘northern’ and attributes this regional difference to some of the issues in understanding Brown; this statement is particularly interesting when compared to ideological stereotypes about much of Northeastern regional Englishes by Southerners, which typically attribute the varieties rapid speaking styles. Gullah Geechee is also often perceived as spoken quickly, in some cases to deliberately lower outsider perceptual comprehensibility, whether for obfuscation or authenticity-constructing purposes⁸⁷, but in this case it is significant that rapid speech is a linguistic feature that becomes tied to accent in impeding understanding, even when rapid speech is a feature of one’s own dialect region. Also of note is the framing of this metalinguistic ideology as ‘advice’ to future potential tourists (‘You do have to listen carefully’) in order to better accommodate their perceptual competence to Brown’s accent. Compared to Example

⁸⁷ Brown plays into this rapid speech obfuscation in his language-sharing frame that simultaneously authenticates his language and metapragmatically comments on outsider linguistic anxiety (‘and y’all didn’t understand a word’).

7.20, the suggestion here is for customers, not Brown, and therefore circumvents some of the potential face-threatening by putting the onus on listeners. This is not an reversion of the inverted hegemonic appropriateness as above but, rather a recognition of the tour site as being Brown's and legitimating his language use, advising others to acoustically accommodate as they are able to both better engage with the language and the cultural content. Metalinguistic commentary and language ideology are often also tied up together with ideological discourses around race and region; in the following example, the GT review is a positive evaluation, but some word choices indicate underlying preconceived notions from outsider perspectives.

Example 7.23 (Review 232)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
GReat tour -- original!	4	GT	May-07
<p>If you have the chance, take the Gulla Tour in Charleston. Focusing on the history of blacks in the city, this tour will give you an interesting perspective as well as a few surprises. A small bus with nice large windows (very comfortable) is driven by a friendly southerner who tells great stories about the people and history of Charleston, and also shares some of the quirky lore and traditions of blacks growing up in the south. Sometimes he speaks a bit fast and his accent gets in the way, but he is usually easy to understand. He charges \$18 per person -- it was worth it!!</p>			

The evaluations in this review positively denote some pre-established knowledge and expectation dissonance ('this tour will give you an interesting perspective as well as a few surprises'), also taking a stance towards Brown and his performance style and highlighting his regional identity ('a friendly southerner who tells great stories'). Their acknowledgement of identity is used to position Brown as an 'authentic' Southerner,

which becomes more evident in their commentary on some of his less ‘mainstream’ anecdotes (‘the quirky lore and traditions of blacks growing up in the south’). Here the framing of Black cultural beliefs and practices as ‘quirky’ could be seen as offensive; but because Brown, as a Black Southerner, has shared narratives of these practices with outsiders, his legitimated identity as a source for these narratives mitigates some of the potential face-threatening here and produces a more outwardly ‘positive’ evaluation. His Southern identity is also tied to a now-familiar metalinguistic commentary, again highlighting his speech rate and the comprehensibility of his accent (‘Sometimes he speaks a bit fast and his accent gets in the way’); in this case the ideology of intelligibility is not co-articulated with hegemonic appropriateness and the expectation is not (overtly) placed on Brown to accommodate his style. Rather, this ideological commentary is framed as a consideration over a critique with a mitigating statement concerning a generally positive rate of intertouristic communicative competence (‘but he is usually easy to understand’). It is also pertinent to note that this example, as with the other GT reviews that overtly comment on Brown’s accent, focus on the markedness of his accent as a holistic element of the tour that is always present and do not acknowledge, notice, or find it significant that he style-shifts between language and register often during the tour, particularly during language-sharing and anecdotal voicing. This points towards the perception of Gullah Geechee as a linguistic entity by some tourists is inextricable or seamless between his stylized and non-stylized performances. This final ‘accent’ example from a GT review is short, but like many others delivers significant ideological weight in its metalinguistic commentary.

Example 7.24 (Review 183)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Informative and entertaining	4	GT	Apr-16
The tour was in a comfortable small bus. The narrative was lively and revealed African American influence in historic Charleston. The slant was toward happy outcomes. Life in enslavement was not explored at all. The guide was delightfully authentic with his Gullah accent and phrasing.			

The final sentence of this brief review illustrates much of the overarching analysis concerning how outsiders tie together personhood and language, both covertly held, and in spaces where they feel empowered to offer sociocultural commentary, overtly.

Throughout the entire data sample across all TripAdvisor tourist reviews, this specific review was the only instance of the term ‘authentic’. Many other reviews contained authenticating language and discourses of authentication and legitimation, but its sole presence here, along with its positive evaluative of ‘delightfully’ bears mentioning. The whole sentence here as metalinguistic commentary reveals how although ‘accent’ is the most potentially stigmatizing varietal designation used in these reviews, its use also closely indexes authenticated language practices, even and/or despite when tourists feel it interferes with their comprehension of Brown’s speech and tour content. Also the inclusion here of ‘phrasing’ with accent is distinct, again another term unique to this review out of the data set; the token ‘phrase(s)’ was occasionally used in reviews, especially to indicate Gullah Geechee language content that was less ‘structured’ than the call-and-response language-sharing (e.g. review 166: ‘however the only thing Gullah was the phrases he taught’). It is probably clear that many of these language ideology-

suffused reviews, particularly the ‘accent’ examples concern Gullah Tours with Alphonso Brown, and this is no coincidence. While reviews for other guides and companies may bring up Gullah Geechee language as part of the tour content and overall experience, it is by far the most common case that Brown’s speech is perceived by tourists as accented or marked in some way. As was previously noted, it is interesting that although tourists were aware of Brown’s speech style enough to make metalinguistic commentary about it, especially in cases where it impeded comprehension, there was far less mention of his multivarietal competency, his ability to embody differing personae through language, and the difference in his styles when style-shifting. In many cases where Brown’s accent ‘distracted’ or became a linguistic object of scrutiny for consumers, the larger repertoire of his language expression was flattened into a broad generalization of Gullah Geechee linguistic practices, due in no small part to the repeated indexation and authentication of Brown’s Gullah Geechee personhood. I did think it pertinent to include one non-GT review that included discourses of ‘accent’, and how the designator’s stigmatizing index reflects larger circulating ideologies of the iconicity of language style and its speakers, in this case a negative review of Godfrey K Hill’s Gullah Geechee Tours.

Example 7.25 (Review 64)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
FALSE ADVERTISEMENT AT ITS BEST!!!!	1	GGT	Jul-21
We were looking forward to learning all about the Gullah Geechee people and the culture in Charleston... We had driven all the way from Raleigh, NC..... ButNo, what we got was conspiracy theory filled, obsessed with the number 33, pineapples and nursery rhymes. Which is supposed to be the secret codes of Charleston. I believe in supporting black business... Not just because you're black, but because you provide good service.... This service is a Hell Nooo... It's so much to unpack, but I will keep it short as possible. Godfrey Khill started out			

with a Trinidad accent and by time the tour ended... I mean bus ride .. It was plain aggravated english... 1. He talked the majority of the time 20 minutes at a time. Not alot of driving going on.. 2. When he did drive, it was around the downtown area - spewing conspiracy propaganda. 3. He took us to the projects... Yes, the low income housing units. Really!!! 4. **He was talking super fast and jumping from subject to subject** in order to keep up the CON. 5. I asked if we where going to talk about geechee or visit the geechee areas and I was silenced quickly. 6. I checked out when he starting talking about a Golden Egg from Jack and the beanstalk.. 7. When he had the nerve to give murderer Dylan Roof a platform... I was disgusted.... After the ride ended several of us asked him, where is the Geechees... He stated this is Gullah... Charleston is Gullah We were like, no, the Geechee people, the experience, the food and shopping... He said, you don't want to see that it's all poor and struggle That's all okee dok.. we said, we want a little okee dok... He became extremely irritated... and started naming unrelated places we can go eat in Charleston... He knew we were on to his False Advertising CON... Save your Time and Money... Unless you want to be bamboozled and hoodwinked... This CON ARTIST must be stopped. Signed, Very disappointed, I want a refund!

The tone, style, and length of this review immediately highlight the strong footing away from K Hill and the scope and intent of his tour. The dissonance between the reviewer's expectations ('We were looking forward to learning all about the Gullah Geechee people and the culture in Charleston') and the reality of their experience ('what we got was conspiracy theory filled') is clear, with this review reflecting how tourist imaginaries become transposed onto people, in this case the Gullah Geechee community, and the deauthenticating and delegitimizing effects of negative evaluations. K Hill identifies as a *binyah*, and for an outsider to call into question his belonging, his authority, and his ethics is a severely face-threatening act, that in this case becomes iconized through his language practices. The reviewer obviously has a pre-established vision of what the Gullah Geechee community 'is' and its salience as a geospatial entity ('where is the Geechees'), as evidenced by their dissatisfaction with being taken to low-

income housing ('the projects') rather than visiting ('the geechee areas')⁸⁸. This contrasting conceptualization of the community, with KHill extending Gullah Geechee to the whole of Charleston ('He stated this is Gullah... Charleston is Gullah') and the tourists instead viewing it as a bounded cultural and commodifiable entity ('the Geechee people, the experience, the food and shopping'), creates a strong intertouristic tension where the tourist response is a direct footing away from KHill's authority and truthfulness. This language of this response ('bamboozled and hoodwinked') positions KHill as a 'con artist', and the commentary concerning his speech style reaffirms this ('He was talking super fast and jumping from subject to subject in order to keep up the CON'), with an iconized association between rapid speech being used in order to mislead someone before they can process the deception. Not only is KHill's speech rate positioned as duplicitous, his language itself is as well, with the reviewer drawing an association between their perceived mistrust of KHill as an individual with the shifting of his speech from one accent to another ('started out with a Trinidad accent and by time the tour ended... I mean bus ride .. It was plain aggravated english'). Although Gullah Geechee does share many features and 'sounds like' many other Caribbean Englishes and Caribbean English-lexified creoles, the misattribution here of KHill's language as 'Trinidadian accent' is significant, as is the framing of KHill's English itself as 'aggravated', with this English being implied to be his 'true' language and the Trinidadian accent to be some kind of inauthentic stylized performance. This iconized

⁸⁸ All three principal guides have a low-income area as a site on their tour, to both draw attention to the historical narrative of bricks from the Old Jail being used to construct certain low-income housing, as well as highlighting the wealth disparity in the city between largely White Charleston elites and many of the government housing occupants, a not-insignificant proportion of whom are Gullah Geechee. However, KHill's later dismissal of showing these tourists 'Geechee areas' on account of them being 'all poor and struggle' does seem to be a paradoxical response.

association of shifting language with ‘shifty’ behavior, rather than attributing it to stylization of variability in K Hill’s default speech style illustrates the stigmatizing connotation that the designator ‘accent’ can have when tied to the actions and identities of individuals. Note that both of these features, rapid speech and language-shifting, have featured heavily in the metalinguistic commentary of other reviews, and while they may not always be reflections of positive language ideologies (e.g. difficulties in intelligibility), they certainly can be indicative of guide metalinguistic awareness, conscious control, and command of their performance repertoire (e.g. the ‘translating’ between Gullah Geechee and English during a language-sharing segment). It is only in this case do we see accent used in such a stigmatizing way to iconize language with personhood; although the reviewer may see this is an isolated incident from a negative intertouristic experience, it actually reveals much of the ideological power that majority language-speaking outsiders have when assigning value and legitimacy to marginalized communities and ways of speaking. Gullah Geechee by its nature as a creole language and inherently variable based on many conscious and unconscious inter- and intraspeaker considerations, but historical stigmatization has often marginalized creole languages as ‘degraded’ or ‘inconsistent’ versions of their lexifiers and used to position speakers as linguistically subordinate; prevailing linguistic ideologies like the one in this review reinforce diachronic marginalizations through iconic bundling of ‘bad language, bad person’.

7.3 TOURIST STANCES

While it has already been mentioned above, tourist evaluations can be perceived as a series of stances or footings in relation to other interactants/interlocuters and objects of

stance. These stance objects vary throughout the discourses of tour reviews, with different discursive turns producing new objects. However, the interactants remain the same, at least for the duration of the review, but importantly their positions change in ways that illustrate both their orientation towards guides and tour content, and also reveal tensions and reinforcements that happened during the tour as part of the review narrative. This produces a dual-layered stance triangle of both a narrativized chronotopic past as authored by the reviewer, and a current (as of their drafting and posting the review) framing and footing of the experience as part of the travel review genre. Gauging the stances taken towards or away from stance objects and stance makers has already highlighted much of the competing discourses around specific guides, but it also can reveal the construction and positionality of the reviewer themselves, and their relative proximity to the Gullah Geechee community or topics of belonging, locality, and race. This next review produces an example of a narrative that both provides a negative evaluation of one of Godfrey K Hill's Gullah Geechee Tours while also simultaneously establishing and positioning the speaker as someone with the empowered authority to make claims against the historical (counter)narratives as part of the GGT tour experience.

Example 7.26 (Review 58)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
We were dooped...skip this tour	1	GGT	Nov-21
<p>As a true Gullah-Geechie originally from St. Helena Island, SC, I was very, very disappointed in today's tour. I wanted my Goddaughter who is visiting from Maryland to get a bit of our history. Unfortunately, the tour guide is a fraud and provides false information with absolutely no reference to Gullah or Geechie except how to pronounce Gullah. No part of the tour was based on historical facts. He randomly selected pictures from his iPad to attempt to add substance to his false narrative. Every cement block passed was an auction block. Every oak tree was a hanging tree. He even falsely identified the U.S. Customs House as</p>			

a place to pay taxes on slaves. I worked in that building for over 8 years ensuring correct tariffs were collected on foreign goods before they entered the U.S. economy. He spewed a lot of **propaganda** that was very frightening. I felt that we needed to go to church to remove the evil spirits he had introduced into our space. While driving through Charleston market to identify his relatives making sweet grass baskets for sale, we experienced road rage when Godfrey cut off a car driven by an African American man, said he hated the man, then proceeded to get out of tour van that was filled to capacity to approach driver of car. Thank God that the car driver sped off and didn't open fire on van. I would never ever recommend this tour to my family and friends. We were dooped by the Gullah Gullah website.

The review opens with a clear and direct statement of the author's personhood, their positionality to the Gullah Geechee community, and the establishment of themselves as a *binyah* with a claim to belonging to the local community tied to the Gullah Geechee land ('As a true Gullah-Geechie originally from St. Helena Island, SC'). Unlike almost all the other reviews in the dataset, this review is unique in that it is not an outsider perspective per se, but an intracommunity commentary on an individual and their responsibility to produce an accurate sociohistorical narrative as a representative of the community. This statement of stance identity constructs their position of authenticity and authority to justify and legitimate their stances throughout the remainder of the review. As with the GGT review Example 7.25 above, this review takes a stance away from K Hill's veracity and epistemic authority ('the tour guide is a fraud and provides false information with absolutely no reference to Gullah or Geechie'). This accusation of misleading counternarratives ('false narrative') and unfounded claims is reinforced from both intracommunity and institutional directions: the reviewer not only identifies as a *binyah* ('our history'), but also previously worked in the U.S. Customs House, which K Hill claimed 'as a place to pay taxes on slaves'. Their counterpositionality to his claims along experiential lines ('I worked in that building for over 8 years ensuring correct

tariffs were collected on foreign goods before they entered the U.S. economy’) is reified as her perception of his deployment of ‘frightening’ propaganda. Unlike Example 7.25, her admonition and negative evaluation of K Hill does not call his Gullah Geechee personhood into question, even acknowledging his relation to local basketweavers (‘to identify his relatives making sweet grass baskets for sale’); rather, her negative evaluation is centered on his branding and tour content, not his community belonging. The review ends with commentary on the importance of truthful marketing in content and naming around Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tours (‘We were dooped by the Gullah Gullah website’), as these help to shape the expectations of tourists in manageable ways, with dissonance and attribution of negative qualities to the company and individual a very real possibility in cases where tourists perceive the experience to be inauthentic, inaccurate, or deceptive. The designation of *binyah*, both self-assigned by guides and impressed upon them by outsiders who become aware of the term and perceive guides as locally authenticated in this manner, offers a semiotic emblem of belonging, acting as a shibboleth in many cases that within intercommunity interaction is an object of stance for guides and guests to position themselves around. This next example from Nate Hutchinson’s African American Tours (AAT) illustrates some of the symbolic authority and agency that locality provides.

Example 7.27 (Review 366)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Charleston African American Tours -- Gullah Geechee -- Mr. Hutchinson	5	GT	Feb-20

<p>Excellent!! Mr. Hutchinson is a bin-ya, not a come-ya. Born and raised in Charleston. With his personal historical connection to Charleston and his historical knowledge, this was an incredible tour! We saw so many places and learned about many people including an iron worker, Philip Simmons whose work was pointed out to us several times then on to a tour on the grounds of the Citadel and then a compare/contrast by driving through the Hood which he can do as he's a local. We saw so much and learned so much including some Gullah!! Highly recommend you find this man and this tour. Well worth the small fee charged.</p>			

The review opens with the footing of Hutchinson as a ‘bin-ya’, even contrasting it with the non-local or less-proximal term of belonging ‘come-ya’. By immediately establishing Hutchinson’s in-group alignment, this foots Hutchinson as an authentic Gullah Geechee community member (by his own intratouristic discursive construction and now by the external evaluation of the tourists) and also positions the reviewer as someone with the epistemic authority to make this distinction (as part of the knowledge transmitted during the tour). Authority and authenticity here are tied to the rootedness of Hutchinson and his family to the locality (‘his personal historical connection’), his ability to provide ample ‘insider’ knowledge (‘We saw so much and learned so much’), and his production of Gullah Geechee for outsider consumption (‘learned so much including some Gullah!!!’). The stance that the reviewer takes towards Hutchinson and his *binyah* status is also clear in their description of the tour’s juxtaposition of a higher- and lower-income area. The segment that involves the lower-income area is perceived as an authenticated, justified, and possibly safe experience only because of Hutchinson’s ties to the community (‘a compare/contrast by driving through the Hood which he can do as he's a local’). By using the term ‘Hood’ to indicate a lower-income area, the reviewer takes a stance away from their perception of a spatial symbol of poverty, crime and racism but

acknowledges Hutchinson’s role as an intercommunity intermediary whose local identity absolves him from any stigmatizing attitudes around the practice of ‘touring’ low-income areas. This duality of stance and its intersection with authenticated sociocultural practices illustrates many of the underlying ideologies of race and class by tourists; in the following review of Al Miller’s Sites and Insights Tours (SIT), it is revealed how racialized perspectives can be consideration of how tourists evaluate both the tour content and their own positionalities to race, power, and narrative.

Example 7.28 (Review 386)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
Comfortable ride with an amazing guide	5	SIT	Oct-21
<p>I took the 2.5-hour tour and left wanting more, even though we ended up getting 3 hours. Al Miller is truly an expert tour guide: easy to understand, friendly, knowledgeable, and engaging. He expertly connected history to the present by demonstrating how one impacted the other and sharing relevant personal stories. We had lots of opportunities to get out of the bus to walk around landmarks and take photos, which broke up the experience well. The bus was spacious, comfy, and clean, and small enough to make the experience feel intimate. I really appreciated the focus on Black history: stories that probably don't come up on other tours, as well as Black perspectives on stories that do, but are likely told from a White perspective by other guides.</p>			

The reviewer evaluates Miller very positively here, footing him as a professional both in terms of his performance and delivery (‘truly an expert tour guide: easy to understand, friendly, knowledgeable, and engaging’) as well as his epistemic authority and ability to transmit knowledge (‘He expertly connected history to the present’). With this combination of both personal and professional components of the tour to produce narratives, this review highlights the importance of Miller’s Black identity in constructing

the unique nature of the tour ('I really appreciated the focus on Black history') and how Miller's identity refracts perspective of the non-Black or mainstream narratives told on other tours. As has been mentioned previously, one of the niche appeals or draws of the cultural heritage tour is the acquisition of insider knowledge and information that mainstream tours will either not know, whitewash, or contest entirely. Tour companies like Frankly Charleston and Gullah Geechee Tours explicitly market to this sentiment of uncovering 'real' truths along racialized lines, with tourists taking wildly different stances based on their own internal orientation to race and narrative in the South. While SIT might not overtly brand itself as a counternarrative experience, Miller's identity and his willingness to share intimate stories that embody that identity are important stance-making moments, especially for Black tourists seeking 'Black perspectives'. As this review explains, not only does Miller provide stories totally missing from the canon of other tours ('stories that probably don't come up on other tours'), his positionality as a Black Southern man provides him the ability to point out the shaping and curation of narratives that are 'likely told from a White perspective by other guides', i.e. by outsider and majority voices. Stances along racial alignments and perspectives can be highly polemic, but in this case where the reviewer footed themselves positively towards Miller's subjective personhood and tour content, they were able to engage with the personal and historical narratives in a way that a mainstream tour may have triggered a footing away from them and a more negative evaluation. This final example also illustrates the complicated ideologies and stances that can circulate around racialized personhood and perspectives with tour, guides, and their resulting evaluations by tourists. In this review for GGT, the author takes a stance towards K Hill's authority and expertise

as Black and Gullah Geechee tour guide, and makes clear what dichotomy that creates for them in terms of race, truth, and narrative.

Example 7.29 (Review 275)

Title	Score	Tour	Date
the best inclusive tour in Charleston	5	GGT	Nov-16
<p>Godfrey is one of the only black qualified tourist guides in Charleston. He knew his info inside and out and then some. He was so informative about Gullah history with an incredibly beautiful twist to it all. It was a spiritual journey. What a pleasant surprise!!!! You can go on one of the WHITE poshy elite tours with a white guide who has their white prespective on Gullah and slavery or you can go on a truthful one. Thank you Godfrey</p>			

In a complete reversal of the expectations, evaluations, and commentary of reviews such as Example 7.26, this review aligns strongly with K Hill’s cosmology and epistemic authority, with this stance even more reinforced by K Hill’s identity. They first highlight the asymmetrical presence of Black tour guides in Charleston, also making reference to the licensing and certification process (‘Godfrey is one of the only black qualified tourist guides in Charleston’) and echoing K Hill’s own discourse surrounding that protocol and lawsuit. The use of ‘qualified’ here indicates not only expertise recognized by an institutional entity, which runs counter to much of K Hill’s anti-establishment rhetoric, but also to his epistemic authority from their tour experience with him (‘He knew his info inside and out and then some’), specifically concerning Gullah Geechee content (‘He was so informative about Gullah history’). While this may seem in complete opposition to negative evaluations as in Example 7.26, where a self-identified community member challenges K Hill’s counternarratives, when juxtaposed with

expectations of an experience differentiated along racial lines, it is less surprising that an outsider tourist may take a stance towards K Hill here and foot him as an authentic and accurate source of insider knowledge. The reviewer ideologically bundles the notion of Whiteness with classism and whitewashed narratives here ('You can go on one of the WHITE poshy elite tours with a White guide'), taking a stance away from Whiteness and White guides as representatives of 'false' history. The stance dichotomy here positions the reviewer towards K Hill as 'truth' and White guides as producing lies ('their white perspective on Gullah and slavery'), or at least perpetuating mainstream narratives that seek to further marginalize or erase Black history. Similar to Example 7.28 above, the reviewer here seeks to learn about Gullah Geechee and Charleston history from a non-White viewpoint, ideally from an authenticated local who would best represent their ideal of revealing or uncovering the truth. Although the discourses K Hill produces are contested in many reviews, the above example illustrates how stance has a huge impact on perceptions of authentic personhood, the tensions produced in these intercommunity interactive settings and how the uptake of information and knowledge is not only affected in the moment, but form the foundation of intertextual links between guide, guest, and review.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

To review the concluding perspectives of the current study, first is a restatement of the research questions and a summary of the study's main findings, as they answer each of these questions and sub-questions. The primary research question is as follows: *How does the language of Gullah Geechee tour guides shape the expectations of tourists, and how is it also shaped by these expectations and evaluations?* We can striate this main point into three specific routes of investigation and analysis.

1. *What are the language practices that Gullah Geechee tour guides are engaging in to index their authenticity and authority via the expectations and evaluations of the extracommunity?*

Gullah Geechee tour guides use *metatouristic stancetaking* in their navigation of outsider expectations and consequent evaluations. In this stancetaking, guides reify and reinforce their proximity to the community, constructing themselves as authentic members of the community with an authoritative, in-group knowledge of its norms and practices. Simultaneously, they also demarcate the boundaries of belonging and position tourists as community outsiders but position the guides themselves as intercommunity intermediaries who negotiate what curated insider content is shared with out-group tourists. Within the tour itself, guides produce many iterations of the touristic genre and perform multiple personae in order to best facilitate tourist understanding, entertainment,

and engagement, with the transmission of intercultural and epistemic capital. Historical narratives, anecdotes and song, and language display and sharing are all central components of the tour experience, with an in-group intimacy unique to the intercommunity cultural heritage tour. Guides embody multiple personae and produce multiple voices throughout the tour in order to better curate a more immersive and unique experience for tourists; this embodiment, along with genre realization, is achieved through the guide's metalinguistic awareness and utility of style-shifting and stylization within their performance repertoire. Particular ways of speaking are associated with different genre and voices, creating a unique domain of linguistic and intercommunity interaction that illustrate the wide accessibility of language, dialect, register, and style available to guides to negotiate their own identities within the confines of the tour experience they are curating. Tours that are less niche and marketed as in-group cultural heritage interactions lack much of this intercommunity aspect; the Gullah Geechee tour specifically is shaped by the chronotopic conceptualizations of Gullah Geechee existence by both agentive insiders and the indexical inversion and erasure of hegemonic outsider forces. While Gullah Geechee has seen a reduction of stigmatization and increase of appreciation in many context across the intercommunity, persistent ideologies around 'appropriate' language use, where Gullah Geechee 'lives', and what Gullah Geechee 'is' still shape much of the expectations of tourists and are considerations in how guides illustrate tour content and construct their own models of personhood.

2. *What variety is enregistered through these intercommunity tensions and through which sociolinguistic features?*

In the Gullah Geechee tour site, as a locus of intercommunity interaction, guides have enregistered a curated variety of the language that serves their symbolic function as identifiers of themselves as authentic in-group members, as well as produces language that is commodifiable for extracommunity consumption. This ‘tour Gullah Geechee’ as a curated variety must navigate between narrow channels of authenticity, appropriateness, and exoticization: Gullah Geechee on the tour must not be so acrolectal as to be indistinguishable from surrounding varieties, as tourists will negatively evaluate this language as ‘inauthentic’, but it must also not be so pervasive or suffused throughout the tour to create linguistic anxiety or impede tourist understanding, as this can cause negative evaluations tied to prescriptive language ideologies. Using this enregistered performance variety, guides can shift between ‘strengths’ of stylization when producing multiple voices or embodying different personae. This stylization is indicated through a wide constellation of features, including lexical items, syntactic phenomena, phonetic variation, and marked suprasegmental features; these features work in tandem rather than isolation as an indexical field to signify particular ways of speaking. Tourists come into the Gullah Geechee touristic space with preconceived expectations, and these expectations are not created in a vacuum. Through perceptual experiences such as pre-existing knowledge, sociolinguistic stereotyping, or association with related communities, outsiders both bring with and impose their language ideologies onto the tour experience and tour guide personhood. However, there is a homeostasis involved here as well, with guides having their internal ideologies surrounding Gullah Geechee, which are then pushed outward to tourists through their own positionalities towards the language. In this way, the intertouristic space acts as a type of ‘feedback loop’, where

ideologies are circulating between tourist and guide, but the onus being on guides to produce, moderate, and curate particular styles of Gullah Geechee language for their own metalinguistic and metatouristic purposes and tourist consumption. Although curated by Gullah Geechee tour guides for the touristic context, the stylized variety also does not exist in a vacuum. Many stylized expressions are used by guides for not only entertainment or educational purposes but also commodifiable ‘moments’ of language, ‘souvenirized’ as catchphrases or branding that are highly symbolic and emblematic representations of authenticated Gullah Geechee personhood. This is not restricted only to guides, but also Gullah Geechee activists and personalities, who legitimate themselves through these highly visible language practices. This shows that stylized Gullah Geechee is taken up and accommodated by contemporary Gullah Geechee speakers across many demographic boundaries, and the language here, while curated and in some cases exoticized and appropriated by outsiders, is also seen as a legitimating index of Gullah Geechee personhood, community belonging, and a symbol of the continued perseverance and proliferation of the language in resistant to discourses of language decay and death.

3. *Finally, what kinds of larger raciolinguistic ideologies of creole language, authenticity, and authority do their language performances either reproduce or disrupt?*

The Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour is highly illustrative of many of the circulating raciolinguistic ideologies that represent racialized interactions between majority and minority groups in the United States, particularly in the context of the American South. Although guides as representative of their community are agentic in many ways, they must still navigate perceptions of authenticity and authority by the out-

group, largely hegemonic majority pressures. As has been shown through tourist reviews and evaluations of Gullah Geechee tours and tour guides, raciolinguistic ideologies are pervasive in evaluative spaces, especially in contexts where outsiders feel emboldened, entitled, and empowered to comment on the language of minority speakers under the guise of intelligibility and comprehensibility. This in turn reifies much of the effect of the white gaze and white listening subject in terms of imposing hegemonic norms on minority languages, even while simultaneously consuming community resources under the guise of ‘appreciation’. In the case of the Gullah Geechee community, Charleston, and the Lowcountry overall, the continuing presence of structural poverty and systemic racism exists alongside and is intertwined with projects that preference (White) outsider entertainment and the narratives and indices inverted onto the community from outsider forces, which Gullah Geechee has covertly defied and continued to increasingly overtly disrupt through education and agentive representation. Gullah Geechee has had a long history of sociocultural isolation and stigmatization, where much of its existence was shaped by outsider forces and constrained to tightly restricted norms of ‘appropriateness’; the language and community persevered despite persistent marginalization and has enjoyed a robust renaissance of appreciation by outsiders and pride by community insiders. However, the constraints of ‘appropriate’ language use still apply in many cases, illustrative of the pervasive weight of raciolinguistic ideologies and the power of the White gaze and listening subject. While guides may flourish in a socioeconomic niche, where their identity-as-branding itself can operate as cultural capital, this niche is also reflective of the nature of capitalist forces when commodifying culture and language, in this case through the tourism industry. Here culture is ‘appreciated’, both by tourists and

the tourism industry, but this appreciation is tempered only inasmuch as it benefits outsiders versus insiders, where much of the community is excluded from the socioeconomic gain of the touristic enterprise. This is tied to the ‘destructionment’ of ancestral Gullah Geechee land for golf courses, resorts, and gated communities serving White-majority populations, where Gullah Geechee are often employed but receive little of the wealth or prosperity as the owners, managers, and landowners of these businesses, and their language is certainly valued less than when used in ‘appropriate’ and appreciated contexts such as a cultural festival or tour. Efforts to reclaim and preserve Gullah Geechee land, highlight the language and culture, and foster community pride and agency are well underway with entities such as the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor, Gullah Geechee Nation, and Gullah Geechee Experience engaging heavily in policy and activism, and the tourism institution has intersected with much of this discourse as it realizes how valuable Gullah Geechee is to its success in Charleston and the surrounding Lowcountry. However, the turn to sustainable or community-based tourism is slow, as evidenced by the institutional and legal tensions concerning the tourism licensing and certification legislature, resultant creation of the exclusionary and privatized Palmetto Guild, and the continuing racial asymmetry of tour guide demographics in Charleston. The Gullah Geechee tour and its guides are illustrative of the effects of these hegemonic and capitalist forces on marginalized bodies and brands, even under the guides of cultural appreciation, as guides must be highly metalinguistically and metatouristically aware to best navigate a limited niche with potentially extreme tourist evaluations and raciolinguistic ideologies with socioeconomic consequences. They also are branded as literal ‘ambassadors’ to the city, as well as

representatives of the Gullah Geechee community as intercommunity intermediaries; this comes with its own set of intercultural responsibilities as stewards of Gullah Geechee personhood and culture, and in many cases the only source of interaction that will shape the expectations of outsider tourists, who diffuse those expectations and evaluations as ideologies within their own communities. The tourism industry is representative of much of the hegemonic and raciolinguistic institutional power in the United States, and the Charleston tourism industry in no exception, in fact a reinforcement of this macrocosm. Many of these historically White institutions continue to perpetuate stigmatization of 'nonstandard' language varieties, except under curated 'appropriate' contexts, deigned by the institutions themselves. Like the educational institution, which still often positions Gullah Geechee as 'bad English' in need of repair or rehabilitation, Gullah Geechee is often misunderstood in other institutional contexts, even those that benefit off of its appreciation and commodification. As a creole language, Gullah Geechee dovetails well with conceptualizations of intraspeaker language variation and style shifting, as theoretically speakers will have access to multiple levels of language within their repertoire. However, this inherent variation within Gullah Geechee has also been taken up as 'inconsistency' or its relationship to surrounding Englishes misunderstood as a lack of English capability by its speakers (many of whom still call their variety 'English' rather than Gullah Geechee); this misinterpretation of how the language operates informs a considerable part of the continuing tension of efforts of recognition and legitimation. Cases such as the designation of Hawaiian Creole English, another English-lexified creole language of the United States (J. Siegel 2000), do offer optimism of the ability of creole speaker communities to push back against hegemonic stigmatizing ideologies and

forces through a combination of activism and sociopolitical policy, and cultural heritage tourism plays a major role in facilitating those discourses. In cases like this, although tourism is still very much a double-edged sword for minority communities in terms of access, representation, and commodification, there is much potential benefit in the education and entertainment within the intercommunity space (for both curious outsiders and new generations of heritage and native speakers), i.e. we can view language as part of the vanguard ‘from swords to plowshares’, where communities in contact may focus less on survivability than flourishing in collaboration.

The development of three modified novel frameworks is a key contribution of this dissertation project, which can each be used in tandem with their foundational frameworks to push sociolinguistic inquiry in new directions regarding linguistic tourism, style-shifting, and language commodification. The framework of *metatouristic stancetaking* takes the tour environment specifically and examines the ways in which intertouristic discourse makes tour guide, content, and site objects of stance, where identity and belonging are dually demarcated, and legitimation and authentication occur through repeated and reiterated language practices. Guides have to be acutely aware of the dynamic expectations and style their language and tour experience accordingly, invoking a consideration of audience design and indexation of belonging. The framework of *performance register style-shifting* takes conceptualizations of language stereotyping and hyperexaggerated performance and turns it ‘inward’, examining the ways in which guides embody multiple voices and personae during the tour and utilize style-shifting and stylization practices to indicate where these voices ‘live’ and what they do in terms of providing knowledge or entertainment for outsiders. Guides also ‘self-style’,

moderating their own voices to style themselves as an additional layer of authenticating language practices, illustrate a total command of the language, and reinforce their model of personhood as a localized belonging. The framework of *curated enregistered commodification* takes concepts such as ‘souvenirization’, ‘touristification’, and ‘mascotification’ and ties them into notions of embodying branding, and language and culture as capital, examining how and why language becomes commodified in the touristic space, and the utility of this commodification in the production of highly visible symbolic language. Although in competition with exoticized and stereotyped outsider depictions of Gullah Geechee, emblematic language is used across the community in outward-facing contexts to represent loci of belonging and pride, able to push back against ideologies of hegemonic erasure or prescriptive marginalization through covert prestige.

This study provides documentation and analysis of two understudied ethnographic and sociolinguistic areas: the typology and genre of the (Gullah Geechee) cultural heritage tour and an overview of an iteration of contemporary Gullah Geechee language, specifically ‘tour Gullah Geechee’. While earlier research has incorporated aspects of Gullah Geechee tourism, emphasizing in particular storytelling, cuisine, and sweetgrass basket-sewing, this dissertation project illustrates the rich and detailed components of the tour that each guide creates for their particular tour, company, brand, and intent. The various genres available, and their association with different voicing, personae, and language styles help illustrate how guides curate tourist experiences with regards to tourist expectations and imaginaries; these expectations and consequent evaluations, tied together with their sociocultural and linguistic ideologies, also reveal the larger

metatouristic conceptualization of the cultural heritage tour. The triangulation between tour content, tour guide interviews, and tourist reviews elicit patterns of intercultural and intercommunity interaction that illustrate some of the contemporary tensions between insiders and outsiders concerning Gullah Geechee personhood and discourses.

Contemporary Gullah Geechee is an understudied synchronic variety, as much of the research emphasizes the ‘authenticity’ or legitimation of older forms of Gullah Geechee as a purer language form over ‘assimilated’ speech of younger and/or more metropolitan speakers. Relatively isolated locations associated with Gullah Geechee origins, such as Daufuskie, Sapelo, and St. Helena Islands are still often seen as where Gullah Geechee ‘lives’, in the minds of tourists, academics, and even community members, so the focus of this study on modern Gullah Geechee use in Charleston provides documentation of this current iteration of the language. More specifically, this research illustrates the curated ‘tour Gullah Geechee’ used during style-shifted and stylized moments on Gullah Geechee tours; it should be noted that this particular context of Gullah Geechee language expression in no way indicates a paucity of its usage by guides and other community members outside of the tour, rather that it represents a legitimated object of language by native speakers and outsiders. As guides act as intercommunity intermediaries, responsible in part for perceptions of the community, we can expect that the Gullah Geechee performed during the tour would represent the community in an accurate and positive light, i.e. the community itself would have a positive stance towards the tour content and language practices (or that this is at least a consideration by guides).

The current dissertation also offers further insight into established and otherwise-documented sociolinguistic phenomena, particularly concerning style, style-shifting, and

stylization practices in intercommunity contexts by minority-language speakers. The analysis and role of style and style-shifting in Black language, especially AAE, has been extensively observed; although studies examining the relationship between AAE and Gullah Geechee are also well-represented in the literature, the illustration of Gullah Geechee language style and style-shifting has much less documentation. This project provides patterns of style-shifting and stylization practices that while similar to AAE, are distinct in this creole language and performance-based context and reveal the role of style-shifting in embodiment and voicing during cultural heritage tours along with demarcations of community and belonging. Performance register for extracommunity consumption is also a well-documented phenomena, specifically when involving historically isolated communities who are increasingly sites of outsider tourism, and Gullah Geechee is no exception in this case. In this highly visible intercommunity contact, conscious performance language practices are indicative of highly metalinguistically aware individuals who manipulate their language style for the purpose of these interactions. The current study also offers further insight into the nature of regionalized, classicized, and racialized enregisterment where commodification into linguistic capital exists as an end-result of language stereotyping alongside tying language practices and individuals to a localized place and identity. Here, the curation and stylization of language forms as highly symbolic emblems are used both for branding and tourist consumption as well as visible markers of localized legitimated identity.

The current dissertation project also has implications for applied practice, particularly a potential impact on language policy, activism, and teaching as well as discourses around sustainable, ethical, and community-based tourism. As previously

stated, Gullah Geechee is in the midst of a ‘renaissance’ in terms of community visibility, out-group appreciation, and in-group covert prestige and pride; however, much of that is still curated by hegemonic and institutional norms of ‘appropriate’ language use and expression. Language policy that works to legitimate Gullah Geechee and de-stigmatize it in institutional contexts, especially educational ones, is still needed along with these notions of cultural appreciation by outsider perceptions. Continuing to provide visibility and agency to the community by recognizing Gullah Geechee language practices as legitimate and distinct from stigmatizing prescriptive language ideologies is critical for facilitating survivability of the language against hegemonic curation and restriction to contexts deemed appropriate by majority-language speakers. Research that provides more documentation of contemporary Gullah Geechee and its uptake in intercommunity contexts can illustrate the ways in which legitimation happens at both the micro-level interaction and macro-level ideological circulation, with policy able to use studies such as the current one as evidence of prevailing discourses about and around the community. Although not an equivalent representation of the tensions inherent in Gullah Geechee language legitimation discourses in educational institutional contexts, the situating of this project within another hegemonic and capitalist institution does give a fuller perspective of language regard. The strategies of expressing these attitudes by outsiders in order to circumvent perceptions of overt racism and stigmatization and strategies of navigating these attitudes by native speakers through language accommodation, assimilation, and code-switching co-exist across hegemonic environments. Speakers adopt similar strategies of resistance or reinforcement based on a variety of contextual and individuated factors, and taking these tensions into account when creating linguistic policy could

better position communities in securing language rights in institutional settings. Relatedly, this research data has potential for application in Gullah Geechee activism. The last ten years has seen a salient increase in the visibility and reach of grassroots Gullah Geechee activism, especially in digital contexts and the online presence of groups such as the Gullah Geechee Experience (Page 2022). As this research considers the status and iteration of contemporary metropolitan Gullah Geechee, it has implications for how curated varieties are taken up or rejected by other current varieties, particularly youth speech and youth orientations to language and community. Like any other community, this community is not a monolith; however, like many minoritized communities, it is often framed as homogenous by hegemonic erasure and majority community forces. The current project adds to the complexity of Gullah Geechee personhood rather than further essentializing it and provides evidence of the varied responses individuals from different community positions take towards topics surrounding activism and intercommunity contact. Conversations around appropriation versus appreciation have become an increasingly common topic in activist discourses, with tourism, its consequences, and the responsibility of tour guides as intercommunity intermediaries, but also potential gatekeepers of culture and language, as discursive loci. This research provides insight into the typology, intent, and scope of tours in relation to themes of history, race, and intercommunity interactions that may help to foreground guides as community representatives, personalities, and activists in their own right. Although not a central component of the dissertation's scope, there is also a distinct connection between the language-sharing and learning component of the tours and Gullah Geechee language learning outside of the touristic context. The existence of formalized outsider Gullah

Geechee learning is sparse, with the major contributor being Sunn M’Cheaux’s language course at Harvard (Manno 2017; m’Cheaux 2021) and a few phrasebooks (Geraty 1997) that are ostensibly designed around ‘teaching’ Gullah Geechee to readers. It has been suggested that the inclusion of Gullah Geechee language learning into more curriculums would benefit both native speakers as well as outsiders in contact with the community, particularly in public education systems of the Lowcountry; however, it is also easy to visualize in the current era of CRT ‘panic’ (Levesque 2022) from conservative perspectives that the creation of these curricula would be taken up much in the same way as the public perception of the Oakland Ebonics Controversy (Weldon 2000). Teaching young speakers about Gullah Geechee in a way that fosters pride and understanding for in-group members and appreciation and regional linguistic diversity for outsiders has large implications for better outcomes of success for students in the Lowcountry, an area which continues to have large disparities in educational access and success for students along racial and/or class lines. The inclusion of language-sharing, language-learning, and ‘teaching’ of Gullah Geechee on tours may seem like a small component of the holistic tour experience, but it does bear some consideration of its pedagogical implications. The success of this component (and salient negative evaluations of tours that lack this element) points towards a legitimate intercommunity interest in the language, and its significance as a subject worthy of teaching and learning. Guides are active members of the community situated at the intercommunity interstitial space, similar to native speaker language teachers—in the best case scenario they transmit knowledge, dispel language myth and stigma, and produce better stewards of language. Future potential educational administration that seek to incorporate Gullah Geechee, AAE, and Black language into

curricula would do well to draw from the experiences of community members experienced in this language-sharing capability; this dissertation project could at the very least provide evidence of what those language-sharing tour components look like, how outsiders respond to them, and what kinds of outcomes these could have on younger populations. The last major implication for application is the impact that this study could have on cultural heritage tourism, specifically the contemporary conversations centered around sustainable, ethical, and community-based tourism. There has already been an academic and community call and turn towards ‘ecotourism’, in which Gullah Geechee personhood is inextricably tied to the ancestral land and water of the Lowcountry; ecotourism seeks to utilize indigenous knowledge and native sensibilities to construct touristic experiences that treat the benefit of the community and environment as a priority, rather than an afterthought. This may seem obvious in the face of the history of exploitation of Gullah Geechee people, culture, and land, but as resortification and gentrification of Gullah Geechee spaces continues to recede the boundaries of Gullah Geechee communities, this highlighting of ecotourism becomes increasingly important along sustainability, ethical, and community-based lines. The current dissertation project does not seek to frame current touristic endeavors as in some way needing a paradigm shift; rather it represents a single facet of the possibility of a more holistic tourism industry, one that is increasingly de-centered and de-colonized from institutional and outsider control. As Gullah Geechee tourism could not exist without Gullah Geechee people, the priority of tourism to give back to the community in meaningful ways across multiple types of capital (e.g. social, cultural, economic) that maximizes opportunity available for community betterment and agency cannot be overstated. This dissertation

has sought to highlight the effects of hegemonic pressure and intervention on Gullah Geechee tourism, especially in the case of language; the presence of the Charleston Area Convention and Visitors Bureau in the everyday lives of Gullah Geechee entrepreneurs, from licensing and certification protocols, distribution of spaces and stalls at the Charleston Market, to the regulation of sweetgrass harvesting is a pervasive reminder of the capitalist commodification of native culture, which while offering socioeconomic opportunity to a few, also creates an asymmetric system of more cultural capital flowing out of the community than socioeconomic capital flowing in and across the community. This asymmetry is clearly reflected through production and perception of Gullah Geechee language in the touristic setting, which although the norms of hegemonic ‘appropriateness’ are often subverted in and on the tour itself, these norms still help to shape the expectations and evaluations of outsiders, who often feel in some way ‘entitled’ to linguistic capital because of their transactional investment of economic capital.

While this study has attempted to cover as much ground as possible in its breadth and depth, it is of course limited in a variety of aspects, the most pressing and the most likely candidates for future opportunities presented here. The first major limitation of this study is the encapsulation of the gathered data into the main analysis. Each of these tours and especially interviews were saturated with sociolinguistic and metalinguistically aware knowledge, and only a selection and cross-section of the knowledge and experience of the tour guides could be included. The singular geographic location of the gathered data was chosen as to provide a more comprehensive view of the localized tour environment; of course, as Gullah Geechee communities are spread throughout the Lowcountry along the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor, studies that incorporate guides

and tours from other metropolitan and rural areas would construct a more holistic view of the community tourism practices overall. Although a robust sociophonetic framework was intended for this dissertation project, a major methodological challenge was gathering intratouristic phonetic data without large amounts of interference and noise, with the acoustics of tour buses, tourist conversations, and walking portions of tours making eliciting clear naturalistic sociophonetic very difficult in some cases. Tourist participation in the post-tour survey was also very low, as many tourists on vacation are uninterested in taking the time to provide feedback in this manner, and as the only researcher it was impossible for me to canvas for survey participants other than tours I personally embarked on or was at the Visitor's Center for. As my intent was also to be as inobtrusive as possible in the business practices of the guides, I did not want to be perceived by them or tourists as 'harassing' potential participants, instead opting to have guides introduce me at their comfort and convenience to tourists, greatly reducing the available pool of potential respondents. Longitudinal availability of ethnographic immersion for the study was also a persistent challenge. Although the data collection took place over five years, because of student and teaching responsibilities, funding availability, location from the field site, and the initial wave of the novel coronavirus pandemic, I was unable to gather my desired amount of comprehensive and immersive data for a full ethnography. I was able to go on multiple tours, interview multiple guides multiple times, survey participants and gather tourist reviews; however, the data is limited in the respect that would have benefitted from a more sustained 'in the field' site opportunity. The last major limitation of this dissertation project is my positionality to the Gullah Geechee community that I have been able to work with. While early in this

dissertation I discuss my positionality and self-reflexivity of both the Observer's Paradox and outsider influence when working with minority communities, I think it is pertinent here to reiterate this through the perspective of study limitations. The guides and participants I was able to work with for this project were unceasingly generous with their time, patience, and knowledge throughout the entire experience. However, the reality is that there is a limitation (that is shared by all etic fieldwork) of immersion into the community. There are always perspectives that will be unknown or impenetrable to me, as they should be; however, the counterbalance to that is that outsiders can also produce unique perspectives concerning the communities we work with. In this way, while our positionality is a limitation, it is also an opportunity for intercommunity collaboration and understanding.

Limitations, together with the analyses provided in this study, are an excellent foundation to suggest future directions and research developments. Additional analyses for the remainder of the data would be an excellent place to start; much of the theoretical background for the analysis of style and style-shifting incorporates quantitative analyses of style frequency and strength by interlocuter and discursive content, which would complement the existing stylistic analysis. This could also be compared with tour style and content from non-Black and non-Gullah Geechee tour guides, whose intent and scope may vary widely from the cultural heritage tour. Another future project would involve the widening of the geographic range of data collection to include further along the Southeastern Lowcountry, particularly areas with a high influx of tourism that were traditionally isolated and are in many ways still emblematic of the most 'authentic' Gullah Geechee communities in the minds of many locals. A more comprehensive

sociophonetic component is also planned using the current project as a starting point, gathering acoustic measurements of Gullah Geechee phonetic features (e.g. arhoticity, pitch-shifting, vocalic qualities) during stylized and non-stylized speech to compare performance registers across speakers. The ‘strength’ of r-lessness during stylized and non-stylized moments in performance contexts has already been observed as statistically significant in McCullough (2022), and the baseline and protocol here can be replicated for guides in touristic contexts. This same comparison between stylized and non-stylized voices can also be extended for prosodic features, including pitch-shifting and falsetto speech, both of which have been observed extensively in the performance repertoire of speakers in the current study. These studies centered around style, style-shifting, and stylization are potential significant in that they may reveal patterns of usage in intercommunity interactions and further elucidate how metalinguistic awareness navigates minority language speakers through hegemonic flows while also being salient sites of intracommunity identity and construction of various models of personhood. Another survey with improved canvassing and participant pool is another future consideration, paired with an attitudinal survey that evaluates the perceptions of Gullah Geechee by outsiders along ideological lines, seeking to understand what indices are tied to Gullah Geechee by various contemporary demographics. A concluding future direction is a collaborative analysis with Gullah Geechee activist groups in order to better understand the relationship between language, agency, and hegemonic resistance in grassroots activism. While both tour guides and grassroots activists position language as a critical part of their identity and community belonging, the ways in which that language

acts as brand and symbol, and varieties that become enregistered through these practices for both groups bears significant consideration.

In conclusion, this dissertation has described the narrative and language practices characteristic of the Charleston Gullah Geechee tour, with an emphasis on style-shifting and stylization as embodiment and voicing phenomena. As part of guides' performance repertoires, style-shifting both helps guides shape and navigate tourist expectations and evaluations, as well as construct themselves as authentic authorities and intercommunity intermediaries. It is this acute metalinguistic awareness in intertouristic interaction that positions tour guides uniquely to commodify language in specific ways that produce brands and highly symbolic souvenirized language for tourist consumption and as visible markers of identity. Tourists have a variety of imaginaries and expectations that guides must negotiate to receive positive evaluations. Much of this negotiation happens within narrow confines of 'appropriateness' norms as dictated by hegemonic and majority-language forces; although guides are agentively able to subvert these norms to a large degree within their touristic site, the raciolinguistic ideologies that pervade much of tourist perceptions still play a large role in the conscious language styling and expression by guides, in this case the enregisterment of a 'tour Gullah Geechee'. This touristic microcosm is illustrative of many other situations of intercommunity tension and continued institutional marginalization of minority languages, especially creole languages whose variation is still often misconstrued as 'degraded' forms of a superstrate language. Gullah Geechee is highly emblematic of a community of strength, where language is part of the bond between people and their history and culture; this dissertation has contributed a documentation of what a model of sharing that culture and language with outsiders

looks like. Despite continued marginalization in certain environments, Gullah Geechee is increasingly a persistent symbol of pride for its speakers and appreciation for its listeners, with covert prestige that is progressively visible in intercommunity interactions (Chaplin 2016)—in no small part to the efforts of intermediaries such as performers, activists, and tour guides. This study has broad implications for linguistic phenomena such as stance, style, enregisterment, and language commodification, all bundled together at the touristic site as a series of sociolinguistic language practices that illustrate the adept metalinguistic awareness and conscious variation employed by guides.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW AND SURVEY PROTOCOL

Note: ‘core questions’ (initial interview with tour guides, in-person interviews with tourists) are **bolded**, with non-bolded questions reserved for additional and follow up interviews and/or the online survey as time and availability allow

1. Tour guides

Name:

a. Demographics

Year of birth:	Place of birth:	Gender:	Race/Ethnicity:
Number of years in Charleston:			Years in South
Carolina:			

b. History

1. Brief history of your life in the Lowcountry:
2. Brief history of your relationship with the Gullah Geechee community:

c. Identity

3. What kinds of things are most important to your identity?
4. Do you consider yourself to be a Gullah Geechee speaker? Member of the Gullah Geechee community? If so, what does being Gullah Geechee mean to you?
5. How much do you think people outside of the Gullah Geechee community know about Gullah Geechee?
6. How do you feel about the term Geechee? When do you hear it used and by whom?

d. Authenticity

7. In your mind, what makes someone an authentic member of the Gullah Geechee community?
8. **Have you encountered people who have made you feel as if you don’t belong in the community?**
9. **Have you encountered people who you personally didn’t feel belong in the community? What does it mean to belong or not belong?**
10. **Do you find yourself changing the way you speak when you speak to someone in the community? If so, how does your language change?**

11. Where and when do you feel closest to the Gullah Geechee community? In what kinds of settings or locations? Around which people?

e. Authority

- 12. Do you feel it's important for you to be taken seriously as an authority of Gullah Geechee identity and culture? How do you make it clear that you are an authoritative voice of the Gullah Geechee community? For example, do you tell people about your relationship to the area, use your knowledge of history, use Gullah Geechee language, etc.?**
- 13. Do you feel this expectation more from the Gullah Geechee community or from tourists/outsideers? How do you feel the expectations are different for both communities?**
- 14. Has anyone ever challenged your knowledge about Gullah Geechee? If so, how have they challenged it and what was your response?**

f. Appropriateness

15. Where/when do you feel most comfortable speaking Gullah Geechee?
16. Is the Gullah Geechee you speak on tours different than the Gullah Geechee you use in other places? If so, how is it different? Why do you think this is the case?
- 17. Has anyone ever made you feel uncomfortable for using Gullah Geechee? If so, where, when, why, and how?**
- 18. Do you feel there is a right time and a wrong time to speak Gullah Geechee? Who do you think gets to decide when and where these times are?**
19. How do you feel about non-Gullah Geechee using Gullah Geechee?
20. Are you aware that Gullah Geechee is being taught as a language at Harvard? How do you feel about that?

g. Language

21. What can you tell me about Gullah Geechee as a language? How would you describe it?
- 22. Do you think of Gullah Geechee as a language, a dialect, or an accent? How do you think other members of the community view it? How about outsideers?**
23. What do you think the similarities are between Gullah Geechee and other languages of the Caribbean? How do you feel its situation is similar/different (e.g. how speakers are viewed by outsideers, how the government views the language, etc.)
24. How would you describe the perceptions of Gullah Geechee by the community? By (local/non-local, White/non-White) outsideers? By the academic community?
- 25. How was Gullah Geechee treated in school while you were growing up? Did you feel a pressure to not use it? Or to change your speech to sound more like teachers or your peers?**
- 26. Alternatively, have people perceived your speech as "sounding Black" or "sounding White"? What do you think they were trying to say by categorizing your speech this way?**

- 27. What do you think is happening to Gullah Geechee in the modern day? How different do you think Gullah Geechee is now compared to when you were growing up?**
28. What do you think the effect of things like social media are having on the language? What do you think about the Gullah Geechee digital community and resources available online for Gullah Geechee?
29. Who do you think does the most authentic job representing your community and language? Either public figures or in your personal networks. What does the most authentic Gullah Geechee sound like?
30. How do you feel about Gullah Geechee “translations” such as De Nyew Testament and regional cookbooks that use “authentic” Gullah Geechee language?
- 31. Do you think there is a difference between spoken and written Gullah Geechee? What are some of the differences? Do you think one better represents the language than the other?**
32. Have you heard of the language of the black community being referred to as African-American English? Black English? Ebonics? What do you think about each of these names?
- 33. How closely related do you think African American English and Gullah Geechee are? Do you consider them separate but distinct varieties of language? Do you perceive them differently in terms of who and what they represent?**
34. What do you think about Gullah Geechee’s ties with the Trans-Atlantic slave trade? Its relationship to language in Western Africa and the Caribbean?
- 35. Do you feel that there’s a difference between Gullah Geechee language and Geechee language? What are some of these differences? What is the difference between perceptions of the Gullah Geechee community and the Geechee community, if any?**
- 36. Do you think there should be more efforts to “save” the Gullah Geechee language? If so, what do you think these efforts should look like, who should lead them, and who should be participating in them?**

h. Tours

- 37. What kinds of things do you focus on in your tours? What is your expectation for tours? What kind of “experience” do you hope to create for tourists?**
38. What is the expectation of the different tours and how do you create specific experiences for those tours?
39. What is your general feeling about tourists and their knowledge about Gullah Geechee prior to the tours? Has any interaction vastly changed your expectations of tourists overall?
40. What do you think the greatest benefit of your tours is for people? Who do you think gets the most benefit out of it?
41. Do you think your tours are affected by the demographics of the tourists who are taking part? Who would you say you’re most comfortable giving tours to?
- 42. What kinds of evaluations have you received from tourists during and after your tours? What things do people usually comment on?**

43. **Does your language change during a tour? If so, how? When does it change? Do you feel pressured to “perform” a certain type of Gullah Geechee during the tours?**
44. How has the recent pandemic affected your industry? What do you think the effect has been on the rest of the Gullah Geechee community, both socially and financially?
45. How have the recent protests affected your work? How do you feel they have affected the Gullah Geechee community and Black community at large in Charleston?
- i. *Commodification*
 46. How do you feel about people outside of the Gullah Geechee community making money off of Gullah Geechee language and culture?
 47. What do you think about the buying up of traditionally Gullah Geechee land for resorts, golf courses, and other kinds of coastal tourism?
 48. Do you think the Gullah Geechee community benefits sufficiently with these transactions? How do you think this further helps or damages the community and its members?
 49. What job prospects do you associate with Gullah Geechee history and culture?
- j. *Social action*
 50. What do you think the role of the internet is/has been in the Gullah Geechee community and preservation efforts? How important do you think it is, and how has it affected your own work?
 51. **What do you feel the relationship is between a Black identity and a Gullah Geechee identity? Do you feel (or think that others feel) that there is any conflict them?**
 52. **Are you familiar with the Gullah Geechee Geechee Nation movement, or modern activism groups such as the Gullah Geechee Geechee Experience? What is your relationship with these movements?**
 53. Do you think specific ethnic communities have specific social, moral, and institutional responsibilities in terms of racial equity and social action?
 54. Do you feel Gullah Geechee individuals have a responsibility to maintain ancestral land and traditions, or should they feel encouraged to be socially and economically mobile? Who should preserve Gullah Geechee language and culture?
 55. In other words, who do you feel is responsible for maintaining the Gullah Geechee identity? The community or the individual? Do you think other institutions (e.g. academic, tourism) should have a role and responsibility for this preservation?
 56. What actions would you like to see happen at the local and larger level in terms of racial equity, representation and social justice? Are there institutional and societal changes you’d like to see made specifically for the Gullah Geechee culture, community, and language?

2. Tourists

Name:

a. Demographics

Year of birth: Gender: Race/Ethnicity: City of residence:
Time spent in South Carolina:

b. History

1. What do you know about Charleston?
2. Brief history of your relationship with the Gullah Geechee community:

c. Identity

3. How much do you think most people know about Gullah Geechee?
4. How do you feel about the term Geechee? When do you feel it should be used and by whom?

d. Authenticity

- 5. In your mind, what makes someone an authentic member of the Gullah Geechee community?**
6. How would you decide if someone did or didn't seem to be a member of the Gullah Geechee community?
7. Where do you feel the Gullah Geechee community is most present? Where do you see it the most?

e. Authority

8. Who do you feel has the most knowledge about the Gullah Geechee community?
- 9. How do you think someone should sound while speaking about Gullah Geechee? With a "heavy" Gullah Geechee accent or with more "standard" English?**

f. Appropriateness

10. Where do you most expect to hear Gullah Geechee?
11. Where would it surprise you most to hear Gullah Geechee spoken?
- 12. Has there been a time when you've heard someone speak Gullah Geechee and you didn't understand them? How did that make you feel?**
13. Do you feel there is a right time and a wrong time to speak Gullah Geechee? Or any strong dialect?
14. How do you feel about non-Gullah Geechee using Gullah Geechee?
15. Are you aware that Gullah Geechee is taught at Harvard as part of its African Languages Program? How do you feel about it being taught there?

g. Language

16. What can you tell me about Gullah Geechee as a language? How would you describe it?
17. Do you think of Gullah Geechee as a language, a dialect, or an accent? How do you think members of the community view it? How about outsiders?

18. How would you describe the perceptions of Gullah Geechee by the community? By (local/non-local, White/non-White) outsiders? By the academic community?
19. What dialect of English do you speak? Do you feel you have an accent?
20. How was non-standard English treated in school while you were growing up? Were you ever pressured into “correcting” your speech?
- 21. Have you ever heard of someone’s speech as “sounding Black” or “sounding White”? What characteristics do you think define these?**
22. What do you think is the modern status of Gullah Geechee?
23. What do you think the effect of things like social media are having on language?
24. Have you seen any Gullah Geechee “translations” such as De Nyew Testament and regional cookbooks that use “authentic” Gullah Geechee language? What do you think about these?
25. Do you think there is a difference between spoken and written Gullah Geechee?
26. Have you heard of the language of the black community being referred to as African American English? Black English? Ebonics? What do you think about each of these names?
- 27. How closely related do you think African-American English and Gullah Geechee are? Do you consider them separate but distinct varieties of language? Do you perceive them differently in terms of who and what they represent?**
28. What do you think about Gullah Geechee’s ties with the Trans-Atlantic slave trade? Its relationship to language in Western Africa and the Caribbean?
29. Do you feel that there’s a difference between Gullah Geechee language and Geechee language?

h. Commodification

30. How do you feel about people outside of the Gullah Geechee community making money off of Gullah Geechee language and culture?
31. What do you think about the buying up of traditionally Gullah Geechee land for resorts, golf courses, and other kinds of coastal tourism?
32. Do you think the Gullah Geechee community benefits sufficiently with these transactions?
33. What job prospects do you associate with Gullah Geechee history and culture?

i. Tours

- 34. What is your expectation for tours? What kind of “experience” are you hoping for?**
35. What is the expectation of the different tours?
- 36. What is your general feeling about Charleston and knowledge about Gullah Geechee prior to the tours? How did the tours add to that knowledge?**
37. What do you think the greatest benefit of the tours are? Who do you think gets the most benefit out of it?

38. Do you think the tours are affected by the demographics of the tourists who are taking part?
- 39. What kinds of evaluations do you have about the tour and the tour guide? Were there things you expected that happened differently?**
- 40. How do you feel about the guide's language during the tour? Did you notice if and/or when it changed?**