

Symbolic Use of Language as a Means to Demonstrate Accommodation*

Sang-Gu Kang**

Kang, S.-G. (2021). Symbolic use of language as a means to demonstrate accommodation. *Journal of Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics*, 25(2), 45-58.

This paper reports on how a prominent American football player, Joe Burrow, from the state of Ohio adopts the Cajun English spelling system used in Louisiana, a southern state in the U.S., in a symbolic and innovative way during his short stay there when he relocated to Louisiana from Ohio for the final two years of his college career. In previous studies of language attitudes toward English dialects in the U.S., Michiganders evaluated the English used in the Great Lakes area (including Ohio) as the best variety while judging the English spoken in the South (including Louisiana) as the worst. Although Burrow may not carry such language attitude, it is implicitly demonstrated in media coverage related to his college football career. Despite the harsh folk evaluation and rather negative portrait from the media of the Southern U.S. English, Burrow's accommodation to the Cajun English spelling was a means to express his gratitude to the state of Louisiana and resonated through the U.S. in various ways.

Keywords: language accommodation, language attitudes, U.S. English dialects, Cajun English

1 Introduction

With the increased mobility in today's world, where people migrate and move frequently, the concept of a homogeneous speech community is more and more considered to be a 'myth' (Labov, 1972). In the U.S., even more than 40 years ago, it was acknowledged that a single dialect cannot be considered standard and each region has its own standard (Falk, 1978), which makes dialect contact inevitable¹. When there is dialect contact, speakers can develop language attitudes based on their opinions, ideas or feelings with respect to the dialect. Positive attitudes are fostered if the dialect plays a positive role in forming the

* This study was supported by the research grant of Cheongju University (2020.09.01-2022.08.31).

** **Sang-Gu Kang**, Assistant Professor, Cheongju University

¹ Although contact between different languages are also frequent, the scope of this paper will be limited to accommodation occurring between regional dialects that are mutually intelligible.

speaker's identities while negative attitudes can be formed if the speaker's identities related to the dialect are disapproved or viewed negatively. Also, attitudes towards a social or ethnic group that uses the dialect can contribute to the formation of language attitudes (Appel & Muysken, 2005).

How people adjust their verbal and nonverbal behavior in contact situations based on their language attitudes is at the core of one of the important theories concerned with social interactions, the communication accommodation theory (CAT). Early CAT researches were conducted on various levels to examine how people converge to and diverge from other dialects or even maintain their own, and one way to probe people's linguistic adjustment was based on its duration: short-term accommodation, and long-term accommodation (e.g., Dragojevic et al., 2016; Wilson, 2011). When adjustments toward the other dialect is short-lived and usually occurs during a limited number of specific communicative situation, it can be classified as short-term accommodation. Other times, especially in the linguistic behaviors of migrant speakers involving prolonged contact between different dialect speakers, adjustments toward the other dialect is more sustained and usually occurs repeatedly during multiple and diverse communicative situations. This distinction has been useful in explaining dialect change (e.g., Nilsson, 2015; Trudgill, 1986), as short-term accommodation can result in transitory changes in an individual's habitual speech while long-term accommodation can ultimately lead to permanent changes in an individual's speech, a process that can account for dialect change on the community-level.

Such convergence in language use can demonstrate social identity and a sense of belonging to a certain social group. People may even behave differently depending on the self-perceived social identity in a given context (Hogg & Reid, 2006), and this is often manifested in their accommodation of language use (Gallois et al., 2005). Furthermore, group affiliation not only has the function of identifying others as in-group but also can enhance cooperation (e.g., Boyd & Richerson, 2009).

This paper is a case study mainly aiming to illustrate and probe the symbolic usage of English used in a southern part of the U.S. by a prominent American sports figure from the northern part of the U.S. to express accommodation, which is an instance of short-term accommodation. Especially, his modification in the spelling system is examined² as his accommodation seems to be limited to a particular spelling and does not involve any change in other aspects of his language use such as pronunciation or grammar. Although his adjustment in using English, usually limited to when communicating with the local fans and community, does not necessarily lead

² Related researches probing written language is increasing as online social networking platforms become popular. For example, Tamburrini et al. (2015) report that Twitter users assimilated more when sending tweets to other members in the same online community than when sending messages to members of different communities.

to long-term accommodation or any significant change in the English used in the U.S., understanding the motivation and process of his gesture of accommodation as well as its impact on the society is the main purpose of this paper. Studies of influential figure's language usage has been an interesting topic in the field of sociolinguistics such as that of former U.S. president Donald Trump (e.g., Hughes, 2020; Sclafani, 2018) and the preeminent hip-hop artist Eminem (e.g., Armstrong, 2004; Dallam, 2007; Lee, 2008; White, 2006). This paper attempts to follow the footsteps of such previous studies by examining the sports player's journey including his language use and the media portrayal of him.

2 The Football Player Joe Burrow from the Northern Part of the U.S. and his College Football Journey

College football in the U.S. ranks as the second most popular sport in the nation in terms of the number of fans attending the game and TV broadcast viewership, only behind professional football, the National Football League (NFL): 56% of U.S. adults identify themselves as college football fans, more than professional baseball, basketball, hockey or soccer (National Football Foundation, 2020). In the 2019 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) football season, Louisiana State University (LSU) went undefeated and claimed the national championship. Many consider it the greatest single season performance a college football team put on in the history of NCAA football and it produced a myriad of incredible stories involving its quarterback, arguably the most important position in the sport, Joe Burrow. That season, Joe Burrow broke multiple NCAA records as a quarterback and received multiple awards for his achievement including the Heisman Trophy, which is considered as "one of the most prestigious honors in American sports" and "the utmost individual accolade a college football player can have bestowed upon him" (Kopkin, 2019), and eventually became the first overall player selected in the following year's NFL draft. One of the reasons his story is considered shocking and sensational is because, before the season started, LSU was not considered a serious candidate to win the title and Joe Burrow did not receive much attention from the media or the fans: he was listed as having less than 1% of winning the Heisman Trophy and had at least 25 other players listed higher than him on some Las Vegas sports book betting boards if the boards were long enough to include him, but won the Heisman by the biggest margin in the history of the award. In addition to his individual accomplishments on the football field, his journey from the northern part of the country, the state of Ohio, to LSU in one of the southern states drew immense media interest. After graduating from LSU (with a master's degree), Burrow returned to Ohio via the 2020 NFL draft as the Cincinnati Bengals in Ohio used their first overall draft pick to select him.

When Joe Burrow was about 10 years old, the Burrow family settled in the southeastern part of the state of Ohio as his father accepted a coaching position at a local university football program after coaching at schools located in Washington, Iowa, Nebraska and North Dakota (Hobson, 2020). He attended high school in Ohio and wanted to play for the University of Nebraska, his childhood dream school, where his father and older brothers played football. However, Nebraska was not interested in him, but Ohio State University (OSU), which has a prestigious football program with long tradition, recruited him. He was never a starter for them but instead graduated from OSU in three years with a bachelor's degree before transferring to LSU three months prior to the 2018 season opener. In short, Joe Burrow was not a star quarterback who barely had opportunities to play before he went to LSU as a graduate transfer³. He played very well especially in the latter part of the 2018 season, and flourished in the 2019 season with a new system implemented by a new offensive coach. In short, the quarterback who was unwanted by Nebraska then unused by OSU had become a LSU legend by leading his team to an undefeated 2019 season and a national championship.

3 Perception of English Used in Ohio and Louisiana

People in the U.S. believe distinct varieties of English exist in the U.S. and carry certain attitudes toward the varieties. Various labels are even assigned to different regions in the U.S. reflecting people's evaluation of English used in each region (e.g., Hartley & Preston, 1999). In this research, Michiganders' cognitive map of the English dialect areas in the U.S. well documented by Preston (e.g., Hartley & Preston, 1999; Preston, 2004; Preston & Howe, 1987) will be frequently referenced for the following reasons. First, as mentioned above, Joe Burrow moved around Iowa, Nebraska, and North Dakota before settling in Ohio, a state bordering Michigan included in the Great Lakes area, where he lived since he was 10 years old. According to Preston's studies, Michiganders believe that the best English is spoken in this area. He attended high school in Ohio and graduated from OSU before transferring to LSU. Second, Michiganders in Preston's research rate the English spoken in the southern states that includes Louisiana as among the worst. According to Michiganders' evaluation, Burrow moved from the region in the U.S. where the best English is used to another part of the U.S. where one of the worst English is spoken. Although Joe Burrow's personal language attitude toward the English used in Louisiana may not coincide with the Michiganders,

³ College sports players are given five years to complete their four years of eligibility. The NCAA graduate transfer rules allow a student having earned a bachelor's degree to play at a new school as long as the player has eligibility remaining on the player's five-year clock.

Preston's researches can provide the theoretical framework to account for Burrow's use of English to assimilate to the Louisianans.

Such discrepancy in the attitudes toward the varieties of English used in the Louisiana and Ohio area can be observed though how the media treats the LSU head coach and Joe Burrow. The head coach of the LSU football team at the time Joe Burrow was recruited and played at LSU was Ed Orgeron, a Louisiana native with Cajun roots. His passionate, gravelly Cajun voice is quite well-known in the football world and has drawn myriad impersonations including from Joe Burrow. His voice is known to be a product of his upbringing from the southern part of Louisiana near the Gulf of Mexico, where "everybody talks like that down there" (Al-Khateeb, 2020). The area was settled by Acadians, French descendants mostly from Acadia (now Eastern Canada's Maritime provinces including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island), after being expelled by the British during the French and Indian War in the 18th century. Cajun culture in Louisiana was gradually developed by the Acadian descendants, so the English spoken there is known to have both French and Southern flavors in the pronunciation, which includes characteristics like using a dental 't' sound, softer 'r' that sounds a little like 'w', and a flat intonation (Culpepper, 2020). His voice and the way he talks is particularly noteworthy for this paper considering that he had an opportunity to become the head coach at the University of Southern California (USC), also with a prestigious football program, after serving as interim coach in 2013. He was beloved by his players and staff there, but some argue that his voice prevented him from being hired full-time because the sports board of directors at USC did not consider him a good cultural fit in Los Angeles (Feldman, 2019). While coach Orgeron is described by the media as having his trademark rumbling growl and gravelly accent who can be very emotional (McCollough, 2019), Joe Burrow, a mild-mannered Ohio native without Orgeron's iconic accent (Weinrib, 2019), is described by the media as having a businesslike attitude, low voice and intense focus (Dellenger, 2019). Such descriptions are not too surprising considering that attitudes towards language varieties can easily be tied to the perceived attitudes towards the people who speak them (Preston, 2004).

The map of mainland U.S. in Figure 1 below shows the states relevant to the current paper. Iowa, Nebraska, and North Dakota, where Joe Burrow spent his childhood before settling in Ohio, are in italic. Ohio and Louisiana, where he played college football, are in black while Michigan and Alabama in gray are respectively the states with the best and the worst English used in the U.S. according to Michiganders' judgement that are mentioned in several Preston's studies.



Figure 1. Map of mainland U.S. indicating the states related to Joe Burrow
Note: The star mark in the lower part of Ohio indicates the city of Cincinnati, the home of a NFL team that drafted Joe Burrow first overall in 2020.

Hartley and Preston (1999) probed folk evaluations of English spoken in the U.S. using two criteria: first, correctness that is related to the concept of standard, prescribed, and educated variety, and second, pleasantness referring to the cozy home style of one's local area. In terms of correctness, Michiganders evaluated the Great Lakes area (that includes Ohio) as using the best English and the South (that includes Louisiana) as speaking the worst variety. Similarly, as for pleasantness, Michiganders rated the local area high while rating the South low. In both evaluations, Alabama was singled out with the lowest scores among mainland states. As for the Southerners' evaluation, many of them seemed to be self-conscious of the stigma attached to their local variety of English. It revealed that they think residents of the Great Lakes area speak a more correct variety of English than themselves, but the gap of correctness between the two regions is not as big as Michiganders thought. However, contrary to Michiganders' evaluation, Southerners' mean scores for pleasantness of Southern English is significantly higher than that used in the Great Lakes area. And interestingly, Alabama stands out with the highest pleasantness rating by Southerners. Then, the same Michigander respondents characterized English used in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama as most distinctive from theirs. Southerners' perception was not that different except that the degree of difference was less extreme than the Michiganders'.

4 Symbolic Use of Cajun English Demonstrating Accommodation

In addition to the perfect undefeated season and the national championship Joe Burrow brought to Louisiana, there was also a symbolic moment that elevated his status to a legendary figure and “an adopted son” of Louisiana (Canner-

O’Mealy, 2019). Every year, ‘senior night’ is held before the final home game so that graduating players can be saluted by the home fans on the day they play on their home field for the final time. On senior night, Joe Burrow wore a jersey with his last name spelled in a Cajun way as ‘Burreaux’ for the senior introduction (Figure 2 right). However, he was not allowed to play in that jersey and had to change to the jersey with his name spelled the normal way (Figure 2 left).



Figure 2. Pictures from the same newspaper with similar headlines showing Joe Burrow wearing his jersey with his name spelled the normal way (left) and a custom-made jersey with his name spelled Cajun way (right)

In Louisiana, the final syllable written as –aux or –eaux is pronounced as /o/ (Eble, 2009) as in the vowel of *go*, which demonstrates the French influence on the English spelling system in the southern state. For example, the French name Geathreaux that ends in –eaux is pronounced /'goθro/ as the bearer of the name reports that “I tell people it’s like, *Go throw the ball.*” because people frequently ignore the French based pronunciation and mistake it as /'goθraks/ (Wolf et al., 1996). The Cajun spelling with the –eaux word ending can be considered one of the salient features of English usage in Louisiana. Thus, a common cheer phrase displayed for LSU sports teams whose mascot is a tiger is ‘Geaux Tigers’ as in Figure 3, which is pronounced like the typical ‘Go Tigers’. Such usage is not limited to cheers for LSU teams but is prevalent around Louisiana as can be seen on the cheer signs in Figure 4 for other sport teams, both amateur and professional, that are based in the southern state. If salience is a necessary condition for linguistic assimilation to occur (Wilson, 2011), there was probably no better way for Burrow to demonstrate assimilation than spelling Burrow with the –eaux ending in the LSU football stadium.



Figure 3. LSU cheerleaders hoisting the ‘Geaux Tigers’ sign in its football stadium

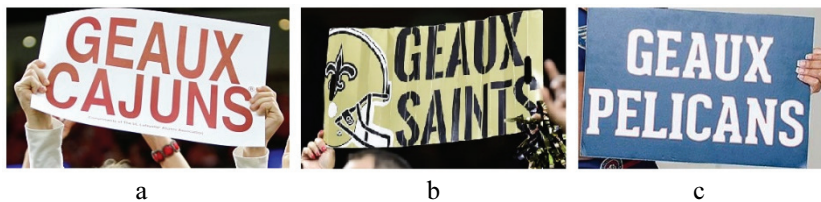


Figure 4. Cheer signs including the Cajun spelling ‘Geaux’ for Louisiana based sport teams: the University of Louisiana at Lafayette (a), professional football team New Orleans Saints (b), and professional basketball team New Orleans Pelicans (c)

It is reported that Joe Burrow came up with the idea of spelling his name in Cajun style ‘Burreaux’, which is pronounced identically as Burrow, because he thought it “would be an awesome tribute to the state, to the university” (Canner-O’Mealy, 2019). The symbolic gesture from the Ohioan Joe Burrow demonstrated that “he’s completely embraced his Louisiana identity since transferring to LSU” (Weinrib, 2019). In addition, it was used to express his gratitude to the state of Louisiana and received huge welcome as “[the Tiger crowd] erupted in cheers for their honorary Louisianan as he lovingly pointed to the name on the back” (Weinrib, 2019) after he was introduced to the LSU home field on senior night: Simard et al. (1976) maintained that assimilation is evaluated more favorably by the host community when it is attributed to the assimilator’s positive intent to break down cultural barriers rather than to situational pressures. Further, it ignited the fans to symbolically spell his full name as ‘Jeaux Burreaux’, which is pronounced identically as Joe Burrow, as various commodities like T-shirts with his Cajun style spelling of his name printed on can be easily found at online stores. Even a giraffe that was born in December, 2019, around the time Burrow won the Heisman Trophy, at a zoo in Baton Rouge, the capital of

Louisiana where the LSU campus is located, was named Burreaux after the LSU quarterback⁴.

The influence even resonated beyond the border of Louisiana. People back at Burrow's hometown in Ohio, who had no reason to embrace the Southern U.S. English if Burrow did not spell his name that way, also embraced the Cajun style language use as in wearing a T-shirt in LSU's purple and gold colors proclaiming "We are EAUX-HI-EAUX", which reads as "We are Ohio" (Grossman, 2019), inspired by the identical pronunciation of the initial and final vowels in "Ohio". The bond between the two states formed by a quarterback from Ohio who graduated from OSU and now playing for LSU was illustrated a couple of days after Burrow's Heisman Trophy acceptance speech in December 2019. During his speech, he expressed his gratitude to the two states and he mentioned the poverty problem in his hometown while talking about Ohio as in the excerpt below. The next day, an online effort to raise donations to a food pantry in Burrow's Ohio hometown started and "[i]t quickly caught fire on social media and took off when donations started coming from Louisiana" (Stacy, 2019).

Coming from southeast Ohio, it's a very impoverished area and the poverty rate is almost two times the national average. There's so many people there that don't have a lot and I'm up here for all those kids in Athens and Athens County that go home to not a lot of food on the table, hungry after school. You guys can be up here, too.

The Cajun spelling is now even adopted by fans of LSU opponents. Figure 5 shows a University of Kentucky (UK) fan holding a sign that reads 'Geaux Big Blue' at a football game against LSU in October 2021: 'Big Blue' refers to the UK football team, as the color for UK is blue. Obviously, this is not an example of assimilation with good intentions as the UK fan does not seem to have any reason to cheer for his opponent. Rather, this seems similar to mocking other's language use through revoicing, in which the mocker grossly exaggerates the other's language (Casillas et al., 2018)⁵. Since there seems to be no reason to apply the Cajun spelling when UK is not playing an opponent from Louisiana, using the expression unique to the opposing team

⁴ Unfortunately, the young giraffe suddenly died in September, 2021 just 20 months after it was born (Pickman, 2021).

⁵ Casillas et al. (2018) present revoicing as one of the recurring practices from an American television series *Modern Family* used to racialize one of the leading characters Gloria, who has a Latina identity. In one of the episodes, Claire, a Caucasian woman, mockingly exaggerates the Spanish accent in Gloria's English in an attempt to further impose linguistic authority on herself.

might be delivering the message that he has the Louisiana opponent under control.



Figure 5. A fan of LSU opponent cheering for his team hoisting a sign with the Cajun spelling ‘Geaux’ for ‘Go’

It cannot be argued that Burrow was under pressure to assimilate to the local variety of English used in the host community since it was understood by everyone that his stay in Louisiana would be short-term and he would be leaving for the professional league after a maximum of playing two years at LSU. However, his voluntary innovative linguistic behavior embracing the Cajun style English use in Louisiana to express gratitude to the Louisianan fans impacted not only the local area but also his hometown state Ohio and further beyond.

5 Conclusion

For the final chapter of his college football journey, Joe Burrow made a decision to transfer to LSU from OSU in hopes of receiving playing time during his last years in college instead of staying at the bench as a backup quarterback. During his time in Louisiana, there seemed little reason for him to accommodate. First, he moved from a region in the U.S. where the best variety of English was spoken according to Michiganders’ judgement in Preston’s studies to another U.S. region with the worst variety of English used. Although his language attitude toward the Southern part of the U.S. may not coincide with the attitude manifested in Preston’s works, the media coverage demonstrated that such attitude still exists even if it may be implicit. When attitudes towards Southern English are rather negative, accommodation to that variety is less likely to be expected. Second, Burrow was on a short-term migration to Louisiana to play football for two years unless he eventually received an opportunity to play for a professional team in the area: however,

he was drafted by and currently plays for a team in Cincinnati, Ohio. During the short stay intended to concentrate on playing football, Burrow apparently lacks the motivation for linguistic accommodation. However, as much as full accommodation involving a migrant reaching native speaker proficiency in the local language variety is unlikely (although it might be conceivable) even for long-term migrants, equally unlikely might be complete non-accommodation involving a migrant not assimilating to any of the local variety forms (Wilson, 2011). Burrow quickly became a beloved figure in Louisiana with his enthusiastic work ethic while playing arguably the most important position in football for LSU that had been considered a good team except the quarterback position for years. Then, as a theatrical gesture with goodwill, he symbolically adopted a Cajun spelling prominent in Louisiana English to his name in order to expressed gratitude to the state that welcomed him with an opportunity to flourish as a football player, and due to his innovative use of language, the Cajun spelling was in the middle of national spotlight.

References

- Al-Khateeb, Z. (2020, April 23). *Ed Orgeron's voice is quintessentially Cajun, a product of his deep Louisiana roots*. Sporting News. <https://www.sportingnews.com/us/ncaa-football/news/ed-orgeron-voice-cajun-louisiana-roots/1iisy7xfdig1i18yiy7w1054d5>
- Appel, R., & Muysken, P. (2005). *Language contact and bilingualism*. Amsterdam Academic Archive.
- Armstrong, E. (2004). Eminem's construction of authenticity. *Popular Music and Society*, 27(3), 335–355.
- Boyd, R., & Richerson, P. J. (2009). Culture and the evolution of human cooperation. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 364(1533), 3281–3288.
- Canner-O'Mealy, R. (2019, December 12). *Joe Burrow's Heisman season: The moments and games that defined him*. ESPN. https://www.espn.com/college-football/story/_/id/28266550/joe-burrow-heisman-season-moments-games-defined-him
- Casillas, D. I., Ferrada, J. S., & Hinojos, S. V. (2018). The accent on Modern Family: Listening to representations of the Latina vocal body. *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, 43(1), 61–88.
- Culpepper, C. (2020, January 10). *You can learn a lot about Ed Orgeron just from the sound of his voice*. The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/2019/12/26/ed-orgeron-voice-lsu-football/>
- Dallam, M. (2007). Eminem: The best emcee since Jesus. *Studies in Popular Culture*, 29(2), 83–97.

- Dellenger, R. (2019, November 26). *Joe Burrow's remarkable rise has been beyond even his wildest dreams*. Sports Illustrated. <https://www.si.com/college/2019/11/26/joe-burrow-lsu-tigers-nfl>
- Dragojevic, M., Gasiorek, J., & Giles, H. (2016). Accommodative strategies as core of the theory. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Communication Accommodation Theory: Negotiating Personal Relationships and Social Identities across Contexts* (pp. 36-59). Cambridge University Press.
- Eble, C. (2009). French in New Orleans: The commodification of language heritage. *American Speech*, 84(2), 211–215.
- Falk, J. (1978). *Linguistics and language: A survey of basic concepts and implications*. Wiley.
- Feldman, B. (2019, November 11). *The echoes of the past are heard in LSU's and Ed Orgeron's present*. The Athletic. <https://theathletic.com/1366021/2019/11/10/the-echoes-of-the-past-are-heard-in-lsus-and-ed-orgerons-present/>
- Gallois, C., Ogay, T., & Giles, H. (2005). Communication accommodation theory: A look back and a look ahead. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about intercultural communication* (pp. 121-148). Sage.
- Hartley, L., & Preston, D. R. (1999). The names of US English: Valley girl, cowboy, Yankee, normal, nasal, and ignorant. In T. Bex & R. J. Watts (Eds.), *Standard English* (pp.207-230). Routledge.
- Hobson, G. (2020, January 21). *Full circle at top of the draft?* Bengals.com. <https://www.bengals.com/news/full-circle-at-top-of-the-draft/>
- Hogg, M. A., & Reid, S.A. (2006). Social identity, self-categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication Theory*, 16(1), 7–30.
- Hughes, C. (2020). Thou art in a deal: The evolution of religious language in the public communications of Donald Trump. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 4825–4846.
- Kopkin, N. (2019). The nature of regional bias in Heisman voting. *Journal of Sports Analytics*, 5, 85–100.
- Labov, W. (1972). Some principles of linguistic methodology. *Language in Society*, 1, 97–120.
- Lee, K. (2008). Reconsidering Rap's "I": Eminem's autobiographical postures and the construction of identity authenticity. *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 38(3), 351–273.
- McCollough, B. (2019, November 16). *Ed Orgeron is right at home in leading LSU to the top*. Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/sports/usc/story/2019-11-16/ed-orgeron-lsu-usc-coaching-history/>
- National Football Foundation. (2020, May 27). *2019-20 report: Amazing college football popularity highlighted by impressive ratings and attendance data*. National Football Foundation. https://footballfoundation.org/news/2020/5/27/2019_Attendance_and_Ratings.aspx/

- Nilsson, J. (2015). Dialect accommodation in interaction: Explaining dialect change and stability. *Language and Communication*, 41, 6–16.
- Pickman, B. (2021, September 09). *Giraffe, named after Joe Burrow, dies after illness*. Sports Illustrated. <https://www.si.com/nfl/2021/09/09/joe-burrow-named-giraffe-baton-rouge-dies/>
- Preston, D. R. (2004). Language with an attitude. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp.40-66). Blackwell.
- Preston, D. R., & Howe, G. M. (1987). Computerized generalizations of mental dialect maps. In K. M. Denning, S. Inkelas, F. C. McNair-Knox & J. R. Rickford (Eds.), *Variation in language: NWAV-XV at Stanford* (pp.361-378). Stanford University.
- Sclafani, J. (2018). *Talking Donald Trump: A sociolinguistic study of style, metadiscourse, and political identity*. Routledge.
- Simard, L., Taylor, D. M., & Giles, H. (1976). Attribution processes and interpersonal accommodation in a bilingual setting. *Language and Speech*, 19, 374–387.
- Stacy, M. (2019, December 17). *Burrow's Heisman speech inspires giving to hometown charity*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/sports-college-sports-football-ohio-athens-26cfc957d2ca9512221d743f956efb43>
- Tamburrini, N., Cinnirella, M., Janse, V. A. A., & Bryden, J. (2015). Twitter users change word usage according to conversation-partner social identity. *Social Networks*, 40, 84–89.
- Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in contact*. Blackwell.
- Weinrib, B. (2019, December 01). *Joe Burrow embraces Louisiana identity with 'Burreaux' jersey before game vs. Texas A&M*. Yahoo!Sports. <https://sports.yahoo.com/joe-burrow-embraces-louisiana-identity-with-burreaux-jersey-002457406.html>
- White, R. (2006). 'Behind the mask': Eminem and post-industrial minstrelsy. *European Journal of American Culture*, 25(1), 65–79.
- Wilson, J. (2011). Types of dialect accommodation in first-generation contact between adult speakers of mutually intelligible but regionally different varieties. *Multilingua*, 30, 177–220.
- Wolf, G., Bocquillon, M., Houssaye, D., Krzyzek, P., Meynard, C., & Philip, L. (1996). Pronouncing French names in New Orleans. *Language in Society*, 25(3), 407–426.

Sang-Gu Kang

Sang-Gu Kang, Assistant Professor
Department of English Language & Literature, Cheongju University
298 Daesung-ro, Cheongwon-gu, Cheongju, Chungcheongbuk-do, Korea
Phone: +82-43-229-8348
E-mail: kangsg39@hanmail.net

Received: October 1, 2021
Revised: November 24, 2021
Accepted: December 4, 2021