Where our Fathers are from: Place and Conflict in Sociolinguistic Borrowing

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1 Introduction

The role of physical space in influencing and constraining sociolinguistic variation has been essential from the very origins of modern sociolinguistics, which began by drawing heavily on insights from dialect geography of the 19th and 20th centuries (e.g., Weinreich et al. 1968). Since then, spatial theorizing within sociolinguistics has been articulated on a wide range of physical spaces, ranging from situating linguistic variation in its macro geographic position (Labov et al. 2006, Trudgill 1974), to locating neighborhoods and networks within a city (Labov 2001, Labov et al. 2016), all the way down to theorizing about the body as the most localized site of sociolinguistic variation (Bucholtz and Hall 2016). Physical space interacts with ideology to create a sense of *place* (Johnstone 2004), and it is within local places that social practices coalesce to create social meaning (McConnell-Ginet 1989).

It is, in turn, locally that linguistic variation emerges and spreads from speaker to speaker, and locally that linguistic variation develops social meaning. The ideological aspect of place is central to this phenomenon; not all geographic locations carry the same social weight, and we may expect that linguistic variation within ideologically significant physical spaces to be particularly important sociolinguistically. This notion echoes the call in Eckert (2004) for a focus on the sociogeographic context of linguistic variation, with a particular call to examine the "borders of communities in search of the articulation of social meaning between the local and the extralocal" (p. 107). The borders of communities are not just sites for potential meaning, but they also serve as the primary points of contact between different speech communities, giving the interactions within these borders the potential to be conduits of sociolinguistic borrowing.

The dialect contact that occurs within meaning-laden liminal spaces results in a more complex social and linguistic environment, giving community members a wider feature pool (Mufwene 2001) from which to pull in their own linguistic production. The connection between meaning, contact, and borrowing is intrinsically wrapped up in a sociolinguistics of *place* (i.e., Modan 2007), and it is in this sociogeographic vein that the current paper is situated. Here, I set sociolinguistic meaning and phonological borrowing within the specific local geography of speakers in a community. The social practices of these speakers collide with ideology in a particular physical space; in this case, it is a single neighborhood park that emerges in speakers' ideologies as both maximally local and as the site of contact with the maximally extralocal. In this paper, I will argue that the swirl of social meanings within this park and the regular interracial conflict within it result in borrowing a phonological feature across a hostile dialect boundary. Specifically, white speakers adopt (TH)-fronting, a feature of Philadelphia African American English (AAE), despite espousing negative attitudes and engaging in regular violence with their Black neighbors. I argue this is more than simply accommodating to a dialect that participants engage with regularly (cf. Giles 1973), but rather that the ideology of *place* plays a major role in this borrowing. The localization of interracial conflict within a geographic space that also serves as central to participants' identity results in an indexical de-linking of (TH)-fronting from AAE, enabling white participants to adopt it as an index of *masculinity* but not as an index of *Blackness* in their own speech.

I begin in Section 2 with the linguistic background of borrowing (TH)-fronting as well as a brief socioeconomic sketch of Grays Ferry. In Section 3, I argue that local geography is central to participants' personal identity, ethnic identification, and practices of masculinity, with a specific focus on the role of neighborhood parks. In Section 4, I argue that the ideological significance of participants' neighborhood park and the geographically bound practices within it result in the borrowing of (TH)-fronting as an index of *masculinity*. I argue that taking a sociogeographic approach

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to understanding local practices, ideology, and dialect contact enables a richer understanding of sociolinguistic borrowing.

2 Background

2.1 (TH)-Fronting in White Speakers in Grays Ferry

Sneller (to appear) described a surprising case study of dialect feature borrowing, finding white male participants in Philadelphia producing high rates of (TH)-fronting[1] (a feature of Philadelphia AAE but not white Philadelphia English), despite also espousing overtly hostile attitudes toward their Black neighbors. Unlike many previous studies of white speakers borrowing features of AAE (e.g, Sweetland 2002, Cutler 1999, Fix 2010), Sneller (to appear) found that rates of (TH)-fronting were not predicted by the level of close personal ties with Black neighbors: speakers with Black family members did not produce fronting (Barbara and Renee), while the speakers who produced the highest rates of fronting were those who regularly espoused overtly hostile attitudes toward their Black neighbors (see Figure 1). Additionally, the speakers who produced (TH)-fronting also engaged in regular interpersonal conflict with both white and Black neighbors, and explicitly identify the feature itself as sounding *street* and *masculine*. Sneller (to appear) argued that (TH)-fronting had been borrowed via interracial conflict as an index of *toughness* or *hegemonic masculinity*.
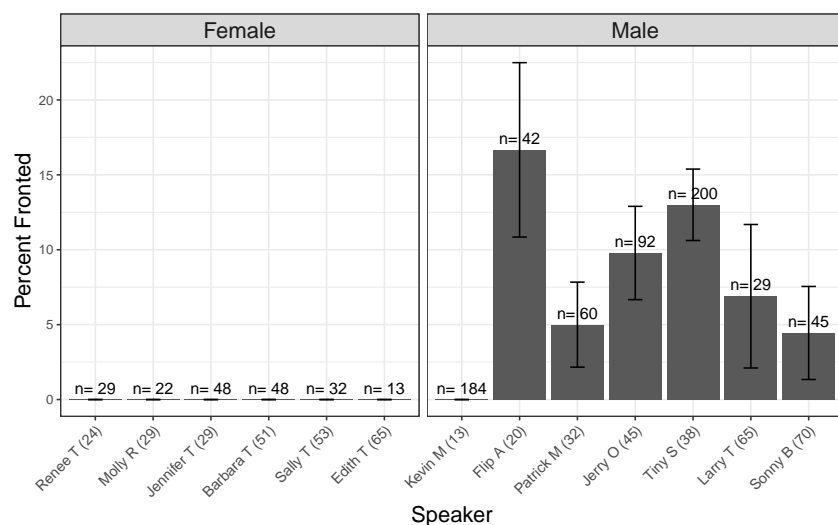

Figure 1: Rates of (TH)-fronting in Grays Ferry white speakers. From Sneller (to appear).

In what follows, I take a closer look at the role of local geography in governing both social meaning and interracial conflict, ultimately leading to a linguistic borrowing across hostile racial lines. I argue that the geographically bound social practices of masculinity in Grays Ferry and the geographically bound racial history of the neighborhood led to the indexical de-linking of *AAE* from (TH)-fronting and the indexical strengthening of *masculinity* with this feature. This combination of indexical meaning in turn enables white men in the neighborhood who are hostile toward their Black neighbors to adopt (TH)-fronting as an index of *tough* but not as an index of *Black*. I give particular

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[1] (TH)-fronting is the production of /θ/ as [f], as in [bof] for *both*. In Philadelphia AAE, this occurs in both voiced and voiceless segments, in coda position as well as intervocalically when in the onset of an unstressed syllable, as in [toof] for *tooth* and [ˈnʌfɪn] for *nothing* (Sneller 2015). This should not be confused with (TH)-stopping, which is the production of /θ/ or /ð/ as a stop, [t] or [d] (as in [dɪs] and [dæt] for *this* and *that*. (TH)-stopping is an existing feature in nonstandard white Philadelphia English as well as Philadelphia AAE, and is not the focus of this current paper.

focus to participants' neighborhood park, which serves a critical ideological role in defining local identity while also being the place where the most eruptive interracial conflict occurs, providing a locus for this major shift in social meaning and resulting linguistic borrowing.

2.2 Social and Economic History of Grays Ferry

Like many neighborhoods in South Philadelphia, Grays Ferry was once home to a strong manufacturing workforce, comprised of a predominately white ethnic working class (Simon and Alnutt 2007:p. 399). In Grays Ferry, remnants of old warehouses stand interspersed with row homes, now empty witnesses to the industrial golden age. Above the row homes, smoke stacks from the energy plant to the north and the waste management plant to the west give a suggestion of this economy of the past. As the industrialism of the 20th century gave way to postindustrial economies in the second half of the century, the resulting economic downturn hit Grays Ferry particularly hard, leaving only one out of every four industrial jobs intact between 1955 and 1975 (Bell 2013).

Coinciding with this major economy shift were two additional important social phenomena. The first of these was the heroin scourge of the 1970s, which hit Grays Ferry hard (Ujifusa 2011), and never quite lost its grip on the community. The opioid crisis now recognized nationally as an epidemic has continued to be deeply familiar to residents of Grays Ferry: of the 13 recorded participants in this study, nearly everyone was either in recovery for an opioid addiction or had a close family member struggling with addiction. The second social phenomenon that played a major role in the neighborhood was the introduction of Section 8, a low-income housing voucher program that provided rental assistance to low-income residents. When the program began in the 1970s, many Section 8 recipients were placed in "Oakdale Homes", a housing project that stood near one of the neighborhood parks (see Figure 2). By 2002, dilapidated conditions caused Oakdale Homes to be condemned and torn down by the city, replaced by a new rent-to-own low-income assistance housing facility nearby, Oakdale Village. The influx of low-income residents beginning in the 1970s and continuing through low-income assistance programs today remains a contentious point for many of the white Grays Ferry residents (Newall 2005).

Because many of the Section 8 recipients were Black, and because Section 8 in Grays Ferry coincided with a sharp economic downturn and a sharp escalation of the opioid crisis, the predominant narrative that emerged among many white residents was one of Black residents "ruining the neighborhood". Like the speakers in Becker (2009), the Grays Ferry speakers perceive the disinvestment of the city and resulting economic hardship in part as a racialized conflict. Interracial animus between the white and Black residents became a hallmark of the community as early as 1969, and Grays Ferry has remained a sort of shorthand for interracial hostility in Philadelphia. In the heart of the neighborhood, right in the border between the predominately white area and the predominately Black area of the neighborhood, sits "Durand Park", which became a major flashpoint for cross racial hostility:

> The confrontations over [Durand Park] often turned violent, as residents from both the housing project and white neighborhood fought over recreational space in an area with limited resources. Between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, the combined racially charged clashes over neighborhood access and recreational space led to nine near riots, several assaults, and three murders. (Lombardo 2018)

Durand Park has remained contentious through the decades, and is explicitly identified by white participants as "the borderline [...] where the projects and th- this neighborhood, where they would meet and they would fight and there would be race wars." (Patrick, 32). Reports from Black residents echo this characterization: "We couldn't play here, because there was lots of racial tension [...] if you did go over here, you had to fight" (Burnley 2018). For many years, the entrance to Durand Park was closed from the Oakdale Homes side, and Black residents recall "standing outside the gates of [Durand Park] and the white kids shouting [...] to 'get out of here you little so-and-so'" (Newall 2005). In 2005, the city of Philadelphia shut the park down and tore down the playground in it. The park remained officially closed for 13 years, reopening in 2018 after a massive investment and

refurbishment project which had as a central aim to explicitly provide a safe, multiracial play and exercise space for everyone in the community.

As of 2012, when the majority of the fieldwork for this paper was conducted, Durand Park remained closed and littered with trash. Despite its apparent dissolution, however, the park remained a salient location for the white participants recorded in this study. They identify as being "from" one of the intersections of this park, and despite its closed status, neighborhood boys still hung out on one of the park corners. In Section 3, I outline how the local geography of Grays Ferry impacts the identities and masculinity practices of white residents in Grays Ferry, in which Durand Park emerges as central to the participants recorded here.

3 Local Geography

The social history of Grays Ferry plays out in the specific physical space of the neighborhood. Black residents moving into Oakdale Homes and surrounding blocks resulted in a physically-defined racial boundary that had particular social consequences. Durand Park, though it became important as a geographic racial boundary throughout the decades, is also important as a site of belonging and social identity for the white residents interviewed. In this section, I will argue that the geographically localized social practices of young men in this study interact with interracial conflict and social meaning in a way that increases the likelihood of white men borrowing (TH)-fronting as an index of *masculinity*. In short, we see geography, dialect contact, and ideology interacting to produce the bricolage that participants draw on to construct their own *tough* identities.
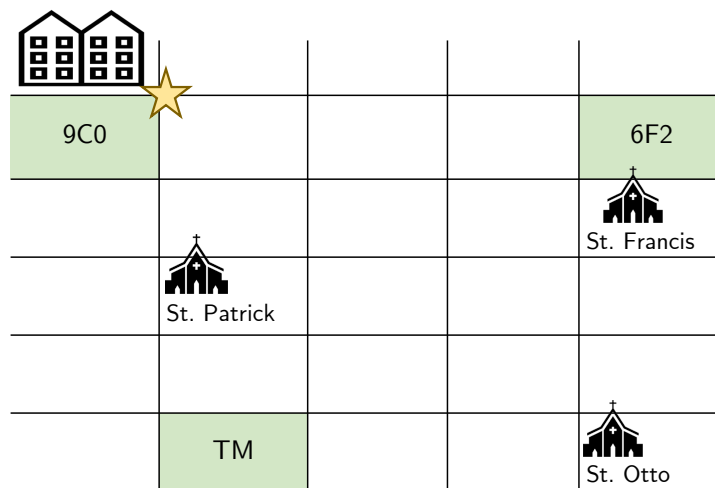

Figure 2: Schematic of Grays Ferry parks and their loosely associated parishes. Participants' corner (in Durand Park) denoted with a star; previous site of Oakdale Homes denoted with apartment icon.

Figure 2 provides a schematic[2] of the neighborhood. Within a short distance (it is roughly an 8-minute walk from corner to corner), there are three primary neighborhood parks. Each park is labelled by a monogram which represents one of the street corners of that park, and participants refer to themselves as being "from" the corner represented by that monogram, despite often actually living several blocks away. That is to say, each park has an associated neighborhood territory, and residents living within that area identify as being members of that area. Each park has historically been associated with one of three Catholic parishes, which each served a different white ethnic population (see Section 3.1 for more). By 2012 when fieldwork was conducted, St. Francis and St. Otto had both been closed for eight years, with St. Patrick remaining as the neighborhood Catholic

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[2]Here I use pseudonyms for corner names, park names, housing project names, and parish names. The layout of the neighborhood has also been altered.

church for all Catholic residents of Grays Ferry. While structural changes in the church resulted in relatively fluid parish identification, the identification of neighborhood parks remained strong cross-generationally for participants: In (1), Patrick (32) points to 9C0 as the corner "where our fathers were from, and where these families are from".

(1) **Patrick**: This [pointing to tattoo] is the corner, the intersection where everybody is from. So a lot of guys have this tattoo of the corner. [...]

There was three corners. There was 9C0, that was a corner. With a bunch of kids. Then there was 6F2 [...] – and this is all white kids I'm talking about. [...] And then you had TM, So that's three corners that were like hangouts for like kids in the neighborhood. Like like where our fathers were from, and where these families are from.

Here, Patrick brings to the fore the social importance of Durand Park as his local park. Being from this park connects him to the lives and practices of the residents who came before him, and this identification is personally important enough for many of the men to get a tattoo of the park's monogram. Patrick points to each corner being a hangout for different kids in the area, who likewise inherit a social tradition of belonging to that corner and to the people and practices that come along with it. These neighborhood parks have historically served to define white ethnic boundaries within the white community (Section 3.1), as a major locus of practicing personal identity and masculinity (Section 3.2), and for the residents of 9C0, the primary locus of interracial conflict.

3.1 Geography and Ethnicity

White ethnicity within Grays Ferry has historically been explicitly associated with Catholic parishes, with St. Otto identifying as a historically German congregation, St. Francis as historically Italian and St. Patrick as historically Irish. Each parish was also loosely correlated with one of three neighborhood parks. However, as participants relate, it is a person's home park and not their specific ethnicity or parish that mattered most for in-group identification, as Larry (65) relates in (2):

(2) **Larry**: Even though I was German, I knew that I belonged to an Irish clan called Grays Ferry. And when I went there I had to hate all Italian people irregardless. [...]

I could see that was a trumped up charge. What happens is you get an Italian friend, or especially you know a good looking Italian girl, you know. That breaks that down real fast.

Here, Larry outlines the relative fluidity of white ethnic identification, which is reinforced by the acceptability of cross-ethnic romantic relationships. This can be seen clearly in Patrick's family: Patrick (32), who identifies as Irish and from 9C0, teases his Polish girlfriend (originally from 6F2), that their son will grow up to be a 9C0 kid. Changing demographics in the neighborhood over the years also had structural repercussions which serve to reduce boundaries between white ethnicities. As the Catholic population declined, the Catholic diocese made cuts to neighborhood churches. St. Otto was closed as a Catholic parish in 2002, and currently serves as a nondenominational church. St. Francis followed soon after, closing as a Catholic parish in 2004 (Tuleya 2003), and currently serving as a Pentecostal worship center[3]. The closing of these Catholic churches means that, while the three neighborhood parks retain their separate identities, kids across the three parks and across white Catholic ethnicities all attend St. Pat's together, reinforcing the fluidity of white ethnicity in the neighborhood.

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[3]Church denominations within the United States carry racialized associations, with Catholic denominations predominately white, Pentecostal predominately Black, and nondenominational more actively multiracial. A quick glance through the websites of the three current parishes reveals home page images of congregants very much in line with this characterization.

The relative fluidity of white ethnicities stands in stark contrast to the strict division between Black and white ethnicity for the participants recorded here. This strict division can be seen particularly in relationship norms and in fighting norms. In contrast to the acceptability of cross-ethnic white romantic relationships, the predominant view of a Black-white interracial romantic relationship is negative[4]. As Patrick (32) puts it, "it's getting bad now, where white girls are having Black babies." The solid division between Black and white ethnicities also emerges in fighting norms. In (3), Flip (20), who identifies as Italian but belonging to 9C0, reinforces that across white ethnicities in the neighborhood, fights should be fought "fair" (i.e., with fists only). Larry (65) reinforces this point of view, adding that it would be humiliating to be known as the kid who brought a weapon to a fight with another white kid. Cross-racial fights, on the other hand, are reported to operate under different fighting norms, under which it is considered normal to use a weapon:

(3)   **IV:**   What's a fair fight? Like would you fight a white kid with a baseball bat?
      Flip: No.
      IV: But you'd fight a Black kid with a baseball bat?
      Flip: Yes. Yes. Yes.
      IV: What about an Irish kid? Does that make a difference?
      Flip: He's white.

The strict racial divide between Black and white neighbors also plays out in a strongly localized geographic way. The neighborhood as a whole exhibits a checkerboard pattern of segregation, with some blocks predominantly Black and others predominantly white. These blocks are discussed among white participants, and the Black blocks are largely avoided unless participants are looking for a fight. Beyond Durand Park, Grays Ferry becomes predominantly Black, reinforcing Durand Park's role as "the borderline" between white and Black residents. The centrality of Durand Park to racial tension has been reinforced throughout the years. While the '60s and '70s saw race riots occurring in the park (Lombardo 2018), conflicts continued well throughout the '80s, '90s, and early 2000s. In 1997, racial tensions in Grays Ferry erupted strong enough to make national headlines. As Patrick (32) relates in (4), interracial conflict in the neighborhood was a given during his upbringing:

(4) **Patrick**: Now [the '97 events] was like a big thing that happened, but all growin' up through like '89, '91, like there was all like skirmishes, like Black and white, over, fighting over the park. Like bottle throwin' and all. [...] Like I grew up throwin' bottles and fighting with Blacks my whole life.

Like the other two neighborhood parks in Grays Ferry, Durand Park serves as an identifier of personal belonging for the white residents who live in its surrounding area, making it a maximally local ideological space. That it has also emerged as the prominent site of interracial conflict makes it a particularly fraught ideological space, encompassing both local and extralocal social meaning. This social meaning becomes even more complex when the habitual practices of masculinity are taken into account: neighborhood parks, in addition to defining social groups within the neighborhood, also serve a central role in these practices, as shown in Section 3.2.

3.2 Localized Masculinity Practices

In the midst of the interracial turmoil highlighted above, Durand Park also played a major role in the intraracial masculinity practices of young white men in Grays Ferry. Most of the young men share a focal concern around *toughness* (Miller 1958), which is regularly enacted through fights and violence. The expectation that boys be *tough* and *stand their ground* is explicitly reinforced by the broader community: both Larry (65) and Jerry (45) relate a story from their childhood where, after having run away from a fight with another child, they were brought back to that fight by their mother or sibling and told to finish the fight. One way that social status in the community is reified is through successful fighting, which can be achieved either by winning a fight or by losing a fight

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[4]Note that while the white community on the whole presents a negative evaluation of interracial relationships, this is a view that is subject to individual differences.

well[5]. A fight well-won typically requires that it be fought fair, whereas a fight well-lost is one in which the loser still gave the other guy hell. The central value here is on a *willingness* to fight (cf. Willis 1990). Practicing masculinity through physical violence is carried out across age groups, as Tiny (38) relates in (5).

(5) **Tiny**: Before my age group [...] they would go around bar to bar lookin' for the toughest guy they could fight. Like if you're from this bar, you're the toughest guy, they'd have somebody with them and it was vice versa, they would go around and say "we wanna fight." And you'd have to go out there and fight them.

The practice of going to another location and selecting someone to fight is mirrored through different age groups, and particular value is placed on fighting the toughest guy in the other group. As Flip (20) states, "I'd rather fight somebody that's bigger than me. Prove a point." Likewise, Kevin (13), who identifies and presents as gay, relates that being seen as *not tough* saved him from being picked for fights: "It'd be like 'really? You picked Kevin to fight with?'"[6]. Masculinity for these young men is realized through these habitual confrontations. The specific site of these fights are not tied to a single location; fights can occur anywhere from a kid getting challenged while walking down his own street to seeking out a rival neighborhood across the city, but within Grays Ferry one of the most salient places for fighting is in the area identified by each neighborhood park. Tiny (38) highlights this in (6).

(6) **Tiny**: There was fights – between people in the neighborhood. Some people couldn't walk down 62nd street because they had problems with 62nd streeters. Some people couldn't walk down Templeton and Maple because they had problems with Templeton and Maple.

In this quote, Tiny is referring not just to the actual corners, but rather to the geographic area and families identified with each corner. The local neighborhood parks and their identified surrounding area loom large in the construction of personal identity and in the habitual practices of masculinity for the white participants recorded here. Local park affiliation is so central to participants' identity that park affiliation can easily override other meaningful identifiers such as specific white ethnicity, and it is within the group of friends from a participants' home park that masculinity practices are carried out. For the white 9C0 residents, who claim a corner of Durand Park as their home, this maximally local identification is particularly complicated by the racial tensions in the neighborhood.

4 Place, Meaning, and Borrowing

Durand Park is an ideological space rife with social meaning. It is both maximally local and maximally extralocal: It is participants' home park, "where [their] fathers are from". It defines both a physical area of belonging and a social group of people to belong to. Yet Durand Park is also the physical space in which participants most saliently come into contact with a group of speakers that they have been socialized to see as maximally extralocal, where daily small-scale scuffles over who got to play basketball that day could turn into a "race war" in a flash, which makes the habitual violence that underlies much of the masculinity practices for young men in the community take on a more significant edge within this space. Across the United States, there is a "broader cultural ideology of black masculinity as physically powerful and dangerous" (Bucholtz 1999:p. 453); this, in combination with participants' view that social regard is best gained through fighting someone who is already seen as tough, makes the interracial fights at Durand Park particularly laden with significance. In these interactions, the social meanings of local, extralocal, and hypermasculinity become intrinsically intertwined. Within this overlap of social meaning, interracial conflict also becomes

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[5]This value differs slightly from masculinity practices reported in some other communities, e.g., McMahan (2011), where successful fighting is only achieved through winning.

[6]This quote from Kevin was obtained five years after the initial fieldwork, when Kevin was 18.

the site of an overlap of dialects, with both Philadelphia AAE speakers and White Philadelphia English speakers engaging in both verbal and physical conflict with each other. Dialect contact results in an increased set of linguistic features that speakers may draw on for their own production; this increased feature pool may on a large scale evolve into its own dialect (e.g., Cheshire et al. 2011, Trudgill et al. 2000), or on a small scale result in more piecemeal borrowings, as in the borrowing of (TH)-fronting by white speakers described here.

I argue that the combination of specific social meanings interweaved within Durand Park, the heightened ideological significance of the park itself, and the increased feature pool resulting from dialect contact has enabled these white speakers to borrow (TH)-fronting from AAE as an index of *masculinity* in their own speech. This argument draws mainly on two frameworks. The first is *orders of indexicality* (Silverstein 2003, Eckert 2008), which provides a mechanism by which linguistic forms and social meanings become semiotically linked. These linked meanings are complex and changeable and may in turn give rise to additional social meanings. Broadly speaking, indexicality can be separated into *first-order* indices, which index group membership, and *higher-order* indices, which index traits that have become associated with that group. For the Grays Ferry speakers analyzed here, the higher-order index of *masculinity* has eclipsed the first-order index of *AAE*, and it is this shift in indexicality that has enabled white men in Grays Ferry to adopt (TH)-fronting as an index of masculinity (Sneller to appear). The second framework important to this argument is the tripartite analysis[7] of speaker identity argued for in (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:p. 592), which distinguishes '(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally-specific stances and participant roles'. Each of these three levels contributes to an individual's construction of their own identity, through both structural constraints on their practices and in idiomatic opportunities for individual creativity (Bucholtz 2003:p. 407). It is, however, within the third level of identity – the temporary and interactionally-specific stances and roles – that contact actually occurs. Through the repetition of temporary stance taking, individual speakers build up ethnographically specific cultural positions, which are in turn constrained by individuals' macro-level demographic categories and the associated stylistic and linguistic practices that they have inherited. All three of these levels play a major role in the construction and linguistics practices of speaker identity.

For the Grays Ferry speakers reported here, linguistic production is both influenced and constrained by geographically bound social meaning and identity practices. On an ethnographic level, participants' masculinity practices are centered around *toughness* and fighting. In the habitual temporary antagonistic interactions with AAE speaking neighbors, white speakers become regularly exposed to a wide range of linguistic features that are indexically linked to both *AAE* and to *toughness*. Participants' own racial animus and the broader underlying constraint for linguistic authenticity inhibits the borrowing of AAE to index *toughness* generally, but through the regular exposure to the *masculinity*-linked AAE feature of (TH)-fronting within an ideological space that also serves as a stand-in for participants own identity, this feature has emerged as primarily an index of *masculinity*, which has in turn been adopted by white speakers as part of their regular linguistic repertoire. Here, the role of Durand Park as a semiotically rich *place* comes again to the fore. Given that white speakers in this study borrow (TH)-fronting as an index of *masculinity*, we may wonder why other white speakers in Philadelphia with a focal concern around toughness and exposure to AAE do *not* borrow (TH)-fronting as an index of masculinity[8]. I argue here that the ideologically complex space of Durand Park, with its interweaving of the local, the extralocal, and the hypermasculine, provides the semiotic background for this type of borrowing. In other words, because the social meaning of *local* undergirds participants' view of the park and underlies the interactions that occur in it, this opens the door for linguistic features encountered within that space to also be indexically linked to local identity and subsequently borrowed into participants' speech.

The borrowing of (TH)-fronting as an index of *masculinity* by white speakers in Grays Ferry through regular interracial conflict in Durand Park demonstrates the centrality of ideology and mean-

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[7]See also Coupland (2007), Kiesling (2013) for slightly different articulations of three levels of identity construction.

[8]In an analysis of all white ethnic speakers from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus, Sneller (to appear) found (TH)-fronting only in the speech of the 9C0 speakers reported here.

ing in linguistic borrowing. In this paper, I've argued for a sociogeographic account of linguistic borrowing, with a particular focus on the socially significant local boundaries (Eckert 2004) within participants' neighborhood. Taking local orientation and ideology into account provides highlights the primacy of ideological *place* in dialect contact and sociolinguistic borrowing.

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