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Speaking of Qualia: Examining a Craft Beer Microcommunity's Membership Identity Through Speech

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*SPEAKING OF QUALIA: EXAMINING A CRAFT BEER
MICROCOMMUNITY'S MEMBERSHIP IDENTITY THROUGH SPEECH*

by

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DEDICATION

For my grandfather, author and anthropologist John H. Hamer, 1926-2016.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank first and foremost the staff and owners at “City Brews” for their openness to my observations and research. In particular, thank you the staff and owners for their guided explanations of complex beer processes and flavors that are much more fun to learn about with friends. This thesis would not have been possible without the inspiration, direction, and feedback of Jennifer Reynolds. Thank you, also, to Elaine Chun whose thoughtful comments helped clarify my thoughts. And last, but not least, thank you to my partner, friends, and family for their constant support and love throughout my studies.

ABSTRACT

This ethnography examines a locally owned craft beer store in South Carolina, where craft beer connoisseurs and enthusiasts come together to elevate their beer drinking experience. Many members of this microcommunity use ‘beer talk’, a technical register of speech (Agha 2007; Manning 2008; Silverstein 2006, 2016), to point to, or index, a part of their beer connoisseur identity. The ‘beer talk’ register used to describe craft beer is enacted at various scales of speech (Carr and Lempert 2016), ranging from Cicerone Certification and mobile applications, to online forums, beer festivals, beer magazines, brewery visits, and face-to-face interaction. The CofP model (Lave and Wenger 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992) was used to identify recurrent activities of ‘beer talk’, including beer tastings, beverage distribution sales meetings, and keyed frames of cultivating beer knowledge. For an eight month period, these activities were video and audio recorded; ethnographic interviews were then conducted with core members to analyze member conceptions of ‘beer talk’. CA (Sacks, et al. 1974; Goodwin and Goodwin 1992) and Goffman’s frame analysis (1955, 1966, 1974) are used to analyze interactions to contribute to a better understanding of how larger scales of speech influence the keyed frames of ‘beer talk’ and qualia analyses reflective of connoisseur membership identity (Bucholtz & Hall 2004).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABV	Alcohol by Volume
CA.....	Conversation Analysis
CofP	Community of Practice Model

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Consumer culture in the United States has aided in the creation of large-scale niche industries in which consumers invest time, money, and sometimes even their careers, in the resulting niche products. The paradox of attracting a customer-base while also maintaining an exclusive sensibility would seem to present barriers to expansion, but industries like organic food, designer coffee, and, more recently, craft beer, have seen exponential growth, despite their exclusive nature. Typically a niche industry begins with a national franchise, leading to small-scale reinterpretations of the niche model by local business owners. Consider the rapid rise of Starbucks in the 1990s; this designer coffee franchise based in Seattle, Washington led to the subsequent rise in locally owned coffee shops aiming to join the fad. This ethnography examines one small-scale reinterpretation of the nationally-scaled craft beer industry as it is reenacted at a craft beer store in a South Carolina city.

Niche industries often embrace institutionalized forms of speaking to maintain their exclusivity. While the institutionalized speech may not be accessible to all members in a community, they preserve the industry's 'insider' versus 'outsider' structure, which supports the industry's prestige for consumer marketing. The commodity register, a term introduced by Agha (2011), characterizes the forms of speech acquired (or lost) through semiotic engagement by those consuming a certain produce, which institutions then use

to formulate and then disseminate speech around a commodity (Agha 2011, 27). These registers are not only reflective of the commodity; the people and groups that consume the products play just as large a role in how these registers are dispersed, reinterpreted, and presented in “activity frames that recontextualize and transform them” (Agha 2011, 25). The commodity register of ‘beer talk’ is replicated at local levels thanks to participants’ access to national scales of craft beer culture available through travel, mass media, and semiotic interactions.

‘Beer talk’ is characterized as a technical register of speech in this thesis; the term ‘technical’ is adapted from Paul Manning’s work on Starbucks ‘barista talk’ (2008, 2012). Manning describes *technical* to mean “a sphere defined by interaction with nature, virtually identical to the sphere of ‘work’ or ‘production’, a sphere where human invention and art is constrained by nature and seeks to overcome those constraints” (113). The primary participants discussed in this ethnography are those beer professionals and connoisseurs who attempt to replicate the ‘beer talk’ register’s technical speech to index their craft beer membership identities.

Larger scales of the craft beer industry attempt to institutionalize the perceivable qualia, or sensory qualities, of beer. This presents anthropologists with a perplexing paradox of an exclusive consumer industry in which language plays a central role. Beer associations, scholastic endeavors for beer professionals, books, magazines, and websites all devoted to the cultivation of beer knowledge are central aspects of ‘beer talk’ enregisterment for craft beer marketers and connoisseurs at City Brews. These scales of speech are then transferred via face-to-face interaction among City Brews’ connoisseur members, which I argue is central to member’s interpretations of craft beer qualia.

Upon walking into City Brews, customers find themselves overwhelmed by hundreds of beers, all with their own complex production processes, flavor nodes, colorful labels, and brewery histories. Although City Brews strays away from the dark and outdated styles of typical drinking establishments to create a trendy ‘place to be seen’ space for the consumption of craft beer, the space is not inviting if you do not have a craft beer habitus, or background. When a new customer approaches the bar to ask for guidance, the server might ask, “What type of beer do you like?” This question alone is enough to provoke anxiety for fear of naming a beer that the beer professionals would judge as lacking in a refined tasting palate. Although this is not the case at City Brews, it is easy to understand how this niche store is difficult for outsiders to maneuver.

Recent work on technical registers of speech solely examine the larger semiotic frameworks found in printed texts (Silverstein 2016), ads (Agha 2011), and internet forums of imagined reenactments (Manning 2008), but how are larger scales of ‘beer talk’ interpreted and reenacted in a microcommunity? These are some of the questions that this ethnographic and interactional sociolinguistic study takes up: How are these technical registers enregistered via face-to-face interaction? How does the knowledge, or lack thereof, of the register’s qualia terms, influence membership identity at this local craft beer store? In what follows, this thesis aims to examine how qualia assessments are reenacted by sales reps from beverage distribution companies, and other beer professional/connoisseurs, in order to market or discuss beer. The speech used in these sales and beer knowledge cultivation frames will also be examined to conceptualize how technical qualia interpretations can become reconceptualized or reinterpreted based on evaluation/assessment repair negotiations. We will see how this craft beer store’s staff

and beer connoisseurs/professionals index their craft beer identities through their access to larger scales of speech, and how those larger scales and the store's power dynamic shape member understanding of taste.

1.1 Literature

Theoretical Frameworks

Linguistic anthropology is one of the four subfields of anthropology established by Franz Boas at the beginning of the 20th century (Duranti 1997, 13). In 1964, Gumperz and Hymes' collection of works produced the term *ethnography of communication*, the study of community culture and society through speech activities. Around the same time, in an effort to create a more interdisciplinary approach to linguistic cultural research, Charles Frake pioneered cognitive anthropology and ethnoscience as a subfield to the ethnography of communication. Ethnoscience was largely influenced by the structural study of language and attempted to create taxonomies to specify relationships through scientific models denoted and guided by insider interviews. Following in the ethnosemantic tradition, James Spradley's 1970 ethnography of urban nomads used participant observation, interviews, and surveys to create ethnosemantic tables to categorize the identity terms of alcoholic men facing jail time and/or state-run rehabilitation programs. Despite these methodologies foundational underpinnings for current linguistic ethnography, the cognitive methods of Frake and Spradley relied too heavily on the "ideal speaker" in an effort to create a monolithic overview of groups' language identity.

Gumperz' term "linguistic community" (1962), later coined "speech community" (1964), was another model that came to fruition around the time of ethnoscience and

ethnography of communication. This early definition “avoided norms and expectations and concentrated on social contact” (Duranti 1997, 81). Gumperz’ model acknowledged the complexity of language variation, and the fact that language communities can be “bound together by face-to-face contact or [...] large regions” (Gumperz 1962, 463). His verification that a community can possess linguistic range accounted for code switching, diglossia (language varieties corresponding to specific social contexts), as well as multilingual communities whose language practices cannot be simplified to just one language, one set of denotations, or one set of language norms- something the cognitive anthropologists failed to evaluate. Although sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists used this model for decades, it too faced judgment for essentializing in-situ community language practices.

Interactional sociolinguists, evolving out of the discipline of linguistic anthropology and sociology, further extended the idea that language cannot be simplified to decontextualized “ideal-speaker” conventions. Charles and Marjorie Harness (M.H.) Goodwin’s 1992 article on assessment in context includes reflections on M.H. Goodwin’s *He Said She Said* (1990) ethnographic work with urban black children. Her observations of participant gossip and play were tape recorded, and then analyzed using CA (Sack, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) and frame analysis (Goffman 1974) to make qualitative observations about participant identity and community norms. The Goodwins conclude that the assessment processes, often observed during youth gossip, can “emerge, develop, and die within the boundaries of a single turn, while also having the potential to extend over multiple turns, and to bound units considerably larger than turn” (181) .

The analysis of assessment, through M.H. Goodwin's research, effectively pairs culturally salient observations, from an anthropological point of view, by utilizing the techniques of early conversation analysts (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) and Goffman's frame analysis (1974). Sacks' work with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (1974) still stands as the most classic work for analyzing microinteractions of community participants, which talk-in-interactionists like the Goodwins and others have used as a foundation for microinteractional analysis in ethnographic work. The aspects of frame analysis (Goffman 1974) allow language activities be defined by frames, or interactions requiring obvious transition. Frame analysis' broader theoretical approach to microinteraction pairs nicely with Sacks, et al.'s micro interactional analyses of turns, openings, and closings. M.H. Goodwin's approach remedies the contextualization problem of CA (Duranti 1997, 265) by also incorporating frame analysis to analyze participant interaction. These methodologies of microanalysis contribute to this research's attempt at defining even broader understanding of how spatiotemporal scales of speech are influencing a microcommunity's membership identity.

The theoretical frameworks described above, along with many not mentioned, have led to the current approaches to observation and analysis used in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. The aim of the modern ethnography of communication is not only to analyze language through observation of insider social practices and activities, but also to question how and why these language practices have been embedded the way they have.

Community of Practice

The community of practice model (CoP), an activity-based approach to identity, power, and gender analysis, was popularized in the 1990s by sociolinguists Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet (1992). This model was seen as an alternative to Gumperz' (1968) speech community model. Linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists have used the CofP model to study recurrent activities among participants to address issues of stereotyped groups in mostly primary and secondary school environments (Bucholtz 2000; Mendoza-Denton 2008). For this research, the recurrent activities surrounding beer connoisseurship can be analyzed to determine in what ways the recurring social and linguistic discourses are influencing this new community's identity formations.

Qualia

The semiotics of craft beer assessment mark the importance of qualia, or the embodiment of sensory experience (Chumley & Harkness 2013, 5). This term was first introduced by Charles S. Peirce in his 1896 papers on semiotics. The central qualia to drinkable commodities are generally those of taste and sight, but they can also be the feelings evoked by the consumption of a product. A refined palate for flavor is shaped by one's past experiences; Silverstein (2006) argues that one's ability to index connoisseurship or expertise "in the realm of technical knowledge" depends on the positions taken against some "communicating other" with expertise (Manning 2008). This is part of one's communicative competence, directly linking identity formations and maintenance (Gumperz 1982, 490). Bourdieu (1984) theorized that taste is acquired through education, and that the most educated individuals determine the cultural capital

of a society, giving rise to a hierarchy of taste within society (those with access to more cultural capital will demonstrate to those with lower cultural capital what is “taste”). Bourdieu’s habitus is defined as how socialization practices shape a person or people’s behavioral disposition. The habitus of a person reflects their understanding of qualia. One’s ability to identify and replicate flavor descriptions, after taste or through memory, in the correct contexts and linguistic structures, can be used to improve one’s relational self, “a figure of identity that depends on the ability of persons to assign personae to each other by attending to matters of appearance and conduct” (Agha 2007, 238). This study aims to determine how metasemiotic practices surrounding the senses are attained and reenacted in order to establish membership identity.

Scales

These qualia interpretations are central to the recurrent activities to reflect different scaled hierarchies that can be examined through in-situ occurrences to sort, group, and categorize the things, people, and qualities that elevate or centralize certain practices (Carr and Lempert 2016, 18). Language is used by community members to negotiate, and sometimes reproduce, preexisting scalar formations. In this research, scales are seen as overlapping dimensions that make up a community’s collective identity (Carr and Lempert, 14). Institutionalized business models, and the technical register used to key craft beer knowledge are the larger scales that overlap with smaller scales of local history, and practices, to create a unique identity among members in a community. It is also possible that the qualia of craft beer are influenced by local scales of interpretation of craft beer reenacted by sales reps, brewers, and retailers marketing the product in their own unique way.

Registers

Identity formations can be achievable via registers, or discourses associated “with particular social practices and categories of persons” (Agha 2007, 79). These specialized speech forms are indexical ways of speaking, which are representative of a community’s cultural practices and values. The processes through which registers are replicated and reinterpreted through speech scales contribute to register competence, “which can be linked to asymmetries in power, socioeconomic class, [and] position within hierarchies” (Agha 2007, 146). Registers can range from larger scales of linguistic repertoires, evoking national identity like Britain’s Received Pronunciation (RP) (Agha 2007), to smaller scales of register usage within technical trades, like oinglossic “wine talk” (Silverstein 2006) and Starbuck’s “barista talk” (Manning 2008). Registers are semiotically reproduced at different scales of interaction- what Agha has termed enregisterment (2003). Central to this thesis is the interpretation of craft beer qualia, as it has been institutionalized, by the representatives of the craft beer industry through their usage of ‘beer talk’.

The study of nondurable commodities in relation to prestigious product technical registers has been popularized in recent years within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (Agha 2011; Manning 2008, 2012; Silverstein 2006, 2016). These recent works have primarily focused on technical registers of speech as they are used, or *imagined* in the case of Manning’s work, in broader formats like the Internet, magazines, advertisements, and the like. Agha’s 2011 article on commodity registers examines how consumer goods have influenced the rise in institutionalized product registers. The participant frameworks influencing commodity enregisterment result “through forms of

recontextualization and reanalysis- in various social-interpersonal routines” (50). The registers associated with a nondurable commodity are just as much institutionalized by the people that consume the product as by the institutions producing them.

Starbucks’ ‘barista-talk’ register, an institutionalized formula for ordering and calling out drinks, blurs the traditional lines separating sales associates and customers. Manning (2008) analyzed “barista rants” posted on an online forum specifically for Starbucks’ baristas to commiserate over customers’ inability to reenact the Starbucks’ technical register. Imagined threats to face created in the baristas’ transcriptions of interaction incited by this technical register can also speak to class anxieties of accessibility to prestige registers; both Starbucks’ ‘barista-talk’, oinoglossic ‘wine talk’, and ‘beer talk’ are only accessible if the consumer has previously been able to consume and cultivate their knowledge of the commodity.

Silverstein examines the oinoglossic ‘wine talk’ register by observing the denotations of semiotic transfer from cultivation to production to marketing to selling (2006). In 2016, Silverstein contributed to Carr and Lempert’s book on the scales of speech to examine the ways that ‘wine talk’ indexes social identity, which is attained through “the cultural order of institutionalized standardization” of judging and consuming wine (196). The most central contribution, in the context of this research, is Silverstein’s analysis of the “biographical’ trajectories of wine, institutional factors associate with one or more of the phases of its life apply to it according to, and determinative of, its various gradations” resulting in individual understanding of wine, and wine drinkers (2016, 198).

The cultural order of ‘beer talk’ enregisterment is also attained through institutional frameworks, which have been set through the Brewer’s Association and Cicerone Certification, along with more widely available speech chains (Agha 2003, 247) available via the Internet, magazines, and books. The indexical stereotypes associated with the knowledge of beer verify member positioning as middle-class members of society, who have the time and money to devote to a past time of ‘lifestyle’ consumption and cultivation. The task of this thesis is to examine how the scales of speech are reenacted in a microcommunity of craft beer connoisseurs using the methodologies and broader semiotic frameworks outlined above. Below, is an introduction to the City Brews community, and an overview of the methodologies used to examine the research questions outlined in the introduction.

1.2 Methodology

City Brews is a neighborhood craft beer shop, where I had gathered with friends and family before beginning my observations to socialize and experience new beer. There was a core group of regular patrons, and I felt like it was a concept store that spoke to this small Southern city’s evolution from sleepy town to 21st century gentrified community reenacting the spatial scales of craft beer centers in New England and on the West Coast.

City Brews’ staff and core clientele consistently point to the South’s growing craft beer industry, and, sometimes, the explanations for its lagging start. Although temperance and religion were generally the theme behind these conversations about South Carolina’s late arrival to the craft beer scene, I found it important to look back on local histories to discover the roots behind the state’s peculiar regulations on beer production and distribution. This next section maps out the state’s history with beer, starting with

colonial customs of beer production and consumption and ending with an evaluation of modern day laws regulating the beer industry. This history is important to give readers a better understanding of the sociopolitical environment contributing to current regulations of beer sales and marketing, which also helps understand the complex make up of how City Brews' member accesses and assesses craft beer qualia.

Beer Culture in South Carolina

Beer has a somewhat 'low profile' in South Carolina history. It has been documented that barley crops for beer brewing were grown in colonial South Carolina, but cultivation soon declined due to unpredictable barley harvests (Hammond Moore 1990, 16). Other historical analyses claim, "Antebellum southerners never made beer or ale in large quantities [...] Some beer was brewed, of course, and some was imported, but it was not a popular drink. In fact, it seems to have been thought of as more medicinal than refreshing" (Taylor 1982, 44-45). Unlike the American Mid-West, the Southeast had few German immigrants to introduce the art of home brewing. Early South Carolinians preferred to drink locally distilled peach brandy, imported rums, and later, upon the arrival of Scotch-Irish, corn whiskey (Taylor 1982, 46). In the 19th Century, South Carolina's capital was known for "its religious faith and emphasis on morality," this was in opposition to its colonial attitude of "hedonistic, live-and-let live" (Hammond Moore 1990, 148). Most members of society upheld the new, strict moral code with exception to "Irish laborer, college students, sand hillers, some merchants (especially purveyors of spirits), many blacks, and even a few women of secure social standing" (Hammond Moore 1990, 149). Following the economic downturn of Reconstruction, taverns, or *groggeries*, grew exponentially. This led to the establishment of temperance societies,

which spoke out against hard liquor, but most likely saw beer and wine as a *healthful* beverage (Taylor 1982, 46).

There were two German families who brewed a popular lager beer in mid-19th century South Carolina. Christopher Habernicht, the son of a German-born saloon owner in Charleston, moved to the South Carolina capital in the 1850s, where he worked at native-German John Conrad Seegers' saloon on Main Street. Following the burning of certain Southern cities in 1865, many saloons and taverns were never rebuilt, but Seeger and a few other families of German descent continued to brew and sell beer. In the late 19th century, a series of religiously inspired laws were passed in South Carolina, including a state monopoly on the sale and distribution of alcohol.¹ In 1917, the sale of alcohol was banned in South Carolina, and in 1920 the 18th amendment outlawed alcohol sales altogether in the United States. According to Robert, a pseudonym for one of the employees at City Brews:

We [the United States] are still dealing with Prohibition's effects everyday here, which is absurd- it was almost a hundred years ago. When I say beer is taking off, I mean we are possibly getting back to where we were pre-Prohibition.

South Carolina's late start in the craft beer industry is often attributed to the state's strict laws on alcohol production, distribution, and sales that still remained up until the beginning of the 21st century.

¹ Beginning in the 1850s, local ordinances, called blue laws, prohibited the sale of beer on Sundays. Between 1860 and 1890 saloons in South Carolina grew from just 14 to 32. By the 1890's governor Benjamin Tillman began enforcing the South Carolina legislature's "Dispensary System" that only allowed the state to bottle and distribute alcohol, creating a state monopoly on alcohol (Petty 2016).

Before 2007, South Carolina had only one nationally recognized craft beer brewery: Palmetto Brewing in Charleston, South Carolina. State law prohibited the sale of beer with an alcohol by volume (ABV) above 6%. In 2006, the South Carolina legislature raised legal beer's ABV limits from 6% to 17.5%, which meant brewers could finally produce quality beer to compete at a national level (Petty 2016). Breweries still face some economic hurdles, since they must sell their beers to market via beverage distributors. This leaves microbreweries at odds with more established breweries that have the capital to afford the 15%-20% taken by their distribution company. In a 2016 article on South Carolina's craft beer industry, the head of a craft beer supporters group said, "Self-distribution is the next fight for some in South Carolina's craft brew industry" (Petty 2016).

Beverage distribution sales representatives, or sales reps, played a large role in my participant observations; through them, City Brews can stock the shelves of their store. Within the City Brews community, there were times in which core patrons, e.g. beer enthusiasts, brewery staff or service workers (bartenders, servers), would comment on their annoyance with beverage distributor's role as middlemen in the beer industry (Chapter 4), but for the most part, sales reps, customers, and City Brews employees had a cordial relationship. Many breweries are thankful that distributors do the heavy lifting of marketing, selling, and distributing their product around the state, while others feel a brewery's autonomy to market and distribute their beer would improve retailers' understanding of the product. This argument is made, because some sales reps are juggling numerous accounts of wine, beer, and occasionally spirits, which makes it

difficult for some reps to familiarize themselves with the numerous products they must market.

During my observations, there were a few brewery reps that visited City Brews to ensure that their distribution sales reps were pulling their weight in distributing their product. If retailers are not ordering a brewery's product, it appears that some brewers do not know if it is due to their products' quality or the distribution company's failure to effectively market their product. When these brewery representatives visit retailers like City Brews, it is illegal for them to bring samples of their beer, since beverage distributors are the sole actor legally able to provide product samples to retailers. This complicated relationship is important to describe early on in this ethnography, since, as mentioned before, distribution sales reps and brewery staff are a large part of the City Brews community.

City Brews

The shop has over two hundred varieties of craft beer available for sale, which are separated based on flavor, production, and temporal profiles. The beer sections change from time to time, but the set up for the majority of my eight-months of observation was as follows: tart and acidic sour beers; German-style wheats; sweet, full-bodied ales; and light lagers. Flavor profiles can be used to define taste as well as the temporal production processes from European brewing traditions.

Generally, ale and lager are at the top of the beer taxonomy; an *ale* undergoes yeast fermentation at the top of a beer vat, at higher temperatures, while a *lager's* yeast is fermented at the bottom of a beer vat at cooler temperatures (Moser 2008). Over time, these fermentation processes have produced a plethora of beer styles that craft brewers in

the U.S. have experimented with in production. Posted around the store are various diagrams to conceptualize the evolution of beer, depicting the styles of beer, their origin, and sometimes flavor notes.

City Brews employees and beer connoisseurs often discuss European beer making traditions in order to express their respect for the industry's roots, or index their own beer knowledge. The spatiotemporal history of brewing tradition is still heavily enforced in Europe. Germany's "Beer Purity Laws" date back to the 1500s and regulate the ingredients permissible in German beer. In Belgium, a beer cannot take the name of a traditional style, if it is produced in another region. These European laws can explain the craft beer industry's lackluster performance in Europe. Since American brewers have fewer restrictions on maintaining traditional ingredient profiles and production styles, they have more freedom to experiment by adding subtle flavor additions like coffee, peanut butter, chocolate, or exotic fruits. Laws attempting to maintain the cultural tradition of beer styles have never been federally mandated in the U.S., since the beer styles are not culturally rooted here, but the Brewer's Association attempts to enforce craft beer cultural norms of economic independence and natural ingredients. Although American beer connoisseurs do not judge a beer style's legitimacy based on the region it is made, the City Brews staff attempts to market local and regional beers above all others.

At City Brews, local beers are always placed at eye-level, while national brews are on top or bottom shelves. This is a testament to the store's goal of creating a local market for state and regional craft brewers. The brightly colored cans and catchy marketing phrases are typically observed and part of conversation for patrons when the store gets busy, or when someone is looking for something special to take away. There is

also a corner for those who are craving something other than beer while at the store; this corner contains a refrigerator and a tall, skinny, shelf with over twenty varieties of wine. At the entrance to the store, you can find a small shelf with discounted beers, and a checkout counter made from wood salvaged from one of the owner's family farm. This checkout counter is for those buying beer to go, and has a selection of locally-made beef jerky, hemp lollipops, and the store's t-shirts in a variety of colors. The placement of these products is not coincidental. In recent years, locally owned businesses in South Carolina, and the regional South, have aimed to support other local businesses by carrying locally made merchandise. The front door has multiple stickers encouraging customers to *Buy Local* and *Drink Local*, these minor details reveal the store owners pride in their state and local community. Even though most customers walk straight past the local products straight back to the bar, a typical question from customers is "what's a good local beer?"

The bar stands in front of an electric green wall; it is in perfect position to be observed through the four large windows lining the storefront. The windows have built-in wooden benches with stylish, brightly colored pillows for back support against the glass. The 30-foot long, L-shaped, wooden bar (Figure 1.4) was hand-stained the owners. The bar is also made from salvaged wood, just like the checkout counter and other shelves at the store. There are twelve wooden bar chairs lining the bar to give customers a comfy place to sit while they either examine the servers pouring beer from sleek, silver taps or watching the two, 60-inch TV screens tuned to sports or news. The televisions are bolted to the bright green back wall, above the wooden shelves that hold beer glasses, City Brews merchandise, and a presentation of the newest bottles or cans available in store.

There are always at least twelve craft beers on tap; the beers are featured to customers on a *tap board* (Figure 1.2) made out of an old barn door. There are small chalkboards ordered from 1 to 12; various information is chalked on the board: the draft's name, the brewery, and from time to time, tasting notes or the beer style. The signs have bright, eye-catching chalk drawings to emulate the brewery's logo, drawn by the staff. The signs, featured in the back left corner of the bar are normally the first place patrons go to find a beer to enjoy in the store or to take home in a large bottle featuring the City Brews' logo, this bottle is referred to as a Growler by those familiar with 'beer talk'.

The space is bright and has large windows facing a heavily trafficked neighborhood road. The space was described to me by the head of a local branch of a beverage distribution company (and regular customer) as “the best man cave ever. It looks like it was decorated by my wife- comfy pillows, all the beer I could want, and two big-screen TVs.” This comment was not uncommon amongst core clientele, which again underscores the space's affinity as a male-dominated space. The store is a perfect example of the gentrified spaces most professional, white, Southern males aim to inhabit for socialization with girlfriends, wives, friends, family, colleagues, or even business partners.

Participants

The owners of City Brews, Andy and Kris, are from small towns in South Carolina. The two thirty-something owners met at a state university in South Carolina, where they studied engineering. Kris will sometimes reminisce about the two of them sitting in the back of their college classes talking about their dream of opening a beer store. After graduation, Kris worked for the state, building bridges and roads; while Andy

went back to his family's hometown to work at his father's company. The two stayed in touch, and continued to save money, while tweaking their entrepreneurial skills. In September 2014, they opened their craft beer store, City Brews. The two men did the majority of the construction and decoration of the store, which they will proudly point out to anyone who asks. The store has a consistent clientele, which is apparent when passing by the packed store any evening of the week; the store's success reveals the city's openness to new concepts of socialization, like craft beer connoisseurship.

The store employs three part-time beer servers, often called bartenders by the patrons (Chapter 4). Robert, who served as my 'beer talk' translator, is a native of Maryland and a recent graduate from the Business School at a university in South Carolina. He has taken two levels of the Cicerone Certification, a scholastic endeavor for beer professionals, not too different from Sommelier certification for wine experts. Robert is a proud and knowledgeable beer professional who plans to work in beer for as long as possible. He is young and can often be seen at the bar, even on his days off, reading or talking about beer. Blair is the sister to co-owner Andy, and also recently graduated from a South Carolina university, she is a young and vivacious Southern woman who enjoys playing and watching soccer, traveling, and entertaining patrons and staff with funny stories. Blair typically works on weekends and in the evenings (times that I was typically not at the store), so she is not widely represented in this ethnography. The third employee, Kyle, was a server at a local restaurant with the owner Kris' wife. In 2016, he turned in his server's apron to join the more laid back environment at City Brews. When I first began my observations, Kyle was the brunt of staff and other core members' jokes, because he did not know much about beer. He always took the jokes

with a smile on his face, and would be the first to admit his novice-level of beer expertise. Towards the end of my observations, Kyle was able to give customers overviews of beer styles and flavors in the same way many sales reps do. Kyle's evolution proves that competence in the 'beer talk' register is attainable with a few months of exposure. There were a few servers who stopped working over the course of my eight months of observation. They were either in school or had other professional goals in mind. The environment among the servers and owners is amiable and reminiscent of a close-knit family.

The beer servers work various hours throughout the week. Kris and Andy typically tend bar on their own during the day before three or four, unless there is new inventory to stock, in which case a server will come in to help. On a typical day during my observation, the servers would arrive after three to help tend bar, before the post-work crowds began to stream in. The storeowners are at the store Monday through Saturday, and can be seen recommending, pouring, and serving beer at the same pace as the other servers, even on busy nights. The owners are the central figures who meet with distribution sales reps to taste and order beer to stock the store's retail space with national, regional, and local craft brews. The store typically goes through thirty to thirty-five kegs of beer each week, which underscores its popularity in this small Southern city. The store's front door, which provides customers with an explanation of the store's *come as we please attitude* is an homage to the owners' and the beer industry's playful, laid back approach to business (Figure 1.1).

This store has a core clientele that includes local microbrewery staff, brewery owners, home brewers, restaurant chefs and servers, bartenders, beverage distributors,

university students, young professionals, and neighborhood regulars; many of those labels overlap, depending on the patron. I consider core patrons to be those who come to the bar on a weekly basis and have personal/professional relationships with the store's staff; many of those core members happen to also be beer professionals or beer connoisseurs. Since this is a small city, social connections are not uncommon between core members and new patrons. I have seen interactions take place between ex's, former coworkers, college buddies, elementary school friends, and beverage distribution rivals. The majority of clients are heterosexual, middle-class whites, although there are at least three African American male distributors and patrons who are regulars at the store. City Brews, for the most part, is a white collar-drinking establishment, whose clientele typically reflects the space's trendy aesthetic and middle-class neighborhood.

Scale and Scope

My observations first began in August 2016 as a semester-long project for my ethnography of communication class. This ethnographic study was exempted from IRB committee approval due to the unobtrusive nature of the research. I received a CITI Certificate during Jennifer Reynold's ethnography of communication class, which indicates my understanding of how to conduct moral and ethical research with human subjects. During the CITI training, I learned the strategies I aimed to implement while researching and writing my thesis. For example, the names of subjects and the store have been changed so as to conceal participant identities, since the information in this research could potentially affect their professional or personal lives. All data material is secure on both an external hard drive and my personal computer. Informed consent was obtained from informants orally. At the beginning of my observations, the owners of the store

reviewed the research objectives (Appendix A) and agreed to the terms of the study (recording, potential presentation, and publication of their ideas).

In the Fall of 2016, I was observing on Tuesdays and Thursdays, at varying times between twelve and four. At first, most of my observations were taking place when beverage distribution sales reps were in the store conducting inventory updates and new product tastings- a fascinating activity to observe for an ethnographer and linguist. The distributors came armed with technical, or tech, sheets, a brewery and/or beverage distributor's description of the formalized name, flavor, and style of each beer, giving distributors a "cheat sheet" to introduce new products to their clients. In January of 2017, my teaching schedule changed, which also changed my observation schedule. I began observing on Tuesdays and Thursdays for two-hour periods between the hours of two and six, which marked a change in the clientele and participants. There were more business professionals getting off early from work, or college professors meeting up for a beer to discuss classes and upcoming deadlines. The beverage distributors were still around as well as the regulars I had observed in the Fall, but the participants became more professionally diverse than before. It is also important to mention that after four o'clock on Thursdays, the bar would typically get very busy. This affected the ordering styles and depth of beer analysis taking place. When the store is busy, employees do not have much time for chitchat. The change in observation time revealed a transformation in patron-staff interaction. Daytime customers were treated with personal, sometimes quite amiable, greetings and guided explanations of beer, even if they were not core members. On busy evenings, staff minimized the amount of description and conversation in order to

speed up customer service. Both observation times, in the Fall and Spring, resulted in the analyses below of this microcommunity's craft beer qualia understanding.

In my ethnography of communication coursework, readings and discussions examined the effects an ethnographic researcher can have on data collection, analysis, and cultural overview of a group (Heider 1988; Duranti 1997; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995). One of these effects, particularly for me in a community of mostly males, was the theoretical orientation of myself as a young, white, female graduate student. My ability to orient myself as an insider was obviously not possible, even after months of observation, because of my gender and positioning as a researcher. Another downfall to this research, in terms of an ethnographic analysis, was the time constraint. The length of stay (Heider 1988) as an observer was less than ideal; eight months of (bi)weekly visits for just two to three hours is not enough time to make concrete conclusions about all aspects of this community's understanding of craft beer qualia. Despite the time constraints, the goals of ethnographic fieldwork were my guide: "(1) How is social order constituted, that is, what makes this group a functioning unit of sorts? and (2) how do individuals make sense of their way of living, that is, how do they explain why they live the way they do and differently from others?" (Duranti 1997, 90).

One subject that is not discussed in-depth in this thesis is that of male masculinity and race, both of which play a significant role in this community. Since the aim of this study is to examine the replication of technical registers of speech and its qualia analyses of taste, these topics could be examined in a later ethnography of craft beer culture. The central focus of this research, while potentially influenced by gender and race, are more

deeply rooted in the larger scales of qualia understanding being replicated by beer professionals and connoisseurs in this microcommunity.

As I reflect on the observations and data collection in these past eight months, I wish I had been less self-conscious about my positioning as a researcher. If this has been the case, I would have been willing to spend more time recording face-to-face interaction. I now realize why audio/video recordings are so important to ethnographic fieldwork. Having video recordings, in addition to field notes, in order to observe gestures accompanying linguistic interaction are vital to an in-depth analysis of recurrent activities. The side activities taking place during an interaction, along with the gestures of the participants involved in communication, can reveal how members react to certain topics or cues; video recordings make this analysis much more accessible post-observation. In the future, I will take more time to photograph and record even the most monotonous interactions and events.

Data Collection and Analysis

The primary methods of data collection consisted of participant observation (Spradley 1980), ethnographic interviews (Levy & Hollan 1998), and audio-visual recordings of recurrent activities surrounding craft beer consumption and discussion. After a few months of observation, I decided which activities were the most relevant to the scales of 'beer talk' contributing to membership identity and qualia understanding. These included ordering and tasting of beer, beverage distribution sales rep meetings with the owners, and keyed social frames of cultivating beer knowledge. These recurrent activities between core members, those most frequently at the store, and peripheral members, those known by store staff but not on a personal level, revealed some

characteristics of this community's membership identity in the context of 'beer talk' reenactments of qualia analysis.

The activities outlined above were chosen over other activities like sports talk, member gossip, and performative acts of storytelling, because they were when 'beer talk' was used to assess beer flavors. Although the other activities have contributed to my understanding of members' personal lives and past times, apart from craft beer connoisseurship, they detract from an understanding of how the technical register is influenced by the various scales of the craft beer world.

Previous research on technical registers of speech in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics have observed how larger scales influence technical register speech chains, but none of the previous research has analyzed in-situ reenactments of these register's usage through ethnographic observation. Silverstein's work on 'wine talk' (2006, 2016) focuses on broader scales of textual analysis performed by wine professionals that lead to the emergence of a commodity-based technical register. Manning's work on 'barista talk' examines the *imagined* face-threatening acts posted by Starbuck's employees in the context of ordering. This research examines an institutionalized technical register of speech as it is reenacted in-situ, while also acknowledging the broader speech chains (Agha 2007, 67) and spatiotemporal scales (Silverstein 2016, 206-207) influencing the 'beer talk' register. The observation of in-situ 'beer talk' interactions, along with focused member interviews, can lead to a better understanding of how scaled formulations of taste qualia are reenacted in real life.

Interview techniques adapted from methodologies rooted in ethnographic field work (Levy & Hollan 1998) and cognitive anthropology (Frake 1964; Spradley 1970) attempt to gain a more insider, or emic, view of member understanding of ‘beer talk’ reenactments. After three months of participant observation and in-situ microanalyses, member interviews aimed at receiving guided explanations of how participants understand the spatiotemporal influences on ‘beer talk’.

Although eight months is not an ideal amount of time for ethnographic research, I was able to grasp certain characteristics of the ‘beer talk’ register, including the speech chains influencing reenactments, and the importance of both branding and historical understandings of craft beer flavor palates. Ritualistic tastings of beer take place between beverage distributors, patrons (core, peripheral, and marginal members), and bar employees. Sales meetings take place between beverage distributors and the storeowners (occasionally with other staff or patrons on the periphery). These meetings reveal larger scales of ‘beer talk’, in the case that distribution sales reps bring up technical, or tech, sheets (provided by breweries) on their tablets, along with beer knowledge collected from other scales of speech found on the internet, in books, or through semiotic interaction with other beer connoisseurs/professionals. It became apparent that introductions to beer tastings between patrons versus beverage distributors and beer professionals varied based on the interlocutor’s experience and knowledge of beer and brewery history. Sales reps, as mentioned before, represent beverage distribution companies; each company has a different mission or specialty they pride themselves on. For some companies, the goal is product variety, for others it is quality, and for a few, it is all about personal relationships. Companies marketing higher-end craft beer, like Amber and Isaac (Chapter 4), expect

their reps to be well-versed on the technicalities of craft beer production as well as the temporal history of each beer style and brewery; this way the reps are prepared to market an expensive beer that would fail to sell without a retailer's back story encouraging the customer to try the product. Other distribution companies are as invested in this knowledge of beer as they are in forming solid relationships with the retailers they sell to. One rep, who is not represented in the analysis sections, would consistently point out his friendly relationships with those he sold to and argue that "not being a dick" was the main way to beat the competitor. That is another sociolinguistic study that could receive attention in the future. In more casual situations than sales meetings, patrons, staff, and reps would engage in conversations about the newest product at the store or on the national market; these sales meetings and casual conversations were keyed in the frame of 'beer talk' cultivation.

Methodologies to analyze these interactions include transcription techniques adapted from Elinor Ochs' approach to transcription (1979) (Appendix B: Transcription Key), along with traditional CA transcriptions techniques popularized by Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) and Sacks, et al. (1974). Micro analytical tools, including certain aspects of frame analysis (Goffman 1974) and CA (Sacks et al. 1974) are used to analyze the recordings and transcriptions of City Brews members. These analyses contribute to broader understandings of membership identity, like Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, 383-387) tactics of intersubjectivity (explained below), along with the broader theoretical frameworks popularized by those studying the speech scales of commodity registers (Agha 2011; Manning 2012; Silverstein 2016). Below, I delve deeper into the specific

aspects of frame analysis, CA, and broader identity tactics that are used in my qualitative analysis sections.

Face is defined by Goffman (1955, 1967) as, “the social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (1967, 5). Facework can be used to examine how participants maintain their ritual positioning in a conversation through a “ritually organized system of social activity” (1955, 342). The ideas of threats to face and face saving acts are used throughout the analysis sections to characterize situations in which a member is contested with other repair (Levison 1983, 341) and reacts by attempting to recover their positioning in the conversation. The keyed social frames of activity (Goffman 1967) also help distinguish the variety of goal-oriented activities taking place at the store.

CA is used to examine turn taking of participant interaction’s sequentiality of speech (Sacks, et al. 1974), while also paying particular attention to the openings and closings of recurrent activities (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, the founders of CA, also introduced the concept of repair in interaction to define how participants resolve *problems* or *trouble* during an interaction (Duranti 1997, 261). Charles and Marjorie Goodwin’s (1992) interpretation of assessments in context plays a large role in how CA is utilized in this research. The Goodwins differentiate the interactional sociolinguistic approach to linguistic analysis in comparison to those traditions adopted by linguistic anthropologists:

The Goodwins want to focus their analyses on the talk that members of a society produce with each other within the activities that constitute their culture, rather than relying on interviews, collected stories, or other texts produced for the anthropologist or other outsider. (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992, 147)

The activities of performative assessments and instigating are two relevant aspects of the City Brews data. Assessment is defined as “the activity of performing evaluations of events being discussed within talk,” while instigation is defined as “the process situated within a gossip-dispute activity” (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992, 151-152). The interactive nature of assessment, be it through the fawning over a child, describing a beer’s flavor, or negotiating meaning of a beer’s production process, were at play throughout my observations. Marjorie and Charles Goodwin define these collaborative assessments, sometimes realized as overlap, as “cognitive operations that can be analyzed as processes embedded within particular modes of social practice” (164). A recipient’s ability to project the next phase of a conversation based on gesture, gaze, intonation, and language reveal an interactive activity structure which can be used to evaluate cultural features of turn-taking in both collaborative assessments and disjunctive instigations. These analyses shows how membership identity is formulated through the close observation and analysis of recurring in-situ activities.

In order to look at broader sociolinguistic definitions of identity through power positioning, Bucholtz and Hall’s (2004) tactics of intersubjectivity are used to examine how binary axes of social distinction are enacted through linguistic choices and/or physical gestures (Goodwin, C. 1981; Goodwin, M. & Alim 2010) made by members to reveal in what ways indexical identities are accepted or rejected. One tactic, *authentication*, appears when a member attempts to assert the *realness* of their identity in a community. The binary term for this tactic is *denaturalization*, when a member’s identity is highlighted for “artificiality and non-essentialism” (386). *Adequation* is another tactic used by patrons and employees at City Brews to form their identities as

beer connoisseurs- this is when a member pursues socially recognizable *sameness* (383). This tactic lies in juxtaposition to *distinction*, in which a member's identity is aimed at differentiating themselves from others (384).

As described above, the methodologies of CA and frame analysis, popularized by interactional sociolinguistics, are used to analyze in-situ participant observation and interviews to make qualitative assessments about how the broader theoretical frameworks of technical speech enregisterment influence a microcommunity's membership identity in the context of flavor assessments. The pairing of interactional sociolinguistic traditions and ethnosemantic interviews popularized by cognitive anthropologists, helps ground this research in less of an idealized world-view analysis of community membership, which cognitive anthropologists like Fraake sought, and instead focuses on analyzing the effects speech scales have on technical register reenactments and taste understanding within a microcommunity of craft beer connoisseurs.

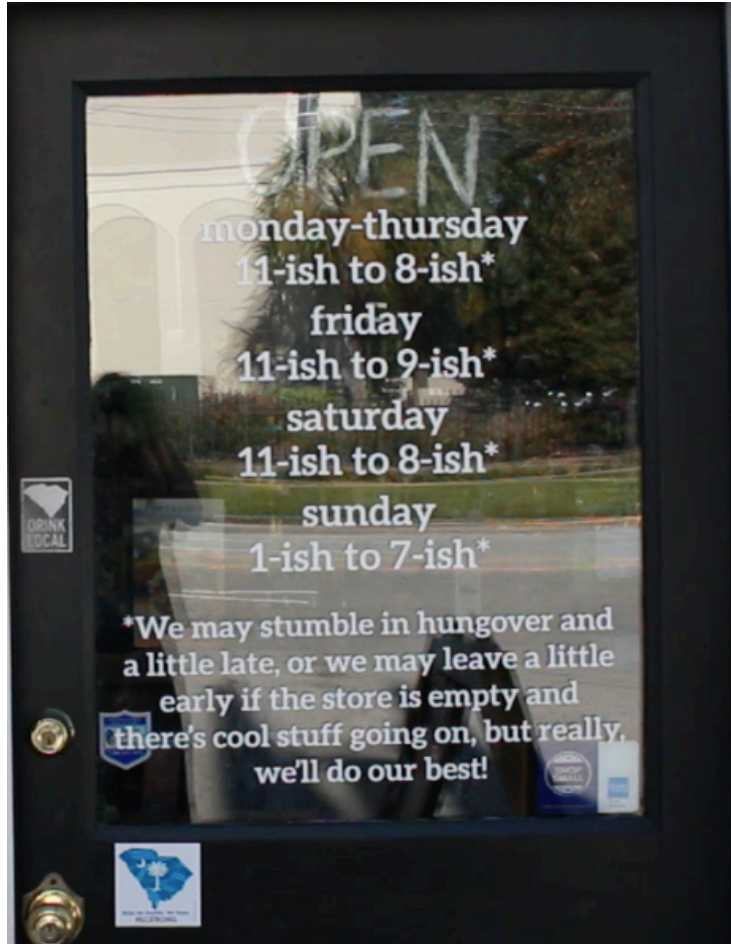


Figure 1.1 City Brews Front Door



Figure 1.2 City Brews' Tap Board

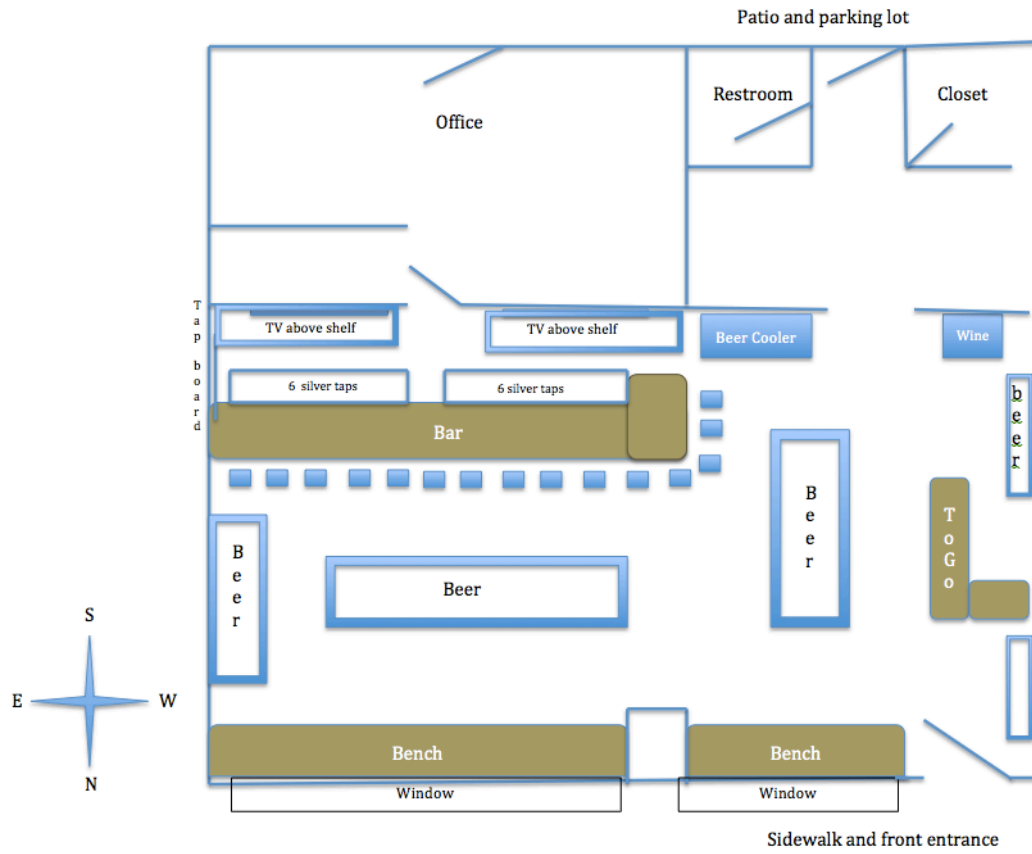


Figure 1.3 Map of Store

CHAPTER 2

A TECHNICAL REGISTER

A register is a form of speech that can index aspects of one's social identity; its application can indicate membership with a category of people (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Halliday 1983; Silverstein 2016, 195). These registers can be indexical of training in a certain field (Ferguson 1977; Manning 2008, Silverstein 2006, 2016) or social class, as is the case with RP British English (Agha 2007, 206-215). In order for a technical register to effectively spread and circulate, there must be speakers with competence and understanding of the lexical and other linguistic elements of its utterances in context. Ochs and Schieffelin's 1984 article outlines a comparison of how communicative development is cultivated in children in North American (the United States), Kaluli, and Samoan cultures. American caregivers tended to over accommodate and take active roles in cultivating linguistic competence with infants by using a specialized speech register 'child directed speech', or 'baby talk' (Ferguson 1977), while Samoan caregivers only speak with children once they have gained some language competency. My research finds parallels between the ways registers are cultivated among adults in a community enacting technical registers and American children's acquisition of language, contributing to member understanding of flavor and description.

At City Brews, staff and other beer connoisseurs accommodate and guide novice beer drinkers through new vocabulary to describe flavors and styles, especially if

the customer is curious and willing to learn. Through guided explanations of the technicalities behind craft beer concepts, more members will have the knowledge necessary to understand and replicate the ‘beer talk’ register. This next section analyzes how City Brews’ staff attempts to replicate ‘beer talk’ qualia descriptors in their community through an introduction to its scales of speech and a guided explanation of beer brand naming sequences from the perspective of Andy, one owner of City Brews.

2.1 Scales of Qualia Analysis

Chumley and Harkness (2013) examine qualia from the perspective of C.S. Peirce’s writings on semiotics. Qualia are the embodiment of taste and are unique to each individual, in coordination with past sensory experiences, and cultural background. Niche industries aim to institutionalize qualia experiences in a myriad of ways. Consider the uniformity of the Starbucks franchise, its product flavors and spatial atmosphere provide customers with a consistent sensory experience at any location in the world. Chumley and Harkness refer to Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) work on habitus to explain the coordination of sensory experience. The authors claim that, “habitus involves the sociological structure of qualia according to stratified categories of likeness and difference (e.g. ‘taste’ [1984])” (5). Institutionalized industries aim to structure consistent interpretations of niche product qualia to inspire a collective qualia experience that contributes to community building. This section aims to analyze the speech scales contributing to the enregisterment of ‘beer talk’s’ qualia descriptors in a microcommunity.

One way ‘beer talk’ is spread, as well as restricted, is through national scales of beer knowledge cultivation. One example is the Cicerone Certification, an online course made up of four levels that provide beer professionals with training to serve and analyze

the products they market (Chapter 4). This type of scholastic endeavor is a clear case of the way flavor denotations and the historiography of production processes are transferred in a community. As mentioned previously, there are also beer magazines, books, mobile applications (*Untappd* being a favorite of City Brews members), online forums, and websites devoted solely to the analysis of craft beer, which also act as reference points for craft beer connoisseurs when they enter some type of disagreement about a process, description, or brand. At City Brews, patrons and staff gain access to these larger scales of speech through their relationships with other connoisseurs/professionals, social media sites, and brewery websites. If a customer is unfamiliar with the complexity of these larger scales, they could find themselves wondering how such technical terms are learned. So how is this technical register of qualia descriptions transferred and understood by the community at City Brews?

‘Beer talk’ is distinguishable from everyday speech due to its complex range of flavor denotations, style names, and technical terminology. The register is in many ways inspired by ‘wine talk’, which has a deep connection to the chemistry behind the processes contributing to alcoholization. Silverstein’s 2016 article on wine talk describes wine marketing as relating to “organic chemistry of esters, aldehydes, and alcohols, and human psycho-physiology, sciences of olfactory and gustatory perception” (Silverstein 2016: 198). Among connoisseurs, these chemical technicalities are also relevant to the ‘beer talk’ qualia experience.

Another aspect of the register includes the temporal history of style names, along with knowledge of branding and appropriate flavor descriptors. The complexity of the register’s speech chains for qualia interpretations underscore the anxiety it causes for

newcomers. While a basic knowledge of beer is sufficient to enjoy a drink at City Brews, core members often discuss these technicalities of production and flavor during marketing and consumption.

Each beer has its own flavor description; some flavors are overlapping while others are unique to specific beer ingredients. The qualia descriptors for certain ingredients are enregistered via face-to-face interaction or through the larger scales of speech described above. While some tastes are easily accessible like *fruity* and *spicy*, other flavors are not so easily found in past tasting experiences. For example, if a beer is described as *hoppy*, the beer must contain fermented hop herbs; another less well-known term is the core flavor denotation of *tart*, often associated with an almost vinegar-like taste. Vinegar, which would typically hold a negative connotation, has been replaced with a gourmet term in like *tart*, since this flavor is typically intentional among aged styles of beer. Some negative qualia connotations include *yeasty*, this is a beer that has been sitting for too long. *Bacterial* is another negative term, indicating a beer's off flavors of *moldy*, *musty*, or *woody*. Less common descriptions that Cicerone Certified beer professionals, like Robert, will refer to include *catty*, a term used to refer to “tom-cat urine or blackcurrant leaves,” one website selling flavor additions for home brewers describes the *catty* flavor as, “generally unpleasant due to its association with tom cat urine. Sensory panelist will over come this challenge with further exposure and training with this flavor” (*flavoractiv.com*). This is one example of how the judgment of taste has been delegated to experts with a trained palate; further exposure will lead to a more developed understanding of the flavor that a novice would not fully appreciate.

The scientific terms adapted by ‘beer talk’ typically describe production processes of the beverage. *Pasteurization*, when beer undergoes heat exposure during production, and *fermentation*, the chemical breakdown of bacteria, yeast, and sugar, are two important terms beer connoisseurs at City Brews will bring up when a beer’s production process is a selling point or addition to a beer’s uniqueness. The technical terms used for descriptions of production are vast, which point to the multiple layers contributing to ‘beer talk’s’ qualia analysis.

A regular patron and sales rep described how he cultivates his knowledge of the products he sells, “[it’s] a collaboration [...] a friend went to the brewery, you know what they were told, or this is what is written about it online [...] you can only put so much on a [beer] label.” In other words, the cultivation of beer knowledge is a semiotic practice involving various scales of replication. A participant’s ability to reenact, or perform, the specialized speech form elevates their identity’s status as a beer connoisseur within the craft beer community; by demonstrating communicative competence, members also reveal their agency as a potential educator and/or student of the craft beer culture.

As Agha argues in his 2005 article on voice and enregisterment, “we cannot understand macro-level changes in registers without attending to micro-level processes of register use in interaction” (38). The participants at City Brews replicating ‘beer talk’ are aligning their speech patterns, or as Bakhtin refers to it, *social voice*, in order to index what Agha calls a “social type of person” (38). Agha uses Bakhtin’s definition of voice to represent the ways utterances index a typified speaking personae (39). Voice can represent speech forms that index a widely recognizable register distinction. ‘Beer talk’ is solely used among craft beer drinkers and brewers, meaning it can easily be *left at the*

door once you leave a craft beer store or brewery. The register's usage at City Brews is an indexical marker for membership in the larger scaled craft beer community. By demonstrating competency in beer flavor denotations, bar terminology, and/or appropriate references to brewery names and styles, members at City Brews can either accept or reject another member's description of a beer. If you do not have access to the terminology required of 'beer talk', or attempting to extend the scope of your knowledge, a beer professional will step in to clarify any misinterpretations, which could result in a threat to face or anxiety to participate in the community at all.

2.2 Sequencing of Names

As described in the ethnographic overview, City Brews features a *tap board* on a large barn door with twelve Velcroed spots that hold colorful chalkboards featuring the beers on tap (Figure 1.2). The beers are arranged intentionally to run from 1, the lowest ABV, to 12, the highest ABV. Customers seem to catch on to this board's organization fairly quickly, but the staff are willing to guide a customer if they seem lost or confused. The custom of ordering is dependent on the crowd at the bar; if the bar is less busy, the staff is more likely to receive questions about the origins of a beer's name or the stylistic notes when determining what to purchase. For customers, ordering can take the form of the tap's number, the brewery name, the beer's style, or some combination of these features. Unlike the Starbucks technical register of speech, City Brews' staff is less likely to correct a customer's mispronunciation of a beer. As Jennifer Reynolds pointed out to me, this is largely due to the fact that at Starbucks, baristas have a clear division of linguistic labor, i.e. the barista taking the order must call out or write down the correct sequencing of a drink's order so that the barista making the drink builds the drink

correctly. At City Brews, typically the server receiving an order will pour the drink, but there were times when the shop was busy and a beer server would take an order while pouring another patron's drink. When the server would call back the waiting patron's order to a colleague, it would almost always take the form of the tap number; this way the server could simply go to the tap number and pour the beer, not having to look up and memorize which beer was on tap where. This was only done when the shop was busy, but it does reveal the differences underlying technical register usage in the context of branding. Since City Brews is not the producer of the beers on tap, they may be less likely to stress the brand being consumed, especially when they have their hands full.

Sales reps, in comparison to the servers at City Brews, are required to use a formalized sequential order for a beer's name when in the performance frame of sales meetings with the storeowners. The distribution sales representatives at City Brews come in during the day, before four o'clock, to update beer and wine merchandise for the store. From time to time, the representatives will bring in a new product that has just hit the market. Since distribution companies have the sole rights to sell to beer retailers, they typically bring in a cooler to keep the beverages fresh for tasting with retailers. When the storeowners and regular patrons see this cooler, this is an index that a new beer or wine is going to be presented for purchase by the store. The representatives have tech sheets to guide them in the introduction to the beer; these sheets include the sequential name (described below), its tasting notes, and the palate descriptors provided by the brewery. Although I discovered that the correlation between the idealized sequencing of beer naming is rarely replicated in-situ, among patrons, this naming technique does provide some context as to the qualities craft beer professionals and consumers are searching for

in a product. In this section, I will introduce beer's institutionalized sequential name order, from the perspective of the shop owner Andy, to describe how this reflects the craft beer community's search for artisanal products whose branding and naming reflects the qualia of taste and emotion involved in its consumption.

During one recorded interview with Andy, he mapped out how to “formally or informally name a beer.” This interview took place during a slow Tuesday afternoon, while I was sitting at the end of the long bar. There was one other customer at the store, an older male, who was celebrating a new job; he was positioned about four seats down from me, in the center of the bar. After Andy finished describing how to name a beer in the institutionalized format and answered some questions I had about the store's opening, he shifted his attention to the male customer as his audience, perhaps because I was taking notes, not connecting my gaze to his, and the fact that I had finished asking questions. The other customer was a bystander of the informal interview and was an audience member to Andy's technical explanation for beer naming, he would follow along by nodding his head or expressing surprise at certain points, but he never spoke while the recorder was on. This was the only time I had seen this man, but Andy acknowledged him like a regular customer. Later on in my observation, a sales rep came in and told me that he had seen the man at the store before, but could not remember his name. I found out later that he had just received a job at a recently opened branch of a multinational corporation after months of unemployment, another proof of the city's growth and the store's central role in its transformation.

When I first arrived, there were about ten kegs in the back of the store that had just been delivered by three distributors in preparation for Andy and Kris' week-long

vacation to the Caribbean for Kris and his soon to be wife's wedding. Andy was carrying the kegs up to the bar one by one to put them on tap. After he finished tapping his third keg, he took a moment to take a breather and check in on his two patrons, the man in the center of the bar and me. I asked him about his upcoming trip, and we talked about Kris already being down in the Caribbean- Andy was making sure everything was prepared to run smoothly before he left the store to his sister and Robert. After our initial greeting, I transitioned to ask if he could name some of the beers on the board for me. This was an elicitation exercise, popularized by cognitive anthropologists and ethnosemantists, to understand the formal conventions behind beer naming, from the perspective of an insider who speaks the 'beer talk' register. After looking up at the board, he gave me a quick explanation- I asked him if I could record him speaking, and he agreed. Breweries, beer magazines, and beverage distributors, along with other formal scales of craft beer connoisseurship provide retailers and consumers with these idealized sequences of beer names to conform to branding conventions to leave consumers with a denotation of a brewery's product.

Example 1

- 1 Andrew Essentially (.) the way you name a beer um (.3) whether its formal or informal-
- 2 You always start with the brewery name first
- 3 So everyone knows where it's from (.2)
- 4 Or at least who brewed it
- 5 Um (.)

The naming of the brewery is of course a characteristic of the emergent culture (Williams 1973) of craft beer brewing. Prior to the twentieth century, beer was produced at home or by local brewers for its nutritional values; brand was of little importance then

in comparison to today (Taylor 2008). The idea that the brewery's mark is central to its name shows the importance of consumer awareness. After all, stores like City Brews would not exist if breweries were not producing beer to attract faithful clients. These breweries are a central aspect of the craft beer industry, without them the culture would not exist. Andy continues by naming some of the beers on the board and describing how "folks in the industry" (line 6) are able to recognize the location of the brewery just by the name- this reveals the importance of semiotic interactions and the usage of larger scales of beer knowledge (websites, mobile apps, magazines, and craft beer festivals) used to familiarize beer professionals, and connoisseurs, with the numerous brands of craft beer. Andy points out that the brewery name is followed by the name of the beer as *they* (the brewery) (line 12) call it, ending with the historical style of beer the brewery has attempted to mimic.

Example 1b

6 Andrew And most folks in our industry know (.)
7 You know (.) you say
8 Hebrew
9 They know its Bronx
10 They know its New York
11 Say Tradesman- they know its Charleston (.3) um (.)
12 Then you go with whatever *they* call the beer (.)
13 So (.) for in,stance we'll take number 2
14 We have the Benford Ole Nitroly hefeweizen (.2)
15 So (.) I just named that beer(.)
16 That's how you say that beer

The deictics of this interaction require context to follow Andy's imagined explanation of how the industry works. In lines 9-11, "they" refers to "the folks in the industry." For me, it is peculiar that Andy does not use the pronoun "we" when referring to the "folks in the industry." He is in the social frame of assessment for me, the

researcher, so he may be separating his own agency as a beer industry insider in order to stress the abstractness of his explanation. Andy’s prosodic stress on “they” (line 12) points to his shift from referencing “they” as “folks in the industry” (line 6) to the breweries he referenced before (line 11). Breweries choose to add beer names to their product so that consumers can differentiate between the numerous styles of beer each brewery is producing. For example, one well-known brewery in South Carolina, River Rat, is producing over six different styles of beer. There is also the fact that many breweries produce the same style of beer as their competitors, but by adopting their own specialized name, consumers can denote the brewery’s specific interpretation of the style. The traditional style is the last name in the sequence, which Andy later tells me is because, “it leaves that lasting impression [. . .] you may not remember the name, but you’re gonna remember the brewery and you’re gonna remember the beer.” In the case of Ole Nitroley, Benford has chosen to replicate a German style of beer, hefeweizen (line 14). In lines 15 and 16, Andy signals a topic closure (Sacks and Schegloff 1973, 70) by formally acknowledging the completeness of his explanation, “So (.) I just named that beer” (line 15), “That’s how you say that beer” (line 16). Andy then opens a new topic (Example 1c), the reasoning behind Benford’s naming of Ole Nitroly (line 18). This topic focuses on the spatiotemporal scales influencing Benford’s naming of their hefeweizen as Ole Nitroly,

Example 1c

18 Andy Ole Nitroly is an old dam in Germany (.)
 19 That they named that style of beer off of
 20 Because where the hefeweizen originated was near that dam (.)
 21 Y,eh
 22 Yeh and actually on the picture of the c,an- its around here
 23 somewhere
 24 There’s a picture of the dam in Lancaster-//where] the

25 Anna //Okay]
 26 And/ so you said that]
 27 Andy //the beer's fr-]
 28 Anna Benford is-
 29 Andy Benford is the name of the brewery

In almost all cases, a beer style's origin is from Europe, the ingredients and processes of the style are replicated at small craft breweries, with some tweaking in production along the way.² The incorporation of these transatlantic histories in the naming of beer indexes the industry's attempt to establish craft beer as a prestigious product accepting residual culture from Western European folk practices of brewing. Local breweries in South Carolina are taking time to incorporate their own local history in the story behind their interpretations of well-known beer styles. Andy points out that Benford, a brewery in the small town of Lancaster, South Carolina has used the historical name Ole Nitroly, because it is the name of the dam where hefeweizen was first brewed. This is obviously a denotation that would only be caught by those beer professionals familiar with the temporal history of hefeweizen, but it gives the beer a story that will improve its marketing to retailers and consumers. South Carolinians may recognize the Lancaster dam on the can, or be hear the story from the retailer, and be more enticed to pick it up to give it a try. The historical and localized hybrid of naming and branding used by Benford brewery underscores craft beer's emphasis on folklore to market their products. This demonstrates just one of many examples in which the industry has

² As outlined in the introduction, marketing strategies vary depending on the country. Wine and beer are marketed in extremely different ways in the U.S. in comparison to Europe. One obvious example is the way California wine is marketed based on style of grape, whereas in France the terroire (soil) and appellation (region) are the most important marketing factors. The consumer base's awareness of indexical signs and a product's temporal history will shape the marketing strategies for consumers (Douglas 1986).

attempted to create narratives to improve the centrality of local community, while also embracing beer's residual roots.

As mentioned before, patrons do not typically use the idealized naming sequence used by beer professionals when they order a beer at City Brews. The order of name sequencing is simply a form of branding that provides customers, brewers, distributors, and retailers a narrative for the product's qualia to denote its spatiotemporal categories of place, beer style, and unique name. Upon tasting and judging flavor, this unique name can be referenced to semiotically replicate a beer's reputation via face-to-face interaction, online forums, magazine, mobile applications like *Untappd*, and various other scales of speech. The spatial scales of the name on a can, the tap board, a tech sheet, or any other textual format allows the beer to take on a linguistic identity. The beer's qualia are then judged by consumers and beer professionals, as will be explored in the next chapter, resulting in the semiotic replication of face-to-face taste judgment and assessment.

CHAPTER 3

ACCESSING/ASSESSING BRANDED FLAVORS

Qualia are a central aspect of ‘beer talk’ as a technical register of speech. Qualia, a concept introduced by Charles S. Peirce’s 1896 research on semiotics, are “are experiences of sensuous qualities (such as colors, textures, sounds, and smells) and feelings (such as satiety, anxiety, proximity, and otherness)” (Chumley and Harkness 2013, 3). This concept has created debate within the disciplines of anthropology and sociology for years, mainly because one’s interpretation of qualia is dependent on past experiences, creating multiple unique symbolic interpretations of the same qualitative experience. “Materiality can be regarded as an attribution of qualities to objects in an external world, which can then be experienced and acted upon through qualia” (Chumley and Harkness, 9).

The normative qualia descriptors of craft beer’s technical register of speech are products of overlapping spatiotemporal scales of communication. Spatial scales being those of regionally celebrated breweries and local distribution companies, national associations like the Brewer’s Association and larger craft beer breweries, as well as international, traditional beer production techniques. Temporal scales are the historical traditions of beer making and the semiotic interactions in the past or future that contribute to a craft beer’s reputation and qualia analysis. The owners of City Brews operate their store, select their merchandise, and market their products based on their interpretations of how these decisions will influence their clientele’s qualia experience.

Without the conceptual qualia analysis of craft beer, City Brews would not have a clientele; the population in this Southern city would be satisfied with the traditional bar atmosphere. Instead, there is a community in the city invested in cultivating their understanding of craft beer qualia, giving the shop a core clientele. So in what ways are City Brews' community members undertaking qualia analysis? And to what extent are these analyses reflective of craft beer connoisseur's member identities at City Brews?

City Brews' embrace of a gentrified culture, an idea I use to characterize a conformity to middle-class taste, is present in the store's environment of clean-cut homey décor, attention to detail in the colorful chalk tap boards, as well as the feature of beer-themed diversions like craft beer magazines placed on the bar for clients to cultivate their knowledge of current popular brands and styles of beer. This attention to detail carries through to the way staff present their beer to customers, or when beer professionals discuss a particular beer with the shop's staff. The descriptors of beer's underlying flavors are constantly evolving, but the main ingredients and production techniques for beer styles have remained constant. The denotations of flavor are marked on labels and the tap board to give a consumer the context of a beer's style. For example, the characterization of an Indian Pale Ale as a *hoppy* IPA. (*Hoppy* is the term used to describe a beer that is made primarily with hops, a plant with intense flavor notes which are easily distinguished by beer enthusiasts.) New and unique flavors are constantly being added to the tap board, and the craft beer industry as a whole, in order to evoke surprise and excitement among beer professionals and consumers. Typically these flavors are decadent and mark the beer as holding distinctive qualities not found in other beers. For example, Dogfish Head's Tropical Blonde with kiwi and hibiscus, Sierra Nevada's

Cherry Chocolate Stout, Thirsty Dog's Maple Imperial Stout, or Red Hare's Long Night Lager with coffee. Breweries that produce these distinctive flavors are attempting to establish their brand as bold and daring. City Brews carrying these brands shows their own prowess in providing their customers with some brands of prestigious craft beer not typically carried by local dive bars that are definitely not available at national or local chain bars and restaurants.

The lexicon behind stylistic descriptors and understanding of craft beer speak to the complex scaling of the technical register of 'beer talk'. The denotations of beer styles and flavors are collected through residual culture (Williams 1973, 10-11) of European brewing practices, established at larger institutional scales (American Brewer's Association, Cicerone Certification, distributing companies, nationally renowned breweries), accepted by smaller scales (microbreweries, bar, and bottle shops), and then rebranded or redefined to create an emergent culture (Williams 1973) of craft beer flavor understanding, further accentuating semiotic processes of its qualia.

Some flavors would never be paired with certain styles, for example, a chocolate morning kolsch. A chocolate morning stout, on the other hand, is a logical flavor combination that many breweries have successfully marketed and sold. A stout's ingredients include roasted aromatic malts that pair nicely with a small amount of chocolate, whereas a kolsch's qualia are more aligned with subtle fruity notes. All of this to say that the ability to determine beer flavor descriptors speaks to one's cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) as a beer connoisseur- the more one has been exposed to beer magazines, websites, and other beer professionals, the more likely one is to understand the denotational terminology used to describe craft beer's qualia. As Robert put it in an

interview, “no matter what anyone tells you [...] it’s all practice; there is no such thing as a naturally gifted talent. But it’s a learned skill.”

Just like oinoglossic ‘wine talk’ (Silverstein 2006, 2016), craft beer interpretations of flavor notes and quality are accepted and encouraged after tasting a beer. As discussed in the methodology, beverage distribution sales reps possess technical sheets when engaging in a sales meeting, which give them an institutionalized index for a beer’s qualia. Another factor mentioned in the *South Carolina Beer History* section is distributor rep’s numerous beverage accounts to keep track of. The fact is that they cannot be experts on every product they market. The ‘beer talk’ surrounding beer’s qualia, largely influenced by these beverage distributors and those selling brewery’s product, become a part of *normative cultural schema* for enjoying the object central to the qualia experience (Silverstein 2016).

3.1 Assessing Brands

The activity of sales meetings between beverage distributors and the store’s owners reveals interesting approaches to qualia: a lexical introduction describing the beer’s background followed by taste, qualification of flavor experience, and the owner’s decision as to whether or not to purchase the product. The sales rep in this interaction, Mitch, is considered a peripheral, almost core member of the City Brews community; he comes to the bar at least once a week to enjoy a beer and conduct sales meetings, but he does not have a relationship with the City Brews staff outside of the store.

Preceding the interaction transcribed in Example 2, Mitch arrived to find the store unusually lively for one thirty in the afternoon. There were three loud patrons (Section

3.1) conversing with Robert at the end of the bar, closest to the entrance. Robert is at the store eating lunch and getting ready for a beer tasting he is going to administer later that afternoon at a local country club. When Mitch arrives, he does not verbally greet Robert and the patrons; he walks to a chair located at the opposite end of the bar and takes a seat. He goes largely unnoticed by me, as I am filming the conversation between the three patrons, Robert, and Andy. They are discussing the upcoming USC football game and the craft beer festival two of the patrons attended the week before in Colorado. Kris greets Mitch as he sits down at the opposite end of the bar, next to another customer that is finishing his beer. Kris first offers Mitch a beer. Typically, Mitch orders a beer before he conducts his sales meeting. Almost every time I have seen Mitch at the store he orders a beer, gets his business done, finishes his beer, and then hits the road. The example below is an exemplary keyed frame, in which Mitch and Kris have to shift their attention away from their previous frames to engage in a sales meeting.

This exchange took place on an October afternoon. The holiday season was approaching, and distributors were pushing festive flavors of beer. Mitch has had a few sips of the beer he ordered when I arrive to their side of the bar. The two are in a friendly conversation; Mitch has his iPad and a legal pad out on the counter, which he uses to keep track of his clients' inventory purchases, product arrival dates, and technical sheets with product flavor profiles and formalized names. Mitch has two beers out on the counter that he pulled from his black cooler before I arrived. Kris has poured one of the beers into four taster glasses (for the three employees and Mitch), while the other bottle sits idle next to Mitch. Generally, Mitch will bring in the cooler if his company has new products they want to sell to retailers; if no new products are in, he will update the store's

account inventory to restock any beer and wine that has run out. In this instance, Mitch is introducing a new beer by reading directly from the technical sheet on his iPad, which is then followed by the tasting of the beer. After Mitch's introduction to the beer and before the tasting occurs, Mitch provides his analysis of the beer's flavor, which is then followed by Kris' interpretation, and inquiry of the beer's availability.

The assessment of the new beer's qualia speaks to some of the ways flavors have been institutionalized by craft breweries, and then duplicated by distribution company's marketing of the brewery's products. The beer is presented in a bottle with snow flakes, following along the lines of a *winter* theme. Since many breweries create these seasonal flavors, and the season is only a few months long, there is a limited amount of space and time that a retailer like City Brews can effectively sell the product to customers before having to discount it. Mitch's qualia assessment at the start of the sales meeting strays away from marketing the seasonal flavors described on the tech sheet, like *sugar cookies*, and instead focuses the beer's qualia on the beer's style, *blonde*, and its accents of *vanilla* and *coffee*; these are qualia that transcend the winter season, which makes the beer more marketable to a retailer. Upon tasting the beer, Kris immediately notices the *sugar cookie* flavor, a clear qualia connection with the Christmas season in the South. Although Mitch has not aimed to underscore this flavor, he is quick to point out that the tech sheet has that flavor as a descriptor. These assessments of qualia are set up by the sales rep with clear strategic goals in mind that will either please or dissuade the client. Upon initial assessment by the rep, the client's flavor assessment is typically the *best* assessment for the sake of the beverage distributors' sales goals.

Example 2		Verbal	Nonverbal
1	Mitch	This is the uh (.) Harpoon (.) Vanilla	¹ Reading iPad
2		(.)Coffee (.) ¹ Winter (.) Blonde	
3		(.3)	
4	Kris	It's like <i>UFO</i> but with coffee? ²	² Looking at Mitch
5	Mitch	Y-Yeh uh its got a slight coffee <i>on the</i>	
6		<i>front</i> and the vanilla is just s:d smooth and creamy. ³	³ Mitch looks at Kris with anticipation ³ Kris takes sip of taster glass
7		It's- it is an amazing beer	⁴ both look at bottle
8		(.4) ⁴	⁴ Kris slowly nods head right to left with pursed lips
10	Kris	It's like (.3) sugar cookies in beer flavor ⁵	⁵ Takes another sip
11		(.2) ⁶	⁶ Kris puts beer down quickly rubs hands together
12	Mitch	That's what the uh ⁷ tech sheet said- sugar	⁷ Nonchanantly points at Kris
13		cookies (LF .2)	
14	Kris	Oh ⁸	⁸ Picks up taster glass
15	Kris	((LF .2))	
16	Mitch	((LF .3))- That's great ((LF .1))	
17		Pretty good ((LF .2))	
18		(.2) That's pretty good ⁹	⁹ Both take another sip
19		(.8) ¹⁰	¹⁰ Mitch pumps left fist in air
20	Mitch	It's a kickass beer-	
21		I- I think it'll be received really //well]	
22	Kris	//Is]that available already? ¹¹	¹¹ tilting bottle
23	Mitch	HUH? ¹²	¹² Leans on bar with eyebrows raised
24	Kris	It's available a:ready?	
25	Mitch	No ¹³ - it's coming out like I ¹⁴ said a:h	¹³ Nods head to the right
26		el:even oh.seven	¹⁴ Lifts notepads first page
27	Kris	Alright ¹⁵	¹⁵ Kris grabs phone from pocket
28	Mitch	So it's coming ¹⁶	¹⁶ Mitch diverts eyes from Kris to television

(Mitch goes on to explain when it will arrive by referencing coworker)

As mentioned above, the introduction to this beer is being read from the brewery's tech sheet, available on Mitch's iPad. In line 3, Kris verifies his familiarity with Harpoon's beer style *UFO*, also a blonde produced by the brewery. In this case, Kris is using the tactic of authentication (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 385) by indexing the realness of his brewery knowledge. This piece of information interrupts Mitch's keyed frame of reading from the iPad. He acknowledges the similarity between the styles (line 4) and continues with the beer's description, this time from memory and not reading.

Mitch continues to guide Kris before he tastes the beer by saying; "it's got a slight coffee on the front" (line 4). This term *on the front* is a term referring to palate, originally used in 'wine talk', but clearly overlapping into 'beer talk' descriptions. Note that Mitch

uses the adjective *slight* to describe the qualia, so as not to overstate the subtlety of the coffee flavor. Kris takes the sip as Mitch continues to assess the beer. After the tasting, Mitch praises Kris for picking out the flavor note of “sugar cookies in beer flavor” (line 7) by claiming it was what the tech sheet said. This alignment with his client proves useful, since Kris, who has placed his beer on the counter, quickly grabs the glass again to take another sip. *Sugar cookies* are not a term of speech specific to ‘beer talk’, but the term highlights the versatile nature of craft beer flavor descriptions. In the next example, this beer is described as having a *vanilla* flavor, which could explain the owner and tech sheet’s flavor descriptor of *sugar cookies*. It is also important to remember that this is a holiday beer; *sugar cookies* are a denotation of Christmas time, at least in the American South, which could explain the beer’s qualia being described as Christmas-themed *sugar cookie* instead of just *vanilla*. This highlights certain brands of craft beer’s attempt to profit in sales during what is typically the most profitable season of the year.

At this point, Mitch is satisfied with his performance; the two take another sip of the beer, and then Mitch pumps his left fist in the air (line 19). Mitch feels like Kris is on board for the product, so he layers on to the already talked up product by adding, “I think it’ll be received really well” (line 21). Kris takes the sales transaction one step further, by latching on to the assessment and sealing the deal for Mitch by asking “is that available already?” (line 22). Mitch is caught off guard with this quick jump from tasting to sale and leans forward and signals that he misheard his client (line 23). When Kris restates his question, Mitch admits that it is not available, but adds, “it’s coming out like I said” (line 25). He asserts agency as already having been informed about the beer’s availability (though I missed when it happened at the introduction). Mitch quickly turns to his legal

pad for the exact date. While he searches for the answer, he slows down his speech by prolonging “el,even”; when he finds the answer, he quickens his response with the exact date of “oh.seven” (line 26). Mitch does not want to appear off his game by not knowing the exact date; if the arrival date is too late, some other distribution company’s holiday beer will win the shelf space.

Mitch’s description of the beer’s qualia clearly was aimed at underscoring its unique flavors not found in other holiday beers. As the conversation continued, Kris ordered a sixtel (small keg) of the beer and tapped it into his cellphone notes. Mitch begins to sell another product, but quickly retracts from having another tasting of the beer. He suggests that Kris can test it out during the week and get back to him next week, because it too, won’t be available for another month. He grabs a bottle of wine from his cooler, examines it, and then places it back in his cooler, this action marks the close of the beer tasting portion of the meeting and the potential tasting of a new wine his company has for retailers. Kris, who is looking at his phone, looks up to ask about a few other beers the store would like to reorder. Mitch has a slight smile on his face and seems content.

During the sales meeting, Andy’s wife dropped off their six-month old son. As Mitch checks his iPad to verify the beers’ status for Kris, Andy is showing the baby off to the three patrons at the end of the bar. Robert is behind the counter scratching his head, getting ready to draw chalkboards for the beer tasting that will take place that evening before going back to the office. The three patrons at the end of the bar have been observing Mitch and Kris’s sales meeting, making side comments, a form of byplay (Goodwin, M. 1997) that Mitch and Kris either did not hear or decided to ignore. The

subordinate communication, as Goffman would call it, ends up taking center stage for a short time in the assessment of the beer's qualia once the sales speech event is prolonged and connoisseur patrons are provided with an inadvertent opening into the professional's conversation.

3.2 Accessing Brands

As Andy proudly shows off his son, the three patrons at the end of the bar coo over the baby, making jokes about how he should not be in a bar at such a young age. Before moving on, I want to clarify who the three patrons are at the end of the bar. Patron 1 is the common link between City Brews and the other two men. He is the husband of one of the servers, who was busy restocking shelves during the course of my observation. It is the first and only time I saw him at the bar, but this interaction revealed that he did have a familiarity with the City Brews staff. Patron 2, from Connecticut, was visiting Patron 1 to attend his first-ever USC tailgate that weekend. Patron 3 is a friend of Patron 1 and arrived right before Mitch. Patrons 1 and 2 have been drinking since my arrival, while Patron 3 has only had a few sips of his first beer. Patron 1 had been picking on Robert throughout my observation that day, making jokes about his meal of supermarket sushi and Gatorade. Robert never responded to these insults and continued to engage in conversation with him and his friends. Patron 1 was a self-professed beer connoisseur, and Robert was accepting of this fact, since he consistently asked his advice on various store related activities, including the name of a beer City Brews was brewing with a local brewery. In the past two hours, Patrons 1 and 2 frequently attempted to adequate their craft beer identities by describing their adventures at the Great American Beer Festival in Denver, which they had just returned from. The three are sitting at the corner of the bar,

closest to the door, about five seats away from the sales meeting taking place between Mitch and Kris. When Andy passed by the three men to show off his son, the three Patrons' gaze followed the baby in Andy's arms. When Andy comes behind the bar toward Kris, Kris pushes a tester glass of the Harpoon Winter Ale to Andy. Mitch is looking at his iPad, checking the availability of a beer Kris has asked about. At the start of Example 3, he is responding to Andy to let him know that "thank God, we do have cans" of that beer (line 1). When Andy approaches, Mitch looks up to greet Andy and the baby, before rekeying his search on the iPad (Example 3 on next page).

	Example 3	Verbal	Nonverbal
1 2 3	Mitch	Yeh (.) We do have cans in now (.) Thank God (.)- WAZZ:up? ¹ ((LF .3)) ¹	¹ Big smile
4	Patron 1	He wanted to try that ²	² referring to the baby. Andy has grabbed a tester glass of the Winter White Ale
5 6	Mitch	Wassup man? ³ (.) How you doin'?	³ Looking at iPad, nods head to say hey
7	Andy	How are you sir?	
8	Mitch	I'm go:od	
9	Patron 1 (across the bar)	That is <i>old</i> ne:ws ⁴	⁴ Raises eyebrows and rounds his mouth
11	Patron 3	What was that? ⁵	⁵ Speaking to Patron 1
12	Patron 1	It is (.) A:	
13	Patron 2	= A vanil]la	
14	Patron 1 & 2	cold brewed vanilla ⁶	⁶ Sales rep staring at patrons, iPad/in hands
15	Patron 2	//Blonde]	
16	Patron 1	//Blonde]	
17	Patron 2	Yes	
18 19	Mitch	Yeh (.) Y'all were the first to taste it. ⁷	⁷ looks up, not directly at patrons; shifts body movement towards them and puckers lips

20 21	Patron 1	//Yeh I got this mark up on lock] down ⁸	⁸ Looking at Andy; Andy walks away
22 23	Patron 2	//We were actually the twenty-third] ⁹	⁹ Has beer in hand looks at Mitch
24	Mitch	((LF .2)) ¹⁰	¹⁰ Uncomfortable
25 26	Patron 2	You should check in (.) on Untappd	
27	Mitch	Ah	
28 29	Patron 2	Twenty-two people had checked in on Untappd] ¹¹	¹¹ Looks at Patron 1
30 31 32	Patron 1	//The twenty-two ¹² people in front of me (.) were all distributors	¹² Kris raises eyes from phone to Mitch and opens mouth as if to ask Mitch a question
33	Patron 1 & 2	((LF .2))	
34 35	Mitch	Ha (.) There ya go(.) There ya go.	
36 37 38	Kris	=The ah (.) Northern Hemisphere is that only (.) in keg (.)Or is it in bottle too? ¹³	¹³ Looks at cellphone, scratches beard

Andy's arrival to the other side of the bar breaks Mitch's frame of updating the store's inventory with Kris. Mitch greets Andy's son by using a playful "WAZZ,up" (line 2), before more formally greeting Andy (line 5-6). When he greets Andy, Mitch looks back down at his iPad, in an attempt to get back to the frame of updating his sales list. As mentioned before the transcription, Andy had just presented his newborn baby to the three men at the end of the bar. The patrons' eyes are on the baby in Andy's arms behind the bar (Figure 3.1, the assessment of the baby serves as an opening for Patron 1, when he claims that Andy's baby wants to try the beer (line 4). Unlike Patron 1, Andy has formally been invited into Mitch and Kris' conversation with a formalized greeting (line 5-6). After Mitch and Andy greet one another, Patron 1 asserts a face-threatening act, by engaging in other-initiated repair (Levinson 1983, 341 via Manning 2008, 117) to Mitch. Mitch has put his head back down to check his iPad. Patron 1 raises his eyebrows and rounds his mouth, as if to signal his acceptance of crossing a line. Patrons 1 and 2 have been authenticating their beer connoisseur identities throughout the afternoon in their

conversations with store employees. They shared a map and catalog from their experience at the Great American Beer Festival in Denver, Colorado from the week before, and exemplified their familiarity and willingness to test out multiple beers displayed on the tap board. Here again, we see these two patrons attempting to take on the identity of well-informed beer enthusiast with access to higher scales of the craft beer industry (tasting a beer not yet available to the general public).

Patron 1's attempt to discredit Mitch's pronouncement of the beer's newness is more of an attempt to adequate his social identity as a beer insider, and cite his disalignment with distribution companies' increase on product pricing. Patron 3, who does not catch what is taking place at the end of the bar, asks what is "old news" (line 11). Note that after Mitch claims Patrons 1 and 2 were the first to taste it, Patrons 1 and 2 exemplify their access to higher scales of craft beer knowledge by naming, from memory, the beer to Patron 3 with the qualia description of "cold brewed" (lines 12-13) as opposed to just "coffee" as Mitch used in Example 3. These patrons are using the tactic of authentication, or sameness, for their beer knowledge identities when they position themselves to assess the beer's status as "old news" (line 9).

Mitch acknowledges their competence in naming the beer, but then attempts to save face by pointing out that they were "the first to taste" the beer (line 19). Mitch may feel the need to do this to ensure that his client, Kris, is aware that the beer is not available by any other retailers in the community. When Mitch attempts to save face, Patron 1 takes the face-threatening act one step further, without being heard by Mitch, (since Patron 2 has taken the floor in the interaction with Mitch) to say, "Yeh, I got this

mark up on lock down” (lines 20-21).³ Patron 1’s use of the term *on lock down* has been described to me by City Brews patrons as a way to make it clear that its restrained, not getting past them. I imagine Patron 1 was referring back to his experience at the beer festival, where he had access to the wholesale prices of brewery products. Patron 1 choosing to preallocate Andy as the hearer of this comment once again reveals his attempt to position himself as a City Brews insider, and beer connoisseur, who could be of service to the store’s business transactions. Although Mitch does not hear Patron 1’s comment to Andy, Andy walks away from the bar possibly in an effort to disalign with the patron’s threat to face towards Mitch’s company’s price *mark up*. I imagine Andy does not want to engage in a conflict between the two patrons and the rep, since he must see the rep on a weekly basis to receive product for his store; there is also the fact that City Brews also makes additional *marks ups* on the price of beers, since, after all, that is the goal of any entrepreneurial endeavor.

While Patron 1 makes this comment to Andy, Patron 2 overlaps his friend’s comment by self-selecting himself to respond to Mitch’s face-saving act. He extends the threat to face towards Mitch by explaining *why* the beer is “old news” (line 8). He references the craft beer application *Untappd* to confirm his authority as an accuser (line 25-26) of the beer’s old-news status. He points out that “actually” twenty-two people had

³ The term *mark up* (line 20) is referring to the price increase distribution companies charge retailers that buy their products. These “mark ups” allow both the brewery and the distributor to increase their profit margins; as stated in the introduction, these *mark ups* typically range from between 15% and 20%, depending on the distribution company and the brewery. Mitch works for a distribution company that sells both beer and wine all over the country; I have never overheard customers describing Mitch’s company as more or less likely to increase a beer’s market price in comparison with other companies, which makes me think Patron 1 is questioning of all distribution companies’ *mark ups*, not just Mitch’s.

tasted the beer on the app before they had (lines 22-23). Mitch seems somewhat relieved when he hears the evidence is being provided via an online application when he responds, “Ah” (line 27). *Untappd* is not an application used by novice beer drinkers, but by those who would consider themselves craft beer connoisseurs or professionals. The threat to face deescalates when Patron 1 realigns with the sales rep by adding that those who had graded the beer on the mobile application had actually been beverage distributors (line 30-32), like Mitch. Mitch closes the conflict by brushing off the interaction with a “ha” and an almost, “I told you so” response of “there ya go” (lines 34-35).

Kris has gestured to get Mitch’s attention by attempting at least one false start to reframe the sales meeting, but was overlapped by Patron 1 and 2’s commentary (lines 30-32). Kris latches on to Mitch’s closing commentary (line 36) to rekey the frame of updating the shop’s inventory list for the distribution company. As their sales meeting continues, Patron 2 stares blankly at Kris, who has his phone in his hand to once again update inventory with Mitch. Patron 1 has his eyebrows raised and is saying something to Patron 3 that is indistinguishable on the recording. Robert walks out from the back office to a central position behind the bar and nonchalantly adjusts the hair under his hat. He has just missed the excitement of the afternoon, yet no one mentions the interaction once it has passed, and it was not until three times of watching the video that I realized the implications of this interaction.

These two interactions reveal the facework surrounding the ways members at City Brews conceptualize their ability to judge the qualia of beer in the context of the craft beer world’s traditional hegemony of marketing and sales. Those with access to higher scales of beer qualia analysis have traditionally been sales reps, which were the first to

receive a product before it entered the retail market. It appears that Mitch is curious as to how they had seen the product before, when he responds, “y’all were the first to taste it” (line 18). The Patrons use of qualia terms rooted in elite consumption like *cold brew* as opposed to *coffee* prove their status as members *in the know*.

Mitch’s closure of the conversation occurs when the patrons claim their primary source of evidence for the beer’s analysis as “old news” is the beer application *Untappd* (lines 28-29). The indexical nature of this beer application makes their analysis clear to Mitch as just an attempt at authenticating their positions as craft beer community *insiders*, not patrons who had tasted or seen the beer at some other South Carolina retailer. For Mitch, he is mostly concerned with saving face in order to prove to his clients (Kris and Andy) that his company has not released this product to other retailers in South Carolina. Upon disclosing that they tasted the beer at some exclusive event with other sales reps, Mitch is relieved.

The introduction of larger scales of ‘beer talk’ through beer applications and beer magazines contributes to a rise in the number of community members who can claim the craft beer connoisseur identity. This speech event also subtly reveals the conflict between one group of beer enthusiasts (Patrons 1 and 2) and beverage distributors. Patron 1’s face-threatening act is geared towards Mitch as a sales rep, who works for a distribution company that *marks up* the price of the alcohol he enjoys at places like City Brews.

The overlapping scales of expertise reveal various text-based narratives that blur the lines between beer professionals and beer enthusiasts. These patrons are part-time beer connoisseurs; their professions are not tied to their ability to sell craft beer to

retailers, yet they use the *Untappd* mobile application and have just arrived back from the American Craft Beer Festival in Colorado, proving their membership identity as connoisseurs in the craft beer world. On the other hand, Mitch is a salesman whose profession is to market and sell the products offered by his company to make a commission. Before the rise in craft beer online forums, mobile apps, and festivals, patrons did not have access to product qualia analyses before their release to the wider public. Mitch's tech sheet used to give him a level of knowledge not accessible by bar patrons.

Adequation and authentication of professional levels of qualia assessment are becoming available as indexes for membership in the craft beer world, even for those outside of the craft beer profession. This indicates that the beverage distributors, who juggle multiple accounts of beer, wine, and sometimes spirits, need to ensure that their representatives are as knowledgeable as the patrons and retailers who have access to higher scales of qualia descriptors and judgment distinctions. If this reversal in qualia understanding were to be reversed, sales reps could face even more instances of denaturalization (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 386), in which reps are labeled as lacking the *realness* of being able to provide retailers with the most cutting-edge products for the craft beer enthusiasts frequenting their store.

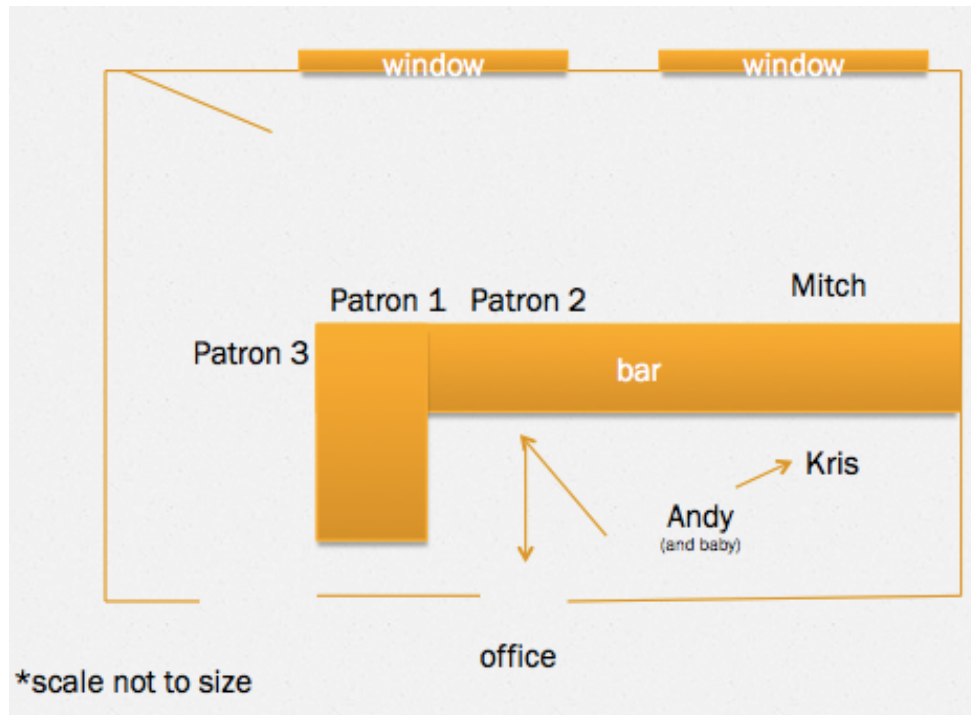


Figure 3.1 Participants in Examples 2 & 3

CHAPTER 4

IDENTITY REPLICATIONS

What do you do? This is a variation of a question that often comes up in conversation among strangers in South Carolina. Within sociolinguistics, social frameworks (Goffman 1974) are defined as the events that explain the motives and intent of cultural interaction. These social frameworks are used to key certain professional interactions; in the case of the servers at City Brews, these social frameworks are keyed when a customer asks for a beer's description or another beer professional asks for an opinion on a product they have just tested. As was presented in the previous chapters, the rules judging the primary frameworks of a community can also speak to sociocultural norms and belief systems contributing to identity formations. The identity of a community member is constantly evolving, and the characteristics of a member's attempts at indexing their identity may vary depending on the interlocutors involved in a conversation or exchange.

City Brews is a store attempting to replicate aspects of the craft beer community developed on the West Coast and in New England. Niche industries, like craft beer, have to invest in semiotically attracting a customer-base to establish itself as a more enticing investment than its more economic competitors found at neighborhood bars or national bar/restaurant franchises. Since there is a *mark up* on craft beer by breweries, distribution companies, and retailers, the industry must add the value of expertise to set the tone of

the *new luxury* consumer experience (Silverstein 2003). Not all patrons at City Brews are familiar with the craft beer culture. It is certain that there are people with whom City Brews employees come in contact with who are not familiar with the concept of beer professionals. With these inconsistencies in community understanding, beer professionals sometimes find themselves struggling to find a label for their work. The complexities of these labels, and the ways to index these labels, are the topic of the next sections' analyses.

4.1 Identity as Status

Based on this state's unique history, and late adoption of the craft beer culture, it is slowly catching up to the craft beer cultural havens in certain cities on the West Coast and in New England. Community members often talk about South Carolina's booming craft beer industry, and its potential to possibly become a competitor to the brewing centers in Asheville, NC and Charleston, SC. Robert described craft beer's evolving status from fringe to main stream by referring to the denotational stereotypes typically associated with the culture, "It's no longer a fringe thing, it's no longer ah- I can't believe I'm saying this- dudes in flannels like hiding in Portland." Instead, the *dudes in flannel* have seen their interest in craft beer become a national craze, even in places like the South.

When I first began my observations, Robert was touted as one of the only Cicerone Certified beer professionals in South Carolina. All of the City Brews employees are Cicerone Certificated beer servers, (except for the newest member, Kyle) meaning they have passed the first level of the Cicerone Program's internationally recognized

exam. The passing of this first level is an index for a basic understanding of craft beer serving and sanitation as well as the basics of describing and analyzing beer styles. Robert took it upon himself to take, the second level of certification, which cost \$395. He described the second level as much more challenging than the first. The technicalities of beer ingredient cultivation, production, and history are more relevant at the second level, which provides Robert with access to higher levels of craft beer's cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). These higher scales of terminology and understanding are not something that craft beer community outsiders can always understand. Robert explained to me in an interview, “[P]eople outside of beer almost usually never have any idea [what a Cicerone is], but people in the beer world almost always- I don't know the last time I had to tell a beer person what a Cicerone was.” Robert went on to tell me that even NPR has run stories on the Cicerone Certification, speaking to the acclaim it has gained even outside of those who identify as *beer people*. With this certification, Robert can enter any brewery, restaurant, bar, or beer retailer and verify his credentials as a beer professional to gain employment or respect.

Example 4 is from an interview I had with Robert in my fourth month of observation. At this point in the interview, we had just finished up discussing the fact that describing and understanding beer flavors is a learned skill, not a natural phenomena. I then shifted to how he defines his work. I made the mistake of providing some terms I *a priori* connected to his profession before he could respond with his own answer. All the same, we can see the complexity of Robert's relational self, the term Agha uses to refer to “a figure of identity that depends on the ability of persons to assign personae to each other by attending to matters of appearance and conduct” (2007, 238). Agha refers back

to the dated stereotype terminology, role and status (Linton 1936), to introduce the concept of how, when linked to emblems (perceivable behaviors indexing social personae), these terms can be useful to characterize how a person categorizes their own place in a community. In this case, the status of Robert is connected to the collection of rights and duties he performs at the shop, pouring beer, stocking shelves, and giving professional opinion of the beers for sale. As Agha argues, the status of a community member should only be used when examined in the context of perceivable behaviors indexing social personae. For the context of this analysis, those emblems are limited to his duties as a beer professional, something that many in this city's community would associate with tending bar. The emblems encompassed by Robert's work with beer have not been replicated in many instances in South Carolina, and typically are less focused on expertise and more on service. The connoisseurship of beer is so new to those around Robert that he struggles with the way he can linguistically label his professional status that is acceptable to him and the craft beer community *outsiders* he sometimes comes in contact with.

Example 4		
1	Robert	So
2	Anna	So what would you call your job?
3	Robert	=((LF))
4	Anna	=bartender? Or sal//esman]
5	Robert	[so I've been]-
6		=depending on who I'm talking to-
7		like if I'm talking just to regular people I say I'm a bartender-
8	Anna	=ahuh
9	Robert	Or if I'm being re,al- you know pretentious (.)
10		And snooty I call myself a be,er tender
11	Anna	((LF))
12	Robert	Don't put that in there uh-
13	Anna	=I cant?

14	Robert	((LF)) I'm joking
15		Um (.)
16		But if I like (.)
17		Am talking-
18		Like if I'm
19		Like my linkedin might not say bartender-
20		It'll probably say something like sales representative.
21	Anna	=okay
22	Robert	Or somethin <i>silly</i> like that.
23		So it depends on the//person asking
24		Like I'm not <i>ashamed</i> of being a bartender
25		It's just when you say bartender-
26		People have a much different-
27		Like they think of mixology and (.)
28	Anna	Yeh
29	Robert	Like me-
30		I'm- I'm a beer ex,pert
31	Anna	=Yeh
32	Robert	=like not an expert (.)
33		I'm a beer professional
34	Anna	=Definitely

There is a misalignment between a number of the denotations of the references Robert uses with certain people in this imagined interaction. Robert does not mention his Cicerone Certification in this interaction, much the same way a professor would not refer to their line of work as a PhD. The denotation of scholastic endeavor is not relevant to how he refers to himself with other people at the beginning of this interaction. First, he begins with the terms others would associate with his line of work, due to my own insertion of “bartender” or “salesman” (line 4). He stresses that some other terms are too “pretentious and snooty” (lines 9-10), as is the case with “beer tender” (line 10); “sales representative” (line 20) is characterized as a *silly* term that he does not take seriously and would “probably” (line 20) use on a jobs site like LinkedIn; bartender is a term too all-encompassing for what he does, mixing drinks is not in his repertoire (lines 24-27).

Beer expert is the term that seems more appealing to Robert (line 30), but he quickly self-repairs by acknowledging that he is a beer professional, not a beer expert (lines 32-33). The term he concludes with is reflective of the title he received through his Cicerone Certification, which is “Cicerone Certified, Certification for professionals dedicated to beer.” The Cicerone Program’s institutionalization of the status title of beer professional allows Robert to label his role in this community to create a more fitting term for the denotations of his status. He is not surrounded by liquor and wine, like a bartender, and he is not simply selling a product, he is a professional that helps customers choose and consume beer.

The relational self is the way in which we identify ourselves in relation to others. According to the Cicerone Certification website, *beer expert* is level 4, “Beer Master, The Ultimate Test of Beer Expertise.” Perhaps Robert is aware of this distinction, which causes him to self-repair initially pleasing status title of expert. It could be a denotation for what he does, but the reference is still beyond his experience. A status label for this specific of a profession was not imaginable ten years ago in South Carolina, but is slowly becoming its own field of mastery with the development of scholastic endeavors like the Cicerone Certification. Figure 4.1 is a visual of the ways in which Robert titles his status in relation to the imagined people he could be “talking to” (line 6). He reveals that there are denotations to each of the status terms he has mapped out, some which are preferred references and preferred denotations, while other terms are missing the correct denotations of tasks and duties or reference. There were some terms which were a priori selected by me (line 4), some of which he indicates are at times relevant among regular

people and others which are silly and not relevant; he also introduces terms used in the craft beer world, which are most appetizing to him.

4.2 Identity Alignment⁴

This next interaction took place on a January afternoon. It exemplifies the ways craft beer connoisseurs' index their membership identities through qualia assessments that draw from complex technical speech. Despite some professionals lack of understanding of the complexity behind certain brewing practices, connoisseurs and professionals alike will use these terms to conceptualize differences in taste. In the example above, Robert demonstrates how he maneuvers titling his status thanks to his craft beer scholastic underpinnings, and now we will see how that identity is enacted in face-to-face interaction.

When this conversation began, the only people in the shop were two sales reps from rival distribution companies, Robert, Kris, and myself. Robert was on his day off, sitting at the bar as a customer, attempting to read his book on Belgium beers (one of his favorite past times). Kris was the only staff member working at the store. He had just finished up an inventory list with Amber, who as will be described below, is a sales rep for a company that sells solely high-end craft beer. Amber and Kris were at the opposite end of the bar when my observation began. Robert, Isaac, and I were sitting at the bar, closest to the entrance. I had previously met Isaac, a core member at the store, many times before during previous observations. He, Robert, and I were discussing some

⁴ Many thanks to the Socioling Lab at the University of South Carolina. Faculty members Jennifer Reynolds, Elaine Chun, Tracey Weldon, and Sherina Feliciano-Santos were fundamental in providing me feedback on how to analyze these transcriptions. Thank you also to the linguistics students who provided helpful feedback and suggestions.

higher end beers that Isaac's company recently released to the South Carolina market. Robert had shifted the conversation to discussing Lambic styled sour beers produced solely in Belgium.

Before describing the interaction, it is important to note that Amber is the only other Cicerone Certified beer professional in South Carolina that I know of besides Robert; she works for a beverage distributor based in Charleston that she described to me as solely marketing "high-end, complex beer." Amber would be considered a peripheral member of City Brews, since she only comes from Greenville once every two weeks to update the store's inventory. Her relationships at City Brews are solely professional, unlike Isaac who has a relationship with Kris and Robert outside of the shop. Isaac is also a sales distributor- he works for the distribution company that Amber described to me, in a separate interview, as her company's main competitor. The two companies both sell expensive beers which require them to have more of a back-story than most craft beers. Isaac's company sells higher-end wine and liquor, in addition to beer, meaning he has a larger repertoire of beverages he must market to retailers than Amber.

At the beginning of my observations that day, he had described a complex beer his company brought to market that combined bourbon barrel aging and caffeine to produce a unique stout-style beer. Isaac also participated at the outset of our conversation on sour beers, when Robert was describing the different regions in Belgium, where sour style's Lambic and Gose are brewed. Isaac added to Robert's description by asking whether or not Rodenbach Vintage would be considered an unblended style Lambic. Robert was quick to point out that Rodenbach is from Flanders, not Belgium, so it did not fit with his description of Belgium-style sours. The complexities of this style of beer

underscore its recent rise in popularity among American brewers who are attempting to master one of the most complicated beer making processes in the brewing world.

As Manning (2012) discusses in his book on the semiotics of drink, certain products require a connoisseur's explanation in order to be enjoyed at the sensory level that is not always apparent in taste,

All non-qualitative properties of products have in common that they cannot be inferred by direct sensory evidence of ordinary consumers, but only by a chain of discursive authentication, usually ultimately grounded in a connoisseur or technoscientific expert discourse. In some cases, in fact, the very existence of such properties may be controversial, in the event that a given commodity does not yet have an established authoritative connoisseur discourse, and consumers must be 'educated' to discern them. (21)

This next interaction demonstrates the way in which complex technical discourses are negotiated by City Brews beer connoisseurs through alignment and authentication.

Before this conversation began, the conversation was still about the surface, less technical aspects, of a sour style beer's temporal origin in Belgium. Robert used the word *funky*, or strongly musty (a flavor attained from a *brett* yeast), to describe the flavor of Belgium Lambics. Robert pointed out to me earlier in our conversation, "almost without fail the more someone gets into beer the more they get into sours." As we will see, some beer professionals are highly invested in understanding these processes. Amber and Robert, both Cicerone Certified beer professionals, seem to be the members that feel most comfortable engaging in the production processes surrounding the specific styles of sour beers. Robert mitigates his expertise by using formulaic expressions that preemptively acknowledge the limits of his knowledge (Example 5, lines 4-5; Example 6, lines 31-33). Amber told me in a later interview that she enjoys listening to podcasts on

souring techniques and reading books about complex beers- her positioning as a more knowledgeable participant is clear in her self-selection during turn-entry (Example 5, lines 13-14; Example 6, lines 21-22).

In Example 5, the concepts of CA's turn-taking, through the incorporation of stance alignment and turn assessment, demonstrate the ways in which the interactional power dynamics of City Brews delineate the politeness of participants as they attempt to conduct gatekeeping efforts surrounding member understanding of complicated production processes. The most well-versed 'beer talk' expert, Amber, does not negatively evaluate or *repair* the bar owner, Kris, when he makes an error in distinguishing "barrel and kettle sours" (Example 5, line 8). Yet when Kris' employee, Robert, makes the mistake, Amber is quick to engage in what seems to be a gracious form of other-initiated repair with Robert (Example 6, line 17). When Amber engages in other-initiated repair with her competitor, Isaac (Example 5, lines 13-14), she approaches this threat to face in a much different manner than with her customer's employee. Although Amber finds herself as the most knowledgeable participant in the conversation, she is cautious not to overstep her position as a sales rep engaging in business with an important customer.

This conversation opened during one of my participant observations, when I asked for an analysis of the production processes surrounding sour beers. The two instances below underscore the rules of politeness observed by the sales distributor, Amber, who, although a core member of the larger scaled craft beer industry due to her Cicerone Certification, does not hold core membership at City Brews. As stated before, this interaction began when I asked about the word *funky*, a term used to describe our

earlier topic of Lambic style sours, this denotational analysis has led to a conversation about two particular brands of American sours, D-9 Ezekiel and Rodenbach.

At this point in the conversation, the differentiation has been made that the North Carolina brand, Ezekiel, is sourer than the Belgium sour brand, Rodenbach. I found out later that Isaac’s company holds the account for D-9 Ezekiel; Amber met the D-9 brewers at a beer festival in Greenville a few months earlier to receive a first-hand description of its production process (as a beer fan, not a sales competitor). Kris and Robert are attempting to conceptualize the difference between the tastes of the beers; Isaac has not added to the conversation, because he has been checking his iPad for inventory updates; Amber is at the other end of the bar self-selecting as a mediator of assessment for sour beers. Robert brought up Ezekiel, describing it as a *warhead* sour, referring to an American candy that is known for its intense sour flavor. Kris then adds that Rodenbach sours are the most intensely sour, in his opinion.

Example 5		Verbal	Nonverbal
1	Kris	EZ:EKIEL is one of the mo:st sour kettle soured beers	<i>Speaking to Anna</i>
2		,that’s what my opinion is- let’s see what you think,	
3	Isaac	It’s very sharp- by all means	
4	Robert	Rodenbach feels- I don’t want to say rounded.cause	
5		that’s not what it is - but it h:as depth and //flavors -]	
6	Kris	//Right- yeh]	
7	Amber	=// Oh y:eh]	
8	Kris	=//That’s the]difference between barrel //and kettle]	
9	Isaac	//I think it depends	<i>Speaking to Anna</i>
10		on] w:ich Rodenbach //you are drinking though too,]-	
11	Robert	//If it were the difference between a fencing match// and	
12		a dude with a sledge hammer just beating you	
13	Amber	=Yeh but regardless Rodenbach’s not making kettle	<i>Speaking to Isaac</i>
14		sours //((LF .3))]	
15	Robert	//((LF .2))]	
16	Isaac	=No but I mean but depending on how much new beer	
17		versus barreled beer- you know-	
18	Robert	=Rodenbach’s got a dance the Ezekiel just kicks you in	
19		the nuts like “IT’S SOUR AND YOU’RE GONNA	
20		LIKE IT”	

(Robert continues talking about Ezekiel versus Rodenbach sours)

Kris, the owner, makes his own assessment of Ezekiel, claiming that “it is one of the most sour kettle soured beers” (line 1), a claim that gives this beer quite a distinction, considering the lengthening the superlative *most*. Kris mitigates his assessment by adding that it will be up to me to decide if it is the *sourest* kettle sour I have ever tried (line 2). I, of course, have no knowledge of the different styles of sour, which is what has led to this conversation in the first place. Kris directs his comment towards me in this context, most likely because I am the researcher recording the conversation, not because he thinks I have an understanding of sour beers. Isaac, whose company holds the account for D-9 Ezekiel in South Carolina, takes the floor to align with Kris’ assessment, “it’s very sharp, by all means” (line 2). Since Isaac’s company markets and sells the D-9 Ezekiel to City Brews, it is likely that Isaac played a role in selling the beer at the store. It is no surprise then that Isaac breaks from his frame of checking his iPad to take a position of alignment with Kris’ praise for an account his company holds. When Isaac closes his assessment, Robert takes the floor by adding another metaphor to conceptualize Rodenbach’s flavor (lines 4-5). Kris quickly overlaps Robert to signal his alignment with Robert’s distinction (line 6); Amber, too, is accepting of the owner and Robert’s analysis of the two brands, which is evident in her prosodic lengthening of “y,eh” (line 7).

Up to this point, the interlocutors have been in alignment about the two brands’ flavor palate assessments, but diverge only a microsecond later when Kris opens the conversation to the much more technical aspects production (line 6). Isaac overlaps Kris’ claim that production processes affect flavor to take the floor, this time directing his comment to me, not the other experts. He gives his own interpretation of the stylized nuances of sours by contributing one possible reason for the flavor difference. Typically,

this comment would be a valid point, if the topic were not so narrowly focused on these two specific brands. Note that Isaac uses the mental verb *think* (line 9), marking his critique not as authoritative, but an uncertainty marker for the production process differentiation.

Amber waits for Robert to finish adding his next metaphor of flavor (line 11-12), before latching to his comment to reframe the situation back to what Isaac said a few seconds before. She self-selects (Sacks, et al. 1974, 720) to repair Isaac's simplification of the two beer's flavor distinctions. She disaligns with Isaac when she responds to his comment with "yeh but regardless" (line 13) the Rodenbach brand does not produce kettle sours. Amber prefaces her turn with "yeh" (line 13) which can be seen as a discourse marker to indicate that *in principle* variation for a brand's taste could depend on the specific batch of a brand, but the disjunctive "but" (line 13) makes it clear that Isaac's position is problematic. She goes on to claim that this disjunctive *but* has been added since Rodenbach does not make kettle sours (lines 13-14). Amber and Robert both laugh, furthering expanding the threat to face against Isaac. Isaac is attempting to adequate that he has the same level of knowledge as his colleagues (lines 9-10), but finds Amber to be the gatekeeper of knowledge surrounding this complex sour, which a few minutes earlier had been described to me by Robert as one of the most complicated styles of beer to understand and describe.

Isaac attempts to save face by adding another layer of technical speech, claiming that "new beer and barrel beer" (lines 16-17) could play a role in how these two brands' taste. Isaac's lowered intonation, following his face saving comment, signals Robert to latch on to Isaac to reframe the conversation back to the light-hearted metaphors of

surface level flavor assessment. It seems as if Robert has left behind the pedagogical discussion of describing souring production processes, opened by Kris (line 8), to quickly reframe the situation back to a game of flavor metaphors (line 18-20). Kris and Robert are still negotiating how they can simplify the complicated tasting palate of the beers, but neither seems willing to describe the complicated processes of beer souring. On the other hand, Amber stays in her pedagogical frame as gatekeeper throughout the rest of this conversation, as will be seen below.

This next exchange (Figure 4.2), takes place about one minute after Amber's threat to face towards Isaac. Isaac has turned away from the beer conversation to reframe his attention back to his work email. The conversation about D-9 Ezekiel and Rodenbach flavor descriptions is still taking place between Amber, Robert, and Kris. I am at the center of the exchange, trying to grasp how these two sour beer brands can be so different. I am writing in my field journal. Robert, who traditionally acts as my translator for 'beer talk', is called upon to clarify some of the differentiations in souring production, which as we will see results in another pedagogical gatekeeping instance for the Cicerone Certified sales rep, Amber.

Example 6		Verbal	Nonverbal
1	Kris	Kettle souring only punches you in the face and knocks you out and that's it	
2	Anna	=Okay	
3	Robert	Rodenbach is-	
4	Kris	=Barrel souring is much more complex-	
5		has a lot more going on	
6	Robert	=Rodenbach is the jedi in this mysticism	
7	Anna	=Wait- what did he just call Rodenbach? //What] kind	
8		of sour?	
9	Robert	//Um]- is um ah	
		(.3)	
10	Isaac	=Oyster and pig roast at City Roots coming up	To Kris
11	Robert	=so Ezekiel's kettle sour]	To Anna
12	Anna	Yes I have that	

13	Isaac	=//Sat:urday January 28 th]	<i>To Kris</i>
14	Robert	//Rodenbach is barrel]	<i>To Anna</i>
15	Anna	Bar:rel	<i>Writing</i>
16	Isaac	=Noon to five	<i>To Kris</i>
17	Amber	Yeh but you can have a kettle sour from a barrel	<i>To Robert</i>
18	Robert	=yeh	
19	Amber	=so that's not- like I- I do hot versus cold-	<i>Correcting Robert</i>
20	Robert	=yeh	
21	Amber	= because once you're done like hot side souring-	
22		you get that acidity before you actually ferment out the beer	
23	Anna	=hot- hot-side// sour-]	<i>Writing</i>
24	Robert	[hot.side.sour//	<i>Reassuring</i>
25	Amber	Yeh //where the whole]-	
26	Anna	//so that's what it would be.]	<i>Referencing Rodenbach</i>
27	Amber	=make the beer like you would normally and then	
28		you take the temp up on it and it takes a lot longer-	
29		it's a //lot more like] stouts	
30	Robert	//Yeh s:o]	
31		=I don't want to say one's during production and	<i>To Anna</i>
32		one's after but one's during brewing and the other	
33		one's during ferm//- we:ll] that's A,H-	
34	Amber	//Right]	
35	Kris	That's a:ccurate,	<i>Hesitant</i>
36	Robert	You need to pick up- I'll bring the book in-	
37		and you just gotta read the book	
38	Amber	American Sours	
39	Robert	=Yeh- that's ((LF)) It's- it's confusing but	
40		once you read it you're like O,H sours	
41	Anna	American Sours the bo:ok	<i>Writing</i>
<i>Isaac pops bottle of D-9 Ezekiel and the conversation shifts to picking up the store van</i>			

In an attempt to verify my understanding of the different styles of sours, I ask Robert how Rodenbach's production is characterized (lines 7-8). Robert hesitates answering by attempting at three false starts (line 9), either because he is wrapped up in the metaphoric comparisons of the two beer flavors, or because he does not know. He tells me first that Ezekiel is a kettle sour (line 11), and after I note that I have written that down, he says that Rodenbach is a barrel sour (line 14). During this exchange, Isaac is attempting to open a new conversation with Kris- to shift the owner's attention back to the keyed frame of business at hand. In the meantime, the pedagogical conversation on

sours continues. Amber once again uses the “yes, but” (line 17) (Uzelgun, et al. 2015) disjunction to this time repair the assessment her client’s employee has made, but this time with a much different strategy.

Amber points out that Robert’s statement misrepresents the relationship between kettle and barrel production, since a kettle sour can be made in a barrel (line 17). Notice that this attempt at repair is in alignment with Robert, rather than the face-threatening tone she took with Isaac. Earlier in Example 5, when Kris said, “That’s the difference between barrel and kettle” (line 8), she did not attempt to correct the owner. This time, when Kris’ employee makes the mistake, she does not laugh or brush off his comment. Amber self-repairs before she takes a judgmental tone. She begins the correction “That’s not-“ (line 19) and then reframes the sentence by accepting agency, “I do hot versus cold” (line 19). She is showing Robert how he can differentiate the types of sours by placing herself as the agent, rather than shutting down his comment with a negation. I conclude that since Robert has invested time in analyzing the complex flavors up to this point, he should know this information, after all her job is to explain complex beers to the retailers that will sell these types of higher-end products. By accepting a polite, pedagogical position to guide her fellow Cicerone Certified beer professional, she could gain some prowess with Kris, her client. The store has accounts with a variety of different distributors; I have heard City Brews employees talk about certain distributors who are less informed or less pleasant than others. In this instance, Amber portrays herself as a distributor capable of gearing the City Brews staff with the knowledge they need to market complex, and more expensive, products.

Robert continues, after being encouraged with Amber's lesson, by attempting to verify the complex process Amber has set up. He approaches the attempt cautiously, by intentionally beginning his proposal with "I don't want to say" (line 31), all the same he makes his attempt to differentiate the processes, which is relinquished with a positive "right" (line 34) by Amber and somewhat hesitantly approved by Kris (line 35). To conclude the conversation, which has reached a point of extreme technical speech and understanding, Robert suggests I read a book on sours. Amber's turn-final comment reveals a collaborative speech act between herself and Robert. Amber helps provide the exact name of the book, "American Sours" (line 38).

These two instances reveal the positioning of membership in this community. Amber, who never leaves her place at the end of the bar, is clearly a knowledgeable beer professional, who although not embedded as a core member in this community, takes her beer connoisseur identity seriously. She wants to assess and teach about the complex processes of beer, something that not many South Carolina beer professionals do on a daily basis. Her peripheral member status at City Brews does not prevent her from correcting Isaac, a competitor in distribution and the account leader on one of the beers being discussed (D-9 Ezekiel), but it does cause her to negotiate meaning and key politeness in her interactions with fellow Cicerone professional, and City Brews employee, Robert. Kris' relationship to Robert as a mentor and supervisor explain his encouragement for him to engage in expanding his knowledge of beer to accommodate beer connoisseur patrons (Example 6, line 35; Example 7, line 6).

Each member, more specifically in Example 6, implicitly demonstrates his or her goal in the conversation. Isaac is aiming to get back to his professional keyed

performance to promote his company's event, even though Kris is interested in staying engaged with the complex conversation at hand (he jumps back in at line 35 after being diverted by Isaac). Robert is interested in performing his role as a beer connoisseur and teacher, particularly as a taste interpreter, but would prefer to stay away from the technical aspects of beer production that are beyond his expertise. Amber proves to be the most knowledgeable professional, at least in terms of authority on the topic; she demonstrates her ability to contextualize the role that the participants play in her own professional life. She walks a fine line between coming off as a *beer snob* who rejects those that are unknowing, and the educator to fellow professionals who could benefit her success in marketing exclusive beers. All in all, this interaction shows participants' clear understanding of the power dynamics at the store.

Amber shows that she is not in search of agreement with her competitor, Isaac. She has the chance to prove her own expertise at selling and marketing a product that should be within Isaac's repertoire of beer knowledge. Her positioning in alignment with Robert in a similar event one minute later proves that the power dynamics at the store contribute to the way Amber approaches assessment. The serious attitude taken by Kris, Amber, and Robert in these keyed frames of beer knowledge cultivation speak to craft beer members' aim to establish informed qualia assessments of the products they sell, which can be achieved in a variety of ways, depending on a member's willingness to listen and learn from those with more beer cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984).

Robert's relational self Denotation vs. Reference

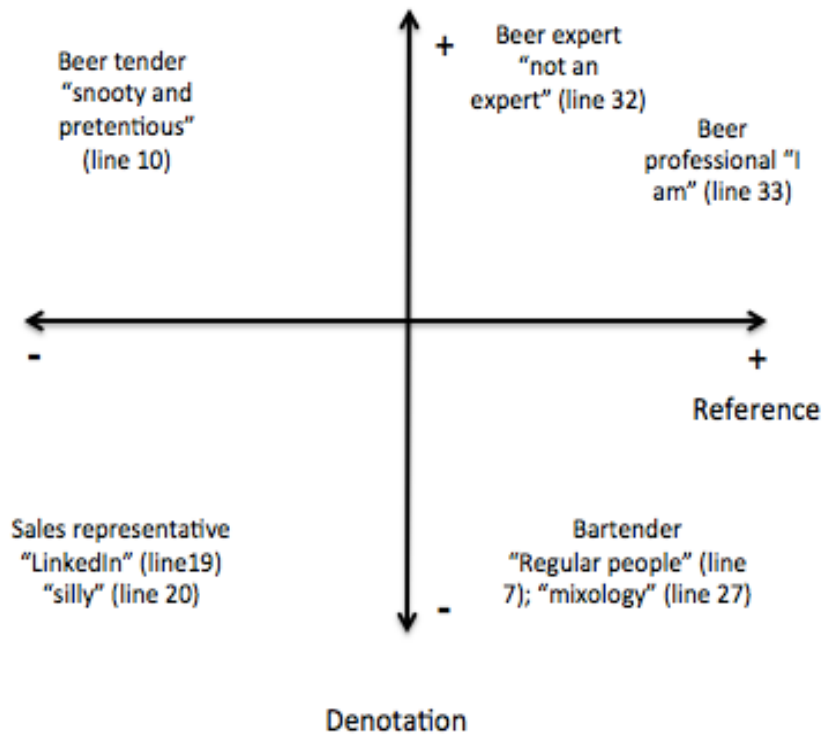


Figure 4.1 Robert's Relational Self

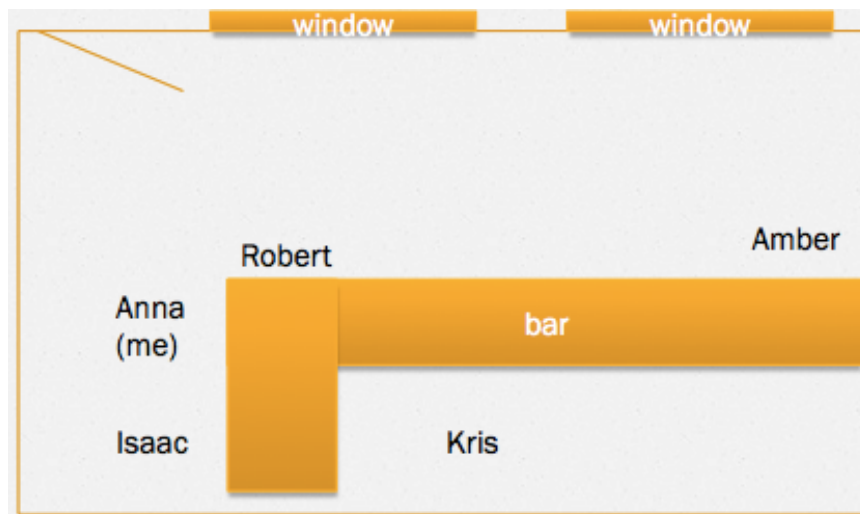


Figure 4.2 Participants in Example 6

CONCLUSION

This ethnographic study of institutionalized speech reveals that face-to-face interaction plays a role in technical register's conceptualization and replication. While Agha and Silverstein have highlighted the historical processes contributing to technical and commodity speech reduplications through mass communication, and Manning has examined a technical register based on socially-networked yet nevertheless *imagined* reenactments, this research has contributes an ethnographic study of how technical registers of qualia analysis are reenacted via face-to-face interaction.

Evaluation/assessment repair as part of on-going negotiations is contributing to the ways in which communities interpret qualia of nondurable goods like craft beer. National scales of craft beer qualia understanding assist in the emergence of localized niche markets to spread and restrict how 'beer talk' is reenacted.

The connoisseurs in this community reenact their technical knowledge in keyed frames of sale and beer knowledge cultivation. Beer professionals are central actors in the replication and interpretation of beer qualia understanding. Larger scales like the Cicerone Certification, beer magazines, books, mobile applications, and podcasts provide resources to professionals who have attempted to institutionalize qualia assessment to assist professionals to market the industry's unique variety of flavors and styles. South Carolina's history of temperance leaves many South Carolinians unaware of the possibility of the craft beer industry being a professional endeavor, which requires beer

professionals to provide customers with specialized histories and unique flavors to validate the niche products' inflated price and prestige. The attempt at institutionalizing flavor denotations and temporal history through scholastic programs like the Cicerone Certification and other larger scales speaks to the complexities of niche industries' attempt at maintaining their exclusivity.

The beer connoisseurs at City Brews demonstrate their membership identity by referencing institutionalized qualia descriptions, which can strengthen their sales or status as a connoisseur. When faced with more complicated aspects of the technical register, beer connoisseurs and professionals will sometimes engage in other-initiated-repair (Levinson 1983, 341 via Manning 2008, 117), which are typically associated with threats to face (Sidnell 2007, 239 via Manning 2008, 117). Once these negotiations of assessment turn towards threats to face, the receiver of the threat must choose how to respond. If the threat is impending on his or her status as a knowledgeable consumer or marketer, larger scales of 'beer talk' can be accessed to underscore their connoisseur identity. This was examined in the analyses of sales reps representing higher-end beers, who prepare their clients with background stories necessary to market more expensive and exclusive products. The access to larger scales of qualia understanding ensures professionals' ability to adequate their knowledge as being on par with other reps and the connoisseurs that consume their products.

The paradox of a consumer industry excluding certain participants is a duplication of other processes of exclusion found in niche markets like designer coffee, wine, and other consumable products requiring habitus. "The sociological structuring of qualia" (Chumley and Harkness 2013, 5) creates a space for objective sensory descriptions, yet

institutions like the Cicerone Certification and other gatekeepers in the craft beer world have institutionalized qualia analyses of flavor denotations among the marketers of craft beer. The historiography of beer styles, the adjectives used to denote tastes, and the institutionalized terms for production exclude judgments of taste that lack these backgrounds, especially among those marketing the product. Beer professionals and connoisseurs rely on larger scales of speech to elevate their position as an authority on qualia analysis. The access to larger scales will result in the semiotic replication of flavor interpretations for a successful sale (for store employees and sales reps) or an indexical connoisseur membership identity.

When niche industry microcommunities attempt to reenact larger scales of speech in their most authentic form, power positioning in the community may delineate how language is used (as we saw with Amber's correction of Robert, but pass to the bar owner, when they made the same mistake about differentiating two overlapping processes of sour production). The face-to-face interactions resulting in cultural capital lead to members' conception of certain qualia. These qualia are accepted or rejected by community members during assessment negotiation to conceptualize taste understanding. If some taste or taste denotation is misrepresented, and no member has access to the larger scales of institutionalized talk, history or technical terminology could potentially be reinterpreted and reenacted to reconceptualize certain qualia. These reconceptualizations could eventually lead to the microcommunities own understanding of the technical speech's qualia denotation, which will eventually be judged and negotiated with some other craft beer community member. The possibility that qualia reinterpretations within microcommunities change larger scales of qualia understanding

would require a longitudinal study of the ways in which larger, institutionalized, qualia descriptions are represented on mobile beer applications by members from multiple craft beer communities in regions from across the United States. Further research could expand our understanding of how qualia is represented and reconceptualized from a bottom up perspective.

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APPENDIX A –

Recruitment letter from Fall 2016

Ethnography of Communication

Field site: City Brews

Researcher: Anna Hamer

Ethnography: Written description of a social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretive practices of a particular group of people (Duranti, 85).

Ethnography of Communication: Participant observation (researchers interactions with social group) that immerses the researcher in the social activities of a specific group. Observing the language patterns and speech consistencies within a community through interviews and recordings, that will be transcribed and analyzed.

Goals: Observe the community at City Brews 1-2 times a week for 1-2 hours each visit from September 5th until November 11th 2016. This research will most likely focus on craft beer sale representatives, City Brews staff, and possibly regular customers in the store. (All participants will be informed of the research-taking place, and may be asked to sign an Institutional Review Board consent form if video or audio recording takes place)

Focus: Craft beer specialized registers of speech (specialized vocabulary, intonation patterns, tone, etc.), linguistic marketing strategies of beer distributors, reactions to said marketing strategies by regular customers and staff.

Weekly Schedule for special due dates:

Week of Sept. 12-16- spend half day at City Brews getting to know staff, regulars, sales reps

Week Sept. 19-23- Photograph field site and some of the participants involved in research, the City Brews store, activities taking place at City Brews.

Week Sept. 26-30- Create a map of City Brews

Week Oct. 3-6- Film shots, pans, and tracking shots at City Brews during an interaction between participants in research

Week Oct. 17-21- Video-record another activity between sellers and staff

Week Nov. 7-11- Audio record an interview between myself and a staff member, sale rep, and/or regular customer

APPENDIX B –

a. Transcription key- adapted from Ochs, 1979.

Symbol	Meaning
=	No gap (latching)
-	Self-interruption
(.)	Slight pause
(.n)	Longer pause, n=seconds
//	Beginning of overlap
]	End of overlap
:	Lengthened syllable
((LF))	Laugh
<i>Italics</i>	Stress
,	Low rise intonation
.	Low fall intonation