# Cognitive Patterns of Linguistic Perceptions

by

Susan L. Tamasi

(Under the direction of William A. Kretzschmar, Jr.)

## Abstract

This research explores the attitudes and perceptions that nonlinguists have about variation in language and analyzes how this knowledge is cognitively organized.

I created an innovative, inter-disciplinary methodology to reveal folk perceptions, such as the types and number of American dialects and the social traits (i.e. issues of status and solidarity) that are associated with speech. I then placed this information within a cognitive framework in order to explore the ways in which people understand and utilize linguistic variation.

Sixty informants from two different locations (North Georgia and Central New Jersey) participated in a series of tasks developed to elicit their perceptions toward variation in American English. Participants were given a set of index cards with state names written on them and were asked to divide them into piles according to where people speak differently from one another. Participants were then given a stack of cards which listed social traits (e.g. intelligent, trustworthy, pleasant) and linguistic traits (e.g. nasal) and were asked to describe the speech of the dialect communities they created in the first task. Next, participants listened to four voice samples from four different locations around the U. S. (Georgia, New Jersey, Illinois, and Missouri) and were asked to use the cards from the first two tasks to describe the speech samples geographically, socially, and linguistically. Finally, participants were asked a short series of questions to clarify, confirm, and develop their earlier responses.

Using qualitative and quantitative data, I show that people categorize their knowledge of language in patterned, culturally-determined ways and that the conceptual organization of language reveals a complex, interrelated network of social, regional, and personal information.

Index words: Language attitudes, Cognitive studies, Perceptual dialectology, Language variation, Sociolinguistics, Folk linguistics, American English

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# Chapter 1

# A Folk View of Language

One contemporary approach to the field of linguistics is to integrate folk knowledge into a comprehensive study of language. Using this approach, researchers study what nonlinguists say regarding language and language use and, furthermore, examine the attitudes and beliefs which lie beneath these statements.

## 1.1 The Development of Folk Research in Linguistics

The first official proposal for a study of a "folk linguistics" was presented by Henry Hoenigswald during the 1964 UCLA Sociolinguistics conference. Hoenigswald stated that linguists "should be interested not only in (*a*) what goes on (language), but also in (*b*) how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in (*c*) what people say goes on (talk concerning language)" (1966: 20). With his proposal, he urged linguists not to dismiss "secondary and tertiary modes of conduct merely as sources of error" (1966: 20). Additionally, Hoenigswald claimed that in order for any investigation of a language to be thorough, it must include all of the following: a synchronic grammar, a dictionary, a typological and historical study, a list of speech acts, a delineation of social and geographic variation, information on language contact, a description of the speech community, a discussion of uses of the written form, and *a "semantic 'field' study concerning the vocabulary referring to speech activity*" (1966: 18; emphasis mine). To begin this line of inquiry,

it was advised that "questioning ought . . . to proceed in the direction of discovering attitudes toward speech differences" (1966: 18).

Responses to Hoenigswald's proposal verified the importance of formalizing a field of folk linguistics, as other conference attendees revealed their own interest in folk knowledge[1]. His general discussion was broadened as others posited different lines of inquiry and suggested basic methods for this type of research. For example, Hymes expressed interest in incorporating this "fresh and rather different point of view" into his studies in the ethnography of speaking (in Hoenigswald 1966: 20). Ferguson drew attention to the usefulness of folk knowledge in the development of literacy and educational policy and described previous attempts to create a manual for the elicitation of language attitudes. He noted, however, that in these failed attempts the questions had been developed for experts rather than nonlinguists, and he therefore concluded that a formal study of non-expert opinion might be the necessary path to take. Furthermore, the scope of inquiry was extended as Samarin suggested a cross-language comparison of words used to talk about language and Haugen proposed a study that would "find out by what channels these attitudes are transmitted" (in Hoenigswald 1966: 21).

At its inception, folk linguistics was only broadly conceived, as Hoenigswald's proposal was only meant "to formulate a few lines of inquiry with which. . . to supplement standard field work instructions" (1966: 17). While many of those in attendance at the 1964 conference seemed quite interested in the development of a more structured line of folk inquiry, significant progress toward a formal standardization of this discipline took a back seat to more traditional, theoretical linguistics.

However, in the last two decades folk linguistics has again come to the forefront of discussion with the development of perceptual dialectology by Dennis Preston

[1]Included in Hoenigswald (1966) is a transcript of the discussion that followed his presentation.

(c.f. Preston 1989, 1999). Through his research into the folk views of dialect regions, Preston has re-evaluated and redefined the use of folk knowledge in linguistic study. Most importantly, he has extended Hoenigswald's approach to language research, (what goes on, how people react to what goes on, and what people say goes on), to include the attitudinal information that motivate folk comments. In this more holistic approach, folk linguistics not only investigates the comments that nonlinguists make about language, but also works to elicit and analyze the (subconscious) beliefs and attitudes which lie beneath both folk comment and daily linguistic choices. Therefore, incorporated into this line of research are both personal language use and perceptions of the speech of others.

Figure 1.1 presents this detailed view of folk linguistic research. In this model, Preston plotted Hoenigswald's three approaches to language study as the *a*, *b*, and *c* of the triangle. He also incorporated the beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions that lie beneath these statements and actions, listed as *a'*, *b'*, and *c'*. Theoretical linguistics has traditionally been concerned with *a*, language, and *a'*, "the cognitive, social interactive, and geographical, and other forces and conditions that explain its acquisition, shape, distribution, change and employment" (Preston 1999: xxiii). Folk linguistics instead focuses on the other sections of the model. The *b* and *c* corners of the triangle are overt comments that nonlinguists make, while *b'* and *c'* are the subconscious beliefs and attitudes that direct these comments. Preston (1999) states that he has included in *b'* the "historical relations among groups, psychosociological associations (and the mechanisms that account for them), and a host of other values, beliefs, and cultural stereotypes" (xxiv). Furthermore, this redefinition of folk linguistics, unlike Hoenigswald's approach, actually categorizes the types of comments that nonlinguists make about language (and that should be of interest to linguists), including comments on actual speech, reactions to speech, the structure and use of speech, and the beliefs and attitudes behind language use and understanding. The

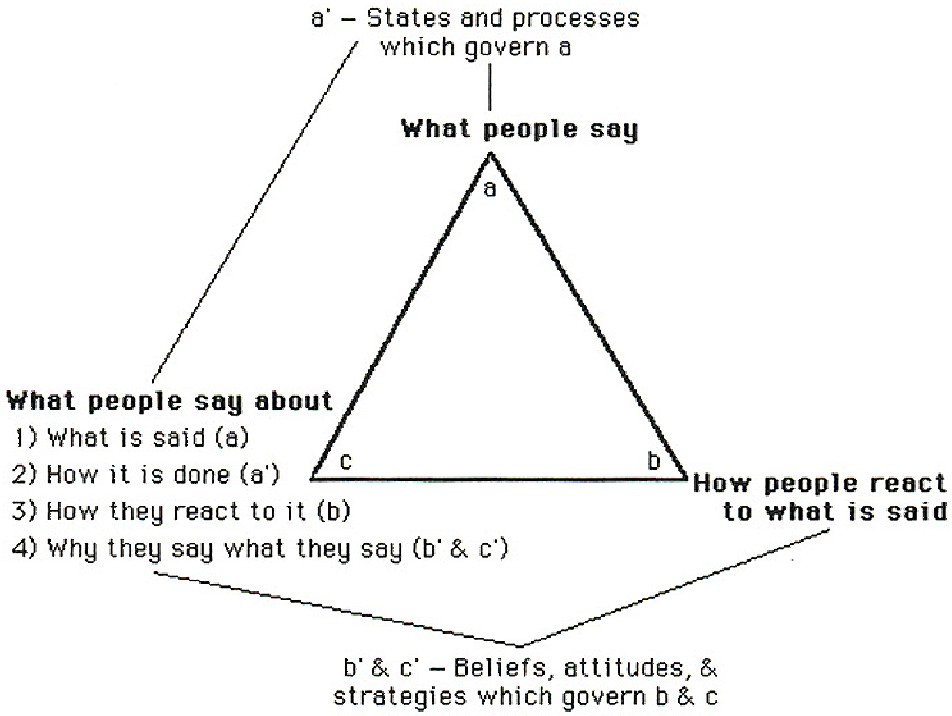


Figure 1.1: Three approaches to language data, from Preston (1999: xxiii).

significance of this model is that through it Preston establishes that folk linguistics should not only be an examination of the overt comments that nonlinguists make, "talk about language," but must also include an investigation into the subconscious thoughts and beliefs behind these statements.

Preston's research has been conducted using respondents in Alabama, Michigan, Indiana, and Hawaii (e.g. 1989; 1997). These studies have focused on the agreement of speakers regarding where dialect boundaries exist and regarding patterns in the attitudes associated with salient dialect groups. Furthermore, looking at informant responses from the South, Preston applied his research to the investigation of linguistic insecurity (1997) and the persistent folk beliefs of standard American English (1993a). While the responses of each informant community were analyzed independently, a crucial part of Preston's research is the comparison of the views and attitudes between different informant groups. For example, Michigan informants responded that the speech in Alabama was the most incorrect and unpleasant in the country but that their own speech was the most correct and pleasant. Conversely, the Alabama respondents found themselves to be the most pleasant speakers and Michigan the least. The Alabama residents actually rated themselves in terms of correctness the same as they did for Michigan; it was not the highest rating given, but it was by no means the lowest (Preston 1997).

The last decade has seen a refinement in Preston's methodology, and this technique has been applied to many different research goals. A typical study in perceptual dialectology consists of five separate tasks: Draw-a-Map, Degree of Difference, "Pleasant" and "Correct" ratings, Dialect Identification, and the Qualitative Interview, all of which were developed to reveal non-expert views of language.

The first task that is given to respondents, "Draw-A-Map," is also the foundation for perceptual dialectological research. This technique was based on "mental maps" as created by Gould and White (1974). (See discussion in Chapter 2.) For this task,

respondents are given an unlabeled line map and are instructed to draw dialect boundaries "around areas where they believe regional speech zones exist" (Preston 1999: xxiv). Participants are also instructed to label each region with the name that they would normally use to describe or refer to it. Figures 1.2 and 1.3 are examples of informant maps. The first is from a Michigan informant who perceives nine distinct dialect regions in the United States. This informant has tellingly labeled these regions with terms like "Propers" for the Northeast, "Southern Hicks" for the deep South, and "Cowboy Joe's" for the Great Plains states. In the second map, the South Carolinian respondent clearly shows her attitudes towards her speech communities in her descriptions. The South is "very slow" and "hard to comprehend," while New Jersey is where speakers "twist words in [their] mouth[s]" and are "nasal sounding." One of the most noticeable parts of her map is a lack of division throughout most of the country; she simply labels this as the "Mid-West," an area she believes "doesn't have [an] accent."

The next two tasks were created in order to help clarify perceptions elicited from informants' mental maps. The "Degree of Difference" is a rating task in which "respondents [rank] the fifty states on a scale of one to four (1 = 'same,' 2 = 'a little different,' 3 = 'different,' 4 = 'unintelligibly different for the perceived degree of dialect difference from the home area')" (Preston 1997: 314). Similar to this difference rating is a task in which participants rated speech in terms of "pleasant" and "correct." Here, respondents rank each of the fifty states, New York City, and Washington, D.C., on a scale of one to ten (1 = 'least,' 10 = 'most') for "correct" and "pleasant" speech. These rating tasks are quite important to this methodology because they continue to elicit linguistic perceptions without having to rely on a spatial representation that is necessary in the map task. From the analysis of these first three tasks, one can see a pattern of which dialects are truly perceived as being similar or different.

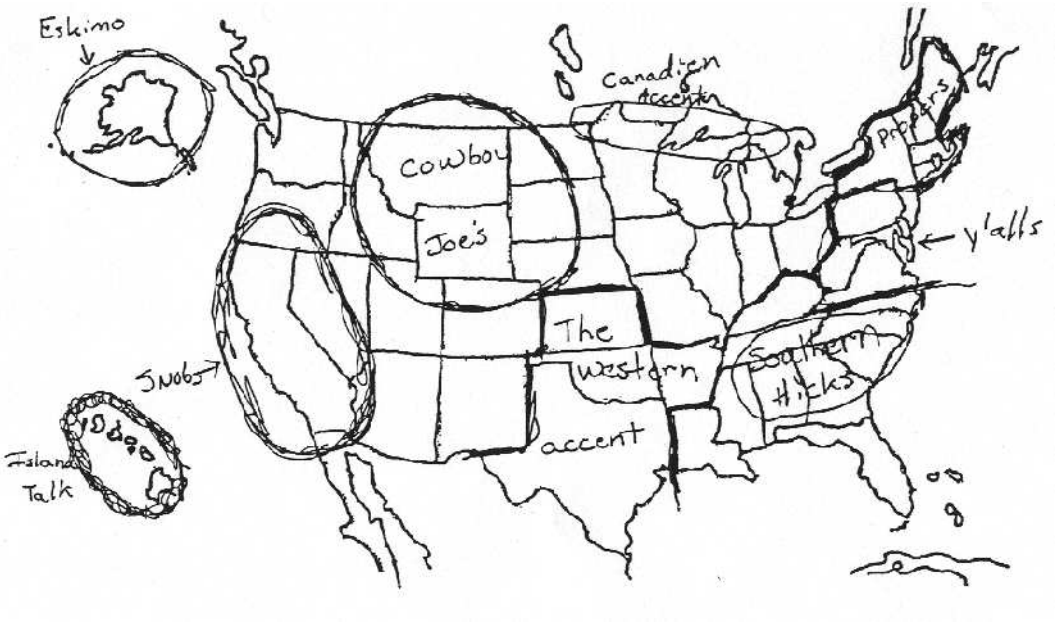


Figure 1.2: A southeastern Michigan hand-drawn map, from Preston (1997: 315).

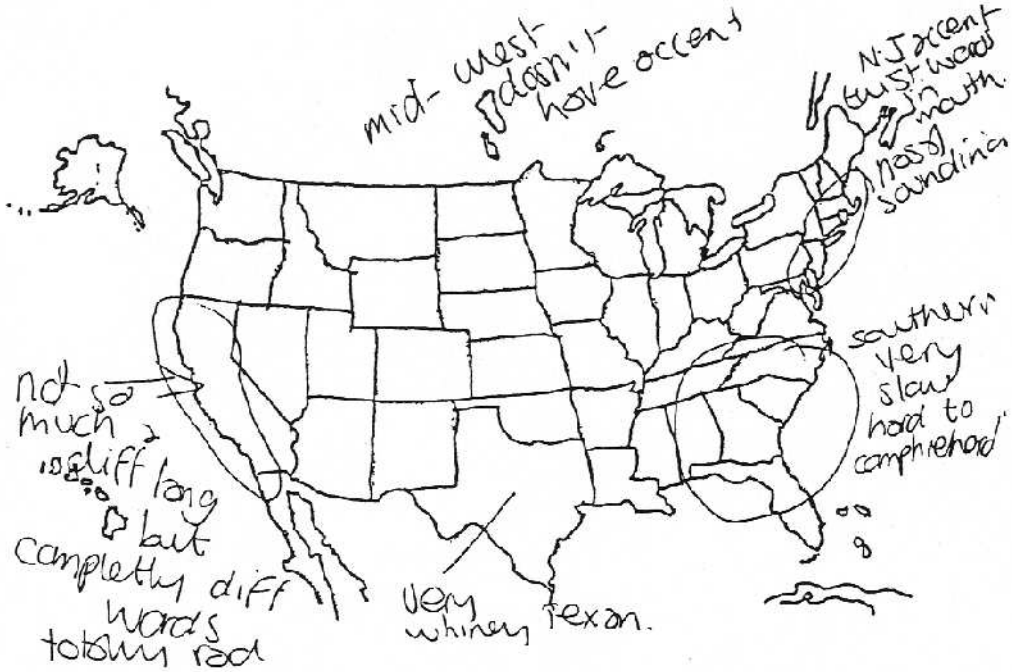


Figure 13: South Carolina hand-drawn US dialect map

Figure 1.3: South Carolina hand-drawn map, from Preston (1997: 328).

"Dialect Identification" is a test that asks informants to locate regional voices. Preston (1997) describes the task as follows: "Respondents listened to nine voices from sites on a north-to-south line down the middle of the United States (from Saginaw, Michigan, to Dothan, Alabama); the samples were all of male, well-educated, middle-aged speakers discussing nonspecialist topics. They were presented to the respondents in a scrambled order. Respondents were instructed to assign each voice to the site where they thought it belonged" (314). The primary function of Dialect Identification is to test an informant's ability to accurately identify American speech. Preston asserts that informants are surprisingly accurate in identifying speaker location, and he claims that their responses generally follow the lines of known regional isoglosses.

Finally, the qualitative section of the survey method is a general interview that asks informants to clarify earlier responses. It also gives each respondent a chance to talk openly about "language varieties, speakers of them, and related topics" (Preston 1999: xxxiv).

Overall, folk linguistics has developed into a large body of work in recent years. Examples of research that has been conducted using folk linguistic data include studies of: the different topics found in folk commentary (Niedzielski and Preston 2000); folk views of dialect regions (Preston 1989; Hartley 1999; Lance 1999; Tamasi 2000); nonlinguist attitudes toward standard and nonstandard varieties (Preston 1993a; Lippi-Green 1997); issues of linguistic (in)security (Labov 1966; Preston 1997); and language-based discrimination (Kalin, et al. 1986; Baugh 1999).

## 1.2 An Extended Exposition

While many linguists support the idea of a folk linguistics, there has been a long history of discounting folk information in language studies. Leonard Bloomfield report-

edly collected such "secondary responses," which he found to be "ignorant or stupid remarks about language" (Niedzielski and Preston 2000: 337). Joseph Subbiondo maintains Bloomfield's disdain for nonlinguists' views of language, and in his review of Niedzielski and Preston's *Folk Linguistics*, he stated that the authors "have gone too far" by placing "ignorant observations about language on a par of importance with professional opinion" (2001: 488–489). Furthermore, Preston (1999) points out that even Grootaers and Sibata, pioneers in the use of nonlinguist responses in dialectology, felt that the information given was "of little to no interest to linguists since [the responses] do not generally correspond to traditional dialect boundaries" (xxx).

However, I would argue that most opposition to folk linguistics is based on misconceptions about the goal of this line of study. Rather than replacing traditional linguistic research, folk linguistics instead was intended to help in the overall understanding of language structure and use. It is obvious that the average native speaker is not conscious of an underlying structure to his language, nor does he have the active lexicon to discuss it. But people do not have to know the mechanics of language in order to speak nor to discuss their personal views of language. Similarly, they do not need to know how a television set works and how signals are transmitted in order to watch tv, and this lack of knowledge by no means stops them from talking about their favorite programs. Furthermore, what the folk do know, or believe they know, about language can actually help reveal how language works within a society because their comments give insight into how they perceive and use language. While folk views may not follow current academic jargon or beliefs, it is still this "knowledge" that is used as the basis for linguistic choices and perceptions.

Moreover, our understanding of nonlinguist views which determine language choice and language use may actually lead us to a more precise theoretical construct. Labov states: "When we [as linguists] elicit subjective responses which people have never considered before, we are doing something quite different from investigating

practiced responses which are there whether we request it or not. In eliciting new, ad hoc responses, . . . we can mine a very rich vein of information" (in Hoenigswald 1966: 24). Even generativists, albeit unconsciously, use a type of folk approach when using native speakers (in the vein of Chomsky's ideal speaker/hearer) for grammaticality judgments, and this method has been used in a vast body of work.

Furthermore, the study of folk knowledge may strengthen the validity of formal linguistic research. Even linguists, as members of a culture and speech community, have (or at least remember) their own or their community's attitudes toward language. We must, therefore, admit the possibility of a researcher's own preconceptions and attitudes slipping into linguistic theory. Love posits that even though "mainstream Western linguistics . . . projects an image of itself as culture-neutral, in the sense that physics, chemistry or biology are culture-neutral," we must question "[w]hether a value-free 'science of language' is a realizable possibility at all" (1995: 277, 388). For example, linguists often accept the notion of a "standard language" even though it has been persuasively argued that this is only an abstract construct.

Finally, many of the negative attitudes toward this line of research may come simply from negative connotations attached to the term *folk*. *Folk* was adopted as a general term referring "to those who are not trained professionals in the area under investigation" and by no means should "refer to rustic, ignorant, uneducated, backward, primitive, minority, isolated, marginalized, or lower status groups or individuals" (Niedzielski and Preston 2000: viii). If one believes that folk linguistics is an undisciplined study of language that uses data elicited from an ignorant group, it is no wonder many linguists have not approved. But folk linguistics is not simply a collection of stupid remarks about language. These are comments that reflect the way the common speaker understands language and language use.

As Hoenigswald (1966), Preston (1999), and Niedzielski and Preston (2000) each give a thorough rationale for the study of folk linguistics, it is not necessary to give

a full defense here. However, I would like to review three key points which Preston (1999) lists in order to show the value in studying nonspecialist views in any field:

> 1. Such beliefs are a part of the folklore, ethnography, and cultural anthropology of groups; studying them is justified along with this dimension quite independent of the separate scientific field to which the beliefs are related.
> 2. There may be interaction as well as simply contrast between folk belief (and practice) on the one hand and scientific or specialist knowledge on the other. ...
> 3. Finally, although not at all least consequential, even when there is considerable contrast between scientific and folk information and when some scientists may find little of value in the folk facts, those who labor in applied fields will want to know what nonspecialists believe if they plan to intervene successfully (xxiv).

Because there is such a great amount of folk knowledge about language available, it would be naïve to overlook this body of data completely. People frequently discuss their personal views on and experience with language use, especially regarding dialectal variation and the existence of a "standard" or "proper" form. It would be valuable in itself simply to look at the vocabulary that is readily available to nonlinguists about these topics, as well as to explore the other linguistic subjects that people commonly discuss. It would also be important to identify the attitudes and perceptions that are prevalent in a society and to investigate whether these are common across communities and/or cultures. (Remember that even Bloomfield, while finding folk responses idiotic, found them interesting enough to record.)

Preston also points out that folk knowledge may not only exist in contrast to traditional linguistic study (e.g. the comparison of folk dialect boundaries with actual

speech communities), but may also work in conjunction with it. Niedzielski and Preston hypothesize that "folk linguistic beliefs may help determine the shape of language itself" and comment that "[i]t would be unusual to discover that what nonlinguists believe about language has nothing to do with linguistic change" (2000: viii). Labov has even found a common link between folk and theoretical linguistics. The unconscious responses that he has elicited are "extremely consistent and uniform" and "in a sense ... are quite parallel to the emic structure of the language" (in Hoenigswald 1966: 23).

Preston's third point is, perhaps, the most important reason to carry out folk linguistic research. It was apparent, even as early as Hoenigswald's first discussion, that understanding folk knowledge could benefit society, such as in the construction of literacy programs and educational policy (1966: 21). Additionally, in the United States it has become exceedingly clear through the 1996 Oakland Ebonics debate and the recent issues in linguistic profiling that the views of nonlinguists cannot be overlooked. For example, Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh (1999) found that informants were able to determine the ethnicity of a speaker (for speakers of African American English, Chicano English, and standard "white" English) by the solitary word "hello." They were able to take this ability to associate ethnicity and speech (and the folk attitudes associated with these speech varieties) and link it directly to cases of housing discrimination. Therefore, it is important not only to research the different language attitudes that are common but also to investigate the roles that they play within a society.

## 1.3 New Directions

Hoenigswald based his proposal on the successful use of folk data in research that was being conducted in other social science disciplines. For example, social psy-

chologists, such as Lambert, were looking at folk attitudes in their investigation of group membership. Additionally, anthropologists were finding great success in the use of folk responses in revealing the cultural significance of cultural domains, such as ethnobotanical taxonomies, kinship terms, and color terms (e.g. Berlin and Kay 1969).

During my own research into nonlinguists' perceptions of language, I decided to follow Hoenigswald's lead and look to other disciplines for new directions to explore. In this search, I was introduced[2] to the book *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* by Roy D'Andrade (1995), and this reading brought to my attention the anthropological goals of "understanding how ordinary people normally organize and use knowledge" and discovering "the way knowledge is used in ordinary life" (xiv). I quickly thought of the possible applications of these goals in language attitude studies. I recognized that, with respect to the thoughts, opinions, and perceptions which nonlinguists have regarding language (i.e. the knowledge), researchers have already investigated how this knowledge can be used in everyday life (personal judgments, style shifting, lexical choices, accommodation). However, while we know *what* people think about language, we have yet to consider *how* people think about language. Are there underlying patterns in the way we organize or categorize our beliefs about language? And could the manner of organization affect how we use and perceive language? Is this knowledge culture-specific, or do people have a basic understanding of language that crosses cultures?

A study that looks into the conceptual organization of linguistic thought may help elucidate the role that language attitudes play in culture and even help in determining the role they play in language structure itself. Furthermore, Love (1995) questions whether or not how we think about language affects the approaches we take to general linguistic study. He asks:

[2]And I am forever indebted to Dr. Kretzschmar for suggesting that I read this book.

> What makes the Saussurean idea of the synchronic language state at least seem like a realistic basis for the analysis of verbal behavior? Why, when we first encounter the Chomskian 'ideal speaker-listener', is there a tendency to think that we are dealing with an unobjectionable statement of an appropriate and necessary idealization? (379).

Could it be that we have an underlying, culturally-based competence that affects our attitudes toward and perceptions of language?

For the remainder of this dissertation I will approach these questions using data from a perceptual study recently conducted in two U. S. communities. Out of the many areas of folk linguistic knowledge that could be covered, I have decided to start this line of research from a variationist perspective and look at the folk linguistic domain of variation in language. (This also happens to be the topic that is most commonly discussed by nonlinguists.) Therefore, the goal of this discussion is two-fold. First, I present the findings from this perceptual study, focusing on respondent views of U. S. dialect regions and the character evaluations that are associated with them. Second, I use this data to prove that people categorize their knowledge of language variation in patterned, culturally determined ways and that our understanding of speech consists of a complex network of both linguistic and social information.

# Chapter 2

# Methodology and Fieldwork

In order to research both folk perceptions of variation in language and the cognitive patterns which lie beneath them, I have created a new, interdisciplinary methodology combining research techniques from perceptual dialectology, cognitive anthropology, and social psychology. This dissertation describes, analyzes, and compares two case studies which use this new methodology.

## 2.1 The Communities

Two communities within Georgia and New Jersey were the focus of this research. (Please refer to Appendix A for area maps.) As any community in the United States could be a potential research area for this study, I chose these areas for two distinct reasons:

1. Both are areas of folk linguistic interest.

2. Both are areas in which it was physically and financially possible to carry out research.

While the second point is relatively self-explanatory, there are many reasons why these communities are of interest for folk study.

First, these two areas are significant in that they lie in commonly recognized dialect regions. Preston (1989) showed that the South was the most salient dialect region in the United States, as 94% of his Michigan respondents drew some type of

Southern speech area. The next dialect area with the greatest agreement was the respondents' own Northern dialect region, but this was not nearly as salient as the South in that it carried a consensus level of only 61% (Preston 1997: 320). Other studies in perceptual dialectology, conducted in a variety of states, including Indiana, New York, Hawaii, Alabama, Oregon, and Georgia, have consistently supported this finding, each with agreement levels of over 89% (Preston 1993a; Hartley 1999; Tamasi 2000). Furthermore, Preston (1989) and Hartley (1999) have found Georgia to be the "core" area of this speech community.

Even though the South is by far the most identifiable dialect region, a perceived Northeastern dialect area which includes New Jersey also stands out. Preston (1997) shows the Northeast as the second and third most recognized region for Indiana and Michigan respondents, respectively. Hartley (1999) discusses the fact that New Jersey is often lumped in with the rest of the Northeast or even into a New York City speech area, but she also reveals that research on attitudes toward "correct" and "pleasant" speech (discussed below) allows New Jersey to stand clearly on its own as a known dialect region.

Perceptual dialectology, however, has not been the only field to investigate folk attitudes toward these states. Gould and White (1986) examined respondents' folk perceptions, or "mental maps," of American geography. And by focusing on political, economic, and environmental categories, they have found some very interesting patterns in folk perceptions.

First, the Southern Trough, with Alabama and Georgia at its core, is consistently rated the lowest in terms of attractiveness and desirability. Respondents from California, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, and Illinois all give the South the lowest ratings. On a scale of 10-100, Georgia ratings commonly fall between 10 and 30 (Gould and White 1986: 95-117). Figure 2.1 shows the composite mental map from Pennsylvanian respondents. Also surveyed was a group from Alabama, and

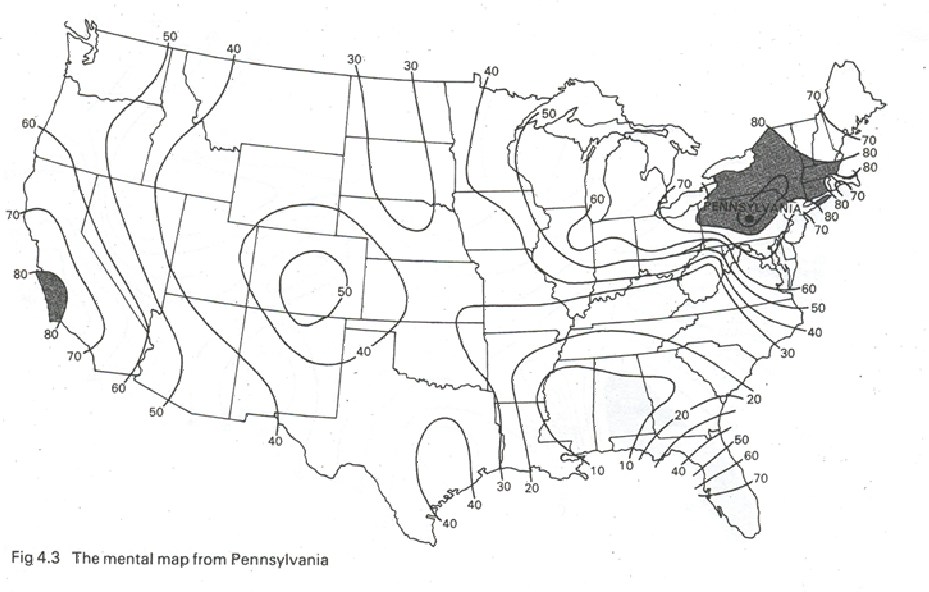


Figure 2.1: Mental map from Pennsylvania, from Gould and White (1986: 99).

while they did not rate the South the lowest, the ratings did drop off quickly once the Alabama border was crossed. While they do not find their own state undesirable, they do agree that the rest of the South is not an attractive place to be. These maps unfortunately reveal that the South is not only a commonly distinguished region, but it is one that appears to stand out because it is negatively perceived.

These mental maps are also quite revealing in that they often show a perceptual separation between New Jersey and the surrounding states. For example, while Pennsylvanians gave the highest rating for desirability to themselves, as well as New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, this line drops off right at the border of New Jersey. (See Figure 2.1.) This pattern is also seen in the responses of Illinois participants (Figure 2.2). Here, the Northeast is rated as an area that is generally very attractive, but this view is not extended to New Jersey (Gould and White 1986: 99-117).

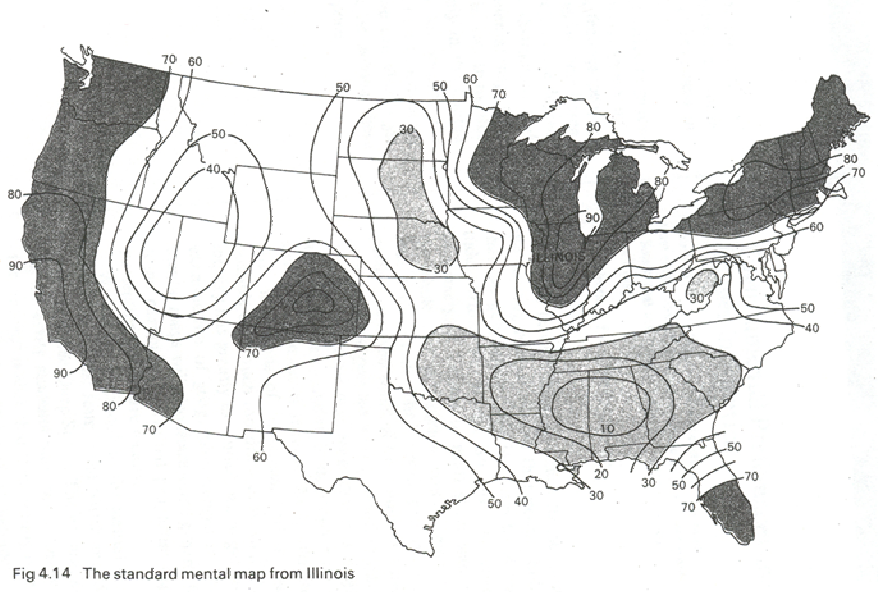


Figure 2.2: Mental map from Illinois, from Gould and White (1986: 114).

The second reason that New Jersey and Georgia are of perceptual interest is that both are areas of stigmatized speech. Even as the South is the most commonly recognized dialect region, its speech often carries very negative connotations with it. Southern speakers are commonly portrayed as uneducated, slow, or just plain backward. The caricature of speech shown in *The Beverly Hillbillies* is just one of many instances of the media playing on this stereotype. While these portrayals are often presented in the name of humor, many non-Southerners seem to believe in them. Moreover, Southerners are quite aware that these attitudes exist. In his article, "What We Talk about When We Talk about the South," Edward Ayers (1996) tells the story of a Virginian who goes to school at Harvard and senses that these attitudes abound. The student fantasizes about wearing a sign that says, "Yes, I am from the South .... Both of my parents, in fact, are literate .... No, I do not watch 'Hee Haw.' No, I do not own slaves. No, I do not want any" (62).

It is unfortunate that the media often portray such stereotypes and that Southerners feel the need to defend themselves against them, but what is most unfortunate is that often times Southerners themselves actually buy into the stereotypes. Therefore, it is no surprise that perceptual studies using participants from Georgia and other parts of the South have revealed a great amount of linguistic insecurity (Tamasi 2000; Preston 1997).

While the South is arguably the most commonly stereotyped region, it is by no means the only area that is stigmatized for its nonstandard speech. The speech in New Jersey is also quite often referred to in less-than-desirable terms. Take, for example, one episode of the sitcom *Will and Grace*. While trying to talk some friends into moving to New York City and taking over her lease, Grace uses the most extreme argument she can think of. She tells the couple that their new-born child will end up with a New Jersey accent if they do not come to the city. At this horrific idea, they quickly agree to move (*Will and Grace* 2002). They do not want their child to sound like the "Jersey Jerk."

Like the Georgian speakers, New Jersians are equally aware of the stigma attached to their speech. In *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*, Penny Eckert describes herself "as a native of New Jersey who learned fairly young to spit out my accent along with my gum . . . " (2000: xiii). Furthermore, this stigma has apparently become so prevalent in society that it was even a topic on ABC's *Good Morning America*. In one edition the journalist who was reporting live from the New Jersey shore made a public plea for people to stop making fun of the state and its residents (2002).

Furthermore, research in perceptual dialectology has shown that Georgia and New Jersey are often included in the areas that are considered to have the most incorrect speech. Hartley (1999) shows that Oregon residents rated New Jersey as one of the most incorrect dialect regions, with New York City and New York state as

the only other regions with lower scores. Rated only slightly higher than New Jersey was the South, with Georgia at its core. The Michigan respondents in Preston's 1999 study showed similar attitudes as they gave both New Jersey and Georgia a mean correctness rating of 4.00–4.99, out of a possible 10.00. Alabama was the only state to score lower. Indiana respondents gave their lowest correctness rating of 4.00–4.99 to Georgia speech, while New Jersey speech was just one point higher at 5.00–5.99 (Niedzielski and Preston 2000: 64–65). Alternately, the Southern respondents actually rated themselves a little better than did their Northern and Northern Pacific counterparts, but they still gave themselves a comparatively low score. Preston (1997) lists the rating for Georgia by Southern respondents as 5.00–5.99. The Southerners did, however, rate New Jersey lower with a 4.00–4.99 rating. The area that was given the lowest score by the Southerners was New York City (3.00–3.99), while they rated Maryland the highest (7.00–7.99).

Third, because there is such a perceptual dichotomy between the North and South, from both sides of the Mason-Dixon, it would be interesting (and possibly necessary) to look at and compare folk perceptions in these two states. Even though the Civil War was fought nearly 150 years ago, a distinct rivalry between the North and the South still exists, both culturally and linguistically. An example of this can be seen in a humorous e-mail that I recently received which carries the title "Issued by the Southern Tourism Bureau to all visiting Northerners and Northeastern Urbanites." What followed was a laundry list of important rules that tourists should obey, such as "don't fake a Southern accent. This will incite a riot, and you will get your ass kicked." Notice that the e-mail was written for "Northerners and Northeastern Urbanites," without mention of the West, Mid-West, or any other American region. And as Gould and White (1986) have shown, this (perceptual) divide between the North and South is not only found in these two regions, but is also a common perception throughout the United States.

Fourth, in order to get a complete view of folk attitudes toward linguistic variation in American speech, it is important to conduct research in as many different geographic and dialectal regions as possible. As previously stated, a great amount of folk research has already been conducted throughout the United States. While Preston has personally carried out research in Hawaii, Michigan, New York City, western New York, Indiana, and Alabama, other researchers have conducted field work in Oregon (Hartley 1999), Georgia (Tamasi 2000), and in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, South Dakota, and Washington (Lance 1999).

Therefore, the two target locations of New Jersey and Georgia were also chosen in order to help develop a more comprehensive view of American language attitudes. This current study is the first (to my knowledge) to be carried out in New Jersey, an area that has often been overshadowed by the tradition of sociolinguistic research in New York City. And even though a perceptual study has already been carried out in Georgia, another study that brings in more data can only produce stronger results.

Finally, I chose to research folk perceptions in these two areas because I am personally associated with both communities. I am actually a member of the Georgia speech community, and the majority of my family are members of the New Jersey community. Personal experience has shown me that these are definitely areas of stigmatized speech and linguistic insecurity. Therefore, on a personal level, I am interested in discovering the possible cultural significance of these views.

## 2.2 The People

Sixty individuals participated in this study; thirty were from New Jersey, and thirty from Georgia. To qualify for participation, each person had to have grown up in either Georgia or New Jersey and currently reside in the same state. Participants might live in a different city or county from where they grew up, but they still had

to be within the boundaries of the target area. The location where a participant "grew up" was defined as the place where he spent his formative years. It was not necessary for participants to have spent their entire lives in either Georgia or New Jersey; participants were still considered acceptable if they had moved outside of the state for a period of time.

Respondents were selected through a combination of convenience and snowball sampling. Interviews in each community began with a person whom I already knew. This respondent would then refer me to others in the area, some of whom then agreed to participate in the study. These community members would then introduce me to other potential participants until the planned thirty interviews per area were completed. While the participants did have connections with one another, this study was not set up as a formal social network analysis, as the strength of respondent ties was not of immediate interest. However, respondent connections will be discussed as necessary for analysis.

This sample is not representational of all speakers in each state, but there is no reason to believe that the sampling procedure introduced a harmful bias. Thus, the speakers selected reveal linguistic perceptions which do exist in each state, and, until there is reason to think otherwise, may be thought to suggest perceptions held by others in the state.

For the remainder of this study, participants will be referenced by a respondent code which includes their state of residence and an interview number. Participants discussed in this study are labeled GA1–GA30 and NJ2–NJ31. Please also note that there were actually thirty-one people interviewed in New Jersey, but due to an error by the researcher in which some data was lost, one respondent, NJ1, had to be dropped from the analysis.

All participants were required to be between the ages of 18 and 70. The average age of the respondents was 41, with a range of 18–69. The New Jersey sample ranged

between 26 and 69 years of age, with an average of 48, and the Georgia sample was between 18 and 66, with an average of 35. Please refer to Appendix B for participant demographic information.

While I did collect demographic information regarding race, sex, and educational level, I did not stratify the sample accordingly. There were twenty-two men and thirty-eight women surveyed. Fourteen of the men and sixteen of the women were Georgia residents, while the remaining eight men and twenty-two women lived in New Jersey. All respondents were Caucasian. In terms of education, the majority of participants either had some college or were college graduates (20 and 24 participants, respectively). Only one person (NJ9) was not a high school graduate, and only one (GA24) graduated from vocational school. The remaining fourteen participants were high school graduates with no college or vocational school.

Aside from community membership and age, the only other requirement for participation was that each individual had to fit into the working definition of *folk*, meaning that he could not be a specialist in linguistics. One of the respondents, GA17, is a speech pathologist, and therefore is an expert in language as it pertains to communication disorders, but I did not find this to affect her responses as it would if she had studied formal linguistic theory or language variation studies. I, therefore, found her to be a valid folk participant.

## 2.3 The Tasks

In order to elicit information regarding both the different perceptions nonlinguists have about American speech and the patterns in the cognitive organization of these perceptions, a new research methodology had to be created. This new interview technique, consisting of five separate tasks, was developed by combining reliable methods

from a variety of social scientific disciplines, including perceptual dialectology, cognitive anthropology, and social psychology. Here I will describe the five tasks and explain the development of each.

### 2.3.1 Task 1 — Dialect Regions

The first task was created to examine folk notions regarding the number and location of American dialect regions. Instead of using Preston's "Draw-a-Map" method, participants were asked to create dialect boundaries without the use of a map using a pile sort, a method which has been developed by anthropologists to investigate the cultural organization of folk knowledge. For this task, participants were given a stack of fifty index cards, each with a state name printed on it, and were asked to sort the cards into piles where people speak similarly versus differently from one another. This technique, therefore, removes the spatial component of traditional map tasks and requires participants to use only their own thoughts and beliefs about language in their decision making.

In constructing their dialect regions, participants were allowed to make any number of piles and place as many cards in each pile as they felt necessary. Additionally, respondents were instructed to "think aloud" as they worked so that conversational data could be collected for further analysis. Please note that even though respondents were not specifically working with a map, one was available for them to consult. The availability of a map, because it was not the direct focus for the participants, did not go against the cognitive goal of this task.

The pile sort method was developed in cognitive anthropology to investigate how societies organize their thoughts regarding individual cultural domains. It has been found to be quite reliable and have a high degree of stability with samples of at least twenty participants. Examples of domains previously studied include color

terms, food classification, and even pilot error (cf. Berlin and Kay 1969; Roos 1998; Roberts, et al. 1980).

A main goal of this research is to place folk responses into a cognitive framework; therefore, the use of pile sorting as a method to elicit mental maps seemed quite natural, as the combination of methodologies actually generates both folk linguistic and cognitive data. In other words, this method elicits both nonlinguists' perceptions of American dialect regions as well as information regarding the organization and categorization of this knowledge.

The general technique for a pile sort task asks respondents "to sort cards, each containing the name of an item, into piles so that items in a pile are more similar to each other than they are to items in separate piles" (Weller and Romney 1988: 20). There are two versions to this method: constrained and unconstrained sorts. My methodology uses the unconstrained version, as respondents are allowed to make as many piles as they want; for a constrained sort, they would have been directed to use a specific number of piles. Furthermore, in some pile sort studies, the respondent, rather than the researcher, is the one to decide the criteria for determining similarity; however, for this project, respondents were given (and repeatedly reminded of) the pre-determined criterion of speech.

The main drawback of incorporating the pile sort method into a folk linguistic methodology is that all participants must be literate. While other pile sorts that investigate zoological or botanical items may use pictures on their cards, this particular research necessitates that the participants be literate, or at least able to recognize the names of the fifty states. Another potential problem with this technique is that participants are restricted by state boundaries. This problem can possibly be avoided, however, as the conversational data from the talk-aloud direction may help to clarify responses. (These problematic issues will be discussed further in Chapter 4.)

### 2.3.2 Task 2 — Descriptive Terms

The second task incorporates descriptive terms into the methodology in order to investigate the social attitudes that are attached to American speech. This particular task uses the idea behind Preston's "pleasant" and "correct" ratings and places them within a cognitive framework. Preston's method is further developed in that the number of descriptive terms given to participants has been increased significantly.

Here, participants were asked to describe the speech of the dialect regions that they created in the first task using a second set of index cards. Each card had one of twenty-three different descriptive terms on it. Terms were given to participants two at a time in oppositional pairs (except for nasal, for which an antonym was not provided):

| | |
|---|---|
| attractive or unattractive | intelligent or unintelligent |
| trustworthy or untrustworthy | honest or dishonest |
| correct or incorrect | friendly or unfriendly |
| hard-working or lazy | dependable or undependable |
| nice or mean | pleasant or unpleasant |
| nasal | polite or rude |

Respondents were instructed to place the cards on the applicable piles. Participants were asked to use only the terms that they would personally use to describe either the speech in each area or how a speaker in that region would sound to them. They were instructed to place each card on any and all applicable piles and were asked to talk out their responses. Furthermore, because participants were often self-conscious about categorizing speech communities, they were reminded that their responses were completely their own opinion and were informed that each of the terms were commonly used to describe speech and were not randomly picked by the researcher.

In their responses, participants were not limited to a binomial response; four responses per dialect region, per set of terms were possible. Take, for example, all of the possible responses one participant could give: When deciding the attractiveness of his New York dialect area, he could label the pile with a card reading "attractive" or one reading "unattractive." This participant could also choose to not place either term on the pile, showing that he believed neither of the terms applied or that he did not have an opinion. A fourth option was that he could place both terms on one pile and describe why he thought both were appropriate. This process would then be continued through all of his other dialect piles and for all descriptive pairs.

It is important to note that while participants were instructed to place either (or neither) term on each pile, they were not specifically told at the onset of the task that they could use both terms at once. This instruction was left out specifically because it was believed that participants would use this as a default response, as it allows for a non-committal decision. Therefore, only participants who clearly showed that this was their preferred response were instructed to use both cards.

As previously stated, this task was first conceived as a variation of Preston's "correct" and "pleasant" ratings. The first goal in its creation was to expand the number of terms that was given to respondents. The twenty-three descriptive terms were picked using a multi-step system. First, the literature on language attitudes in folk linguistics and social psychology was reviewed for social characteristics associated with speech. Second, a pilot study was conducted in which a free listing task was included. Sixty University of Georgia undergraduate students listened to four voice samples (see section below on voice identification). After each sample was played, the students were asked to write down as many adjectives as they could to describe the person's speech, and a list of these descriptive terms was created. Third, by looking at all of the collected terms, a composite list was compiled and ranked according to

frequency. Finally, the descriptors were picked so that they were representative of both social (e.g. "intelligent") and linguistic (e.g. "nasal") categories.

Because each response can be plotted on a scale between two semantic differentials (e.g. "pleasant" and "unpleasant"), this task is actually a variation of a rating scales method. (Please note that "nasal" can be compared with a response of "not nasal.") However, unlike traditional rating scales where the focus of the research is on the degree to which the descriptor is applied, the choice here focuses more specifically on whether or not the term would actually be used by the individual respondents. But since rating scales are common in American society (in questionnaires and polls), I believed that the participants would feel comfortable working with this technique.

### 2.3.3 Task 3 — Voice Identification

For the third task, respondents were asked to make judgments based on actual linguistic input. Participants listened to four voice samples and were asked to use the cards from the first two tasks to describe each person's speech. Listening to each voice sample individually, respondents first picked out the state or states where they thought the person was from. For this, they were allowed to choose any number of states they wanted but were asked to be as specific as possible. Therefore, one could even answer that a speaker was from one particular city. After a decision was made as to where the speaker was from, respondents were instructed to flip through the descriptive cards and pull out any (and all) that they would personally use to describe how the speaker sounded to them. As with the other tasks, participants were asked to talk out their responses.

This method was created not only to elicit regional perceptual information, but also to acquire more information on the social attitudes people connect to dialectal variation. It is significant that, while the first two tasks asked participants to rely

solely on memory or personal beliefs, this task actually gave the respondents linguistic input on which to focus. While it would seem that this task was included in order to test respondents' ability to identify varieties of American speech, it was actually added in order to pinpoint what types of linguistic input nonlinguists associate with their perceptions. If a respondent believes that New York speech (and therefore its speakers) are "unintelligent" and "untrustworthy," then it would make sense to know what he recognizes as New York speech. I must admit, however, that the acquisition of data regarding the accuracy of nonlinguists' identification of dialects is an added benefit of this method.

This particular task was developed out of the matched-guise test, as created by Lambert, et al. (1960). Even though four different speakers were used for the current study and, therefore, it was not a true matched-guise, I thought it necessary to include a technique that would elicit language attitudes based solely on linguistic cues. Furthermore, the incorporation of this task followed Preston's lead of adding a voice identification section to the traditional methodology of perceptual dialectology, even though he included the test specifically to test the accuracy of participants' responses.

The voice samples that were played were of four women, aged 20 to 40, who were reading from a set passage. The reading was adapted from the story, "My Eccentric Grandfather," created by Celia Millward, which was chosen for its use of a range of phonological features. (Please refer to Appendix C for a copy of this passage.) The speakers were from Chicago, Illinois; Athens, Georgia; Manalapan, New Jersey; and St. Louis, Missouri. The first three speakers were chosen as representatives of the speech in their home areas, and the woman from St. Louis was chosen as a speaker of "standard" American English. This last sample was included since a common topic for nonlinguists is "standard" or "correct" speech. Accordingly, I thought it would be interesting to see where nonlinguists place Standard American English (SAE).

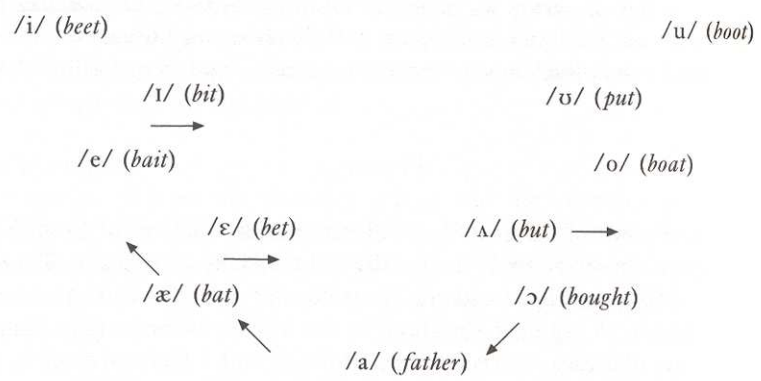


Figure 2.3: The Northern Cities Chain Shift, (from Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998:328)

The speakers were chosen for this study because they are linguistically representative of their home dialects. Specifically they use phonological features associated with particular regional dialects as described by dialectological and sociolinguistic research, e.g. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (forthcoming), Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998), Kurath and McDavid (1961). Because the speakers read from a predetermined passage, their speech only varied in phonology; otherwise it was consistent morphologically, lexically, and syntactically.

The first speaker is from Chicago, Illinois. One of the most distinguishing features of Chicago speech is its participation in the Northern Cities Chain Shift (NCCS). In this shift, which is represented in Figure 2.3, the back vowels are lowered and fronted while the front and central vowels are lowered and backed. Quite noticeably Speaker 1 fronts the vowel /ɑ/. In three instances (*car*, *borrow*, *boxes*) /ɑ/ is realized as [ɑˇ], and in seven other tokens, the vowel moves even farther forward, almost to [æ]. These tokens are: *pot*, *on*, *jobs*, *lot*, *garage*, *knotted*, and *top*. There was only one token, *crop*, where /ɑ/ was not fronted at all. The vowel /æ/ also shifted in her speech. In this

passage, Speaker 1 consistently raised /æ/ to [æˆ]. Words with this feature include *pasture*, *bath*, *past*, *abandoned*, *raspberry*, and *patching*. Another phonological feature that she used is the monopthongization of /o/ in words like *drove* and *toast*. Again, this feature is relatively consistent in her speech. Out of eleven tokens, only two (*borrow* and *overcoat*) were not monopthongs. While /o/ monopthongization is not a specific part of the NCCS, it is a salient feature of Northern speech. Other features of her speech that are of phonological interest include the backed vowel [u] in *sooty* and *roof*, the diphthong [aʊ] in *route*, and the mid back vowel [ɔ] as the only syllable in *orange*, pronounced [ɔrnǰ].

Speaker 2 is from Athens, Georgia, and she exhibited many of the features associated with Southern speech. First, she monopthongized /aɪ/ to [aː] and /ɔɪ/ to [ɔ] in words like *time* and *boil*, and furthermore, she was the only speaker to monopthongize these vowels. While she always monopthongized /ɔɪ/ in this passage and [aː] was used a vast majority of the time, there were two instances — *try*, *light* — where /aɪ/ was realized as a diphthong. Additionally, her /u/ became the diphthong [ju] in *tune*, *Tuesday*, and even *coop*. Another feature of Southern American English is the lowering of /e/, which this speaker did consistently in words like *train*, *wait*, and *a.m.* She also showed consonant cluster deletion, as she dropped the final consonant in the word *old*. Furthermore, while Speaker 1 is a representative of the Northern Cities Chain Shift, Speaker 2 represents the Southern Shift. (Figure 2.4.) In this shift, /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ are raised. The first is heard in Speaker 2's pronunciation of *stepped*, *forest* (second syllable), and *attempt* which are all articulated very close to [ɪ]. Similarly, *milk*, *filled*, and *still* were also raised, not quite to the level of [i], but definitely high enough to distinguish it from raised [ɛ]. Another feature of the Southern Shift is the fronting of /o/, which is observed in this speaker's idiolect in *overcoat*. In comparison to Speaker 1, Speaker 2 did not front /ɑ/, as in *pot*, pronounced [pɑt]. *Orange*, *horrid* and *forest* were spoken with initial [ɔˇ]. Moreover, she gave [sʉ̟ ti] for *sooty*

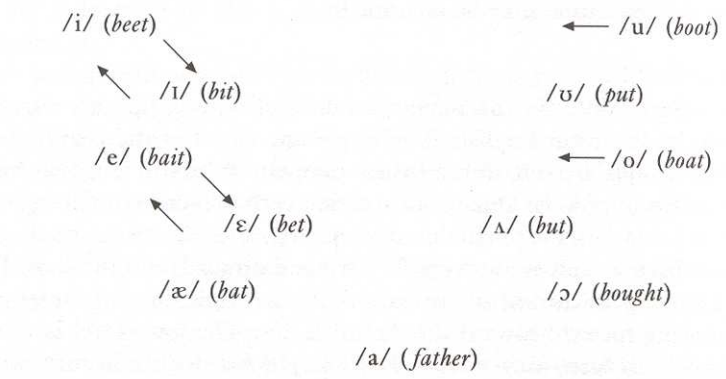


Figure 2.4: The Southern Shift, (from Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998:328)

and [raʊt] for *route*. Please refer to Table 2.1 for a comparison of features for all speakers.

The most salient feature of Speaker 3, which shows her to be representative of a New Jersey (Midland) speech group, is her use of low and back vowels. Her /æ/ is raised, but only slightly, in words such as *bath* and *pasture*. She also represents her speech area by not merging the low back vowels [ɑ] and [ɔ], a feature that is prevalent in the North and is quickly covering the West. She uses [ɔ] for *coffee* and *orange*, but [ɑ] for *horrid*, *crop*, and *collar*. And from what we can see from the reading passage, she seems to make the "Mary-merry-marry" distinction, as *raspberry* is pronounced with [-bæri] and not [-bɛri]. Similarly, the /ɛ/ of *bed* and *mess* are also lowered to [ɛˇ]. While Speaker 3 lowers /ɛ/, she also lowers /ɪ/, which one can hear in her pronunciation of *milk* as [mɛˆlk]. Other features of note that place her as a representative of her area and distinguish her from the other speakers include the consistent use of /o/ as a diphthong and *route* articulated as [rut].

As Speaker 4 was chosen as a representative of Standard American English, it is best to describe her speech in terms of what features were not present. In general,

Table 2.1: A Comparison of Speaker Phonological Features.

| Word | Speaker 1 | Speaker 2 | Speaker 3 | Speaker 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| coffee | [ɑ] | [ɔ] | [ɔ] | [ɑ] |
| route | [aʊ] | [aʊ] | [u] | [aʊ] |
| forty | [ɔ] | [ɔ] | [ɔ] | [ɔ] |
| milk | [ɪ] | [ɪˆ] | [ɛˆ] | [ɪ] |
| bath | [æˆ] | [æ] | [æˆ] | [æ] |
| Tuesday | [u] | [ju] | [u] | [u] |
| sooty | [u] | [ʉ̟] | [ʊ] | [ʊ] |
| time | [aɪ] | [aː] | [aɪ] | [aɪ] |
| horrid | [ɔ] | [ɔˇ] | [ɑ] | [ɔ] |
| bed | [ɛ] | [ɛˆ] | [ɛˇ] | [ɛ] |
| orange | [ɔrnj̆] | [ɔˇrənj̆] | [ɔˇrənj̆] | [ɔrnj̆] |

the speech of St. Louis has been found to contain features which are associated with the (nonstandard) Northern Cities Chain Shift. I have not found any of these nonstandard features in Speaker 4's speech. Moreover, she does not have the low-back merger, nor does she monopthongize /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/, or /oʊ/. *Orange* is noticeable in that it is pronounced with only one syllable, [ɔrnj̆], but this is true for Speaker 1 as well. (This similarity could be a artifact of the connection between St. Louis and Chicago speech that also brings the NCCS to the St. Louis corridor.) I also did not hear any consonant cluster deletion, as I did for Speaker 2. And as a final comparison, Speaker 4 pronounced *route* as [raʊt], and *roof* as [ruf].

I chose these four speakers not only because their phonological features were representative of their home region, but also because they were commonly perceived to be from that area. The same pilot study that was used to determine the descriptive terms used in the second task was also used to verify that these speakers could be heard as representative of their speech communities. For each voice, students were

asked to name the location (city, state, or region) where they believed the person to be from. In order for a voice to be used in this larger study, it was required that a majority of the students accurately identify the sample by state or region. For the fourth speaker, I was also looking for a consensus regarding her as being an identifiable speaker of "standard" American English.

### 2.3.4 Task 4 — Respondent Survey

The fourth task is a simple survey that the participants were asked to complete. Please refer to Appendix D. The survey asks for general demographic information, including age, sex, and education. It also asks for the location (city and state) of the participant's birth as well as where he or she grew up. This information is to verify that the person qualifies for participation in the study. The location of birth for the respondent's parents is also requested, as this may give insight into one's personal linguistic perceptions. Finally, even though the survey requests the participant's first name, all respondents were instructed that their names would be omitted from any research discussion or analysis.

### 2.3.5 Task 5 — The Easy Bake Interview

For the final stage of this methodology, I chose to include a short interview section. The interview consisted of only three questions, which were chosen for their potential ability not only to clarify the folk responses from the other parts of the study but also to shed light on the decision making process. The questions were asked as follows:

1. First, what do you think about the tasks you just performed? (Were they hard or easy for you)?

2. Next, what do you generally think about the way people speak in the United States today? (Is it good, bad; has it changed)?

3. Finally, do you have any personal experience or any stories where the way you spoke or the way someone else spoke made a difference, (came to light, or was the topic of discussion)?

Please note that the questions in parenthesis were only used for clarification or as alternative wording.

The first question directly points to the cognitive process. It elicited responses that give insight into how easily knowledge about language is retrieved. This line of questioning is key in revealing whether or not there really is a distinct cognitive pattern to how we understand the concepts of language and language variation. The second question is what I refer to as "The Linguistic State of the Union." This was asked in order to investigate the different types of comments folk subjects are most willing to discuss. This information is intended to help identify which aspects of language are foremost on the minds of nonlinguists. The final question was included in order to elicit each respondents' personal experience with language. This further reveals the attitudes that the respondents have regarding their own speech as well as that of other speakers. Furthermore, it gives good insight into the linguistic security or insecurity of the respondent.

## 2.4 Analysis of Cultural Knowledge

This methodology was created to investigate what nonlinguists know about language and to discover the cogntive patterns that underlie these thoughts. To do this, I have taken the approach of viewing language as a cultural domain. Here, the term "domain" is borrowed from anthropology and refers to one discrete topic that is familiar to those in a community or culture, such as diseases, animals, emotions, tools, and even language. (See below and Section 3.4 for more examples of cultural domains.) Another aspect of a domain is that a person's knowledge of it is learned.

For example, we know that the social traits that are often connected with language (such as "correct" or "pleasant," to use Preston's terms) are not an innate part of language itself. This type of knowledge (as well as knowledge of any domain) is both created and distributed by the community. Therefore, what the members of a community understand about a domain is considered to be "cultural knowledge."

Furthermore, because the community members are responsible for the creation and distribution of cultural knowledge, they alone are the ones who are the experts on it. Therefore, in order to understand this knowledge, a researcher must elicit information directly from the culture itself. However, because humans think and learn individually, there will always be differences in what people know about a particular domain. It is simply natural for some people to know more about certain topics than others do. For example, one may be able to distinguish dozens of flowering plants, while I personally may only know roses and azaleas. Therefore, when researching folk knowledge about a certain domain it is crucial not only to elicit multiple opinions but also to ask: Is there one set of responses (i.e. knowledge) that is common to members of the community? In other words, is there a "cultural consensus?"

But how does one test commonality in the face of inherent variation? To accomplish this and to "access the extent of knowledge possessed by an informant about a given cultural domain," consensus analysis was created (Borgatti 1996b: 40). This method, developed by anthropologists, comprehensively evaluates informant resonses and determines whether or not there is: 1. a single cultural consensus (an agreement among all members of the community), 2. no consensus (large differences in knowledge among group members), or 3. more than one subculture (separate patterns of knowledge in different groups of community members).

The statistical basis of consensus analysis is a minimum residual factor analysis, which can be run through the ANTHROPAC software program (Borgatti 1996a). The program output lists the factor loadings of the data, where the first factor

"consists of the additive combination of cases that explains the maximum amount of variability among . . . informants" (Handwerker 1998: 171). If there is only one factor produced, then all of the responses are explained by one knowledge set, showing a very strong cultural consensus. However, in most cases, there are at least two factors given; the second accounts for the variability in the first, and subsequent factors adjust for the rest. The analysis also gives an eigenvalue, which is the sum of the squared loadings, for each factor. If the ratio of the first eigenvalue to the second is at least three to one, then a very high amount of variability is accounted for by the first factor itself and a cultural consensus is revealed. We may therefore conclude that the participants share the same knowledge.

When looking at data which have been analyzed through consensus analysis, it is important to note that the method is not considered valid unless the following assumptions hold:

1. *Common Truth.* There is one and only one [culturally] right answer for every question.

2. *Local Independence.* [Participants'] responses are independent (across [participants] and questions), conditional on the truth.

3. *Item Homogeneity.* Questions are drawn randomly from a universe of possible questions, so that the probability $d_i$ that [participant] $i$ knows the answer to a question is the same for all questions. Thus, all questions are on the same topic, about which a given [participant] has a fixed level of knowledge. (Borgatti 1996: 42).

If a researcher is not absolutely positive about the application of these assumptions to their own data, one benefit of consensus analysis is that it automatically tests the first assumption.

Consensus analysis not only determines if there is one set of cultural knowledge, but it also supplies a "cultural answer key." The answer key is determined by the factor analysis and consists of the responses that were discovered to be shared among participants. This information is clearly a major benefit in using consensus analysis, as a researcher can take this answer key and test its validity with other sample groups. Furthermore, one can use this information to test the cultural knowledge of each individual participant. In fact, ANTHROPAC automatically calculates the "estimated knowledge" of each respondent. For each participant, the program produces a number, usually between zero and one, which can be viewed as if it were a score on a test. Those who gave a set of responses that closely matched those of the group would get a high score. In fact, if the analysis reveals a strong cultural consensus, not only would the eigenvalue ratio be higher than three, but all of the individual participant "test scores" would also be high. Alternately, if there is an outlier in the group, then his score would be low or even possibly a negative number.

Like the pile sort method, consensus analysis has been used effectively in a large number of studies in cognitive anthropology. Examples of domains that have been researched include cultural models of success (Caulkins 1998), folk views of medical conditions (Garcia, et al. 1998), and community notions of gender relations (Handwerker 1998). Furthermore, there have been several reviews of consensus analysis (cf. Borgatti 1994; Borgatti 1996b; Weller and Romney 1988, and de Munch and Sobo 1998), all of which promote it as an invaluable tool for folk-based research.

Therefore, it is easy to see that consensus analysis would be a strong method to incorporate into this current research project. It would not only show whether or not there is an underlying cognitive pattern of folk linguistic knowledge, but it would also help elucidate what these patterns are. Furthermore, once a pattern, or consensus, has been found, we can look at each of the individual respondents to see how culturally knowledgeable they are.

Table 2.2: Time (in minutes) for the completion of individual tasks

| NJ Respondents | Whole Interview | Task 1 | Task 2 | Task 3 | Task 4 | Task 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 42.79 | 8.36 | 19.32 | 10.45 | 1.71 | 3.04 |
| Longest | 70.59 | 18.27 | 48.06 | 17.37 | 4.08 | 8.01 |
| Shortest | 30.51 | 4.35 | 11.53 | 5.37 | 0.58 | 1.40 |
| GA Respondents | | | | | | |
| Average | 42.41 | 8.76 | 19.30 | 9.82 | 1.60 | 3.19 |
| Longest | 68.15 | 14.37 | 38.37 | 15.33 | 2.39 | 6.36 |
| Shortest | 30.38 | 3.42 | 9.57 | 7.56 | 1.01 | 1.47 |
| All Respondents | | | | | | |
| Average | 42.60 | 8.56 | 19.31 | 10.41 | 1.66 | 3.12 |

## 2.5 Final Methodological Note

This new methodology worked very well in eliciting responses that help answer the current research questions, as the remainder of this dissertation shows. There are, of course, limitations to any methodology, and this project was no exception. A discussion of these limitations and possible methodological alternatives appears throughout the analysis.

This methodology is relatively easy to carry out; each complete interview (all five tasks) lasted approximately 45 minutes. Of course, respondents could take as much time as necessary to complete each of the tasks. While the average time for both groups was 42.6 minutes, the range spanned 30.4 minutes (GA24) to 70.6 minutes (NJ20). Please refer to Table 2.2 for the average and range for each of the five tasks.

# Chapter 3

# Theoretical Background

As the methodology of this study comes from multiple fields in the social sciences, a survey of its background literature requires an investigation into a variety of disciplines that conduct folk linguistic research, including social psychology, sociolinguistics, perceptual dialectology, and cognitive anthropology.

## 3.1 Social Psychology

Social psychologists are generally concerned with the investigation of attitudes toward group membership, characteristics that influence interpersonal relationships, and the link between an individual's behavior and his group membership. They are furthermore interested in the development and distribution of attitudes within a society. A profitable approach to this line of research has been in the investigation of language use as a reflection of these attitudes. In this, "[a]ttitudes toward particular varieties are ... taken to be attitudes toward speakers of those varieties" (Ryan, et al. 1982: 2).

Traditional language attitude research began with the work of Wallace Lambert in the 1960's. Lambert was interested in investigating the social attitudes between French and English speakers in Quebec. He first became interested in this when he overheard two female English speakers on a bus talking about the two French-speaking women seated behind them. Lambert retold what he witnessed:

> My attention was suddenly drawn to the conversation in front wherein one lady said something like: 'If I couldn't speak English I certainly wouldn't shout about it', referring to the French conversation going on behind them. Her friend replied: 'Oh, well, you can't expect much else from them'. Then one of the ladies mentioned that she was bothered when French people laughed among themselves in her presence because she felt they might be making fun of her. This was followed by a nasty interchange of pejorative stereotypes about French Canadians, the whole discussion prompted, it seemed, by what struck me as a humorous conversation of the two attractive, middle class French Canadian women seated behind them. The English ladies couldn't understand the French conversation, nor did they look back to see what the people they seemed to know so much about even looked like. (1967: 92-93).

After overhearing this conversation, as well as other comments about language differences, Lambert focused on the creation of a "systematic analysis of the effects of language and dialect changes on impression formation and social interaction" (1967: 93).

For this investigation, Lambert, et al. (1960) created a most interesting and reliable research method in the matched-guise test. In this, a group of informants (or judges) are asked to listen to recordings of speakers of two different languages who are reading translations of the same passage. The judges are then asked to evaluate the personality characteristics of each speaker, using only linguistic cues. While the judges believe they are listening to and evaluating different speakers, they are actually hearing the same speaker, or set of speakers, in different guises. Therefore, as each speaker controls for rate of speech and other suprasegmental features, character judgments must be based solely on the language variety used.

In conjunction with the matched-guise test, speaker evaluations are often tested by the use of semantic differential scales. For example, Lambert (1967) specifically asked his judges to evaluate speakers in terms of eighteen different personality traits. These traits were grouped into three distinct categories: competence (e.g. intelligent, ambitious, self-confident); personal integrity (e.g. dependable, kind, sincere); and social attractiveness (e.g. sociable, affectionate, likeable). This combination of matched-guise tests and semantic differential scales has been found to be very effective in revealing judges' "private reactions," especially in comparison to the use of direct questionnaires (Lambert 1967).

In his studies of language attitudes toward Quebecois speakers of English and Canadian French, Lambert (1967) did find significant patterns. The evaluations were biased against the French speakers and showed more positive attitudes toward the English speakers. For example, the English speakers (or rather, English guises) were judged to be better looking, more intelligent, kinder, more dependable, and even taller than their French counterparts. What is most interesting about this finding is that the same attitudes existed regardless of whether the judges were English or French speakers.

This line of research quickly developed into a large body of work, and further research was conducted on language attitudes in bilingual communities. For example, d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973) continued work on French and English, Wölck (1973) researched Spanish and Quechua, Carranza and Ryan (1975) looked into Spanish and English, and Lambert broadened his own scope of research and studied Hebrew and Arabic (Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Komshian 1965). Furthermore, language attitude research extended beyond bilingual studies to include perceptions of non-native accents (Palmer 1973; Ryan 1973; and Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert 1962), second language acquisition (MacNamara 1973; Gardner and Clement 1990), language and

gender (Sachs, Lieberman, and Erickson 1973; Kramarae 1982), and African American English (Tucker and Lambert 1967; Fraser 1973).

Fitting with the goals of social psychology, language attitude research has found that judges do view speech as an indicator of group membership. And more specifically, speaker evaluations tend to follow a status versus solidarity division. Judges who themselves speak a nonstandard variety generally rate standard speakers high in terms of status issues, such as intelligence and ambition, but evaluate other nonstandard speakers as being more loyal and honest. Edwards (1982) says that "evaluations of language varieties ... do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality *per se*, but rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflects an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of those varieties" (21). This finding is quite important, as it has been used to further investigate the influence of an individual's attitudes toward group membership on his behavior in society. Applications of this research include Roberts, Davies, and Jupp's (1992) work in language and discrimination, as well as the investigation of teacher perceptions of students by Taylor (1973) and Carranza (1982), and student perceptions of teaching assistants (Rubin 1990; 1998).

One of the key applications of language attitude research has been the development of Accommodation Theory by Howard Giles (Giles and Powesland 1975). Giles believes that humans continually evaluate themselves and others for the purpose of social comparison and that this can be seen in an individual's language choices (Giles and Wiemann 1987). In other words, language use is a reflection of an individual's desire for social approval. Giles therefore posits that "an individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them" (Giles and Powesland 1975: 157). However, depending on how a speaker evaluates his interlocutor, he may not want approval. Instead of accommodating his

speech, the speaker may actually choose to use a more divergent form. Therefore, stylistic variation is explained by processes of convergence and divergence.

In the early 1980's this line of research again broadened its scope and investigators examined the development and distribution of language attitudes. Rosenthal (1974) found that children between three and five can make judgments on dialect differences and often show preference for the home variety (in Day 1982: 119). Furthermore, Day (1982) found that language attitudes are a part of a person's communicative competence and are, therefore, acquired. While children first show positive attitudes toward their home language, by the age of ten they have already developed the attitudes of the dominant culture and find more prestige in the standard dialect. They also recognize any negative associations with their home variety at this stage (Day 1982: Giles, et al. 1983). Additionally, St. Clair (1982) examines the actual distribution of all social attitudes (including language attitudes) throughout a society and gives examples, such as Social Darwinism and the Eugenics movement, as promoters of the social ideals of standardization and normalization. He posited:

> If the mainstream of society has been socialized through the educational system and through the mass media to accept a certain belief system, they will attempt to please and impress one another in their speech behaviour and in the contents of their attitudes. It is this reinforcing pattern of behaviour that accounts for the category of well-behaved citizens (173).

Regardless of the approach to or application of language attitude studies in social psychology, what is most important is the simple recognition that a complex relationship between language and society does exist. Joshua Fishman says it best:

> Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities,

> an indication of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community (quoted in Ryan, et al. 1982: 2).

## 3.2 Sociolinguistics

Parallel to the language attitude research in social psychology is the investigation of folk linguistic knowledge in sociolinguistics. While both sets of research actually elicit the same types of information, they each approach their work with different theoretical goals and techniques. In general, social psychologists use language attitude studies to help explain the relationships between individuals in a society, while sociolinguists attempt to use this information to explain language variation and change. The latter group approaches folk linguistic study with the understanding that "it is the perception of dialect differences and the social evaluation of these differences by participating members of the society which is the real basis for the existence of social dialects" (Wolfram and Fasold 1997: 110).

While Hoenigswald's original proposal for folk linguistics (see Chapter 1) is usually considered as the beginning of language attitude research in sociolinguistics, investigations into nonlinguist opinions had already begun before the 1964 conference (see Labov's response in Hoenigswald 1966). Having witnessed the creation and development of the matched-guise test, sociolinguists immediately saw an opportunity to use this technique to research folk attitudes regarding dialectal variation. Labov 1966 was the first publication to introduce the use of subjective reaction tests — which include a combination of matched-guise tests, semantic differentials, and open ended questions — in his investigation of New York City speech. Focusing on the goal of revealing the relationship between individual features and linguistic atti-

tudes, he tried to link nonlinguists' perceptions to the phonological variables that are commonly associated with New York speech: r-lessness and the use of alveolar stops for interdental fricatives. Instead, he discovered that "[t]he use of a single variant — even a highly stigmatized one . . . — does not usually produce a strong social reaction; it may only set up an expectation that such forms might recur, so that the listener does begin to perceive a socially significant pattern" (108).

Labov's research also revealed that his informants systematically downgraded the speech of individuals who had accents the same as their own. In order to understand this attitude better, "a respondent's judgment of his or her own performance on a specific linguistic feature (in terms of a frequency estimate) [was compared] with his or her actual performance" (Milroy and Preston 1999: 6). This "index of linguistic insecurity" was instrumental in revealing the linguistic "self-hatred" that often exists for nonstandard speakers. Trudgill (1972) also conducted research on speaker linguistic insecurity, which aided in his conceptualization of overt and covert prestige in language.

Additionally, Labov concluded that there were generally two basic types of subjective attitudes to be found: overt comments and unconscious attitudes. He noted that the unconscious responses that he worked with "are extremely consistent and uniform" (in Hoenigswald 1966: 23). Conversely, he found the overt responses problematic to work with:

> The overt responses in American and English society generally are quite poor as far as vocabulary are concerned. 'Poverty-stricken' would be the best term for this vocabulary. The inadequacy of people's overt remarks about their own language is directly reflected in the fact that there are only a few words that they use to convey the subjective response that they feel. For example, 'nasal'. Frequently, if you ask somebody what he

> thinks of this style of speech (nasalized), he'll say it's very 'nasal'; and if you produce a speech of this sort (denasalized), he'll say that's very 'nasal', too (in Hoenigswald 1966: 23).

But, even though the folk may use a different set of terms than linguists do, or they may use the same terms with different meanings attached, it is not appropriate to say that this information is not valid or that the folk are not aware of linguistic differences. Addressing this problematic view, Niedzielski and Preston (2000) have outlined the different levels of folk awareness of language that do exist:

1. Availability: ... not all facets of language (whether of performance, ability, or reaction) have equal availability to the folk. We rank them as follows:
   (a) Unavailable: the folk not only do not but will not comment on such topics (e.g. specific phonological features of some so-called accents).
   (b) Available: the folk will discuss some matters carefully described by a fieldworker ..., but they do not normally do so.
   (c) Suggestible: although seldom initiated in ordinary conversation, the folk will comment on topics if they arise, and they do not require elaborate description from a fieldworker.
   (d) Common: topics of usual folk linguistic discussion.
2. Accuracy: Although it has no bearing on the value of the data, folk descriptions of every aspect of language may be inaccurate or accurate.
3. Detail: A linguistic object may be characterized with great specificity or none.
   (a) Global: in 1. a) above, for example, we indicate that the phonological detail of an accent might be unavailable; that does not limit comment on the accent.

(b) Specific: in some cases, linguistic characterization is detailed (e.g., accounts of speakers who are said to drop their g's in *-ing* forms).

4. Control: In both account and performance, folk linguists may or may not control the variety (or an aspect of it) under consideration. . . . (22–23).

Therefore, it is more important to examine what types of information are available or unavailable to nonlinguists (and explore why this is so) than it is to focus on their comparative "lack" of knowledge.

Subjective reaction tests and other folk linguistic studies have been put to use in a variety of sociolinguistic research. Labov (1966) not only investigated New Yorkers' views of New York City speech, but also looked into informant evaluations of speaker occupation. Respondents were asked to listen to voice samples and choose from a list the occupation that best suited each speaker. He found that the use of marked features did lead to the devaluation of a speaker's occupational level. Wolfram (1973) also incorporated subjective reaction tests into his research of second-generation Puerto Ricans in Harlem, where he elicited informants' attitudes towards African American speech. van Bezooijen and Gooskens (1999) used folk linguistic methods to study the accuracy of dialect identification. This research showed that their Dutch and English informants were reasonably accurate at identifying varieties of their own language. Similarly, Evans's (1998) study looked at the accuracy of dialect features in folk imitations.

Additionally, Niedzielski (1999) found that just the suggestion of social information could affect an informant's perception of language. Her Detroit judges did not seem to notice Canadian raising in the speech of other Michiganders, but when they were told the speaker was from Canada (regardless of whether the speaker was from Canada or Michigan), they distinctly heard the vowel shift. Canadian raising is a feature of Detroit speech, but because the judges perceived their own speech as

"standard," they did not associate it with a feature that, for them, is stereotyped as "nonstandard." From this research, Niedzielski made some telling conclusions about the function of linguistic perceptions:

1. Listeners do use social information to calibrate the phonological space of speakers.

2. Stereotypes about given language varieties do affect the way in which listeners calibrate the phonological space of speakers of those varieties.

3. People's stereotypes about their own variety are inaccurate, and the phonological space calibrated for members of their own speech communities reflect this inaccuracy (84).

Furthermore, Baugh (1996) developed what is called the "linguistic sensitivity test." In this variation of the matched-guise test, his respondents listened to tape-recorded speakers and evaluated them on a scale of standard to nonstandard. He also instructed respondents to state the race of each of the speakers and to base their decisions on voice cues alone. Therefore, Baugh tested the judges' abilities to associate linguistic input with social features. This test revealed that his respondents were able to identify the speakers' race through speech, a finding that has strong implications for his work on linguistic discrimination.

Even though language attitude research has been quite productive for both sociolinguistics and social psychology, there have been some criticisms of its scope and strength. In one such critique, Milroy and Preston (1999) contrast "the theoretically and methodologically sophisticated work on attitudes to language associated with social psychology, ... [with] the linguistically detailed attitudes research of sociolinguists." They argue that the former "is short on linguistic sophistication and detail," while the latter "has tended to be presented rather taxonomically without the benefit of a sound theoretical framework" (8). Similarly, Edwards (1999) states: "Social

psychology, in its studies of language attitudes, has typically not related evaluative reactions to particular speech attributes. Sociolinguists, on the other hand — who have, of course, investigated these attribute[s] — have not given sustained attention to social ratings" (101).

While both fields have their theoretical and methodological deficiencies, one can see that these issues can be quickly overcome by combining the two points of view. The work that has probably come the closest to closing the gap between these two approaches is the development of Bell's (1984) Audience Design Theory. Like social psychologists, Bell believed that the social evaluation of a group is transferred to the features associated with that group. Looking at the reasons for variation within individual speakers, he proposed that "style shift occurs primarily in response to the speaker's audience rather than to amount of attention," as was posited by Labov (1997: 242). In his principal study, Bell investigated style shifting in the reports of New Zealand newscasters. The same newscaster reported on two different stations, each with a different audience; the first was a national public radio station, while the other was a local community station. By examining the use of intervocalic /t/ voicing, Bell found that the newscasters "showed a remarkable and consistent ability to make considerable style shifts to suit the audience" (1997: 243). In summary of his theory, Bell states:

1. Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people.

2. Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups.

3. Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience.

4. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire.

5. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension.

6. Speakers show a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, and to a lesser degree for other audience members. (1997: 243-246).

Another important development in language attitude research within sociolinguistics was the incorporation of acoustic equipment in its methodology. This equipment allowed for the controlled manipulation of individual linguistic features (Graff, Labov, and Harris 1983). Therefore, for the creation of voice samples, researchers no longer had to rely solely on those who were bilingual, bidialectal, or just really good at putting on guises. A recording from one single speaker could be re-worked with the guarantee that variation between speech samples existed only in the variable(s) under investigation. For example, one could produce multiple samples with different levels of r-lessness from one recording and, therefore, conclude that any difference in speaker evaluations would come specifically from the use of the variable [r].

## 3.3 Perceptual Dialectology

One of the most promising lines to come out of folk linguistic study has been the development of perceptual dialectology by Dennis Preston. In the creation of this research, Preston has pulled together methodologies and theoretical threads from sociolinguistics, social psychology, linguistic geography, and cultural geography. Even though perceptual dialectology is generally viewed as a subfield of sociolinguistics and folk dialectology, its importance in the development of this current study necessitates a separate discussion of its background and research agenda.

The first studies to investigate nonlinguist views of dialect boundaries are found in traditional European and Japanese dialect geography. Researchers included questions which elicited folk opinions in order to compare linguistic perception with production. Antonius Weijnen incorporated into his 1939 survey of Dutch dialects a set of questions that elicited participants' beliefs about the linguistic similarity of their surrounding communities:

1. In which place(s) in your area does one speak the same or about the same dialect as you do?

2. In which place(s) in your area does one speak a definitely different dialect than you do? Can you mention any specific differences? (Rensink 1999: 3).

He then plotted all of the responses on a map of the area. Using the "little-arrow" method, Weijnen drew arrows between the communities where his respondents believed that the speech was similar. Looking at Figure 3.1, we see that there is a line drawn from 'F' to 'K'. This tells us that the informant from town 'F' answered that the people in town 'K' speak a similar variety of Dutch as he does. 'F' also answered that the people in 'D' also speak similarly. But notice that while there is a reciprocal arrow drawn from 'D' to 'F', there is not one from 'K' to 'F'. Therefore, the informant at 'K' did not say that the people in 'F' speak in the same manner that he does. The thick black lines on the map mark traditional dialect boundaries and, therefore, show a lack of agreement between the lines of perception and production. If they were to agree, then within any dialect boundary all of the towns would have reciprocal, connecting arrows.

In Japan, Takesi Sibata (1959) approached the question of perception by asking informants to note dialect differences rather than similarities, as was done in Weijnen's survey. Sibata, and his coworker Grootaers, instructed respondents to indicate the areas in which the speech is "not different," "a little different," "quite different,"

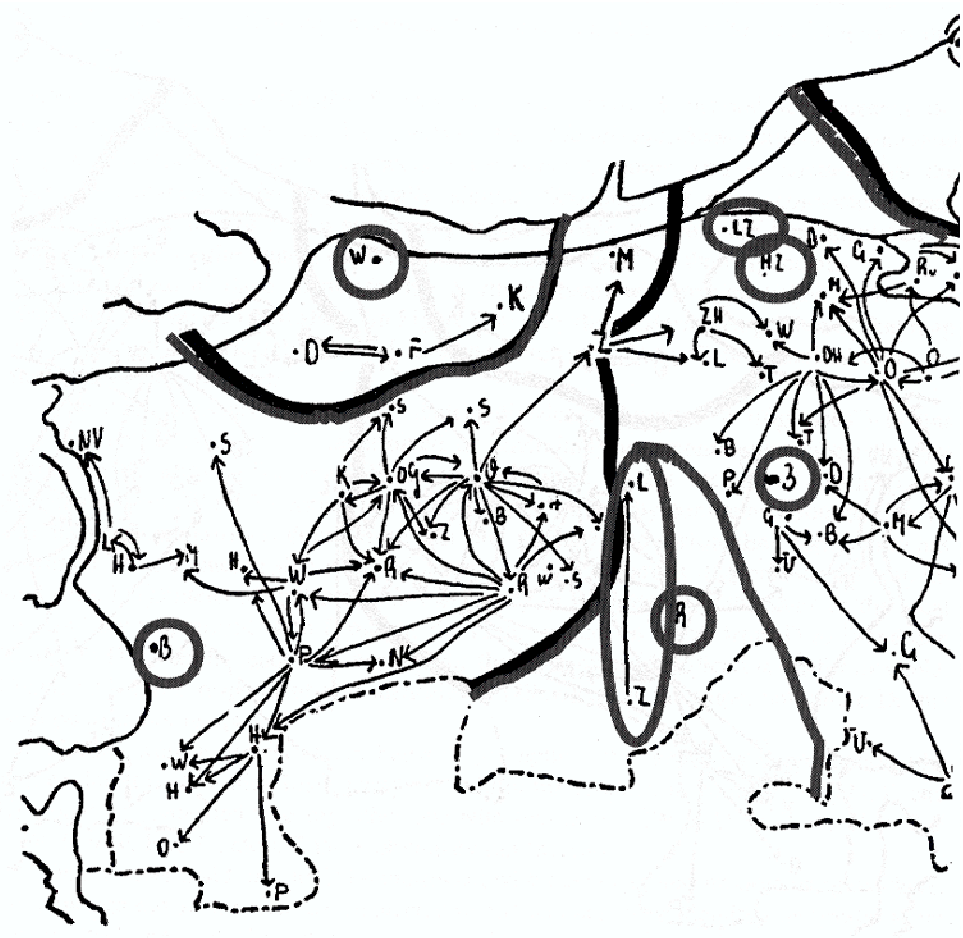

Figure 3.1: Folk dialect map of Western North Brabant, from Preston (1999: xxvii).

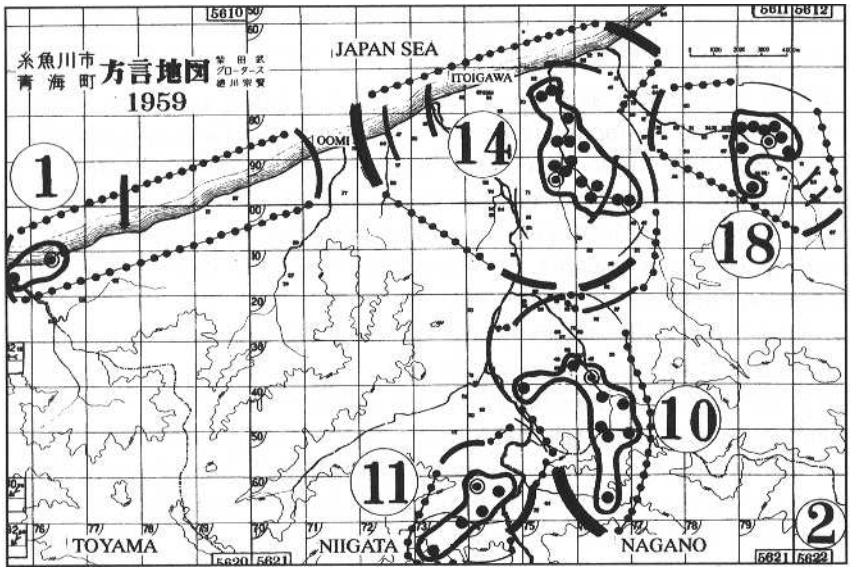


Figure 3.2: Subjective dialect groups in Japan, from Sibata (1999: 42).

or "mostly incomprehensible" (Preston 1999: xxx). They then analyzed the responses by drawing increasingly thick lines that corresponded to the perceived differences (see Figure 3.2.) As in the Dutch study, these speech communities were compared to actual dialect boundaries, and again, a lack of agreement was shown. It was claimed that "the resulting subjective dialect boundaries are of little or no interest to linguists since they do not generally correspond to traditional dialect boundaries" (Preston 1999: xxx). However, Nomoto (1963) and Mase (1964) both found interesting correlations in their research of perceived dialects. They discovered that while subjective folk dialect boundaries did not agree with linguistic boundaries or even political divisions, they did correspond to school boundaries.

Because the expected results were not found, most scholars abandoned research into folk perceptions of dialect regions. However, this approach was resurrected by Dennis Preston in order to answer his own questions, including: What do nonspecialists have to say about variation; Where do they believe it comes from; Where do they believe it exists; and What do they believe is its function? (Please refer to Section 1.1 for a full discussion of Preston's methods and findings.)

The methodology created by Preston has been borrowed and reworked by other linguists. Lance (1999) conducted a comprehensive, contrastive study of folk perceptions in nine states — Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Georgia, Alabama, Missouri, South Dakota, and Washington. Hartley (1999) carried Preston's work to Oregon to examine perceived dialects from a Western perspective. (See Figure 3.3.) Furthermore, Tamasi (2000) investigated Georgian language attitudes in order to further investigate linguistic insecurity and the Southern point of view. Research has even been extended outside of the United States and has been conducted in Brazil (Preston 1985), Japan (Long 2002), and Korea (Long 2002).

In each study, investigators adapted Preston's techniques to match their own goals. (This adaptability is one of the most attractive aspects of Preston's method-

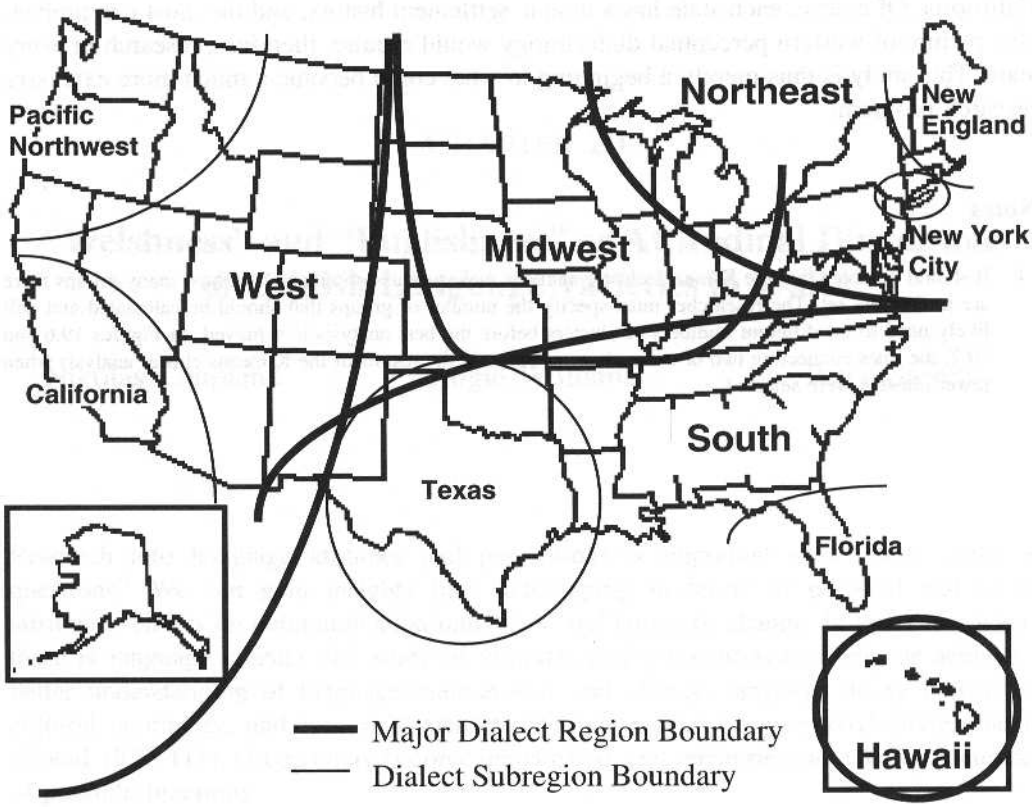


Figure 3.3: Oregonian perceptual speech regions, from Hartley (1999: 331).

ology.) For example, in Tamasi (2000), my research was conducted out of the classroom in order to get perceptions of a larger sample of respondents. In order to avoid using only college students and to gather a random sample (or at least as much as a random sample is possible when dealing with people), interviews were conducted in community grocery stores. Because of location, the whole interview process was shortened to under fifteen minutes. Therefore, the crucial tasks of Draw-a-Map and "pleasant" and "correct" ratings were the only ones retained for this project. For the first task, respondents were asked to divide up the United States into dialect regions, but they were not asked to label their groups. Additionally, instead of rating each of the fifty states for levels of "pleasant" and "correct" speech, respondents were instructed to mark the areas where the *most* correct and *most* pleasant speech is spoken (see Figure 3.4). While this variation obviously lost information that was normally gathered in traditional studies, it did elicit some different kinds of data. For example, in my second task, participants were able to mark entire regions, individual states, or even parts of particular states as being "correct" or "pleasant" and were not restricted to rating entire states only, as is the case in the traditional method.

Through these studies, perceptual dialectology has presented some intriguing patterns in how nonlinguists view variation in language. One of the most interesting, to me, is that regardless of the home community of the respondent, the South continually stands out as the most salient dialect region in America. Furthermore, Kretzschmar points out the global importance of perceptual dialectology and asserts that the "mismatch" between perception and production "is one of the most important facts about language, and its discovery is one of the most important findings of modern empirical linguistics" (in Preston 1999: xviii). His statement is quite interesting when one takes into account that it was this lack of agreement which almost led to the complete abandonment of folk responses within dialectology.

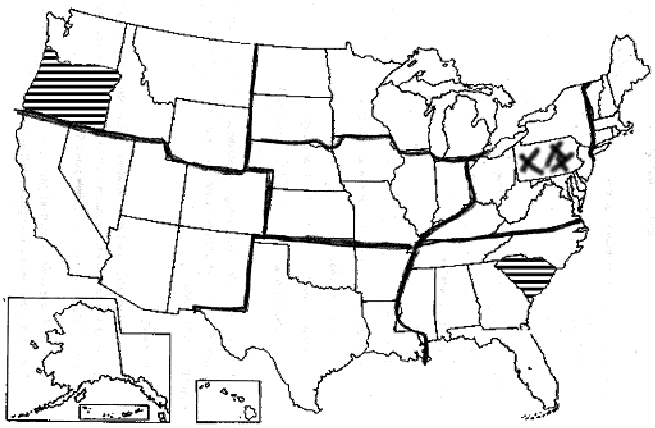


Figure 3.4: Georgian hand-drawn dialect map, from Tamasi (2000). Stripes = pleasant; XX = correct.

## 3.4 Cognitive Anthropology

As D'Andrade states: "*Cognitive anthropology is the study of the relation between human society and human thought.* The cognitive anthropologist studies how people in social groups conceive of and think about the objects and events which make up their world — including everything from physical objects like wild plants to abstract events like social justice" (1995: 1; emphasis in the original). Cognitive anthropologists elicit folk knowledge regarding a particular cultural domain (e.g. illnesses, types of local plant-life) in an attempt to reveal what information is common to the people within a community and, furthermore, which of this information is considered culturally significant, peripheral, or prototypical. This investigation is then used to explain how ordinary people understand their world, how they organize this information, and how this knowledge gives insight into the structure of culture itself. In general, cognitive anthropology is the "study of culture from an emic perspective" (Borgatti 1994: 276).

One of the underlying tenets of cognitive anthropology is the understanding that human knowledge, even though it can be tempered by personal experience, is cultural knowledge. In other words, "most of what any human ever thinks has been thought before, and most of what any human ever thinks has been learned from other humans" (D'Andrade 1995: xiv). Therefore, a secondary goal of cognitive anthropology is the discovery of how cultural knowledge is distributed throughout a society.

The use of folk knowledge in anthropology originally came out of traditional ethnological studies, as developed by Boaz and his students in the early to middle twentieth century. This approach to the study of culture was further developed, with more precise goals, theories, and methodologies, through the ethnoscience investigations beginning in the 1950's and 60's. Also at this time, researchers turned to the semantic analysis of kinship terms, and the publication of two papers, Lounsbury (1956) and Goodenough (1956), is still considered to be the beginning of research in cognitive anthropology.

Previous studies focusing on the emic structure of culture and cognition have identified and categorized a large variety and number of cultural domains. For example, in their famous study, Berlin and Kay (1969) looked into the cultural significance of color terms. Moreover, D'Andrade (1985) investigated the categorization of character terms, while Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) categorized the way a society talks about emotions. Kempton (1981) looked into the folk classification of ceramics, and Roberts, Golder, and Chick (1980) researched pilot error. Working with other scholars, Roberts also investigated sports domains, such as eight ball pool (Roberts and Chick 1979), tennis (Roberts, et al. 1981), and women's trapshooting (Roberts and Nuttras 1980). Similarly, ethnoscientific research has continued with a large variety of work on ethnobiological, ethnobotanical, and zoological folk taxonomies, such as Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1974 and 1976) and Zarger (2002).

These studies tend to approach the categorization of objects or concepts with a focus on the lexical items given by respondents. Researchers review the different terms given in order to discover which are the most common within the community. They are interested not only in the consensus of respondent knowledge but also in the amount of variation in the answers given. Borgatti (1994) has noted that there tends to be a core group of terms that are used by the community, but that there is a great number of "idiosyncratic" terms that are given by only one or two people. Furthermore, investigators strive to discover the most general and most specific terms available for folk use and also look for the significance of those categories without names.

Anthropologists also attempt to reveal the underlying criteria for the categorization of items. For example, a respondent may, consciously or subconsciously, divide up different drinking vessels with regard to size, shape, presence of a handle, or use with hot versus cold drinks. Or one could sort different breeds of dogs in terms of either size or ferocity. Therefore, the criteria for categorization, if not given by the researcher at the outset of the study, can show which features are most salient for the individual participant or, if a pattern emerges, for the entire community.

In fact, these criteria are often crucial to understanding the cognitive process. While investigating the domain of blacksmiths, Dougherty and Keller (1985) found that "[w]ithout some sort of goal, direction, or task, these sortings [of tools] seem irrelevant to task-oriented blacksmiths" (163). What might seem like an appropriate means for division to the researcher, such as shape in the case of a blacksmith's tools, may seem completely nonsensical to the respondents, and therefore not a valid part of the domain. It is therefore important to make sure that researcher bias is not brought into the analysis; the emic structure must derive solely from the respondents themselves. Similarly, the different types of criteria are also crucial to note, as this information can reveal much about the organization of cognition itself.

"There are numerous ways in which relevant knowledge is organized and reorganized within a system of open possibilities. . . . Open possibilities suggest shifting, flexible, creative, organizations of knowledge" (Dougherty and Keller 1985;162).

This finding of intracultural variation (both lexical and organizational) has been embraced by cognitive researchers. Dougherty (1985) points out the similarities between culture and language, with a focus on the emic and etic analysis of both. In this discussion she links the principle of complementary distribution to human cognition, citing that "a single unit of behavior may take alternate forms in contrasting contexts" (1985; 5). Noting that "a certain amount of cognitive diversity is necessary to the functioning of society," Boster (1985) argues for the systematicity of culture "in spite of great cognitive diversity among informants" (178). Moreover, Kay (1987) states: "a folk theory does not present a globally consistent whole the way a conscious, expert theory does. This should surprise no one, since it is precisely the conscious reflection characteristic of expert theorizing that is generally considered to produce its global coherence" (76).

The results from these cognitive studies have been linked directly to research in human memory and perception. Miller (1956) has made great steps in our understanding of human cognition by showing that "the number of simultaneous discriminations that individuals can make falls off rapidly at about seven bits of information" (D'Andrade 1995; 43). This finding, as stated by D'Andrade, became "a central facet of the new cognitive models of the mind" (1995; 43). Along with Miller's finding, "Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1973) concluded that folk taxonomies, unlike scientific biological taxonomies, rarely exceed five levels" (D'Andrade 1995; 43). Both studies show that there are limits to what we as humans can hold in short-term, or working, memory. D'Andrade also states that "[i]t appears that human memory is greatly affected by prior conceptions or schemata, and that people assume that 'things which are alike' are usually 'things which go together" (1985; 323). In gen-

eral, concepts that are strongly supported by a well-developed cultural schema are more easily recognized.

This line of research is also noteworthy in that it is quite sophisticated methodologically. Stephen Borgatti (1994, 1996b, and elsewhere) has talked at length about the different ways to conduct a cultural domain analysis. For this he describes the use and development of free listing, pile sorting, consensus analysis, cluster analysis, and multidimensional scaling. He has even created the ANTHROPAC statistical software package to create and analyze questionnaires automatically for this type of study (Borgatti 1996a). Weller and Romney (1988) have also documented the various methods available for research in cognitive anthropology and domain analysis. Beyond the methods listed above, rating scales, triadic comparisons, block designs, and sentence frame formats are other examples of usable methods. As one can see, there are a number of different techniques for this type of analysis, each with its own specific approach and focus.

The discipline of cognitive anthropology has clearly shown that folk classifications are culturally dependent. Researchers have been able to use this information to compare and contrast the cognitive organization of different societies in order to answer the larger question of the structure of culture and its overall relationship to human cognition. Lakoff (1987) emphasizes the role of cognitive categorization in human life and claims: that "[w]ithout the ability to categorize, we could not function at all, either in the physical world or in our social and intellectual lives. An understanding of how we categorize is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human" (6).

# Chapter 4

# Regional View

## 4.1 Perceptual Maps

Perceptual dialectology has shown that people do carry personal views of the number and placement of dialect regions in the United States. It has also been shown that these "mental maps" tend to follow certain patterns across respondents, such as which dialect regions are perceptually the most salient. This chapter focuses on the regional views of our Georgia and New Jersey respondents, as shown by the pile sorting task, and discusses what this task reveals about the folk categorization and understanding of variation in language.

As was explained in Chapter 2, I asked respondents to sort fifty cards, each with a state name written on it, into areas where people speak similarly versus differently from one another. These piles represent the respondent's perceived dialect regions.

To analyze the respondents' pile sorts, I performed a hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis. This type of proximity analysis views all of the data and determines which items are most similar to one another, or as applied to this study, which states are most often represented in the same dialect regions. The cluster diagrams from the analysis of the Georgia and New Jersey respondents are shown in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, respectively. These representations immediately reveal specific dialect regions as well as the state clusters that are the most salient.

The levels presented in each cluster diagram, shown in the far left column, indicate the average degree of similarity among items within clusters. The range of

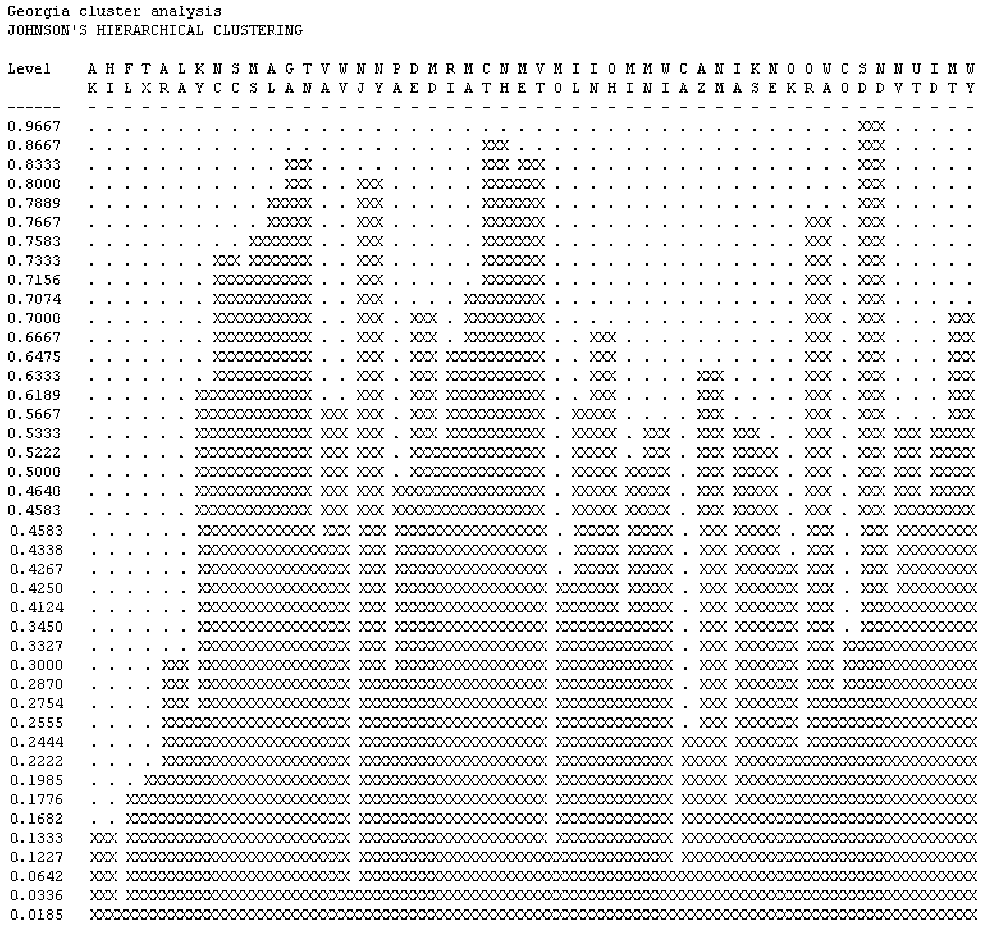


Figure 4.1: Cluster Analysis of Georgia Respondent Data

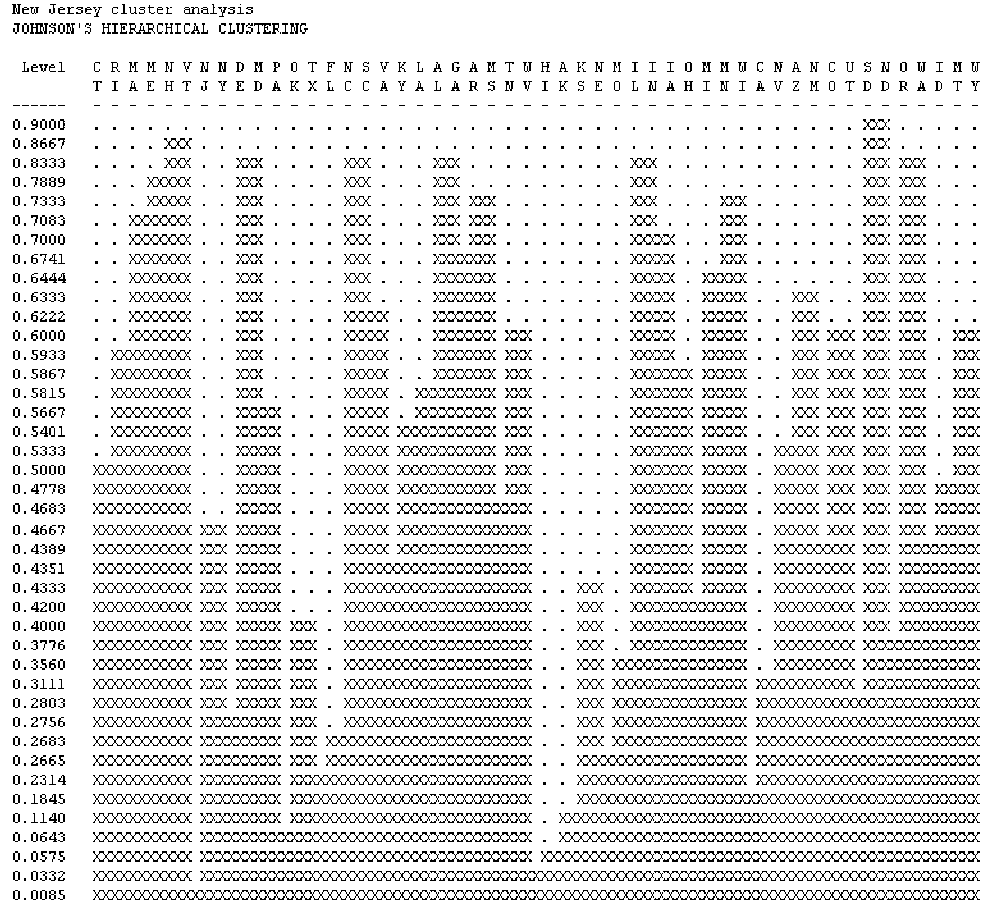


Figure 4.2: Cluster Analysis of New Jersey Respondent Data

cluster levels that appear in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 is between 1 and 0. These numbers are not percentages, but rather come from the data matrices analyzed by the statistical software. For each state-x-state matrix (one for each of the sixty respondents), each cell was coded with a "1" if the states were placed within the same pile and "0" if they were separated.

Because the cluster analysis I used is an agglomerative method, the software begins with small, closely linked clusters and gradually merges them into one large cluster. Therefore, in these charts, the higher the level, the more similarly perceived the states. A cluster at the level of 1.00 would mean that the states were perceived to be exactly the same. As the level approaches zero, we find less similarity (i.e. higher difference) within individual clusters. For example, .8000 in Figure 4.1 represents a very high degree of similarity between items within a cluster, but .1985 shows a low degree of similarity and is primarily an abstraction of the earlier clusters. However, this does not mean that the clusters at the higher levels are more valid than the ones which are lower. While a cluster at a high level shows a very strong similarity between states, a division at a low level reveals differences between clusters that are equally as strong.

In order to compare the cluster analyses of both respondent groups, I have chosen to focus on three approximate levels that present a range in degrees of similarity — .75, .50, and .25. While the exact numbers chosen are somewhat arbitrary, they are basic, equal increments that show an interesting range of proximities among and within clusters. And as is discussed below, each of these levels reveals a different perspective of American speech. First, I begin with a discussion of the findings at levels .25 and .50.

Looking at the responses from the Georgia respondents, we see that at the .25 level there are six separate regions that stand out — the Southeast, Northeast, Midwest, West, Central, and Southeast. Figure 4.3 shows the geographical distribution

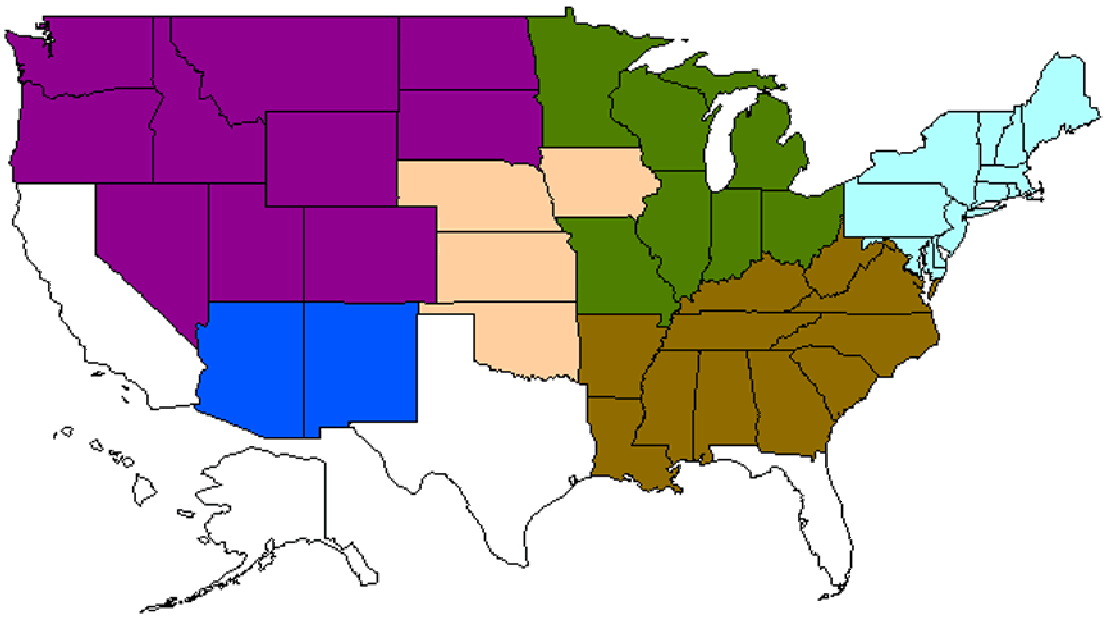

Figure 4.3: Map of Georgia Cluster Analysis at Level .25

of these regions.[1] One of the most significant findings in this study is that even at a level in which the majority of the states cluster together, distinct regional differences prevail. This proves that there are areas of the country that appear to the folk as significantly different from one another in terms of speech.

Furthermore, even though the majority of the fifty states fit within these six large regions, there are still five states — Alaska, California, Florida, Hawaii, and Texas — that stand on their own. There are two possible reasons for this result: 1) there is a consensus among respondents that the individual state is a dialect region in itself; or 2) there is not enough consensus among respondents for the statistical

[1]For all of the maps presented in this dissertation, each color represents a different dialect group; however, the colors themselves are meaningless. No single color is consistently associated with one particular area across maps. However, for the cluster maps, all of the independent states are marked with white.

analysis to group the state with any other. I have found that in this study, both reasons account for this phenomenon.

A review of the individual respondents' sorting patterns (discussed in detail below) shows that over half of the Georgia participants placed Hawaii (77%) and Alaska (60%) into piles by themselves, showing that these states are often thought of as their own independent dialect areas. (See Table 4.1.) Additionally, Florida was sorted by itself by 40% of the participants, which points to the conclusion that this state was also viewed independently. However, Florida was also grouped with the South by 33% of the respondents and with New York or other northern states by approximately 25%. Moreover, Louisiana, which was isolated even more often than Florida, did cluster with other states. Therefore, I must conclude that it was a lack of consensus that led to Florida's isolation. Similarly, Texas and California were placed by themselves by, respectively, only nine (30%) and six (20%) of the Georgia respondents, numbers too low to prove that the sample group viewed them as individual dialect regions. Therefore, we must conclude that while Alaska and Hawaii are viewed as their own dialect areas, it was a lack of consensus that separated Texas, Florida, and California from the other states.

At the higher cluster level of .50, we see the appearance of sub-regions of the larger dialect groups by Georgia respondents. (Figure 4.4.) The Southeast remains primarily intact, but West Virginia and Virginia break away as a different speech area. Moreover, Arkansas and Louisiana do not cluster at all. Similarly, the Northeast is divided by a New York and New Jersey sub-region and the non-clustering Pennsylvania. Significantly, the Northeast region at this iteration shows that the clusters are not solely related to geographic distribution. The singular Northeast region actually appears in non-consecutive areas, as the New England states cluster with Maryland and Delaware. Therefore, the Georgia respondents view a general Northeastern speech pattern that is not geographically bound. (This finding is dis-

Table 4.1: Number of Respondents Placing States Alone

| state | GA Inf. | NJ Inf. | Total | | state | GA Inf. | NJ Inf. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 1 | 0 | 1 | | MT | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| AK | 18 | 17 | 35 | | NE | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| AZ | 0 | 1 | 1 | | NV | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| AR | 1 | 0 | 1 | | NH | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CA | 6 | 8 | 14 | | NJ | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| CO | 6 | 2 | 8 | | NM | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| CT | 1 | 2 | 3 | | NY | 2 | 12 | 14 |
| DE | 0 | 0 | 0 | | NC | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| FL | 12 | 7 | 19 | | ND | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| GA | 3 | 0 | 3 | | OH | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| HI | 23 | 23 | 46 | | OK | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| ID | 4 | 1 | 5 | | OR | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| IL | 2 | 1 | 3 | | PA | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| IN | 1 | 0 | 1 | | RI | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| IA | 1 | 1 | 2 | | SC | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| KS | 2 | 1 | 3 | | SD | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| KY | 1 | 0 | 1 | | TN | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| LA | 16 | 5 | 21 | | TX | 9 | 7 | 16 |
| ME | 2 | 2 | 4 | | UT | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| MD | 1 | 0 | 1 | | VT | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| MA | 5 | 4 | 9 | | VA | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| MI | 2 | 3 | 5 | | WA | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| MN | 4 | 2 | 6 | | WV | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| MS | 1 | 0 | 1 | | WI | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| MO | 2 | 0 | 2 | | WY | 1 | 0 | 1 |

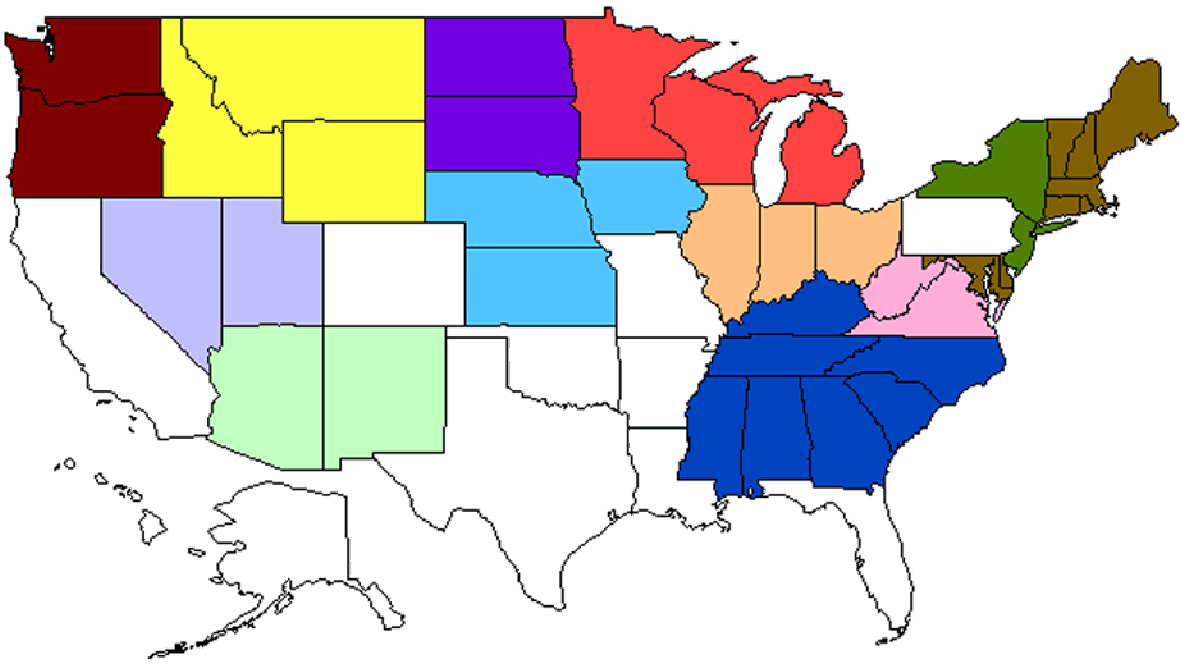

Figure 4.4: Map of Georgia Cluster Analysis at Level .50

cussed in greater detail below.) Moving beyond the East Coast, we see multiple sub-regions that form in the West as well as the division of the Midwest into a northern and southern area.

Even though I discuss the appearance of sub-regions at the .50 level, one must recognize the fact that this is not the only level where they exist. Because cluster analysis presents similarities on a continuum, each level represents a different picture of respondent perceptions. Here, I have shown only one example.

Next, let us turn to the New Jersey view of American speech at these levels. The New Jersey respondents grouped their perceived dialects into regions very similar to those of the Georgian respondents, but with some telling differences. At the .25 level, there are six separate dialect groups and two states, Alaska and Hawaii, that stand alone. Again, these two separatists are viewed as their own speech regions, as

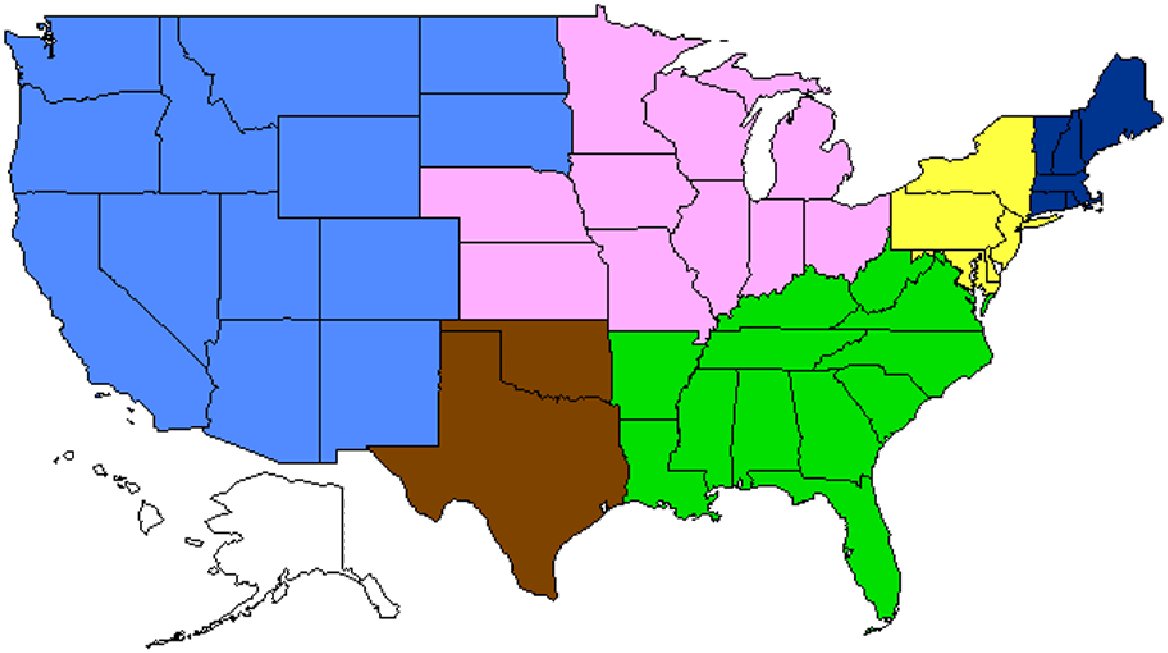

Figure 4.5: Map of New Jersey Cluster Analysis at Level .25

respectively 77% and 58% of the respondents placed Hawaii and Alaska by themselves (Table 4.1). While the Georgians grouped all of the middle and northern East Coast, from Maryland to Maine, into one cohesive group, the New Jersey group divided these states into two separate, but geographically bound, regions of New England (Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island) and the Middle Atlantic states (New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware). The Midwest is also fairly similarly perceived; however, the New Jersey participants included in this area Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, which, for the Georgians, form a speech region with Oklahoma. Like the Midwest, the Western region includes greater area for the New Jersey participants; here California, Arizona, and New Mexico are absorbed into a larger group. Finally, Oklahoma and Texas form a sixth dialect region.

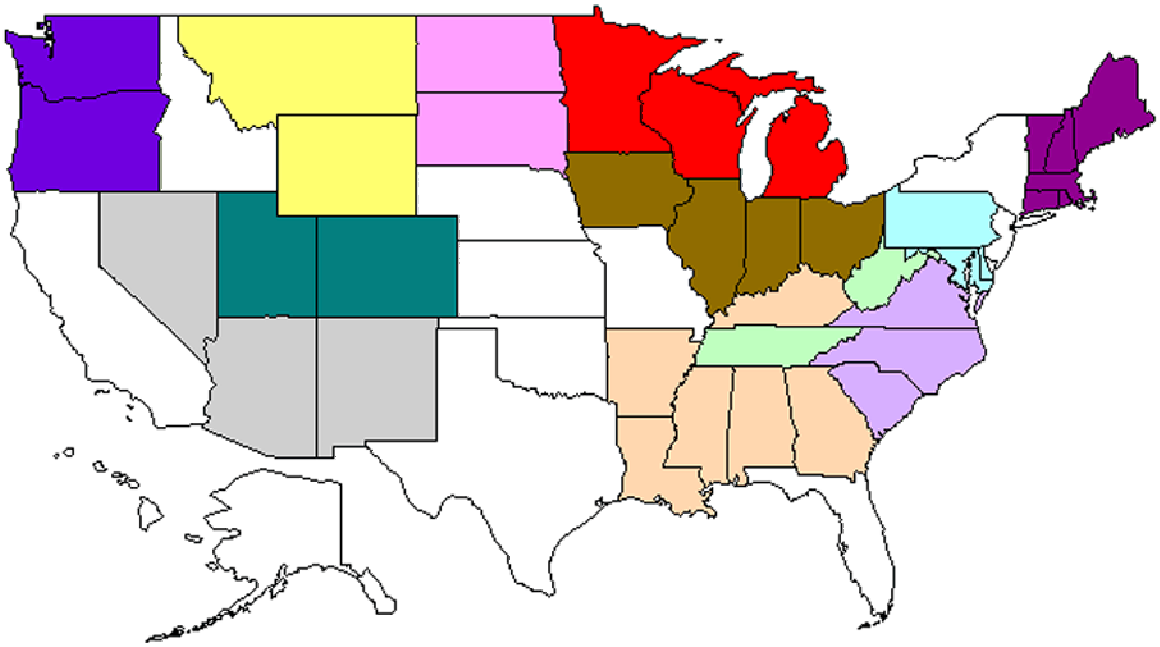

Figure 4.6: Map of New Jersey Cluster Analysis at Level .50

The .50 cluster iteration of the New Jersey pile sorts shows sub-regions of the larger dialect areas that were revealed at .25. Here we see a major division of the Western group into several specific areas which are made up of only two or three states each. (See Figure 4.6.) For example, North Dakota clusters with South Dakota, Colorado with Utah, Oregon with Washington, Montana with Wyoming, and Nevada and Arizona with New Mexico. Furthermore, the larger South is divided into three separate perceptual groups. Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina branch off, and West Virginia and Tennessee secede together, showing a retreat from geographical ties. Similar to the Georgia responses, the Midwest clusters into a northern and southern region.

Some of the differences between the two groups appear to be linked to respondent point of view. For example, the difference in the view of a Northeast region that

includes New Jersey changes between the two samples. New Jersey sees itself as an area sometimes linked with New York (50%) and sometimes placed by itself (27%). Georgians view New Jersey as intrinsically linked to New York; ninety-seven per cent of the Georgia respondents placed New Jersey and New York in the same dialect area. At the .25 cluster level, the Georgians lump together New Jersey (and New York) with the New England states. Conversely, the New Jersey participants do not link themselves or New York with New England at all. Furthermore, at a stage of close similarity, the .50 level, the Georgians see the New York/ New Jersey speech area as different from the other surrounding states, even to the point where it physically divides the rest of the northeastern region. At the .50 level, the New Jersey pile sorts show New York and New Jersey standing as two independent speech groups, each separate from the rest of the United States.

The view of the South at the .50 level also reveals sample group differences. While the New Jersey participants divide the Southeast into three separate groups that eventually cluster together to create a larger dialect group, the Georgia respondents consistently see this as a singular, cohesive, and apparently well-known speech region. This result is surprising since, as folk respondents more accurately recognize local dialect differences, I would have expected the Georgia group to split up the South and for the New Jersey respondents to lump it all together. Conversely, the New Jersians' view of their own speech does agree with the idea that folk recognize local speech differences; they believe their speech to be different than that in New York and Pennsylvania. An alternative analysis, however, is that while Georgia clusters the South into one large group for solidarity, New Jersey may specifically separate themselves from New York to promote their independence, as this area of New Jersey is commonly portrayed as just a large suburb of New York City. These underlying social views are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

To summarize, the perceptual dialects created by both respondent groups are remarkably similar. Both sets reveal dialect areas that remain distinct from one another even at low iterations of the cluster analysis, showing that there are strong perceptual boundaries that are common across respondents. Furthermore, these areas appear in generally the same locations; they both include a Southeast, West, and Midwest. While both groups had Northeastern regions, it was clear that they had two different interpretations of the speech in these areas. While Georgia lumped the entire Northeast together into one group, New Jersey divided it into two clear speech groups.

To look further into the similarities and differences between the two groups, I also ran a cluster analysis on the data given by all participants together. This information gives good insight into a more general American view of speech regions. It is obvious, however, that research must be completed in many more areas in order to get a more complete picture. Figure 4.7 is the cluster diagram for all respondents, and Figures 4.8 and 4.9 are the corresponding composite maps of the cluster analysis at the .25 and .50 levels, respectively.

At the .25 level, the United States is divided into seven distinct regions that reflect the overall view of American speech. While this cluster analysis does resemble that of the Georgia participants, it is strikingly similar to the same level map for the New Jersey respondents, with only the Indiana / Illinois cluster missing. Furthermore, alongside these seven areas are four states that do not cluster with any others — Alaska, Hawaii, Florida, and Texas. As was shown while viewing these sample groups individually, the first two states were placed alone a majority of the time. Respondents often commented that they knew that the speech was distinctly different in these areas or admitted that this perception was based on the fact that they did not know much about the people living there. Florida was placed alone by 35% of the respondents, and Texas by 27%. (Please refer to Table 4.1.) Therefore, we

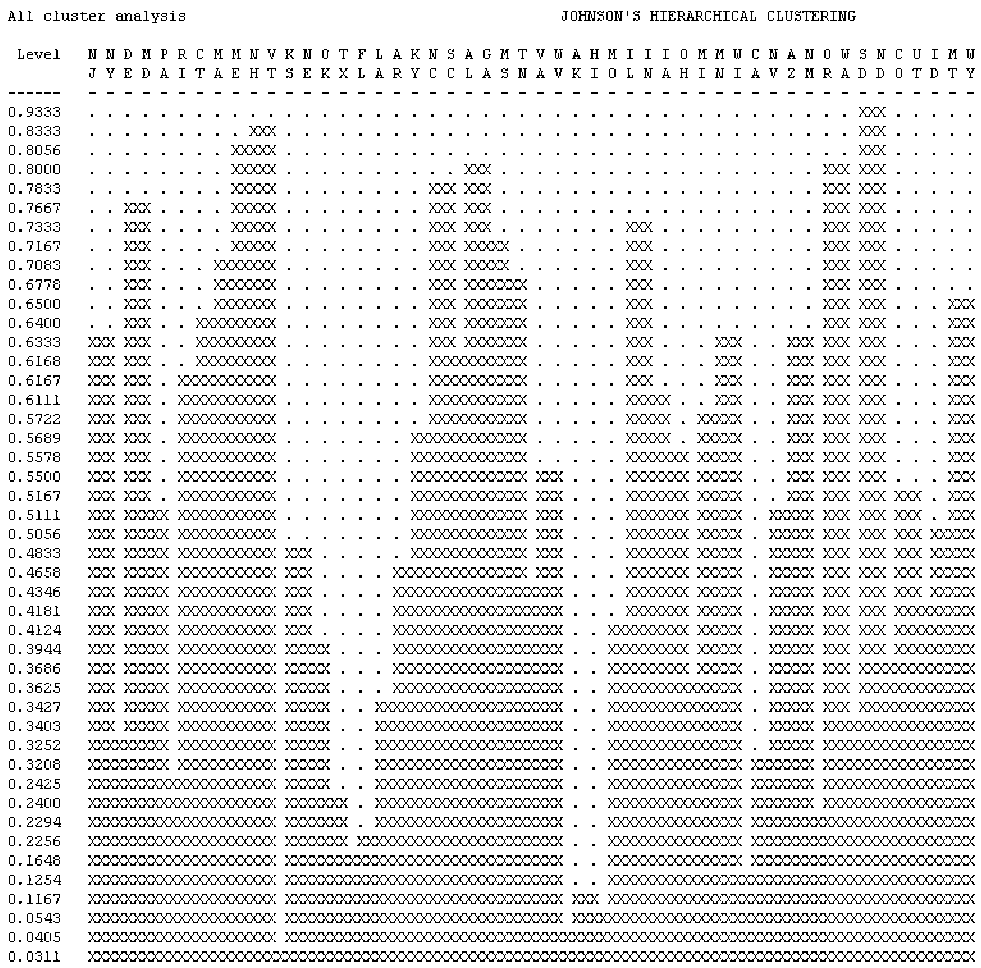


Figure 4.7: Cluster Analysis of All Respondent Data

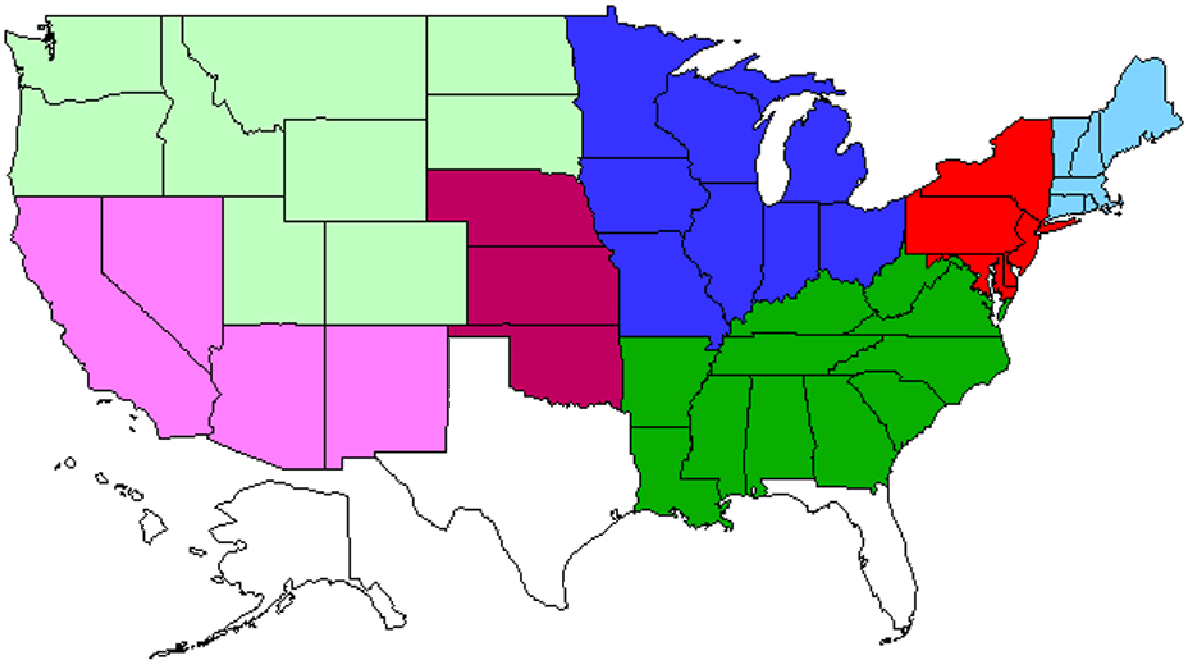

Figure 4.8: Map of Cluster Analysis for All Participants at Level .25

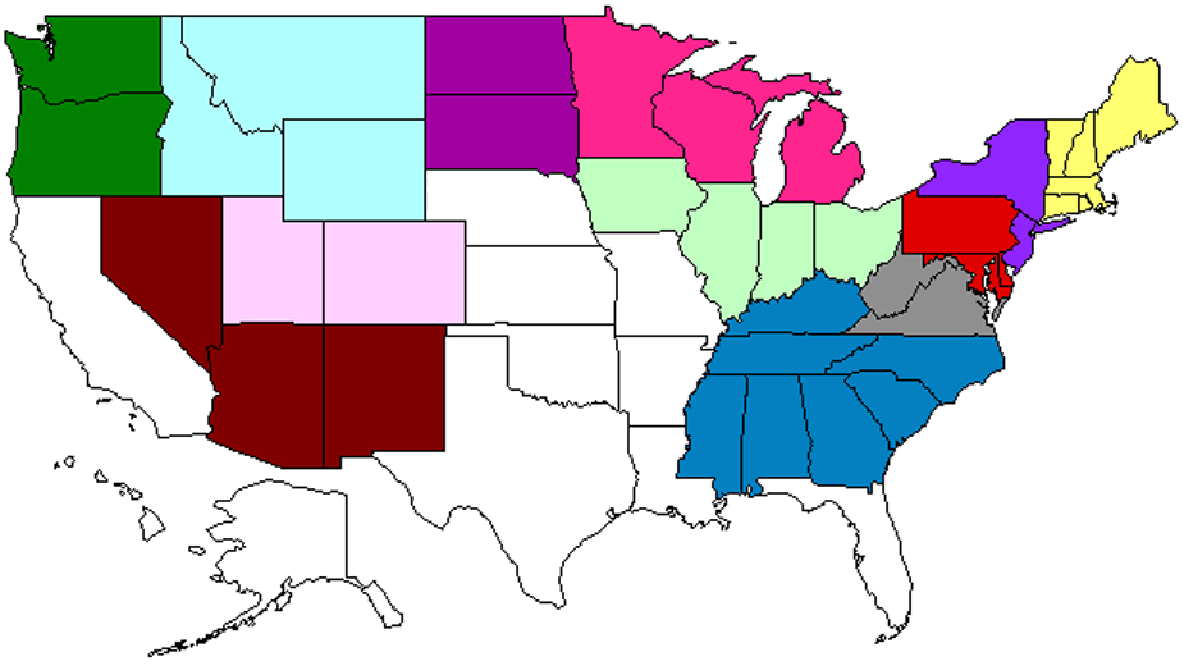

Figure 4.9: Map of Cluster Analysis for All Participants at Level .50

can reason that these states do not cluster with any others due to a lack of consensus and not due to a majority view of the state having different speech than anyone else. And reviewing individual respondent's sorts further, we also notice that Texas was divided between the West and the South and that Florida was either viewed as a part of the South or a part of a non-geographically defined area with New York or California.

Other research in perceptual dialectology has found similar results in the different dialect areas that are revealed. One of Preston's most important findings has been that the South is the most salient dialect region among his respondents. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the North, Northeast, Southwest, and West are the next most agreed upon dialect areas for his Michigan respondents. (Figure 4.10.) Similarly, his Indiana respondents find the South, Northeast, North, Inner South, and Texas as their common speech regions (Figure 4.11). Therefore, while there are some differences from point of view, there definitely is a set pattern in the dialect areas which underlies folk linguistic perceptions. Moreover, the range of states that make up these regions does not overshadow the overall pattern that exists.

The perceptual maps from my respondents also resemble the responses in Hartley's research. (Figure 4.12.) Even her sub-regions of New England, New York City, Florida, Texas, California, and the Pacific Northwest correspond to the mental maps from New Jersey and Georgia. Conversely, Lance shows many more distinct regions in his perceptual studies. This may be due to the fact that he interviewed folk from a large number of places around the U.S. and as we have seen, point of view can make a difference in response patterns.

Next, we must compare these perceptual regions to the real (i.e. not perceived) varieties of American speech that have been documented through research in dialectology. Of course, even different dialect studies produce different views of the number and boundaries of regional dialects in the United States. Figure 4.13 is a composite

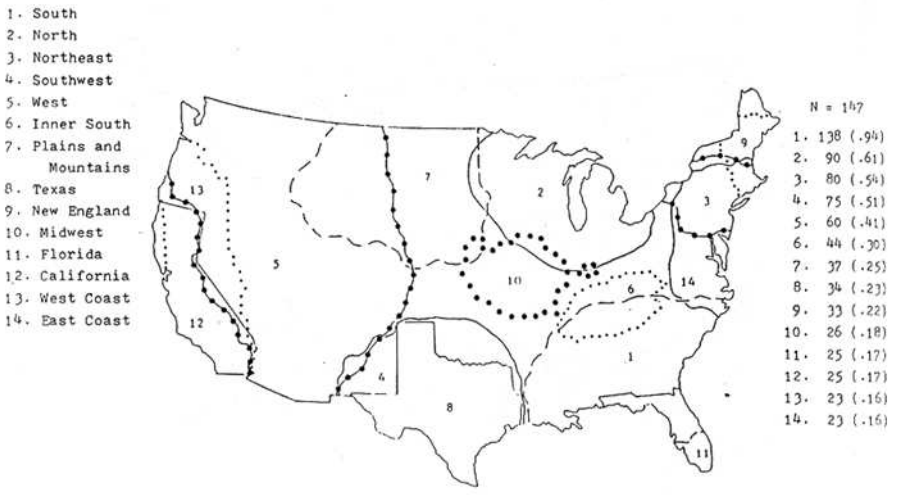


Figure 4.10: Perceived American dialect regions from Michigan respondents. Source: Preston (1993b: 342)

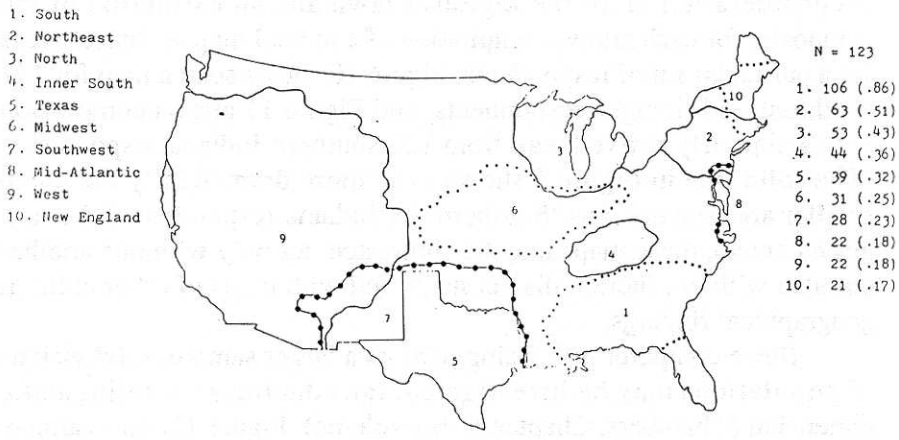


Figure 4.11: Perceived American dialect regions from Indiana respondents. Source: Preston (1993b: 342)

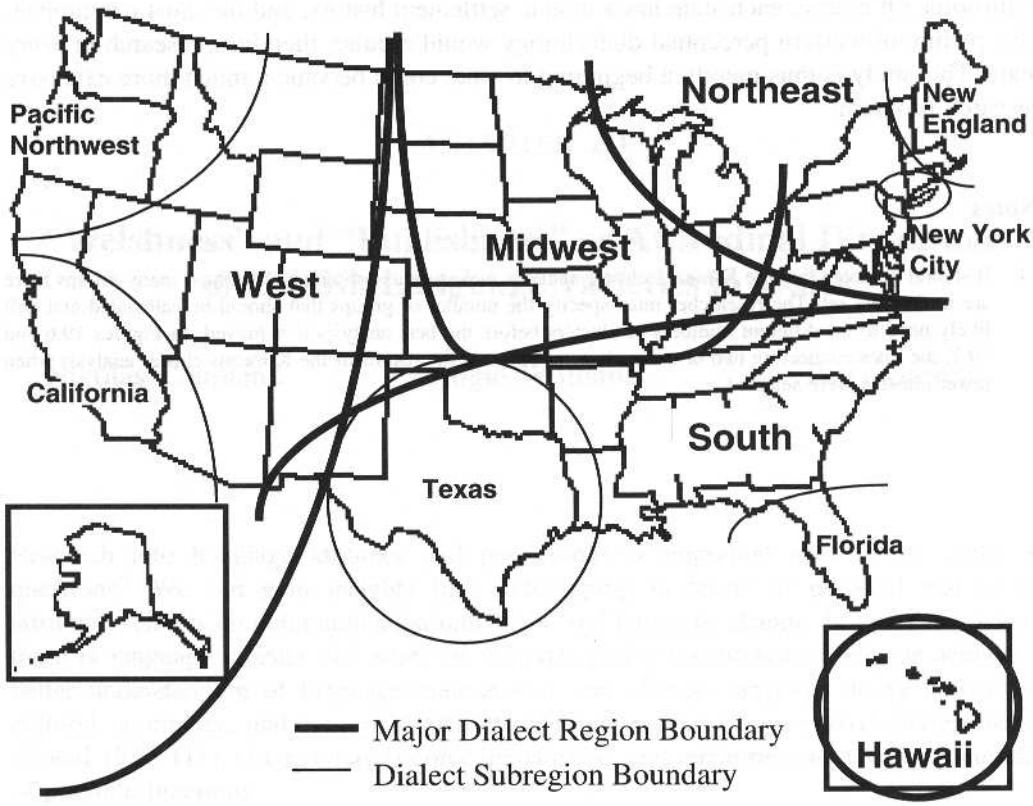


Figure 4.12: Perceived American dialect regions from Oregon respondents. Source: Hartley (1999: 331)

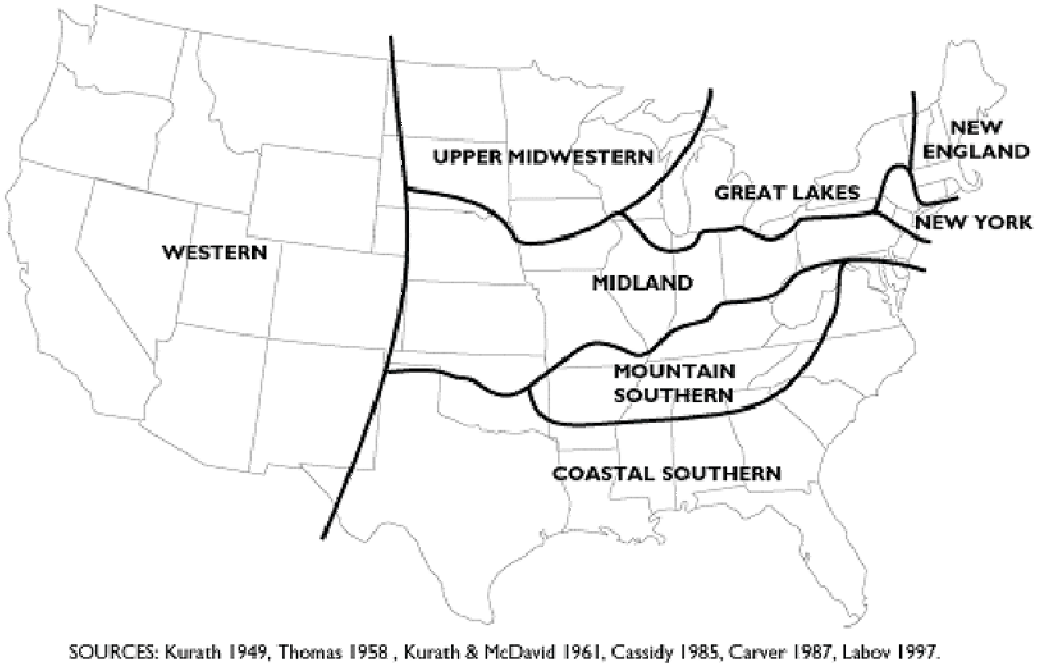


Figure 4.13: Composite of American regional dialects, created by Salvucci (1999)

map of different dialect studies, put together by Salvucci (1999), which I will use here as the basis for comparison.

Comparing this map to the general composite map of all of our participants (.25 level, Figure 4.8), we see several areas of interest. While the linguistic map displays a large, general Western area, the study's participants perceive a split in this speech region. They find two separate varieties in this area, a general Western and a Southwestern area. This view is not specific to these respondents; Preston's participants also are aware of this Southwestern speech group. Conversely, the Coastal Southern and Mountain Southern areas are both perceived by our Georgia and New Jersey respondents as one cohesive Southern perceptual area. The Upper Midwestern and Great Lakes are also perceived as a larger Northern area, even though the Dakotas

are sorted with the West. And furthermore, we see identical views of a New England speech area.

The Midland is also an interesting area to contrast the linguistic and the perceived. At the .25 level, there appear to be two Midland dialects, an Eastern and Central, that are divided by a band of states associated with the North. This band consists of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Forming a Mid-Atlantic or the Eastern Midland region, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania are grouped with Maryland and Delaware. However, in the dialect map based on actual linguistic features, the southern half of New Jersey and most of Pennsylvania fit into the Midland, while northern New Jersey and southeastern New York split to form a New York City speech area. On the other hand, the western part of the perceived Midland actually matches up with the linguistic view and includes Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. Most interesting is that while it first appears that the Midland is not recognized as a cohesive speech area, a deeper look into folk perceptions reveals a different view. Specifically, while this central band of states attaches to the North at the .25 level, these states actually stand separate from the region at .50, revealing an Upper Midland that is different from the North and the other Midland states.

One difference between the folk and dialectological view is the spatial organization of dialect regions. Actually, this not only shows a difference between the real and the perceived, but it also shows a difference in viewpoint between this and other perceptual studies. We observe at the .50 level that there are dialect boundaries that are not geographically contiguous. For the Georgia respondents, the New England states clustered with Maryland and Delaware as one distinct dialect region, while New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which physically connect the two groups, were considered separately. (Refer back to Figure 4.4.) Moreover, the New Jersey respondents created a Southern speech group that was also broken geographically. Tennessee and West Virginia, non-connecting states, clustered as one dialect region,

which physically, but not perceptually, separates the Deep South states. A more detailed discussion of the placement of perceptual dialects is continued in Section 4.2 below.

While these perceptual composite maps offer a good basis for comparison, we must pause to reassess exactly what they are telling us. Cluster analysis does not present one singular division of items but instead presents the data on a continuum from most similar (least different) to least similar (most different). Therefore, it gives us the opportunity to view multiple groupings of the data.

As the continuum approaches zero for this study, the items are grouped in such a way as to normalize the differences between them. Because of this, the divisions that do remain are very strong. Moreover, at these smaller levels the independent clusters are determined not so much by similarity as they are by difference. Therefore, at the .25 level, we see the differences in speech that are most salient to the community.

While this is a strong finding that reveals dialect differences, it does not tell us anything about the core areas of similar speech. The .50 level hints at these core areas, because at this point on the continuum, we are viewing clusters that are created by both similarity and difference. Here the regions are not as abstracted as they were at .25, and the states that are only remotely similar no longer cluster. Therefore, this level is most valid for showing the sub-regions of the larger dialect groups.

However, we still are presented with the question of what are absolutely the most similar, or core, dialect areas within the U.S. For this, we must turn to the clusters that were created solely out of a high degree of similarity. And what we find when we move up the cluster diagram to the higher levels is that our nice, cohesive dialect groups quick falter and fade.

The analysis at the .75 iteration reveals the areas of the country which are perceived to be absolutely the most similar. Figure 4.14 displays the Georgia clusters

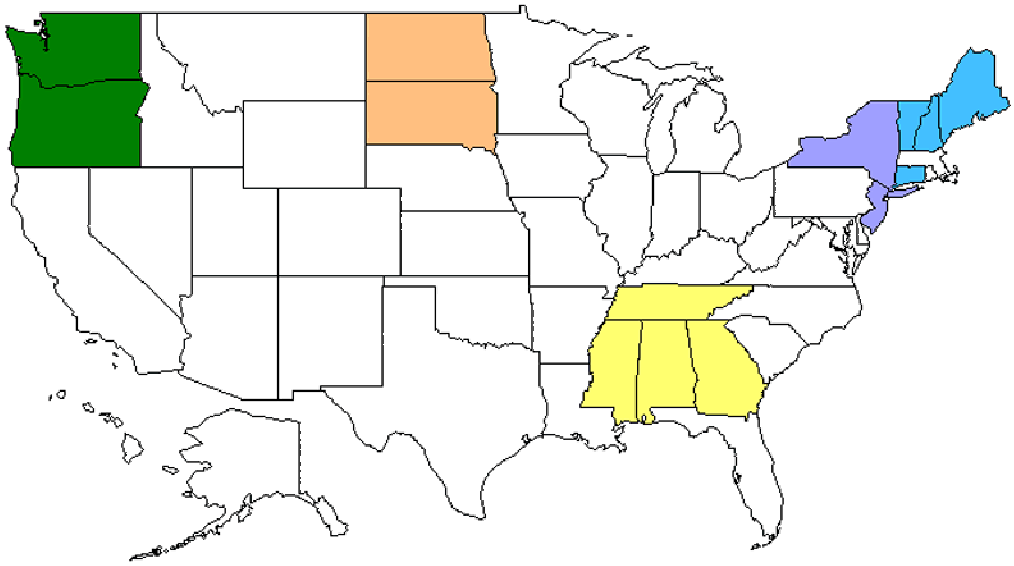

Figure 4.14: Map of Georgia Cluster Analysis at Level .75

at this level. For the most part, these are the states which are viewed by the respondents as having the most identifiable (i.e. core) speech areas. Here we find only a few key areas: 1) the New England states of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, which actually cluster above .75, at .80; 2) New Jersey and New York, also at .80; 3) the deep South area of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee at .76; and 4) Oregon and Washington at .77. Furthermore, with a level of .97, Georgians definitely find the Dakotas as the most closely correlated states.

Similarly, there are seven regions that cluster above the .75 level for the New Jersey respondents. (Figure 4.15.) All but two of the respondents, NJ3 and NJ19, placed North and South Dakota in the same pile, resulting in the high correlation level of .90. Other areas that cluster include Oregon and Washington, Illinois and Indiana, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and Maryland

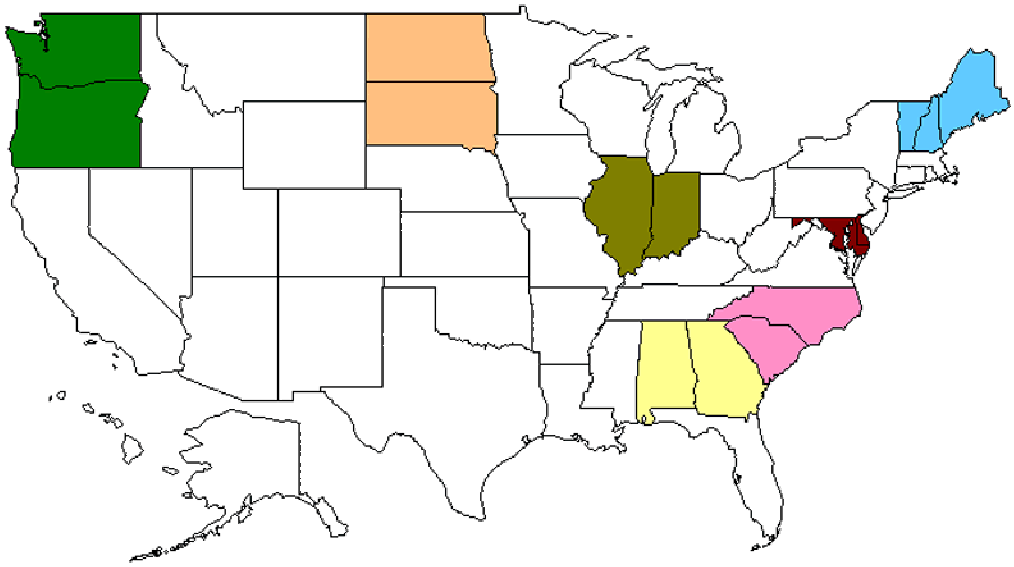

Figure 4.15: Map of New Jersey Cluster Analysis at Level .75

and Delaware, all at .83. Finally, Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire also cluster together at .79.

Moreover, there is a high correlation between the two groups with regard to which states or areas were the most similar. Both included 1) Georgia and Alabama; 2) the Dakotas; 3) Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire; and 4) Washington and Oregon as states having the same speech. Looking at all responses together (Figure 4.16) we not only find these four common groups, but also the clustering of South Carolina with North Carolina and Delaware with Maryland. Apparently, the perceptions of these last two sets of states were stronger in the analysis of all participant responses than they were for the Georgia participants alone.

Therefore, it would appear that we have found the areas of American speech that are the most notable for these Georgia and New Jersey respondents. However,

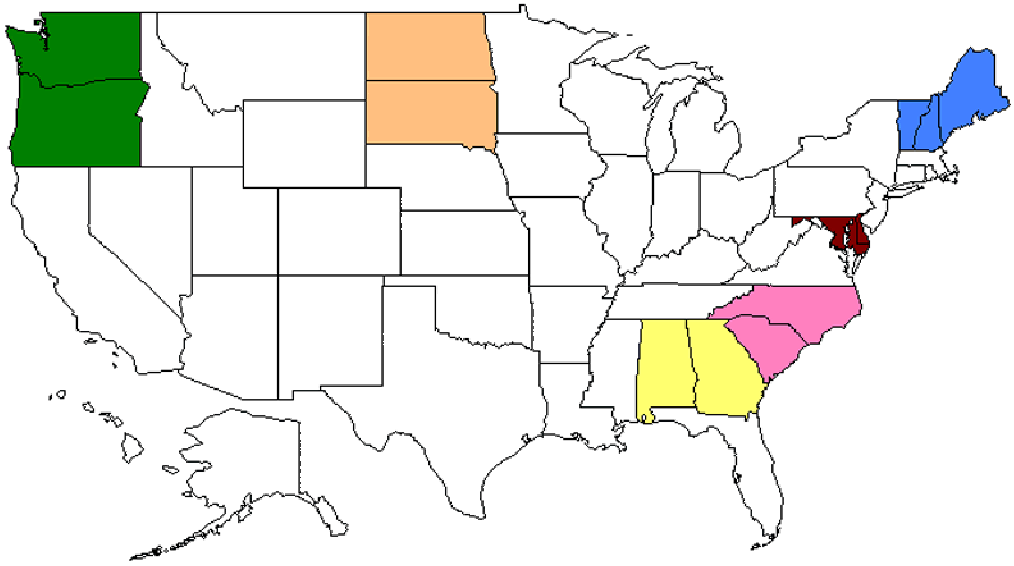

Figure 4.16: Map of Cluster Analysis for All Participants at Level .75

I believe we must investigate these groupings closer. In reality, there are actually two possible explanations for the clusters: 1) These are absolutely the core areas of American speech regions recognized by all respondents, or 2) the states cluster together by fault of the methodology and are actually indistinguishable neighbors. While I would be pleased to say that the first is the correct answer, I feel that the second is also responsible.

First, I do not believe the Dakotas clustered together with the strongest similarity because of a common perception about the speech there, but instead clustered due to a lack of knowledge about this area among respondents. Comments heard during this task pointed to the fact that the respondents were not sure about this speech and felt the Dakotas simply "must be the same." And similar comments were heard

with regard to Washington and Oregon.[2] As for the two Southern areas, I have mixed impressions. Similar to the Dakotas, the like-named North and South Carolina were most likely grouped together out of non-linguistic issues. Finally, previous perceptual research (cf. Preston 1997; Hartley 1999) has shown that folk responses commonly specify a Southern dialect area and place the core of this region along the border of Alabama and Georgia. My respondents may have shared this view, and as such, the cluster analysis could have revealed this area as most salient.

While we see some interesting core differences in respondent views, their dialects are not similar enough to one another so that the larger regions obtain. Because there are very few areas that are perceived to contain similar speech we must conclude that respondents have very independent views of the exact make-up of American dialect regions. In order to investigate this further, let us turn our attention to the independent dialect regions created by individual respondent pile sorts.

## 4.2 The Organization and Categorization of Speech Regions

While the analysis in the previous section reveals much information regarding what nonlinguists think about dialect regions in the United States, we must now turn our attention to the underlying cognitive patterns associated with language perceptions, or, in other words, *how* they think about these dialect regions. In this, we observe two very significant findings in the ways that people organize and categorize American speech.

Appendices E through H show the individual respondent pile sorts graphically represented. One of the most significant findings to come out of this study is immediately apparent when reviewing these maps. Specifically, we find that the perceived

[2]I actually feel that Washington and Oregon should have clustered at a higher level than they did, because while reviewing participant responses, I noticed that two or three people seemed to be thinking of Washington D.C. instead of Washington state.

dialect regions are *not* geographically continuous, as one would expect when investigating region. In fact, only four of the sixty respondents — GA23, GA29, GA30, and NJ21 — sorted the states into dialect groups that were 100% spatially constrained. Some key examples of dialect distribution can be found in the maps by GA7, GA9, GA19, NJ7, NJ9, NJ12, and NJ19. Of these, NJ19 and GA7 are reprinted below in Figure 4.17. As stated previously, one of the main reasons why the pile sort method was incorporated into this study was because it would remove the spatial relations between states from the task itself. Therefore, if geography was a factor in a respondent's categorization, then it would be an aspect of the dialect that was a part of his personal association and not a bias in the methodology. It is therefore clear that while it may play a part in the decision making process, geography is not *the* driving force in folk mental maps.

One may believe, at first, that this finding is actually a testament to the educational system in the United States and simply shows that the respondents do not know their American geography. While a lack in geographical knowledge may have affected some of the responses, it could not be the underlying reason for all of these responses. First, a labeled map of the U.S. was available to the participants during the interviews. Second, there is qualitative information from participant comments that tells us this is not the case and that there were other factors that took precedence over geography. For one example, please refer to the dialect map created by NJ8, in Appendix G.7. Notice that Texas, Oklahoma, and Wyoming are all marked as being in the same speech area. During the sorting task, this participant commented about "cowboy speech" and placed together the areas where he believed these cowboys would reside.

The non-geographical distribution of dialect regions can be partially explained by respondent recognition of actual linguistic trends. Several of the respondents discussed the migration patterns within the United States as well as the influences

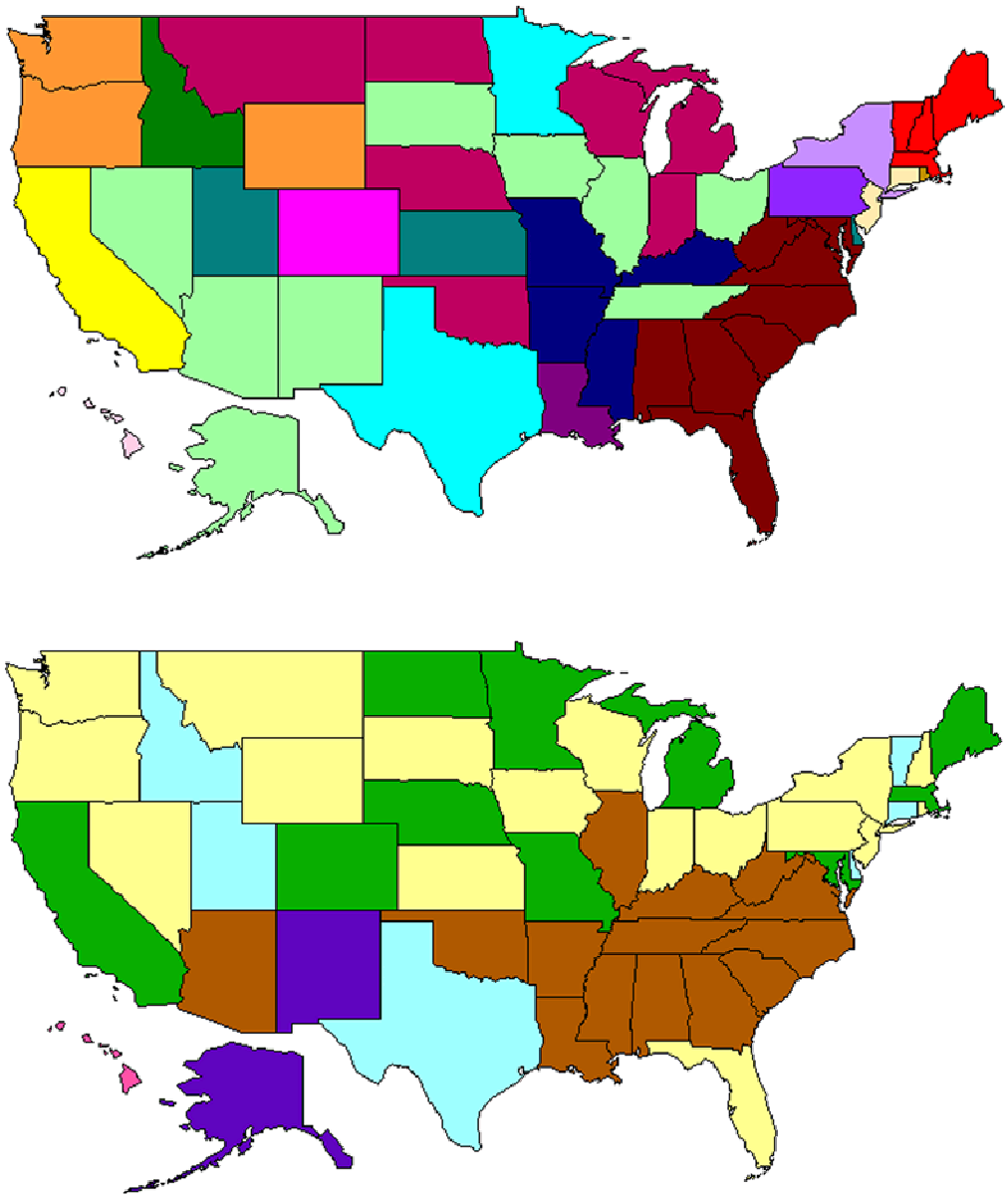

Figure 4.17: Non-geographic regions, as exemplified by NJ19 (top) and GA7 (bottom).

of new immigrant populations. For example, many respondents, from both New Jersey and Georgia, commented that the speech in Florida must resemble that in New York or other Northeastern states because of the growing number of retirees moving there from these states. Also, New York, Florida, California, Texas, and New Mexico were specifically picked out as containing speech that was influenced by a Spanish-speaking population. In fact, one respondent, GA26, placed Florida, New York, and California into a singular dialect group based solely on his knowledge of the "foreign" population there.

Crucially, this methodology reveals something that is lost in traditional methods. Preston's Draw-A-Map task, while ground-breaking, assumed, and quite naturally so, that the best way to test linguistic mental maps is to have respondents actually draw their own views onto a map. Unfortunately, while respondents can easily mark non-consecutive regions, they have a tendency not to do so. Preston has tested the use of maps that are labeled versus unlabeled, and lined versus unlined, but to my knowledge, he has focused solely on the use of maps for the elicitation of speech regions. While his other tasks do give results that hint at variations in regional outlook, they have not been able to show how truly significant this distribution is in folk perceptions.

Cluster analysis also supports this finding that the perceptual view of language variation transcends geographical boundaries. While we do observe the composite maps at the .25 level to be spatially constrained, we must remember that at this level the similarities within clusters are abstracted. When we turn to the clusters that equally view similarities and differences, this non-geographic organization comes through, as was discussed previously in Section 4.1. This information is critical to our understanding of language and region because it shows that even when compositing all sixty responses together, language continues to be spatially fluid. This focus,

therefore, is not found only with independent respondents, but also is a part of the common, cultural view.

Similar to a cluster analysis, a proximity matrix aggregates the respondent answers and shows which states were seen as most similar. Significant in this analysis are the correlations given between the individual respondents and the aggregate matrix. Approaching language variation as a cultural domain, we can assume the aggregate as the generalized view of dialect distribution for the community. Therefore, we can look at the individual correlations to see which of our particular respondents resemble the culturally-based pattern of dialect division. What we find in this study is that there is not a sharp correlation between the aggregate and any one individual respondent. In other words, there was not one individual respondent whose view of American speech embodies the communal view, close to 1.00. However, NJ21 and GA29 do correlate at the relatively high levels of .747 and .726, respectively. Within their own sample groups, NJ21 appears again with the highest correlation of .744, and GA26 correlates at .715. Conversely, GA16 was the one respondent who correlated to the aggregate the least, at .293 for the Georgia group and .283 for all respondents. GA16 most likely stands out because she created far more dialect piles than any other participant, a characteristic of the task that is discussed in more detail below. With a level of .387, NJ19 correlated the least of the New Jersey respondents. Therefore, while we have seen distinct patterns in the types of dialect regions participants created, a proximity matrix and its corresponding correlations reaffirm that there are definite differences in the individual views of American speech.

Whether or not the respondents' pile sorts correlated very closely to the aggregate, a significant finding of this study is the discovery of common patterns in how the respondents approached their decisions. Regardless of what they said, respondents categorized this information in very specific, patterned ways.

First, let us look at the patterns in the number and thickness of piles. Table 4.2 below gives the numerical distribution of the number of piles each participant created. For the Georgia respondents, the number of piles ranges between five and thirty-five, with a mean of 14.20. The range for the New Jersey sample is five and twenty-three; 12.97 is their mean. The mean for both samples combined is 13.58. Similarly, the median responses were 14.0, 12.5, and 13.5 for Georgia, New Jersey, and all participants, respectively. Furthermore, the average number of states placed in any one pile was eleven for both samples. A majority of the respondents (twenty-eight for each group) created at least one dialect region with only one state in it, while the most states placed in any one pile is twenty, by both NJ8 and NJ9. The largest pile for the Georgia respondents had nineteen states in it and was compiled by GA24.

As stated previously, the study of human cognition has found that "the number of simultaneous discriminations that individuals can make falls off rapidly at about seven bits of information" "plus or minus two," and "Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1973) have concluded that folk taxonomies rarely exceed five levels" (D'Andrade 1995; 43). If this is taken as fact, then we must conclude that folk knowledge of language variation is organized in a very different way than human knowledge of other cultural domains. According to this pile sort study where the average number of simultaneous discriminations is thirteen, we have a much higher capacity for categorizing and understanding language and linguistic differences. The average number of piles for these respondents is almost three times higher than those in other folk-based research.

When looking at this significant finding, one must take into consideration the effect that the "outliers" in this study play on the sample means. It has been found that generally every pile sorting study will have respondents who lump the data into a few piles and others who split everything up. These "lumpers" and "splitters"

Table 4.2: Number of Piles per Respondent & Mean Number of States per Pile

| Respondent | # of piles | Mean states | Respondent | # of piles | Mean states |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GA1 | 16 | 3.13 | NJ2 | 5 | 10.00 |
| GA2 | 16 | 3.13 | NJ3 | 14 | 3.57 |
| GA3 | 12 | 4.17 | NJ4 | 7 | 7.14 |
| GA4 | 16 | 3.13 | NJ5 | 13 | 3.85 |
| GA5 | 9 | 5.56 | NJ6 | 11 | 4.55 |
| GA6 | 13 | 3.85 | NJ7 | 9 | 5.56 |
| GA7 | 6 | 8.33 | NJ8 | 8 | 6.25 |
| GA8 | 14 | 3.57 | NJ9 | 11 | 4.55 |
| GA9 | 9 | 5.56 | NJ10 | 11 | 4.55 |
| GA10 | 16 | 3.13 | NJ11 | 20 | 2.50 |
| GA11 | 15 | 3.33 | NJ12 | 14 | 3.57 |
| GA12 | 5 | 10.00 | NJ13 | 10 | 5.00 |
| GA13 | 8 | 6.25 | NJ14 | 10 | 5.00 |
| GA14 | 8 | 6.25 | NJ15 | 9 | 5.56 |
| GA15 | 17 | 2.94 | NJ16 | 16 | 3.13 |
| GA16 | 35 | 1.43 | NJ17 | 16 | 3.13 |
| GA17 | 23 | 2.17 | NJ18 | 17 | 2.94 |
| GA18 | 14 | 3.57 | NJ19 | 18 | 2.78 |
| GA19 | 11 | 4.55 | NJ20 | 23 | 2.17 |
| GA20 | 9 | 5.56 | NJ21 | 14 | 3.57 |
| GA21 | 30 | 1.67 | NJ22 | 18 | 2.78 |
| GA22 | 18 | 2.78 | NJ23 | 11 | 4.55 |
| GA23 | 18 | 2.78 | NJ24 | 9 | 5.56 |
| GA24 | 6 | 8.33 | NJ25 | 18 | 2.78 |
| GA25 | 14 | 3.57 | NJ26 | 15 | 3.33 |
| GA26 | 12 | 4.17 | NJ27 | 7 | 7.14 |
| GA27 | 21 | 2.38 | NJ28 | 14 | 3.57 |
| GA28 | 11 | 4.55 | NJ29 | 8 | 6.25 |
| GA29 | 10 | 5.00 | NJ30 | 21 | 2.38 |
| GA30 | 14 | 3.57 | NJ31 | 12 | 4.17 |
| GA Average | 14.2 | 4.28 | NJ Average | 12.97 | 4.4 |

are normal in this type of research simply because there are people who, by natural tendency, categorize information this way. However, a re-analysis of the data shows that this phenomenon did not significantly affect the results. Running a symmetric 10% trimmed mean, a statistical method created to modify for outliers, I discovered averages that were very similar to the ones using all responses. The re-calculated means of the piles for the Georgia, New Jersey, and all respondents are 13.38, 12.75, and 13.04, respectively, in contrast to 14.20, 12.97, and 13.58 from before.

Generally in cognitive research, the responses from "lumpers" and "splitters" go against the cultural norm. However, when applied to the seven-plus-or-minus-two categorization of folk knowledge, we find that our "lumpers" are the only ones who actually fit into this "regular" pattern. Therefore, because these lumped responses are so different from the others in this study, they can only reinforce the significance of language as an atypical domain. In other words, what would usually be considered as a normal sorting pattern is quite an abnormal response for this particular research. Additionally, the "splitters" reaffirm that people (i.e. nonlinguists) do notice variation in language and show the amount of regional variation that they can and do perceive.

However, I do not mean to say that cognitive limits do not affect participant responses at all. In fact, I do believe that without any cognitive constraints that limit categorization, these respondents would generally have created more dialect regions or there would have been greater variation among participant responses. Several participants noted that they knew the speech patterns in different states were not exactly the same, but they still chose to sort these states into a single pile. There are two possible reasons for this action. The first is that they were following some sort of cognitive constraint that limited them to the number of piles they felt comfortable giving. In fact, respondent comments suggest that more specific divisions did yield "too many" piles. The second reason could be that while participants noted

variation in the speech, the speech varieties were not so different from one another that respondents would categorize them as completely separate ways of speaking. I feel that responses were governed by a mixture of these two reasons and that the two are actually complementary approaches. Of course, I must point out that I am only discussing group patterns at this point; individual respondent behavior does vary. However, taking this view, the extreme "splitter" respondents were not so much anomalies in their ability to perceive variation in speech, but instead simply have different cognitive limits or are generally less constrained by them.

While interviews were conducted in only two communities for this study, other research in perceptual dialectology suggests that this is the standard American view for the categorization of regional dialects. For example, Preston's computer-generated, aggregate maps by Michigan and Indiana respondents also show a larger number of regional divisions. He shows fourteen dialect regions for the 147 Michigan respondents and ten for the 123 respondents who were interviewed in Indiana. Hartley's composite map appears to show fewer dialect distinctions than other studies. She only lists five major dialect boundaries (South, Northeast, Midwest, West, and Hawaii). However, she also includes six other dialect sub-regions (Pacific Northwest, California, Texas, Florida, New York City, and New England); thus her summary of Oregonian speech perceptions shows eleven distinct regions. Of course, a more formal analysis of individual participant responses from perceptual studies will have to be conducted before we can get a more accurate picture.

One aspect of the study that could have affected the data and therefore the cognitive pattern that we have seen is that respondents were confined to using state boundaries. In fact, several, but not all, respondents commented that they did notice linguistic differences within state boundaries. While this limitation could obviously be a hindrance, it did not seem to throw people off completely. Some inquired about splitting up states, but did not complain or seem bothered when told they had

to stick with state divisions. These observations were usually made for local areas within the respondent's home state or for larger, better known areas like New York City. The use of cards in a pile sort method obviously limits the preliminary divisions presented to the respondents. I do believe, however, that while a change in the type of cards given (states, cities, counties, etc.) would give a different result in the actual speech boundaries created, it would not affect the process of categorization of speech. This must be tested in future research.

Many of the cognitive studies that explore folk cultural knowledge have focused not only on the categorization of items but also on the names applied to the groups. As I believe that there are no culturally determined labels for perceived dialect regions, I did not ask for this information. In support of this, most participants did not use specific terms for their dialect regions while completing the task. When respondents did name their piles, they tended to use only basic geographic terms, like "New England" or "The West." A few, however, did use more descriptive terms like "normal" or the more personalized "us" or "them." These more descriptive labels will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

## 4.3 Summary

There were many significant findings that were revealed through this pile sort task. The first is the simple, but valuable finding that people readily associate language with location. Respondents did not think it odd to discuss language variation in terms of region, nor did they have difficulty dividing states based on speech. Moreover, they were able to perform this task without the aid of linguistic cues, making decisions based solely on their personal perceptions. And what I find most interesting is that even when they had never heard a speaker from a particular state, they still were able to categorize the speech there.

The second key finding shown here is that there is not one specific common view of American dialect regions; rather, nonlinguist views are quite independent. This is shown through both cluster analysis and proximity matrices. However, when we focus on the core differences between perceptual speech regions instead of the similarities, several large, cohesive dialect regions appear. Therefore, when examining folk views of language, we must be careful not to overgeneralize our findings, but to distinguish between the concrete and the abstract views. Both approaches present interesting and valid information, but their results should be investigated separately.

A truly significant result of this study states that nonlinguists organize language into regions that are not spatially constrained. Mapping out respondent pile sorts, we quickly realize that the speech areas that were created are not contiguous regions. So, while respondents easily associated language and location, spatial orientation was not a large part of their decision-making process, as would seem natural. Accordingly, this finding reveals limitations in the methodology used in traditional Prestonian perceptual studies that take areal congruity for granted.

Finally, I found that, on average, respondents were able to discriminate clearly and easily between thirteen different dialects in the United States. This suggests that there is something significant about our understanding of language and linguistic variation that allows people to cognitively organize and access more sets of information than are the norm for other folk domains. As we look further into the categorization of linguistic perceptions in the following chapters, this significance and the reasons behind it become more clear.

# Chapter 5

## Attributive View

From the beginning of this research project, it was immediately apparent that respondents had more than linguistic features in mind when they thought about of speech. While creating their sorts for the first task, participants often referred to dialect groups by nonlinguistic descriptive terms, such as "normal," "funny," or even "awful," and it appeared as if these were the types of ideas that the respondents commonly associated with speech. In fact, these kinds of descriptive terms were used more often than the geographical or pseudo-linguistic[1] terms (e.g. "drawl" or "nasal") that were also given by respondents. For this reason, I propose that the way folk cognitively organize their thoughts regarding variation in language is a complex, interrelated network of linguistic, geographic, and social information. In other words, nonlinguists do not think of language simply as something that is solely linguistic.

In the second interview task, I asked participants to describe the speech of each of their dialect regions using a pre-determined set of descriptive terms. As was explained in Chapter 2, I presented respondents with twelve sets of terms, each set having a positive and a negative term (e.g. "pleasant" and "unpleasant"). For each set there was also a default "neutral" response which was represented by the placement of neither of the two terms. Table 5.1 lists all response sets for this task.

The data elicited through this task are analyzed in four ways, which are presented throughout this chapter. First, responses are examined in order to show individual

[1] "Pseudo-linguistic" refers to lexemes that may have valid linguistic meaning but are used imprecisely by non-experts.

Table 5.1: Descriptive Sets Used in Task 2

| Set Number | Positive Choice | Neutral Choice | Negative Choice |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Attractive | [no card] | Unattractive |
| 2 | Correct | [no card] | Incorrect |
| 3 | Dependable | [no card] | Undependable |
| 4 | Honest | [no card] | Dishonest |
| 5 | Friendly | [no card] | Unfriendly |
| 6 | Hard-Working | [no card] | Lazy |
| 7 | Intelligent | [no card] | Unintelligent |
| 8 | Nice | [no card] | Mean |
| 9 | Nasal | N/A | [no card] |
| 10 | Pleasant | [no card] | Unpleasant |
| 11 | Polite | [no card] | Rude |
| 12 | Trustworthy | [no card] | Untrustworthy |

participant's perceptions of their own dialect regions. Second, I look for intra- and inter- group patterns for the two sample groups. Third, data are analyzed cognitively to identify any cohesive culture or subculture from the sample groups studied. Finally, I examine responses to show which descriptive terms are crucial to the semantic categorization of linguistic variation.

Focusing on the task itself, I found that respondents had mixed views about this part of the interview. Many respondents claimed that while this task was not hard, it was draining in its length. Therefore, when conducting this type of investigation again, I would definitely decrease the number of terms used.

While this investigation may have use more terms than were comfortable for the respondents, this range did help to narrow down which terms were a core part of the domain. For each informant, there was at least one term that they would not have used on their own in describing speech. Many commented that certain terms,

especially "dependable" and "trustworthy," were traits they would not normally have associated with language. However, instead of using the default "neutral" response, they nevertheless continued to apply these terms to the dialect regions they were describing. Additionally, for every respondent there was at least one set of terms that he or she revealed, either directly or indirectly, as a good fit for describing language.

As discussed previously, the descriptive terms were taken from work in language attitude research and from a free listing task in the pilot study I conducted. The main goals of free listing include both the creation of an exhaustive list of words and/or thoughts associated with a cultural domain and a ranking of these words in terms of frequency. Presenting data that was elicited in a free listing task back to the sample community allows for the investigation of which items are indeed crucial to the understanding of the domain itself. Therefore, while terms like "pleasant" and "correct" were easily applied to language by all respondents, there were other terms that were shown to be peripheral to the domain. For example, most respondents were able to apply "dependable" to their dialect regions, but they made it clear that this was not a term that they would have originally thought of. Therefore, this qualitative information would have us regard "dependable" as a part of the domain, but not one that is salient for folk understanding of language.

## 5.1 Descriptive Sets

The aggregate numbers of respondents using each term in the description of each state are found in the twelve tables of Appendix I. Please note that these numbers are out of sixty and therefore reflect both sample groups together. Key differences between the two sample groups are included below in the discussion of the appropriate set. Instead of discussing terms applied to entire dialect regions, here I focus on their application to individual states. While the technique of using cards to describe

speech worked well for the elicitation of perceptions, it did not lend itself easily to quantitative analysis. Remember that the number of dialect piles and number of states in each pile were not the same for each of the sixty respondents. As individual respondents had different views of a single dialect region there simply was too much variation in task one to conduct a straight comparison in task two. Using another method that supplied set dialect regions, or even using a constrained sort, would have potentially allowed for a more formal statistical analysis.

### 5.1.1 Attractive/Unattractive

Let me begin with a discussion of the distribution of attractive and unattractive speech. As this was the first set of terms presented, participants tended to take a longer time responding here than they did with most of the other terms. To make sure that participants were focusing on speech as their criterion for distribution and to ease them into giving their opinions, I added into the directions: "Attractive and unattractive. Now, remember we're talking about their speech, not the people themselves."

The first finding that jumps out is the distribution of states that were considered to have "attractive" speech. The states that had at least half of the respondents categorizing them as attractive are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia[2]. Please refer to Appendix I.1) for the number of respondents reporting each state as attractive, unattractive, or neutral. It is immediately apparent that there is a regional distribution with this term; only Southern states had a majority of respondents considering them as attractive. The greatest agreement was for South Carolina and Georgia, with thirty-nine and thirty-eight respondents respectively. Of course, the number

[2]When I comment on individual states, I am referring specifically to the speech in that area.

of respondents picking Georgia as attractive, along with the fact that there were thirty people from Georgia participating in these interviews, suggests that the data was skewed to support the speech of the hometown. However, only eighteen of these thirty-eight were from Georgia. The majority of those viewing Georgia as attractive were actually from New Jersey. Moreover, twenty of the thirty-nine choosing South Carolina were also from New Jersey. Therefore, it was not a sample bias that aligned attractive speech with the Southern states; this was a common perception for all participants.

The only state whose speech was described as "unattractive" by at least half of the respondents was New York, with thirty. Sixteen of these votes were from New Jersey respondents, and the other fourteen were from Georgians. Again, as with its positive counterpart, there was an even split in the distribution of these decisions; one singular group was not responsible for the prominent perception. The next highest rating for "unattractive" was an agreement of only twenty-five respondents for New Jersey, with fifteen of the votes from Georgians. Therefore, we see not only that New York and New Jersey are viewed negatively for attractiveness, but also that this view comes from both respondent communities.

As for the neutral choice, there were actually fifteen states that were unlabeled (considered neutral or undecided) for attractiveness by a majority of the respondents, and most of these states are found in the West and Midwest. (Refer to Appendix I.1.) One state, Alaska, stood out as showing the most agreement, with forty of the participants not marking it as attractive or unattractive.

### 5.1.2 Correct/Incorrect

The perceptions of states as correct or incorrect are quite different than those of attractive and unattractive. I found twenty states marked as correct by a majority of the respondents. (Appendix I.2.) Delaware and Maryland had the most agreement,

with thirty-eight and thirty-six respondents respectively. All of the states that were considered correct by a majority fell into the regional placement of Northeast (CT, DE, ME, MD, MA, NH, PA, RI, VT) or West (AZ, CA, CO, MT, NV, ND, OR, SD, UT, WA, WY). Significantly, no Southern or Mid-Western state was included, and neither were New Jersey or New York.

Twenty-eight respondents (19 from NJ; 9 from GA) marked New Jersey as correct, while twenty (8 from NJ; 12 from GA) said incorrect, and twelve (3 from NJ; 9 from GA) claimed neutrality. Here we see our first example of a split in view between the two sample groups. While a majority from New Jersey picked their state as speaking correctly, the Georgia informants disagree. The numbers show that technically more Georgians feel New Jersey speech is incorrect, but in general, they are evenly divided in their views among the three choices. However, Georgians are not the only ones who find New Jersey speech to be incorrect. Showing their own linguistic insecurity, eight of the New Jersey respondents described their own speech negatively. Similarly, New York speech is described as incorrect by twenty-three respondents and as correct by twenty-two. Of the Georgia respondents, fifteen described New York as incorrect, and seven described it as correct.

The Southern states are definitely perceived as incorrect. Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee were the states that had over thirty responses in agreement. And again, while it might seem like there may be bias from respondent point of view, I found that of the thirty-four who marked Mississippi as incorrect, fourteen were from Georgia. Therefore, it was not only the New Jersians who think of the South as having incorrect speech. Moreover, Georgia itself was chosen as incorrect by twenty-seven participants. All of the other states that were chosen as incorrect by at least twenty-five participants (42%) were also Southern — Georgia, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia — showing a secondary, supporting tier of Southern incorrectness.

The only states marked neutral by a majority were Alaska (32) and Hawaii (33). Because of this, I posit that these states are often described neutrally because many respondents are simply unsure of the speech there; nevertheless they understand them to be different from the rest of the United States.

### 5.1.3 Dependable/Undependable

Moving on to the choice of dependable or undependable, no striking patterns jump out. (See Appendix I.3.) As stated before, participant comments toward this pairing reveal that it is not really a set of terms normally associated with speech. The greatest agreement was for Alaska and Hawaii, which were both chosen as neither dependable or undependable by thirty-nine respondents each. Utah and Idaho also had at least a 50% neutral decision, with thirty and thirty-one participants, respectively.

The highest agreement for undependable barely hit one-third of those interviewed. However, it was New York that was chosen as most undependable by twenty-three participants. This finding, even though low in agreement, continues to support the view of New York speech as negative.

As for dependable speech, there were many states that were chosen positively by just around half of the participants. While only three states, Missouri, Kansas, and Vermont, had an actual majority vote, thirty-three states were described as dependable by at least twenty-five respondents. Therefore, even though these do not appear to be terms that are naturally associated with speech, when presented to respondents, they are often used in dialect descriptions.

### 5.1.4 Honest/Dishonest

Supporting two of our emerging patterns, we see a majority marking Alaska and Hawaii neutrally for honesty, and New York and New Jersey negatively. (Please

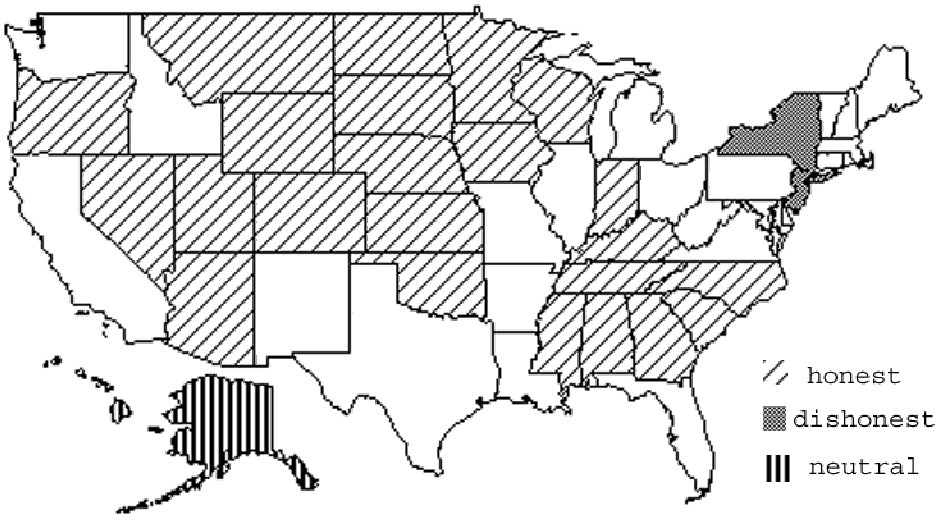


Figure 5.1: Distribution of Honesty, by 50% Respondents

refer to Appendix I.4.) For both honest and dishonest, these were the only states that showed agreement by at least 50% of the respondents. Furthermore, New York speech was seen as dishonest by thirty-six people, exactly half of whom were from New Jersey, half from Georgia. As for the view of New Jersey speech, eighteen Georgians and fifteen New Jersians labeled it negatively.

Looking at the views of honest-sounding speech, there are many states that were chosen by at least half of the participants; however, the largest agreement went to Oklahoma, with thirty-eight. The perception of honesty in speech has a strange geographic distribution. Figure 5.1 shows the distribution of states that were marked honest, dishonest, or neutral by at least half of the respondents. The Southeastern states and the Central Plains states, along with some of the Western states are considered honest, but none of the Northeastern states are. For this region, there is

no agreement regarding honesty for individual states, except for New York and New Jersey which are considered to be dishonest.

### 5.1.5 Friendly/Unfriendly

The view of friendliness in speech is better understood by looking at those who were not chosen as friendly rather than those who were. First, New York was rated as unfriendly by twenty-three New Jersians and eighteen Georgians, for a total of forty-one. (Appendix I.5.) In fact, New York was marked as friendly by only seven of the sixty participants, solidifying this view of their speech as unfriendly. New Jersey followed close behind with thirty-eight votes for having unfriendly speech, from twenty New Jersians and eighteen Georgians. These were the only states labeled unfriendly by a majority of respondents.

On the other hand, over half of the states (thirty-seven) were labeled friendly by at least 50% of the participants, and eleven of these were chosen by over 75%. The states in the later range were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia, all of which are Southern. Georgia stood out as most friendly, and was labeled as such by fifty-five of the sixty participants; the other five people viewed it neutrally.

Furthermore, following a pattern that is familiar by now, Alaska was deemed neutral by thirty-four of the sixty participants.

### 5.1.6 Hard-Working/Lazy

Another set of terms that appeared to be harder for participants to work with were hard-working and lazy. The problem with this set had to do specifically with the application of "hard-working" to speech, as respondents seemed to have no difficulty with "lazy." It appears that "lazy" is a core part of their linguistic lexicon, while "hard-working" is not. While I know "lazy" to be a common folk term for speech,

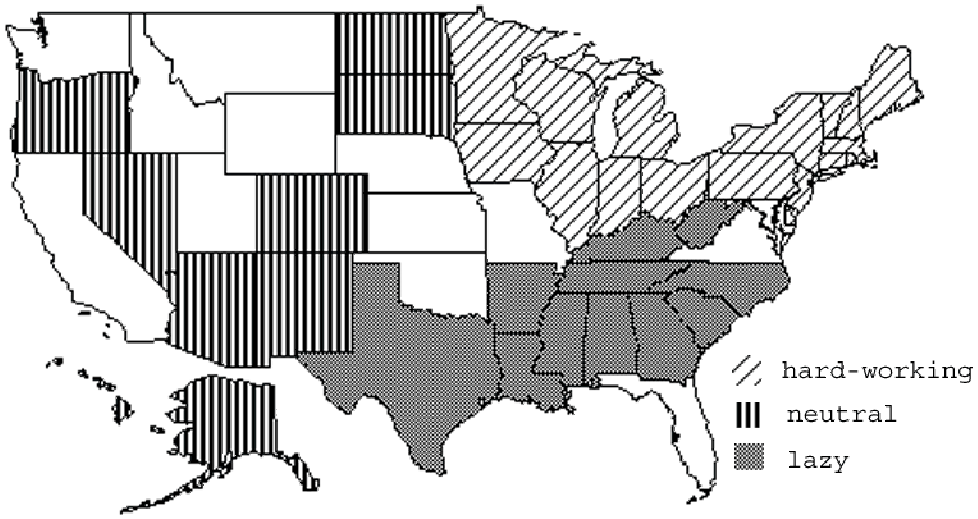


Figure 5.2: Distribution of Hard-Working, by 50% Respondents

I had problems finding an appropriate antonym. Another term, such as "energetic," "hurried," or "lively," may have been a better choice for the opposite of lazy speech.

With that, these terms were still used quite often in describing the speech within informants' dialect regions. (Appendix I.6.) Figure 5.2 shows the breakdown of participant agreement at 50%. Immediately we see that the South is commonly viewed as having lazy speech. In fact, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee were all marked as lazy by over forty informants. This is in direct contrast to hard-working speech, which according to our respondents, lies specifically in the North and Northeast.

### 5.1.7 Intelligent/Unintelligent

Hard-working versus lazy is not the only set of terms which show a negative association with Southern speech. Previously I discussed the views of correct speech, and this perception is mimicked in the attitudes toward intelligent versus unintelligent speech. The now-familiar Southern region of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia is perceived as containing a variety of speech that sounds unintelligent. (See Appendix I.7.)

The states that are considered to hold intelligent speech are found in New England. Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont all had at least thirty-six respondents describing them this way. Connecticut had the strongest agreement, with forty respondents.

There were also many states that were described neutrally for intelligence. Alaska, of course, had the highest agreement, with thirty-six people marking it neutrally. Other states that stood out are ones that have not seen much of a majority agreement for any descriptive term so far. They are: Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming. These neutral ratings may have appeared because several respondents had an issue with using these two terms to describe speech. Some participants commented that one could not judge another's intelligence by speech alone. However, many of these same participants had no problems describing speech as correct or incorrect, acknowledging that one did not have to speak "properly" to be intelligent.

### 5.1.8 Nice/Mean

Trying not to be redundant, speech that is nice versus mean sums up what has been shown through the other sets of terms. Alaska is decidedly neutral, with thirty-five

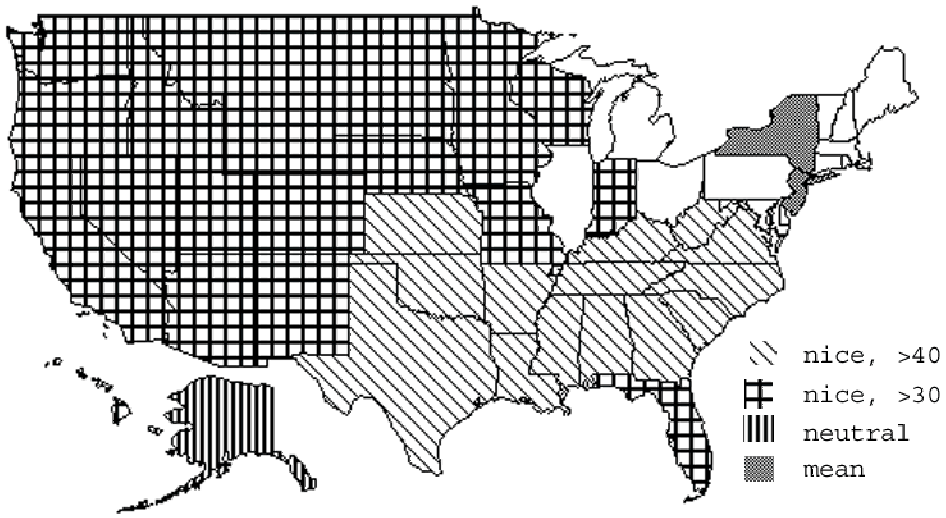


Figure 5.3: Distribution of Nice Sounding Speech, by at least 50% Respondents

respondents stating such. New York and New Jersey are mean sounding, with respectively forty-five and forty respondents marking them negatively here. Additionally, the South emerges as the area where nice speech exists. The level of agreement is very high for nice speech, as Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee all were chosen by at least fifty of the sixty participants. (See Appendix I.8.) In fact, Georgia and Alabama were only chosen as sounding mean by one participant each.

The other states that were viewed as nice distinguish the Northeast as an area of "not nice" speech. As Figure 5.3 shows, virtually all of the U.S. is considered nice, except for those states in the Northeast. However, it was not the case that the Northeast (except for NY and NJ) was considered mean — there was not enough of an agreement for that — but these states do dramatically stand out as not sounding nice.

### 5.1.9 Nasal/Not Nasal

The set of terms regarding nasality were presented to participants differently than were the other sets. As speech can only be nasal or non-nasal (in folk linguistic terms), there is no possible third neutral choice. Actually, for this task, the negative "not nasal" is considered the default and more neutral response. Therefore, unlike the other eleven sets, this data can only be analyzed as a binomial question.

The strongest agreement for states which were considered to be nasal occurred for Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, each with twenty-six respondents. (Appendix I.9.) However, looking at the two sample groups separately, one notices that this agreement is governed by the Georgia respondents. Of the twenty-six that described Connecticut this way, only eight were from New Jersey; the majority, eighteen, were from Georgia. Similarly, Massachusetts was marked nasal by twenty Georgians but only six New Jersians. Table 5.2 shows the breakdown of states described as nasal by at least twenty (or one-third) of the total respondents. Therefore, these numbers show a different pattern between communities regarding the use of this term. This finding could indicate that "nasal" is a term that is more readily applied to speech for the Georgia respondents, and therefore a more central part of the domain of language, than it is for New Jersey.

While most of the states above show a significant difference between the two sample groups, there is a similarity in the numbers of respondents describing New York and New Jersey as nasal. Again, regardless of the differences in their perceptions of other states, there appears to be a general agreement between the two sample groups in their views of these two particular states.

Another item of interest that needs discussion is the regional distribution of these perceptions. Of the states listed here, only Wisconsin and Minnesota are not located in the Northeastern part of the United States. This finding reveals both the

Table 5.2: States marked nasal by at least 1/3 of respondents.

| state | total respondents | GA respondents | NJ respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Massachusetts | 26 | 20* | 6 |
| Connecticut | 26 | 18* | 8 |
| New York | 26 | 13 | 13 |
| New Hampshire | 24 | 19* | 5 |
| Maine | 24 | 18* | 6 |
| New Jersey | 23 | 12 | 11 |
| Vermont | 22 | 17* | 5 |
| Rhode Island | 20 | 17* | 3 |
| Wisconsin | 20 | 14 | 6 |
| Minnesota | 20 | 13 | 7 |

perception of "nasal" speech in the Northeast and upper Mid-West, and a perceived similarity between these two areas. In fact, as we will see in Chapter 7, nonlinguists often misidentify speech in these two areas as belonging to the other location. It therefore may be the association with nasality that links these two areas together in the folk mind.

I must also mention that I do not necessarily know what the folk mean when they use the term "nasal" to talk about speech. Labov (in Hoenigswald 1966) has found that this description is used by nonlinguists to refer to both nasalized and denasalized speech. Therefore, seeing the locations where respondents place nasal speech helps to clarify what they believe nasality to be. This question is further discussed when we look at participant descriptions of linguistic input in the next chapter.

### 5.1.10 Pleasant/Unpleasant

Next, we turn to the views of pleasant and unpleasant speech. Alaska was labeled as neutral by thirty-two respondents, and this was the only state to have a majority neutrality. New York and New Jersey were marked by, respectively, thirty-five and forty respondents as unpleasant. (Appendix I.10.) Fifteen of the respondents picking New Jersey were themselves from New Jersey, as were twenty-one of those marking New York. No other states had a majority for unpleasant speech. And for pleasant speech, the following were chosen by at least forty (two-thirds) of the respondents: Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Georgia, of course, cannot be overlooked; its speakers were described as pleasant sounding by twenty-five New Jersians and twenty-three Georgians, for a total of forty-eight (80%) of the participants. In general, Southern speech is pleasant while New York and New Jersey speech is unpleasant; Alaska is neither.

This set of findings is discussed in more detail below, in comparison with previous perceptual research.

### 5.1.11 Polite/Rude

The South prevails as the area that is perceived as having the most polite speech, with over forty respondents each marking the states in this region. South Carolina was labeled polite by fifty-one respondents, and Georgia and Tennessee each by fifty. (Please see Appendix I.11.)

What is equally telling is that these polite states received very few votes for rude; most of the respondents who did not say they were polite described them neutrally. For example, Georgian speech was considered to be rude by only one person but to be neither polite nor rude by eleven. There were many other states that were

obviously not perceived as rude, but that did not rate as high as the South for polite. For example, Montana, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming were each described as rude by only one person, the same number that described Georgian speech as rude. However, for these Western states, the perception of "not rude" speech is easily lost because they are not readily visible as having polite speech.

As for the states that were perceived as having rude sounding speech, our expected New York and New Jersey stand out with forty-eight and forty-four votes, respectively. Massachusetts also joined the rude speech club, with a majority thirty-four respondents judging them as such.

While Wyoming just missed the 50% mark for respondents considering it neutral, Idaho, South Dakota, and Nebraska all were perceived neutrally by thirty respondents. Alaska again received the highest agreement with thirty-four.

### 5.1.12 Trustworthy/Untrustworthy

After eleven pairs of terms and an average of 19.31 minutes having passed, when presented with trustworthy and untrustworthy, several participants asked if they were already given this set. These comments were helpful in disclosing that trustworthy and untrustworthy were not core (folk) linguistic terms for my respondents. Apparently, many viewed trustworthiness as very similar to dependability and perceived both as being only secondary to language. Most of this information, however, was discovered through participant comments and was not as noticeable through agreement figures.

Alaska was the only state with the majority neutral judgment, chosen by thirty-five respondents. (Appendix I.12.) Furthermore, New York and New Jersey were considered untrustworthy by thirty-three and thirty-two respondents, respectively. Exactly half of the participants perceiving New Jersey this way were from New

Jersey, half from Georgia, showing a very consistent linguistic perception. Twenty-eight states were marked as sounding trustworthy by at least thirty respondents. (See Appendix I.12.) This last finding also is reminiscent of the application of "dependable" to speech. While respondents see trustworthy and dependable as similar in meaning, they distribute them in much the same way.

### 5.1.13 Agreement Patterns

As was clearly shown, there are three significant patterns that emerged through this task. The first is that the South continues to reveal itself as the dialect region most commonly discussed and is the area that was described the most definitively. Moreover, like previous language attitude studies, I found that while these perceptions are strong, they cross over between positive and negative attributes. Southern states, and often only the Southern states, were rated by a majority as friendly, attractive, nice, pleasant, polite, and honest. However, these same states were also rated high for sounding unintelligent, lazy, and incorrect.

It may appear at first that there was a bias introduced into this study since I, myself, am from Georgia. However, I do not believe that this affected many (if any) of the informant responses. In fact, I am not sure how many of the New Jersians actually knew I was from the South, and several who did know said that I did "not have an accent." They apparently had an idea in their minds of what a Southern accent was, and it did not match the speech they heard from me. Furthermore, while the state of Georgia was commonly rated high, if not the highest, for terms such as friendly and pleasant, it was also rated low for others, such as correctness and intelligence. While I agree that my speech could have served as a linguistic model for their decisions, I believe that if this were the case, the participants would have been more reserved in their negative responses in front of me.

The second pattern we see is the consistent negative view toward speech in New York and New Jersey. The majority of the respondents named these two states unfriendly, unattractive, dishonest, mean, unpleasant, rude, and untrustworthy. Alternatively, they are viewed as hard-working, and the New Jersey respondents find their own speech to be correct. Therefore, these findings reveal this region as a salient dialect region for our respondents, even though New York and New Jersey were not as prominent for both respondent groups in the first task as was the South. This consistent agreement for social characteristics distinguishes the two as being well-known speech patterns.

The third pattern revealed here is that no one seems to have strong, substantial views of the speech in Alaska and Hawaii. Actually, I must re-state that. There is a strong agreement toward these speech varieties, but the view is one of absolute neutrality. These respondents recognized these two states as separate speech regions that are more prominent than the others because they are non-descript. This especially seems to apply to Alaska, as it was described neutrally by a majority of the respondents in all of the twelve descriptive sets presented. (For nasality, [-nasal] is considered the neutral choice.) Similarly, Hawaii stood out for not standing out. It was described neutrally by a majority of respondents for six of the term sets: correct, attractive, dependable, honest, intelligent, and hard-working. It was, however, also perceived as friendly and nice. These last perceptions may be directly related to a common vision of Hawaii as a state that relies heavily on tourism. Several respondents commented that the speech in Hawaii must sound friendly and nice or tourists would not want to go there.

Along with these three core findings, a secondary pattern also revealed itself. This is the respondent view of New England speech. These states were commonly described as intelligent, hard-working, and correct. What is also important about them is that they were obviously missing from other descriptions. The positive views

of friendly, honest, and nice speech covered most of the United States, but New England was passed over in these categories. They were not specifically described as unfriendly, dishonest, or mean, but their absence from the positive description came through clearly.

## 5.2 Consensus Analysis

In order to reveal any culturally-determined patterns, I also conducted a consensus analysis on this data. Please refer to Section 2.4 for a detailed description of consensus analysis. In general, consensus analysis interprets all participant responses in order to answer whether or not there is one set of knowledge about a domain that is common for all respondents, referred to as a "cultural consensus."

I reconfigured the data into individual respondent-x-question matrices in order to conduct two sets of consensus analyses. The first set focused on the individual descriptive terms and consisted of twelve tests, fifty questions each. For example, one test asked: Is the speech in this (x) state *attractive*, *unattractive*, or *neither*? Fifty iterations asked the same question for each state. This was then repeated for each pair of descriptive terms. The positive responses were coded as "1," the negative as "-1," and neither as "0." The second set of tests focused on overall participant views of individual, target states. The states that were investigated were the home states of the respondents, New Jersey and Georgia, as well as two other states that appeared to have specific attitudes associated with them — New York and Alaska. This second analytical set consisted of four tests, each with twelve questions.

What I found in the analysis of this task was that while certain parts of this information were found to have cultural consensus, the majority did not. Before I get into the actual results, I must make one quick note. When this method analyzes the data, it reviews all of the data together as a whole. Therefore, while there may

Table 5.3: Eigenvalue Ratios for Descriptive Terms

| | Georgia | New Jersey | All |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attractive | 2.241 | 1.308 | 1.768 |
| Correct | 2.311 | 1.342 | 1.770 |
| Dependable | 2.936 | 2.069 | 2.421 |
| Friendly | 1.734 | 3.374* | 2.313 |
| Hard-Working | 1.846 | 1.347 | 1.658 |
| Honest | 2.934 | 4.091* | 2.950 |
| Intelligent | 1.446 | 2.136 | 1.783 |
| Nice | 1.797 | 4.578* | 2.540 |
| Nasal | 2.965 | 7.349* | 6.180* |
| Pleasant | 1.308 | 3.691* | 2.019 |
| Polite | 1.593 | 2.004 | 1.784 |
| Trustworthy | 2.377 | 3.303* | 2.744 |

be a consensus among respondents for many or most of the states in the Union, it may be that disagreement over a few states could invalidate the results.

For the first set of tests, only seven of the thirty-six analyses showed a valid cultural consensus. Table 5.3 shows all of the eigenvalue ratios for the first set of questions. Only those marked with an asterisk are statistically significant and, therefore, show a consensus. All twelve descriptive terms were analyzed three ways according to respondent sample: Georgia participants only, New Jersey participants only, and all participants together. Six of the seven valid tests were from New Jersey respondents; the other was from all sixty respondents together. None of the questions analyzed with Georgia respondents alone showed cultural consensus. Therefore, while we find a common view of American speech in the New Jersey community, the same cannot be said for the Georgians.

Consensus analysis also presents a culturally determined answer key, which it determines based on the data itself. While it gives answers for every test, they are

only valid if a consensus is shown. There were some very intriguing patterns in the answer keys given for these seven valid tests. First, for the terms honest, pleasant, nice and friendly, the culturally correct answer to the majority of the questions was "1," or the positive response for each term. This was the case for every state except New Jersey and New York. The correct answers for these two states were "-1," or the negatively associated term. As for trustworthy, the same pattern holds, but Texas was also regarded as untrustworthy. This finding is incredibly significant as it shows that the culturally-based view of speech for these respondents says that the speech in all of the U.S. is positive, except in their own home state and the neighboring New York. This shows an extreme level of linguistic insecurity, as it is shown through these particular terms.

Additionally, the answer for nasality was -1, or not nasal, for all fifty states, showing that there is not one state that is commonly perceived as having "nasal" speech, or alternately, that all states are perceived as containing speech that is not nasal. Furthermore, this is the only term for which there was a consensus among all sixty respondents. This, additionally, appears to mean that this is the only descriptor for which there is a common knowledge base across both communities; however, due to reasons mentioned earlier, I do not believe that folk opinions on nasality are really that solid. Instead, this finding is perhaps due to the fact that this was the only term that was presented to respondents as a binomial choice. Therefore, there was not a third option that would divide respondent perceptions.

The neutral response, coded as 0, never emerged as a correct answer, even in the two cases where it was the answer given by the majority. (Alaska was marked neutrally for "nice" and "friendly" by 17 and 16 of the New Jersey respondents, respectively.) Therefore, this finding reveals that even though I allowed for a "neither" response to be applied to language, the cultural pattern shows that generally

there must be some sort of definitive consensus, either positive or negative, for the perception to be shared by the community.

The estimated knowledge of respondents was also calculated for the tests showing valid consensus. Table 5.4 shows the amount of knowledge per New Jersey respondent for each significant test. Table 5.5 gives the estimated knowledge for all respondents for the test of nasality in speech. To fully understand this information, think of these numbers as the grade breakdown for a class that has just taken a test. If we use the cultural answer key as the true correct answers, then the numbers would reflect how much each respondent knows. The average and standard deviation for each test are also included in the table.

Looking at Table 5.4, we notice three respondents who appear to have "received all A's." NJ6 and NJ21 have above .90 for four of the six tests, and NJ6 factored above .90 for five tests. This means that their responses most closely resemble the culturally correct answers for all tests combined. Please note that all tests were analyzed separately; the validity of one does not affect the validity or answers in another. One thing that is particularly interesting about this analysis is that it shows that there is not one respondent who embodies the culture's knowledge about trustworthy speech at a level above .80. This is quite low in comparison to what we see in the other tests. However, even though we find relatively low knowledge estimates for perceptions of speech as trustworthy, the knowledge is still common enough for a statistically significant consensus. Additionally, there are three respondents, NJ4, NJ19, and NJ25, who seem to possess the least cultural knowledge of all. All of these people rated negatively for their knowledge of three different terms.

The test for nasality shows that while the consensus holds for all sixty respondents, the New Jersians stand out as "knowing more." Ten New Jersey participants rated over .90 in their estimated knowledge, while only one Georgia respondent,

Table 5.4: Estimated Knowledge of Each NJ Respondent for Valid Tests

| | Friendly | Honest | Nice | Nasal | Pleasant | Trustworthy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NJ2 | 0.76 | 0.77 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.42 | 0.61 |
| NJ3 | 0.07 | 0.92 | 0.70 | 0.70 | 0.95 | -0.80 |
| NJ4 | -0.17 | -0.57 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.96 | -0.83 |
| NJ5 | 0.66 | 0.49 | 0.41 | 0.41 | 0.32 | 0.62 |
| NJ6 | 0.69 | 0.92 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.91 | 0.76 |
| NJ7 | 0.70 | 0.65 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.18 | 0.47 |
| NJ8 | 0.39 | 0.13 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.20 | -0.23 |
| NJ9 | 0.94 | 0.92 | 0.98 | 0.98 | 0.97 | 0.80 |
| NJ10 | 0.56 | 0.34 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.45 | -0.63 |
| NJ11 | 0.41 | -0.58 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.95 | 0.66 |
| NJ12 | 0.28 | 0.12 | 0.62 | 0.62 | 0.13 | -0.29 |
| NJ13 | 0.84 | 0.86 | 0.44 | 0.44 | 0.85 | 0.73 |
| NJ14 | 0.96 | 0.77 | 0.62 | 0.62 | 0.71 | 0.79 |
| NJ15 | 0.45 | 0.25 | 0.98 | 0.98 | 0.39 | -0.80 |
| NJ16 | 0.44 | -0.10 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.13 | 0.05 |
| NJ17 | 0.84 | 0.59 | 0.98 | 0.98 | 0.70 | 0.31 |
| NJ18 | 0.08 | 0.19 | 0.57 | 0.57 | -0.06 | 0.05 |
| NJ19 | 0.15 | -0.35 | 0.98 | 0.98 | -0.10 | -0.75 |
| NJ20 | 0.77 | 0.45 | 0.98 | 0.98 | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| NJ21 | 0.96 | 0.84 | 0.92 | 0.92 | 0.94 | 0.61 |
| NJ22 | 0.68 | 0.26 | 0.56 | 0.56 | 0.91 | 0.74 |
| NJ23 | 0.62 | 0.52 | 0.82 | 0.82 | 0.73 | 0.52 |
| NJ24 | 0.61 | 0.61 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.94 | 0.62 |
| NJ25 | 0.22 | -0.54 | 0.81 | 0.81 | -0.19 | -0.79 |
| NJ26 | 0.19 | -0.66 | 0.98 | 0.98 | -0.47 | 0.80 |
| NJ27 | 0.84 | 0.29 | 0.82 | 0.82 | -0.54 | 0.80 |
| NJ28 | 0.91 | 0.79 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.76 |
| NJ29 | 0.71 | 0.55 | -0.05 | -0.05 | 0.52 | 0.69 |
| NJ30 | 0.41 | 0.33 | 0.97 | 0.97 | -0.06 | -0.22 |
| NJ31 | 0.70 | 0.65 | 0.58 | 0.58 | 0.66 | 0.66 |
| Average | 0.556 | 0.347 | 0.734 | 0.734 | 0.449 | 0.224 |
| Std Dev | 0.296 | 0.475 | 0.260 | 0.260 | 0.454 | 0.590 |

Table 5.5: Estimated Knowledge for All Respondents for Test of Nasality

| Informant | Knowledge | Informant | Knowledge |
|---|---|---|---|
| GA1 | 0.91 | NJ2 | 0.52 |
| GA2 | 0.89 | NJ3 | 0.68 |
| GA3 | 0.44 | NJ4 | -0.03 |
| GA4 | 0.72 | NJ5 | 0.36 |
| GA5 | 0.55 | NJ6 | 0.91 |
| GA6 | 0.84 | NJ7 | 0.86 |
| GA7 | 0.33 | NJ8 | 0.86 |
| GA8 | 0.89 | NJ9 | 0.94 |
| GA9 | 0.84 | NJ10 | 0.81 |
| GA10 | 0.64 | NJ11 | 0.77 |
| GA11 | 0.73 | NJ12 | 0.61 |
| GA12 | 0.42 | NJ13 | 0.41 |
| GA13 | 0.48 | NJ14 | 0.61 |
| GA14 | 0.76 | NJ15 | 0.94 |
| GA15 | 0.58 | NJ16 | 0.82 |
| GA16 | 0.84 | NJ17 | 0.94 |
| GA17 | 0.79 | NJ18 | 0.50 |
| GA18 | 0.44 | NJ19 | 0.94 |
| GA19 | 0.25 | NJ20 | 0.93 |
| GA20 | 0.51 | NJ21 | 0.88 |
| GA21 | 0.85 | NJ22 | 0.50 |
| GA22 | 0.88 | NJ23 | 0.79 |
| GA23 | 0.80 | NJ24 | 0.92 |
| GA24 | -0.24 | NJ25 | 0.88 |
| GA25 | 0.47 | NJ26 | 0.94 |
| GA26 | 0.74 | NJ27 | 0.83 |
| GA27 | 0.69 | NJ28 | 0.91 |
| GA28 | 0.65 | NJ29 | 0.01 |
| GA29 | 0.49 | NJ30 | 0.92 |
| GA30 | 0.65 | NJ31 | 0.55 |
| Average | 0.673 | Std Dev | 0.256 |

GA1, met this criterion. Additionally, there were only two participants, GA24 and NJ4, who rated negatively.

Now let us turn to look at the possible consensus of the perceptions of speech in our target states. Again, running separate analyses for all three respondent groupings (NJ alone, GA alone, and all respondents together), we find differences in group consensus. This in itself is an interesting finding as the agreement figures presented in the first half of this chapter showed that for the most part, both sets of respondents were in general agreement with one another on their views of American speech. This analysis shows that while they may appear to have similar views, the difference is significant enough to dispel any notion of cultural consensus. There may be agreement, but it is not strong enough to uncontrovertibly support this as common, cultural knowledge.

Table 5.6 shows the eigenvalue ratios for consensus for our three informant groups and our target states. As we see again, not all of the analyses have produced consensus. No consensus was found for respondent views of New Jersey speech, and Alaska found consensus only among the Georgian respondents. This is different than the perceptions of New York, where there was consensus for all sixty informants together and the thirty New Jersians alone, but not for the Georgians alone. Finally, all three sample groups showed a cultural consensus for Georgia speech.

Starting with Alaska, one would assume that, according to our previous findings, the culturally-determined answers would point to Alaskan speech being perceived neutrally. This is entirely correct, or at least is correct for the Georgian consensus. Here, all cultural answers were "0," or the "neither" choice; the answer for nasal was "-1," or "not nasal." I was actually surprised that there was a consensus for Alaska by only one set of respondents. However, when reviewing the responses, I noticed that there were differences between Georgia and New Jersey in terms of honesty and trustworthiness. (Review Appendices I.4 and I.12.) In New Jersey, more respondents

Table 5.6: Eigenvalue Ratios for Perceptions toward Target States

| Target State | GA Informants | NJ Informants | All Informants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Georgia | 3.680* | 4.812* | 4.607* |
| New Jersey | 2.266 | 2.114 | 2.319 |
| New York | 2.076 | 3.153* | 3.223* |
| Alaska | 4.021* | 1.825 | 2.504 |

chose the positive term, honest (16), than did the neutral response (14). For this same term, twenty Georgians chose neither honest nor dishonest, and only nine chose honest. Similarly, fifteen New Jersians said Alaskan speech was trustworthy, versus seven Georgians; only thirteen from New Jersey marked Alaska neutrally, versus twenty-two from Georgia. Therefore, these differences in which the neutral term was not the majority, but showed a difference in viewpoint between the two samples, was probably the main factor in determining a cultural consensus. Furthermore, the New Jersey responses to pleasant had fourteen participants each choosing the positive and the neutral terms. This also could have also invalidated the factor analysis.

Turning to the view of New York, the answer key reveals quite a strong negative association with New York speech. For the analysis that looks at all respondents, the answers are "-1" for every term except for the question of hard-working. While New York speech is considered unattractive, incorrect, undependable, dishonest, unfriendly, unintelligent, mean, unpleasant, rude, and untrustworthy, it is positively considered hard-working. It is also not considered nasal. The analysis of the New Jersey responses alone for the most part agree with this view. However, for them, New York speech is also dependable and intelligent. While there was not significant consensus for the Georgia respondents, one can only assume there was a strong

enough agreement for undependable and unintelligent to change the larger cultural view.

Now on to Georgia. Georgia revealed itself as having the most consistent views of any state investigated as all analyses led to a cultural consensus. Georgia is described positively for attractiveness, honesty, friendliness, being nice, pleasantness, politeness, and trustworthiness. However, Georgian speech is also commonly perceived as incorrect, lazy, and unintelligent. The trait of dependability was the only one that showed disagreement between the two samples. Georgians found their own speech to sound dependable; New Jersians perceived the opposite. However, looking at all respondents together, the positive side, dependable, comes out as the cultural norm.

This finding consistently supports the view of the South as the most salient dialect region. Cognitively speaking, it is the area (as shown through the perceptions of Georgian speech) that has the most definitive perceptions associated with it. Not only do respondents agree with others in their group, but they also agree across samples. This may very well be the case for all American sample groups, but obviously I cannot generalize these current findings to all American communities, and therefore, this finding must be tested through further research.

Overall, consensus analysis definitely puts the previous agreement numbers into perspective. While it first appeared that there was a large amount of agreement among respondents regarding the social traits associated with speech, apparently it was not statistically significant enough to call for a cultural consensus.

Again, the level of consensus could change if looking at a different set of descriptive terms, either a completely different set or a subset of the terms used here. One of the main tenets of both consensus analysis and free listing is that the researcher, after having done a first set of interviews, should go back and re-test the information to validate the conclusions. This is a key part to understanding the culture as a whole (Handwerker 1998: 178). Therefore, with further investigation, we may find

that a study that focuses solely on the core terms associated with speech does reveal more and/or stronger cultural consensus.

## 5.3 The Positive View of Language

So far I have discussed the patterns that exist regarding the correlation of speech and socially descriptive terms, and I have shown that while there is agreement among respondents for certain terms, this agreement does not translate into one precise view of language that is common to all respondents. However, if we take a step back from analyzing specific terms and look at the categorical nature of the descriptions, we find some other interesting results.

I decided to look at this data from a different angle and focus on the larger categories of positive, negative, and neutral associations of language. To do this, I took each individual term and tallied how many times respondents used it across all fifty states. Because there were fifty states and sixty respondents, each term could have been given up to 3000 times. I repeated this for all three response options and for all twelve sets of terms. The aggregate numbers are listed in Table 5.7. Please note that I intentionally left the figures for "nasal" out of this table, as it was only a binomial response and accordingly necessitates a separate discussion. Using these figures, I also calculated the average number of states that were described using each term (the aggregate divided by 60). Finally, I tallied the number of times the positive terms, negative terms, and neutral responses were given across the eleven sets. These numbers, which are out of a possible 33,000, are also shown in Table 5.7.

Reviewing the numbers, I quickly discovered that the positive terms were used much more often than the neutral or negative choices. The general pattern found is that the positive term is used one and a half times more often than the neutral choice and two and a half to three times more than the negative. In fact, there were

Table 5.7: Aggregate Number of Respondents Using Social Terms, Across All States. (With the average number of states per person.)

| Term | Positive Choice | Neutral Choice | Negative Choice |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attractive | 1239 (20.65) | 1181 (19.68) | 580 (9.67) |
| Correct | 1308 (21.80) | 941 (15.68) | 751 (12.52) |
| Dependable | 1284 (21.40) | 1198 (19.97) | 518 (8.63) |
| Honest | 1458 (24.30) | 1016 (16.93) | 526 (8.77) |
| Friendly | 1699 (28.32) | 841 (14.02) | 460 (7.67) |
| Hard-Working | 1113 (18.55) | 1157 (19.28) | 730 (12.17) |
| Intelligent | 1060 (17.67) | 1185 (19.75) | 755 (12.58) |
| Nice | 1660 (27.67) | 856 (14.40) | 476 (7.93) |
| Pleasant | 1550 (25.83) | 932 (15.53) | 518 (8.63) |
| Polite | 1492 (24.87) | 994 (16.57) | 514 (8.57) |
| Trustworthy | 1458 (24.30) | 1073 (17.88) | 469 (7.82) |
| Total | 15,328 (23.22) | 11, 382 (17.25) | 6325 (9.58) |
| Average | 1393.45 (23.22) | 1034.73 (17.25) | 575 (9.58) |

only two sets — hard-working and intelligent — in which the positive term was not used the most, and in both cases, the responses were generally divided between the neutral and the positive. The positive terms that were given the most often were "friendly," "nice," and "pleasant," each being used over 1500 times, which is half of the possible occurrences. Therefore, we see that when people describe speech, they habitually use social terms that relate positive information.

Furthermore, the negative term of a set was always given less than its corresponding positive and neutral options and, on average, was only used to describe a very low number of states. While the positive terms seem to be used readily as the default response, the negative choices appear to be reserved specifically for stigmatized speech. Of the negative terms, the two that were used the most often are "unintelligent" and "incorrect," but both were used to describe only an average of

one quarter (12.5) of the fifty states. It is interesting that these particular words are the ones that stand out, because these are the only two descriptors given that specifically concern nonstandard speech, a concept that is commonly discussed by nonlinguists.

Now, let us turn to review the data on nasality in speech. There are 548 uses of "nasal" across states and respondents and 2452 uses of "not nasal," the later being the most given description of all. In our discussion, I have generally referred to "nasal" as the positive term and "not nasal" as its neutral counterpart, but upon further reflection I believe these associations should be changed. Respondent comments have shown that nasality in speech is something that is considered different, nonstandard, or even deviant, and they use the term "nasal" in contrast to "normal" speech. Therefore, it would make sense to identify "not nasal" with the other terms that have positive connotations, even if the semantic form itself is negative. Additionally, this connotation would fit in with the finding above that folk generally use positive terms in their description of speech.

In summary, respondents use positive terms in describing speech as a whole but give positive, neutral, and negative terms when differentiating between standard and nonstandard speech. And we see that to describe speech, nonlinguists use social terms that fall into one of two categories — reference to goodness or to well-spokenness. The question that we must now ask is: Is there something about the way folk understand language that would dictate this result?

In order for a society to exist, its members have to follow certain cultural rules. Basically stated, we cooperate with one another in society, and as Grice has shown, a large part of societal cooperation happens when we find ourselves in a conversation. We (subconsciously) approach each personal interaction with the belief that each individual will play his appropriate part. To do otherwise would be deviant behavior, which is simply not tolerated. I, therefore, posit that a part of the folk understanding

of language, as can be seen through non-expert comments and their distribution of descriptive terms, focuses on language as an extension of polite society. People describe speech primarily in positive terms, because to them, conversations and speaking are primarily positive events. To view them otherwise would be acknowledging speech as deviant, as something that goes against societal rules. Of course, when they hear speech that they do believe to be deviant — i.e. nonstandard speech — they openly discuss it and chastise its use (as well as those who use it). Subsequently, when talking about language, folk present it as a functioning part of a homogeneous, cooperative society.

## 5.4 Discussion

Previous studies in perceptual dialectology have focused on the descriptive terms "correct" and "pleasant." This study shows that there are many other dimensions of social traits that folk apply to linguistic variation than just "correct" and "pleasant." Here, I examined the use of twenty-three separate terms regarding the description of speech (twenty-four if "not nasal" is considered), and as I found that not all terms were perceived as equally good for describing speech, they were nevertheless all associated with it. Therefore, in order to get a better picture of nonlinguist perceptions, research must continue to examine a broad range of characteristics. However, I must admit that the terms of "correct" and "pleasant" are appropriate for a quick study in that they do address the basic, overarching themes of goodness and well-spokenness in speech.

Furthermore, these patterns do fit quite well with previous social psychological research in which language attitudes are associated with issues of status and solidarity. The South is viewed as a nonstandard dialect, one that shares the traits of solidarity, but rates low in terms of correctness, industriousness, and intelligence.

Conversely, New England, perhaps because it is viewed as having more standard speech, rates high in these status terms but mid to low in group solidarity, such as friendliness and honesty.

One problem that may have arisen with this task is order bias. Before interviewing I randomly picked the terms from a hat to choose the order of presentation (as listed above), and I remained consistent through all participants with this order. While I do not believe there were any major effects due to order bias, this must be verified through other research projects in which presentation order is varied.

One argument against using folk knowledge data in studying linguistic variation has been that nonlinguists have an "impoverished" vocabulary for discussing language (Labov in Hoenigswald 1966). I do not find folk lexicon for language variation to be generally impoverished, but instead I see it as consisting of a set of terms that is quite different from those used by the scientific community. In this study alone, respondents have used not only the twenty-three terms that I supplied but also a plethora of other words in their descriptions of language. Linguists often overlook these terms because they are not what they expect should be applied to a discussion of language. Yes, I agree that the folk lexicon is lacking in traditional, academic linguistic terms — laypersons do not have an overt understanding of phonemes or morphemes — but they are able to converse about language in many other ways. Keep in mind that we can conduct folk linguistic research *because* talk about language is prevalent. Therefore, research should be more open to the investigation of more semantic areas than just purely academic linguistic terms.

We have seen that folk commonly use non-linguistic terms to describe variation in language and that they easily apply a given lexicon to speech. We have also seen that while there is no one, precise set of knowledge common to all respondents, they do share a common ability and desire to describe language in terms that are socially motivated. And furthermore, these folk terms categorically show that language is

viewed as a function of a cooperative society. In conclusion, nonlinguists do not think of language as something solely linguistic, but instead incorporate social ideals into a complex model of language.

# Chapter 6

## Perceptions of Linguistic Input

For task three, I created a method that would elicit sets of data similar to those in tasks one and two but would use actual linguistic input. For this, I asked participants to give their opinions on the speech of four women from four different areas of the United States. This task has a very different methodological focus than the other tasks but keeps with the same cognitive approach and goal of uncovering underlying patterns in nonlinguist views. In this chapter, I present the findings of this task, compare this information to previous sets of responses, and also use it to confirm and clarify earlier results. Please refer back to Section 2.3.3 for a detailed description of the methodology.

While a test of accuracy in participant identification is usually the main goal of a task of this nature, it is only a secondary objective here. I included this voice identification task because I thought it necessary to uncover the types of actual speech people associate with their perceptions. If one believes that the speech in Georgia and Alabama are the same, then what exactly does the speech they are thinking about sound like? If they think New York speech sounds unintelligent, are they "hearing" linguistic features that are actually associated with New York speech, or is there a difference between perception and linguistic reality? The main point here is that linguistic attitudes and perceptions and their applications in everyday life are not dependent on linguistic accuracy. Folk perceptions are no less valid or powerful if the set of linguistic features that the person has in mind are not actually

found in the location he believes. Therefore, research into language attitudes should not be limited to only tests of accuracy.

Task three also reveals whether or not differences in participant perceptions correlate to the availability of linguistic input. For example, if respondents identified a speaker as being from North Dakota and described her as sounding pleasant, did they originally describe North Dakotan speech as pleasant, or did their views change? The basic question is, does the inclusion of linguistic input actually change a person's perceptions or do the same attitudes obtain when attached to a specific voice? This comparison, therefore, has the ability to reveal the strength and depth of linguistic perceptions.

Obviously, there is a range of issues that arise when one tries to compare perceptions toward the speech of an entire community to those of the speech of one individual person. It is quite possible, even probable, that the hearer associates certain characteristics with an individual voice that he would not associate with other people in that area. Therefore, the analysis presented here only portrays respondent views towards an entire state or speech region to the extent that the speaker is viewed as an adequate representative of that area. Because the pilot study did show that these are representative samples, we shall view the results accordingly. However, another study using different voice samples would be beneficial to verify the findings presented here.

An important note to be made is that I expected the participants to focus solely on speech when making their decisions in task three. I specifically asked respondents to describe what the women sounded like to them, as opposed to describing who the women were. For example, it did not matter whether or not they thought the speaker was an attractive person; they were only to use that term if they wished to describe her speech as attractive. This is a fine line to draw, however, and I cannot

be certain that the respondents always were able to separate the two directions. The effects of these differences are discussed in more detail below.

It was also very important to place this task after the first two presented in this study, since an early introduction of speech cues would have most definitely biased the results. As it was, it did appear that the order in which I presented these tasks did cause some interference for a few participants. Respondent comments in the final interview section (to be discussed in the following chapter) showed that some participants were concerned about contradicting their earlier responses. While I knew that the participants would be concerned with being correct, I had not considered that they would monitor all of their responses for consistency. Therefore, while the task works quite well for eliciting participant responses, more research on the methodology itself would help to clarify any effects of task order bias.

In my analysis, I approached the data in task three with the following questions in mind:

1. According to the respondents, what state(s) are these speakers from?
2. According to the respondents, what characteristics describe the speech heard?
3. Is there an underlying cultural consensus to the participants' regional identification of the speech samples?
4. Is there an underlying cultural consensus to the participants' (social and pseudo-linguistic) descriptions of the speech samples?

These questions fall into two key categories that use two different analytic techniques. The first two questions focus on the general patterns in the respondent answers and use a simple comparison to find agreement between individuals and sample groups. The second uses consensus analysis to search for any underlying, culturally-defined patterns in how nonlinguists identify and attribute speech.

Before I move on to the specific analyses, I want to discuss the more general, qualitative findings that came out of this task. First, it was immediately apparent that the respondents did not want to be wrong. During the interviews, I tried to stress that I was simply looking for their opinions and was not testing their accuracy. However, unlike with the other tasks, there actually were right and wrong answers for speaker location in task three. In fact, many respondents did ask if they were correct and/or wanted to know where the speakers were from. If they asked, I would tell them, but only after the entire interview had been completed.

Second, for many respondents, it appeared easier to judge speech, especially negatively, when there was actual linguistic input than when they were working on mental images alone. I found this finding quite interesting since I assumed just the opposite would be true. Specifically, I thought that people would feel uncomfortable judging speech when they knew there was a person (with thoughts and emotions) attached to it. However, I saw that many respondents felt more uncomfortable working solely on their thoughts and stereotypes when describing large groups of people than they did when listening to individuals. I believe this is connected to the fact that in day-to-day interactions we commonly make judgments about our individual interlocutors based on their linguistic cues. Moreover, a person tends to believe whole-heartedly in his personal linguistic perceptions. These thoughts are not just opinion to a nonlinguist but are a part of his knowledge of what language is. Therefore, speech samples give the hearer specific linguistic evidence to their views. It is simply true or false that the speaker sounds pleasant or unpleasant to them.

## 6.1 Patterns of Agreement

### 6.1.1 Regional Identification

This research shows that regardless of whether they are right or wrong, nonlinguists definitely do associate speech and region. For the most part, these decisions for task three came naturally and easily for this set of participants. Only two of the sixty participants could not (or would not) give a location for any of the four speakers; one person (NJ3) gave a null response for both Speaker 1 and Speaker 4, and another (GA8) did the same for Speaker 2. All other respondents were able to identify the speakers or at least were able to give an informed guess as to where the person came from based on their personal ideas about language in the United States.

As participants described the location of each speaker, they were allowed to choose one or multiple states for their answers. While they were instructed to be as precise in their responses as they could, many did choose to list more than one state. In fact, there were only thirteen respondents, eight from Georgia and five from New Jersey, who consistently listed only one state for each of the four speakers. All others listed multiple states for at least one of the speakers. On the other hand, there were also only thirteen respondents, five from Georgia and eight from New Jersey, who consistently used more than one state to describe all four speakers. Table 6.1 presents the number of respondents listing singular or multiple states in describing each speaker.

These figures are interesting in that they ask us to re-evaluate the findings from the pile sort task. Keep in mind that the piles created in task one show the various states that were believed to contain similar speech. Therefore, theoretically speaking, if a voice was associated with one state of a pile, it should also be associated with the others in that pile. However, this was hardly ever the case with respondent answers to speaker locale. In general, approximately half of the respondents chose only one

Table 6.1: Number of Respondents Listing 1, 2, 3+, & 0 States for Speakers One through Four

| Speaker | 1 State | 2 States | 3+ States | 0 States |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Georgia Respondents | | | | |
| One | 17 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| Two | 13 | 6 | 10 | 1 |
| Three | 18 | 4 | 8 | 0 |
| Four | 18 | 4 | 8 | 0 |
| New Jersey Respondents | | | | |
| One | 14 | 4 | 11 | 1 |
| Two | 8 | 6 | 16 | 0 |
| Three | 13 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| Four | 12 | 7 | 10 | 1 |

state for each speaker. Moreover, many of the other respondents listed states that were sub-sets of a larger group. This reveals a knowledge of linguistic variation within perceived dialect areas. Even though respondents categorize the speech in different states as similar, they understand that the speech in these areas is not exactly the same. Furthermore, some respondents listed states that crossed pile lines, revealing perceived similarities in speech where previously only differences had been seen. Overall, there were only 26 instances (out of a possible 240) in which a respondent's speaker description matched one of his or her original pile sorts exactly.

Tables 6.2 through 6.5 list the fifty states and present the number of participants who selected each as a possible home location for Speakers 1 through 4, respectively. Within each table, the state in which the speaker actually resides is marked with an asterisk, and the state with the highest respondent agreement for each sample group is shown in bold. Please note that because respondents were able to indicate more than one state in their descriptions, the number of possible tokens for each

state equals sixty. Furthermore, for this analysis, I analyze and discuss each state on an individual basis — either it was indicated as a possible home location for the speaker or it wasn't. Additionally, I only discuss whether or not a state was noted at all; I do not indicate here whether it was chosen by itself or with other states.

Participant responses for Speaker 1 show a weak agreement between and within sample groups. Speaker 1 is from Illinois; however, the most agreement for both sets of respondents was for the state of Wisconsin. This was not a majority decision for either group, as only nine Georgia respondents and ten New Jersey respondents associated Speaker 1 with Wisconsin. Interestingly, the responses in task one reveal a perceived similarity between the speech in Illinois and Wisconsin; fourteen people from each of the two groups placed Wisconsin and Illinois within their same dialect pile. The state with the second greatest agreement for Georgia respondents was Minnesota, and for New Jersians there was a tie for second between Minnesota, Massachusetts, Iowa, and Illinois.

While it is interesting to see which states were indicated the most, equally as telling are the states that were not chosen by any participants. A state that has been chosen by none of the sixty respondents reveals a definitive view that the voice did not come from that area. For Speaker 1 there were sixteen states that were never indicated, and the regional placement of these states reveals that the respondents did not associate Speaker 1 with the speech found in either the South (VA, TN, SC, AL, AR, MS, NC) or the West (WA, AZ, MT, NM, OR, UT). Alaska and Hawaii were also noted as locations where Speaker 1 is believed not to live.

Moving on to Speaker 2, we notice a very strong agreement regarding speaker location. As Table 6.3 shows, a majority of respondents, specifically thirty-one, associated this speaker with Georgia speech. Therefore, not only were the participants in agreement with one another, but their shared response was also an accurate identification. While the largest number of respondents from each group chose Georgia as

Table 6.2: Number of Participants Identifying Speaker 1, by State

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 0 | 0 | 0 | LA | 0 | 0 | 0 | OH | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| AK | 0 | 0 | 0 | ME | 4 | 1 | 5 | OK | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| AZ | 0 | 0 | 0 | MD | 3 | 0 | 3 | OR | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| AR | 0 | 0 | 0 | MA | 4 | 7 | 11 | PA | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| CA | 0 | 1 | 1 | MI | 3 | 5 | 8 | RI | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| CO | 0 | 1 | 1 | MN | 6 | 7 | 13 | SC | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CT | 5 | 1 | 6 | MS | 0 | 0 | 0 | SD | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| DE | 4 | 0 | 4 | MO | 0 | 1 | 1 | TN | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| FL | 1 | 0 | 1 | MT | 0 | 0 | 0 | TX | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| GA | 1 | 0 | 1 | NE | 0 | 2 | 2 | UT | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| HI | 0 | 0 | 0 | NV | 0 | 1 | 1 | VT | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| ID | 0 | 2 | 2 | NH | 4 | 1 | 5 | VA | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| IL* | 4 | 7 | 11 | NJ | 0 | 2 | 2 | WA | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| IN | 3 | 6 | 9 | NM | 0 | 0 | 0 | WV | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| IA | 1 | 7 | 8 | NY | 3 | 1 | 4 | WI | **9** | **10** | **19** |
| KS | 1 | 3 | 4 | NC | 0 | 0 | 0 | WY | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| KY | 0 | 1 | 1 | ND | 0 | 2 | 2 | | | | |

one possible state of residence, the state with the next highest agreement was South Carolina. Twelve participants from Georgia chose South Carolina, as did eleven from New Jersey. Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia also received eleven votes from New Jersey respondents. It is equally interesting that regardless of the states they chose, the vast majority placed Speaker 2 somewhere in the South. There were only two respondents, GA24 and NJ15, that associated her speech with something that was not Southern, and they placed her in Minnesota and Massachusetts, respectively. Therefore, while there was a high level of agreement among respondents for the exact state Speaker 2 was from, the agreement was even higher for her region of the country. And while many New Jersey respondents commented that I personally

Table 6.3: Number of Participants Identifying Speaker 2, by State

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 5 | 7 | 12 | LA | 0 | 6 | 6 | OH | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| AK | 0 | 0 | 0 | ME | 0 | 0 | 0 | OK | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| AZ | 0 | 0 | 0 | MD | 0 | 1 | 1 | OR | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| AR | 3 | 5 | 8 | MA | 0 | 1 | 1 | PA | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CA | 0 | 0 | 0 | MI | 0 | 0 | 0 | RI | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CO | 0 | 0 | 0 | MN | 1 | 0 | 1 | SC | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| CT | 0 | 0 | 0 | MS | 3 | 4 | 7 | SD | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| DE | 0 | 0 | 0 | MO | 0 | 0 | 0 | TN | 9 | 11 | 20 |
| FL | 1 | 6 | 7 | MT | 0 | 0 | 0 | TX | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| GA* | **17** | **14** | **31** | NE | 0 | 0 | 0 | UT | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| HI | 0 | 0 | 0 | NV | 0 | 0 | 0 | VT | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ID | 0 | 0 | 0 | NH | 0 | 0 | 0 | VA | 1 | 11 | 12 |
| IL | 0 | 0 | 0 | NJ | 0 | 0 | 0 | WA | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| IN | 0 | 0 | 0 | NM | 0 | 0 | 0 | WV | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| IA | 0 | 0 | 0 | NY | 0 | 0 | 0 | WI | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| KS | 0 | 0 | 0 | NC | 4 | 11 | 15 | WY | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| KY | 3 | 9 | 12 | ND | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | |

did not sound Southern, apparently Speaker 2 used the linguistic features that they do associate with Southern speech.

For Speaker 2, there were an overwhelming thirty-two states that were not chosen by any participants (Table 6.3). Additionally, there were six others — LA, MD, MA, OH, OK, TX — that were not picked by any Georgian respondent. Therefore, while not everyone placed Speaker 2 in the exact same specific location, there was a very strong agreement that she hailed from just a handful of Southern states. This finding is particularly important in that it supports previous research which claims that the South is the most salient dialect region in the United States. Apparently, it is not only the most perceptually salient, it is also the most identifiable.

Looking at the responses to Speaker 3, there is a distinctive difference in opinion between respondents from the two sample groups. Please refer to Table 6.4. Nineteen of the New Jersey residents associated this speaker with New Jersey (her actual home state), while only four of the Georgia respondents said the same. The next largest agreement for New Jersians was New York, with nine votes. Interestingly, New Jersey's second choice was Georgia's first; the greatest agreement for Georgians was for New York. However, this was not a majority agreement for the Georgia respondents; only seven people indicated New York in their answers. Furthermore, the second highest agreement rate for the Georgians was given for both Pennsylvania and Illinois, each having been listed by only six participants. In general, this exercise shows that the New Jersey respondents did recognize the speech from their home state, and the Georgians simply did not strongly agree on any one particular area.

Regardless of whether or not they agreed on her home state, all sixty respondents agreed on where she did not live. The states that were never chosen as a home area for Speaker 3 were Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Geographically, this produces a continuous region that spans across the entire southern United States. Additionally, while one person did say that Speaker 3 could be from Alaska, no one placed her in Hawaii.

Comparing the placement of Speaker 3 with that of Speaker 2, we find two interesting results. First, the perceptions of Speakers 2 and 3 place them in complementary geographical regions. While Speaker 2 was almost always placed in the South, Speaker 3 never was. Second, the differences in the perceptions of sample groups for Speakers 2 and 3 show that these respondents commonly are able to identify local speech, whether it be by exact state or regionally. A majority of the New Jersey respondents listed New Jersey as a possible location for Speaker 3, and a large majority of the Georgia respondents placed Speaker 2 in Georgia.

Table 6.4: Number of Participants Identifying Speaker 3, by State

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 0 | 0 | 0 | LA | 0 | 0 | 0 | OH | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| AK | 0 | 1 | 1 | ME | 1 | 1 | 2 | OK | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| AZ | 0 | 0 | 0 | MD | 2 | 3 | 5 | OR | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| AR | 1 | 0 | 1 | MA | 2 | 0 | 2 | PA | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| CA | 1 | 0 | 1 | MI | 3 | 0 | 3 | RI | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| CO | 0 | 0 | 0 | MN | 2 | 1 | 3 | SC | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CT | 2 | 2 | 4 | MS | 0 | 0 | 0 | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| DE | 1 | 5 | 6 | MO | 4 | 1 | 5 | TN | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| FL | 1 | 0 | 1 | MT | 1 | 0 | 1 | TX | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| GA | 0 | 0 | 0 | NE | 1 | 0 | 1 | UT | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| HI | 0 | 0 | 0 | NV | 0 | 0 | 0 | VT | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| ID | 1 | 0 | 1 | NH | 2 | 0 | 2 | VA | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| IL | 6 | 0 | 6 | NJ* | 4 | **19** | **23** | WA | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| IN | 3 | 2 | 5 | NM | 0 | 0 | 0 | WV | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| IA | 3 | 0 | 3 | NY | **7** | 9 | 16 | WI | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| KS | 2 | 1 | 3 | NC | 0 | 0 | 0 | WY | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| KY | 0 | 0 | 0 | ND | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | |

Finally, we come to the geographic identification of our speaker of "Standard American English" (SAE). Similar to the results for Speaker 1, there was not a majority agreement for either group regarding Speaker 4. (See Table 6.5.) The maximum number of same responses shown is twelve, which is the number of New Jersey speakers who said she was from California. Seven Georgians said that she was from Virginia. Six participants from each sample group listed Colorado as a potential home state, making it the state with the second highest agreement for both sample groups. Along with Colorado, the New Jersians also picked their own state six times. Thus, there is not only a lack of agreement among participants, but there is also a lack of a geographic pattern in the responses to Speaker 4; instead, responses are

Table 6.5: Number of Participants Identifying Speaker 4, by State

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 1 | 0 | 1 | LA | 0 | 0 | 0 | OH | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| AK | 1 | 1 | 2 | ME | 0 | 0 | 0 | OK | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| AZ | 3 | 5 | 8 | MD | 2 | 3 | 5 | OR | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| AR | 1 | 0 | 1 | MA | 0 | 0 | 0 | PA | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| CA | 3 | **12** | **15** | MI | 2 | 1 | 3 | RI | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CO | 6 | 6 | 12 | MN | 0 | 0 | 0 | SC | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| CT | 0 | 0 | 0 | MS | 1 | 0 | 1 | SD | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| DE | 0 | 3 | 3 | MO* | 4 | 2 | 6 | TN | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| FL | 2 | 1 | 3 | MT | 1 | 1 | 2 | TX | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| GA | 4 | 0 | 4 | NE | 3 | 2 | 5 | UT | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| HI | 0 | 0 | 0 | NV | 2 | 4 | 6 | VT | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ID | 2 | 2 | 4 | NH | 0 | 0 | 0 | VA | **7** | 2 | 9 |
| IL | 3 | 1 | 4 | NJ | 1 | 6 | 7 | WA | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| IN | 3 | 2 | 5 | NM | 1 | 3 | 4 | WV | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| IA | 3 | 2 | 5 | NY | 0 | 0 | 0 | WI | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| KS | 3 | 2 | 5 | NC | 1 | 1 | 2 | WY | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| KY | 1 | 0 | 1 | ND | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | |

scattered all around the map. In reality, the speaker is actually from the state of Missouri, which was chosen by only four Georgians and two New Jersians.

Using Speaker 4 as an example of "neutral" or "standard" American speech revealed several interesting things about respondent linguistic perceptions. First, several respondents commented on this speaker's "lack of accent," verifying her as a representative standard American speaker. (Standard speech is often described by nonlinguists as an accentless variety of English that has no regional distinction.) Also interesting is that several female respondents from both New Jersey and Georgia commented that her speech was similar to their own. Nonlinguists often do not hear

an accent in their own speech and closely relate to standard speech, regardless of their views toward the dialect in their home area.

Now, let me turn to the states which were not chosen by any participants in describing Speaker 4. Working with the assumption that she is a valid folk representative of SAE, the states that were not chosen must be those that are definitely perceived as not containing standard, or un-accented, speech. In this task, New England stands out as not standard, as Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont were never chosen. Moreover, New York, which we have seen to have very negative views associated with it, was also left out of possible speaker locations. Other states that were not picked by respondents were Hawaii, Louisiana, and Minnesota, all of which were often described by these participants as having speech that is different from "the norm."

This particular analysis also reveals a difference in sample group point of view. Along with the states listed above, the thirty Georgia respondents never listed Delaware or Texas as a location for Speaker 4. However, most interesting are the states that the New Jersey respondents alone did not associate with standard speech. These are: Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, West Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Here we see a strong perception by the New Jersey participants that SAE does not exist in the Southeast. Conversely, several Georgians did associate standard speech with the South. Therefore, there are distinct differences in opinion between the two groups as to the geographical scope of Standard American English.

### 6.1.2 Descriptive Identification

Turning to the descriptions of our speakers, we find many responses which show agreement among participants as well as agreement with responses from earlier tasks. Please note that while completing task two respondents had to choose between the

Table 6.6: Number of Participants Describing Speaker 1, by Term

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attractive | 6 | 8 | 14 | Unattractive | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Correct | 5 | 10 | 15 | Incorrect | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Dependable | 10 | 17 | 27 | Undependable | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Honest | 15 | 20 | 35 | Dishonest | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Friendly | **18** | 20 | 38 | Unfriendly | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Hard-Working | 12 | 10 | 22 | Lazy | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Intelligent | 10 | 10 | 20 | Unintelligent | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Nice | 17 | **22** | **39** | Mean | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Pleasant | 14 | 19 | 33 | Unpleasant | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Polite | 17 | **22** | **39** | Rude | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Trustworthy | 12 | 13 | 25 | Untrustworthy | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Nasal | 17 | 7 | 24 | | | | |

positive, negative, and neutral for every set of terms, in task three they only needed to indicate the terms that they would personally use to describe each woman's speech. Therefore, when they previously were required to choose a level of, for example, attractiveness, they did not have to acknowledge attractiveness at all in this later task.

Speaker 1's voice is described in mostly positive terms by our sixty respondents, and as Table 6.6 shows, a majority of respondents from both sample groups included honest, friendly, nice, and polite in their descriptions. Additionally, a majority of New Jersians also chose pleasant and dependable, and seventeen of the Georgia respondents described her speech as nasal. In the last chapter we saw that the two sample groups were often in disagreement about nasality in speech, with Georgians using the term more often. Here, we see that the same finding is also true when eliciting perceptions of speech using linguistic cues.

For the corresponding negative terms, unattractive stands out as the most often marked response, but even this term was chosen by only eleven of the sixty total respondents. In fact, we find that the highest agreement for any negative term (eleven for unattractive) is still smaller than the lowest agreement for any positive term (fourteen for attractive). Furthermore, the use of attractive and unattractive by the Georgia group is the only descriptive set in which the negative term was given more often than the positive term for Speaker 1. Even with this result, both sample groups generally described Speaker 1's speech in positive terms.

A comparison of these responses to previous descriptions of individual states reveals similarities in participant views. Speaker 1 was actually from Illinois, but more respondents said that she was from Wisconsin, and therefore, I shall review the perceptions toward both states here. Generally, the attitudes towards both Illinois and Wisconsin in task two were the same — positive to neutral. There were not any large numbers of participants who described the speech in these states negatively. However, the Georgia respondents' views of Illinois and Wisconsin speech did lean more toward "unattractive" than "attractive," which parallels their descriptions of Speaker 1. Thus, the perceptions of both Illinois and Wisconsin speech appear to remain consistent regardless of the presence or absence of linguistic input.

The descriptions of Speaker 2 are equally as positive as those of Speaker 1. In fact, a majority of respondents from both New Jersey and Georgia found this speaker to sound honest, friendly, nice, pleasant, and polite. The Georgia respondents, as they were describing someone whom they believed to be from their home state or region, also described her speech as trustworthy. In task two, I found that Georgia speech was generally rated positively for terms such as honesty, trustworthiness, politeness, and friendliness, but was also described as unintelligent, incorrect, and lazy. The description of Speaker 2 follows along precisely with the generalized description of Georgian (and Southern) speech. Table 6.7 shows that even though there was

Table 6.7: Number of Participants Describing Speaker 2, by Term

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attractive | 10 | 13 | 23 | Unattractive | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Correct | 5 | 7 | 12 | Incorrect | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Dependable | 10 | 6 | 16 | Undependable | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Honest | 15 | 16 | 31 | Dishonest | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Friendly | 22 | **27** | **49** | Unfriendly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Hard-Working | 10 | 3 | 13 | Lazy | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Intelligent | 5 | 12 | 17 | Unintelligent | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Nice | **23** | 25 | 48 | Mean | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Pleasant | 18 | 22 | 40 | Unpleasant | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Polite | 21 | 23 | 44 | Rude | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Trustworthy | 15 | 11 | 26 | Untrustworthy | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Nasal | 3 | 5 | 8 | | | | |

not a majority decision, the highest agreement within the negative terms were for intelligence, laziness, and correctness. Their corresponding positive terms were also those which were rated the lowest.

Table 6.8 presents the number of respondents who used each term in their descriptions of Speaker 3. The views toward this New Jersey speaker reveal some very interesting opinions about language use. But first, I must comment about the quality of the speech sample used. The speaker, being eight months pregnant, had just run up a flight of stairs at the time of the recording. Therefore, she was a little out of breath. Even though I removed any long pauses from the sample[1] and believed it valid and complementary to the other three recordings, respondents quickly heard the difference in her rendition of the reading passage. While it did not seem to affect

[1]Using the Sound Forge 5.0 software package, I first digitized the voice sample and then extracted most of the silence in order to make the sample sound more natural and uniform. This was the only sample that I manipulated.

the regional identification of her voice, her pauses and breathiness most likely did affect the descriptive portion of this task.

Generally, there was not much agreement among respondents on how to describe this woman's speech, and the only sets of majority agreement were for honesty among the New Jersians and nasality for the Georgians. Please refer to Table 6.8. Additionally, the respondents used the entire range of terms in their evaluations of her speech; each of the twenty-three terms was used by at least one of the sixty respondents, which is not true for the other three speakers. Comparing the responses between the two sample groups, we see that the New Jersey participants consistently rated this speaker more positively than did the Georgians.

Even though the numbers show that the New Jersey participants described this speaker more positively than did the Georgians, it by no means shows that they are generally fond of her speech. For the most part, there are comparatively low numbers of participants using any positive traits at all. In fact, more people described her speech as unintelligent, unpleasant, and unattractive than used the corresponding positives. This finding, however, may be the effect of the quality of the audio recording on participant views. But, even if I had presented respondents with a different reading sample, I still believe the New Jersey speaker would have been described negatively. Even though this description is quite different than those of Speakers 1 and 2, these findings are consistent with the descriptions of New Jersey speech presented in task two. Furthermore, even though these responses show solidarity with their home dialect by describing Speaker 3 as honest, nice, and polite, their descriptions as a whole continue to support the idea of New Jersians being linguistically insecure.

Again, we notice a discrepancy between the two groups regarding their views on nasality for Speaker 3, just as we did for Speaker 1. And this finding is comparable to the Georgian and New Jersey views of nasality that were presented in the pre-

Table 6.8: Number of Participants Describing Speaker 3, by Term

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attractive | 1 | 3 | 4 | Unattractive | 9 | 9 | 18 |
| Correct | 2 | 7 | 9 | Incorrect | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| Dependable | 5 | 8 | 13 | Undependable | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Honest | 9 | **18** | **27** | Dishonest | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Friendly | 8 | 10 | 18 | Unfriendly | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| Hard-Working | 6 | 8 | 14 | Lazy | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Intelligent | 5 | 5 | 10 | Unintelligent | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| Nice | 10 | 11 | 21 | Mean | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Pleasant | 4 | 8 | 12 | Unpleasant | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| Polite | 7 | 10 | 17 | Rude | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Trustworthy | 2 | 4 | 6 | Untrustworthy | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Nasal | **15** | 9 | 24 | | | | |

vious chapter. This information, therefore, helps to show what nonlinguists really mean when they describe speech as "nasal." Generally, the Georgian respondents use "nasal" more liberally than do their New Jersey counterparts. Perceptually, the Georgia participants believe nasal speech to be something found in the North and Northeast. Linguistically, it is something that is associated with one or more linguistic features they hear in Speakers 1 and 3 but do not hear in the voice samples of Speakers 2 and 4. Unfortunately, the methodology used in this study does not let us make any clear decisions as to what these linguistic features are, but it does narrow down the range of potential features. This preliminary information, therefore, can (and should) be used in the construction of a study that more precisely investigates nonlinguistic views of nasality.

While the respondents in this study were unsure about the home location of Speaker 4, they were in definite agreement in their perceptions of this type of speech. Very specifically, this speech is described the most positively of the four speakers. In

Table 6.9: Number of Participants Describing Speaker 4, by Term

| | GA | NJ | Total | | GA | NJ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attractive | 12 | 15 | 27 | Unattractive | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Correct | 13 | 15 | 28 | Incorrect | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dependable | 13 | 20 | 33 | Undependable | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Honest | 14 | **23** | 37 | Dishonest | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Friendly | 19 | 19 | 38 | Unfriendly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Hard-Working | 8 | 8 | 16 | Lazy | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Intelligent | 12 | 21 | 33 | Unintelligent | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Nice | 15 | **23** | 38 | Mean | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Pleasant | **20** | 22 | **42** | Unpleasant | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Polite | 19 | **23** | **42** | Rude | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Trustworthy | 12 | 17 | 29 | Untrustworthy | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Nasal | 1 | 0 | 1 | | | | |

fact, there were only three negative terms — unattractive, lazy, and unpleasant — that were used by *any* of the sixty respondents, and these were only chosen by one, two, and three participants, respectively. Friendly, nice, pleasant, and polite were the terms that were used by a majority in both sets of participants. There were also six other positive terms that were given by at least half of the New Jersey respondents. In fact, "hard-working" was the only positive term that was not chosen by a majority of either sample. Therefore, we see the overwhelming positive attitude associated with this specific speech sample, and these responses reaffirm a very positive view of standard, non-accented speech.

Even though the respondents were quite determined in their responses here, this does not mimic the perceptions of Missouri speech shown in the last chapter. The participants generally did not agree with one another when describing speech in Missouri, but there was a slight positive to neutral trend. But remember, most of the respondents did not associate Speaker 4 with Missouri, and this may be due to the

discrepancy between the social perceptions of Missouri speech and the perceptions toward this Speaker. In other words, they may not have been able to place her in Missouri because they do not perceive Missouri speech as being the standard. And as I discussed in Chapter 2, while this speaker is a good representative of SAE, she is not necessarily a good representative of Missouri speech.

In general, the social descriptions of Speakers 1, 2, and 3 did correspond to the descriptions of their home states. The only exception was that the negative terms of unintelligent, lazy, and incorrect that were used to characterize Georgian speech were generally not used for Speaker 2. While the description of Speaker 4 did not match that of Missouri, it did correspond well to the notion of a socially acceptable standard dialect. Furthermore, it appears that the social descriptions of the target states remained relatively stable when linguistic cues were presented to the respondents.

## 6.2 Consensus Analysis

Using a respondent-x-question matrix, I ran a consensus analysis on the data collected in task three. Actually, twenty-four different analyses were conducted. Data sets were divided by focus (region or description) and respondent sample (NJ, GA, or all respondents together). Each of these six possible tests were run for all four speakers.

Unlike the consensus analysis in task two, this method reveals an overwhelming amount of statistically significant information. Specifically, the consensus analysis shows validity (eigenvalue ratios over 3.0) for *every* data set tested. Therefore, with regard to voice identification and description, this research shows that there is an underlying cultural consensus for nonlinguist perceptions of language variation.

### 6.2.1 Descriptive Identification

Beginning with the analysis of respondent descriptions, Table 6.10 presents the corresponding eigenvalue ratios and culturally correct answer key for the perceptions of each of the four speakers. The test questions that were analyzed were set in a parallel format: Is speaker X described as term Y? The "X" refers to Speakers 1 through 4, and the "Y" refers to each of the twenty-four terms; ("not nasal" is included). Creating a data set for the descriptions attributed to each speaker, I translated the use of a term as a "yes" response to the question posited; this was then coded as 1. The terms that were not used by a respondent in his or her description of a speaker were coded as 0 and stood as a response of "no" to the question.

The culturally correct answer keys are presented in Table 6.10 in such a way that I listed only the terms for which the correct answer was "1," meaning that the term is commonly used to describe the speaker. For the terms that are not listed, there is still a consensus, but instead of the analysis showing that the term is commonly used, it shows that the term is *not* one that is commonly used.

For Speakers 1, 2, and 4, we see a range in positive terms that are used to characterize their speech — including friendly, polite, pleasant, and nice. And for the most part, these terms are consistent across the three sample groups. Moreover, they correspond to the general agreement figures presented in the previous section. When a term was chosen by a majority of the respondents, it also appears as a culturally correct answer. Plus, there are three additional cases when less than half of the participants were responsible for a culturally significant answer, but these were just shy of a majority. Specifically, fourteen Georgia respondents chose pleasant for Speaker 1, and Speaker 2 was described as attractive by only thirteen New Jersey respondents. Twenty-nine people from both groups said that Speaker 4 sounded trustworthy. Therefore, while a majority agreement always translates to a cultural

Table 6.10: Consensus Analysis of Speaker Descriptions: Eigenvalue Ratios and Answer Keys

| Speaker | Eigenvalue | Culturally Correct Answers |
|---|---|---|
| Georgia Respondents | | |
| 1 | 3.534 | friendly, nice, nasal, pleasant, polite |
| 2 | 5.611 | friendly, nice, pleasant, polite, trustworthy |
| 3 | 4.938 | 0 for all |
| 4 | 3.035 | friendly, nice, pleasant, polite |
| New Jersey Respondents | | |
| 1 | 4.812 | dependable, honest, friendly, nice, pleasant, polite |
| 2 | 6.645 | attractive, honest, friendly, nice, pleasant, polite |
| 3 | 3.088 | honest |
| 4 | 7.896 | attractive, correct, dependable, honest, friendly, intelligent, nice, pleasant, polite, trustworthy |
| All Respondents | | |
| 1 | 3.864 | honest, friendly, nice, pleasant, polite |
| 2 | 6.369 | honest, friendly, nice, pleasant, polite |
| 3 | 4.054 | 0 for all |
| 4 | 4.164 | dependable, honest, friendly, intelligent, nice, pleasant, polite, trustworthy |

consensus here (even though it did not in Chapter 5), a majority agreement is not necessarily required to indicate a cultural consensus.

The most interesting finding of this analysis is the lack of terms that are revealed as being culturally utilized for Speaker 3. The local New Jersey respondents believe her to be honest, but for all of the twenty-three other terms the culturally correct response is that her speech cannot be described that way. For both the Georgia group and all sixty respondents together, the table shows "0 for all." This means that the analysis revealed that even though there was a statistically significant consensus among respondents, the significance lies in the fact that none of these terms are appropriate for describing her speech. Her speech is not considered to be nice,

pleasant, or the other positive terms given, but it is also not considered negatively either. Thus, while we previously saw an agreement among respondents that showed New Jersey speech is viewed negatively, apparently these views are not extended to the representative speaker from that area.

The next step is to compare the analyses of Speaker 2 and Speaker 3 with the preceding consensus analyses of the perceptions of their home states. While the consensus analysis conducted in task two did not show statistical significance for the views toward New Jersey speech, it did for the perceptions of Georgian speech. In fact, all of the terms that were found to be culturally significant for Speaker 2 were also found to be significant for Georgian speech overall. However, while the participants also described Georgia speech as being incorrect, unintelligent, and lazy, none of these negative terms were commonly used for Speaker 2.

Through this analysis I found that the underlying factor that determined consensus is whether or not the speech was described positively. This finding indicates that the focus of the hearer was on the ability to perceive the speaker as well-spoken or having generally good speech. Therefore, the cultural pattern for describing speech focuses clearly on the positive aspects, and only these are the views that are common to all respondents, at least as shown in the descriptions of these four speakers. In fact, the more well-spoken the speaker is perceived to be, the higher the level of the consensus. Furthermore, when a speaker is not considered well-spoken, the cultural commonalities appear to collapse. Individuals continue to describe the speaker negatively, but this description does not obtain throughout the entire community, as was seen for Speaker 3. There apparently is something very significant about the correlation of language and a positive social view because it seems to dominate most other perceptions. This finding is further examined in Chapter 8.

I also must ask, why do we find a greater number of statistically significant findings for the Speakers (task three) than we do for the individual states and descriptive

terms (task two)? It may be that the respondents simply agree more when actual linguistic information is presented than they do when they are making decisions without hearing any speech. They seemed to have an easier time describing voices than describing idealized perceptions, and therefore, it may be this extra input that homogenizes their views. But, we have already seen that the common descriptions of the speakers (at least Speakers 1 through 3) do match the descriptions of their home states. It, therefore, does not seem that the perceptions are so different as to be the sole reason behind the statistical difference. One other reason could be methodological. While the input for the consensus analysis for task two was based on three possible answers to each question (the positive, neutral, and negative terms), there was only a binomial choice presented in task three (the term was or was not given). Therefore, the consensus figures could have turned out differently simply because there were less chances for differences of opinion in the later analysis.

### 6.2.2 Regional Identification

Looking at participant identification of the home region of the speaker, there are basically only two correct answers revealed by consensus analysis:

1. If the speech is local, then the answer for the local respondents is the actual home state.

2. If the speech is not local, then the answer is "none of the above."

Table 6.11 gives the eigenvalue ratios and culturally correct answers for the consensus analysis of speaker region. For this respondent-x-question matrix, the test consisted of a set of fifty questions, all asking "Is this speaker from state Y?"

This analysis shows that while nonlinguists do easily associate linguistic input with region, these decisions are highly individual. In fact, it is this individuality that is statistically significant in itself. While everyone was able to list one or more states

Table 6.11: Consensus Analysis of Speaker Home State: Eigenvalue Ratios and Answer Keys

| Speaker | Eigenvalue | Culturally Correct Answers |
|---|---|---|
| Georgia Respondents | | |
| 1 | 15.652 | 0 for all |
| 2 | 36.595 | Georgia |
| 3 | 21.256 | 0 for all |
| 4 | 23.157 | 0 for all |
| New Jersey Respondents | | |
| 1 | 17.698 | 0 for all |
| 2 | 11.222 | 0 for all |
| 3 | 37.103 | New Jersey |
| 4 | 27.603 | 0 for all |
| All Respondents | | |
| 1 | 19.106 | 0 for all |
| 2 | 17.944 | Georgia |
| 3 | 28.114 | 0 for all |
| 4 | 28.816 | 0 for all |

where they believed each speaker to be from, their answers are not common across the sample group. Therefore, we see that these respondents have different thoughts regarding the regional distribution of linguistic variation.

Furthermore, the only instances of a statistical consensus that pointed to a particular state were specifically when the speaker was from the respondent group's home state. Therefore, the underlying factor that determines decisions in regional identification is whether the speech is local or not local. If it is local to the hearer, then it is commonly identified as such. If the speech is not local, then there are mixed perceptions, and these perceptions are significant in their variety.

In summary, this task has shown that people are able to listen to samples of speech and describe the voices both geographically and socially. This finding is

really no surprise as we make decisions about people based on linguistic cues on a daily basis. However, there seem to be two underlying factors that were guiding these respondents in their decision making: the identification of local speech and the identification of good speech.

# Chapter 7

## A Linguistic State of the Union

For the final section of this study, I created a very short set of three questions that I fondly refer to as the Easy Bake Interview[1]. This interview provides qualitative data that is used to confirm, clarify, and develop the findings from the earlier parts of this study. There were three questions asked to participants, and below I discuss each of them separately. In the discussion of these questions and answers, I review the general patterns of responses given and use this to further identify the underlying knowledge of nonlinguist perceptions of variation in language.

### 7.1 Question 1

Question one was: First, what do you think about the tasks you just performed? (Were they hard or easy for you)?

There are some very striking similarities and differences between informant views of these tasks, as revealed through their responses to the first question. The first pattern that appears is that the majority of the Georgian respondents said they found these tasks easy, while the majority of New Jersey respondents said they were hard. What is most interesting is, even though they give opposite responses, their general opinions and comments on the tasks are the same.

[1]Why do I call this the Easy Bake Interview? Because like its name-sake, the Easy Bake Oven, it is a small and simple version of the original; it is quick and easy to use, anyone can do it, and the results are just as satisfying.

For example, several people said that these tasks were harder than they first appeared to be and that they had taken more thought than the respondents had expected. They had simply not thought about language in this way before. For example, NJ28 stated: "You would think it would be easy in the beginning, but so many people can be one thing and another thing. So, I found it to be a lot harder than you would think in the beginning." However, GA6 commented that "it was easy. I think it does require a little more thought than perhaps it. It looks like a silly game, where you put the little cards down, but there are some subtleties that you truly need to give a little bit of thought to." He also added: "Sobriety would be best when approaching these types of tests. To get a good result."

Others said that they did not have adequate knowledge or information to make such decisions. This focus on whether or not they knew the information was explicitly stated by many respondents, including GA1, GA21, and GA27, who said that they did not want to be wrong. For the New Jersey respondents, this focus on correctness seemed to translate into an overall perception of difficulty. However, many of the Georgia respondents, while claiming their fear of being incorrect, also stated that giving their own opinions was quite easy. GA1 said "You could put a tremendous amount of time into that task and not be assured that you have it right. . . . [but] it's not hard to give opinions. It was an easy task." For these respondents, the action of completing the tasks was easy, but they had to put more effort into it than they had originally anticipated. Moreover, GA7, GA17, and NJ4 also found the tasks confusing because they did not want to contradict themselves or appear like they did not know the answers.

Familiarity with different varieties was also brought up as an issue by a few respondents. Specifically, NJ4, NJ7, and NJ27 commented that since they had not traveled much, they did not have first-hand knowledge about American dialects, and therefore, it was hard for them to give responses. GA7 said that the tasks were

"Confusing. . . . Mainly cause I ain't been very many places. (laughs). I have no clue what people sound like." I felt that this set of respondents also did not want to seem ignorant or incorrect, and this was their "excuse" for not having an exact, correct answer.

On the other hand, a few respondents said that the tasks were quite easy because they were personally familiar with different speech varieties. For example, GA11 said that through her job she had daily contact with people around the United States, and therefore, it was easy for her to perform the pile sorts. Talking about the third task, these respondents also tended to smile and show pride in their ability to recognize speech differences in others.

Not only did respondents not want to be wrong, but they did not want to hurt anyone's feelings either. In fact, several participants explicitly stated that they did not want to offend anyone with their answers. GA13 stated: "No it wasn't a hard task. It's just, you know, I, I don't want to be, sound mean." One respondent, GA11, even brought up the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and said that because of these events, it was hard to make any judgments on her fellow Americans. However, many participants, including GA11, went out of their way to inform me that even though they felt awkward about expressing these views, they were completely honest in their answers. Similarly, GA14 and NJ3 commented that the descriptive tasks were difficult because they were based on stereotypes. These respondents showed that they were aware of the stereotypes associated with particular types of speech, but stated that they personally did not agree with them. Apparently, expressing an opinion that is different from the larger societal view was difficult for some.

Additionally, GA3 and GA4 commented that in order to use the descriptive terms, they needed to know more about the people they were describing. They did not seem to recognize that people, probably including themselves, often characterize others based on speech; however, they were aware that once you get to know that

person, first impressions may no longer fit. This response also supports my thought that respondents have a hard time separating the tasks of describing the people versus describing the voices they hear and shows how closely linked speech and identity are for nonlinguists.

Other issues that appeared in answers to the first question include how respondents personally benefited from this study. Several said that they never before realized that they did not know much about the speech in the United States, again showing that they never consciously thought about language this way before. Furthermore, for better or worse, these tasks presented them with their personal attitudes and biases, of which they may have never been consciously aware. Interestingly, NJ30, GA9, GA10, and GA11 all said that they found the study "thought-provoking" and even entertaining. NJ23 said he liked it because it included manual tasks; others said it looked and felt more like a game. NJ27 said: "It was fun. ... It took you, thought process, a long time to figure this out. This is good." And regardless of their views on the tasks themselves, a majority of respondents said that they were very interested in hearing my overall findings.

## 7.2 Question 2

Question two was: Next, what do you generally think about the way people speak in the United States today? (Is it good, bad; has it changed)?

There are several paths by which respondents could have answered this question. The first is the path that I expected most would take. These responses discuss how bad language has become in the United States. Here, respondents described American English as lazy, rude, fast, or average. They also complained that people have low vocabularies, no one pays attention to grammar, no one knows the difference between formal and informal speech and when to use each, and that poor speech is

rampant in the workplace. NJ18 claimed that the problems in speech are reflective of an increasingly lazy society. Along with these descriptions, several respondents blame the younger generations for the degeneration of our speech, an argument that seems to be renewed every generation.

Others described ethnic differences as the downfall of American speech. NJ2 specifically points to minorities who "slaughter" the English language. GA2 notes that ethnic varieties are problematic, even though she finds other varieties interesting. She said: "I think there's a big difference between the way the races speak. And I think that's a big problem. You know, other than that I think it's interesting the way everybody from different areas sounds different. I find it interesting and fascinating more than anything."

Many people extended the general negative view and compared "poor" speech to standard speech. Two Georgia respondents, GA1 and GA6, specifically linked standard speech to employability and commented that not mastering the standard form handicaps an individual. GA6 said: "But if you be wanting a job, you will speak educated. Not necessarily when you get home or out with your friends, . . . ." Similarly, GA30 said that speech reflects who a person is, and if a person does not sound correct, then no one will take him seriously. And GA18 remarked that she personally did not appreciate the use of non-professional speech by others in the workplace, especially when they are in customer service. To this, she tells a story:

> My father was in the grocery business, and so, and my mother is a bank teller. And so I was taught there was a certain way that you talk to people that you are serving. And, with a lot of respect and a lot of, like you knew what you were talking about. I think I call it my telephone voice. (laughs). But I notice that people today aren't taught that. They don't know that, when you speak to someone in the grocery store, you

> can tell they are not making an effort to communicate with you in a professional, effective way. Even though they work in a grocery store, you can tell that they're just talking. They're not. I think there are two ways to talk with your. One way with, when you're just sitting around with your family, laughing, having a good time. But as you communicate with the outside world, there's another way that you should communicate.

Along with generational differences, several respondents discussed how English has changed. One person said that as the average American is becoming more educated, the general speech in the U.S. is becoming more standard. Conversely, several people mentioned that Americans actually need more education and that "proper grammar" is no longer being taught in school systems. Additionally, a few respondents mentioned a rise in American mobility. For example, NJ21 and GA15 said that regionalisms and regional cues have been lost with increased internal mobility. GA21, however, believes that one does not have to leave his own home to be affected by language change; she believes that television is causing Americans to sound more alike. Furthermore, GA1 even discussed changes that he believes should occur. He said that society should change "inconsistent" grammar rules, a response that shows his understanding that linguistic change can be positive. Other respondents had different views on whether or not change had actually occurred. NJ19 not only said that she could not see how language would change but also admitted that she was not sure she wanted to see it change. Similar to the other issues in language change, NJ8 complained about the creation of new words that "have no business" in the English language, but he attributes these new terms to foreign influence, a topic that was also much discussed.

Regarding other languages in the United States, many respondents, especially those from New Jersey, were very adamant about everyone speaking English. NJ31

said that she thought the speech in the U.S. was "pretty good, but the foreign people kind of make it difficult." She did not elaborate any farther on what exactly was difficult about it. Others noted multi-lingual differences but looked positively at them. GA7 said that it is better to have multiple languages around so that people can learn to communicate with one another better, and GA10 and NJ7 say that it is good to be exposed to different cultures. NJ7 states: "Well, I work with people from Africa. I work with people from Puerto Rico. I work with Philippino people. And learning different things about the way they speak. . . . And it's interesting. . . . And I think it's good for, like, my children to learn other languages from other people." Conversely, GA26 simply said, "damn immigrants," and NJ24 stated, "as long as it's American, I could care less."

Many participants, regardless of their views on multi-lingual variation, found varieties of American English to be an asset to America. GA3 and NJ7 praise the diversity and say that speech would be monotonous without it. NJ11 believes that speech reflects American individualism. Other positive descriptions include such terms as "unique," and "interesting." I especially like one comment by GA4, who asks simply, "How could it be any other way?"

Other discussions of linguistic variation are not as positive, but are not really negative either. Several participants commented that the linguistic differences do not "bother" them. I think it interesting that they would automatically believe that they should be bothered by linguistic variation. Furthermore, NJ12 says that while it is good to have a "mix" of dialects, we should not be accepting of every speech difference. Finally, GA22 states: "It's good enough if we can still communicate."

Some respondents even took a more linguistic (versus folk) approach. Many said that dialects are neither right nor wrong, but are just different. NJ16 claimed that the U.S. needs a linguistic approach for teaching English grammar in schools, which as a comment seems very progressive for a nonlinguist. However, since most of her

other comments were very prescriptive, I am now unsure what she exactly meant by a "linguistic approach." And with a very open mind, NJ25 says that correctness is simply a matter of opinion.

There is one other comment that I particularly like that sums up this linguistic State of the Union: "Some people sound like morons, some people speak good," — GA6.

## 7.3 Question 3

Question three was: Finally, do you have any personal experience or any stories where the way you spoke or the way someone else spoke made a difference, (came to light, or was the topic of discussion)?

This appeared to be a question that most respondents really liked. After many tasks where they had to give their opinion about speech, they could finally attach their views to their personal experiences. While most everyone was quick to think of a story, it was evident that respondents, especially those from Georgia, had many stories on the tips of their tongues. Nevertheless, two of the New Jersey respondents, NJ4 and NJ31, said that they did not have any stories to tell, and one Georgian, GA22, could not think of any particular story. However, he did admit that he knew he must have at least one. Furthermore, as both New Jersey and Georgia contain salient speech varieties and are areas of linguistic insecurity, I was not surprised by the fact that most respondents had stories about linguistic variation. Even if they had not consciously thought about specific dialectal differences, language variation is a common topic of discussion. What did surprise me was that there were actually three people who could not readily think of anything to tell.

In general, all responses given fell into one of three categories:

1. The stories focused on other people noticing and generally commenting on the participant's own speech.

2. The stories focused on other people noticing and making fun of the participant's own speech.

3. The stories focused on the participant noticing linguistic variation in others.

Most of the participants relayed experiences that fall into the first category. Thirteen Georgians and sixteen New Jersians told stories that focused on their own speech. The majority told stories in which their speech was a topic of discussion when they were out of town or had moved to another part of the country. Many specifically said that they never knew they had an accent until someone else commented on it. To this, several expressed dismay ("I thought I sounded fine" NJ22) or disbelief ("Well, you know, strangely enough, but I have, I was told many, many times, people have said to me that I have an accent. Many times. And I never could understand it. I mean, I don't, do you hear an accent ...?" NJ17). And still others were surprised by how accurately people could place their speech.

In one interesting story I saw a respondent show his insecurities of his own speech. GA4 relayed:

> When I was in college, I went through a period of being very self-conscious about my Southern accent. So I made a conscious effort to lose my Southern accent. I was trying to impress a certain young lady, and it backfired on me. Because I ended up sounding like a New Yorker, I think is what she said. And I didn't get the date.

Furthermore, eight Georgians and four New Jersians described experiences during which others had made fun of their speech. While for most of the respondents these stories relayed simple joking between friends, others were deeply affected by their

experiences. In fact, GA10 said that her speech was often the topic of conversation in her office and that her boss (from New York) often openly corrected her speech. Others, NJ19, GA18, and GA23, recalled stories where there was a complete communication breakdown between interlocutors because of dialect differences. In fact, GA18 said that while visiting friends in Baton Rouge, she finally had to ask someone to translate for her every time they left the house.

Twelve Georgians and eight New Jersians told stories about how they noticed the speech of others. For the most part, they simply described how they often notice others speaking differently from themselves. A couple of the respondents even admitted to making fun of others or even judging others based solely on their speech. Alternately, NJ9 discussed how she specifically notices when she does not hear "an accent" in people whom she would naturally assume to have one. Similarly, NJ21 and GA11 think it strange that there are others who do not normally recognize dialect differences.

The people in this last category were usually the same ones who found this task easy and interesting. Additionally, I had assumed that the people who had been poked fun of for their speech would be the same people who felt uncomfortable judging others, but this was not the case at all. In fact, none of the participants who had been made fun of made any comment about other people's feelings in response to question one.

## 7.4 Discussion

Overall, I saw several basic patterns in the responses to these three questions. First, there was a definite focus on standard or correct speech in the responses to the second question. And even though I found in tasks two and three that respondents generally describe speech in positive terms, here they tended to discuss nonstandard

or incorrect language. Respondents talked about all forms of what they perceived to be bad language — unprofessional styles, racial dialects, foreign varieties, and general "lazy" speech.

I also saw this focus on good and bad speech in the other two sets of responses. For the first question, several respondents said that they did not want to hurt anyone's feelings with their responses. This points to the fact that they remembered describing certain types of speech in negative terms. I find this most interesting because while they did give some negative associations to speech, for the most part the descriptions of both dialect groups and speakers were very positive. For the last question, several respondents discussed times when their speech was noted for being different, which they understood and referred to as being a negative trait. Therefore, while the general cognitive focus for the creation of linguistic perceptions is on good speech, respondents' comments in this last section tend to focus on their use of negative descriptions.

# Chapter 8

## A Cognitive Model of Linguistic Perceptions

Throughout this dissertation I have presented the data from a study which looks into the perceptions that nonlinguists have about variation in language. Not only have I reviewed the general information found, but I have also presented the analyses of the data through a cognitive model. In this, I have hoped to show not only *what* the respondents think about American English, but also *how* they think about it. In conducting this research and reviewing the data, I asked:

1. How do people classify language variation?
2. How do people categorize this information?
3. How does this view of folk knowledge relate to our social interactions and to our notions of society and culture?

I began this research project with the hypothesis that there is one underlying, systematic pattern to folk views of language. While I did not discover one exact pattern to all respondent answers, a holistic view of the data does reveal a general understanding of speech that is shared by the individual respondents. In general, we view language variation through a large number of categories that stem from a complex network of information. Included in this network are regional, social, linguistic, and personal information. And as I will show, all of these bits of information link together to form one cohesive system that underlies folk linguistic perceptions.

In order to present the overall findings and final conclusions of this research project, it is best to address each of the above questions individually.

I first reviewed the responses in order to show: *How do people (i.e. nonlinguists) classify language variation?* One of the most significant findings was that people clearly focus on speech as it relates to standard language. In fact, the most agreement and the highest consensus was shown for the non-regional description of Speaker 4, our representative of Standard American English. The perception of this Speaker as well-spoken not only linked her to the descriptive terms of "correct" and "intelligent," but it also brought up associations with all of the other socially-driven positive terms used in this study, such as "pleasant" and "polite."

Such positive associations also show a clear pattern in the description of language as relating to good versus bad speech. The responses in tasks two and three indicate that even if speakers are not clearly associated with the standard, they are commonly described in these socially positive terms. The standard is most always viewed as good speech; however, the perception of speech as "good" can also refer to other types of social issues, such as those commonly aligned with solidarity. In this, we see language varieties associated with friendliness, honesty, trustworthiness, and politeness. Overall, we find that folk perceptions of American speech (both individual and communal) tend to focus on the positive traits of speech, with significant attention paid to the standard.

However, the perception of good speech versus bad speech is inherently linked to respondent identity and personal view, and therefore, a person's own outlook can affect his attitudes toward speech. For example, if a person is linguistically insecure he may not associate positive terms with his own dialect, while another who is linguistically secure may. There are many issues of identity that can affect which perception is realized, and unfortunately, the methodology I used was not created to investigate this specific topic. The last question of the interview section began

to approach respondents' opinions of their own speech, but this did not produce adequate data for a comprehensive analysis. That will have to be investigated in a future study.

The one topic that I did look into that is associated with respondent identity or point of view is the affect of respondent home state in the development of linguistic perceptions. Interestingly, I found that respondent point of view did correlate with their perceptions, as the most salient factor in respondent decisions was the identification of speech as local and non-local. Surprisingly, this finding was revealed not so much by the first pile sort task as it was by the speaker identification exercise in task three. In this later task, local speech was the main judgment that was a factor in determining a cultural consensus. If the speaker was local, then a consensus emerged for that particular state. If the speaker was not local, then I found mixed perceptions that were significant in their variety. This task therefore shows that identification with the local speech variety is one of the main folk categorizations of language.

Also focusing on region, the first task showed that nonlinguists are able to discriminate between a large number of different speech varieties. Because the focus of this task is on region, it would at first appear that geography dictated the divisions between items. However, because the core regional divisions were primarily abstractions, they cannot be the key factor that governed all respondent pile sorts. Also, the majority of participant responses were not geographically bound. This finding leads to the conclusion that there were other factors involved in these perceived similarities and differences than just spatial orientation.

The basic regional information that I found in task one shows that aside from the decision of local and not local, region does not really play a very large part in our understanding of language. We can and do associate language and region, but usually only in how it reflects other issues. For example, Southern speech is considered nonstandard and therefore, a folk identification of language as Southern

may be the path to the more salient perception of standard versus nonstandard speech. If the hearer can place the speaker in their home area or in another salient region that is based on these large dialect differences, then he can access the other information that is associated with it. And this is where the attitude is formed.

I therefore believe that the study of region by itself is not the best way to reveal folk linguistic perceptions, but it is the easiest way to extract the salient information that is associated with it. Furthermore, because the investigation into the association of language and region is only the first step in uncovering other perceptual information, I believe one of the main inadequacies with most language and attitude studies is that historically they have been too focused on region. Therefore, in order to get a complete picture of respondent attitudes, this type of research must look beyond geography and investigate a variety of perceptual information.

Reviewing all of these data regarding the types of issues that respondents focus on when discussing language, I extended my own investigation to include the crucial question: *How do people categorize this information?*

Basically, I found that there are three key issues that tend to catch a person's ear, and these are the perceptions of language as standard, as local, or as good versus bad. Actually, what catches the person's ear are actual linguistic features, but because this study did not investigate the correlation between specific linguistic features and perceptions, I can not discuss them further here. However, with that said, we know that perceptions prevail even when linguistic information is not presented. In such cases, respondents could be working from the memory of linguistic cues, stereotyped linguistic features that they may have never heard outside of imitations, or even from no linguistic information, past or present. Therefore, while linguistic information obviously plays a part in folk linguistic knowledge and perceptions, it may not play the largest role.

People form their linguistic perceptions and attitudes around discriminations they make between social, regional, personal, and sometimes linguistic information. What I have found is that these different discriminations are not completely independent from one another but actually work together. In fact, one perceptual choice can actually lead to other distinctions. For example, a perception of local speech may lead to an overlapping perception of good speech. This overlap is what I find to be most interesting and most important in the categorization of linguistic knowledge. All of these pieces of information seem to be inherently linked together in the folk mind. While respondents were able to talk about issues of region, standard language, and the social characteristics that they use to describe speech, they do not seem to be able to completely separate the issues.

In this study, the pile sorting task has presented the different types and number of categories that are used in folk linguistic perceptions, and consensus analysis has allowed us to easily see the key factors that determine these decisions. Furthermore, we know there are many possible discriminations based on this network of information. In fact, by varying the number and types of sorting tests presented to respondents (e.g. sorting states by "standard" or "nonstandard"), we may be able to reveal more about the relationship between these different sets of information and the salient factors that are the basis for respondent views.

One of the most important findings of this entire study is the number of categorizations that were found to have been applied to variation in language. In itself, thirteen different discriminations are quite large in the investigation of cultural understanding and categorization. In fact, it appears that we are able to discriminate between many more sets of information for language than is normal for most any other cognitive domain. What is even more interesting is how much information is being placed together to form these categories. As I have said, nonlinguists do not only focus on region or standard or social traits, but instead, all of these things tend

to mesh together in a large network of information that we apply to language. Each of the core issues I have revealed through the study are each only one level of the category, a category which entails a very complex set of information. We know that people are not focusing on just linguistic features, and when the extra information such as standard language or personal identification with the speaker are brought in, the categories become greater and even more complex. In other words, people think of language as a very large number of discriminations that cover a wide range of issues, and they are commonly able to maintain that many distinctions in their thoughts, attitudes, and discussions of speech. If not, my research methods would have revealed something completely different.

One of the most complicated and interesting aspects of folk linguistic study is the realization that while there are patterns to folk comments and attitudes, people continue to have their own independent views. As I mentioned earlier, personal experience and issues of identity can play a large part in respondent perception, as the basic discriminations they make are sifted through independent views. For example, while local speech may be positive for one respondent, it may be considered negative for another. However, I posit that the variations in respondent perceptions are simply an inherent part of the underlying method of categorization and that differences in opinion do not negate the cognitive pattern itself.

The discussion of variability in the structure of language is a basic foundation of linguistic studies. As such, it would seem natural to also find variability in the perceptions of language. In fact, Labov states, "Heterogeneity is an integral part of the linguistic economy of the community, necessary to satisfy the linguistic demands of everyday life" (qtd. in Lippi-Green 1997: 25). And this notion is commonly applied to culture as well. One of the main tenets of cultural research is that there is always variation within human cognition. In fact, discussing the presence of variability in ethnographic research, Handwerker (1998) states:

> All ethnographic research begins by collecting data from one person. When you go to the next person, you will always find something different, since each of us is a unique human being with a distinctive way of looking at and responding to the world. But you will also find some things much the same, since each of us is human, negotiating the way we look at the world by interacting with other people (169).

Simply, it is a natural part of folk research to find variation among respondent views.

In this study, I found a large amount of variation in participant responses, and much of the variation has indicated that there is not one specific set of knowledge for all respondents. However, respondents' actual articulated beliefs, whatever they may be, all tend to follow the same underlying pattern of categorization. The key finding here is that the respondents continue to follow the same categorization process, regardless of their final perceptions. They continue to filter their views through the same general sets of information — social, regional, personal, and linguistic. Therefore, we find that even though *what* respondents think may differ, *how* they think about language follows the same general cognitive pattern.

Following this, I came to ask: If there is an underlying set of conditions or categorizations that we make about language in determining our perceptions of speech — which I have shown there is — *how does this view of folk knowledge specifically relate to our social interactions and to our notions of society and culture?*

Specifically, language is considered by folk to be a normal and regular part of society. The perceptions of language help us in day to day interactions and help to clarify the world around us. For example, when a person hears language, he is able to use that linguistic information to make social judgments (good or bad) about his interlocutors. This is easily observed when we look at the social notion of standard language that is manifest in linguistic perceptions. In order for a society to work, its

members must adhere to its constructed rules, and to show deviant behavior is to shun the values of society. The focus on standard language in folk perceptions portrays this type of speech as a valuable part of society. Its use is commonly associated with good social behavior. Additionally, to speak anything other than what is perceived to be good language is deviant behavior. Niedzielski and Preston (2000) even claim that speakers of the standard are the dominant force in society because they "believe they have taken the social and even ethical responsibility to acquire correct language" (referenced in Preston 2003: 16). Not only do they believe this, but similar beliefs are shared throughout the community. In the United States it appears that we use linguistic perceptions to form and support our judgments of others being appropriate or inappropriate interlocutors and extend this to the identification of good or bad members of society. Therefore, we automatically associate social information with language because we are taught to use language as a reflection of society. We believe that the two things are inherently connected.

We must also recognize that linguistic attitudes are not inherent parts of linguistic structure and, as such, are culturally determined. In this, the generalizations given here are really only specific to the culture studied. I believe that many of these views can be applied throughout most of American society, but further study would have to be conducted in order to prove anything definitively. This also means that the different categorization patterns of linguistic perceptions may find a different form in every separate culture. And again, the differences in patterns would most likely reflect the different needs a society has for supporting itself through language use. And obviously, I cannot begin to comment on the types of differences without further research.

In conclusion, I found through this study that there are only certain aspects of our perceptions that are common throughout the community. However, these aspects are the key factors that potentially underscore, determine, define, and even

instruct our personal attitudes. Because, as humans, we think about the world differently and process information through our own personal experiences, there are many interesting variations of these perceptions that stem from the same patterns of categorization. While I would have enjoyed being able to prove my original hypothesis of one neat, systematic pattern that places all of our views into organized, homogeneous categories, I find it more interesting to see that there is a cognitive pattern that is realized in a variety of ways. The world generally does not exist in neat, homogeneous bundles, and I am glad to have found that the way we perceive language is no exception.

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# Appendix A

## Informant Communities


Figure A.1: Georgia Informant Map

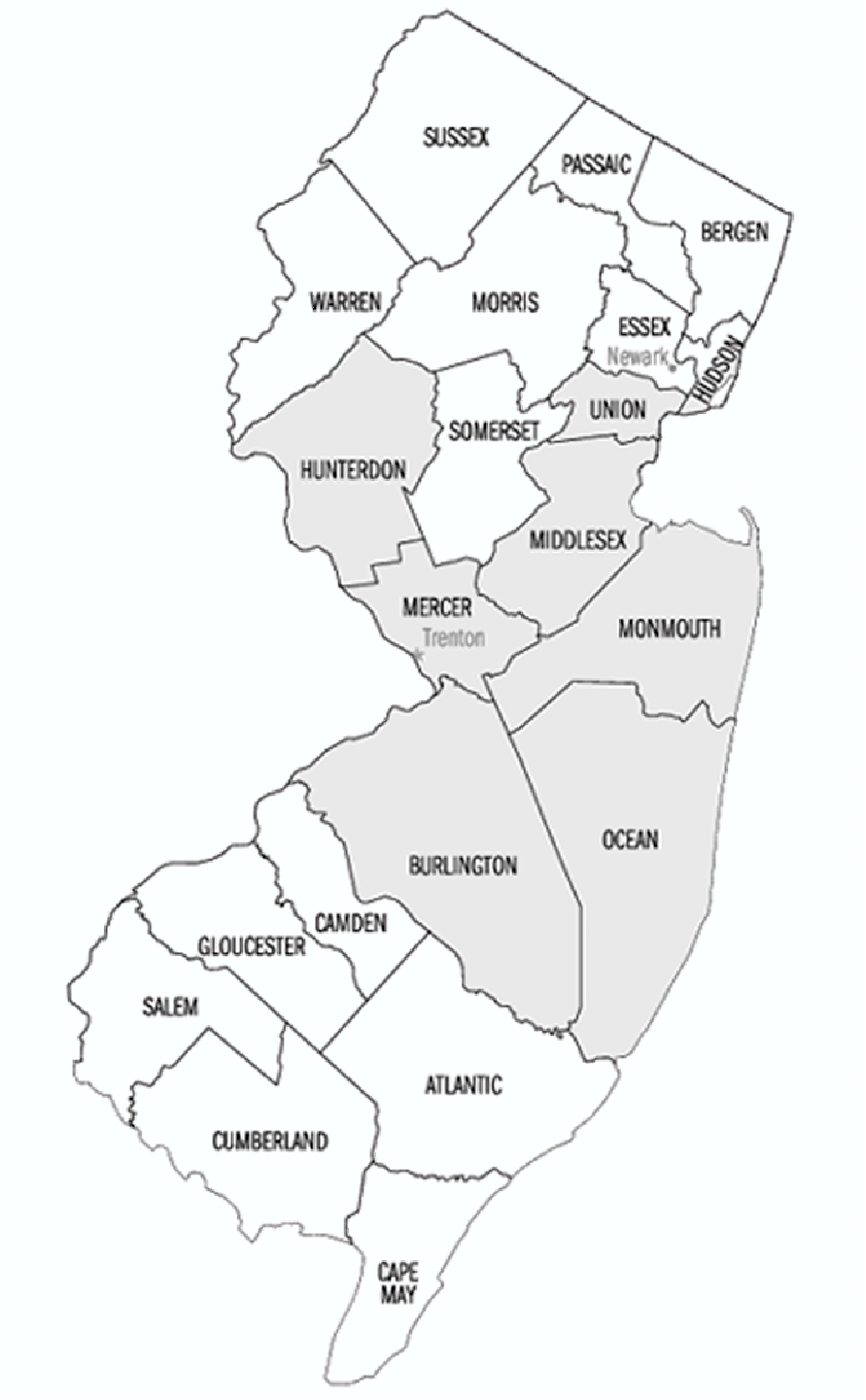


Figure A.2: New Jersey Informant Map

# Appendix B

## Informant Demographic Data

Table B.1: Georgia Informants

| *Informant* | *Age* | *Sex* | *Education* | *Informant* | *Age* | *Sex* | *Education* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GA1 | 38 | M | college grad. | GA16 | 29 | F | some college |
| GA2 | 36 | F | some college | GA17 | 27 | F | college grad. |
| GA3 | 53 | M | college grad. | GA18 | 37 | F | college grad. |
| GA4 | 51 | M | college grad. | GA19 | 30 | F | college grad. |
| GA5 | 56 | M | h.s. graduate | GA20 | 28 | F | college grad. |
| GA6 | 36 | M | some college | GA21 | 25 | M | college grad. |
| GA7 | 43 | F | h.s. graduate | GA22 | 26 | M | college grad. |
| GA8 | 51 | M | h.s. graduate | GA23 | 32 | M | college grad. |
| GA9 | 35 | F | h.s. graduate | GA24 | 57 | M | voc. school |
| GA10 | 66 | F | college grad. | GA25 | 19 | F | some college |
| GA11 | 30 | F | h.s. graduate | GA26 | 20 | M | some college |
| GA12 | 33 | M | h.s. graduate | GA27 | 35 | F | some college |
| GA13 | 35 | M | h.s. graduate | GA28 | 30 | F | college grad. |
| GA14 | 31 | F | h.s. graduate | GA29 | 19 | F | some college |
| GA15 | 23 | F | college grad. | GA30 | 18 | M | some college |

Table B.2: New Jersey Informants

| *Informant* | *Age* | *Sex* | *Education* | *Informant* | *Age* | *Sex* | *Education* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NJ2 | 66 | M | h.s. graduate | NJ17 | 64 | F | h.s. graduate |
| NJ3 | 60 | F | college grad. | NJ18 | 42 | F | some college |
| NJ4 | 67 | F | h.s. graduate | NJ19 | 68 | F | some college |
| NJ5 | 39 | M | college grad. | NJ20 | 47 | F | college grad. |
| NJ6 | 33 | F | some college | NJ21 | 44 | F | college grad. |
| NJ7 | 43 | F | h.s. graduate | NJ22 | 45 | F | college grad. |
| NJ8 | 42 | M | some college | NJ23 | 45 | M | college grad. |
| NJ9 | 69 | F | some h.s. | NJ24 | 41 | F | some college |
| NJ10 | 40 | F | some college | NJ25 | 28 | F | college grad. |
| NJ11 | 42 | F | some college | NJ26 | 26 | F | some college |
| NJ12 | 43 | F | college grad. | NJ27 | 31 | M | some college |
| NJ13 | 42 | F | some college | NJ28 | 38 | M | college grad. |
| NJ14 | 59 | M | college grad. | NJ29 | 37 | F | h.s. graduate |
| NJ15 | 67 | F | h.s. graduate | NJ30 | 52 | M | some college |
| NJ16 | 59 | F | college grad. | NJ31 | 46 | F | some college |

# Appendix C

## Reading Passage

My grandfather put his poor old car out to pasture in 1940, and for 14 years he rode the train every morning and afternoon. He got up at 5:00 am on Tuesdays and Thursdays to light the sooty old oil burner and boil his pot of coffee. He would also try to catch the milk man as he drove past on his dairy route. After having taken a bath, he had his slice of toast, his glass of orange juice, his milk, and his cup of coffee. Then he put on his bulky overcoat with its fur collar, stepped into the yard, waited two or three minutes for the local bus, and boarded the train.

On Saturdays and when he came home at night, he might water the lawn or perhaps borrow a hammer or a wheelbarrow from Mrs. Forrest, his next-door neighbor, in a vain attempt to start the long overdue jobs of patching his roof or cleaning his garage, which was filled with everything from broken music boxes to rusty scissors and funnels, not to mention a horrid crop of wasps which had haunted the place for years. I can still remember seeing a lot of paper towels in an abandoned chicken coop near the raspberry bed, with a hand of knotted yarn coiled around a whetstone on top of the whole mess.

— Adapted from "My Eccentric Grandfather" by Celia Millward, Boston University.

# Appendix D

## Participant Survey

Please fill in the following information about yourself:

First Name:

Sex: M F

Age:

Race:

Where were you born?

(City and state):

If different from above, where did you grow up?

(City and state):

Where were your parents born? (city and state)

Mother:

Father:

Please circle the highest level of education you have completed:

Some grammar school

Some high school

Vocational school

High school graduate

Some college

College graduate

# Appendix E

## Dialect Regions — Georgia Respondents: GA1–GA15

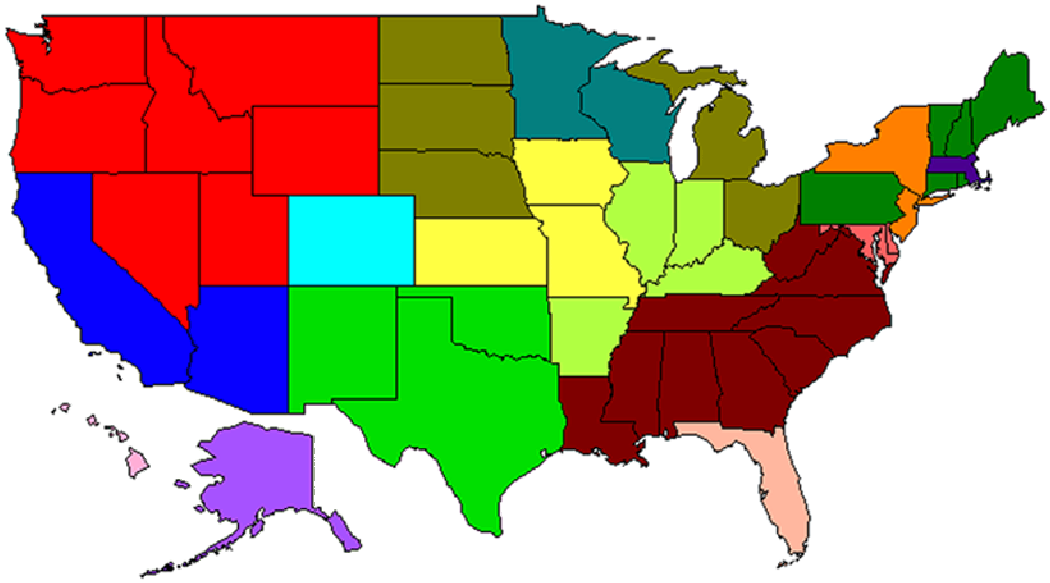

Figure E.1: GA1 Dialect Regions

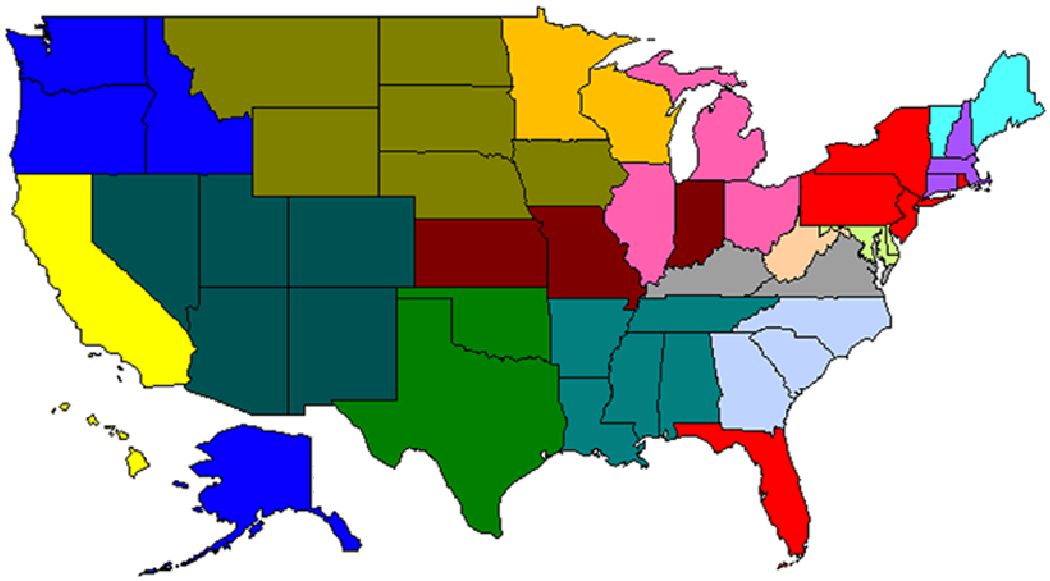

Figure E.2: GA2 Dialect Regions

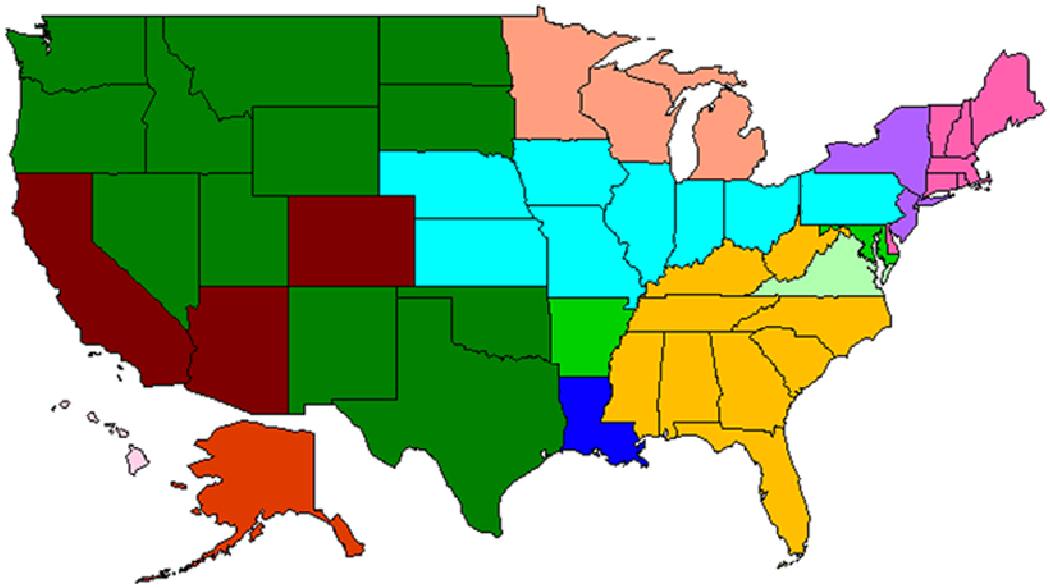

Figure E.3: GA3 Dialect Regions

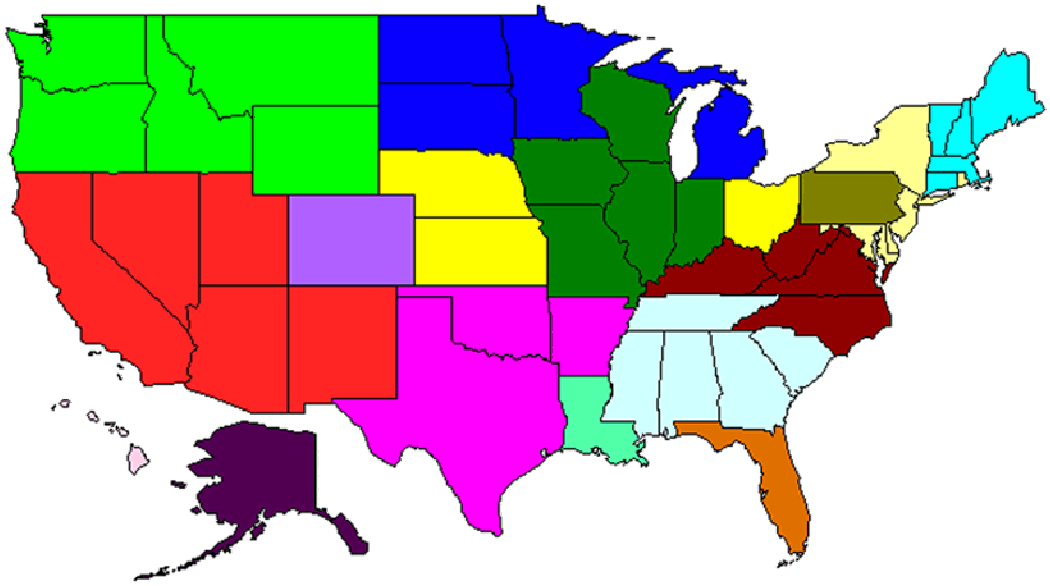

Figure E.4: GA4 Dialect Regions

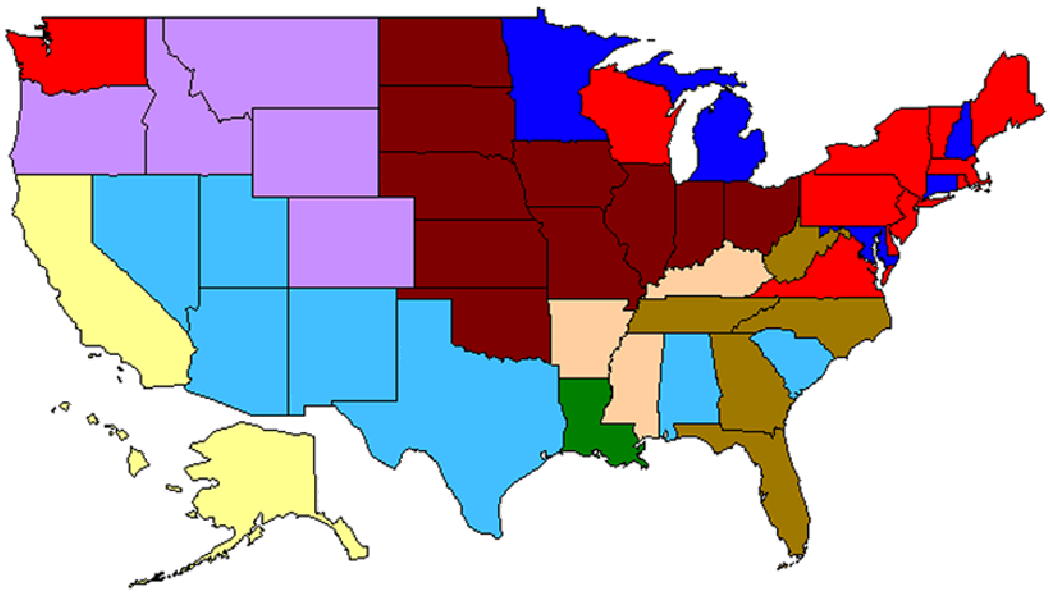

Figure E.5: GA5 Dialect Regions

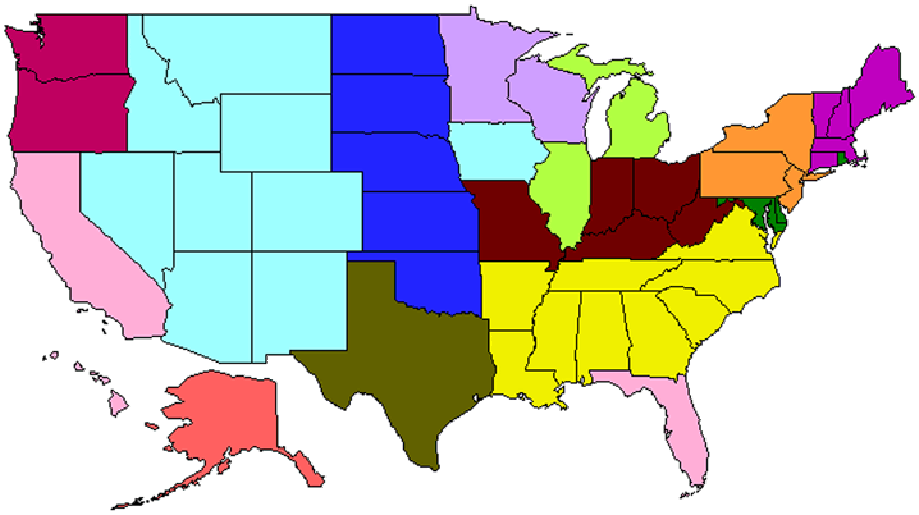

Figure E.6: GA6 Dialect Regions

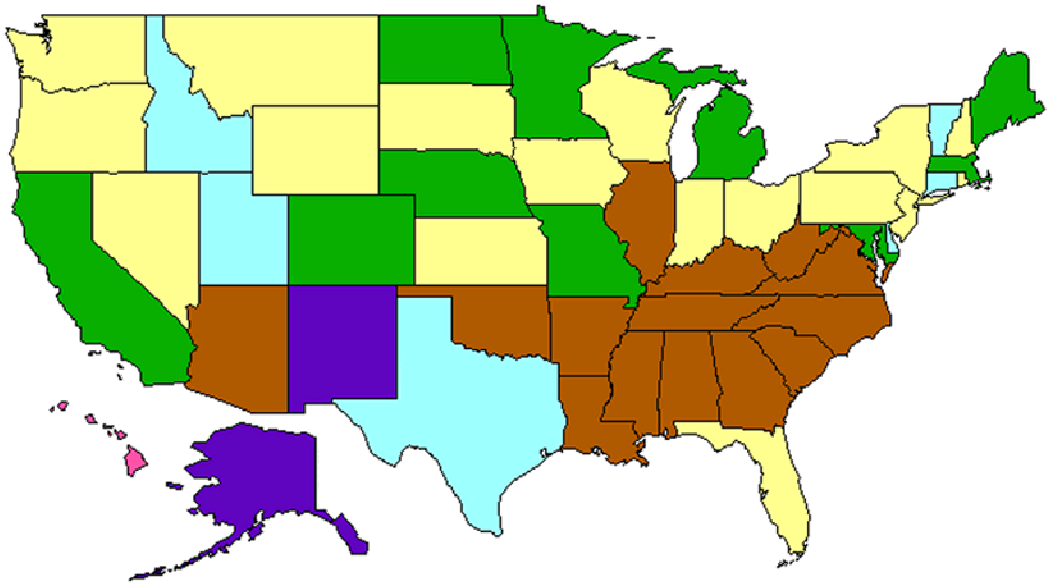

Figure E.7: GA7 Dialect Regions

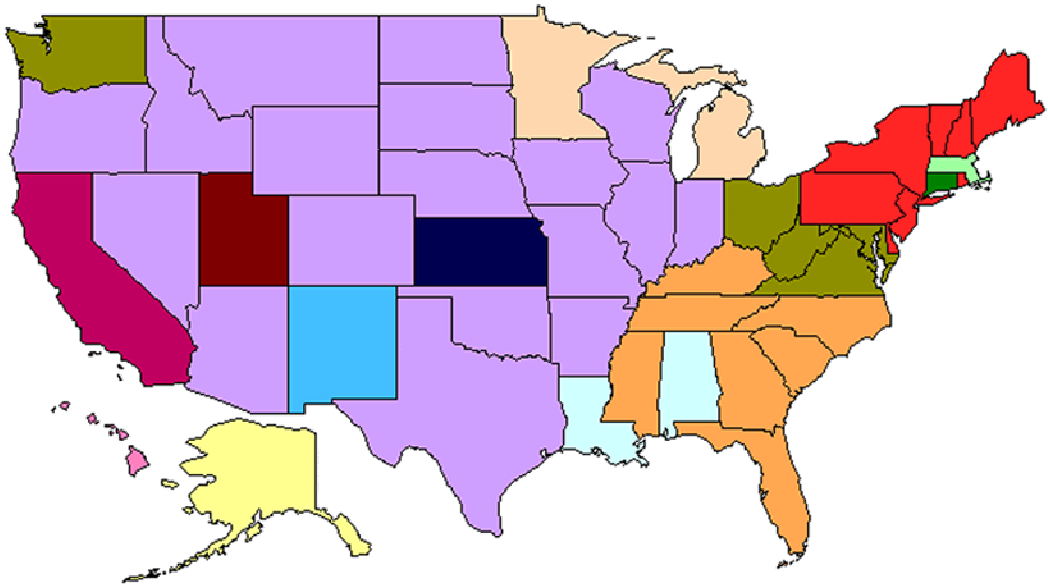

Figure E.8: GA8 Dialect Regions

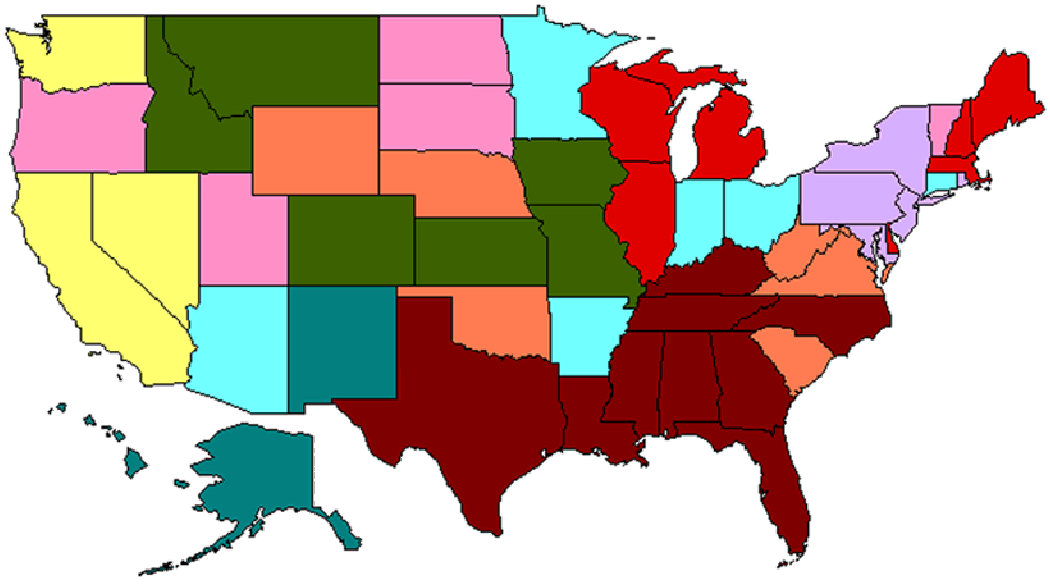

Figure E.9: GA9 Dialect Regions

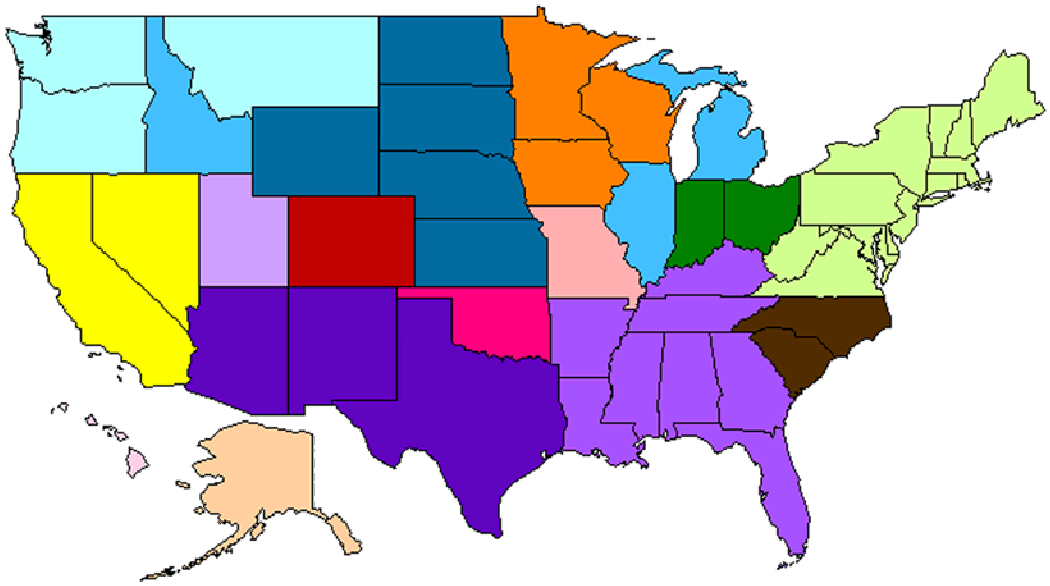

Figure E.10: GA10 Dialect Regions

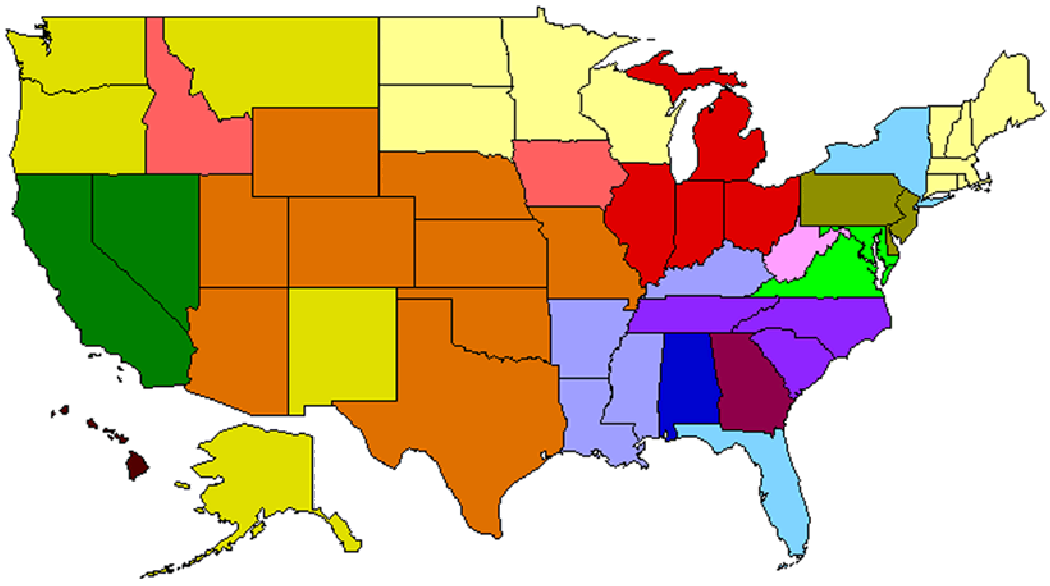

Figure E.11: GA11 Dialect Regions

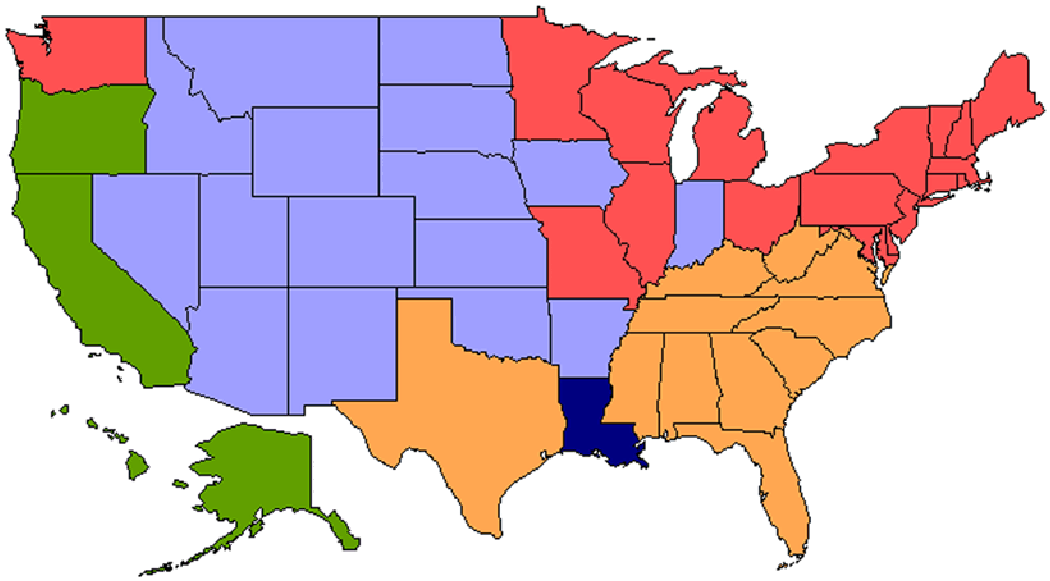

Figure E.12: GA12 Dialect Regions

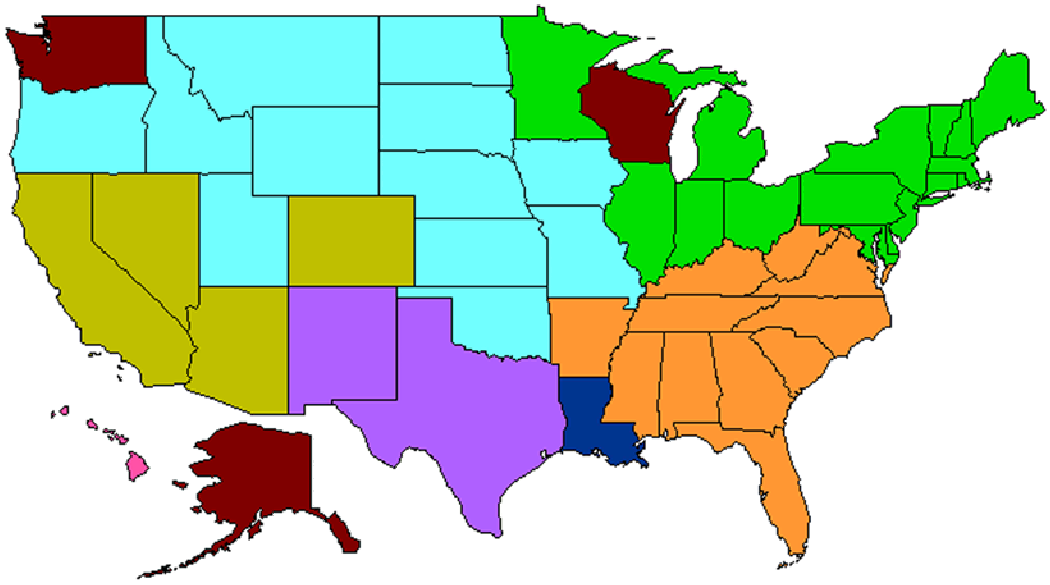

Figure E.13: GA13 Dialect Regions

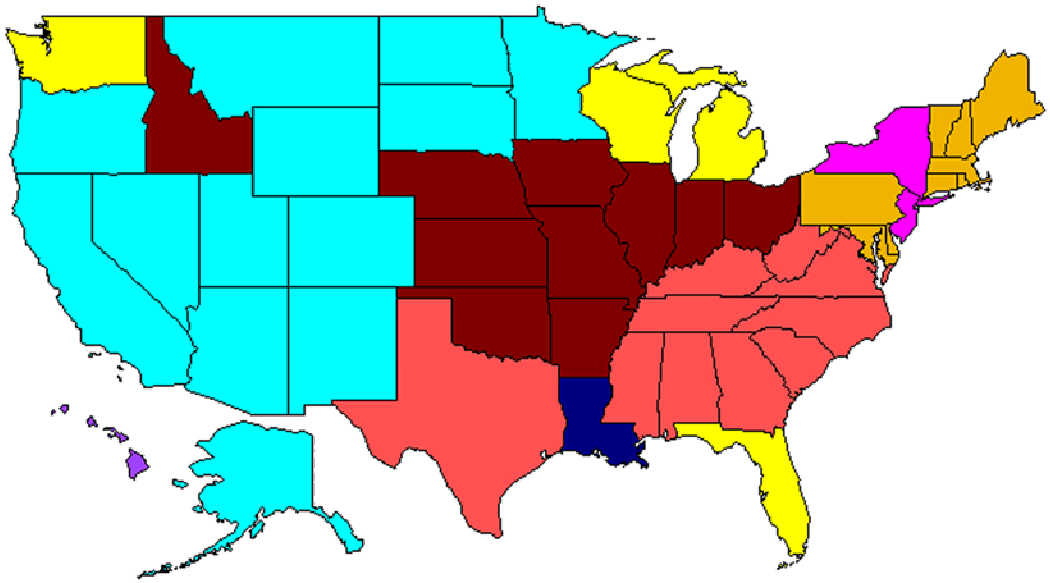

Figure E.14: GA14 Dialect Regions

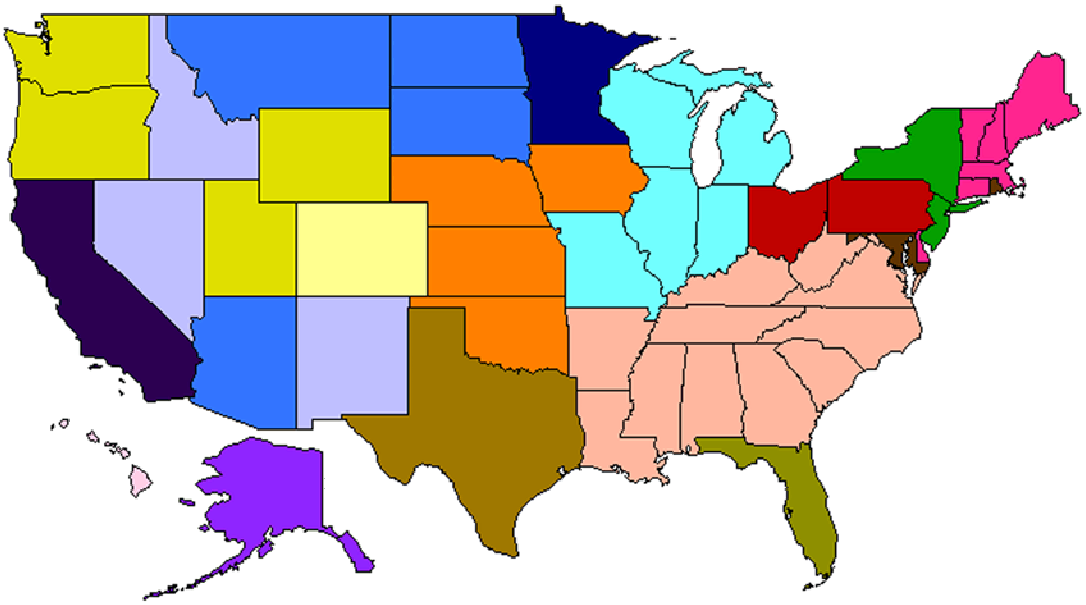

Figure E.15: GA15 Dialect Regions

# Appendix F

## Dialect Regions — Georgia Respondents: GA16–GA30

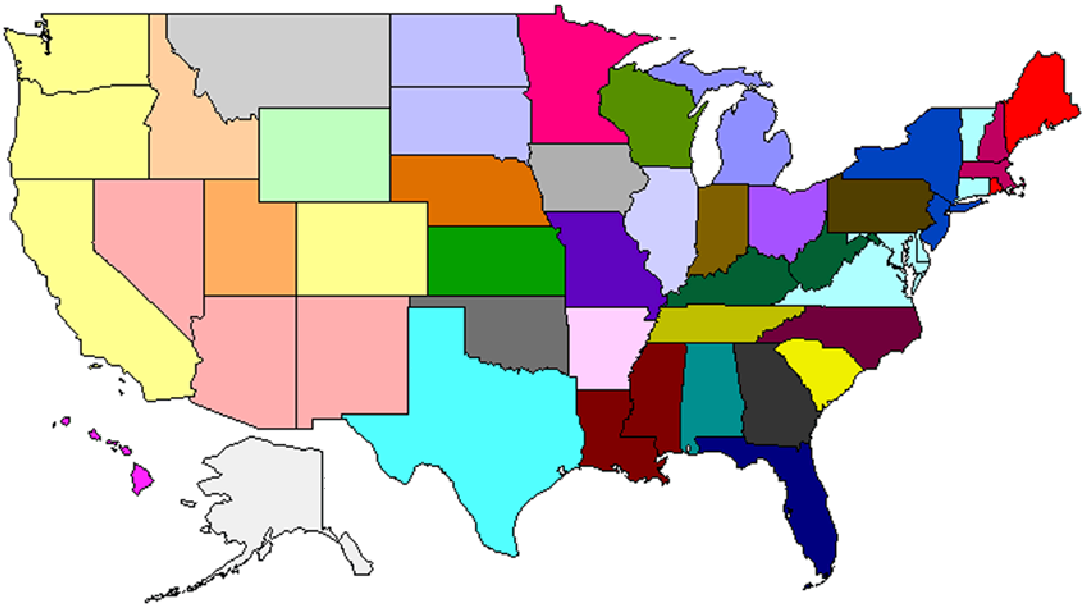

Figure F.1: GA16 Dialect Regions

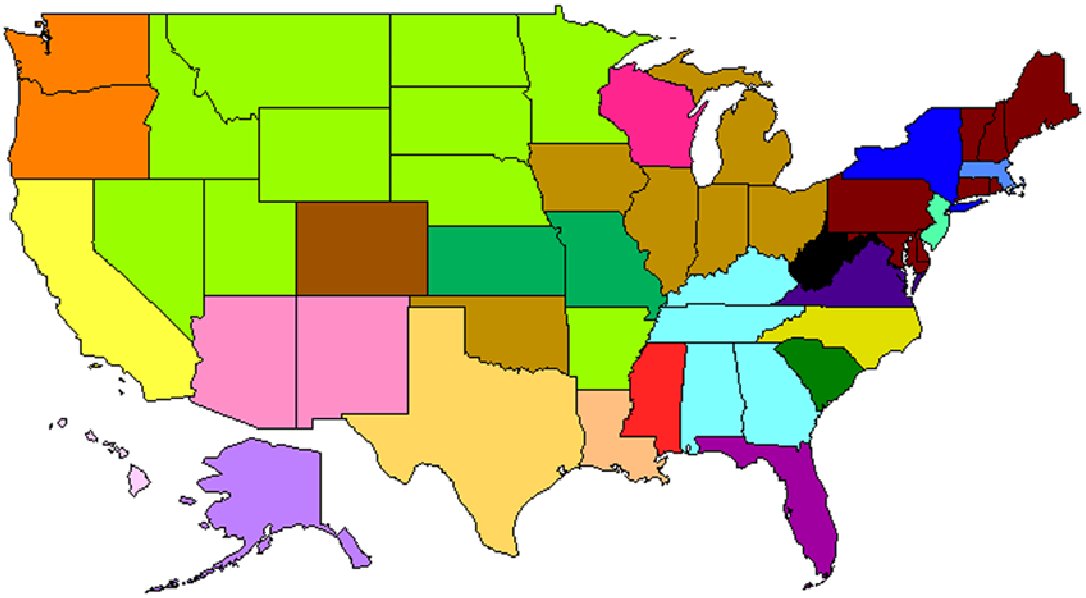

Figure F.2: GA17 Dialect Regions

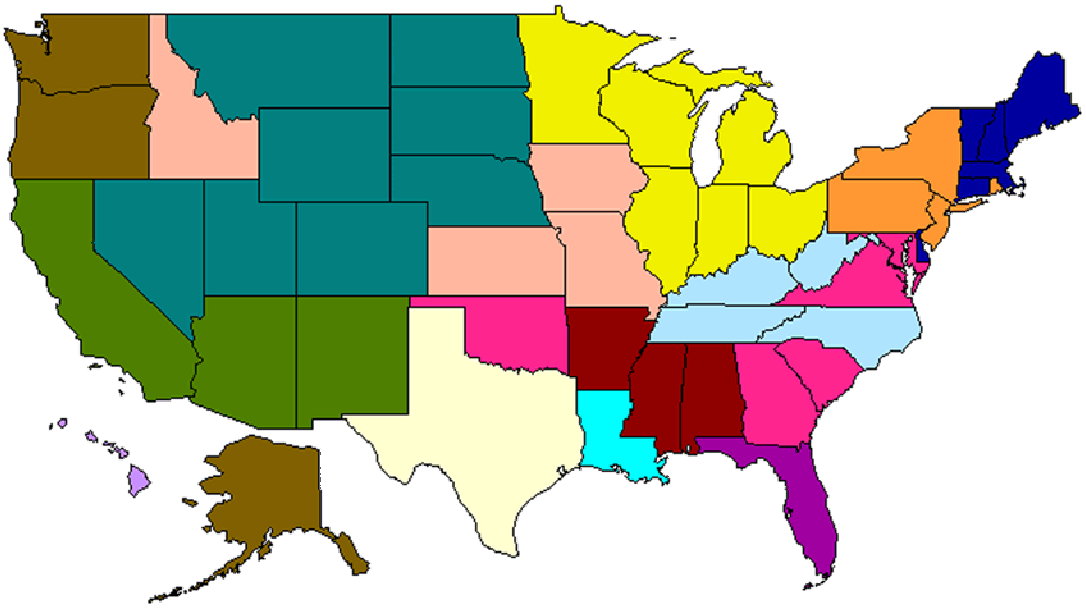

Figure F.3: GA18 Dialect Regions

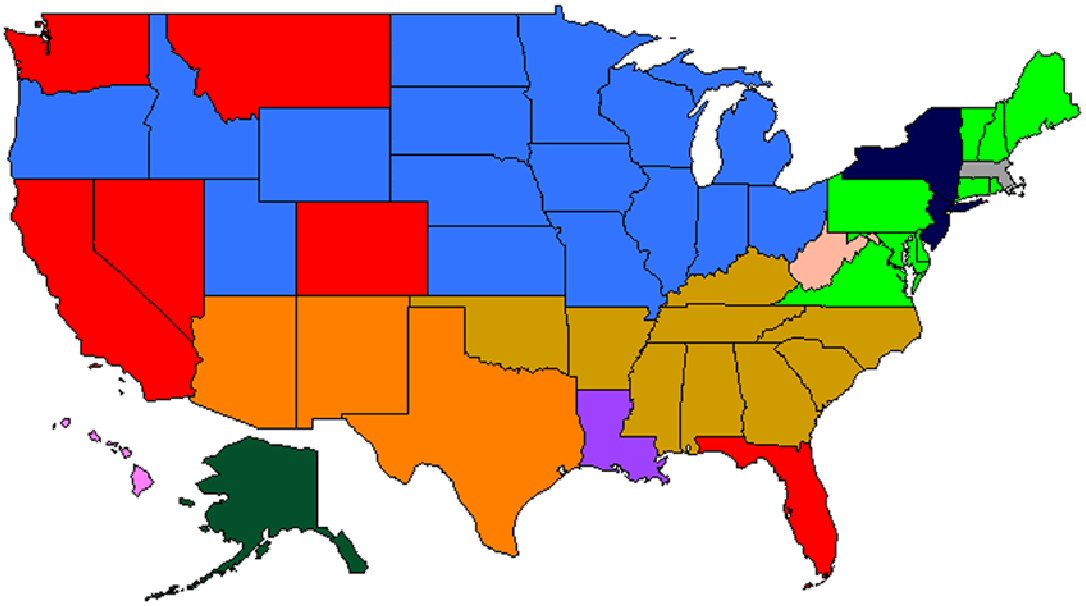

Figure F.4: GA19 Dialect Regions

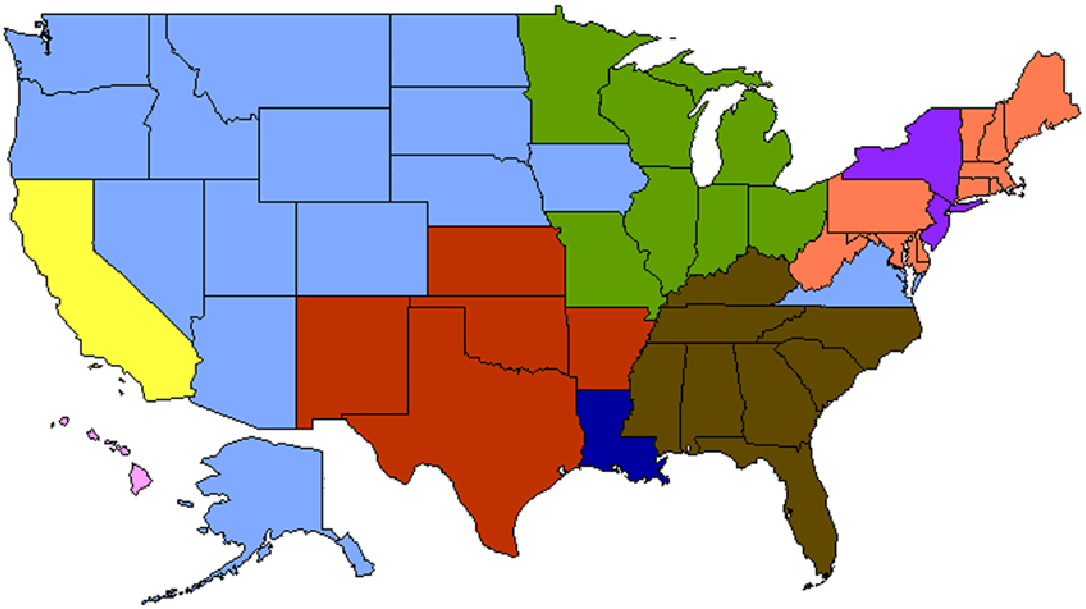

Figure F.5: GA20 Dialect Regions

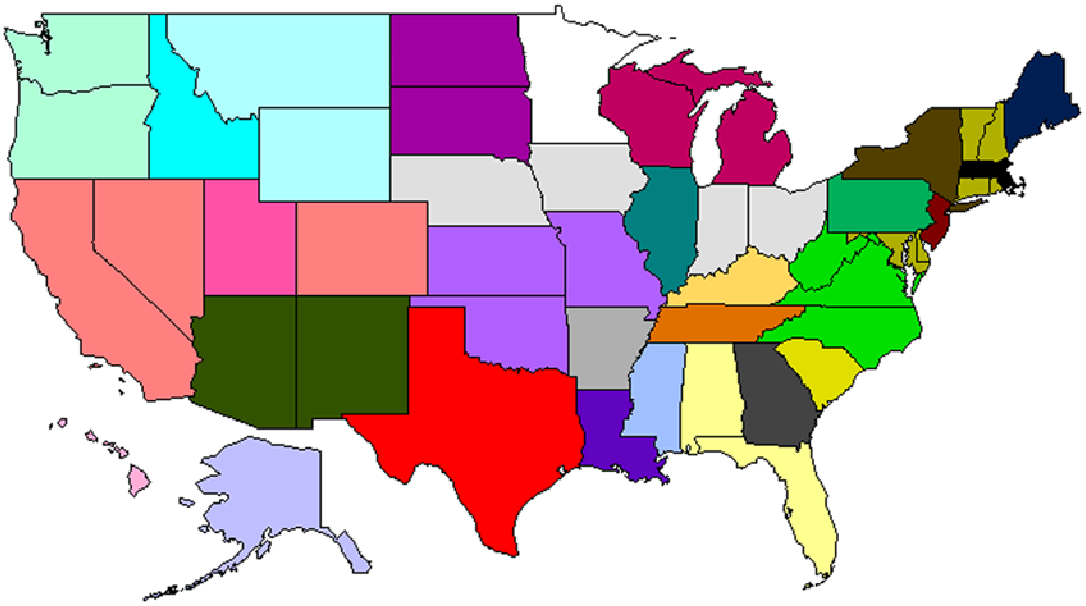

Figure F.6: GA21 Dialect Regions

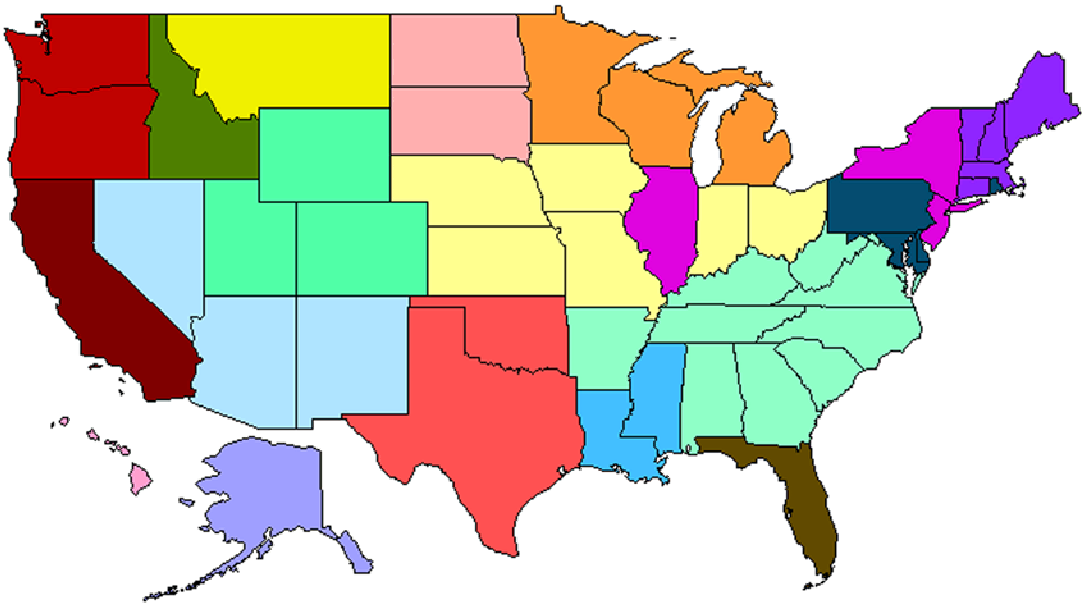

Figure F.7: GA22 Dialect Regions

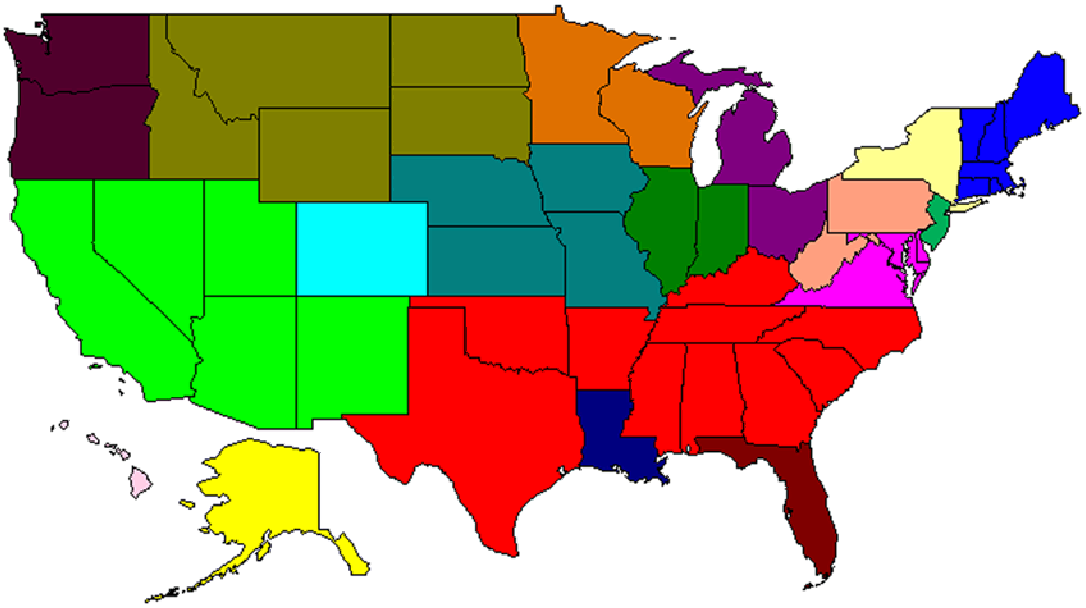

Figure F.8: GA23 Dialect Regions

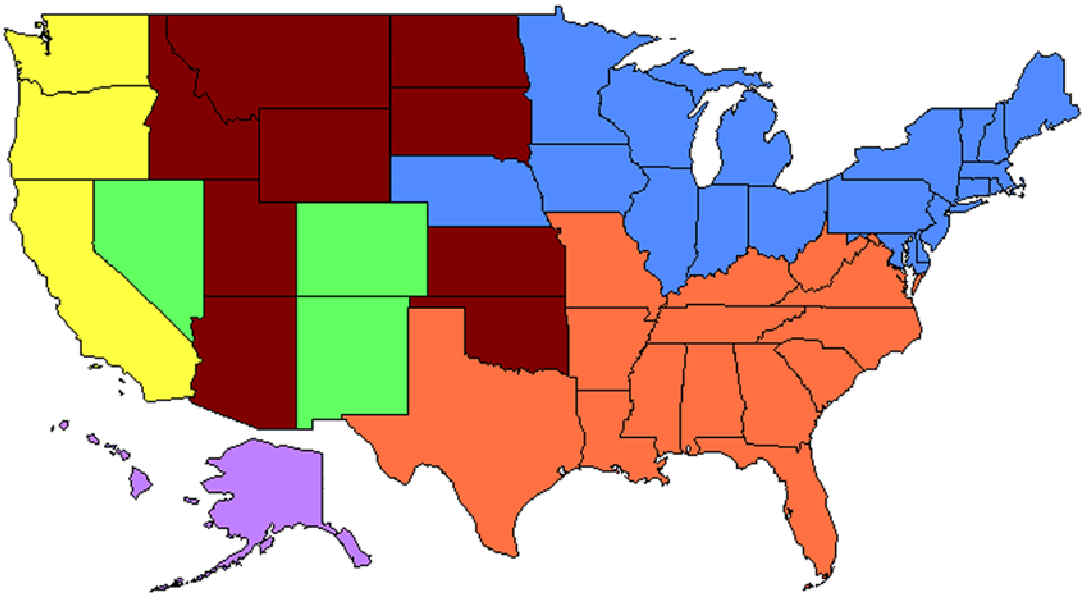

Figure F.9: GA24 Dialect Regions

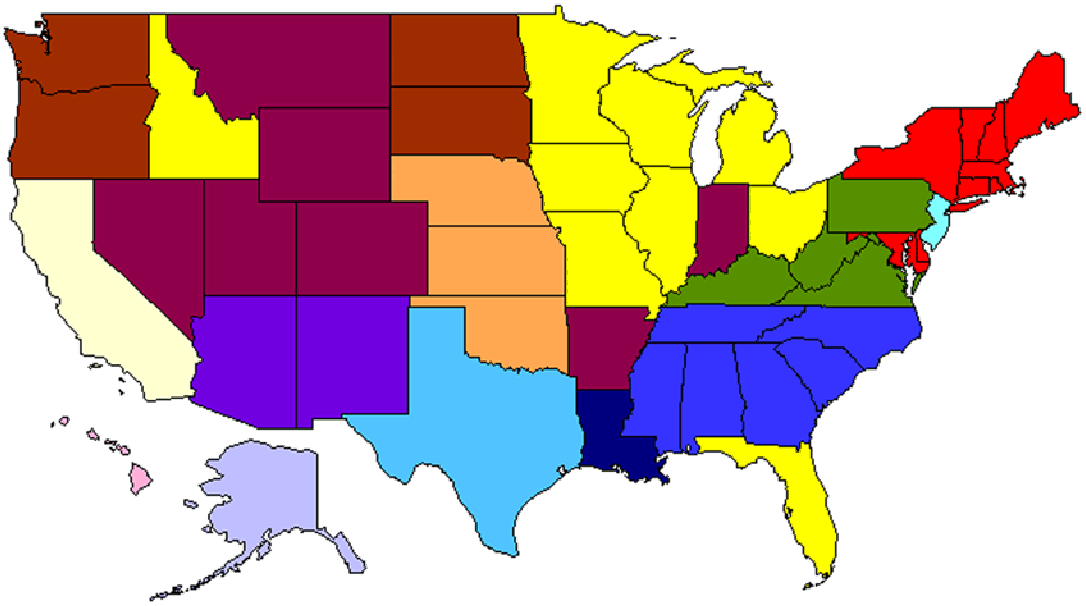

Figure F.10: GA25 Dialect Regions

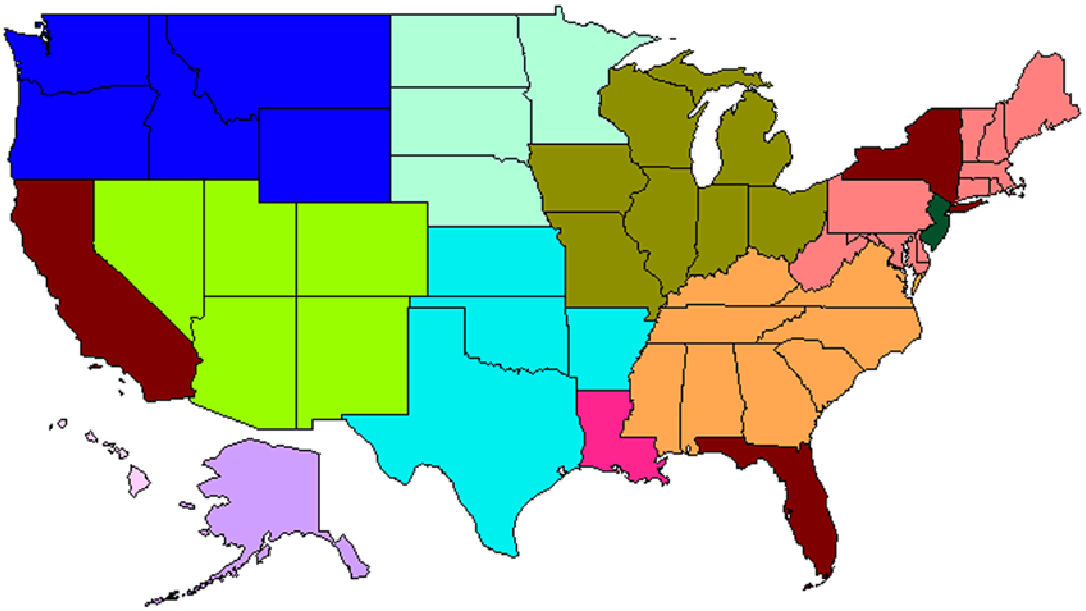

Figure F.11: GA26 Dialect Regions

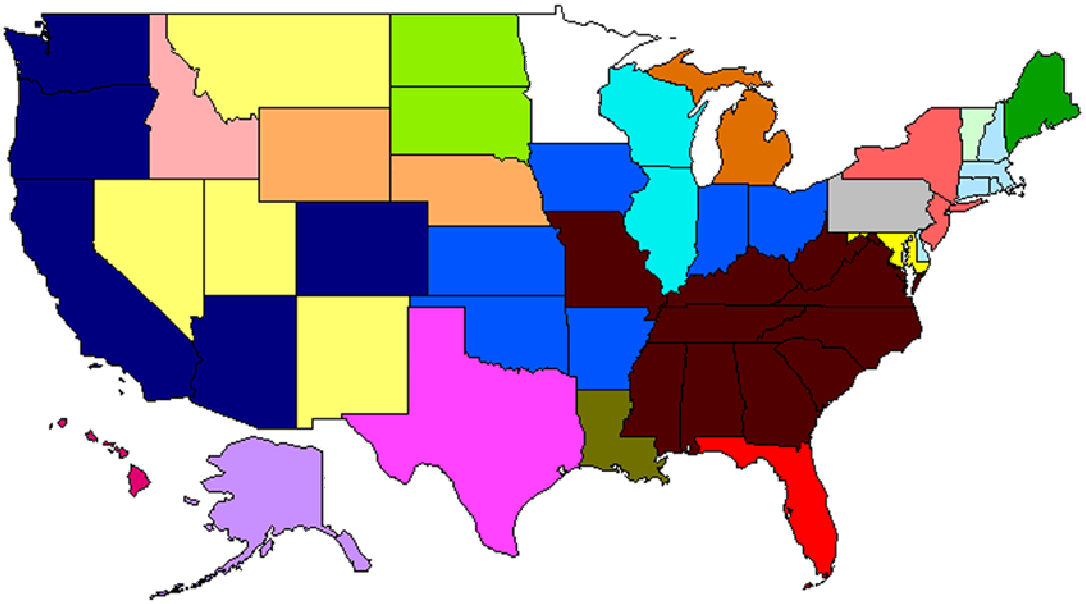

Figure F.12: GA27 Dialect Regions

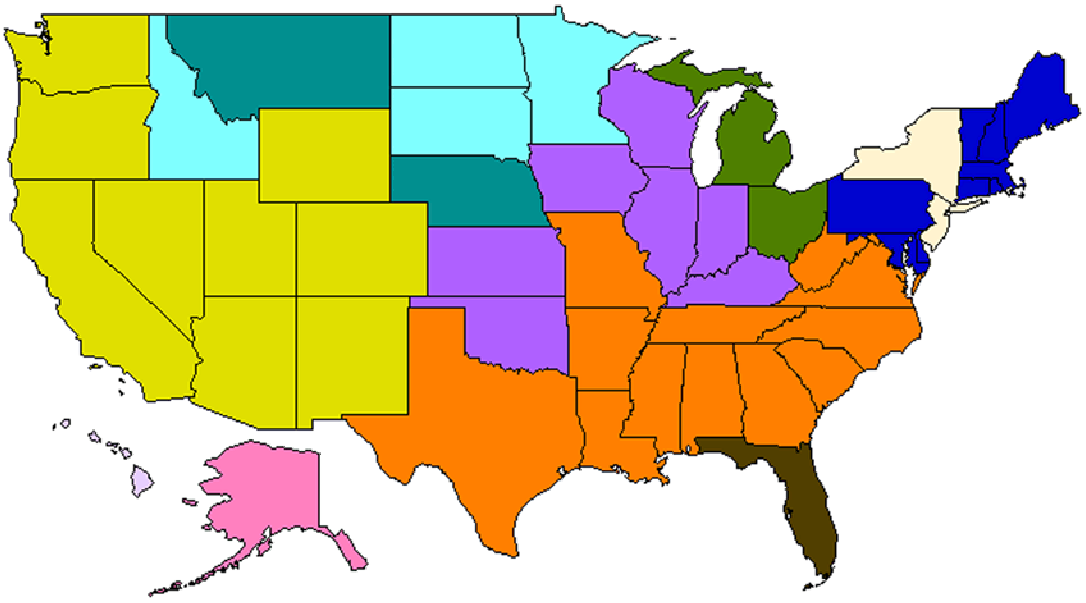

Figure F.13: GA28 Dialect Regions

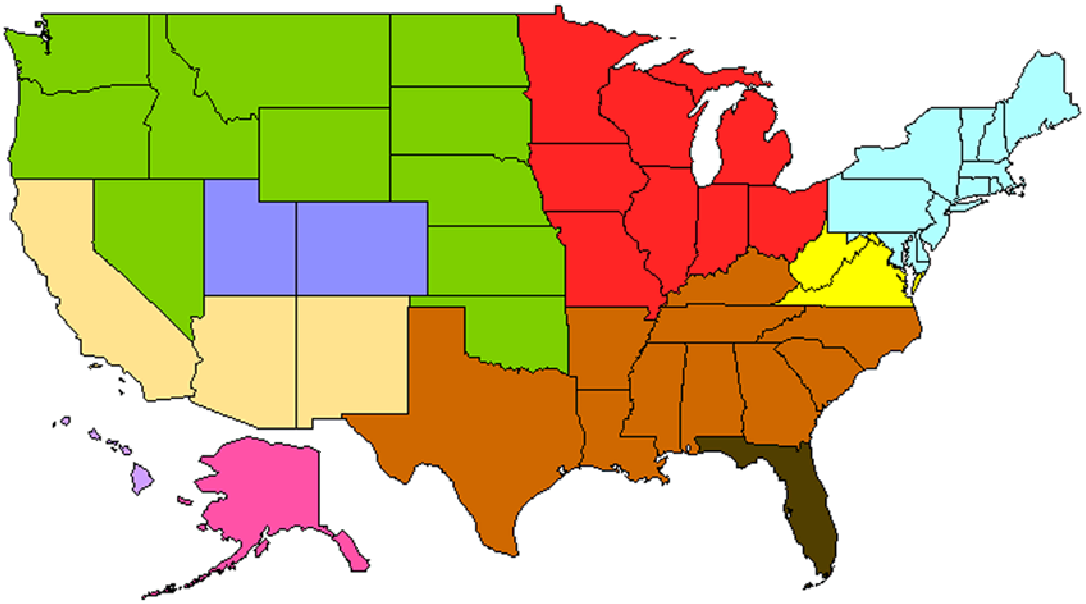

Figure F.14: GA29 Dialect Regions

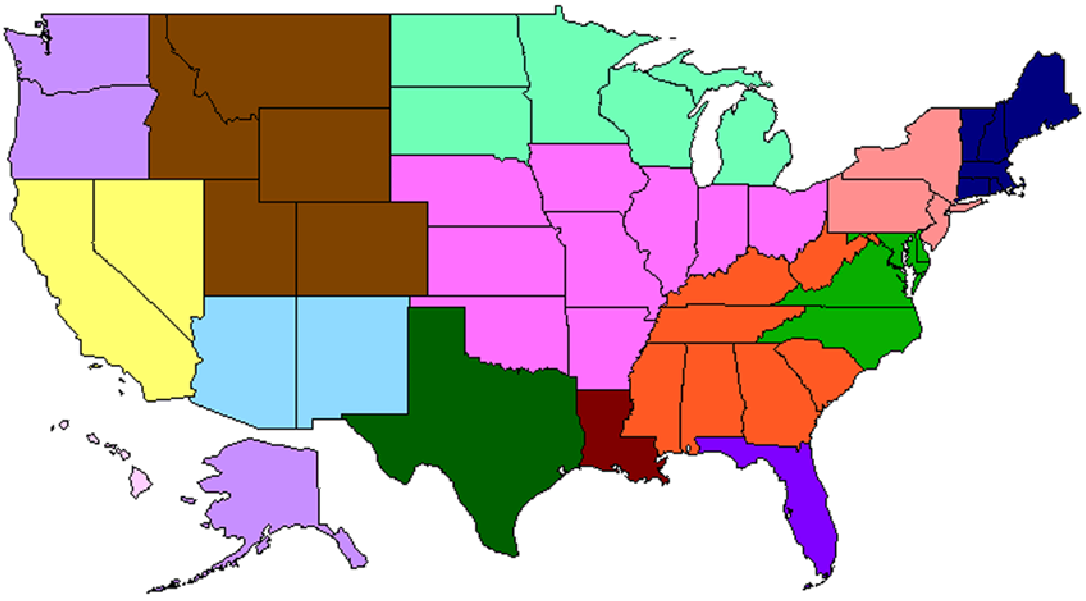

Figure F.15: GA30 Dialect Regions

# Appendix G

## Dialect Regions — New Jersey Respondents: NJ2–NJ16

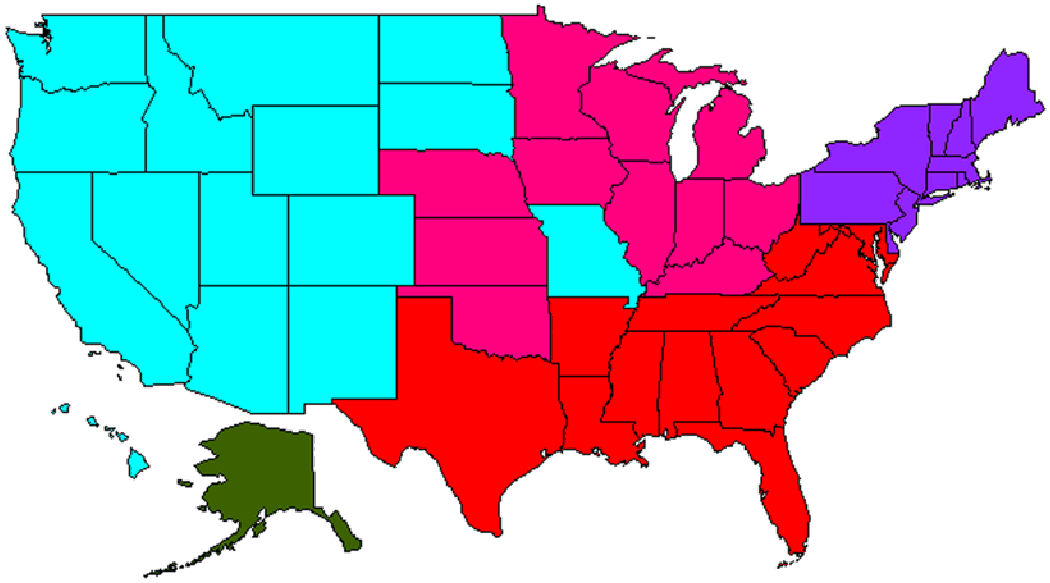

Figure G.1: NJ2 Dialect Regions

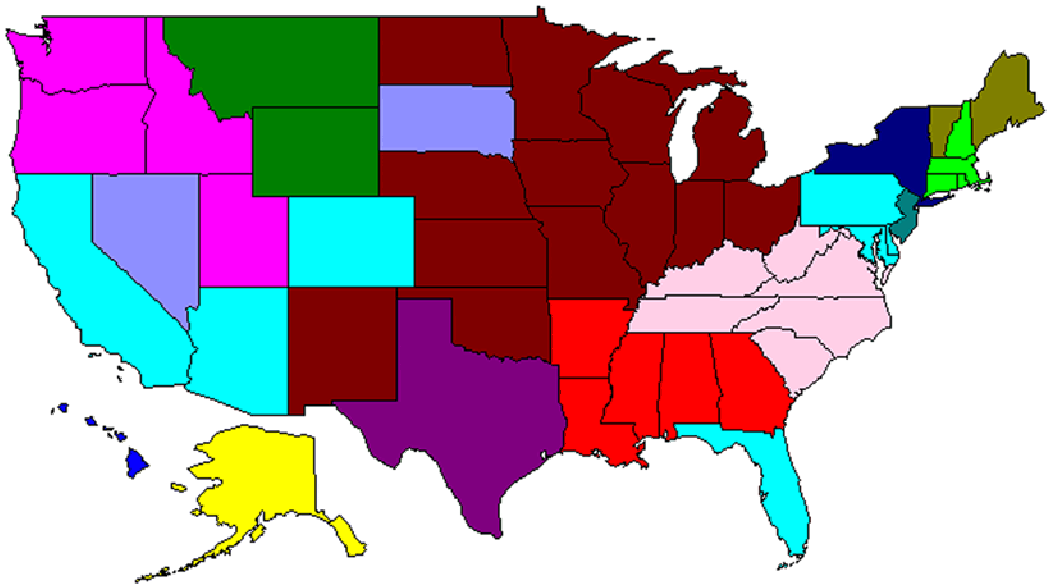

Figure G.2: NJ3 Dialect Regions

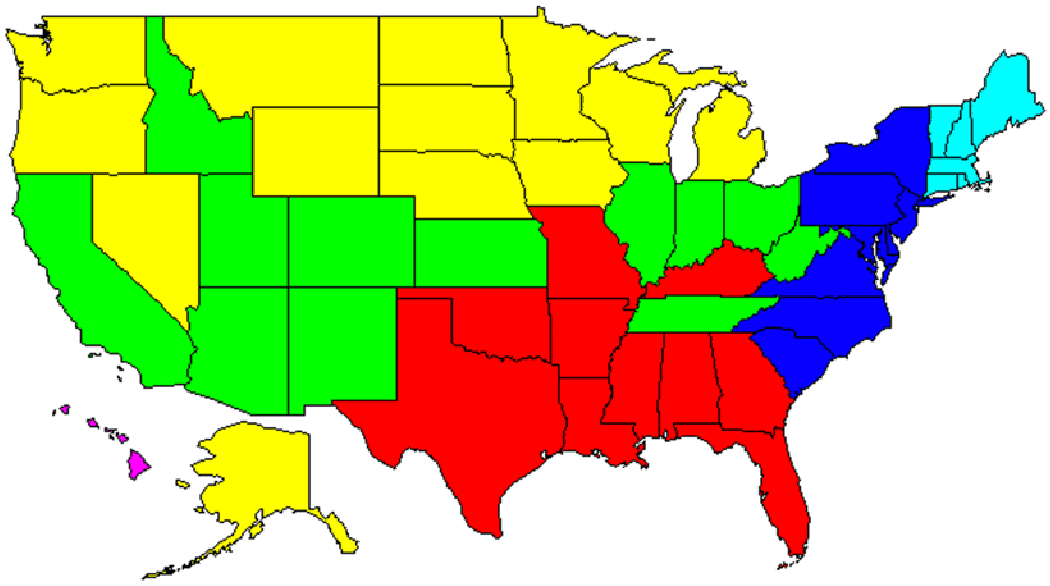

Figure G.3: NJ4 Dialect Regions

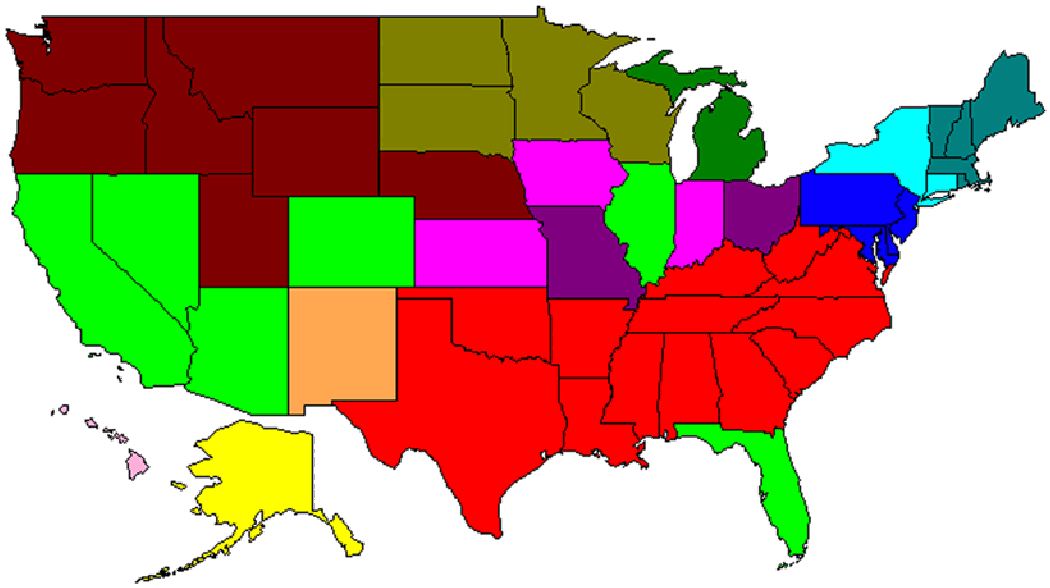

Figure G.4: NJ5 Dialect Regions

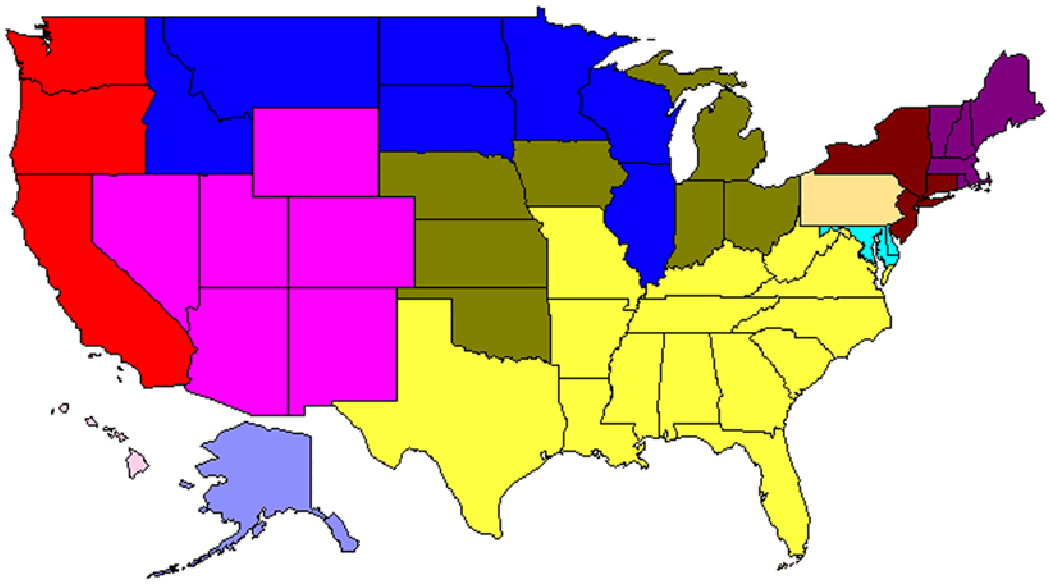

Figure G.5: NJ6 Dialect Regions

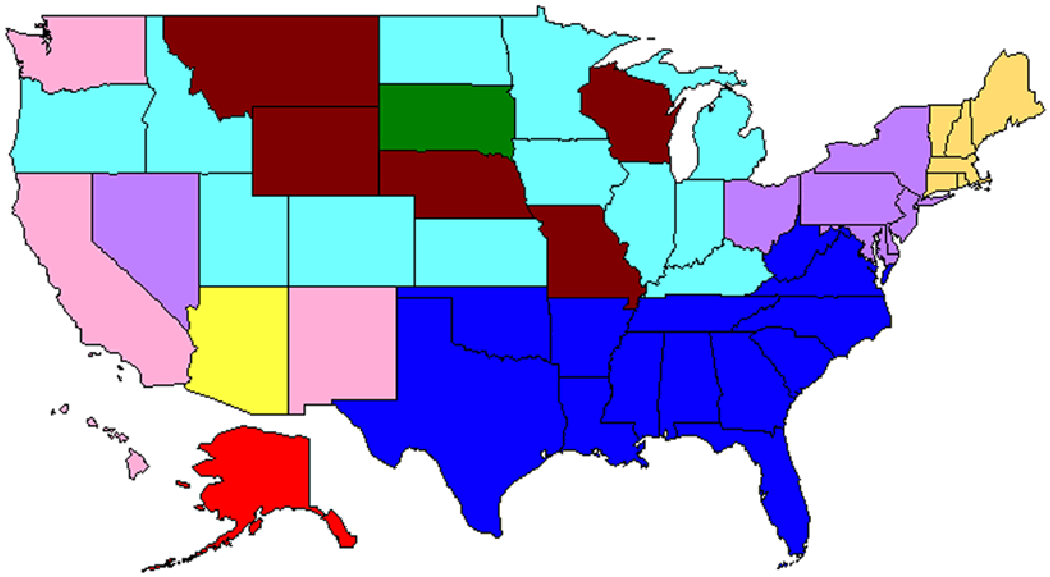

Figure G.6: NJ7 Dialect Regions

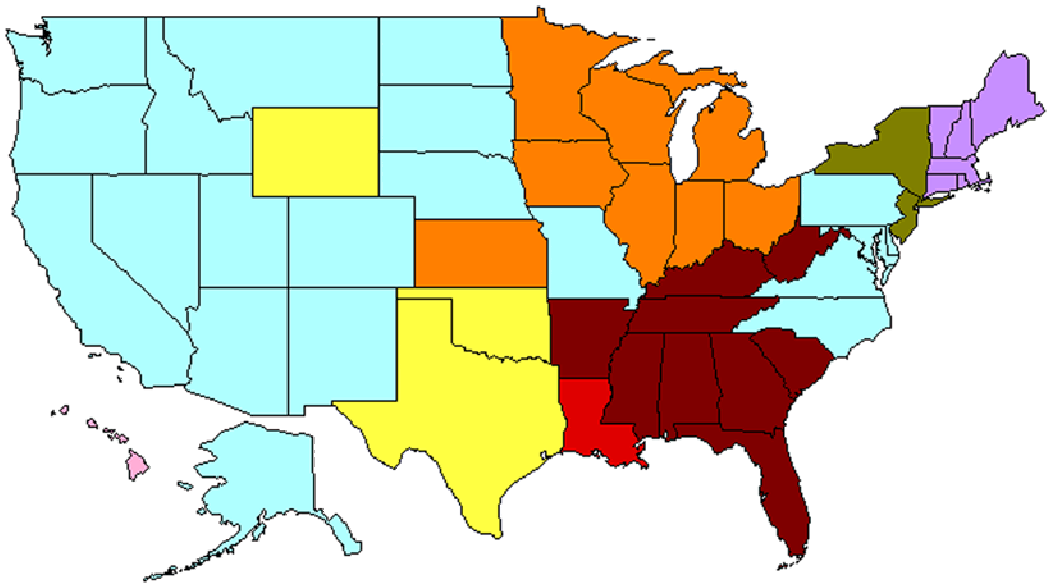

Figure G.7: NJ8 Dialect Regions

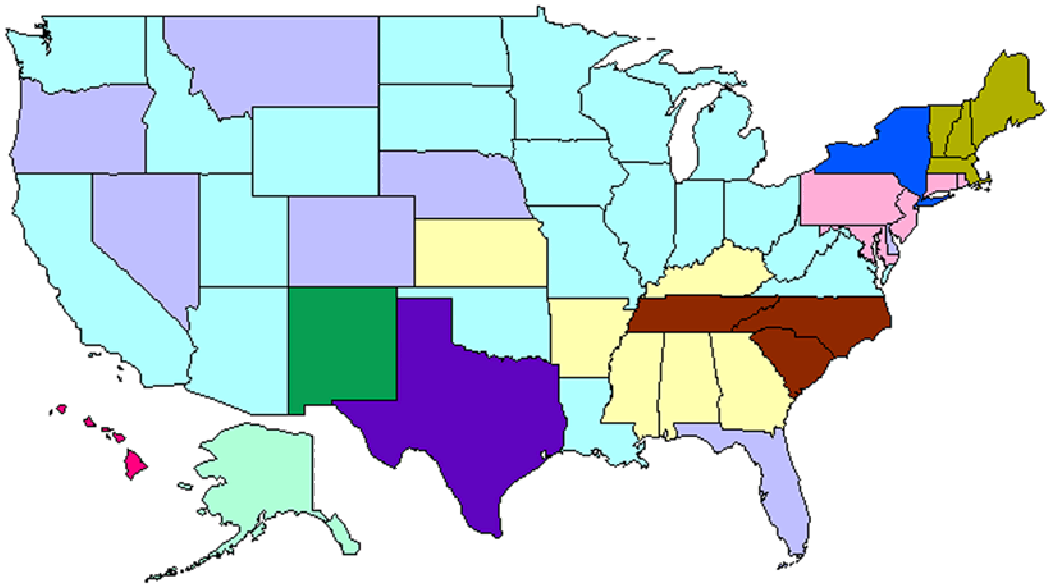

Figure G.8: NJ9 Dialect Regions

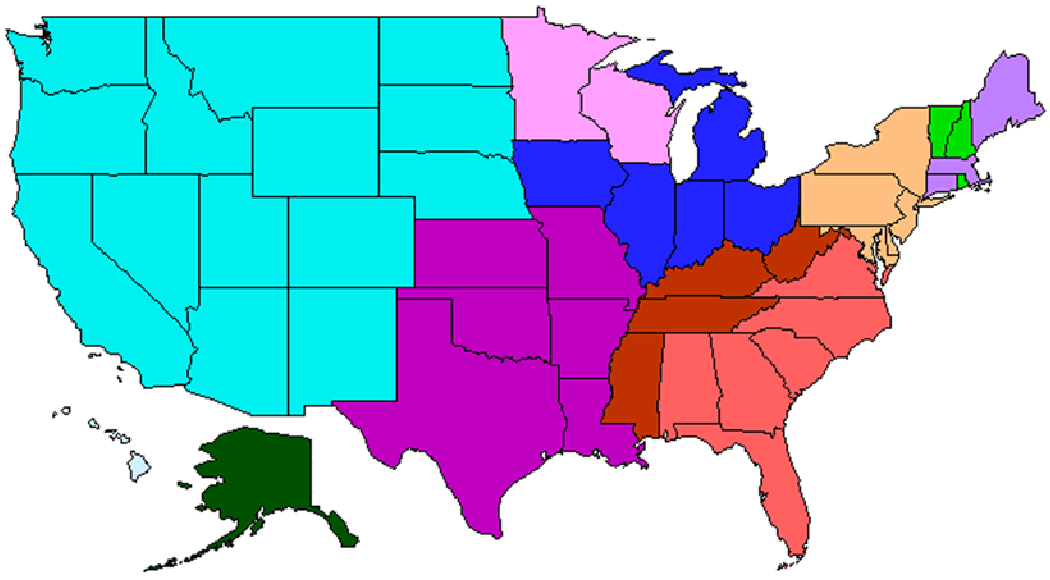

Figure G.9: NJ10 Dialect Regions

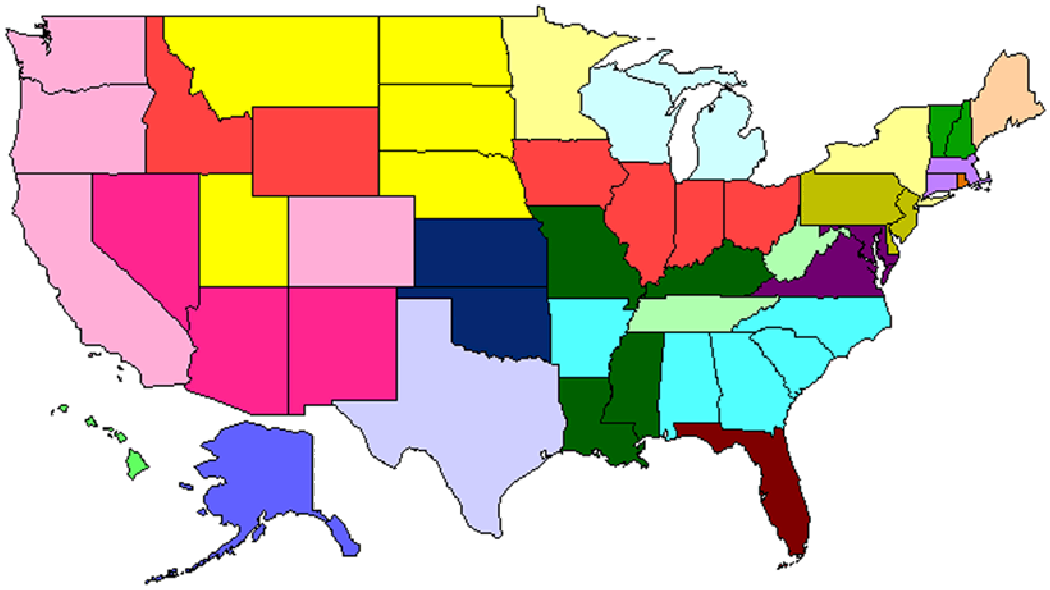

Figure G.10: NJ11 Dialect Regions

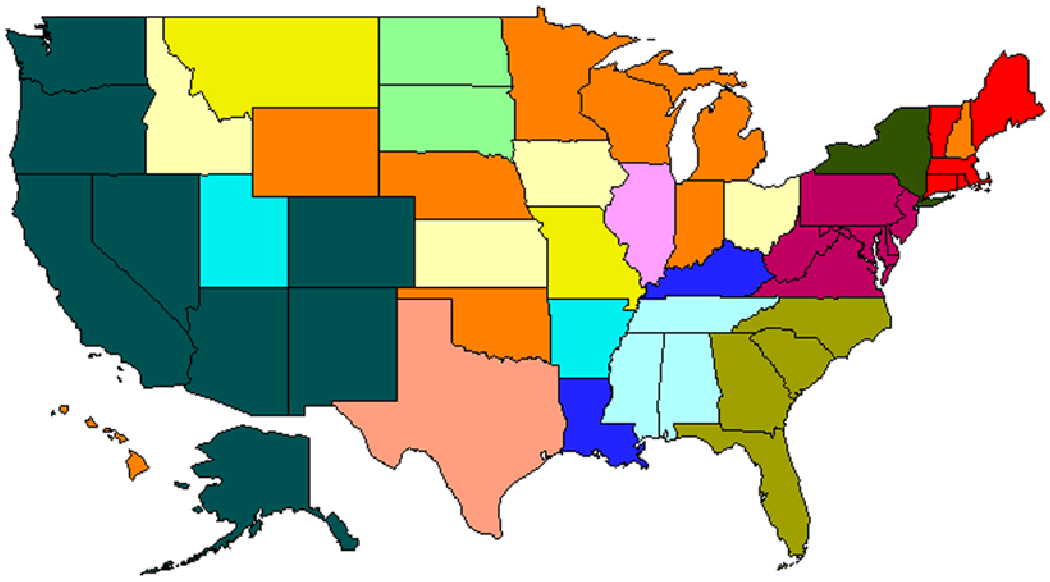

Figure G.11: NJ12 Dialect Regions

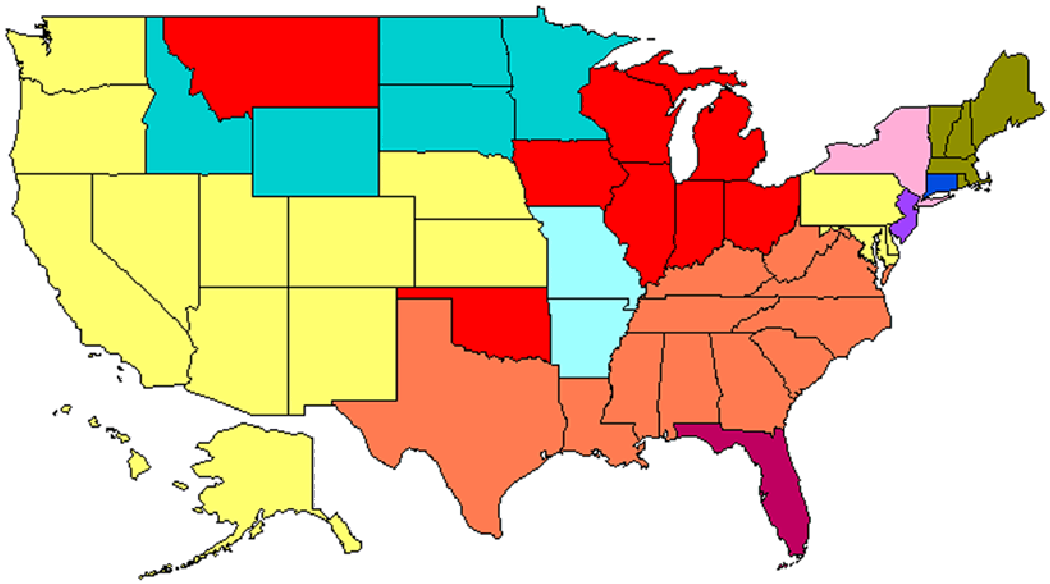

Figure G.12: NJ13 Dialect Regions

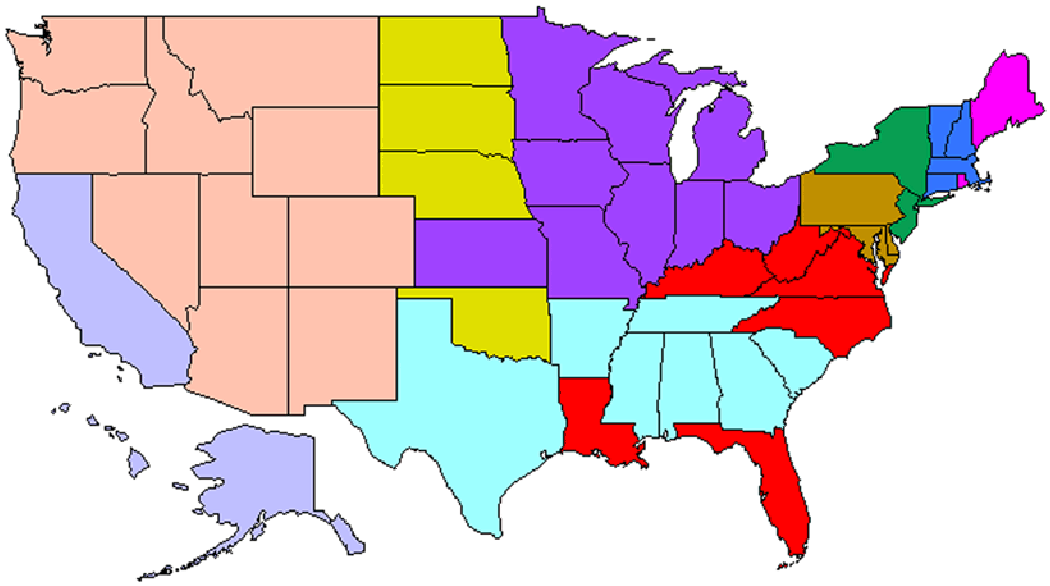

Figure G.13: NJ14 Dialect Regions

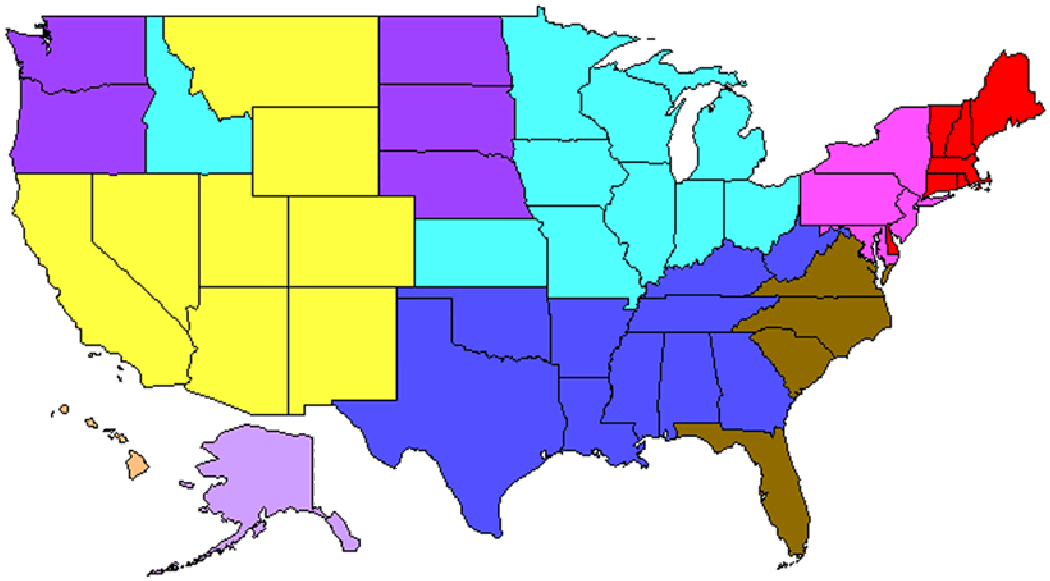

Figure G.14: NJ15 Dialect Regions

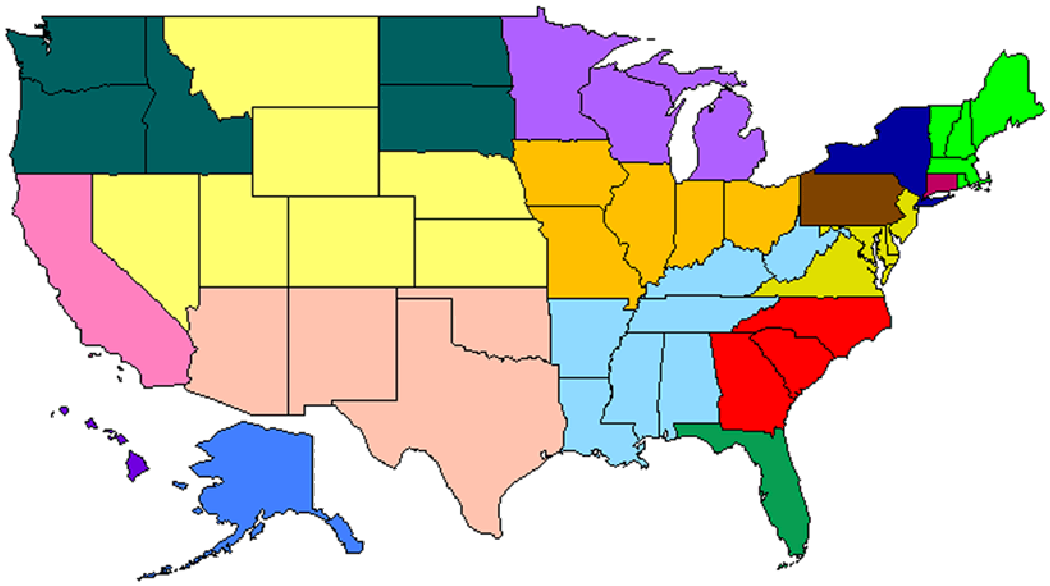

Figure G.15: NJ16 Dialect Regions

# Appendix H

## Dialect Regions — New Jersey Respondents: NJ17–NJ31

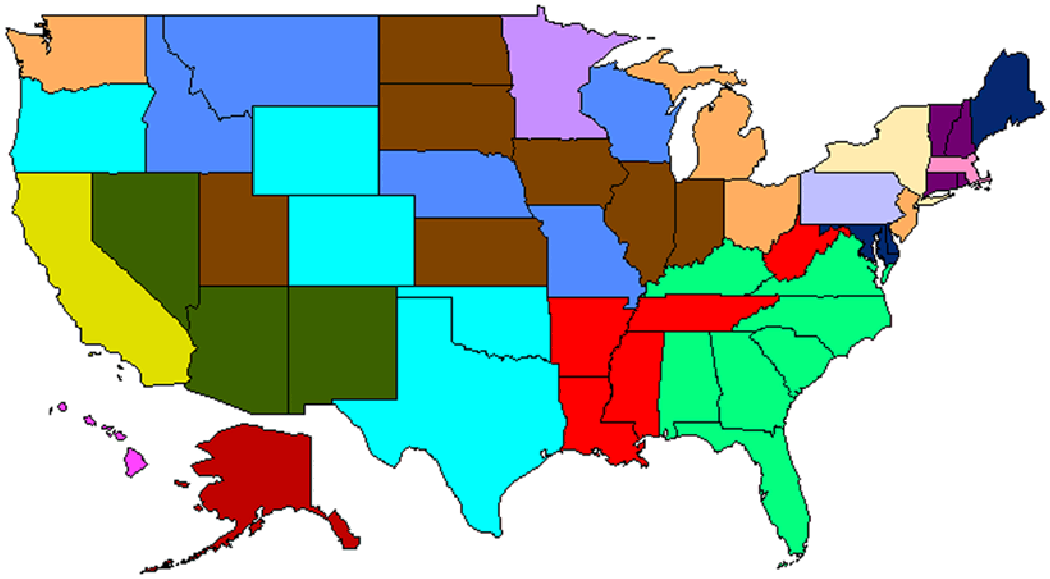

Figure H.1: NJ17 Dialect Regions

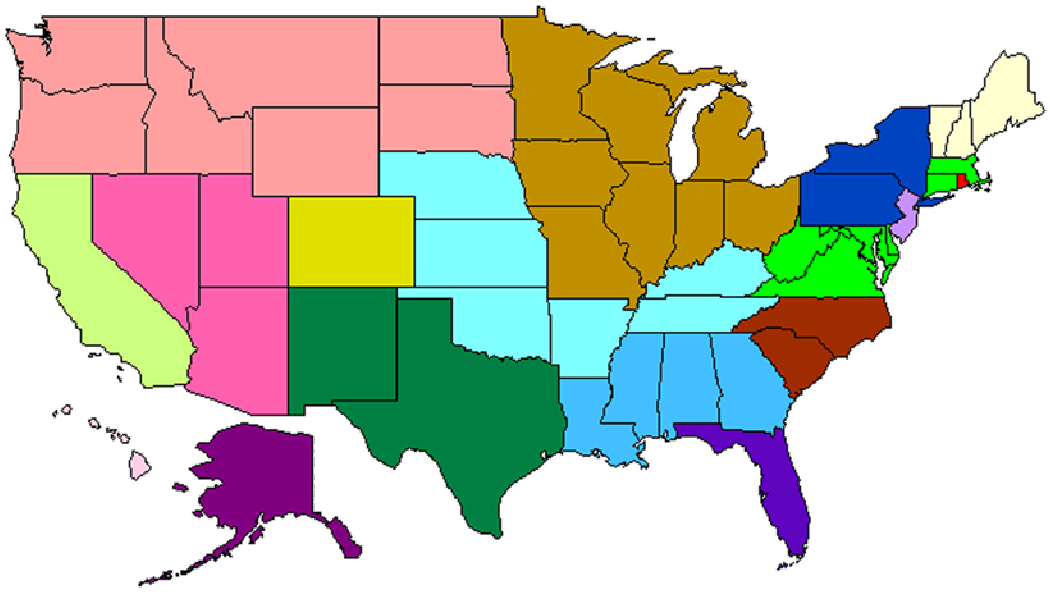

Figure H.2: NJ18 Dialect Regions

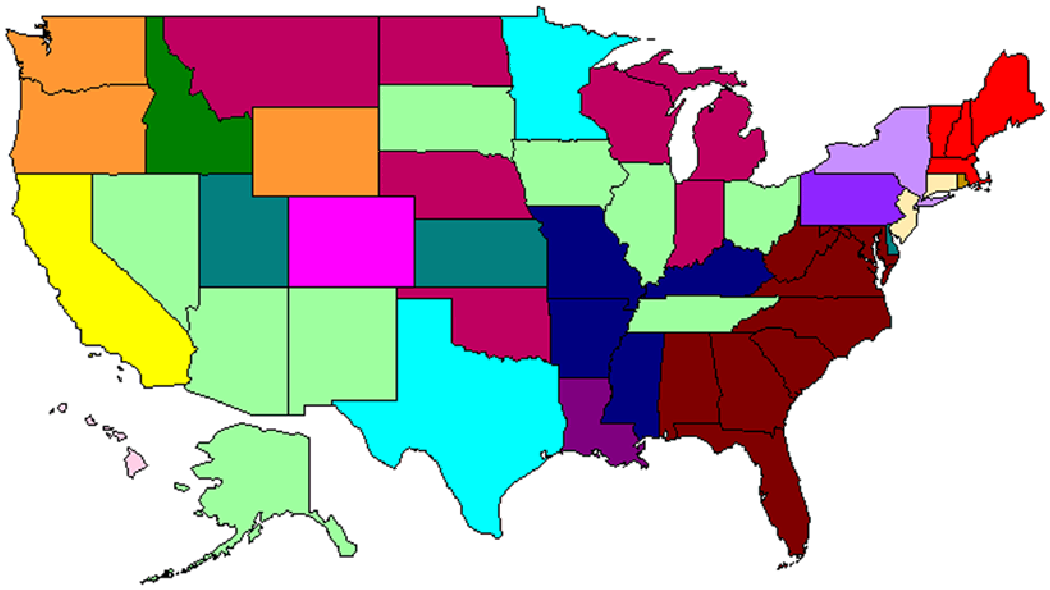

Figure H.3: NJ19 Dialect Regions

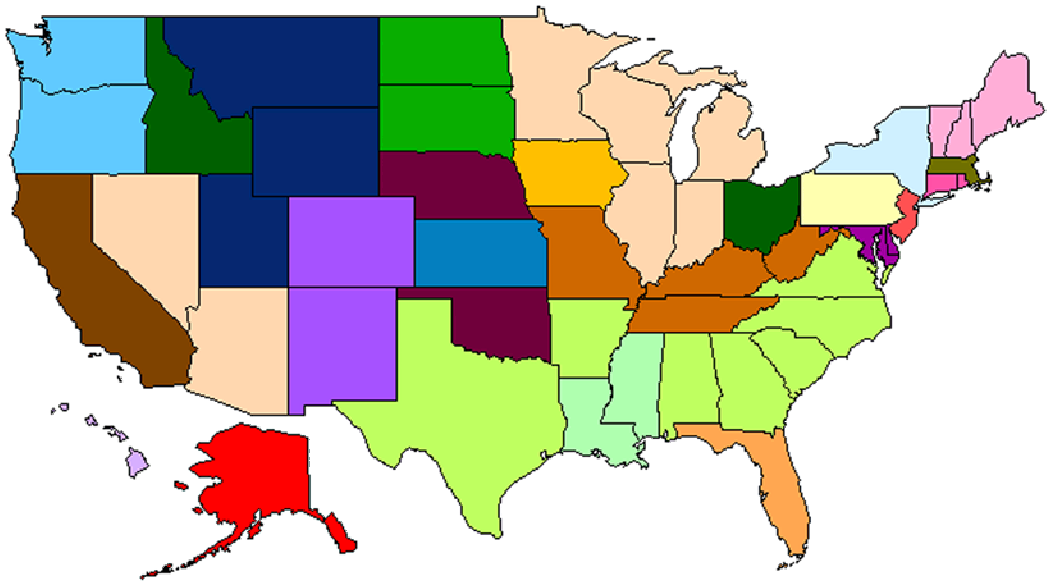

Figure H.4: NJ20 Dialect Regions

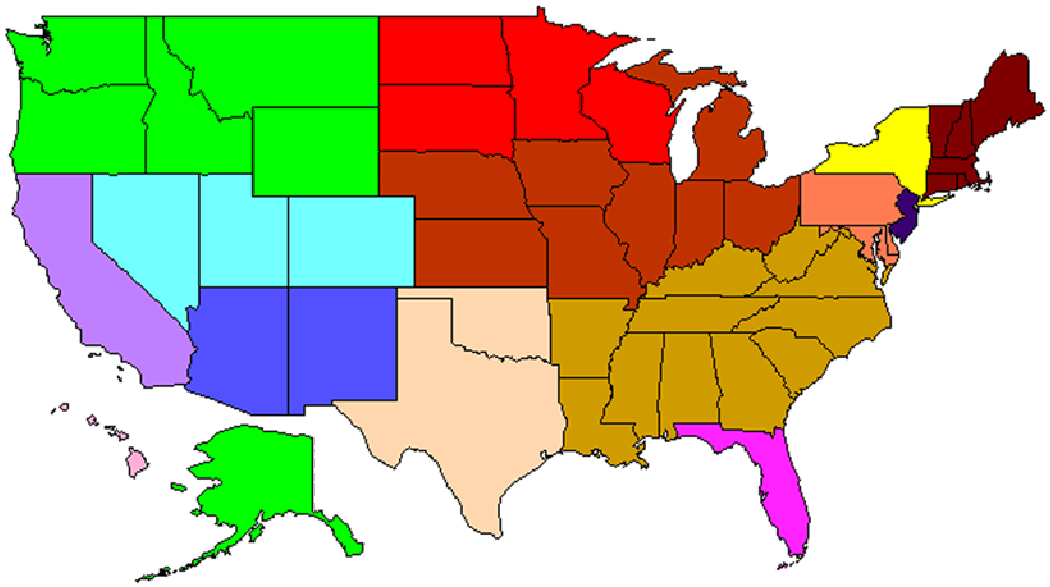

Figure H.5: NJ21 Dialect Regions

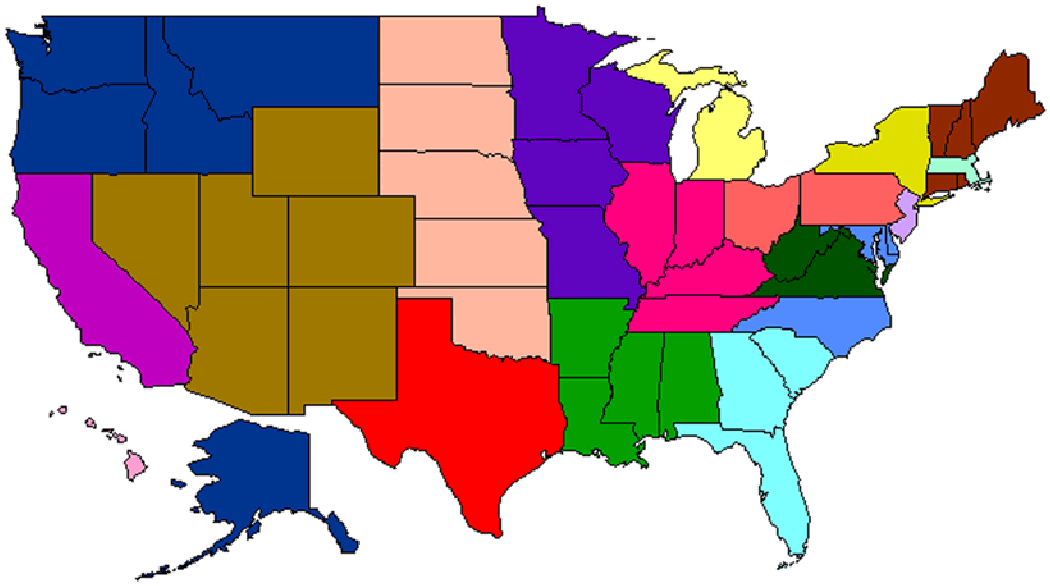

Figure H.6: NJ22 Dialect Regions

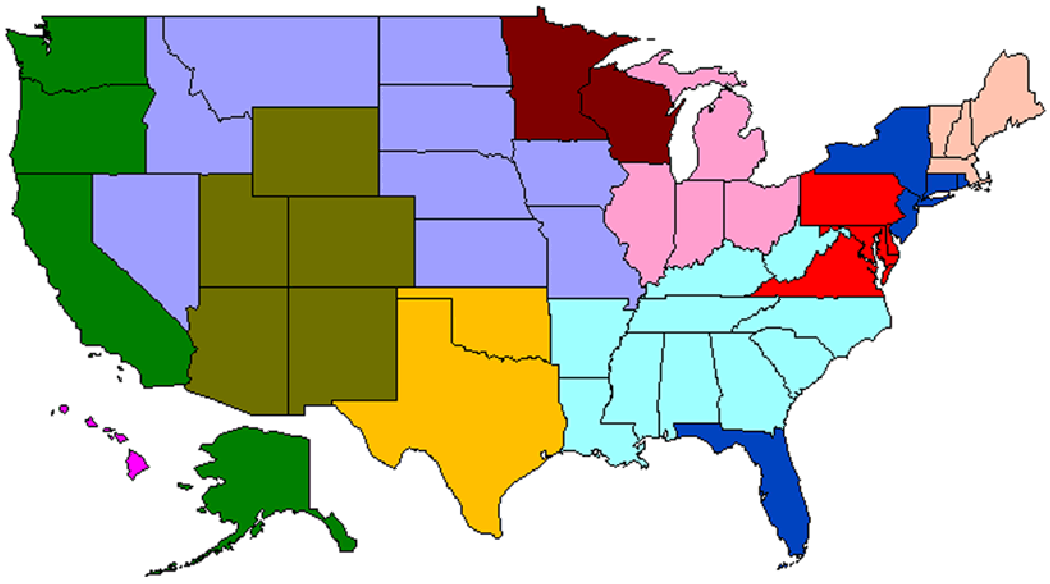

Figure H.7: NJ23 Dialect Regions

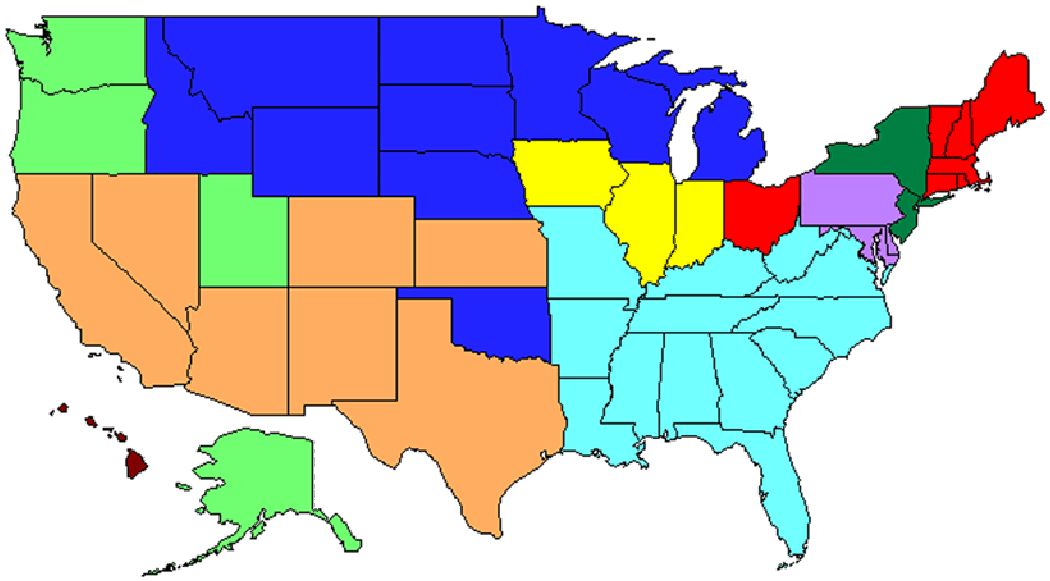

Figure H.8: NJ24 Dialect Regions

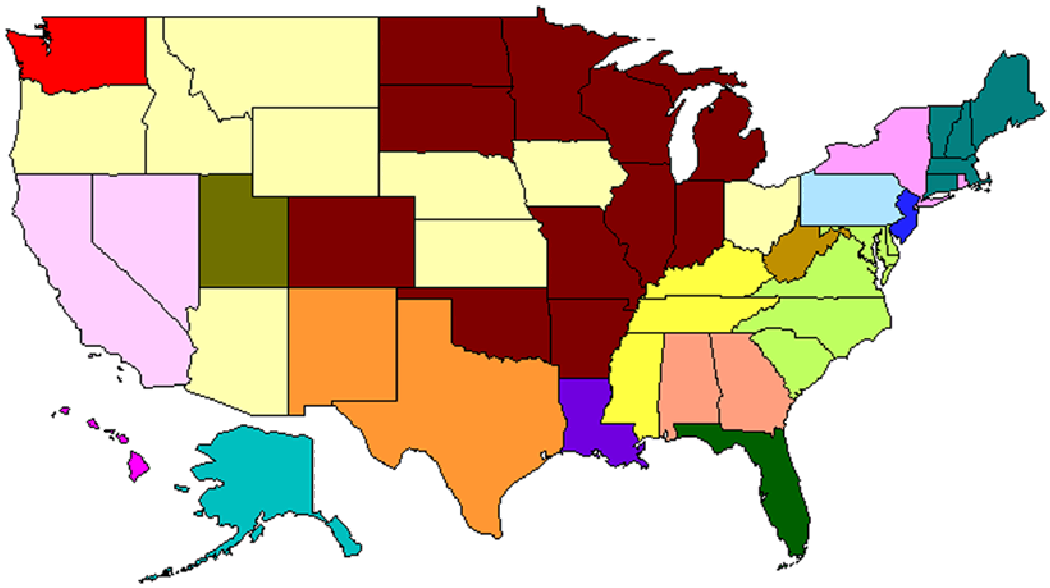

Figure H.9: NJ25 Dialect Regions

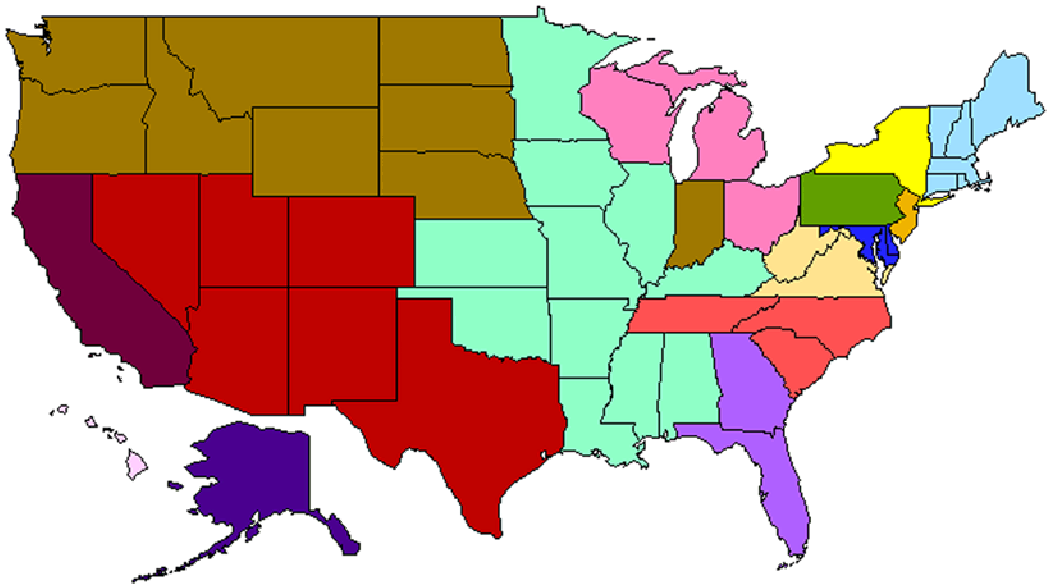

Figure H.10: NJ26 Dialect Regions

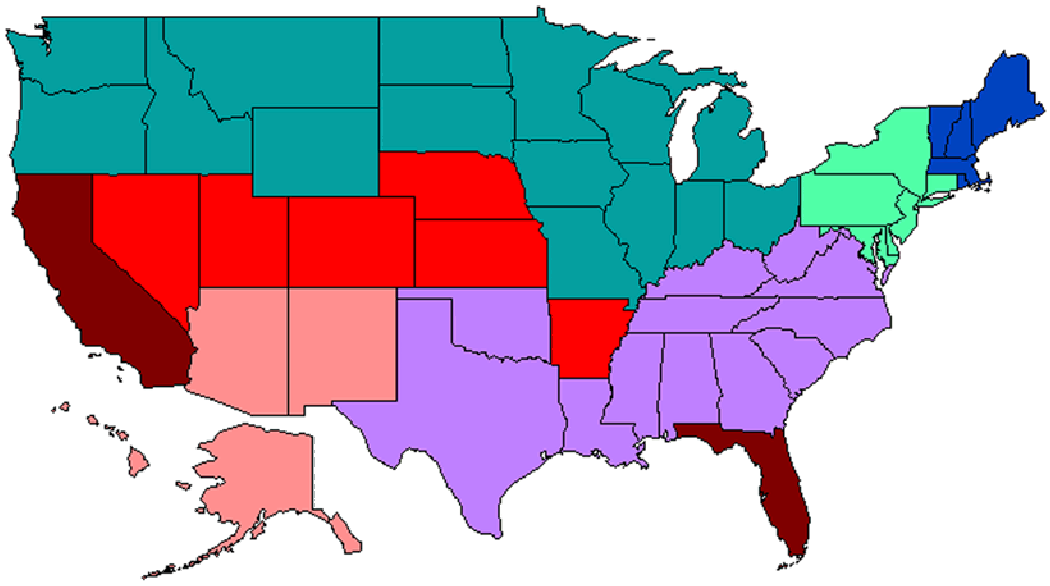

Figure H.11: NJ27 Dialect Regions

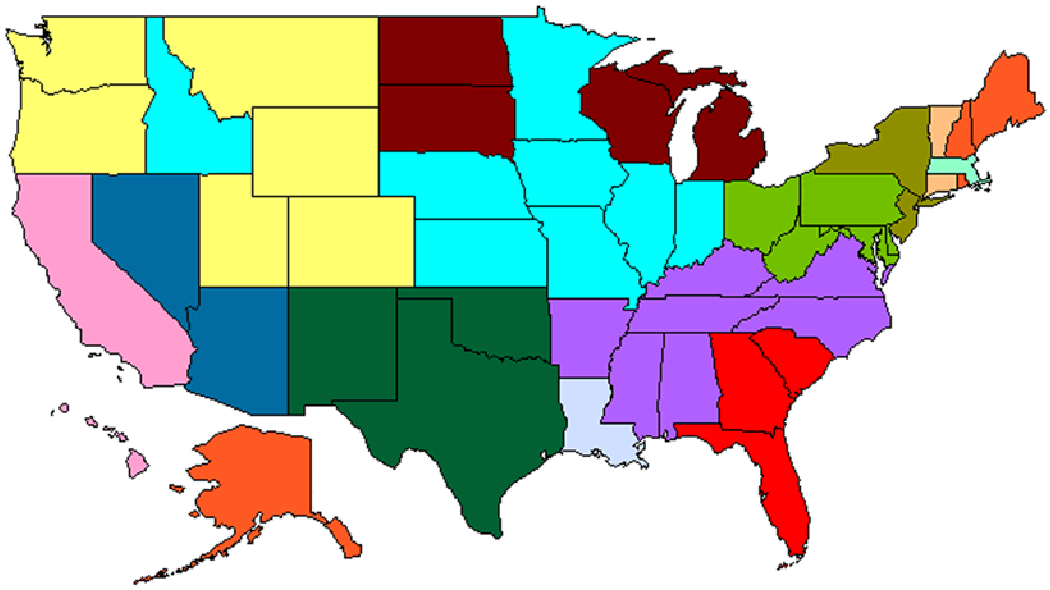

Figure H.12: NJ28 Dialect Regions

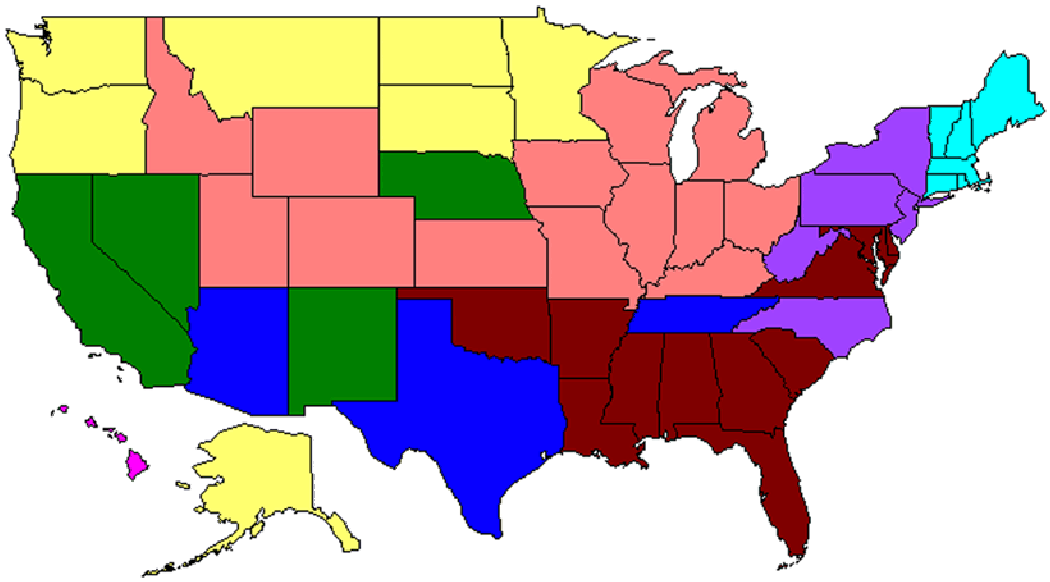

Figure H.13: NJ29 Dialect Regions

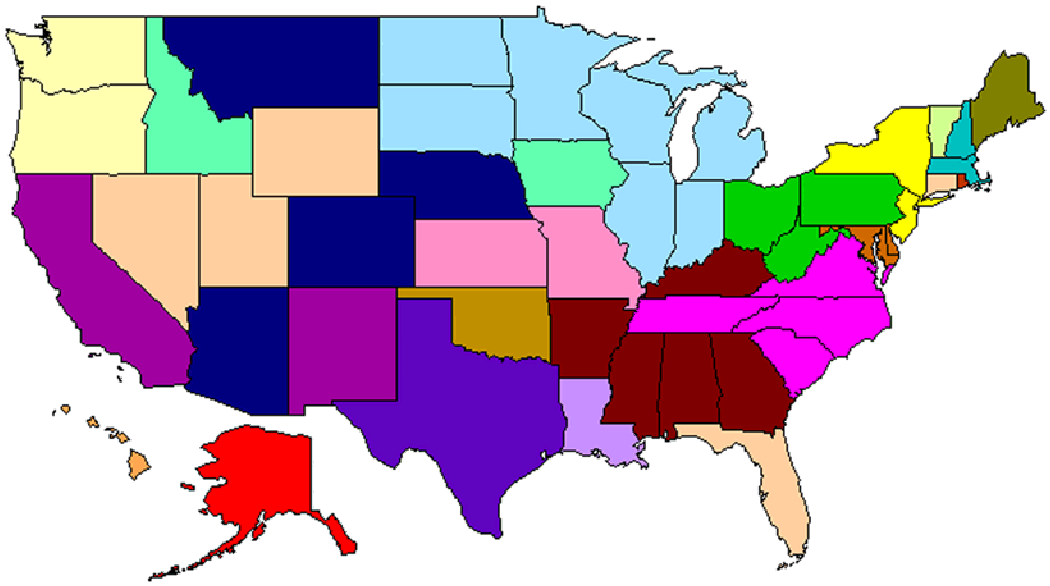

Figure H.14: NJ30 Dialect Regions

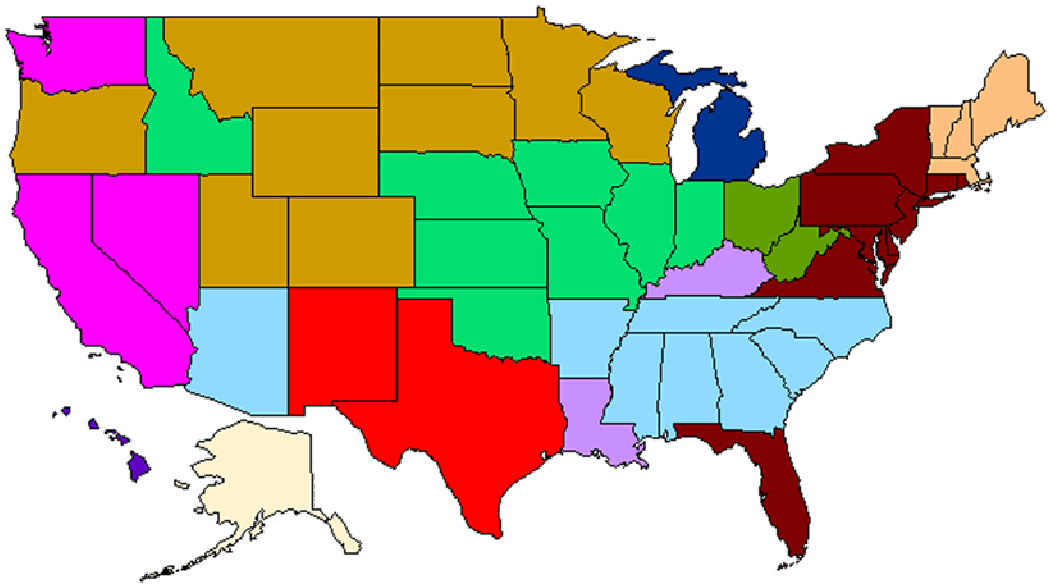

Figure H.15: NJ31 Dialect Regions

# Appendix I

## Aggregate Numbers for Descriptive Terms

Table I.1: Number of Respondents Reporting Attractive, Neutral, or Unattractive

| state | Attract. | Neutral | Unattract. | state | Attract. | Neutral | Unattract. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 30 | 15 | 15 | MT | 19 | 36 | 5 |
| AK | 16 | 40 | 4 | NE | 20 | 34 | 6 |
| AZ | 22 | 33 | 5 | NV | 25 | 30 | 5 |
| AR | 31 | 15 | 14 | NH | 23 | 17 | 20 |
| CA | 29 | 20 | 11 | NJ | 20 | 14 | 26 |
| CO | 27 | 30 | 3 | NM | 22 | 33 | 5 |
| CT | 21 | 23 | 16 | NY | 13 | 16 | 31 |
| DE | 25 | 20 | 15 | NC | 36 | 16 | 8 |
| FL | 27 | 23 | 10 | ND | 23 | 32 | 5 |
| GA | 38 | 12 | 10 | OH | 16 | 25 | 19 |
| HI | 26 | 31 | 3 | OK | 29 | 25 | 6 |
| ID | 15 | 37 | 8 | OR | 22 | 31 | 7 |
| IL | 19 | 25 | 16 | PA | 22 | 23 | 15 |
| IN | 22 | 25 | 13 | RI | 25 | 17 | 18 |
| IA | 21 | 30 | 9 | SC | 39 | 13 | 8 |
| KS | 25 | 28 | 7 | SD | 22 | 33 | 5 |
| KY | 31 | 19 | 10 | TN | 30 | 16 | 14 |
| LA | 33 | 13 | 14 | TX | 35 | 17 | 8 |
| ME | 24 | 18 | 18 | UT | 23 | 31 | 6 |
| MD | 20 | 26 | 14 | VT | 24 | 19 | 17 |
| MA | 23 | 16 | 21 | VA | 33 | 19 | 8 |
| MI | 21 | 25 | 14 | WA | 20 | 32 | 8 |
| MN | 24 | 20 | 16 | WV | 27 | 17 | 16 |
| MS | 32 | 14 | 14 | WI | 23 | 19 | 18 |
| MO | 24 | 26 | 10 | WY | 22 | 32 | 6 |

Table I.2: Number of Respondents Reporting Correct, Neutral, or Incorrect

| state | Correct | Neutral | Incorrect | state | Correct | Neutral | Incorrect |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 11 | 17 | 32 | MT | 31 | 23 | 6 |
| AK | 23 | 32 | 5 | NE | 26 | 23 | 11 |
| AZ | 32 | 18 | 10 | NV | 35 | 17 | 8 |
| AR | 15 | 18 | 27 | NH | 30 | 17 | 13 |
| CA | 30 | 15 | 15 | NJ | 28 | 12 | 20 |
| CO | 34 | 21 | 5 | NM | 28 | 20 | 12 |
| CT | 31 | 18 | 11 | NY | 22 | 15 | 23 |
| DE | 38 | 15 | 7 | NC | 18 | 17 | 25 |
| FL | 24 | 22 | 14 | ND | 31 | 20 | 9 |
| GA | 16 | 17 | 27 | OH | 27 | 20 | 13 |
| HI | 20 | 33 | 7 | OK | 23 | 19 | 18 |
| ID | 27 | 24 | 9 | OR | 34 | 20 | 6 |
| IL | 25 | 21 | 14 | PA | 34 | 15 | 11 |
| IN | 28 | 21 | 11 | RI | 30 | 20 | 10 |
| IA | 28 | 21 | 11 | SC | 17 | 15 | 28 |
| KS | 27 | 22 | 11 | SD | 31 | 20 | 9 |
| KY | 15 | 19 | 26 | TN | 12 | 16 | 32 |
| LA | 11 | 16 | 33 | TX | 19 | 22 | 19 |
| ME | 32 | 16 | 12 | UT | 34 | 22 | 4 |
| MD | 36 | 15 | 9 | VT | 31 | 16 | 13 |
| MA | 30 | 13 | 17 | VA | 27 | 16 | 17 |
| MI | 27 | 20 | 13 | WA | 34 | 18 | 8 |
| MN | 26 | 18 | 16 | WV | 19 | 14 | 27 |
| MS | 11 | 15 | 34 | WI | 29 | 17 | 14 |
| MO | 27 | 20 | 13 | WY | 34 | 20 | 6 |

Table I.3: Number of Respondents Reporting Dependable, Neutral, or Undependable

| state | Depend. | Neutral | Undepend. | state | Depend. | Neutral | Undepend. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 21 | 20 | 19 | MT | 28 | 29 | 3 |
| AK | 18 | 39 | 3 | NE | 27 | 29 | 4 |
| AZ | 30 | 28 | 2 | NV | 27 | 27 | 6 |
| AR | 22 | 23 | 15 | NH | 30 | 19 | 11 |
| CA | 22 | 23 | 15 | NJ | 24 | 18 | 18 |
| CO | 30 | 28 | 2 | NM | 24 | 28 | 8 |
| CT | 29 | 21 | 10 | NY | 19 | 18 | 23 |
| DE | 29 | 21 | 10 | NC | 25 | 23 | 12 |
| FL | 20 | 23 | 17 | ND | 28 | 28 | 4 |
| GA | 23 | 20 | 17 | OH | 25 | 23 | 12 |
| HI | 13 | 39 | 8 | OK | 26 | 24 | 10 |
| ID | 25 | 31 | 4 | OR | 27 | 29 | 4 |
| IL | 30 | 19 | 11 | PA | 27 | 23 | 10 |
| IN | 30 | 19 | 11 | RI | 25 | 22 | 13 |
| IA | 30 | 22 | 8 | SC | 24 | 20 | 16 |
| KS | 31 | 25 | 4 | SD | 28 | 27 | 5 |
| KY | 22 | 20 | 18 | TN | 22 | 18 | 20 |
| LA | 18 | 25 | 17 | TX | 29 | 21 | 10 |
| ME | 30 | 21 | 9 | UT | 29 | 30 | 1 |
| MD | 25 | 24 | 11 | VT | 32 | 18 | 10 |
| MA | 27 | 20 | 13 | VA | 26 | 23 | 11 |
| MI | 24 | 24 | 12 | WA | 27 | 29 | 4 |
| MN | 27 | 25 | 8 | WV | 20 | 23 | 17 |
| MS | 19 | 20 | 21 | WI | 28 | 23 | 9 |
| MO | 32 | 19 | 9 | WY | 30 | 27 | 3 |

Table I.4: Number of Respondents Reporting Honest, Neutral, or Dishonest

| state | Honest | Neutral | Dishonest | state | Honest | Neutral | Dishonest |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 33 | 16 | 11 | MT | 34 | 24 | 2 |
| AK | 25 | 34 | 1 | NE | 35 | 22 | 3 |
| AZ | 32 | 20 | 8 | NV | 30 | 19 | 11 |
| AR | 29 | 19 | 12 | NH | 24 | 18 | 18 |
| CA | 20 | 21 | 19 | NJ | 11 | 16 | 33 |
| CO | 33 | 23 | 4 | NM | 28 | 22 | 10 |
| CT | 21 | 22 | 17 | NY | 8 | 16 | 36 |
| DE | 20 | 19 | 21 | NC | 34 | 19 | 7 |
| FL | 28 | 19 | 13 | ND | 35 | 23 | 2 |
| GA | 37 | 14 | 9 | OH | 28 | 22 | 10 |
| HI | 25 | 30 | 5 | OK | 38 | 17 | 5 |
| ID | 34 | 23 | 3 | OR | 33 | 23 | 4 |
| IL | 31 | 20 | 9 | PA | 17 | 19 | 24 |
| IN | 35 | 19 | 6 | RI | 21 | 18 | 21 |
| IA | 34 | 21 | 5 | SC | 34 | 17 | 9 |
| KS | 37 | 19 | 4 | SD | 34 | 23 | 3 |
| KY | 34 | 20 | 6 | TN | 33 | 18 | 9 |
| LA | 27 | 22 | 11 | TX | 31 | 20 | 9 |
| ME | 25 | 19 | 16 | UT | 36 | 23 | 1 |
| MD | 18 | 22 | 20 | VT | 25 | 17 | 18 |
| MA | 20 | 21 | 19 | VA | 29 | 22 | 9 |
| MI | 30 | 22 | 8 | WA | 32 | 22 | 6 |
| MN | 34 | 18 | 8 | WV | 27 | 21 | 12 |
| MS | 33 | 18 | 9 | WI | 37 | 15 | 8 |
| MO | 32 | 19 | 9 | WY | 37 | 20 | 3 |

Table I.5: Number of Respondents Reporting Friendly, Neutral, or Unfriendly

| state | Friendly | Neutral | Unfriend. | state | Friendly | Neutral | Unfriend. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 51 | 8 | 1 | MT | 30 | 27 | 3 |
| AK | 22 | 34 | 4 | NE | 34 | 21 | 5 |
| AZ | 34 | 19 | 7 | NV | 32 | 19 | 9 |
| AR | 46 | 12 | 2 | NH | 24 | 13 | 23 |
| CA | 34 | 19 | 7 | NJ | 12 | 10 | 38 |
| CO | 34 | 21 | 5 | NM | 36 | 17 | 7 |
| CT | 19 | 18 | 23 | NY | 7 | 12 | 41 |
| DE | 20 | 20 | 20 | NC | 51 | 7 | 2 |
| FL | 32 | 16 | 12 | ND | 36 | 21 | 3 |
| GA | 55 | 5 | 0 | OH | 28 | 21 | 11 |
| HI | 32 | 27 | 1 | OK | 43 | 14 | 3 |
| ID | 34 | 24 | 2 | OR | 31 | 24 | 5 |
| IL | 31 | 18 | 11 | PA | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| IN | 33 | 18 | 9 | RI | 21 | 14 | 25 |
| IA | 33 | 21 | 6 | SC | 52 | 6 | 2 |
| KS | 37 | 17 | 6 | SD | 34 | 22 | 4 |
| KY | 50 | 10 | 0 | TN | 52 | 7 | 1 |
| LA | 46 | 11 | 3 | TX | 47 | 10 | 3 |
| ME | 26 | 16 | 18 | UT | 35 | 23 | 2 |
| MD | 21 | 19 | 20 | VT | 27 | 13 | 20 |
| MA | 20 | 16 | 24 | VA | 41 | 14 | 5 |
| MI | 30 | 19 | 11 | WA | 32 | 22 | 6 |
| MN | 33 | 19 | 8 | WV | 45 | 13 | 2 |
| MS | 52 | 8 | 0 | WI | 34 | 17 | 9 |
| MO | 36 | 18 | 6 | WY | 35 | 21 | 4 |

Table I.6: Number of Respondents Reporting Hard-Working, Neutral, or Lazy

| state | Hard-Work. | Neutral | Lazy | state | Hard-Work. | Neutral | Lazy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 4 | 13 | 43 | MT | 24 | 28 | 8 |
| AK | 16 | 39 | 5 | NE | 25 | 28 | 7 |
| AZ | 13 | 35 | 12 | NV | 19 | 31 | 10 |
| AR | 9 | 16 | 35 | NH | 34 | 23 | 3 |
| CA | 14 | 25 | 21 | NJ | 36 | 16 | 8 |
| CO | 20 | 31 | 9 | NM | 14 | 31 | 15 |
| CT | 36 | 19 | 5 | NY | 36 | 15 | 9 |
| DE | 31 | 24 | 5 | NC | 5 | 22 | 33 |
| FL | 14 | 26 | 20 | ND | 26 | 30 | 4 |
| GA | 5 | 15 | 40 | OH | 34 | 23 | 3 |
| HI | 8 | 34 | 18 | OK | 19 | 21 | 20 |
| ID | 26 | 29 | 5 | OR | 24 | 30 | 6 |
| IL | 34 | 23 | 3 | PA | 32 | 19 | 9 |
| IN | 34 | 23 | 3 | RI | 36 | 20 | 4 |
| IA | 35 | 24 | 1 | SC | 5 | 19 | 36 |
| KS | 29 | 21 | 10 | SD | 26 | 30 | 4 |
| KY | 8 | 19 | 33 | TN | 4 | 15 | 41 |
| LA | 6 | 13 | 41 | TX | 12 | 17 | 31 |
| ME | 36 | 20 | 4 | UT | 22 | 29 | 9 |
| MD | 29 | 24 | 7 | VT | 36 | 20 | 4 |
| MA | 36 | 20 | 4 | VA | 15 | 20 | 25 |
| MI | 31 | 26 | 3 | WA | 27 | 28 | 5 |
| MN | 31 | 24 | 5 | WV | 10 | 15 | 35 |
| MS | 4 | 13 | 43 | WI | 32 | 24 | 4 |
| MO | 28 | 20 | 12 | WY | 23 | 27 | 10 |

Table I.7: Number of Respondents Reporting Intelligent, Neutral, or Unintelligent

| state | Intell. | Neutral | Unintell. | state | Intell. | Neutral | Unintell. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 3 | 15 | 42 | MT | 22 | 34 | 4 |
| AK | 19 | 36 | 5 | NE | 21 | 31 | 8 |
| AZ | 25 | 27 | 8 | NV | 26 | 27 | 7 |
| AR | 7 | 20 | 33 | NH | 38 | 14 | 8 |
| CA | 28 | 21 | 11 | NJ | 25 | 22 | 13 |
| CO | 27 | 31 | 2 | NM | 23 | 27 | 10 |
| CT | 40 | 14 | 6 | NY | 23 | 19 | 18 |
| DE | 29 | 25 | 6 | NC | 7 | 23 | 30 |
| FL | 16 | 25 | 19 | ND | 21 | 30 | 9 |
| GA | 5 | 19 | 36 | OH | 22 | 24 | 14 |
| HI | 17 | 35 | 8 | OK | 15 | 27 | 18 |
| ID | 23 | 32 | 5 | OR | 27 | 27 | 6 |
| IL | 23 | 27 | 10 | PA | 27 | 23 | 10 |
| IN | 23 | 26 | 11 | RI | 36 | 16 | 8 |
| IA | 24 | 29 | 7 | SC | 5 | 20 | 35 |
| KS | 22 | 30 | 8 | SD | 21 | 30 | 9 |
| KY | 7 | 15 | 38 | TN | 3 | 16 | 41 |
| LA | 5 | 15 | 40 | TX | 15 | 23 | 22 |
| ME | 36 | 16 | 8 | UT | 25 | 32 | 3 |
| MD | 29 | 24 | 7 | VT | 36 | 15 | 9 |
| MA | 37 | 16 | 7 | VA | 15 | 21 | 24 |
| MI | 25 | 24 | 11 | WA | 29 | 26 | 5 |
| MN | 23 | 26 | 11 | WV | 10 | 16 | 34 |
| MS | 3 | 13 | 44 | WI | 24 | 26 | 10 |
| MO | 23 | 25 | 12 | WY | 25 | 30 | 5 |

Table I.8: Number of Respondents Reporting Nice, Neutral, or Mean

| state | Nice | Neutral | Mean | state | Nice | Neutral | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 50 | 9 | 1 | MT | 35 | 23 | 2 |
| AK | 22 | 35 | 3 | NE | 36 | 22 | 2 |
| AZ | 35 | 22 | 3 | NV | 35 | 20 | 5 |
| AR | 44 | 14 | 2 | NH | 15 | 20 | 25 |
| CA | 34 | 19 | 7 | NJ | 7 | 13 | 40 |
| CO | 37 | 21 | 2 | NM | 36 | 19 | 5 |
| CT | 12 | 24 | 24 | NY | 3 | 12 | 45 |
| DE | 19 | 21 | 20 | NC | 48 | 7 | 5 |
| FL | 34 | 18 | 8 | ND | 38 | 18 | 4 |
| GA | 54 | 5 | 1 | OH | 28 | 19 | 13 |
| HI | 34 | 23 | 3 | OK | 43 | 15 | 2 |
| ID | 37 | 20 | 3 | OR | 33 | 19 | 8 |
| IL | 29 | 18 | 13 | PA | 17 | 21 | 22 |
| IN | 33 | 20 | 7 | RI | 17 | 18 | 25 |
| IA | 36 | 20 | 4 | SC | 50 | 6 | 4 |
| KS | 41 | 17 | 2 | SD | 36 | 19 | 5 |
| KY | 47 | 11 | 2 | TN | 50 | 7 | 3 |
| LA | 45 | 12 | 3 | TX | 46 | 10 | 4 |
| ME | 18 | 22 | 20 | UT | 37 | 20 | 3 |
| MD | 21 | 21 | 18 | VT | 16 | 21 | 23 |
| MA | 14 | 20 | 26 | VA | 42 | 13 | 5 |
| MI | 26 | 19 | 15 | WA | 35 | 17 | 8 |
| MN | 33 | 18 | 9 | WV | 43 | 15 | 2 |
| MS | 49 | 8 | 3 | WI | 35 | 16 | 9 |
| MO | 38 | 17 | 5 | WY | 37 | 20 | 3 |

Table I.9: Number of Respondents Reporting Nasal or Not Nasal

| state | Nasal | Not Nasal | state | Nasal | Not Nasal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 10 | 50 | MT | 4 | 56 |
| AK | 2 | 58 | NE | 4 | 56 |
| AZ | 3 | 57 | NV | 1 | 59 |
| AR | 8 | 52 | NH | 24 | 36 |
| CA | 2 | 58 | NJ | 23 | 37 |
| CO | 4 | 56 | NM | 2 | 58 |
| CT | 26 | 34 | NY | 26 | 34 |
| DE | 17 | 43 | NC | 7 | 53 |
| FL | 10 | 50 | ND | 8 | 52 |
| GA | 11 | 49 | OH | 14 | 46 |
| HI | 1 | 59 | OK | 9 | 51 |
| ID | 6 | 54 | OR | 3 | 57 |
| IL | 15 | 45 | PA | 15 | 45 |
| IN | 13 | 47 | RI | 20 | 40 |
| IA | 7 | 53 | SC | 7 | 53 |
| KS | 7 | 53 | SD | 8 | 52 |
| KY | 10 | 50 | TN | 12 | 48 |
| LA | 10 | 50 | TX | 6 | 54 |
| ME | 24 | 36 | UT | 5 | 55 |
| MD | 13 | 47 | VT | 22 | 38 |
| MA | 26 | 34 | VA | 7 | 53 |
| MI | 15 | 45 | WA | 2 | 58 |
| MN | 20 | 40 | WV | 13 | 47 |
| MS | 11 | 49 | WI | 20 | 40 |
| MO | 9 | 51 | WY | 6 | 54 |

Table I.10: Number of Respondents Reporting Pleasant, Neutral, or Unpleasant

| state | Pleasant | Neutral | Unpleasant | state | Pleasant | Neutral | Unpleasant |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 43 | 11 | 6 | MT | 30 | 27 | 3 |
| AK | 24 | 32 | 4 | NE | 31 | 25 | 4 |
| AZ | 35 | 23 | 2 | NV | 29 | 26 | 5 |
| AR | 41 | 15 | 4 | NH | 21 | 15 | 24 |
| CA | 32 | 18 | 10 | NJ | 13 | 12 | 35 |
| CO | 33 | 26 | 1 | NM | 31 | 22 | 7 |
| CT | 18 | 21 | 21 | NY | 6 | 14 | 40 |
| DE | 21 | 26 | 13 | NC | 46 | 8 | 6 |
| FL | 33 | 17 | 10 | ND | 30 | 24 | 6 |
| GA | 48 | 9 | 3 | OH | 28 | 21 | 11 |
| HI | 30 | 26 | 4 | OK | 44 | 15 | 1 |
| ID | 30 | 26 | 4 | OR | 33 | 20 | 7 |
| IL | 27 | 20 | 13 | PA | 22 | 16 | 22 |
| IN | 29 | 21 | 10 | RI | 20 | 17 | 23 |
| IA | 32 | 21 | 7 | SC | 45 | 9 | 6 |
| KS | 38 | 17 | 5 | SD | 30 | 24 | 6 |
| KY | 40 | 15 | 5 | TN | 43 | 9 | 8 |
| LA | 45 | 8 | 7 | TX | 43 | 12 | 5 |
| ME | 23 | 16 | 21 | UT | 31 | 26 | 3 |
| MD | 19 | 27 | 14 | VT | 21 | 17 | 22 |
| MA | 18 | 15 | 27 | VA | 39 | 15 | 6 |
| MI | 23 | 22 | 15 | WA | 34 | 19 | 7 |
| MN | 23 | 20 | 17 | WV | 39 | 13 | 8 |
| MS | 41 | 13 | 6 | WI | 28 | 17 | 15 |
| MO | 33 | 20 | 7 | WY | 34 | 24 | 2 |

Table I.11: Number of Respondents Reporting Polite, Neutral, or Rude

| state | Polite | Neutral | Rude | state | Polite | Neutral | Rude |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 47 | 11 | 2 | MT | 30 | 29 | 1 |
| AK | 23 | 34 | 3 | NE | 27 | 30 | 3 |
| AZ | 32 | 24 | 4 | NV | 28 | 22 | 10 |
| AR | 42 | 16 | 2 | NH | 20 | 14 | 26 |
| CA | 27 | 17 | 16 | NJ | 4 | 12 | 44 |
| CO | 30 | 25 | 5 | NM | 34 | 22 | 4 |
| CT | 15 | 16 | 29 | NY | 2 | 10 | 48 |
| DE | 18 | 19 | 23 | NC | 47 | 10 | 3 |
| FL | 28 | 19 | 13 | ND | 29 | 29 | 2 |
| GA | 50 | 9 | 1 | OH | 24 | 25 | 11 |
| HI | 32 | 24 | 4 | OK | 37 | 23 | 0 |
| ID | 28 | 30 | 2 | OR | 30 | 26 | 4 |
| IL | 23 | 26 | 11 | PA | 18 | 15 | 27 |
| IN | 27 | 26 | 7 | RI | 18 | 15 | 27 |
| IA | 29 | 27 | 4 | SC | 51 | 7 | 2 |
| KS | 32 | 26 | 2 | SD | 29 | 30 | 1 |
| KY | 45 | 12 | 3 | TN | 50 | 9 | 1 |
| LA | 43 | 16 | 1 | TX | 42 | 16 | 2 |
| ME | 19 | 14 | 27 | UT | 33 | 26 | 1 |
| MD | 18 | 21 | 21 | VT | 21 | 15 | 24 |
| MA | 14 | 12 | 34 | VA | 41 | 14 | 5 |
| MI | 21 | 25 | 14 | WA | 30 | 23 | 7 |
| MN | 27 | 23 | 10 | WV | 41 | 15 | 4 |
| MS | 48 | 10 | 2 | WI | 28 | 23 | 9 |
| MO | 30 | 23 | 7 | WY | 30 | 29 | 1 |

Table I.12: Number of Respondents Reporting Trustworthy, Neutral, or Untrustworthy

| state | Trust. | Neutral | Untrust. | state | Trust. | Neutral | Untrust. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AL | 27 | 20 | 13 | MT | 33 | 26 | 1 |
| AK | 22 | 35 | 3 | NE | 34 | 23 | 3 |
| AZ | 26 | 29 | 5 | NV | 27 | 25 | 8 |
| AR | 27 | 21 | 12 | NH | 29 | 17 | 14 |
| CA | 16 | 22 | 22 | NJ | 12 | 16 | 32 |
| CO | 30 | 27 | 3 | NM | 25 | 27 | 8 |
| CT | 27 | 17 | 16 | NY | 10 | 17 | 33 |
| DE | 26 | 22 | 12 | NC | 32 | 20 | 8 |
| FL | 24 | 22 | 14 | ND | 36 | 22 | 2 |
| GA | 33 | 19 | 8 | OH | 33 | 20 | 7 |
| HI | 23 | 29 | 8 | OK | 37 | 20 | 3 |
| ID | 36 | 24 | 0 | OR | 32 | 22 | 6 |
| IL | 35 | 21 | 4 | PA | 22 | 20 | 18 |
| IN | 35 | 22 | 3 | RI | 24 | 20 | 16 |
| IA | 37 | 21 | 2 | SC | 32 | 19 | 9 |
| KS | 39 | 19 | 2 | SD | 35 | 23 | 2 |
| KY | 31 | 23 | 6 | TN | 32 | 17 | 11 |
| LA | 24 | 19 | 17 | TX | 32 | 17 | 11 |
| ME | 31 | 16 | 13 | UT | 34 | 24 | 2 |
| MD | 21 | 24 | 15 | VT | 31 | 16 | 13 |
| MA | 23 | 17 | 20 | VA | 25 | 25 | 10 |
| MI | 31 | 22 | 7 | WA | 31 | 21 | 8 |
| MN | 34 | 21 | 5 | WV | 26 | 20 | 14 |
| MS | 28 | 20 | 12 | WI | 37 | 20 | 3 |
| MO | 35 | 21 | 4 | WY | 36 | 23 | 1 |