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Rachel Leff April 14th, 2014

Language and Perception: Development of and Attitudes Towards Dialects of American English

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Abstract

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The formation of regional dialects of American English began at the onset of colonization and, over the course of American history, these initial dialects have shifted and changed to form a series of disparate pronunciations, lexicons, and syntaxes. Today, Standard American English is upheld as the prestige dialect of American English while all other dialects differing in linguistic features are subsequently marked as “nonstandard” and “incorrect.” This thesis focuses on the implications of Standard American English and Standard Language Ideology on language perceptions and attitudes in addition to tracing the historical creation of today’s Standard American English. By analyzing the language attitudes of college students at Emory University and the University of Georgia, this thesis demonstrates that language attitudes towards both Standard American English and marked dialects of American English are not only being maintained but also increasing in their complexities.

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Introduction

Language, as the essential component of human interaction, shapes our world in more ways than simply the communication of ideas. With each speech utterance, the selection of different linguistic variants shapes the manner in which the speaker of the utterance is perceived by others. The attitudes behind these perceptions are culturally selected and created although most speakers of American English remain largely unaware of the cultural influence. To the untrained and uninformed speaker, certain variants of the American English carry overt prestige within American English culture while others remain significantly and pejoratively marked as nonstandard. Speaking the nonstandard can be detrimental to a speakers success in overt American culture and life, especially when in connection to prestigious positions of public power and higher education. Nonetheless, within smaller, rural communities, the overt norm is recognized but, often, speakers choose not to follow and prescribe to the overt norm, thereby maintaing their own culturally marked speech patterns in order to express community solidarity.

In today's American society, Southern American English is considered to be one of the most pejoratively marked varieties of American English while Standard American English, whose pronunciation most closely aligns with what is typically heard in the speech of mainstream newscasters, is upheld as the normative, overtly prestigious language. It is important to note that no varieties of American dialect are linguistically more valid or correct than any other; all dialects are linguistically equal and differences between dialects result from a series of external and internal stimuli. The only basis for any variety being upheld as correct or prestigious is a result of the cultural ideas that exist within American society.

As a resident of Georgia and student at Emory University, I have come in contact with both Standard American English and Southern American English extensively, and I have noticed that, even with my exposure to linguistics, I follow American linguistic cultural norms. While at Emory and in professional settings, my language aligns with Standard American English. At the same time, when I return to my home in suburban Georgia, I notice that my speech features more Southern American English variants. I change my language to accommodate the situation around me, and in doing so, I not only preserve, maintain, and uphold the language norms around me but also express linguistic solidarity and give covert prestige to my “home” variety.

My recognition and awareness of language attitudes in addition to my own solidarity to my “home” variety led me to question how and why language attitudes exist in their current state. Further, I began to wonder if my language trends are comparable other Americans’ speech patterns. Is today’s Standard American English truly upheld as the culturally “correct” version of American language? Do others who speak stigmatized varieties of American English feel solidarity to their varieties? How and why do these trends manifest themselves in today’s American culture? How, or if, have they changed since the past?

My thesis aims to provide answers to these very questions through both historical analysis and empirical study which analyzes the language attitudes of Emory University and University of Georgia undergraduate students. The thesis is structured to initially provide the theoretical insight and concepts necessary to understand the social construction of language and Standard Language Ideology while later explaining the historical and sociological processes which led to the formation of today’s Standard American English and its dialects. I have consolidated works by authors integral to both the history of as well as the theoretical concepts necessary to under-

stand Standard American English. Key authors include Rosina Lippi-Green, J.L. Dillard, Jean Aitchison, Zoltan Keovecses, Thomas Bonofiglio, William Labov, Hans Kurath, and Craig Carter as well as the research of Dennis Preston.

In regard to specific sections, Chapter 1, "Language Change and Its Connection to Standard American English," provides insight into the natural process of language change as well as the stimuli that cause this change, thereby creating different variants or dialects of any given language. The selection of a single variant, which occurs by those with social power, is the first step in the standardization process. An understanding of these linguistic concepts and theories is necessary to be able to properly appreciate the social construction of standard language. Chapter 2, "Creation of Regional American English Dialects" demonstrates the basis and the process through which American dialects were formed in the United States. The complex history of immigration and the presence of immigrant languages significantly shaped today's American English regional dialects and as a result, the understanding and conceptualization of the background of American dialects elucidates the manner in which American English manifests itself today. The third chapter, "The Rise of Standard American English and Its Influence on Language Attitudes," explicates the motivations that led to current Standard American English pronunciations as well as its connection to American nationalism. The final chapter, "The Implications of Standard American English," consists of background information on Dennis Preston's research study as well as the results of my study, which demonstrate not only the complexities of language attitudes but also the fact that language attitudes have not changed in the past 15 years.

As opposed to previous generations, we live in a much more transient environment; cross-country travel and relocation are typical while the Internet connects disparate dialectal

groups. The shift in the way Americans live and the interconnectedness of language makes one believe that dialect and accent differences would be either becoming more homogenous, or at least significantly less marked in overt American culture. However, my research proves that language attitudes prominent after World War II are at least being maintained if not increasing in their complexities. Social linguistic history has shaped the way language is perceived in America, creating sweeping language attitudes which cannot be escaped by an American English speaker.

CHAPTER 1

Language Change and Its Connection To Standard American English

Innate to human nature, the communicatory process involves the selection of specific prosodic features and morphological variants in order to convey basic meaning through language. Historically, the lexicon and phonetics of language have ebbed and flowed, and as a result, so has the natural process to add and eliminate new words and sounds to a language's repertoire. With the increased availability of communicatory channels, such as broadcast radio, national television, and the Internet, language variations, contrary to expectations, have increased throughout the United States. However, the backlash towards the intensifying prevalence of American English linguistic variants has also increased, thereby intensifying a version of Standard American English subsequently upheld as the "correct version" of English by those holding communicatory power. The subordination of all non-standard variants, a process that began most passionately during the twentieth century, creates an ideological linguistic paradox within the mind of the speaker: those who speak culturally and overt "incorrect" dialects acknowledge and maintain the prestige normative dialect while also giving covert prestige to their dialects and accents. In other words, those who speak with a dialect or vernacular recognize their deviation from what is considered "correct English" but choose to ignore this deviation as their dialect distinguishes them from others. Nonetheless, the innate components of language necessitate language change and variation, thereby routinely creating different versions of language at any given time. The selection of a single variant as standard, which blatantly contradicts the natural process of language change, illustrates how the standard, or in this case, Standard American English, is a socially constructed entity.

The Process of Language Change

Despite the influx of readily available mass communication outlets, such as the television and Internet, regional varieties of American English are not moving in a homogenous direction. Instead, regional varieties of American English are "intensify[ing]" rather than "lessen[ing]" according to Rosina Lippi-Green in her work, *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States* (27). The continued presence and absence of /r/ in New York City speech illustrates a widening regional linguistic shift across the United States. Appearing word finally, as in ca(r), and morpheme finally, as in pa(r)ty, the presence or absence of /r/ consistently functions as a powerful "sociolinguistic marker in the Eastern United States" (Lippi-Green 27). In the early 1970s, William Labov, a well-known sociolinguist, rejected the view that the presence or absence of /r/ acted as a random phenomenon in speech, thereby deducing that the use or lack of use of /r/ correlated with "social status" (Aitchison 43). Analyzing the speech of female sales personnel in department stores, Labov discovered that the sales personnel in high-end department stores, such as Saks Fifth Avenue, included /r/ in their speech while personnel in lower-end department stores utilized /r/ in speech much less frequently (Labov 85-86). Since these retailers hired sales personnel who could related to the stores' clientele, Labov concluded that higher socio-economic groups tend to insert /r/ into words while lower socioeconomic groups tend to omit /r/ from speech (Labov 85-86). The lack of /r/ was "relatively common to all socioeconomic groups" in the early 1900s in New England, and this shift in accent illustrates the increasing presence of accent differences across the United States (Lippi-Green 31).

The Northern Cities Chain Shift (NCCS) in the Midwest, characterized by a phonological movement of six vowel sounds, further demonstrates the extension of regional pronunciation dif-

ferences across the United States. Mirroring a domino effect, this pronunciation change occurs when a single vowel is pronounced differently, thereby causing the other five vowel sounds to subsequently change in pronunciation. The first stage of the series of shifts began in the mid-twentieth century when the diphthong /ae/ (as in *bad)* became pronounced as /ie/ (as if "*be* and *at* are pronounced quickly together") (Lippi-Green 33). Subsequently, over the course of the twentieth century, all six vowels, such as the *o* in *body* becoming pronounced like the *a* in *bad,* shifted from their original pronunciations (Lippi-Green 33). As an urban phenomenon, roughly 34 millions speakers participate in at least part of the NCCS, which, as Jean Aitchison proposes in her work *Language Change: Progress or Decay?,* is "arguably the most complex chain shift yet recorded" (194). Groups, rather than individuals, can and will resist certain phonological changes, but this phonological change of Midwestern residents demonstrates that regional varieties of American English are increasing (Lippi-Green 33).

The commonality of regional lexical variations across the United States further reveals how linguistic dissimilarities are being maintained. For example, speakers in the Midwest use the word *pop* while speakers in the South use the word *coke* to designate any carbonated fountain drink (Lippi-Green 35). Additionally, Southerners have begun to replace (*ap)preciate it* for *thank you* while Midland Americans, unlike the rest of American English speakers, utilize *wooly worm* to refer to a caterpillar (Keovecses 68-70). The word *like* has also morphed and taken on new meaning as a quotative commonly used by adolescents to signal a change in the source of the narrative (Lippi-Green 35). Demonstrating a newly formed, although not regional, variation, Lippi-Green explains, the quotative *like,* as in "My dad was constantly down on me. It's like, 'Get a job'," became widely used by adolescents between 1990 and 2005 (36-37). Although this

change occurred by age rather than regionally, the increasing prominence of a new grammatical quotative, in addition to the maintenance and shift in lexical disparities, illustrates the escalation of linguistic differences across the United States.

With the increasing prevalence of regional linguistic differences across the United States, it is important to note that, historically, languages have always changed. Aitchison explains that since "everything in the universe is perpetually in a state of change," it is not "surprising" that language "gradually transforms itself over the centuries" (3-4). Languages live "lives," meaning that, as with life, it is a natural and necessary process of languages to both "live" and "die," or, in other words, cease being spoken (Machan and Scott 4). Colloquial English from several hundred years ago sounds remarkably strange to the current English speaker. The contrast between the earliest and most current stages of a language can be "so great" that they seem to connote two entirely different languages rather than the beginning and end stages of the same language (Machan and Scott 4-5). Remnants of old American English, such as the presence of strong verbs, appear in current American English, demonstrating the routine history of language change. Older English consisted primarily of strong verbs, or verbs characterized by an internal change in the verbal structure when inflected into past tense, for example *swim* becoming *swam,* as opposed to weak verbs, or verbs that add *-ed* at the end in order to inflect past tense, such as *laugh* becoming *laughed* (Hussey 66). Since the Old English period, hundreds of strong verbs have weakened, but at least 22 strong verbs, such as *sing (*past tense *sang),* are still frequently used in the lexicon (Bybee and Slobin 265). The sporadic presence of strong verbs in current American English illustrates how languages naturally and historically have changed over time, and this normal process of language change further demonstrates how neither one variant of a language,

at least linguistically, can be deemed “better” or “more correct” than another. Strong verbs are neither “better” nor “worse” than their weak verb counterparts much like one dialect of American English cannot be considered “more correct” or “less correct” than another dialect. This concept based off of Franz Boas’ theory of anthropological relativism and accepted by linguists, takes a descriptive view of grammar rather than a prescriptive view, meaning that any full utterance in a language, regardless of pronunciation or syntax, is grammatically “correct” if the meaning of the utterance is successfully conveyed to the listener (Fasold and Wolfram 3-4). The debate over the grammaticality and “correctness” of certain American dialects has “intensified in recent years along with the emphasis on improving the education of economically impoverished members of [American] society” (Fasold and Wolfram 4-5). But nonetheless, linguistically, if not culturally, all language varieties are equal in their grammars, syntax, phonology, and semantics.

The language change that leads to different languages and dialects can be attributed to a series of external and internal stimulations. According to Aitchison, random fluctuations, or when speakers “miss the mark,” when making a speech utterance, rarely occur enough times consistently to influence other speakers’ pronunciation (134). Foreign influence and lexical borrowing, on the other hand, contributes widely to the influx of new words and pronunciations. This language change stimulus has had the most influence historically; first, by the presence of second generation bilinguals and second, by the presence of increased contact between multi-lingual nations and speakers (Aitchison 136-137). Immigrants, maintaining their native language upon moving to a new country, create a second generation of bilinguals, who, in turn, speak both their parents’ native language and their birth country’s language (Aitchison 137). Subsequently, these bilinguals intermingle with native speakers, and as a result, create a new set of normalized

pronunciations and lexemes (Aitchison 137). Lexical borrowing, when a word is "taken from the donor language," and "copied" into the main language, further frequently accounts for the introduction of new lexemes (Aitchison 141-144). Commonly occurring when two different linguistic communities come in increased contact with each other, lexical borrowing occurs in order to foster ease of contact between separate linguistic communities.

Additionally, Aitchison's "notion of need" further illustrates a stimulation that motivates language change (146). Only those linguistic phenomena necessary for proper communication will be maintained in language. Unneeded words disappear. For example, items of clothing no longer worn, such as a *doublet* or *kirtle,* vanish from spoken language (Aitchison 146). At the same time, new words "are coined as they are required"; in the process of "coinage," words, such as *tweet*, *iPad*, and *email*, appear in the lexicon as they are needed to describe new technological phenomena (Aitchison 146). Aitchison's "notion of need" further describes words that come into the lexicon to replace "over-used" words which have "los[t] their impact" and words that take on new meanings in order to express actions succinctly (146). For example, in the sentence, "she downed an entire cup of water," the word *down* has taken on an additional verbal meaning in order to express the "fast-moving activity of drinking without stopping" in a single word instead of using the longer phrase, "to do something in one motion." This linguistic shift is motivated not only by a desire for ease of expression but also to replicate the momentary nature of the situation. Thus, language change is not an obsolete process with a single motivation; a series of stimuli can foster language change causing variations to be present in a single language.

Additionally, basic phonetic incentives enhance the external forces that motivate language change. Languages constantly aspire towards the easiest and simplest manners of expres-

sion (Aitchison 153). First, languages accomplish this goal through assimilation. Similar to the process of learning how to write, people initially write in a “slow and jerky” manner, but as they become more skilled, their writing becomes faster, and as a result, letters join together (Aitchison 157). Paralleling this process, two adjacent internal word sounds assimilate, or when one sound moves “partially or wholly” to sound like the adjacent sound, to generate an effortless speech utterance (Aitchison 157). Second, sound omission, the disappearance of a sound in a word, further demonstrates language’s necessity to produce easy speech utterances (Aitchison 157-158). For example, English speakers do not pronounce the “d” in “handkerchief” and instead say “hankerchief.” Intended to simplify the articulation process, this sound omission grew acceptable within the English-speaking community much like the “t” sound no longer spoken in words such as “whistle,” “thistle,” and “castle” (Aitchison 158). Although these two procedures are only a part of the overall processes of phonological language change, they exemplify key methodologies and motivations that can promote shifts in language.

This natural process of language change promotes a wide variety of linguistic differences in a singular speech community. Individuals take advantage of these linguistic variations to send “a complex series of messages” about themselves and the way they “position themselves in the world” (Lippi-Green 38). “Individual and communal identities” influence the choice of linguistic variations, and as a result, individuals utilize linguistic variations as a manner to “express their social frames” and “negotia[te] [their] meaning in the world” (Eckert 41). Lippi-Green explains that speakers “choose among available [language] variants,” and use these language fluctuations as a way to mark “belonging to [a] specific social group” and “distance [themselves] from other social groupings” (40). Based on an “individual’s engagement with the word,” linguistic identity

is not solely a singular process; specifically, a person's linguistic identity is founded on the individual's "relation to other people," "perspective on the rest of the word," and "understanding of how others interpret" his or her values (Eckert 41). Individuals not only select certain linguistic variants based on their own innate social identities but also on how they wish to be perceived by those around them.

According to Penelope Eckert in *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice,* the selection of different "lexical, prosodic, segmental phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and discursive," features begins at birth with language acquisition yet occurs most strongly during adolescence when social awareness is at its height (1). Although it is not a "magical beginning of social consciousness," Eckert explains that adolescence is a "license and an imperative to begin acting on certain kinds of social knowledge," and this process continues into adulthood but not to the same extent that it does in adolescence (8). Further, in order for this linguistic stylization process to take place, children come to recognize that certain linguistic variations "carry social meaning[s]," and this recognition process is also intensified during adolescence (Eckert 9-10). Adolescents further come to recognize the "linguistic market," or the value of a speech utterance (Eckert 13). The "self" becomes a "commodity" in this system, and much like the global market in the world today, the overall linguistic market is controlled by "elites" whose linguistic variety is known as the "legitimate or standard language" (Eckert 14). This focus on the "standard," identified initially in adolescence, demonstrates that not all "symbolic resources," or linguistic variants are deemed socially equal (Eckert 14).

The Concept of Standard American English

It is not surprising that a "standard," powerful variant of American English currently exists in American society. Officially known as "Standard American English," it is an "idealized" version of American English (Lippi-Green 55). The concept of Standard American English has never been definite; the idea has been "constructed" and "reconstructed" over the course of history (Rodby 192). This historical pattern initially demonstrates a problematic component of Standard American English; specifically, how can a historically changing entity be considered a definitive standard (Rodby 178)? Nonetheless, Standard American English is a socially constructed entity fabricated as a result of universally agreed upon cultural traditions, history, and values.

Lippi-Green explains that today's Standard American English is believed to be written and spoken by persons (1) with no regional accent, (2) who reside in the Midwest, Far West or perhaps some parts of the Northeast but never reside in the South, (3) with more than average or superior education, (4) who are themselves educators or broadcasters, (5) who pay attention to speech and are not sloppy in terms of pronunciation or grammar, (6) who are easily understood by all and (7) who enter into a consensus of other individuals like themselves about what is proper language (60). Those who hold social power reinforce this belief; for example, dictionaries, regarded as entities that uphold true language, fortify the concept of Standard American English. In 2009, the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* published the following definition of Standard English:

> Standard English: the English that with respect to spelling, grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary is substantially uniform though not devoid of regional difference, that is well established by usage in the formal and informal speech and writing of the educated, and that is widely recognized as acceptable wherever English is spoken and understood ("Standard English").

Although the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*'s definition accounts for regional linguistic differences, the definition does not consider the social expanse of language usage. According to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, Standard English is the language of the educated and, according to Lippi-Green, the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary,* through this definition*,* implies that those of lesser education levels will follow the authority of those with more education (Lippi-Green 57). Further, based on the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* statement that Standard English is "acceptable wherever English is spoken and understood," the definition promotes linguistic hierarchy since it implies that an unacceptable version of English exists ("Standard English"). The connection between Standard English and high levels of education can further be seen in the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Stating that Standard English is "the form of the language which is considered acceptable and correct by most educated users of it," this definition implies that those with education dictate which form of English is "acceptable"; therefore, this definition continues to implicate that an unacceptable version of English exists within society ("Standard English"). In this manner, these dictionary definitions illustrate not only an essential component of Standard American English-- that it is the language of the educated-- but also reinforces the process of language subordination. That is, Standard American English, the language

of the educated, is solely "acceptable," and all other forms of American English fall subservient to this version ("Standard English").

Lippi-Green interviewed dictionary lexicographers in order to understand how and why they choose the pronunciations that go into a single dictionary definition. She discovered that the lexicographers deem certain pronunciations "correct" if they are used by the "educated," or "politicians, professors, curators, artists, musicians, doctors, engineers, preachers, activists, etc" (Lippi-Green 58). Acknowledging variation in pronunciation among the educated, these lexicographers claim that they use a policy which includes "all-variants" of educated pronunciation (Lippi-Green 58). However, a dictionary definition, at least in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, with three or more possible pronunciations is "rare" (Lippi-Green 58). Although there may be no way to truly compile a single dictionary definition that includes all possibly pronunciations, a single pronunciation entry deemed "correct" implicitly reinforces the power of Standard American English and also designates all language variations not following this pronunciation as "incorrect," thus furthering the language subordination process. Dictionaries carry social power to express what is correct and incorrect in language, demonstrating how those with social power reinforce Standard American English in society.

Establishment of Accent and Language Subordination

The concept of Standard American English directly plays upon what Lippi-Green refers to as the "myth of the non-accent." Myths, according to Lippi-Green, "are used to justify social order and encourage or coerce consensual participation in that order" (44). The "myth," in this case, is that individuals can speak with "no regional accent" (Lippi-Green 44-60). Generally, the term *accent* designates specific stress in words and intonations in sentences; for example, the

third syllable of "television" is accented in English. Culturally, however, accent can also "loos[ely] refer to a specific way of speaking" and distinguish "prosodic features of language" that relate to certain regions within the United States, such as the first syllable stress in Southern English versus second syllable stress everywhere else in the country (INsurance versus inSURance) (Lippi-Green 44-45).

Two different types of accent occur in speech: L1 accents and L2 accents. An L1 accent, a first language accent, is simply "structured variation in language" most commonly associated with geography, such as a New Orleans accent or a Utah accent (Lippi-Green 45). On the other hand, an L2 accent, a second language accent, occurs when a native non-English speaker learns English, and some phonological aspects of the native language "breaks through" into the phonology of English (Lippi-Green 45). Regardless of the accent's foundation, accent can "only be understood and defined if there is something to compare it with" (Lippi-Green 45). Therefore, accent is only a relative construct, whose variation can be used to "convey social, stylistic, and geographic meaning" (Lippi-Green 46). The non-accent, then, can be nothing but an abstraction if accent is just shorthand for variation in language. Further, Standard American English is, in itself, accented speech since speakers use this accent to convey high levels of education. Finally, an inherent contradiction persists in Lippi-Green's definition of Standard American English; specifically, Standard American English is spoken by individuals "with no regional accent" but also reside in the Midwest, Far West or parts of the Northeast (46). These two concepts seem impossible to occur simultaneously, illustrating paradoxical inconsistency with the idea; the non-accent is an impossible construction.

As a result of the power which Standard American English holds on American linguistic culture, certain varieties of American English, such as Southern English, are subordinated in American society. The language subordination process is complex and causes an individual to "reject" his or her own language variety (Lippi-Green 66). Nonetheless, a strong belief system, known as Standard Language Ideology, persists behind this language subordination (Lippi-Green 67). Standard Language Ideology is based on a "bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions" and which "is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper and middle class" (Lippi-Green 67). Standard Language Ideology proposes that an idealized nation-state has "one perfect, homogenous language," and this belief is what motivates the "seizure" of a correct version of the discourse and rationalizations of that "seizure" (Lippi-Green 68). Currently, in our society, "dominant institutions," such as schools and broadcast media, promote the notion of an "overarching, homogenous standard language which is primarily Anglo, upper middle-class, and ethnically middle American" (Lippi-Green 68). A two step process upholds subordination. First, a devaluation of all that is not (or does not seek to be) politically, culturally, or socially marked as belonging to the privileged and second, validation of the social (and linguistic) value of the dominant institutions (Lippi-Green 68). In this situation, any speaker of a "stigmatized vernacular is promised large returns" if he or she adopts Standard American English, and at the same time, those who fail to adopt Standard American English, are "threatened" with less opportunities (Lippi-Green 70-71). Persons who "persist in their allegiance to stigmatized varieties of English" are threatened to be "cut off from the everyday privileges and rights of citizenship at every turn, regardless of inherent talent or intelligence" (Lippi-Green 71).

Despite these considerations, many continue to speak stigmatized versions of American English, thereby questioning the true relationship between stigma and prestige. Eckert explains that prestige is a "matter of point of view" and can be "differently assigned in diverse speech communities" (226). In certain linguistic communities, where a stigmatized version of American English is spoken, this variety of American English can have "covert prestige," since it marks speakers as belonging to that speech community (Eckert 226). "The local desirability of the vernacular," in this case, outweighs the prestigious norm, although the recognition of the "overt" prestige linguistic variety is retained (Eckert 226). While these vernacular speakers "know that their speech is stigmatized in the context of the global hierarchy," their vernacular speech is "full of positive meaning in the concrete everyday," and as a result, the stigmatized variety of speech is maintained over time (Eckert 226).

Since the latter half of the twentieth century, America has become an increasingly "multilingual" nation, but "no one, it seems, hears sweet polyphony in this multitude of voices" (Rodby 178). Currently, the linguistic state of affairs sparks controversy in the national media, marked by a desire to preserve the power and status of the "standard" (Rodby 178). However, the concept of the standard has never been concrete as language is an ever-changing entity, which historically has altered over the course of time. American English has the possibility to change in many different ways exemplified by the increasing prevalence and absence of /r/ in certain socioeconomic speech communities, the Northern Cities Chain Shift, and the growing prevalence of lexical geographic variations in American English across the United States. Social communities employ these linguistic variations to mark unity and membership; however, not all linguistic variants are deemed socially equal in American society. Certain variations, such as

Standard American English, uphold social status while others, such as Southern English, experience stigmatizations. Yet, children often have little choice as to which variants they acquire since language acquisition, and thus language variant acquisition, begins at birth. As children mature into adolescents, they come to realize that language variants tie directly to social status, prestige, and perceived education level. The subordination of certain linguistic variants, a process that has routinely occurred throughout the twentieth century, does not appear without the consent of those subordinated. Nonetheless, this subordination process paradoxically creates a "covert" prestige within certain linguistic communities; individuals who knowingly speak subordinated vernaculars often choose to retain their variations to exude communal pride and fearlessness.

CHAPTER 2

Creation of Regional American English Dialects

In order to understand the implications of Standard American English on language attitudes, an understanding of how disparate regional dialects developed in the United States is necessary. The formation of American regional dialects began with the onset of American colonization and solidified strongly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a result of European immigration and the presence of African slaves. The following historical analysis of regional dialect development focuses on the establishment of American dialects in the North, Midland, Southern, and Midwestern United States as my research study focuses specifically on the dialects in these locations. However, the formulation of western American dialects directly relates and can be attributed to the creation of North, Midland, Southern, and Midwestern regional dialects, thusly this explanation of the beginnings of regional dialects can serve as basis in understanding the entirety of the dialectal process.

The Birth of American English

Current American English dialects trace their roots back to the initial moments of colonization. Immigrants to the American colonies arrived with a series of disparate dialects—from the Puritans who colonized Massachusetts between 1621 and 1640 to the Royalist cavaliers who claimed Virginia between 1675 and 1725 to those who went to Appalachia between 1718 and 1775 (Dillard, "A History of American English" 21). These immigrants, primarily from England with a few from Scotland and Ireland, brought regional dialects with them and these English speaking immigrant groups did not find themselves in a linguistic "vacuum" at the beginning of

colonization (Dillard, "A History of American English" 21-22). In 1644, 18 different language varieties were spoken in Manhattan; specifically, the New Netherlands boasted delegates from a dozen European nations including French speakers at Fort Orange and Norwegian, Danes, Germans, Scots, and Irish at Rensselarswyck (Dillard, "A History of American English" 22). When the earliest Virginia settlers arrived in America, they discovered not only Native Americans but also a colony of Scandinavians whose strong family groups provided grounding for linguistic intimidation (Dillard, "A History of American English" 22). At the onset of the English colonization of America, English speaking immigrants found themselves surrounded by a vast array of unfamiliar linguistic varieties.

Initially, the Pilgrims were a "linguistically simple and inexperienced" group when they arrived in America (Dillard, "A History of American English" 23). Regionally, the Pilgrims were considered to be more homogenous than other British emigrating groups since most Pilgrims hailed from Scrobby in Nottinghamshire, allowing the Pilgrims to have the highest chance of maintaining one single British regional dialect (Dillard "Toward A Social History of American English" 52). However, this consideration is misleading because the Pilgrims, before arriving in America, spent approximately 10 years in Leyden in Holland, and their relocation from Holland to America was partially motivated by the fear of "losing their language," the fear of Dutch blending in with their British English (Dillard, "Toward a Social History of American English 52). From this situation, it is possible to draw the conclusion that Dutch influenced and affected the Pilgrims' English, and as a result, the Pilgrims were not a completely homogenous group of British dialectal speakers when they arrived in Plymouth. Yet, English was not a "privileged" language at the onset of colonization; English governors received notices from Dutch Manhattan

either in French or in Dutch with the expectation of a response in either of these two languages but not in English (Dillard, "A History of American English" 23). However, the eventual influx of English settlers into Dutch territory resulted in English language dominance. By the middle of the eighteenth century, native Dutch speakers could no longer understand Dutch spoken by those who lived in the Middle Colonies; the colonial version of Dutch had taken on so many English language variants that is was no longer comprehendible to native Dutch speakers (Dillard, "A History of American English" 23). By the end of the eighteenth century, English was the primary colonial language in America (Dillard "A History of American English" 26).

American English Formation

American English became recognized as distinct from British English In the eighteenth century (Carver 133). This distinction occurred over the course of over two hundred years and is directly tied to the formation of an "American" identity. Further, the process started at the moment of colonization, beginning with contact with other foreign languages and a new and unfamiliar landscape. The new immigrant settlers found themselves surrounded by animals and plants that they had never before encountered. For example, a "raccoon" was a foreign animal to colonists, and borrowing the Native American word for the animal, colonists subsequently incorporated this word into the lexicon, thereby altering their vernacular from that of their British counterparts (Carver 134). About half of all the 300 Native American loanwords, such as *caribou, hickory, moccasin, mouse,* and *possum,* entered the American English language in the seventeenth century (Carver 134). Additionally, colonial Americans borrowed lexemes from their non-English speaking European counterparts as well as from Africans brought to America in the slave trade (Carver 135). Loanwords affected American English regionally, for example, African

in the South, Dutch in New York, and German in Pennsylvania, and directly affected the formation of American English regional dialects (Carver 135). Thus, lexical borrowing, which resulted from external situational influences, exasperated the regional differences in American English and differentiated it from British English.

Lexemes and pronunciations that remained in American English but shifted in British English further exemplify the separation of British English from American English. Older British English vowel pronunciations remained in America while these pronunciations shifted in England (Bailey, “Speaking American” 38). In late sixteenth and seventeenth century England, the vowel [æ], as seen in American English pronunciations of *fast* and *bath* shifted to [ɑ] as in British English *farther* (Carver 135). New England and Virginia, during the colonial period and dissimilar to the rest of the United States, continued to emulate England in speech and culture; however, the “new” pronunciation of [æ] only began appearing in New England and Virginia in the late 1870s and solely took hold in these locations (Bailey, “Speaking American” 39). Additionally, the presence and absence of [r] in English speech further illustrates the separation of British English from American English. In modern British English, the omission of [r] is a prestige feature yet this linguistic feature was a “rustic feature” in seventeenth century England (Bailey, “Speaking American” 39). Although the process in which [r] became a vowel or omitted entirely began before settlement in America, the weakened [r] began to spread across England in the seventeenth century and only in the mid-eighteenth century did it begin to appear in prestige forms of British English (Bailey, “Speaking American” 39-40). In his work *Speaking American: A History of English in the United States,* Richard Bailey explains that in the late 1820s, British purists lamented over the deterioration of British English as a result of the absence of [r] among

"the natives of London" in words such as *pearl, girl,* and *card* even though this linguistic feature was "rapidly emerging" as a feature of the prestige dialect ("Speaking American"40). In parallel, the *r*-less pronunciation, similar to the vowel shift from [æ] to [ɑ], began to appear in New England and the coastal South (Bailey, "Speaking American" 40). Since New England and the coastal South, especially Virginia, emulated England in speech and culture, these regions followed suit by dropping [r] in speech. In southeastern England, especially in Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, [r] dropping was prevalent, leading to widespread [r] dropping in Boston since many initial immigrants were from these areas of England (Bailey, "Speaking American" 40). However, the overall pattern across the remainder of the United States, and similar to the vowel shift in British English from [æ] to [ɑ], was to not follow the new British pronunciation, thusly increasing the separation between British English and American English (Carver 135).

Additionally, lexical disparities further added and fostered the break between British English and American English. Lexemes, such as *fox-fire, flap-jack, greenhorn, loophole, trash, underpinning,* and *jeans,* abated in England over the course of two or three centuries but remained in the United States (Carver 135). British English dialectal lexemes, for example *deck, drool, squirt, pond* and *wilt,* became commonplace in the colonies, and words common to British English, for example, *bug, sick, apartment, baggage, lumber, fraternity,* and *cracker,* took on new semantic meanings in the colonies (Carver 135). In the eighteenth century, *lumber* designated "disused goods" in Britain while in the United States, it took on a meaning to refer to cut timber (Carver 135-136). The process of the shift from British English to American English is simultaneously reflected through phonetic and lexical disparities between England and the United States.

Regional Dialect Formation

As the colonists began differentiating their speech from their British counterparts, regional American English dialects began to take form. Many scholars, such as Hans Kurath, the spearhead behind the Linguistic Atlas Projects, attribute the current, general dialectal patterns of colonization to the initial settlement boundaries of the United States (Keovecses 57-59). This concept proposes that colonists, upon immigrating, brought with them regional dialects of British English, and these regional dialects subsequently led to the creation of American English regional dialects (Keovecses 155). In this approach, the diversity of American English is primarily seen as the product of British immigration patterns, and Kurath, the main proponent behind this theory, believes that settlement patterns formed three major dialectal regions of the United States--Northern, Midland, and Southern (Kretzschmar 25). Examples of this process manifest themselves in American English today, as seen in the case of postvocalic [r] in Boston. Initial Bostonian immigrants came from Kent, Essex, and East Anglia where [r] dropping was prevalent, and even today, a Bostonian accent is marked by [r] dropping (Bailey, "Speaking American" 40). However, critics of this linguistic geography theory, such as J.L. Dillard, are skeptical of the fact that colonial British immigrants came with a large enough amount of variation necessary to form the basis of all dialect diversity in the United States and that these regional varieties of British English distributed themselves "regionally" throughout the United States (Keovecses 155). Furthermore, William Kretzchmar in his article, "Foundations of American English," explains that it "seems likely that Kurath's knowledge of settlement history aided his selection of isoglosses for presentation" (25). However, and as Kretzchmar explains, Kurath's regional outlines continue to

be persuasive regardless of the "few arguments for significant adjustments" to the data (Kretzschmar 25).

Hence, American English regional language varieties were present at the onset of colonization simply as a result of the regional dialectal disparities of immigrants. However, the immigrants' British regional dialects morphed as a result of the cultural, geographic, and economic differences in various areas of America. These differences initially created separate lexicons between the New England colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire and the coastal colonies of southern Virginia and the Carolinas. In New England, an area where fishing was the center of colonial livelihood, new lexemes, such as *barvel* to refer to a fisherman's apron, appeared in the New England dialect (Carver 140). At the same time and in the South, where tobacco and nut agriculture centered economic life, words, such as *ambeer (* "tobacco spit) and *groundnut* ("peanut"), appeared in the Southern American English lexicon (Carver 140). Additionally, with social status not well defined during the colonial period, language variation during this period was more closely tied to cultural geography rather than social class (Carver 140). Generally, the social order of the British class system did not follow English immigrants, typically from low social strata, to the American colonies (Dillard "Toward a Social History of American English" 58). In the new world of "democratic ideals," class distinctions were "at best loose" (Carver 140). Thus, at this point in American history, geographic differences rather than social class and order influenced and altered dialectal lexicons, therefore leading to the eventual creation of defined regional dialects across the United States.

The regional dialectical characteristics of New England and the North originally link to the Massachusetts Bay area and the Lower Connecticut River Valley. The 1602 landing of the

Mayflower established the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which subsequently led several groups of families to move to future Connecticut in hopes of better fortunes and more fertile land (Carver 141). In 1676, after the King Philip's War, roughly 120,000 settlers of English origin resided in New England (Carver 141). To all New England colonists, access to waterways was a necessity of life, and as a result, all New England towns settled until 1675 were accessible to water, causing many of the colonial New England linguistic regionalisms to surround sea-life and fishing (Carver 141).

The Connecticut Colony, unlike the Massachusetts Bay Colony, spread along the Connecticut River and the rest of New England. While Boston became the cultural and economic center of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the sprawling nature of the Connecticut Colony created a linguistic divide between the two regions (Carver 142). The two regions developed their own autonomous transportation systems, specifically railroads, which allowed for movement from the city centers to outside settlements; these separate transportation systems helped consolidate the regions culturally and economically yet also separated the regions linguistically (Carver 141).

The linguistic history of the North, specifically that of New York and of the Great Lakes area traces it roots to the Connecticut region and western New England. When New Englanders first arrived in New York, the land was a Dutch Colony known as New Netherland. Although the Dutch left in 1664, Dutch culture and language "persisted tenaciously well into the eighteenth century" as seen through Albany, New York which was still completely Dutch "in character" around 200 years after Dutch departure (Carver 143). Hence, many Dutch lexical borrowings became typical of New York and Hudson Valley American English, such as *cole slaw, cookie, snoop,* and *waffle,* and later became used in the general American English lexicon (Carver 143).

However, in the late eighteenth century, "overcrowding, high land prices, steep taxes, and religious and social restrictiveness" caused Americans to move away from New York and the Hudson Valley to the Ohio frontier (Carver 143). Improved roads after the revolution as well as waterway transportation along the Ohio River made relocation relatively easy (Carver 143). The creation of the Erie Canal in 1825 continued to ease the process of relocation because it offered an "easy and inexpensive route," creating an influx of immigrants from New York and New England to Ohio and Michigan and later Illinois (Carver 143). In 1850, New England immigrants increased the population of Wisconsin tenfold (Carver 143).

Western New England expansion denoted the linguistic features of the Upper North and Midwest regions of the United States. Similar to the process in which American English separated itself from British English with lexemes dying out in Britain but remaining in America, many New England regional lexemes remained within the Upper North and Midwest but ceased in New England; examples of these words are *friedcake* to refer to a doughnut and *crick* to refer to a small stream (Carver 144). Additionally, the Upper North developed relatively few ruralism and more slang connected to urban cities, such as Chicago and Detroit, as a result of its industrial character, which developed with the influx of population subsequent to the Industrial Revolution in 1850 (Carver 144).

Finally, the Quaker community, arriving in the 1680s under the direction of William Penn, directly influenced the linguistic formulation of Pennsylvania, especially Philadelphia. Because of the liberal policy of religious freedom that characterized Pennsylvania, the region attracted a vast array of different types of immigrants— from British and Welsh settlers to German and Scots-Irish settlers (Keovceses 20). Of these groups, the German and Scots-Irish settlers

moved to the back country and later southward, subsequently influencing the formation of Southern American English (Keovceses 20). Additionally, immigrants from Pennsylvania constructed the development of the dialect of the Lower North, meaning Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, southern Iowa, and northern Missouri, especially after the construction of the national road which ran through the middle of these states (Carver 144). Finally, Southerners also pushed up from West Virginia, allowing for Southern speech variants to influence the southern side of Pennsylvania (Metcalf 87). The combination of multiple dialects and languages in Pennsylvania makes this state, to this day, one of the most diverse dialectal regions in the country (Carver 144).

Southern American English can be subdivided into two dialectal regions: the Highland, or Upper South, and the Lowland, or Lower South (Dillard, "A History of American English" 112). The Upper South settlements, spawning from Virginia and Pennsylvania bases, center around nearly all of southern Appalachia, Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, northern Alabama, and northern Arkansas with outskirt areas consisting of southern Indiana, southern Illinois, almost all of Missouri and Oklahoma, and northeastern Texas (Dillard, "A History of American English 112). At the same time, the Lower South dialectal region consists of South Carolina, Georgia, northern Florida, eastern North Carolina, Piedmont Virginia, Southern Alabama, Louisiana, and the remaining outer delta of Texas (Dillard, "A History of American English" 113).

The Upper South's roots trace themselves to Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay area, where the tobacco industry was the main economic focus (Carver 145). However, soil exhaustion and increasing land prices after 1800 drove Southerners westward into the Upper Southern region (Carver 145). These frontier Southerners, consisting of "pioneer hunter-farmers and their

families," were incredibly different from their Southern plantation owner counterparts (Dillard, "A History of American English 99"). A large bulk of these settlers were Scots-Irish from Pennsylvania who adapted quickly to wilderness America and created single-family farms in contrast to the large plantations seen in the Lower South (Dillard, "Toward a Social History of American English 74). Additionally, the Upper South, with the exclusion of the Kentucky Bluegrass region, the Nashville Basin, and the alluvial islands along the Mississippi, had a very small black population and this area of the country, with its poor farming land, could not support farms of more than 25 to 50 acres, thereby reinforcing the isolation of the area (Carver 146). Until 1930, there were no paved roads into the back county, making markets and commerce scarce, leading to little amounts of immigration, and maintaing an overall ethnic pool of Scots-Irish, English, and German settlers (Carver 146). These immigrants, influenced strongly by their ethnic languages, formed of a unique subset of Southern American English, which differs from its coastal and Lower South counterparts.

The Lower South's colonization experience differs greatly from the Upper South. Rice flourished along the coastal plains and, since this crop required large amounts of land, manpower and capital for it to be economically feasible, production encouraged only wealthy families to invest in the crop and necessitated the exploitation of African slaves in the United States (Carver 146). As plantation agriculture shifted from rice to indigo to cotton and spread inland, so did plantation life (Carver 146-147). Beginning with the move from the Carolinas into Georgia and leading to the settlement of the Gulf States after the construction of the national highways in 1815, plantation life, British settlers and the subsequent formation of a Southern dialect quickly spread throughout the coastal South (Carver 147).

Louisiana, especially the city of New Orleans, provides a more linguistically complex formulation of coastal Southern American English. Initially settled in 1717 as a French colony and later taken over by the Spanish in 1766, Louisiana was the “most compactly multilingual place in the country” when it was acquired with the Louisiana Purchase in 1805 (Bailey, “Speaking American” 100). African Slaves comprised nearly half the population of Louisiana (roughly 63 percent of New Orleans) and, from the conglomeration of languages in New Orleans and Louisiana as a result of multi-national colonization and slavery, African languages, Caribbean creoles, Spanish, French, English, and even German from neighboring Mississippi were all routinely spoken by permanent residents of New Orleans (Bailey, “Speaking American” 100-104). The mixture of languages created an increasingly varied form of Southern American English, unlike coastal and Appalachian Southern American English, and was marked strongly by French borrowed lexemes and pronunciations in addition to African slang and phonetics from both Louisiana and neighboring Mississippi (Bailey, “Speaking American” 98-120).

The formation of Southern American English not only corresponds with immigration patterns but also with the influence and presence of African slaves. Southern American English was noticeably distinct from other regional varieties of American English as African creoles and pidgins “significantly influenced” the formation of Southern American English in the seventeenth century (Dillard “History of American English 94). The pre-1950 cotton belt overlaps with Southern American English’s dialect area (Carver 147). Cotton production brought with it African slaves, and subsequently, the remnants of African languages. African lexemes, such as *goober (*“peanut”), *juju (“*fetish”), and *okra,* are initial examples of African slaves’ influence on Southern American English (Carver 147). Specifically, by 1677, the word *tote* was used in

Southern American English instead of the Northern and New England lexeme of *carry (*Metcalf 3). This lexical shift can be attributed to the presence of African language in the South since *tota* and *tuta* mean "to pick up" or "to carry" in the Bantu languages of West African (Metcalf 3). Additionally, interactions between African slaves and white plantation children can further attribute to shifts in the Southern American English lexicon, as illustrated by the Southern American English second person plural variant of *y'all.* During the plantation period, African slaves' linguistic repertoire commonly utilized the word *unu,* a second person plural pronoun, and through interactions between white plantation children and African slave caretakers and slave children, white planation children most likely combined *unu* with *all* to initially form *unuaal,* which later became *y'all* (Dillard, "A History of American English" 96). Currently, *y'all* is one of the most recognizable features of Southern American English.

Additionally, the presence of African slaves altered and shifted the phonology of Southern American English. Unlike non-rhotic New England and New York City, Southern American English differs by not having the 'linking' and 'intrusive' /r/ (Dillard, "A History of American English" 97). Specifically, Southerners drop /r/ in words that end in [r] if they are followed by a word that begins with a vowel ('linking' /r/). Additionally, Southerners do not insert /r/ in between words that end in non-high vowels (/ə/, /ɪə/, /ɑː/, or /ɔː/) when they are followed by another word that begins with a vowel ('intrusive' /r/). According to J. L. Dillard in *A History of American English*, the Southern absence of the 'linking' and 'intrusive' /r/ "is clearly an American innovation," which can be also be attributed to the presence of African creole and pidgin slave languages (97). Dillard explains that the non-rhotic character of Southern American English is comparable to the non-rhoticity of most types of Caribbean and West African English and that the

difference in /r/ distribution in American English “relates to the greater persistence, wider distribution, and stronger influence of Black Vernacular English in the South” (“A History of American English” 97). The presence of African slaves modified and altered the lexicon as well as the phonology of Southern American English speakers.

The Southern “drawl,” or lengthening (dipthonization and even tripthonization) of vowels occurred congruently to the presence of African slaves and Black Vernacular English (“A History of American English” 98). This drawl has led to the cultural belief that Southern American English speakers generally speak “slower” than all other American English speakers. The first instance of Southern drawl as a characteristic of White speech was recorded in Lady Nugent’s *Journal* (1966) in the West Indies in 1801; Lady Nugent notes that women not educated in England speak with “an indolent drawling out of their words” and notes that a woman, Mrs. C, “says little, and drawls out that little” (qtd in Dillard, “A History of American English” 98). Dillard acknowledges that little research has been completed on the link between African creoles and pidgin English; however, based on the previous examples and links between Southern American English and African slave creoles and pidgins, he concludes that a link may exists between the two and therefore it is worth noting in an analysis on the formations of current Southern American English (Dillard, “A History of American English” 97-98).

Immigrant groups, unlike in the northern United States, were not as concrete and stable in the American South. Migration constantly occurred in the South, and most Southerners, with the exception of plantation owners before the Civil War, were “hardly tied to the land” (Dillard, “A History of American English” 102). Southern mobility, according to Dillard, contradicts the possibility of the “transmission of British regional dialects to the South in regionally formulated pat-

terns" (Dillard "A History of American English 102). However according to Dillard, slaves came closest to a kind of "settled, tied-to-the-land peasantry in which dialect zones have generally been based" providing a basis for Southern American English to form (Dillard "A History of Southern American English" 102).

The formation of American English traces its roots back to the moments of colonization. With the arrival of the Pilgrims in 1620 and the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, the beginnings of American English dialects were formed. British regional dialectal differences can originally attribute to the general dialectal patterns of the United States; however, subsequent immigration patterns along with the presence of regional geographic differences and Native American influence can further attribute to the beginnings of disparate regional dialects. In New England, and the northern United States especially, dialectal differences can be ascribed to the Dutch presence as well as the importance of the fishing industry. Dialectal patterns in the Midwest can be attributed to the legacy of the Connecticut colony while in the South, the creation of the Southern dialect links the the presence of African languages, creoles, and pidgins in addition to the immigrant patterns of Germans and Scots-Irish. Similar to the complexity of current American regional dialects, the establishment process of American dialects in the United States is marked by intricacy.

CHAPTER 3

The Rise of Standard American English and Its Influence on Language Attitudes

Standard American English is a socially constructed entity whose power and hold on American society has the capacity to shift and alter not only the language but also the linguistic perceptions of the everyday speaker. What is known today as Standard American English has not always been the standard; in fact, the changing nature of Standard American English further demonstrates how society and those who have social power shape and control its components. The complex creation of today's version of Standard American English traces its roots to a series of stimuli— from immigration, to the widespread use of radio and broadcast television, to the connection between American identity and American English.

Theory and Initial Influences on Standard Language

To comprehend the complexities of Standard American English, the distinction between formal and informal language standardization must be understood. Formal standardization refers to what is prescribed by grammar and usage books, dictionaries, orthoepical guides, and language academies (Fasold and Wolfram 18). Fasold and Wolfram explain that formal guidelines make it "so that almost no one speaks the standard language" since the formal standard is based on the "written language established by writers," which inherently limits the standard to the "formal style of older, highly educated people" (18-19). Informal standardization, however, occurs without books or academies and is "much more effective" socially and culturally (Fasold and Wolfram 19). With informal standardization, speakers adapt their language in order to con-

form with those "they admire," which frequently means language varieties with high social prestige (Fasold and Wolfram 19).

The informal standard in American English falls between the substandard and the superstandard (Fasold and Wolfram 19). Within linguistic communities, "there is a general agreement about what forms of a language are preferred above others…even when the preferred form is not used"; in other words, speakers can be aware that some features of their speech are not "correct" and tell you what the "correct" form is while simultaneously failing to adopt this "correct" form of the language (Fasold and Wolfram 19). Concurrently, socially "correct" forms of language can also be rejected because they are deemed *too correct,* meaning that speakers see these hypercorrect forms as pretentious or "too snooty" (Fasold and Wolfram 19). Even speakers who reject language varieties as pretentious can still regard other forms or dialects as "poor English," often considering speakers of "poor English" as "uneducated or stupid"; speakers can be "slightly schizophrenic" about their language (Fasold and Wolfram 19). Yet, both the superstandard and substandard of a language can be considered "nonstandard," so when speakers regulate and informally standardize their language, they conform to everything that falls between the superstandard (language considered haughty and ostentatious) and the substandard (language consisting of socially marked phonology, lexicon, semantics, etc.) (Fasold and Wolfram 19).

Standard Language Ideology, which affects the interpretation of the superstandard, standard, and the substandard, is a socially constructed entity. Social factors, such as gender, age, race/ethnic grouping, region, education level, and economic class, specifically the distinction between middle class and working class, factor into Standard Language Ideology and therefore into the conception of Standard American English (Wolfram 59). Research by linguists, for example,

Lakoff (1975), Gilligan (1982), and Tannen (1990), demonstrate that men and woman do, in fact, speak differently. According to Lakoff, women use different lexical items in speech (example: *china* versus *dishes),* use question intonation in statements (*When will dinner be ready? Oh, about eight o'clock?*), hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation, and employ tag questions (*He's a nice guy, isn't he?*), empathetic modifiers and intonational emphasis (*so, such, very*), and "superpolite" forms (*Would you please open the window if you don't mind?*) (Keovecses 78-79). Although some of these specific claims have been debated by linguists, it is generally agreed up on that men and women employ different linguistic mechanisms when speaking.

Age also generates different types of social dialects. According to Zoltan Keovecses in *American English*, the "most obvious way" in which a young and old speaker of American English differ is through the lexicon (80). He sights examples of *icebox* and *refrigerator* in order to refer to what is commonly known today as a *fridge* (80). Younger speakers also utilize more slang in language than older speakers, who tend to express themselves through more traditional language (Keovecses 80). Race and ethnic identity further generate social dialects and, according to Keovecses, all major race and ethnic groups are clearly distinguishable by social dialect (80). African-American English and Hispanic-American English are often cited as examples of racial and ethnic varieties of American English. Although this analysis is too limited to give these varieties enough justice with discussion, it is still important to note that these social dialects exist within American society.

Regional accent, education level, and economic class, which adds to the formation of American English dialects, continues to shape and influence the social construction of American Standard Language Ideology and Standard American English. Regional accent not only encom-

passes specific geographic location but also the differences between rural and urban areas and language. American English urban residents can be distinguished from their rural dwelling counterparts by the fact that urban residents typically align with the "national standard" of American English (Keovecses 80). Additionally, education, considered the main factor that distinguishes standard or nonstandard American English, influences Standard Language Ideology in the United States through the connection between education prestige and high social standing. Finally, economic class can further affect the social association with dialect as seen through the disparate use of /r/ in Charleston, South Carolina and New York City (Wolfram 59). In Charleston, the absence of postvocalic /r/ is associated with aristocratic status groups with high economic standing, while in New York City, the same linguistic pattern is associated with working-class, low status groups (Wolfram 59). These different markers of gender, age, race/ethnicity, region, education, and economic status signify social differences and the presence of these social linguistic markers all factor into the formation of Standard Language Ideology.

Foundations of Today's Standard American English

The selection of Standard Language Ideology and the "standard" variant of American English begins when those with social power, or those who possess all the high-status social factors, select their own speech as the "standard" (Keovecses 81). These people "are in the position to make their English the prestigious form of English" as a result of their social power in American culture (Keovecses 81). Furthermore, these high-status speakers "are in a position to use their judgements about what is good and bad in language" to make choices which affect other people's language (Fasold and Wolfram 21). Specifically, Keovecses explains that those who claim language authority are: 1) at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy (the middle class, es-

pecially the upper-middle class), 2) predominantly male, 3) mostly white, 4) middle-aged, 5) college or university educated (especially with an advanced degree from a prestigious university) and 6) are from major industrial areas instead of rural local areas (Keovecses 81). At the same time, Ralph Fasold and Walt Wolfram in *The Study of Social Dialects in American English* state that another "obvious such people" that claim this language authority are school teachers and employers responsible for placing people in public-contact positions (21). School teachers are given the power within American society to judge "success and failure" based on the type of language used by students in addition to making intelligence level judgements based on the same language criteria (Fasold And Wolfam 21). Employers routinely make choices based on language as to who gets hired or promoted, which subsequently shapes and maintains the American English Standard (Fasold and Wolfam 21).

An example of the employers' power to affect language ideology can be seen through the case of Francis Horace Vizetelly. Born in London, England and emigrated to the United States in 1891, Vizetelly was employed by the Columbia Broadcasting Company (CBS) as a consultant on pronunciation and was the dean of the Columbia Announcer's School of Pronunciation. Vizetelly is attributed with "ousting" British English pronunciation on television and the radio beginning in the 1930s and his strong language attitudes not only demonstrated the language ideology of the time but also the power of employers to shape the standard of American English (Bonfiglio 162). His most significant and influential work, *How to Speak English Effectively* (1933), aimed at the staff of CBS, was an "urgent call to arms to protect and preserve the purity of American English"; his fear, stemming from his belief that the "tide of immigrants" would "supplant [English] with their own foreign tongue," demonstrates his belief that immigration was contaminating

language and threatening its purity and that pronunciation could be used “as a weapon” against these immigrants (Bongiflio 163-164). Furthermore, in this work, Vizetelly is quoted saying the following:

> “Most authorities feel that our native speech is a thing to be cherished along with other American traditions, and that every endeavor should be made to maintain its present purity in essentials… there are several agencies that may be of great aid in keeping American speech standardized. The theater, the moving pictures and radio (qtd. in Bonfiglio 164-165).

In this quote, Vizetelly views the “contaminating influence of immigration” as an opposition to American traditions and purity of language, and he aligns the media as a bulwark against the influence of immigration. Additionally, in Vizetelly’s *How to Speak English Effectively,* he states that “it is well known that races which habitually pronounce their *r'*s are easily heard, while races that habitually do not pronounce their *r'*s are inaudible” (qtd. in Bonfiglio 167). Vizetelly valorizes the Celtic trilled or vibrated /r/ when he states that “for clearness of tone and production, the enunciation of the Glasgow Orpheus Choir has proved a great revelation to the majority of English actors and actresses” and he compares the weak non-rhotic accent of British English to the “strength of the *r* pronunciation of the Irish, Scots, and the people of Tyneside” (qtd. in Bonfiglio 167). The rhotic /r/, in conclusion and according to Viztelly, is to become the linguistic symbol of a proud strong America.

Vizetelly’s creation of the criteria for “proper American pronunciation” occurred at the same time that CBS hired Edward Murrow, who would later in life become the archetype of all subsequent radio broadcasters. Born in North Carolina in 1908, his family relocated to Washing-

ton State in 1913 where his speech patterns were subsequently formed and aligned with Vizetelly's criteria of proper American pronunciation. In 1937, CBS placed him in charge of all subsequent European broadcasts and he rose to fame for narrating the events of World War II with a nightly radio audience estimated at 15,000,000 listeners (Bonfiglio 173-174). His broadcasts are "generally viewed as a decisive factor in the transformation of American sentiment from isolationism to interventionism" (Bonfiglio 174). Yet, and more importantly, Murrow's pronunciation and language, following Vizetelly's concepts, influenced the selection and training of subsequent CBS broadcasters, such as Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, and Howard K. Smith (Bonfiglio 174). Murrow's modes of articulation were utilized to determine the selection of announcers at CBS and those who were hired and trained under Murrow and in the Murrow tradition, in turn, hired and trained Walter Cronkite, Mike Wallace, Harry Reasoner, Roger Mudd, Dan Rather, and Chet Huntley (Bonfiglio 174-175). The ongoing perpetuation of Murrow's articulation style essentially established the Murrow/Cronkite Network Standard.

The Murrow broadcast standard and its legacy demonstrates the ability of high social power to control language and instill their own language varieties as mainstream, cultural standards. In this case, CBS's specific employment selection of Vizetelly and subsequently Murrow altered the face of American language. Vizetelly's initial motivations stem from a place of fear of immigration and immigrant language, although, interestingly, his basis for rhoticity in American English is based on Celtic immigrant language rather than British speech. He centers his ideas of pure American speech away from immigrant hubs— the metropolitan cities of New York and Boston. Instead, he turns his attention to subsequent rhotic dialectal areas, commonly found in the Midwest and Midland dialectal regions, in order to support his anti-immigration sentiments.

Yet, these Midwest and Midland dialectal regions consist of immigrants, illustrating how contradictory ideals formulated the basis of today's Standard American pronunciation.

Today, the concept of Standard American speech most closely relates to the Murrow/Cronkite Network Standard (Keovecses 81). Furthermore, in line with Vizetelly's ideas, the Midwestern-derived "flat" variety of speech, typical of newscasters, is considered today to be "pure" American English (McWhorter 31). Currently, the Network Standard accent is rhotic with an /ae/ sound used in words like *half* and *path* and a flat, non-rounded /a/ pronounced in words like *hot* and *top* (Keovecses 82). Although there are some additional features of the Network Standard, rhoticity and the vowel sounds of /ae/ and /a/ most strongly differentiate the Network Standard from other regional varieties of American English as well as British English (Keovecses 82). Network Standard speech is considered a geographically neutral dialect although it is typically associated with the Midwest; with widespread TV viewing in the 1960s, the Network Standard became the basis of emulation by upper-crust, authoritarian society, subsequently allowing this version of American English to become known as standard (Keovecses 82).

Regional Standard Language prior to the Network Standard

Prior to the 1960s, each region of the United States maintained its own regional standard that held prestige for the people residing in that region (Keovecses 82). Although regional centers are disappearing, this ideology can still be seen with Appalachian American English. According to Dillard, Southern Appalachian speech, a nonstandard speech in overall American culture, is composed of two varieties— a standard and a nonstandard ("Toward a Social History of American English" 88). Some marked socially stigmatized features of Appalachian English include: 1) a 3rd person singular subject with an unmarked verb, i.e. no *-s* ending as in *I like a*

teacher that explain things, 2) a plural subject followed by a verb with an *-s* ending as in *me 'n some more boys does,* 3) past tense *was* with a plural subject (invariable *was*) as in *before you girls was born,* 4) multiple negatives within a clause and across clauses as in *I never had nowheres to sleep,* 5) *liketa* [liked to] followed by a past tense verb to mean "almost" as in *I liketa fell over* and *we liketa died* and 6) *ain't* as a generalized negative replacing *hasn't, haven't, aren't, isn't* or *am not* (Dillard, "Toward a Social History of American English" 79-80). Although some of these features can be found in other dialects of American English, they are overall socially stigmatized throughout the United States as nonstandard. Based on research, Dillard concludes that there is a social discrepancy between the usage of *ain't* and nonstandard subject-verb agreement with non-be forms (as in *he don't know* and *the boys goes)* in Appalachian English ("Toward a Social History of American English" 87). Specifically, Appalachian residents of Breathitt County with higher education levels and higher economic status for the region do not utilize the variants of *ain't* and nonstandard subject-verb agreement with non-be forms. (Dillard, "Toward a Social History of American English" 87-88). Generally, in Appalachian communities, social rules prohibit external and visible signs of socioeconomic status; hence these linguistic markers function as an illustration of social standing (Dillard, "Toward a Social History of American English" 87). Dillard concludes that a Standard Southern Appalachian English does exist, which is spoken by the educated, higher socioeconomic class, while a nonstandard Southern Appalachian English is spoken by the working class ("Toward a Social History of American English" 88). This nonstandard form "exhibits a higher frequency of certain socially stigmatized linguistic forms" (Dillard, "Toward a Social History of American English" 88). Thus, regional di-

alects not only distinguish those residing within the region, but also serve to differentiate its speakers through the development of standard and nonstandard speech within the dialect.

The example of Appalachian English demonstrates the historical propensity for dialectal communities to have their own varieties of standard and nonstandard language. Currently, the Appalachian English community is incredibly isolated from the rest of the United States, and commonly considered to be economically and technologically behind the rest of America. The data from Dillard's study, which separated economic groups by the lack of or access to indoor plumbing, demonstrates that, even in 1980, parts of the Appalachian English community still did not have access to running water ("Toward a Social History of American English" 90). In addition to illustrating the overall movement of regional standard and substandard dialects and vernaculars to the mainstream, the social stratification of standard and substandard within Appalachian English linguistic communities further illustrates the social constructions of language standards and substandards. There is no single correct version of language; rather, each linguistic community formulates this standard based upon social identity and status. Furthermore, Appalachian English is a key insight into American language hierarchies before the implementation and widespread appearance of network television.

Historical Shifts in the Standard and the Postvocalic /r/

It is important to note that the basis of the "anointed standard" of American English has changed from one dialect to another throughout the course of history (McWhorter 31). The Network Standard's social and linguistic power is relatively new within American culture. In early film production, actors continued to align their speech to the standard of Boston, New York, and the coastal South with a non-rhotic accent and lack of postvocalic /r/ even with Edward Murrow

on the radio. Jake Haley, the actor who plays the Tin Man in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), sings the song "If I Only Had a Heart" as "If I Only Had a Hahht" (McWhorter 32). The lack of postvocalic /r/ can also be seen in Franklin D. Roosevelt's inaugural speech on March 4th, 1933 when he famously states, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself" as "we have nothing to fee-ah but fee-ah itself" (McWhorter 32). This r-less accent was typical of the northeast United States, which was, at the time, considered to be the cultural center of the United States and subsequently this accent was considered to be the standard of American speech (McWhorter 32).

The shift of the postvocalic /r/ is historically important and telling of the ideological change to the current Standard American English. Noah Webster, a "most influential and prominent American philologist" and author of *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), the precursor to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary,* elaborates on the use and pronunciation of /r/ while also providing insight into the language ideologies of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Bonfiglio 38). In 1789, he explained that the omission of postvocalic /r/ can be heard in "some southern people, particularly in Virginia" and that, in the "best English pronunciation," the sound of /r/ is "much softer than in some neighboring languages" such as in Irish, Spanish, and Greek (qtd. in Bonfiglio 38). Here, Webster differs from Vizetelly in his analysis of the /r/; Vizetelly applauds /r/ in Irish communities while Webster marks /r/ in these contexts negatively. Yet, both Vizetelly and Webster condemn the language of immigrant communities. However, and dissimilar to Vizetelly, Webster states that there is "no good reason for omitting the sound altogether" and the omission of the /r/ can be attributed to "a habit contracted by carelessness" (qtd. in Bonfiglio 38). According to Bonfiglio, Webster's belief that /r/ dropping before consonants as a result of carelessness is among the first of such formal explanations and

this remark historically became increasingly more frequent, thereby adding to the demise of the dropped /r/ as an American prestige marker (39-39).

In contrast, George Krapp in *The English Language in America* brings some of Webster's theory concerning postvocalic /r/ into question. Krapp provides an abundance of data to show the widespread occurrence of the dropped /r/ in coastal New England, listing some early rhymes in New England speech, such as *learn-man*, *first-dust*, and *nurse-us* (40). Krapp further gives evidence of the loss of postvocalic /r/ in British and American English in the eighteenth century by examining orthographic loss, common misspellings, in community records and documents of words that have postvocalic /r/ (Bonfiglio 40). His research demonstrates widespread misspellings for words with postvocalic /r/ as in *fouth* for *fourth, clack* for *clerk,* and *libety* for *liberty* (Bonfiglio 40). From this data, Krapp deduces that r-dropping was a common phonological variation in the United States, thusly contradicting Webster's belief that r-dropping was only common in the American South. Furthermore, Krapp states that the speech in the area between Connecticut and the Hudson was "noticeably different than that of eastern Massachusetts and the seaboard generally," meaning specifically that the /r/ is pronounced word finally and before consonants unlike the other non-rhotic dialects in the North (Bonfiglio 40). As a native to the rhotic region between Connecticut and the Hudson, Webster's motivation to prescribe this rhotic speech as correct can be attributed to the fact that he spoke without dropping /r/ (41-42). Regardless, the contrasting data provides insight into the initial motivations for the rhotic speech movement as well as the prevalence of non-rhoticity throughout the United States.

However, and importantly, Webster's dialectal region provided the majority of immigrants to the western states and western America, thereby also bringing the pronunciation of /r/ to

these regions (Bonfiglio 42). In addition, the population of the western states consisted largely of Irish, Scots, and Northern English settlers, all of whom had full active /r/ in all points of articulation (Bonfiglio 42). Yet, the maintenance of r-full speech throughout the United States sparks a question: if the major cities, which were centers of cultural life during the 1800s and 1900s, were largely r-less, why did the remainder of the United States continue to stay r-full? Bailey explains that Irish, Scots, and Northern England immigrants all resisted the motivation to r-drop for the same reason as they did in Britain— as a distinction from the speech of the metropolitan cities ("Nineteenth-Century English" 106). R-less speech became the norm for London-based varieties of American English while r-full varieties became the norm for Scots, Irish, and Philadelphia based varieties (Bailey, "Nineteenth-Century English" 109). Bonfiglio supplants this interpretation by elaborating on the influence of race and ethnicity in the mid-1800s and early 1900s. During this time and as a result of the widespread influx of immigration, northeastern cities became marked as racially different and distinct from the rest of the United States (Bonfiglio 54). This shift in general population as well as increase in non-native English speakers in major cities created a "bifurcation" in the national consciousness that was illustrated in speech patterns— meaning that the speech of the Midwest and Midland locations correlated with "pure" America and this pronunciation, specifically that of r-fullness, became linked to the pure, non-immigrant English-speaking American (Bonfiglio 54).

Standard American English and National Identity

The connection between American nationalism and American English also appeared during the period of intense immigration between 1840 and 1924, when two thirds of the 35 million new immigrants spoke a native language other than English. Throughout most of United States

history, American English was neither “a national cause or a nationalistic force” (Rodby 182). English was not built into the Constitution and, dissimilar to many European countries, the United States does not have a language academy to monitor usage. However, there have been times when American English was seen as a key component of American national policy. In the early 1900s, an isolationist policy in the United States led to a nationwide imposition of English-only instruction policies, resulting in literacy tests as a prerequisite to voting (Rodby 182-183). Additionally, during World Wars I and II, German and Japanese languages were prohibited in certain public forums (Rodby 183). However, in none of these situations was the connection between American English and American national identity established—instead the emphasis was placed on the dangers of the “other” and “immigrant” similar to Vizetelly’s fears (Rodby 183).

The connection between American English and nationalism can be seen through the movement of immigrant communities from rural communities. In the early part of the twentieth century, many immigrants lived in rural communities and were subsequently able to maintain their cultural heritage and language without the infiltration of American culture and language (Rodby 183). Non-English speaking immigrants began to move to urban centers in search of employment, thereby causing a shift in their ethnic self-identification. According to Rodby, immigrant ethnicities became “transmuted,” meaning that immigrants not only became self-conscious of their identifies but also ideologized this facet of themselves (Rodby 183). Even though immigrants “talked about [their] mother tongue[’s]” frequently, they began to speak their ethnic languages less and less (Rodby 183). In 1930, “fewer spoke non-English mother tongues as ever before” in American history, and by 1940, 53 percent of second generation white Americans reported English as their native language whereas only 23 percent of their parents reported the

same" (Rodby 184). With the elimination of ethnic tradition, folkways, and language, these immigrants began to crave group belonging— the abstract national group (Rodby 184). Immigrants felt that the American English language was the key to joining the national group, and the shifting ethnic identity became manifested as American nationalism built on the idea of speaking American English.

Standard American English Today

The process through which Standard American English manifests itself today can be seen most strongly in the period after World War II. With the r-full "Midwestern" Standard American English on the radio and television, the r-less accent passed out of fashion after World War II in favor of a "heartland variety in tune with a counter awash in red-blooded jingoism, glorifying ex-soldiers who hailed from all over the country, not just the Northeast" (McWhorton 32). The r-less variety of American speech further appeared a "tad exclusionary and effete," which added to the pressure and desire for announcers to be trained with an r-full, "unmarked" accent (McWhorton 32).

Simultaneous to the shift in the Network Standard and immigrant sentiments, Linguistics and English professors, beginning in the 1920s and culminating in the 1950s and 1960s, aimed to create an acceptable "doctrine of usage," which was based upon "actual language practice" (Rodby 192). This ideology influenced the publication of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary,* which was subsequently criticized for hardly distinguishing between "standard, substandard, colloquial, vulgar, and slang" language and equating all varieties of spoken language (Rodby 192). Further, this edition of the dictionary was highly criticized by the academic elite for having a "bolshevik spirit" and the appearance of an official document which

"validated and justified linguistic sloppiness" sparked fear of "linguistic deterioration" (Rodby 192). This fear shifted from the fear that English would be "riddled with foreign words" to the terror that English would be spoken incorrectly (Rodby 192). Language "correctness" became "indelibly linked" to national good to the point of creating "language watchdogs," like Edwin Newman who claimed that "[American] politics" and parts of "national life" would greatly improve if "[American] English greatly improved" (qtd. in Rodby 197). The University of Alabama Press published an article in 1982 titled, "Why Good English is Good for You" by John Simon. In this article, Simon claims that it is "the throng" who uses the language incorrectly whereas the "disciplined, tidy, cultivated, and moral take pains to preserve good English" (qtd. in Rodby 197). Simon equates "incorrect English" with "bad manners, lack of self-discipline, and pollution," and, to Simon, this "linguistic havoc" is caused solely by the "minorities" (qtd. in Rodby 197). Furthermore, during this time, the science of linguistics, which justified that all dialects and languages are created equal, enhanced and fueled these fears claiming that marked dialects, such as African-American English, has the exact same amount of linguistic merit as Midwestern and white dialects of American English (Rodby 197). Stemming from fear, the initial basis of today's Standard American English began as a response to the increasing acceptance of linguistic varieties and paralleled increased feelings of nationalism.

Standard American English, as a socially constructed entity, has changed throughout of course of American history as a result of the shifts in culture and society. Standard speech, before the rise of broadcast radio and television, fell at the hands of regional American powers rather than nationally. The rise of modern day Network Standard pronunciation, which can be attributed to Vizetelly's anti-immigration stance and the subsequently employment of r-full Murrow, initial-

ly sparked the shift toward current Standard American English pronunciation and the shift can specifically be seen in the pronunciation and absence of postvocalic /r/ in American linguistic history. R-full speech, to this day, is one of the strongest signifiers of the Network Standard, American English worldwide, and Standard American English, making the analysis in this chapter essential to understanding the implications and inherent contradictions that exist within the formulation and maintenance of Standard American English. Nonetheless, Standard American English's hold on the mind of the American English speaker is strong and, regardless of the contradictions in its formulation, Standard American English continues to shape and alter spoken language in America today.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Implications of Standard American English

Published in 1999, Dennis Preston's linguistic research study investigates Americans' ability to recognize different dialectal zones as well as uncovers the language attitudes associated with these dialectal regions. In his study, Preston illustrates the language attitudes Americans hold against regional American English dialects and vernaculars by analyzing each subject's mental language map of the United States. My research study aims to supplement Preston's data by analyzing the manner and the extent to which the conclusions discovered in Preston's work appear in college-aged students. Further, I aim to supplement Preston's research on linguistic solidarity by examining additional judgement-based criteria, revealing further emotional perceptions of different American dialects.

Preston's Conclusions on Language Attitudes

In his data summary titled "Where The Worst English Is Spoken," Preston surveys respondents from southern Indiana, a location assumed to be linguistically insecure as a result of its association with Midland "hillbilly" southern language, and Michigan, a region typically more linguistically secure (Preston 299-300). Subjects segmented areas on a map of the United States based on "where they believed regional speech zones" were located in addition to ranking each of the fifty states, New York City, and Washington, D.C. for "correct" and "pleasant" speech.

As previously detailed, the Midwest and the Inland North (Great Lakes area) are regions typically associated with "standard," "regular," "normal" and "everyday" speech of Standard American English (Preston 301). It is important to note that the reality of this situation does, however, remain rather contradictory as the Northern Cities Chain Shift affects these areas con-

sidered to be “standard” by shifting the speech patterns away from Standard American English. Nonetheless, the impressions and attitudes associated with this region contrast those associated with linguistically marked regions of the country, specifically New York City, New York, and especially the American South (Preston 306). New York City and the South are most strongly disassociated with Standard American English and, in overt American social and linguistic culture, these regions typically hold the most pejorative connotations for an American speaker who prescribes to the American language ideal.

With these concepts in mind, Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate the dialectal regions designated by at least fifteen percent of the Michigan and Indiana respondents (Preston 304-305).

Figure 1: Speech regions for Michigan respondents

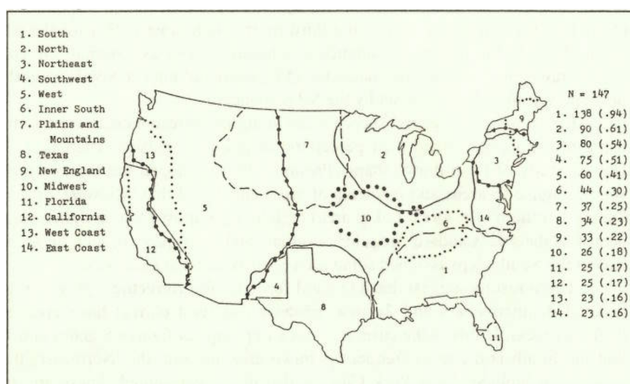
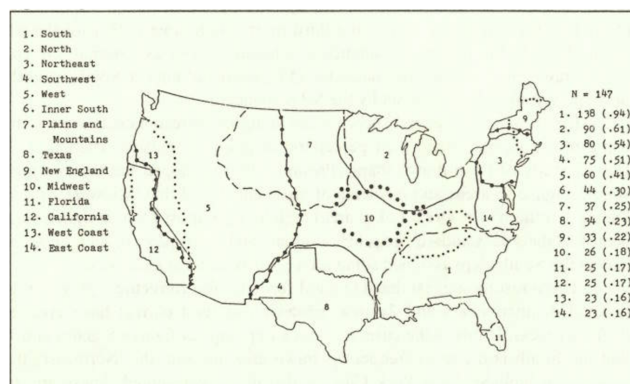


Figure 2: Speech regions for Indiana respondents



Both dialectal maps show the South as the most salient dialectal region; 138 (out of 147) Michigan respondents and 106 (out of 123) Indiana respondents dialectally separate the South from the rest of the United States. Michigan subjects recognize the North, especially the Great Lakes area, as the second most salient region with 90 re\spondents (61%) marking this region as distinct while 80 respondents (54%) marked the Northeast as the third most salient dialectal region. Indiana subjects noted the Northeast, rather than the Great Lakes area, as the second most salient dialectal region with 63 respondents (51%) demarcating this area. From this data, Preston con-

cludes that ideas of language correctness influence areal distinctiveness, meaning that areas perceived as the least correct will be the most distinct. The data promotes this theory, as the two most linguistically marked regions of the country are demarcated by at least 50 percent of respondents.

Individual respondent maps further illustrate Preston's conclusion as well as language attitudes held by Americans. The authors of Figure 3 and Figure 4 both designate the South as "hillbilly" speak (also, importantly, the author of Figure 4 wrote, "Southern talk— the worst English in America" while marking their own speech as "normal" and "normal talk for the average American." Figure 3, additionally, segments Indiana out of the "normal" Midwestern speech as "more own expressions" and "pronunciations different," thusly sectioning Indiana respondents away from the "normal" language of the Midwest and validating Preston's assumption that Indiana respondents would feel some amount of linguistic insecurity. These responses, however, demonstrate the overall pejorative notions toward Southern American English in addition to Michigan respondents' sense of linguistic security.

Figure 3: Michigan hand-drawn U.S. dialect map

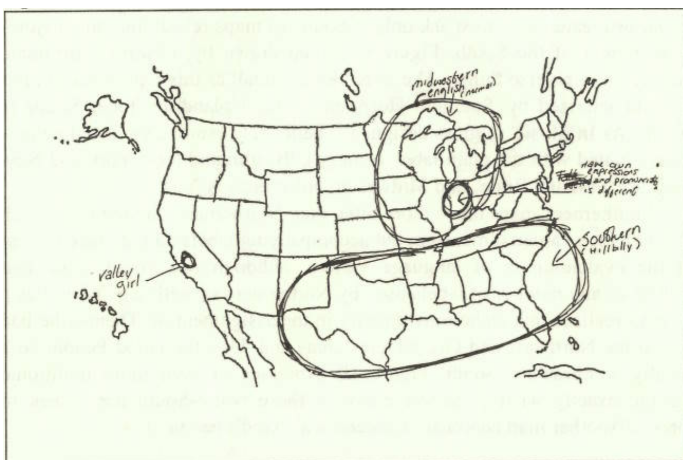
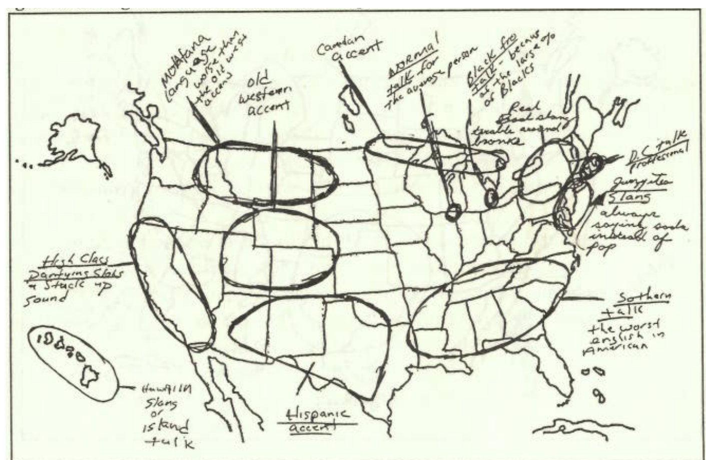


Figure 4: Chicago hand-drawn U.S. dialect map



However, the overt concepts of Midwestern linguistic prestige and Southern insecurity are not exempt from Southern respondents as seen in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

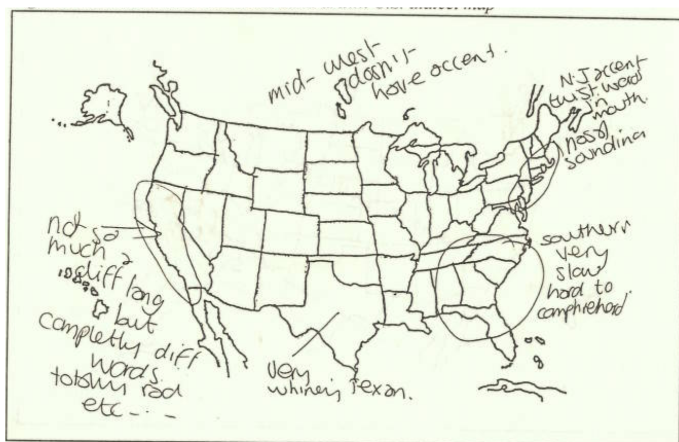


Figure 5: South Carolina hand-dawn U.S. dialect map

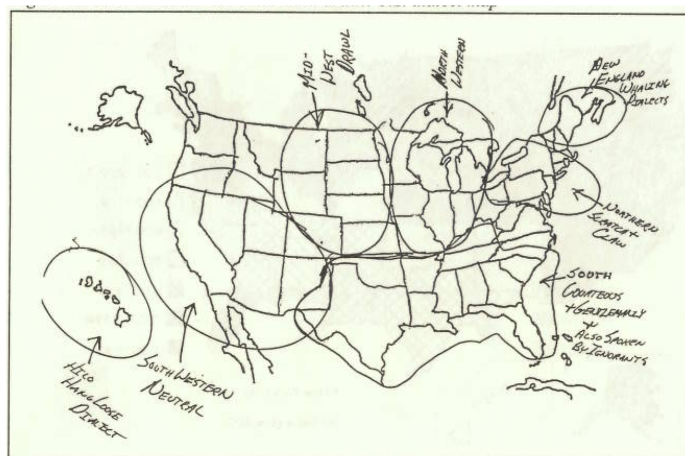


Figure 6: South Carolina hand-drawn U.S. dialect map

In these maps, Southern respondents also marked the South negatively while designating the Midwest as an "area that doesn't have an accent," or linked to Standard American English. Preston explains that Southerners are aware of Northern caricatures of Southern speech and culture and some Southerners have "incorporated such negative caricatures into their own folk belief"; this theory is exemplified when the author of Figure 6 designates Southern American English as "spoken by ignorants" and when the author of Figure 5 marks Southern speech as "very slow and hard to comprehend" (Preston 310). However, this linguistic insecurity appears to be coupled with regional pride, particularly in Figure 6. Although this respondent marked Southern speech as "spoken by ignorants," he or she also stated that Southern speakers were "courteous and gentlemanly." This pride in local cultural values and language, or covert prestige, "allows many Southerners to escape self-hate or intense 'linguistic insecurity'" (Preston 309).

The responses to the second aspect of Preston's research further demonstrate the presence of linguistic solidarity. On a scale of 2.00-8.99, Figure 7 demonstrates the mean scores for

Michigan responses on "correctness" while Figure 8 illustrates the mean "correctness" scores for Indiana responses.

Figure 7: Mean scores of MI 'correctness' rating

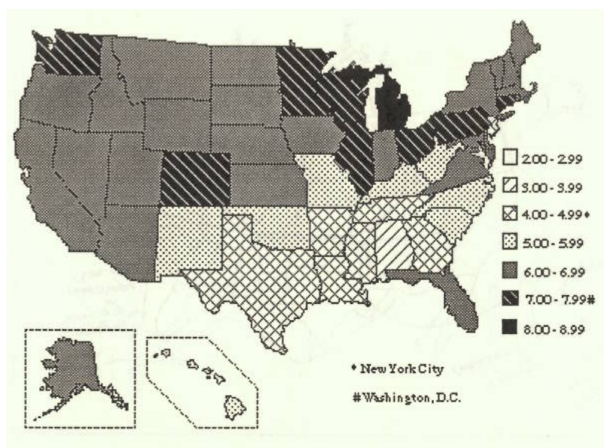
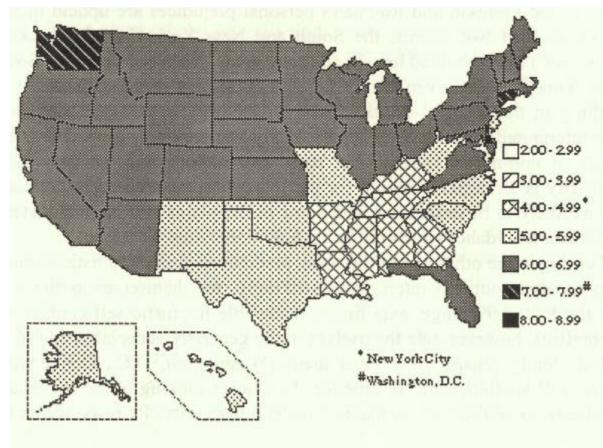


Figure 8: Mean scores of IN 'correctness' rating

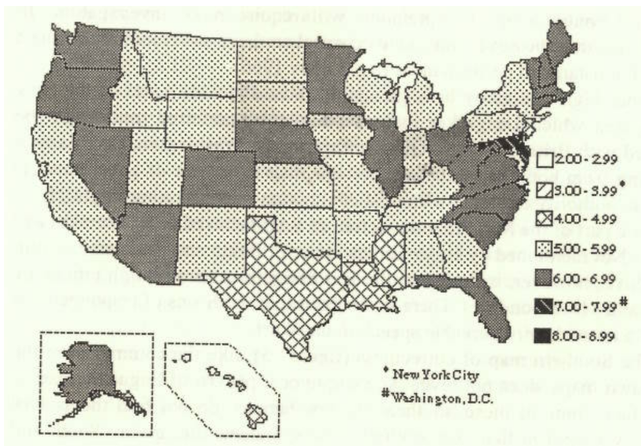


Uniformly, Michigan and Indiana respondents associated "incorrect" English with the South and New York City; these regions are the only locations that have average scores within the 4.00-4.99 range (for Michigan respondents, Alabama scores even lower in the 3.00-3.99 range). Furthermore, areas bordering the South and New York City are ranked moderately low in the 5.00-5.99 range. Predictions about linguistic security also appear through these results; Michigan respondents rank Michigan in the 8.00-8.99 range— the highest rating of any state. This ranking, according to Preston, exposes considerable linguistic self-confidence (311). Indiana respondents, at the same time, rank themselves a "generally acceptable" 6.00-6.99 but regard other locations, such as Washington, D.C., Connecticut, Delaware, and Washington as superior (Preston 311). According to Preston, the lower ranking "must indicate" some, but not rampant, linguistic insecurity (Preston 311). Furthermore, Preston states that Indiana respondents are "clearly different" from the Michigan respondents, who see themselves "as the only speakers of Standard American

English" in the United States (Preston 313). Additionally, Michigan respondents ranked all of the surrounding states (Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania) in the 7.00-7.99 range, but these Michigan respondents ranked Indiana, a state that actually shares a border with Michigan, two levels down at a 6.00-6.99. Preston attributes this difference in rating to the fact that Indiana is seen as a northern outpost of Southern speech (313). In this situation, it is important to note that Indiana has been historically and, even to this day, influenced by Southern American English, subsequently causing some Indiana speakers' language to have Southern American English features (Preston 313). Furthermore, Preston accredits Indiana respondents' linguistic insecurity to this association with Southern American English; Indiana respondents' choice to align themselves with most of the North, West, and Great Lakes area can be seen as an attempt to disassociate themselves with Southern American speech (Preston 313). This pattern can also be seen with whom Indiana respondents choose not to align themselves with; Kentucky, the state directly below Indiana, is rated a 4.00-4.99 even though southern Indiana speakers share a great deal of linguistic similarity to Kentucky respondents, further demonstrating Indiana speakers' desire to be disassociated with Southern American English. Indiana respondents had a more conservative range of ratings (4.00-7.99) when compared to their Michigan counterparts, indicating a more "democratic" view of the distribution of "correctness" in general.

The southeastern coastal Southern respondents' map, however, does not demonstrate a clear-cut pattern of linguistic insecurity as seen in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Mean scores of Southern coastal 'correctness' ratings



These Southerners view themselves any less well spoken than the Indiana respondents, giving themselves a 6.00-6.99 rating (a rating, which interestingly, is on the same level as the Midwestern states of Illinois and Minnesota). Sections of the South, such as Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas are ranked low at 4.00-4.99, but Mississippi and Texas are commonly disassociated with the "true South" (Preston 314). Regardless, sections of even the "true South," are ranked at 5.00-5.99, a number less drastic in comparison to the Michigan and Indiana respondents. The bulk of the country is ranked within the 5.00-6.99 range, and the low range in scoring parallels Indiana respondents' tendency to rate states in a democratic fashion.

Figures 10, 11, and 12 display respondents rankings based on the "pleasantness" criteria.

Figure 10: Mean scores of MI ratings of 'pleasant' speech

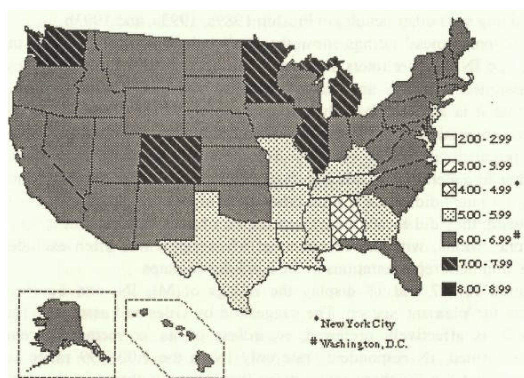


Figure 11: Mean scores of IN ratings of 'pleasant' English

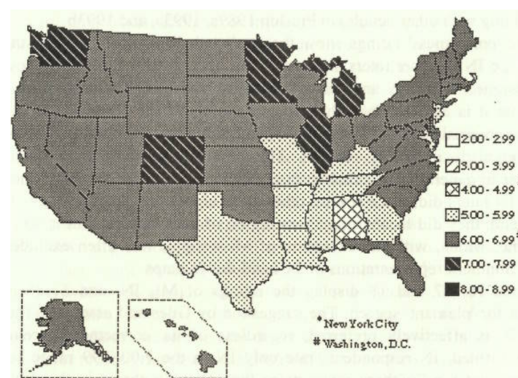
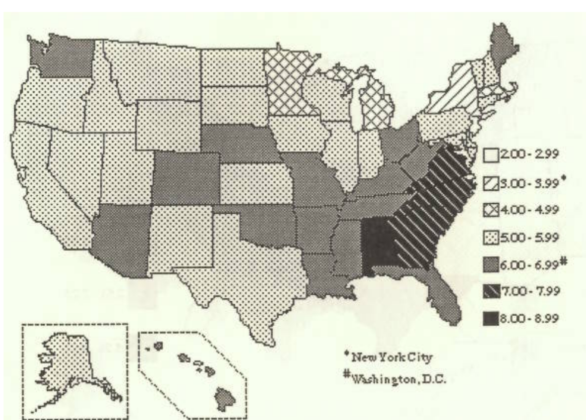


Figure 12: Mean scores of Southern ratings of 'pleasant' speech



The "pleasantness" criteria aims to discover which speech variety is preferred, and Preston's data confirms the assumption that the local speech is preferred regardless of its overt prestige and "correctness" in American society. Indiana respondents ranked only Indiana highest in the 7.00-7.99 range and Southerners ranked the South highest in the 7.00-7.99 range. Alabama, the site where the Southern responses were recorded ranked itself at 8.00-8.99— a score which is seen only one more time in this study when Michigan respondents ranked their own speech based on "correctness" (Preston 315). Michigan respondents displayed more variability in their responses, selecting Washington, Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota and Michigan at the same 7.00-7.99 score. To Preston, these results demonstrate that the preference for local norms is

stronger in areas where linguistic insecurity is greater (315). The ratings for New York City illustrate a similarity between Michigan and Indiana respondents at a ranking of 4.00-4.99; Southern respondents, however, ranked New York and New York City lowest at a 3.00-3.99, demonstrating the least amount of linguistic solidarity to this area.

Overall, however, there is little correlation between "correctness" and "pleasantness" ratings in Indiana and Southern responses. Michigan respondents, dissimilar to Indiana and Southern respondents, ranked the South low in the "correctness" and "pleasantness" criteria. However, Indiana respondents, although they find the South incorrect, do not find the region unpleasant. Similarly, the same pattern, although not to such a great extent, can be seen in Southerners' "pleasantness" ratings where there is almost a reversal in scores between the "correctness" and the "pleasantness" maps. This pattern demonstrates linguistic solidarity in the regions where the language or dialect is significantly more marked and speakers feel a sense of linguistic insecurity. Preston explains that areas with "greater linguistic insecurity focus on regional solidarity (as expressed in 'pleasantness') to express local identity" (317). Regions with more linguistic security do not use speech patterns to convey local identity, for its "uniqueness is already taken up in the expression of status rather than solidarity" (Preston 317). In conclusion, Preston's study illustrates different language attitudes held by American speakers of unmarked dialects, such as Standard American English, and marked varieties, such as Southern American English. Although Standard American English carries overt prestige as seen in the "correctness" criteria, marked varieties of language, specifically that of Southern American English, connect to covert prestige and linguistic solidarity as seen through the "pleasantness" data.

The Language Attitudes of College Students— Study Methodology

Occurring fifteen years after Preston's research, my study aims to not only supplement Preston's data but also to discover if and how language attitudes have shifted. Utilizing additional variables that aim to expose the extent of linguistic solidarity and demonstrate the connection between Standard American English and education level/"correctness," my study intends to further show the manner in which American linguistic ideology manifests itself in college students. Students from Emory University (Emory) and University of Georgia (UGA) were sampled to parallel Preston's selection of Michigan and southern Indiana respondents; Emory students, selected to emulate the role of Michigan respondents, attend an American top 20 private university and, as a result, are subsequently assumed to be associated with prestige education and exhibit more linguistic security. UGA students, on the other hand, were selected to parallel the sense of linguistic insecurity displayed by Indiana respondents since UGA is a larger, state school where most of the respondents are from Georgia, a region characteristic of Southern American English.

Additionally, the selection of Emory students aims to provide a national sample of college students, especially focusing on students from the Northeast and Midwest. This intention is reflected through Emory's regional demographics. According to Emory University, the demographic breakdown of first year students in the fall of 2013 is as follows: 30% Southeast; 23% Mid-Atlantic; 11% West; 8% Midwest; 8% New England; 5% Southwest; and the 16% international students (*Fast Facts: Admission Profile)*. The total number of Emory undergraduate students is 7,836 with 86% of students coming from outside Georgia (*Fast Facts: Admission Profile)* Congruently, UGA reported that 91% of undergraduate students are from within Georgia, 8% percent of students are from states outside of Georgia, 1% are international and the re-

maining percentage did not know where "to call home" (*A Closer Look).* The total undergraduate enrollment at University of Georgia is 26,259 students (*A Closer Look).*

The selection of study variables was chosen to discover the underlying attitudes towards linguistic solidarity as well as overt prestige. As revealed in the previous chapters of this work, Standard American English, the overt prestige form of language within American culture, is associated with high education level as well as deemed "correct" within American society. Hence, the variables, "education level," "intelligence" and "correct form of American English" were selected in order to discover if associations with Standard American English are changing as well as introduce new criteria into the formation of this language attitude. Solidarity-based criteria, such as "trustworthy," "best deal," "hardworking," "honesty," and "buy from" all aim to demonstrate the extent to which covert prestige plays a role in shaping language attitudes.

The six car advertisements utilized in this study were selected to represent, albeit limitedly, American regional dialects. Advertisement 1 can be considered an obvious Southern American accent, marked with the most noticeable features of the pin-pen merger and the monothonigization of the diphthong /aɪ/ to [aː]. Advertisement 2 is considered to be Standard American English— a dialect disassociated with region and having only unmarked features. Advertisement 3 is considered a western dialect of American English, specifically that of Colorado. In addition to merging low back vowels, the advertisement speaker has some unique pronunciations atypical of any commonly known dialect of American English (Mitchell). The purpose of this advertisement selection is to reveal the manner in which a respondent would rank marked features in general. Hence, this advertisement can be seen as a control. Advertisement 4 consists of an accent which has undergone the Northern Cities Chain Shift heard in the Midwest while Advertisement

5 contains another Southern accent, although this accent contains significantly less marked features than Advertisement 1. The accent found in Advertisement 5, whose speaker is from Savannah, Georgia, most closely aligns with the accent of a Georgia Southern American dialect speaker. Finally, Advertisement 6 is an accent associated with New York. In this advertisement, it is important to note that the speaker is not r-less, differentiating the speaker's speech from New York City. Nonetheless, this accent very clearly aligns with the New York and New Jersey region.

Study subjects were selected at random on either the Emory or UGA campus, and subjects were only excluded from completing the study if American English was not their first language or if they were a Linguistics major. Respondents filled out the demographic information and listened to the six advertisement clips, which were presented in random order. Specifically, respondents listened to a single audio clip, ranked that audio clip completely, and then moved on to the next audio clip. Subjects did not compare or contrast individual audio clips and were told in the instructions before beginning the study to only judge the audio clips based on pronunciation and the way the audio clip speaker "sounds" rather than the actual words spoken by the audio-clip speaker.

Study Results: Demographic Information

This survey consists of 103 respondents in total with 50 males and 53 females. The average age of the participants in the study is 20.62. The specific demographic information, overall regional residencies, and demographic differences between Emory and UGA subjects is seen in the following chart.

Chart 1: Overall regional demographic information

	Number of Subjects	Number of Female Subjects	Number of Male Subjects	Number of Northern Subjects	Number of Mid-atlantic Subjects	Number of Southern Subjects	Number of Mid-western Subjects	Number of West Subjects
Emory	50	29	22	11	8	18	6	8
UGA	53	24	28	4	1	45	2	0
Total	103	53	50	15	9	63	8	8

Overall, the greatest number of subjects hail from the South (61%) yet only 36% of the Emory respondents come from the South as opposed to 84% of the University of Georgia respondents. 22% of Emory respondents hail from the North while only an insignificant number of UGA respondent students state that they are from outside the South. Additionally, the ethnicity demographic responses appear in the following chart.

Chart 2: Overall ethnicity demographic information

	White	African-American	Asian	Hispanic/Latino
Emory	37	2	7	3
UGA	40	7	2	5
Total	77	9	9	8

Ethnicity will not tie directly to the results of this study; however, it is important to note that college students from a limited array of ethnic groups were surveyed. Finally, although the demographic survey did ask for socioeconomic status, “middle class” was the most common response, subsequently making this criteria too broad for analysis in this study.

Results: Advertisements

The combined averages of Emory and UGA students can be seen in the following chart.

Chart 3: Overall averages of Emory and UGA Students

	Ad1	Ad2	Ad3	Ad4	Ad5	Ad6
Trustworthy	3.05	3.67	3.40	3.50	3.96	3.04
Education Level	2.41	4.00	3.29	3.24	3.24	3.01
Best Deal	3.1	3.20	3.22	3.23	3.36	2.83
Hardworking	3.41	3.72	3.54	3.32	3.96	3.05
Intelligence	2.59	3.93	3.35	3.33	3.32	3.02
Honesty	3.08	3.61	3.33	3.56	3.86	3.23
Buy From	2.63	3.48	3.13	3.04	3.54	2.64
Correct Form of American English	2.87	4.46	3.95	3.87	4.06	3.34

Advertisement 1 and Advertisement 6 pull the lowest scores and these advertisements function as inverses of each other, meaning that if Advertisement 1 is not ranked the lowest, then Advertisement 6 ranks the lowest and vice-versa. In congruency with Preston's data, Advertisement 2, the Standard American English "normative" dialect, ranks highest in all "correctness" and education-based criteria ('education level', 'intelligence', and 'correct form of American English'). Furthermore, following Preston's results, Advertisement 1, the Southern American English advertisement, ranks lowest on the correctness scale ('education level,' 'intelligence' and 'correct form of Standard American English'). Interestingly and unexpectedly, however, this advertisement also ranks lowest on two of the solidarity criteria ('honesty' and 'buy from'). Yet, on many of these solidarity criteria, Advertisement 6 scores extremely close to Advertisement 1 with only a .01 difference in the 'trustworthy' and 'buy from' categories.

However, all of the solidarity characteristics are ranked highest for Advertisement 5— the advertisement with less marked Southern American English features and similar to the speech of many of the UGA students. These results do parallel Preston's discoveries where Southern respondents and Indiana respondents expressed covert prestige and solidarity toward their own variety of speech, but this data also demonstrates that respondents differentiate and separate more marked varieties of this speech as separate from their own speech in terms of solidarity. This pattern appears most strongly in UGA responses. Finally, Advertisement 3 and Advertisement 4 clearly fall in the median 3 point average, demonstrating respondents' overall neutral attitude towards these dialects. Marked regional features and marked unregionalized features elicit the same responses to listeners, illustrating that additional implications and perceptions must be associated with accent to prompt either high or low ratings.

Separating the responses of Emory and UGA students further demonstrates perceptual discrepancies. The following two charts illustrate the average scores of Emory and UGA subjects.

Chart 4: Average scores of UGA subjects

	Ad1	Ad2	Ad3	Ad4	Ad5	Ad6
Trustworthy	2.96	3.60	3.29	3.38	4.12	3.06
Education Level	2.48	4.02	3.23	3.33	3.48	3.04
Best Deal	2.98	3.13	3.25	3.08	3.36	2.73
Hardworking	3.29	3.67	3.48	3.56	4.06	3.04
Intelligence	2.63	3.94	3.42	3.00	3.42	3.00
Honesty	2.92	3.71	3.19	3.96	3.96	3.08
Buy From	2.62	3.48	3.10	3.00	3.58	2.58
Correct Form of American English	3.04	4.44	3.90	3.96	4.17	3.23

Chart 5: Average scores of Emory subjects

	Ad1	Ad2	Ad3	Ad4	Ad5	Ad6
Trustworthy	3.14	3.75	3.51	3.61	3.80	3.02
Education Level	2.34	3.98	3.35	3.16	3.00	2.98
Best Deal	3.22	3.27	3.20	3.39	3.37	2.92
Hardworking	3.53	3.76	3.61	3.39	3.86	3.06
Intelligence	2.55	3.92	3.27	3.27	3.22	3.04
Honesty	3.24	3.51	3.47	3.57	3.76	3.39
Buy From	2.65	3.47	3.16	3.08	3.51	2.71
Correct Form of American English	2.71	4.47	4.00	3.78	3.94	3.45

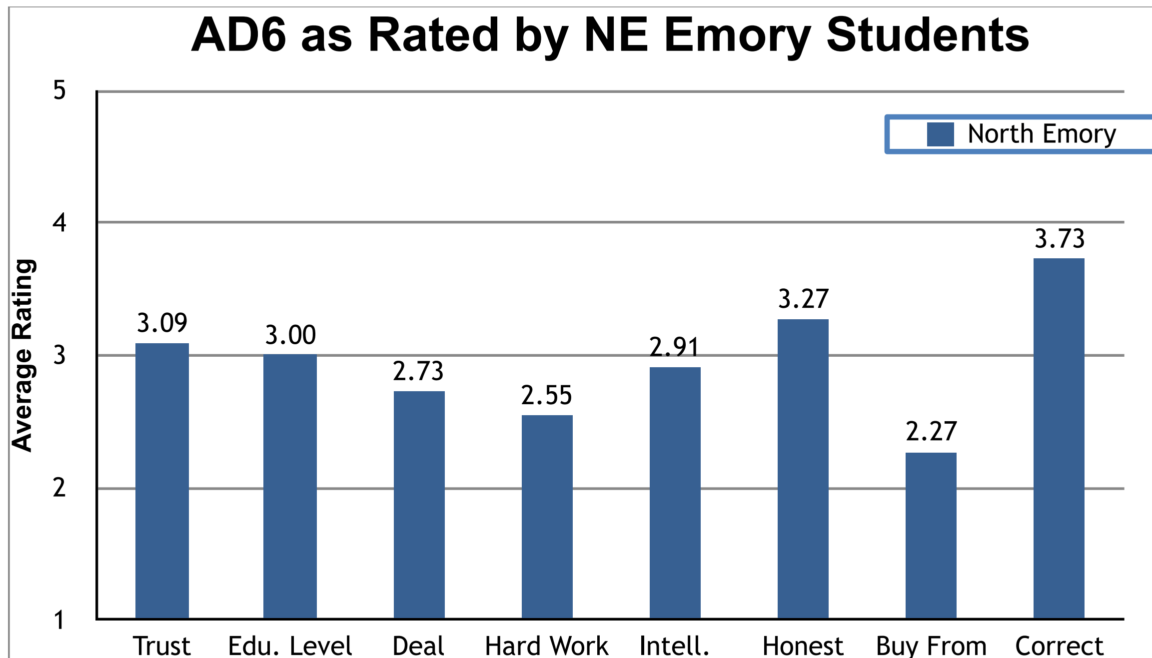
UGA students clearly rank Advertisement 1 significantly lower in most criteria than Emory students. The exception to this trend is the ‘correct form of American English’ criteria, to which UGA respondents were more democratic with their answer choices similar to the Indiana respon-

dents in Preston's study. However, UGA students rated Advertisement 5 highest in all solidarity criteria (with a tie with Advertisement 4 on 'honesty') and, most notably, gave Advertisement 5 a 4.17 average score in 'correct form of American English' while giving Advertisement 2 an average score of 4.44 on the same criteria. The relatively similar scoring between these two advertisements corresponds with Preston's coastal Southerners' 'correctness' rankings of their own language as relatively higher than a more marked version of Southern American English and similar to Midwestern speech. Nonetheless, UGA respondents differentiate their speech from their Southern counterparts. Furthermore, and similar to Preston's results, UGA students rank Advertisement 6, the New York dialectal advertisement, low on solidarity criteria; these results parallel Preston's data where Southerners ranked New York and New Jersey low on 'pleasantness' criteria. Both Advertisement 3 and Advertisement 4 rank in the middle range on most of the criteria with the only exception being the tie between Advertisement 4 and Advertisement 5 in the 'honesty' criteria.

Similar to UGA students, Advertisement 1 for Emory students scores low on the 'correct,' 'education' and 'intelligence' criteria; however, Advertisement 1 only ranks the lowest on the 'honesty' and 'buy from' solidarity criteria. Nonetheless, the bulk of the highest averages appear under Advertisement 5 ('trustworthy,' 'hardworking,' 'honesty,' and 'buy from') for Emory students. These results come at a surprise since the bulk of the Emory students hail from different regions of the country (North, Midatlantic, and West), so it would be expected to see the high rankings of solidarity criteria in addition to the 'correct' and 'education' criteria in Advertisement 2. However, and most unexpectedly, Advertisement 6 typically received the many low solidarity based scores, ranking lowest in 'trustworthy,' 'best deal,' and 'hardworking.' These scores

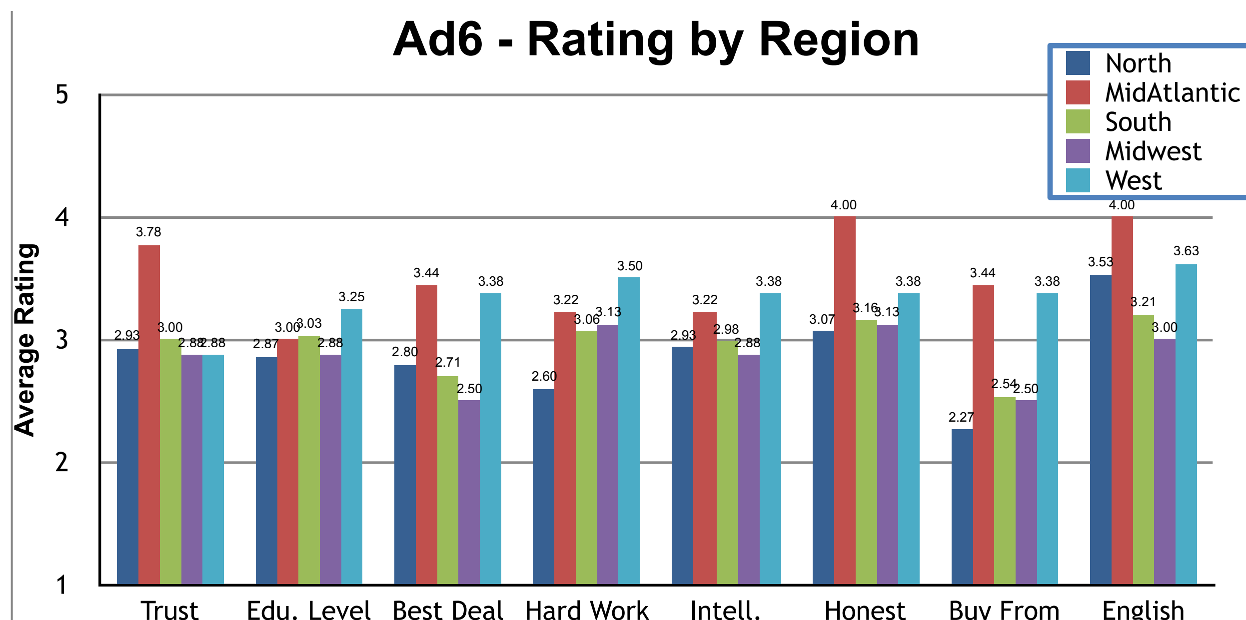
demonstrate a schism in the mind of an Emory student, specifically that of Northeastern and New York Emory students. Although Northeast students rank Advertisement 6 high in ‘correct form of American English,’ the other criteria uniformly rate low, especially in solidarity. This pattern can be seen in the following chart.

Chart 6: Northeast Emory subjects ranking of Advertisement 6



Most notably, the audio-clip speaker’s linguistic features are significantly marked in Advertisement 6 to an extreme which parallels Advertisement 1. When compared to all regional respondents (both Emory and UGA), Northern respondents continue to rank Advertisement 6 low when compared to all other regions as seen in Chart 7.

Chart 7: Regional scores for Advertisement 6



This data demonstrates that Northern respondents, although they see their form of language as the 'correct form of American English,' do not find solidarity or covert prestige in their dialect. In Chart 8, this pattern is also seen in Southern subjects' responses to Advertisement 1 but not to the same extent as Northerners. Southern subjects did mark Advertisement 1 low in solidarity criteria, although not to the uniform extreme of Northern respondents when ranking their own speech. As seen in the comparison between Advertisement 1 and Advertisement 5, it is clear that Southerners reject the heavily marked Southern American English in Advertisement 1 while generally accepting and highly ranking the more subtle Southern features in Advertisement 5. This same pattern can perhaps be illustrated with Northerners and Advertisement 6. As a result of the markedness of the speaker in Advertisement 6, Northerners reject the speakers language which can be perceived as an extreme form of their own speech. Northern subjects aim to be disassociated with the marked features of this advertisement. Although a less linguistically marked New York speaker was not utilized in this study to contrast this data, a comparison to Advertisement

3, the marked features control advertisement, supplements this theory. Seen in Chart 9, no subjects significantly discriminate against unregionalized, marked speech except in the area of the 'buy from' criteria; hence clarifying that Northerners and Southerners who do not find solidarity in significantly marked speech do not dislike it simply because it is more marked than their own vernacular.

Chart 8: Regional scores to Advertisement 1

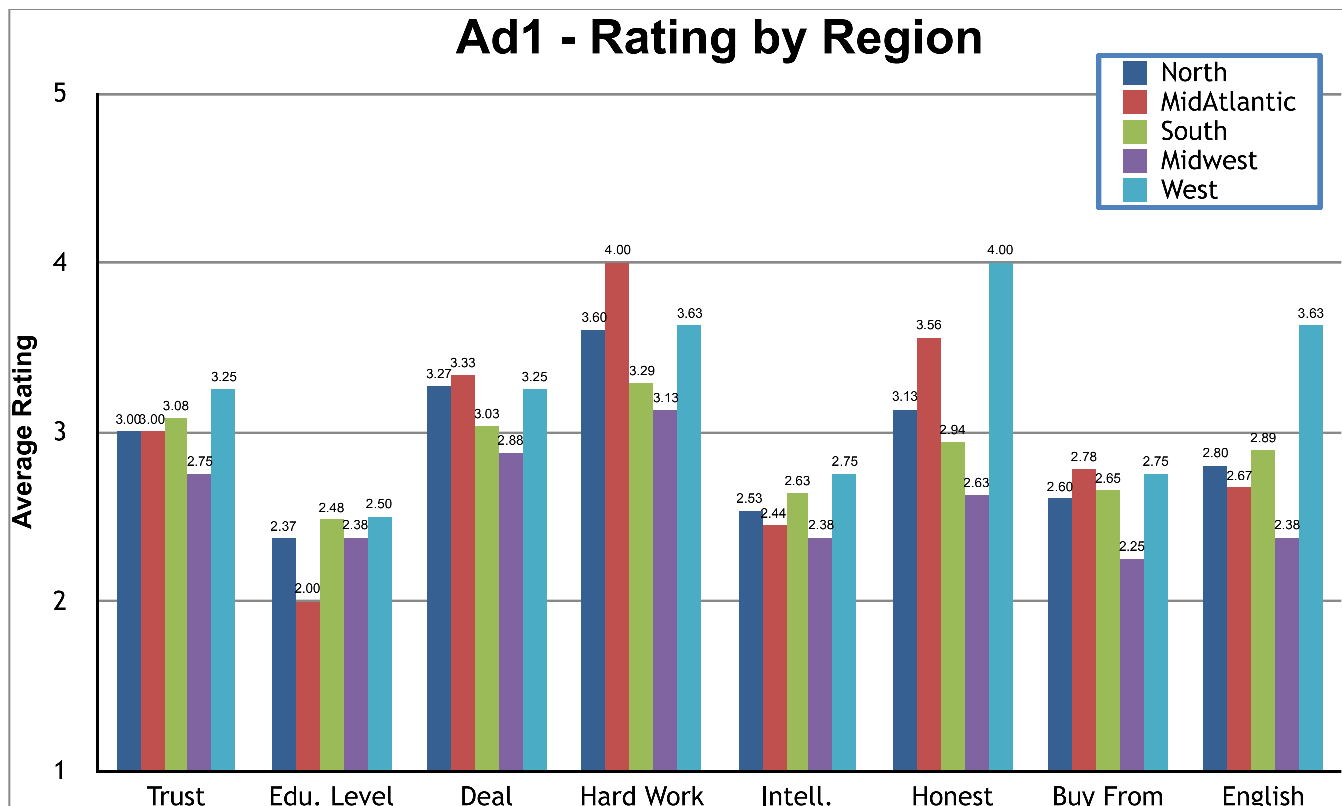
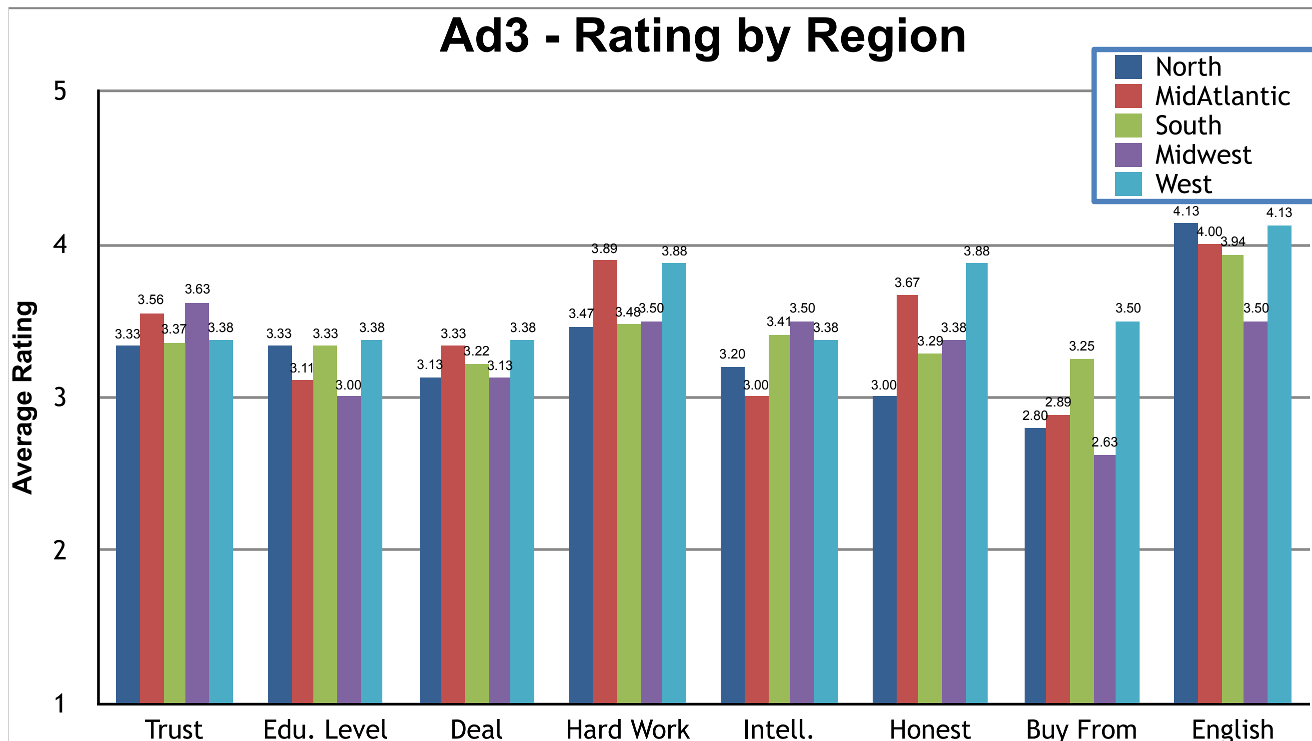


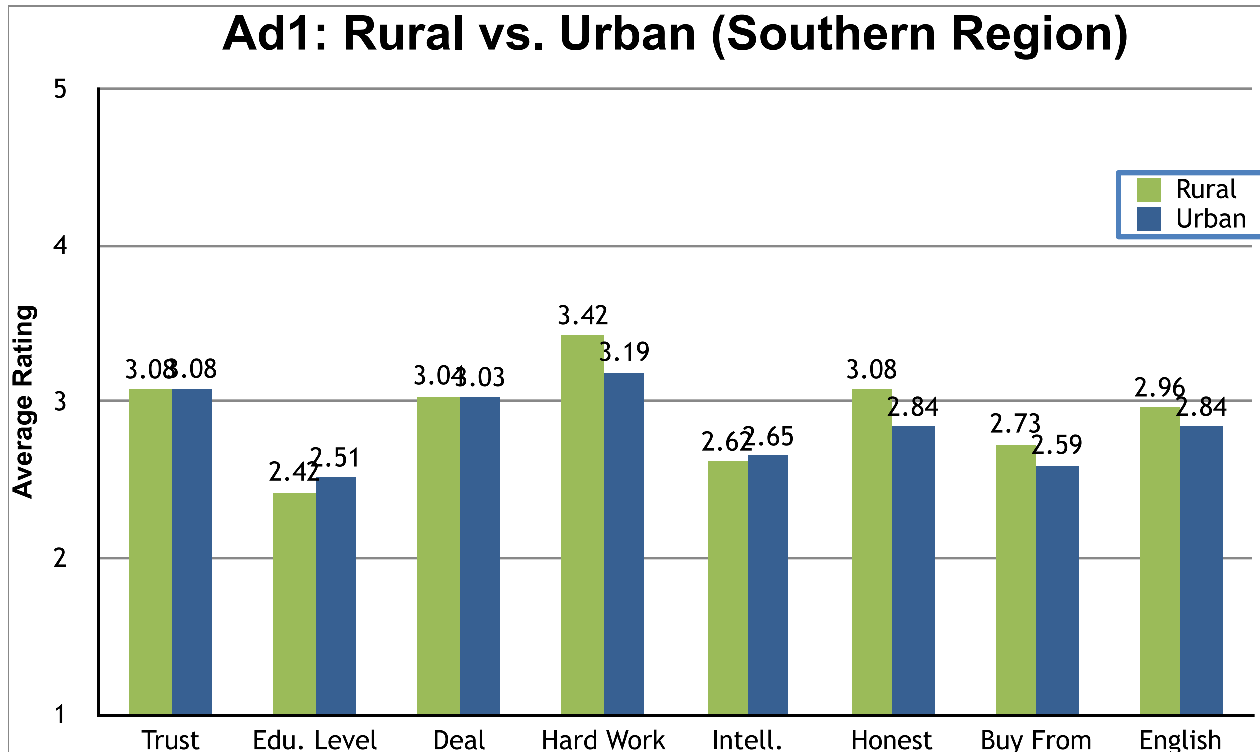
Chart 9: Regional scores to Advertisement 3



To acquire a closer analysis on the language attitudes of Southern Americans, Southern respondents are segmented into rural and urban categories. Initially, it is important to note that respondents are labeled as "Southern" if their demographic region falls into what Hans Kurath considers the "Southern" dialectal region of the United States. Hence, out of 103 respondents, 63 are categorized as Southern. Additionally, respondents are separated as either rural or urban based on census data. Subjects are segmented into the rural category if their origin residency's population is less than 50,000 people or they reside in an area with a density of less than 2,000 people per square mile. If the subject does not fit into the rural definition, then they are considered urban. A combination of 26 Emory and UGA students are selected as rural, and the remaining 37 students are considered southern urban residents.

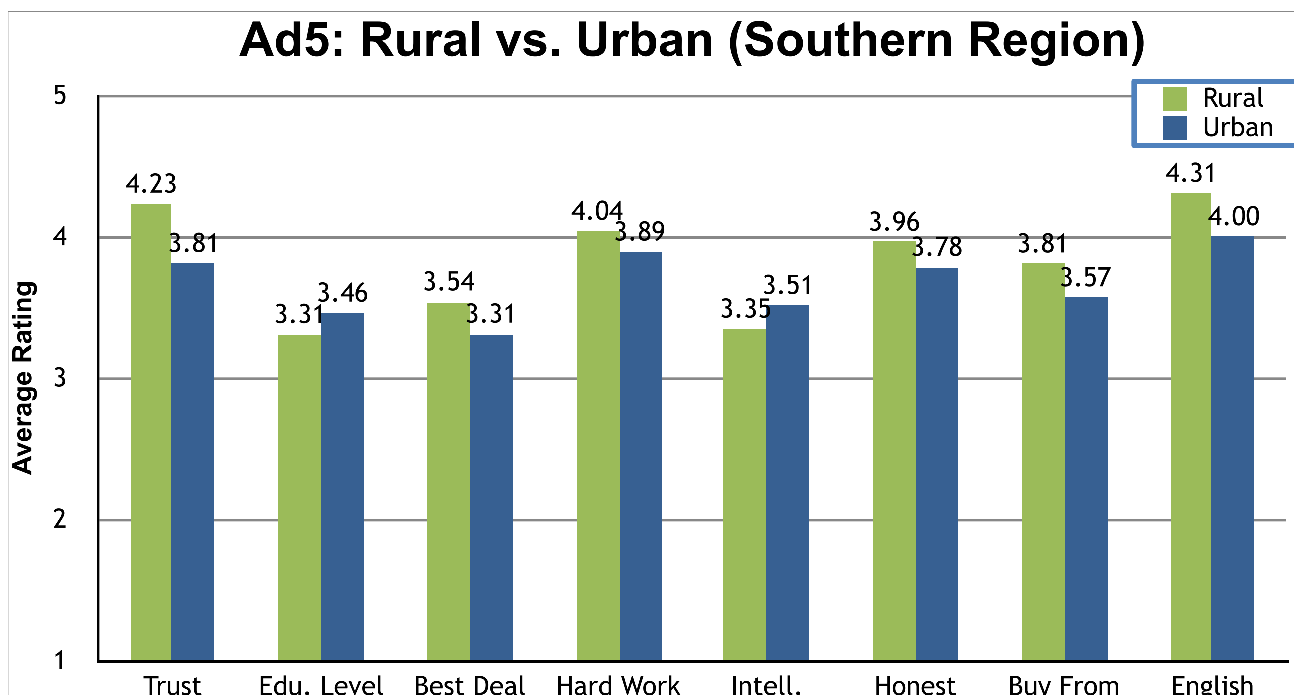
Urban and rural Southerners do typically score in the same manner as each other. The scores of Advertisement 1 demonstrate this pattern as seen in Chart 10.

Chart 10: Urban and rural responses to Advertisement 1



Although rural respondents do score Advertisement 1 slightly higher than urban subjects, rural and urban respondents score in similar fashions. Advertisement 5, however, does provide some insight as seen in Chart 11.

Chart 11: Rural and urban responses to Advertisement 5

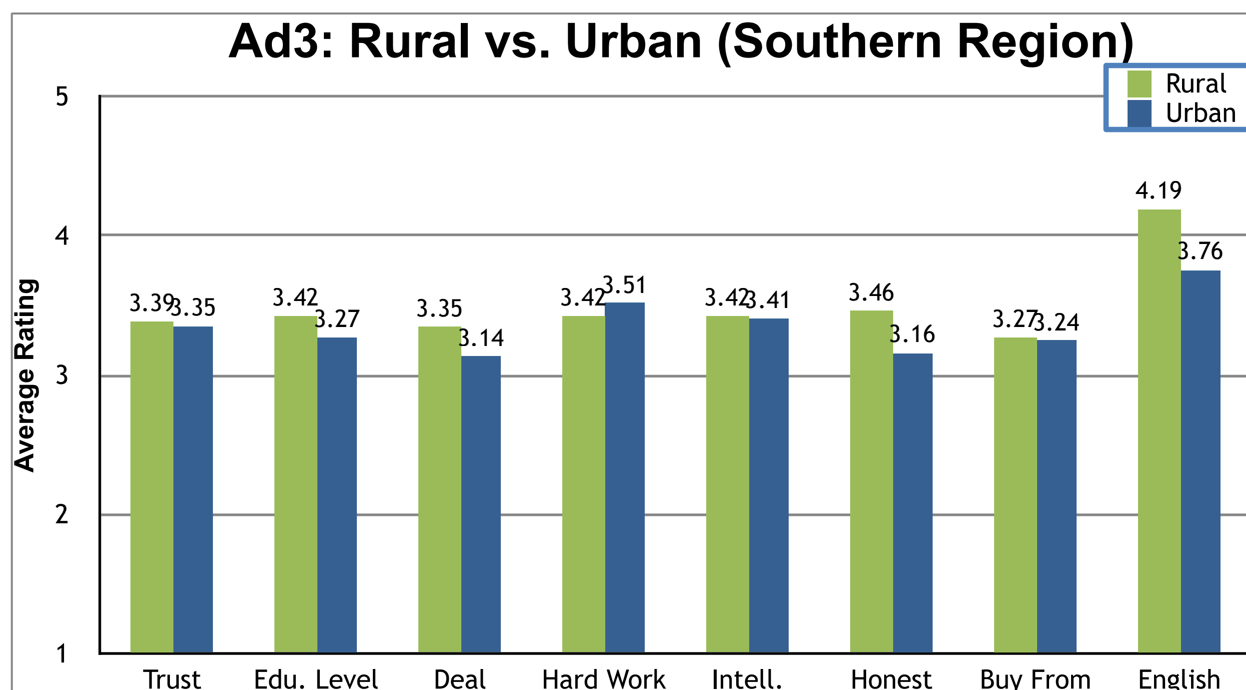


Rural respondents, although they rank Advertisement 5 low on 'education level' and 'intelligence,' overall rank Advertisement 5 noticeably high (4.31) in 'correct form of American English.' Urban subjects, who are more likely to subscribe to Standard Language Ideology and follow the Standard American English overt norms, still rank Advertisement 5 relatively lower (but not that low) at a 4.00. Interestingly, however, urban respondents rank Advertisement 5 higher on 'education level' and 'intelligence.' These results illustrate the power of Standard Language Ideology; rural respondents prescribe to the societal norm that Southern American English links to lower education levels and even intelligence. However, these rural respondents do not find it 'incorrect,' further demonstrating the extent in which covert prestige can influence a linguistic community. Specifically, rural respondents, while simultaneously acknowledging overt social norms, find their own vernacular highly correct, which can be attributed to its correctness and functionality as a community marker. Furthermore, rural respondents rank Advertisement 5 high-

er than urban respondents on all solidarity variables, adding to the theory that rural respondents hold a relatively less marked Southern American English as a marker of belonging, and thusly, covert prestige.

Interestingly, rural and urban Southern subjects rank Advertisement 3 almost identically— except for the 'correctness' category as seen in Chart 12.

Chart 12: Rural and urban responses to Advertisement 3

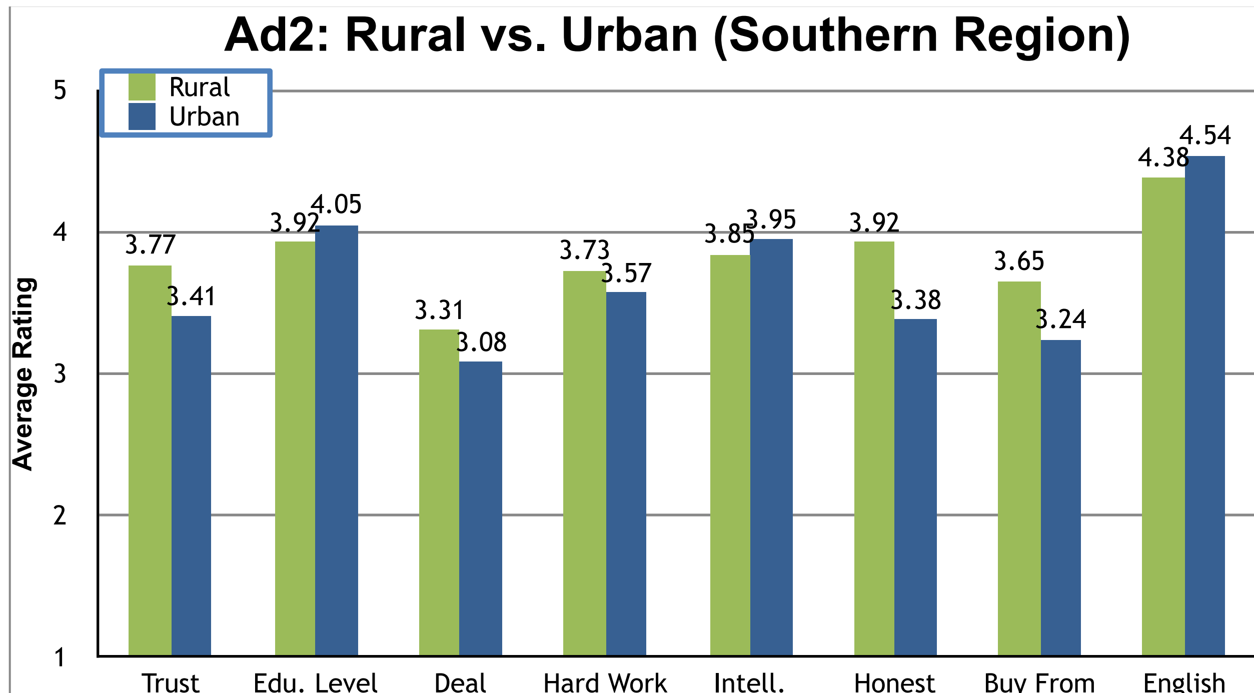


First, this response can be attributed to the fact that rural Southerners, who tend to speak more marked varieties of Southern English, recognize the markedness of this variety as similar to their own, or second, and much more likely, rural Southerners overall rank the 'correctness' criteria higher in all advertisements similar to how the Indiana respondents did in Preston's study.

The rural and urban responses of Advertisement 2 further provides contradictory evidence. As stated earlier, it is expected for urban respondents to subscribed to Standard Language

Ideology, and thusly rank Advertisement 2 higher than rural respondents. However, this is not the exact case as seen in Chart 13.

Chart 13: Rural and Urban responses to Advertisement 2



In all of the solidarity criteria, rural respondents rank Advertisement 2 higher than urban respondents. However, in ‘correct form of American English,’ ‘education level,’ and ‘intelligence,’ urban respondents score Advertisement 2 higher than rural respondents. Hence, it can be concluded that urban Southern respondents do prescribe to the Standard Language Ideology and overt prestige more so than rural respondents since urban respondents rank Advertisement 2 highest in categories that correlate with Preston’s “correctness” criteria. Yet, rural respondents rank Advertisement 2 highest in all solidarity criteria. This situation may not be a result of rural respondents ranking solidarity criteria higher, but rather, a result of urban respondents scoring solidarity criteria lower. In the bulk of the charts pertaining to rural and urban segmenting, included in the appendix of this work, urban and rural respondents typically score equally. Hence, a theoretical ex-

planation for this phenomena is that urban respondents actually rank Advertisement 2 lower on solidarity, illustrating that urban respondents, who have more exposure to Standard American English, feel less solidarity to the dialect. This pattern, at least in part, can be seen in Preston's data when Southern respondents displayed a discrepancy between the 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' criteria.

When compared to Preston's study on language attitudes, my results demonstrate that many of the patterns exhibited by respondents in Preston's data continues to hold true to this day. College students, the next generation of working adults, maintain linguistic solidarity and recognize overt prestigious language within American society. Specifically, both Preston's subjects and my sample of college students, who spoke more marked varieties of American dialects and were thusly more linguistically insecure, displayed a stronger sense of linguistic solidarity while recognizing and ranking highly the overt prestigious dialect in Advertisement 2. However, and dissimilar to Preston, my results demonstrate the extent to which linguistic solidarity exists within the mind of a marked variety speaker. As seen in the results discrepancy between Advertisement 1 and Advertisement 2, the degree of markedness and difference from speakers' varieties of speech implicates results, meaning that more marked varieties rank significantly lower on solidarity criteria although they come from the same dialectal variety. Additionally, my data results further demonstrate how solidarity criteria between rural and urban Southerners differ. The key difference between rural and urban Southerners can be seen in the solidarity results of Advertisement 2; these results demonstrate that urban Southerners feel less solidarity with Standard American English rather than their rural counterparts even though these urban respondents encounter Standard American English more in their daily lives. More importantly, my data results

demonstrate that language attitudes and their connection to Standard American English and Standard Language Ideology are not changing within our hyper-connected society where movement and relocation across the United States is common.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Intrinsic to human nature, the communicatory process not only allows us to communicate with our peers but also gives us the power to send social signals about ourselves and our group identifications to those around us. In order to fully comprehend the social power of language, basic linguistic concepts must be understood. Language, as a constantly changing entity, reflects shifts in the culture that utilize that very language. The reversal of this situation also holds true as language has the power to shift the culture that uses it.

The natural process of language evolution occurs and cannot be avoided. A series of stimuli promote language change; external stimuli, such as increased contact with foreign languages and linguistic communities, work with internal stimuli, such as the "notion of need" when, for example, new technologies necessitate the creation of new terminology as in *iPad* and *Tweet.* The changes that naturally happen in language create variants, which are subsequently selected by linguistic communities in order to send "a complex series of messages" about how they "position themselves in the world" (Lippi-Green 38). In the case of American English, the selection of a series of variants by those with social power produced a prestige variety of American English, which is known today as Standard American English. The variants utilized in Standard American English are neither better nor worse than any other variants in American English— they are simply just different. It is common in today's American culture to hear the idea that linguistic variants, or even dialects, are "bastardizations" of American English. But, this concept is linguistically incorrect; all dialects of American English are equal with rule-governed

systems and unique lexicons. Difference, in this case, does not mean erroneous, flawed, or defective.

In order for a dialect of American English to be deemed "different" or "marked," it must be compared with the normative dialect; that is, Standard American English. According to Lippi-Green, Standard American English is believed to be written and spoken by persons (1) with no regional accent, (2) who reside in the Midwest, Far West or perhaps some parts of the Northeast but never reside in the South, (3) with more than average or superior education, (4) who are themselves educators or broadcasters, (5) who pay attention to speech and are not sloppy in terms of pronunciation or grammar, (6) who are easily understood by all and, (7) who enter into a consensus of other individuals like themselves about what is proper language (60). According to Charles Fries in his article, "Standard English," this variety of American English is "'standard' not because it is any more correct or more beautiful or more capable than other varieties" but rather because it is assumed to be associated with highly educated, socially powerful American society (Fries 181).

Although Standard American English has always been connected to those with social power, the actual pronunciation of the standard has historically changed over time. Before the widespread use of television and the rise of Network Standard speech, the speech patterns of residents in the metropolitan hubs of Boston and New York City was linked to the pronunciation of what was considered Standard American English. The speech in Boston and New York City was largely r-less, which can be attributed to the fact that these locations maintained direct relations with London long after colonization. Regardless of the overt prestige initially given to the pronunciations of New York City and Boston, regional dialects and non-national linguistic commu-

nities developed their own form of standard and substandard language. The remnants of this trend can be seen in speakers of Appalachian American English.

This pattern demonstrates the necessity for an analysis of the creation of regional dialects in the United States; without comprehending the background information and the manner through which dialects formulated in the United States, it would be impossible to fully understand how dialects manifest themselves today. Dialect formation began with the initial colonization of Plymouth in 1620 as well as the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. Subsequent immigration patterns, especially that Scots and Irish who maintained r-full speech, infiltrated the disparate British dialects in the United States, shaping the speech of the Northern, Midland, Southern, and Midwestern dialectal regions. Southern American English had the additional influence of African slave languages. African-American English, which can arguably be claimed as the most pejoratively marked variety of American English, also attributes its creation in part to African slave languages. The overlapping source of African-American English and Southern English may enhance the pejorative connotations toward Southern English in modern times. Clearly, an analysis and understanding of the history and beginnings of American dialects is necessary to understand the repercussions today.

Currently, Standard American English aligns with the Network Standard pronunciation, which became widespread in the 1960s as a result of broadcast television and radio usage. Standard American English and the Network Standard, considered "pure" American English, is rhotic with an /ae/ sound used in words like *half* and *path* and a flat, non-rounded /a/ pronounced in words like *hot* and *top.* Although other phonetic features appear in Standard American English, these specific pronunciations most obviously separate this dialect from other American dialects

and British English. Furthermore, the selection of features as Standard American English can be attributed to Francis Vizetelly, an employee of CBS, whose anti-immigrant stance influenced his selection of rhotic, Midwestern speech as uncontaminated American language. His authority and ideas impacted CBS's selection of radio broadcasters, which eventually led to the employment of Edward Murrow and ultimately Walter Cronkite— the beacon of Standard American English pronunciation. Broadcasters are routinely cited as speakers of the "correct" form of American English as they are thought to represent American intelligence, insight, and authority. Although other historical facets of American culture contribute to the formulation of Standard American English, the link between Standard American English and the pronunciation of broadcasters illustrates the key components and legacy of Standard American English to this day.

Standard Language Ideology, as the foundation of Standard American English, affects the linguistic attitudes and perceptions of American English speakers. The overt prestigious variety of language, Standard American English, is deemed the correct form of American English while all other varieties are marked incorrect and wrong. This process causes American speakers of dialects other than Standard American English to reject their varieties for the overt prestigious norm. Yet, the process is not fully definitive or concrete. Speakers of marked varieties of American English subsequently assign covert prestige to their dialects and utilize them as community markers. These theories are evidenced in Preston's 1999 research through the responses of Indiana and Michigan subjects. Indiana subjects, as a result of their connection to Southern American English, exhibited larger amounts of linguistic insecurity than Michigan respondents, who identify with Standard American normative speech. Preston demonstrates that speakers from regions with more linguistic security use speech as an expression of status rather than solidarity while

speakers from areas with "greater linguistic insecurity focus on regional [linguistic] solidarity to express local identity" (317). Overall, however, all linguistic groups recognized the overt cultural norms in American language, attributing the Midwest to standard language while describing the South and New York City as incorrect versions of American English.

Occurring fifteen years after Preston's research, my empirical study aimed to not only supplement Preston's data but also to discover if and how language attitudes have shifted. Utilizing additional variables that aimed to expose the extent of linguistic solidarity and demonstrate the connection between Standard American English and education level/"correctness," my study intended to further show the manner in which language ideology manifests itself in college students. Today's college students, the next generation of working adults, live in a much more transient environment than previous generations, and this situation illustrates the possibility that perceptions associated with Standard American English may shift. However, my research demonstrates that language attitudes in the United States have not changed extremely in the past 15 years. In my sample of University of Georgia and Emory University undergraduate students, subjects continued to rank Standard American English high on 'education level,' 'intelligence' and 'correct form of American English' while ranking Southern English and New York dialects low on the same criteria. Southern respondents exhibit a high amount of linguistic solidarity to Southern English more so than Northern English speaking respondents did to Northern dialects. Yet, Southern linguistic solidarity varies in response to the amount of markedness of the variety; specifically, University of Georgia subjects feel considerable amounts of solidarity to a mildly marked variety of Southern English while a significantly strongly marked variety of Southern English elicited very low solidarity ratings. The same pattern can be seen in Northern respon-

dents when ranking a significantly marked version of their dialect. From this data, it possible to conclude that linguistic solidarity attitudes are shaped by a degree of similarity. The segmentation of urban and rural Southerners further reveals the extent to which language attitudes and the implications of Standard American English shape perception. Southern urban subjects rank Standard American English lower on solidarity criteria than their rural counterparts, which leads to the conclusion that urban respondents, who have more exposure to Standard American English, feel less solidarity to the dialect.

The social construction of Standard American English and Standard Language Ideology affects language attitudes, transmuting them to replicate cultural norms implemented by those with social power. Dissimilar to previous generations, cross-country movement and relocation is commonplace while widespread Internet usage further links formerly separate dialectal zones. Regardless of the increasingly connected nature of American life, language attitudes and beliefs are being maintained with complexities imperceptible to the typical American English speaker. As evidence by this thesis, American English and Standard American English has and will continue to change and transform with the passage of time, but it remains unclear how and why attitudes will shift as well.

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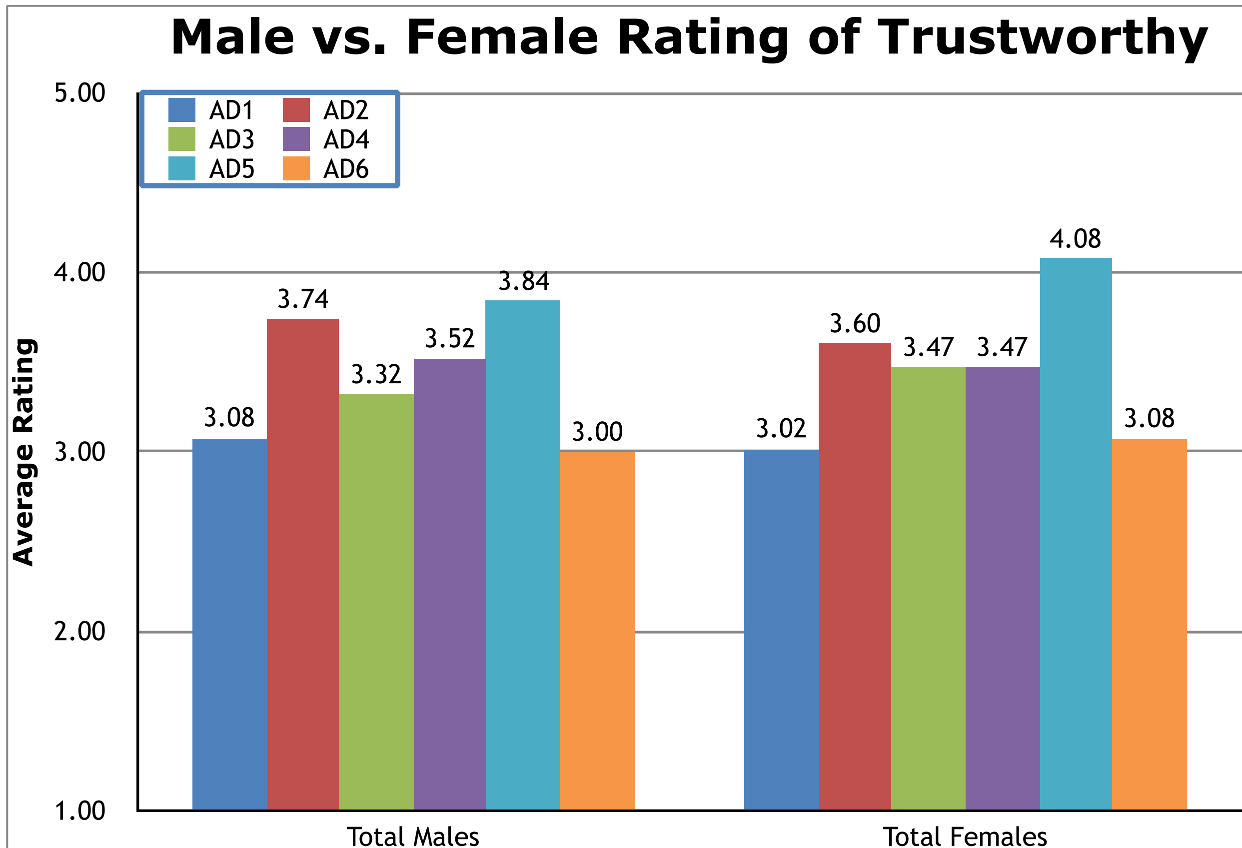
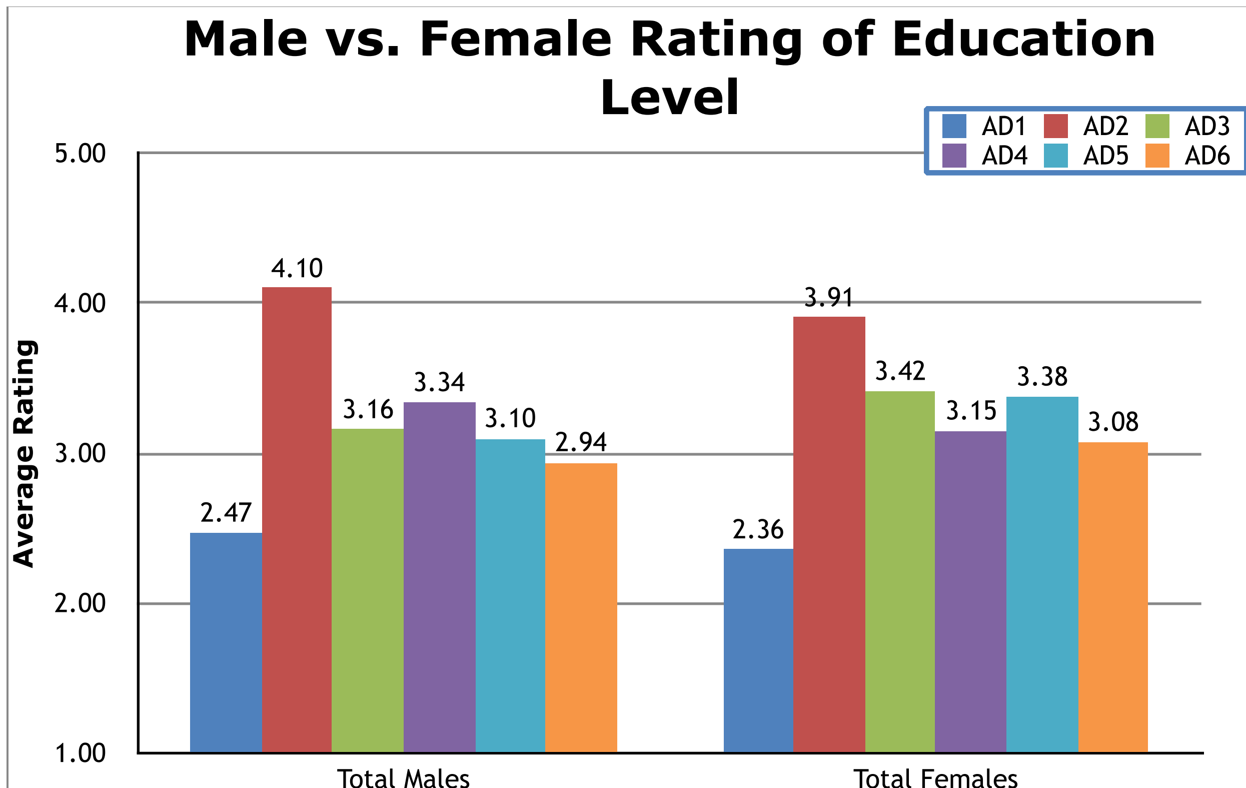
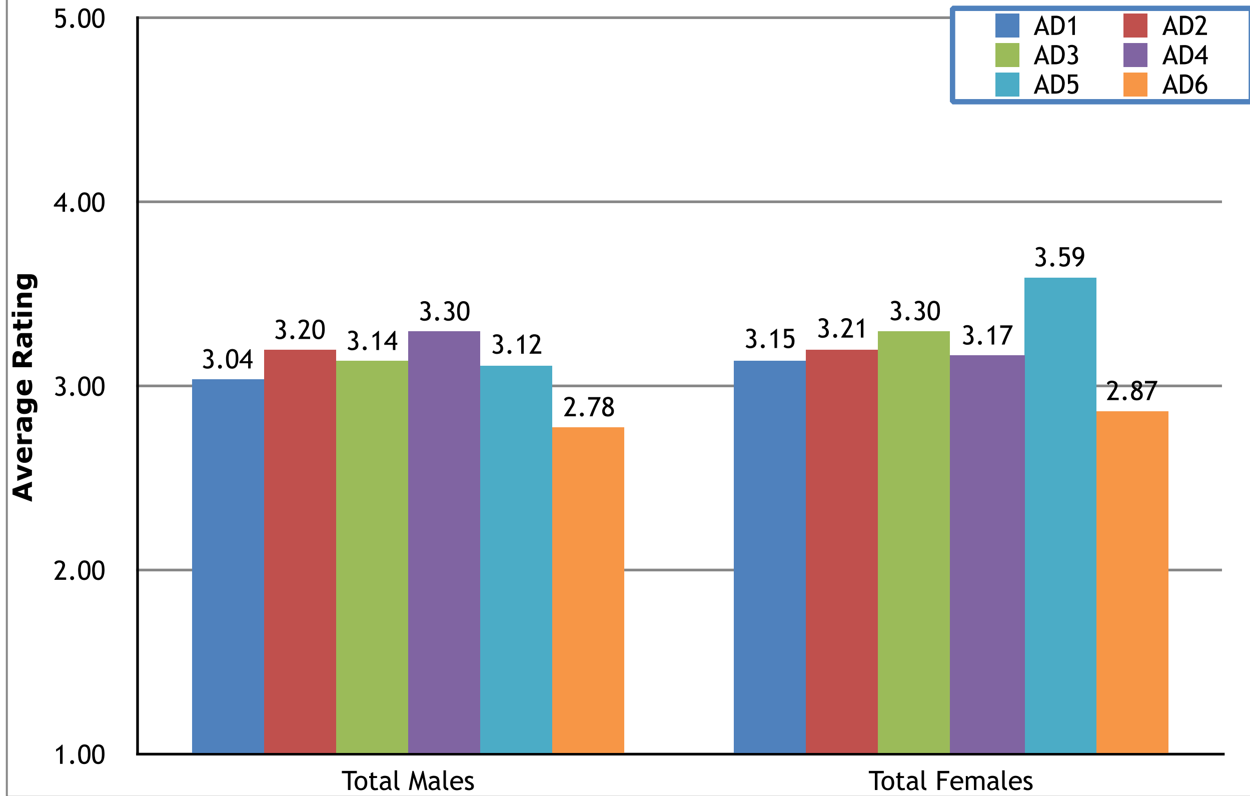
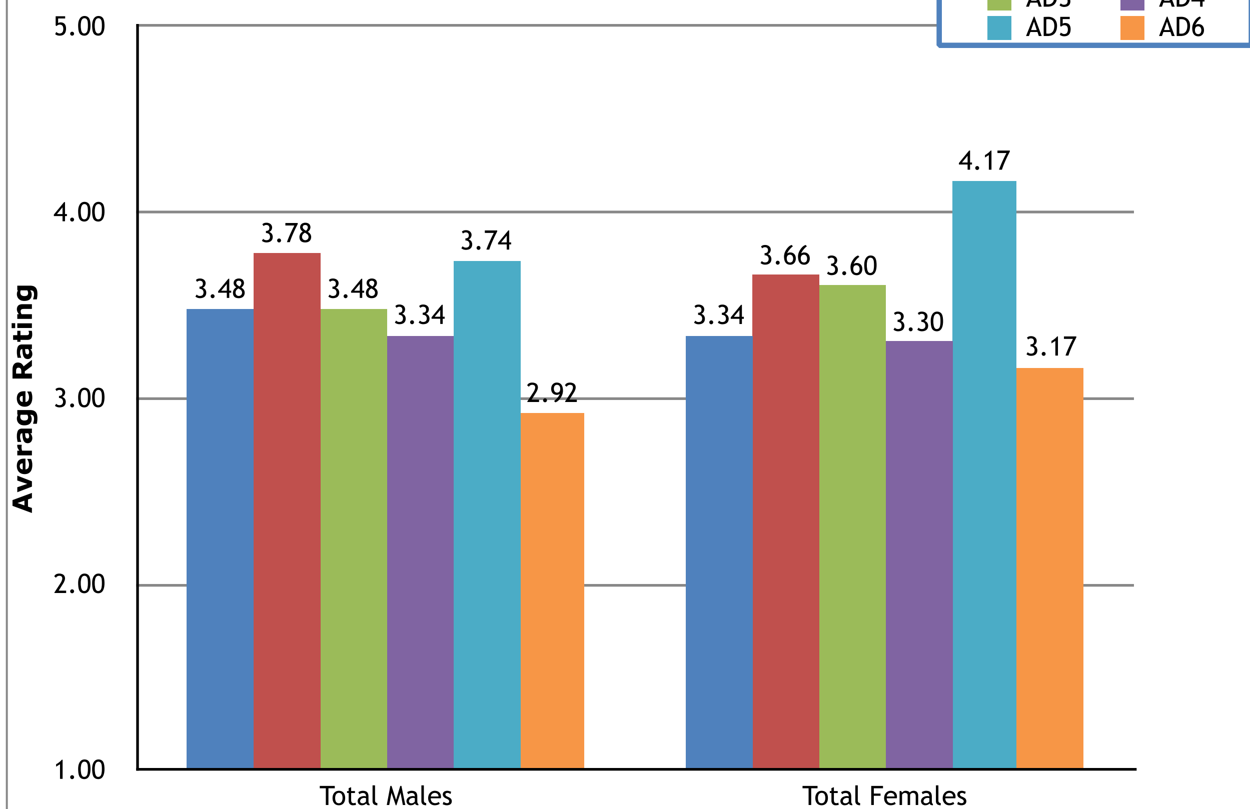
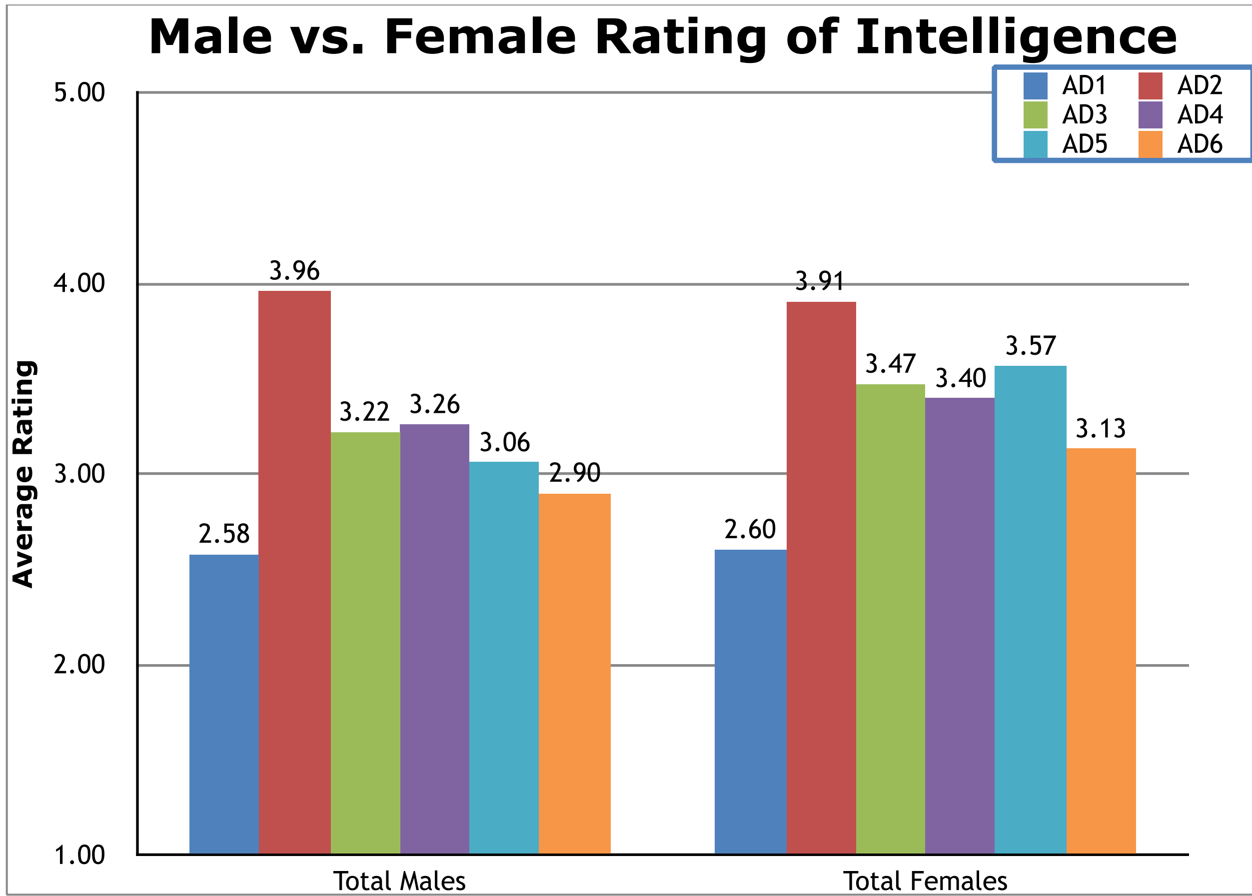
Appendix A: Data Charts



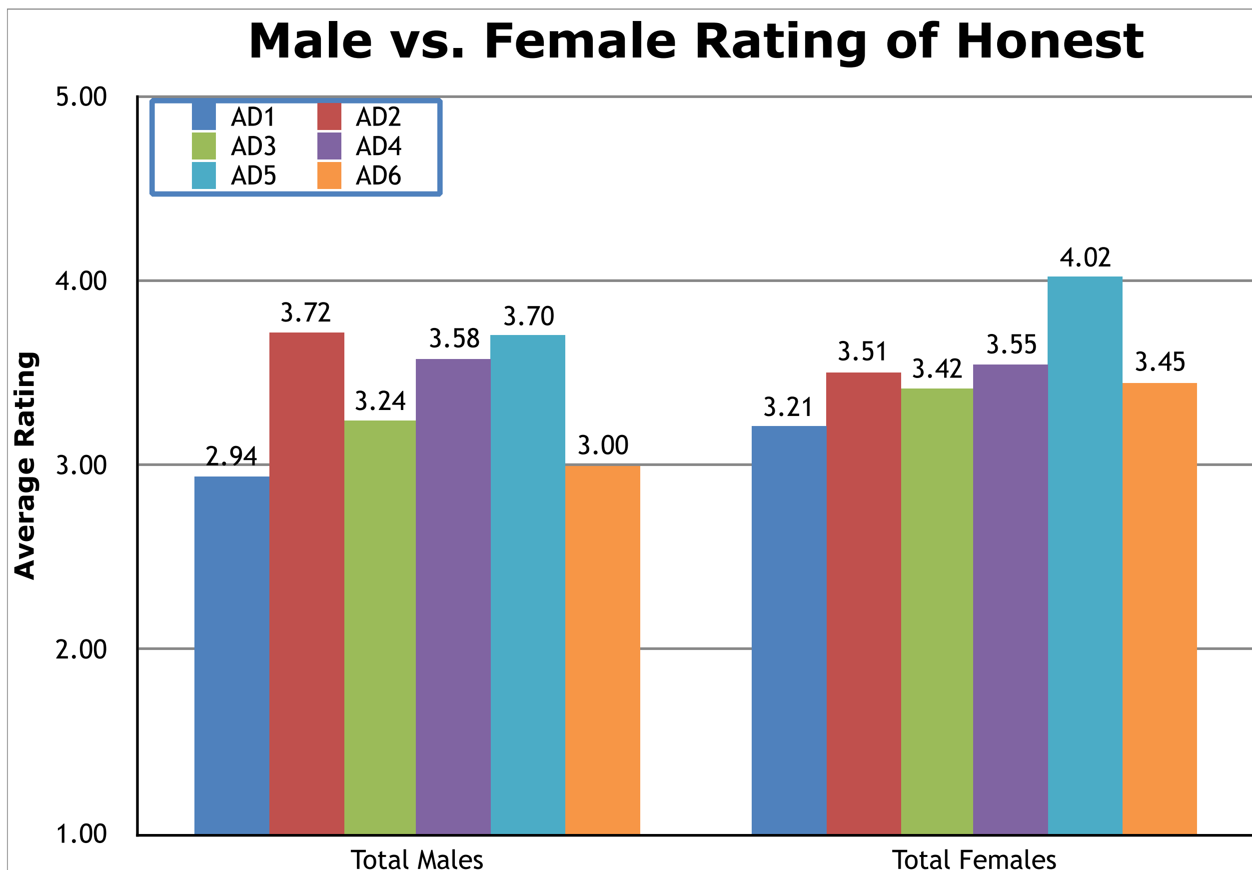



Male vs. Female Rating of Best Deal
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Average Rating
3.04
3.20
3.14
3.30
3.12
2.78
3.15
3.21
3.30
3.17
3.59
2.87
Total Males
Total Females

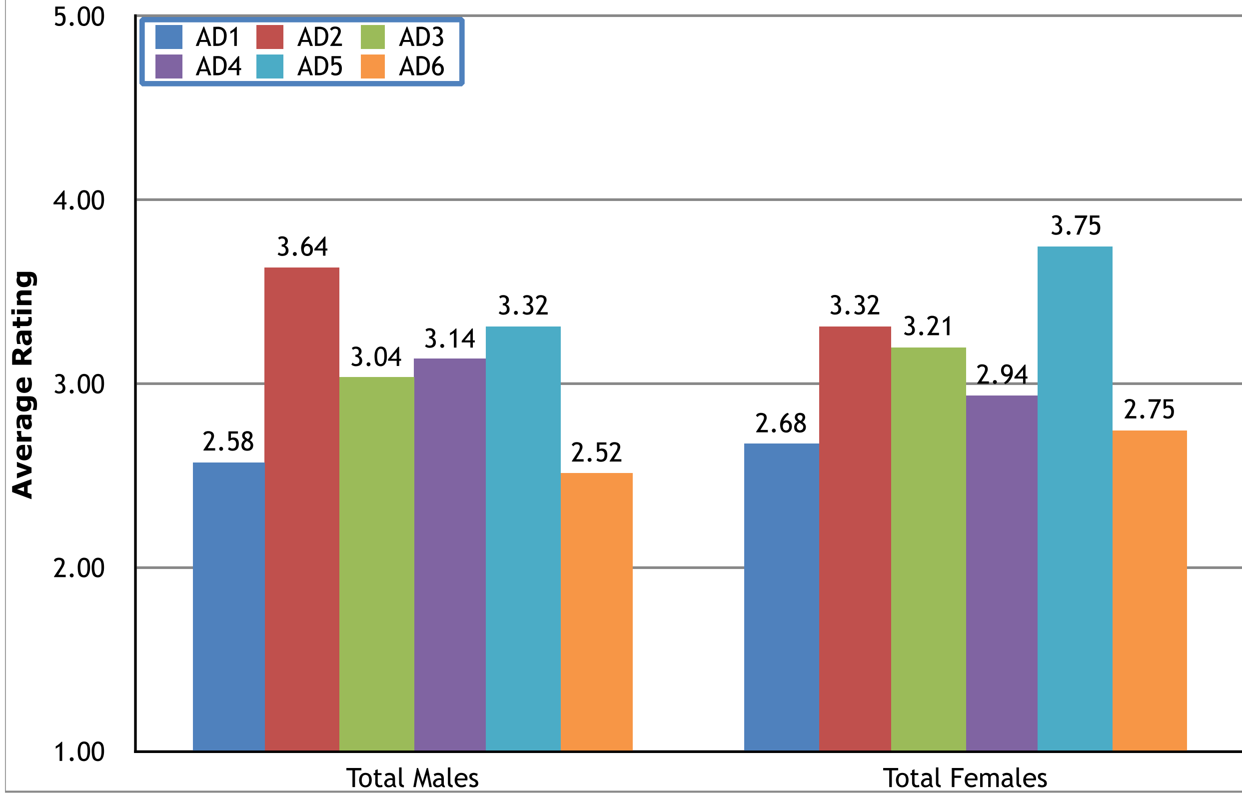

Male vs. Female Rating of Hard Work
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Average Rating
3.48
3.78
3.48
3.34
3.74
2.92
3.34
3.66
3.60
3.30
4.17
3.17
Total Males
Total Females

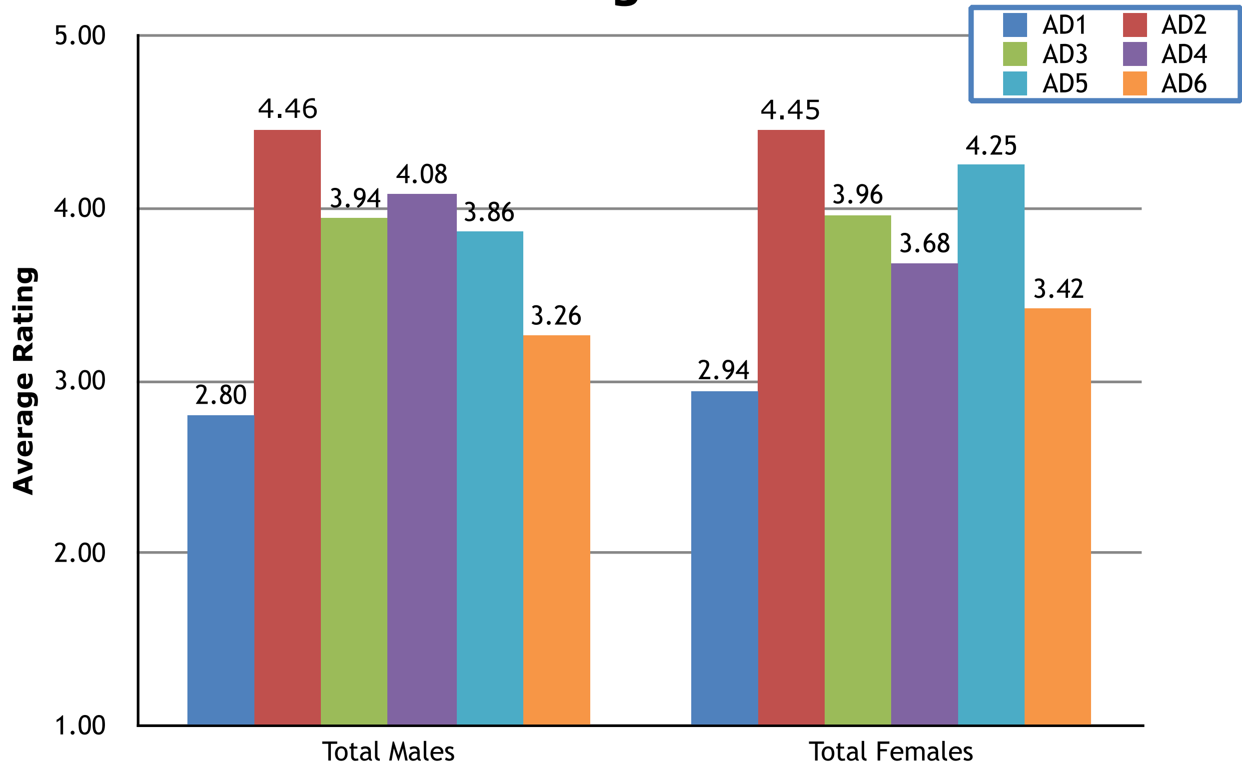


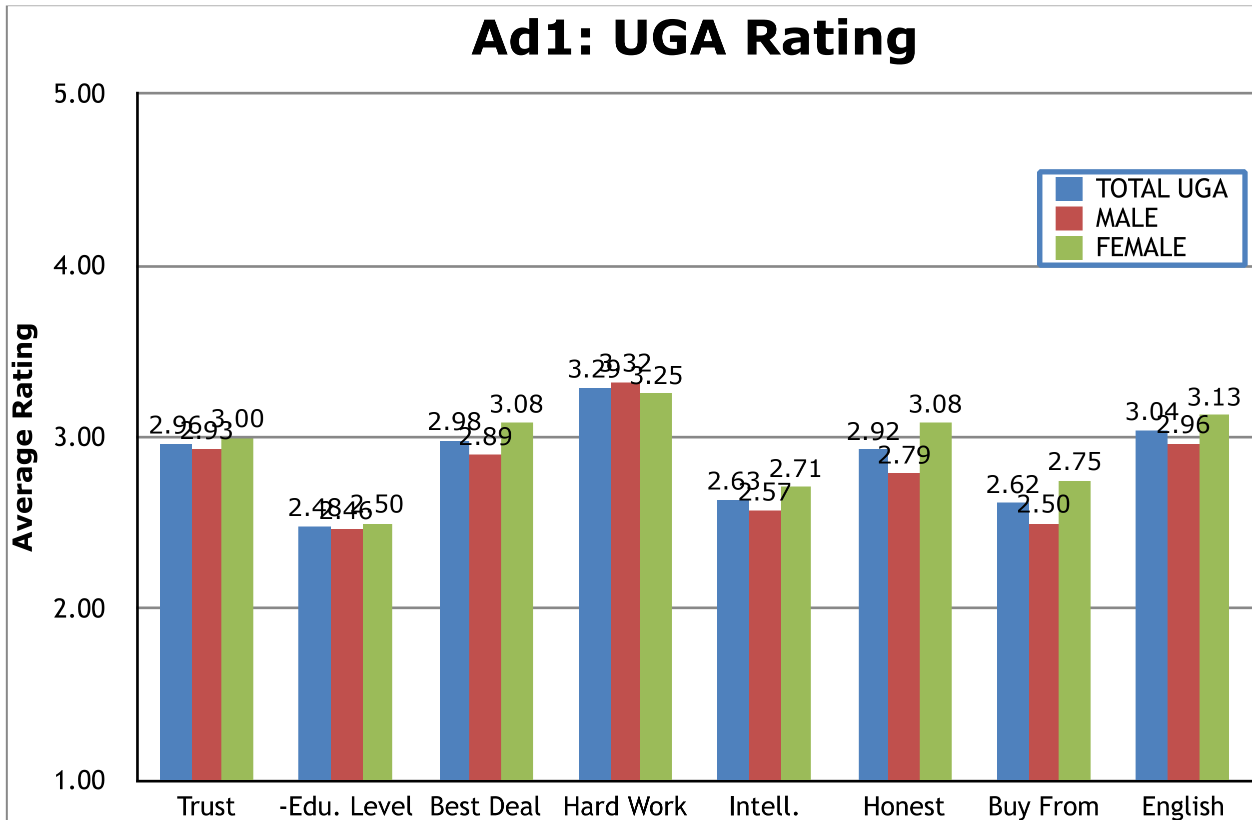
Male vs. Female Rating of Intelligence
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.58
3.96
3.22
3.26
3.06
2.90
2.60
3.91
3.47
3.40
3.57
3.13
Total Males
Total Females



Male vs. Female Rating of Honest
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.94
3.72
3.24
3.58
3.70
3.00
3.21
3.51
3.42
3.55
4.02
3.45
Total Males
Total Females


Male vs. Female Rating of Buy From
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.58
3.64
3.04
3.14
3.32
2.52
2.68
3.32
3.21
2.94
3.75
2.75
Total Males
Total Females


Male vs. Female Rating of Correct English
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.80
4.46
3.94
4.08
3.86
3.26
2.94
4.45
3.96
3.68
4.25
3.42
Total Males
Total Females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Average Rating
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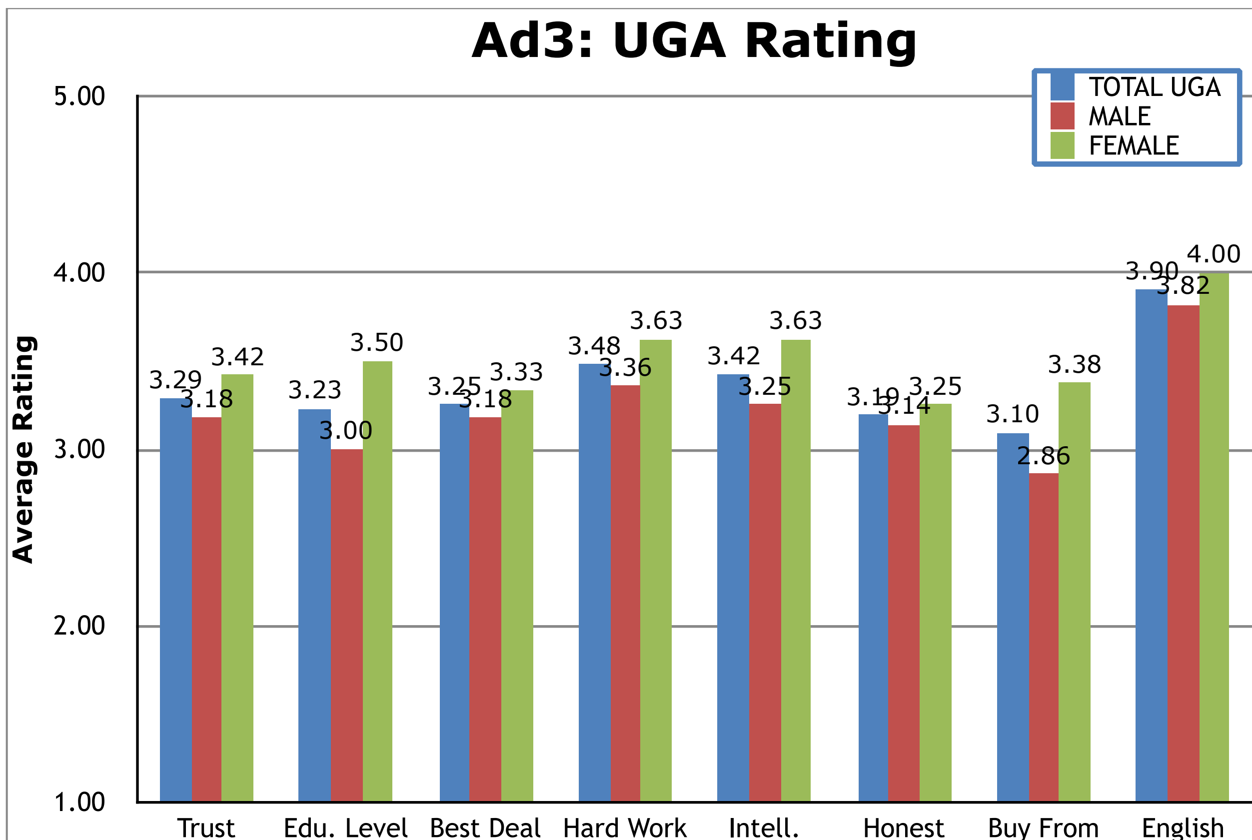
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
TOTAL UGA
MALE
FEMALE
2.96
2.93
3.00
2.48
2.46
2.50
2.98
2.89
3.08
3.29
3.32
3.25
2.63
2.57
2.71
2.92
2.79
3.08
2.62
2.50
2.75
3.04
2.96
3.13
Trust
-Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English


Ad3: UGA Rating
Average Rating
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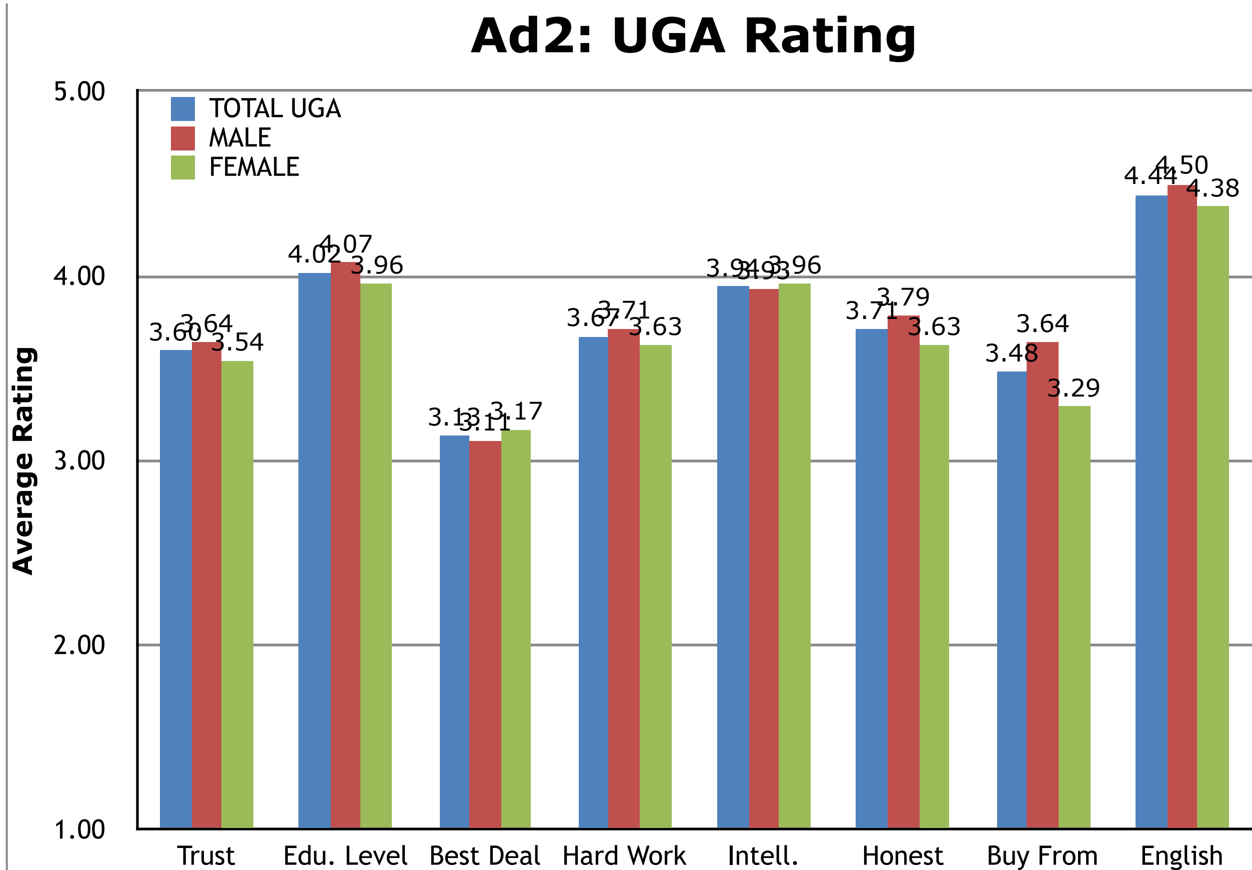
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
TOTAL UGA
MALE
FEMALE
3.29
3.18
3.42
3.23
3.00
3.50
3.25
3.18
3.33
3.48
3.36
3.63
3.42
3.25
3.63
3.19
3.14
3.25
3.10
2.86
3.38
3.90
3.82
4.00
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English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Average Rating
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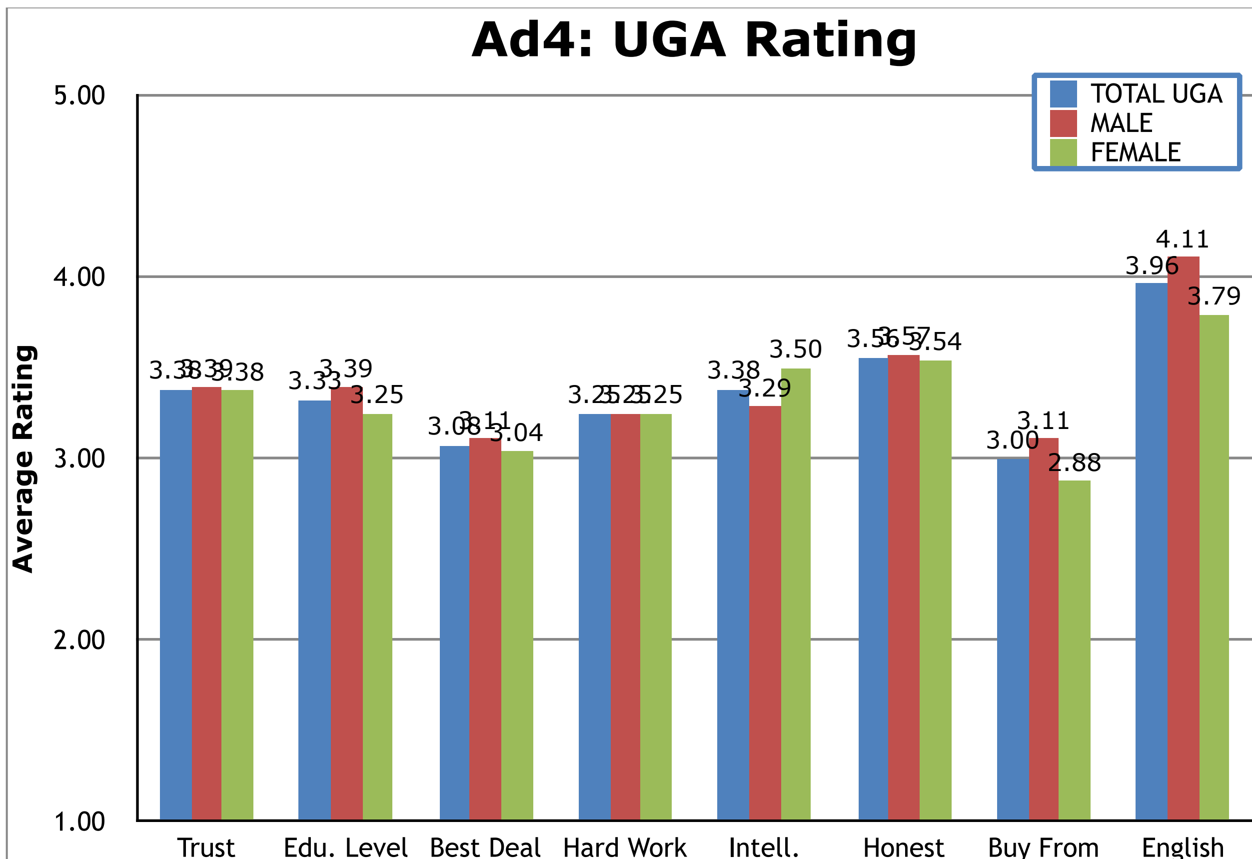
3.00
2.00
1.00
TOTAL UGA
MALE
FEMALE
3.60
3.64
3.54
4.02
4.07
3.96
3.13
3.11
3.17
3.67
3.71
3.63
3.94
3.93
3.96
3.71
3.79
3.63
3.48
3.64
3.29
4.44
4.50
4.38
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English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Average Rating
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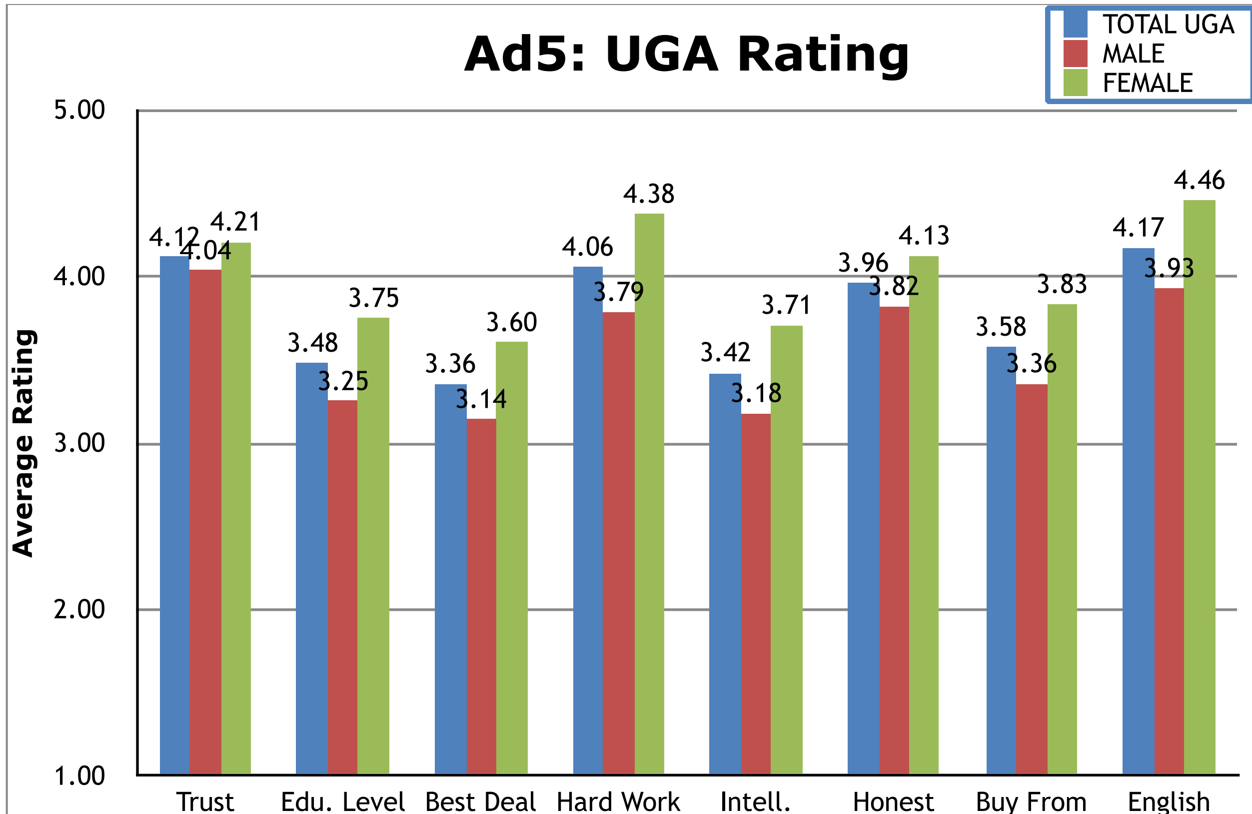
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
TOTAL UGA
MALE
FEMALE
3.39
3.38
3.33
3.39
3.25
3.11
3.04
3.38
3.29
3.50
3.57
3.54
3.00
3.11
2.88
3.96
4.11
3.79
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English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TOTAL UGA
MALE
FEMALE
Average Rating
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4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
4.12
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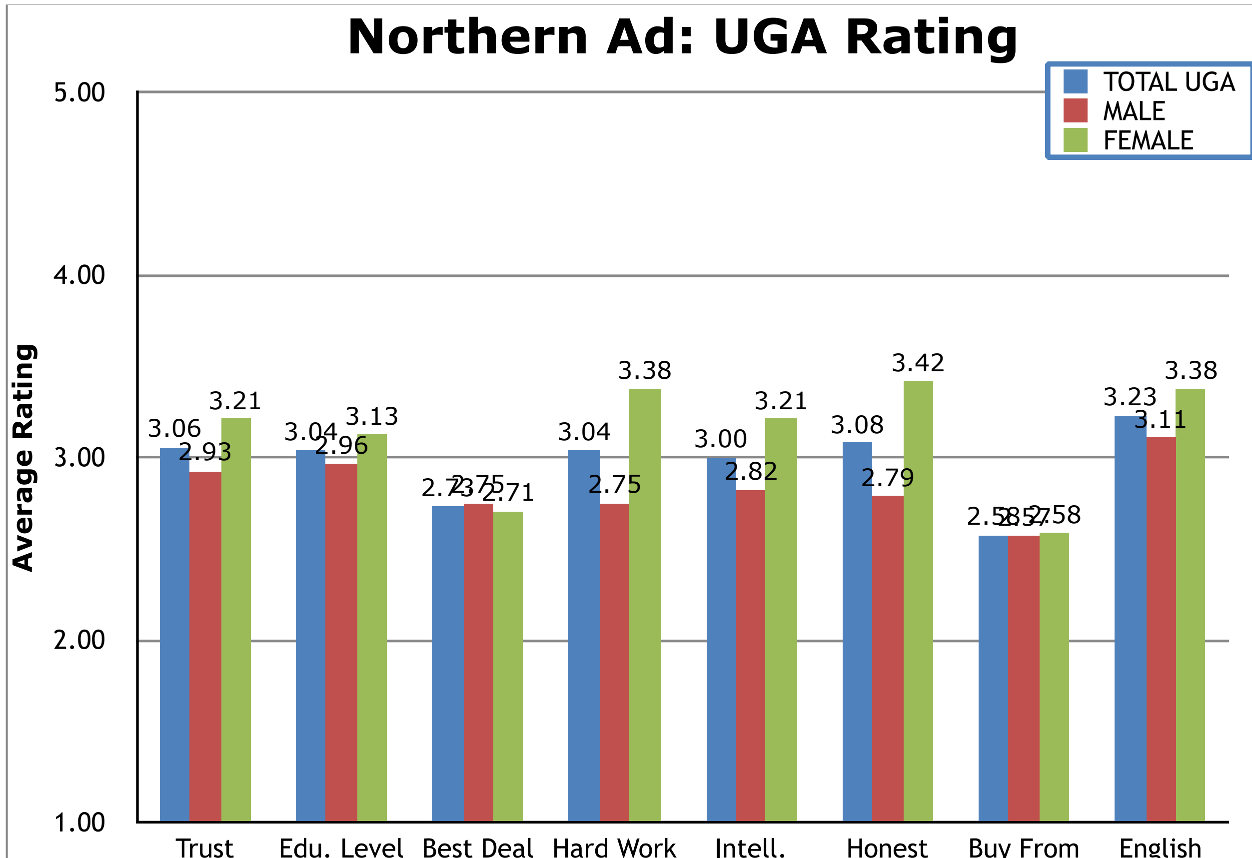
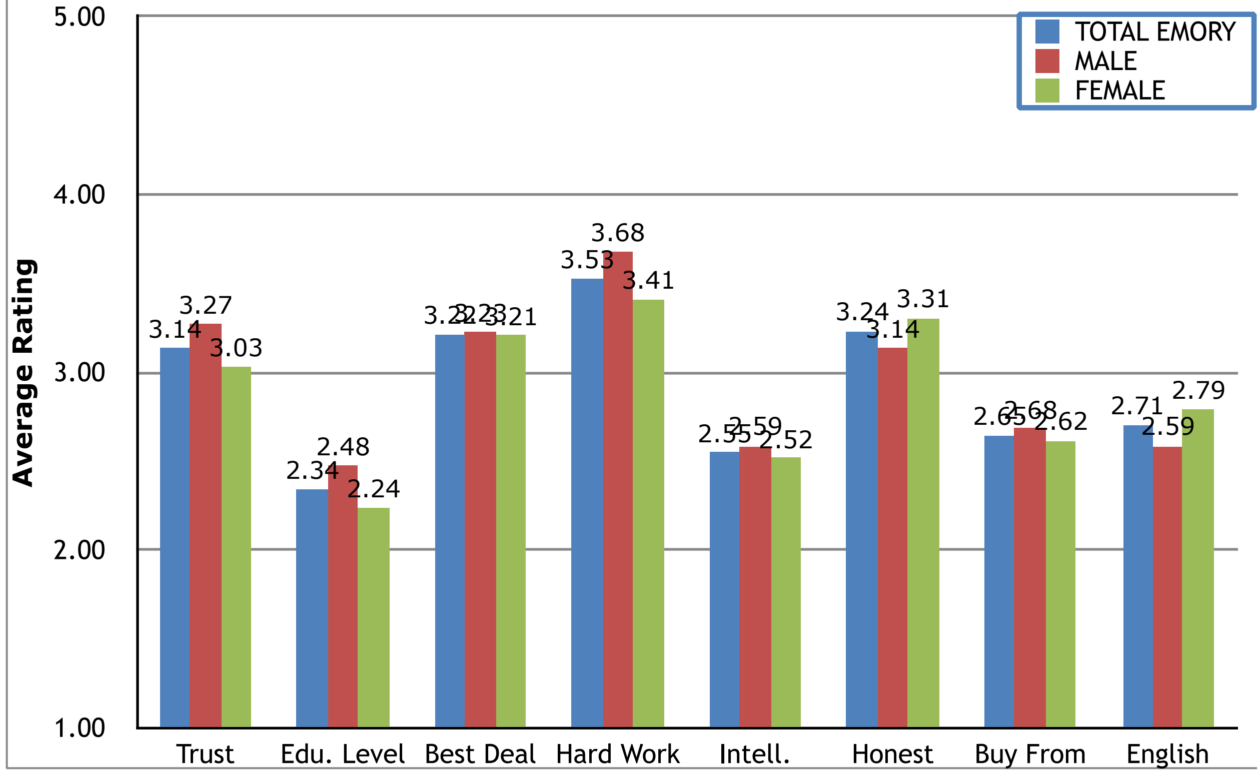
4.21
3.48
3.25
3.75
3.36
3.14
3.60
4.06
3.79
4.38
3.42
3.18
3.71
3.96
3.82
4.13
3.58
3.36
3.83
4.17
3.93
4.46
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English


Northern Ad: UGA Rating
TOTAL UGA
MALE
FEMALE
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.06
2.93
3.21
3.04
2.96
3.13
2.73
2.75
2.71
3.04
2.75
3.38
3.00
2.82
3.21
3.08
2.79
3.42
2.58
2.57
2.58
3.23
3.11
3.38
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English



Ad1: Emory Rating
Average Rating
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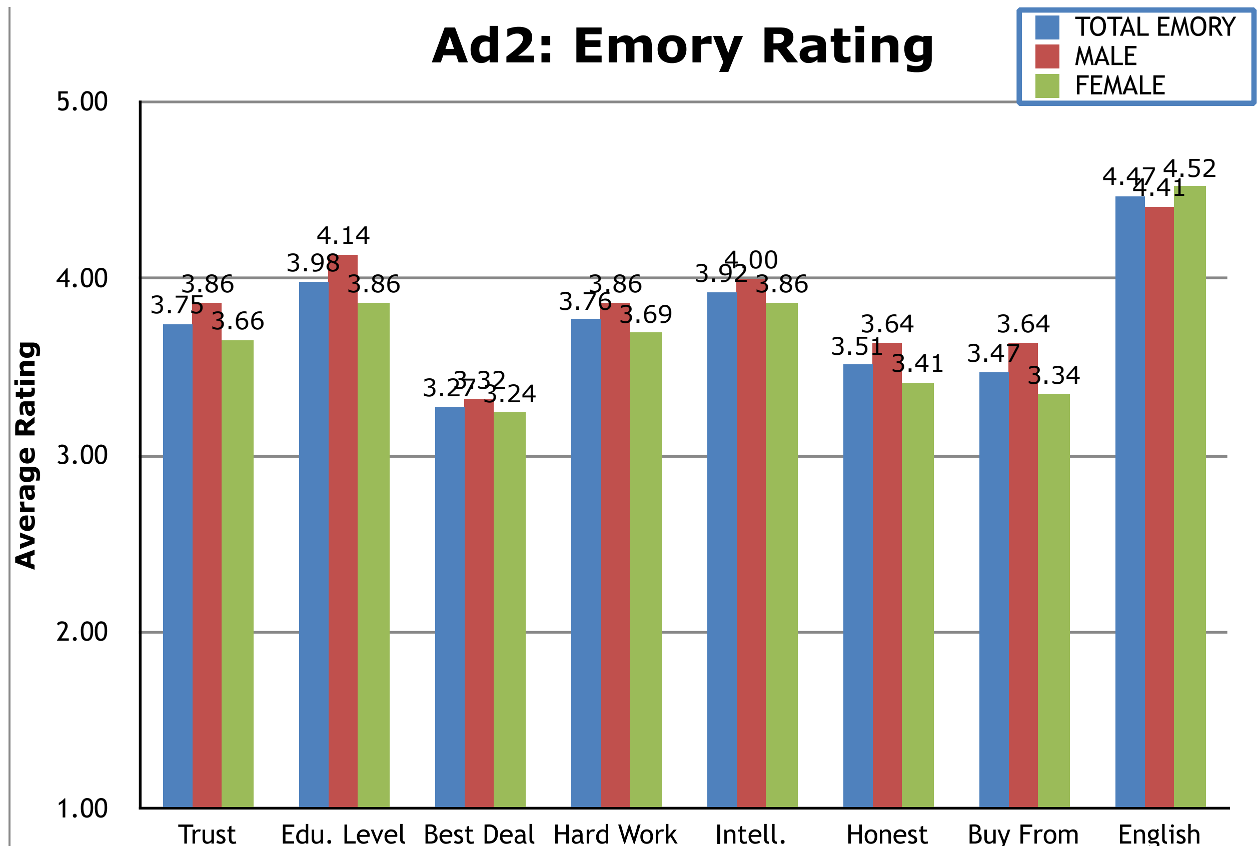
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
TOTAL EMORY
MALE
FEMALE
3.14
3.27
3.03
2.34
2.48
2.24
3.21
3.53
3.68
3.41
2.52
3.24
3.14
3.31
2.62
2.71
2.79
2.59
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English



Ad2: Emory Rating
TOTAL EMORY
MALE
FEMALE
Average Rating
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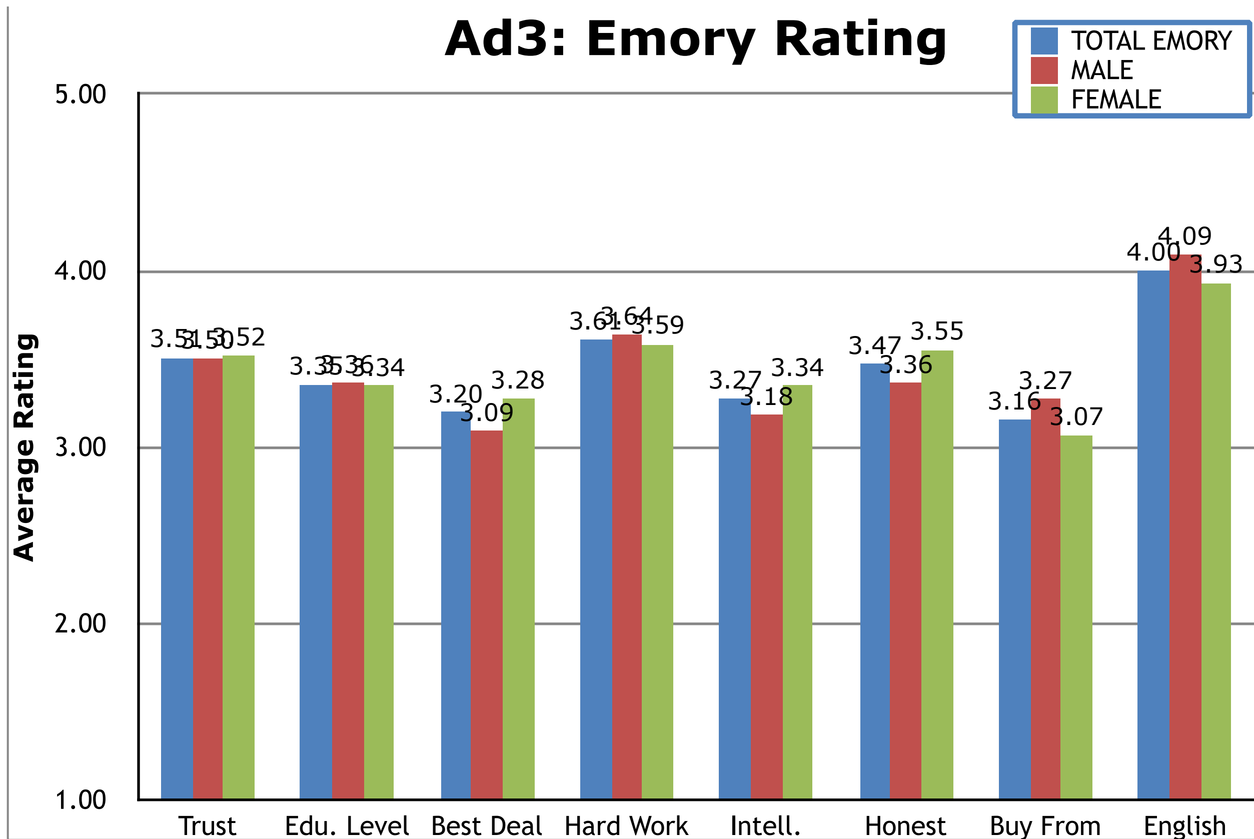
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.75
3.86
3.66
3.98
4.14
3.86
3.24
3.76
3.86
3.69
4.00
3.86
3.51
3.64
3.41
3.47
3.64
3.34
4.52
4.41
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English


Ad3: Emory Rating
TOTAL EMORY
MALE
FEMALE
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English
3.51
3.50
3.52
3.35
3.36
3.34
3.20
3.09
3.28
3.61
3.64
3.59
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3.47
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3.55
3.16
3.27
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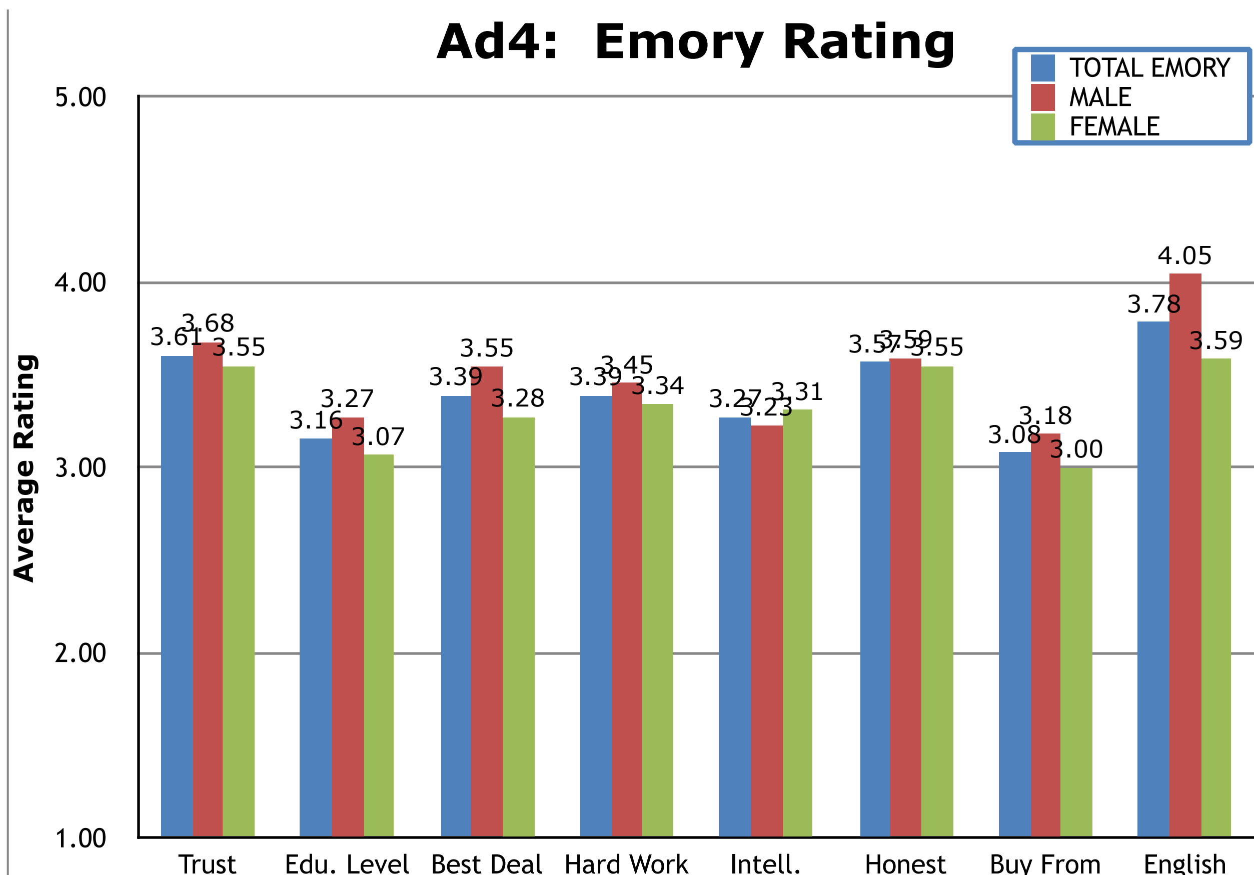
4.00
4.09
3.93


Ad4: Emory Rating
TOTAL EMORY
MALE
FEMALE
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English
3.61
3.68
3.55
3.16
3.27
3.07
3.39
3.55
3.28
3.39
3.45
3.34
3.27
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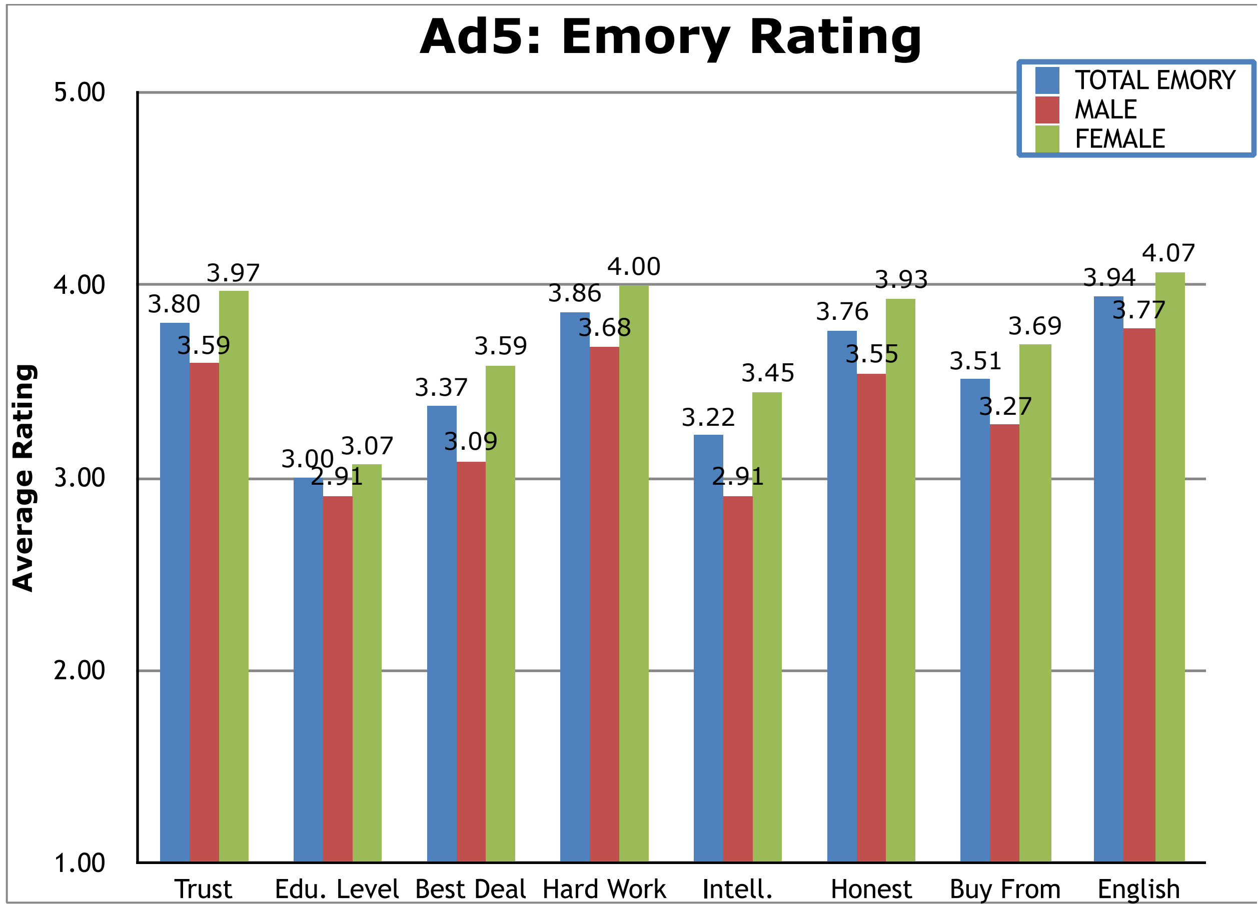
4.05
3.59


Ad5: Emory Rating
TOTAL EMORY
MALE
FEMALE
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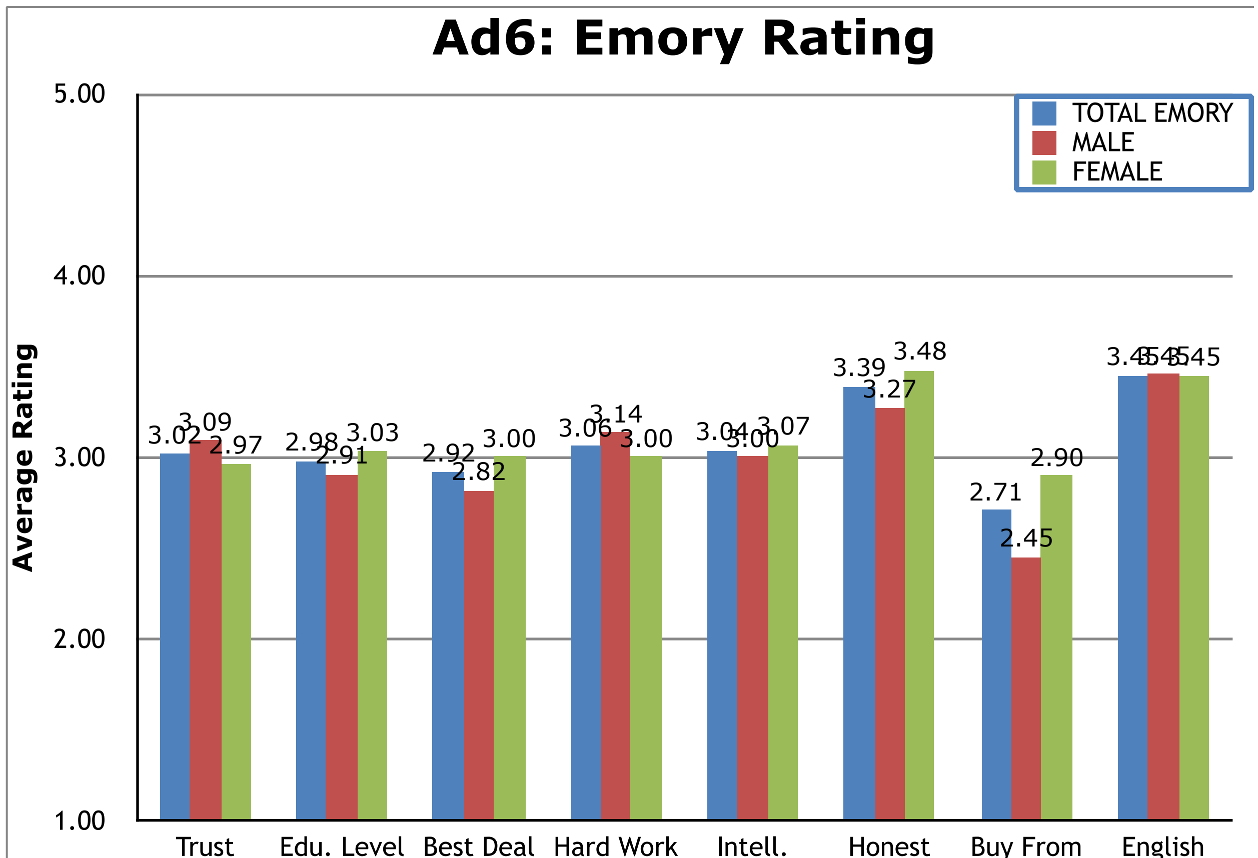
3.22
2.91
3.45
3.76
3.55
3.93
3.51
3.27
3.69
3.94
3.77
4.07
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English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TOTAL EMORY
MALE
FEMALE
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1.00
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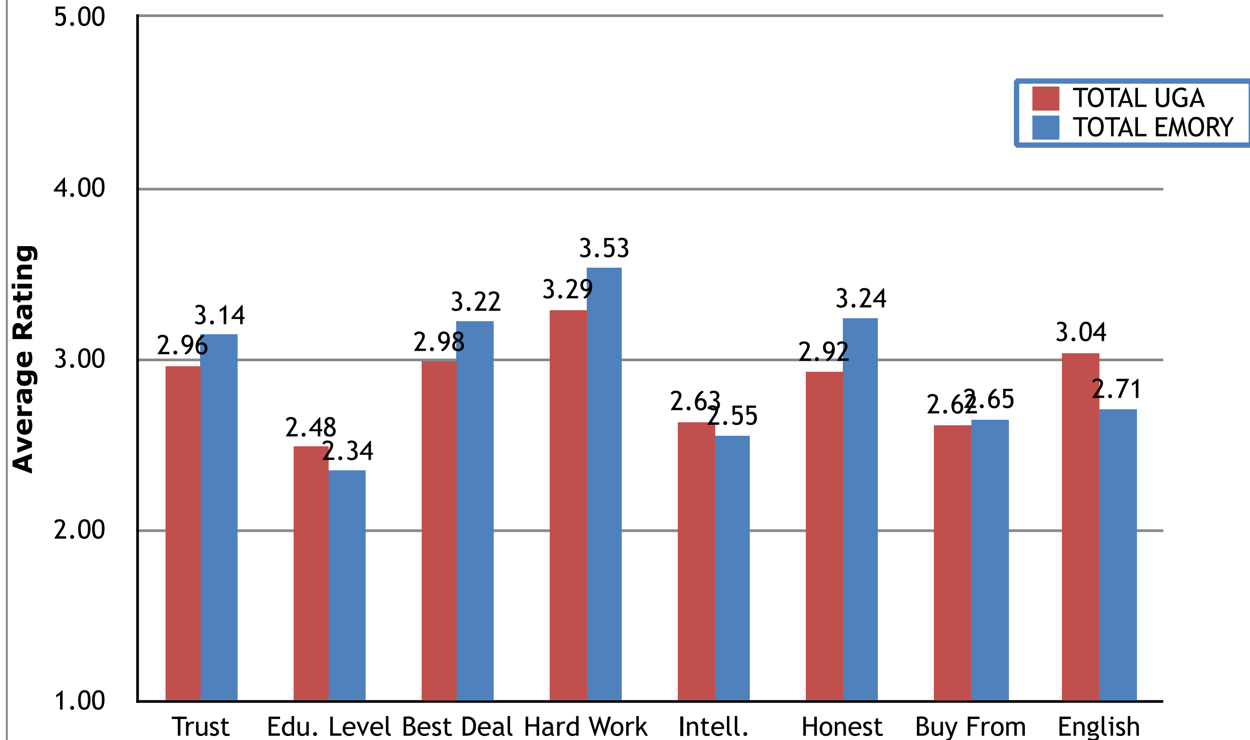
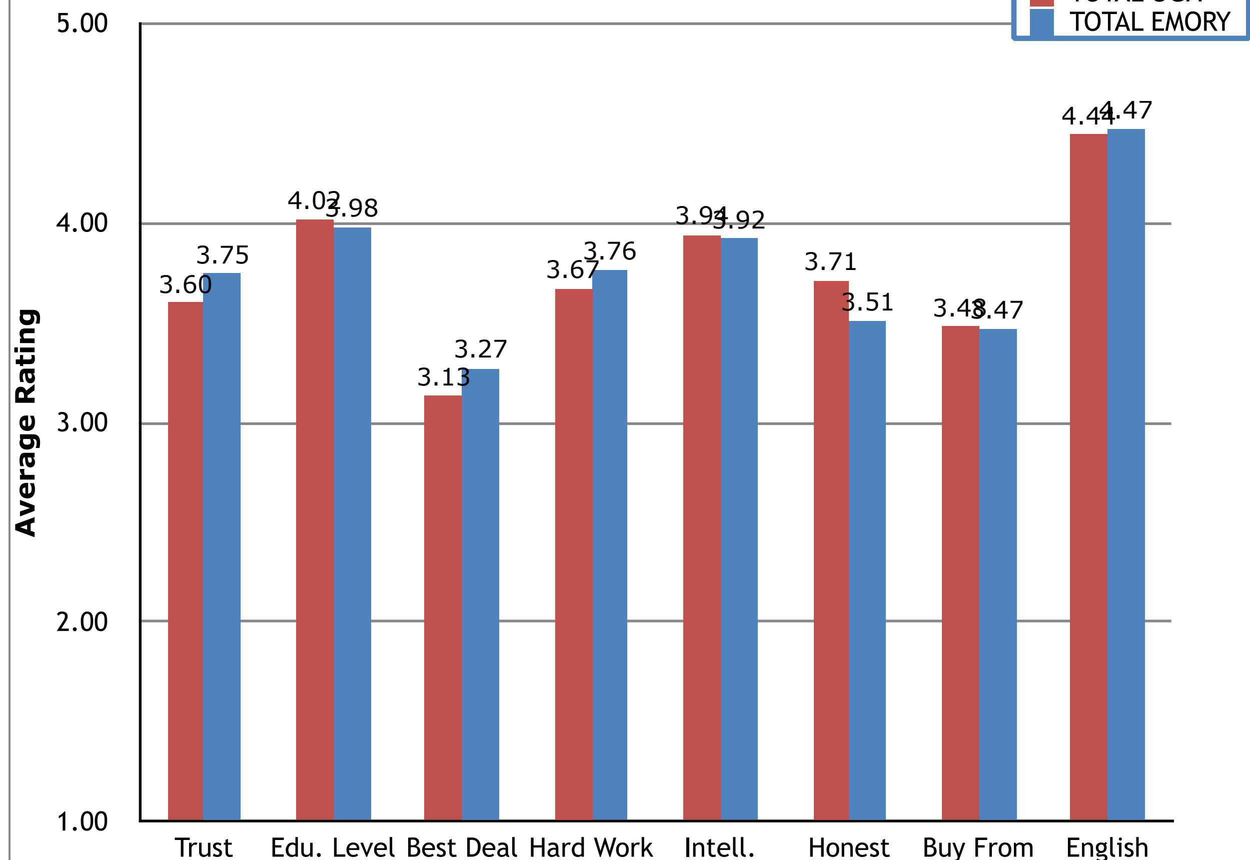
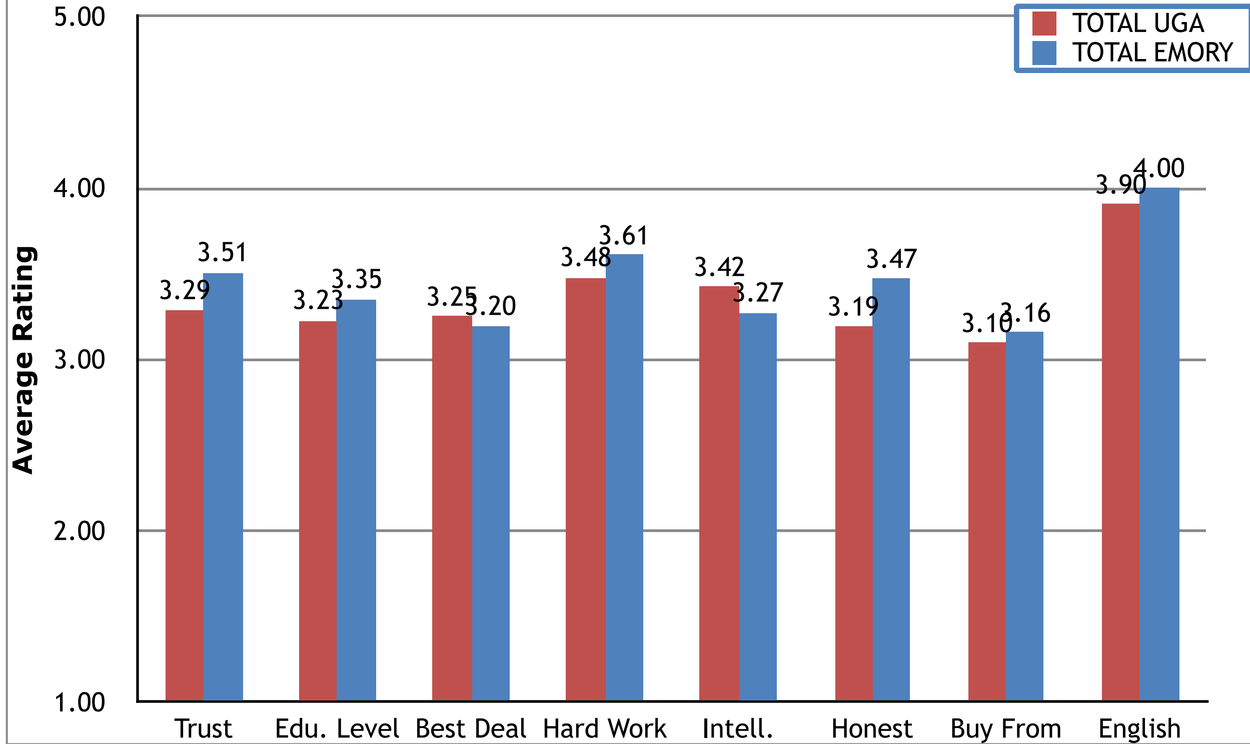
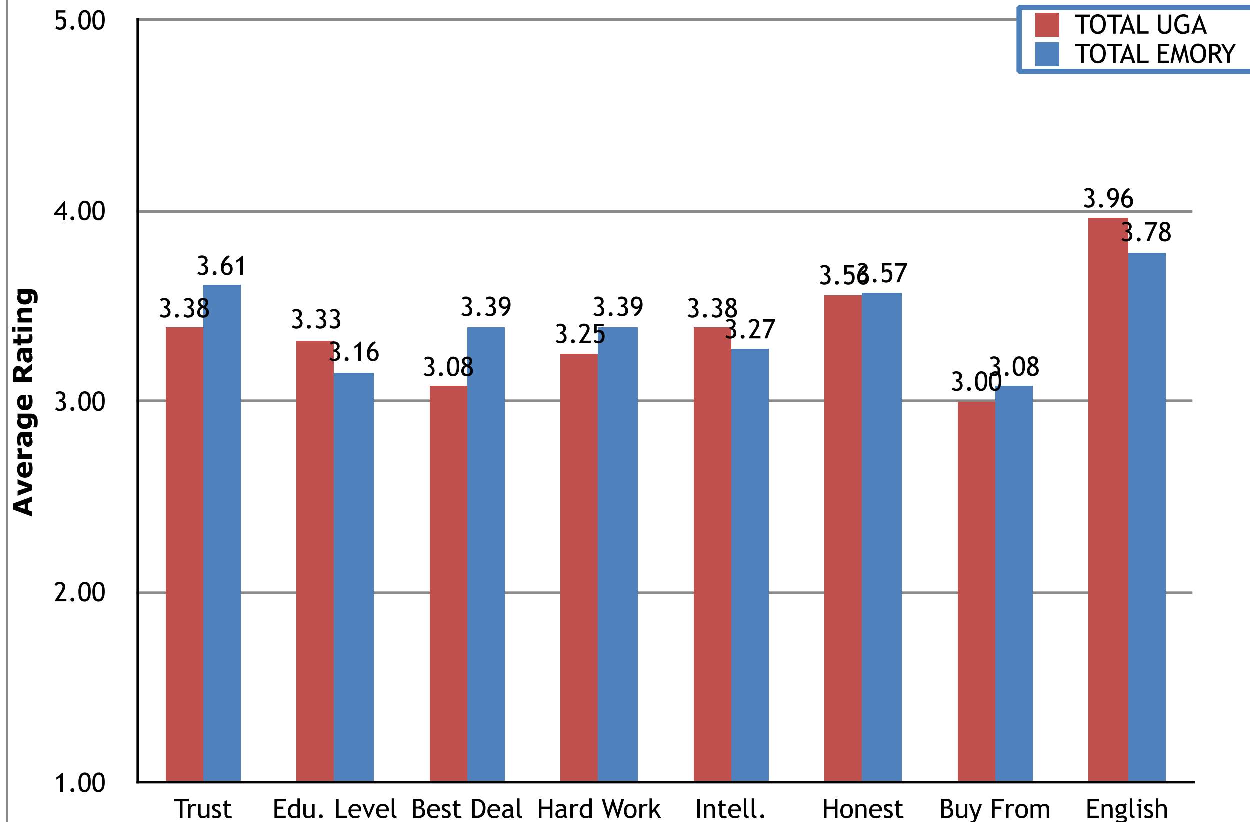
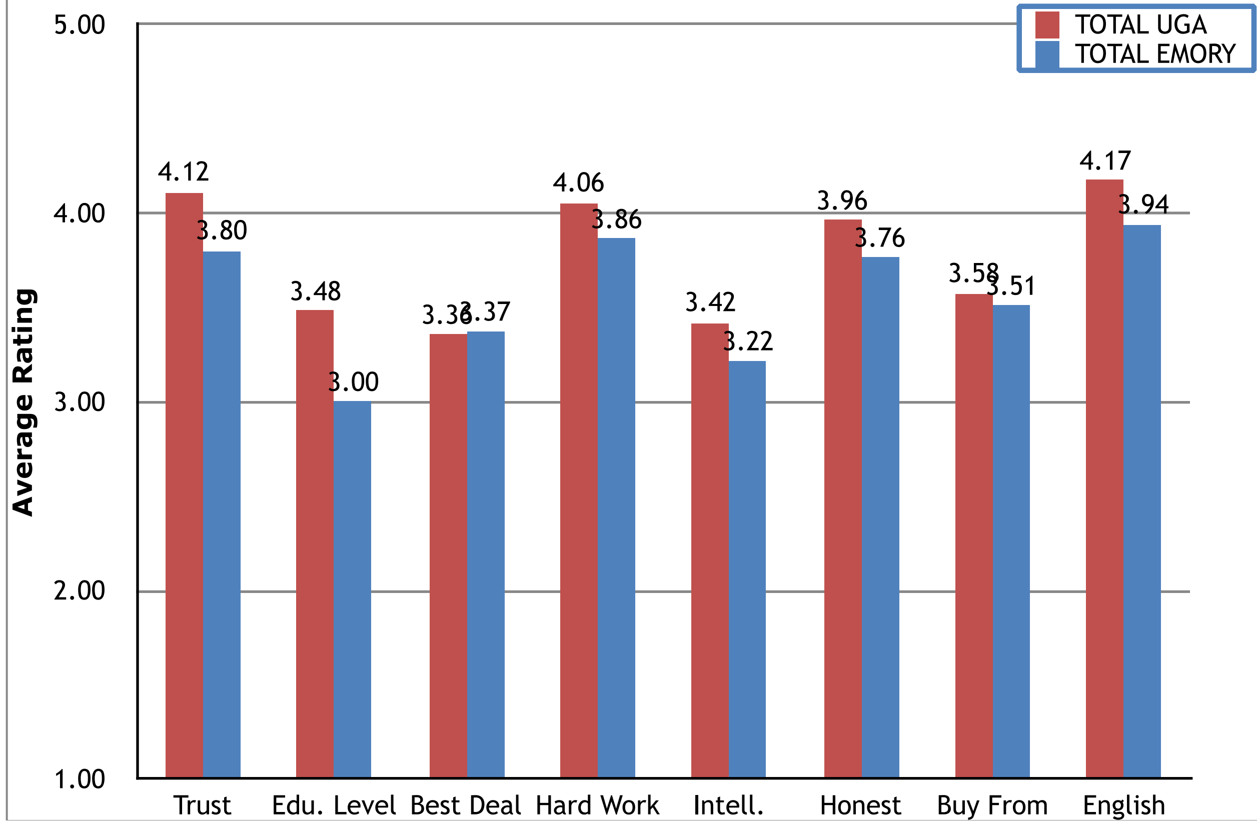
3.00
3.07
3.39
3.27
3.48
2.71
2.45
2.90
3.45
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

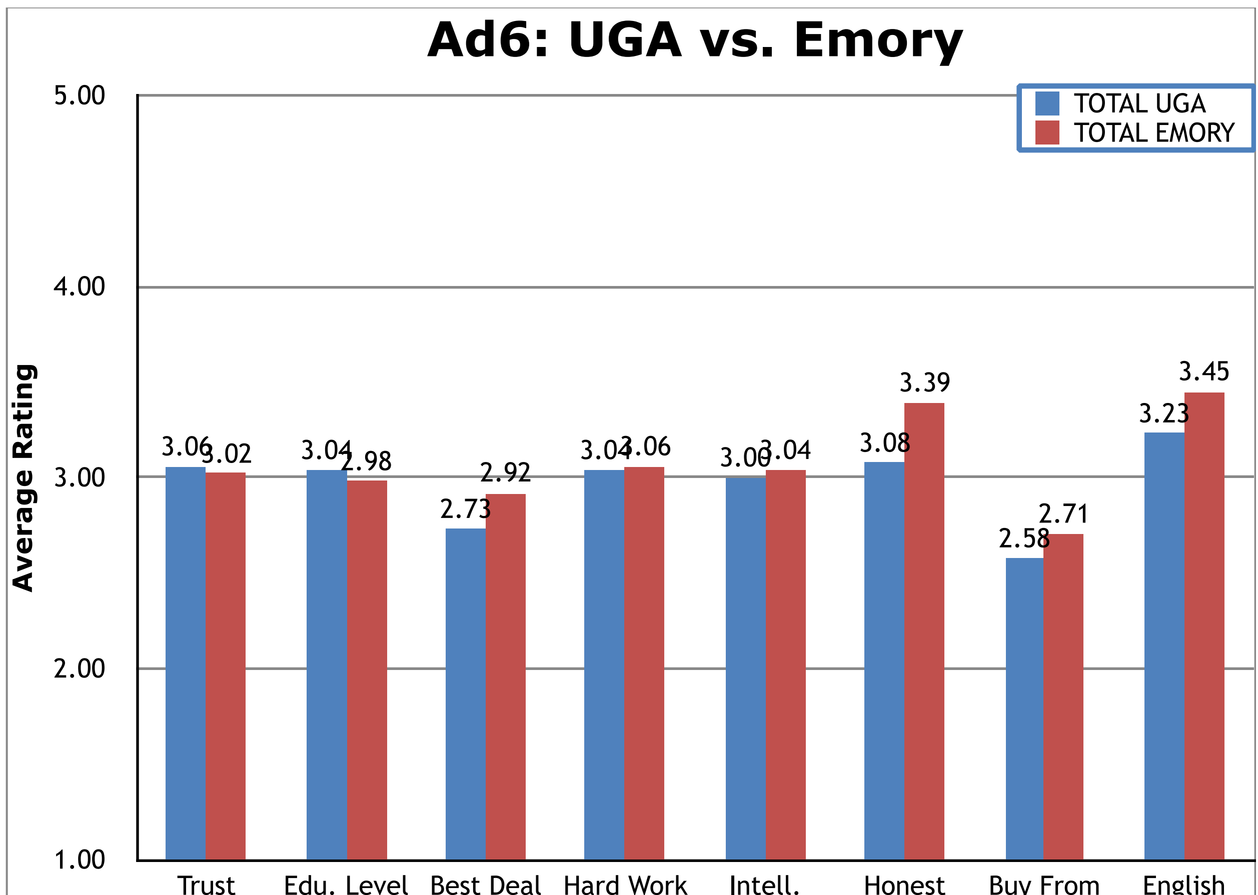

Ad1: UGA vs. Emory
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.96
3.14
2.48
2.34
2.98
3.22
3.29
3.53
2.63
2.55
2.92
3.24
2.62
2.65
3.04
2.71
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

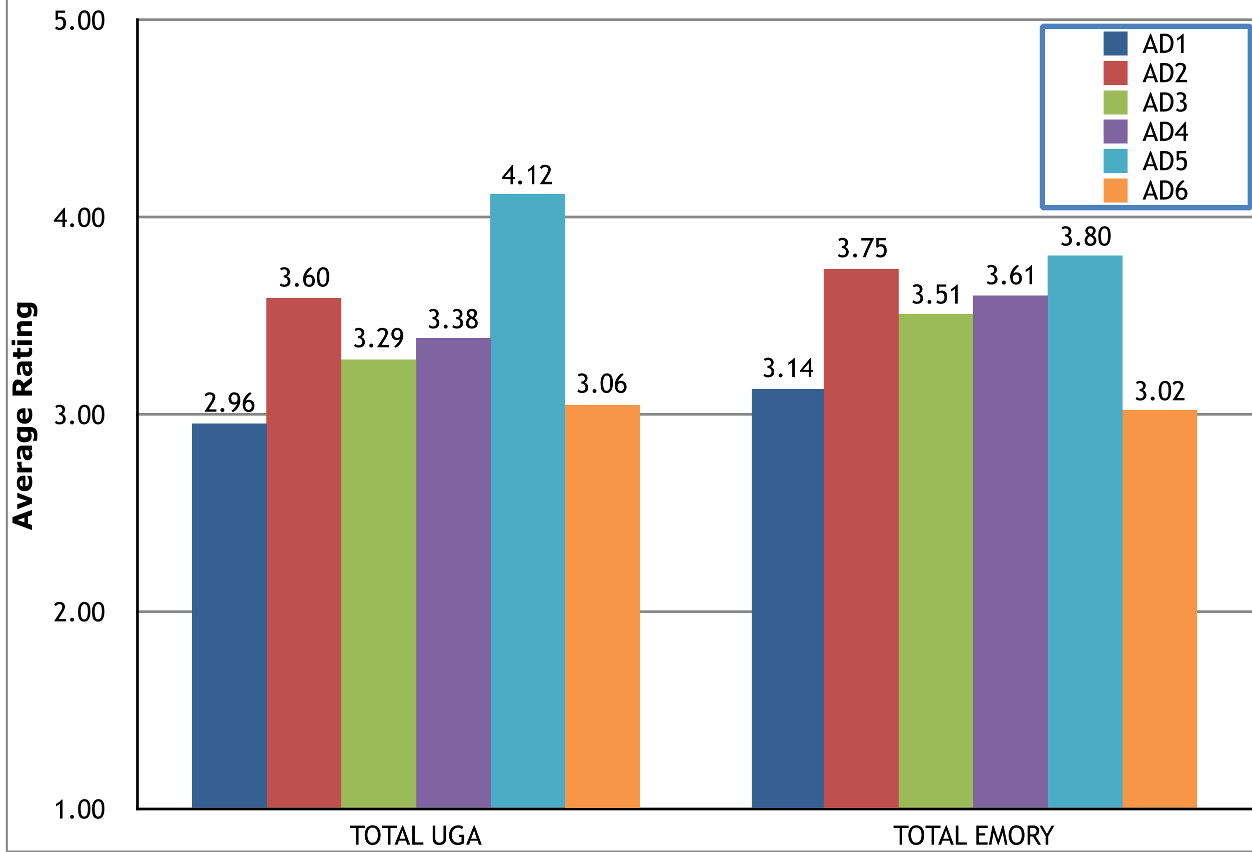

Ad2: UGA vs. Emory
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.60
3.75
4.02
3.98
3.13
3.27
3.67
3.76
3.94
3.92
3.71
3.51
3.48
3.47
4.44
4.47
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

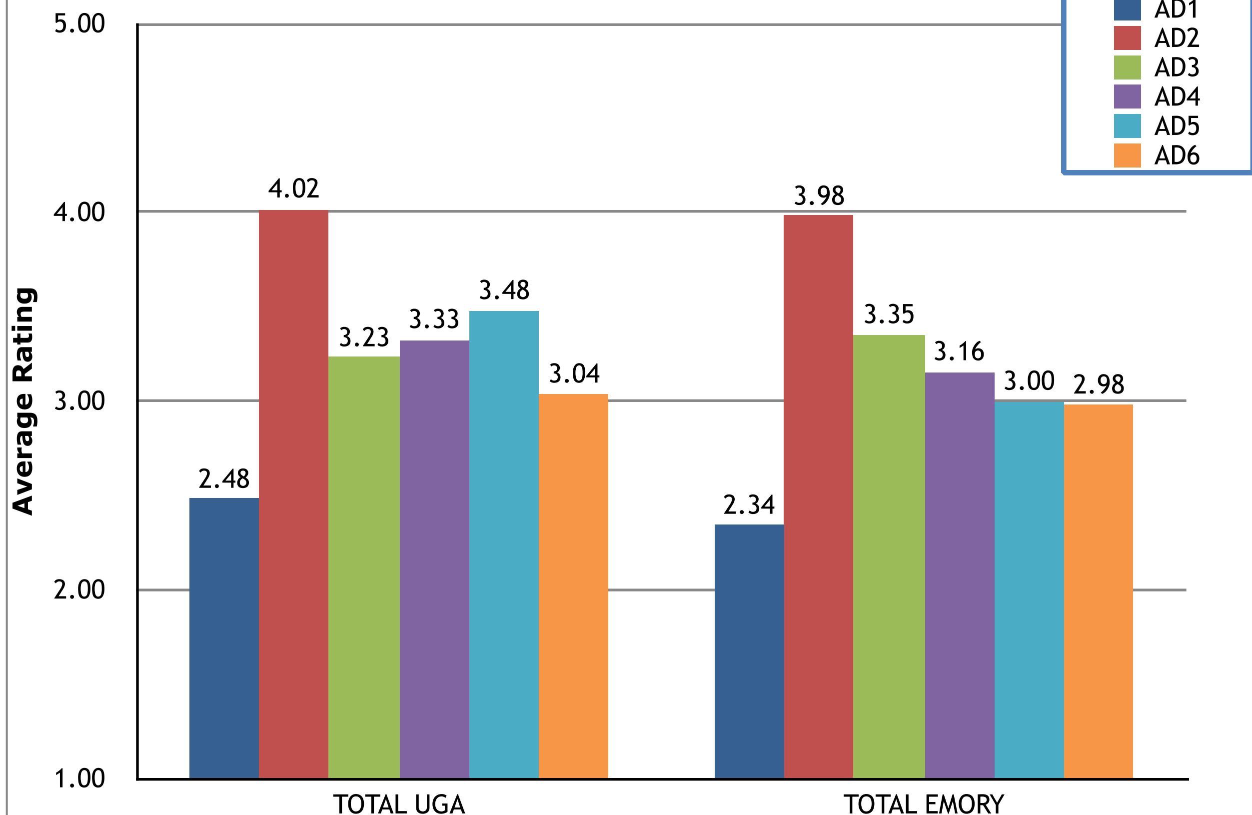

Ad3: UGA vs. Emory
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.29
3.51
3.23
3.35
3.25
3.20
3.48
3.61
3.42
3.27
3.19
3.47
3.10
3.16
3.90
4.00
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

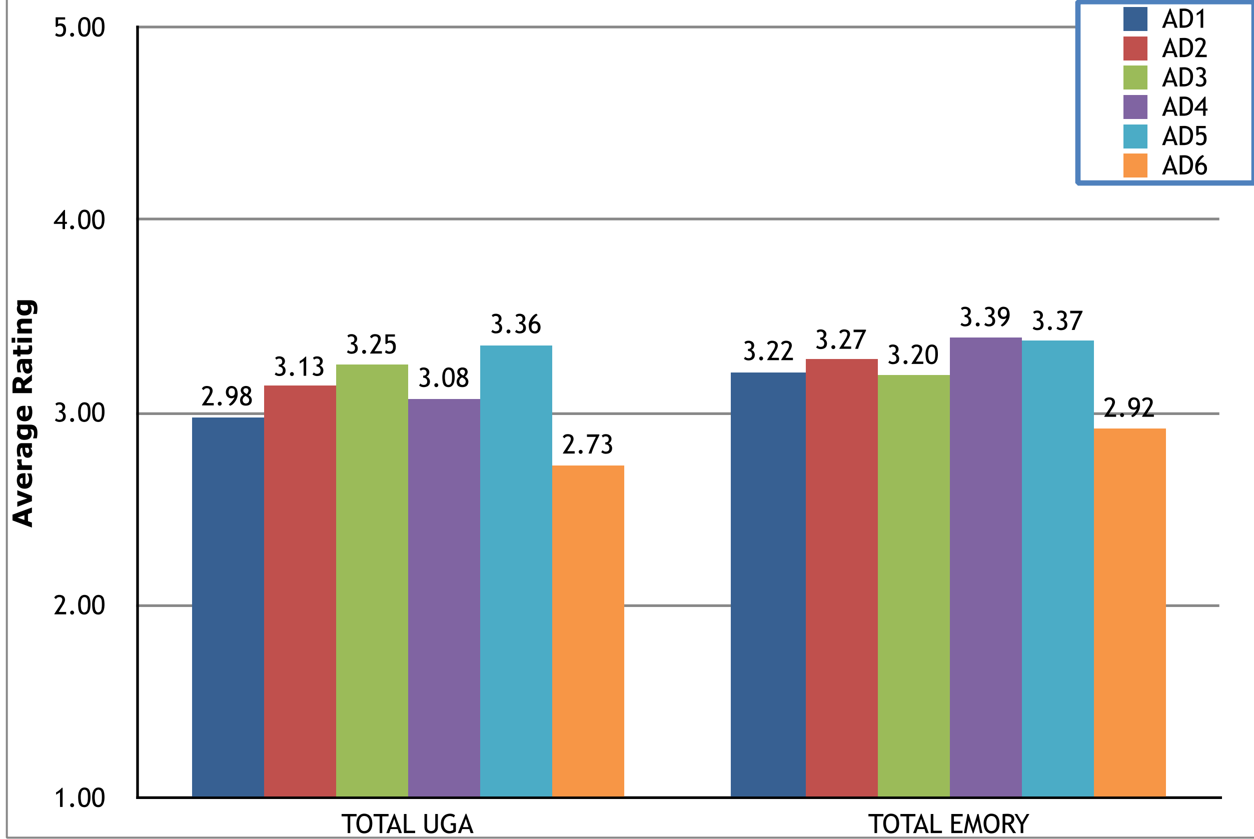

Ad4: UGA vs. Emory
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.38
3.61
3.33
3.16
3.08
3.39
3.25
3.39
3.38
3.27
3.56
3.57
3.00
3.08
3.96
3.78
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

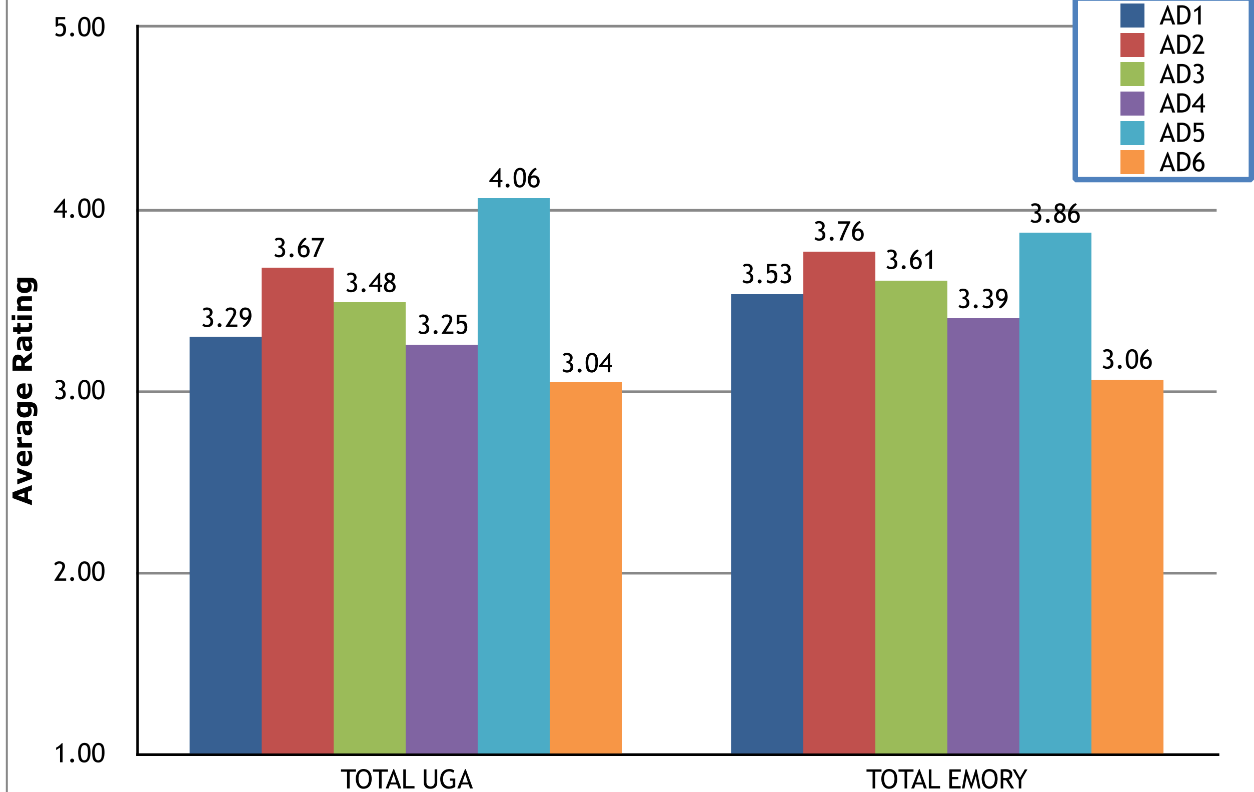

Ad5: UGA vs. Emory
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
4.12
3.80
3.48
3.00
3.36
3.37
4.06
3.86
3.42
3.22
3.96
3.76
3.58
3.51
4.17
3.94
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

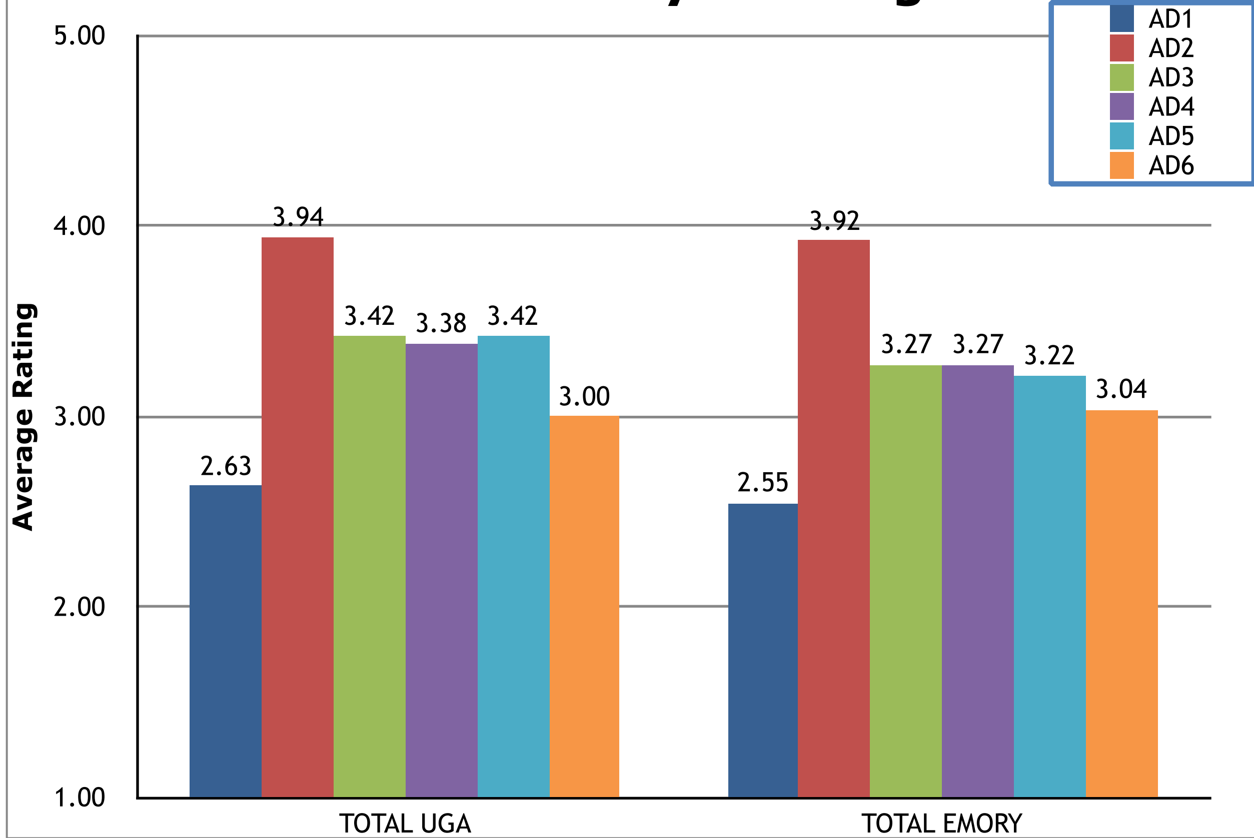

Ad6: UGA vs. Emory
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.06
3.02
3.04
2.98
2.73
2.92
3.04
3.06
3.00
3.04
3.08
3.39
2.58
2.71
3.23
3.45
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

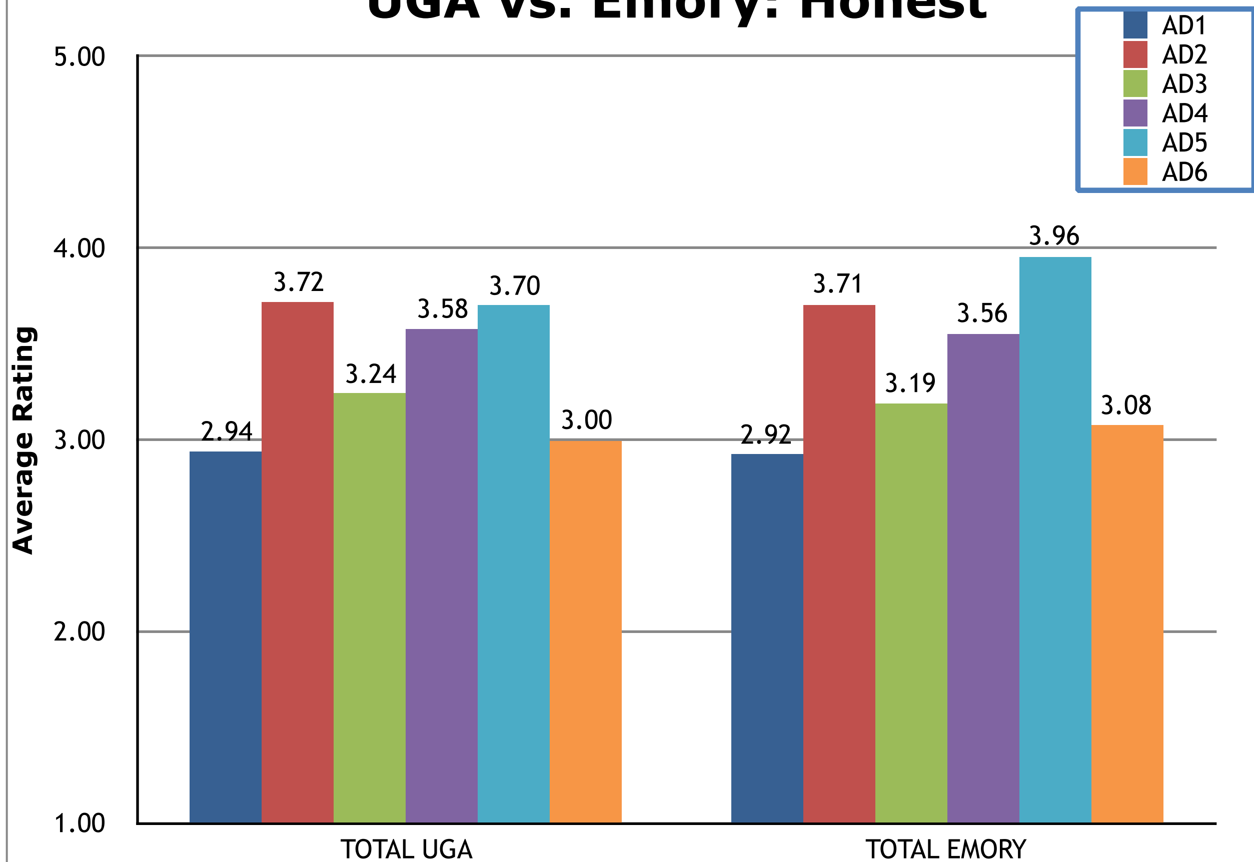

UGA vs Emory: Trustworthy
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
2.96
3.60
3.29
3.38
4.12
3.06
3.14
3.75
3.51
3.61
3.80
3.02
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

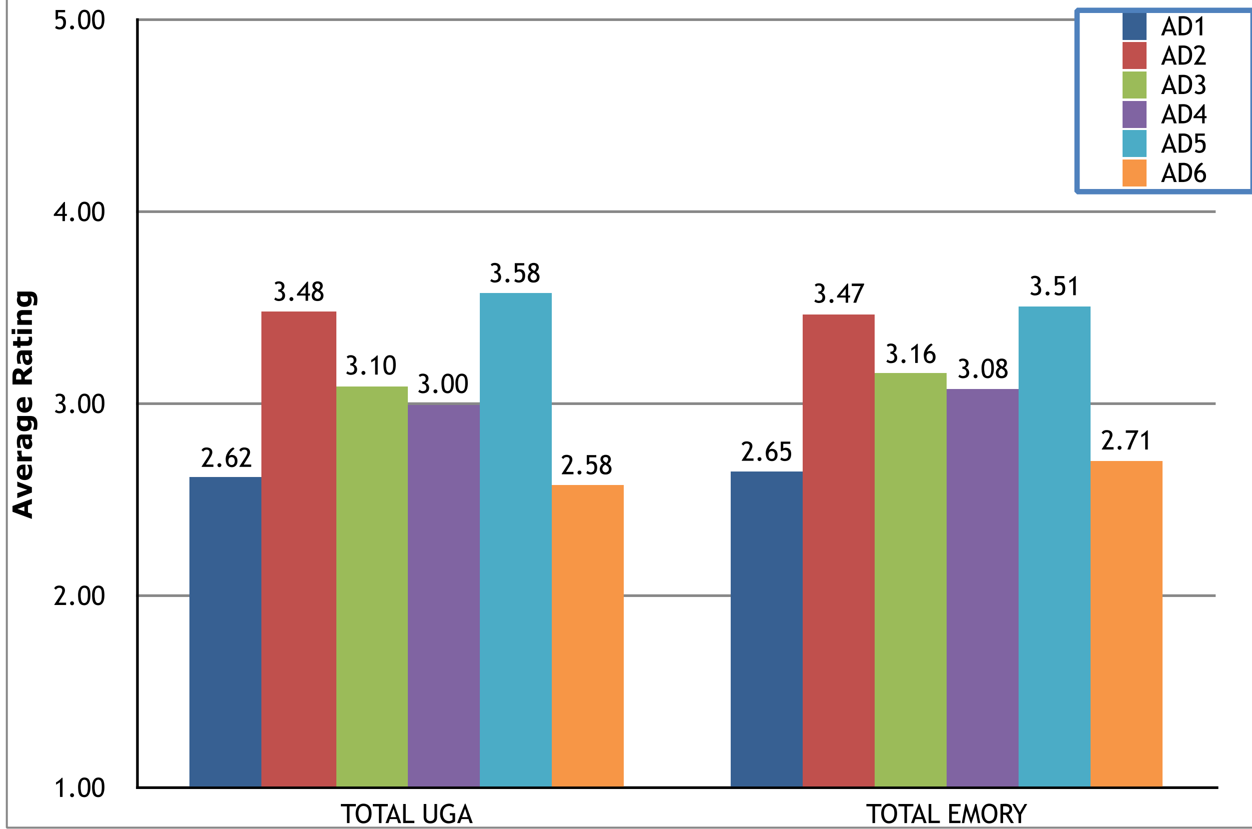

UGA vs. Emory: Education Level
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
2.48
4.02
3.23
3.33
3.48
3.04
2.34
3.98
3.35
3.16
3.00
2.98
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

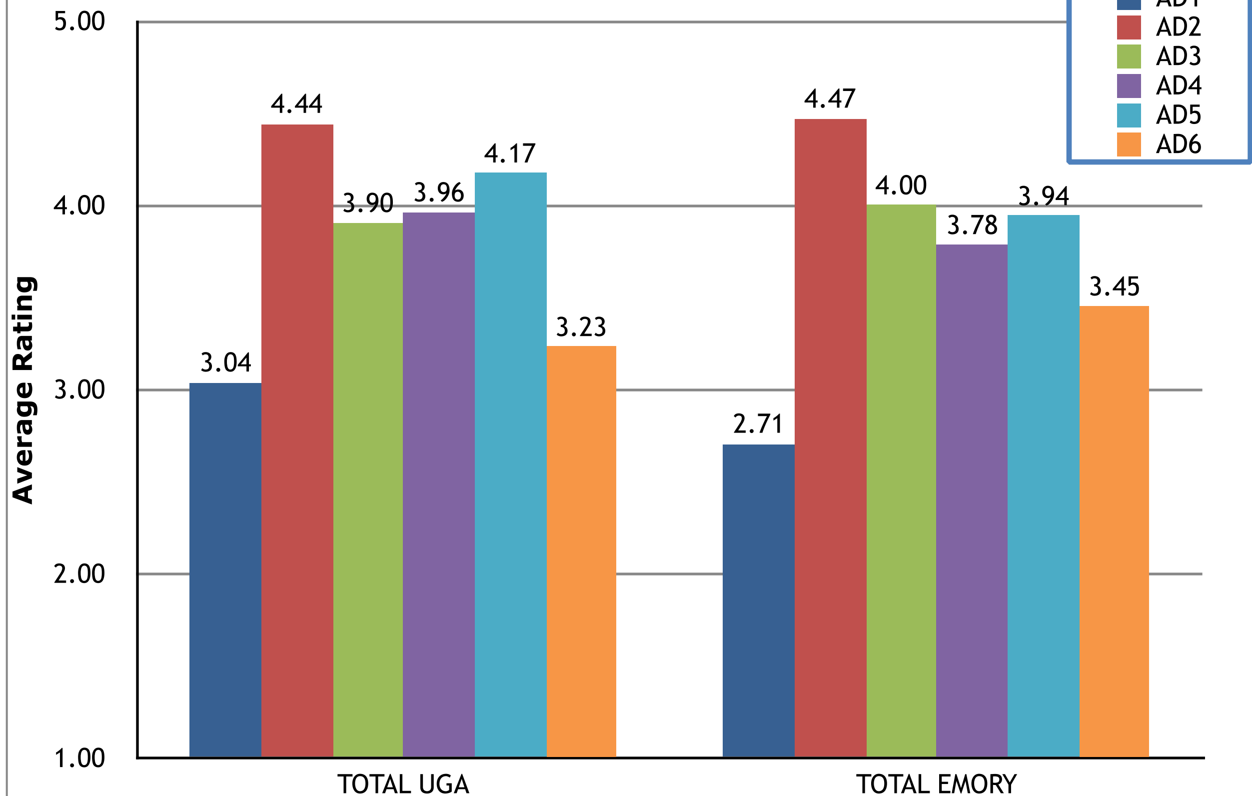

UGA vs. Emory: Best Deal
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Average Rating
2.98
3.13
3.25
3.08
3.36
2.73
3.22
3.27
3.20
3.39
3.37
2.92
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

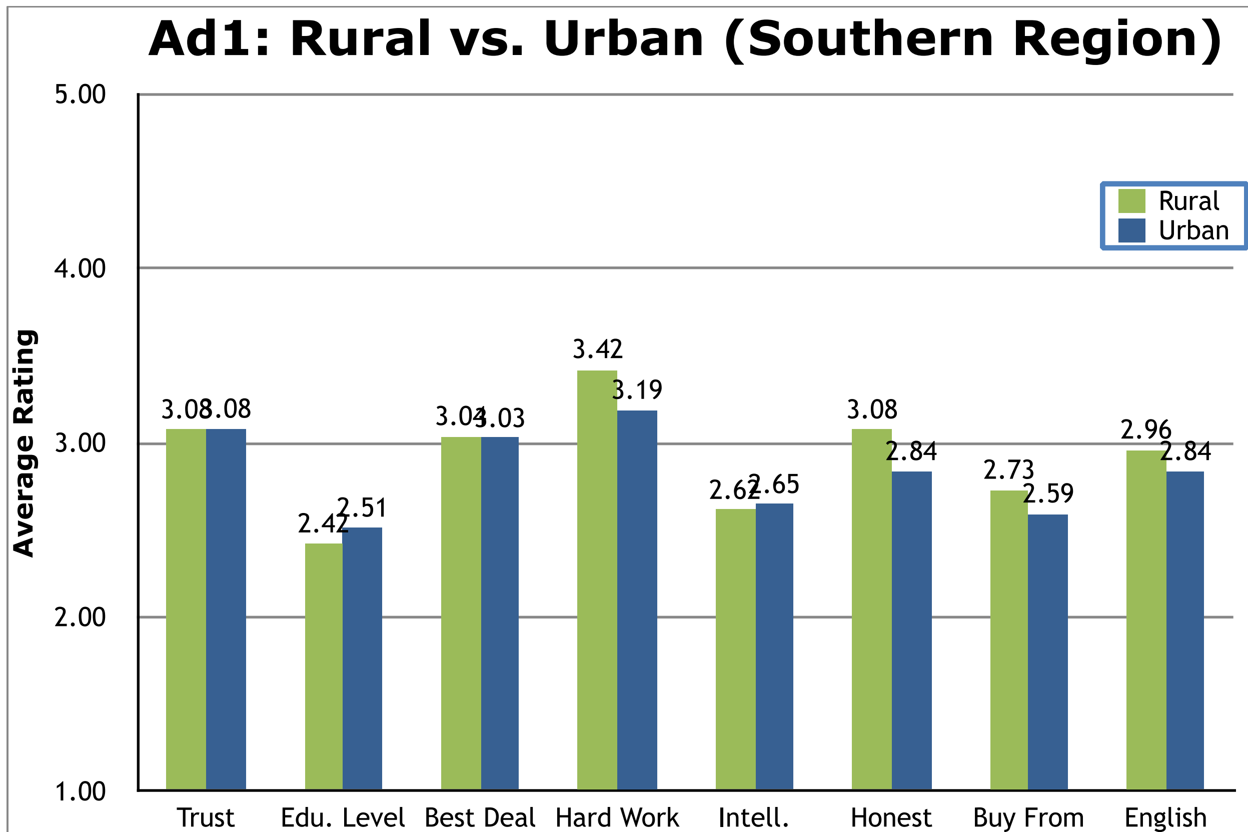

UGA vs. Emory: Hardworking
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Average Rating
3.29
3.67
3.48
3.25
4.06
3.04
3.53
3.76
3.61
3.39
3.86
3.06
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

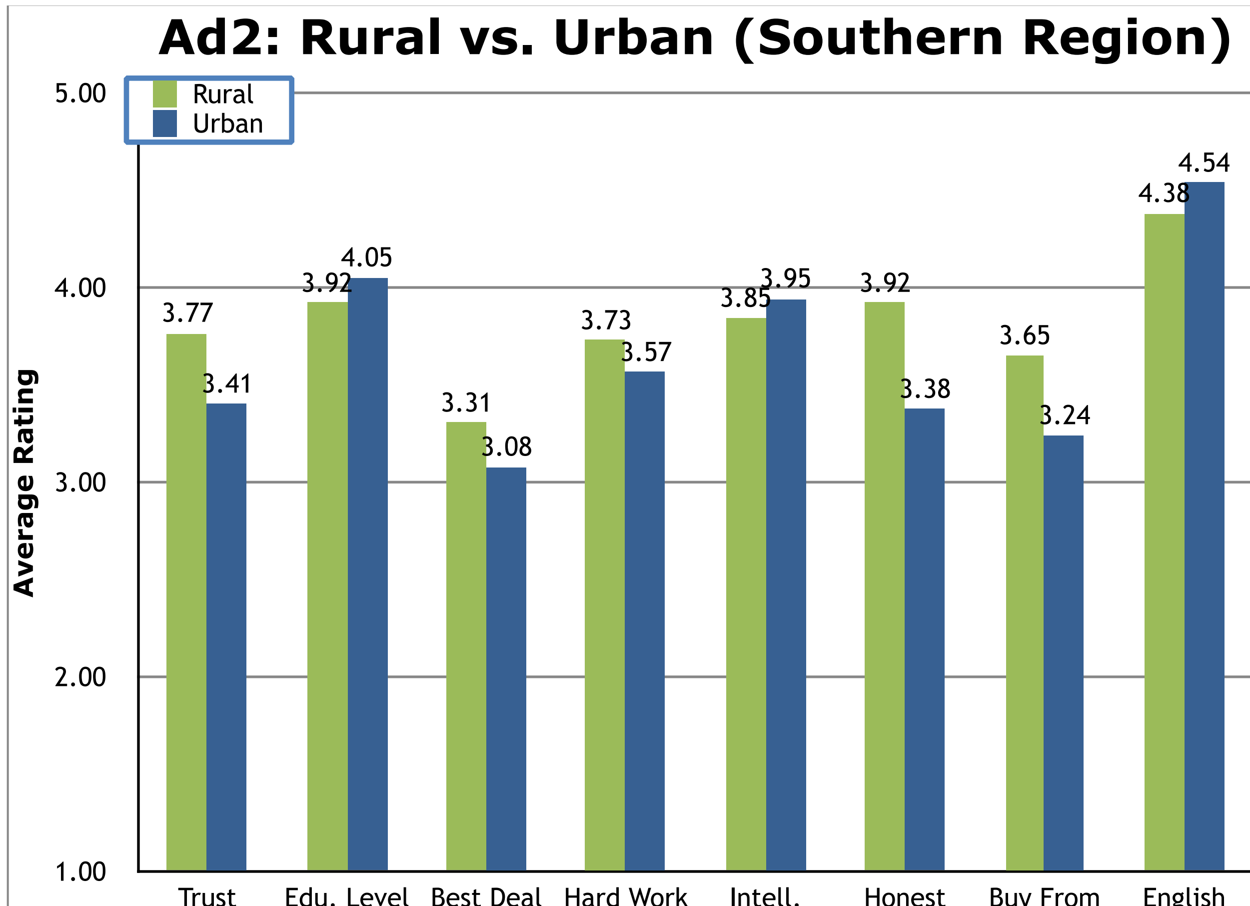

UGA vs. Emory: Intelligence
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
2.63
3.94
3.42
3.38
3.42
3.00
2.55
3.92
3.27
3.27
3.22
3.04
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

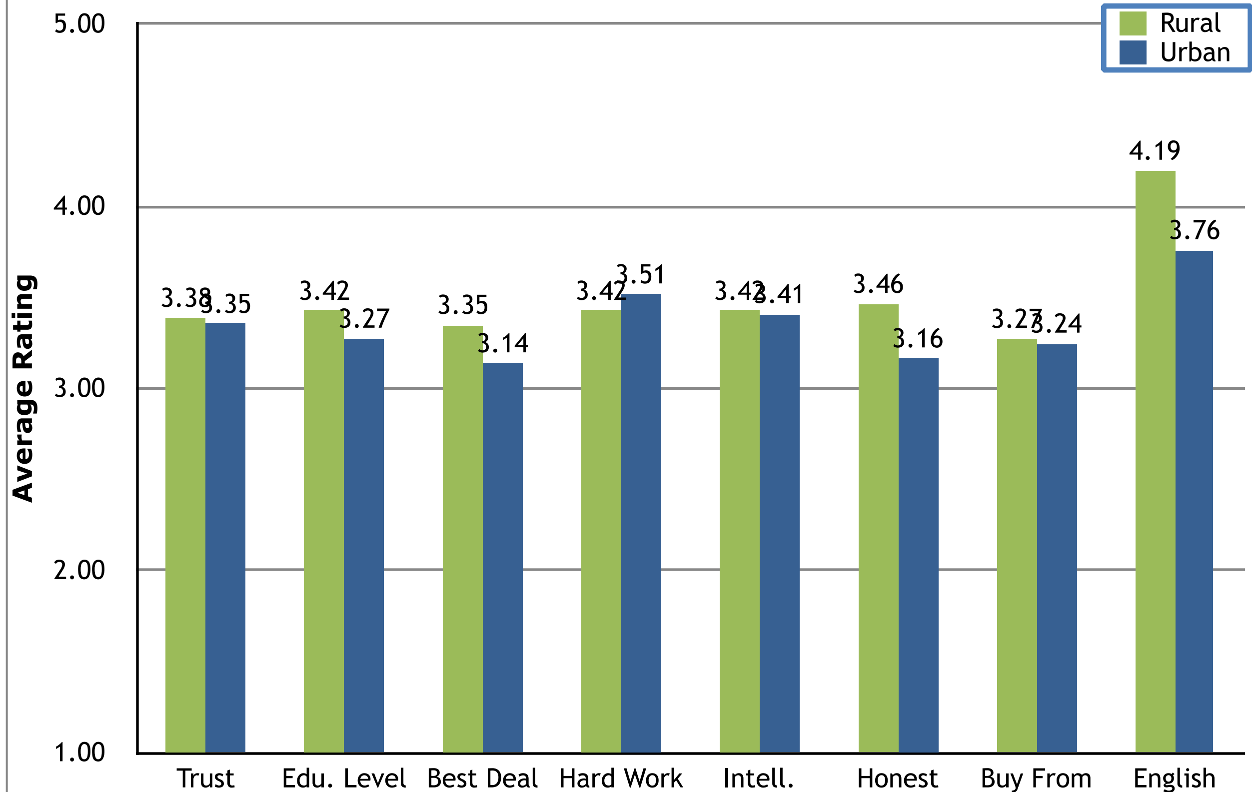

UGA vs. Emory: Honest
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
2.94
3.72
3.24
3.58
3.70
3.00
2.92
3.71
3.19
3.56
3.96
3.08
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

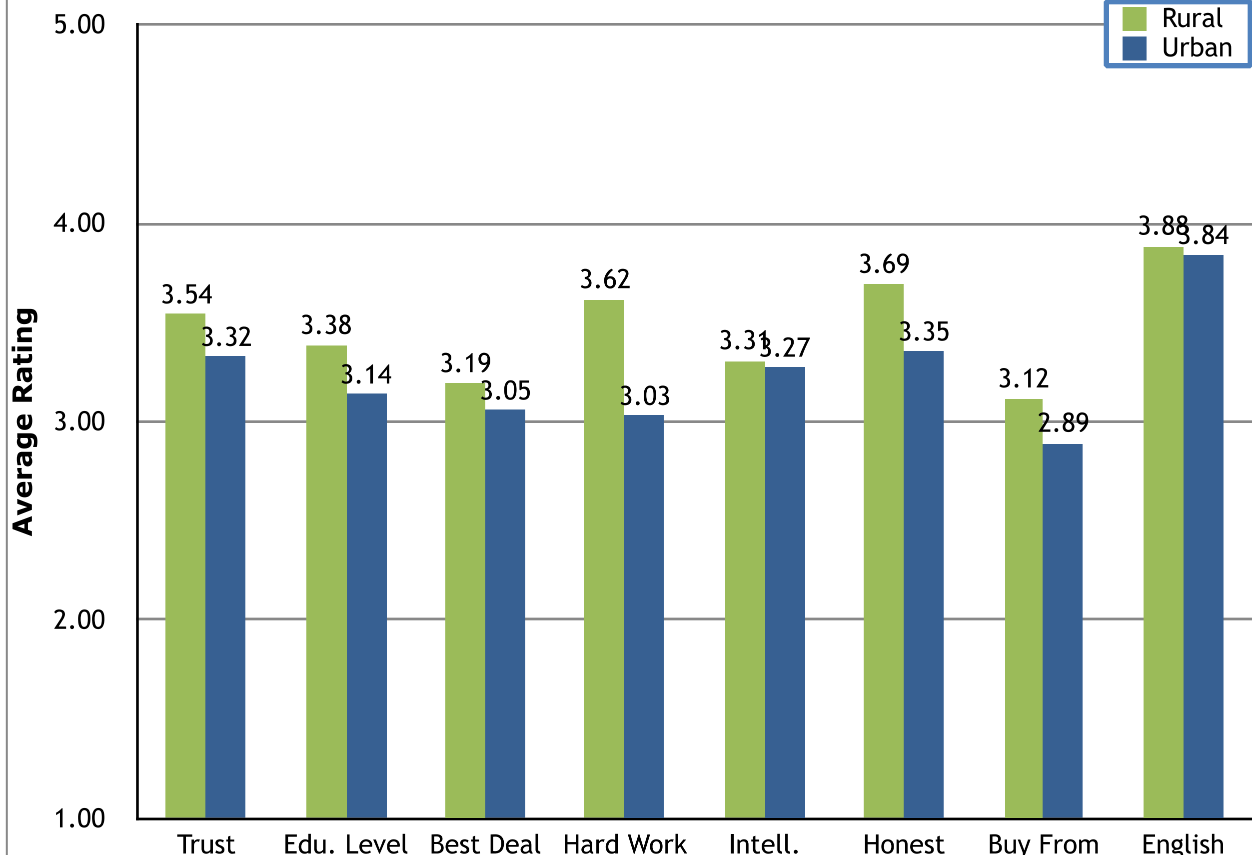

UGA vs. Emory: Buy From
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
2.62
3.48
3.10
3.00
3.58
2.58
2.65
3.47
3.16
3.08
3.51
2.71
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

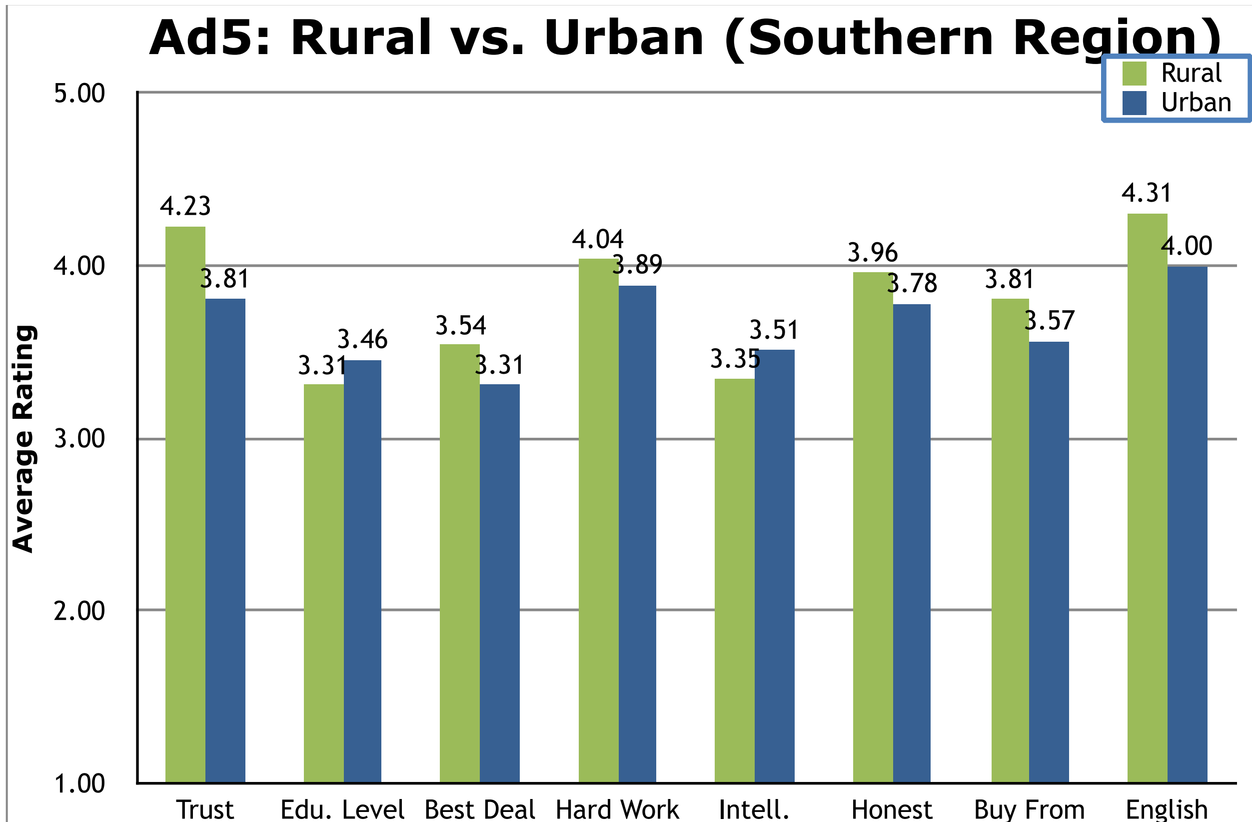

UGA vs. Emory: Correct English
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
3.04
4.44
3.90
3.96
4.17
3.23
2.71
4.47
4.00
3.78
3.94
3.45
TOTAL UGA
TOTAL EMORY

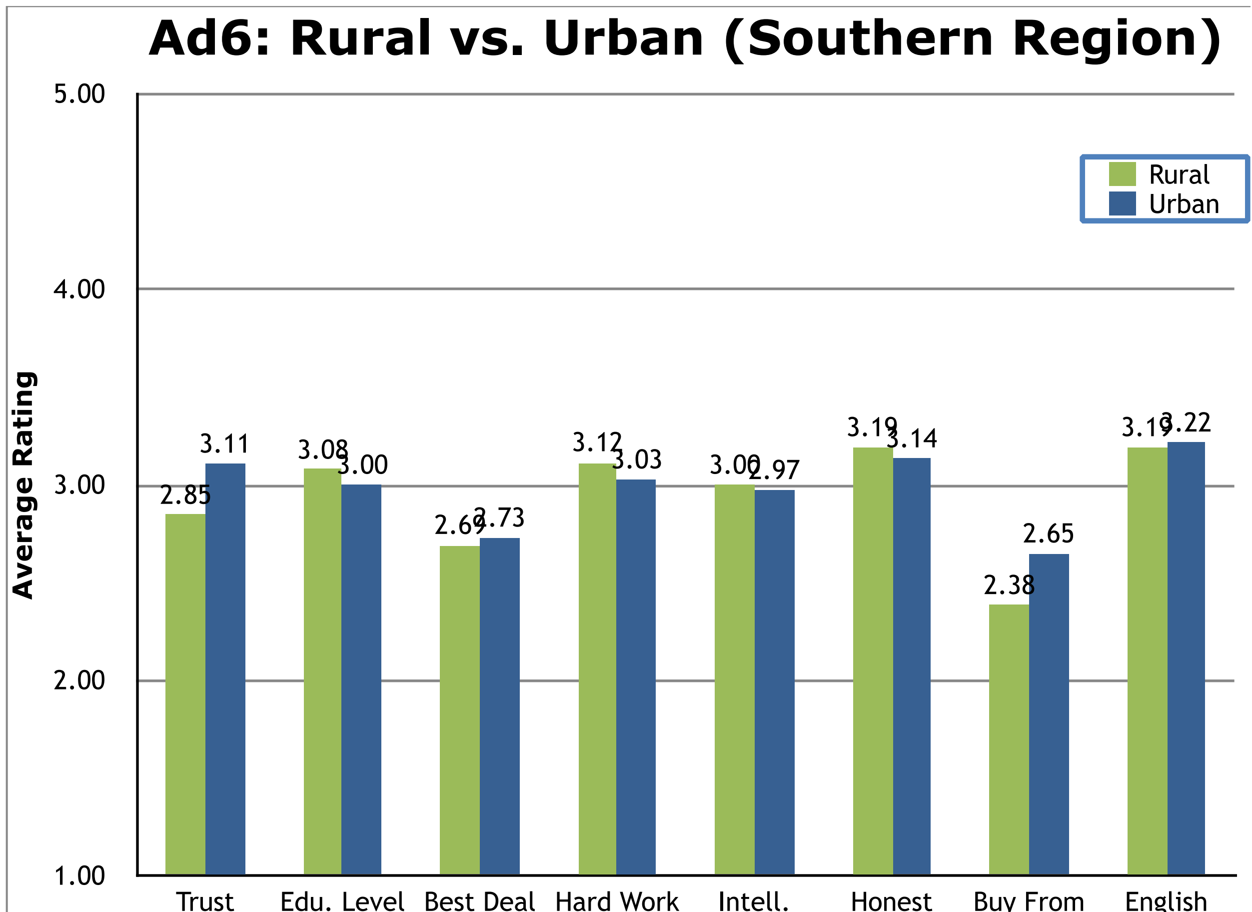

Ad1: Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region)
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Rural
Urban
3.08
3.08
2.42
2.51
3.03
3.03
3.42
3.19
2.62
2.65
3.08
2.84
2.73
2.59
2.96
2.84
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

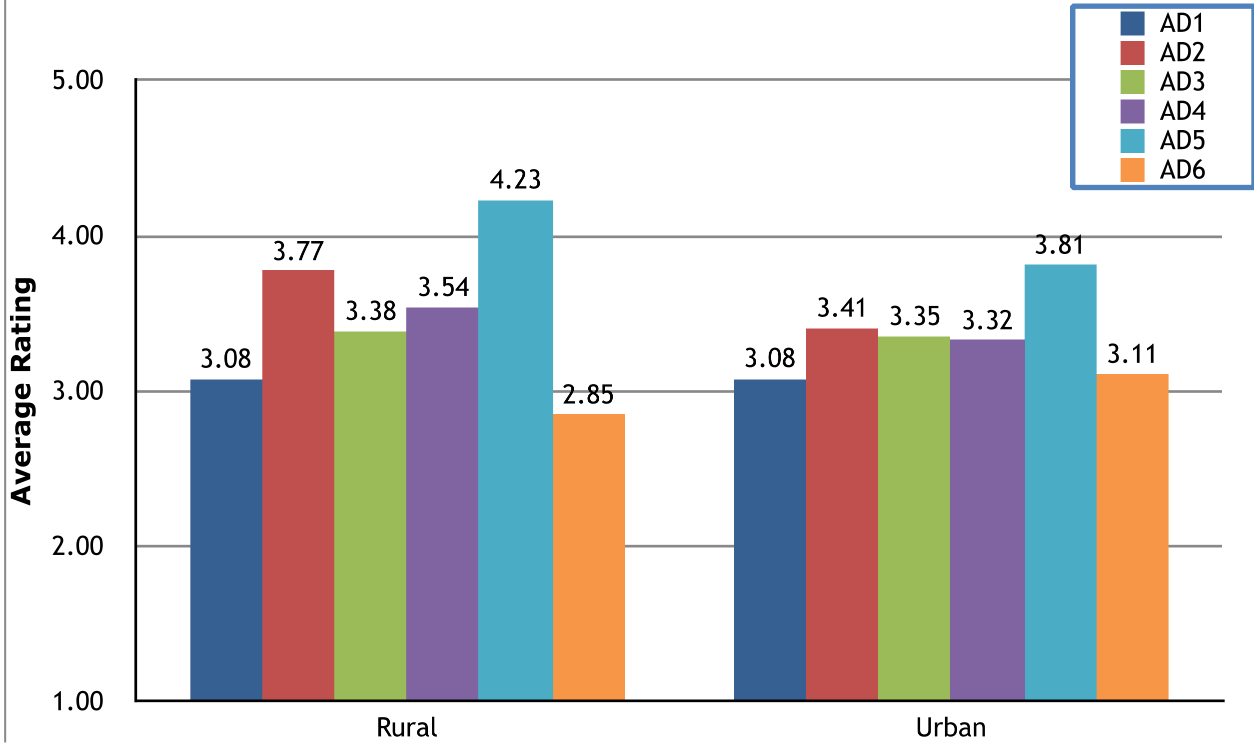

Ad2: Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region)
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
Rural
Urban
3.77
3.41
3.92
4.05
3.31
3.08
3.73
3.57
3.85
3.95
3.92
3.38
3.65
3.24
4.38
4.54
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

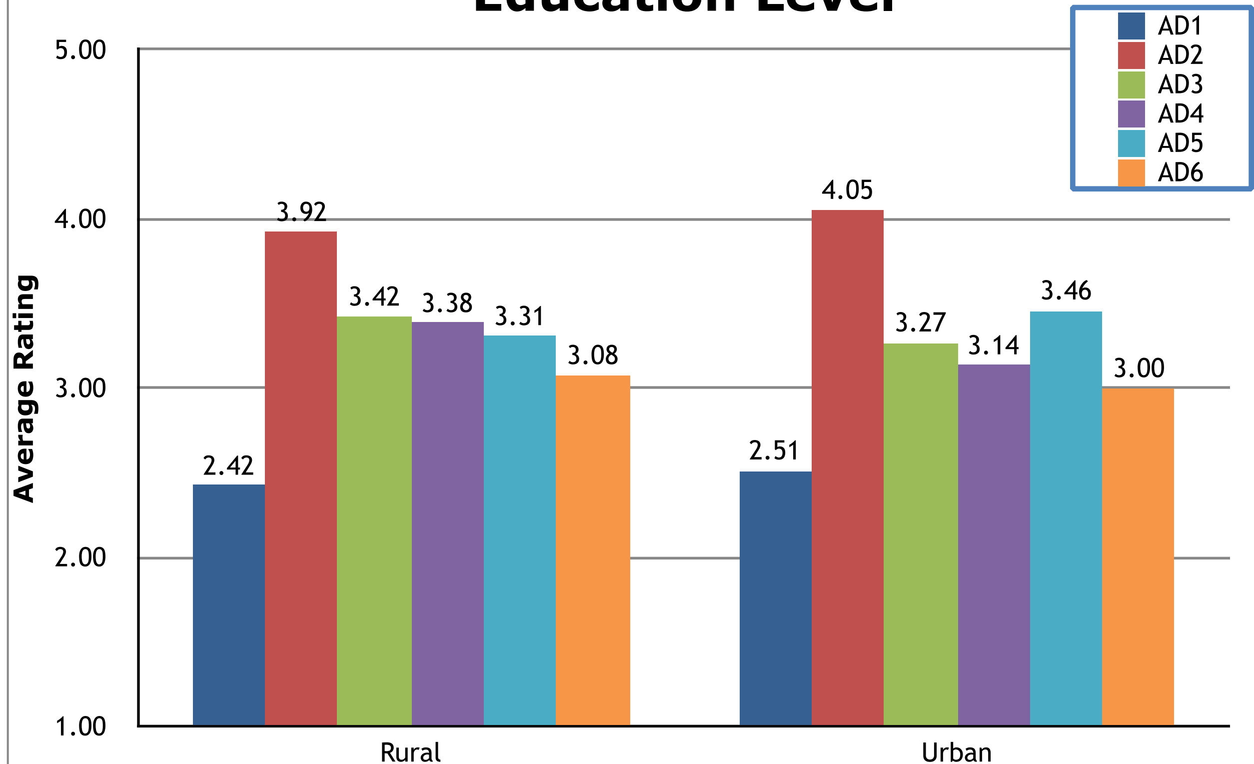

Ad3: Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region)
Rural
Urban
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.38
3.35
3.42
3.27
3.35
3.14
3.42
3.51
3.42
3.41
3.46
3.16
3.27
3.24
4.19
3.76
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

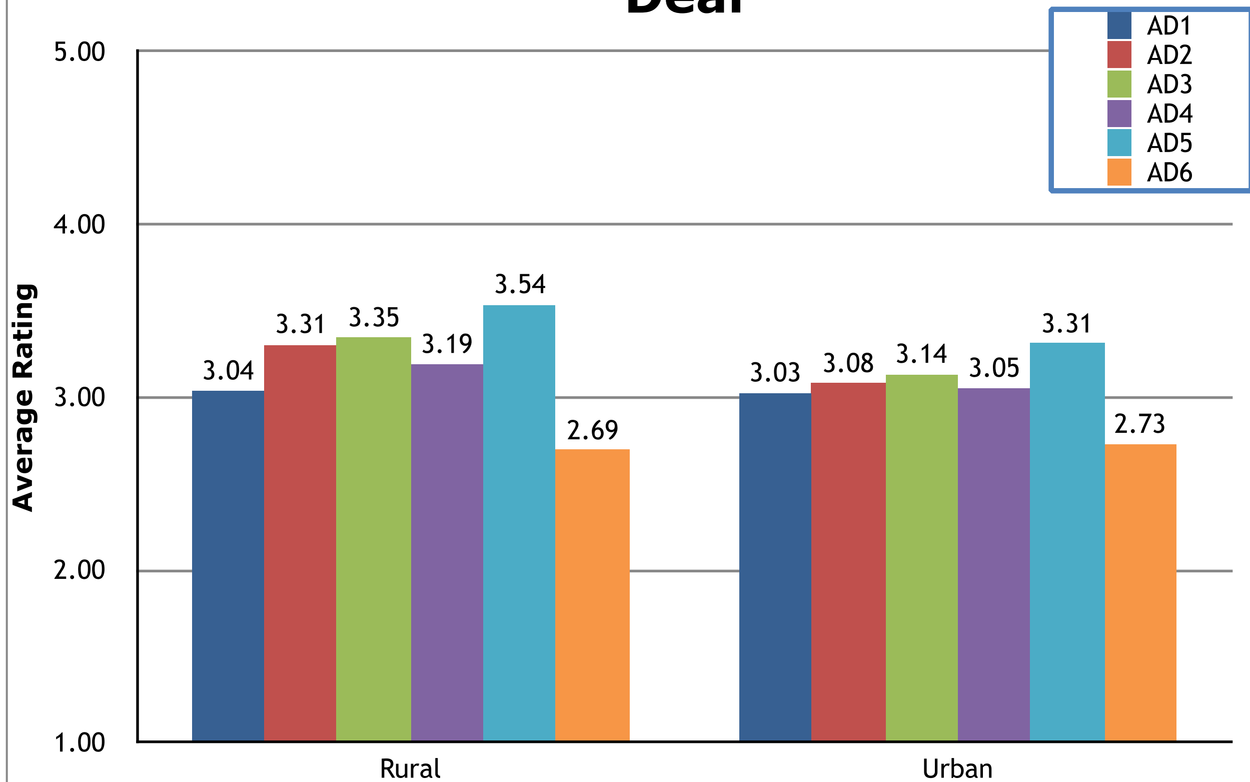

Ad4: Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region)
Rural
Urban
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.54
3.32
3.38
3.14
3.19
3.05
3.62
3.03
3.31
3.27
3.69
3.35
3.12
2.89
3.88
3.84
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

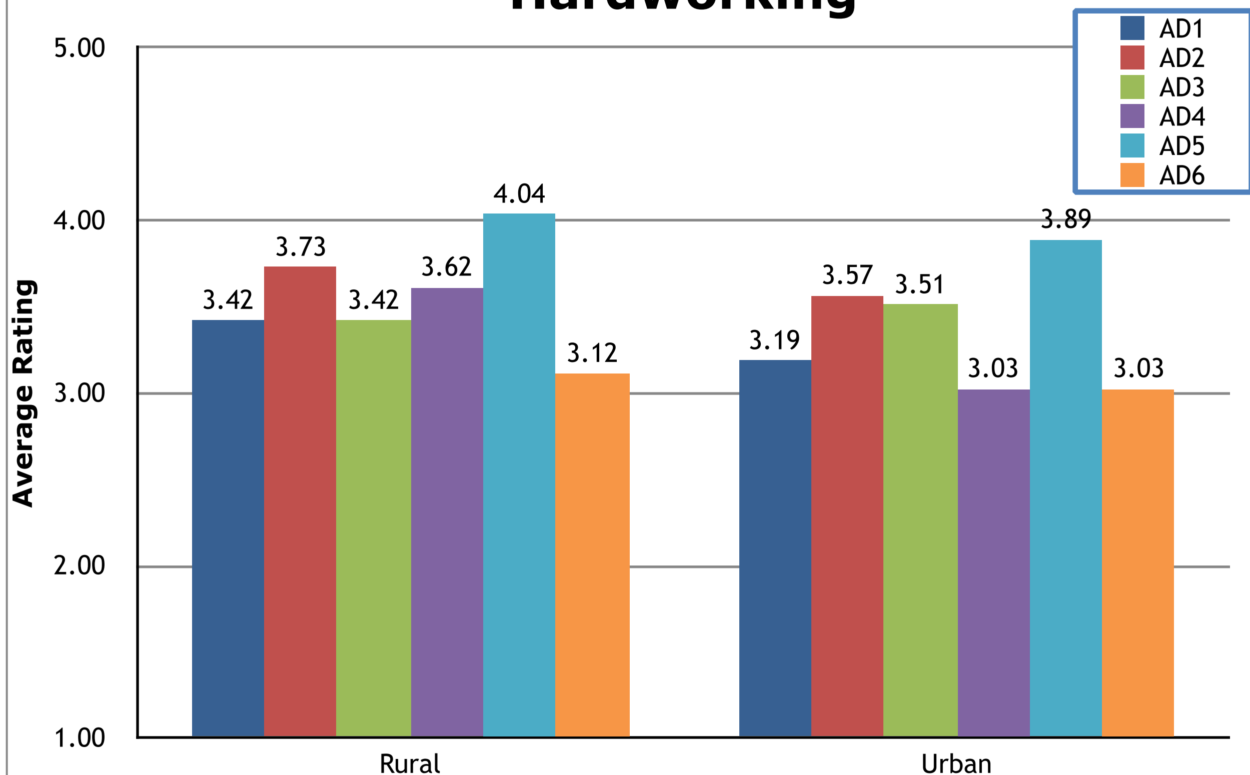

Ad5: Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region)
Rural
Urban
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
4.23
3.81
3.31
3.46
3.54
3.31
4.04
3.89
3.35
3.51
3.96
3.78
3.81
3.57
4.31
4.00
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

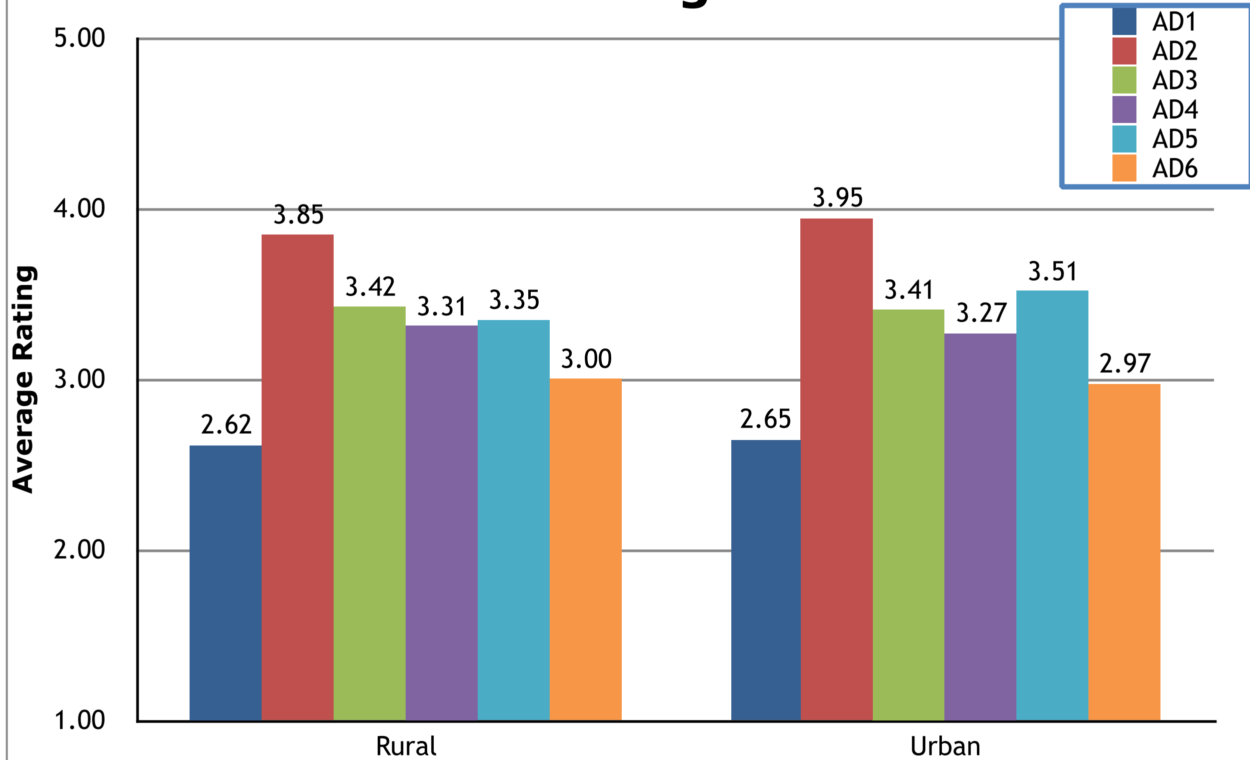

Ad6: Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region)
Rural
Urban
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.85
3.11
3.08
3.00
2.69
2.73
3.12
3.03
3.00
2.97
3.19
3.14
2.38
2.65
3.19
3.22
Trust
Edu. Level
Best Deal
Hard Work
Intell.
Honest
Buy From
English

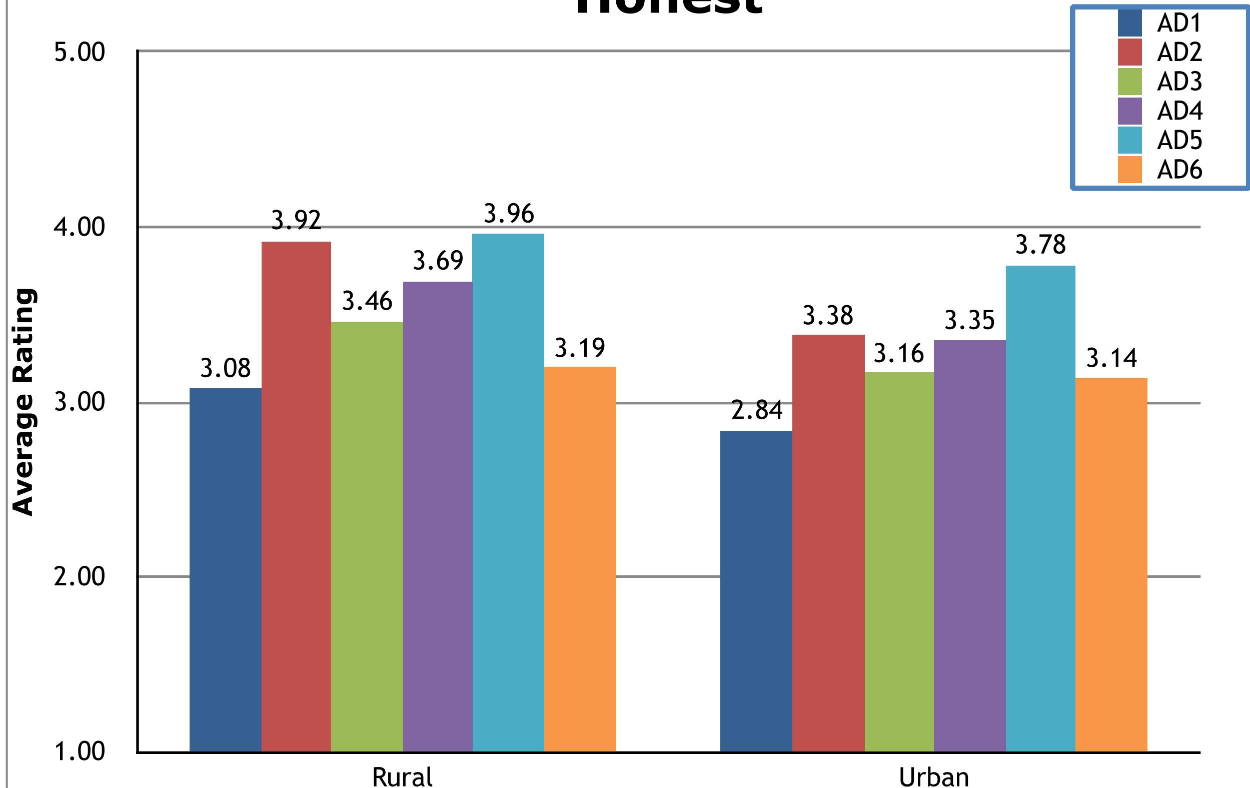

Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region) : Trustworthy
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.08
3.77
3.38
3.54
4.23
2.85
3.08
3.41
3.35
3.32
3.81
3.11
Rural
Urban

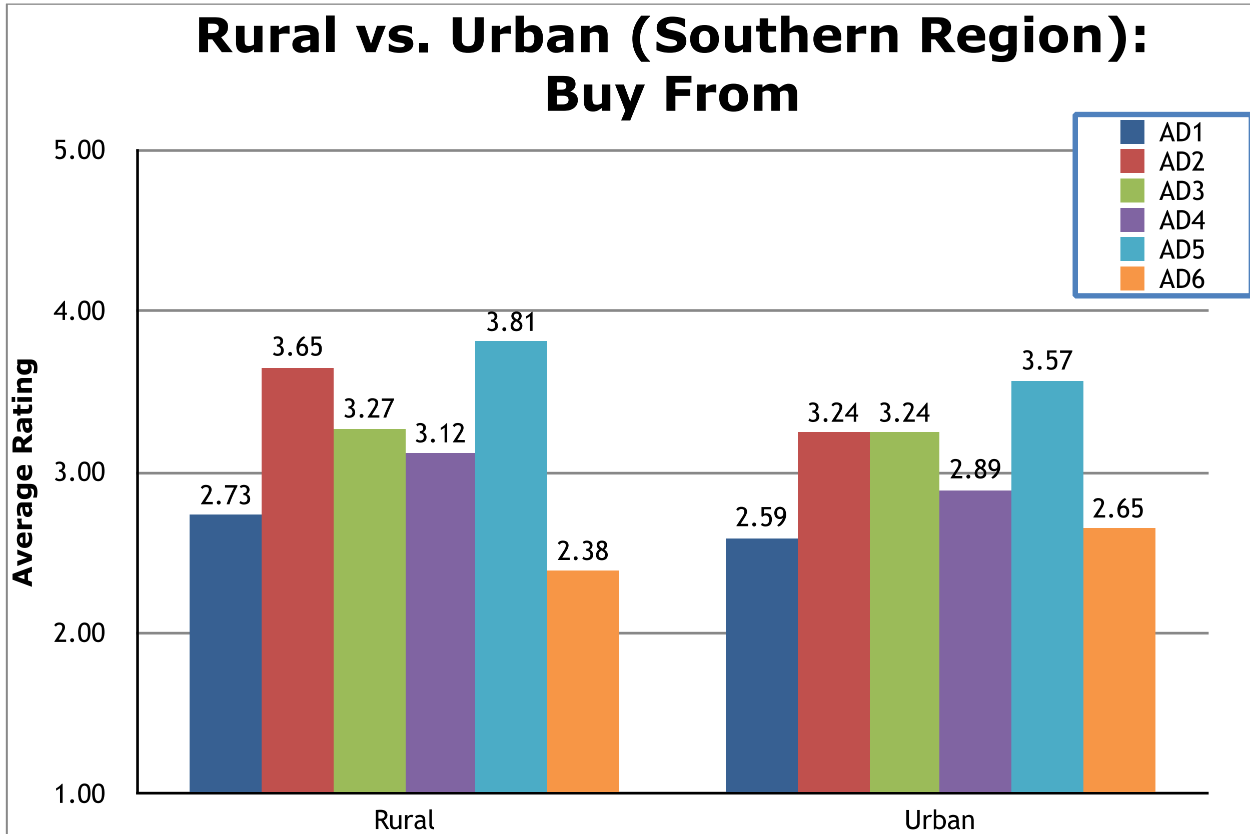

Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region): Education Level
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.42
3.92
3.42
3.38
3.31
3.08
2.51
4.05
3.27
3.14
3.46
3.00
Rural
Urban

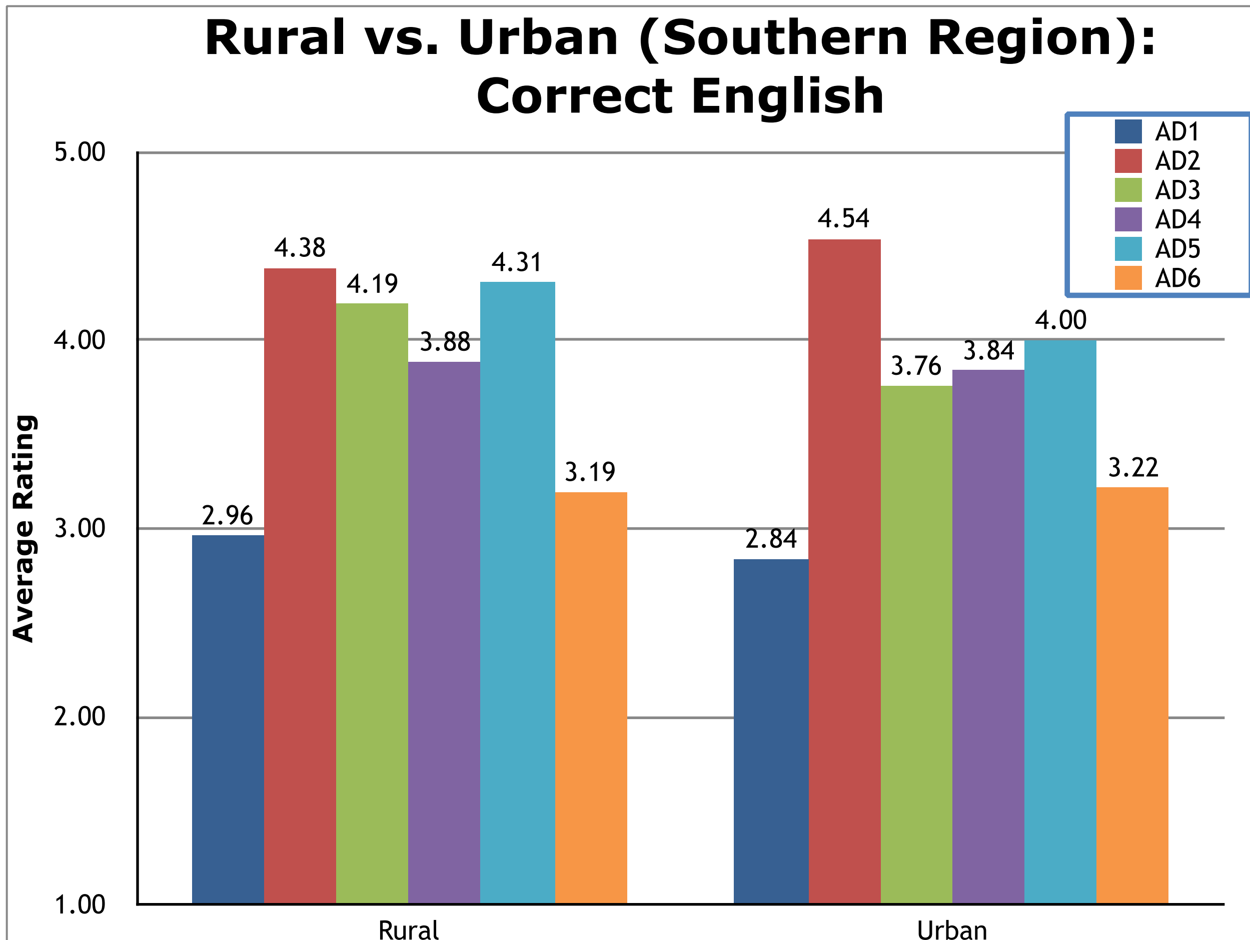

Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region): Best Deal
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.04
3.31
3.35
3.19
3.54
2.69
3.03
3.08
3.14
3.05
3.31
2.73
Rural
Urban


Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region): Hardworking
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.42
3.73
3.42
3.62
4.04
3.12
3.19
3.57
3.51
3.03
3.89
3.03
Rural
Urban


Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region): Intelligence
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.62
3.85
3.42
3.31
3.35
3.00
2.65
3.95
3.41
3.27
3.51
2.97
Rural
Urban


Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region): Honest
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
3.08
3.92
3.46
3.69
3.96
3.19
2.84
3.38
3.16
3.35
3.78
3.14
Rural
Urban


Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region):
Buy From
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.73
3.65
3.27
3.12
3.81
2.38
2.59
3.24
3.24
2.89
3.57
2.65
Rural
Urban


Rural vs. Urban (Southern Region):
Correct English
AD1
AD2
AD3
AD4
AD5
AD6
Average Rating
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
2.96
4.38
4.19
3.88
4.31
3.19
2.84
4.54
3.76
3.84
4.00
3.22
Rural
Urban

Appendix B: Research Study Survey

Demographic Information

Age:

Gender:

Birthplace:

Parent's Birthplace:

Socioeconomic status of family:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Trustworthy (1= least trustworthy, 5=most trustworthy)						
Education Level (1=low level of education, 5=high level of education)						
Best Deal (1=least likely to offer the best deal, 5=most likely to offer the best deal)						
Hardworking (1=least hardworking, 5=most hardworking)						
Intelligence (1=least intelligent, 5=most intelligent)						
Honest (1=least honest, 5=most honest)						
Buy From (1=least likely to buy from, 5=most likely to buy from)						
Correct form of American English (1=least correct form of American English, 5=most correct form of American English)						