'Y'all come back now, y'hear!?'

Language Attitudes in the United States Towards Southern American English

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PREFACE

Little did I know, when I first set foot on the American continent back in 1993, that the experiences I was going to make over the period of the following six months or so would once determine my choice of topic for my M.A. thesis. Thoughts about going to university were for the future; for the moment, I was spending a semester at a high school in Kingston, Roane County, Tennessee. Yet, after six months of total immersion in Southern culture, I had become 'the Austrian with the funny Southern accent' (as attested by a lady from New Jersey), doing all kinds of weird things to my vowels (as attested in a speech lab course later at the University of Vienna English department).

Realization that a Southern accent carried all sorts of 'baggage' with it first dawned on me during a screening of an old Cary Grant screwball comedy, the 1940 *My Favorite Wife*. The plot is rather intricate, but early in the film Grant's movie-wife, played by Irene Dunne, comes back after long years spent on a desert island after a shipwreck; wishing to stay incognito at first, and still to be able to check out her surroundings, she assumes the role of a country-bumpkin cousin. She wants to appear naive, simple-minded, funny, and to offend a little all snobs present, in short, she assumes a Southern accent.

This little incident put me on the scent of all kinds of stereotyping phenomena related to Southerners and Southern accents. In the end, the result is this present paper.

Working on the field study for this paper was a very rich, interactive experience for me. The main purpose of this preface, then, is to thank all the people who helped make the experience, and the time spent on it, absolutely worth-while. The list is long, but noone should be left out, for everybody's help was immensely valuable.

First of all, kudos go to my speakers, Chris, Erica, Scott, and Suzanne, for lending their voices to the project. Thanks also to all my student subjects, who were willing to put up with my field study.

At St. Michael's College in Vermont, I would like to thank Vincent Bolduc (Sociology), John Caravelles (Economics), Elizabeth O'Dowd (International School), Rick Marcotte (Education), Pam Marek (Psychology), Jennifer Vincent (Economics), Joan Wry (English), and Carole Parker (Business) for giving up class time for the project. Thanks also to the Psychology volunteers who signed up for it. Jonathan Silverman (Education) set up many contacts and sustained my morale. Many thanks also to the St. Michael's School of International Studies - Christine Bauer-Ramazani, Bonnie Tangalos, and Mahmoud Arani, as well as the staff - Erin and Lisa. At UVM, my thanks go above all to Maggie Hayes (School of Dance), who helped in organizing many sessions. Thanks to George Cannon (Communication Sciences), another invaluable contact at UVM, as well as to Michael Sheridan (Anthropology), William Baker (Business), Paul Reinhard (Sports/First Aid), the UVM student volunteers, who saved me, and last, but not least, 'Austrian-abroad' and University of Vienna alumna Theresia Hoeck (German department). My particular gratitude goes out to Patty Wood, for putting me up in Vermont, to Dan Marcy, and to Ray Racine for helping me through tough times.

In Tennessee, I would like to thank Philip Campana and Easton Evans at the Tennessee Technological University German department for their interest in and immense help with the project. Also at TTU, my thanks go to Donna Darden (Sociology), Kenneth Kintz (French), Stephen Stedman (Communication), and Steven Williams (Political Science) for giving up class time for me. Many special thanks also to

INTRODUCTION

The present paper is a study of language attitudes in the USA towards Southern American English (i.e. the variety of American English spoken in the Southern United States). In particular, the focus is on aspects of accent. The paper is divided into two parts. In the first, two relevant frameworks for the study are outlined: a 'contextual' and a 'theoretical' framework. The 'contextual framework (Part I, ch. 1.) gives a survey of language variation in the USA, starting with an overview (1.1.), and placing particular emphasis on the description of Southern American English (1.2./1.2.1.) and, within it, the variety used for the language attitude investigation, East Tennessee English (1.2.2.). A chapter about the concept of 'Standard American English' follows (1.3.). The 'theoretical framework' (Part I, ch. 2.) is a discussion of the relevant aspects of language attitude theory mostly from a social psychological perspective (2.1.), as well as of survey methods (2.2.) and findings of selected previous studies within the same context (2.3.).

The second part of the paper presents the actual field study, carried out in the USA with a population of American university/college students. At the outset, aims and scope of this study are given (Part II, ch. 1.), followed by a first, basic investigation of Southern stereotypes in the form of a 'content analysis of societal treatment' (ch. 2.). Actual language attitudes of U.S. students towards Southern American English were investigated by means of a questionnaire with a speaker evaluation at its core that used two speakers with a Southern accent and two 'neutral' speakers respectively; the set-up of this field study is outlined in chapter 3 of Part II. After having thus collected all the necessary parameters for the study, chapter 4 draws up a set of five working hypotheses as cornerstones of the investigation. The presentation and (statistical) analysis of the results obtained follows (ch. 5.), first of the speaker evaluation part (5.1.), then of the more 'classical' questionnaire part (5.2.). The body of data is also subjected to sampling according to different independent grouping variables, in order to locate possible attitude-determining factors (5.1.2.).

The paper closes with a chapter of summary and conclusions.

PART I: FRAMEWORKS

"Ever'body says words different," said Ivy.
"Arkansas folks says 'em different,
and Oklahomy folks says 'em different.
And we seen a lady from Massachusetts,
an' she said 'em differentest of all.
Couldn' hardly make out what she was sayin'."

John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*

1.   CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK: LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE USA

1.1.   American Regional Dialects - an Overview

Despite the fact that research on language variation in North America has been going on for over a century now, it is still a widely contested issue exactly how many dialects[1] there are in the USA. Boundaries are often difficult to establish, just like consent among scholars, since dialects share many features with one another and even the smallest dialect areas may be characterized by incredible heterogeneity (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 91). In fact, a lot seems to depend on "how you wanna cut the pie" (Tray Wilson, narrator in *American Tongues,* 1986).

But however one pleases to settle the question (and a few options shall be discussed in the second half of this chapter), what dialectologists in general agree on is the fact that regional variation does occur within the U.S. (though it may not be as pronounced as in other countries), and that its origin and development are closely connected to the country's history of settlement, including factors like migration routes, geographical conditions, and language contact.[2] Furthermore, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes explain:

> The history of American English does not begin with the initial arrival of English speakers in the 'New World'. ... [S]ome of the dominant characteristics still found in varieties of American English can be traced to dialect differences that existed in the British Isles to begin with. (1998:25).

Speakers from different dialect areas tended to settle in different regions of the country; for example, many emigrants from southeastern England established themselves in eastern New England and Tidewater Virginia, while others from northern and western parts originally situated themselves in the New Jersey and Delaware area; the Scotch-Irish from Ulster at first set up residence in western New England, upper

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[1] The term 'dialect' shall be used in this paper to denote "any language variety that typifies a group of speakers within a language" (Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 2). In most cases, reference will be made to 'regional dialects' (as opposed to e.g. 'social dialects') as more or less "distinctive regional varieties of a specific language" (Wardhaugh 1998: 41) - i.e., in the present case, American English. The term 'accent' shall refer to mere phonological aspects of variety (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 67).

[2] Other extralinguistic factors to be cited are economic ecology, social stratification, communication networks, group reference (group identity), and personal identity (Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 25-35).

New York, and in the Southern mountain region. From the East, the population later fanned out westwards (for a survey map of settlement cf. Appendix).

The initial settlement patterns are also the reason why dialect differences today are still most noticeable in the eastern U.S., centering around early population centers such as Boston, New York, and Charleston. In fact, it can be said that by the time of the Revolutionary War, all of today's most distinctive dialects had already been established (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 102). Settlement of the West occurred much later, and the according dialect area was affected by the very boundaries already in place in the East, since people tended to move directly westwards when the U.S. expanded - the 'Northerners' mostly staying north, 'Southerners' south, 'Midlanders' in the middle.[3] Intermixing did, of course, occur - especially when promoted by south-north routes such as the Mississippi river (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 109). This mixing intensified over the decades, rendering American English in the end more and more different from British English, where such mingling did not occur - at least not to this extent.

Another major differentiating influence on American English in general, and on its regional dialects in particular, were (and still are to this day) the different foreign languages it came into contact with over time. First of all, there were the Native American languages of such families as the Algonquian, Iroquoian, Muskogian, Penutian, and Siouan (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 28), which contributed numerous words to the vocabulary (*moccasin*, *raccoon*, *canoe*, etc.). Other influences came from Spanish, especially in Florida, French in New Orleans (where Cajun, the language of the relocated Canadian 'Acadians' still survives today as a separate speech variety), German, chiefly in Pennsylvania and New York, and West African languages (such as Mande, Mandingo, and Wolof) throughout the South. The vocabulary was further expanded through a number of innovations and modifications made to adapt the language to the living environments of America, coining words like *seaboard*, *underbrush*, *backwoods* (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 105-106).

All this gave the English spoken in the 'New World' such a distinctive touch that as early as in 1782 the term 'American English' for this newborn variety appeared in print (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 106). Scientific preoccupation with the concept and its forms grew at first largely from patriotic motives and found its most

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[3] This threefold taxonomy will be discussed a little later on in this chapter.

salient advocate in Noah Webster, lexicographer and spelling-reformer (1758-1843). Yet the study of its subvarieties, of regional diversity per se, was not picked up until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. By the year 1889, however, interest in the topic had become so strong that it led to the foundation of the American Dialect Society (ADS), which is still active today, and whose purpose was to be "the investigation of English dialects in America with regard to pronunciation, grammar, phraseology, and geographical distribution" (Grandgent 1889)[4]. More impetus still for American dialect study came from such publications as H.L. Mencken's *American Language* (1919) and the University of Chicago's Dictionary of American English on Historical Principle (1938-1944), yet the salient milestone was a large-scale systematic study of dialect geography undertaken in 1928, the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* under the direction of Hans Kurath (cf. Baugh 1993: 391). This project aimed i.a. to correlate dialect differences with different social classifications, and was an important step on which many following studies could build (c.f. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 20). The initial investigation covered the New England states - the material collected comprised pronunciation, grammatical forms, syntactical usage, and vocabulary, and was obtained by means of a carefully prepared questionnaire designed to elicit the most characteristic dialectal features (cf. Baugh 1993: 391-392). The procedure became a sort of guideline for later publications that followed half a century afterwards (and are now in different stages of completion): i.a. the *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest*[5] (Harold B. Allen, 1973-76), the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States*[6] (William Kretzschmar, publication of the 'Handbook' 1994), and the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (Lee Pederson, ed., 1986-1992). The latter, abbreviated *LAGS*, covers seven Southern states plus East Texas;[7] it is said to surpass "in size and breadth all other studies of Southern American speech" and to offer more data for exploring social variation within the region "than all other studies combined" (Montgomery 1997: 10). It provides in fact a huge collection of linguistic features - an inventory of regional grammar, pronunciation, and lexicon in seven volumes plus microfiche files.

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[4] quoted in Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 20.
[5] covering Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota
[6] covering Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and parts of Georgia and Florida.
[7] i.e. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the study of regional variation in the U.S. had for a time been somewhat neglected in favor of the investigation of social and ethnic language diversity; but interest picked up again in recent years, buoyed primarily by the publication of the first volumes of another ambitious and rather spectacular piece of work whose production had long been endorsed by the ADS (cf. Cassidy 1985: xi): the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*),[8] headed by Frederic G. Cassidy. This dictionary project proposes to chart solely regional dialect forms, as opposed to "technical, scientific, or other learned words or phrases - or anything else that could be considered standard"[9] (Cassidy 1985: xvi). Entry definitions are given together with geographical provenance, descriptive usage labels, supporting quotations, and, in some cases, etymologies. Specific maps generated by a computer are devised to visually illustrate the regional (populational) distributions of the respective words and phrases recorded, which were originally elicited by means of 1002 questionnaires completed in as many communities. Topics include time, weather, topography, housing, furniture, household utensils, dishes/foods, as well as more abstract subjects like beliefs, emotions, relationships, manner of action or being, etc. - in a total of 41 categories (cf. Cassidy 1985: xii). In the introductory reference section to volume I (1985), explanatory materials and overviews of the American dialect landscape are presented, such as guides to language changes in folk speech (Cassidy 1985: xxxvi-xl) and to pronunciation (Hartman 1985: xli-lxi) and the text of the questionnaire.

The lexical data collected for *DARE* was put to yet another use in a separate, recent and comprehensive analysis of regional dialects by Craig M. Carver for his book *American Regional Dialects: A Word Geography* (1987). In computer-processing diagnostic items primarily from the DARE files, Carver was able to draw up a dialect map of the U.S. based on isogloss patterning and layering (cf. Carver 1987: vii; also: Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 133, Chaika 1994: 276; for the map cf. Appendix). In his outline of the American dialect landscape thus conceived, Carver postulates above all a strong North-South division (cf. Carver 1987: 94-95); with this, he in part counters a much noted classification first introduced by Hans Kurath in his *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (1949). Kurath, on the basis of lexical evidence mainly from the Atlantic coast down to South Carolina, distinguished 18 speech areas, which he

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[8] volume I: A-C publ. 1985, volume II: D-H publ. 1991, volume III: I-O publ. 1996.
[9] Cassidy adds: "Regionality, then, as defined in *DARE*, bears no relation to the size of the area of use, so long as it is less than total." (1985: xvi).

categorized into three groups instead of the classical two, introducing the concept of a 'Midland' region situated between North and South geographically as well as linguistically (cf. Carver 1987: 95; 181-182). Carver now divided this Midland region up again into a 'Lower North' and an 'Upper South', emphasizing the North-South taxonomy. His 'new' dialect map and categorization seem to have found wide scholarly acclaim (cf. in general Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: ch.'s 4&5; Baugh 1993: ch. 11, Chaika 1994: ch. 8) - as Frazer notes, his maps are "beginning to appear in standard texts on dialectology, and, for many students and laypersons, his conclusions may well preempt the debate on linguistic geography in the United States (1997: 352).

However, it has been pointed out at the opening of this chapter that drawing dialect boundaries within the U.S. is a tricky matter; and Carver's maps do not stand uncontested, either (cf. Frazer's article, 1997). The most basic limitations to the range and meaningfulness of his exposition are primarily to do with the fact that Carver's regional analysis is based almost exclusively on lexical data and lexical differences. But phonological differences play also a great role in dialectology - as Frazer is tempted to argue, "pronunciation boundaries ought to be given more weight, partly because pronunciation features are a more salient feature of normal discourse than is regional vocabulary. They are also a more integral part of systematic language" (1997: 357). Alford and Strother even go so far as to claim that "[p]ronunciation differences are probably the major factor in the U.S. English regional varieties, with vowel differences being the most crucial distinguishing feature" (1990: 480).

With such reservations in mind, it would therefore not suffice for the scope of this present study, which will be primarily concerned with phonological aspects, with the 'accent' part of dialect (cf. footnote 2 this chapter), to simply adopt Carver's dialect landscape outline without further consideration. Rather, it seems expedient to take a look at yet another current project in American dialectology/linguistic geography: a project which, under the direction of William Labov, the "key figure in current pronunciation-based dialectology" (Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 120), proposes to produce the *Phonological Atlas of North America*.[10] This Atlas is meant to "chart the present state of the phonological systems of urban [sic!] dialects, and the advance of

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[10] A possibly similar project with a smaller scope, recording and analyzing phonological data from the *LAGS*, has been announced by Lee Pederson (1993).

sound changes in progress" (Labov 1997: introductory section[11]). The end product has originally been scheduled for the year 2000 and is targeted to both professional and lay readers; it will be accompanied by a CD-ROM featuring audioclips and extra data (cf. Hammel 1999: 56). Progress, updates, and analyses of and around the project are at present recorded at a Phonological Atlas homepage hosted by the official University of Pennsylvania website:[12]

http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/home.html

At the core of the undertaking is a telephone survey ('Telsur') of the major urbanized areas of the U.S. and Canada, departing from the premise that phonological change is usually most advanced in urban centers (cf. Sharon Ash, "Sampling Strategy for the Telsur/Atlas Project"). As of October 1999, the phonemic categories of 640 subjects, from communities that are 'social focal points' of an area, have been analyzed on the basis of minimal pairs and other elicited forms. Each community is represented by at least two speakers, whose pronunciation is assessed acoustically as well as impressionistically. The website, then, features outcomes of the analysis together with a discussion of geographic and linguistic patterns; speech samples, some up to 60 seconds in length, can be downloaded for illustration.

Results of the Telsur project as of 1997 are summarized in a paper by William Labov, Sharon Ash, and Charles Boberg entitled "A National Map of the Regional Dialects of American English".[13] This article is meant to respond to the questions of how many dialects of American English there are and where the boundaries are located, from a phonological point of view and with the underlying principle of defining dialects on the basis of systems rather than inventories of features (cf. Labov 1991: 3). As the answers to this are of special interest for the context of this paper, and represent current state-of-the-art research, they shall be given due consideration here.

A first answer is given with the outlining of the dialect regions identified by Labov and colleagues:

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[11] As the article referred to (cf. Bibliography) was published on the Internet, no page indications can be given. To make up for this deficiency, at least in part, the sections of the article which quotes are taken from will be indicated, mostly by use of their respective headlines.

[12] In the following, most of the information given is taken from this website.

[13] http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/NationalMap/NationalMap.html

Map 1. The urban dialect areas of the United States based on the acoustic analysis of the vowel systems of 240 Telsur informants

July 15, 1997

The North
North Central: Conservative long high and mid vowels
  ● F2 of checked /ow/ <1100 Hz
The Inland North: The Northern Cities Shift
  ▲ F2 of /e/ – F2 of /o/ < 375 Hz
Boston and E.N.E.: /r/ vocalization and low back merger
  ▽ /o/ = /oh/, vocalization of postvocalic /r/
New York City: /r/ vocalization and raising of /æh/, /oh/

Eastern New England
Providence
NYC
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh
Charleston-Savannah
St. Louis
The Inland North
The North Central
The South
The West
The Midland
No. Midland
South Midland

The Midland and the West
The North Midland: Approximates the initial position
  ■ Absence of any marked features on Map 1
Pittsburgh: localized monophthongization of /aw/
  △ /o/ = /oh/, /aw/ -> [a:]
St. Louis: Localized merger of /ahr/ and /ohr/
  ▲ Distance of /ohr/ from /ahr/ < 125
The South Midland: fronting of checked /ow/
  ▲ F2 of /ow/ > 1350 Hz /
Philadelphia: Northernmost extension of Southern Shift
  ■ Distance of /o/ from /oh/ > 400, F2 of checked /ow/ > 1275 Hz
The West: The low back merger and fronting of /uw/
  ☆ /o/ = /oh/ before /r/; F2 of /uw/ > 1850 Hz

The South
The South: The Southern Shift
  ◆ Monophthongization of /ay/
The Coastal Southeast: Charleston and Savannah
  retention of tense high and mid long vowels
  ✛ F2 of checked /ey/ > 2050 Hz

Figure 1: The major dialect regions in the U.S. (Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997: 'Map 1')[14]

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[14] link i.a. in the introductory section. 'F2' refers to the front-back axis/dimension in the vowel system.

In their "Taxonomy of American dialects", then, Labov and colleagues (1997) identify basically four major dialect areas: the North, the Midland, the South, and the West - along with a number of subdivisions. The North-North Midland line presented here lies almost exactly where it was first placed by Kurath and, later on, Carver on lexical evidence (cf. Carver's map in the Appendix). In the lower part of the map, the Southern Mountain region is firmly placed within the greater South - this had been a point of contention between Kurath and Carver.[15] The Midland region itself, considered by Labov ea. as "[t]he great contribution of Kurath to American dialectology" (Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[16] is very strongly back in the picture after having been neglected by Carver (1987); in fact, the North-North Midland boundary is here considered to be "one of the most profound divisions in American phonology" (Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[17].

The phonological features defining the different areas were chosen on the basis of the so-called 'minimax criterion', i.e. they show maximal proportion of occurrence within an area together with minimal percentage of occurrences outside of it (cf. Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[18]. The relation of these phonological features to each other is illustrated in a tree-diagram in the Labov-Ash-Boberg article ('Figure 1' - cf. Appendix). The point of departure in this diagram of the sound changes differentiating the major American dialects today is the vowel configuration known as the 'initial position' (cf. Labov 1994: 163-166), which is basically an idealization representing the "best estimation of the common base for American English dialects which resulted from the mixing of various English dialects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997).[19] All dialects, then, in which the 'initial position' of the long high and mid vowels is retained, may be grouped within 'The North'. By contrast, Midland

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[15] Kurath (1961,1972) had placed the Southern Mountain region within the South Midland as separated of the South, while Carver (1987) included it in his 'Upper South' - a subdivision of the greater South.

[16] in section: "Dialect regions of the United States".

[17] in section: "The Inland North".

[18] in section: "The taxonomy of American dialects".

[19] in section: "The taxonomy of American dialects". Labov and colleagues (ibid.) explain that in this 'initial configuration', the long high and mid vowels /iy/, /ey/, /uw/, and /ow/ are generally diphthongal, but the distance between nucleus and glide is quite small, especially in checked position before a consonant. The nuclei are located in tense, peripheral positions (cf. 'Figure 1'), higher and more peripheral than the corresponding short nuclei /ɪ/, /e/, /u/ and /ɒ/.

and South are characterized by a laxing and centralization of the long high and mid vowels (cf. Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[20].

Within the North, again, the North Central region preserves the features of the 'initial position' best. Eastern New England, New York City, and Western New England constitute further Northern subregions. The Inland North is a case somewhat apart, as it is a region defined by a vigorous sound change, a chain shift of the English short vowels called the Northern Cities Shift or NCS (cf. also Labov 1994: 177ff.)[21]. This shift began with a raising and fronting of the /æ/ phoneme as the triggering event, and can be represented thus in a diagram:
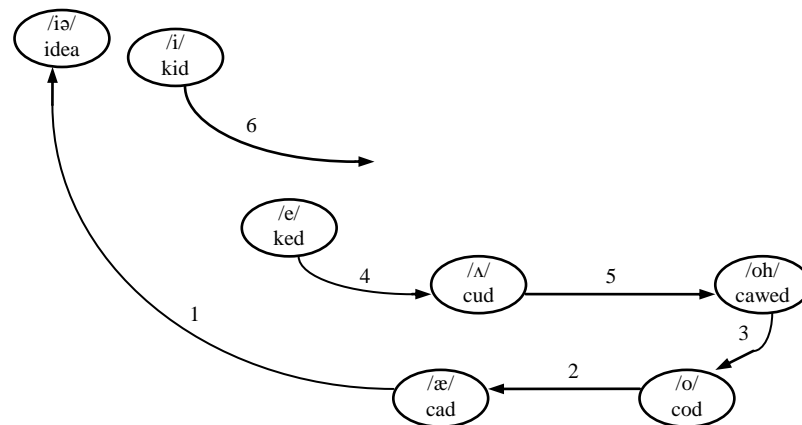
Figure 2: The Northern Cities Shift (Labov - Ash - Boberg 1997, "Figure 1")

The NCS is one of the three major expanding patterns that are actively forming the linguistic landscape of the U.S. The others are the Southern Shift[22] in the South and the Low Back Merger in the West (cf. Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[23].

The defining criterion for Southern speech, the monophthongization of /aɪ/, is actually the triggering event for the Southern Shift as manifested within the region. This rotation pattern takes the opposite direction to the NCS; the temporal sequences are, however, not as fixedly established:

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[20] 'Figure 1' (cf. Appendix).

[21] cf. also: Labov, William, Malcah Yaeger, and Richard Steiner (1972). *A Quantitative Study of Sound Change in Progress*. Philadelphia: U.S. Regional Survey.

[22] The Southern Shift phenomenon is not at all restricted to the Southern U.S.; it also governs the vowel systems of southern England, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (cf. Labov 1994: 202).
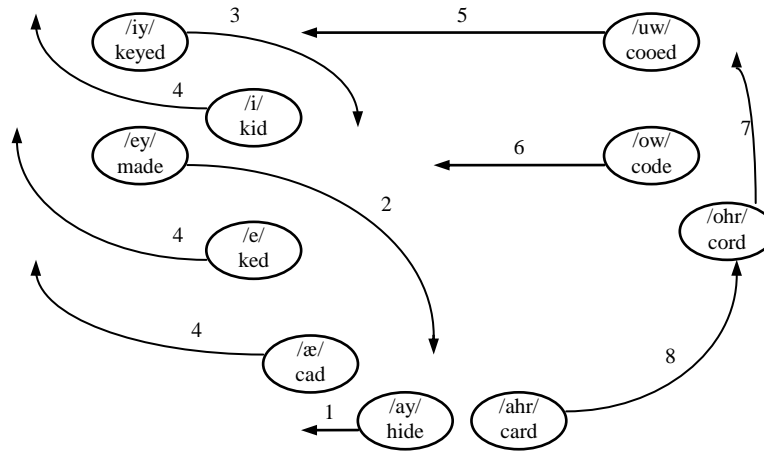
Figure 3: The Southern Shift (from: Labov - Ash - Boberg 1997; "Figure 3")

Indications from the data led Labov and his colleagues to identify a coherent area comprising much of the Appalachian region and the Piedmont (outlined in 'Map 1' by a dashed line) as the 'heartland' of the Southern Shift in the U.S. The Charleston-Savannah area is somewhat distinct from the rest of the South, as apart from the said monophthongization of /aɪ/, no other features of the Southern Shift appear there, and the initial tense long high and mid vowels are retained (cf. Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[24].

In contrast to the Inland North, and the South (which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 1.2.), no single set of sound changes has been identified for the Midland region, which lies in between. Rather, Midland cities show many diverging localized patterns by themselves. Labov and colleagues explain, then, that "[t]he importance of the Midland region ... rests not upon the description of a single 'Midland' phonology, but rather the fact that the northern and southern boundaries of the Midland turn out to be discrete and influential boundaries that determine the shape of American dialect geography" (Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[25]. In particular, the North-North Midland line, whose importance has been pointed out before, remains an almost impermeable boundary to the southern expansion of the NCS.

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[23] in section: "Dialect regions of the United States".
[24] in section: "The South".
[25] in section: "Dialect regions of the United States."

The Midland area can be divided into two sections - the North Midland and the South Midland.[26] While the latter tends to share a few features with the South (its defining criterion is the fronting of /oʊ/ as in 'boat'), the former seems defined rather 'by default' of defining features.

There is general agreement among scholars that dialect diversity in the U.S. declines steadily as one moves westward, and that the western part of the country displays rather a blending of Northern, Midland, and Southern characteristics in our present times. However, the end result of such a mixed heritage is not as diffuse and, most importantly, not as unmarked as scholars advocating the fuzzy concept of a 'General American English' (i.e. a language variety that would basically cover all part of the U.S. non-Southern and non-Northern) would have it (cf. Hendrickson 1986: 22; Baugh 1993: 376). Instead, Labov and colleagues were able to establish the American West as a quite distinct dialect area in its own right, with typical features and a fair degree of homogeneity within itself (cf. Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997)[27]. The most prominent feature of Western speech is the so-called 'Low Back Merger' - the unconditioned merger of long and short open 'o' - as e.g. in the pair *caught - cot* (cf. Labov 1994: 316ff.). Though this is in no way unique to the West, internal consistency within the region, which Labov e.a. (1997)[28] place at 96%, is more extensive than in any other area where the merger occurs. And if the distribution of this feature is aligned with the distribution of fronting of free /u:/ (as e.g. in *too*), this combination does in fact turn out to be quite characteristic of the West - it may not be unique, as it can also be found in the South Midland, but it is characteristic enough to be a potential defining criterion (cf. Labov-Ash-Boberg 1997: 'Map 1')[29].

Such is the shape of the dialect landscape as described by Labov and his colleagues, and it certainly goes to show that "speakers of American English are far from all speaking the same way" (Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 24). In fact, though many voices have been raised complaining that "radio and television are wiping out regional speech differences" (Erskine Caldwell, 1974)[30] and that "[n]o region can hold out for long against the highway, the high-tension line, and the national television"

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[26] N.B.: Again, Labov's South Midland is not to be confused with Kurath's and McDavid's (1961), as it does not include the Southern Mountain region - cf. footnote 16.
[27] in section: "The West".
[28] in section: "The West".
[29] cf. also section: "The West".
[30] in: *Afternoon in Mid-America*, quoted after Hendrickson 1986: 1.

(John Steinbeck, 1962)[31], phenomena like the Northern Cities Shift and the Southern Shift provide ample grounds for the major dialect areas to become even more distinct from one another. Dialect diversity will therefore persist, even against the odds raised by increased intercommunication. To conclude with Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 121):

> There is every indication that the [dialect] boundaries whose foundations were laid when the first English colonists arrived in Jamestown in 1607 will continue to exist in some form long into the twenty-first century.

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[31] in: *Travels with Charley*, quoted after Hendrickson 1986: 1.

1.2. Southern American English[32]

1.2.1. General Features

> Take a long portion of full-blown, ordinary, assorted dialects from England and allow to ferment. In a separate bowl, blend thoroughly a mixture of assorted African languages, varying portions of Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English pidgin, and equal portions of white yeoman dialect and white plantation dialect. Open a package of assorted ideas of what aristocratic speech ought to have been like at the plantation and sift it for extraneous ingredients. Pour all three mixtures into a large crock and blend to the consistency of marble cake. Add a dash of French, German, Amerind, Mexican American, Cuban, Spanish, and Yankee brogue for flavor, when desired. Serve hot for breakfast and lunch, cold for supper. For Yankees, serve without grits.
>
> (Brandes 1977: 500)

In any general discussion of American regional language variation, the one dialect that is bound to 'pop up' without fail is Southern American English (SoAE)[33]. In fact, more seems to have been written about Southern over the years than about any other variety or collection of varieties in the U.S. (cf. Montgomery 1997: 5; Metcalf 1997: 266). *DARE* itself counts more entries of Southern origin than of any other single dialect (cf. Metcalf 1997: 268).

The extent of the South as a dialect zone has already been outlined for the purpose of this study, primarily following Labov (cf. chapter 1.1.); early settlement patterns have, however, kept the region far from forming a homogeneous language area. The earliest stage of European settlement in the South spanned some 200 years from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century. This period saw the establishment of four major influences in the area: the Spanish in Florida (and upper Mexico), the French in colonies under Spanish rule near the Gulf in (what were to be) Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the British in colonies spreading south from strongholds like Jamestown, in

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[32] The terms 'Southern American English' and, simply, 'Southern' shall be used throughout this paper as a general collective for Southern language varieties. The former term was taken over in analogy i.a. from Bernstein, Nunally, and Sabino (1997), Bailey (1997), Montgomery (1997), and Davies (1997); other labels that have been used to designate the same concept include 'Southern United States English' (SUSE) by Preston (1997) and 'Southern States English' (SSE) by Labov (1997) and Feagin (1997).

[33] The abbreviation 'SAE', used by many authors (cf. footnote 34), was changed to 'SoAE' here in order to avoid confusion with the term 'Standard American English', which is also often abbreviated 'SAE' (cf. e.g. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998).

Tidewater Virginia, and Charleston, and the Germans in Georgia and Louisiana (cf. Pederson 1986: 43). Colonists from these groups laid the foundations of "distinctive source areas" (Pederson 1986: 43) that later exerted their influence on all the cultural subregions of the South.

As for the English colonies, these were mainly populated by settlers from southern/southeastern England bringing with them their respective dialects from the 'Old World'. Their speech was the dominant power in the development of what was to be Southern American English, accounting, for example, in part for the r-lessness of many (coastal) Southern dialects today.[34] Their economy was mainly based on a large-scale plantation culture with slave labor.

A second phase of settlement in the South began with the territorial expansion into the Southern backcountry (highland region), from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards. The dominant group in this inland migration were the so-called 'Scotch-Irish' (British: 'Ulster Irish') - descendants of Scots who had originally emigrated to northern Ireland (Ulster) mainly for economic reasons in the early seventeenth century, and from there to America (cf. i.a. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 98). They arrived in the South mostly from Pennsylvania and Delaware, where land was already becoming scarce, and moved on western trails into the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Great Smoky Mountains, the Cumberlands, and, eventually, the Ozarks. In contrast to the Lowland settlers and their plantation system, they were mainly yeoman farmers trying to make a living in the harsh backwood country of former Indian hunting grounds. Many of the speech patterns found today in Southern Mountain English are said to relate back to their Scotch-Irish heritage and northern English dialects (cf. i.a. Montgomery 1989, cf. also chapter1.2.2.).

The discussion of settlement has already given hints at the fact that the South can generally be divided into an 'Upper' and a 'Lower' part (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 103; Carver 1987: 118)[35]. The Lower South can again be split into 'Atlantic South' and 'Delta South' (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 102/103, Carver 1998: 246). The Upper South is the home of Southern Mountain English (cf. chapter 1.2.2.) With this much overall and a lot more smaller-scale diversity within the Southern region, it is

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[34] Feagin, among others, quotes African American Vernacular English as another important influence on r-lessness in the Lower (Plantation) South (1997: 124-130). Cf. also Dillard (1992: 97).

[35] Carver's concept of the Southern region largely corresponds with Labov's and shall therefore be taken into consideration here, despite any shortcomings his dialect taxonomy should otherwise be liable to (cf. chapter 1.1.).

quite difficult to present a comprehensive picture of Southern American English as a regional language variety. An attempt shall be made here, outlining at least some of the most common characteristics of SoAE, with the reservation that, while all of the features that will be enumerated can be found within the South in general, they may occur at different frequency and in different combination in a specific area. Any picture given is therefore merely impressionistic and certainly far from complete.

The most prominent and best-known - even stereotypical - characteristic of Southern speech is the so-called 'Southern drawl'. "Easy to recognize but difficult to describe" (Wells 1982: 529), this phenomenon does not merely or even necessarily involve an overall slow delivery rate, but more of a lengthening of stressed, accented syllables as compared to unstressed ones, accompanied by Breaking (glide insertion/diphthongization or even thriphthongization) and other, minor modifications of some accented syllables, like umlaut and shading, together with a wider weakening of unstressed syllables than in other accents (cf. Wells 1982: 529). The drawl is most noticeable at the end of a phrase or sentence (cf. Herman - Herman 1947: 61).

The fact that SoAE is an 'umlauting dialect' has first been suggested by James Sledd in 1966 in the course of a discussion of the difficulties of transcribing Southern phonetics. Umlaut, in that sense, describes the process in which the quality of a stressed lax vowel is conditioned by the vowel in a second, weak syllable, resulting in noticeable differences between e.g. such pairs as *jelly* (front /e/) - *cellar* (centralized /e/) and *horrid* (front /ɔ/) - *horror* (back /ɔ/), or in a series of different allophones for stressed /ɪ/ as in *picket - pick - picker* and for /æ/ in *packet - parry - parrot*. This is also influenced by the fact that SoAE distinguishes two reduction vowels, /ɪ/ and /ə/ (*rabb*[ɪ]*t* versus *abb*[ə]*t* - cf. i.a. Sledd 1966: 41). Umlaut is blocked by a word boundary as well as, for some speakers, by an inflectional morpheme boundary (cf. Wells 1982: 533/34).

Shading is a still subtler modification process in which the timbre of a vowel is affected by the nature of the following consonant; in Southern speech, it applies very noticeably to /ɪ/, and to some extent to other lax vowels (cf. Wells 1982: 534). Differences can thus be perceived between the /ɪ/'s of *ripping - rip - ripper* and *picking - pick - picker* (cf. Sledd 1966: 35). Lax /ɪ/ and /e/ are also affected in another way in SoAE - they tend to merge before nasals, causing words like *pin* and *pen*, *mint* and *meant*, *sinner* and *center* to sound alike (cf. i.a. Wells 1982: 540; Chaika 1994: 286).

By far the most salient pronunciation phenomenon in Southern speech, however, is Breaking, in the course of which a lax stressed vowel in some environments develops (an) offglide(s). Thus, for example,[36] *lip* is pronounced [lɪəp], *web* [weəb], *rap* [ræəp], *grass* [græəs]; *bid* may become [bɪəd], *bed* [beəd], *bad* [bæɪd], *thing* [θæɪŋ], *thought* [θɔət]; *special* may rhyme with *spatial* (though this can be stigmatized), *egg* with *vague*, etc. etc. (cf. Wells 1982: 535; Baugh 1993: 375). In extremis, breaking can even affect diphthongs, resulting in pronunciations such as [bræɪæʊn] for *brown* (cf. Wells 1982: 539).

The inglide development of the lax vowels /ɪ/, /e/, and /æ/ actually features as a stage in the Southern Shift, which has already been outlined briefly in chapter 1.1. In this change pattern (cf. Figure 3, ch.1.1.), the relative positions of the nuclei of /i:/ and /eɪ/ are reversed with the lax vowels mentioned, as the latter move upwards and develop their inglides (cf. Labov 1991: 213; Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 139; Labov 1997 in section: "The South"). The actual starting point that seems to trigger this shift is set by another salient (and for Labov e.a. the diagnostic) pronunciation feature of SoAE, the monophthongization of /aɪ/, which then opens the way for the lowering of /i:/ and /eɪ/. Wells (1982: 537/538) reports that this monophthongization was not originally found in all environments of more prestigious Southern speech, but its use has spread continuously.

The Southern Shift also involves a 'classical' chain shift in which high and mid vowels are fronted, while back vowels before /r/ move up and back (cf. Labov 1991: 201; Labov 1997 in section: "The South").

Rhoticity is a frequently discussed topic in SoAE studies - and it is indeed a very complex phenomenon. Traditionally, r-lessness has been associated with upper class whites and blacks in the South, while r-fulness was considered a feature of lower class white speech as it can for example be found in the Southern Mountains. Nowadays, rhoticity seems to be increasing throughout the Southern dialect region (cf. Wells 1982: 542/543). Tidewater Virginia has been mentioned as an example of a non-rhotic area due to settlement patterns - vowel qualities resulting from such 'historic' r-lessness have been rather difficult to grasp and describe scientifically, until Sledd introduced the idea that r-less dialects are in fact r-ful, or *underlyingly* rhotic - the r is simply vocalized and

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[36] As Wells (1982: 535) points out, the facts and conditions of Breaking are variable and intricate; therefore, only a few selected examples shall be quoted here for illustration.

assimilated into the preceding vowel, thus giving the vowel its peculiar quality (cf. Sledd 1966: 23/24).

Vowel production contributes the biggest part to the distinct character of Southern speech; as for consonants, one aspect worth mentioning is a particular case of assimilation: [z] is changed to [d] before 'n' in forms such as *wadn't* (*wasn't*), *idn't* (*isn't*), *bidness* (*business*) - (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 47; Wells 1982: 553). Another optional simplification rule deletes /t/ from /nt/ clusters between vowels, e.g. in the famous example [ət'lænə] (*Atlanta*) - (cf. Wells 1982: 532). Such modifications are generally not connected to non-standard or lower class speech in the South. More stigmatized is the dropping of final consonants in clusters: *kep'* (*kept*), *las'* (*last*) - (cf. Hendrickson 1986: 90; Wells 1982: 552).

In addition to the drawl, there are a whole number of other salient speech phenomena in SoAE that are of suprasegmental nature. These include a tendency to combine stress on the initial syllable of a word with pronounced stress on the next to last syllable, as in '*ceme'tery*, '*secre'tary*, '*audi'tory*; furthermore, a tendency towards nasalization (through holding the center of the tongue close to the palate), and to producing initial consonants with slightly more force than is common, which slows up speech by effecting a slight aspirate (cf. Herman - Herman 1947: 65). Southern speech also uses a very wide pitch range, which at times includes a final rise in statement sentences that may confuse people not familiar with the habit (cf. Feagin 1997: 131).

Southern American English is furthermore a rich source for lexical dialectology. *DARE* and other publications in a similar line are replete with 'Southernisms', which frequently receive labels such as 'colorful', 'folksy' and 'homely'. As Carver (1987: 94) points out, it seems to be the relative insularity of the South after the initial waves of settlement that has given its language its distinctive inventory of features. There is an unusually high number of regionalized terms, including expressions that once were current throughout the U.S., or figured in older forms of English, and are now almost unique to the South (cf. also chapter 1.2.2.).

Lexical fields that are rich with Southernisms and Southern usages are, for example, those relating to cooking and foods (*corn cake*, *cobbler*, *hush puppies*, *jambalaya*), drinking (*white lightning* = illicitly distilled liquor), health (*to take sick*, *granny woman* = acting midwife), farming/rural life (*overseer*, *juicing* = milking), children's play (*to play like*, *play pretty* = toy), religion (*mourner's bench*, *altar call*), as

well as numerous regional plant and animal names (cf. Carver 1987: pp. 107-115). 'Famous' Southern usages include *to carry* for 'to lead, escort', and *proud* for 'pleased, happy' (cf. Carver 1987: 104). Euphemism is quite common in Southern speech (*male cow* = bull, *big* = pregnant), as is a certain tendency to be redundant (*hound-dog*, *preacher-man*) - (cf. Carver 1987: 93/94).

Southernisms can also be found in grammatical usage. The salient stereotype here is certainly the pronominal form *y'all* (you all), always used in a plural sense to address a group of people or one person and, implicitly, everybody associated with them (cf. i.a. Hendrickson 1986: 93; Herman - Herman 1947: 91). The origin of this form is widely contested - recently, it has been explained as a calque, an English filling-in of the West African second person plural *unu*, which is semantically similar and in use in the Black Gullah dialect; the form may thus have been adopted in analogy during the times of slavery (cf. Hendrickson1986: 93).

Further grammatical features of SoAE include the use of the helping word *liketa* (like to) - mostly in figurative speech - which by approximation means *almost* ('It was so cold I liketa died' - cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 45); the Southern 'identity marker' *fixin' to* as in 'They're fixin' to go now' (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 148); and the negativity markers *cain't* versus *can* (with a different root vowel sound) and *ain't* (am/is/are not). The latter, *ain't*, is certainly not unique to SoAE, but rather a very common feature of American dialect in general. This is, in fact, one of many instances mainly of grammatical variation that can be found throughout all regions of the U.S., including the South, and are not regionally restricted. Other examples are multiple negation, irregular verb forms, and subject-verb agreement patterns (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 158,161). As such features are, however, usually considered 'nonstandard' (cf. chapter 1.3.), they are prone to be socially stigmatized - in the South just like in any other region. Multiple negations, irregular verb forms and the like can therefore not be cited as shibboleths of Southern American English in particular.

A more macrostructural field of SoAE studies, and one that scholars have only recently turned their attention to, is Southern discourse. For example, the research presented by Davies (1997) and Schneidemesser (1997) tried to investigate such common notions as Southern politeness and genteelness and their relation to Southern speech patterns. Results are, however, still rather vague; nevertheless, Southern

discourse analysis seems a promising ground for future study, and one more piece in the intriguing jigsaw puzzle that is Southern American English.

1.2.2. 'East Tennessee Talk'
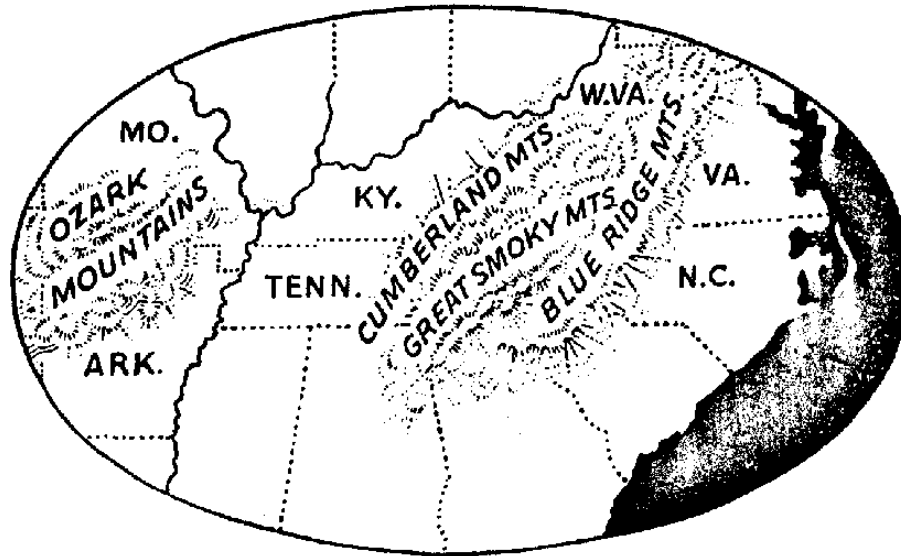
Figure 4: The southern Appalachian mountain ranges (Herman - Herman 1947: 148)

East Tennessee is dominated by the Great Smoky Mountains and Cumberland Mountains, which form the southern ridges of the Appalachian Mountain range. It thus lies wholly within the region of 'Appalachia', and the dialect spoken in East Tennessee is in fact Appalachian English, a form of Southern Mountain English.[37] Southern Mountain English also comprises the dialects spoken in the Arkansas Ozarks and other parts farther west into which Southern Appalachians filtered in the nineteenth and early twentieth century - in fact, many of its identifying characteristics have been documented as far west as west Texas.[38]

Appalachian English (AppE) in the East Tennessee version will serve as the representative for Southern American English in the field study presented in Part II of this paper; it therefore merits some closer attention here. Settlement patterns in the region have already been discussed, and with them the fact that the area was predominantly populated by the Scotch-Irish (cf. chapter 1.2.1.). Much of traditional

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[37] N.B.: The Appalachian *dialect* region covers the South of 'Appalachia', i.e. parts of Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, and all of West Virginia, while the officially/federally defined region of (greater) 'Appalachia' covers additional counties in Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina; cf. website of the Appalachian Regional Commission: http://arc.gov
For a map of Tennessee and the extent of its Appalachian eastern part see Appendix. Western Tennessee speech is characterized by considerably fewer Southern Mountain features and bears more affinities to the Lowland South (cf. Carver 1987: 121, 173).

[38] cf. Dumas, Bethany K. (forthcoming - 2001). *Varieties of American English* (working title). London: Blackwell. Cf. also Dumas 1999: 67-79.

AppE speech today is owed to these settlers who arrived 200 years ago (cf. Montgomery 1995: 14/15); and though it is nothing but a (popular!) myth that Southern Appalachians still speak Elizabethan or Chaucerian English, their dialect has retained some archaisms in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar that can be traced back to the Scotch-Irish heritage (cf. Dumas 1981: 171; and the research in Montgomery 1995). Relative geographic and social isolation, though not as drastic as described in some romanticized representations, helped to preserve old-fashioned features and made for the distinctiveness of AppE that is still noticeable today.

One element peculiar to Appalachian English speech is the so-called Mountain drawl, which is basically a highlighting of the Southern drawl, with its breaking phenomena, due to a more insistent, heavy, and frequent stress. This does not mean, however, that words must be spoken loudly - "[t]he typical highlander speaks in a quiet, almost confidential manner" (Herman - Herman 1947: 151)[39]. Stressed words are usually 'sung' on a comparatively high note; the general melody is "soft and plaintive with a noticeable nasal quality. This nasalization must not be exaggerated however, it must not be so obvious that it develops into a whine." (Herman - Herman 1947: 150). As an illustration, a typical sequence could be notated thus:

Figure 5: Notation of a Southern Mountain speech pattern; "There ain't nary bit of sense in it!"
(Herman - Herman 1947: 150)

An unexpected stress on first syllables may also occur in such forms as *'police*, *'guitar*, *'hotel*, *'red light* etc.

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[39] Herman and Herman's assessment dates from some time back; yet their descriptions are included here because they seem still accurate and were the most vivid and clear ones to be found throughout the literature.

As for other pronunciation phenomena,[40] it has already been mentioned that the Appalachian region contains part of the heartland of the Southern shift (cf. chapter 1.1.), and research reports from the area have repeatedly yielded testimony to the fact that different shift stages do in fact operate here. Specifically, there is the raising of /æ/ to /e/ before nasals, and the tensing of /e/ to /ɪ/ as in *Tinnessee*,[41] as well as the tendency of tense /i:/ and also /eɪ/ to lax notably before /l/ ("A good mill will make you fill better" - Codgill 1978). Apart from that, there is also frequently a smoothing of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ in the environment of a following /r/, so that *tire* and *tower* become homophones (cf. Nicholas 1982: 132); and final unstressed *-ow* may alternate with *-er* as in *yeller* (yellow), *tobaccer* (tobacco), or *winder* (window) - (cf. Wolfram - Christian 1976: 66).

Rhoticity is very pronounced in Appalachian English, and a stronger, more distinctive sound than in other variants of American speech (cf. Herman - Herman 1947: 171). Moreover, Appalachians blend vowels and diphthongs with /r/'s "as quickly as they can" (Hodge 1984: 19). Consonants are liable to a number of changes: /t/ followed by an unstressed vowel plus /n/ may become a glottal stop as in *cotton* [kɔʔn], /d/ may be dropped as in *frien'* or *col'*, final stops in general may be subjected to abrupt devoicing, as in *kid*, *rag*, *cub* (cf. Wolfram - Christian 1976: 63). Unstressed progressive *-ing* reduction to *-in'* is a common speech phenomenon in the U.S., but apparently more frequent still in AppE (cf. Wolfram - Christian 1976: 61). Initial /ð/ deletion is also widely featured in Appalachian speech, resulting in pronunciations such as *'em* (*them*), *'at* (*that*), *'is* (*this*), *mom 'n' 'em* ('mom and them'); the like may happen to unstressed syllables in general: *prob'ly*, *s'posta* (supposed to), *rel'tive*, and - stereotypically - *'maters* (tomatoes) and *'taters* (potatoes) - (cf. Wolfram - Christian 1976: 51-53).

Southern Mountain/AppE lexicon, like that of Southern American English in general, is rich with regionalisms - the labels attached here are usually 'quaint', 'picturesque', or 'droll', as is often the case with non-mainstream varieties (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 68). Only a few 'classics' shall be quoted for illustration.[42] For example, AppE is replete with mostly Scotch-Irish archaisms such as *airish* (windy, chilly), *chancy* (doubtful, dangerous), *ill* (in the sense of bad-tempered), *to smart* (to hit),

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[40] Just like in chapter 1.2.1., the following enumeration is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather illustrative. The features presented may not be unique to Appalachian/Southern Mountain speech, but their combination most likely is. Some features may be found throughout the South.

[41] cf. also Nicholas 1982: "Think you for the wedding rang".

[42] The majority of examples were drawn from a list kindly provided by Dr. Jean Speer, ETSU Center for Appalachian Studies and Services.

noggin (head), and, stereotypically, *yonder* (over there). But Appalachians are also more innovative than is commonly believed, which is attested in original Mountain terms such as *cuterments* (scraps, odds and ends), *slopdozzle* (a sloppy or messy person), *twinkles* (pine needles), or *wudget* (the ball of hair on a woman's head).

Special Mountain usages include the well-known and potentially confusing *don't care to* in the sense of 'don't mind/object' ('I don't care to go to the movies'), or *to get in the way of* (to get in the habit of). The use of intensifiers is another stereotypical AppE feature - forms include *right* ('I hollered right loud') and *plumb* ('That was plumb foolish').

On a grander scale, eloquent similes and metaphors are quite popular: 'to tremble like a dog in a wet sack', 'big as a skinned mule', 'restless as a hen on a hot rock', or, 'he's slicker 'n snot on a door handle'. As Cratis Williams, folklorist and dialectologist, explains (1961: 8),

> Mountain people become dramatic easily. In moments of excitement and anger they rise to superb heights in the quality of their rhetoric. In reciting personal experiences or telling what they have been witness to they display qualities which belong to the best of oral literature.

Though this is clearly a romanticized view, it is true that Appalachian English can boast a long oral rhetoric tradition featuring very specific, set forms of storytelling.[43]

Like vocabulary, grammatical peculiarities of AppE are more often than not based on archaisms; the retention of the prefix *a-* before progressive *-ing* forms is the stereotypical example here: 'Boy, I 'z a-hollerin'' (cf. Wolfram - Christian 1976: 56). According to most sources, this prefix is a reduction of the Old English preposition *on* (meaning 'on, in, into' - cf. Random House 1995: s.v. *a-*). Other examples are the possessives *yourn*, *hisn*, *hern*, etc. as extensions of *mine*; old-fashioned *hit* (it) and *you'uns* (you all), reflexives *hisself* and *theirself*, *hain't* (both for 'have not' and 'ain't'), modal combinations and past habitual markers (*used to could*), completive *done* ('We done finished up here'), 'inchoative verbs' (cf. Montgomery 1980) like *go +ing* ('They went to building the house'), positive *anymore* ('Does he play anymore?'), adverbial pronouns like *this here* or *that there* ('Fetch me that there cucumber'), preposition strings

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[43] i.e. the 'Set Rhetorical Traditions' with tales passed on over generations (e.g. the 'Jack Tales'), and the 'Everyday Tale' tradition, in which everyday common events are transformed into a colorful and often humorous story (cf. Reese 1995).

('Get down out from in up and under there!'), purposive *for* ('I'm ready for to go'), associative plurals ('Holly 'n' 'em was goin' there'), etc. etc. etc.

Multiple negations ('I ain't going back no more'), irregular or regularized verb forms in the past (*eat - et*, *bring - brung*, *climb - clumb*, *fetch - fotch*; *know - knowed*, *blow - blowed*) and subject-verb agreement patterns ('Me and my sister gets into fights sometimes'; 'There is four of them') have been mentioned previously (cf. chapter 1.2.1.) as general markers for social stigmatization in the U.S. There is much evidence that these and similar forms were still in common use a couple of centuries or even longer ago, and that Appalachian English, for one, has simply retained them like so many other archaisms (cf. i.a Dumas 1981: 172/173; Montgomery 1995: 248ff.). Be that as it may, the combination of such features in AppE and Southern Mountain speech in general seems by analogy to have led to a large-scale stigmatization of the dialect, and to the common perception that the typical 'Mountaineer' "generally breaks every rule in the modern grammar book" (Herman - Herman 1947: 152), presumably because he doesn't know any better or is 'just plain dumb'. Though dialectologists have frequently drawn attention to the fact that dialects are *not* incorrect or deviant forms of language, but simply different systems with distinct subsets of language patterns (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 3/4),[44] such stereotypical notions continue to exist, and certainly contribute to negative language attitudes.

(See the field study in Part II).

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[44] In 1997, the Linguistic Society of America even unanimously adopted a resolution asserting that "all human language systems - spoken, signed and written - are fundamentally regular" and that characterizations of socially disfavored varieties as "slang, mutant, defective, ungrammatical or broken English are incorrect and demeaning." - (quoted after Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 6).

1.3. 'Standard American English'

American English has been discussed so far in terms of its regional variation; now the question shall be addressed as to whether or not there exists in the USA a national language norm of desirability and correctness, a standard that resides above the other dialects in prestige and common opinion, and against which all other variation is measured. Unlike in some other countries and with other languages, this is a very tricky issue in the United States, and one marked by considerable ambiguity. Language experts claiming that "[o]ne can sound educated in any of [several] regional standards" (Chaika 1994: 279) and that "[i]n the United States, it appears that no one regional dialect has become the recognized national 'standard'" (Giles - Powesland 1975: 37) are countered by researchers who simply take the existence of such a standard for granted in their studies (cf. e.g. Luhman 1990: 331ff); statements saying that of "the great majority of Americans, not many pay much attention to the standard speech [sic!] practiced by the networks or any other would-be homogenizer of the language" (Hendrickson 1986: 13) are opposed by reports of a latent "anxiety [that] at times almost borders on hysteria" where "[p]roper speech is pursued with what can only be called religious fervor" (Chaika 1994: 267), and where a 'language crisis' and the death of American English at the hands of ignorant and irreverent illiterates is conjured up (cf. Daniels 1983: 23ff)[45]. The overall insecurity in this respect seems to be so deeply rooted and pervasive that lapses occur where linguists on the one hand call 'Standard American English' "an idealization" which, as opposed to regional varieties, "[n]obody speaks", and on the other hand - within the same book! - contrast regional vowel production in the South with a 'standard' (!) located in the Midwest, New England, and the Middle Atlantic states (cf. Fromkin - Rodman 1983: 251; quoted in Preston 1989: 326/327).

So, basically, the general idea of 'Standard American English' is more than fuzzy. Yet that there should be some type of language standardization at all in the U.S. seems, according to Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 9), inevitable: "Ultimately, we can attribute this to underlying principles of human behavior in which certain ways of behaving (dressing, speaking, treating elders, and so forth) are established as normative

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[45] N.B.: The purpose of Daniels' book is actually not to subscribe to, but rather to refute arguments for such a 'language crisis'.

for the society." Reasons for such behavior in the particular case of the USA have been drawn i.a. from Social Darwinism (cf. St Clair 1982: 164-174).

To clear the issue up a bit here, it helps to follow Wolfram and Schilling-Estes' guidance and to consider 'Standard American English' as operating on two distinguishable levels, a formal and an informal one (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 9-12). 'Formal Standard American English' tends to be based on the written language of established writers and grammar texts; it is codified, prescribed, and relatively homogeneous, and it is perpetuated to a large extent in formal institutions such as schools. There will be some disagreement among prescriptive grammarians, but in most cases, there is bound to be a strong accord among the 'authorities', and not much room for 'quibbles' (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 10). The sphere of usage for this variety is, however, largely restricted to writing and specialized public presentations (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 281).

'Standard American English' on the informal level is a more widely applicable concept that is relevant to the vast majority of everyday language interactions. It is a more subjective, somewhat flexible notion. Furthermore, this is the standard that most consistently governs people's everyday evaluation of the social significance of dialect differences (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 282). Yet with all this, it is also much more difficult to define than 'Standard American English' on the formal level. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 10) for the purpose suggest that 'Informal Standard American English' be regarded as existing on a continuum along which speakers can be perceived to vary between the 'standard' and the 'nonstandard' poles. While much of this speaker rating can be fairly subjective, there is usually some kind of consensus about those speakers who are to be located at the more extreme ranges of this continuum, often regardless of the socioeconomic background of whoever is doing the judging.

Within such a broad 'informal standard', there may then even be room for the recognition of different regional forms and interpretations of 'standardness' in different regional contexts - mostly with respect to pronunciation and vocabulary.[46]

A term frequently brought up in connection with spoken standardness is 'Network Standard' - i.e. basically the speech model of television and radio newscasters with a

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[46] This is probably also why some researchers have identified different 'American standards' for their studies (cf. e.g. Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982: 229).
Dumas (1976: 29) points out that what Americans in fact seem to tolerate most readily is variation in vocabulary.

national audience. This 'Network Standard' is often said to be derived from Midwestern speech (cf. Alford - Strother 1990: 487/488), and is so defined even, for example, in the NBC *Handbook of Pronunciation* (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 139).[47] Tying this 'Network' concept in with the notion of 'Informal Standard American English', the 'Network Standard' can be regarded as a concrete (and very popular!)[48] *example* of the latter (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 282). This example is in fact rather authoritative by nature; one reason for its popularity is also its very 'neutrality'; and thus it serves well to demonstrate what Americans seem to be looking for under the label of 'standard': a language variety devoid of general and local socially stigmatized features, as well as regionally obtrusive phonological and grammatical features (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 283). This brings out the most essential point to be made in this chapter, then: obviously, 'Standard American English' is determined more by what it is not than by what it is. "In other words, if a person's speech is free of structures that can be identified as nonstandard, then it is considered standard" (Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 12). Such 'neutral' speech has more recently also been labeled 'mainstream U.S. English' (MUSE) in analogy to mainstream (uniform, non-regional) U.S. culture, in order to avoid the elitist loading of the word 'standard' itself (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 59ff).

A few structures that can generally be seen as diagnostic of 'nonstandardness' (or 'non-mainstream') have already been mentioned earlier - viz. multiple negations, irregular (past tense) verb forms, subject-verb agreement patterns (concordance with *be*, s-suffixing) - (cf. chapter 1.2.1.). A more comprehensive list would also include left dislocation ('Bob and Sue, they are going out tonight' - cf. also Montgomery 1978), auxiliary deletion, invariant *be*, negation with *ain't*, negative auxiliary preposing ('Cain't nobody do it'), relative pronoun deletion, use of *at* with *where* ('Where's my shirt at?'), possessive *'s* deletion, use of *them* for *those* ('I want some of them apples'). On a phonological level, stigmatized features would be final cluster simplification, various modifications of the 'th'-sound (becoming [t] or [d] in initial position, [v] or [f] in final position) and of /v/ (*sebm - seven*) as well as final stop devoicing, final /t/ or /d/ deletion, and overall reductions (e.g. when *I'm going to* becomes *I'm gonna*, *I'mana*, *I'maw* etc.) - (cf. Wolfram - Fasold 1974: ch.'s 6 & 7). Stigmatization (and degree thereof), however, also varies according to region, just like dialect.

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[47] NBC in fact originally broadcasted from a studio in Chicago from the 1920's on.

If 'Standard American English', then, is generally defined in the negative, 'by default', through the absence of such features as the above-mentioned, this idea is usually also extended to the treatment of whole regional dialects in the U.S.; meaning that rather than assigning *prestige* to a variety, Americans distinguish between +/- *negatively valued* dialects (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 12). As a matter of fact, one of the most negatively valued dialects seems to be Southern American English, according to folklinguistic (and other) evidence (cf. i.a. Preston 1997: p.311): "the common attitude toward [the Southerners'] language remains one of disdain" (St Clair 1982: 169).

It has been pointed out before (cf. chapter 1.2.2.) that from a linguistic point of view, dialects are not mere incorrect, lower forms of a language, but different systems with different language patterning. No variety of a language is therefore inherently 'better' than any other - this is certainly also true for any 'standard', or, as Wardhaugh puts it (1998: 325), "A standard variety of a language is 'better' only in a social sense: it has preferred status; ... but there is no reason to suppose that any one of the varieties [of a language] is intrinsically more worthy than any other." Standardization, therefore, "is a characteristic of the social treatment of a variety, not a property of the language variant itself" (Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 3).

In some countries, such as France, Spain, or Italy, such social treatment has become publicly institutionalized and subject to official regularization and policies/politics.[49] In the case of the U.S., however, there is no officially implemented institution for the promotion of a national language standard.[50] Standardization here is therefore, more than anything else, a matter of ideology - a somewhat mythical ideology with its own dynamics, which prevails in U.S. society, and which empowers certain individuals and institutions, like educators or the broadcasting media, to make certain decisions about a socially constructed (versus a linguistic) grammaticality (cf. Lippi-Green 1997:15, 59).

Lippi-Green describes the picture of 'Standard American English' emerging under this ideology as follows:

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[48] cf. i.a. Alford - Strother 1990: 487/488.

[49] cf. for example the efforts of the Académie Française and the former conservative French government to control language use/usage i.a. in advertisements and contracts.

[50] though voices demanding the formation of such an institution in analogy to the French, Spanish, and Italian 'academies' had been raised as early as in the eighteenth century (cf. Baugh 1993: 358-360).

Standard US English is the language spoken and written[51] by persons

- with no regional accent;
- who reside in the midwest, far west or perhaps some parts of the northeast (but never in the south);
- with more than average or superior education;
- who are themselves educators or broadcasters;
- who pay attention to speech, and are not sloppy in terms of pronunciation or grammar;
- who are easily understood by all;
- who enter into a consensus of other individuals like themselves about what is proper in language

(Lippi-Green 1997: 58)

Such an ideology of standardness, then, is propagated by the educational system, the broadcast and print media (especially the 'news media', who seem to be financially dependent on selling a 'homogeneous national culture')[52], the entertainment industry,[53] the corporate sector, and, to some degree, even by the judicial system[54]. "Each of these institutions claims extraordinary knowledge about language and hence authority in matters of language. Each of them looks to the other for validation." (Lippi-Green 1997: 68)

'Standard American English' is promoted, then, and other, 'nonmainstream' varieties are simultaneously devalued. This dynamic can be described as a 'subordination process', which Lippi-Green, in a working model, outlines thus:

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[51] Lippi-Green (1997) does not make the distinction between formal and informal standard as do Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998).

[52] cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 134.

[53] In her 1997 book, Lippi-Green includes a thorough analysis of feature films produced by the Walt Disney company (pp. 79-103), in which she proposes to demonstrate that the common standard ideology is already indoctrinated into children's minds at a very early age through such films: "What children learn from the entertainment industry is to be comfortable with *same* and to be wary about *other*, and that language is a prime and ready diagnostic for this division between what is approachable and what is best left alone." (Lippi-Green 1997: 103)

[54] Lippi-Green specifically quotes an attorney dealing with civil rights cases as saying that U.S. courts are functioning on the basis of some kind of 'phantom legislature' which has mandated that some form of English is 'standard' or unaccented (1997: 254/note 14 ad chapter 8).

Language is mystified
> *You can never hope to comprehend the difficulties and complexities of your mother tongue without expert guidance.*

Authority is claimed
> *Talk like me/us. We know what we are doing because we have studied language, because we write well.*

Misinformation is generated
> *That usage you are so attached to is inaccurate. The variant I prefer is superior on historical, aesthetic, or logical grounds.*

Non-mainstream language is trivialized
> *Look how cute, how homey, how funny.*

Conformers are held up as positive examples
> *See what you can accomplish if you only try, how far you can get if you see the light.*

Explicit promises are made
> *Employers will take you seriously; doors will open.*

Threats are made
> *No one important will take you seriously; doors will close.*

Non-conformers are vilified or marginalized
> *See how willfully stupid, arrogant, unknowing, uninformed, and/or deviant and unrepresentative these speakers are.*

Figure 6: A model of the language subordination process
(Lippi-Green 1997: 68: Box 4.1.)

Hand in hand with standard ideology and such a subordination process comes the fact that speakers of the higher prestige variety, of 'Standard American English', will be granted certain social advantages, and their life chances will increase, while speaking a 'nonstandard' variety will tend to produce the exact opposite effect (cf. Wardhaugh 1998: 325). There is a potential for discrimination given here that seems to run counter to some of the best principles of such a fiercely egalitarian society like the American. The question that would come up here, then, is, what is the legal aspect of this issue?

The relevant section in U.S. legislature is found under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (amended in 1991). Title VII is specifically designed to outlaw discrimination in the sense of denial of equal employment opportunity:

Section 703

(a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer -

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin

(as published in vol. 42 of the United States Code[55]
- cf. also Halbert - Ingulli 1990: 294)

The administrative agency created by Congress whose task it is to interpret and enforce the employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act is the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) - (cf. Halbert - Ingulli 1990: 294).

Though this legislation may seem like quite a substantial support for employees in general, in the present context of American regional language variation, its limits and insufficiencies become obvious: under the law as it currently stands, only discrimination on the basis of foreign accents is covered,[56] while discrimination on the basis of regional origination is not: "[a]n accent must be directly traceable to a specific national origin to be eligible for Title VII protection" (Lippi-Green 1997: 154). However, there seem to be forces within the EEOC who would like to see the definition of language-focused national origin discrimination made more comprehensive (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 154 - citing from a personal source). It could thus be possible that "a person from Appalachia would have recourse under Title VII because the features of Appalachian English are directly traceable to a number of dialects in Great Britain"[57] (Lippi-Green 1997: 154). So far, no reports of an imminent trial in the issue have been made.

Yet, even if the application of Title VII should be expanded, whether or not all this legislation could in reality provide sufficient legal protection for non-mainstream speakers of U.S. English would still be more than doubtful: so far, even court cases involving foreign-origin accent discrimination, which is explicitly addressed under Title VII, have only rarely been crowned with success, partially due to an overly subjective

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[55] Text taken from the website of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission: http://www.eeoc.gov in section: "Laws Enforced by the EEOC".

[56] "It is illegal to discriminate against an individual because of birthplace, ancestry, culture, or linguistic characteristics common to a specific ethnic group." (EEOC, website, in section: "Federal Laws Prohibiting Job Discrimination: Questions and Answers")

[57] This would, of course, raise the tremendous problems of associating specific regional or social dialects with specific foreign origins (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 254/note 9 ad ch. 8).

interpretation of the language issue on the part of the judges (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 154-170).

But would speakers of, for example, Appalachian English really ever need legal protection against discrimination in employment matters, e.g. when applying for a salesjob? This final question raised here will be picked up in the field study in Part II of this paper.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

2.1. Language Attitudes: an Overview[58]

> I have to admit my prejudice - even though I can watch a man on
> television in a three-piece suit who is, you know, the Attorney General
> of the State of Georgia, with six degrees in law, when he starts talking
> I think, 'He sounds dumb!' ... I know he's smart, I know he's educated -
> and I have this prejudice that he sounds sort of ignorant.
> (One of the Vermont informants in an interview)

Basically, language attitudes are all attitudes that are directed towards language as a referent (cf. Smit 1994: 53; Fasold 1984: 148). Such attitudes seem to exist in the first place because in any given society, language is associated with social structures and evaluated accordingly (cf. Smit 1994: 88) - "In every society the differential power of particular social groups is reflected in language variation and in attitudes toward those variations" (Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 1).

Before talking about attitudes towards language in particular, then, it seems useful to first explore 'attitude' in general - this "hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour" (Baker 1992: 10).

In an early assessment of related studies, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 138) distinguish between a behaviorist and a mentalist view of the concept of attitude (cf. also Fasold 1984: 145). According to behaviorist theory, attitudes are to be found in people's responses to social situations. Attitudes can therefore simply be determined through observation and behavior analysis - no complicated, indirect inferences are necessary. The downside of this approach is, however, that attitude becomes a dependent variable tied to particular contexts and stimuli - on these terms, behavior is quite unpredictable.

Most language attitude work is therefore nowadays based on mentalist theory, which pictures attitude as a (mental) state of readiness, an *independent* variable intervening between stimulus and response, a disposition to react to an object or stimulus in a certain way (favorable or unfavorable). However, this approach is not unproblematic either: actual experiments within this framework are necessarily complex

and tricky, because it is assumed that attitudes are not directly observable. Therefore, especially in language attitude research, a great deal of effort has gone into "devising ingenious experiments designed to reveal attitudes without making subjects overly conscious of the process" (Fasold 1984: 147; cf. also chapter 2.2.).

Another part of attitude theory is the issue of whether or not attitudes have identifiable subcomponents. Generally speaking, the behaviorist view sees attitudes as single units, while the mentalist usually considers there to be subparts (cf. Agheyisi - Fishman 1970: 138/139; Fasold 1984: 148). Among a multitude of mentalist models, the one that nowadays seems to be the most widely accepted and applied identifies three components of attitude: the cognitive (knowledge/thought/beliefs), the affective (feelings), and the conative (readiness for action) - (cf. i.a. Baker 1992: 12/13). The latter (conative) is often felt to be of a rather ambiguous nature, as it may not always be an indicator of external behavior. As numerous studies have shown, "the relationship between attitudes and action is neither straightforward nor simple" (Baker 1992: 13).[59]

A further aspect to be considered, and one that has only recently come under scrutiny, especially among U.S. scholars, is attitude strength (cf. Petty - Krosnick 1995). Attitude strength can be defined as the degree to which an attitude possesses the features of durability (persistence over time, resistance to influence) and impact (influence on information processing or judgments, guiding behavior) - (cf. Petty - Krosnick 1995: 3/4). Thus, stronger attitudes can be expected to be more resistant to manipulation, stabler over time, to have more effects e.g. on interpersonal relationships and memorizing information, and to be more consistent with behavior than weaker ones (cf. Petty - Krosnick 1995: 8/9). Attributes of attitudes that may correlate with the two strength dimensions have been described in numerous ways; Petty and Krosnick (1995: 5-7) identify four different categories into which such attributes may fall: aspects of the attitude itself (viz. its valence - positive or negative, and extremity), aspects of the cognitive structure associated in memory with the attitude/attitude object (knowledge, accessibility, consistency between information and evaluation, ambivalence), subjective beliefs about attitude/attitude object (importance, relevance, personal involvement,

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[58] This chapter is meant to provide the mere essence of (language) attitude theory and some latest developments. For a more detailed assessment refer to Ryan - Giles (1982), Baker (1992), and Smit (1994).

[59] Probably the most famous one is the study by La Piere about hotel and restaurant acceptance of Chinese patrons. Here, actual behavior was seemingly inconsistent with previously expressed attitudes. (Quoted in: Petty - Krosnick 1995:2; Baker 1992: 15, Cargile e.a. 1994: 222).

certainty of correctness), and cognitive processes by which an attitude is formed (elaboration).

As can be seen, there are numerous facettes to 'attitude', which has indeed been called a "most distinctive" and "indispensable" contemporary concept by American social psychologists (Allport 1966: 15). For the present purpose, it must suffice for these facettes to be drawn together in one brief 'working description' of attitude(s), along the lines of a mentalist approach, and as a reference for the field study later on:

> Attitudes are directly unobservable, complex mental entities of variable strength that consist of cognitive, emotive, and conative components, and influence an individual's thinking, feeling, and acting with regard to a referent, i.e. people, objects, issues, or situations. Attitudes are learned through experience,[60] and thus, in correlation to their own strength, they can change with experience.[61]

Though attitude theory in itself is quite firmly located within the framework of social psychology, the study of *language attitudes* has traditionally been taken on from the viewpoint of a whole variety of disciplines: sociolinguistics, anthropology, speech and communication sciences, etc. Until fairly recently, then, scholars had ample grounds to complain that much of language attitude research only reflected the differing theoretical interests of the particular host discipline (cf. Agheyisi - Fishman 1970: 137), and was on the whole rather "atheoretical and piecemeal in evolution" (Baker 1992: 8). Over the years, though, the social psychological approach, as adapted most notably by Ryan and Giles in their 1982 book *Attitudes towards Language Variation*, has indeed asserted itself as the outstanding host to language attitude research, due to the fact that it seemed best able to supply a badly needed theoretical framework. (It shall also provide the framework for this present study).

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[60] Petty and Krosnick point out that some researchers have recently begun to explore possible links between genetic determinants and attitude; that is, some attitudes may be durable and impactful because they have an inherited component, or may be tied to inherited differences, e.g. one's attitude towards hard work (cf. Petty - Krosnick 1995: 5/footnote). Implications from such an approach are, however, quite ambiguous, and, it is felt, rather not applicable in the context of this present study.
[61] This definition is largely based on Smit 1994: 50/55.

The social psychological definition of 'language attitude', then, as proposed by Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian (1982: 7) is "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers." This description is all the more useful as it integrates the abstract, unobservable nature of attitude into a more open, clearer description on the basis of the observable factors, i.e. *reactions* (cf. Smit 1994: 70/71), thus paving the grounds for actual attitudinal investigations and experiments.

The social psychological take on language attitude study as presented by Ryan and colleagues furthermore sees language and society as *interdependent*, not as dichotomies: "it is tremendously difficult to separate linguistic and social processes in many instances" (Giles 1982: vii). All in all, the emphasis is "upon the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward ingoup and outgroup members as elicited by language and as reflected in its use" (Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 2). This is the reason why the main focus of interest here is on speaker evaluation studies; and psychological insights into the cognitive processes on the speaker's as well as the respondent's part are therefore also incorporated into the framework (cf. also Cargile e.a. 1994). From a social-psychological point of view, then, language attitude research is about understanding "people's processing of and disposition towards various situated language and communicative behaviours and the subsequent treatment extended to the users of such forms" (Cargile e.a. 1994: 211).

In order to illustrate some of the factors that are thought to influence the development, salience, and application of language attitudes in social situations, Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac (1994) have proposed a 'social process model', to underline the idea that language attitudes are not a singular, static phenomenon, but rather one that affects and is affected by numerous elements "in a virtually endless, recursive fashion" (Cargile e.a. 1994: 215):
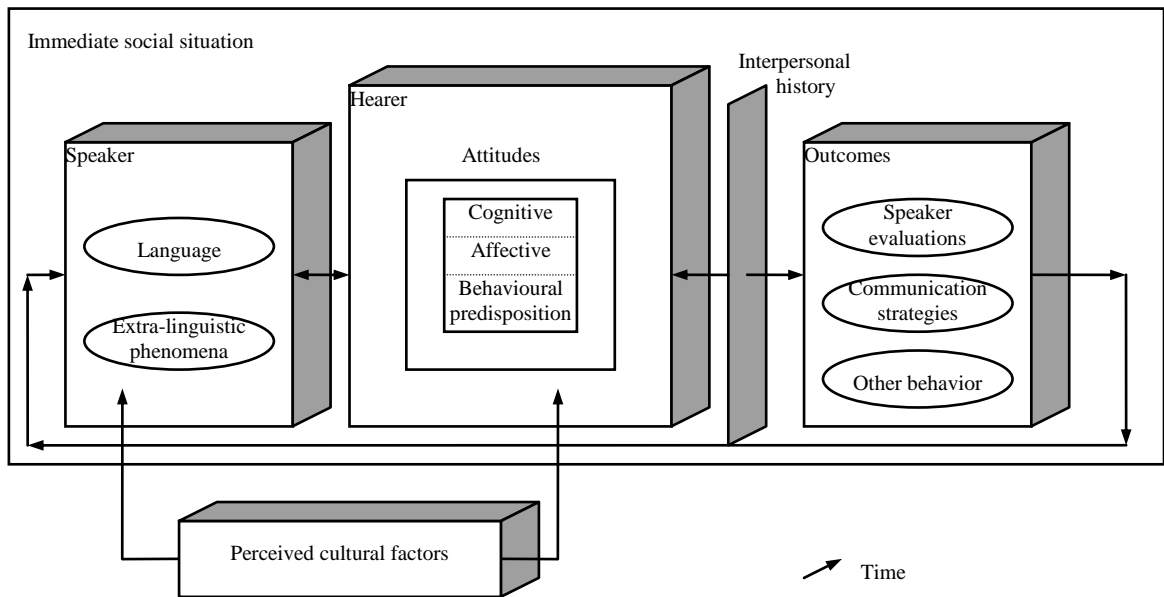
Figure 7: A 'social process model' of language attitudes (Cargile e.a. 1994: 214)

As this model represents the latest developments in social psychological language attitude theory, as it were, it shall be discussed at some length here.

This 'process model' is designed in such a way as to point out different factors whose influence on language attitudes seems to have been confirmed with the evidence of numerous studies (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994, throughout the text). Those factors are: speaker dynamics and language variation (referring to the speaker's/language's impact on the language attitude process), hearer dynamics (referring to the objective and subjective attributes and perceptions of the hearer, influenced by his/her goals and mood, expertise, schemas, and *attitudes* with their three subcomponents), interpersonal history (directly affecting actual evaluation and interaction) and eventual outcomes (speaker evaluation, communication strategies, cooperation). The hearer's role, especially, is now more in focus in this model; language attitudes are no longer merely seen as his/her simple responses to language stimuli, but rather "social meanings [of language] are assumed to be inferred by means of *constructive*, *interpretive* processes[62] drawing upon the hearers' expertise and influenced by his or her goals and mood" (Cargile e.a 1994: 218; original emphasis).

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[62] hence 'process model'

Attitudes themselves still play the central role in the 'process model', and much attention is given by Cargile and colleagues to the investigation of its subcomponents - the cognitive, affective, and conative parts.[63]

The way the 'process model' can be corroborated with findings of numerous studies proves it to be quite a sound approach to the investigation and explanation of language attitudes. It is felt here, though, that, with the research by Petty and Krosnick (1995) and their colleagues in mind, one slight modification/extension of the model would be called for; i.e. adding the dimension of *attitude strength* to the plan. The idea that attitudes thus differ in degree seems non-negligible, and such an extra dimension would certainly qualify the effect of a number of 'on-the-spot' variables, such as, for example, hearer goals and mood, speaker's language production phenomena, and speaker evaluation outcomes, and would set them in a wider perspective. The proposed modification could be adopted in the model in the following way:
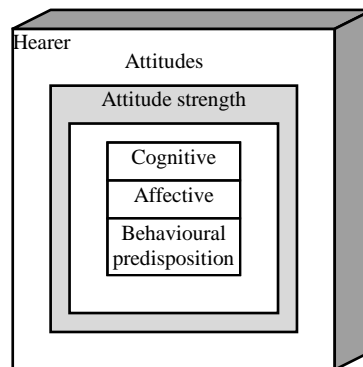
Figure 8: Proposed adaptation within the 'social process model': 'attitude strength' added

'Speaker' and 'Hearer' dynamics together with 'Outcome' (mitigated by 'Interpersonal history') form the interactive inner core of the 'process model'. Yet in their book, Ryan and Giles have repeatedly stressed that '[t]he extent to which language variety A is preferred over language variety B depends upon the situation in which the assessment is made" (Ryan - Giles 1982: 219). Smit (1994: 53-58), too, has demonstrated the importance and salience of a language's 'domain', related to the social setting, for language attitude investigation, and emphasized the necessity of avoiding a 'situational vacuum' (cf. Smit 1994: 80). This necessity was also taken into account in

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[63] In fact, in their article the authors lauch an appeal to scholars to examine the motivational and affective constituents of the language attitude 'process' more closely (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994: 227).

the 'process model', where the inner core described above is set within the framework of the 'immediate social situation', i.e., basically, the setting of a language attitude assessment.

The primary situational features affecting language attitudes can be represented in terms of two dimensions:

(1) '*status-stressing*' versus '*solidarity-stressing*' (cf. Ryan - Giles 1982: 219ff). In other words, the extent to which a situation is perceived as status- or solidarity-stressing at a particular time affects the relative weighting given to the status and solidarity values associated with the target varieties (cf. Ryan - Giles 1982: 219). Status and solidarity are, after all, the major structural dimensions along which views with regard to contrasting language varieties generally vary, and along which distinctive patterns of language preference are formed (cf. Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 8/9).

(2) the extent to which the informants define a situation in terms of group-membership, i.e. along the dimension '*group-centered*' versus '*person-centered*' also affects the values accorded to the varieties tested (cf. Ryan - Giles 1982: 219).

Ryan and Giles illustrate this in a two-dimensional model, the essence of which is reproduced here:

Status-stressing

Prototype situation:
Long-time employer giving
feedback to employee on job
performance

Prototype situation:
Giving first impressions of
job suitability during a brief
personal interview

Person-
centered

Group-
centered

Prototype situation:
Good friends talking together
after a long separation

Prototype situation:
Group members discussing
how to respond to an external
threat to the group

Solidarity-stressing

Figure 9: Two-dimensional model of situational effects on language attitudes
(adapted from Ryan - Giles 1982: 220)

As Smit (1994: 87) puts it, situations set at various points along these dimensions differ from each other basically with regard to the impact of the two main forces

structuring every group, i.e. *identity* and *power*[64]. Each situation therefore causes an individual (an informant) to experience the feelings of group identity and power-dependence to a different degree: for example, "[a] status-stressing, group-centered situation presupposes that both forces will strongly influence the individual's language attitudes, whereas a solidarity-stressing, person-centered situation allows for little influence" (Smit 1994: 87).

Such a 'classification' of language attitude assessment situations along fixed dimensions presents the advantage that the setting-conditions prevailing in a given study can be more easily and objectively defined, which should provide against undue generalizations and inadmissible comparisons.

Moving further on in the 'process model', there is still a salient group of attitude-influencing factors to be considered that is superimposed upon the 'immediate social situation': the group of the (socio)cultural factors (cf. 'process model'). Included here are political, historical, economic, and linguistic realities in a society that affect the social meaning of a language variety and with it, language attitudes, for these latter are, after all, formed according to the perceptions of a variety with regard to its social standing/meaning (cf. Smit 1994: 71/72; Cargile e.a. 1994: 226). And although these 'realities' may appear as rather objective entities, language attitudes will in the end only be influenced according to the speaker's and hearer's *subjective perception* of them - hence *'perceived* cultural factors' (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994: 226).

From a (socio)*linguistic* point of view, the study of intergroup language attitudes has usually relied on two measures, two 'sociostructural dimensions', as critical determinants and indices of the impact of 'cultural factors' on language attitudes: standardization and vitality (cf. Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 3; Cargile e.a. 1994: 226). Standardization refers to the process by which a language has been codified, and is the more static dimension, while vitality is more dynamic and refers to the existence of a living community of speakers, or, to the range and importance of functions served by a language variety (cf. Wardhaugh 1998: 29/31; Cargile e.a. 1994: 226). The two dimensions are not independent of each other, but are interrelated (to varying degrees).

These two dimensions in particular also form a rather closely knit relationship with the situational setting of a language attitude assessment:

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[64] as directly related to status and prestige, i.e. 'high standing' - cf. Wardhaugh 1998: 26; Smit 1994: 23.

> Empirical research has shown that contrasting varieties are evaluated along two dimensions correlating with the two [mentioned] sociostructural dimensions [of standardization and vitality]. These dimensions, which are, similarly to standardization and vitality, not totally independent from each other, can be referred to as group solidarity and social status.[65]
>
> (Smit 1994: 73)

A similar duality of 'solidarity' and 'status' parameters has already been encountered above in terms of the defining features of the 'immediate social situation', where they formed an axis in Ryan and Giles' two-dimensional model of situational effects on language attitudes (cf. Figure 9). To fit the parts together, it can now be said that, in a given language attitude assessment, two varieties will be compared whose 'profile' is established by the informants i.a. in terms of group solidarity and social status. The assessment is made in a specific setting (the 'immediate social situation') the character of which would in fact demand a certain matching, 'ideal' profile in a language variety. It seems, then, that the one language variety whose profile better fits the demand would then fare better in the evaluation, and would encounter less negative attitudes *in this setting*, as it meets the expectations of the informants. Or, as Ryan and Giles put it, a little differently: "the extent to which a situation is construed as status-stressing or solidarity stressing *at a particular time ...* affects the relative weighting given to the status and solidarity values associated with the target varieties" (Ryan - Giles 1982: 219 - my italics).

This concludes the discussion of language attitude theory for the purpose of and as a framework for the present paper. Before its practical application in the field study is to be described in Part II, the next two chapters will serve to tie up some loose ends in giving a survey of language attitude research methods and of previous, related studies, respectively.

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[65] Group solidarity can be defined as the value of a speech variety for identification with a group, and social status as the value of a speech variety for social advancement (cf. Ryan 1979: 155; quoted in Smit 1994: 73).

2.2.   Methods of Language Attitude Surveys

According to Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian (1982: 7), the three assessment techniques relevant to the study of language attitudes are: content analysis of societal treatment, direct measurement, and indirect measurement. In fact, Smit (1994: 74) points out that content analysis is an obligatory step in shaping any study:[66]

> Whatever the theoretical background or practical aim of a study, the first step to be taken is to evaluate the relevant sociolinguistic situation. ... In order to identify the specific aims and working hypotheses of one's study, every researcher must get to know these opinions, facts and actions.

Content analysis of societal treatment, then, as outlined by Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian (1982: 7), basically consists of an assessment of public ways a language variety, and, by analogy, its speakers, are treated.[67] Techniques used may include everything from ethnographic studies, autobiographical, observational, and case study, analysis of government/educational policies, literature, government or business documents, newspapers and broadcasting media, to the study of historical developments. All these types of research do (by definition) not involve explicit requests to informants for their views or reactions (cf, Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 7). Therefore, however, this measurement technique cannot indicate all types of language attitudes.

Another form of assessment is offered by *direct methods*, i.e. methods where people are openly asked what their attitudes about various language behaviors are. This is also what distinguishes the direct from the indirect methods of language attitude research: while in the former aim and topic are clear to the informants, the latter builds on the principle of keeping the subjects from knowing that their language attitudes are being investigated. A direct method is therefore often rather cognitively oriented (cf. Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 7), in asking for people's actual beliefs and opinions about language varieties, and may be prone to elicit answers conforming to social desirability.

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[66] For the content analysis of societal treatment in the present study cf. Part II, ch. 2.

[67] Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian (1982: 7) also include the assessment of observed actual language behavior here, though, arguably, this may be seen as a separate method - cf. Agheyisi - Fishman 1970: 150; Fasold 1984: 152; Smit 1994: 75.

Direct as well as indirect language attitude assessments may, for example, use as tools interviews and questionnaires in different forms,[68] containing, as a basic distinction, open and/or closed questions. In the former, the answers are *left open* to the respondent, while the latter, closed questions, present a definite choice of possible answers, thus setting the desired focus. Open questions, though apt to provide a richer selection of answers, often present the investigator with scoring problems and difficulties in classifying data (cf. also Agheyisi - Fishman 1970: 149); yet, on the upside, they are very useful for information gathering in pilot projects.

Indirect methods of language attitude research most saliently comprise the speaker evaluation paradigm, which is said to form the foundation of the social psychological perspective on language attitudes (cf. Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 8; Cargile e.a. 1994: 213, Agheyisi - Fishman 1970: 146). In a typical set-up, a selected group of informants would evaluate audiotaped speakers without any (social) group labels attached. Because linguistic factors are then supposedly controlled, speaker evaluations are considered to reflect listeners' underlying attitudes towards the target language variety or language behavior (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994: 213). This assumption builds, of course, on the social psychological premise presented earlier saying that attitudes towards particular varieties are taken to be attitudes towards speakers of these varieties (cf. Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 2). Study results thus obtained may reflect evaluative reactions as well as behavioral indices of attitudes concerning speech accommodation or non-speech behaviors like 'commitment' (cf. Agheyisi - Fishman 1970: 144).

By far the most popular instrument of language attitude measurement in the speaker evaluation paradigm, and one that has become something like a 'classic', is the matched guise technique. The original, as introduced by Wallace Lambert and colleagues in the 1960's (cf. e.g. Lambert 1967), used multilingual speakers who were recorded reciting a single text in different 'guises', producing samples in different language varieties that were then evaluated by judges on some kind of rating scale. If the ratings for the same person reading in different guises diverged between the samples, it would have to be the language variation that accounted for this phenomenon.[69] The most

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[68] For further detail cf. i.a. Smit (1994: 74/75).
[69] For detailed descriptions of the matched-guise technique cf. also Bussmann 1996: s.v. "matched guise"; Fasold 1984: 150; Smit 1994: 79.

popular form of response scheme combined with the matched-guise is the semantic differential scale as introduced by Osgood e.a. (cf. Fasold 1984: 150)[70].

While the original form of the matched-guise, then, was to use multilingual (multidialectal) speakers, many studies have rather employed a modification of the technique in which several *different* speakers are recorded, all using their own (native) language variety. But although this method risks to get a less than perfect match of voice qualities in corresponding speaker pairs, there are a number of researchers who ardently defend this alternative. It has even been described as *preferable* to the original as "it employs natural, rather than feigned, accents which may really only represent the speaker's stereotypes; in addition, it eliminates the possibility that speakers will systematically vary their voice quality in an attempt to exaggerate differences between the two guises" (Gallois - Callan 1981: 349; cf. also Alford - Strother 1990: 484).[71]

Studies relying on any kind of matched-guise method have had to face much criticism, including reproaches concerning artificiality of setting, possible incongruities of language variety and topic, and failure to successfully predict behavior (cf. Smit 1994: 82/83). Modifications have been proposed and explored, but, as Smit (1994: 83/84) explains, no real improvement upon the technique could be found; and furthermore, none of the other methods of language attitude investigation have proved more effective, let alone valid or reliable.

In the end, as Ryan and Giles (1982: 223) suggest, the best step to refine any assessment of language attitudes in any given societal structure will be to resort to methodological eclecticism.

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[70] with a reference to Osgood, C. H., G. J. Suci, and P. H. Tannenbaum (1957). *The Measurement of Meaning*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

[71] The present study also relies on the adapted version of the matched-guise technique - cf. Part II.

2.3.   Selected Previous Studies

Any new study should be informed not only by theory, but also by previous research and findings that relate to its topic. It is thus the purpose of this chapter to outline the research context of this present investigation of language attitudes in the U.S. towards Southern speech. A brief overview in more or less chronological order shall be given that presents those studies deemed most relevant to the topic indicated. Conclusions from this overview will be incorporated into the working hypotheses in Part II of this paper.

The first study to be quoted here was done in 1973 by Robert Hopper and Frederick Williams. It was "the first comprehensive study of the social significance of speech in the job interview" (Kalin 1982: 154), meant to test the thesis that "an interviewee's speech characteristics furnish cues which form an employer's attitudes towards the speaker and that these attitudes influence employment decisions" (Hopper - Williams 1973: 296). In the first phase of the study, four speaker samples were used - 'Standard American English'[72], Black English, Spanish-influenced English and a Southern white dialect. In a second phase, a black speaker was substituted for the Spanish one.

In both set-ups, employment interviewers were asked to describe their reactions to short segments of each speaker which were designed to recreate a job interview situation. The informants were also asked to rate the speakers on an occupation scale containing five to seven possible job categories, from 'executive' to 'manual laborer'. Results showed that intelligence/competence evaluations were the best predictors of employment decisions regarding executive/leadership positions. All in all, the study confirmed the assumption that "speech characteristics have greater predictive value when the interviewee applies for a white collar position, and that employees favor standard English speakers for such positions" (Hopper - Williams 1973: 301).

Summarizing this and similar studies from the 1970's and early 80's and putting them in perspective, Rudolf Kalin goes on to demonstrate that in an occupational setting, more often than not a 'status matching process' manifests itself:

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[72] There is no definition of this term given in the study by Hopper and Williams.

> [T]hat is, speakers with a standard or high-status accent [are] judged to be particularly suited for high-status and unsuited for low-status jobs. The reverse was the case for speakers with nonstandard (ethnic or regional) accents ... [A] speaker is judged to be suitable for an occupation corresponding to the status of the accent category.
>
> (Kalin 1982: 159)

Kalin furthermore points to the fact that in the employment settings reviewed, as in many other evaluative contexts, competence and likeability dimensions were found to be quite useful measures (1982: 161).

As early as in 1967, Merkel, Eisler and Reese had established in their study that mere regional dialect variation is a significant factor in judging personality from voice. In 1979, Kenneth Shields used an adapted matched guise technique set-up (cf. chapter 2.2.) to test for language attitudes towards regional accents in a specifically Southern context (in the Memphis, TN area). Ten speakers (male and female) in five different varieties (Southern, 'South Midland',[73] North Midland (Western Pennsylvania), North (Great Lakes), and Eastern New England) who were reading the same text were to be rated by 75 respondents of a wide variety of backgrounds. A seven-point semantic differential scale with 14 adjective pairs was used for the purpose. The informants were furthermore asked to indicate which job each speaker was supposedly holding, on a scale ranging from 'TV personality' to 'factory worker' and finally 'none of these' - in order of declining prestige.

The results of this study showed that North Midland speech was considered to be the most prestigious form by far, Southern coming in second, closely followed by Inland Northern. New England and 'South Midland' dialects showed least prestige. No significant differences were found in ratings according to informants' sex, education, occupation or race. Shields concludes, "It clearly appears that the prestige of Southern American English is declining through time in the South" (1979: 4), especially among the younger speakers: "Southern speakers are now more standard conscious than in the past" (ibid.). The surge in popularity of North Midland/Inland Northern Shields (ibid.) attributes to their "close affinities" to 'Network English', which, he says, seems to have replaced Eastern New England (Boston) speech as a pronunciation ideal.

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[73] This seems in fact to have been a Southern Mountain dialect in the taxonomy used here (cf. Shields 1979: 3). The term 'South Midland' is therefore used in inverted commas here.

In their 1982 study, Caroline Van Antwerp and Monica Maxwell also used Northern and Southern speakers, but they took more than that one factor into account, proposing to explore the limits imposed by stereotypes evoked by regional dialect as well as speaker sex. They also wanted to focus on "the potential ease with which individuals may acquire certain occupational positions, i.e. their employability" (Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982: 227). The authors used two Northern/two Southern and two male/two female speakers respectively; small selected parallel segments of taped monologue from each of them were to be rated on a seven-point bipolar scale featuring ten personality traits. In a second part of the test, informants (males and females from the Washington, DC area) were to rate the speakers as professional peers, choosing among eight possible occupational positions, and then to rank these positions in order of prestige/importance/desirability. The results showed that the non-Southern female was rated highest overall (mostly by her peers); on the professional level, the rankings were non-Southern male before non-Southern female, Southern male, and finally Southern female. The Southern male was rated highest by Southern informants; the Southern female was ranked least negatively by the non-Southern male informants, but more negatively by the Southerners in general. In overall conclusion to their study, Van Antwerp and Maxwell (1982: 241) note that "women's speech style combined with any other non-prestigious variety is an undesirable combination". Furthermore, "of the two marked styles - regional and sex-linked - it is more salient to have the former in this context and to have both is lethal" (Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982: 240).

In a similar set-up in Florida, Grinstead, Krzyston, Van-Deusen and Scott (1987) tried to gauge listeners' reactions to regional and ethnic accents in broadcasting. Nine speakers of black, Southern, and Northeastern origin were taped reading a broadcasting text; three groups with a total of thirty informants from the North, South, and Midwest, split up according to their amount of linguistic training, were asked to respond. In general, the black and Southern speakers received more favorable ratings than the Northerners, the first group scoring best on a 'communication' factor. The Northerners received their relatively highest ratings for 'education', while the black speakers received their own lowest score here; the Southerners did least well (relatively) on 'professionalism'. The experimenters drew the conclusion that "the general public is

likely to be more tolerant of variations in speech [than expected]" (Grinstead e.a. 1987: 125), suggesting that "either attitudes toward different varieties of English are becoming more positive or the features that once served to distinguish between different varieties of English are no longer being used" (Grinstead e.a. 1987: 131). As the study also yielded some interesting insights into the relationship of speech rate and listeners' ratings, Grinstead and her colleagues (1987: 129) made the point "that listeners may actually be responding to a complex combination of speech and performance variables".

In fact, the effects of speech rate on speaker evaluation had already been demonstrated by Brown, Strong, and Rencher (1975: 24 - study from 1973)[74], in an experiment that had informants assess different samples of artificially slowed or speeded speech rate. They found out that "speeding the voices caused them to be rated less benevolent and slowing the voices caused them to be rated less competent" in a rather consistent manner (Brown - Strong - Rencher 1975: 24), and that "rate obviously has a much greater effect than either [pitch or intonation]" (ibid., p. 26). More particularly, competence seemed to increase/decrease in a rather linear fashion with rate of speech, while 'benevolence' (i.e. 'personality') ratings were highest when coinciding with middle rate values. These findings are paralleled rather nicely by those of the Grinstead e.a. study (1987: 128), where the data also seemed to suggest that a middle rate of speech influenced ratings most favorably, while a fast rate increased 'brightness' scores.

Two more studies shall be considered here. The first one, by Randall Alford and Judith Strother (1990), investigated reactions of native U.S. and non-native (L2) student speakers towards U.S. regional varieties (Southern from South Carolina, Northern from New York, and Midwestern), using a modified matched-guise test and a seven-point bipolar scale of twelve adjectival pairs. They found out that L2 respondents' perceptions of regional accents may diverge from those of L1 students, and attributed this to differences in the students' cultural frameworks of reference. Divergences were most noticeable in the varying ratings of male and female speakers.

The general results for L1 informants seemed rather surprising to the authors - the Southern male speaker received highest overall ratings, followed by the Midwestern female in second, the Midwestern male and Southern female in third and the Northern

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[74] For a review cf. Street - Hopper 1982: 181/182.

male and female in last place, even though Northern informants accounted for 52% of the population. Males were generally rated higher than their female counterparts. The Midwestern speakers received highest scores in eight of twelve categories; the Southern male's ratings were highest on 'trustworthy/sincere', the Southern female's on 'friendly/gentleness'.[75]

The authors relate the favorable ratings for the Midwestern speakers back to a previous study of their own which confirmed that many U.S. natives consider a Midwestern accent closest to the popular and widely accepted 'Network Standard' model (cf. chapter 1.3.) - (cf. Alford - Strother. 1990: 488 with a reference to Marckwardt 1980). Similarly, they had found out earlier that Southerners were a lot more sensitive to differences of Northern versus Southern and Northern versus Midwestern speakers than between Southerners and Midwesterners, which "might suggest that southerners react more positively to a midwestern accent because they perceive it as being more standard [sic!], more acceptable, and more similar to their own" (Alford - Strother 1990: 482).

The last study, by Reid Luhman (1990), specifically investigates Appalachian English stereotypes in a university setting in Kentucky. Luhman used the original matched guise technique (cf. chapter 2.2.) to compare attitudes towards Appalachian English (cf. chapter 1.2.2.) with those towards 'Standard American English' "pronounced in the standardized form of 'Network' English" (Luhman 1990: 333). Two speakers each (two males and two females respectively), declared to be university seniors for further informant reference, were taped reading the same text; 171 informants (students from around eastern Kentucky and the North) were to rate them on a seven-point bipolar scale. Luhman's results suggest that "speakers of Appalachian English partially accept low status evaluations of their dialect, but reject other negative stereotypes of their speech community in terms of integrity and social attractiveness" (Luhman 1990: 331). More specifically, male speakers received significantly higher solidarity scores when using the Kentucky (Appalachian) accent, while the solidarity ratings for females hardly budged. Generally, informants who stated that they 'identified' with the Kentucky accent gave higher solidarity and status ratings to Appalachian speakers - yet Kentucky speech retained an overall low status. On the other hand, 'standard' speakers were "more respected than loved" (Luhman 1990: 343).

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[75] N.B.: The study was conducted at a Southern (Florida) University.

While the increased solidarity ratings for the 'non-mainstreamers' could in part be accounted for by 'token appeasement' (i.e. outgroup judges rate the low status variety higher on solidarity dimensions than the prestigious variety)[76] and 'covert prestige' (where male informants prefer to identify with a lower status speech community even if not warranted by their actual speech behavior - cf. Luhman 1990: 345)[77], the author also had to concede that the content of the speech sample (an informal story about roommate trouble in a dormitory) "could have played a major role in triggering attitudes of group solidarity and language loyalty that might otherwise have gone untapped" (Luhman 1990: 344).

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[76] Cf. Ryan - Hewstone - Giles (1984).
[77] with a reference to Trudgill (1972).

PART II: THE FIELD STUDY

English 101

I am one of thousands driven
from the hills and hollers
by Tom Brokaw and his evening reports
of a changing world, driven
into the halls of hallowed learning.

There I hear: "We will rid ourselves
of regionalisms.
We will not say ain't and hit.
We will not drop the 'i' glide in fire and tire.
Deaf is not deef here.
Such is the stuff of illiteracy."

Then I remember: "Hit's been quite a spell
since I seed airy one of them."
Grandmaw. The illiterate.
"I ain't got none."
Mr. PreBrokaw. Pre101.

Now I say: "I reckon I'll try and do better.
I will try to overcome it.
I shall overcome."
And Grandma notices: "What's got into you?
Are you getting above your raising?
Ain't we good enough for you anymore?"

Judy K. Miller

1.   INTRODUCTION: AIMS AND SCOPE

The purpose of this field study is to investigate language attitudes of U.S. college students towards Southern speech in a job-related setting.

In the following chapters, the existence and nature of such language attitudes shall be examined, and related to a choice of independent variables, in order to find out, wherever possible, about attitude-determining factors. Conclusions shall be drawn as to the effect a Southern accent can have on a career in sales. The analysis will be based on the social psychological framework of language attitude theory (cf. Part I, ch. 2.1.). The main survey method used for the study consists of a questionnaire together with an adapted version of the matched guise technique (cf. Part I, ch. 2.2.). Accents rather than full-scale dialects (with grammatical characteristics) were used for the speaker samples, as mere phonological variation was deemed the more 'everyday' and thus more fascinating and potentially controversial subject for investigation in a U.S. context.

Results were obtained by means of a computer-based statistical analysis.

The scope of this field study is delimited by a number of different factors - theoretical considerations as well as time and resources available. A first limitation arises from compliance with the premise that members of speech communities do not have a single unitary attitude towards two contrasting language varieties; but rather, the extent to which a variety is or is not preferred depends largely upon the situation in which the assessment is made (cf. Ryan - Giles 1982: 219; this paper Part I, ch. 2.1.). It was therefore deemed necessary to focus on one particular situational setting for the present investigation of language attitudes towards Southern speech, following the example of Smit (1994), in order to avoid ambiguity of results and the drawing of undue conclusions. The setting chosen is a job interview situation in sales (cf. ch. 3.1.).

Secondly, time and resources available for the field study commanded a narrowed scope, making, for example,[78] the selection of a fairly limited, clear-cut, and above all easily accessible group of informants highly desirable. Thus, the test population exclusively consists of U.S. undergraduate students: for one, colleges and universities are able to provide large, homogeneous groups of people together at a time who are of about the same age and educational level; in addition to this, it seemed

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[78] Further limitations to the scope will be discussed in the respective following chapters of the 'general set-up of the field study'.

interesting and worthwhile to explore the language attitudes and opinions of this 'next generation' that will soon be in charge of U.S. society and economy.

In the end, more than 400 students from four different schools in Vermont and Tennessee were tested during a two-month period (cf. ch. 3.3.).

The outline of this field study part of the present paper will be as follows: first, all necessary factors for the 'calculation' of the working hypotheses (cf. ch. 4.) will be presented, starting with an assessment of societal treatment of and stereotypes associated with the language variety tested and its speakers (ch. 2). The role of such a 'content analysis' as a vital component of any field study in language attitudes has been pointed out before (cf. Part I, ch. 2.2.); its immediate purpose here is to give a rough sketch of the basic problem areas involved in the investigation. This analysis is succeeded by a description of the conditions, method, and procedure - i.e., the general set-up - of the field study (ch. 3.). Then, following the working hypotheses, the study results will be given, together with a statistical evaluation (ch. 5.).

A summary and discussion of the results, and possible conclusions to be drawn, constitute the final chapter of this paper.

2. ASPECTS OF A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SOCIETAL TREATMENT: SOUTHERN STEREOTYPES

If language attitudes, as the social psychological approach suggests, are taken to be "any affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers" (Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 7; cf. this paper Part 1, ch. 2.1.), it seems only logical that any assessment of public/societal treatment of a variety under investigation should also be extended to its speakers. The most salient aspects of how U.S. society generally deals with Southern American English can already be gleaned from the 'standard' discussion in chapter 1.3. of Part I: as Preston (1997: 311) says, confirmed by his numerous folklinguistic studies, "one of the most significant things Standard American English isn't is Southern United States English"; this means almost automatically that SoAE is subject to the treatment generally bestowed on

American non-mainstream language varieties - *subordination*, as described by Lippi-Green in her process-model (1997: 68; cf. also this paper Part I, ch. 1.3.).

The purpose of this chapter here is, then, to take a look at how the American society generally treats the speakers of SoAE - i.e., simply put, Southerners.

'Society' refers to an enormous collective of people; and group-oriented images/beliefs/opinions shared by such a collective, as they are forcibly 'common denominators' of individual notions, tend to be of an oversimplified, undifferentiated, standardized nature; i.e., they tend to be stereotypes.[79]

Stereotypes are indeed very important factors in the formation of the social climate within which language preferences act (cf. Hauptfleisch 1977: 7). They may i.a. serve a 'social explanatory function' as group ideologies that justify and explain intergroup relations, particularly reactions to and treatment of outgroup members (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994: 221). As the public opinion of society in general, stereotypes are usually part of every community member's 'schematic knowledge', i.e. their knowledge of culturally ordered and conventionally/socially sanctioned constructs of reality ('schemas') that is acquired as a condition of entry into a particular (sub)culture (cf. Widdowson 1990:102/103 & Widdowson 1996: 63, 131).

As common *frames of reference*, stereotypes can therefore be vital parts of the language attitude process (cf. Alford - Strother 1990: 480; Cargile e.a. 1994: 221). They may even be regarded as 'anchor points' used by evaluators when assessing a speech sample - as a sort of guidance that would keep the evaluation from being too far off from the stereotype (cf. Fasold 1984: 174/175 with a reference to Williams 1970).

What, then, are the usual stereotypes called up in the American mind in association with Southerners? Here are some examples of descriptions. The first is offered by Ayers (1996): "White Southerners are, until proven otherwise, traditional, backward, obsessed with the past, friendly, potentially violent, racist, and polite. ... When Southerners do not behave in these ways, they are deemed less Southern, less fitted to the place where they live, exceptions" (p. 66); and further on, "[Their] accent is often understood ... as a symbol of poor education, low ambition, and reactionary politics" (p.71). Lippi-Green (1997) writes, "One of the primary characteristics of the stereotypical southerner is ignorance, but it is a specific kind of ignorance - one disassociated from education and literacy" (p.210), and, " Southerners who do not

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[79] For a corresponding definition of stereotypes cf. Hauptfleisch 1977: 7; who follows Rokeach 1969: 125.

assimilate to northern norms are backward but friendly, racist but polite, obsessed with the past and unenamored of the finer points of higher education" (p. 215). Wolfram (1998: 34) speaks of associations that "may range from such positive qualities as warmth and hospitality to such negative attributes as poverty and lack of intelligence". Reports of informal polls in the literature yield assessments such as "warm, friendly, informal, traditional, slow paced, and racist" (Boles 1995: 522/523), associations of courtesy, hospitality, sense of history, and a general 'niceness' (cf. Ayers 1996: 123/124)[80], as well as linking being Southern to frequently reading the Bible and believing it literally true, spanking children, chewing tobacco, and driving an American car (Lippi-Green 1997: 207/209).

The picture emerging is quite clear-cut, the cornerstones of 'Southernness' obviously being the attributes 'friendly', 'hospitable', 'polite', 'traditional', 'uneducated', and 'racist/violent'.[81] The stereotypical reasons given for this 'peculiarity' of character usually range from the presence of large numbers of black people to the rural nature of the South, its long-term isolation after the Civil War, its poverty, and, most popularly, the reigning "hot and debilitating climate" (Ayers 1996: 71).

The unanimity exhibited by the authors quoted already gives an idea of how firmly established and widespread the Southern stereotypes are in the U.S. The most effective means of actually transporting these notions nationwide and anchoring them in the mind of the masses are provided by the usual conveyors of popular culture - the mass media. Books, radio, movies, and television, backed by news-footage (e.g. during the Civil Rights era of the sixties) have been powerful creators, propagators, and sustainers of the images and myths about the Southerners and the South. In their hands, the stereotypical picture of everything Southern has been skewed and, more than anything else, tilted to the negative; making it in the best of cases the object of jokes and derision, in the worst, of horror and contempt, and only rarely, of sympathy and admiration. This is in part explicable by a non-Southern resentment of the non-mainstream, and by an association of the South with being non-modern and isolated, yet not really an 'ethnic' collective worth protection and respect. With, i.a., projections of a longing for a place free from the pressures of profitability and 'modernness' on the one hand, and of feelings of disgust and anxiety towards the inability or unwillingness to

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[80] in a footnote to his chapter 3.
[81] This picture of Southern stereotypes was confirmed in interviews with Americans conducted in preparation for this study, notably those from Pitten - cf. ch. 3.4.

keep up with the rush, "[t]he South is made to bear a lot of metaphorical baggage," as Ayers observes (1996: 70). Usually, the case is then made to the detriment of the South.

To take up the illustrative example of TV and the movies, the general depictions of Southerners here follow the stereotypical picture already presented further above. "The license to assume that Southerners are morons still holds on TV today," Blount complains (1988: 28) - "the stronger a character's accent, the dumber and/or less honest the character" (ibid.). The rules of the game are in fact adhered to with such consistency that Blount is compelled to note in his review of *Designing Women* (1988: 28), "[I]t comes as a shock to me to watch a sitcom in which Southerners are funny without being a discredit to their region." TV productions such as *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960-68), *The Dukes of Hazzard* (1979-85), *Hee Haw* (1969-92), even *Dallas* (1978-91), and, most notably, *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962-71 and in a 1993 movie) presented a picture of the region that was hardly ever more than a caricature. With the sentence "Y'all come back now, Y'hear" (cf. the title of this paper), *The Beverly Hillbillies* coined in fact what is now the epitome of Southern American English. The show's depiction of barefoot backwood/backward folk was equally pervasive.

Yet the alternative to the general ridicule seems to be the exposure of the dark, menacing character of the South in a series of films focused on racism: features like the classic *Birth of a Nation* (1915), *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1963), *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), *Mississippi Burning* (1988), and *Rosewood* (1997) poignantly complemented real-life Civil Rights footage and reports of Klan activity to make for a gloomy, fear-inspiring quality of the South. To this day, then, the region has had to lend its background 'character' to an astonishing number of thrillers and crime fiction-turned-into-film: *Deliverance* (1972), *James Bond - Live and Let Die* (1973), *Angel Heart* (1987), *Cape Fear* (1962, 1991), *The Client* (1994), *A Time to Kill* (1996), *The Chamber* (1996), *Kiss the Girls* (1997), *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1997), *The Gingerbread Man* (1998), *The Green Mile* (1999) all feature an eerie to evil Southern setting. In a similar line, the South has provided Hollywood with a couple of ultimate villains of noteworthy accent - most recently in the sci-fi plotted *The Fifth Element* (1997) and in *The Wild Wild West* (1999).

Missing from, and not at all fitting into, the list of productions with Southern themes so far is the most famous film ever made about the South - *Gone With the Wind* (1939). It seemed in fact likely at one time in the 1930's that films like this one, with its

lavish 'Old South' motif, could indeed be the foundation for a regional genre - the 'Southern' (as opposed to the 'Western') - (cf. French 1981: 4,5). However, economic reasons put an end to the idea; for a while, throughout the Second World War, the production of cheaper 'All-American' movies was given preference. Later on, the 'moonlight-and-magnolia' stereotypes (cf. Campbell 1982: 107) of the 'Old South', which had in some way been "a salesjob in the first place" (Ayers 1996: 67), were reversed with the rise of the 'Southern Gothic' of Faulkner, Williams, Capote and McCullers's fiction, also made into films, that depicted the South as the "hell of the decadent backwoods and backwaters" (French 1981: 4/5).

Yet, if *Gone With the Wind* and its 1938 'twin' *Jezebel* were not able to generate a tradition of epic 'Southerns', this is not to say that their heritage was lost entirely. Rather, it lived on not in the form of a genre but in a role model of characters: a number of recent, mellow comedy-dramas featuring a strong *female* cast of characters has picked up the thread connecting back to Scarlett O'Hara and her likes, providing what is probably the most genuinely positive outlook on Southern life in all of Hollywood tradition. Examples of such films are *Steel Magnolias* (1989), *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989), *Fried Green Tomatoes* (1991), *Something to Talk About* (1995), *Cookie's Fortune* (1999), *Crazy in Alabama* (1999), and *Tumbleweeds* (1999), and on TV, *The Golden Girls* (1987 - 1992) with the character of Blanche Devereaux. Some of the women here show just as much 'sass' as Scarlett, and stereotyping is generally much friendlier to them than to their male counterparts, falling in line with the public perception of Southern women as "simultaneously charming and forcefully strong-willed" (Johnstone 1992: 15); and though they may also be tagged as "sweet, pretty and not very bright" (Lippi-Green 1997: 215) or as "molasses-voiced connives or What God Had in Mind When He Created Cutoff Jeans" (Blount 1988: 28), this can still be considered 'getting off easy' compared to, in general, Southern men.

For where the stereotyping of Southern females culminates in the set figure of the 'Southern Belle', incarnated by characters so diverse as Margaret Mitchell's Scarlett O'Hara and Melanie Wilkes, and ranging in role from the artificial, spoiled 'girlie' to the real lady, from the nurturing mother to the fallen woman,[82] the most popular stock

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[82] In real life, the image of the 'Southern Girl' has most prominently been adopted by actress Julia Roberts (*Steel Magnolias*, *The Pelican Brief*, *Something to Talk About*), who in interviews frequently promotes her Southern heritage; cf. the following excerpt:
Q: You never invite a man to dinner?
J.R.: No, I'm from the South. It just isn't done there. The man has to take the first step (laughs). ...

characters seen to personify Southern males today are nowhere near as grand. The 'Southern Gentleman', who still lives on in the politeness-myth as "one who rises to his feet when his wife comes in bearing the firewood" (Hendrickson 1986: 96), seemingly has lost his place in the front row of stereotype-popularity - first of all, to the figure of the Redneck.

The Redneck - originally a "rural working man whose neck is red from the sun" (Kirby 1995: 57) - is a specimen of an easily gulled, uneducated, and mean-spirited 'ne'er-do-well'; in the movies, he is usually the cruel and depraved side-character moving in the pack and doing the dirty job - shooting, knifing, brawling, lynching and raping (cf. for example *Dead Man Walking* (1995), *A Time to Kill*). He generally is the nightmare of any 'righteous folk'. Outside of the movies, though, in real life, the stereotypical Redneck is more of a rebel and less of a psychopath; here, he is popular as a counterculturalist icon who does not submit to national norms of work discipline and consumption (cf. Kirby1995: 72), and who displays his anti-bourgeois attitude and lifestyle in his attire and accessories - ungroomed hair, mustache, boots and jeans, baseball hat, veering around the corner in his pickup truck with a shotgun in the rack behind his seat, country music in the CD-player, and the confederate flag in the back window. In fact, 'Redneck pride', with its origins in 70's country music, is now a common feature of American popular culture, and spreading out from the South as a form of social rebellion. Redneck jokes in particular enjoy huge popularity (cf. e.g. the stand-up acts of Southern comedian Jeff Foxworthy). The stigmatization of the Redneck in the mass media, however, is one important reason why Southern males of a gentler disposition prefer to adopt the 'Bubba' (Southern baby talk for 'brother') or 'Good Ole Boy' image (culminated, apart from the 'intelligence' factor, in the character of Forrest Gump) that implies gentler temperament and less heavy weaponry (cf. Kirby 1995: 74).

A second stock character of Southern stereotyping, and one more regionally placed than the Redneck, and also 'inhabitable' by women to a certain extent, is the Hillbilly. 'Hillbilly' is in fact a derogatory yet widely popular name for poor Southern Mountain folk; it inevitably implies backwardness, poverty, and a severe lack of education. Hillbillies are generally regarded as "ignorant, superstitious, indolent,

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Q: So you've remained the simple Southern girl you've always been?
J.R.: Absolutely. I just wear nicer clothes now - and shoes. Before, I often went around barefoot (laughs)!
(translated from an interview in *SKIP* 1998/99: 110).

uncouth oafs who 'shine' [i.e. produce moonshine] for business and 'feud' for pleasure" (Herman - Herman 1947: 148). The male specimen "drinks hard liquor, is theatrically lazy but remains virile, nearly always possesses wherewithal for physical violence - especially involving dogs and guns; ... [he is] sexually loose" (Williamson 1995: 2/3).

A stereotypical hillbilly family scene would today still be described the following way:

> A lanky hillbilly sprawling indolently on the ground, his rifle in one hand and a plug of tobacco in the other; his gaunt wife plowing or cooking or mending or spinning; granny 'settin' ' in the doorway of the shack sucking slowly on a corn pipe; the children, and they are legion, darting half-clothed in and out of the brush.
>
> (Herman - Herman 1947: 148)

The term 'Hillbilly' seems to have been 'common parlance' throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century - the 'type' itself was first made popular in short stories, notably those written by Mary N. Murfree (alias Charles Egbert Craddock). At first, the Hillbilly figured as a non-humorous, hard-core rural denizen, before becoming a common subject of caricature and cartoon in the 1920's and 30's (cf. Williamson 1995: 37-39; for an example of Hillbilly cartoons cf. Appendix). The movie industry took the character up from its very beginnings at the turn of the century, at first concentrating on storylines about moonshining and feuding (e.g. *The Moonshiner* (1904), *Kentucky Moonshine* (1938), *Feudin' Fools* (1952), etc.). The popularity of the stereotype surged with the break-through of Hillbilly music into American mass culture in the 1920's.

Generally, "the public hillbilly imagery swings between foolshow and horror show" (Williamson 1995: 57). From time to time, films like *Deliverance* (1972), featuring "degenerate inbred Hillbillies" become "the greatest incentive for many non-Southerners to stay on the interstate" (review by Sandy Ballard in Arnow 1991: 8). But on the other hand, the comic and endearingly earthy side of the Hillbilly has proved a business goldmine - on the big screen as well as on the small, as in *Li'l Abner* (1959), *The Beverly Hillbillies* (TV sitcom and movie), *The Andy Griffith Show*, or even *The Waltons* (as All-American heroes, 1972-81). He makes money in theme parks (in 'The Country Bear Jamboree' in Disneyland, and in his very own resort 'Dollywood' in Pigeon Forge, TN), in cartoons (Al Capp's *Li'l Abner*, Billy De Beck's/Fred Lasswell's *Barney Google and Snuffy Smith*) and country fairs/shops ('The Cracker Barrel Country Store').

Thus the Hillbilly is an omnipresent character in Southern stereotyping, and due to this very omnipresence, it may at times become quite unimaginable for the undiscerning outsider that the Southern Mountain region should *not* be populated by barefoot, bearded, tobacco chewing, moonshine guzzling 'hicks'. It is therefore not surprising that complaints from Appalachian natives about this kind of stereotyping abound (cf. Peterson 1987, Allen 1994, Sluss 1998, Jennings 1998). It can be gleaned from the personal histories and experiences involved that such stereotyping is hurtful, as it leads to prejudice, disdain, and discrimination. Yet, apart from the people immediately concerned in the issue, the general public does not seem to take notice of or have any scruples about such trivializing, ridiculing, generalizing, discriminating of Southern Mountain people, indeed, Southerners in general, as has been illustrated here. "Bias against Southerners seems to be an acceptable form of bigotry," Flanagan remarks (1989: 3), and Kirby (1995: 89) observes, "[I]n our age of official respect for ethnic diversity, enforced more or less by 'politically correct' speech, the only remaining fair game for put-down humor is white southerners."

The reason for this, as Ayers (1996: 70/71) and Kirby (1995: 89) explain, may lie in the fact that white Southerners are not really considered 'ethnic'; they are not marked by certain physical features, certain kinds of family names, or a certain religion, which are the markers usually recognized as authentic and so powerful as to be above humor and trivialization. The bottom line is: Southerners are simply not seen as 'fit for protection'.

The following field study shall provide a practical example of how pervasive Southern stereotyping really is, and of in how far it is manifest in the expression of language attitudes.

3.   GENERAL SET-UP OF THE FIELD STUDY

3.1.   The Situational Setting

The setting for this language attitude investigation has to do with employment opportunities: it is a salesjob interview situation.

The decision to pick this kind of setting was based on a number of different considerations. First of all, the study was to have a pragmatic quality, in view of what Smit (1994: 54) refers to as "the main reason of language attitude research, namely its applicability to real life situations with regard to language problems." Employment opportunities, and with them, job-related discrimination, appear to feature quite prominently among everyday concerns in the market-driven United States; it seems therefore worthwhile to examine how a non-mainstream language variety would fare in this environment. As hinted at in chapter 1.3. of Part I, race or ethnicity are widely recognized 'problem areas' in this respect, and are the subject of all kinds of regulations and legislature (cf. e.g. 'affirmative action'). Regional origin, on the other hand, which, as in the present case, pitches white people against whites, is a seemingly less obtrusive basis for group demarcation and bias, though no less real, as the analysis of popular stereotypes implies. An analysis of the extent to which a Southern accent may play a role in a job interview should thus yield some interesting insights.

The specification that the interview is not just for any kind of job, but for a salesjob 'opening', was added for plausibility's sake: for the speakers' accents to become an issue at all, it was necessary to have them 'apply' for a position where interpersonal contact and communication with clients play a crucial role for performance. It was then felt that some of the other 'classics' of language attitude study, as for example Radio/TV broadcasting or recording audio-tapes for educational purposes, could not provide a credible setting in the present context where applicants with a Southern accent are introduced; after all, the study was to have a large-scale, 'national' character, being administered in two entirely different regions of the U.S., and a Southern accent would immediately have seemed terribly out of place on national TV or educational programs. A salesjob, on the other hand, was deemed 'low-key' enough to suit the present purpose, while still granting a salient role to interpersonal communication and touching the very core of American economy and everyday life. Furthermore, it appears that quite

frequently salespeople in the U.S. actually speak with a Southern accent, irrespective of their target region.[83]

It has been mentioned earlier (Part I, ch. 2.1.) that specific situational settings for language attitude investigations can/should be defined along a set of two dimensions, 'status-stressing' and 'group/person-centered' (cf. Ryan - Giles 1982: 219-220). A description of the given job interview setting, as necessary for the establishment of any working hypotheses, was in fact anticipated by Ryan and Giles themselves, in whose two-dimensional model it features as a prototype of a 'status-stressing' and 'group-centered' situation. The 'formality' implied here would also effectuate that speech is rather carefully monitored in interview settings (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994: 225).[84]

The fact that the position selected for application is that of a salesperson should further add to the 'status-stressing' effect, in so far as this position seems to possess high/better than average job prestige. This was confirmed in previous studies like Shields's (1979, cf. Part I, ch. 2.3.), where a so-called 'standard occupational scale' adopted from Labov (1966: 184/185) was used for reference. Salespeople, together with 'Clerks', feature in second place from top in Labov's four-point scale categorization of 'standard occupations', after 'Professionals/Managers/Officials'.[85]

The salesjob interview as a situational 'topic' is, however, not the only setting that has to be taken into consideration in this field study, as it forms in fact only the 'virtual' part of the set-up. The conditions under which a language attitude test is actually administered, if in contrast to the topical setting, constitute another variable of some importance, another factor in the 'immediate social situation' of the language attitude process (cf. Cargile e.a. 1994: 225). As has been mentioned before, the present study was carried out at four different U.S. universities/colleges; and the academic environment given here again makes for a rather formal character of the assessment situation. The chances are, then, that the formality of this 'real-life' setting will further enhance the formal character of the whole set-up as described before. This, too, must be taken into account.

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[83] This fact was mentioned on different occasions in personal interviews with Americans.

[84] This is another strong argument for using accents rather than full-scale dialects in the study.

3.2.   Language Varieties Tested

This study aims to investigate language attitudes towards 'Southern speech'. Southern American English seems an interesting object for examination, as it is probably *the* most salient and most easily recognizable U.S. regional dialect overall.

It has already been noted, though, that the South is no homogeneous language area; rather, there is much linguistic variation within the region (cf. Part I, ch. 1.2.1.). Practical considerations and limited resources made it thus necessary to select one particular Southern speech variety as a representative for this field study. The variety picked is East Tennessee English, a Southern Mountain dialect (cf. Part I, ch. 1.2.2.). East Tennessee English seems all the more fit for use here because it is a very 'loaded' variety: as can be gleaned from the 'content analysis of societal treatment', it may be prone to trigger off the whole range of Southern stereotypes from the Redneck to the Hillbilly (cf. ch. 2.). The only possible reservation, suggesting that a Southern Mountain accent might not be properly identifiable as 'Southern' by the outgroup (Northerners), was invalidated in preparatory interviews conducted with (Northern) Americans, and in the pilot study (cf. ch. 3.4.). Other comments made on these occasions, indicating that non-Southerners generally did not distinguish between different Southern accents (cf. also Lippi-Green 1997: 202/203), further justified the limitation to only one Southern accent in the investigation.[86]

Thus, Southern American English, represented by East Tennessee speech, is the main object of investigation in this field study. In the adapted matched guise test, however, it was to be pitched against a second, contrasting speech sample. In view of the general descriptions given of 'Standard American English' (cf. Part I, ch. 1.3.), it was decided that this second sample should be produced by neutral, quasi non-regional speakers of U.S. English; such 'neutrality' was given preference over any other, e.g. a pronounced *Northern*, sample, in order to focus on the examination of possible

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[85] Labov's scale is an adaptation from the scale used in the 1962 'Mobilization for Youth' survey on juvenile delinquency prevention, which in turn was adapted from the U.S. Bureau of Census practice. Cf. Labov 1966: 185.

[86] In the presentation of the study results, East Tennessee English and Southern American English will be used synonymously under the general heading of 'Southern', used to denote the variety used in the speech samples, for reasons of simplicity.

perceived discrepancies between Southern and 'standard' speech, but also, basically, so as not to spread informants' attention 'thin' between marked accents (for a closer discussion of speakers and speech samples cf. ch. 3.4.2.).

3.3.   The Informants[87]

It has already been indicated (ch. 1.) that this language attitude study was conducted at four different universities/colleges in two different U.S. states, Vermont and Tennessee. In a (not uncommon) simplification, these states can be regarded as representing the 'North' and the 'South' of the United States; in the present set-up of language variation, this also means that students from the different areas form an ingroup (Tennesseans/'Southerners') and an outgroup (New Englanders/'Northerners'). A comparison of their respective language attitudes should yield some interesting insights.

Well over 400 students were surveyed in some 45 sessions during a two-month period. In the end, a careful selection process turned out a total of 291 complete and usable questionnaires that correspond to the desired informant profile: thus, the test population consists of all white ('Caucasian') undergraduates, male and female, aged 18-24, all native to one of the two test regions selected, New England (NE) and Tennessee (TN). The reason why the students' ethnicity played a role in the selection process is simply that it was felt that in a minority/black population, an investigation of Southern American English was prone to call up negative associations related to the Southern racist image; and dealing with this additional dimension, and one of such a touchy nature at that, would have been entirely beyond the scope of such a study as the present.[88]

The goal was to include Northerners and Southerners as well as male and female students in as equal portions as possible. The population thus consisted of 141 students from New England and 150 from Tennessee; as well as of 122 males (50 from NE, 72 from TN) and 169 females (91 from NE, 78 from TN).

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[87] For some overall statistics of frequency distributions of the informant population cf. Appendix, Tables 1-12.

The four schools from which the informants were drawn are the University of Vermont (UVM) in Burlington, VT (total number of students: 10,368); Saint Michael's College (St.M's) in Colchester, VT (2,773 students); Tennessee Technological University (TTU) in Cookeville, TN (8,215 students); and East Tennessee State University (ETSU) in Johnson City, TN (11,486 students).[89] All schools have a Caucasian student population of 91-94% and a female population of 50-59 %. UVM and St. Michael's host an out-of-state student population of 59% and 82% respectively of mainly New Englanders, while the out-of-state population of TTU and ETSU is only at 8% and 12.5% respectively. The schools' most popular majors are Business, Arts&Sciences, and Education, plus Engineering at TTU.[90]

Some effects of limiting the informant population to undergraduate students only have been discussed earlier (ch. 1.). In the present set-up, the selection of college students as informants seemed preferable over that of high school student subjects, as the former appear more conscious of national norms (cf. Labov - Ash 1997: 567), and are therefore deemed more representative in view of tentative general conclusions. The fact that students should be used at all in studies relying on employment opportunity settings is justified by Kalin[91] (1982: 158/159), who observes that many students are in fact future employers who would soon be making real hiring decisions, and furthermore, that in a number of studies that compared the responses of students to those of employment interviewers the decisions made by the two groups were very similar. The only difference to emerge was that student judges tended to be somewhat more lenient than actual job interviewers.

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[88] The assumption that adding a dimension of race to the plan would forcibly complicate matters was confirmed in a 1962 study by Tucker and Lambert (quoted in Alford - Strother 1990: 482/483), in which black and white informants rated speakers with a Southern accent quite differently.

[89] For a survey map of the test regions and locations of the schools cf. Appendix.

[90] All information taken from respective official admissions statistics for the year 1998-99, and from the undergraduate catalogues 1998-99.

[91] With references to Kalin - Rayko (1980); and Bernstein - Hakel - Harlan (1975).

3.4.   Design of the Questionnaire

The present field study was designed with Ryan and Giles's (1982: 223) demand for methodological eclecticism in mind, and following a tradition of language attitude studies at the University of Vienna English department (Stenzenberger 1992, Smit 1994, Teufel 1995, Hebenstreit 1998, Gudenus 1999). Its core part, as indicated before, is a speaker evaluation test using the adapted version of the matched guise technique (cf. Part I, ch.2.2.). This test was administered in the form of a questionnaire in which it was complemented by a second part of 'classic' survey questions that addressed the issue of non-mainstream/regional variation more directly. The second part of the questionnaire was therefore more cognitively oriented than the first, and the primarily open questions it contained succeeded each other according to a 'funneling' principle, leading from more general aspects (American regional variation) into the particular (Southern American English). A third and final section of the questionnaire was included to record the relevant informant biographical data (for a complete copy of the Questionnaire cf. Appendix).

The final questionnaire design used in the field study in the U.S. was the product of an eight-month preparation phase that included a small pilot study. The foundation was laid in two sessions of interviews with a group of Vermont musicians visiting for the Pitten Classics Festival in Lower Austria in the summer of 1998; here, an early version of the questionnaire was administered, and the criticism provided by the Americans as well as the information given by them on the subject of Southern/Southerners proved very valuable for the further preparation of the field study. A second draft was subjected to the scrutiny of a collective of English students during a 'Privatissimum' at the University of Vienna English department; suggestions made there, together with those collected during various further consultations of American natives and Austrian scholars, were incorporated into the next-to-final questionnaire version used in the small pilot study mentioned, which was conducted at the Vienna Institute for the International Education of Students (IES) in a session with three American undergraduate students. Thus, the necessary timing could be established, and the reassurance gained that there were no major flaws hidden in the questionnaire. A few adjustments still had to be made, mostly to do with formulations, and then the final version of the questionnaire could be taken abroad to the USA.

In the following, a few aspects of the final version of the speaker evaluation part shall be discussed in order to complete the picture of all influencing variables and factors for further reference.

3.4.1. The Rating Scale

Part I of the questionnaire, containing the speaker evaluation section, presented the informants with four identical pages of a rating system that used five-point bipolar semantic-differential scales. The informants were asked to rate the speaker samples they were going to hear on these scales; the closer they would tick to one side for an item, the more they believed a descriptive attribute to be true for a given speaker. The rating point range was 2, 1, 0, -1, -2.

A list of twenty-one attributes was used for rating, complemented by three 'summarizing' statements ("This speaker would make a good salesperson", "I would employ this speaker in my company as a salesperson", "I would like to get to know this speaker on a personal basis") for which the same five-point scale was used.

In the make-up of the attribute list, allowance had to be made for the fact that the speaker evaluation was supposedly part of a selection procedure for salesjob applicants. Therefore, the attributes listed had to correspond at least loosely to the qualities personnel managers would be looking for in a member of their salesforce. On the other hand, it was felt that for the language attitude study to be meaningful, the list should also render the most common stereotypes associated with Southern speech (cf. ch. 2.).

Although business experts have repeatedly pointed out that "the search continues for the magic list of traits that spell sure-fire sales success" (Kotler - Armstrong 1996: 537), a few hints as to which qualities a successful salesperson should possess can be gleaned from textbooks: "honesty, dependability, thoroughness, follow-through" (Kotler - Armstrong 1996: 547), "high level of energy, ambition, tolerance, self-confidence, reflectiveness, intelligence, and friendliness" (Kinnear e.a. 1995: 567), and "honesty, reliability, knowledgeability, and helpfulness" (Kotler 1997: 694) are a few of the examples given. On the whole, these lists were general enough to be compatible with

both Southern stereotyping and tried-and-tested lists of attributes used in previous language attitude studies[92].

The final list of adjectival pairs, compiled under consultation of the different sources, shall be given here. Within the list, a certain balance and equality of distribution was aimed for in terms of attributes expressing 'competence', 'personal integrity', and 'social attractiveness' - this threefold categorization corresponds to the grouping of traits first implemented by Wallace Lambert (1967: 95) in his endeavor to refine matched guise assessments (it seems to have become a 'classic' since):

> likeable - not likeable***
> educated - uneducated*
> trustworthy - not trustworthy**
> polite - impolite**
> intelligent - not intelligent*
> friendly - unfriendly***
> honest - dishonest**
> sociable - unsociable***
> ambitious - not ambitious*
> self-confident - not self-confident***
> helpful - not helpful**
> determined - wavering*
> reliable - unreliable**
> leadership qualities - no leadership qualities*
> sense of humor - no sense of humor***
> industrious - lazy*
> open-minded - not-open-minded**
> sharp - slow*
> good manners - bad manners**
> successful - not successful*
> outgoing - shy***

(* indicates 'competence', ** 'personal integrity', *** 'social attractiveness')

All items were double-checked in the pilot study for correctness and authenticity of language use, and adaptations were made according to suggestions from native U.S. speakers.

In contrast to other previous studies (e.g. Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982), the polarity of the adjective-pairs was never reversed, i.e. positives and negatives were not

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[92] e.g. Shields 1979; Stenzenberger 1992; Smit 1994; Teufel 1995; Hebenstreit 1998; Gudenus 1999. Another impulse came from a 1999 newspaper report saying that long-term studies in the U.S. had proved the existence of five categories according to which humans assessed each other's personality: conscientiousness, amicability, extroversion, neuroticism, and openness for new experiences. The report was published in Austrian daily newspapers (*Der Standard*, *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* - cf. Grimm 1999), but no further sources or specifications were given or could be obtained.

mixed on one side respectively. This decision was made in view of the situational context - it was deemed unlikely that reversed polarity would ever be used in a job-application test.

3.4.2. The Text

Just like the attributes from the rating scales, the short sample of speech used in the speaker evaluation had to be consistent with the situational context of the field study, i.e. the employment setting, in order to enhance, and not run counter to, the overall effect.

A first, basic decision concerning the sample text was anticipated in the resolution that the focus of this field study was only to be on the accent part of Southern speech (cf. ch. 1.). This presupposed that no grammatical/syntactical variation would be included, and thus, that all speakers would read the same text. Such a procedure would also fit the situational setting best, and prevent possible understanding problems like the ones reported by Labov and Ash (1997) in a study in connection with SoAE.

In the end, selecting the text for the speech sample proved to be a walk on a tightrope. Cargile e.a. (1994: 214)[93] affirm that, in a language attitude study, "texts themselves, no less than vocal styles that may realize them, can never be neutral;" yet an attempt in this line had to be made, in order to keep the passage used as unobtrusive and inoffensive for the informants as possible. The text should fit the situational setting while not being too limited in content; it had to be on the right level of formality for a job interview situation; it should not draw the attention away from the speakers, yet it should not bore the listeners 'to death' either. It had to be short and self-contained (cf. Smit 1994: 183), yet long enough to allow for forming a thorough impression.

The text that was finally used is a compilation, a 'variation' on passages from different marketing textbooks:[94]

> Recent statistics suggest that in the United States about eight percent
> of the labor force, or approximately seven million people, work in
> sales. Some of them may simply collect money at the check-out

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[93] With a reference to Giles - Coupland (1991).
[94] i.e. Lilien - Kotler - Moorthy (1992: 402), Kinnear - Bernhardt - Krentler (1995: 531-532; 549), Kotler - Armstrong (1996: 532-533).

counters in stores and supermarkets, but for many of them their work
consists of finding customers for a product, closing sales with a profit,
and providing follow-up service afterwards. These salespeople are an
important link between buyers and sellers, between customers and
companies. Through their creative efforts many products have become
integral parts of our modern life. Even products most people nowadays
take for granted, such as television, microwave ovens, or vacuum
cleaners, have first been introduced into our households through the
effective strategy of some company's sales force.
But just as it is salespeople's job to promote and sell a product, it is
also their responsibility to bring market information back to their
company. They collect customer feedback, report new competition,
and assess shifts in demand. This way, they help their companies adapt
to a constantly changing market.

It was felt that this text would serve well to tune students in to the topic (sales),
as well as to set a rather serious, matter-of-fact tone for the proceedings. The reading
time was going to be approximately one minute.

3.4.3. The Speakers

In the adapted version of the matched guise technique employed in the present
study (cf. Part I, ch. 2.2.), four different speakers represent the language varieties tested:
a 'neutral' female, a Southern female, a 'neutral' male, and a Southern male.[95] The use of
the adapted version was made necessary on the one hand because of a lack of speakers
who would be able to do the different guises convincingly - especially with a Southern
accent, there is always the danger of sliding off into caricature - but also because of the
limited scope of the experiment: the original matched guise often relies on the use of
'dummy speakers' in between the actual samples to be tested in order to divert the
listeners from the fact that they are hearing the same person over again; such an
arrangement would have been beyond the scope in the present case.

In the adapted as well as in the original matched guise, the basic premise is that
next to all factors except the language variety used are controlled, so that differences in
rating would result from differences in accent (dialect, etc.). For the adapted version,
this implies that the different speakers used should match up as well as possible in all

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[95] This sequence was kept by throughout testing, putting the 'neutral' variety before the actual variety
tested, i.e. Southern.

respects. The four speakers selected for this study, then, were picked from a pool of about 15 'candidates'; they are all white American natives, aged between 21 and 27, pursuing or having recently obtained a college degree. They were chosen in pairs, as their voices had to be of similar register and quality.[96] The fact that they are all from about the same educational level was deemed of particular importance in the present context, in view of the common stereotypes about SoAE (cf. ch. 2.).

The reason why one speaker pair of each sex was included in the study has also to do with the common Southern stereotypes, which, in some points, give a rather diverging picture of male and female Southerners; it was felt that this might turn out as an important aspect in the ratings.[97] Furthermore, authors of previous studies have frequently reported differences in the assessments made of male and female speakers (cf. Kramer 1977, Gallois - Callan 1981, Kramarae 1982, Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982).

Another stereotype about Southerners is that they talk in a particularly slow manner, though Dillard (1992: 98) contests that "[w]hat the popular view sees as slowness, a more objective view sees as addition of phonemes, lengthening or the like" (cf. also Part I, ch. 1.2.1. for Southern speech phenomena). As speech rate has moreover proved to be a possible factor in speaker evaluations (cf. Brown - Strong - Rencher 1975; Grinstead e.a. 1987), the time it took the four speakers of the present study respectively to read the text passage shall be added here for the record: 'neutral' female - 58.75 sec., Southern female - 57.50 sec., 'neutral' male - 55.7 sec., Southern male - 58.80 sec. All in all, the differences between these reading times were judged to be too little to merit consideration.[98]

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[96] In this respect, some valuable advice was given by a colleague, Lilian Zelzer, who, as a trainee in speech therapy, pointed out the most salient features to be taken into account in the matching process.

[97] In the case of the Southern male sample, an additional phenomenon was observed early into the actual testing phase, when it became apparent that part of the New England informants (the first in turn) perceived the Southern male speaker originally chosen to be U.S. President Bill Clinton, and rated him accordingly. This becomes explicable on considering the fact that Southern accents are not an everyday phenomenon in New England, and that the only Southerner the informants would be likely to have heard on a regular basis was in fact Bill Clinton. Especially when lacking any other comparison, then, the original Southern male speaker's tone of voice could, on 'casual' listening, indeed be said to somewhat resemble the president's. The original Southern male speaker was therefore pulled, so as not to skew the results, replaced by a matching back-up, and testing was started over. In fact, the 'Clinton-effect' proved so strong that even this speaker ultimately used, who had more of a noticeable East Tennessee accent than the first and a very different intonation in his speech, was held to be the president by one NE informant.

[98] In the Guinstead study, for example, one single category of reading time, according to which speakers were grouped for speech rate evaluation, already had a range of three seconds, over a shorter sample passage of around 23 seconds (Guinstead e.a. 1987: 218); in comparison, the biggest difference to be found between the speakers in the present study is four seconds, over a passage of around 57 sec. Hence

3.4.4. The 'Ideal Salesperson'

"There is still no isolated and accurate model that can predict what makes a successful salesperson", Kinnear and colleagues (1995: 567) observe, in perfect agreement with their fellow experts (cf. ch. 3.4.1.); and even if the problem is temporarily settled, for the purposes of a field study like this one, with the compilation of a 'working' list of qualities deemed most desirable in the context, the question remains as to the *extent* to which a job applicant must possess each quality. It seemed useful and even vital here to solicit the informants' opinion in the matter - to get a 'majority vote'. In this view, the section of the 'Ideal Salesperson' was designed (following once more the example of Smit 1994) and included in the questionnaire, after the speaker evaluation part. The informants were thus asked about their picture of a perfectly successful salesperson, in order to obtain a sort of 'standard' measure against which to compare the speaker ratings. The same rating scales were used as before, with some minor adaptations: 'successful' was left out (being redundant), the question for this person's sex was added, and the summarizing statements were reduced to one ("I would like to get to know this person better on a personal basis").

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the decision that 'objective' speech rate (as opposed to informant perceptions of a Southern drawl) is a rather negligible factor here.

3.5.   Administering the Test

Administering the language attitude test took 40-45 minutes per session. For the most part, professors consented to giving up class time for the project; other sessions were done on a voluntary sign-up basis.

In each session, the study was introduced as part of a larger ongoing research project at the University of Vienna English department. Nothing further about the background or actual topic (language attitudes) was revealed, so as not to influence the informants. In engaging the students as the 'American representatives' for a world-wide study project, a certain seriousness concerning their work ethic was achieved.[99]

Before starting out with the questionnaire, a short note of 'Informed Consent' was handed out to the students for reasons of formality (cf. Appendix); the questionnaire was distributed after everybody had 'signed on' with their initials (to grant anonymity).[100]

The students were then led through the introductory part of the questionnaire (cf. Appendix, Questionnaire: "General Remarks", "Introduction and General Instructions"). After the set-up had been presented, the text of the speaker samples was read from an overhead transparency. Then, the rating procedure was explained step by step (cf. Questionnaire page 2). After the instructor had assured herself that the participants had fully understood what they were supposed to do, the speech samples were played on a tape recorder/CD-player with short intervals in between for rating - a balance for leaving enough but not too much time was tried for here, so as to keep restlessness at bay.

After the guided completion of Part I, short speech samples (the first sentences of each speaker) were played again while having the informants determine the respective speaker's possible regional origin. The informants were then asked to fill in Parts II and III at their own pace without further interruption.

The same administering procedure was kept by in all sessions at all schools, and it proved quite unproblematic, useful, and flexible enough for handling different group sizes and arrangements.

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[99] Furthermore, it proved useful in the presence of American students to mention rather dramatically that "the academic career of the investigator depended on the success of the project"; this way, even the most 'hilarious' groups could be made to concentrate.

[100] This procedure was recommended by Dr. Pam Marek of the St. Michael's Department of Psychology.

4.   WORKING HYPOTHESES

Prior to the presentation and analysis of results, this chapter is to give a kind of synthesis of what has been previously established in terms of factors and variables dominating the present field study, and thus, presumably, its outcome. In this sense, a few 'cornerstones', for further reference in the following, shall be outlined.

Hypothesis #1: The Southerners will do worse in the overall speaker evaluation than the 'neutral' speakers.

The balance of power is generally tilted in favor of non-Southerners in the U.S., as can be gleaned i.a. from the 'content analysis'. Southern is considered non-mainstream, therefore less prestigious (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 58; 68), and "a typical result [of matched guise studies] is the downgrading of speakers of lower prestige languages" (Carranza - Ryan 1975: 87). The extent to which this downgrading occurs could in fact be taken as symptomatic for region-related power structures in the U.S. (cf. Grinstead e.a. 1987: 117; Smit 1994: 16/17).

Hypothesis #2: Southerners are at a disadvantage in the evaluation due to the conditions given in the setting.

The situational setting is expected to be a non-negligible parameter in this study. It has been described earlier as rather status-stressing and group oriented, both in the 'virtual' and the 'real' set-up (cf. ch. 3.1.), a fact that would favor 'neutral'/'standard' speakers in the evaluation, as their language variety can be taken to correspond more closely to the profile.

Furthermore, some general presumptions in connection with salesjobs have to be taken into account. For example, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 154) maintain that salespeople are generally *expected* to use 'standard' language forms; and informants are usually said to react to the appropriateness of the language variety used in a particular situation (Carranza - Ryan 1975: 99). In addition to this, salesjobs, as 'white-collar' positions, feature above average in perceived job prestige. As Hopper and Williams (1973: 301) have confirmed, speech characteristics have great predictive value in 'white collar' job applications; and with them, most notably, 'competence/intelligence' ratings. Yet, as has been seen in the 'content analysis' (ch. 2.), general stereotyping presupposes

rather low 'competence' (intelligence, ambition, education, etc.) on the Southerners' part; this could be another disadvantage in the ratings in comparison to the 'neutral' speakers. That these stereotypes will be tapped at all is most likely, due to the formality and impersonal character of the job interview situation - and especially of the speaker rating situation in general.

However, a job in sales usually also implies that the person applying is expected to do well in the interaction with people/customers. Thus, certain 'courtesy' and 'friendliness' stereotypes could work somewhat in favor of the Southerners, in terms of their 'social attractiveness' and 'personal integrity' scores. If 'competence' is not considered the only important factor in sales, this could possibly raise their ratings in the summary questions ("good salesperson"/"hire in my company"/"would like to get to know").

Hypothesis #3: Female speakers will be rated lower that males

This hypothesis was suggested by the findings of previous studies; most notably those by Van Antwerp and Maxwell (1982), Alford and Strother (1990), and Luhman (1990). The setting of the first of these studies (i.e. employment opportunities) could actually be said to resemble the present setting somewhat, which makes its findings, that being female and having a regional accent is a 'lethal' combination for evaluation (cf. Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982: 240) all the more meaningful here. In addition to this, female speakers hardly ever profit from the possible influences of 'covert prestige' (cf. Trudgill 1972).

Hypothesis #4: Southerners will do better when rated by Southerners, 'neutral' speakers will do worse; the reverse will be true in 'Northern' ratings.

A most interesting question to be examined in the field study will be whether regional pride and ingroup solidarity outweigh linguistic insecurity in the South, or not. 'Linguistic insecurity' is a term used by scholars to describe "how speakers of peripheralized languages subordinate and devalue their own language in line with stigmatization which originates outside their communities" (Lippi-Green 1997: 174).

Preston (1997: 335) has repeatedly affirmed, based on his field studies, that he could find no "sweeping and unequivocal pattern of linguistic insecurity" among Southern informants, and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, too, say that "Southerners have

long viewed their dialect as a strong marker of regional identity and often even as a source of cultural pride" (1998: 116). Ayers (1996: 71) explains that "[l]ike a member of a 'true' ethnic group, a white Southerner is expected to be conscious of his or her regional identity - not fanatical but not indifferent." Luhman's study (1990) leads its author to draw conclusions about the persistence of a certain 'covert prestige' of Southern American English, especially among male Southern informants; 'covert prestige' meaning that linguistic forms are positively valued by the ingroup apart from, or even in opposition to, their social significance for the wider society (cf. Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 159)

In contrast to this, Lippi-Green (1997: 213) reports aspects of a latent ambiguity in saying that "southerners exhibit insecurity about their language and a willingness to accept responsibility for poor communication or bad language, *but they do so only when in contact with the direct criticism of the northerner*."

In view of all these observations (and some more made 'in real life' and 'on location' in the South which suggest a rather strong regional identity to exist there), it was in the end decided that this third working hypothesis ought to postulate a language preference scenario that is largely ingroup-dominated; i.e. that in ratings each group would prefer its own speech (cf. Ryan - Giles - Sebastian 1982: 9/10). Solidarity among Southerners is thus presumed to be rather strong; while on the New England informants' part, not much 'token appeasement' that would increase non-mainstream group ratings (cf. Luhman 1990) is expected, due to the pervasiveness of rather negative stereotypes.

Hypothesis #5: 'Regional Origin' will be the most salient independent variable in informants' ratings.

"Our results indicate that male and female subjects did not differ in their impressions of male and female speakers," Gallois and Callan (1981: 356) report, and Shields's (1979) and Alford - Strother's (1990) results fall in a similar line, while Kramer (1977: 160), citing her own study and Labov[101] (1972) suggests that it would not be surprising if women were more sensitive towards speech behavior that men.

In the present context, it is felt that the variable of informants' sex, if producing any rating differences at all, will be second in importance and influence to the variable of informants' region of origin (North/New England or South/Tennessee) - cf. the

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[101] Labov, William (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

discussion above. The value of other independent variables laid out in the 'informant biography' part of the questionnaire, e.g. 'parents' origin' or 'languages studied', is quite unpredictable, as their meaningfulness will depend entirely on respective frequency distributions in the informant sample.

5.   PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

In the following chapter, the statistical evaluation of the study data shall be presented, as well as an analytic assessment of the results.

Part I of the questionnaire, containing the speaker evaluation, will be considered first. The core of the analysis are comparisons of mean values using the statistical tools of Levene's and T-Tests. Secondly, the results from Part II of the questionnaire shall be presented; statistical evaluation here relies mainly on frequency distributions of responses to the closed questions, and on crosstab relations using Pearson's chi-square tests. Open answers will be used primarily for qualification of the closed ones, but also as the source for a set of 'meta-categories' of responses.

The biographical data collected in Part III of the questionnaire will be incorporated into the statistical evaluation of Parts I&II in the form of independent grouping variables.

The software used for this data analysis is the SPSS for Windows package, Version 8.0.

5.1.   Part I of the Questionnaire

As noted above, the analysis of Part I of the questionnaire is based on comparisons of mean values for the different speakers and rating items. For this purpose, the values on the original five-point rating scale (2 through -2) were assigned all positive values ranging from 5 to 1 during data encoding; with the original 2 corresponding to 5, 1 to 4, 0 to 3, -1 to 2, and -2 to 1. Thus, for further reference, a high mean value is by definition one closer to the positive adjective 'pole' (e.g. 'likeable', 'educated', 'friendly', etc.), while a low mean value ranks a speaker closer to the negative pole (e.g. 'not likeable', 'uneducated', 'unfriendly', etc.). In short, higher ratings are 'better' ratings. This definition is crucial to any interpretation of the study results.

Furthermore, and for simplicity's sake, the presentation of results - in tables as well as in text - shall solely rely on the positive adjective poles for the denomination of an item ('likeable', 'educated', 'friendly', etc.). The four speakers shall be referred to as

follows: Thus, 'NtF' designates the 'neutral' female speaker, 'SoF' the Southern female, 'NtM' the 'neutral' male, and 'SoM' the Southern male.

As pointed out before, mean values were compared using the statistical devices of Levene's test for homogeneity of variance and T-Tests.[102] Such tests are designed to determine whether two values differ significantly from each other over a sample, or not. As is common practice in social sciences, the cut-off level for statistical significance was set at 0.05; thus, a 'probability of error' (p) level[103] below 0.05 is considered statistically significant. P-values of ≤ 0.01 are considered 'highly significant', while p-values of < 0.06 are only 'tendentially significant'.

Mean values have been rounded to two, or, in the case of means calculated from more than one variable, to four decimal places.

The outline of the ensuing presentation is as follows: first, overall results shall be given, calculated from the whole (i.e. undivided) body of data, together with a factor analysis whose outcome will dominate the further statistical evaluation, as it permits the formation of item 'clusters'. Secondly, the data will be broken down according to different independent variables.

5.1.1. Overall Ratings[104]

For the purpose of a first, comprehensive survey of the speaker evaluation results, a mean value was computed for each attribute item and speaker respectively, out of the total of 291 valid questionnaires. The mean values for the speakers were then compared in view of statistically significant differences.

A mere perfunctory assessment already provides some insight into overall trends in the speaker evaluation: thus, NtM (the 'neutral' male), leads the field of all samples, with 10 out of 21 top scores on the bipolar scales; followed by SoF (Southern female, 8 top scores) and NtF ('neutral' female, 4 top scores, of which one shared with NtF). SoM (Southern male) has not achieved the highest mean score for any single attribute item.

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[102] The use of T-Tests was given preference over that of non-parametric tests such as the Mann-Whitney U-Test, a decision justified by the sample size (cf. Bryman - Cramer 118).
[103] P measures the probability that a mean difference arises by chance, i.e. the probability that an error in the hypothesis saying 'mean values are different' occurs.

The rating grid was originally conceived as mixing together attribute items from three different dimensions of evaluation, namely 'competence', 'personal integrity', and 'social attractiveness' (cf. ch. 3.4.1.). A first overview of the scores now yields some evidence that these categories are indeed reflected in the study results: for example, NtM ranks before the other speakers for 'intelligent', 'educated', 'ambitious' (all 'competence'), NtF leads in 'polite', 'reliable' (all 'personal integrity'), etc. The rating scores thus appear to form certain 'clusters' for each speaker, according to attribute group.

It seemed worthwhile to investigate such a phenomenon statistically, to find out about any *system* in ranking of and differences between speakers. Therefore, a factor analysis was conducted, which is nowadays a routine statistical procedure in language attitude studies, with the aim of finding out about basic 'response' dimensions in a body of data by determining the degree to which a number of variables are basically tapping the same concept and thus can be reduced to a smaller set (cf. Fasold 1984: 171, Bryman - Cramer 1997: 276/277).[105]

In the present case, the 21 attribute items from the list were subjected to a factor analysis using the Principal Component Analysis. An eigenvalue of greater than one was adopted as criterion of extraction (i.e. Kaiser's criterion). The process yielded three factors, which were then rotated employing the varimax method (cf. Appendix, "Rotated Component Matrix", Table 13).

The three factors extracted allowed for the attributes to be drawn together in groups as follows (in order of loading):[106]

> *group 1 - 'competence'*: sharp, successful, determined, educated, leadership qualities, intelligent, ambitious, industrious, self-confident.
> *group 2 - 'personal integrity'*: honest, trustworthy, polite, good manners, reliable, likeable, helpful, open-minded
> *group 3 - 'social attractiveness'*: outgoing, sense of humor, sociable, friendly.

In the ensuing section, the results from the speaker evaluation will be presented in chapters taking up the categorization of the factor analysis (for tables with the exact figures per item cf. Appendix, Tables14-15).

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[104] cf. also Tables 14-20 in the Appendix.

[105] Lambert's original 'personality dimensions' were conceived in a similar line of thought, relying on semantic clustering, for lack of computer-based statistical tools (cf. Edwards 1982: 23).

[106] The group labels were kept by for their usefulness, despite the fact that the groups do not entirely correspond to the categorization as conceived in the study set-up (cf. ch. 3.4.1.). The highest loading item actually determines the 'meaning' of each factor (cf. Bryman - Cramer 1997: 286).

5.1.1.1. *Competence*

The cluster of attribute items under the heading of *competence* shows a most distinctive rating pattern, which establishes a consistent hierarchy among the four speakers. NtM takes the overall lead in all instances, followed by NtF in second, SoF in third, and SoM in fourth place. The overall *competence* scores for all speakers differ with high statistical significance:

	'neutral' female	Southern female	'neutral' male	Southern male
competence	3.7694	3.3281	**3.9439**	2.9984

	NtF-SoF	NtF-NtM	NtF-SoM	SoF-NtM	SoF-SoM	NtM-SoM
p value	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

p is significant at <0.05; p ≤0.001 is 'highly significant'.
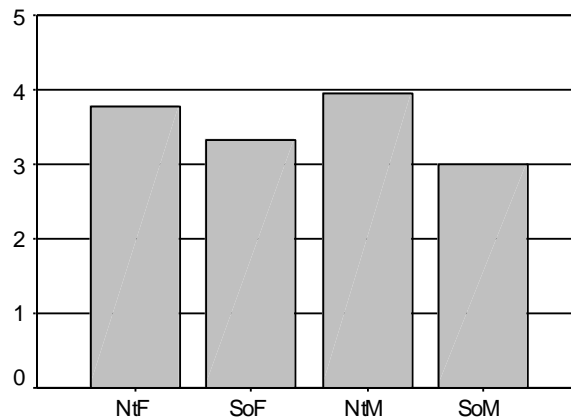
competence: mean values

The ranks per attribute item show the same distribution, with a few exceptions: NtF and NtM's score for 'educated' do not differ significantly, the 'self-confident' scores of NtF, SoF, and NtM do not differ significantly, either; and though SoM scores lowest for all *competence* items, the difference in the 'intelligence' ratings for the two Southerners, SoF and SoM, is not significant (p=0.061). This fact is all the more interesting in view of the common Southern stereotypes.

The overall picture that emerges here is clear-cut, showing that +'neutral' equals +*competence* in the ratings. Furthermore, the evaluation of the Southern speakers points out strong parallels to common bias (cf. ch. 2.), indicating that most likely the informants' attitudes have indeed been influenced by the general stereotypes, which proves them to be all the more pervasive.

5.1.1.2. *Personal Integrity*

The rating pattern in the *personal integrity* group is clearly not as unambiguous as that for *competence*. Though NtF leads overall, the top ranks for the individual attribute items are split up rather evenly between NtF and SoF, the females. NtM draws even with NtF once, for 'good manners'; SoM once more closes out in last place.

The overall statistics are as follows:

	'neutral' female	Southern female	'neutral' male	Southern male
personal integrity	**3.7758**	3.7348	3.7516	3.5811

	NtF-SoF	NtF-NtM	NtF-SoM	SoF-NtM	SoF-SoM	NtM-SoM
p value	.366	.532	.000	.742	.000	.001

p is significant at <0.05; $p \leq 0.001$ is 'highly significant'.
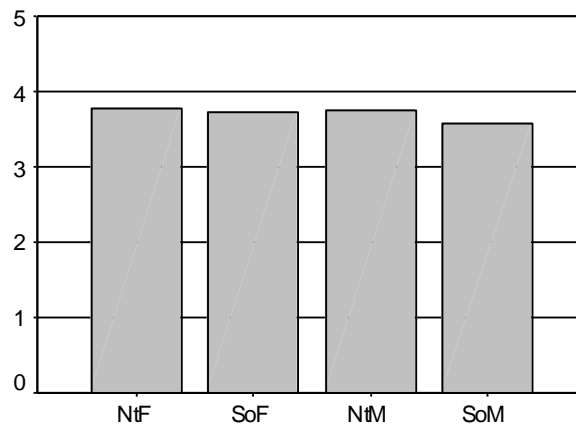
personal integrity: mean values

Thus, the personal integrity ratings for NtF, SoF, and NtM do not differ significantly from each other; they do so only in relation to the ratings of SoM (with high significance). Yet the ranking throughout the whole group varies so much that it seems useful to look at each attribute item separately.

'Honest' is the item with the highest loading in the group, and thus the most 'typical'. Mean values alone rank SoF first, NtF second, SoM third [sic!], and NtM in fourth place of preference, though a statistically significant difference only arises between SoF and NtM; SoF and SoM; and NtF and NtM. All in all, this means that the females have the edge over their male counterparts.

The scores for 'trustworthy' are rather equally distributed; one single significant difference arises between NtF (top) and SoM (last).

'Polite' shows a similar pattern, but here, NtM has scored higher, which makes for two instances of statistically significant differences - between NtF and SoM, and between NtM and SoM. Both Southerners now score last behind the 'neutral' speakers; besides, they do not differ significantly in their scores.

With 'good manners', the rating becomes even more explicit: both 'neutral' speakers were rated better with *high* significance than their Southern counterparts. This, taken together with the previously presented ratings for politeness, points out a rather surprising development in terms of the second working hypothesis which said, according to the cliché, that Southern speakers would do better on 'courtesy scores' (cf. ch. 4.). An assumed explanation could be that the informants regarded speaking with a regional accent in itself as 'impolite' in the setting, and speaking 'neutral' as common courtesy.

'Reliable' shows the same picture as 'good manners', pitching the 'neutral' speakers on top against the Southerners' lower scores, with highly significant differences in between.

'Likeable' pairs speakers in a different way, again drawing together females and males respectively (this sympathy advance for the 'girls' is likewise reflected in the scores to summary question No. 3, which shall be discussed presently - 5.1.1.4.).

'Helpful', on the other hand, sets NtF, SoF, and NtM in significant contrast to the last-ranked SoM. Expectations of helpfulness in a Southern male do not seem high, which might also be something to do with common Southern stereotypes of 'machismo'.

SoF and NtM top the scores for 'open-minded', with significant difference to NtF and SoM respectively. It seems quite surprising that the Southern female should here receive such high ratings for open-mindedness while her male counterpart does not; this can possibly be attributed to SoF's combined high sympathy and sociability scores (cf. also next section).

5.1.1.3. *Social Attractiveness*

Most remarkable is the fact that for all four factor items in the *social attractiveness* group, SoF outscores her peers with high statistical significance. NtM, SoM, and NtF follow behind in this order, though the differences between the scores of NtF and SoM, plus NtM and SoM fail to reach statistical significance. In comparison, SoM's scores are his highest here of any category:

	'neutral' female	Southern female	'neutral' male	Southern male
social attractiveness	3.3806	**3.9742**	3.5034	3.3882

	NtF-SoF	NtF-NtM	NtF-SoM	SoF-NtM	SoF-SoM	NtM-SoM
p value	.000	.014	.872	.000	.000	.108

p is significant at <0.05; p ≤0.001 is 'highly significant'.
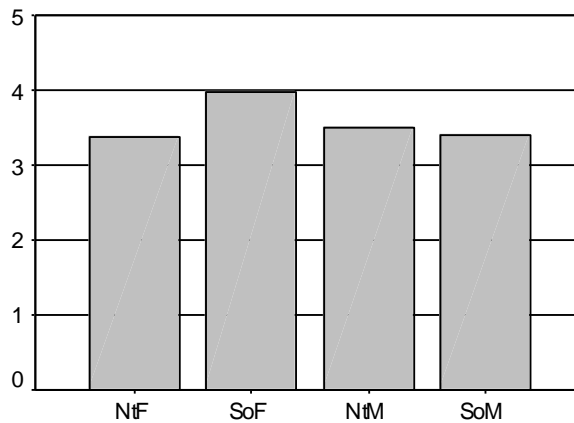
social attractiveness: mean values

For the highest loading item, 'outgoing', all differences between speakers are significant; SoF ranks before NtM, NtF, and SoM in that order.

SoM, however, received the second highest ratings for 'sense of humor', though not significantly topping NtM. Here, NtF comes in last, maybe due to perceptions of her

as a 'no-nonsense' kind of person, something which was hinted at in a number of open answers to the summarizing statements.

NtF and NtM share the middle rank for 'sociable'; under 'friendly', SoM again moves up two notches to second rank.

All in all, a Southern accent tends to be a rather positive influence on *social attractiveness* scores, even for the Southern male speaker. The combination of female sex and Southern accent, however, decidedly works to the greatest advantage, being everything but 'lethal' in this respect, as Van Antwerp and Maxwell (1982: 240) had suggested. This parallels a finding from Part II of the questionnaire, where a separate meta-category could be established for informants' opinion on Southern female speech (cf. ch. 5.2.9.). Implications shall be discussed there more extensively.

5.1.1.4. The Summarizing Statements

The three summarizing statements added to the attribute evaluation grid were:

> *"This speaker would make a good salesperson"*
> *"I would employ this speaker in my company as a salesperson"*
> *"I would like to get to know this speaker better on a personal basis"*

The first two statements can be seen as 'performance'-related, the third, as a 'sympathy' score. The ratings in the first category corresponds quite accurately to the *competence* results alone from the rating grid. Thus, NtF and NtM receive the highest scores on being a 'good salesperson', SoF comes in second before SoM, both at highly significantly different 'intervals'. The responses to summarizing statement number two are even more explicit: in the 'hiring' decision, NtM is now given preference, with NtF dropping off a little. Again, all differences between the speakers amount to statistical significance. Responses to statement #3 very much reflect the *social attractiveness* scores that have been favoring SoF all along, putting her in first place with NtF (i.e. both females together), and NtM and SoM, the males, on an equal footing in second.[107]

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[107] Some informants indicated in connection with question 3 that they would seek the speakers' personal acquaintance only for company benefit, to get a more 'educated' opinion about the 'applicants'. However, as it was exceedingly difficult to determine in how far such statements made in the open answers had influenced the actual ratings, no differentiation was implemented in encoding.

The statistics are as follows:

	'neutral' female	Southern female	'neutral' male	Southern male
good salesperson	3.61	3.30	**3.73**	2.88
hire in my company	3.39	3.14	**3.63**	2.75
get to know	3.42	**3.48**	3.23	3.09

p values//	NtF-SoF	NtF-NtM	NtF-SoM	SoF-NtM	SoF-SoM	NtM-SoM
good salesperson	.000	.105	.000	.000	.000	.000
hire in company	.014	.004	.000	.000	.000	.000
get to know	.509	.026	.000	.009	.000	.157

p is significant at <0.05; $p \leq 0.001$ is 'highly significant'.

The results of this summarizing part of the speaker evaluation are all the more interesting, as they quite distinctly confirm that to public opinion, as expressed here, performance in a salesjob is perceived as highly *competence*-related rather than something to do with 'charm'. This is so stronlgy the case, in fact, that SoF, who, on average, did extraordinarily well both in *personal integrity* and *social attractiveness* scores, cannot get high ratings on the immediately performance-related statements 1 and 2, just like her male counterpart, SoM. Apparently, the informants did in general not feel that a lack in *competence*, such as the one they attributed to the Southern speakers, could be made up with 'charming' qualities. In contrast to what was suggested in working hypothesis #2, the Southerners could thus not catch up with the 'neutral' speakers.

5.1.1.5. Correlations between Speakers

After the first overview of mean values and statistical differences between speakers given above, it should now also be interesting to take a look at how the speaker ratings 'interact' with each other in the evaluation process; or, in statistical terms, how strong the bivariate correlations are between speakers in terms of the different variables. For example, do the Southerners' scores go up and down at the same time? How do male and female speaker ratings correlate?

To find out about this, correlation coefficients (r), [108] as computed by the SPSS software, were analyzed and compared (cf. Appendix, Table 16). To speak with Bryman and Cramer (1997: 172), 'r' functions as a "yardstick whereby the intensity or strength of

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[108] i.e. Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficients.

a relationship can be gauged." The cut-off point for significant correlation was set at r=0.2 (with p=0.000); meaning that the closer r would be to +/-1, the stronger the relationship between two variables (cf. Bühl - Zöfel 1999: 302).

All in all, correlations turn out not to be very strong, with a majority ranging at r<0.4; yet for each attribute item the existence of at least one meaningful relationship could be proved.

Most importantly, the scores of the two Southern speakers proved to pair up in a positive relationship in all instances, without fail. This means that SoM's ratings would go up and down if SoF's did, and vice versa. Ratings of the 'neutral' speakers, too, tended to correlate, with the exception of the items 'determined' and 'self-confident' of the *competence* factor.

SoF and SoM correlate most strongly in items 'honest', 'good manners', 'likeable', 'helpful' and 'open-minded' - all *personal integrity* factor attributes. NtF and NtM show their strongest correlation for 'honest'. Other meaningful relationships could be established for a sequence of items including 'successful', 'honest', 'trustworthy', and 'reliable', where the female speakers pair up strongly. The male speakers do so for 'honest', making this the item where the most speakers relate to each other (NtF&SoF, NtF&NtM, SoF&SoM, NtM&SoM).

As for the summarizing statement scores, SoF and SoM again correlate, both for statement two and three; while NtF and NtM correlate only for statement two. In fact, for statement three, the 'sympathy' score, NtF and SoM also correlate.

All in all, the fact that especially for the speakers of the actual accent tested (Southern), ratings form very consistent relationships, proves that the evaluation of Southerners was not at all done at random throughout the questionnaire, and that the accent is indeed a most salient parameter in the ratings.

5.1.1.6. Ratings of the Ideal Salesperson

In the last rating grid of Part II of the questionnaire, informants were asked to "think of your ideal of a successful salesperson and place each mark accordingly" (Questionnaire p. 7; cf. also ch. 3.4.4.). Such an assessment of the informants' own ideals was necessary in order to have a sort of 'measuring standard' for the speaker

evaluation (cf. also Smit 1994: 229) and to check the premise that the higher the score, the 'better' the ratings.

As it turns out, the initial premise 'higher = better' proves true for all items on the attribute scale (for exact listings cf. Appendix, Table 17). The rating scores of the 'ideal salesperson' are always the highest in comparison to the speakers, with the average mean being over $\mu = 4.40$.[109]

What is very interesting to note, though, is the fact that the highest scores were primarily given to items pertaining to the *personal integrity* factor group ('trustworthy', 'polite', 'good manners', 'reliable', 'likeable', 'helpful') and the *social attractiveness* group ('friendly' scored highest overall at $\mu = 4.86$), and not so much to *competence*. In fact, T-Tests of the combined factor ratings of the 'ideal salesperson' show that informants ranked *personal integrity* in first, *social attractiveness* in second, and *competence* in third place in terms of the means, with statistically significant differences between all scores (cf. Appendix, Tables 18&19).

The only summarizing statement used ("I would like to get to know this person better on a personal basis") scores an average $\mu = 4.50$. In comments to their responses, 8.6% of the students indicated that they would consider getting to know the person for the benefit of the company; 3.4% of the informants said that they believed the person they had just described in the grid to be a good salesperson, but not a good friend. Only 1% stated outright that they did not like salespeople at all.[110]

There is a certain discrepancy here between these results and the indications from the previous speaker assessment, where NtF and NtM, the highest rated speakers in terms of perceived *competence*, were thought to make the best salespeople (cf. ch. 5.1.1.4.), and where SoF and SoM with particularly favorable friendliness scores were not. This discrepancy could be explicable under the assumption, based on some of the open answers to the summarizing statement, that informants, rather than explicitly rating a sales professional with ideal performance, tended to rate an overall 'ideal person'. A different formulation of the task, e.g. "rate a *typical* successful salesperson", might have served to avoid some of this ambiguity, if this were the reason for the said discrepancy to the speaker ratings. However, it is also possible that the evaluation of the 'ideal salesperson' simply conforms to 'social desirability', and this more so than the evaluation

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[109] 'Leadership qualities' formed the only exception at $\mu = 4.86$.
[110] This can again be seen to justify the set-up of this study for a U.S. context, and the choice of setting.

of the speakers, as the rating was probably done more cognitively in the case of the 'ideal salesperson' than in that of the speakers.

As to the ideal salesperson's sex, 80.6% of the informants indicated that it does not matter to them. Of those who did show a preference, a majority (11.0%) picked a male salesperson over a female (8.3%). The difference seems rather small, which might also explain why SoM, for example, did not attract more partiality in his favor.

5.1.2. Speaker Evaluation according to Group Variables[111]

In this section, the attitude-determining influence of a set of group variables shall be explored. For this purpose, the body of data was broken down into samples in the statistical evaluation process; ratings throughout these samples were again compared by means of T-Tests, to locate significant divergences. The analysis here focuses on sampling according to variables derived from the informant biographical data in Part III of the questionnaire. The investigation of 'classical' factors, such as region of origin and sex, is combined with the examination of more 'explorative' ones, based on mere assumptions on the investigator's part: parents' origin, contact with friends/relatives in the respective other region, travel experience. [112]

The biographical data from Part III was originally supposed to be the basis for three more group variables that would have categorized students according to their year in school, their major, and whether or not they had studied any modern languages besides English. However, sampling according to informants' year in school had to be omitted because the general frequency distributions would not permit it (cf. Appendix, Tables 6&7). Likewise, the overwhelming majority of students (95.7% of New Englanders and 90% of Tennesseans - cf. Appendix, Table 12) indicated in Part III that they had studied a foreign language for more than one semester; thus, classification according to this criterion, in order to find out if contact with foreign cultures colored attitudes towards mere regional differences, did not prove useful either.

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[111] Cf. also Tables 21-43 in the Appendix.
[112] N.B.: Informants' age was not taken into consideration as a factor, as the test population ranged only from ages 18 to 24 in the first place. The population was therefore assumed to constitute a fairly homogeneous age group.

Furthermore, grouping according to the informants' majors, as it could have been effectuated with an Austrian or German student population, was not applicable in a U.S. context of higher education, as the biggest portion of a regular American undergraduate curriculum is devoted to programs and courses enhancing the students' general knowledge, rather than the study of any particular field. Different academic orientation on the students' part would therefore only have taken effect with those enrolled in graduate programs, and even then, the categorization of majors according to departments would have been problematic.

The number of independent group variables tested is therefore limited to six. Results of the sampling will be discussed in the following chapters.

5.1.2.1. Informants' Region of Origin

Dividing the informants into groups according to their region of origin (i.e. New England or Tennessee) seems a very useful and promising step in the investigation of attitude-determining factors, since this classification corresponds to the outgroup/ingroup dichotomy with respect to Southern American English. It should be particularly interesting to see how the Southern informants would treat their 'linguistic peers'; the hypothesis was that a certain solidarity would manifest itself in the ratings of the Southerners (cf. ch. 4.).

The overall ratings are as follows:

		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
competence	Speaker 1	3.76	3.78	.840
	Speaker 2	3.44	3.23	**.015**
	Speaker 3	**3.88**	**4.00**	.162
	Speaker 4	3.04	2.96	.407
personal integrity	Speaker 1	**3.85**	3.71	**.039**
	Speaker 2	3.73	**3.74**	.852
	Speaker 3	3.79	3.72	.336
	Speaker 4	3.55	3.61	.520
social attractiveness	Speaker 1	3.50	3.27	**.007**
	Speaker 2	**3.97**	**3.98**	.953
	Speaker 3	3.53	3.48	.571
	Speaker 4	3.33	3.45	.250

		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
good salesperson	Speaker 1	**3.73**	3.50	**.032**
	Speaker 2	3.41	3.20	.101
	Speaker 3	3.62	**3.84**	.076
	Speaker 4	2.86	2.89	.833
hire in my comp.	Speaker 1	**3.52**	3.26	**.034**
	Speaker 2	3.23	3.06	.254
	Speaker 3	**3.52**	**3.74**	.113
	Speaker 4	2.74	2.76	.925
get to know	Speaker 1	**3.56**	3.29	**.05**
	Speaker 2	3.44	**3.52**	.556
	Speaker 3	3.19	3.27	.558
	Speaker 4	3.14	3.04	.484

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p≤0.05.
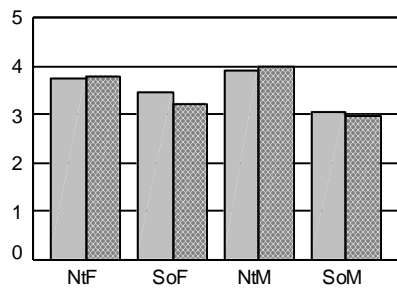
competence factor/region
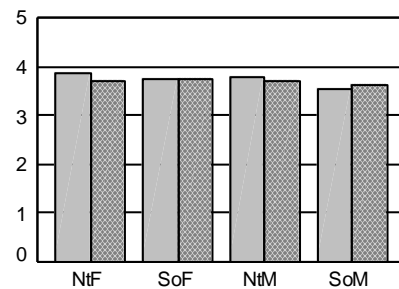
personal integrity factor/region
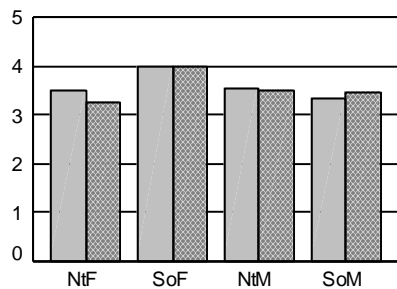
social attractiveness factor/region

New England
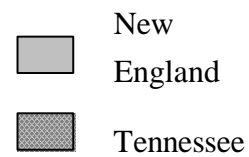
Tennessee

In view of the hypothesis, some ratings here come as a surprise. For instance, while the *competence* ratings for SoM hardly differ, the Tennessee (TN) informants rated SoF significantly lower on *competence* than the New Englanders (NE) did. Also, both NtF and NtM's scores are slightly higher in TN than in NE. It seems that Tennesseans resent a Southern accent more than their NE counterparts.

In fact, an analysis and comparison of the mean differences between the respective speakers (cf. Appendix, Table 21), makes clear that the distance between SoF and the 'neutral' speakers NtF and NtM is significantly increased in the TN ratings, as opposed to those of the NE informants. For both groups, however, the general order of the speaker stays the same (NtM - NtF - SoF - SoM). Thus, rather than manifesting some kind of solidarity with their peers, the Southern informants show an even stronger preference for the 'neutral' speakers than the Northerners - a preference that would indeed argue in favor of a linguistic insecurity 'complex' on the Southerners' part where *competence* in general is concerned.

Breaking this overall result down into mean scores for the individual attribute items (cf. Appendix, Table 22) shows that NtM score significantly higher in TN than in NE for items 'sharp', 'successful', and 'leadership qualities'. Likewise, SoF loses points on 'educated', 'intelligent' [sic!], and 'self-confident' on her 'home turf'.

The *personal integrity* factor holds a different evaluation pattern in stock: here, quite some influences of a group solidarity can be detected. First of all, NtF, who ranks first in NE, receives significantly lower scores in TN and loses her place to SoF, who was only third in NE. Also, the gap between NtF and SoM is significantly narrower in the Southerners' assessment than in that of the Northerners.

In terms of individual attribute assessments, NtF is rated significantly lower for 'polite' and 'likeable' in TN, as is NtM for 'polite'. This, of course, could be attributed to a reverse effect of the Southern courtesy cliché: Dillard (1992: 98), for example, comments that "Southerners notoriously consider the 'clipped' Northern speech as brusque, even discourteous", and such feelings could have influenced assessment of the 'neutral' speakers as opposed to that of the Southern speakers.

All in all, though not bestowing any particular or excessive preference on any speaker, the Tennessean informants do bring up the scores of their Southern peers for *personal integrity,* at least to a close to equal level with the 'neutral' speakers'.

As to *social attractiveness*, TN scores for NtF are significantly lower here, too; so much so, in fact, that NtF falls behind SoM in Tennessee informants' preference (i.e. to fourth place from third in NE). The difference in mean values between SoM and NtF is also significantly higher in TN than in NE.

In detail, NtF receives significantly lower scores from Southern informants both for 'sense of humor' and 'friendly', while SoF's scores increase with Southern informants for 'sense of humor'.

Overall, Tennessee students seem to view their peer speakers quite positively in terms of *social attractiveness*, which could be another tendential sign of some kind of language solidarity.

Low preference on TN informants' part for NtF is also manifest in the responses to the three summarizing statements. On statement 1&2 ("good salesperson"/"hire in my company"), NtF loses the first place she shared in NE and falls behind her counterpart NtM, who proves to be the favorite with Southern informants here. Furthermore, SoF scores significantly higher than NtF for the third statement ("get to know on a personal basis"): the Southern 'gal' is given preference here.

Still, all in all, the general response patterns are reflected in the TN as well as in the NE ratings: Southern speakers are at a disadvantage for their perceived lack of *competence*, without any influence of their rather favorable 'sympathy' or *attractiveness* scores. Group solidarity did not seem to have too much bearing on the assessment, or, at least less than the Southerners' 'linguistic insecurity'.

5.1.2.2. Informants' Sex

Working hypothesis #4 for this study (cf. ch. 4.) said that 'region of origin' would be the most salient grouping variable. Indeed, as it turns out in the statistical evaluation

of the data samples, informants' sex had a more moderate effect on the speaker ratings than 'region'. The only distinct pattern emerging shows that female students generally gave higher scores throughout all categories (though there are a number of instances where the differences fail to reach statistical significance). This finding, in fact, replicates the results from previous studies with similar set-ups (e.g. Teufel 1995; Hebenstreit 1998):

		male[a]	female[a]	p[b]
competence	Speaker 1	3.71	3.82	.149
	Speaker 2	3.24	3.39	.088
	Speaker 3	**3.86**	**4.00**	.091
	Speaker 4	2.97	3.02	.578
personal integrity	Speaker 1	**3.69**	**3.84**	**.025**
	Speaker 2	3.65	3.79	.066
	Speaker 3	3.66	3.82	**.032**
	Speaker 4	3.54	3.61	.452
social attractiveness	Speaker 1	3.32	3.42	.263
	Speaker 2	**3.91**	**4.02**	.228
	Speaker 3	3.46	3.53	.436
	Speaker 4	3.38	3.39	.949

		male[a]	female[a]	p[b]
good salesperson	Speaker 1	3.52	3.67	.170
	Speaker 2	3.25	3.34	.457
	Speaker 3	**3.62**	**3.81**	.140
	Speaker 4	2.87	2.89	.887
hire in my comp.	Speaker 1	3.29	3.46	.199
	Speaker 2	3.02	3.23	.148
	Speaker 3	**3.48**	**3.75**	**.051**[**]
	Speaker 4	2.74	2.76	.924
get to know	Speaker 1	**3.43**	3.41	.884
	Speaker 2	3.40	**3.54**	.322
	Speaker 3	2.96	3.43	**.001**
	Speaker 4	3.04	3.12	.583

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05 .
** indicates tendential significance at p<0.06.

competence factor/sex

personal integrity factor/sex

social attractiveness factor/sex
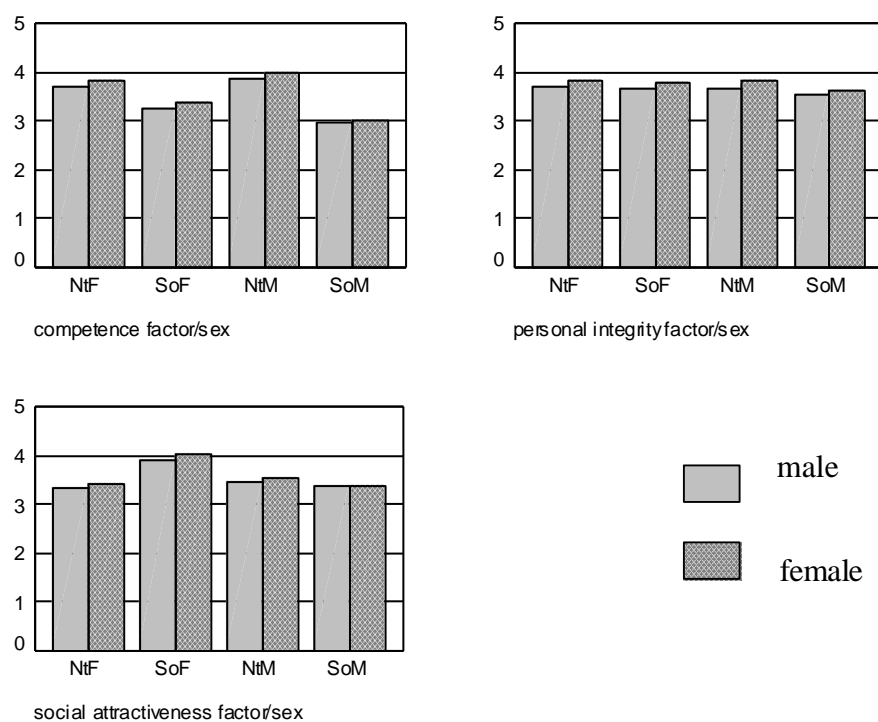
male

female

Male and female informants are very much in agreement on their overall *competence* ratings - the speakers rank in the exact same order here (NtM - NtF - SoF - SoM). On an attribute-to-attribute basis (cf. Appendix, Table 24), significant differences occur with items 'educated', where SoM is rated more favorable by females; 'leadership qualities' where NtF, SoF and NtM are rated higher by females; for 'intelligent', where both Southern speakers (SoF & SoM) receive better scores from females (though only at tendential significance; $p=0.055$); and for 'self-confident', where both female speakers, i.e. NtF and NtM, score better with female than with male informants. As it was said before, all of this did, however, not have any bearing on the collective *competence* score. There are likewise no significant divergences in mean differences for the other factor variables, *personal integrity* and *social attractiveness*, apart from the said general 'lenience' on the female students' part. A comparison of mean differences (cf. Appendix, Table 23) yielded no statistically significant divergences either.

For *social attractiveness*, in fact, no statistically significant differences per item arise at all. For *personal integrity*, female informants' scores do differ from those of the males, even if without effect on the overall speaker ranking. In particular, NtF and NtM are rated higher by females for 'good manners' and 'reliable'. SoF receives better scores from female students for 'good manners and (tendentially) for 'helpful', as does SoM for 'polite'.

Male and female informants are still very much in agreement with respect to their responses to summarizing statements 1 and 2 ("good salesperson"/"hire in company"), though NtM scores tendentially higher with females on number two, apparently receiving some kind of 'opposite sex' bonus. The final 'sympathy-related' statement No. 3 ("get to know on a personal basis") is the only case where there is some real dissent among the sexes: NtM's high ratings place him first in the preference of the females, while he scores last (!) with the male students; the difference between the scores reaches high statistical significance. If and how far this may be due to a predominance of Tennessee students among the male population shall be examined in the ensuing chapter.

5.1.2.3. Informants' Region of Origin and Informants' Sex Combined

To find out more about the two group variables discussed so far and to analyze the likely predominance of the 'region of origin', it is useful to incorporate both variables in another series of T-Tests. In this new round of testing, all possible combinations of samples according to 'region of origin' and 'sex' were subjected to the mean value comparison (i.e. the samples of NE males and NE females, TN males and TN females; NE males and TN males, NE females and TN females; NE males and TN females, NE females and TN males were drawn together). Only the factor variables were used for this comparison (for the exact results cf. Appendix, Tables 25-36).

Between New England male and female students, no significant differences occur at all, neither in means nor in mean differences. In the Tennessee sample, females rate NtM rather more highly on *competence* than their male peers, though this does not influence the ranking of the speakers (NtM is first in both samples). In both female

samples, the ratings of NtM in the responses to summarizing statement #3 ("get to know") are increased as opposed to the male samples.

The second pairing shows that New England and Tennessee males are also very much in agreement in their speaker evaluation; the only difference occurs in summarizing statement #1 scores for NtM, where Tennesseans rate (tendentially) higher (thus, in answer to the question posed in the last chapter, a predominance of TN males did not affect NtM's scores on summarizing statement #3). The females show a little more dissent, the differences becoming most palpable where *competence* and *social attractiveness* ratings are concerned. For *competence*, no significant differences in the mean values themselves occur between NE and TN female informant ratings, but the statistical evaluation of *differences between* the mean values (cf. Appendix, Table 32) shows that Tennesseans rated SoF, their peer, noticeably lower (paralleling the overall TN informant behavior), so that the gap in perceived *competence* between NtM and SoF as well as (tendentially) between NtF and SoF becomes wider in the Southern female sample. Divergences are a bit more pronounced with *social attractiveness*, where the NE female informants rate NtF significantly higher than their TN counterparts. As a result, the gap between NtF and SoF narrows in NE, while it widens between NtF and SoM. The speakers then rank from SoF in first, SoF and NtM in second, to SoM in last place in NE; the pattern is strikingly different in TN: here SoM takes second place behind SoF, and NtF trails in last.

To complete the picture, a third pairing was analyzed with T-Tests (NE male - TN female; NE female - TN male). The results obtained very much parallel the outcome of the general evaluation according to 'region of origin' (cf. ch. 5.1.2.1.), and shall therefore not be discussed at length here.

All in all, in general and in detail, the patterns emerging in the sampling procedure described give conclusive evidence to the fact that the group variable of informants' region of origin is a more salient parameter in the speaker evaluation than informants' sex, and prone to give rise to more noticeable attitude differences. Though the sample analysis according to informants' sex also yielded some significant divergences, these did, for the most part, not represent any fundamental shifts in speaker ranking and assessment.

Some more potential attitude-determining factors shall be investigated in the following section, where the focus will be more on the personal experience of the informants.

5.1.2.4. Origin of Informants' Parents

Part III of the questionnaire, the biographical section, i.a. asked informants to indicate where their parents came from, in order to trace possible 'domestic' influences on language attitudes. It was assumed, for example, that informants whose parents come from the respective other region (the North or the South)[113] would possibly exhibit different preferences than the others.

To see how strong such influences could actually be, informants were once more divided into groups, this time according to the criteria of their parents' origin. For reasons of logic, the informants were before split up into New Englanders and Tennesseans. The frequency distribution over the different sub-categories is as follows:

Parents' origin	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
both parents from the same region	116	82.3%	115	76.7%	231	79.4%
at least on parent from the respective other region	2	1.4%	29	19.3%	31	10.7%
at least one parent from other US state	15	10.6%	6	4.0%	21	7.2%
at least one parent from abroad	8	5.7%	-	-	8	2.7%
Total	141	100%	150	100%	291	100%

It seems that the two groups of informants with 'both parents from the same region' and informants with 'at least one parent from the respective other region' would be most promising for comparison, as they again relate to the ingroup/outgroup dichotomy. Indeed, a look at the distributions shows that all other groups are too small in frequency to justify statistical evaluation. This is also the case for the New England group with parents from the respective other region (the South); the only sample big enough for a meaningful analysis is provided by the corresponding group from

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[113] The definitions of 'same region' and 'respective other region' have in the following been adapted to comprise all of the Northern and Southern States respectively, as the dominant 'cultural' regions, and not just New England and Tennessee as the test regions.

Tennessee. The T-Tests conducted here, however, fail to yield any statistically significant differences in ratings (cf. Appendix, Table 37).

Thus, for the present, 'origin of informants' parents' has to be discarded as a group variable influencing the speaker evaluation. Further investigations with a more homogeneously distributed population would be necessary for drawing any general meaningful conclusions in this respect.

5.1.2.5. Travel Experience

The saying goes that 'traveling broadens the horizon'; thus, in the present context, it seemed interesting to relate informants' history of traveling to their speaker evaluation in order to register any possible variance due to the different experiences made.

Two set-ups were used, the first recording travels to the respective other region (the North or the South - cf. ch. 5.1.2.4.), and the second, trips abroad. Again, the New England and the Tennessee samples were considered separately, and only the factor variables were used in the comparison.

The frequency distributions according to these criteria are as follows:

		New England		Tennessee	
Has traveled to respective other region	yes	94	66.7%	95	63.3%
	no	47	33.3%	55	36.7%
Total		141	100%	150	100%

		New England		Tennessee	
Has traveled abroad	yes	111	78.7%	44	29.3%
	no	30	21.3%	106	70.7%
Total		141	100%	150	100%

The T-Tests (cf. Appendix, Tables 38-41) show that informants' travel experience does indeed have a certain influence on their speaker evaluation, but only when the trips led to the respective other region. For the New England sample, this is expressed in the fact that differences occur in the ratings of NtF regarding *competence* and *social attractiveness*: those students who had *not* been to the South give her considerably higher scores for the *competence* factor, while judging her significantly lower on *social attractiveness*. The development is mirrored in the TN sample, where those students who had been to the North lower SoF's *competence* ratings by a

tendentially significant margin; but they also increase SoM's *social attractiveness* scores.

On the Southern informants' part, a possible explanation for this development may be a certain emotional/sentimental sympathy with their peers aroused in those who have already come into contact with the 'non-South'. As Ayers (1996: 69) points out, such contact may actually heighten Southern self-consciousness; and this could again imbue those concerned with some kind of affective sense of solidarity with Southerners, a solidarity that may not necessarily translate to the status dimension (hence the *competence* ratings). For the New Englanders, giving an explanation is more difficult, since the NE informants, while forming the 'outgroup' for Southern American English, cannot be said to constitute the 'ingroup' for the 'neutral' speakers. Thus, any notions about solidarity ratings are put in doubt.

Taking all this into account, the pattern resulting from the T-Test evaluation in terms of the grouping variable 'has/has not traveled to respective other region' bears some ambiguity. Therefore, although some noticeable influence could be detected, sampling in terms of this grouping variable will not be carried further in the analysis of Part II of the questionnaire. Further research in the same line would be needed to reach 'educated' and reliable conclusions.

The second set-up for the sampling as discussed here was a comparison of informants who had or had not traveled abroad. No statistically significant divergences could be detected (cf. Appendix, Tables 40&41) - traveling outside the U.S. thus did not seem to have any noticeable influence on speaker ratings at all.

5.1.2.6. Time Spent with Friends/Relatives from the Respective Other Region

The last independent grouping variable to be considered in this statistical evaluation samples the data according to the criterion of whether informants have actually spent time with friends/relatives in or from the respective other region (the North or the South - cf. ch. 5.1.2.4.) or not, departing from the premise that personal ties to the other region could influence ratings of speakers from that region. The samples were again divided into New Englanders and Tennesseans, and the factor variables only were compared.

The distribution according to the sampling criterion is as follows:

		New England		Tennessee	
Has spent time with friends/relatives from resp. other region	yes	69	48.9%	67	44.7%
	no	52	36.9%	59	39.3%
	other/missing	20	14.2%	24	16.0%
Total		141	100%	150	100%

Whether the original premise was inadequate, or the different experiences simply canceled each other out, is impossible to determine here; the fact of the matter is that, for the New England sample, no statistically significant differences arise from this sampling procedure at all (cf. Appendix, Tables 42&43). As for the Tennessee sample, the only instance where a significant difference can be detected occurs in SoF's *social attractiveness* ratings, which are increased in the group that had not spent time with friends/relatives in or from the North. Yet, as SoF was already leading the scores here, no real divergence arises from this fact.

It was therefore concluded that having spent time with friends or relatives in or from the respective other region is a rather doubtful influence on informants' language attitudes.

This concludes the analysis of Part I of the questionnaire, with the speaker evaluation. In the following, the responses to Part II, the 'classical' questionnaire part, will be discussed. The findings of Part I shall come to bear here, as the variables

grouping informants according to their region of origin (New England or Tennessee) and sex is taken over to provide parameters in the statistical evaluation.

5.2.   Part II of the Questionnaire

The second part of the questionnaire (cf. Questionnaire pp. 8&9) aimed at registering more cognitive beliefs and opinions of the informants in view of their attitudes towards regional/Southern speech. Findings from this 'classical' questionnaire part should complement the more indirectly obtained results of the speaker evaluation.

As the actual topic of the study had not yet been explicitly stated vis-à-vis the informants, the more direct questions of Part II were arranged according to a 'funneling principle' (as mentioned in ch. 3.4.), starting out with more general, regional accent-related questions, gradually moving on to Southern-specific ones. This procedure was also intended to prevent any resentments informants might have felt had they suddenly realized that the purpose of Part I (exploring language attitudes) was originally obscured by the investigator.

The analysis of responses to Part II questions shall solely rely on the evaluation of frequency distributions. As has been said before, the focus is on the assessment of the closed questions; pertaining open 'essay' answers shall serve to qualify or consolidate these; but they also provide the material for the meta-categories as a form of synthesis (cf. ch. 5.2.9.).

In concordance with the analysis of Part I, the most salient group variable used throughout the statistical evaluation of Part II is 'informants' region of origin' (New England or Tennessee). Though not as promising, the variable of 'informants' sex' was also used; this procedure was adopted with the aim of collecting further evidence for the possible predominance of the first of these group variables over the other. Pearson's chi-square tests were used to determine significant distributions according to these group variables. To examine possible correlations, Spearman's rho was used as the appropriate coefficient for testing of ordinal data, with a significance level for 'low correlation' set at $r<-0.200$ or $r>0.200$.

As it turned out, informants' sex did not prove to be an influencing parameter in the responses to Part II of the questionnaire, just as the results from Part I of the questionnaire had led to suppose. There was only one instance of exception (cf. Question 7). The ensuing discussion of results shall therefore generally rely on the group variable of informants' region of origin for further insights.

5.2.1. The Origin of the Speakers

Part II starts out with a short section asking informants to guess the region of origin for the four speakers, after having listened once more to short samples consisting of the first sentences. This section was meant to provide some kind of tentative control for the speaker evaluation, recording in how far the informants actually recognized the Southern accents, and thus, how reliably their ratings could be linked to attitudes towards Southern American English in general. The particular interest thus lay in the guesses made about speaker #2 and speaker #4, the two Southerners; the question was whether the informants had actually detected their Southern origin.

As it turned out, the vast majority of informants did in fact recognize the Southerners as such: the hit rate for SoF was 90.7% overall, and for SoM, 87.3%. Interestingly enough, Tennessee informants had a lower rate than New Englanders for SoF (92.7% vs. 95.7%), and a higher rate for SoM (88.7% vs. 85.8%).[114]

It is of course not self-evident that results obtained in Part II, stemming from more cognitively oriented questions and responses in a slightly different context, can be related back to the more spontaneous, affective speaker evaluation of Part I. Yet, all in all, the outcome here seems to suggest that the ratings of SoF and SoM by the informants can be rather safely assumed to be reactions to speakers of Southern American English.

The 'neutral' speakers were basically placed all over the American map, though a majority of mostly New Englanders believed them to be from the North (57.7% for NtF,

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[114] cf. Appendix, Table 44.

60.5% for NtM). 17.2% and 12.4% respectively guessed they were from the Midwest; 10.7% / 19.2% picked the Northwest or the West Coast. [115]

5.2.2. Question 1[116]

In compliance with the 'funneling' principle already discussed, Question 1 of the set of direct questions used in Part II is a rather general 'topic-opener':

"In your opinion, does it matter whether a salesperson working for a nationwide corporation speaks with a regional accent or not?"

The overall distribution of answers is rather balanced between 'yes' and 'no': 45% of the students said that it would matter, generally, and 41.9% said it would not. Furthermore, 2.1% indicated that this would 'depend' on other circumstances; and 10.3% said they did 'not know'.

Answering with 'yes' to such a question may be quite ambiguous; if speaking with an accent makes a difference, it may do so in a positive or a negative way. Thus, to find out about what students actually meant, the open responses ("Explain your answer") were analyzed. As it turned out, the vast majority of students who had answered with 'yes', i.e. 54.9% (25.1% overall) had added that a regional accent would be a negative influence, while only 10.5% of those responding with 'yes' (i.e. 4.8% overall) believed the effect to be positive (the remaining 34.6% of the answers could not be qualified).

A calculation of answer frequencies according to informants' region with an ensuing Pearson's chi-square test proved the distribution to be statistically significant (p=0.18). 54% of the Tennessee informants believed that it did indeed matter whether a salesperson spoke with a regional accent or not, with 35.3% saying 'no', as opposed to the New Englanders, of whom only 36.9% answered with 'yes' and a majority of 48.9% with 'no'.

In the 'qualified' answers, it again turns out that the majority of students believed the effect of a regional accent to be rather negative: 54.3% of the Tennesseans thought so (i.e. 29.3% overall), and 55.8% of New Englanders (20.6% overall). Only 8.6% (4.7%) of Tennesseans believed in a positive effect, and 13.5% (5.0%) of New Englanders.

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[115] Cf. Appendix, Table 45.

In their essay answers, a total of 10.3% of the students (10.7% TN, 9.9% NE) expressed the opinion that the accent of a salesperson should in general be consistent with the target region of sale.

A first impression produced by these response patterns is that Southern informants seem to be more alert to and aware of potential problems connected with having a regional accent.

5.2.3. Question 2[117]

Question 2 of Part II is a more behavior/consequence-oriented extension of Question 1:

"Would you advise a person to learn to speak with a neutral and 'standard' accent before applying for a salesjob?"

The overall distribution of responses shows a slight preference on the informants' part for 'no' (33.7%) over saying 'yes' (29.9%). But a large group of 31.9% said that this would 'depend' on circumstances, thus leaving the option that they actually might give such advice. 4.5% indicated that they did 'not know'.

A look at the essay answers is helpful in giving further insights as to what the circumstances might be on which a decision to advise somebody to 'unlearn' their accent could 'depend'. Indications made by the informants were, in order of frequency, 'depends on where the job is' (6.2%), 'depends on the strength of the accent' (5.2%), 'depends - if they can be understood' (5.2%, mostly New Englanders), 'depends on the job' in general (3.1%), 'depends on the product' (1.7%), and 'depends on clientele' (1.7%).

Again the sample was split up according to informants' region of origin, the distribution proving statistically significant (p=0.003). It thus becomes apparent that an overwhelming 71 percent of the Southern informants would under certain circumstances consider advising a salesjob applicant to learn to speak with a 'neutral' accent for career reasons (i.e. 38% saying 'yes', and 32.7% saying 'depends'), as opposed to 26.7% saying an outright 'no' to such an idea. Of the New Englanders, 52.5% indicated that they would give such advice, while a strong 41.1% said they would not.

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[116] Cf. Appendix, Tables 46-48.
[117] Cf. Appendix, Tables 49-50.

Once more, the Southerners appear more 'disillusioned' as regards the issue of regional accents in the working environment. How this general tendency exhibited here actually translates to a specifically Southern context, shall be seen a little later on (Question 6&7).

5.2.4.   Question 3[118]

Question 3 of Part II,

"Do you think there is one generally acceptable and desirable standard U.S. accent?"

aimed at collecting views on the 'standard' issue as discussed in chapter 1.3. of Part I of the present paper; it would be interesting to see how 'popular opinion' among the undergraduate student population reflected the assessment made earlier.

According to the overall distribution of responses, the majority of the informants did, in fact, *not* believe that there is one acceptable and desirable standard in American English: 56.% answered that they did not think so, as opposed to 30.3% who answered in the affirmative. 13.4% indicated that they did 'not know', one answer (0.3%) was missing.

The answer distributions according to 'region of origin', subjected to Pearson's chi-square test, is significant at p=0.048. A strong majority of 62.6% of the Tennessee informants indicated that they did not believe one 'standard' existed, as opposed to 24.7% who said they did. For New Englanders, the distribution is 48.9% saying 'no' to 36.6% saying 'yes'. Many of those students who chose to explain their answer indicated that there were just too many accents in the U.S. for a particular one to 'stick out', and that they preferred this diversity (cf. also Appendix, "The Quotables").

In a supplement to the original question, students who indicated that there was such a thing as a 'standard' accent were asked to specify "which accent is it?". A look at the frequency distributions here (cf. Appendix, Table 53) shows that there is not much consent among the informants in this respect. There is a certain preference for Northern/Northeastern speech (29.8% of overall answers), followed by 'neutral' (25.5%) and TV/Broadcast accents (17.0%); a largely Southerner-dominated group favored a

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[118] Cf. Appendix, Tables 51-53.

Midwestern accent (20.2%).[119] A total of seventeen different indications were made, in as many different combinations.

5.2.5.   Question 4[120]

Question 4 starts a new page in the questionnaire, and forms the transition to a more Southern-specific section:

"Do you like Southern speech?"

The question is more oriented towards the affective than the cognitive, stepping, in a way, outside of the employment context for a change.

More than half of the total number of students, i.e. 55.7%, actually indicated that they did like Southern American English speech; only 11.7% answered in the negative; while an astonishingly high number of 27.8% said that their liking or not liking Southern speech depended on circumstances. 4.1% marked 'don't know' for an answer; 2 answers (0.7%) were missing.

Specifications as to what liking or disliking Southern could depend upon were rather scarce and vague throughout, and thus hardly graspable in any meaningful classification. Some New Englanders were inclined to refer to a possible understanding problem (cf. also ch. 5.2.9.); but most of the explanations given were in the lines of "sometimes it's pleasant, sometimes annoying", or a vague "depends on who speaks it".

Reasons given for personal liking or dislike of Southern speech ranged from negatives such as "It just grates on me", "It makes them sound lazy", "It sounds retarded" to a simple "I like it because I speak it", or an enthused "It's the best!". Four students explicitly mentioned here that Southern speech was particularly charming in females (cf. ch. 5.2.9.).

The frequency distribution according to 'region of origin' is significant at p=0.009. As could probably be expected, there is more sympathy on the Tennesseans' part towards Southern than on the New Englanders': a majority of 63.3% of Tennessee students indicated that they liked Southern speech, with 12.7% replying in the negative, and 21.3% saying it 'depends'. Of New Englanders, 47.5% said they liked Southern, and

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[119] The fact that Southerners generally seemed to find a Midwestern accent most acceptable if they had to pick a 'standard' was confirmed in a field study by Alford and Strother (cf. Alford - Strother 1990: 482).
[120] Cf. Appendix, Tables 54-55.

only 10.6% said they did not, with a strong group of 34.8% indicating that for them it depended on circumstances.

All in all, on such a predominantly affective level as here, there seems to be much more sympathy and solidarity with Southern speech than on any other, especially in the ingroup of Tennessee informants. Yet, as could be seen before, even this much freely expressed affection does not translate to status-stressing contexts.

5.2.6.   Question 5[121]

Operating on a somewhat similar level as the speaker evaluation set-up in Part I of the questionnaire, Question 5 sought to elicit general attitudes towards Southern American English by way of a list of attribute items. Here, however, informants' choice was restricted to simple yes/no answers. Question 5 was:

> *Do you generally think a Southern accent is:*
>   *cute*
>   *awkward*
>   *beautiful*
>   *cool*
>   *too slow*
>   *not standard*
>   *amusing*
>   *ridiculous*
>   *others (that apply to Southern):___*

The answer distributions were again computed according to informants' region of origin, and subjected to Pearson's chi-square tests; though for the most part the patterns did not prove significant. Differences in frequency shall therefore only be mentioned in the ensuing discussion where they turned out to be statistically relevant.

'Cute' is the first item on the list - a rather strong majority of 52.9% of the students indicated that they believed this attribute to apply to a Southern accent, as opposed to 34.7% who answered in the negative. On the other hand, 'awkward', 'beautiful', 'cool', and, most interestingly, 'too slow' (though this is a common cliché) were rejected with next to equal emphasis by more than half of the student population (between 53 and 62 percent). For 'too slow', the regional answer distribution reached

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[121] Cf. Appendix, Tables 56-72.

tendential significance at p=0.055, indicating that Tennesseans tended to be more emphatic in their rejection than New Englanders.

'Ridiculous' was discarded with even greater consensus as a likely quality of Southern speech, at a percentage of 81.8 saying 'no', and only 10% answering in the affirmative.

The case is a little different with the item 'not standard', where the overall percentage of approval/disapproval was exactly equal, at 49.9%. Yet there was some disagreement here between Northern and Southern informants; while New Englanders rather favored the concept, at 45.4% with 37.6% against it, Tennesseans agreed only at 38.7%, and disagreed at 46%. Thus, the results canceled each other out in the overall statistics.

The only instance where the frequency distribution among Northerners and Southerners reached true statistical significance occurred with 'amusing' (p=0.044). Answers for the respective informant samples point in the exact opposite direction here. A majority of New Englanders agreed that Southern can be amusing (51.1% versus 40.4% saying 'no'), while Tennesseans largely disagreed (54% 'no' versus 37.3% 'yes'). Ingroup/outgroup sentiments seemed to make all the difference here, as Southerners tended to show some resentment at being a possible 'laughing stock'.

Summarizing, the qualities of Southern American English speech as distilled from the overall responses to Question 5 are:

cute -   yes
awkward -   no
beautiful -   no
cool -   no
too slow -   no
not standard - equal (NE yes, TN no)
amusing -   NE yes, TN no
ridiculous -   no

Some space was provided under Question 5 for students to add their own 'characteristic' items to the list of attributes; and 38 of them seized the opportunity. Their responses were very diverse (for a complete list cf. Appendix, Table 72). More than one mention occurred for items 'friendly' (6 mentions - cf. ch. 5.2.9.), 'interesting' (3), 'can sound uneducated' (2 - cf. 5.2.9.), 'sexy' (2), 'laid back' (2), 'distinctive' (2), and 'soothing'. Interestingly, positive qualities and comments dominated the picture there.

5.2.7. Question 6[122]

Question six returned to the situational setting, asking:

"Do you think that in the sales job market a Southern accent can be an advantage/an impediment?"

This question complemented Questions 1&2, by bringing in the Southern aspect, as well as the speaker evaluation in Part I of the questionnaire, by operating on a more cognitive 'opinion' level.

Directly asked now, a majority of students, i.e. 33.7%, did actually express the opinion that a Southern accent could be an impediment, while few, only 14.1%, believed it to be an advantage. A large number of informants also marked 'don't know' (30.2%), few said it didn't matter or neither was the case (1.4%).

Although there was no specific circle to check for 'depends', open comments under "Explain your answer" made the introduction of this category useful. Conditions the students cited for whether or not a Southern accent could be an advantage/impediment parallel those given under Question 2: 'depends on the sales region/target group' (47 mentions = 16.2% overall, cf. ch. 5.2.9.), 'depends on the individual customer '(8=2.8%), 'depends on the product' (3=1%), and 'depends on the job' (1=0.3%).

The answer distribution for New Englanders and Tennesseans is once more statistically significant, at p= 0.02. Most notably, the number of students who believed Southern to be an advantage is up in the TN sample at 19.3% versus 8.5% in the NE sample. Still, a majority of both groups think that Southern can rather be an impediment (35.3% in TN, 31.9% in NE). 12.7% of the Southerners added that they believed the effect of a Southern accent would depend on the sales region.

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[122] CF. Appendix, Tables 73-74.

5.2.8. Question 7[123]

Question 7, the final item in Part II of the questionnaire, is an attempt to enlarge the picture somewhat by asking the informants to note any additional contexts/settings apart from a salesjob interview where speaking with a Southern accent might not be considered 'fitting':

"Are there situations that you can think of where speaking with a Southern accent seems inappropriate or disadvantageous to you?"

The students who said they could think of such a situation were in the majority - more than half of them, i.e. 53.3%, marked 'yes' here (though not all chose to elaborate further).

The Pearson's chi-square test showed that the frequency distribution according to test region was highly significant at p=0.000. Further testing revealed a low negative correlation between the NE and TN samples, with Spearman's rho at r= -.247. This means that Northern and Southern informants tended to give exact opposite responses. Thus, about two thirds of the Tennesseans (65.3%) indicated that they actually could think of situations where Southern seemed inappropriate or disadvantageous; while only 40.4% of the New Englanders replied the same, with 58.9% saying they could not think of such situations.

Question 7 furthermore constitutes the sole incident where the frequency distribution of answers according to the grouping variable of informants' sex also proved to be of statistical significance (p=0.003). To complete the picture, therefore, it seemed useful to integrate 'region' and 'sex' into one variable and analyze the resulting distribution.

This procedure brought the following result: while TN males and females, overwhelmingly affirmed in answer to the question (at 69.4% and 61.5%), percentages among the NE males were more even, with 54% saying 'yes' and 44% 'no', and in the NE female sample, negative answers even reached a strong 61.5%, who said that they could not think of any other situations where speaking with a Southern accent would seem unfitting. One way to account for this discrepancy between the NE and TN samples, and between the NE female sample and the others in particular, may lie in the assumption that the responses could reflect an opposition between a certain realism on the part of

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[123] Cf. Appendix, Tables 75-79.

the ingroup, possibly enhanced by personal experience[124] or reports from others, and compliance with 'socially desirable' reactions on the part of the outgroup (and the females in particular) who were thus reluctant to volunteer 'negative' information about SoAE, a behavior that is only now tapped in the more cognitive, belief/opinion-oriented Part II of the questionnaire. As an explanation, this must, however, remain open to argument.

Following the analysis of the frequency distributions, an assessment was made of the essay answers given in response to Question 7, in order to find out in which situations exactly the informants considered the use of Southern as possibly inappropriate or disadvantageous. A total of twenty-four different contexts were listed;[125] the answers were very diverse, but a few 'clusters' could be established: thus, 22 informants (20% of answers) mentioned business-related settings ('formal' business settings, international/nationwide business, technological business etc.); 20 informants (i.e. 18.2% of answers) once more indicated a sales-context, with two specific mentions of telemarketing; 17 indicated job interviews or general job-related situations (15.5%), 13 named 'formal social settings' (9.1%), 8 an academic/intellectual context (7.3%), and the same number mentioned TV/broadcast settings. 24 students (21.8%) indicated that whether or not Southern seemed 'fitting' depended on the *regional* setting.

Other contexts cited were: 'with biased people' (11.8%), 'with non-Southerners/Yankees', 'if it sounds uneducated' (both 3.6%), 'with foreigners' (2.7%), and, at one mention (0.9%) each, 'in the city', 'if around black people', 'when in a hurry/asking for directions', 'on the phone', 'racists on the Jerry Springer Show', 'if talking too fast', 'in a court of law', 'to pick up a date', 'on *Jeopardy*', 'over a loudspeaker', 'with large groups of people from different areas', 'generally', and 'when talking about Civil Rights'. All in all, 37.8% of the students responded.

Throughout all answers given, the emphasis on any kind of formal setting is quite noticeable. This would confirm the second hypothesis as formulated in chapter 4 saying that speakers of Southern American English (as, actually, speakers of any non-mainstream variety) would be at a disadvantage in formal settings.

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[124] as some students reported in their open comments throughout the questionnaire
[125] Cf. Appendix, Table 79.

5.2.9. The Meta-Categories[126]

So far, informants' open comments and elaborations have primarily been brought in to qualify the answers to closed questions. The comments made were very diverse and therefore difficult to categorize in the immediate context of Questions 1-7, but once all essay answers given in Part II of the questionnaire were pooled and considered together, certain parallels became evident in this enlarged picture. In the end, a set of six 'meta-categories', thus called because their issues transcend the level of the individual questions, could be established. Quite noticeably, some of them are close variations on some general Southern stereotypes (cf. ch. 2.)

Compared to other groups of distributions, the meta-categories all show rather low frequencies. This is due to the fact that the information given by informants was not directly elicited but *volunteered*. Thus, in principle, any resulting agreement at all among a group of informants was deemed particularly meaningful.

The meta-category with most mentions is labeled 'region-specific'. It reunites all comments made throughout Part II of the questionnaire saying that a regional accent would be most effective or, as it were, least harmful in its region of origin. Many informants thus suggested that a Southern accent would only be accepted in the South, but also, a Northern accent only in the North, this way establishing a sort of speech dichotomy within the U.S. A total of 21.6% of the students expressed such an opinion, a group consisting almost of equal parts of the Northern sample (20.6% of students) and the Southern (21.3%) - for a category relying on volunteered information, this is even a rather high frequency. 'Region-specific' comments mostly occurred in elaborations to Questions 1, 2, 6, and 7.

The second and third biggest meta-categories are somewhat interrelated in the issue they touch; they record comments suggesting that Southern speech may be associated with a low educational level, or plain ignorance, and a lack of intelligence. In collecting these comments, no discrimination was made between statements reporting the existence of such clichés, and statements supporting them. Rather, the comments were used in a quantitative assessment to illustrate the fact that these common Southern stereotypes (as already discussed in ch. 2.) do indeed prevail in the 'American mind', as confirmed by the informants: 21.6% of all students mentioned the 'uneducated', 17.9%

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[126] Cf. Appendix, Tables 80-90.

the 'unintelligent' cliché. Tennessee informants dominated both groups, which creates the impression that they are particularly and acutely aware of the issue.

The next meta-category also relates to a common Southern stereotype, this time one of the positives; it is the category labeled 'friendly', in reference to comments made that Southern speech can sound anything from sympathetic, soothing, warm to friendly and welcoming (thus connecting also to the Southern hospitality cliché).[127] At 13.4% the frequency for this category is noticeably lower than for the preceding, negatively loaded ones. The distribution shows that NE would quote this cliché more often than Tennesseans (14.9% vs. 12% of the respective samples). Quite likely, 'friendliness' is more of a projected outgroup stereotype.

The fourth meta-category picks up informant statements about the existence of a 'possible understanding problem' between Southern and non-Southern speakers; as it could be expected, this category was dominated by NE students (19.1% of sample vs. 6.7% in the TN sample; overall frequency: 12.7%). The comments referred to communication problems and subsequent interpersonal/intergroup tensions due to the use of Southern American English. There are, however, two sides to this issue: while studies conducted by Labov and colleagues (cf. Labov - Ash 1997) have indeed shown that particularly the vowel rotations of the Northern Cities Shift and the Southern shift may create difficulties in decoding that can at times not be remedied by hints from syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (ibid.: p. 533), Lippi-Green (1997: 128/129) asserts that the communicative burden is only too readily shifted to the non-mainstream speaker, and that people thus construct 'fictional' communicative breakdowns, without really trying to understand.

The last meta-category refers to an issue first addressed in the assessment of the speaker evaluation (ch. 5.1.), i.e. the fact that a Southern accent may bear a particular, positive effect if used by a woman. A small, yet noticeable number of informants (2.7%) confirmed this in their comments, saying that Southern speech sounded considerably more charming on females than on males; this group was again dominated by New Englanders. These findings are directly relatable to the Southern concept of 'country-boying somebody', which refers to the way Southerners may play on their accent in a

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[127] The particular stereotype that Southern speech sounds soothing is vividly illustrated in Tom Wolfe's essay "Pygmalion in Reverse", in which he relates how American airline pilots would use "a particular drawl, a particular folksiness, a particular down-home calmness" of "specifically Appalachian origin" (Wolfe 1995: 530/531) in their voice over the intercom for a reassuring effect when talking to passengers, especially in cases of emergency.

conversation in order to obtain some kind of advantage. Ironically, common opinion reports 'country-boying' to work better when done by females (it is, for example, what Scarlett O'Hara does for a living).[128] However - if the ratings in Part I of the study are any kind of guideline - whether done intentionally or unintentionally, 'country-boying' seems only able to bring up sympathy scores, and does not affect perceptions about the speaker's competence. It is therefore again the situational setting that would make all the difference for the effect.

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[128] This concept of 'country-boying' was first introduced to me by Dr. John Taylor at East Tennessee State University, in a personal communication.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION(S)

> The subtle charm of the beautiful pronunciation is not in dictionaries, grammars, marks of accent, formulas of a language, or in any laws or rules. The charm of the beautiful pronunciation of all words of all tongues, is in perfect flexible vocal organs and in a developed harmonious soul. All words spoken from these have deeper, sweeter sounds, new meanings, impossible on any less terms.
>
> Walt Whitman, *An American Primer*

Reality is a little harsher than the poet would have it. In real life, the 'subtle charm of beautiful pronunciation' is attributed to some accents rather than others, and along with such thinking, inferences are made about the speakers using the accents.

The present field study has basically tried to record some of the inferences generally made about, and resulting attitudes towards, speakers of Southern American English. The tool used for this was a questionnaire containing, at its core, a speaker evaluation in an adapted version of the matched guise technique; the setting used was a salesjob application interview; the informants were U.S. undergraduate students.

A first working hypothesis (cf. Part II, ch. 4.) predicted that the Southern speakers would do worse in the overall speaker evaluation than the 'neutral' speakers. The general tendency can now be reported to actually point that way.

Ratings according to single attribute items on a five-point bipolar scale were drawn together in clusters for the analysis, and for the cluster comprising the *competence* items, the results were explicit (cf. Part II, 5.1.1.1.): both 'neutral' speakers consistently ranked before the Southerners with high statistical significance. The 'neutral' male ranked before his female counterpart; with the Southerners, the opposite occurred. In the *personal integrity* category (5.1.1.2.), ratings were rather level, only the Southern male speaker consistently came in last. The third cluster, under the heading of *social attractiveness* (5.1.1.3.), represented the one instance where the Southern accent did not lower the scores for its speakers, but rather gave them a realistic chance to pull even with the 'neutral' speakers, and in the case of the Southern female, even to take the overall lead.

Three so-called summarizing statements concluded the rating grid for each speaker (5.1.1.4.). They referred to how good a salesperson the informants believed a speaker to be, if they would hire them as such, and whether they would feel any incentive to get to know a speaker better personally. The first two statements were thus

directly 'performance'-related; highest scores were once more achieved by the 'neutral' speakers, the 'neutral' male having an edge over his female counterpart. In view of the earlier results, this leads to the conclusion that good performance in sales is seen as directly relating to *competence* rather than *social attractiveness* or *personal integrity*, despite the communicative component of transactions in selling. In that sense, it could not be astonishing that the Southerners should lose ground here; but again, the Southern female still did better than her male counterpart.

The ratings for the third, 'sympathy'-related statement formed a category entirely apart from the former two statements. Both female speakers retained a slight edge over the males, with S2 again in the lead.

As can be gleaned from the picture given so far, working hypothesis #3, suggesting that female speakers would be rated lower than males (cf. ch. 4.), must remain unconfirmed as such. Though for the 'neutral' speakers the *competence* and performance-related ratings, and even the *social attractiveness* scores, did in fact establish the predicted overall hierarchy, with the male speaker ranking higher than the female in the majority of cases, only 'losing' to her in the 'sympathy'-ratings of summarizing statement #3, and both pulling even for *personal integrity*, the general outcome is entirely different for the Southern speakers. In no instance did the Southern male speaker receive higher scores than his female counterpart; in no instance could he close the gap, even if pulling level with one or both of the 'neutral' speakers (e.g. with both on *social attractiveness*, with the 'neutral' male on the 'sympathy' score of summarizing statement #3). Contrary to the results from previous studies, therefore (cf. e.g. Van Antwerp - Maxwell 1982), the female speaker with the Southern accent tended to profit from this combination rather than being hurt by it; consistently so in comparison with the Southern male, and in terms of *social attractiveness* and 'sympathy' scores, even in comparison with her 'neutral' competitors.

All in all, though the Southern female's *competence* and summarizing 'performance' ratings were unaffected by her high *social attractiveness* and 'sympathy' scores, it should not be excluded that, in a real life job-interview situation, such potential 'country-boying' charm (cf. Part II, ch. 5.2.9.), once tapped, might actually turn out to be a compensation for other perceived shortcomings. Further investigation into actual behavioral consequences of language attitudes towards Southern speech as outlined here would thus promise to be very interesting. At least, what the present

results point out is that any similar study of language attitudes towards Southern accents must by all means take the variable of *speaker's sex* into account, to avoid distortions.

An analysis of the correlations among speakers (5.1.1.5.) showed some strong analogous relationships between the ratings of the two Southern speakers. This pointed to the fact that the speaker evaluation as such was not done at random, and confirmed the Southern accent to have been picked up as a salient parameter in the informants' assessment, as expected at the outset. That the Southern accent of both speakers was actually recognized by a wide majority of informants was verified in the 'control' questions about the speakers' origin at the beginning of Part II of the questionnaire (cf. ch. 5.2.1.).

The evaluation of the 'ideal salesperson' (5.1.1.6.), though in its own 'control' function legitimating another aspect of the analysis, namely the assumption that higher ratings equaled better ratings at all times, brought a slight discrepancy with it: *personal integrity* and *social attractiveness* scores were here emphasized over *competence*, in contrast to the speaker evaluations in the grid and in the summarizing statements. Tentative explanations proposed picked up the more cognitively oriented aspect of the 'ideal salesperson' evaluation, and a possible influence of 'social desirability' considerations on the informants' part. A different formulation of the task might also have contributed to avoid ambiguity.

Subsequent to the analysis of the overall results from the speaker evaluation, the body of data was broken down into samples according to different independent grouping variables gleaned from the informants' biographical data (Part III of the questionnaire). A set of five grouping variables was subjected to statistical testing: informants' region of origin (New England, Tennessee), informants' sex, their parents' origin, informants' travel experience, and time spent with friends/relatives in or from the respective other region (Part II, ch. 5.1.2.).

Sampling according to 'parents' origin' and 'time spent with friends/relatives' did not give rise to any statistically significant developments at all (ch.'s 5.1.2.4.&5.1.2.6.). 'Travel experience' (ch. 5.1.2.5.) gave mere hints at a possible influence on language attitudes regarding traveling to the respective other region, which seemed to enhance *social attractiveness*-ratings while apt to decrease perceived *competence,* for both groups of informants. Further testing would be needed to get to the bottom of these findings.

As it turned out, sampling according to informants' sex yielded only minor insights (cf. 5.1.2.2.&5.1.2.3.), namely that female informants generally tended to give higher scores, and that male speakers (especially the 'neutral' male) at times would receive an 'opposite sex' bonus in *social attractiveness*- and 'sympathy'- related scores. As predicted in working hypothesis #4, then, informants' origin proved to be the most salient of all grouping variables (5.1.2.1.&5.1.2.3.). Yet, even here, the differences recorded were not as clear-cut and numerous as originally expected, altogether departing not too far from the overall picture.

In this line, working hypothesis #5 had basically predicted that Southern speakers would do better when rated by Southerners and worse when rated by Northerners. But the results of the sample analysis showed, rather surprisingly, that in terms of *competence*, Southern informants were far from more 'generous' towards their peers; rather, they were outright 'stricter', lowering their scores vis-à-vis the Northern informants'. In the *personal integrity* and *social attractiveness* evaluations, scores did get equaled out between speakers in the Southern informant sample (as opposed to the New England sample), the Southern speakers catching up with the 'neutral' speakers in the TN ratings, but the Southern speakers received no such strong boost as to be given an edge over their 'neutral' counterparts. This same picture is reflected in the 'performance'-related summarizing scores. Once more, only the Southern female could slightly profit in the 'sympathy' score. For the Southern male speaker, this also means that in his ratings no evidence of any 'covert prestige' phenomenon (cf. Trudgill 1972) could be traced, contrary to other studies (e.g. Luhman 1990).

The influence of group solidarity on the speaker evaluation was therefore simply overrated in working hypothesis #5 for the present study. However, as has been pointed out in chapter 3.1. of Part II and in working hypothesis #2, both the virtual setting (salesjob-interview) and the real-life setting (university/college) in which the present language attitude assessment was done were rather highly status-stressing, as opposed to solidarity-stressing. In a different set-up, more of a group solidarity among Southerners might come to bear. This, too, would be a profitable subject for further investigation.

What would still follow from the outcome of the present set-up as it stands is the confirmation that Southern American English is generally associated with low status and non-standardness (cf. Part I, ch. 1.3.), as its speakers fail to 'perform' in the context given here. In other words, in as status-dominated a setting as the present, 'neutral'

accents just fit the expected language variety profile better than Southern accents (cf. Part I, ch. 2.1.). Furthermore, if +status is associated with +standardization, as is usually the case (cf. Part I, ch. 2.1.), negative marks for Southern American English can also be taken to confirm what was outlined in chapter 1.3. of Part I and in numerous studies by Preston (e.g. 1997), i.e. that in the 'default' definition of a 'standard' in the United States, what 'Standard American English' decidedly is *not* is Southern American English. On the other hand, as the results also suggest, what seems to come close to 'standardness' in the U.S. is in fact a 'neutral', 'deregionalized' accent as used by the respective 'neutral' speakers in the study (cf. Part I, ch. 1.3., and Wolfram - Schilling-Estes 1998: 12).

The results from the second, complimentary part of the questionnaire largely confirm what the outcome of the speaker evaluation has suggested so far. Majorities of informants respectively agreed in their responses that a regional accent would indeed make a difference in a salesperson working for a nationwide corporation, with most of them saying that the difference would be a negative one (Question 1, ch. 5.2.2.); they agreed that a Southern accent could be an impediment in the salesjob market (Question 6, ch. 5.2.7.); and that there are other situations, too, where a Southern accent could seem inappropriate or disadvantageous (Question 7, ch. 5.2.8.). Informants saying they would not consider advising salesjob applicants to unlearn their accent were in the minority as opposed to those who said they would, or might under certain circumstances (Question 2, ch. 5.2.3.).

Throughout, the Southern informants appeared more pessimistic or disillusioned than the Northerners with respect to the prestige of regional accents, e.g., only 26.7% of the TN informants indicated they would definitely not advise a salesperson to unlearn their accent (cf. also the responses to Questions 1,6&7). Yet two thirds of the Tennesseans also said that, on a more affective level, they actually liked Southern speech - as opposed to only 47.5% of the New Englanders saying they did (with 34.8% relativizing that they might do so under circumstances) - cf. Question 4 (5.2.5.).

The informants assessed a Southern accent in general to be 'cute', but not 'awkward', nor 'beautiful', 'cool', 'too slow', or 'ridiculous'. In contrast to Tennesseans, New Englanders tended to associate the accent with non-standardness, and said it was rather 'amusing', which Tennesseans also rejected (Question 5, 5.2.6.).

When asked whether they believed there was one generally acceptable and desirable U.S. 'standard' (Question 3, 5.2.4.), more than half of the informants answered

in the negative (two thirds of Tennesseans). Seen in relation to the responses to Question 2 (about 'unlearning a regional accent'), and the general assessment of the 'neutral' and Southern speakers in Part I of the questionnaire, this once more corroborates the premise that 'standardness' in the U.S. is not perceived as an emulation of one particular language variety or form of speech, but as the avoidance of regional features (such as speaking Southern). This is one important finding of the present study (with all its implications that have already been discussed). That the Southerners themselves have picked up this notion is one more piece of evidence for their general linguistic insecurity.

Other findings, gleaned from a sort of synthesis of the essay answers to the questions posed in Part II of the questionnaire, suggested that knowledge of Southern stereotypes, such as a lack of education/intelligence or a general friendliness, is probably widespread in U.S. society, as represented by the informant population here (cf. meta-categories, ch. 5.2.9.). What also came out is the notion that linguistically, at least, the South (i.e. a region of some 25% of the population)[129] and the non-South constitute a clear dichotomy, which means that what is effective and appropriate in the one place is not at all so in the other (cf. meta-category 'region-specific', ch. 5.2.9.). Within the South, however, as the speaker evaluation has made evident, this does not necessarily mean that too much unconditional linguistic solidarity can be expected. Lippi-Green (1997: 213) suggests, though, that Southerners exhibit insecurity about their language, and themselves subscribe to criticism of it, primarily when in direct contact with a Northern (or, probably, any generally 'prestigious') 'opposite' - thus, further studies would have to show if in a more 'protected', distinctly *Southern* environment, the cards would not be dealt differently in terms of accent evaluation.

In fact, the research perspective, with respect to language attitudes towards Southern American English, seems exceedingly wide, and many answers are still to be found, or, at least, to be double-checked. Further investigations along similar lines as the present, and expanding its scope, could thus study the effects of *different* Southern accents in a given setting (as opposed to the single Southern Mountain accent used here), or the impact of race issues on language attitudes, of using dialects instead of mere accents, and, of course, of all kinds of different formal and informal settings and/or set-ups. Studies in attitude strength over time would also be called for (cf. Petty -

Krosnick 1995) - for the present, let it be said that the institutionalized character of the common Southern stereotypes (cf. Part II, ch. 2.) actually suggests that attitudes based on these generalizations are rather strong and durable, constantly tilting the power balance in favor of the non-South.

In short, the core findings of this present study, as it stands, are the following: language attitudes towards Southern American English are rather negative in comparison with a 'neutral' accent - for male speakers more so than for females. In a salesjob-interview situation, having a Southern accent is a first strike against the applicant - Southern speech seems therefore a likely imminent subject for EEOC deliberations. Positive associations of Southern speech cannot compensate for the negative impressions called up. Generally, a Southern accent is considered low-status and non-standard. The subordination process concomitant with this stigma (cf. Part I, ch. 1.3.) is institutionalized in the media, and has proved successful in a superregional context, as the Southerners themselves subscribe to it.

How to change such a picture? In the short run, further studies on the subject of regional variation in the U.S. might contribute to increase public awareness of the issue.

In the long run, it would help to teach the next generation(s) more respect towards linguistic variety; in the U.S. just like anywhere else around the world.

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[129] estimate by Lippi-Green 1997: 204.

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APPENDIX

Contains:

1) "The Two Main Streams of Settlement in the United States" (map): Carver 1987: 96. (Hardcopy)

2) Carver's taxonomy of American regional dialects (map): Carver 1987: 248. (Hardcopy)

3) 'Figure 1': Labov's Phonological Taxonomy of American dialects (hardcopy): http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/NationalMap/NatFig1.GIF

4) Map of Tennessee with its Appalachian counties: after Roller - Twyman 1979: 1188 (s.v. Tennessee). (Hardcopy)

5) Paul Webb's *Mountain Boys*, Al Capp's *Li'l Abner*, Billy DeBeck's/Fred Lasswell's *Barney Google & Snuffy Smith* ('Hillbilly Cartoons'). (Hardcopy)

6) Test regions/schools: UVM, St. Michael's (Vermont); TTU, ETSU (Tennessee) (map)

7) Informants: some general frequency distributions: Tables 1- 12.

8) The Questionnaire

9) Informed Consent form

4) Factor Analysis: Table 13

5) Overall Ratings: Tables 14-20.

6) Ratings according to Group Variables: Tables 21-43.

7) Results from Part II: Tables 44-90.

8) "The Quotables": a selection of written comments from the questionnaires

Test Regions/Locations of the Schools
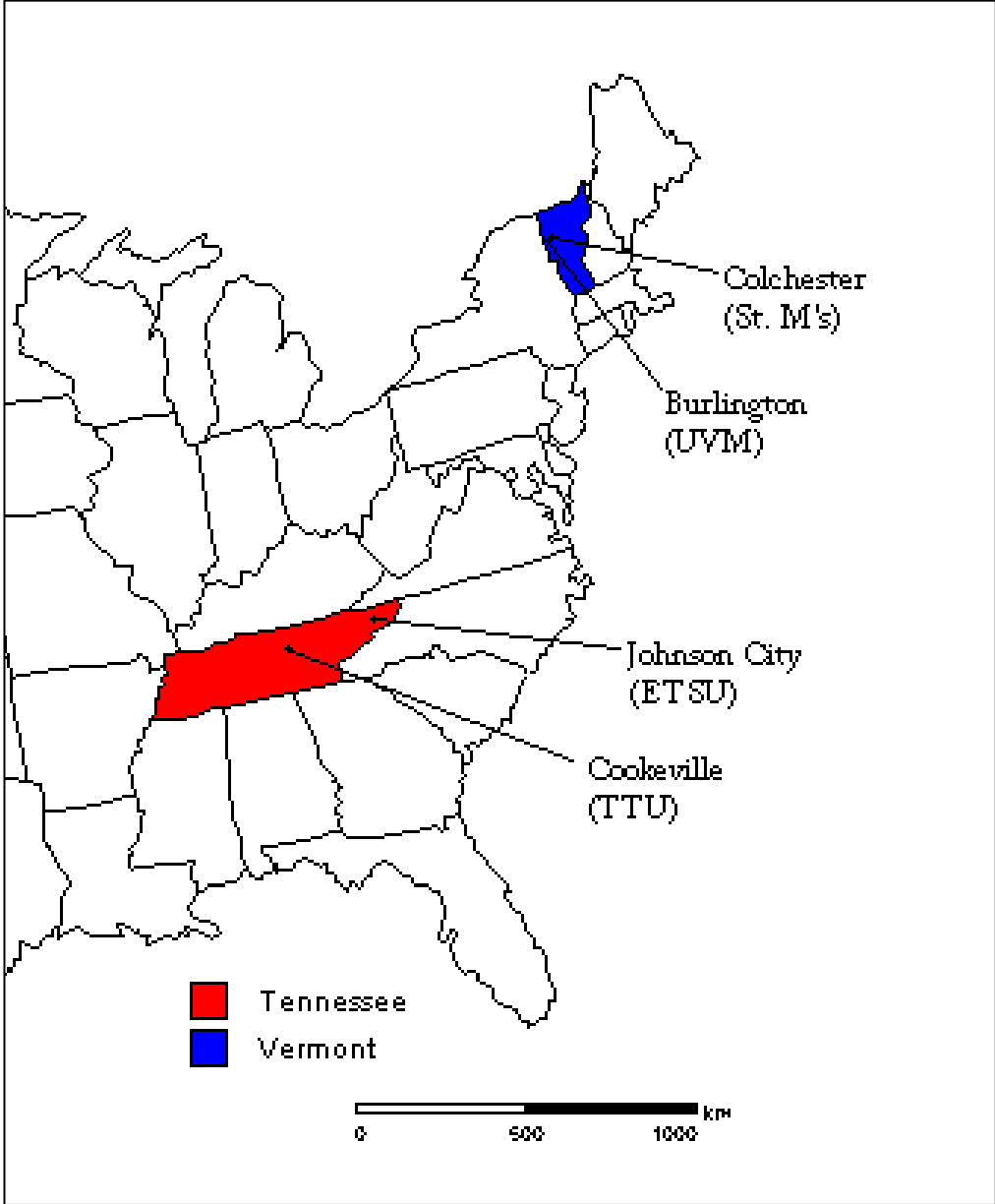
INFORMANTS: SOME OVERALL STATISTICS OF FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

	N	Percent	
Informants	**291**	**100%**	TABLE 1

	N	Percent	
New England	141	48.5%	
Tennessee	150	51.5%	TABLE 2
Total	291	100%	

	N	Percent	
male	122	41.9%	
female	169	58.1%	
Total	291	100%	TABLE 3

	N	Percent	
NE male	50	17.2%	
female	91	31.2%	
TN male	72	24.8%	
female	78	26.8%	TABLE 4
Total	219	100%	

Age			
18	34	11.7	
19	59	20.3	
20	82	28.2	
21	55	18.9	
22	43	14.8	
23	11	3.8	
24	7	2.4	
Total	291	100%	TABLE 5

Year in school		
Freshmen	58	19.9%
Sophomores	71	24.4%
Juniors	83	28.5%
Seniors	79	27.2%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 6

	Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors	
New England	24	41.4%	26	36.6%	47	56.7%	44	55.7%
Tennessee	34	58.6%	45	63.4%	36	43.4%	35	44.3%
Total	58	100%	71	100%	83	100%	79	100%

TABLE 7

Parents' origin	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
both parents from the same region	116	82.3%	115	76.7%	231	79.4%
at least on parent from the respective other region	2	1.4%	29	19.3%	31	10.7%
at least one parent from other US state	15	10.6%	6	4.0%	21	7.2%
at least one parent from abroad	8	5.7%	-	-	8	2.7%
Total	141	100%	150	100%	291	100%

TABLE 8

		New England		Tennessee	
Has traveled to respective					
other region	yes	94	66.7%	95	63.3%
	no	47	33.3%	55	36.7%
Total		141	100%	150	100%

<div align="right">TABLE 9</div>

		New England		Tennessee	
Has traveled abroad	yes	111	78.7%	44	29.3%
	no	30	21.3%	106	70.7%
Total		141	100%	150	100%

<div align="right">TABLE 10</div>

		New England		Tennessee	
Has spent time with					
friends/relatives from resp.	yes	69	48.9%	67	44.7%
other region					
	no	52	36.9%	59	39.3%
	other/missing	20	14.2%	24	16.0%
Total		141	100%	150	100%

<div align="right">TABLE 11</div>

		New England		Tennessee	
Has studied a modern					
language (other than	yes	135	95.7%	135	90.0%
English) for more than one					
semester	no/	6	4.3%	15	10.0%
	no indic.				
Total		141	100%	150	100%

<div align="right">TABLE 12</div>

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is strictly **anonymous** – please do not put your name down anywhere. Answers in all three parts of the questionnaire will be used for statistical evaluation and scientific purpose only. Participation is voluntary.

General Remarks:

⇐When participating, please take care to fill in **ALL** questions without exception and as accurately as possible. To do so please follow the more specific **instructions** below.

⇐Please **work on your own**, giving your own personal viewpoints! This is very important!

⇐Try to keep to the **time limits** indicated.

⇐Please remember that this is **NOT** a test or quiz of any kind. There are **no grades** involved;

every answer you give will be 100 % correct and valid!

⇐**Do not go back** on your answers or revise as you move on in the questionnaire.

⇐If anything is not clear, please notify the instructor.

Thank you very much for your participation and for cooperating!

Barbara Soukup

Introduction and General Instructions:

A lot of the success of a production company depends on the quality and ability of its salespeople. To guarantee this quality, some large nationwide U.S. corporations are now testing a new sales force selection procedure.

This new selection procedure proposes to provide a first quick preliminary assessment of applicants' qualities through the **evaluation of their VOICE** (similar to the way a graphologist will analyze handwriting).

Applicants are asked to read out loud a short selected text passage – then the personnel managers rate first impressions of the applicants' personal qualities and characteristics on specially devised measuring scales.

This questionnaire has been designed to test the new voice analyzing method on its validity and usefulness. You will now take over the function of personnel manager in the set-up of a job-application. You are going to hear 4 persons at intervals – 2 female, 2 male, in mixed order. They are applying for a sales job with a **LARGE NATIONWIDE U.S. corporation**.

Please listen closely to each of the four different voices, all reading the same text. Then rate each speaker for his or her personal characteristics on the given measuring scales. Do this as quickly and as fluently as possible - there is an interval between the different voices.

Rating goes as follows:

Make **only one mark** per item/line!
There are 22 item scales showing opposite adjective pairs.
The **closer** you tick **to one side**, **the more** you feel **the description to apply** to the speaker you have just heard.

Example:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable	**X**					not likeable

...means that you consider this speaker to be **very likeable.**

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable		**X**				not likeable

...means that you consider this speaker to be **quite likeable.**

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable			**X**			not likeable

...means that you consider this person **neutral / in the middle** between likeable and not
    likeable.

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable				**X**		not likeable

...means that you consider this person to be **quite not likeable**.

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable					**X**	not likeable

...means that you consider this person to be **not likeable at all**.

AND SO FORTH!   **REMEMBER: ONE MARK ONLY PER LINE!**

Also: DO NOT browse through the questionnaire or read other parts before being asked to do so! Wait for the instructor's signal before turning a page. This is very important!

After this task, move on to Parts II and III of the questionnaire.

Part II contains a few additional questions, and

Part III contains some biographical questions for the statistics.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!!!!!

SPEAKER # 1:   **4.5 min.**

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable						not likeable
educated						uneducated
trustworthy						not trustworthy
polite						impolite
intelligent						not intelligent
friendly						unfriendly
honest						dishonest
sociable						unsociable
ambitious						not ambitious
self-confident						not self-confident
helpful						not helpful
determined						wavering
reliable						unreliable
leadership qualities						no leadership qualities
sense of humor						no sense of humor
industrious						lazy
open-minded						not open-minded
sharp						slow
good manners						bad manners
successful						not successful
outgoing						shy

1) This speaker would make a good salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
good						bad

Explain: _____
_____

2) I would employ this speaker in my company as a salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____
_____

3) I would like to get to know this speaker better on a personal basis:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____
_____

SPEAKER # 2:   **4 min.**

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable						not likeable
educated						uneducated
trustworthy						not trustworthy
polite						impolite
intelligent						not intelligent
friendly						unfriendly
honest						dishonest
sociable						unsociable
ambitious						not ambitious
self-confident						not self-confident
helpful						not helpful
determined						wavering
reliable						unreliable
leadership qualities						no leadership qualities
sense of humor						no sense of humor
industrious						lazy
open-minded						not open-minded
sharp						slow
good manners						bad manners
successful						not successful
outgoing						shy

1) This speaker would make a good salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
good						bad

Explain: _____

_____

2) I would employ this speaker in my company as a salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____

_____

3) I would like to get to know this speaker better on a personal basis:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____

_____

SPEAKER # 3:   **4 min.**

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable						not likeable
educated						uneducated
trustworthy						not trustworthy
polite						impolite
intelligent						not intelligent
friendly						unfriendly
honest						dishonest
sociable						unsociable
ambitious						not ambitious
self-confident						not self-confident
helpful						not helpful
determined						wavering
reliable						unreliable
leadership qualities						no leadership qualities
sense of humor						no sense of humor
industrious						lazy
open-minded						not open-minded
sharp						slow
good manners						bad manners
successful						not successful
outgoing						shy

1) This speaker would make a good salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
good						bad

Explain: _____

_____

2) I would employ this speaker in my company as a salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____

_____

3) I would like to get to know this speaker better on a personal basis:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____

_____

SPEAKER # 4:   **4 min.**

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable						not likeable
educated						uneducated
trustworthy						not trustworthy
polite						impolite
intelligent						not intelligent
friendly						unfriendly
honest						dishonest
sociable						unsociable
ambitious						not ambitious
self-confident						not self-confident
helpful						not helpful
determined						wavering
reliable						unreliable
leadership qualities						no leadership qualities
sense of humor						no sense of humor
industrious						lazy
open-minded						not open-minded
sharp						slow
good manners						bad manners
successful						not successful
outgoing						shy

1) This speaker would make a good salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
good						bad

Explain: _____

_____

2) I would employ this speaker in my company as a salesperson:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____

_____

3) I would like to get to know this speaker better on a personal basis:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
yes						no

Explain: _____

_____

NOW THINK OF YOUR IDEAL OF A **SUCCESSFUL** SALESPERSON AND
PLACE EACH MARK ACCORDINGLY.

The successful salesperson is/should be   **2.5 min**.

2   1   0   -1 -2

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
likeable						not likeable
educated						uneducated
trustworthy						not trustworthy
polite						impolite
intelligent						not intelligent
friendly						unfriendly
honest						dishonest
sociable						unsociable
ambitious						not ambitious
self-confident						not self-confident
helpful						not helpful
determined						wavering
reliable						unreliable
leadership qualities						no leadership qualities
sense of humor						no sense of humor
industrious						lazy
open-minded						not open-minded
sharp						slow
good manners						bad manners
outgoing						shy

This person is: male O   female O   indifferent O

I would like to get to know this person better on a personal basis:

2   1   0 -1 -2

yes					no

Explain: _____

_____

PART II: **6 min.**

Please listen again to the short samples of each speaker.

Where (in the USA) do you think these speakers come from?

     Speaker # 1: _____

     Speaker # 2: _____

     Speaker # 3: _____

     Speaker # 4: _____

In the following, please give your own personal opinion:

Many people from different regions in the USA speak with a regional accent.

1) In your opinion, does it matter whether a salesperson working for a nationwide
   corporation speaks with a regional accent or not?

       Yes   No   Don't know
        O   O   O

Explain your answer:_____
_____
_____

2) Would you advise a person to learn to speak with a neutral and 'standard' accent
   before applying for a sales job?

    Yes   No   Depends: Don't
know
     O   O   O _____   O

3) Do you think there is one generally acceptable and desirable standard U.S. accent?

       Yes   No   Don't know
        O   O   O

If Yes, which accent is it ? _____
Why? _____
_____
_____

Many people say that the accents that are best distinguishable are those of the Southern United States.

4) Do you like Southern speech?

Yes	No	Depends:	Don't know
O	O	O _____	O

Why? _____
_____

5) Do you generally think a Southern accent is:

	Yes	No	Don't know
cute	O	O	O
awkward	O	O	O
beautiful	O	O	O
cool	O	O	O
too slow	O	O	O
not standard	O	O	O
amusing	O	O	O
ridiculous	O	O	O

others (that apply to Southern): _____

6) Do you think that in the sales job market a Southern accent can be

O an advantage   O an impediment   O don't know

Explain your answer:_____
_____
_____

7) Are there situations that you can think of where speaking with a Southern accent seems inappropriate or disadvantageous to you?

Yes	No
O	O

If Yes, which? _____
_____
_____

Part III: Some biographical information for the statistics   **3 min.**

1) Sex: male O   female O   2) Age: _____

3) College: _____

    Freshman O   Junior O
    Sophomore O   Senior O   Other: _____

    Major in college (if any): _____

4) Ethnicity: Caucasian O   Hispanic American O   American Indian O
           African American O   Asian American O   Other: _____

5) Born in (State): _____

6) Current State of Residence: _____

7) Father from: _____   Mother from: _____

8) How long have you been living in Vermont? _____

9) States/countries you have traveled to/lived in + how long have you stayed there?:
_____
_____
_____

10) Languages you have studied for more than one semester (other than English):
_____

11) Do you have friends/relatives in the Southern United States? Where? Have you
    spent time with them?
_____
_____
_____

THANKS AGAIN FOR PARTICIPATING!!

Part III: Some biographical information for the statistics   **3 min.**

1) Sex: male O   female O   2) Age: _____

3) College: _____

    Freshman O   Junior O
    Sophomore O   Senior O   Other: _____

    Major in college (if any): _____

4) Ethnicity: Caucasian O   Hispanic American O   American Indian O
        African American O   Asian American O   Other: _____

5) Born in (State): _____

6) Current State of Residence: _____

7) Father from: _____   Mother from: _____

8) How long have you been living in Tennessee?_____

9) States/countries you have traveled to/lived in + how long have you stayed there?:
_____
_____
_____

10) Languages you have studied for more than one semester (other than English):
_____

11) Do you have friends/relatives in the Northern United States? Where? Have you spent
     time with them?
_____
_____
_____

THANKS AGAIN FOR PARTICIPATING!!

INFORMED CONSENT

This study is designed to investigate the effects of voice/speech in a general, business-related setting. You will be asked to listen to pre-recorded audio-tapes and to fill in a relating questionnaire containing semantic-differential scales. You will be given more specific instructions during the administration of the questionnaire.

The project will take up no more than 45 minutes. There are no known risks related to your participation. You do not have to answer any question you do not wish to answer. You may withdraw any time without consequence. Participation is entirely voluntary, and your anonymity will be preserved. Your name will not be recorded with your data. Any other biographical information will be used for scientific purposes and statistical evaluation only.

My name is Barbara Soukup, the principal investigator of this research, under the supervision of Professor Herbert Schendl, University of Vienna English Department, and in collaboration with the Department of _____ at this school. If you have any questions, you may leave a message for me with Prof. _____, phone extension _____. My e-mail address is _____.

If you wish to participate in this study, please initial a copy of this Informed Consent below and return it to the experimenter. This will indicate your voluntary willingness to participate. If you prefer not to participate, you may leave.

_____

FACTOR ANAYLSIS:

ROTATED COMPONENT MATRIX[a]

	Component		
	1.00	2.00	3.00
sharp	.82	.23	.11
successful	.79	.29	.13
determined	.79	.15	.28
educated	.78	.22	-.13
leadership qual.	.78	.13	.27
intelligent	.77	.30	-.09
ambitious	.74	.19	.33
industrious	.73	.30	.13
self-confident	.69	.04	.50
honest	.17	.78	.19
trustworthy	.26	.76	.10
polite	.16	.76	.22
good manners	.32	.68	.18
reliable	.47	.65	.08
likeable	.15	.61	.44
helpful	.37	.55	.39
open-minded	.20	.48	.38
outgoing	.37	.09	.76
sense of humor	-.03	.32	.75
sociable	.18	.38	.75
friendly	.02	.59	.69

COMPETENCE (rows sharp through self-confident)

PERSONAL INTEGRITY (rows honest through open-minded)

SOCIAL ATTRACTIVE-NESS (rows outgoing through friendly)

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

[a.] Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

TABLE 13

OVERALL RATINGS: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES (µ) FOR SPEAKERS

	µ			
	ntr. female	**So. female**	**ntr. male**	**So. male**
sharp	3.76	3.08	**3.93**	2.72
successful	3.84	3.30	**3.99**	3.13
determined	3.62	3.36	**3.88**	2.92
educated	4.19	3.32	**4.24**	3.14
leadership qualities	3.43	3.12	**3.70**	2.84
intelligent	4.08	3.32	**4.21**	3.21
ambitious	3.63	3.45	**3.88**	2.99
industrious	3.61	3.25	**3.74**	2.94
self-confident	3.76	3.75	**3.92**	3.10
honest	3.75	**3.76**	3.62	3.65
trustworthy	**3.74**	3.66	3.66	3.57
polite	**4.10**	4.01	4.06	3.92
good manners	**4.05**	3.82	**4.05**	3.75
reliable	**3.73**	3.48	3.72	3.43
likeable	3.90	**3.93**	3.76	3.76
helpful	3.66	**3.77**	3.73	3.46
open-minded	3.27	**3.44**	3.41	3.13
outgoing	3.44	**4.01**	3.62	3.13
sense of humor	2.58	**3.55**	2.98	3.11
sociable	3.70	**4.15**	3.65	3.49
friendly	3.80	**4.19**	3.77	3.82

Bold print indicates highest value per item.

TABLE 14

OVERALL RATINGS: T-TESTS

"PROBABILITY OF ERROR" LEVELS (p) + STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

	p					
	NtF-SoF	NtF-NtM	NtF-SoM	SoF-NtM	SoF-SoM	NtM-SoM
sharp	**.000***	**.011**	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***
successful	**.000***	**.012**	**.000***	**.000**	**.009**	**.000***
determined	**.002**	**.001***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***
educated	**.000***	.281	**.000***	**.000***	**.005**	**.000***
leadership qualities	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***
intelligent	**.000***	**.016**	**.000***	**.000***	.061	**.000***
ambitious	**.014**	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***
industrious	**.000***	**.042**	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***
self-confident	.904	**.045**	**.000***	**.053**	**.000***	**.000***
honest	.760	**.021**	.104	**.028**	**.040**	.572
trustworthy	.149	.155	**.006**	.955	.161	.180
polite	.249	.527	**.009**	.511	.117	**.034**
good manners	**.001***	1.000	**.000***	**.001***	.179	**.000***
reliable	**.000***	.949	**.000***	**.000***	.408	**.000***
likeable	.695	**.011**	**.032**	**.036**	**.005**	.963
helpful	.091	.246	**.005**	.545	**.000***	**.000***
open-minded	**.008**	**.027**	**.033**	.623	**.000***	**.000***
outgoing	**.000***	**.011**	**.001***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***
sense of humor	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	**.000***	.132
sociable	**.000***	.438	**.012**	**.000***	**.000***	**.047**
friendly	**.000***	.585	.783	**.000***	**.000***	.522

Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05.

* marks values that are considered *highly significant* at p≤0.001

** marks values that are tendentially significant at p < 0.06

TABLE 15

OVERALL RATINGS: T-TESTS

CORRELATIONS:
PEARSON'S r VALUES AND CORRESPONDING p[a]

	paired sample	r	p
sharp	NtF & NtM	.236	.000
	SoF & SoM	.259	.000
successful	NtF & SoF	.212	.000
	NtF & NtM	.234	.000
	SoF & SoM	.259	.000
determined	SoF & SoM	.223	.000
educated	NtF & NtM	.279	.000
	SoF & SoM	.350	.000
leadership qu.	NtF & NtM	.232	.000
	SoF & SoM	.244	.000
intelligent	NtF & NtM	.268	.000
	SoF & SoM	.367	.000
ambitious	NtF & NtM	.230	.000
	SoF & SoM	.306	.000
industrious	NtF & NtM	.281	.000
	SoF & SoM	.232	.000
self-confident	SoF & SoM	.289	.000
honest	NtF & SoF	.252	.000
	NtF & NtM	.405	.000
	SoF & SoM	.424	.000
	NtM & SoM	.216	.000
trustworthy	NtF & SoF	.266	.000
	NtF & NtM	.298	.000
	SoF & SoM	.315	.000
polite	NtF & NtM	.230	.000
	SoF & SoM	.336	.000
good manners	NtF & NtM	.346	.000
	SoF & SoM	.449	.000

	paired samples	r	p
reliable	NtF & SoF	.246	.000
	NtF & NtM	.287	.000
	SoF & SoM	.286	.000
likeable	NtF & NtM	.324	.000
	SoF & SoM	.399	.000
helpful	NtF & NtM	.252	.000
	SoF & SoM	.405	.000
open-minded	NtF & NtM	.258	.000
	SoF & SoM	.412	.000
outgoing	NtF & NtM	.246	.000
	SoF & SoM	.250	.000
sense of humor	NtF & NtM	.341	.000
	SoF & SoM	.329	.000
sociable	NtF & NtM	.308	.000
	SoF & SoM	.308	.000
friendly	NtF & NtM	.320	.000
	SoF & SoM	.302	.000

	paired samples	r	p
hire in comp.	SoF & SoM	.250	.000
get to know	NtF & NtM	.253	.000
	NtF & SoM	.216	.000
	SoF & SoM	.267	.000

TABLE 16

[a] This table *only* includes pairs with *significant* correlation.
The cut-off point has been set at r=0.2 and p = 0.000 (significant correlation). The closer r is to +1 here, the stronger the relationship between the two variables.

OVERALL RATINGS: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES OF "IDEAL SALESPERSON":

	μ
sharp	4.60
determined	4.50
educated	4.54
leadership qualities	4.28
intelligent	4.60
ambitious	4.49
industrious	4.46
self-confident	4.63
honest	4.60
trustworthy	4.76
polite	4.81
good manners	4.81

	μ
reliable	4.78
likeable	4.77
helpful	4.79
open-minded	4.42
outgoing	4.61
sense of humor	4.48
sociable	4.67
friendly	4.86

get to know	4.50

ALL MEAN VALUES WITHOUT EXCEPTION ARE SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER THAN THE MEAN VALUES OF THE SPEAKERS (AT $p<0.001$).

TABLE 17

IDEAL SALESPERSON: MEAN VALUES PER FACTOR/ DIFFERENCES/ P VALUES

	μ
competence	4.5117
personal integrity	4.7170
social attractiveness	4.6549

TABLE 18

IDEAL SALESPERSON: SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FACTOR VARIABLE MEANS

	$\mu_1 - \mu_2$	p
competence - pers. integr.	-.2053	.000
competence - soc. attr.	-.1432	.000
pers. integr. - soc. attr.	.0621	.008

TABLE 19

IDEAL SALESPERSON - SEX:

The ideal salesperson is:

	male	female	"indifferent"
N	32	24	233
Percent	11.0	8.3	80.6

TABLE 20

GROUP VARIABLE = REGION: T-TESTS

MEAN DIFFERENCES (μ_1-μ_2) BETWEEN SPEAKERS PER FACTOR + p VALUES/STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

		New England	Tennessee	p[a]
competence	NtF-SoF	.3234	.5520	**.036**
	NtF-NtM	-.1229	-.2230	.290
	NtF-SoM	.7222	.8150	.403
	SoF-NtM	-.4463	-.7750	**.009**
	SoF-SoM	.3997	.2630	.179
	NtM-SoM	.8452	1.0380	.097
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.1192	-.0327	.091
	NtF-NtM	.0578	-.0738	.400
	NtF-SoM	.2920	.1024	**.046**
	SoF-NtM	-.0615	.0253	.395
	SoF-SoM	.1728	.1350	.654
	NtM-SoM	.2347	.1098	.236
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.4681	-.7117	**.053**[**]
	NtF-NtM	-.0266	-.2133	**.059****
	NtF-SoM	.1732	-.1822	**.007**
	SoF-NtM	.4415	.4983	.661
	SoF-SoM	.6464	.5294	.289
	NtM-SoM	.2054	.0311	.224

[a] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05.
[**] marks p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06

TABLE 21

GROUP VARIABLE = REGION: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES (μ) PER INDIVIDUAL ATTRIBUTE + p VALUES

		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
sharp	ntr. female	3.69	3.82	.237
	So. female	3.25	2.92	**.006**
	ntr. male	**3.87**	**3.99**	.233
	So. male	2.71	2.74	.781
successful	ntr. female	3.80	3.88	.379
	So. female	3.40	3.21	**.056**[**]
	ntr. male	**3.91**	**4.06**	.128
	So. male	3.14	3.13	.981
determined	ntr. female	3.58	3.66	.524
	So. female	3.43	3.30	.261
	ntr. male	**3.81**	**3.95**	.203
	So. male	2.97	2.87	.362
educated	ntr. female	**4.18**	4.19	.977
	So. female	3.48	3.17	**.003**
	ntr. male	**4.18**	**4.29**	.211
	So. male	3.23	3.05	.112
leadership qual.	ntr. female	3.44	3.41	.810
	So. female	3.23	3.02	.089
	ntr. male	**3.59**	**3.82**	**.058**[**]
	So. male	2.88	2.79	.440
intelligent	ntr. female	4.05	4.11	.469
	So. female	3.49	3.16	**.003**
	ntr. male	**4.19**	**4.23**	.685
	So. male	3.31	3.12	.065
ambitious	ntr. female	3.63	3.62	.939
	So. female	3.51	3.40	.333
	ntr. male	**3.81**	**3.95**	.184
	So. male	2.98	2.99	.941

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at $p<0.05$;

** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at $p<0.06$ TABLE 22/1

		New Engl.[a]	**Tenn.**[a]	**p**[b]
industrious	ntr. female	3.59	3.63	.643
	So. female	3.29	3.22	.478
	ntr. male	**3.79**	**3.69**	.341
	So. male	2.93	2.95	.469
self-confident	ntr. female	**3.87**	3.66	.104
	So. female	**3.87**	3.65	**.052**[**]
	ntr. male	3.81	**4.02**	.067
	So. male	3.20	3.01	.122
honest	ntr. female	**3.81**	3.69	.203
	So. female	3.71	**3.81**	.274
	ntr. male	3.71	3.54	.084
	So. male	3.61	3.70	.357
trustworthy	ntr. female	**3.78**	3.71	.438
	So. female	3.59	**3.73**	.139
	ntr. male	3.68	3.65	.715
	So. male	3.54	3.61	.504
polite	ntr. female	**4.24**	3.96	**.006**
	So. female	4.01	**4.01**	.995
	ntr. male	4.16	3.97	**.035**
	So. male	3.92	3.92	.989
good manners	ntr. female	4.10	**4.01**	.295
	So. female	3.89	3.76	.254
	ntr. male	**4.11**	3.99	.183
	So. male	3.75	3.74	.961
reliable	ntr. female	**3.81**	3.65	.080
	So. female	3.53	3.45	.429
	ntr. male	3.72	**3.73**	.974
	So. male	3.37	3.48	.343
likeable	ntr. female	**4.05**	3.77	**.002**
	So. female	3.94	**3.91**	.790
	ntr. male	3.79	3.73	.608
	So. male	3.70	3.81	.336

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05;

** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06

TABLE 22/2

		New Engl.[a]	**Tenn.**[a]	**p**[b]
helpful	ntr. female	3.66	3.65	.949
	So. female	**3.77**	**3.77**	.995
	ntr. male	3.73	3.72	.913
	So. male	3.42	3.50	.490
open-minded	ntr. female	3.32	3.22	.305
	So. female	3.39	**3.50**	.315
	ntr. male	**3.42**	3.41	.912
	So. male	3.13	3.12	.932
outgoing	ntr. female	3.50	3.37	.279
	So. female	**4.08**	**3.95**	.244
	ntr. male	3.61	3.63	.840
	So. male	3.11	3.15	.761
sense of humor	ntr. female	2.75	2.43	**.003**
	So. female	**3.42**	**3.67**	**.019**
	ntr. male	3.03	2.93	.412
	So. male	3.07	3.17	.469
sociable	ntr. female	3.79	3.61	.138
	So. female	**4.21**	**4.09**	.269
	ntr. male	3.66	3.64	.840
	So. male	3.39	3.59	.099
friendly	ntr. female	3.97	3.63	**.002**
	So. female	**4.18**	**4.20**	.873
	ntr. male	3.82	3.71	.293
	So. male	3.74	3.89	.165

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05;
** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06

TABLE 22/3

GROUP VARIABLE = SEX: T-TESTS

MEAN DIFFERENCES[a] (μ_1-μ_2) BETWEEN SPEAKERS PER FACTOR + p VALUES/STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

		male	female	p[a]
competence	NtF-SoF	.4661	.4233	.700
	NtF-NtM	-.1577	-.1880	.736
	NtF-SoM	.7348	.7955	.589
	SoF-NtM	-.3218	-.6114	.933
	SoF-SoM	.2686	.3722	.316
	NtM-SoM	.8910	.9836	.432
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.0384	.0428	.961
	NtF-NtM	.0293	.0205	.911
	NtF-SoM	.1442	.2295	.378
	SoF-NtM	-.0912	-.0223	.893
	SoF-SoM	.1065	.1867	.326
	NtM-SoM	.1157	.2090	.367
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.5922	-.5947	.985
	NtF-NtM	-.1414	-.1095	.752
	NtF-SoM	-.0702	.0321	.445
	SoF-NtM	.4508	.4852	.793
	SoF-SoM	.5289	.6267	.355
	NtM-SoM	.0785	.1415	.652

[a] Values in bold print indicate statistical significance at $p < 0.05$.

TABLE 23

GROUP VARIABLE = SEX: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES (μ) PER INDIVIDUAL ATTRIBUTE + p VALUES

		male[a]	female[a]	p[b]
sharp	ntr. female	3.78	3.74	.750
	So. female	2.99	3.14	.213
	ntr. male	**3.89**	**3.96**	.467
	So. male	2.74	2.72	.870
successful	ntr. female	3.80	3.88	.386
	So. female	3.30	3.30	.989
	ntr. male	**3.90**	**4.05**	.116
	So. male	3.15	3.12	.813
determined	ntr. female	3.66	3.59	.521
	So. female	3.29	3.42	.262
	ntr. male	**3.83**	**3.92**	.409
	So. male	2.93	2.91	.899
educated	ntr. female	4.15	4.21	.397
	So. female	3.29	3.34	.600
	ntr. male	**4.18**	**4.28**	.228
	So. male	3.00	3.24	**.033**
leadership qual.	ntr. female	3.26	3.55	**.019**
	So. female	2.98	3.22	**.040**
	ntr. male	**3.55**	**3.82**	**.027**
	So. male	2.93	2.77	.167
intelligent	ntr. female	4.00	4.14	.100
	So. female	3.20	3.41	**.055**[**]
	ntr. male	**4.16**	**4.25**	.279
	So. male	3.07	3.31	**.025**
ambitious	ntr. female	3.57	3.67	.357
	So. female	3.33	3.54	.066
	ntr. male	**3.79**	**3.95**	.133
	So. male	2.93	3.02	.371

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05;

** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06   TABLE 24/1

		male[a]	**female**[a]	**p**[b]
industrious	ntr. female	3.54	3.66	.212
	So. female	3.19	3.30	.262
	ntr. male	**3.66**	**3.79**	.200
	So. male	2.93	2.95	.288
self-confident	ntr. female	3.60	3.88	**.024**
	So. female	3.62	3.85	**.050**[**]
	ntr. male	**3.81**	**3.99**	.119
	So. male	3.05	3.14	.451
honest	ntr. female	3.67	**3.80**	.135
	So. female	**3.72**	3.79	.458
	ntr. male	3.54	3.68	.150
	So. male	3.66	3.65	.902
trustworthy	ntr. female	**3.69**	**3.78**	.274
	So. female	3.64	3.68	.673
	ntr. male	3.61	3.70	.352
	So. male	3.60	3.55	.625
polite	ntr. female	**4.01**	4.16	.143
	So. female	3.93	**4.07**	.183
	ntr. male	3.97	4.12	.079
	So. male	3.80	4.01	**.054**[**]
good manners	ntr. female	3.91	**4.15**	**.006**
	So. female	3.67	3.93	**.022**
	ntr. male	**3.95**	4.13	**.051**[**]
	So. male	3.64	3.82	.086
reliable	ntr. female	**3.61**	**3.82**	**.022**
	So. female	3.40	3.54	.174
	ntr. male	3.60	**3.82**	**.031**
	So. male	3.45	3.41	.711
likeable	ntr. female	**3.84**	3.95	.225
	So. female	**3.84**	**3.99**	.173
	ntr. male	3.66	3.83	.082
	So. male	3.69	3.81	.262

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05;

** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06

TABLE 24/2

		male[a]	female[a]	p[b]
helpful	ntr. female	3.58	3.71	.197
	So. female	**3.65**	**3.85**	**.053****
	ntr. male	3.63	3.79	.094
	So. male	3.40	3.50	.381
open-minded	ntr. female	3.22	3.30	.416
	So. female	**3.38**	**3.49**	.277
	ntr. male	3.34	3.46	.268
	So. male	3.12	3.12	.998
outgoing	ntr. female	3.38	3.48	.391
	So. female	**3.90**	**4.09**	.101
	ntr. male	3.52	3.70	.121
	So. male	3.12	3.14	.873
sense of humor	ntr. female	2.52	2.63	.303
	So. female	**3.53**	**3.56**	.762
	ntr. male	2.94	3.01	.574
	So. male	3.17	3.08	.503
sociable	ntr. female	3.61	3.76	.187
	So. female	**4.08**	**4.20**	.271
	ntr. male	3.62	3.67	.649
	So. male	3.47	3.50	.791
friendly	ntr. female	3.77	3.82	.681
	So. female	**4.15**	**4.22**	.436
	ntr. male	3.78	3.76	.851
	So. male	3.78	3.85	.536

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05.
** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06

TABLE 24/3

GROUP VARIABLES = REGION & SEX COMBINED: T-TESTS

**MEAN VALUES (μ) PER FACTOR
+ p VALUES/STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE**

**MEAN DIFFERENCES (μ₁-μ₂) PER FACTOR
+ p VALUES/STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE**

1) NE MALE - NE FEMALE: MEANS		male[a]	female[a]	p[b]
competence	ntr. female	3.7356	**3.7753**	.707
	So. female	3.3464	**3.4881**	.252
	ntr. male	3.8267	**3.9158**	.484
	So. male	**3.0431**	3.0342	.949
personal integrity	ntr. female	3.7418	**3.9040**	.107
	So. female	3.6642	**3.7620**	.344
	ntr. male	3.6746	**3.8515**	.098
	So. male	3.5383	**3.5616**	.854
social attractiveness	ntr. female	3.4350	**3.5412**	.409
	So. female	3.9600	**3.9780**	.889
	ntr. male	3.4300	**3.5852**	.272
	So. male	**3.3827**	3.2940	.528
good saleperson	ntr. female	3.72	**3.74**	.906
	So. female	3.28	**3.48**	.278
	ntr. male	3.40	**3.74**	.084
	So. male	**2.94**	2.82	.592
hire in my company	ntr. female	3.44	**3.57**	.451
	So. female	3.02	**3.34**	.139
	ntr. male	3.28	**3.66**	.066
	So. male	**2.76**	2.74	.932
get to know	ntr. female	**3.62**	3.53	.642
	So. female	3.38	**3.47**	.652
	ntr. male	2.80	**3.41**	**.002**
	So. male	**3.15**	3.14	.989

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).

[b] p is significant at <0.05   TABLE 25

1) NE MALE - NE FEMALE: MEAN DIFFERENCES		male	female	p^a
competence	NtF-SoF	.3892	.2873	.504
	NtF-NtM	-.0911	-.1404	.716
	NtF-SoM	.6871	.7411	.730
	SoF-NtM	-.4803	-.4277	.770
	SoF-SoM	.2990	.4539	.289
	NtM-SoM	.7778	.8816	.531
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.0776	.1421	.587
	NtF-NtM	.0671	.0526	.897
	NtF-SoM	.1983	.3424	.259
	SoF-NtM	-.0105	-.0895	.572
	SoF-SoM	.1216	.2004	.492
	NtM-SoM	.1323	.2898	.336
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.5250	-.4368	.616
	NtF-NtM	-.0050	-.0440	.728
	NtF-SoM	.0357	.2473	.211
	SoF-NtM	.5300	.3929	.488
	SoF-SoM	.5765	.6841	.462
	NtM-SoM	.0459	.2912	.253

[a] Bold print indicates significance at p < 0.05

TABLE 26

2) TN MALE - TN FEMALE: MEANS		male[a]	female[a]	p[b]
competence	ntr. female	3.6852	**3.8618**	.103
	So. female	3.1657	**3.2797**	.375
	ntr. male	3.8858	**4.1054**	**.050****
	So. male	2.9178	**3.0028**	.499
personal integrity	ntr. female	3.6558	**3.7587**	.255
	So. female	3.6446	**3.8318**	.100
	ntr. male	3.6528	**3.7756**	.220
	So. male	3.5484	**3.6609**	.326
social attractiveness	ntr. female	3.2431	**3.2853**	.741
	So. female	3.8819	**4.0641**	.122
	ntr. male	**3.4861**	3.4712	.903
	So. male	3.3854	**3.5043**	.428
good salesperson	ntr. female	3.39	**3.60**	.177
	So. female	**3.22**	3.18	.816
	ntr. male	3.78	**3.90**	.471
	So. male	2.82	**2.96**	.451
hire in my company	ntr. female	3.18	**3.32**	.452
	So. female	3.01	**3.10**	.669
	ntr. male	3.62	**3.85**	.215
	So. male	2.82	**2.96**	.824
get to know	ntr. female	**3.31**	3.28	.904
	So. female	3.42	**3.62**	.297
	ntr. male	3.07	**3.46**	**.042**
	So. male	2.97	**3.10**	.531

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates significance at p <0.05
* * indicates tendential significance at p<0.06

TABLE 27

2) TN MALE - TN FEMALE: MEAN DIFFERENCES		male	female	p^a
competence	NtF-SoF	.5195	.5821	.698
	NtF-NtM	-.2006	-.2436	.756
	NtF-SoM	.7674	.8590	.576
	SoF-NtM	-.7201	-.8257	.555
	SoF-SoM	.2479	.2769	.845
	NtM-SoM	.9680	1.1026	.426
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.0112	-.0731	.542
	NtF-NtM	.0030	-.0169	.859
	NtF-SoM	.1074	.0978	.944
	SoF-NtM	-.0082	.0562	.639
	SoF-SoM	.0962	.1709	.524
	NtM-SoM	.1044	.1147	.943
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.6389	-.7788	.451
	NtF-NtM	-.2431	-.1859	.695
	NtF-SoM	-.1424	-.2190	.692
	SoF-NtM	.3958	.5929	.264
	SoF-SoM	.4965	.5598	.675
	NtM-SoM	.1007	-.0331	.501

[a] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

TABLE 28

3) NE MALE - TN MALE: MEANS		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
competence	ntr. female	**3.7356**	3.6852	.625
	So. female	**3.3464**	3.1657	.169
	ntr. male	3.8267	**3.8858**	.612
	So. male	**3.0431**	2.9178	.347
personal integrity	ntr. female	**3.7418**	3.6558	.346
	So. female	**3.6642**	3.6446	.853
	ntr. male	**3.6746**	3.6528	.823
	So. male	3.5383	**3.5484**	.934
social attractiveness	ntr. female	**3.4350**	3.2431	.133
	So. female	**3.9600**	3.8819	.539
	ntr. male	3.4300	**3.4861**	.649
	So. male	3.3827	**3.3854**	.984
good salesperson	ntr. female	**3.72**	3.39	.024
	So. female	**3.28**	3.22	.764
	ntr. male	3.40	**3.78**	.056**
	So. male	**2.94**	2.82	.581
hire in my company	ntr. female	**3.44**	3.18	.158
	So. female	**3.02**	3.01	.979
	ntr. male	3.28	**3.62**	.096
	So. male	**2.76**	2.73	.921
get to know	ntr. female	**3.62**	3.31	.133
	So. female	3.38	**3.42**	.869
	ntr. male	2.80	**3.07**	.166
	So. male	**3.15**	2.97	.436

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates significance at p <0.05
** indicates tendential significance at p<0.06.

TABLE 29

3) NE MALE - TN MALE: MEAN DIFFERENCES		New England	Tennessee	p[a]
competence	NtF-SoF	.3892	.5195	.415
	NtF-NtM	-.0911	-.2006	.461
	NtF-SoM	.6871	.7674	.629
	SoF-NtM	-.4803	-.7201	.166
	SoF-SoM	.2990	.2479	.736
	NtM-SoM	.7778	.9680	.266
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.0776	.0112	.569
	NtF-NtM	.0671	.0030	.566
	NtF-SoM	.1983	.1074	.513
	SoF-NtM	-.0105	-.0082	.986
	SoF-SoM	.1216	.0962	.822
	NtM-SoM	.1323	.1044	.849
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.5250	-.6389	.539
	NtF-NtM	.0050	-.2431	.079
	NtF-SoM	.0357	-.1424	.356
	SoF-NtM	.5300	.3958	.457
	SoF-SoM	.5765	.4965	.564
	NtM-SoM	.0459	.1007	.778

[a] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$ TABLE 30

4) NE FEMALE - TN FEMALE MEANS		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
competence	ntr. female	3.7753	**3.8618**	.447
	So. female	**3.4881**	3.2797	.081
	ntr. male	3.9158	**4.1054**	.103
	So. male	**3.0342**	3.0028	.803
personal integrity	ntr. female	**3.9040**	3.7587	.122
	So. female	3.7620	**3.8318**	.526
	ntr. male	**3.8515**	3.7756	.485
	So. male	3.5616	**3.6609**	.386
social attractiveness	ntr. female	**3.5412**	3.2853	**.039**
	So. female	3.9780	**4.0641**	.459
	ntr. male	**3.5852**	3.4712	.387
	So. male	3.2940	**3.5043**	.163
good salesperson	ntr. female	**3.74**	3.60	.372
	So. female	**3.48**	3.18	.084
	ntr. male	3.74	**3.90**	.345
	So. male	2.82	**2.96**	.453
hire in my company	ntr. female	**3.57**	3.32	.152
	So. female	**3.34**	3.10	.225
	ntr. male	3.66	**3.85**	.300
	So. male	2.74	**2.78**	.830
get to know	ntr. female	**3.53**	3.28	.179
	So. female	3.47	**3.62**	.416
	ntr. male	3.41	**3.46**	.775
	So. male	**3.14**	3.10	.842

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

TABLE 31

4) NE FEMALE - TN FEMALE: MEAN DIFFERENCES		New England	Tennessee	p^a
competence	NtF-SoF	.2873	.5821	**.051****
	NtF-NtM	-.1404	-.2436	.410
	NtF-SoM	.7411	.8590	.436
	SoF-NtM	-.4277	-.8257	**.026**
	SoF-SoM	.4539	.2769	.204
	NtM-SoM	.8816	1.1026	.166
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.1421	-.0731	.103
	NtF-NtM	.0526	-.0169	.519
	NtF-SoM	.3424	.0978	.063
	SoF-NtM	-.0895	.0562	.335
	SoF-SoM	.2004	.1709	.808
	NtM-SoM	.2898	.1147	.242
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.4368	-.7788	**.048**
	NtF-NtM	-.0440	-.1859	.310
	NtF-SoM	.2473	-.2190	**.010**
	SoF-NtM	.3929	.5929	.276
	SoF-SoM	.6841	.5598	.447
	NtM-SoM	.2912	-.0331	.114

[a] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$
** indicates tendential significance at $p < 0.06$

TABLE 32

4) NE MALE - TN FEMALE: MEANS		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
competence	ntr. female	3.7356	3.8616	.236
	So. female	3.3464	3.2797	.631
	ntr. male	**3.8267**	**4.1054**	**.034**
	So. male	3.0431	3.0028	.775
personal integrity	ntr. female	**3.7418**	3.7587	.871
	So. female	3.6642	**3.8318**	.130
	ntr. male	3.6746	3.7756	.354
	So. male	3.5383	3.6609	.326
social attractiveness	ntr. female	3.4350	3.2853	.294
	So. female	**3.9600**	**4.0641**	.414
	ntr. male	3.4300	3.4712	.784
	So. male	3.3827	3.5043	.396
good salesperson	ntr. female	**3.72**	3.60	.428
	So. female	**3.28**	3.18	.633
	ntr. male	3.40	**3.90**	**.020**
	So. male	2.94	**2.96**	.915
hire in my company	ntr. female	**3.44**	3.32	.535
	So. female	3.02	**3.10**	.716
	ntr. male	3.28	**3.85**	**.010**
	So. male	2.76	**2.78**	.918
get to know	ntr. female	**3.62**	3.28	.112
	So. female	3.38	**3.62**	.242
	ntr. male	2.80	**3.46**	**.001**
	So. male	**3.15**	3.10	.851

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates significance at p <0.05

TABLE 33

5) NE MALE - TN FEMALE: MEAN DIFFERENCES		New England	Tennessee	p^a
competence	NtF-SoF	.3892	.5821	.262
	NtF-NtM	-.0911	-.2436	.286
	NtF-SoM	.6871	.8590	.261
	SoF-NtM	-.4803	-.8257	.075
	SoF-SoM	.2990	.2769	.890
	NtM-SoM	.7778	1.1026	.083
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.0776	-.0731	.251
	NtF-NtM	.0671	-.0169	.479
	NtF-SoM	.1983	-.0978	.457
	SoF-NtM	-.0105	.0562	.630
	SoF-SoM	.1216	.1709	.697
	NtM-SoM	.1323	.1147	.913
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.5250	-.7788	.169
	NtF-NtM	.0050	-.1859	.246
	NtF-SoM	.0357	-.2190	.167
	SoF-NtM	.5300	.5929	.762
	SoF-SoM	.5765	.5598	.909
	NtM-SoM	.0459	-.0331	.712

[a] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

TABLE 34

6) NE FEMALE - TN MALE: MEANS		New England[a]	Tennessee[a]	p[b]
competence	ntr. female	3.7753	3.6852	.397
	So. female	3.4881	3.1657	**.006**
	ntr. male	**3.9158**	**3.8858**	.783
	So. male	3.0342	2.9178	.342
personal integrity	ntr. female	**3.9040**	**3.6558**	**.004**
	So. female	3.7620	3.6446	.273
	ntr. male	3.8515	3.6528	**.042**
	So. male	3.5616	3.5484	.908
social attractiveness	ntr. female	3.5412	3.2431	**.011**
	So. female	**3.9780**	**3.8819**	.414
	ntr. male	3.5852	3.4861	.381
	So. male	3.2940	3.3854	.540
good salesperson	ntr. female	**3.74**	3.39	**.020**
	So. female	**3.48**	3.22	.114
	ntr. male	3.74	**3.78**	.782
	So. male	**2.82**	**2.82**	.980
hire in my company	ntr. female	**3.57**	3.18	**.027**
	So. female	**3.34**	3.01	.097
	ntr. male	**3.66**	3.62	.819
	So. male	**2.74**	2.73	.984
get to know	ntr. female	**3.53**	3.31	.224
	So. female	**3.47**	3.42	.769
	ntr. male	**3.41**	3.07	.068
	So. male	**3.14**	2.97	.395

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/group (column).
[b] Bold print indicates significance at p <0.05

TABLE 35

6) NE FEMALE - TN MALE: MEAN DIFFERENCES		New England	Tennessee	p^a
competence	NtF-SoF	.2873	.5195	.110
	NtF-NtM	-.1404	-.2006	.644
	NtF-SoM	.7411	.7674	.865
	SoF-NtM	-.4277	-.7201	.068
	SoF-SoM	.4539	.2479	.130
	NtM-SoM	.8816	.9680	.568
personal integrity	NtF-SoF	.1421	.0112	.264
	NtF-NtM	.0526	.0030	.638
	NtF-SoM	.3424	.1074	.072
	SoF-NtM	-.0895	-.0818	.555
	SoF-SoM	.2004	.0962	.359
	NtM-SoM	.2898	.1044	.198
social attractiveness	NtF-SoF	-.4368	-.6389	.230
	NtF-NtM	-.0440	-.2431	.116
	NtF-SoM	.2473	-.1424	**.030**
	SoF-NtM	.3929	.3958	.986
	SoF-SoM	.6841	.4965	.211
	NtM-SoM	.2912	.1007	.313

[a] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

TABLE 36

GROUP VARIABLE = ORIGIN OF INFORMANTS' PARENTS: T-TESTS

TENNESSEE SAMPLE: 'BOTH PARENTS FROM THE SAME REGION' VS. 'AT LEAST ONE PARENT FROM RESPECTIVE OTHER REGION'

MEAN VALUES AND RESPECTIVE p VALUES

		both parents from same	> one parent from resp. other	p[a]
competence	ntr. female	3.7709	3.7744	.980
	So. female	3.2490	3.1379	.492
	ntr. male	3.9826	4.0077	.864
	So. male	3.0222	2.7883	.148
personal integrity	ntr. female	3.7349	3.6330	.383
	So. female	3.7732	3.6250	.255
	ntr. male	3.7054	3.6983	.956
	So. male	3.6415	3.5086	.366
social attractiveness	ntr. female	3.2804	3.1810	.545
	So. female	3.9913	3.9224	.645
	ntr. male	3.4500	3.5345	.598
	So. male	3.4855	3.4052	.674

[a] Bold print indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

TABLE 37

GROUP VAR. = TRAVEL EXPERIENCE/REGION: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES (μ) PER FACTOR + p VAL./STAT. SIGNIFICANCE

I) "Has traveled to respective other region"

1) New England		μ		p^c
		yes[a]	no[ab]	
competence	ntr. female	3.6683	**3.9471**	**.020**
	So. female	3.4207	**3.4721**	.682
	ntr. male	3.8771	**3.8983**	.869
	So. male	**3.0378**	3.0362	.991
pers. integrity	ntr. female	3.8252	**3.8891**	.534
	So. female	**3.7589**	3.6641	.408
	ntr. male	3.7287	**3.9088**	.126
	So. male	**3.5676**	3.5245	.738
social attract.	ntr. female	3.3777	**3.7553**	**.003**
	So. female	**3.9787**	3.9574	.872
	ntr. male	3.4654	**3.6596**	.175
	So. male	3.3059	**3.3641**	.717

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/column　　　　TABLE 38
[b] includes "no indication"　　[c] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05.

2) Tennessee		μ		p^c
		yes[a]	no[ab]	
competence	ntr. female	3.7639	3.7997	.750
	So. female	3.1332	3.3836	**.059****
	ntr. male	**4.0596**	3.8970	.165
	So. male	3.0313	2.8424	.146
pers. integrity	ntr. female	3.6977	3.7292	.740
	So. female	3.6967	**3.8201**	.297
	ntr. male	**3.7789**	3.6091	.105
	So. male	3.6254	3.5750	.672
social attract.	ntr. female	3.2895	3.2227	.614
	So. female	**3.9579**	4.0091	.676
	ntr. male	3.5079	3.4273	.532
	So. male	3.5588	3.2545	**.049**

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/column　　　[b] includes "no indication"　　TABLE 39
[c] Bold print indicates statistical significance at p<0.05.
** indicates p values that are tendentially significant at p<0.06.

GROUP VAR. = TRAVEL EXPERIENCE/REGION: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES (μ) PER FACTOR + p VAL./STAT. SIGNIFICANCE
II) "Has traveled abroad"

1) New England		μ		p[c]
		yes[a]	no[ab]	
competence	ntr. female	3.7960	3.6324	.239
	So. female	3.4683	3.3249	.321
	ntr. male	**3.9239**	**3.7370**	.208
	So. male	3.0444	3.0111	.836
pers. integrity	ntr. female	**3.8801**	3.7220	.180
	So. female	3.7335	3.7042	.824
	ntr. male	3.7992	**3.7500**	.718
	So. male	3.5385	3.6083	.636
social attract.	ntr. female	3.5608	3.2917	.072
	So. female	**3.9752**	**3.9583**	.911
	ntr. male	3.5743	3.3667	.209
	So. male	3.2955	3.4333	.454

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/column   TABLE 40
[b] includes "no indication"
[c] Bold print indicates statistical significance at $p<0.05$.

2) Tennessee		○		p[c]
		yes[a]	no[a]	
competence	ntr. female	3.8409	3.7505	.448
	So. female	3.1007	3.2766	.212
	ntr. male	**4.0152**	**3.9937**	.863
	So. male	2.9384	2.9781	.809
pers. integrity	ntr. female	**3.8263**	3.6607	.098
	So. female	3.6284	**3.7891**	.199
	ntr. male	3.7017	3.7229	.849
	So. male	3.6563	3.5864	.579
social attract.	ntr. female	3.4375	3.1934	.080
	So. female	**3.9602**	**3.9835**	.858
	ntr. male	3.5966	3.4292	.219
	So. male	3.4261	3.4560	.856

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/column   TABLE 41
[b] includes "no indication"   [c] Bold print indicates statistical significance at $p<0.05$.

GROUP VARIABLES = FRIENDS-RELATIVES/REGION: T-TESTS

MEAN VALUES (µ) PER FACTOR + p VAL./STAT. SIGNIFICANCE

"Has spent time with friends/relatives in/from respective other region"

1) New England		µ		p[b]
		yes[a]	no[a]	
competence	ntr. female	3.7536	**3.7692**	.902
	So. female	**3.4442**	3.4353	.946
	ntr. male	3.8277	**3.8953**	.617
	So. male	2.9420	**3.0479**	.457
pers. integrity	ntr. female	3.8424	**3.8578**	.883
	So. female	**3.7585**	3.6628	.437
	ntr. male	3.7244	**3.8262**	.408
	So. male	**3.5686**	3.4755	.478
social attract.	ntr. female	3.3986	**3.6058**	.124
	So. female	**3.9855**	3.9471	.783
	ntr. male	3.4094	**3.6058**	.201
	So. male	3.2717	**3.3431**	.661

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/column
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at $p<0.05$.

TABLE 42

2) Tennessee		µ		p[b]
		yes[a]	no[a]	
competence	ntr. female	**3.8161**	3.7684	.697
	So. female	3.1439	**3.3465**	.150
	ntr. male	**4.0282**	4.0019	.828
	So. male	2.9239	**2.9805**	.675
pers. integrity	ntr. female	3.7020	**3.7152**	.896
	So. female	3.6707	**3.8789**	.090
	ntr. male	**3.7668**	3.7352	.771
	So. male	3.5496	**3.6419**	.461
social attract.	ntr. female	**3.3097**	3.2500	.662
	So. female	3.8694	**4.1610**	**.019**
	ntr. male	3.4627	**3.5169**	.698
	So. male	3.3483	**3.5085**	.333

[a] Bold print indicates highest value per item/column
[b] Bold print indicates statistical significance at $p<0.05$.

TABLE 43

GROUP VARIABLE = GUESS SPEAKER'S ORIGIN
DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO REGION

		New England		Tennessee		Overall	
So. female	correct guess (South)	135	95.7%	139	92.7%	174	94.2%
	wrong guess (other)	6	4.3%	10	6.7%	16	5.5%
	no indication	-	-	1	0.7%	1	0.3%
So. male	correct guess (South)	121	85.8%	133	88.7%	154	87.3%
	wrong guess (other)	19	13.5%	15	10.0%	34	11.7%
	no indication	-	-	2	1.3%	2	0.7%
	"sounds like the President"	1	0.7%	-	-	1	0.3%

TABLE 44

		New England		Tennessee		Overall	
ntr. female	North	107	75.9%	61	40.7%	168	57.7%
	Midwest	16	11.4%	34	22.7%	50	17.2%
	North West/ West Coast	15	10.6%	16	10.7%	31	10.7%
	West	1	0.7%	9	6%	10	3.4%
	South	1	0.7%	10	6.7%	11	3.8%
	don't know/ anywhere	3	2.1%	12	8%	15	1.7%
ntr. male	North	100	70.9%	76	50.7%	176	60.5%
	Midwest	16	11.4%	20	13.3%	36	12.4%
	North West/ West Coast	27	19.2%	29	19.3%	56	19.2%
	West	5	3.6%	9	6%	14	4.8%
	South	1	0.7%	7	4.7%	8	2.8%
	don't know/ anywhere	4	2.8%	6	4%	10	3.4%

(multiple answers possible)   TABLE 45

QUESTION 1:

"In your opinion, does it matter whether a salesperson working for a nationwide corporation speaks with a regional accent or not?"

Overall distribution:

	Frequency	Percent
yes - it matters (generally)	133	45.7%
no - it doesn't matter	122	41.9%
depends	6	2.1%
don't know	30	10.3%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 46

Distribution according to region

	New England		Tennessee	
yes - it matters (generally)	52	36.9%	81	54.0%
no - it doesn't matter	69	48.9%	53	35.3%
depends	2	1.4%	4	2.7%
don't know	18	12.8%	12	8.0%
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .018 Spearman's r = -.163				

TABLE 47

Regional accent matters: specified

	New England		Tennessee	
yes - negatively	29	20.6%	44	29.3%
yes - positively	7	5.0%	7	4.7%
"yes, matters"	16	11.3%	30	20.0%
no	69	48.9%	53	35.3%
depends	2	1.4%	4	2.7%
don't know	18	12.8%	12	8.0%
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .051 Spearman's r = -.010				

TABLE 48

QUESTION 2:

"Would you advise a person to learn to speak with a neutral and 'standard' accent before applying for a sales job?"

Overall distribution:

	Frequency	Percent
yes	87	29.9%
no	98	33.7%
depends	93	31.9%
don't know	13	4.5%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 49

Distribution according to region

	New England		Tennessee	
yes	30	21.3%	57	38.0%
no	58	41.1%	40	26.7%
depends	44	31.2%	49	32.7%
don't know	9	6.4%	4	2.7%
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .003 Spearman's r = -.123				

TABLE 50

QUESTION 3:

"Do you think there is one generally acceptable and desirable standard U.S. accent?"

Overall distribution:

	Frequency	Percent
yes	88	30.3%
no	163	56.0%
don't know	39	13.4%
missing	1	0.3%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 51

Distribution according to region

	New England		Tennessee	
yes	51	36.6%	37	24.7%
no	69	48.9%	94	62.6%
don't know	21	14.9%	18	12.0%
missing	-	-	1	0.7%
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .048 Spearman's r = .076				

TABLE 52

"Which Standard?" (multiple answers possible)

	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
Northern/Northeast	18	33.3%	10	25%	28	29.8%
neutral	13	24.1%	11	27.5%	24	25.5%
TV/Broadcast	11	20.4%	5	12.5%	16	17.0%
Midwestern	4	7.4%	15	37.5%	19	20.2%
West Coast	3	5.6%	5	12.5%	8	8.5%
New England	4	7.4%	-	-	4	4.3%
Boston	4	7.4%	-	-	4	4.3%
New York	2	3.7%	-	-	2	2.1%
Southern	1	1.9%	1	2.5%	2	2.1%
not Southern	1	1.9%	1	2.5%	2	2.1%
New York City	1	1.9%	-	-	1	1.1%
"Coastal"	1	1.9%	-	-	1	1.1%
"English" English	1	1.9%	-	-	1	1.1%
Southern female	1	1.9%	-	-	1	1.1%
not deep Southern and not "hick" Maine or New Hampshire	1	1.9%	-	-	1	1.1%
your own accent	1	1.9%	-	-	1	1.1%
none in particular	-	-	1	2.5%	1	1.1%
'neutral' speakers 1 and 3	-	-	1	2.5%	1	1.1%
telephone operator	-	-	1	2.5%	1	1.1%

	New England	Tennessee	Overall
Total N° of informants (multiple answ. poss.):	54 = 100%	40 = 100%	94 = 100%

TABLE 53

QUESTION 4:

"Do you like Southern speech?"

Overall distribution:

	Frequency	Percent
yes	162	55.7%
no	34	11.7%
depends	81	27.8%
don't know	12	4.1%
missing	2	0.7%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 54

Distribution according to region

	New England		Tennessee	
yes	67	47.5%	95	63.3%
no	15	10.6%	19	12.7%
depends	49	34.8%	32	21.3%
don't know	9	6.4%	3	2.0%
missing	1	0.7%	1	0.7%
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .009 Spearman's r = -.187				

TABLE 55

QUESTION 5: OVERALL DISTRIBUTION:

"Do you generally think a Southern accent is:"

"CUTE"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	154	52.9%
no	101	34.7%
don't know	32	11.0%
missing	4	1.4%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 56

"AWKWARD"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	78	26.8%
no	180	61.9%
don't know	30	10.3%
missing	3	1.0%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 57

"BEAUTIFUL"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	59	20.3%
no	176	60.5%
don't know	49	16.8%
missing	7	2.4%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 58

"COOL"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	78	26.8%
no	155	53.3%
don't know	2	17.9%
missing	6	2.0%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 59

"TOO SLOW"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	86	29.6%
no	177	60.8%
don't know	24	8.2%
missing	4	1.4%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 60

"NOT STANDARD"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	122	41.9%
no	122	41.9%
don't know	44	15.2%
missing	3	1.0%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 61

"AMUSING"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	128	44.0%
no	138	47.4%
don't know	22	7.6%
missing	3	1.0%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 62

"RIDICULOUS"

	Frequency	Percent
yes	29	10.0%
no	238	81.8%
don't know	22	7.5%
missing	2	0.7%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 63

QUESTION 5: Distribution according to region

"Do you generally think a Southern accent is:"

"CUTE"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	83	58.9%
no	44	31.2%
don't know	13	9.2%
missing	1	0.7%
Total	141	100%

"CUTE"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	71	47.3%
no	57	38.0%
don't know	19	12.7%
missing	3	2.0%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .168   Spearman' r = .111

TABLE 64

"AWKWARD"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	41	29.1%
no	87	61.7%
don't know	13	9.2%
missing	-	-
Total	141	100%

"AWKWARD"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	37	24.7%
no	93	62.0%
don't know	17	11.3%
missing	3	2.0%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .666   Spearman' r = .053

TABLE 65

"BEAUTIFUL"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	22	15.6%
no	94	66.7%
don't know	24	17.0%
missing	1	0.7%
Total	141	100%

"BEAUTIFUL"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	37	24.7%
no	82	54.7%
don't know	25	16.6%
missing	6	4.0%
Total	150	%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .100   Spearman' r = -.081

TABLE 66

"COOL"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	40	28.4%
no	76	53.9%
don't know	23	16.3%
missing	2	1.4%
Total	141	100%

"COOL"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	38	25.3%
no	79	52.7%
don't know	29	19.3%
missing	4	2.7%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .730   Spearman' r = .045

TABLE 67

"TOO SLOW"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	46	32.6%
no	77	54.6%
don't know	16	11.4%
missing	2	1.4%
Total	141	100%

"TOO SLOW"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	40	26.7%
no	100	66.7%
don't know	8	5.3%
missing	2	1.3%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .055**   Spearman' r = .013
** ** tendentially significant at p<.06**

TABLE 68

"NOT STANDARD"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	64	45.4%
no	53	37.6%
don't know	24	17.0%
missing	-	-
Total	141	100%

"NOT STANDARD"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	58	38.7%
no	69	46.0%
don't know	20	13.3%
missing	3	2.0%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .268   Spearman' r = .029

TABLE 69

"AMUSING"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	72	51.1%
no	57	40.4%
don't know	12	8.5%
missing	-	-
Total	141	100%

"AMUSING"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	56	37.3%
no	81	54.0%
don't know	10	6.7%
missing	3	2.0%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .044*   Spearman' r = .107

*statistically significant at p<.05

TABLE 70

"RIDICULOUS"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	12	8.5%
no	116	82.3%
don't know	13	9.2%
missing	-	-
Total	141	100%

"RIDICULOUS"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
yes	17	11.3%
no	122	81.3%
don't know	9	6.0%
missing	2	1.4%
Total	150	100%

Pearson's chi-square: p = .456   Spearman' r = -.073

TABLE 71

QUESTION 5: "Other attributes that apply to Southern":

(multiple answers possible)

	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
friendly	4	17.4%	2	13.3%	6	15.8%
interesting	1	4.4%	2	13.3%	3	7.9%
sexy	2	8.7%	-	-	2	5.3%
laid back	2	8.7%	-	-	2	5.3%
lazy drawl	2	8.7%	-	-	2	5.3%
can sound uneducated	1	4.4%	1	6.7%	2	5.3%
soothing	1	4.4%	1	6.7%	2	5.3%
distinctive	1	4.4%	1	6.7%	2	5.3%
plain out stupid	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
annoying	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
fun	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
funny	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
relaxing, homely	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
sometimes obnoxious	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
very country	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
attractive	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
mannerly	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
difficult to understand/ distinguish	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
unintelligent	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
trustworthy, honest	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
smooth	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
talking like they have a mouth full of feces	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
bubbly, outgoing	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
charming	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
neat	1	4.4%	-	-	1	2.6%
slang-filled	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%
unique	-	-	1	6.7%	1	2.6%

Total N° of informants (multiple answ. poss.)	23 = 100%	15 = 100%	38 = 100%

TABLE 72

QUESTION 6:

"Do you think that in the sales job market a Southern accent can be:"

Overall distribution

	Frequency	Percent
an advantage	41	14.1%
an impediment	98	33.7%
depends	60	20.6%
don't know	88	30.2%
doesn't matter/neither	4	1.4%
Total	291	100%

Distribution according to region

	New England		Tennessee	
an advantage	12	8.5%	29	19.3%
an impediment	45	31.9%	53	35.3%
depends	38	27.0%	22	14.7%
don't know	44	31.2%	44	29.3%
doesn't matter/neither	2	1.4%	2	1.4%
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .020* Spearman's r = -.125				

* indicates statistical significance at p<.05

"Are there situations that you can think of where speaking with a Southern accent seems inappropriate or disadvantageous to you?"

Overall distribution:

	Frequency	Percent
yes	155	53.3%
no	135	46.4%
missing	1	0.3%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 75

Distribution according to region:

	New England		Tennessee	
yes	57	40.4%	98	65.3%
no	83	58.9%	52	34.7%
missing	1	0.7%	-	-
Total	141	100%	150	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .000* Spearman's r = -.247**				

* Highly significant at p<.001   ** "low correlation" level set at r< -.200

TABLE 76

Distribution according to region/sex:

	NE male		NE female		TN male		TN female	
yes	27	54%	30	33.0%	50	69.4%	48	61.5%
no	22	44%	61	67.0%	22	30.6%	30	38.5%
missing	1	2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	50	100%	91	100%	72	100%	78	100%
Pearson's chi-square: p = .000* Spearman's r = -.247**								

* Highly significant at p<.001   ** "low correlation" level set at r< -.200

TABLE 77

Situation region-specific: (percent of sample)

	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
mentioned	10	7.1%	14	9.3%	24	8.3%

TABLE 78

Question 7: "Situations where speaking with a Southern accent seems inappropriate or disadvantageous to you:" (multiple answers possible)

	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
business setting	5	13.2%	17	23.6%	22	20%
sales	12	31.6%	8	11.1%	20	18.2%
job interview/ general job-related	2	5.3%	15	20.8%	17	15.5%
with biased people in general	4	10.6%	9	12.5%	13	11.8%
formal social settings	2	5.3%	8	11.1%	10	9.1%
academic/intellectual environment	2	5.3%	6	8.3%	8	7.3%
TV/broadcast	2	5.3%	6	8.3%	8	7.3%
with non-Southerners/ Yankees	-	-	4	5.6%	4	3.6%
if it sounds uneducated	1	2.6%	3	4.2%	4	3.6%
w/ foreigners/ speakers not fluent in English	1	2.6%	2	2.8%	3	2.7%
telemarketing	-	-	2	2.8%	2	1.8%
in the city	1	2.6%	1	1.4%	1	1.8%
if around Black people	1	2.6%	-	-	1	0.9%
when in a hurry/asking for directions	1	2.6%	-	-	1	0.9%
on the phone	1	2.6%	-	-	1	0.9%
racists on the "Jerry Springer Show"	1	2.6%	-	-	1	0.9%
if talking too fast	1	2.6%	-	-	1	0.9%
in a court of law	-	-	1	1.4%	1	0.9%
to pick up a date	-	-	1	1.4%	1	0.9%
on "Jeopardy"	-	-	1	1.4%	1	0.9%
over a loudspeaker	-	-	1	1.4%	1	0.9%
w/ large groups of people from diff. areas	-	-	1	1.4%	1	0.9%
generally	-	-	1	1.4%	1	0.9%
talking abt. Civil Rights	1	2.6%	-	-	1	0.9%

	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
Total N° of informants	38	100%	72	100%	110	100%

TABLE 79

METACATEGORIES:

"REGION-SPECIFIC"

	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	65	22.3%
not mentioned	226	77.7%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 80

Distributions according to 'region':

"REGION-SPECIFIC"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	29	20.6%
not ment.	112	79.4%
Total	141	100%

"REGION-SPECIFIC"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	36	21.3%
not ment.	114	76.0%
Total	150	100%

TABLE 81

" UNEDUCATED"

	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	63	21.6%
not mentioned	228	78.4%
Total	291	100%

TABLE 82

Distributions according to 'region':

"UNEDUCATED"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	19	13.5%
not ment.	122	86.5%
Total	141	100%

"UNEDUCATED"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	44	29.3%
not ment.	106	70.7%
Total	150	100%

TABLE 83

"UNINTELLIGENT"

	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	52	17.9%
not mentioned	239	82.1%
Total	291	100%

Distributions according to 'region':

"UNINTELLIGENT"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	18	12.8%
not ment.	123	87.2%
Total	141	100%

"UNINTELLIGENT"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	34	22.7%
not ment.	116	77.3%
Total	150	100%

"FRIENDLY"

	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	39	13.4%
not mentioned	252	86.6%
Total	291	100%

Distributions according to 'region':

"FRIENDLY"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	21	14.9%
not ment.	120	85.1%
Total	141	100%

"FRIENDLY"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	18	12%
not ment.	132	88%
Total	150	100%

"POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING PROBLEM"

	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	37	12.7%
not mentioned	254	87.3%
Total	291	100%

Distributions according to 'region':

"POSS. UNDERST. PROBLEM"

	New England	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	27	19.1%
not ment.	114	80.9%
Total	141	100%

"POSS. UNDERST. PROBLEM"

	Tennessee	
	Frequency	Percent
mentioned	10	6.7%
not ment.	140	93.3%
Total	150	100%

"SOUTHERN FEMALE"

	New England		Tennessee		Overall	
mentioned	6	4.3%	2	1.3%	8	2.8%
not mentioned	135	95.7%	148	98.7%	283	97.2%
Total	141	100%	150	100%	291	100%

"THE QUOTABLES":

A SELECTION OF WRITTEN COMMENTS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRES (SPELLING ADAPTED)

ad Question 1: "In your opinion, does it matter whether a salesperson working for a nationwide corporation speaks with a regional accent or not?"

NE: "People often relate better with people who speak similarly, and have stereotypes of people with different accents."

NE: "They should try to speak in a manner consistent with the country."

NE: "Sometimes you can't understand them - that's why for those who can afford it, Southern families send their children to the northeast to be educated."

NE: "Some people are intrigued and irrationally attracted to foreign voices, the rest know enough to judge on actual merits - a small minority will resent and fear them - in the end it doesn't matter."

NE: "No, the way a person speaks (as long as they're clear) has nothing to do with their potential success as a salesperson."

NE: " No - There are many accents - not everyone speaks perfect [sic!]. And it would not be fair - that person may be the best salesperson you ever had."

NE: "Customers of a nationwide company should know that everyone speaks differently, and since you would likely have customers from North and South, it would be beneficial to have many accents."

NE: "A person with a heavy accent can be very annoying to listen to, especially on the phone."

NE: "What matters is education. Besides, dialects are interesting and exotic."

NE: "It doesn't affect me at all but I have seen people get frustrated when telemarketers who have accents call them."

NE: "I think accents should be placed in their appropriate regions. No mixing - too difficult."

TN: "The Southern accent sounds uneducated and lazy but friendly. Northern accents sound intelligent and sophisticated."

TN: "Almost everyone has been exposed to different accents and used to them so it shouldn't matter."

TN: "Yes - better able to speak fluently and with more enthusiasm."

TN: "Different regions have an innate distrust of outsiders."

TN: "People with an accent get other people's attention."

TN: "Some people immediately assume that all Southern speakers are slack-joined yokels."

TN: "I would consider using an accent to judge to be discrimination, because the major determination of accent is where the person is from."

TN: "Yes - you want to sound professional not like a deer hunter."

TN: "Yes - because some accents are major turn-offs."

TN: "Most people are open enough to realize this is a big country."

TN: "No - because they can't change where they come from."

TN: "A regional accent would not matter if it were slight, however an extremely obvious accent usually indicates a lack of intelligence/education."

TN: "If a Yankee is working as a salesperson in the South some people will make fun of him and might not trust him even though he may be good but it could go either way."

TN: "It may be more interesting for the customer to hear someone from a different region."

TN: "I think a moderate accent is good, a strong accent is bad."

TN: "Don't know - I haven't been exposed to this yet."

TN: "Every region has some sort of accent, so you can't hire someone with no accent at all."

TN: "If they have too deep an accent you can't understand them."

TN: "Many people consider Southerners to be stupid and uneducated, but they also consider Northerners to be anti-social and unfriendly."

TN: "Some accents prevent the speaker from being clear and precise."

TN: "As long as the accent doesn't lose customers in translation, some colloquialisms never hurt anyone, they may even entertain the customers."

TN: "As long as I can understand them, I like accents."

TN: "Everyone from different regions in the U.S. speaks differently. It can't be helped."

ad Question 2: "Would you advise a person to learn to speak with a neutral and 'standard' accent before applying for a sales job?"

NE: "Depends: what kind of product they are selling - if they are selling snowboard equipment, they might not want a Southern accent."

NE: "I think also a very standard English shows intelligence."

NE: "No - but if they did it might improve their chances for a job."

TN: "Damn it I'm proud of who I am and everyone else would be, too. Who says which accent is better."

TN: "Just speak correct English."

TN: "Learn several for different regions."

TN: "Depends - how comfortable they feel with their accent."

TN: "No - then they would be sacrificing part of their personality."

ad Question 3: "Do you think there is one generally acceptable and desirable standard U.S. accent?"

NE: "We all have our own accents and that is what makes us unique and different. The U.S. would be very boring if we all spoke the same way."

NE: "Yes - Northeastern U.S.: Television, movies, radio, media is dominated by that particular accent, with that accent you can be from anywhere but with any other you are labeled."

NE: "New England - fairly neutral, this accent is closest to 'standard business English'."

NE: "Southern (female): It's like a feeling of comfort, warmth and good neighbors with a friendly voice. One may think of a homecooked Southern meal."

NE: "Corporate USA prefers conservative republican older men with New England accents (Boston, Connecticut, etc.)."

NE: "I don't like the bland, standard accent. I don't think it's as exciting as hearing all different types of voices."

NE: "Everyone who speaks one way thinks that others always have an accent. People generally accept the fact that we will always have different accents."

NE: "A neutral accent - it is a social norm."

NE: "The typical Midwest - there is usually a constant rate of speech and letter variation."

NE: "Midwestern - that's what I've heard."

NE: " 'TV talk' - This is neutral and understandable to all U.S. citizens."

NE: "More Northeast (NY, Mass., CT, not Boston) - it is certainly my bias being that I am from this area. However, newscasters such as Tom Brokaw, Dan Rathers, Barbara Walters etc. have all adopted a neutral accent similar to that of the Northeast."

NE: "Northeast - Location of many universities/colleges, most populated section of USA." [?]

NE: "There are so many forms of the English language that it is too hard to find one acceptable or suitable form."

NE: "I read somewhere that they train newsanchors to have a neutral Midwest accent."

NE: There is not a general accent for the entire U.S. - within regions where one dialect is spoken - that one is most desirable for that region but not one for all of the U.S."

TN: "Don't know - because some people pick on different accents. If you are from the South then most of the time you pick on Northern accents."

TN: "No, because people mostly want to accept their own accent before any others."

TN: "No - everyone has an accent."

TN: "Yes - Midwest - this accent would be the least territorial."

TN: "Midwest - not too nasal or too twangy."

TN: "Yes - the neutral voice of the operator."

TN: "All accents are not acceptable in certain parts, only 'neutral' is completely versatile."

TN: "Perhaps the perfect accent is the lack of one."

TN: "TV - everybody watches TV and is comfortable with the standard which is generally used on TV."

TN: "Midwest - Ohio-Valley - Mideastern Seaboard: it is a good neutral, 'clean' American English without the vowel drawls of the deep South or the over-emphasis and rough sounds of northern speech."

TN: "Depending on location, there may be an acceptable accent, but as a whole no."

TN: "The plain 'no accent' accent. Because it doesn't label the person."

TN: "People from the Western U.S. on average tend to use less slang terms, and have a better sense of proper pronunciation."

TN: "I think you should be proud of which region you are from and the accent you have because of living there."

TN: "We're all different - accept it."

TN: "There are so many accents - how could just one be acceptable?"

TN: "It's not the accent it is the slowness of speech."

TN: "One that properly enunciates words. Northern probably. Because it is spoken more clearly, more direct, with less slang, and is more internationally accepted."

TN: "Northeastern - all television shows have important educated people who speak this way, while Southerners and Westerners are portrayed as dumb or incompetent."

TN: "Everyone talks different! No one really cares, they just point it out."

TN: "The Southerners get made fun of. It is like if you have a Southern accent, you will not get a prestigious job, that is the myth, anyway."

TN: "If everyone has a different accent, it makes things less mainstream."

TN: "The Louisiana accent sounds somewhat cultured, while a lot of Deep South (Mississippi, Alabama) just sounds lazy and harsh."

TN: "The U.S. is based on immigration. With this in mind, how could there ever exist a uniform accent."

ad Question 4: "Do you like Southern speech?"

NE: "It is effective in some things such as country singing."

NE: " I think that Southern speech is charming in females, but can sound lazy in men."

NE: "No - I honestly don't know why."

NE: Depends on how slow they talk. I generally love accents including Southern, but there are people who speak a slow Southern way that I don't like.

NE: "I like the extra syllables put into words and the slow, soft sound some Southern accents have."

NE: "Depends: if they are cheery. They have a lot of character in them, but they sound better with women rather than men."

NE: "I think it is a neat accent and people who I know with it are nice."

NE: "Yes - it's slow and relaxing. It reminds me of iced tea in summer."

NE: "It's funny how they live in the same country but have a different way of speaking."

NE: "I think it's sexy on males, but can make a person sound less intelligent."

TN: "Yes - I'm Southern, even though it may not always be proper grammar."

TN: "Southern speech gives the impression of unintelligence, but I am from the South so what more can I say? I try to neutralize my accent."

TN: "People have made jokes and comments about my accent."

TN: "I live down here and I get tired of hearing it. It sounds retarded."

TN: " I enjoy Southern accents when they are accompanied by good grammar, but too often Southern speech is coupled with horrible grammar. There is a difference between 'redneck' speech and Southern accents."

TN: "I've heard it all my life, I see nothing wrong with it, it's part of the Southern heritage."

TN: "No - because it's generally regarded as a stupid person's accent."

TN: "Southern girls have a much sexier voice."

TN: "I am a Southerner, yet there are some forms of Southern speech spoken in different rural areas of the South which are just unacceptable in the intelligent work force."

TN: "I've spoke it all my life. Notice that I didn't say 'I have spoken it all my life'."

TN: "Deep Southern gets annoying after a while."

TN: "Double negatives bother me..."

TN: "Only because I am from here I like it, however if I hear a Southern accent on TV or radio it sounds horrible."

TN: "Sounds too run together and slow, like the mouth is waiting for a new thought before it can continue."

TN: "Yes - because it's fun to make fun of."

TN: "Yes - because it is where I'm from, it's how I talk and anything else sounds funny."

TN: "Yes - because I am Southern and I consider myself as intelligent and friendly. I also think a Southern accent sounds more outgoing and laid-back than other accents. They sound boring and uptight."

TN: " It is associated with hard-working, honest people."

TN: "Some Southern accents are extremely slow and appear uneducated, but most are not."

TN: "Yes - I can understand it. I'm from the South."

ad Question 6: "Do you think that in the sales job market a Southern accent can be an advantage/ an impediment?"

NE: "If you work in the North, yes. People tend to block out foreign accents."

NE: "Advantage - it's also often portrayed in movies/TV etc. as sweet, trusting and neighborly."

NE: "Impediment - I relate it to credit card calls - annoying."

NE: "It is known that it is harder to get a job with a Southern accent in many fields not just sales."

NE: "People sound uneducated and it takes too long for them to talk."

NE: "Advantage - because a lot of people like Southern accents, they kind of draw you in and you listen to their sales pitch longer."

NE: "I don't know but I hope that it's not a benefit otherwise that would be unfair."

NE: "Sometimes it makes people sound 'ditzy' and 'cheap'. This could be a disadvantage to the company."

NE: "It may be an impediment considering it's not 'standard'."

NE: "Impediment - there are many negative stereotypes to it."

NE: "Personally, if a salesperson has a Southern accent, it would be comforting to me (for some reason)."

NE: "Impediment - people don't really listen to what they're saying but how they are saying it."

NE: "Some people detest the way they pronounce words or say words like 'y'all'."

TN: "I think a lot of people like the accent. The ladies from the North always like my accent."

TN: "It depends whether you are male or female and who you are selling to."

TN: "Depending on the audience a Southern accent can generate a feeling of hospitality. in most cases there is comfort in it."

TN: "People in the South don't like certain accents - especially people who talk too slow [sic!]."

TN: "Advantage - Especially if it's a woman, because Southern women, in my opinion, sound happy and perky."

TN: "Advantage - Southerners are seen as being polite and honest."

TN: "Advantage - You can use Northern ignorance to take advantage of people who think you're stupid."

TN: "My mom was offered a job once because the employer liked her Southern accent (this was in Florida)."

TN: "I think a lot of people think just because you talk a little slower that your brain works slower. I don't think I could land a big job in NY City."

TN: "Depends on what they are selling. If they were selling peaches, a Southern accent would be an advantage."

TN: "Southern accent means that you're from the Bible Belt so people can trust you."

TN: "It sounds like you came right out of the cotton patch."

TN: "Advantage - because it seems real and not fake."

TN: "Slower speech allows more time to think about what you are saying."

TN: "Impediment - with a representative to New England."

TN: "It depends on your education."

TN: "Southern accent makes a person sound too uneducated, and who wants to buy from an uneducated salesman?"

TN: "Impediment - if I like to make fun of it, I'm sure everybody else does."

TN: "It could be either, it just depends on where your market is. A man from New Jersey probably couldn't sell pepper to a Cajun."

TN: "Most people choose to look down on Southerners fro reasons prior to Civil War. It could be bad for business."

TN: "If the speaker shows thorough knowledge of subject matter, sometimes the accent makes them seem friendlier, more honest, and humorous. They don't sound routine."

TN: "Can cause embarrassment for the company only because of the stereotypes already associated."

TN: "People like to hear Southerners talk."

TN: "Some people stereotype Southerners because of their accents. They assume they are stupid and inbred."

TN: "Impediment - it harms the opinion one forms of the person."

TN: "Someone with a Southern accent is apt not to be taken very seriously."

TN: "Southern is often thought of as funny or hillbilly."

TN: "If the other person thinks it sounds nice, they will like you more."

TN: "Advantage - people from the South speak slow enough for people anywhere to understand."

ad Question 7: "Are there situations that you can think of where speaking with a Southern accent seems inappropriate or disadvantageous to you?"

NE: "In the current news anchor climate, for example, many people use 'speech coaches' to alter or 'drop' their accent."

NE: "It may sound 'funny' or 'weird' up here in our Northern Kingdom - we hardly ever hear it, and it can be a shock to our ears."

NE: "Communities of people prejudices like myself might not think much of a Southerner's advice."

TN: "Yes - if you were selling a Northern product which was produced and mainly sold in the North."

TN: "If there's some idiot who doesn't like it who may be interviewing me for something."

TN: "No - just as long as good manners are used."

TN: "Yes - at school and at work. I'm going to be a teacher (English) - how can I teach proper English if I sound like a Southerner."

TN: "Persons often make comments about my accent but I see these neither as a compliment or insult, just as a mark of recognition that it is different."

TN: "Yes - if I speak with someone who I am afraid will look down on me because of my Southern accent."

TN: "I have/had a Belgian girlfriend. Whenever I speak to her mother I feel like an inbred hick that really wants to marry his cousin."

TN: "In loudspeaker situations, anytime a voice is magnified and projected to large numbers of people."

TN: "People think less of the accent."

TN: "Yes - not exactly with the accent but with the terminology. In business relations it is better to speak with intellect."

TN: "Too numerous to mention."

TN: "It may be inappropriate at a doctors' convention or the Oscar awards."

TN: "It is inappropriate when trying to sound educated and then using words like 'used to could'."

TN: "When you are surrounded by Northerners."

TN: "In applying for a job it can seem that the person is limited to that area of the country and that they aren't worldly enough."

Others:

NE: "If I was of African descent, I would never go to the South."

NE: "Southern girls are wierd [sic!] ex: cheerleading frenzy, Billy Ray Cyrus fans."

NE: "I am biased against Southern education."

NE: "I spent a week there two years ago and fell in love with the South. It's beautiful and the people are so friendly.

NE: "I have one friend in Tennessee. We only chat on the phone and by e-mail. She says 'y'all' a lot."

TN: "Some Southern accents are way Southern."