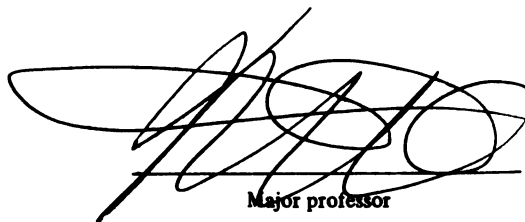This is to certify that the

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OREGONIAN PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICAN
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Laura C. Hartley

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OREGONIAN PERCEPTIONS OF
AMERICAN REGIONAL SPEECH

By

Laura C. Hartley

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

OREGIONAN PERCEPTIONS OF
AMERICAN REGIONAL SPEECH

By

Laura C. Hartley

Although much is known about the varieties of American speech from a linguistic standpoint, less work has been done which examines folklinguistic attitudes and beliefs about those varieties. "Perceptual dialectology" studies have been done in several areas of the United States; however, no research to date has examined the perceptions of west-coast residents.

In this study, the attitudes of Oregon residents towards American speech are examined through the use of hand-drawn maps and ratings of "degree of difference," "correctness," and "pleasantness." The results of the ratings data are analyzed primarily using Chi-Square Tests of Independence, Multi-Dimensional Scaling, and K-Means Cluster Analysis.

Results of the study indicate that overall, residents of Oregon exhibit a good deal of linguistic security. They tend to agree, in general, with the perceptual dialectology of respondents from other geographical areas, although there are a few noticeable differences in their ratings.

ACKNOWLEDMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Language Attitudes Research.   For the past three
decades, research on "language attitudes," i.e., beliefs about and
perceptions of varieties of language and the people who speak those
varieties, has had a substantial place in the literature of a number of fields,
including Sociolinguistics, Social Psychology and Communications. The
methods used in this research have typically fallen in one of three
categories: content analysis of societal treatment, such as examining laws
and policies regarding language use; direct measurement through questions
regarding the desirability of language varieties and self-report of language
use; and indirect measurement, primarily through the use of techniques
such as matched guise (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982).

Language attitude research is an effective tool in uncovering
stereotypes and beliefs that one group of people hold about another.
People often disguise the attitudes that they hold towards those who are
different from them by making claims about the language varieties that
those others use. "Attitudes toward particular varieties are then taken to be
attitudes towards the speakers of those varieties" (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian,
1982, p, 2). Various kinds of language attitudes research have been
conducted to investigate in- and out-group feelings and beliefs about
language varieties along a number of social dimensions, including ethnicity,
socio-economic status, gender, and region.

From a linguistic standpoint, all language varieties are equally
"good" as linguistic systems (Trudgill, 1974). From a social standpoint,
however, this is not the case. Particularly in areas with widespread
literacy, the elevation of one variety to the category of "standard", with the

subsequent attribution of the category or label "non-standard" to other varieties often results in a popular belief that the standard is the "correct", "proper", or "educated" way of speaking. This in turn may lead to an evaluation of non-standard varieties as "incorrect", "rough" or "ignorant", especially (but not exclusively) by those who are native speakers of a standard variety. This is often the case with U.S. varieties of English, thanks especially to prescriptive grammar books used in elementary and secondary education.

An individual who grows up speaking the standard variety of a language will likely have a great deal of "linguistic security", i.e. their attitudes towards their language variety will be generally favorable (Labov, 1966). Those who grow up speaking a non-standard variety, however, may experience a great deal of "linguistic insecurity" as a result of being told, either directly or indirectly, that the way they speak is wrong or ignorant.

1.2 The Linguistic Situation in the United States. The varieties of American English from a linguistic point of view have been defined primarily in terms of either lexicon (Carver, 1987) or phonology (Labov, 1991). The massive *LAUSC* (Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada) project begun in the 1930s, identifies language regions based on data collected and compiled in regional linguistic atlases (cf. Reed, 1957; Atwood, 1962; Kurath, 1949; Bright, 1971; Allen, 1973-76; Pederson et al, 1986). Further data was collected during fieldwork from 1965 to 1970 for the *DARE* (Dictionary of American Regional English) project (Cassidy, 1985). The compilation and publication of this data is still in progress. Although data was collected in some areas of the Pacific

Northwest (primarily Washington state) for the *LAUSC* and *DARE* projects, there has not been a great deal of analysis of the data which has been published, compared to other regions. The information which is available, primarily in the form of word geographies, (Reed, 1956, 1957, 1961) identifies the Pacific Northwest, which includes Washington, all but southernmost portion of Oregon, northern Idaho and the westernmost portion of Montana, as a distinct dialect area (see Figure 1).
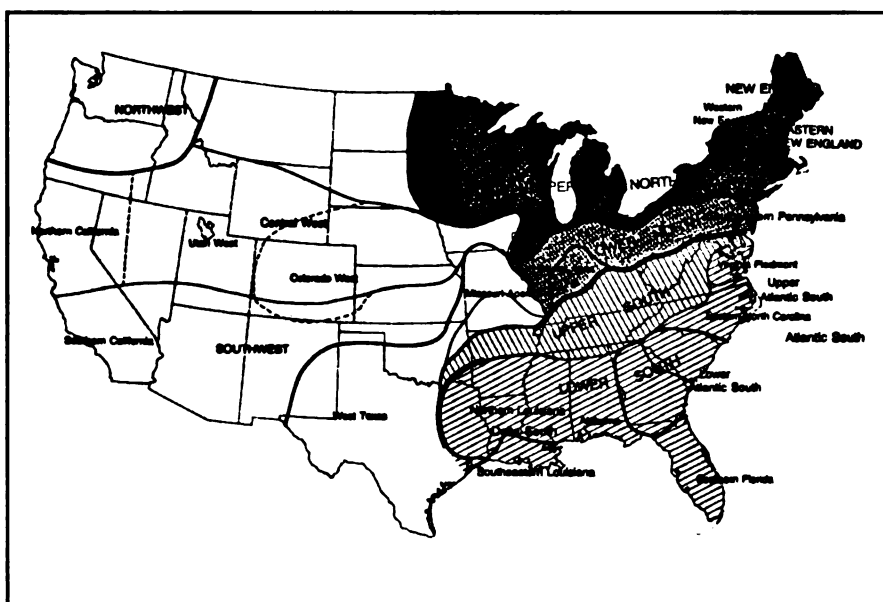
Figure 1. Major American Dialect Regions based on Word Geography Data

In contrast to Reed's primarily lexical data, Labov (1991) classifies the major dialect areas of the U.S. based on a careful study of the overall vowel systems used in different regions. In Labov's study, the Pacific Northwest is included in a much larger region, called for convenience simply "West". This region is characterized by the relative stability of most of the vowels (unlike the "North" and "South", which are characterized by different systematic vowel rotations in progress),

combined with a complete merger of the low back vowel /ɔ/ with /a/, so that words such as *cot* and *caught* are homonyms (both pronounced as /kat/). Labov claims that the merger is found in an area extending north into eastern New England from Boston and westward from Pittsburgh, through the traditional Midland area of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, then extending northward and southward to encompass most of the traditional West (see Figure 2).
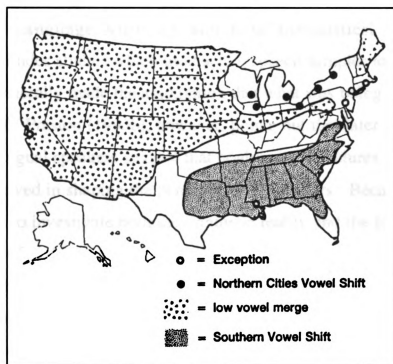
Figure 2. Major American Dialect Regions based on Vowel Systems

Despite popular notions, there is no single variety of American English which could properly be labeled "the" standard variety (Preston, 1993b). It is true that when questions regarding usage arise, people will often turn to grammar books as an authoritative guide to "correct" or "proper" English. These texts establish the rules for a variety of English which would be most accurately labeled *Formal Standard English* or

Prescriptive Standard English (Wolfram, 1991). Formal Standard English is most often used, however, in written rather than spoken language.

When it comes to spoken English, it is more accurate to say that each region of the U.S. supports its own standard, which can vary from other regional standards in terms of phonology, lexicon and even grammar. Nevertheless, the popular belief that there is a "correct" way of <u>speaking</u> (in addition to writing) American English is pervasive.

1.3 Language Attitudes and Folk Linguistics. Early language attitudes studies which used actual speech samples to elicit hearer responses generally made the assumption that what was being rated was the speech itself. Preston (1993b), however, points out that later studies done with monolingual speakers suggest that nonlinguistic features may be equally involved in shaping the perceptions of speakers. Because of this, it is important to investigate both the linguistic reality and the folk perceptions of dialect areas.

This concern for understand folk linguistic reality is by no means a new undertaking. Rensink (1955) reports briefly on data collected in 1939 in The Netherlands in which respondents were asked to point out areas where people speak dialects that were different than their own. Grootaers (1959) included questions related to perceptual dialectology in a survey he conducted in one area of Japan. Based on the data he collected, Grootaers concluded that

> the dialect consciousness of the average speaker has no linguistic fundament. It is based essentially on an elusive feeling, fostered by community life, it is of essentially transient nature, because a change in village administration, if lasting approximately for one human life span, suffices to give it new shape (p. 384).

Building on the methods used by Rensink and Grootaers, Preston examined the perceptual dialectology of some regions in the U.S. through a series of studies with residents from Hawaii (1982), Indiana (1985, 1993b), western New York and New York City (1986), and Michigan (1993b). Other researchers have utilized methods similar to Preston's to study the "perceptual dialectology" of other countries, including Japan (Inoue, 1986; Long, 1996), Germany (Dailey-O'Cain, 1994, 1996), Wales (Coupland, Williams & Garrett, 1994), Turkey (Demirci, 1996), France (Kuiper, 1996), and Spain (Moreno, 1996).

1.5 Perceptual Dialectology Studies in the U.S. Preston's perceptual dialectology research reveals a general lack of differentiation among the varieties of speech in western states by non-Western residents, with the exception of California often being singled out as a separate dialect area. This is the case in research which compares composites of hand-drawn maps, in which respondents circle and label areas where they believe "people talk alike," done with residents of New York City, Hawaii, southern Indiana, western New York, and southeastern Michigan (1986). In this study, composite maps from all five areas differentiated California as a separate dialect area. All respondents except those from Hawaii also drew a "West", although the boundaries of this area varied somewhat. Only respondents from western New York designated a "Northwest" region, which included all the states from Oregon to Minnesota. In terms of other regions, all five groups differentiated regions called "South/Southern", "Northeast/New England", "Texas", "North/Northern", "Midwest" and "New York City." There was also a tendency to single out

the respondents' home state or area as a distinct dialect region; in fact, all respondents except those from Michigan did this.

In further research in southern Indiana and southeastern Michigan, Preston (1993b) also measures respondent ratings of the 50 states plus New York City and Washington D.C. in terms of "correctness", "pleasantness", and "degree of difference." He concludes from this research that residents of Michigan exhibit a great deal of linguistic security, reflected in their extremely high rating of Michigan in terms of "correctness" as well as high ratings in terms of "pleasantness", although several other states are rated equally pleasant. Residents from southern Indiana, however, demonstrate some linguistic insecurity by rating several other areas higher in terms of "correctness" but Indiana as highest in terms of "pleasantness." According to Preston, "these results suggest, further, that the preference for local norms along affective lines is stronger in areas where there is linguistic insecurity" (p. 35).

This conclusion is well supported by past language attitudes research which has claimed that a language or language variety of a minority group can become highly symbolic in terms of creating feelings of solidarity. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982), for example, make the following claim:

> The language or dialect of one's family life, intimate friendships and informal interactions acquires vital social meanings and comes to represent the social group with which one identifies. One's native language typically elicits feelings of attraction, appreciation and belongingness. In situation where a group's identity is threatened, the variety with which it is associated can become a key symbol of the group's culture and identity (p. 9).

Because Preston's Indiana respondents are part of a stigmatized group in American culture (i.e. they have a somewhat "southern" accent), their language variety has become a means of creating in-group solidarity.

Although Preston's work has provided much helpful information in understanding American perceptions of U.S. regional speech, a comprehensive picture of the language attitude situation is not possible until data has been collected from each of the major geographical and dialectal areas of the United States. To date, no research has been done which examines the perceptions of west-coast residents toward varieties of speech in the U.S. This study helps to fill in this gap in the literature by focusing on the perceptual dialectology of residents from one west-coast state, Oregon.

Based on standard claims within the sociolinguistic literature, results from Preston's studies, and my own experience and intuition as a native of the west coast (although not a native of Oregon), the following hypotheses are tested in this study:

> HYPOTHESIS 1: Oregonians will differentiate varieties of speech in western states to a greater degree than non-west coast residents, although they will still outline a single major Western dialect region. As far as other regions are concerned, Oregonians will not as finely distinguish among states in southern and northern regions (east of the Mississippi River) as do residents in those areas.

This hypothesis is based primarily on the tendency to identify the local area as a distinct dialect region which Preston (1986) found in respondents from other geographical regions. The prediction that they will still generally include themselves in a greater Western dialect region is based on his claim in the same article "that the local identity is not strong unless the area supports some linguistic or other cultural caricature" (p. 230). The second part of the hypothesis, which deals with other regions, is simply the flip-side of the self-identification fact, i.e. Oregonians will not as strongly identify the local areas of respondents from other geographical regions.

HYPOTHESIS 2: Oregonians will not generally distinguish themselves from Washington, but may do so slightly from California, due especially to caricatures of southern California (e.g. Hollywood, "valley" talk, and a large proportion of native Spanish-speaking residents).

Since there is a relatively weak cultural caricature of Oregon and Washington together based on the history of the Oregon territory and the unique climate (i.e. "it always rains there") but a strong caricature of California, as already described above, the self-identification tendencies will serve to differentiate these areas.

HYPOTHESIS 3: Oregonians will exhibit a strong degree of linguistic security, reflected in high ratings for Oregon in terms of both "correctness" and "pleasantness", with equally high ratings for other western states in the "pleasantness" category.

This hypothesis is based largely on my own native speaker intuitions about the status of western language varieties, but also on the fact that western speech varieties are not stigmatized and therefore should not create a situation of linguistic insecurity.

HYPOTHESIS 4: New York City will be rated the lowest overall for both "correctness" and "pleasantness". Southern states will be rated low for "correctness" but slightly higher for "pleasantness". Northern and New England states will be rated fairly high for both "correctness" and "pleasantness", but not as high overall as Western states.

These prediction are based on the specific cultural caricatures associated with these regions, as well as on past studies such as Preston 1993b.

HYPOTHESIS 5: Exposure to language varieties in different states may effect ratings slightly, but in general, stereotypes will be stronger than contradictory experiential evidence, particularly in highly caricatured areas such as New York City and the deep south.

This hypothesis is based on past sociolinguistic work such as Williams'

(1972) study with teachers in Texas in which ratings were found to be

much more a result of stereotypes than responses to actual linguistic details.

> <u>HYPOTHESIS 6:</u> Gender may influence ratings slightly, but not
> significantly overall. In terms of "pleasantness" and "correctness",
> women will have a tendency to rate more extremely overall. Age
> may also have a small effect on ratings, but overall this effect will
> not be significant.

This hypothesis is based on past language attitudes research which has

shown that in some cases, gender and age may have a significant effect on

ratings (e.g. Kramer, 1977; Newcombe & Arnkoff, 1979; Paltridge &

Giles, 1984; Condon & Pittman, 1993).

In the following chapter, research tools used, respondent

demographics and methods of data collection are detailed. Chapter 3 gives

the results of the research. Finally, Chapter 4 provides an interpretation

and discussion of the results, discusses problems and issues related to this

study and perceptual dialectology research in general and offers

suggestions for further research.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Data Collection. The data were collected primarily from residents living in the greater Eugene-Springfield area of Oregon. A small number of residents of Portland also participated in the research. Respondents were approached in a variety of public areas, such as outside shopping areas, parks and on the University of Oregon campus. In addition, permission to interview residents of a local senior citizens home was obtained.

There were a total of 66 respondents, 32 males and 34 females. The respondents ranged in age from 20 to 78, with the following number in each of five age categories: 20-29, 8 respondents; 30-39, 13 respondents; 40-49, 18 respondents; 50-59, 14 respondents; 60+, 13 respondents. All of the respondents were of European-American descent, with the exception of one Native American. 27 respondents were lifetime residents of Oregon. 6 were born in other states, but have lived continuously in Oregon since elementary school. 4 moved to Oregon during their high school years. 7 spent their school years in other west-coast states but have lived in Oregon for most of their adult lives. Finally, 22 were raised and have lived in Oregon for most of their lives, but have lived in other states or countries for some part of their adult lives.

2.2 Research Tools. The following research tools were utilized in the data collection (copies of each tool can be found in Appendix A). These tools are basically the same as those utilized in Preston 1993b, with a few exceptions, as noted below.

1. Maps - Respondents were first given a map of the U.S., including state boundary lines but no state names. They were asked to draw circles around areas "where people talk the same" and to label those areas. Respondents were encouraged to use their own descriptive labels for this task.

2. Degree of Difference - Respondents were next given an alphabetical listing of the 50 states plus New York City and Washington D.C. and asked to rate each area on a 4-point scale depending on how similar the speech in that area sounds compared to the respondents' own speech. For this task, respondents were given a U.S. map labeled with state names to consult if they so chose.

3. Correctness - Respondents were given a similar alphabetical list and asked to rate each state or city on a 7-point scale (Preston used a 10 point scale for this task) as to how "correct" the speech in that area is. No definition or criteria for determining "correctness" were provided by the researcher. If the respondents asked questions about what was meant by "correct", they were told to use their own judgments.

4. Pleasantness - Respondents were then asked to rate each state or city on a separate sheet, on a 7-point scale as to how "pleasant" the speech in that area is. (Again, Preston used a 10-point scale.) This task was switched with the correctness task for half of the respondents in order to eliminate overall any possible ordering effects for the two tasks.

5. Exposure to other varieties - Respondents were asked to indicate which states they have visited by placing a check mark next to the state names on their last survey sheet. They were instructed to count

any state that they had ever been in, regardless of for how long they had been there.

6. Interviews - For some respondents, data collected on the questionnaires was explored in greater detail through short interviews. In particular, these interviews were used to determine to what extent individual experiences, general stereotypes, media influence, etc. have influenced labeling and rating.

2.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis. Data obtained from the degree of difference, correctness, and pleasantness tasks were first checked using a normal probability plot to determine if ratings were normally distributed, an assumption of parametric statistical tests. It was determined that, in fact, the data were not normally distributed, and therefore needed to be subject to non-parametric statistical analysis.

To begin with, Chi-Square tests were run comparing the ratings of the two gender groups and each age group for degree of difference, correctness, and pleasantness for each state. When it was found that overall these factors were insignificant (the exact results will be given in Chapter 3), the subsequent analysis ignored gender and age breakdowns.

Chi-square tests were then run comparing each state to every other state in each of the rating tasks. Although these tests provided some interesting results, they did not provide enough detail to allow strong conclusions to be drawn. Because of this, the data were also subjected to Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) and K-Means Cluster Analysis.

MDS is "a procedure for fitting a set of points in a space such that the distances between points correspond as closely as possible to a given set of dissimilarities between a set of objects" (SYSTAT, 1992, p.94). The

output of an MDS run is a two-dimension plot with points scattered fairly evenly throughout the space. The axes can be interpreted as principle components or factor analysis. Clusters of objects or obvious patterns can also be interpreted from the plot (SYSTAT, 1992).

Cluster Analysis in general is a multivariate procedure for finding natural groupings in a data set. K-Means clusters are partitioned clusters, rather than hierarchical, i.e. rather than detecting groups within groups within groups, it splits the objects of analysis into separate, non-overlapping clusters. It does this by calculating between- relative to within-cluster variation until it has minimized the within-groups sum of squares. It is important to note that K-Means clustering makes no assumptions as to how many groups there are in the data set. The researcher must specify the number of groups that should be calculated and will likely need to try different numbers of clusters before the best analysis is achieved (SYSTAT, 1992).

Although Preston and Howe (1987) developed a technique for extracting computerized generalization from hand-drawn maps, Preston (1996) questions whether the computerized results are really more instructive than a qualitative analysis, particularly in the case of a relatively small set of maps. Because of this, hand-drawn maps in this study were analyzed in a more qualitative fashion, although some attempt was still made to quantify the results. Regions that were circled reoccuringly were identified. For each of these regions, the researcher determined what percentage of respondents included various states within their boundaries of the regions, producing a kind of overall layered perceptual map of each region.

Finally, the tape recorded interviews were listened to and relevant parts of the discussions were transcribed. The information obtained in this way supplemented the survey data, although it was not extensive and was not collected from every respondent.

3 RESULTS

3.1 Hand-Drawn Maps.
The following table shows general regions differentiated by respondents in hand-drawn maps of areas "where people talk alike." Regions are listed in order of frequency of identification, with most frequently to least frequently identified. Areas identified by fewer than 12% (8 respondents) are not included. Several examples of hand-drawn maps are included in Appendix C.

Table 1. Frequency of Identification of Dialect Regions

Region Identified	# Respondents identifying region (n=65)	% Respondents identifying region
South	60	92.3
Northeast	49	75.4
Texas	36	55.4
Midwest	31	47.7
West	29	44.6
New England	24	36.9
California	17	26.2
Pacific Northwest	16	24.6
Hawaii	15	23.1
Northern	14	21.5
Southwest	12	18.5
Alaska	9	13.8
Plains & Mountains	9	13.8
West Coast	8	12.3
Louisiana/"Cajun"	8	12.3

Although Table 1 provides an overall frequency with which different regions were identified in hand-drawn maps, it does not indicate which

states were actually included in each area. Since this varied some from respondent to respondent, the best way to interpret overall perceptions of each region was to tally which states were included in each region when that region was identified by a respondent as a distinct dialect area. It is then possible to differentiate "core" states which make up an overall perceptual region (i.e. those most commonly associated with that area) from "peripheral" states in a kind of layered map. Layered perceptual maps are presented in the following pages for a number of the regions given in Table 1.

Of the 60 respondents who circled a southern dialect region, all 60 included Alabama within this region, thus making Alabama the "most southern" state in the perceptual dialectology of the Oregonian respondents. Between 56 and 59 respondents also included Mississippi, Georgia and western South Carolina in their drawings of a "South." Thus, these four states form what could be called the "Deep South" in the respondents' perceptions (see Figure 3).

It is interesting to note the degree to which Texas and Florida are included in a general "South" for the Oregon residents. Recall from Table 1 that Texas itself was identified as a distinct region by 36 respondents. This map, however, reveals that almost as many respondents (29) simply included Texas in the "South." Florida also gets incorporated into the South rather than being singled out as a distinct dialect region, although its degree of "southernness" decreases as you move from northern to southern Florida.
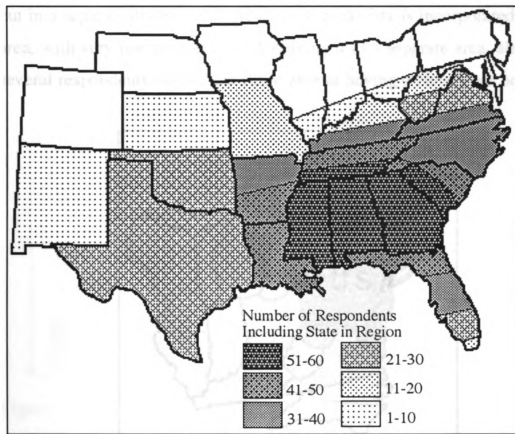
Figure 3. Results of Hand-Drawn Maps of a "South"

For the Oregonian respondents, the "Northeast" clearly centers around New York state, extending as far west as Wisconsin for some respondents, although the majority draw the western boundary at Ohio (see Figure 4).

Table 1 reveals that 24 respondents identified a "New England" region in addition to or rather than a "Northeast". The "New England" maps have as their focal area the states of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine. Those who did indicate a separate region generally referred to it as "New England," although three respondents made reference to a Boston accent. As Figure 4 shows, more respondents overall simply included the New England states within a general "Northeast" rather than singling them

out in a separate dialect area. Also, New York City is incorporated in this area, with very few respondents identifying it as a separate area, although several respondents labeled the entire area as having a New York accent.
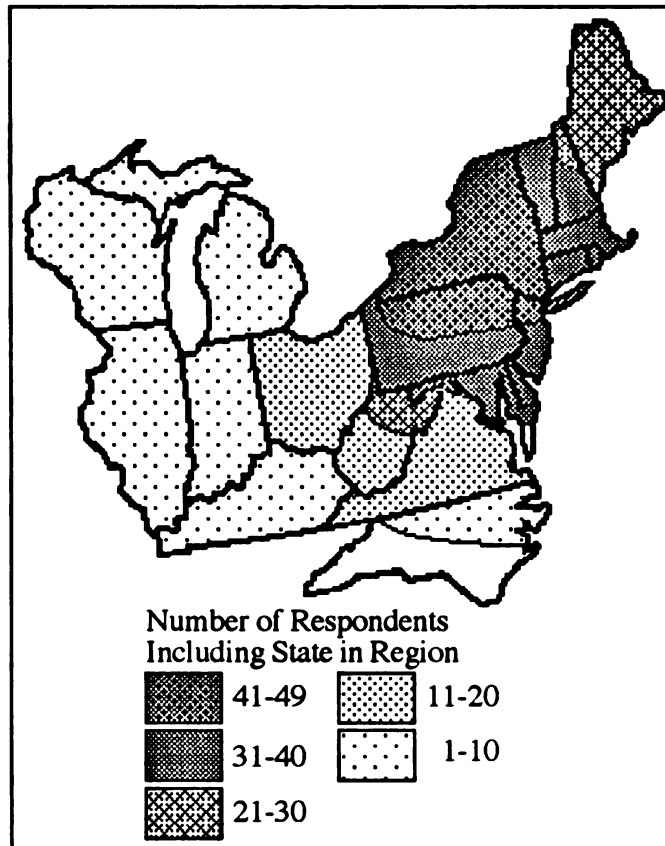
Figure 4. Results of Hand-Drawn Maps of a "Northeast"

Number of Respondents
Including State in Region

■ 31-40	▨ 11-20
▧ 21-30	⸬ 1-10
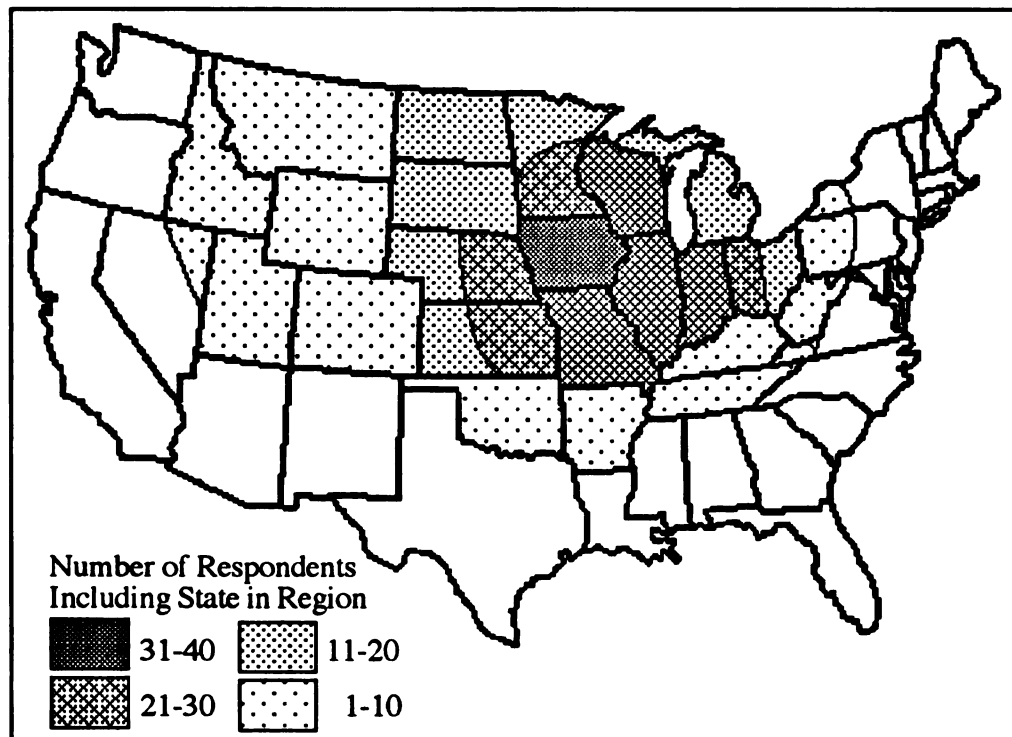
Figure 5. Results of Hand-Drawn Maps of a "Midwest"

Nearly half of the respondents (31) indicated that the "Midwest" was a distinct dialect region. The center of this perceptual region is the state of Iowa. For a few respondents, this area extended as far west as Idaho and/or as far east as central Pennsylvania (see Figure 5).

As Table 1 shows, 14 respondents drew a "Northern" region in addition to or instead of a Midwest. This northern region was centered on Minnesota, and for a few respondents included only Minnesota. Also, 9 respondents designated a "Plains and Mountains" region, focused around Wyoming, Montana, Colorado and sometimes the Dakotas. Finally, a small number of respondents (6) also indicated a "Great Lakes" dialect region, which included Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio.
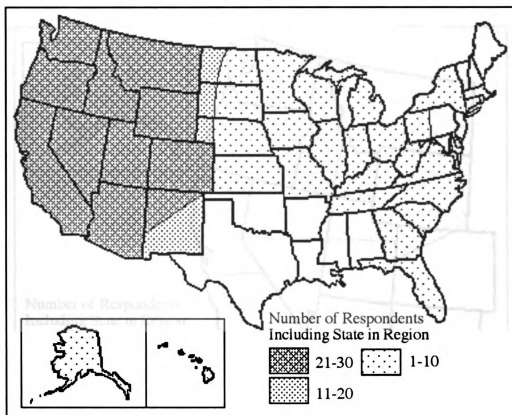
Figure 6. Results of Hand-Drawn Maps of a "West"

A few of the respondents who did not draw a separate midwestern region simply included many of the midwest states, and even some eastern states in a large region, often labeled "Normal" or "sound the same as me" (see Figure 6). Of the 29 respondents who identified the "West" as a dialect region, most of them drew the boundary for this region between Montana/Wyoming/ Colorado and the Dakotas/Nebraska/Kansas. In fact of all the regions drawn, this area was the most uniform, i.e. the least "layered." All of the states west of the boundary mentioned above were included in this western dialect area by 25-29 respondents. In other words, for those respondents who indicated a distinct "West" dialect region, there was 86-100% agreement that all states west of the Dakotas should be included in this region.
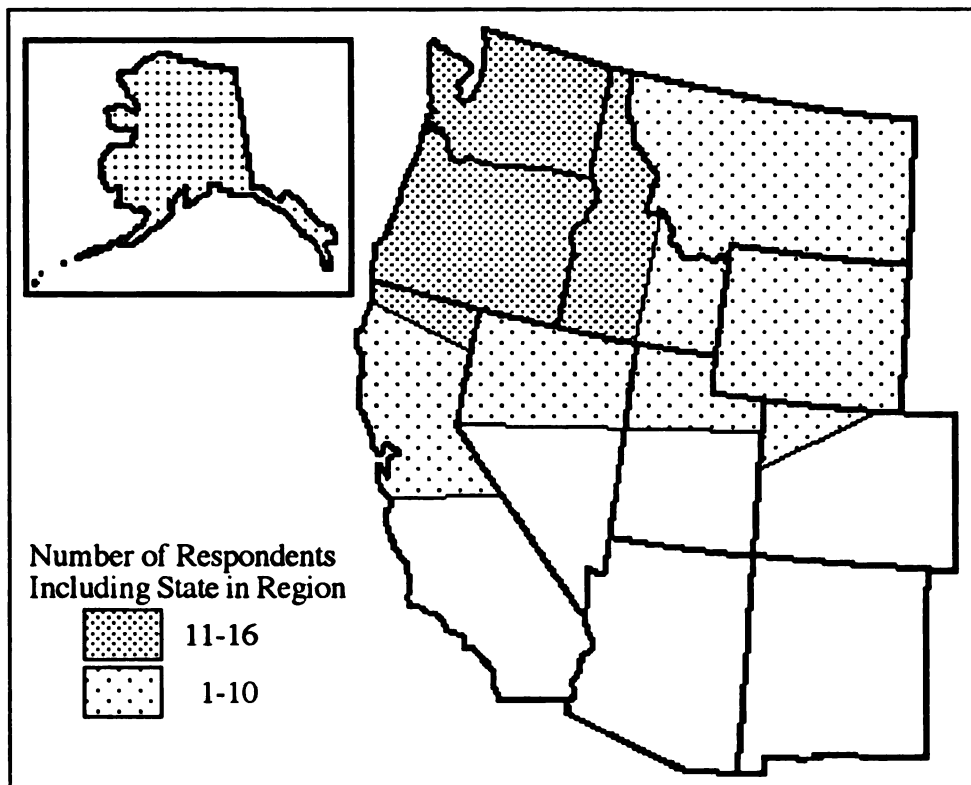
Figure 7. Results of Hand-Drawn Maps of a "Pacific Northwest"

Some respondents were more specific in their identification of western dialect regions. As Figure 7 shows, 16 respondents drew a "Pacific Northwest" area, which included primarily Oregon, Washington and western Idaho. The splitting of California into two dialect regions is reflected in both the perceptual boundaries of the Pacific Northwest, which includes northern California for at least some respondents, and the dialect region drawn for "California" (see Figure 8).

Finally, a handful of respondents (8) drew a "West Coast" region, rather than a general "West", a "Pacific Northwest" and/or a "California." For these respondents, Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Utah and western Montana and Arizona formed a separate dialect region.
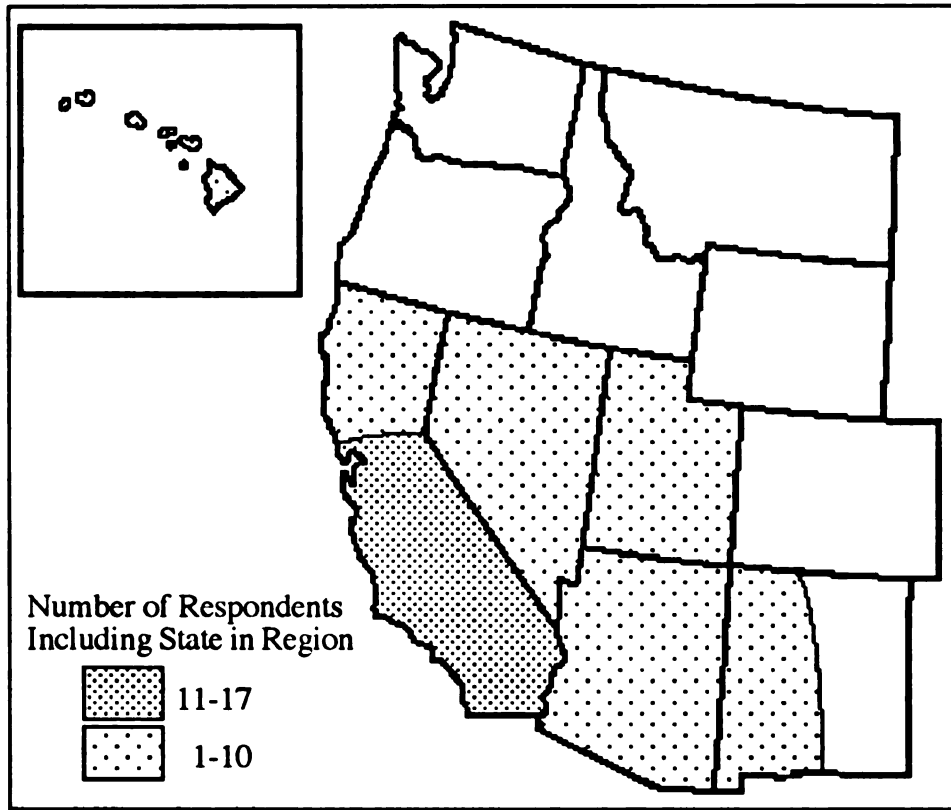
Figure 8. Results of Hand-Drawn Maps of a "California"

In addition to the boundaries which were drawn, an analysis of the types of labels used for the various regions sheds light on how each of the areas is viewed in the perceptions of the Oregonian respondents. Building on the analysis of labels from Preston's (1982) research with Hawaiian respondents, the Oregonian labels can be divided into nine categories: Geographical location, Variety descriptors, Evaluative terms, Other languages/Countries/Ethnic groups, Sound/Tempo Qualities, Topography/Nature, Cultural/Historical, Respellings, and Other. By far, the majority of labels fell into one of the first four categories. A complete listing of labels provided on the hand-drawn maps can be found in Appendix D.

An comparison of the categories of labels used for each of the major regions reveals some interesting generalizations. To begin with, the most frequently employed category of labels was "geographical location". For each of the four major regions (West, Midwest, Northeast, and South), this category had more members than any other category. Thus it appears that Oregonians divide up the U.S. primarily in terms of geography.

An analysis of the other categories provides more insight into how these major geographical regions are perceived. The "evaluative terms" category, which includes labels which suggest that some regions support a "better" variety of English than others, was used almost exclusively to describe western regions (including Alaska and Hawaii). The respondents most often used the labels "Normal" or "No Accent" to describe the speech in western areas. Other labels included "Plain Western", "Commoners", and "The same as me." Both the Midwest and Florida received only one label each in this category ("less accent" and "very little accent" respectively). Evaluative labels were completely absent for the northeastern and southern regions.

With respect to this category, it is interesting to note the differences between the Oregonian respondents and Preston's Hawaiian respondents. Many of the Hawaiian respondents used the term "Standard" within their labels. This term did not show up once in Oregonian labels. Preston (1982) suggests that, in the Hawaiian respondents' perceptions,

> while eastern and northeastern varieties may belong to some such historically prescriptive variety known as "Standard," they may not belong to the category "normal," reserved for varieties farther west (p. 39).

While it seems that Oregonians agree with Hawaiians that "normal" speech belongs to western speakers, they do not seem to support the same notions

of a prescriptive standard variety which is the property of east coast speakers.

The category of "variety descriptors" was the second most common (after "geographical location") for the Midwest, Northeast, New England, South and Texas. While the Midwest and Northeast varieties were most frequently called an "accent", however, the varieties of speech in Texas and the South were most often referred to as a "drawl." Other descriptors of Northeast speech included "thick brogue", "mumbo jumbo" (used for Washington D.C.) and "speak w/ accent where they draw out vowels." In terms of southern speech, "southern twang" and "Rebel slang" were each used once.

Another category which was fairly frequently employed for all regions by the Oregonian respondents was "Other languages/Countries/ Ethnic groups." A closer examination of which languages/ethnic groups are singled out, however, reveals a distinction between early immigration in the settlement of the Northeast, Midwest and South and on-going immigration in the West. The primary group singled out in the (south)western areas is Spanish/Mexican, although one respondent also referred to southeast Asian groups, using the label "Vietnamese/Laosian/ Hispanic" to describe southern California.

In contrast, the Midwest received labels such as "More Scandinavian like", "Germanic lgs" and "Northern European." The Northeast and New England were referred to as "More British like," "European", and "Older English terms." The South received the labels "More Scottish like" and "slower 'French' roll." Finally, Louisiana was primarily labeled with terms which fell into this category, such as "French," "Cajon" and "English/French Creole."

Hawaii was also differentiated primarily through labels which fell into the category of "Other languages/Countries/Ethnic groups." There was a perception of influence on the speech in Hawaii by both the indigenous island population (e.g. "Hawaiian natives - native accent") and Asian ethnic groups (e.g. "Asian influence", "Japanese Golfland"). Alaska also had a few references to the native population ("Eskimo", "Alaskan Indian influence"), although not as many as Hawaii.

Finally, Florida seems to be the other area where continuing immigration seems to be a significant influence on the respondents' perceptions of language varieties. The labels here were primarily references to Cuban Spanish, although one respondent used the label "7-11 Turbins", suggesting a perception of a large number of middle eastern immigrants holding lower level jobs (such as working in all night convenience stores).

As far as the other categories are concerned, a few comments should be made. "Sound/Tempo Qualities" were used most often to describe the speech of the Northeast and New England. These included "harsh, talk fast", "meaningless mumble", "Nasal" (used 3 times) and "clipped and direct." In contrast, three respondents referred to speech in the South as "slow." The Midwest received two labels in this category - "twangy, brash" and "Nasal." The speech in the Northwest, on the other hand, was considered "Soft - TV like" by one respondent.

The category of "Cultural/Historical" labels tended to reflect either stereotypes of certain areas or occupations. In the former group are labels such as "Leisure living" and "Hip-Californian" for California, "Last Frontier" for Alaska, "Hillbilly" for Tennessee and Kentucky, and "Back

Bay" for New England. Occupations show up in the Midwest "Central Farmers" and the "cowboys" of the Plains states and Alaska.

Finally, respelling are used only four times in this data, all for highly stereotyped accents; twice for New York City ("New York, New Yawk!" and "neuw yawk"), once for the Midwest ("Chicaco accent") and once for the South ("suthron").

3.2 Degree of Difference. Chi-square tests were first run for each state based on gender, age group, and whether or not the respondents had ever visited the state. In the gender run, chi-square values were not significant at the .05 level for any state. In terms of age, chi-square values were significant at the .05 level only for the states of Illinois and Indiana. Tables 2 and 3 show the ratings of these two states in terms of age group. Figures are percentages of respondents within each age group who gave the corresponding ratings. The rating scale is as follows:

1 = people there sound like me
2 = people there sound a little different from me
3 = people there sound very different from me
4 = people there sound so different from me I can't understand them

Table 2. Degree of Difference Ratings for Illinois by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=18)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=13)
1	0.0	23.08	27.78	38.46	38.46
2	75.00	46.15	72.22	61.54	61.54
3	25.00	30.77	0.0	0.0	0.0

Chi-square = 17.173 with d.f. = 8

Table 3. Degree of Difference Ratings for Indiana by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=18)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=13)
1	25.00	15.38	22.22	38.46	46.15
2	37.50	76.92	72.22	61.54	53.85
3	37.50	7.69	5.56	0.0	0.0

Chi-square = 15.848 with d.f. = 8

For both of these states, the significant chi-square values (17.173, with 8 d.f. and 15.848, with 8 d.f. respectively) are likely a result of the overall harsher rating of younger respondents (in the 20-29 and 30-39 age groups).

Related to whether or not respondents had visited each state, chi-square values were significant only for the states of Arizona, Kentucky and Massachusetts. Tables 4-6 show the distribution of ratings, in terms of percentages of respondents within each group who gave the corresponding ratings.

For both Arizona and Kentucky, significant chi-square values (6.697, 2 d.f. and 6.007, 2 d.f.) are a result of the more favorable ratings (in terms of being similar to the respondents) given to the states by those who have actually visited them. In the case of Massachusetts, however, (chi-square = 10.146, 3 d.f.) the opposite is the case. Those who have actually visited this state rated it more different from their own speech than those who have not visited it.

Table 4. Degree of Difference Ratings for Arizona by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=16)	Have Visited State (n=45)
1	56.25	84.44
2	37.50	15.56
3	0.0	0.0
4	6.25	0.0

Chi-square = 6.697 with d.f. = 2

Table 5. Degree of Difference Ratings for Kentucky by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=43)	Have Visited State (n=18)
1	0.0	0.0
2	20.93	50.00
3	76.74	44.44
4	2.33	5.56

Chi-square = 6.007 with d.f. = 2

Table 6. Degree of Difference Ratings for Massachusetts by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=48)	Have Visited State (n=12)
1	8.33	0.0
2	50.00	25.00
3	39.58	50.00
4	2.08	25.00

Chi-square = 10.146 with d.f. = 3

Since significance in terms of age groups and visit status was found in only a very small number of states (and in different states for the two factors), subsequent statistics were run on the entire population, without regard for the factors of gender, age group and visit status.

Chi-square tests were run comparing the degree of difference ratings for each state against every other state. Table 7 shows the result of this run in terms of which states were not significantly different from others at the .05 level. (State names are abbreviated using standard postal abbreviations. See Appendix B for list of abbreviations used.)

This chi-square run reveals sets of states for which the ratings were basically identical, i.e. the states were not significantly different from exactly the same other states. These sets are Alaska, Arizona, and Montana; California, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah; Connecticut, Maine and West Virginia; Georgia and Mississippi; Illinois and Indiana; Maryland and Rhode Island; Massachusetts, Missouri and New Hampshire; Michigan, Minnesota and Ohio; Nebraska and North Dakota; Tennessee and Texas. Furthermore, it provides a general picture of clusters of states. These clusters become even more apparent through the use of Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) analysis, as shown in Figure 9.

Table 7. Chi-Square Results for Degree of Difference Ratings

State	States which were not significantly different
AL:	GA, LA, MS, NYC
AK:	AZ, CA, CO, ID, MT, NV, UT, WY
AZ:	AK, CA, CO, ID, MT, NV, UT, WY
AR:	KY, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX
CA:	AK, AZ, CO, ID, MT, NV, UT, WA, WY
CO:	AK, AZ, CA, ID, MT, NV, UT, WA, WY
CT:	DE, FL, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NY, OK, RI, VT, VA, WDC, WV
DE:	CT, FL, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NY, OK, PA, RI, VT, VA, WDC, WV
FL:	CT, DE, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, RI, VT, VA, WDC, WV
GA:	AL, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX
HI:	NM
ID:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, MT, NV, OR, WA
IL:	IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, NE, ND, OH, PA, SD, WDC, WI
IN:	IL, IA, KS, MI, MN, NE, ND, OH, PA, SD, WDC, WI
IA:	IL, IN, KS, MI, MN, NE, NM, ND, OH, PA, SD, WI
KS:	IL, IN, IA, MD, MI, MN, NE, ND, OH, PA, RI, WDC, WI
KY:	AR, GA, MS, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX
LA:	AL, GA, MS, NYC, NC, SC, TN, TX
ME:	CT, DE, FL, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NY, OK, RI, VT, VA, WDC, WV
MD:	CT, DE, FL, KS, ME, MA, MO, NH, PA, RI, VT, VA, WDC, WV
MA:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MD, MO, NH, NJ, NY, OK, RI, VT, VA, WV
MI:	IL, IN, IA, KS, MN, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI
MN:	IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI
MS:	AL, GA, KY, LA, NC, SC, TN, TX
MO:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MD, MA, NH, NJ, NY, OK, RI, VT, VA, WV
MT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, ID, NV, UT, WY
NE:	IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, NM, ND, OH, SD, WI
NV:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, ID, MT, UT, WA, WY
NH:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MD, MA, MO, NJ, NY, OK, RI, VT, VA, WV
NJ:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MA, MO, NH, NYC, NY, NC, OK, TN, TX, VA, WV
NM:	HI, IA, NE, ND, SD, WI
NYC:	AL, AR, KY, LA, NJ, NY, NC, SC, TN, TX
NY:	AR, CT, DE, KY, ME, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NYC, NC, OK, TN, TX, VA, WV
NC:	AR, GA, KY, LA, MS, NJ, NYC, NY, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA
ND:	IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, NE, NM, OH, SD, WI
OH:	IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, NE, ND, SD, WI
OK:	AR, CT, DE, KY, ME, MA, MS, NV, NJ, NY, NC, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV
OR:	ID, WA
PA:	DE, IL, IN, IA, KS, MD, RI, VT, WDC, WI
RI:	CT, DE, FL, KS, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, PA, VT, VA, WDC, WV
SC:	AR, GA, KY, LA, MS, NYC, NC, OK, TN, TX
SD:	IL, IN, IA, MI, MN, NE, NM, ND, OH, WI
TN:	AR, GA, KY, LA, MS, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TX
TX:	AR, GA, KY, LA, MS, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN
UT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, MT, NV, WA, WY
VT:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, PA, RI, VA, WDC, WV
VA:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NY, NC, OK, SC, VT, WV
WDC:	CT, DE, FL, IL, IN, KS, ME, MD, PA, RI, VT, WV, WI
WA:	CA, CO, ID, NV, OR, UT
WV:	CT, DE, FL, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NY, OK, RI, VT, VA, WDC
WI:	IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, NE, NM, ND, OH, PA, SD, WDC
WY:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, MT, NV, UT
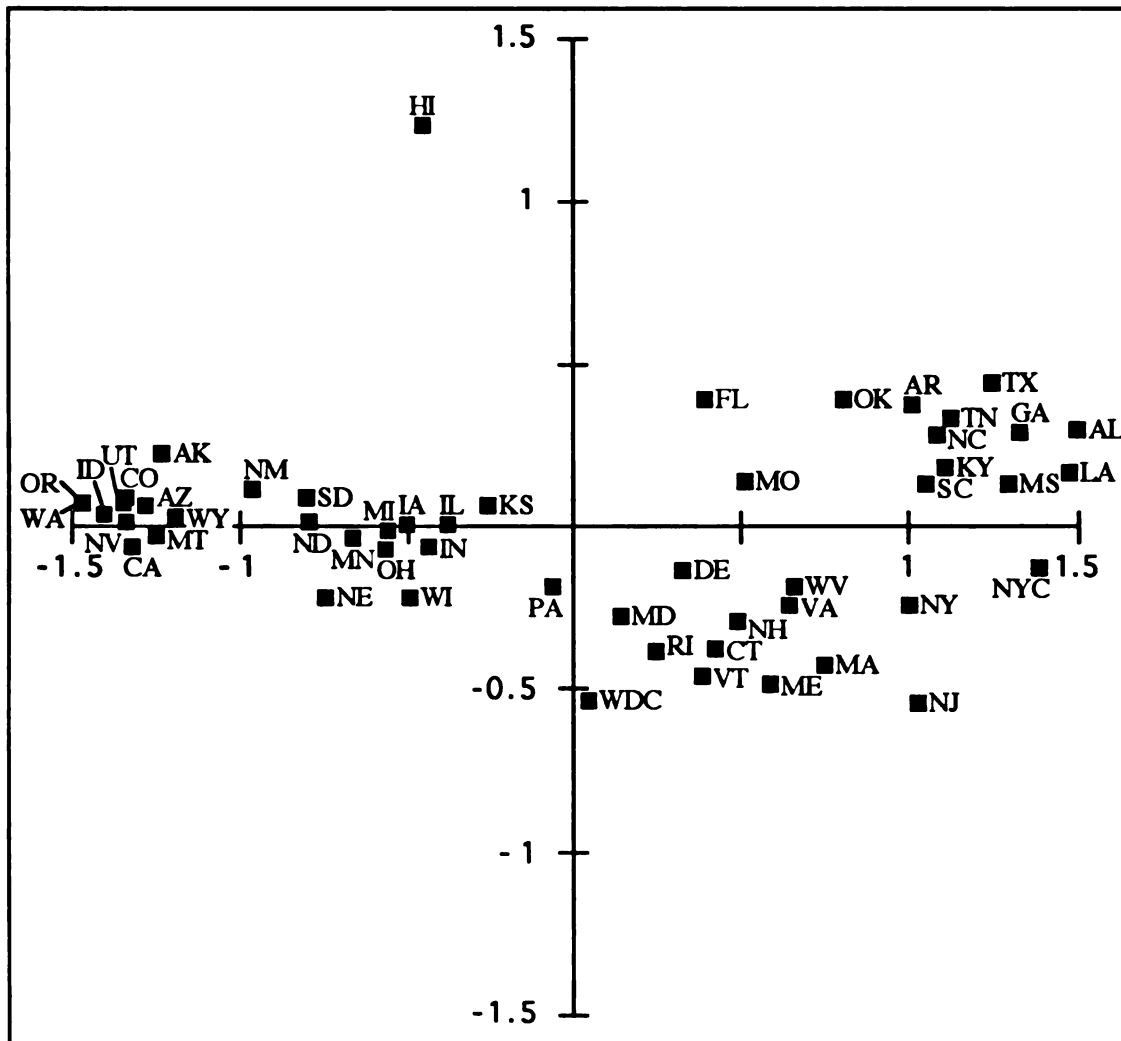
Figure 9. MDS Analysis for Degree of Difference Ratings

MDS analysis provides a graphic picture of how the states cluster together along two dimensions. Although the horizontal dimension is fairly easy to interpret, something like similarity to Oregon speech, the vertical dimension is less clear and is apparently working primarily to differentiate Hawaii from all other states. It may be a "kind of accent" or even a "pleasantness of accent" dimension, since the southern states are clearly differentiated from the northeastern states, with western and midwestern states clustering around the zero point on this dimension.

Although the MDS analysis provides a better picture of state clusters, it is still difficult to tell which clusters border states such as New Mexico and Pennsylvania belong in. Calculating a K-Means Cluster clarifies the situation. Figure 10 shows the MDS analysis with the K-Means Cluster analysis superimposed in the form of circles.

K-Means cluster analysis provides both an idea of which states fall together into different groups as well as which states belong on their own. In this case, Hawaii, Florida, Missouri and New Jersey did not fit well into the other ratings groups.
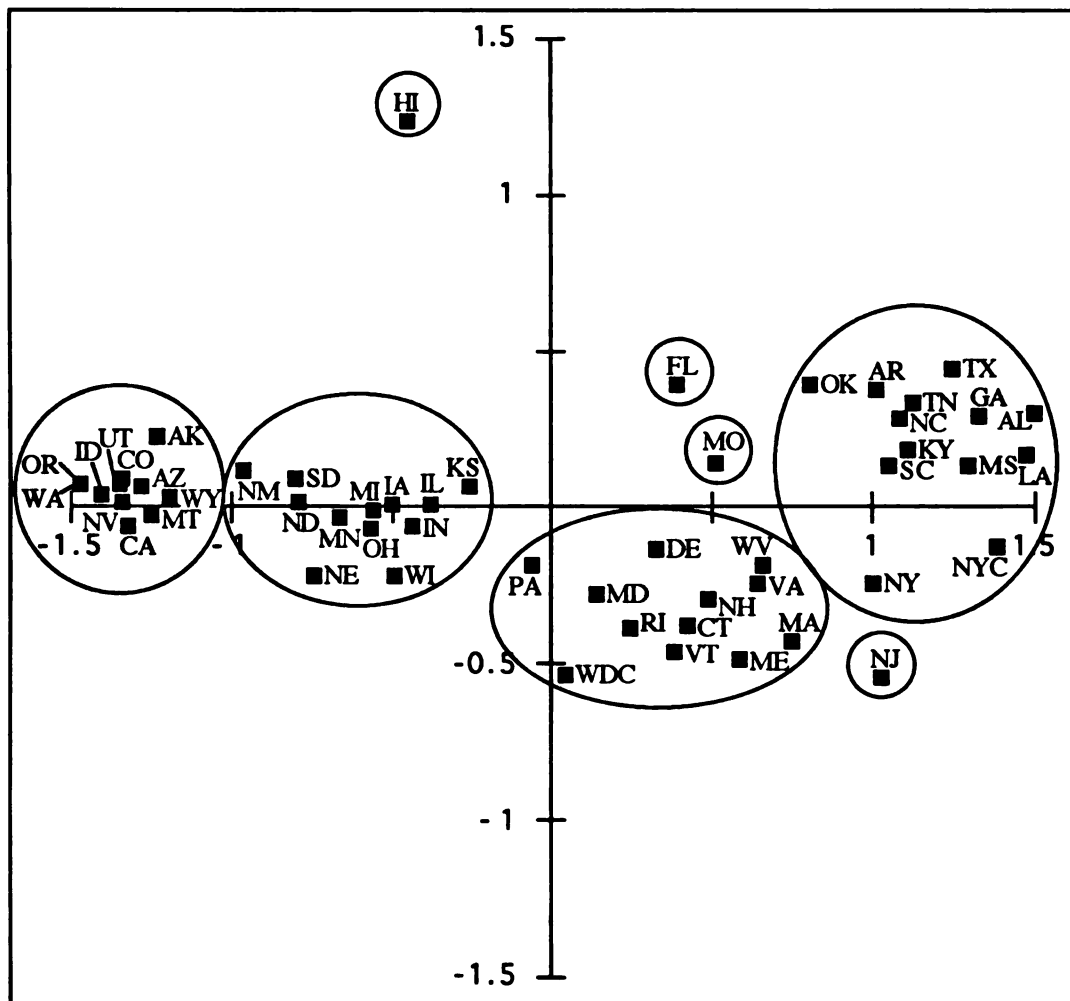
Figure 10. MDS Analysis of Degree of Difference Ratings with K-Means Clusters

3.3 Correctness. In terms of correctness ratings, the same statistical procedures were used as with the degree of difference data. Preliminary chi-squares tests of the factors of gender revealed no significant differences in correctness ratings for any of the states. Within the factor of age group, the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia were rated significantly differently by respondents of different ages, as Tables 8-13 reveal. The rating scale is 1=least correct to 7=most correct.

Table 8. Correctness Ratings for North Carolina by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=16)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=12)
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.69	16.67
2	0.0	23.08	18.75	0.0	0.0
3	12.50	15.38	6.25	0.0	25.00
4	25.00	46.15	25.00	30.77	41.66
5	62.50	15.38	25.00	30.77	0.0
6	0.0	0.0	6.25	23.08	0.0
7	0.0	0.0	18.75	7.69	16.67

Chi-square = 38.023 with d.f. = 24

Table 9. Correctness Ratings for South Carolina by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=16)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=12)
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.69	8.33
2	0.0	7.69	31.25	0.0	0.0
3	12.50	30.77	6.25	7.69	25.00
4	12.50	30.77	12.50	23.08	50.00
5	75.00	23.08	18.75	23.08	0.0
6	0.0	0.0	12.50	30.77	8.33
7	0.0	7.69	18.75	7.69	8.33

Chi-square = 43.124 with d.f. = 24

Table 10. Correctness Ratings for South Dakota by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=16)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=11)
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.09
3	12.50	0.0	12.50	15.38	0.0
4	25.00	46.15	18.75	0.0	27.27
5	50.00	53.85	31.25	15.38	45.45
6	0.0	0.0	12.50	46.15	9.09
7	12.50	0.0	25.00	23.08	9.09

Chi-square = 33.437 with d.f. = 20

Table 11. Correctness Ratings for Tennessee by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=16)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=12)
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	23.08	25.00	15.38	0.0
3	0.0	23.08	25.00	0.0	33.33
4	75.00	38.46	12.50	15.38	50.00
5	25.00	15.38	25.00	23.08	8.33
6	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.77	0.0
7	0.0	0.0	18.75	15.38	8.33

Chi-square = 39.323 with d.f. = 20

Table 12. Correctness Ratings for Texas by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=16)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=12)
1	12.50	7.69	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	12.50	15.38	31.25	23.08	0.0
3	0.0	23.08	6.25	0.0	25.00
4	37.50	46.15	18.75	7.69	66.67
5	37.50	7.69	18.75	38.46	0.0
6	0.0	0.0	6.25	23.08	0.0
7	0.0	0.0	18.75	7.69	8.33

Chi-square = 41.581 with d.f. = 24

Table 13. Correctness Ratings for Virginia by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=16)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=12)
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	7.69	0.0	7.69	0.0
3	12.50	0.0	37.50	0.0	8.33
4	25.00	53.85	12.50	23.08	33.33
5	25.00	38.46	25.00	23.08	50.00
6	25.00	0.0	6.25	30.77	0.0
7	12.50	0.0	18.75	15.38	8.33

Chi-square = 31.858 with d.f. = 20

In terms of visit status, significant differences in correctness ratings were found between those who had visited the state and those who had not only for the states of Maine and Nebraska. Tables 14 and 15 show the distribution of the ratings for these two states.

Table 14. Correctness Ratings for Maine by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=47)	Have Visited State (n=9)
1	0.0	11.11
2	6.38	22.22
3	6.38	0.0
4	21.28	11.11
5	25.53	22.22
6	27.66	0.0
7	12.77	33.33

Chi-square = 12.827 with d.f. = 6

Table 15. Correctness Ratings for Nebraska by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=35)	Have Visited State (n=22)
1	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	13.64
3	22.86	0.0
4	22.86	9.09
5	22.86	27.27
6	20.00	31.82
7	11.42	18.18

Chi-square = 12.575 with d.f. = 5

Given the fact that the ratings of so few states were affected by the factors of age group and visit status, subsequent statistical analysis was again done on the respondent ratings as a whole. Chi-square test comparing each state with every other state are given in Table 16. Sets of states which are not significantly different from each other and from exactly the same other states are reported together.

Once again, these chi-square ratings provide a very general picture of how states are grouped together in terms of correctness. These groups, however, are even larger than with the degree of difference ratings, and are therefore that much less informative. It is very difficult to tell, for example, whether the West, Midwest, and Northeast should all be grouped together. Even within the southern states, it is difficult to tell whether the states of the "outer south" belong in the same group as the "deep south." MDS analysis combined with K-Means cluster analysis once again helps clarify the picture.

Table 16. Chi-Square Results for Correctness Ratings

State(s)	States which were not significantly different
AL:	AR, GA, KY, LA, MS, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, TN, TX
AK:	AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, HI, ID, IL, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, OR, PA, RI, UT, VT, WDC, WA, WI, WY
AZ:	AK, CA, CO, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, OR, PA, RI, UT, VT, WDC, WA, WI, WY
AR:	AL, FL, GA, HI, LA, MS, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, SC, TN, TX, WDC
CA:	AK, AZ, CO, CT, DE, HI, ID, IL, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OR, PA, RI, UT, VT, WDC, WA, WY
CO:	AK, AZ, CA, CT, DE, ID, IL, IN, IA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NV, NH, ND, OR, PA, RI, UT, VT, WA, WY
CT:	AK, CA, CO, DE, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WA, WI, WY
DE:	AK, CA, CO, CT, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WI, WY
FL:	AR, DE, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
GA, MS:	AL, AR, FL, KY, LA, MO, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, WDC, WV
HI:	AK, AZ, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
ID:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, IL, IN, IA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, ND, OH, OR, PA, RI, UT, VT, WA, WI, WY
IL, MD, ND, PA, RI:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, OH, OK, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
IN, IA:	AZ, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WI, WY
KS, SD:	CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
KY:	AL, FL, GA, LA, MA, MS, MO, NE, NJ, NM, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV
LA:	AL, AR, GA, KY, MS, MO, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, WV
ME:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
MA:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, ME, MD, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
MI:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WI, WY
MN:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, WDC, WI, WY
MO:	FL, GA, HI, KS, KY, LA, ME, MA, MS, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, OK, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV
MT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WA, WV, WI, WY
NE:	AK, AZ, CA, CT, DE, FL, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NV, NH, NJ, NM, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
NV:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, ID, IL, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NH, NM, ND, OR, PA, RI, UT, VT, WA, WY

Table 16 (cont'd).

NH, VT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
NJ:	AL, AR, FL, GA, HI, KY, LA, ME, MA, MS, MO, NE, NH, NM, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV
NM:	AK, AZ, CA, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
NYC:	AL, AR, GA, KY, LA, MS, NJ, NY, NC, SC, TX
NY:	AL, AR, FL, GA, HI, KY, LA, ME, MA, MS, MO, NJ, NM, NYC, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, WDC, WV
NC:	AL, AR, FL, GA, HI, KS, KY, LA, ME, MA, MS, MO, NH, NJ, NM, NYC, NY, OH, OK, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV
OH:	AK, AZ, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NH, NM, NC, ND, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
OK:	FL, GA, HI, IL, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, ND, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
OR:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, ID, NV, UT, WA
SC:	AR, FL, GA, HI, IL, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NYC, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
TN:	AL, AR, FL, GA, KY, LA, MS, MO, NJ, NY, NC, OK, SC, TX, VA, WDC, WV
TX:	AL, AR, FL, GA, HI, KY, LA, MS, MO, NJ, NYC, NY, NC, OK, SC, TN, VA, WDC, WV
UT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, OR, PA, RI, SD, VT, WDC, WA, WI, WY
VA:	CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, ME, MD, MA, MI, MO, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, WDC, WV, WI, WY
WDC:	AK, AZ, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WV, WI, WY
WA:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, ID, MT, NV, OR, UT, WY
WV:	FL, GA, HI, IL, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WI, WY
WI:	AK, AZ, CA, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NH, NM, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WY
WY:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WA, WV, WI

The solid circles in Figure 11 represent the K-Means cluster analysis for correctness if 10 clusters are used. When this is done, Oregon and Washington together falls out as a separate cluster, as does Florida. If 9 clusters are chosen, Oregon and Washington are included in a larger West/Midwest group. When only 8 clusters are used, Florida falls in with the southern states.

The northeastern states form a cluster, with a few noticeable exceptions. These include Michigan being part of this cluster, and Massachusetts, Washington D.C. and New Jersey forming their own individual groups. Also, New York City and New York are grouped together as a separate cluster. Finally, as in the degree of difference data, Hawaii also is singled out in its own group. Unlike the degree of difference data, however, the vertical dimension seems to be playing a larger role than simply differentiating Hawaii from mainland states. It is not obvious, however, as to what this dimension might actually be.
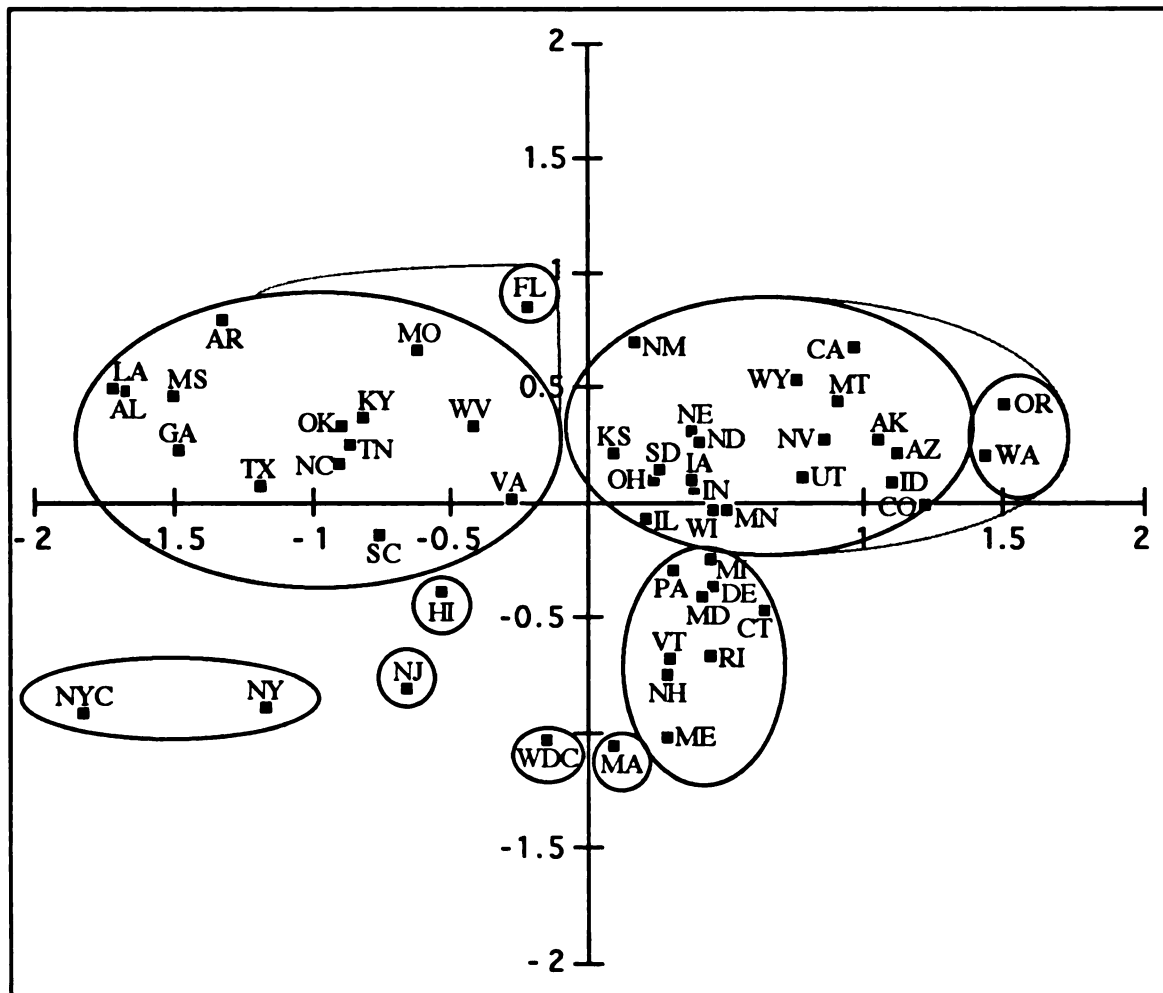
Figure 11. MDS Analysis of Correctness Ratings with K-Means Clusters

3.4 Pleasantness. Ratings of pleasantness were the only data which showed any gender effects when chi-square tests were run for each state. More specifically, the ratings of Alabama, Kansas, Louisiana, South Dakota, and Texas were significantly different for the male and the female respondents. Tables 17-21 show the chi-square results for these states.

Table 17. Pleasantness Ratings for Alabama by Gender

Group % Giving Rating	Female (n=32)	Male (n=30)
1	0.0	16.67
2	6.25	20.00
3	9.38	6.67
4	31.25	20.00
5	9.38	23.33
6	25.00	13.33
7	18.75	0.0

Chi-square = 17.087 with d.f. = 6

Table 18. Pleasantness Ratings for Kansas by Gender

Group % Giving Rating	Female (n=31)	Male (n=31)
1	0.0	0.0
2	3.22	9.68
3	6.45	19.35
4	38.71	16.13
5	25.81	12.90
6	12.90	41.94
7	12.90	0.0

Chi-square = 15.980 with d.f. = 5

Table 19. Pleasantness Ratings for Louisiana by Gender

Group % Giving Rating	Female (n=32)	Male (n=32)
1	0.0	9.38
2	3.12	12.50
3	6.25	15.62
4	18.75	15.62
5	31.25	18.75
6	15.62	25.00
7	25.00	3.12

Chi-square = 13.313 with d.f. = 6

Table 20. Pleasantness Ratings for South Dakota by Gender

Group % Giving Rating	Female (n=32)	Male (n=30)
1	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	3.33
3	9.38	6.67
4	34.38	23.33
5	28.12	26.67
6	12.50	40.00
7	15.62	0.0

Chi-square = 11.095 with d.f. = 5

Table 21. Pleasantness Ratings for Texas by Gender

Group % Giving Rating	Female (n=32)	Male (n=31)
1	0.0	9.68
2	6.25	12.90
3	9.38	12.90
4	18.75	29.03
5	37.50	12.90
6	15.62	22.58
7	12.50	0.0

Chi-square = 12.730 with d.f. = 6

In terms of the factor group of age, significant effects were only found for the states of Minnesota, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, as shown in Tables 22-24.

Table 22. Pleasantness Ratings for Minnesota by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=18)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=10)
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.69	0.0
3	0.0	0.0	11.11	0.0	10.00
4	25.00	53.85	11.11	23.08	40.00
5	12.50	30.77	5.55	15.38	0.0
6	62.50	15.38	55.55	23.08	50.00
7	0.0	0.0	16.67	30.77	0.0

Chi-square = 31.655 with d.f. = 20

Table 23. Pleasantness Ratings for New Jersey by Age Group

Age Group % Giving Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=18)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=11)
1	0.0	15.38	16.67	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	30.77	5.55	7.69	45.45
3	25.00	0.0	38.89	15.38	0.0
4	37.50	30.77	27.78	15.38	18.18
5	25.00	15.38	11.11	15.38	9.09
6	12.50	7.69	0.0	30.77	27.27
7	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.38	0.0

Chi-square = 41.054 with d.f. = 24

Table 24. Pleasantness Ratings for Rhode Island by Age Group

Age Group Rating	20-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=13)	40-49 (n=18)	50-59 (n=13)	60+ (n=10)
1	0.0	0.0	16.67	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	7.69	5.55	7.69	0.0
3	12.50	7.69	0.0	7.69	30.00
4	12.50	46.15	44.44	23.08	40.00
5	50.00	38.46	16.67	7.69	0.0
6	0.0	0.0	16.67	38.46	30.00
7	25.00	0.0	0.0	15.38	0.0

Chi-square = 42.190 with d.f. = 24

Finally, looking at the factor group of visit status, significant differences in ratings between those who had visited the state and those who had not occurred only for the states of Alaska and Kansas. These results are presented in Tables 25 and 26.

Table 25. Pleasantness Ratings for Alaska by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=44)	Have Visited State (n=13)
1	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	0.0
3	0.0	15.38
4	20.45	23.08
5	13.64	23.08
6	20.45	30.77
7	45.45	7.69

Chi-square = 11.721 with d.f. = 4

Table 26. Pleasantness Ratings for Kansas by Visit

Group % Giving Rating	Have Not Visited State (n=36)	Have Visited State (n=22)
1	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	18.18
3	19.44	4.54
4	25.00	27.27
5	27.78	9.09
6	25.00	36.36
7	2.78	4.54

Chi-square = 11.800 with d.f. = 5

Once again, because of the small number of states significantly affected by the factors of gender, age and visit status, remaining statistical procedures for pleasantness were computed on the entire data set, without regard to these factors.

Table 27. Chi-Square Results for Pleasantness Ratings

State	States which were not significantly different
AL:	AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NY, OH, PA, RI, SC, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
AK, CO, ID, WA:	AZ, CA, HI, MT, NV, OR, UT, WY
AZ:	AK, CA, CO, GA, HI, ID, IA, KY, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, OR, SD, UT, WA, WY
AR:	AL, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NY, NC, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
CA:	AL, AK, AZ, CO, CT, DE, GA, HI, ID, KY, LA, MD, MN, MT, NE, NV, ND, OH, OR, PA, RI, UT, WA, WI, WY
CT:	AL, AR, CA, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
DE, FL, MD:	AL, AR, CA, CT, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
GA:	AL, AZ, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VA, WDC, WI, WY
HI:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, DE, FL, GA, ID, IL, IN, IA, KY, LA, MD, MT, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, PA, SD, UT, WA, WI, WY
IL:	AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WV, WI, WY
IN:	AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WV, WI, WY
IA:	AZ, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, KS, KY, MD, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SD, TN, UT, VA, WI, WY
KS:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, NE, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
KY:	AL, AZ, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
LA:	AL, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, KS, KY, ME, MD, MA, MI, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
ME:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
MA:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MN, MS, MO, NH, NJ, NY, NC, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
MI:	AZ, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MN, MO, MT, NE, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WV, WI, WY
MN:	AZ, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, MD, MI, MT, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, SD, UT, VA, WI, WY
MS:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NJ, NY, NC, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
MO:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, NE, NH, NJ, NC, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
MT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KY, LA, MD, MI, MN, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, OR, SD, TN, UT, WA, WI, WY
NV:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KY, LA, MD, MN, MT, NV, NM, ND, OH, OR, SD, UT, WA, WI, WY

Table 27 (cont'd).

NE:	AL, AZ, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MO, MT, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
NH:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
NJ:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NH, NYC, NY, PA, RI, TN, TX, VA, WDC, WV
NM:	AZ, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, MD, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, ND, OH, SD, TN, UT, WI, WY
NYC:	NJ, NY
NY:	AL, AR, MA, MS, NJ, NYC, PA, RI, TX, WDC
NC:	AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NH, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
ND:	AZ, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, OH, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WI, WY
OH:	AL, AZ, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
OK:	AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MS, MO, NE, NH, NC, OH, PA, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WV, WI
OR:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, ID, MT, NV, WA, WY
PA:	AL, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
RI:	AL, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NY, NC, ND, OH, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
SC:	AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NH, NC, ND, OH, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
SD:	AZ, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, PA, RI, SC, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WV, WI, WY
TN:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI, WY
TX:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NY, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WI
UT:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, MD, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, OK, PA, SD, TN, WA, WI, WY
VT:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NH, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VA, WDC, WV, WI
VA:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, WDC, WV, WI
WDC:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, GA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NY, NC, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, TN, TX, VT, VA, WV, WI
WV:	AL, AR, CT, DE, FL, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MS, MO, NE, NH, NJ, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA, WDC, WI
WI:	AL, AR, CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NH, NM, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VT, VA, WDC, WV, WY
WY:	AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, GA, HI, ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MT, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, OR, SC, SD, TN, UT, WA, WI

Chi-square test results on the overall pleasantness ratings of each state compared to every other state are reported in Table 27. As with the correctness data, states which are not significantly different from one another and from exactly the same other states are reported together.

Like with the correctness data, the chi-square results for pleasantness give a general idea of how to group states together. However, many states are not significantly different from states in almost every other geographical region. Thus the boundaries of these groups are unclear if we rely on the chi-square data alone.

A combination of MDS analysis and K-Means Cluster analysis provides a better understanding of how the states group together in terms of pleasantness ratings, as shown in Figure 12.

Regarding the MDS analysis, it is apparent here that, like the correctness data, the vertical dimension is more significant than it was in the degree of difference data. Once again, however, it is difficult to say precisely what this dimension is measuring. While the horizontal dimension seems to represent general geography in this case (with a few noticeable exceptions such as Alaska), it may be that once again the vertical dimension designates "type" of accent.

In terms of the K-Means cluster analysis, the solid circles in Figure 12 represent the output when 9 cluster groups are selected. If only 8 groups are used, Oregon joins the larger West/Midwest cluster. When 7 groups are chosen, Washington also is included in this larger cluster. If only 6 cluster groups are selected, Florida falls in with the southern states.

The pleasantness clusters are similar to the correctness clusters in the fact that the western and midwestern states are lumped together in a single cluster group, with the exception of Michigan and Wisconsin being

grouped with the northeastern states. (Recall that Michigan, but not Wisconsin, was grouped with the northeastern states for correctness.) Also, California and Hawaii form their own individual groups, rather than being included in the large West/Midwest group.

There is a clear northeastern cluster, although New York City, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Washington D.C. are not included in this group but rather in a separate cluster. Virginia does get incorporated into this northeastern group, but West Virginia is included in a cluster of southern states.
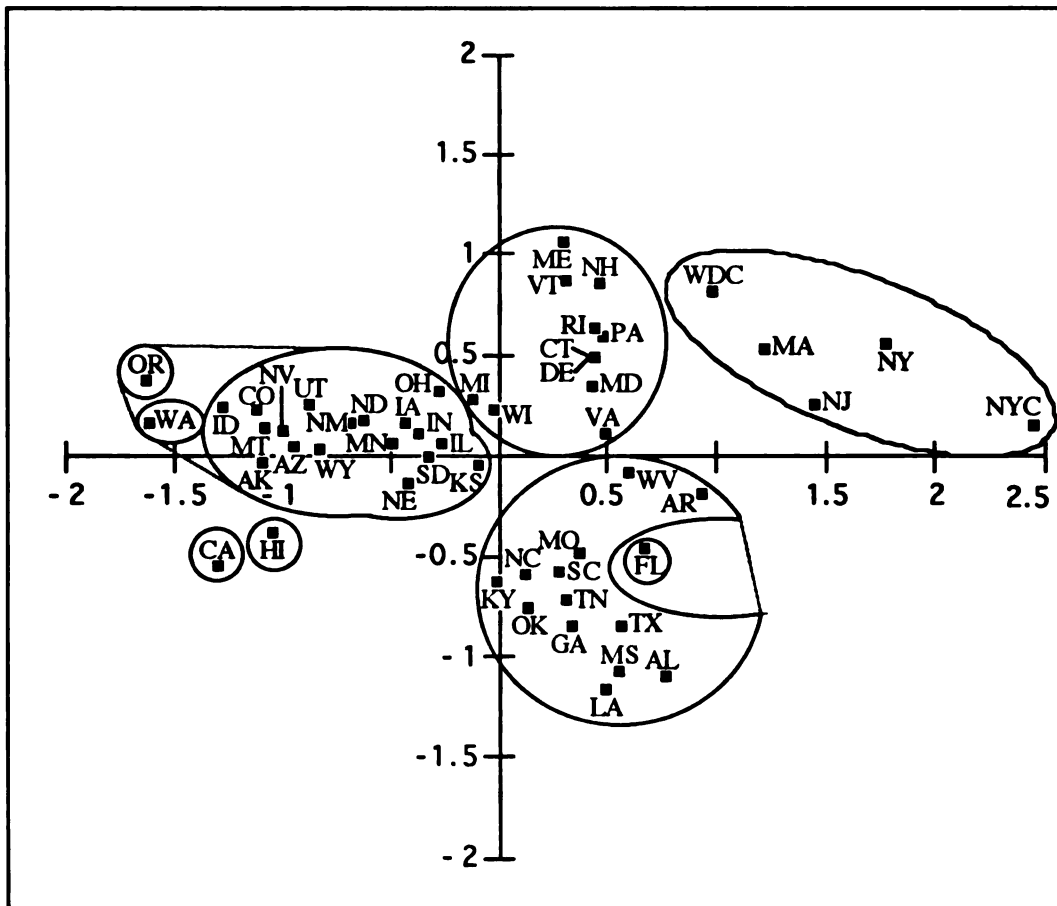
Figure 12. MDS Analysis of Pleasantness Ratings with K-Means Clusters

4   DISCUSSION

By comparing the evaluations of states with one another for each of the three rating tasks (degree of difference, correctness, and pleasantness) in combination with the regions outlined and the labels given on the hand-drawn maps, it is possible to make some generalization about this respondent group's perception of American regional dialects.

4.1   Perceptions of Western States. To begin with, the hand-drawn maps and the degree of difference ratings show that Oregonians consider the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, California, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, Alaska and Wyoming to constitute a distinct dialect region. This is illustrated dramatically by the distribution of the ratings for degree of difference (see Appendix E). Of the 66 respondents, between 47 and 63 rated each of the above states as a "1", i.e. "people there sound like me."

The next highest number of "1" ratings is 32, given to New Mexico, although almost an equal number of respondents (25) rated it a "2." It is clear that New Mexico is a kind of border state between the perceptual regions of West and Midwest. Although slightly more people rated it a "1" than a "2" in terms of degree of difference, the K-Means cluster analysis for degree of difference groups it with the midwestern states. The MDS analysis places it midway between Wyoming (a western state) and South Dakota (a midwestern state). Finally, on the hand-drawn maps, the state is split, with the majority of respondents who drew a "West" including the northwest corner of the state in the "West" (see Figure 6).

While these western states are clearly distinct for Oregonians in terms of degree of difference, this distinction is less clear in the correctness and pleasantness ratings. The majority of western states are lumped together with the midwestern states in these categories according to chi-square tests (Tables 16 and 27) and K-Means cluster analysis (Figures 11 and 12). In terms of correctness, Oregon and Washington are distinguished from the rest of the western states as a separate cluster, and each makes up its own cluster in the pleasantness K-Means cluster analysis. These results reveal a desire on the part of the respondents to distinguish the local area (in this case Oregon and Washington) from surrounding states, even when there is no noticeable difference in terms of accent (reflected in the degree of difference ratings). This result conforms with the general tendency for self-identification found in respondents from other geographical areas (Preston, 1986).

This desire to differentiate Oregon and Washington as a distinct area is also illustrated by the 16 respondents who drew a separate "Pacific Northwest" area on their hand-drawn maps (see Figure 7). In the follow-up interviews (see Appendix D), several respondents also commented on the fact that the speech in Oregon and Washington was very similar but could be distinguished from that of surrounding states. For example, one respondent made the comment, "I can be in Washington and not feel like I'm not in Oregon but I can be in Idaho and I can tell a difference" (respondent #122).

The desire to distinguish California somewhat from other western states, and particularly from Oregon and Washington, is reflected most strongly in the pleasantness ratings. While 18 respondents rated California as a "7" in terms of pleasantness, almost as many (16) rated it a "4". It is

unclear how to account for this discrepancy, since there were no significant effects on the ratings of California in terms of gender, age group, or visit status. What is clear is that many of the respondents wanted to differentiate California from other western states, but did not choose to do so in terms of degree of difference or correctness. Instead they opted to use the available affective dimension of "pleasantness."

Past research has revealed that status and in-group solidarity are the two primary evaluative dimensions along which language attitudes can be measured (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982). In this study, the category of "correctness" was used to measure status distinctions, while "pleasantness" was chosen to reflect degree of solidarity. In view of this, the ratings of California reveal that while these Oregonian respondents recognized the more or less equal social status/power of California residents, they feel a lack of solidarity with them. This lack of solidarity is underscored by the fact that California is singled out from other western and midwestern states in terms of pleasantness K-Means clusters even when Oregon and Washington are collapsed into this large cluster.

The following comments illustrate the somewhat negative view that some respondents have towards California (interviewer comments and questions appear in brackets):

> ...I lived in California for a short time when I was a teenager and wanted to be away from home, to start my own life, and I hated it...I was in L.A., well I lived in Wittier, which was outside L.A....I only lived there 11 months and I was ready to come home. I remember the first time it rained, I looked up in the sky and I cried and said, "Thank you God"... (respondent #119)

[why the very different rating for CA?]
Well, I was thinking about it and I think there's just, I don't know some speech patterns, it just - sounds different [in terms of pleasantness-- not necessarily in terms of correctness?] Yeah, right. (respondent #121)

people in California talk their own language which I don't understand [what do you mean by "talk their own language?"] their whole terminology is a different - task it seems like their words are bigger and a lot of it seems to be, at least in the areas I've been in, technical terms and a lot it I guess I think of Silicon Valley in regards to computers and all the technical variety (respondent #122)

The hand-drawn maps also reveal that quite a few of the respondents differentiate northern and southern California (see Figures 7 and 8), grouping northern California with Oregon and Washington. Support for this dialect division comes from traditional word geography data (see Figure 1) as well as from the greater influence of Spanish in southern California.

While California is differentiated slightly from other western states in the respondents' perceptions, Alaska is situated squarely within this cluster of states on all three scales. In fact, its ratings in terms of degree of difference and correctness are almost exactly the same as those of Arizona, and it is rated fourth highest in terms of number of "7" ratings for pleasantness. It is likely that this identification of Alaska with the west is a result of the historic connection between Alaska and the port cities of Seattle and San Francisco. The hand-drawn maps support this conclusion as well. Although 9 respondents (13.8%) indicated Alaska as a separate region, a greater number (12) included it in their "West" or "Pacific Northwest." The remaining respondents simply did not include it in any specific region. Even when Alaska was circled as a separate speech area,

several respondents labeled it as "Frontier", another indication that Alaska is perceived more in terms of the settlers that migrated there, embarking from the Northwest, rather than in terms of the native populations which inhabited the territory long before the arrival of the European-Americans.

The inclusion of Alaska within the "West" is also interesting in light of the fact that Hawaii was not considered part of this region on any scale. In fact, in the K-Means cluster analysis for all three rating categories, Hawaii emerges as a distinct cluster. As mentioned in the results section, on the MDS analysis of the degree of difference data (see Figure 10), it appears that the vertical dimension is used primarily to differentiate Hawaii (which received a value of +1.23) from all other states (which fall between -0.55 and +0.44 on the same dimension). Furthermore, 15 respondents (23.1%) indicated on their hand-drawn maps that Hawaii comprised a distinct dialect region, while only 7 included it in another region (either West or California). Several respondents labeled the speech in Hawaii as "native-like", which seems to indicate that the influence of the indigenous population of the islands on the speech in that state is significant in the respondents' perceptions. Again, this makes Alaska's ratings even more interesting because there does not seem to be an equally strong association of indigenous languages effects on the speech of Alaska. Even more substantial is the perception of Asian influence on the Hawaiian speech, with one respondent even labeling it "Japanese Golfland."

Overall, these results confirm the first half of Hypothesis 1, namely that Oregonians will differentiate varieties of speech in western states to a greater degree than non-west coast residents, although they will still outline a single major Western dialect region. The most common boundary drawn in relation to western states on the hand-drawn maps divided the West from

the rest of the country at the Montana/Wyoming/Colorado/Arizona state lines. 24 respondents (37.9%), however, more finely differentiated the western region in terms of speech areas. 16 (24.6%) of these respondents included Oregon in a "Pacific Northwest" while 8 (12.3%) drew a "West Coast." When we compare these results to the respondents from other regions in Preston (1986), we find that the respondents from New York State were the only group to draw a "Northwest", although the eastern boundary of this region extended all the way to Minnesota in their perception.

Hypothesis 2, which states that Oregonians will not generally distinguish themselves from Washington, but may do so slightly from California, due especially to caricatures of southern California (e.g. Hollywood, "valley" talk, and a large proportion of native Spanish-speaking residents), is also generally confirmed by these data. In particular, the separation of California from other western states is clearly borne out as discussed previously, although not as decisively as the results of respondents from other regions (Preston 1986).

Regarding the relationship of Oregon and Washington, in the MDS analysis for degree of difference, Oregon and Washington received identical scores (-1.46, +0.07). Although the MDS scores are not exactly the same for Oregon and Washington in terms of correctness, the K-Means cluster analysis produced an Oregon/Washington cluster. When it comes to pleasantness, however, Oregon and Washington emerged as distinct clusters. This suggests that Oregonians want to maintain at least a small claim of uniqueness, but the interpretation of this result is not entirely straightforward. Preston (1993b) claims that "the preference for local norms along affective lines is stronger in areas where there is linguistic

insecurity" (p. 35). Since Oregonians view themselves as entirely unique only on the affective scale, this might indicate a slight degree of linguistic insecurity. This claim is somewhat tenuous, however, in light of the fact that Oregonians also rate themselves highest in terms of correctness, a fact which points to a great deal of linguistic security. It may be that the traditional categories of linguistic security/insecurity do not apply in the same way in western states, where a multiplicity and therefore awareness of distinctive dialects is not as prevalent as in eastern and southern states. Thus Hypothesis 3, which states that Oregonians will exhibit a strong degree of linguistic security, reflected in high ratings for Oregon in terms of both "correctness" and "pleasantness", with equally high ratings for other western states in the "pleasantness" category, is tentatively confirmed but remains somewhat in question.

4.2 Perceptions of Midwestern States. According to the degree of difference MDS and K-Means cluster analysis, the Oregonian conception of the Midwest consists of the states of New Mexico, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois and Indiana, Michigan and Ohio. The hand-drawn maps reveal that Iowa is the "heart" of this region (see Figure 5). The cluster of midwestern states is the most closely related to the western states in several ways.

First, in the K-Means cluster analysis of the degree of difference data, the midwestern and the western clusters of states collapse together if only 7 (rather than 8) groups are chosen. The midwestern and western states are also lumped together on the correctness and pleasantness tasks with the western states (with the exception of Oregon, Washington and for pleasantness California) in the K-Means cluster analysis, although they are

clearly two subgroups in terms of their MDS values (as seen in the MDS plots, Figures 11 and 12).

Michigan appears to be a kind of border state between the Midwest and the Northeast for these respondents. While it falls clearly within the center of the Midwest cluster on the degree of difference ratings, it is part of the K-Means cluster of northeastern states in terms of both correctness and pleasantness. On the hand-drawn maps, 20 respondents included it within their boundaries of a "Midwest," while only 6 incorporated it into a "Northeast."

It is possible that the "split personality" of Michigan is a result of the sensitivity of respondents to the North Cities Vowel Shift[1], a phonological change in progress which began in major cities on the east coast and is slowly spreading from urban center to urban center across the north (see Figure 2). This shift is well underway in Michigan cities. If this were the case, however, one would suspect that it would be in the degree of difference ratings, which are based on the sounds of the language in each state, that Michigan would be rated most like northeastern states. Perhaps the traditional association of Michigan with other midwestern states, particularly Great Lakes states such as Illinois and Wisconsin, is too great to be overwhelmed by a phonological change in progress, while at the same time there is some recognition that "something" (i.e. the NCVS) makes it sound more like states in the northeast.

The most recent work within Michigan suggests that university students rate their own speech as much more similar to east coast varieties than respondents in studies done ten years ago did (Preston, 1996). Thus it seems that the influence of the NCVS on Michigan speech is a recognizable

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[1] For a detailed description of the North Cities Vowel Shift, see Labov (1991).

reality not only for professional linguists, but also within the general population.

If this is in fact the correct interpretation of the Michigan ratings, it might also explain why Wisconsin clusters with the midwest in terms of degree of difference and correctness, but with Michigan and the northeastern states on the pleasantness task. Since the NCVS began on the east coast and is slowly moving westward, overall the shift is further along in Michigan than Wisconsin. Because of this, Wisconsin may sound a little bit "northeastern", but not as much so as Michigan.

Ohio appears also to be a kind of border state between the Midwest and the Northeast, but in a different way than Michigan. Ohio clusters with the midwestern states on all three scales, but the hand-drawn maps reveal some disagreement among respondents as to which region it belongs to. 22 respondents include the western half of the state in the midwest, but only 11 incorporate the entire state in this region (see Figure 5). On the "Northeast" map, 19 respondents include only the eastern half of the state, while 11 respondents incorporate the whole state. Ohio thus appears to be a border between the Midwest and the Northeast in the same way that New Mexico is split between the West and the Midwest. It is important to note here that the first large group of settlers in the Willamette Valley in Oregon came from the Ohio Valley states and Tennessee. There were also large numbers of settlers from Missouri, Illinois and Iowa (Carver 1987). Thus while the geographical location of Ohio may have caused some respondents to incorporate it into the northeast, particularly on the hand-drawn maps, the historical connection between Ohio and other midwestern states as the major migration origination points for Oregon settlement was more influential in the rating tasks.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that Oregonians would not as finely distinguish among states in northern regions as do residents in those areas. Comparing the results from this study with results from previous studies in northern areas shows that this hypothesis is also confirmed. In particular, this is seen in the differentiation that respondents from Michigan and Indiana (Preston 1993b) tend to make between Great Lakes states and other Midwest states.

More specifically, respondents from Michigan separate the "North" states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and western Ohio from the "Midwest" states of Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska and Kansas in hand-drawn maps. The Dakotas are grouped with Montana and Wyoming in a "Plains and Mountains" region. As for the Indiana respondents, their "North" contained only the states of Wisconsin and Michigan, while the "Midwest" included Kansas, Iowa, Illinois and northern Indiana.

It is more difficult to compare the ratings in terms of degree of difference, correctness and pleasantness of respondents from Michigan and Indiana with the ratings in this study since different statistical measures were used in Preston 1993b. However, it is apparent that Michigan raters see themselves as a unique region in terms of correctness with the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania forming another region. Indiana raters show the same tendency to favor local norms in isolating Indiana as a unique region in terms of pleasantness. Again, no differentiation of Great Lakes states from other midwestern states in made by the Oregonian respondents in terms of correctness and pleasantness, and only a very small number of respondents (6) drew a Great Lakes region on their maps.

4.3   Perceptions of Northeastern States. The next group of states which emerges from the MDS and K-Means cluster analyses of the three tasks is a northeastern cluster. The primary states in this cluster are Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, with some variability among the three tasks for Washington D.C., Massachusetts, Virginia, West Virginia and Michigan and Wisconsin (as discussed previously).

For the degree of difference task, Washington D.C. is included in the northeastern cluster. It is isolated as its own group in terms of correctness, falling somewhere in the middle of the ratings for midwestern and northeastern states (see Appendix E). For the pleasantness task, however, it is grouped with Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and New York City, having received the third highest number of "1" ratings (after New York City and New York, see Appendix E).

In terms of correctness, the fact that Washington D.C. emerges as a distinct cluster is likely a result of the specialized styles and jargon associated with the discourse of government functions. That it is grouped in terms of pleasantness with the cluster which includes New York City, clearly the cluster with the least favorable ratings, is perhaps the most interesting result. This may well be an indication of growing dissatisfaction with the current political scene, particularly in light of controversy surrounding Oregon senator Bob Packwood, which later led to his resignation from Congress.

Massachusetts follows the same pattern as Washington D.C., being clustered with the northeastern states in terms of degree of difference, emerging as a distinct cluster for correctness (also with ratings somewhere in the middle of the northeastern and midwestern states), and grouping

with New York City, New York, New Jersey and Washington D.C. on the
pleasantness task (receiving the fourth highest number of "1" ratings).
Since this grouping cannot be a result of the perception of government,
however, an alternative explanation must be found. The most likely reason
for the differentiation of Massachusetts from other northeastern states is
the stereotypical (and actual) Boston accents. On the hand-drawn maps, in
fact, several respondents used the label "Bostonian" to refer to a general
New England area.

The historic connection between Boston and the Pacific Northwest,
particularly in terms of the fur trade in the first half of the 19th century,
may also be important here. Speaking of the New Englanders who
controlled much of the Oregon coast during this time, Carver (1987, p.
242) says, "So prevalent was their influence and presence that the Indians
called all white men 'Bostons.'" If this historic connection was important
in the ratings, then this would suggest a negative perception of the role of
the early Bostonian merchants, since Massachusetts was rated so low in
terms of pleasantness. This interpretation is highly speculative and should
be investigated further.

Virginia and West Virginia appear to be transitional states between
the Northeast and the South for the respondents in this study. Although
grouped with the northeastern states in the K-Means Cluster for degree of
difference, they fall in with the southern states in terms of correctness.
They are split in the pleasantness ratings, with Virginia grouped with the
Northeast and West Virginia clustering with the South. The hand-drawn
maps also confirm these states as border states, since almost an equal
number of respondents included them in the Northeast region as in the
South (see Figures 3 and 4).

4.4 Perceptions of New York City, New York and New Jersey. Figure 4 shows that New York is the center of the hand-drawn maps of a Northeast, and that in general New York City and New Jersey get incorporated into this perceptual region. It is interesting then that New York City, New York and New Jersey are never included in the K-Means clusters of the northeastern states. In fact, New York City and New York both get included in the cluster of southern states on the degree of difference scale. They form their own cluster in terms of correctness, and as stated already combine with New Jersey, Massachusetts and Washington D.C. to form a cluster in terms of pleasantness. New Jersey emerges as a distinct cluster for degree of difference and correctness.

The results for New York City are unsurprising and confirm the first part of Hypothesis 4, which states that New York City will be rated the lowest overall for both "correctness" and "pleasantness". In fact, it did receive the lowest ratings by far in terms of pleasantness, with 32 respondents giving it either a "1" or "2" rating (see Appendix E). In terms of correctness, New York City also received the greatest number of "1" ratings (12, compared to Alabama's 7). These ratings are clearly based on the stereotype of New York City inhabitants as fast-talking, cold, and rude. Consider the following comments made in the follow-up interviews:

> When we used to go to the flea markets in, well, Greenfield and those we used to think New Yorkers were mad at each other--that's just how they talk, they always sound like they're arguing and that...yeah, and they're just, that's the way they speak, and we used to kind of, they'd yell and scream and you'd look back thinking they were fighting and they were just visiting (husband of respondent #104).

People seem to talk very fast up there from what I've experienced...
(respondent #122)

While the results of the New York City ratings were expected, it is particularly interesting that New York state gets "dragged down" with New York City. Chi-square tests reveal no significant difference between the ratings given to New York and New York City on any of the tasks. Furthermore, these two regions are always in the same K-Means cluster. Thus, there appears to be little difference in Oregonian perceptions between the City and the rest of the state.

This result is strikingly different from the results of maps drawn by residents of both New York City and western New York reported in Preston 1986. Both sets of respondents indicate that New York City and New York state are distinct dialect regions. The respondents in western New York even further differentiated western New York as a separate region. This contrast between the Oregonian respondents and the New York respondents further confirms the portion of Hypothesis 1 which claims that residents in northern states are more likely to distinguish dialects regions in those areas than Oregonians are.

The ratings of New Jersey are also clearly influenced by the New York City stigma, although not in precisely the same way as New York state. For both degree of difference and correctness, New Jersey forms its own cluster, as mentioned previously. This may be due in part to New Jersey having its own stereotypical accent (i.e. "New Joisey"). It may also be the case that New Jersey is seen as a kind of "transitional" or "buffer" state between New York City and other northeastern states such as Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. In general, New Jersey does seem

to occupy a location in-between New York City and the northeastern states on the MDS plots.

4.5   Perceptions of Southern States. On the hand-drawn maps, the South is clearly the most salient dialect region, with 92.3% of respondents indicating at least some portion of it as a distinct region. The states unequivocally part of this region are Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas and Oklahoma. Missouri is included in K-Means clusters for correctness and pleasantness, but forms its own cluster in terms of degree of difference. West Virginia joins the group in correctness and pleasantness, and Virginia is part of the cluster in terms of correctness, as discussed previously. Florida forms a distinct cluster on all three scales, although it joins the southern cluster on the correctness and pleasantness scales if fewer clusters are selected.

In terms of actual ratings (see Appendix E), the southern states are rated the most dissimilar to Oregon. Between 43 and 58 respondents rated all the "core" southern states except Oklahoma either a "3" or a "4" on this scale. Of non-southern states, only New York City received such a large number of low ratings. For correctness, the southern states also fall at the bottom of the list in terms of ratings. Finally, the ratings for pleasantness rise dramatically for all of the southern states, with Georgia and Louisiana actually receiving the most "7" ratings after the western states.

Missouri's marginal status as a southern state (reflected in the fact that it forms its own K-means cluster) is interesting for several reasons. First, the largest number of settlers in Oregon in the latter half of the 19th century came from Missouri (Carver 1987). Thus the recognition of

Missouri as not as different from Oregon as the other southern states (in terms of degree of difference ratings) may be a result of this historic connection. That these Oregonian respondents group Missouri with southern states at all, however, is intriguing in and of itself, since the respondents from the five areas that Preston (1986) examined tended to place Missouri in the Midwest, rather than the South. It seems that in Missouri we once again find a kind of transitional state, in this case between the South and the Midwest. This is supported by the hand-drawn maps in which more respondents include Missouri in the Midwest (Figure 5) than in the South (Figure 3), even though the respondents clearly associate it with the South in the ratings tasks.

Texas is also an interesting state to examine in terms of the discrepancy between hand-drawn maps and the ratings tasks. 55.4% of respondents singled out Texas (sometimes including Oklahoma) as a distinct dialect area on their hand-drawn maps. In none of the three ratings tasks, however, did Texas appear as a distinct K-Means cluster. In fact it is only slightly peripheral in terms of the MDS plots in the degree of difference category (although it received almost exactly the same ratings as Tennessee on this task), and it was not at all peripheral on the other two tasks. It seems, then, that while there is some recognition of a distinct dialect in Texas, this distinctness is not great enough to overcome the general category "Southern" in the minds of the Oregonian respondents.

With Florida there appears to be precisely the opposite discrepancy between the hand-drawn maps and the ratings tasks than occurred with Texas. In this case, Florida was generally incorporated into the maps of the South but emerged, at least potentially depending on the number of

cluster groups used, as a distinct K-Means cluster on all three of the ratings tasks. There are two possible explanation for the singling out of Florida.

First of all, there may be the recognition of influences from northern dialects due to (particularly) retiree migration from the North to the milder climate of Florida. This appears to be the explanation, for example, of Michigan raters' perceptions of Florida, since Florida falls together with Michigan on factor analyses of both correctness and pleasantness data (Preston 1993b). The second explanation has to do with influence of (primarily Cuban) Spanish on the language in Florida. Given the fact that Florida would not be a likely retirement spot for Oregonians, in combination with several respondents who used labels such as "Cuban" on their hand-drawn maps, this second explanation is more plausible.

In terms of overall ratings for southern states, the portion of Hypothesis 4 which states that Southern states will be rated low for "correctness" but slightly higher for "pleasantness" is confirmed by this study. As a group, the southern states received the lowest ratings in terms of correctness, especially the four states of the "deep south", i.e. Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. At the same time, the pleasantness ratings are substantially higher; many southern states are in fact rated higher than many midwestern and northeastern states. This conforms to the stereotypes of "Southern hospitality" and a slower pace of life. Speaking about people from Kentucky, for example, one respondent says:

> ...they act like they've got all the time in the world, you know--
> "nothing wrong with me, I'm just taking my time," I can't do it, but
> it sounds great... (respondent #119)

In general, then, Oregonians view the South as one large dialect region. Although they discriminate somewhat a "deep South" from an "outer South" and "Texas" on their hand-drawn maps, this distinction is not great enough to create separate K-Means clusters in any of the ratings categories. An examination of the MDS plots, however, does reveal that the Southern cluster is the "loosest" of all the clusters, i.e. its points are the most spread out.

4.6   Effects of Gender, Age and Visit Status. Of the three demographic factors studied, gender had the least effect on the ratings. In fact, it was only in pleasantness category that gender played a role in the ratings at all. The states that were influenced by the factor of gender were Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Kansas and South Dakota (see Tables 17-21). The female raters gave higher ratings than the male raters to the southern states, but the opposite was true for the midwestern states. The higher ratings of the southern states by the female respondents must again be a result of the stereotype of "Southern hospitality", a stereotype which is more likely to appeal to women than men, due to romanticizations made popular by media portrayals of southern life such as "Gone With the Wind." On the other end of the spectrum, associations of hard-working farmers, ranchers and cowboys are more likely to appeal to male raters, resulting in higher scores given to these two midwest states.

It is clear that overall, the factor of gender played a very minor role in the ratings of the respondents. It had no significant effect on the degree of difference and correctness ratings, and only figured in the ratings of a few prototypical southern and midwestern states in terms of pleasantness. Thus, Hypothesis 6, which states that gender may influence ratings slightly,

but not significantly overall is confirmed by these results. Another prediction was that in terms of "pleasantness" and "correctness", women will have a tendency to rate more extremely overall. Since gender was not a significant factor in the majority of ratings, this part of Hypothesis 6 is not borne out in this data. In the few cases were gender played a role in ratings, female raters were less harsh to southern states but were harder on midwestern states.

The factor of age group seemed to play the biggest role in affecting respondents' ratings. In the degree of difference category, it influenced the ratings of Illinois and Indiana. For correctness, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and South Dakota were affected. In terms of pleasantness, significant differences among age groups were found for the states of Minnesota, New Jersey and Rhode Island. It is difficult to find any obvious generalizations to make about how age group factored into the ratings overall. On the degree of difference scale, the youngest group of raters were least likely to associate the speech of Illinois and Indiana with their own speech, while the older respondents (in the 50-59 and 60+) categories were most likely to do so. This may be due to the older group being more cognizant of the roots of Oregon settlement. Since the settlement of Oregon and the West in general is rather recent, especially compared with the South and the East, it is likely that older respondents have a greater connection to other areas of the country. One older respondent, for example, describes growing up in California and Oregon by saying:

> ...all my friends in childhood had come from other states and there was almost no one in Long Beach when I lived there that -- had really been there for very long and the same was true in Oregon -- people came in and it wasn't settled, you know the oldest churches

and the oldest schools and things down in Grant's Pass are only 100 years old, so that's that's within - my parents didn't quite make 100 but they, they're gone now, but there's just just, changed radically and it's in a constant flux... (respondent #57)

Thus it seems that the few effects that do show up in terms of degree of difference are because of the difference in life experience between the Oregon in the childhood of those who are now 50+ and the Oregon in which younger respondents grew up.

What is most striking about the effects of age group on the correctness ratings is that five of the six states which showed significant effects were states of the "outer South". In general, the youngest and the oldest age groups seem to be the most uniform in their ratings, with the scores of the three middle age groups varying widely . Rather than being the result of the perceptions of these states themselves, I believe this variation in terms of correctness is a reflection of the greater reluctance of those in the three middle age groups to participate in the correctness task. I will discuss this more in-depth in section 4.7, but four respondents in each of the three middle age groups gave all the states the same ratings for correctness. The variation occurs because there was some difference as to which rating they picked. Most chose "4", but others used "5", "6", and "7." Only one respondent in the youngest group and two respondents in the oldest group did this. Since there was not a very large number of respondents within each age group, these "strategies of protest" against the correctness task resulted in significant age group effects in several states.

The effects of age group on pleasantness ratings for Minnesota, New Jersey and Rhode Island are even less straightforward. There again tends to be a wider variation in ratings among the three middle age groups than

among the youngest and oldest. Since, in general, respondents did not object to the pleasantness task as they did to the correctness task, the explanation doesn't seem to lie in "strategies of protest." Perhaps all that can be said is that the small number of respondents in each age group may have played a role in all the instances where age group appeared to be significant. Furthermore, age group, unlike gender or visit status, is not a discrete category. The divisions between age groups were thus somewhat arbitrary and perhaps did not represent age effects realistically. Still, age group did not play a large role in ratings in the majority of cases, and thus it seems that the portion of Hypothesis 6 which states that age may also have a small effect on ratings, but overall this effect will not be significant, is confirmed.

Finally, whether or not respondents had visited a state also played a very minor role in ratings. In terms of degree of difference, significant differences surfaced for only Arizona, Kentucky and Massachusetts. In the case of these first two states, respondents who had visited the states rated them to be more similar to Oregon than respondents who had not visited. For Massachusetts, the opposite was true. The Massachusetts results may again be the result of the historic connection between Boston and the Pacific Northwest. For those who had not actually visited Boston and heard the distinct accent, the assumption may have been that since much of the early influence in the Oregon territory was from Boston, people in Boston must sound like people in Oregon.

For the correctness task, visit status was only significant for the states of Maine and Nebraska. In the case of Maine, those who had not visited the state generally rated it higher than those who had, although the highest rating (7) was given by more respondents who had visited than

those who had not. As for Nebraska, in general it was rated more favorably by those who had visited than those who had not, although the lowest rating for those who had visited was a "2", whereas the lowest rating by those who hadn't visited was a "3." Because of these discrepancies within the two demographic groups for each state, it is difficult to draw any general conclusions as to how visit status influenced people's ratings in this task.

Finally, in the pleasantness category, visit status was significant for the states of Alaska and Kansas. For Kansas, the scores again seem to be somewhat random, i.e. it is difficult to say precisely what effect having visited the state had on ratings. With Alaska, the results are more straightforward. Those respondents who had not visited the state rated it as more pleasant than those who had. This is again likely due to the historic connection between Alaska and the Northwest, with the resultant perception that inhabitants in Alaska must talk like Oregonians (thus producing high pleasantness ratings). It may also be due to the somewhat romantic depiction of life in small-town Alaska in the popular television show "Northern Exposure."

Although visit status did produce significant effects in a few instances, it is clear that overall there was little difference in ratings produced by actual experience in a state. Those few instances where visit status did have some effect were not in highly caricatured areas such as the South and New York City. Thus, Hypothesis 5, which states that exposure to language varieties in different states may effect ratings slightly, but in general, stereotypes will be stronger than contradictory experiential evidence, particularly in highly caricatured areas such as New York City and the deep south, is confirmed by these data.

4.7 Comments on Research Methodology. The most interesting difficulty that emerged in the course of this research was the reluctance on the parts of many respondents to provide correctness ratings. 14 respondents gave all states the same rating (anywhere from a "4" to a "7"), while an additional four respondents simply left this task completely blank. As they were actually filling out the correctness questionnaire sheet itself, many respondents either wrote or said comments such as "People are correct for wherever they are from", "I don't consider speech in terms of correctness or incorrectness, but in terms of difference", "Grammatically-- as seen by a prescriptive linguist!", and "It's all so subjective!". In the follow-up interviews, people also offered explanations of their objections to this task. Consider the following comments:

> Well, of course, I think each individual thinks that they speak the proper way, and so somebody that differs real drastically, you're thinking they really don't know how to speak, you know, or they don't know how to express themselves, but I'm sure that somebody who speaks drastically different than I do thinks their speech is perfect too (respondent #54)

> I honestly don't believe that I have ever consider-- I have never rated things when I was listening to them as being correct or incorrect, it was just that person's way of doing it -- living in the neighborhood where I did, why, we accepted everybody or we didn't get along and - I I was aware that, well you can't say that what was spoken in English was correct and what we spoke was not and it's the same thing with what was spoken in the east coast and I never thought that what was spoken in Boston was any better than what I spoke out here (respondent #57)

> ...the correctness issue, I mean, well what is correct language anyways? you know, it's all relative to who's looking at it and the person you're coming from...(respondent #122)

[based on the fact that you haven't traveled much, what were you basing your answers on?]
my inherent philosophical belief that there is no correct, in terms of speech... (respondent #123)

The fact that so many respondents objected to the correctness task is a sharp contrast to Preston's experience in giving this same task to respondents in Michigan and Indiana. He says of his raters:

> It should be noted that very few respondents complained about this task...Although they complained that they did not have information about this or that state, the ranking of most areas for correctness was for them a reasonable task and represented opinions overtly held about the sites where better and worse English was spoken (Preston 1993b, p. 31).

I believe this difference between raters in Oregon and Michigan and Indiana is largely a result of the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity which has been a part of West Coast experience since early settlement days and continues to be a dominant force in the experience of westerners.

Another possible explanation for the difference between Preston's raters and the respondents in this study may also be the factor of time. Since Preston's data was collected roughly 10 years ago, the reluctance of the respondents in this study may be an indication that Americans are becoming more sensitive to the issue of what constitutes "correct" language.

Interestingly enough, while there was so much objection to the correctness task, there was little complaint about any of the other tasks. Thus, to rate someone's speech as less pleasant than one's own didn't appear to be as big an offense as labeling them "incorrect." One respondent describes the difference in the two tasks in this way:

[why do you rate everyone the same on correctness but differentiate
in terms of pleasantness?]
Because it seems like it's an aesthetic quality and something that
brings you know, it's kind of an artistic thing it seems like it's
something you can appreciate where correctness to me seems to me
like there's some scale and there's some right and wrong to it and I
don't see that as relevant in terms of speech (respondent #123).

While Oregonians may be less dogmatic about what constitutes "correct"
speech, it would not be fair to say that they are true linguistic relativists.
Clearly the results of the pleasantness ratings show that they have some
definite ideas that not all regional speech is equally acceptable.

While the research methodology and analysis worked well overall
for this study, some improvements could be made. The analysis of the
hand-drawn maps was a difficult undertaking, since it was more qualitative
than the other tasks. Also, quite a few respondents circled regions on their
maps but did not provide any labels for these regions. Without these labels
and/or more in-depth interviews to determine why people indicated the
areas they did, it is difficult to draw conclusion about what the respondents
had in mind while they were doing this task, or the ratings tasks for that
matter.

It should be noted that the respondent group in this study represents
only a small portion of Oregonians. They were almost all European-
Americans and residents of two urban areas on the western side of the
state. To make more comprehensive generalization about Oregonian
language attitudes, it would be necessary to survey a wider range of both
geographical and ethnic groups.

4.8 Conclusion. The results of this study show that residents of
Oregon tend to view the United States in terms of five major dialect

regions: West, Midwest, Northeast, South and Hawaii. Within each of these major regions, there are a few smaller sub-regions, such as the Pacific Northwest, (southern) California, metropolitan New York City, and Florida. Between each region, there seemed to be one or two "transitional" or "border" states. These included New Mexico (between West and Midwest), Michigan (between Midwest and Northeast), Virginia (between Northeast and South) and Missouri (between South and Midwest). The overall findings of this study are summarized graphically in Figure 13.
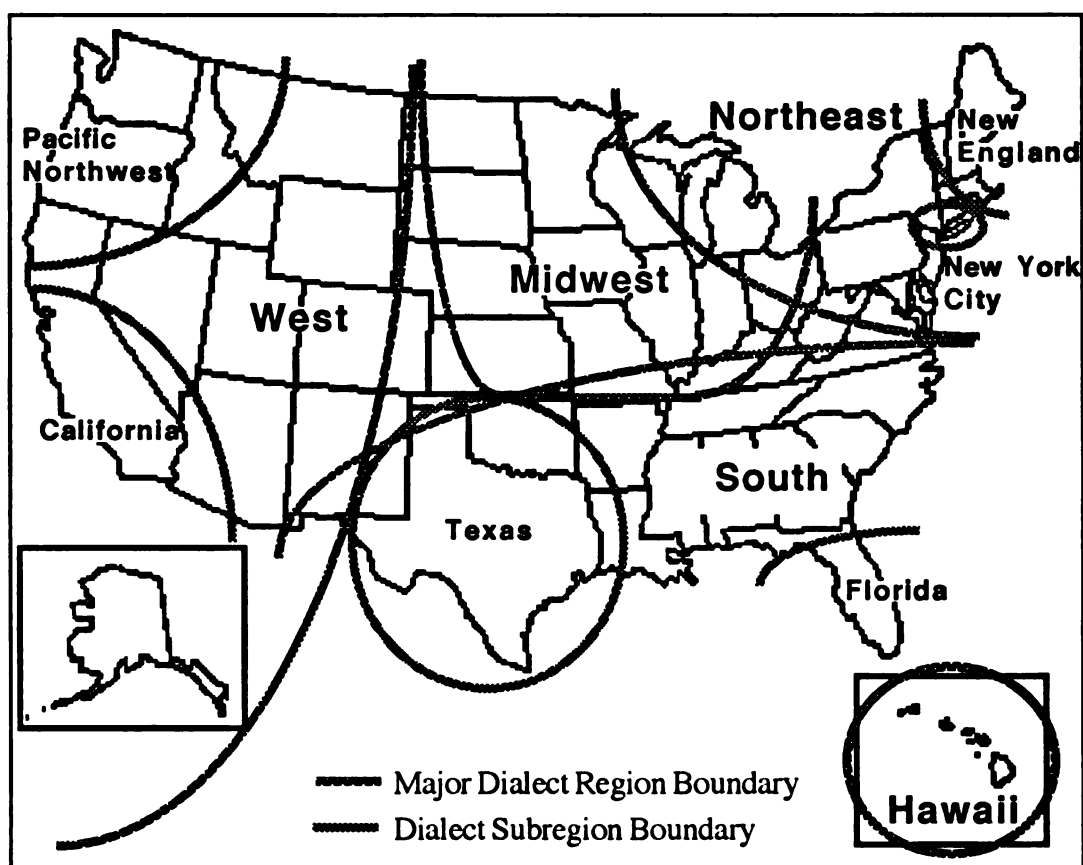
Figure 13. Oregonian Perceptual Speech Regions Summarized

The states of Oregon and Washington were rated the highest in terms of correctness and pleasantness, while New York City was rated the lowest in both categories. In general, the other western states as well as the

midwestern states were rated similarly, fairly high on both correctness and pleasantness scales. The South, which was the most salient dialect region for the respondents in this study, was rated poorly for correctness but fairly well for pleasantness. Both Hawaii and Florida tended to fall into their own groups in terms of the ratings, primarily because of the influence of non-native English speakers in those states.

This study is the first to examine the perceptual dialectology of any west coast residents. In order to gain a more general understanding of the language attitudes of western residents, it is necessary to replicate this research throughout the western region. At a minimum, it would be good to survey residents of Washington, northern California and southern California. Of course, each state has a unique settlement history, and therefore the most comprehensive picture of western language attitudes would require research in every state. This study is thus merely a beginning to what could become a much more extensive research program.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Research Tools

No. _____

Please provide the following information for classification purposes only. In no way will this information be used to identify you individually in published results of this study.

Name: _____   Age: _____

Address: _____   Sex: M / F

_____   Ethnicity:
                                    1 European-American
Phone#: _____   2 African-American
                                    3 Hispanic-American
Highest grade level completed: _____   4 Asian-American
                                    5 Other

Would you be willing to participate in a short interview as follow-up to this questionnaire?
Yes / No

Please answer with city and state for each of the following questions:

Where were you born? _____

Where did you spend your elementary school years? _____

Where did you spend your high school years? _____

Where have you spent your post-high school years (list locations and approximate dates, up to current residence):

_____

_____

_____

_____

Where did your mother grow up? _____

Where did your father grow up? _____

APPENDIX A

Consent Form for Oregon Study

I, _____, have consented to participate in a linguistic study involving the identification, labeling and rating of ways of speaking in regions of the U.S. I understand that both written and tape-recorded data (in the form of an interview) may be obtained from me in this project. I have been informed that all demographic information about myself in addition to all data I provide is strictly for the purpose of linguistic research and will be kept confidential. In no way will I be placed at risk in this study. I also understand that my participation in this study is strictly voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time during the project, including mid-process. Any questions regarding this project or inquiries regarding the results of the study may be addressed to: Laura C. Hartley, Department of Linguistics, A614 Wells Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing MI 48824.

_____   _____

Signature   Date
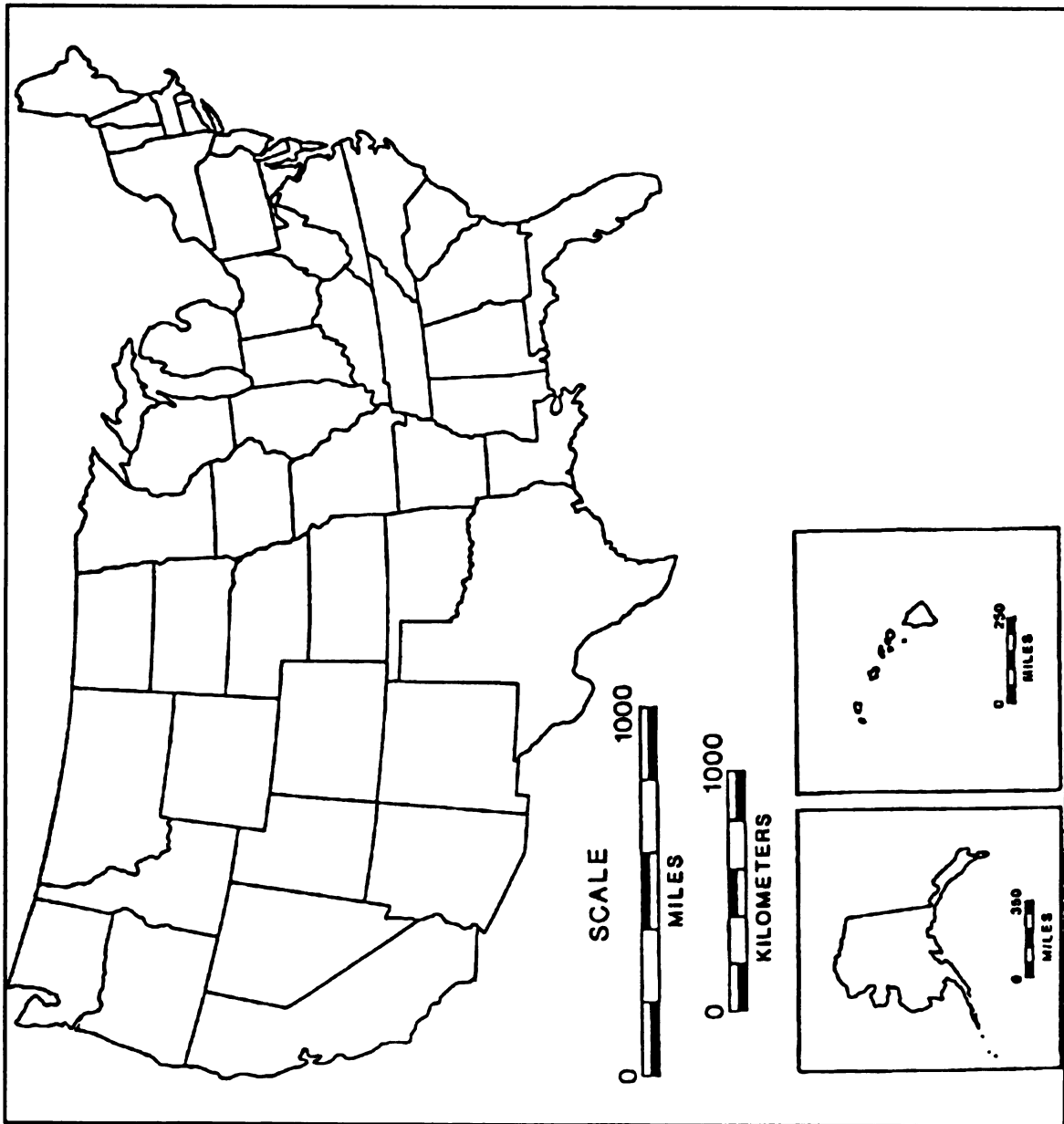
APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

DEGREE OF DIFFERENCE

Please rate the 50 states, New York City, and Washington, D.C. on a scale of 1 to 4 as follows:

    1 = people there sound like me
    2 = people there sound a little different from me
    3 = people there sound very different from me
    4 = people there sound so different from me I can't understand them

Alabama ____	Maine ____	Oklahoma ____
Alaska ____	Maryland ____	Oregon ____
Arizona ____	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania ____
Arkansas ____	Michigan ____	Rhode Island ____
California ____	Minnesota ____	South Carolina ____
Colorado ____	Mississippi ____	South Dakota ____
Connecticut ____	Missouri ____	Tennessee ____
Delaware ____	Montana ____	Texas ____
Florida ____	Nebraska ____	Utah ____
Georgia ____	Nevada ____	Vermont ____
Hawaii ____	New Hampshire ____	Virginia ____
Idaho ____	New Jersey ____	Washington D.C. ____
Illinois ____	New Mexico ____	Washington ____
Indiana ____	New York City ____	West Virginia ____
Iowa ____	New York ____	Wisconsin ____
Kansas ____	North Carolina ____	Wyoming ____
Kentucky ____	North Dakota ____	
Louisiana ____	Ohio ____	

APPENDIX A

Correctness

Please rate the speech of people in the 50 states, New York City, and Washington, D.C. on a scale of 1 to 7 as follows:

least correct 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 most correct

Alabama ____	Maine ____	Oklahoma ____
Alaska ____	Maryland ____	Oregon ____
Arizona ____	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania ____
Arkansas ____	Michigan ____	Rhode Island ____
California ____	Minnesota ____	South Carolina ____
Colorado ____	Mississippi ____	South Dakota ____
Connecticut ____	Missouri ____	Tennessee ____
Delaware ____	Montana ____	Texas ____
Florida ____	Nebraska ____	Utah ____
Georgia ____	Nevada ____	Vermont ____
Hawaii ____	New Hampshire ____	Virginia ____
Idaho ____	New Jersey ____	Washington D.C. ____
Illinois ____	New Mexico ____	Washington ____
Indiana ____	New York City ____	West Virginia ____
Iowa ____	New York ____	Wisconsin ____
Kansas ____	North Carolina ____	Wyoming ____
Kentucky ____	North Dakota ____	
Louisiana ____	Ohio ____	

APPENDIX B

State Name Abbreviations Used

AL:	Alabama	MS:	Mississippi	VA:	Virginia
AK:	Alaska	MO:	Missouri	WDC:	Washington D.C.
AZ:	Arizona	MT:	Montana	WA:	Washington
AR:	Arkansas	NE:	Nebraska	WV:	West Virginia
CA:	California	NV:	Nevada	WI:	Wisconsin
CO:	Colorado	NH:	New Hampshire	WY:	Wyoming
CT:	Connecticut	NJ:	New Jersey		
DE:	Delaware	NM:	New Mexico		
FL:	Florida	NYC:	New York City		
GA:	Georgia	NY:	New York		
HI:	Hawaii	NC:	North Carolina		
ID:	Idaho	ND:	North Dakota		
IL:	Illinois	OH:	Ohio		
IN:	Indiana	OK:	Oklahoma		
IA:	Iowa	OR:	Oregon		
KS:	Kansas	PA:	Pennsylvania		
KY:	Kentucky	RI:	Rhode Island		
LA:	Louisiana	SC:	South Carolina		
ME:	Maine	SD:	South Dakota		
MD:	Maryland	TN:	Tennessee		
MA:	Massachusetts	TX:	Texas		
MI:	Michigan	UT:	Utah		
MN:	Minnesota	VT:	Vermont		

APPENDIX C

Sample Hand-Drawn Maps

SCALE

MILES

1000

0

KILOMETERS

1000

0

MILES

250

0

MILES

250

0

SCALE

MILES

1000

KILOMETERS

0   1000

MILES

Northern Europe

Central Farmers

South

Southwestern

Western England

Leisure Living

Mixed Continental

Pacific Islands

MILES

MILES

New England

South East

Oregon Terr

Pacific R.R.

Old

South

SCALE

0   1000

MILES

0   1000

KILOMETERS

MILES

0   250
MILES

0   250
MILES
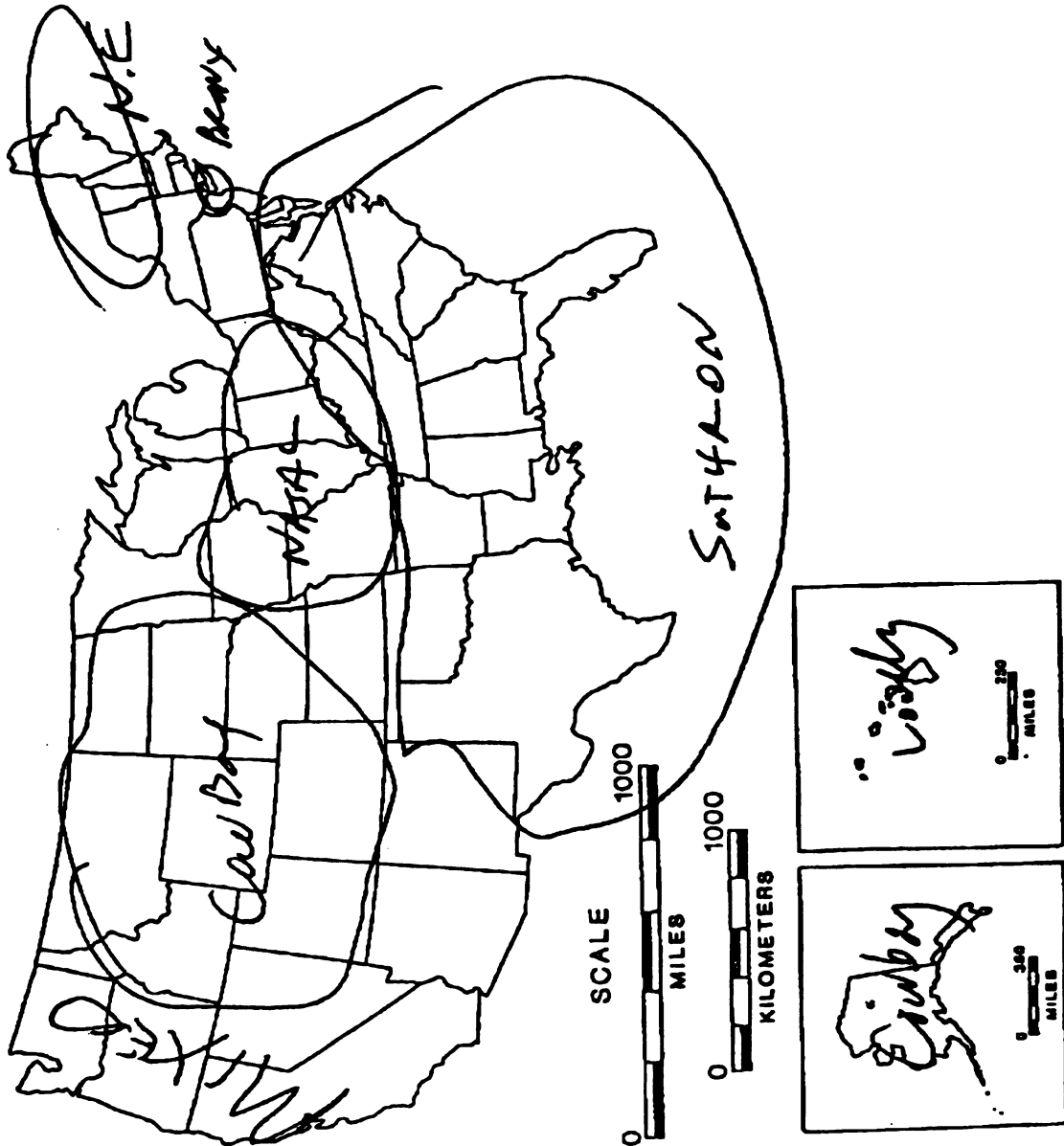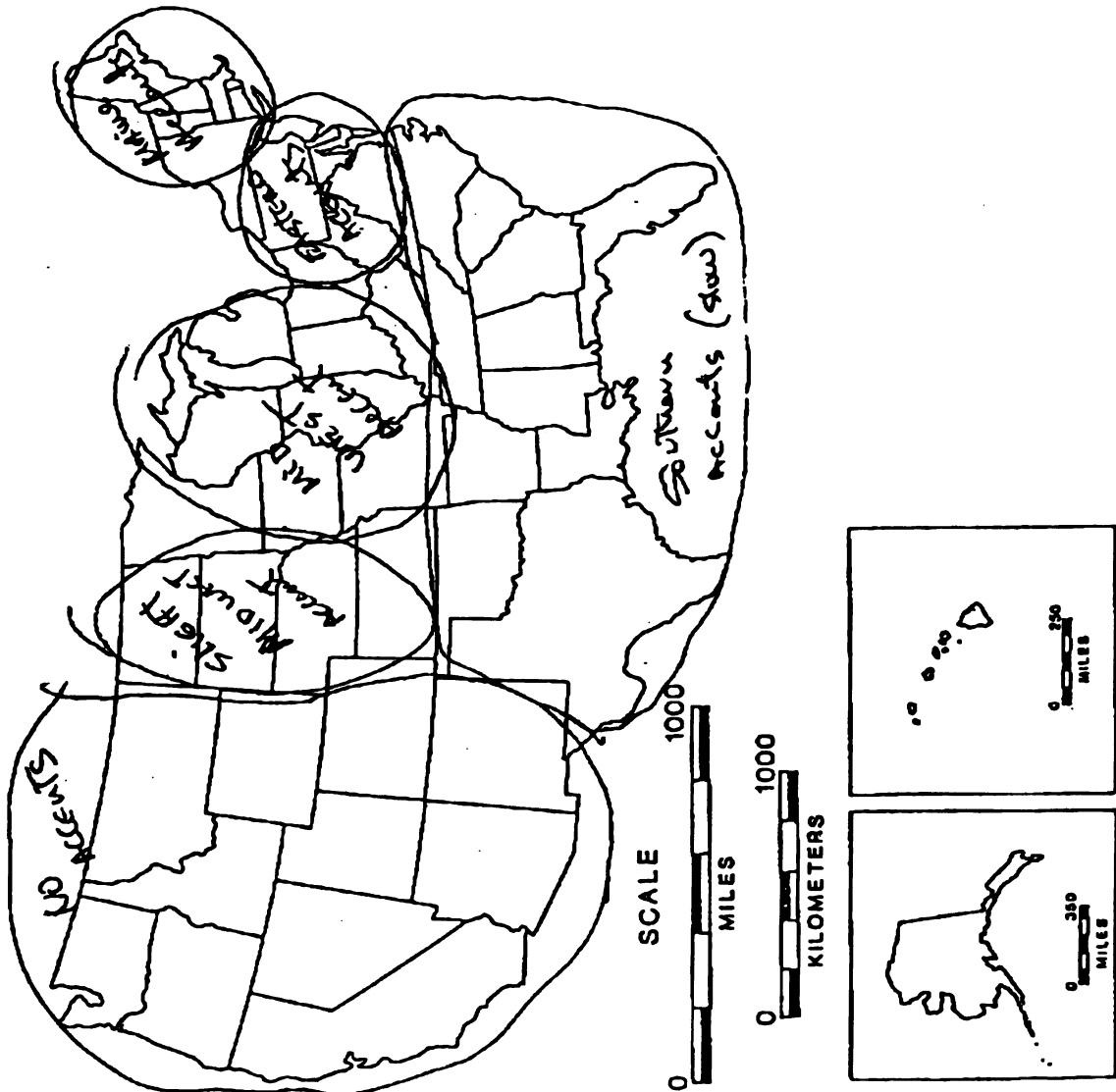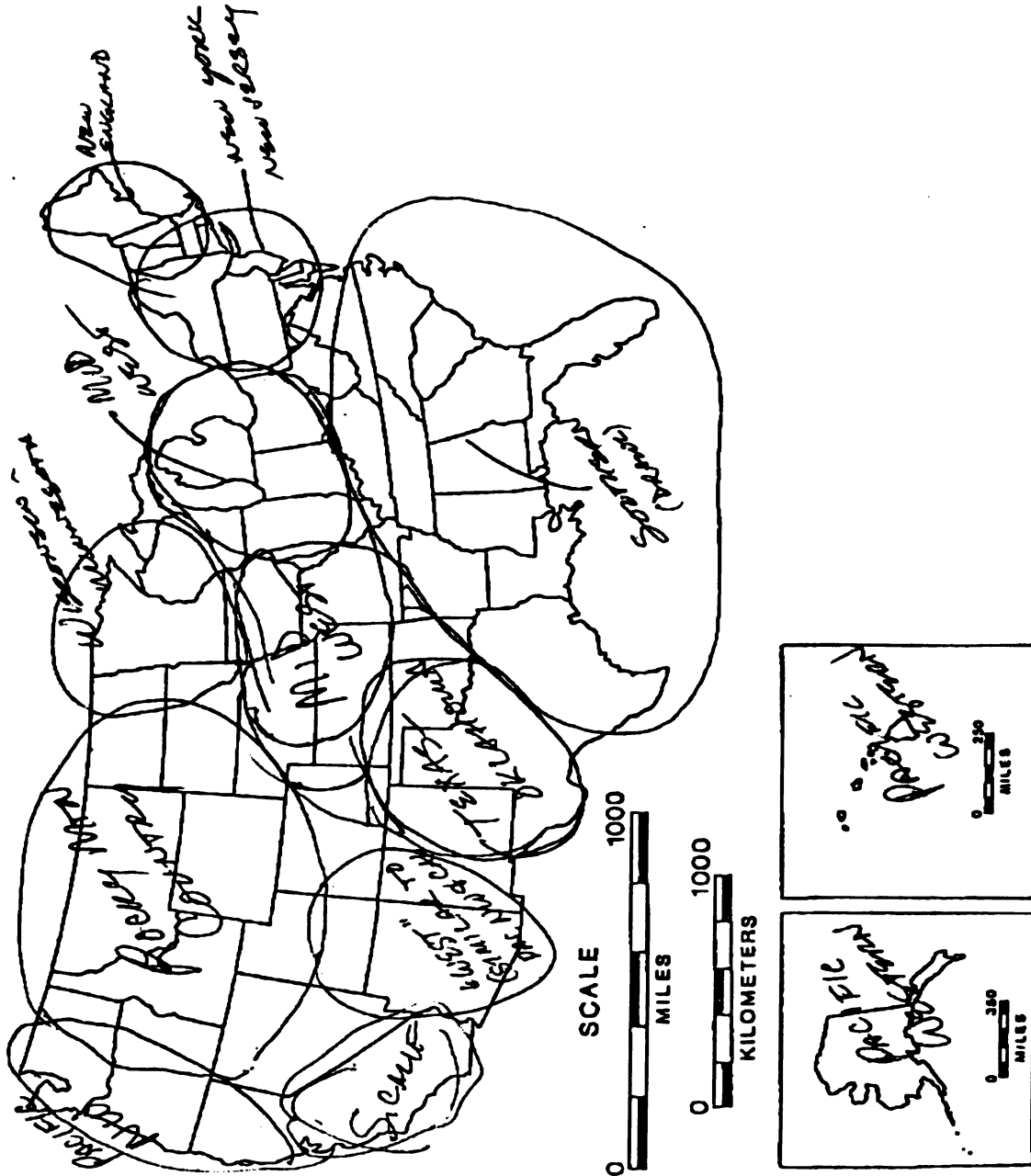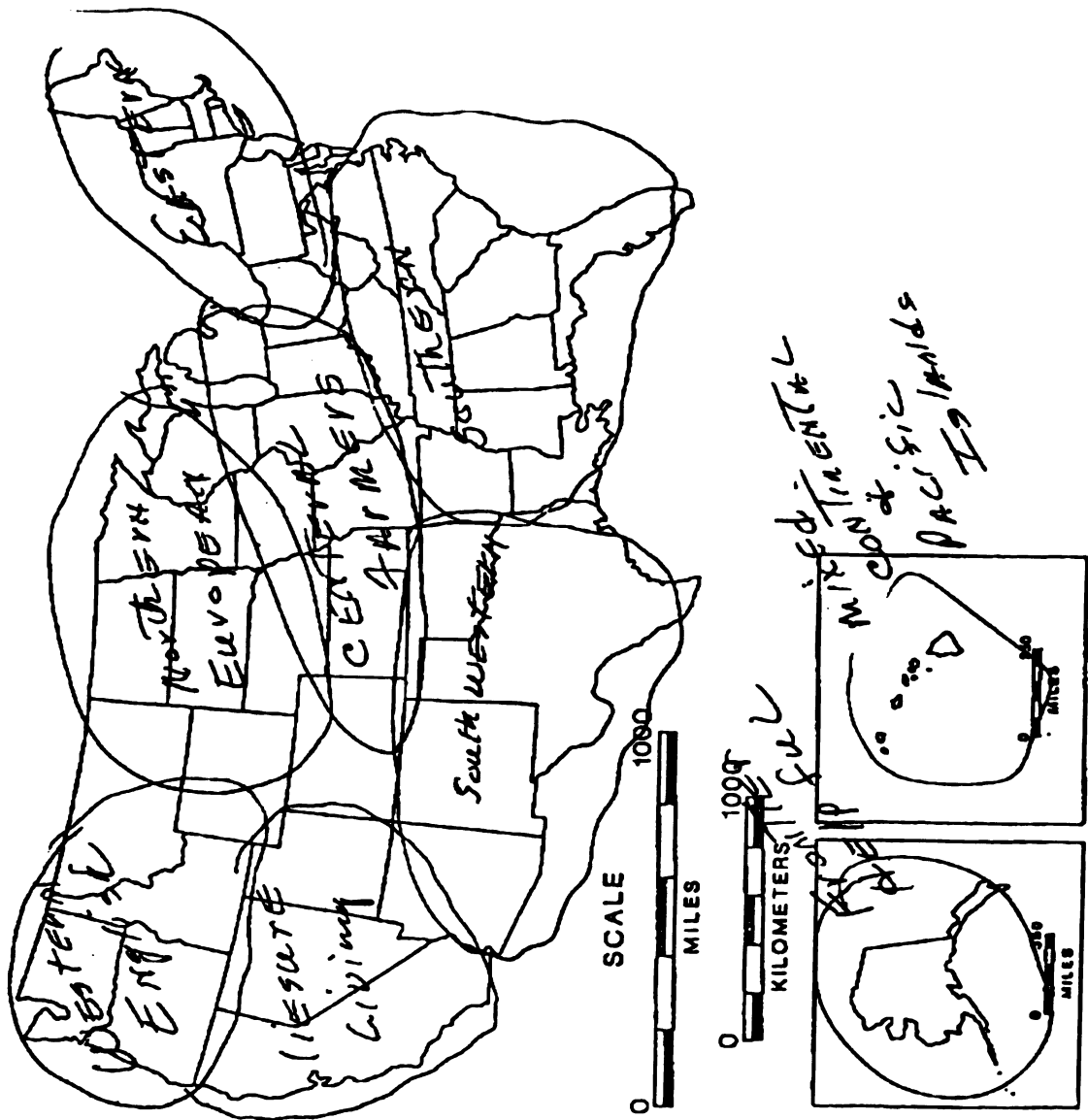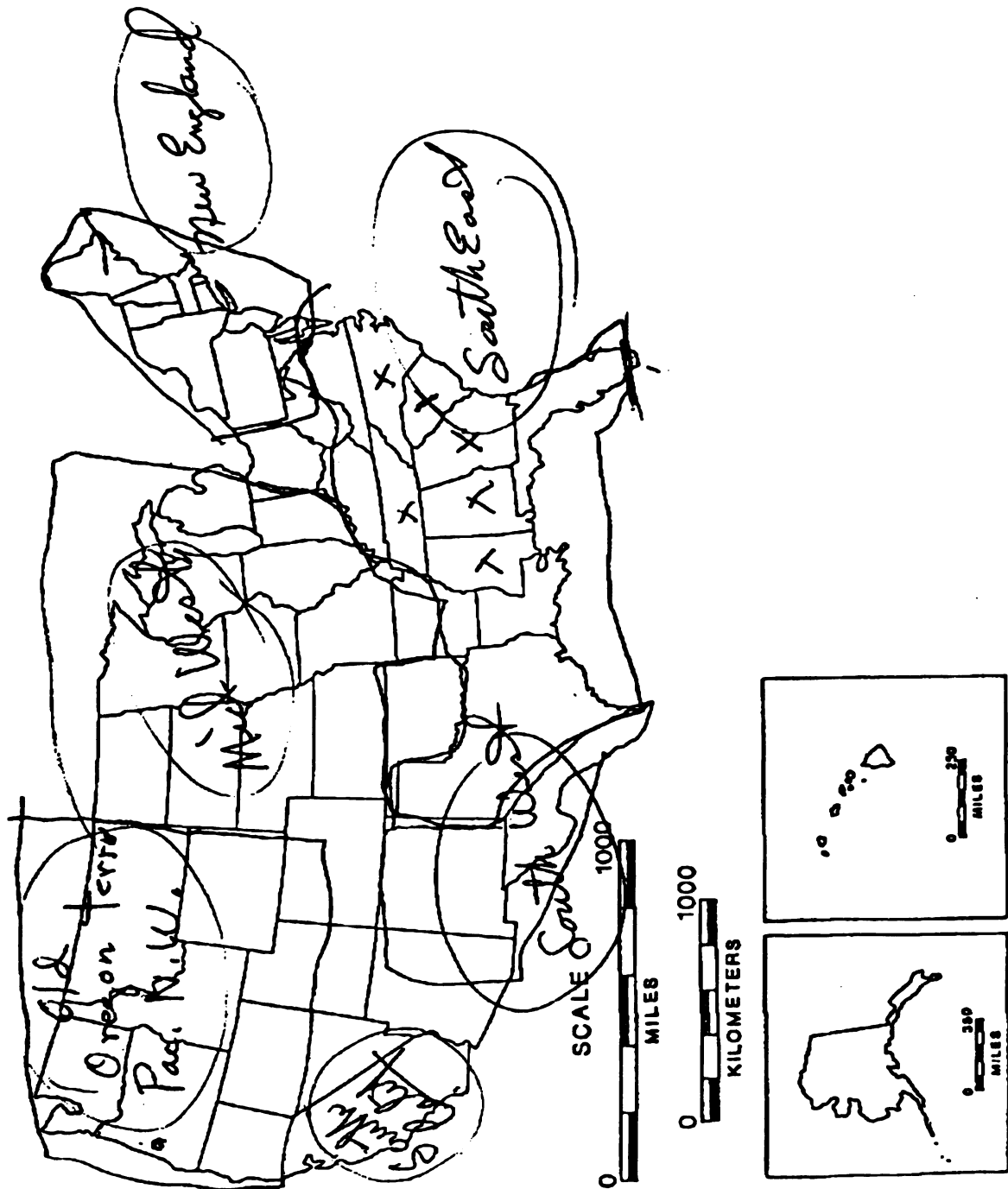
APPENDIX D

Labels Used on Hand-Drawn Maps

WEST

Geographical location
Western [6]
West [5]
West Coast [2]
West/Midwest
Western English
Western states
N.W.
Pacific NW
Northwest
Oregon
Southwestern (UT,CO,AZ,NM)
Four corner language
    (UT, CO, NM, AZ)

Variety Descriptors
West U.S. English
Mixed

Evaluative Terms
Normal [4]
Normal Accent
Normal to me
Commoners
No Accent [2]
Similar
The same as me
Plain Western
Western Drawl (MT, WY)
Western Twang

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
Spanish (AZ, NM)
Substantial Mexican & Spanish
    accent (soCA, AZ, NM)
Spanish (soCA, soNV, UT, AZ, NM)
Spanish speakers & English speakers
    (soCA, AZ, NM, TX)

Sound/Tempo Qualities
Twangey Western (MT,ID,WY)
Flat
Dry

Topography/Nature
More Mountain like
    (UT,CO,NM)
Rocky Mtn Country

Cultural/Historical
like cowboys
    (ID,MT,WY,NV,UT)
Old Oregon territory
cowboy (ID-KS)

Other
"cold" (WA)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Geographical location
Pacific NW [2]
Northwest
Nor West

Variety Descriptors
West Coast English
Western English

Evaluative Terms
Normal [2]
No Acc

Sound/Tempo Qualities
Soft - TV like

92

CALIFORNIA
Geographical location
So. Calif [2]

Variety Descriptors
Californian English
"Valley talk"
Silicone Valley Gargin

Evaluative Terms
distinctive

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
Chinese (SF)
Vietnamese/Laosian/Hispanic (so.)
Local - Mex (so.)
Hispanic (so.)

Topography/Nature
Peninsula (SF)

Cultural/Historical
Leisure living
Hip-Californian

Other
local

ALASKA
Geographical location
Western [2]
West [2]
Pacific Western
Alaskan

Variety Descriptors
Western English

Evaluative Terms
Plain western
Normal

ALASKA (cont'd)
Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
More Canadian like
Eskimo
Indian Accent/Native
Alaskan Indian Influence

Cultural/Historical
Last Frontier
cowboy
Frontier

Other
Helpful

HAWAII
Geographical location
Hawaii [2]
Hawaiian [2]
Pacific Western

Variety Descriptors
Western U.S. English

Evaluative Terms
Normal
No Acc

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
Hawaiian natives - native accent
Island - Asian influence
Hawaii with a mix of Asian
influence
pidgeon English
Multi-lingual Hawaii
Mixed Continental & Pacific
    Island
Japanese Golfland

Sound/Tempo Qualities
Lovely

MIDWEST
Geographical location
Midwest [8]
Midwestern [3]
Northern/Midwestern
North
Oregon (WI, MI)
Dakotas
N.D./S.D./Wisc.
Wisconsin Minnesota
Ohio Valley

Variety Descriptors
Midwestern English
Midwest Accent English
Midwest Accent
slight Midwest accent
Dakotas English
Great Lakes English
southern accent
Midwest drawl
slight draw (ND,SD, NE, MN, IA)
slight Eastern draw
Talk w/ accent (Chicago)

Evaluative Terms
less accent

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
More Scandinavian like
Germanic lgs
Canadian
French Canadian Influence (MI)
Northern European

Sound/Tempo Qualities
Twangy, brash
Nasal

Topography/Nature
Mosquitoe slapping shout
Midwestern Plains (KS, OK)
Plains

Cultural/Historical
Central Farmers

Respellings
Chicaco accent

Other
gentile
don't know
unqualifiable

NEW ENGLAND
Geographical location
New England [3]
N.E.
Northern N. England
Nor-wester
Boston (MA, CT, RI)
New England - Boston

Variety Descriptors
New Englanders
New England - Bostonese
New England English
Maine Accents

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
European

Sound/Tempo Qualities
clipped and direct (ME)

Cultural/Historical
"Back Bay"

APPENDIX D

NORTHEAST

Geographical location
Northeast
Northeastern
Nor East
New England [4]
East Coast [4]
Eastern [4]
East [4]
Northern
Mid Atlantic
Brooklin
New York/New Jersey

Variety Descriptors
Northern Accent
Eastern Accent English
Eastern Accents
New England English
New York Acc
New Yorkers
Maryland English
  (WV, VA, MD, DE)
southern accent
thick brogue
mumbo jumbo (WDC)
Eastern Heavy Draw
speak w/ accent where they draw out
  vowels
Accent
Boston Accent/New York Accent

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
Older English terms
sound Jewish
British mix
More British like

Sound/Tempo Qualities
slower except in New York
harsh, talk fast
meaningless mumble
Nasal sound
Nasal [2]

Cultural/Historical
Old English/Colonial
Eastern upturned nose British
  immigrant wannabees in love
  with the Queen Mum

NEW YORK CITY

Geographical locations
Bronx
N.Y.
New Jersey/New York
Northeast

Variety Descriptors
NY English Accent
New Yorkers
Yankee English (cf. Cult/Hist)

Cultural/Historical
Yankee English

Respellings
New York, New Yawk!
nuew yawk

SOUTH
Geographical location
Southern [17]
South [5]
South east
Deep South

Variety Descriptors
Southern Accents [3]
Southern English
Southeastern Am. Eng.
southern accent/drawl
Floridian drawl
Southern drawl [4]
drawl [3]
Heavy draw
talk w/ drawl
southern twang
Rebel slang
Accent
English with Southern Accent

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
More Scottish like
slower "French" roll

Sound/Tempo Qualities
slower "French" roll
slow [2]

Respellings
suthron

Topography/Nature
Backwoods
Tennessee Hills

Cultural/Historical
Rebel slang
Hillbilly (TN, KY, WV, VA, NC)
hillbillish (KY, TN)

TEXAS
Geographical location
Southwestern [2]
Southwest
Texas [5]
Texas - Oklahoma
Oklahoma (OK)

Variety Descriptors
Texan Accent
western drawl
Heavy country twang
southern drawl [4]
Texas drawl [3]
Southern Acc
Texan [2]
Near Texan (OK)

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
Spanish

Cultural/Historical
Tex Mex

LOUISIANA
Geographical locations
Arkansas (AR, LA)

Variety Descriptors
Louisiana English

Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps
More French like
French
"Cajon"
French/Cajun
English/French Creole

Topography/Nature
Bayou

APPENDIX D

FLORIDA
<u>Geographical location</u>
Miami

<u>Variety Descriptors</u>
Midwest drawl

<u>Evaluative Terms</u>
very little accent

<u>Other Lgs/Countries/Ethnic Grps</u>
Cuban
French Creole/Spanish
Spanish
Hispanic
Cuban Spanish/English speakers

<u>Cultural/Historical</u>
7-11 Turbins

APPENDIX E

Ratings (Raw Numbers)

Table 28. Degree of Difference Ratings (Raw Numbers)

Rating State	1	2	3	4	Rating State	1	2	3	4
OR	63	2	0	0	MD	11	35	18	1
WA	62	4	0	0	FL	10	27	24	2
ID	60	5	0	0	RI	9	36	19	1
CO	56	9	0	0	WV	8	31	23	3
UT	56	9	0	0	ME	7	30	25	3
CA	55	11	0	0	DE	6	38	19	2
NV	55	10	0	0	VT	6	38	17	2
MT	52	14	0	0	CT	6	34	20	3
AZ	51	14	0	1	MO	6	29	29	1
AK	48	14	1	1	VA	6	28	30	1
WY	47	17	0	0	NJ	6	23	29	5
NM	32	25	5	1	MA	5	30	25	5
HI	29	19	10	6	NH	3	38	20	3
ND	28	34	3	0	NC	2	18	42	3
SD	28	33	1	1	OK	1	31	30	2
NE	27	32	4	0	NY	1	31	29	5
MN	22	42	1	0	TN	1	20	40	4
MI	22	41	2	0	TX	1	19	40	6
IA	22	39	4	0	SC	1	17	44	2
WI	21	38	4	1	NYC	1	17	36	9
OH	20	43	2	0	AR	0	23	41	2
IN	19	41	5	0	KY	0	20	44	2
IL	18	41	6	0	LA	0	11	45	9
KS	16	40	9	0	GA	0	9	52	4
WDC	14	34	14	1	MS	0	9	51	4
PA	12	42	10	0	AL	0	7	50	8

APPENDIX E

Table 29. Correcness Ratings (Raw Numbers)

Rating State	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
OR	27	18	5	9	1	0	2
WA	25	19	7	7	3	0	1
CO	21	17	8	12	1	1	1
ID	21	15	11	11	3	0	1
CA	19	17	6	14	3	1	2
AZ	18	17	8	14	3	1	1
AK	18	14	6	14	6	2	1
MT	15	15	13	12	4	2	1
WY	15	14	14	10	6	2	0
CT	15	14	12	16	3	1	0
NV	13	22	6	13	7	0	1
UT	13	19	14	11	4	0	1
MN	11	18	14	16	1	1	0
IL	11	13	16	17	4	1	0
VT	11	13	14	14	5	4	0
WI	11	12	21	11	5	1	0
MI	10	18	16	13	2	1	1
DE	10	17	13	16	4	1	0
PA	10	15	18	12	5	2	0
MD	10	15	17	13	4	1	1
RI	10	15	14	17	3	2	0
ME	10	14	15	12	4	5	1
MA	10	13	10	17	7	2	2
IN	10	12	20	18	1	1	0
OH	10	11	20	15	3	2	0
IA	10	11	18	21	1	1	0
WDC	10	10	11	15	5	6	3
HI	10	9	12	22	3	3	3
ND	9	17	14	14	7	0	1
NH	9	15	15	13	6	2	1
NE	9	15	14	13	8	3	0

APPENDIX E

Table 29 (cont'd)

SD	9	9	23	14	5	1	0
NM	7	14	10	20	6	2	1
KS	7	10	20	19	4	2	0
VA	7	7	20	18	8	2	0
NJ	7	7	9	19	10	9	1
MO	7	5	12	19	13	4	1
NY	6	8	8	16	10	9	5
FL	6	7	18	17	8	4	2
SC	6	7	15	16	10	6	2
NC	6	4	15	21	7	6	3
TN	6	4	11	21	11	9	0
OK	5	7	16	17	10	4	3
WV	5	6	16	20	9	5	1
KY	5	5	13	17	15	6	1
AR	5	5	9	18	4	15	5
TX	5	4	12	21	7	11	2
NYC	5	4	6	17	9	9	12
GA	5	3	10	14	16	10	4
MS	5	3	10	17	11	12	4
LA	5	3	7	16	14	11	6
AL	5	2	5	18	12	13	7

APPENDIX E

Table 30. Pleasantness Ratings (Raw Numbers)

Rating State	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
OR	32	13	8	7	2	1	0
WA	26	18	6	7	3	3	1
ID	25	11	10	13	4	1	0
AK	23	13	12	12	2	0	0
CO	22	12	15	19	2	1	0
NV	18	15	10	14	6	1	0
CA	18	13	8	16	4	3	2
MT	17	18	10	12	6	1	0
AZ	17	18	9	16	2	1	0
HI	17	13	9	14	8	0	1
WY	14	18	14	11	4	1	0
UT	14	17	8	16	6	1	0
GA	9	16	9	19	4	5	1
LA	9	13	16	11	7	5	3
NE	8	18	8	14	11	3	0
MN	7	25	8	18	3	1	0
NM	7	23	8	16	7	0	0
ND	7	21	13	18	3	1	0
IA	7	21	11	18	7	0	0
KY	7	15	15	15	8	3	0
OK	7	15	10	10	15	5	0
MS	7	9	17	13	6	10	2
OH	6	20	11	17	7	2	0
TN	6	16	14	12	8	7	0
FL	6	15	10	15	10	5	2
AL	6	12	10	16	5	8	5
ME	6	11	20	12	6	4	3
PA	6	10	13	20	7	4	3
IN	5	19	14	18	7	0	0
IL	5	17	14	19	9	0	0
SD	5	16	17	18	5	1	0

APPENDIX E

Table 30 (cont'd)

MD	5	16	13	18	7	2	2
CT	5	16	13	18	6	4	2
SC	5	15	19	13	3	8	0
DE	5	14	12	19	8	4	1
WDC	5	11	12	14	7	5	8
MI	4	22	12	17	5	0	1
WI	4	17	13	17	7	2	1
KS	4	17	12	17	8	4	0
MO	4	14	14	11	10	7	1
TX	4	12	16	15	7	6	3
RI	4	11	13	22	6	3	3
AR	4	10	12	16	12	6	2
VA	3	22	14	10	6	6	2
VT	3	20	18	8	7	3	3
NC	3	16	17	12	11	4	0
NH	3	16	14	13	8	5	2
MA	3	11	16	14	6	7	6
WV	2	16	18	11	11	3	2
NJ	2	9	9	16	11	11	5
NY	2	7	9	17	7	10	11
NYC	2	6	8	8	8	17	15

APPENDIX F

Select Transcripts of Taped Interviews

Respondent #104 and husband
[Is Oregon your favorite place?]
(husband)
..to live, yes. to visit--we like to go visit, but it's always nice to come home, appreciate Oregon more every time we leave..Oregon has a lot of diversified landscape--you can go to the coast and the high desert, eastern Oregon--it's all different terrain, like most states back east you don't have that, they have, well, most of your New England states are all wooded, they have one type of landscape--here we have a large diversity...

[Do people sound different as you travel around the U.S.?]
Oh back east, yes. When we used to go to the flea markets in, well, Greenfield and those we used to think New Yorkers were mad at each other--that's just how they talk, they always sound like they're arguing and that...yeah, and they're just, that's the way they speak, and we used to kind of, they'd yell and scream and you'd look back thinking they were fighting and they were just visiting

[Do New Yorkers come up to that flea market in Greenfield?]
Oh yeah, and they're elderly people, older people, and it's not like they're--most flea markets have fairly young people, but in Greenfield it's the older, professional antique people out of New York who come--they're not the only ones there but the ones from New York seem to be older people, they're doing it professionally and they're good at it, they're good at it, you don't beat those fellows. It's very competitive back there. It used to be that you could go back east and buy things inexpensively, but now it's very competitive, you can actually buy it here cheaper than you can back there...We collected the more collectable things, back east they collected the more fine, better antiques, so they'd throw out the oaks [the primitives] yeah, there you go, the primitives, the oaks and the primitives and of course we'd love to have 'em, but now they've changed their approach on the primitives and of course, real old primitives are real expensive back there...

...We take a lot of short trips in Oregon, and Montana and Idaho--there's some beautiful country in Idaho...

(#104)
I have a friend who has lived in the United States for, oh about 25 years, but she's Canadian, but she continues to, I always notice the "could" and the "would"...and another friend too whose parents were Canadian but she's always lived here, but you can tell it in those words ["about"?] "about"!, yes, yes.."aboot"--it is, I like linguistics are interesting...you can detect so many little things...

(husband)
...most beautiful state in the Union and she said "your coastline is gorgeous"--we've lived here all our life and when we left that restaurant we said, "my god, let's go home and go see our coast", and we did, and we did, and now, when we go to the coast we thoroughly enjoy it, but we were so accustomed to it that it meant nothing, until we go back east and the east coast is not, not very pretty--it's flat, you don't get to see it [but you get to swim there] yeah, we didn't...
(#104) that's an advantage, you're right
(husband) you mean it's warmer, the water's warmer? [yeah...they call NJ Philadelphia's sandbox...] ...well we were up further north, up in Maine and CT...and that's about equal to our area here...well, thanks to that gal in that restaurant we came home and we appreciate our coastline more and more everyday
(#104) it's so breathtaking because you're high
...*(husband)* oh you've been over there? See, north of Florence is where the pretty part starts...it's one of the most beautiful views on our coast...

...one of our favorite areas back there, of course, is D.C., it should be mandatory that every teenager goes to Washington, D.C...it should be...

Respondent #119 and #120
(#119)
...We lived for a short time in Idaho when we were first married..but we hated it...
...I lived in California for a short time when I was a teenager and wanted to be away from home, to start my own life, and I hated it...I was in L.A., well I lived in Wittier, which was outside L.A....I only lived there 11 months and I was ready to come home. I remember the first time it rained, I looked up in the sky and I cried and said, "Thank you God"...

{regarding people with a KY accent} ..they act like they've got all the time in the world, you know--"nothing wrong with me, I'm just taking my time," I can't do it, but it sounds great...

{comments made while drawing map}...I don't pay attention to their accents, except when I go way over here to the east coast or way over in Louisiana...this is kind of mixed a lot, and I suppose it's mixed over here, but see I don't know the difference between--this is the east coast--but I don't know where like Louisiana would be, where's Louisiana?...This is purely guesswork...my husband's family came from Iowa...

(#120)
...when you're travelling you're usually talking to tourists, so that's why I say this whole thing is ridiculous--you can quote me on that!...I wish I had that quote from this man that said, he had three or four sentences, he'd picked the sounds involved in the words in those 3 or 4 sentences and he could identify where you were raised, not necessarily where you were born--it's a cultural thing primarily [did he do that by ear or did he use a machine?] well, I, you learn to speak by ear, I suppose, but you imitate the people where you live, we imitate speech just like we imitate anything else...

(#119)
{filling out pleasant}...I really do like everybody's language, but I think to be "cutsey", certain ones sound cuter, you know, cause you like to listen, kind of like you like to listen to an Aussie, you know someone from Australia, because they're unique, so does that count as...?

{filling out correct} I bet there's a lot you can learn from this...prejudices, for instance the rating how most pleasant, if you're not particularly fond of those type of people or the people who live there...I think this is fascinating...this is interesting what I'm doing--gradually as I go to the east coast I'm raising the quality [what's that mean?] more wealthy, I don't know, I'm just interested as to why I'm doing that...oh, not necessarily, oh well

Respondent #54

I really love Western Oregon...

[I'm curious as to as you were rating these, what you were thinking of?]
...there are parts of the states that I've never been to, so maybe I've only heard the people's accents or their conversations on a TV show or a radio program, so my rating is purely based on that...

[any neighbors or people you've met here who are from different parts of the states?]
Yes, um, I have a son-in-law who's from TX, and it was really hard to understand him when he first came up, and I thoroughly enjoyed listening to President Kennedy speak, I like his eastern seaboard accent very much, people from the southeast are very hard for me to understand, their ways of expressing themselves--I really find that all people's ways of expressing themselves with words is very interesting, like our oldest daughter always says she has a love affair with words and it's true, words are so expensive and so picturesque that I really enjoy listening to people, no matter where they're from...

{about filling out the map} it was really hard to know where to divide for the different areas, the way people talk in this group of states or that group of states, but, it really was an exercise in my mind to decide where the dividing line would go....

[how did you come up with the different terms that you used?]
Um, mainly by the type of people that live there and the area of the United States that they happen to be in, you know, central, southwestern, or...

[have you met people from most of these areas?]
I think pretty much so, yes, I've met a lot of people from a lot of different parts of the United States and a lot of foreign countries too

[what about the correct sheet, how did you come up with some of those determinations?]
Well, of course, I think each individual thinks that they speak the proper way, and so somebody that differs real drastically, you're thinking they really don't know how to speak, you know, or they don't know how to express themselves, but I'm sure that somebody who speaks drastically different than I do thinks their speech is perfect too, so it really is hard to check on that which you think, you know, are they speaking properly or

not? I'm sure for all of us we aren't speaking <u>really</u> proper English that came from England, the original, so you know it's an American mixture

[anything else you can add?]
...I find people's speech, the way they express themselves, interesting and really educational. I like to talk with people that are really quite well educated, because I'm not well educated it kind of puts me in a corner, but just the medium everyday person is, people that I feel more comfortable with...

Respondent #71
I've been to practically every part of Oregon except the southeast...and we both love to go on the side roads and various town and places...

[did you find that people all around Oregon pretty much talk the same way or did you find difference?]
Oh, I think that if they had lived in Oregon for any length of time they talk the same way, don't you MaryLou?
{MaryLou: Uh huh}
I think they were very similar in speech

[I had one man tell me that over in the eastern part of the state there was a little - different - but you, you didn't...]
Well, it could be, more the cowboy type of living -- but a lot of people from the eastern part of the state come over here to live and, and play

[did you find a real distinct difference in the Canadian speech just on the other side of the border?]
Canadian speech? Yes, somewhat. A lot of people speak like the English, you know with an English accent and also with the way they form their sentences and speak you know -- I've never been to England but I'm sure that's the way they talk

[did you find any difference between northern and southern California in the people or the way they talk?]
Not in the way they talk particularly, of course northern California is more like Oregon in climate and what but, uh as far a talking is concerned I couldn't tell any difference. Maybe the people that I talked to are just friends and relatives and so on and I wouldn't ( )

Respondent #57

...it has been my impression all the time that I had lived on the west coast that there was no, no pattern - my father had a, a pattern of speaking that was different but (...) the constant influx of other people has changed the language in exactly, considerable Spanish which was used as a child in the area has changed and gone out and there isn't that much but in the ( ) that we worked with when our children were young there were people from every nation on the face of the earth. We had 19 girls and I don't think there were more than three of them, maybe maybe 5, that could be called anglo, anglo-American from the east coast but we had one that was directly from England, now she did talk funny (laugh) she talked a different language, we had some from Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Argentina, our neighbors were completely mixed, we were fairly close to UCLA and the, the married student housing there and so we had, they weren't really within our area but they were really close and a lot of the apartments in our area were student families or people who would come in relocating, we had a lot of very well educated people, educated from other areas but hadn't really established themselves in our area yet in this country and so they were in a rather blue-collar neighborhood, even though they had much more - things but I hadn't, I've only been once to Alabama for a couple of weeks and I believe we went to the Grand Canyon once but I didn't talk to anybody because I was camping -- and I really couldn't say anything about the speech patterns because I've always had to accept all kinds of speech patterns, all kinds of languages, we had the Japanese people that have lived in California for quite a long time, which speak precisely but have certain um, expression that they use but we have also down there the ones that have come in much later and we have people that learn the new language perfectly, people that don't -- learn the language, I had one set of neighbors that, uh the man would do the speaking and the woman would listen, we were building a brick wall between the two properties so we were negotiating how we were going to split the cost, why uh, they both had to come over a talk with us, one of them had worked where he had a Mexican crew, they had been teachers in Cuban before they had fled and so he was able to work, he had a supervisory job of some kind with a Spanish-speaking crew from Mexico and he could speak the language very well. She watched TV at home, she did not work outside the home and she could understand it quite well and so it took both of them to sign the papers as to who was going to pay for this fence (laugh) and I couldn't fill out those papers thoroughly because I just never judged, if I could understand people that was fine, we would, we would converse in any kind of sign language

and -- my daughter's Japanese friend's mother always smiled and said "Ah so" like she understand every word I said to her and later my daughter says "It's too bad Sachi's mother never learned English" -- I'd been talking to her for a long time, she recognized me (laugh) a yeah, we knew each other when we saw each other, I guess I had many friends that I couldn't communicate with and my speech patterns, my children said they were very strange -- so, I guess I never even bothered to change mine when the language changed or didnn't watch TV as much as the others now TV tends to level out the language and you don't keep many colloquialisms, things from home after you have children that are raised with a lot of TV-- so I didn't talk like TV mothers so my children thought I was (...)

I honestly don't believe that I have ever consider-- I have never rated things when I was listening to them as being correct or incorrect, it was just that person's way of doing it -- living in the neighborhood where I did, why, we accepted everybody or we didn't get along and - I I was aware that, well you can't say that what was spoken in English was correct and what we spoke was not and it's the same thing with what was spoken in the east coast and I never thought that what was spoken in Boston was any better than what I spoke out here I mean, uh, my dad used to read some of the books by the cowboy authors, that wrote a lot and I can't remember the man's name, one of 'em used to write a lot about his adventures, you know, with the cow camps and things like that and he'd like to read that because it was the kind of language he had heard when he was a boy in California which wasn't spoken any more and it wasn't even spoken in our home -- and certainly my kids didn't pick it up, they didn't pick up very much of my vocabulary

[did you have any experiences with people from other states within the U.S. that spoke differently?]
well, yes, yes, as I say all my friends in childhood had come from other states and there was almost no one in Long Beach when I lived there that -- had realy been there for very long and the same was true in Oregon people came in and it wasn't settled, you know the oldest churches and the oldest schools and things down in Grant's Pass are only 100 years old, so that's that's within my parents didn't quite make 100 but they, they're gone now, but there's just just, changed radically and it's in a constant flux -- I couldn't say, how can you say one person's language is better than others it's better if the person can understand you and this is the reason my children don't know -- I was born before TV, I read books, my family had

a library and whenever they got a chance they would get books and we would have books in the house and you played cards or played checkers or read a book in the evening because that was what you could do -- and uh, you don't -- I have a lot of books and I notice reading some of the books that I read younger now, I thought where did these words come from? I think, yeah, I know what these words are but I haven't heard them for years. It was really, every is like advertising literature now and short sentences and not, the beautiful language is not being used because if anybody does write it everybody's in such a hurry to read it, you can't you can't do that now

Respondent #121

[the first thing that I noticed is that you didn't do anything with these states in the middle. why is that?]
I think it would be, it seems like it would be more of a mixture I mean, I mean I know on the west coast there's a mixture of people with different accents and stuff like in eastern Oregon and stuff speaking more of what I guess what I would consider midwestern, but I didn't really know...

[in try to do this whole thing, what did you try to base your answers on?]
well, some of them I based on people I've met from those states, like Michigan, I know several people from Michigan so I guess I have a conception of that and how it sounds, um east coast you know I know some people from Pennsylvania and certain states and probably New York City is mostly from TV and movies and stuff...

[do you consider WA and OR to be pretty similar?]
Yeah - I mean it depends on where you're talking about in Washington and Oregon but [for example, what?] well, I mean if you like, like I was saying the eastern side of the state is more of a, sounds more twangy or something, I'm not sure what, it sounds more country and I don't know why that is
[why the very different rating for CA?]
Well, I was thinking about it and I think there's just, I don't know some speech patterns, it just - sounds different [in terms of pleasantness-- not necessarily in terms of correctness?] Yeah, right.

[how did you find this task?] It was hard. [why?] just because I don't feel like I have a very good concept of a lot of areas, the way they speak because I haven't been too many places

Respondent #122
[can you explain your labels to me? first of all you've got this one that includes kind of the NW and it's "Western Twang"]
Because just cause the scenery the way it is I think the people understand a certain level of outdoor terms that most people don't from the outside
[and then you have "Silicon Valley Jargon" which is California]
Um, yeah, people in California talk their own language which I don't understand [what do you mean by "talk their own language?"] their whole terminology is a different - task it seems like their words are bigger and a lot of it seems to be, at least in the areas I've been in, technical terms and a lot it I guess I think of Silicon Valley in regards to computers and all the technical variety
["Rebel Slang"] It's just because I've spent a lot of time studying history of that area and when I'm with friends I can pick it up really fast and it seems very "rebelish" after visiting there and then going to a another part of the states everybody told me that I sound like a rebel so I equate that with ["meaningless mumble"] people seem to talk very fast up there from what I've experienced

I can be in Washington and not feel like I'm not in Oregon but I can be in Idaho and I can tell a difference..it's sort of still the same area

[what did you base your ratings on?]
when we used to travel I used to love to get out of the car and listen to the gas station attendants talk and that's where I got some of mine from, from what I remember some of the states it's sound crazy but it's from what some of the gas station attendants talk, cause when you're driving through a state you don't get much of a chance except for listening to people on the radio and how they talk

[why such a low correctness rating for TX?]
it's just seemed very different to me, the family I stayed with I couldn't understand a lot of what they were saying and their general terms, I felt like I was kind of in a different culture, cause their general terms are very vague compared to what I was used to hearing

APPENDIX F

...the correctness issue, I mean, well what is correct language anyways? you know, it's all relative to who's looking at it and the person you're coming from

Respondent #123
[based on the fact that you haven't travelled much, what were you basing your answers on?]
my inherent philosophical belief that there is no correct, in terms of speech kind of, um so...

[why do you rate everyone the same on correctness but differentiate in terms of pleasantness?]
because it seems like it's an aesthetic quality and something that brings you know, it's kind of an artistic thing it seems like it's something you can appreciate where correctness to me seems to me like there's some scale and there's some right and wrong to it and I don't see that as relevant in terms of speech

[why low ratings for California? I noticed on your map you divided Southern California--it has it's own]
it has it's own English and so I spent three years in California [in southern california?] in southern California and um there's a variety of English there that I adopted for a period of time and um [can you describe that variety at all?] I think it's vocabulary and uh I don't think phonetically or phonologically there's a whole lot going on that's different but it's more terms and you know um prosody [but northern California seems to you to go more with Oregon and Washington] yeah, it seems that speech forms seem like they're more similar

I mainly thought of degree of difference in terms of sounds and how closely they were to the way that I talk, and subjectively then I thought of the map as more like the whole speech forms, maybe the words that they have might be like the Germanic areas, in some of the migrations in the Great Lakes areas that maybe the things that they say come from those background languages and, so I think with this degree of difference I was probably only thinking of sounds

APPENDIX F

[what about these areas that you left out?]
they just, they don't talk there (laugh) [this seems to be the biggest area right here MT, ID, WY] They could, if you want me to put [no I don't want you to change anything I'm just curious] they don't seem real prototypical, if I was to make stereotypes, if I was to stereotype or prototype any of these folks, those are kind of the areas that I would say are most like each other

[what is for example "Dakota English"? The English of people in the Dakotas is different than say the English in Montana or Wyoming?] I don't have a whole lot of first hand experience but I've heard people say that, that this, um that there are things here in this English that are a little different but I don't have any experience up there, I've never been there and I don't know.

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114

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