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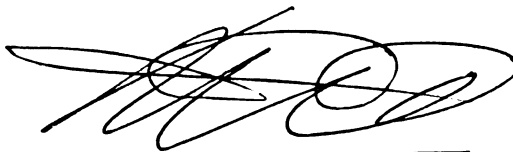
THIS GIRL WANTS OUT!: AN ANALYSIS OF  
NEED/WANT+PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE AND NEED/WANT+  
PREPOSITIONAL ADVERB

presented by

ERICA JUNE BENSON

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

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Major professor

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***THIS GIRL WANTS OUT!:* AN ANALYSIS OF *NEED/WANT* + PREPOSITIONAL  
PHRASE AND *NEED/WANT* + PREPOSITIONAL ADVERB**

By

Erica June Benson

A DISSERTATION

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## ABSTRACT

### *THIS GIRL WANTS OUT!*: AN ANALYSIS OF *NEED/WANT* + PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE AND *NEED/WANT* + PREPOSITIONAL ADVERB

By

Erica June Benson

The aims of this dissertation are to examine the geographic, social, and stylistic distributions of the grammatical constructions *need/want* + prepositional phrase (e.g. *Dean needs in the building*) and *need/want* + prepositional adverb (e.g. *The cat wants out*) and to investigate other factors bearing on these distributions, e.g. the semantic features of concrete and abstract. Most previous literature on these constructions has looked at *want* + prepositional adverb; almost no literature has mentioned *need/want* + prepositional phrase and *need* + prepositional adverb.

Several findings have emerged from questionnaire data gathered from 163 respondents, in Ohio, Michigan, and Georgia. All of these constructions show robust Midland distributions, and although *need/want* + prepositional phrase and *need* + prepositional adverb were rarely (or never) mentioned in other sources, use of them was reported by over 75% of respondents in the Midland. Furthermore, these constructions appear to be used more than previous literature had suggested in the North and the South, where some forms, e.g. *want down*, *want in*, *want off*, were reported by more than 60% of respondents.

More importantly, the social and stylistic distributions of these constructions in the Midland challenges long held assumptions about the relationship between these two

variables. *Need/want* + prepositional phrase and *need/want* + prepositional adverb show little to no variation across the social variables of urban-rural residence, gender, socioeconomic status, and age. These constructions are, however, stratified by style. Although many respondents report using *need/want* + prepositional phrase and *need/want* + prepositional adverb in all styles, in general, these constructions are much more frequent in informal styles than in formal styles. Stylistic variation without social variation calls into question not only the assumption that social and stylistic variation are inherently related (e.g. Romaine 1980; Labov 1972; Bell 1984; Finegan & Biber 1994) but also the idea that the amount of stylistic variation cannot exceed that of social variation, i.e. Bell's style axiom (1984).

This study of *need/want* + prepositional phrase and *need/want* + prepositional adverb reveals their robust distribution in the Midland dialect area, which together with historical evidence, supports the idea of a distinct Midland dialect. In addition, use in the North and South is greater than expected, which would appear to be the result of spread of these constructions from the Midland. The findings also challenge long-held assumptions about the interrelated nature of social and stylistic distribution. Furthermore, this study of grammatical features raises questions about general characteristics of language variation and change, which have largely been based on studies of phonetic/phonological variables.

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**Dedicated to the wise ones in my family who taught me  
more about life and learning than they know**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                          |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| LIST OF TABLES .....                                                     | ix   |
| LIST OF FIGURES.....                                                     | xii  |
| KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.....                                                | xiii |
| CHAPTER 1                                                                |      |
| 1. Introduction .....                                                    | 1    |
| CHAPTER 2                                                                |      |
| 2. Background .....                                                      | 5    |
| 2.1. Syntactic properties of the verbs <i>need</i> and <i>want</i> ..... | 5    |
| 2.2. Literature overview.....                                            | 11   |
| 2.2.1. N/W+PP .....                                                      | 14   |
| 2.2.2. N/W+PA .....                                                      | 16   |
| 2.3. Geographic distribution .....                                       | 21   |
| 2.3.1. The Midland .....                                                 | 23   |
| 2.3.2. The South .....                                                   | 29   |
| 2.3.3. The North .....                                                   | 30   |
| 2.3.4. Geographic expansion.....                                         | 32   |
| 2.4. Semantic features.....                                              | 35   |
| 2.5. Social factors .....                                                | 38   |
| 2.5.1. Rural-urban residence .....                                       | 38   |
| 2.5.2. Social class .....                                                | 41   |
| 2.5.3. Age.....                                                          | 43   |
| 2.5.4. Gender.....                                                       | 44   |
| 2.6. Style .....                                                         | 46   |
| 2.7. Hypotheses .....                                                    | 51   |
| CHAPTER 3                                                                |      |
| 3. Methodology .....                                                     | 53   |
| 3.1. Linguistic variables.....                                           | 53   |
| 3.2. Survey instruments .....                                            | 56   |
| 3.2.1. Study of grammatical features.....                                | 56   |
| 3.2.2. Questionnaires.....                                               | 57   |
| 3.3. Respondents and nonlinguistic variables .....                       | 59   |
| 3.4. Data manipulation and statistical analyses .....                    | 64   |
| CHAPTER 4                                                                |      |
| 4. Results and discussion .....                                          | 66   |
| 4.1. Use across dialect regions .....                                    | 66   |
| 4.1.1. N/W+PP .....                                                      | 67   |

|                                                                 |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.1.2. N/W+PA .....                                             | 70  |
| 4.1.3. Discussion .....                                         | 75  |
| 4.2. Semantic features.....                                     | 81  |
| 4.2.1. N/W+PP .....                                             | 81  |
| 4.2.2. N+PA .....                                               | 84  |
| 4.2.3. W+PA .....                                               | 87  |
| 4.2.4. Discussion .....                                         | 90  |
| 4.3. Usage hierarchies.....                                     | 95  |
| 4.3.1. <i>Need</i> vs. <i>want</i> .....                        | 95  |
| 4.3.2. N/W+PP vs. N/W+PA .....                                  | 101 |
| 4.3.5. Discussion .....                                         | 103 |
| 4.4. Nonlinguistic factors.....                                 | 105 |
| 4.4.1. Rural-urban .....                                        | 105 |
| 4.4.2. Gender.....                                              | 108 |
| 4.4.3. Socioeconomic status.....                                | 112 |
| 4.4.4. Age.....                                                 | 114 |
| 4.4.5. Discussion .....                                         | 116 |
| 4.5. Stylistic variation.....                                   | 125 |
| 4.5.1. N/W+PP .....                                             | 126 |
| 4.5.2. N+PA .....                                               | 129 |
| 4.5.3. W+PA .....                                               | 131 |
| 4.5.3. Discussion .....                                         | 133 |
| CHAPTER 5                                                       |     |
| 5. Conclusion .....                                             | 139 |
| 5.1. Summary of findings .....                                  | 139 |
| 5.2. Limitations and suggestions for future research .....      | 141 |
| 5.3. Relevance of findings to field of linguistics .....        | 143 |
| APPENDICES                                                      |     |
| Appendix A: Questionnaire items.....                            | 149 |
| Appendix B: Sample questionnaire.....                           | 155 |
| Appendix C: Essential information on dialectology projects..... | 160 |
| Appendix D: List of respondents .....                           | 163 |
| Appendix E: Learning curve statistics .....                     | 169 |
| REFERENCES .....                                                | 170 |

## LIST OF TABLES

|                                                                                              |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Table 2.1. Dialect word list reports of W+PA in the Midland .....                            | 28 |
| Table 2.2. Dialect word list reports of W+PA in the South .....                              | 29 |
| Table 2.3. Use of <i>need/want/like</i> + past participle by socioeconomic class .....       | 42 |
| Table 2.4. Use of <i>need/want/like</i> + past participle by age.....                        | 44 |
| Table 2.5. Use of <i>want off</i> and <i>need/want/like</i> + past participle by gender..... | 46 |
| Table 3.1. Demographic distribution of respondents .....                                     | 60 |
| Table 3.2. Occupational prestige ratings .....                                               | 63 |
| Table 4.1. Use of N/W+PP by dialect region .....                                             | 69 |
| Table 4.2. Use of N+PA by dialect region .....                                               | 72 |
| Table 4.3. Use of W+PA by dialect region .....                                               | 73 |
| Table 4.4. Rank order of N/W+PP and N/W+PA.....                                              | 79 |
| Table 4.5. Concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP across dialect regions.....                | 82 |
| Table 4.6. Concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP within dialect regions.....                | 83 |
| Table 4.7. Concrete and abstract senses of N+PA across dialect regions.....                  | 85 |
| Table 4.8. Concrete and abstract senses of N+PA within dialect regions.....                  | 86 |
| Table 4.9. Concrete and abstract senses of W+PA across dialect regions .....                 | 88 |
| Table 4.10. Concrete and abstract senses of W+PA within dialect regions.....                 | 89 |
| Table 4.11. Rank order of concrete and abstract senses N/W+PP and N/W+PA.....                | 92 |
| Table 4.12. Use of N+PP vs. W+PP .....                                                       | 96 |
| Table 4.13. Use of concrete and abstract senses of N+PP vs. W+PP .....                       | 97 |
| Table 4.14. Use of N+PA vs. W+PA .....                                                       | 99 |

|                                                                                              |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 4.15. Use of concrete and abstract senses of N+PA vs. W+PA.....                        | 101 |
| Table 4.16. General use of PP vs. PA .....                                                   | 102 |
| Table 4.17. Use of PP vs. PA.....                                                            | 103 |
| Table 4.18. Use of N/W+PP by rural-urban residence.....                                      | 106 |
| Table 4.19. Use of N+PA by rural-urban residence.....                                        | 107 |
| Table 4.20. Use of W+PA by rural-urban residence .....                                       | 108 |
| Table 4.21. Use of N/W+PP by men and women .....                                             | 109 |
| Table 4.22. Use of N+PA by men and women .....                                               | 110 |
| Table 4.23. Use of W+PA by men and women .....                                               | 111 |
| Table 4.24. Use of N/W+PP by socioeconomic status.....                                       | 113 |
| Table 4.25. Use of N/W+PA by socioeconomic status .....                                      | 113 |
| Table 4.26. Use of N/W+PP by age .....                                                       | 115 |
| Table 4.27. Use of N/W+PA by age .....                                                       | 116 |
| Table 4.28. Use of all tokens of N/W+PP by style .....                                       | 127 |
| Table 4.29. Use of all tokens of N+PA by style .....                                         | 130 |
| Table 4.30. Use of all tokens of W+PA by style .....                                         | 132 |
| Table 5.1. Effect of animacy/agency of the subject of <i>need/want</i> on distribution ..... | 144 |
| Table A.1. Token sentences of N/W+PP .....                                                   | 149 |
| Table A.2. Token sentences of N+PA.....                                                      | 150 |
| Table A.3. Token sentences of W+PA .....                                                     | 151 |
| Table A.4. Filler sentences .....                                                            | 152 |
| Table A.5. Widely accepted filler sentences .....                                            | 153 |
| Table C.1. <i>Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE)</i> .....                               | 160 |

|                                                                                                                                    |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table C.2. <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS)</i> .....                                          | 160 |
| Table C.3. <i>Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States (LANCS)</i> .....                                                       | 160 |
| Table C.4. <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM)</i> .....                                                               | 160 |
| Table C.5. <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS)</i> .....                                                                 | 160 |
| Table C.6. <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest (LAPNW)</i> .....                                                          | 161 |
| Table C.7. <i>Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)</i> .....                                                             | 161 |
| Table D.1. List of respondents.....                                                                                                | 163 |
| Table E.1. Use of token sentences in three groupings corresponding to the beginning,<br>middle, and end of the questionnaire ..... | 169 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 2.1. United States dialect areas .....                                                                       | 22  |
| Figure 2.2. W+PA in <i>Linguistic Atlas</i> project data .....                                                      | 25  |
| Figure 2.3. W+PA in <i>DARE</i> data .....                                                                          | 26  |
| Figure 2.4. Use of <i>want off</i> in <i>DARE</i> by community type .....                                           | 39  |
| Figure 2.5. Socioeconomic and style stratification of (ing) for European-American adults in New York City .....     | 48  |
| Figure 2.6. Hypothetical case of socioeconomic stratification with no stylistic variation .....                     | 49  |
| Figure 2.7. Socioeconomic and stylistic stratification with hypercorrection of (r) in adults in New York City ..... | 50  |
| Figure 4.1. Use of N+PP and W+PP .....                                                                              | 68  |
| Figure 4.2. Use of N+PA and W+PA .....                                                                              | 71  |
| Figure 4.3. Use of N+PP vs. W+PP .....                                                                              | 95  |
| Figure 4.4. Use of N+PA vs. W+PA .....                                                                              | 98  |
| Figure 4.5. Use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by style .....                                                                 | 134 |
| Figure 4.6. W+PP by socioeconomic class and style .....                                                             | 137 |

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

|        |                                                                 |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| AdjP   | Adjective phrase                                                |
| AH     | <i>American Heritage College Dictionary</i>                     |
| DARE   | <i>Dictionary of American Regional English</i>                  |
| DP     | determiner phrase                                               |
| LAGS   | <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States</i>                      |
| LAMSAS | <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States</i> |
| LANCS  | <i>Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States</i>             |
| LANE   | <i>Linguistic Atlas of New England</i>                          |
| LAPNW  | <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest</i>                |
| LAUM   | <i>Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest</i>                    |
| N+PA   | <i>need</i> + prepositional adverb                              |
| NP     | noun phrase                                                     |
| N/W+PA | <i>need/want</i> + prepositional adverb                         |
| N+PP   | <i>need</i> + prepositional phrase                              |
| N/W+PP | <i>need/want</i> + prepositional phrase                         |
| OADLG  | <i>Oxford American Dictionary and Language Guide</i>            |
| OED    | <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>                                |
| PA     | prepositional adverb                                            |
| PP     | prepositional phrase                                            |
| RH     | <i>Random House Dictionary</i>                                  |
| W+PA   | <i>want</i> + prepositional adverb                              |
| W+PP   | <i>want</i> + prepositional phrase                              |
| VP     | verb phrase                                                     |

## 1. Introduction

In all varieties of English, the following sentences<sup>1</sup> are grammatical:

- (1) I'm sorry to bother you, but I need to get by.
- (2) The baby wants to get down.
- (3) When the dog scratches at the back door, he wants to come in.
- (4) The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I need to get off.
- (5) This box needs to go/to be put in the car.
- (6) I want to get off this horse.

In these sentences and others like them, the verbs *need* and *want* are followed by the infinitive form of a verb and a prepositional adverb, as in 1-4, or a prepositional phrase, as in 5-6. In some varieties of English, however, another form is acceptable:

- (7) I'm sorry to bother you, but I need by. (17)<sup>2</sup>
- (8) The baby wants down. (36)
- (9) When the dog scratches at the back door, he wants in. (38)
- (10) The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I need off. (25)
- (11) This box needs in the car. (42)
- (12) I want off this horse. (13)

---

<sup>1</sup> Three types of examples are used in this study:

(i) examples invented to illustrate grammatical points;  
(ii) examples invented for use on the questionnaire, listed in Appendix A (see Footnote 2);  
(iii) examples borrowed from other sources and appropriately cited.

<sup>2</sup> Following type ii examples (see Footnote 1) is the number of the questionnaire item in Appendix A.

The constructions of concern to this study are *need/want* + prepositional adverb, henceforth N/W+PA, as in 7-10, and *need/want* + prepositional phrase, henceforth N/W+PP, as in 11-12. The choice of the term ‘prepositional phrase’ for the constructions in 11-12 is straightforward. The term ‘prepositional adverb’ for the words following *need/want* in 7-10 requires some explanation. In the literature, several terms have been used to refer to what I am calling ‘prepositional adverbs’, including ‘adverb’ (Griebeling 1947:5), ‘adverb of place’ (Ashcom 1953:255; Cassidy & Hall 1996:769), ‘directional adverb’ (*Webster’s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. 2 ‘want’ 5; Crozier 1984), ‘obligatory adverbial’ (Quirk et al 1985:732), ‘particle’ (Burnham 1926:395; Marckwardt 1948), and ‘preposition’ (Maxfield 1931:20; A. Wilson 1948:238; Griebeling 1947:5). Although the term ‘prepositional adverb’ does not appear in other previous sources, it seems like an appropriate label for these words for two reasons. One, these words look like prepositions (even though they do not behave like prepositions, since they are not followed by noun phrases), and in other cases, they can take noun phrase complements. Two, by using the term ‘prepositional adverb’ a relationship between bare forms (i.e. prepositional adverb forms) and prepositional phrase constructions is evident. The addition of the term ‘adverb’ not only acknowledges that these words are not structurally prepositions (since no noun phrase follows) but also indicates that these words are like some others that do not fit nicely into currently accepted word categories. I, therefore, adopt the term ‘prepositional adverb’ but recognize that the exact syntactic category of these words remains to be determined.

Currently, N/W+PP and N/W+PA are not well understood with respect to their geographic, social, and stylistic distribution in the United States. Remarkably little

attention has been paid to these constructions by linguists and dialectologists. In spite of the fact that there are numerous pronouncements about some forms of these constructions as regional, informal, or even nonstandard, there are few studies that have systematically investigated even one form.

My desire to work with these constructions arose from my interests in three areas: the debate over the status of the Midland dialect area; the role of grammatical variables in the field of language variation and change; and the need for more detailed study of linguistic and nonlinguistic factors that affect the geographic, social, and stylistic distribution of grammatical variables.

The research aims of this study include the following:

- To examine the distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across different regional and social groups; that is, to gain some insight into how these forms pattern across different dialect areas, rural-urban areas, socioeconomic classes, ages, and genders.
- To explore the role of the semantic features of concrete and abstract in the distribution of these constructions.
- To investigate differences in the use of various forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, including differences between *need* and *want*, PP and PA, and various prepositions.
- To examine the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across different situations of use, i.e. style (or register).

In Chapter 2, I review the literature on N/W+PP and N/W+PA, primarily from dialect word lists and dialectology projects as well as dictionaries and usage guides, and I

close with a list of hypotheses stemming from the previous literature. Chapter 3 describes the methodology for this project: the linguistic variables, the social variables, the respondents, the data collection methods, and the statistical analyses used on the data. Chapter 4 presents the results and discussion. Finally, Chapter 5 includes concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

## **2. Background**

The goal of this section is to review the previous literature on the constructions N/W+PP and N/W+PA. This review will demonstrate that they are more than deserving of attention in linguistic research in the United States and will allow me to propose hypotheses with respect to their geographic, social, and stylistic distribution. Section 2.1 presents an overview of the syntactic properties of the verbs *need* and *want* with an emphasis on N/W+PP and N/W+PA constructions, though parallels are also drawn between them and other construction with *need/want*. In Section 2.2, the focus is on the various prepositional phrases and prepositional adverbs found to occur in N/W+PP and N/W+PA constructions. Section 2.3 examines the geographic distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in the United States, which has been variously described as ‘regional’, ‘Midland’, ‘Southern’, and ‘American’. Section 2.4 discusses the semantic features of concrete and abstract and the potential relevance of these features to the use and acceptability of N/W+PP and N/W+PA. In Section 2.5, social factors that have been shown to play a role in studies of language variation are examined, e.g. rural-urban residence, socioeconomic status, age, and gender. Section 2.6, reviews what is known about the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in different styles and explores the relationship between stylistic variation and social variation. Finally, Section 2.7 lists the hypotheses for the present study.

### **2.1. Syntactic properties of the verbs *need* and *want***

The purpose of this section is to outline some of the basic syntactic properties of the verbs *need* and *want*, particularly as they relate to the analysis of N/W+PP and N/W+PA

and to identify some potentially related constructions. This section is not intended as a complete syntactic analysis; instead, it is intended to provide the descriptive basis for the purpose of a dialectological and sociolinguistic analysis. In all varieties of American English, *need* and *want* can take determiner phrase complements (DP), as in 1-2 but not adjective phrase complements (AdjP), as in 3, or verb phrase complements (VP), as in 4.

- (1) The child needs/wants candy.
- (2) The child needs/wants more candy.
- (3) \*The child needs/wants happy.
- (4) \*The child needs/wants tell a story.

Another common complement of *need/want* is the nonfinite clause. Of particular interest here are nonfinite clause complements consisting of an empty (PRO) subject and a *to*- infinitive. In such cases, the PRO subject of the *to*-infinitive gets its interpretation from the subject of *need/want*, as in 5-10.

- (5) The child needs/wants to have candy.
- (6) The child needs/wants to have more candy.
- (7) The child needs/wants to be happy.
- (8) The child needs/wants to tell a story.
- (9) The child needs/wants to come in.
- (10) The child needs/wants to come in the house.

It is possible to passivize the *to*-infinitive verb, as in 11-12. In these cases, however, the PRO subject of the *to*-infinitive, which still gets its interpretation from the subject of *need/want*, originates as an argument of the infinitive verb, from which it gets its theta-role assignment.

(11) The child needs/wants to be told a story.

(12) The house needs to be painted.

A similar passivization effect is achieved when *need/want* is followed by a nonfinite clause with an empty (PRO) subject and a gerund; that is, the interpretive relationship outlined previously holds between the subject of *need/want* and the PRO subject of the gerund, which originates as an argument of the gerund, as shown in 13-14<sup>1,2</sup>.

(13) The shoes need/want polishing.

(14) The house needs painting.

---

<sup>1</sup>Selectional restrictions may limit, to some extent, the possibilities, though they are not crucial to the argument here. In the constructions in which *need* and *want* are followed by a *to*-infinitive, the infinitive verb has a PRO subject that gets its interpretation from the subject of *need* and *want*, and this infinitive verb imposes selectional restrictions on the subject of *need* and *want*. So, sentence i is ungrammatical because the selectional restriction of an animate subject for *paint* is not met, but ii is grammatical because *bake* can take an inanimate subject.

(i) \*The house needs/wants to paint.

(ii) The cake needs to bake for 45 minutes.

<sup>2</sup>In addition, there is a selectional restriction on the subject of *want* + nonfinite clause; namely, its subject must be animate. In some dialects of English, the subject of *want* may be inanimate; however, in those cases, *want* is understood as *need*. So, 14, 16, and 18 are grammatical in all varieties of English, while iii-v are grammatical in only some varieties.

(iii) The house wants to be painted.

(iv) The house wants painting.

(v) The cake wants to bake for 45 minutes.

*Need/want* may be not only followed by nonfinite clauses with empty subjects but also nonfinite clauses with overt subjects, as in 15-20.

- (15) The child needs/wants you to have candy.
- (16) The child needs/wants her to have more candy.
- (17) The child needs/wants his friend to be happy.
- (18) The child needs/wants John to tell a story.
- (19) The child needs/wants her babysitter to come in.
- (20) The child needs/wants the dog to come in the house.

The structural analysis of these constructions is certainly important for syntactic theory and perhaps for other sociolinguistic endeavors; however, it is beyond the scope of this study for two reasons. First, the syntactic properties of clauses with overt subjects are different from those with PRO subjects; for example, in sentences with nonfinite clauses with empty (PRO) subjects, another element in the sentence is linked to the PRO; however, in nonfinite clauses with overt subjects, no such dependency relationship exists. Second, adding clauses with overt subjects to the pool of token sentences would have made the survey instruments prohibitively large and cumbersome for respondents; therefore, the analysis of *need* and *want* followed by clauses with overt subjects and the comparison to clauses with empty subjects are left to be studied in a future project.

Returning to the empty subject constructions that are central to this study, in addition to nonfinite clause complements, in some varieties of American (and Canadian and Scotch-Irish) English, *need* and *want* may take other complements. Of particular

interest to this study is that the infinitive verb (*to* + V) is not always obligatory with a PRO subject, and in some varieties of English sentences, like 21-24 (compare with 11-12 and 9-10, respectively) are well-formed.

- (21) The child needs/wants told a story.
- (22) The house needs painted.
- (23) The child needs/wants in.
- (24) The child needs/wants in the house.

On first reading, sentences like 21-24, may seem odd to speakers whose dialects do not allow these constructions; such speakers may consider these constructions at best nonstandard and at worst nonnative (K. Wilson 1993; see quotations in Frazer et al 1996).

Sentences 21-22 and other constructions involving *need/want* + past participle are indeed of great interest to the field of language variation and have recently received much deserved attention in a series of articles in *American Speech* (Frazer et al. 1996; Murray & Simon 1999, 2002). In this study, the focus is on constructions like 23-24 in which *need* and *want* are followed by prepositional phrases or prepositional adverbs. On the surface, these sentences appear to be similar to 1-2 (repeated here).

- (1) The child needs/wants candy.
- (2) The child needs/wants more candy.

Like 1-2, sentences 23-24 have a DP subject (*the child*), verb (*need* or *want*), and a complement immediately following the verb (*candy*, *more candy*, *in*, and *in the house*). Like in sentences 1-2, in sentences 23-24, the complement of the verb may be preposed. Furthermore, just as 1-2 are considered to be alternative ways of expressing sentences 5-6 (repeated here), respectively, sentences 23-24 may be considered alternative ways of expressing 9-10 (repeated here), respectively.

- (5) The child needs/wants to have candy.
- (6) The child needs/wants to have more candy.
- (9) The child needs/wants to come in.
- (10) The child needs/wants to come in the house.

This cursory look at the syntactic properties of N/W+PP and N/W+PA raises more questions than it answers. Indeed, much remains to be done in order to complete a thorough syntactic analysis of N/W+PP and N/W+PA. What is the syntactic structure of these constructions? Are N/W+PP and N/W+PA related to *need/want* + past participle? Do the constructions N/W+PP and N/W+PA share more than superficial similarities to N/W+DP? Is there a relationship between the constructions with *to*-infinitives and those without *to*-infinitives? The answers to these questions and others are important to a comprehensive syntactic analysis of the English language in all its variation but are left to qualified syntacticians. For the purposes of this study, the descriptive outline given above will suffice. Furthermore, N/W+PP and N/W+PA, seem to have parallels to other regionally distributed constructions, e.g. *need/want* + past participle, as well as to widely

accepted constructions, e.g. N/W+DP. The following sections review the previous literature on N/W+PP and N/W+PA.

## **2.2. Literature overview**

This section outlines the types of literature referencing N/W+PP and N/W+PA, introduces the range of prepositional phrases and prepositional adverbs that may occur with *need* and *want*, and examines the treatment of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in the literature. The majority of published work with some mention of N/W+PP and N/W+PA can be classified into one of three categories: usage guides, dialect word lists, and dialectology projects and studies.

Although not typically used in linguistic studies, usage guides, i.e. dictionaries and grammar books, provide an array of information that may be useful in the study of a language phenomenon. The mere presence or absence of a linguistic item in usage guides says something. Moreover, usage guides not only provide examples of use of linguistic items but also often give information about their geographic and stylistic distribution. Furthermore, as is the case here, usage guides may even identify semantic distinctions that are not found in other sources, as discussed in Section 2.6. The major weaknesses of usage guides include the following: 1) the lack of quoted references on which generalizations about the usage and the distribution of linguistic items are based and 2) their prescriptive nature, which may result in a commonly used item not being included at all or given only cursory treatment.

Dialect word lists and reports are included in the second category of published works that mention N/W+PP and N/W+PA. Most of the dialect word lists cited in this

study were based on a single individual's observations in a particular locale and were published in the first half of the twentieth century in journals like *Dialect Notes* and *American Speech*. The major value of dialect word lists is that they give some indication of the geographic distribution of the constructions in the early twentieth century, if one assumes that the observations are indeed representative of the region. Some dialect word lists are noteworthy for the range of prepositional adverbs and prepositional phrases cited for a particular area. Unfortunately, dialect word lists rarely include information about the numbers and characteristics of speakers or about the situations in which such forms are used; therefore, there is little to be found in dialect word lists about the social distribution and stylistic distribution.

Dialectology projects and studies make up the third group of published works that offer data on N/W+PP and N/W+PA. The dialectology projects cited in this study include the *Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE)*, the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS)*, the *Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States (LANCS)*, the *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM)*, and the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS)*, collectively referred to as the *Linguistic Atlas* projects, as well as the *Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)* (see Appendix C). Also included in this group are studies that either used the data (e.g. Shuy 1962; Dakin 1966a, b; Allen 1975) or adopted the methodology and questionnaire items (e.g. Hartman 1966; Foley 1972) of the *Linguistic Atlas* projects. Through extensive oral interviews, the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE* collected data on a variety of linguistic items, the majority involving phonetic or lexical differences. Trained fieldworkers used worksheets with prompts that were designed to elicit the linguistic item of interest. Responses were

usually recorded manually in phonetic transcription; however, in some cases, e.g. *LAGS*, responses were tape recorded and later transcribed.

Data from dialectology projects offer several advantages over other sources. The data from the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE* were systematically gathered using trained fieldworkers over large geographical regions. Within these regions, the number of respondents and some social information, e.g. age and level of education, were known. There are, however, some drawbacks to using these data.

The data from these dialectology projects are now 20 to 72 years old; the data for *LANE* were collected in 1931-1933; *LAMSAS*, 1933-1974; *LANCS*, 1933-1978; *LAUM*, 1949-1962; *LAGS*, 1968-1983; and *DARE*, 1965-1970 (see Appendix C). Although these data may offer some historical perspectives, they cannot, in any way, be construed to represent current use or use at one particular time in the past. Moreover, while the data attempt to provide an overview of language use in a particular region, they come from a small number of respondents that are presumed to represent thousands of actual speakers, and especially in the early *Linguistic Atlas* projects, the respondents were predominately older, rural, males (the 'NORMS', nonmobile, older, rural males, of Chambers & Trudgill 1980:33). Furthermore, the interviewing skill and recording accuracy of fieldworkers varied widely (see e.g. Thomas 1993:262; Bailey & Tillery 1999). Perhaps most important to this study is that no forms of N/W+PP and N+PA and very few forms of W+PA were actually examined. Only *want off* was included in the questionnaires of the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE*. In addition, *want in* and *want out* were included at the discretion of fieldworkers in *LANCS* and *LAUM* (Allen 1975:72), as was *want out* in *LAGS* (Pederson 1991); other occasional uses outside the questionnaire interview itself

were recorded as well. In spite of these weaknesses, dialectology projects are an important source of data on W+PA, particularly since they provide the only systematically collected data.

In the remainder of this chapter, material and data from usage guides, dialect words lists, and dialectology projects inform current understanding of the constructions N/W+PP and N/W+PA. The bulk of the background literature references only one of these constructions: W+PA; consequently, the majority of this chapter is concerned with W+PA. In light of the abundant literature on W+PA and the fact that there is very little literature to review on the other constructions, it seems reasonable to begin by reviewing the literature on the prepositional phrase constructions.

### **2.2.1. N/W+PP**

The focus of this section is on N/W+PP; more specifically, this section examines the variety of PPs that may directly follow *need/want*, reviews the scant literature on these constructions, and further elaborates the research questions that are addressed in the present study. *Need/want* can occur with prepositional phrases beginning with *down*, *in*, *into*, *off*, *on*, *over*, *through*, *to*, *under*, *up*, among others, as in 25-34.

- (25) Lisa needs/wants down the slide.
- (26) Dean needs/wants in the building.
- (27) He needs/wants into the club.
- (28) Peter needs/wants off the plane.
- (29) I need/want off this horse.

- (30) The kids need/want over the creek.
- (31) Janet needs/wants through the crowd.
- (32) The baby needs/wants to John.
- (33) We need/want under the blanket, too.
- (34) Shelly needs/wants up the hill.

The construction N/W+PP seems to have escaped notice by language scholars and even language pundits, for that matter. No dictionaries or grammar books that I consulted have entries for N/W+PP, and only a few include examples of W+PP under entries for W+PA (Spears 1987; K. Wilson 1993; *OADLG* 1999). Moreover, I have found no publications of any kind that cite N+PP and less than a handful that cite W+PP (Pollard 1915:243; Burnham 1926:395; Krumpelmann 1939:156; cited in Wentworth 1944:690; K. Wilson 1993). The forms of W+PP found in the literature are headed by only four prepositions: *in*, *into*, *on*, and *out*, as in 35-41.

- (35) 'I'm just a wantin' in a higher grade' (Pollard 1915:243).
- (36) 'I want in your class next semester' (Krumpelmann 1939:156).
- (37) 'wants in on the deal' (*OADLG* 1999:1140)
- (38) 'Lardner wants into the Harding cabinet' (Burnham 1926:395).
- (39) 'I want into that deal; it looks like a winner' (K. Wilson 1993).
- (40) 'Everybody who wanted on the band-wagon . . .' (Burnham 1926:395).
- (41) 'The children want out of the house so they can play' (Spears 1987:348).

Although N/W+PP has received little mention in the literature, the construction is a regular part of my idiolect, and as I will show, not at all exotic in American English. Furthermore, with little effort, examples of W+PP can be found in print, even in nationally distributed periodicals. Two recent examples of *want off* + NP occurring in the titles of articles in *The Detroit News* and *Internetweek*, located via a *ProQuest* search, are seen in 42-43, respectively.

(42) ‘Want off the darn spam e-mail list?’ (DeRamus 2002).

(43) ‘IT wants off the Windows upgrade merry-go-round’ (Karpinski 2002:15).

The status of N/W+PP in the United States is unclear. This study will attempt to gain a better understanding of the geographic, social, and stylistic distribution of N/W+PP by addressing the following questions: Are forms of N/W+PP in common use in the United States? Are these constructions more common in one or more geographic regions? Are these constructions more commonly used by certain social groups or at certain stylistic levels? Are some forms of N/W+PP more commonly used than others? Any hypotheses made with respect to N/W+PP must, by necessity, rely on the literature of N/W+PA or other studies of language variation.

### **2.2.2. N/W+PA**

This section presents an overview of N/W+PA, by identifying the array of PAs that may occur in these constructions, examining their coverage in the literature, and discussing the conclusions that may be drawn from the treatment of N+PA as compared to W+PA in the

literature. Both *need* and *want* may be followed by a number of prepositional adverbs including *back, by, down, in, off, on, out, over, through, under, up*, and others as in 44-54.

- (44) Is my old job still available? I need/want back.
- (45) I'm sorry to bother you, but I need/want by.
- (46) The baby is on the couch and needs/wants down.
- (47) The cat needs/wants in.
- (48) The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I need/want off.
- (49) Hold the elevator. I need/want on.
- (50) Dan was getting nervous in the stuck elevator. He needed/wanted out.
- (51) Could you put a board over the creek? I need/want over.
- (52) Can you make a path in the crowd? Mike needs/wants through.
- (53) Try lifting the fence a little higher. I need/want under.
- (54) Do you need/want up?

There is a clear bias in the literature towards the forms of W+PA over N+PA. Of more than 60 sources that have cited one or more of these constructions, all have given *want* with one or more prepositional adverbs, while only two have included *need* with a prepositional adverb following. Not a single one of the many dialect words lists consulted had an entry for N+PA. In only one of the dialectology projects is there any mention of N+PA: In *LAGS*, two respondents (one from northeastern Georgia and one from southeastern Georgia) gave *need out* in response to the prompt 'The cat goes over to the door and meows; you say, "The cat \_\_\_\_\_"' (*LAGS concordance*). Furthermore, no

usage guides that I consulted had entries for or examples of N+PA, with the notable exception of *DARE*. *DARE* does have an entry for N+PA, in which the only citation is one of the *LAGS* tokens (Cassidy & Hall 1996:769). Is it the case that N+PA occurs so rarely as to not raise any interest? The present study seeks to explore this and other questions with respect to the use of N+PA in different geographic regions, social groups, and styles. In addition, the use of N+PA will be compared to W+PA. As was the case with N/W+PP, any hypotheses made about the use of N+PA require deference to the literature of W+PA and other studies of language variation.

Turning to W+PA, many publications have identified *want* as being able to take one or more prepositional adverbs; however, in most sources, five prepositional adverbs are cited most frequently. By far, the most commonly cited forms are *want in* and *want out*. More than 40 usage guides, dialect word lists, and dialectology projects include citations of *want in* or *want out*, and nearly all of these mention both (Carruth 1892:142; Rice 1902:248; Crumb 1903:336; Carr 1904:422; Pound 1905:66; Prettyman 1907:76; Heydrick 1908:51; Harvey 1914:165; Pollard 1915:243; Lehman 1921:110; Mullen 1925:149, 152; Burnham 1926:395; Jacobson 1931:19; Maxfield 1931:20; Stanley 1936b:353; Aurand 1939:30; Krumpelmann 1939:156; McAtee 1942:70; Warnick 1942:16; Griebeling 1947:5; A. Wilson 1948:238; Ashcom 1953:255; McAtee 1956:49; Evans & Evans 1957:545; *Webster's*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. 'want'; Allen 1975:72; Shaw 1975:252; McDavid & Payne 1976; Morris & Morris 1985:614; Quirk et al 1985:732; *Random House* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. 'want in or out'; Spears 1987:348; Greenbaum & Whitcut 1988:762; *OED* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. 'want'; K. Wilson 1993). In addition, *want up* and *want down* are often cited, particularly in dialect word lists (Carr 1904:422; Pound 1905:66; Prettyman

1907:76; Heydrick 1908:51; Stanley 1936b:353; Aurand 1939:30; McAtee 1942:70; Warnick 1942:16; Griebeling 1947:5; McDavid & Payne 1976; K. Wilson 1993). Thanks to its inclusion in the worksheets of the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE*, *want off* has received a fair amount of attention not only in publications using the records from these projects (e.g. Shuy 1962; Allen 1975) but also in studies that emulated the methodology and used the worksheets of the *Linguistic Atlas* projects (e.g. Hartman 1966; Foley 1972).

Moreover, *want off* is very nearly the only form to be systematically sampled at all let alone in a variety of regions. Only two other forms of W+PA, *want in* and *want out*, have been sampled, albeit meagerly. At the discretion of individual fieldworkers, *want in* and *want out* were elicited in *LANCS* and *LAUM* (Allen 1975:71), as was *want out* in *LAGS* (Pederson 1991). A number of prepositional adverbs received mention in a smaller number of sources including *want on* (Pound 1905:66; Stanley 1936b:353; McAtee 1942:70; Allen 1975:71-72; Dakin 1966b:513), *want back* (Burnham 1926:395; McAtee 1942:70), *want by* (Burnham 1926:395), *want abroad* (Wilson 1853 cited in Eliason 1956:145), *want over* (Carlton 1843:91), and *want through* (Griebeling 1947:5).

As seen here, previous literature provides a wealth of information on W+PA but, at the same time, is severely limited in scope. The literature has primarily focused on W+PA, to the exclusion of N+PA and N/W+PP and on a small number of prepositional adverbs. In addition, even fewer prepositional adverbs have been systematically studied.

Several questions about the use of *need* and *want* with various prepositional adverbs stems from the literature (or lack of it):

- (1) Is W+PA more acceptable within a particular region and geographically more widespread than N+PA?
- (2) Can the geographic, social, and stylistic distribution of one of these forms, e.g. *want off*, be taken as representative for all forms of N/W+PA?
- (3) Do the prepositional adverbs have different geographic, social, and stylistic distributions?
- (4) Can we assume that the most written about forms of N/W+PA, namely *want in*, *want out*, and *want off* are more common and more widely used than other forms?

The sheer volume of literature alone may lead to some hypotheses. For example, the fact that there are myriad citations of W+PA in the literature and very few of N+PA and N/W+PP may permit the hypothesis that W+PA is more acceptable than N+PA and NW+PP; that is, if it is assumed that more citations and attention to a construction translate to greater use. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of the literature focuses on *want* with a few prepositional adverbs may suggest that these forms are the most widespread. A few sources even state that some prepositional adverbs are more common than others. For example, in the *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage* (Morris & Morris 1985:614) *want out* is described as ‘a regional expression heard most commonly in the Middle West’ while *want in* is ‘a similar phrase, if less common.’ In *LAUM*, Allen (1975:71) stated that ‘*want in* is even more frequent than *want off*’ in the Midland. Based on these comments, one might hypothesize that in the Midland, a usage hierarchy exists whereby *want out* is most common, followed by *want in*, then *want off*. The present

study seeks to uncover any such distributional differences and hierarchies among N+PA and W+PA as well as various prepositional adverbs used with *need/want*.

### **2.3. Geographic distribution**

This section examines the geographic distribution of W+PA using data primarily from dialectology projects and dialect words lists. In this section and throughout the dissertation, I refer to three major dialect areas in the United States, the North, the Midland (North Midland and South Midland), and the South, as defined in Figure 2.1 (McCrum et al 1986:238). Over the past several years, debates about the status and etiology of the dialect regions in the United States have continued (see, e.g. Murray & Simon 1999:153-155; Benson to appear), and dialect maps of the U.S. have been drawn and redrawn based on different linguistic features; for dialect maps based primarily on lexical data, see Carver 1987; for dialect maps based primarily on phonological data, see Labov et al 1997, to appear. One map that incorporates phonological, lexical, and grammatical data from the *Linguistic Atlas* projects into its drawing of dialect boundaries in the United States (without too many subregions obscuring the major dialect regions, as in Lance 1994) is shown in Figure 2.1. The use of these dialect boundaries not only allows for reflection of their current validity but also facilitates comparisons to other dialect studies that have also adopted them (e.g. Murray 1993; Frazer et al 1996; Murray & Simon 1999, 2002).

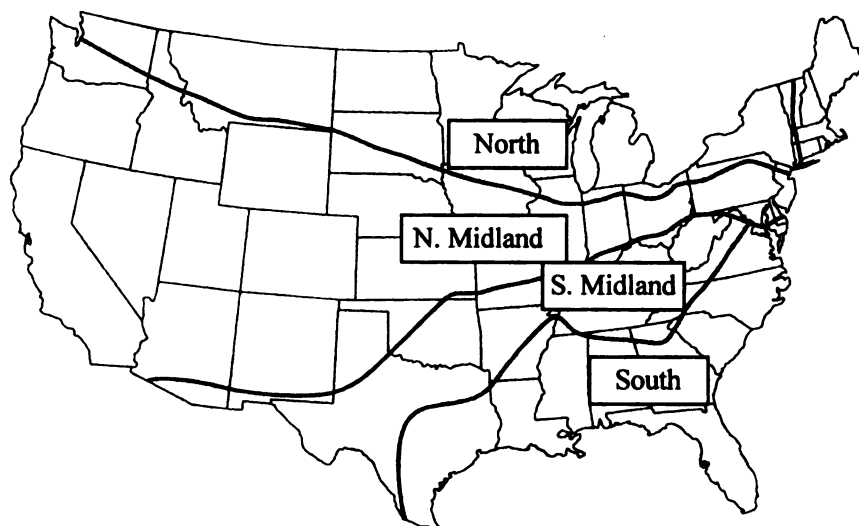


Figure 2.1. U.S. dialect areas (McCrum et al 1986:238)

The discussion of the geographic distribution relies almost exclusively on the literature of W+PA, since very little exists for N/W+PP and N+PA. In spite of the fact that a substantial number of publications include citations of W+PA, there is no generally accepted understanding of its geographic distribution. A look into several usage guides reveals that some associate W+PA with a regional distribution, most commonly Midland (e.g. Evans & Evans 1957:545; Morris & Morris 1985:614; Quirk et al 1985:732; *Random House* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want in or out’; K. Wilson 1993): ‘*I want out* instead of *I want to get out* is a regional expression heard most commonly in the Middle West’ (Morris & Morris 1985:614). Other usage guides state directly (as in the *OED*) or imply, by not giving any geographic descriptors, that the construction is in common use across the United States (e.g. Marckwardt & Walcott 1938:49; *Webster’s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want’;

Shaw 1975:252; Spears 1987:348; Greenbaum & Whitcut 1988:762; *OED* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want’; *American Heritage*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want out/in’). In the first and second editions of the *OED*, *want out* was described as ‘U.S. colloquial’. More than 70 years after the first such proclamation and many more conflicting statements later, the question of whether W+PA is more frequently used in one particular dialect area or is in widespread use remains unanswered.

### 2.3.1. The Midland

Data from dialectology projects and dialect word lists show robust use of W+PA in the Midland. *Linguistic Atlas* project data and *DARE* data present strong evidence of a Midland distribution for W+PA. The only form to be systematically elicited, due to its inclusion in the questionnaires of both the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE*, was *want off*. The prompts for the elicitation of *want off* are similar in the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE*: ‘You tell the bus driver, “The next corner is where I want \_\_\_\_\_”’ (Pederson 1974:189); and ‘What you’d say to a bus driver: “Please stop at the next corner—I want\_\_\_\_\_.”’ (Cassidy 1985:lxix). Some respondents gave *want out* as a response to these prompts, as well. In addition, other prompts were used at the discretion of fieldworkers to elicit *want out* and/or *want in* in *LAUM*, *LANCS*, and *LAGS*, e.g. ‘The cat goes over to the door and meows; you say, “The cat \_\_\_\_\_”’ (Pederson et al 1974:189). Unfortunately, the data on *want out/in* are limited since few fieldworkers actually employed the additional prompts, and it is not clear which respondents were chosen for additional prompts. On occasion, incidental uses of W+PA were also recorded. Figure 2.2, displays the attested uses of *want off*, *want out*, and *want in* from

the Linguistic Atlas projects in the central and eastern United States, i.e., *LANCS*, *LAMSAS*, *LANE*, *LAUM*, and *LAGS* (see Appendix C). As shown in Figure 2.2, the use of *want off*, *want out*, and *want in* was concentrated in the Midland (Kurath 1943:map 699; Kurath 1949:map 159; Allen 1975:71; McDavid & Payne 1976; *LAGS concordance*).

*Linguistic Atlas* data from much of the area west of the Mississippi River are difficult to find and access. Nevertheless, a few statements about the use of *want off* in the West may be drawn from the *Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest* and studies using the *Linguistic Atlas* project data. In the Pacific Northwest (Washington and Idaho), *want off* was used by nearly 50% of respondents in Washington; the majority of *want off* users were clustered in the northwest part of the States around Seattle and Tacoma. Only two respondents in Idaho used *want off*. In Colorado, *want off* was described as ‘infrequent’ overall and more characteristic of the east-central parts of the state (Hankey 1960:11, 41), and in California and Nevada, *want off* was used by 15% of respondents and was characterized as scattered (Bright 1971:201).

*DARE* data also show greater use of *want off* and *want out* in the Midland in states east of the Mississippi River than in the North, the South, and states west of the Mississippi River (Hall, p.c.), as shown in Figure 2.3.

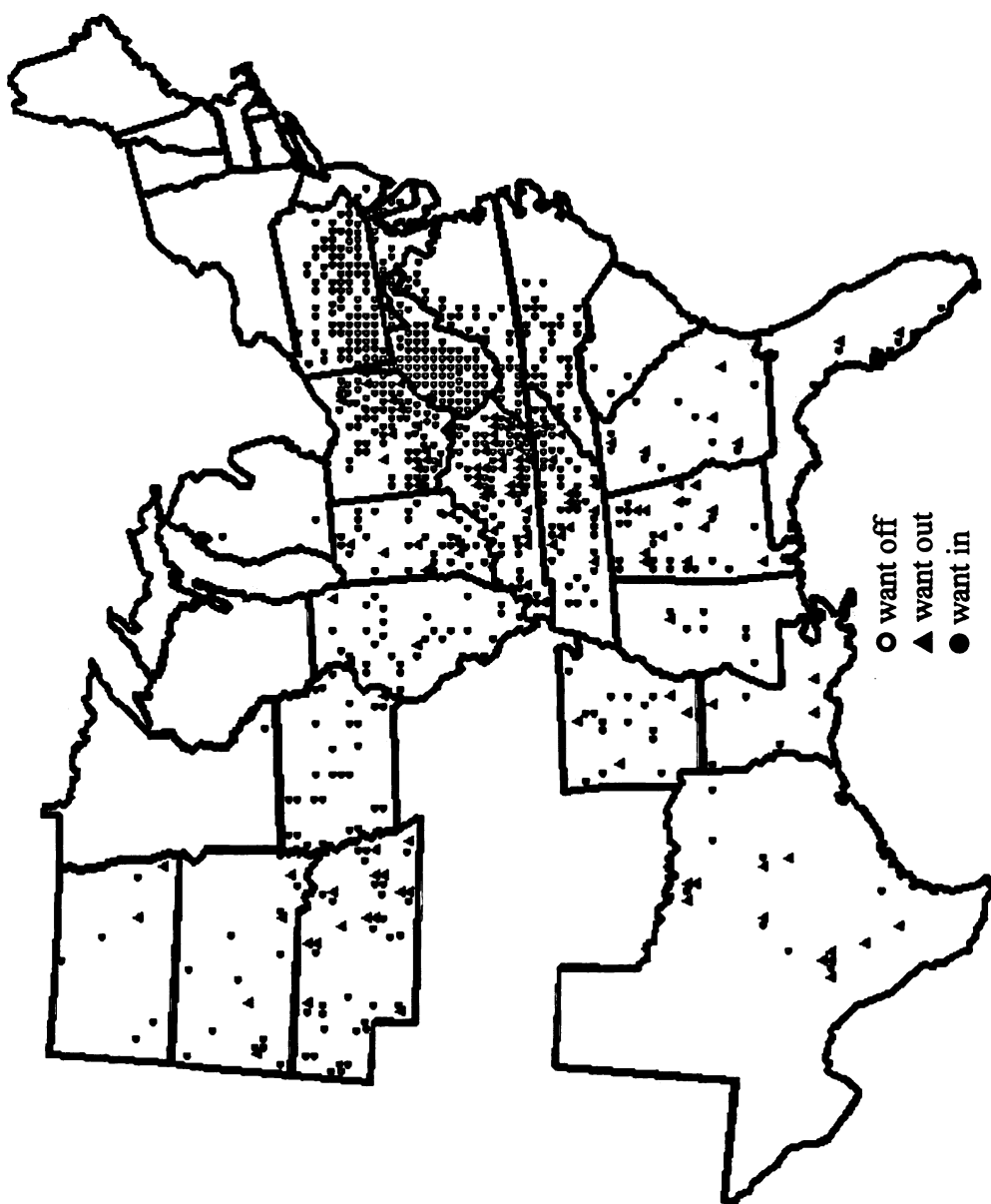


Figure 2.2. W+PA in *Linguistic Atlas* project data (see Appendix C)

In other sources, myriad observations of W+PA in the Midland can be found. The earliest literary citations of W+PA even identify Midland areas as the home of the construction. These mid-nineteenth century citations are not simply causal or unaware uses by the authors but are, in fact, quoted speech attributed to long time residents of Indiana and Illinois. *The New Purchase*, a dramatized autobiography set in Indiana (Bloomington area), has two such forms: ‘she “know’d we wanted over”’ attributed to a local ferrywoman by the narrator, a recent settler to the area, and “‘Maybe,” she says to herself, “its some poor Injin wants in”’ attributed to an early settler in a story about her encounter with a bear (Carlton 1843:91, 170). In fact, in a footnote added in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of *The New Purchase*, editor James A. Woodburn explained that, “‘I want over,” “I want in,” “I want out”, etc., are pioneer forms of speech that are still not uncommon in certain regions of the Middle West’ (Carlton 1916:78). Another early citation of W+PA is found in *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County*, set in Illinois (see also Frazer 1982). In an exchange between an unruly schoolboy and a teacher from the East, *want out* is explicitly identified as a regional form:

“‘Please ‘m’, m’ I g’out?”  
 “What did you say?”  
 “I want ou’dors.”  
 “You want outdoors.”  
 “That’s wut I said! I want aout.””

‘At last she understood this [Middle-Westernism], new to her. To “want out” is to desire to go out’ (Kirkland 1887:157). Additional examples of W+PA can be found in countless literary works and periodicals (e.g. citations in Wentworth 1944:689-690; *OED* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want’; Ashcom 1953:255; Cassidy & Hall to appear). Although literary uses may not be considered actual uses, they are often good examples of stereotyped linguistic features.

The use of such linguistic features in literature, especially when there is overt commentary on the use, demonstrates an acute level of awareness, in this case of W+PA as a regional/Midland form as early as the late 1800s. Additional evidence for a Midland distribution of W+PA may be found in nonliterary works, as well.

Dialect word lists and independent studies (i.e. those not using dialectology project data) also contained abundant reports of W+PA in the Midland. As shown in Table 2.1, the greatest number of observations of W+PA in a given area came from Pennsylvania, where *want + down/in/out/up* were often directly associated with Pennsylvania German communities. Observations of W+PA were also given in other Midland areas including the states of Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Tennessee, and West Virginia.

Table 2.1. Dialect word list reports of W+PA in the Midland

| States       | <i>back</i> | <i>by</i> | <i>down</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>off</i> | <i>on</i> | <i>out</i> | <i>through</i> | <i>up</i> | References                                                                                                           |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Illinois     |             |           |             | X         |            |           | X          |                |           | Rice 1902:248                                                                                                        |
| Indiana      | X           |           | X           |           | X          | X         |            |                | X         | McAtee 1942:70                                                                                                       |
| Kansas       | X           | X         |             | X         |            |           | X          |                |           | Carruth 1892:142<br>Burnham 1926:395                                                                                 |
| Maryland     |             |           | X           |           |            |           | X          |                | X         | Warnick 1942:1                                                                                                       |
| Missouri     |             |           |             | X         |            |           | X          |                |           | Crumb 1903:336                                                                                                       |
| Nebraska     |             |           | X           | X         | X          | X         | X          |                | X         | Pound 1905:66                                                                                                        |
| Ohio         |             |           | X           | X         | X          |           | X          | X              | X         | Griebing 1947:5<br>Hartman 1966:72                                                                                   |
| Pennsylvania |             |           | X           | X         |            |           | X          |                | X         | Prettyman 1907:76<br>Heydrick 1908:51<br>Maxfield 1931:20<br>Aurand 1939:30<br>A. Wilson 1948:238<br>Ashcom 1953:255 |
| Tennessee    |             |           |             |           |            |           | X          |                |           | Pollard 1915:243                                                                                                     |
| W. Virginia  | X           |           | X           | X         |            |           | X          |                |           | Krumpelmann<br>1939:156<br>cited in Wentworth<br>1944:689-690                                                        |

Taken altogether, dialectology project data, dialect word lists, and literary sources provide strong evidence for the use of various forms of W+PA, in particular *want in*, *off*, and *out*, in the Midland.

### 2.3.2. The South

There is little evidence of W+PA in the South (Kurath 1943:map 699; Kurath 1949:map 159; Allen 1975:71; McDavid & Payne 1976; *LAGS concordance*; Hall, p.c.). As shown in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3, in both *Linguistic Atlas* and *DARE* data, there are no attestations of *want off* and *want out* in eastern North Carolina and eastern South Carolina and only a smattering in western South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and east Texas, with the heaviest concentration in northern Alabama and east Texas. A few dialect words lists and other studies reported on the use of W+PA in Alabama and east Texas, as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Dialect word list reports of W+PA in the South

| States       | <i>down</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>off</i> | <i>on</i> | <i>out</i> | References                           |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| Alabama      |             |           | X          |           |            | Foley 1972:23                        |
| Texas (east) | X           | X         | X          | X         | X          | Stanley 1936b:353<br>Norman 1971:140 |

Based on the data from dialectology projects and dialect word lists, in spite of a few pockets of greater use in the South, I come to the same conclusion as Kurath (1949:30) that the use of W+PA is not at all strong in the South.

In spite of the fact that the use of W+PA is not strong in the South, the South is the only area to have an observed use of N+PA. *Need out* was given as a response to the

prompt: ‘The cat goes over to the door and meows; you say, “The cat \_\_\_\_\_”’ by two respondents, one in northeast Georgia and the other in southeast Georgia (*LAGS concordance*).

### 2.3.3. The North

According to dialectology project data and dialect word lists, W+PA was virtually unknown in the North. In the *Linguistic Atlas* project data and the *DARE* data, shown in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3, the nearly blank North does not mean that the states in the North were not sampled; on the contrary, they were richly sampled in *LANE*, *LANCS*, *LAUM*, and *DARE*. In *LANE*, there were no occurrences of *want off* in the northeastern United States, though there was one in New Brunswick, Canada (Kurath 1943:map 699). In *LANCS*, only two respondents in Michigan and none in Wisconsin used *want off* (McDavid & Payne 1976). In *LAUM*, one respondent in southern Minnesota used *want off* and a handful of respondents in South Dakota used either *want off*, *want in*, or *want out* (Allen 1975:71). This greater use of W+PA in South Dakota is surprising not only because the use there is stronger than anywhere in the North but also because it seems to run counter to the trend in the Midland of decreasing usage from east to west.

Furthermore, there were almost no observations of W+PA in dialect word lists or other studies. Only one observation was found in a dialect word list. In Milwaukee, *want in/out* was said to be characteristic of the local dialect (Jacobson 1931:18-19). Overall, previous research gives little indication that W+PA is used or even known in the North. Kurath’s (1949:30) statement about the distribution of *want off* seems validated by the

literature: ‘The records of the *Linguistic Atlas* show that *I want off* is in common use in nearly all of the Midland [ . . . ], and that it is not current at all in the North and the South.’

The lack of attestations of W+PA in the North and the South calls into question depictions of the W+PA, like in the *OED*’s label ‘colloquial U.S.’, that imply widespread use. Additional research is needed to shed light on the geographic distribution of W+PA and related constructions in the United States.

Dialectology projects and studies as well as dialect word lists and reports provide strong evidence for a primarily Midland distribution of W+PA and by extension N+PA and N/W+PP. Additional support for a Midland distribution of these constructions may be found in other grammatical constructions with a principally Midland distribution. The behavior of N/W+PP and N/W+PA may well parallel that of *need/want/like* + past participle, as in 55-57, and positive *anymore*, as in 58, all of which show robust usage in the Midland (e.g. Youmans 1986:61; Murray 1993:177-185; Frazer et al 1996:260-265; Murray & Simon 1999:144-150, 2002:37-44).

- (55) The house needs painted.
- (56) The kids want fed.
- (57) The dog likes petted.
- (58) We go to the movies a lot anymore. (53)

The literature on these constructions provides evidence of not only similar geographic distributions but also similar origins. The presence of *need/want/like* + past participle, positive *anymore*, and W+PA in the United States have been reliably traced to the

Scotch-Irish (Stanley 1936a:3-4; Marckwardt 1948:9; Crozier 1984:326; Montgomery 1991, 1997:196; Murray 1993:185; Adams 2000:300; Murray & Simon 2002:45-53).

Another interesting parallel with *need/want/like* + past participle (see Murray & Simon 2002) is that the presence of W+PA in the United States has at times been attributed to German, specifically Pennsylvania German, influence (e.g. Krapp 1925:256; Krumpelmann 1939:156; Griebeling 1947:5; A. Wilson 1948:238; Adams 2000:300), which is not surprising because of the overlapping settlement patterns, to some extent, of the Germans and Scotch-Irish. Nevertheless, the Scotch-Irish influence on the language of the area has dominated any German influence, and linguistic features that had been assumed to be of German origin have been argued using data from dictionaries, personal diaries and correspondence, and other sources to be of Scotch-Irish origin (Montgomery 1991, 1997; Murray & Simon 2002). As a result of their Scotch-Irish origins and their similar geographic distributions in the United States, one might expect other parallels between N/W+PP and N/W+PA, on the one hand, and *need/want/like* + past participle and positive *anymore*, on the other.

In closing, my hypothesis with respect to the geographic distribution of W+PA and the related constructions of N/W+PP and N+PA in this study is that these constructions have considerable Midland distributions.

#### **2.3.4. Geographic expansion**

The paucity of attestations and observations of *want in/out* in the North, and to some extent the South, is at odds with numerous publications that have claimed widespread distribution for these constructions (see Section 2.3). Perhaps some of the confusion

about the geographic distribution of W+PA is the result of a change in progress. The data from dialectology projects, dialect word lists, and other studies provide firm support for a Midland distribution of W+PA, at least historically. Not all Midland respondents of the *Linguistic Atlas* projects or *DARE* used *want off*, which may be due, in part, to the methodology, the skill of the researcher, or some other factor. In any case, it appears that there are nonusers in the Midland to whom the construction could still spread. In southern Ohio, Hartman (1966:72) observed that ‘regional “want off” is pushing out the standard expression.’

Over the past 70 years, a number of publications have claimed a more widespread distribution for W+PA. The first edition of the *OED* described *want in/out* as ‘U.S. colloquial’, and based on that, Marckwardt & Walcott (1938:49) in response to Leonard’s (1932:124) description of *The kitten mews whenever it wants in* as illiterate, categorized *want in* as ‘American Colloquial Eng’. Specifically relating to the spread of W+PA to the North, Griebeling (1947:5) stated that in the early twentieth century, *want in* was common in Columbus, a linguistically Midland city, and rare in Cleveland, a linguistically Northern city, but by mid-century, *want in* was in widespread use in Cleveland. Ashcom (1953:255) stated that ‘the spread of the construction [W+PA] is so wide that it can scarcely be considered regional any longer’. Hankey (1961:269) said that *want off* may be ‘becom[ing] more frequent and widespread’. The claims of a widespread distribution for W+PA have become more numerous in recent years (e.g. *Webster’s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want’ 1981; Shaw 1975:252; Quirk et al 1985:732; Spears 1987:348; Greenbaum & Whitcut 1988:762; *OADLG* 1999:1140).

Current print media sources provide additional evidence for a wide-reaching distribution of W+PA. In the print media, instances of *want out* and *want in*, at least, are not at all uncommon. In 59-62, I cite a few recent occurrences, found using *ProQuest*, in the titles of articles appearing in nationally and internationally distributed periodicals, a context which would seem to come under the close scrutiny of editors:

- (59) ‘When parents want out’ (*The Unesco Courier*: Noguera 2000:24).
- (60) ‘Kodak wants out of the classroom’ (*Information Week*: Goodridge 2001:94).
- (61) ‘Serving the wealthy: Everybody wants in’ (*ABA Banking J.*: Asher 2001:42).
- (62) ‘Why Libya wants in’ (*Time*: Zagorin 2000:66).

These sources strongly suggest that the use of W+PA may be spreading beyond the Midland. It is not without precedent that Midland forms, particularly grammatical forms, have spread to other dialect areas. Recent research findings on *need/want* + past participle (as illustrated in 55-56) and positive *anymore* (as illustrated in 58), grammatical structures with similar origins that are well-rooted in the Midland, indicate that the use of these constructions is indeed increasing within and moving beyond the Midland (Labov 1973:72; Youmans 1986:74; Labov 1991:277; Murray 1993:175, 185; Frazer et al 1996:268; Murray & Simon 2002:57). In addition, previous research on the interaction between social factors and W+PA discussed in section 2.5 may lend more support to an argument for change in progress.

## 2.4. Semantic features

An important semantic distinction, namely concrete versus abstract, may play a role in the geographic distribution of these forms. To better understand the issue, compare sentences 63-68 with sentences 69-74. Sentences 63-68 all illustrate concrete uses: Physical movement is intended or required by the subject of *need/want*, and the location identified by the prepositional phrase/prepositional adverb is a concrete, physical space.

- (63) Dean needs in the building. (1)
- (64) Do you want off the merry-go-round? (14)
- (65) The cat needs in. (21)
- (66) The kids say it's too hot outside, and they want in. (37)
- (67) When the roller coaster picked up speed, Ed yelled that he wanted off. (41)
- (68) Mike needs out at the corner. (30)

Sentences 69-74 depict abstract uses: No physical movement is involved; rather a desire to be involved or no longer involved is the intent of the subject of *need/want*, and the location identified by the prepositional phrase/prepositional adverb is abstract.

- (69) Katy needs in this class in order to graduate this semester. (4)
- (70) Sam wanted in the Army. (12)
- (71) The new drug experiment is Monica's last hope. She needs in. (24)
- (72) That sounds like a great plan. I want in. (40)
- (73) The baseball team hasn't won a game in several weeks, and Jim wants off. (43)

(74) Barry's job has become too stressful; he needs out. (31)

Interestingly, the concrete/abstract distinction is hinted at in some dictionaries under entries for *want in/out*, most notably *Random House*, *American Heritage*, *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage*, and *American Idioms Dictionary*. One of the most lucid descriptions is found in the *Harper Dictionary*, '[*want out*] is used literally in terms of physical departure but also figuratively in the sense of "to be free of involvement"' (Morris & Morris 1985:614). None of these sources, however, identify distributional differences for concrete and abstract senses of W+PA. *Random House* and *Harper Dictionary* describe both uses as Midland; *American Heritage* states that both are informal, while the *American Idioms Dictionary* puts no qualifications on their use.

Note that all examples of W+PA that were found in the titles of nationally distributed periodicals (presented in 59-62) are indeed abstract senses. In fact, all of the more recent examples that are cited in the *OED* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. 'want'), the most well-known, most respected, and earliest source to claim widespread use for *want out*, are in the category of abstract senses, as shown in 75-78:

(75) 'One of the kids who had paid his money ... wanted out' (1973).

(76) 'Britain may just be weary of industrial growth and may be saying in quite a sophisticated way that it wants out regardless of the cost' (1973).

(77) 'In recent weeks the Federal Reserve chairman, Mr. Paul Volcker, has reportedly told friends that he wants out and would be interested in the presidency of the World Bank' (1984).

(78) 'If you want out, it is possible to live, if only internally, a better life' (1985).

Three points, in particular, lead me to believe that concrete senses and abstract senses of W+PA and related constructions may have different geographic distributions in the United States and may, in fact, be partly responsible for the lack of uniformity in descriptions of the distribution. First, the distinction between concrete and abstract has been shown to play a role in semantic change, in what is often called semantic or metaphoric extension (e.g. Williams 1975:153-211; Traugott 1982, 1995; Langacker 1999; Lüdtke 1999). Second, previous research suggests that W+PA is commonly used in the Midland and rarely used in the North and the South. Third, the superregional examples of W+PA that I have encountered share the characteristic of an abstract ‘goal’ or location identified by the preposition. As previously noted, the examples of W+PA found in nationally distributed sources are all abstract senses. The uses of *want off*, *want out*, and *want in* from the *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE* (outlined in Section 2.3) are all concrete senses. Of the examples given in dialect word lists, most are also concrete. Taking all of this information together, I hypothesize that concrete senses of W+PA and related constructions show more regional, i.e. Midland, distribution, while abstract senses show more widespread distribution. Additionally, I hypothesize that within each dialect region, and particularly in the North and the South, the use of abstract senses of N/W+PP and N/W+PA will be greater than that of concrete senses. The hypothesis appears to run counter to the general tendency in semantic change for linguistic items to move from concrete to abstract: ‘Words for abstractions will generally develop out of words for physical experience’ (Williams 1975:207). This issue is explored in more detail in Section 4.2.

## **2.5. Social factors**

In this section, the focus is on social factors as independent variables and their relationship to linguistic variables. For well over 70 years, linguists have made connections between the social characteristics of speakers and language use. In the *Linguistic Atlas* projects, respondents were classified into one of three ‘types’ based on a combination of social factors, such as age, level of education, social contacts (e.g. Kurath 1939:44; Allen 1975:3). More recently, social variables such as age, level of education, gender, socioeconomic status, network ties and others have become important components of studies of language variation. In this study, four social variables are considered: rural-urban residence, gender, socioeconomic status, and age. This section outlines the general, theoretical concerns for each variable and reviews the existing literature on their relation to the distribution of W+PA.

### **2.5.1. Rural-urban residence**

It has long been said that dialect differences at all levels of the grammar exist between rural and urban areas (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:30). For example, in a study of postvocalic [r] in South Carolina, rural respondents were found to be more [r]-ful constriction than urban respondents, who tended to be more [r]-less (McDavid 1964:476). Furthermore, the rural-urban distinction has often played an integral role in analyses of language change: urban areas are typically, but not always, centers of change (Bailey et al 1993:384-385; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:30; Labov 2001:437). Two examples of the rural-urban distinction in language change are evident in sound changes currently in progress in the United States. The Northern Cities Chain Shift, as can be seen from

the name, has its locus in urban areas and only recently has begun spreading to less urban areas (e.g. Eckert 1991:219; Labov et al 1997; Labov 2001:285; Labov et al to appear). Though much less has been written about it, the Southern Vowel Shift, on the other hand, is centered in less urban areas (Fridland 1998; Labov et al to appear). The particulars of these vowels shifts are not important to the present study; what is important is that these vowel shifts illustrate the role that the rural-urban distinction continues to play in language variation and change.

Only a few studies of W+PA collected rural-urban demographic information about the respondents. *DARE* data show a continuum of increased use of *want off* from urban to rural areas, as presented in Figure 2.4 (Hall, p.c.).

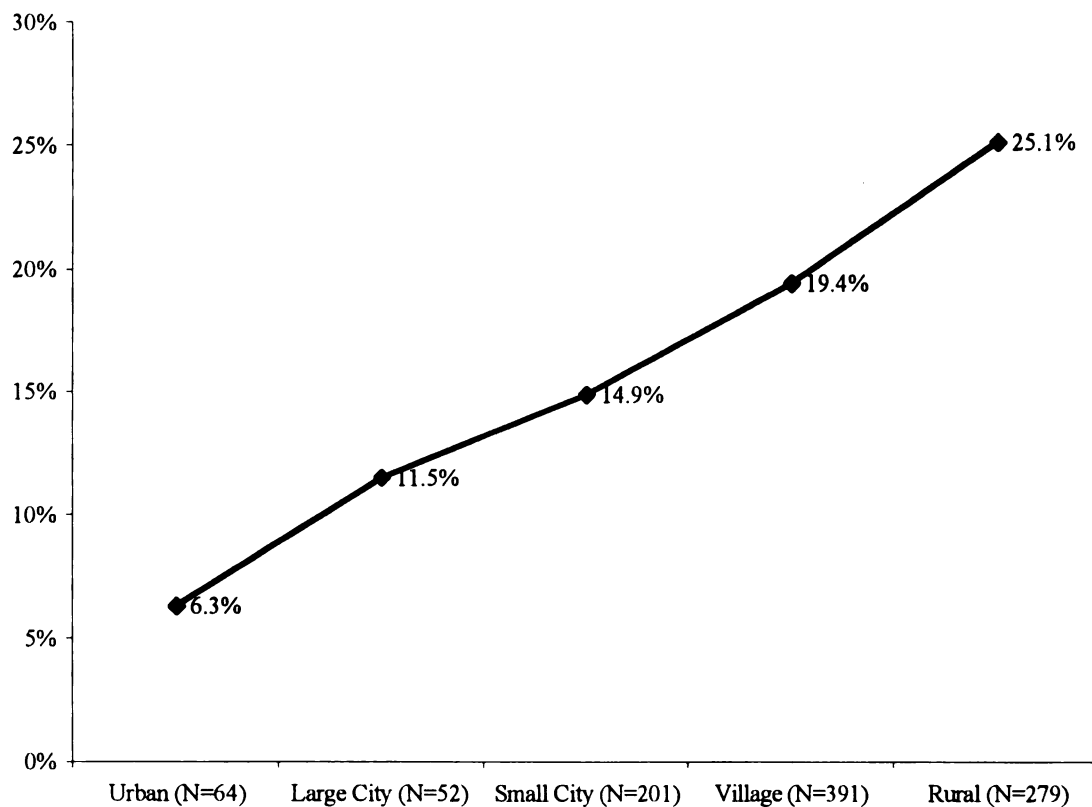


Figure 2.4. Use of *want off* in *DARE* by community type (Hall, p.c.)

More urban areas have a lower rate of use of *want off*, while more rural areas have a higher rate of use. A study of the speech in Hocking County in southern Ohio, an area with dense *want off* use, contradicts the *DARE* findings, which were for the entire United States. Hartman (1966:72) found slightly greater use of *want off* among urban respondents as compared to rural respondents: 75% (N=4) of urban respondents and 63% (N=16) of rural respondents used *want off*. The difference between the *DARE* findings and Hartman's findings may have to do with the fact that the *DARE* findings are based on statistics from the entire United States, including areas where *want off* has not been shown to be in widespread use, while Hartman's findings are from one county, situated in an area where *want off* has been shown to be common.

Additional support for hypothesizing a lack of a rural-urban distinction in the use of W+PA may be found in the distribution of other grammatical variables that are also common in the Midland. Studies of *need/want/like* + past participle (as seen in 55-57), have found that these constructions are used at nearly the same rate in rural and urban areas alike (Frazer et al 1996:265-266; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:53). The findings of *need/want/like* + past participle primarily come from states in the Midland and Inland North and were based on a combined-methodologies approach that minimally included collecting data via surveys of university students, questionnaires by telephone/mail, and postings on electronic bulletin boards (see Simon & Murray 1999). In each case, the conclusion was the same: 'Our data repeatedly show that the construction is not restricted to rural or outlying areas but that it regularly appears in larger cities such as Indianapolis, Kansas City, Salt Lake City, St. Louis, Columbus,

Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia' (Frazer et al 1996:265). My hypothesis is that W+PA and related constructions are not distributed differently in rural and urban areas.

### **2.5.2. Social class**

The focus of this section is on the interrelationship between social class and language variation. For nearly 40 years, socioeconomic status as a social variable has been shown time and time again to play an important role in the study of language variation and change (e.g. Labov 1966:73-76; Trudgill 1974:97-99). If a linguistic feature is evaluated positively or negatively (above or below the level of consciousness), it is expected that that feature will also show some type of social stratification in its use. Two general types of stratification among social classes have emerged: gradient stratification and sharp stratification. Gradient stratification shows a gradual increase or decrease in the use of a feature from one social class to the next and is more common for phonological variables. Sharp stratification, on the other hand, shows a jump or drop in the use of a feature between the working and middle classes, and is more common for grammatical variables (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:155-157).

The dialectology projects are among the few studies that have been concerned with the distribution of *want* + prepositional adverb across socioeconomic classes. Early reports claimed that the use of *want off* varied based on social class/level of education. More recent studies, however, have found little or no differences in use based on social class. Griebeling (1947:5) was among the first to claim that W+PA may be socially diagnostic in his statement that this construction is 'indeed very common among the relatively uneducated people of Ohio and Pennsylvania.' Early *Linguistic Atlas*

publications concluded that *want off* was commonly used except by the well-educated and ‘cultured’ (Kurath 1949:30; McDavid 1958:519). In subsequent publications using data from *LAUM* and *LANCS*, Allen (1975:72) and Dakin (1966b:515) refuted this, noting that they could not detect any differences in use by social class.

Allen’s and Dakin’s findings are paralleled by recent research on other grammatical variables with strong Midland distributions. Positive *anymore* (illustrated in 58), one of the most studied features of grammatical variation in the United States, has little or no socioeconomic stratification in regions where it is accepted (Labov 1991:277; Murray 1993:185). Recent work on *need/want/like* + past participle (illustrated in 55-57) has shown that these constructions are also not socioeconomically diagnostic (Frazer et al 1996:264-265; Murray & Simon 1999:149-150, 2002:53, 55). As illustrated in Table 2.3, surveys of respondents primarily from Midland and Inland North states found that the use of the constructions was nearly flat across the social classes: 41% for *need* + past participle, 22% for *want* + past participle, and 5% for *like* + past participle (Frazer et al 1996:265; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:55).

Table 2.3. Use of *need/want/like* + past participle by socioeconomic class (Frazer et al 1996:265; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:55)

| Socioeconomic class | <i>need</i> + past participle | <i>want</i> + past participle | <i>like</i> + past participle |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Upper               | 40.8% (863)                   | 21.6% (60)                    | 4.7% (12)                     |
| Middle              | 41.0% (2,810)                 | 22.3% (77)                    | 5.3% (17)                     |
| Lower               | 41.3% (1,342)                 | 21.7% (63)                    | 5.0% (13)                     |

Grammatical constructions like positive *anymore* and *need/want/like* + past participle are unique in their flat socioeconomic distributions within the Midland, while at the same time evoking negative reactions by nonusers within and outside of the Midland (Wolfram and Christian 1976:105; Murray 1993:183; Frazer et al 1996:266; Murray & Simon 1999:150-151, 2002:53). Based on these findings, my hypothesis is that W+PA and related constructions also show no significant differences in use across socioeconomic classes.

### 2.5.3. Age

In this section, the role of age in the study of language variation is presented. The study of language variation across different age groups has played an integral role in determining the status of a linguistic feature as stable or undergoing change. It is by now well accepted that apparent time studies, i.e. studies of respondents of different ages at the same point in time, are as reliable as real time studies of language change (e.g. Trudgill 2002:54, 61; Bailey et al 1991:260, 263). When age variation of a linguistic feature is found in an apparent time study, however, the possibility of age-grading, use of different linguistic features at various life stages, must also be ruled out. Generally, however, in studies of language change, the behavior of younger speakers is expected to contrast with older speakers, who maintain their use of the conservative form and show lesser use of the innovative form.

Almost nothing is known about the use of W+PA across different age groups. In his study of the speech in southeastern Ohio, Hartman (1966:72) found that *want off* was used more by younger respondents (N=6), 83%, than by middle (N=8), 63% and older

respondents (N=6), 50%. From an apparent time perspective, these results suggest that the use of *want off* may be increasing in the area, reflecting a change in progress. At the same time, it must be recognized that the differences in use may be attributable to Hartman's small sample size. Furthermore, evidence from other Midland grammatical constructions do not support age stratification for W+PA and related constructions.

Positive *anymore* and *need/want/like* + past participle (as seen in 55-58) are not stratified by age (Wolfram and Christian 1976:105; Youmans 1986:74; Murray 1993:185; Frazer et al 1996:264-265; Murray & Simon 1999:149-150, 2002:53, 55). As shown in Table 2.4, the use of *need/want/like* + past participle by age group shows little variation (Frazer et al 1996:265; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:55).

Table 2.4. Use of *need/want/like* + past participle by age (Frazer et al 1996:265; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:55)

| Age             | <i>need</i> + past participle | <i>want</i> + past participle | <i>like</i> + past participle |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| >20 years old   | 40.2% (1,621)                 | 21.8% (49)                    | 5.4% (11)                     |
| 20-40 years old | 41.4% (1,543)                 | 21.5% (55)                    | 5.1% (12)                     |
| 41-60 years old | 41.8% (1,144)                 | 21.5% (51)                    | 4.5% (10)                     |
| 61-80 years old | 40.9% (704)                   | 23.0% (45)                    | 5.0% (9)                      |

Based on these findings, my hypothesis of the use of W+PA and related constructions is that they do not show age variation.

#### 2.5.4. Gender

In this section, the role of gender in sociolinguistic studies of language variation is explored. I recognize that defining gender based on biological sex, as is the practice in the field of quantitative sociolinguistics, and even the use of the terms 'sex' and 'gender',

have been topics of much debate in recent years (e.g. Eckert 1989; Labov 1990; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992; Wodak & Benke 1997). These issues notwithstanding, the purpose of this section is to outline general trends found to exist for gender as a social variable in studies of language variation and to examine the role of gender and W+PA. Two tendencies have emerged concerning the use of language features by men and women. One generalization is that women tend to use more standard features than men, while men tend to use more nonstandard features (e.g. Labov 1966:312-313; Chambers & Trudgill 1980:72-73; Eisikovits 1989:37-41; see Labov 2001:261-293). The second tendency concerns language change: women tend to more readily adopt new prestige language features than men (see Labov 2001:261-293). Both tendencies may potentially be applicable to the current study. In order to make a hypothesis about a language feature based on the first tendency, an understanding of the social distribution or at the very least the social position of the feature must be known. In order to make a hypothesis about a language feature based on the second tendency, it must be known whether that feature is in the process of change either through real-time or apparent time study. Previous research on *want off* and the related constructions of *need/want/like* + past participle (illustrated in 55-57) shows differing results, as shown in Table 2.5. In *DARE* data of *want off*, gathered from the entire United States, women showed greater use of *want off* than men (Hall, p.c.). Studies of primarily Midland and Inland North areas of the use of *need/want/like* + past participle found no gender differences in their use (Frazer et al 1996:265; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:55).

Table 2.5. Use of *want off* and *need/want/like* + past participle by gender (Hall, p.c.; Frazer et al 1996:265; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:55)

| Gender | <i>want off</i> | <i>need</i> + past participle | <i>want</i> + past participle | <i>like</i> + past participle |
|--------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Men    | 16.0% (70)      | 41.9% (2,478)                 | 21.7% (98)                    | 5.2% (21)                     |
| Women  | 21.1% (116)     | 40.3% (2,541)                 | 22.1% (102)                   | 4.8% (21)                     |

With respect to the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by gender, I hypothesize that gender behaves like other social variables in that no variation in use is evident.

## 2.6. Style

Defining ‘style’ is no easy task (e.g. Irvine 2001; Haynes 1995). While the phenomenon that is of interest in this study comes under the umbrella of style (using any number of current definitions), it is perhaps more appropriately called register: language variation based on situations of use. Style/register has often been an important independent variable in studies of phonological variation, in particular, phonological change (e.g. Labov 1966:396-399) but has less often been included in studies of grammatical variation and change.

No one has actually examined the use of W+PA across different styles; nevertheless, several publications, mainly usage guides, make claims about the appropriate stylistic level for its use. The general consensus is that forms of W+PA, specifically *want in/out* are appropriate for informal use only (Marckwardt and Walcott 1938:49; Shaw 1975:252; Quirk et al 1985:732; *RH* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want in or out’; Greenbaum & Whitcut 1988:762; *OED* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want’; K. Wilson 1993; *OADLG* 1999:1140). Some of these sources state that W+PA is very informal and/or not appropriate for formal use; for example, in the *Longman Guide to English Usage*, *want*

*in/out* are 'rather informal' (Greenbaum & Whitcut 1988:762). *The Columbia Guide to Standard American English* goes down a few notches from this by stating that forms of W+PA are 'casual at best, but more likely nonstandard' (K. Wilson 1993). A few sources reject W+PA for formal use altogether (Leonard 1932:124; Bryant 1962:224): '[*want in*] has no standing for more formal or general use' (Leonard 1932:124).

It is not clear what the claims about the use of W+PA (with the exception of Leonard 1932) are based on. What is clear is that further research is needed to accurately characterize the stylistic distribution of W+PA. Is W+PA used only or even primarily in informal settings? Finegan and Biber (1994) propose an approach to style or register that is based on the features of linguistic economy and elaboration. Linguistic forms that show economy or are compressed, i.e. shorter, are linked to informal styles, while those forms that exhibit elaboration or are more explicit, i.e. longer, are tied to formal styles (Finegan & Biber 1994:320-321). Under this view, one would expect W+PA to be more common in informal styles, since W+PA could be considered a more economical form than W + *to*-infinitive + PA, which could be considered more elaborate. In the face of little other evidence, I hypothesize that W+PA and related forms are more commonly and perhaps exclusively used in informal styles.

Furthermore, sociolinguists, particularly variationists, have typically operated under the assumption that there is a direct relationship between the distribution of a linguistic variable across socioeconomic classes and the distribution of that same variable across styles (e.g. Romaine 1980:228; Labov 1964:101-102, 1966:222-223, 1972:126; Bell 1984:146; Finegan & Biber 1994:315-316; Wolfram & Fasold 1974:85-86). Three basic patterns of the intersection of social and stylistic distribution of a linguistic variable

are well-documented in the literature (see, e.g. Labov 1972:178-179, 238-244; Bell 1984:151-153; Downes 1998:187-190; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:161-162, 218-221):

(1) Sociolinguistic markers: Linguistic variables stratified by both social and stylistic variables, as is the case with (ing) in English, as shown in Figure 2.5 (Labov 1972:238-242; Downes 1998:187-190; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:162, 219).

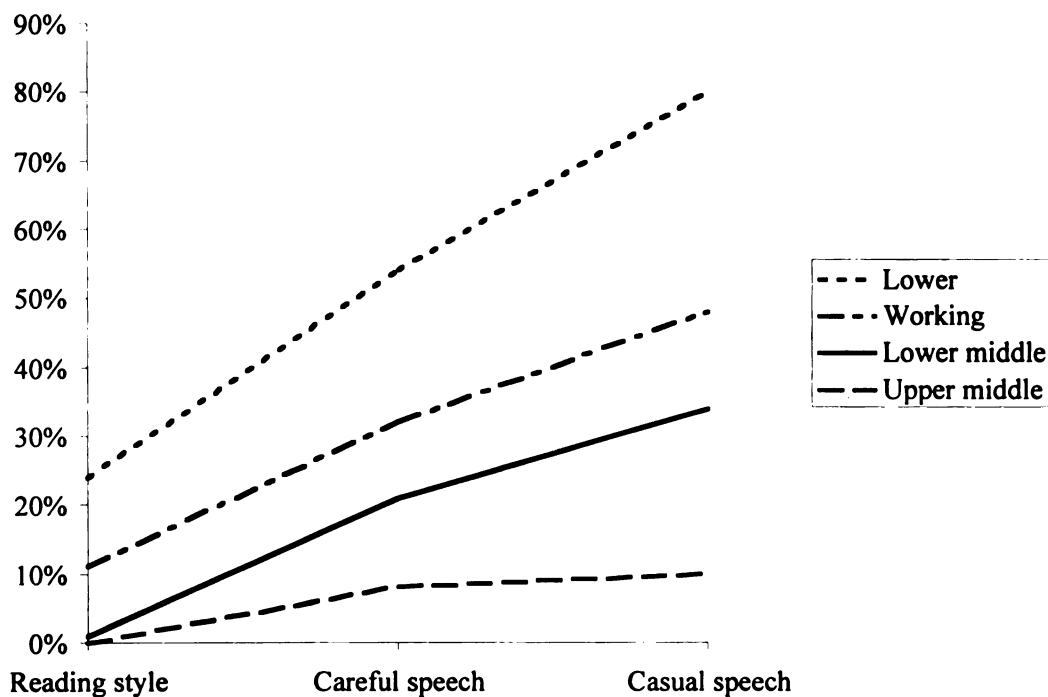


Figure 2.5. Socioeconomic and style stratification of (ing) for European-American adults in New York City (from Labov 1966:398, 1972:239).

(2) Sociolinguistic indicators: Linguistic variables stratified by social variables but not by style, as is currently the case with the Northern Cities Chain Shift in the United

States (Labov 1972:178; Downes 1998:187-190; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:162).

A hypothetical example of a sociolinguistic indicator is given in Figure 2.6.

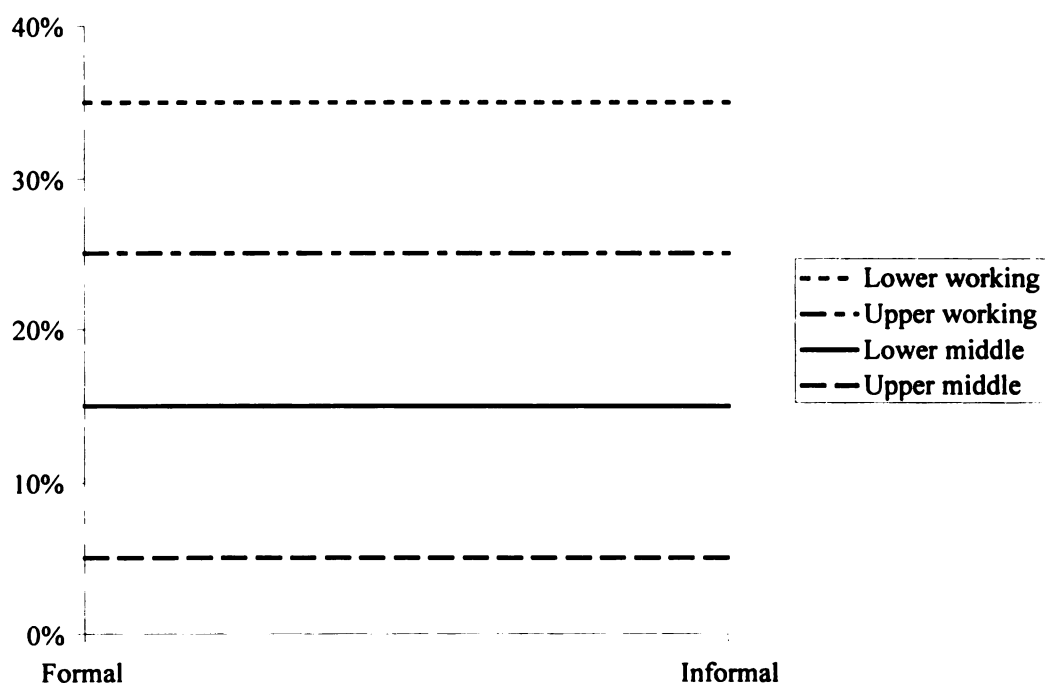


Figure 2.6. Hypothetical case of socioeconomic stratification with no stylistic variation

(3) Hypercorrection: Linguistic variables stratified by both socioeconomic class and style, of which one socioeconomic class's use (typically the upper working or lower middle class) will crossover that of another class (typically the upper middle class), as illustrated in Figure 2.7 (e.g. Labov 1972:124-127; Downes 1998:188-196; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:219-220).

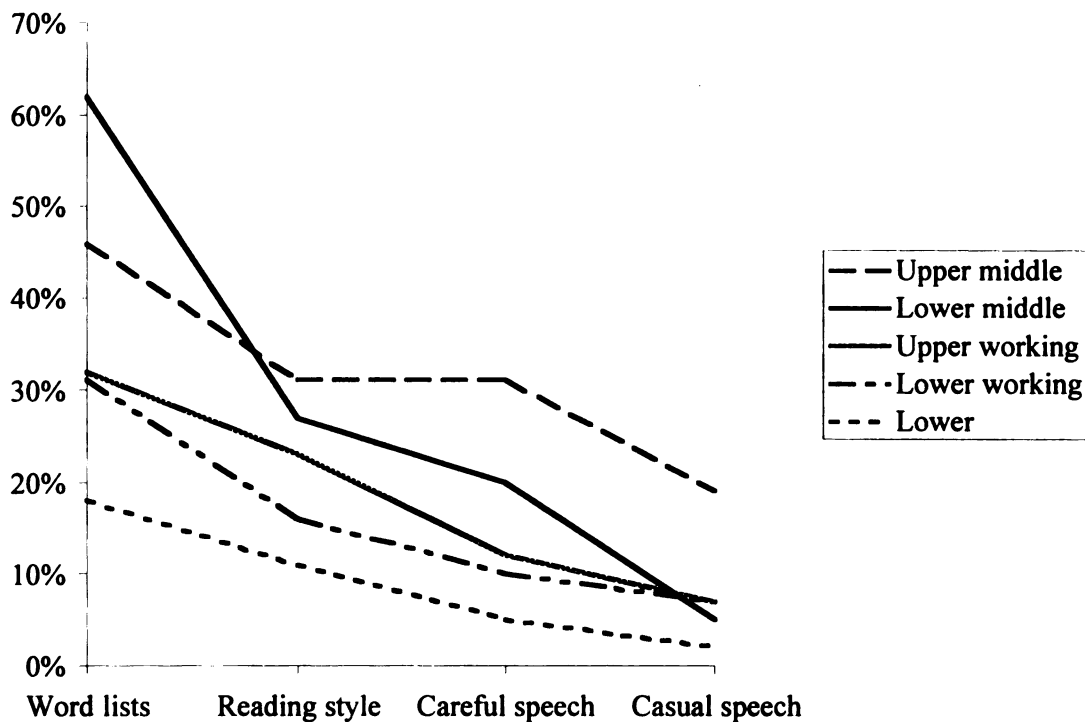


Figure 2.7. Socioeconomic and stylistic stratification with hypercorrection of (r) in adults in New York City (adapted from Labov 1972:114)

Although rarely mentioned in sociolinguistic literature, a fourth pattern could be possible: Linguistic variables stratified by style but not by socioeconomic class. It has become widely accepted that a pattern of stylistic without socioeconomic variation is not only rare but impossible. Bell's style axiom, in fact, rules out the possibility of stylistic variation without social variation with its assumption that social variation underlies stylistic variation: 'Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the "social" dimension' (Bell 1984:151). Bell is not alone in believing that stylistic variation is not possible without social variation; in fact, the widely accepted types of sociolinguistic

variables—stereotypes, markers, and indicators—do not include a category for variables with stylistic but little or no socioeconomic variation (see e.g. Labov 1972:178-179; Wolfram & Fasold 1974:83-87; Downes 1998:188-196; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:161-162). Nevertheless, Bell gives an example of such a case, the raising of /æ/ to nonstandard [e] in Tehran Persian (Modaressi-Tehrani 1978), but refers to it as an ‘extreme’ ‘hyperstyle variable’ (Bell 1984:155). It seems then that it is possible for a linguistic feature to show little or no socioeconomic variation, as I have hypothesized for W+PA and related constructions in Section 2.3.2, and yet show stylistic variation, but for Bell (and others) it would have to be an ‘extreme’ variable, and that would not seem to be the case for the variables under consideration here.

## 2.7. Hypotheses

To close the chapter, I list the hypothesis, motivated by the previous literature or gaps therein, that are tested in this study.

- (1) The geographic distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA will be primarily Midland.
- (2) Abstract senses of N/W+PP and N/W+PA will be more widespread, while concrete senses will be more regional, specifically Midland.
- (3) Within each dialect region, the use of abstract senses of N/W+PP and N/W+PA will be greater than that of the concrete senses, particularly in the North and the South.
- (4) The use of *want* will be greater than the use of *need* in PP and PA constructions.
- (5) PA constructions will be more acceptable than PP constructions.

- (6) There will be no rural-urban differences in the distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA.
- (7) There will be no differences in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA between men and women.
- (8) In the Midland, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA will not be stratified by socioeconomic class.
- (9) In the Midland, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA will not be stratified by age.
- (10) In the Midland, N/W+PP and N/W+PA will be used more in more informal styles than in more formal styles.

### 3. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the present study is laid out. Section 3.1 discusses the linguistic variables of N/W+PP and N/W+PA included in this study. Section 3.2 justifies the method of data collection (Section 3.2.1) and describes the survey instruments (Section 3.2.2). Section 3.3 outlines the pool of respondents and the non-linguistic variables. Finally, Section 3.4 explains the handling of the raw data and the statistical analyses.

#### 3.1. Linguistic variables

The primary focus of this study is on forms N/W+PP and N/W+PA. Many scholars assume that these constructions are identical to constructions with a *to*-infinitive between the verb and the prepositional phrase/adverb. Moreover, most descriptions of N/W+PA reflect a belief in the primacy of the forms with the infinitive verbs, e.g. *want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional adverb. Some refer to these forms as ‘elliptical’ (e.g. Griebeling 1947:5; Marckwardt 1948; Cassidy & Hall 1996:769). Others describe N/W+PA in terms of *want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional adverb (Prettyman 1907:76; Pollard 1915:243; Krapp 1925:256; Krumpelmann 1939:156; McAtee 1942:70; Evans & Evans 1957:545; Dakin 1966b:513; *OED* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. ‘want’), e.g. ‘*want*, used without an infinitive following’ (Pollard 1915:243). One of the dangers of this approach is the assumption of identical meaning, i.e. referential or representational sameness, which is said to be a necessary condition for the study of variants of a linguistic variable (Lavendera 1977, 1988; Labov 1978). It is impossible and, in this case, irrelevant to establish the semantic sameness of N/W+PP and *need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional phrase as well as

N/W+PA and *need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional adverb. It is impossible because native speaker intuitions indicate that N/W+PP and N/W+PA are necessarily more general than *need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional phrase and *need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional adverb. The examples in 1-4 will help illustrate the point. Sentence 1 has at least three possible infinitive forms with their own semantic nuances, given in 2-4.

- (1) I want in the house.
- (2) I want to go in the house.
- (3) I want to get in the house.
- (4) I want to be in the house.

Sentence 2 indicates the speaker's desire to physically move from the exterior to the interior of the house; the staying in the interior of the house could just be for a moment (e.g. to get a book) or for a longer period of time. In sentence 3, the emphasis is on obtaining entry into the house. In sentence 4, the speaker wishes to be and remain inside the house, so the emphasis is not on obtaining entry or moving from outside to inside, but on physically being in the house. In addition to native speaker intuitions, at least one dictionary hints at the specificity of W+PA: 'to desire to come, go, or be: *the cat wants in; wants out of the deal*' (*Merriam-Webster*, on-line ed., s.v. 'want').

The semantic sameness argument, central to the debate between formal linguists and sociolinguists (e.g. Lavandera 1977, 1988; Labov 1978) is not relevant to this study, because only the forms N/W+PP and N/W+PA are examined. In this study, N/W+PA and

*need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional adverb, for example, are not treated as variants of a single variable. The issue of whether these constructions are indeed variants of *need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional phrase and *need/want* + *to*-infinitive + prepositional adverb must be left to future study.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a wide range of prepositions and prepositional adverbs may occur in the grammatical constructions N/W+PA and N/W+PP. A subset of the possible forms have been selected for this study, since any potential survey instrument would be prohibitively long if all possible realizations of these constructions were investigated. Items 5-8 are the forms of N/W+PP that are included in this study:

- (5)    *need in* + NP
- (6)    *need off* + NP
- (7)    *want in* + NP
- (8)    *want off* + NP

Items 9-18 are the forms of N/W+PA that are included in this study:

- (9)    *need by*
- (10)   *need down*
- (11)   *need in*
- (12)   *need off*
- (13)   *need out*

- (14) want by
- (15) want down
- (16) want in
- (17) want off
- (18) want out

The pool of experimental sentences used in the survey instruments included two tokens of each of 5-18, all in concrete senses, and two tokens of abstract senses for 5-8, 11-13, and 16-18. Only concrete senses of *need by/down* (9-10) and *want by/down* (14-15) were used because these forms do not lend themselves well to abstract senses.

### **3.2. Survey instruments**

#### **3.2.1. Study of grammatical features**

The study of grammatical features has played the ugly stepsister role to the study of phonological features in the field of sociolinguistic variation. While it is relatively easy to gather data for the study of phonological variation, and there are many tried and true methods for eliciting pronunciation at different stylistic levels (e.g. informal  $\leftrightarrow$  formal), the same cannot be said for the study of grammatical variation. Most studies of grammatical variation admit to the difficulty of collecting quantitative data, and owing to this difficulty, few move beyond description of the form to attempt any kind of sociolinguistic stratification or stylistic differentiation. Questionnaires, however, are a good way to collect data on grammatical features.

Self-reports (also known as introspective survey instruments) have been condemned by some sociolinguists as unreliable (e.g., Labov 1975:106-108; McDavid 1983) even though they have been commonly used, particularly in dialectology (e.g. Frazer 1993; Murray 1993; Frazer et al 1996; Bailey et al 1997; Albanyan & Preston 1998; Murray & Simon 1999, 2002). Interestingly, the evidence against the use of self-reports is largely anecdotal, which is in stark contrast to the type of data sociolinguists normally employ. Although observed linguistic behavior in a number of situations or registers may be the preferred means for gathering phonetic/phonological data, the limitations of such data collection for relatively rare grammatical constructions (i.e., relative to a phonetic/phonological phenomenon) are well recognized. There is, however, quantitative evidence suggesting that data from self-reports are more valid and reliable than previously thought. In a study comparing the results of five linguistic surveys with differing methodologies, Bailey et al (1997:58) found that for some non-phonetic/phonological features, self-reports are 'better measures of linguistic behavior than observations of usage'. There is no doubt that additional research must be done in this area. In light of Bailey et al (1997) and the precedent established in the field of dialectology, I am confident that for the linguistic variables in this study, self-reports provide a valid measure of actual use.

### **3.2.2. Questionnaires**

A self-report questionnaire was designed to determine not only the use of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by respondents but also their preferred stylistic level. A total of 62 linguistic items were on each version of the questionnaire: 24 experimental items

involving a form of N/W+PP or N/W+PA and 38 fillers. The experimental items on each questionnaire consist of one token of each form of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, including abstract senses, listed in Section 3.1. The fillers consist of 23 sentences that include other regional and social dialect forms (e.g. *I bought myself a new TV*), with an emphasis on forms that are common in the Midland, and 15 sentences that are acceptable in all varieties of American English (e.g. *Eddie is very athletic*). The items that are presumed to be acceptable in all varieties of American English were included as a way to check respondents' performances on the questionnaire. Appendix A contains an organized list of questionnaire items.

Respondents rated their use of these items on the following forced-choice scale, taken from Albanyan and Preston (1998):

Choose **a** if you would never use this sentence.

Choose **b** if you would use this sentence only in writing or in very formal speech situations like a job interview or in court.

Choose **c** if you would use this sentence only with close friends and/or family.

Choose **d** if you would use this sentence in general conversation, in stores and with people you don't know well.

Choose **e** if you would use this sentence in all situations.

This scale was chosen because it allowed for the investigation of two distinct judgments: 1) grammaticality or use and 2) stylistic differentiation. A response of 'a' indicated that the respondent would not use the sentence, while a response of 'b', 'c', 'd',

or ‘e’ indicated that the respondent would use the sentence. Responses ‘b’, ‘c’, ‘d’, and ‘e’ also revealed the style or register in which the sentence was judged to be most appropriate. Responses ‘a’ through ‘e’ do not represent a continuum and are not treated as such.

Four versions of the questionnaire, labeled A1, A2, B1, B2 were created. Versions A1 and A2 had exactly the same items on them; however, the order of items had been scrambled to counteract any ordering effects. The same is true of versions B1 and B2. Although the A and B versions of the questionnaires used the same fillers, they contained different experimental items, listed in Appendix A. One version of the questionnaire (A1) is given in Appendix B. The questionnaire was pilot tested on a small number of people in Michigan and Ohio before it was used to gather data for this study.

### **3.3. Respondents and non-linguistic variables**

A total of 163 respondents’ questionnaires were used for data analysis<sup>1</sup>. There were two criteria for inclusion in this study: (1) Respondents had to have grown up in the United States east of the Mississippi River; and (2) Respondents had to have grown up in the same area between the ages of 2-15. The majority of respondents—148—were university and technical college students enrolled in institutions in Ohio, Michigan, and Georgia<sup>2</sup>. Limited demographic data, e.g. age, ethnicity/race, sex, hometown, and occupation of primary wage-earner in the family, were obtained from these respondents. The other 15

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<sup>1</sup> 26 questionnaires (in addition to the 163 used for data analysis) had to be thrown out because they were incomplete (10) or the respondents did not match the criteria for inclusion in the study: 10 were raised outside of the U.S.; 3 were raised in the western United States; and 3 moved to different states several times as children.

<sup>2</sup> I gratefully acknowledge Bridget Anderson, Gord Easson, Peggy Ketner, Nevin Leder, and Patrick Mullen for distributing questionnaires to their students.

respondents were residents of a cluster of small cities in central Ohio, east of Columbus, and were recruited for this study through local churches. These 15 respondents completed the questionnaires and gave additional demographic data, including their family background and their orientation to the local area. A list of all respondents is given in Appendix D.

Based on the demographic data solicited on the questionnaire, respondents were classified into several regional and social groups, as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Demographic distribution of respondents (see Appendix D)

|                             | <b>Total</b> | <b>North</b> | <b>Midland</b> | <b>South</b> |
|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>Total</b>                | 163          | 41           | 95             | 27           |
| <b>Rural-Urban</b>          |              |              |                |              |
| Rural                       | 42 (26%)     | 8 (20%)      | 28 (29%)       | 6 (22%)      |
| Urban                       | 121 (74%)    | 33 (80%)     | 67 (71%)       | 21 (78%)     |
| <b>Gender</b>               |              |              |                |              |
| Male                        | 114 (70%)    | 31 (76%)     | 64 (67%)       | 19 (70%)     |
| Female                      | 49 (30%)     | 10 (24%)     | 31 (33%)       | 8 (30%)      |
| <b>Socioeconomic Status</b> |              |              |                |              |
| Upper Middle                | 50 (31%)     | 17 (41%)     | 21 (22%)       | 11 (41%)     |
| Middle Middle               | 28 (17%)     | 6 (15%)      | 14 (15%)       | 8 (30%)      |
| Lower Middle                | 51 (25%)     | 11 (27%)     | 24 (25%)       | 6 (22%)      |
| Upper Working               | 25 (15%)     | 2 (5%)       | 21 (22%)       | 2 (7%)       |
| Lower Working               | 12 (7%)      | 1 (2%)       | 11 (12%)       | 0 (0%)       |
| No response                 | 7 (4%)       | 3 (7%)       | 4 (4%)         | 0 (0%)       |
| <b>Age</b>                  |              |              |                |              |
| 18-24 years                 | 128 (79%)    | 40 (98%)     | 64 (67%)       | 24 (89%)     |
| 25-34 years                 | 15 (9%)      | 1 (2%)       | 11 (12%)       | 3 (11%)      |
| 35-54 years                 | 10 (6%)      | 0 (0%)       | 10 (11%)       | 0 (0%)       |
| 55+ years                   | 10 (6%)      | 0 (0%)       | 10 (11%)       | 0 (0%)       |
| <b>Race/Ethnicity</b>       |              |              |                |              |
| European American           | 137 (84%)    | 33 (80%)     | 84 (88%)       | 20 (74%)     |
| Other                       | 19 (12%)     | 5 (12%)      | 9 (9%)         | 5 (19%)      |
| No response                 | 7 (4%)       | 3 (7%)       | 2 (2%)         | 2 (7%)       |

On the survey instrument, presented as Appendix B, respondents were asked to write down the city and state where they grew up between the ages of two and fifteen (Item 67). This information was used to classify them as belonging to one of three dialect regions: the North, the Midland, or the South, defined in Figure 2.1. Since the focus of this study is on Midlanders' use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, Midland residents were sought out; thus, the greatest number of respondents, 58%, were from the Midland. The respondents from the North and South were used, in effect, to provide a comparison for Midland use, so fewer respondents were from these areas: 25% from the North and 17% from the South, as shown in Table 3.1.

Respondents were also grouped according to four non-linguistic variables: rural-urban residence, socioeconomic status, age, and gender. Respondents were classified into the categories of rural and urban residence based on their hometown, given in response to questionnaire item 67. Three criteria were used to define rural and urban areas: population, distance from major metropolitan area, and location on or near a major highway. As defined in this study, rural areas have a population of less than 10,000, are more than 10 miles from a major metropolitan area, and are not located on a major highway. All other areas were included in the urban category. Table 3.1 displays the breakdown of respondents by rural-urban residence.

The second social variable in this study is gender. Respondents were grouped into two categories based on a self-report of gender, in response to questionnaire item 64. In Table 3.1, the distribution of respondents across gender categories is given.

Based on the occupation of the primary wage earner in the family, given in response to questionnaire item 68, respondents were divided among five socioeconomic

classes: upper middle, middle middle, lower middle, upper working, and lower working. This study is not the first to base social class assignment on occupation alone (see e.g. Pederson 1991:xvii-xviii; Chambers 1995:46-47). The scale used for the purposes of social class assignment is largely based on Warner's revised scale (1960:140-141). The passage of time and the creation of new technology/jobs necessitates updating Warner's scale:

The most important fact to remember about using the ISC as a measurement of social class is that, in order for it to be a reliable instrument and accurate index of social class, . . . [the] scales must reflect how Americans feel and think about the relative worth of each job . . . (Warner 1960:40).

Although sociological surveys have generally found ratings of occupational prestige to be quite stable over time, they have also demonstrated that occupational prestige does change (Hodge et al 1964; Nakao & Treas 1994). Therefore, I have updated Warner's scale using data from a study of public opinion on occupational prestige (Nakao & Treas 1994). The occupations listed in Table 3.2 are representative of those belonging to each category.

Table 3.2. Occupational prestige ratings

| Rating | Representative Occupations                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | Judges, Lawyers, Architects, Aerospace and Chemical Engineers, Chemists, University Professors, Dentists, Physicians                                                                                                                                          |
| 2      | Accountants, Primary and Secondary School Teachers, Police Officers, Professional Clergy, Computer Programmers, Industrial and Mechanical Engineers, Agricultural Scientists, Optometrists, Psychologists, Registered Nurses, Pharmacists, Veterinarians      |
| 3      | Electrical Technicians, Journalists, Librarians, Nursery School Teachers, School Counselors, Dental Hygienists, X-Ray Technicians, Firefighters, Farm Owners                                                                                                  |
| 4      | Real Estate Agents, Insurance Agents, Public Relations Specialists, Lay Clergy, Mail Carriers, Bank Tellers, Secretaries, Grain/Cattle Farmers, Electricians, and Construction/Factory Forepersons                                                            |
| 5      | Security Guards, Prison Guards, Survey and Mapping Technicians, Receptionists, Shipping Clerks, Restaurant Cooks, Hair Stylists, Cosmetologists, Child Care Workers, Automobile Mechanics, Telephone Installers/Repairers, and Skilled Construction Craftsmen |
| 6      | Used Car Salespersons, Retail Sales Associates, Cashiers, Bill Collectors, Janitors, Housekeepers, Fast Food Employees, Restaurant Servers, Factory Workers, Truck Drivers, and Garbage Collectors                                                            |
| 7      | Newspaper deliverers, Migrant Workers, Envelope Stuffers, Dishwashers, and Grocery Baggers                                                                                                                                                                    |

The socioeconomic classes in this study correspond to Warner's scale in the following way: Warner's 1-2 is upper middle class; Warner's 3 is middle middle class; Warner's 4 is lower middle class; Warner's 5 is upper working class; Warner's 6-7 is lower working class. In Table 3.1, the breakdown of respondents by social class is given.

For the purposes of studying age as a social variable, respondents were classified into four age groups, based on their response to item 65: 18-24 years old, 25-34 years old; 35-54 years, and 55 years old and over. These age classifications are not simply arbitrary classifications based on the etic approach, which is typical of quantitative sociolinguistic studies, but are an attempt to appeal to the emic approach which 'groups speakers according to some shared experience of time' including external events (Eckert 1997).

These age classifications are based on the similar stages of life that individuals in these age ranges find themselves.

Those in the 18-24 year old range are beginning adult life, living on their own for the first time, completing their formal education, etc. Those in the 25-34 year old range are typically beginning families, starting their careers, and buying their first homes. Those in the 35-54 year old range are typically established in their careers and in their families, though some may be experiencing career and family changes. Those in the 55+ years group are nearing retirement or already retired, are most likely living alone or with a significant other; and if they have children, the children are grown and living on their own. The majority of respondents in the entire sample fell into the 18-24 years group, 79% (128). The other three age groups have fewer members but are roughly equivalent in size, as shown in Table 3.1.

### **3.4. Data handling and statistical analyses**

In most of Chapter 4, in particular Sections 4.1-4.4, the data are viewed categorically in terms of 'non-use' and 'use'. Only 'use' is reported on, and it is defined broadly to include use in formal situations, use with family and friends, use in general situations, or use in all situations. Thus, 'b', 'c', 'd', or 'e' responses (outlined in Section 3.2) to a questionnaire item equal 'use'. In the statistical tests reported in Sections 4.1-4.4, responses 'b', 'c', 'd', and 'e' were collapsed. In Section 4.5, these responses are treated individually.

The statistical results presented in Chapter 4 are all based on  $\chi^2$  tests of significance. A number of preliminary tests were run, however, to prepare the data for the

statistical analyses presented in the next chapter. Because two different token sentences were used for each form of N/W+PP and N/W+PA on questionnaires A and B, it was necessary to run tests of significance to determine if these token sentences were treated the same by respondents.  $\chi^2$  tests determined that there were no significant differences between the tokens of N/W+PP and N/W+PA on questionnaires A and B, and the results of the two questionnaires were conflated, with a few exceptions, discussed in Section 4.1.

Originally, respondents were classified into five geographic categories based on their hometown: North, North Midland, Mid Midland, South Midland, and South. The three Midland categories were conflated when no significant differences were found to exist among them.

In the  $\chi^2$  tests of significance presented in Chapter 4, missing responses were omitted in the running of the statistical tests, and the values of statistical significance given are actual values rounded to three decimal places. In the data tables, please note the following: 1) 'N' equals the total number of tokens of a given item (not the number of respondents); 2) the use of a linguistic variable is given as a rounded percentage followed by the number of responses in parentheses. Having covered the background of N/W+PP and N/W+PA and the methodology, the focus now shifts to the results and discussion of the raw data and statistical analyses in Chapter 4.

## **4. Results and discussion**

In this chapter, results are presented and discussed within each section. In section 4.1, usage statistics of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in three dialect areas, the North, the Midland, and the South, are given. Section 4.2 examines the relevance of the semantic distinction between concrete and abstract in the distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across and within the dialect regions. In section 4.3 usage hierarchies among the various forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA within each dialect region are presented, i.e. *need* vs. *want* and PP vs. PA. Section 4.4 looks at nonlinguistic factors, i.e. rural-urban residence, socioeconomic status, age, and gender, relating to the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across and within the dialect regions. Finally, Section 4.5 examines the stylistic distribution N/W+PP and N/W+PA.

The reader is reminded that in the tables and figures, all usage results are rounded to whole numbers; the results of tests of statistical significance are rounded to three decimal points; and ‘N’ is the number of tokens of a given item.

### **4.1. Use across dialect regions**

In this section, the usage statistics for N/W+PP and N/W+PA are presented for the North, the Midland, and the South (recall that finer distinctions within the Midland were not significant). The focus of this section is on the use of the constructions across the dialect regions. These results should in no way be construed as representing a complete mapping of these constructions in the North, the Midland, and the South, let alone the entire United States; rather, they are intended to provide a better understanding of the use of these constructions in the Midland, and in order to do that, some data from the North and

South is needed. A comparison of the use of these constructions within each region, for example, the difference between the use of the forms of N+PP versus W+PP, is pursued in detail in Section 4.3.

#### **4.1.1. N/W+PP**

As discussed in Section 2.2.1, N+PP, as in 1-4, and W+PP, as in 5-8, have previously received very little attention.

- (1) Dean needs in the building. (1)
- (2) Katy needs in this class in order to graduate this semester. (4)
- (3) Peter needs off the plane. (5)
- (4) The lawyer had a conflict of interest and needed off the case. (8)
- (5) When the cat wants in the house, she scratches at the door. (10)
- (6) This student wants in your class. (11)
- (7) Do you want off the merry-go-round? (14)
- (8) I want off your mailing list. (16)

Nevertheless, the use of N/W+PP is robust in some parts of the United States. The percentage use of N/W+PP by dialect region is presented in Figure 4.1. In the Midland, both N+PP and W+PP are in common use. Although the use of N+PP is less in the North and South, it is not so low as to be nonexistent. In fact, the use of W+PP in the North and South is well over 50%. The distribution of N+PP and W+PP, however, is significant across the dialect regions.

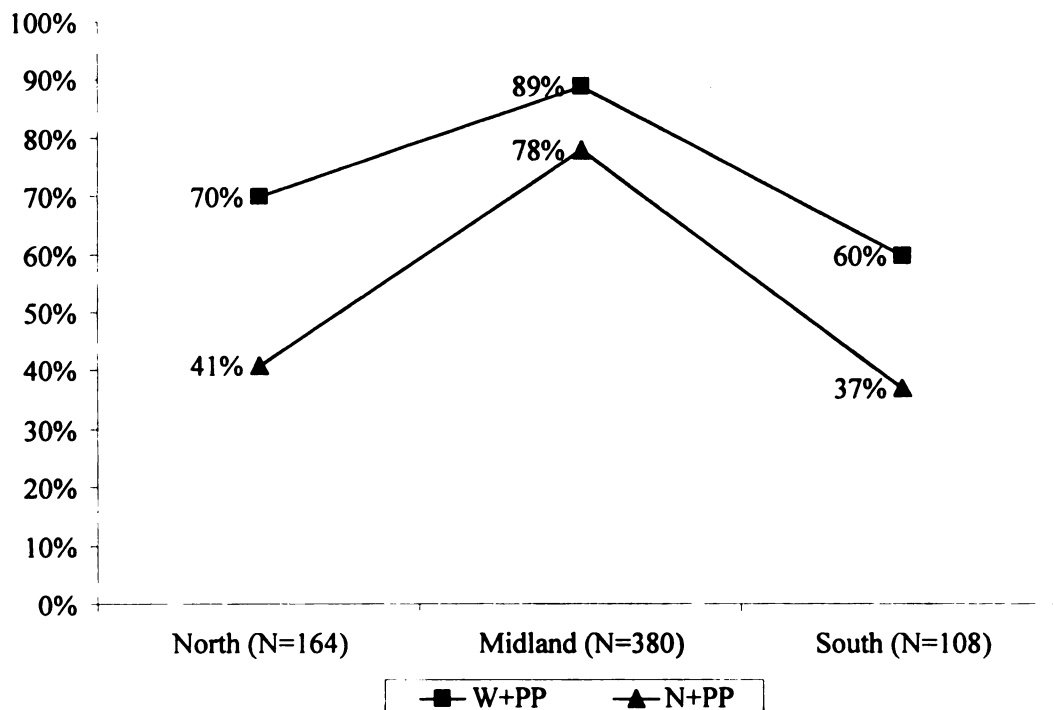


Figure 4.1. Use of N+PP (Pearson  $\chi^2=98$ , df 2,  $p=.000$ ) and W+PP (Pearson  $\chi^2=56$ , df 2,  $p=.000$ ) by dialect region

The use of the forms of N+PP and W+PP are presented in Table 4.1. The use of all forms—*need in* + NP, *need off* + NP, *want in* + NP, *want off* + NP—is significantly different across the dialect regions. In each case, the use is greatest in the Midland. It should be mentioned that in the Midland, the concrete token items for *need in* + NP on the two questionnaires (items 3 and 4 in Appendix A) were rated significantly differently from each other (Yates  $\chi^2=8$ , df 1,  $p=.005$ ); however, in spite of the significance, neither rating could be considered an outlier, and throwing out either item did not affect the overall results. The use of the forms of N+PP and W+PP are generally slightly greater in the North than in the South. The hypothesis of a mainly Midland distribution of N+PP and W+PP is supported.

Table 4.1. Use of N/W+PP by dialect region

|               | N   | Use       | Pearson  |    |      |
|---------------|-----|-----------|----------|----|------|
|               |     |           | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need in + NP  |     |           |          |    |      |
| North         | 82  | 37% (30)  | 54       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland       | 189 | 77% (145) |          |    |      |
| South         | 54  | 35% (19)  |          |    |      |
| need off + NP |     |           |          |    |      |
| North         | 82  | 45% (37)  | 44       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland       | 190 | 78% (149) |          |    |      |
| South         | 54  | 39% (21)  |          |    |      |
| want in + NP  |     |           |          |    |      |
| North         | 82  | 57% (47)  | 39       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland       | 190 | 85% (162) |          |    |      |
| South         | 54  | 50% (27)  |          |    |      |
| want off + NP |     |           |          |    |      |
| North         | 82  | 83% (68)  | 21       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland       | 190 | 93% (177) |          |    |      |
| South         | 54  | 70% (38)  |          |    |      |

Also noteworthy are the differences in the use of the forms of N+PP versus W+PP, particularly in the North and South. As shown in Table 4.1 *need in* + NP and *need off* + NP are the two least used forms in all three dialect areas, while *want in* + NP and *want off* + NP are the most used. These differences point to usage hierarchies between *need* and *want*, which are examined in greater detail in Section 4.3. Nevertheless, it is also notable that *want off* + NP is the most used form in all three dialect areas, and the use of this form in the North and South is substantially greater than any of the other three forms.

#### **4.1.2. N/W+PA**

Similar to N/W+PP, N+PA, as in 9-13, has received little or no attention; however, W+PA, as in 14-18, has received the most attention of any of the constructions of interest here.

- (9) I'm sorry to bother you, but I need by. (17)
- (10) The cat is stuck in the tree and needs down. (20)
- (11) The day care center is full and my child needs in. (23)
- (12) The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I need off. (25)
- (13) The company agreed to a deal two weeks ago, but now they need out. (32)
- (14) I can move if you want by. (34)
- (15) The baby wants down. (36)
- (16) The kids say it's too hot outside, and they want in. (37)
- (17) The baseball team hasn't won a game in several weeks, and Jim wants off. (43)
- (18) This marriage is over. I want out. (48)

Figure 4.2 displays the overall use of N/W+PA across the dialect regions. The regional distribution of N+PA and W+PA is significant. Use of N+PA and W+PA in the Midland (81%, 84%) outpaces that in the North (47%, 68%) and the South (50%, 69%). Use in the North and the South is considerably less than that in the Midland; however, use in the North and the South is similar.

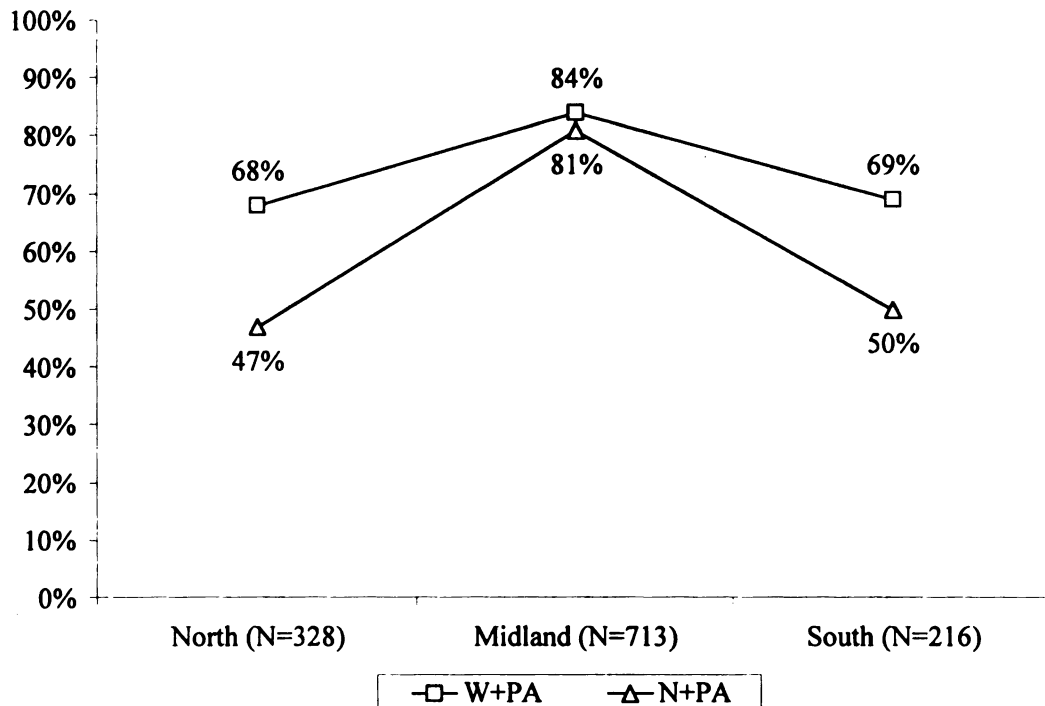


Figure 4.2. Use of N+PA (Pearson  $\chi^2=147$ , df 2,  $p=.000$ ) and W+PA (Pearson  $\chi^2=41$ , df 2,  $p=.000$ ) by dialect region

The regional distribution of the forms of N+PA is shown in Table 4.2. For all forms of N+PA, the use across the dialect areas is significant ( $p=.000$ ). The use of each form is greatest in the Midland. It should be noted that in the Midland, the concrete token items for *need off* on the two questionnaires (items 25 and 26 in Appendix A) were rated significantly differently from each other (Yates  $\chi^2=6$ , df 1,  $p=.015$ ); the ratings for item 26 were outliers and were thrown out because they were most inconsistent with other results. Generally, the use in the South is slightly greater than in the North, except in the case of *need in*, which reverses this pattern. The hypothesis that the use of the forms of N+PA is greatest in the Midland is well supported by the data.

Table 4.2. Use of N+PA by dialect region

|                      | N   | Use       | Pearson  |    |      |
|----------------------|-----|-----------|----------|----|------|
|                      |     |           | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need by              |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 41  | 34% (14)  | 29       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 95  | 80% (76)  |          |    |      |
| South                | 27  | 48% (13)  |          |    |      |
| need down            |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 41  | 39% (16)  | 29       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 95  | 82% (78)  |          |    |      |
| South                | 27  | 44% (12)  |          |    |      |
| need in              |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 82  | 55% (45)  | 45       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 190 | 86% (163) |          |    |      |
| South                | 54  | 48% (26)  |          |    |      |
| need off             |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 82  | 48% (39)  | 21       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland <sup>1</sup> | 144 | 76% (110) |          |    |      |
| South                | 53  | 55% (29)  |          |    |      |
| need out             |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 82  | 48% (39)  | 30       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 188 | 78% (147) |          |    |      |
| South                | 54  | 52% (28)  |          |    |      |

The behavior of the forms of N+PA allows two observations. One is that the range of use of the various forms of N+PA is quite narrowly clustered, particularly in the Midland and the South. In the Midland, the distance between the least used form, *need off* (76%), and the most used form, *need in* (86%), is 10%, and in the South, the distance between the least used form, *need down* (44%), and the most used form, *need off* (55%) is 11%. This contrasts sharply with the distance between the least used and most used forms

<sup>1</sup> In the Midland, the concrete token items for *need off* on the two questionnaires (items 25 and 26 in Appendix A) were rated significantly differently from each other (Yates  $\chi^2=6$ , df 1,  $p=.015$ ); item 26 ratings were outliers and were thrown out.

of N/W+PP. Another observation is that the forms of N+PA, unlike the forms of N/W+PP, behave differently in the Midland than in the North and South. For example, the least used forms in the Midland are *need off* and *need out*; however, in the North and South the two least used forms are *need by* and *need down*.

The usage statistics for the forms of W+PA are given in Table 4.3. As with the forms of N/W+PP and N+PA, the Midland continues to dominate in the use of the forms

Table 4.3. Use of W+PA by dialect region

|                      | N   | Use       | Pearson  |    |      |
|----------------------|-----|-----------|----------|----|------|
|                      |     |           | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| want by              |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 41  | 51% (21)  | 11       | 2  | .003 |
| Midland              | 95  | 77% (73)  |          |    |      |
| South                | 27  | 52% (14)  |          |    |      |
| want down            |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 41  | 85% (35)  | 4        | 2  | .111 |
| Midland              | 95  | 94% (89)  |          |    |      |
| South                | 27  | 81% (22)  |          |    |      |
| want in              |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 82  | 74% (60)  | 6        | 2  | .059 |
| Midland              | 190 | 85% (162) |          |    |      |
| South                | 54  | 76% (41)  |          |    |      |
| want off             |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 82  | 65% (53)  | 14       | 2  | .001 |
| Midland <sup>2</sup> | 144 | 85% (123) |          |    |      |
| South                | 53  | 69% (37)  |          |    |      |
| want out             |     |           |          |    |      |
| North                | 82  | 66% (54)  | 9        | 2  | .011 |
| Midland              | 188 | 79% (151) |          |    |      |
| South                | 54  | 63% (34)  |          |    |      |

<sup>2</sup> In the Midland, the abstract token items for *want off* on the two questionnaires (items 43 and 44 in Appendix A) were rated significantly differently from each other (Yates  $\chi^2=14$ , df 1, p=.000); item 44 ratings were outliers and were thrown out.

of W+PA across the dialect regions; however, a different picture emerges than seen thus far. The distribution across the dialect regions is significant for *want by* ( $p=.003$ ), *want off* ( $p=.001$ ), and *want out* ( $p=.011$ ), but it is not significant for *want down* ( $p=.111$ ). It bears mentioning that in the Midland, the abstract token items for *want off* on questionnaires A and B (items 43 and 44 in Appendix A) were rated significantly differently from each other (Yates  $\chi^2=14$ , df 1,  $p=.000$ ); the ratings for questionnaire item B were outliers and were thrown out because they were most inconsistent with other results.

While the distribution of *want in* approaches significance, further clarification of this form is warranted. Among Northern respondents, the abstract token sentences for *want in* on the two questionnaires (items 39 and 40 in Appendix A) were rated significantly differently from each other. Item 39 (45%) was rated much less acceptable than item 40 (95%). This pattern ran contrary to comparisons with other token sentences of *want in* as well as other forms of W+PA; however, neither item by itself patterned consistently with other forms and both were maintained. Only the results from *want by*, *want off*, *want out*, and possibly *want in* support the hypothesis of a stronger Midland distribution for the forms of W+PA.

As seen with the forms of N/W+PP, there is a wide range of use between the least and most used forms of W+PA in each dialect region. For example, in the North, the least acceptable form, *want by* is used by 51% of respondents, while the most used form, *want down* is used by 85% of respondents. In addition, the use of the forms of W+PA is quite consistent across the dialect regions: The order from least to most used in all three regions is *want by*, *want out*, *want off*, *want in*, and *want down*.

### 4.1.3. Discussion

Several intriguing findings about the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in the North, the Midland, and the South are further discussed in this section. In particular, this section focuses on four major findings: 1) The robust Midland distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, supporting the hypothesis; 2) the greater than expected use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in the North and South; 3) the greater than expected use based on the lack of previous literature of prepositional phrase forms and *need* forms; 4) the differences in the use of individual forms within and across the dialect regions.

The concentration of use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in the Midland, with the exception of *want down* and *want in*, is in line with the hypothesis of a more regional, specifically Midland, distribution of these constructions. The strong Midland distribution of these constructions is similar to the distribution of other grammatical constructions discussed in Section 2.3 including *need/want/like* + past participle and positive *anymore* (Youmans 1986; Murray 1993; Frazer et al 1996; Murray & Simon 1999, 2002). The Midland, however, is not alone, in its use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA.

In the North and the South, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is greater than previous literature would lead one to expect. The use of some forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA exceeds 50%: The use of all forms of W+PP and W+PA is greater than 50% in the North and the South; in addition, the use of *need in* in the North and *need off* and *need out* in the South is greater than 50%, albeit slightly. Such results bring into question the true status of these constructions in United States. As discussed in Section 2.3, the data from dialect word lists, dialectology projects and studies, and usage guides, suggested that these constructions were uncommon to nonexistent in the North and South. Perhaps

the best illustration of this is found in a statement from Kurath (1949:30): ‘The records of the *Linguistic Atlas* show that *I want off* is in common use in nearly all of the Midland [...] and that it is not current at all in the North and the South’.

What accounts for the levels of use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA found in this study? One possibility is that generalizations such as Kurath’s were based on too little evidence. This argument may apply to the forms of N/W+PP and N+PA; however, the North and South were richly sampled for the use of *want off* in *LANCS*, *LAUM*, *LAGS*, and *DARE* and few attestations were found in the North, in particular, and in the South (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). A second possibility has to do with a learning curve effect. Perhaps because there were so many tokens of N/W+PP and N/W+PA on the questionnaire, respondents were influenced by this and grew more and more accustomed to the constructions while completing the questionnaires. Statistical analyses of the results revealed no evidence of a learning curve; see Appendix E for additional details. A third possibility is that these forms have developed independently in the Midland, the North, and the South, and the emergence of these forms has been more recent in the North and the South than in the Midland (Hudson, p.c.). This is a possible scenario, which requires additional research.

A fourth and perhaps more likely possibility is that these forms have been gradually spreading from the Midland to the North and the South, which might explain the lesser degree of use in the North and the South reported in the early *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE* data as compared to the somewhat greater use found in *LAGS* (see Figures 2-3 in Section 2.3) and much greater use reported in the present study. In addition, other grammatical constructions with strong Midland distributions are reportedly encroaching on neighboring dialect areas. For example, studies indicate that

the use of *need/want* + past participle and positive *anymore* is spreading beyond the Midland (Labov 1973:72; Youmans 1986:74; Labov 1991:277; Murray 1993:175, 185; Frazer et al 1996:268; Murray & Simon 2002:57; Murray 2002:349). Furthermore, discussions with respondents (and my own experience as a native speaker) reveal that users of N/W+PP and N/W+PA are unaware that these constructions are not used all over the United States and that they are considered unacceptable by many. These constructions appear to float under the radar of conscious awareness and seem not to have any stigma or even negative evaluation attached to their use in the Midland, which if true in other areas, may facilitate their spread. Additional research on attitudes towards N/W+PP and N/W+PA is needed.

It bears mentioning that the data show greater use of N/W+PP and N+PA, particularly in the Midland, than previous research would lead one to expect. N/W+PP and N+PA have been virtually ignored in the literature; nevertheless, these constructions are used by a large percentage of Midlanders and not a minute percentage of Northern and Southerners. It is surprising that W+PA has received so much attention, while these other seemingly closely related forms have languished in obscurity. As mentioned previously, I found no usage guides that had entries for N/W+PP and N+PA (with the exception of *DARE*), no citations of N+PP, and only a few of W+PP and N+PA. The scarcity of previous literature on N/W+PP and N+PA resembles the status of *need/want/like* + past participle prior to the recent work of Frazer, Murray, and Simon (Frazer et al 1996; Murray & Simon 1999, 2002). It is not clear why N/W+PP and N+PA have received little notice; however, what is clear is that these constructions are regularly used in the Midland, and to a lesser degree in the North and the South, as well.

The geographic patterns of use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, both synchronically and diachronically, would seem to add to the continuing debate over the status of the Midland dialect area (e.g. Bailey 1968; Carver 1987; Davis and Houck 1992, 1996; Frazer 1993, 1994, 1996; Johnson 1994; McElhinny 1999; Flanigan 2000; Flanigan and Norris 2000). The findings presented here seem to lend support to the idea of the Midland as an separate dialect area, rather than simply a transition zone between the North and the South, particularly if it is assumed that N/W+PP and N/W+PA have their origins in the Midland (while additional research is needed to substantiate that every form has Scotch-Irish/Midland American roots, compelling work has already provided this link for some forms, e.g. Stanley 1936a:3-4; Marckwardt 1948:9; Crozier 1984:326; Montgomery 1997:196), and have begun spreading from the Midland into other areas. Continued examination into the status and etiology of the Midland dialect area is warranted.

Finally, striking patterns in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA can be seen when the forms of these constructions are ranked in order of use from least to greatest within each dialect region, as in Table 4.4. Two patterns are immediately noticed: 1) the polarity of *need* and *want* forms, particularly in the North and the South, with the majority of *need* forms at one end of the scale and the majority of *want* forms at the other end; and 2) the wide range of use between the least used and most used forms, again, particularly in the North and the South. The preponderance of *need* forms at the lower end of the usage scale and *want* forms at the higher end of the usage scale is especially evident in the North and the South. In the Midland, the forms of *need* and *want* tend to be more evenly dispersed through the rank order, though even there more *want* forms are at the higher

end than *need* forms. In addition, the prepositional phrase forms are interspersed with the prepositional adverb forms in all three areas.

Table 4.4. Rank order of N/W+PP and N/W+PA

| North         | %use | Midland       | %use | South         | %use |
|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|
| need by       | 34%  | need off      | 76%  | need in + NP  | 35%  |
| need in + NP  | 37%  | need in + NP  | 77%  | need off + NP | 39%  |
| need down     | 39%  | want by       | 77%  | need down     | 44%  |
| need off + NP | 45%  | need off + NP | 78%  | need by       | 48%  |
| need off      | 48%  | need out      | 78%  | need in       | 48%  |
| need out      | 48%  | want out      | 79%  | want in + NP  | 50%  |
| want by       | 51%  | need by       | 80%  | need out      | 52%  |
| need in       | 55%  | need down     | 82%  | want by       | 52%  |
| want in + NP  | 57%  | want in + NP  | 85%  | need off      | 55%  |
| want off      | 65%  | want in       | 85%  | want out      | 63%  |
| want out      | 66%  | want off      | 85%  | want off      | 69%  |
| want in       | 74%  | need in       | 86%  | want off + NP | 70%  |
| want off + NP | 83%  | want off + NP | 93%  | want in       | 76%  |
| want down     | 85%  | want down     | 94%  | want down     | 81%  |

These observations lend support to the notion that N/W+PP and N/W+PA are firmly entrenched in the Midland and are perhaps in the process of gaining acceptability in the North and the South. It appears that in the North and the South, forms of W+PP and W+PA are gaining greater acceptability than N+PP and N+PA. The differences in the use of *need* and *want* forms and PP and PA forms within each dialect region are examined in greater detail in Section 4.3.

Further support for a change in progress is found in the wide range of acceptability between the least used and most used forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, particularly in the North and the South. Interestingly, four of the five most used forms—*want down*, *want in*, *want off*, and *want off* + NP—are the same in the North, the

Midland, and the South. In the Midland, *want off* and *want in* are expected in the top five; however, the three most used forms *want down*, *want off* + NP, and *need in* are surprising. It is also surprising that *want out* is not among the most used forms in the Midland, since so much of the previous literature focused on this construction. In the North and the South, the high use of these forms—*want down*, *want in*, *want off*, and *want off* + NP—along with *want out* suggests that they are perhaps the oldest in the spread. Finally, this greater variation of use of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in the North and the South suggests that if they are spreading, they are perhaps spreading as lexical items rather than grammatical features. Additional research on the use of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in individual communities in the North and the South with an eye toward change is needed.

In summary, the most significant findings in this section include the following: 1) The greater Midland distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA; 2) the not insignificant use of these constructions in the North and the South; 3) the high rate of use of *need* and PP forms of the constructions; and 4) the wide range of acceptability of various forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA as well as the similarity of their rankings, especially in the North and the South. Additional research is needed to better understand these constructions, especially in the following two areas: 1) to determine whether a change in progress is at work for N/W+PP and N/W+PA, particularly in the North and the South, and 2) to gain an understanding as to whether these constructions are negatively, positively, or neutrally evaluated by speakers in all three dialect areas.

## **4.2. Semantic features**

The usage statistics presented in Section 4.1 show only part of the picture of the distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA. As discussed in Section 2.4, the semantic distinction of concrete and abstract may play a role in the regional distribution of these constructions. Recall that sentences like 19-21 illustrate concrete senses, while sentences like 22-24 illustrate abstract senses.

- (19) Dean needs in the building. (1)
- (20) The kids say it's too hot outside, and they want in. (37)
- (21) When the roller coaster picked up speed, Ed yelled that he wanted off. (41)
- (22) Katy needs in this class in order to graduate this semester. (4)
- (23) That sounds like a great plan. I want in. (40)
- (24) The baseball team hasn't won a game in several weeks, and Jim wants off. (43)

In some cases, concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP and N/W+PA pattern differently across and within the dialect regions.

### **4.2.1. N/W+PP**

Table 4.5 presents the usage statistics for concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP across the dialect regions. The regional distribution of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N/W+PP resembles that of all forms of N/W+PP taken together, shown in Table 4.2; differences in the use of each form across the regions are significant. For each form, use in the Midland is significantly greater than use in the North and the South.

Table 4.5. Concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP across dialect regions

|                          | N  | Use      | Pearson  |    |      |
|--------------------------|----|----------|----------|----|------|
|                          |    |          | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need in + NP (Concrete)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 32% (13) | 27       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland                  | 94 | 69% (65) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 22% (6)  |          |    |      |
| need in + NP (Abstract)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 41% (17) | 29       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 84% (80) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 48% (13) |          |    |      |
| need off + NP (Concrete) |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 39% (16) | 24       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 72% (68) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 26% (7)  |          |    |      |
| need off + NP (Abstract) |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 51% (21) | 22       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 85% (81) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 52% (14) |          |    |      |
| want in + NP (Concrete)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 68% (28) | 13       | 2  | .001 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 91% (86) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 67% (18) |          |    |      |
| want in + NP (Abstract)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 46% (19) | 27       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 80% (76) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 33% (33) |          |    |      |
| want off + NP (Concrete) |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 80% (33) | 12       | 2  | .002 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 93% (88) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 67% (18) |          |    |      |
| want off + NP (Abstract) |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                    | 41 | 85% (35) | 8        | 2  | .016 |
| Midland                  | 95 | 94% (89) |          |    |      |
| South                    | 27 | 74% (20) |          |    |      |

The hypothesis of a more widespread distribution of abstract senses of the forms of N/W+PP and a more regional distribution of concrete senses, proposed in Section 2.4, is not supported.

When concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N/W+PP are charted within each region, as in Table 4.6, a different impression emerges about their use.

Table 4.6. Concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP within each region

|               | N     | Concrete | Abstract | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|               |       |          |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North         |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 41/41 | 32% (13) | 41% (17) | 0.5             | 1  | .492 |
| need off + NP | 41/41 | 39% (16) | 51% (21) | 0.8             | 1  | .375 |
| want in + NP  | 41/41 | 68% (28) | 46% (19) | 3.2             | 1  | .074 |
| want off + NP | 41/41 | 80% (33) | 85% (35) | 0.1             | 1  | .769 |
| Midland       |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 94/95 | 69% (65) | 84% (80) | 5.2             | 1  | .023 |
| need off + NP | 95/95 | 72% (68) | 85% (81) | 4.5             | 1  | .034 |
| want in + NP  | 95/95 | 91% (86) | 80% (76) | 3.4             | 1  | .065 |
| want off + NP | 95/95 | 93% (88) | 94% (89) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| South         |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 27/27 | 22% (6)  | 48% (13) | 2.9             | 1  | .087 |
| need off + NP | 27/27 | 26% (7)  | 52% (14) | 2.8             | 1  | .094 |
| want in + NP  | 27/27 | 67% (18) | 33% (9)  | 4.7             | 1  | .029 |
| want off + NP | 27/27 | 67% (18) | 74% (20) | 0.1             | 1  | .766 |

In the North, the Midland, and the South, the use of abstract senses of *need in* + NP and *need off* + NP is greater than that of concrete senses; these differences are significant in the Midland (p=.023 and p=.034) and approach significance in the South (p=.087 and p=.094). The use of concrete and abstract senses of *want off* + NP patterns like the forms of N+PP in the North and the South: The use of abstract senses is greater than concrete

senses; however, these differences are not significant. In each dialect region, *want in* + NP shows a reversal of the trend: The use of concrete senses is greater than that of abstract senses. These differences are significant in the South ( $p=.029$ ) and approach significance in the Midland ( $p=.065$ ) and in the North ( $p=.074$ ).

The second hypothesis proposed in Section 2.4 that the use of abstract senses of the linguistic variables is greater than concrete senses finds some support in the use of the forms of N+PP. There are significant or near significant differences in the use of abstract over concrete senses of *need in* + NP and *need off* + NP in the South and the Midland. For the forms of W+PP, the hypothesis finds no support. For *want off* + NP, the differences in the use of concrete and abstract senses are not significant within each region. Moreover, the differences in the use of concrete senses over abstract senses of *want in* + NP are significant or nearly significant within each dialect region, contrary to the hypothesis.

#### **4.2.2. N+PA**

The concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N+PA are presented in Table 4.7. As with the regional distribution of the combined variables, seen in Table 4.2, the differences in the use of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N+PA across the regions are significant. For each form, use in the Midland is greater than in the North and the South. The hypothesis of a more widespread distribution of the abstract senses of the forms of N+PA and a more regional distribution of concrete senses, proposed in Section 2.4, is not supported.

Table 4.7. Concrete and abstract senses of N+PA across dialect regions

|                      | N  | Use      | Pearson  |    |      |
|----------------------|----|----------|----------|----|------|
|                      |    |          | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need in (Concrete)   |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 59% (25) | 25       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 95 | 89% (84) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 52% (14) |          |    |      |
| need in (Abstract)   |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 51% (21) | 21       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 95 | 82% (78) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 44% (12) |          |    |      |
| need off (Concrete)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 59% (24) | 14       | 2  | .001 |
| Midland <sup>3</sup> | 49 | 90% (44) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 58% (15) |          |    |      |
| need off (Abstract)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 37% (15) | 13       | 2  | .001 |
| Midland              | 95 | 69% (66) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 52% (14) |          |    |      |
| need out (Concrete)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 41% (17) | 27       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 94 | 80% (75) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 37% (10) |          |    |      |
| need out (Abstract)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 54% (22) | 7        | 2  | .028 |
| Midland              | 94 | 77% (72) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 67% (18) |          |    |      |

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 1.

In Table 4.8, the usage statistics of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N+PA within each region are presented. A different pattern emerges here.

Table 4.8. Concrete and abstract senses of N+PA within each dialect region

|                       | N     | Concrete | Abstract | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                       |       |          |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                 |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| need in               | 41/41 | 59% (24) | 51% (21) | 0.2             | 1  | .657 |
| need off              | 41/41 | 59% (24) | 37% (15) | 3.1             | 1  | .077 |
| need out              | 41/41 | 41% (17) | 54% (22) | 0.8             | 1  | .376 |
| Midland               |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| need in               | 95/95 | 90% (85) | 82% (78) | 1.6             | 1  | .213 |
| need off <sup>4</sup> | 49/95 | 90% (44) | 69% (66) | 6.3             | 1  | .012 |
| need out              | 94/94 | 80% (75) | 77% (72) | 0.1             | 1  | .724 |
| South                 |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| need in               | 27/27 | 52% (14) | 44% (12) | 0.1             | 1  | .785 |
| need off              | 26/27 | 58% (15) | 52% (14) | 0.0             | 1  | .880 |
| need out              | 27/27 | 37% (10) | 67% (18) | 3.6             | 1  | .057 |

In the North, the Midland, and the South, the use of concrete senses of *need in* and *need off* is greater than abstract senses. For *need in*, this difference is not significant in any dialect region. For *need off*, the difference in the use of concrete senses over abstract senses is significant in the Midland ( $p=.012$ ) and approaches significance in the North ( $p=.077$ ). The use of concrete senses and abstract senses of *need out*, however, patterns differently within the dialect regions. In the North and South, the use of abstract senses of *need out* is greater than that of concrete senses; in the South, this difference approaches significance ( $p=.057$ ); however, in the Midland the use of concrete senses is slightly, though not significantly, greater than that of abstract senses.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 1.

The second hypothesis proposed in Section 2.4 that the use of abstract senses of the forms of N+PA is greater than that of concrete senses finds little support. Only in the South does the difference in the use of abstract over concrete *need out* approach significance. Contrary to the hypothesis, differences in the use of abstract and concrete senses of *need in* are not significant in any dialect area, and the greater use of concrete over abstract senses of *need off* in the North and Midland is significant or approaches significance.

#### 4.2.3. W+PA

The use of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of W+PA is presented in Table 4.9. Interestingly, the use of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of W+PA patterns quite differently from the overall results in Table 4.3, and from those of the forms of N/W+PP and N+PA. The overall results for all forms of W+PA, shown in Table 4.3, as well as all forms of N/W+PP and N+PA, including combined, concrete senses, and abstract senses, shown in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.5, 4.7, all show significant differences in their distribution across the dialect areas. For *want in* and *want out*, the differences in the use of concrete senses across the dialect regions are significant ( $p=.019$  and  $p=.000$ , respectively). The Midland shows much greater use of these forms (91%, 82%) than the North (78%, 51%) and the South (70%, 41%). However, the differences in the use of abstract senses of *want in* and *want out* are not significant; in fact, the use of abstract *want in* and abstract *want out* in the North and South rivals that of the Midland. For *want off*, the pattern is reversed: The use of concrete senses across the regions is not significant; however, the use of abstract senses is significant ( $p=.009$ ).

The hypothesis that abstract senses of the forms of W+PA are in more widespread use, while concrete senses are more Midland, proposed in Section 2.4, is supported by the data for *want in* and *want out*. The use of abstract *want in* and abstract *want out* is not significantly different across the dialect regions, while the use of concrete *want in* and concrete *want out* is significantly greater in the Midland than in the North and the South.

Table 4.9. Concrete and abstract senses of W+PA by region

|                      | N  | Use      | Pearson  |    |      |
|----------------------|----|----------|----------|----|------|
|                      |    |          | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| want in (Concrete)   |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 40 | 78% (31) | 8        | 2  | .019 |
| Midland              | 95 | 91% (86) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 70% (19) |          |    |      |
| want in (Abstract)   |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 71% (29) | 2        | 2  | .434 |
| Midland              | 95 | 80% (76) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 81% (22) |          |    |      |
| want off (Concrete)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 83% (34) | 4        | 2  | .128 |
| Midland              | 94 | 89% (84) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 74% (20) |          |    |      |
| want off (Abstract)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 46% (19) | 9        | 2  | .009 |
| Midland <sup>5</sup> | 49 | 78% (38) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 63% (17) |          |    |      |
| want out (Concrete)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 51% (21) | 23       | 2  | .000 |
| Midland              | 95 | 82% (78) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 41% (11) |          |    |      |
| want out (Abstract)  |    |          |          |    |      |
| North                | 41 | 80% (33) | 1        | 2  | .623 |
| Midland              | 95 | 77% (73) |          |    |      |
| South                | 27 | 85% (23) |          |    |      |

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 2.

The hypothesis is not supported and is turned on its head by the results of *want off*. The use of concrete senses of *want off* is more widespread, and the use of the abstract senses is more regional. The use of concrete *want off* in the North, the Midland, and the South is not significantly different, while the use of abstract *want off* is significantly greater in the Midland than in the North and South.

The usage statistics of the forms of W+PA within each dialect region, shown in Table 4.10, reveal some intriguing distributional differences of concrete and abstract senses. Again, it appears that there is an interaction between the concrete and abstract senses and the linguistic variables.

Table 4.10. Concrete and abstract senses of W+PA within each dialect region

|                       | N     | Concrete | Abstract | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                       |       |          |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                 |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| want in               | 40/41 | 78% (31) | 71% (29) | 0.2             | 1  | .659 |
| want off              | 41/41 | 83% (34) | 46% (19) | 0.1             | 1  | .001 |
| want out              | 41/41 | 51% (21) | 80% (33) | 6.6             | 1  | .010 |
| Midland               |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| want in               | 95/95 | 91% (86) | 80% (76) | 3.4             | 1  | .065 |
| want off <sup>6</sup> | 94/49 | 89% (84) | 78% (38) | 2.7             | 1  | .100 |
| want out              | 95/95 | 82% (78) | 77% (73) | 0.5             | 1  | .472 |
| South                 |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| want in               | 27/27 | 70% (19) | 81% (22) | 0.4             | 1  | .524 |
| want off              | 27/27 | 74% (20) | 63% (17) | 0.3             | 1  | .558 |
| want out              | 27/27 | 41% (11) | 85% (23) | 9.6             | 1  | .002 |

The use of concrete *want in* is greater than abstract *want in* in the North and the Midland, and in the Midland, this difference approaches significance ( $p=.065$ ). In the South, this

<sup>6</sup> See footnote 2.

pattern is reversed, but the difference between the use of concrete *want in* and abstract *want in* is not significant. The use of concrete senses of *want off* is greater than that of abstract senses in all three dialect areas. The difference in the use of concrete *want off* over abstract *want off* is significant in the North ( $p=.001$ ) and approaches significance in the Midland ( $p=.100$ ). The use of abstract senses of *want out* is greater than that of concrete senses in the North and South, and these differences are significant ( $p=.010$  and  $p=.002$ , respectively). In the Midland, the use of abstract *want out* is lower than that of concrete *want out*; however, this difference is not significant. Some parallels emerge between concrete and abstract senses of W+PA and N+PA. The distribution of the use of concrete senses and abstract senses of *want off* parallels that of *need off*, while the distribution of concrete senses and abstract senses of *want out* parallels that of *need out*.

The second hypothesis proposed in Section 2.4 that abstract senses of W+PA are used more than concrete senses is supported by the distribution of *want out*; however, the hypothesis is not supported by the data for *want in* and *want off*.

#### 4.2.4. Discussion

The semantic features of concrete and abstract appear to play a role in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, though this role is not as clear cut as one might wish. Across the three dialect areas, the use of both concrete senses and abstract senses of the forms of N/W+PP and N+PA is significantly greater in the Midland than in the North and the South, contrary to the hypothesis that only concrete senses are used more in the Midland, while abstract senses are more widespread. For W+PA, the pattern is more complex: Midland use is significantly greater than Northern use and Southern use for concrete senses of

*want in* and *want out* (but not for abstract senses of *want in* and *want out*) and for abstract senses of *want off* (but not for concrete senses of *want off*). The data from *want in* and *want out* support the hypothesis, while those from *want off* do not.

Why should only the forms of W+PA be distributed differently across the regions? Perhaps the reason lies in the overall distributions seen in Section 4.1. As evident in Table 4.5, *want in*, *want out*, and *want off* are the only forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA for which the use by respondents in all three dialect areas is close in range, i.e. less than 20%. Thus, the fact that use of these forms in the North and the South is more comparable to use in the Midland allows for nonsignificant differences to emerge. For all of the other forms, use in the Midland is so much greater than in the North and South that significant differences inevitably result. I do not have an explanation as to why concrete and abstract senses of *want in* and *want out* pattern differently from those of *want off*.

Furthermore, the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA are treated remarkably similarly by respondents within each dialect region. Three tendencies in the use of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA seem apparent, and can be seen in Table 4.11: 1) Abstract senses of *need in* + NP, *need off* + NP are used more than concrete senses by respondents in all three dialect areas; this trend also holds for *need out* and *want out* in the North and the South. In Table 4.11, these items are shaded in dark gray and tend to be clustered more at the lesser end of the usage scale, especially in the North and the South. 2) Concrete and abstract senses of *want off* + NP are used more or less equally by respondents in all three dialect areas, as is the case for *need in* and *want in* in the North and the South. In Table 4.11, these items are unshaded and seem to cluster more at the greater end of the usage scale. 3) Concrete senses of *want*

*in* + NP are used more than abstract senses by respondents in all three dialect areas, as is the case for *need off*, and *want off* in the North and Midland. In Table 4.11, these items are shaded in light gray and tend to be scattered throughout the usage scale, not clustered at one end.

Table 4.11. Rank order of concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP and N/W+PA

| North               | Use | Midland             | Use | South               | Use |
|---------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| need in + NP (con)  | 32% | need off (abs)      | 69% | need in + NP (con)  | 22% |
| need off (abs)      | 37% | need in + NP (con)  | 70% | need off + NP (con) | 26% |
| need off + NP (con) | 39% | need off + NP (con) | 72% | want in + NP (abs)  | 33% |
| need in + NP (abs)  | 41% | need out (abs)      | 77% | need out (con)      | 37% |
| need out (con)      | 41% | want out (abs)      | 77% | want out (con)      | 41% |
| want in + NP (abs)  | 46% | want off (abs)      | 78% | need in (abs)       | 44% |
| want off (abs)      | 46% | want in + NP (abs)  | 80% | need in + NP (abs)  | 48% |
| need off + NP (abs) | 51% | want in (abs)       | 80% | need off + NP (abs) | 52% |
| need in (abs)       | 51% | need out (con)      | 80% | need in (con)       | 52% |
| want out (con)      | 51% | want out (con)      | 82% | need off (abs)      | 52% |
| need out (abs)      | 54% | need in (abs)       | 82% | need off (con)      | 58% |
| need in (con)       | 59% | need in + NP (abs)  | 84% | want off (abs)      | 63% |
| need off (con)      | 59% | need off + NP (abs) | 85% | want in + NP (con)  | 67% |
| want in + NP (con)  | 68% | want off (con)      | 89% | want off + NP (con) | 67% |
| want in (abs)       | 71% | need in (con)       | 89% | need out (abs)      | 67% |
| want in (con)       | 78% | need off (con)      | 90% | want in (con)       | 70% |
| want off + NP (con) | 80% | want in + NP (con)  | 91% | want off (con)      | 70% |
| want out (abs)      | 80% | want in (con)       | 91% | want off + NP (abs) | 74% |
| want off (con)      | 83% | want off + NP (con) | 93% | want in (abs)       | 81% |
| want off + NP (abs) | 85% | want off + NP (abs) | 94% | want out (abs)      | 85% |

Though not entirely conclusive, these trends raise questions about the role of concrete and abstract features in language change. The tendency in semantic change is for abstract senses to develop out of concrete senses (e.g. Williams 1975:207; Traugott 1982,

1995; Langacker 1999; Lüdtke 1999). The data presented here seem to suggest that abstract senses first take hold, as evidenced by the greater use of abstract senses over concrete senses of forms that are less used in the hierarchy, those shaded in dark gray in Table 4.11, and with increased use, the concrete and abstract senses level out.

Admittedly, this is speculative, and the small sample sizes, particularly in the North and the South, caution against overinterpreting the data. More research is needed with larger numbers of speakers in communities in all three dialect areas, but particularly in the North and South, to substantiate these findings.

In summary, an examination of semantic distinctions like the differences in use between concrete and abstract senses of N/W+PP and N/W+PA reveals some intriguing patterns across and within the dialect areas: 1) There are few differences in the distribution of concrete and abstract forms across dialect areas, with the exception of W+PA forms. The hypothesis that concrete senses show a more Midland distribution while abstract senses show more widespread distribution is not supported for the forms of N/W+PP, N+PA, and *want off*; on the other hand, the hypothesis is supported for the forms of *want in* and *want out*. 2) There are some notable differences in the treatment of concrete and abstract senses within the dialect areas; in some cases, abstract senses are used more than concrete senses, e.g. *need in* + NP and *need off* + NP; in others, concrete senses are used more than abstract senses, e.g. *want in* + NP; and in others, concrete and abstract senses are used nearly equally, e.g. *want off* + NP. 3) Individual forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA behave quite similarly within the dialect areas; for example, the forms cited in 2 followed the respective patterns in all three dialect areas. There seem to be implications here for the field of semantic change; however, additional research with

greater numbers of respondents, particularly in the North and the South, is needed to enable conclusions about language change.

### 4.3. Usage hierarchies

In the previous sections, some usage hierarchies of individual prepositional phrases and prepositional adverbs as well as concrete senses versus abstract senses were presented.

This section examines usage hierarchies between the use of *need* and *want* in PP and PA constructions and between the use of PP and PA constructions.

#### 4.3.1 *Need* vs. *want*

In the North, the Midland, and the South, there is a clear preference for *want* over *need* both in prepositional phrase constructions and in prepositional adverb constructions.

Figure 4.3 displays an overall comparison of the use of *need* and *want* in PP constructions.

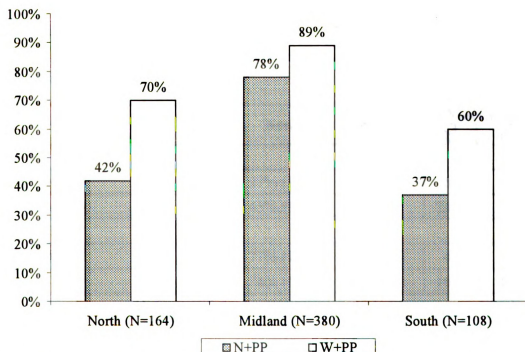


Figure 4.3. Use of N+PP vs. W+PP in the North ( $\chi^2=27$ , df 1,  $p=.000$ ), the Midland ( $\chi^2=18$ , df 1,  $p=.000$ ), and the South ( $\chi^2=11$ , df 1,  $p=.001$ )

The differences between the use of N+PP and W+PP are significant in the North ( $p=.000$ ), the Midland ( $p=.000$ ), and the South ( $p=.001$ ). The overall data from the North, the Midland, and the South provide strong support for the hypothesis that the use of W+PP is greater than the use of N+PP.

The use of the forms of N+PP versus W+PP within each region are shown in Table 4.12. In every case, the use of *want* is greater than *need*. The differences in the use of *need in/off* + NP and *want in/off* + NP are significant in the North ( $p=.012$ ,  $p=.000$ ) and the Midland ( $p=.047$ ,  $p=.000$ ). In the South, however, only the differences between the use of *need off* + NP and *want off* + NP are significant ( $p=.002$ ). In the North and the Midland, the data provide strong support for the hypothesis that *want* is more acceptable than *need* in prepositional phrase constructions; in the South, the hypothesis holds only for *off* + NP.

Table 4.12. Use of N+PP vs. W+PP

|          | N       | Need      | Want      | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|          |         |           |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North    |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| in + NP  | 82/82   | 37% (30)  | 57% (47)  | 6               | 1  | .012 |
| off + NP | 82/82   | 45% (37)  | 83% (68)  | 24              | 1  | .000 |
| Midland  |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| in + NP  | 189/190 | 77% (145) | 85% (162) | 4               | 1  | .047 |
| off + NP | 190/190 | 78% (149) | 93% (177) | 16              | 1  | .000 |
| South    |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| in + NP  | 54/54   | 35% (19)  | 50% (27)  | 2               | 1  | .173 |
| off + NP | 54/54   | 39% (21)  | 70% (38)  | 10              | 1  | .002 |

In all three dialect areas, there appears to be an interaction between the use of *need* and *want* and the use of concrete and abstract senses. Table 4.13 presents the usage statistics for the use of concrete and abstract senses of N+PP vs. W+PP.

Table 4.13. Use of concrete and abstract senses of N+PP vs. W+PP

|                     | N     | Need     | Want     | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|---------------------|-------|----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                     |       |          |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North               |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| in + NP (Concrete)  | 41/41 | 32% (13) | 68% (28) | 9.6             | 1  | .002 |
| in + NP (Abstract)  | 41/41 | 41% (17) | 46% (19) | 0.0             | 1  | .824 |
| off + NP (Concrete) | 41/41 | 39% (16) | 80% (33) | 13.0            | 1  | .000 |
| off + NP (Abstract) | 41/41 | 51% (21) | 85% (35) | 9.5             | 1  | .002 |
| Midland             |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| in + NP (Concrete)  | 94/95 | 69% (65) | 91% (86) | 12.1            | 1  | .000 |
| in + NP (Abstract)  | 95/95 | 84% (80) | 80% (76) | 0.3             | 1  | .570 |
| off + NP (Concrete) | 95/95 | 72% (68) | 93% (88) | 12.9            | 1  | .000 |
| off + NP (Abstract) | 95/95 | 85% (81) | 94% (89) | 2.7             | 1  | .098 |
| South               |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| in + NP (Concrete)  | 27/27 | 22% (6)  | 67% (18) | 9.1             | 1  | .003 |
| in + NP (Abstract)  | 27/27 | 48% (13) | 33% (9)  | 0.7             | 1  | .406 |
| off + NP (Concrete) | 27/27 | 26% (7)  | 67% (18) | 7.4             | 1  | .006 |
| off + NP (Abstract) | 27/27 | 52% (14) | 74% (20) | 2.0             | 1  | .159 |

In all three dialect areas, the differences between the use of concrete *need in/off* + NP and concrete *want in/off* + NP are significant. The differences in the use of abstract *need in/off* + NP and abstract *want in/off* + NP tend not to be significant. Only in the North is the difference between the use of abstract *need off* + NP and abstract *want off* + NP significant (p=.002), though in the Midland the difference approaches significance (p=.098). In general, concrete senses of the PP constructions support the hypothesis that

the use of *want* is more acceptable than the use of *need*, while abstract senses show more equal use of *need* and *want*.

Figure 4.4 displays an overall comparison of the use of *need* and *want* in PA constructions. The difference in the use of N+PA and W+PA is significant only in the North ( $p=.000$ ) and the South ( $p=.000$ ). Only in the North and the South do the data support the hypothesis that W+PA is used more than N+PA.

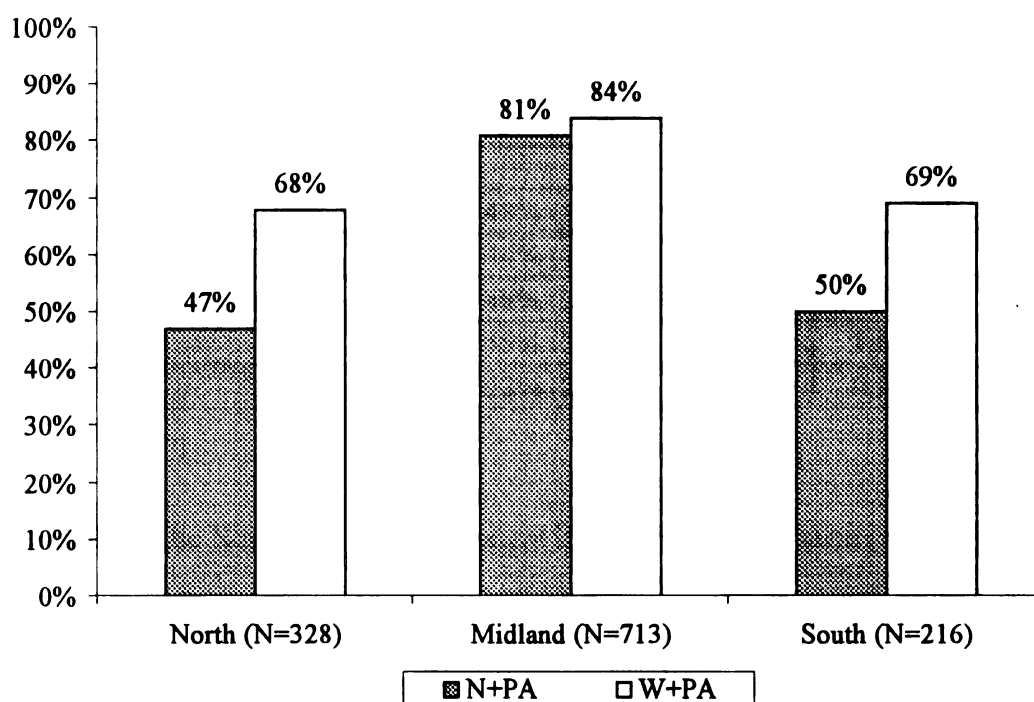


Figure 4.4. Use of N+PA vs. W+PA in the North ( $\chi^2=30$ , df 1,  $p=.000$ ), the Midland ( $\chi^2=2$ , df 1,  $p=.143$ ), and the South ( $\chi^2=14$ , df 1,  $p=.001$ )

Table 4.14 shows the usage statistics for the forms of N+PA and W+PA. The differences in the use of N+PA and W+PA are not as clear cut as those of N+PP and W+PP.

Table 4.14. Use of N+PA vs. W+PA

|                  | N       | Need      | Want      | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                  |         |           |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North            |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| by               | 41/41   | 34% (14)  | 51% (21)  | 1.8             | 1  | .180 |
| down             | 41/41   | 39% (16)  | 85% (35)  | 17.8            | 1  | .000 |
| in               | 82/81   | 55% (45)  | 74% (60)  | 5.7             | 1  | .016 |
| off              | 82/82   | 48% (39)  | 65% (53)  | 4.2             | 1  | .041 |
| out              | 82/82   | 48% (39)  | 66% (54)  | 4.9             | 1  | .027 |
| Midland          |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| by               | 95/95   | 80% (76)  | 77% (73)  | 0.1             | 1  | .724 |
| down             | 95/95   | 82% (78)  | 94% (89)  | 5.0             | 1  | .026 |
| in               | 190/190 | 86% (163) | 85% (162) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| off <sup>7</sup> | 144/143 | 76% (110) | 85% (122) | 3.1             | 1  | .077 |
| out              | 188/190 | 78% (147) | 79% (151) | 0.0             | 1  | .858 |
| South            |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| by               | 27/27   | 48% (13)  | 52% (14)  | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| down             | 27/27   | 44% (12)  | 81% (22)  | 6.4             | 1  | .011 |
| in               | 54/54   | 48% (26)  | 76% (41)  | 7.7             | 1  | .006 |
| off              | 53/54   | 55% (29)  | 69% (37)  | 1.6             | 1  | .204 |
| out              | 54/54   | 52% (28)  | 63% (34)  | 0.9             | 1  | .331 |

Especially in the North, and, to some extent in the South, there seems to be a preference for the forms of W+PA over N+PA: In general, the use of forms of W+PA is greater than the use of corresponding forms of N+PA. In the North, these differences are significant for the prepositional adverbs *down* ( $p=.000$ ), *in* ( $p=.016$ ), *off* ( $p=.041$ ), and *out* ( $p=.027$ ). In the South, these differences are significant for the prepositional adverbs *down* ( $p=.011$ ) and *in* ( $p=.006$ ). In the Midland, the use of *need* and *want* with the prepositional adverbs *by*, *in*, *off* and *out* is very similar, and these differences are not significant, though for *off*, the differences approach significance ( $p=.077$ ). In the Midland, the preference of *want*

<sup>7</sup> See footnotes 1 and 2.

over *need* is significant, however, for the prepositional adverb *down* ( $p=.026$ ). In fact, only *need down* and *want down* show significant differences in all three dialect regions. This may be due to the fact that *want down* is the most used form in all three dialect regions, as well (see Section 4.1.3). The hypothesis that the prepositional adverb constructions with *want* will be used more than those with *need* finds quite a bit of support in the North, less support in the South, and little support in the Midland.

Going to the level of detail of concrete and abstract senses of the forms of N+PA and W+PA reveals little more of interest, as shown in Table 4.15. In the North and South, the trend for greater use of *want* than *need* in the forms of the PA constructions remains consistent; however, few forms show significant differences in use: In the North, the differences in the use of *need* and *want* with concrete *off* and abstract *out* are significant ( $p=.029$ ,  $p=.019$ ), and in the South only abstract *in* shows significance ( $p=.011$ ). In the Midland, there are no significant differences between the use of N+PA and W+PA in concrete and abstract senses.

Table 4.15. Use of concrete and abstract senses of N+PA vs. W+PA

|                             | N     | Need     | Want     | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                             |       |          |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                       |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| in (Concrete)               | 41/40 | 59% (24) | 78% (31) | 2.5             | 1  | .112 |
| off (Concrete)              | 41/41 | 59% (24) | 83% (34) | 4.8             | 1  | .029 |
| out (Concrete)              | 41/41 | 41% (17) | 51% (21) | 0.4             | 1  | .506 |
| in (Abstract)               | 41/41 | 51% (21) | 71% (29) | 2.5             | 1  | .113 |
| off (Abstract)              | 41/41 | 37% (15) | 46% (19) | 0.5             | 1  | .501 |
| out (Abstract)              | 41/41 | 54% (22) | 80% (33) | 5.5             | 1  | .019 |
| Midland                     |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| in (Concrete)               | 95/95 | 89% (85) | 91% (86) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| off (Concrete) <sup>8</sup> | 49/95 | 90% (44) | 89% (84) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| out (Concrete)              | 94/95 | 80% (75) | 82% (78) | 0.0             | 1  | .825 |
| in (Abstract)               | 95/95 | 82% (78) | 80% (76) | 0.0             | 1  | .853 |
| off (Abstract) <sup>9</sup> | 95/49 | 69% (66) | 78% (38) | 0.7             | 1  | .407 |
| out (Abstract)              | 94/95 | 77% (72) | 77% (73) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| South                       |       |          |          |                 |    |      |
| in (Concrete)               | 27/27 | 52% (14) | 70% (19) | 1.2             | 1  | .264 |
| off (Concrete)              | 26/27 | 58% (15) | 74% (20) | 0.9             | 1  | .333 |
| out (Concrete)              | 27/27 | 37% (10) | 41% (11) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| in (Abstract)               | 27/27 | 44% (12) | 81% (22) | 6.4             | 1  | .011 |
| off (Abstract)              | 27/27 | 52% (14) | 63% (17) | 0.3             | 1  | .582 |
| out (Abstract)              | 27/27 | 67% (18) | 85% (23) | 1.6             | 1  | .203 |

#### 4.3.2. N/W+PP vs. N/W+PA

The overall use of PP versus PA constructions is presented in Table 4.16. In the North, the Midland, and the South, the overall use of N+PA is greater than the use of N+PP. In the South, this difference is significant ( $p=.034$ ). With respect to the use of *want*, only in the South is the use of the PA construction greater than the PP construction. In the North and Midland, the use of W+PP is greater than that of W+PA, and in the Midland this

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 1.

<sup>9</sup> See footnote 2.

difference is significant ( $p=.018$ ). The hypothesis that the PA constructions are more acceptable than the PP constructions is not supported by the overall data.

Table 4.16. General use of PP vs. PA

|         | N       | PP        | PA        | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|         |         |           |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North   |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| need    | 164/328 | 41% (67)  | 47% (153) | 1.3             | 1  | .262 |
| want    | 164/327 | 70% (115) | 68% (223) | 0.1             | 1  | .740 |
| Midland |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| need    | 379/712 | 78% (294) | 81% (574) | 1.2             | 1  | .267 |
| want    | 380/713 | 89% (339) | 84% (597) | 5.6             | 1  | .018 |
| South   |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| need    | 108/215 | 37% (40)  | 50% (108) | 4.5             | 1  | .034 |
| want    | 108/216 | 60% (65)  | 69% (148) | 1.9             | 1  | .172 |

Table 4.17 presents the usage statistics for the forms of N/W+PP versus N/W+PA. In all three dialect areas, the use of the PA construction of *need in* is greater than the PP construction; these differences are significant in the North ( $p=.028$ ) and the Midland ( $p=.033$ ). In the North and the South, the use of the PA construction of *want in* is significantly greater than the PP construction ( $p=.013$  and  $p=.010$ , respectively). In the South, *need off* also shows greater PA use than PP use, though this difference is not significant. In the North and Midland, *want off* reverses the trend and shows significantly greater use of the PP construction than the PA construction ( $p=.013$  and  $p=.027$ , respectively).

Table 4.17. Use of PP vs. PA

|                        | N       | PP        | PA        | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                        |         |           |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                  |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| need in                | 82/82   | 37% (30)  | 55% (45)  | 4.8             | 1  | .028 |
| need off               | 82/82   | 45% (37)  | 48% (39)  | 0.0             | 1  | .876 |
| want in                | 82/81   | 57% (47)  | 74% (60)  | 9.9             | 1  | .037 |
| want off               | 82/82   | 83% (68)  | 65% (53)  | 6.2             | 1  | .013 |
| Midland                |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| need in                | 189/190 | 77% (145) | 86% (163) | 4.5             | 1  | .033 |
| need off <sup>10</sup> | 190/144 | 78% (149) | 76% (110) | 0.1             | 1  | .758 |
| want in                | 190/190 | 85% (162) | 85% (162) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want off <sup>11</sup> | 190/143 | 93% (177) | 85% (122) | 4.7             | 1  | .027 |
| South                  |         |           |           |                 |    |      |
| need in                | 54/54   | 35% (19)  | 48% (26)  | 1.4             | 1  | .241 |
| need off               | 54/53   | 39% (21)  | 55% (29)  | 2.1             | 1  | .148 |
| want in                | 54/54   | 50% (27)  | 76% (41)  | 6.7             | 1  | .010 |
| want off               | 54/54   | 70% (38)  | 69% (37)  | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |

#### 4.3.5. Discussion

In general, in all three dialect areas, there is a preference for the use of W+PP over N+PP, in support of the hypothesis. Concrete senses of the PP constructions tend to exhibit this trend more strongly than abstract senses. The trend of greater use of *want* over *need* holds for PA constructions, especially in the North and the South, and less so in the Midland. If direct mention of a given construction in the previous literature is any indication of its actual use, then it is not surprising that the use of the *want* constructions is much greater than the use of the *need* constructions, since there are myriad observations and citations of W+PA, and to a lesser extent W+PP, and few if any of N+PA and N+PP in the

<sup>10</sup> See footnote 1.

<sup>11</sup> See footnote 2.

literature. Furthermore, these findings hint at a possible hierarchy in language use and change. In terms of use, it may be the case that in order to use *need* forms, one must also have the corresponding *want* forms. In terms of language change, if change is indeed at work in the North and the South, these findings show that *want* forms are leading *need* forms. Additional research is needed, particularly in the North and South.

Overall, with respect to the use of all PP and PA constructions with *need*, N+PA constructions are used more than N+PP constructions, and this difference is significant in the South. The use of all PP and PA constructions with *want* differs in the three dialect areas: In the North and the Midland, W+PP constructions are used more than W+PA, and this difference is significant in the Midland, while W+PA constructions are used more than W+PP in the South. At the level of the individual form, in the North and the South, the individual forms *need in/off* and *want in* tend to be used more in the PA construction than the PP construction, the exception is *want off*, which is used more in the PP construction than the PA construction. In the Midland, the PA construction of *need in* is used more than the PP construction; however, the PA and PP constructions of *need off* and *want in* are used nearly equally, and the PP constructions of *want off* are used more than the PA constructions. Interestingly, in all three dialect areas, *want off* is used more or about the same in PP constructions than PA constructions. Recall that *want off* + NP and *want off* were, inexplicably, among the most used forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, as shown in Table 4.4. Otherwise, it would appear that the less used a form is, the more likely it is to be of PP constructions.

#### **4.4. Nonlinguistic factors**

The distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is examined with respect to several nonlinguistic variables: rural-urban residence (Section 4.4.1), gender (Section 4.4.2), socioeconomic status (Section 4.4.3), and age (Section 4.4.4). In Section 4.4.1 and Section 4.4.2 the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across the nonlinguistic variables of rural-urban residence and gender are examined in the North, the Midland, and the South. In Section 4.4.3 and Section 4.4.4 the use of the linguistic variables across the nonlinguistic variables of socioeconomic status and age are examined only in the Midland. The small samples sizes in the North and South do not permit statistically reliable analyses across these nonlinguistic variables with multiple groupings.

##### **4.4.1. Rural-urban**

Tables 4.18-4.20 present the usage statistics for the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by respondents from rural and urban areas within each dialect region. For every form of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, the differences in their use by rural and urban dwellers are not significant nor do any of them approach significance. These findings support the hypothesis, proposed in Section 2.5.1, that there are no significant differences in the use of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by rural and urban dwellers within each dialect area.

Table 4.18. Use of N/W+PP by rural-urban residence

|               | N      | Rural    | Urban     | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|---------------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|               |        |          |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North         |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 16/66  | 44% (7)  | 35% (23)  | 0.1             | 1  | .708 |
| need off + NP | 16/66  | 44% (7)  | 45% (30)  | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want in + NP  | 16/66  | 56% (9)  | 58% (38)  | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want off + NP | 16/66  | 94% (15) | 80% (53)  | 0.8             | 1  | .362 |
| Midland       |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 55/134 | 76% (42) | 77% (103) | 0.0             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need off + NP | 56/134 | 71% (40) | 81% (109) | 1.7             | 1  | .186 |
| want in + NP  | 56/134 | 80% (45) | 87% (117) | 1.0             | 1  | .313 |
| want off + NP | 56/134 | 95% (53) | 93% (124) | 0.4             | 1  | .834 |
| South         |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 12/42  | 42% (5)  | 33% (14)  | 0.04            | 1  | .849 |
| need off + NP | 12/42  | 33% (4)  | 40% (17)  | 0.01            | 1  | .911 |
| want in + NP  | 12/42  | 42% (5)  | 52% (22)  | 0.11            | 1  | .743 |
| want off + NP | 12/42  | 67% (8)  | 71% (30)  | 0.00            | 1  | 1.0  |

Table 4.19. Use of N+PA by rural-urban residence

|                        | N      | Rural    | Urban     | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|------------------------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                        |        |          |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                  |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| need by                | 8/33   | 25% (2)  | 36% (12)  | .04             | 1  | .847 |
| need down              | 8/33   | 50% (4)  | 36% (12)  | .09             | 1  | .760 |
| need in                | 16/66  | 50% (8)  | 56% (37)  | .02             | 1  | .875 |
| need off               | 16/66  | 44% (7)  | 48% (32)  | .00             | 1  | .951 |
| need out               | 16/66  | 50% (8)  | 47% (31)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| Midland                |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| need by                | 28/67  | 79% (22) | 81% (54)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need down              | 28/67  | 82% (23) | 82% (55)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need in                | 56/134 | 80% (45) | 88% (118) | 1.34            | 1  | .247 |
| need off <sup>12</sup> | 42/102 | 79% (33) | 75% (77)  | .03             | 1  | .857 |
| need out               | 56/132 | 70% (39) | 82% (108) | 2.74            | 1  | .098 |
| South                  |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| need by                | 6/21   | 67% (4)  | 43% (9)   | .32             | 1  | .571 |
| need down              | 6/21   | 67% (4)  | 38% (8)   | .44             | 1  | .438 |
| need in                | 12/42  | 42% (5)  | 50% (21)  | .03             | 1  | .856 |
| need off               | 12/41  | 42% (5)  | 59% (24)  | .49             | 1  | .482 |
| need out               | 12/42  | 50% (6)  | 52% (22)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |

<sup>12</sup> See footnote 1.

Table 4.20. Use of W+PA by rural-urban residence

|                        | N      | Rural    | Urban     | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|------------------------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                        |        |          |           | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                  |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| want by                | 8/33   | 50% (4)  | 52% (17)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want down              | 8/33   | 100% (8) | 82% (27)  | .55             | 1  | .455 |
| want in                | 16/65  | 69% (11) | 75% (49)  | .05             | 1  | .823 |
| want off               | 16/66  | 81% (13) | 61% (40)  | 1.58            | 1  | .208 |
| want out               | 16/66  | 63% (10) | 67% (44)  | .00             | 1  | .983 |
| Midland                |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| want by                | 28/67  | 71% (20) | 79% (53)  | .29             | 1  | .588 |
| want down              | 28/67  | 96% (27) | 93% (62)  | .06             | 1  | .804 |
| want in                | 56/134 | 91% (51) | 83% (111) | 1.53            | 1  | .217 |
| want off <sup>13</sup> | 41/102 | 85% (35) | 85% (87)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want out               | 56/134 | 75% (42) | 81% (109) | .62             | 1  | .430 |
| South                  |        |          |           |                 |    |      |
| want by                | 6/21   | 67% (4)  | 48% (10)  | .13             | 1  | .719 |
| want down              | 6/21   | 67% (4)  | 86% (18)  | .21             | 1  | .643 |
| want in                | 12/42  | 83% (10) | 74% (31)  | .09             | 1  | .766 |
| want off               | 12/42  | 75% (9)  | 67% (28)  | .04             | 1  | .845 |
| want out               | 12/42  | 50% (6)  | 67% (28)  | .51             | 1  | .474 |

#### 4.4.2. Gender

Table 4.21 presents the distribution of the forms of N/W+PP by men and women. Most notable are the significant differences in the use of these forms between men and women in the South. In the South, men's use over women's use is significant or approaches significance for *need in* + NP ( $p=.010$ ), *want in* + NP ( $p=.007$ ), and *need off* + NP ( $p=.097$ ). In the North, men use *want off* + NP significantly more than women ( $p=.035$ ). In the Midland, use of these forms is similar for men and women, though in the case of

<sup>13</sup> See footnote 2.

*need in* + NP, the greater use by women than men approaches significance ( $p=.084$ ). The hypothesis, proposed in Section 2.5.4, that there are no differences in the use of N/W+PP between men and women finds mixed support. In the Midland and the North, at least three of the four forms support the hypothesis; however, in the South three of the four forms do not support the hypothesis.

Table 4.21. Use of N/W+PP by men and women

|               | N      | Men       | Women    | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|---------------|--------|-----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|               |        |           |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North         |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 62/20  | 37% (23)  | 35% (7)  | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need off + NP | 62/20  | 48% (30)  | 35% (7)  | .62             | 1  | .431 |
| want in + NP  | 62/20  | 58% (36)  | 55% (11) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want off + NP | 62/20  | 89% (55)  | 65% (13) | 4.44            | 1  | .035 |
| Midland       |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 128/61 | 73% (93)  | 85% (52) | 3.00            | 1  | .084 |
| need off + NP | 128/62 | 78% (100) | 79% (49) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want in + NP  | 128/62 | 85% (109) | 85% (53) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| want off + NP | 128/62 | 95% (121) | 90% (56) | .59             | 1  | .441 |
| South         |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| need in + NP  | 38/16  | 47% (18)  | 6% (1)   | 6.64            | 1  | .010 |
| need off + NP | 38/16  | 47% (18)  | 19% (3)  | 2.77            | 1  | .096 |
| want in + NP  | 38/16  | 63% (24)  | 19% (3)  | 7.19            | 1  | .007 |
| want off + NP | 38/16  | 71% (27)  | 69% (11) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |

Table 4.22 displays the results of the use of N+PA by men and women. Similar to the pattern of distribution of N/W+PP, in the North and South, men use the forms of N+PA more than women, with one exception, *need out* in the North. There are significant or nearly significant differences between men's and women's use of *need in* in the North ( $p=.072$ ) and in the South ( $p=.002$ ) and *need out* in the South ( $p=.095$ ). In the Midland,

the use by men and women, in general, is similar and is not significant, with one exception: The use of *need out* by men is significantly greater than by women ( $p=.040$ ).

Table 4.22. Use of N+PA by men and women

|                        | N      | Men       | Women    | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                        |        |           |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                  |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| need by                | 31/10  | 39% (12)  | 20% (2)  | .49             | 1  | .483 |
| need down              | 31/10  | 42% (13)  | 30% (3)  | .09             | 1  | .764 |
| need in                | 62/20  | 61% (38)  | 35% (7)  | 3.23            | 1  | .072 |
| need off               | 62/20  | 47% (29)  | 50% (10) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need out               | 62/20  | 45% (28)  | 55% (11) | .26             | 1  | .611 |
| Midland                |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| need by                | 64/31  | 80% (51)  | 81% (25) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need down              | 64/31  | 81% (52)  | 84% (26) | .00             | 1  | .978 |
| need in                | 128/62 | 86% (110) | 85% (53) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need off <sup>14</sup> | 92/52  | 76% (70)  | 77% (40) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| need out               | 128/60 | 83% (106) | 68% (41) | 4.21            | 1  | .040 |
| South                  |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| need by                | 19/8   | 58% (11)  | 25% (2)  | 1.30            | 1  | .254 |
| need down              | 19/8   | 47% (9)   | 38% (3)  | .00             | 1  | .962 |
| need in                | 38/16  | 63% (24)  | 13% (2)  | 9.63            | 1  | .002 |
| need off               | 37/16  | 59% (22)  | 44% (7)  | .57             | 1  | .451 |
| need out               | 38/16  | 61% (23)  | 31% (5)  | 2.78            | 1  | .095 |

Table 4.23 presents the results of the use of W+PA by men and women. In the North and South, men tend to use the forms of W+PA more than women, with a few exceptions. In the South, the greater use by men than by women of *want off* is significant ( $p=.026$ ) and *want in* is nearly significant ( $p=.065$ ). In the Midland, for *want down* and

<sup>14</sup> See footnote 1.

*want off*, use by women exceeds use by men; however, for *want by*, *want in*, and *want out* use by men is greater than use by women. For *want by* this difference is nearly significant ( $p=.085$ ).

Table 4.23. Use of W+PA by men and women

|                        | N      | Men       | Women    | Yates Corrected |    |      |
|------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|-----------------|----|------|
|                        |        |           |          | $\chi^2$        | df | p    |
| North                  |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| want by                | 31/10  | 58% (18)  | 30% (3)  | 1.39            | 1  | .238 |
| want down              | 31/10  | 90% (28)  | 70% (7)  | 1.14            | 1  | .286 |
| want in                | 61/20  | 77% (47)  | 65% (13) | .60             | 1  | .439 |
| want off               | 62/20  | 63% (39)  | 70% (14) | .10             | 1  | .758 |
| want out               | 62/20  | 66% (41)  | 65% (13) | .00             | 1  | 1.0  |
| Midland                |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| want by                | 64/31  | 83% (53)  | 65% (20) | 2.97            | 1  | .085 |
| want down              | 64/31  | 92% (59)  | 97% (30) | .17             | 1  | .680 |
| want in                | 128/62 | 87% (111) | 82% (51) | .35             | 1  | .552 |
| want off <sup>15</sup> | 92/51  | 84% (77)  | 88% (45) | .24             | 1  | .626 |
| want out               | 128/60 | 82% (105) | 74% (46) | 1.13            | 1  | .288 |
| South                  |        |           |          |                 |    |      |
| want by                | 19/8   | 63% (12)  | 25% (2)  | 1.93            | 1  | .164 |
| want down              | 19/8   | 89% (17)  | 63% (5)  | 1.22            | 1  | .269 |
| want in                | 38/16  | 84% (32)  | 56% (9)  | 3.41            | 1  | .065 |
| want off               | 38/16  | 79% (30)  | 44% (7)  | 4.94            | 1  | .026 |
| want out               | 38/16  | 55% (21)  | 81% (13) | 2.24            | 1  | .134 |

The hypothesis, proposed in Section 2.5.4, that there are no differences among men and women in their use of N/W+PA is supported for many forms in the Midland and the North but for few forms in the South. Discussion of these patterns follows in Section 4.4.5.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 2.

#### 4.4.3. Socioeconomic status

Table 4.24 presents the socioeconomic distribution of N/W+PP in the Midland across five socioeconomic classes: upper middle, middle middle, lower middle, upper working, and lower working. There are no significant differences in the use of the forms of N/W+PP across socioeconomic classes. In fact, no socioeconomic class dominates in the use of any of the forms of N/W+PP.

One interesting observation, however, is the equal use of *need in* + NP and *want in* + NP among respondents in the lower middle and lower working classes. In the other socioeconomic classes, *want in* + NP is used more than *need in* + NP, and overall in the Midland the greater use of *want in* + NP over *need in* + NP was found to be significant (see Section 4.2). Nevertheless, the hypothesis that there are no significant differences in the distribution of N/W+PP across socioeconomic classes in the Midland, proposed in Section 2.5.2, is supported by the data.

Table 4.25 presents the results of the use of N/W+PA across the socioeconomic classes. The only variable whose distribution is significant across the socioeconomic classes is *want out* ( $p=.002$ ). Interestingly, the use of *want out* is greater among the lower middle class (94%) than among the upper working and lower working class (62% and 68%, respectively). The hypothesis that there are no significant differences in the use of the forms of N/W+PA across the socioeconomic classes in the Midland, proposed in Section 2.5.2, finds ample support in the data.

Table 4.24. Use of N/W+PP by socioeconomic class

| Midland       | Upper Middle<br>N=42 | Middle Middle<br>N=28 | Lower Middle<br>N=48 | Upper Working<br>N=41 | Lower Working<br>N=22 | Pearson  |    |      |
|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|----|------|
|               |                      |                       |                      |                       |                       | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need in + NP  | 76% (42)             | 64% (18)              | 83% (40)             | 71% (29)              | 86% (19)              | 5.47     | 4  | .242 |
| need off + NP | 71% (30)             | 75% (21)              | 88% (42)             | 76% (32)              | 77% (17)              | 3.82     | 4  | .431 |
| want in + NP  | 88% (37)             | 79% (22)              | 83% (40)             | 86% (36)              | 86% (19)              | 1.33     | 4  | .857 |
| want off + NP | 95% (40)             | 93% (26)              | 96% (46)             | 90% (38)              | 86% (19)              | 2.76     | 4  | .599 |

Table 4.25. Use of N/W+PA by socioeconomic class

| Midland                | N              | Upper Middle | Middle Middle | Lower Middle | Upper Working | Lower Working | Pearson  |    |      |
|------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------|----|------|
|                        |                |              |               |              |               |               | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need by                | 21/14/24/21/11 | 81% (17)     | 64% (9)       | 79% (19)     | 81% (17)      | 91% (10)      | 2.88     | 4  | .579 |
| need down              | 21/14/24/21/11 | 81% (17)     | 79% (11)      | 83% (20)     | 81% (17)      | 82% (9)       | 0.14     | 4  | .998 |
| need in                | 42/28/48/42/22 | 83% (35)     | 79% (22)      | 92% (44)     | 88% (37)      | 86% (19)      | 3.00     | 4  | .557 |
| need off <sup>16</sup> | 33/19/36/32/18 | 76% (25)     | 74% (14)      | 67% (24)     | 84% (27)      | 78% (14)      | 2.95     | 4  | .566 |
| need out               | 42/28/48/40/22 | 81% (34)     | 89% (25)      | 77% (37)     | 73% (29)      | 68% (15)      | 4.22     | 4  | .377 |
| want by                | 21/14/24/21/11 | 76% (16)     | 79% (11)      | 75% (18)     | 76% (16)      | 91% (10)      | 1.28     | 4  | .865 |
| want down              | 21/14/24/21/11 | 95% (20)     | 93% (13)      | 96% (23)     | 95% (20)      | 82% (9)       | 2.86     | 4  | .581 |
| want in                | 42/28/48/42/22 | 83% (35)     | 79% (22)      | 90% (43)     | 90% (38)      | 77% (17)      | 3.84     | 4  | .428 |
| want off <sup>17</sup> | 33/19/36/31/18 | 82% (27)     | 68% (13)      | 94% (34)     | 87% (27)      | 89% (16)      | 7.34     | 4  | .119 |
| want out               | 42/28/48/42/22 | 86% (36)     | 79% (22)      | 94% (45)     | 62% (26)      | 68% (15)      | 16.46    | 4  | .002 |

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 1.

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 2.

Some other interesting observations can be found in the data in Table 4.25. First, the lower middle class is among the greatest users of these forms across all socioeconomic classes; in particular, the lower middle class leads in the use of *need in* and in the use of all forms of W+PA, with the exception of *want by*. Second, the upper middle class is never the greatest or least users of any of the forms of N/W+PA. Reasons for these observations are explored in more detail in Section 4.4.5.

#### 4.4.4. Age

Table 4.26 presents the distribution of N/W+PP across four age groups in the Midland. The differences in the use of *need in* + NP and *want in* + NP among the age groups approach significance ( $p=.057$  and  $p=.098$ , respectively); however, the differences in the use of *need off* + NP and *want off* + NP among the age groups are not significant. The significance in the age distribution of *need in* + NP and *want in* + NP is likely due to the lesser rate of use of these forms among the 55+ years group. In fact, the 55+ years group uses three of the four variables—*need in* + NP, *need off* + NP, and *want in* + NP—the least among all of the age groups. Interestingly, the 55+ years group has a greater rate of use of *want off* + NP, comparable to that of the other age groups. The hypothesis that there are no significant differences in the use of N/W+PP among respondents of different age groups in the Midland, proposed in Section 2.5.3, is not supported by the data.

Table 4.26. Use of N/W+PP by age

| Midland       | 18-24 yrs<br>N=128 | 25-34 yrs<br>N=22 | 35-54 yrs<br>N=20 | 55 + yrs<br>N=20 | Pearson  |    |      |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------|----|------|
|               |                    |                   |                   |                  | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need in + NP  | 80% (103)          | 73% (16)          | 80% (16)          | 53% (10)         | 7.5      | 3  | .057 |
| need off + NP | 80% (103)          | 77% (17)          | 80% (16)          | 65% (13)         | 2.5      | 3  | .477 |
| want in + NP  | 89% (114)          | 77% (17)          | 85% (17)          | 70% (14)         | 6.3      | 3  | .098 |
| want off + NP | 94% (120)          | 86% (19)          | 95% (19)          | 95% (19)         | 1.9      | 3  | .598 |

The usage statistics for the forms of N/W+PA across the age groups are shown in Table 4.27. For four of the five forms of N+PA, the differences in use among the age groups are significant or approach significance. The trend noted previously that the 55+ years group has the least use of N+PP is found for the forms of N+PA, as well. For every form of N+PA, the 55+ years group ranks the lowest, and these gaps in use among the age groups are responsible for the significance or near significance of the differences in the age distribution of *need by*, *need down*, *need in*, and *need out*. The differences in the use of only one form of W+PA approach significance across the age groups. For *want out* ( $p=.069$ ), the near significance is perhaps related to its comparatively low use by both the 55+ years group and the 35-54 years group.

Another observation has to do with the difference in use of *need by* and *want by*. Overall, the differences in use of *need by* (80%) and *want by* (77%) were not significant in the Midland; however, in the 25-34 years group and in the 35-54 years group, use of *need by* (82% and 90%, respectively) is much greater than use of *want by* (64% and 70%, respectively), while in the 55+ years group the use of *need by* (50%) is much less than the use of *want by* (100%). Furthermore, there is no discernible preference in the use of the

forms of N+PA over W+PA, except in the 55+ years group and in the 35-54 years group for *need off* (73%) and *want off* (93%).

Table 4.27. Use of N/W+PA by age

| Midland                | N            | 18-24 yrs | 25-34 yrs | 35-54 yrs | 55 + yrs  | Pearson  |    |      |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----|------|
|                        |              |           |           |           |           | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| need by                | 64/11/10/10  | 83% (53)  | 82% (9)   | 90% (9)   | 50% (5)   | 6.6      | 3  | .086 |
| need down              | 64/11/10/10  | 86% (55)  | 82% (9)   | 90% (9)   | 50% (5)   | 8.1      | 3  | .044 |
| need in                | 128/22/20/20 | 90% (115) | 82% (18)  | 80% (16)  | 70% (14)  | 6.7      | 3  | .084 |
| need off <sup>18</sup> | 97/16/15/16  | 80% (78)  | 69% (11)  | 73% (11)  | 63% (10)  | 3.2      | 3  | .365 |
| need out               | 128/22/20/18 | 82% (105) | 77% (17)  | 75% (15)  | 56% (10)  | 6.6      | 3  | .084 |
| want by                | 64/11/10/10  | 77% (49)  | 64% (7)   | 70% (7)   | 100% (10) | 4.4      | 3  | .225 |
| want down              | 64/11/10/10  | 92% (59)  | 91% (10)  | 100% (10) | 100% (10) | 1.7      | 3  | .397 |
| want in                | 128/22/20/20 | 85% (109) | 77% (17)  | 90% (18)  | 90% (18)  | 1.8      | 3  | .608 |
| want off <sup>19</sup> | 97/16/15/15  | 87% (84)  | 75% (12)  | 93% (14)  | 80% (12)  | 2.6      | 3  | .459 |
| want out               | 128/22/20/20 | 84% (108) | 77% (17)  | 65% (13)  | 65% (13)  | 7.1      | 3  | .069 |

#### 4.4.5. Discussion

The results of the nonlinguistic variables of rural-urban residence, gender, socioeconomic status, and age were presented in the preceding subsections, and their relevance to the field and suggestions for future research are explored here.

##### Rural-urban residence

No significant differences were found in the distribution of the linguistic variables between rural and urban respondents in the North, the Midland, and the South. The lack

<sup>18</sup> See footnote 1.

<sup>19</sup> See footnote 2.

of rural-urban distinctiveness for N/W+PP and N/W+PA contrasts with the findings of *DARE* for the use of *want off* in the United States (see Figure 2.1); however, it parallels Hartman's (1966:72) findings for *want off* in a southern Ohio county as well as the findings of other grammatical variables common in the Midland. No distributional differences among rural and urban respondents were found in recent studies of *need/want/like* + past participle, as in 25-27 (Frazer et al. 1996:265-266; Murray & Simon 1999:150, 2002:53).

(25) The house needs painted.

(26) The kids want fed.

(27) The dog likes petted.

Several reasons may account for the differences in the findings of *DARE* as compared to those of this study and Hartman (1966). One reason may have to do with the treatment of the variables 'rural' and 'urban'. *DARE* (Cassidy 1985:xiii) defined five community types from urban to rural based on population and locality (nearness to a rural or urban area), while the present study and Hartman's study, had only two community types. In the present study, rural was quite narrowly defined (see Section 3.2), equal to *DARE*'s 'rural' and 'village' community types, while urban was much more broadly defined, encompassing *DARE*'s 'small city', 'large city', and 'urban' community types. Nevertheless, these differences between two and five community types do not seem to account for the differing findings. Combining *DARE*'s community types to better match those in the present study results in use of *want off* by 22% (N=670) of rural dwellers and

12.6% (N=317) of urban dwellers. These percentages of use are not only much less than any of the linguistic variables in the present study but also the ratio of rural to urban use is much greater in *DARE* than in the present study.

Moreover, *DARE* tended to oversample the lower two community types, N=670, while undersampling the upper three community, N=317, (see Figure 2.4), while the present study has a greater number of urban respondents, N=121, than rural respondents, N=46. These differences in sampling methods may account for the differences in use among rural and urban respondents. Another reason for the difference may have to do with the fact that the *DARE* statistics on *want off* were calculated for use in the entire United States, while the statistics in Section 4.4.1 were calculated within each dialect region (i.e. the North, the Midland, and the South) and in Hartman's (1966) were based only on data from one county in southern Ohio, an area where *want off* has been shown to be common. A fourth reason may have to do with the passage of time and the prospect of language change. The *DARE* data was collected between 1965-1970, some 30 years before the present study. As other social variables seem to indicate, these linguistic variables may be undergoing language change and gaining acceptance in rural and urban areas alike.

Based on Hartman's findings on *want off* and on studies of *need/want/like* + past participle (as illustrated in 25-27), it may not be so surprising that the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA do not show any rural-urban distinctiveness in the Midland; however, these forms also do not show any rural-urban distinctiveness in the North and the South, which might be expected if these forms are indeed in the process of spreading to these areas. These findings are important to the field of language variation and change because they

suggest that grammatical variables may behave differently from lexical and phonetic/phonological variables with respect to rural-urban distribution, particularly in cases where the linguistic variable appears to be well-established within one area and is likely spreading into other areas.

Numerous examples of rural-urban distributional differences of lexical and phonetic/phonological variables can be found in *DARE*. Moreover, Labov and others have defined two major sound changes currently in progress in the United States by their roles in rural and urban areas. As the name indicates, the Northern Cities Chain shift is well established in urban areas and only recently has started to reach smaller cities and has yet to gain a foothold in less urban areas (Eckert 1991; Labov et al 1997; Ito 1999; Labov 2001:285; Labov et al to appear). On the other hand, the Southern shift is well established in less urban areas and is not well advanced in more urban areas (Fridland 1998; Labov et al 1997, to appear). The fact that N/W+PP and N/W+PA appear to be spreading to the North and South without a hint of rural-urban distinctiveness suggests that these grammatical variables are not following in the footsteps of many a phonological and lexical variable.

## **Gender**

The gender differences in the use of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA are relatively unremarkable in the North and the Midland; however in the South, they are intriguing. In the North and the Midland, only one form showed significant differences in use by gender: *want off* + NP was used significantly more by men than by women in the North, while *need out* was used significantly more by men than women in the Midland. In the

South, however, four forms showed significant differences in use by gender—*need in* + NP, *want in* + NP, *need in*, and *want off*—and three others had differences that approached significance—*need off* + NP, *need out*, and *want in*. In every case, use by men exceeded use by women.

Many of these differences, or lack of differences, in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by gender may be attributable to an inequity in sampling. Overall, men outnumber women in the sample 114 to 49; within each region, the breakdown is as follows: the North (31 to 10), the Midland (64 to 31), and the South (19 to 8). Although statistical programs are designed to compensate for sampling inequities, they can best compensate when the sample sizes are large, unlike those in the North and the South.

Nevertheless, it seems that the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is more advanced among men than women in the South. Research on the role of gender in language variation and change has revealed several tendencies, including the following: Women tend to use more standard language features, while men tend to use more nonstandard features; and women tend to more readily adopt new prestige language features than men (e.g. Labov 1966:312-313; Chambers & Trudgill 1980:72-73; Eisikovits 1989:37-41; see Labov 2001:261-293). In the South, N/W+PP and N/W+PA must not be viewed as overtly prestigious incoming forms, since men rather than women lead in the use of these constructions. Furthermore, N/W+PP and N/W+PA very likely at some level have covert prestige attached to their use, which might explain the greater use of these constructions by men. Moreover, these constructions may have no positive or negative evaluation attached to their use, so women are avoiding them, while men are picking them up. Certainly, more research in communities in the South is needed to determine if change is

indeed taking place, if these forms are evaluated negatively or positively, and if men are indeed leading women or women are retarding their use of the constructions.

### **Socioeconomic status**

The patterning of the use of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across the socioeconomic classes shows little variation in the Midland. Only *want out* showed significant differences in use by socioeconomic status, being preferred more by the lower middle and upper middle classes and much less by the upper working and lower working classes. The findings that nearly all forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA are not stratified by socioeconomic class parallel the findings of other grammatical variables with strong Midland distributions. For example, *need/want/like* + past participle (illustrated in 25-27) and positive *anymore*, illustrated in 28, have been shown to resist socioeconomic stratification in the Midland (e.g. Labov 1991:277; Murray 1993:185; Frazer et al 1996:264-265; Murray & Simon 1999:149-150, 2002:53, 55).

(28) We go to the movies a lot anymore. (53)

It would seem that within the Midland, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is well-entrenched and not in any way socially stigmatized, as evidenced by the lack of differences in use across socioeconomic classes. Further study of the attitudes toward the use of and users of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is needed.

This lack of socioeconomic significance seems to parallel the lack of gender differentiation in the Midland: Since no clear ‘prestige’ form is evident, these forms are

not avoided by men or preferred by women. The gender significance in the South suggests that these forms may be treated differently there; however, the lack of information on the socioeconomic stratification in the South does not allow for further consideration at this point. The relevance of the lack of socioeconomic differentiation is further discussed in the Section 4.5.2 in relation to stylistic variation.

In Section 4.4.3, it was observed that lower middle class respondents tend to be among the greatest users of N/W+PP and N/W+PA and that upper middle class respondents tend to be mid-range users of these variables (i.e. never greatest, never least). Such patterns are typical of phonological variables undergoing language change. It may be the case that even within the Midland increased prestige is being attached to these forms and that the greater use by lower middle respondents is evidence of a change in progress. As observed in Section 4.1.3, although the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is common in the Midland, it is not a given. Even within the same communities, there are users and nonusers. Therefore, there is room for N/W+PP and N/W+PA to spread within the Midland. Additional study is needed to investigate the attitudes toward N/W+PP and N/W+PA and to explore the idea of a change in progress within the Midland.

### Age

Finally, the findings on the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA with respect to the fourth social variable, age, are discussed. The hypothesis that the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA would not vary by age was blown out of the water by the behavior of the oldest age group. The respondents in the 55+ years group tended to use the forms of N/W+PP and N+PA much less than respondents in the three younger age groups. For *need in* + NP, *want in* + NP,

*need by*, *need down*, *need in*, and *need out*, these differences were significant or approached significance. The use of the forms of W+PA by the respondents in the 55+ years group is generally much greater and tends to be in line with that of the other age groups, with the exception of *want out*. These differences across the age groups, the differences in the behavior of the 55+ years group, and the general usage statistics, all suggest that the forms of W+PA, in particular, *want by*, *want down*, *want in*, and *want off*, are the most used and oldest forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA. For reasons unknown at this point, *want off* + NP also appears to belong to this group. Nevertheless, the other forms of N/W+PP and N+PA are not far behind, as illustrated by their considerable levels of acceptance among the other three age groups. Further study of the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across age groups is needed, particularly within one community in the Midland, to substantiate the conclusions drawn here.

This section cannot conclude without some discussion of the behavior of *want out*. Frankly, I am puzzled by the differences in use found for *want out* across socioeconomic classes and age as well as its relatively lesser rate of use as compared to other forms of W+PA in the Midland (shown in Table 4.4). Previous literature had suggested that *want out* was among the most used forms of W+PA, and yet, the two lowest socioeconomic classes and the two older age groups do not seem to like this form as well as other forms. The lesser rate of acceptability of *want out* seems to lie in the semantic distinction of concrete and abstract: The differences in the use of abstract senses of *want off* by socioeconomic status and by age were significant, owing to lesser rates of use among the lower socioeconomic classes and the older age groups, while the differences in the use of concrete senses by socioeconomic status and by age were not

significant. The only explanation I can suggest for these findings is that the respondents in these groups did not respond well to the token sentences for abstract *want out* in 29-30.

(29) This marriage is over. I want out. (48)

(30) This relationship is going nowhere. I want out. (47)

First, the term 'relationship' has only more recently become a widely used term for couplings resulting from dating or marriage; thus, it may not have been as acceptable to those in the older age groups and in the lower socioeconomic classes. Second, there is perhaps greater respect for the institution of marriage, especially among older and more traditional respondents, such that the idea of 'wanting out' of a marriage is unacceptable.

In summary, there is a lack of variation in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by rural-urban residence, gender, and socioeconomic status in the Midland, supporting the hypotheses. There is, however, some variation by age, especially for N/W+PP and N+PA, which showed lesser use among the oldest respondents. In the North and the South, only the social variables rural-urban residence and gender were examined, and there was no variation in use by rural-urban residence, though there was by gender. In general, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA was greater among men than women, and this was most significant in the South. On the one hand, the findings show little or no social variation, particularly in the Midland and the North; however, where there is variation, it seems to hint at a change in progress. Additional research is needed in communities in the North, the Midland, and the South to investigate the possibility of change and to compare the characteristics of grammatical change with phonetic/phonological change.

#### 4.5. Stylistic variation

In this section, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across stylistic levels is examined.

Joos's (1967) classic discussion of style identified five stations on the formal to informal style continuum, as shown in (31).

(31)    most formal   <----->   most informal  
                 frozen    formal    consultative    casual    intimate

At the opposite ends of the scale, 'frozen' and 'intimate' styles are the most limited in use and range and also the most stable (Joos 1967:39, 30). While frozen style is 'for print and for declamation' and lacks interaction on the part of the hearer, intimate style is particular to a close-knit group, with much shared background knowledge, and is characterized by ellipsis, jargon, and a lack of slang (Joos 1967:39, 30-32). Of the styles between the most informal and the most formal, because casual style is used with friends and acquaintances, its use assumes some shared background knowledge and is characterized by the use of ellipsis and slang (Joos 1967:23). Consultative style lies in the middle of the continuum and is the style used with people one does not know or does not know well. The use of consultative style assumes no background knowledge; however, it does assume hearer participation. Finally, formal style, which lies between consultative and frozen styles on the continuum, has the main purpose of informing. The defining characteristics of formal style are 'advance planning', 'detachment', and 'cohesion' (Joos 1967:35, 37-38). On the questionnaire used in this study, there were four categories of usage responses, 'b', 'c', 'd', and 'e' (as discussed in Section 3.2):

Choose **b** if you would use this sentence only in writing or in very formal speech situations like a job interview or in court.

Choose **c** if you would use this sentence only with close friends and/or family.

Choose **d** if you would use this sentence in general conversation, in stores and with people you don't know well.

Choose **e** if you would use this sentence in all situations.

The questionnaire responses relate to Joos's continuum as follows:

'b', labeled 'formal only', covers formal and some aspects of frozen styles;

'd', labeled 'consultative only' covers consultative styles;

'c', labeled 'informal only', covers casual and some aspects of intimate styles;

'e', labeled 'all use', covers all styles ('e').

In the following subsections, the results of the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across stylistic levels are presented.

#### **4.5.1. N/W+PP**

Table 4.28 presents the use of every token of N/W+PP by style. Overall use of N+PP and W+PP are similar across stylistic levels. For N+PP and W+PP, use in all styles is greatest (34% and 39%, respectively), followed by use in informal style only (24% and 27%, respectively), consultative style only (25% and 24%, respectively), and formal style only (17% and 4%, respectively).

Table 4.28. Use of all tokens of N/W+PP by style

| Midland                                                                       | Use<br>n | Formal<br>Only | Consultative<br>Only | Informal<br>Only | All<br>Use |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|------------|
| <b>Overall use of N+PP</b>                                                    | 291      | 17% (50)       | 25% (73)             | 24% (69)         | 34% (99)   |
| (1) Dean <i>needs in</i> the building.                                        | 40       | 8% (3)         | 28% (11)             | 28% (11)         | 38% (15)   |
| (2) This box <i>needs in</i> the car.                                         | 25       | 4% (1)         | 24% (6)              | 56% (14)         | 16% (4)    |
| (3) For his new job, Tony <i>needs in</i> the union.                          | 39       | 23% (9)        | 15% (6)              | 23% (9)          | 38% (15)   |
| (4) Katy <i>needs in</i> this class in order to graduate this semester.       | 41       | 15% (6)        | 27% (11)             | 15% (6)          | 44% (18)   |
| (5) Peter <i>needs off</i> the plane.                                         | 37       | 11% (4)        | 32% (12)             | 19% (7)          | 38% (14)   |
| (6) Those boxes <i>need off</i> the truck.                                    | 31       | 0% (0)         | 45% (14)             | 29% (9)          | 26% (8)    |
| (7) Randy is too busy and <i>needs off</i> the committee.                     | 37       | 14% (5)        | 22% (8)              | 24% (9)          | 41% (15)   |
| (8) The lawyer had a conflict of interest and <i>needed off</i> the case.     | 41       | 54% (22)       | 12% (5)              | 10% (4)          | 24% (10)   |
| <b>Overall use of W+PP</b>                                                    | 339      | 4% (15)        | 24% (82)             | 32% (110)        | 39%(132)   |
| (9) If you <i>want in</i> the safe, use this combination.                     | 46       | 4% (2)         | 28% (13)             | 35% (16)         | 33% (15)   |
| (10) When the cat <i>wants in</i> the house, she scratches at the door.       | 40       | 3% (1)         | 13% (5)              | 50% (20)         | 35% (14)   |
| (11) This student <i>wants in</i> your class.                                 | 42       | 5% (2)         | 21% (9)              | 24% (10)         | 50% (21)   |
| (12) Sam <i>wanted in</i> the Army.                                           | 34       | 9% (3)         | 18% (6)              | 47% (16)         | 26% (9)    |
| (13) I <i>want off</i> this horse.                                            | 44       | 0% (0)         | 18% (8)              | 39% (17)         | 43% (19)   |
| (14) Do you <i>want off</i> the merry-go-round?                               | 44       | 2% (1)         | 32% (14)             | 27% (12)         | 39% (17)   |
| (15) Monica lost interest in playing baseball and <i>wanted off</i> the team. | 46       | 7% (3)         | 15% (7)              | 35% (16)         | 43% (20)   |
| (16) I <i>want off</i> your mailing list.                                     | 43       | 7% (3)         | 47% (20)             | 7% (3)           | 40% (17)   |

Two generalizations may be drawn from the data: 1) Forms of N/W+PP are used in all styles, as evidenced by the generally large number of respondents who indicated that they would use these sentences in all styles. 2) Forms of N/W+PP are used less in formal styles than in consultative and informal styles. There are some exceptions to this generalization, and these exceptions skew the data in such a way that N+PP appears to be considered more formal than W+PP. In a few cases, the respondents may have been unduly swayed by the instructions on the questionnaire. For example, 54% of respondents who report using sentence 8 would use it in the formal style. Respondents were perhaps influenced by the instructions given on the questionnaire, in which ‘court’ was listed as an example of a formal situation (see Section 3.2 or Appendix B). It seems likely that some respondents focused on the words ‘lawyer’, ‘conflict of interest’, and ‘case’, all terms that are used in court. In spite of the fact that some sentences may have contained references that may have led some respondents to determine their stylistic level on the basis of facts other than those targeted in this study, the hypothesis that N/W+PP is used more in more informal styles than more formal styles, proposed in Section 2.6, is largely supported by the data.

Although N/W+PP is used less in more formal situations, it cannot be characterized as strictly ‘informal’ for two reasons. As noted previously, a substantial percentage of respondents report that they would use N/W+PP in all situations. Furthermore, there is quite a bit of variation between exclusive use in informal styles and consultative styles, a less informal (or more formal) style. For some sentences, there is greater reported use in informal styles, e.g. sentences 2, 10, and 12, while for others, there is greater reported use in consultative style, e.g. sentences 6 and 16.

#### **4.5.2. N+PA**

Table 4.29 presents the use of every token of N+PA by style. The forms of N+PA behave much like those of N/W+PP. Overall, use in all styles is greatest (34%), followed by use in informal style only (32%), consultative style only (26%), and formal style only (9%).

Again, two generalizations emerge here: 1) Forms of N+PA are used in all styles, and 2) they are used less in formal styles than in consultative and informal styles. In general, the hypothesis, proposed in Section 2.6, that N+PA is used more in more informal styles rather than more formal styles is supported by the data. Here, too, although N+PA is used less in more formal styles, it is not strictly informal. A number of respondents indicate that they would use these sentences in all styles, and there is much variation between reported use in informal styles and consultative styles. For some sentences, there is greater reported use in informal styles, e.g. 22, 24, and 30, while for other sentences, there is greater reported use in consultative styles, e.g. 25 and 26.

Table 4.29. Use of all tokens of N+PA by style

| <b>Midland</b>                                                                         | <b>Use<br/>n</b> | <b>Formal<br/>Only</b> | <b>Consultative<br/>Only</b> | <b>Informal<br/>Only</b> | <b>All Use</b> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Overall use of N+PA</b>                                                             | 605              | 9% (52)                | 26% (159)                    | 32%(191)                 | 34%(203)       |
| (17) I'm sorry to bother you, but I <i>need by</i> .                                   | 39               | 8% (3)                 | 38% (15)                     | 18% (7)                  | 36% (14)       |
| (18) Step back, please. Anne <i>needs by</i> .                                         | 37               | 5% (2)                 | 30% (11)                     | 19% (7)                  | 46% (17)       |
| (19) The baby is on the couch and <i>needs down</i> .                                  | 41               | 2% (1)                 | 24% (10)                     | 37% (15)                 | 37% (15)       |
| (20) The cat is stuck in the tree and <i>needs down</i> .                              | 37               | 3% (1)                 | 38% (14)                     | 35% (13)                 | 24% (9)        |
| (21) The cat <i>needs in</i> .                                                         | 43               | 9% (4)                 | 14% (6)                      | 37% (16)                 | 40% (17)       |
| (22) The door is locked and I <i>need in</i> .                                         | 42               | 2% (1)                 | 12% (5)                      | 48% (20)                 | 38% (16)       |
| (23) The day care center is full, and my child <i>needs in</i> .                       | 41               | 7% (3)                 | 29% (12)                     | 24% (10)                 | 39% (16)       |
| (24) The new drug experiment is Monica's last hope. She <i>needs in</i> .              | 37               | 19% (7)                | 5% (2)                       | 46% (17)                 | 30% (11)       |
| (25) The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I <i>need off</i> .                   | 44               | 7% (3)                 | 43% (19)                     | 23% (10)                 | 27% (12)       |
| (26) This man is on the wrong plane. He <i>needs off</i> .                             | 31               | 6% (2)                 | 39% (12)                     | 13% (4)                  | 42% (13)       |
| (27) I've wasted too much time working on this project, and I <i>need off</i> .        | 31               | 13% (4)                | 26% (8)                      | 32% (10)                 | 29% (9)        |
| (28) There are too many problems with the dance committee, and Jill <i>needs off</i> . | 35               | 11% (5)                | 31% (11)                     | 37% (13)                 | 17% (6)        |
| (29) The dog <i>needs out</i> three times a day.                                       | 40               | 5% (2)                 | 17% (7)                      | 32% (13)                 | 44% (18)       |
| (30) Mike <i>needs out</i> at the corner.                                              | 35               | 3% (1)                 | 29% (10)                     | 43% (15)                 | 26% (9)        |
| (31) Barry's job has become too stressful and he <i>needs out</i> .                    | 35               | 14% (5)                | 23% (8)                      | 34% (12)                 | 29% (10)       |
| (32) The company agreed to a deal two weeks ago, but now they <i>need out</i> .        | 37               | 22% (8)                | 24% (9)                      | 24% (9)                  | 30% (11)       |

### **4.5.3. W+PA**

The use of all tokens of W+PA by style are presented in Table 4.30. Overall, use in informal style only is greatest (36%), followed by use in all styles (34%), consultative style only (22%), and formal style only (7%). This overall generalization favoring the use of the forms of W+PA in informal styles is perhaps overstated by a few sentences with disproportionately greater uses in informal styles, e.g. 44, 46, and 48. The hypothesis that W+PA is used more in more informal styles than more formal styles, proposed in Section 2.6, is supported, though not overwhelmingly.

As noted previously, some of the disproportionately greater uses in informal style were likely due to some respondents' sensitivity to content as well as their adherence to the descriptions for each answer choice. For example, in sentences 47 and 48, respondents recognize based on the content that these sentences would likely only be uttered to those identified in answer choice 'c', i.e. close friends and family. Nevertheless, the generalizations found in the data for the forms of N/W+PP and N+PA also apply to the forms of W+PA. The forms of W+PA are indeed used in all styles, and the use in more formal styles is much less than in other styles.

Overall, the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA leans toward the informal side of the formality continuum, supporting the hypothesis, proposed in Section 2.6. This does not mean, however, that N/W+PP and N/W+PA are used exclusively in informal styles. For nearly every token sentence, a substantial number of respondents would reportedly use the sentence in all styles. How formal or informal these constructions are is not entirely clear, since there is considerable variation in the reported use of individual token sentences at the consultative only and informal only styles.

Table 4.30. Use of all tokens of W+PA by style

| Midland                                                                               | Use<br>n | Formal<br>Only | Consultative<br>Only | Informal<br>Only | All Use  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------|
| <b>Overall use of W+PA</b>                                                            | 614      | 7% (43)        | 22% (137)            | 36%(224)         | 34%(210) |
| (33) Mark <i>wants by</i> , but he is too shy to ask people to move.                  | 37       | 8% (3)         | 35% (13)             | 16% (6)          | 41% (15) |
| (34) I can move if you <i>want by</i> .                                               | 36       | 6% (2)         | 31% (11)             | 25% (9)          | 39% (14) |
| (35) Do you <i>want down</i> ?                                                        | 46       | 7% (3)         | 20% (9)              | 22% (10)         | 52% (24) |
| (36) The baby <i>wants down</i> .                                                     | 43       | 2% (1)         | 21% (9)              | 44% (19)         | 33% (14) |
| (37) The kids say it's too hot outside, and they <i>want in</i> .                     | 44       | 5% (2)         | 25% (11)             | 36% (16)         | 34% (15) |
| (38) When the dog scratches at the back door, he <i>wants in</i> .                    | 42       | 5% (2)         | 21% (9)              | 48% (20)         | 26% (11) |
| (39) This project is exactly what Donna likes to do. She <i>wants in</i> .            | 37       | 14% (5)        | 22% (8)              | 27% (10)         | 38% (14) |
| (40) That sounds like a great plan. I <i>want in</i> .                                | 39       | 5% (2)         | 15% (6)              | 36% (14)         | 44% (17) |
| (41) When the roller coaster picked up speed, Ed yelled that he <i>wanted off</i> .   | 45       | 11% (5)        | 31% (14)             | 27% (12)         | 31% (14) |
| (42) The child was scared on the swing and said she <i>wanted off</i> .               | 39       | 10% (4)        | 26% (10)             | 33% (13)         | 31% (12) |
| (43) The baseball team hasn't won a game in several weeks, and Jim <i>wants off</i> . | 38       | 11% (4)        | 29% (11)             | 39% (15)         | 21% (8)  |
| (44) Stop the world! I <i>want off</i> .                                              | 17       | 6% (1)         | 6% (1)               | 53% (9)          | 35% (6)  |
| (45) Dan was getting nervous in the stuck elevator. He <i>wanted out</i> .            | 40       | 10% (4)        | 25% (10)             | 25% (10)         | 40% (16) |
| (46) The kids <i>want out</i> whenever it's not raining.                              | 38       | 0% (0)         | 13% (5)              | 61% (23)         | 26% (10) |
| (47) This relationship is going nowhere. I <i>want out</i> .                          | 38       | 5% (2)         | 16% (6)              | 45% (17)         | 34% (13) |
| (48) This marriage is over. I <i>want out</i> .                                       | 35       | 9% (3)         | 11% (4)              | 60% (21)         | 20% (7)  |

#### **4.5.4. Discussion**

In this section, the significance of the stylistic variation of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, reported on in the previous sections, is discussed. In general, two tendencies are found with respect to the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by style: 1) These constructions are reportedly used in all styles, and 2) they are reportedly used more in more informal styles than in more formal styles, supporting the hypothesis proposed in Section 2.6. The first generalization is supported most basically by the fact that of the number of respondents who report using the token sentences at all, more than one-third would use them in all styles. These statistics taken together with the number of respondents who would use N/W+PP and N/W+PA only in formal and consultative styles refute any notion in the previous literature that these constructions are appropriate only to informal styles (e.g. Bryant 1962:224; Quirk et al 1985:732; Greenbaum & Whitcut 1988:762; K. Wilson 1993). This generalization is important for an accurate description of the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA.

Perhaps even more interesting is the variation in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by style, as illustrated in Figure 4.5. The reported use of these constructions increases in proportion to the informality of the situation. Although precisely this type of stylistic variation was predicted in this study, it is not in-line with current sociolinguistic theory. The widely accepted belief, particularly among variationists, with respect to stylistic variation is that there is a direct relationship between the social distribution of a linguistic variable and its stylistic variation (e.g. Romaine 1980:228; Labov 1964:101-102, 1966:222-223, 1972:126; Wolfram & Fasold 1974:85-86; Bell 1984:146; Finegan & Biber 1994:315-316).

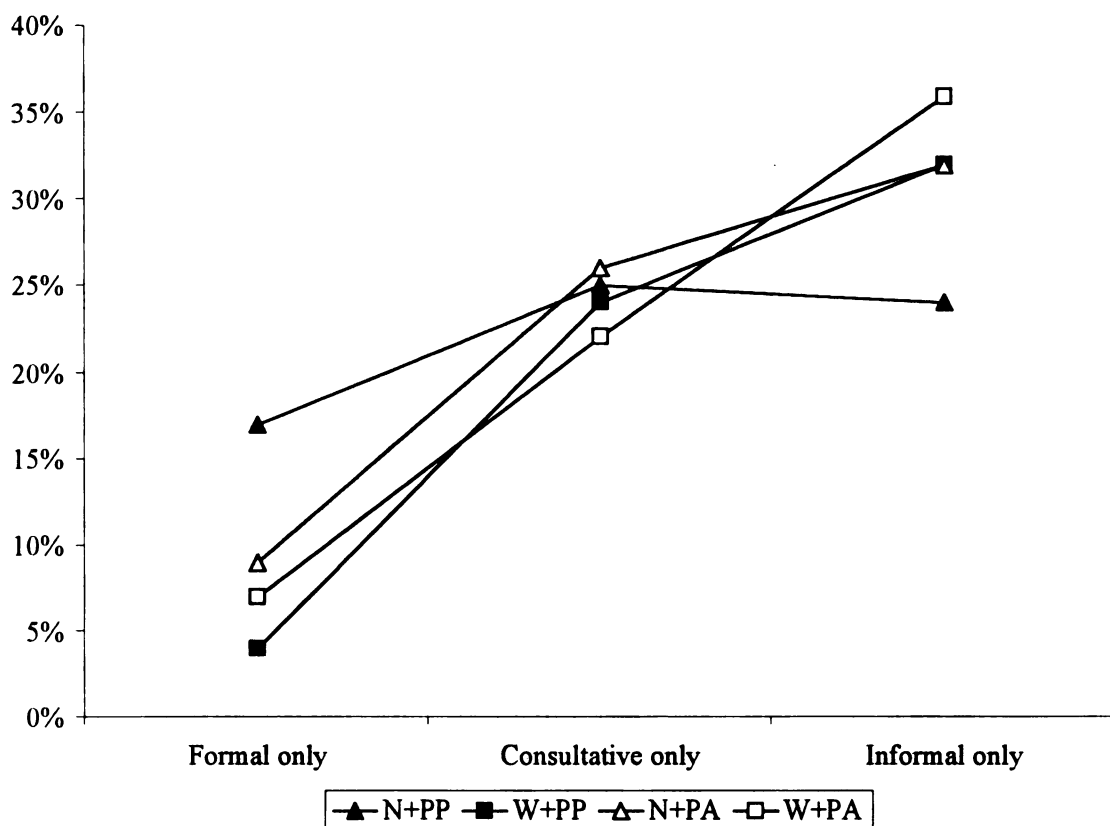


Figure 4.5. Use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by style

Moreover, as a derivative to his style axiom (discussed in Section 2.6), Bell (1984:152) insists that for a given variable, its socioeconomic variation **MUST** be greater than its stylistic variation: 'Where style shift does occur, it is notable that, quantitatively, the degree of style variation never exceeds the degree of social variation.' Preston (1991:35) goes even further by 'defining the variation space of the stylistic dimension not only as smaller than but also as contained within that of the social dimension.' Bell and Preston are not alone in their assertions. The much used categories of sociolinguistic variables—stereotypes, marker, and indicators—exclude the case of variables with stylistic but little or no socioeconomic variation (see e.g. Labov 1972:178-179; Wolfram & Fasold 1974:83-87; Downes 1998:188-196; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:161-

162). In fact, current theory holds that stylistic variation not only cannot exceed social variation but **MUST** be smaller than social variation.

In this study, such claims are turned on their heads. As seen in Section 4.4, in the Midland, N/W+PP and N/W+PA do not show any variation not only across socioeconomic classes but also other social variables—rural-urban residence, gender, and age—yet these constructions do show variation across styles.

This study is not the first to find a pattern of stylistic distribution independent of the social distribution; indeed, Bell (1984:155-156) cites the case of /æ/ raising in Tehrani Persian, which showed enormous stylistic variation between ‘reading’ style and ‘careful speech’ style but little social variation. A social climate requiring ‘extreme deference’ is apparently what underlies such ‘extreme audience directed style shift’, which Bell postulates is also likely to be found in other non-Western societies (Bell 1984:156). The case here is neither the result of ‘extreme deference’ nor is it situated in a non-Western context.

Why is this apparently one of the first studies to show stylistic variation independent of social variation that cannot be attributed to some other unusual or extreme factors? There are several reasons for this. 1) Much of the data underlying sociolinguistic theory and its tenets are of phonetic/phonological phenomena. The field of sociolinguistics has not rejected the study of grammatical variation by any means, but a look in any introductory textbook or academic journal of language variation will reveal that the number of studies examining grammatical variation pales in comparison to the number of studies that focuses on phonetic/phonological variation (e.g. Chambers & Trudgill 1991:291). 2) The paucity of work of grammatical variables is further

compounded by the lack of work on stylistic variation and, consequently, stylistic variation of grammatical variables (e.g. Bell 1984:146; Finegan & Biber 1994:319). 3) Perhaps the most important reason why so few studies have appeared that show stylistic variation without social variation is the power of the long-held assumption encapsulated in Bell's style axiom. Most researchers probably decided that if little or no social variation existed for a linguistic variable, they should not even bother to look for stylistic variation. If more studies of stylistic variation and grammatical variables are undertaken, especially among those variables that have shown little or no social variation, e.g. *need/want/like* + past participle and positive *anymore* (illustrated in 25-28), perhaps additional data will be found to support the existence of linguistic variables with stylistic variation independent of social variation.

Three patterns of the interaction of social and stylistic variables were discussed and illustrated in Section 2.6:

- (1) Sociolinguistic markers—characterized by both social and stylistic stratification, illustrated in Figure 2.5.
- (2) Sociolinguistic indicators—characterized by social stratification with little stylistic variation, illustrated in Figure 2.6.
- (3) Hypercorrection—characterized by one social class's use of a variant that crosses over that of another class's along the style dimension, illustrated in Figure 2.7.

A fourth pattern must now be added.

(4) Stylistic indicators—characterized by stylistic stratification with little social variation, similar to the social and stylistic distribution of W+PP, illustrated in Figure 4.6.

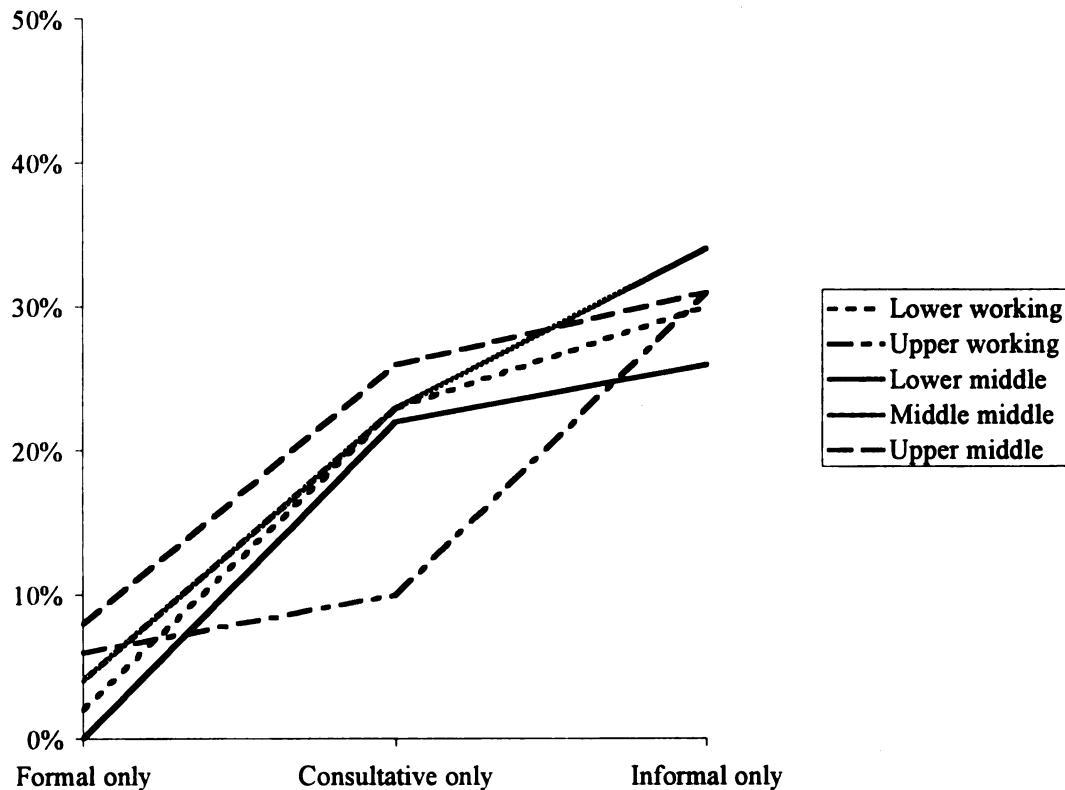


Figure 4.6. W+PP by socioeconomic class and style ( $\chi^2=24$ , df 16,  $p=.100$ )

In summary, although the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA show little variation across the social variables of socioeconomic status, rural-urban residence, gender, and age, discussed in Section 4.4.5, they do show variation across style. N/W+PP and N/W+PA are used less in more formal styles than in less formal styles, supporting the hypothesis. The implications for sociolinguistic theory are striking, for it has long been assumed that stylistic variation cannot be greater than social variation. It is likely that stylistic variation may exceed social variation in more cases than previously thought if additional research is carried out, particularly on grammatical variables that have shown

little or no social variation. These findings call for a reevaluation of this long held assumption.

## 5. Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA not only to determine their geographic, social, and stylistic distributions but also to explore other factors that may affect the distributions of the individual forms of the constructions.

The aims of this final chapter are threefold. First, in Section 5.1, I list the general findings of this study. Second, in Section 5.2, I present what I consider to be the most important limitations of this study, and I suggest avenues for future research. Finally, in Section 5.3, I discuss the more general relevance of this study's findings to the field of linguistics.

### 5.1. Summary of findings

Several interesting findings about the geographic, social, and stylistic distribution of the grammatical constructions N/W+PP and N/W+PA have been uncovered in this study.

- (1) N/W+PP and N/W+PA have robust distributions in the Midland (see Section 4.1).
- (2) In the North and the South, N/W+PP and N/W+PA are not unknown. Previous research suggested that these constructions were little used in those areas (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3); however, this study found that some forms, e.g. *want down*, *want in*, *want off*, *want out*, and *want off* + NP were used by over 60% of both Northern and Southern respondents (see Section 4.1).
- (3) The use of N/W+PP and N+PA, in general, was much greater than anticipated, especially in the Midland, but also in the North and the South (see Section 4.1), since

little mention of these constructions had been made in previous literature (see Section 4.1).

(4) There was a clear preference for *want* over *need* in PP constructions in all three dialect areas and in PA constructions in the North and the South (see Section 4.3).

(5) The semantic features of concrete and abstract, as applied to the interpretation of the “goal” of the construction, i.e. the location identified by the prepositional phrase/preposition, appear to play a role in the distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA (see Section 4.2); however, this role is not yet well understood.

(6) N/W+PP and N/W+PA were not used differently by rural and urban dwellers in any of the three dialect areas (see Section 4.4.1), as might have been predicted on the basis of previous variationist studies of phonetic/phonological variables.

(7) In the Midland, there were few differences in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by gender. In contrast, in the South and to some extent the North, these constructions were used more by men than women (see Section 4.4.2).

(8) Overall, there were few differences in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA across socioeconomic classes in the Midland (see Section 4.4.3).

(9) In the Midland, there was generally little variation in the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA, particularly among three of the four age groups. The oldest age group, however, tended to use the forms of N+PP and N+PA much less than the others (see Section 4.4.4).

(10) An analysis of the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA by style revealed that although these forms are not restricted to use in the informal register, as previous literature had suggested (see Section 2.6), they, nevertheless, vary by style. In fact, there is gradient

stratification by style, with less use in the formal register, moderate to greater use in the consultative register, and greater use in the informal register (see Section 4.5).

The significance of these findings is discussed in Section 5.3. First in Section 5.2, some limitations of the present and suggestions for future research are explored.

## **5.2. Limitations and suggestions for future research**

In this section, some limitations of the present study and avenues for future research are presented. The data in this study was based solely on self-reported responses to questionnaires, though a limited number of respondents were interviewed to gather additional demographic and ethnographic data. As discussed in Section 3.3, there is some debate about which methods of data collection, e.g. self-reports or observed uses, offer the most valid or reliable measures of actual linguistic behavior. As in many sociolinguistic studies that investigate elements above the phonological and morphological levels, the collection of adequate authentic conversational data for statistical analysis of any sort is nearly impossible.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of ethnic, age, educational, and cultural diversity of the respondents. This study relies heavily on data from university and college students, most of whom were young (18-24 years old) and European-American. In the Midland, 15 additional respondents over the age of 30 were recruited in an attempt to provide some balance in the respondent pool. Further, the gender bias in the respondent pool (70% men to 30% women, overall) places some limitations on the interpretation of

the gender findings, in particular, those discussed in Section 4.4.5. In light of the limitations of the present study, several avenues of future research are evident.

First, a large-scale dialectological study of a variety of forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA is warranted to assemble a complete picture of the geographic distribution of these constructions in the United States. Such a study will allow for comparisons of the behavior of N/W+PP and N/W+PA with other ‘Midland’ grammatical constructions, e.g. *need/want/like* + past participle and positive *anymore*, and will allow for a better understanding of the composition, influence, and etiology of the much-contested Midland dialect area, as a transition zone or a separate dialect area. The difficulties in collecting data on grammatical forms, particularly those with lexical differentiation and semantic sensitivities, makes this avenue of research a long-term goal.

Second, future research should examine individual communities in the North, the Midland, and the South. Quantitative and qualitative studies of the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA and attitudes toward the use of N/W+PP and N/W+PA in communities in these areas are needed to explore several questions relating to language change and the role of perception. Are N/W+PP and N/W+PA undergoing change? More specifically, are these constructions in the process of spreading from the Midland to the North and the South? If they are, do the characteristics of the spread of grammatical variables mimic those of phonetic/phonological variables? Are these constructions positively or negatively evaluated by speakers? Are these evaluations reflected in their distribution across dialect areas, social variables, and/or stylistic levels? Discussions with some Midlanders revealed that they were not aware that N/W+PP and N/W+PA were not used by everyone in all dialect areas, but this study also found that within the same communities there were

users and nonusers of these constructions. What differentiates users and nonusers of these forms within the same community?

Third, there is an area of promising research more theoretical in nature that moves beyond the constructions of N/W+PP and N/W+PA. In direct contrast to long-held assumptions about the relationship between social and stylistic variation, and in particular, Bell's style axiom (1984), are the findings of this study that the degree of stylistic variation exceeded the degree of social variation. Further research is needed to discover whether other variables, especially other grammatical variables like *need/want/like* + past participle and positive *anymore*, show a similar patterning of robust stylistic variation with little or no social variation.

### **5.3. Relevance to field of linguistics**

This section discusses the relevance of the findings of this study to several areas of linguistic scholarship, specifically dialectology, including the status of dialect areas; the role of semantic factors in the distribution of grammatical variables; language variation and change, including mental models; and sociolinguistic theory and the relationship between social and stylistic variation.

In general, this study adds to the body of knowledge of American dialects by describing the general geographic distribution of various forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA constructions. This study also demonstrates that it can be misleading to base the distribution of a variety of forms, e.g. N/W+PP and N/W+PA, on one exemplar, e.g. *want off*, since some are used more than others (see Section 4.1) Moreover, this study contributes additional evidence for the existence of a Midland dialect area as a separate

and distinct dialect area rather than simply a transition zone between the North and the South. In addition to historical evidence, this study provides further evidence that, at least in the United States, N/W+PP and N/W+PA originate in the Midland and are spreading from the Midland to the North and South, not the other way around, as the transition zone perspective suggests.

Although the investigation of the semantic features of concrete and abstract senses of the ‘goal’ or locations identified by the prepositions in the constructions N/W+PP and N/W+PA could not be conclusively tied to a clean pattern of regional versus widespread distribution, it revealed differences in the use of such concrete and abstract senses of the constructions. Another semantic feature that may affect the geographic distribution of N/W+PP and N/W+PA has to do with the animacy/agency of the subject of *need/want*. Although only two such tokens were included in this study, sentences with inanimate/patient subjects of *need/want* appear to be much less acceptable overall and especially in the North and the South, than those with animate/agent subjects, as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Effect of animacy/agency of the subject of *need/want* on distribution

|                                 | <b>North</b> | <b>N</b> | <b>Midland</b> | <b>N</b> | <b>South</b> | <b>N</b> |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| This box needs in the car.      | 14% (3)      | 21       | 54% (25)       | 46       | 10% (1)      | 10       |
| need in + NP (overall)          | 37% (30)     | 82       | 77% (145)      | 189      | 35% (19)     | 54       |
| Those boxes need off the truck. | 33% (7)      | 21       | 67% (31)       | 46       | 10% (1)      | 10       |
| need off + NP (overall)         | 45% (37)     | 82       | 78% (149)      | 190      | 39% (21)     | 54       |

These findings demonstrate that semantic factors should be considered in studies of grammatical variables, since they may affect respondents' judgments of the grammaticality/use of the linguistic variables under investigation.

The number of studies of grammatical variation and change pales in comparison to those of phonological (and even lexical) variation and change. Any study of a grammatical variable contributes to the body of knowledge of language variation and change. This study, in particular, has findings that appear to run counter to accepted trends in this area of study. For example, it is often noted that the rural-urban distinction plays an important role in sound change; that is, speakers in rural and urban areas are often differently engaged in the change, e.g. the Northern Cities Chain Shift, which is further advanced in urban than in rural areas, and the Southern Shift, which is more predominant in rural areas than urban areas. In this study, N/W+PP and N/W+PA do not show any differences in distribution in rural and urban areas, even in dialect areas to which these constructions appear to be spreading. Furthermore, studies of phonological variables, and in particular those undergoing change, have shown stratification by such social variables as age, gender, and socioeconomic class. In this study, little to no such variation is found, particularly in the Midland. These findings, of course, call for additional study to substantiate these trends; nevertheless, they raise questions about the differences between the characteristics of phonological as opposed to grammatical variation and change.

The usage hierarchies of the forms of N/W+PP and N/W+PA uncovered in this study present issues for the conceptualization of language variation and change in the mind. Mental models of language must not only be able to account for variation but also

for the fact that some forms, e.g. *want down*, are far more acceptable than other seemingly identical forms, e.g. *need down* or *want by* (see Table 4.4). Moreover, mental models must also be able to account for the fact that some forms may be required for the use of other forms, i.e. have an implicational relationship. For example, it may be the case the use of *need down* is contingent on the use of *want down* at least for some speakers.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this study calls into question long-held assumptions about the relationship between social and stylistic variation within sociolinguistic theory. More specifically, the present study provides counterevidence for two foundational ideas: 1) Stylistic variation and social variation are linked, e.g. variants common in more informal styles are characteristic of lower socioeconomic classes, and 2) the range of stylistic variation is never greater than the range of social variation, i.e. Bell's style axiom. This study demonstrates that widely used grammatical variables, N/W+PP and N/W+PA, with little social variation to speak of are, nevertheless, stratified by style.

The findings of this project have implications for several areas of linguistic study and it is hoped that additional research will be carried out to further enlighten these issues.

## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

### Questionnaire items organized by type

Table A.1. Token sentences of N/W+PP

|                                                                                    | Version of Questionnaire |              |              |              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                                                    | A1<br>Item #             | A2<br>Item # | B1<br>Item # | B2<br>Item # |
| <b>Need In + NP</b>                                                                |                          |              |              |              |
| (1) Dean needs in the building.                                                    | 17                       | 48           |              |              |
| (2) This box needs in the car.                                                     |                          |              | 42           | 15           |
| (3) For his new job, Tony needs in the union. (+abstract)                          | 25                       | 21           |              |              |
| (4) Katy needs in this class in order to graduate this semester. (+abstract)       |                          |              | 34           | 38           |
| <b>Need Off + NP</b>                                                               |                          |              |              |              |
| (5) Peter needs off the plane.                                                     | 9                        | 56           |              |              |
| (6) Those boxes need off the truck.                                                |                          |              | 7            | 50           |
| (7) Randy is too busy and needs off the committee. (+abstract)                     | 54                       | 11           |              |              |
| (8) The lawyer had a conflict of interest and needed off the case. (+abstract)     |                          |              | 17           | 31           |
| <b>Want In + NP</b>                                                                |                          |              |              |              |
| (9) If you want in the safe, use this combination.                                 | 13                       | 54           |              |              |
| (10) When the cat wants in the house, she scratches at the door.                   |                          |              | 48           | 58           |
| (11) This student wants in your class. (+abstract)                                 | 50                       | 9            |              |              |
| (12) Sam wanted in the Army. (+abstract)                                           |                          |              | 31           | 29           |
| <b>Want Off + NP</b>                                                               |                          |              |              |              |
| (13) I want off this horse.                                                        | 58                       | 19           |              |              |
| (14) Do you want off the merry-go-round?                                           |                          |              | 50           | 11           |
| (15) Monica lost interest in playing baseball and wanted off the team. (+abstract) | 5                        | 44           |              |              |
| (16) I want off your mailing list. (+abstract)                                     |                          |              | 36           | 23           |

Table A.2. Token sentences of N+PA

|                                                                                               | Version of Questionnaire |              |              |              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                                                               | A1<br>Item #             | A2<br>Item # | B1<br>Item # | B2<br>Item # |
| <b>Need by</b>                                                                                |                          |              |              |              |
| (17) I'm sorry to bother you, but I need by.                                                  | 33                       | 28           |              |              |
| (18) Step back, please. Anne needs by.                                                        |                          |              | 46           | 56           |
| <b>Need Down</b>                                                                              |                          |              |              |              |
| (19) The baby is on the couch and needs down.                                                 | 60                       | 7            |              |              |
| (20) The cat is stuck in the tree and needs down.                                             |                          |              | 3            | 46           |
| <b>Need In</b>                                                                                |                          |              |              |              |
| (21) The cat needs in.                                                                        | 7                        | 34           |              |              |
| (22) The door is locked, and I need in.                                                       |                          |              | 23           | 34           |
| (23) The day care center is full, and my child needs in.<br>(+abstract)                       | 36                       | 15           |              |              |
| (24) The new drug experiment is Monica's last hope. She<br>needs in. (+abstract)              |                          |              | 58           | 21           |
| <b>Need Off</b>                                                                               |                          |              |              |              |
| (25) The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I need off.                                  | 27                       | 40           |              |              |
| (26) This man is on the wrong plane. He needs off.                                            |                          |              | 29           | 9            |
| (27) I've wasted too much time working on this project, and<br>I need off. (+abstract)        | 48                       | 25           |              |              |
| (28) There are too many problems with the dance<br>committee, and Jill needs off. (+abstract) |                          |              | 11           | 60           |
| <b>Need Out</b>                                                                               |                          |              |              |              |
| (29) The dog needs out three times a day.                                                     | 21                       | 42           |              |              |
| (30) Mike needs out at the corner.                                                            |                          |              | 54           | 5            |
| (31) Barry's job has become too stressful and he needs out.<br>(+abstract)                    | 42                       | 17           |              |              |
| (32) The company agreed to a deal two weeks ago, but now<br>they need out. (+abstract)        |                          |              | 13           | 52           |

Table A.3. Token sentences of W+PA

|                                                                                           | Version of Questionnaire |              |              |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                                                           | A1<br>Item #             | A2<br>Item # | B1<br>Item # | B2<br>Item # |
| <b>Want By</b>                                                                            |                          |              |              |              |
| (33) Mark wants by, but he is too shy to ask people to move.                              | 3                        | 52           |              |              |
| (34) I can move if you want by.                                                           |                          |              | 15           | 36           |
| <b>Want Down</b>                                                                          |                          |              |              |              |
| (35) Do you want down?                                                                    | 31                       | 46           |              |              |
| (36) The baby wants down.                                                                 |                          |              | 52           | 13           |
| <b>Want In</b>                                                                            |                          |              |              |              |
| (37) The kids say it's too hot outside, and they want in.                                 | 11                       | 58           |              |              |
| (38) When the dog scratches at the back door, he wants in.                                |                          |              | 5            | 44           |
| (39) This project is exactly what Donna likes to do. She wants in. (+abstract)            | 44                       | 26           |              |              |
| (40) That sounds like a great plan. I want in. (+abstract)                                |                          |              | 27           | 48           |
| <b>Want Off</b>                                                                           |                          |              |              |              |
| (41) When the roller coaster picked up speed, Ed yelled that he wanted off.               | 23                       | 32           |              |              |
| (42) The child was scared on the swing and said she wanted off.                           |                          |              | 44           | 40           |
| (43) The baseball team hasn't won a game in several weeks, and Jim wants off. (+abstract) | 40                       | 3            |              |              |
| (44) Stop the world! I want off. (+abstract)                                              |                          |              | 21           | 54           |
| <b>Want Out</b>                                                                           |                          |              |              |              |
| (45) Dan was getting nervous in the stuck elevator. He wanted out.                        | 46                       | 23           |              |              |
| (46) The kids want out whenever it's not raining.                                         |                          |              | 38           | 33           |
| (47) This relationship is going nowhere. I want out. (+abstract)                          | 19                       | 60           |              |              |
| (48) This marriage is over. I want out. (+abstract)                                       |                          |              | 33           | 17           |

Table A.4. Filler sentences

|                                                  | Version of Questionnaire |              |              |              |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                  | A1<br>Item #             | A2<br>Item # | B1<br>Item # | B2<br>Item # |
| <b>Filler Sentences</b>                          |                          |              |              |              |
| (49) I bought myself a new TV.                   | 1                        | 1            | 1            | 1            |
| (50) He ugly.                                    | 6                        | 6            | 6            | 6            |
| (51) I bought five pound of potatoes.            | 8                        | 8            | 8            | 8            |
| (52) I ain't going to do it.                     | 10                       | 10           | 10           | 10           |
| (53) We go to the movies a lot anymore.          | 12                       | 12           | 12           | 12           |
| (54) He don't know nothing.                      | 14                       | 14           | 14           | 14           |
| (55) The sugar is all.                           | 16                       | 16           | 16           | 16           |
| (56) We had went to California on vacation.      | 18                       | 18           | 18           | 18           |
| (57) He throwed the ball at the window.          | 20                       | 20           | 20           | 20           |
| (58) Bill and me went to the game.               | 22                       | 22           | 22           | 22           |
| (59) He don't know where she lives.              | 24                       | 24           | 24           | 24           |
| (60) He caught himself a cold.                   | 26                       | 33           | 26           | 26           |
| (61) Ten o'clock is all the later I can stay up. | 30                       | 31           | 30           | 30           |
| (62) Look at that dog come a-running.            | 32                       | 27           | 32           | 32           |
| (63) Anymore, we eat fish often.                 | 35                       | 35           | 35           | 35           |
| (64) We be tired.                                | 37                       | 37           | 37           | 37           |
| (65) Margaret seen him do it.                    | 39                       | 39           | 39           | 39           |
| (66) Janet's daughter is right smart.            | 43                       | 43           | 43           | 43           |
| (67) Jonathan bought dinner for Mike and I.      | 47                       | 47           | 47           | 47           |
| (68) Bob's a-fixing the tractor.                 | 49                       | 49           | 49           | 49           |
| (69) Do you want to come with?                   | 50                       | 51           | 51           | 51           |
| (70) He be singing all the time.                 | 53                       | 53           | 53           | 53           |
| (71) They was singing while Jack was working.    | 57                       | 57           | 57           | 57           |

Table A.5. Widely accepted filler sentences

|                                                                          | Version of Questionnaire |              |              |              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                                          | A1<br>Item #             | A2<br>Item # | B1<br>Item # | B2<br>Item # |
| <b>Filler Sentences Accepted Widely</b>                                  |                          |              |              |              |
| (72) The kitchen smells good.                                            | 2                        | 62           | 2            | 62           |
| (73) Eddie is very athletic.                                             | 4                        | 4            | 4            | 4            |
| (74) Where are you going on vacation?                                    | 28                       | 29           | 28           | 28           |
| (75) I'm not going to do it.                                             | 41                       | 41           | 41           | 41           |
| (76) They are friendly.                                                  | 45                       | 45           | 45           | 45           |
| (77) I want you to fix the chair right now.                              | 55                       | 55           | 55           | 55           |
| (78) I'm not going to paint the house this year.                         | 59                       | 59           | 59           | 59           |
| (79) Alice doesn't eat meat anymore.                                     | 61                       | 61           | 61           | 61           |
| (80) Mary took Bridget and me to school.                                 | 62                       | 2            | 62           | 2            |
| (81) We need to get off at the next stop.                                | 15                       | 50           |              |              |
| (82) Sam wants to get in the Army.                                       | 29                       | 30           |              |              |
| (83) Mike says he wants to go off his medication.                        | 34                       | 36           |              |              |
| (84) When the cat meows at the door, she wants to go out.                | 38                       | 5            |              |              |
| (85) In stormy weather, the plants on the porch need to come in.         | 52                       | 38           |              |              |
| (86) Can you help the baby? She wants to get down.                       | 56                       | 13           |              |              |
| (87) If you want to get in the apartment while I'm gone, here's the key. |                          |              | 40           | 25           |
| (88) The aisle is crowded, and I need to get by.                         |                          |              | 60           | 42           |
| (89) Jenny needs to get in the house.                                    |                          |              | 9            | 7            |
| (90) Chris is too busy and needs to get off the team.                    |                          |              | 25           | 19           |
| (91) Larry is tired of being in the house and needs to get out.          |                          |              | 19           | 27           |
| (92) I want to get off at Main Street.                                   |                          |              | 56           | 3            |

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Sample questionnaire, version A1**

## **Questionnaire A1**

### **Instructions**

**The following questionnaire is a part of a research project on language use. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing and returning this questionnaire.**

**Please put all responses on the op-scan sheet provided. Do NOT put your name on the questionnaire or the op-scan form. When completing the questionnaire, please give your own personal response to the items. There are no right or wrong answers.**

**Read each of the following sentences to yourself. Rate each sentence on the following scale:**

Choose **a** if you would never use this sentence.

Choose **b** if you would use this sentence only in writing or in very formal speech situations like a job interview or in court.

Choose **c** if you would use this sentence only with close friends and/or family.

Choose **d** if you would use this sentence in general conversation, in stores, and with people you don't know well.

Choose **e** if you would use this sentence in all situations.

1. I bought myself a new TV.
2. The kitchen smells good.
3. Mark wants by, but he's too shy to ask people to move.
4. Eddie is very athletic.
5. Monica lost interest in playing baseball and wanted off the team.
6. He ugly.
7. The cat needs in.
8. I bought five pound of potatoes.
9. Peter needs off the plane.
10. I ain't going to do it.
11. The kids say it's too hot outside, and they want in.
12. We go to the movies a lot anymore.
13. If you want in the safe, use this combination.
14. He don't know nothing.

**Read each of the following sentences to yourself. Rate each sentence on the following scale:**

Choose **a** if you would never use this sentence.

Choose **b** if you would use this sentence only in writing or in very formal speech situations like a job interview or in court.

Choose **c** if you would use this sentence only with close friends and/or family.

Choose **d** if you would use this sentence in general conversation, in stores, and with people you don't know well.

Choose **e** if you would use this sentence in all situations.

15. We need to get off at the next stop.
16. The sugar is all.
17. Dean needs in the building.
18. We had went to California on vacation.
19. This relationship is going nowhere. I want out.
20. He throwed the ball at the window.
21. The dog needs out three times a day.
22. Bill and me went to the game.
23. When the roller coaster picked up speed, Ed yelled that he wanted off.
24. He don't know where she lives.
25. For his new job, Tony needs in the union.
26. He caught himself a cold.
27. The fumes from this bus are making me sick. I need off.
28. Where are you going on vacation?
29. Sam wants to get in the Army.
30. Ten o'clock is all the later I can stay up.
31. Do you want down?
32. Look at that dog come a-running.
33. I'm sorry to bother you, but I need by.
34. Mike says he wants to go off his medication.

**Read each of the following sentences to yourself. Rate each sentence on the following scale:**

Choose **a** if you would never use this sentence.

Choose **b** if you would use this sentence only in writing or in very formal speech situations like a job interview or in court.

Choose **c** if you would use this sentence only with close friends and/or family.

Choose **d** if you would use this sentence in general conversation, in stores, and with people you don't know well.

Choose **e** if you would use this sentence in all situations.

35. Anymore, we eat fish often.
36. The day care center is full, and my child needs in.
37. We be tired.
38. When the cat meows at the door, she wants to go out.
39. Margaret seen him do it.
40. The baseball team hasn't won a game in several weeks, and Jim wants off.
41. I'm not going to do it.
42. Barry's job has become too stressful and he needs out.
43. Janet's daughter is right smart.
44. This project is exactly what Donna likes to do. She wants in.
45. They are friendly.
46. Dan was getting nervous in the stuck elevator. He wanted out.
47. Jonathan bought dinner for Mike and I.
48. I've wasted too much time working on this project, and I need off.
49. Bob's a-fixing the tractor.
50. This student wants in your class.
51. Do you want to come with?
52. In stormy weather, the plants on the porch need to come in.
53. He be singing all the time.
54. Randy is too busy and needs off the committee.

**Read each of the following sentences to yourself. Rate each sentence on the following scale:**

Choose **a** if you would never use this sentence.

Choose **b** if you would use this sentence only in writing or in very formal speech situations like a job interview or in court.

Choose **c** if you would use this sentence only with close friends and/or family.

Choose **d** if you would use this sentence in general conversation, in stores, and with people you don't know well.

Choose **e** if you would use this sentence in all situations.

- 55. I want you to fix the chair right now.
- 56. Can you help the baby? She wants to get down.
- 57. They was singing while Jack was working.
- 58. I want off this horse.
- 59. I'm not going to paint the house this year.
- 60. The baby is on the couch and needs down.
- 61. Alice doesn't eat meat anymore.
- 62. Mary took Bridget and me to school.

**The following information is needed for statistical purposes. Please give only one answer to each item.**

- 63. Fill in 1 for this item. (This identifies which questionnaire you completed)
- 64. a=Female            b=Male
- 65. Age  
a=18-24 years old      b=25-34 years old      c=35-54 years old  
d=55-64 years old      e=64 years old and over
- 66. With which racial/ethnic category do you most closely identify yourself?  
a=European American (white)      b=African American  
c=Native American                  d=Hispanic                  e=other
- 67. In the blank space on the op-scan form, please print the city and state where you grew up (between the ages of 2 and 15).
- 68. In the blank space on the op-scan form, please print the profession of the primary wage-earner in your family.

## APPENDIX C

Essential information on *Linguistic Atlas* projects and *DARE*

Information presented here was gathered from the following sources:  
 Allen (1975); Cassidy (1985); Kurath (1939); Linguistic atlas projects  
 (www.hyde.park.uga.edu); McDavid & Payne (1976); Pederson (1991)

Table C.1. *Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE)*

|                           |                                                                                                     |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| States surveyed           | Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York (Long Island), Rhode Island, and Vermont |
| Period of data collection | 1931-1933                                                                                           |
| Number of respondents     | 213                                                                                                 |

Table C.2. *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMAS)*

|                           |                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| States surveyed           | Delaware, northeastern Florida, eastern Georgia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia |
| Period of data collection | 1933-1974                                                                                                                                                  |
| Number of respondents     | 1162                                                                                                                                                       |

Table C.3. *Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States (LANCS)*

|                           |                                                            |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| States surveyed           | Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin |
| Period of data collection | 1933-1978                                                  |
| Number of respondents     | 564                                                        |

Table C.4. *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM)*

|                           |                                                           |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| States surveyed           | Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota |
| Period of data collection | 1949-1962                                                 |
| Number of respondents     | 208                                                       |

Table C.5. *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS)*

|                           |                                                                                        |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| States surveyed           | Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and east Texas |
| Period of data collection | 1968-1983                                                                              |
| Number of respondents     | 1121 (914 analyzed)                                                                    |

Table C.6. *Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest (LAPNW)*

|                           |                                                    |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| States surveyed           | Idaho, Oregon (few), Montana (few), and Washington |
| Period of data collection | 1953-1963                                          |
| Number of respondents     | 51                                                 |

Table C.7. *Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)*

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| States surveyed           | all       |
| Period of data collection | 1965-1970 |
| Number of respondents     | 1,002     |

## APPENDIX D

### List of respondents

Abbreviations:

AfA=African American

AI=American Indian

EA=European American

NR=No Response

Table D.1. List of respondents

| Resp | Hometown             | Dialect Region | Rural-Urban | Sex | SES (Table 3.2) | Age   | Race/Eth | Quest |
|------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|-----|-----------------|-------|----------|-------|
| 119  | Blissfield, MI       | North          | Rural       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 135  | Dewitt, MI           | North          | Urban       | M   | 1               | 18-24 | Other    | B2    |
| 141  | Dewitt, MI           | North          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 133  | Essexville, MI       | North          | Urban       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 106  | Farmington Hills, MI | North          | Urban       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 132  | Ferndale, MI         | North          | Urban       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | AfA      | A2    |
| 143  | Genesee, MI          | North          | Rural       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | NR       | A1    |
| 111  | Grand Rapids, MI     | North          | Urban       | M   | NR              | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 118  | Kalamazoo, MI        | North          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 123  | Kalamazoo, MI        | North          | Urban       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 122  | Lakeview, MI         | North          | Rural       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 109  | Lansing, MI          | North          | Urban       | F   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 142  | Lansing, MI          | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 136  | Livonia, MI          | North          | Urban       | F   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 116  | Marshall, MI         | North          | Rural       | M   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 108  | Milford, MI          | North          | Rural       | M   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 134  | Mt. Clemens, MI      | North          | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 114  | Petersburg, MI       | North          | Rural       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 144  | Royal Oak, MI        | North          | Urban       | M   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 140  | Saginaw, MI          | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 110  | Southfield, MI       | North          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 113  | Sterling Heights, MI | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 138  | Sterling Heights, MI | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | NR       | B2    |
| 107  | Stevensville, MI     | North          | Rural       | F   | 4               | 25-34 | EA       | A1    |
| 120  | Troy, MI             | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 121  | Troy, MI             | North          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 131  | Warren, MI           | North          | Urban       | F   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 145  | Wixom, MI            | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 112  | Wyoming, MI          | North          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 137  | Ypsilanti, MI        | North          | Urban       | M   | NR              | 18-24 | NR       | A2    |
| 117  | Zeeland, MI          | North          | Urban       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | Other    | A1    |
| 115  | Canton, MI           | North          | Urban       | M   | 1               | 18-24 | Other    | A1    |
| 124  | Chicago, IL          | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 1    | Cleveland, OH        | North          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 6    | Cleveland, OH        | North          | Urban       | F   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |

Table D.1. (cont'd)

| Resp | Hometown             | Dialect Region | Rural-Urban | Sex | SES (Table 3.2) | Age   | Race/Eth | Quest |
|------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|-----|-----------------|-------|----------|-------|
| 9    | Cleveland, OH        | North          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 16   | Cleveland, OH        | North          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 20   | Cleveland, OH        | North          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 60   | Toledo, OH           | North          | Urban       | F   | NR              | 18-24 | H        | A1    |
| 139  | Toledo, OH           | North          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 125  | Manawa, WI           | North          | Rural       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 14   | North Canton, OH     | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 23   | Canton, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | NR              | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 25   | Galion, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 4    | Mansfield, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 3               | 18-24 | Other    | A2    |
| 31   | Mansfield, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 81   | Mansfield, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 45   | Coshocton, OH        | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 50   | Coshocton, OH        | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 3               | 25-34 | EA       | B1    |
| 53   | Coshocton, OH        | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 6               | 25-34 | EA       | A2    |
| 64   | Coshocton, OH        | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 88   | Coshocton, OH        | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 22   | Delaware, OH         | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 67   | Frederickstown, OH   | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 80   | Mt. Vernon, OH       | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 91   | Mt. Vernon, OH       | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 62   | New Philadelphia, OH | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 96   | Utica, OH            | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 90   | Granville, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 6               | 18-24 | AI       | A2    |
| 95   | Granville, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 44   | Heath, OH            | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 68   | Heath, OH            | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 70   | Heath, OH            | Midland        | Urban       | F   | NR              | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 73   | Heath, OH            | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 93   | Heath, OH            | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 32   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 35-54 | EA       | B2    |
| 34   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 6               | 18-24 | AfA      | A1    |
| 37   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 42   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 43   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | Other    | A2    |
| 46   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 47   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | NR              | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 48   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 49   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 6               | 25-34 | AfA      | B1    |
| 57   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 58   | Newark, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | NR       | A1    |

Table D.1. (cont'd)

| Resp | Hometown            | Dialect Region | Rural-Urban | Sex | SES (Table 3.2) | Age   | Race/Eth | Quest |
|------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|-----|-----------------|-------|----------|-------|
| 61   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 66   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 25-34 | AI       | B1    |
| 69   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 74   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 76   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 78   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 83   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 84   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 35-54 | EA       | A1    |
| 85   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 87   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 89   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 5               | 18-24 | AfA      | B1    |
| 92   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 97   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 98   | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 101  | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 5               | 25-34 | EA       | A2    |
| 102  | Newark, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 35   | Johnstown, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 99   | Johnstown, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 6               | 35-54 | EA       | A2    |
| 204  | Johnstown, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 4               | 35-54 | EA       | B1    |
| 59   | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 203  | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 2               | 55+   | EA       | A2    |
| 205  | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 5               | 55+   | EA       | A1    |
| 206  | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 4               | 35-54 | EA       | A2    |
| 207  | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 55+   | EA       | B1    |
| 208  | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 5               | 35-54 | EA       | B2    |
| 209  | Pataskala, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 35-54 | EA       | A2    |
| 86   | Reynoldsburg, OH    | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 100  | Blacklick, OH       | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 25-34 | EA       | A1    |
| 5    | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | Other    | B2    |
| 15   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 21   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 55+   | EA       | A2    |
| 24   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | NR              | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 52   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 54   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 65   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | Other    | B2    |
| 79   | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 202  | Columbus, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 55+   | EA       | B2    |
| 3    | Grove City, OH      | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 6               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 201  | Hilliard, OH        | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 55+   | EA       | A1    |
| 12   | Upper Arlington, OH | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 63   | Baltimore, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 3               | 25-34 | EA       | A2    |

Table D.1. (cont'd)

| Resp | Hometown             | Dialect Region | Rural-Urban | Sex | SES (Table 3.2) | Age   | Race/Eth | Quest |
|------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|-----|-----------------|-------|----------|-------|
| 56   | Pickerington, OH     | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 25-34 | EA       | B1    |
| 213  | Pickerington, OH     | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 5               | 35-54 | EA       | A1    |
| 51   | Pickerington, OH     | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 94   | Thornville, OH       | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 214  | Gahanna, OH          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 5               | 35-54 | EA       | B1    |
| 29   | Pittsburgh, PA       | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 77   | Brazil, IN           | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | NR       | A2    |
| 11   | Dayton, OH           | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 72   | Roseville, OH        | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 25-34 | EA       | B1    |
| 39   | S. Bloomingville, OH | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 82   | Summerfield, OH      | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 4               | 35-54 | EA       | B2    |
| 30   | Xenia, OH            | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 211  | Middleport OH        | Midland        | Rural       | F   | 5               | 55+   | EA       | B2    |
| 210  | Wheelersburg, OH     | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 5               | 55+   | EA       | A2    |
| 215  | Wheelersburg, OH     | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 5               | 55+   | EA       | A1    |
| 164  | Wise, VA             | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 2               | 25-34 | EA       | A2    |
| 212  | Wise, VA             | Midland        | Rural       | M   | 5               | 55+   | EA       | B1    |
| 28   | Charleston, WV       | Midland        | Urban       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 105  | Weirton, WV          | Midland        | Urban       | M   | 2               | 25-34 | EA       | B1    |
| 150  | Atlanta, GA          | South          | Urban       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | Other    | B1    |
| 153  | Atlanta, GA          | South          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 163  | Atlanta, GA          | South          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 167  | Atlanta, GA          | South          | Urban       | F   | 2               | 25-34 | NR       | A1    |
| 172  | Atlanta, GA          | South          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 170  | Cohutta, GA          | South          | Rural       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 161  | Dunwoody, GA         | South          | Urban       | F   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 157  | Jonesboro, GA        | South          | Rural       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 174  | Lawrenceville, GA    | South          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 25-34 | EA       | B2    |
| 159  | Loganville, GA       | South          | Rural       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 175  | Macon, GA            | South          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 176  | Macon, GA            | South          | Urban       | F   | 3               | 18-24 | AfA      | A1    |
| 152  | Marietta, GA         | South          | Urban       | M   | 5               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 156  | Marietta, GA         | South          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 166  | Marietta, GA         | South          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 168  | Martinez, GA         | South          | Urban       | M   | 2               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 171  | Savannah, GA         | South          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |
| 155  | Stone Mountain, GA   | South          | Urban       | M   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 160  | Stone Mountain, GA   | South          | Urban       | M   | 3               | 18-24 | Other    | A2    |
| 154  | Suwanee, GA          | South          | Rural       | F   | 4               | 18-24 | EA       | A1    |
| 149  | Thomasville, GA      | South          | Urban       | F   | 2               | 18-24 | AfA      | B2    |
| 165  | Valdosta, GA         | South          | Urban       | F   | 1               | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |

Table D.1. (cont'd)

| Resp | Hometown         | Dialect<br>Region | Rural-<br>Urban | Sex | SES<br>(Table 3.2) | Age   | Race/Eth | Quest |
|------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----|--------------------|-------|----------|-------|
| 151  | Winterville, GA  | South             | Rural           | M   | 2                  | 25-34 | NR       | A1    |
| 162  | Woodstock, GA    | South             | Rural           | F   | 2                  | 18-24 | EA       | B2    |
| 173  | Myrtle Beach, SC | South             | Urban           | M   | 1                  | 18-24 | EA       | A2    |
| 33   | Norfolk, VA      | South             | Urban           | M   | 4                  | 18-24 | AfA      | A2    |
| 169  | Norfolk, VA      | South             | Urban           | M   | 4                  | 18-24 | EA       | B1    |

## APPENDIX E

### Learning curve statistics

Table E.1. Use of token sentences in three groupings corresponding to the beginning, middle, and end of the questionnaire

| Version | N per sector | First 8 tokens | Second 8 tokens | Third 8 tokens | Pearson  |    |      |
|---------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------|----|------|
|         |              |                |                 |                | $\chi^2$ | df | p    |
| North   |              |                |                 |                |          |    |      |
| All     | 328          | 56%<br>(184)   | 58%<br>(191)    | 56%<br>(183)   | 0.45     | 2  | .800 |
| A1      | 88           | 63%<br>(55)    | 53%<br>(47)     | 48%<br>(42)    | 9.94     | 2  | .139 |
| A2      | 72           | 44%<br>(32)    | 44%<br>(32)     | 54%<br>(39)    | 1.82     | 2  | .403 |
| B1      | 112          | 52%<br>(58)    | 70%<br>(78)     | 63%<br>(70)    | 7.19     | 2  | .027 |
| B2      | 56           | 70%<br>(39)    | 61%<br>(34)     | 57%<br>(32)    | 1.98     | 2  | .371 |
| Midland |              |                |                 |                |          |    |      |
| All     | 760          | 79%<br>(598)   | 84%<br>(633)    | 82%<br>(621)   | 5.73     | 2  | .057 |
| A1      | 200          | 85%<br>(170)   | 86%<br>(170)    | 82%<br>(163)   | 1.42     | 2  | .492 |
| A2      | 192          | 78%<br>(150)   | 80%<br>(154)    | 86%<br>(166)   | 4.81     | 2  | .090 |
| B1      | 176          | 65%<br>(115)   | 78%<br>(138)    | 75%<br>(132)   | 8.19     | 2  | .016 |
| B2      | 192          | 85%<br>(163)   | 89%<br>(171)    | 83%<br>(160)   | 2.76     | 2  | .252 |
| South   |              |                |                 |                |          |    |      |
| All     | 216          | 53%<br>(114)   | 54%<br>(117)    | 60%<br>(130)   | 2.65     | 2  | .266 |
| A1      | 64           | 56%<br>(36)    | 45%<br>(29)     | 53%<br>(34)    | 1.63     | 2  | .443 |
| A2      | 72           | 58%<br>(42)    | 61%<br>(44)     | 65%<br>(47)    | 0.74     | 2  | .690 |
| B1      | 40           | 60%<br>(24)    | 72%<br>(28)     | 68%<br>(27)    | 1.26     | 2  | .531 |
| B2      | 40           | 30%<br>(12)    | 40%<br>(16)     | 55%<br>(22)    | 5.21     | 2  | .074 |

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