

CORRECTNESS, PLEASANTNESS, AND DEGREE OF DIFFERENCE RATINGS ACROSS REGIONS

VALERIE FRIDLAND

KATHRYN BARTLETT

University of Nevada, Reno

ABSTRACT: This study replicates Dennis Preston's folk-dialectology research to determine how speakers from Memphis, Tennessee, view their speech and that of speakers from Northern and Western states on correctness and pleasantness dimensions and how regional and ethnic speech stereotypes affect their evaluations. Results suggest that Memphians consider each region significantly different from the others on language correctness scales and that Southern regions are less "correct" than other regions. However, no regions are rated significantly different for language pleasantness. Such a finding, which elevates regional pleasantness despite regional incorrectness, is not surprising given similar findings elsewhere but does contradict Memphians' behavior when listening to actual speech samples of Southern-shifted vowel tokens where they rate their own speech least educated and pleasant. Intra-Southern differences in ratings on these folk-dialectology tasks, those that appear to demark rural-versus-urban association, are explored as potentially underlying this contrast in behavior. In addition, while they show productively similar vowel systems in Memphis, differences in dialect perceptions between Southern African American and white raters are explored. Finally, to see how Western dialect experience affects participants' pleasantness and correctness ratings, the article also examines how state ratings differed for speakers from Reno, Nevada, compared to Memphians.

SOUTHERN U.S. DIALECTS have long been viewed as less prestigious dialects of American English, and stereotypes of the dumb but sweet Southerner abound in the popular media. While actually composed of numerous varieties differing along ethnic, social, and geographic lines, the speech of this region is often considered a single quaint, unchanging dialect. As a group, though, Southern speakers do share a number of linguistically unique markers (e.g., /ay/ monophthongization, the *pin/pen* merger, double modal constructions) and a social and cultural heritage that set them apart from speakers in other U.S. dialect regions. Even in the face of long-standing and often pejorative stereotypes, this speech region's continued distinctiveness clearly attests to the remarkable power of social and historical solidarity in the face of external language pressure.

This perseverance in spite of pejorative stereotypes highlights the complexity of the linguistic decision-making process facing speakers every day, particularly those whose decisions mark equivocation between standard and nonstandard groups. Indeed, results from a number of seminal early sociolinguistic studies (Labov 1963, 1966, 1972a; Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972; Trudgill 1974) suggest that speakers are quite aware of external language norms and will shift toward such prestige norms in relevant contexts. However, there is also ample evidence that less prestigious group norms play a very strong part in defining speakers' linguistic behavior on a day-to-day basis and that socially symbolic linguistic behavior is one of the driving forces in language change (Fasold 1968; Wolfram 1969, 1991; Labov 1972a, 1972b, 1980, 1989, 1994, 2000; Milroy 1980, 1987; Trudgill 1983; Feagin 1986, 1987; Eckert 1988, 1989, 2000; Thomas 2001). Such polarized linguistic behavior suggests that speakers constantly attend to the meaningfulness of linguistic variation when weighing linguistic choices.

Speakers' and listeners' responses to variants result from a complex negotiation among attitudinal, perceptual, and productive factors. Sociolinguists increasingly recognize the value of looking at all three aspects when attempting to characterize the socially governed use and transmission of linguistic variants. While much work has been done to describe production norms characterizing U.S. regional dialects, it has not been simultaneously complemented by work on regional attitudes within these same communities. But, as speakers' own beliefs about their speech and that spoken elsewhere are presumably part of the puzzle behind linguistic selection, such work, in concert with work on production, can help us fit the pieces together.

PRODUCTION AND PERCEPTION IN THE MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, COMMUNITY

In order to understand how attitudes toward local speech interact with the production and perception of local variants, the current study explores how speakers in Memphis, Tennessee, feel about their own speech and the speech of outsiders.¹

Memphis is a large urban community located in the Mid-Southern United States, with a predominantly white and African American population. Earlier work in Memphis (Fridland 1999, 2001, 2003a, 2003b; Fridland and Bartlett 2006) assessed production norms for African American and white speakers, particularly in terms of participation in a series of vowel changes known as the Southern Vowel Shift (SVS). These changes predominantly involve the acoustic reversal of the high and mid front vowels and occur uniquely in

Southern speech. A follow-up study (Fridland, Bartlett, and Kreuz 2004, 2005) examined how well Memphians were able to perceive slight variations in vowel formant structure when synthetically altered either toward or away from local vowel norms. These studies cumulatively suggested that shifts in which Memphians were most active productively and which were unique to the South were also those most acoustically salient to listeners. In addition, these locally defining shifts were also those speech samples judged least educated and least pleasant.

Such results suggest that while Memphians use and perceive these shifts, they also view them as comparatively negative both on competence and solidarity scales. These results conflict with those found in many language attitude studies that suggest a trade-off between “incorrectness” and pleasantness. Such findings are puzzling: why would Memphians continue to use variants that local listeners rank as less pleasant and less educated than non-Southern variants? The production studies performed in Memphis clearly showed that several of the Southern Shift variants rated least educated and least pleasant were found widely across age, gender, and ethnic groups in Memphis. So, at some level, speakers must find the use of these shifted vowel variants rewarding, even if they consider them uneducated and unpleasant compared to nonshifted variants.

The perceptual salience test used synthesized speech samples and asked listeners to identify which token in a pair of (almost identical) vowel tokens sounded more Southern and then, in a following task, rate individual tokens on education and pleasantness scales. The test itself neither made reference to other regions nor made any claims about the regional origin of the tokens listeners heard. So, presumably, listeners were not forced to recognize the less Southern sounding tokens as explicitly non-Southern. Thus, in rating these tokens on competence and solidarity scales, listeners may not be using “Northern” versus “Southern” dialect criteria, but perhaps intra-Southern criteria comparing more rural versus less rural or more educated versus less educated sounding tokens. Alternatively, asking respondents to attend to the “Southernness” of tokens may have directed their attention to the position of such tokens relative to non-Southern prestige norms, forcing an evaluation of their local dialect’s relative nonstandardness. That listeners’ perceptions are altered by their task orientation was a key finding in work done by Niedzielski (1999). Using recordings of a Detroit speaker’s raised /aw/ variant, which she alternately introduced to raters as produced by either a Canadian or a Michigan speaker, Niedzielski showed that speech stereotypes play a role in the selection of the /aw/ variant listeners believed they had heard. Similarly, regional stereotypes may have played a role in the results cited above, altering participants’ perceptions of what sounded Southern to them. However,

without greater access to Memphians' language attitudes, it is difficult to determine what was driving participants' responses.

Hoping to gain insight into these results, the current study examines Memphians' attitudes toward their own speech and that spoken elsewhere in the United States, supplementing the previous work on production and perception in that community. For this study, Memphians were directly asked to provide opinions on speech spoken in various regions of the United States. This folk dialectology project, in comparison to the earlier production and perception studies in Memphis, gets at the overt stereotypes and attitudes speakers hold toward their own speech and that around them, allowing interesting contrast to their actual speech behavior and their more unconscious speech perceptions. In addition, speakers from Reno, Nevada, were given the same perceptual dialectology study to see how Western dialect experience affected participants' ratings of regional dialects compared to those whose identity is defined both by their Southern heritage and, on the flip side, the associated pejorative stereotypes.

In work documenting the folk-linguistic beliefs surrounding American regional dialects, Preston (1989, 1993, 1996) and Niedzielski and Preston (2000) confirmed the stereotypes about the less "correct" but "pleasant" speech spoken in the American South and the more "correct" speech used in the North by asking respondents from Michigan and Indiana to rank the 50 states, Washington, D.C., and New York City on a scale from one to ten for correctness and pleasantness. Obviously, there are prominent features of Southern and Northern speech that untrained Northern respondents quickly and overwhelmingly attend to and use to categorize speakers they encounter. None of his respondents displayed any hesitancy in performing such a task and, as may well be expected, his Northern raters showed extreme preferences for their own dialect, especially on the scale of correctness, compared to Southern speakers. Northerners also rated other states' speakers, as long as they were not Southern or from near Southern states, as much higher in correctness than those states located south of the Mason-Dixon line. While Northerners still evaluated their own speech as more "pleasant" than other regions, the Southern states did not fare as badly on this dimension of the test, suggesting that dialect varieties considered "incorrect" may be recognized as serving a solidarity function for speakers. Similarly, Michigan speakers, while considering themselves to have the most "correct" speech, allowed speakers in other states the privilege of sharing the "most pleasant" speech mantle while Indiana rated themselves the most "pleasant," if not the most "correct," state in the union. As Preston discusses, his results suggest that regional solidarity plays a more important role for speakers who are relatively insecure linguistically. Speakers confident in the standard appeal of their speech do not need solidarity as they have linguistic status.

While Preston's study confirmed that there are widespread and popular stereotypes about the less "correct" but friendlier Southerner among Northerners, we have not as strongly established the stereotypes that Southern speakers themselves buy into about their own and others' speech and whether racial divisions within the South affect such characterizations. The robustness of the changes in the South and the perseverance over time of Southern African American English (AAE) and Southern White American English (SWAE) dialects suggests that the in-group evaluation of these varieties must be more positive than the external evaluations provided by Preston's population and suggests the North-South continuum remains a prominent symbol of dialect discontinuity for Southern speakers. Certainly, the pervasiveness and longevity of these varieties suggests there must be rewards on some level for maintaining their variety's distinctiveness in the face of such negative stereotypes held outside the Southern speech community.

Preston (1996, 2000) suggests that strong Southern cultural identity may mediate the way Southerners view themselves in comparison to their regional ratings by those outside the South. His sample included some Southerners attending Auburn University in Alabama, but who mainly grew up in Southeastern states. For these Southerners, internal divisions on correctness appear to separate a few "core" (and "incorrect") Southern states like Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi from the rest of the South, allowing the remaining Southern states to emerge less scathed. In fact, unlike his Indiana raters, Preston's Southeastern Southern raters appeared much less consistently self-loathing, with some parts of the South rating as high as most of the rest of the country for correctness and higher than most of the rest of the country on pleasantness scales. However, because his raters were from several areas within the South, it is difficult to determine exactly how much home-state elevation may have affected these results and how much internal divides among participants' states within the South came into play. Performing the same study with Southern respondents from a single state in the South may shed more light onto these results. In addition, another intraregional distinction has been little explored in work on regional language attitudes. AAE shares much history with SWAE. However, the common process of lumping together speakers within the South simplifies the significantly ideologically diverse population that inhabits this region. So, in addition to investigating how Memphians overtly view their own and others' speech, the current study measures whether gender or ethnicity alters their evaluations.

Finally, while we know what Northerners believe about the South, the study also investigates whether limited exposure to Southern speakers and the decreased salience of North-South divisions mediates the attitudes formed by Westerners despite all the negative stereotypes that abound in media portrayals of the South. Previous perceptual work in the West has

mainly focused on California (Fought 2002) and Oregon (Hartley 1999) and has suggested that lack of direct North-South experience and greater West Coast familiarity mediates participants' views of their own and other states. The current study expands on such findings by examining how locals from Nevada, a state whose main associations are with gaming and prostitution, evaluate the speech that surrounds them and whether their own intraregional reputation affects these evaluations.

METHODOLOGY

In replicating the perceptual dialectology tasks developed by Dennis Preston, participants were simply asked to rate all 50 states, New York City, and the District of Columbia on scales of zero to nine for correctness and pleasantness and on a scale of zero to three for degree of difference from their own speech. The study is based on the results of 168 respondents from Memphis and 259 respondents from Reno, ages 18–25. All participants were native to Memphis or Reno. As Reno has an extremely small African American population, only white participants were sought in that location. Mean scores of all ratings for each state were calculated (see the appendix), collapsed in major regional breakdowns (see figure 1) and compared. Results were subjected to Repeated Measures ANOVAs for within-regional group comparisons and one-way ANOVAs for cross-group comparisons. Any references to correct or pleasant speech in the text refer only to participants' relative ratings of states on the study task, not to any objective measure of correctness or pleasantness.

MAP TASK RATINGS: CORRECTNESS, PLEASANTNESS, AND DEGREE OF DIFFERENCE

RESULTS FROM MEMPHIS SAMPLE. Not surprisingly, results suggest that Memphians are very aware of the North-South continuum and its correlation with “correct” speech, but are not very aware of intra-Western differences, lumping most of the Western region together as one largely “correct” area (figure 2).²

Echoing the beliefs of Preston's Northern raters, the Southern region was believed comparatively “incorrect” even by Southerners themselves (table 1). These results differ from those found for Preston's Southeastern Southern raters, who did not perceive the South in general as particularly incorrect compared to much of the rest of the country. However, like his raters, Memphians also divided the Southern region into several different

FIGURE 1
Boundaries Used for Regional Comparison

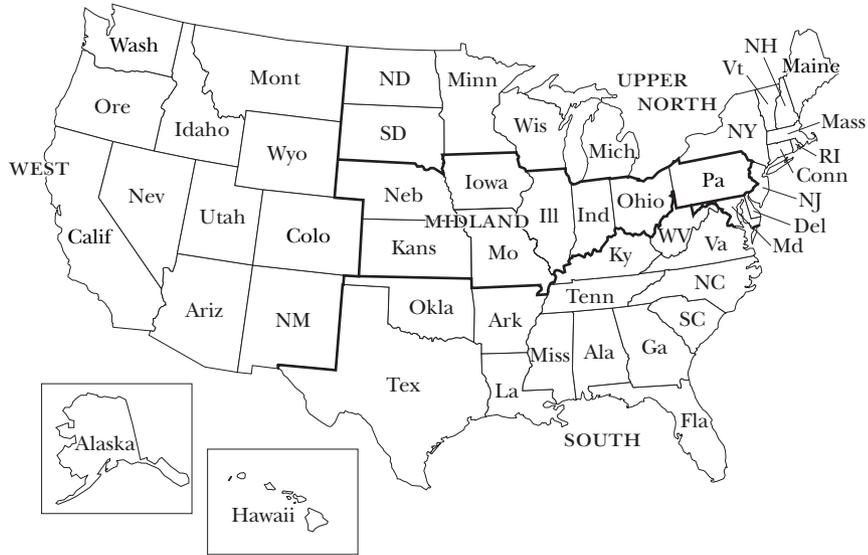


FIGURE 2
Memphis Raters' Correctness Means by State
(mean score range: 1 [lowest] to 10 [highest])

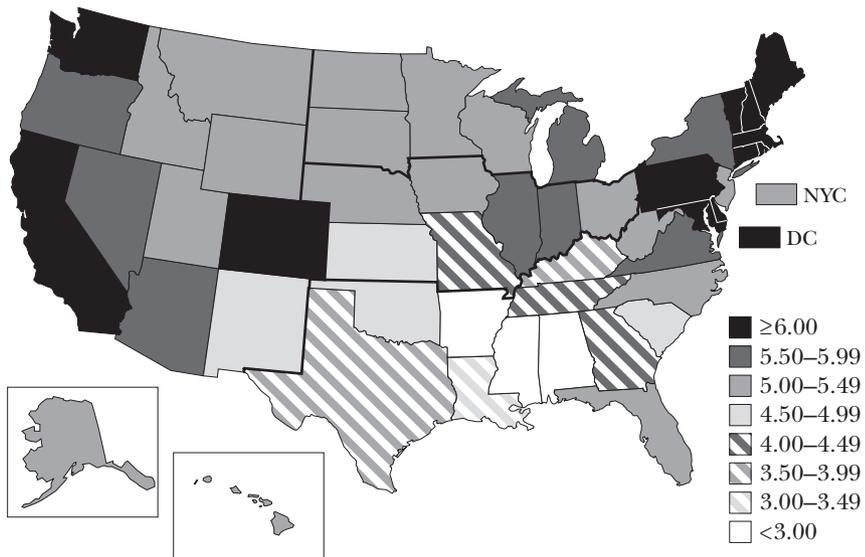


FIGURE 3
Memphis Raters' Pleasantness Means by State

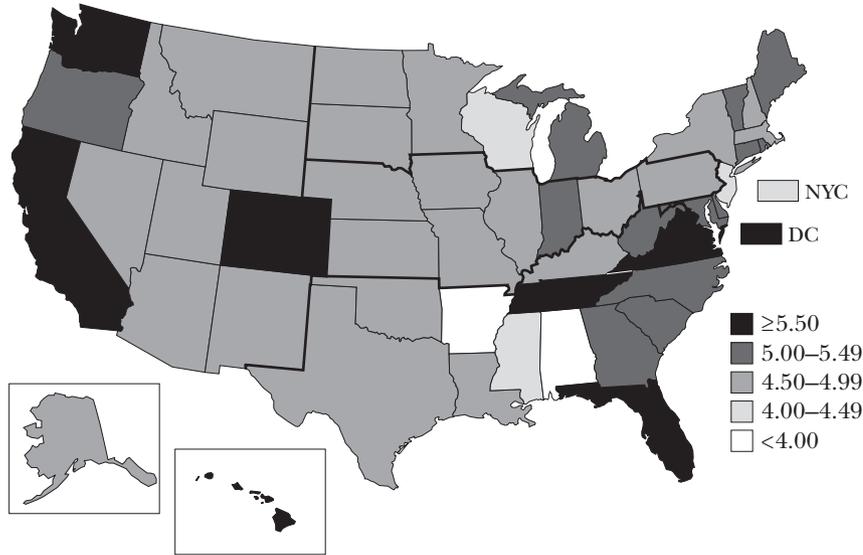


TABLE 1
Memphis Mean Scores (and Standard Deviation) for Each Map Region
on Each Construct

Region	Correctness (0–9)	Pleasantness (0–9)	Degree of Difference (0–3)
South	4.22 (1.04)	4.94 (1.32)	1.40 (0.58)
All North	5.73 (1.12)	4.94 (1.03)	2.30 (0.71)
Upper North	5.88 (1.24)	4.93 (1.35)	2.42 (0.77)
Midland	5.32 (1.07)	4.93 (1.03)	2.00 (0.62)
West	5.60 (1.13)	5.03 (1.03)	2.19 (0.77)

groupings with a few core states receiving the lowest correctness ratings. Here, though, we see that the states believed most incorrect are mainly those that form Tennessee’s southwestern border (Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas) and are the ones with whom Memphians have the greatest contact. Interestingly, although they did not find the same Southern states least correct, both raters in the current study and the Southern raters in Preston’s study located more correct Southern speech in the eastern South and less correct Southern speech to the west. Most of Preston’s raters were from Eastern parts of the region, explaining their tendency to rate themselves higher on correctness. This is a more surprising intraregional assessment for Mid-Southern Memphis. Looking more closely at figure 2, however, it seems

that Memphis's location in the southwesternmost corner tended to affect how Memphians rated neighboring states. States that shared a border close to Memphis fared quite poorly, with Memphians clearly seeing themselves as more correct than speakers in those states. Southern states sharing a border with Tennessee at the other end of the state, those with whom Memphians have much less regular contact, were seen as more correct than Tennessee. Also, Virginia's and the Carolinas' higher correctness ratings may be a reflection of their coastal location and their distance from what both Preston's and the current study's Southern raters appear to deem the "core" South. A similar finding was reported by Fought (2002). In her study of the mental maps drawn by Californians, she found that her participants often labeled the coastal South as part of the East Coast while identifying the "South" with states in the mid-western South. Clearly, this elevated view of eastern as opposed to western Southern states is quite widespread.

In general, Memphians were much harsher on themselves and their region than Preston's participants, who did not see themselves as particularly incorrect compared to speakers in other areas of the United States. As figure 2 shows, Memphis raters found the North and West comparably more correct than any states in the South. In addition, the closer a state was to the South, the more likely it would receive lower ratings on this dimension, as it had from Preston's Indiana raters. In contrast, the Northern region, particularly the Upper North, was rated most correct.

Repeated Measures ANOVAs were performed and significant differences were found overall on how Memphians rated each region on correctness ($F(4, 716) = 155.653, p < .001$) and degree of difference ($F(4, 716) = 171.049, p < .001$). Subsequently, pairwise comparisons were performed. While Memphians considered each region to be significantly different from the others on correctness scales, with the South awarded the title of least correct (table 2), no regions were considered significantly different in terms of pleasantness. In addition, all regions except the South showed lower pleasantness than correctness scores, pointing to a trade-off between correct and pleasant speech (table 1). Such results support those found elsewhere (Ryan and Giles 1982; Niedzielski and Preston 2000) that suggest that nonstandard speech is often viewed favorably on solidarity scales. The assignment of higher pleasantness than correctness scores to the South suggests that Memphians do indeed assign value to their local speech primarily on affective dimensions. However, these results conflict with those of the earlier speech perception study where Memphians rated local variants as both less educated AND less pleasant than less regionally unique variants. In that study, pleasantness and education ratings also decreased as degree of shift toward Southern norms increased. Yet when asked directly about their region's speech in this study,

TABLE 2
T-Tests Comparing Memphians' Correctness Means by Region

South-ALL NORTH	$t(165) = 14.69, p < .01$
South-WEST	$t(165) = 13.25, p < .01$
South-MIDLAND	$t(165) = 12.24, p < .01$
South-UPPER NORTH	$t(165) = 14.47, p < .01$
ALL NORTH-West	$t(165) = 2.33, p < .05$
ALL NORTH-Midland	$t(165) = 8.04, p < .01$
All North-UPPER NORTH	$t(165) = 5.88, p < .01$
WEST-Midland	$t(165) = 4.86, p < .01$
West-UPPER NORTH	$t(165) = 3.95, p < .01$
Midland-UPPER NORTH	$t(165) = 7.40, p < .01$

NOTE: Small capitals indicate the region in each pair considered significantly more correct.

Memphians rated local speech, that spoken in Tennessee and the larger South, more pleasant than correct, a stark contrast to their performance on the perception test. So why this disconnect in language attitudes and speech perception behavior?

Intraregional identity may play a key role in this disparity between perceptually based and attitudinally based evaluations. Memphians' ratings of states that border Tennessee and Memphis's regional position as an urban center suggest that this downgrading of more "Southern" speech on the perception test lies in locals' assignments of rurality and regional prestige. Geographically, Memphis is poised right on the border of western Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas, overlooking the banks of the Mississippi River. It is one of the largest urban areas within the South. According to the 2000 Census, much in-migration in Southern cities has occurred in the direction of movement from the rural South to larger Southern urban areas. In fact, Memphis was one of the top metropolitan growth centers in 1990–2000, with the greatest migration activity (in-migration plus out-migration) occurring with other Southern states (Redding and Schenk 2000). Much of this rural-to-urban in-migration is economically driven, with increasing industrialization in the urban centers leading to both job growth and economic advantage compared to rural areas whose largely agriculturally based economy has become increasingly weak and difficult to maintain. This rural-to-urban migration occurs widely for both African Americans and whites, and many study participants reported rural Southern family backgrounds.

Such rural Southern identity is associated more predominantly with the stereotypes perpetuated by mass media of the uneducated but lovable "down-home" Southerner. Rarely is the basis for Southern representations

derived from the South's urbanized communities such as Memphis and Atlanta. Instead, these ideological constructions of Southernness are formed from romanticized visions of the plantation South or small, largely rural community archetypes represented in movies and television (e.g., *Gone with the Wind*, *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood*, *My Cousin Vinny*, *The Dukes of Hazzard*). This portrayal of Southernness and the stereotypes it spawns rarely reflect the true composition of the South but are pervasive both outside and within the region.

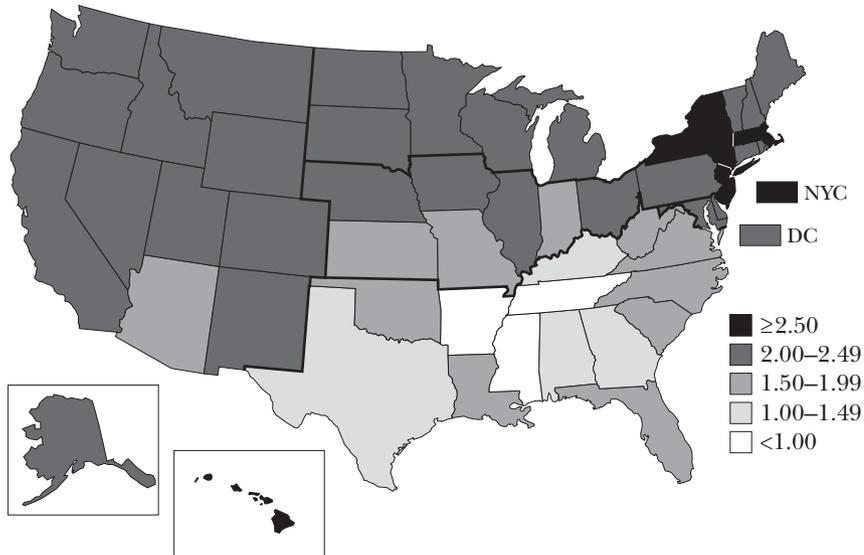
As shown in table 3, the divide between Memphians and those largely rural states forming its borders becomes clear in the comparative correctness, pleasantness, and degree of difference scores for each area. Repeated Measures ANOVAs found omnibus effects on all three dimensions of state rating comparisons at $F(4, 728) = 152.695$, $p < .001$, for correctness; $F(4, 724) = 32.442$, $p < .001$, for pleasantness; and $F(4, 724) = 130.718$, $p < .001$, for degree of difference. While Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas all show much higher scores for pleasantness than correctness, Tennessee rated itself significantly higher for correctness compared to Mississippi, $F(1, 182) = 135.064$, $p < .001$, and Arkansas, $F(1, 182) = 124.284$, $p < .001$, and also significantly higher for pleasantness: Mississippi, $F(1, 181) = 95.259$, $p < .001$, and Arkansas $F(1, 181) = 95.161$, $p < .001$. Still, recognizing the proximity of these states and that a large number of Memphians come from these areas, Memphians also rate Mississippi and Arkansas as most similar to their own speech compared to any other states, although these differences were still significant (Miss., $F(1, 181) = 25.902$, $p < .001$, and Ark., $F(1, 181) = 43.468$, $p < .001$). In fact, Mississippi and Arkansas are the only other states to average a similarity rating of less than one on a four-point scale of zero to three (figure 4). All other Southern states are higher than one in terms of difference, and non-Southern regions rank much higher. Thus, while Memphians obviously view Mississippi and Arkansas speakers as less correct and pleasant than themselves, they recognize the three areas as forming a shared speech community. On the other hand, they clearly imagine some differences exist based on their assignment of lower correct and pleasant

TABLE 3
Memphis Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Tennessee,
Mississippi, and Arkansas

Region	Correctness (0–9)	Pleasantness (0–9)	Degree of Difference (0–3)
South	4.22 (1.04)	4.94 (1.32)	1.40 (0.58)
Tennessee	4.25 (2.09)	5.50 (2.50)	0.54 (1.04)
Mississippi	2.68 (2.09)	4.04 (2.66)	0.86 (1.07)
Arkansas	2.77 (1.97)	3.85 (2.36)	0.99 (1.09)

FIGURE 4

Memphis Raters' Degree of Difference (from Their Own Speech) Means by State



scores to these states than to Tennessee. Based on these comparative results, it appears that the lower scores reflect their measure of “Southernness” as a function of low intraregional status, most likely reflecting rurality. Similarly, Memphians’ ranking of more Southern-shifted vowel variants as less educated and less pleasant in the speech perception study may have attended not only to North-South distinctions, but to such intraregional distinctions. So even though Memphians use the vowel variants that they rank most Southern and low on status and solidarity scales, they may not be evaluating the variants in actual speech exclusively on norms external to the region, but on localized norms for prestige or rurality. Similar regional prestige effects can be found in Preston’s results where Michiganders rated themselves as “most” correct but considered themselves “no different” on the degree of difference scale from immediately surrounding states.

In addition to such distinctions based on rural-urban orientation, ethnic differences remain very salient and expose separate reference groups within the South. In rating correctness, African Americans gave each region higher scores than whites (table 4). These comparative differences in correctness were significant in the case of the overall North and Upper North, $F(1, 166) = 6.40, p < .05$, and $F(1, 166) = 7.82, p < .01$, respectively. While the trend of African Americans assigning higher scores was consistent, these differences were not significant for Southern, Western, and Midland regions.

In addition, while African American raters viewed the Northern region as significantly more pleasant than white raters ($F(1, 163) = 11.39, p < .01$), they rated the South as less pleasant than whites did, although this difference was not significant. Interestingly, based on mean scores, African Americans viewed the speech in each region EXCEPT the South as more pleasant than whites viewed it. Such results again become a bit more clear when degree of difference scores are considered. When asked how different the speech in each area was from their own, African Americans rated speech in the South significantly more different from their own than whites did, $F(1, 165) = 9.77, p < .01$. No other area showed significant differences between African American and white raters in this category, although, while not significant, whites found speech in the North more distinct from their own by a smaller margin than African Americans did.

Such results for pleasantness and degree of difference suggest that when taking such an "overt evaluatory" position on regional speech that brings into play external standards and norms, African Americans may not be using their own varieties as the basis for comparison, but perhaps are using "white" varieties as the basis for comparison. In addition, African

TABLE 4
Comparative Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) by Region
for African American and White Raters in Memphis

	<i>Overall Mean</i>	<i>African Americans</i>	<i>Whites</i>
<i>N</i>	168	79	89
Correctness Ratings (0-9)			
South	4.22 (1.04)	4.34 (0.95)	4.34 (0.95)
All North	5.73 (1.12)	5.94 (1.16)	5.53 (1.04)
Upper North	5.88 (1.24)	6.15 (1.27)	5.63 (1.17)
Midland	5.32 (1.07)	5.43 (1.09)	5.23 (1.17)
West	5.60 (1.13)	5.77 (1.13)	5.45 (1.12)
Pleasantness Ratings (0-9)			
South	4.94 (1.32)	4.74 (1.21)	5.06 (1.41)
All North	4.94 (1.03)	5.25 (1.00)	4.64 (1.26)
Upper North	4.93 (1.35)	5.33 (1.09)	4.57 (1.46)
Midland	4.93 (1.03)	5.05 (0.99)	4.81 (1.06)
West	5.03 (1.03)	5.04 (1.02)	5.01 (1.07)
Degree of Difference from Own Speech (0-3)			
South	1.40 (0.58)	1.54 (0.53)	1.27 (0.60)
All North	2.30 (0.71)	2.26 (0.74)	2.33 (0.69)
Upper North	2.42 (0.77)	2.37 (0.80)	2.46 (0.75)
Midland	2.00 (0.62)	2.00 (0.64)	1.99 (0.61)
West	2.19 (0.77)	2.27 (0.81)	2.09 (0.74)

American attitudes toward Northern speech may be influenced by the South-North migration and North-South reverse migration patterns over the last few decades. Migration of African Americans within the United States was traditionally South to North as greater job opportunity led workers to factories in the North where the availability of foreign laborers for Northern industry had been decreased by World War I. However, this migration was often not permanent—with reverse migration and frequent travel back to the South—and was characterized by the maintenance of strong Southern ties. By the 1970s, Northern in-migration was slowing and movement to the South increased, mainly reflecting the return of Southern African Americans from the North (Johnson and Campbell 1981). This more fluid migration, and the increase in the number of Southern African Americans with family living or who themselves had lived in the North, certainly might mediate raters' evaluation of these states compared to white speakers whose families remain firmly planted in the South.

Certainly, such results show us that attitudinal studies can often overlook very important intragroup differences that operate regionally and socially and suggest much work still needs to be done toward understanding how ethnic groups comparatively view the speech around them. While earlier production studies showed that African Americans in Memphis share a number of defining Southern features with whites, they also expose characteristic AAE features such as final consonant devoicing, /l/ vocalization, and multiple negation that maintain distinctiveness. Clearly, these distinctions play a role in defining how evaluations of “local” speech play out for these two ethnic groups in tasks such as those here.

RESULTS FROM THE RENO SAMPLE. Despite much less direct experience with the South, Western raters viewed Southern speech negatively on both correctness and pleasantness scales relative to other regional dialects (table 5). Repeated Measures ANOVAs were performed and significant differences were found overall on how Reno participants rated each region on correctness ($F(4, 1012) = 229.160, p < .001$), pleasantness ($F(4, 996) = 60.706, p < .001$), and degree of difference ($F(4, 980) = 958.428, p < .001$). Reno raters found speech in the South to be significantly less correct and less pleasant than any other region (see table 6). On the other hand, Reno raters found Western speech to be significantly more correct than that spoken elsewhere in the nation (table 7). Such results are not surprising, as both Fought's (2002) study in California and Hartley's (1999) work in Oregon suggest that Western speakers have quite a bit of linguistic security and see speech in the West as more correct than that elsewhere. As the ratings here indicate, Northern Nevadans are also quite confident about their speech's stature nationally.

In comparison, Memphians did not seem to feel quite as confident about the West, as they rated the West as significantly less correct than the Northern region and the Upper North alone (table 2). As long as you are east of the Mississippi, both Memphians and Renoites appear to believe that the farther North you travel, the more correct your speech becomes. However, Nevadans see Western, not Northern, speech as comparatively most correct, and this difference in evaluation is significant compared to Memphians, $F(1, 439) = 37.428$, $p < .001$. Both groups, however, appear to agree that the least correct speech is spoken in the South. Clearly, Nevadans do not suffer the same regional insecurity as Southerners.

Interestingly, Nevada's reputation as a slightly outlaw state where casinos and brothels are well-known sources of entertainment may subtly affect Reno participants' self-ratings. Nevadans locate their own state's speech among the most correct in the nation. However, Oregonians rated themselves as having the most correct speech of any state (Hartley 1999), and Californians most often located "good" English in the state of California (Fought 2002). Nevadans rated their own speech as just as correct as the speech in other Western states but did not rate their state as the most correct. These results echo those Preston found for his Indiana raters, who, he believes, were more linguistically insecure due to their close proximity to the South. If Nevada's self-ratings are viewed similarly, their results may reveal a bit of regional

FIGURE 5
Reno Raters' Correctness Means

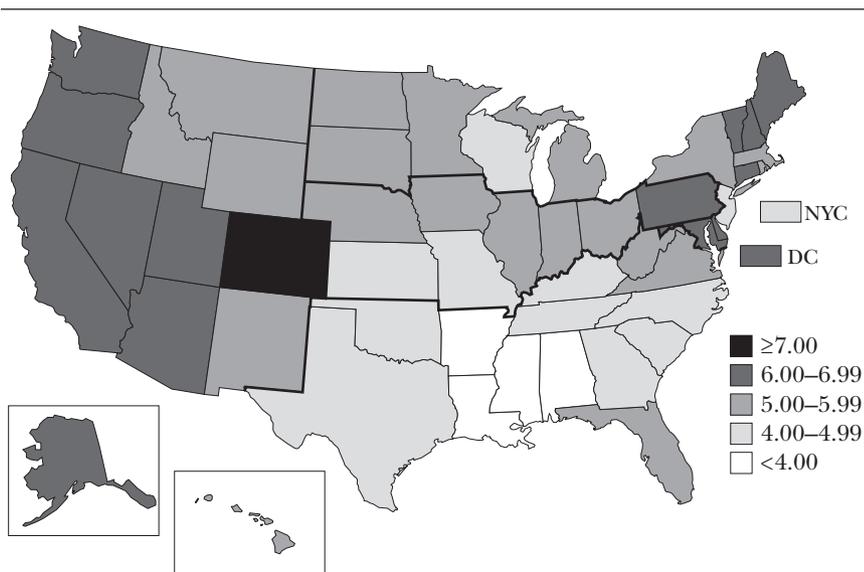


FIGURE 6
Nevada Raters' Pleasantness Means

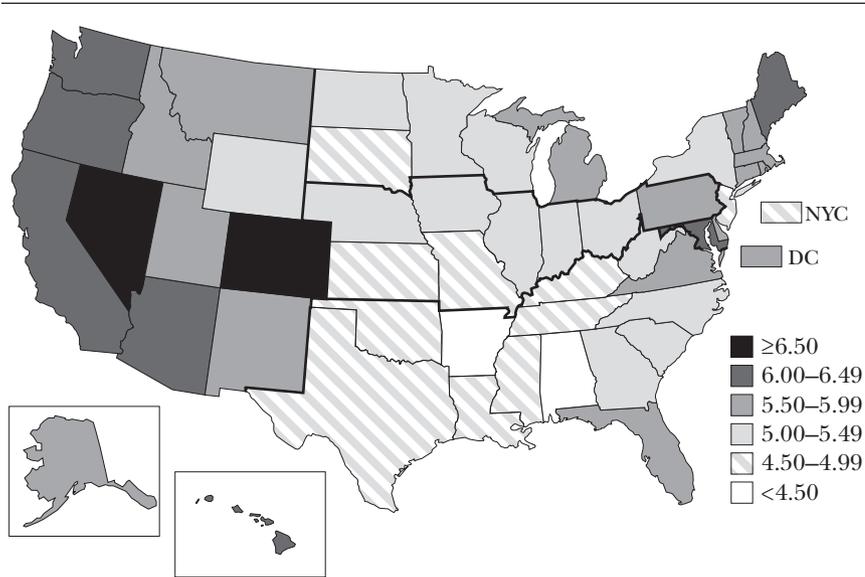


TABLE 5
Reno Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Each Map Region
on Each Construct

Region	Correctness (0–9)	Pleasantness (0–9)	Degree of Difference (0–3)
South	4.41 (1.42)	4.97 (1.65)	2.42 (0.37)
All North	5.64 (1.20)	5.45 (1.39)	1.87 (0.42)
Upper North	6.08 (1.32)	5.50 (1.45)	1.93 (0.43)
Midland	5.35 (1.29)	5.26 (1.42)	1.78 (0.46)
West	6.37 (1.35)	6.07 (1.49)	0.77 (0.50)

insecurity that has to do with the state’s unusual industrial base: Nevada’s reputation as an illicit playground may affect how locals view themselves. However, these relative correctness ratings may also simply be a result of the huge influx of nonlocals who have flooded the state in recent years, particularly northern Californians moving into Reno, making natives view the speech spoken in their state much like that surrounding them.

Although they found speech in the West correct in general, Nevadans found speech in Colorado to be the most correct speech nationally. This higher rating for Colorado echoes those of Memphians, who also rated Colorado relatively high (although not the highest) in correctness. How-

TABLE 6
T-Tests Comparing Reno Raters' Regional Correctness
 and Pleasantness Means to the South

Correctness	
South-ALL NORTH	$t(255) = 18.62, p < .01$
South-WEST	$t(255) = 19.60, p < .01$
South-MIDLAND	$t(255) = 14.54, p < .01$
South-UPPER NORTH	$t(255) = 23.42, p < .01$
Pleasantness	
South-ALL NORTH	$t(252) = 5.80, p < .01$
South-WEST	$t(255) = 10.28, p < .01$
South-MIDLAND	$t(255) = 3.73, p < .01$
South-UPPER NORTH	$t(254) = 5.92, p < .01$

NOTE: Small capitals indicate the region in each pair considered significantly more correct/pleasant.

TABLE 7
T-Tests Comparing Reno Raters' Means of Their Own Region Compared
 to All Other Regions

WEST-All North	$t(257) = 10.28, p < .01$
WEST-South	$t(257) = 19.60, p < .01$
WEST-Midland	$t(259) = 13.90, p < .01$
WEST-Upper North	$t(257) = 3.51, p < .01$

NOTE: Small capitals indicate the region in each pair considered significantly more correct.

ever, Memphians also rated California high on correctness. Here, however, California does not receive as generous a correctness rating from Reno raters, who see their own state as somewhat more correct than California and quite a bit more pleasant (shown in table 8). At the same time, Nevadans also believed that Californians' speech was closest to their own compared to any other state in the United States. Like the Memphis ratings for Mississippi and Arkansas, Reno's comparative intra-Western ratings show a conflicted relationship with California. Although Reno is located a mere six miles from the California border, northern Nevadans share no great love for their much larger, high-profile neighbor to the west. Reno's dependence on California oil refineries and farming products and the run-up in housing prices by Bay Area relocators has not favorably disposed locals toward the Golden State, nor has Californians' tendency to treat Reno as mainly a lower-class gaming destination. The large influx of both Californians and their state's

TABLE 8
 Reno Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Nevada and California

<i>Region</i>	<i>Correctness (0–9)</i>	<i>Pleasantness (0–9)</i>	<i>Degree of Difference (0–3)</i>
West	6.37 (1.35)	6.07 (1.49)	0.77 (0.50)
Nevada	6.87 (1.99)	6.72 (2.11)	0.22 (0.64)
California	6.70 (2.21)	6.36 (2.40)	0.40 (0.70)

economic problems is most likely responsible for this comparative regional downgrading. While the differences on correctness scales are not large, the pleasantness differences show a strong solidarity with their native state at the expense of Californians, despite the fact that they do not see much difference in speech between the two states.

Although she focused on mental maps drawn by Californians rather than correctness and pleasantness ratings, Fought also found a tendency to view speech in Nevada as fairly close to that found in California, with her participants showing a radiating effect of “good” English spoken by Californians and speakers from those states immediately bordering it. However, in her study, Californians, not surprisingly, most often located “good” English in California. Oregon speakers found their speech to be very similar to other Western states, but, like Nevadans, they drew a line between themselves and Californians by assigning California lower pleasantness scores. So, as found earlier for Memphians (and similar to results found in much other perceptual work), intraregional status clearly comes into play in these participants’ attitudes toward their own and others’ speech.

In terms of pleasantness, Nevadans found pleasant speech to differ significantly among all the regions (table 9). While the South was rated as having significantly less pleasant speech than all other regions, the West was rated as having significantly more pleasant speech than all other regions. Again, it appears that the farther west one goes, the more pleasant the speech becomes, and Nevadans hear their speech as the most pleasant, in fact, of that in any state in the Union. Northern Nevadans appear comfortably smug about the relative position of their own speech on solidarity scales, even if they may not find their speech to be the most correct nationally. Again, these results are similar to those found by Preston in Indiana, where local raters also found speech in their own state to be the most pleasant, if not the most correct. Apparently, as so much research on language attitudes has found, pleasant speech does not require, and is often inversely related to, the highest ratings on competence scales.

Similarly, though Memphians located the most correct speech in the North, Memphians agreed with Reno raters that the most pleasant speech

TABLE 9
T-Tests Comparing Reno Raters' Pleasantness Means for All Regions

South-UPPER NORTH	$t(254) = -5.919, p < .01$
South-ALL NORTH	$t(252) = -5.799, p < .01$
South-MIDLAND	$t(255) = -3.732, p < .01$
South-WEST	$t(255) = -10.284, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH-All North	$t(254) = 3.460, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH-Midland	$t(254) = 4.434, p < .01$
Upper North-WEST	$t(254) = -7.198, p < .01$
ALL NORTH-Midland	$t(254) = 4.727, p < .01$
All North-WEST	$t(252) = -8.390, p < .01$
Midland-WEST	$t(254) = -11.337, p < .01$

NOTE: Small capitals indicate the region in each pair considered significantly more pleasant.

is spoken in the West, as Memphians gave the West the highest pleasantness mean score of any region. What is interesting is that, comparatively, Memphian raters did not see their own speech as more or less pleasant than any other region, nor did they, in fact, find any significant differences among regional dialects in terms of pleasantness. So even though Memphians rate their speech more harshly on pleasantness scales when listening to actual speech samples, they believe on a more conscious level that their speech, while incorrect, competes successfully in terms of pleasantness but does not exceed pleasantness of speech in other regions. Again, Reno raters' lack of hesitancy in rating themselves at the top of the scale stands in sharp contrast to the apparent insecurity of the Memphis raters when rating their own region, even along solidarity lines, in comparison to other regions.

Echoing their negative assessment of the South on correctness scales, Memphians' generosity in assigning high pleasantness scores to the West was not reciprocated by Reno raters. *T*-tests comparing pleasantness ratings between Reno and Memphis raters for each region show that Reno raters were significantly more generous than Memphians on pleasantness scores for all regions EXCEPT the South (table 10). The lack of a comparable higher pleasantness assignment for the South suggests Westerners have been affected by stereotypes about Southern speech which play a strong role in defining their regional language attitudes.

Given such results, it is not surprising that Nevadans felt that speech in the South was by far more distinct from their own than any other region (see figure 7). At the same time, Reno raters felt that all other regions' speech was significantly different from their own as well (table 11). Similarly, Memphians also saw the speech in all other regions as significantly different from their

own. Regional differences are clearly something that Americans are acutely aware of, regardless of a region's internal and external evaluation. While Memphians felt that their speech differed most from the North (particularly the Upper North) and less so from the Midlands and West, Reno raters believed Southern speech to be most distinct compared with other regions (tables 1 and 5, respectively). Again, negative stereotypes about the South appear to pervade Nevadans' images of speech in that region and create a context of contrast with their own speech. Memphians, on the other hand, see much more of a divide between their speech and that of Northerners, most likely due to the historically divisive relationship with speakers of that region. Interestingly, the Midlands, that bastion of oft-considered "accentless"

TABLE 10
Comparative *T*-Test for Reno and Memphis Mean Scores on Pleasantness

South	Not significant
All North ^a	$t(158) = 3.81, p < .01$
Upper North ^a	$t(160) = 3.75, p < .01$
Midland ^a	$t(165) = 2.66, p < .01$
West ^a	$t(163) = 6.77, p < .01$

a. Considered significantly more pleasant by Reno raters.

FIGURE 7
Nevada Raters' Degree of Difference (from Their Own Speech) Means

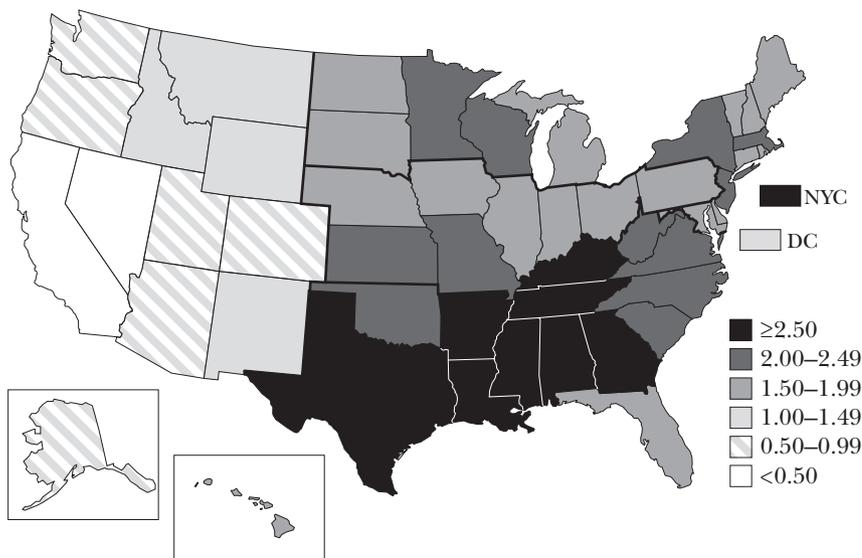


TABLE 11
Nevada and Memphis *T*-Tests for Degree of Difference

Nevada Results	
SOUTH–Upper North	$t(257) = 19.15, p < .01$
SOUTH–All North	$t(256) = 22.17, p < .01$
SOUTH–Midland	$t(257) = 23.09, p < .01$
SOUTH–West	$t(248) = 10.74, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH–All North	$t(257) = 8.14, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH–Midland	$t(257) = 6.22, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH–West	$t(249) = 32.65, p < .01$
ALL NORTH–Midland	$t(257) = 5.28, p < .01$
ALL NORTH–West	$t(248) = 33.41, p < .01$
MIDLAND–West	$t(248) = 30.74, p < .01$
Memphis Results	
South–UPPER NORTH	$t(165) = 14.71, p < .01$
South–ALL NORTH	$t(165) = 14.14, p < .01$
South–MIDLAND	$t(165) = 11.32, p < .01$
South–WEST	$t(164) = 11.99, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH–All North	$t(167) = 11.11, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH–Midland	$t(167) = 12.36, p < .01$
UPPER NORTH–West	$t(166) = 8.11, p < .01$
ALL NORTH–Midland	$t(167) = 12.64, p < .01$
ALL NORTH–West	$t(166) = 4.79, p < .01$
MIDLAND–West	$t(166) = 6.11, p < .01$

NOTE: Small capitals indicate the region in each pair considered significantly more different.

speech, is considered most similar to their own speech by both Southerners and Westerners. Nevadans, like Southerners, appear to locate extremely Northern speech on the farther side of the difference divide, coming in second in dissimilarity next to Southern speech.

Clearly, both Memphians and Renoites consider SWAE the most salient regional dialect, presumably owing to strong and widespread stereotypes about the speech spoken there. Such results are not surprising and echo those found in many other language attitude studies, including those performed in the North, South (Preston 1989; Niedzielski and Preston 2000), and West (Hartley 1999; Fought 2002). In addition, the speech found in the Western region is viewed favorably by both in-group and out-group members both on correctness and pleasantness scales, again supporting the findings of earlier research. This largely favorable view of the West is the result, most likely, of the lack of negative stereotypes of Western speech and the belief that, like

the Midlands, Western speech is, in general, accentless, a view espoused by many of the Reno participants when taking the test.

While ethnic differences appear quite salient in terms of regional ratings, some gender differences also appeared in the data. Based on mean scores for both groups (table 12), there was a consistent trend for women to assign higher correctness and pleasantness scores to the regions, although these differences were not significant for the Memphis group. However, several significant differences emerged in the Reno data, all of which suggest a similar trend showing that Reno women were significantly less harsh in the ratings than men. Western female raters found the South both significantly more correct ($F(256) = 5.6, p < .05$) and more pleasant ($F(256) = 6.71, p < .05$) than Western males did. In addition, they found all other regions, except the West, significantly more pleasant than men did (see table 13). This lack of difference for Western scores is not surprising, as Reno women and men clearly agreed that their home speech was the most correct and pleasant speech. The results from Memphis and Reno seem to suggest that women were more generous in their ratings on both correctness and pleasantness scales than were men. Such results in both groups of participants seem to suggest that women may simply assign less salience to regional speech differences than men do. Alternatively, women's lower status socially and linguistically (Trudgill 1974; Labov 1980, 1990) may position them more sympathetically when evaluating others' speech.

TABLE 12
Gender Differences in Regional Ratings for Reno and Memphis Groups

N	<i>Reno</i>		<i>Memphis</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
	96	163	50	118
Correctness Ratings (0-9)				
South	4.15 (1.48)	4.58 (1.37)	4.04 (0.86)	4.33 (1.11)
All North	5.54 (1.26)	5.70 (1.18)	5.50 (1.11)	5.83 (1.11)
Upper North	5.94 (1.39)	6.17 (1.30)	5.63 (1.24)	5.98 (1.23)
Midland	5.34 (1.33)	5.38 (1.27)	5.13 (1.06)	5.40 (1.07)
West	6.48 (1.34)	6.29 (1.38)	5.33 (0.99)	5.71 (1.16)
Pleasantness Ratings (0-9)				
South	4.64 (1.59)	5.18 (1.67)	4.88 (1.08)	4.94 (1.43)
All North	5.14 (1.37)	5.63 (1.37)	4.71 (0.96)	5.01 (1.24)
Upper North	5.18 (1.45)	5.67 (1.32)	4.65 (1.12)	5.03 (1.43)
Midland	4.99 (1.33)	5.41 (1.46)	4.85 (0.88)	4.96 (1.09)
West	5.87 (1.56)	6.18 (1.46)	4.79 (0.83)	5.12 (1.12)

TABLE 13
T-Tests Comparing Gender Differences (Reno Raters)

South ^a	$F(256) = 6.71, p < .05$
All North ^a	$F(253) = 7.60, p < .01$
Upper North ^a	$F(255) = 7.23, p < .01$
Midland ^a	$F(256) = 5.25, p < .05$
West	Not significant

a. Considered significantly more pleasant by female raters.

CONCLUSION

So, in general, the results from the perceptual dialectology tests in Memphis and Reno show similar patterning to Preston's studies in terms of overall regional ratings. By far, the South was the most incorrect and the most different dialect area for both informant groups, a finding that echoes the results found in earlier research that the area with the most "inferior" speech is the most salient to listeners. Compared to Memphians, Renoites showed quite a bit of regional security, rating their home region quite high on correctness and pleasantness scales. They were not nearly as complimentary about the South, which they rated less correct and less pleasant than any other region and, as would be expected, the most different variety from their own. Nevadans were clearly aware of regional stereotypes, and their regional ratings reflected these widespread negative portrayals of the South.

Surprisingly, the South appears as salient as a nonstandard region to Southerners as to non-Southerners. These results conflict with those found earlier for Southeastern Southerners, but this difference in regional rating may be based on perceived home-state status within the region. Although the effect was much weaker for Memphians than for Preston's Southerners, in-group members do appear to consider local nonstandard speech as serving a solidarity function, resulting in the assignment of higher pleasantness than correctness scores to Southern speaking regions. Such findings support those found in much language attitude research of a trade-off between correct and pleasant speech and suggest an underlying motivation for the retention of nonstandard dialects.

Despite shared cultural and linguistic heritage, Southerners recognize internal Southern divides more acutely than Northern divides and appear to base many such internal divisions on degrees of intraregional prestige and rurality. These results echo Preston's finding for Michigan and Indiana raters, where intraregional prestige appeared to factor into participants' ratings of both their own and surrounding states. Another interesting similarity between his work and that here is the finding that Southern raters see more western

areas of the South as particularly “incorrect” areas while more eastern areas in the South, such as the Carolinas and Virginia, rate much higher in correctness. Apparently, despite a lack of consensus on exactly where the “core” South resides, raters from Tennessee and from Southeastern states share a sense that it is not where they live. Preston’s Southerners, mainly from the states they rated most favorably in the South, seem to have more linguistic security than those Tennessee raters investigated here, who rate themselves lower than several other states in the region, perhaps tainted by proximity to states such as Mississippi and Arkansas, which are often the butt of media jokes as Southern rural outposts and which Memphians clearly view as less correct and pleasant than themselves.

Finally, while African Americans and whites in Memphis share many productive linguistic characteristics that signal their shared orientation to local Southern norms, their attitudes toward local varieties stand in sharper contrast. Although African Americans viewed speech in the South as more correct than white raters did, they also found it differed from their own variety to a greater extent. In addition, they found speech in the South less pleasant than whites while finding speech in all other regions more pleasant. Such results point to a clear sense of separateness in how African Americans view their own speech and that of whites, even though they share many aspects of their production with whites in projecting a Southern identity. Gender, however, was less of a mitigating factor in how participants rated U.S. regions, although women did show a trend toward less harsh ratings for both correctness and pleasantness overall.

Clearly, Memphians are conflicted about their local speech variety and the identity it projects. This allegiance to multiple reference groups is continually negotiated in the choices speakers make productively, perceptively, and attitudinally, resulting in the sometimes inconsistent decisions and judgments revealed in sociolinguistic studies and language attitude surveys.

APPENDIX

Mean Ratings (and Standard Deviations) by Region for Each State on Correctness, Pleasantness, and Degree of Difference

	Memphis Ratings					
	<i>Correctness (0–9)</i>		<i>Pleasantness (0–9)</i>		<i>Difference (0–3)</i>	
South						
Alabama	2.85	(1.98)	3.93	(2.67)	1.15	(1.06)
Arkansas	2.77	(1.97)	3.85	(2.36)	0.99	(1.09)
Florida	5.07	(1.94)	5.62	(1.87)	1.56	(0.99)
Georgia	4.11	(1.90)	5.40	(2.20)	1.10	(0.94)

Kentucky	3.87	(1.75)	4.74	(2.02)	1.16	(0.96)
Louisiana	3.10	(2.11)	4.61	(2.60)	1.67	(1.06)
Mississippi	2.68	(2.09)	4.04	(2.66)	0.86	(1.07)
North Carolina	5.11	(1.61)	5.47	(1.74)	1.55	(0.94)
Oklahoma	4.63	(1.69)	4.70	(1.81)	1.67	(0.88)
South Carolina	4.71	(1.59)	5.27	(1.95)	1.51	(0.95)
Tennessee	4.25	(2.09)	5.50	(2.50)	0.54	(1.04)
Texas	3.93	(1.94)	4.93	(2.50)	1.31	(1.01)
Virginia	5.61	(1.76)	5.58	(1.90)	1.83	(0.94)
Washington, D.C.	6.64	(1.91)	5.90	(2.06)	2.23	(0.97)
West Virginia	5.27	(1.88)	5.26	(1.90)	1.83	(0.91)
Upper North						
Connecticut	6.36	(1.78)	5.32	(1.81)	2.43	(0.90)
Delaware	6.25	(1.68)	5.12	(1.87)	2.42	(0.89)
Maine	6.30	(2.00)	5.12	(2.20)	2.49	(0.93)
Maryland	6.28	(1.93)	5.22	(1.98)	2.33	(1.02)
Massachusetts	6.27	(1.87)	4.87	(2.10)	2.53	(0.98)
Michigan	5.92	(1.77)	5.04	(2.11)	2.44	(0.92)
Minnesota	5.46	(1.89)	4.75	(2.05)	2.43	(0.89)
New Hampshire	6.11	(1.81)	4.83	(1.89)	2.44	(0.96)
New Jersey	5.05	(2.17)	4.30	(2.35)	2.61	(1.01)
New York	5.74	(2.03)	4.80	(2.46)	2.62	(1.00)
New York City	5.30	(2.34)	4.47	(2.62)	2.76	(0.99)
North Dakota	5.24	(1.78)	4.89	(1.64)	2.22	(0.91)
Rhode Island	6.11	(1.77)	5.09	(2.12)	2.49	(0.94)
South Dakota	5.10	(1.69)	4.96	(1.77)	2.19	(0.93)
Vermont	6.07	(1.72)	5.04	(1.99)	2.44	(0.87)
Wisconsin	5.30	(1.82)	4.19	(2.16)	2.35	(0.98)
Midland						
Illinois	5.51	(1.65)	4.87	(1.72)	2.07	(0.87)
Indiana	5.64	(1.61)	5.02	(1.49)	1.97	(0.89)
Iowa	5.33	(1.65)	4.97	(1.49)	2.04	(0.88)
Kansas	4.58	(1.73)	4.80	(1.68)	1.60	(0.91)
Missouri	4.48	(1.58)	4.99	(1.70)	1.52	(0.90)
Nebraska	5.30	(1.76)	4.92	(1.70)	2.17	(0.91)
Ohio	5.45	(1.74)	4.91	(1.61)	2.02	(0.86)
Pennsylvania	6.11	(1.72)	4.99	(2.00)	2.49	(0.85)
West						
Arizona	5.50	(1.62)	4.85	(1.72)	1.97	(0.95)
California	6.19	(1.96)	5.67	(1.92)	2.31	(0.94)
Colorado	6.11	(1.71)	5.54	(1.55)	2.16	(0.87)
Idaho	5.13	(1.69)	4.82	(1.52)	2.04	(0.93)
Montana	5.26	(1.67)	4.88	(1.69)	2.19	(0.92)
Nevada	5.67	(1.67)	4.86	(1.62)	2.16	(0.94)
New Mexico	4.60	(1.95)	4.51	(1.95)	2.21	(0.94)

Oregon	5.87	(1.68)	5.14	(1.93)	2.25	(0.91)
Utah	5.33	(1.71)	4.88	(1.62)	2.22	(0.90)
Washington	6.36	(1.78)	5.61	(1.99)	2.30	(0.97)
Wyoming	5.34	(1.92)	4.76	(1.83)	2.22	(0.95)
Other						
Alaska	5.34	(1.87)	4.79	(2.01)	2.44	(0.98)
Hawaii	5.11	(1.95)	5.84	(2.00)	2.50	(1.02)

Reno Ratings

	<i>Correctness (0-9)</i>		<i>Pleasantness (0-9)</i>		<i>Difference (0-3)</i>	
South						
Alabama	3.35	(2.12)	4.49	(2.53)	2.82	(0.55)
Arkansas	3.66	(2.10)	4.27	(2.29)	2.51	(0.81)
Florida	5.56	(1.89)	5.57	(2.12)	1.72	(0.87)
Georgia	4.18	(1.96)	5.17	(2.35)	2.64	(0.65)
Kentucky	4.16	(1.85)	4.71	(2.07)	2.53	(0.67)
Louisiana	3.58	(2.07)	4.93	(2.65)	2.76	(0.56)
Mississippi	3.80	(2.01)	4.52	(2.32)	2.67	(0.61)
North Carolina	4.97	(1.71)	5.47	(1.94)	2.20	(0.72)
Oklahoma	4.69	(1.87)	4.88	(2.07)	2.25	(0.78)
South Carolina	4.63	(1.82)	5.22	(2.02)	2.43	(0.64)
Tennessee	4.27	(1.94)	4.87	(2.19)	2.61	(0.61)
Texas	4.33	(2.12)	4.77	(2.53)	2.52	(0.75)
Virginia	5.53	(1.85)	5.62	(1.83)	2.02	(0.77)
West Virginia	5.21	(1.89)	5.30	(1.92)	2.16	(0.75)
Upper North						
Connecticut	6.42	(1.69)	5.89	(1.87)	1.82	(0.70)
Delaware	6.18	(1.66)	5.69	(1.92)	1.80	(0.76)
Maine	6.13	(1.93)	6.07	(1.96)	1.82	(0.79)
Maryland	6.33	(1.70)	6.00	(1.79)	1.78	(0.72)
Massachusetts	5.93	(1.91)	5.72	(2.17)	2.06	(0.73)
Michigan	5.96	(1.60)	5.56	(1.92)	1.61	(0.76)
Minnesota	5.11	(1.86)	5.02	(2.22)	2.08	(0.78)
New Hampshire	6.18	(1.79)	5.85	(1.90)	1.82	(0.72)
New Jersey	4.82	(2.05)	4.70	(2.43)	2.41	(0.76)
New York	5.20	(1.97)	5.20	(2.24)	2.26	(0.75)
North Dakota	5.33	(1.74)	5.13	(2.00)	1.73	(0.77)
Rhode Island	5.96	(1.86)	5.79	(1.92)	1.95	(0.77)
South Dakota	5.12	(1.72)	4.96	(1.98)	1.88	(0.78)
Vermont	6.15	(1.73)	5.88	(1.73)	1.88	(0.71)
Wisconsin	4.98	(1.79)	5.04	(2.03)	2.07	(0.71)
Midland						
Illinois	5.62	(1.63)	5.41	(1.79)	1.78	(0.69)
Indiana	5.51	(1.63)	5.33	(1.66)	1.75	(0.67)
Iowa	5.35	(1.67)	5.15	(1.79)	1.66	(0.71)

Kansas	4.86	(1.74)	4.94	(1.81)	2.09	(0.76)
Missouri	4.61	(1.84)	4.80	(1.93)	2.15	(0.74)
Nebraska	5.30	(1.70)	5.20	(1.86)	1.52	(0.79)
Ohio	5.60	(1.63)	5.28	(1.87)	1.52	(0.71)
Pennsylvania	6.05	(1.66)	5.89	(1.74)	1.80	(0.74)
West						
Arizona	6.83	(1.77)	6.25	(1.99)	0.51	(0.82)
California	6.70	(2.21)	6.36	(2.40)	0.40	(0.70)
Colorado	7.03	(1.72)	6.52	(1.88)	0.65	(0.73)
Idaho	5.73	(1.74)	5.60	(1.88)	1.05	(0.76)
Montana	5.78	(1.71)	5.60	(1.90)	1.20	(0.82)
Nevada	6.87	(1.99)	6.72	(2.11)	0.22	(0.64)
New Mexico	5.77	(1.96)	5.79	(1.98)	1.02	(0.91)
Oregon	6.65	(1.84)	6.25	(2.08)	0.59	(0.82)
Utah	6.23	(1.88)	5.62	(2.14)	0.88	(0.88)
Washington	6.74	(1.77)	6.40	(1.91)	0.76	(0.86)
Wyoming	5.62	(1.78)	5.46	(1.91)	1.30	(0.87)
Other						
Alaska	6.22	(1.88)	5.91	(2.06)	0.94	(0.88)
Hawaii	5.06	(2.15)	6.21	(2.05)	1.62	(0.97)
New York City	6.81	(1.93)	5.89	(2.07)	1.48	(0.88)
Washington, D.C.	4.89	(2.13)	4.84	(2.61)	2.51	(0.76)

NOTES

1. This research has been supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation Linguistics Program BCS-#0132145
2. California and Colorado appear to be beacons of correctness in this largely undifferentiated correct Western blob, and similar results, particularly for Colorado, were found in Preston's raters' results. It would seem that these two states are often more likely vacation destinations or are more frequently featured on news and entertainment programs than places like Idaho or New Mexico, perhaps increasing their salience and Memphians' "familiarity" with these regions.

REFERENCES

- Eckert, Penelope. 1988. "Adolescent Social Structure and the Spread of Linguistic Change." *Language in Society* 17: 183-207.
- . 1989. "The Whole Woman: Sex and Gender Differences in Variation." *Language Variation and Change* 1: 245-67.
- . 2000. *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

- Fasold, Ralph W. 1968. "A Sociolinguistic Study of the Pronunciation of Three Vowels in Detroit Speech." Unpublished MS.
- Feagin, Crawford. 1986. "More Evidence for Vowel Change in the South." In *Diversity and Diachrony*, ed. David Sankoff, 83–95. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1987. "A Closer Look at the Southern Drawl: Variation Taken to the Extremes." In *Variation in Language: NWAV-XV at Stanford*, ed. Keith M. Denning, Sharon Inkelas, Faye C. McNair-Knox, and John R. Rickford, 137–50. Stanford, Calif.: Dept. of Linguistics, Stanford Univ.
- Fridland, Valerie. 1999. "The Southern Shift in Memphis, Tennessee." *Language Variation and Change* 11: 267–85.
- . 2001. "The Social Dimensions of the Southern Vowel Shift: Gender, Age, and Class." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5: 233–53.
- . 2003a. "Network Strength and the Realization of the Southern Vowel Shift among African Americans in Memphis, Tennessee." *American Speech* 78: 3–30.
- . 2003b. "'Tie, Tied, and Tight': The Expansion of /ai/ Monophthongization in African-American and European-American Speech in Memphis, Tennessee." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7: 279–98.
- Fridland, Valerie, and Kathryn Bartlett. 2006. "The Social and Linguistic Conditioning of Back Vowel Fronting Across Ethnic Groups in Memphis, Tennessee." *English Language and Linguistics* 10: 1–22.
- Fridland, Valerie, Kathryn Bartlett, and Roger Kreuz. 2004. "Do You Hear What I Hear? Experimental Measurement of the Perceptual Salience of Acoustically Manipulated Vowel Variants by Southern Speakers in Memphis, TN." *Language Variation and Change* 16: 1–16.
- . 2005. "Making Sense of Variation: Pleasantness and Education Ratings of Southern Vowel Variants." *American Speech* 80: 366–87.
- Fought, Carmen. 2002. "California Students' Perceptions of, You Know, Regions and Dialects?" In *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, vol. 2, ed. Daniel Long and Dennis R. Preston, 117–36. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hartley, Laura. 1999. "A View from the West: Perceptions of U.S. Dialects by Oregon Residents." In *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, vol. 1, ed. Dennis R. Preston, 315–32. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Johnson, Daniel M., and Rex R. Campbell. 1981. *Black Migration in America: A Social Demographic History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press.
- Labov, William. 1963. "The Social Motivation of a Sound Change." *Word* 19: 273–309.
- . 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- . 1972a. *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.
- . 1972b. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.
- . 1980. "The Social Origins of Sound Change." In *Locating Language in Time and Space*, ed. Labov, 251–66. New York: Academic Press.

- . 1989. "The Exact Description of the Speech Community: Short /a/ in Philadelphia." In *Language Change and Variation*, ed. Ralph W. Fasold and Deborah Schiffrin, 1–57. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1990. "The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change." *Language Variation and Change* 2: 205–54.
- . 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. 1, *Internal Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 2000. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. 2, *Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Labov, William, Malcah Yaeger, and Richard Steiner. 1972. *A Quantitative Study of Sound Change in Progress*. Philadelphia: U.S. Regional Survey.
- Milroy, Leslie. 1980. *Language and Social Networks*. Baltimore, Md.: Univ. Park Press.
- . 1987. *Observing and Analysing Natural Language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Niedzielski, Nancy. 1999. "The Effect of Social Information on the Perception of Sociolinguistic Variables." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18: 62–85.
- Niedzielski, Nancy A., and Dennis R. Preston. 2000. *Folk Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Preston, Dennis R. 1989. *Perceptual Dialectology: Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics*. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris.
- . 1993. "Folk Dialectology." In *American Dialect Research*, ed. Preston, 333–78. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1996. "Where the Worst English is Spoken." In *Focus on the USA*, ed. Edgar W. Schneider, 297–360. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Redding, Steve, and Sonya Schenk. 2000. *The Migration of People and Their Incomes in the Memphis MSA, 1992–1997*. Memphis, Tenn.: Regional Economic Development Center.
- Ryan, Ellen Bouchard, and Howard Giles. 1982. *Attitudes towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London: Arnold.
- Thomas, Erik R. 2001. *An Acoustic Analysis of Vowel Variation in New World English*. Publication of the American Dialect Society 85. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1983. *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives*. New York: New York Univ. Press.
- Wolfram, Walt. 1969. *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- . 1991. *Dialects and American English*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. 2001. *2000 Census of Population General Population Characteristics: Tennessee*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.

Copyright of *American Speech* is the property of Duke University Press and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.