# THE LOCUS OF LINGUISTIC VARIATION

# IN OKLAHOMA

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

## The Variation Problem

For over a century linguists have been interested in but often perplexed by the variation that occurs in language. Variation is of interest because it is inherently tied to the uses of language in a society and because it is a prerequisite for language change. Variation is perplexing because it poses some problems for formal descriptions of language. In fact, it was the problem of variation that led Chomsky and other formalists to rely on the intuitions of the ideal speaker-hearer in writing grammar[1]. At present, there are two primary approaches to the study of variation in language: dialect geography and sociolinguistics. Dialect geographers and sociolinguists differ in their methods and aims as I point out below, but these differences are a consequence of where the two groups view the locus of variation.

Dialect geographers see variation as a consequence of settlement history; hence the locus of variation is space or region (geography). Dialect differences are a result of the face that the ancestors of people in different regions

come from different places. Because dialect geographers see variation as a consequence of settlement history, historical concerns drive their survey methods. They tend to select interview sites based on their historical significance and to interview older natives of several generations, focusing on the folk lexicon because it is a useful index of settlement history. Traditionally, then, a dialect geographer surveys a number of communities in a region, interviewing older, lifetime residents to record the regional vocabulary in order to determine the dialect boundaries that segment the region into speech areas.

Sociolinguists, on the other hand, see variation as a consequence of social differentiation; hence, the locus of variation is in the social structure (class, ethnic, and gender differences) of an area. In order to locate variation in the social structure, the sociolinguist's survey methods are often in the form of a random sample survey, with the focus on the conventional social variables listed above. Sociolinguists are usually not concerned with nativity as a variable at all and often ignore the importance of geographic variation, focusing on single communities rather than regions. Instead of exploring the folk lexicon, sociolinguists typically look at phonological and grammatical variation since those correlate most closely with social differentiation. Traditionally, then, a sociolinguist randomly samples a single community, recording phonological and grammatical variation that correlates with

cleavages in social structure.

While both dialect geography and sociolinguistics provide crucial insights into language variation, neither accurately or completely portrays variation and change. While both branches of the discipline publicly acknowledge the importance of the other, neither has systematically incorporated components of the other into its own methodology.

Dialect geographers pay little heed to social factors, often missing out on the social cleavages that sometime give rise to variation and change within dialect areas. In addition, by using nativity as a criterion for informant selection rather than as a variable for analysis, dialect geographers are unable to measure its importance as a motivation of variation and change. By focusing on region to the exclusion of other spatial factors such as the urban/rural configuration of an area, dialect geographers exclude a major factor in initiating variation and change. Finally, by failing to explore group identity, dialect geographers overlook the role of this crucial variable in motivating variation in the first place.

Like dialect geographers, sociolinguists neglect nativity as a variable and, therefore, overlook its role in the motivation of variation and change. By focusing on single communities, sociolinguists also miss spatial factors that are crucial in language change and variation. Further, by focusing on social categories such as gender and age rather

than social processes such as urbanization and the negotiation of identities, sociolinguists, like dialect geographers, miss the key roles that both play in motivating variation and change. What is needed, and what this dissertation attempts to do is to take an integrated and expanded approach to language variation and change. However, to understand what such an approach entails, it would be helpful to review the development of the approaches taken by dialect geographers and sociolinguists.

## The Dialect Geography Approach

Georg Wenker is credited with initiating modern dialect geography with his 1876 questionnaire mailed to over 40,000 German schoolmasters (Pederson, 1972)[2]. Wenker designed his study to gather data that would confirm the Neogrammarian Hypothesis ( i.e., sound change, in that it is mechanical, is regular and exceptionless). Wenker's questionnaire asked for local spellings which reflected local dialect pronunciations. Wenker's survey was the first broad-based attempt to study language change by exploring its synchronic reflexes. Though the results were slow in coming (Wenker gathered enough data in the initial survey to occupy several generations of dialect geographers with work), his objectives of gathering data which would reflect various local dialects became the basis for modern dialect geography. However, there were some severe limitations with Wenker's survey that subsequent dialect geographers sought

to overcome. The schoolmasters who gathered data for Wenker were not trained to recognize linguistic differences nor were they trained in phonetic transcription; consequently, there was little consistency in the data that was returned to Wenker. But in 1897 Guilleron of France devised a way to overcome the irregularities of Wenker'survey; he hired a fieldworker with skills in phonetic transcription to gather the data.

Guilleron's goal was to gather linguistic data that would ultimately lead to L'Atlas linguistique de la France (ALF). He designed his survey to include almost 2,000 words and phrases that would investigate folk speech, not only for lexical and phonological information, but also for morphological and syntactic information. Although Guilleron's survey overcame the problems of irregular data found in Wenker's study, it did not present data from urban areas. Guilleron believed that local dialects were "lost" (Pederson, 1972) in these areas and chose instead to focus on the more rural areas of France. Based on a judgment, not on a random sample, Guilleron selected the general areas for the survey. He chose these areas to achieve broad spatial coverage and to ensure that historically important areas were surveyed. Guilleron's fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, chose the exact location of communities to be surveyed and, in most cases, interviewed only one person from each community. Edmont, however, categorized the informants by age so that there was a relatively even distribution for each age

group from 15 to 85 years. As well, each informant was classified according to education and occupation. Guilleron and Edmont are credited with developing a highly efficient and organized methodology which became the model for nearly all dialect geography investigations that have followed, both in Europe and the United States. Adapting the methods of Guilleron and the later work of Guilleron's disciples Jaberg and Jud, Hans Kurath (also a Guilleron disciple) refined those methods for linguistic atlas projects in the United States.

Kurath planned and directed the Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE) project which refined the central aims and goals of dialect geography as instituted by Guilleron with ALF. Kurath included the following in his LANE as well as all succeeding projects: (1) inclusion of urban as well as rural communities to be surveyed, (2) a questionnaire of selected items, (3) a representative number of local informants from each community surveyed, (4) trained fieldworkers, and (5) a set of restrictive criteria for the selection of informants. The latter included selection based on educational level, age, and insularity (how much exposure outside the home community the informant had had). Kurath's work is recognized as the benchmark for American dialect studies and the linguistic atlases resulting from those studies. More recently McDavid (LANE and the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States-LAMSAS), Kretchmar (LAMSAS), and particularly Pederson (the

Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States) have streamlined the methodology underlying dialect geography in the United States, as has Trudgill in England. However, the basic tenets of dialect geography have remained unchanged; the focus is on the area or region.

## The Sociolinguistic Approach

The direction of variation studies was radically altered in the early 60s with the advent of Labovian methodology[3]. With his study of language variation and change on Martha's Vineyard, Labov introduced new ways of gathering and analyzing data that reflect a social approach, rather than the traditional spatial approach of dialect geographers. Labov (1972) used a system of social and linguistic variables to chart this variation by rigorous observation and statistical analysis. Prior to Labov, the study of variation and change was thought to be possible only through the observation of their consequences, i.e., variation could not be observed in progress. The Martha's Vineyard study dispelled that notion; Labov investigated variation in native islanders and found that the diphthongs /aU/ and /aI/ were becoming centralized among younger speakers. According to Labov, several key social variables pinpointed this change in progress: age, ethnicity, and occupation. Not only was the Vineyard study one of the first to show the relevance of social variables in explaining the variation in pronunciation among the speakers of one area, but also the

study, through its use of social variables and the apparent time construct, demonstrated how sound change was spreading (diffusing) through the population of that area. The Martha's Vineyard study, then, led to the inception of sociolinguistics as it is now recognized. Labov has conducted a number of additional studies, among them two particular ones that have reinforced the importance social variables play in charting variation and change in progress.

Labov's second study focused on the linguistic variable (r) in the speech of New York department store employees. Labov gathered data quite innovatively on the presence or absence of /r/ by eliciting the word fourth from sales clerks in three department stores--Klein's, Macy's, and Saks Fifth Avenue--serving customers from lower, middle, and upper social stratifications respectively. Having ascertained what merchandise could be located on the fourth floor of each store, Labov approached employees and simply asked where a specific item could be found (always an item on the fourth floor). From these responses, Labov found that absence of /r/ was much more prevalent among the clerks in stores serving the lower socioeconomic customers than those serving the upper. Also, /r/, the prestige variable, occurred more often in the speech of the Saks clerks working on the store's upper floors. That is, each succeeding floor in Saks represents a rise in the price of merchandise; thus Saks clerks on the fourth floor used /r/ more often than Saks first-floor clerks. Though social data from the de-

partment store study was not systematic (ages were estimated for example), the study demonstrated, just as the Vineyard study had, that social variables are crucial in variation. The Vineyard and New York department store studies were dramatic confirmations of Labov's hypothesis: by using social variables as a means of identifying variation and by charting data in apparent time, language change can be charted in progress. Labov's Lower East Side (LES) study of New York speech refined the methods of his first two studies by developing a highly systematic use of social variables.

In order to isolate and control the independent social variable of socioeconomic status for the LES study, Labov (1966) used a stratified random sample of adult, native English speakers. Since the Lower East Side of New York represents an aggregate of ethnic groups, Labov was able to gather data on the speech of native Americans with cultural ties to Puerto Rico, Ireland, and the Orient, as well as those of Black and Jewish backgrounds. Labov examined and measured the LES data by using a series of quantitative analyses to insure statistical reliability of the results. From Labov's LES methods arose quantitative sociolinguistics, which not only recognizes the importance of social variables in variation and change, but also relies on highly systematic inventories for gathering and analyzing data. The latter, coupled with statistical procedures, enables the sociolinguist to present evidence on variation and change that is at once reliable and replicable. Labov established

a methodology that has become indispensable in the study of language variation and change, and the social variables that he explored (social class, ethnicity, gender, etc.) have become standard categories for sociolinguistic analysis. Increasingly, however, it has become clear that these categories do not fully "explain" variation, nor do they get directly at the cause of variation. Rather, categories are oblique indicators of social motivations, such as identity, and social processes, such as urbanization, that often underlie variation and change.

## A New Approach

In the twenty-odd years since the development of Labovian sociolinguistics, linguists have done little to expand the possibilities of either dialect geography or sociolinguistics. Without incorporating methodology from the other, both branches are limited in their scope. Without the development of new categories for analysis, both branches miss what often are motivations and processes causing variation and ultimately leading to change. This dissertation attempts to overcome the gap between the two branches and to explore a set of social variables that take into account the social motivations and processes that dialect geographers and sociolinguists traditionally have overlooked.

First, this approach looks at the interrelations between social and spatial variation. Dialect geographers usually study a region by mapping out the spatial distribu-

tion of individual linguistic features and drawing isoglosses to delimit their occurrence. They then examine the bundling of isoglosses to identify the dialect areas that comprise the region and discuss the distribution of these dialect areas in terms of their social correlates--typically settlement history and migration patterns. Their methods are generally qualitative. On the other hand, sociolinguists examine the frequency of occurrence of linguistic features in a community to gauge variation and to determine whether or not change is in progress. Social categories are primary in making this determination, and from them, the diffusion of linguistic features is predicted, charted, or both for that particular community. Dialect geographers typically fail to take into account the fact that spatial differences in language are often not so much differences in the presence or absence of features as in the frequency of their occurrence. As well, sociolinguists typically fail to take into account that the diffusion of linguistic features occurs in space and that a complete analysis of language change requires an analysis of its geography. A quantitative analysis of the interaction of spatial and social factors is what is needed most in the study of language variation and change.

This dissertation develops such an approach. This approach recognizes that social categories typically used in sociolinguistic analysis are only oblique indicators of the motivations and processes that underlie variation and change

and emphasizes that attributing the cause of variation and change to them is exceedingly inadequate. Bernstein (1991) refers to this inadequacy in her work on variation. She found that the standard social categories (such as social class, gender, and ethnicity) "explain" only a relatively small (about 27%) portion of language variation in the Texas Poll data for a Phonological Survey of Texas. Bailey's (1990) work on monophthongal, or glide-shortened, /aI/ provides additional confirmation that social categories are not direct reflections of social motivations. The approach here explores such factors as nativity and rurality as alternatives to standard social categories. The recognition that nativity is often a motivation for variation is a radical departure from its traditional use in dialect geography, which simply uses nativity as a criterion for selecting informants. Likewise, the recognition that rurality often measures the competing social processes of mobility versus rootedness and that this process often results in variation and change is a radical departure from its traditional use in sociolinguistics as a social category.

Finally, the approach here recognizes that variation and change are very often a consequence of the interaction of spatial and social processes such as urbanization and the negotiation of identities. The effects of these processes appeared early in the work on sociolinguistics, but later work has overlooked them. Labov's (1972) study of Martha's Vineyard revealed that the diphthongs /aU/ and /aI/ as in

house and night were becoming centralized among younger, native speakers who were reverting to the use of relic features of 18th and 19th century American speech rather than using the present-day innovative forms. Labov suggested that the use of the relic forms was a way of establishing an identity for these speakers. Since the traditional way of life for most native islanders was being threatened by the influx of non-natives, perpetuating the older linguistic form used by their ancestors became a means of preserving the older way of life came about by younger speakers. The centralization of /aU/ and /aI/ resulted, then, from the desire of younger, native islanders to identify themselves as an independent and unique community, apart and different from the mainstream. Although Labov reported identity as the principal motivation for variation in the use of /aU/ and /aI/ on Martha's Vineyard, his later studies have focused almost exclusively on social categories and speech style[4]. The approach here returns to and broadens Labov's earlier notion that linguistic change often results directly from the negotiation of a social-communal identity[5]

The complex and dynamic spatial and social interactions that motivate language variation and change require an analytical construct that is more sophisticated than those currently available. The term that we use for such a construct is linguistic landscape. The concept of linguistic landscape was previously developed for and used in our work in Texas (see Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand; forthcoming

and Bailey, Wikle, and Tillery, 1990) as analogous with the term cultural landscape as it is used in cultural geography. The linguistic landscape of an area is simply the linguistic manifestation of the interaction of spatial and cultural forces (such as settlement patterns, subsequent migration, urbanization, and social stratification) with social forces (such as ethnicity, age, and gender). A linguistic landscape also represents the dynamic interaction of social motivations and processes at work in language variation and change. Further, a linguistic landscape is the consequence of changes through time, and it is continually changing. Finally, the landscape is not comprised solely of discrete areas delimited by bundles of isoglosses; in fact, it is more often comprised of areas differentiated by quantitative (and perhaps some qualitative) differences.

The linguistic landscape of an area includes at least four components: (1) the traditional dialect areas that are the consequences of the early settlement history of a region; (2) areas of innovation and recessiveness that are the consequence of differential rates of diffusion; (3) social differentiation that is the consequence of the segmenting of a society into distinct social groups; and (4) the perceptu al domains that are the consequences of differing understandings of the social meaning of linguistic forms.

This dissertation explores the linguistic landscape of Oklahoma by analyzing the variation and change in a number of features--four phonological and three grammatical--for

which a Survey of Oklahoma Dialects (SOD) was devised to gather data. The phonological variables include the mergers of /E ~ i/ before nasals, of /u ~ U/ before /l/, of /ɔ ~ a/, and monophthongal /aI/. The grammatical forms are fixin' to, got to/went to, and might could.

The analysis of these features should provide an outline of the linguistic landscape of Oklahoma and should offer a more coherent, complete picture of language variation and change than previously developed by dialect geographers and sociolinguists.

# CHAPTER II

# METHODOLOGY

## Introduction

The data used in this research comes from three primary sources: a Phonological Survey of Texas (PST), a Grammatical Investigation of Texas Speech (GRITS), and a Survey of Oklahoma Dialects (SOD)[6]. All three surveys offer a wide range of synchronic data on speech in two states, Texas and Oklahoma. PST and GRITS, formulated and directed by Dr. Guy Bailey at Texas A&M University, are two complementary segments of a project on language change and urbanization[7] and are large-scale multifaceted investigations of Texas speech which include field and random telephone surveys of the entire state. The telephone surveys are the central component of each and provide the corpus of data from Texas for this research. The third source of data (SOD) is, in its approach to survey research, an elaboration of methods developed for PST and GRITS.

SOD, also formulated and directed by Dr. Guy Bailey (now at Oklahoma State University), was begun in the spring of 1991 to provide evidence on language variation and change in Oklahoma and to provide a laboratory experience for students. SOD includes field surveys as well as a rand

sample telephone survey of the entire state of Oklahoma; however, the telephone survey is the central component of SOD and, like PST and GRITS, provides the corpus of data from Oklahoma for this research.

PST, GRITS, and SOD have been developed in an attempt to gather valid and reliable linguistic data to which a wide range of statistical and cartographic procedures could be applied. Further, the similarities in the design and execution of the projects permit unique and reliable comparisons.

## A Phonological Survey of Texas & a Grammatical Investigation of Texas Speech

The random sample survey components of PST and GRITS were conducted as part of the Texas Poll. The Texas Poll is an omnibus polling service that conducts quarterly telephone surveys with approximately 1,000 randomly sampled Texans 18 years or older to ask a variety of questions for public policy agencies, private businesses, and academic researchers. One advantage of using the Texas Poll is that it provides reliable data that allows for inferences about an entire population with a known possible sampling error. In 95 out of 100 Texas Poll samples, the variation within the population on some particular attribute should be no more than +/- 3%.

In order to achieve this type of statistical reliability, the Texas Poll makes use of computer-generated lists of all possible numbers from every telephone exchange in the

state, thereby insuring access to unlisted as well as listed numbers. Additionally, the Texas Poll relies on the "last birthday" method (interviewing the person over 18 within each household who has had the most recent birthday). This insures a random sample of individuals from the random sample of all possible telephone households within the state and is important for making sure the sample includes an adequate number of male respondents. We were able to "piggy back" on the Texas Poll with questions of our own to elicit linguistic variables: PST, as part of the January, 1989, Texas Poll elicited phonological variables and was tape-recorded so that we could transcribe the data ourselves; GRITS, as a part of the November, 1989, Texas Poll elicited grammatical and lexical variables. The random telephone surveys of PST and GRITS provide not only reliable data, but also an efficient way of gathering linguistic evidence quickly on an extremely large-scale basis.

While PST and GRITS provide an extremely large corpus of linguistic data that has been found to be statistically reliable (Bailey and Bernstein, 1989; Bailey, Wikle, and Sand, 1991a; Bailey and Dyer, 1992; Bailey and Tillery, forthcoming; Bernstein, 1990), both surveys have some limitations. First, time on a commercial telephone poll, such as the Texas Poll, is expensive; therefore, we could afford to ask only a few questions for the linguistic variables we wanted to study. For GRITS we asked four questions to elicit information on the following lexical and grammatical

items: snap beans, yall, might could, and positive anymore. For PST we asked eleven questions to elicit data on the following phonological variables: the merger of /ɔ/ and /a/, the fronting of /aU/ to /æU/, the loss of /j/ after alveolars, the loss of /h/ before /j/, monophthongization of /aI/ to /a:/, the merger of tense/lax vowel pairs before /l/ ( /il -> Il/, /el -> El/, and /ul -> Ul/), the use of /ar/ for /or/ in words such as forty, the constriction of post-vocalic /r/, and intrusive /r/. However, the PST data from the Texas Poll provides little evidence on possible internal linguistic constraints on the variables. For example, our fieldwork suggests that the merger of /ɔ/ and /a/ in Texas varies considerably according to the following sound (Tillery, 1989), but because of the expense, we could only gather data on two tokens that bear out the merger. In order to study the merger in all phonological environments, we had to devise two supplemental (secondary) field surveys which did not use random sampling. One of these supplemental surveys is a series of interviews with 151 high school students in eight communities that represent the major cultural regions of Texas; the other is a series of commmunity surveys that include interviews with three generations of informants within the same family from 33 communities throughout the state. These secondary surveys do give us extensive data on the phonological constraints for all the linguistic variables we investigate, but they are not random samples.

Also, because the Texas Poll uses a simple random sample of the entire state, there are large numbers of interviews in densely populated urban areas, but few interviews in sparsely populated rural areas. This often leaves massive regions of sparse populations without representation. Figure 1 (all figures are included in Appendix A), which identifies the location of respondents in the January, 1989, Texas Poll, shows that many counties in west and central Texas have no representation at all. The lack of respondents in these areas does not pose problems for the analysis of most social factors since the sampling simply reflects the lack of population (in relation to the state as a whole); however, the simple random survey method does pose problems for some types of spatial analysis. For example, Bailey and Dyer (1992) are able to conclude from the GRITS data that snap bean is used much more often by East Texans than by West Texans, but they are unable to draw an isogloss delimiting the use of snap bean because the 17 counties that would be crucial for establishing the isogloss include only 15 respondents. Similarly, in identifying areas in Texas as linguistically innovative or conservative, Bailey, Wikle, and Sand (1991b) are forced to characterize the western half of the state as a mix of linguistic innovation and conservatism because many counties in the western region are simply not represented.

Spatial analysis for the Texas Poll data for PST and GRITS is difficult in one other way. The county is the

smallest spatial unit in the Texas Poll, which works well enough for most of the analyses; however, in heavily populated urban counties with large numbers of respondents such as Dallas, Harris, and Bexar (with the cities of Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio), we are unable to determine whether spatial variation exists within the counties themselves.

Lastly, the Texas Poll enables little analysis of the role social identity may play in language use. Data is obtained by the Texas Poll on a wide range of standard demographic variables such as age, level of education, and gender, but as pointed out in Chapter I, sociolinguists have become increasingly aware that these social categories do not cause language variation. Rather, these social variables reflect linguistic variation and are oblique indicators of group identity, the factor which seems to be the primary one at work in almost all instances of variation. Standard social categories seem to be only a rough measure of group identity, and many kinds of group identity are not measured by social categories at all. For example, of all the phonological variables included in the January, 1989 Texas Poll, monophthongal /aI/ before voiceless obstruents (as in night) is perhaps the most interesting. Analysis shows that the correlations between the use of monophthongal /aI/ and the standard social categories are confusing at best; however, by chance the January survey included a question that helps us clarify the use of monophthongal /aI/. Respondents to that poll were asked to rate Texas as

a place to live, either excellent, good, fair, or poor. Our analysis of the use of monophthongal /aI/ and respondents' rating of Texas correlate strongly with one another, i.e., the use of monophthongal /aI/ is closely related to a sense of the respondent's Texas identity (Bailey, 1990; Tillery, 1990). As Figure 2 indicates, those respondents who rate Texas positively (excellent or good) as a place to live are much more likely to use monophthongal /aI/ before voiceless obstruents than those who rate the state as fair or poor. In other words, monophthongal /aI/ reflects a strong identity with the state. Likewise, the November, 1989, Texas Poll suggests a similar relationship.

The double modal <u>might could</u> presents a confusing correlation between social categories and its use. As a result, it is not clear whether or not the form is expanding or receding, stigmatized or prestigious. A separate analysis of native and non-native respondents helps clarify the picture. Among non-natives, blue collar workers show a level of usage that clearly differentiates them from professional and administrative respondents. Among natives, the opposite is the case. Professionals have as high a level of usage as blue collar workers, and among natives (but not among non-natives) the form is expanding. The status of <u>might could</u> seems to parallel that of monophthongal /aI/: it is a marker of Texas identity (Bailey and Tillery, forthcoming). Variation in the use of both features, then, seems to be affected, even caused, by a respondent's identity with

place, a factor (or variable) not measured by most standard social categories. Since exploring the relationship of language variation to identity has become a key consideration in the study of variation and change, SOD's design was altered to accommodate a more in-depth investigation of the role identity plays in variation and change.

## A Survey of Oklahoma Dialects

In order to rectify some of the spatial limitations of PST and GRITS, to provide more data on linguistic conditioning, and to incorporate more intensive and extensive measures of identity, while at the same time preserving the many benefits of the Texas Poll sampling procedures, we developed two parallel surveys in SOD--a random sample telephone survey and a systematic field survey. Again, for purposes of this study, only data from the telephone survey has been used. We organized and conducted the random sample telephone survey ourselves, doing the protocol design, sampling, and interviewing. In this way we could use the entire interview for our own linguistic investigations, construct a sample that would work well for both social and spatial analysis, and obtain the type of demographic as well as perceptual data that would allow us to explore the relationship between language use and identity.

The SOD telephone survey sampling technique differs from those in PST and GRITS in that it uses a proportionate stratified random sample rather than a simple random sample

of the entire state. The change in sampling technique reflects our attempt to develop a corpus that would not have the spatial gaps that the Texas sample has. In SOD the county serves as the stratification variable, with the number of respondents interviewed in each county reflecting that county's proportion of the total population of the state (see Figure 3). Each county includes at least one respondent; Oklahoma County, the largest county in the state includes 151 respondents. Within each county, we randomly selected households using a computer-generated list of all possible telephone numbers, just as the Texas Poll did. We also followed the Texas Poll in using the "last birthday" method to randomly select a person within each household to interview. The total sample of 632 respondents (a number which gives us a sampling error of +/- 4%) parallels the demographic make-up and population distribution of the state quite nicely.

Figure 4, which maps out the locations of all the respondents in the Oklahoma Poll, shows that while the density of respondents parallels the density of the general population, there are no vast areas without any representation in our sample. Figure 4 also illustrates another feature of our sample, but that feature is not readily apparent. In addition to gathering the standard demographic data, we also asked informants the zip code area in which they live. The five-digit zip code information is especially useful since it provides spatial units smaller than the

county and since zip code areas tend to be reasonably homogeneous demographic units: a zip code map of the United States is the closest thing we have to a neighborhood map of the country. Zip codes can easily be aggregated into counties, both are equally important in providing units that demonstrate quantitative differences, and both provide different spatial units for visually demonstrating the multidimensional interaction of demographic, regional, and linguistic features. As well as enabling us to establish linguistic boundaries that might cut through larger units, zip codes provide units we need for exploring community identity within cities and counties. The five-digit zip code information provides spatial units smaller than the county and allows analysis of data on a "neighborhood" basis. Figure 4 actually provides the location of respondents according to their zip codes, with the county boundaries, rather than the zip code boundaries, superimposed on the locales.

Using a proportionate stratified random sample and analyzing data by zip code alleviates those problems that the Texas Poll presents regarding spatial analysis. Moreover, Babbie notes that "a stratified sample is likely to be more representative on a number of variables than would be the case for a simple random sample" (1990: 87). Just as the telephone survey in PST could not provide detailed information on all the possible phonological environments surrounding the phonological variables, neither does the SOD

telephone survey although it does include significantly more data than PST does. Again, we devised a supplemental field survey (about one-third complete) which does not use random sampling to satisfy these purposes.

The field survey of SOD is a combination of the student and community surveys developed for PST in that it explores generational differences across a grid that reflects the major cultural areas of Oklahoma. Since settlement history is usually reflected by major cultural areas, the grid for fieldwork is based upon the original 36 mile township and range divisions that were used in the settlement of Oklahoma (see Figure 5). As a result, these divisions provide 33 grid units we target for field surveys. In addition, using a grid system allows for the possible expansion of density of coverage mechanically. Because each of the 33 grid units is comprised of 36 one mile sections at least, it is possible to subdivide units until the individual lot is reached. Though sampling respondents from each lot would defeat the purpose of a sample, the grid system permits an easy way of investigating very small areas that the random telephone survey suggests are linguistically unique and interesting. Furthermore, the field survey acts a heuristic for determining the direction of style shifting.

Labov (1972) points out that style shifting correlates with the amount of attention paid to speech. Therefore, the field survey includes four categories for eliciting responses, each requiring different amounts of attention to speech

from the respondent. The entire field protocol is reproduced in Appendix B. The first category is least formal, allowing "free conversation" with very little attention to speech required (or as little as permitted under the Observer's Paradox). Following the "free conversation" are a lexical identification exercise (e.g., What is the outside layering of an ear of corn called?), a grammatical usage exercise (e.g., Have you ever heard the phrase fixin' to, and would you use it all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?), and a 500-word reading passage. Each of these exercises is progressively more formal and requires more attention to speech. The last exercise, a list of minimal pairs, is the most formal and calls for the respondent's careful attention to the pronunciation of word pairs such as awed/odd, heel/hill, and so on. Again, this secondary survey does give us extensive data on style shifting as well as the phonological constraints for all the linguistic variables we investigate, but it is not a random sample.

SOD Protocols

The approach to eliciting information in SOD is also a development of the work in Texas; SOD protocols elicit all of the features (except for one phonological item, the loss of /h/ before /j/) in PST and GRITS, and adds two grammatical and eight lexical features. Appendix C provides the entire telephone protocol. We extend the grammatical inves-

tigation to include yall and to include information on the use of the form as a singular, i.e., whether or not yall may be used for just one person or is used exclusively to indicate more than one. Also, the protocols investigate the use of the get to/go to inceptive. Respondents were asked to choose the form they would most often use: get to or went to as in the sentence, "I got to/went to laughing and couldn't stop." SOD adds the following lexical features: light bread, redbug, firefly, tea towel, wash cloth, burlap bag, dragonfly, and tank. Furthermore, SOD differs from PST in the way that some items are elicited. Some phonological features, such as the pronunciation of hawk, are elicited as responses to "lexical" questions, while others are masked in a test of the telephone reception. Some features, such as monophthongal /aI/, are elicited both ways. Interviewers elicit some lexical information by describing an item and asking respondents what they call it. All of these items have been selected on the basis of fieldwork or linguistic atlas work that has shown them to be important social or regional markers.

To elicit grammatical and other lexical information, we rely on respondent's self-reports of their linguistic behavior. For example, SOD interviewers asked respondents if they had ever heard snap bean used for green bean. If the respondents answered yes, interviewers next asked respondents how often they would use it themselves: most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or not at all. The

responses, then, range along a scale much like a Likert scale. Though the reliability of linguistic self-reports has sometimes been called into question, Bailey and Tillery (forthcoming) demonstrate that the self-reports in GRITS are remarkably accurate. For example, the percentage of Texas Poll informants who acknowledge using _might could_ is identical to the percentage of informants in the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States who actually use the form and corresponds closely to the results of the field investigation reported in Di Paola, McClenon, and Ranson (1979). The work of Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand (1992) in Oklahoma provides additional confirmation on the accuracy of self-reports.

One unanticipated by-product of informants' self-reports is the frequent unsolicited comments on the use of these forms. For example, one Oklahoma respondent explains that her use of the term _snap bean_ for _green bean_ "was learned on her grandma's porch." This respondent also pronounces the form _wash_ as _warsh_, and emphasizes her pronunciation by informing the interviewer, "You spell that w-a-r-s-h." This native Oklahoman ranks her local neighborhood favorably and her state as excellent with this additional comment: "I live here _by choice_." Comments such as these not only provide anecdotal confirmation of motivations inferred from correlations with social categories, but they also suggest motivations for us to explore.

Like the Texas Poll, SOD elicits the standard demographic data (such as gender, ethnicity, and age) for corre-

lation with the linguistic variables. This data also provides a snapshot of the characteristics of the population from both states and allows us to compare them to one another. Figures 6-9, which show age, gender, ethnicity, and nativity illustrate this point. One striking difference between the two states and the two samples is the proportion of the population in large metro areas, as Figure 10 demonstrates. As I point out in Chapter III, this difference is a crucial one. In other respects, the samples are roughly similar. SOD, however, provides detailed perceptual information that neither PST nor GRITS provide.

SOD explores the identity of respondents by gathering crucial information about respondents' perceptions of their regional, state, and local identities and their own status in relationship to them. This information is particularly useful for exploring relationships between language and identity since questions eliciting both linguistic features and Oklahomans' perceptions of their own identities are included. For example, we asked respondents how they would rate Oklahoma as a place to live and whether they view Oklahoma as a Southern, Midwestern, or Western state. Here, most Oklahomans, nearly 85%, rate the state favorably as a place to live (see Figure 11), while over half consider the state midwestern, and one-third consider it to be southern as Figure 12 shows. Furthermore, we asked respondents in which state, other than Oklahoma, they would most like to live. Figure 13 illustrates respondents' preferences by

state, and the states are, in turn, clustered by major geographic regions of the country. What is striking in Figure 13 is that the majority of respondents prefer Texas as a second home. The second largest preference is Colorado, a state traditionally viewed as an ideal locale for vacations and retirements, due largely to the state's topographical attributes, but Colorado is also a neighboring state to Oklahoma. Perhaps the most important generalization here, however, is that most Oklahomans would stay close to home. Forty-six percent of the respondents would move to a neighboring state if they had to move.

Following these questions, respondents were asked to rank their local neighborhoods as places to live. Figure 14 illustrates that Oklahomans rate their neighborhoods almost exactly as they rate the state. This consistency demonstrates, we think, the strength of local identity in Oklahoma. It is difficult to imagine such consistency is happenstance. Moreover, this data, coupled with standard demographics, offers some dramatic configurations of the distributions of linguistic forms and provides some dimensions of linguistic landscapes "missed" by traditional qualitative methods used to define dialect areas.

## Recording of the Data

The SOD telephone protocol was designed to permit efficient and rapid recording of the data. One of the problems with dialect geography is that the results often do

not appear until thirty years after the project has begun. Our goal was to complete SOD in three years. A second problem is that while the finely-graded phonetic alphabet which dialectologists use produces a wealth of phonetic evidence, it does not provide data that readily lends itself to statistical analysis and computer cartography. The recording of the SOD telephone data was designed to eliminate these problems.

Interviewers recorded responses to the lexical and grammatical questions as they were given on the telephone, but we were able to check those responses against the tape-recordings. All responses to phonological items were recorded by either Bailey or Tillery. Rather than transcribe each response in a finely-graded phonetic alphabet, Bailey and Tillery simply coded a response according to the pronunciation of the target feature in that response. For example, pronunciations of <u>field</u> were coded according to whether the vowel (or nucleus in the case of diphthongs) was tense (which was assigned a "1") or lax (which was assigned a "2"). Typically innovative pronunciations were assigned a "2" and conservative ones a "1". Bailey and Tillery frequently made notes on problem pronunciations and consulted with one another before assigning a final code. Responses that could not be coded into either category were recorded as ambiguous or a "3". Appendix D provides a coding guide with target pronunciations underlined.

The coding system was developed after extensive work

transcribing data in a finely-graded phonetic alphabet, and after Bailey and Tillery had calibrated their phonetic norms over a period of three years. In addition, Bailey and Tillery checked their responses for inter-rater reliability every two weeks. The rate of agreement ranged from 92-98% and averaged 96%. Using this system, Bailey and Tillery were able to record all of the phonetic responses in a format ready for statistical and cartographic manipulation in three months.

PST, GRITS, and SOD, then, elicit and record data on the "layers"--that is on the perceptual, social, linguistic, and spatial dimensions--of linguistic variation in Texas and Oklahoma. The concept of linguistic landscaping makes use of this data to interpret the multidimensional interactions of linguistic features with one another and with the social matrix in which they exist. In order to map out the linguistic landscape of Oklahoma, we use a number of statistical and cartographic procedures (see Bailey, Wikle, and Sand; 1991a) to identify relationships among social, spatial, perceptual, and linguistic data.

## Statistical and Cartographic Procedures

A series of statistical procedures is used to analyze quantitatively the data from PST, GRITS, and SOD. A quantitative approach helps to ascertain which variables or factors interact with one another, as well as to determine the statistical significance of those factors. For identifying

associations among variables, several statistical computer programs have been employed. First, the data is encoded and entered into D-Base, then imported into SAS. The SAS program aggregates variables and tabulates percentages for those variables into a contingency table format (see Table 1 below), thereby setting up the identification of associations among the variables.

TABLE 1

PRONUNCIATION OF TUESDAY BY NEIGHBORHOOD RANKING

| | Neighborhood Ranking | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency<br>Percent<br>Row Pct<br>Col Pct | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4* | Total |
| **1 | 57 | 84 | 26 | 5 | 172 |
| | 10.18 | 15.00 | 4.64 | 0.89 | 30.70 |
| | 33.14 | 48.84 | 15.12 | 2.91 | |
| | 28.08 | 32.06 | 35.14 | 23.81 | |
| Total | 203 | 262 | 74 | 21 | 560 |
| | 36.25 | 46.79 | 13.21 | 3.75 | 100.00 |

*1=Excellent 2=Good 3=Fair 4=Poor
**1=Innovative form with phoneme /u/

Once the contingency tables are produced, tests of statistical significance are run on the data. Although the Scheffe test is also used in a number of instances, the basic test of significance is chi square; the chi-square program determines which social, perceptual, and spatial variables are statisti-

cally significant for each linguistic variable investigated in PST, GRITS, and SOD[8].

In order to explore spatial relationships among the data, the data is converted into a spreadsheet program (Quattro) and imported into Atlas Graphics, a computer mapping program. This computer mapping program allows for two kinds of maps: choroplethic and dot density. Our choroplethic maps show ratios, percentages, or indices, rather than absolute numbers (see Figure 15 for an example of a choroplethic map). Mapping absolute numbers, especially when those numbers are derived from a random sample, sometimes creates a false impression that features occur more often in heavily populated areas. Dot density maps, however, are useful for showing the location of individual response and for showing the distribution of relatively infrequent features as Figure 16 illustrates.

The sampling techniques, protocol design, and analytical procedures outlined above provide an efficient, reliable mechanism for determining the linguistic landscape of Texas and Oklahoma. In addition, the modifications made in SOD should allow for inferences about some of the motivations that underlie linguistic variation and ultimately change.

# CHAPTER III

# EXPANDING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR EXPLAINING VARIATION

## The Inadequacy of Current Approaches

As pointed out in Chapter I, both dialect geographers and sociolinguists have developed stock approaches for explaining variation. Dialect geographers typically plot out the spatial distribution of features and link that distribution to settlement history. Sociolinguists examine the distribution of linguistic variants among social groups and link variation to cleavages in social structure. Our work in Texas and Oklahoma over the last four years, along with the work of James and Leslie Milroy among others, increasingly shows the inadequacy of these approaches. Some examples from SOD will illustrate this inadequacy.

Dialect geography frequently focuses on the folk lexicon to show qualitatively different distributions that reflect settlement patterns. Previous research by dialect geographers has shown that the lexical item snap bean is a distinguishing feature of Lower Southern speech[9]. As such, we might expect its occurrence to cluster in those areas of Oklahoma where settlement from the Lower South was heaviest.

Atwood states, "In Oklahoma we seem to see a fading out of the Southern vocabulary as we move northward" (1962: 87). Atwood includes data from 50 Oklahoma informants in his dialect survey of Texas and concludes that snap bean is a term that seems "to stop short of central Oklahoma" (87). Though the primary focus is on the Texas data, Atwood's work clearly demonstrates the shortcomings of a traditional dialect geography approach. As Figure 17 illustrates, the occurrence of snap bean is, in fact, scattered throughout the state, with no discernible pattern to its occurrence. Clearly settlement history cannot account for the distribution of this term, although in some instances settlement history is a factor affecting quantitative distributions of a variable. For example, Figure 18 shows that while occurrences of gunny sack, a western word, are scattered throughout the state, the heaviest concentration of use is in the western part of the state. However, while settlement history is a factor in the distribution of the term, it is not the only one.

By the same token, the distribution of linguistic variants across social categories accounts for only a small portion of the variation in the SOD data. Sociolinguists have often used phonological data to show correlations between linguistic features and cleavages in social structure. Table 2 presents all of the phonological variables in SOD, along with an indication of the statistical significance of their distribution according to standard sociolin-

guistic categories.

TABLE 2

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL CATEGORIES AND SOD PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES

| Variable | Social Category | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AGE | GENDER | OCCUPATION | INCOME | EDUCATION | ETHNICITY |
| /j/ in Tuesday | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /ð/ in Thursday | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | .01 |
| /ə/ in forty | .05 | -- | -- | -- | -- | .01 |
| /æ/ in thousand | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /ʃ/ in wash | .01 | -- | -- | .05 | -- | -- |
| /I/ in Wednesday | -- | -- | -- | -- | .01 | -- |
| /I/ in pen | -- | -- | -- | -- | .01 | -- |
| /ɜ/ in Friday | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /ɑ/ in time | .01 | -- | .05 | .01 | .01 | -- |
| /ʌ/ in night | -- | -- | -- | -- | .05 | -- |
| /I/ in field | .01 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /E/ in bale | .01 | .01 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /u/ in pool | .01 | -- | -- | .05 | .01 | -- |
| /a/ in hawk | .01 | .05 | .05 | -- | .01 | -- |

Note that only three of the fourteen features have as many as three categories that are statistically significant. If age is eliminated, only fifteen of the 84 cells (less the 20%) are filled. While standard social factors are sometimes important in explaining variation, they do not tell the whole story.

The work of Bernstein (forthcoming) on data from PST

points to an even more fundamental problem with the standard explanatory variables used in dialect geography and sociolinguistics. Bernstein looks not just at the statistical significance of social variables, but at their interaction with one another and at the amount of variation that they actually explain.

The results are enlightening. For example, a bivariate analysis of the Texas Poll data from PST shows that the five linguistic features in her cluster 1 are significantly affected by age, ethnicity, income, nativity, region of Texas, and rurality. Bernstein's multivariate analysis shows, however, that when interactions among factors are taken into account, only age and rurality have a significant effect. Moreover, these two factors only explain 25% of the observed variance in the sample.

Two surprising facts become clear from Bernstein's analysis. First, conventionally used social variables such as sex and social class contribute little to variation in the Texas Poll data, although ethnicity and region are powerful effects for some clusters. Age is the only factor which significantly affects all clusters. Second, we must look to variables such as nativity and rurality to fill in the explanatory gap.

## A New Explanatory Approach

The lack of explanatory power of the conventional

categories used by sociolinguists and dialect geographers suggests that we must look elsewhere for the social motivations for language variation and change. Perhaps the best place to look for these motivations is in the major demographic processes that have affected the United States during the last century. The two most important processes are urbanization and geographic mobility--migration from places of birth to places of economic opportunity. Since World War I, there have been two primary streams of geographic mobility in the U.S. From the advent of World War I to about 1970, most migration was from the South to the North and West. After that time, migration has been primarily from the North to the West and South. Both of these trends, along with urbanization, have affected Oklahoma, and we might expect to see all three reflected in the language of the state.

SOD gathers demographic data that bears directly on these trends. Respondents were asked both how long they had lived in Oklahoma and how long they had lived in their local neighborhoods. They were also asked to identify the size of the place of their current residence and the size of the place of residence where they had lived for most of their lives. A correlation of the phonological variables in SOD with the responses to these questions, as shown in Table 3, suggest that urbanization and geographic mobility are crucial factors in language variation and change.

TABLE 3

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF NATIVITY AND RURALITY AND SOD PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES

| Variable | Nativity | Years in Neighborhood | Rurality | Size of Most Frequent Residence |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /j/ in Tuesday | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /ə/ in Thursday | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /ə/ in forty | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /əə/ in thousand | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| /ɔ/ in wash | .05 | .05 | .05 | .05 |
| /I/ in Wednesday | .01 | -- | .01 | .01 |
| /I/ in pen | .01 | .01 | .01 | .01 |
| /a:/ in Friday | -- | -- | .01 | .01 |
| /a:/ in time | -- | -- | .01 | .01 |
| /a:/ in night | -- | -- | .01 | .01 |
| /I/ in field | -- | .05 | -- | -- |
| /E/ in bale | -- | .05 | -- | -- |
| /u/ in pool | .05 | .01 | .01 | .01 |
| /ɑ/ in hawk | -- | .01 | .01 | -- |

Table 3 provides a striking contrast to Table 2. Of the 56 cells in Table 3, twenty-four (more than 42%) are filled. In other words, nativity and rurality are significant factors over and over again. For three of the phonological features (/r/ in wash, /I/ in pen, and /u/ in pool), all four of the demographic variables are statistically significant. At least two of the demographic variables are significant for five other features (/I/ in Wednesday, /a:/ in Friday, time, and night, and /ɑ/ in hawk). For only four features (/j/ in Tuesday, /r/ in Thursday and forty, and

/æʊ/ in thousand) are none of the demographic process variables significant. A closer look at correlations of these variables with individual features suggests some of the motivations at work in variation and change.

## The Role of Nativity

The data from SOD indicates a direct correlation between nativity and several linguistic variables. For example, the innovative form of Wednesday (the use of /I/ for /E/) is in a relationship of stable variation with the conservative one. That is, neither feature is expanding or receding among speakers. Though the innovative form (a Southern dialect feature) is widespread among Oklahomans, it is much more prevalent among long-term residents as Figure 19 illustrates. Of the respondents who have lived in Oklahoma for more than ten years, almost 90% use the innovative form. For those who have lived in Oklahoma less than ten years, the percentage who use the innovative form drops to about two-thirds; consequently, the longer the residence in Oklahoma, the more likely the occurrence of the innovative form. This pattern is repeated in the SOD data for the same feature, the merger of /E/ to /I/ before nasals, that occurs in pen. Another feature, the merger of /u/ to /U/ before /l/, is also influenced in its use by nativity, but with an opposite effect. Unlike the stable variation found in Wednesday and pen, this merger is diffusing or spreading through the population (representing change in progress).

Figure 19 shows that of the respondents who have lived in the state for ten or more years, 65% use the innovative form, but of the respondents who have lived in the state for less than ten years, almost 80% use it. Perhaps the most dramatic consequence of nativity is illustrated by SOD data for the occurrence of /a/ for /ɔ/ in hawk.

Figure 20 shows the correlation between nativity and the use of the innovative form in hawk. A little over 40% who have resided in the state over ten years have the merger, but nearly 65% who have lived in Oklahoma for a shorter time merge the phonemes. Clearly, the longer the respondents have lived in the state, the less likely they are to have the merger. The use of /a/ in hawk illustrates one other correlation as well. The deeper the respondents' roots in one neighborhood, the less likely they are to use the form. Of those respondents who have lived in their current neighborhoods for less than ten years, over half use the innovative form. Only one-third of the respondents who have lived for more than ten years in their current neighborhood use the form. Moreover a closer examination of the data on pool and hawk shows that the number of years respondents have lived in their current neighborhoods has a much more direct bearing on the use of the innovative forms than does the number of years lived in the state. The longer respondents have lived in their current neighborhoods, the less likely they are to have the innovative forms of pool and hawk. There is a six to seven percentage point reduc-

tion in the use of the forms from years in Oklahoma to years in current neighborhood. What this may indicate is a correlation between the use of innovative forms and "rootedness" in a community, with neighborhood affliation a direct reflection of how "rooted" in a community a person is--or how closely he or she identifies with it. This local identity may, in fact, influence the use of innovative forms both positively and negatively. As the data indicates, nativity, whether it be the number of years a speaker has lived in the state or in one neighborhood in the state, quite clearly influences the use of phonological forms.

The Role of Rurality

Just as nativity is a powerful explanatory factor in linguistic variation and change, so is rurality. In fact, the SOD data indicates that an even closer relationship exists between the size of current hometown and size of place of residence where respondents have lived the longest and the use of innovative forms. For Oklahomans, the rural/urban factor affects changes in progress and stable variation to a much greater degree than even that of nativity. Figure 21 shows the distribution of the merger /E/ to /I/ in Wednesday and pen, and /u/ to /U/ in pool by the size of place of respondents' current residences. Notice that the use of /I/ for /E/ in Wednesday and pen increases among those respondents who live in less heavily populated

areas. In the case of pen, there is over a 20% increase in the use of the innovative form from cosmopolitan areas of over 100,000 people to very sparsely populated rural areas. Pool presents just the opposite pattern. The 20+% increase in the use of the innovative form occurs between those in rural areas and those in areas of more than 100,000. Although there are four categories which denote population density, the data indicates that the demarcation point for using the innovative or conservative forms of these features occurs between the +20,000 and -20,000 categories. This data is mirrored in Figure 22 for the size of the place respondents have lived most of their lives, which not only reinforces the correlation between the use of conservative or innovative form and size of place of current residence, but also provides a kind of reliability check on the data.

Like pool, hawk demonstrates the urban/rural influence on the use of features. Figure 23 clearly illustrates this demarcation between innovative and conservative. There is very little difference in the use of the innovative form for respondents who live in cities with populations of 20,000 and above, but a significant drop occurs in the use of the innovative form for respondents who live in towns of less than 20,000 and rural areas. Figure 24 also illustrates the 20+/20- break, with rurality acting as a type of barrier to the diffusion of innovations; respondents from rural areas resist the use of the innovative form of hawk. Although hawk and pool show the inhibiting effects of rurality,

monophthongal /aI/ before consonants (/d/, /m/, and /t/) operates in an opposite manner.

What occurs in the SOD data with monophthongal /aI/ with regard to rurality is an amplification of change, rather than a barrier to it. This amplification is seen in Figure 25. For Friday and time in areas of less than 20,000, there is at least a 14% increase in their use over that in heavily populated areas. Collapsing the size of place of current residence into two categories--more than 20,000 and less than 20,000--makes this amplification even more clear. Figure 25 shows that only 40% of the respondents who in live in areas of more than 20,000 have monophthongal /aI/ in Friday; 43% have it in time. Respondents in areas of less than 20,000, on the other hand, have monophthongization rates of 57% in Friday and 61% in time. At first glance, monophthongal /aI/ in night appears to offer a somewhat different pattern since its overall frequency of occurrence is half that of Friday and time; however, the ratios among the various categories of rurality for monophthongal /aI/ in night are remarkably similar to those for monophthongal /aI/ in Friday and time, as Figure 26 shows. The pattern of distribution of monophthongal /aI/ in night, then, is quite similar to that for monophthongal /aI/ in Friday and time, even though monophthongization is not as far advanced in this environment. Moreover, the correlation of monophthongal /aI/ with size of place of longest residence provides additional confirmation of these generaliza-

tions, as Figure 27 shows.

Rurality, perhaps more than any other variable, affects both change in progress and stable variation in Oklahoma. With change in progress, rurality acts as a barrier to the spread of innovations that are brought in from outside the state and adopted in urban areas. As well, rurality acts as an amplifier of changes that begin in the state and that serve to reinforce local identity. Finally in situations of stable variation, one of the variants typically becomes associated with rural areas and develops as a marker of local identity. The development of markers of local identity, however, is best illustrated when the effects of rurality and nativity are considered together.

## The Effects of Nativity and Rurality

We attempted to design the SOD telephone protocol to measure identity by asking people how they rated Oklahoma and their neighborhoods as places to live. When chi square tests were run, none of the responses to either of these questions had any significant bearing on the use of linguistic forms investigated in the survey[10]. By considering the data on nativity and rurality together, however, the effects of a local identity on the use of linguistic forms are quite clear. The best illustration of this appears in the use of the grammatical form fixin' to.

Figure 28 shows the effects of both nativity and rurality on the use of fixin' to. Respondents who have lived in

the state for ten years or more and who live in areas of less than 20,000 are much more likely to use fixin' to. We found the same to be true in the data on Texas from GRITS. Figure 29 shows the percentage of use for fixin' to with regard to nativity and rurality. Though the categories are somewhat different (due to the different configuration of the population in Texas), the results are the same as those in Oklahoma. While the disparity between the larger percentages in the Texas data and the smaller ones in Oklahoma is due, in part, to a more rapid diffusion of fixin' to in Texas, the overall results are, again, the same. The use of fixin' to in Oklahoma seems to suggest that the form is used primarily by rural natives and then is spread to urban natives, so that the form is a marker of local (or Oklahoma) identity[11]. Although the use of fixin' to in Texas parallels that in Oklahoma, its use in Texas among non-natives also is increasing in parallel fashion to that of natives. This suggests that the form carries some social prestige, even for those from outside the state. In fact, the use of fixin' to among non-natives seems to be a way of adopting a Texas identity, at least on some level. That is not true with the use of might could. As a result, its distribution in the Texas Poll data enables us to clarify the role of identity in language variation.

Nativity is a key factor in the use of might could in Texas. Figure 30 shows that more than double the percentage of native Texans use the form than non-native Texans, while

Figure 31 illustrates the correlation between nativity, rurality, and the distribution of might could and shows the development of might could as a marker of Texas identity. A look at the data from all of the Texas Poll respondents suggests that might could is a rural, native Texan feature; however, a look at the data from just native Texans shows that might could is spreading rapidly into large metropolitan areas where it used by almost as great a percentage of native respondents as in rural areas. The use of the form by urban, native Texans is easily understood as the result of a social process: the establishment of a Texas identity in reaction to in-migration of non-native Texans into rapidly expanding urban areas. As the population from out-of-state expands in cities such as Dallas, Ft. Worth, and Houston, it poses a threat to traditional Texas values and culture. In reaction to this threat, features typical of "real" Texans become crucial markers of Texas identity and expand among those who want to maintain that identity. The use of these typical features reinforces traditional values and culture. Perhaps the most direct indication of the link between identity and language variation comes from the use in Texas of monophthongal /aI/ before voiceless obstruents.

Figure 32 shows that the use of monophthongal /aI/ is greater among rural Texans than in any other category; however, the form is spreading among younger, native Texans, even in cities as Figure 33 suggests. What accounts for the upsurge in the use of monophthongal /aI/ among younger

natives is this association with Texas. By chance the January, 1989, Texas Poll included a question that helps to demonstrate this relationship; respondents were asked how they rated Texas as a place to live. Figure 34 correlates the responses to this question with respondents' use of monophthongal /aI/. The results are striking. Less than six percent of the respondents who rate Texas as "poor" have monophthongal /aI/. More than 27% of those who rate it excellent have this variant. This correlation provides direct evidence that the establishment of an identity is the social process that underlies the spread of monophthongal /aI/. Rurality and nativity are simply oblique indicators of this process. They are, however, the only social categories that provide insight into the process.

Anecdotal evidence from the SOD telephone survey provides additional confirmation of the role of identity in language variation and change. The unsolicited comments of an Oklahoma City resident bear directly on the role of identity. When asked about the grammatical form <u>might could</u>, this respondent not only answers the questions, but the interchange between repondent and interviewer provides valuable insights into language use, and hence, variation. The following is a portion of SOD Telephone Interview #464 and is transcripted <u>verbatim</u>; the letter <u>I</u> denotes the interviewer's questions and comments and the letter <u>R</u> denotes those of the respondent:

I: Have you ever heard the phrase

might could as in, "I might...
(Interviewer interrupted by respondent's answer before the question is completed.)

R: Yes. Of course. As in, "We might could do it."

I: Would you use that phrase all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

R: I wouldn't. I mean I work at the State Department of Education. I might could get fired for that.
(Respondent laughs.)

I: Have you ever heard the word anymore used like this, "Anymore people have to have two jobs to make ends meet."

R: Oh, yeah.

I: Would you use it all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

R: Yeah, you know there's a colloquial side of me that ah, you know, that might could even say might could.

I: As long as your boss wasn't there?

R: Well, yeah, you know. Ah, there's a, there's a fun sort of a low key language which is...I don't know...closer to who I think we are. And then there's ah, there's the language

"because I got a Masters Degree and I-know-what-I'm-doing and I'm-a-teacher, and you know. And I know that still my son and I, do you know, we fix to go to town, and we live in town. So, I don't know, I think that's a part of childhood that you just don't want to give up, so you don't.

I: Yeah. Yeah. Well, and that's really what most of these things are...is they really aren't grammar. This is not something most people would ever write.

R: Uh-huh. (agrees)

I: But this is just the way people talk.

R: Uh-huh. (agrees) And even I talk that way for fun and for what it means more than because that's what I say. There's ah, ah, the affective is really hooked into language, I think.

I: It creates a different atmosphere. This is...we're doing something else now.

R: And we're having fun, and it's part of our, ah, family memory or regional memory, ah, that is important to keep. I don't know how else to describe it.

Not all SOD respondents provide such detailed insight into their motives for using particular linguistic variants. A number of others do, however, offer comments which confirm

this respondent's understanding of the motives for linguistic variation. For example, another SOD respondent, after acknowledging that she would use might could and positive anymore some of the time, points out that the choice of a linguistic variant "is not a conscious thing, but the way I, the way I talk between 8-5 and the way I talk outside of 8-5 is totally different." In response to questions about fixin' to and might could, she indicates that she would use them "whenever they would come up."

Two things are implicit in the second respondent's comments. First, this respondent realizes that not everyone talks the same way and that people in the larger world, i.e., the work force, expect a variety of English different from the one she normally uses in her local community. Second, she realizes that the language appropriate for work is not the one that is appropriate for her life away from work--it is not her natural language.

The first respondent articulates the dichotomy between the language of the local community and the world outside. She is consciously aware that she uses one sort of language to mark her identity as a well educated professional and another language to mark "the colloquial side" of her--that part of what she learned in childhood that she is not willing to give up. In articulating this "colloquial side" of herself, she expresses clearly what we think the data on nativity and rurality suggests. What this respondent calls regional memory or what we call rootedness (the intersection

of nativity and rurality) is a crucial factor in language variation and change--perhaps the most important factor in southwest states such as Oklahoma and Texas. The real source of linguistic tension in these two states is between those whose identities are bound up with the local culture and those identities are not.

# CHAPTER IV

## IMPLICATIONS

The SOD data illustrates how nativity and rurality capture the social process of local identity. This process lies at the heart of linguistic variation and change in Oklahoma and has significant implications for the linguistic landscape of the state. The linguistic landscape of Oklahoma is one in which the urban and rural configurations are the dominant spatial patterns. As the previous chapter shows, this urban/rural split occurs throughout the state in both grammatical and phonological forms. Perhaps the best way to understand this landscape is by viewing the distribution of two variables which illustrate it, might could and the inceptive went to. Figure 35 shows the location of respondents who use might could all or some of the time. Although Tulsa and Oklahoma Counties seem to have more respondents who use might could, proportionately these two counties have very few. Figure 36, a choroplethic map of the distribution of might could by percentage for each county, clearly shows this urban/rural split. Figure 37 provides further confirmation of the urban/rural split; the same effects occur for the conservative form went to that occur in the use of might could. However, the PST and GRITS

data indicates a different configuration in Texas. The linguistic landscape of Texas is one in which the urban/rural split is a secondary factor; in Oklahoma, nativity is secondary. Moreover, when nativity is a key variable in a form's use in Oklahoma, it is more often a case of rootedness, or years in a particular neighborhood, rather than an identity with the state as a whole, as is the case in Texas. For this reason rural/urban surpasses native/non-native in explanatory power in Oklahoma. The differences in the linguistic landscape of the two states are most easily understood as the consequence of the different degrees to which the social processes of urbanization and geographic mobility affect each state.

In Oklahoma there are only two geographic areas of over 100,000 people--Tulsa and Oklahoma City--and none over half a million. In fact, Enid, Lawton, and Muskogee, the next largest cities, are the only three (except Tulsa and Oklahoma City) with populations over 50,000. In Texas there are three metroplex areas--Dallas/Ft. Worth, Houston, and San Antonio--with populations of over one million. Further, there are at least twelve cities with populations of over 100,000--Abilene, Amarillo, Austin, Beaumont, Bryan/College Station, Corpus Christie, Denton, El Paso, Lubbock, Midland/Odessa, Waco, and Wichita Falls (PST and GRITS, 1989). Though the population density is greatest in eastern half of the state, there are those cities of over 100,000 that are scattered throughout the state, so that no one region of the

state is without a major cosmopolitan area. There are other important differences in the two states as well.

The diffuse but dense population centers that have developed in Texas are made more complex by extensive in-migration into the state and by rapidly-developing metroplex areas (which are a result of the in-migration). Because urbanization and in-migration are so far advanced in Texas, the negotiation of an identity primarily involves the separation of native Texans from non-native residents of the state. The primary tension in the state is between natives and non-natives, who have invaded the metropolitan areas in massive numbers over the last twenty years. This tension is demonstrated by the proliferation of native Texan bumper-stickers around the state, which can only be purchased with proof of birthplace in Texas. What happens in Texas is that rural features, such as monophthongal /aI/ before voiceless obstruents and <u>might could</u>, are adopted in cities as markers of a local identity, separating natives from non-natives. In situations where outsiders pose a severe threat to the culture and values of an area, people tend to reach back to the prototypical markers of that area as a way of preserving and asserting their culture in the face of the outside threat. Labov's early work on Martha's Vineyard is a case in point. With the threat of increasing tourism and summer (or temporary) residents, native islanders in massive numbers began using two relic features, the centralized onsets in /aU/ and /aI/ that research thirty years earlier suggest-

ed had almost disappeared. Interestingly before these features began to spread, they had been restricted largely to insular, rural islanders.

In Oklahoma urbanization is not nearly as advanced as it is in Texas. Moreover, in Oklahoma in-migration is not as advanced either. The primary social tension in the state, then, is one between city-dwellers and country folk. As a result, the negotiation of an identity primarily separates rural from urban and serves to emphasize local identity through the use of linguistic forms. What Oklahomans are doing in their use of certain linguistic forms is establishing an identity with their local communities moreso than with the state as a whole. In Oklahoma, years in the neighborhood impact the use of linguistic forms more directly than years in the state. In a situation where urbanization is the primary source of social tension, identification with local communities becomes a major factor. Burke (1969) states that because people are at odds with one another more often than not, language permits them to "induce cooperation," or to create communities and to identify with one another. Peck (1987: 59) defines communities as "inclusive" places where a group of individuals have learned how to communicate with one another. Urbanization threatens communities; language becomes a way of asserting what is threatened. Language also becomes a way of establishing rootedness in a society that is becoming rootless as urbanization and geographic mobility threaten traditional homes. In

Oklahoma, the local community defines and drives local identity.

The data from SOD, PST, and GRITS substantiate the importance and validity of correlating variables, that demonstrate the effects of social processes, such as urbanization and geographic mobility, with linguistic forms. These social processes pinpoint not only variation, but also the motivations underlying variation as well. In doing so, social processes help to explain why the linguistic landscape of each state is unique.

## NOTES

1. Labov (1972) offers a detailed account of this problem in Sociolinguistic Patterns.

2. For an excellent overview of the history of dialectology, see Pederson's chapter "Introduction to the LAGS Project" (1972).

3. For an excellent, condensed history of 20th century linguistics and an introduction to sociolinguistics, see Jean Aitchison's Language Change: Progress or Decay? (Fontana, 1981).

4. Milroy (1992: 216) also points to variation as "a badge of identity," but notes that it cannot be fully understood without reference to the broader economic, political, and institutional structures that influence social networks. Likewise, Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 206) acknowledge the importance of motivations and processes and call for a unified discipline that utilizes the methods of dialect geography, sociolinguistics, and "human" geography (social attitudes and community networks [identity] to examine variation and change. However, neither Milroy nor Chambers and Trudgill develop a methodology for exploring these processes.

5. This is not to say that urbanization and the negotiation of identities are the only processes or motivations; variation and change can be comprised of any number of different processes and motivations. The motivation for change may even be solely linguistic in nature.

6. PST, GRITS, and SOD have been funded by grants from the National Science Foundation (BNS-8812552, BNS-9009232, and BNS-9109695).

7. For an in-depth description of all segments and methodology of the project, see Bailey and Bernstein (1989), Bailey and Dyer (1992), and Bailey and Tillery (forthcoming).

8. For in-depth explanations of the statistical methods employed in PST, GRITS, and SOD, see Bailey and Bernstein (1989); Bailey and Dyer (1992); Bailey, Wikle, and Sand (1991a); Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand (1992);

Bernstein (1990); and Bernstein (forthcoming).

9. I am using Kurath's tripartite division of dialect areas: Northern, Midland, and Southern.

10. There were, however, some very interesting correlations between these categories and the use of several linguistic forms. See "Methodology of a Survey of Oklahoma Dialects" (Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand; 1991).

11. See Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand (1992).

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## FIGURES: GRAPHS AND MAPS

# Location of Respondents

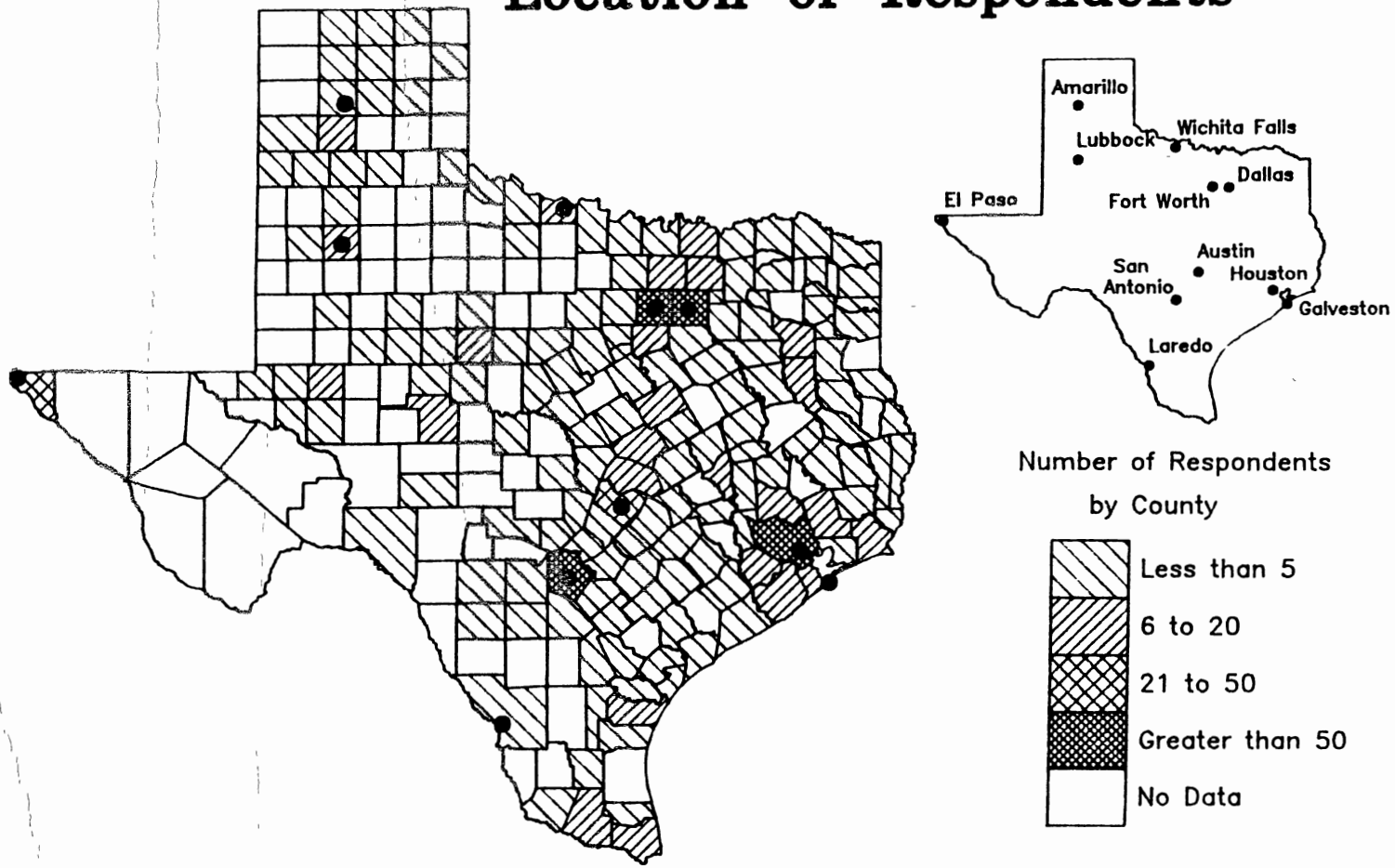



**Figure 1. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.**

## Correlation of Monophthongal /ai/ with Respondents' Rating of Texas as a Place to Live

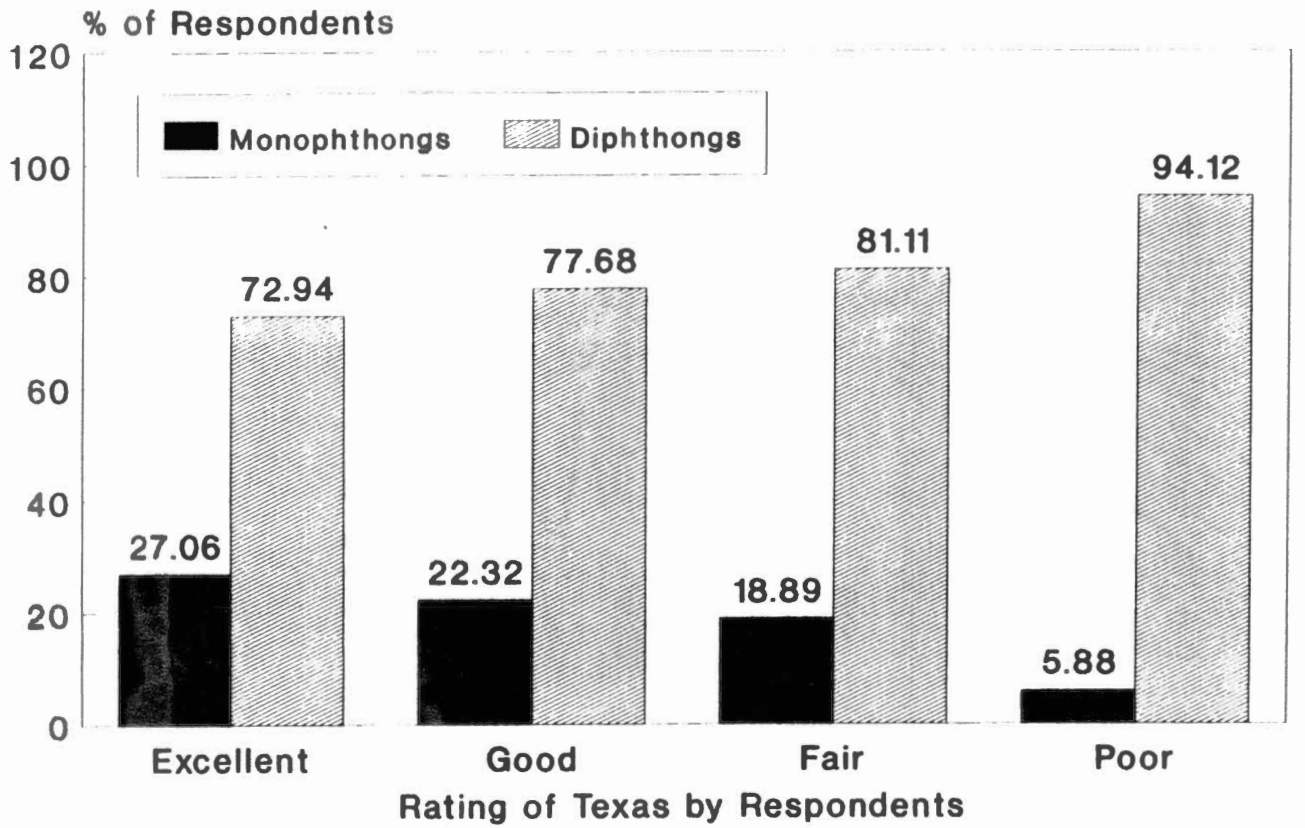



Figure 2. Source: PST, 1989.

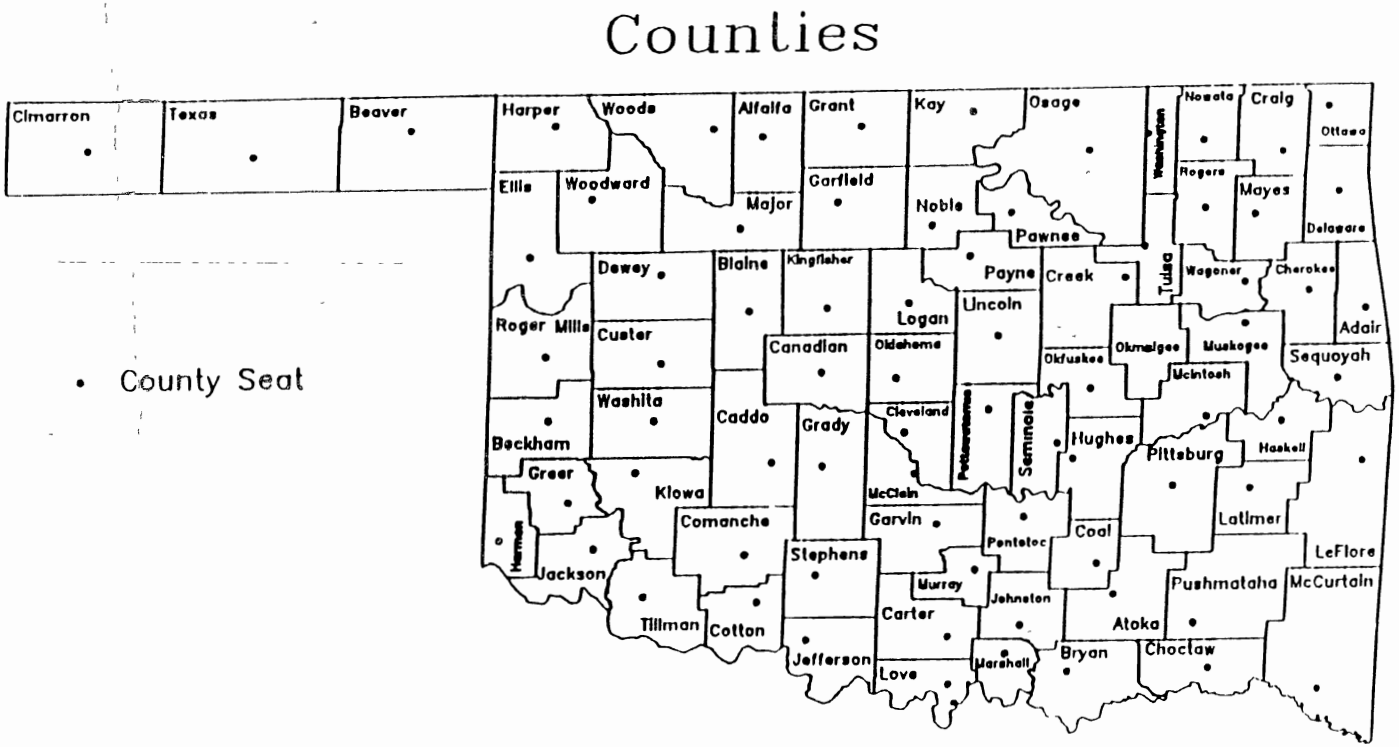



**Figure 3. Source: Wikle, 1992.**

# Location of Respondents in SOD

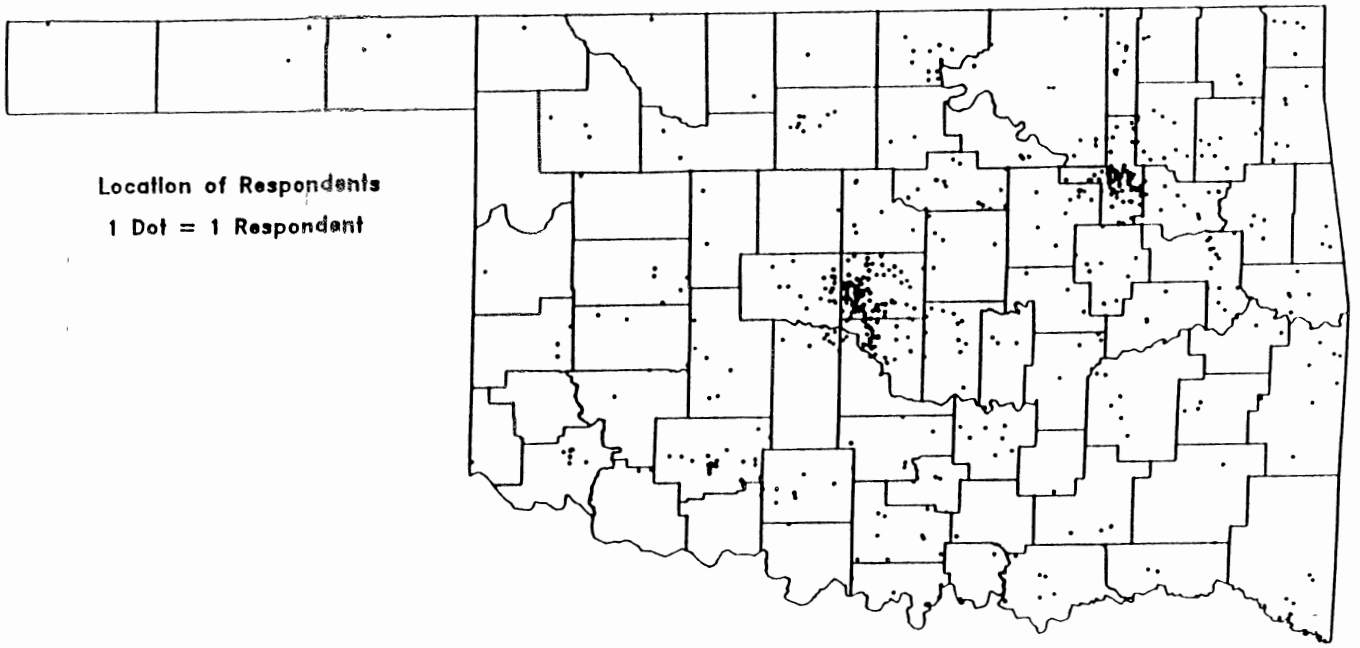



Figure 4. Source: Wikle & Sand, 1992.

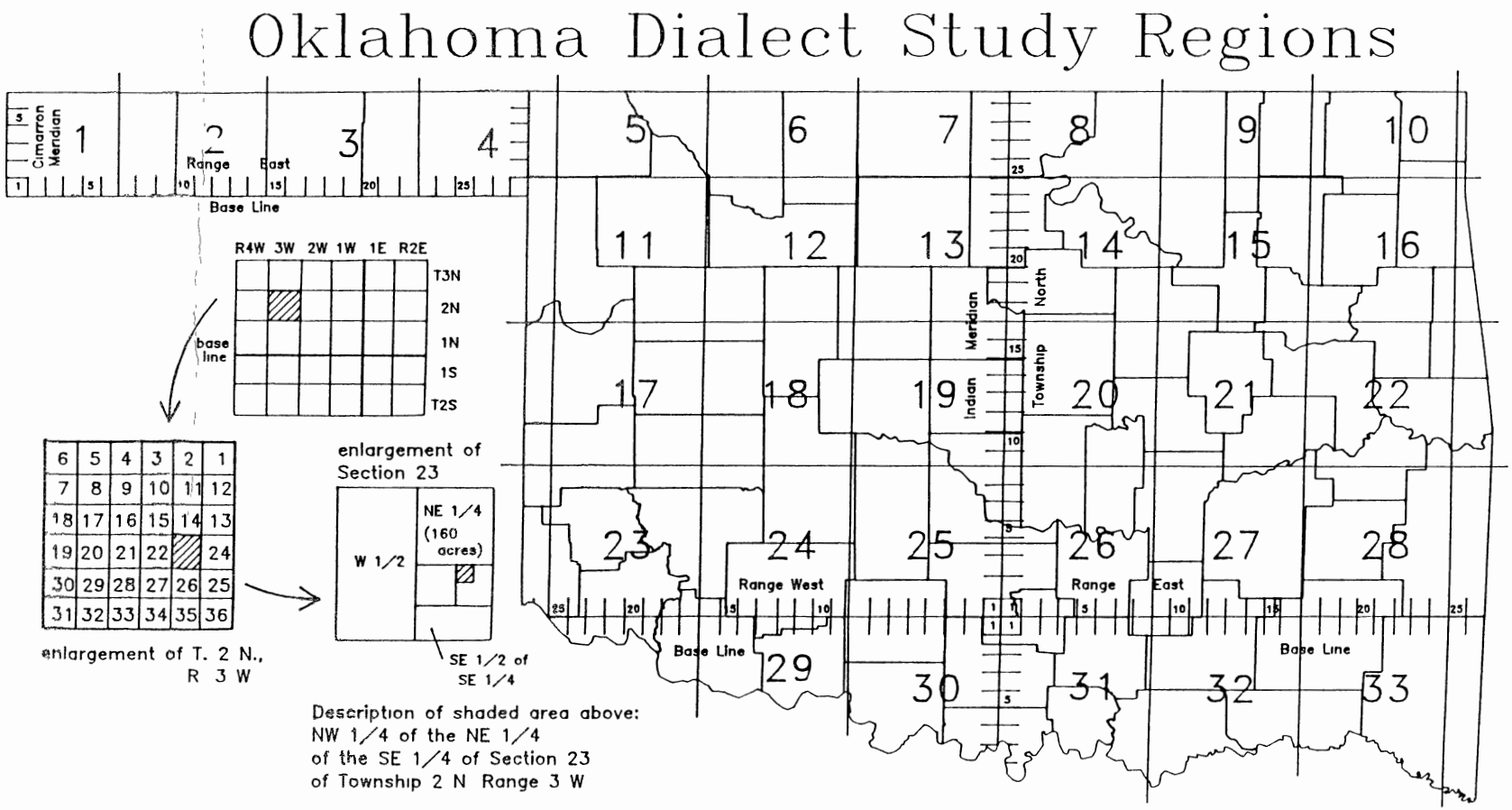



**Figure 5. Source: Wikle, 1992.**

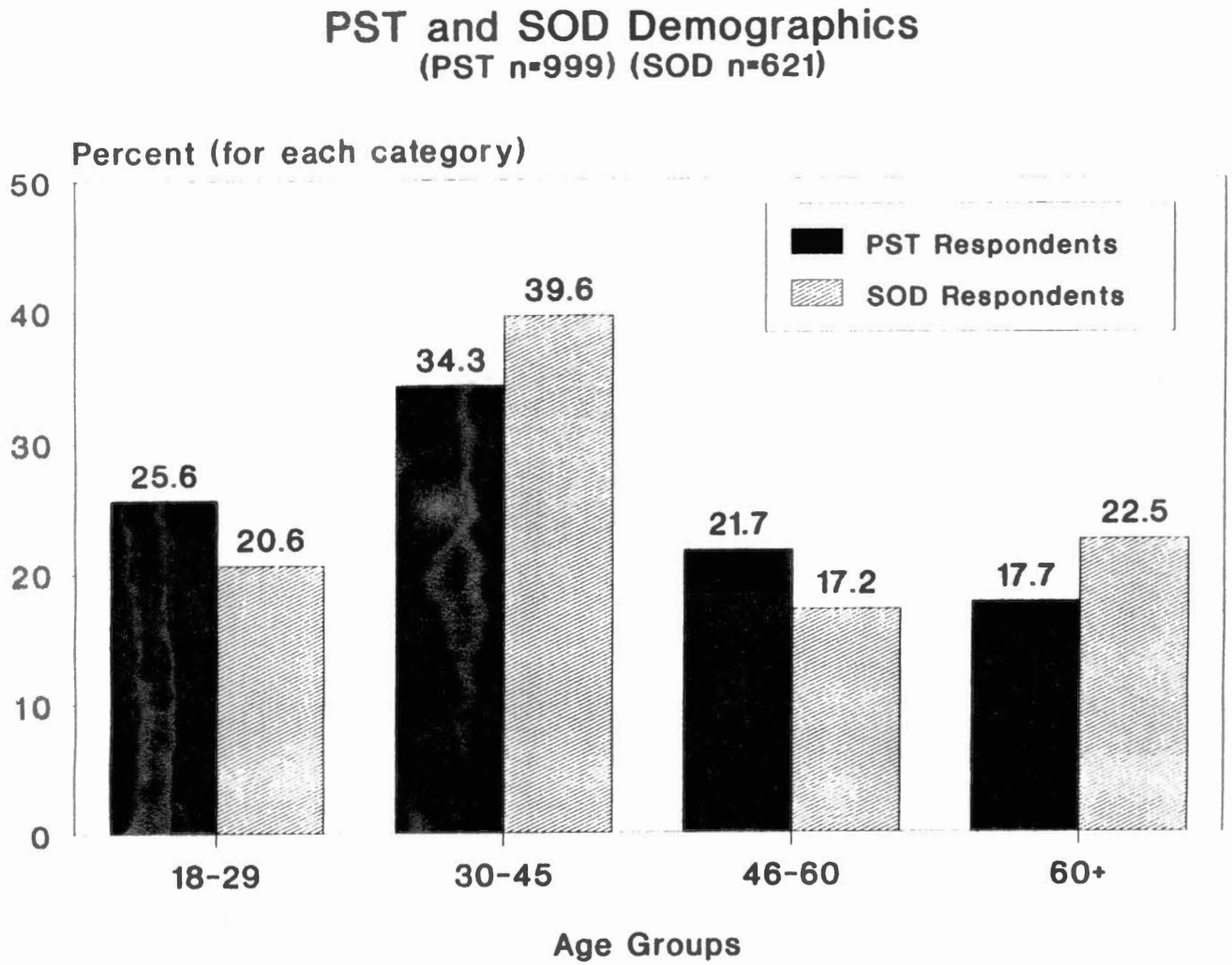



Figure 6. Source: PST, 1989; SOD, 1991.

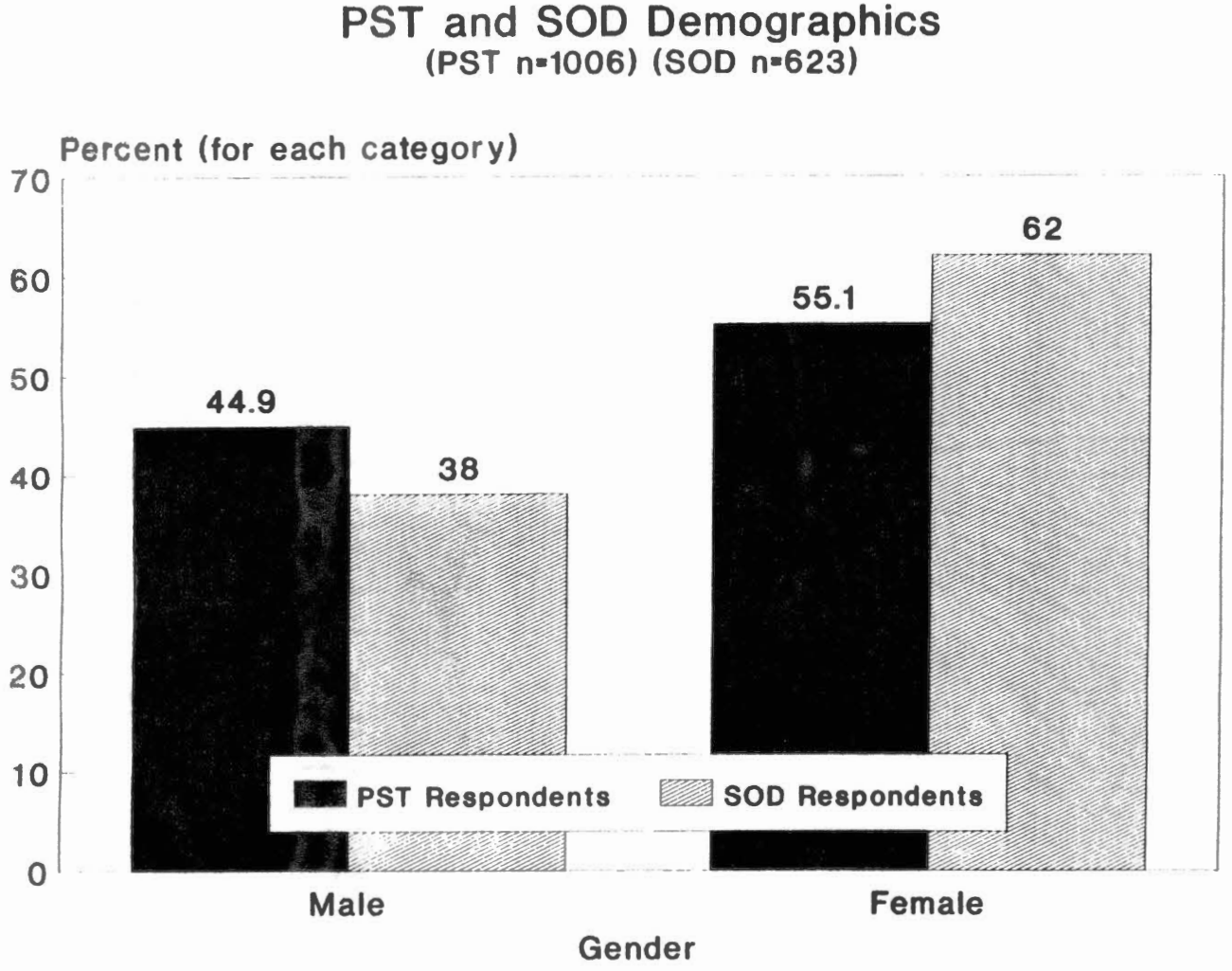



Figure 7. Source: PST, 1989; SOD, 1991.

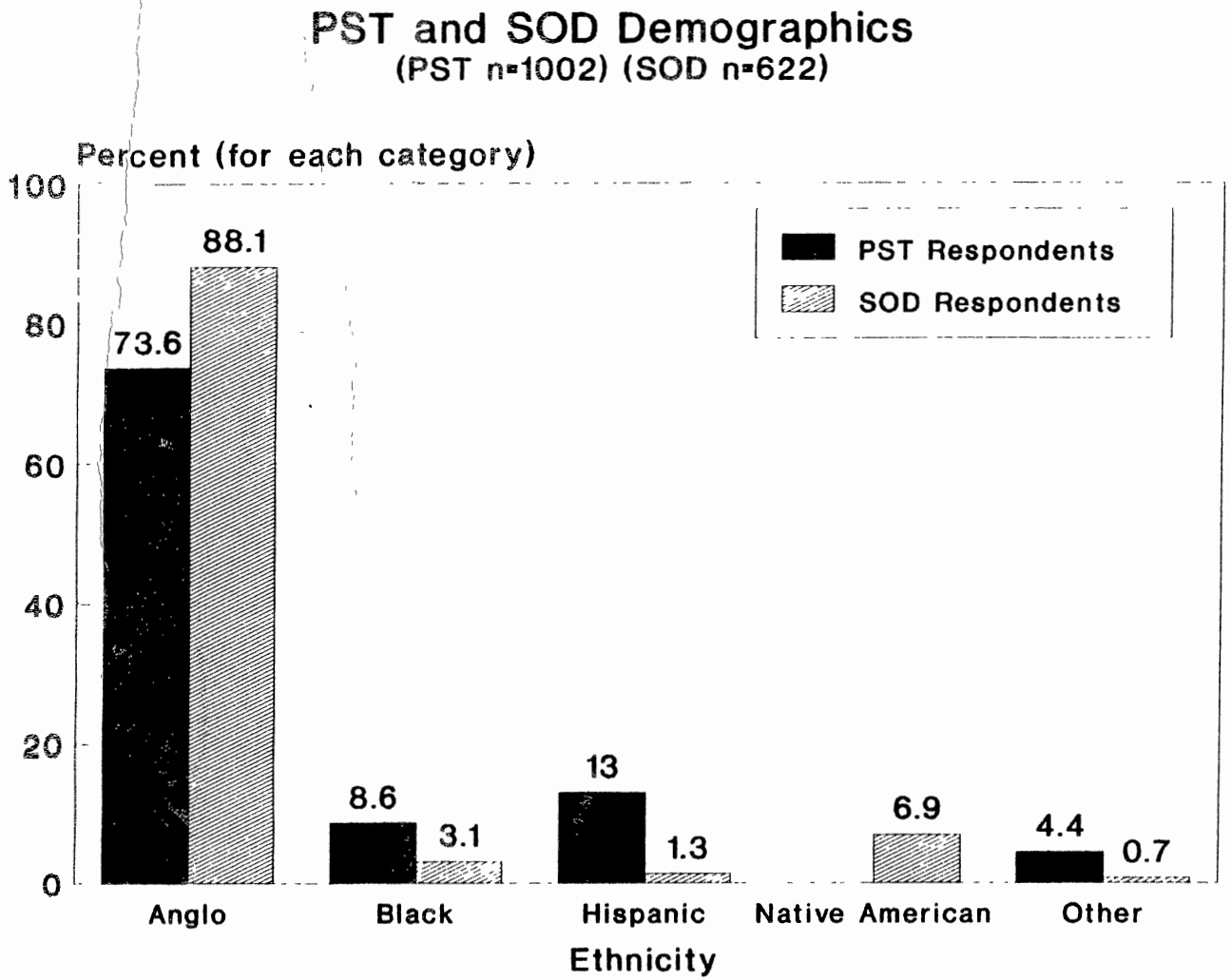



Figure 8. Source: PST, 1989; SOD, 1991.

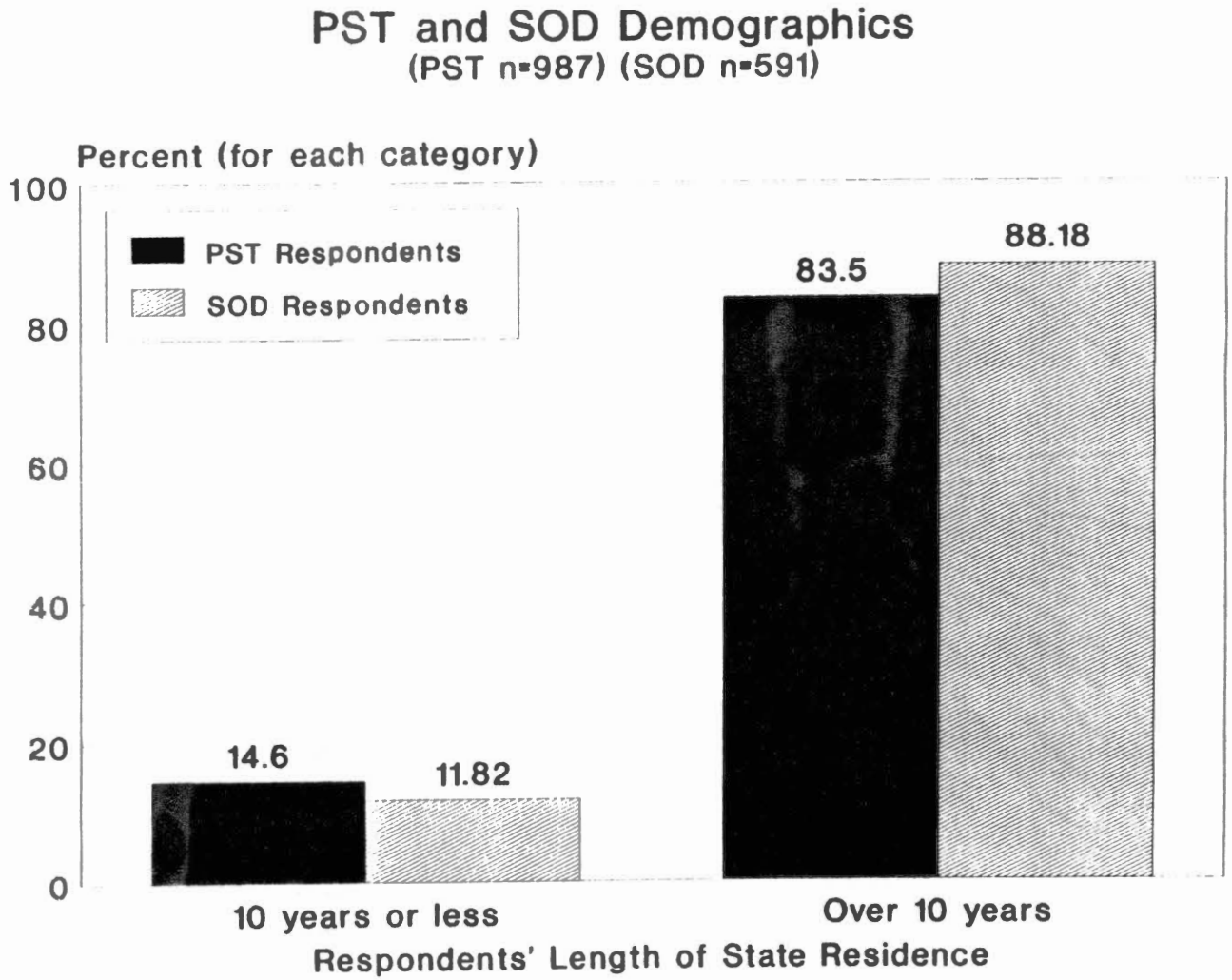



Figure 9. Source: PST, 1989; SOD, 1991.

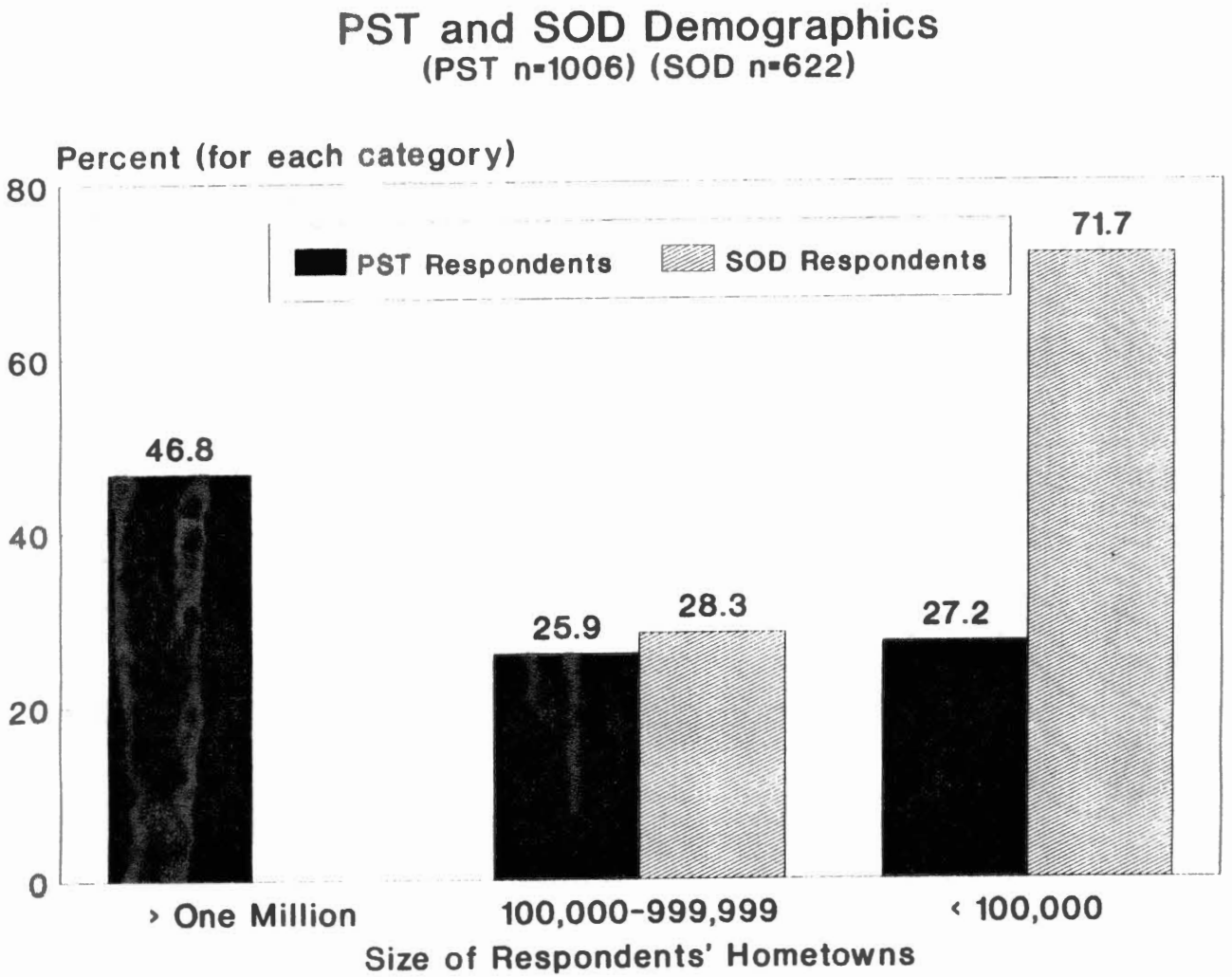
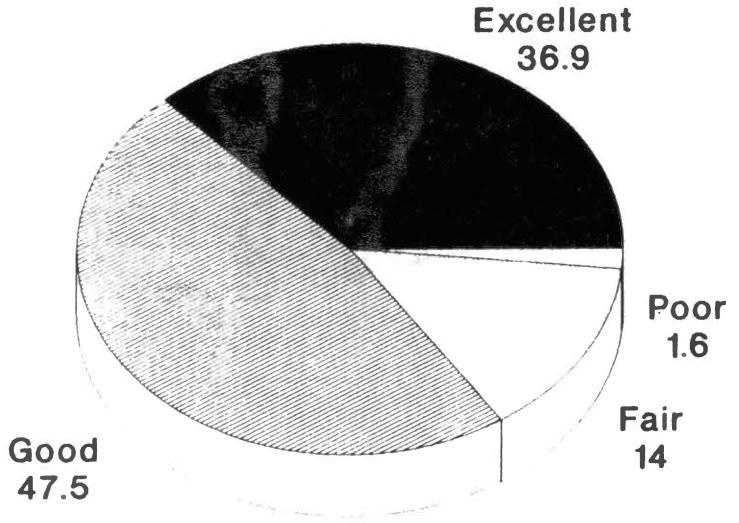



Figure 10. Source: PST, 1989; SOD, 1991.

## Rating of Oklahoma as a Place to Live




Percentage of Responses by Rank

Figure 11. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Perception of Oklahoma's Location

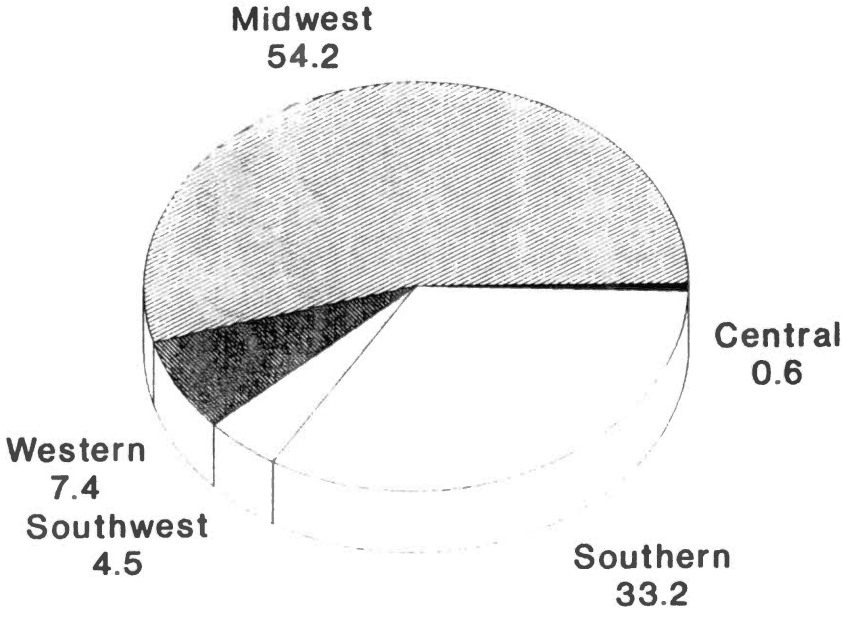



Figure 12. Source: SOD, 1991.

# Respondents' Choice of a Second State to Live
## SOD Survey

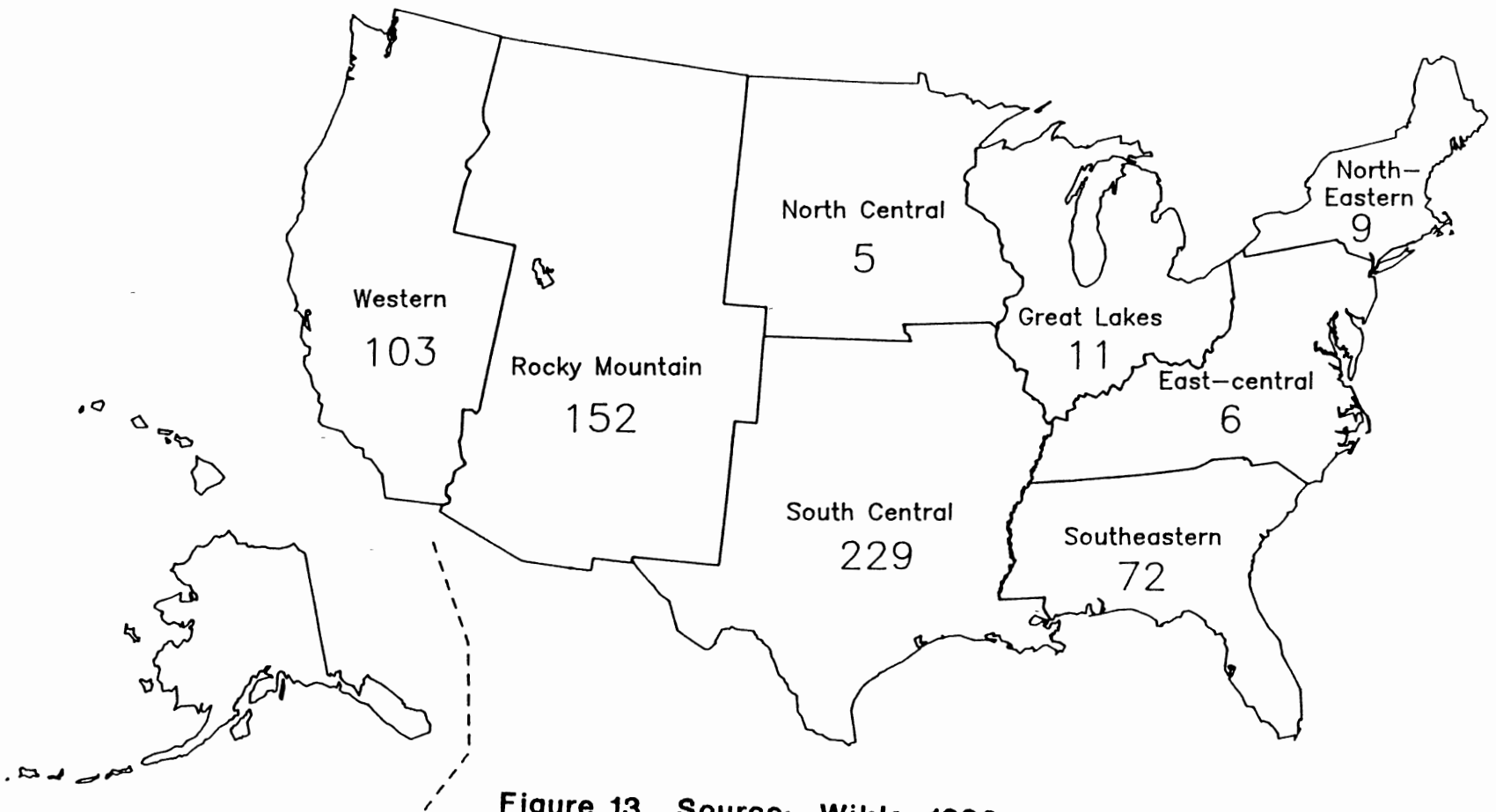
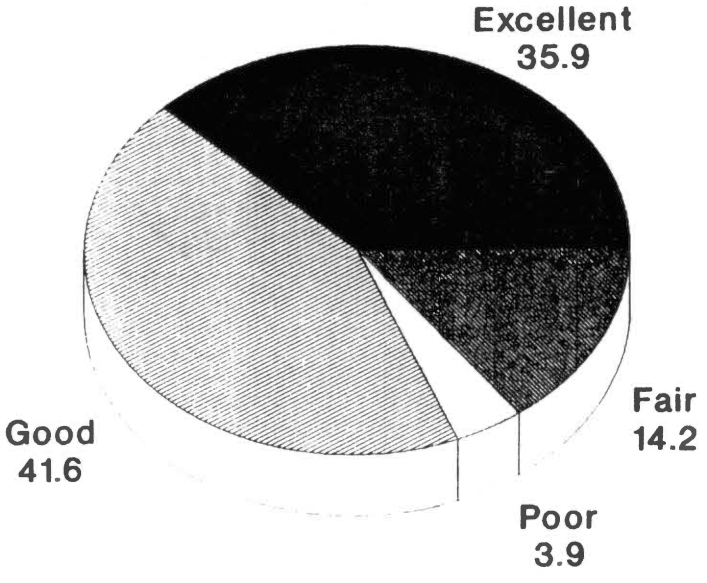



**Figure 13. Source: Wikle, 1992.**

## Neighborhood Rating




Percentage of Responses by Rank

Figure 14. Source: SOD, 1991.

# Percentage of Respondents 62 Years And Older By County

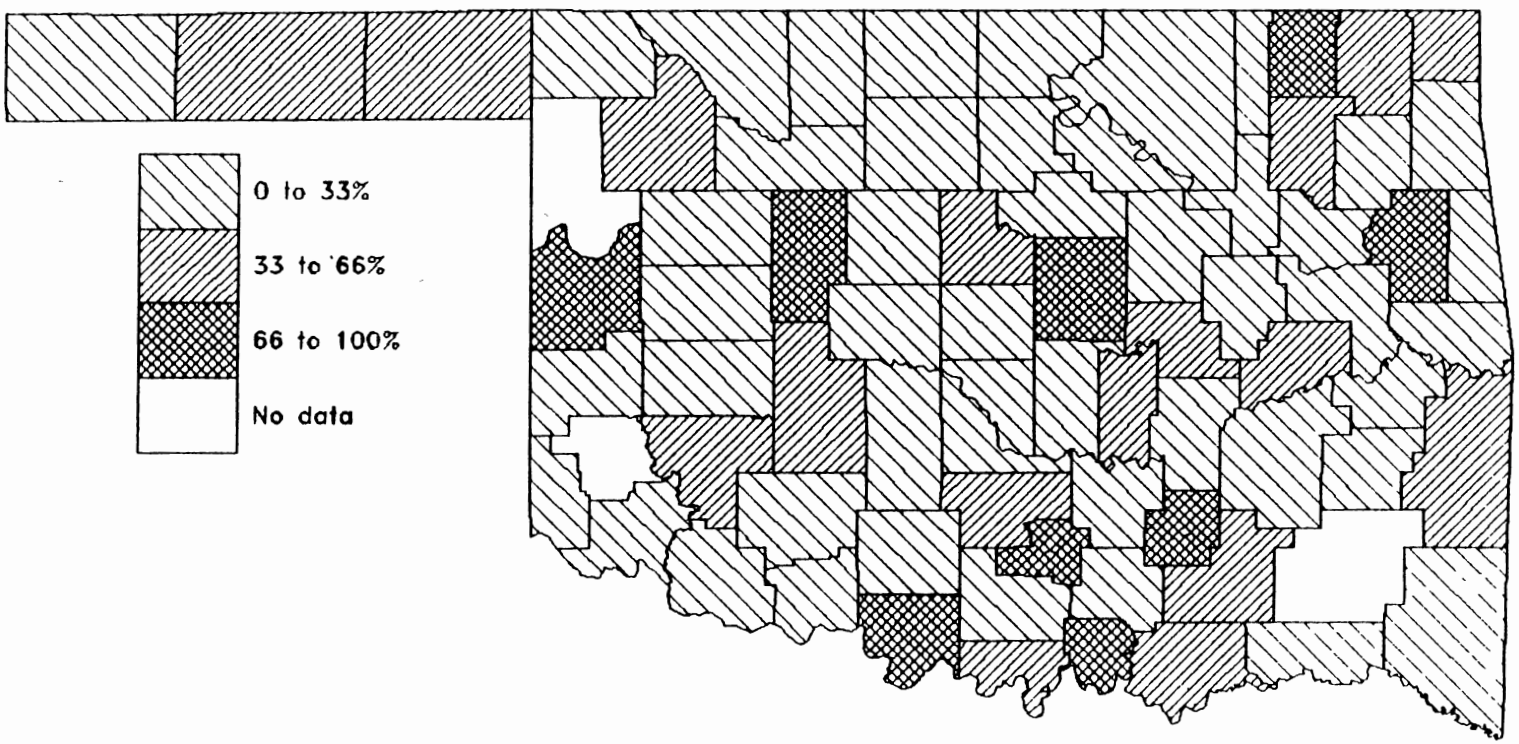



Figure 15. Source: SOD, 1991.

# Location of Respondents Living in the State Less Than Ten Years

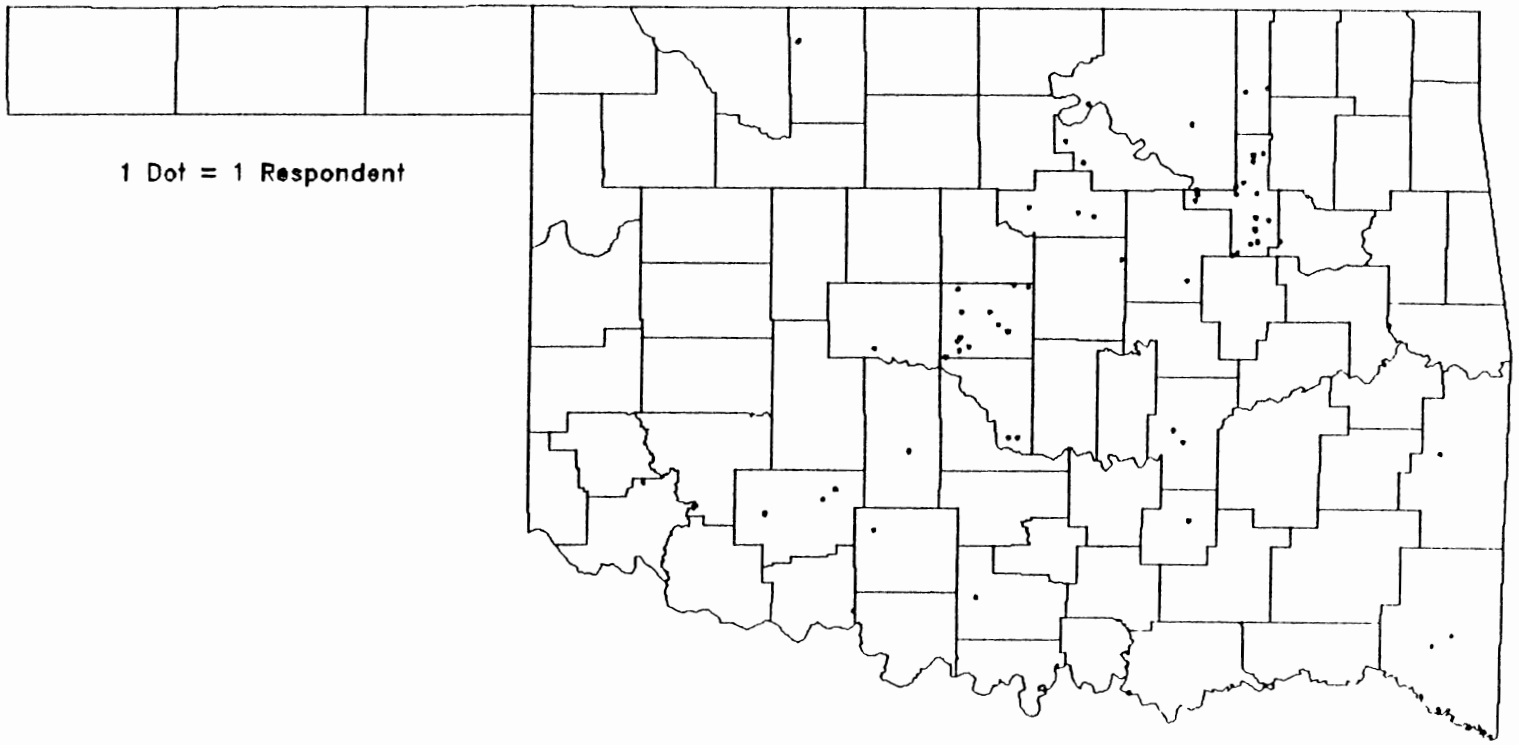



Figure 16. Source: SOD, 1991.

# Location of Respondents Using *snap bean* All or Some of the Time

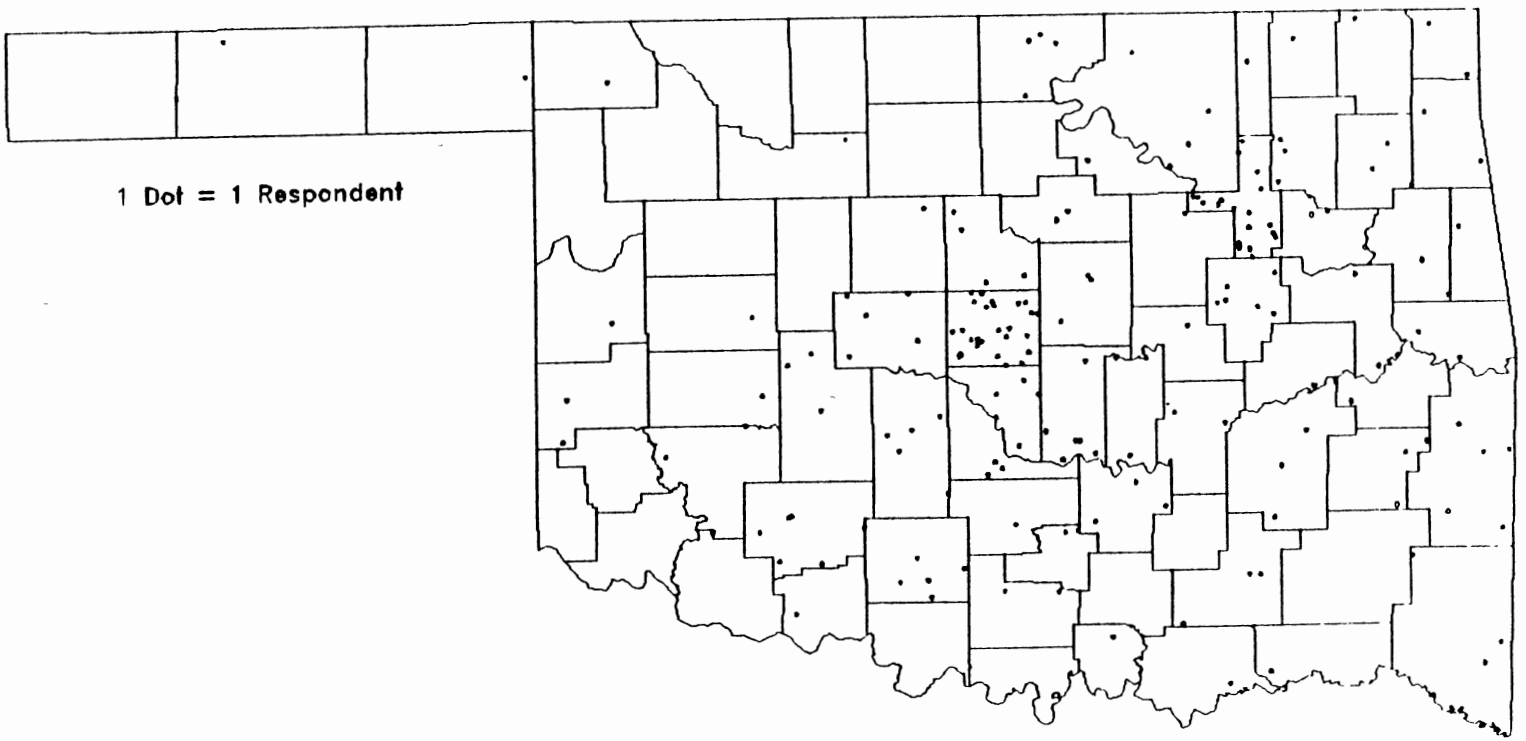



Figure 17. Source: SOD, 1991.

# Percentage of Respondents Using

## *gunny sack*

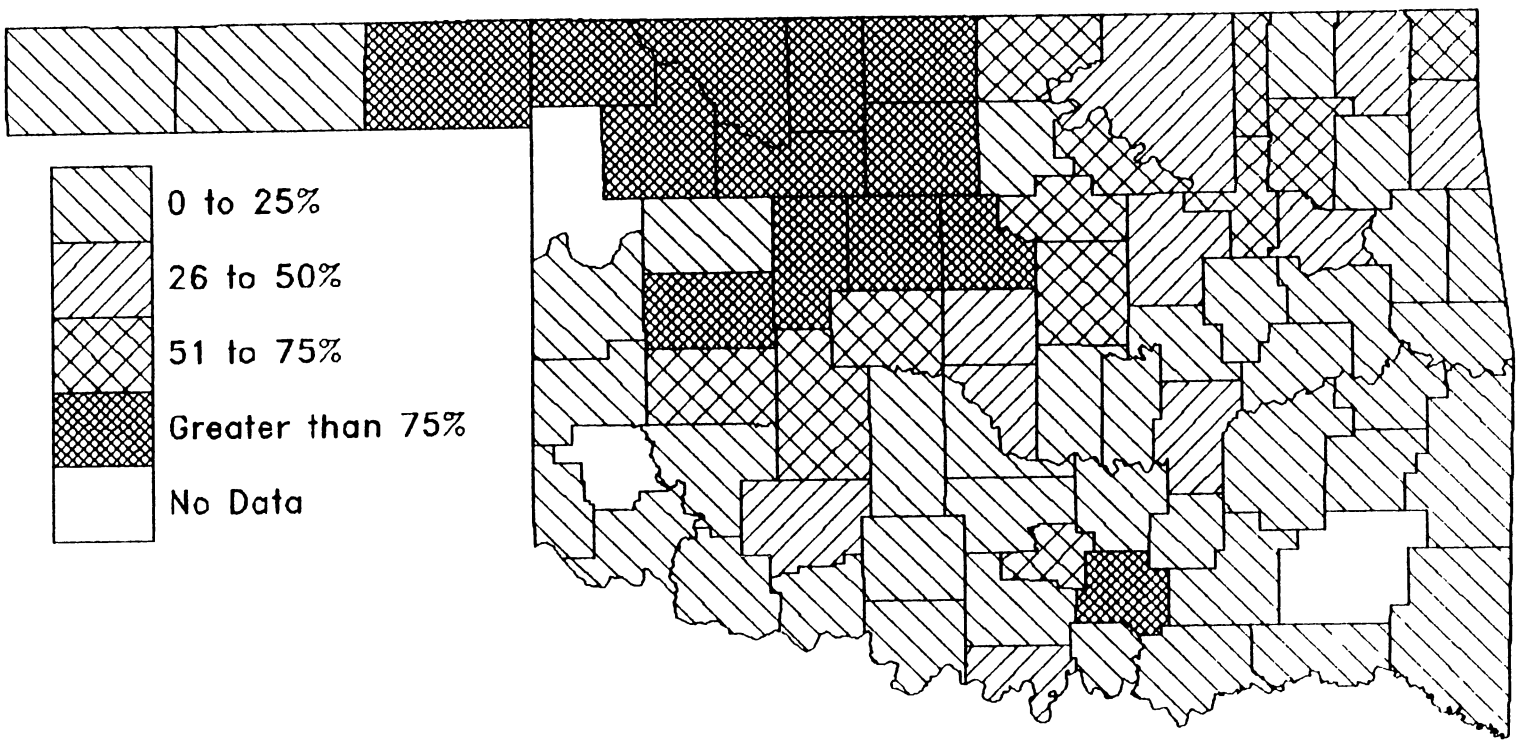



Figure 18. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Nativity and Phonological Features

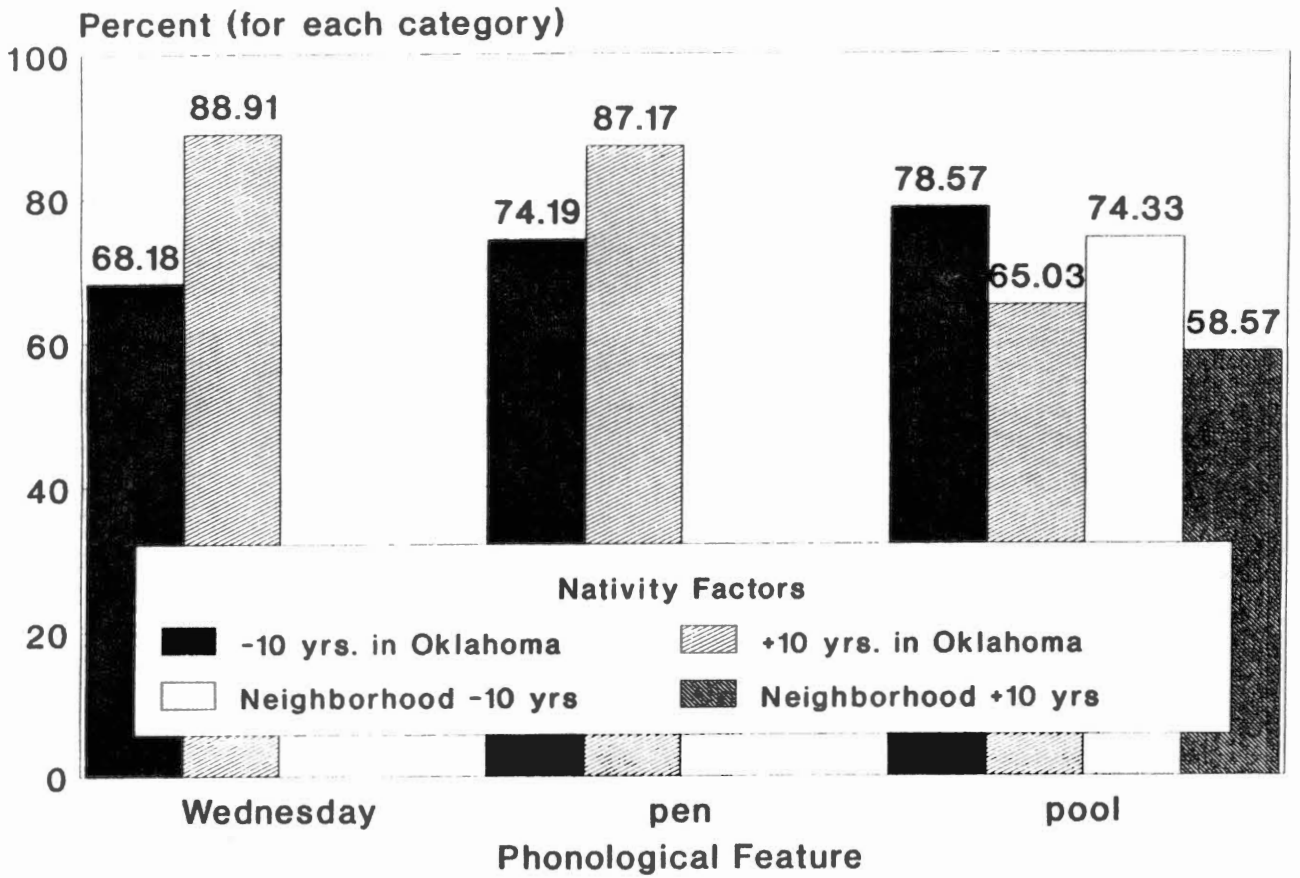



Figure 19. Source: SOD, 1991.

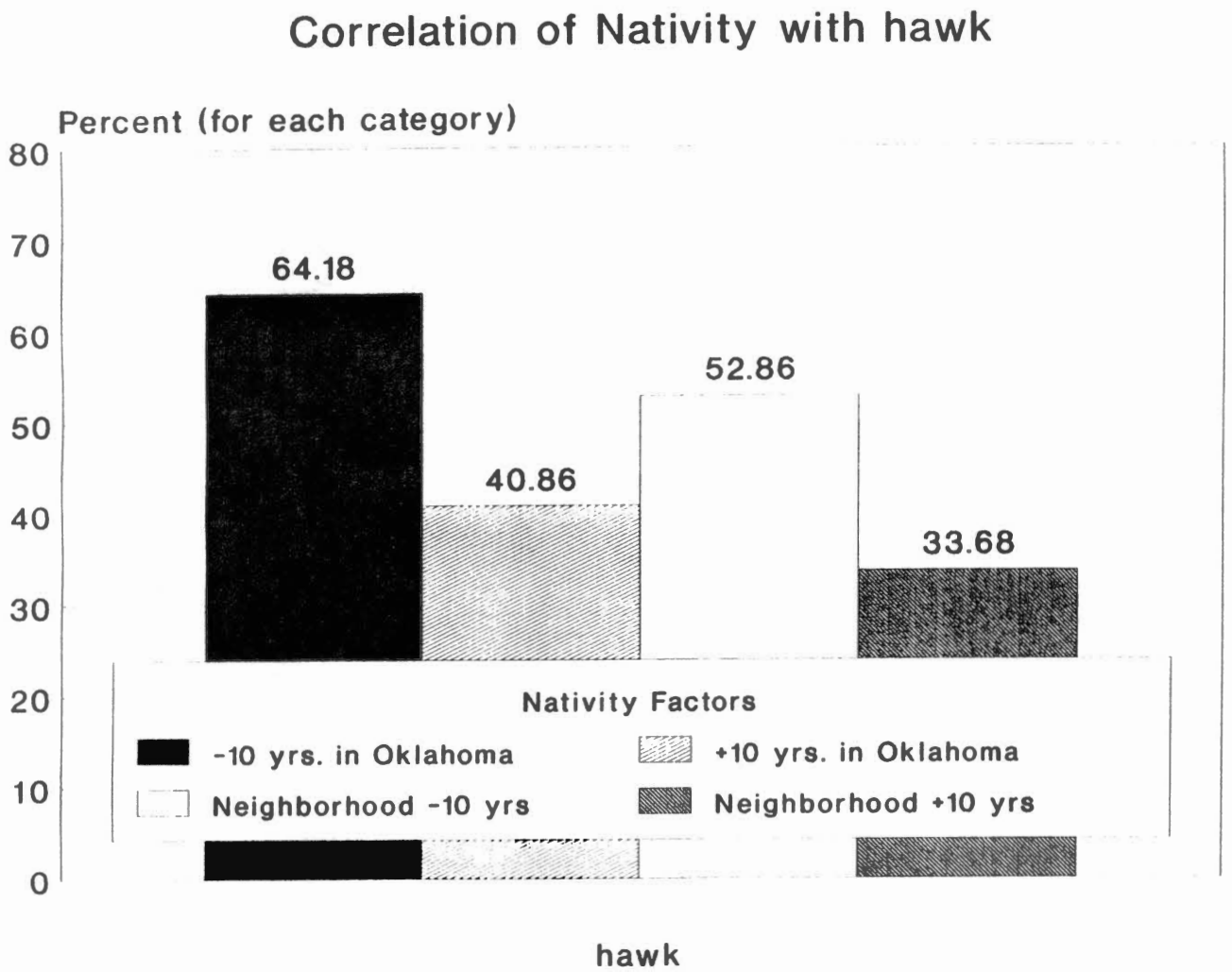



Figure 20. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Size of Current Place of Residence and Phonological Features

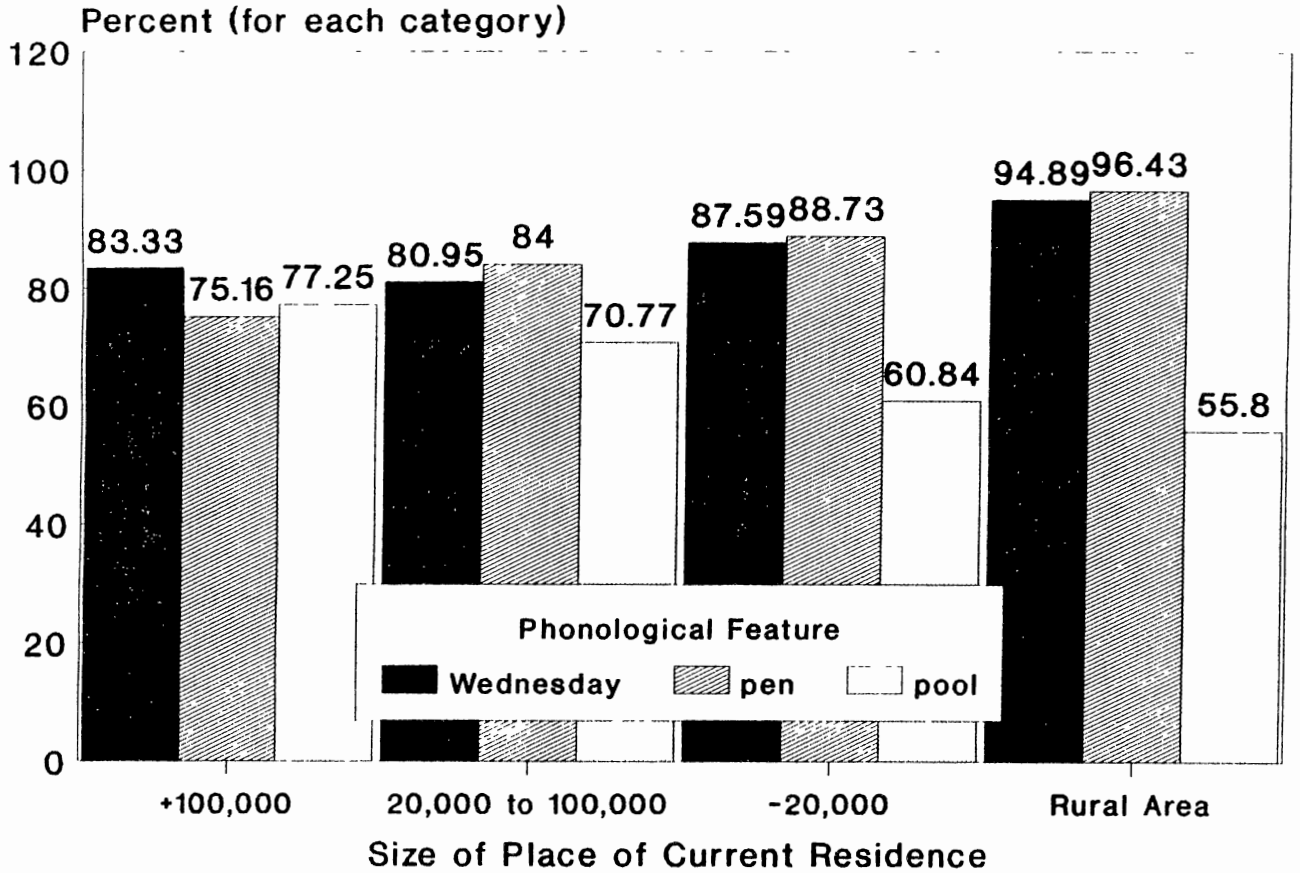



Figure 21. Source: SOD, 1991

## Correlation of Size of Place of Longest Residence and Phonological Features

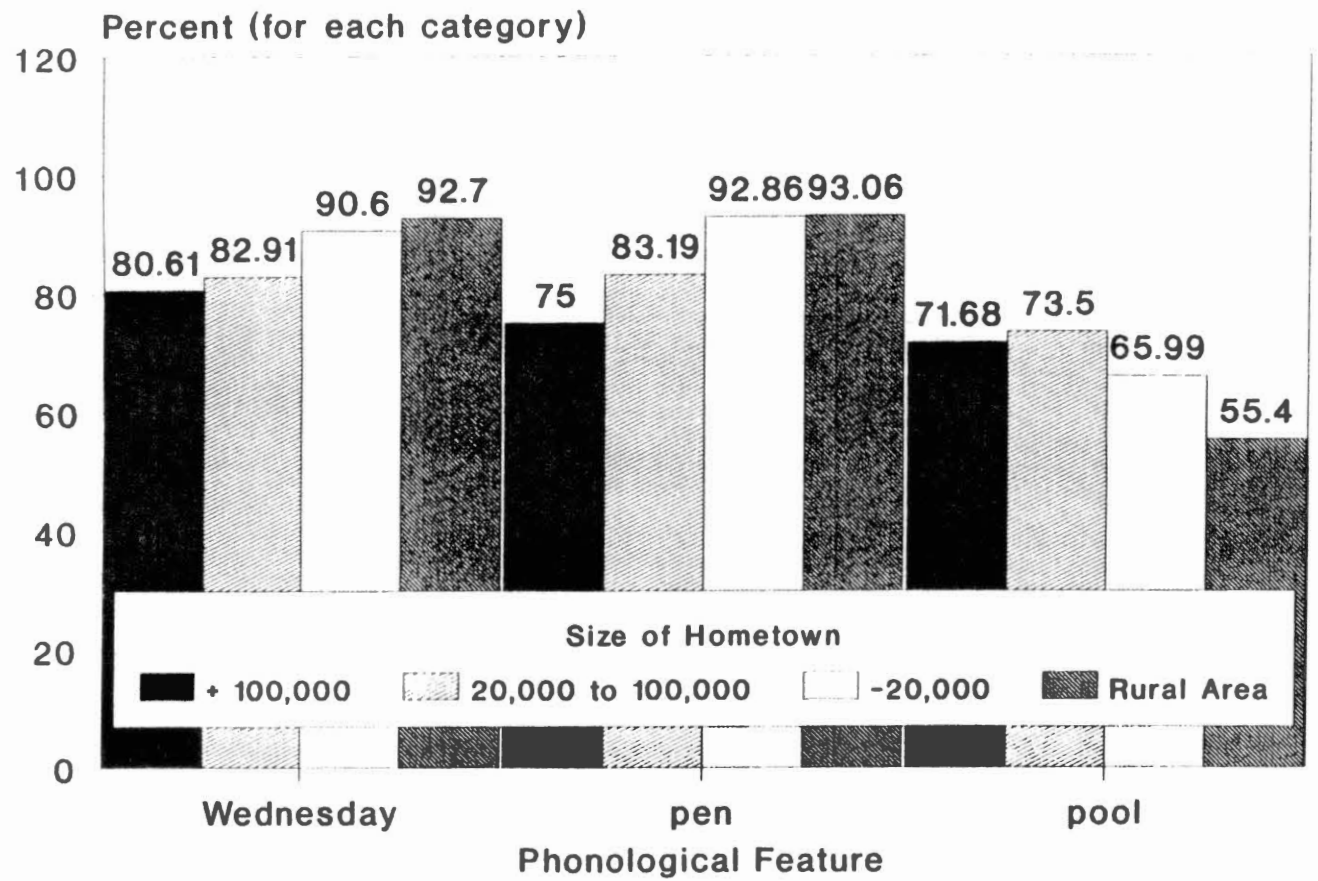



Figure 22. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Size of Current Place of Residence and hawk

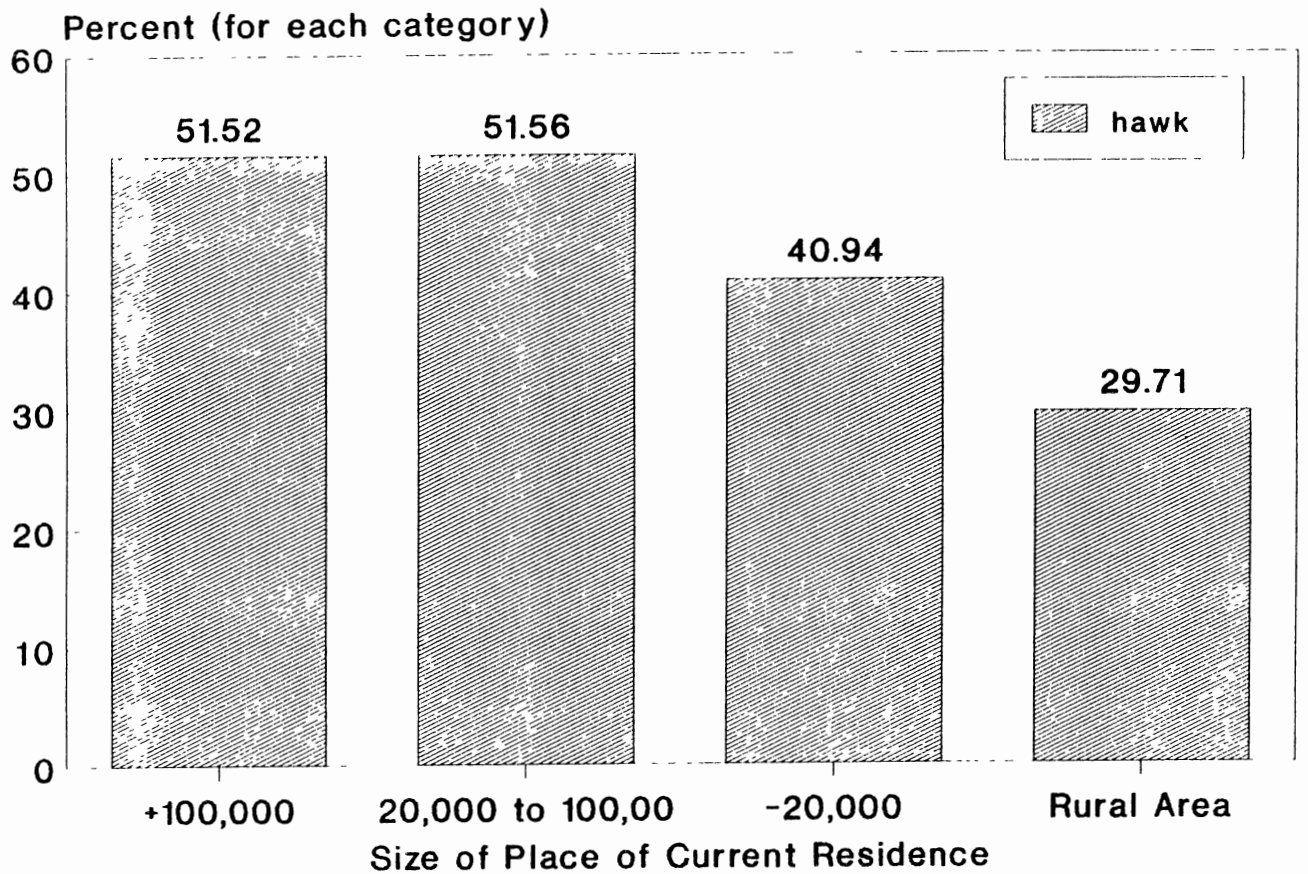



Figure 23. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Size of Place of Longest Residence and hawk

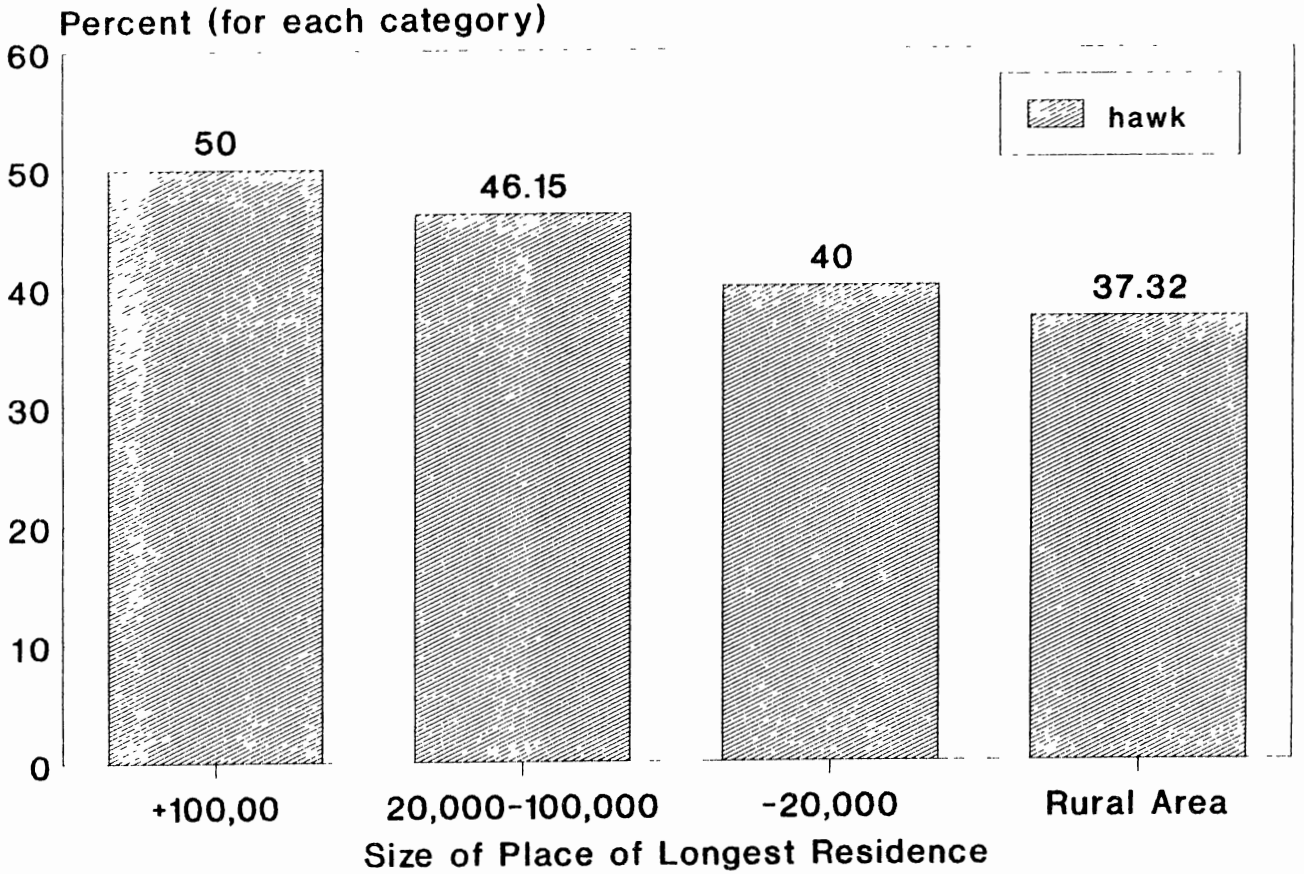



Figure 24. Source: SOD, 1991.

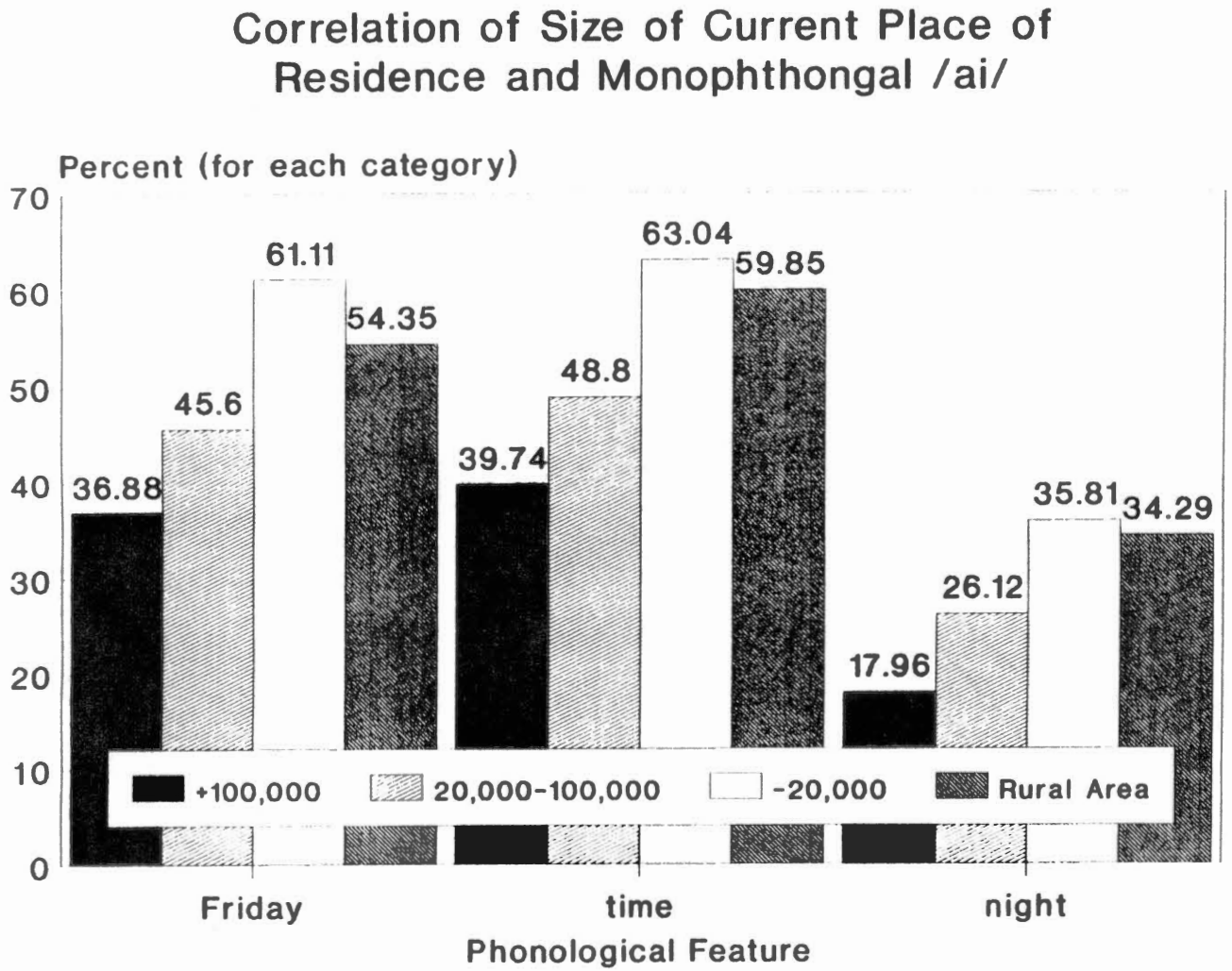



Figure 25. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Collapsed Categories for Correlation of Size of Current Place of Residence and Monophthongal /ai/

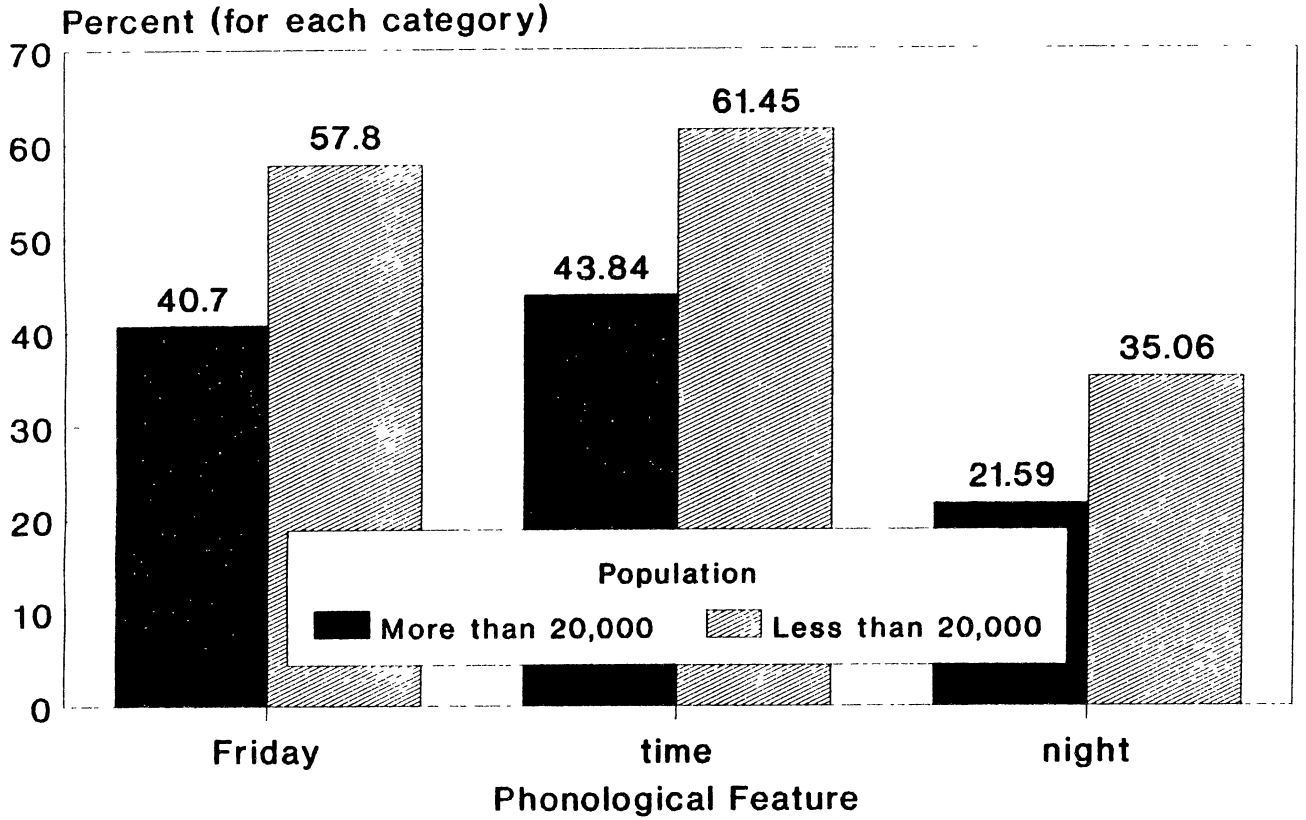



Figure 26. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Size of Place of Longest Residence and Monophthongal /ai/

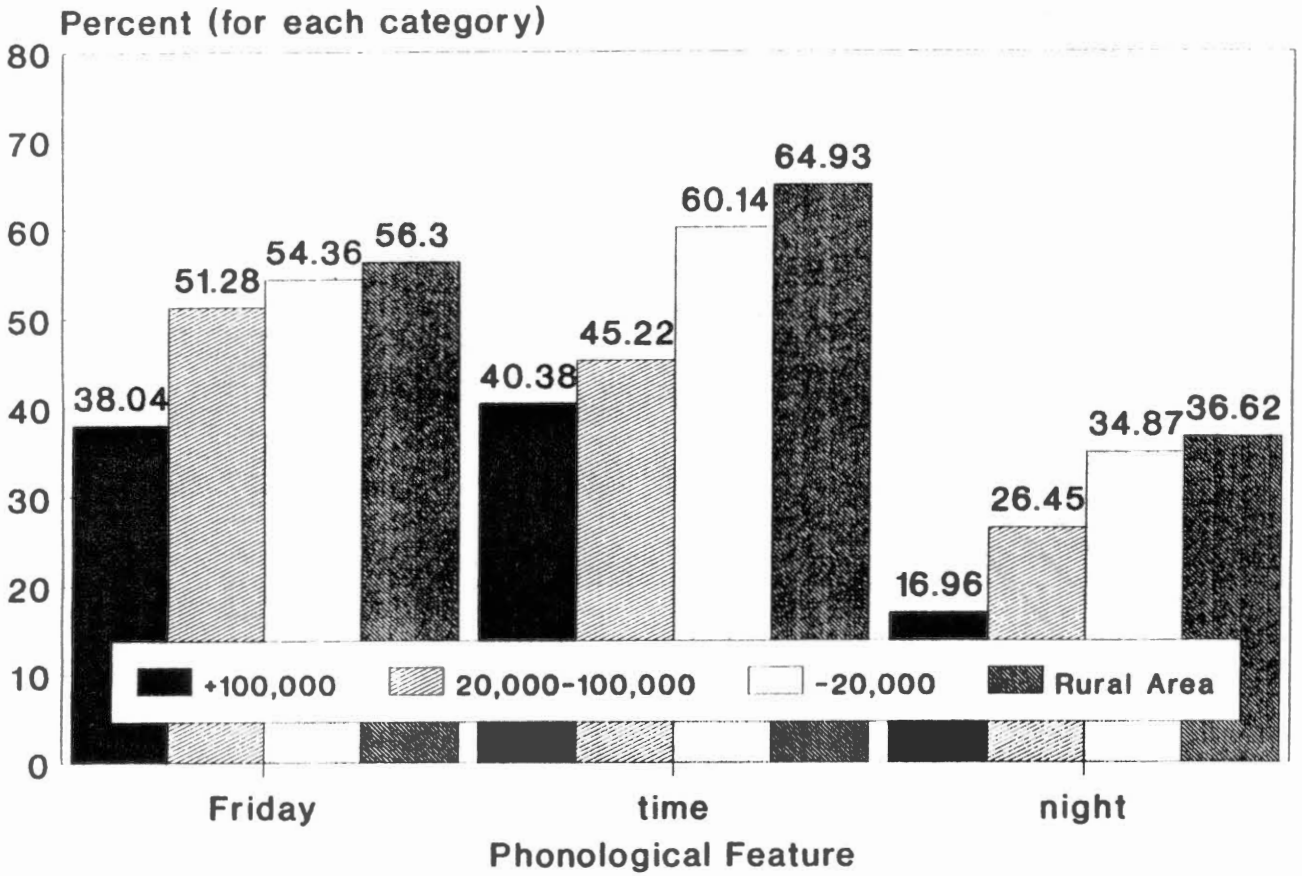



Figure 27. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Nativity and Rurality on the Use of fixin' to in Oklahoma

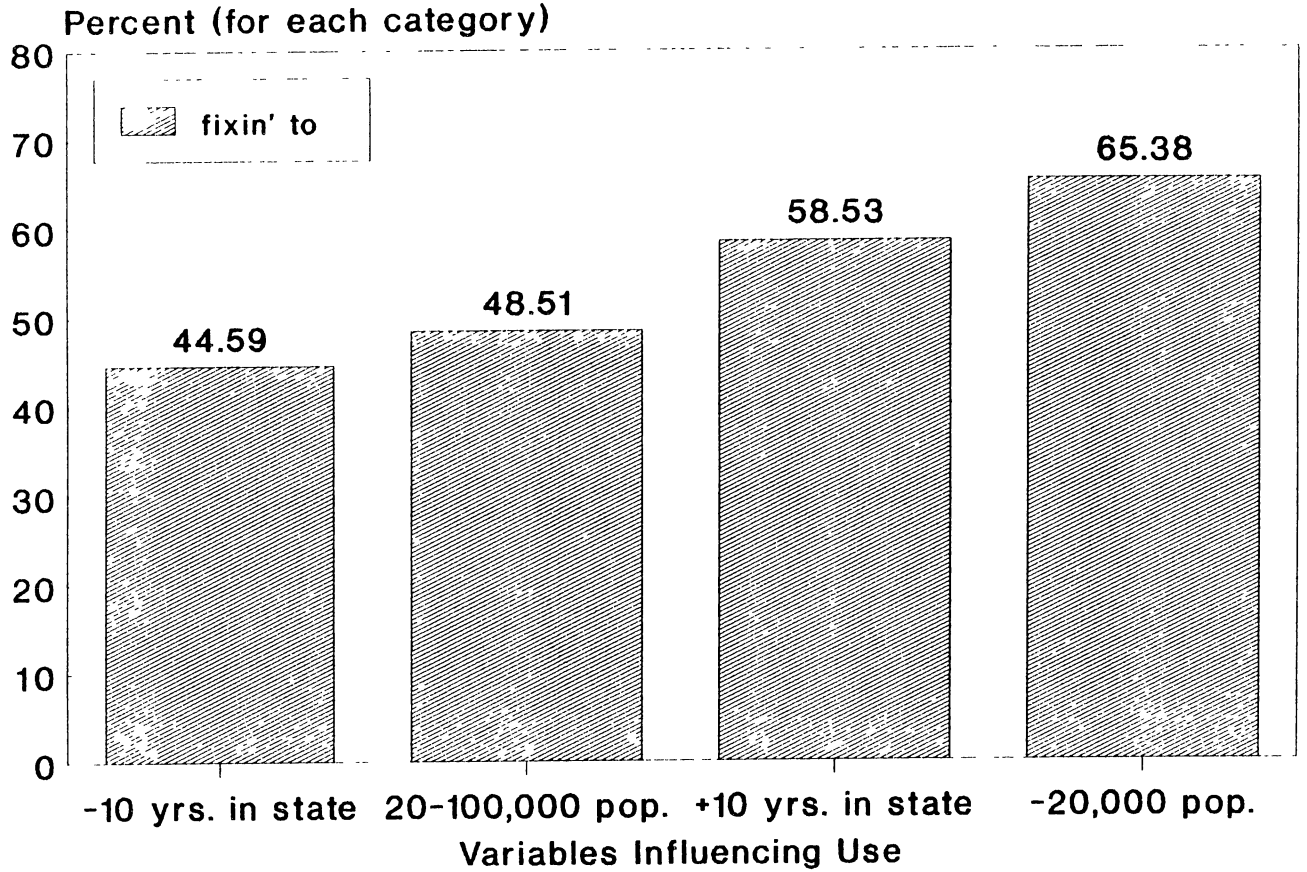



Figure 28. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Correlation of Nativity and Rurality on the Use of fixin' to in Texas

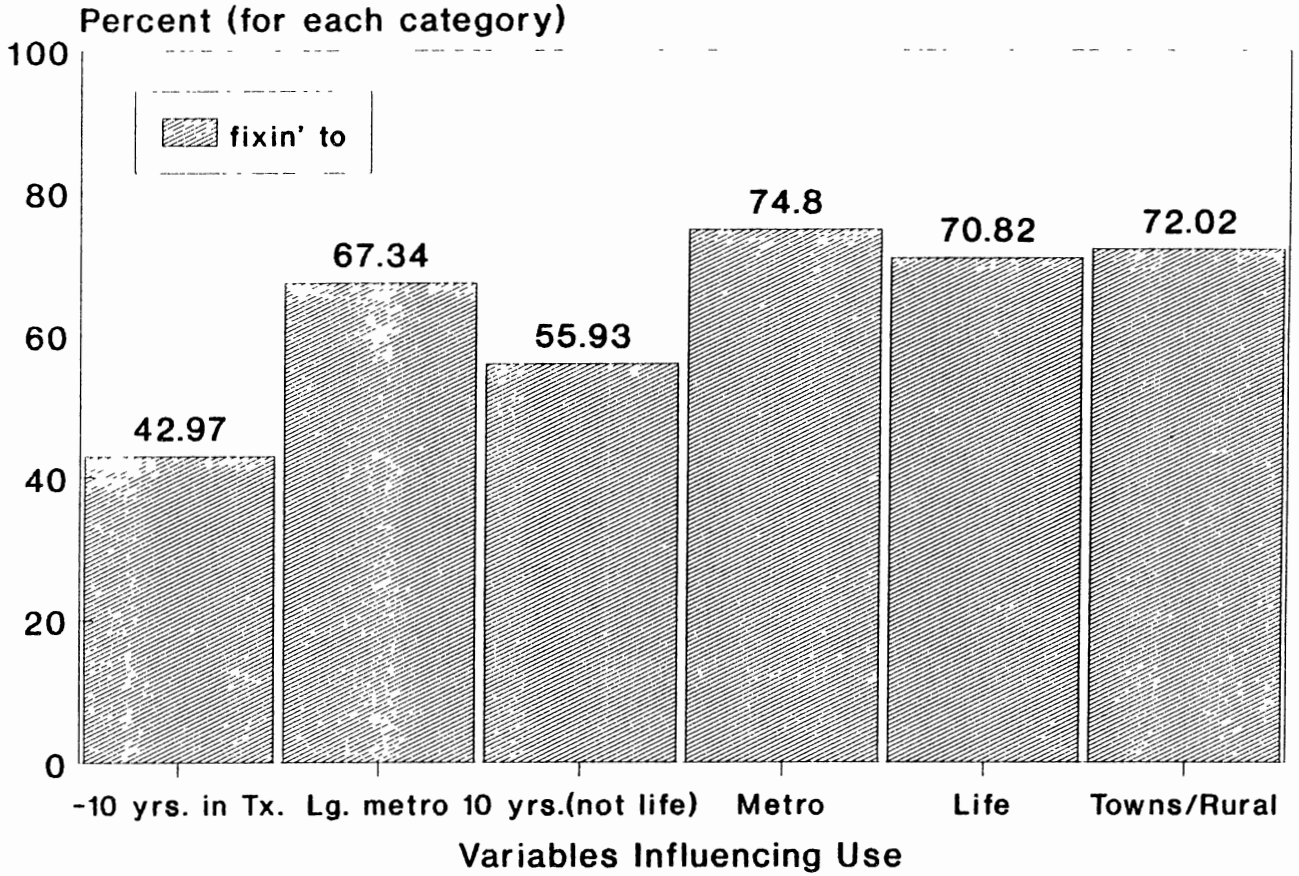



Figure 29. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.

## Correlation of Nativity and the Use of might could in Texas

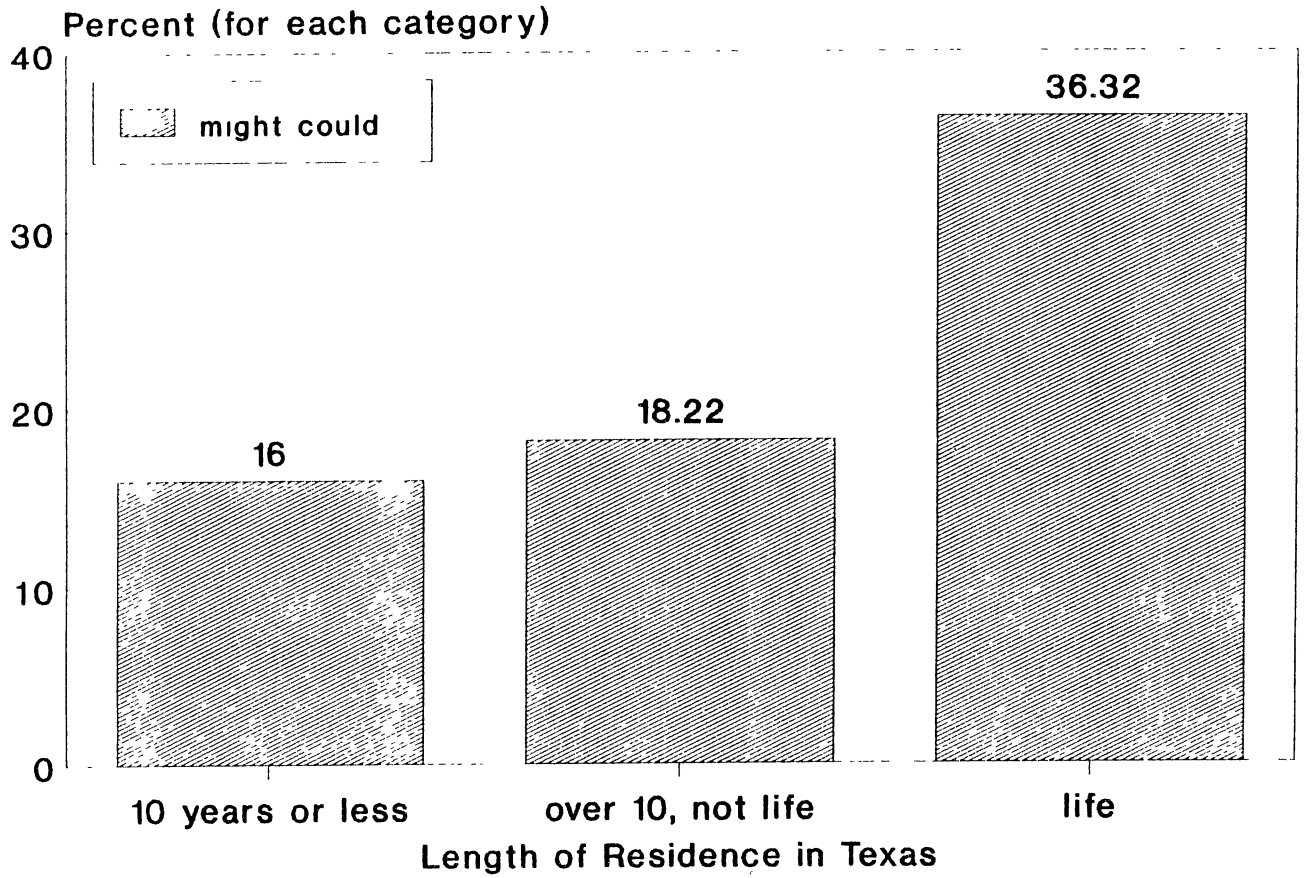



Figure 30. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.

## Correlation of Nativity and Rurality
## With the Use of might could in Texas

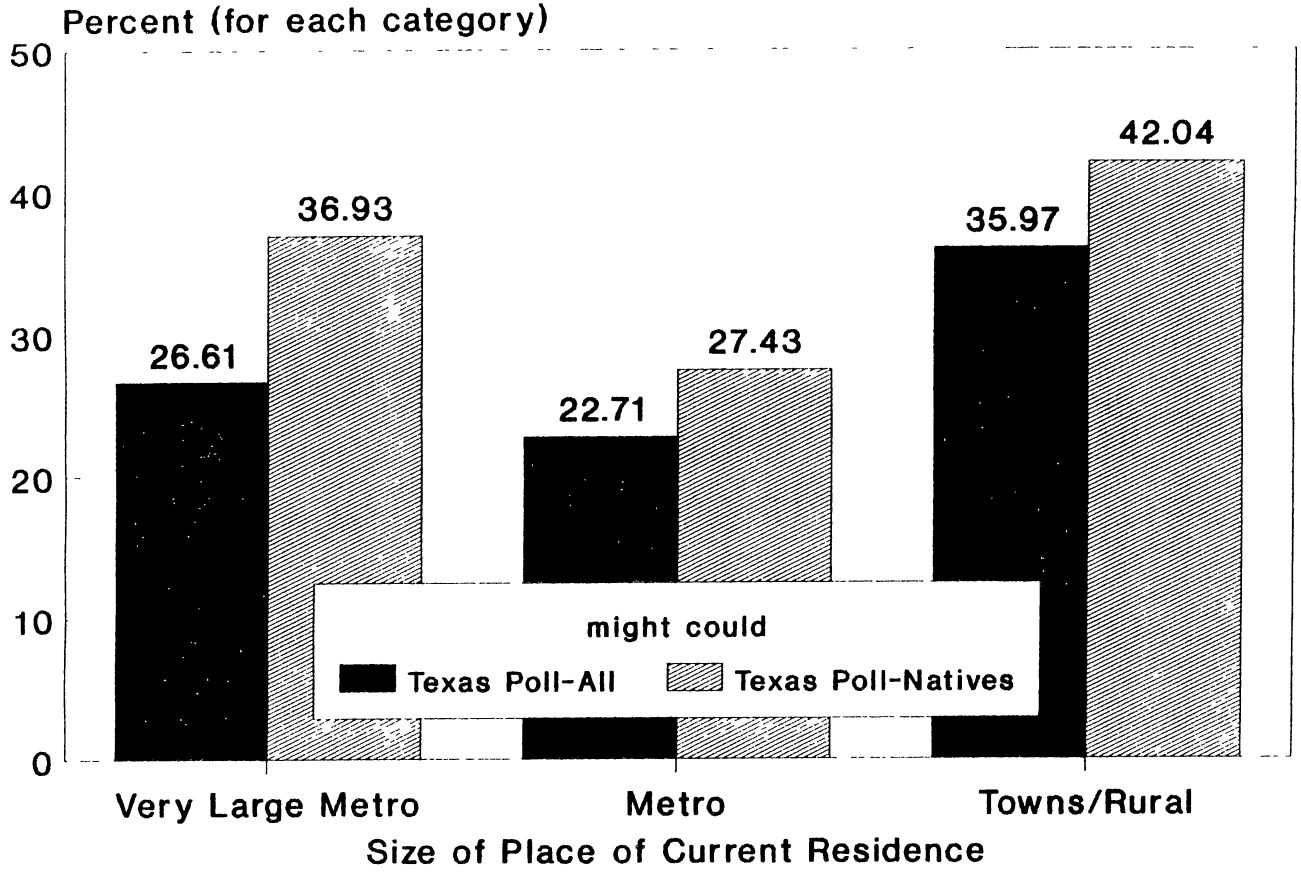



Figure 31. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.

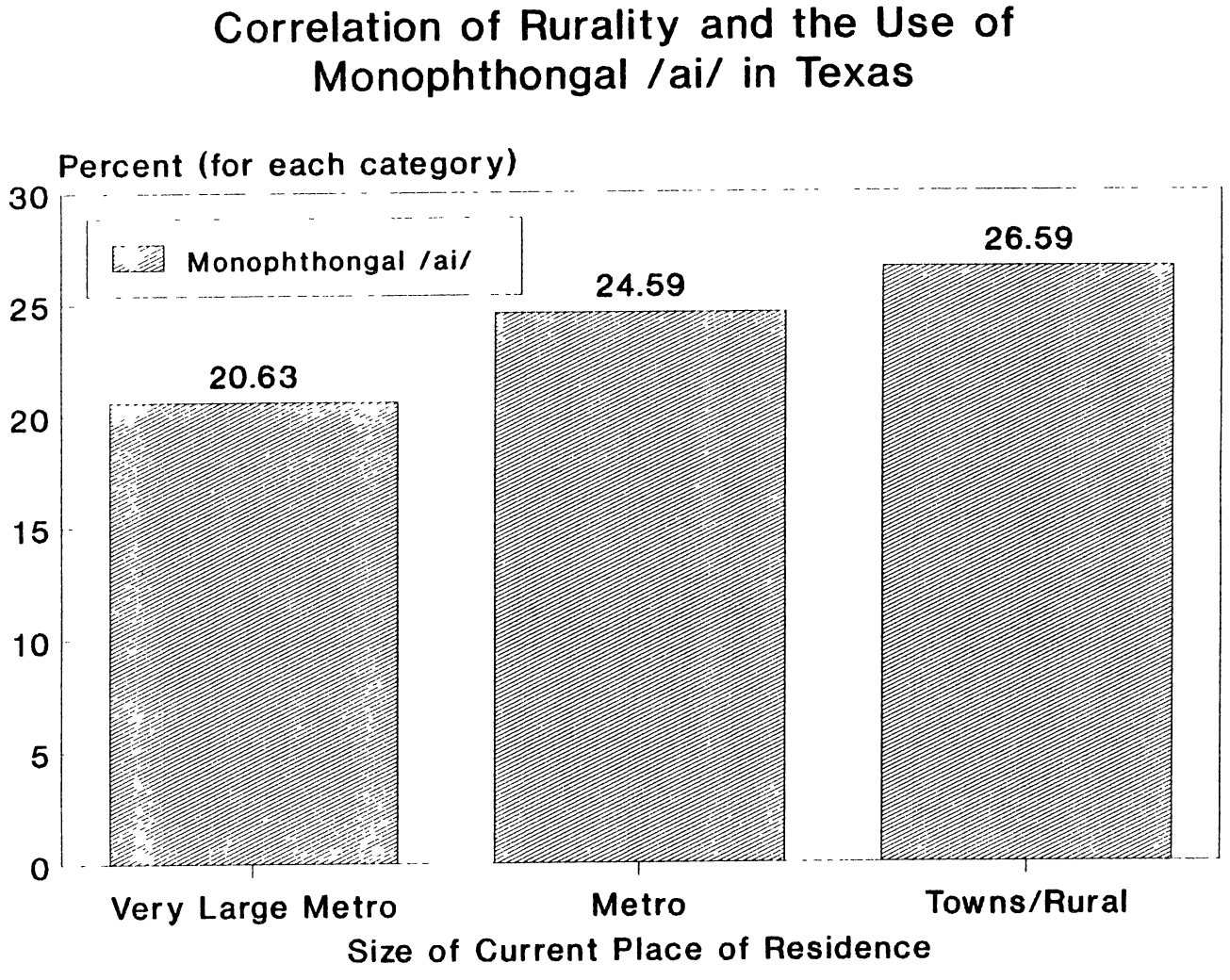



Figure 32. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.

## Correlation of Nativity and Rurality With the Use of Monophthongal /ai/ in Texas

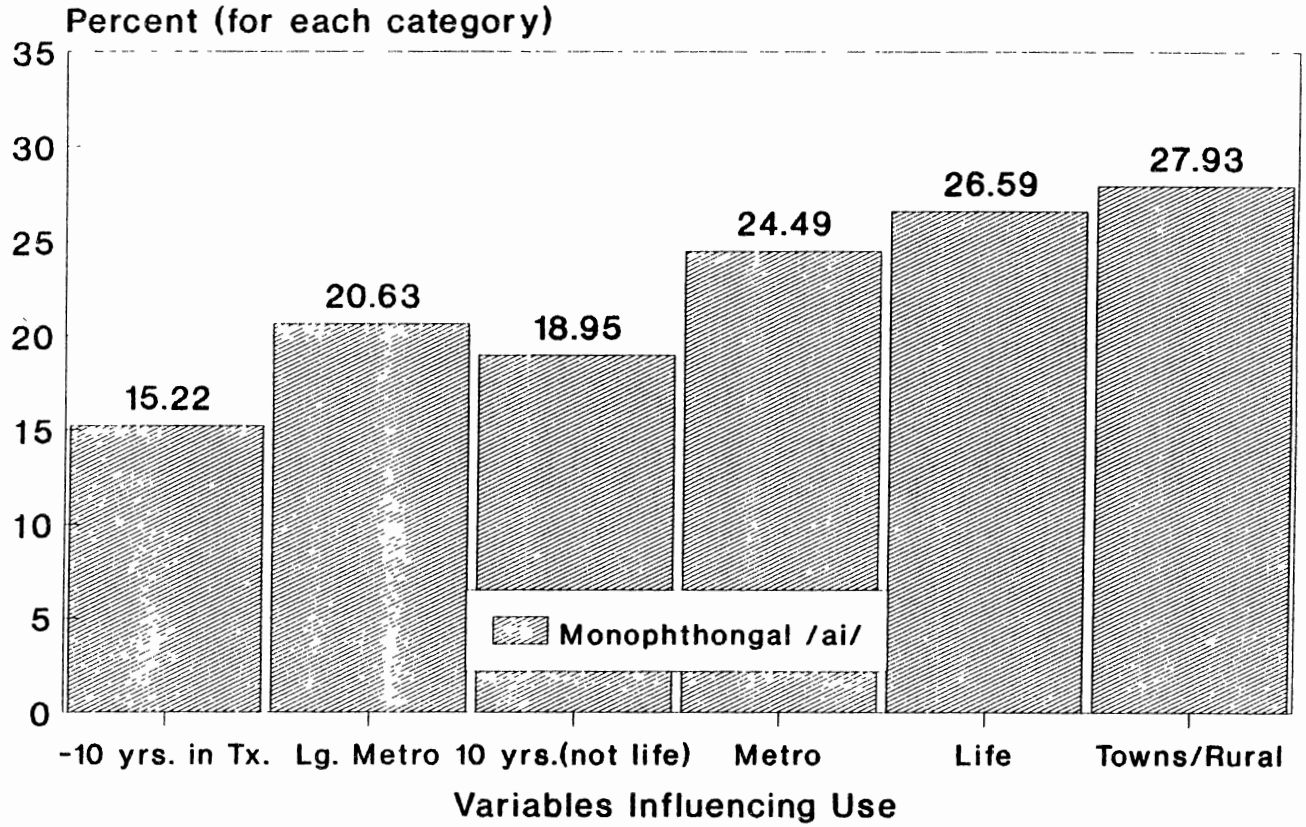



Figure 33. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.

## Correlation of Monophthongal /ai/ with Respondents' Rating of Texas as a Place to Live

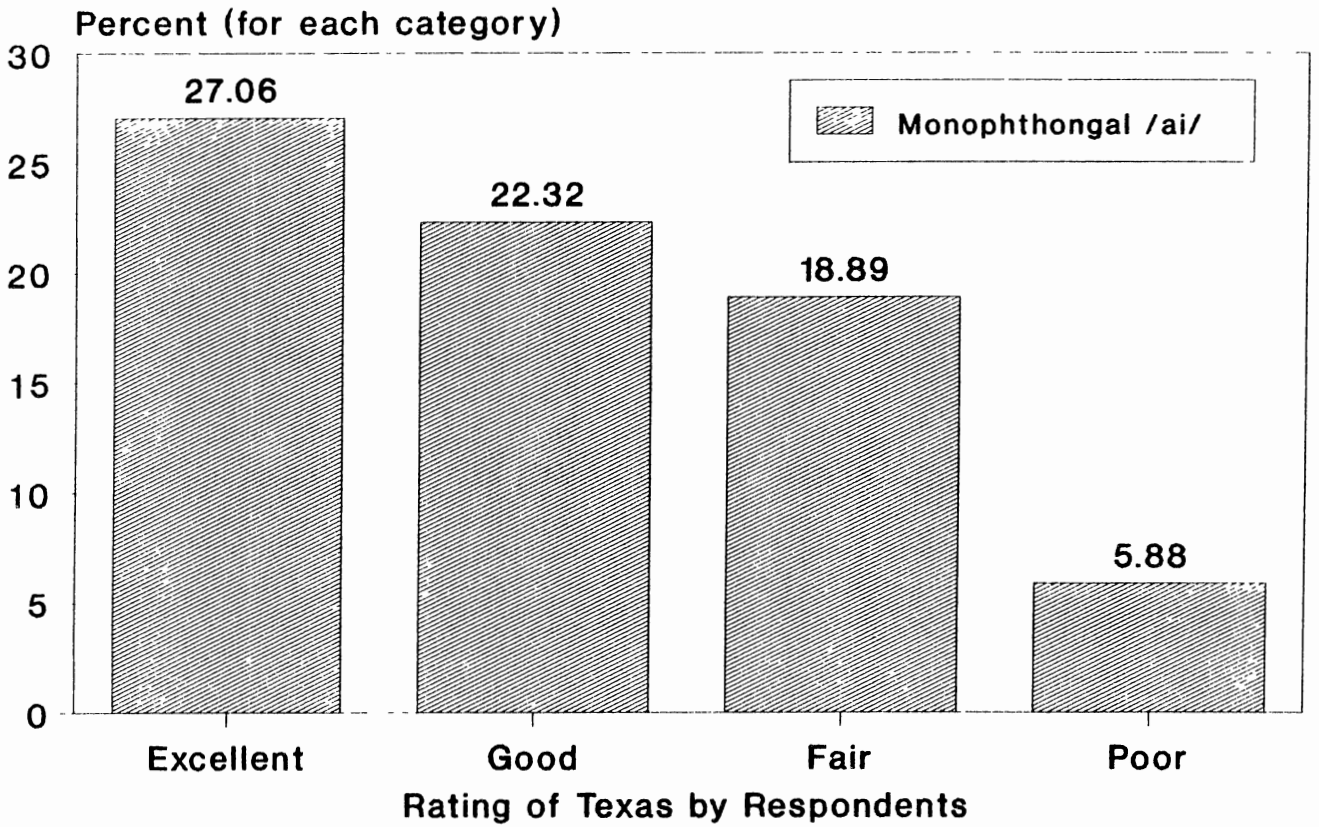



Figure 34. Source: Texas Poll, 1989.

# Location of Respondents Using *might could* All or Some of the Time

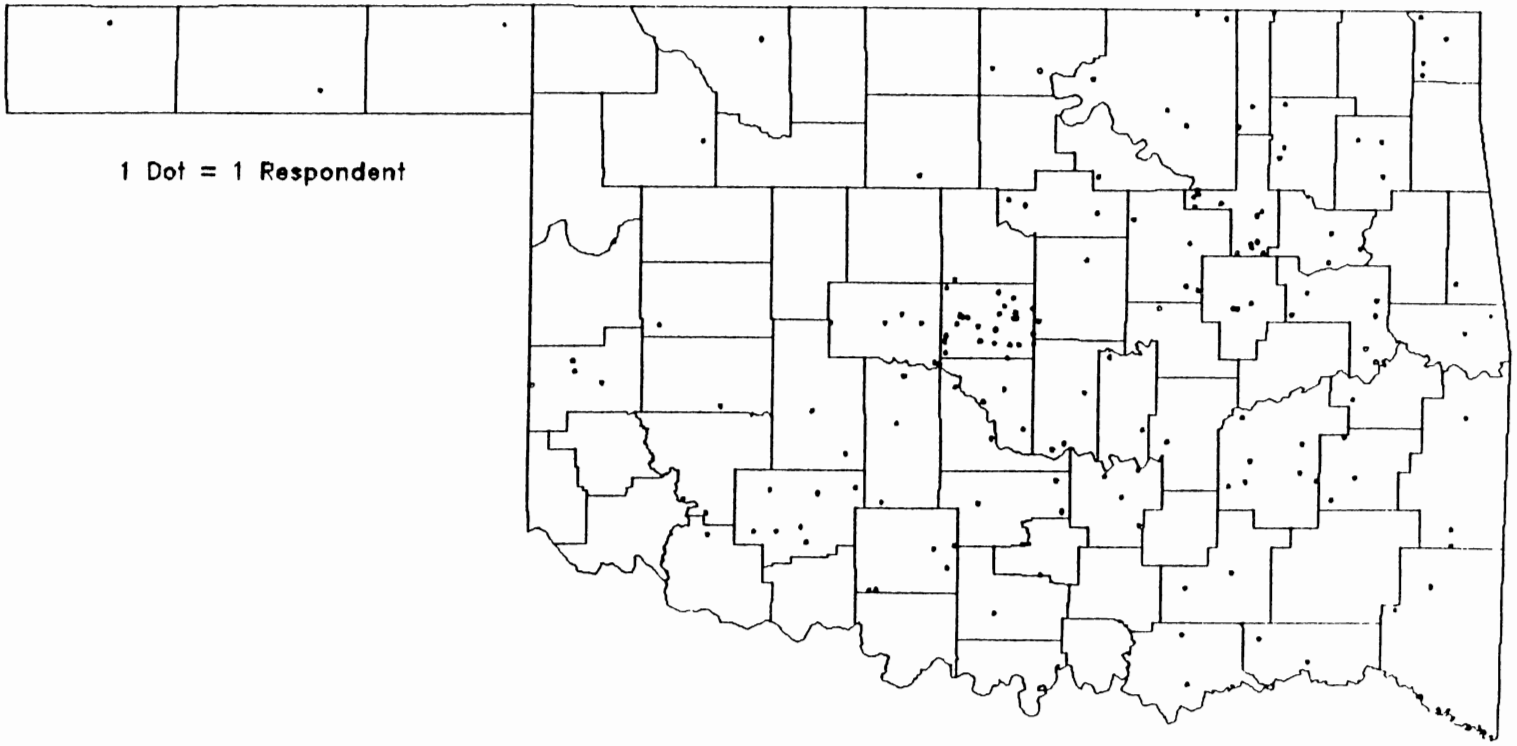



Figure 35. Source: SOD, 1991.

## Percentage of Respondents Using *might could* All or Some of the Time

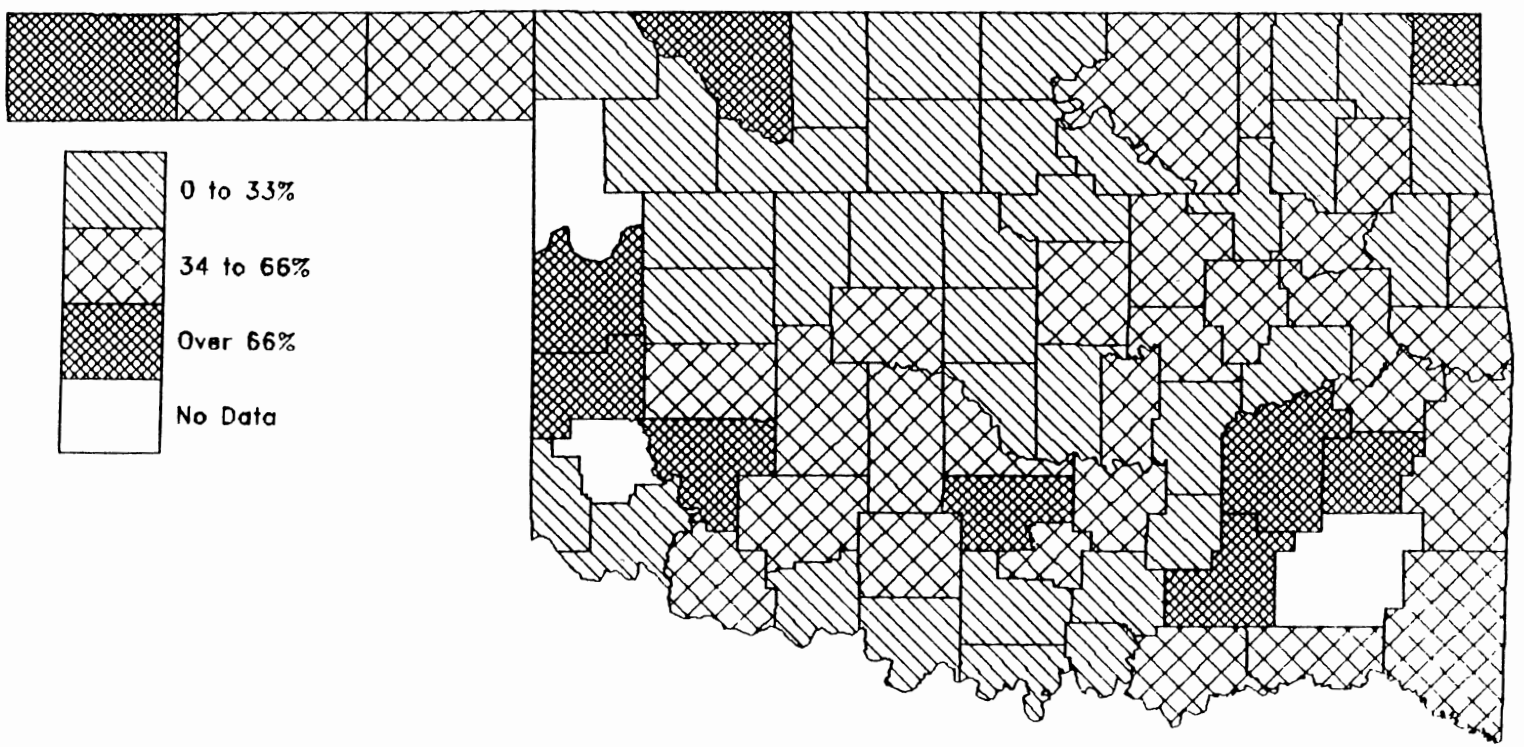



Figure 36. Source: SOD, 1991.

# Percentage of Respondents Using *went to*

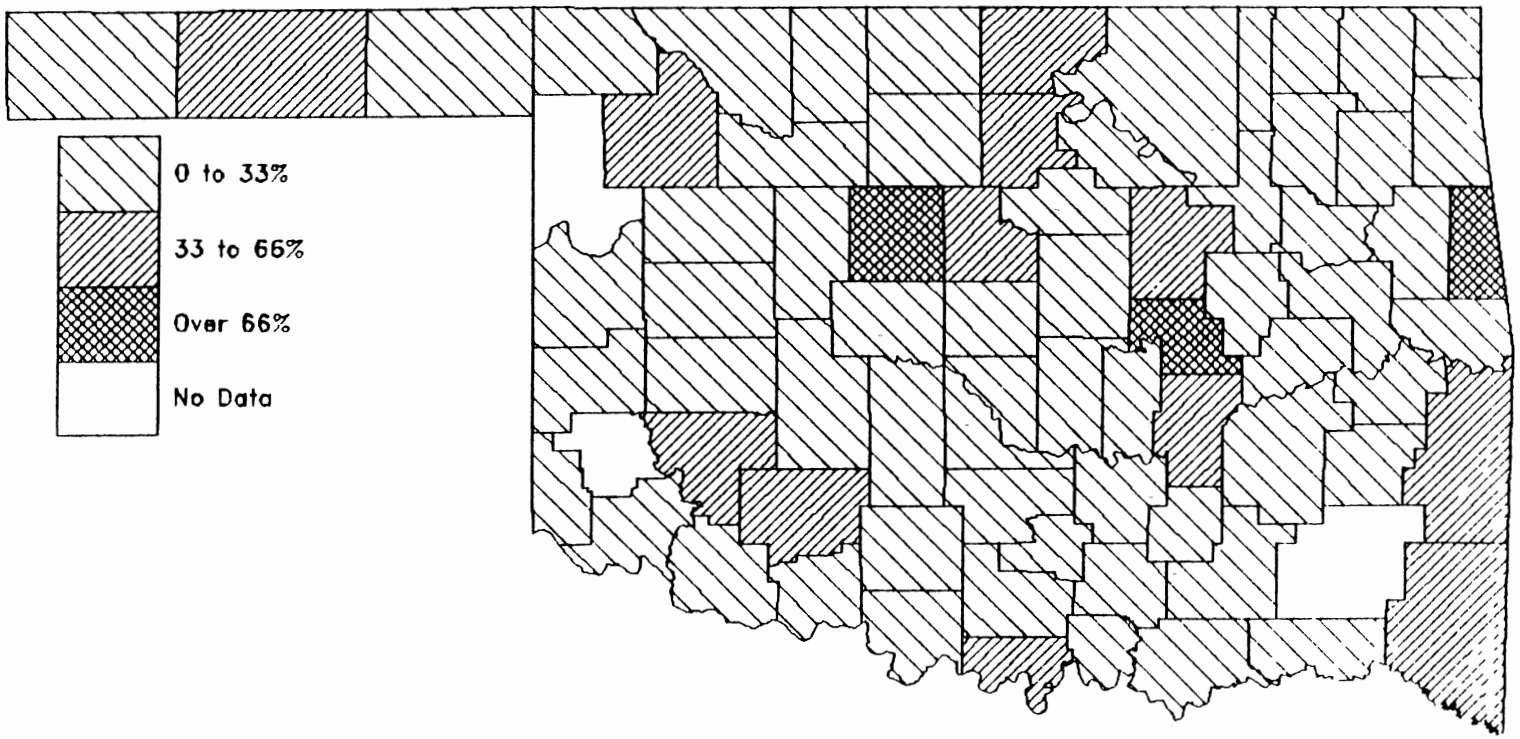



Figure 37. Source: SOD, 1991.

# APPENDIX B

## PROTOCOL FOR SOD FIELD SURVEY

# PROTOCOL FOR

# SURVEY OF OKLAHOMA DIALECTS

# (SOD)

## DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

**DIRECTIONS:**
Be sure to get all of the following demographic data on each person. Get as much of this on tape as possible.

Sex:

Race:

Age:

Year of Birth:

Hometown:

County of Hometown:

Zip Code in Hometown:

Length of Residence in Hometown:

Size of Hometown:

Urban/Suburban/Rural:

Birthplace (if different from Hometown):

Length of residence in Birthplace:

Size of Birthplace:

Urban/Suburban/Rural:

Region of Oklahoma where Hometown is located:

Region of Oklahoma where Birthplace is located:

Other places and length of residence:

Occupation:

Education:

Nearest Large City, if applicable:

Father's Birthplace: Mother's Birthplace:

Parents' length of residence in present Hometown:

Father's Occupation: Mother's Occupation:

Father's Education: Mother s Education

## FREE CONVERSATION

Engage your informant in free conversation for at least 20 minutes. Be sure to ask your informant if Oklahomans are different from other people in other states and now.

### Suggestions

What is the difference between Oklahoma City and Tulsa?

A lot of people think Oklahoma is similar to Texas. Is this true? In what ways?

Is Oklahoma more southern, western, midwestern?

You might ask about childhood games that were played, the differences between their childhood and their children s, lifestyles, or ask about the area they grew up in. Ask them to describe a typical day in their life at different ages.

## LEXICAL IDENTIFICATION EXERCISE

DIRECTIONS:
Tell your informant that you want to ask him/her about some words and expressions that have been common to Oklahoma speakers so that you might ascertain whether these words and expressions are being retained or lost in Oklahoma speech.

A. Terms for Foods:

1. (wheat bread) light bread
   What do you call bread made out of flour and baked in loaves? What did you call it when you were a child?

2. (wishbone) pulleybone
   What do you call the part of a chicken that two people hold and pull apart to make a wish? Which part do you have to get for your wish to come true?

3. (pancakes) fritters, flitters, hoecakes
   What do you call the kind of pastry you sometimes eat for breakfast?--you make a batter and cook three or four at a time, stacking them one on top of another and garnishing them with butter and syrup.

4. (corn bread) corn pone
   What names do you have for bread made of corn meal? Are there different kinds?

5. biscuits
   What is the kind of bread you make out of flour, roll up, shape in your hand, and bake in a pan? What are other kinds of bread made from flour? (Ask your informant to distinguish between rolls and biscuits.)

6. hushpuppies
   What do you call the fried meal served with fish? How do you make them?(ingredients)

7. (sweet corn) roastin' ears/corn-on-the-cob
   Do you have a name for the type of corn that is eaten right off the cob?

8. (salt pork) fatback/midlin'
   What is the name for the part of a hog that is used to season/flavor other foods such as beans?

9. clabber(ed)/blinky
   What do you call thick, sour milk that people used to keep on hand?

10. As a child, did your family have a place for growing food?

If so, what did you call it? And could you please tell me what was grown?

a. Different types of melons (canteloupes, muskmelons, mushmelons, watermelons)

b. Different types of peaches (freestone, clearseed, soft, clearstone, cling, freeseed, slipseed)

c. Different types of beans/peas

d. Different types of tomatoes?

e. Different types of other vegetables? (squash, cucumber, potatoes, onions, okra, cabbage, etc.)

11. Since your childhood, can you think of any foods that you family grew and/or ate that no one grows or eats today?

B. Terms for plants and animals:

1. screech owl
   Do you have names for different kinds of owls? What about the small ones?

2. (firefly) lightnin' bug
   Do you have the insects that fly around at night while their tails flash on and off?

3. (dragon fly) mosquito hawk, snake doctor, snake feeder
   What are the small insects that are long, thin-bodied with two pairs of shiny wings that hover around water or damp places called?

4. chiggers, redbugs
   What are the tiny bugs that make you itch if you roll around in the grass called?

5. earthworm, redworm
   What do you call the kind of worm you use to fish with?

6. skunk, polecat
   What do you call the animal that has a white stripe down its back and uses a terrible odor for a defense?

7. (woodpecker)
   What do you call the type of bird that bores holes into trees? Have you ever used or heard the term peckerwood for the bird/for anything else?

8. What kinds of fish/game are found in this part of the country?

C. Miscellaneous Terms:

1. (andirons)
When you build a fire in the fireplace, what do you call the thing/things you lay the wood on/across?

2. (mantle)
What is the place above the fireplace where you could put things(vases, knickknacks) called?

3. hearth
What is the place on the floor in front of the fireplace called?

4. (porch) gallery, veranda, piazza
What do you call the covered area on the outside of the house? (Get the difference between these terms)

5. (burlap bag) croker sack, crocus bag, gunny sack, tow sack--What do you call a rough sack or bag made out of burlap? What is the difference between a sack and a bag?

6. (drought) dry spell
What would call a moderately long period without rain?

7. What is a very light rain called?

8. What is a very sudden, very heavy rain called?

9. What do you call your mother and father?

10. What do you call your grandparents?

11. (tea towel) cup towel/dish towel
What do you call the piece of cloth used to dry kitchen utensils/china?

12. (harmonica) mouth harp/French harp
What do you call the small, musical instrument you play with your mouth?

13. (kindlin ) lightered
What do you call the wood that you use to start a fire?

14. (vest) weskit
What is the name for the article of clothing that fits over a blouse or shirt and under a jacket or sweater, usually

associated with a man s three-piece suit? Is there a name for the same article of clothing for a woman?

15. (husks) shucks
What is the outside layering of an ear of corn called?

16. pallet
What is the name for a bed you make with blankets, etc. on the floor?

17. (pond) tank
What is the small body of water called where livestock drink and is sometimes stocked with fish?

18. (coal oil) kerosene
What is the substance that is put into lanterns and burned to supply light?

19. (lariat) lasso
What is the loop called in a rope that is thrown around the neck and head of a horse/cow/sheep?

20. cinch
What is the metal ring called that is used to tighten a saddle on a horse? (found under the horse on its belly)

## EXPRESSIONS

1. Have you ever heard the term snap bean used for green bean? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

2. Have you ever heard the word tote used to mean carry? (I toted those suitcases a block.) [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

3. Have you ever heard the expression "Let me carry you home after work" meaning "Let me give you a ride"? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

4. Have you ever heard the expression "you all" or "y'all"? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never? Can you use it for more than one person?

5. Have you ever heard the words might could used in expressions such as "I might could do it tomorrow"? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

6. Have you ever heard the words may can used in expressions such as "I may can go with you"? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

7. Have you ever heard the expression fixin' to as in "I m fixin to leave."? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

8. Have you ever heard done used in expressions such as "I ve done finished"? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

9. Have you ever heard got to or went to used in expressions such as "I got to talking and forgot" or "I went to talking and forgot"? Which one would you be more likely to use?

10. Have you ever heard the expression anymore as in "Anymore you have to have two jobs to make ends meet"? [If yes] Would you use it most of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

# READING PASSAGE

DIRECTIONS:
Let people read over the passage one time silently if they wish. Then have them read the passage aloud. Be sure that they read the title.

My Friend Hugo

I first saw Hugo the day he brought his pet billy goat to school. The little fool had walked four miles from home -- his parents didn't own a car -- with that goat, a pocketful of worms, and two dead wasps. He was an odd-looking bird, a lean, gaunt boy with coal-black hair, huge green eyes, a missing front tooth, a squeaky voice, a big hawk-like nose, and awesome ears that made him look like a mule. Since he would not wear a coat, Hugo always had a wheezing cough during cold weather. I can still remember seeing him go right past our house about eight every morning with only an old sweater on, held tightly together by a safety pin and Hugo's left hand, even on the coldest days. He either didn't feel the cold or didn't care. His family of ten lived about three miles east of us down the road to the Huron community. Their house was really just a shack, with rickety stairs up the front porch, a tin roof, wooden shutters held together with wire because they wouldn't shut all the way, and some cots, pallets, and a baby crib where the children slept. His father plowed from dawn to sunset with two horses which he would call up from the field with a moth-eaten old deer horn. The big meal at Hugo's was at noon and usually consisted of dried beans, some greasy fried corn, wheat bread, and salty ham. While Hugo's family was poor, they were still a merry bunch, full of laughter, joy, and good humor. Hugo, his brothers John and Abe, and his sister Mary (who was a real doll) went to our church in Fort Dale, but they never did join. Although many people used to make fun of them and say they didn't have good sense, all except Hugo turned out pretty good, due largely to their mother Nelly.

Hugo wasn't really a naughty child, but he just sort of fell into trouble. He got whipped in school in the fourth grade one time for accidentally slinging ink from his fountain pen on a girl's new dress, and he seemed to get in a fight (and win) almost every day, though I never saw him try to hurt or wound anyone he fought. That year everybody just knew that Hugo would fail the fourth grade like he had the third, but somehow he passed. His worst trouble came that May when he got caught stealing four pies from the church bake sale. He said he was going to hock them, but I don't know how he thought he'd ever sell those pies himself. When he was caught, he didn't whimper, whine, cry foul, ask for favors, or shrink from his punishment. He just shrugged his shoulders and took what was coming to him. He had to wash all the glass in the church for a year, fill the lamps with coal oil, change the few light bulbs in the office, cut the grass and trim the shrubs, and haul wood for the wood stove during the winter and fall. I can still remember watching him tote, pull, and push wood for a good two hours every Tuesday, whistling some old tune off key while he worked. Hugo's been gone for nearly forty years now. He left school when he could, got married, and moved first to Washington and then to Houston where he works in a steel mill. He sent me a knife he made the other day (he'd also made one for his landlord), and I couldn't help but think how dull my childhood would have been if he hadn't lived here. Things sure aren't as interesting around here anymore.

# MINIMAL PAIRS

DIRECTIONS:
Have people read the pairs in sequence. Tell them to read each pair using their normal pronunciation, with a slight pause after each pair. When they are finished, you might ask them whether or not any of the pairs sounds the same to them. If they answer yes, ask them to identify the pairs. Leave the recorder <u>on</u> while you are doing this.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | so | sew |
| | wrote | rote |
| | would | wood |
| | route | rout |
| | past | passed |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | coop | coupe |
| | made | maid |
| | wet | whet |
| | bee | be |
| | it | hit |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3. | poor | pour |
| | fill | feel |
| | when | win |
| | sell | sail |
| | awed | odd |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Hugh | you |
| | watch | wash |
| | meal | mill |
| | hock | hawk |
| | wide | white |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. | hill | heel |
| | far | for |
| | due | do |
| | pull | pool |
| | wear | where |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. | pin | pen |
| | wheel | will |
| | cents | since |
| | are | or |
| | naught | not |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | lord | lard |
| | do | dew |
| | Ott | ought |
| | field | filled |
| | full | fool |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | sweet | suite |
| | bid | bit |
| | feud | food |
| | road | rode |
| | loud | allowed |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9. | bread | bred |
| | back | bag |
| | read | reed |
| | gate | gait |
| | baugh | bow |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10. | right | ride |
| | caller | collar |
| | for | far |
| | which | witch |
| | world | whirl |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11. | pen | pin |
| | fell | feel |
| | Toon | tune |
| | you | Hugh |
| | fool | full |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. | sure | shore |
| | still | steel |
| | bale | bell |
| | cot | caught |
| | tin | ten |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13. | Hugo | you go |
| | tide | tight |
| | watt | what |
| | way | weigh |
| | rot | wrought |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14. | ten | tin |
| | pool | pull |
| | caught | cot |
| | what | watt |
| | shore | sure |

# APPENDIX C

# PROTOCOL FOR SOD TELEPHONE SURVEY

I.D. No _____

Protocol for a Telephone Survey
of Oklahoma Residents
March, 1991

Telephone Number _____ County _____ Date _____

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from the Policy Research Organization at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater. We are conducting a state wide telephone poll to study Oklahoma language and culture. This research is being sponsored by the National Science Foundation. Your household was selected at random and your responses will be completely anonymous.

In order to randomly select one person from your household to speak to, could you please tell me which person over the age of 18 most recently had their birthday? I don't mean the youngest person but the one who had their birthday last? Can I speak to her or him?

{IF SOMEONE ELSE COMES TO THE PHONE, REPEAT THE INTRODUCTION PARAGRAPH, BUT NOT THE BIRTHDAY QUESTIONS.}

{IF THE PERSON IS NOT HOME OR CANT COME TO THE PHONE... GET THEIR FIRST NAME, GET A TIME WHEN YOU CAN CALL BACK AND FIND OUT IF THEY ARE A RESIDENT}

Are you a resident of the state of Oklahoma?

Resident Non-Resident

{IF NON-RESIDENT} We are interviewing permanent residents of Oklahoma. Are there any permanent residents living in your household? {IF SO, INTERVIEW THE ONE WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY.} {IF NOT:} Thank you for you time and have a nice evening.

We can't talk to every Oklahoma resident so your responses will represent several hundred Oklahomans like you. This is completely anonymous and takes about 5-10 minutes. Your participation for these few minutes is very important to the success of this study. May I record your answers to some questions?

{IF TOO BUSY, IS THERE ANOTHER TIME I could call back?) _____

Before we get started, I need to check my phone reception. There are certain sounds that are difficult to hear over the telephone. Could I just get you to say the days of the week for me? ..... OK. Now would you say the number 40 and the number 1000. ..... Thanks. I think we have a good connection.

{IF YOU HAVE A BAD CONNECTION, ASK THEM IF YOU COULD CALL THEM RIGHT BACK--WE NEED A CLEAR CONNECTION}

1.1 First of all, how would you rate Oklahoma as a place to live? Excellent, good, fair or poor?

1) excellent 2) good 3) fair 4) poor 1.1 _____

1.2 How many years have you lived in Oklahoma?
(Life or # years) _____yrs 1.2 _____

1.3 Do you think of Oklahoma as a southern, western or midwestern state?

1) southrn 2) westrn 3) midwest 4) southwestern 1.3 _____

1.4 If you had to live in another state, where would you most like to live?

_____ 1.4 _____

1.5 How do you think Texas would be as a place to live: 1.5 _____

1) excellent 2) good 3) fair 4) poor

1.6 What is the size of the place where you live?

1) a city with over 100,000 people
2) less than 100,000 but more than 20,000
3) 20,000 or less
4) a rural area or farm

1.6 _____

1.7 If you had to rank the quality of your neighborhood, would you rank it:
1) excellent 2) good 3) fair 4) poor 1.7 _____

1.8 How many years have you lived in your current neighborhood? _____years 1.8 _____

Next, I'd like to ask you about some traditional Oklahoma words and phrases. We want to know if people are still using them or if they are disappearing.

2.1 Have you heard the term "SNAP BEANS" used for the beans that you break in half to cook? 2.1 _____

1) yes
{IF YES} 2.2 How often would you use that term: all of the time, some of the time, not very often or never?

1) all 2) some 3) not often 4) never 2.2_____

2) no {IF NO} 2.3 What term would you use?

_____ 2.3_____

3.1 Have you ever heard the term "LIGHT BREAD" used for regular white bread you buy at the store, not low calorie bread?

2) no 1) yes 3.1 _____
{IF YES} 3.2 Would you use it: all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

1) all 2) some 3) not often 4) never 3.2 _____

4.1 Now, what about the term "Y'ALL", have you heard that? 4.1 _____

2) no 1) yes
{IF YES} 4.2 Would you use it: all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

1) all 2) some 3) not often 4) never 4.2 _____

4.3 Can you ever use Y'ALL for just ONE person, or does it have to be for more than one?

1) one 2) more than one 4.3 _____

5.1 What do you call those little bugs that get on you in the grass and make you itch? {PROMPT:} Redbugs or Chiggers?

1) redbug 2) chigger 3) other _____ 5.1_____

6.1 Now, what do you call those bugs that light up at night? {PROMPT:} Lightening bugs or Fireflies?

1) lightening bug 2) firefly 3) other _____ 6.1 _____

7.1 What about the expression "FIXIN' TO", as in "I'm FIXIN' TO go to town." Have you ever heard that?

2) No 1) Yes 7.1 _____

{IF YES} 7.2 Would you use it: all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

1) all 2) some 3) not oft 4) never 7.2 _____

8.1 Now, would you be most likely to say "GOT TO" or "WENT TO" in the following sentence: We (GOT TO or WENT TO) laughing and couldn't stop?

1) got to 2) went to 8.1 _____

9.1 What do you normally call the piece of cloth you use to dry dishes with?

_____ 9.1 _____

{ASK ABOUT EACH OF THE FOLLOWING TERMS IF THEY DID NOT GIVE IT IN ANSWER TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION}

| Have you ever heard it called: | | {IF YES} Would you use the term? | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 9.2 _____ |
| 9.2 a tea towel | 2) No 1) Yes-----> | 9.3 | 1) Yes 2) No | 9.3 _____ |
| | | | | 9.4 _____ |
| 9.4 a cup towel | 2) No 1) Yes-----> | 9.5 | 1) Yes 2) No | 9.5 _____ |

10.1 What do you call the piece of cloth you use to wash your face every morning? {PROMPT:} Would you call it a WASH cloth or WASH rag?

{Looking for WASH} _____ 10.1 _____

11.0 Which of the following words would you be most likely to use for a big, heavy bag made out of burlap:

1) croker sack 2) tow sack 3) gunny sack 4) or burlap bag? 11.0 _____

{FOR EACH TERM, OTHER THAN THE ANSWER GIVEN, ASK:}
Have you ever heard of:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| croker sack | 1) yes | 2) no | 11.1 _____ |
| tow sack | 1) yes | 2) no | 11.2 _____ |
| gunny sack | 1) yes | 2) no | 11.3 _____ |
| burlap bag | 1) yes | 2) no | 11.4 _____ |

12.1 Have you heard any other words for a bag made of burlap?

_____ 12.1 _____

13. Have you heard any of the following words that some people use for the dragon fly: {IF YES} Would you use it? all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

13.1 snake doctor 13.1_____

2) no 1) Yes----------> 1) all 2) Some 3) Not oft 4) Never 13.2_____

13.3 snake feeder 13.3_____

2) no 1) Yes----------> 1) all 2) Some 3) Not oft 4) Never 13.4_____

13.5 mosquito hawk 13.5_____

2) no 1) Yes----------> 1) all 2) Some 3) Not oft 4) Never 13.6_____

13.7 devil's darning needle 13.7_____

2) no 1) Yes----------> 1) all 2) Some 3) Not oft 4) Never 13.8_____

14.1 Have you heard of any other names for dragon fly? _____ 14.1_____

15.1 Have you ever heard the phrase MIGHT COULD, as in "I MIGHT COULD do it, but I'm not sure"?

2) No 1) Yes 15.1 _____

{IF YES} Would you use it:all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

1) all 2) some 3) not oft 4) never 15.2 _____

16.1 Now have you ever heard the word ANYMORE used like this: "ANYMORE, people have to have two jobs to make ends meet"?

2) No 1) Yes 16.1 _____

{IF YES} Would you use it: all of the time, some of the time, not very often, or never?

1) all 2) some 3) not oft 4) never 16.2 _____

17.1 What do you call the area or piece of ground where you grow crops like wheat or hay? {PROMPT:} Would you call it a FIELD or a patch?

_____ 17.1 _____

17.2 When they put hay in big square or round bundles in the field, what do you call those? {PROMPT:} What about hay BALE or stack?

{Looking for BALE} _____ 17.2 _____

18.1 What do you call the enclosed place where hogs are kept? {PROMPT} Would you call it a PIG PEN or a sty?

{Looking for PEN} _____ 18.1 _____

19.1 When are you most likely to hear an owl hoot? {PROMPT} Would you say during the daytime or at...? {TRY TO AVOID SAYING THE WORD night} {PROMPT} Day or night?

_____ 19.1 _____

20.1 Now what about those large birds that sit on telephone poles and swoop down to kill mice and other small animals, what do you call those? {PROMPT:} Would you say HAWK or CHICKEN HAWK?

{Looking for HAWK} _____ 20.1 _____

21.1 What do you call a small body of water on a ranch where cattle go to drink? {PROMPT:} Would you call it a tank or a pond?

{Looking for TANK} _____ 21.1 _____

{IF POND OR OTHER} 21.2 Have you ever heard it called a tank?

1) yes 2) no 21.2 _____

21.3 What do you call the small body of water, dug in the ground, made with concrete or tile, that you go swimming in during the summer?

{Looking for POOL} _____ 21.3 _____

Now I am going to read you a series of statements. For each one, please tell me if you: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.

{IF AT ANY TIME YOU THINK THEY MIGHT NOT BE SURE HOW TO ANSWER, REPEAT THE ANSWER CATEGORIES}

| 22. | | SA | A | D | SD | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. | The less you own, the fewer troubles you have. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |
| B. | It is better to have life go along smoothly than to be surprised, even when the surprises are pleasant. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |
| C. | Most people can be trusted. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |
| D. | In general, I like to take risks. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |
| E. | I am like those people who enjoy hang-gliding, downhill skiing, or some other exciting sport. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |
| F. | I think I worry too much. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |
| G. | I like to bet on long shots. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | _____ |

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself so we can compare the answers of different groups of people.

44. First, what year were you born? 19 _____ _____

45. What is the highest level or grade of education you completed in school?

Grade _____ 15 Bachelors degree _____

12 HS grad 16 Masters degree

13 technical/trade school 17 PhD.

14 some college Other _____

46. What is your sex? male 1 female 2 _____

47. What do people usually call the region of Oklahoma in which you live? For instance, there is the Panhandle ... Is there a name for your region?

_____ _____

48. Do you own or rent the place where you currently live?

1. own

2. rent _____

49. What is your ZIPCODE? _____ _____

50. What is your occupation? {If retired} What did you do before you retired?

_____ _____

51. Are you:
1 Single
2 Divorced ------| 53. What (was \ is) your spouse's
3 Widowed | occupation?
4 Married |-->
{IF OFFERED}-(5 Cohabitating)-----|

_____ _____

52. How much income did your whole family earn from all sources last year?

$ _____ _____

53. What racial or ethnic group do you belong to?

_____ _____

54. What is the size of the place where you lived MOST OF YOUR LIFE?

1) a city with over 100,000 people
2) less than 100,000 but more than 20,000
3) 20,000 or less
4) a rural area or farm

_____

Ok. That is all the questions I have. We really appreciate you taking the time to participate. If you have any questions or comments about the survey you may either ask me now or you may contact Dr. Bailey in the Department of English at Oklahoma State University.
Do you have any questions you would like to ask now?

Thank you very much for your help.
Have a nice evening!

# APPENDIX D

# SOD TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE

## SOD TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE

The SOD Protocol includes 14 items that serve as target words for pronunciation. One of them, *time*, was not elicited formally but should occur in most interviews as part of answers to other questions. I have listed *time* where it is most likely to occur in the progress of the interview. Rather than do detailed impressionistic transcriptions of pronunciations, we simply want to classify the pronunciation of the target vowel as conservative (indicated by the number 1), innovative (indicated by the number 2), or ambiguous (indicated by the number 3). The conservative and innovative values for each target sound are indicated below; the words are in the order in which they occur on the transcription sheets.

| Target Item | Conservative Value | Innovative Value |
|---|---|---|
| Tuesday | [tɪuzdɨ] | [tuzdɨ] |
| Wednesday | [wɛnzdɨ] | [wɪnzdɨ] |
| Thursday | [θəzdɨ] | [θərzdɨ] |
| Friday | [fraɪdɨ] | [fra:dɨ] |
| forty | [fɔ/oəɾɨ] | [fɔ/oɚɾɨ] |
| thousand | [θauzn̩] | [θæuzn̩] |
| time | [taɪm] | [ta:m] |
| wash | [wɑɚʃ] | [wɑʃ] |
| field | [fɪəɨd] | [fɪɨd] |
| bale | [beəɨ] | [bɛɨ] |
| pen | [pɛn] | [pɪn] |
| night | [naɪt] | [na:t] |
| hawk | [hɔk] | [hɑk] |
| pool | [puɨ] | [puəɨ] |

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