LEXICAL SHIFTS IN THE ENGLISH OF SOUTHEASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

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ABSTRACT

Kayleigh Estella Reyes: Lexical Shifts in the English of Southeastern
North Carolina
(Under the direction of David Mora-Marin)

The aim of this study is to describe changes in lexical items

elicited from residents of New Hanover County, North Carolina between 1937

and 2015. Lexical shifts are evaluated in relation to generation,

education, and locality. An important secondary goal of this study is to

explore the idea that changes in participants' opinions of Southern

dialects relates to the change in lexical preference. The original

hypothesis for this study expected to find the lexical items used in 2015

to be markedly different from the lexical items in 1937. Furthermore, it

was assumed that participants with negative opinions of Southern dialects

would be more likely to differentiate themselves from their Southern peers

in lexical usage.

Data analyzed come from three sources: 1937 elicitations conducted

for the Linguistic Atlas of Mid-South Atlantic States, 1990 recordings

collected by Ellen Johnson, and 2015 data collected specifically for this

thesis through in-person interviews in which participants were given a

list of lexical items to identify and from an online survey that asked

participants to identify a smaller set of lexical items. Both experiments

from 2015 also collected demographic information and participants'

attitudes towards Southerners and Southern dialects. The lexical items

elicited come from a variety of categories including home, illness/death,

family, food, weather, and animals. Not surprisingly, the category that

shows the most variability is home across all demographic breakdowns.

Data was analyzed in three groupings. The first analysis included the 1937, 1990, and 2015 responses to twelve lexical items given by twelve participants. For analysis, participants were sorted by generation, education, and locality. The second analysis involves only the 2015 responses from the in-person New Hanover country residents for the same twelve lexical items analyzed in the first grouping as well as the responses to twenty four other distinct lexical items. The participants again were sorted by generation, education and locality. The final data analysis was done looking only at the online participants sorted by region and language attitudes. New Hanover county residents were compared to residents from the rest of the Southeastern US and from the rest of the US and abroad.

The findings of this full study show that not only has lexical usage changed across generations in New Hanover County, but the trends in lexical usage from this region are different from the trends seen in the larger Southeastern US region. What's more, there is a clear link between lexical choice and participants' opinions of Southerners seen in both the in-person and online 2015 data.

To my family for providing me with endless love, support, and guidance not only during the writing of this thesis, but also for my life since birth.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LAMSAS   Linguistic Atlas of Mid-South Atlantic States

W   Wilmington Region

SE   Southeastern US Region

O   Other Regions

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Introduction

What is a southern accent? For the average American, a southern accent is a way of speaking that reflects a lifestyle that differentiates a small regionalized group from the rest of the country. From the viewpoint of a sociolinguist, a southern accent is a collection of phonological features and processes associated with a particular region. What the average American may define as an accent, a linguist would refer to more distinctly as a dialect. The key difference in terminology comes from the fact that dialect refers not just to the phonological features commonly focused on, but also the variety in word use, or lexical variation.

When asked to define a southern accent or dialect, participants noted everything from "drawn out and long vowels/diphthongs" to "…a certain twang on words…" and "slower [speech] pace"; though overwhelmingly the most common response was "we use different words".[1] Despite the common recognition of distinctive word use, this idea of lexical variation in the southern dialect is not currently a popular topic in sociolinguistic research nor is the relationship between lexical variation and social stigma; current linguistic research has focused on how the phonetic production of phonemes in the southern accent vary from the standard; most notably there is the extensive research on the Southern Vowel Shift.

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[1] The responses shown here are all taken from a pilot study for this thesis.

The idea of nonstandard dialects, such as a southern dialect, being more negatively evaluated than the standardized dialect is not a new one. Nor is the idea that our prejudices towards these dialects are shaped by social stigmas taught to us through our parents, peers, school system, and media outlets. What is not commonly addressed is how these prejudices shape a speaker's personal acquisition of the nonstandard dialect common to their region. Beyond this is the idea that shifting public opinions across generations can influence the prevalence of nonstandard features, including lexical items, being acquired. Does the change in social stigma over time affect the southern dialect and prevalence of lexical items? Collecting data on language and dialect attitudes, when linked with major events happening in the region over the period of 74 years, can help explain the variations seen in lexical item choices between groups.

I propose the following MA thesis to address this gap in research. Building off of two studies, Ellen Johnson's evaluation of lexical variation between 1930 and 1990[2], and the original Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS)[3], I propose a two part experiment that will provide lexical item and language attitude data in an attempt to evaluate the variation in southern dialectal features from 1930 to 2015. The speakers evaluated for this thesis will be from two regions included in the original LAMSAS study and revisited in the study by Johnson: New Hanover County and Brunswick County in North Carolina. By structuring the experiment as a generational study with speakers ranging in age from 18 to 99, the data collected will allow a clear view of language change over a

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[2] Johnson, Ellen. *Lexical Change and Variation in the Southeastern United States, 1930-1990*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996.

[3] Carver, Craig. "English Dialectology and the Linguistic Atlas" Linn, Michael. *Handbook of Dialects and Language Variation*. San Diego: Academic Press. 1998. Page 5-28.

period of time for the particular regions addressed. The primary goal of this thesis is to describe and explain any variations in lexical usage by speakers in the southeastern-most North Carolina counties from 1930 to 2015. The secondary goal is to evaluate any connections between shifts in public opinions and shifts in lexical usage.

What follows is a review of the relevant literature regarding Southern dialects and stigmatized language. Chapter 2 presents information on the data analyzed for this study including data sources, experiment designs, and recruitment information. A complete list and description of participants is included in chapter 3. Chapter 4 contains a summary of responses for each analysis while chapter 5 shows the analysis of the results. Chapter 6 includes a discussion of the findings as well as well as a brief summary of errors and complications encountered. The final chapter, chapter 7, rounds out this paper with conclusions and future directions for this line of research.

Literature Review

An important place to start in the research of the southern dialect is in defining the term "dialect" itself. Chambers[4] distinguishes the term "dialect" from "accent" by stating that accent refers to a speaker's pronunciation and a variety of a language which is phonetically/phonologically different from other varieties, whereas a dialect refers to a variety that is grammatically and lexically distinct as well. This distinction is not readily recognized outside of the linguistic community; for the average American, accent and dialect are used interchangeably. In interactions with the participants of this study the two terms may be used in place of one another, but during analysis the tendency will be to refer to it properly as a southern dialect.

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[4] Chambers, J.K. and Peter Trudgill. *Dialectology.* Cambridge University Press. 1998.

It has long been understood that the average American can distinguish differences in the English spoken around them and label them as belonging to distinct dialects. These dialects can be geographically or socially defined based on the opinions of speakers of dialects outside of that region.[5] In the United States there is the belief that there is a standardized dialect speakers should aspire to and a number of lesser non-standard dialects that should be avoided.[6] Research has shown that even speakers raised in a nonstandard dialect tend to have the opinion that nonstandard dialects are bad and pass those feelings on to their children.[7]

When talking about nonstandard dialect discrimination, it is easy to see that the southern American dialect is one of the most stigmatized. Perceptual studies of American English dialects show southern dialects as consistently being ranked lowest in their usage of "correct" or acceptable speech.[8] In general, people tend to view dialects, like the southern dialect, that contain marked grammatical features, such as the structures previously deemed less "correct", as more negative than dialects that do not contain socially stigmatized structures.[9] These opinions on dialects often stem more from peoples' opinions related to the group of people they associate the dialect with, rather than with the actual features of the

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[5] Feagin, Crawford. "Southern White in the English Language Community" Allen, Harold B and Michael D Linn. *Dialect and Language Variation*. Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1986. Page 259-283.

[6] Wolfram, Walt and Ralph Fasold. "Social Dialects and Education" Pride, JB. *Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Page 185-212.

[7] Labov, Williams. 1965. Stages in the acquisition of Standard English. In *Social dialects and language learning.* Chamoaign, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

[8] Hartley, Laura. "A View from the West: Perceptions of U.S. Dialects by Oregon Residents" Preston, Dennis. *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 1999. Page 315-332.

[9] Wolfram, Walt and Natalie Schilling-Estes. 2006. American English. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

dialect itself.[10] This stigma is reinforced by stereotypes in media through popular television shows and movies that use nonstandard dialects for evil or stupid characters.[11]

[10] Preston, Dennis R. 2004. *Language with an attitud*e. In J.K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), The Handbook of Language Variation and Change. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 40-66.

[11] Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1997. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States.* New York: Routledge.

CHAPTER 2: DATA ANALYZED

1937 Dataset

In 1937, Guy Lowman traveled to the three southeastern-most counties in North Carolina to interview native English speakers. These recordings were collected as part of the research conducted for the Linguistic Atlas of the Mid-South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) on lexical usage that extended across 276 communities, corresponding to counties[12]. 75 communities were visited in North Carolina, including the two southeastern most counties: New Hanover County and Brunswick County. A total of six participants were interviewed in these three regions with two residing in Brunswick County and four in New Hanover County.

Lowman elicited lexical items and syntactic constructions through the use of specific work sheets that contained over 700 questions. These thirty four worksheets, including topics ranging from numerals and farm crops to weather and social life, were used in every region for the duration of the LAMSAS study. Responses and commentary given by participants were written by hand, in both traditional English orthography and IPA in notebooks kept by Lowman. These notebooks, and the ones kept by other LAMSAS interviewers, are currently the property of University of Georgia and have been partially uploaded to an online database[13].

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[12] Kretzschmar, William A. *Handbook of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

[13] "Linguistic Atlas Projects Online." Linguistic Atlas Projects. University of Georgia. Web. 2015.

This thesis makes use of the participant information and responses available in the online database for LAMSAS. While hundreds of people were interviewed for this study, my interest lies in the six people interviewed by Lowman in the Wilmington, North Carolina area. The data available for this sample in the online database are sparse and incomplete, a fact that will be discussed and accounted for during the later sections on analysis.

1990 Dataset

Following in the footsteps of Guy Lowman, Ellen Johnson returned to thirty of the original LAMSAS communities and interviewed thirty-nine new participants. Using a shortened version of the original work sheets, that only contained 150 questions, Johnson was able to collect roughly 1,402 lexical variants[14]. These variants were compared against the 1,007 variants found for the same 150 questions during the 1930s LAMSAS interviews. Whereas Lowman relied on in-depth transcriptions, Johnson had the benefit of recording her interviews, allowing her to return later to do her analysis.

For her study, Johnson focused on finding participants that roughly matched the age, gender, and regional distributions found in the LAMSAS data, but in some cases this was not possible. While Lowman interviewed six participants across the two southeastern-most counties, Johnson only interviewed four participants with one being from New Hanover County and three from Brunswick County.

Johnson's research, summarized and explained in *Lexical Change and Variation in the Southeastern United States, 9130-1990,* contains in-depth comparisons between the two datasets and provides thought-provoking insight into lexical language change. Her appendix contains totals of all

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[14] Johnson, Ellen. *Lexical Change and Variation in the Southeastern United States, 1930-1990.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996.

responses given for the 150 questions, but does not provide regional breakdowns or responses for each participant. The online database that contains the LAMSAS data also contains the original recordings done by Johnson, although they do not have transcriptions for these recordings. For this thesis, the recordings from the four participants from Brunswick County and New Hanover County are used to collect responses for each of the 150 questions.

2015 Dataset

<u>Online Study</u>

The online study conducted for the present research project contains three sections: a demographic survey, a lexical naming task, and a language attitude survey. Using a survey-hosting service called Survey Monkey, I have created a twenty-nine page and forty-four question survey. The survey was designed to take less than thirty minutes to complete. A progress bar appears at the top of each page to tell the participant how much of the experiment is left to complete. The experiment begins with an introduction screen that explains the three components of the survey and simple instructions on how to proceed. At the start of each component section the participant is shown a screen with complete details on how to complete the task. Participants are not able to move between tasks or pages; once a page is completed it cannot be viewed again or changed.

The demographics survey is the first section of the experiment. The majority of questions are presented in an open-ended format with blank space to provide as long or short of an answer as the participant chooses. The demographic section is broken into two question categories: personal background and family background. Each category is presented on its own screen and participants are allowed to go between question types. In order to switch pages, the participant must provide an answer for every question on screen.

The personal background section collects details on key variables related directly to the participants. The following image, Figure 1, shows the exact screen participants are shown during this section of the experiment. In order to properly categorize participants, the first three questions ask for age, gender, and education level. The responses to the fourth question, on the importance of formal education, and the fifth question, on public speaking, will later be analyzed along with the language attitude responses to compare against any trends seen with lexical usage. The seventh question asks the participants to list the areas in which they have lived and their opinion on whether the location is urban or rural. While both the 1937 and 1990 recordings use the urban vs. rural rating provided in census data to sort the participants, this study uses the participants' perceptions of locality to aid in the analysis of the language attitude responses.

Figure 1. Personal Demographic Information

The second demographic section, shown in Figure 2, asks for the participants to provide information about their family background. Question eight requires the participants to rank their interactions with certain groups of people to provide a basis for the age group that possibly had the most influence on their language. The formatting allows for multiple groups to be ranked in the same position; i.e. the participant could have interacted most with both their parents and their siblings while having little to no interaction with their classmates and adults outside their family. The last three questions ask for the education level of the participant's guardians, the languages spoken in the home, and description of the guardian's English, as possible variables to influence lexical usage.

Family Demographic Section

10%

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

Once you complete this page you will not be able to come back to.

＊8. How much did you interact with the following groups of people as a child?

	This does not apply to me	I had little to no interaction with these people	I had some interactions with these people but no more than with others	These are the people I interacted with most often
Your guardians	○	○	○	○
Your siblings	○	○	○	○
Neighbors your age	○	○	○	○
Your classmates	○	○	○	○
Adults outside of your family	○	○	○	○
Family members older than your guardians	○	○	○	○

＊9. What is the highest education level of each person that raised you?

＊10. What languages were spoken in your home while growing up? If more than one please indicate your primary.

＊11. How would you describe the English spoken by the people that raised you? Did they have accents, speech disorders, or any unique features?

prev   Next

Figure 2. Family Demographic Section

After completing the demographics sections, the participant is asked to move to the lexical naming task. During the lexical naming task,

participants are shown a sentence on screen and in some cases a picture corresponding to a lexical item. Participants are instructed to identify the item on screen and if they do not know what something is, or do not have a specific word or phrase for what is shown they will be instructed to say as much. There is no character count for responses so participants are encouraged to add comments and explanations. The items targeted are either general phrases or individual lexical terms that fall into the category of food, people, animals, and clothes. The following table shows each lexical item targeted, the sentence describing the item, and an example which may be a sample frame sentence or a picture if applicable.

Lexical Item	Descriptive Sentence	Example
Pitching a fit	What phrase would you use to describe the actions of a child who did not get what they wanted at the store and starts crying and screaming to get their way?	*Tommy is so spoiled he always _____ if he doesn't get what he wants.*
Putting on airs	What phrase would you use to describe the actions of someone that is acting haughty, pretentious or displaying their own importance or wealth?	*Jessica always goes around _____ like she is the Queen of England.*
Lollygag	What phrase would you use to describe the actions of someone that is avoiding work or acting lazy and dawdling?	*Sara is so lazy she is always _____ and takes forever to get her work done.*
In a bad way	What phrase would you use to describe someone that is very sick and unable to do things they normally do?	*Bobby has been coughing for weeks and the doctors say he – _____ .*
Coon's age	What phrase would you use to describe something that has taken a very long time?	*We've been waiting _____ for our food.*
Hoecake	What would you call a small cake made of cornmeal that is baked on the stove usually in a cast iron skillet?	

Snow cream	What would you call a dessert made by pouring sweetened cream or condensed milk over fresh snow?		
Scrapple	What would you call scraps of pork or other meat stewed with cornmeal and shaped into loaves for slicing and frying?		
Piccalilli	What would you call a relish made of chopped cabbage, peppers, onions, and spices?		
Hush puppies	What would you call small fired balls of dough made from cornmeal and onion?		
Fatback	What would you call a strip of fat from the back of hog that is usually dried and salted and used to season vegetables like collard greens?		
Lima beans	What would you call the small greenish white flat beans that are often boiled?		
Polecat	What would you call a small mammal with distinctive black-and-white stripped fur that squirts a bad smelling musk when threatened?		
Possum	What would you call a small rat like animal with a thin hairless tail that is known for eating out of trashcans?		
Varmit	What would you use as a general term for a troublesome wild animal?	NO PICTURE	
Critter	What would you use as a general term for a small animal?	NO PICTURE	

Coon	What would you call a small gray mammal that has a foxlike face with a black mask around its eyes and a ringed tail?	
Lightning bug	What would you call a flying beetle usually seen in the summer that lights up that kids often try to collect in jars?	
Kin	What term would you use to describe someone that is related to you by blood; a part of your family?	NO PICTURE
Young-un	What term would you use to describe a small child?	NO PICTURE
Illegitimate child	What term would you use to describe a child born out of wedlock?	NO PICTURE
Britches	What word would you use for the clothing someone would wear that covers their legs such as in the picture above?	
Coveralls	What word would you use for the clothing that covers someone's legs and chest such as in the pictures above?	
Thermal underwear	What word would you use for the clothing you wear under your regular clothes in the winter that covers your whole body?	

Table 1. Lexical Item Stimuli

The final section in the online experiment is the language attitudes survey consisting of nine questions all presented on the same page. A response to each question is required and the participants have no limit

on how much they can write. The following is a list of all language

attitude questions asked:

(a) How would you describe the way you speak? Do you have an accent, speech disorders, or any unique features?
(b) Do you identify as a Southern speaker?
(c) How would you describe a southern dialect?
(d) How would you describe Southerners in general?
(e) How do you think most Americans currently feel about Southerners and Southern dialects?
(f) Do you think peoples' opinions of Southerners and Southern dialects has changed since you were growing up? If yes, how so?
(g) As you were growing up, what Southerners (fictional or real) were well known or famous? What were these people like? What did you think of them?
(h) Have you or anyone you know been discriminated against in a social or academic setting due to the way they spoke English? If so, please describe what happened.
(i) Do you ever actively try to change the way you sound in certain settings? If so, please explain when and why.

Six of the questions in this section ask for participants' specific

opinions on Southerners and Southern dialects. The primary goal of these

questions, and the other questions in this section, is to analyze any

potential relationships between personal opinions and lexical usage. A

secondary goal of this question set is to track changes in public opinion

across regions and generations.

<u>In-person Study</u>

An in-person study can build off of the basic lexical items and

opinions elicited in the online study to provide a fuller picture. With an

in-person component there is a greater ability to gather more data and

more interpretive justification for the data. The in-person study also

contains a component not possible in the online study; an in-depth

conversation. The conversation component will allow for a variety of

features to be analyzed including lexical usage, syntax, and phonology. In

some cases, due to time constraints or other factors, participants that

are unable to complete a full in depth conversation will be asked to

provide explanations or extra information while answering questions in the lexical items section. While the amount and quality of this information may not reach the level of the information that could be provided during an in-depth conversation, it will be a useful supplement to the basic lexical information.

The in-person study is broken into two tasks, occasionally completed on separate days. The in-person experiment begins with an explanation of what is about to happen, after which the participant is offered a consent form to sign should they agree to take part in the study. The consent form is included in the appendix for reference. Once the participants have signed the consent form, the voice recorder will be switched on to collect all responses as well as questions and comments. There is no rush for the participant to finish the surveys or the naming task, and extra time may be taken to discuss interesting topics brought up from the participants' answers. The first task begins with the participant taking the same survey given to the online participants.

Following the completion of the online study, the participant is asked to complete a second lexical naming task that includes terms not analyzed in the online study. The target lexical items are elicited orally as responses to descriptor sentences; there is no visual component for this naming task. Categories for this task include: rooms and furniture, weather terms, foods, kinship terms, illness and death, school-related terms, and animals. All lexical items for this task are taken from Johnson's study to evaluate the comparisons in lexical usage between 1930 and 1990. Every question asked in this section of the study is worded almost exactly as it would have appeared in the original LAMSAS work sheets. The complete work sheet used for this task is included in the Appendix.

For the second task the participants are asked to have an informal conversation with the researcher. The recording begins as soon as the participant arrives and has made themselves comfortable and the recorder is only turned off when: all conversation topics have been discussed, when conversation falters, when the participant has to leave, or when the allotted time has come to an end.

The conversation topics are randomly picked before the conversation begins from three main categories: family, food, and childhood. The family category provides lexical items for marriage, death, illness, kinship terms, and items related to childbirth. The food category targets agriculture, animals, and cooking. The last category on childhood should elicit terms for education and social structures in the family and in the community. While each conversation will be started from a category, the interviewer never interrupts natural conversation even if it goes off topic.

<u>Recruitment</u>

Participants for the in-person study are all native English speakers recruited from the Raleigh, Wilmington, and Chapel Hill area. All participants interviewed have been born, raised, or lived most of their lives in one of these three areas. While the recruitment included three cities, the final analysis of data focuses solely on the participants from the Wilmington area as they overlap directly with the New Hanover and Brunswick County regions from the 1937 and 1990 datasets.

In order to recruit participants, flyers were posted in public locations around Chapel Hill, Wilmington, and Raleigh such as churches, grocery stores, and coffee shops. In the Chapel Hill area, flyers were also around campus in class buildings and libraries. To further recruit participants, details were posted on Craigslist and shared through

Facebook. There were two flyers and postings; one specifically for the online study that included my email and a link to the survey, and another specifically for the in-person study, which only included my email. As far as compensation goes, in-person participants had the option to receive $16 upon completion of the experiment while online participants did not receive compensation.

While the focus of this thesis is on two counties, New Hanover and Brunswick, the online experiment is open to all willing participants. The posted recruitment flyers specify Wilmington, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill as the primary cities for the study, but the online recruitment, such as Craigslist and Facebook, does not specify a location. What's more, due to the fluidity of the internet, the link to the online survey was forwarded and shared with people across the US and abroad; this provides a rich variety of participants and responses.

CHAPTER 3: PARTICIPANTS

In-person Study

  Throughout the LAMSAS study, hundreds of people were interviewed. In 1990, Ellen Johnson, using a smaller sample of the regions explored in LAMSAS, collected responses from 39 participants. The 2015 recordings collected specifically for this thesis provided an additional 14 participants. While a multitude of participants were available, only 20 are discussed in this study. The reasoning for exclusion of particular participants, as well as the demographic breakdown of the ones selected, is outlined in the following sections.

<u>Participants and Communities</u>

  Table 8, labeled as Table of Participants, is coded to contain information regarding the identity of each participant, the circumstances of the interview, and the sociocultural characteristics for each participant. What follows is an explanation of each Column in the Table of Participants.

  Following the guidelines of the original LAMSAS study, column A contains an ID number for each participant comprised of three variables. Participants are identified by a two-letter state abbreviation, a community number, and a letter/number pair. The two-letter state abbreviation for all participants analyzed herein is NC to denote North Carolina. Analysis was completed on three communities in North Carolina: Pender County, Brunswick County, and New Hanover County. Participants from Pender County are marked 22, Brunswick County are marked 24, and New

Hanover County are marked 23. The final letter/number pair can be divided into the letters A-L to mark the order in which the participants were interviewed and the numbers 1-3 to mark which set of recordings the participant was included in.

With these classifications, ID number NC24B2 would refer to the second participant from Brunswick County in North Carolina that was interviewed during the second set of recordings. Deviations from the standard ID number are found in three participants: NC23C1!, NC23D1!, and NC24N2. The inclusion of an exclamation point in the ID number was used in the original LAMSAS study to distinguish "cultivated participants" who could be classified as speakers "…whose speech reflected superior education and elevated social standing in their communities." At the time of the secondary recordings, by Ellen Johnson, this classification was no longer used, though the exclamation point is retained in these ID numbers to aid researchers when going between LAMSAS worksheets and publications. For ID number NC24N2, the letter N is used to identify an African-American participant from a community.

Column B corresponds to Historical Generation. Participants were assigned a number to denote membership in one of seven generations based on historical context. Table 2 below serves as a key for understanding generation assignment.

Code	Generation	Year Range
1	Civil War	Prior to 1876
2	Reconstruction	1877-1900
3	Greatest	1901-1924
4	Silent	1925-1942
5	Baby Boomer	1943-1964
6	Generation X	1965-1979
7	Millennials	1980 and beyond

Table 2. Historical Generation

The fixed generation category, column C, is a modified version of the "age" category created by Ellen Johnson and has three options, Old, Middle, and Young, calculated from the participants birth year; table 3 shows these categories. The year ranges for the first two recording sets are taken almost exactly as stated from Johnson's study, while the year ranges for the third recording set were decided upon following the style of the existing criteria. For each recording set, the Old category spans 13 years, the Middle spans 16, and the Young spans 28. The birth year of every participant is included in one of the three categories assigned to their recording group except in the case of NC23H3, an outlier from the 2015 recording set born in 1916. NC23H3's birth year is before the start of the Old category for her recording set, but due to the limited data elicited during her interview, she may be grouped with either the 3rd recording set Old generation or the 2nd recording set Middle generation.

Code	Generation	1937 Recording Set	1990 Recording Set	2015 Recording Set
O	Old	1847-1860	1990-1913	1930-1943
M	Middle	1861-1877	1914-1930	1944-1960
Y	Young	1878-1906	1931-1959	1961-1989

Table 3. Fixed Generation

Column D showed categorical generation; this column is a numerical version of the Fixed Generation column to aid in analysis. Table 4 below shows each category with its numerical marker.

Code	Generation	1937 Recording Set	1990 Recording Set	2015 Recording Set
1	Old	1847-1860	1990-1913	1930-1943
2	Middle	1861-1877	1914-1930	1944-1960
3	Young	1878-1906	1931-1959	1961-1989

Table 4. Categorical Generation

Column E contains a value for participants' birth year. In most cases, the birth year of each participant was explicitly stated at some

point during the interview process. For the participants that did not have

an explicit birth year, the year was calculated using the reported age at

the time of interview and the year in which the interview took place.

Therefore, participant NC23B1 who was 46 at the time of recording in 1937

was estimated to have been born around 1891. Estimated birth years do not

interfere with the results, as participants are further categorized by

generation criteria.

All participants provided either their age at the time of interview

or the year in which they were born; this information is contained in

column F. The number of participants at any particular age is summarized

below in table 5 for each recording set.

Age	1937 Recording Set	1990 Recording Set	2015 Recording Set
26	0	0	2
36	0	1	0
45	1	0	0
46	1	0	0
48	1	0	1
49	1	0	1
52	0	1	0
55	1	0	0
56	0	0	2
64	0	1	1
68	1	0	0
69	0	0	1
70	1	0	0
75	1	0	0
79	0	0	1
80	0	1	0
81	0	0	1
85	0	0	1
99	0	0	1
Total	8	4	12

Table 5. Recorded Age Distributions

The Current Age column, column G, is an estimate of each

participant's current age in 2015 calculated from their year of birth.

Whether or not the participant is currently deceased has no value, as the

current age is used simply to establish comparisons for the generational data.

All participants self-identified as either Male or Female at some point during their interview; this information is stored in column H.

Column I related to true education and is shown in Table 6. Using a simplified version of the levels of education outlined by Kurath in the LAMSAS study, participants were assigned a number related to the amount of school they had completed. In some cases, especially for the older participants, the exact level of schooling could not be determined and was therefore estimated using information gathered during the biographical interview.

Code	Education Level
1	Did not complete Elementary School
2	Completed Elementary but not High School
3	Completed High School but not College
4	Completed College

Table 6. True Education

The Categorical Education differs from the True Education in that the numbers are specific to the recording set as opposed to being relatable across years. The following chart, Table 7, shows the classifications and their criteria contained in column J.

Code	1937 Recording Set	1990 Recording Set	2015 Recording Set
1	Did not attend or complete Elementary School	Did not attend or complete High School	Did not attend or complete High School
2	Did not attend or complete High School	Did not attend or complete College	Did not attend or complete College
3	High School Graduates	College Graduates	College Graduates

Table 7. Categorical Education

Column L related to region and locality. Both the LAMSAS and Johnson participants were grouped as either urban or rural based on US Census criteria that designated urban areas as having a population greater than 2500. For the 2015 recordings, the participants were asked if they considered their hometown to be urban or rural to determine locality.

Participants were taken from three recording years: 1937, 1990, and 2015. The recordings done in 1937 were completed by Guy Lowman as part of the original LAMSAS dataset. The 1990 recordings were collected by Ellen Johnson, and the 2015 recordings were done by Kayleigh Reyes. Column M is labeled for the year of each recording.

Column N contains race information. Participants who identified themselves as being White are marked with W, African-American participants are marked as B, and Hispanic participants are marked H.

The final column, column O, is the alternative ID code for participants. Participants from the 2015 recording set were originally referred to by a numerical code which was converted to the ID style in column A at the time of analysis. Their original ID code is included here in column O to provide a means with which to analyze the 2015 data properly.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
NC22A1	1	M	2	1869	68	146	M	1	1	R	Pender	1937	W	–
NC22B1	2	Y	3	1888	49	127	F	3	3	R	Pender	1937	W	–
NC23A1	1	O	1	1862	75	153	M	1	1	R	New Hanover	1937	W	–
NC23B1	2	Y	3	1891	46	124	F	2	2	R	New Hanover	1937	W	–
NC23C1!	2	Y	3	1889	48	126	F	3	3	U	New Hanover	1937	W	–
NC23D1!	2	Y	3	1882	55	133	F	1	1	U	New Hanover	1937	W	–
NC24A1	1	M	2	1867	70	148	F	1	1	R	Brunswick	1937	W	–
NC24B1	2	Y	3	1892	45	123	M	3	3	R	Brunswick	1937	W	–
NC23B2	4	Y	3	1938	52	77	F	3	2	U	New Hanover	1990	W	–
NC24A2	4	M	2	1926	64	89	M	2	1	R	Brunswick	1990	W	–
NC24B2	5	Y	3	1954	36	61	M	3	2	R	Brunswick	1990	W	–
NC24N2	3	O	1	1910	80	105	F	2	1	R	Brunswick	1990	B	–
NC23A3	5	M	2	1951	64	64	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	522

NC23B3	6	Y	3	1967	48	48	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	217
NC23C3	7	Y	3	1989	26	26	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	H	21
NC23D3	5	M	2	1959	56	56	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	63
NC23E3	4	O	1	1936	79	79	F	3	2	R	New Hanover	2015	W	4
NC23F3	5	M	2	1946	69	69	F	3	2	U	New Hanover	2015	W	45
NC23G3	5	M	2	1959	56	56	M	3	2	U	New Hanover	2015	W	143
NC23H3	3	O/M	1	1916	99	99	F	1	1	R	New Hanover	2015	W	83
NC23I3	4	O	1	1930	85	85	M	3	2	R	New Hanover	2015	W	96
NC23J3	4	O	1	1934	81	81	F	2	1	R	New Hanover	2015	W	157
NC23K3	6	Y	3	1966	49	49	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	34
NC23L3	7	Y	3	1989	26	26	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	11

Table 8. Table of Participants

Participant Comparisons

In total, the responses from 20 participants are discussed in this study. The participants and their responses are analyzed in two ways; the first is a tri-study comparison in which the participants from 2015 are compared to the participants from 1937 and 1990. The second comparison discussed focuses solely on the participants recorded in 2015.

The goal of this tri-study comparison is to assess the differences in lexical usage over a seventy-eight year period. When Ellen Johnson compared her 1990 data to the data found in 1937, she attempted to find participants whose ages were within ten years of the 1937 participants at the time of recording. In order to make clear comparisons between the 1937, 1990, and 2015 data, only the 2015 participants that matched the age range of the previous studies are analyzed. This means that four participants from 2015 were compared against the original eight. A breakdown of all participants analyzed across the three studies is provided below in table 9. Keep in mind, for the purposes of this thesis, that New Hanover and Brunswick County are collapsed into one southeastern coastal region in North Carolina.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
NC23A1	1	O	1	1862	75	153	M	1	1	R	New Hanover	1937	W	–
NC23B1	2	Y	3	1891	46	124	F	2	2	R	New Hanover	1937	W	–
NC24A1	1	M	2	1867	70	148	F	1	1	R	Brunswick	1937	W	–
NC24B1	2	Y	3	1892	45	123	M	3	3	R	Brunswick	1937	W	–
NC23B2	4	Y	3	1938	52	77	F	3	2	U	New Hanover	1990	W	–
NC24A2	4	M	2	1926	64	89	M	2	1	R	Brunswick	1990	W	–
NC24B2	5	Y	3	1954	36	61	M	3	2	R	Brunswick	1990	W	–
NC24N2	3	O	1	1910	80	105	F	2	1	R	Brunswick	1990	B	–
NC23B3	6	Y	3	1967	48	48	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	217
NC23E3	4	O	1	1936	79	79	F	3	2	R	New Hanover	2015	W	4
NC23F3	5	M	2	1946	69	69	F	3	2	U	New Hanover	2015	W	45
NC23K3	6	Y	3	1966	49	49	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	34

Table 9. Tri-Study Participants

A comparison of the participants analyzed across the three studies in shown in Table 10. Only the basic variables (gender, true education, race, categorical generation, and locality) are compared here. Potential interactions between these variables are not discussed in depth, but may be touched upon during analysis.

Variables	1937 Dataset	1990 Dataset	2015 Dataset
Female (F)	3	2	3
Male (M)	1	2	1
College Graduate	–	–	2
High School Graduate	1	2	2
Elementary School	1	2	–
Less than Elementary	2	–	–
Black (B)	–	1	–
White (W)	4	3	4
Hispanic (H)	–	–	–
Old 1847-1860/1900-1913/1930-1943	1	1	1
Middle 1864-1876/1916-1928/1946-1958	1	1	1
Young 1881-1901/1931-1959/1961-1989	2	2	2

Rural (R)	4	3	1
Urban (U)	–	1	3
Total	4	4	4

Table 10. Comparison of Tri-study Participants

While comparing a total of twelve participants, four from each of the three datasets, may seem like a small number, I believe it to be a large enough sample to provide useful information. Looking at the small sample allows the final analysis to be compared to the larger study, of the 30 counties by Johnson, in order to relate the results to the larger population. Table 11 provides details of the full participant comparisons including the ones not analyzed for this study.

Variables	1937 Dataset	1990 Dataset	2015 Dataset
Female (F)	18	18	10
Male (M)	21	21	3
College Graduate	–	9	7
High School Graduate	8	18	4
Elementary School	15	12	2
Less than Elementary	16	–	–
Black (B)	6	6	1
White (W)	33	33	11
Hispanic (H)	–	–	1
Old 1847–1860/1900–1913/1930–1943	12	11	4
Middle 1864–1876/1916–1928/1946–1958	13	15	4
Young 1881–1901/1931–1959/1961–1989	14	13	5
Rural (R)	30	25	4
Urban (U)	9	14	9
Total	39	39	13

Table 11. Comparison of All Participants

The twelve participants also provide a nice sample of historical generations to add to the interpretation of findings. Table 12 shows the distribution of participants across the historical generations with only the Millennials Generation unaccounted for in this dataset.

Code	Generation	Participant	Year Range
1	Civil War	NC24A1 NC23A1	Prior to 1876
2	Reconstruction	NC23B1 NC24B1	1877-1900
3	Greatest	NC24N2	1901-1924
4	Silent	NC24A2 NC23B2 NC23E3	1925-1942
5	Baby Boomer	NC24B2 NC23F3	1943-1964
6	Generation X	NC23B3 NC23K3	1965-1979

Table 12. Generational Breakdown

Wilmington 2015

The primary goal of this secondary comparison is to explore generational changes in lexical usage. The secondary goal is to track changing public opinions and social stigma related to the Southern American dialect. What follows in table 13 is a summary of the demographic information related to the twelve 2015 New Hanover County participants.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
NC23A3	5	M	2	1951	64	64	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	522
NC23B3	6	Y	3	1967	48	48	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	217
NC23C3	7	Y	3	1989	26	26	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	H	21
NC23D3	5	M	2	1959	56	56	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	63
NC23E3	4	O	1	1936	79	79	F	3	2	R	New Hanover	2015	W	4
NC23F3	5	M	2	1946	69	69	F	3	2	U	New Hanover	2015	W	45

NC23G3	5	M	2	1959	56	56	M	3	2	U	New Hanover	2015	W	143
NC23H3	3	O/M	1	1916	99	99	F	1	1	R	New Hanover	2015	W	83
NC23I3	4	O	1	1930	85	85	M	3	2	R	New Hanover	2015	W	96
NC23J3	4	O	1	1934	81	81	F	2	1	R	New Hanover	2015	W	157
NC23K3	6	Y	3	1966	49	49	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	34
NC23L3	7	Y	3	1989	26	26	F	4	3	U	New Hanover	2015	W	11

Table 13. Wilmington 2015 Participants

Twelve participants were recorded in the New Hanover County area during the 2015 round of recordings. Unlike the previous two studies, the number of female participants outnumbered the male participants with ten females and only two males. This gender division, while making it difficult to compare the sample to the general population, provides an interesting variable with which to explore trends in lexical usage. The recordings taken in New Hanover County in 2015 also show the most diversity, in regards to age, out of the three recording sets analyzed.

The 1937 recordings only showed a difference of 30 years between the oldest and youngest participants and the 1990s recordings only showed a difference in 44 years, while the 2015 recordings had a 73 year gap between the oldest and youngest. Even accounting for NC23H3, the outlier born in 1926, the gap from the second oldest participant to the youngest participant spans 59 years. This recording set also provides an even division, 4 each, of participants across the Fixed Generation markers, as seen in table 14.

Fixed Generation	Time Period	Number of Participants
Old	1930 – 1943	4
Middle	1944 – 1960	4
Young	1961 – 1989	4
	Total	12

Table 14. Wilmington Fixed Generation Breakdown

In regards to Historical Generation, shown in table 15, while the 2015 recording set does not contain any participants from the oldest two generations, Civil War and Reconstruction, it does contain at least one participant from each of the remaining five generations.

Historical Generation	Time Period	Number of Participants
Civil War	Prior to 1876	–
Reconstruction	1877 – 1900	–
Greatest	1901 – 1924	1
Silent	1925 – 1942	3
Baby Boomer	1943 – 1964	4
Generation X	1965 – 1979	2
Millennials	1980 and beyond	2
	Total	12

Table 15. Wilmington Historical Generation Breakdown

One additional subset analysis which should be explored further, involves ten family members. These participants can be grouped into the following family tree, figure 3 (subscript b is used to mark biological relation to the oldest family member):
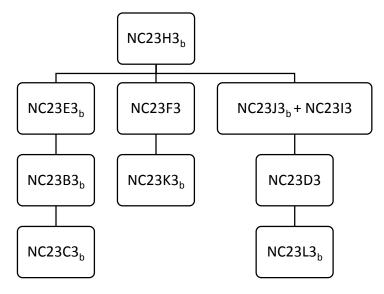

Figure 3. Wilmington Family Tree

All four generations have lived the majority of their lives in the New Hanover County area; for at least the past forty years, their houses have been within ten minutes of each other. Contact between the generations is frequent; they often gather for Sunday dinners, holidays, weekly shopping trips, and weekend outings. The family can be split further into three groups based on where they live and who they interact with most. Household One is comprised of NC23E3, NC23B3, and NC23C3, who have lived together in the same house for the entirety of NC23C3's life and the majority of NC23B3's life. Household Two includes NC23F3 and NC23K3. Household Three has been established in the same area for almost the last forty years and includes NC23H3, NC23J3, NC23I3, NC23D3, and NC23L3. Along with region and interaction, the households also differ in their opinions on Southern dialects. Household One has the most negative opinions on Southern dialects and the strongest desire to sound "educated" and "well off" whereas Household Three has the strongest connection to the Southern dialect and the most positive opinions. Household Two is midway between Household One and Three in most aspects. Each Household Group is described in table 16 below.

Household Group	Household 1	Household 2	Household 3
Members	NC23E3 NC23B3 NC23C3	NC23F3 NC23K3	NC23H3 NC23J3 NC23I3 NC23D3 NC23L3
Fixed Generation Range	Old, Middle, and Young	Middle and Young	Old, Middle, and Young
True Education Range	3 and 4	3 and 4	1, 2, 3, and 4
Southern Dialect Opinions	Most Negative	Neutral	Most Positive

Table 16. Wilmington Households

Online Study

The online study conducted as part of the 2015 data collection may provide further support for the divergence of the Wilmington area sample from the rest of the Southeastern United States region. Out of a total of two hundred and thirty two participants in the online study, thirty four people were from the Wilmington area, fifty four were from the Southeastern US region, and one hundred and forty four participants were from various locations across the globe. In the cases where participants listed themselves as having lived in multiple areas, their regional marker matched the area in which they had lived the longest. A full list of all participants and their responses is included in the appendix.

A comparison is first carried out by looking at all participants from all regions who answered the online survey to see how lexical choice varies across region. After which lexical choice is analyzed related to language attitudes. In order to further explore the claim that the Wilmington area is divergent from the lexical trends seen in the Southeast region, as well as to provide a comparison to the trends found between the in-person sample and the whole dataset from Johnson, a small sample of Wilmington participants is compared to a small sample of Southeastern US regional participants from the online dataset. The ratio of participants selected roughly corresponds to the comparison done in the tri-study comparison with the sample and whole datasets; thirty nine participants compared to four.

CHAPTER 4: RESPONSES

In-person Responses: Tri-Study

The data available from the 1937 LAMSAS study are sparse. All four

1937 participants selected for the tri-study analysis have a limited

number of responses available in the online database; of those, only

twelve tokens overlapped with token elicited in the 1990 and 2015

recordings. Those tokens correspond to the following questions from the

LAMSAS worksheets:

> (1) What would you call a large piece of furniture that two or more
> people would sit on in the (living room, sitting room, parlor,
> etc.)?
> (2) What would you call the ledge above the fireplace that you can
> set things on?
> (3) What would you call a larger piece of furniture for you clothes
> that has drawers on bottom and cabinet doors on top that you use to
> store clothes?
> (4) What would you call the horizontal boards on the outside of
> wooden house that slightly overlap each other?
> (5) When you make your bed – what is the last thing that goes on
> top? What do you call the top covering you sleep under?
> (6) What would you call the things that hang in windows that you
> pull down to keep out the light?
> (7) If the sky starts filling with clouds like it is about to rain
> you might say _____.
> (8) If you get a lot of rain falling all at once you would say
> _____.
> (9) What do you call a storm with heavy rain, thunder, and
> lightning?
> (10) What would you call a dish baked in the oven made from fruit
> and some kind of topping made with flour and sugar?
> (11) What name do you have for a long thin-bodied insect with two
> pairs of shiny brightly colored wings? They usually hover around
> damp places and eat mosquitos
> (12) What would a man call the woman he is married to?

Three tables, 17-19, are provided below, grouped by dataset, that

include every response made by each participant for each token. If the

participants provided more than one response for a given token, the responses are listed in the order the participant gave them. In the instances in which a participant did not have a word for a token, even after the interviewer suggests one, the response is coded NR (no response). A blank spot in the chart means the token has not been found in the recordings transcribed; this pertains mostly to the 1990 recordings by Ellen Johnson. As there is no written record of participant responses for the 1990 data, the responses included here are taken by listening to the recordings hosted on the online LAMSAS database. These recordings are not properly labeled and tokens are never elicited in the same order or with the same frame sentence, making the recognition of specific tokens difficult.

	NC23A1	NC23B1	NC24A1	NC24B1
(5) Sofa	sofa	sofa	bench	lounge sofa
(3) Mantel	mantel	fireboard mantelpiece	mantelpiece fireboard	mantelpiece fireboard
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe	wardrobe	NR	wardrobe
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	weatherboarding	weatherboarding	weatherboarding
(7) Bedspread	comfort quilt	comfort quilt	comfort quilt	quilt comfort
(6) Window Shades	shades	curtains shades	window shades	curtains shades
(78) Clouding Up	going to have some falling weather	clouding up	clouding up	getting bad fixing to have falling weather
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain	heavy rain	big rain	heavy rain
(80) Thunderstorm	thundersquall thundercloud	thundercloud	thundercloud	thundercloud
(109) Cobbler	apple tart	family pie	NR	apple cobbler
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk	mosquito hawk	skeeter hawk	mosquito hawk
(133) Wife	my wife	my wife	wife	my wife

Table 17: Responses from 1937 Participants

	NC23B2	NC24A2	NC24B2	NC24N2
(5) Sofa	couch	couch	couch	
(3) Mantel	mantel	mantelpiece	mantel	mantelpiece
(12) Wardrobe	armoire	NR	wardrobe	rack
(38) Siding	siding sideboards			
(7) Bedspread	bedspread quilt coverlet	quilt	quilt spread	blanket spread
(6) Window Shades	shades	shutters		curtains blinds shades
(78) Clouding Up	stormy storm coming	scuds a building thunderhead		blustery
(79) Heavy Rain	gulley washer	cloudburst downpour		NR
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm	storm		thunderstorm electric storm
(109) Cobbler	cobbler		cobbler	
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk	mosquito hawk	mosquito hawk dragonfly	
(133) Wife	wife	wife		

Table 18: Responses from 1990 Participants

	NC23B3	NC23E3	NC23F3	NC23K3
(5) Sofa	sofa loveseat	setee	couch	loveseat
(3) Mantel	mantel	mantel	mantel	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	armoire	cabinet	wardrobe	armoire
(38) Siding	wooden boards	ledge	siding	siding
(7) Bedspread	duvet	comforter	bedspread	comforter
(6) Window Shades	shutters blinds	shades curtains	blinds	shades blinds
(78) Clouding Up	looks stormy	cloudy	storm moving in	storm is rolling in
(79) Heavy Rain	torrential rain	downpour flood	pouring rain	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	storm	thunderstorm
(109) Cobbler	cobbler	cobbler	cobbler	pie
(127) Dragonfly	NR	NR	NR	dragonfly
(133) Wife	spouse	wife	wife	wife

Table 19: Responses from 2015 Participants

In-person Responses: Wilmington 2015

      Not including the overlapping questions from the online study, a total of fifty tokens were elicited from almost all Wilmington participants. Participant NC23H3 is not included in this sample due to the fact that she was unable to do any tasks that did not involve pictures. These fifty tokens include the twelve analyzed for the tri-study and were sorted into five categories: animals, house, family, weather, and illness/death. While a complete list of responses is provided in the appendix, two charts have been included here as an example. Table 20 shows responses to the 12 tokens analyzed for the tri-study while Table 21 shows responses to tokens shown to have variations; both tables shown are the generational analysis.

	Old	Middle	Young
(5) Sofa	setee 2 couch 1	couch 3 sofa 1	couch 2 sofa 1 loveseat 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 3	mantel 4	mantel 3 hearth 1
(12) Wardrobe	cabinet 1 high boy 1 armoire 1	wardrobe 3 vanity 1	wardrobe 1 armoire 3
(38) Siding	ledge 1 clapboards 1 siding 1	siding 2 clap boards 1 lap siding 1	siding 2 panels 1 wooden boards 1
(7) Bedspread	comforter 1 spread 2	bedspread 3 blanket 1	comforter 2 blanket 1 duvet 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 2 blinds 1	blinds 3 curtains 1	shades 2 blinds 1 shutters 1
(78) Clouding Up	stormy day 2 cloudy 1	clouding up 2 looks like a cloud is coming 1 storm moving in 1	looks stormy 1 its about to storm 1 overcast 1 feels like a storm rolling in 1
(79) Downpour	downpour 2 flood 1	downpour 2 pouring rain 1 sky fell in 1	downpour 2 torrential rain 1 pouring 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 3	thunderstorm 2 bad storm 1	thunderstorm 4
(109) Cobbler	cobbler 3	cobbler 3 dessert 1	cobbler 2 pie 1 fruit tart 1

(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk 2 NR 1	dragonfly 2 NR 2	dragonfly 3 NR 1
(133) Wife	wife 1 old lady 1	wife 3 honey 1	wife 3 honey 1

Table 20. Twelve token Analysis

	Old	Middle	Young
Mom	momma 3	momma 1 mom 3	mom 3 mommy 1
Dad	daddy 2 dad 1	daddy 3 dad 1	daddy 3 father 1
Grandmother	grandmother 1 grandma 1 grandmomma 1	grandma 4	grandmother 2 grandma 2
Grandfather	grandfather 1 grandpa 1 granddaddy 1	granddaddy 1 grandpa 3	grandfather 3 granddaddy 1
Favors	favors 1 looks like 1 is like 1	resembles 1 strongly resembles 1 favors 1 looks like 1	looks just like 1 looks like 3
Young'un	adolescent 2 juvenile 1	teenager 1 youth 1 children 1 adolescent 1	adolescent 1 teenagers 1 children 1 teens 1
Courting	courting 3	dating 3 date 1	dating 4
Mutt	mongrel 1 mutt 2	mutt 3 sooner 1	dog 2 mutt 2
Overcast	cloudy 1 gloomy day 2	cloudy 4	overcast 1 dreary 1 about to storm 1 gray day 1
Coffin	coffin 1 casket 2	casket 4	casket 2 coffin 2
Cemetery	cemetery 2 mausolieum 1	cemetery 3 cemetery plot 1	cemetery 4
Funeral	graveside service 1 burial 1 NR 1	graveside ceremony 1 funeral 3	funeral service 1 funeral 1 graveside service 1 wake 1
Vomit	vomit 1 throw up 2	vomit 2 throw up 2	vomit 3 throw up 1
Dresser	dresser 1 dresser drawers 1 chest of drawers 1	chest of drawers 2 dresser 2	dresser 3 chest of drawers 1
Dish cloth	dish towel 1 wash rag 2	dish cloth 3 wash rag 1	dish cloth 3 wash cloth 1

Dish rag	dish rag 1 towel 1 drying towel 1	dish rag 1 dish towel 3	dish cloth 3 dish rag 1
Caddycornered	cattycornered 1 caddycornered 1 caddicornered 1	diagonally 1 catecornered 1 caddycornered 1	caddycornered 2 catticornered 1 cadicornered 1
Skillet	frying pan 2 pan 1	frying pan 2 pots 1 pan 1	frying pan 1 cast iron 1 pot 1 pots 1
Carriage	bassinette 1 walker 1 stroller 1	carriage 1 stroller 2 walker 1	carriage 1 stroller 2 walker 1
Barnyard	pen 1 barnyard 2	barnyard 2 pasture 1 NR 1	barnyard 1 pasture 1 field 1 paddock 1
Green onion	onion 3	onion 2 turnip 1 wild onion 1	onion 2 green onion 1 potato 1
Chicken	hen 1 turkey 1 duck 1	chicken 2 birds 1 hen 1	chicken 4
Died	died 1 passed on 1 kicked the bucket 1	died 3 kicked the bucket 1	died 1 pushing up daisies 1 bit the bullet 1
Stranger	new lady 1 stranger 2	stranger 2 new comer 1 new person	stranger 3 new person 1
Junk	junk 2 trash 1	junk 4	junk 3 trash 1

Table 21. Extra Token Analysis

Online Responses

The large amount of data collected from the online study overs a multitude of possible routes for analysis. For the purposes of this study, only two sets of information are analyzed; lexical items and language attitudes. In order to provide further support linking the findings from the in-person analysis, seven of the lexical items asked in the online study were also elicited during the original LAMSAS interviews in 1937, and again by Ellen Johnson in 1990. While the responses from the Wilmington area participants from 1937 and 1990 are not readily available for direct comparison to the 2015 Wilmington participants, the overall

comparison of the Southeastern region done by Johnson can be compared to the Southeastern region sampled in the 2015 online study. These seven lexical items were: *cornbread, fatback, lima beans, skunk, lightening bug, relatives,* and *pants.*

Each online participant was categorized as having a positive, negative, or descriptive attitude towards Southerners and Southern dialect determined based on participants' answers to multiple questions in the final section of the survey. The descriptive rating was given to participants who did not offer a personal opinion, who did not answer all the questions, or who used neutral language.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In-person Analysis: Tri-Study

Initial analysis of the twelve tokens gathered across the three recording sets showed clear signs of variation across multiple variables. These findings are presented and explained below as well as their relation to the initial findings by Ellen Johnson. Only select comparisons are shown below, but complete comparisons for all variables and tokens are provided in the appendix.

Variations and complete lexical changes were evaluated with regard to to five variables: locality, fixed generation, historical generation, fixed education, and true education. While there are occasional examples of overlap across variables, each provides an interesting look into what facilitates lexical change. Table 22 below shows tokens that showed change across variables; these results are calculated using only the primary and preferred response from each participant.

Locality	Fixed Generation	Historical Generation	Fixed Education	True Education
dragonfly		dragonfly	dragonfly	dragonfly
thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm		
window shades		window shades		window shades
siding				siding
wardrobe		wardrobe	wardrobe	wardrobe
mantel		mantel	mantel	mantel
			bedspread	bedspread
		clouding up		
		wife		

Table 22. Lexical Items with Variation

Fixed Generation refers to a numerical value 1-3 that ranks each participant within their own recording set as (1) oldest group, (2) middle group, and (3) youngest group. Table 23 illustrates how the twelve participants were grouped across the fixed generation variable and Table 24 shows the comparison between group responses.

1 (oldest group)	2 (middle group)	3 (youngest group)
NC23A1 NC24N2 NC23E3	NC24A1 NC24A2 NC23F3	NC23B1 NC24B1 NC24B2 NC23B2 NC23K3 NC23B3

Table 23. Tri-Study Fixed Generation

	Old	Middle	Young
(5) Sofa	setee 1 blank 1 sofa 1	bench 1 couch 1	loveseat 1 sofa 2 couch 2 lounge 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 2 mantelpiece 1	mantle 2 mantel piece 1	mantel 4 mantelpiece 1 fireboard 1
(12) Wardrobe	cabinet 1 wardrobe 1 rack 1	NR 2 wardrobe 1	armoire 3 wardrobe 3
(38) Siding	ledge 1 weatherboarding 1 blank 1	siding 1 weatherboarding 1 blank 1	siding 2 weatherboarding 2 wooden boards 1 blank 1
(7) Bedspread	comforter 1 blanker 1 comfort 1	bedspread 1 quilt 1 comfort 1	duvet 1 comforter 1 bedspread 1 quilt 2 comfort 1
(6) Wimdow Shades	shades 2 curtains 1	blinds 1 window shades 1 shutters 1	shades 2 shutters 1 curtains 2 blank 1
(78) Clouding up	cloudy 1 blustery 1 going to have falling weather 1	storm moving in 1 clouding up 1 scuds a building 1	storm rolling in 1 looks stormy 1 stormy 1 blank 1 clouding up 1 getting bad 1
(79) Heavy Rain	downpour 1 flood of rain 1 NR 1	pouring rain 1 big rain1 cloudburst 1	downpour 1 torrential rain 1 gulley washer 1 heavy rain 2

40

			blank 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 2 thundersquall 1	storm 2 thundercloud 1	thunderstorm 3 thundercloud 2 blank 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 blank 1 cobbler 1	cobbler 1 NR 1 blank 1	pie 1 cobbler 3 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 1 blank 1 NR 1	skeeter hawk 1 mosquito hawk 1 NR 1	mosquito hawk 4 dragonfly 1 NR 1
(133) Wife	wife 1 my wife 1 blank 1	wife 3	wife 2 my wife 2 blank 1

Table 24. Tri-Study Fixed Generation Responses

The old and middle generations each have three members, one from each recording set, while the youngest group contains the remaining six participants with two being from each recording set. As expected from the larger number of participants, the younger group contains more variability, on average, in terms of lexical choice than the other two generations. Though, comparing the fixed generation findings to the findings from the historical generations, the variability from the younger group may better be contributed to the generation variable itself as opposed to the number of members in that category. Looking at this category, while there is more variability in responses seen in the youngest generation group, only one of the twelve items shows lexical change across the three datasets. This lexical change is seen in the token *thunderstorm* where the oldest generation most often refers to it as *thunderstorm*, while the middle generation uses the variant *storm,* and the youngest generation returns to *thunderstorm.* Four other tokens*, wife, window shades, wardrobe*, and *sofa*, have the potential for variations but are discounted because their responses result in a tie. For example, wardrobe: where the middle group most often did not recognize or have an answer for this lexical item, the youngest group had two different

41

responses: *armoire* (said three times) and *wardrobe* (said three times)*.* Because both *armoire* and *wardrobe* were given as the primary response with the same frequency, it is not possible to assign one as the most used term for the youngest generation group and therefore not possible to assess the variation between groups.

While it is not possible to evaluate the variation between these generation groups, when the variable is expanding to historical generation a clearer pattern emerges. Historical generation refers to the actual generation value for each participant and creates the following division seen in Table 25:

Civil War	Reconstruction	Greatest	Silent	Baby Boomers	Gen X
NC24A1 NC23A1	NC23B1 NC24B1	NC24N2	NC24A2 NC23B2 NC23E3	NC24B2 NC23F3	NC23B3 NC23K3

Table 25. Tri-Study Historical Generation

With this division, not only are the participants are more evenly distributed, but the generations here also correspond to specific years and time frames. This allows for a better understanding of lexical preferences over a concrete period of time. Table 26 provides a response breakdown for each generational group.

	Civil War	Reconstruction	Greatest	Silent	Baby Boomer	Generation X
(5) Sofa	sofa 1 bench 1	sofa 1 lounge 1	blank 1	couch 2 setee 1	couch 2	loveseat 1 sofa 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece 1	fireboard 1 mantelpiece 1	mantelpiece 1	mantel 2 mantelpiece 1	mantel 2	mantel 2
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 1 NR 1	wardrobe 2	rack 1	armoire 1 cabinet 1 NR 1	wardrobe 2	armoire 2

(38) Sding	weatherboarding 1	weatherboarding 1	blank 1	siding 1 blank 1 ledge 1	siding 1 blank 1	siding 1 wooden boards 1
(7) Bedspread	comfort 2	comfort 1 quilt 1	blanket 1	comforter 1 bedspread 1 quilt 1	quilt 1 bedspread 1	comforter 1 duvet 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 1 window shades 1	shades 1 shutter 1	curtains 1	shades 2 shutters 1	blinds 1 blank 1	shades 1 shutters 1
(78) Clouding Up	thundersquall 1 thunderstorm 1	thundercloud 2	blustery 1	cloudy 1 stormy 1 scuds a building 1	storm moving in 1 blank 1	storm rolling in 1 looks stormy 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 big rain 1	heavy rain 1	NR 1	downpour 1 gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1	pouring rain 1 blank 1	downpour 1 torrential rain 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thundersquall 1 thundercloud 1	thundercloud 2	thunderstorm 1	thunderstorm 2 storm 1	storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 2
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 NR 1	family pie 1 apple cobbler 1	blank 1	cobbler 2 blank 1	cobbler 2	cobbler 1 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2	mosquito hawk 2	blank 1	mosquito hawk 2 NR1	mosquito hawk 1 NR 1	dragonfly 1 NR 1
(133) Wife	my wife 1 wife 1	my wife 2	blank 1	wife 3	wife 1 blank 1	wife 2

Table 26. Tri-Study Historical Generation Responses

Whereas the fixed generation variable only provided *thunderstorm* as a lexical variation, the historical generation shows variation in: *thunderstorm, dragonfly, window shades, wardrobe, mantel, wife*, and *clouding up*. As expected, variability in lexical usage rises as the generations progress with participants born after the greatest generation having the greatest variation. Returning to the example of *wardrobe*, which showed a tie in lexical usage in the younger generation, here, with the

43

expansion of generation categories, there is measurable variability. Civil

War and Reconstruction Era participants preferred *wardrobe,* while the

Greatest and Silent generations offered four responses, none of which were

wardrobe. The Baby Boomer generation returns to the use of *wardrobe* but

the Generation X participants unanimously supplied *armoire.* This and the

other variations are shown in Table 27.

	Civil War	Reconstruction	Greatest	Silent	Baby Boomer	Generation X
(3) Mantel	–	–	mantelpiece	mantel	mantel	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	–	wardrobe	rack	–	wardrobe	armoire
(6) Window Shades	–	–	curtains	shades	–	–
(78) Clouding Up	–	thundercloud	blustery	–	–	–
(80) Thunderstorm	–	thundercloud	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	–	thunderstorm
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk	mosquito hawk	–	mosquito hawk	–	–
(133) Wife	–	my wife	–	wife	–	wife

Table 27. Tri-Study Historical Generation Variability

Besides the distribution of lexical preferences, there is also the

interesting case of lexical variation versus lexical change. Lexical change

would be an example of a completely different lexical item in place of a

previously used one, while lexical variation refers to a lexical item

changing while still being easily tied to the original term. The historical

generation variable shows variability in seven tokens; three of these are

true lexical change while four are examples of lexical variation. One

interesting variation is seen in the term *wife.* Here three of the four

responses from participants prior to the Greatest generation are *my wife,*

with the fourth being *wife,* yet participants born after the Greatest

44

generation drop the possession; six of the seven responses are *wife* and no responses are *my wife.* In order to elicit the term *wife* in the 2015 recordings, participants were asked a variety of similar questions such as:

    (a) What would a man call the woman he is married to?
    (b) How would a man introduce the woman he is married to to a coworker?
    (c) What would a man use when speaking directly to the woman he is married to?

The responses collected by Johnson in 1990 were elicited in a similar manner, though there are no records available to tell the exact structure of the question or responses format from the 1930 recordings. Because the responses such as *my wife* and *wife* were coded as separate responses for the 1930 participants in two different sources, they were treated as two different categories during analysis. As one might expect, the use of the possessive *my wife* is typically preferred in situations such as: *this is my wife, have you met my wife?,* and *my wife is over there.* Contrary to this were two participants from the 2015 elicitation; a husband and wife pair that use *wife* and *the wife*. The husband in this case preferred *wife* without the possessive pronoun and would say *this is [name] wife* or in some instances he would use *the wife,* such as with *the wife tells me what to eat*. While his wife used *the wife*, she did not use *my wife* and typically preferred terms like *old lady* over *wife.*

    Besides the two generation variables, these twelve tokens were also sorted by two education variables. Fixed education works on the same principle as the fixed generation in which participants are ranked numerically, 1-3, though in this case they are labeled most educated, least education, and mid-range. True education, on the other hand, labels each participant based on the actual amount of education completed. Table 28 shows fixed education divisions while table 29 shows the true education divisions.

45

1- lowest	2- midrange	3- highest
NC23A1	NC23B2	NC24B1
NC24A1	NC24B2	NC23B3
MC24A2	NC23E3	NC23K3
NC24N2	NC23F3	
	NC23B1	

Table 28. Tri-Study Fixed Education

1	2	3	4
NC24A1	NC23B1	NC24B1	NC23B3
NC23A1	NC24A2	NC23B2	NC23K3
	NC24N2	NC24B2	
		NC23E3	
		NC23F3	

Table 29. Tri-Study True Education

Variability is seen in four tokens for the fixed education group and six tokens for the true education; the four tokens with variability in the fixed education are also shown to have variability in the true education category. It stands to reason, especially considering the overlap of tokens with variability, that the fixed education and true education variables would show the same trends in variation. Table 30 shows the progression of lexical usage for six tokens where *X* denotes no clear lexical preference.

	Fixed Education	True Education
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk → mosquito hawk → X	skeeter hawk → mosquito hawk → mosquito hawk → X
(12) Wardrobe	unrecognized → wardrobe → armoire	X → X → wardrobe → armoire
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece → mantel → mantel	X → mantelpiece → mantel → mantel
(7) Bedspread	comfort → bedspread → X	comfort → X → bedspread → X
(6) Window Shades		X → curtains → shades → X
(38) Siding		weatherboarding → X → siding → X

Table 30. Tri-Study Education Lexical Shifts

Further analysis is needed and would add to the understanding of educational impact on lexical usage if the four true education variables were adjusted to just two levels: (1) education below high school level and (2) education above high school level. Table 31 shows preliminary findings to justify this direction with variability seen in eight of the twelve tokens.

	1 - below high school	2 - high school and above
(5) Sofa	sofa	couch
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece	mantle
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe/unrecognized	wardrobe/armoire
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	siding
(7) Bedspread	comfort	bedspread/comforter
(6) Window Shades	curtains	shades
(78) Clouding Up	clouding up	(variant of) stormy
(79) Heavy Rain	-	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thundercloud	thunderstorm
(109) Cobbler	-	cobbler
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk/mosquito hawk	unrecognized
(133) Wife	wife/my wife	wife

Table 31. Tri-Study Education Variability

The final variable, shown in table 32, considered as having a possible relationship with lexical usage is locality; if the participant's place of birth/where they were raised is considered to be urban or rural. Participants in this division are distributed eight to four.

	Urban	Rural
	NC24A2	NC23B2
	NC24B2	NC23B3
	NC24N2	NC23F3
	NC23E3	NC23K3
	NC23A1	
	NC23B1	
	NC24A1	
	NC24B1	

Table 32. Tri-Study Locality

Lexical tokens in this category showed variation in six tokens and relatively clear distributions. Unexpectedly, the urban participants were less variable in their responses than the rural participants, though this distribution may be due to the fact that a larger number of participants fit into the rural category than the urban. Table 33 shows the distribution of responses in regards to locality.

	Rural	Urban
(5) Sofa	couch 2 setee 1 sofa 2 bench 1 lounge 1 blank 1	sofa 1 couch 2 loveseat 1
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece 4 fireboard 1 mantel 3	mantel 4
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 4 cabinet 1 rack 1 NR 2	wardrobe 1 armoire 3
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 4 ledge 1 blank 3	wooden boards 1 siding 3
(7) Bedspread	comforter 1 comfort 3 quilt 3 blanket 1	bedspread 2 duvet 1 comforter 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 2 curtains 3 window shades 1 shutters 1 blank 1	shutters 1 blinds 1 shades 2
(78) Clouding Up	cloudy 1 clouding up 2 scuds a building 1 blustery 1	looks stormy 1 storm moving in 1 storm rolling in 1 stormy 1

	falling weather 1 getting bad 1 blank 1	
(79) Heavy Rain	cloudburst 1 heavy rain 2 downpour 1 big rain 1 floods of rain blank 1 NR 1	torrential rain 1 pouring 1 downpour 1 gulley weather 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 2 thundercloud 3 thundersquall 1 storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 3 storm 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 apple cobbler 1 cobbler 2 family pie 1 NR 1 blank 2	cobbler 3 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk 4 skeeter hawk 2 blank 1 NR 1	mosquito hawk 1 dragonfly 1 NR 2
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 3 blank 2	wife 4

Table 33. Tri-Study Locality Responses

Comparisons across recording sets

Across all variables, locality, fixed education, true education, fixed generation, and historical generation, a total of eight out of the twelve tokens showed some sort of variability, all of which were found to have variation in a comparison across the recording sets. Each recording set provided four participants who, when their primary responses were tabulated, showed the following distribution, table 34:

	1937 Dataset	1990 Dataset	2015 Dataset
(5) Sofa	sofa 2 bench 1 lounge 1	couch 3 blank 1	sofa 1 couch 1 loveseat 1 setee 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece2 fireboard 1	mantel 2 mantelpiece 2	mantle 4
(12)	wardrobe 3	armoire 1	armoire 2

Wardrobe	NR 1	wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 1	cabinet 1 wardrobe 1
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 4	siding 1 blank 3	wooden boards 1 ledge 1 siding 2
(7) Bedspread	comfort 3 quilt 1	bedspread 1 quilt 2 blanket 1	duvet 1 comforter 2 bedspread 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 1 curtains 2 window shades 1	shades 1 shutters 1 curtains 1 blank 1	shades 2 shutters 1 blinds 1
(78) Clouding Up	going to have some falling weather 1 clouding up 2 getting bad 1	stormy 1 blustery 1 scuds a building 1 blank 1	looks stormy 1 cloudy 1 storm moving in 1 storm rolling in 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 heavy rain 2 big rain 1	gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1 blank 1	torrential rain 1 downpour 2 pouring rain 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thundersquall 1 thundercloud 3	thunderstorm 2 storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 3 storm 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1 NR 1	cobbler 2 blank 2	cobbler 3 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2 mosquito hawk 2	mosquito hawk 3 blank 1	dragonfly 1 NR 3
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 1	wife 2 blank 2	wife 3 spouse 1

Table 34. Tri-Study Primary Responses

Of the twelve tokens, only two, *clouding up* and *cobbler*, did not show clear variability across the recording sets, table 35.

	1937 Dataset	1990 Dataset	2015 Dataset
(5) Sofa	sofa	couch	–
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece	–	mantle
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe	–	armoire
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	blank	siding
(7) Bedspread	comfort	quilt	comforter

(6) Window Shades	curtains	–	shades
(78) Clouding Up	clouding up	–	–
(79) Heavy Rain	heavy rain	–	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thundercloud	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(109) Cobbler	–	–	cobbler
(127) Dragonfly	–	mosquito hawk	unrecognized
(133) Wife	my wife		wife

Table 35. Tri-Study Primary Variability

When comparing the results found in this sample of 12 participants to the larger analysis done by Ellen Johnson on the original 1937 and 1990 datasets, one can see that all ten tokens with variability in the sample are also shown to have variability in the larger analysis. Though the trends seen in the sample did not always match the trends from the larger dataset which provides insight to the relationship of the Wilmington community to the larger Southeast region. It should be noted that *bedspread* is not included in the comparison of the sample data to the larger analysis due to the fact that the 1937 participant responses obtained from the LAMSAS database do not match the responses used by Johnson in her study. This leaves a comparison of nine variables as seen in Table 36:

	1937 Sample	1990 Sample	1937 Whole	1990 Whole
(5) Sofa	sofa	couch	sofa	couch
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece	mantelpiece	mantelpiece	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe	–	wardrobe	chifforobe
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	blank	weatherboarding	weatherboarding
(6) Window Shades	curtains	–	shades	shades

(79) Heavy Rain	heavy rain	–	downpour	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thundercloud	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(127) Dragonfly	–	mosquito hawk	mosquito hawk	dragonfly
(133) Wife	my wife	–	my wife	my wife

Table 36. Tri-Study Primary 1937/1990 Sample to Whole

The sample of participants exclusively from the Wilmington area in 1937 overlapped in lexical preference with five of the nine lexical tokens shown to have variability while the participants from the Wilmington area in 1990 overlapped in lexical preference with only two of the nine lexical tokens shown to have variability. This suggests that by the 1990, the lexical usage in the Wilmington area was already significantly different from the lexical usage in the larger Southeastern region. To look at this closer, a secondary analysis was conducted for the different recording sets using all responses elicited from participants, not just the primary or preferred responses. Table 37 provides a comparison of the preferred response for nine tokens in both the sample populations and the larger set in 1937 and 1990.

	1937 Sample	1990 Sample	1937 Whole	1990 Whole
(5) Sofa	sofa	couch	sofa	couch
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece/fireboard	mantel/mantelpiece	mantelpiece	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe	unrecognized	wardrobe	chifforobe
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	blank	weatherboarding	weatherboarding
(6) Window Shades	shades	shades	shades	shades
(79) Heavy Rain	heavy rain	–	downpour	downpour
(80)	thundercloud	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm

Thunderstorm				
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk/mosquito hawk	mosquito hawk	mosquito hawk	dragonfly
(133) Wife	my wife	wife	my wife	my wife

Table 37. Tri-Study Primary and Secondary 1937/1990 Sample to Whole

Here, five of the nine lexical tokens from the 1937 sample overlap with the 1937 whole and three of the 1990 sample overlap with the 1990 whole. Taking into account all ties, seven tokens overlap for the 1937 participants and four overlap for the 1990 participants. This matches the assumption that the 1990 Wilmington participants varied greatly from the people in the Southeastern region at the time. Interestingly, in both the primary and full response tables, it seems the popular lexical items from the 1990 sample are often matching with the 1937 whole even when the 1937 sample does not. Take for example *thunderstorm*, while in the 1937 sample the preferred term is *thundercloud,* the 1990 sample term is *thunderstorm* which matches the 1937 and 1990 whole. This can also be seen in *dragonfly* which has no preferred token in the 1937 sample, though it does tie *skeeter hawk* and *mosquito hawk*, but has *mosquito hawk* as the preferred term for the 1990 sample; here the 1990 sample matches the 1937 whole. Considering these trends, it is safe to say that the lexical usage in the Wilmington area is divergent from the lexical usage in the rest of the Southeastern US. It can also be suggested that that the lexical variation in the Wilmington area is progressing at a slower rate than the variation seen in the rest of the Southeastern US. Both these statements can be evaluated by looking at the sample/whole comparison to the most recent recording dataset, table 38 and table 39.

	1937 Sample	1990 Sample	2015 Sample	1937 Whole	1990 Whole

(5) Sofa	sofa	couch	–	sofa	couch
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece	mantelpiece	mantel	mantelpiece	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe	–	armoire	wardrobe	chifforobe
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	blank	siding	weatherboarding	weatherboarding
(6) Window Shades	curtains	–	shades	shades	shades
(79) Heavy Rain	heavy rain	–	downpour	downpour	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thundercloud	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(127) Dragonfly	–	mosquito hawk	unrecognized	mosquito hawk	dragonfly
(133) Wife	my wife	–	wife	my wife	my wife

Table 38. Tri-Study Primary Full Sample to Whole

	1937 Sample	1990 Sample	2015 Sample	1937 Whole	1990 Whole
(5) Sofa	sofa	couch	loveseat	sofa	couch
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece fireboard	mantel mantelpiece	mantel	mantelpiece	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe	unrecognized	armoire	wardrobe	chifforobe
(38) Siding	weatherboarding	blank	siding	weatherboarding	weatherboarding
(6) Window Shades	shades	shades	blinds	shades	shades
(79) Heavy Rain	heavy rain	–	downpour	downpour	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thundercloud	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk mosquito hawk	mosquito hawk	unrecognized	mosquito hawk	dragonfly
(133) Wife	my wife	wife	wife	my wife	my wife

Table 39. Tri-Study Primary and Secondary Full Sample to Whole

In some instances, the preferred lexical items found in the 2015 sample match the preferred token from the 1937 whole, 1990 whole or both. For the lexical items that do not overlap between one of the wholes and the 2015 sample, the tokens preferred from the 2015 sample are often one of the more common, though not most common, terms from the 1990 whole sample. This would suggest that the Wilmington area lexical change is progressing in a similar way to the Southeastern trends but at a slower rate. A closer look at second and third most common variables is needed to justify this claim.

In-person Analysis: Wilmington 2015

The data collected by participants in 2015 has undergone the same analysis as the data used in the tri-study comparison; participants are sorted by generation, education, and locality. In most cases, the divisions of the eleven participants were relatively equal. Findings show variation in the following lexical items:

Locality	Education	Generation
mom	mom	mom
courting	courting	courting
overcast	overcast	overcast
vomit	vomit	vomit
dish cloth	dish cloth	dish cloth
sofa	sofa	sofa
bedspread	bedspread	bedspread
window shades	dragonfly	window shades
clouding up	grandfather	clouding up
dragonfly	grandmother	dragonfly
	wardrobe	grandfather
	dish towel	grandmother
	carriage	wardrobe
	caddycornered	dishtowel
	chicken	
	dresser	
	funeral	
	young'un	
	favors	
	wife	
	siding	

Table 40. Wilmington 2015 Lexical Variability

Recalling the lexical items shown to have variation in the tri-study comparison, there is overlap in seven terms: *sofa, bedspread, window shades, dragonfly, wardrobe, siding,* and *wife*. The three lexical items found to have variability in the tri-study comparison that did not have variability in the Wilmington 2015 sample were: *mantle, heavy rain,* and *thunderstorm.*

`Interestingly, *clouding up* which showed no variability in the tri-study, had clear variability in the Wilmington 2015 sample. Also, the lexical item *cobbler* never showed variability across any factors.

Whereas the tri-study comparison had two participant distributions for both education and generation, this analysis for the Wilmington 2015 sample has collapsed fixed education and true education as well as fixed generation and historical generation. Participant distributions for each category are shown in Table 41.

Education		Generation	
Fixed Education	True Education	Fixed Generation	Historical Generation
NC23J3	NC23J3	NC23I3	NC23I3
		NC23J3	NC23J3
NC23E3	NC23E3	NC23E3	NC23E3
NC23F3	NC23F3		
NC23G3	NC23G3	NC23G3	NC23G3
NC2313	NC23I3	NC23F3	NC23F3
		NC23D3	NC23D3
NC23A3	NC23A3	NC23A3	NC23A3
NC23B3	NC23B3		
NC23C3	NC23C3	NC23K3	NC23K3
NC23D3	NC23D3	NC23B3	NC23B3
NC23K3	NC23K3	NC23L3	
NC23L3	NC23L3	NC23C3	NC23L3
			NC23C3

Table 41. Wilmington 2015 Education and Generation

As shown above, fixed education and true education provide the same distribution of participants meaning there is no need to keep them as separate categories. For the generation categories, the only difference in distribution is in regards to the final four participants. Preliminary

56

analysis shows consistent trends between fixed generation and historical
generation with the exception of the final four participants in historical
generation which provide no clear lexical preference for any responses.

Analysis for the educational distribution provided the following
table, table 42, showing lexical item prevalence for each of the twelve
items explored in the tri-study across each educational category; (1)
lowest education, (2) mid-level education, and (3) highest education.

	1	2	3
(5) Sofa	setee	couch	couch
(3) Mantel	mantel	mantel	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	high boy	wardrobe	armoire
(38) Siding	siding	clapboards	siding
(7) Bedspread	spread	bedspread	-
(6) Window Shades	blinds	-	blinds
(78) Clouding Up	stormy day	-	-
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(79) Downpour	downpour	downpour	downpour
(109) Cobbler	cobbler	cobbler	cobbler
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk	NR	dragonfly
(133) Wife	old lady	wife	wife

Table 42. Wilmington 2015 Education Twelve Token Variability

The lexical items *mantel, thunderstorm, downpour,* and *cobbler* remain
consistent across educational levels, while *clouding up* is unable to be
evaluated for variability due to the high variety of responses given by
the higher educated participants. It is reasonable to suspect an increase
in education level may result in an increase of possible terms for each
lexical items, though only *clouding up* and *bedspread* provided no common

term for the highest education level.

The most common distribution seen is for each educational category to be distinct from the others. This is seen in *wardrobe* where the least educated response is *high boy,* the midlevel is *wardrobe,* and the highest is *armoire. Dragonfly* also shows this trend with the lowest level reporting *mosquito hawk,* the midlevel reporting that they did not recognize that animal, and the highest level reporting *dragonfly.* Surprisingly there are no instances in which participants in the lowest two educational categories agree with each other and not with the highest education category. This being the case, one might expect the highest two educational categories to have more in common with each other than with the lowest category. This holds true for terms like *sofa,* which shows participants with the lowest education preferring *setee* while participants in the higher two categories prefer *couch,* or *wife*, with the lowest level saying *old lady* and the other two saying *wife.* Interestingly though, we also have cases where the lowest education level and highest education level provide the same answer distinct from the midlevel education group. Take for example the lexical term *siding*; both the lowest and highest educational groups say *siding* yet the midlevel group uses the term *clapboards.* This is also seen for *window shades* which is reported as *blinds* for both the highest and lowest levels, but does not have a clear lexical preference when it comes to the midlevel.

Besides the twelve terms discussed above, analysis was done on twenty four other responses given by the 2015 Wilmington participants. Table 43 below, shows these terms.

	1	2	3
Mom	momma	–	mom
Dad	daddy	daddy	daddy
Grandmother	grandmomma	grandma	grandma
Grandfather	granddaddy	grandpa	grandfather
Favor	is like	favors	looks like

Young'un	adolescent	adolescent	–
Courting	courting	–	dating
Mutt	mutt	mutt	mutt
Overcast	gloomy day	cloudy	cloudy
Coffin	casket	casket	casket
Cemetery	cemetery	cemetery	cemetery
Funeral	burial	funeral	funeral
Vomit	throw up	throw up	vomit
Dresser	chest of drawers	dresser	–
Dish cloth	wash rag	wash rag	dish cloth
Dish rag	drying towel	dish rag	dish cloth
Caddycornered	caddicornered	caddycornered	caddycornered
Skillet	frying pan	frying pan	frying pan
Carraige	walker	stroller	stroller
Barnyard	barnyard	barnyard	barnyard
Green onion	onion	onion	onion
Chicken	turkey	hen	chicken
Died	died	died	died
Stanger	stranger	stranger	stranger

Table 43. Wilmington o2015 Education Extended Token Variability

Again we see terms that are the same across all three education
levels: *dad, mutt, cemetery, frying pan, barnyard, onion, died, coffin,*
and *stranger.* There are also a large number of instances in which each
educational level is distinct from the others: *grandfather, favor, dish
rag,* and *chicken*. When determining which two groups pattern with each
other most often, the most common relationship shows the highest two
educational levels providing the same response: *carriage, funeral,
overcast, grandmother,* and *caddycornered.* The lowest two educational
levels agreed on *vomit, dish cloth,* and *adolescent.* An interesting side
comment should be added regarding the lexical items *dish cloth* and *dish
rag.* The term *dish cloth* was elicited by asking for the name of a cloth
used specifically for washing dishes while *dish rag* asks for the a cloth
used only in drying dishes. The lowest two education levels use the same
term for the cloth used in washing, *wash rag,* and, while they don't use
the same term, they both distinguish the cloth used for drying as a
different term from the one used for washing. The higher education group

59

uses the same term, *dish cloth*, for both.

In the generational analysis, where the distribution of participants is slightly more equal than during the educational analysis, there is a higher occurrence of ties or instances in which there is no clearly preferred lexical item. This is seen for the terms *wardrobe, siding, clouding up, dragonfly,* and *wife* from the first set of twelve words.

	Old	Middle	Young
(5) Sofa	setee	couch	couch
(3) Mantel	mantel	mantel	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	–	wardrobe	armoire
(38) Siding	–	siding	siding
(7) Bedspread	spread	bedspread	comforter
(6) Window Shades	shades	blinds	shades
(78) Clouding Up	stormy day	clouding up	–
(79) Downpour	downpour	downpour	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(109) Cobbler	cobbler	cobbler	cobbler
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk	–	dragonfly
(133) Wife	–	wife	wife

Table 44. Wilmington 2015 Generation Twelve Token Variability

The remaining words in this set show no lexical variability for *mantel, downpour, thunderstorm,* and *cobbler* and variability across all generations for *bedspread.* For *sofa,* we see the oldest group distinct from the youngest two groups with the use of *setee* versus *couch. Window shades* shows the oldest and youngest group preferring the same term *shades* instead of *blinds*, which is preferred by the middle group.

The patterning of the oldest group of participants preferring the same term as the youngest participants is not seen in the secondary set of twenty four terms, table 45.

	Old	Middle	Young
Mom	momma	mom	mom
Dad	daddy	daddy	daddy
Grandmother	-	grandma	-
Grandfather	-	grandpa	grandfather
Favors	-	-	looks like
Young'un	adolescent	-	-
Courting	courting	dating	dating
Mutt	mutt	mutt	-
Overcast	gloomy day	cloudy	-
Coffin	casket	casket	-
Cemetery	cemetery	cemetery	cemetery
Funeral	-	funeral	-
Vomit	throw up	-	vomit
Dresser	-	-	dresser
Dish cloth	wash rag	dish cloth	dish cloth
Dish rag	-	dish towel	dish cloth
Caddycornered	-	-	caddycornered
Skillet	frying pan	frying pan	-
Carriage	-	stroller	stroller
Barnyard	barnyard	barnyard	-
Green onion	onion	onion	onion
Chicken	-	chicken	chicken
Died	-	died	-
Stranger	stranger	stranger	stranger
Junk	junk	junk	junk

Table 45. Wilmington 2015 Generation Extended Token Variability

Again, the most common finding is that no variability can be determined due to the fact that one or more generational category shows a tie for lexical usage, yet this fact alone shows an interesting trend. Note the case of the lexical item *vomit;* the oldest generation prefers the term *throw up* over *vomit* 2:1 and the youngest generation prefers *vomit* to *throw up* 3:1. The middle generation here ties 2:2 with *vomit* and *throw up.* From this is it clear to see how *vomit,* already known in the oldest generation, gained popularity during the middle generations, to the point of a tie between the two terms, and ended up surpassing *throw up* to be the most preferred term for the youngest generation.

A similar thing can be seen with the term *dresser* where the older generation is tied 1:1:1 with *dresser, dresser drawers,* and *chest of drawers.* By the middle generation the tie is now 2:2 between *dresser* and *chest of drawers.* If we can assume *dresser drawers* is where the lexical item started, and that it split into two variations *dresser* and *chest of drawers*, the resulting tie between the two terms in the middle generations is completed understandable. The original lexical item *dresser drawers* has become obsolete, but its two variants continue to battle for dominancy until we see, with the youngest generation, a 3:1 preference for *dresser* over *chest of drawers.*

The term *clouding up* also deserves further consideration. The oldest participants use a term related to storms most commonly, *stormy day*, while the middle generation participants talk more about the clouds themselves with terms like *clouding up,* the preferred token for this group, and *looks like a cloud is coming.* The youngest generation seems more in line with the oldest generation as they provided three terms related to storms, *looks stormy, it's about to storm,* and *feels like a storm is rolling in*, and no terms related to clouds. A similar thing occurs with *favors* where the oldest generations both prefer terms that include *like: looks like, is like,* and *looks just like.* The middle generation here prefers terms that include *resembles: resembles* and *strongly resembles.*

The Wilmington 2015 responses were also analyzed in relation to participant locality; each was divided into urban or rural locality depending upon their answers to questions during the demographics survey at the start of each interview. Table 46 shows the participant division:

Locality	
Urban	Rural
NC23A3	NC23E3
NC23B3	NC23H3
NC23C3	NC23I3
NC23D3	NC23Je
NC23F3	

NC23G3	
NC23K3	
NC23L3	

Table 46. Wilmington 2015 Locality

With the locality distributions, we see much of the same variations, table 47.

	Urban	Rural
(5) Sofa	couch	setee
(3) Mantel	mantel	mantel
(12) Wardrobe	armoire	–
(38) Siding	siding	–
(7) Bedspread	bedspread	spread
(6) Window Shades	blinds	shades
(78) Clouding Up	clouding up	stormy day
(79) Downpour	downpour	downpour
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm	thunderstorm
(109) Cobbler	cobbler	cobbler
(127) Dragonfly	dragonfly	mosquito hawk
(133) Wife	wife	wife

Table 47. Wilmington 2015 Locality Twelve Token Variability

The terms *downpour, thunderstorm, cobbler, mantel,* and *wife* are the same across both urban and rural participants. In two instances, *wardrobe* and *siding*, variability cannot be determined due to the rural participants all providing different answers. Urban participants are more likely to say *couch,* while rural participants would say *setee,* and blinds, while rural participants would say *shades.* Urban participants also prefer *dragonfly* over *mosquito hawk,* and *clouding up* over *stormy day.* For *bedspread* urban

participants say the full term *bedspread,* while rural participants say

spread.

Looking at the second set of twenty for terms, table 48, there is no

variation for *dad, mutt, coffin, cemetery, frying pan, barnyard, onion,*

stranger, or *junk.*

	Urban	Rural
Mom	mom	momma
Dad	daddy	daddy
Grandmother	grandma	–
Grandfather	–	–
Favors	looks like	–
Young'un	–	adolescent
Courting	dating	courting
Mutt	mutt	mutt
Overcast	cloudy	gloomy day
Coffin	casket	casket
Cemetery	cemetery	cemetery
Funeral	funeral	–
Vomit	vomit	throw up
Dresser	dresser	–
Dish cloth	dish cloth	wash rag
Dish rag	–	–
Caddycornered	caddycornered	–
Skillet	frying pan	frying pan
Carraige	stroller	–
Barnyard	barnyard	barnyard
Green onion	onion	onion
Chicken	chicken	–
Died	died	–
Stranger	stranger	stranger
Junk	junk	junk

Table 48. Wilmington 2015 Locality Extended Token Variability

Variability cannot be determined for *grandmother, grandfather,*

favors, funeral, dresser, dish rag, caddycornered, carriage, chicken, or

died; resulting again from the rural participants all providing different

answers for each lexical item. This could possibly suggest that rural

participants have more variability overall in what can be considered an

acceptable term for a specific lexical item. The urban participants might

potentially be providing what they consider to be a generally accepted or

socially acceptable term. There is no reason to assume the rural

variability would be caused by a participant being unfamiliar with the lexical item in question as the terms that show variability all belong to categories that would be recognizable to any participant: family, illness/death, household, animals, etc. We also see a trend here of rural participants preferring lexical items also preferred by older generations in places where urban participants are more in line with the younger generations: *throw up, momma, courting, gloomy day, wash rag.* The terms *throw up, momma, courting,* and *wash rag* are also the preferred terms of the lowest education level categories. While this study only analyses lexical usage one variable at a time, it would be worthwhile to extend the analysis to include multiple variables in order to explore the findings above.

With regard to the side comment on *dish cloth* versus *dish rag* mentioned above, the locality division shows a similar trend. Not only to the lower education level groups tend to use separate terms for the two cloths, but the rural groups do as well. Three participants from the urban category used *dish cloth* to signify both the cloth used to wash with and the cloth used to dry with. Yet, not a single participant in the rural group used the same term for both cloths.

The fourth and final analysis done on the Wilmington 2015 data groups participants in terms of their opinions on Southern dialects. A rating was provided to each participant through a series of questions answered during the initial demographics survey given to in-person participants; positive, negative, or descriptive. Participants who were rating as having positive opinions often self-identified as Southern speakers while those rated as having negative opinions did not. The descriptive rating was given to participants who could not be properly sorted due to ambiguity in their answers. Table 48 shows how each

participant was categorized.

Positive	Descriptive	Negative
NC23D3	NC23A3	NC23B3
NC23F3		NC23C3
NC23G3		NC23E3
NC23H3		
NC23I3		
NC23J3		
NC23K3		
NC23L3		

Table 49 Wilmington 2015 Language Attitudes

Overwhelmingly, participants had positive opinions towards Southerners and Southern dialects; only three participants were rated as having negative opinions. When determining the most common lexical item used for each rating group, eighteen of the full thirty six terms could not be analyzed because of a tie or because each participant provided a different answer. Of the remaining half that could be analyzed, *downpour, thunderstorm, cobbler, wife, mantle, dad, favors, young'un, courting, cemetery, chicken,* and *junk* showed no difference between the positive and negative groups. For the terms *grandmother* and *grandfather,* the positive group used *grandma* and *grandpa* while the negative group preferred the more formal *grandmother* and *grandfather*; they also used the more formal *armoire* in place of *wardrobe.* The negative group tended to prefer the term *coffin* over *casket* and *dog* over *mutt* as well as *vomit* over *throw up.* For *dragonfly,* only one respond from the negative group was able to identify the item in question, this only occurring after a long pause from the participant. For *died,* while there was no preferential response for the negative group, they did seem to prefer using idioms in place of simply saying *died: kicked the bucket, bit the bullet,* and *pushing up daisies;* whereas the positive group was more straightforward.

66

Online Study

Looking at the data gathered through the online survey one can see a predictable yet interesting trend; as the region becomes more specialized, the variety of responses to each lexical item decreases. The Wilmington region is a part of the Southeastern US region, and as such, it is possible to see the overlap in lexical usage. For the term *relatives* the SE participants had eight distinct terms and the W participants had nine though when the regions are collapsed there are only ten distinct terms meaning SE and W share most of their responses. This contrasts with terms like *pants* in which the W and SE participants both had seven distinct answers, but the total number of distinct terms for the collapsed region is ten, indicating the overlap is much smaller; if all seven terms used by the W group were also used by the SE group you would expect the collapsed group to have closer to seven distinct responses. This breakdown is seen in table 50.

	A	O	SE + W	SE	W
Number of Participants	232	144	88	54	34
cornbread	24	20	12	11	4
fatback	21	17	10	9	4
lima beans	21	17	11	9	6
skunk	7	5	4	4	1
lightening bug	9	9	9	6	8
relatives	16	11	10	8	9
pants	14	11	10	7	7

Table 50. Online Response Regional Variability

The W participants also showed less overlap with, indicating more variation from, the Other region, which includes all participants not identified as being from NC, SC, or GA. If the responses given by W participants were also given by O participants, you would expect the number of distinct items given by A to be equal to O, but this only occurs with the term *lightening bug*. Even looking at the larger SE +W collapsed

67

region, *lightening bug* is the only term that shows a large amount of overlap.

Following Ellen Johnson's methods for distinguishing between different lexical choices, pluralization and spelling were taken into account when counting the number of distinct lexical variants. Take for example the lexical item *skunk,* shown in table 51:

ALL	OTHER	SE + W	SE	W
pole cat	pole cat	pole cat	pole cat	skunk
poll cat	raccoon	poll cat	poll cat	
porcupine	skunk	porcupine	porcupine	
raccoon	striped skunk	skunk	skunk	
skunk	swamp kitty			
striped skunk				
swamp kitty				

Table 51. Online Regional Variability '*skunk*'

The responses *pole cat* and *poll cat* are marked as two separate answers though the participants would most likely pronounce them the same way. Responses are also marked as being different if one version is one word and the other inserts a word break. For example with the lexical item *fatback*, the response *fatback* is considered to be different from *fat back*. These are the same procedures followed when organizing lexical responses in the 1937, 1990, and 2015 in-person studies.

All participants to the online survey were asked to answer a series of questions related to their opinion of Southern dialects and were rated as giving a positive, negative, or purely descriptive response. They were also asked directly if they considered themselves to speak with a Southern accent. It should be noted that not all participants choose to provide answers for all questions. Basic findings are provided in table 52.

	A	O	SE + W	SE	W
total	228	141	87	54	34
positive	141	76	65	36	29
	61%	54%	75%	67%	85%
descriptive	67	49	18	13	5
	29%	34%	20%	24%	15%
negative	22	17	5	5	–
	10%	12%	15%	9%	
total	232	144	88	54	34
yes	121	50	71	42	29
	53%	35%	82%	78%	85%
no	107	91	16	12	4
	47%	63%	18%	22%	12%

Table 52. Online Regional Language Attitudes

In the Wilmington area, the same number of participants indicated having a Southern accent as having a positive opinion of Southern accents with the majority, 85%, having a positive opinion. The Southeastern US region still has a majority positive opinion, 67%, and the majority of participants still identify as having a Southern accent, 78%, but to a much lesser degree. Here we also see the inclusion of participants with negative opinions, 9%. For participants outside of the Southeastern US and Wilmington regions, positive opinion ratings fall again with a little over half indicating a positive rating. Interestingly here, the majority of participants in the Other region claim not to have Southern accents though this is not correlated with a decrease in ratings. A closer look at the remainder of the language attitude questions not analyzed is needed to better understand the significance of language attitude with lexical usage, though a preliminary analysis has been carried out with this data sample, table 53.

CORNBREAD	FATBACK	LIMA BEANS	SKUNK	PANTS	LIGHTENING BUG	RELATIVE	SS ?
cornbread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	slacks	lightning bug	relative	N
NA	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bug	family member	N
NA	NA	Lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	family member	N

Corn bread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Fire fly	family member	N
corn bread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	chinos	lightning bug	relative	Y
cornbread	fat back	butter bean	skunk	khakis	fire fly	family	Y
corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	family	Y
Cornbread	fat back	Lima Beans	Skunk	Jeans	lightening bugs	family	Y
Cornbread	Fatback	Butter Beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening Bug	Kin	Y
Cornbread	fatback	butter beans	Skunk	Slacks	Lightning bugs	Kinfolks	Y
cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	kin	Y
Cornbread	Fatback	Butterbeans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Kin	Y
corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relative	Y
Cornbread	Fatback	Butterbeans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bugs	Relative	Y
cornbread	fat bac	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightening bug	relative	Y
corn bread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	lighting bugs	relative	Y
cornbread	seasoning meat	butterbeans	skunk	pants	Fire flies	relative	Y
Cornbread	Fatback	Lima Beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening Bug	Relative	Y
Cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	High waters	Lightning bug	Family	Y
Corn Bread	Fat Back	Butter Beans	Skunk	Pants	Firefly	Family	Y
Cornbread	NA	Lima beans	Skunk	Ankle pants	Lightning bugs	Kin	Y
Cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relative	Y
Corn bread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bugs	NA	Y
cornbread	fat back	green butter beans	skunk	pants	lightening bugs	relative	Y
cornbread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	kin	Y
Corn bread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bugs	Family or Kin	Y
cornbread	fatback	butterbean	skunk	pants	lightening flie	relative	Y
Cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightnin' bug	Kin folk	Y
cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relatives	Y
Cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Firefly	family member	Y
Dressing	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Family	Y
cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	family member	Y
Cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Relative	Y

Table 53. Online Wilmington Responses

70

Table 53 above shows the responses given by W only participants in the online study. Wilmington participants that do not identify as having a Southern accent are less likely to identify a word for *cornbread* and more likely to use the term *family member*. These findings are also reflected in the responses when SE and W are collapsed, shown in table 54.

W	cornbread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	slacks	lightning bug	relative	N
W	NA	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bug	Family member	N
W	NA	NA	Lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	family member	N
W	Corn bread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Fire fly	Family member	N
S E	cornbread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	relative	N
S E	Cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug/firefly	Family	N
S E	cornbread	NA	lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bugs	family member	N
S E	corn bread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	jeans	lightening bug	relative	N
S E	corn bread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	relative	N
S E	cornbread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	relative	N
S E	Cornbread	Bacon	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Family	N
S E	cornbread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	relative	N
S E	corn bread	fat back	Lima beans	skunk	pants	lightening bug	kin	N
S E	Corn bread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Khakis	Fire fly	Family	N
S E	corn bread	pig and greens	lima beans	skunk	jeans	fire fly	kin	N
S E	casserole	Fat back	Limas	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bugs	Kin	Y
W	cornbread	fat back	butter bean	skunk	khakis	fire fly	family	Y
S E	Cornbread	Lard	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bugs	Relative	Y
W	Corn Bread	Fat Back	Butter Beans	Skunk	Pants	Firefly	Family	Y
S E	corn bread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	a relative	Y
W	cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	family member	Y
S E	Corn fritter	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bug	Family	Y
S E	Hoecake	Fat back	Butterbeans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Kin folk	Y

71

W	corn bread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	chinos	lightning bug	relative	Y
W	corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	family	Y
S E	CORNBREAD	FAT BACK	BUTTER BEANS	SKUNK	BRITCHES	LIGHTENING BUG	KIN	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Blood kin	Y
S E	corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	firefly	relative	Y
W	Cornbread	fat back	Lima Beans	Skunk	Jeans	lightening bugs	family	Y
W	Cornbread	Fatback	Butter Beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening Bug	Kin	Y
W	Cornbread	fatback	butter beans	Skunk	Slacks	Lightning bugs	Kinfolks	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bug	Relative	Y
W	cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	kin	Y
W	Cornbread	Fatback	Butterbeans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning Bug	Kin	Y
S E	corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	britches	lightening bugs	kin	Y
W	corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relative	Y
S E	cornbread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relative	Y
S E	cornbread	ham hock	Lima Bean	skunk	jeans	lighting bug	daddy	Y
S E	Cake of cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bug	Kin	Y
W	Cornbread	Fatback	Butterbeans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bugs	Relative	Y
W	cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightening bug	relative	Y
S E	Cornbread	fatback	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	family member	Y
S E	Corn bread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening bug	Kin	Y
S E	Cornbread	Streak 'o lean	Butter beans	Skunk	Slacks	Lightening bug	Blood kin	Y
S E	cornbread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	family	Y
W	corn bread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	lighting bugs	relative	Y
S E	cornbread	fat back	lima/butter beans	skunk	high waters	lightnin bug	kin	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fat back	Butter beans	Pole cat	Pants or britches	Lighten. Bug	Kin	Y
W	cornbread	seasoning meat	butterbeans	skunk	pants	Fire flies	relative	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fatback	Limas	Skumk	Pants	Lightening bug	Kin	Y
S E	hoe cake	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	relative	Y
S E	cornbread	fatback	butterbean	skunk	pants or britches	firefly	cousin	Y
W	Cornbread	Fatback	Lima Beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightening Bug	Relative	Y

S E	corn bread	fat back	beans	skunk	pants	lighting bug	kin folks	Y
S E	Corn bread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Fire fly	Kin	Y
W	Cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	High waters	Lightning bug	Family	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Slacks	Lightning bug	Kin	Y
W	Cornbread	NA	Lima beans	Skunk	Ankle pants	Lightning bugs	Kin	Y
W	Cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relative	Y
S E	cornbread	fat back	butterbeans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	kin	Y
S E	Corn bread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Firefly	Family	Y
S E	Cornbread Fritters	Fat back	Lima beans	Poll cat	Britches	Lighten bugs	Kin folks	Y
S E	corn bread	fat back	Lima beans	skunk	slacks	lightening bug	kin	Y
W	Corn bread	Fat back	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bugs	NA	Y
S E	corn bread	fat back	butter beans	skunk dd	pants	fire fly	relative	Y
W	cornbread	fat back	green butter beans	skunk	pants	lightening bugs	relative	Y
W	cornbread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly	kin	Y
S E	corn bread	fat back	lima beans	skunk	jeans	lightning bug	family	Y
W	Corn bread	Fat back.	Butter beans.	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bugs	Family or Kin	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Family member	Y
S E	cornbread	fatback	butterbeans	porcupine	pants	lightening bug	family	Y
W	cornbread	fatback	butterbean	skunk	pants	lightening flie	relative	Y
W	Cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightnin' bug	Kin folk	Y
W	cornbread	fat back	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	relatives	Y
W	Cornbread	Fatback	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Firefly	Family member	Y
S E	cornbread	fatback	butter beans	skunk	pants	lightning bugs	family	Y
S E	Corn bread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	relative	Y
W	Dressing	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Family.	Y
S E	Cornbread	Back strap	Butter beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightnin' bugs	Kin	Y
W	Cornbread	Fat back	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Relative	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fatback	Butterbeans	Skunk	Britches	Lightning bug	Kin folk	Y
S E	corn cake	fatback	butterbeans	skunk	slacks	firefly	kin	Y
S E	Cornbread	Bacon	Lima beans	Skunk	Pants	Lightning bug	Blood relative	Y

73

S E	cornbread	fatback	lima beans	skunk	pants	lightning bug	relative	Y
S E	Johnny cake	ham hock	lima beans	skunk	pants	firefly or lightning bug	kin / relation	Y
S E	NA	Fatback	NA	Skunk	Pants	Lightning Bug	Kin	Y
S E	Cornbread	Fatback	Lima bean	Skunk	High waters	Firefly	Relative	Y

Table 54. Online Wilmington and Southeastern US Responses

Again, SE and W participants are more likely to use the term *family member* when they do not have a Southern Accent than when they do; they are also more likely to use the term *pants.* Though here, the likelihood of not recognizing *cornbread* does not increase. Non-Southern speakers only use the term *lima beans* whereas Southern speakers use both *lima beans* and *butter beans* with *butter beans* being slightly more common. *Skunk* is used by all W participants regardless of accents even though a few Southern speakers from SE use different terms: *pole cat, pole cat,* and *porcupine.*

To facilitate a connection to the results found in the above Tri-Study section where a Wilmington sample was compared to the Southeastern US whole, a smaller subgroup from the online data was analyzed; a table containing all these responses can be found in the appendix. The most common responses for the lexical item *relatives* from the W online sample was *relative*, the same as was found for the in-person sample, distinguished from variants of *kin* being the most common for the SE region. As previously discussed *skunk* was the only term provided by W participants which also matches the findings from the in-person study. *Lima beans* shows a tie for W participants in both the online and in-person participants being equally distributed between *butter beans* and *lima beans*. The responses for *fatback* show more variability in the online W sample than the in-person sample, but for the larger SE region a variant of *fatback,* with or without the space, is the most common response.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Discussion

The findings of this full study affirm that not only has lexical usage changed across generations in New Hanover County, but the trends in lexical usage from this region are different from the trends seen in the larger Southeastern US region. What's more, there is a clear link between lexical choice and respondents' opinions of Southerners seen in both the in-person and online 2015 data.

The results from the first part of the study, the data from 1937 compared to both 1990 and 2015, show the most reliable variability in lexical usage when respondents are sorted into their historical generations. The historical generation grouping shows variation in: *thunderstorm, dragonfly, window shades, wardrobe, mantel, wife,* and *clouding up*. As expected, variability in lexical usage rises as the generations progress with informants born after the greatest generation having the greatest variation in lexical preference. Given the example of *wardrobe*: Civil War and Reconstruction Era informants preferred *wardrobe*, while the Greatest and Silent generations offered four distinct responses, none of which were *wardrobe*. The Baby Boomer generation returns to the use of *wardrobe* but the Generation X informants unanimously supplied *armoire*. This patterning suggests that the oldest generation levels are in line with preferences seen in more recent generations, though the most recent, Generation X, is distinct from both.

Besides the distribution of lexical preferences, there is also the interesting case of lexical variation versus lexical change. Lexical change would be an example of a completely different lexical item in place

of a previously used one, while lexical variation refers to a lexical item changing while still being easily tied to the original term.

The historical generation variable shows variability in seven tokens; three of these are true lexical change while four are examples of lexical variation.

When comparing the results found in this sample of 12 informants to the larger analysis done by Ellen Johnson on the original 1937 and 1990 datasets, one can see that all ten tokens with variability in the sample are also shown to have variability in the larger analysis. Though the trends seen in the sample did not always match the trends from the larger dataset which provides insight to the relationship of the Wilmington community to the larger Southeast region.

The sample of informants exclusively from the Wilmington area in 1937 overlapped in lexical preference with five of the nine lexical tokens shown to have variability while the informants from the Wilmington area in 1990 overlapped in lexical preference with only two of the nine lexical tokens shown to have variability. This suggests that by the 1990, the lexical usage in the Wilmington are was already significantly different from the lexical usage in the larger Southeastern region.

The second analysis was the 2015 Wilmington only group. Here though, more variability is seen when respondents are sorted by education as opposed to generation. Recalling the lexical items shown to have variation in the tri-study comparison, there is overlap in seven terms: *sofa, bedspread, window shades, dragonfly, wardrobe, siding,* and *wife.* The three lexical items found to have variability in the tri-study comparison that did not have variability in the Wilmington 2015 sample were: *mantle, heavy rain,* and *thunderstorm*. Interestingly, clouding up which showed no variability in the tri-study, had clear variability in the Wilmington 2015

sample. Also, the lexical item *cobbler* never showed variability across any factors.

The most common distribution seen is for each educational category to be distinct from the others. This is seen in *wardrobe* where the least educated group response is *high boy*, the midlevel is *wardrobe*, and the highest is *armoire*. *Dragonfly* also shows this trend with the lowest level reporting *mosquito hawk*, the midlevel reporting that they did not recognize that animal, and the highest level reporting *dragonfly*. Surprisingly there are no instances in which respondents in the lowest two educational categories agree with each other and not with the highest education category. This being the case, one might expect the highest two educational categories to have more in common with each other than with the lowest category. This holds true for terms like *sofa*, which shows respondents with the lowest education preferring setee while respondents in the higher two categories prefer *couch,* or *wife*, with the lowest level saying *old lady* and the other two saying *wife*. Interestingly though, we also have cases where the lowest education level and highest education level provide the same answer distinct from the midlevel education group. Take for example the lexical term *siding*; both the lowest and highest educational groups say *siding* yet the midlevel group uses the term *clapboards*. This is also seen for *window shades* which is reported as *blinds* for both the highest and lowest levels, but does not have a clear lexical preference when it comes to the midlevel.

This set of respondents were also analyzed for 24 other lexical items. Again we see terms that are the same across all three education levels: *dad, mutt, cemetery, frying pan, barnyard, onion, died, coffin,* and *stranger*. There are also a large number of instances in which each educational level is distinct from the others: *grandfather, favor, dish rag,* and *chicken*.

When determining which two groups pattern with each other most often, the most common relationship shows the highest two educational levels providing the same response: *carriage, funeral, overcast, grandmother,* and *caddycornered*. The lowest two educational levels agreed on *vomit, dish cloth,* and *adolescent*. An interesting side comment should be added regarding the lexical items *dish cloth* and *dish rag*. The term *dish cloth* was elicited by asking for the name of a cloth used specifically for washing dishes while *dish rag* asks for the a cloth used only in drying dishes. The lowest two education levels use the same term for the cloth used in washing, wash rag, and, while they don't use the same term, they both distinguish the cloth used for drying as a different term from the one used for washing. The higher education group uses the same term, *dish cloth*, for both.

In the generational analysis, where the distribution of respondents is slightly more equal than during the educational analysis, there is a higher occurrence of ties or instances in which there is no clearly preferred lexical item. This is seen for the terms *wardrobe, siding, clouding up, dragonfly,* and *wife* from the first set of twelve words. The remaining words in this set show no lexical variability *for mantel, downpour, thunderstorm,* and *cobbler* and variability across all generations for *bedspread*. For *sofa*, we see the oldest group distinct from the youngest two groups with the use of *setee* versus *couch*. *Window shades* shows the oldest and youngest group preferring the same term *shades* instead of *blinds*, which is preferred by the middle group.

The patterning of the oldest group of respondents preferring the same term as the youngest respondents is not seen in the secondary set of twenty four terms. Again, the most common finding is that no variability can be determined due to the fact that one or more generational category

78

shows a tie for lexical usage, yet this fact alone shows an interesting trend. Looking at the lexical item *vomit*; the oldest generation prefers the term *throw up* over *vomit* 2:1 and the youngest generation prefers *vomit* to *throw up* 3:1. The middle generation here ties 2:2 with *vomit* and *throw up*. From this is it clear to see how *vomit*, already known in the oldest generation, gained popularity during the middle generations, to the point of a tie between the two terms, and ended up surpassing *throw up* to be the most preferred term for the youngest generation.

A similar thing can be seen with the term *dresser* where the older generation is tied 1:1:1 with *dresser, dresser drawers*, and *chest of drawers*. By the middle generation the tie is now 2:2 between *dresser* and *chest of drawers*. If we can assume *dresser drawers* is where the lexical item started, and that it split into two variations *dresser* and *chest of drawers*, the resulting tie between the two terms in the middle generations is completed understandable. The original lexical item *dresser drawers* has become obsolete, but its two variants continue to battle for dominancy until we see, with the youngest generation, a 3:1 preference for *dresser* over *chest of drawers*.

The term *clouding up* also deserves further consideration. The oldest respondents use a term related to storms most commonly, *stormy day*, while the middle generation respondents talk more about the clouds themselves with terms like *clouding up*, the preferred token for this group, and *looks like a cloud is coming*. The youngest generation seems more in line with the oldest generation as they provided three terms related to storms, *looks stormy*, *it's about to storm*, and *feels like a storm is rolling in*, and no terms related to clouds. A similar thing occurs with *favors* where the oldest generations both prefer terms that include like: *looks like*, *is like,* and *looks just like*. The middle generation here prefers terms that include resembles: *resembles* and *strongly resembles.*

Finally, the third analysis focused on the online only data. Looking at the data gathered through the online survey one can see a predictable yet interesting trend; as the region becomes more specialized, the variety of responses to each lexical item decreases. The Wilmington region is a part of the Southeastern US region, and as such, it is possible to see the overlap in lexical usage. For the term *relatives* the SE respondents had eight distinct terms and the W respondents had nine though when the regions are collapsed there are only ten distinct terms meaning SE and W share most of their responses. This contrasts with terms like *pants* in which the W and SE respondents both had seven distinct answers, but the total number of distinct terms for the collapsed region is ten, indicating the overlap is much smaller; if all seven terms used by the W group were also used by the SE group you would expect the collapsed group to have closer to seven distinct responses.

The W respondents also showed less overlap with, indicating more variation from, the Other region, which includes all respondents not identified as being from NC, SC, or GA. If the responses given by W participants were also given by O participants, you would expect the number of distinct items given by A to be equal to O, but this only occurs with the term lightening bug. Even looking at the larger SE +W collapsed region, *lightening bug* is the only term that shows a large amount of overlap.

All respondents to the online survey were asked to answer a series of questions related to their opinion of Southern dialects and were rated as giving a positive, negative, or purely descriptive response. They were also asked directly if they considered themselves to speak with a Southern accent. It should be noted that not all respondents choose to provide answers for all questions.

In the Wilmington area, the same number of respondents indicated having a Southern accent as having a positive opinion of Southern accents with the majority, 85%, having a positive opinion. The Southeastern US region still has a majority positive opinion, 67%, and the majority of respondents still identify as having a Southern accent, 78%, but to a much lesser degree. Here we also see the inclusion of respondents with negative opinions, 9%. For respondents outside of the Southeastern US and Wilmington regions, positive opinion ratings fall again with a little over half indicating a positive rating. Interestingly here, the majority of respondents in the Other region claim not to have Southern accents though this is not correlated with a decrease in ratings. A closer look at the remainder of the language attitude questions not analyzed is needed to better understand the significance of language attitude with lexical usage, though a preliminary analysis has been carried out with this data sample.

Wilmington respondents that do not identify as having a Southern accent are less likely to identify a word for *cornbread* and more likely to use the term *family member*. These findings are also reflected in the responses when SE and W are collapsed. Again, SE and W respondents are more likely to use the term *family member* when they do not have a Southern accent than when they do; they are also more likely to use the term *pants*. Though here, the likelihood of not recognizing *cornbread* does not increase. Non Southern speakers only use the term *lima beans* whereas Southern speakers use both *lima beans* and *butter beans* with *butter beans* being slightly more common. *Skunk* is used by all W respondents regardless of accents even though a few Southern speakers from SE use different terms: *pole cat, polecat,* and *porcupine.*

Overall, the findings of this study show the New Hanover county

region of North Carolina as being distinct from the larger Southeastern US region in terms of current lexical usage and also trends in lexical shifts. The results of the analyses, particularly the tri-study sample to whole comparison show that while both New Hanover county and the Southeastern US region have undergone lexical shifts since 1937, the rate of variation is not the same. Meaning in many cases the 1937 term preferred by the New Hanover county and Southeastern Us region is the same, but the term preferred by the Southeastern US in 1990 is not the preferred term in the New Hanover County region until the 2015 data set. In other instance, the Southeastern US region and New Hanover county region have different terms for 1937 but the New Hanover county term in 1990 is the same as the 1937 preferred term for the Southeastern US region. Furthermore, in these cases, the 1990 preferred Southeastern US term is often the same as the 2015 New Hanover country preferred term. This suggests that New Hanover county, while in some cases, is undergoing the same lexical shifts as the greater Southeastern US region, it is doing so at a slower rate.

What's also interesting, and deserves further attention, is the fact that the lexical items preferred by the older generation, while rejected by the middle, are often the most preferred by the youngest generations. This may suggest a return to roots sort of revival that may be correlated with the prevalence of positive southern attitudes. Preliminary findings show the middle generation groups from the online 2015 data set are more likely to have negative attitudes towards Southern accents than the older or younger generations. They are also less likely to self-identify as Southern speakers.

Language attitude results seen in the online study analysis echo the findings from the 2015 in-person elicitations. For both studies, the middle generations typically distinguish themselves from the oldest and

82

youngest groups through their lexical responses, but also through their language attitudes and acceptance of Southern accents.

For the in-person study, the only negative responses towards language attitudes came from the middle generation respondents. These respondents were also more likely to take extra time when providing responses to elicitations. For example, when asked to provide a response for the lexical item *couch,* one of the participants from the middle generation thought quietly for a few seconds before offering four answers with explanations of when each distinct term would be used. This was a common occurrence for not only this respondent, but also other members of the middle generational groups, though the older and younger groups did not typically do this. The only respondents from the oldest and youngest generations that qualified their answers or provided a large number of responses, were the ones that also identified as not having a Southern accent and were marked as having negative language attitudes. To a certain extent, this was also seen in the online analysis. The participants that qualified their statements or provided a large number of answers were either in the middle generation, ranked as having a negative language attitude, or both.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

The goal of this study was primarily to describe the changes in lexical items elicited from residents of New Hanover County, North Carolina between 1937 and 2015 in relation to generation, education level, and locality. Secondarily, this study attempted to explore the idea that changes in participants' opinions of Southern dialects relates to the changes seen in lexical preferences. The original hypothesis was found to be correct with the lexical items used in 2015 being markedly different from the lexical items used in 1937. The assumption that participants with negative opinions of Southern dialects would be more likely to differentiate themselves from their southern peers in lexical usage was also found to be true.

This study focused on data collected from the original 1937 LAMSAS elicitation, the 1990 follow up recordings done by Ellen Johnson, and the 2015 data collected specifically for this thesis. The 2015 data was collected through in-person interviews in which participants were given a list of lexical items to identify and from an online survey that asked participants to identify a smaller set of lexical items. Both experiments from 2015 also collected demographic information and participants' attitudes towards Southerners and Southern dialects. All lexical items elicited could be divided into one of six categories: home, illness/death, family, food, weather, or animals. Not surprisingly the category that shows the most variability is home across all demographic breakdowns.

Data was analyzed in three groupings. The first analysis included the 1937, 1990, and 2015 responses to twelve lexical items given by twelve

participants. For analysis, participants were sorted by generation, education, and locality. The second analysis involves only the 2015 responses from the in-person New Hanover country residents for the same twelve lexical items analyzed in the first grouping as well as the responses to twenty four other distinct lexical items. The participants again were sorted by generation, education and locality. The final data analysis was done looking only at the online participants sorted by region and language attitudes. New Hanover county residents were compared to residents from the rest of the Southeastern US and from the rest of the US and abroad.

The findings of this full study show that not only has lexical usage changed across generations in New Hanover County, but the trends in lexical usage from this region are different from the trends seen in the larger Southeastern US region. What's more, there is a clear link between lexical choice and participants' opinions of Southerners seen in both the in-person and online 2015 data.

Errors and Complications

As with any large scale research project, I encountered a number of unforeseen complications throughout the data collection and writing process.

The original in-person experiment included a mandatory secondary component in which participants would be grouped with people around their age range who were also from the same region. Each group was supposed to discuss topics such as family, food, and animals. The responses given during the group conversation would have been analyzed for syntax, lexical usage, accommodation, and turn taking. Unfortunately, due to time constraints and issues with recruitment, the group conversation was dropped and replaced with an optional in-depth conversation. As this

component was optional, and could be edited to adjust to the participant's needs, it was better accepted by the participants.

Prior to collecting participant data, the plan was to analyze the counties from the 1937 and 1990 recordings that most closely corresponded to the Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and Wilmington areas. When recruitment had closed and the participant analysis began, it became obvious that the focus areas would have to shift. While people had been interviewed in every area, the distribution of regions in which participants were raised showed a heavy bias for the Wilmington area. Because of this the final participants analyzed across all datasets were from the New Hanover County, Pender County, and Brunswick County regions.

Participant NC23H3 from the 2015 recordings was only able to respond to questions that included simple image corresponding to lexical items due to the fact that she had recently, within the last few years, suffered a traumatic brain injury that affected her hearing and speech. A modified version of the stimuli with simple pictures for each item should be made available if further testing is to be carried out. Not only would a modified version be useful for participants with injuries or disorders, but it would also be helpful for interviewing people from the older generations. An image is often easier to identify then a descriptive sentence, no matter the age of the participant.

Future Research

I strongly believe this study will have many directions for future research and I fully intend to continue exploring them. The primary goal of this study is to collect data on lexical variation, but by collecting a personal interview as well as specific lexical items I have left this project open to expansion. Either through independent means or as a possible direction for a doctoral thesis, I hope to continue this project

using the data I have collected to also evaluate syntactic and phonological variations as related to the previously established social stigma shifts. It would also be worthwhile to investigate this line of research in the other regions analyzed in the original LAMSAS study and the Ellen Johnson study to provide a larger picture for the language change.

In regards to the large amount of data collected through the online study, only a small portion was able to be analyzed for this thesis. With the diversity in participants and the abundance of language attitude data, the responses from this experiment provide enough data for their own paper. Future directions with this data will include the production of lexical item maps, analysis of shift in lexical usage, and an overview of changes in social stigma in the United States.

English Speakers

Wanted for Linguistics Study

I am looking for people born or raised in Raleigh, Chapel Hill, or Wilmington, North Carolina between the ages of 18 and 90 for a linguistics research project. Participation in this study will involve completing a survey, a naming images on a screen, and participating in a conversation with other people your age. Total time commitment is about 2-4 hours and will be spaced out over two days. The longest task will be the conversation taking about 1 hour on the second day. There is a possibility of payment upon completion of the study. (8/hr)

Please contact Kayleigh at **kreyes@live.unc.edu** for more details.

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English Speakers

Wanted for Online Linguistics Study

I am looking for people born or raised in Raleigh, Chapel Hill, or Wilmington, North Carolina between the ages of 18 and 90 for a linguistics research project. Participation in this study will involve completing a survey and naming images on a screen. The entire study will be available online and should take no more than 30 minutes to complete.

Please contact Kayleigh at **kreyes@live.unc.edu** for more details.

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University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Kayleigh Estella Reyes

[Informed Consent Form for participants in a Linguistic study for Kayleigh Reyes' MA thesis]

This Informed Consent Form has two parts:
- **• Information Sheet (to share information about the study with you)**
- **• Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate)**

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form

Part I: Information Sheet

Introduction
Participation in this study will involve completing a short survey, naming images on a screen, and participating in a conversation with other people your age. Total time commitment is about 2-4 hours and will be spaced out over two days. The longest task will be the conversation taking about 1 hour on the second day. Other than in signing this consent form, you will not be asked to write your name on anything and it will not be used to identify you during any part of this experiment.

Purpose of the research
In order to not be influenced by knowing the purpose of the study, you will not be told the specifics until completion. When the experiment ends the details and purpose of the experiment will be explained in detail to any participant that asks for clarification.

Participant Selection
By signing this consent form an agreeing to participate in this study you affirm that you are between the ages of 18 and 99 and were born and/or raised in Raleigh, Wilmington, or Chapel Hill North Carolina. used in the research study.

Benefits
At the completion of the experiment you will be paid $8 for every hour spent participating in the experiment. Payment will not be given unless all parts of the study have been completed.

Confidentiality
Only the researcher, Kayleigh Reyes, will have direct access to your answers and audio recordings. The results of the study including quotes and clips may be reproduced as part of the final thesis dissertation though no personal identifiers will be used. Any participant may request a copy of their personal experiment recording including sound files except in the case of group discussion. Any participant may also request access to the results of the study or a finished copy of the thesis.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw
This is a reconfirmation that participation is voluntary and includes the right to withdraw. If at any time you are uncomfortable and would like to withdraw from the study all forms and personal interviews will be discarded except in the case of group discussion where just your voice will be removed.

Who to Contact
If at any time you have questions regarding the study you may contact the primary researcher Kayleigh Reyes at the email address kreyes@live.unc.edu.

Part II: Certificate of Consent

(This section is mandatory)
I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Print Name of Participant_____
Signature of Participant _____
Date _____
        Day/month/year

Proof of payment

I _____ have received my payment of $8 an hour totaling _____
for my _____ hours.

Or

I _____ have rejected the payment of $8 an hour for my _____
hours.

Signature of Participant _____
Signature of Proctor _____
Date _____
        Day/month/year

Subject	Birth Year	Gender	hoecake	scrapple	picallili	snow cream	puppies	fatback	beans	t	possum
4	1936	F	cornbread	scrapple	n/a	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	lima beans	skunk	opossum
11	1989	F	n/a	n/a	relish	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	possum
21	1989	F	cornbread	n/a	relish	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	possum
34	1966	F	cornbread	n/a	chow chow	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	possum
45	1946	F									
63	1959	F	cornbread	n/a	relish	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	opossum
83	1916	F	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	hush puppies	n/a	butter beans	squirrel	rat, possum
96	1930	M	cornbread	hogs head cheese	salad	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	opossum
143	1959	M	cornbread	souse	chow chow	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	possum
157	1934	F	corn fritter	liver pudding	pepper relish	snow cone	hush puppies	fatback	butter beans	skunk	possum
217	1967	F	cornbread	n/a	relish	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	butter bean	skunk	opposum
522	1951	F	cornbread	meatloaf (u)	pickled relish	snow cream	hush puppies	fatback	lime bean	n/a	rodent

Subject	varmit	critter	coon	s	s	long johns	lightning bugs	kin	young'un	bastard	pitching a fit
4	skunk	snake	n/a	trousers	coveralls	long johns	lightening bugs	relative	baby	n/a	cries
11	varmit	little	raccoon	pants	overalls	long johns	lightening bugs	immediate family	infant, toddler	child	brat
21	wild animal	small animal	raccoon	pants	overalls	long johns	firefly	family member	punk	child	throws a fit, has a tantrum
34	pest	n/a	raccoon	pants	overalls	long johns	lightening bugs	relative	toddler	child	brat
45											
63	n/a	small animal	raccoon	slacks	overalls	n/a	lightening bugs	relative	young'un	n/a	brat
83	n/a	n/a	raccoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
96	varmit	n/a	raccoon	pants	overalls	long johns	lightening bugs	relative	baby	bastard	tantrum
143	pest	n/a	raccoon	pants	overalls	long johns	lightening bugs	family	child	child	whines
157	varmit	n/a	raccoon	pants	overalls	long johns	lightening bugs	bloodkin	baby	poor child	pulls a fit, pulls a tantrum
217	feral	small animal	raccoon	pants	overalls	thermal underwear	lightning bugs	relative	child	illegitimate	acts like a brat
522	varmint	n/a	raccoon	pants	n/a	long underwear	n/a	kin	young child, young'un (o)	illegitimate, bastard (o)	temper tantrum

Subject	putting on airs	lollygag	in a bad way	coon's age	rooms in a house	e	sofa	e	dresser	e	siding
4	pretending	screws off	chronic	forever	kitchen, dining room, living room, porch	outhouse	setee	mantle	dresser	cabinet	ledge
11	self centered	lazy	disabled	long, drawn out	dining room, laundry, living room	outhouse	couch	hearth	dresser	wardrobe	siding
21	acting snooty	lazy	is ill/sick/under the weather	forever	kitchen, pantry, bedroom, laundry room,	outhouse	couch	mantle	dresser	armoire	panels
34	pretentious, snotty	procrastinating	incapacitated	forever	room, kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, bonus room	port-a-potty	lovesea t	mantle	chest of drawers	armoire	siding
45					kitchen, lving room, bedroom, bathroom	outhouse	couch	mantle	dresser	wardrobe	siding
63	n/a	procrastinates	is very sick	forever	bathroom, den, living room, dining room	outhouse	couch	mantle	chest of drawers	wardrobe	lap siding
83	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
96	bragging	lazy, loser	incapacitated	forever	bedroom, bathroom, dinign room, office,	outhouse	couch	mantle	dresser drawers	armoire	clapboards
143	aloof	slacks off	is quite ill	forever	living room, bedroom, bathroom	outhouse	sofa	mantle	dresser	wardrobe	clap boards
157	with her nose in the air	mopping around	is not well	coon's age	bedroom, bathroom, dinign room, office,	outhouse	setee	mantle	chest of drawers	high boy	siding
217	acting stuck up	a hobo	is very ill	forever	and food), bathroom, powder room, living room,	outhouse	sofa, lovesea	mantle	dresser, armoire	armoire	wooden boards
522	arrogant	lazy	incapacitated	forever	room, living room, bedroom, bathroom,	outhouse	couch (p), sofa	mantle	chest of drawers	vanity	siding

Subject	dish cloth	dish rag	paper bag	courting	pregnant	caddycornered	library	young'un	bedspread	blinds	junk
4	dish towel	dish rag	paper bag	courting	pregnant	cattycornered	reading room	adolescents	comforter	shades, curtains	trash
11	dish cloth	dish cloth	paper bag	dating	pregnant	cadicornered	library	teens	comforter	shades, blinds	trash
21	wash cloth	dish rag	paper bag	dating, in a relationship	pregnant, preggers	catticornered	library	children	blanket, duvet	blinds, curtains	junk
34	dish cloth	dish cloth	paper bag	dating	pregnant	caddycornered	library	teenagers	comforter	shades, blinds	junk
45	dish cloth	dish towel	paper bag	dating	pregnant	caddycornered	library	adolescent	bedspread	blinds	junk
63	dish cloth	dish towel	paper bag	dating, hanging out	expecting	caddycornered	library	children	bedspread, coverlet, sheet	blinds, shades	junk
83	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
96	wash rag, dish rag	towel	paper bag	courting	pregnant	caddycornered	library	juvenile	spread	shades	junk
143	wash rag	dish rag	paper bag	dating	pregnant	diagonally	library	youth	bedspread	blinds, curtains	junk
157	wash rag, dish rag	towel, dish towel	paper bag	courting	pregnant	caddicornered	library	adolescent	spread	blinds	ge, junk
217	dish cloth, dish rag	dish cloth	paper bag	dating	pregnant, knocked up (i)	caddycornered	library	adolescent, child	duvet	shutters, blinds	junk, trash
522	dish cloth, dish rag	dish towel	paper bag	date	pregnant	catecornered	library, media	teenager, teen, child	blanker, quilt	blinds, shade	junk, trash

93

Subject	skillet	barnyard	mutt	driveway	chicken	overcast	clouding up	downpour	thunderstorm	cobbler	green onion	dragonfly
4	pan, skillet	pen	mongrel	driveway	hen	cloudy	cloudy	downpour, flood	thunderstorm	cobbler	onion	n/a
11	pots, pan	pasture	mutt, mix	driveway	chicken	dreary	overcast	pouring	thunderstorm	fruit tart	potato	dragonfly
21	pot, pan	barnyard	dog	driveway	chicken	outside, about to	its about to storm	downpour	thunderstorm	cobbler, pie	onion	dragonfly
34	frying pan	field	,utt	driveway	chicken	gray day, cloudy	feels like a storm is rolling in	downpour	thunderstorm	pie	onion	dragonfly
45	pots	pasture	mutt	driveway	hen	cloudy	storm moving in	pouring rain	storm	cobbler	onion	n/a
63	frying pan	barnyard	sooner	driveway	chicken	cloudy	looks like a cloud is coming	downpour	thunderstorm	cobbler	turnip	dragonfly
83	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
96	frying pan, skillet	barnyard	mutt	driveway	duck	gloomy day	stormy day	flood, downpour	thunderstorm	cobbler	onion	mosquito hawk
143	frying pan	barnyard	mutt	driveway	birds	cloudy	its clouding up	downpour	thunderstorm	dessert	onion	n/a
157	frying pan	barnyard	mutt	driveway	turkey	gloomy day	stormy day	downpour	thunderstorm	cobbler	onion	mosquito hawk
217	cast itron, spider	paddock	dog	driveway	chicken	overcast	looks stormy	torrential rain	thunderstorm	cobbler	green onion	n/a
522	pan, pot, frying pan	n/a	mutt	driveway	chicken	cloudy, dreary	clouding up	fell in (o), raining cats	bad storm	cobbler	wild onion	dragonfly

Subject	wife	husband	mom	dad	grandmother	grandfather	w	r	carraige	e	looks like	orphan
4	wife	husband	momma	daddy	grandmother	grandfather	widow	widower	basinette	midwife	favors	orphan
11	wife	husband	mom	father	grandma	grandfather	widow	widower	stroller	midwife	looks just like	orphan
21	honey ,	hubby, sugar, baby	mommy, mom	daddy, dad	grandma, grandmommy	grandaddy	widow	widower	stroller, basinet	midwife	looks like	orphan
34	wife	husband	mom	daddy	grandmother	grandfather	widow	widower	walker	midwife	looks like	orphan
45	wife	husband	mom	daddy	grandma	grandpa	widow	widower	walker	midwife	favors, looks like	orphan
63	wife	husband	mom	dad	grandma	grandpa	widow	widower	stroller, buggy	midwife	looks like	orphan
83	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
96	wife	husband	momma	dad	grandma	grandpa	widow	widow	stroller	midwife	looks like	orphan
143	honey ,	husband	mom	daddy	grandma	grandpa	widow	widower	stroller	midwife	strongly resembles	orphan
157	er, old lady	husband	momma	daddy	grandmomma	grandaddy	widow	widower	walker, stroller	midwife	is like	orphan
217	spouse	husband, spouse	mom	daddy	grandmother	grandfather	widow	widower	carraige, stroller	midwife	looks like	orphan
522	wife	husband	momma	daddy	grandma, grandmomma	grandaddy	widow	widower	carraige, stroller	midwife	resembles	(define)

94

Subject	teacher	tattletale	t	vomit	died	ghost	funeral	coffin	cemetery	stranger
4	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	vomit, regurgatat	kicked the	ghost	graveside service	coffin	mausolieum, graveyard	new lady
11	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	vomit, puke	died	ghost	funeral service	casket	cemetery	stranger, drifter
21	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	vomiting, vomit	pushing up	apparition, spirit	funeral	coffin	cemetery, graveyard	new person
34	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	throw up, pule	died, fell out	ghost	graveside service	casket, urn	cemetery	stranger
45	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	throw up	died	ghosts	funeral	casket	cemetery plot	stranger
63	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	vomit, throw up	kicked the	ghost	funeral	casket	cemetery	new person
83	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
96	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	throw up, vomit	passed on	ghost	n/a	casket	cemetery, graveyard	stanger
143	teacher, professor	snitch	student	throw up, vomit	died	ghost	funeral	casket	cemetery	newcomer
157	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	throw up, vomit	died	ghost	burial, last rights	casket	cemetery	stranger
217	teacher, professor	tattletale	student	vomit	bit the bullet,	ghost, apirition	waker, burial	coffin	cemetery, graveyard	stranger
522	professor, instructor	tattletale, tattler	student	vomit, puke	died	ghost	graveside ceremony	casket	cemetery (p), graveyard	stranger

Tri-Study Comparisons - Primary Responses - Twelve Variables			
	1937 Dataset	1990 Dataset	2015 Dataset
(5) Sofa	sofa 2 bench 1 lounge 1	couch 3 blank 1	sofa 1 couch 1 loveseat 1 setee 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece2 fireboard 1	mantel 2 mantelpiece 2	mantle 4
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 3 NR 1	armoire 1 wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 1	armoire 2 cabinet 1 wardrobe 1
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 4	siding 1 blank 3	wooden boards 1 ledge 1 siding 2
(7) Bedspread	comfort 3 quilt 1	bedspread 1 quilt 2 blanket 1	duvet 1 comforter 2 bedspread 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 1 curtains 2 window shades 1	shades 1 shutters 1 curtains 1 blank 1	shades 2 shutters 1 blinds 1
(78) Clouding Up	going to have some falling weather 1 clouding up 2 getting bad 1	stormy 1 blustery 1 scuds a building 1 blank 1	looks stormy 1 cloudy 1 storm moving in 1 storm rolling in 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 heavy rain 2 big rain 1	gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1 blank 1	torrential rain 1 downpour 2 pouring rain 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thudersquall 1 thundercloud 3	thunderstorm 2 storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 3 storm 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1 NR 1	cobbler 2 blank 2	cobbler 3 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2 mosquito hawk 2	mosquito hawk 3 blank 1	dragonfly 1 NR 3
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 1	wife 2 blank 2	wife 3 spouse 1

Tri Study Comparisons - Primary Responses - Sample to Whole				
	1937 Sample	1937 Whole	1990 Sample	1937 Whole
(5) Sofa	sofa 2 bench 1 lounge 1	sofa 35 bench 5 lounge 10 couch 2	couch 3 blank 1	sofa 13 bench 1 lounge 3 loveseat 2 setee 5 couch 14
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece2 fireboard 1	mantel 13 mantelpiece 21 fireboard 10	mantel 2 mantelpiece 2	mantel 22 mantelpiece 13 fireboard 1

(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 3 NR 1	wardrobe 32 NR 4	armoire 1 wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 1	armoire 3 wardrobe 8 NR 7
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 4	weatherboarding 33 siding 1	siding 1 blank 3	weatherboarding 12 siding 10
(7) Bedspread	comfort 3 quilt 1	bedspread 15 counterpin 37 spread 12	bedspread 1 quilt 2 blanket 1	bedspread 16 counterpin 6 spread 14
(6) Window Shades	shades 1 curtains 2 window shades 1	shades 24 curtains 6 window shades 8 blinds 3	shades 1 shutters 1 curtains 1 blank 1	shades 19 curtains 1 blind 1 window shades 7
(78) Clouding Up	going to have some falling weather 1 clouding up 2 getting bad 1	going to have some falling weather 6 clouding up 13 getting bad 1	stormy 1 blustery 1 scuds a building 1 blank 1	clouding up 5 stormy 2 blustery 1 scuds a building 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 heavy rain 2 big rain 1	heavy rain 8 big rain 4 downpour 11	gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1 blank 1	gulley washer 5 cloudburst 5 downpour 6 NA 7
(80) Thunderstorm	thudersquall 1 thundercloud 3	thundersquall 3 thundercloud 11 thunderstorm 23	thunderstorm 2 storm 1 blank 1	thundercloud 1 thunderstorm 14 storm 2
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1 NR 1	apple tart 3 family pie 10 apple cobbler 4 NR5	cobbler 2 blank 2	cobbler 14
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2 mosquito hawk 2	skeeter hawk 9 mosquito hawk 14	mosquito hawk 3 blank 1	mosquito hawk 7 skeeter hawk 1 dragonfly 8
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 1	my wife 35 wife 1	wife 2 blank 2	my wife 14 wife 9

Tri-Study Comparison - Primary Responses - Fixed Generation			
	Old	Middle	Young
(5) Sofa	setee 1 blank 1 sofa 1	bench 1 couch 1	loveseat 1 sofa 2 couch 2 lounge 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 2 mantelpiece 1	mantle 2 mantel piece 1	mantel 4 mantelpiece 1 fireboard 1
(12) Wardrobe	cabinet 1 wardrobe 1 rack 1	NR 2 wardrobe 1	armoire 3 wardrobe 3
(38) Siding	ledge 1 weatherboarding 1 blank 1	siding 1 weatherboarding 1 blank 1	siding 2 weatherboarding 2 wooden boards 1 blank 1
(7) Bedspread	comforter 1 blanker 1 comfort 1	bedspread 1 quilt 1 comfort 1	duvet 1 comforter 1 bedspread 1 quilt 2 comfort 1
(6) Wimdow Shades	shades 2 curtains 1	blinds 1 window shades 1	shades 2 shutters 1

		shutters 1	curtains 2 blank 1
(78) Clouding up	cloudy 1 blustery 1 going to have falling weather 1	storm moving in 1 clouding up 1 scuds a building 1	storm rolling in 1 looks stormy 1 stormy 1 blank 1 clouding up 1 getting bad 1
(79) Heavy Rain	downpour 1 flood of rain 1 NR 1	pouring rain 1 big rain1 cloudburst 1	downpour 1 torrential rain 1 gulley washer 1 heavy rain 2 blank 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 2 thundersquall 1	storm 2 thundercloud 1	thunderstorm 3 thundercloud 2 blank 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 blank 1 cobbler 1	cobbler 1 NR 1 blank 1	pie 1 cobbler 3 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 1 blank 1 NR 1	skeeter hawk 1 mosquito hawk 1 NR 1	mosquito hawk 4 dragonfly 1 NR 1
(133) Wife	wife 1 my wife 1 blank 1	wife 3	wife 2 my wife 2 blank 1

Tri-Study Comparison - Primary Responses - Historical Generation						
	Civil War	Reconstruction	Greatest	Silent	Baby Boomer	Generation X
(5) Sofa	sofa 1 bench 1	sofa 1 lounge 1	blank 1	couch 2 setee 1	couch 2	loveseat 1 sofa 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece 1	fireboard 1 mantelpiece 1	mantelpiece 1	mantel 2 mantelpiece 1	mantel 2	mantel 2
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 1 NR 1	wardrobe 2	rack 1	armoire 1 cabinet 1 NR 1	wardrobe 2	armoire 2
(38) Sding	weatherboarding 1	weatherboarding 1	blank 1	siding 1 blank 1 ledge 1	siding 1 blank 1	siding 1 wooden boards 1
(7) Bedspread	comfort 2	comfort 1 quilt 1	blanket 1	comforter 1 bedspread 1 quilt 1	quilt 1 bedspread 1	comforter 1 duvet 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 1 window shades 1	shades 1 shutter 1	curtains 1	shades 2 shutters 1	blinds 1 blank 1	shades 1 shutters 1
(78) Clouding Up	thundersquall 1 thunderstorm 1	thundercloud 2	blustery 1	cloudy 1 stormy 1 scuds a building 1	storm moving in 1 blank 1	storm rolling in 1 looks stormy 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 big rain 1	heavy rain 1	NR 1	downpour 1 gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1	pouring rain 1 blank 1	downpour 1 torrential rain 1

(80) Thunderstorm	thundersquall 1 thundercloud 1	thundercloud 2	thunderstorm 1	thunderstorm 2 storm 1	storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 2
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 NR 1	family pie 1 apple cobbler 1	blank 1	cobbler 2 blank 1	cobbler 2	cobbler 1 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2	mosquito hawk 2	blank 1	mosquito hawk 2 NR1	mosquito hawk 1 NR 1	dragonfly 1 NR 1
(133) Wife	my wife 1 wife 1	my wife 2	blank 1	wife 3	wife 1 blank 1	wife 2

Tri-Study Comparison - Primary Responses - Fixed Education		
	1	2	3
(5) Sofa	blank 1 sofa 1 bench 1 couch 1	sofa 1 couch 3 setee 1	lounge 1 loveseat 1 sofa 1
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece 3 mantel 1	mantel 4 fireboard 1	mantelpiece 1 mantel 2
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 1	wardrobe 3 cabinet 1 armoire 1	wardrobe 1 armoire 2
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 2 blank 2	weatherboarding 1 siding 2 ledge 1 blank 1	weatherboarding 1 wooden boards 1 siding 1
(7) Bedspread	comfort 2 quilt 1 blanket 1	comfort 1 comforter 1 bedspread 2 quilt 1	quilt 1 comforter 1 duvet 1
(6) Window Shades	window shades 1 shades 1 rack 1 blank 1	shades 2 blinds 1 curtains 1 blank 1	curtains 1 shades 1 shutters 1
(78) Clouding up	falling weather 1 clouding up 1 scuds a building 1 blustery 1	cloudy 1 storm moving in 1 clouding up 1 stormy 1 blank 1	getting bad 1 looks stormy 1 storm rolling in 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 big rain 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1	downpour 1 pouring rain 1 heavy rain 2 gulley washer 1	downpour 1 torrential rain 1 heavy rain 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 1 thundersquall 1 thundercloud 1 storm 1	thundercloud 1 thunderstorm 2 storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 1 thundercloud 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 NR 1 blank 2	family pie 1 cobbler 4	apple cobbler 1 cobbler 1 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2 mosquito hawk 1 blank 1	mosquito hawk 3 NR 1	mosquito hawk 1 dragonfly 1 NR 1
(133) Wife	my wife 1 wife 2 blank 1	my wife 1 wife 3 blank 1	my wife 1 wife 2

	Rural	Urban
(5) Sofa	couch 2 setee 1 sofa 2 bench 1 lounge 1 blank 1	sofa 1 couch 2 loveseat 1
(3) Mantel	mantelpiece 4 fireboard 1 mantel 3	mantel 4
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 4 cabinet 1 rack 1 NR 2	wardrobe 1 armoire 3
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 4 ledge 1 blank 3	wooden boards 1 siding 3
(7) Bedspread	comforter 1 comfort 3 quilt 3 blanket 1	bedspread 2 duvet 1 comforter 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 2 curtains 3 window shades 1 shutters 1 blank 1	shutters 1 blinds 1 shades 2
(78) Clouding Up	cloudy 1 clouding up 2 scuds a building 1 blustery 1 falling weather 1 getting bad 1 blank 1	looks stormy 1 storm moving in 1 storm rolling in 1 stormy 1
(79) Heavy Rain	cloudburst 1 heavy rain 2 downpour 1 big rain 1 floods of rain blank 1 NR 1	torrential rain 1 pouring 1 downpour 1 gulley weather 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 2 thundercloud 3 thundersquall 1 storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 3 storm 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 apple cobbler 1 cobbler 2 family pie 1 NR 1 blank 2	cobbler 3 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk 4 skeeter hawk 2 blank 1 NR 1	mosquito hawk 1 dragonfly 1 NR 2
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 3 blank 2	wife 4

Tri-Study Comparison – Primary Responses – Locality

Tri-Study Comparison – Primary Responses – True Education

	1	2	3	4
(5) Sofa	sofa 1 bench 1	sofa 1 couch 1 blank 1	setee 1 lounge 1 couch 3	sofa 1 loveseat 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantel piece 1	fireboard 1 mantelpiece 2	mantel 4 mantelpiece 1	mantel 2
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 1 NR 1	wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 1	wardrobe 3 cabinet 1 armoire 1	armoire 2
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 2	weatherboarding 1 blank 2	weatherboarding 1 siding 2 ledge 1 blank 1	wooden boards 1 siding 1
(7) Bedspread	comfort 2	comfort 1 quilt 1 blanket 1	comforter 1 comfort 1 quilt 1 bedspread 2	comforter 1 duvet 1
(6) Window Shades	window shades 1 shades 1	shutters 1 curtains 2	shades 2 blinds 1 curtains 1 blank 1	shutters 1 shades 1
(78) Clouding Up	falling weather 1 clouding up 1	clouding up 1 blustery 1 scuds a building 1	cloudy 1 storm moving 1 getting bad 1 stormy 1 blank 1	looks stormy 1 storm rolling in 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 big rain1	heavy rain 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1	heavy rain 1 downpour 1 pouring 1 gulley washer 1 blank 1	torrential rain 1 downpour 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thundersquall 1 thundercloud 1	thunderstorm 1 thundercloud 1 storm 1	thundercloud 1 thunderstorm 2 storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 NR 1	family pie 1 blank 2	apple cobbler 1 cobbler 4	cobbler 1 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2	mosquito hawk 2 blank 1	mosquito hawk 3 NR 2	dragonfly 1 NR 1
(133) Wife	my wife 1 wife 1	my wife 1 wife 1 blank 1	my wife 1 wife 3 blank 1	wife 2

Tri-Study Comparison – Primary and Secondary Responses		
	1937 Dataset	1990 Dataset	2015 Dataset
(5) Sofa	sofa 3 bench 1 lounge 1	couch 3 blank 1	sofa 1 couch 1 loveseat 2 setee 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece 3 fireboard 3	mantel 2 mantelpiece 2	mantle 4
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 3 NR 1	armoire 1 wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 2	armoire 2 cabinet 1 wardrobe 1
(38)	weatherboarding 4	siding 1	wooden boards 1

Siding		blank 3 sideboards 1	ledge 1 siding 2
(7) Bedspread	comfort 4 quilt 4	bedspread 1 quilt 3 blanket 1 spread 2 coverlet 2	duvet 1 comforter 2 bedspread 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 3 curtains 2 window shades 1	shades 2 shutters 1 curtains 1 blinds 1 blank 1	shades 2 shutters 1 curtains 1 blinds 3
(78) Clouding Up	going to have some falling weather 1 getting to be falling weather 1 clouding up 2 getting bad 1	stormy 1 blustery 1 scuds a building 1 blank 1 thunderhead 1 storm coming 1	looks stormy 1 cloudy 1 storm moving in 1 feels like a storm rolling in 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 heavy rain 2 big rain 1	gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1 blank 1	torrential rain 1 downpour 2 pouring rain 1 flood 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thudersquall 1 thundercloud 4	thunderstorm 2 storm 1 electric storm 1 blank 1	thunderstorm 3 storm 1
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1 NR 1	cobbler 2 blank 2	cobbler 3 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2 mosquito hawk 2	mosquito hawk 3 dragonfly 1 blank 1	dragonfly 1 NR 3
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 1	wife 2 blank 2	wife 4 spouse 1

Tri-Study Comparison – Primary and Secondary Responses – Sample to Whole				
	1937 Sample	1937 Whole	1990 Sample	1937 Whole
(5) Sofa	sofa 3 bench 1 lounge 1	sofa 35 bench 5 lounge 10 couch 2	couch 3 blank 1	sofa 13 bench 1 lounge 3 loveseat 2 setee 5 couch 14
(3) Mantel	mantel 1 mantelpiece 3 fireboard 3	mantel 13 mantelpiece 21 fireboard 10	mantel 2 mantelpiece 2	mantel 22 mantelpiece 13 fireboard 1
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 3 NR 1	wardrobe 32 NR 4	armoire 1 wardrobe 1 rack 1 NR 2	armoire 3 wardrobe 8 NR 7
(38) Siding	weatherboarding 4	weatherboarding 33 siding 1	siding 1 blank 3 sideboards 1	weatherboarding 12 siding 10
(7) Bedspread	comfort 4 quilt 4	bedspread 15 counterpin 37 spread 12	bedspread 1 quilt 3 blanket 1 spread 2	bedspread 16 counterpin 6 spread 14

			coverlet 2	
(6) Window Shades	shades 3 curtains 2 window shades 1	shades 24 curtains 6 window shades 8 blinds 3	shades 2 shutters 1 curtains 1 blinds 1 blank 1	shades 19 curtains 1 blind 1 window shades 7
(78) Clouding Up	going to have some falling weather 1 getting to be falling weather 1 clouding up 2 getting bad 1	going to have some falling weather 6 clouding up 13 getting bad 1	stormy 1 blustery 1 scuds a building 1 blank 1 thunderhead 1 storm coming 1	clouding up 5 stormy 2 blustery 1 scuds a building 1
(79) Heavy Rain	flood of rain 1 heavy rain 2 big rain 1	heavy rain 8 big rain 4 downpour 11	gulley washer 1 cloudburst 1 NR 1 blank 1	gulley washer 5 cloudburst 5 downpour 6 NA 7
(80) Thunderstorm	thudersquall 1 thundercloud 4	thundersquall 3 thundercloud 11 thunderstorm 23	thunderstorm 2 storm 1 electric storm 1 blank 1	thundercloud 1 thunderstorm 14 storm 2
(109) Cobbler	apple tart 1 family pie 1 apple cobbler 1 NR 1	apple tart 3 family pie 10 apple cobbler 4 NR5	cobbler 2 blank 2	cobbler 14
(127) Dragonfly	skeeter hawk 2 mosquito hawk 2	skeeter hawk 9 mosquito hawk 14	mosquito hawk 3 dragonfly 1 blank 1	mosquito hawk 7 skeeter hawk 1 dragonfly 8
(133) Wife	my wife 3 wife 1	my wife 35 wife 1	wife 2 blank 2	my wife 14 wife 9

APPENDIX 6: WILMINGTON 2015 COMPARISON CHARTS

Wilmington 2015 - Twelve Tokens - Locality		
	Urban	Rural
(5) Sofa	sofa 2 loveseat 1 couch 5	setee 2 couch 1
(3) Mantel	hearth 1 mantel 7	mantel 3
(12) Wardrobe	vanity 1 armoire 4 wardrobe 3	armoire 1 cabinet 1 high boy 1
(38) Siding	siding 4 wooden boards 1 clapboards 1 panels 1 lap siding 1	clapboards 1 ledge 1 siding 1
(7) Bedspread	blanket 2 duvet 1 bedspread 3 comforter 2	comforter 1 spread 2
(6) Window Shades	blinds 5 shutters 1 shades 2	shades 2 blinds 1
(78) Clouding Up	clouding up 2 looks stormy 1 storm moving in 1 looks like a cloud is coming 1 overcast 1 about to storm 1 feels like a storm is rolling in 1	cloudy 1 stormy day 2
(79) Downpour	sky fell in 1 torrential rain 1 downpour 4 pouring 1 pouring rain 1	downpour 2 flood 1
(80) Thunderstorm	storm 1 bad storm 1 thunderstorm 6	thunderstorm 3
(109) Cobbler	dessert 1 fruit tart 1 pie 1 cobbler 5	cobbler 3
(127) Dragonfly	dragonfly 5 NR 3	mosquito hawk 2 NR 1
(133) Wife	wife 6 honey 2	wife 2 old lady 1

Wilmington 2015 - Twelve Tokens - Fixed Education			
	1	2	3
(5) Sofa	setee 1	setee 1 sofa 1 couch 2	couch 4 sofa 1 loveseat 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 1	mantel 4	hearth 1 mantel 5
(12) Wardrobe	high boy 1	cabinet 1 wardrobe 2 armoire 1	armoire 3 vanity 1 wardrobe 2
(38)	siding 1	clapboards 2	siding 3

Siding		ledge 1 siding 1	wooden boards 1 lap siding 1 panels 1
(7) Bedspread	spread 1	spread 1 comforter 1 bedspread 2	blanket 2 duvet 1 bedspread 1 comforter 2
(6) Window Shades	blinds 1	shades 2 blinds 2	blinds 3 shutters 1 shades 2
(78) Clouding Up	stormy day 1	stormy day 1 cloudy 1 clouding up 1 storm moving in 1	overcast 1 about to storm 1 feels like storm rolling in 1 looks like a cloud coming 1 clouding up 1 looks stormy 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 1	thunderstorm 3 storm 1	thunderstorm 5 bad storm 1
(79) Downpour	downpour 1	downpour 2 flood 1 pouring rain 1	downpour 3 sky fell in 1 torrential rain 1
(109) Cobbler	cobbler 1	cobbler 3 dessert 1	cobbler 4 fruit tart 1 pie 1
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk 1	NR 3 mosquito hawk 1	dragonfly 5 NR 1
(133) Wife	old lady 1	wife 3 honey 1	wife 5 honey 1

Wilmington 2015 - Twelve Tokens - Fixed Generation			
	Old	Middle	Young
(5) Sofa	setee 2 couch 1	couch 3 sofa 1	couch 2 sofa 1 loveseat 1
(3) Mantel	mantel 3	mantel 4	mantel 3 hearth 1
(12) Wardrobe	cabinet 1 high boy 1 armoire 1	wardrobe 3 vanity 1	wardrobe 1 armoire 3
(38) Siding	ledge 1 clapboards 1 siding 1	siding 2 clap boards 1 lap siding 1	siding 2 panels 1 wooden boards 1
(7) Bedspread	comforter 1 spread 2	bedspread 3 blanket 1	comforter 2 blanket 1 duvet 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 2 blinds 1	blinds 3 curtains 1	shades 2 blinds 1 shutters 1
(78) Clouding Up	stormy day 2 cloudy 1	clouding up 2 looks like a cloud is coming 1 storm moving in 1	looks stormy 1 its about to storm 1 overcast 1 feels like a storm rolling in 1
(79) Downpour	downpour 2 flood 1	downpour 2 pouring rain 1 sky fell in 1	downpour 2 torrential rain 1 pouring 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 3	thunderstorm 2 bad storm 1	thunderstorm 4

(109) Cobbler	cobbler 3	cobbler 3 dessert 1	cobbler 2 pie 1 fruit tart 1
(127) Dragonfly	mosquito hawk 2 NR 1	dragonfly 2 NR 2	dragonfly 3 NR 1
(133) Wife	wife 1 old lady 1	wife 3 honey 1	wife 3 honey 1

Wilmington 2015 - Twelve Tokens - Language Attitudes			
	Positive	Descriptive	Negative
(5) Sofa	couch 4 loveseat 1 soafa 1 setee 1	couch 1	setee 1 couch 1 sofa 1
(3) Mantel	hearth 1 mantle 6	mantle 1	mantle 3
(12) Wardrobe	wardrobe 4 armoire 2 high boy 1	vanity 1	armoire 2 cabinet 1
(38) Siding	siding 4 lap siding 1 clapboards 2	siding 1	ledge 1 panels 1 wooden boards 1
(7) Bedspread	comforter 2 bedspread 3 spread 2	blanket 1	duvet 1 blanker 1 comforter 1
(6) Window Shades	shades 3 blinds 4	blinds 1	blinds 1 shades 1 shutters 1
(78) Clouding Up	overcast 1 feels like a storm is rolling in 1 storm moving in 1 looks like a cloud is coming 1 stormy day 2 its clouding up 1	clouding up 1	cloudy 1 it's about to storm 1 looks stormy 1
(79) Downpour	pouring 1 pouring rain 1 downpour 4 flood 1	sky fell in 1	downpour 2 torrential rain 1
(80) Thunderstorm	thunderstorm 6 storm 1	bad storm 1	thunderstorm 3
(109) Cobbler	fruit tart 1 pie 1 dessert 1 cobbler 4	cobbler 1	cobbler 3
(127) Dragonfly	dragonfly 3 mosquito hawk 2 NR 2	dragonfly 1	dragonfly 1 NR 2
(133) Wife	wife 5 honey 1 old lady 1	wife 1	wife 2 honey 1

Wilmington 2015 - Extended Set - Locality		
	Urban	Rural
Mom	momma 1 mom 6 mommy 1	momma 3
Dad	daddy 6	daddy 2

	dad 1 father 1	dad 1
Grandmother	grandmother 2 grandma 6	grandmomma 1 grandma 1 grandmother 1
Grandfather	granddaddy 2 grandpa 3 grandfather 3	grandfather 1 grandpa 1 granddaddy 1
Favors	resembles 1 strongly resembles 1 favors 1 looks like 4 looks just like 1	favors 1 is like 1 looks like 1
Young'un	adolescent 2 teenager 2 children 2 teens 1 youth 1	adolescent 2 juvenile 1
Courting	dating 7 date 1	courting 3
Mutt	mutt 5 dog 2 sooner 1	mongrel 1 mutt 2
Overcast	cloudy 4 overcast 1 dreary 1 gray day 1 about to storm 1	cloudy 1 gloomy day 2
Coffin	coffin 2 casket 6	coffin 1 casket 2
Cemetery	cemetery 7 cemetery plot 1	mausolieum 1 cemetery 2
Funeral	wake 1 funeral 4 funeral service 1 graveside service 1 graveside ceremony 1	graveside service 1 burial 1 NR 1
Vomit	vomit 5 throw up 3	vomit 1 throw up 2
Dresser	chest of drawers 3 dresser 5	chest of drawers 1 dresser 1 dresser drawers
Dish cloth	dish cloth 6 wash cloth 1 wash rag 1	dish towel 1 wash rag 2
Dish rag	dish cloth 3 dish rag 2 dish towel 3	dish rag 1 towel 1 drying towel 1
Caddycornered	diagonally 1 catecornered 1 caddycornered 3 caddicornered 1 catticornered 1	cattycornered 1 caddycornered 1 caddicornered 1
Skillet	pan 1 pots 2 cast iron 1 frying pan 3 pot 1	pan 1 frying pan 2
Carraige	carriage 2 stroller 4 walker 2	bassinette 1 walker 1 stroller 1
Barnyard	pasture 2	barnyard 2

	barnyard 3 field 1 paddock 1	pen 1
Green onion	wild onion 1 onion 4 potato 1 turnip 1 green onion 1	onion 3
Chicken	chicken 6 birds 1 hen 1	hen 1 turkey 1 duck 1
Died	died 4 kicked the bucket 1 pushing up daises 1 bit the bullet 1	died 1 kicked the bucket 1 passed on 1
Stranger	stranger 5 new person 2 new comer 1	stranger 2 new lady 1
Junk	junk 7 trash 1	junk 2 trash 1

Wilmington 2015 – Extended Set – Education		
	1	2	3

	1	2	3
Mom	momma 1	momma 2 mom 2	momma 1 mom 4 mommy 1
Dad	daddy 1	daddy 3 dad 1	daddy 4 dad 1 father 1
Grandmother	grandmomma 1	grandma 3 grandmother 1	grandma 4 grandmother 2
Grandfather	granddaddy	grandpa 3 grandfather 1	granddaddy 2 grandfather 3 grandpa 1
Favor	is like 1	favors 2 looks like 1 strongly resembles 1	resembles 1 looks like 4 looks just like 1
Young'un	adolescent 1	adolescent 2 juvenile 1 youth 1	teenager 2 adolescent 1 children 2 teen 1
Courting	courting 1	courting 2 dating 2	date 1 dating 5
Mutt	mutt 1	mongrel 1 mutt 3	sooner 1 dog 2 mutt 3
Overcast	gloomy day 1	gloomy day 1 cloudy 3	cloudy 2 overcast 1 about to storm 1 dreary 1 gray day 1
Coffin	casket 1	casket 3 coffin 1	casket 4 coffin 2
Cemetery	cemetery 1	cemetery 2 mausolieum 1 cemetery plot 1	cemetery 6
Funeral	burial 1	funeral 2 graveside service 1 NR 1	funeral 2 funeral service 1 graveside service 1

			wake 1 graveside ceremony
Vomit	throw up 1	vomit 1 throw up 3	vomit 5 throw up 1
Dresser	chest of drawers 1	dresser 3 dresser drawers 1	chest of drawers 3 dresser 3
Dish cloth	wash rag 1	dish towel 1 dish cloth 1 wash rag 2	dish cloth 5 wash cloth 1
Dish rag	drying towel 1	dish rag 2 dish towel 1 towel 1	dish towel 2 dish cloth 3 dish rag 1
Caddycornered	caddicornered 1	caddycornered 2 diagonally 1 cattycornered 1	catecornered 1 caddycornered 3 catticornered 1 cadicornered 1
Skillet	frying pan 1	frying pan 2 pots 1 pan 1	frying pan 2 pan 1 cast iron 1 pot 1 pots 1
Carraige	walker 1	walker 1 bassinette 1 stroller 2	carriage 2 stroller 3 walker 1
Barnyard	barnyard 1	barnyard 2 pen 1 pasture 1	barnyard 2 paddock 1 pasture 1 field 1 NR 1
Green onion	onion 1	onion 4	wild onion 1 green onion 1 onion 2 turnip 1 potato 1
Chicken	turkey 1	hen 2 duck 1 birds 1	chicken 6
Died	died 1	died 2 passed on 1 kicked the bucket 1	died 3 kicked the bucket 1 pushing up daisies 1 bit the bullet 1
Stanger	stranger 1	stranger 2 new lady 1 new comer 1	stranger 4 new person 2

Wilmington 2015 - Extended Set - Generation			
	Old	Middle	Young
Mom	momma 3	momma 1 mom 3	mom 3 mommy 1
Dad	daddy 2 dad 1	daddy 3 dad 1	daddy 3 father 1
Grandmother	grandmother 1 grandma 1 grandmomma 1	grandma 4	grandmother 2 grandma 2
Grandfather	grandfather 1 grandpa 1 granddaddy 1	granddaddy 1 grandpa 3	grandfather 3 granddaddy 1
Favors	favors 1 looks like 1	resembles 1	looks just like 1 looks like 3

	is like 1	strongly resembles 1 favors 1 looks like 1	
Young'un	adolescent 2 juvenile 1	teenager 1 youth 1 children 1 adolescent 1	adolescent 1 teenagers 1 children 1 teens 1
Courting	courting 3	dating 3 date 1	dating 4
Mutt	mongrel 1 mutt 2	mutt 3 sooner 1	dog 2 mutt 2
Overcast	cloudy 1 gloomy day 2	cloudy 4	overcast 1 dreary 1 about to storm 1 gray day 1
Coffin	coffin 1 casket 2	casket 4	casket 2 coffin 2
Cemetery	cemetery 2 mausolieum 1	cemetery 3 cemetery plot 1	cemetery 4
Funeral	graveside service 1 burial 1 NR 1	graveside ceremony 1 funeral 3	funeral service 1 funeral 1 graveside service 1 wake 1
Vomit	vomit 1 throw up 2	vomit 2 throw up 2	vomit 3 throw up 1
Dresser	dresser 1 dresser drawers 1 chest of drawers 1	chest of drawers 2 dresser 2	dresser 3 chest of drawers 1
Dish cloth	dish towel 1 wash rag 2	dish cloth 3 wash rag 1	dish cloth 3 wash cloth 1
Dish rag	dish rag 1 towel 1 drying towel 1	dish rag 1 dish towel 3	dish cloth 3 dish rag 1
Caddycornered	cattycornered 1 caddycornered 1 caddicornered 1	diagonally 1 catecornered 1 caddycornered 1	caddycornered 2 catticornered 1 cadicornered 1
Skillet	frying pan 2 pan 1	frying pan 2 pots 1 pan 1	frying pan 1 cast iron 1 pot 1 pots 1
Carriage	bassinette 1 walker 1 stroller 1	carriage 1 stroller 2 walker 1	carriage 1 stroller 2 walker 1
Barnyard	pen 1 barnyard 2	barnyard 2 pasture 1 NR 1	barnyard 1 pasture 1 field 1 paddock 1
Green onion	onion 3	onion 2 turnip 1 wild onion 1	onion 2 green onion 1 potato 1
Chicken	hen 1 turkey 1 duck 1	chicken 2 birds 1 hen 1	chicken 4
Died	died 1 passed on 1 kicked the bucket 1	died 3 kicked the bucket 1	died 1 pushing up daisies 1 bit the bullet 1
Stranger	new lady 1 stranger 2	stranger 2 new comer 1 new person	stranger 3 new person 1

Junk	junk 2 trash 1	junk 4	junk 3 trash 1

Wilmington 2015 – Extended Set – Language Attitudes			
	Positive	Descriptive	Negative
Mom	mom 5 momma 2	momma 1	momma 1 mommy 1 mom 1
Dad	father 1 dad 2 daddy 4	daddy 1	daddy 3
Grandmother	grandma 5 grandmother 1 grandmomma 1	grandma1	grandmother 2 grandma 1
Grandfather	grandfather 2 grandpa 4 granddaddy 1	granddaddy 1	grandfather 2 granddaddy 1
Favors	looks like 3 looks just like 1 favors 1 strongly resembles 1 is like 1	resembles 1	favors 1 looks like 2
Young'un	teens 1 teenagers 1 adolescent 2 children 1 juvenile 1 youth 1	teenager 1	adolescent 2 children 1
Courting	dating 5 courting 2	date 1	dating 2 courting 1
Mutt	mutt 6 sooner 1	mutt 1	dog 2 mongrel 1
Overcast	dreary 1 gray day 1 cloudy 3 gloomy day 2	cloudy 1	cloudy 1 overcast 1 about to storm 1
Coffin	casket 7	casket 1	coffin 3
Cemetery	cemetery 6 cemetery plot 1	cemetery 1	mausolieum 1 cemetery 2
Funeral	funeral service 1 graveside service 1 funeral 3 burial 1 NR 1	graveside ceremony 1	wake 1 funeral 1 graveside service 1
Vomit	vomit 2 throw up 5	vomit 1	vomit 3
Dresser	dresser 3 chest of drawers 3 dresser drawers 1	chest of drawers 1	dresser 3
Dish cloth	dish cloth 4 wash rag 3	dish cloth 1	dish cloth 1 dish towel 1 wash cloth 1
Dish rag	dish cloth 2 dish towel 2 towel 1 dish rag 1 drying towel 1	dish towel 1	dish rag 2 dish cloth 1
Caddycornered	cadicornered 1 caddycornered 4	catecornered 1	caddycornered 1 catticornered 1

	caddicornered 1 diagonally 1		cattycornered 1
Skillet	pots 2 frying pan 5	pan 1	cast iron 1 pan 1 pot 1
Carriage	stroller 4 walker 3	carriage 1	carriage 1 stroller 1 bassinette 1
Barnyard	pasture 2 barnyard 4 field 1	NR 1	barnyard 1 pen 1 paddock 1
Green onion	potato 1 turnip 1 onion 5	wild onion 1	green onion 1 onion 1
Chicken	chicken 3 birds 1 hen 1 duck 1 turkey 1	chicken 1	chicken 2 hen 1
Died	died 5 kicked the bucket 1 passed on 1	died 1	bit the bullet 1 pushing up daisies 1 kicked the bucket 1
Stranger	stranger 5 new comer 1 new person 1	stranger 1	stranger 1 new person 1 new lady 1
Junk	junk 6 trash 1	junk 1	junk 2 trash 1

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