

ABSTRACT

DUNSTAN, STEPHANY BRETT. The Influence of Speaking a Dialect of Appalachian English on the College Experience. (Under the direction of Dr. Audrey J. Jaeger).

Many students will arrive at college speaking a dialect that is considered non-standardized or stigmatized due to the socially stratified nature of language. In the United States, where there are commonly held ideologies about the type of language that is considered “correct” or “proper,” students who speak non-standardized dialects may find themselves at a disadvantage in educational settings. Dialects of Appalachian English are often stigmatized in mainstream American culture, and certain elements of dialects of Southern Appalachia are particularly stigmatized, even by other Southerners. This qualitative study explored the influence of speaking a dialect of Appalachian English on the college experiences of students from rural, Southern Appalachia. Qualitative interviews were conducted with 26 participants attending a large research university in an urban area of a Southern state, and sociolinguistic analysis of participants’ speech was performed to provide rich description of their speech in order to better understand the role it played in their college experiences. Sociolinguistic analysis focused on features of participants’ speech that are noted as being salient markers associated with Southern Appalachian dialects, and would thus perhaps be markedly different from normative speech patterns on campus among non-Appalachian peers. Findings suggest that dialect is influential in three main areas: 1) academic experiences 2) sense of belonging and perceptions of campus environment and 3) in interactions with others on campus. Findings have significant implications for diversity education and programming; understanding language as a student characteristic to better explain the experiences of student populations such as rural, first-generation, low SES, and racial and ethnic minorities; sense of belonging and persistence models; and creating inclusive campus environments.

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The Influence of Speaking a Dialect of Appalachian English on the College Experience

by
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DEDICATION

For my mother, who has always been my biggest cheerleader, advocate, and who really is
“the wind beneath my wings.”

BIOGRAPHY

Stephany Brett Dunstan was born in Virginia, spent her early years in Kentucky, and has been a North Carolinian for most of her life. She received an undergraduate degree in Spanish Language and Literature from North Carolina State University and a master's degree from the same institution in English-Linguistics. After completing a Ph.D. in Educational Research and Policy Analysis, she plans to continue to do research in higher education.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the topic

Despite the aim of many of today's college campuses to be places of acceptance and tolerance where diversity is celebrated, there still remains a critical area of diversity which often goes unnoticed, but has been noted as being the "backdoor" to discrimination based on race, gender, class, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, and other characteristics: language (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012). The United States, like many other countries, holds a standard language ideology, or the notion that there is one correct, standardized variety of English and deviation from the "standard" is considered "incorrect" and stigmatized (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012). Standardized varieties are typically linked to the spoken and written standards of White middle- and upper-middle class members of society, while non-standardized varieties of English which are heavily stigmatized are typically those spoken by minorities and individuals of lower social status (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, 2006). Language and culture are intrinsically linked, and therefore all varieties of English, whether standardized or not, are closely tied to culture and identity. On a college campus, where language prescriptivism is arguably at its highest, speakers of non-standardized varieties of English may find themselves feeling marginalized and devalued; as one's language is rejected, by extension so is one's culture, identity, and self. Speakers of non-standardized varieties of English may be mocked by classmates, unfairly stereotyped by faculty and staff, and perhaps even have their natural speech patterns pathologized. As a result, students who speak non-standardized varieties of English may be less likely to participate in class or to

take advantage of university resources, to take courses with less emphasis on language skills, to feel accepted on campus, to develop a positive academic identity. They may also be more likely to experience anxiety when using spoken language around peers and faculty and to experience anxiety in home vs. school identity.

This study focuses on college students from rural Southern Appalachia and the influence that speaking a dialect of Appalachian English has on the college experience in terms of academic achievement, perceptions of acceptance on campus, participation in campus activities, use of campus resources, peer and faculty interaction, and overall academic identity. It is important to note that this study explores only variation in spoken language but does not address variation in written language. As part of standard language ideology (which will be discussed in more detail later) there is a commonly held notion that speaking and writing are two ways of doing the same thing and that both should be standardized, but as Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) notes, they are two ways of doing two different things. Exploring the role of variation in written language is beyond the scope of this paper.

Examining the speech of rural Southern Appalachian students at an institution of higher education in the urban South in serves two purposes: 1) to gain an understanding of the role dialect plays in Appalachian students' experiences in higher education and 2) to serve as a springboard for beginning to understand the of the role of language in higher education experiences for any student population speaking a non-standardized dialect of English.

Who the study is about: Appalachian students.

This study focuses on college students from rural areas in Southern Appalachia and their college experiences at an institution of higher education in the Southern United States. While in recent years Appalachia as a whole has begun to close the educational gap in terms of postsecondary education, the number of residents of Appalachia holding college degrees is still lower than any other region of the country, with the college graduation rate for Appalachian natives at 18% compared to the 25% graduation rate of non-Appalachian college students (Shaw, DeYoung & Rademacher, 2004).

Russ (2006) argues that in a certain sense, Appalachian students could be considered a disadvantaged minority within higher education not only because they make up a small percentage of the student population (for example, at the institution at which this study took place, Appalachian students make up only 7% of the student population- roughly 2,500 students out of about 35,000), but also because people from the region can be seen to fit certain criteria associated with disadvantaged minority populations. Russ (2006) utilizes Walsh and Osipow's (1983) definition of characteristics of minorities and disadvantaged peoples (history of discrimination and segregation, low self-confidence, low self-efficacy, socialized passivity, feelings of powerlessness, narrow range of work experience, having a need for new roles and roles models, are stereotyped into occupational interest) to classify Appalachians as being a disadvantaged minority. Being a minority on a college campus could lead to many difficulties for Appalachian students, such as feelings of isolation and marginalization, especially if their speech proves to be a factor preventing them from feeling

like they “fit in” and developing a sense of belonging. Bollen and Hoyle (1990) suggest that, “a sense of belonging is fundamental to a member’s identification with a group and has numerous consequences for behavior” (p. 484). Feelings of isolation or marginalization as a minority group on campus many prevent students from rural areas in the Appalachian region from participating in certain activities, interacting in positive ways with peers and faculty members, and developing a positive academic identity.

With Appalachia’s population holding fewer college degrees than other regions in the country, we can assume that many college-going Appalachian students are first-generation college students. First-generation college students often have needs and characteristics that separate them from other college-bound students in terms of retention, feelings of acceptance and belonging on college campuses, and achievement. First-generation college students have been found to be less likely to persist than students who have family members who have attended college (Brooks-Terry, 1988; Gibbons & Schoffner, 2004) and tend to receive less support from family members while attending college (Terenzini, Springer, Yeager, Pascarella, & Amaury, 1996). Lack of support from family members while attending college may be common among first-generation students from Appalachia, who are often encouraged to stay close to home and are not necessarily encouraged by their families to go away to college especially if it means going far from home (McBride, 2006). Additionally, first-generation students typically arrive at college less academically prepared than non-first-generation peers and spend fewer hours per week studying (Terenzini, et al., 1996), and certainly with rural Appalachia being home to many low-resource public schools, first-

generation students from this area are likely to fall in with the trend of first-generation students being less academically prepared. One of the most significant characteristics of first-generation students (in relation to this study) is that these students are more likely to report having experienced some type of racial or gender discrimination on college campuses (Terenzini, et al., 1996). Whether or not this discrimination may be tied to language is unclear, but since language is closely tied to issues of race and gender, it likely plays a part on some level. First-generation students are also more likely to see college strictly as a means to better employment, seek out what they perceive to be more lucrative majors, and tend to stay away from humanities courses (Davis, 2010; Terenzini, et. al, 1996). While the humanities are not traditionally a particularly lucrative area, aversion to these studies by first-generation students may also be tied to language use (particularly as first-generation students are likely to be speakers of non-standardized varieties of English), as some studies suggest (see for example, such as Scott, 2008, and McBride, 2006).

Additionally, with roughly 20% of the population of Appalachia falling below the national poverty level and the average per capita income in Appalachia being close to 20% lower than the national average (ARC Economic Overview, 2012, p. 2), a significant number of college-going Appalachian students are likely to be from low SES backgrounds (first-generation students are also likely to be from low SES families). Like first-generation students, students from low SES backgrounds are less likely to persist in college and face unique challenges. Walpole (2003) found that low SES college students also spend less time studying than their higher SES peers and found that they are also less likely to be involved in

on-campus activities such as social and academic clubs. Walpole notes that this characteristic is especially troubling since a body of literature on the influence of participation in on-campus activities and student development (Astin, 1984, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Tinto, 1987, 1993) indicates that student participation is important for retention and academic success. Walpole suggests that low SES students' aversion to campus involvement stymies the growth and accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1982) that will better allow them to feel accepted in the academic community and assist them in furthering their education in graduate school and accruing higher earnings post-graduation.

Regardless of parental education level, socioeconomic status or other factors, students from Appalachia are linked in at least one way- by the stereotypes imposed upon them by outsiders, particularly when Appalachians can be identified by their manner of speech.

Dannenber (2006) writes that:

College students from Appalachia enrolled at non-Appalachian universities often renegotiate their identities in order to become socially acceptable. As their identities shift, so do their dialects, creating 'identity ambivalence' for them and marking them as 'elite outsiders' to their home community (p. 1012).

Dannenber's assertion of becoming an 'elite outsider' upon returning home is likely more true for rural and lower SES students than those from more urban areas and higher socioeconomic standing, but the concept of renegotiating identities and shifting dialect during the college years is critical. Hazen and Fluharty (2004) recount the story of one of the participants in their study, a college student from Appalachia, who was made aware at her

institution that her manner of speech branded her as less intelligent than her peers regardless of what information she had to share in classes. Hazen and Fluharty (2004) suggest that the fact that linguistic stigmatization of Appalachian dialects is found even on college campuses in Appalachia is an indication that even residents of Appalachia have bought into the hegemonic language ideology in the U.S. which suggests that certain dialects, such as dialects of Appalachian English, are inferior.

As an example of the pervasive stigmatization of Appalachian dialects even within areas of Appalachia, linguist Rebecca Greene (2010), explaining her position as a researcher in her study of the speech attitudes of Appalachian women, indicated that during her college years she felt a very personal connection to the issue of stereotyping Appalachians based on their speech:

When I left my small hometown to go to college at the University of Kentucky, only an hour and a half away from my home, people commented on or made fun of my rural Eastern Kentucky accent multiple times each day. My social identity shifted very rapidly from ‘the good student’ to ‘the girl with the hillbilly accent’ (p. vi).

Russ (2006) suggests that because of this type of discrimination, many Appalachian students learn to become bi-dialectal, using “standardized” American English in academic and professional settings and their native dialect at home and in informal settings. Montgomery (2006) notes that younger Appalachian speakers are more likely to have had formal education and exposure to standardized American English making them more likely to be able to code-switch, and their increased awareness of standardized American English will

often make them more self-conscious of the distinction between home/informal and school/formal language. This idea may be critical in terms of how comfortable these students feel on campus in general, interacting with others on campus, and being in certain academic environments.

What is a dialect?

It is important to define dialect, as the term may conjure up different definitions for different people. This study operationalizes the term dialect following the description given by sociolinguists Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 2006). They note that for linguists, a dialect is “a neutral label to refer to any variety of a language that is shared by a group of people” and further suggest that, “to speak a language is to speak some dialect of that language” (p.2). Wolfram and Schilling-Estes additionally indicate that the term dialect, as used by linguists, does not label any dialect as being “good” or “bad” or better or worse than any other, but they do point out that certain dialects are considered by *society* to be more correct, standardized, or socially preferred than others. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes delve into the differences in popular use of the term dialect and linguists’ use of the term to highlight critical differences that may skew perceptions in discussions of dialect. They highlight four common beliefs about dialects, which are:

- 1) That a dialect is the way that someone speaks who speaks differently than oneself
- 2) That a dialect only refers to the varieties of speech that have become well known, such as a “Southern drawl” or “Boston accent.”

3) That sometimes the term dialect is thought to refer to a “bad” or “incorrect” variety of English, and dialect constructions are viewed as failed attempts at “standard” English.

4) That sometimes the term dialect refers is used erroneously to refer to a “socially disfavored” variety of English, often dubbed “*the dialect*” by outsiders (analogous to referencing “the vernacular” (p. 7)

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 2006) clarify these erroneous beliefs by pointing out that all language speakers are speakers of a dialect of that language and that it is not possible to speak a dialect-free language; a dialect’s status is unrelated to the amount of attention it receives; dialect refers to both disfavored *and* favored varieties (not just those which are negatively marked); dialects are not failed attempts at the “standard,” but rather reflect the adoption of the speech of those around them; dialects are governed by rules and structure just like any language; and the term itself is not used by linguists to denote only socially disfavored varieties of speech.

A dialect encompasses more than just phonology (the sounds) of a spoken language, but also includes lexicon (vocabulary) and morphosyntax (grammar). Nonetheless, “accent” may be one of the first things that come to mind when thinking of a dialect, and indeed the term “accent” is often thought to be synonymous with dialect. While an accent is certainly part of a dialect, as previously noted, this is but one component of a dialect. The term “accent” carries with it its own distinct nuances which must be unpacked. What is meant by the term “accent” seems to vary as much as the word dialect. Reagan (2002) points out that the word accent typically draws three meanings: 1) the unique phonological system

belonging to a specific variety of speech (any and all varieties- all speakers of languages speak with an accent of sorts) 2) any non-standardized regional variety (this assumption is in congruence with the dialect myths outlined by Wolfram & Schilling-Estes) and 3) pronunciation of language by non-native speaker of language. The first definition given by Reagan (2002)- the unique phonology belonging to a specific variety of speech- is the preferred definition used in this study and is similar to what is commonly accepted by most sociolinguists.

As previously mentioned, in addition to sounds of a dialect, the lexicon and morphosyntax are other constituents. The lexicon, or vocabulary, of a dialect is often a key element setting it apart from others. A commonly referenced lexical difference that varies among American English dialects is the word used in regard to soft-drinks- *soda*, *pop*, *Coke*, etc. Different regions of the country and different dialects prefer the use of one word to another, and distinct dialect boundaries can often be drawn by dialectologists by tracing the preferred usage patterns of certain words. One might also think of lexical items like *toboggan* which can reference either a hat or a sled depending on the dialect. While an entire region might prefer the use of certain lexical items (e.g. the word *soda* for soft-drink in the northeastern U.S. vs. *Coke* in the South), many dialects contain lexical items specific only to that particular variety of speech. For example, the dialect unique to Ocracoke Island, North Carolina has many lexical items (vocabulary words) found only in that dialect such as, *meehonkey* (the game hide-and-see), *mommuck* (to bother or harass), and *quamish* (to feel nauseated or uneasy). Similarly, dialects of Appalachian English may contain distinct lexical

items such as *siggoglin* (crooked), *airish* (chilly or cool), or *boomer* (red squirrel). The use of different vocabulary can make certain dialects differ within regions, states, counties and even smaller communities.

The morphosyntax, or grammar, of a dialect is an additional component adding to its uniqueness. All dialects are rule-governed and structured, contrary to what may be popular belief. Stigmatized dialects are often thought by dominant linguistic groups in society to be “broken” or “incorrect” speech with no form or rules. This is not the case. For example, the widely discussed African American Vernacular English (AAVE) feature, invariant (or habitual) *be* is confined to use in very specific environments. This feature is used to indicate habitual or continuous action. For example, to say “she be running” in AAVE implies that the subject runs on a regular basis, in contrast with the statement “she is running” or with the AAVE feature copula deletion (absence of the verb *to be*) “she running,” which would indicate that the subject is running at that particular time. The variant copula deletion, in which the verb *to be* is absent, is also rule-governed in AAVE. It can only be used in the present tense, only in the second or third- person, and copula cannot be omitted at the beginning of an utterance. So, “She running fast!” can only be used to describe what the person is doing now, not a past tense action. A speaker of AAVE would not say, “I running fast” in the first person or just “Running fast” to indicate that someone is running fast in the third-person. These are only a few examples of rules that govern the some of the grammar of certain dialects, and all dialects have their own specific rules which guide usage by their speakers.

Other examples of morphosyntactic variation include the use of double-modals in many dialects of Southern American English (I *might should* go to the store later), or the famous a-prefixing found in the speech of older Appalachians (He was *a-swimming* fast!). Wolfram (1974) notes that grammatical, or morphosyntactic, features are often more salient as markers than phonological features, and therefore are more often cues that highlight non-standardized speech. The grammar/morphosyntax of a language is very often the most highly scrutinized aspect in terms of standardization, owing to the fact that it is associated with reading and writing. As Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 2006) point out, the United States, unlike certain countries such as Spain or France, has no official language academy to govern the way language should be spoken, but nonetheless, English is a “standard culture” language (Milroy, 2001). That is to say, in English speaking countries, there is a notion that some varieties of English are more “standard,” or correct, than others. This standard language ideology (most commonly associated with the grammar of a language) extends to phonology and lexicon as well. As such, certain non-standardized dialects, such as dialects of Appalachian English, are often viewed by mainstream American culture as “incorrect” and are stigmatized.

Dialects, stereotypes, and discrimination.

As human beings, we make many assumptions about those with whom we interact based on language (Lippi-Green, 2004). From listening to someone’s voice, we make assumptions about the gender of the speaker, age, sometimes race, nationality/regional origin, socioeconomic status, level of education/intelligence, etc. However, many of these

assumptions we make are incorrect and are based on previously held attitudes about certain varieties of language, generally stemming from beliefs and attitudes about the group of speakers associated with that variety of language. As Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) note, “attitudes about language can trigger a whole set of stereotypes and prejudices based on underlying social and ethnic differences” (p. 27). Language is often used as a proxy for a culture or an entire group of people, and more often than not, those subject to discrimination and prejudice because of their language are members of non-mainstream culture (in the United States, mainstream linguistic values are typically those belonging to White, middle-class, Euro-centric culture).

Generally, non-standardized varieties of English are associated with groups holding lower social status and are perceived as being less correct, acceptable, or valuable by members of the majority group (and, as will be discussed later, by the speakers of non-standardized varieties themselves for reasons of linguistic hegemony). Conversely, Bloome (2009) notes that,

Those varieties of English associated with white, northern, middle- and upper-middle class communities are perceived as better than those varieties of English associated with groups such as African Americans, Mexican and other Latino communities, and people from working class backgrounds (p. xiii).

While there are many social markers that are used to associate a person with a particular social class, race, ethnic background, or geographic region, one’s speech is “not so easily shed as a suit of clothes or rusted and aging automobile” (Luhman, 1990 p. 332) and

therefore remains as an “invisible” but salient marker of community membership. Hence, despite appearance, educational attainment, social class, or other factors, the moment a speaker of a non-standardized variety of English opens his or her mouth, he or she may be “triggering” a multitude of stereotypes and prejudices associated with the group of which his or her speech has marked him or her as being a member.

In her book, “English with an Accent,” Rosina Lippi-Green (1997) discusses in detail the enormous amount of discrimination due to dialect stereotypes and prejudices that occurs in the United States. Among many examples, Lippi-Green shares the story of a foreign language professor interviewing for a position at a prestigious university who encountered linguistic discrimination from the search committee. The job candidate recounts that the interview was initially conducted in the target language, and when the interview changed to English, the search committee was surprised and even laughed when they heard the candidate’s native dialect, which was a dialect of Southern American English. The job candidate indicated, “After that I got a number of questions about whether I’d be ‘comfortable’ at their institution. Subtle, but to me it was not ambiguous” (p. 210).

A similarly troubling case Lippi-Green (1997) cites is that of an experienced Hawai’ian meteorologist who was denied promotion to reporting the weather on the radio (despite his 20 years of meteorological experience) because of his Hawai’ian accent. After taking the matter to court, a judge, strongly adhering to standard language ideology, dismissed a linguist’s testimony that the meteorologist’s speech was an acceptable variety of

English and supported the hiring of a White candidate whose pronunciation was more “standard.”

Situations such as these are far commonplace than perhaps we would like to admit and will continue to occur as long as the general public remains uneducated (or misinformed) about variation and change within the English language. Stereotypes based on language are particularly damaging in the intersection of language and education because when these stereotypes go unchallenged, they propagate the idea that some varieties of language are superior to others, and by extension, that the speakers of certain varieties are superior to others. As Reagan (2002) notes, this notion is “powerful and common” and also “a profoundly wrong idea and one that has serious implications for classroom practice” (p. 57). Reagan goes on to suggest that the examination of this erroneous idea is critical for all educators because of the implications it has for relationships of dominance and power in educational settings. The instructor can act as an oppressor (Delpit, 1995) and propagate the ideas of larger society in terms of cultural hegemony, particularly linguistic hegemony. This ideology may lead to linguistic hegemony, an aspect of cultural hegemony, in which a dominant group imposes its views and preferences on groups of lesser power through coercion (Gramsci, 1971). (This idea will be discussed in further detail in the literature review.) Linguistic hegemony often finds its way into the classroom and can be influential in the role of language in educational settings.

Dialects and education.

Language and dialect play a critical role in education, though the magnitude of this role is often not addressed or is fully understood by educators. Reagan (2002) notes that, “language is at the heart of virtually every aspect of education, and indeed, of social life in general” (p.60), and Scott (2008) suggests that “language is a critical issue for scholars and practitioners in educational leadership for social justice because it is such a powerful vehicle of culture” (p. 59).

In an attempt to raise awareness of the important role language plays in educational settings, Charity Hudley and Mallinson’s (2011) book, “Understanding English Language Variation in U.S. Schools” takes an in-depth look at the role of language in education and the difficulties that speakers of non-standardized varieties of English face in schools. Charity Hudley and Mallinson offer that:

Language is a central component of both culture and the educational process. The language that students bring with them to educational settings significantly affects how they perform academically. Some students come to school already speaking the standardized variety that is valued and viewed as being more correct in educational systems. Not surprisingly, these students are often more likely to succeed in school. Many other students come to school without already knowing the standardized variety and as a result, they may be faced with linguistic hurdles everyday (p.1).

While educators attempt to recognize and promote respect and awareness of diversity of race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, etc., in the classroom, diversity of language (when it is acknowledged) is often not seen as a type of diversity to learn about and celebrate, but an issue that requires homogenization and standardization. Reagan (2005) asserts that language (and by extension language variation) “is one of the key elements to understanding and responding appropriately to diversity in educational settings” (p. 40).

As previously discussed, dialect stereotypes and discrimination run rampant in American society, and dialect stereotypes and general attitudes about certain language varieties are not checked at the door in educational settings. Wolfram, et al., (1999) suggest that, “the issues arising over language variation in education are just one reflection of dialect issues in the broader social context. The most pervasive issue concerns attitudes about language” (p. 27). This issue is particularly critical when the students are speakers of non-standardized¹ varieties of English, whether in the K-12 or college setting. Because language

¹ Lippi-Green (2012) asserts that the use of terms such as “standard” and “nonstandard” by linguists to describe speech paradoxically undermines efforts that aim to discourage standard language ideology. She opts to use the term *SAE to “to refer to that mythical beast, the idea of a homogenous standard American English” (p. 62), which she suggests is a better, though imperfect alternative. While I acknowledge Lippi-Green’s stance on the use of terms such as “standard,” in this study I chose to follow Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011), who make a distinction between “Standard English” and “standardized English.” Charity Hudley and Mallinson use the term Standard English in a manner similar to Lippi-Green’s *SAE, and suggest that the term “standardized” carries the implication that what is considered “standard” is the result of social and political processes, drawing attention to issues of privilege and power dynamics surrounding language. Using the terms “non-standardized” and “standardized” to describe speech in this study is done to acknowledge the fact that some dialects are more socially preferred than others while at the same time highlighting the fact that this is the result of social processes and does not reflect the inherent value or correctness of either variety.

is so closely tied to identity, if a student feels that his or her dialect is not valued by majority culture or is taught that it should not be used in certain settings he or she will likely “feel pressure and anxiety” to change this part of his or her identity and face difficulties in reconciling maintenance of cultural heritage and adoption of characteristics associated with mainstream success (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011, p. 13).

Speakers of Southern varieties of English, particularly dialects of Appalachian English, are often the target of dialect stereotyping and discrimination, and Greene (2010) suggests that, “notions about Appalachians are not that different from notions about Southerners in general, but rather, an intensified version of them” (p. 28). Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) state that stereotypes and negatives attitudes toward Southerners (which we may expect, as Greene indicates, to be amplified for Southern Appalachians) often result in lowered expectations in terms of education for this population, and consequently, limited professional opportunities. In the University of North Carolina publication, “Teaching for Inclusion: Diversity in the Classroom,” it is suggested that,

Geographic origin is a ‘semi-invisible’ kind of diversity which, if addressed properly, can be an asset to a classroom. It can be a source of discomfort for students, however, if they feel they are the target of discrimination because of where they grew up. (p. 92)

This idea is critical in the discussion about language and education, because language is often a direct reflection of geographic origin. Oftentimes, a student needs not directly announce, “I am from Appalachia”; all he or she need do is open his or her mouth and classmates and

professors are aware of this fact and can begin assigning stereotypes associated with the people of that geographic region.

The attribution of negative stereotypes by virtue of the language one speaks could be detrimental not only to self-esteem, but also to academic identity and self-efficacy beliefs. The development of a positive academic identity has been found to be associated with success in higher education (White & Lowenthal, 2011), and so conversely, when a student begins to see himself not as a “good student” but as someone whose accent has reduced him in the eyes of others as a “hick” or “hillbilly” the development of a positive academic (and social) identity could be stymied. By extension, the issue of stereotype threat (Steele, 1997) is raised. If the stereotype is enacted that students who speak a particular dialect are less intelligent or perform worse in certain areas, this may have an impact on student performance.

Statement of the problem and purpose

For students from rural, Southern Appalachian areas, who make up a small minority of the student population at most non-Appalachian universities, language could present a serious hindrance in their development as students, both socially and academically if the campus environment is not one that promotes and values linguistic diversity. Standard language ideology, linguistic hegemony, and stereotypes associated with certain dialects could prevent students who are speakers of non-standardized varieties of English from feeling valued, accepted, and understood. In theory, this may ultimately prevent students

from developing a positive academic identity, participating in campus activities, developing positive relationships with peers, student services staff and faculty members, feeling a sense of belonging on campus in general and in certain academic disciplines, and achieving academic goals (Scott, 2008).

The purpose of this study is to understand the influence that speaking a dialect of Appalachian English has on the college experience in terms of perceived academic performance, perceptions of acceptance on campus, participation in campus activities, use of campus resources, peer and faculty interaction, and overall academic identity. This qualitative study aims to understand the role of language and these college experiences for rural Southern Appalachian college students.

Research questions

- 1) What role do students from rural Southern Appalachia perceive language to play in their experiences interacting with peers, faculty, and any others with whom they interact on the college campus?
- 2) What role do students from rural Southern Appalachia perceive language to play in making decisions regarding involvement in campus activities, enrollment in certain courses, and choice of major?
- 3) What role do students from rural, Southern Appalachia perceive language to play in their academic experiences in college?

Methods

Participants in this study were students from rural Southern Appalachian areas attending college in at a large, public research institution in an urban area in the southern United States. Subjects participated in semi-structured interviews during which they were asked questions

regarding their own perceptions of their speech, others' perceptions of their speech, and the perceived influence that their speech has had during their experience thus far in college (interaction, involvement on campus, choice of courses/major, academic identity, achievement). Their speech was analyzed for two phonological (pronunciation) variants, the vowels /ay/ and /e/ (the vowel sound in the words "bite" and "bait" respectively) and any use of non-standardized morphosyntax (grammar) associated with dialects of Appalachian English was described. This was done to gain an understanding of participants' linguistic backgrounds and to provide rich and thick description of this element to be used to better understand the role language played in their experiences in college. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed for themes relating to the influence of language on participants' experience in college.

Significance

This study is significant in its contribution to literature in both higher education research and sociolinguistic research and has significant implications for theory and practice. First and foremost, there is scant research available on the role that language plays in students' experiences in higher education, particularly for speakers of non-standardized dialects of English. This is critical, because language is an element of the human experience closely tied to identity and culture (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), but it is often ignored as an element of diversity to be accepted and celebrated within higher education.

Many speakers of non-standardized dialects of English may be first-generation college students, racial or ethnic minorities, or may come from low SES backgrounds, and while there is abundant research on characteristics of those student populations, language is rarely addressed and may be a critical missing component. Further, there is limited available research on college-bound Appalachian students, linguistically related or otherwise, within the domain of higher education research.

This study provides information about a group not often studied within higher education and a topic, the role of language, not often addressed within higher education research. Further, this study has implications for the specific target population and beyond, including other college students who are speakers of non-standardized dialects of English, including those from rural backgrounds, low SES backgrounds, and first-generation college students and ethnic and racial minorities. Findings additionally have implications for faculty and administrators in their interactions with students and considerations for creating more inclusive campus environments. As will be discussed in later chapters, findings have significant implications for practice, such as diversity programming and considering dialect in developing inclusive campus environments. There are additional implications for theory, including dialect and stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), the role of dialect and sense of belonging respective of attrition models (Strayhorn, 2012), and dialect and psychosocial development in college (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

Overview

In this chapter I will provide additional context for the study and discuss the available literature on standard language ideology in the United States, linguistic hegemony, codes of power in education, and academic identity, beginning with the theoretical underpinnings of each and moving to specific studies pertinent to the topics in aggregate. I will begin by providing additional information about Appalachia and Appalachian dialects. The next section describes the conceptual framework I use to approach this study, built from literature in linguistics and educational research. Finally, this section reviews the available literature relevant to the research topic. Although there is available literature on Appalachian college students, this literature has focuses on first year transitions (Bradbury, 2008; Bickel, Banks & Spatig, 1991; Carter & Robinson, 2002; Dees 2006) attitudes toward higher education (Wallace & Diekroger, 2000), and attitudes toward multicultural education (Asada, Swank & Goldey, 2003) and first-generation Appalachian students (Bryan & Simmons, 2009; Hand & Miller-Payne, 2008). As the focus of this study is on language and the influence on college experiences for Appalachian students, the focus of the literature review will be on studies with more direct ties to these concepts.

Additional context for the study:

What is Appalachia? Appalachia, is, as John C. Campbell once said, “a land about which, perhaps, more things are known that are not true than any other part of the country” (Eller 1999 p. x). Indeed, the vast area stretching from New York to Alabama is frequently noted

by scholars as being a land of “otherness” in America. The inhabitants of Appalachia are, of course, American, but often viewed by non-Appalachians as being “not like the rest of us.” It is an area with a multitude of stereotypes placed upon it by outsiders, most frequently conjuring images of backwardness, poverty, insularity and isolation; it is seen by many non-Appalachian Americans as a land that time has forgotten. Eller (1999) writes:

Always part of the mythical South, Appalachia continues to languish backstage in the American drama, still dressed, in the popular mind at least, in the garments of backwardness, violence, poverty and hopelessness once associated with the South as a whole. No other region of the U.S. today plays the role of the ‘other America’ quite so persistently as Appalachia (p. x).

These stereotypes, naturally, do not accurately reflect the complexity and diversity found in Appalachia, nor the economic and educational progress seen in the region in the past 50 years. Nonetheless, when Appalachia is spoken of, these perceptions of the region and its people seem to remain. Such stereotypes also contribute to the idea of Appalachia as a single, homogeneous entity. In fact, though the Appalachian Regional Commission’s (a federal-state economic development agency established by Congress in 1965 under the Appalachian Redevelopment Act) identification of Appalachian areas offers a comprehensive geographical definition of the area, how one defines “Appalachia” may differ depending on one’s standpoint and purpose of study (Peoples Appalachian Research Collective, p. 5). In geographic terms, the definition of Appalachia given by the Appalachian Regional Commission (hereafter ARC) encompasses a 205,000-square-mile region that includes parts

of 13 states- Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia- and all of West Virginia (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2012). According to the ARC, Appalachia has a rural population of 42%, double the national average of around 20%. There are close to 24 million inhabitants of Appalachia, living in both rural and urban areas.

But beyond merely being a geographically defined area or mountain range, Appalachia is its people. Being the large area that it is, Appalachia is not home to a unifying culture, but rather many cultures of the many different regions within Appalachia. Bruce Ergood (Appalachia Social Context Past and Present, 1983) notes that the idea of a diverse Appalachia is difficult for outsiders who would prefer to have a single definition for the entire region and its people. Citing Perley Ayer, Ergood notes that for most outsiders, the average Appalachian is some sort of “prototype”:

In one period he’s an ornery, independent, feuding moonshiner. In another, he’s a proud, honest, God-fearing, subsistence farmer. Still another prototype is the thin, gaunt, blackfaced mountain miner. Finally, he is portrayed as a down-hearted, beaten, welfare recipient rocking on his porch ‘just a setten.’ No prototype is accurate; most are stereotypes and carry the prejudice of ignorance of the true situation and a broad extension to the many of the attributes of the few. (p. 45)

Just as these stereotypes were not true of Appalachia and its inhabitants when Ergood referenced them in 1983, these stereotypes are surely not true today. In terms of occupation, the Appalachia region is home to men and women in the “traditional” mining industry, but it

is also home to many urban Appalachians who work in a diverse number of trades including business, government, and education. Appalachia's economy has recently begun to become more diverse in recent decades, with significant growth in areas such as finance, insurance and real estate (31% new job growth between 2000 and 2008), and professional and technical services (24.7% growth between 2000 and 2008), though the mining industry, which in the past had begun to dwindle, showed a resurgence (39.7%) during this time period (Appalachian Region Industry Report, 2010, pp. 1-9). It is notable that within Appalachia, employment during the 2000-2008 time period saw the most growth in the Southern portion (the geographic focus of this study) rather than in Central or Northern Appalachia. The manufacturing and farming industries saw significant job losses during this period (-24.6% and -15%, respectively) with manufacturing taking the biggest hit in South Central Appalachia (-31.1%).

However, the Appalachian Regional Commission notes that "Appalachia still does not enjoy the same economic vitality as the rest of the nation" and suggests that Appalachia has perhaps faced the most significant hardship in the nation during the current economic crisis, and that the region in general is still marked by "high poverty, unemployment, poor health, and severe educational disparities" (Appalachian Regional Commission 2012, Appalachia's Economy).

In addition to occupational stereotypes, as Ergood (1983) also notes, the region is often discussed as having inhabitants who possess certain characteristics such as being "independent, kin-involved people whose lives are closely bound to their physical

environment, whose activities are traditional, and whose beliefs are both fatalistic and religiously fundamental” (p. 47). While there may be Appalachians who could accurately be described using those characteristics, it is certainly unlikely that 24 million Americans living in Appalachia unilaterally share the “traditional” character stereotypes. Further, Hazen and Fluharty (2004) point out that Appalachians may not think of themselves as “Appalachian” but are perhaps more likely to make “more local, regional identification” (p.51).

Other commonly held beliefs about Appalachia are linked to poverty and level of educational attainment. Although fewer Appalachians live in poverty today than in the past (18% as of 2008 compared to 1 in 3 in 1965, according to the Appalachian Regional Commission’s 2010 data) the region still has a higher overall percentage of its population in poverty than the national average and still falls below the national average for number of high school and college graduates as of 2009.

Appalachian dialects.

“Whether fostering positive or negative stereotypes, the way Appalachians speak has frequently marked them as different, generating many attempts to explain still another aspect of the region’s ‘otherness.’” Michael Montgomery (2006, p. 999)

As linguist Michael Montgomery asserts, there is no single Appalachian dialect, but rather Appalachia is home to numerous dialects of Appalachian English (2006). Montgomery further suggests that “the English spoken in Appalachia has drawn more comment than any other regional variety of American English, the only possible exception being that of the Deep South” (2004, p. 147) and notes that, “Appalachian speech has long served as an

emblem of the region's native- one that has inspired contradictory, fanciful, and sometimes far-fetched notions about the people and their culture" (2006, p. 999).

Perhaps, just as John C. Campbell noted that Appalachia may be a region about which more things are known that are not true than any other part of the country (Eller, 1999), varieties of Appalachian English may be dialects about which more is known than is true. A commonly held misconception about Appalachian English is the notion that it is a preserved form of Elizabethan or Shakespearean English. This highly romanticized myth has been circulated for years and goes hand- in-hand with the "land that time forgot" mythology of Appalachia. In fact, the settlers from Britain who first settled Appalachia did not reach the mountains until nearly 100 years after the Elizabethan era. Naturally, after a century had passed since Shakespeare's day, the Anglo founders of early Appalachian settlements did not speak Elizabethan English. Furthermore, Appalachian Englishes bear significant influences from other language varieties, such as Scots, German, and Native American languages (Montgomery, 2006).

Perhaps the most commonly held myth is that there is one dialect of Appalachian English and that all Appalachians sound the same or very similar (Hazen & Fluharty, 2004). In a region stretching from Alabama to New York, this is certainly not the case, though it is possible that perhaps at some point Appalachians may have been more categorically similar in their speech (Hazen, 2009).

Montgomery (2006) indicates that linguists often divide Appalachia into distinct regions, the North Midland (northern West Virginia, northwestern Maryland, Pennsylvania) and the

South Midland (southern West Virginia, western Virginia, western North Carolina, western South Carolina, east Kentucky, east Tennessee, northeast Georgia, and north east Alabama). This study will focus on students from the rural Southern Midland region attending college in an urban area outside of Appalachia in the American South.

There are certain features of Appalachian dialects which Hazen and Hamilton (2009) dub, “Appalachian Heritage Language features,” which are those most commonly associated with Appalachian English(es). A few of these phonological features traditionally associated with dialects of Appalachian English listed by Hazen and Hamilton (pp. 96-99) are:

Table 1

Phonological Appalachian Heritage Language Features Adapted from “Dialect Research in Appalachia: A Family Case Study,” by K. Hazen and S. Hamilton, 2009, *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies*, 3, pp. 96-99. Adapted with permission.

Feature	Example given
/ay/ monophthongization pre-voiceless consonants	/krayd/ > /kra:d/ (“cried” pronounced as “crahd”)
/ay/ monophthongization pre-voiced consonants:	/krayd/ > [kra:d]
Gliding of monophthong	/bæd/ > [bæ ^y d] (“bad” pronounced as “bayud”)
Word or syllable final /ow/ to schwa	/wIndo/ > [wIndə] (“window” pronounced as “windah”)
/oy/ ungliding	/boyl/ > [bo:l] (“boil” pronounced as “boll”)
Word or syllable final /ow/ to syllabic[ɹ]	/halo/ > [halɹ] (“hollow” pronounced as “holler”)
Prenasal fricative stopping	/w əzntʰ/ > [w ədntʰ] (“wasn’t” pronounced as “wadn’t”)

Some of the more salient morphological Appalachian Heritage Language features listed by Hazen and Hamilton (2009) include:

Table 2

Morphological Appalachian Heritage Language Features. Adapted from “Dialect Research in Appalachia: A Family Case Study,” by K. Hazen and S. Hamilton, 2009, *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies*, 3, p. 92. Adapted with permission.

Feature	Example given
a-prefixing	You could hear them a-laughing all through the house
leveled was	I don't know what they was playing
(ING): ing- in'	I was walkin'
Multiple negation	We didn't have no TV
Personal datives	Then I got me a job
Demonstrative them	And back in them days, moonshine was the thing.
Plural absences in nouns of weight and measure	There's where we lived for about forty year
Auxiliary deletion:	We Ø been married fifty year

There are many other phonological and morphosyntactic features that fall into the category of Heritage Language features, but the features listed above are among those perhaps most salient and some of the most stigmatized.

However, several studies (Hazen & Hamilton, 2008; Hazen & Hamilton, 2009; Hazen, Flesher & Simmons, 2010; Hazen, Butcher & King, 2010) indicate that the speech often thought of as “Appalachian” (use of all or most of the above mentioned features in addition to others not mentioned) does not exist in reality today; these notions about how Appalachians speak today are likely drawn from generalizations about Appalachian speech as it may have existed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

These studies provide support for the idea that there is no Appalachian English, but rather Appalachian Englishes that vary regionally within Appalachia and “even within small communities” (Hazen, 2008 p. 105). Hazen and Fluharty’s (2004) study of speakers in West Virginia suggested that very few heritage language features were a common link between speakers across communities within West Virginia, and furthermore that the sample population exhibited a range of variation in their speech. Hazen (2009) further notes that while heritage language features serve a role in identity construction of Appalachians, studies such as those he has conducted are among the few studies in recent years (since the 1960s) to explore the true extent of their usage and the level of vernacularity in Appalachia.

Studies on modern Appalachian Englishes seem to indicate that overall the region is has been influenced by standardized varieties of English, with “traditional Appalachian” phonological variants remaining while morphosyntax moves toward standardized English (Hazen, 2009; Greene, 2010). Furthermore, as with many dialects, within Appalachia dialects have been found to vary between social classes (Hazen, Butcher, & King, 2010; Greene, 2010), and this fact most certainly has implications for the interaction between dialect and education, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Conceptual framework

Standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony work in tandem and have a cyclical relationship. Standard language ideology reflects the language choices and preferences of dominant social groups who then reinforce the “correctness” of their language through hegemony. Subordinate groups “buying into” hegemonic linguistic ideology further propagate standard language ideology (Suarez, 2002). Together, standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony influence stereotypes and prejudices. Due to linguistic prescriptivism stemming from standard language ideology and hegemony, speakers of non-standardized varieties of English are subject to judgments and presumptions about their intelligence and background (among many other things) and may thus have more limited educational, vocational, and social opportunities than speakers of standardized varieties. Further, standard language ideology and linguistics hegemony influence codes of power (Delpit, 1995), or rules for participation in the dominant culture, in education. Educational institutions are often influenced by the power of the dominant groups in society and the structure and order of these institutions reflect the values and preferences of said dominant groups (Bourdieu, 1982). Texts, testing materials, oral delivery of lectures, and expectations for written and oral language of students in educational environments will reflect the “standard” language norms dictated by those in power (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). Students who are not speakers of standardized varieties of English will be at a disadvantage for not knowing or being able to acquiesce to codes of power in academic settings (in and out of the classroom environment) influencing language use, and further being subject to

stereotypes and prejudices for their non-standardized language use, their academic identity and sense of belonging on campus may be negatively influenced. Speaking a non-standardized dialect may exclude certain students from participation in what White and Lowenthal (2011) call the academic discourse community. This exclusion may influence the way a student perceives him or herself as a student, influence academic participation and therefore student success, and may influence the extent to which the student feels a sense of belonging in an academic environment, how much he or she is involved in campus life, achievement, relationships with others on campus, and possibly even decisions related to attrition.

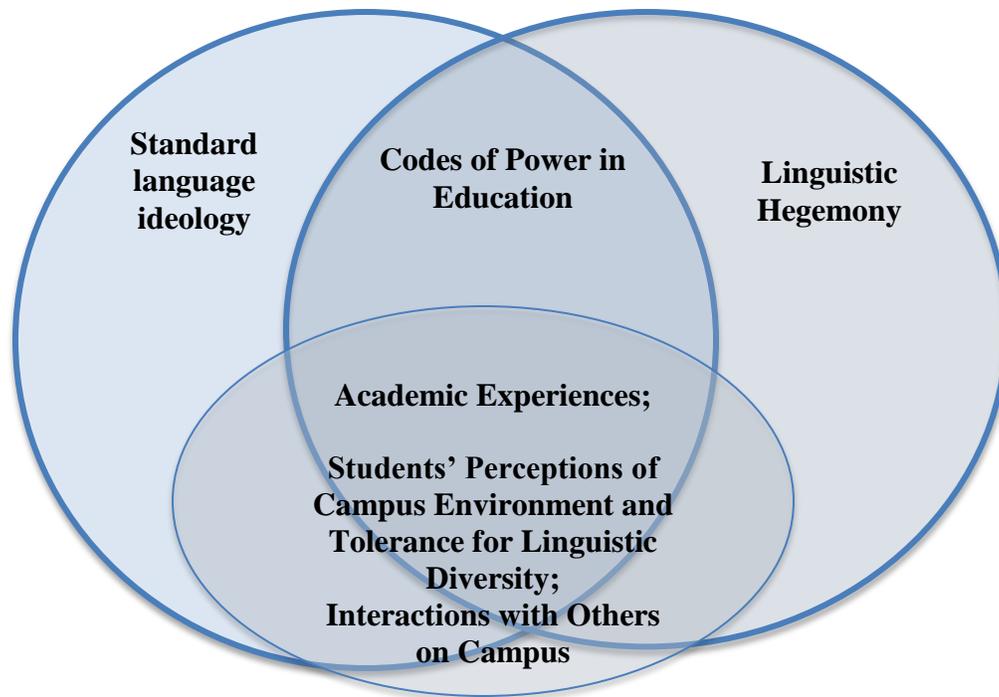


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Standard language ideology in America

In the United States, standard language ideology is generally accepted as “common sense” and the idea that there is more than one acceptable variety of English is often met with resistance and skepticism. Lippi-Green (1997) discusses the idea of linguistic ideology in American society, particularly as it concerns standard language ideology (SLI), which Lippi-Green describes as, “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class” (p. 64).

This notion that there exists one standardized, unified, correct form of the language is propagated by the dominant class and marginalizes those of lower social standing and less power who are non-speakers of the preferred variety of the dominant class (Lippi-Green 1997, 2012). Lippi-Green (1997) notes that educational institutions are “at the heart of the standardization process” and further suggests that schools are one of many “dominant institutions” that promote SLI. She goes on to say that, “standard language ideology is introduced by the schools, vigorously promoted by the media and further institutionalized by the corporate sector. It is underscored by the entertainment industry and underwritten in subtle and not so many subtle ways by the judicial system” (p.72). Standard language ideology, as mentioned, reflects the values of dominant classes, which in American typically means White, middle- or upper-middle class, and male. It is not tied strictly to language, however; the idea of a unifying, homogenous language preferred by the dominant classes

also reflects the desire of the dominant class for cultural homogeneity as well, or standardization and adherence to the dominant culture by those of lower status. Lippi-Green (1997) writes that:

Given what we know about the links between social identity and linguistic variation, there can be no doubt that often when we ask individuals to reject their own language, it is not the message, but the social allegiances made clear by that language, which are the underlying problem. We do not, cannot under our laws, ask people to change the color of their skin, their religion, their gender, but we regularly demand of people that they suppress or deny the most effective way they have of situating themselves socially in the world (p.63).

Present-day American society (and many other societies around the world) still routinely makes the above-mentioned demand of non-standardized speaking, non-dominant members of society, and further, many individuals submit to the demand and strive for the imaginary “standard.” Again, this demand for adherence to the “standard” typically starts in dominant institutions such schools, but as Lippi-Green (1997) points out, one may wonder precisely how it is that individuals can be persuaded to aim for a “standard” which is allegedly better than their natural variety of speech? Lippi-Green describes a model of the process by which an individual consents to SLI (and furthermore, she notes, becomes “complicit” in the process by perpetuating SLI against her or his native dialect and identity) involving language mystification, establishment of authority, generation of misinformation, trivialization of non-standardized language, uplifting of conformers, issuance of promises or threats for

compliance or noncompliance, and marginalization of non-conformers. As Lippi-Green (1997) describes, the language mystification process involves institutions such as schools, the media, the entertainment industry, corporations, and the judicial system making the claim that standardized English cannot be attained by native speakers without the intervention of some type of external language authority (this process is typically thought to take place in school, as students learn what Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 2006), Delpit (1995), and Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) refer to as “School English”) to help them make sense of the complexities of the language. The emphasis of dominant institutions on this notion teaches individuals that their natural manner of speech is flawed and must be corrected. Lippi-Green implies that authority is constructed by these dominant institutions working together, feeding off of each other, with all self-proclaiming to be experts and “authority” on use of language. Further, misinformation produced by these authorities regarding language in a seemingly tautological fashion (“the standard is correct because the standard is considered to be the most correct form”) is used to spread SLI through denigration of non-standardized varieties. Lippi-Green indicates that authorities (most often, she says, the media) trivialize the speech of non-standardized speakers as part of the subordination process. This is fairly common in the entertainment industry as well, where we see speech patterns of certain groups used to tell the audience certain things about the character (for example, a Southern accent used to show how “simple” or “backward” or funny (because of simplicity or backwardness) the character is). Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) notes that words like “cute” or “funny” or “homey” may be used to describe someone’s speech, and these words, which may

be positive on the surface, are used as a sort of backhanded compliment to indeed trivialize non-standardized speech. Furthermore, Lippi-Green notes that promises and threats are made to non-standardized speakers about the rewards they will accrue by becoming “standard” or conversely, the punishment for remaining “nonstandard.” She suggests that rewards such as being taken more seriously by future employers and society in general are rather implicit (along with the idea of earning more money as the result of being taken more seriously), while threats about remaining non-standardized (not being taken seriously, having fewer employment opportunities, perhaps fewer educational opportunities, lower overall earnings) are often made explicit by dominant institutions, as often reflected in educational policy. Finally, Lippi-Green suggests that dominant institutions will often vilify those who are resistant to the adoption of SLI and standardized language usage, often with giving the implicit (and at times explicit) message- “See how willfully stupid, arrogant, unknowing, unformed, and/or deviant and unrepresentative these speakers are” (p. 68). These steps in aggregate have proven to be successful in achieving the subordination of non-standardized speakers to SLI and as noted, make them complicit in the process of propagation of linguistic ideology and hegemony.

Expanding upon the notion of SLI, Wolfram Schilling Estes (1998, 2006) describe in detail the different classifications of the English language involved in SLI as we often see in the United States. The authors (after emphasizing the fact that there is no existing standard in any language, since language is always changing) note, as does Lippi-Green (1997, 2012), that despite the fact that there is no governing authority of the English language, there

is still a strong adherence of the public to ideals of a prescriptive, standardized language. The authors describe a continuum of varieties of language use and the acceptability of these varieties. “Formal Standard English” or “Prescriptive English” is generally held in public opinion to be on one end of the continuum, and esteemed as being most proper and valuable. “Informal Standardized English” varies along the middle, and “Nonstandard” or “Vernacular” English is on the opposite end of the continuum from Formal Standard English, and is held in low esteem. Formal/Prescriptive English is typically the institutionalized, conservative English taught in schools and is largely concerned with aspects of grammar and writing. Nonstandard/Vernacular English most often refers to spoken English and the authors note that “unlike standardized dialects which are largely defined by the absence of socially disfavored structures of English, vernacular varieties seem to be characterized by the presence of socially conspicuous features” (p. 15). That is to say, for example, the phrase “We might could go to the store” is considered vernacular because of the presence of the vernacular feature of a double-modal. The absence of the double-modal “might could” in the phrase “We could possibly go to the store” makes it standardized. Informal Standard English is harder to define but is described as “a variety free of stigmatized features” and is “supported by an additional observation about Americans’ attitudes toward dialects” (p. 13). The authors give the example that speakers from varying and distinct regions of the country (Michigan, Arkansas, New England) might all be considered speakers of standardized English if they refrain from using stigmatized grammatical features such as double-negatives, regardless of the fact that they may sound very different and not all adhere to the most

“standard” pronunciation. The use of standardized grammar but less standardized pronunciation is an element separating Informal Standard English from Standard/Prescriptive English. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 2006) note that while Standard/Prescriptive English taught in schools is often what is considered “the” standard, Informal Standard English is the variety of implicit when discussing the standard language ideology that more directly impacts American society (p. 13). The authors note that while Standard/Prescriptive English is more easily definable as being absent of non-standardized/vernacular features, the area on the continuum on which Informal Standard English and Vernacular English is more difficult to define. How is vernacularity measured? Why might a person who is considered to be a speaker of Informal Standard English by some be considered a very vernacular speaker by others? Wolfram and Schilling-Estes suggest that there is no one answer that satisfies every instance and ranking of speakers on the continuum, but rather offer that it is subjective to considerations of social class, regional speech patterns, gender, race, etc. This underscores Lippi-Green’s description of standard language ideology: governing institutions which determine the standard will differ slightly regionally, but despite slight regional differences, governing authorities (in various incarnations) that will decide whether one’s speech is “standard” or “nonstandard” will still exist. The resulting linguistic hegemony is felt throughout American society.

Linguistic Hegemony

Linguistic hegemony is a by-product of SLI and provides the means for “standardizing” the English language in American society. Suarez (2002) notes that

philosopher Antonio Gramsci is often credited with the modern conception of cultural hegemony used today in political and social sciences, as defined as dominance of ruling classes over the lower classes through coercion rather than force (Gramsci, 1971). Suarez suggests that, “the concept of hegemony provides a philosophical framework within which we can explore the power relations between dominant and minority groups, particularly the means by which the dominant group, or the ‘leading’ group, secures its power and position” (p.513) and applies the Gramscian notion of hegemony to language as a form of cultural hegemony. As such, this study follows Suarez (2002) in operationalizing “linguistic hegemony” as a form of cultural hegemony as defined by Gramsci (1971).

In this model of hegemony, it is suggested that coercion is made possible when the ruling class uses their power (cultural, social, economic) to legitimize a concept and present it as “common sense.” Dominant classes are then able to obtain the consent of the lower classes through the spread of ideology rather than literal force by teaching that the concept is natural, standard, or correct. For example, the language subordination process described by Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) which involves use of SLI by members of dominant groups to convince speakers from non-dominant classes that their speech is inferior or incorrect, highlights this type of ideological coercion.

French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (1982) conceptualizes a “linguistic marketplace” in which these hegemonic forces of SLI (and other oppressive ideologies) are at work. In the linguistic marketplace, language is a form of capital and comprises part of Bourdieu’s overall conception of forms of capital such as physical capital (money), social capital (social

networks) and cultural capital (knowledge, tastes, preferences). Bourdieu posits that all linguistic exchanges represent a type of economic exchange, with speech acts being signifiers of the wealth of the speaker rather than simply communication. Certainly words are used to communicate direct messages, but word choice, pronunciation, intonation, and a variety of other factors signify the legitimacy of one's speech and therefore the linguistic capital accrued by that individual. Bourdieu suggests that speech acts in the linguistic market have a value relative to that market only. For example, although speaking standardized English may have a high value in the overall American English linguistic marketplace, a standardized variety speaker who is interacting in a smaller market, let us say an informal gathering in a very rural area, may actually find that his variety of standardized speech is of lower linguistic capital than the local variety and in fact, his speech may serve to isolate him from locals. In this sense, a market exists between two speakers just as a market exists between five or among all the speakers of English in America. The market value of certain linguistic varieties will vary depending on the power dynamics among the speakers involved in the market, but generally speaking, the large, overarching market values are determined by the dominant class. In this way, the dominant class determines what type of language is "legitimate" and therefore the "standard." Subsequently, ideology about the legitimate "standard" set forth by the dominant class is propagated through hegemony to the lower classes as SLI is used to convince them that the "standard" is "common sense" and better than their native varieties. In this way, "symbolic domination" (hegemony) is present in all linguistic exchanges (Bourdieu, 1982). Bourdieu suggests that the more formal the linguistic market is, the more

importance and value the “standard” carries, and generally speaking, individuals who have limited or no competence in the standard “are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence” (p. 55).

Bourdieu (1982) also suggests that education is the dominant institution in societies responsible for the hegemonic practice of propagating SLI (the “standard” being chosen by the dominant class) to lower classes and determining the value of the linguistic market:

The position which the educational system gives to the different languages (or the different cultural contents) is such an important issue only because this institution has the monopoly in the large scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market without which the social value of the linguistic competence, its capacity to function as linguistic capital would cease to exist. (p. 57)

Families are also responsible for passing along linguistic capital, just as they do social and other forms of cultural capital, but for Bourdieu the educational system is one of the driving forces behind the continuance of SLI and linguistic hegemony. The educational system is controlled by the dominant class and the value of the currency of exchanges in the linguist marketplace of education therefore is also determined by the dominant class. Those who enter the educational system using a variety of lower value and with lower cultural capital will not be instructed in their native variety and will have less success in the school system because the linguistic and cultural capital they bring with them is not highly rewarded in the educational market place- “those least inclined and least able to accept and adopt the

language of the school are also those exposed for the shortest time to this language and to educational monitoring, correction, and sanction” (p. 62).

Dialect and codes of power in education

Standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony make their way into the classroom as part of the cycle of reproduction of the value of the dominant classes. Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) describe the use of standardized English in school systems, which they note is also often referred to as “Standard English, formal English, School English, academic English, proper English, educated English, good English” and “correct English” (p. 11). Charity Hudley and Mallinson are describing processes occurring in K-12 learning environments, but this ideology does not cease to exist when students finish high school and matriculate into higher education. The authors make an important distinction between Standard English and standardized English, noting that use of the former implies that there is one existing standard of English, which would ignore or marginalize other varieties of spoken English. They further note that use of the term standardized English underscores the notion of social and political forces constantly at work defining what standard is and is not, and reinforcing the idea that those in positions of privilege and influence are the determiners of what is acceptable (thus propagating specific linguistic ideology which in turn becomes hegemonic when imposed upon others of lower status and privilege).

Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) suggest that in an academic setting, standardized English takes the form of School English. They note that School English has no native speakers, as it is a language that is taught for use in a specific setting (the academic

environment) just as “Business English” is used in professional settings as has no native speakers. The authors note that School English varies in form from school to school (different levels of education such as elementary and high school have different expectations of what School English is) and regionally there might be differences in the phonological articulation of spoken School English (though the grammatical structure will be very similar). Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) suggest that School English seeks to standardize variation in pronunciation, grammar, writing, intonation, turn-taking, language “etiquette” (including use of honorifics, such as Southern American English use of “sir” and “ma’am” or children referring to familiar non-familial adults by names such as “Miss Jane” rather than “Mrs. Doe”), to reflect the linguistic values associated with standardized English, which is typically determined by middle- and upper-middle class Whites. Students who are not speakers of standardized varieties of English often encounter difficulties in the adoption of School English and at times encounter difficulties in communicating with their instructors, particularly when the instructors are White and middle-class and the student is not (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). For this reason, among others, Charity Hudley and Mallinson note that students who are not speakers of standardized varieties of English come in to the school system with a distinct disadvantage as compared to those students whose standardized variety of English is closely aligned already with School English. These standardized speakers (often White and middle class) are noted to have the following privileges that non-standardized speakers do not:

1. Standardized English speaking students can usually be assured that the newspapers, magazines, books, and other media they encounter at school will be in the type of English they are already familiar with.
2. Standardized English speaking students can usually be assured that they will not be mocked or teased for how they pronounce their words
3. Standardized English speaking students can usually be assured that they will not be thought of as being less intelligent because of how they talk
4. Standardized English speaking students can usually be assured that standardized test instructions and materials will be written in the English that they are already familiar with
5. Standardized English speaking students can usually be assured that most of their educators will communicate with them in the type of English the students are already familiar with
6. Standardized English speaking students can generally be assured that they way they talk will not be the subject of jokes or belittling in mainstream TV shows or movies
7. Standardized English speaking students can generally be assured that their pronunciation, intonation, and sentence structure will not interfere with their ability to be assessed accurately, to interact with authority figures, or, later in life, to obtain housing and be hired for a job

Figure 2: Seven privileges of standardized English. Reprinted from *Understanding English Language Variation in U.S. Schools* (p.36), by A.H. Charity Hudley and C. L. Mallinson, 2011, New York: Teachers College Press. Copyright 2011 by Anne Harper Charity Hudley and Christine Mallinson. Reprinted with permission.

These privileges contribute to what Lisa Delpit (1995, 2006) describes as part of the “culture of power,” or the manifestation of SLI and linguistic hegemony in the classroom (p. 24). Delpit describes five tenets of the culture, or codes, of power, that influence the success of students from non-dominant groups in educational settings.

The first tenet suggests that instructors ultimately hold power over their students in the classroom by virtue of their authority as teacher, and outside forces such as the school board (or university board of governors), textbook publishers, etc., have a considerable amount of influence on the norms and expectations set for students. As Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) notes, dominant institutions such as educational systems, the media, and the government are all linked in determining linguistic norms by declaring themselves authorities, so it is easy to see

how these dominant institutions in Delpit's model are the same entities holding power over the students in the realm of linguistic expectations of standardized language.

Delpit's second tenet of the codes of power is explicitly tied to language: "linguistic forms, communicative strategies, and presentation of self; that is, ways of talking, ways of writing, ways of dressing, and ways of interacting" (p.25). In this tenet we see parallels to Lippi-Green's (1997, 2012) mystification and authority establishment steps of linguistic submission. The dominant institutions which have declared themselves as authorities on language hold the power as to who is allowed to participate in discourse and the culture of power. They make the rules, and the rules cannot be learned without the direction of the authority. The rules in this case are the rules of standardized language, the implication being that one who does not know the rules of standardized language will not be able to participate in the culture of power.

The third tenet relates directly back to the notions of SLI and linguistic hegemony in the sense that those with power (typically middle- and upper-middle class Whites) are those who define the rules of standardized language, and therefore standardized language reflects their linguistic preferences. Those who do not speak standardized language will not be able to participate in the culture of power (second tenet) and therefore they will be unable to acquire power. Conversely, the children of those in power will grow up speaking the standardized language of power and have less difficulty acquiring power than those who do not speak standardized language. This concept embodies Bourdieu's (1982) notion of cultural and linguistic capital and the reproduction of this type of capital.

The fourth tenet, that being explicitly told the rules of the code of power makes acquisition easier, may seem quite simple, but in reality, while dominant institutions may attempt to enforce standardized language upon those with less power, as Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) notes, the benefits of standardization may only ever be implicit, while only threats of not using standardized language are explicit. Furthermore, standardized language alone is only the beginning of participation in dominant culture and other types of cultural capital may not be being passed along or taught.

The fifth tenet, that those in positions of power are often unaware of it while those without power are often most aware of it, is critical, particularly as these codes of power apply to SLI and linguistic hegemony in American educational settings. Delpit (1995) notes that this notion can be “uncomfortable” for those in power when they are confronted with the fact that they hold this power (even, she notes, those who self-identify as being liberal or radical), but this acknowledgement is very important (p.26). Because SLI (and its by-product, linguistic hegemony) is so often viewed as “common sense” many of those who propagate these damaging ideals are unaware 1) that they have the power to do so and 2) that they are, in fact, doing so. Lippi-Green (1997) summarizes the importance of this idea when she states:

What is surprising, and even deeply disturbing, is the way that many individuals who consider themselves democratic, even-handed, rational, and free of prejudice, hold on tenaciously to a standard language ideology which attempts to justify restriction of individuality and rejection of the other (p.73).

These tenets, along with Lippi-Green's (1997, 2012) process of linguistic subordination demonstrate just how much influence educational institutions have on an individual's acquisition of power, and because language is so fundamentally tied to culture, to their identities.

Academic discourse community

Standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony will shape the rules for the codes of power in academic settings, and therefore participation in what has been referred to as the "academic discourse community" (White & Lowenthal, 2011). White and Lowenthal (2011) examine the issue of minority student attrition by exploring the not often examined issue of language and education, and students participation in or exclusion from the academic discourse community. With the understanding that language, literacy and identity are tied to culture, they explore the idea of the university as a unique discourse community and examine who has a voice in the discourse community and what this means for retention and attrition for minority students. The authors note that, "Many arrive in college without having heard the conventions of language that they will need to employ to be heard and thus accepted within this community. Their native ways with words go unrecognized, or worse, "pathologized" (p. 291). Building upon Ogbu (1995) and Delpit's (1995) codes of power framework, White and Lowenthal attempt to address the systems at play which affect how minority students in the university setting can overcome challenges if they are made aware that they are facing them. The authors, citing Gee (2005), explain that discourse communities and our participation in them, such as the university, play an integral role in the way that we

identify ourselves, and further note that having a positive academic identity is linked to academic success. Therefore, those students who enter the university with the cultural and linguistic capital to participate in the university discourse community (based on White middle- and upper middle class values and linguistic practices) are at an advantage over many minority students and other students whose non-standardized speech and limited social capital have not taught them the rules of the discourse community, because the more participation in the university discourse community they have, the more positively their academic identity is shaped and the more they achieve. Conversely, students excluded from the academic discourse community will be less likely to develop academic literacy and a positive academic identity. The authors suggest that academic identity is flexible and changes in relation to the experiences a student has in his or her academic environment. A student who feels accepted, valued, and welcomed on a college campus will be more likely to construct a positive academic identity than one who feels marginalized or excluded. Being included or excluded from participation in the discourse community of a university and the development of academic literacy will most certainly play a large part in academic identity development as the authors explain:

Individuals and the social structures of which they are a part coalesce around a sense of identity. Identity is, in turn, reflected in language. Language is culturally based. Discourse communities are, therefore, influenced greatly by culture. However, once they achieve the ability to move between discourses, students from diverse backgrounds will be more likely to develop a stronger academic identity and succeed in the academy (p. 303).

Conversely, if they do not (as may be the case with students from Appalachia at certain institutions of higher education) we may find that the inability to move between discourses, or feeling excluded and marginalized from the academic discourse community, may make this student population less likely to develop a positive academic identity and therefore find less success in higher education and beyond.

Studies involving the intersection of SLI, Linguistic Hegemony, Codes of Power, and Language Related Experiences in Higher Education

Standard language ideology can have a significant influence on the way that people perceive their native dialects, and by extension, how they perceive themselves to be positioned within society. McBride (2006) studied the language attitudes held by twelve female professionals from Appalachia toward their native dialect, toward “Standard English” and toward bidialectalism in the two varieties. Although McBride does not explicitly name SLI and linguistic hegemony as the driving forces behind language attitudes in her study, she does note that her subjects indicated a belief that their native variety of English was inferior to standardized English and that this belief, along with pressure from either their work or academic environment to use standardized English, pushed many of them to become bidialectal. This, of course, describes precisely the way that SLI works as a hegemonic force in American society.

McBride (2006) found that most of the women in her study realized for the first time that their native dialects (of Appalachian English) were devalued or stigmatized when they

came to college. The participants noted that once in college, they made conscious efforts to change their pronunciation and grammar and one noted wanting to hide where she was really from, being aware of the negative stereotypes associated with Appalachia. One participant, while in graduate school at Duke University was confronted by a professor and told,

Well this is a quite prestigious university, and all of our graduates are considered scholars. Scholars just don't speak with your accent. So I am requiring you to attend speech therapy as part of your graduate studies (p. 155).

The author herself was subject to this type of linguistic discrimination at Brevard College and Wake Forest University, and nearly all the participants had had some type of negative experience directly related to their language use during college and continuing into graduate school (for those who attended graduate or professional school). Through three qualitative interviews with each participant, McBride (2006) discovered that the majority of the participants believed that speaking Standard English was important for success in their professional fields, and they further expressed that they believed any continued standardization of their speech would be beneficial. The participants still expressed pride in their native dialects, but also felt that because of the negative stereotypes associated with Appalachian Englishes and the value placed by American society on standardized English, being able to code-switch between standardized and vernacular is crucial for professional success. McBride noted that beyond college and into the workforce the women in this study “continue to work diligently to speak correctly at work so that they are not targets for criticism or off color humor in relation to their language use” (p. 182).

The perceived necessity for code-switching abilities between Appalachian Englishes and standardized English is the direct result of SLI and linguistic hegemony, which are pervasive in American culture. The bright women in McBride's (2006) study (now in careers such as doctor, lawyer, teacher, minister, social worker, chief financial officer, nurse, farmer) feel the need to code-switch to be successful and well received in American society, although their intellectual qualifications alone should be sufficient. McBride calls for a reevaluation of the role of language in the academic and professional development of the individual in our society, and with good reason. Though McBride's study focuses on post-graduate professional development rather than explicitly on the college experience for students from Appalachia, it is still informative in describing the linguistic discrimination and prejudice experienced by many Appalachian students during the college years and illustrates the critical role language plays in the college to career pipeline. Not knowing precisely to what degree the participants speak a dialect of Appalachian English is a limitation as is not knowing more specific speech elements which might serve as markers for discrimination, but McBride's study provides crucial information about the plight of Appalachian students, particularly female students, during the college years.

In another study related to language attitudes of Appalachian women, linguist Rebecca Greene (2010) explored the impact of standard language ideology on the identity construction of Appalachian women in rural Eastern Kentucky. Greene interviewed 30 women from one community in Eastern Kentucky and analyzed the interviews for three linguistic variables associated with Appalachian dialects- /ay/ monophthongization in pre-

voiceless phonetic² environments, raising and fronting of /ʌ/³ and was-leveling.⁴ The interviewees, who were of varying age, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds, were asked questions directly relating to their speech and identity in the interview and Greene used this information to analyze overall results and determine what social forces prompted some speakers to use some features but not others, or to overall sound more or less “standard.” The women, despite educational or socioeconomic background, tended to exhibit relatively similar patterns of use of the phonological features (with some differences in younger/older speakers and college educated vs. non-college educated speakers), but not the morphological variant. The frequent use of monophthongized (unglided) pre-voiceless /ay/ among speakers was a particularly notable finding, as this variant is typically held in low esteem even throughout the South (as compared to monophthongized /ay/ in a pre-voiced phonetic

²The diphthong /ay/ is the vowel sound in words such as *time* or *bike*. Dialects of Southern American English are noted for making the diphthong (two vowel sounds in the same syllable) /ay/, which sounds something like “ah-ee” in many standardized varieties of English, into a monophthong (one vowel sound per syllable) which sounds like “ahh.” In some dialects of Southern English, /ay/ is only made into a monophthong when it comes before a *voiced consonant* (a voiced consonant is a consonant that involves vibration of the vocal chords during its production. For example, /s/ and /z/ are produced with similar positioning of the mouth and tongue, but /s/ has no voicing while /z/ does) or in syllable-final position, such as in words like *bye* or *high*. Some varieties of Southern American English, including some dialects of Appalachian English, monophthongize /ay/ in pre-voiced and pre-voiceless phonetic environments, and doing so is often stigmatized, even by other Southerners.

³The phoneme /ʌ/ is the vowel sound heard in words such as *but* or *just*. When the vowel is fronted and raised (terms like *raised* and *fronted* refer to the positioning of the tongue and shaping of the oral cavity in the production of speech sounds), the word *just* might sound more like *jest*.

⁴Was-leveling refers to use of the word *was* rather than *were*, such as in the sentence “We *was* running” rather than “We *were* running” or “They *was* cold” rather than “They *were* cold.”

environment) and the author seemed to think that this indicated intentional use of this feature as a marker of opposition to SLI and hallmark of regional pride. The use of raised /ʌ/ “has a very low level of psychosocial salience” (p.63) and while Greene (2010) found that college-educated interviewees fronted and raised /ʌ/ to a lesser degree compared to non-college educated interviewees, the overall nearly categorical raising of this feature by the subjects (like use of pre-voiceless monophthongized /ay/) indicated to the author an adherence to local phonological norms. However, the one morphological variant studied, *was-leveling* (“We was running fast” rather than the prescriptive, standardized form, “We were running fast”) was used infrequently by any interviewees, regardless of age or educational attainment. Because during the interviews, many of the subjects acknowledged that (because of SLI) the speech of their home community was often marked by “bad grammar” the author concluded that for the majority of the interviewees (particularly those who were college educated and/or worked in the field of education) saw was-leveling as a being part of this type of “bad grammar” that they should refrain from using if they did not want to be assigned the negative characteristics of those who do not comply to standardized language patterns.

Interestingly, the majority of the subjects in the study expressed pride in speaking with an Eastern Kentucky accent while at the same time making note that speaking with a local accent did *not* mean that one must also use bad grammar. Greene (2010) notes that the strategy of using local phonological features with prescriptive, standardized grammar is a relatively “safe” way for these women to express regional pride and flout some elements of standardized speech while at the same time showing that they are intelligent: “Wilson

Countians express anxiety that outsiders will perceive them as dumb or ignorant on the basis of their speech; using relatively prescriptive grammar seems to be a way for them to alleviate that concern” (p.119). Greene (2010) also cites Rickford & Rickford (2000), Hoover (1978) and Sharma (2005) as examples of use of this strategy by other non-dominant social groups. Speakers in Greene’s study who attended college noted being made fun of for their pronunciation of /ay/, and “several talk explicitly about how their feelings and their speech were affected by experiences at college” (p. 122). Some college educated speakers, expressed pride in their native speech, while acknowledging specific features that are stigmatized and implying awareness of linguistic prejudice stemming from SLI. For example, the speaker “Amanda,” a college student explains that her college roommate seemed to believe herself to be superior because she did not monophthongize /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments while Amanda did, and Amanda further noted that others she had met in college stigmatized her use of pre-voiceless monophthongal /ay/.

Greene’s (2010) study is informative in highlighting the awareness of the speakers of the stigmatization of their speech, particularly as they seem to be aware that certain features are more marked than others. The fact that the speakers in her study, particularly those who are college educated, seem to employ a strategy of maintaining specific features that allowed them to “stay true” to their roots while avoiding those that might mark them as less intelligent (due to SLI and perceptions held by American society in general regarding “correct” speech) is especially notable. The present study will explore subjects’ speech patterns and self-perceptions of language in order to determine if perhaps this strategy is

common among college-attending students from Appalachia. If this is found to be the case, it may be indicative of SLI feeding and linguistic hegemony at play even (or perhaps especially) within academia, which aspires to be a place of acceptance, open mindedness and tolerance.

Though not directly related to Appalachians, Scott (2008) explored the impact of speaking another stigmatized dialect, Lumbee English, on the academic achievement and identity of eleven Lumbee students attending a college in North Carolina. The Lumbee are a tribe of Native Americans centered mostly in southeastern North Carolina, and while they no longer speak an indigenous language (like Cherokee, for example), they speak a distinct dialect of English which is an integral part of Lumbee culture and identity. Scott, who is himself Lumbee, compared the students' college experiences with his own college experiences and explored perceptions of language use in the home community versus academia, challenges faced by Lumbee students in academia, and attitudes related to race and identity. The semi-structured interviews indicated that most of the Lumbee participants who had attended predominately White high schools were made aware at some point before college that their grammar and pronunciation were non-standardized, while the students who attended a predominately Native American high school were not necessarily made aware of this before leaving home for college. This difference highlights differences in reach and status of standard language ideology among difference cultural communities. Some students noted that their parents had pointed out differences in Lumbee speech compared to standardized English, and said that their parents further mentioned that since they were

college-bound and “going somewhere” they would need to sound more “standard.” However, none of the students indicated that their dialect had an impact on academic achievement during high school. This seemed to change for several students, however, upon entering college. The participants were often more comfortable in science and math classes in which less speaking and writing was involved, and some participants noted that they were more likely to speak in class if there were other Native American students present. The participants and author further noted that speaking the Lumbee dialect generally drew attention on campus, both positive and negative. Peers would often comment on the Lumbees’ speech, sometimes merely making observations about different grammatical formations or pronunciations or teasing in a good-natured fashion and other times mocking or judging. This attention, whether positive or negative, made many participants less inclined to interact with non-Native American peers, professors, and advisors. Awareness of their dialect and stereotypes associated with non-standardized dialects created anxiety among the Lumbee students, and one participant expressed that he is often afraid to speak with advisors and professors because he is aware of stigma surrounding his dialect and stereotypes that might lead others to believe that he is uneducated. The student further indicated that for that reason he feels that he cannot be himself when he is in a setting requiring him to interact with faculty and advisors and he adjusts his speech to say things “the right way” (p.120).

Scott (2008) suggests that this type of anxiety related to the students’ natural speech results will often cause them to “deny themselves full participation in university opportunities and resources” (p. 121). This is especially troubling since Native American

students, already an underrepresented minority in higher education, have a relatively high dropout rate.

In terms of identity development, Scott (2008) found that among the participants in his study, speaking Lumbee English (a non-standardized variety) had significant implications for participants as they came to college and struggled to find a balance between their home culture and their roles at the university in a predominantly White institution. When reflecting upon how their speech might have changed since coming to college, many of the students admitted that indeed, coming to college was the first time that they really considered how different their dialect was from “mainstream” varieties, and this often prompted a change in their speech. Students indicated for reasons of wanting to fit in or not sounding uneducated they had begun to modify their speech while at college. Upon returning home, however, they were faced with resistance from peers and family members in the Lumbee community who often felt that their new style of speech was “talking White” or “showing off” or “arrogant.” Certain participants acknowledged feeling guilty about losing aspects of Lumbee English (and by extension, aspects of Lumbee culture) and participants seemed to feel caught between two worlds in terms of language use and the implications thereof. One student discusses this conflict and raises the question, “if talking proper is talking White, what is talking Native American or talkin’ Lumbee? Do they think we’re stupid or something?” (p.125), further noting that not all Whites even “talk proper” as rural Whites, Southerners in general, or those deemed “rednecks” are often also criticized for not speaking “proper” English. This student points out the issue of SLI in our society and highlights the issues that

it creates not only with minorities who speak a non-standardized dialect, but anyone who speaks a stigmatized dialect.

With many of the Lumbee students in Scott's (2008) study being concerned that "talking White" might eventually lead to losing themselves and their culture, it is easy to see how standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony can put speakers of non-standardized dialects in a difficult position in terms of identity development. Add this to the difficulties expressed by the Lumbee students in interacting with peers, faculty and staff and an aversion to courses in which their dialect differences might be showcased, and it becomes clear that dialect can play more than a small role in achievement in college.

While Scott's (2008) study brings to light critical issues of language and higher education (particularly the role the SLI and linguistic hegemony play in student experiences), the fact that the students' speech was not analyzed for features of Lumbee English is a distinct limitation. Although the author himself is Lumbee and in all likelihood would be able to impressionistically identify another speaker of Lumbee English, having a description of the speech of participants would be helpful in painting a picture of each student, particularly since the sample size was rather small (n=11). The students' experiences did vary (along with their reasons for attempting to sound more standardized) and knowing the degree of vernacularity of each speaker would have been helpful.

Summary

The previously discussed studies on speakers of non-standardized varieties of English, their self-perceptions, attitudes, and perceived attitudes of others toward their native dialects show several common themes as related to SLI, linguistic hegemony, codes of power, and language related experiences in higher education. Among these studies, there is an awareness of the speakers that their native variety of speech is considered non-standardized and is valued less by American society than standardized English. To some degree, these speakers may have felt excluded from full participation in the academic discourse community, or may have been afraid to take part in it for fear of stigmatization. Speakers were generally aware that society in at large and academic communities specifically may perceive their speech negatively and assign certain stereotypes to them due to their speech, such as being uneducated, unintelligent and backward or “country.” Many of the speakers in all three studies had made some effort to modify their speech, whether this came in the form of learning to code-switch between their native dialect and standardized English at certain times for certain purposes, or by aiming for more “proper” grammar and pronunciation of certain sounds in all situations. Many of the speakers reported negatives experiences associated with others’ perceptions of their speech, and troublingly, this often occurred for the first time (or was exacerbated) *when the participants began attending college*. In the case of Lumbee students in Scott’s (2008) study, this had an impact on course selection, involvement in campus activities, interactions with others, and making use of campus resources. McBride (2006) reported a speaker who, after arriving at college, wanted to pretend that she was from

somewhere else other than her true hometown, and Greene (2010) noted personally that her own academic identity was impacted during college as she was singled out and teased for her Eastern Kentucky accent. These studies are all indicative of SLI and linguistic hegemony at work in society and on college campuses. Codes of power within higher education as related to language are evident as well, and the implications for formation of positive academic identity are obvious. McBride (2006) and Scott's (2008) studies are more directly tied to higher education but lack linguistic analysis of the speakers, and Greene's (2010) study provides ample linguistic analysis, but does not specifically address higher education or the education to career pipeline. The current study aims to bridge this gap by providing both linguistic analysis of the speakers and tying this analysis directly to participants' reported experiences in college. Being able to compare students' linguistic backgrounds with their own perceptions, interpretations of others' perceptions of them and their speech, and overall reported college experiences will be helpful in determining the role that dialect plays in the college experience for speakers of non-standardized dialects of English.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Overview

In this section I discuss the methodology used in the study. This study used basic interpretive qualitative methods (Merriam, 2002) to better understand and describe the influence of speaking dialects of Appalachian English on the college experiences of students from rural Southern Appalachian at a large research institution in a Southern state. This study additionally made use of quantitative sociolinguistic methods to provide additional description of the participants' speech.

Rationale for Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research methodology allows the investigator to explore questions of social meaning and understand processes. As Merriam (2002) indicates, qualitative research had several defining characteristics that set it apart from quantitative research methodology. Merriam notes that qualitative research 1) has a primary goal of understanding meaning 2) uses the researcher as the "primary instrument of data collection" 3) is by nature an inductive rather than deductive process and 4) involves in-depth, rich description at every level of the study (p. 5). Additionally, Creswell (2007) suggests that in qualitative studies, "The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting" (p. 15).

As indicated, qualitative research is deeply rooted in understanding meaning, particularly as human beings perceive and create it (Merriam 2002) and the researcher is the

primary tool for exploring these questions of meaning. As such, qualitative research requires that the researcher immerse him or herself in the research process from beginning to end in a way distinct from quantitative research (in quantitative studies, analysis often does not begin until all data have been collected). As Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, and Steinmetz (1991) note, “Doing qualitative research is by nature a reflective and recursive process” (p. 179). The researcher engages in reflective exercises throughout the study such as journaling (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and self-reflections exploring their personal beliefs and biases that influence the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Patton, 2002). The reflective and recursive nature of qualitative research is due largely to the fact that qualitative research is a primarily an interpretive and inductive exercise (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Krathwohl, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Merriam, 2002; Patton, 2002; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The researcher makes interpretations based on smaller units of observation within the study and from these smaller units, identifies overarching patterns (Patton, 2002). This is a continuous process throughout the study and this continuous cycle of interpretation and reflection is considered a critical component of the analysis. In qualitative studies, the researcher does not begin analysis at the end of the study once data has been collected, but rather engages an ongoing cycle of recursive analysis throughout the data collection and data analysis process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that,

On site, the investigator must engage in *continuous* data analysis, so that every new act of investigation takes into account everything that has been learned so far.

Inductive data analyses can be performed on a daily basis, so that insights, elements

of theory, hypotheses, questions, gaps, can be identified and pursued beginning with the next day's work. (p. 209).

Engaging in research this way allows qualitative researchers to explore and provide in-depth description of a particular phenomenon “for that context at that time” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 216).

Choice of Methods

Merriam (2002) notes that qualitative research “is designed to uncover or discover the meanings people have constructed about a particular phenomenon” (p.19), and as this study sought to explore the meanings rural Southern Appalachian college students construct related to their experiences as college students and speakers of dialects of Appalachian English, the qualitative approach is most appropriate. Krathwohl (1999) suggests that qualitative research methodology can, “attach emotions and feelings to phenomena-sometimes also faces and their accompanying personages, even their situation, context, and accompanying emotional and social climate and milieu” (p. 237). In this study, I aimed to do just that. Rather than providing a single-dimensional, quantitative description of language use and perceived influences in college obtained through a method such as perhaps a survey, I selected qualitative methodology to gain a holistic, multi-layered picture of the participants and their experiences. I believe that to fully understand the influence of language on college experiences, it is critical to explore, as Krathwohl (1999) mentions, the emotions and feelings attached to these experiences, the personalities of participants, and their backgrounds and how they see themselves in the milieu of a college campus where there are few other students

from their home region. In conducting this study, I wanted to gain a better understanding of the role of language in the college experiences of rural Southern Appalachian students, with an understanding that social interactions are complex and that perceptions and reality are constructed and negotiated by individuals. Rossman and Rallis (2003) indicate that this type of belief is appropriate in approaching qualitative studies. Additionally, Krathwohl (1999) notes that qualitative methods may be selected when the interest in the study is, “in the diversity among, the idiosyncrasies of, and the unique qualities of persons or processes” (p. 237) and in this study, though I wanted to uncover common themes among participants, I also wanted to explore the unique qualities of each participants and their unique speech, unique experiences, and unique perceptions of the influence of language on these experiences in college.

Methods Used

Qualitative methods are diverse and there are numerous strategies for approaching data collection. Denzin & Lincoln (2000) note that qualitative methods may include:

The studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials- case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts- that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives (p.3).

and this study approached the investigation using qualitative interviews which asked the interviewees to reflect upon their experiences in college, their language use, and any connection between the two.

Quantitative sociolinguistic methods (Labov, 1984) were also used in order to evaluate the level of vernacularity of each speaker for comparison with his or her experiences (for example, a speaker whose speech contains many non-standardized morphosyntactic and phonological features may report having been subjected to more negative stereotypes from peers and faculty members than a student who uses fewer non-standardized features). Marshall and Rossman (2006) note that sociolinguistic approaches are recognized as methods of qualitative research and give support to understanding “communicative behavior” (p. 20). Studies in sociolinguistics seek to understand connections between language and society, and most field studies begin with participant interviews and observations (Labov, 1984). Many aspects of language use can be quantified, from frequency of use of particular words or syntactic constructions to the acoustic properties of speech production. In this study I made observations of the speech of participants in relation to both morphosyntactic (grammatical) features as well as phonological (pronunciation) features in order to provide rich, thick description of the language participants use to better explain the connections between language use and their experiences in college.

Morphosyntactic (grammatical) features were quantified in terms of frequency of use of standardized versus non-standardized forms as a percentage of the number of times in which that particular construction occurs (Labov, 1982a). For example, out of all the times

that a speaker has the opportunity to say “I am not” how many times does the speaker say “I am not/I’m not” versus “I ain’t”? Phonological (pronunciation) features were analyzed using methods of acoustic analysis, the process of which will be further discussed in this chapter.

Together, the qualitative interviews and description of the sociolinguistic analysis were used in tandem to gain a better overall understanding of the college experience for rural Southern Appalachian students and how their experiences may be influenced by the dialect they speak.

The setting

This study took place at a large, public research university located in an urban environment in a Southern American state. This four-year institution will be known in throughout the study as Southern State University (SSU). Southern State University has the largest student population of any university in the state, with roughly 30,000 students. Southern State University was established as a land grant institution in the nineteenth century, and has long been associated in the state with science, engineering and agricultural studies. Within the state, SSU has also had a reputation as a more politically conservative school, particularly as compared to local peer institution. Southern State University is a predominately White institution but has a fairly diverse student population in terms of race and ethnicity.

The target population

The target population for this study was undergraduate students from Southern Appalachia (western North Carolina, western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, northeastern Georgia, West Virginia, northeastern South Carolina, eastern Kentucky and northern

Alabama) who attend a large, public four-year research university in the Southern United States.

Students of all races, genders, and socioeconomic class were considered for participation in the study, though the target age range only included those born between 1988 and 1993, the age range of “traditional college students” who matriculated directly from high school (Snyder & Dillow, 2011). I did not include transfer students in my study because I wanted to explore the experiences of students who began and completed their college experience at the same institution. Students born after 1993 were not eligible to participate due to their status as minors at the time that data collection began.

Furthermore, to be considered for the study, participants had to meet the criterion of having lived in a non-metropolitan Appalachian county (Appalachian as designated by The Appalachian Regional Commission; non-metropolitan as designated by the USDA) since before age 12 (the “critical period”) in order for them to have had an opportunity to accommodate local linguistic features. Participants were also required to have at least one parent who was born and raised in Appalachian in order to ensure that they had significant sociocultural ties to the region. Participants were compensated for their participation in the study with a \$5.00 gift card to a popular retail chain located close to campus.

Sampling

In qualitative research, sampling is not approached in a manner which seeks numbers for statistical significance, but rather to “maximize information” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.202). This study used purposive sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002), which

suggests non-random selection of participants who meet intentional, predetermined criteria. I approached this study with the intention of studying the experiences of a very specific student population, and the criteria I used to recruit participants reflected this intentionality. Students were recruited for participation in the study at a large research institution in an urban environment in the Southern United States. The analysis and planning office at this institution (which in this study will be called “Southern State University, or SSU), assisted me in recruiting students by providing me with a list of names and email addresses of students who indicated that they graduated from a high school in an Appalachian county located in Southern Appalachian (as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission) and who were born within the specified age range. The list I was given from the analysis and planning office included roughly 2,500 students. I contacted the students via email with a recruitment message (approved by the university IRB). Students who responded to the recruitment email who met the criteria were asked to schedule an interview time. I continued interviewing participants until data saturation was reached. In total, this included twenty-six participants.

The Interviews

Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that, “the human-as-instrument is inclined toward methods that are extensions of normal human activities: looking, listening, speaking, reading, and the like” (p. 199). Interviews are a method of collecting qualitative data that allow the researcher to attempt to gain an understanding the unique and perspectives of participants (Patton, 2002). Semi-structured interviews, following what Patton (2002) calls “the interview

guide” approach (p. 342), were conducted with students one-on-one. This style of interviewing involves using a general set of questions or topics to be covered with all participants, though the sequence of questions and probe or follow-up questions may differ in each interview depending on the natural flow of the conversation. I used a standard interview protocol (see Appendix A) with each participant that asked question related to participants’ perceptions of their language use and the role it has played in their college experience. Depending on the natural flow of conversation, sometimes the interviews covered topics that were not listed on the interview protocol, such as challenges within a particular major or future career plans. All interviews took place on campus at Southern State University, either in private study rooms in the library or rooms in classroom buildings. Interviews were conducted on campus because, as Patton (2002), qualitative research takes place in natural settings. Additionally, private rooms were used in order to protect the privacy of participants if being identified as a participant was a concern.

Initial interviews lasted for an average of 40 minutes and were audio recorded using an external laptop microphone and the software Audacity. Participants were given the option of participating in a follow-up interview at a later date, at which time they could share any reflections they had had since our previous conversation, add information they may have forgotten to mention, or clarify or expand upon statements from the previous interview which may not have been immediately clear to me. Seven participants participated in follow-up interviews.

In addition to responding to questions from the interview protocol, at the end of the interview, participants were asked to read a short reading passage composed of words containing certain phonological (pronunciation) variables of interest for this study to ensure that enough tokens (instances of the occurrence of the variable) were gathered per speaker in the event that the interviews did not produce enough opportunities for use. Thomas (2011) notes that reading passages can be used for this purpose when studying phonological features. For example, in order to ensure that there are enough instances of /ay/ in pre-voiced and pre-voiceless phonetic environments for each speaker (and to get a better idea of the distinction between pre-voiceless and pre-voiced /ay/, participants were asked to read the following passage:

*I was sitting at home cooking **rice** when my phone starting ringing. “The **tide** is coming in!” my sister shouted. I thought it **might** be **nice** to catch a few fish for supper, so I started gathering my fishing gear to head down to the beach and meet my sister. I was running as fast as I could to get down there, but I hadn’t **tied** my shoelaces **tight** enough and I started tripping. By the **time** I got to the shore, my sister was already wading in the water and had caught two **nice**, big fish. Good thing I remembered to bring a cooler full of **ice**, because she forgot to. Some kids started swimming too close to our **lines**, so we had to start reeling them in and move down shore a little. After a short **hike** down the beach, the fish started to **bite** and we started reeling them in like crazy. We **decided** the walk was a small **price** to pay for our winnings, though we didn’t catch the **type** of fish we really **liked** (**white snapper**). We had a **nice** time and a **fine** supper. I would fish every day of my **life** if I could!*

Immediately after each interviews, I made notes on things that I noticed about the participants, their speech, and included reflections on elements of the interview, such as the rapport that was established or how open or comfortable the participants seemed. For follow-up interviews, I noted any observations I made about elements about the participant or nature of the interview that differed from the initial interview, and what things were the same.

Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) suggest making note of these types of observations immediately (or as soon as possible) after completing an interview or field observation in order to retain as much detail as possible before forgetting. These notes on participants and interviews served as an additional data source in describing and reflecting upon participants' and their backgrounds.

Analysis

Interviews were transcribed by me as well as by professional transcriptionists. Patton (2002) recommends doing your own transcription (if not all, then at least some) and checking the audio-recorded interviews for correspondence with the transcriptions completed by others as this gives you, "another opportunity to immerse yourself in the data" (p. 441). As transcripts were completed, I began the coding process. In qualitative research, coding involves breaking down the data into smaller, meaningful units (or codes) through careful analysis, and then analyzing these codes and piecing the data back together by grouping these codes according to patterns or themes. This is not a single step process, but rather occurs through several cycles of reflecting upon and refining codes and examining relationships among them. A theme, as Saldaña (2009) notes, "is an *outcome* of coding, categorization and analytic reflection, not something that is, in itself, coded" (p.13). Arriving at themes generally occurs after (at least) the first cycles of coding. Second cycle coding involves using these themes to make sense and gain a more holistic picture of the phenomenon being studied (Saldaña, 2009).

In my study, I began the coding process by reading and rereading the transcripts until I had re-familiarized myself with the data to the extent that I felt comfortable to begin analysis. I began by pre-coding, or “circling, highlighting, bolding, underlining, or coloring rich or significant participant quotes or passages” (Saldaña, 2009, p.17). At this point, I made notes or circled or underlined words and passages on hard-copies of transcripts. As I engaged in the pre-coding process, I also made analytic memos (Saldaña, 2009) in my research journal to begin generating ideas for coding schemes. These ideas were guided by questions asked in my interview protocol, which draws from my conceptual framework. Saldaña notes that generating coding ideas in this manner, drawing from “preparatory investigative matters as: literature reviews related to the study, the study’s conceptual framework and research questions” (p.120), is referred to as *provisional coding*. These provisional codes are not set in stone, but are malleable and can be modified throughout the coding process (Saldaña, 2009). After I completed my pre-coding of the transcripts, I examined and reflected upon my pre-codes and began to develop coding ideas. I made a list of provisional coding ideas, as mentioned, based on *a priori* coding ideas grounded in the conceptual framework and research questions, and again revisited the transcripts using this first cycle coding scheme. Saldaña cautions that when using provisional coding, the researcher may attempt to retrofit the data into the coding scheme even when the data do not necessarily fit. To avoid this, I enlisted the aid of the technical consultant on my committee to review my coding (this is discussed further in the section on trustworthiness). I developed a master-code list with definitions of each code and used these codes to revisit the transcripts. I initially coded by

hand, and then transferred these codes to NVIVO (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 10, 2012) qualitative coding software to streamline further refinements in coding and further analysis. Throughout this process, over 140 initial coding ideas were refined through a process of analysis and reflection to roughly 15 codes (including about 15 sub-codes).

After this initial coding process was completed (and after linguistic analysis was completed, which will be described later in this section), I began second level analysis of the codes in order to uncover categories or themes. This type of analysis can vary depending on the type of data being analyzed, and in my case, I made use of various coding exercises to help organize and understand the data. Coding exercises are analytic exercises researchers can engage in to better understand their data. I looked across the codes and asked questions, for example, about the context, including when or where on campus certain events might take place, who it is who feels a certain way about certain topics, what the characteristics are of participants who responded a certain way, and how certain codes are related. At times, I made use of coding queries in NVIVO to assist in these exercises. Using NVIVO coding queries, I could submit a query to display a data at various levels of specificity. For example, I could submit a query to review information for all female participants who are first-generation college students and examine the perceptions of this specific group in regard to codes related to the influence of language on interactions with peers on campus. I could also look at connections between the use of certain linguistic features and perceptions and experiences related to specific concepts. This allowed me to analyze patterns on small and large scales, depending on the level of query specificity. I also attempted to synthesize the

themes to examine how they may influence one another or be interrelated. I did this by considering how different elements (or subcategories) of each theme could possibly fit in with or be connected to other themes or subthemes as part of a process. For example, how might elements of social interaction on campus in social settings connect to elements of social interaction in academic settings? How does stereotyping based on language come into play among different themes? Are there elements that carry over? After completing this type of second level analysis, I arrived at three major themes (each with several subthemes) which I believe best reflect key findings from the data. I tried to focus in on themes emerging from the data which through reflection and analysis I perceived to be most relevant from the experiences of the participants rather than sharing all of ideas stemming from the data. Sandelowski (1998) notes that at times in qualitative research, “by trying to retell everything, writers end up showing nothing” (p. 376) and I attempted to avoid this through focusing on what appeared to be most relevant to the research questions and the experiences of participants. Additionally, as Saldaña (2009) notes, while some researchers such as Lichman (2006) and Creswell (2007) advocate between five and seven major themes, Wolcott (1994) stresses that three major findings are generally sufficient and manageable representations of the data.

Linguistic Analysis

A general sociolinguistic analysis was performed to assess the general linguistic usage trends for each student (e.g. pronunciation of certain vowels, use of certain grammatical features). The speech of each participant was analyzed for patterns of usage of

significant phonological (pronunciation) and morphosyntactic (grammatical) features in order to provide a description of the speech of participants to be used to better understand how language influences experiences in college. For phonological features, acoustic analysis was performed with a minimum of 10 tokens (instances of the occurrence of the variable) for each participant for the vowels /ay/ (in pre-voiceless and pre-voiced phonetic environments) and /e/. The phoneme /ay/ is the vowel sound in the word “bite” or “bide.” A phonetic environment refers to the other phonemes, or sounds, which occur either before or after the phonemes of interest. A “pre-voiceless phonetic environment” refers to the phoneme of interest coming before an unvoiced consonant. The term “unvoiced,” means that when this sound is produced, the vocal chords are not vibrating. For example, /s/ is a voiceless consonant. If you put your finger to your throat as you pronounce this consonant, you will not feel any vibrations from your vocal chords. However, if you pronounce the voiced consonant /z/ you will feel vibrations from the vocal chords. The phoneme /ay/ can be produced as a diphthong (two vowel sounds per syllable) or monophthong (one vowel sound per syllable) depending on the phonetic environment. For example, in many dialects in the Southern United States, /ay/ only becomes a monophthong (or is “unglided”) in pre-voiced phonetic environments but remains more diphthongal (glided) in pre-voiceless environments. However, in some areas of Appalachia, /ay/ is monophthongal (unglided) in all environments, and thus I measured both environments for each speaker for comparison. This feature carries social significance and at times stigma (even among Southerners) which will be discussed in more detail later. Morphosyntactic, or grammatical, features, were counted as

a percentage of the number of times they occurred out of the number of possible environments in which they could have possibly occurred.

Selection of Linguistic Features to Analyze

For this study I selected two phonological (pronunciation) features for measurement: the vowels /ay/ (the vowel sound in the word “bite”) and /e/ (the vowel sound in the word “bait”). No specific morphosyntactic (grammatical) features were pre-selected, but rather I chose to describe any non-standardized grammatical features that arose in the speech of participants. The primary reason for this decision was that as Milroy and Gordon (2003) note, depending on interview length, there might not arise enough contexts for use of certain features. For example, in one of my interviews, there was not a single instance in which the participant used any past participles at all. This participant might indeed use irregular past participles in some instances, but because no past participles at all were used in the interview, I had no evidence to make any statements about use of this feature. Therefore, if I had pre-selected certain morphosyntactic features for observation, they might arise in some interviews and not others. Further, what may be more important in analysis of language use and college experience is not the type of non-standardized grammar used, but simply the observation of whether or not the participant *uses* non-standardized grammar, particularly when comparing non-standardized grammar use with phonology (for example, in this study, generally the only users of non-standardized grammar are also the speakers who monophthongize (unglide) /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments).

The vowel /ay/, the vowel sound in the word “bite,” was selected for measurement due to its high level of salience in dialects of Southern American English, particularly Southern Appalachian English. This is perhaps the most distinguishable feature of Southern American English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, 2006). Indeed, participants in this study cited their use of /ay/ as the most prominent phonological feature of their speech which draws attention from others on campus. In many dialects of American English, this vowel is a diphthong, or has two distinct sounds per syllable. However, in Southern American English, the vowel /ay/ may become more monophthongal, or have a weakened glide (“unglided”). This results in words like “mine” sounding like “mahn.” In much of the South, /ay/ only becomes a monophthong, or is unglided, in pre-voiced phonetic environments. However, in some pockets of the South, such as areas in Appalachia, /ay/ is also produced as a monophthong/unglided in pre-voiceless environments as well (Hazen & Hall, 1999). This feature, monophthongization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments, carries a certain stigma even among other Southerners. Greene (2010), citing studies such as Hazen & Hall (1999), Irons (2007), Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006), Pederson (1993), and Thomas (1997) notes that use of this feature is associated with rural, inland Southerners with lower levels of educational attainment and of lower social class. Thus, I chose to measure /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments as monophthongization/ungliding of this feature will likely be socially marked even on a college campus in the South, whereas /ay/ monophthongized in pre-voiced environments will likely fly under the radar, so to speak. I also measured /ay/ in pre-voiced environments for comparison.

The second vowel I chose to measure was /e/, or the vowel sound in the word “bait.” When the vowel sound /e/ is lowered in vowel space (this concept will be discussed in more detail later), this feature has been found to perceptually be as salient, if not more salient in some contexts, than /ay/ monophthongization/ungliding in marking speech as Southern or rural (Allbritten, 2012). Some varieties of Southern American English take part in what linguists refer to as the Southern Vowel Shift (Labov, 1994). Figure 3 is an example of American English vowels demonstrating the Southern Vowel Shift. In the Southern Vowel Shift, the sound /e/ is produced in a lower, more centralized place than in other varieties of American English. Allbritten (2012) notes, as an example, that when /e/ is shifted as such, “*weighed* in shifted speech may sound more like *wide*” (p. 20). Using data from Dodsworth and Kohn (2012) which provides measurements of vowels of young adults in the general Southern State University area, I was able to compare realization of /e/ for participants in this study with their peers who grew up in the Southern State campus area and surrounding suburbs. This was done in order to provide a context for the linguistic environment of the city in which SSU is located and the degree of difference in the use of this feature for participants in this study and local norms.

Figure 3. The Southern Shift

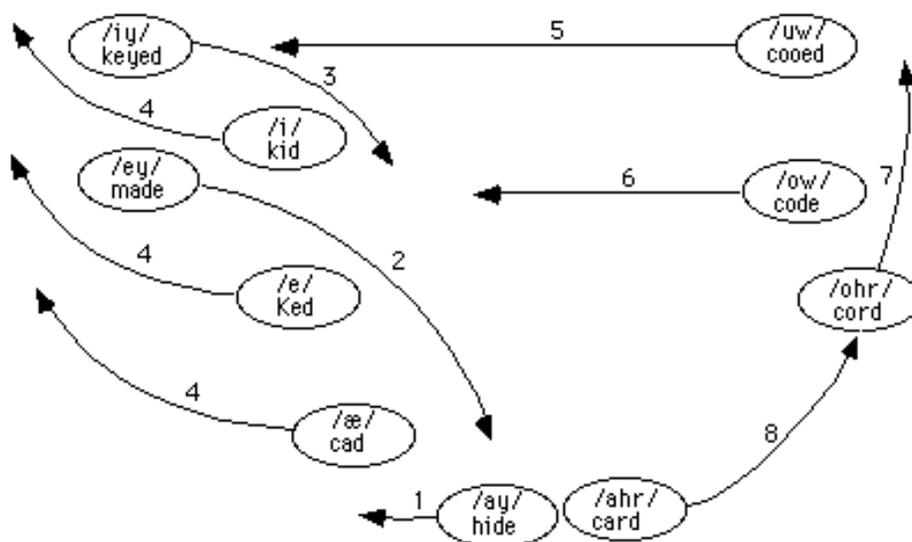


Figure 3: Southern Vowel Shift

From *The Organization of Dialect Diversity in North America* (1996, October). Retrieved from http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/ICSLP4.html. Copyright William Labov.

Analysis of Phonological Features

Phonological features were analyzed using the acoustic analysis software Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010) and were taken after the five minute mark in the interviews (sociolinguistic interview methodology typically recommends waiting at least five minutes into the interview to begin taking speech samples because the interviewee has had time to relax and settle into more normal speech patterns). Formant analysis, “the most commonly performed type of acoustic analysis in sociophonetics” (Thomas, 2011, p. 41), was used to analyze vowels. When humans speak, the sound waves produced are complex waves (a set of simple waves), with the “base” of each set being the fundamental wave (repeating at the

fundamental frequency- the rate at which the vocal chords vibrate, generally perceived as the pitch of a person's voice) and all other waves, or *harmonics*, occurring at integer multiples of the fundamental wave. The frequency of a sound wave is measured in Hertz (Hz) and is determined by the number of times per second the cycle of compression and rarefaction is completed. The amplitude of a sound wave is a measure of the differences in pressure of compression and rarefaction from the neutral point of the wave (Thomas, 2011). These concepts are important to note, as they come into play when considering measuring vowels. As vowels are produced, the vocal tract (which is essentially a tube that can be adapted to produce different sounds as the tract is modified by the speaker by moving the tongue, constricting the pharynx, molding the lips, etc.) acts as a filter, and certain frequencies are more "favored" than others for passage through the filter. The acoustic energy of preferred frequencies (the sounds which will be allowed to "pass" through the filter) will be enhanced by the vocal tract and will have raised peaks in amplitude while those sounds whose frequencies are not preferred by the filter will be *damped*, or have reduced amplitudes (Thomas, 2011). The "favored" frequencies that are allowed to pass are referred to as *formants* (Thomas, 2011). The first two formants (harmonics of the fundamental frequency, or F_0) are noted as F1 and F2 respectively, and these two formants can give sufficient information regarding the vowel quality to identify and describe the vowel. The F1 value tells us the height of the vowel in the vowel space (see Figure 6) and the F2 value tells us how far front or back the vowel is produced in vowel space. These values can be plotted by F2 on the x-axis and F1 on the y-axis for visual representation of the vowel's properties and

location in vowel space. For example, the vowel /i/ (the vowel sound in the word “feet”) might have a F1 value of 300Hz and an F2 value of 2400 Hz. When plotted on a graph using these formant values (Figure 6), note that /i/ falls toward the front of the graph and high on the graph, which is also where the vowel is produced in vowel space in the mouth- toward the front of the mouth and with high tongue placement. In contrast, the vowel /ɔ/ (the first vowel sound in the word “coffee”) might have F1 and F2 values around 650 and 1000 Hz respectively. This vowel is produced farther back in the mouth, and lower than /i/. Figure 6 is a plot of example F1 and F2 values for /i/ and /ɔ/. Figures 4-5 are sagittal views of the human vocal tract during the production of the vowels /i/ and /ɔ/ respectively. As you can see, when these vowels are plotted in Figure 6, their location corresponds with where they are produced in the mouth: /i/ is high and front while /ɔ/ is mid and back (See Figures 4 & 5). When referring to vowel space and how high/mid/low, front/central/back a vowel is, keep this visualization in mind. See Appendix D for a vowel chart of North American English cardinal vowels.

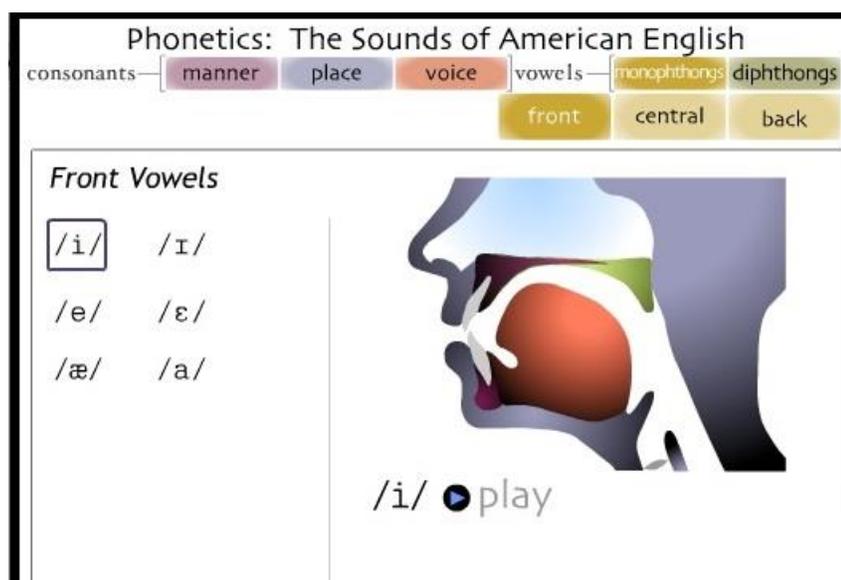


Figure 4: Sagittal view of vocal tract, production of /i/

From *Phonetics: The sounds of spoken language* (2001, September). Retrieved from <http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/phonetics/>. Copyright University of Iowa, 2001-2005. Reprinted with permission.

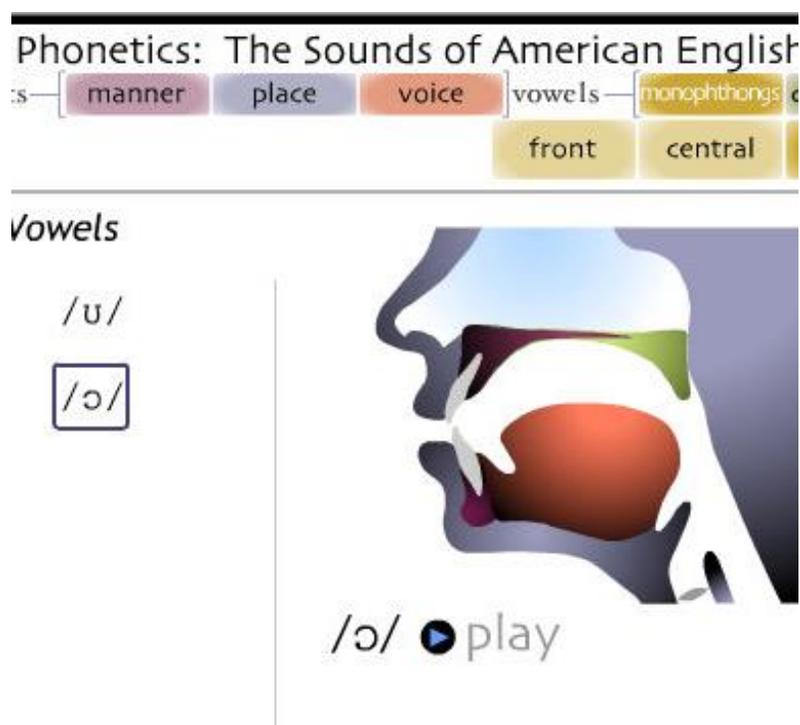


Figure 5: Sagittal view of vocal tract, production of /ɔ/

From *Phonetics: The sounds of spoken language* (2001, September). Retrieved from <http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/phonetics/>. Copyright University of Iowa, 2001-2005. Reprinted with permission.

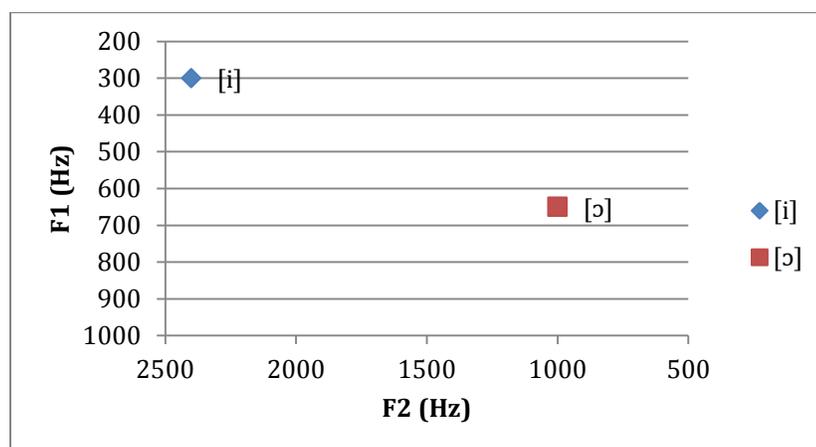


Figure 6: Vowel plots of vowels /i/ and /ɔ/

Plotting vowels in this manner allows us to see where they are produced by the individual, how the individual's vowel system works, and how it compares to typical vowel production for the individual's particular region or to "general" averages.

The frequencies of vowel formants can be found using acoustic analysis software such as Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). Praat uses a spectrogram, which is a tool that presents a visual representation of sound waves by showing the frequency of the wave (in Hertz), the length of the wave (in time), and acoustic energy (amplitude). Figure 7 is an example of an image from a spectrogram showing time on the x-axis, frequency on the y-axis, and dark bands on the lower half of the spectrogram which are visual representations of the vowel formants.

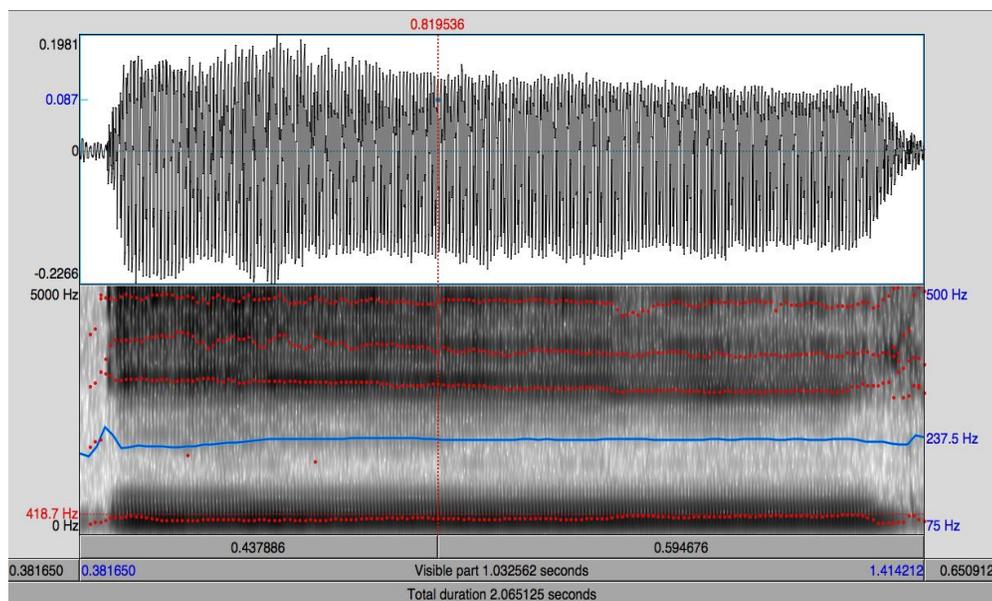


Figure 7: Spectrogram image of vowel /i/

Using the spectrogram in Praat, vowel quality can be measured by identifying F1 and F2 at specific points in the vowel (different points may be measured for a monophthong versus a diphthong) and then plotted using software such as NORM (Thomas & Kendall, 2007). Using this type of available information in Praat allowed me to extract measurements to determine the extent to which the vowel /ay/ was articulated as a diphthong or monophthong (unglided) and how low and back the nucleus (beginning) of the vowel /e/ was for each speaker in their vowel space.

When measuring /ay/, preceding phonetic environments (the sounds which come before the vowel) were typically obstruents and following environments such as /l/ were avoided. F1 and F2 measurements for /ay/ were made using a script, or, “an executable text that consists of menu commands and action commands” (Boersma & Weenick, 1998) which

allows for greater accuracy and consistency in taking measurements. The script used in this study was one refined by Kohn and Farrington (2012), and was originally co-written by linguists Mary Kohn and Jeff Mielke. The script took measurements of F1, F2, and F3 at various points in the vowel, and those used for this study were the measurements taken 25% and 75% into the vowel. When making distinctions in /ay/ in terms of how strong or weak the glide was (whether the vowel was more monophthongal or diphthongal) I followed Fridland (2003) using her distinctions in change between nucleus and glide target to identify very short, short, and full glides. In Fridland's categorization a glide target within less than 100Hz of the nucleus is considered very short, within 100-200 Hz is considered short, longer glides were over 200Hz, and full glides (or diphthongs) were considered those with a difference of more than 300 Hz. Figures 8 and 9 show the vowel /ay/ in a Praat spectrogram articulated as a monophthong and a diphthong respectively. In Figure 8, looking at the first two formants (the dark bands) we see that there is little movement between the first and second formants. This suggests that there is little glide, or that the vowel is more monophthongal. Measurements extracted using the script in Praat confirm this. In Figure 9, however, there is significant movement between the first and second formant. This suggests that the vowel is diphthongal, and measurements extracted using Praat confirm this as well. Making use of both the spectrogram and formant measurements in this way allow for distinction between glided and unglided vowels.

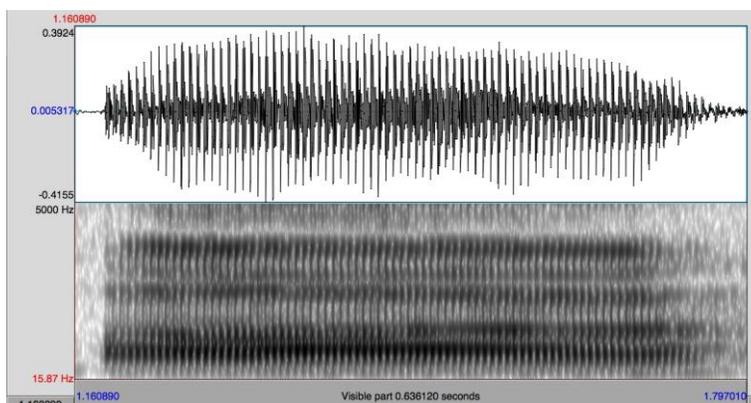


Figure 8. Spectrogram of the vowel /ay/: monophthongal (unglided)

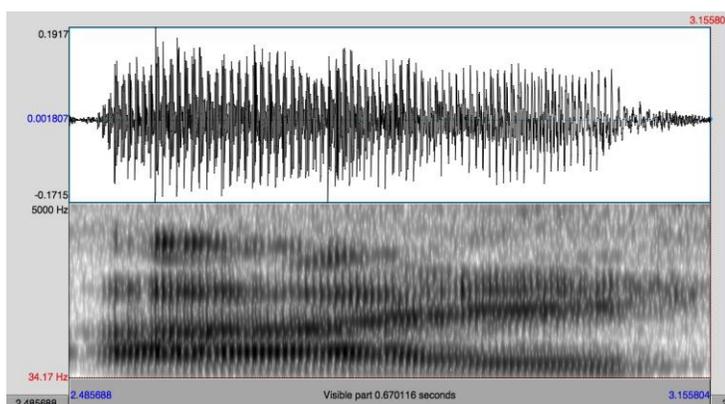


Figure 9. Spectrogram of the vowel /ay/: diphthongal

The speakers' average use of /ay/ (separated by pre-voiceless and pre-voiced environments) and /e/ were plotted visually using NORM (Thomas & Kendall, 2007). The mean values for each speaker were plotted on individual charts (each speaker had a chart with their mean /ay/ and /e/ values). Thomas (2011) recommends the use of displays of mean values for illustrating vowel position, particularly when making observations regarding

movement of diphthongs. As Thomas (2011) notes, using the mean value on vowel plots makes them easier to read than when each individual vowel is plotted, and further notes that, “it especially makes it easier to show the gliding of diphthongs in a way that is clearly legible” (p.157). I also used NORM for normalization across speakers. As discussed previously in this section, the vocal tract is a tube and filter system that favors some frequencies and damps others. The size, specifically the length, of a person’s vocal tract influences the frequencies that are favored. Thus, an adult male speaker will likely have a longer vocal tract (and produce formants of lower frequencies) than an adult female. If we are to make comparisons of vowels across speakers, whose vocal tracts are different lengths and whose fundamental frequencies may vary greatly, we must take some measure of accounting for those differences. Normalization techniques allow for these types of comparisons to be made. There are multiple approaches to normalization, and this study made use of Lobanov (1971) vowel extrinsic normalization technique using the software NORM (Thomas & Kendall, 2007). Vowel extrinsic normalization techniques, “compare formant values of different vowels spoken by a given individual” (Thomas, 2011, p. 162), compared to vowel intrinsic techniques that use information from a single vowel. For example, if I were only to examine the vowel /e/, I might select vowel intrinsic normalization techniques because I would only be looking at one type of vowel for each speaker. However, because I am looking at more than one vowel type, I selected a vowel extrinsic normalization method. The Lobanov (1971) formula for normalization is:

$$F_n[V]^N = (F_n[V] - \text{MEAN}_n) / S_n$$

“Where $F_n[V]^N$ is the normalized value for $F_n[V]$ (i.e., for formant n of vowel V). $MEAN_n$ is the mean value for formant n for the speaker in question and S_n is the standard deviation for the speaker's formant n ” (Thomas, 2011, p. 166).

Selecting this technique in the software NORM (Thomas & Kendall, 2007), I normalized the measured vowels for each speaker in order for comparison among speakers. This comparison served as a method of description of participants. For example, being able to compare across speakers, I was able to describe in more detail how the speech of participants differed and relate that information to their reported experiences in college related to language.

Analysis of Morphosyntactic Features

Additionally, I analyzed each transcript for use of non-standardized morphosyntactic features associated with dialects of Appalachian English such as irregular forms of past participle usage (e.g., “She had came” rather than “She had come”), and negative concord (e.g. “We didn’t eat no lunch”). These features were counted as a percentage of times they occurred out of all possible environments in which they could have possibly occurred. This was done following the recommendation of Labov (1982a), who suggests that, “for the section of speech being examined all occurrences of a given variant are noted, and where it has been possible to define the variables as a closed set of variants, all non-occurrences in the relevant environments” (p.30). Thus, for example, when counting a feature such as negative concord, I not only counted the number of times this feature occurred, but also the number of times when it could have occurred but did not. For example, if a participant made a statement

such as, “I didn’t do nothing wrong” in one part of the interview, and then later makes the statements, “I don’t want any more homework” and “They don’t have any time,” there would be three possible environments for negative concord to occur. In this case, negative concord only occurred once in the three times it could have occurred, and thus the participant would have a rate of usage of that feature of 33%. Milroy and Gordon (2003), citing Cheshire (1982), note that when attempting to analyze morphosyntactic features, it should be taken into consideration that depending on interview length, certain features may not naturally occur as often as phonological features might, for example. With this in mind, I used non-standardized grammar as a general descriptor of participants’ speech, noting which non-standardized features they use (if any) and describing any trends in non-standardized morphosyntactic features they use in conjunction with non-standardized phonological features. Although use of non-standardized grammar has been noted as being more salient in terms of stigmatization than non-standardized phonology, in this study, knowing that frequency of occurrence may be limited in interviews even among speakers who use non-standardized grammar, I focus more on non-standardized phonology, or accent, for participants. Incidentally, participants in this study tended to mention that their “accent” rather than their grammar or “slang” usage is generally what draws attention from others on campus.

A linguistic profile was created for each speaker and used in comparison with his or her reported college experiences. This allowed me to observe any connections that may exist between dialect and experiences in higher education. For example, I used the linguistic

profiles to cross-reference participants responses to certain questions and look for patterns. This allowed me to uncover trends among students whose speech contains more vernacular features compared to those whose speech is more standardized. The linguistic profile is comprised of a list of the non-standardized morphosyntactic features occurring in their speech along with the frequency, and a visual representation and explanation of the acoustic analysis of vowels /e/ and /ay/ (in pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments). Although there are methods for assessing vernacularity, or dialect density, such as using a dialect density measure (DDM) as outlined in (Craig & Washington, 2006; Oetting & McDonald, 2002; Renn, 2007), this method may not necessarily be appropriate for the population in this study as there is no true single dialect of Appalachian English, but rather many. The population sampled resulted in participants from various Appalachian areas in two states (North Carolina and Kentucky), using a single linguistic inventory as a diagnostic would likely not have produced an accurate assessment of the speakers' levels of vernacularity, because while areas of Appalachia may share many linguistic features, the use of these features may be more highly concentrated in some areas than others. The profile also includes information about participants' attitudes toward their own speech, the speech of others on campus and in their home community, and their perceptions about their speech. When this information was available, I also included information that participants provided about the speech of their families and friends, and any observations they have made about their speech changing over time.

Trustworthiness

In order to enhance trustworthiness of the study, I took several steps aimed at increasing credibility, transferability, and confirmability, or the respective qualitative equivalents of internal validity, external validity, and objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To increase credibility, or internal validity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), I began by enlisting the assistance of the technical consultant on my committee in the coding process. I first analyzed and coded the transcribed interviews, creating a master code list in the process including major codes and sub-codes, and definitions of each code or sub-code. I then asked a faculty member (the technical consultant on my committee) with knowledge of Appalachian dialects and a background in both sociolinguistics and educational research to separately analyze and code in order to compare and improve accuracy of interpretations. This faculty member was provided with my master code list in order to see if she would use the same codes similarly as I did. She reviewed my coding with the use of the master-code list and brought to my attention any instances in which she might have disagreed with my application of a code to a certain datum. Additionally, having the technical consultant review my coding helped enhance confirmability, or the qualitative parallel to objectivity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Mertens (2005) suggests, “objectivity means that the data and their interpretation are not figments of the researcher’s imagination” (p. 257).

Additionally, I conducted member checks with participants. Member checking involves sharing study findings with participants in order to find out how accurately they believe they have been represented in the study and how accurate they believe your findings

and conclusions to be (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Krefting (1991) notes that, “this strategy of revealing research materials to the informants ensures that the researcher has accurately translated the informants' viewpoints into data” (p. 219). Additionally, during the member checking process, participants may provide additional information that may be relevant to the study or simply clarify issues which were not immediately clear in the interviews. Member checking occurred in several stages throughout the study. Member checks were done during follow-up interviews, at which time I sometimes asked for clarification on previous statements or asked them to reflect upon their perceived accuracy of some of my tentative findings. Not all participants opted to do follow-up interviews, and I contacted some of the participants who did not participate in follow-up interviews via email to ask for additional information or for clarification. Finally, all participants were contacted via email with an attached Word document containing a summary of my tentative findings. They were asked to review the findings and given the opportunity to provide feedback. Thirteen of the 26 participants responded and all 13 who responded indicated that they found the findings to be accurate representations of their experiences. Participants were also given an opportunity to read their participant profile to comment on accuracy of representation and to add or remove information, including any details that might make them identifiable. Only one participant revised her participant profile and this was to correct the number of internships in which she had participated.

I also attempted to give rich and thick description of the data to enhance the possibility of transferability, or potential applicableness of the research to other similar

research situations (Merriam, 2002). Merriam notes that it is important for the researcher to provide, “enough description to contextualize the study such that readers will be able to determine the extent to which their situation matches the research context, and hence, whether findings can be transferred” (p. 31). In my descriptions of participants in the participant profiles and in my findings, I tried to provide ample and relevant detail in all aspects of the study, from the participants themselves to the setting. I also tried to be as authentic as possible in my representation of participants and their voices. I tried to provide enough detail to bring to life their stories and voices in this study, and in doing so, accurately and ethically represent the participants.

I also attempted to leave an audit trail, or, “a detailed account of the methods, procedures and decision points in carrying out the study” (Merriam, 2002, p.31). The primary means by which I attempted to establish an audit trail was through my thick description of the research design and process. I also made use of a research journal. In my research journal, I kept track of the logistical details of the study, including interview dates and decisions made about methodology. I also kept analytic memos and jottings on participants (and the study in general) in the research journal. Throughout the study, I engaged in reflexivity, or what Merriam (2002) calls, “critical self-reflection by the researcher regarding assumptions, worldview, biases, theoretical orientation, and relationship to the study that may affect the investigation” (p.31). These self-reflections were also included in the journal. Additionally, I attempted to provide ample description of my methodology in this section, and I also attempted to provide additional relevant information in the appendices.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the study. The primary limitation involved time. Ideally, participants would have been asked to participate in several interviews (rather than two), but time constraints prevented this. Multiple interviews would have allowed for deeper exploration of the research questions and would also have provided more linguistic data for analysis. The latter would have allowed me to explore morphosyntax in greater detail and provide a more thorough description of participants' speech. Another limitation is the population sample. Sampling was purposeful, and also involved volunteers. The participants who volunteered for this study may have done so because they felt strongly that they had a story to tell and may have experiences that differ greatly from students who were only marginally interested in participation because they felt they had less to say. For example, several participants mentioned that they were happy that someone was doing research involving their home region and stressed that they felt that participation in such research was important. Also, the participants in my study all seemed to be very intrinsically motivated, bright, and academically focused. This type of student may be more likely to want to participate in research studies. A few participants indicated that they were interested in participation for the sake of research itself. As such, the sampling in this study may reflect characteristics unique to these participants.

Subjectivity Statement

Peshkin (1994) states that, "Neither believing that we are in the age of post-subjectivity (Barone, 1990), nor that we ever will be, I hold that my affective state, my

history, my biography, invariably will create the dynamic composite I call subjectivity” (p. 47). In qualitative research, as the researcher is the primary instrument, it is critical to examine and acknowledge these elements that Peshkin notes together influence subjectivity.

I approach this study with a transformative research paradigm, believing that multiple realities exist which are socially constructed and influenced by issues of power inequity, often relating to class, race, gender, sexual orientation, etc. (Mertens, 2005). This research paradigm takes a critical approach to issues of social oppression and stresses an interactive relationship between the researcher and participants (Mertens, 2005). Research conducted in line with this paradigm often seeks to empower those who have been marginalized (Mertens, 2005), and it is my hope that through this study and similar research I will be able to raise awareness of dialect diversity and the value that all varieties of the English language have in order that fewer speakers feel in any way marginalized by their speech.

Being the speaker of a stigmatized variety of English myself, issues of potential discrimination, stereotyping, or less than positive self-beliefs related to language use are personally relevant. At numerous points in my life, I have been teased (good-naturedly or otherwise) for my “Southern accent” and have experienced stereotyping (both positive and negative) by others based on my speech. Raised in the South by non-Southern parents, I have been keenly aware for most of my life of the differences in my speech versus that of my parents and extended family. I (unfortunately) learned at a young age to devalue Southern American English and I also learned to code-switch to more standardized English in certain

situations, particularly in academic and professional environments and in the presence of extended family. Through studies in linguistics, I have come to accept and appreciate my natural speech and what it means to me in terms of my identity as someone raised in the South from a non-Southern family. However, the internal conflict I experienced earlier in my life regarding my use of “proper” English and the mild resentment I felt being teased and stereotyped for my speech has made me perhaps more sensitive to issues of dialect discrimination than someone who speaks a more standardized variety. Realizing this potential bias, I attempted to be reflective throughout this study in an effort not to project my experiences onto the participants or to make assumptions about their feelings or experiences.

Until I was six years old, my immediate family and I lived in Appalachia (eastern Kentucky) while my father attended graduate school in the region. There my family made many close friends with whom we are still in contact today. Having lived in part of Appalachia and having maintained ties to people from the area, I also bring to the study certain perspectives about life in a specific area of the region and bring certain biases about culture and life in Appalachia. Again, throughout the study I attempted to acknowledge these biases on my part and additionally attempted to step back from them and tried to be careful not to make assumptions regarding others’ experiences being similar to my own.

As a “first-generation Southerner” and former, non-native resident of Appalachia, I feel that I have a somewhat dual insider/outsider status, having grown up immersed in the culture *outside* of my home (at school, church, with friends, and in social settings), but experiencing a very different culture *in* the home with my immediate and extended family. In

this study, I attempted to employ both my “insider” and “outsider” perspectives in the analysis phase in order to present a well-balanced and thoughtful interpretation of the data.

Summary

In this section I have discussed the methodology used in the study. The section described the basic interpretive qualitative methodology, including the setting, the sample population, sampling methods, study design and analysis of the data through qualitative coding methods. It also describes the sociolinguistic analysis of linguistic data in the study, including formant analysis of phonological features and description of morphosyntactic features. This section also included limitations to the study findings and a subjectivity statement, describing the biography and biases I bring to the study as the primary research instrument.

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPANT PROFILES

Participant Profiles

Overview:

In this section I provide descriptive profiles for each participant in the study. The first portion of the profile contains general demographic information including age, gender, major, ethnicity, and parents' origin and education level. It also includes information about the participants' reflections on their own speech and the speech of their home communities. Also included is relevant information about their perceptions of their speech and its influences on their experiences in college. In the second portion of each profile, I provide a linguistic description of participants' speech. I begin this section for each participant with an impressionistic description of their speech, based on my perceptions as a resident of the South, former resident of Appalachia, and speaker of a dialect of Southern English. I have also spent a significant amount of time on campus at Southern State University and therefore I present my perceptions regarding the level of salience of certain features of the participants' speech within the milieu of the SSU campus. *In my impressionistic description of participants' speech, I generally use nontechnical, layperson's terms to provide a description that is accessible and understandable to the reader with little or no background in linguistics.* The linguistic profile section also includes a vowel chart which shows the position of the vowel nucleus (beginning of the vowel) and glide trajectory (end of the vowel) for the participants measured vowels /ay/ and /e/. On these charts, the nucleus of each vowel is represented by a distinct geometric shape, and the glide trajectory is indicated with an arrow. In describing the glide of /ay/, I follow Fridland (2003) in making distinctions

between glide lengths. A short glide was considered to be one in which the difference in movement from measurements taken at the beginning and the end of the vowel was between 100 and 200 Hertz (with a specification of very short glides as those less than 100 Hertz) and full glides, or diphthongization were those with a difference of greater than 300 Hertz (p. 286). Using data from Dodsworth and Kohn (2012)⁵, I was able to provide linguistic context for the SSU campus area. The researchers provided me with data on realization of /e/ for a peer group (similar age and demographic make up) for young adults who had been brought up in the SSU campus area. I compared the use of /e/ for participants in this study with those from the SSU campus area in order to highlight which speakers might be using a variant which is distinct from local norms. In addition to information and description of the measured vowels, a chart outlining any non-standardized morphosyntax used by the participant is included in the profiles. These charts include all instances of non-standardized grammar used by any participant in the study for comparison of use across speakers. Thus, some non-standardized features are indicated as being present for some participants while not for others.

Institutional Profile:

The setting for this study was Southern State University. Southern State is a large, public research university located in an urban environment in the Southern United States. It has a student population of over 30,000 and is one of the largest campuses in the state. The university was founded over two hundred years ago and since its inception has been well

⁵ Thanks to Mary Kohn for her suggestion to incorporate this data.

known in the state for its ties to agriculture and engineering. The student population is fairly racially diverse, though it is predominately White. Historically, many students from rural areas in the state have been drawn to this university, anecdotally being oriented toward agricultural and engineering programs. The university offers four-year degrees in various areas of agricultural science, but also has a two-year agricultural program with open admission. Interestingly, despite the university tradition of commitment to agriculture, the two-year open agricultural program is somewhat stigmatized by non-agricultural students on campus, perhaps because of general stereotypes associated with members of rural, agricultural communities, such as being less intelligent or worldly. As such, perhaps because it is not always clear who is involved in the two-year program versus the four-year programs, there also seems to be somewhat of a stigma attached to being a student in agricultural studies at SSU. Indeed, walking through the main quad, it is apparent that there is a bit of de facto segregation among agricultural students versus other students. “Ag” students tend to congregate in certain areas, wear clothing associated with rural, agricultural lifestyles (camouflage, cowboy and working boots, flannel, Carhartt apparel) and seem to not mix as much with “mainstream” student groups on campus. This stigma plays out in the experiences of many of the participants in this study, who suggests that upon hearing their speech, peers often automatically assume that their major is in an agricultural field.

Group Profile:

The participants in this study were all undergraduate students attending a large research institution in an urban Southern city. All participants were between the ages of 19

and 23. Participants were either in their sophomore, junior, or senior year of college; no freshman participated. The participants had all attended Southern State University since their freshman year (none transferred from another institution). The participants represented a range of majors from education to engineering, though most (n=20) tended to have a major in a STEM field. There were 12 male participants and 14 female participants.

The majority of the participants suggested that they were academically high-achieving or above average students in terms of GPA and indicated a commitment to learning and finding success in their respective fields. Most participants indicated some degree of involvement in co-curricular activities on campus at SSU, from varsity athletics to honors and service fraternities.

As a group, a common theme among participants was an indication that during their transition to college, being from a rural area they were surprised and had to adjust to being on a campus in an urban area with more students than people in their home towns. Several mention the idea of going from being a “big fish in a small pond to a small fish in a big pond.” Participants also mentioned that generally speaking, few students from their high schools attend college at SSU or other colleges or universities in the SSU area. Several participants indicated that no more than 10 or so students from their high school left the region for college, and several of those who did ended up dropping out or transferring to an institution closer to home within the first two years of college. Some participants suggested that their high school peers who have strong regional dialects are the students who do not attend college, who stay close to home, or who go back home after leaving to attend college

elsewhere. Most participants noted that the majority of students from their high schools either attend community college or attend a four-year institution in the Appalachian region.

Participants note that in general, at SSU there seem to be very few students from Appalachia. Additionally, many participants noted that coming to college was the first time for them that they had been exposed to diverse populations (on many levels). Many participants indicated that their rural hometowns are fairly homogenous in terms of race, nationality, religious backgrounds, and even ways of thought. Coming to SSU represented the first time that many participants met students from other countries, other races, religions and social class backgrounds. On the whole, participants indicated that they have greatly enjoyed this diversity and have become more open-minded as a result of being exposed to it.

Participants seemed to be from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds, from students whose financial means have allowed them to travel extensively throughout the world to those who were only able to attend SSU with significant financial aid. Additionally, the level of education of participants' parents ranged from completion of high school education to graduate and professional degrees. In this study, while I do touch upon parental education to a degree, I do not address socioeconomic status. This decision was made because of the nuances of class that could not be substantively addressed in the format of the interviews completed. Further, it became clear in some interviews that participants were uncomfortable discussing some issues related to class and out of respect for their feelings, I did not pursue those issues. I did not want to use proxies such as parental occupation or income level as class indicators, because class status is often relative to community, and participants from

this study came from a variety of communities in Appalachia. For example, a participant who may have considered himself middle class in one rural western North Carolina community might be considered upper-middle class in another. Someone who considers herself to be middle class in one community might be considered lower middle or working class in another. Further, class distinctions in rural areas may differ vastly from class distinctions in the urban milieu of Southern State University.

There was additionally a range of linguistic diversity among the group. Participants' speech ranged from the fairly standardized varieties which would not likely draw much attention within the American South, to more vernacular varieties which are likely more identifiable by others as being rural Southern or "Appalachian." Nearly all participants indicated during our interviews that they are aware of the stigma surrounding the speech of their home communities. In fact, when I asked participants to describe the speech of their home communities, many of them laughed before responding, or described it in a deprecating manner. Some participants who sound more standardized now suggested that in the past they did not, and that their speech has changed either because they intentionally made efforts to avoid sounding Southern Appalachian, or because over time outside of Appalachia, their speech has been influenced by other, more standardized dialects.

For better contextual understanding of participants and their speech, in addition to description of their speech, I also provide comparison to peers of roughly the same age who grew up in the city where Southern State University is located. These speakers represent a mix of young people who grew up within the city proper and the suburbs of the city. Their

parents are also from the Southern State University campus area. The data on this peer cohort comes from Dodsworth and Kohn (2012) and includes information on their realizations of the vowels /e/ and /ay/. Comparing these data (see Appendix F) it is evident that compared to urban peers in the Southern State University area, participants in this study did not differ greatly in their realization of this feature. Thus, with the exception of the few participants for whom the nucleus of /e/ is lowered and backed, this feature is not likely to be perceptually salient on campus. There are no speakers for whom /e/ is markedly different than SSU area peers who do not also monophthongize /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments. Further, only one participant who uses non-standardized grammar does not also monophthongize /ay/ pre-voiceless. For this reason, /ay/ monophthongization, or glide weakening, will generally be used as a proxy to refer to students who are more vernacular. Additionally, based on impressionistic observations as the researcher, I make distinctions of vernacularity in the context of SSU campus based on my perceptions of the speaker and the salience of their speech as being markedly different.

There are no real patterns or differences in terms of language use along lines of gender or major. Among the most vernacular participants, several have parents who graduated from college, hold graduate degrees, and work in white-collar professions. Among first-generation college students who participated in the study, nearly all were speakers with more vernacular features. Only one speaker who identified as being a first-generation college student did not have significant vernacular features in his speech (Thomas) and he stressed in his interview the importance of sounding educated.

Individual Profiles

Brandon, White male, 22 years old

“Brandon” is a college senior from “Claydell,” NC studying biochemistry. His parents are also from the area, and both have master’s degrees. In our interview, Brandon seemed to be quietly confident in his academic abilities and is very articulate. He is participating in an internship related to his field (in preparation for graduate or professional school) and is involved on campus in a service-oriented honor society. His hometown is in the westernmost part of the state and he emphasizes how rural this area is. He gives a detailed account of the speech of most in his home community, noting that while there is a Southern accent that can be heard on campus at Southern State University and in surrounding areas, he indicates that there is a stronger “Southern accent” in his home community. He suggests that at home he is not considered to have much of an accent: “Yeah, I’ve got an accent, there’s no mistaking it, but I’m not quite like some of the other people.” He credits the influence of his parents for this, whom he describes as “well educated” and notes that although they are from the Appalachia, both had left at some point. He indicates that growing up, his parents corrected certain aspects of his speech (for example the pronunciation of “pen” as “pin” use of the word “ain’t”). Brandon indicates that for the most part, his speech has not drawn considerable attention on campus at SSU and perhaps believes that it is not particularly distinguishable from that of non-Appalachian rural Southern students on campus. He does however, indicate that, SES seems to play a role in the attention his speech draws at times: “With more of the richer kids I guess you would say, they would notice my accent more than

others I guess.” He suggests that he is typically drawn to other students on campus from rural areas and said that he was surprised to be able to find many other students on campus with similar rural backgrounds. He mentions that he is aware of the stereotypes associated with Southern/Appalachian dialects (particularly associations with being uneducated or unintelligent), but notes that he is not too concerned about anyone applying these stereotypes to him: “It doesn’t bother me really, if they want to that’s their prerogative. But I’d like to prove them wrong.”

Linguistic profile: Brandon’s speech initially struck me as being identifiably Southern, though not necessarily Appalachian North Carolinian. Like many Southerners, he monophthongizes (unglides) /ay/ in pre-voiced environments, but as a fellow Southerner, this was not particularly salient to me. Having spent significant time on campus at SSU, I would not assume that his speech is likely to draw much attention, as it may not be categorically different than that of other Southern students on campus. Certain articulations may draw some attention, but overall he may “blend in” in many environments on campus.

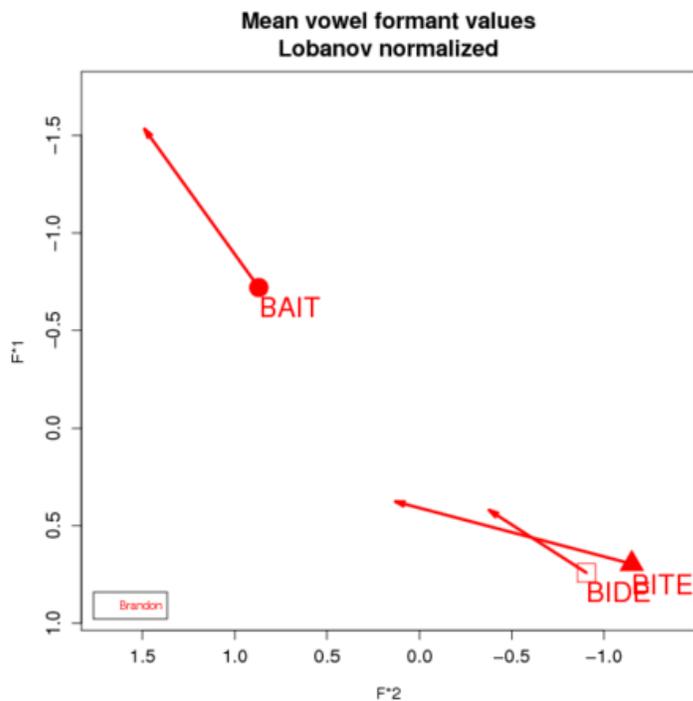


Figure 10: Brandon: Vowel plot

His BITE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environment) has a longer glide than other students, and most of his glides would be categorized a full glides ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$). In contrast, most of his BIDE realizations (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) are shortened glides ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$), with several very short glides ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$). As such, his articulation of /ay/ may not differ drastically from many students on campus at SSU, though his shortened glides in pre-voiced contexts might draw some attention. The nucleus of Brandon's /e/ vowel, compared to other participants in this study and the peer group from the SSU area, is produced farther back that most but not distinctly lower.

Brandon’s morphosyntax, or grammar, is fairly standardized. As you can see in the chart below, Brandon does not use any non-standardized grammar during our interviews. However, it should be noted that some features, such as past participles, did not occur at all during our interviews, so it is not certain whether he would have used irregular or regular constructions in those environments.

Table 3

Brandon: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/0	-
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/11	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/8	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/1	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/2	0%

Brooke, White female, 20 years old

“Brooke” is a college sophomore from “Grantwell,” NC studying biological sciences. Her parents were both brought up in Grantwell, and her father has a medical degree and her mother has a bachelor’s degree. In our interview, Brooke is talkative, smiles and laughs

often, and gives an air of confidence. She describes her parents as being well educated (her father is a doctor and her mother is an elementary school guidance counselor) and she notes that there are differences in her home region in language use and lifestyle based on level of education. In addition to having a medical practice, her family also has a farm, which she says is more for “fun” than for food/livestock production. During the recorded portion of our interview, she did not use any non-standardized grammatical features and the phonological features of her dialect were not striking. However, we continued to chat for roughly twenty minutes after the recorder was turned off and though again I did not notice non-standardized grammar, I did note impressionistically that some phonological features, such as shifted /e/ and /ay/ became more prominent. Brooke mentions that before she came to college, she was unaware that she had an accent but since she arrived at Southern State University, she has been teased “all the time” for her speech. However, she notes that most of the teasing is good-natured and comes from friends. In our interview, she shares a story about another student she met her freshman year who was from West Virginia and told her that she would learn to lose her accent quickly at Southern State (insinuating stigma associated with speaking a dialect of Appalachian English on campus). She describes the typical speech of her hometown as sounding “redneck” and “really country” but she says that she has always thought that she does not sound much like the majority of her home community, noting that she did not have many friends in high school who had “a huge Southern drawl” and says that most of her peers sounded much more “Southern” than she does. She indicates that she likes the way she speaks and is proud of being from her region. Nonetheless, in our interview she

makes comments suggesting that she views losing her accent in college as a positive thing that might benefit her in situations such as job interviews in the future. She suggests that she has never intentionally tried to change her speech, but that she does code-switch at times to a “formal voice” in situations such as interacting with professors. She also says that she thinks the way she talks has changed a lot since she has been in college, and notes that when she goes home her accent comes out more. She also points out that she has the *pin-pen* merger.

Linguistic profile: As a Southerner, I was able to identify Brooke as a fellow Southerner based on her speech, and I also thought that she sounded as though she is from the western part of the state (although only at times). During the recorded portion of our interview, as I mentioned, her speech is more careful and standardized, though in our discussion for roughly twenty minutes after the recorder was stopped, her phonology was more vernacular. In my opinion as someone familiar with Southern Appalachian speech and the SSU campus, Brooke’s speech (either the style used during our interview or post-interview) may draw a bit of attention on campus, but is not strikingly different than many other rural, Southern students on campus.

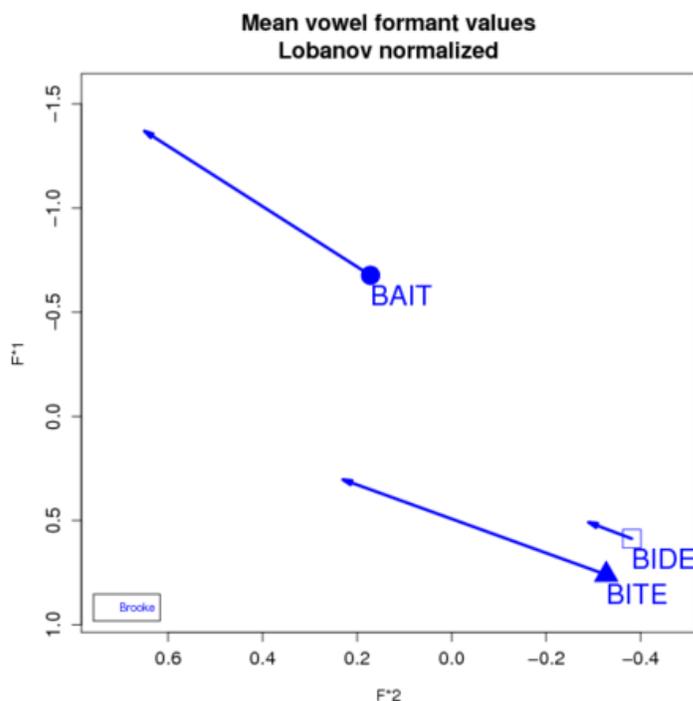


Figure 11: Brooke: Vowel plot

Looking at her BITE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) we see that the glide is longer than that of her peers for whom /ay/ is clearly more monophthongal (like Patty), and most of her articulations of /ay/ pre-voiceless were full glides ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$), with a few shortened glides ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$). However, looking at her BIDE vowel (the /ay/ vowel in pre-voiced environments) we see that this glide is shorter, more monophthongal than her BITE vowel. Most of her /ay/ glides in pre-voiced environments were shortened or very short, though two were full glides. Brooke's /e/ nucleus is not significantly lower than either peer group, though it is more backed. Also, as previously mentioned, Brooke indicates that she also has the pin-pen merger (pronouncing the vowel sound /ε/ as /I/ before nasal

consonants. Thus, *pin* and *pen* are both pronounced as *pin*), and impressionistically, her /o/ vowel is fairly fronted.

During our interview, Brooke used standardized morphosyntax (grammar). Like Brandon, it should be noted that there were no potential environments for use of past participles.

Table 4

Brooke: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/6	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/3	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/2	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/4	0%

Christopher, White male, 21 years old

“Christopher” is a college junior from “Brice,” NC studying sociology and minoring in economics. His parents are from small towns in the same county in which Brice is located, and they both have college degrees. Christopher is very polite, thoughtful in his responses, and has an overall friendly and positive demeanor. I was struck by his maturity and seeming internal locus of control. He is currently enrolled in a type of officer’s training program for the armed forces, which he will join upon graduation. Christopher describes the speech of his home community as being, “a little like country twang per se, but it’s – I mean it’s nothing like it’s redneck or something like people would consider” and says that his speech is fairly similar to most others in his community. He notes that his speech has drawn significant attention on campus at Southern State University since his arrival and unfortunately, much of the attention has been negative. During our interview, Christopher discusses the struggles he faced when other students made assumptions about him based on his speech, such as that he was racist, small minded, or otherwise prejudiced. He mentioned that in some of his classes, he is less likely to speak up because there have been occasions when classmates “snickered” upon hearing him speak. In a few of his classes in college, instructors have used his speech as a proxy for a rural upbringing and made him the representative for all rural/Southern/Appalachians, and that made him feel uncomfortable. He also talks about difficulties he had with international students (particularly British students) making similar assumptions and treating him quite rudely when he was a resident advisor in an international dorm, as these students attributed his speech to being similar to the stereotypical “stupid”

American portrayed negatively in international news media. Despite these experiences, he retained a positive outlook, though he admits that at times the negativity got to him and that he believes that someone who was less confident in their academic abilities or less self-assured might have a significantly more difficult time than he did. He mentions that he has a friend from the eastern part of the state who also has a strong regional accent and that his friend has faced similar challenges. Christopher also suggests that he has been somewhat surprised to find that his instructors in the social sciences (who he assumed would perhaps be more open-minded and tolerant than faculty in other fields) have actually been some of the most prejudiced against his speech initially. He does note that generally speaking, after getting to know him and his academic abilities, professors who may have stereotyped him change their opinion. He says that at times, such as an incident when a professor put him on the spot “and everybody around could tell, you know, the professor thinks you’re stupid,” he felt a bit embarrassed about the way he speaks, but he notes that, “you turn red a little bit and then go on.” Christopher also says that people tend to be very surprised to find out that he is a sociology major, because upon first hearing him speak they assume he would be in an agricultural program or perhaps engineering. He says that he enjoys proving people wrong when they make assumptions about him based on his speech and says that early in college he felt a strong need to go above and beyond to prove his capabilities but this has diminished over time and he feels less of a need to prove himself. Christopher says that the way he speaks has “definitely had an impact on my college experience, but I mean I guess it could go either way with anybody.” He points out positive aspects of speaking a non-standardized

dialect, such as that is makes him unique on campus and that some people really like the deep, Southern “Scotty McCreery type” voice, and also points out the negatives, such as being considered to be of lesser intelligence, small-minded, or racist. “Just which way it goes I guess is up to you.” It seemed that Christopher felt he had a story to tell, as on the way out he mentioned that he was glad that someone was doing this study.

Linguistic profile: Christopher’s speech was, to me as a fellow Southerner, strikingly Southern and strikingly western North Carolinian. Impressionistically, his /ay/ vowel (in both pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments) seemed quite monophthongal and I perceived his /e/ vowel as being quite diphthongal. Being familiar with SSU campus and speech therein, based on my perceptual impressions of his speech, I would assume that his speech likely draws attention. It was, to me, markedly Southern Appalachian and differs even from other rural Southern students on campus.

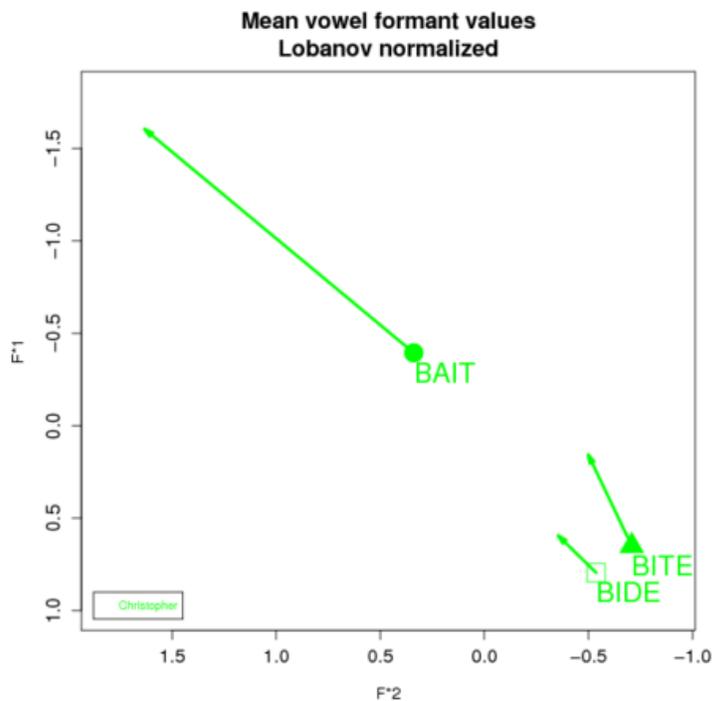


Figure 12: Christopher: Vowel plot

Looking at his /ay/ vowel, we see that the glide of both BITE and BIDE are quite short (particularly compared to other peers, such as Vince). The majority of Christopher's /ay/ glides in pre-voiceless contexts were very short ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$) and all but one of the others were shortened glides ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$). Only one was realized as a full glide ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$). In pre-voiced contexts, nearly all glides were very short, with only one instance with a change in nucleus and glide target being greater than 100Hz. These articulations of /ay/ are likely to be quite different than peers on campus in the SSU area and will likely draw attention. Further, Christopher's /e/ is one of the few that is markedly different from SSU area peer

comparison group. The nucleus of /e/ for Christopher is significantly lowered and farther back, a feature which is highly marked and may draw stigma.

Christopher's grammar during our interviews was standardized. Like some other participants, there were no possible environments for past participle usage, irregular or standardized. There were also not potential environments for leveling of *don't* or use of *ain't*.

Table 5

Christopher: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/7	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/0	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/0	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/5	0%

Elizabeth, White female, 21 years old

“Elizabeth” is a college senior from “Sterling,” NC, studying textile engineering. Her parents are both from Appalachian North Carolina and both completed high school. Our first interview occurred during the end of her junior year and our second interview took place during her senior year of college. Elizabeth is very friendly, open, easy going and laughs often. When asked to describe the speech of her home community, she says that, “everything is long and drawn out and really country” and suggests that her speech and the speech her family is fairly typical for the area, though her speech might be less “country” than others. Elizabeth mentions that at Southern State, she has been told she has a “bad accent,” but indicates that her peers who think her accent is strong might be very surprised to hear the way other people from her home community speak. She is proud of her hometown and of her region, but she does mention that at times in college she has felt that others may have judged her based on her speech: “like they just act like I’m not good enough because I have a country accent, like I’m not – like I haven’t experienced the world or whatever.” Nonetheless, throughout the interviews, she mentions several times that she is who she is, she is proud of who she is, and she will not change her speech for anyone because it is part of who she is. This pride in her speech also comes despite the fact that at a young age, her primary school teachers would highlight the “incorrectness” of the speech of her county and tell her and her classmates that they needed to “get the ‘Sterling-ese’ out” of their speech. Although Elizabeth mentions that she will not categorically change the way she speaks, she does mention that she believes that there are times when it is beneficial to code-switch to a

more standardized variety, such as during job interviews: “You wanna sound professional and if you say *ain’t* and *y’all* you don’t sound professional.” She also mentions that the ability to code-switch is important, and can make a difference in how comfortable students who are speakers of non-standardized varieties of English feel on campus: “I think a lot of people feel self-conscious because they don’t know when and where to turn it off and they get made fun of.” In terms of concerns about her speech being considered unprofessional, Elizabeth notes that because her field is very internationally oriented, she has been concerned at times that her speech might be a hindrance in being considered for some positions.

Nonetheless, she stresses that what a person knows and can do is more important than their speech and she is proud of her background. Elizabeth mentions that she is drawn to other students on campus from rural areas, and that most of her friends are from rural areas. She also notes that students from rural areas like herself might not be included in discussions of diversity on campus, noting that, “it’s not considered rude to make fun of someone’s accent.” Additionally as a female student in a STEM field, she notes that she faces certain stereotypes about being a woman, and additionally, being a woman whose speech differs from many other students on campus can be challenging as well. When I asked if it was ever challenging to be one of only a few females in her classes, she responded: “*Big time*, because then not only do I have the accent that’s bringing me down, but then I’m a girl, so...” However, she says that the nature of her major involving mostly technical classes does work to her advantage at times, because unlike courses that involve lots of discussion, her speech does not draw attention in technical courses.

Linguistic profile: Elizabeth's speech, like Christopher's, was for me, notably Southern and identifiable as being from the western part of North Carolina. In addition to her /ay/ vowels impressionistically having weakened glides, I also noticed that her front lax vowels /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ are sometimes impressionistically diphthongal (for example, pronouncing the word "fish" as "feeyush"). She herself also notes that she has been corrected by others for using the morphological alternation in' rather than ING in words (swimmin' rather than swimming). I suspect that on campus at SSU, Elizabeth's speech is marked as different than the average rural Southern student.

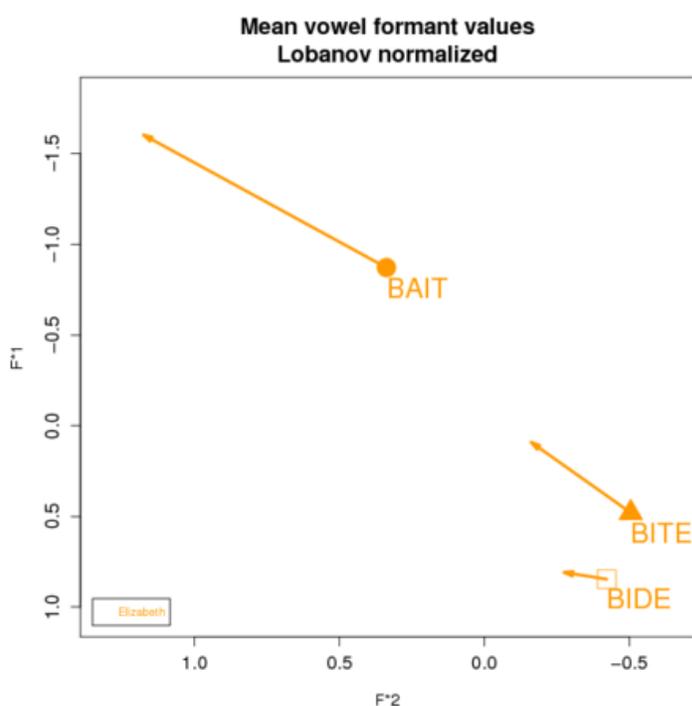


Figure 13: Elizabeth: Vowel plot

For Elizabeth, the glide in her BITE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) is generally produced as with a very short glide ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$) and perceptually, it was monophthongal. Similarly, her BIDE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiced contexts) has nearly categorical very short glides. Her realization of /ay/ both pre-voiced and pre-voiceless differs from the comparison cohort in the SSU area, and is likely to draw attention on campus. The nucleus of Elizabeth's BAIT vowel is produced relatively lower than either peer group, but is not significantly farther front or back. Her /e/ is likely less salient than /ay/.

During our interviews, Elizabeth used two instances of non-standardized grammar. Both occurred in use of past participle and involved use of the same irregular past participle-went. Elizabeth makes statements such as, "Because you've went to New Jersey" or "Now, if I had went to [a different university]..." Beyond this, there are no other occurrences of non-standardized grammar.

Table 6

Elizabeth: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	1/5	20%
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/19	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/10	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/2	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/11	0%

Emily, White female, 21 years old

“Emily” is a college senior from “Gray Mountain,” NC studying middle grades education. Her parents are also from Gray Mountain. Her father has a master’s degree and her mother has an associate’s degree in nursing. Emily was born abroad (her father was in the armed forces) but the family returned to Gray Mountain when she was very young. In our interview she is very spirited, warm, and outgoing. In high school, she was a participant in a prestigious statewide academic enrichment program, and as a college student, although she says she would not describe herself as the model student, she appears to be very academically driven. In addition to her academic pursuits, she was also a varsity athlete for a year. When asked to describe the speech of her home community, she calls it “very, very country” and

she describes her own speech as being somewhere in the middle of sounding just like others in her home community and sounding nothing like them. She notes that her parents' speech is fairly close to typical speech for Gray Mountain. She notes that she monophthongizes (unglides) /ay/ in pre-voiceless and pre-voiced environment, and that the former draws notable attention from her peers on campus. She is aware of the stigmatization of these phonological features in her speech and expresses amusement and exasperation at the fact that her peers (friends and others she doesn't know) feel the need to point this out to her. She indicates that most of the teasing she has received in college has been good-natured and has come from friends. Nonetheless, she does suggest that this is at times annoying and indicates that she does not take kindly to teasing from others with whom she does not have an established relationship. She says that she believes the way that she speaks has certainly influenced the way her peers on campus perceive her, noting that she believes that oftentimes peers judge her as being less intelligent. She also notes that sometimes the attention her speech draws from others is because they think it is "cute" but she also finds this tiresome at times. She suggests that she does not let this get her down: "And, you know, sometimes I'll get frustrated if somebody wants to laugh at the way I speak, but it doesn't get to me really." Emily says that she is drawn to other students whose speech is perhaps more like hers: "The ones that don't sound all high and mighty. Like the ones that aren't pretentious at all, that don't – you know, the people that like, you can tell that they're trying to speak proper and it's really exaggerated." Despite feeling stigmatized because of her speech, she notes that generally she does not intentionally change her speech- with a few notable exceptions. She

suggests that when she is around people she does not know and who, “would exploit my accent, want me to be the entertainment,” she will attempt to sound more standardized. She also notes that when giving presentations, she will sometimes code-switch to more standardized English. She notes that her speech is an important part of who she is, and she notes that an undergraduate course related to linguistics and education she took was influential in developing positive feelings about her speech. As a result, during our interview we were able to talk directly about issues of language in the classroom, including her informed decision to not “standardize” her speech when she student teaches so that students can become familiar with her natural speech. She plans to do a student teaching exchange program abroad where she hopes to teach her students about dialect variation in her home state.

Linguistic profile: Emily’s speech struck me as being identifiably western North Carolinian. In our interview, she notes that her /ay/ vowel is monophthongal in both pre-voiceless and pre-voiced contexts (she notes that she often receives comments from others about her pronunciation of this vowel, particularly in pre-voiceless environments) and perceptually I also noted that /ay/ seemed to be fairly monophthongal for her. She notes that at home she uses terms like “y’uns” (a second person plural pronoun, the use of which is similar to “y’all”) and “fixin’ to” (to prepare to do something; “I’m fixin’ to write a paper” means “I am getting ready to/preparing to write a paper”). In the milieu of Southern State University, I would suspect that Emily’s speech is marked as being somewhat different than her rural Southern peers and substantially different than urban Southern peers or peers from

outside the South. She confirms that her speech frequently draws attention, and she suggests that even when her peers call her speech “cute” she finds it somewhat “demeaning.”

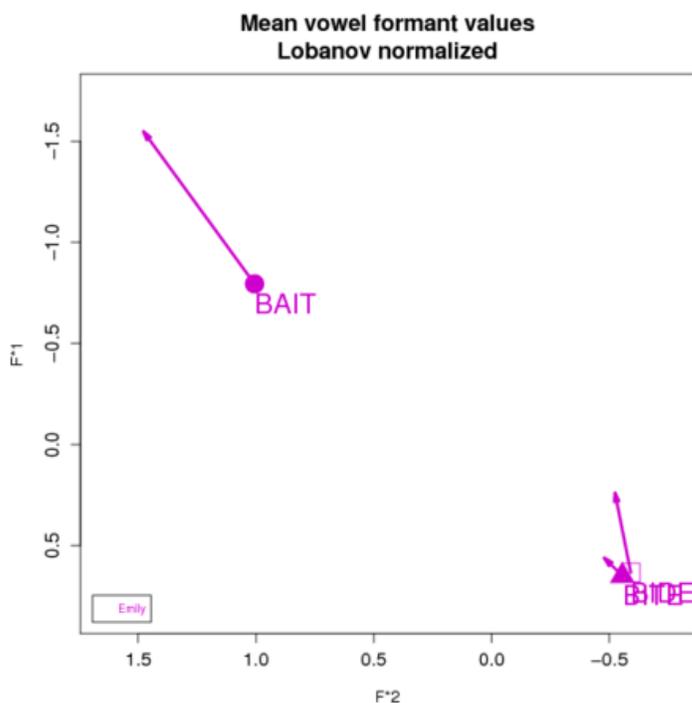


Figure 14: Emily: Vowel plot

Emily’s realization of BITE includes almost categorically very short glides ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$) and is perceptually monophthongal. Similarly, the glides in her BIDE realization are mostly very short or short ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$). Her realization of /ay/ in both pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments (though particularly pre-voiceless environments) differs from the comparison cohort in the SSU area, and is likely to draw attention on campus. The nucleus of

/e/ for Emily is not significantly lower than peers in this study or in the SSU area comparison group, but it is slightly more fronted. Use of this feature is likely less salient than articulation of /ay/.

During our interview, Emily uses standardized grammar, though, like other participants, there were no contexts of use for past participles. Emily suggests in our interview that at times she will use non-standardized word or expressions such as “y’uns” or “ain’t” but notes that she never uses them in academic or professional settings.

Table 7

Emily: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/0	-
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/6	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/3	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/2	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/4	0%

Hank, White male, 22 years old

“Hank” is a college senior from “Grantwell,” NC, studying environmental technology. His father is also from Grantwell and his mother is from a nearby town. He indicates that both of his parents’ families have lived in Appalachia since “as long as anyone could trace it back.” His mother is a graduate of a four-year college in Appalachia and his father attended a technical school. In our interview Hank was lively, convivial, talkative and good-humored. The conversation meandered over the course of a variety of topics, from the interview questions to a humorous cult television program about ancient aliens. Hank describes the speech of his home community as being varied- he notes that the older generation speaks differently than the younger folks, and he notes that his parent speak differently from one another (they are originally from different towns, although the two towns are only 20 miles apart). He indicates that his speech is basically similar to that of most people his age in his hometown and also suggests that he first became aware that his speech was stigmatized upon arriving at Southern State University. He assumed, before coming to college, that there would be more students of a similar background as his and he was surprised to find himself labeled “Other” by many students: “It’s like you’re an oddity to them more or less. And I didn’t expect that at all. It took a while to get used to this place. It was really, it was really a culture shock.” In our interview, he mentions several times that he has faced discrimination in college based on his speech on multiple occasions, usually because he believes that others assume he is unintelligent. He suggests that he has often been stereotyped by his peers as being someone who grew up on a farm, watches NASCAR, and

says, “And they’re oftentimes surprised when you have different interests than they think you would like, you enjoy *reading* or something [both laugh].” He indicates that throughout college, he has had negative experiences tied to his speech and stereotypes drawn from it. Like several other participants, he mentions that he feels most comfortable around other students on campus who are from rural areas. He mentions that at times, he has felt like a cultural “novelty” to other students, who may not view him as friend as much as token of sorts. Hank suggests that he is very proud of his speech as it is part of who he is and where he comes from, and he does not feel he should have to change for anyone. He mentions that he enjoys speaking the way he does and proving others wrong when they stereotype him based on language. Additionally, he notes that he wants to preserve the linguistic tradition of his home region, and suggests that certain cultural and linguistic groups, like Appalachians, are marginalized and do not necessarily receive support in wanting to preserve their culture (linguistic or otherwise): “I don’t like this whole assimilation idea like everybody must be the same. I feel like that also only applies to certain groups that they don’t want, that people just don’t care about. Like they wanna protect other groups, but they don’t wanna protect some groups. Like they wanna protect certain cultures and you know celebrate their culture but there’s cultures like ours that they wanna erase off the map. And not even talk about.”

Linguistic profile: Hank’s speech struck me as distinctly Southern and western North Carolinian. Impressionistically, Hank’s /ay/ vowel in pre-voiceless and pre-voiced contexts seemed monophthongal to me, his /I/ vowel participates in vowel breaking (sometimes called “drawling” or adding an additional syllable. The word “fish” might sound more like

“feeyush”). Further, words containing the vowel /ɛ/ (the vowel in the word “bet”) are also shifted. For example, a word like “well” might sound more like “whale.” Hank has a deeper voice, and that may have added to my perception of his vernacularity (interestingly, several participants in the study mention associating deeper male voices with vernacularity). Also, for Hank the vowels in the words “cot” and “caught” are notably distinct, while pin and pen are merged (both pronounced as “pin” or “peeyun” in some cases). The vowel /ɔ/ is also realized as a non-standardized variant, with words like “boil” being pronounced as “boll.” Hank also notes that some of his friends from the eastern part of the state note that he pronounces words like “that” and “them” as “at” and “em.” Hank notes that his speech draws significant attention on campus and that he believes it results in his peers thinking that he is “an idiot.” Being familiar with SSU campus and surrounding area, the fact that he mentions that his speech draws attention is perhaps not surprising, as it does differ quite a bit from the “norm” for Southern students from the SSU area.

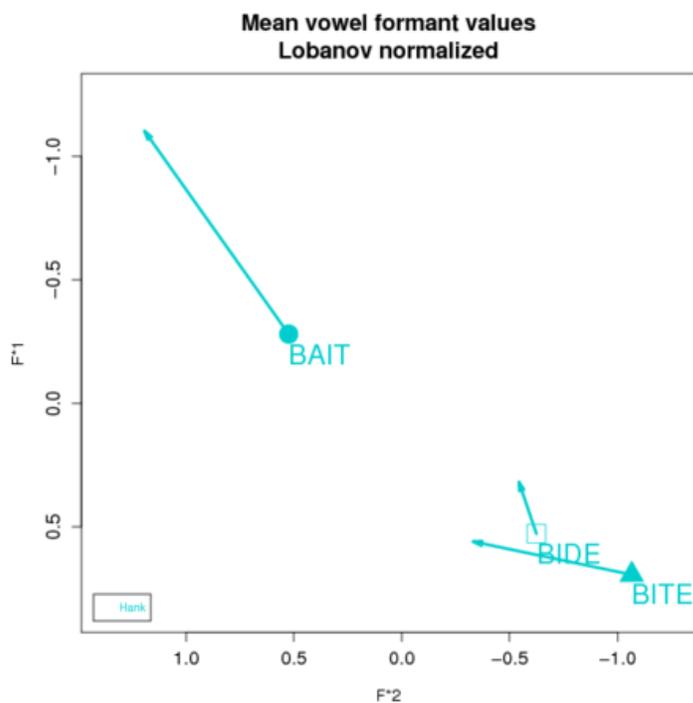


Figure 15: Hank: Vowel plot

For Hank, /ay/ glides in BITE (pre-voiceless phonetic environments) are generally short or very short ($\Delta < 200\text{Hz}$), though he does have two measured instances of full glides ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$). His BIDE realization, however, has almost categorical very short glides ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$) and only one instance of a simply shortened glide ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$). His articulation of /ay/ is likely to be marked on campus. The nucleus of his /e/ vowel is not significantly lower than his peers in the study or the SSU area peer comparison group, but it is produced further back. The backing of this vowel may mark it as somewhat perceptually different, but it will not likely garner the same attention as Hank's realization of /ay/.

During our interview, Hank had a few instances of non-standardized grammar, like use of irregular past participles, such as saying, “People have really came and gone” or use negative concord, “Ain’t no damn thing to do!” (in this case, “ain’t” is being used in the place of “there is/there are”).

Table 8

Hank: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	2/6	33%
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/6	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/10	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	1/1	100%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	1/6	17%

Isabelle, White female, 20 years old

“Isabelle” is a college junior from “Oak Creek,” NC studying communication with a concentration in public relations. Her parents are also from Oak Creek and both have four-year college degrees. In our interview, Isabelle is very poised, thoughtful and reflective. She is a high achieving student and is very involved in community service and outreach

programs. She describes the speech of her home community as being “country,” and notes that she does not sound very typical for the area. She mentions that her parents speak with “somewhat” of a Southern accent, but she believes that because since childhood she has attended camps and participated in activities that exposed her to peers across the state and country, she has learned to speak what she jokingly refers to as “the right way.” She says, “I think I enunciate better than a lot of people in Oak Creek and my parents, I speak a little differently than my parents.” Isabelle mentions that she tried to “set herself apart from the ‘girl with the country accent’” and always has because there is a negative connotation associated with sounding rural/Southern Appalachian. This effort has been somewhat intentional and somewhat subconscious, she notes. Isabelle is a member of a sorority on campus and mentions in our interview that during rush she was invited back to all of the houses, but wonders if she sounded more “country” if she would have been invited to as many houses. She suggests that people on campus are often surprised to find out that she is from Appalachia. She mentions that on campus, she is less drawn toward students whose speech sounds similar to the speech in her home region, noting that she finds that manner of speech somewhat “annoying” and further suggests that, “I think other people should try to work on their speech just because it’s...I just think it’s important to make yourself seem, I feel bad saying more educated, but, so, I think that’s important.”

Linguistic profile: As a Southerner, I could identify Isabelle as a fellow Southerner by her speech, but her speech did not strike me as being particularly Southern and I also would not necessarily have been able to pinpoint her region of origin as being within

Appalachia. I could hear some /ay/ monophthongization in pre-voiced environments during our interview, but I did not perceive the glide to be extremely weakened. For me, listening to Isabelle speak, there was not much about her dialect that struck me as being particularly Appalachian. Impressionistically, her /o/ vowel is a bit fronted, but this is becoming more common among young people in the South and beyond. I also noted a few instances in which she seems to merge the front lax vowels in pin and pen (both pronounced as “pin”) but this also was not striking, and this feature is also growing in the number of users throughout the South. On campus at Southern State, my impression is that her speech would be very unlikely to draw attention. To me, her speech sounded fairly standardized for a Southern speaker (some might not be able to necessarily identify her as Southern at all).

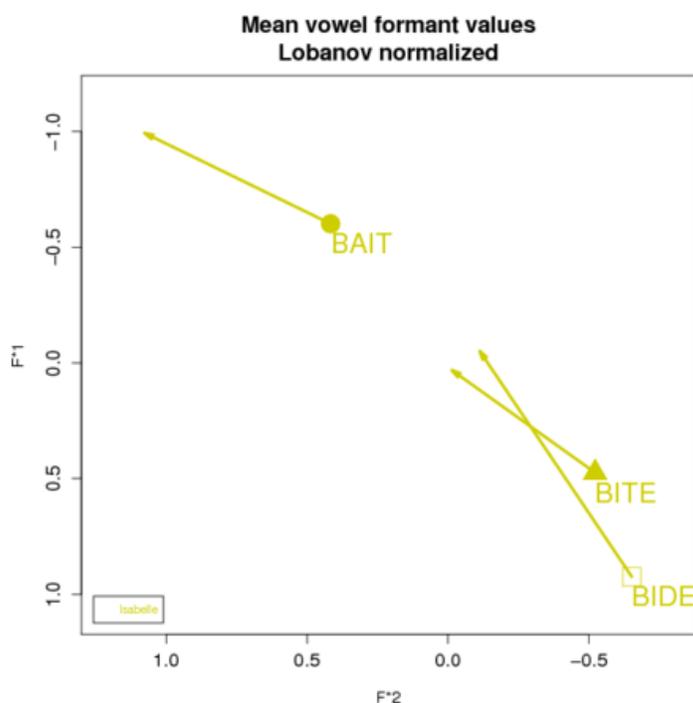


Figure 16: Isabelle: Vowel plot

For Isabelle, the glide in BITE is almost always a full glide ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$) though she does have two measured instances of shortened glides ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$). The glide in BIDE is a full glide or longer glide in most instances, though Isabelle does also have a few instances of a very short ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$) glide in pre-voiced environments. Even with some monophthongization in pre-voiced environments, her realization of /ay/ is unlikely to draw attention. The nucleus of her BAIT (/e/) vowel is relatively high compared to either peer group and somewhat more fronted. Her use of this feature is also unlikely to draw attention on campus.

During our interview, Isabelle uses standardized grammar, though, like several other participants, there were no potential environments for use of past participles and there were also no environments for use of negative concord.

Table 9

Isabelle: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/7	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/1	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/2	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/0	-

Jason, White male, 22 years old

"Jason" is a college senior from "Campbellton," NC and is studying industrial engineering. His father is also from Campbellton, and his mother is from the central part of the state. His parents both completed high school and although they did not graduate from college they both earned certificates. Jason was soft-spoken and polite in our interview, and was initially somewhat reserved but he seemed to open up more as the interview progressed.

When describing typical speech of those in his home community, he describes it as being “not really proper at all” and he describes himself as being more standardized than the majority in his home community. He jokingly describes his own speech as being, “still country, but can function.” He mentions that on campus at Southern State University, he is often teased for his speech, but he suggests that this teasing is generally good-natured. Jason mentions that he avoids using “slang” or non-standardized grammar on campus, particularly in classes and when giving presentations. Several times in the interview he mentions that public speaking is an occasion during which speaking a standardized variety of English is preferred and he suggests that his peers from less rural areas who speak more standardized varieties have an advantage in public speaking in class. He also suggests that he believes that what a person has to say and what they know should matter more than how they say it. Jason indicates that as a senior in college looking for jobs, he has considered the role his dialect plays in the interview process. He notes that with smaller, local companies he did not necessarily consider his speech, whereas when he interviewed with a large national corporation, “I had to do, or show that I’ve done more or try to prove more to make up for what their perception of me is a little bit.” Interestingly though, despite these suggestions of feeling a need to modify his speech in certain situations and an implication that there is a stigma associated with his speech and the speech of his home community, when asked, he generally indicates that language has not had a significant role in his experiences. He also suggests that in college, he has felt more comfortable around other students from rural areas

(he notes that language is a cue for who might also be from a rural area), and he has friends not only from his home region but from other rural areas across the state as well.

Linguistic profile: Jason's speech struck me as being "middle of the road," so to speak, in terms of sounding Southern, possibly Appalachian, but not enough to necessarily stand out on campus at Southern State. Impressionistically, his /ay/ glide was weakened in pre-voiced contexts though not as much so in pre-voiceless environments. Jason did use a bit of non-standardized grammar during our interview, but again, not so much that it was any more striking than that of many rural Southern students I might encounter on campus at SSU. Jason jokingly describes his speech as "still country, but can function," and though he says this in jest, it may be humorously accurate. His speech is certainly identifiable as being Southern but not distinctly western North Carolinian, and may not necessarily draw attention on campus at SSU as being extremely different than that of other rural Southern students. Jason is the only participant who uses non-standardized grammar who does not also have a weakened /ay/ glide in pre-voiceless contexts.

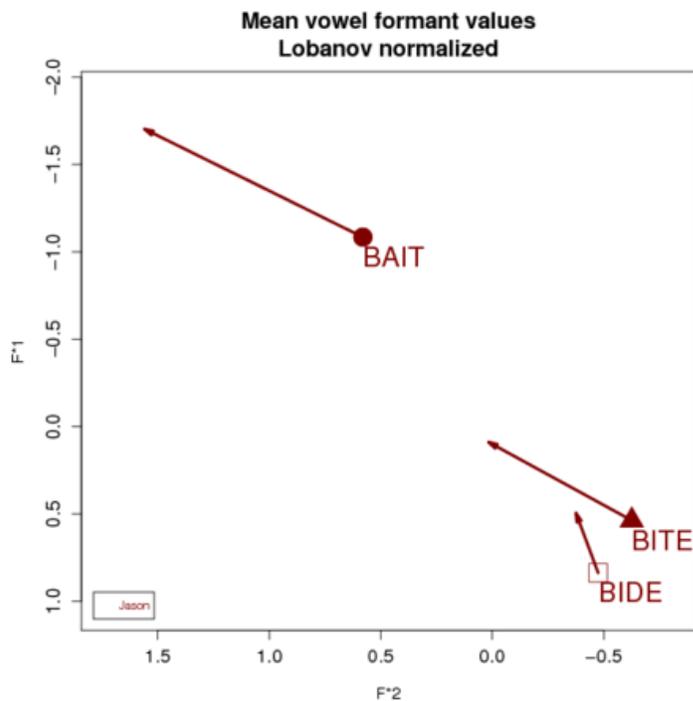


Figure 17: Jason: Vowel plot

The glide in Jason's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) varies more so than those of some of the other participants. In a third of all instances, the glide is longer (approaching a full glide), a quarter of the glides are short ($\Delta=100-200\text{Hz}$) and the other glides are very short ($\Delta<100\text{Hz}$). The salience of this feature may vary on campus depending on his realization. The glide in BIDE for Jason was categorically very short. This may draw some level of attention on campus because although many other rural Southern (and urban Southern) students will have monophthongal (unglided) /ay/ in pre-voiced environments, Jason's glide is very short and impressionistically, almost always so. The nucleus of BAIT (/e/) is lower than most peers in either group (peers in study or peers in SSU area comparison

group) and slightly more fronted. This feature is likely less salient on campus than his use of /ay/.

During our interview, Jason used just a few instances of non-standardized grammar. He made statements using non-standardized grammar such as “That don’t bother me” but in most other instances he uses “doesn’t” (“It doesn’t really come up”). He also uses ain’t in a few instances, such as saying, “If I ain’t gotta do it, then oh well.”

Table 10

Jason: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/0	-
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/2	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	1/4	25%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	2/9	22%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/7	0%

Jessica, African American female, 21 years old

“Jessica” is a college senior from “Ridgeburg,” NC studying zoology. Her mother is also from Ridgeburg and her father is from Alabama. Her father has a bachelor’s degree and her mother has a master’s degree. Jessica is a varsity athlete and scholar, noting that she has been able to strike a good balance between school and athletics. In our interview, she is very friendly, open and laughs and jokes often. Jessica describes the speech in her home area as “hick” or “redneck,” nothing that, “everybody drawls when they talk.” She says that she believes her speech has changed over her four years at Southern State University, noting that when she arrived, she probably sounded similar to most people in her home community but over time at SSU her speech has become more “professional.” Jessica suggests that people who “drawl” are not taken seriously on campus, and she mentions that most of her friends still tease her about her speech (even though she believes she “drawls” less than she used to). Most of this teasing seems to be good natured, but she does admit that when she first came to college she did not like it: “Like I said, a lot of my friends like to make fun of me, but it’s in like a joking way, but when I first moved here, I didn’t like it. After a while, kinda got used to it, but I guess the way it affected me, ‘cause I didn’t like people making fun of like my country talk and slang, my drawl, so...” She mentions that before coming to Southern State University, she had not given much thought to her speech because everyone at home sounded similar and she had not traveled extensively. Jessica indicates that being from an area that is predominately White, her speech has drawn some of her peers to jokingly label her “the whitest Black girl you know” but she says that it, “doesn’t bother me, ‘cause where I’m from

is predominantly White, and it's like – so, whatever.” She mentions that while ethnicity is generally more of an initial factor drawing her to other students on campus, language also plays a role. She suggests that when she hears someone who sounds like they are from her home region it is comforting because there are so few students from her hometown who left the region for college (and most of those who did leave for college ended up dropping out or transferring back home). Hearing someone with a familiar accent may make her more likely to initiate a conversation with that person. Jessica mentions that at times in college she code-switches to a more standardized variety of English and makes an effort to “enunciate” better and not use words like “y’all.” Instances that would prompt her to do so would be class presentations and perhaps job interviews. She mentions that being Black, female, and having a Southern/Appalachian accent is a “triple whammy” against her in being taken seriously and considered “professional,” but she notes that, “I feel like the way I’ve changed my voice helps me more, so it’s not a triple whammy. It’s more of a 2.5 whammy, so...” As a result of the gradual change of her speech over time and an ability to code-switch, Jessica is less concerned than she used to be about her employability: “When I first got here, I felt like, ‘I’m not gonna get a job, ‘cause I don’t sound nice. I don’t sound good enough.’” Like several other participants, Jessica suggests that who a person is and what their abilities are should carry more weight than the way they speak: “I don’t feel like I should change. You should be able to see who I really am no matter how I talk, no matter how I look, and, I mean, you should be professional for an interview, but as far as the way I speak, I feel like

you should just accept me for that. You can't really – I can't help like where I came from, how I was born, where I was born.”

Linguistic profile: My initial impression of Jessica's speech was that it was identifiably Southern, and at times it was identifiably western North Carolinian but at others it was not. Jessica seems to code-switch frequently throughout the interview, and this code-switching was seemingly tied to the topic of discussion. I noted that when discussing her home region, her experiences there, identifying with other students from her region, or her athletic endeavors in college, she seems to use more monophthongal (unglided) /ay/ and she also uses other linguistic cues that suggests a background in western North Carolina.

However, when discussing academics and some college experiences, she seems to switch to a more standardized variety. The level of salience her speech has on campus would likely depend on her code-switching, and also possibly on peer environment.

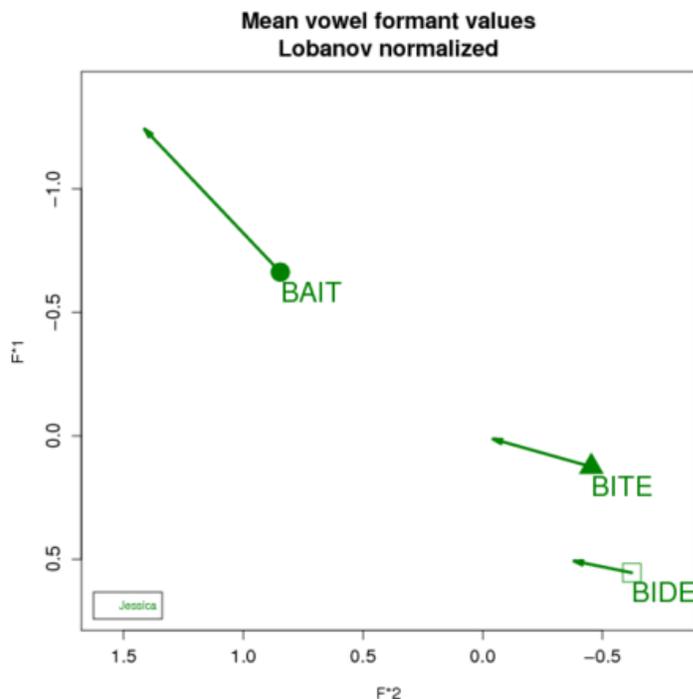


Figure 18: Jessica: Vowel Plot

Jessica's glide in BITE, like Jason's has a bigger range than most participants in the study. In half of all instances, /ay/ has a full glide ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$), a third have short or very short glides, and the others have glides in the "longer" range, but have a difference in nucleus and glide target of just over 200Hz. The salience of this feature will be dependent upon her realization of it. The glide in her BIDE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments), also varies, but is mostly comprised of instances of short or very short glides, with only two realizations of full glides. The nucleus of her /e/ vowel is not significantly lower or further back than that of either peer group. Her use of /e/ is fairly "middle of the road" so to speak and is not likely to draw attention on campus at SSU.

During our interview, Jasmine does not use any non-standardized grammar. Notably, like several other participants, there are several features, such as past participles and negative concord, which do not have potential environment for occurrence in our interview.

Table 11

Jessica: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/5	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/2	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/0	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/0	0%

John, White male, 22 years old

"John" is a college senior from "Grantwell," NC studying mechanical engineering. His parents are also from Grantwell, and his mother completed a four-year college degree and his father attended some technical school. John has a laid back, easygoing demeanor and laughs and smiles a lot. He is a member of the university marching band describes himself as someone who would rather spend time with friends in a more relaxed environment than participate in the party scene. He also describes himself as a good student and indicates that

he enjoys what he studies. When asked to describe the speech of his home community, he suggests that his community, and perhaps entire county, speak in a way that is very different even from other communities nearby and very different from the milieu of Southern State University. He indicates that he and his family speak in a way that is fairly similar to most in his home community. In our interview, John notes that there have been “tons of times” at Southern State that he has been teased about his speech, and he indicates being aware of the stereotype of Southern/Appalachian speech being associated with lower levels of intelligence and education. He notes that, “I guess if they did, I was determined to prove them wrong.... I did grow up on a farm, but I’m not uneducated by any means, I have a pretty high GPA, so I was determined to prove them wrong and just show them I like that lifestyle, but that doesn’t mean we’re all dumb or uneducated.” Being confident in himself (sometimes to a fault, he jokes), his academic abilities, and his speech, he indicates that he has not made conscious efforts to change it on a regular basis, though he notes that there are times and places where he sees a disadvantage in speaking a non-standardized variety (such as class presentations and job interviews) and he also wonders if his speech has subconsciously changed over time in college just from being around other students from different areas. He points out /ay/ monophthongization (in pre-voiced and pre-voiceless contexts) as something about his speech which draws attention and may sound “less professional” but also suggests that a speaker’s message should matter more than the way he says it. Like other participants, he suggests that he is also more attracted to other students on campus from rural areas and language is a cue for similar backgrounds. He notes that he is one of only a few students

from his county to attend Southern State, and he is proud to represent his region and do so through his speech. He admits that at times he might play up his accent to let others know where is from and show regional pride: “Yeah, just being different, showing people that, ‘Hey, country people can come here too.’ So I guess I did it because of that.” When asked to reflect on the influence of language in general on his experiences in college, he indicates that it did have a significant role overall: “I’d have to say it was mixed, because my experience has been based off of – after you get to know people, that kind of thing, but I guess sometimes- - well, sometimes you get a first impression based off of how people talk, but then you get to know them and after that point it seems like your experiences are based off of your shared interests and beliefs. But I guess the – your accent, the way you talk sort of opens that door. So I guess I’d say about 70 percent yes and 30 percent no. So I guess the majority being yes, I’d have to say yes.”

Linguistic profile: John’s speech struck me as being noticeably western North Carolinian, but not necessarily as strong as others from his hometown, such as Hank. Impressionistically, I perceived /ay/ as having a weakened glide, particularly in pre-voiced contexts. I perceived glide weakening in pre-voiceless contexts as well, but for the most part, this was less salient to me than weakening of the glide in /ay/ in pre-voiced contexts. Compared to glide weakening of participants like Patty or Kelly, his weakened /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts is less noticeable. Like several other participants, he seems to have the *pin-pen* merger, and uses the morphological alternation in’ in place of ING at times (e.g. *swimmin’* rather than *swimming*). As previously mentioned, his speech is identifiably western

North Carolinian to me, and my impression is that his speech may draw some attention on campus. The fact that he occasionally uses non-standardized grammar may contribute to attention paid to his speech by others, and his /ay/ pre-voiceless is somewhat monophthongal (unglided), which is a stigmatized feature.

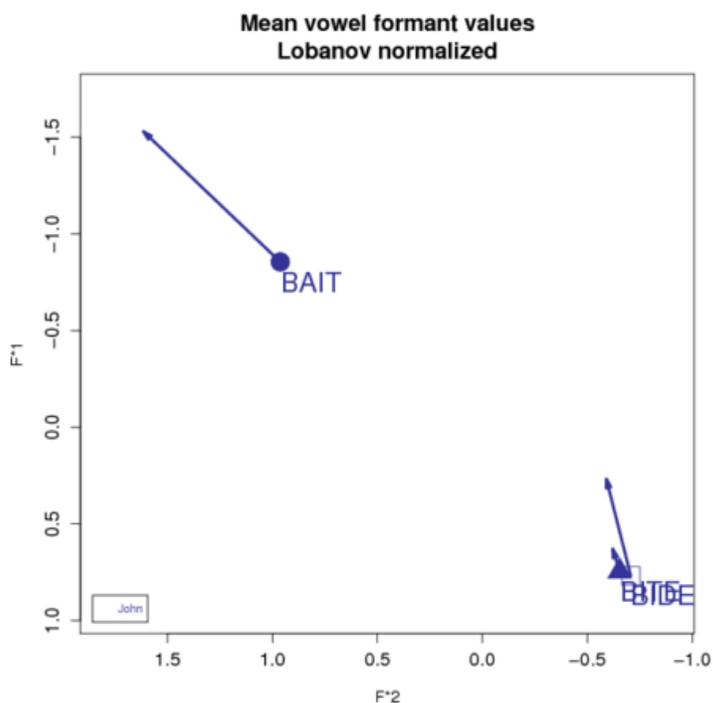


Figure 19: John: Vowel plot

John's glide in BITE is almost categorically short or very short. He only has one measured instance of a longer glide ($\Delta > 200\text{Hz}$). Similarly, the glide in BIDE for John is categorically short or very short. His realization of /ay/ in both pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments is likely to draw some attention on campus, particularly weakened glide in BITE. The nucleus of /e/ for John is not lower compared to either peer group (peers participating in this study, or the SSU area peer comparison group), but is produced farther

back. This may have some perceptual influence on the salience of this feature, but it is still likely less salient than his realization of /ay/ which is different than SSU area peers.

During our interviews, John uses a few instances of non-standardized grammar, all of which occur in use of irregular past participles. Looking at this use, John uses the same irregular past participle, went, (“I have went”) twice and “became” instead of “become” (“we had became friends”).

Table 12

John: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	3/9	33%
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/28	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/12	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/4	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/7	0%

Joseph, White male, 20 years old

“Joseph” is a college sophomore from “Ridgeburg,” NC, studying statistics and applied mathematics. His parents are both from Ridgeburg and both completed a four-year college degree. In our interview, Joseph has a very calm and pleasant demeanor and seems quietly confident. He says in our interview that he knows his speech draws attention on

campus in his classes, but at times he is not sure if it is because of his dialect or the fact that his voice is simply “very low pitched.” When talking about the speech of those in his home community, he notes that being a manufacturing community, the level of educational attainment of most community members is not high and because of this he suggests that, “a lot of language is just whatever sounds like it’s right” and further suggests that, “most of the people talking around where I’m from aren’t going to be using elevated language and aren’t necessarily going to be able to articulate themselves well.” He suggests that his speech is somewhat different or more standardized than many in his home community, noting that sometimes in high school he felt his speech maybe wasn’t “Southern enough.” Still, on campus at Southern State (outside of Appalachia) he notes that his speech draws attention and he points out on several occasions that his pronunciation of /ay/, particularly in pre-voiceless environments draws attention. He says that over time, he has worked on articulating /ay/ as diphthongal in pre-voiceless environments, and indeed in our interview, his /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts seems to be diphthongal. However, after we stopped the first interview and I turned off the recorder, his speech became more relaxed and I perceived his /ay/ vowel to be more monophthongal in both pre-voiced and pre-voiceless contexts. He notes being a good student, he mentions being focused on academic achievement and says that he tried to improve his speech and use “good vocabulary.” His older brother also attended Southern State University for graduate school and his family is supportive of his attendance there. His family has inhabited western North Carolina for a quite some time and they own a restaurant that serves popular local fare. However, while Andrew notes that his

home region is special, he is not particularly interested in moving home after college, but would prefer to move to another Southern state where he has many friends attending college and where he served as a summer camp counselor for many summers.

Linguistic profile: Joseph's speech struck me as being identifiably Southern, but less recognizable as being western North Carolinian. He is from the same general area as John, Hank, Jessica, and Brooke, and of the group, I perceived Joseph to be the least vernacular. As mentioned previously, I perceived his /ay/ to have a weakened glide in pre-voiced contexts and slightly weakened glide in pre-voiceless contexts, but the latter was not striking. He does suggest that perhaps this is something he has worked on in college. His speech has what one might describe in layperson's terms as a slower tempo, and his low F0 (fundamental frequency/pitch) may be a factor that draws the attention that he references. In general, I would not assume that his speech would be likely to draw significant attention on campus, as for the most part it does not seem to differ greatly from what many other rural Southern students on campus might sound like.

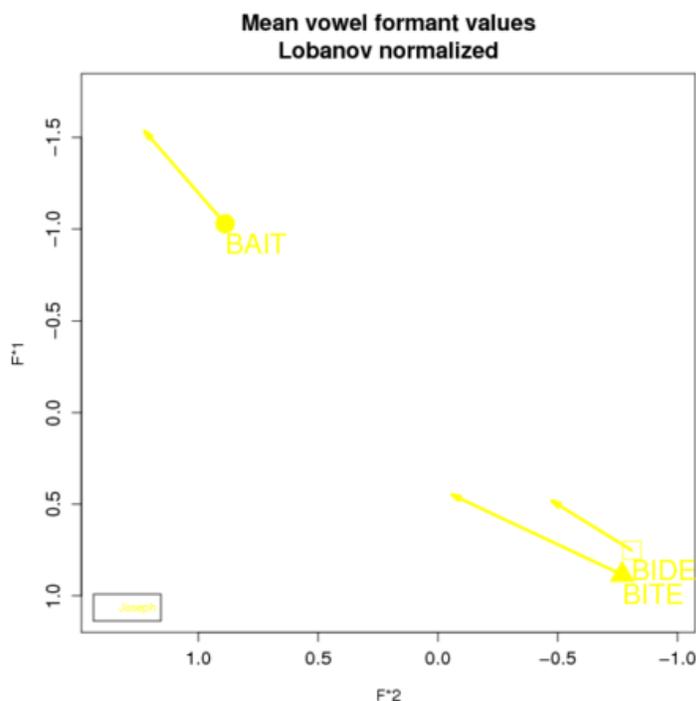


Figure 20: Joseph: Vowel Plot

Joseph's glide in BITE varies. In a little over half of tokens of /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments, Joseph has a longer ($\Delta > 200\text{Hz}$) or full glide ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$). However, in a little less than half of instance of /ay/ pre-voiceless, the glide is very short ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$). Joseph mentions that naturally, /ay/ is more monophthongal for him in pre-voiceless environments but notes that he has worked on this pronunciation to be better understood by others. This may account for some of the variation here. His BIDE vowel showed less variation as all instances had either a short or very short glide. The nucleus of Joseph's BAIT vowel, /e/, was significantly lower than most peers in either peer group (other participants in this study and SSU area peer comparison group), though it was somewhat more fronted. His lowering of /e/

may have some level of salience on campus at SSU, but likely not to the same degree as it would for someone like Christopher, for whom /e/ is significantly lowered and backed.

During our interviews, Joseph does not use any instances of non-standardized grammar.

Table 13

Joseph: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/1	0%
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/19	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/5	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/4	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/11	0%

Justin, White male, 21 years old

“Justin” is a college sophomore from “Northhills,” NC studying communication. He is soft spoken but laughs easily and is very expressive during our interview. He is very aware of the fact that he monophthongizes /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments sometimes, but he notes that he believes that he is good at “controlling it” and makes an effort to do so on campus. He notes that his speech (and the speech of his family) is fairly similar to that of most people

in his home community, though there are community members with “some more heavy accents.” Justin seems to be pretty comfortable with his ability to “control” his speech and says that he will do it in certain environments, such as the classroom, to avoid being misunderstood and at times to avoid sounding like what his peers might consider “hillbilly.” Although several times during the interview he uses the term hillbilly to describe others’ perceptions of his speech and the speech of his home community, he notes that it is generally good-natured teasing and that he likes that his accent is a “quirk” that makes him different. He does mention however, that there is a difference when the teasing comes from his friends versus when it comes from those he does not know well. In the latter situation he indicates that he does not like this type of teasing but seems to not let it get to him. He mentions that he is somewhat “reserved” and many of his responses in our interview were very short. Justin is involved on campus as a member of a Christian fraternity and he also dates a young woman who attends Southern University, a nearby university with a liberal arts focus. He suggests from his experience visiting his girlfriend at Southern University that Southern State University is a more welcoming environment for speakers of non-standardized varieties of English.

Linguistic profile: Although Justin mentions several times that others have pointed out his monophthongization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts, this feature did not strike me as being perceptually salient during our interview, though I did notice a weak /ay/ glide in pre-voiced contexts. Generally speaking, his speech struck me as being Southern but not necessarily identifiable as being western North Carolinian. As he mentioned in our interview,

he does make an effort to “control” his speech and it is certainly possible that he was doing so in our interview. He is soft spoken and one of the more reticent participants in the study, but based on my perceptual impressions of his speech from our interview (and despite the fact that his /ay/ in pre-voiced contexts seemed quite monophthongal) I do not believe that his speech likely draws a great amount of attention on campus. It may in some contexts, but generally it may not be perceived as being significantly different than other rural students on campus.

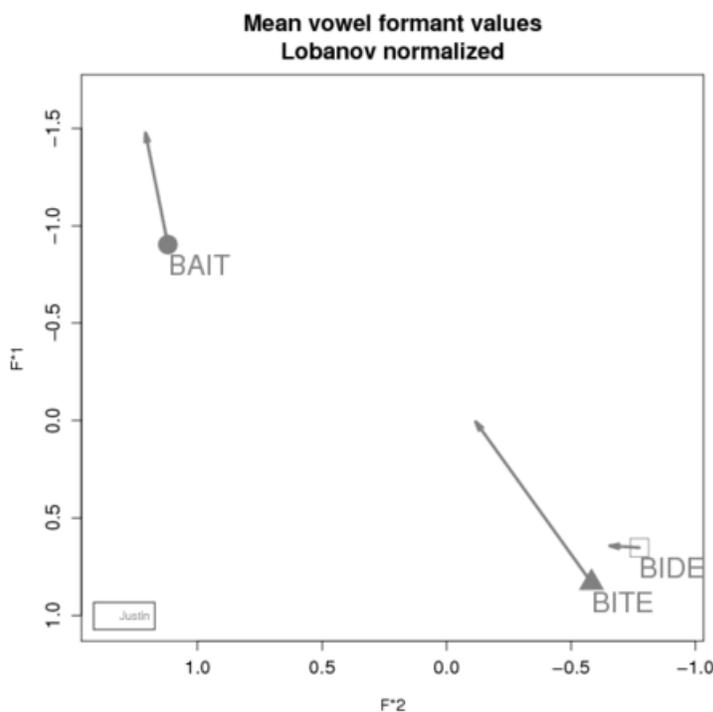


Figure 21: Justin: Vowel Plot

Justin’s BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) vowel varies somewhat, but most tokens have either short ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$) or very short ($\Delta < 100\text{ Hz}$) glides. More

than a third of his BITE tokens have a full glide ($\Delta > 300\text{Hz}$) or a longer glide. Conversely, his BIDE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiced phonetic environments) has much less variation and has either very short or shortened glides. His realization of /ay/ in pre-voiced contexts may perceptually draw some attention due to the very weakened glide and frequency of weakened glides in use of this variable, but as he seems to “control” his realization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments to an extent, this may be less noticeable. The nucleus of his BAIT (/e/) vowel is somewhat fronted.

During our interview, Justin does not use any instances of non-standardized grammar, though, like other participants, there were no potential environments for use of certain features, such as past participles, substituting don’t for doesn’t, or using ain’t.

Table 14

Justin: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/0	-
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/1	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/0	-
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/0	-
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/3	0%

Kelly, White female, 22 years old

“Kelly” is a college senior from “Landale,” KY, majoring in aerospace engineering. In our interview, she is open, talkative and friendly. Her parents are both natives of Kentucky, where her father is a coal miner. Her mother is a graduate of a four-year college in Kentucky and is a librarian and her father has an electrician’s certificate for mining. Kelly talks in our interview about the differences in her parents’ backgrounds and education levels and indicates that her mother and her mother’s family do not have strong regional accents while her father and his family do. She suggests that her speech has been influenced by time spent with her father and his family, as she believes that she sounds more Appalachian than her mother and maternal grandparents. She is an accomplished student and is involved in several campus organizations related to her major. She is confident in her academic abilities and is also confident in her speech, noting that she does not believe she should have to change it for anyone: “I’ve had my friends say, ‘You really should, you know, think about trying to take some speech therapy you know’ and I’m like, ‘No, I’m not gonna change myself for anybody else.’” She also notes that her academic work should speak for itself, and suggests that in general she believes that a person’s accomplishments and abilities should be held in higher esteem than their speech, however standardized or non-standardized. Kelly points out that she monophthongizes /ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments (for example, pronouncing the word “slice” as “slahs”) and acoustic analysis of her speech confirmed that she indeed monophthongizes /ay/ in pre-voiceless and pre-voiced phonetic environments. This phonological feature is one that is marked even among other Southerners

and is commonly associated with dialects of rural Appalachian English. Kelly indicates that throughout her time at Southern State University, she has experienced some negative stereotyping by peers based on her speech and geographic origin but that these stereotypes sometimes diminish after people get to know her: “I mean, once people get to know me I guess their opinion might change cause being from Kentucky is bad enough, most people hear the word Kentucky and they’re like, “Oh so you’re all like hillbillies” and I’m like, no not really...” Kelly indicates that she generally does not let these things bother her, and she has gotten used to it over time. Her ability to not be deterred by negative stereotyping is perhaps because of her academic achievements in a very difficult and prestigious field and perhaps also because of general positive self-esteem and self-efficacy beliefs. She also notes that in her home state, she has heard of people from her home community going to college at University of Kentucky and being made fun of their for their “hick” speech. She suggests in our interview that she feels that at times perhaps even her friends have underestimated her intelligence based on her speech, but she enjoys proving peers wrong through her intelligence and achievements: “I think [my speech] changes how other people think I can perform. I think a lot of times even my friends underestimate me cause they see a girl who sounds country and is from Kentucky, blonde hair, and they think that’s all I am so it still kinda shocks them writing wise and essays I can still get better scores than they get.” She mentions that there are few students from rural areas in her major, and that sometimes peers in her major from urban, “preppy” backgrounds are judgmental of her and her rural peers. She mentions that she is typically more drawn to other students from rural areas because of

common backgrounds and avoids the, “upper class, city-fied” women in her major whom she does not perceive as being welcoming or inclusive. Kelly is enthusiastic about her studies and notes that although she has experienced negative stereotyping based on her speech, she has never considered that it would influence her ability to perform academically: “Because growing up with my mother in an academic community I was more like, my abilities mattered the most out of everything. I’m like, speaking has nothing to do with how well I can do calculus. So it didn’t really factor in for me at all.”

Linguistic profile: Kelly’s speech struck me as being distinctly Southern and distinct from the other participants from North Carolina. Kelly is from Kentucky, and I impressionistically noted certain features in her speech that differed from North Carolinian participants, such as /ʌ/. This vowel for her is perceptually fronted. I perceived Kelly’s /ay/ vowels being quite monophthongal, and her pre-voiceless /ay/ glide weakening was salient. As previously mentioned, she is very aware of the fact that her realization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts draws significant attention, and my impression is that her speech is likely marked as different on campus at SSU, as this feature is highly stigmatized.

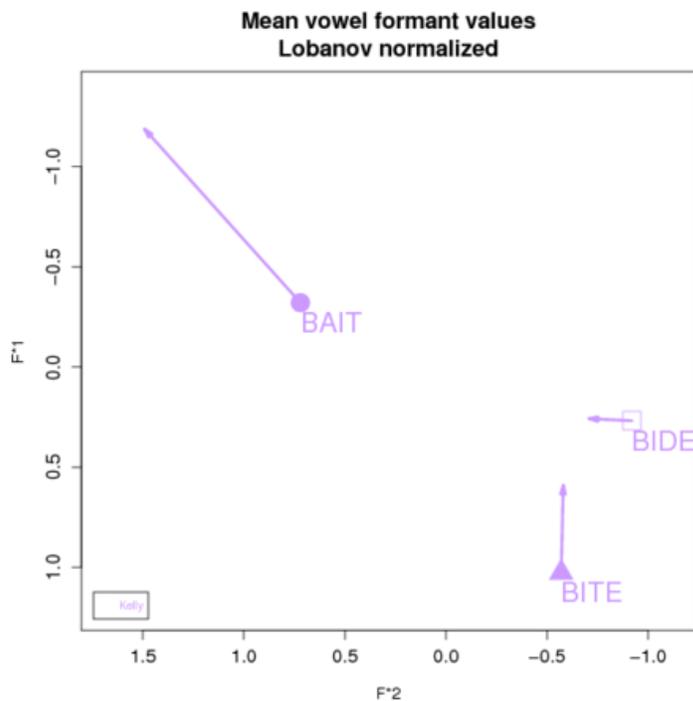


Figure 22: Kelly: Vowel plot

The glide in Kelly's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) is, for the most part weakened. In most tokens, the glide is either short ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$) or very short ($\Delta < 100\text{ Hz}$), though one token is a longer glide ($\Delta = 287\text{ Hz}$) and one is a full glide ($\Delta = 324\text{ Hz}$). Perceptually, /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments was quite monophthongal. The glides in BIDE tokens (/ay/ in pre-voiced contexts) were almost categorically either short or very short. Glide weakening in /ay/ for Kelly is noticeable and likely draws attention on campus. The nucleus of Kelly's BAIT (/e/) vowel is lowered and backed. Perceptually, Kelly's lowering and backing of /e/ is likely another feature which draws attention to her speech on campus at SSU.

During our interview, Kelly used one instance of non-standardized grammar, coming in the form of an irregular past participle. Beyond this, there were no instances of non-standardized grammar.

Table 15

Kelly: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	1/4	25%
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/17	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/2	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it"; "They ain't tired yet")	0/2	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/3	0%

Lana, White female, 21 years old

Lana” is a college junior from “Abel,” NC studying mathematics education. Her parents are both from Appalachia and completed high school. In our interview, Lana is very lively, upbeat, friendly and talkative. She is a self-proclaimed “daddy’s girl” and stresses the importance of family in her life. She is very confident in her academic abilities, particularly in mathematics, and notes that she has always been a high achieving student in honors courses throughout her academic career. She also seems to have a high degree of metalinguistic awareness and is aware of the speech she is using during the interview. Lana notes that she is the go-to person in her family for making phone calls of a professional nature (she explains that she is good at code-switching from a “country” accent to a more neutral, “professional” accent that is more easily understood over the phone). She also explains that she learned from watching her father interact with his clients that there is a “professional” voice that is used in business occasions versus a relaxed voice used with friends. She describes the speech of her hometown as “a real thick redneck accent” but she notes that this varies by socioeconomic status. In our interview she notes that her peers in her hometown who are the children of professionals with higher education levels tended to sound different than students like herself who come from more working class backgrounds, but explains that she has essentially learned to code-switch and use a “professional” voice in academic settings though she says she does not make an effort to change in social situations. She notes that although math has always been her strongest subject, she is also good with language and picked up the standardized grammar taught in school with ease. She mentions

that her parents' grammar is "bad" and that she will at times correct them. She describes herself as a "country-girl," and notes that her speech does draw attention from others at times on campus at Southern State. She mentions that, "And people make fun of me here, and I'm like, 'Oh, my God. If you could only hear the people at home, like you wouldn't know what to do.'" Lana mentions that over time as a student at Southern State, she thinks her speech has changed, though it has not been intentional: "So being around all these people here that speak proper, say words with the right ending or don't use so many contractions, they kinda influence the way I say things because I'm around them more." She indicates that she code-switches in academic settings to sound more proper or professional (concepts which she repeats throughout the interview) but says that she prefers to look on the positive side and not assume that people stereotype her based on speech. It is interesting that she downplays the role of stereotyping and language, but yet she mentions many times the importance of using proper speech in certain situations to be taken seriously or considered professional. She mentions that for other students, stereotyping on campus is an issue: "I have one or two, or a few classes, where somebody'll ask something, and it's like this really country person, and they have the biggest twang ever, or like a guy with a deep voice and a super country twang and he slurs all his words. And he'll ask something, and then people start laughing, and it's his accent or the way he said something. And I'm like, 'My – like what's the big deal? He just asked a question.' But they're laughing because it's like they don't know what it's like to speak like that, or they don't – I think they're not around many people that speak like that." Lana also mentions that as she prepares to do her student teaching, she is concerned about

her students in an urban area taking her seriously if does not code-switch and uses her normal voice. Lana is another student who emphasizes her confidence in her academic abilities and achievements and believes that these things matter more than a person's geographic origin or other background characteristics.

Linguistic profile: Listening to Lana, I was able to identify her as being Southern and being from western North Carolina. Her /ay/ vowels impressionistically had weakened glides, and I also noted that she frequently uses the morphological alternation in' in place of ING, which may contribute to my perceptions of her vernacularity. Lana seems to code-switch at times during our interview. Like Jessica, when she speaks about academic topics, she seems to switch at times to more standardized pronunciation, but others times in the interview she is more relaxed. My impression of her speech overall is that it might draw some attention on campus in certain contexts when she is not code-switching, but may not be strikingly different than other Southern students from rural areas when she does code-switch.

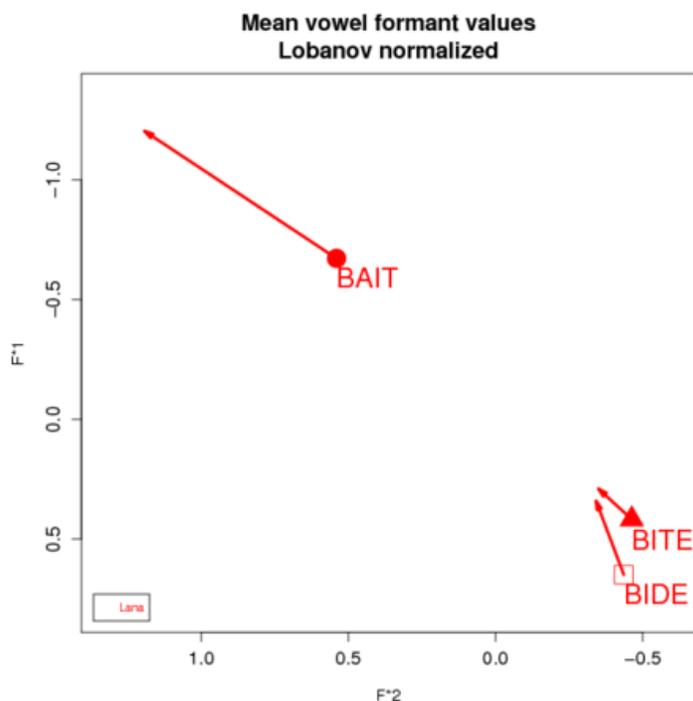


Figure 23: Lana: Vowel Plot

Lana's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) glides were generally either very short ($\Delta < 100\text{Hz}$) or shortened ($\Delta = 100\text{-}200\text{Hz}$), though she had two tokens of somewhat longer glides. Interestingly, there seemed to be more variation in her BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced phonetic environments) vowel. The majority of her BIDE glides were either very short or short, but there were two instances of full glides (diphthongs) and two longer glides. The nucleus of Lana's BAIT vowel (/e/) was not significantly lower or farther back than that of participants in either peer group (other participants in this study or SSU area peer comparison group).

During our interview, Lana does not use any non-standardized grammar. However, like other participants, there were few occasions in general for some of these non-standardized features to take place and no potential environments at all for certain features.

Table 16

Lana: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/1	0%
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/0	-
Don't doesn't ("He don't like chicken")	0/6	0%
Ain't/is not/are not ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/0	-
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/5	0%

Landon, White male, 20 years old

"Landon" is a college sophomore from "Millcreek," NC, studying biological sciences. His parents are both from Appalachia, and he notes that his entire family has been living in the region for many generations. Landon describes interesting facts about his father's family history, such as that his father's family did not get a refrigerator until his father was in late elementary school, and until then the family stored food in an icebox submerged in the river behind their house. Landon's mother has a two-year college degree

and his father completed a certificate program at a technical school. Landon describes his father as having “the thickest country accent I’ve ever heard in my life,” but says that his mother’s accent is less strong (he attributes this to the fact that they come from very different socioeconomic backgrounds). He has two brothers and mentions that they both have much stronger accents than he does. During our interview, Landon is animated, talkative and at times exhibits a wry sense of humor. Although he hopes to one day attend graduate school, he mentions that he is also an avid dancer (he has danced competitively since childhood and still competes) and hopes to enjoy a dance career before starting graduate studies. When asked to describe the speech of his home community, he indicates that people there speak with, “really thick country accents.” Landon says that when he was younger he had a “super thick country accent” but this has changed over time. He attributes some of this to the fact that he took dance classes in a town forty-five minutes away with peers from more urban areas and they often teased him for his accent: “I mean I didn’t mind because I have like a pretty high self-esteem, but I was like, the butt of everybody’s joke.” Over time, he suggests that he began to accommodate the speech of his peers more and more. He also suggests being in chorus in high school influenced his speech. In chorus, students were taught “standard” pronunciation of English and other languages in order to be able to sing properly. Landon also seems to be very oriented away from his home county, and his divergent speech seems to be related to this. He mentions that negative stereotypes associated with the speech of his home county were also likely to be influencing factors in this change: “And that’s one because, and this is a stereotype but, people stereotype that kind of accent with people being

dumb. And I don't want to give any one a reason to think that I'm not smart." He also notes that when he hears others on campus whose speech sounds similar to that of his home community, he is less inclined to want to be around that person: "So when I hear that voice I'm like you're going to be into country music, you're not going to like anything I do, you're not going to like that I dance, and like, you know, so it's kind of decided on. I try to give everybody a chance, I really do, but I'm normally right. That accent normally coincides with the personality." While he himself has not experienced any negativity or stereotyping based on speech during college, he does indicate that he believes that if his accent were stronger he might have. He notes that one of his friends from home has had some negative language related experiences: "She has a really thick accent. And she feels uncomfortable when she's in education classes, because like she was telling me that there is some education classes when like they are teaching about how to talk to classes and stuff they like persuade not to talk as thickly, like, she said they were trying to say it as nice as they could, it wasn't like they were like you're going to sound dumb if you say this in front of the class."

Linguistic profile: Landon indicated during our interview that he used to have a "super country" accent but now speaks in a more standardized manner. My initial impression of Landon's speech was that it was almost hyper-standardized at times, but there were occasions during the interview when I perceived traces of Southern Appalachian phonological features. When Landon speaks, his diction might be described as "crisp" in many occasions, as he seems to be careful in pronouncing each phoneme in accordance with standardized American English. He mentioned that he attributes this to his time in a chorus

class where he was taught to use “proper” pronunciation. At times, however, I perceived some /ay/ glides to be somewhat weakened, and on one occasion I noted that the front lax vowels such as /ɪ/ was realized as diphthongal (“feeyush” rather than “fish”). On the whole, my impression is that his speech would be unlikely to draw attention on campus. Without careful attention paid to his speech, I would likely not be able to identify his geographic origin as being within Appalachia, though I could tell that he is from somewhere in the Southern United States.

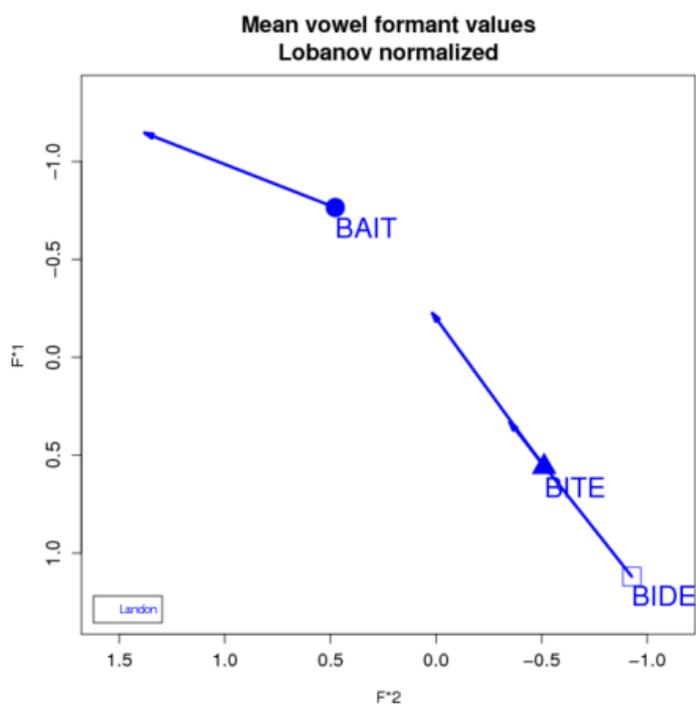


Figure 24: Landon: Vowel Plot

Landon's BITE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) has some variation in the glide. More than half of all tokens have a shortened glide ($\Delta=100-200\text{Hz}$) while the remaining have longer or full glides ($\Delta>300\text{ Hz}$). This may be the result of attention paid to speech, and Landon notes the he used to have a "country" accent but speaks differently now and is somewhat averse to sounding Southern or Appalachian. His BIDE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) glides vary similarly. In a little more than half of all tokens, there is a weakened glide, while a little fewer than half have a full or longer glide. The overall perceptual effect of this variability for me what that his realization of /ay/ was not generally particularly striking. Landon's BAIT (/e/) nucleus is not particularly lowered, but it is farther back than most in either peer group.

During our interview, Landon does not use any non-standardized grammar. Like other participants, due to the length of our interviews, there were few opportunities for use of some of these features.

Table 17

Landon: Vowel Plot

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/0	-
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/12	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/13	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/2	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/2	0%

Lauren, White female, 20 years old

“Lauren” is a college senior from “Martinsville,” NC, studying agricultural education. Her parents are both from Appalachia and both completed high school. She mentions that her family has been rooted in Appalachia for as long as anyone could remember. In our interview, Lauren is very down to earth, friendly, and good-humored. When asked to describe the speech of her home community, Lauren mentions that she can tell a difference between the speech of people whose families are tied to the region and people who have not been there as long. She uses the word “hick-y” to describe the way people talk in her home region, noting that she thinks she sounds fairly similar, though will make an effort at times to sound more standardized. Lauren mentions that she makes an effort to change her speech fairly often because as she notes, “It’s, I guess it’s just frowned upon. The way that we

normally talk.” She indicates that she will adapt her speech to avoid stigmatization, particularly upon meeting someone for the first time. After getting to know people, she will drop her guard: I would say in a typical day at Southern State, I would change the way I speak at least 80% of the time. If I was in class or around people I have never met before or if I am in a professional setting, I always change the way I speak and try to drop the accent as much as possible. I do it without even realizing I do it. I can definitely tell though there is a difference in my accent when I am interviewing for a job versus having a conversation with my family or friends. Also when I first meet someone, I lose my accent. The more I am around someone and the more comfortable I get, the more my accent will come out.” Lauren suggests that she is pretty comfortable on campus nonetheless and has been able to find a niche of friends around whom she feels comfortable. She also mentions that in general, she feels a little more comfortable around students in agricultural programs, as opposed to other majors, who might be more prejudiced about speech differences: “when I’m around others than are into the like, business and are considered more professional type jobs or majors that they kinda judge.” During the interview, Lauren references “proper” speech several times, each time seemingly suggesting that the way she speaks naturally is not considered proper. I asked her what her feelings are about the idea that perhaps her natural speech is not considered proper, and she responded: “It kinda makes me mad because that’s what we, we’ve had this for however many years? We’ve talked like this for how many years? And people say it’s wrong but I mean, we’ve done fine with it.” Lauren indicates, like other participants, a belief in the importance of ability being valued more than way of speech.

Although Lauren mentions that she feels a need to switch to more “proper” English at times and is aware of stereotypes such as “redneck” and “hillbilly” associated with being from the mountains and speaking a dialect associated with Appalachia, she is very proud of her home region. She also seems confident in her academic abilities and accomplishments. She mentions that she thinks that overall at Southern State, diverse speech can be accepted, as many students on campus are familiar with some dialects in the state, though she mentions that some are probably less familiar with the speech of the mountain area. She says that now only her friends from the northern United States still notice her accent, but notes that, “I tend to talk differently though just to avoid the ridicule that I know would come from speaking with my accent.” Lauren maintains a positive outlook and has enjoyed her experience at Southern State. She notes that many of her peers from home were less willing to step outside of their comfort zones and leave the area for college, and while it was difficult for her, she is happy with her decision. Overall, she indicates that she was able to find a niche on campus, make good friends, and be successful in college. She underscores the idea that everyone should be accepting of others from different backgrounds: “Just because I am from the mountains shouldn’t mean that I am looked down upon. I mean I think I am pretty successful considering where I came from and the view people have on my culture.”

Linguistic profile: For me, Lauren’s speech was identifiable as western North Carolinian. Her /ay/ vowels perceptually had weakened glides, she seems to frequently use the morphological alternation in’ for ING, and her realization of /r/ is perceptually what I associate with western North Carolinian dialects. Lauren mentioned in our interviews that

sometimes she uses phrases or sayings common to her home community which are not common on campus, such as saying that something was, “spread out like a week’s wash” to indicate that something is spread out and taking up a lot of space. She suggested that when she uses phrases or sayings like this it draws attention from peers who are unfamiliar with the phrases and find them unusual. My perception is that on campus at Southern State University, Lauren’s speech is likely to draw some degree of attention in contexts outside of her major (in Agriculture) as it contains some stigmatized features, but among students in agricultural fields (whose speech may also contain stigmatized elements) it likely flies under the radar.

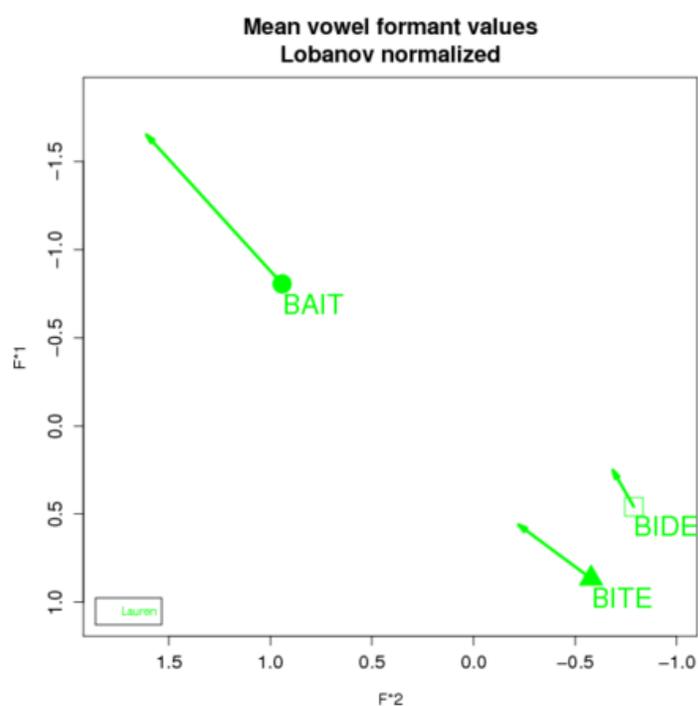


Figure 25: Lauren: Vowel Plot

Lauren's BITE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) glide varies somewhat, though the majority of BITE tokens for her have either a very short ($\Delta < 100$ Hz) or short ($\Delta = 100-200$ Hz) glide. However, two tokens have full glides ($\Delta > 300$ Hz) and one had a longer glide. Perceptually, /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts sounded monophthongal for Lauren. Her BIDE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiced contexts) for the most part showed very short or shortened glides, though there were a few with longer glides (though none were full, or diphthongal). The nucleus of Lauren's BAIT (/e/) vowel was not particularly lowered, but it was farther back than many of her peers'. On campus at SSU, her realization of /ay/ with shortened glides in most contexts will likely draw some attention, as may her backed /e/ nucleus.

During our interview, Lauren does not use any non-standardized grammar.

Table 18

Lauren: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/3	0%
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/17	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/3	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/0	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/10	0%

Maddy, White female, 21 years old

“Maddy” is a college senior from “Crestview,” NC studying biological sciences. Her parents are also from Crestview and attended some college but did not complete a degree. In our interview she was somewhat reserved initially but by the end of the interview she was talkative and very open to discussing numerous topics. She plans to become a physician’s assistant and is currently volunteering in clinics in addition to going to school to complete her clinical contact hours necessary for admission. She admits that she became involved in campus life later in her academic career than many of her peers, but she is nonetheless involved in numerous student organizations related to her major and she is actively involved in several undergraduate research projects. She speaks highly of her home region and explains that there are many aspects of her life there that she prefers to life in the city at SSU, but the lack of available jobs in the region will likely prevent her from returning. When asked to describe the speech of her home community, she describes it as being much less formal than the way people speak at Southern State in and in the surrounding city. She notes that in her home community, she has observed that young men her age perhaps have stronger accents than young women her age, and she suggests that her speech is fairly similar to that of most young women from her hometown. Maddy thinks that her speech has changed some since she has attended SSU, but she is not exactly sure in what ways. For Maddy, coming from a hometown like Crestview where some of her peers were from Appalachian and others from families that had moved there from elsewhere, she was not shocked by the diversity of dialects at SSU and says that no one at SSU has ever been particularly struck by her speech.

She says that when others ask where she is from and she tells them, they are sometimes surprised and other times respond with something like, "Oh, I could see that." She also notes that when she hears certain groups on campus, such as a fraternity comprised mainly of rural North Carolinians, she feels more at home and relaxed. She indicates that she is most comfortable around other rural students and language can serve as a cue for identifying these other students. She mentions that really the only aspect of her speech about which she is sometimes self-conscious is a slight lisp, but generally, her speech does not draw much attention on campus. However, she does note that peers from her area or other rural areas may be subject to stereotyping on campus based on speech: "A lot of people see that and they'll either see it positively or negatively. They'll see it as, "Oh, they're not quite as intelligent or sophisticated," kinda thing. Or you could see it as, "That's cute."

Linguistic profile: Maddy's speech was, to me, rather "standardized Southern" compared to some of the more vernacular participants in the group. There were features of her speech, such as impressionistically fronted /o/, weakened glide in /ay/ in pre-voiced environments, and occasional use of in' for ING which make her sound somewhat Southern, but her speech did not strike me as sounding particularly western North Carolinian. She specifically talks during our interview about having the *caught-cot* merger (pronouncing both as "cot"), and I noted impressionistically that some of her peers from the same general area, like Rachel and Patty, do not. My impression based on my experience on campus at SSU is that Maddy's speech is not likely to draw much attention on campus as it might not be perceived as being significantly different than many other rural, Southern students.

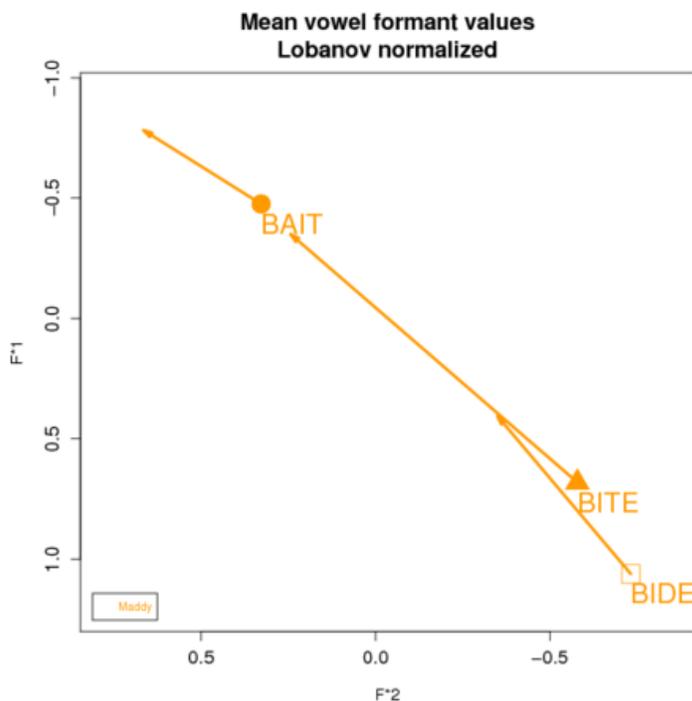


Figure 26: Maddy: Vowel Plot

Maddy's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) glides varied. About half were realized as long or full glides and the other half were shortened ($\Delta=100-200\text{Hz}$), though most of the shortened glides were in the upper range approaching a change of 200Hz. Perceptually, while I did note some degree of glide weakening in BITE, I perceived /ay/ pre-voiceless to be more diphthongal for Maddy. Her BIDE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) varied similarly. About half of all instances were long or full glides while the other half were very short. Maddy's realization of /ay/ might not differ greatly from that of many other Southern

students on campus and may not draw attention. The nucleus of her BAIT (/e/) vowel was relatively high and fronted. Her realization of this feature reflects a more standardized articulation than Southern.

During our interview, Maddy does not use any non-standardized grammar.

Table 19

Maddy: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/1	0%
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/7	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/3	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/1	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/5	0%

Megan, White female, 21 years old

“Megan” is a college junior from “Claydell,” NC studying animal science. She was a bit soft-spoken and reserved initially, but was warm and chatty as our interviews progressed. She is from a very rural part of her county and hopes to return home to the area after attending graduate school and becoming a veterinarian. She notes that there are not many job opportunities in her part of the state/county, but there are few veterinarians in this area and so this is a profession that would allow her to return home. Although she is close to her family and feels a connection to her home region, she indicated that she made the decision to attend college far from home because Southern State University was one of a few programs that offered courses at the undergraduate level that could put her on track to becoming a veterinarian. She explains that she is on the quiet side and more reserved in her interactions with others on campus, but she has a group of friends in college from across the state. She mentions that before coming to Southern State, she did not believe that she had much of an accent, but upon arriving here she began to notice differences in her speech compared to that of her peers from different parts of the state. She also suggests that her “grammar is horrible at home” but at college she uses more standardized speech. She notes that part of the reason for this is that she is aware that there are stereotypes associated with Southerners and Appalachians as sounding less intelligent or educated and she wanted to avoid those stereotypes. She also suggests that sometimes she uses standardized English to literally be understood by her peers and instructors. Like several other participants, she suggests that she naturally gravitates toward other students on campus who sound like her, noting that it is

somewhat comforting and that perhaps that the language they use suggests that she might have more in common with those students. She mentions in our initial interview that she is not particularly concerned about her speech because she plans to return home after vet school, where others sound similar to her. However, she suggests that if she were going elsewhere she might have concerns about negative stereotyping associated with Southern/Appalachian dialects and being concerned that “people would think that I was unqualified, even though I had all the qualifications.” She also mentions that she is one of very few (less than 10) students from her county to attend college outside of Appalachia.

Linguistic profile: At times, Megan’s speech struck me as more Appalachian North Carolinian than others. Like some other participants, during our interviews, she seemed to code-switch, and slip in and out of more standardized and more vernacular speech. When seemingly at ease and perhaps paying less attention to her speech, I noted that her /ay/ glide was weakened in pre-voiceless and pre-voiced contexts and she used the morphological alternation in’ for ING. My general impression of Megan’s speech is that on campus, when she code-switches to a more standardized variety (as she seemed to do at some points during our interview) her speech will probably not draw significant, if any, attention. However, when speaking in a more natural or vernacular manner, her speech might draw some degree of attention as being different or more vernacular to so speak than other rural, Southern students on campus.

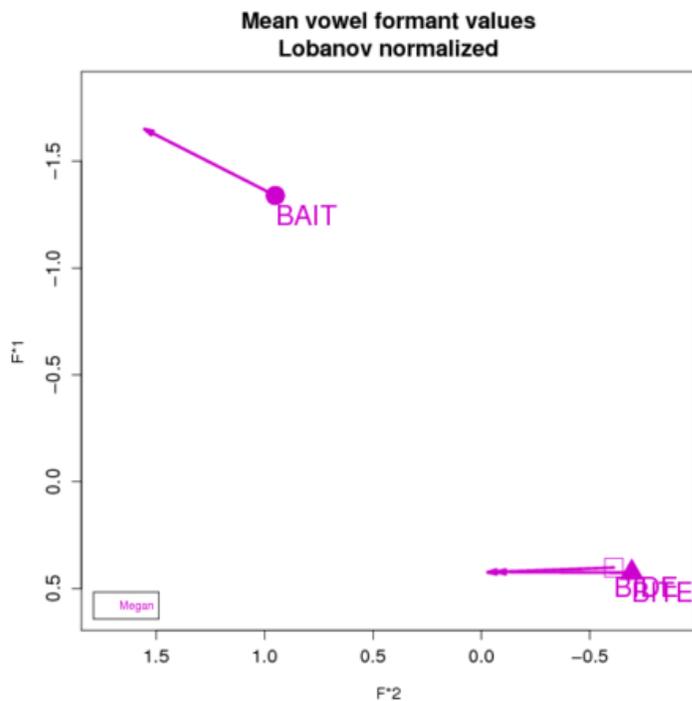


Figure 27: Megan: Vowel Plot

Megan's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) glides varied on both ends of the spectrum. Half of all instances were very short glides ($\Delta < 100$ Hz) while the other half were either longer or full glides. This reflects what I heard impressionistically, which is that Megan seems to code-switch between more standardized and non-standardized realizations of /ay/. Similarly, a little more than half of her BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) tokens had long or full glides, while a little fewer than half were short or very short. Megan's nucleus for BAIT (/e/) is not significantly lowered or backed. Compared to peers from both groups (other participants in this study and the SSU area peer comparison group) Megan's /e/ nucleus is fairly average.

During our interview, Megan has a couple of instances of non-standardized grammar, both coming in the form of irregular past participle usage.

Table 20

Megan: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	2/2	100%
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/25	0%
Don't doesn't ("He don't like chicken")	0/6	0%
Ain't/is not/are not ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")		
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/5	0%

Michael, college senior, 22 years old

"Michael" is a college senior from "Preston," NC studying history with a minor in Middle East studies. His parents are also from Appalachia and his father completed high school and his mother completed a four-year college degree. Michael has difficulty describing the speech of his home community, saying that it is like a Southern accent but different, and notes that it is stronger among older folks in his town than among the younger generation. He says that his speech is fairly similar to that of most people his age in his

hometown, and mentions that his brother has a much more “Appalachian twang” than he does. Michael mentions that on campus, his speech has not drawn much attention in general, but every now and then he says he will use a certain word or phrase and a friend might point out that he is using “mountain language.” He mentions a few times during the interview that he does not believe that his speech is much different in general than that of other Southern students on campus and does not recount any incidents in particular in which his speech really stuck out. Michael mentions that he has never been particularly concerned about his speech or about sounding Southern/Appalachian, and notes that he is proud of his home region and would be happy to be associated with it. He does, however, mention that while he does not feel that he has been inhibited in academic settings by his speech, he does feel like he was perhaps academically underprepared for college (particularly in science and math) and he attributes this to the educational system in his home area. Michael explains that his home community in Appalachia is diverse, and that there are young people like him who have always known and been told by their parents that they will one day attend college, while there are others who never consider it as an option. Michael indicates that there may be a difference in the speech between these groups in his home community, ostensibly tied to social class. He also mentions that his speech will change depending on which group he is around. He mentions that he has really benefited from the diverse student population at SSU, and he thinks it is interesting that most of his friends are from urban centers in the state. He also suggests that students who attend community college in his hometown are likely to be students with stronger Appalachian dialects than students who leave and attend college

outside of Appalachia. In general, Michael indicates that his speech has had little impact on his experiences in college.

Linguistic profile: Michael's speech was for me, identifiably Southern but not necessarily Appalachian North Carolinian. Certain features stood out to me, such as /e/ which seemed at times to be lowered and backed, and I could hear /ay/ glide weakening in his speech, but not necessarily to a degree that was striking. My general impression is that on campus at Southern State University, Michael's speech might draw a bit of attention as being rural Southern, but not necessarily any more so than the speech of rural Southern students on campus who are originally from regions other than Appalachia.

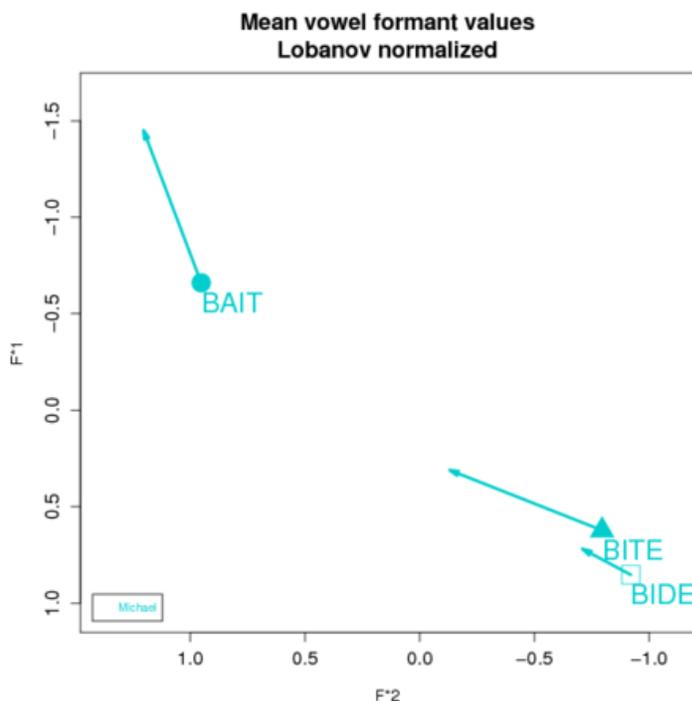


Figure 28: Michael: Vowel Plot

Michael's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) glide varies. A little less than half of all tokens are shortened ($\Delta=100-200$ Hz), while the majority are longer or full glides. His BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced phonetic environments) glides, however, are categorically very short ($\Delta<100$ Hz) or short. His monophthongization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments may not draw significant attention on campus as it varies, though his very shortened glide in pre-voiced contexts may be more salient. Michael's BAIT (/e/) nucleus was not significantly lowered, though it was a bit fronted. This feature is for him is not likely to draw attention as it does not vary significantly from what might be considered typical for peers in the SSU campus area.

During our interview, Michael does not have any instances of use of non-standardized grammar.

Table 21

Michael: Non-standardized morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/1	0%
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/1	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/3	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/0	-
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/2	0%

Patty, White female, 21 years old

“Patty” is a college junior from “Oak Creek,” NC. She is studying agricultural science and is very involved in student clubs and honor societies at Southern State University related to agriculture. Her father is also from Oak Creek and her mother is originally from Texas, but has lived in Oak Creek for many years. Patty is very witty and quick with a joke, and she seems to be very confident and outgoing. She uses words such as “backcountry,” “hillbilly” and “redneck” to describe the speech of her home community and she suggests that her speech is fairly close to the norm for her community. She is very oriented toward the western part of the state and speaks highly of her home region. Nonetheless, she is quite aware of the negative stereotypes associated with rural Appalachia, and makes self-deprecating jokes about herself as an Appalachian and about her region (“A lot of people are like, ‘Patty, you have all your teeth and you’re from the mountains!’ And I’m like, ‘Yeah, I know. I can’t wait till I start losing them. That doesn’t happen till you turn 25’” and “You’ve gotta sound like you didn’t come out of the movie, *Deliverance*.”) During our interview, she makes several observations about differences in rural and urban students on campus. She also makes observations about the socioeconomic disparities between urban and rural areas, particularly as related to education and the quality of education received in urban versus rural areas. She is very involved in campus life, and most of her campus involvement is related to agriculture. Patty mentions that students in these agriculture-centric programs tend to stick together because they have more shared experiences and similarities and are also sometimes marginalized by others on campus. She also cites her involvement in agriculture and

association with other rural students as a reason that she fits in at SSU although her speech draws attention is considered non-standardized for campus as whole. When I met her she was wearing what she called her “street clothes” (jeans and t-shirt) as opposed to the camouflage apparel and boots she normally wears. She noted that this is because that day she was in the quad campaigning for her friend’s student body presidential campaign and she did not want anyone to stereotype her friend because of how her campaigners were dressed. This suggests that she is aware that rural students and students involved in agriculture are marginalized even on a campus in the South with a strong agricultural tradition. She suggests that she has learned to code-switch to more standardized English through her involvement in certain state-wide student organizations, citing instances such as meeting with the university chancellor as an occasion during which she would use standardized grammar.

Linguistic profile: Patty was, to me, one of the most vernacular participants in the study. I perceived her speech as being western North Carolinian and there were several elements of her speech which were striking to me. Her /ay/ glides perceptually seemed very weakened, her /e/ vowel seemed very lowered and backed; indeed, perceptually, her entire vowel system seems to be participating in the Southern Vowel Shift (refer to Figure 3). Additionally, Patty’s morphosyntax, or grammar, was striking to me, as on several occasions throughout the interview she used non-standardized variants. She also talked openly about her awareness that these variants are non-standardized (her mother prefers that she not use non-standardized grammar) but notes that in certain environments she is easily able to “turn it off” and use standardized grammar. Patty indicates that to others on campus, she “talks

funny” and my impression is that on campus at SSU, this is probably not surprising as her speech contains several salient stigmatized features. My perception is that her speech (when not code-switching) likely stands out as being a different variety than most that are spoken on campus.

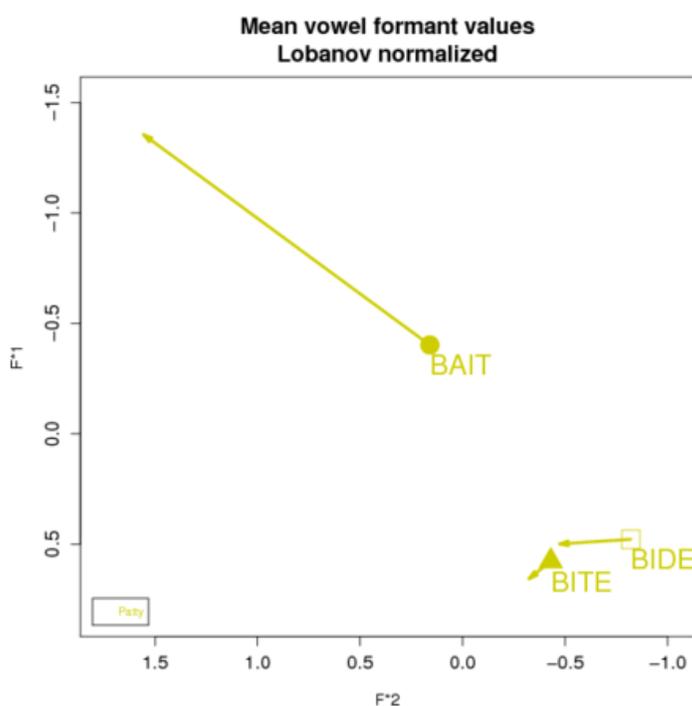


Figure 29: Patty: Vowel Plot

Patty’s BITE vowel (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) has categorically very short ($\Delta < 100$ Hz) or short ($\Delta = 100-200$ Hz) glides. A little more than half are very short. Perceptually, pre-voiceless /ay/ for Patty is quite monophthongal. Similarly, Patty’s BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) glides are generally very short or short, though there was one token with a full glide. The nucleus of Patty’s BAIT (/e/) vowel is lowered and backed

and was perceptually very striking. In aggregate, these features are distinct from local norms in the SSU campus area and Patty's phonology in this regard is likely to draw attention on campus.

During our interview, Patty used several instances of non-standardized grammar, usually in the form of using "ain't" or negative concord. For example, Patty makes statements such as, "Ain't nothing wrong with being from the mountains" or "I ain't never gonna need none of this." Patty also notes that she uses expressions such as "reckon" frequently, but notes that she does not use terms such as "y'uns" or "ain't" or "reckon" in formal settings.

Table 22

Patty: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/8	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	1/5	30%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	3/6	50%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	3/8	38%

Rachel, White female, 21 years old

“Rachel” is a college senior from “Clarksridge,” NC studying chemical engineering. Her parents are both from Clarksridge as well. During our interview, she was friendly and talkative and open to talking about a variety of topics. She is a very high achieving student and has participated in a significant amount of undergraduate research with faculty members. She has also participated in several internships with private chemical engineering companies. She has been accepted to several prestigious graduate programs across the country, though at the time of our interview she had not yet decided which offer she will accept. Rachel is from one of the most rural areas her county and describes her family as having lived in the region for as long as anyone can remember. She is the first in her immediate family to attend college, and during our interview, she talked openly about the financial difficulties her family has experienced and how she has been the recipient of scholarships for academic merit. Rachel has a quick wit and wry sense of humor, sometimes making self-deprecating jokes about Appalachians and inhabitants of rural areas in general, including making a joke that her family does not understand the significance of her acceptance to prestigious graduate programs and that they would rather her be married with a baby. In addition to her interests within the sciences, she is also an avid writer and hopes to one day complete a science fiction novel. She mentions that she spent time in the Midwest one summer during college, and there she felt that her peers were less aware of stereotypes about Appalachians/rural Southerners and therefore may have been more accepting than some of her peers at Southern State University. She suggests that some of her peers at SSU “act like they have something over

you” because they are from urban areas. She suggests that compared to Southern State University, her peers in the Midwest “didn’t know that Appalachian people were supposed to be dumber or whatever the stereotype is.” Additionally, while she was in the Midwest she suggests that she was able to develop a “standard” style of speech that she might choose to use in certain situations. However, she generally indicates a belief that her abilities and talents should be considered more important than her style of speech, and so she would prefer not to switch speaking styles if possible.

Linguistic profile: Rachel is another one of the more strikingly vernacular participants in the study. I perceived her speech to be western North Carolinian, and immediately noticed weakened /ay/ gliding in pre-voiceless contexts. Also, like Kelly, her /ʌ/ vowel seems to be fronted. Rachel also uses saying and phrases that made me perceive her speech to be more vernacular. For example, to describe outsiders who move to her home community, she indicates that they are “from oft” and will use phrases such as “hand me that purse *what’s* on the table” rather than, “hand me that purse *that is* on the table.” Her use of non-standardized grammar, particularly was-leveling (“they was worried about everyone”) was striking to me. Like Patty, Rachel notes that she has developed an ability to code-switch, and during our interview she performs her code-switching ability. My perception is that Rachel, when not code-switching to a more standardized variety, probably draws attention on campus with her speech and it is likely perceived as a “stronger” dialect of rural, Southern Appalachian North Carolina, as it contains several salient stigmatized features.

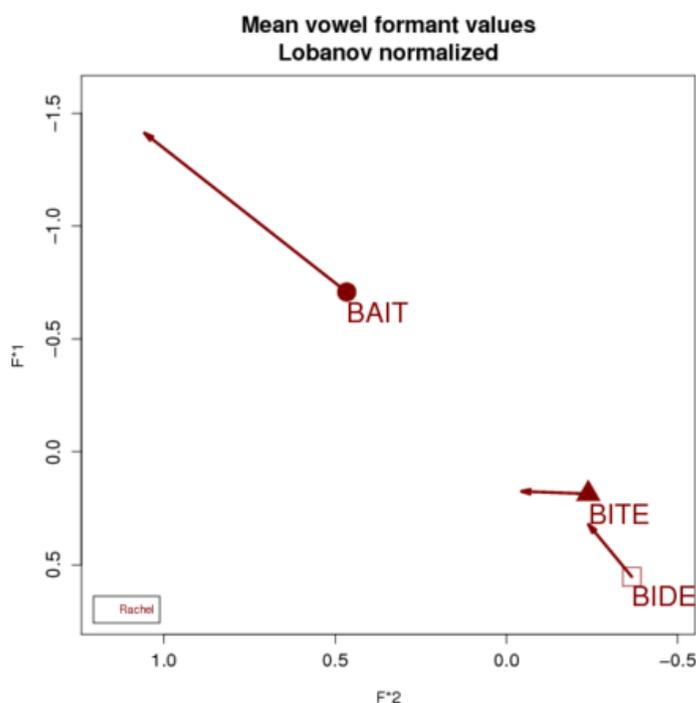


Figure 30: Rachel: Vowel Plot

Rachel's glide in BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) was almost categorically short ($\Delta=100-200\text{Hz}$) or very short ($\Delta<100\text{Hz}$), though there was one token of a full glide ($\Delta>300\text{ Hz}$). Her BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced phonetic environments) has more variation. While most tokens have short or very short glides, there are a few instances of full glides. Perceptually, /ay/ is monophthongal for Rachel in most contexts. Rachel's BAIT (/e/) nucleus is relatively high and front compared to both peer groups (participants in this study and SSU campus area peer comparison group). Her use of this feature is likely less salient on campus at SSU.

During our interview, Rachel uses many instances of non-standardized grammar, more so than any other participant in the study. For example, in our interview she makes statements using negative concord like, “You don’t have no time to do nothing else but be busy” and irregular past participles, “Her house got blowed down in Katrina.” She also has a few instances of was-leveling, such as, “We was going to New York” and she uses words and phrases such as “It didn’t make a lick of difference” and “reckon” and “fixin’ to.” She also notes that she uses non-standardized expressions such as, “the purse what’s on the table” rather than, “the purse that is on the table.” Her use of non-standardized grammar is likely to be highly salient on campus at SSU.

Table 23

Rachel: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	6/9	67%
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	5/8	63%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	3/7	43%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	2/6	33%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	18/22	82%

Rebecca, White female, 21 years old

“Rebecca” is a college junior from “Brooktown,” NC. She is a communication major with a concentration in public relations. Her father’s family has lived in Appalachian North Carolina for generations, though he grew up in Alabama. Rebecca’s mother is originally from Appalachian Kentucky. Rebecca’s family lived in Florida for the first eight years of her life before moving back to her father’s family property in western North Carolina. In our interview, Rebecca was very friendly, bubbly and smiled and laughed easily. Although she does not use non-standardized grammar and has few noticeable Southern/Appalachian phonological features, she identifies with the region and notes that the notion of Southern hospitality is important to her. She has two siblings (one of which is her twin) and she notes that they both sound much more Southern/Appalachian than she does. This may be, in part, because she notes that, “I do think I have tried very hard not to pick up any sort of dialect as far as southerners go because I think a lot of people in the United States associate ignorance with a southern accent” (she reinforces this idea later in the interview as well). She stresses the idea that she likes the South and Southern hospitality is very important to her, but she does not want to be associated with stereotypes that come along with speaking a Southern/Appalachian dialect: “I’ve met very educated – well educated people who don’t – who are obviously not ignorant and have a southern accent, but I just – I guess I don’t wanna be discriminated against and written off as being ignorant.” She describes her own speech as being “pretty neutral” and suggests that it is not significantly different that many speakers in her home community. She suggests that this is because in recent years, the town’s population

has begun to include more tourists making it a permanent home and newcomers from northern states. This, she suggests, has made the speech of her community more “neutral” in general. Interestingly, she suggests that her time in a high school chorus class was influential in making her speech more standardized. In this class, her teacher spent time correcting students’ speech and also taught them to learn to sing “properly” in other languages. In this class, she suggests that she might have also picked up some of her beliefs making her averse to speaking with a Southern/Appalachian accent: “Yeah, but I guess – and that might be why I attribute ignorance with it, is I feel like we maybe discussed how in other parts of the world they kinda look down on Southern accents, and [our chorus teacher] said we didn’t wanna be one of those Southern choruses who butchered a song – a Latin song.” Rebecca seems to indicate being a bit caught between two worlds in a sense. She mentions that at times she has felt uncomfortable around other students whose accents are more closely tied to being Southern or Appalachian because her speech is not strikingly so, but interacting with non-Southerners or Appalachians, she feels at times looked down upon for sounding Southern/Appalachian to them.

Linguistic profile: Rebecca’s speech struck me as sounding “standardized Southern,” particularly in the milieu of an urban Southern area, such as the Southern State University campus area. I could hear elements of “Southernness” in her speech, such as some /ay/ glide weakening and fronted /o/, but she as she notes, she is very careful not to sound Southern, and as a result, her speech sounds fairly standardized (and carefully produced). Like Landon, Rebecca suggests that having participated in high school chorus influenced her speech and

her ability to “correctly” pronounce words in a more “proper” or standardized way. My impression is that on campus at Southern State University, her speech is not likely to draw attention as being significantly different than any other standardized variety of Southern American English on campus.

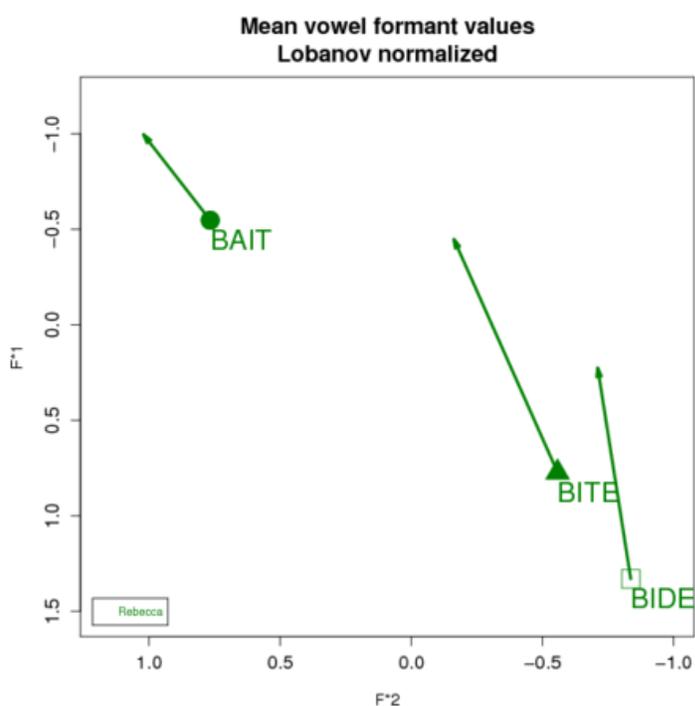


Figure 31: Rebecca: Vowel Plot

Rebecca’s BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) glide has a bit of variation, but the majority of tokens have a full ($\Delta > 300$ Hz) or longer glides ($\Delta > 200$ Hz) and only a few have shorter glides. Perceptually, /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts for Rebecca was generally more diphthongal. Rebecca’s BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced contexts) has somewhat

more variation. A little more than half of all tokens were longer or full glides, or diphthongal, but a little fewer than half had shortened glides. For Rebecca, the nucleus of BAIT (/e/) was relatively high and fronted compared to her peers in this study as well as those from the SSU area peer comparison group. Her use of any of these phonological features is not likely to draw attention on campus at SSU as they do not deviate significantly from local norms, nor are any of them highly stigmatized.

During our interview, Rebecca does not use any instances of non-standardized grammar. Like several other participants, there were no potential environments for use of past participles.

Table 24

Rebecca: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle (“She had rode her bike”)	0/0	-
Was-leveling (“They was worried”)	0/16	0%
Leveling of don’t (“He don’t like chicken”)	0/2	0%
Ain’t (“If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”)	0/1	0%
Negative concord (“We didn’t do nothing wrong”)	0/1	0%

Robert, White male, 21 years old

“Robert” is a college junior from “Maple Grove,” NC studying biological sciences. His mother is from Appalachia and his father is from Southern California, but has lived in Appalachia for many years. His mother has a master’s degree and his father holds a bachelor’s degree. Robert seems mature for his age and he is very thoughtful and articulate. He seems to be very focused and academically motivated. Robert seems to have a high level of metalinguistic awareness and indicates that he actively avoids using vernacular speech. He describes the speech of his hometown as being very slow, and says that his speech is very different than most in his home community. He explains that his siblings use much stronger Southern Appalachian phonology than he does, but that all the children in his family were encouraged by their mother to use standardized grammar. In his family, he says that his mother strongly emphasized using proper grammar and having a good vocabulary, but she did not stress pronunciation. He indicates that as long as he and his siblings used proper grammar, their mother did not correct pronunciation or suggest that Southern Appalachian phonology was improper. Robert seems to identify himself as a scholar, and he avoids using non-standardized elements because he believes that “drawling” is an “inefficient” way of speaking, and he also does not want to be perceived as less intelligent or uneducated due to his speech. He says that although his sister and brother have strong Southern/Appalachian accents, he does not in part because he is aware of the negative associations with Southern/Appalachian speech and did not want to create any barriers for himself because of language. He indicates that he believes that students who speak non-standardized varieties of

English will face barriers on campus in terms of being perceived as intelligent by peers and faculty, and in terms of gaining opportunities such as teaching assistantships. Further, he indicates a sense of pride in his standardized speech: “I’m just very proud that I don’t have that barrier to keep me from interacting with students or interacting with professors, and I feel as if coming from a small town in the South that to not – I don’t wanna say overcome the barrier of not having the dialect, but I feel as if it’s – I feel accomplished that even growing up in a small town, small area, I am able to say things without having to reiterate or explain or watch people smile about the way I’m talking ’cause they’re generally interested in how I pronounce things, and it’s just – it’s been nice to not have to go over those barriers.” He admits to sometimes stereotyping his peers at Southern State University based on language, particularly when someone sounds like they are from a rural area, as he believes it sounds less intelligent.

Linguistic profile: I perceived Robert’s speech to be standardized, and I actually did not perceive him to sound western North Carolinian, and barely Southern for that matter. Robert’s speech actually sounds almost hyper-correct in many instances. For example, whereas for most speakers of American English, the “t” in the word “mountain” is glottalized, Robert fully articulates /t/. Perceptually, his /ay/ glides were quite diphthongal in pre-voiceless environments, and there were really few, if any, features of his speech which struck me as being at all Southern or western North Carolinian. Occasionally I heard some glide weakening in /ay/ in pre-voiced contexts, but to a casual observer, this may not have been noticeable. I certainly do not think that Robert’s speech would draw attention on

campus at Southern State University for being non-standardized, but conversely, at an institution in the South, his speech might draw a bit of attention in certain contexts when certain features may seem hyper-standardized.

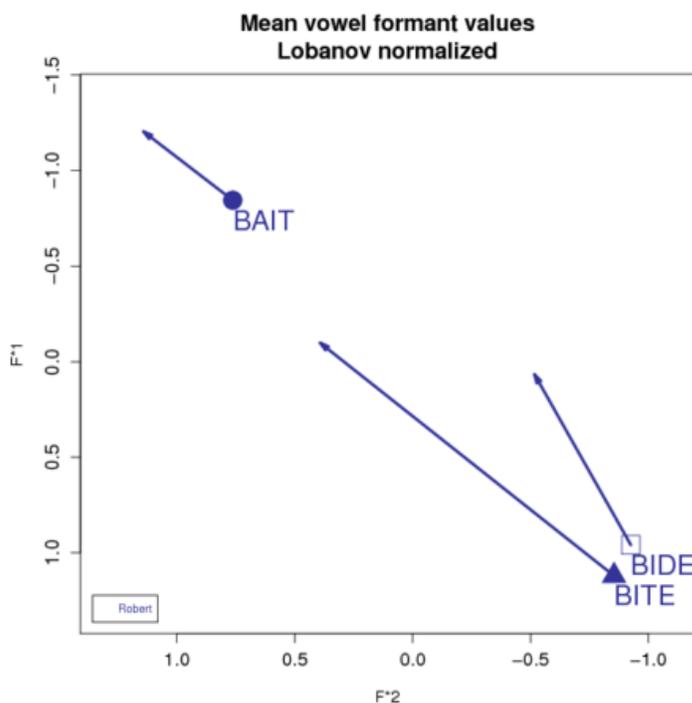


Figure 32: Robert: Vowel Plot

Robert's BITE glide (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) is almost categorically a full glide ($\Delta > 300$ Hz) although there are two tokens with shortened glides. His BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced contexts) vowel has more variation in the glide. In half of all tokens the glide is longer, while in the other half the glide is shortened. Perceptually, /ay/ in pre-voiced environments for Robert is not strikingly monophthongal. Robert's BAIT (/e/)

nucleus compared to peers in this study was higher and fronted, while compared to peers from the SSU area peer comparison group, it was mid range in height and frontedness. Robert's realization of /e/ is rather standardized.

During our interview, Robert does not use any instances of non-standardized grammar, though like other participants, the interview did not afford potential environments for use of certain features such as irregular past participles and negative concord.

Table 25

Robert: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/3	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/6	0%
Ain't/ ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/2	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/0	-

Sara, White female, 22 years old

“Sara” is a college senior from “Brooktown,” NC. She is studying bio-archeology and also works part-time at a local campus hangout. Her father is from a small town close to Brooktown and her mother is from the northeastern United States, but attended college in Appalachia and has lived there since. In our interview, Sara seems to be very reflective and articulate and also seems to have previously given much consideration to the topics we discussed in our interview. Her hometown, “Brooktown” is considered by some to be a suburb of a more urban area in Appalachia that attracts people from all over the country. She notes that most of her friends in high school did not have “Southern or Appalachian accents” and were either the children of non-Appalachian parents or from families with only one Appalachian parent. She also notes that in college, most of her friends also do not have strong Southern/Appalachian accents and suggests that perhaps she is just drawn to others who sound more standardized. Sara indicates that she is very aware of the stereotypes associated with Southern Appalachian speech and though she does not believe that they are true, she seems to indicate that she is happy not to have them placed on her (she references several times the stereotype that speakers of Southern/Appalachian dialects are uneducated or unintelligent). However, she does note that sometimes she, too, is guilty of hearing Appalachian dialects and associating them with stereotypes, particularly that of the speaker being “White trash.” She suggests that she believes her accent is very slight and fairly different than most speakers in her home community, but she says that sometimes she wishes it were stronger because she is fond of her home region. She says that growing up she

remembers thinking it was “bad” to have a Southern/Appalachian accent and thinks she might have tried not to have one growing up. Notes that her mother, a third grade teacher, has sometimes corrected her speech, but she was more focused on proper grammar than pronunciation. Interestingly, Sara notes that her older brother has a much stronger Southern accent than she does but is not sure why this might be.

Linguistic profile: Sara’s speech struck me as being fairly standardized, though with occasional indications of a Southern upbringing, such as some /ay/ glide weakening. I could not necessarily pinpoint her geographic origin as being in Appalachian North Carolina, but as mentioned, some elements of her pronunciation, such as /ay/ glide weakening and the pen-pin merger hint at her Southern roots. For the most part however, her standardized grammar and fairly standardized pronunciation would probably be unlikely to draw any attention on campus at Southern State University.

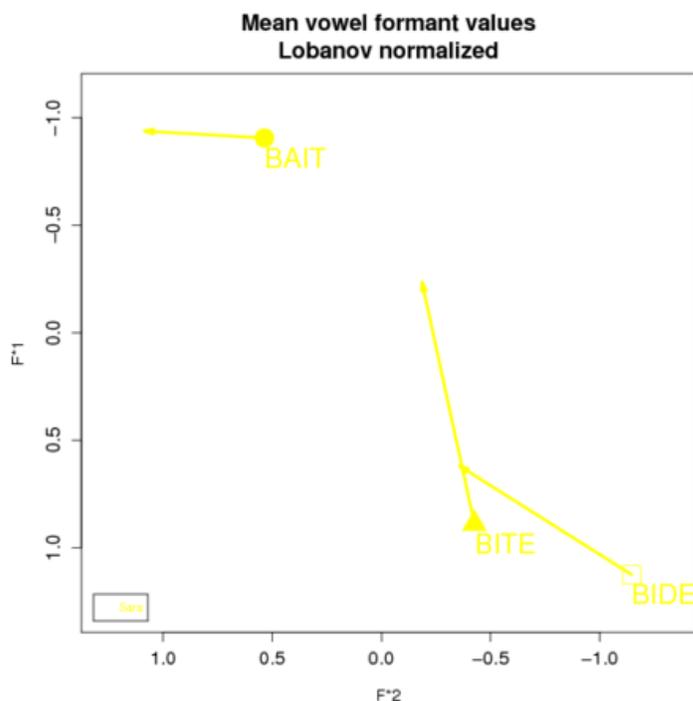


Figure 33: Sara: Vowel Plot

Sara's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) glide is generally a long or full glide ($\Delta > 300$ Hz). However, there are two measured tokens of shortened ($\Delta = 100$ -200 Hz) glides. Her BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) glide is similarly either long or full, with two tokens of shortened glides. Perceptually, her /ay/ is diphthongal but occasional weakened glides in pre-voiced contexts are more noticeable than in pre-voiceless environments.

Her BAIT (/e/) nucleus is high and somewhat backed compared to both peer groups. The backing of this vowel may potentially draw some attention, but it was not perceptually salient to me. On campus at SSU, her phonology in regard to her realization of these features

is unlikely to draw attention as they are not stigmatized nor do they deviate significantly from local norms.

During our interview, Sara does not use any elements of non-standardized grammar.

Table 26

Sara: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/15	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/3	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/5	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/4	0%

Thomas, White male, 20 years old

"Thomas" is a college sophomore from "Howland," NC studying environmental sciences. His parents are also from Howland and both completed high school. He indicates in our interview that he is somewhat reserved and quiet, and also mentions that he perceives himself to be shy. Throughout the interview, he mentions several times that he is aware that Southern Appalachian varieties of English are stigmatized and that speakers are often viewed by outsiders as being uneducated or unintelligent. As a result of this, he indicates a desire to

avoid these types of negative stereotypes highlights his belief that it is important to sound educated, particularly around faculty members on campus. For him, this has meant improving his vocabulary and not using “slang” (words like “ain’t” or “y’all” or non-standardized grammar), though he notes he has not really given much attention to changing his pronunciation. He mentions that he began to pay attention to speech in high school, stating that he “didn't want to be part of the stereotype, I guess, of people that spoke Southern language.” He suggests that in college, he has heard faculty/staff and peers with who sound “neutral” or non-accented, and to him, this sounds like an ideal model of speech, particularly for sounding educated. He notes that several of his close college friends are from the same county he grew up in and suggests that having a shared background provided some of the basis for these friendships.

Linguistic profile: Thomas’ speech struck me as being Southern but not necessarily Appalachian North Carolinian. The most perceptually salient feature of Thomas’ speech, for me, which suggested his Southern origin is glide weakening of /ay/ in pre-voiced environments. Like many other rural Southerners, this sound was perceptually more monophthongal, though /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts sounded more diphthongal to me. Although I perceptually identified Thomas as being from the South, I would not imagine that his speech draws attention on campus, as it may not be seen as aberrant from the speech of many other rural Southern students on campus at SSU, and does not contain any highly stigmatized features.

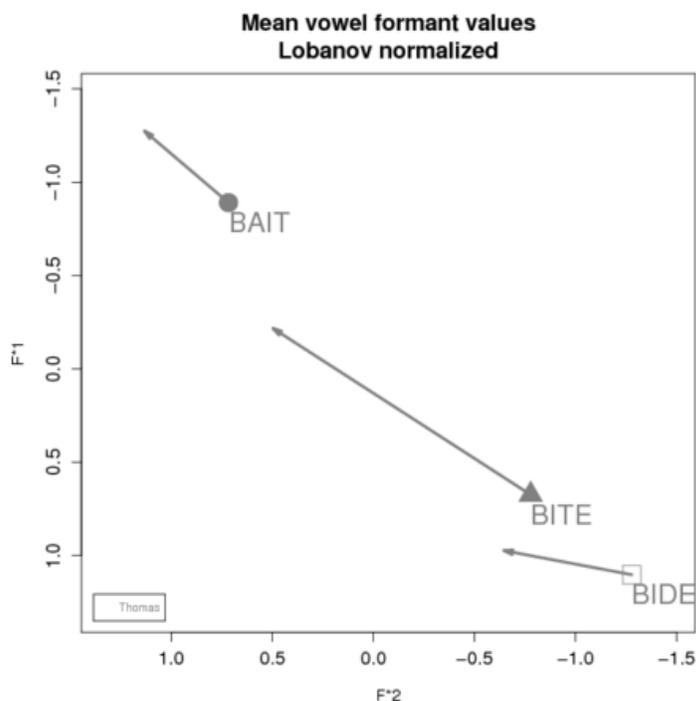


Figure 34: Thomas: Vowel plot

Thomas' BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) glides are generally long or full glides ($\Delta > 300$ Hz), though there are a few tokens of shortened glides. Conversely, a little more than half of his tokens of BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiced environments) are short ($\Delta = 100$ -200Hz) or very short ($\Delta < 100$ Hz), while a little fewer than half are long or full glides. Perceptually, /ay/ ungliding in pre-voiceless environments is not salient, but weakened glides in pre-voiced contexts are more apparent. Thomas' BAIT (/e/) nucleus is not significantly lowered compared to either peer group, but it is realized farther back.

During our interview, Thomas does not use any instances of non-standardized grammar, though like other participants, some features like past participles, did not occur in any context.

Table 27

Thomas: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/4	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/0	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/2	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/5	0%

Vince, White male, 22 years old

“Vince” is a college senior from “Pinetown,” NC. He is majoring in math and statistics. His parents are also both from Pinetown. In our interview he is open and friendly and has a very composed and mature demeanor. He is very involved in the campus community through work in residence life and participation in student organizations such as the GLBT alliance. He is academically motivated (he is a member of the university honors program) and notes that he was one of the best students at his high school and continues to achieve academically in college. He seems to be oriented away from his hometown, noting that he feels that some people there are more closed-minded and perhaps have narrower worldviews than he does. He indicates that for him, hearing a very Southern/Appalachian sounding accent is sometimes a cue for people who hold similar narrow-minded beliefs as those he mentioned from his home community. During our interview he does not use any forms of non-standardized grammar and does not exhibit any stigmatized phonological features associated with dialects of Appalachian English. He mentions that in his home community growing up others had commented that his speech did not sound like that of most people in the area and that some people asked him if he was from “up North.” He indicates that he is “happy” to not sound Southern Appalachian and that he sometimes makes assumptions about others who do sound that way (though he also indicates a recognition that his assumptions based on speech are not always accurate). He notes that he might not feel as comfortable around people with thicker Appalachian accents because of the stereotypes he associates with them based on experiences in his hometown. Generally speaking, Vince does

not seem to think that language has had a major impact on his experiences in college, perhaps because his speech is fairly standardized.

Linguistic profile: As mentioned, Vince's speech sounds fairly standardized for the South. Certain elements of his speech make him identifiably Southern to me, such as fronted /o/, somewhat shifted /e/ and the *pen-pin* merger, but his /ay/ vowel sounds diphthongal in pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments. On campus at Southern State University, my impression is that Vince's speech would be unlikely to draw any attention as being significantly different from other Southern students, rural or urban, on campus.

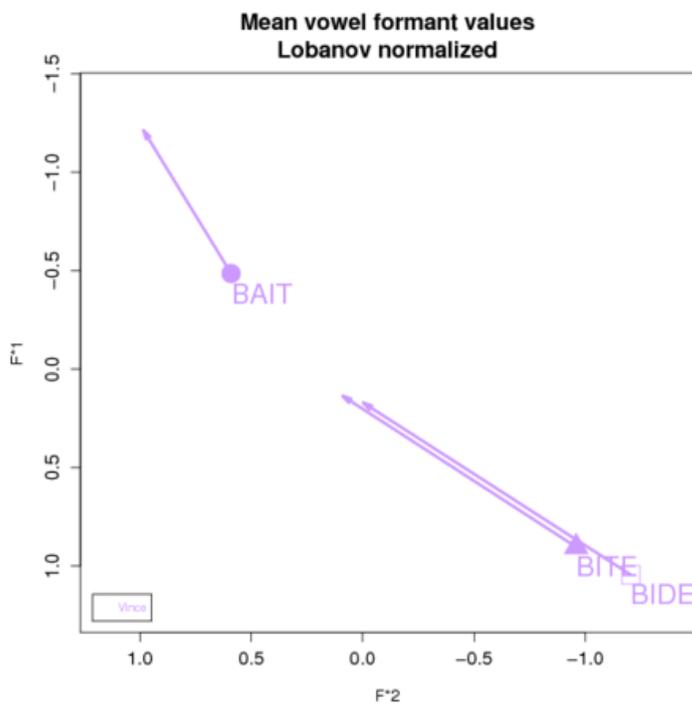


Figure 35: Vince: Vowel Plot

Vince's BITE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) glides vary. In a little more than half of all tokens, the glide is long or full ($\Delta > 300$ Hz) while in a little fewer than half the glide is shortened ($\Delta = 100-200$ Hz). Vince's BIDE (/ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts) is less variable, with nearly all tokens showing a long or full glide. Only two tokens have shortened glides. The nucleus of BAIT (/e/) for Vince is not significantly lowered or backed compared to either peer group. Vince's realization of these phonological features is not likely to draw attention on campus at SSU as it does not vary significantly from local norms nor would his realizations be considered significantly non-standardized.

During our interview, Vince does not use any non-standardized grammar, but like other participants, does not use certain features like past participles at all.

Table 28

Vince: Non-standardized Morphosyntax

Feature	Ratio of non-standardized to standardized use	Percentage of non-standardized use
Irregular past participle ("She had rode her bike")	0/0	-
Was-leveling ("They was worried")	0/4	0%
Leveling of don't ("He don't like chicken")	0/1	0%
Ain't ("If it ain't broke, don't fix it")	0/1	0%
Negative concord ("We didn't do nothing wrong")	0/0	-

Table 29

Summary Table of Participants

Participant	Gender	Major	Year	/ay/ ungliding pre-voiceless environments ?	/ay/ ungliding pre-voiced environments ?	Position of /e/ nucleus (compared to cohort and peers from SSU campus area)	Uses Non- standardized grammar?
Brandon	M	Biochemistry	Senior	No	Yes	Mid height, back	No
Brooke	F	Biological Sciences	Soph.	No	Yes	Mid height, relatively back	No
Isabelle	F	Communication	Junior	No	No	Relatively high, mid front	No
Landon	M	Biochemistry	Fresh.	No	Yes- varies	Mid, relatively further back	No
Maddy	F	Biological Sciences	Senior	No	Yes	High, relatively front	No
Michael	M	History	Senior	No	Yes	Mid, relatively front	No
Rebecca	F	Communication	Senior	No	No	Relatively high, relatively front	No
Robert	M	Biological Sciences	Junior	No	No	Mid, mid	No
Sara	F	Bioarcheology	Senior	No	No	High, relatively back	No
Thomas	M	Electrical and Computer Engineering	Soph.	No	Yes	Mid, back	No
Vince	M	Mathematics/ Statistics	Senior	No	No	Mid, mid	No
Christopher	M	Sociology	Senior	Yes	Yes	Low, back	No
Elizabeth	F	Textile Engineering	Senior	Yes	Yes	Low, mid	Yes
Emily	F	Middle Grades Education	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, relatively front	No
Hank	M	Environment Technology	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, back	Yes
Jason	M	Industrial Engineering	Senior	Yes-varies	Yes	Lower, mid front	Yes
Jessica	F	Zoology	Senior	Yes-varies	Yes	Mid, mid	No
John	M	Mechanical Engineering	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, back	Yes
Joseph	M	Applied Mathematics	Soph.	Yes-varies	Yes	Low, relatively front	No
Justin	M	Communication	Soph.	Yes-varies	Yes	Relatively mid, front	No
Kelly	F	Aerospace Engineering	Senior	Yes	Yes	Lower, back	Yes
Lana	F	Mathematics Education	Junior	Yes	Yes	Mid, mid	No
Lauren	F	Agricultural Education	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, back	Yes
Megan	F	Animal Science	Junior	Yes-varies	Yes	Mid, mid	Yes
Patty	F	Agricultural Science	Junior	Yes	Yes	Low, back	Yes
Rachel	F	Chemical Engineering	Senior	Yes	Yes	Relatively high, relatively front	Yes

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

Overview:

In this section I provide the findings from the qualitative and sociolinguistic analysis of participants, their speech, and their experiences in college. This section is separated into three distinct articles that present findings as subcategories of those themes. The first article is on the role of language and academic experiences in college. The second article focuses on the role of language and campus environment. The third article focus on language and students' interactions with faculty, staff, and peers on campus. Each article is, in a sense, self-contained, and includes its own reference list and appendices.

Article 1: The Role of Language and Academic Experiences

“I like being in math classes and having my accent and doing well”: Influences of Language on Academic Life for Students from Rural Appalachia

Introduction

When considering the factors that influence college students' academic experiences in higher education, educational researchers often take into account numerous characteristics of students' backgrounds, but language is rarely explicitly cited as one of them. It is perhaps implied when “culture” is discussed, but rarely examined on its own. This is problematic because language and identity are intrinsically linked and language perhaps has a more profound influence on academic experiences than researchers have previously considered, particularly for speakers of stigmatized dialects.

Language is a form a privilege that we often do not consider when taking into account what students and faculty members bring with them to campus. In the United States, we hold a standard language ideology, or the belief that there is a single, correct form of English which educated individual should strive to speak (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012). This “standard” is typically based on the values and preferences of the dominant class: White, middle- and upper middle class speakers. Conversely, varieties of English which are less valued and often stigmatized are generally those spoken by those of lower social standing, including lower SES individuals and racial and ethnic minorities (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012). Bourdieu (1982) suggests that educational institutions are one of the primary venues for the propagation of standard language ideology, and linguistic hegemony is a by-product of this ideology which

is used to convince speakers of less valued varieties that their speech is incorrect and less prestigious than the so-called “standard.” Thus, speakers of less valued varieties are taught that they must adapt their speech to the standardized or face consequences such as, but not limited to, not being taken seriously, not being considered educated or intelligent (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012), and not being able to take part in which Delpit (1995) calls “the culture of power.” As previously mentioned, language and identity are often inextricably tied and to reject a person’s language is in a sense, a rejection of that person and their culture (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012). For many students, feeling pressure to speak what Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) refer to as “School English” will mean that the student will feel a tension between home identity and school identity. This can have numerous implications for college students, as this is a time of great transition, academic growth and challenge, and psychosocial development.

For students who are speakers of stigmatized dialects, such as Appalachian Englishes, language can present some additional challenges in college that students who are speakers of more standardized varieties are probably less likely to face. This study explores the college experiences of students from rural Appalachian and analyzes their speech in order to understand how language influences these experiences at a large research university in the southern United States. This study will focus on the influence of language on the college experience in terms of academic achievement, perceptions of acceptance on campus, participation in campus activities, use of campus resources, peer and faculty interaction, and overall academic identity.

Appalachia and Appalachian college students

Appalachia is a region in the United States spanning from Alabama to New York. As officially recognized by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) it is a 205,000 square mile region which includes 12 states and with roughly 24 million inhabitants. Much of Appalachia is rural (around 40% is considered to be so by the ARC) and it is a historically impoverished region with some of the lowest average incomes in the country and lower levels of educational attainment than any other region (Shaw, DeYoung & Rademacher, 2004). Appalachia is also a region that has been noted to be oft stereotyped and marked as “Other” by the rest of America. Scholars on the region such as Eller (1999) suggest that “No other region of the U.S. today plays the role of the ‘other America’ quite so persistently as Appalachia” (p. x) noting that for many outsiders, the region is representative of “backwardness, violence, poverty and hopelessness once associated with the South as a whole.” Ergood (1983) cites Perley Ayer’s assertion that the pervasive stereotypes about Appalachians ranging from the coalminers and moonshiners to welfare recipients “carry the prejudice of ignorance of the true situation and a broad extension to the many of the attributes of the few (p. 45).” Certainly such a large region is not home to a single unifying culture or way of life. Appalachia is home to a range of cultures, dialects, and inhabitants and indeed the notion that Appalachia exists a unifying entity is somewhat misleading; many Appalachians do not identify as such but rather on a more local level whether is be state, county, or community (Hazen & Fluharty, 2004).

College students whose home region is Appalachia are likely to come from a rural area and often attend K-12 schools which are less well-funded than schools in urban area and are likely to have had higher dropout rates, lower test scores, and fewer students matriculating from high school to college (Lichter, Roscigno & Condron, 2003). While urban counties in Appalachia have slightly higher rates of degrees attained, the rural counties still lag behind (Haaga, 2004), so college attending students from rural Appalachia will be less well represented on college campuses, particularly campuses outside of Appalachia. Appalachia, particularly Central Appalachia, lags behind the rest of the country in obtaining college degrees (Haaga, 2004), and there are many barriers to overcome in attending college for Appalachian youths in general, which are often exacerbated for rural Appalachians. Because most of rural Appalachia is also economically disadvantaged (the average income in Appalachia is the lowest in the nation; Carter & Robinson, 2002), money is a major issue in Appalachian students being able to attend college (Ali & Saunders, 2008). Schools in Appalachia are chronically underfunded (Ali & Saunders, 2008) and without adequate resources, the quality of education suffers. The Appalachian Access and Success Study found that many high school students in Appalachia had low self-efficacy beliefs preventing them from considering college as an option, as the students believed that they were either not intelligent enough for college or felt academically unprepared for college (Spohn, Crowther, & Lykins 1992). In addition these challenges, dialects spoken by college students from rural Appalachia may mark them as different from others on campus.

Appalachian Dialects

For the purpose of this study, the definition of dialect will be one suggested by sociolinguists Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998): “a neutral label to refer to any variety of a language that is shared by a group of people” (p.2). Within Appalachian, there is no single dialect or “Appalachian English” but rather Appalachian Englishes (Hazen 2008). Linguists who have studied speech patterns throughout the region have found that there is great variation from state to state, among regions in states, and variation has even been found to occur within small communities (Hazen, 2008). Montgomery (2004) notes that dialects in Appalachia are some of the most well known in American English and represent to the rest of America part of the lore of Appalachian life. Many of the well-known features of Appalachian Englishes are what Hazen & Hamilton (2009) refer to as Appalachian Heritage Language features. These features include elements of phonology (pronunciation), morphosyntax (grammar), and lexicon (vocabulary). Non-standardized grammar tends to be more stigmatized than non-standardized pronunciation, though even certain non-standardized pronunciations, such as monophthongal/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments, remains stigmatized even among Southerners (Greene, 2010). As is typical for stratification of language use, Appalachian dialects also vary among differing social classes, and within Appalachia certain dialects have more prestige than others. This can result in some dialects of Appalachian English being stigmatized even by other Appalachians. As such, speakers in this study may represent a range of dialects spoken in Appalachia, with some being of higher prestige than others.

Dialects and Education

Dialects are not often a student characteristic addressed when considering the diversity that students bring with them to the classroom, but language, as Reagan (2002) suggests, “is one of the key elements to understanding and responding appropriately to diversity in educational settings” (p. 40). Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) describe the importance of recognizing the critical role of language in educational settings, noting that the dialects that students speak will have a direct influence on their academic performance and even the expectations instructors might have of students in terms of academic potential. Additionally, when dialects are addressed in the classroom it is often in the context of attempting to homogenize or to encourage students with non-standardized dialects to accommodate more standardized varieties. In this case, because language and identity are closely linked, students may feel a sense of being pulled in different directions between home language and school language, resulting in difficulties for the student (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). Appalachian students who speak stigmatized varieties of English may be likely to face this challenge and feel that their native speech is not valued as erudite or prestigious in educational settings due to the stereotypes associated with varieties of Southern Appalachian speech.

Literature Review & Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is centered on notions of standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony in education, which work together in a cyclical nature. In the United States, standard language ideology (SLI) is accepted as “common sense” and the idea that

there is more than one acceptable variety of English is often met with resistance and skepticism. Lippi-Green (1997) discusses linguistic ideology in American society, describing it as, “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class” (p. 64). This notion of “standard” English is propagated by the dominant class and marginalizes the speech and power of non-speakers of the preferred variety of the dominant class.

Linguistic hegemony is a by-product of SLI and provides the means for “standardizing” English in American society. Gramsci (1971) defines hegemony as dominance of ruling classes over the lower classes through coercion rather than force. Coercion is made possible when the ruling class uses their power (cultural, social, economic) to legitimize a concept and present it as “common sense.” Bourdieu (1982) suggests that education is the dominant institution responsible for the hegemonic practice of propagating SLI. Bourdieu posits that those entering the educational system using a variety of language of lower value will be less successful because the linguistic and cultural capital they bring with them is not highly rewarded in the educational market place. Underscoring this idea, White and Lowenthal (2011) note that many students “arrive in college without having heard the conventions of language that they will need to employ to be heard and thus accepted within this community” (p. 291). This excludes them from what Delpit (1995) refers to as the “culture of power” which reflects the preferences of the dominant group, including linguistic

preferences. Delpit explains that one of the codes of the culture of power is linguistic- one cannot participate in the culture of power if one does not know the language rules.

Conceptual framework

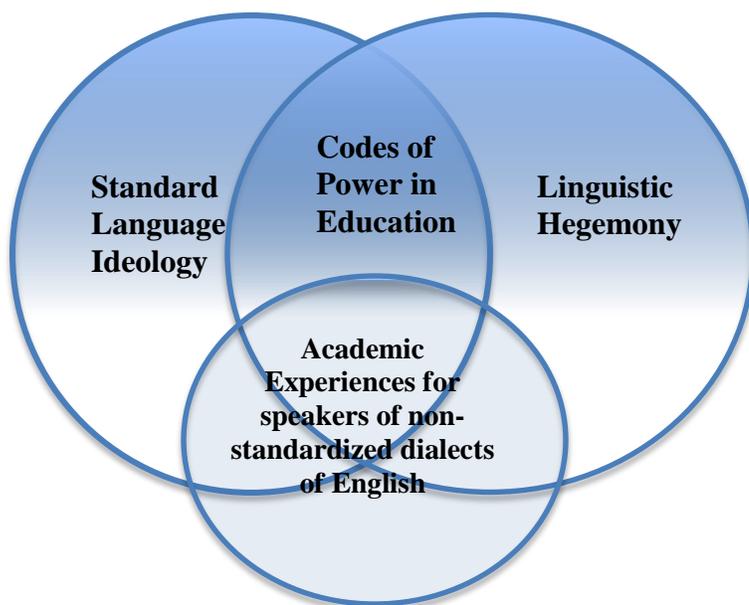


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

In this framework, standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony are seen as principles of linguistic subordination that greatly overlap due to their cyclical nature. Where standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony meet in organizations, we see the development and propagation of what Delpit (1995) describes as “codes of power” in education, a condition of which is that there is a language of power which determines who is permitted to participate in the culture of power. The academic experiences of students who speak non-standardized varieties of English will have experiences that are influenced in part

by each of these three components, mostly notably when SLI and linguistic hegemony directly impact the development of the codes of power specific to the academic institution in which the student is being educated.

Studies involving the intersection of SLI, Linguistic Hegemony, Codes of Power, and Academic Experiences in Higher Education

There have been relatively few studies on this intersection, particularly as related to Appalachians. There has also been relatively little study in general on Appalachian college students, though there have been notable studies on topics such as first year transitions (Bradbury, 2008; Bickel, Banks & Spatig, 1991; Carter & Robinson, 2002; Dees 2006) attitudes toward higher education (Wallace & Diekroger, 2000), attitudes toward multicultural education (Asada, Swank & Goldey, 2003) and first-generation Appalachian students (Bryan & Simmons, 2009; Hand & Miller-Payne, 2008). For the purpose of this study, the most important literature to review is that which exists about Appalachians in relation to language and its influences on their experiences in college and studies of other dialect groups and the influence of language and their college experiences. The existing studies in this area can be categorized as studies of Appalachians and perceptions of their speech related to life experiences, including, but not specific to college (McBride, 2006; Greene, 2010) and closest to the topic of this study (though it involves a different student population), Lumbee college students and the influence of language on their experiences (Scott, 2008).

McBride (2006) and Greene (2010) both center their studies on Appalachian women and explore, in part, the women's impressions of their own speech and how it has influenced various aspects of their lives, including experiences in higher education for those who attended. In McBride's study of the language attitudes of professional Appalachian women, her participants indicated that college was generally the first time that most of them came to realize that their speech was stigmatized. Through interviews in her qualitative study, she found that the majority of her participants had experienced some type of negative encounter in college or graduate school based on their speech (generally due to others' perceptions of their speech), and the author herself notes that she encountered linguistic discrimination as an Appalachian at Brevard College and Wake Forest University. Although many of her participants indicated that they are proud of their Appalachian dialects, they also believe that in order to be successful professionals, they must be able to code-switch to standardized varieties of English, which the women in this study recognized as the most prestigious, valued variety of English in our society. McBride notes that even after becoming successful in their respective fields (lawyer, doctor, teacher, minister, among others) the participants in her study "continue to work diligently to speak correctly at work so that they are not targets for criticism or off color humor in relation to their language use" (p. 182). McBride's study underscores notions of SLI and linguistic hegemony in education which continue on into the workforce; intelligent, academically motivated women from Appalachia believe their language is devalued and feel a need to code-switch to standardized English believing that their intelligence and achievements alone are not sufficient for success in academia and the

job market. As a result, McBride (2006) suggests that educators (and members of society at large) reconsider our treatment of language in education and in society. McBride's study is centered around post-graduate professional development, but mentions of language related experiences in college and attitudes and beliefs learned in college which continue into the workforce are still informative of the linguistic discrimination and prejudice which many speakers of stigmatized varieties of Appalachian English may face in higher education. Further, it has implications for how beliefs about language learned in college can influence career trajectory. One significant limitation of this study is that there is no linguistic analysis of the participants' speech and thus the reader is unable to gauge levels of vernacularity compared to experiences (are the women with the most negative experiences or beliefs regarding their language those who speak the most stigmatized variety?). Despite this limitation, it still lends insight into the linguistic experiences of Appalachian students during college years.

Similarly, linguist Rebecca Greene (2010) also studied Appalachian women, her study focusing on how language ideology influences the language use and identity construction of a group of women from eastern Kentucky. In her study, Greene conducted sociolinguistic interviews with 30 women and analyzed three linguistic variables associated with Appalachian dialects- /ay/ monophthongization in pre-voiceless phonetic environments, raising and fronting of /ʌ/ (the vowel sound in the word "just" sounding more like "jest) and was-leveling (e.g. "They was walking to the store yesterday"). Greene found that mainstream language ideologies regarding what is valued and "proper" speech seem to have an influence

on the women in this rural Appalachian community, particularly in terms of grammar. The participants' speech patterns in such a way that they favor more standardized grammar while maintaining elements of regional phonology, sometimes explicitly noted as a element of pride. Greene posits that this strategy of using non-standardized phonology with standardized morphosyntax is a way for participants to express regional identity while still adhering to mainstream norms of "proper" speech, a strategy which she notes has been adopted by other non-dominant linguistic groups (Hoover 1978; Rickford & Rickford 2000; Sharma 2005). She also notes that several participants who attended college "talk explicitly about how their feelings and their speech were affected by experiences at college" (p. 122). The women (despite level of education) in Greene's study, like McBride's (2006) are aware of the stigmatization of their speech Greene suggests that the young, college-educated women are perhaps the vehicle through which mainstream language ideology permeates the rural community. This supposition has significant implications for the role of linguistic hegemony and SLI on college campuses and how it spreads. Again, though this study like McBride (2006) is not directly related to language and college experiences, it still provides significant insight into how SLI, linguistic hegemony, and college experiences may be significantly linked. The participants in Greene's study who are college-educated are noted (among others) as having adopted more mainstream linguistic norms ostensibly as a result of their experiences in college in the classroom where there was likely a focus on standardized grammar, and experiences outside of the classroom, such as with roommates and others who may have teased them about certain dialect features. As a result of these experiences, the

college educated women who return to their home communities may thus spread notions of what it means to “talk proper” with an emphasis on standardized grammar. Greene’s study is also significant in that it sheds light on which features of dialects of Appalachian English draw the most attention to speakers themselves and outsiders for stigmatization.

While the previous two studies have explored links between language and social experiences of Appalachians that have links to college experience but are not directly tied, a third relevant study is directly related to language and college experiences but does not focus on Appalachian populations. Scott (2008) explored the role that language played in the college experience of Lumbee students. The Lumbee are an American Indian tribe native to North Carolina and some tribe members speak a distinct dialect of English that has strong ties to tribal affiliation and identity. This qualitative study describes the Lumbee college students experiences in college as speakers of a distinct and sometimes stigmatized dialect and also explored how language influenced aspects of their identity construction in college and feelings of academic achievement. For Lumbee students who had attended predominately Lumbee high schools, coming to college was often the first time that they realized that their speech differed from mainstream linguistic norms, while students who had attended predominately White high schools indicated some awareness that their grammar and pronunciation might not be considered standardized. Although none of the students suggested that language had impeded their academic success in high school, several participants indicated that in college language created challenges for them as their speech drew (sometimes unwanted) attention. Students indicated that they experienced teasing from peers,

sometimes good-natured, sometimes not, which made these students feel less inclined to interact with non-Lumbee peers, faculty, and staff. Students felt less comfortable speaking out in class (particularly if they were the only Lumbee student in class) and suggested a preference for courses that involved less speaking and writing, such as a math and science courses. Like the Appalachian women in McBride (2006) and Greene's (2010) studies, the Lumbee speakers in Scott's study indicated that they believed that their dialect was devalued and considered by others to sound "uneducated" or "country," particularly in the milieu of a college campus. The participants in Scott's study indicated that they feel a pressure on a campus speak "the right way," especially when speaking with faculty members or advisors. As a result of feeling negatively about their natural speech and a pressure to change, Scott posits that these students may "deny themselves full participation in university opportunities and resources" (p. 121). Further, in feeling a pressure to adopt mainstream linguistic norms to fit in on campus, Lumbee students felt some turmoil in terms of ethnic and regional identity. Sound "proper" meant, for some of them, rejecting their home culture and "talking White" or acting like they were better than others in their tribe or home community. Some participants noted feeling guilt over this struggle and felt like they were being pulled in different directions. Scott's study has significant implications for the role of SLI and linguistic hegemony on campus for speakers of non-standardized dialects, especially when the student is a member of a minority linguistic or cultural group on campus. His study indicated that these students may be averse to certain courses and campus environments, limit their interactions with others on campus and limit campus involvement in general, and

face additional struggles in psychosocial development during the college years that speakers of privileged varieties of English may not face. A limitation of Scott's study is that he does not describe the students' linguistic inventories and the reader must assume that all participants are indeed speakers of Lumbee English (being Lumbee does not necessarily imply that one will speak the dialect), and further, we do not know the degree to which students speak Lumbee English. Some students may use more standardized grammar paired with less standardized phonology, and this might influence their college experiences differently than a student whose uses both non-standardized grammar and phonology. Nonetheless, this study is very telling about the influence that language can have on college students' experiences and served as inspiration for the present study.

These studies share a focus on speakers of non-standardized dialects of English and explore at least in some capacity the influence that SLI, linguistic hegemony, and codes of power in education have had on the speakers' own perceptions of their speech, language choices, influence on identity, and the perceptions they believe that others have of them based on their language. A common theme among the speakers in all three studies is that they believe that their speech is devalued and stigmatized by outsiders as sounding uneducated and unintelligent. Another common theme among the studies is that attending college was, for many participants, the first time they realized their speech marked them as others and some indicate that attending college became the impetus for wanting to change their natural speech. These studies all cite examples of students feeling marginalized on campus to some degree because of their speech or being mocked or teased outright. As was the case in Scott's

(2008) study, this limited some students' participation in campus life and in courses.

McBride (2006) and Greene (2010) also cite examples of participants feeling uncomfortable with roommates or peers on campus based on their language being stigmatized. The fact that participants in all three studies indicate that they recognize that their speech is not a variety valued on a college campus even in their own general region (all three studies took place in the southeastern United States), is suggestive of the pervasiveness of SLI, linguistic hegemony and codes of power at play on college campuses, which I believe warrants further exploration. Although McBride and Scott (2008) offer findings more closely related to language and higher education directly, these studies lack linguistic analysis of the participants which does not allow for the understanding of *which* linguistic features are salient markers for stigmatization or drawing attention. On the other side, Greene's sociolinguistic analysis of the speech of Appalachian women highlights salient linguistic features and explores patterns of non-standardized phonological and morphosyntactic use for indexing regional identity and education, but it is not directly linked to exploring what this means for higher education. This study seeks to fill the gap in knowledge of how language may influence Appalachian college students' experiences by comparing a sociolinguistic analysis of their speech (which stigmatized Appalachian linguistic features are they using and to what extent) with their experiences in college related to language. In this way, I will be able to assess to a degree students' levels of vernacularity in respect to certain marked features of Appalachian Englishes and use this as rich description of the participants. For example, sociolinguistic assessment will be used to provide deeper description to explore

questions such as, how might the experiences in certain settings on campus differ for students who use more stigmatized non-standardized grammar than for Appalachian students whose grammar is more standardized? One might expect that in an English literature class, for example, a student with marked non-standardized grammar might have a different experience than a student whose grammar is fairly standardized. Through basic interpretive qualitative methods supported with sociolinguistic description, I aim to bridge the gap in the present literature and more fully explain how language may influence experiences in college for non-standardized speakers of English.

Methods

Basic interpretive qualitative methods (Merriam, 2002) were employed to explore the influence of language on rural Appalachian students' college experiences and also used sociolinguistic analysis methods (Labov, 1984) to add rich and thick description of the speech of participants. Merriam notes that qualitative research, "is designed to uncover or discover the meanings people have constructed about a particular phenomenon" (p.19), in this case, being a college student who is speaker of a variety of Appalachian English at a university located outside of Appalachia. The study involved the use of qualitative interviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002) during which students were asked to discuss their experiences in college and how these experiences might have been influenced by the dialect they speak.

Participants in the study were traditionally aged college students from rural, Southern Appalachian who are currently attending a large research university in an urban Southern city. Students who indicated on their initial university application that they graduated from a

county in rural Southern Appalachia (the borders of Appalachia used for this study included the counties identified as falling within Appalachia by the Appalachian Regional Commission) were contacted via email by the researcher, and were asked if they met further criteria such as having lived in the area since before age 12 (the “critical period” for dialect/language acquisition) and if at least one of their parents had been born and raised in Appalachia (ensuring significant sociocultural ties to the region). Participants were interviewed until data saturation was reached. This included twenty-six students (See Appendix A).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in one-on-one settings and took place on campus at Southern State University. Interviews were audio recorded. The interview protocol included questions related to their language use and experiences they have had in college, including how they believe others on campus view them based on their speech, how their interactions are influenced by language, how they feel performance in class, course selection and major selection are influenced by language, how sense of belonging and academic identity are influenced by language, and participation in campus activities and use of resources influenced by language. The average interview length was around 40 minutes. Seven participants also participated in follow-up interviews, during which we further discussed ideas we had talked about during the initial interview.

Interviews were transcribed by a professional service as well as by the researcher, and were initially approached using a priori codes (Saldaña, 2009). This coding framework was directly tied to the research questions and conceptual framework. It was used to explore

existing (or nonexistent) notions of standard language ideology, linguistic hegemony, and codes of power in higher education in the participants' responses, and a priori codes also reflected the interview protocol. Apart from a priori codes, the interviews were also approached for other emerging themes that arose from the interviews and were unanticipated, such as the influence of a faculty role model. Initial coding was performed by the researcher using the qualitative analysis software NVIVO (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 10, 2012.) and a peer coder (a faculty member with a background in sociolinguistics and education) reviewed the codes to enhance credibility and transferability, or what Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest are the qualitative equivalents of internal validity and external validity respectively. Member checking was also employed to enhance credibility. I shared tentative findings with participants and gave them the opportunity to comment on them. Roughly half of the participants responded, and those responding were unanimous in agreement that the findings were authentically portrayed their experiences and perceptions.

In order to better describe and understand the experiences of participants in relation to the dialect they speak, sociolinguistic analysis techniques were used to analyze the language used by participants. This analysis provided supplementary information to the students' shared experiences. I aimed to provide a general description of how "standardized" or "vernacular" the dialect of each speaker is through analysis of morphosyntax (grammar) and salient phonological (pronunciation) features. Morphosyntax, or grammar, was analyzed by examining transcripts and recording observations of non-standardized grammatical features, such as irregular past participle usage (e.g. "Before I had *came* to college") and negative

concord (e.g. “They *don't* have *no* time), and noting the number of instances non-standardized formations are used as a percentage of the number of times in which they could have occurred. That is to say, in all of the times the speaker used a past participle, how many times did the speaker use an irregular form? Not all speakers used the same non-standardized grammar (or any non-standardized grammar) and the percentages were counted individually (e.g. a participant might use negative concord at a rate of 90% while zero instance of irregular past participle usage because there was never an opportunity to do so- no past participles of any form were used).

In terms of phonology, rather than completing an exhaustive inventory of the pronunciation features of each speaker, I selected the variable which has arguably the highest level of psychosocial salience- ungliding of /ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments (for example, articulating the word *nice* as “nahhs” or *bite* as “baht.” A voiceless consonant is one which is articulated without vibration of the vocal folds) For each speaker I used formant analysis techniques to measure at least seven to ten instances of /ay/ in pre-voiceless and pre-voiced phonetic environments for each speaker, following the recommended methods set forth by Thomas (2011). Ungliding of /ay/ in pre-voiced phonetic environments is common in many Southern dialects, but unglided, or monophthongal /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments (a feature commonly associated with varieties of Appalachian English) remains stigmatized even by other Southerners, and thus serves as a good marker vernacularity among speakers (Greene, 2010). Formant analysis was performed using the acoustic analysis software Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2009) and measures the formant values (here, the

values of the first two resonant frequencies) of selected phonemes, or sounds, resulting in measurements (measured in Hertz) which can be plotted visually using software such as NORM (Thomas & Kendall, 2007). Each vowel sound will have distinct formant values that distinguish it from other vowel sounds. For example, the vowel sound /i/ (the vowel sound in the word “beet”) might have first (F1) and second formant (F2) values of 300 and 2200 Hz respectively, while the vowel /æ/ (the vowel sound in the word “bat”) might have F1 of 650 Hz and F2 of 1700 Hz. The first formant tells us how high the vowel is in vowel space and the second formant tells us how front or back the vowel is articulated. Thus, when the formant values are plotted with F1 on the y-axis and F2 on the x-axis, we see that /i/ and /æ/ occupy very different spaces- /i/ is produced higher and toward the front of the mouth, while /æ/ is lower and farther back. Additionally, looking at the change in the value of the second formant from the beginning of a vowel to the end can tell us whether or not the vowel was articulated as a diphthong (two sounds per syllable) or monophthong (one sound per syllable). In this study, I took measurement of the vowel /ay/ 25 milliseconds after the beginning (the nucleus) and 25 milliseconds from the end (the glide). This way, I could empirically justify our perceptual observations of when /ay/ was produced as a diphthong and when it was unglided, or more monophthongal.

I then used the thick description of participants’ speech patterns in conjunction with their description of their experiences. Those participants who are considered to be “more vernacular” in this study are those who monophthongize /ay/ (have a weakened glide) in pre-voiceless contexts. Not all speakers who have a weakened /ay/ glide also use non-

standardized grammar, but only one speaker who used non-standardized grammar did not also have a distinctly weakened /ay/ glide in pre-voiceless environments. Further, variation in /e/ vowels among the group was not significantly different from local norms in the Southern State University campus area based on data provided by Dodsworth and Kohn (2012a). Therefore, /ay/ ungliding in pre-voiceless environments is used in this study as a proxy for being considered more vernacular. Additionally, I use my perceptions as a Southerner, former resident of Appalachia, and familiarity with Southern State campus to describe a few students whose /ay/ glide is not significantly weakened in pre-voiceless environments, but whose speech may still draw attention on campus.

Findings

The findings of this study suggested that language plays some role in the academic experiences of the more vernacular students in terms of certain aspects of course participation and had implications for students' feelings about what type of language is considered scholarly. Findings also highlighted characteristics about the weight that students put on academic merit versus speech. That is to say, many participants believe that a person's achievements and abilities should be given more consideration than the way that a person speaks.

Elements of course participation and performance can be influenced for more vernacular students

Several more vernacular participants indicated that they believe that some aspects of their participation and performance in college courses were influenced by language. Some

indicated that they were afraid to speak up in class, because they have language related concerns about public speaking in general, because the degree to which they felt comfortable in the class was influenced by language, or because they had issues with writing. Most of the participants who indicated that their performance was influenced by language were speakers of more vernacular, stigmatized dialects which include the stigmatized phonological feature monophthongal /ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments (for example, pronouncing the word “rice” as “rahs” or “tight” as “taht”).

Speaking up in class. Several participants who use stigmatized phonological and morphological features suggested that they were less likely to speak up in class because they are afraid of peers and faculty perceiving them as being less intelligent because of their speech. They indicated being aware of stereotypes associated with Southern Appalachian speech as being “hillbilly” or less educated and credible, and some cite instances of seeing peers with stigmatized dialects speaking up in class and being laughed at or mocked. Apprehension about this happening to them has, in several cases, prompted participants who believe their speech to be stigmatized to be more reticent than they would like to be in class:

I have public speaking next semester, so I’m dreading that, but any time I’ve had to speak in front of someone that was not professional-wise, I don’t like that cause I don’t know how everybody understands me or if they’re slowly judging the way I talk. (Jessica)

I notice myself like this year especially I don't really speak up too much in class and stuff like that unless I feel really comfortable and I'm in there with a lot of my peers that are my friends. But beyond that like in other classes I don't say too much, 'cause I can hear you know, people snickering or stuff like that when I talk. (Christopher)

They think I'm dumber than I am a lot of times. It's like in a political science class, I always - I hated speaking up because it seemed like everybody was not really paying any attention to what I said because of my accent. (Emily)

'Cause I notice now, some people that have a stronger accent than I do, when they say something [in class], everyone kind of giggles or looks at them funny. And I kinda don't wanna be put in the spotlight like that. (Megan)

Apart from regular participation in class in the form of answering questions or participating in class discussions, when public speaking is a direct requirement (in the form of class presentations and especially for public speaking courses themselves) some students who are speakers of more vernacular Appalachian dialects had more concerns than those whose speech is more standardized (in the milieu of a Southern state). Speakers like Isabelle, Sara, Vince and Robert whose speech is fairly standardized generally indicate that public speaking is not a major cause for concern due to language, though some like Isabelle, suggest that if her dialect were more Southern Appalachian, she believes that people might not take her as seriously. Robert, whose speech is almost hyper-standardized, indicates that he has

intentionally made an effort to not sound Appalachian, says that part of the reason he did so is because:

I wanted to make sure that the way I conducted myself in the classroom and in front of classrooms that my speech wasn't a topic of discussion.

For the speakers of more stigmatized dialects, there are concerns about being literally understood by their peers and professors, and this can also be a cause for concern for these students prior to speaking in class:

I tried when I had to do a presentation or talk with anybody, it was as much trying to figure out what I need to say as *how* I'm gonna say it. (Jason)

I don't mind speaking in larger classes but I don't prefer them because if you do speak up then half the people in the class are gonna be like, "What in the world is he saying?" (Joseph)

But we're really good at doing that [changing pronunciation] cause some people can't understand me well. So I've learned very- how to enunciate a lot different.

Intentionally I plan it. (Patty)

Because I'd do that [change her speech] and when I make presentations I try and speak with my standard accent because I figure that something I'll say would be misunderstood or not understood at all (Rachel)

Rachel further suggests that she employs the strategy of changing her speech in class not only to be understood, but also because she believes that if she did not: “That would like lower my grade and I’m not going to sacrifice my grade.” Concerns about being laughed at and not taken seriously as well as concerns about not being understood may inhibit more vernacular speakers from engaging in class discussion and being fully engaged in the class. However, even some of the more vernacular speakers note that though their participation might be impacted by these concerns, their performance in the course in terms of grades is rarely impacted, perhaps because like Rachel, they attempt to standardize their speech in class or perhaps because their academic merits are weighted more heavily by faculty than their speech:

But that’s just- that’s kind of I guess put a damper on my participation level, but it’s not my performance or anything. I still do well in the classes. I just don’t interact with the professor as much. (Christopher)

John points out that because most of his classes are in STEM disciplines, speech does not matter much and thus he suggests that he does not believe that language has influenced the grades he receives:

Most of my classes have been- you do some math and you get a number answer, that’s not based on how well you talk, other than my English classes when giving a speech.

Nonetheless, regardless of the grade outcome for the more vernacular students, the fact that they might be less likely to speak up in class may detract from being fully engaged in the

course. Furthermore, other students in the course do not benefit from the ideas and information these students have to share. The more vernacular students' individual personalities, whether or not they are confident in their academic abilities and whether or not they are proud or ashamed of their speech also seem to influence the degree to which they feel their participation in class is influenced by speech. For example, Kelly, who is quite confident in herself and in her abilities, suggests:

...I was just kind of the type to go with it, so I was usually pretty much an outgoing person so it really didn't bug me to raise my hand in class freshman year. I didn't think about it. I'm sure other people had something to think when they heard me speak out, but, ehh. (Kelly)

This idea, that a student's confidence in their academic abilities, overall confidence, and a belief that works should be weighted more heavily than one's speech influences class participation will be discussed in further detail later.

Degree of comfort in a course. Another aspect of how language can influence students in the college classroom is the influence on how comfortable or uncomfortable a student is in a class based on their speech and the speech of others. This might mean how comfortable the student is actually attending a class or how comfortable a student might believe that he or she *would be* taking a class. In the first case, consider for example, how language is sometimes used as a proxy for assumptions about a speaker's values and beliefs and how prejudices based on those assumptions can come to play in the classroom setting. Southern American English, particularly dialects of Appalachian English, are often associated in the media with

those who are less educated or narrow-minded (Lippi-Green 1997). One participant, Christopher, whose phonology marked by the stigmatized Southern Appalachian variant of monophthongal/ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments, notes that although he believes himself to be open minded and accepting, peers and faculty in his humanities courses have made opposing negative assumptions about him based on his speech which made him feel very uncomfortable in the courses:

Christopher: It was awful. We butted heads all the time, ‘cause she would always, you know- any type of country thing or whatever she’d look and talk to us [Christopher and a peer with a stigmatized dialect]. And we’d just stand out, right there in the middle of class. It was like, ‘Stop!’

Interviewer: Yeah. Have there been other teachers who made you the voice of?

Christopher: Yeah. I took, unfortunately, race and ethnic relations in the U.S., and that was miserable. That was awful, ‘cause I was the enemy basically of the entire class. And we had [mock-imitating instructor], ‘a prime example of somebody who’s ‘country’ sitting right here.’ It was bad. (Christopher).

Emily, whose phonology is noticeably Southern Appalachian, mentioned that she felt her peers in political science classes and science classes judged her based on her speech and she is unlikely to enroll in those types of courses if she can avoid them:

Yeah. I wouldn't take a – I guess I wouldn't take a political science class again, and I wouldn't take a – like a science class again.... Because you have to pronounce

everything perfectly there; and I just felt like that it was a really pretentious attitude in some of those classes that I took.

In those classes she felt that her peers were quick to judge her speech and it made her uncomfortable:

They'd just be really quick to correct you. Or even if I slipped up on my grammar or something, like nothing – I mean I would never say any ‘y’uns’ in those classes. But I don't know. They would just be real quick to correct anybody that said anything that was incorrect.... You just felt like you needed to sound like everybody else; and you'll sound smarter if you dropped the accent.

On the reverse side, some of the more vernacular students indicate that the speech of others, including peers and faculty, at times makes them feel at ease in a course and free to be themselves, particularly in courses related to Agriculture, which attract many students from rural areas:

I really enjoy my animal science classes, ‘cause most everyone in the major, I think, sort of speaks the way I do, so that really- I guess the comfort thing again. (Megan)

Other students suggested that the speech of the faculty member teaching the class (or the attitudes about language the teacher held) made them feel comfortable in that environment.

John was enrolled in a class on the history of North Carolina taught by a speaker of an eastern North Carolina dialect:

“Dr. Doe” taught it, he was from eastern North Carolina, so you could kind of relate with him so that made it more comfortable. (John)

And Emily mentions that when she was enrolled in a linguistics course for teacher education majors, the attitudes of her professor made her feel accepted:

Oh I just loved it, I just loved it. Like he would use me for an example sometimes, but it wasn't in a demeaning way. And yeah, yeah; he was great. He didn't make anybody feel like we needed to change the way we spoke or anything like that. (Emily)

For other students, the degree of comfort they feel (or anticipate that they may feel) in a class due to language is more related to the subject matter. Jason indicates that he feels less comfortable in humanities courses, perhaps as the result of language. When asked if there are certain classes he feels less comfortable taking due to language, he responded:

English classes and stuff where I have to – or communication classes where I have to present or talk or – really, I'm in an English class right now. It's more modern and old English together. And I really struggle with that. I don't know if that's affected by language or what.

Another student, Thomas, whose phonology and morphosyntax are actually fairly standardized Southern English suggests something similar:

I guess English classes are always on the ball at pronunciation and things like that. Presentation classes, communication-type classes, those type of kinda class are the ones that I guess I generally avoid.

Patty echoes the others in reference to English courses, where she felt less comfortable:

I guess in English 101 [she felt less comfortable]. I was the weird one cause I was the only one that talked funny.

Although some of the more vernacular students indicated that their degree of comfort in a course was influenced at times by language, none of the participants indicated that they would not enroll in a course they needed for their major because of language related concerns. Several participants also suggested that when considering registering for a course required for a major or minor, language related concerns were not a top concern as much as the content of the course. Nonetheless, once enrolled in the course, the degree of comfort students feel can be influenced by language. As such, while these students would not necessarily avoid a required course because of language, they may find themselves in uncomfortable situations when they have no choice but to take a class, though they feel marginalized or once in the course.

Feeling additional barriers not faced by standardized speakers in academic settings.

Several of the more vernacular speakers in this study indicated in various ways that they feel that they face challenges in the classroom that students who speak more standardized, privileged varieties of English do not encounter. The speakers in this study who speak more standardized varieties did not indicate that they face these challenges, but a few recognized that other students from their home region who speak more salient regional dialects may encounter them. These challenges may be that more vernacular feel they have to put forth an extra effort to prove their intelligence and make more efforts in their writing. Additionally, and somewhat unrelated to language, several students noted that they felt that the schools in their home region prepared them less well than their urban peers, and they note feeling at a loss at times in the classroom because of this. As nearly all participants note that Appalachian

dialects are often associated with being a “hillbilly” and being perceived as less educated, feeling academically underprepared on top of speaking a stigmatized dialect could cause additional classroom anxiety.

Several speakers in this study, regardless of their level of vernacularity, indicated that they believed that speakers of stronger dialects of Appalachian English face more challenges in college than speakers of more standardized varieties. Robert, one of the most standardized speakers who also mentions several times how proud he is not to sound Appalachian (through efforts he has made to adapt his speech), talks about what he believes are challenges a more vernacular speaker would face in college:

I was able to identify people from the same area I was from and recognize that they don't come across as intelligent whenever they use those sort- I don't know if it's dialect or what is the right term I'm supposed to be using or just they way they sound. It doesn't reflect their potential as a student or their actual performance as a student and I didn't want to have any sort of barrier that could keep me from getting a position or from getting a TA position where they would have to do an interview where they would see if I was qualified based upon how I was able to carry myself in a conversation. I wouldn't want that to inhibit and so far I think it doesn't.

Robert elaborates on perceived barriers that may come along with speaking a stigmatized dialect:

I'm just very proud that I don't have that barrier to keep me from interacting with students or interacting with professors, and I feel as if coming from a small town in

the South that to not- I don't wanna say overcome the barrier of not having the dialect, but I feel as if it's – I feel accomplished that even growing up in a small town, small area, I am able to say things without having to reiterate or explain or watch people smile about the way I'm talking cause they're generally interested in how I pronounce things, and it's just, its nice to not have to go over those barriers.

Other students like Jessica, who is the only African American speaker in the study, indicates that she believes she faces challenges based on speech that more standardized students do not, such as being viewed as less professional. Responding to being asked how she feels about her belief that her variety of English is stereotyped as being “country” and “unprofessional,” she says:

I think it's pretty dumb, and then me being black, it's kind of a double whammy. And a female. That's a triple whammy. (Jessica).

Other students reflect this sentiment that they have had additional hurdles to overcome in academic life in college as a result of their speech:

I think that I had to work a little bit harder to prove to people not from North Carolina that yes, I am just as applicable as you are to this (Elizabeth)

I'm not automatically stupid because they think I am right now. But yea, I guess it does kind of affect you a little bit 'cause you know that they think you're not as smart. So then you kinda feel like you have to prove yourself to them. And I don't

think you should have to, but you kinda feel that way. It's like, I'm not stupid; here, I'll prove it. (Megan)

Christopher suggests that perhaps these barriers decrease over time as the result of getting used to them:

I used to like in the early classes and stuff. I felt like I had to do more and do everything I could to prove everybody else wrong but not really anymore. Became immune to it I guess and just do what everybody else does as a student. (Christopher)

Not directly related to language but worth noting is that several speakers in the study indicated that they felt academically underprepared coming to this institution. Although this is not directly tied to language, feeling academically underprepared coupled with feelings of linguistics inadequacy in academia could influence the challenges or barriers students feel they face. Nearly all the participants point out that they know that others stereotype Appalachian speech as less educated and unintelligent, and so even if they feel very academically prepared they might feel inadequate. If they feel unprepared and also feel badly about their speech, this could present academic and psychological hurdles to overcome.

Some of the students talked about feeling academically underprepared:

...I didn't feel I was prepared so I did good my first semester, but okay my second one which hurt me. But overall, I feel academically I wasn't where I needed to be for a college like this. (Jessica)

In high school I felt like I was higher academically....then I get here and I feel stupid. I don't know if it was the way I talk or what. But you did notice for some reason there was a difference. And I mean even the people talk, said something and they had a stronger accent, you kinda immediately- even some people would perceive them as not quite as intelligent. (Maddy)

Whereas here, there are so many people and I felt like I didn't necessarily have the knowledge to be capable of being such a great student because the subjects were so hard and the classes were hard and there were so many people that were so much smarter than me. (Lana)

I know some smart people who have an accent. Unfortunately, this isn't really like a- it's not really an accent preference on whether it makes you smart or not as most of the people that have an accent are from the mountains. And there ain't nothing wrong with the mountains except for this little thing called the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction tends to forget about you once you hit about Hickory...(Patty)

These students note feeling academically underprepared, but they also suggest that they became more confident in their academic ability after an adjustment period either because they were good students in high school or because they describe themselves as being confident in general. It is not uncommon for students to feel unprepared academically, particularly in the first years of college, but it is worth noting that students who speak a non-standardized

dialect have an added layer which may exacerbate feelings of being academically unprepared: language. While other students who feel underprepared but fly under the radar so to speak, students who speak non-standardized dialects may subject to stereotypes about intelligence levels when speaking out in class and thus have their academic insecurities “put on display,” however inaccurately or unfairly. Nonetheless, several participants suggest that their confidence in their abilities allowed them to succeed despite this:

I know that my success as a student comes from my abilities instead of the way I talk. I change the way I talk though to keep people from automatically judging me so they don't see me as some dumb hillbilly. (Lauren)

However, although many participants indicate that they have seemingly adjusted well, it raises questions about what the experiences are like for students who are similarly vernacular in speech but less confident in their academic abilities or self-assured in general.

The Role of Language in Academic Identity

Language can possibly influence academic identity, or how a student sees him or herself fitting into the academic community. If students feel that their natural speech is not a variety which is valued in academic settings, they may feel a pressure to change and struggle with this aspect of their academic and personal identity (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). Many participants in this study suggested that they have, in some ways, felt a pressure to

change their speech to accommodate the language norms they perceived to exist in the university. For some students this means completely changing their speech at all times, for other it means switching in certain situations only. The more standardized speakers generally indicate that they do not feel the same pressure to change that more vernacular speakers do, and some more standardized speakers are those who have already felt this pressure and preemptively adjusted their speech to avoid stigma.

Sounding like a scholar. For several of the students in this study, coming to college was the first time that they realized that their way of speaking was different or marginalized. Some also made observations about how faculty sound and how “the model student” sounds. In terms of faculty, the students noted (regardless of their level of vernacularity) that their instructors typically do not sound Southern or Appalachian:

I’ve noticed that a lot of the professors don’t have country accents like mine
(Elizabeth)

I feel like it’s scholarly and scholars don’t have southern accents. There’s not hardly anyone in the anthropology department that actually has a southern accent, which is kind of weird....There are several teachers at my high school who had very southern accents but here in the university setting I don’t feel like professors have southern accents and so I feel like that’s also an easy way to kind of hide or ignore your accent that you have and that would go into my image of a better student. I think that goes back to having a southern accent people tend to think that you are less smart. (Sara)

Again, it's more like the general non-accent type speech. You've always got the professors from other countries and things like that and they've always got the accent from the country. But other than that again, just like a general non-accent type of talk.
(Thomas)

Apart from noticing that faculty generally do not exhibit strong regional dialects (other than those for whom English is a second language), students in the study also expressed a range of ideas about what the model college student should sound like, or what students should sound like to be taken seriously in college. Some believed that speech should not matter because academic merit is more important, while others believed that language is very important in being seen as a scholar. Students who believed that speech should not matter indicated:

No I don't think so [that speech matters] because like I said, I've met very well-educated people that have a southern accent and I've also met very well-educated people who don't. (Rebecca)

No, I think- I guess it's perceived that they shouldn't have [a regional accent]. But in my opinion, it shouldn't matter. As long as they know what they're talking about, it shouldn't matter how they say it. (Megan)

I've come to realize that it doesn't matter how you talk at all, it depends on your personality (John)

Other students believe that when considering what a model college student sounds like, having a regional accent is not a good thing:

You don't think of the model student being from western North Carolina or really far eastern North Carolina, or from- I don't know. You think of a neutral accent with a high vocabulary and lives in the city and does this and this. (Joseph)

I think someone who has a really nice accent like you can't really tell where they're from [is what a model student sounds like]. Isabelle

I guess when I imagine that [a model student] I'd say they're non-regional. Or British...Probably in the eyes of others I mean I'd say that I wouldn't ever be considered a model student like just from hearing me speak in class. Kind of lazy speech. I wouldn't associate the way I speak with the model student, even though- you know. (Emily)

I think the accent would be more neutral, simply because there's always the possibility that if you get the student body president up on the stage and they sound like a country hick, people are not gonna take 'em as seriously as they maybe would somebody with a normal accent who could speak in a professional way.... So definitely the neutral. (Lana)

Still, despite the fact that some students believe that those who are taken seriously in academia sound “neutral,” when asked directly whether or not language has influenced the way that they see themselves as students, many participants indicated that it does not. However, some participants like Hank, Kelly, Lauren, Christopher, and others note that while it does not influence how they see *themselves* as scholars, they do believe that the way they speak influences how their peers (and in some cases, faculty and staff) may view them as scholars. The confidence of the participants who note that the way they speak does not influence the way they view themselves as students can be explained by the fact that many participants indicate a belief that their works should define them, not their speech. Thus, although they believe others might not view them as being intelligent, their confidence helps them to push past this:

It doesn't really [influence the way I see myself as a student] cause I'm pretty confident in my abilities I guess....I'm just gonna keep on doing what I'm doing cause its worked so far and I keep making good grades. And it works for me. I don't care if it works for them [peers, faculty/staff]. (John)

No I don't think so. I mean I know I'm capable of doing the work. And sometimes I'll get frustrated if somebody wants to laugh at the way I speak but it doesn't get to me really. (Emily)

Not really no. I mean, I guess I'm not trying to sound cocky or anything but I mean my grades reflect that I put in the work and I get the grade that I deserve.

(Christopher)

Related to this idea, some students like Kelly also suggest that they believe that a person's academic merit should be held in higher esteem than the way that person speaks:

In aero[space engineering] I've had my friends say, 'You really should, you know, think about trying to take some speech therapy' and I'm like, 'No, I'm not gonna change myself for anybody else.' I'm like, 'My grades speak for themselves.' (Kelly)

Similarly, more vernacular students who feel confident in their academic abilities express an ability to look the positive side of what they perceive to be additional barriers or hurdles to overcome in academic settings. Many students indicate that they enjoy proving others wrong in instances when they believe themselves to have been judged as less intelligent by peers or faculty members in academic settings:

I like being in math classes and having my accent and doing well. Not as a 'stick it to the man' kind of thing completely, but I guess that it part of it. It's more a matter of I like being able to have this accent and do well in a class where I may not be what I envision as the ideal student. (Joseph)

I guess if they did [stereotype/judge me] I was determined to prove them wrong because, of course, my grandma had a farm and stuff so I did grow up on a farm but

I'm not uneducated by any means, I have a pretty high GPA so I was determined to prove them wrong and just show them I like that lifestyle but that doesn't mean we're all dumb or uneducated. We can do other things than run a tractor. (John)

I don't really want to sound like I'm not humble or anything, but I usually try and beat them at something and sound smart, which is pretty easy...I don't say straight out like, 'Quit telling me I'm dumb.' So I always let them figure it out the hard way and then they feel real dumb. They feel bad. (Rachel)

Once they find out you know, one, I'm a soc[iology] major, two, I've worked in housing, and 3) I'm a Marine, just what I've done I guess, "Yeah, he's not some stupid Southerner after all. [Laughs] You know that's definitely had some satisfaction. (Christopher)

Language seems to have some degree of influence on the ideas students have of characteristics of those who are taken seriously as scholars, though students exhibited a range of opinions on what type of speech matters to be viewed as a scholar. Most students seemed to suggest that they believe that what a person does or is capable of doing well academically is more important than how they sound, but interestingly, several vernacular participants suggested that they would switch to a more standardized variety of speech in situations such as job interviews or speaking with professors, contrary to their statement that academic merit should be viewed as more important than speech. This is somewhat contradictory and

highlights hegemonic ideology that these students have “bought into;” despite for the most part believing in themselves and their abilities, they are still aware that in some cases their abilities and accomplishments may not be enough to be accepted or viewed positively, and therefore they must change part of who they are.

Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that rural Appalachian students who speak a more stigmatized variety of English indicate feeling challenges in their academic experiences in college that students who are speakers of more standardized varieties might not face. Findings also suggest that students’ personal attributes may be influential in the degree to which they feel these challenges. For example, some students who speak stigmatized English but are very personally or academically confident believe that their works speak for them, more so than their speech. Additionally, although students’ opinions vary regarding whether or not a model college student speaks with a “neutral” dialect or regional dialect, many students, including some more vernacular students, suggest that although they are probably not viewed as model students due to their speech, they are undeterred due to beliefs in academic merit and confidence in themselves.

The finding that students’ participation and level of comfort in class being influenced by language for more vernacular students is interesting. The more standardized speaking students generally did not echo the concerns of the more vernacular students, indicating that a more “general” southern accent flies under the radar in classroom at SSU and highlights notions of linguistic hegemony and standard language ideology being pervasion on campus.

It is also interesting to note that students who are more vernacular indicated that although they are less likely to speak up in class, they do not believe their actual grade is strongly impacted by this fact. However, if they do not feel comfortable speaking up in class because there is fear of being mocked or being viewed as less intelligent by peers or professor, there is a problem that needs to be addressed. Several participants specifically cite seeing other peers being laughed at or mocked openly in class for speaking out as a reason for their hesitance to speak out in class. If experiences like these are the reason behind their hesitancy to speak out in class, this signifies a problem on campus that merits attention. These experiences do not seem to be unique to SSU; other studies such as Scott (2008) and White (2005) noted that speakers of stigmatized dialects were hesitant to speak in class. White (2005) found that by sitting down with students and deconstructing academic discourse, minority students who were hesitant to speak up in class due to feelings of linguistic inferiority and lack of knowledge of academic discourse were better able to feel comfortable expressing themselves in class and participation increased. Rather than labeling vernacular students as less promising or linguistically deficient, student affairs professionals and faculty members themselves can become involved in mentoring students and teaching them the language of the academy in order to participate in the culture of power.

The fact that language can also influence how comfortable more vernacular students may feel in certain classroom environments is also important. Although even the more vernacular participants indicated that ultimately, if they need a class to graduate they would not avoid it specifically because of language and that generally speaking they do not select

classes based on how comfortable they might think they will be in a class based on language, once they are enrolled in a class how comfortable they feel being there is important to their success and sense of belonging in the academic community. This is not simply a matter of feeling comfortable with peers. As Christopher indicated, he was singled out in more than one class by the instructor based on his language and used as a representative for an entire group of people. In “Teaching for Inclusion: Diversity in the Classroom,” the authors suggest that:

Geographic origin is a ‘semi-invisible’ kind of diversity which, if addressed properly, can be an asset to a classroom. It can be a source of discomfort for students, however, if they feel they are the target of discrimination because of where they grew up.

(University of North Carolina Press, p. 92).

The inclusion of language as an element of diversity should be considered by instructors when attempting to foster a welcoming and inclusive college classroom environment and used, as previously noted, as an asset.

Another significant finding is that many of the more vernacular students indicate feeling like they have to work harder to prove themselves to their peers and faculty because of their speech (more standardized speakers do not indicate this). Many students indicate that they feel concerns about being taken seriously by peers and faculty members in the classroom and one might assume that this adds to anxiety. The fact that they feel that their variety of English is less valued in such a way that they must work harder to overcome the perceptions others may have about them because of it again underscores notions of SLI and

linguistic hegemony which create barriers on campus. This may have implications for their academic and psychosocial development. If students feel like they have to work harder than others, one might assume that students may eventually become resentful of feeling a need to prove their merit or perhaps opt for an environment that is less challenging and more welcoming. Studies such as Hibbett (2005) suggest that it is not uncommon for minority student populations to feel a need to “prove” themselves on campus. Hibbett found that among African American students at Harvard Law School, those who had attended HBCUs felt that their undergraduate environment had prepared them in such a way that they felt less pressure to “prove” themselves in graduate school. If Appalachian students who speak more vernacular varieties of English feel a need to prove themselves, this is possibly an indication of deficits in how welcoming and nurturing the current campus environment at SSU is. Anecdotally, many of the participants mention peers from their high schools who left Appalachian for college only to return home after a semester or two, and it is not illogical to raise the question that if feeling this extra burden of sensing a need to work harder and prove their abilities is not a compounding factor in their decision not to persist. This would not necessarily be surprising, as Mallinson and Charity Hudley (2011) suggest that students who feel their speech is devalued in academic settings, “may even resist feeling like their language and culture are looked down upon in academic settings by disengaging from the standardized English-speaking school culture and climate altogether” (p. 243).

Tied to the idea of feeling additional hurdles to overcome because of language, students, particularly more vernacular students, note that faculty on campus do not sound like

them, and most students in the study (regardless of speech) seemed to indicate that whether or not they think it should be so, they believe that the model college student is one who sounds neutral. This underscores notions of linguistic hegemony present in academic settings (Bourdieu, 1977; Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012) and the idea that college students who are speakers of stigmatized dialects may adopt the belief that to be successful and taken seriously, they must aim for a standardized variety of speech (McBride, 2006; Scott, 2008). Additionally, the more vernacular students indicate that they believe in the merit of their work and think that it should be held in higher regard than the perceptions people have of them because of their speech. They suggest that they enjoy proving others wrong when they have been stereotyped as unintelligent or country. However, the students who say this (and truthfully most of the students who participated in this study) are above average students who have made significant academic achievements. These are students who are generally confident in their academic abilities and will push through additional barriers possibly because of personal factors such as work ethic, self-efficacy beliefs, etc., and are undeterred by the apparent realization that the model college student and “scholars don’t sound Southern.” However, what does this mean for students who are less academically confident and also speakers of stigmatized English? Will a “C” student be able to remain as confident in belonging at a rigorous institution when they feel the extra need to prove that they belong there? When they are not able to identify faculty or “model” students who sounds like they are from a similar background? Students in this study like Rachel and Kelly mentions that they enjoy proving people wrong when they are assumed to be less intelligent or qualified

and can do so with their stellar GPAs and achievements. What about the student who, try as he may, struggles to earn average grades. Without the grades to “back up” their intelligence, will they feel unable to prove others wrong and experience damaged self-esteem and lowered self-efficacy? There are possible implications here for student persistence and achievement considering Tinto’s (1993) theory of student attribution, suggesting that the university can possibly do more to help more vernacular, less outstanding students feel included and valued as part of the campus community.

Conversely, there are students like Robert, who is very bright and academically motivated who mentions several times in our interview how very important it is to him to not sound Southern Appalachian. He has, in a sense, “bought into” the hegemony and recognizes due to his perceived existence of SLI and linguistic hegemony on campus that he might be penalized for speaking a certain way. For him, he does not mind making this change because he personally prefers more standardized sounding speech, but what about students for whom dialect is an important identity marker? This could result in feeling conflicted over who they are and where they come from versus eliminating an additional hurdle in order to not feel the need to prove themselves, as Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) suggest.

The experiences of students also illustrate how linguistic hegemony and SLI play out in education in the form of what Delpit (1995) describes as codes of power in education. Students recognize that there is a language of power and that they may or may not already be speakers of it. Those who already do (the more standardized speakers) do not indicate difficulty in navigating situations in college in which language might be an influencing

factor. However, several of the more standardized speaking students do indicate that they recognize that their peers who speak non-standardized dialects likely face difficulties (such as being stereotyped as unintelligent). Some of the more standardized participants indicate that they have changed their way of speaking to a degree to avoid this. As such, while these students have avoided challenges by changing their speech, they remain aware of the “threats” of reverting to their natural speech patterns in academic settings, and this may create for them a level of internal struggle or anxiety (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). Some of the more vernacular students who recognize the power that standardized language has in academia (and beyond) have either developed an ability to code-switch, are trying to do so, or outright refuse to because of personal convictions. In many interviews, even the students who suggest that they believe in academic merit over speech admit that there are times on campus during which they switch to a more standardized variety, notably around faculty members and during group projects with peers. Many also suggest that when they begin looking for jobs they have considered the implications of speaking a stigmatized dialect and many plan to switch to a more standardized variety in this situation. Regardless of beliefs about whether it is right or wrong, the majority of speakers in this study have in some way, “bought in” to SLI and linguistic hegemony and acknowledge resulting codes of power. When these students leave academia and enter the job force, more vernacular students may perpetuate these ideas by shifting to more standardized varieties, standardized speakers may continue to promote their privileged variety, and those who have already made the switch may feel pressure to continue to do so. Those who refuse may see limited access to the

culture of power, or as Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) suggest, be seen as “willfully ignorant.” In any case, without intervention in a place of learning and a place primed to do it, academia will not help break these cycles unless they are acknowledged and the culture of power will continue to value only linguistic varieties deemed as “standard” rather than being open to plurality of diverse voices.

Conclusions and Implications

Language is not often addressed as an element of diversity on college campuses, but the findings in this study suggest that it can be influential in certain aspects of students’ academic experiences, particularly if the students’ first dialect is one which is stigmatized by mainstream culture. Among numerous implications from this study, this section will discuss two implications for practice and two implications for theory and future research. First, in terms of implications for practice, on a large scale, the findings of this study have implications for the messages that colleges and universities send to students (and faculty and staff) about what types of English (and by default, what elements of certain cultures) are valued on campus. Some students (current or potential) may be excluded when standardized varieties are the only ones displayed in public discourse and when non-standardized varieties are eschewed as being less scholarly. Several participants noted that upon their first visit to college campuses, the language of their orientation counselors and the faculty and staff with whom they spoke influenced how well they thought they would fit in on that campus. As such, some students might feel excluded before they start when we encourage standardized speech. Institutions of higher education should carefully consider linguistic diversity as an

element of diversity to be highlighted to become inclusive environments for diverse student populations. Further, certain rural Appalachians are not the only speakers of stigmatized dialects on campus. Students from rural areas, minority students, international students, and students whose speech is otherwise marked may experience similar challenges, which can be exacerbated when compounded with other characteristics such as being first-generation or low SES. Because language use is socially stratified, low SES students might feel that their speech marks them as different on campus. With most colleges and universities having linguistically diverse student populations, linguistic diversity should be included as part of university wide diversity efforts. There may be many students on campus who struggle with dialect/language related issues about which scholars and scholar-practitioners are currently unaware. This study suggests that educating students, faculty and staff could possibly improve how campus members view each other based on speech, decrease negative assumptions and stereotypes about language, and diminish some of the need for speakers of stigmatized varieties to feel a need to prove themselves. Education may take the form of dialect diversity workshops for students, faculty and staff, and making efforts to incorporate dialect diversity as an element of existing diversity programming. Dialect diversity can also be addressed in certain courses on campus, such as courses related to cultural diversity, first year English courses, social justice courses, and others. There is a growing body of dialect diversity resources for educators available online, in print, and in visual and audio media. For example, the Public Broadcasting Company has a website and documentary entitled, “Do You Speak American?” which contain material appropriate for teaching dialect diversity to

the public (Friedenberg, 2005). Another resource, “Understanding English Language Variation in U.S. Schools” (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011) is a text oriented more toward K-12 educators, but is easily adaptable for college students. “Talkin' Tar Heel: Voices of North Carolina” (Wolfram & Reaser, forthcoming) will also provide perspectives on understanding dialect diversity through the context of dialect diversity within the state of North Carolina. These type of resources can be made for audiences of non-linguists, and provide thorough, positively-framed guidance for understanding and teaching language diversity. They can easily be adapted for shorter presentations (such as video vignettes for short programs) or used long term as part of a course or lecture series.

The second implication for practice occurs on a more micro level. These findings have implications for considerations made by faculty members when developing open and welcoming classroom environments. Lawry (2012) suggests that the first class and the first moments of class are critical in setting the tenor for the classroom environment. Faculty may choose to use these first moments to set an open and welcoming tone, perhaps by using a favorite expression from their native dialect in order to model the idea that speaking your native dialect in the classroom is accepted and welcomed. Faculty may also choose to be careful when assessing students based on dialect and communicative practices. White (2005) suggests that in addition to considering language when being culturally sensitive to students and their needs in the classroom, “educators must understand that a failure to participate does not necessarily reflect disrespect for the teacher or the class, a disinterest in the subject matter, or apathy in general” (p. 23).

It is also worthwhile to consider what ideologies our faculty hold that they may pass on to students. Mackey (1978) notes that “only before God and linguists are all languages equal” (p. 7) and many instructors may still be biased against non-standardized varieties such as Appalachian English (Mallinson & Charity Hudley, 2011). Examples from this study, such as Christopher, who was singled out by instructors in at least two classes for his speech, suggests that college educators can make better use of linguistic diversity in classrooms and be more sensitive to this aspect of students’ culture and identity. Instructors can moderate class discussions, incorporate this element of diversity in classes to make everyone feel accepted and valued. Further, the acknowledgement of linguistic diversity in the classroom is not only important just for students who speak non-standardized dialects. It is just as important, if not more important for standardized speakers who already enjoy the privilege associated with their speech. Zuidema (2005), cites Wilson (2001) who says that, “Students who feel smug about their use of Standard English will benefit from understanding the linguistic strengths of speakers of other dialects” (p. 32) and Zuidema goes on to note that educating the standardized speakers is critical because, “to ignore the ‘smug’ students is a grave mistake, for these are the people who hold—or, as adults, will hold— much of the power that allows linguistic stigmatization and discrimination to continue” (p.667).

The findings from this study also have implications for theory and future research. Some of the more vernacular participants suggested that in some way, their participation in class was influenced by language, mainly due to fear of being stereotyped as being less intelligent or uneducated. This may have implications for future study and understanding of

the theory of stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). Essentially, this theory suggests that when a stereotype is enacted about a certain population, awareness of the stereotype may negatively influence stereotype related performance. For example, for students who speak stigmatized dialects, when the stereotype is enacted in academic settings that speakers of their dialect are less intelligent or less apt at performing certain tasks, this may influence performance. As such, there may be additional implications for studying *stereotype management*. Stereotype management is a concept introduced by McGee and Martin (2011) in their study of Black mathematics and engineering students to, “explain academic resilience (traditionally valued high achievement in spite of negative intellectual and societal based stereotypes and other forms of racial bias)” (p. 8). Although originally used to explore stereotype management on racial dimension, this notion would be equally important to use in exploring dialect and language stereotyping, which overlaps with race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, SES, geographic origin, sexual orientation, and other personal characteristics. Understanding how students manage these stereotypes in academic settings may better help scholars understand the challenges certain student populations face and possibly draw links to student achievement, student development, and possibly factors for persistence and attrition.

As today’s colleges and universities become increasingly diverse, the languages and dialects students bring with them to campus will highlight this increasing diversity. As such, institutions of higher education will be faced with the challenge of addressing this linguistic diversity in such a way that students of all background feel that their language is welcomed, valued, and accepted in order for students to be successful academically. Further,

scholars and scholar-practitioners are in a unique position to change ideology surrounding language and possibly begin to break cycles of linguistic hegemony and standard language ideology. By understanding and addressing language as an element of diversity in the classroom, students may feel better able to learn and share knowledge using their own voice.

Article 2: The Role of Language and Perceptions of Belonging and Campus Environment

“When you find people that kinda talk funny like you do, you feel a little bit better”:

Language and Campus Environment

Introduction

Linguistic hegemony and standard language ideology on a campus influence the rules of the codes of power, in other words, the rules for participation in dominant culture (Delpit 1995), enacted in those environments, and the subsequent propagation of the dominant language ideology is particularly strong in educational institutions (Bourdieu, 1982). Institutions of higher education in particular have been noted as being discourse communities in their own right, as they have, “unique and specialized discursive practices” (White 2005, p.371). Swales (1990) defines discourse communities as “sociorhetorical networks that form in order to work towards sets of common goals” (p. 9) and White (2005) cites Medvedev and Bakhtin’s (1978) suggestion that a discourse community has “its own language, its own forms and devices for that language, and its own specific laws for the ideological refraction of a common reality” (p.87). White suggests that not all students will come to campus understanding the rules of this discourse community and will be subsequently excluded from participation. Because language, culture and identity are closely intertwined (Vygotsky, 1999) those students whose language excludes them from the standards of the academic discourse community may possibly sense a lower degree of what is referred to as sense of belonging. Strayhorn (2012) defines sense of belonging as: “students’ perceived social

support on campus, a feeling or sensation of connectedness, the experience of mattering or feeling cared about accepted, respected, valued by and important to the group (e.g. campus community) or others on campus e.g. faculty, peers” (p. 3). Students’ perception of the campus environment and how well they fit it or belong in that environment may be shaped in part by the language they bring with them to college. For college students from rural Appalachia, speaking a dialect with stigmatized features may influence how accepted and comfortable they feel on a college campus if they feel the campus environment is not one which embraces linguistic diversity.

Appalachia and Appalachian College Students

For the purposes of this study, the operational definition of Appalachia is that given by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC, 2012). This definition describes Appalachia as being a region in the United States which includes parts of 13 states, covering over 200,000 squares miles and including more than 25 million residents. The Appalachian regional is predominately rural (ARC, 2012) and has historically had fewer residents attend or graduate from college than any other region in the country (Shaw, DeYoung & Rademacher, 2004). Further, this region has historically been impoverished (ARC, 2012) and has been subject to numerous stereotypes throughout our nation’s history, particularly stereotypes associated with and backwardness and otherness (Eller, 1999; Ergood, 1983). Stereotypes about Appalachians are often played out in the media, from television shows to popular literature. In the 2000 best-seller, “Me Talk Pretty One Day,” author and former North Carolinian David Sedaris recounts his stigma for Appalachian speech, noting that his

elementary school speech therapist “spoke with a heavy western North Carolina accent, which I used to discredit her authority. Here was a person for whom the word *pen* had two syllables. Her people undoubtedly drank from clay jugs and hollered for Paw when the vittles were ready- so who was she to advise me on anything?” (p. 7). Television programs such as NBC’s 30 Rock and The Simpsons offer examples of Appalachians as backward simpletons whose speech and lifestyles are a source of amusement. Clearly, these pervasive stereotypes do not reflect the diversity of history of such a large region, nor are they accurate.

Presently more students from Appalachia in general are attending college than they have in previous decades (Shaw, DeYoung & Rademacher, 2004), but students from *rural* Appalachia continue to lag behind in matriculation from high school to college (Haaga, 2004). Students from rural Appalachia are likely to be those whose speech is more strongly stigmatized than students from urban Appalachia (owing to the fact that language use is socially stratified and rural varieties are often considered less correct or standardized; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998), and as such, their speech may draw more attention on campus. Already a small contingency on campus in the institution examined in this study, speech may mark rural Appalachian students as “Other” and thus influence their college experiences in a way that is does not for student from urban centers, or for students who are speakers of standardized varieties of English.

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

In this study, the conceptual framework (Figure 1) is built on notions of standard language ideology (SLI), linguistic hegemony and codes of power in education. Standard language ideology, or the notion that there is a single, standardized variety of English which is more correct than others (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012) works together with linguistic hegemony, a form a cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) which uses SLI to convince members of non-dominant groups that the preferred linguistic variety of the dominant classes is more correct or superior to non-dominant varieties. Thus, speakers of non-standardized varieties of English are taught in dominant institutions, particularly educational institutions (Bourdieu, 1982), that their native variety is inferior or lacking. The preferred variety of language is an element of the culture of power of dominant groups. Delpit (1995) asserts that there are certain rules required for participation in the culture of power or codes of power. Included in the codes of power are the correct or preferred types of language to be used. Institutions of higher education can be viewed as communities in and of themselves which have their own codes of power, usually reflecting the codes of power of society at large since as Bourdieu notes, educational institutions are often controlled by dominant groups. Participation in the culture of power, and/or the academic discourse community, requires knowledge of linguistic norms associated with codes of power. In this model, I conceptualize SLI, linguistic hegemony and codes of power working together to influence how students perceive the openness of the campus environments and its acceptance and tolerance for linguistic diversity (or lack thereof) and their subsequent sense of belonging on campus. Here, identity is viewed

as being part of discursive interactions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) and sense of belonging on campus being influenced by these discursive interactions and how we see ourselves as individuals and as members (or nonmembers) of the community. Thus, an individual whose speech deviates from community norms as is stigmatized may, through discursive interactions, find that his identity is shaped by these interactions (“Other” or “misfit”) and as such, the degree to which he feels he belongs on campus or in a certain environment on campus may be influenced. The visual representation of this model is limited due to the fixed and two-dimensional nature of print media. As such, identity and sense of belonging appear to be static, whereas in reality, they are in flux and though they are likely shaped by these elements included in the model (in addition to many others), the concentric circles are likely constantly shifting, with the pull from some elements being stronger at times and in certain situations than others.

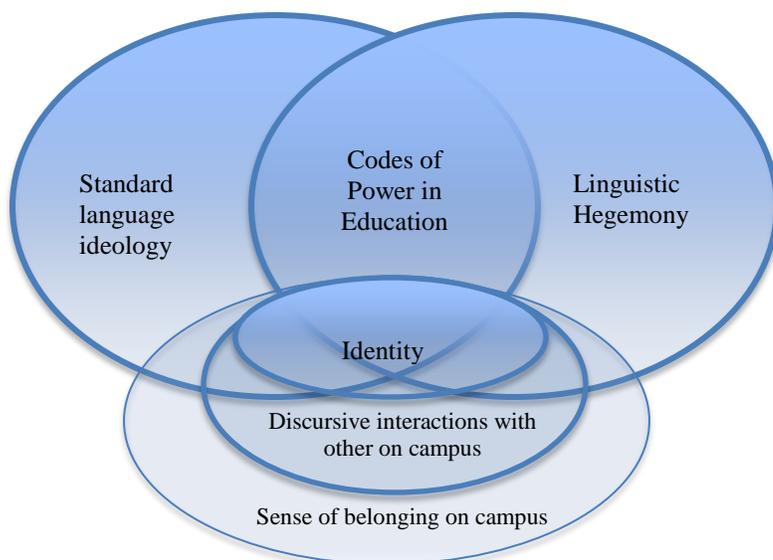


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework

Literature Review

Existing literature on Appalachian college students has focused on Appalachian students' attitudes toward higher education (Wallace & Diekroger, 2000) and Appalachian students' attitudes toward multicultural education within higher education institutions (Asada, Swank & Goldey, 2003); first-generation Appalachian college students (Bryan & Simmons, 2009; Hand & Miller-Payne, 2008), and first year transitions for Appalachian college students (Bradbury, 2008; Bickel, Banks & Spatig, 1991; Carter & Robinson, 2002; Dees 2006). However, there are no existing studies that focus solely on the influence of language on the college experiences of rural, Southern Appalachian college students. There have, however, been studies which touch upon language and experiences in higher education for Appalachian students (McBride, 2006; Greene 2010) and one which focuses on the influence of language on college experience for Lumbee students, but not Appalachians (Scott, 2008).

These studies support the notion that language is influential in shaping college experiences and further highlights that standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony play a part in language and college experiences for speakers of non-standardized varieties of English. Scott (2008) directly explores the role of language and college experiences but his focus is Lumbee students and does not provide linguistic analysis. McBride (2006) and Greene (2010) make mention of college experiences for Appalachian women but do not have this as a focus for studies. In this study, I aim to provide missing information about the role of language in the college experience for rural Appalachian students and in doing so, provide

linguistic analysis of their speech to better help describe their voices and understand how their unique use of language has shaped experiences in college. Further, this study seeks to understand the role of language and the college experience specific to sense of belonging on campus.

Language and sense of belonging are certainly linked to one another, as language is tied to identity and identity integral in sense of belonging. The link between language and identity is thought to be strong; it is theorized that our identity is a product of discursive practices (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). That is to say, we know who we are through our interactions with others (Bourdieu, 1977; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Vygotsky, 1999). Through interactions with others, we can identify what is similar, what is different, what we please or displeases us, what we aspire to be or wish to avoid. Language is the primary medium through which these interactions occur, and language is a tool used “to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who are, and who we are not- and cannot be” (Lippi-Green, p.291, 2004). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) suggest that, “While individuals’ sense of self is certainly an important element of identity, researchers of individuals’ language use (e.g. Johnstone, 1996) have shown that the only way that such self-conceptions enter the social world is via some form of discourse” (p. 587). As such, they suggest that, “Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon” (p. 588). As human beings are constantly interacting with others in varying contexts and environments, identity (which is shaped by language and interactions) is not static, but rather malleable and constantly in

flux (Bucholtz 2004; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The places we go and the people with whom we interact are influential in our identity, and thus how we see ourselves fitting in as a part (or not fitting in) in certain environments or with certain groups of people. Colleges and universities are certainly one such environment in which interactions with others will shape how we see ourselves and our role in the community. Colleges and universities represent academic discourse communities in which identity work can be done. The nature of the discourse community and interactions therein in which identity is shaped will likely influence whether or not some feel like they belong or do not belong in that particular environment. That is to say, if we know ourselves through interactions with others, then interactions that “other” us or make us feel excluded can shape aspects of identity such as viewing oneself as “different,” or as being a “misfit” in that environment. As such, language can directly influence sense of belonging, especially in the academic discourse community.

Feeling a sense of belonging is a fundamental human need (Maslow, 1962) and has been found to be critical for mental health and overall sense of well-being (Hagerty, & Williams, 1999; Hagerty, Williams, Coyne, & Early, 1996; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Leary, 2010; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). As such, it is also an important aspect of college experiences, and has been noted as being influential in college success, from college transitions to retention and achievement (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hausmann, Schofield, & Woods, 2007; Hoffman, Richmond, Morrow, & Salomone, 2002; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman & Oseguera, 2008; Strayhorn, 2008)

Sense of belonging in college has been found to stem from interactions with peers from diverse backgrounds (e.g., Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman & Oseguera, 2008; Strayhorn, 2008). Locks, et al., (2008) explored perceptions of sense of belonging and campus climate by examining national survey data from ten institutions for White students and students of color. Their study found that the more time students spend having *positive* interactions with diverse peers, the stronger their sense of belonging at the institution. Similarly, Strayhorn (2008) explored influence of diverse interactions for Black male college students and found that the more diverse interactions participants had with peers of other races, the greater their sense of belonging.

The degree to which student experience positive interactions with diverse peers may be moderated by other factors, such as social class. For example, Ostrove and Long (2007) found that social class was strongly tied to students' sense of belonging in college, with lower SES students indicating lower degrees of belonging. They suggest that, "it is possible that feeling that one does not belong affects the extent of participation in class, willingness to seek help as needed and other critical behaviors that influence college success" (p. 381). Language is not addressed specifically in Ostrove and Long's study, but it is interesting to note that Scott (2008) also found that students who speak a stigmatized dialect of English, Lumbee English, are also less likely to participate in class, make use of available campus resources, and may be less likely to enroll in certain courses with an emphasis on language use. Some of these participants in Scott's study were from a low SES county and attended low SES high schools. It is possible that because language use is socially stratified (Wolfram

& Schilling-Estes, 1998), some of the tendencies of low SES students to feel lowered sense of belonging in college may be tied to language use. While diverse relations with peers are ideal for sense of belonging and feeling and inclusive campus environments, it may be hard to achieve if the role that language plays in facilitating or preventing some of these diverse interactions is not understood. For example, will language that marks a student as being a member of a certain social class prevent certain interactions from occurring? Will stereotypes about certain dialects (such as stereotypes about intelligence level, open-mindedness) prevent certain interactions from occurring? Further, there may be a distinction between sense of belonging to campus in general and sense of belonging in smaller environments on campus.

These smaller environments are what are referred to as subcultures in organizational theory literature. Daft (2009) notes that, “subcultures typically include the basic values of the dominant organizational culture plus additional values unique to members of the subculture” (p. 386). In this line of thought, Kuh (2001) notes that a subculture may take the form of a Greek organization, student clubs, and sports teams, to give a few examples. A subculture could also be present in a department or unit on campus. Kuh also notes that, “large colleges and universities tend to have multiple subcultures of students and faculty members, which makes it difficult to cultivate a coherent, salient campus culture featuring a dominant constellation of norms and values” (p. 25). Thus, while a student may indicate that he or she feels a sense of belonging in a campus subculture at a large university (for example, a sorority or fraternity), that student might not necessarily indicate a sense of belonging at the

university as a whole. Conversely, a student might indicate that she does not feel a sense of belonging in certain subcultures, but does feel connected to the university at large.

Language may play a differing role fostering sense of belonging in different campus subcultures compared to overall student perceptions of language ideology and belonging on campus on a large scale. This role, however, is not yet understood.

Indeed, Strayhorn (2012) suggests that there is still much to be discovered about sense of belonging for college students in general. There have yet to be studies which focus specifically on the role of language and sense of belonging, but considering language as social tool influencing identity and belonging within a group may be critical in explaining nuances of feelings of belonging. Language use is socially stratified, and as such, understanding its role in how students see themselves fitting in in certain environments on campus may better help explain sense of belonging and perceptions of campus climate for students of different SES, racial, ethnic, and geographic origins. This study seeks to begin to fill that gap by exploring language and sense of belonging for college students from rural Appalachian and how they see themselves fitting in on campus as a whole and in certain environments specifically.

Methods

To best address the research question, which is grounded in participants' experiences and perceptions, qualitative research methods were selected for this study. Specifically, a basic interpretive qualitative design (Merriam, 2002) was used, aided by sociolinguistic analysis of the participants' speech.

The target population of this study was traditional college students from rural Southern Appalachia attending college outside of Appalachia. With the assistance of the university planning office, I was able to contact students via email who listed graduation from a high school in rural Southern Appalachia on their initial college application. These students were further narrowed down to those who had lived in Appalachia since before age 12 and who have at least one parent from the region, to ensure sociocultural ties to Appalachia. Participants were interviewed until data saturation was reached. In total, the sample included 26 students. Participants represented a range of majors, and there was a fairly even distribution between male and female participants. There was less diversity in race/ethnic background; all but one participant were White and one participant was African American. Additionally, the participants displayed a range of vernacularity from those whose speech was fairly standardized to those whose speech would likely be highly identifiable as Southern Appalachian. There was also a range of parental education level, from first-generation college students to students whose parents held graduate and professional degrees.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants and all interviews took place on campus. The interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed by the researcher and a professional transcription service. The interview protocol included questions related to their speech, the speech of others in their home community, impressions of the speech of other on campus, and any way in which their speech might have influenced experiences on campus including, but not limited to, interactions with peers, faculty and staff, academic performance, choice of friends and activities, campus involvement, and sense of belonging

on campus. One interview (lasting an average of 40 minutes) was conducted with each participant, though seven participants elected to participate in follow-up interviews as well. Participants were asked to read aloud a reading passage roughly 250 words long at the end of the interview. The reading passage contained certain phonological features such as /ay/, and participants were asked to read it out loud so that in case they did not use this feature enough times in the interview for measurement, samples could be extracted from the reading passage recording.

Qualitative analysis of the interviews was conducted using a priori codes which stemmed from the conceptual framework and literature review which Saldaña (2009) refers to as provisional coding. Additionally, the data was analyzed for emerging themes not accounted for in the conceptual framework or review of literature. The qualitative coding software NVIVO (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 10, 2012) was used to aid in coding and visual representation of the data.

Measures were taken to enhance the trustworthiness of the study. In order to enhance credibility, a colleague with research expertise in sociolinguistic, education, and Appalachian dialects was asked to review the coding. Further, member checking (Lincoln & Guba 1985) was done to enhance trustworthiness. I contacted participants via email with a Word document containing an outline and description of tentative study findings. Half of the participants (n=13) responded, and unanimously agreed that the findings were an accurate representation of their language related experiences in college. Additionally, I attempted to

provide rich and thick description of the participants, their perspectives, and their speech in this study.

In terms of sociolinguistic analysis, the audio recordings and interview transcripts served as primary data sources for describing and analyzing patterns in participants' language usage. Analysis of participants' language was completed in order to aid in the rich and thick description of their voices and to help better understand the degree to which they use certain dialect features and the influence that might have on their language related experiences in college.

I used the transcripts to account for variation in participants' morphosyntax, or grammar. I approached the transcripts looking for examples of non-standardized morphosyntax associated with dialects of Appalachian English, such as negative concord ("We didn't do nothing") and then noted the number of times non-standardized grammar (if any) was used as a percentage of the total number of times that particular feature could have been used. For example, if there were 12 occasions in the interview when a past participle was used, and six of the 12 past participles were irregular ("She had went to the store" instead of "She had gone to the store") the ratio of non-standardized usage for that feature was 50%.

In addition to describing use of participants' non-standardized grammar usage, I also measured variation in participants' phonology, or pronunciation. When measuring phonological features, I used the audio recorded interviews and the acoustic analysis software, Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). For this study, the phonological features that

were selected for measurement were the vowels /ay/ (the vowel sound in the word “bite”) and /e/ (the vowel sound in the word “bait”). The monophthongization/glide weakening of vowel sound /ay/ (making a word like “ride” sound like “rahd”) is noted as being the most salient vowel sound associated with dialects of Southern American English and further, monophthongization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments is associated with stigmatized dialects such as Appalachian Englishes and is stigmatized even by other Southerners (Greene, 2010). For example, in many dialects of Southern American English, /ay/ in the word “bide” might be monophthongized in since it comes before the voiced consonant /d/. However, in the word “bite” /ay/ comes before a voiceless consonant /t/ and only certain dialects, such as some Appalachian dialects, weaken the glide of /ay/ and make it monophthongal in this environment. Doing so is salient and draws stigma. The other phonological feature selected for analysis was the vowel /e/ or the sound in the word “bait.” In some dialects of English, when the beginning, or nucleus of this vowel is lowered and centralized, a word like “weighed” can sound like “wide” (Allbritten, 2012, p. 20). Allbritten (2012) found that when the nucleus of /e/ is lowered and more centralized, it is as salient if not more so than /ay/ monophthongization in identifying speakers as Southern. For classification purposes in this study, participants who are referred to as being “more vernacular” are participants whose /ay/ vowel in pre-voiceless phonetic environments have a weakened glide, or are monophthongized. This feature was selected as a proxy for vernacularity due to its high level of salience, and also because although not every speaker who has a weakened /ay/ glide also uses non-standardized grammar, only one speaker who

used non-standardized grammar did not also have a distinctly weakened /ay/ glide in pre-voiceless environments. Analysis of the vowel /e/ for participants in this study was compared to data from a group of peers of the same age who grew up in the city in which SSU is located (to provide context for the linguistic environment) suggested that this group does not vary significantly from local SSU area norms. As such, while some participants, like Christopher and Patty do use salient variants of /e/, they also have weakened /ay/ glides pre-voiceless which is perhaps more salient. In addition to these measures, I also make distinctions of participant vernacularity at time using my perceptions as a Southerner, former resident of Appalachia, and my familiarity with Southern State campus to describe a few students whose /ay/ glide is not significantly weakened in pre-voiceless environments, but whose speech may still draw attention on campus.

When measuring these vowels using formant analysis, I generally followed guidelines set forth by Thomas (2011). Essentially, formant analysis is the term used to indicated measurement of the formants, or resonant frequencies of a particular phoneme, or sound. Formant analysis uses acoustic analysis software to extract measurements of formants in Hertz. These values can then be normalized, or standardized across speakers, and plotted visually for analysis. The formants of a particular sound allow linguists to identify that sound using its acoustic properties. Every vowel we use in American English (and in other languages) will have certain acoustic properties that make it distinct from other sounds. For example, the sound /i/ or the vowel sound in the word “feet” has first and second formant values of around 300Hz and 2200 Hz respectively. In contrast, the vowel /ɔ/, the vowel sound

in the word “caught,” has first and second formant values of around 600Hz and 2880Hz. These values are quite different and they allow us to identify and describe the quality of each vowel as being distinct from another sound. In this study, in the case of analyzing the vowel sound /ay/ (in both pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments), it was important to note whether the sound was produced as being more monophthongal (one sound per syllable) or diphthongal (two sounds per syllable). To do so, measurements were taken 25 milliseconds into the beginning of the vowel and 25 milliseconds from the end of the vowel. Movement in the formants between these two measurements allowed me to distinguish whether or not there was a strong or weak glide (if the sound was more monophthongal or diphthongal). When looking at the vowel /e/, I paid close attention to the nucleus (or beginning) of the vowel and how low and back the formant values were. Measurements were taken using a script (an executable command file) originally written by Jeff Mielke and modified by Kohn and Farrington (2012) to increase accuracy and precision of measurements.

Findings

As noted, academia is recognized as having its own rules for discourse, and highlighted in these rules are a preference for standardized speech (SLI) and students are often taught or expected to modify their speech to participate in the academic discourse community (codes of power; Delpit 1995). Some students already speak a dialect closely resembling that which is considered standardized on campus and little adjustment is required; other students are implicitly or explicitly told that their variety of speech is inferior to the standardized used on campus and thus should modify their speech in favor of the more prestigious variety

(linguistic hegemony). Many participants in this study indicated that they were aware (through portrayals in the media, encounters with speakers from other dialect regions) that the speech of Southern Appalachians is stigmatized, but coming to college was for several students the first time that they realized that they themselves were speakers of stigmatized dialects:

I honestly didn't think I had an accent until I came out here and they're like, 'Oh yea, you really do.' I'm like, OK. I guess 'cause I'm around it all the time, I don't really- my grammar is horrible at home. I say the typical, 'y'uns', 'ain't', 'y'all', all those things. (Megan)

I always thought that I didn't really have an accent and then I came here and everybody picks on me for it! [Laughs] (Brooke)

Oh my gosh. One of the first people I met [in college] his name was Michael and so I said his name and he was like, 'What? Say that again? Maaahkle?' And that was the first time. Like one of the first comments I ever got about my accent, and I still get it about my "i" words. I get that a lot. (Emily)

Very first semester [laughs]. Yea, it was a big change. I mean I definitely had that label that you know, he talked differently basically. (Christopher)

Participants, regardless of level of vernacularity, made indications suggesting that the campus environment at Southern State University is one that supports, on a large scale, notions of linguistic hegemony- that in order to be taken seriously as a student and accepted as intelligent one must conform to a preferred variety of speech. Participants often reference “proper” speech, noting that the way that community members in their home region speak is not proper (using terms like “hick,” “hillbilly” and “country” to describe it) and would not be considered proper on campus. Some participants indicate that on campus, there is an implicit idea that the language used should be standardized:

It’s like there are a lot of settings where people I’m sure do think carefully about what they say. And then there are a lot of settings where people just kind of spout things off. But I think as a general rule people are pretty careful what they have to say because they want to participate in the intellectual environment maybe. (Joseph)

Cause being here and around certain people, you don’t really take many people seriously if they really drawl, like have a real serious drawl as you would somebody who was like more- what’s the word I’m looking for- enunciates better. (Jessica)

I guess you’re supposed to sound smart, if that makes sense. You know, like everyone else kind of, without an accent, kind of uniform. It should be about school, not where you’re from. (Megan)

I kinda wanted to pronounce things that they did- they [peers on campus] way they did. Generally it's kinda like a peer pressure type kinda situation. (Thomas)

I feel like I focused more on making sure the way I dictate the things I'm trying to say are very clear, very grammatically correct and supporting the fact that I- my language is not an issue...I just want them to not necessarily be impressed but not have any sort of questions on whether or not I'm competent. (Robert)

Some students are very proud of not sounding Southern Appalachian (whether or not this is how they speak naturally or because they have made attempts to sound more "standard").

These participants suggest that there is perhaps an advantage on campus to not sounding Appalachian (or otherwise non-standardized) which again, points to SLI and linguistic hegemony being pervasive on campus and being part of the establishment of codes of power and participation in the culture of power. As several participants suggest, in order to belong in the academic community, there are certain expectations about one's speech. Some participants highlight this idea, because their speech is more standardized and as such, they have had little trouble fitting in. For example, Sara, whose speech is fairly standardized Southern and notes that since childhood she has been aware of the stigmatization of Southern Appalachian speech as has made an effort "not to have an accent," says that her experiences on campus not necessarily been influenced by language. However, she knows the experiences of others have:

But I do feel that sometimes people who have Southern accents it's easier to think that they're less smart than someone else, which is not true at all, but it is definitely, I

feel like if you have a Southern accent in some situations its kind of a negative thing.

(Sara)

Statements such as these point to the idea that SLI and linguistic hegemony are present on campus and whether or not students are cognizant of these ideological processes, their attitudes toward their own speech, the speech of others, and what is acceptable language use on campus illustrate their presence. As a result, several students note that they feel a need to code-switch, or switch between language varieties in certain situations in order to fit in or accommodate the norms of that community. Beebe and Giles (1984) suggest that speakers will “attempt to converge linguistically toward the speech patterns believed to be characteristic of their recipient when they (a) desire their social approval and the perceived costs of so acting are proportionally lower than the reward anticipated; and/or (b) desire a high level of communicational efficiency and (c) social norms are not perceived to dictate alternative speech strategies” (p. 8). Some of the more vernacular participants in this study indicate codes-switching in accordance with all three of these dicta, particularly those which highlight socially preferred varieties of speech and facilitate acceptance or “fitting in” in certain environments:

I guess it really matters who I’m around 'cause if I'm around friends or people I know real good, I don't really think about it at all. But if I'm talking to a professor or presenting or something like that, then I really try to talk a lot differently from where I was raised. (Jason)

I would say in a typical day at Southern State, I would change the way I speak at least 80% of the time. If I was in a class or around people I have never met before or if I am in a professional setting, I always change the way I speak and try to drop the accent as much as possible. I do it without even realizing it... When I first meet someone I lose my accent, and the more comfortable I get the more my accent will come out.” (Lauren)

Participants whose speech does not contain stigmatized features (apart from those like Robert and Landon whose speech is standardized as a result of an admitted effort to sound “standard”) do not mention feeling a need to code-switch on campus. Additionally, as Jason and other participants mention, being around friends is a time when students do not feel a need to code-switch. This suggests that SLI and linguistic hegemony operate in certain environments on campus but may be less pervasive in settings involving friends and among students with similar backgrounds. Language use and sense of belonging seem to vary depending on the environment.

Beliefs about inter and an intra campus environments and language. Standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony can influence how accepting students view the campus climate as being of linguistic diversity. Despite making statements indicating that they believe that campus is a place where standardized speech should be used, overall, many participants indicated that they believe that when thinking about the university campus as a whole, linguistic diversity is tolerated and welcomed. This may seem somewhat counterintuitive based on statements highlighting linguistic hegemony and SLI on campus,

but because these processes are noted as being found throughout education and exist within larger society, they are more than likely internalized and accepted by students already. For example, Lauren notes that “I’ve just always been taught or I’ve always heard that we’ve been looked down upon because of that...I guess it’s just frowned upon the way we normally talk.” The previous section serves to illustrate the academia is not immune to the standard language ideology pervasive in our society and indeed propagates it. When asked about the university as a whole, students, regardless of level of vernacularity, generally indicated that the university is rather accepting of student diversity, including dialects:

Here it’s like so many different cultures its fun to learn, you know, and like everyone speaks different. Sometimes you’ll hear different languages and not just accents
(Megan)

I think for the most part it is because it is a pretty diverse campus. My first time coming here I was like, cause I mean it’s unlike anything I’ve been around and visits to University of Kentucky, it’s a completely different atmosphere. You see so many different types of people from different places and exchange students. I think for the most part the campus is accepting on a larger scale, when you get to the smaller scale like in individual classes and majors I think it is different. But overall, it’s pretty good. (Kelly)

Kelly raises a point that other participants echo: there is a difference between feeling accepted linguistically on a large scale and on a smaller scale on campus. With a student population of over 30,000, Southern State University is indeed host to a diverse student population with speakers of many language and dialects. When thinking of the institution on a large scale, students agree that the fact that some of them may speak differently does not make them any different in a sense than an exchange student or student from another dialect region. However, students make distinctions on the smaller scale, noting that some departments, majors, and courses seem to be more tolerant of linguistic diversity in the form of non-standardized dialects than others. Southern State University has a strong agriculture and engineering tradition and the agriculture related programs draw many rural students to the university. Engineering students in fields such as civil engineering and mechanical engineering have also been anecdotally noted as being more rural than engineering students in areas such as chemical, biomedical, or aerospace engineering. Students seem to indicate that programs related to agriculture and life sciences (as well as some engineering programs) may be more tolerant of non-standardized dialects because of the student population that has traditionally been drawn to those areas:

I guess it'd depend on what department what college you're in. Cause I remember I think I spent a semester in the agricultural department and like there was definitely no difference. Like I mean everybody was proud of their southern heritage. But for the most part most of the colleges here are very rooted in their southern roots and

conservative I guess you could say. But I'm sure there's some departments here when people have a problem I guess. (Michael).

I would think that the agricultural department is probably [more accepting] and life science, it seems to me at least, it's why we're called Moo U I guess. I mean, most of the people that I know that didn't come here to study education or something like that, they were in life sciences or some engineering too I guess. (Brandon)

Other students suggest that outside of agriculture and life science departments, there may be less tolerance for non-standardized speech:

I guess in soc[iology] classes it's kind of backwards the way I mean it's supposed to be. I guess in the soc classes I've noticed more of the professors they think I'm a little slower and stuff like that...(Christopher)

Like, I've made more friends in the mechanical engineering department or from the agricultural department than I have in aero [her major] or biomedical departments. You do see people from different areas pretty much like separating themselves out. Which is why I guess people find it so odd that there's rural kids in the aerospace program (Kelly)

Again, Kelly raises a notable point- that there may be differences in the tolerance for linguistic diversity in different departments on campus because of the student population drawn to those disciplines and students may thus feel a greater sense of belonging in some

subcultures versus others (this idea will be discussed further in later sections). The more vernacular students note that others on campus often make assumptions about what major they are in based on their speech:

Most people automatically assume here at Southern State that if you have any type of country accent you are in some form of agriculture. There are also a lot of other stereotypes that go along with any Ag majors but I definitely feel like the accent is one of the stereotypes. (Lauren)

Yeah, they're shocked when I tell them I'm a soc[iology] major. I mean a lot of them have asked me, "Are you doing Ag[riculture]?" or something like that, or engineering. I was like no, I hate math. But definitely they assume that anything but sociology. [laughs] (Christopher)

Most of the time I don't have to tell people what my major is cause they automatically assume I'm an Ag[riculture] major. (Patty)

Based on these statements from participants, it seems that whether or not students feel like their speech is accepted on a macro or micro levels is influenced to at least a degree by language ideology on campus. Subsequently, the areas in which they feel greater sense of belonging and acceptance may be influenced by language.

SLI, Linguistic Hegemony and Perceptions of Southern State Campus Climate and Other Campuses. Despite indications that there is a preference for standardized speech on campus

at SSU, several participants in this study indicated that they believe that Southern State University is likely more accepting linguistically than other campuses, particularly compared to other peer institutions in the state. Some students suggest that this is because the institution has a history as an agricultural school and others additionally suggest that it could be because the university has a large population of students from rural areas, and students seem to be drawing a connection between being from a rural area and using non-standardized language. The students who mention that they believe Southern State is probably more welcoming to students with non-standardized dialects are generally students who are themselves speakers of dialects on the more non-standardized end of the spectrum. Interestingly, students seem to conflate rurality, agricultural programs, and speaking a non-standardized dialect:

I feel like if I went to a place like Southern University [prestigious public peer institution] I would feel like I didn't fit in as well as I do here, because here, we have the agricultural base, and there are people way further on the accent scale than mine....if I went to Bradford [local, elite private institution], yeah. If I went some place in South Carolina I'd fit right in. But going anywhere up north or like a school that didn't have an Ag[ricultural] program, that program kind of deal, I think- [she wouldn't fit in] [Brooke]

If I were to go into a school in a different area than [this city], cause...[this State] does have a lot of rural areas, so coming here there were a lot of- and it's an agricultural college, so I feel its probably as big of a rural as it would- my friends and

I went up to Georgetown. And there, it [language] seemed to play a much bigger role cause you'd talk here, and it was like a connecting thing. (Maddy)

Additionally, some participants note that their initial perceptions as high school students of how accepting Southern State University is linguistically played a role in influencing their college choice. Compared to other institutions in the state, a few participants (whose phonology is more non-standardized) noted that language, and their perceptions of role it plays in an accepting and inclusive campus environment, was a consideration in college choice:

That was- my language did have a huge part in choice where not to go to school because my parents were dying for me to go to Southern University. And I went and visited the campus one time and I just didn't- I just felt looked down upon like, 'Oh,' once, you know, 'she got in because they're trying to make it regionally diverse here. They're trying to let the poor country girl in.' And I just felt like that. But then I came to Southern State and I felt much more welcome. (Emily)

Conversely, another student, Megan, decided to come to Southern State University despite concerns she had about not fitting in linguistically. She initially said that she had heard that Southern State was called "the John Deere college" and thought perhaps she would fit in well, but after attending orientation she had some reservations:

And then the more, you know, the closer it got to me leaving [for college], I was like, 'Ehh' kind of, you know. Cause the girls on tour here were, the tour guides didn't

really have an accent and stuff so I was like, ‘Oh I don’t want to be the only one with an accent’ you know, so...(Megan)

Even though some students like Emily and Megan thought that language might be an issue keeping them from fitting in on campus at SSU and elsewhere, other students saw language as something that might help them fit in. For example, another student, Hank, initially thought that he would fit in linguistically at SSU based on the school’s reputation for having a rural student population, but has since felt marginalized because he does not feel that there are many students on campus who speak like he does. Language is not something generally considered by higher education researchers when considering what factors students take into account when assessing campus climate, how well they might fit in, and making college choice decisions, but the experiences shared from students in this study suggest that language can play at least some role in determining how well prospective students believe they might fit in on campus.

Language and Sense of Belonging on Campus. Once students are actually on campus, language, and the ideologies present on campus related to language, may play a role in how well students believe they fit in on campus. When asked directly about the influence that language may or may not have on feeling an overall sense of belonging at Southern State, students generally indicated that language did not play a huge role in overall sense of belonging at the institution as a whole, but some students noted instances in which it did have an influence on a smaller scale in certain campus subcultures or environments. More vernacular students seemed to indicate that because they could generally find peers of similar

backgrounds, they felt a sense of belonging in certain subcultures/environments, if not to the university as a whole.

I do feel like my accent somewhat affected my sense of belonging in college. If other people had similar accents to mine, I felt more comfortable to be around them because I didn't feel like they would criticize me or anything. I don't think though that my accent solely depended on my sense of belonging though. There are definitely some other factors that go into that but I do know that the more I get to know someone and the more I am around them, the more I become comfortable using my accent and start talking with it. (Lauren)

Well I definitely have a social group of friends. And so I just- I don't know. When you find people that kinda talk funny like you do, you feel a little bit better. And I definitely- you want to know your people and stay with your people. That would be bad, literally, for the university. But I definitely have- we definitely have a good group of people we all hang out with. We just kinda pick those people on different things, like Ag people, we have accents and we're wearing plaid. We're just different. And I guess it's just I feel more comfortable around my friends. I got a bunch of friends that are from the mountains and we're all Ag majors together and so its fun to go do something. (Patty)

Still while other more standardized-speaking students suggest that the degree to which they feel a sense of belonging on campus has not been influenced by language as a whole, but

they note specific instances on campus in which language has influenced how comfortable they felt fitting in in certain environments:

I've definitely had moments where I've been surrounded by people who have very Southern accents and I felt like I was less accepted, especially considering what's been said to me in the past about me having, sound like I'm a northerner because I think a lot of Southerners are turned off by northern accents, and so I definitely felt in some settings that I was kind of left out and maybe- and that might just be my perception and what I was thinking and maybe not necessarily about this actually happening, but I have definitely thought I might- they might be looking down on me or dislike me for not sounding Southern. (Rebecca)

Another student, Sara, whose speech is fairly standardized in phonology and morphosyntax, says that she believes that because her peers can never quite pinpoint her geographic origin by her speech, she has been able to fit in in many situations on campus that she might not have if she had a stronger, regionally marked speech. This is an interesting suggestion that highlights both the SLI on campus and covert prestige of speaking a non-standardized variety. Although for the most part, students indicated that language was not a significant determining factor for how well they feel they belong at the institution in general, it does play a role in how well students suggest they feel a sense of belonging in certain subcultures. Of course, as Kuh (2001) points out, large universities are made of numerous subcultures, and if students are unable to find a sense of belonging in a subculture on campus, they are less likely to feel connected to the university as a whole.

Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that linguistic hegemony and SLI are present and felt on campus by students, regardless of dialect and can be influential in shaping how students perceive campus climate and see themselves as fitting in on campus. In this section I discuss four main areas: 1) Students are aware (sometimes for the first time) that their variety of speech is not one that is valued on the college campus, and this provides, for some students, an impetus to change their speech either entirely, or to code-switch in certain environments, suggesting that the way they view themselves is indeed influenced by interactions with others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). 2) Students indicate that the effects of language and fitting in or being accepted are felt differently when considering the campus environment as a whole compared to smaller environments/subcultures, such as departments or certain classes or clubs. These ideologies also influence how accepting students perceive the campus environment to be compared to other campuses. 3) Language can influence perceptions of campus climate overall (particularly compared to other campuses) and it can influence how well a student feels that he or she belongs on campus on a larger scale. 4) Perceptions of language and its role in fitting in/being accepted change over time.

First, as previously mentioned, institutions of higher education are noted for having their own discourse communities, with some overarching commonalities, such as a preference for more formal and standardized speech (White, 2005). There are generally rules for participation in the academic discourse community, and standardized varieties of English are those that carry the most prestige. It is unsurprising due to the pervasiveness of

SLI/linguistic hegemony in American culture that these ideologies would be present on a college campus even within the Southern United States. Upon arriving to college, many students realize through interactions with others, that their speech marks them as different and this may in turn, influence how they see themselves or choose to represent themselves to others. Some of the more vernacular participants indicate that they, in a sense, rebel against this ideology by generally retaining their natural style of speech, while others like Robert and Thomas, have accommodated the preferred variety on campus, noting that what might be natural to their native Appalachia is devalued on campus and make it more difficult for them to fit in in the academic community. Jason, who is among the students who indicates that SSU is generally a pretty linguistically accepting campus, indicated that he believes his peers from urban areas, and urban area, would be better accepted in a presentation type situation in a classroom than he would because of his speech. Although he notes that he is sometimes teased good-naturedly for his speech, he says he does not feel out of place because of it, but still suggests that in an academic environment, he believes his speech might be viewed less favorably than that of his more standardized, urban peers. This suggests that there are different degrees to which students adapt to the linguistic environment on campus in response to SLI and linguistic hegemony. Students whose speech is more vernacular note that they realize they might not be taken as seriously, that their professors or peers might judge them unfavorably for their speech. Jason, for example, does not necessarily change his speech, but has adopted strategies in certain cases such as letting his more standardized peers take the lead on oral presentations. Some students, like Robert and Thomas, however, have

made conscious efforts to avoid this and adapt their speech to sound “more educated” and be academically accepted on campus. On the other hand, speakers like Kelly, Hank and Rachel, indicate a confidence in themselves, pride in their speech and pride in their abilities such that they do not feel that they should have to change their speech for anyone, and some, like Hank, even carry a sense of resentment about the implicit ideology that they should have to in order to be accepted. More standardized speakers like Sara, Isabelle and Rebecca, indicate that they do not feel a need to change their speech to adapt to the campus environment, and highlight the fact that they realize this is an advantage for them on campus. These adaptation strategies underscore the presence (and the awareness of most students) of a language of power on campus and role that language plays for students in feeling a need to change to fit in. It also will have an influence on how students negotiate identity and how students see themselves. For example, some of the participants who came to campus and recognized a need to change to fit in perhaps saw themselves (through interactions with others) as being somehow inferior. Conversely, participants like Kelly or Hank may have seen, through interactions with others, that their speech marked them as inferior in some capacity, but rather than internalizing these notions, they choose to use these realizations to bolster their identities as rural, Southern Appalachians and flout hegemonic linguistic ideologies on campus. Speakers like Kelly and Hank further believe that their abilities and accomplishments will allow them to succeed. They have not been made to feel ashamed of being “country” or being Appalachian despite teasing or being told that their speech is some way deficient (it was suggested to Kelly for example, an honors student, that she enroll in a

speech therapy course). Additionally, these two students both have at least one parent with a bachelor's degree and were brought up with the understanding that they would attend college one day. They may be more likely to feel that they belong on a college campus because they have always expected to attend college and one day be part of a campus community.

However, sense of belonging for first-generation college students or less high achieving students may be different if he or she feels her speech is rejected by the academic discourse community. As Strayhorn (2012) notes, there is still much to be discovered regarding sense of belonging and its role for college students, and this may be a prime example of how it could better help explain the experiences of certain student populations. These students may feel less valued or accepted, and perhaps marginalized and excluded because of a characteristic of their background which they cannot control. As Jessica states, "but as far as the way I speak, I feel like you should just accept me for that. You can't really – I can't help where I came from, how I was born, where I was born."

Secondly, students did make a distinction between campus at large and smaller niches or subcultures on campus in terms of the degree to which SLI/linguistic hegemony are felt. Overall, despite an indication that there is in general a preferred variety on campus, students suggest that the campus as a whole is relatively accepting of non-standardized speakers, particularly when considering the university on smaller scales and looking at specific environments. Even if students did not feel that they fit in on a large scale, they felt that they could participate in some subcultures on a smaller scale. This is perhaps not surprising, as we

know that many subcultures exist on campus (Kuh, 2001) and these subcultures can influence involvement and connectedness to the institution.

Astin (1984) suggested that such student involvement is critical to student learning, student development, and can influence retention. If students feel a lowered sense of belonging, they are more likely to become disengaged, have lowered levels of involvement. As noted, academic institutions can have their own rules for linguistic participation on a large scale and on a smaller scale within individual units. Thus, if a student feels that his or her speech influences how well they feel they belong on campus, their level of involvement and decision to persist could be influenced. Although participants in this study indicated that considering the university on a large scale, they recognize notions of a formal, standardized language being preferred, they also suggest that the university is rather accepting due in large part to the ability of students to find subcultures on campus where their language is accepted. However, students do indicate that they code-switch from time to time in certain situations and in certain environments. Some students have changed their speech altogether. How well students feel like they belong or fit in is being influenced to a degree by language in certain environments, such as social situations (like Emily, when she indicates that at times she thinks others might use her speech as a source of entertainment). This in turn, may influence how students' identities are shaped in college ; through interactions with others they may see themselves as lacking in some area and needing to adapt to fit in. For example, Lauren mentions that after she gets to know people she will use her "real accent" but code-switches to a more standardized style at first to avoid stigma. Although code-switching can be an

effective strategy for fitting in, one might assume that if a student feels a persistent need to code-switch on campus, the degree to which they feel they belong could be negatively influenced and the way they view themselves, their background, and culture may be negatively influenced.

More vernacular participants in this study generally attributed their ability to find belonging in subcultures to the fact that the school has a tradition as an agriculturally focused institution and has a student body including comprised of students from mostly rural areas and many international students. It is perhaps not surprising that students distinguish between “the university” as an overarching entity which contains many smaller organizations within, the culture of which will differ significantly in some cases. Organizations are not monolithic but rather are complex (Bolman & Deal, 2008) and cultures within institutions can vary greatly from level to level (Tierney, 1988). Statements from several participants seemed to reflect the idea that some departments or units on campus might have subcultures which are less influenced by SLI and linguistic hegemony than others; the language of power in these environments differs from that which is perceived to be valued by campus as a whole. Students who might not feel that they fit in in some environments on campus may find others in which their speech is accepted or unmarked. Students, regardless of dialect, generally cite agricultural and engineering programs as those that are likely more accepting of speakers of non-standardized dialects. This is likely due to the student populations these programs have traditionally served. Faculty in agricultural sciences are perhaps more accustomed to teaching students from rural areas with less standardized dialects, students in classes are perhaps

accustomed to hearing less standardized dialects. Participants further suggested that other departments or courses, such as courses in English and within the college of humanities, are less accepting of non-standardized language and perhaps more imposing of SLI and linguistic hegemony. This is not unexpected perhaps in English, but for social sciences it is, as Christopher notes, maybe the opposite of what one would expect. These programs in humanities and social sciences, however, are perhaps less likely to attract as many students from rural areas as agricultural sciences or certain types of engineering, such as civil or mechanical, and thus students from rural backgrounds with non-standardized dialects may stand out more in these environments. Many rural students are also first-generation college students and studies on this student population have found that first-generation or low SES students typically do not gravitate toward humanities and social sciences, but rather take courses in fields they believe to be more lucrative (Davis, 2010; Terenzini, et. al, 1996). Participants in this study also note an element of covert prestige (prestige associated with a concept or thing owing to the fact that it *is* stigmatized; Trudgill, 1972), within agricultural, life science, and engineering programs. Students like Patty note that in those classes, “if you don’t have an accent you probably wish you did,” and some of the more standardized participants suggest that because they do not sound particularly Southern or Appalachian, these are the courses in which they might feel least comfortable. What is interesting to note here is the connection that students make (participants indicate this, and also suggest that other students on campus make the connection as well) between being rural, speaking a stigmatized dialect, and being a part of the agricultural program. At Southern State

University, despite its agricultural tradition, there seems to be some stigma associated with agricultural program. It is possibly due to the fact that, as mentioned, these programs have historically attracted rural in-state students, and these rural students are more likely to speak non-standardized varieties of Southern American English. Thus, as others make assumptions about level of intelligence based on speech (Lippi-Green, 1997, 2012) and geographic origin, a program with a large population of rural, non-standardized speakers might be viewed as less intelligent. Some of the more vernacular participants noted that others on campus will often assume that they are agricultural majors upon hearing them speak, and while some note that this is not a completely unfair assumption, it can also be viewed as somewhat pejorative. Thus, while there are subcultures on campus in which linguistic diversity is accepted, such as certain departments/programs/classes or among friends, these environments are not necessarily viewed favorably by the institution as a whole, again, indicating the pervasiveness of SLI, linguistic hegemony and their influence on campus environments.

The third major finding addresses how linguistically accepting students perceived the campus environment to be had some role in influencing how well they believed they may fit in overall, and influenced the perceptions of the campus climate at their institution compared to peer institutions. Again, students suggest that because SSU has an agricultural tradition and many students from rural areas, they feel that their institution might be more accepting of linguistic diversity (particularly non-standardized varieties of Southern American English) than some peer institutions in the area, particularly a local elite public liberal arts school and an elite local private institution. A few of the more vernacular students indicated that their

decision to attend SSU rather than another institution was partly influenced by perceptions they had about how linguistically accepting the campus would be. The preferred type of language on campus (and the types of language that are ideologically suppressed or frowned upon) is perhaps an element of the campus environment that is not often considered when thinking about prospective students and college choice. The type of language valued by an institution (and those which are not) by extension sends a message, intentionally or not, to students about the type of culture and the type of students who are valued on that campus. Whether intentional or not, institutions can be sending messages to potential students about campus culture and excluding some students before they even begin. Linguistic diversity is an element of diversity that should be highlighted if a diverse campus is indeed a goal. Just as we think of the importance of certain student populations seeing others like themselves represented in higher education in order to feel a sense that they too belong there, it is also important for speakers of non-standardized dialects to hear others who sound like them. Language is tied closely to identity and culture and can be closely associated by some with their race/ethnicity, social class, and heritage. Thus, it is potentially of critical importance for low SES, rural, first-generation, and minority students (and especially any combination thereof). It is detrimental for institutions of higher education to unwittingly send a message that in order to fit in on campus, one must reject the style of speech that may associate them with their social class, their home culture, or the racial/ethnic group, but this may likely occur when standardized varieties are continually given higher prestige in academia. It would appear that Southern State University does a satisfactory job of seeming to be open to

diversity of dialects, due in part to institutional elements that serve for students as a proxy for rurality and by extension, southern speech: the agricultural program and certain types of engineering, and a largely rural student population. Thus, this institution might be more appealing to some more vernacular students than peer institutions which might cater more to urban, out-of-state, and students from higher resource high schools. As such, the organizational culture of SSU, seemingly being accepting of linguistic diversity on a large scale, may possibly have an influence on student satisfaction and persistence decisions (Kuh, 2001).

Finally, participants seem to indicate that the degree to which they felt some influence of language on their college experience was not static over time but seemed to change. Some of the more vernacular participants like Christopher and Megan, and Lana suggested that they felt more comfortable over time on campus in terms of their speech. This could be because they are experiencing long term linguistic accommodation as the result of many instances of short-term accommodation (Trudgill, 1986). That is to say, over a long period of time speakers may have code-switched for short periods of time for specific situations, and over that longer period of time these speech adaptations become semi-permanent features of the speakers repertoire. In this sense, their speech may have diverged toward the so-called standardized for speech on campus and thus over several years, their speech draws less attention. Another possible theory is that, as participants like John and Rachel mention, the further along one has progressed in the major, the more important competence in the subject area is, regardless of other characteristics. Rachel and John and Kelly both indicate that by

the time a student is an upperclassmen, peers in major courses are more likely to judge each other based on their competence in the field and care less about personal characteristics such as language, geographic origin, socioeconomic status, or gender. As Rachel notes, they just want to know if you can pull your weight in a project. A third possibility is that over time in college, as students of all dialects become exposed to and more familiar with the speech of others through experience, they have already experienced first-hand that stereotypes associated with language do not always hold true and they have adjusted their worldview accordingly. Perhaps all of these possibilities come into play together and contribute to the idea that over time, students whose speech features non-standardized elements may feel more comfortable than they did initially in the academic discourse community. In any case, regardless of the reason for the change over time, the fact that there is a difference in students' feelings about their own language and how well they fit in in the campus community (or in campus subcultures) over time has implications for persistence. The first year (or first two years) seems to be when participants noted having some type of difficulty with language and being accepted or belonging (learning to code-switch, adopting other strategies to avoid stigma or fit in) and this is also a critical time for persistence. Further, Kuh (2001) notes that, "student subcultures and affinity groups have considerable influence over their members, particularly in the first year or two of college" (p.32) and perhaps if during the first two years students who speak non-standardized dialects of English are unable to find such subculture in which they feel a sense of belonging, they may be less likely to feel a sense of belonging and persist.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Language is an aspect of diversity that is not often specifically considered when thinking about creating a welcoming and accepting campus environment for students. Through the exploration of language and the role it has played in shaping the college experience for college students from rural Appalachia, the significance of language and sense of belonging on campus is highlighted. On a large, diverse campus, participants indicate that they are able to find subcultures in which they can feel a sense of belonging and find others of similar linguistic backgrounds or who are accepting of their speech. However, there are certain places on campus (departments, courses, social groups) which are less accepting of non-standardized speech, and participants whose speech contains non-standardized elements suggest that they feel unwelcome or uncomfortable in these situations. Students whose speech is more standardized (and privileged on campus overall) do not share this same sense of their speech being less welcomed. This may also influence elements of identity development in students, particularly for those who find that elements of their home culture, such as language, are rejected in interactions with others on campus. This section highlights one implication for theory and future research and one implication for practice stemming from the findings of this study.

First, in terms of theory and future research, the findings of this study suggest that language may be an element of sense of belonging for consideration in student attrition models and understanding why and when students choose to leave college. Students from rural, low SES, or first-generation backgrounds are likely to be speakers of non-standardized,

stigmatized dialects as language use is socially stratified. If these students feel like the campus environment (or smaller environments within a large campus) does not value or accept their language, they may feel a pressure to change (which can create conflict in identity, particularly when language is linked to race, ethnicity, or another significant element of identity) or, as they feel an aspect of their identity is rejected, they may reject the institution and be less likely to engage, succeed, or persist. As noted in this study, speakers suggest that *over time* they develop strategies for dealing with stereotyping related to speech, whether that is developing a thicker skin or because they have learned to code-switch. Anecdotally, several participants suggest that their peers from their high school with strong dialects who attended college outside of Appalachia often dropped out or transferred somewhere back home during the first two years of college. McBride (2006) found that the Appalachian women she interviewed who reported negative experiences in college related to language generally indicated that these incidents occurred *during their first year of college*: “By their first year in college, all of the participants had realized that not all, but many members of society viewed their native language variety as inferior. They found themselves, “outclassed and outnumbered.” (p.178). The first year of college is a critical time for persistence decisions, and perhaps language and its ties to sense of belonging is a compounding factor in students decision not to persist. During the first two years, perhaps students have not yet developed coping strategies such as an ability to code-switch, they may be less academically confident, and they may feel a lowered sense of belonging. Exploring students who speak stigmatized dialects and persist compared to those who do not may better

help scholars understand elements of cultural and identity and campus environment that influence attrition.

In terms of implication for practice, the findings from this study suggest that education for faculty and students alike in terms of dialect diversity is critical in creating inclusive campus environments. College and university campuses in today's society aim to be places of acceptance and tolerance. However, we cannot expect our students to become tolerant and accepting citizens if we send mixed messages about what it means to be accepting of diversity. As some participants in this study point out, it is still "OK" to make fun of others based on language, even on college campuses. Several participants recount being laughed at or seeing peers with stigmatized dialects being laughed at for speaking in class, with no mention of intervention from faculty members. In some cases, faculty members were offenders. Language can be used as a proxy for other characteristics used in discriminating against certain populations, as Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) notes, this is considered the "back door" to discrimination, "and that door stands wide open" (p.73). Locks, et al., (2008) cite the AAC&U's "Making Excellence Inclusive" initiative, which in 2012 calls for the recognition of,

Individual differences (e.g., personality, learning styles, and life experiences) and group/social differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, country of origin, and ability as well as cultural, political, religious, or other affiliations)" and also

the active, intentional, and ongoing engagement with diversity—in the curriculum, in the co-curriculum, and in communities (intellectual, social, cultural, geographical) with which individuals might connect—in ways that increase awareness, content knowledge, cognitive sophistication, and empathic understanding of the complex ways individuals interact within systems and institutions” on college campuses (AAC&U, 2012).

Institutions which aim to be inclusive and meet these goals will need to ensure that all members of the campus community are educated about the value of linguistic diversity and celebrating the numerous language and dialects that students, faculty, and staff bring with them to campus. This may be achieved through including dialect diversity curriculum in university wide diversity programming for all campus community members, including examples of how instructors, student affairs professionals, and student leaders can model tolerance and acceptance in the campus environments for which they are responsible. Further, some participants suggested that language played a small role in their college choice. When considering who might be excluded by emphasizing standardized, academic language on college campuses, colleges and universities might reconsider how we conceptualize language as an element of diversity and as a characteristic that students bring with them to college. If inclusion and cultural plurality are indeed goals of the institution, educators must understand the value of the dialects their students bring with them to campus and the critical role they may play in understanding how our students socialize, learn, and develop in college. As college students grow and change, interactions with others on campus can be

influential in shaping identity and where they see themselves belonging on campus and in society at large. By gaining a better understanding of the role of language in shaping identity and sense of belonging in college, scholars and scholar-practitioners may be better able to prevent certain students from feeling excluded or marginalized. Helping all students understand and appreciate linguistic diversity in college may extend to society at large as these students leave academia, and may help to break cycles of standard language ideology and linguistic discrimination.

Article 3: The Role of Language and Interactions with Others on Campus

“They assume by the way you talk that you grew up on a farm and that you know everything about NASCAR, you know?”:

**The Role of Language in Interactions with Others on Campus for
Rural Appalachian College Students**

In addition to being the primary means through which most communication takes place, language serves numerous significant social functions. Lippi-Green (2004) notes that we use language “to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who are, and who we are not- and cannot be,” and further suggests that “we rely on language traits to judge others” (p. 291). There is a commonly held ideology in the United States that there is a standardized variety of English which is more correct and proper than other varieties (Lippi-Green 1997). The speech of those who do not speak standardized varieties (which are generally based on the speech preferences of dominant classes) is stigmatized, and speakers may be subject to negative stereotyping (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, 2006). Thus, when language is used to judge or categorize others, stereotyping and discrimination become part of the process as a result of standard language ideology. On college campuses, which are noted as having their own prescriptive rules of discourse (White, 2004; White & Lowenthal, 2011), students who speak non-standardized varieties of English may find that their speech marks them as “other,” and this can influence their beliefs about the way peers, faculty and staff members

perceive them. For college students from rural, southern Appalachia, language may play a significant role in their interactions on campus, as dialects spoken in Appalachian are highly recognizable varieties (Montgomery, 2004) which are stigmatized by much of the rest of the country (Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici & Carpenter, 2006; Greene, 2010; Hazen, Butcher, & King, 2010; Hazen & Hamilton, 2008; Hazen & Hamilton, 2009; Luhman, 1990; McBride, 2006; Siegel, 1999; Zuidema, 2005) and include some features which are stigmatized even by other Southerners (Greene, 2010). Language⁶ is not often considered as a student characteristic in higher education research when exploring elements of diversity and the role these elements play on college campuses, and this study seeks to address this gap in the literature. Rural, Southern Appalachian college students may bring with them to campus a style of speech which sets them apart from their peers, and this study explores the influence that this has on their experiences interacting with others on campus.

Appalachia and Appalachian College Students

The Appalachia region has been defined many ways, but one of the most commonly used definitions comes from the Appalachian Regional Commission's designation as including 205,000 square miles, 420 counties in 13 states from Alabama to New York, and over 25 million residents (ARC, 2012). Appalachia has typically been associated with rural life (over 42% is considered rural by the ARC), the average income and level of educational attainment

⁶ In this study, I consider only the role of variation in spoken language. There is often an unnatural ideological conflation of spoken and written language resulting in an assumption that there is a single standard for written and spoken language. As Lippi-Green (1997) notes, speaking and writing are not two ways of doing the same thing, but rather two ways of doing two different things. The role of variation in written form is beyond the scope of this paper.

have generally lagged behind the rest of the country (Shaw, DeYoung & Rademacher, 2004). Additionally, the region has long been associated with pejorative stereotypes about its inhabitants and their purported lifestyles. Appalachian is often viewed by others as “backward” or as the home of “hillbillies” and “rednecks” and simpletons. We see these stereotypes play out in the media still today with characters such as “Kenneth” from the NBC sitcom “30 Rock” who is portrayed as a simple, country bumpkin and is referred to as a “mouth-breathing Appalachian,” or “Cletus” from the long-running program “The Simpsons”- a barefoot moonshiner who lives in a shack in the mountains and is said to “torture the English language.” Naturally, in a region as large as Appalachia, there is not a single monolithic culture uniting its inhabitants, nor are these popular stereotypes accurate. Although the region lags behind the rest of the country in educational attainment, there is evidence that the gap is beginning to close and more students from Appalachia are attending college (Shaw, DeYoung & Rademacher, 2004). Rural counties in Appalachia, however, still have a lower number of students matriculating to college (Haaga 2004) and thus, college-bound students from rural Appalachia will likely be a minority on college campuses. Dialects of English spoken in Appalachia are highly recognizable; particularly those of Southern Appalachians (Montgomery, 2004), and certain elements of Southern Appalachian English are noticeable and stigmatized even by other Southerners (Greene, 2010). Thus, college attending students from rural Appalachia may find that their speech draws attention on campus, particularly on campuses outside of Appalachia, as Appalachian college students

will already be part of an underrepresented group and speech may serve as an invisible marker of this status.

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

My conceptual framework (Figure 1) is based on the concepts of standard language ideology (SLI), linguistic hegemony and codes of power in education. In this framework, I conceive SLI and linguistic hegemony as working in tandem to create codes of power in educational institutions. The idea that there is a single, preferred “standard” variety of language (based on the linguistic varieties preferred by the dominant classes) is taught in dominant institutions as being “common sense” (Lippi-Green, 1997) and those who do not speak the preferred variety are taught that their variety is in some way inferior. In this way, dominant classes are able to coerce those of lower status into accepting their ideology (Gramsci, 1971). Institutions of education have been cited as being one of the foremost vehicles of the proliferation of this ideology (Bourdieu, 1982). As dominant classes tend to control institutions such as those related to education, the language ideology they prefer and exclusion of those who do not use the preferred language formulates what Delpit (1995) refers to as a culture of power, the rules for which, most importantly being linguistic rules, are known as the codes of power. White (2004) and White and Lowenthal (2011) suggest that students who do not speak preferred varieties of English in academic settings (higher education in particular) will be de facto excluded from the academic discourse community and culture of power.

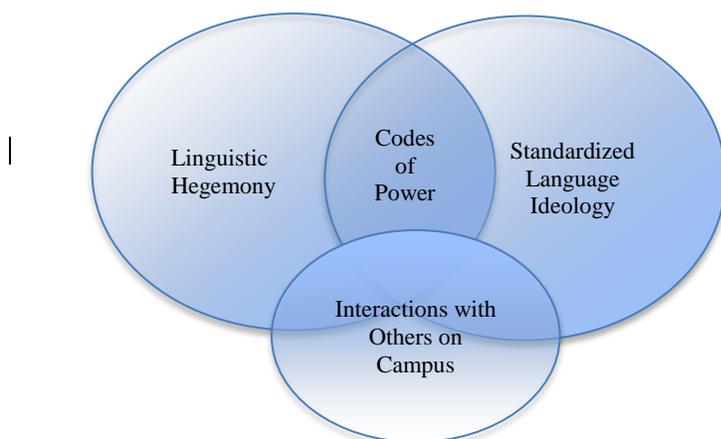


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Literature Review

While there exists literature on Appalachian college students (Asada, Swank & Goldey 2003; Beasley, 2011; Bickel, Banks & Spatig, 1991; Bradbury, 2008; Bryan & Simmons, 2009; Carter & Robinson, 2002; Dees, 2006; Wallace & Diekroger, 2000), these studies have not focused on the role that language plays in their college experiences. Indeed, there has been little research conducted thus far on the influence of speaking a stigmatized dialect on college experiences for any particular student population.

There has been some research on the language attitudes that Appalachians themselves hold about their own speech (McBride, 2006; Greene, 2010). McBride's qualitative study explored the language attitudes of professional Appalachian women. The women who

participated in her study suggested that they are aware of stigma surrounding Appalachian English and thus many feel it necessary to code-switch (i.e., switch style of speech in a single conversation) to a more standardized variety to succeed in professional environments. For many of the women, attending college was the first time that they became aware that their speech was stigmatized, and the experiences they share in the study highlight negative experiences related to speech in college and graduate school. These encounters and the fact the women indicate a need to speak a more standardized variety highlight the idea that standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony are found in education and in society in general. McBride thus suggests that educators reconsider how the role of language in education. Although this study focuses on professional women after they have completed college or graduate school, the experiences the women share about how their speech influenced their time in college are helpful in beginning to understand how the experiences of speakers of stigmatized dialects can be shaped by the language they speak. McBride does not include linguistic analysis of her participants which limits our understanding of how their dialects may differ or how experiences might differ based on degree to which one speaks a certain dialect, but her study is nonetheless informative in highlighting the idea that language is significant for Appalachian college students.

Another study of Appalachian women and language ideology (Greene, 2010) centers on language and identity. Greene's study includes women who have attended college as well as women who have not. Thus, it includes some evidence of language and college experiences, but this is not the primary focus of the study. A linguist, Greene focuses her

study on the use of three linguistic features which have historically been tied to dialects of Appalachian English:

/ay/ monophthongization in pre-voiceless phonetic environments (the word “rice” being pronounced as “rahs”),

raising and fronting of /ʌ/ (the vowel sound in the word “just” sounding more like “jest)

was-leveling (e.g. “They was reading when the phone rang”).

She found that college attending women had adopted more mainstream linguistic norms and used fewer stigmatized grammatical features, though they still used some stigmatized phonological features, seemingly as a way of indexing regional pride without deviating too far from notions of standardized speech (usually centered on notions of standardized grammar). Greene also found that her college attending participants “talk explicitly about how their feelings and their speech were affected by experiences at college” (p. 122) and further found that most of her participants, regardless of level of education, subscribed in some way to mainstream language ideology about what is standardized and proper, especially concerning what is proper grammar. Interestingly, Greene found evidence to suggest that this standard language ideology was reaching communities and being passed along to non-college attending women by being introduced and passed along by the women who had attended college. This suggests that the young women who attended college became aware (or had it reinforced) that their natural speech was inferior and that they should adopt a

more standardized style to be correct or proper. This, of course, implies that the role the SLI and linguistic hegemony plays on college campuses is perhaps more significant than previously considered in terms of how ideology and hegemony spread. Although this study provides ample linguistic description of the participants, its focus is not language and college experiences. Nonetheless, the evidence it provides related to language ideology and hegemony in academic environments is helpful in understanding the role of language in higher education for Appalachian students. Also useful from this study is the evidence it provides about which features of Appalachian English are most strongly marked as non-standardized, highlighting the more tolerant attitude of outsiders for non-standardized phonology (excluding, perhaps monophthongized /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments) and less tolerant attitude toward non-standardized grammar.

Though McBride (2006) and Greene (2010) explore the role of language for Appalachian women which includes, for some, experiences in college, their studies do not center exclusively on the role of language in shaping experiences in college for this population. Although to date there has not been a study which focuses on the role of language in college experiences for Appalachians, Scott (2008) sought to understand how speaking a dialect of Lumbee English⁷ influenced the college experiences and identity construction of Lumbee college students attending a predominately White institution. In his qualitative study, Scott found that Lumbee students who had attended predominately Lumbee

⁷ The Lumbee are the largest American Indian tribe east of the Mississippi River. Although they no longer speak a tribal language, many members of the Lumbee tribe speak a distinct dialect of English known as Lumbee English.

high schools were made aware for the first time when they arrived at college that their speech was considered different or stigmatized. Many participants suggested that they experienced challenges in the classroom due to language that they had not encountered in high school, and further suggested that they were subject to teasing (good-natured or otherwise) from peers. As a result of the attention their speech drew, many students suggested that they felt less likely to interact with non-Lumbee peers, faculty or staff for fear of being unfairly judged by their speech. Additionally, some of the participants indicated that the attention their dialect drew made them less likely to speak out in class and less likely to enroll in a course in which speaking and writing were central components (math and science courses, for example, were seen as more preferable). Scott (2008) also found that participants in his study had become aware that their dialect was not considered to be a prestigious variety and was associated with being less educated and rural. As such, several participants suggested that on campus they felt a need to code-switch to a more standardized variety to be considered proper, which created conflict for several students in terms of identity construction in terms of being American Indian and “sounding White” by adopting the preferred variety of speech on campus. Like McBride (2006) and Greene’s (2010) studies, these findings highlight the role of SLI and linguistic hegemony in shaping the codes of power on campus and influence the overall campus environment and how accepting it is of linguistic diversity. In Scott’s study, the codes of power at this institution influenced the degree to which Lumbee students made use of campus resources, interacted with others, and felt a sense of belonging. Like McBride’s study, Scott’s findings are somewhat limited by a

lack of linguistic description of his participants, but the study is nonetheless informative on the significant role that language can play in shaping college experiences, particularly for speakers belonging to groups which are not well represented on a particular campus.

Although McBride (2006) and Greene (2010) touch upon the role of language for Appalachians in college and Scott (2008) explores the role of language in college for Lumbee students, there remains a gap in the literature focusing solely on the role of language in the college experiences of Appalachian students. The studies reviewed here highlight the idea that language is a significant element of diversity which students bring with them to college and that notions of SLI, linguistic hegemony can shape the culture of power on a college campus through illustrating times when students felt because of their language that they were in some way excluded from participation without adopting preferred forms of speech. This study seeks to fill the gap by asking the question, “how does language ideology influence the experiences of college students from rural Appalachia and their perceptions of acceptance in the campus environment” through qualitative methods and including linguistic analysis of the participants’ speech.

Methods

This study utilized basic interpretive qualitative methods (Merriam, 2002) and sociolinguistic analysis of participants’ morphosyntax, or grammar, (Labov, 1984) and phonology, or pronunciation (Thomas 2011). Qualitative methods were chosen for this study as it seeks to explore experiences and perceptions, which are noted as being best answered through qualitative inquiry (Merriam, 2002). Participants in this study were college students

from rural Appalachia (as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission) between the ages of 18 and 23 who are currently enrolled full time at a large, public research institution located in an urban area in a Southern state, referred to in this study as “Southern State University” (SSU). The institution is located outside of Appalachia and thus participants represent a small contingency from their region on campus. Participants were contacted with the assistance of the university planning office, which provided the researcher with a list of the names and email addresses of students who, on their initial application to the university, listed graduating from a high school located in a rural Appalachian county. Participants were contacted by the researcher via email to solicit participation in the study, and were further screened to only include those students who have lived in the region since before at least age 12 (the “critical period” linguists associate with the acquisition of dialect features) and those having at least one parent who was born and raised in Appalachia to ensure ties to the region. Twenty-six students met these criteria and were interviewed (See Appendix B)

Selected participants participated in audio recorded, semi-structured interviews conducted on campus in a one on one setting. Participants were asked questions related to their speech, the speech of others in their home community, impressions of the speech of other on campus, and any way in which their speech might have influenced experiences on campus including, but not limited to, interactions with peers, faculty and staff, academic performance, choice of friends and activities, campus involvement, and sense of belonging on campus. Students were also offered the chance to participate in follow-up interviews, at which time the researcher could ask them to elaborate on or clarify previous experiences

shared. Seven participants elected to participate in follow-up interviews. At the end of the initial interview, participants were asked to read a short reading passage which contained potential phonetic environments for the use of certain features of interest such as monophthongization of /ay/ in pre-voiced and pre-voiceless environments. This was done to ensure that in the event that the participant did not use a significant number of words featuring those sounds in the interview, there would be enough for the researcher to measure. Interviews lasted for an average of 40 minutes.

The interview transcripts were initially approached using a priori codes (Saldaña, 2009) based on the conceptual framework and interview protocol. Interviews were also coded for emerging, unanticipated themes. Coding was completed with the assistance of the qualitative coding software NVIVO (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 10, 2012) and the researchers enlisted the aid of a peer coder to verify the researcher's initial coding to enhance confirmability. The peer coder was a faculty member with a background in sociolinguistics and educational research. Other efforts to enhance trustworthiness were made, such as member checking. Participants were contacted via email with a copy of the researcher's tentative findings and given the opportunity to provide feedback. Thirteen participants responded and all thirteen affirmed that they found the findings to be accurate representations of their experiences.

The interview transcripts and audio recordings were also analyzed using sociolinguistic analysis methods in order to provide rich and thick description of participants' speech to better understand how experiences might differ based on differences in speech (for

example, how might a student who uses many non-standardized features perceive the university as being linguistically accepting compared to a student whose speech is fairly standardized?). Transcripts were analyzed for use of non-standardized morphosyntactic, or grammatical, features. For each student, the number of non-standardized features was counted as a percentage of the number of total uses of the feature. For example, if there were 10 times in the interview during which the student used a past participle which had the possibility of being irregular, and 8 of the 10 times a past participle used was irregular (e.g. “She had went to the bank”), that speaker would have an 80% use of irregular past participles. This ratio was calculated for each non-standardized morphosyntactic feature present in the transcript.

Phonology, or pronunciation, of speakers was also measured. This was done differently, using formant analysis and the acoustic analysis software Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). Rather than measure speakers’ entire vocalic inventories, I focused on what is arguably the most salient phonological feature associated with dialects of Appalachian English and one with the most psychosocial salience for speakers themselves and for outsiders: monophthongization of /ay/ in pre-voiceless⁸ phonetic environments. This feature is stigmatized even by other Southerners (who may only monophthongize /ay/ only in pre-voiced environments) and as such it provides a salient marker for distinction of these

⁸ The terms pre-voiced and pre-voiceless refer to whether or not the vocal chords vibrate during the production of that phoneme, or sound. For example, the vocal chords do not vibrate during the production of the sound /s/ while they do vibrate before the sound /z/. Thus, the /ay/ sound in the word “bite” is in a pre-voiceless phonetic environment, while the /ay/ sound in the word “bide” is in a pre-voiced phonetic environment.

speakers from their non-Appalachian Southern peers. I also measured the vowel /e/ (the vowel sound in the word “bait”) as lowering and centralization of this feature has been found to perceptually be as salient as /ay/ in identifying speakers as Southern (Allbritten, 2012). Measurement protocol suggested by Thomas (2011) was used as a guide for formant analysis of these features. Formant analysis involves using acoustic analysis software to extract measurements of the formants (or resonant frequencies, the frequencies which are acoustically favored and passed through the filtration of the vocal tract) of selected phonemes (sounds) which are measured in Hertz are then plotted visually using software such as NORM (Thomas & Kendall, 2007). Through these formant measurements and subsequent visualization, linguists are able to “ID” characteristics of the sound that make it unique. For example, each vowel sound in American English will have formant values that fall within specific ranges. The sound /e/ (the vowel sound in the word “bait”) will generally have a first formant (F1⁹) around 500Hz and second formant (F2) value of around 2300Hz. These values are quite different from those of the sound /ɔ/ (the first vowel sound in “coffee”) which are generally around F1 590 Hz and F2 880 Hz. Thus, we can identify the vowel and observe the vowel quality based on these formant measurements. In order to determine whether /ay/ was articulated as a diphthong (two vowel sounds in the same syllable) or a monophthong (one

⁹ F1 and F2 refer to the first and second formants. These two formants provide enough information for assessing vowel quality of certain vowels, such as those measured in this study. These formants are harmonics of the F0, or fundamental frequency of a sound. The fundamental frequency is the “base” wave of a complex wave; all subsequent waves are harmonics of the base wave. The F0, measured in Hertz (Hz) is the number of cycles per second the focal chords vibrate and is perceived as the pitch of a person’s voice. The measurement of sound waves in Hertz refers to the number of times per second the cycle of compression and rarefaction is completed.

sound per syllable) for speakers in the study, the measurements were taken using a script, or, “an executable text that consists of menu commands and action commands” (Boersma & Weenick, 2010) which allows for greater accuracy and consistency in taking measurements. The script used in this study was one modified by Kohn and Farrington (2012), and was originally co-written by linguists Mary Kohn and Jeff Mielke. The script took measures of F1, F2, and F3 at various points in the vowel, and those used for this study were the F1 and F2 measurements taken 25% and 75% into the vowel. Measurements at these points in the vowel allowed me to observe the glide of the vowel, or movement in the F2, to determine whether or not the vowel was articulated as a diphthong or if it was more monophthongal. For example, a vowel with little movement in the F2 value will have a shorter glide and be perceived as monophthongal, while a vowel with significant movement in F2 value will have a longer glide and be perceived as a diphthong. Following Fridland (2003), I make the distinction between monophthongal and diphthongal vowels by measuring the difference between the nucleus and glide target measurements of the vowel (beginning and end). A very short glide is one with a difference of less than 100Hz, short is between 100 and 200Hz, and a full glide (or diphthong) is a difference of over 300Hz. Appendix B contains information regarding the general trend of participants and their realization of /ay/ as monophthongal (weakened or short glides) or diphthongal (full glides).

These linguistic findings were used to describe participants’ speech and provide a description of how “standard” or “vernacular” participants were. For the purpose of this study, participants who were considered to be more vernacular are those who

monophthongize /ay/ in pre-voiceless phonetic environments (a stigmatized feature associated with Appalachian dialects), and those who use non-standardized grammar. It should be noted that only one participant (Jason) who uses non-standardized grammar does not also monophthongize /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts. Participants' use of /e/ was not found to be significantly different than the use of peers from the Southern State campus area, and the only participants whose /e/ vowels did vary were also those who had weakened glides in /ay/ in pre-voiceless contexts. Additionally, I used my perceptions as a Southerner, former resident of Appalachia, and familiarity with Southern State campus to categorize a few participants, like Brooke or Jason, whose /ay/ glide is not always significantly weakened in pre-voiceless environments, but whose speech may still draw attention on campus. Appendix B contains a chart with demographic information for each participant and an indication of whether or not he or she uses non-standardized grammar or monophthongizes /ay/ in pre-voiceless environments.

Findings

Language and Interaction with Peers

When asked to reflect on how language might influence their interactions with peers on campus, participants suggested that the dialect they speak (and the dialects spoken by their peers) plays a role in the type of classmates with whom they are initially drawn to, believe that it influences how their peers perceive them, and for the more vernacular students, it draws attention, sometimes positively and sometimes in the form of teasing. Participants also indicated that dialect does not seem to play a large role in the type of groups (both

formal and informal) that they chose to join on campus, and further suggest that over time in college, language begins to play a lesser role in peer interactions.

Language and Attraction to Others. Many participants, regardless of dialect, indicated that the way they speak and the way that their peers on campus at Southern State University speak influences, to a degree, the type of people to whom they are initially drawn when making friends and establishing relationships. Participants suggested that hearing other students on campus whose speech is similar to theirs is an auditory cue that those linguistically similar students might have a similar background, whether that means socioeconomic status, geographic origin, or for some, perceived level of intelligence. Many participants whose speech features stigmatized features of Appalachian dialects (and also some whose speech does not) indicated that they are initially drawn to other students who sound like them or sound like they are from the western part of the state:

Kind of- I guess, people that talk more the same way I do, I tend to gravitate more towards them. I guess it's just a comfort thing, kind of like at home, cause I'm not used to being this far away. It's a good seven hours. (Megan)

I don't know if it was because of the way I speak, but I tend to get along with people from my area better than I meet out here. At least the western part of the state, because they have that, I guess dialect, or accent, whatever you want to say. I don't know if that has anything to do with it, it just might be more of a cultural thing... Yea, just people I met in classes. I don't know, it seems like they were a little more- I don't

know if it has anything to do with dialect or anything, but they were a little more outgoing towards me and maybe I was more comfortable around them. (Brandon)

One of my friends I have lived with for the past two out of three years, he lived on the same hall I did my freshman year. Of course we were from the same region, we hung out a good bit because of that. I guess having the same accent made it easier to bond over I guess. (John)

Brandon, whose speech is distinctly rural Southern but less distinctly Appalachian, also notes that he has more friends from rural areas than urban areas, and suggests that he agrees that dialect serves as a cue for rurality when he first meets people. Similarly, Kelly notes that she identifies other students with rural backgrounds by picking up on their speech and those are the type of students with whom she feels most comfortable:

I pretty much hang out with the rural kids, you know the guys who are walking around in flannel cause that's how they grew up and I pretty much tend to stay away from all the other kids (Kelly)

Some participants indicate that it is not even necessarily an Appalachian dialect that draws them to other students, but any dialect that suggests a rural upbringing:

Just country in general because I have a lot of friends here from [small, central North Carolina town] and that's not really western. (Jason)

I feel a little maybe more comfortable, I know this is a little stereotypical, but I feel more comfortable around people with Ag[ricultural] backgrounds because they come from type of accent themselves, so it's, more or less, but I feel like when I'm around others that are into like, business and are considered more professional type jobs or majors, they kinda judge me. (Lauren)

And it's really funny, but it's, whereas at the other places (on campus] you would kinda get, people would poke fun. In a nice way, but still- and then there everyone else talks the same. So it just kinda, it's as if you immediate meet and you're like, "Oh you're kinda like all my old friends." You kinda have a lot in common somehow without even knowing anything. (Maddy)

Jessica, the only African American participant in the study indicates that ethnicity rather than dialect is generally what draws her to other peers at first in terms of forming friendships, but she also suggests that hearing a dialect similar to hers can be comforting, and make her more drawn to those speakers on campus:

Yea, cause like, it's so big. Like some people that graduated, like- one, two, three- it was probably three people, three or four people I graduated with, and one of the girls, she went back home, but the rest of us are here but I don't see them very often cause our majors are all different. When I hear somebody from my area I'm like, "Heck yes!" (Jessica)

Conversely, some of the participants whose speech is more standardized indicate that dialect serves as a cue for those with whom they would prefer not to associate. Some participants like Isabelle and Vince note that their speech has never included any non-standardized features associated with Appalachian dialects and they have not made an effort to change their speech, while others like Robert, Landon, and Sara note that they had, at some point, made a conscious decision that they did not want to be associated with the stereotypes associated with Southern Appalachian speech and note that their speech is more standardized now than at past points in their lives. Many of these participants, to a degree, engage in what Schwalbe et al., (2000) call *defensive othering*, or “identity work by those seeking membership in a dominant group or by those seeking to deflect a stigma they experience as members of a subordinate group” (p.425). In doing so, as Schwalbe et al. indicate, they acknowledge that they belong to a subordinate group which has been deemed “Other” and inferior by dominant groups, but they are trying to separate themselves from other members of their subordinate group in order to gain access and acceptance in the dominant group. These participants also seem to be somewhat oriented away from their home region do not express the same type of pride in regional identity as others. For these participants, hearing someone on campus who sounds like they come from their home region can serve as a deterrent: “But I think I’m probably less inclined to become friends with someone who has a really drawn out accent.” (Isabelle)

Language and Peer Perceptions. Participants in this study suggested that, regardless of the dialect they speak, they believe that the way that their peers on campus view them is

influenced by their language. Sometimes peer perceptions are overt, as noted in the experiences of some of the more vernacular participants who indicate that they have been the subject of language-based stereotyping, while other times it is more subtle. Participants believe that speaking a dialect that sounds Southern Appalachian can influence how their peers perceive them and often believe that these perceptions will be negative. Participants are particularly aware of certain non-standardized phonological variants such as monophthongized /ay/ (particularly in pre-voiceless phonetic environments) and some of the more vernacular participants note making an effort to code-switch, or change linguistic style, to accommodate a more standardized variety in certain situations. Overall, participants do not suggest that language influences the type of groups they have chosen to participate in in college and further note that over time in college, differences in dialect seem to matter less and less.

Many of the more vernacular participants in this study indicate that throughout their experience at Southern State University, they have experienced some degree of teasing for the way they speak. Generally, students suggest that this teasing has been good-natured and comes from mostly from friends, but participants who had experienced teasing suggested that they are less comfortable when the teasing comes from peers with whom they are less familiar or with whom they have not established relationships.

I expected people to be like, well you know, mountainfolk overall, it's a barefoot kind of thing. Nobody really gave me a hard time about it. When they did though, it was just all in fun. I mean, by that point I had become friends with them and we could just

talk about the differences in the way we grew up, that sort of conversation. But nobody ever *really* gave me a hard time about it. I just took it in fun when they did.

(John)

With my friends it's good natured I guess, I give it right back to 'em. But some people you meet in passing, they'll say "Oh your accent- where are you from?" And I'll say Kentucky and they're like, "Oh..." and they just turn around and walk away. I'm like, 'Ok I can deal with that.' (Kelly)

I'd say that most of my- when people teased me it was in good fun. But every now and then it would still just irritate me. So especially if I was in a bad mood or it hit me the wrong way I'd be like, "Yeah, what do you want me to do about it? (Lana)

Sometimes, however, the teasing is not as good-natured, and some of the participants whose speech features stigmatized variants indicate that they have felt uncomfortable in situations in which they felt stereotyped or judged based on their speech. Emily says that she feels uncomfortable meeting people for the first time in some social situations: "like if I'm meeting new people that I feel like would exploit my accent, want me to be the entertainment." Other more vernacular students suggest that there are times that they also have felt uncomfortable being stereotyped based on speech:

Just a lot of the negativity. You know the backwards, slow type tying that you know people do when they make fun of you. Whenever you talk to them they'll try to have

a country accent or something. And yeah, it's- that happens on a regular basis but it's not a big deal. I just move past it. (Christopher)

And then I come here [to SSU] and people are like, they look at me like I didn't wear shoes growing up or something you know? And they think I should know, like, they assume by the way you talk that you grew up on a farm and that you know everything about NASCAR you know? (Hank)

Students also indicate, regardless of dialect, that they believe that the way that they speak influences how their peers on campus at Southern State perceive them. They indicate beliefs that language can influence others' perceptions in areas like intelligence, how worldly or experienced they are, their major, or even if they are someone with whom they have anything in common. One of the most common themes mentioned was that peer perceptions of intelligence might be influenced by dialect, particularly when first meeting someone:

And here, people more or less think you're an idiot. Or they think, you know- a lot of time I think people think I'm an idiot. Just because of the way I talk or dress or things like that. And it takes them a little while to understand that I'm not. (Hank)

Sometimes I think that people might think that I'm not educated because of it just because I have this accent and you hear a country accent and you think hillbilly, and then hillbilly, no education. So I think it's just the social norm to think that way. (Elizabeth)

Probably at first. Probably at first. And I've actually met other people, like a guy I met from West Virginia, and when I first came down here he said, 'Oh you'll lose that accent really fast here,' 'cause he didn't sound at all like he was from West Virginia. He said, 'The first year I was here, everyone picked on me, and I quit that.' I don't really think they thought, I mean, probably at first they thought I was like, "Oh my gosh, where is this girl from? How did she get into State? But it hasn't been a huge hindrance or anything. (Brooke)

Participants also suggest that the idea that peers' initial perceptions of others based on speech can present challenges in making friends if students are not willing to look past stereotypes associated with certain types of speech. Some of the more vernacular participants suggest that maybe others' initial perceptions of them based on speech have steered them away, while some of the more standardized speaking participants suggest that they themselves have stereotyped their peers based on speech and used initial perceptions as a determinant for striking up friendships in college. Participants suggest that maybe they have been excluded by others at times based on perceptions related to their speech, or conversely, that they have excluded others based on their speech:

I didn't realize how big the fraternity, the Greek scene was and all that. And they're not really accepting of you, or they're accepting of you but they're accepting as more of like, 'Oh this guy's' - it more of like a novelty more than like a friend. So that kinda you know, impacts your ability to have, to make good

friends. Because they don't look at you as somebody they can be friends with.

(Hank)

People are always, you know they're always gonna feel you out and make sure they're hanging out with the right people. And that's if you sound different or uneducated, they're not gonna wanna hang around you I guess. (Thomas)

I don't feel like language has been a barrier for me, but I know I've used language as a barrier for building friendships and relationships just because again, I don't know, actually I feel like an asshole for sort of saying that I wouldn't be friends with someone because I felt they aren't intelligent. It's very subjective on the situation (Robert)

I know its kind of like a double standard because I've been sitting here saying other stuff, but when I would meet somebody if they had like a really thick country accent, my first like, the first thing I thought of is we could probably be friends but we probably aren't going to get along. Just because I associate the accent with my county. And I just, this is going to sound so bad, but I had so many fake friends....So when I hear that voice I'm like you're going to be into country music, you're not going to like anything I do, you're not going to like that I dance, and you know, so its kind of decided on. I try to give everybody a

chance, I really do, but I'm normally right. That accent normally coincides with the personality. (Landon)

Participants also suggest that peers' perceptions of them based on speech begin to diminish after early encounters and further suggest that as time goes on in college, the dialect one speaks seems to matter less and less:

Initially it does, but I guess the more they get to know me as a person instead of you know, just a face they warm up. They still make fun of me and just joke around, but I make fun of them just you know to get back at them, but definitely in the initial interaction it [language] does [influence perceptions]. (Christopher)

"I think, I know my sophomore year when I first started actually in the engineering courses they like, people were always wary of, who's this person? They was worried about everybody... And then you get so frustrated in the semesters after that that people stop caring about what you sound like, who you are. It's- can you get your work done is the main thing. (Rachel)

I think my freshman year, I tried to change the way I talk a lot more, and now I'm just sort of not really that conscious of an effort (Megan)

Participants also suggested that over time, those who had been subject to teasing got used to it, did not let it bother them, or had adopted strategies to avoid being teased such as by code-

switching in certain environments or not speaking up in environments in which they felt they might be teased.

It's just something I deal with. Usually I just laugh about it and go on. Cause they're gonna think what they want to no matter what I do, can't really change other people's opinions of ya. (Kelly)

Sometimes, it's weird cause like I said, a lot of my friends make fun of me but it's in a joking way, but when I first moved here I didn't like it. After a while I kinda got used to it, but I guess the way it affected me, cause I didn't like people making fun of like my country talk and slang, my drawl, so... (Jessica)

And I've had a conversation with somebody at workI was like, you know I graduated from high school with honors, 4.0, blah-blah-blah, and he was like, 'Well that must be easy coming from a town full of hillbillies!' I was like, 'Are you serious?' So yea, that was an interesting conversation. I'll stop at that- but so I mean, I deal with it now, cause people pick up on my accent and they're like 'Oh.' and then they see that I'm actually not, you know, not stupid so they're like, 'Okay.'" (Lana)

Some students like Justin who note that their speech consistently draws attention on campus choose to look on the bright side and note that their speech is something that makes them unique:

Well it's fun sometimes when people make fun cause I'm different and I don't sound like everyone else. It's fun to have quirks and stuff. (Justin)

Despite the belief that peers perceptions of them will be influenced by their speech, participants in this study did not indicate the language had any influence on their level of involvement in campus activities or their choices in the type of groups they joined in college. Many participants indicated that the type of activities in which they are involved on campus are related to their major or are community service oriented, and thus language played little role. However, several students also indicated that some of the social groups they have chosen to join on campus are those typically associated with rural students because being from rural areas themselves, they often feel most comfortable around these students. Many students indicated that they associate non-standardized Southern or Southern Appalachian speech with being rural, and that accent is sometimes used as a cue to identify other students with whom they believe they share similarities. Thus, it is possible that though students might not be overtly aware of it, language does play a role in campus involvement in some activities with other students from rural backgrounds.

Language and Interaction with Faculty and Staff

In addition to interactions with their peers, participants in this study suggested that language can influence to some degree, the interactions they have with faculty and staff members on campus. Participants, regardless of dialect, generally indicated a perceived need to use more standardized, formal speech around faculty members, which is unsurprising, as we would likely find that most students on college campuses feel a need to use a more formal register

with faculty as they represent a form of authority. For some students, this means trying to use “good vocabulary” while for some of the more vernacular students, this means code-switching. Several students indicated that they have very limited contact with faculty members and so language has not yet presented itself as an issue. Participants suggested that for the most part, they feel that faculty at Southern State University have done a good job of being seemingly neutral and accepting of diverse dialects, though some students suggested having negative experiences with some faculty based on language use. Additionally, a few of the more vernacular students indicate that they believe that faculty members’ perceptions of them are affected by language.

As mentioned, many students suggest that they believe that faculty members are, for the most part, fairly accepting of linguistic diversity at Southern State University. Nonetheless, some of the more vernacular students suggest that they believe that to some degree, their professors’ perceptions of them and their abilities may be influenced by the dialects they speak:

I think of myself as a different variety of student than most. I do think about how strange it is for a lot of professors for me to walk into the classroom and be a student of applied mathematics and still have the accent that I do. It’s not like its been bothersome to me, but its just a funny thought I guess. So it’s been enough for me to think about before but it’s never actually bothered me. So mostly in like the math and science classes that I’m in, when I’m talking to professors it does catch them off

guard a little bit and they're like, "Wait, you're in my class?" and I was like "Yea."

[Laughs] (Joseph)

They don't say anything. Whether they noticed or not, I don't know [laughs]. They never said anything to me so...(Lauren)

It's mostly students. I've never heard anything from professors. Yea, kids can be cruel sometimes. It's just the way I look at it and just let it go. (Kelly)

Other students indicate that when interacting with faculty, they try to limit the negative impressions that faculty might have of them based on their speech by switching to a more standardized variety. This is perhaps unsurprising, because many students if they were polled, would suggest that they try to speak more formally for their professors. However, this may be more challenging and stressful for speakers of non-standardized dialects. Some of the more vernacular students note:

I don't think so. I think they've all been pretty understanding. Like I said, I probably have a lot to do with it because if I am around somebody I don't know I do try to change how I talk. I guess just to avoid anything being said, but. I've never had anything said to me. Or I've never been discriminated by it I guess. (Lauren)

More when I'm talking to like a professor or someone, I guess of authority [she code-switches]. Not so much if I'm just talking to my roommates, you know just watching

TV or something. It's more I guess adults...I guess just trying to impress them I suppose. (Megan)

Well, I'm really good at downplaying it. And I had to be 'cause I was a state 4-H officer for a year. And we go in and we talk to a lot of- all the Ag representatives, we go and talk the University Chancellor. I've learned to downplay it a lot, especially if you go into a meeting with the Chancellor, you have to, it's almost like a switch. I can turn it on and off. My grammar just obviously clears up. It's remarkable. (Patty)

Yea, definitely speaking to more professors, just anybody that I feel is more educated than I am. I definitely try to toss out all the slang and the 'y'all's' and everything like that and try and match them, too. (Thomas)

Although many students suggest that they have had overall positive interactions with faculty and staff members in terms of speech, a few of the more vernacular students suggest that there have been times in their college experiences when their dialect was an inhibiting factor.

Hank suggests that it really depends on the faculty member:

Yea sometimes. Sometimes they don't though [make assumptions based on speech]. Cause sometimes I talk to them and they understand [that he is intelligent]. Like, I was a chemical engineering major for a while, but one thing I did do, a professor even asked me to be on, like, I was invited to be in his research group. And I was doing

that for a little while. So, some of them do and some of them don't. Some of them are more accepting than others. (Hank)

Just as Hank mentions that he has had instructors who are understanding and do not assume that he is unintelligent based on his speech, he also cites interactions with his academic advisor which have been less than positive:

My advisor does [judge him based on speech]. He's from New York and he's like, "Gah, you're from the middle of nowhere!" And he doesn't unders- he doesn't know, he doesn't know anything about the area, so he doesn't, you can't say, uh, I don't know how to say it. But yea, he definitely perceives me as being kind of a redneck I guess you'd say...I don't think he thinks I'm smart at all! [Laughs] (Hank)

Another speaker, Christopher, has unfortunately had several unpleasant experiences with faculty members during his college experience associated with his dialect. In our interview, he talks about being made an example by a professor in one of his courses, as his speech was used as a proxy for a "country person" and he was made the representative in his class for all rural people. He also shared an unpleasant experience he had during his very first week of classes at Southern State University:

I guess it was the first week of classes freshman year. I had an English professor and I said 'yes sir' to him and he called me- I don't know if I can say the whole thing. I mean, he called me a 'kiss-ass' for saying 'yes-sir'. I was like, 'I'm sorry, that's the way I was raised' and he was like, 'Well, that's unfortunate.' I didn't know what to do. I mean it just took me off guard. I was like, 'OK, soo...' So I had to stay in there

as a night class so I got out of there at like 9:30, and I called home. I was like, ‘I don’t know what just happened, but...’ (Christopher)

Christopher also talks about how he believes faculty in his major, sociology, have often assumed that he was slower than other students based on his speech, but eventually discovered that this was not the case.

Despite negative cases like these, participants largely suggested that they did not believe language to be an overwhelming influence on their relationships with faculty and staff members. Several students suggested that this is perhaps because they have limited interaction with faculty, or as Hank notes, “legally they can get in trouble” if they make prejudicial remarks based on a students’ characteristics.

Discussion

Two of the key findings from this study indicate that students tend to use language as an auditory cue for identifying others with whom they initially want to engage, and students whose speech includes stigmatized features feel that they are subject to stereotyping by peers on campus. Both of these findings have implications for how educators should reconsider the role of language diversity on American college campuses.

The first significant finding is the idea that students suggested that they are initially drawn to others on campus who sound like them in some way, or who sound like someone they would like to be. Many participants suggested that the sound of someone from their region is comforting, and even hearing someone whose speech signifies a rural upbringing can serve as a cue for shared backgrounds, things in common, and common ground for

beginning a friendship. Participants seemed to associate stigmatized features of Southern American English with rurality and there is an underlying assumption that even if the speaker is not necessarily from Appalachia; if they are from a rural area there will be more common ground that there might be with a speaker from an urban area. Participants (particularly some of the more vernacular participants and participants who indicated an orientation toward or pride in their home community) suggested in our interviews that although they have made friends in college from across the state and across the South, they tended to have closer relationships with friends who are also from rural areas. They attributed this to shared values and experiences growing up. Participants who were less oriented toward their home community, expressed less pride in their home community, and whose speech had fewer non-standardized features were less likely to express an orientation toward other rural students based on speech. In fact, some of the participants, like Robert, Landon, Vince, and Isabelle, suggested that they were less likely to initially be drawn to a peer who sounds like they might be from their home region or a rural area. Landon and Vince are very much oriented away from their home communities which they believe to hold values and ideologies in opposition with what they believe and these young men suggest that hearing someone who sounds like they are from their home region is an indication that those speakers likely hold the same beliefs as home community members with which Landon and Vince do not agree. Landon and Vince both note that members of their home community may be closed-minded to choices or lifestyles which differ from the traditional, conservative values of the community. Robert and Isabelle seem to be more averse to peers whose speech sounds similar to that of

their home community for reasons of perceived intelligence. In their interviews the participants whose speech was more standardized (Robert by choice, Isabelle naturally), indicated a desire to make friends with peers who they believe will be intelligent and share common interests; speakers of non-standardized dialects do not fit this bill for them. They prefer the company of other students whose speech is more standardized. All four of these students demonstrate to some extent, the idea of *defensive othering* (Schwalbe, et al., 2000) to indicate that they are different from the “typical” Appalachian. It is significant to note that regardless of dialect, language played a role for nearly all participants in the study in terms of others on campus to whom they were drawn or turned off.

The fact that students tend to be attracted, at least initially, to those who sound like them or sound like someone they want to be, is perhaps not surprising. Communication accommodation theory (CAT) (Giles, 1973), which draws in part from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and similarity attraction theory (Byrne, 1971), among others, suggests that in a sense, “birds of a feather flock together” in terms of language use. A component of CAT is that we are drawn to those whose speech is in some way deemed as socially favorable to us. Language can be used as an identifier as a member of a particular social group, and conversely, makes us distinct from other social groups (Giles & Coupland, 1991). This may seem both intuitive and innocuous at first consideration, but when evaluating the idea critically there are some rather serious implications. If students are unaware of the significance of linguistic diversity (the value of all dialects, the erroneous assumptions that are often made based on language) they are limiting themselves and their

experiences in college. Some of the more vernacular participants suggest that part of the attraction to others who sound like them is that there is an assumption that these other students will not judge or tease them for their speech. This is quite understandable, but in staying within their comfort zones, these students are limiting themselves from establishing relationships with others on campus from non-Appalachian or non-rural backgrounds with whom they indeed may have much in common and from whom they can learn. Conversely, participants who suggest an aversion to others who sound like they come from Appalachia are limiting their experiences, and buying into and propagating stereotypes and cultural hegemony respective of Appalachians and rural Southerners. Additionally, non-Appalachian students on campus who may hold unfavorable stereotypes based on speech may be less likely to establish friendships with these students and maintain de facto segregation among speakers of standardized and non-standardized speakers. These patterns may in effect, continue to exclude non-standardized speakers from the culture of power. Additionally, research has indicated that college students benefit from diverse experiences and diverse relationships (Astin, 1993; Chang, Denson, Sáenz, & Misa, 2006; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005), and language use may be an inhibiting factor for developing these experiences, largely because of (it seems), stereotypes and assumptions surrounding the use of certain language varieties.

The second major finding of the study was that participants, regardless of their speech, indicated an awareness of stereotypes surrounding rural Appalachians and dialects of Southern Appalachian English. Some participants have made a conscious effort to avoid

these stereotypes by code-switching in certain environments, attempting to modify their speech entirely in favor of a more standardized variety, or by speaking up less in certain situations. Other participants already speak a fairly standardized variety of Southern American English and though they do not feel a need to change their speech to avoid stereotypes, they recognize that these stereotypes exist for many of their Appalachian peers, particularly outside of Appalachia. The most common stereotype that participants acknowledged was the idea that rural Appalachians, particularly those whose speech marks them as such, are viewed by outsiders as uneducated, unintelligent, and slow. Some of the more vernacular participants indicated that they felt at some point their college instructors may have stereotyped them as unintelligent based on their speech, and some suggest that their peers in their courses stereotype them as unintelligent based on speech. Although participants indicate that eventually they become accustomed to stereotyping (an idea which will be discussed further later), these stereotypes can be damaging, particularly in educational settings. Steele (1997) is credited with expanding upon the idea of stereotype threat, or the assertion that when stereotypes about a certain group of people are enacted, performance can be influenced. Clark, Eno and Guadagno (2011) explored the influence of stereotype threat on performance for Southern American college students and found that when negative stereotypes (particularly about intelligence level) about Southerners were enacted prior to testing, these students performed worse on intellectual ability tasks than when stereotypes had not been referenced. Additionally, the study found that the more closely an individual identified with being Southern, the more negative impact the triggered stereotype had on

performance. The rural, Southern Appalachian college students who participated in this study are well aware of the stereotypes associated with their geographic background, and several have experienced this type of stereotyping first-hand in college. What impact might these stereotypes have on these students in terms of stereotype threat? Many participants (particularly those whose speech features non-standardized elements) suggest feeling a need to prove themselves and to overcome barriers not common for other students. Does this pressure influence their academic performance on a subconscious level? Some participants in this study identified more with their hometown and region than others, and thus may be more susceptible to influence of these stereotypes as Clark, Eno and Guadagno's study suggests. Some, like Christopher, Kelly, Hank, Elizabeth, and Rachel suggest regional pride and close ties to their home community, and they are also high achieving, intrinsically motivated students, who suggest high levels of confidence in their ability levels regardless of others' perceptions. Even these students suggest feeling an additional pressure to prove themselves against 'Southern/Appalachian speaking' stereotype. Additionally, language use is socially stratified and speakers of non-standardized varieties are likely to be from rural, low SES, and minority backgrounds. Consider the *multiple* stereotypes of a student with a stigmatized dialect and also as a member of an underrepresented group on campus.

Participants (particularly those who use non-standardized features) additionally indicate that they experience teasing for their speech on campus (some good-natured, some not), this is something that over time they "get used to" and "deal with." Exploring why or how these students "get used to it" or develop methods of "dealing" may merit attention, but

more important for exploration perhaps, is the idea that students who speak non-standardized varieties of English must become accustomed to and deal with teasing or mockery for their speech. Lippi-Green (1997) suggests that linguistic discrimination is “so commonly accepted, so widely perceived as appropriate, that it must be seen as the last back door to discrimination. And the door stands wide open” (p. 73). Indeed, in society today, the idea that a student on a college campus should have to get used to or learn to deal with being discriminated against based on a characteristic largely beyond their control is unacceptable. Nonetheless, student affairs professionals, faculty, administrators, and other members of campus communities are either unaware that this type of discrimination occurs on their campuses, or are unaware that there is anything gravely wrong with it. As previously noted, in the United States there is a widely held ideological stance that there is a preferred variety of English and speech which deviates from the standardized is incorrect, improper, or inferior. As Lippi-Green notes, this ideology is held as common sense, even among those whose speech is deemed inferior. While as educators we would not tell a student that he or she might not be successful in certain endeavors because he or she is the wrong color, many of us see nothing wrong with telling a student that his or her speech is not the preferred variety for success. Peers on campus generally know that it is wrong to tease one another (good-naturedly or otherwise) for being members of a certain racial/ethnic group, sexual orientation, gender, social class or religious group, but many would not think twice about making fun of a peer’s speech, which may be a direct link to any of those facets of personal identity. Although many college campuses are making an effort to be “multiculturally

competent” (Howard-Hamilton, Cuyjet & Cooper, 2011, p. 12), linguistic diversity has not been widely noted as being a part of this multicultural competence. This of course, is critical, not only because language is often intrinsically linked with cultural and identity, but also because language can serve as an invisible marker for discrimination. Wolfram, et al. (1999) note, “attitudes about language can trigger a whole set of stereotypes and prejudices based on underlying social and ethnic differences” (p. 27), and when language is not adequately addressed as an element of diversity, these attitudes can be detrimental to fostering open, inclusive campus environments. When not addressed, as Lippi-Green (1997) suggests, the “back door” to discrimination remains open. Just as we would not expect minority students to “get used to” or “deal with” teasing for elements related to their minority status, we should not expect speakers of non-standardized varieties of English to accept this as what Elizabeth suggests is a “social norm.” Further, as noted, language can serve as a cue for membership in a certain group, and such membership may be stigmatized. For example, dialects of Southern American English have been associated with being considered working class (Campbell-Kibler, 2007; Hazen & Fluharty, 2004) and several participants in this study suggested that it has generally been “rich kids” who are more likely to pick up on and judge them for non-standardized speech. In this sense, there are multiple layers of discrimination occurring under the guise of aiming for standardized speech. Students who feel like they must get used to teasing for their speech are also being asked to get used to teasing for their social class, racial or ethnic background, or any number of characteristics about them which others believe to be identifiable through speech. Many participants in this study seem to accept linguistic

prejudice as a burden they must shoulder in order to complete their education, and this highlights the notion that standard language ideology and linguistic hegemony are influential on campus at Southern State University. This also highlights the idea that not addressing this ideology is doing a disservice to our students.

Conclusions and Implications

The findings from this study suggest that it is critical for professionals in higher education to consider the way we think about language in the context of diversity and inclusion on our campuses. Siegel (1999) shares a memorable quotation from Mackey (1978), which states that, “Only before God and linguists are all languages equal” (p.7). Evidence from this study suggests that language varieties on campus are certainly not considered equal, and students from rural Appalachia who speak non-standardized varieties feel this inequity. The participants in this study are certainly not the only students on campus at Southern State University who speak non-standardized varieties of English, and it is unlikely that they are alone in feeling that their speech marks them as “Other” in some way on campus. Many students in higher education across the country will arrive in college speaking a non-standardized variety, and the significance of this is striking. For example, language use is socially stratified (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998) and as such, students from low SES, rural, and minority backgrounds are likely to be speakers of non-standardized or stigmatized varieties of English. For example, Scott (2008) indicated that American Indian students whose speech perhaps reflects the linguistic norms of their tribe or home community found their speech to be stigmatized upon arrival in college. Students from rural areas across

the country attending college in non-rural areas may find their speech to be devalued on campus, and likewise, students who speak stigmatized varieties of English such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Chicano English may find their speech to be deemed less correct or acceptable in the academic discourse community.

If students feel stereotyped or marginalized by an invisible marker such as language, what can we do to help them feel accepted, to persist and to succeed? I suggest two preliminary measures for ameliorating this issue, both centered on education regarding the role of language. First,, our faculty, staff and administrators must become aware of linguistic diversity and the significance of supporting tolerance for such diversity on college campuses. Cuyjet (2011) suggests that, “we must be willing to walk the walk and actually accommodate new cultural behaviors in the rhythms and activities of campus life and to help all members of the community understand the benefits of allowing this to happen (p.47). Walking the walk will likely involve further education for faculty and student affairs professionals on language diversity. Godley, et al. (2006), citing Smitherman and Villanueva (2000) note that, “nearly one third of members of the leading language arts professional organizations have never taken a course on language diversity or linguistics” (p. 32) and one might assume that if such a significant number of educators in language fields lack this knowledge, educators in other disciplines may be similarly or even more so lacking. Godley, et al. further note that research indicates that increased knowledge of “basic sociolinguistic principles” has been found to have an ameliorating effect on the negative attitudes or beliefs educators might hold about non-standardized or stigmatized language (p.32). Language education for university

faculty and personnel may occur by making available diversity workshops which highlight linguistic diversity or through making educational resources related to language easily accessible. Secondly, the campus community as a whole must acknowledge the benefits of understanding and accepting linguistic variation. This is critical not only because it benefits students whose speech marks them as different on campus, but because students who come to campus speaking a standardized variety are likely unaware of the privilege associated with their speech. Delpit (1995) suggests that those in power are often least aware of the power they hold, and this is certainly true of speakers of privileged varieties of English. Zuidema (2005) asserts that teaching students about linguistic diversity is critical especially for speakers of standardized varieties because, “to ignore these ‘smug’ students is a grave mistake, for these are the people who hold- or as adults, will hold- most of the power that allows linguistic stigmatization and discrimination to continue” (p. 667). Just as faculty and university personnel must be made aware of the value of linguistic diversity, it is similarly important to incorporate dialect diversity in the diversity programming made available to students on campus. Diversity programming efforts should aim to provide venues for discussion on this topic so that damaging ideology surrounding language can be made transparent in order to enhance the level of inclusion on campus.

The findings of this study additionally highlight two significant implications for the consideration of language in theoretical perspectives in higher education research. First, while there is abundant research available on a variety of student characteristics relevant to college persistence and success, language is not specifically addressed as an element

influencing any of these characteristics, and therefore perhaps student success. The findings suggest that researchers should perhaps consider language as a component of other student characteristics (or as a characteristic in and of itself) which students bring with them to campus and which may influence experiences in college. For example, due to the socially stratified nature of language, students from rural, low SES or minority backgrounds may be more likely to speak a stigmatized variety of English. Some of the challenges these students experience in college which are not fully explained by current models could possibly be better informed by understanding the significant role that language plays in their experience in terms of finding a place to fit in, feeling a sense of belonging, and feeling like accepted and respected members of the campus community.

Secondly, there are also implications for student development theory, particularly theories of psychosocial development related to identity. Language and culture are closely tied, as are language and identity. Students in this study discuss how their feelings about their own speech change over time in college, how their speech has changed over time in college and how their feelings about their interactions with peers, faculty and staff change over time in college. Language is a tool that we can use to index identity. It may be an important element of identity to explore or a tool in identity development and expression that can help us understand the fluid process of identity development for college students.

The unique findings of this study also open the door for several future research endeavors related to language and higher education. First, this study explored language and the experiences of one specific group on a regional dimension. Future studies may explore

language and experiences related to varieties of language associated with racial/ethnic groups, or perhaps other underrepresented population of rural students besides Appalachians. Secondly, as mentioned, education about language diversity will be critical in aiding others to understand and accept their own speech and the speech of others in college. Future studies will examine the efficacy of such dialect diversity workshops for faculty and students in evaluating and changing misinformed and damaging attitudes and beliefs about language on a college campus. Additionally, future studies may involve the inclusion of language as an element of current models of psychosocial development specific to certain student populations to better explain and understand the complex layers of factors shaping identity development during college. Finally, future research may include the exploration of the role of language stereotypes in enacting stereotype threat. It stands to reason that if other negative stereotypes can influence student performance, negative stereotypes about language, such as dialect and intelligence, may be significant in students' self-perceptions regarding academic ability.

Noted linguist Geneva Smitherman (1999) suggests that educational institutions are central to changing ideologies related to language diversity, and America's colleges and universities have the opportunity to break, rather than propagate, cycles of standard language ideology, linguistic hegemony, and codes of power. The future "standard English" may be a model of linguistic plurality, and that change can begin on our campuses by being accepting and inclusive of our students and the rich and varied linguistic traditions they bring with them to our institutions.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings from this study suggest that dialect is an important element of student diversity that merits attention in higher education research. Regardless of level of vernacularity, language in some way shaped the experiences of speakers in this study. Although this study focuses on rural Southern Appalachian college students, findings may easily be applied to other student populations of interest, such as other rural populations, students from low SES backgrounds, first-generation college students, and racial and ethnic minorities due to the socially stratified nature of language use.

Many of the more vernacular participants in this study indicated that they elected to participate because they had a story to tell. Although these students have successfully adapted to college life and have gotten used to being in an urban environment much different than their rural home towns, one thing they should never have been asked to get used to is being marginalized, in whatever capacity, for their speech.

Findings from this study suggest that language is not solely responsible for shaping the experiences these students had in college, but language does seem to play a role in shaping academic experiences, perceptions of campus environment, and interactions with others on campus. As such, the findings of this study have numerous implications for practice, policy, and theory in higher education.

Implications for practice

This study highlights the importance of including language and dialect as part of university diversity programming. Many students across the country will arrive to college speaking a dialect of English which is stigmatized. Students from rural and low SES backgrounds, racial and ethnic minorities and first-generation college students are likely to be among those speaking stigmatized dialects due to the socially stratified nature of language. For these students to feel adequately accepted and respected as members of the campus community, it is critical that they, and all members of the campus community, understand the validity of all dialects. Students should be asked to accept or get used to being marginalized for the linguistic diversity they bring with them to campus, and education in dialect diversity can help prevent this from happening. As Zuidema (2005) notes, being educated in issues of dialect diversity is not only critical in validating the speech of speakers of stigmatized varieties, but also in helping speakers of standardized varieties to understand their privilege to break cycles of discrimination. Further, it is critical that faculty and student affairs professionals understand the importance of dialect diversity in order to foster welcoming, inclusive campus environments. Academic experiences, perceptions of the inclusiveness of the campus environment, and interactions with others on campus would likely be improved by understanding dialect diversity and its social and cultural implications. University diversity programming may be modified to highlight dialect diversity, an invisible yet salient type of diversity. For student diversity education, this might mean including information about dialect and language variation in any university programming related to

cultural diversity or the inclusion of this information in first year English courses, diversity education courses, or any other course in which discussions of culture and diversity make this material relevant.

Another implication for practice includes the role of faculty and student affairs professionals specifically. Hurtado and Ruiz (2012) found that validation from faculty members was critical for students in developing a sense of belonging at colleges and universities. Faculty and student affairs professionals who are educated in regard to dialect diversity are in a better position to provide validation for students who speak non-standardized varieties of English in and outside of the classroom. This, in turn, may aid students in feeling a greater sense of belonging and influence persistence (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012). Additionally, when faculty understand the dialects their students speak, they will be able to improve relationships and discourse with students by eliminating certain elements of stereotyping or cultural miscommunications. Instructors may use students' language to make assumptions about levels of intelligence or ability and instructor expectations of students may thus be influenced by assumptions based on language (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). Of course, when instructor expectations are lowered, student performance may subsequently be influenced. Education of faculty members in regard to linguistic variation may help prevent this from occurring on the dimension of language, and perhaps even the characteristics for which language may serve as a proxy.

In terms of evaluating student work, faculty who understand their students dialects will be better prepared (if they choose to teach or reinforce use of standardized language in

writing- a topic beyond the scope of this study) to diagnose errors in student work.

Mallinson, Charity Hudley, Rutter Strickling and Figa (2011) “advocate that educators explicitly learn key patterns of students’ communication styles, which enables educators to differentiate linguistic features from evidence of language problems or persistent care- less mistakes when they assess students” (p. 444).

Implications for theory

The findings of this study also have several implications for theory, three of which are discussed here. First, this study suggests that language is an element that could be used to understand current theoretical models of student development theory, particularly theories of psychosocial development related to identity. Language and identity are closely related, and as Lippi-Green (2004) notes, we use language “to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who are, and who we are not- and cannot be” (p.29). Participants in this study suggested that they used language to index identity, whether that meant diverging from speech patterns of their home communities to index an identity apart from rural, Southern Appalachia to avoid stereotypes, or playing up their dialects in social settings to show pride in their background and upbringing. Further, some participants noted that their attitudes toward their own speech (and the need to code-switch) changed over time in college. Understanding how and why these feelings have changed may be a component of what Chickering and Reisser refer to as the process of establishing identity (1993). The conflict and criticism speakers of non-standardized dialects of English may undergo may shape the establishment of identity and language may further be used as a tool to signify who they are

(or who they want to be). Language is not specifically mentioned in Chickering's vector of establishing identity in terms of social development but will certainly influence it (as language is the primary means through which most social interaction takes place), and perhaps it could help better inform processes of identity involving social interactions and comfort with self. For example, how comfortable will a student feel with his sexual identity if he is mocked by peers for "sounding gay"? How comfortable will a rural, first-generation student be with herself at an urban institution if she is singled out for sounding "like a hillbilly"?

Second, the findings of this study suggest that understanding the role of language and college experiences will better inform current literature on specific student populations, such as low SES and first-generation college students, rural college students, and underrepresented groups such as racial and ethnic minorities. Language use is socially stratified, and therefore, members of these groups may arrive to college speaking a stigmatized variety. Although current literature highlights numerous characteristics of these student populations, their experiences, their challenges, college choice, achievement, attrition or persistence, and more, language is rarely, if ever directly addressed as an element which may influence decision making or experiences for these groups. As was evident in the findings of this study, language may play a role, however big or small, in many of those areas. Academic experiences were influenced by language, and the self-confident and academically successful participants in this study pushed past negative experiences and challenges. Further, several of the most vernacular participants were not first-generation college students and had some

sense that college was a place where they belonged. What about the student whose speech marks him as “Other” who *is* also a first-generation college student and is uncertain about belonging on campus? What about the racial minority student who feels isolated and excluded from the academic discourse community? Hurtado, Cuellar, and Guillermo-Wann (2011) citing Cabrera and Nora (1994) note that minority students are more likely than White students to feel isolated in academic settings in college, and in turn, their classroom experiences shape how they view their institution (p. 67). Thus, as language plays a role in shaping academic experiences and inclusive (or exclusive) classroom environments, will it play a significant role in decisions these students make regarding persistence? Hurtado and Carter (1997) discuss sense of belonging in respect of Tinto’s theory of departure (1993), in terms of how it highlights mainstream institutional values that might not reflect all students on campus, putting responsibility on the student rather than institution. They note that sense of belonging shows interplay between the student, institution and climate. Following this line of thought and extending sense of belonging theory and the work of scholars such as Hurtado and Carter, perhaps language should be examined specifically when considering interactions and sense of belonging, *particularly* for students whose language maybe be intrinsically tied to an element of diversity which may marginalize them on campus. This would perhaps be illuminating in further understanding how language/dialect may influence engagement, access to engagement, and even marginalization. Hurtado and Carter (1997) found that for Latino students, perceptions of campus environment are key for feeling a sense of belonging and by extension, persistence decisions. The present study found that language

is integral in sense of belonging for a group of students who other underrepresented on campus and whose speech may mark them as “other.” As noted, language is socially stratified and strongly tied to race/ethnicity, SES, gender, etc., and its role in sense of belonging and persistence may suggest a connection meriting further exploration. Further, Hurtado and Carter’s (1997) model is also temporal, with emphasis on the first year, and the present study found first year experiences to be critical. During the first year, many students in this study noted that they realized for the first time that they were the “other,” that there was stigma associated with their speech, and that they had to make some type of adjustment (learning to code-switch, learning to get “used to it,” changing their speech altogether, etc.). While it may not be a singular reason for making persistence decision, language is intrinsically tied to culture and identity, and if this invisible but salient marker of culture and identity is seemingly rejected by the institution, the student may feel that he or she is in a sense being rejected or does not belong. Language as an aspect of self and culture influencing interactions on campus warrants further study in understanding why students who represent a minority on campus may choose not to persist after the first year. Also warranting further attention is an exploration of the strategies and changes students may feel they must adopt in order to fit in at an institution which seemingly rejects their natural speech and by extension them or their culture/background. Such strategies may include for example, rural Appalachian students trying to sound less rural or “hick” while for racial and ethnic minorities at a PWI this might mean feeling pressure to “sound White.” Whatever the case may be, feeling the need to adopt a strategy of changing an aspect of oneself tied to culture

and identity may create an uncomfortable internal push-pull conflict for the student between personal identity and fitting in at the institution. In this study, for example, students who chose to remain at the university despite feeling that the institution does not necessarily value their speech or home culture made *conscious decisions* to adapt their speech in certain environments (or categorically) on campus. It may be worth exploring what weight decisions like these were given when students made their overall decisions to remain at the institution.

Third, language was also found to influence students' perceptions of campus environment and perceptions of interactions with others on campus. For underrepresented groups on campus, such as racial and ethnic minorities and students from low SES backgrounds, feeling that their language variety is accepted on campus may be critical in developing a sense of belonging. Many participants in this study suggested that they felt a need to change their speech on campus to sound more professional, to be taken seriously, or to avoid stereotyping and judgment. As previously noted, this may create an uncomfortable tension between individuals and their backgrounds. For example, Scott (2008) found that Lumbee (American Indian) students attending a PWI felt a pressure to change their speech to fit in and this created tension between being authentic to self and "sounding White." Scott also notes that students who change their speech to accommodate norms of academia may be viewed at home as acting "above their raising" and Dannenburg (2006) suggests Appalachian students may similarly struggle with identity be viewed as "elite outsiders" when they go home (p.1012). Students from working class backgrounds may feel a similar tension (Longwell-Grice, 2002) and changing their speech in college may exacerbate this tension.

Feeling such need in the first place may negatively influence their sense of belonging on campus. For participants in this study, this was not a significant issue, but it may present itself as an issue depending on student and institutional characteristics (for example, it might be more notable for a minority student at a PWI or first-generation college students in general). Longwell-Grice (2002) found concerns about fitting in negatively influenced working class students' sense of belonging, and speaking a marginalized dialect may raise concerns about fitting in. Sense of belonging has been found to be influential in students' decisions to persist (Grayson, 1997; Hausmann, Ye, Schofield, & Woods, 2007, 2009). As such, just as studies such as Hausmann, et al. (2007, 2009) suggest that sense of belonging be included in persistence models, this study suggests that language be considered an element of sense of belonging to be evaluated in persistence models, or that language be considered as a student characteristic accounted for in understanding student persistence.

Implications for future research

There are several implications for future research stemming from this study, three of which will be discussed here. One of the implications for practice previously mentioned is the need for dialect education on college campuses for students, faculty, and staff. Future research may examine the efficacy of dialect diversity efforts. Dunstan and Jaeger (forthcoming) aim to do this by examining the effects of a series of dialect diversity workshops for undergraduate students in terms of changing attitudes and beliefs and measuring learning outcomes of the workshop series. Studies such as this will help

understand students' attitudes and beliefs about language and aid in improving the efficacy of workshops and the inclusion of dialect diversity education materials into other areas of diversity programming.

Second, future research stemming from this study may explore the role of language in stereotype threat for students who speak non-standardized or stigmatized dialects of English. It stands to reason that if stereotypes reflecting certain characteristics such as race or gender can impact academic performance when enacted, stereotypes about language and speakers of that language/dialect may similarly impact performance. Clark, Eno, & Guadagno (2011) found that stereotypes about students' geographic origin (in their study, students from the Southern United States) can negatively influence performance as part of stereotype threat. As dialect is certainly often linked to geographic origin, language may be a critical element of stereotype threat to explore as well. Further, exploring what McGee and Martin (2011) term stereotype management and dialect merits study. Participants in this study indicated that they developed coping strategies for dealing with stereotyping based on language, whether this came in the form of code-switching or simply developing a thick skin and learning to brush it off. An in-depth exploration of stereotype management of students who speak stigmatized varieties of English may be critical in helping understand identity development and choices related to persistence. Participants in this study seemed to be successful in managing stereotypes, but other students may be less successful and understanding their struggles may be key in aiding other students who face similar challenges.

Third, the present study explored language use associated with a geographic region. Future studies may seek to understand the college experiences of students who speak dialects associated with specific races or ethnic groups. As mentioned, language, culture and identity are closely and intrinsically linked, and tensions felt on college campuses for students speaking non-standardized dialects associated with race or ethnicity may be especially difficult to manage. If a student feels that the institution is rejecting his language or deems it inferior, there is also an implicit message that there is something inferior or lacking about the student's culture and by extension, the student himself. Again, this has implications for students' sense of belonging, academic experiences, and possibly persistence decisions.

Although this study focuses on a small population, rural Southern Appalachia college students, the implications for other student populations are numerous. This study, in a sense, serves as a springboard for the exploration of the role of language in the college experiences of students from many different backgrounds who are linked by the fact that the dialect they speak is considered by dominant groups to be non-standardized. Institutions of higher education have often been home to individuals and groups at the forefront of challenging oppressive ideologies, and exploring the role of language in higher education is an opportunity to challenge hegemonic and oppressive ideology related to language, which by extension oppresses and marginalizes members of non-dominant classes. Linguistic diversity, when acknowledged and celebrated, may be influential in positively shaping students' college experiences. Aiming to have diverse and inclusive campuses should include the recognition of diversity in all regards, including "invisible" types of diversity such as

language. In doing so, campus communities will become closer to reaching goals of being truly inclusive and can aid in breaking cycles of damaging and oppressive ideology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Tell me a little bit about the way you think people generally talk where you're from. Do they have a certain accent or vocabulary that makes your home area special?
2. Do you think you speak basically the same as most people where you're from or do you think there is something different about the way that you or your family speak?
3. Had you given much thought to the way you speak (accent, dialect) before you came to college? If so, what were those thoughts and what prompted them?
4. What do you notice (if anything) about the way people (peers, professors, advisors) at NC State talk?
5. At home in your community, do others generally understand you when you speak? Can you usually understand others in your community when they speak?
6. At Southern State University, do your peers, teachers and advisors, generally understand you when you speak? Can you usually understand your peers, teachers, and advisors when they speak?
7. As a student at Southern State University, have you ever felt that speaking the way you do has influenced your ability to perform in a class in a positive or negative way? Both? Neither?
8. As a student at Southern State University, have you ever felt that the way you speak has had an influence on the way that your peers, teachers, or advisors perceive you? If so, how do you think it influenced them?
9. Are there certain environments in which you feel more/less comfortable than others because of how you speak (or because of how others speak)? If so, what are those environments?
10. Are there certain classes in which you would feel more/less comfortable enrolling because of the way you speak? If yes, did this influence your choice of courses? Choice of major?
11. Do you feel that the way you speak has influenced your choice in friends/activities since enrolling at Southern State University? If yes, how? If not, why not?
12. Do you think the way you speak has changed at all since you came to Southern State University? If yes, has this change been intentional at all?
13. Do you think that the way you speak has had an impact (positive or negative, or both) on your own personal beliefs regarding your ability to succeed in the classroom environment? In a post-college career?
14. Did the way you speak influence the way you saw yourself as a student in high school? What about in college?
15. Does the way you speak influence how much you feel like you fit in on campus in college?
16. Has there been a time in college when you have been proud of the way you speak? Embarrassed?
17. Are there certain times in college (classes, at parties, social clubs, in the dorms) when you change the way you speak? If yes, how so? Why do you think this might be?
18. Are there certain people in college around whom you change your speech? If so, who are these people?
19. Do you think your college experience would be different if you spoke differently? How so?
20. Is there any difference in the way you speak at school versus the way you speak at home?
21. Do you feel like the way you speak is an important part of who you are?

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Participant	Gender	Race	Major	Age	Year	/ay/ ungliding pre-voiceless environments ?	/ay/ ungliding pre-voiced environments ?	Position of /e/ nucleus (compared to cohort and peers from SSU campus area)	Uses Non- standardized grammar?	First-generation college student?
Brandon	M	White	Biochemistry	22	Senior	No	Yes	Mid height, back	No	No
Brooke	F	White	Biological Sciences	19	Soph.	No	Yes	Mid height, relatively back	No	No
Isabelle	F	White	Communication	20	Junior	No	No	Relatively high, mid front	No	No
Landon	M	White	Biochemistry	19	Fresh.	No	Yes-varies	Mid, relatively further back	No	No
Maddy	F	White	Biological Sciences	20	Senior	No	Yes	High, relatively front	No	No
Michael	M	White	History	22	Senior	No	Yes	Mid, relatively front	No	No
Rebecca	F	White	Communication	20	Senior	No	No	Relatively high, relatively front	No	No
Robert	M	White	Biological Sciences	20	Junior	No	No	Mid, mid	No	No
Sara	F	White	Bioarcheology	21	Senior	No	No	High, relatively back	No	No
Thomas	M	White	Electrical and Computer Engineering	19	Soph.	No	Yes	Mid, back	No	Yes
Vince	M	White	Mathematics/ Statistics	20	Senior	No	No	Mid, mid	No	?
Christopher	M	White	Sociology	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Low, back	No	No
Elizabeth	F	White	Textile Engineering	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Low, mid	Yes	Yes
Emily	F	White	Middle Grades Education	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, relatively front	No	No
Hank	M	White	Environment Technology	22	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, back	Yes	No
Jason	M	White	Industrial Engineering	22	Senior	Yes-varies	Yes	Lower, mid front	Yes	No
Jessica	F	African Amer.	Zoology	20	Senior	Yes-varies	Yes	Mid, mid	No	No
John	M	White	Mechanical Engineering	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, back	Yes	No

APPENDIX B continued

Joseph	M	White	Applied Mathematics	20	Soph.	Yes-varies	Yes	Low, relatively front	No	No
Justin	M	White	Communication	20	Soph.	Yes-varies	Yes	Relatively mid, front	No	No
Kelly	F	White	Aerospace Engineering	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Lower, back	Yes	No
Lana	F	White	Mathematics Education	20	Junior	Yes	Yes	Mid, mid	No	Yes
Lauren	F	White	Agricultural Education	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Mid, back	Yes	Yes
Megan	F	White	Animal Science	20	Junior	Yes-varies	Yes	Mid, mid	Yes	Yes
Patty	F	White	Agricultural Science	20	Junior	Yes	Yes	Low, back	Yes	Yes
Rachel	F	White	Chemical Engineering	21	Senior	Yes	Yes	Relatively high, relatively front	Yes	Yes

APPENDIX C: CHART OF MEAN FORMANT VALUES FOR /AY/ and /E/

Speaker	Vowel	N	F*1	F*2	F*1 gl	F*2 gl
Brandon	BAIT	10	-0.72	0.87	-1.532	1.489
Brandon	BIDE	12	0.741	-0.905	0.421	-0.379
Brandon	BITE	8	0.696	-1.151	0.377	0.129
Brooke	BAIT	9	-0.677	0.172	-1.369	0.65
Brooke	BIDE	10	0.587	-0.381	0.509	-0.29
Brooke	BITE	7	0.76	-0.327	0.304	0.23
Christopher	BAIT	14	-0.394	0.339	-1.604	1.632
Christopher	BIDE	12	0.795	-0.537	0.595	-0.355
Christopher	BITE	14	0.65	-0.708	0.157	-0.499
Elizabeth	BAIT	9	-0.871	0.338	-1.602	1.176
Elizabeth	BIDE	10	0.846	-0.422	0.809	-0.275
Elizabeth	BITE	10	0.48	-0.505	0.092	-0.162
Emily	BAIT	10	-0.795	1.006	-1.548	1.477
Emily	BIDE	13	0.633	-0.591	0.239	-0.524
Emily	BITE	10	0.649	-0.555	0.561	-0.479
Hank	BAIT	14	-0.28	0.524	-1.102	1.192
Hank	BIDE	11	0.528	-0.624	0.319	-0.543
Hank	BITE	8	0.694	-1.066	0.56	-0.331
Isabelle	BAIT	8	-0.602	0.416	-0.994	1.076
Isabelle	BIDE	10	0.924	-0.652	-0.051	-0.113
Isabelle	BITE	8	0.474	-0.522	0.031	-0.014
Jason	BAIT	7	-1.084	0.58	-1.702	1.559
Jason	BIDE	9	0.836	-0.475	0.496	-0.376
Jason	BITE	12	0.537	-0.626	0.089	0.016
Jessica	BAIT	8	-0.662	0.845	-1.241	1.412
Jessica	BIDE	13	0.555	-0.623	0.508	-0.382
Jessica	BITE	10	0.126	-0.454	0.014	-0.044
John	BAIT	11	-0.855	0.962	-1.529	1.613
John	BIDE	12	0.769	-0.707	0.269	-0.591
John	BITE	10	0.746	-0.654	0.631	-0.621
Joseph	BAIT	10	-1.03	0.888	-1.535	1.224
Joseph	BIDE	10	0.751	-0.809	0.481	-0.475

APPENDIX C continued

Joseph	BITE	10	0.884	-0.769	0.448	-0.058
Justin	BAIT	7	-0.903	1.119	-1.476	1.209
Justin	BIDE	7	0.653	-0.774	0.644	-0.656
Justin	BITE	9	0.833	-0.582	0.007	-0.117
Kelly	BAIT	11	-0.321	0.72	-1.188	1.491
Kelly	BIDE	10	0.268	-0.919	0.258	-0.708
Kelly	BITE	7	1.027	-0.57	0.591	-0.58
Lana	BAIT	11	-0.672	0.54	-1.203	1.192
Lana	BIDE	13	0.648	-0.436	0.341	-0.342
Lana	BITE	11	0.417	-0.463	0.29	-0.35
Landon	BAIT	9	-0.765	0.477	-1.146	1.38
Landon	BIDE	10	1.12	-0.927	0.332	-0.349
Landon	BITE	8	0.56	-0.512	-0.225	0.017
Lauren	BAIT	11	-0.806	0.942	-1.651	1.609
Lauren	BIDE	12	0.457	-0.788	0.251	-0.685
Lauren	BITE	13	0.865	-0.578	0.56	-0.221
Maddy	BAIT	10	-0.476	0.328	-0.782	0.665
Maddy	BIDE	7	1.061	-0.732	0.406	-0.35
Maddy	BITE	7	0.681	-0.579	-0.35	0.243
Megan	BAIT	7	-1.339	0.95	-1.65	1.553
Megan	BIDE	13	0.402	-0.611	0.424	-0.03
Megan	BITE	12	0.426	-0.694	0.422	-0.072
Michael	BAIT	11	-0.66	0.952	-1.449	1.203
Michael	BIDE	10	0.853	-0.92	0.72	-0.71
Michael	BITE	8	0.623	-0.795	0.311	-0.131
Patty	BAIT	13	-0.402	0.16	-1.355	1.556
Patty	BIDE	12	0.478	-0.82	0.499	-0.473
Patty	BITE	9	0.577	-0.43	0.657	-0.324
Rachel	BAIT	7	-0.708	0.466	-1.412	1.056
Rachel	BIDE	12	0.553	-0.366	0.322	-0.24
Rachel	BITE	12	0.186	-0.239	0.175	-0.044
Rebecca	BAIT	14	-0.547	0.767	-0.995	1.021
Rebecca	BIDE	12	1.329	-0.836	0.226	-0.71
Rebecca	BITE	9	0.772	-0.557	-0.447	-0.162
Robert	BAIT	10	-0.845	0.763	-1.204	1.141
Robert	BIDE	10	0.959	-0.925	0.067	-0.517

APPENDIX C Continued

Robert	BITE	10	1.121	-0.854	-0.098	0.392
Sara	BAIT	11	-0.906	0.536	-0.938	1.085
Sara	BIDE	9	1.126	-1.147	0.62	-0.358
Sara	BITE	7	0.889	-0.426	-0.235	-0.186
Thomas	BAIT	10	-0.89	0.717	-1.273	1.132
Thomas	BIDE	8	1.102	-1.278	0.973	-0.646
Thomas	BITE	11	0.674	-0.778	-0.217	0.497
Vince	BAIT	10	-0.486	0.591	-1.212	0.984
Vince	BIDE	8	1.044	-1.204	0.171	-0.003
Vince	BITE	7	0.903	-0.959	0.136	0.09

APPENDIX D: AMERICAN ENGLISH CARDINAL VOWEL CHART

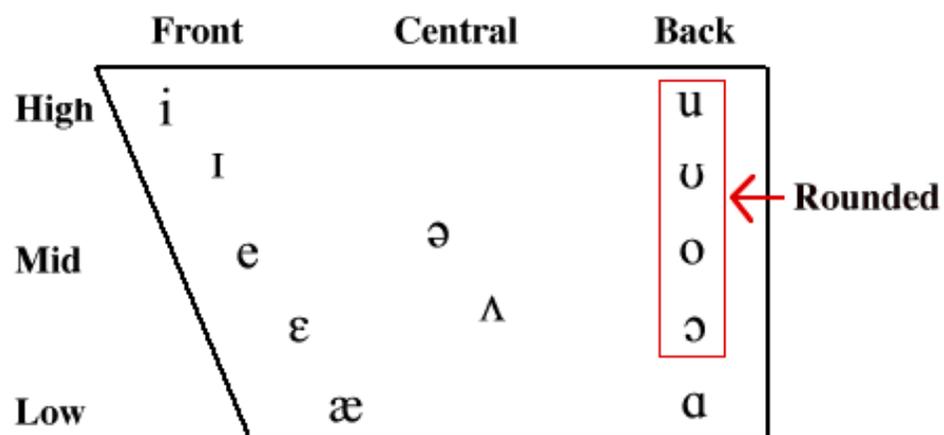


Image source:

<http://www.utexas.edu/courses/linguistics/resources/phonetics/vowelmap/index.html>

**APPENDIX E: COMPARISON OF /E/ STUDY PARTICIPANTS AND PEER GROUP
FROM SOUTHERN STATE CAMPUS AREA**

Speaker	Vowel	N	F*1	F*2	F*1 gl	F*2 gl
Speaker113	BAIT	14	0.302	-0.218	-0.302	0.218
Speaker108	BAIT	19	0.622	-0.3	-0.622	0.3
Speaker111	BAIT	16	0.2	-0.082	-0.2	0.082
Speaker112	BAIT	15	0.561	-0.325	-0.561	0.325
Speaker115	BAIT	25	0.338	-0.424	-0.338	0.425
Speaker148	BAIT	15	0.632	-0.412	-0.632	0.412
Speaker150	BAIT	16	0.678	-0.453	-0.678	0.453
Speaker153	BAIT	15	0.804	-0.402	-0.804	0.402
Speaker155	BAIT	15	0.704	-0.378	-0.704	0.378
Speaker169	BAIT	16	0.593	-0.594	-0.593	0.594
Speaker106	BAIT	15	0.334	-0.564	-0.334	0.564
Speaker107	BAIT	19	0.294	-0.204	-0.294	0.204
Speaker110	BAIT	18	0.38	-0.317	-0.38	0.317
Speaker121	BAIT	19	0.213	-0.097	-0.213	0.098
Speaker126	BAIT	19	0.637	-0.297	-0.637	0.297
Speaker127	BAIT	20	0.532	-0.255	-0.532	0.255
Speaker145	BAIT	15	0.481	-0.244	-0.481	0.244
Speaker163	BAIT	22	0.367	-0.263	-0.367	0.263
Speaker309	BAIT	115	0.752	-0.128	-0.752	0.128
Brandon	BAIT	10	0.515	-0.571	-0.515	0.571
Brooke	BAIT	9	0.479	-0.168	-0.479	0.168
Christopher	BAIT	14	0.732	-0.77	-0.732	0.77
Elizabeth	BAIT	9	0.606	-0.298	-0.606	0.298
Emily	BAIT	10	0.542	-0.247	-0.542	0.247
Hank	BAIT	14	0.389	-0.447	-0.389	0.447
Isabelle	BAIT	8	0.283	-0.31	-0.283	0.31
Jason	BAIT	7	0.582	-0.383	-0.582	0.383
Jessica	BAIT	8	0.537	-0.327	-0.537	0.328
John	BAIT	11	0.494	-0.61	-0.494	0.61
Joseph	BAIT	10	0.69	-0.218	-0.69	0.218

APPENDIX E Continued

Justin	BAIT	7	0.63	-0.069	-0.63	0.069
Kelly	BAIT	11	0.57	-0.699	-0.57	0.699
Lana	BAIT	11	0.456	-0.254	-0.456	0.254
Landon	BAIT	9	0.446	-0.456	-0.446	0.456
Lauren	BAIT	11	0.558	-0.505	-0.558	0.505
Maddy	BAIT	10	0.157	-0.152	-0.157	0.152
Megan	BAIT	7	0.419	-0.262	-0.419	0.262
Michael	BAIT	11	0.541	-0.179	-0.542	0.179
Patty	BAIT	13	0.686	-0.699	-0.686	0.699
Rachel	BAIT	7	0.345	-0.185	-0.345	0.185
Rebecca	BAIT	14	0.345	-0.177	-0.345	0.178
Robert	BAIT	10	0.423	-0.337	-0.423	0.337
Sara	BAIT	11	0.047	-0.444	-0.047	0.444
Thomas	BAIT	10	0.43	-0.451	-0.43	0.451
Vince	BAIT	10	0.504	-0.264	-0.504	0.264