

ACCENT, (ING), AND THE SOCIAL LOGIC OF LISTENER PERCEPTIONS

KATHRYN CAMPBELL-KIBLER

University of Michigan

ABSTRACT: This article reports on the relationship between the English variable (ING) and two divergent accents (Southern and gay) as they are conceptualized and given social meaning in listeners' perceptions of spontaneous speech. The study used an expanded form of the Matched Guise Technique, using recordings collected through sociolinguistic interviews with 8 speakers from North Carolina and California. Excerpts were digitally manipulated to create 32 matched pairs differing only in tokens of (ING), which were used to collect responses in group interviews ($N = 55$) and a Web-based experiment ($N = 124$). The alveolar variant *-in* increased the perceived strength of Southern accents and dampened an accent heard as gay and urban. The influence of (ING) on these accents is linked to shared social meanings of the alveolar form *-in* and Southern accents on the one hand (lack of education, the country, and the term "redneck") and the velar variant *-ing* and the gay accent on the other (lowered masculinity, the city, and the term "metrosexual"). These two accents are contrasted with a third variety, heard as nonaccented and aregional. These effects demonstrate the status of the three linguistic objects, the two accents and (ING), as social objects as well.

THE CONCEPT OF ACCENT is based on the observation that some people and groups speak differently than others. Despite the simplicity of this observation, accent is a loaded construct, connecting linguistic patterns with social and economic divisions between individuals and groups. Cavanaugh (2005, 129) argues that accents must be treated as "acoustical things in the world, indexing both speakers (subjects), as well as qualities detachable from these speakers, and at times even places themselves (objects)." This characterization need not only apply to accents but is also appropriate for some individual variables, namely those which have achieved stereotype status (Labov 1966). This article explores the representation of two accents (Southern accent and the "gay accent") and their relationship to the English variable (ING) (the alternation between word-final [ɪn] or [ən], here referred to as *-in*, and [ɪŋ], here called *-ing*), in the sociolinguistic reasoning of U.S. college students. I trace the connections between the two accents and the variable, showing both their ideological baggage and the ways they interact to influence social judgments of spontaneous speech samples.

The analysis shows that, in addition to—indeed, because of—its independent social life as a variable available to most speakers of English, (ING) intensifies and so, in some sense, is part of these two socially divergent accents. The *-in* form enhances perceived Southern accents and shares with them associations with the country, lack of education, and the image of the redneck. In a different performance, the *-ing* variant strengthens an accent associated with being gay or metrosexual, with the city, and with less masculinity. Regardless of the markedness of the variants overall, either can serve as part of a variety that diverges from an imagined accent-free norm.

The data in this article come from a larger study using a form of the Matched Guise Technique based on matched pairs of recordings digitally manipulated to differ only in tokens of (ING). The full study yielded a number of insights regarding how listeners process and use linguistic variation to aid them in forming social impressions. This article will focus on those that relate to perceptions of accent strength, namely the influence of (ING) on the perceived accents of different speakers. Three of the speakers, ranked by survey listeners as highly accented and very likely to be from the South, were considered more accented when they used *-in*. Another speaker, rated as moderately accented and described as urban and/or gay, was rated higher for accent in his *-ing* guise. I will show how the social associations of (ING) and the accents explain this pattern and connect it to (ING)'s more general effects.

The next section will describe the methods used in the study from which the current data are drawn. After reviewing these methods, I will distinguish the eight speakers based on their perceived regional profiles, that is, where the study's participants believed them to be from. This provides the necessary background for understanding the subsequent discussion of the Southern accent and (ING), which documents their common connection to the qualities of lower education, lack of articulateness, and the image of the redneck. Finally, I will turn to the second accent and discuss its connections to sexual orientation, the concept "metrosexual," and the image of the city.

METHODS

The study used the Matched Guise Technique (MGT), an approach based on eliciting listener reactions to sets of linguistic performances that differ in specific qualities. Much of this work contrasts different languages (Lambert 1967; Lefèvre 1978; Bourhis 1984) or language varieties (Johnson and Buttny 1982; Giles et al. 1990; Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh 1999), although other aspects have been investigated, such as speech rate (Smith et al. 1975;

Apple, Streeter, and Krauss 1979; Ray and Zahn 1999) or powerful versus powerless language strategies (Erickson et al. 1978; Gibbons, Busch, and Bradac 1991; Ruva and Bryant 1998). In all of these cases the same speakers are used to produce the different versions, and the content of the utterance is also controlled. This manipulation is intended to ensure that differences in reactions to the different performances are directly attributable to the variables under investigation.

Stimuli for MGT studies have typically been created by having speakers consciously change their speech styles, a simple process that is often very effective but is difficult to control with precision, particularly when working with individual variables. With improved technology, we have been able to directly manipulate recorded speech for an increasingly wide range of variables. Early work manipulated pitch and speech rate (Apple, Streeter, and Krauss 1979) while more recent projects have used resynthesis to change vowel quality (Fridland, Bartlett, and Kreuz 2004; Plichta and Preston 2005). The current study used the software package Praat to “cut and paste” tokens of the *-in* and *-ing* variants into recordings (see also Labov et al. 2005). This gave me close control over how much linguistic material was altered and minimized confounding variables.

This manipulation technique also facilitated working with spontaneous rather than read speech, an unusual technique in the MGT literature, although occasionally seen in verbal guise approaches such as Huygens and Vaughan (1983). There is clear evidence that read and spontaneous speech differ in systematic ways (Laan 1997; Hirose and Kawanami 2002) and that listeners perceive these differences (Mehta and Cutler 1988; Guaïtella 1999), making it difficult to generalize listener perceptions based on read or recited speech to other contexts. In using spontaneous speech, I sacrificed some degree of control over the content of the excerpts in that the speakers were recorded saying completely different things. This does not confound the central contrast of the study, which was between (ING) guises represented by otherwise identical pairs of recordings. Nonetheless, it may raise concerns that the content influenced the role of (ING) in listeners’ perceptions. Indeed, the results show that the content of the recordings strongly impacted perceptions of the speakers. For example, the speaker Ivan is described as “lazy” 89% of the time in the recording where he bemoans the effort required to attend a movie, but not at all when he speaks of his commitment to his work (transcripts of recordings are provided in appendix A). In some cases, recording content may have influenced the effect of the (ING) manipulation, such as in the contrast above, where a trend suggests that the *-in* variant may increase perceptions of laziness (100% vs. 81%) in the movies excerpt, while having no effect in the work-related one. The numbers in this

study do not generally allow conclusions regarding individual recordings, but the visible trends confirm that the possibility of content effects should be taken seriously. I do not consider the possibility of such an interaction to be a drawback, however. Content effects are pervasive in matched guise work even when the passages are selected for neutrality or not (see Giles et al. 1990; Smyth, Jacobs, and Rogers 2003). Rather than attempt to create an empty utterance, I used multiple samples from each speaker to aid in teasing apart content-specific patterns from those solely dependent on linguistic differences between the speakers.

Another important methodological technique was the combination of group interview with survey data, allowing multiple perspectives on the results (Giles et al. 1990). Interview data provide a window into the reasoning behind the numbers, giving a richer image of the processes at work during perception than survey responses can. Ideally, qualitative data also provide a check on analysts' interpretations of the reasons for quantitative patterns. Conversely, the survey data provide a testing ground for theories presented in or inspired by the interviews. By conducting the interviews first, I was able to use interview data as a pilot to aid in the development of the survey itself, improving the fit of the survey questions to the population under study (Williams et al. 1976).

As one of the best-known sociolinguistic variables, (ING) has been studied in the speech of a wide range of English speakers with relatively consistent social, phonological, and grammatical constraints across many communities (Fischer 1958; Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Wald and Shopen 1981). It is commonly thought that Southerners differ from other U.S. speakers in their (ING) use (Hazen 2006); Labov (2001, 90) suggests that in the Southern states, along with the North of England and Scotland, "the /in/ form is used almost exclusively in speech, even of the most formal kind." Answering this question conclusively is difficult, given that most studies of (ING) use have focused on a single city or town, and those studies have shown wide variation based on socioeconomic class—for example, from 19% to 79% *-in* use in Detroit (Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley 1967, 69). Data collected in North Carolina show potentially higher overall figures in a similarly wide range based on, for example, education: 18% to 74% *-in* use for white speakers on word and sentence lists and 66% to 91% for black speakers (Anshen 1969, 91–92). Even higher rates of *-in* use (84–100%) are reported for Appalachian speakers, in interviews aimed at capturing informal speech (Wolfram and Christian 1976, 61–62). Given these ranges and the clear effect of speech task, setting, and interviewer in Anshen (1969), comparing across studies is problematic. It seems likely that Southerners use more *-in* than elsewhere in the country; certainly those interviewed for my study did, in settings that

were relatively similar across region. In any case, as I will show, speakers clearly believe that they do, and this belief influences the role of (ING) in person perception.

A small pilot for the study suggested that perceptions of (ING) differ regionally, showing different responses based on region (interaction $p = .001$), with Southern listeners evaluating *-in* as the more polite form (*-in* = 3.76, *-ing* = 3.48, on a 5-point scale) while others gave *-ing* higher politeness ratings (*-in* = 3.48, *-ing* = 3.64, on a 5-point scale). Intrigued by this regional pattern, I incorporated region into the structure of the main study, drawing both listeners and speakers from two locations: North Carolina and California. The eight speakers in the study were two men and two women from each location, all of whom were university students who had grown up in their respective states (with the exception of one of the California women, Elizabeth, who was originally from Seattle). Table 1 gives the names (pseudonyms) of the speakers by region and sex. The interview participants and survey listeners likewise were university students in these two states, although they were not limited to those from the area.

The original recordings used to develop the stimuli for the study were gathered in sociolinguistic interviews. Prior to the interview, I outlined the overall structure of the study and explained that I would be manipulating excerpts of their speech and playing them for others but did not say which linguistic features I would be changing. The interview itself lasted about an hour and was informal in style, centering on work or school topics and general hobbies or recreational activities.

After each interview, I transcribed the resulting tape, then met again with the speaker. For each instance of (ING) in the transcript, I asked them to produce alternate tokens. I first played the excerpt from the original interview, for example, "I'm planning on going to grad school," and asked the speaker to produce two versions: "I'm planning on going to grad school" and "I'm plannin' on goin' to grad school," capturing the speed and intonation of the original as much as possible.

For each speaker, I selected four short (10–20 seconds) excerpts, each with 2–6 tokens of (ING), without attempting to control for phonological and grammatical constraints on the (ING) tokens. The excerpts were selected to be relatively self-contained sequences of content, easy to understand, and

TABLE 1
Speakers by Region and Sex

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
North Carolina	Bonnie, Tricia	Robert, Ivan
California	Elizabeth, Valerie	Sam, Jason

with as many (ING) tokens as possible. I used the software package Praat to cut and paste the *-in* and *-ing* tokens from the alternates into the excerpts, regardless of which token was used in the original interview, to avoid introducing confounding effects. In order to achieve smooth and believable results, I manipulated the alternate tokens to match their length, intensity, and pitch to the original.

Gerunds, present participles, and the words *nothing* and *something* were taken as tokens of (ING). The words *anything* and *everything*, categorically velar in most U.S. English (Houston 1985, 22), were not changed. Tokens of *going to* were altered when they appeared, but those of *gonna* were left as in the original. Unfortunately, due to early confusion in the manipulation process, one token of *interesting* (in Sam, “Opera”) was altered, while another (Tricia, “Everyone”) was left with the original velar form. It is not certain what impact this had on the results, but it is likely to be small given the many other factors at work. Once the paired recordings were completed, I briefly piloted them for naturalness and identifiability before moving on to the first stage of data collection. The resulting 32 matched pairs (four from each of eight speakers) were used in both the group interview and experimental survey phases of data collection.

The open-ended group interviews were conducted with two primary goals in mind. The first was to determine what the general reactions were to the speakers and what terms were used spontaneously to describe them. The second was to gather native speaker intuitions and ideologies regarding (ING) and its effect on these particular utterances. In the first part of the interview, participants heard individual recordings from four of the eight speakers and answered general questions about the speaker and situation.

What can you tell me about Jason?

Does he sound competent or good at what he does?

Is he someone you would be likely to be friends with?

Who do you think he’s talking to? What is the context of the conversation?

Where you think he is from?

In the second part, I explained the goal of the study in more detail, then identified the (ING) variants and played the same recordings in their pairs, asking the participants to comment explicitly on how (ING) changed their perceptions.

Group interviews were conducted on campus and ranged from one to six participants, though most consisted of two or three. Participants were solicited through fliers, class announcements, e-mail lists, and word of mouth. The group format was partly for efficiency, but group dynamics enriched the data as participants built on each other’s responses, agreeing with, object-

ing to, or elaborating on what had gone before. In explaining the task, I underlined the importance of hearing all opinions, and while group members clearly influenced one another, there was little apparent push to come to consensus. In all, 20 groups consisting of 55 participants were analyzed, one group having been eliminated due to problems with the recording and another due to a preponderance of nonnative speakers.

Unlike the group interviews, the survey which followed was not conducted face to face. The survey materials (shown in appendix B) were posted on a Web page and subjects were solicited through the Web. Before beginning the survey, listeners were presented with a sample recording containing no (ING) tokens and asked to verify their ability to hear the sample before proceeding. Demographic information was collected at the beginning of the survey, including age, sex, ethnicity, geographic background, and school attended. Surprisingly, none of these factors influenced any of the results under discussion in this article. While this may reflect a general pattern, it is likely that these listeners' similarity is due to the characteristics they do share as 18–22-year-old undergraduates.

The goal of the survey was to investigate covert reactions rather than conscious opinions, so listeners were not directed toward (ING) or any other linguistic attribute. To avoid revealing the nature of the study and the focus on (ING), the survey used a between-subjects design; each listener heard only one member of each matched pair and the average responses for the two guises were compared. Similarly, different listeners heard the four different recordings from any given speaker. The first set of questions asked listeners to rate the speaker on a set of 6-point scales (e.g., from "educated" to "not educated"). After these ratings came a series of lists of checkboxes, sets of descriptions from which listeners could select those appropriate to the speaker. The first dealt with personal characteristics or identities, such as "hardworking" or "a redneck." The second set focused on attitude or situation, such as "joking" or "applying for a job," and the third asked whether the speaker was from "the city," "the country," or "the suburbs" and from "a working-class background," "a middle-class background," or "a wealthy background." A total of 124 participants completed the study, while an additional 36 began it but failed to finish, so their data were removed from the analyses.

I used logistic regression to investigate the influence of the independent variables (the speaker, the recording itself, the (ING) variant, and listener's school, gender, regional background, and race) on the checkbox variables, as well as co-occurrence patterns between checkbox variables (e.g., "articulate," "artist"). To analyze the ratings variables (e.g., "educated"/"not educated"), I used analysis of variance (ANOVA), including looking at in-

teractions between response variables by using checkbox variables as terms. Because of the diversity of the statistical questions asked, all significance values are two tailed, regardless of the directionality of the finding.

I will draw on both the interview data and the survey data in the following discussion. Before discussing the accent percepts in the data and the role of (ING) in them, I describe the regional perceptions of the eight speakers and use them to partition the speakers into four categories.

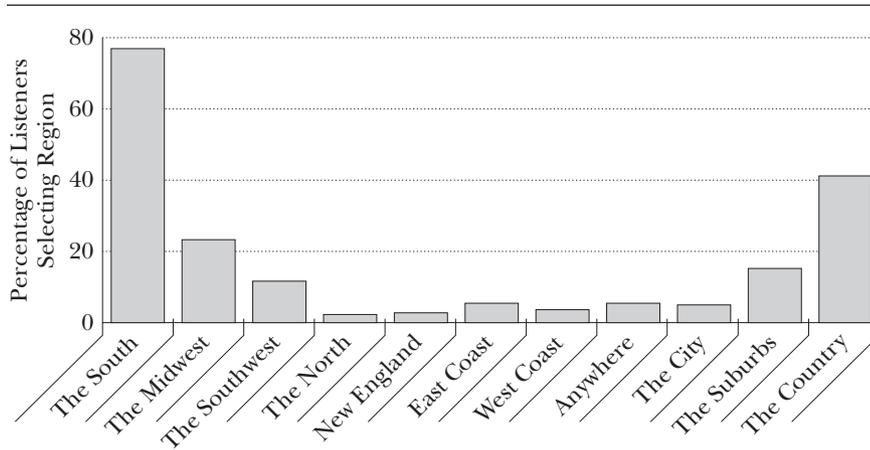
REGIONAL PERCEPTION PATTERNS

This article describes the relationship between (ING) and two very different accents: one connected to the South and one to cities and gay men. In the next section, I will describe the social and regional baggage ascribed to the South by the participants in my study and the connection between these perceptions and the *-in* variant of (ING). Then I will turn my attention to the speech of Jason and how perceptions of his speech illuminate a different aspect of the landscape of accent. Before discussing these accents and (ING), it is necessary to describe how the eight speakers were perceived with respect to region. This will provide the larger context within which the accents are evaluated, and it will show what motivated the groupings of speakers used in the rest of the analysis.

The eight speakers in my study fall into four categories based on their profiles of perceived region and accent. Three of the four North Carolina speakers (Robert, Tricia, and Bonnie) were generally described as having strong accents and as Southern. The fourth North Carolinian, Ivan, was primarily perceived as a West Coast resident, perhaps because of his laid-back persona and associations with subcultures such as surfing or skateboarding. Three of the four Californians (Elizabeth, Valerie, and Sam) were heard as aregional; they were most often identified as “might be from anywhere.” This regional vagueness was accompanied by the lowest accent ratings of the eight speakers. The remaining Californian, Jason, was the only speaker to be primarily identified as from a city, and secondarily as equally bicoastal and aregional.

The regional profile for the three perceptually Southern speakers is given in figure 1. This graph, based on data from both (ING) guises, shows the frequency with which each region was selected to describe these three speakers by survey listeners, as well as the responses for the three community-type categories: city, country, and suburbs. Although the graph shows the pooled data from the three speakers, the individual profiles closely resemble it. As figure 1 shows, these speakers are distinguished by being overwhelmingly

FIGURE 1
Region Selections for the Perceptually Southern Speakers



identified as from “the South.” In the interviews, this identification was not only common but tended to be marked as particularly salient, often being the first quality named immediately after participants heard the recording, as in (1). It was often greeted by laughter, which may mark the comment as self-evident, sensitive, or both.

1. MODERATOR: Any sense about Robert?

TAMIKA: From the South.

ABBY: Definitely.

TAMIKA: Below North Carolina and far west as Texas, probably.

ABBY: Yeah, anywhere from the South or from Texas.

[Group 19, N.C.; in response to Robert’s “Tailgating” excerpt using *-ing*]

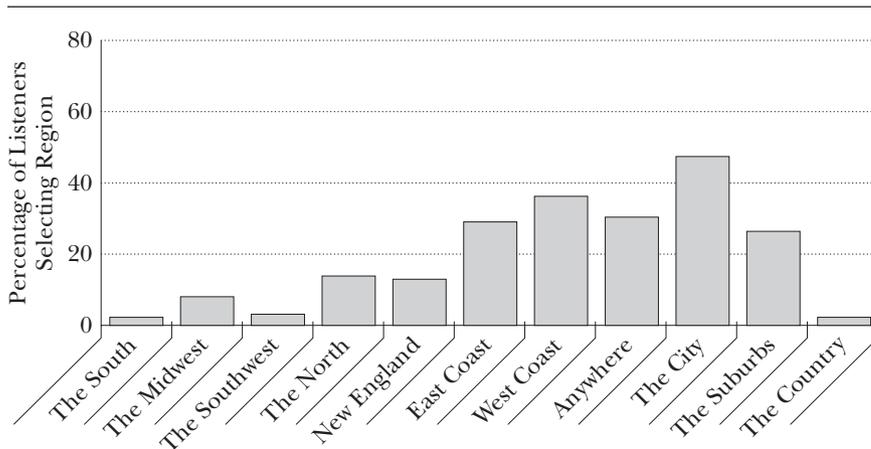
For the most part, interview participants did not identify specific linguistic cues that made them think these speakers were from the South, instead using general terms such as “drawl” or “twang.” The one exception to this was the monophthongization of /ay/, commented on by a handful of participants. Other cues were present in their speech although they went unremarked by interview participants: all three speakers show some fronting of /ow/; Tricia has a few tokens demonstrating lowered /ɔ/; Bonnie shows /uw/ fronting; and Robert has a very noticeable palatalization of /s/, a feature not shared by the other North Carolina speakers I interviewed and apparently cultivated as part of a personal style. Indeed, his fraternity brother (interviewed but not used in the study) described Robert as not talking like anyone in the local area. I suspect this /s/ quality was responsible for the common description of Robert as sounding Texan.

The three Southern sounding speakers also tended to be described as being from the country and were moderately likely to be identified as from the Midwest and Southwest, with very low selections for the other regions. With respect to (ING), they were described in interviews as sounding like people who would “naturally” use *-in*, as in (2). The observation of which variant was more natural was an overwhelmingly common response to my queries regarding the perceptual effect of (ING). Discussions of naturalness drew occasionally on themes of effort or essential qualities, but primarily seemed to be a way of observing which variant was more expected in a given linguistic performance.

2. SALLY: The second one [-in] sounded more natural.
 MODERATOR: Okay.
 ??? : Yeah.
 SARAH: I agree.
 TOM: It was kind of like the same situation as Tricia. Just went with how she speaks better.
 MODERATOR: Okay.
 TOM: It's natural.
 [Group 14, N.C.; in response to Bonnie's "Classes" excerpt during the comparison phase]

Jason's regional profile, given in figure 2, contrasts markedly with that of the Southerners. His most frequent identification is not a region at all, but a community type, namely the city. Regionally, he is seen as primarily biocoastal, equally likely to have either coast selected. The high selections of

FIGURE 2
Region Selections for Jason



the description “anywhere” likely reflect what listeners perceive as a lack of regionally marked features, as shown in (3). This exchange suggests that Jason’s urban style is a social one, connected to an urbane or cosmopolitan persona rather than to a regionally marked or working-class urban resident image.

3. MODERATOR: Any sense of where he might be from?
 SHANTELL: I’d say New England or somewhere on the East Coast. Definitely not the South. Or um, like, Minnesota, Colorado.
 JANIS: I wouldn’t think he was from like Boston, East Coast ‘cause he doesn’t really have that accent at all. So.
 SHANTELL: Oh, no. I’ve never been there so I really couldn’t tell you, but I know he’s not from where I’m from.
 MOLLY: Um, I think he could be actually from where I’m from. I’m from San Antonio.
 SHANTELL: No way! I think I’ve met you before!
 MOLLY: Yes, you have.
 SHANTELL: Where are you from? [town name]
 MOLLY: [??] Every– If you– The closer you get to the city in the South the more likely you are to um, [??] voices like that. Could be.
 MODERATOR: So, you’re saying he could be from the South, but he’d be in the city?
 MOLLY: Ah yeah. I mean I think he–
 BILL: I– he seemed from New England but like a city not– yeah, I agree not Boston. Maybe like New York, and he didn’t grow up there.
 ??? : Yeah mmmm.
 JANIS: I like– The first thing I thought of was New York but I also think he could be from San Francisco or Seattle or something because those like cities like that on the West Coast are known for being pretty like artistic and cool and like–
 BILL: Mhmm. I think that’s what I [? no regionalisms?] like–
 JANIS: Yeah. Watch he’s from like, Idaho.
 ALL: [laughter]
 JANIS: Rural [???].
 BILL: Yeah.
 MOLLY: If he is he was made fun of as a child.
 ALL: [laughter]
 [Group 8, Calif.; in response to Jason’s “Clocks” excerpt using *-ing*]

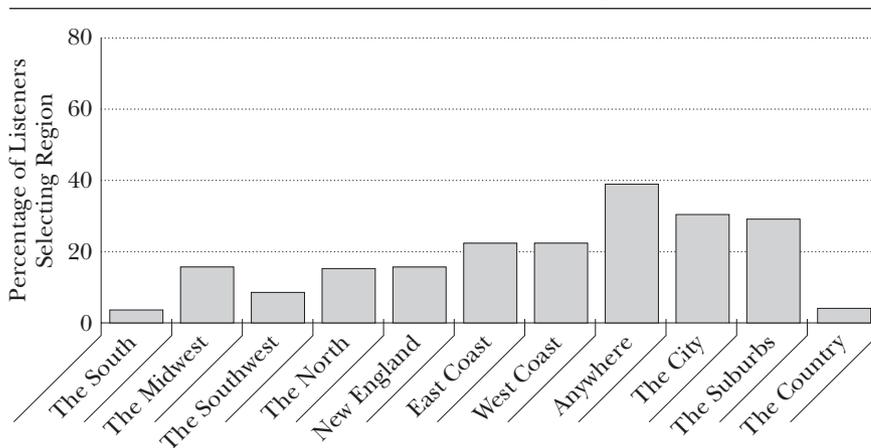
Unlike the Southern speakers, Jason elicits no consensus as to which (ING) variant is more appropriate or natural in his speech. Although those participants who do assign him a variant choose *-ing*, for the most part interview participants indicate that either is believable in his speech.

The three other Californians (Elizabeth, Valerie, and Sam) formed the next perceptual region group, one that I have termed the “anywhere speakers.” This name derives from the fact that the regional description “might be from anywhere” was the most frequently selected item in their regional profile, shown in figure 3. These three speakers were perceived as standard speaking, regionally unmarked, and unaccented. In interviews, regional descriptions were only occasionally volunteered and rarely advanced as the first description of the speaker. After the other questions, if region had not been mentioned, I asked participants where they thought the speaker might be from. In (4), the participants from example (1) answer this question about Sam. The reference to parking garages is inspired by the content of the recording, which deals with Sam’s habit of going to parking garages late at night to skateboard down the ramps.

4. MODERATOR: And any sense on where Sam might be from?
 [pause]
 TAMIKA: I’d say somewhere urban. As far as parking garages.
 ABBY: I have no idea. There are malls everywhere.
 MARY: Wasn’t a very distinct voice.
 [Group 19, N.C.; in response to Sam’s “Skateboarding” excerpt using *-in*]

Instead of region, individual characteristics took over as the most salient and quickly mentioned qualities, for example, that Elizabeth was noticeably “enthusiastic” or “energetic” or that Sam sounded particularly young. The “anywhere speakers” embodied what Lippi-Green (1997) calls the MYTH OF

FIGURE 3
 Region Selections for the “Anywhere Speakers”



THE NONACCENT: the idea that some speech is marked by the region, ethnicity, or lack of education of the speaker, while other speech is simply regular or standard. Lippi-Green (1997, 58) suggests that region is particularly implicated in accent:

Accent falls into the domain of uneducated, sloppy, language anarchists. Those areas of the country which embody these characteristics most in the minds of a good many U.S. English speakers (the south, New York City), are the natural home of accent. Everybody else speaks standard English and as such, has no accent.

The durability of the myth of the nonaccent may be seen in (5), where one participant responds to another's challenge of the myth, the only time any interview participant described an "anywhere speaker" as having an accent. It is worth noting here that Linda, the one issuing the challenge, was the only linguistics major among those interviewed.

5. LINDA: I don't know, I felt like she had a very distinct, like, accent, like the kind that I've heard here at Stanford.

???: California.

LINDA: or like when I [??] like at Stanford.

MEGAN: What is—

KAREN: It's a nonaccent.

[Group 5, Calif.; in response to Elizabeth's "Hair" excerpt using *-in*]

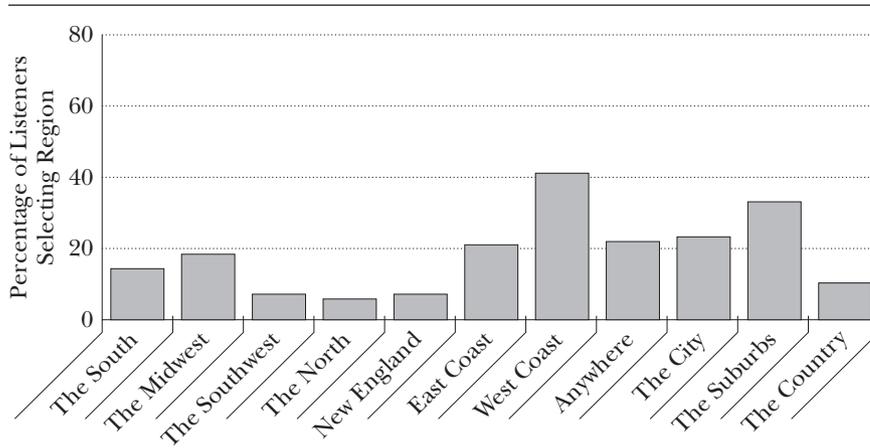
The "anywhere speakers" were considered to be "natural" *-ing* speakers in that *-ing* fit into their speech style more comfortably than *-in* did, as the participant in (6) comments.

6. GREG: So I think it sounds more natural for her to say *-ing*. Hiking. Hikin' just— it just doesn't mesh well with the rest of the sentence. But I mean if she did, if she were, if I did have a true situation in which she was saying— which she was saying hiking or sorry hikin' with *i-n* on the end of it? It would sound as though she's trying, she's maybe around somebody Southern, and she's trying to be Southern or trying to be a little bit too laid-back relaxed linguistically.

[Group 21, N.C.; in response to Valerie's "Backpacking" excerpt during the comparison phase]

The final category is another single speaker, Ivan, whose profile is shown in figure 4. Like the perceptually Southern speakers, Ivan was a student in North Carolina, having been born in the state and lived there all of his life. Perhaps because of his urban background or for other reasons, Ivan lacked the linguistic cues that marked the other North Carolina speakers as Southern, as the participants in (7) comment.

FIGURE 4
Region Selections for Ivan



7. KELLY: It sounded like he had well to me a little bit of an accent, maybe
 MODERATOR: OK. What kind of an accent?
 KELLY: Mmm. [laughter] Maybe— Mmm— I don't know maybe like Boston?
 MODERATOR: Anybody else have a sense about where he might be from?
 [pause]
 KELLY: Or like the Midwest or something? [laughter]
 SCOTT: [laughter]
 MODERATOR: Do you have any sense where he might be from?
 DAN: Didn't sound very Southern, but as far as another locale I can't like
 pinpoint.
 SCOTT: Yeah, I don't think there's anything distinctive about where you could
 tell he was from.
 [Group 9, N.C.; in response to Ivan's "Tickets" excerpt using *-ing*]

Instead, Ivan's most common regional selection was the West Coast, followed by the community type suburbs. This characterization was likely related to his outstanding social characteristics of sounding particularly laid-back and like a stoner and a surfer, as in (8).

8. LAURA: Sounds like he smokes a lot of pot, but he was talking about knowl-
 edgable stuff, so he sounds like just a cool dude.
 [Group 9, N.C.; in response to Ivan's "Tickets" excerpt using *-ing*]

Despite Ivan's lack of Southern linguistic cues, many of his social descriptions, particularly with respect to class and education, group him with the (other) Southern speakers. All four North Carolinians are rated on average as less educated (with means ranging from 3.23 to 4.00) than all

four Californians (with means ranging from 4.02 to 4.45). They are also all less likely to be described as from a wealthy background (4–15%) and more likely to be described as from a working-class background (15–41%) than the Californians (16–29% and 6–14%, respectively). The difference between the highest North Carolinian and lowest Californian speaker in each case is not large, but the differences between the two groups are robust ($p < .001$ for all three), and Ivan does not stand out as markedly different from the other three. His similarity to the (other) Southerners in these respects raises (but does not answer) intriguing questions regarding different facets of Southern and Southern-sounding speech patterns and their associations.

This partition of the eight speakers into four groups (Southern, Jason, “anywhere,” and Ivan) provides the framework within which the rest of the paper takes place. I would like to underline the fact that the two accent constructs I will be discussing do not represent the sum total of (ING)’s meanings, even within this one small study. (ING) figures in many patterns, some of which are reported elsewhere (Campbell-Kibler 2005). This article focuses on one set, those related to the circulation of two recognized accents and their relationship to (ING). The following section explores the Southern accent and (ING) in the context of these listener perceptions.

(ING), ACCENT, AND THE SOUTH

The perceived Southerners served as a major focal point for accent in the study. As table 2 shows, these three speakers were perceived as drastically more “accented” than any of the others and further were rated as more “accented” in their *-in* guises than in their *-ing* guises ($p = 0.019$). This section discusses some of the social connections shared by (ING) and Southern accents in both the interview and survey data, namely education, class, and the description “redneck.”

TABLE 2
Accented Ratings, by Perceived Regional Grouping and (ING)
(mean ratings on a scale of 1–6)

	<i>-in</i>		<i>-ing</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Rating</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Rating</i>
Southern	190	4.92	182	4.63
Jason	58	2.83	66	3.29
Anywhere	190	2.73	182	2.53
Ivan	58	2.74	66	2.92

One of the strongest associations shared by *-in* and the Southern accent is lack of education. Across the data (for all eight speakers), *-ing* guises received higher ratings for “educated” (*-in* = 3.81, *-ing* = 3.98, $p = .003$). Speaker’s perceived region also had a significant impact ($p < .001$) on “educated” ratings with both the perceptual Southerners and Ivan rated significantly lower than Jason and the “anywhere speakers” (as determined by post-hoc testing). The means for each group are shown in figure 5. It is not clear to what extent this division reflects associations between lack of education and the South that are independent of conscious dialect identification (see Ladegaard 1998) or whether it is merely a result of the particular speakers involved. The undergraduate programs attended by the California and North Carolina speakers differed in prestige, and this could have played a role in these results. Nonetheless, much of this difference can be linked to accent. The survey results show an inverse relationship between ratings of accent and education even after speaker region is accounted for statistically ($p < .001$). Interview participants overtly linked (ING), accent, and education, as in (9).

9. ALICE: There were several places that were um, the *-ings* I thought make-made the accent much less pronounced. So to me, unfortunately as a Southerner, it sou- she sounded more educated in the second [*-ing* guise].
 [Group 18, N.C.; in response to Tricia’s “Work-School” excerpt during the comparison phase]

Similar connections may be seen to the concept of articulateness. Speakers were less likely to be labeled as “articulate” in their *-in* than their *-ing* guises (*-in* = 21%, *-ing* = 27%, $p = 0.02$). Figure 6 shows that speaker region is also

FIGURE 5
 Educated Ratings, by Perceptual Region Categories
 (mean ratings on a scale of 1–6; $N = 992$ from 124 listeners)

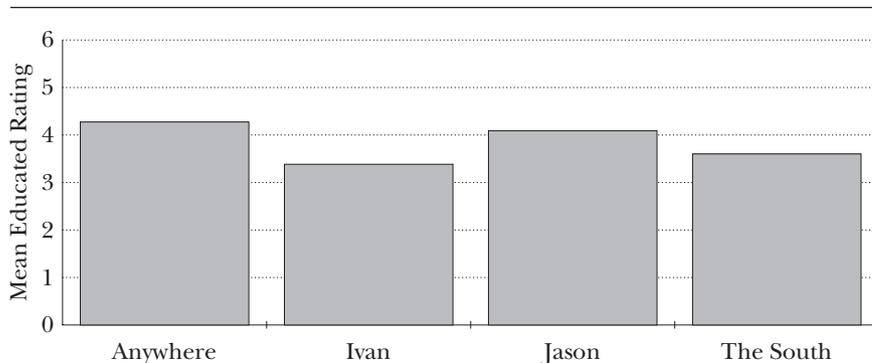
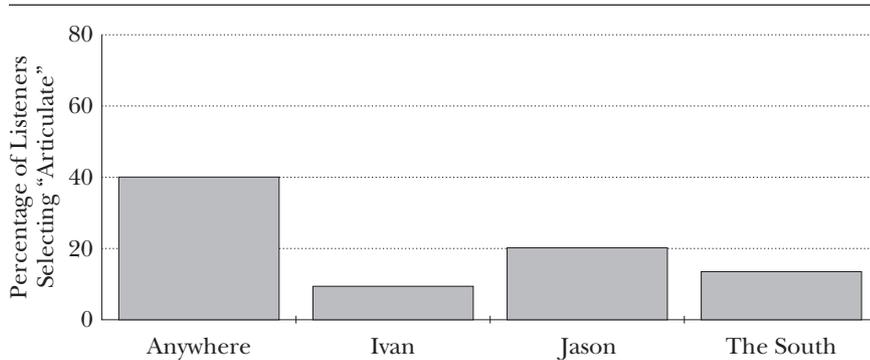


FIGURE 6
 Articulate Selections, by Perceptual Region Categories
 ($N = 992$ from 124 listeners)



a significant influence on "articulate" selections, although, as for education, the perceptually Southern speakers are not alone in their low incidence.

Discussions of Southern accents invariably draw in associations with the country, with working-class backgrounds, and with the specific stereotypes which implicate these connections, such as the term "redneck." All three qualities were strongly associated with the South; the terms were more likely to be selected to describe the perceptually Southern speakers ($p < .001$ in all three cases) and tended to co-occur with selections of "the South" as the likely region of origin for a speaker, even after the effect of the speaker is taken into account ($p < .001$ in all three cases). Neither of these patterns was affected by the regional background of the listeners. It is useful to remember, however, that these statistical connections do not necessarily indicate a blanket association between these concepts. It is certain that the social landscape documented here was shaped in part by the stimuli used. These data demonstrate that when these particular speakers were heard as Southern, they were also heard as rural, not that no speakers exist who would differentiate the two. The lack of effect of listener region could also stem from a disconnect between the conscious beliefs of, for example, educated urban Southerners and their reactions to actual speakers.

Further, although the speaker Ivan had overall low selections for these qualities, reflecting his perceived non-Southernness, in those cases where he was described as being from "the South," his selections for "country," "working class," and "redneck" match those of the perceived Southerners. Interview participants used "redneck" to index an intersection of Southernness with lack of intelligence and specific cultural habits, as in (10), where Robert's references to football, tailgating, and whiskey are cited by the participants as evidence of his redneck status.

10. MODERATOR: Anything else?

TAMIKA: May be a redneck.

???: [laughter]

TAMIKA: Possibly.

[pause]

TAMIKA: That's such a bad term.

ABBY: No, it's not. Perfectly acceptable to [laughter] call someone a redneck.

ALL: [laughter]

ABBY: But he likes his football and tailgating.

MARY: And whiskey.

ABBY: And whiskeyyyy!! Yeah, he's a redneck

???: [laughter]

TAMIKA: Aw.

ABBY: And no, I wouldn't hang out with him. Although I will tell you since this is a linguistic study that, um people do like to say that once you hear Southern accent you have to subtract several intelligence points just because of the accent which is unfortunate; 'cause there are a lot of, um smart Southern people, and they have accent but people think of the Southern accent as being dumb. It just sounds dumb to a lot of people.

[pause]

MODERATOR: So leading into that how smart or not smart does Robert sound?

[pause]

TAMIKA: Well he didn't sound, like, didn't sound I guess super-intelligent, but I wouldn't say that he would be dumb.

ABBY: I'm not gonna base it on the accent, but the whiskey and the tailgating, football I mean, I would say just average intelligence, average.

MARY: Yeah, I would probably say average, below average, I mean slightly below average.

[Group 19, N.C.; in response to Robert's "Tailgate" excerpt using *-ing*]

The (ING) variable had no impact on how likely speakers were to be described as from "the country" by survey listeners, but *-in* did increase the likelihood of the description "redneck" (*-in* = 12%, *-ing* = 8%, $p = 0.04$). Some interview participants connected the *-in* form with both qualities, as in (11) and (12).

11. JILL: Yeah, she seems like even more, like I really associate the "in" thing with, like, down South, or the rednecks. But, so, this definitely makes her seem more of like a country person than a city person.

[Group 22, Calif.; in response to Tricia's "Hiking" excerpt during the comparison phase]

12. ROB: And as soon as she, also, it seems like after she said *mixin'*, uh, "with the guys" seemed even more, like, country. Or more with the Southern accent. But when she said mixing with the guys it didn't seem as bad. [Group 10, N.C.; in response to Bonnie's "Seniors" excerpt during the comparison phase]

The (ING) variable had no general effect on class perceptions, but it was implicated in several interactions between class categories and other descriptions, such as education. In interviews, class was not often mentioned explicitly, although as the quotes already given demonstrate, class figures in these understandings.

JASON, ACCENT, AND (ING)

Jason, the urban bicoastal speaker, is the only speaker to be rated as more accented in his *-ing* guise than in his *-in* guise; as table 2 showed, Jason's accent has little to do with the South or the country; instead, listeners perceive him as having a gay accent and an urban accent (although one of a relatively high social class). This section will describe the connections between Jason's style, the concept of accent, and perceptions of him as gay and metrosexual.

A sizable proportion of the survey listeners thought that Jason might be "gay" (42% overall), far more than for any other speaker (Sam followed at 8%, all others were less than 2%). Not only does Jason sound "gay" to many listeners, but he is more likely to sound "gay" when he uses *-ing*, as shown in table 3.

Listeners also associated Jason being gay with his having an accent. As table 4 shows, those listeners who described Jason as "gay" rated him as more "accented" than those who did not. It is likely that these listeners share the widespread and well-documented ideology of the "gay accent" (Gaudio 1994; Podesva, Roberts, and Campbell-Kibler 2001; Levon 2006). It has long been a source of discussion among linguists and nonlinguists alike that some gay men seem to signal their sexual identity in their speech patterns. Some work has sought to find consistent differences in speech production between gay

TABLE 3
Gay Selections for Jason, by (ING)
($p = .031$)

Listeners Checking "Gay"	
<i>-in</i>	<i>-ing</i>
36.5%	63.5%

TABLE 4
Accent Ratings for Jason, by Gay
($N = 124$, $p < .001$)

	"Gay" Not Selected	"Gay" Selected
Accent	1.71	2.58

and straight men, while other work has looked at acoustic correlates to the percept of "sounding gay," rather than looking for correlates to actual sexual orientation. Researchers into the percept of gay speech have investigated a range of acoustic cues, with somewhat uneven results (Crist 1997; Smyth, Jacobs, and Rogers 2003; Pierrehumbert et al. 2004; Levon 2006).

The perceptual link between *-ing* and "gay" for Jason does not imply that *-ing* carries any direct "gay meaning." Indeed, this seems unlikely given that Jason is the only speaker to exhibit any influence of (ING) on listener impressions of his sexuality. Instead, it is likely that while *-ing* does form part of a perceived gay style, it is a relatively unmarked resource and is used in many styles (e.g., in this study "anywhere speakers" are seen by listeners as natural *-ing* speakers). Despite this flexibility, *-ing* is indeed a part of a gay style to the extent that listeners are less likely to identify Jason with it when he uses *-in*.

In recent years many of the stylistic cues associated with gay men have become available to a wider group. Given Jason's urban associations, these other styles are viable options for describing him. I included the term *metrosexual* in the survey materials in response to a couple of instances in the interview data where listeners used the term to describe Jason, as shown in (13).

13. TAMIKA: At risk of sounding like everybody else with this whole metrosexual thing.
 ALL: [laughter]
 TAMIKA: I mean for lack of a better term I'd use that for what I'd think he, like, the kind of person he was.
 ABBY: He could be gay. [laughter]
 MARY: That too.
 ABBY: I mean a, well, guy who likes to shop and buy expensive things. Well, it could be electronics, but he could be talking about Banana Republic or something.
 [laughter]
 MARY: Or Structure. [laughter]
 ABBY: Structure [laughter]
 [pause]
 MODERATOR: So, is Banana Republic a particularly meaningful store? To like, to shop at?

ABBY: Um, for guys who like expensive clothing and really pay a lot of attention to how they dress, yes.

MARY: [laughter]

MODERATOR: And Structure is the same type?

ABBY: And Structure, yeah. It's sort of the metrosexual look, urban chic thing going on.

[Group 19, N.C.; in response to Jason's "Shopping" excerpt using *-ing*]

In this conversation, the interview participants focus on the content of Jason's recording in their reactions concerning his sexuality. The recording under discussion in (13), which discusses his love of shopping, is more often labeled "gay" than any other recording, as seen in figure 7. Despite this, all of his recordings outstrip those of any of the other speakers in ratings of "gay" or "metrosexual," which suggests that there is more to this pattern than this obvious content cue. I did not examine Jason's speech for cues linked in the literature to percepts of gay speech—such as lengthened /s/ and /l/ or pitch variability (Levon 2006)—but none of these qualities stood out as remarkable and obvious to the ear. Jason is distinguished from the other speakers by his use of nasalization, creaky voice, and discourse *like*, but the role of these in perceptions of his sexual orientation is unclear.

Although it is not clear to what extent the term (or the concept) *metrosexual* has spread through different populations in the country, for this listener population it was connected with being gay, either as a related concept or merely a similar style. Table 5 shows that in Jason's speech, the two terms heavily favor each other. Given the mutually exclusive meanings, it is likely that survey listeners choosing both descriptions are offering them as two potential alternates. Although the two are linked, their connections to language are different. Jason's "gay" attributions are increased by *-ing*

FIGURE 7
Gay Selections for Jason, by Recording and (ING)
(*N* = 124)

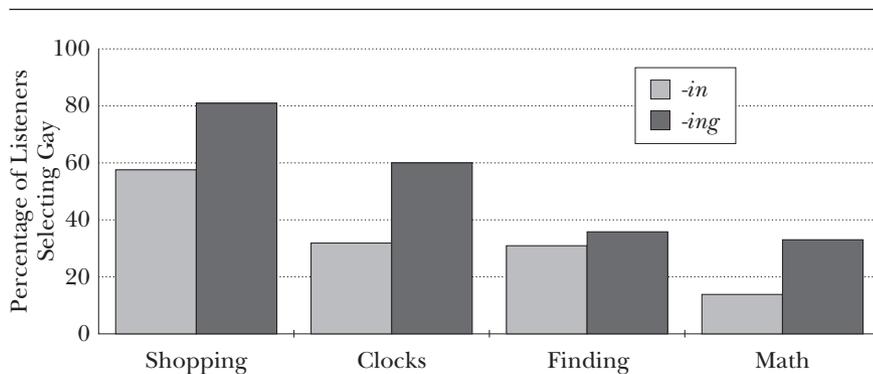


TABLE 5
 Metrosexual Selections for Jason, by Gay
 ($N = 124, p < .001$)

	"Gay" Not Selected	"Gay" Selected
Metrosexual	26.4%	69.2%

and this pattern holds across all four recordings, as shown in figure 7. His "metrosexual" attributions show no consistent pattern in response to (ING) across the different recordings, as shown in figure 8. The interaction of these two qualities with accent expands this picture: there is a robust connection between perceptions of Jason being "gay" and ratings of him as "accented." However, once this association is accounted for statistically, there is no connection between perceptions of him as "metrosexual" and "accented." There is, however, an interaction, shown in table 6, through which (ING) changes the relationship between these two percepts. Specifically, listeners who selected "metrosexual" and heard Jason's *-ing* guise rated him as more "accented" than others. This suggests that listeners are drawing on the image of a "gay accent," but that the relationship between the concept of metrosexual and that of accent is less direct.

The social image of urban centers forms another important piece to this puzzle. In example (3), we saw the suggestion that listeners associate part of Jason's style with living in, but not necessarily being from, a city. Much of the time people associate sexual minority groups with cities, exaggerating the real tendency of the members of such groups to move to metropolitan areas in order to join existing communities (Weston 1998). My subjects followed this pattern, favoring selections of "gay" when they also selected "the city" ("the city" selected = 32%, "the city" not selected = 53%, $p = .043$). It

FIGURE 8
 Metrosexual Selections for Jason, by Recording and (ING)

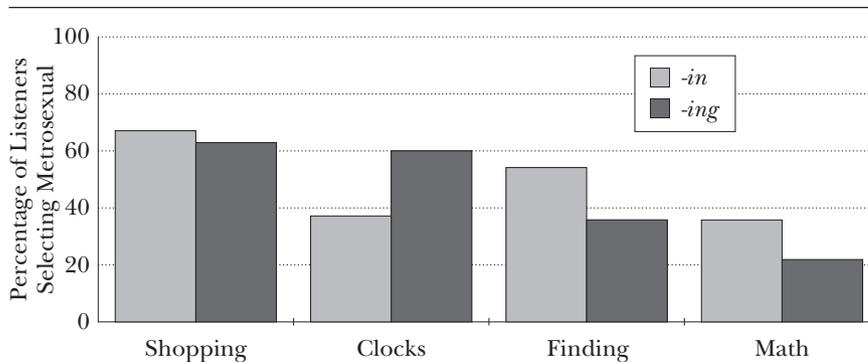


TABLE 6
Accented Ratings for Jason, by (ING) and Metrosexual
(mean ratings on a scale of 1–6, $N = 124$, $p = 0.003$)

	<i>-in</i>		<i>-ing</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Rating</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Rating</i>
“Metrosexual” not selected	31	2.90	38	2.87
“Metrosexual” selected	27	2.74	28	3.86

is not surprising then that this interplay between sexuality, stylistic identity, and accent also is intertwined with the city. Table 7 shows that selections for being from “the city” have a similar relationship to accented ratings as do those for the quality “metrosexual.” These two descriptions also favor each other: those who label Jason “metrosexual” selected “the city” 60% of the time, as compared with 38% of the time for others ($p = 0.027$).

Table 8 shows that when listeners labeled Jason “gay,” they rated him as significantly less “masculine” than otherwise (Smyth, Jacobs, and Rogers 2003). Although *metrosexual* is also associated with lower masculine scores, this association is entirely accounted for by the connection between “gay” and “metrosexual,” leaving no association between “metrosexual” and “masculine” once the variance related to “gay” is accounted for statistically.

Ratings of Jason’s “masculinity” also correlate negatively with ratings of his “accentedness” ($\text{corr} = -0.36$, $p < .001$). These findings, in addition to the documented tendency for men to use more *-in* than women when class and speech activity are held constant (e.g., Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974) and ideological ties between *-in* and working-class masculinity (Kiesling 1998), might lead one to expect that the impact of (ING) on both Jason’s “accented” ratings and his “gay” selections are caused by the effect of (ING)

TABLE 7
Accented Ratings for Jason, by (ING) and City
(mean ratings on a scale of 1–6, $N = 124$, $p = 0.003$)

	<i>-in</i>		<i>-ing</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Rating</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Rating</i>
“City” not selected	31	2.81	34	2.91
“City” selected	27	2.85	32	3.69

TABLE 8
Masculine Ratings for Jason, by Gay
($N = 124$, $p < .001$)

	“Gay” Not Selected	“Gay” Selected
Metrosexual	3.67	2.23

on his perceived masculinity. This is not supported by the data, however: Jason's "masculine" ratings are unaffected by his (ING) guise. This suggests that (ING)'s influence on Jason's style may be a direct connection to the linguistic and social concept of a gay accent, rather than an indirect link through masculinity.

CONCLUSIONS

All of these patterns combine to show that accent is not perceived by the participants in my study as a continuum, but rather as a multidimensional landscape arrayed around a central norm. Although listeners may share an idea of what constitutes a lack of accent (i.e., the standard), they recognize a range of ways in which a speaker may diverge from this norm and be accented. More importantly, although accents obviously incorporate linguistic cues, they are social constructs, "things in the world," as Cavanaugh (2005) puts it. The (ING) variable, one of these linguistic cues which has made it to the conscious awareness of speakers (a "stereotype," Labov 1966), also may be seen as a social object with its own meanings and relationships to other social objects such as accents.

Despite its independent social life, (ING) also "belongs" in a real way to the two socially constructed accents. The *-in* variant is one of the linguistic cues making up the Southern accent in the minds of the study participants, despite its common (and acknowledged) use in the speech of many non-Southerners. The variant increases the perceived strength of the Southern accent, and it is consciously seen as more appropriate and expected in the context of a Southern accent that *-ing* is. Conversely, the *-ing* variant enhances the perceived strength of a gay-sounding accent, although it is not discussed explicitly as belonging to that form of speech.

In this discussion I have sought to tease apart the connections between (ING), the two accents, and their many social associations. Despite this, the data show dense connections between all of these items, repeating and overlapping different paths connecting a single performance to a given set of social reactions. The (ING) variable influences the perception of education across multiple speakers on the one hand, and in a subset of the speakers also affects an accent associated with lack of education. While these interconnections can be frustrating for researchers as we attempt to tease apart the strongest, most relevant connections for a given accent or linguistic variable, they are a fundamental aspect of sociolinguistic variation. It is to be hoped that future research, in both perception and production paradigms, will help to illuminate the relative strength and different roles

of these diverse associations, as well as the role of such redundancy itself, in the evolution of variation.

These results underline the status of accents as objects that exist in the social world and may be connected to linguistic cues through social channels, such that the use of an independently meaningful variable alters the perceived intensity of an accent. In the case of the Southern speakers, this effect is made comprehensible by the common association of *-in* with Southern speech, such that it may be said to form a part of a Southern accent. In the case of Jason's speech, there is less evidence linking *-ing* to a gay percept, and instead I suggest that this effect results from the social associations directly. Irvine and Gal (2000) propose iconicity as one of the features of a language ideology, a semiotic process through which meaningful speech characteristics are taken to be transparent and direct evidence of the qualities of their users. Jason's use of *-in*, taken as evidence of his social self, conflicts with the social information available through other cues, dampening the percept of his "gay accent." This suggests that the process of iconicity is at work not only in conscious reasoning about language and its use, but also during real-time processing of actual speakers.

APPENDIX A Transcripts of Recordings

BONNIE

CLASSES: Uh, right now I'm taking a relational communication class. It's basically talking about the system— the relationship systems and how we communicate with people that we have relationships with. [13 secs., $N(-in) = 10$, $N(-ing) = 19$]

QUESTIONNAIRE: They're trying to develop a questionnaire that's not culturally biased. And so we're asking, um, focus groups that ar— consist of African American, European American, and Lumbee. Um, so we can try to at least cov— cover three areas. [18 secs., $N(-in) = 18$, $N(-ing) = 14$]

SENIORS: But I think a lot of the older girls, especially the seniors, are not really interested in mixing with the guys. So, I'm trying to get, like, the president to say that, ah, we should mix with the girls a little more. [13 secs., $N(-in) = 16$, $N(-ing) = 12$]

COACHING: I played volleyball in high school. And when I was in high school we started playing junior olympic volleyball and, uh, would travel around the state every other weekend in tournaments and stuff. I really enjoy it. I enjoy, like, working with the other girls on the team. [17 secs., $N(-in) = 22$, $N(-ing) = 13$]

TRICIA

WORK-SCHOOL: I decided I was going to work and go to school and that was hard 'cause I did have a lot of, you know, my harder English classes last semester: a lot of reading, a lot of papers. But I did work at a law firm. And— just was filing paperwork, nothing— nobody knew my name. That's OK though [laughter]. [18 secs., $N(-in) = 19$, $N(-ing) = 10$]

EVERYBODY: But— 'cause you get everybody in there. From six years old stealing a sandwich 'cause they're hungry to, you know, fifteen years old stealing a car or something like that. But um, it was very interesting and definitely one of those experiences you have that you remember for a while. So. [18 secs., $N(-in) = 14$, $N(-ing) = 18$]

HIKING: You know, we spend a lot of time in the mountains hiking, camping, and whatnot. And— there— a river so you can go kayaking or paddling. You know, you're there at a mountain so you can go hiking and then even in the area here we have a lot of hiking trails and, um, lakes that you can go camp around. [17 secs., $N(-in) = 13$, $N(-ing) = 22$]

CUCUMBER: So I go outside one day and I'm picking. So the cucumbers start crossing with the squash and the watermelon and the jalapena peppers. We were making cucumber everything. Make cucumber salsa and cucumber this and cucumber that. After a while, we were just having to chunk 'em. [18 secs., $N(-in) = 12$, $N(-ing) = 16$]

IVAN

TICKETS: It's, you know, selling tickets, being aware of the game day operations, activities, your sponsorships. You know, your fan base, and advertising, marketing. All that stuff. So. [14 secs., $N(-in) = 19$, $N(-ing) = 10$]

CRUCIAL: Even though, you know, the players a lot of times don't realize that what you do behind the scenes, um, is, you know, crucial to the fans being there and whatever. You know, I want to know that my success at work is helping the success on the court. [16 secs., $N(-in) = 14$, $N(-ing) = 18$]

WATER: I tried to go water— I guess, not water ski— wakeboarding. That didn't— That didn't— That didn't go well. No. Definitely was— broke a lot of stuff. I don't know. I just— I like being in the water. You know. I like jet skiing, 'cause you don't have to do anything. [19 secs., $N(-in) = 12$, $N(-ing) = 16$]

MOVIES: I lo— I love movies! But. I just never put my time into getting up, sitting in a theater for two hours, and then leaving, I don't know. [laughter] It's a— it's a ton of work just getting up, all by— all by itself. [16 secs., $N(-in) = 13$, $N(-ing) = 22$]

ROBERT

INVESTING: But a lot of people have manipulated the, ah, data with statistics. With a bunch of different companies and they forget to look at the business itself that they're investing in. Which is common sense, I mean, you're investing in a business. [13 secs., $N(-in) = 10$, $N(-ing) = 19$]

SMALL-FARM: I've got extended family that's still farming but, I mean, that's only a certain amount of the population that farms now because the small farmer just simply can't exist unless they farm for these niche markets for like, you know, grazing pork. But I don't think that's really a huge market right now. [17 secs., $N(-in) = 18$, $N(-ing) = 14$]

ELUDING: We— we had a lot of fun actually, you know, kinda eluding the faculty at, you know, at high school. Like, sneaking out, going down the fire escapes, you know, after they checked us in at night. [16 secs., $N(-in) = 22$, $N(-ing) = 13$]

TAILGATE: The people that have been cooking the pig have been drinking whiskey all morning. So it's pretty— it's a— it's a party. And for, ah, you know, football games, like in the falltime, ah, you know, people out there tailgate all day long because they've had the pig out there cooking all day. [18 secs., $N(-in) = 16$, $N(-ing) = 12$]

ELIZABETH

HAIR: Everybody was just tearing their hair out about this new system. And— and I had literally, I mean, librarians breaking down in tears in front of me about how awful this was. So I was like, this is bad. You know, there's got to be some better way to make changes in technology that affect the work people do. [14 secs., $N(-in) = 10$, $N(-ing) = 19$]

DISCUSSION: And I don't think a lot of the people who were sort of at this lower level, who were doing the data entry and who were actually ordering the things, got involved in the discussions of what kind of effect this new system would have on the work and how the system could be structured to redesign the work. [14 secs., $N(-in) = 18$, $N(-ing) = 14$]

FAMILY: And, um, one of the things is that growing up, our— my— my family was kind of— of the “we have to do everything together.” And we sort of fall back into that mode, so it's like “OK! We're all going to the mall right now! We're all going to the grocery store right now!” [15 secs., $N(-in) = 16$, $N(-ing) = 12$]

THEME-PARK: And you go there and you might ride one ride and then you sit somewhere and you have a nice restaurant meal. And they're, you know, they're the family and this is the one time they're ever gonna make it there and they're trying to bulldoze through the park and stand in line and dash around. And you're just kind of sitting there watching it all go by. [16 secs., $N(-in) = 22$, $N(-ing) = 13$]

VALERIE

FIELD: So we kind of think about, is he doing that for the kids? Because he's been there so long. A lot of people get burned out in that field. You're working with homeless youth, um, juvenile delinquents, you're in there for a year and a half and you're dead. Um, so he's been there for a long time. [17 secs., $N(-in) = 19$, $N(-ing) = 10$]

HISTORY: To get a major in history you have to have taken classes from all different time periods, all different areas, everything like that. Um, and that means you're getting breadth. You're basically starting from the beginning every time. You know, you move to a different part of the world you're starting from scratch. [17 secs., $N(-in) = 14$, $N(-ing) = 18$]

BACKPACKING: This past summer, um, I went backpacking through Norway with my dad. So that was kin— That's the travel I really want to end up doing, where I put on a backpack and head off for a year, and just hike around co— you know, hike around the world. Um, that's kind of what I'm eventually gonna do, but haven't really done yet. [19 secs., $N(-in) = 12$, $N(-ing) = 16$]

CAMPING: It's like, that's the day, the sa— we know exactly which sites we want. It's a— it's a major, um, process. But, so we just hang out there and, you know, you hike and you float down the river and stuff. So, it's camping. It's being outdoors all the time. But it's not necessarily hard core. [14 secs., $N(-in) = 13$, $N(-ing) = 22$]

JASON

CLOCKS: So I was just at the Sharper Image yesterday, looking at their crazy alarm clocks with like, like, three different temperature displays and, like, eight different time zones and, like, it's— it's sort of ridiculous. We're not going towards that in our des—in our design approach. We're gonna do something that's a little bit more simple. Effective, but nice-looking. [18 secs., $N(-in) = 19$, $N(-ing) = 10$]

MATH: And you take like twenty units of math, eighteen units of science. I mean, just like, a— that's a lot, you know? And, um, coming from being, like an art major, like I didn't have to do any of that, really. But here, I like came here and they were like “well, twenty units of math now.” So. [16 secs., $N(-in) = 14$, $N(-ing) = 18$]

SHOPPING: I can't afford most of the stuff there, but it's really nice. And like, I'm— I really— I love going shopping. I need to restrain myself more, but I— I always go there and I can't leave there without buying something nice and too expensive. [16 secs., $N(-in) = 12$, $N(-ing) = 16$]

FINDING: I love driving around, too. And finding new places. And, yeah, I feel like you're— I'm— I'm more— I'm more likely to find a cool place if I'm in the city or something like that. [13 secs., $N(-in) = 13$, $N(-ing) = 22$]

SAM

PLANNING: I imagine that I'll end up going to some sort of grad school or law school or something. I don't know. But, um, definitely planning on not doing that right away. I'm thinking it might be fun to teach for a while. [13 secs., $N(-in) = 10$, $N(-ing) = 19$]

OPERA: They're always having to f- to sort of fight, er, find money and stuff like that. It's sort of a never-ending process. But, um, it was really interesting, just seeing how the whole opera company was run. [13 secs., $N(-in) = 18$, $N(-ing) = 14$]

SKATEBOARD: It's fun. I like to go, um, to parking structures late at night when there are no cars around, and I jus- just skate down the hills and it's sort of- it's like snowboarding or skiing or something just going down the hill. [11 secs., $N(-in) = 16$, $N(-ing) = 12$]

PHYSICAL: I guess I just sort of liked also getting the physical activity. I think that doing stuff like that sort of helps me focus when I need to get stuff done, if I can sort of get my energy out, um, through exercise or something. So. [15 secs., $N(-in) = 22$, $N(-ing) = 13$]

APPENDIX B

Survey Instrument

Press the play button to hear the recording. You can play it as many times as you like. After listening to him, tell me as much as you can about Ivan, based on what you hear.

He sounds:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Not At All Masculine | <input type="radio"/> | Very Masculine | |
| Talking Very Slow | <input type="radio"/> | Talking Very Fast |
| Very Shy | <input type="radio"/> | Very Outgoing |
| Very Accented | <input type="radio"/> | Not At All Accented |
| Educated | <input type="radio"/> | Not Educated |
| Intelligent | <input type="radio"/> | Not Intelligent |
| Casual | <input type="radio"/> | Formal |

How old does Ivan sound (check all that apply, must choose at least one)?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Teenager | <input type="checkbox"/> College Age | <input type="checkbox"/> Under 30 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> In His 30's | <input type="checkbox"/> Over 40 | |

From what you heard, does Ivan sound like he might be (check all that apply):

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lazy | <input type="checkbox"/> Hardworking | <input type="checkbox"/> Laidback |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Compassionate | <input type="checkbox"/> Knowledgeable | <input type="checkbox"/> Condescending |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Confident | <input type="checkbox"/> Articulate | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lonely | <input type="checkbox"/> Annoying | <input type="checkbox"/> Family-Oriented |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Funny | <input type="checkbox"/> Reliable | <input type="checkbox"/> Gay |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hip/Trendy | | |

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Stoner | <input type="checkbox"/> A Valley Girl | <input type="checkbox"/> A Metrosexual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Jock | <input type="checkbox"/> A Redneck | <input type="checkbox"/> A Nerd |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Farmer | <input type="checkbox"/> A Student | <input type="checkbox"/> A Banker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> An Artist | <input type="checkbox"/> An Engineer | <input type="checkbox"/> In A Fraternity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ | | |

How well does he know the person he's talking to?

Best Friend ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Stranger

Right now, does he sound like he might be (check all that apply):

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nostalgic | <input type="checkbox"/> Bored | <input type="checkbox"/> Complaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Joking | <input type="checkbox"/> Arguing | <input type="checkbox"/> Chatting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bragging | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Selling Something | <input type="checkbox"/> Applying for a Job | <input type="checkbox"/> Giving a Lecture |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Being Polite | <input type="checkbox"/> Trying to Impress | <input type="checkbox"/> Hiding Something |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ | | |

Where does Ivan sound like he might be from (check all that apply, must choose at least one)?

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> The South | <input type="checkbox"/> New England | <input type="checkbox"/> The Midwest |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The West Coast | <input type="checkbox"/> The East Coast | <input type="checkbox"/> The Southwest |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The North | <input type="checkbox"/> Anywhere | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The City | <input type="checkbox"/> The Country | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The Suburbs | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Wealthy Background | <input type="checkbox"/> A Middle-Class Background | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Working-Class Background | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ | | |

Any other thoughts about Ivan?

REFERENCES

- Anshen, Frank S. 1969. "Speech Variation among Negroes in a Small Southern Community." Ph.D. diss., New York Univ.
- Apple, William, Lynn A. Streeter, and Robert M. Krauss. 1979. "Effects of Pitch and Speech Rate on Personal Attributions." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 37: 715-27.
- Bourhis, Richard Y. 1984. "Cross-cultural Communication in Montreal: Two Field Studies since Bill 101." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 46: 33-47.
- Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn. 2005. "Variation and the Listener: The Contextual Meanings of (ING)." Paper presented at the 34th annual conference on New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV 34), New York Univ., Oct. 20-23. Pub. in *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 12.2 (2006): 53-64.
- Cavanaugh, Jillian R. 2005. "Accent Matters: Material Consequences of Sounding Local in Northern Italy." *Language and Communication* 25: 127-48.

- Crist, Sean. 1997. "Duration of Onset Consonants in Gay Male Stereotyped Speech." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.3: 53-70.
- Erickson, Bonnie, E. Allen Lind, Bruce C. Johnson, and William M. O'Barr. 1978. "Speech Style and Impression Information in a Court Setting: The Effects of 'Powerful' and 'Powerless' Speech." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 14: 266-79.
- Fischer, John. 1958. "Social Influence of a Linguistic Variant." *Word* 14: 47-56.
- Fridland, Valerie, Kathryn Bartlett, and Roger Kreuz. 2004. "Do You Hear What I Hear? Experimental Measurement of the Perceptual Salience of Acoustically Manipulated Vowel Variants by Southern Speakers in Memphis, TN." *Language Variation and Change* 16: 1-16.
- Gaudio, Rudolf. 1994. "Sounding Gay: Pitch Properties in the Speech of Gay and Straight Men." *American Speech* 69: 30-57.
- Gibbons, Pamela, Jon Busch, and James J. Bradac. 1991. "Powerful versus Powerless Language: Consequences for Persuasion, Impression Formation, and Cognitive Response." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 10: 115-33.
- Giles, Howard, Nikolas Coupland, Karen Henwood, Jim Harriman, and Justine Coupland. 1990. "The Social Meaning of RP: An Intergenerational Perspective." In *Studies in the Pronunciation of English: A Commemorative Volume in Honour of A. C. Gimson*, ed. Susan Ramsaran, 191-211. London: Routledge.
- Guaïtella, Isabelle. 1999. "Rhythm in Speech: What Rhythmic Organizations Reveal about Cognitive Processes in Spontaneous Speech Production versus Reading Aloud." *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 509-23.
- Hazen, Kirk. 2006. "IN/ING Variable." In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, ed. Keith Brown, 2nd ed., 5: 581-84. Boston: Elsevier.
- Hirose, Keikichi, and Hiromichi Kawanami. 2002. "Temporal Rate Change of Dialogue Speech in Prosodic Units as Compared to Read Speech." *Speech Communication* 36: 97-111.
- Houston, Ann. 1985. "Continuity and Change in English Morphology: The Variable (ING)." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania.
- Huygens, Ingrid, and Graham M. Vaughan. 1983. "Language Attitudes, Ethnicity, and Social Class in New Zealand." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 4: 207-23.
- Irvine, Judith T., and Susan Gal. 2000. "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation." In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity, 35-83. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.
- Johnson, Fern L., and Richard Buttny. 1982. "White Listeners' Responses to 'Sounding Black' and 'Sounding White': The Effects of Message Content on Judgments about Language." *Communication Monographs* 49: 33-49.
- Kiesling, Scott Fabius. 1998. "Men's Identities and Sociolinguistic Variation: The Case of Fraternity Men." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2: 69-99.
- Laan, Gitta P. M. 1997. "The Contribution of Intonation, Segmental Durations, and Spectral Features to the Perception of a Spontaneous and a Read Speaking Style." *Speech Communication* 22: 43-65.

- Labov, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center For Applied Linguistics.
- . 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. 2, *Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Labov, William, Sharon Ash, Maciej Baranowski, Maya Ravindranath, Tracy Weldon, and Naomi Nagy. 2005. "Listeners' Sensitivity to the Frequency of Sociolinguistic Variables." Paper presented at the 34th annual conference in New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV 34), New York Univ., Oct. 20–23. Pub. in *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 12.2 (2006): 105–29.
- Ladegaard, Hans J. 1998. "National Stereotypes and Language Attitudes: The Perception of British, American, and Australian Language and Culture in Denmark." *Language and Communication* 18: 251–74.
- Lambert, Wallace E. 1967. "A Social Psychology of Bilingualism." *Journal of Social Issues* 23: 91–109.
- Lefèvre, Jacques A. 1978. "Dialect and Regional Identification in Belgium: The Case of Wallonia." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 15: 47–51.
- Levon, Erez. 2006. "Hearing 'Gay': Prosody, Interpretation, and the Affective Judgments of Men's Speech." *American Speech* 81: 56–78.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1997. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. London: Routledge.
- Mehta, Gita, and Anne Cutler. 1988. "Detection of Target Phonemes in Spontaneous and Read Speech." *Language and Speech* 31: 135–57.
- Pierrehumbert, Janet B., Tessa Bent, Benjamin Munson, Ann R. Bradlow, and J. Michael Bailey. 2004. "The Influence of Sexual Orientation on Vowel Production." *Journal of the Acoustic Society of America* 116: 1905–8.
- Plichta, Bartłomiej, and Dennis R. Preston. 2005. "The /ay/s Have It: The Perception of /ay/ as a North-South Stereotype in US English." In *Subjective Processes in Language Variation and Change*, ed. Tore Kristiansen, Nikolas Coupland, and Peter Garrett, 243–85. Special issue of *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 37.
- Podesva, Robert J., Sarah J. Roberts, and Kathryn Campbell-Kibler. 2001. "Sharing Resources and Indexing Meanings in the Production of Gay Styles." In *Language and Sexuality: Contesting Meaning in Theory and Practice*, ed. Kathryn Campbell-Kibler, Robert J. Podesva, Sarah J. Roberts, and Andrew Wong, 175–189. Stanford, Calif.: Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Purnell, Thomas, William Idsardi, and John Baugh. 1999. "Perceptual and Phonetic Experiments on American English Dialect Identification." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18: 10–30.
- Ray, George B., and Christopher J. Zahn. 1999. "Language Attitudes and Speech Behavior: New Zealand English and Standard American English." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18: 310–19.
- Ruva, Christine L., and Judith Becker Bryant. 1998. "The Impact of Age, Speech Style, and Question Form on Perceptions of Witness Credibility and Trial Outcome." Paper presented at the American Psychology–Law Society Biennial Conference, Redondo Beach, Calif, Mar. 5–7.

- Shuy, Roger W., Walter A. Wolfram, and William K. Riley. 1967. *Linguistic Correlates of Social Stratification in Detroit Speech*. USOE Final Report No.6-1347. East Lansing: Michigan State Univ.
- Smith, Bruce L., Bruce L. Brown, William J. Strong, and Alvin C. Rencher. 1975. "Effects of Speech Rate on Personality Perception." *Language and Speech* 18: 145-52.
- Smyth, Ron, Greg Jacobs, and Henry Rogers. 2003. "Male Voices and Perceived Sexual Orientation: An Experimental and Theoretical Approach." *Language in Society* 32: 329-50.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Wald, Benji, and Timothy Shopen. 1981. "A Researcher's Guide to the Sociolinguistic Variable (ING)." In *Style and Variables in English*, ed. Timothy Shopen and Joseph M. Williams, 219-49. Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop.
- Weston, Kath. 1998. *Long Slow Burn: Sexuality and Social Science*. New York: Routledge.
- Williams, Frederick, Nancy Hewett, Robert Hopper, Leslie M. Miller, Rita C. Naremore, and Jack L. Whitehead. 1976. *Explorations of the Linguistic Attitudes of Teachers*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Wolfram, Walter A., and Donna Christian. 1976. *Appalachian Speech*. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.