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[In]stability in the use of a stable variable across the life-span: Evidence from Tyneside

Johanna Mechler¹ and Isabelle Buchstaller²

¹Leipzig University; ²University of Duisburg-Essen

27 Mar
10:00-11:30
Session 1

In this talk, we report on the use of the stable variable (ing) across the adult life-span in a small panel sample of six speakers who were interviewed on Tyneside in 1971 and again in 2013. Decades of variationist work exploring (ing) across social and geographical space have reported consistent patterns according to gender, socio-demographic standing and speaking style (Hazen 2006). But whereas sociolinguistic theory makes clear and testable predictions regarding the use of stable vernacular features across the life-span of the individual (Downes 1998, Labov 1972, Wagner 2012a), to date, there has only been one panel study on (ing): Wagner (2012b) has shown that rates of alveolar forms are sensitive to speakers' educational trajectories at the juncture between secondary and tertiary education, with those moving on to prestigious universities correcting more towards the standard form whereas speakers who attend to locally-orientated colleges tend to use more vernacular forms. Hence, while academic orientation constitutes a decisive factor for the use of (ing) at the cusp of tertiary education, to date, we lack information about the sensitivity of (ing) to normative pressures during the later adult life-span. In this talk, we expand on Wagner's (2012) research in two ways:

- (1) By comparing individuals who were in their 20s and 30s when they were first interviewed with their retired selves, we explore the use of (ing) from early to late adulthood.
- (2) Meyerhoff and Schlee (2012) have shown that (ing) is governed by a complex set of linguistic and social constraints. Our project relies on mixed-effects logistic regression analyses to explore longitudinal (in)stability in the grammar of the individual speaker (see Buchstaller *et al.* 2017).

In this talk, we show that while the stable variable (ing) behaves in accordance with age grading predictions (Downes 1989), models that capture the trajectory of the individual speaker are more complex and need to account for an interactive effect between marketplace pressures and socio-demographic mobility (Sankoff and Laberge 1978, Buchstaller *et al.* 2017). Previous panel analyses on changes-in-progress in the North East of England have revealed that socio-demographically and geographically stable individuals tend to remain linguistically stable across their life-span whereas those who are sensitive to the linguistic market (Sankoff and Laberge 1978) engage with incoming standard variants —as long as they are above the level of consciousness (Buchstaller 2016). By modelling the complex constraint system that governs the use of the stable variable (ing) across the life histories of individual speakers in the Tyneside community, our paper follows Sankoff and Blondeau's (2007) call to explore speakers' malleability in the use of different types of variables across their life-span. In aggregate, thus, we hope that our research can provide one more piece of evidence in the overall objective to map the factors that influence the (in)stability of the grammar of the individual across the post-adolescent life-span (Bowie and Yaeger-Dror 2015).

Linguistic repercussions of political and socioeconomic changes

Sound changes in a West Cumbrian peripheral community

27 Mar

10:00-11:30

Session 1

Sandra Jansen

University of Paderborn; University of Brighton

Communities differ —among other things —in their geographical position, their sociodemographics and their economic possibilities. All of the factors are interlinked and are subject to change which can have repercussions on the linguistic choices in the speech community. Andersen (1988) distinguishes between four different community types according to attitudes and how permeable the communities are for diffusing features: endocentric open or close and exocentric open or close. However, community dynamics can change and might influence attitudes and communication in the community. Hence, Andersen's community types cannot be seen as fixed for individual communities. This presentation focusses on linguistic developments in Maryport, a peripheral community of 11,000 on the West coast of Cumbria. I discuss that socioeconomic changes — the closing of the mine and many local factories in the 1980s had an effect on the attitudes and communication patterns of the community. Before the 1980s, the community could be described as a close-knit community with the majority of people working in Maryport. However, these community structures broke open when people had to find work in surrounding towns. What is more is that over the years a feeling of resignation due to deprivation set in. Based on a spoken corpus of Maryport English, I conduct an apparent-time study of two sound changes: the loss of taps and the increase of T-glottaling. I discuss how the breaking away of close-knit ties and the deprivation have led to the increase of dialect contact situations and the accelerated willingness to accept non-local norms into the local speech. I argue that before the 1980s, the community could be described as geographically peripheral and self-contained (endocentric close) while the socioeconomic changes influenced the linguistic development of the community in the way that Maryport now needs to be described as a community which is not protective of local norms (exocentric open) anymore.

What exactly does it mean to be ‘bidialectal’?

Jennifer Smith¹ and Sophie Holmes-Elliott²

¹University of Glasgow; ²University of Southampton

27 Mar
10:00-11:30
Session 1

In recent years *bidialectalism* is said to be increasing as speakers in previously monolectal communities are increasingly using two varieties: their local vernacular and a more standard variety. This leads to the alternation of dialect and standard forms, as in (1):

(1) Jim: Farr was you *gan*? Jennifer: Sorry? Jim: I asked where you were *going*?

Bidialectalism is said to have ‘increased so much that monolingual speakers of nonstandard dialects have become the exception’ in modern day life (Cornips & Hulk 2006:355). But what exactly does it mean to be bidialectal? The OED states that it is derived from the word *bilingual*, and defines it as ‘having command of two regional or social dialects of a language, one of which is commonly the standard’. However, despite the implied link to bilingualism, ‘no-one has seriously investigated whether humans are capable of maintaining two dialects in the same ways they can maintain two languages’ (Hazen 2001:89).

In this paper we address this gap in knowledge by investigating a previously monolectal community of speakers from a small fishing town in northeast Scotland who are now said to be bidialectal. The data come from recordings of 49 speakers in conversation with a) a community ‘insider’ and b) a community ‘outsider’, offering the ideal test for vernacular vs. standard use across the two interlocutor contexts. We target three variables from different levels of grammar for analysis: lexical (2), phonological (3), morphosyntactic (4).

2. I was just like “it’s on Facebook, James” you **know** what I mean? “She’s going to see it anyway **ken**”.
3. I used to walk in every time I came **h[e:]me** and go ‘Hey Mummy, I’m **h[o:]me**’.
4. The boom years was very good. They **werena** all making a fortune.

Analysis of over 2000 tokens demonstrates that there is switching between local and standard variants with (2) and (3) but not with (4). These results demonstrate that the sociolinguistic profile of the bidialectal speaker is a much more complex picture than previously conceived. It is not ‘command of two dialects’ but is instead a phenomenon that differs by variable. For lexis and phonology switching is individual-based, with some speakers switching almost categorically from one form to another in the different interlocutor contexts, while others do not switch at all. For morphosyntax there is no switching at all; the speakers use the same (variable) system in both contexts. These results suggest that when two varieties operate within the language faculty of one speaker, this cannot be explained by the linguistic system alone, but also requires insights from idiolectal patterns. We discuss the implications of these findings for the changing dialect landscape(s) of the 21st century.

Three vernacular determiners in York English: evidence for the development of the English determiner system

27 Mar

13:30-15:00

Session 2

Laura Rupp

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

The variety of English spoken in the city of York has three vernacular determiners: a zero article, a reduced, vowel-less determiner, and a complex demonstrative construction of the type *this here* NP. They are illustrated in (1) with data from the York English Corpus (Tagliamonte 1996, 1998). The reduced determiner is known to occur in a range of different variants: a stop [t], a dental fricative [θ], and a glottalized variant [ʔ], as in (1b) (Jones 1999).

1. (a) And when Ø river come up it used to flood up. (Gladys Walton, 87) [ZERO]
- (b) Does ? **teacher** play it on the guitar? (Mark Aspel, 24) [REDUCED]
- (c) What is **that there red book** do you know? (Albert Jackson, 66) [COMPLEX]

In research with Sali Tagliamonte (Rupp & Tagliamonte 2017), we have asked the following research questions: (1) *Why do these vernacular determiners occur in York English, and what is their social and grammatical function?* Moreover (2) *What can the use of the vernacular determiners tell us about the way in which the English determiner system has evolved?* We have explored the research questions in the context of the grammaticalization trajectory of the definite article (Greenberg 1978; Lyon's 1999 Definiteness Cycle) as well as the finding that the definite article first emerged in the north of England, where it developed from the demonstrative paradigm in early Middle English (McColl Millar 2000).

We have probed the occurrence of the vernacular determiners from the joint perspective of language variation and change, historical linguistics, discourse-pragmatics, and generative syntax. We have conducted both a qualitative and quantitative multivariate analysis (Goldvarb; Sankoff, Tagliamonte and Smith 2015) of data in the contemporary York English Corpus (1.2 million words; using a socially stratified subsample of 50 speakers), and several historical corpora (amongst which, *The Oxford English Dictionary* and *The Penn-York Computer Annotated Corpus of a Large Amount of English 1473-1800*).

From our research, the following picture appears to be emerging. The three vernacular determiners in York English can be traced to the historical record and would seem to represent different stages in the definiteness cycle. Specifically, the zero article goes back to Old English when there were no articles, the reduced determiner is a weakened form of the early demonstrative *þæt* (Rupp 2007) (rather than the definite article *þe*, as previously assumed; Jones 2000) and the complex demonstrative is a reinforcement construction. However, rather than having disappeared at the end of the grammaticalization trajectory, the vernacular determiners have remained productive, lending support to theories of functional shift (e.g. Lass 1990, Traugott 1995). The zero article is a conservative form that has been maintained and revived (Rupp & Tagliamonte forthcoming), while the reduced determiner and the complex demonstrative construction have acquired new grammatical and social functions, such as conveying psychological distance and local Yorkshire identity (Tagliamonte & Roeder 2009).

We would be very interested to learn from participants in the workshop whether these or other vernacular determiners occur in other Northern Englishes also.

Morphological simplification in the late Northumbrian dialect: the case of weak verbs class II

Elisa Ramírez Pérez
University of Cambridge

27 Mar
13:30-15:00
Session 2

Morphological simplification in the late Northumbrian dialect: the case of weak verbs class II
This paper will assess the state of the second class of Old English weak verbs in the glosses to St Matthew's Gospels in both the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels in relation to the ultimate deletion of these verbs' thematic vowel, namely *-i-*. Although the loss of this medial vowel is generally considered to be a Middle English characteristic (Lass, 2006: 127-128; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 293), the evidence presented in this paper will point towards an earlier and geographically-specific start for this simplification process, since it will be seen that the late Northumbrian glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels display a rather advanced stage of *-i-* deletion, especially when compared to more Southern texts, as exemplified by data from the Mercian glosses to the Rushworth Gospels.

In trying to understand the causes leading to the disappearance of the *-i-* formative, this paper will first consider language internal phenomena such as phonological attrition and medial vowel deletion as triggers. Since this approach could prove unsuccessful to individually account for the deletion of *-i-* at this early stage—it should be noted that Southern dialects still preserved this element well into the Middle English period (Mossé, 1952: 79)—, the language contact situation from the 9th century onwards between Old English and Old Norse will also be considered as a plausible contributing factor for the said simplification, especially when bearing in mind that Old Norse verbal counterparts lacked a phonologically salient theme vowel.

References

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Mossé, F., (1952) *A Handbook of Middle English*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
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The curious development of *have*-raising in Scotland

Gary Thoms¹, David Adger², Caroline Heycock³ and Jennifer Smith⁴

¹University of Strathclyde; ²QMUL; ³Edinburgh; ⁴Glasgow

Have-raising is the phenomenon where ‘main verb’ forms of *have* show auxiliary-like behaviour with respect to word order diagnostics like raising past negation or in questions.

- (1) a. I haven’t any money with me. b. Have you any money with you?
(2) a. I haven’t that one with me. b. Have you that charger with you?

These forms are said to be obsolescing, but we show that the picture is more intricate than has been acknowledged before. We present data from the *Scots Syntax Atlas* survey (judgment interviews with 480+ vernacular speakers from around Scotland, two 18-25 and two 65+ in each location) which fills in the descriptive picture for Scotland and raises some immediate questions for the analysis of *have*-clauses more generally.

- *Have*-raising is accepted much less when the possessum is definite (2a,b) rather than indefinite (1a,b); in other words, there is a definiteness effect.
- This definiteness effect is on the rise: older speakers accept *have*-raising with definite possessums more than younger in almost every location surveyed, whereas there is relative stability in acceptance of cases with indefinite possessums
- There is dialectal variation in the definiteness effect which also suggest a change in progress: the area where *have*-raising with definites is most widely accepted (among young and old) is the northeast, a relic dialect region

This definiteness effect is particularly curious since there seems to be no such effect with other kinds of *have*-clause, e.g. *do*-support, *got*-insertion, or even in plain *have*-clauses.

- (3) a. I don’t have that. b. I haven’t got that. c. I have that.

We propose that these patterns are the product of *grammar competition* (Kroch 1989, Yang 2001). We suggest that there are three competing analyses for *have*-clauses: (i) the high transitive analysis; (ii) the low transitive analysis; (iii) the existential analysis. (i)-(ii) are variations on the structure in Myler (2014), where *have* is a transitive verb which assigns a theta role to the subject; the two versions differ with respect to whether *have* is a form of Voice or *v*. The existential analysis is based on Kayne (1993), where the possessor is raised from within a possessive DP.

- (4) High transitive: [TP DP_i [T’ have_j+T [VoiceP t_i [Voice’ t_j [vP v DP]]]]]
(5) Low transitive: [TP DP_i [T’ T [VoiceP Voice [Voice’ t_j [vP have DP]]]]]
(6) Existential: [TP DP_i [T’ have_j+T [vP t_j [DP t_i NP]]]]

Each of these analyses has their own restriction. (i) while the high transitive analysis can derive *have*-raising with any kind of possessum, over time it has increasingly become specialised for being realized as *have got*, where *got* is a spellout of the trace of Voice (we provide arguments for this analysis). (ii) the low transitive analysis is incompatible with a *have*-raising analysis, since the verb which spells out *have* is not the highest in the verbal spine (and so isn’t available to move to T). (iii) the existential analysis is incompatible with definite possessums, much like existential possessive clauses in other languages (Freeze 1992). We outline a model of grammar competition where restrictions on each structure leads to a situation where the high transitive is declining more rapidly than the other analyses; this results in a situation where *have*-raising can only arise from the existential analysis. This explains the rise of the definiteness effect, since existentials are incompatible with definites.

Implicit and explicit attitudinal discrepancy (IED) in Northern English and Southern English speech evaluations as an indicator of language attitude change in progress

Robert McKenzie¹ and Erin Carrie²

¹Northumbria University; ²Manchester Metropolitan University

27 Mar
15:30-17:30
Special
session
Dia & Disc

Socio-psychological research has generally reported low correlations between explicit and implicit attitude measures for a range of socially sensitive topics. Given mounting evidence that implicit and explicit evaluations do not change at the same rate, any implicit-explicit attitudinal discrepancy (IED) may be an indication of attitude change in progress (Rydell and McConnell, 2006). However, sociolinguists have yet to investigate whether differences between implicit and explicit attitudes towards language use can determine the direction of any language attitude change in progress; surprising given recent evidence community language attitude change can result in micro-level linguistic change over time (e.g., Kristiansen, 2009).

This talk details the results of a recent study (McKenzie and Carrie, under review), employing an implicit association test and self-report attitude scale, measuring the relationship between 90 Newcastle-based English nationals' implicit and explicit ratings of Northern English speech and Southern English speech. Multivariate analysis of the data collected demonstrated a significant implicit-explicit attitude discrepancy, providing evidence of language attitude change in progress, led by younger females, with explicit attitudes changing more rapidly towards a greater tolerance of the English spoken in the north of England. The study findings are discussed in relation to the potential changing status of Northern and Southern English speech in the north of England as well as the measurement of implicit-explicit attitudinal discrepancy in apparent time data as an indication of language attitude change in progress.

References

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- Kristiansen, T. (2009) The macro-social meanings of late-modern Danish accents. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 41(1): 167-192.
- McKenzie, R.M. and E. Carrie (under review) Measuring implicit-explicit language attitudinal discrepancy and attitude change in progress.

You had me at “hello”: Linguistic profiling of premium property viewings in North East England

27 Mar

15:30-17:30

Special

session

Dia & Disc

Ellie Beach

Newcastle University

Baugh’s (1999) study of linguistic profiling in San Francisco showed that estate agents discriminated against potential buyers based on their accent when they called to attempt to book viewings of properties. The present study attempts to replicate this for British English, focussing on accent discrimination in the North East of England. Two speakers of North Eastern English (NEE) and two speakers of Received Pronunciation (RP), one male and one female for each accent, were asked to call 10 estate agents each using the same opening line of “Hello, I’m calling about a property I’ve seen online and I’d like to arrange a viewing”. High-end properties, costing over £1 million were targeted for this experiment. It was hypothesised that an estate agent would be more likely to allow a speaker of RP to make a viewing than a speaker of NEE. Of the ten calls made, the male RP speaker could successfully book 10 viewings, the female RP speaker 9, the female NEE speaker 5 and the male NEE speaker 3. Furthermore, for every booking that the male NEE speaker attempted he was asked about proof of funding and for 3 of the 7 refusals he was told he must send this proof to the company before he could book a viewing. This paper presents both quantitative and qualitative results from the experiment, and can conclude that estate agents in the area were making assumptions of the economic situation of the speaker based on their accent.

Creeping above the social radar: evaluation of post-nasal [g] in the North West of England

George Bailey

The University of Manchester

27 Mar
15:30-17:30
Special
Session
Dia & Dis

The study of linguistic variation has become increasingly concerned with the social meaning of particular forms; this paper addresses a variable exclusive to dialects of the North West of England that is under-studied in both domains of production and perception the presence of post-nasal [g] in words such as young and wrong. Recent work has revealed a change in progress towards increased rates of [g]-presence in pre-pausal position (Bailey 2017), which, given the salience of this prosodic environment, raises the question of whether or not this change is socially-motivated. The attested patterns of style-shifting, with [ŋg] clusters favoured in more formal, elicited discourse styles suggests that this could indeed be a case of evaluation-driven change where the dialectal [ŋg] form has local prestige (Beal 2008). However, we lack direct perceptual evidence to support this. This study adopts the widely-used matched-guise technique, specifically the newscaster paradigm that has been claimed to prime overt sociolinguistic norms (Labov *et al.* 2006, 2011). Subjects were exposed to newsreader ‘audition tapes’ consisting of news headlines that contrast only in presence/absence of post-nasal [g] in a range of phonological environments, and were asked to rate the speaker on a number of scales such as ‘professionalism’, ‘formality’, and ‘northernness’. Results were obtained from 68 subjects balanced by region (north west vs. elsewhere in the UK) and age. Overall, the ratings of the [ŋ] and [ŋg] guises differ very little, which would suggest that this variable is not a particularly salient feature of northern dialects. However, repeated-measures ANOVA does reveal a significant effect of age, with younger subjects more likely to rate [ŋg] as more northern-sounding ($F = 10.45$ $p < 0.01$). However, although younger subjects are becoming increasingly aware of its dialectal status, there is no shared norm with respect to its social meaning. Although there is a weak trend towards young subjects penalising [ŋg] on the professional scale, the responses are highly variable relative to older subjects, with some rating it more positively than [ŋ]. The variable nature of this evaluation could stem from competing forces of [ŋg] being a ‘clear speech’ variant that more closely reflects the orthography against its status as a regional non-RP form. There is also no interaction between age and environment; this incipient evaluation is uniform across the environments in which (ng) occurs, suggesting that the increase in [g]-presence pre-pausally is still progressing under the radar and is not a case of evaluation-driven change. This also provides further evidence that social evaluation attaches at a coarse level of granularity (see Eckert & Labov 2017), where the overall alternation between [g]-presence/absence accrues social meaning but the prosodically-conditioned change does not.

Northernness and dialect discrimination in the Manchester Voices data

Erin Carrie and Rob Drummond
Manchester Metropolitan University

27 Mar

15:30-17:30

Special

session

Dia & Disc

Manchester Voices is an ongoing research project investigating dialects and identities within Greater Manchester, UK. It collects voices from local communities across the ten boroughs of the city-region using a mobile interview booth (The Accent Van) and digital interview guide (Chester, the talking laptop). To date, it has gathered audio- and video-recorded interviews from 114 participants ranging in age (8-88), gender (61 females, 53 males) and background. This paper deals with the themes of northernness and dialect discrimination, which have emerged from interviewees' stories about their accents, dialects, identities and perceptions.

Research into language perceptions has long concerned itself with notions of similarity and difference, from traditional to modern approaches in Perceptual Dialectology (Preston 1999). It has also concerned itself with attitudes towards linguistic similarities and differences, and has demonstrated a tendency for non-linguists to express solidarity with speakers of language varieties thought to be similar to their own (e.g., Coupland and Bishop 2007). Non-linguists are particularly sensitive to perceived differences in language status and prestige, with issues of correctness tending to dominate (Preston 2002). Such issues are often accompanied by linguistic insecurity (Labov 2006) and generate beliefs regarding the (in)appropriateness and (in)adequacy of certain language varieties. The Manchester Voices data provides insights into northerners' experiences of linguistic discrimination based on folk beliefs about status and correctness. It also explores how these folk beliefs influence the ways in which interviewees conceptualise and associate with a northern identity.

The dialect discrimination reported by our interviewees works on various levels: national, regional, institutional, educational, and domestic. Interviewees refer to a north/south divide in England and believe southerners to stereotype northerners as working-class, uneducated, unemployed and not talking properly; cultural differences are emphasised by those who have lived in the north and south of England. References are also made to a north/south divide within Greater Manchester, with interviewees negotiating their degree of northernness and debating where the northern boundary (and identity) begins. Despite a perceived stigma surrounding northern language and culture, many interviewees embrace the stereotypes as part of a northern —or, more specifically —Mancunian identity. This includes working-class and industrial associations; the characteristics of being ordinary, straightforward, down-to-earth, and common; and the symbolic resources of the Manchester 'nod' and 'strut' often associated with cultural icons such as the Gallagher brothers. Interviewees tell of experiences in the workplace, along with childhood experiences at home and at school, which have fuelled their linguistic insecurity and influenced their beliefs about talking properly and correctly. Overall, they demonstrate covert prestige and a fierce sense of pride in their northern dialects and believe the perceived stigma surrounding northern language and culture to be diminishing (as supported by findings from Coupland and Bishop 2007 and McKenzie and Carrie 2017).

Unstressed vowels in Derby: an investigation of the distinction between /ɪ/ and /ə/

Sarah Tasker
University of York

28 Mar
9:00-10:30
Session 3

Descriptions of RP have traditionally specified three possible vowels in unstressed syllables: /ɪ/, /ʊ/ and /ə/ (Gimson, 1962; Roach, 1983) with other vowel distinctions said to be neutralised (Flemming and Johnson, 2007). Gimson’s and Roach’s descriptions suggest that <i> generally represents /ɪ/; <a>, <o> and <u> represent /ə/, and <e> may represent both. Over time, there has been a drift from /ɪ/ to /ə/ transcriptions for unstressed vowels in pronunciation dictionaries (Fabricius, 2002), particularly in <e>spellings.

This paper focuses on the distinction between /ɪ/ and /ə/ in Derby English; examining the extent to which this drift has taken place in this variety, and the extent to which variation between these two vowel qualities is categorical or gradient. Following the observations above, differences between the spellings <i>, <e> and <a> are utilised in order to do this.

The data is from a corpus of Derby English (Milroy *et al*, 1997), consisting of conversational data from 31 speakers. The dataset included all unstressed vowels that were represented by <a> (n=1117), <e> (n=1353) or <i> (n=706), excluding stem final vowels. Formant measurements were taken at the vowel midpoint, and normalised using the modified Watt and Fabricius method (Fabricius *et al*, 2009). This paper focuses on F2. This is because /ɪ/ is a high front vowel, and /ə/ is a central vowel and, other than in word final position, tends to be high (Flemming, 2009). Therefore, the clearest differences between /ə/ and /ɪ/ were expected in F2.

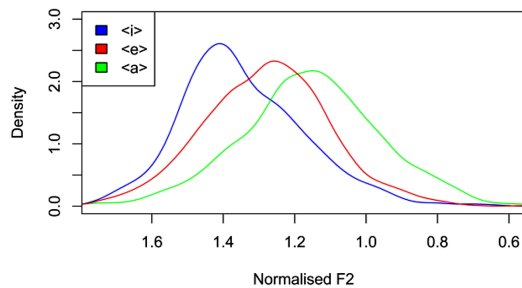


Fig. 1: Density plot of normalized F2 by spelling

<i> had the highest F2, <a> the lowest and <e> was intermediate, which is as would be expected, according to the sources above. These differences were analysed using mixed effects modelling, with fixed effects including spelling, vowel duration, word position, and manner and place of adjacent consonants; with random intercepts for word and speaker, and byspeaker random slopes for spelling. Likelihood ratio model comparisons showed these differences to be significant.

Figure 1 shows the F2 of <e> to be unimodal, and standard deviations were similar between all 3 groups (<i> =0.175, <a> =0.198, <e> =0.180). Together, these findings suggest that <e> may not simply be a mixture of the two separate categories [ɪ] and [ə] and that differences between unstressed [ɪ] and [ə] could be partly gradient.

Whilst the significant difference between <i> and <a> shows that there is clearly a difference between a fronter and backer unstressed vowel in Derby, the data from the <e> spellings suggest that, in Derby, the situation may be more complex than is described in traditional descriptions of unstressed vowels for RP. The extent of gradience and categoricity in the data will be further explored through further statistical analysis and an exploration of how the different variables influenced the distribution. Additionally, investigating inter speaker variation will help determine whether the intermediate position of <e> is the result of a change in progress or whether it is a stabilised pattern of variation.

Dialect Literature and Literary Dialect in the East Midlands

Natalie Braber

Nottingham Trent University

Nottingham, in the East Midlands, is a UNESCO City of Literature and has a strong literary tradition including authors such as Lord Byron, D.H. Lawrence and Alan Sillitoe. However, from a linguistic point of view, until recently the city and the region more generally had received little attention and not much was known about the dialect(s) used by its speakers. No comprehensive survey of the region had been carried out since the Survey of English Dialects in the 1950s and more recent descriptions of the UK did not cover the region. However, recent research by the author has shown that there is considerable variation in the region which needs further investigation. This paper examines how language has been used by local authors such as Lawrence and Sillitoe but also includes more contemporary authors, such as Nicola Monaghan who use local dialect in their writing. Other literary traditions, such as poetry and song lyrics will also be considered to examine how language can be used to express a sense of local identity. This will be compared to dialect literature which has been produced in the region to compare which linguistic features are seen to be 'typical' of local varieties.

The making of local social meaning: /h/ variation in Stoke-on-Trent's pottery industry

Hannah Leach

University of Sheffield

28 Mar
9:00-10:30
Session 3

The absence of syllable-initial /h/ has been described as “the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England” (Wells, 1982: 254). Despite being a longstanding stereotype of working class, uneducated, lazy and deficient speech (Mugglestone, 2007), /h/-dropping remains common in dialects of England, and while it is “marked socially, it is the norm geographically” (Beal, 2010: 21). Stoke-on-Trent, situated in the North-West Midlands, has historically been an /h/-dropping area (Orton *et al.* 1978), with the feature still recognised as common locally (Leach & Montgomery, 2013). Using oral history data from 26 speakers who lived in Stoke-on-Trent in the early 20th century and were employed in its world-famous pottery industry, my thesis has examined language variation by macro and micro social categories and within individuals. This paper examines variation in /h/ usage in these speakers, a mixture of males and females aged between 58 and 91. The results demonstrate variation in /h/ usage according to linguistic factors, local social factors, and intraspeaker topic factors. Linguistically, /h/ in this dataset varies according to word stress, word class and preceding segment (as previously observed in, for example, Bell & Holmes, 1992). Socially, the majority of the speakers in the dataset have near-categorical /h/ dropping. However, 8 speakers demonstrated particularly low levels of /h/-dropping, some as low as only 16%, several retaining /h/ even in closed-class tokens. Further investigation showed that these anomalous speakers had pottery industry jobs that were either held in high esteem (management), outward-facing (administrators), or conducted away from the majority of workers on the factory floor (designers). This pattern may reflect the well-established indexical link (Silverstein, 2003; Johnstone, 2010) between /h/-retention and higher social standing (Wells, 1982, p.253) although, in the Potteries, the distribution of /h/-dropping seems to have been reanalysed to distinguish specific industrial roles that are non-manual (and conducted away from the factory floor environment), and more manual occupations. Additionally, of the speakers with lower levels of /h/-dropping, some demonstrate shifts in /h/ use according to industry-centric and non-industry-centric topics. This paper demonstrates /h/ variation at three levels, linking it to continuing research about the indexical value of /h/-dropping and stressing the need to examine the locally-salient social distinctions of particular speech communities.

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Scouse Diddification

Patrick Honeybone
University of Edinburgh

Many languages feature phonologically constrained truncation processes. In German, for example, there is a well-established process of i-formation (Wiese 2001), which derives forms such as those in (1b) from those in (1a). General English features the phenomenon of y-hypocoristic formation (Lappe 2008), which creates ‘familiar’ forms from personal names, as shown in (2). The process in (1) is fully productive, whereas that in (2) is not: it is partially lexicalised, somewhat unpredictable, and only affects names.

(1a)	(1b)		(2a)	(2b)
<i>Abitur</i>	<i>Abi</i>	‘High school diploma’	<i>Andrew</i>	<i>Andy</i>
<i>Depressiver</i>	<i>Depri</i>	‘a depressive person’	<i>Elizabeth</i>	<i>Lizzy</i>
<i>Klinsman</i>	<i>Klinsi</i>	(name)	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Bobby</i>
<i>Spontaner</i>	<i>Sponti</i>	‘member of a spontaneous party fraction’	<i>Walter</i>	<i>Wally</i>
<i>Wilhelm</i>	<i>Willi</i>	(name)	<i>William</i>	<i>Billy</i>

In this talk, I discuss an analogous process which is found in the variety of English spoken in and around Liverpool (often called ‘Scouse’). This process is similar to, but interestingly different from, the phenomena shown in (1) and (2). It is productive, freely applicable to common nouns, and has a regular and distinct phonology. It is sometimes referred to as Scouse Diddification, and it derives forms such as those in (3b) from those in (3a).

(3a)	(3b)	
<i>address</i>	<i>addy</i>	
<i>(bread and) butter</i>	<i>butty</i>	‘sandwich’
<i>chestnut</i>	<i>chezzy</i>	
<i>chipshop</i>	<i>chippie</i>	
<i>Sefton (Park)</i>	<i>Sevvie</i>	(place name)
<i>skint</i>	<i>skinny</i>	‘out of money’
<i>tomato sauce</i>	<i>tommy (sauce)</i>	
<i>Toxteth</i>	<i>Tocky</i>	(place name)

The processes in (1), (2) and (3) all involve the imposition of a phonological template on the base form to derive the truncated form, as cases of prosodic morphology, in which the template requires the derived forms to conform to a particular prosodic shape. The point of this paper is to describe the phonology of Scouse Diddification, which has never previously been analysed, and to relate it to previous prosodic morphological work. The Scouse case shows that reference can be needed to segmental phonology as well as prosody, as fortis base fricatives are realised as lenis in the diddified form (as in *chezzy*, *Sevvie*). The data that I discuss derives from two sources: a corpus of written forms, collected from such sources as Spiegl (2000), and a questionnaire task which probed the intuitions of native speakers.

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Northern British input in the development of epenthesis in liquid+sonorant clusters in Mid-Ulster English

Warren Maguire

The University of Edinburgh

28 Mar
11:00-12:30
Session 4

Epenthesis in liquid+sonorant clusters (e.g. in film [fɪləm], farm [fɑ.ɹəm]) is one of the most well known features of Irish English (IrE), including Mid-Ulster English (MUE, spoken in a band across northern Ireland, from Belfast in the east to Dongal in the west). Epenthesis is one of the phonological features of IrE most commonly explained as a result of contact with Irish, which has an extensive system of epenthesis in clusters involving sonorants (O’Rahilly (1932), Ó Siadhail (1989), Ní Chiosáin (1999; 2000)). Almost every previous description of the phenomenon in IrE assumes such an origin (e.g. Adams (1948), Barry (1982), Hickey (1986, 2007), Ó hÚrdail (1997), Ó Baoill (1997), Corrigan (2010) and Cunningham (2011)), with only occasional comments (e.g. Braidwood (1964) and Harris (1995)) suggesting a possible connection with similar patterns of epenthesis in English and Scots.

None of the previous accounts of epenthesis in IrE describes the phenomenon in detail, nor do they compare it systematically to epenthesis in Irish, English or Scots. In this presentation I seek to remedy this situation, describing epenthesis in traditional MUE, and making a systematic comparison of it with patterns of epenthesis, past and present, in Irish, English and Scots. This is imperative since the dialect has its origins in the Plantation of Ulster in the 17th century, which led to intense and prolonged contact between speakers of English, Scots and Irish (Robinson 1984). My analysis reveals that epenthesis in MUE is obligatory in /lm/, variable (and recessive) in /rm/, and rare in /rl/ and /rn/. It occurs only in morpheme-final position, being retained (though rarely in the case of /rm/) word-internally before morpheme boundaries (e.g. fil[ə]ming, far[ə]mer). The patterning of epenthesis is not only similar to the patterning of epenthesis in other varieties of IrE, but also to the patterning of the phenomenon in traditional and historical varieties of English and Scots in northern Britain. Crucially, however, this is not particularly similar to Irish, which has epenthesis in a range of clusters (e.g. /lb/, /lv/, /rb/, /rg/) that do not have it in MUE, and where it is not restricted to morpheme-final position (it also occurs morpheme-internally across syllable boundaries in words such as in airgead ‘silver, money’). Indeed, epenthesis in MUE and in Irish only overlap minimally (in the clusters /lm/ and /rm/ in morpheme-final position).

In view of the widespread assumption that Irish did play an important role in the development of epenthesis in IrE, I explore possible ways that such influence could have affected its development in MUE, and how the dissimilarities between epenthesis in Irish and in MUE might be explained. However, given the close similarity of epenthesis in MUE (and indeed other Irish Englishes) with epenthesis in English and Scots in northern Britain, I argue that the feature has at least in part been inherited from the input English and Scots dialects in the 17th century. That this most Irish-like of MUE features appears to have its origin partly in northern Britain has important consequences for our understanding of the formation of the dialect and of the role played by Irish in the phonological development of this and other varieties of Irish English.

Middlesbrough English Intonation: a first analysis

Sam Hellmuth and Carmen Llamas

University of York

We present a first analysis of intonation patterns in Middlesbrough English (ME), arising from current work in progress. The segmental phonology of ME is perceptually and phonetically distinct from other Urban North-Eastern English varieties, for example in fronting of the NURSE vowel (‘work’ [wɛ:k]) (Beal, Elizondo, & Llamas, 2012). Although we have good descriptions of the intonation of Newcastle English (Grabe, 2004), little is known about the suprasegmentals of ME. Speech data were collected with 18 speakers who were born, raised and living in Middlesbrough: 6 females aged 18-30, 6 males aged 18-30, and 6 females aged 40-60. We elicited a mix of read and semi-spontaneous speech, using stimuli similar to those used in the Intonational Variation in English (IViE) corpus (Grabe, 2004) to facilitate comparison. The full corpus comprises scripted sentences elicited via a role play, the Cindarella story read then retold from memory, a map task, and free conversation.

Recordings were made in same-sex friendship pairs, and recording sessions were run by a ME native speaker research assistant. Fig. 1 shows sample annotated pitch traces from one young male speaker, from scripted data, of a broad focus declarative statement, wh-question and yes/no-question. The nuclear contour observed in both statements and wh-questions is a rise-plateau (L^*+H !H%), similar to that reported for Newcastle English. In contrast to Newcastle English however, in our ME data we consistently find a falling contour in yes/no-questions in scripted speech. In our paper we will present the results of further analysis of the contours produced by all speakers in both scripted and unscripted speech.

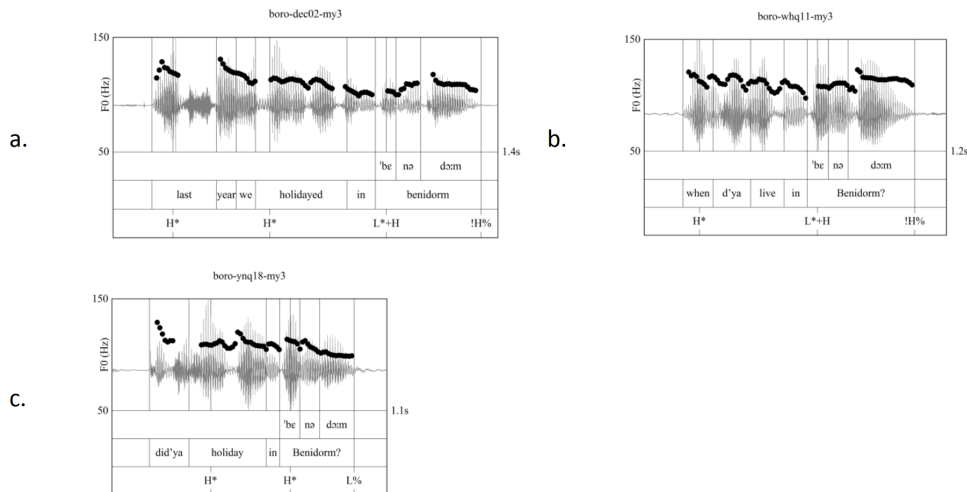


Fig. 1: F0 (in Hz) in a sample a) statement, b) wh-question, and c) yes/no-question

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Retraction on Coronation [ʃ]treet: An ultrasound-tongue-imaging study of s-retraction in Manchester English

George Bailey and Stephen Nichols
University of Manchester

28 Mar
13:30-15:00
Session 5

This study of Manchester English (McrE) uses ultrasound tongue imaging to investigate the articulation of s-retraction in /stɪ/ and /stj/ clusters. This constitutes the first such study of this phenomenon in British English (BrE), where it is comparatively under-studied and (to the best of our knowledge) work has been based exclusively on acoustic data (e.g. Bass 2009, Sollgan 2013). The use of ultrasound is required for a more complete picture of the behaviour of /s/ in these contexts, given that the same acoustic signal can be achieved through different articulatory means (see e.g. Mielke *et al.* 2017 on covert articulation of /ɹ/). Retraction is relatively well-studied in American English (AmE; e.g. Durian 2007, Wilbanks 2017), where it has been argued that retraction is triggered non-locally by /ɹ/ (Shapiro 1995, Lawrence 2000). These studies have principally relied on acoustic—or even impressionistic—data, with the exception of ultrasound studies by Mielke *et al.* (2010) and Baker *et al.* (2011). However, our results suggest that, in McrE, /ɹ/ is not the direct cause of retraction, nor is it the only indirect source due to comparable behaviour in /stj/, a cluster notably absent in AmE. Although we find inter-speaker variation with respect to the gradience/categoricity of retraction, /stɪ/ and /stj/ appear to pattern together.

In this study, articulatory data were collected using midsagittal ultrasound tongue imaging alongside simultaneous, synchronised audio recordings. Three repetitions of each target word were elicited in the carrier sentence ‘I know x is a word’ and a different randomised order was used for each participant. The stimuli were all monosyllabic with target segments in wordinitial position and were balanced for the following vowel (/i: u: ɒ a/), with the exception of /stj/, which only occurs before /u:/ and for which two target words were disyllabic (student, stupid, stew). Distractor items began with /s/, /ʃ/, /st/, /tʃ/, /tɹ/ and /t/, with the /s/- and /ʃ/-initial words being used to gauge the degree of retraction in target clusters (as in Fig. 1). Results from 3 subjects (2M

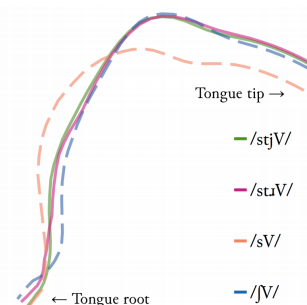


Fig.1: Avg tongue contours for M01

1F, aged 25-26) reveal inter-speaker variation: both male speakers show categorical retraction in /stɪ/ and /stj/ and gradient retraction in /st/. The female speaker shows only gradient retraction in /stɪ/ and /stj/, with no retraction at all in /st/; data collection is ongoing in order to investigate the possibility of an implicational hierarchy and the ramifications for the pathway of the development of this particular sound change. The fact that /stɪ/ and /stj/ show comparable retraction for all speakers, whether gradient or categorical, shows that the explanation for s-retraction in AmE is not applicable to McrE. Rather than /ɹ/ being the direct trigger (see Baker *et al.* 2011), we instead suggest that both /ɹ/ and /j/ trigger affrication of the preceding /t/, which in turn causes retraction of /s/. Future work will examine word-internal /ɹ/ and /stj/ clusters as well as the effects of word and morpheme boundaries and factors such as speech rate on s-retraction in McrE.

FOOT-STRUT in Manchester: social class, age grading and listener knowledge

Danielle Turton and Maciej Baranowski
Newcastle University

28 Mar

13:30-15:00

Session 5

This study presents a large-scale investigation of synchronic sociolinguistic variation in the phonetic realisation and phonemic status of FOOT and STRUT in Manchester English, with the aim of interpreting synchronic variation as a key to diachronic change. As a Northern dialect of English, Manchester speakers typically lack the distinction between the FOOT and STRUT vowels, such that *stud* and *stood* are homophones. The data in the present study reveal that, despite the vast majority of speakers having no difference in production and perception, there is variation both in the phonemic status and the phonetic realisation of the two vowel classes within the speech community.

The study is based on a sample of 123 speakers stratified by age, gender, socio-economic status, and ethnicity, recorded in sociolinguistic interviews, supplemented with wordlist reading and minimal-pair tests. Formant measurements of the informants' complete vowel systems are obtained in Praat by hand for 25 speakers and in FAVE (Rosenfelder *et al.* 2014) for 98 speakers (including 7653 tokens of STRUT and 4057 tokens of FOOT). The results are analysed in a series of mixed-effects linear regressions in R (lme4), with social (age, gender, ethnicity, social class, style) and internal factors (phonological environment and lexical frequency) as independent variables, and speaker and word as random effects. We consider multiple measures of social class, including occupation, education and a multi-level socio-economic index, exploring which option results in the most robust statistical model.

Our approach to the analysis considers the vowel classes both as one phoneme, and as the two split lexical sets. The acoustic measurements reveal that tokens in the STRUT category show a monotonic pattern of social class stratification, with higher social classes showing higher F1 values, i.e. having a lower tongue position (Fig. 1).

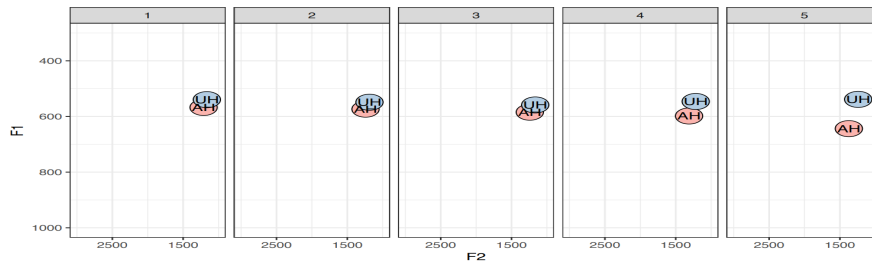


Fig. 1: Vowel plots for speakers across five socio-economic classes (1-lower working, 5-upper middle). Arpabet codes show UH for FOOT words and AH for STRUT words

Interestingly, even when removing upper middle class speakers with a true split from the sample, regression analysis shows that vowel category (i.e. STRUT vs. FOOT) continues to have a significant effect, with STRUT tokens having a higher F1 mean (lower tongue position). This holds in cases where there is complete overlap between the two vowels in phonetic space. We explore the possibility that this may be due to the different phonological environment in which the two vowel classes tend to be found and that it may shed light on the underlying mechanisms of the historical split between the two vowel classes in the south of England.

Learning and adjusting for a FOOT/STRUT split: production, discrimination and processing data from Northern British English speakers in London

Faith Chiu, Bronwen G. Evans
University College London

28 Mar
13:30-15:00
Session 5

It is well known that British English accents in the North of England and the Midlands differ from Southern British English (SBE) accents in terms of their vowel inventory, such that words like took and tuck are produced as /tʊk/ and /tʌk/ respectively, in southern varieties, but with a vowel that approximates /tʊk/ in both words in northern varieties (Wells, 1982). This paper uses behavioural methods alongside electroencephalographic (EEG) recordings to examine the way in which British English speakers from the Midlands and North of England differ from SBE speakers in terms of their production, discrimination and detection of the FOOT/STRUT split, and whether or not this changes with experience with SBE.

Data was collected from the two major participant groups, Northern British English participants (n=21) and SBE participants, (n=7), and compared for the following tasks:

- (1) a production task in which participants were recorded producing target vowels in keywords embedded in carrier sentences, and a short passage
- (2) a 3-way alternative forced choice discrimination task in which participants identified vowels from a /ʊ/-/ʌ/ synthetic continuum embedded in target words (alongside a control involving /æ/-/ʌ/)
- (3) a vowel change detection task with EEG recording (for /ʊ/ and /ʌ/, changing from /æ/; standard oddball paradigm) in Attend and Ignore conditions

All participants were university students who had moved to London for university from either the North of England or the Midlands ("Northern" group), or from the South of England ("Southern" group). Of the Northern group, 14 were tested within a month of their arrival in London for their undergraduate studies (freshers group). The remaining 7 in the Northern group had been in London for an average of more than two years (M=2.85, SD=.45; non-freshers group).

To investigate potential change over time, data from the freshers and nonfreshers Northern groups were contrasted both at group and individual levels, as well as being compared with the SBE group. Preliminary results indicate that there are differences in the way northerners and southerners perceive the STRUT-FOOT vowel split. EEG results from the Southern group and the Northern non-freshers group indicate that though Northerners are able to detect vowel changes with a surprisingly high degree of accuracy, they differ from the Southern group in terms of their Event Related Potential (ERP) responses, corresponding to Mismatch Negativity (MMN) and the Late Positive Potential (LPP). Näätänen *et al.* (1997) show that the amplitude of MMN reflects language-specific phoneme representations, and so we interpret the (small) decreased amplitude in the MMN response for /ʌ/ in Northerners in the Ignore condition to indicate an underlying unfamiliarity in perceiving this missing vocalic category. Northerners also had an LPP of larger amplitude for /ʌ/ in both the Attend and Ignore conditions. The LPP indexes detection of unfamiliarity (Squires *et al.*, 1975) and so we interpret this as evidence that although Northerners can correct for accent variation in perception, this requires conscious effort. These preliminary findings are in line with existing work that has shown that whilst northerners living in the south of England might change their production, such changes do not appear to be accompanied by changes in perceptual processing (Evans & Iverson, 2007).

Internal and external constraints on variation in the vocalic system of North Eastern speakers in the DECTE corpus

28 Mar

15:30-17:00

Session 6

Maelle Amand^{1,2}, Nicolas Ballier¹ and Karen Corrigan²

¹Paris Diderot University; ²Newcastle University

The present study investigates linguistic variation in North Eastern English using multivariate analysis tools such as factor and cluster analysis to examine the vocalic system of speakers in the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE). Factor analysis was once more commonly associated with research in the social sciences and sensory data analysis (Pagès & Husson 2001, Husson *et al.* 2011), but it was already recommended as a useful tool for variationist linguists by Berdan as early as the 1970s (Berdan 1978). At the time, he considered it to be a statistical approach which could play an important role in the development of future variationist analyses since factor analysis permits the simultaneous investigation of variation across several vocalic segments. Ten years later, a similar approach was applied to the study of vocalic variants of Glasgow and Toronto English (Cichocki 1988). More recently, the method was used by Labov in 2001 on formant frequencies and in the field of dialectology (Nerbonne *et al.* to appear, Pickl 2013, Leinonen 2008, Grieve 2013). The approach has the advantage of reducing the complex dimensionality of linguistic variation data and of showing which linguistic features tend to co-occur (contrarily to a mixed-effects model). Moreover, it also provides clear graphical representations of any variation detected. When combined with clustering, factor analysis can thus provide useful insights into the dynamics of inter- and intra-group variation. Our study investigates the co-occurrence of FACE, GOAT and PRICE vocalic variants in the PVC sub-corpus of DECTE (Corrigan *et al.* 2012). We endeavour to ascertain whether or not variants of these variables are used locally to index group membership. The 32 speakers in our sample were selected based on key social attributes including gender (male/female), age (younger/older) and social class (working/middle). Since eight cohorts were initially constructed, eight sub-groups could have been expected to result from the data analysis. However, our clustering results based on a factor analysis indicate that the data is actually best reduced to between three and five sub-groups. We argue that there is good linguistic evidence to suggest that the three dominant sub-groups can be categorised as ‘local’, ‘supralocal’ and ‘above supralocal’. Interestingly, FACE and GOAT variants share similar patterns of variation and work in ‘lockstep’ amongst our speaker sample (Watt 1998) while the realisation of the PRICE vowel shows a more independent pattern by comparison.

A new corpus of Northern Englishes: Building the TUULS database for sociolinguistic and forensic research on phonetic variation in the Northeast of England

Dominic Watt¹, Peter French^{1,2}, Carmen Llamas¹, Almut Braun¹ and Duncan Robertson¹

¹University of York ; ²JP French Associates

28 Mar
15:30-17:00
Session 6

The Use and Utility of Localised Speech Forms in Determining Identity (TUULS; ESRCES/M010783/1) project combines two parallel strands: one sociophonetic, the other forensic. On the sociophonetic side, we set out to examine language use in a region which is identifiable as a unitary dialect area, insofar as (a) there exist speech features which are shared by all the subvarieties spoken within the region, and (b) listeners from other areas exhibit low sensitivity to internal variation within the region. The Northeast of England represents an ideal testing ground, according to these criteria. Despite the manifest phonetic differences among the accents of the Northeast, many non-Northeastern listeners apparently find it hard to distinguish Northeasterners, leading to a tendency to lump them together under the label ‘Geordie’. Northeasterners themselves understandably have better discrimination in this respect, and often express puzzlement that anyone should, for example, have difficulty telling Tynesiders and Teessiders apart. One of the aims of the TUULS project is therefore to identify which phonetic features are common to accents of the Northeast, supporting its description as a single dialect area, and a second is to establish what phonetic differences among Northeasterners serve to index their specific places of origin. For these purposes, we have targeted a sector of the population that would conventionally be described as ‘working class’ in each of the region’s major population centres (Newcastle, Sunderland, Middlesbrough; N=120), subdividing the speaker sample further according to the degree to which informants are routinely geographically mobile. Our initial analyses of the NURSE and lettER/commA vowels in our recordings support the hypothesis that among our speaker sample there is accent variation associated with routinised mobility, as well as with the speaker’s age and sex.

TUULS’s other strand considers the properties of speech corpora of potential value for speaker profiling and automated speaker comparison in criminal investigations. In speaker profiling the task is to help the police to reduce the pool of potential suspects by making detailed observations of an unknown offender’s speech. Recent data on fine-grained, localised patterns of variation is therefore indispensable. In speaker comparison cases, where a suspect has already been apprehended, we estimate the similarity of the offender sample and the suspect sample, as well as the typicality of the features present in them. These tasks can now be assisted using automatic speaker recognition (ASR) software. Ideally, we would always have large and recently-collected corpora on which the human or computer analyst can base their typicality estimates. Existing resources are, however, often limited by their small scale, spottiness of geographical coverage, and ‘shelf-life’. What, then, if we could pool existing data sets so as to create bigger ones, irrespective of the accents represented in each database? Would the performance of ASR systems suffer as a result, or are they indifferent to reference speakers having radically divergent accents (e.g. Newcastle versus RP)? In this presentation we demonstrate some of the effects of combining heterogeneous speech corpora in this way, particularly where non-trivial differences in content and technical characteristics are apparent in the source recordings.

Children's perception of monophthongal GOAT and FACE vowels from Yorkshire and Tyneside speakers

28 Mar

15:30-17:00

Session 6

Ella Jeffries

University of Essex

The production of monophthongal FACE and GOAT vowels ([e:] and [o:]) is typical in Yorkshire and across the north of England, as well as Scotland (cf. Wells 1982; Hughes et al. 2013). These pan-northern 'mainstream' variants are reported as replacing traditional centering diphthongal variants in Tyneside, [ɪə] and [ʊə] (Watt 2000, 20002). This is along with evidence of increased usage of southern closing diphthongal variants [eɪ] and [oʊ] amongst middle class speakers in York and Newcastle (Haddican *et al.* 2013, Watt 2002). Perceptually, adult listeners have been found to associate the centering diphthongs with Tyneside/northeastern English (as found by Holmes, 2000), marking them as saliently northeastern. In contrast, lay listeners are more varied in their classification of monophthongal FACE and GOAT variants, which are generally classified as northern, but also more often northeastern rather than being associated with any other particular part of the north (Holmes, 2000; Lawrence 2014). The current research investigates differences between monophthongal GOAT and FACE vowels produced by Yorkshire and Tyneside speakers and the extent to which children are able to group speakers according to these differences. Sentence-length stimuli featuring the FACE and GOAT vowels were recorded from 10 young female speakers from Yorkshire and Tyneside. These speakers showed a general distinction, with the Tyneside speakers' GOAT vowels being more back and FACE vowels being closer and more front in comparison to the Yorkshire speakers. 34 children (between 6 and 9 years old) were presented with a set of three grouping tasks in which they were asked to group together speakers based on these sentence-length stimuli. Overall, the children performed above chance level (average 60% correct) but with lots of variability. Surprisingly, the children performed better in the third task where they were asked to group speakers across different words featuring the same vowel, rather than when this vowel was embedded in the same word (see Figure 1). This is in contrast to previous findings from pre-school children, who were found to perform better at grouping Yorkshire vs. SSBE speakers when they were heard producing the same phonological variables when embedded in the same word (Jeffries, 2016).

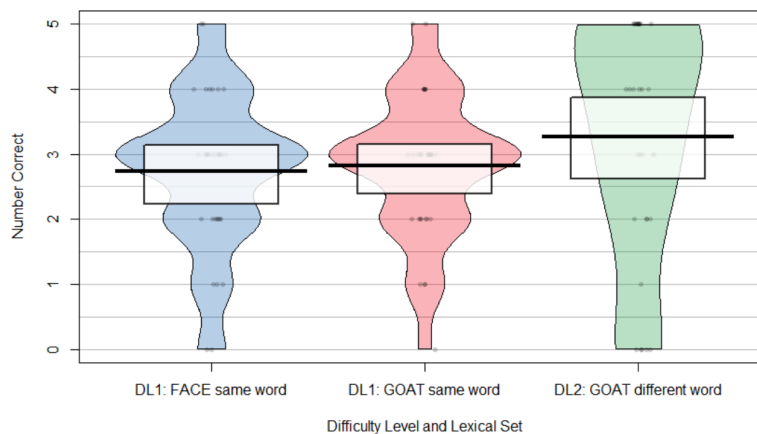


Fig. 1: Children's performance across the difference grouping tasks

Vowel Lengthening in Manx English: Levelling and phonological features on the Isle of Man

Andrew Booth

University of Westminster

27 Mar
11:30-12:30
Poster
session

The Isle of Man was included in the Survey of English Dialects as one of the ‘northern counties’ and today still holds its northern English roots within pronunciation. My project centres on Manx English (MxE) and some of the phonological features in use today. This talk will focus on a particular phonological vocalic feature spoken on the Isle of Man. My presentation will demonstrate the feature of lengthening from /æ/ to /æ:/ specifically within vowels within BATH and TRAP words. My PhD as a whole is investigating features of MxE that are subject to levelling and looking at the incoming features to the Isle of Man. Northern accents have been the focus of recent dialectological studies and researchers have analysed diffusion features such as -th fronting and glottalised /t/ (Clark *et al.*, 2011). Newcastle and Sunderland dialects have been the focus of levelling in local features such as [ɪə] and [oʊ] in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets (Newcastle and Sunderland, Watt, 2002; Burbano-Elizondo, 2015). However, not all varieties are equally affected by levelling or diffusion and some isolated communities appear to resist non-local influences. Research in Scilly (Moore 2013), the Shetland Islands (van Leyden 2004; Durham and Smith) and Mersea Island (Amos 2011) found some resistance to change. The Isle of Man is an interesting case, not only because it is an island dialect, but also because of the resurgence of Manx Gaelic.

In the southeast of England the split between TRAP and BATH vowels is usually distinguished between the short /a/ and long /ɑ:/, the northern variety of English, often does not distinguish in length between the BATH and TRAP words and can often be realised with an /æ/ phoneme. MxE would ordinarily follow a northern English pattern, however traditional MxE can include a lengthened /æ:/ vowel in many contexts: typical place names like Ramsey, Laxey, Castletown and Ballaugh amongst others. The SED included the Isle of Man and recorded some instances of vowel lengthening in MxE, however the researcher also stated that Liverpool and RP phonology would “vie with one another for dominance in the pronunciation of English in Man during the next fifty years” (Barry, 1984: 177). This suggests that a traditional feature such as the one in question may not have survived the subsequent five decades. Glare Vannin (Recording Mann), was a more recent and wide scale dialect study on the Isle of Man, the research was led by Hamer who noted that “young adults and children now rarely show vowel lengthening” (2007:173).

I will be presenting these views with relation to my current findings. I conducted sociolinguistic interviews loosely based on the previous studies mentioned (SED and Glare Vannin), gathering participants from different social network groups in various locations on the Isle of Man. I am currently analysing 4 features of traditional MxE that may be subject to levelling and 4 that have been identified as diffusion features. The analysis for the feature in the upcoming talk (vowel lengthening of /æ/ - /æ:/) is quantitative in nature and acoustic and auditory analysis will be presented. Now, over 50 years on from the SED and around 20 years from the collection for Glare Vannin, the use of vowel lengthening in /æ:/ does not seem to be declining. I will present my findings, showing the changing use of this feature through different generations. The context in which lengthening is used may have changed but the prestige and the link to this feature as a signifier of the MxE accent may still be significant.

Perceptions along a dialect continuum between Newcastle-upon-Tyne and London

27 Mar
11:30-12:30
Poster
session

Miriam Schmalz
University of Zurich

Perceptual dialectology is the field of sociolinguistics concerned with “how [...] people react to spoken language” of a certain geographical area (Montgomery and Beal 2011: 121) and in order to access this information, traditionally, phonological, lexical or morphosyntactic variations and non-linguists’ perceptions of these are studied. This paper attempts to contribute to the tradition of perceptual dialectology by analysing perceptions of informants from both the Northeast and the Southeast of England along a dialect continuum from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to London. The study was conducted similarly to Preston’s (1989) study on the dialect continuum from Michigan to Indiana in the US. The study’s participants were asked to order eight sound files correctly along a North-South continuum as well as to rate them on ten Likert scale dimensions, such as the speakers’ perceived level of friendliness, trustworthiness or laziness. Interestingly, the participants from both the North and the South ranked a speaker with a rural dialect as far away as possible from their respective home areas. In contrast, the Northern informants strongly associated a young ethnic speaker with the metropolitan South East, contradicting the results from the Southern informants. Furthermore, in the Likert scale ratings, a North-South divide could also be identified, although only for certain dimensions. On the basis of these results, this paper puts forward the idea that the North-South divide in England can not only be found in terms of political science or economics, but also, to a certain degree, when looking at perceptual data.

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Interwoven Histories: A Qualitative Investigation of the Yorkshire Textiles: Industry-combining linguistic fieldwork with oral history

Emily Owen
Leeds University

27 Mar
11:30-12:30
Poster
session

The Leeds Archive of Vernacular Culture, a multi-media archive of materials relating to the Survey of English Dialects and the former Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies based at the University of Leeds, contains audio recordings of interviews conducted by former students and researchers on subjects pertaining to dialect and folk life. These recordings have been overlooked and, although concerned with social history, are a potential source of untapped data on the dialect of Leeds and surrounding areas. This includes several interviews on the subject of the textile and garment industries in West Yorkshire, which were central to the region's economy and identity in the twentieth century. It is these recordings which form the foundation of the current project, each of which I intend to produce a linguistic transcription of in order to analyse recurring local dialect features, in addition to bringing the stories and memories they contain to light.

The project has two main objectives. The first is to produce a comparative, linguistic study of the LAVC interviews with new interviews conducted with present or retired mill workers, tailors etc. to see what insights they can yield about changes in the lexical and grammatical features documented as being strongly associated with 'West Yorkshire' dialect. This may include: was-were levelling, unmarked plurality of nouns of measurement, non-standard pronoun usage, kinship terms, conjugation regularisation, *what* as a subject relative pronoun, and negation and contracted forms. Both data sets will be quantitatively analysed to determine the comparative frequency of these features. The second objective is to gather new stories from people in the industry and assess how it has changed over time, and how people perceive it today. An additional outcome will be a series of public outreach and engagement activities in the Leeds area in recognition of the necessity that projects in the humanities be designed with impact in mind.

My poster will provide a brief introduction to the LAVC and the history of the textiles industry in the area, outline the project's methodology and fieldwork design, and discuss some preliminary findings from the new interviews with textile workers which have been conducted so far.

The GOAT-THOUGHT Merger in Tyneside English

Jasmine Warburton
Newcastle University

A merger of the GOAT and THOUGHT vowels is found in several varieties of English. This vowel merger has been reported in north Wales (Wells 1982), and for the northern English dialects of Lancashire (Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010) and Bradford (Watt and Tillotson 2001). Previous research on North-Eastern varieties has indicated that a GOAT-THOUGHT merger exists in the Tyneside speech community (Watt 1998; Watt and Allen 2003). There is, however, a notable lack of recent literature on this merger in Tyneside English, and existing accounts of GOAT-THOUGHT merging have largely been limited to brief auditory analysis. This study will present an acoustic analysis of the apparent merger, investigating whether speakers in the region retain a distinction between the GOAT and THOUGHT vowels.

The current study provides an analysis of the GOAT and THOUGHT vowels for 16 speakers (aged 19-77, 8 males, 8 females) from the Tyneside and Northumberland areas. Interview data was obtained from the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE). Automatic alignment of the interviews and extraction of formant measurements was conducted using the Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction suite (FAVE).

Several methods of measuring vowel merger were utilised in the analysis. Pillai scores (Hay *et al.* 2006) were calculated to assess overlap between the word classes, with results indicating that half of the speakers have a considerable GOAT-THOUGHT overlap. Following Nycz (2011), mixed-effects regression models were also used to measure the distance between GOAT and THOUGHT for each speaker. Using this method, many of the female speakers could be seen to exhibit raising of the THOUGHT vowel to the position of GOAT. However, it is possible that the apparent fronting of the GOAT vowel in Tyneside English (Watt 1998; Wozniak and Haddican 2015) may be preventing a complete GOAT-THOUGHT merger in the speech community.

Old Variables with New Tricks: TD-deletion in the North East of England

Kaleigh Woolford
Newcastle University

27 Mar
11:30-12:30
Poster
session

TD-deletion — the process by which final coronal stops (t/d) undergo deletion in word final consonant clusters — is well attested across dialects of American English to be a stable variable process conditioned by universal linguistic constraints (preceding phonological segment, following phonological segment and morphological class).

However, with recent studies of British English either failing to report a significant morphological effect (Tagliamonte and Temple 2005; Sonderegger *et al.* 2011) or reporting an interaction between age and morphological class (Baranowski and Turton 2015), the nature of TD-deletion as a stable variable process has been called into question.

The current study, drawing on methods from previous studies of TD-deletion in British English, focuses on a sample of 24 NECTE2 (Newcastle Corpus of Tyneside English, Corrigan *et al.* 2001-2005, Corrigan *et al.* 2011) speakers raised in the North East of England, stratified by age, gender and socioeconomic status. Interviews were orthographically transcribed in ELAN and force-aligned with FAVE (Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction) Program Suite (Rosenfelder *et al.* 2014). The Handcoder Praat script (Fruehwald & Tamminga 2015) was used to locate each token of $-t/d$. The resulting 4263 tokens were subject to generalised linear mixed-effects models in R.

Consistent with Baranowski and Turton’s (2015) recent findings in Manchester, the results from this study show previously-reported linguistic constraints (including morphological effect) to be robust predictors of TD-deletion in this dataset. Additionally, social factors (gender, age and socioeconomic status) are selected as significant by the mixed-effects model. Further investigation reveals the TD-deletion rate of monomorphemes and semi-weak to be increasing over time in the North East (Figure 1).

Concluding TD-deletion to be a current change-in-progress in the North East, the current study supports Baranowski and Turton’s (2015) proposal of TD-deletion as moving through the lifecycle of phonological processes and highlights the importance of monitoring so-called “stable variables” over time in order to gain new insights into the mechanisms of phonological variation and change.



Fig. 1: Interaction between AGE and MORPHOLOGICAL CLASS in apparent time

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