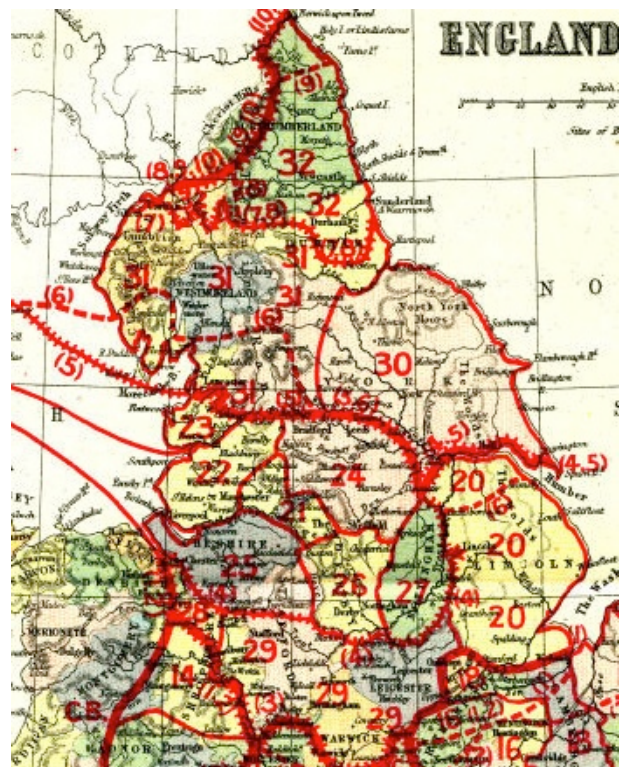


The Seventh Northern Englishes Workshop

The seventh in a series of
biennial workshops on the
dialects of Northern England



ABSTRACTS BOOKLET

[in order of presentation]

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University of Edinburgh

Unstressed vowel backing in Manchester English

Maciej Baranowski (University of Manchester), Danielle Turton (Newcastle University)

This study is the first systematic exploration of the sociolinguistics of the lowering and backing of the HAPPY (the final vowel in *city*, *chilly*, etc.) and LETTER (the final vowel in *Manchester*, *father*, etc.) vowels in Manchester English, which form part of the stereotype of the city's accent. It is based on a sample of 123 speakers stratified by age, gender, socio-economic status, and ethnicity, recorded in sociolinguistic interviews, supplemented with formal elicitations.

Formant measurements of the informants' complete vowel systems are obtained in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2015) – by hand for 25 speakers and in FAVE (Rosenfelder et al. 2014) for 98 speakers (12,653 tokens of HAPPY and 7,537 tokens of LETTER) – and are analysed in a series of mixed-effects linear regressions, with social (age, gender, ethnicity, social class, style) and internal factors (preceding and following sound) entered as independent variables, and speaker and word as random effects.

The retraction of both vowels shows a pattern of monotonic social stratification, with lower classes showing more backing and lowering; interestingly, women show more backing of HAPPY than men. Ethnicity is also significant, with Pakistani speakers not participating in the retraction. While HAPPY lowering and backing is a stable variable, influenced by the quality of the preceding and following sounds (Turton & Ramsammy 2012), the backing of LETTER turns out to be a change in progress, led by younger speakers. We also explore the question of a possible structural connection between the shifts of the two vowels in Manchester.

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Perceptions of Chesterfield and Chesterfield English

Claire Ashmore (Sheffield Hallam)

Chesterfield, north east Derbyshire, is a border town which is considered by many locals to be “not quite the north and not quite midlands.” As a result, many Chesterfield natives feel torn between a northern and midlander regional identity. This ambivalence will be explored in the paper, along with its impact on the Chesterfield dialect.

Chesterfield is a market town only 12 miles from Sheffield, South Yorkshire, and ten minutes away by train. While close to the border with Yorkshire, it officially belongs to the East Midlands region which, together with the West Midlands, has been referred to as a “no-man's land” within the UK (Wales 2000: 7-8). Chesterfield's county town is Derby, 28 miles further south. However, Chesterfield's close proximity to Sheffield, along with Sheffield's greater “cultural prominence” (Montgomery 2012), suggests that Chesterfield English should be levelling with Sheffield English. Yet, Braber's (2014) study indicates that the midlander identity is strong amongst Chesterfield teens, hinting that there may be resistance to linguistic features perceived to be either typically Sheffield, Yorkshire or northern by Chesterfield natives.

This paper will outline results of perceptual activities with three age groups of Chesterfield locals to explore how, and indeed whether, Chesterfield locals perceive local dialects, including their own, and whether attitudes towards Sheffield affect the linguistic features they adopt or eschew.

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Inverted priming effects when perceiving ‘Scouse’

Marten Juskan (University of Freiburg)

Listeners’ perceptions of linguistic variables can be influenced by providing social information about the speaker (Niedzielski 1999, Hay et al. 2006, Hay and Drager 2010). Within exemplar theory (cf. Pierrehumbert 2006) these results are explained by stored, phonetically detailed, exemplar clouds, which are also indexed with gender, nationality, etc. of the speaker. Activating a concept cognitively foregrounds matching exemplars and makes perception of new input as belonging to that category more likely.

This paper reports the results of an experiment that played recordings of Manchester English to subjects, half of which were told that they were listening to a Liverpudlian. Scouse was chosen as the priming category because this variety is widely known and highly stigmatised in the UK (cf. Montgomery 2007, Trudgill 1999), and provides a range of variables found to be socially salient in different contexts (cf. Honeybone and Watson 2013, Watson and Clark 2013).

All priming effects were in the unexpected direction: listeners were *less* likely to perceive Liverpool variants when they were expecting a Scouser. Hay and Drager (2010) link up inverted effects with dissociation, but a more convincing explanation for my data (and theirs?) is found in Herr’s (1986) “moderate” and “extreme” primes. My results suggest that effects such as those reported by Niedzielski might only be achievable when the varieties concerned are phonetically similar (and the prime is thus ‘moderate’). ‘Liverpool’, on the other hand, seems to be an ‘extreme’ prime in the context of other northern Englishes, and therefore creates an inverted effect.

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Origins of PRICE Nucleus Raising in Liverpool English

Amanda Cardoso (University of York)

PRICE nucleus raising has been attested in a variety of English dialects across the world, usually when new-dialect formation has also occurred (Trudgill 2004). These nucleus raising processes in different varieties are independent innovations. A range of different approaches have been proposed to account for these observations. The present paper examines three of these approaches – failure-to-lower, asymmetric assimilation, and new-dialect formation – through a recently described instance of PRICE nucleus raising in Liverpool English (Knowles 1973, Cardoso 2015). The current investigation analyses the PRICE vowel in the Origins of Liverpool English Corpus (Watson & Clark forthcoming), a dataset with speakers born shortly after new-dialect formation in Liverpool, and a recent corpus (Cardoso 2015). Using these datasets, it is possible to explore the origins and development of PRICE nucleus raising in Liverpool English. I examine the precursors to nucleus raising in this variety through a dynamic approach to acoustic analysis of diphthongs,

such as multiple measurements along the trajectory and Euclidean distance from the nucleus to offglide. The current findings suggest that nucleus raising in Liverpool English likely did not occur as a result of new-dialect formation or failure-to-lower. On the other hand, evidence from the oldest speakers in the dataset supports asymmetric assimilation as a starting point for nucleus raising. These results suggest that a dynamic acoustic analysis and a diverse speaker sample may help to further our understanding of how and why nucleus raising occurs.

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Velar nasal plus in the north of (ing)land

George Bailey (University of Manchester)

Despite the breadth of work investigating (ing) across the English-speaking world (see Hazen 2006), the situation in northern dialect regions of England, where competition exists between *three* variants, is comparatively understudied. This paper is the first thorough investigation of the noncoalesced [ŋg] form, exclusive to northern English varieties, and marks the first time that its behaviour in stressed syllables (e.g. *sing*) has been studied under the variationist paradigm. Through the analysis of spontaneous and elicited speech from fifteen sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Manchester and Blackburn, this study reveals a number of internal constraints on the probability of [ŋg] surfacing. Perhaps most interestingly, the variable deletion of the post-nasal /g/ is found to show sensitivity to the lifecycle of phonological processes (Bermúdez-Otero & Trousdale 2012) in that its rates of application are predicted most strongly by assuming cyclic application across stem-, word-, and phrase-level phonology. I further speculate about the possibility of rulescattered /g/-deletion (Bermúdez-Otero 2010) in both the phonological *and* phonetic modules of a speaker's grammar, given what appears to be gradient reduction of /g/ when followed by word-final obstruents (e.g. *things*). I also interpret the unusual stylistic behaviour of /g/-deletion as being reflective of an influence of speech rate rather than prestige, where the reduced articulatory pressure of /ŋg/ clusters pre-pausally and in the slower speech rates of formal elicitations actually inhibits application of the deletion rule.

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A dynamic formant analysis of the FACE, PRICE, GOAT and MOUTH vowels in the corpus DECTE: variation and change in the Tyneside Linguistic Survey.

Maelle Amand (Paris Diderot University & Newcastle University)

This paper involves a dynamic analysis of four vowels in the corpus of Tyneside English (Corrigan et al. 2001). We first track down the motivations of the projects, which was one of the first surveys to focus on urban dialectology in Great-Britain and whose sociolinguistic variables were intended for a multivariate treatment analysis. We then analyse the FACE, GOAT, MOUTH and PRICE vowels using a dynamic approach (Van der Harst & Van de Velde 2014, Hughes et al. 2009) – the use of multiple point measurements, as opposed to the measurement of onset and target points only. The former is still rarely used in sociophonetics but is often resorted to in forensic linguistics (Ingram et al. 1996, Rose 2006) or mathematics applied to phonetics (Clermont 1988). Although GOAT and FACE are traditionally monophthongal in Northern English, contrarily to PRICE and MOUTH (Beal et al. 2012), we show that their localised variants present a subtle dynamic of diphthong movements: while GOAT and FACE sometimes become diphthongs – [ʊə] and [ɪə] or [əʊ] and [eɪ] – PRICE and MOUTH show flatter glides. Previous studies on Tyneside English from the 1990s have demonstrated that social factors significantly determine the speakers' choice of a vowel exponent. For instance, older women tend to opt for the 'unmarked', 'pan-Northern' [e:] in FACE, whereas older men will prefer the more local variant [ɪə] (Watt 1998). We demonstrate that the choice of Tyneside English variants in the 1960s TLS files, already followed similar trends and patterns to the 1990s corpus.

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T-glottaling in two Cumbrian communities

Sandra Jansen (University of Brighton)

T-glottaling is one of the most prominent features that has caught the attention of sociolinguists working on UK varieties. In a recent crosslinguistic study, Schlee (2013) analysed the distribution of (t) in London and Edinburgh. By showing that not only phonological and stylistic factors shape this change but that word frequency and morphophonological factors are important constraints, he raises significant questions about the morphological compositionality as well as word frequency in this change. Many of the studies so far have dealt with the (t) variable in urban areas; however,

there is not a single study to-date that incorporates Schleeﬀ’s extended list of factors in a crossdialectal study of two places which are geographically close but sociologically very different. The two places under investigation are Carlisle, the only city in Cumbria, and Maryport, a peripheral town on the west Cumbrian coast. Carlisle is an important regional centre while Maryport is a fairly remote community. The data for this talk stem from sociolinguistic interviews in both places. Overall, the sample contains 60 interviews which were transcribed and analysed, using an apparent-time approach. Schleeﬀ’s (2013) list of factors is used to investigate the increase T-glottaling the change and to compare the data to the results in London and Edinburgh. The overall aim of this talk is to unveil similarities and differences in the linguistic and social constraints of this change in Carlisle and Maryport, compare the results to Schleeﬀ’s findings and further the discussion on lexical diffusion in this sound change.

Yorkshire Assimilation at the Interface

Tim Zee (Radboud University), Koen Sebregts (Utrecht University)

Certain Yorkshire dialects have been reported to exhibit a form of voicing assimilation, which involves voiced final obstruents becoming voiceless when followed by another voiceless obstruent (Wells, 1982: 366-367, see examples in [1]).

- (1) a. *a big piece* [ə bɪk pi:s]
 b. *live performance* [laɪf pəfɔ:məns]
 c. *wide trousers* [waɪt traʊzəz]
 d. *Bradford* [brɑʔfəd] (Wells, 1982, pp. 366-367)

Wells treats Yorkshire Assimilation (YA) as phonological (categorical and discrete), not to be confused with the phonetic devoicing of final obstruents common in Standard British English. The categoricity of the process is called into question, however, by the more variable transcriptions in Wright (1892), on Windhill (Bradford) English, which suggest that manner of articulation (plosive vs. fricative) may play a role in its application. Not only are these sources almost a century apart, and even the later one decades into the past, there appears to be a complete lack of phonetic data lending itself to acoustic and statistical analysis. This is particularly surprising given the role YA has played in theoretical arguments regarding phonological representation (Wetzels and Mascaro 2001; Iverson and Salmons 2003). The current study provides new data from 14 speakers of Bradford English, collected specifically to examine questions of gradience vs categoricity and considers these in the light of theories that use these qualities to define the phonetics-phonology distinction. An analysis focused on the vowel/consonant duration ratio shows that for most speakers, YA is both phonological *and* gradient, complicating Wells’ presentation of the data and phonological arguments that rest upon it. We discuss these results and their implications for models of phonology and the phonetics-phonology interface.

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Changes across the life-span in the Tyneside FACE vowel

Isabelle Buchstaller (Leipzig University)

This paper reports on research across the life-span of the individual in the Tyneside area. We investigate the longitudinal changes in the FACE vowel of 6 speakers who were recorded in 1971 and in 2013. The Tyneside community has undergone dramatic socio-economic changes across the 42 years that divide the two panel recordings, moving from an industry relying on coal mining and shipbuilding to an “eds and meds” economy (Beal 2009). Our panel sample includes a range of socio-demographic trajectories which epitomize the changes in the social structure that define the North East. This is important because panel research has demonstrated clear correspondences between a speaker’s situatedness in socio economic structure and their linguistic behaviour across the lifespan (Bowie and Yaeger-Dror to appear, Wagner and Sankoff 2011). Our analysis reports on over 1800 vowel tokens, extracted from the 12 recordings and coded for a range of linguistic and social constraints. Overall, our data allows us to show that an individual’s positionality in socio-economic structure, their trajectory as well as a range of speaker-based factors such as their contact with children and their stance towards changes more generally influence speakers’ behaviour across the life-span (see Buchstaller 2015). We will also illustrate the way in which an individual’s change in terms of net variant production goes hand in hand with the restructuring of their individual grammar.

Vowel shift in East Durham coal mining vocabulary

Thomas Devlin (Sussex University)

This research investigates the influence of coal mining vocabulary on variant usage by testing the claim that mining communities preserve distinctive and conservative phonological patterns (Wales 2006: 124). The study explores the degree of advancement of vowels belonging to the START lexical set (Wells 1982) in mining and non-mining words in the speech of sixteen male speakers aged over sixty years of age from former colliery villages in East Durham in the North East of England. The results show that regardless of whether the speaker worked at the pit or not, START vowels are shifted to significantly backer realisations in mining words than in non-mining vocabulary, close to traditional pronunciations noted in historical dialect literature. This outcome is upheld even in identical lexical items with different meanings in mining and non-mining speech.

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Localised and regional perceptions of ‘northernness’

Judith Taylor (Northumbria University)

This presentation discusses ongoing research into attitudes towards varieties of English spoken in the north of England held by the speakers of those varieties. Previous study of attitudes has established that people make judgements about others depending on the way that they speak, and that these judgements can have real life consequences for individuals. (Giles and Rakic, 2014) Language use is recognised by listeners as being loaded with cultural information which is interpreted both explicitly and implicitly.

In common with other societies which have a ‘standard language culture’ (Milroy, 2001), responses to spoken English in the UK vary in predictable patterns according to whether the speaker is perceived to have a ‘standard’ accent or a regional variety. Urban regional varieties have been consistently rated as lower in status than RP or Standard English, whereas more localised varieties have often been evaluated more favourably in terms of solidarity criteria such as friendliness. (Giles 1970, Coupland and Bishop 2007, Garrett 2010) Social identities are likely to be influential in shaping such evaluations of speakers.

Research suggests that the north of England is perceived as a distinct region linguistically. (Wales 2006, Montgomery 2007, 2012), comprising further distinctive dialect areas. (Pearce 2009) However evidence is lacking concerning evaluations of language varieties within this region. My research investigates more localised and wider regional perceptions of ‘northernness’ as an identity and the potential relationship between these frames of reference (Abrams and Hogg, 1987) and levels of prestige associated with speech communities in the north of England.

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The Bolton/Worktown corpus: an historical spoken corpus with attitude!

Ivor Timmis (Leeds Beckett University)

This talk is based on the Bolton/Worktown corpus, an unusual corpus of conversations which took place among the working class of Bolton in the late 1930s. The corpus has been drawn from the Worktown papers of the Mass-Observation archive, where snippets and fragments of conversations can be found scattered among various sociological records. These snippets were transcribed verbatim and ‘live’ by observers operating incognito in the community. The unusual way in which the spoken material was gathered, I contend, allows us access to an emotive domain of language which has not received a great deal of analysis. Specifically, this paper focuses on three kinds of emotive language illustrated below (*swearing; right dislocation/tails; emotive apposition*)

Ee’s a *bloody* seet wuss nar, **owd Eric**, the *bloody* grabbing free ale *bugger*

A study of this kind of language, I argue, encourages us to reflect on how the interaction of a specific community with social and historical circumstances at a given time can make certain spoken language features prominent.

Priv[i:t] (ɪ)s – the curious case of the (ɪ) vowel in Stoke-on-Trent

Hannah Leach (University of Sheffield)

It has been intermittently observed, in both academic (Halliwell-Phillipps, 1901; Gibson, 1955; Montgomery, 2003) and non-academic (Leigh, 2011) literature, that the horses vowel (Foulkes and Docherty, 1999) in Stoke-on-Trent English is articulated variably as [i:], as in varieties of West Midlands English (Asprey, 2007; Mathisen, 1999; Thorne, 2003). However, Leach (2012) found this articulation extends beyond *-es* and *-ed* suffixes in Stoke; occurring in other suffixes including *-ing*, *-age* and *-est*; short grammatical words *it*, *his* and *him*; and morphologically opaque words such as *biscuit* and *tennis*. As this forms a variable context not previously studied, I refer to this variable as (ɪ).

Previous research has shown that the [i:] articulation of (ɪ) is a longstanding feature of North Staffordshire dialect (Gibson, 1955), and that it may be socially stratified, with middle class female speakers using the fewest local variants (Montgomery, 2003). Leach (2012) also found significant results for morphological context (horses words were almost categorically [i:], while *it* varied) and effect of preceding consonant (velars and palato-alveolars favoured [i:], while bilabials and nasals disfavoured [i:]).

This paper adds diachronic depth to the study of (ɪ) by analysing data from an Oral History Archive. Data from 30 speakers were acoustically analysed, revealing the importance of locally salient social categories (relating to gender and position in the local industry) as well as topic. Whilst Stoke's geography is ambiguously northern, I will argue that the connections between this nonstandard variant, local industry and topic, reflects patterns found in other industrial northern cities.

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The Northern English dialect of Aylesham, Kent. (Yes, you *did* read that right...)

David Hornsby (University of Kent)

The village of Aylesham, East Kent, was founded in 1928 as one of several 'new towns' destined to serve the nascent Kentish coal industry which, lacking a suitably skilled local workforce, recruited almost exclusively from coalfields elsewhere in the UK, notably the North-East, South Yorkshire, the East Midlands, Scotland and South Wales. Against a predominantly agricultural backcloth, Aylesham stood out for its geographical and social isolation, its industrial working-class culture, and the distinctive local koiné variety which emerged from contact between the original settler

groups, and has little in common with traditional Kentish dialects. This variety, which attracts frequent comment in east Kent, has a number of features which are clearly northern in origin: traditional Ayleshamers almost universally have BATH-TRAP merger, for example, and there is vestigial definite article reduction among older villagers.

In this paper, which reports on a pilot study undertaken within the village, we examine the features which earned villagers the sobriquet ‘Plastic Northerners’, and attempt to determine how and why some northern English features, but not others, emerged from the original input dialect mix. The development of an internal migrant koiné in this Kentish setting also raises wider theoretical questions which merit consideration. To what extent, for example, is the path of koinéization in such contact situations ‘inevitable’, as Trudgill (2004) claims, and might internal migrant koinés be different in kind from those associated with colonial settings such as New Zealand?

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Revisiting a ‘northern shibboleth’: FACE and GOAT variation and change in the dialects of Barnsley.

Kate Burland (University of Leeds & University of Sheffield)

This paper focuses upon phonological resistance (cf. Watson 2006) in the dialect of Royston, an ex-mining community in the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley in South Yorkshire. Royston is a border township located on the boundary between South and West Yorkshire and surrounded by the boroughs of Wakefield to the north and Barnsley to the south. Previous studies of Yorkshire varieties (cf. Petyt 1985; Haddican et al. 2013) have established that long monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT constitute a ‘principal northern shibboleth’ (Haddican et al. 2013: 373). However, metalinguistic commentary surrounding the dialect of Royston (Cave 2001; Burland 2010) claims that speakers in the township produce distinctive diphthongal variants of both FACE and GOAT.

The study analyses FACE and GOAT tokens from wordlist recordings collected from Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speakers. Results are confirmed by statistical analysis using mixed-effects linear regression modelling to consider the significance of social and linguistic variables in relation to vowel F1 and F2. Phonological data is considered alongside attitudinal data collected from ethnographic interviews with older and younger Royston speakers. Acoustic analysis supports metalinguistic claims providing evidence of diphthongal Royston forms which differ both from the supra-local Barnsley and Wakefield monophthongal variants and from more widespread pan-Yorkshire phonological norms.

The results suggest that successive generations of Royston speakers have resisted convergence to pan-regional monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT, and that this is connected to the salience of the Royston identity within this community.

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“Some very perceptible differences in the dialect”: the enregisterment of nineteenth century “Yorkshire” dialects

Paul Cooper (University of Liverpool)

Regional dialect dictionaries, dialect literature and literary dialect (Shorrocks 1996) can be instrumental in the enregisterment (Agha 2003) of dialects. This is where a linguistic repertoire ‘becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms’ (ibid. p.231). Enregistered features can also be the subject of overt social commentary, as in many cases there is wide awareness of them and the social values they are associated with. Cooper (2015) notes that we can also observe enregisterment in historical contexts.

Many nineteenth century commentators state that the dialects of Yorkshire were distinct from one another, and representations of “Yorkshire” features varied from region to region. In this paper I investigate how these intra-Yorkshire varieties were perceived in the nineteenth century. I discuss the role that regional dialect dictionaries play in the creation and maintenance of explicit links between dialect features and specific areas within Yorkshire. Certain intra-Yorkshire varieties are represented and discussed frequently and consistently in the nineteenth century, illustrating a perception that there were “Yorkshire” varieties that were distinct from one another. By considering dialect dictionaries and glossaries for these individual areas we can therefore see awareness of the differences between individual “Yorkshire” dialects. I also make use of a corpus of dialect literature and literary dialect representing “Yorkshire” varieties from across the county, as features which are frequently and consistently presented as marking distinctions between areas may allow for the identification of enregistered sub-“Yorkshire” repertoires.

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What’s n(j)ew in the East Midlands? An investigation into yod-dropping

Natalie Braber (Nottingham Trent University), Nicholas Flynn (Independent Scholar)

Yod-dropping has been treated by some linguists as being a typical feature of the East Midlands (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2005: 91; Trudgill 1999a: 61) whereas other studies see it as belonging more to varieties found in East Anglia (see Upton 2008: 279; Wells 1986: 338). This paper reports on the use of yod in the region to examine what is occurring in contemporary language data while comparing it to older data.

Much contemporary linguistic research has neglected to examine variation in the East Midlands, but anecdotally it appears that speech in the East Midlands remains distinctive and locals insist there is considerable difference, for instance, between speech in the major urban centres of Nottingham, Derby and Leicester (see for example Scollins and Tittford 2000). However, research by the authors has shown that the East Midlands is worth examining and this paper aims to further knowledge about such variation.

A recent BA-funded project which investigated the use of oral history archives in the region to examine language variation will be used in this research alongside further data collected by the authors. This paper will carry out auditory analyses to report on how extensive yod-dropping is in the region. Preliminary results suggest there is considerable use by some speakers, though perhaps not as frequent as in East Anglian varieties (cf. Trudgill 1999b: 133) It also examines the extent of yod-coalescence found in these speakers. These recordings will be compared to regional recordings made as part of the *Survey of English Dialects*, *Millennium Memory Bank* and *BBC Voices* recordings held by the British Library to examine historical occurrence of this linguistic feature.

Additionally, metalinguistic commentary from school pupils in the region will also be considered. Findings by the authors suggest that yod-dropping is commonly heard in the region, however, it

does not seem to be a feature which locals are aware of. Therefore, this paper will allow us to examine whether linguistic practice correlates with metalinguistic awareness.

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Perceptions of Northern and Southern vowels in the English Fenland

Chris Montgomery (University of Sheffield)

The ‘North-South divide’ in England is of enduring interest; it is important economically and culturally (Dorling 2007), and marks the country’s dialect geography. Despite this, and the importance of STRUT (Trudgill 1999) and BATH (Wells 1982) vowels in distinguishing North from South, data collected in the English Fenlands in the 1950s and 60s showed not a sharp distinction between Northern and Southern vowels, but instead a demonstrated a gradual transition area (Chambers & Trudgill 1998).

The dialect situation in the Fens is now very different and recent research has showed an increasingly abrupt divide (Britain 2002; Britain 2015). In addition, research on the *perception* of dialects shows that the Fens is seen as the location of the sharpest divide between Northern and Southern accents (Montgomery 2012). Other perceptual research has revealed that listeners’ expectations can influence their reactions to features (e.g. Niedzielski 1999; Hay & Drager 2010). Such priming can, for example, result in listeners associating a feature with another location on the basis of what they *expect* to hear. Given the oft-discussed status of the ‘North-South divide’ in England and the important issues of identity associated with ‘being Northern’ or ‘Southern’, such priming effects are an important consideration in this research.

This paper will discuss the early stages of a research project that will investigate linguistic perceptions of the divide in the Fens, and the effect of Northern and Southern fieldworkers on the perceptions of the vowels in STRUT and BATH words amongst non-linguists.

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